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DE PHILOLOGIA ET PHILOSOPHIA AEQUE MERITO
LX ANNOS FELICITER EXPLENTI
COLLEGAE ET SODALES
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Editors' dedicatory note

On 22 April 2019, Alexander Leonardovich Verlinsky celebrates his 60th birthday, and we are glad to dedicate this volume to our dear colleague, an eminent Hellenist and one of the leading figures in the fields of Ancient Greek philosophy and philology.

A. Verlinsky was born in Leningrad and graduated from State Pedagogical Institute in 1980 where he specialized in English history. Due to circumstances beyond his control, A. Verlinsky never was a student of Leningrad State University, and his interest in Classics emerged in a private context. Georgy Stratanovsky, a famous Classicist who has translated into Russian Thucydides and Herodotus, became his first teacher of Greek. A strong impulse to expand his knowledge was given to A. L. by his long-standing participation in the famous extra-curriculum seminar on Plato held by A. I. Zaicev on Saturdays. He also took part in the external seminars of A. K. Gavrilov where they translated and commented upon Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius. At the end of 80s, Verlinsky became a postgraduate student at St. Petersburg Institute of History (Russian Academy of Sciences).

In 1990, when the situation in this country brightened up, A. Verlinsky joined the Department of Classics at St. Petersburg State University where he has been successfully teaching ever since — currently as a Full Professor.

In 1998, A. Verlinsky obtained his Ph. D. degree in Classical philology with a thesis *The origin of language in Democritus' and Epicurus' tradition* supervised by A. Zaicev. Soon, he was awarded an Alexander von Humbolt-Stiftung fellowship and spent that fruitful time at Freie Universität zu Berlin (1998–2000). He continued his scholarly research of ancient language theories at the Centre for Hellenic Studies, Washington DC in 2002–2003. Three years later, A. Verlinsky published a monograph *Ancient Theories of the Origin of Language* (in Russian, with an extensive English summary). This book served as a basis for his thesis of the same name for which A. Verlinsky obtained his D. Sc. degree in Classical Philology (2008).

In addition to subjects mentioned above, A. Verlinsky's wide range of scholarly interests includes various issues of Plato and Aristotle scholarship, as well as the history of Classics in Russia. Once the topic is determined, he always works with total absorption and deep concentration in order to come to the heart of the matter proceeding in an unrushed way and taking advantage of the time to produce a solid piece of research.

A. Verlinsky's carefulness, extensive knowledge, and great erudition make him an excellent university teacher honored and loved by his present and former students. Besides commenting upon Ancient Greek and Latin authors, he currently conducts seminars on Aristotle's *Athenian Politeia*, *Ancient Greek religion and mythology in the 18th century philosophy and science*, not to mention his inspiring seminar for graduate and master students. Being extremely busy with his own research and duties, A. Verlinsky never saves on time (in contrast to Seneca's advice: *tempus tantum nostrum est* (*Epist.* 1, 1)) and is always eager to share it with his younger colleagues and students to give them a piece of advice.

Since its foundation, A. Verlinsky has been a member of the *Bibliotheca Classica Petropolitana* (and its director 2007–2017) deeply involved in the activities of the society.

One of the greatest talents of A. Verlinsky is that of an editor: he has a wonderful ability to grasp the essence of someone's text and to help the author in question to polish it up in a very helpful and unobtrusive way. Among other projects, he is a member of the editorial board of *Hyperboreus* and *Philologia Classica*.

A. Verlinsky's colleagues and students are deeply attached to his amiable and responsive personality. Being very modest and unassuming, he never desires to see his name in print and thus follows, in a way, Epicurus' principle λάθε βιώσας.

Corinth and Ephyra in Simonides' Elegy (fr. 15–16 West, Plut. *De malign*. 872D–E)*

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Plutarch cited Simonides' elegy with toponyms Corinth and Ephyra as proof that Corinthians had participated directly in the battle of Plataea (Plut. *De malign*. 872D–E). Though several places in Greece bore the name Ephyra (Strab. 8, 3, 5), a number of features in Simonides' text allows us to identify Ephyra with Corinth, but the juxtaposition of two names of the same city needs to be explained. On the one hand, Ephyra could denote a territory adjacent to Corinth, but it is difficult to localize it; attempts were made to identify the historical Ephyra with one of the settlements of the Mycenaean period in the vicinity of Corinth (Korakou and Aetopetra). On the other hand, several sources mention the fact that Ephyra could be used as the ancient name for Corinth, and Aristarchus remarked that in Homer Corinth was called Ephyra in the characters' speeches (i. e. by Glaucus); to be sure, in literary texts, and especially in poetry, the toponyms Ephyra and Corinth are virtually interchangeable. It thus seems probable that Simonides mentioned Ephyra as the ancient name of Corinth, implying by the use of this toponym, as well as by the mentioning of Glaucus, that the Corinthians who fought at Plataea were equal in prowess to the Homeric heroes.

Keywords: Simonides, Corinth, Ephyra, battle of Plataea, Acrocorinth, Glaucus, Korakou, Aetopetra.

In his treatise *On the Malice of Herodotus* Plutarch cites Simonides' elegy contesting the historian's account of the battle of Plataea. According to Herodotus (9, 69), Corinthians did not directly take part in the military action:

ἀλλὰ Κορινθίους γε καὶ τάξιν ἣν ἐμάχοντο τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ τέλος ἡλίκον ὑπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἀγῶνος ἔξεστι Σιμωνίδου πυθέσθαι γράφοντος ἐν τούτοις·
μέσσοις δ᾿ οἵ τ᾿ Ἐφύρην πολυπίδακα ναιετάοντες,
παντοίης ἀρετῆς ἴδριες ἐν πολέμῳ,

    οἵ τε πόλιν Γλαύκοιο Κορίνθιον ἄστυ νέμοντες·
    οἵ <?> κάλλιστον μάρτυν ἔθεντο πόνων,
    χρυσοῦ τιμήεντος ἐν αἰθέρι· καί σφιν ἀέξει
    αὐτῶν τ᾿ εὐρεῖαν κληδόνα καὶ πατέρων.

ταῦτα γὰρ οὐ χορὸν ἐν Κορίνθῳ διδάσκων οὐδ᾿ ᾆσμα ποιῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλως δὲ τὰς πράξεις ἐκείνας, ἐλεγείᾳ γράφων, ἱστόρηκεν.

<div align="right">(Plut. De malign. 872D–E Bernardakis; Simon. fr. 15–16 West)</div>

"About the Corinthians, their battle formation against the barbarians, and the consequences for them after the battle of Plataea we can learn from Simonides. He writes:

    'And in the center both the inhabitants of Ephyra with its many springs,
    well acquainted with all sorts of virtue in battle,
    and those who rule Glaucus' town, the Corinthian citadel
    <who> served as the finest witness of their toils
    the precious gold in the sky; this to their benefit will increase
    their own and their fathers' broad fame'.

Simonides has recorded this, neither for a choral production in Corinth nor for a song in honor of the city, but simply writing up these events in elegiacs."

<div align="right">(transl. D. Sider 2001, 22–23)</div>

Simonides asserts that the inhabitants of Corinth and Ephyra did indeed fight at Plataea; the sun itself witnessed their valour. A significant number of corrections has been proposed for the transmitted text.[1] Already Reiske saw that Plutarch must have changed the Homeric form Ἐφύρην to the Attic form Ἐφύραν when citing the fragment. Μέσσοι is an amendment that was proposed earlier by Turnebus (1553), and an improvement in clarity on the transmitted μέσσοις; in a similar vein, O. Poltera has recently proposed μεσσόθι. Should μέσσοις be preserved, it would have to depend on a lost word from the previous verse. M. West accepted νέμοντες instead of νέμονται, following Aldus Manutius. He also formally divided the lines quoted by Plutarch into two fragments of the same elegy (so that verses 1–3 constitute fragment 15, verses 4–6 fragment 16), surmising that οἵ was probably inserted by Plutarch to introduce the next extract from the same elegy by Simonides. The beginning of v. 4. was restored differently: earlier editors joined these two passages and considered οἵ the authentic beginning of v. 4, so that only the following syllable needed to be reconstructed (Hiller reconstructed οἵπερ, Bergk — οἵ καὶ καλλίω; the latter conjecture was accepted by Pearson and Sandbach).[2] Schneidewin reconstructed the beginning of v. 4 as κύκλον without Plutarch's insertion οἵ.[3] Amendments καλλίω and κύκλον explain χρυσοῦ in genetive; without corrections χρυσοῦ is unclear.[4] It is fair-

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[1] Plutarch's text follows Bernardakis' edition, but the poetic fragments are adjusted according to M. L. West's edition (West ²1992, 121–122), followed by D. Sider.

[2] See Hiller 1911, 249; Bergk 1843, 772; Pearson, Sandbach 1970, 120.

[3] Schneidewin 1835, 82. The reader suggested that the initial word of verse 4 might have been πολλοί: this solution would unite two fragments in a coherent text; however, it constitutes a shift in meaning ("many" instead of "which").

[4] Catenacci (2001, 127) explains χρυσοῦ as genetivus materiae.

ly certain that the elegy did not end with fr. 16, 3 West (αὐτῶν τ᾽ εὐρεῖαν κληδόνα καὶ πατέρων).[5]

The juxtaposition of Ἐφύρα, πόλις Γλαύκοιο and Κορίνθιον ἄστυ seems unusual. As Plutarch quoted both fragments of Simonides' elegy when discussing Corinthians' prowess, he must have understood Ephyra as Corinth itself, but the correlation of these expressions is not self-evident because several cities in Greece bore the name "Ephyra" including Corinth. The issue is that in Simonides' fragment Ἐφύρα and πόλις Γλαύκοιο, Κορίνθιον ἄστυ are joined by the coordinating particle τε, and it is logical to assume that they designated different places. This paper will examine the possible interpretations of Ἐφύρα.

To some scholars, Simonides' wording suggested that πόλις Γλαύκοιο and Κορίνθιον ἄστυ designated Acrocorinth (ἄστυ is regularly used for a citadel), while Ἐφύρα πολυπῖδαξ denoted the *chora* of Corinth. F. G. Schneidewin in particular adhered to this interpretation; similarly, C. Catenacci suggested that πόλις Γλαύκοιο, Κορίνθιον ἄστυ could be identified with the remains of a considerable settlement on Acrocorinth dating to the archaic period, the time of Simonides.[6] He assumed that Simonides could be drawing attention to the fact that both the citizens of the city of Corinth and the inhabitants of the chora defended Greece in the battle of Plataea in contrast to the Trojan war, when two Corinthians, Euchenor and Glaucus, fought for the two opposite sides.[7] I. Rutherford's opinion that, on the contrary, Ἐφύρα πολυπῖδαξ must denote Acrocorinth because πολυπῖδαξ had been used by Homer for mount Ida,[8] does not seem convincing.

According to Strabo, four cities, besides a village and an island, were called Ephyra: 1) Corinth itself, 2) a town in Thesprotia, 3) a town in Thessaly, 4) a town on the riverside of the Selleeis:

μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Χελωνάτα καὶ τῆς Κυλλήνης ὅ τε Πηνειὸς ἐκδίδωσι ποταμὸς καὶ ὁ Σελλήεις ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγόμενος, ῥέων ἐκ Φολόης· ἐφ᾽ ᾧ Ἐφύρα πόλις, ἑτέρα τῆς Θεσπρωτικῆς καὶ Θετταλικῆς καὶ τῆς Κορίνθου, τετάρτη τις ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ κειμένη τῇ ἐπὶ τὸν Λασίωνα, ἤτοι ἡ αὐτὴ οὖσα τῇ Βοινώᾳ (τὴν γὰρ Οἰνόην οὕτω καλεῖν εἰώθασιν) ἢ πλησίον ἐκείνης, διέχουσα τῆς Ἠλείων πόλεως σταδίους ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι· ἐξ ἧς ἥ τε Τληπολέμου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι μήτηρ· τὴν ἄγετ᾽ ἐξ Ἐφύρης ποταμοῦ ἄπο Σελλήεντος <…> ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ Σικυῶνα Σελλήεις ποταμὸς καὶ Ἐφύρα πλησίον κώμη, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀγραίᾳ τῆς Αἰτωλίας Ἐφύρα κώμη, οἱ δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς Ἔφυροι· καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ Περραιβῶν πρὸς Μακεδονίᾳ, οἱ Κραννώνιοι, καὶ οἱ Θεσπρωτικοὶ οἱ ἐκ Κιχύρου τῆς πρότερον Ἐφύρας. (Strab. 8, 3, 5, C 338)

"It is between Chelonatas and Cyllene that the river Peneius empties; as also the river Selleeis, which is mentioned by the poet and flows out of Pholoe. On the Selleeis is situated a city Ephyra, which is to be distinguished from the Thesprotian, Thessalian and Corinthian Ephyras; it is the fourth Ephyra situated on the road that leads to Lasion, being either the same city as Boenoa (for thus Oenoe is usually called), or else near that city, at a distance of one hundred and twenty stadia

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[5] The end of this elegy ξεινοδόκων γὰρ ἄριστος ὁ χρυσὸς ἐν αἰθέρι λάμπων in Schneidewin's edition; similarly Bergk, but with ὤριστος instead of ἄριστος. Based on the newly found papyrus (P. Oxy. 3965 fr. 5), M. L. West restored]πολυ[in verse following fr. 16, 3 (in this he is followed by Sider (2001, 22), whereas the verse ξεινοδόκων γὰρ ἄριστος ὁ χρυσὸς ἐν αἰθέρι λάμπων appears in the West's edition as Simon. fr. 12.

[6] Schneidewin 1835, 83; cf. Catenacci 2001, 122.

[7] "…i Corinzi hanno partecipato *ad unum omnes:* sia quelli che abitano le contrade dell' antica Efira sia quelli che popolano l'urbe attorno all' Acrocorinto (ἄστυ Κορίνθιον) <…> Glauco è nome emblematico ed evocativo, tutt' altro che generico, per Corinto e i Corinzi quando si parla della guerra di Troia, come appunto accade nell' elegia per la battaglia di Platea" (Catenacci 2001, 126).

[8] Rutherford 2001, 49.

from the city of the Eleians. This, apparently, is the Ephyra which Homer calls the home of the mother of Tlepolemus, the son of Heracles, when he says: 'Whom he had brought out of Ephyra, from the river Selleeis' <…> But there is another river Selleeis near Sicyon, and near the river a village Ephyra. And in the Agaean district of Aetolia there is a village Ephyra; its inhabitants are called Ephyri. And there are still other Ephyri, I mean the branch of the Perrhaebians who live near Macedonia (the Crannonians), as also those Thesprotian Ephyri of Cichyrus, which in earlier times was called Ephyra."

(transl. H. L. Jones, slightly modified)

Strabo's catalogue of Ephyras consists of two parts, stemming probably from two distinct traditions, partly from Demetrius of Scepsis and partly from Apollodorus of Athens; both scholars are referred to by Strabo himself (Strab. 8, 3, 6). Ephyra is mentioned in Homeric epos seven times (*Il.* 2, 659; 6, 152; 6, 210; 13, 301; 15, 531; *Od.* 1, 260; 2, 328), and it is not always clear which city, Thesprotian or Thessalian, is meant.[9] There were also three rivers called Selleeis,[10] and we know that Apollodorus and Demetrius debated the location of Ephyra on this river (Hom. *Il.* 2, 659; 15, 528–531); Demetrius located it in Elis (in this he is followed by Strabo), Apollodorus, on the other hand, continuing Aristarchus' tradition (see Jacoby 1993, 788 on Apollod. F. gr. Hist. 244, 181) located it in Thesprotia.[11] A contamination of two independent traditions regarding Homeric Ephyra is possible, as both lists mention Thessaly. C. W. Blegen suggested that the second list is an interpolated gloss on the first one and "the village near Sicyon is really a second version of the Corinthian Ephyra mentioned above".[12] However, if the second list of Ephyras was a gloss on the first one, the expression ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ Σικυῶνα Σελλήεις ποταμὸς καὶ Ἐφύρα πλησίον κώμη would correspond to Ἐφύρα πόλις… τῆς Κορίνθου. It is difficult to assert that words κώμη and πόλις designate the same Ephyra. S. Radt also noted that Strabo enumerates cities and villages separately.[13] On the other hand, Strabo mentions both the Ephyra in Sicyonia (the village) and the Corinthian Ephyra (a suburb of Corinth or its ancient name), which is situated in the vicinity of the first, and if he understood Ἐφύρα πόλις… τῆς Κορίνθου as designating the suburb, it may have also been the Ephyra in Sicyonia; in other words, here as well, we might be dealing with a gloss.

Independently of the question whether Strabo viewed Ephyra as the ancient name of Corinth, one of Ephyras mentioned in Strab. 8, 3, 5=C 338, was a village near Sicyon and the other was Corinth itself. The Ephyra mentioned in Simonides' elegy must be one of these cities or villages. What might help us to identify it? According to the text of the fragment, it would have abounded in water (Simonides qualified it as πολυπῖδαξ) and its

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[9] Moreover L. Deroy supposed that Homeric Ephyra was not a real city, connecting this toponym with ζέφυρος (Deroy 1949, 401–402), but the description of Ephyras in the geographical sources allows to localize them.

[10] Rivers with the name Selleeis flow in Thesprotia, in Elis, and in Troad (Honigmann 1923, 1320). Towns and villages named Ephyra were situated in Elis on the Selleeis, in Sicyonia (on the Selleeis, too, according to Strabo), in Thessaly (identified with Crannon), in Epirus (identified with Cichyrus), and also Corinth had a name Ephyra (Philippson 1907, 20–21).

[11] Hom. *Il.* 2, 659: τὴν ἄγετ᾽ ἐξ Ἐφύρης ποταμοῦ ἄπο Σελλήεντος. Like ancient sources, modern commentators place the Homeric Ephyra on the Selleeis in the different regions: Jones (1988, map 9), and Janko (1995, 287) in Elis. G. S. Kirk with reference to Aristarchus (schol. ad *Il.* 2, 659 A Erbse) located this Ephyra in Thesprotia (Kirk 1985, 225). Also Ephyra in Hom. *Od.* 1, 260–263 was identified by Strabo with the one in Elis (Strab. 8, 3, 5) but now is recognized as Thesprotian Ephyra (Heubeck 1990, 108).

[12] Blegen 1923, 159.

[13] Radt 2007, 390–391.

inhabitants would have had a good reputation in war (παντοίης ἀρετῆς ἴδριες ἐν πολέμῳ). While these characteristics may apply to some of the other Ephyras, Plutarch's context implies that he understood it as Corinthian Ephyra.

Indeed, both traits mentioned above would suit Corinth. As for the Corinthians' military prowess, it was known from the *Iliad*, where Euchenor and Glaucus, Corinthian heroes, fought in the battle of Troy, Euchenor on the side of the Achaeans (Hom. *Il.* 13, 663–668), and Glaucus on the side of the Trojans (Hom. *Il.* 6, 144–153). This singular circumstance (two outstanding representatives of one city fighting on different sides of the conflict) was, as L. R. Farnell pointed out, first emphasized by Simonides, and referred to by Pindar,[14] whose words πρὸ Δαρδάνου τειχέων ἐδόκησαν / ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα μαχᾶν τάμνειν τέλος implied both Glaucus and Euchenorus (Pind. *Ol.* 13, 56–57).[15] In addition Pindar noted that Glaucus lived in Lycia (Hom. *Il.* 6, 210), however his ancestors' hometown was Corinth:

> ἐκ Λυκίας δὲ Γλαῦκον ἐλθόντα τρόμεον Δαναοί. τοῖσι μὲν
> ἐξεύχετ᾽ ἐν ἄστεϊ Πειράνας σφετέρου πατρὸς ἀρχὰν
> καὶ βαθὺν κλᾶρον ἔμμεν καὶ μέγαρον.
>
> (Pind. *Ol.* 13, 50–52; 55–62)

"The Danaans trembled before Glaucus who came from Lycia. And to them he boasted that in the city of Peirene were the kingship and rich inheritance and the palace of his father."

(transl. W. H. Race)

Thus, Glaucus was connected with Ephyra (in Homer), with Corinth (in Pindar) and also with Lycia.[16] In Homer Glaucus himself designated his hometown as Ephyra, not Corinth, but the scholiasts understood them as two names of the same city. The issue of the double name for Corinth in poetry will be treated below.

As for the abundance of water (Ἐφύρη πολυπῖδαξ), poets as well as geographers report that Corinth was well supplied with water. In one of his famous epitaphs, also quoted by Plutarch,

Simonides qualifies Corinth as εὔυδρος:

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[14] See Farnell 1965, 95. He cites another Simonides' verse from Aristotle's *Rhetoric*: Κορινθίοις δ᾽ οὐ μέμφεται τὸ Ἴλιον (1363a16 with *varia lectio* οὐ μανίει: PMG Simon. 572). According to Aristotle, Corinthians were insulted by Simonides' hint at their having taken part in the Trojan war on both sides of the conflict. It is tempting to imagine that the laudatory tone of fr. 15–16 West might have been an attempt to appease the Corinthians. C. Catenacci also remarks that the hint at Glaucus in PMG 572 must have been particularly insulting for the Corinthians during the Persian wars ("Un'affermazione equivoca e tendenziosa nel parallelismo tra guerra troiana e guerre persiane e nella temperie di voci non edificanti sulla condotta dei Corinzi a Salamina e Platea" — Catenacci 2001, 124). The fact that Simonides was specifically referring to Glaucus is confirmed by Plutarch (ὁ Σιμωνίδης φησίν, ὦ Σόσσιε Σενεκίων, τοῖς Κορινθίοις οὐ μηνίειν τὸ Ἴλιον ἐπιστρατεύσασι μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὅτι κἀκείνοις οἱ περὶ Γλαῦκον ἐξ ἀρχῆς Κορίνθιοι γεγονότες συνεμάχουν προθύμως…: "Simonides says 'Ilium is not wroth with the Corinthians' for coming up against her with the Achaeans, because the Trojans also had Glaucus, who sprang from Corinth, as a zealous ally", Plut. Dion 1, 1; transl. B. Perrin) and it is quoted in scholia to Pindar (schol. ad *Ol.* 13, 78c).

[15] Gildersleeve 1890, 233.

[16] Modern scholars assume that Glaucus' residence in Lycia reflects the transposition of a Lycian myth to Corinth: thus, L. Malten suggested that the author of the Corinthian epic cycle known as "Eumelus" (see West 2002, 109) may have transferred the myth of Bellerophon to Corinth, although it had originally been connected with Lycia, because Corinth did not have a myth of its own: "Das sagenlose Korinth bereichert sich um einen Mythos, den es aus der *Ilias* entnimmt, mit dem Trick, daß es das dortige Ephyra sich gleichsetzt" (Malten 1944, 8–9; see also Stoevesandt 2008, 60).

ὦ ξένε, εὔυδρόν ποτ᾽ ἐναίομεν ἄστυ Κορίνθου,
νῦν δ᾽ ἄμ᾽ Αἴαντος νᾶσος ἔχει Σαλαμίς. [17]
ἐνθάδε Φοινίσσας νῆας καὶ Πέρσας ἑλόντες
καὶ Μήδους, ἱερὰν Ἑλλάδα ῥυσάμεθα.

<div align="right">(CEG 131; Simon. 157 Schneidewin; 81 Hiller;
Plut. De malign. 870E; Dio Chrys. 20, 18)</div>

"Hail stranger! Once by Corinth's fairest springs we dwelt;
Now Salamis, isle of Ajax, holds our dust.
Phoenician ships we smote here, Medes and Persians felled,
And kept the holy land of Hellas free."

<div align="right">(transl. L. Pearson, F. H. Sandbach)[18]</div>

How well Corinth was supplied with water may be seen from Pausanias, who lists numerous springs of the city (Paus. 2, 3, 5). The most celebrated among them was, of course, Peirene, which came to be seen as almost the "heart" of the city: thus, in the victory ode quoted above, Pindar calls Corinth ἄστυ Πειράνας (Pind. *Ol.* 13, 61); in the Delphic oracle, quoted by Herodotus, Peirene is the main feature of Corinth (…Κορίνθιοι, οἳ περὶ καλήν / Πειρήνην οἰκεῖτε καὶ ὀφρυόεντα Κόρινθον — Hdt. 5, 92B: "Corinthians, you who dwell by lovely Pirene and the overhanging heights of Corinth" — transl. A. D. Godley). Strabo discusses the stream of Peirene and explains Euripides' epithet περίκλυστος Ἀκροκόρινθος (Eur. fr. 1084 Nauck) as 'washed on all sides' in the depths round the mountain (Strab. 8, 6, 21, C 379).[19] Strabo clearly refers to the Upper Peirene, the spring at Acrocorinth. Another spring bearing the same name surfaces outside the walls of Acrocorinth. It was described by Pausanias (Paus. 2, 5, 1), who supposed that both Peirenes, the upper and the inferior one, flowed from the same underground river.[20]

Thus, seeing that Corinth abounded in water and its inhabitants were famous for valour, it is natural to understand Simonides' Ephyra as denoting Corinth. More specifically, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Ἐφύρη πολυπῖδαξ might denote Acrocorinth. However, the exact relationship between the two toponyms in the poem remains unclear.

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[17] Metonymical designation of a city by its outstanding hero (or eponym) is frequent in Homer (*Il.* 2, 332; 2, 677; 11, 682; 14, 230; 17, 191) and the practice continued in elegies (Mimn. fr. 9, 1), tragedy (Eur. fr. 228, 6) and in epigrams (*AP* 7, 708). This type of designation became particularly widespread in sepulchral epigrams, where the native city of the deceased had to be mentioned alongside his name (*AP* 7, 24; 7, 78; 7, 81 etc).

[18] Plutarch referred to Simonides' epigram in order to demonstrate that Corinthians actively participated in the Persian wars, but Pearson and Sandbach suggested that this inscription may commemorate an earlier expedition to Salamis, as the lettering can be dated to the period before 600 B. C. (Pearson, Sandbach 1970, 107). A. Petrovic dates this epigram to the period after 480 B. C., characterizing the lettering as archaizing ("die Schrift scheint deswegen eine absichtlich archaisierte Variante der korinthischen Schrift" — Petrovic 2007, 145). O. Hansen supposed that the epigram might have been authored by Solon and that Simonides supplemented it (Hansen 1991, 206–207). For our purposes, however, it is important that, whatever its authorship and date, this epigram characterized Corinth as abounding in water.

[19] Radt disagrees with this explanation preferring to connect περίκλυστον with the two gulfs, Corinthian and Saronic, that wash the shores of Corinthia (cf. *bimaris Corinthus* — Hor. *Carm.* 1, 7, 2; Ov. *Fast.* 4, 501). This version seems to contradict Euripides, who described not Corinth as the whole city, but specifically Acrocorinth (ἱερὸν ὄχθον).

[20] This idea was denied by S. Radt (2007, 485) and B. H. Hill (1964, 4).

Ancient scholars, as early as Aristarchus, remarked that Homer used the name Κόρινθος in his narrative (*Il.* 2, 570; 13, 664), whereas Ἐφύρη was reserved for character's speech; thus, it is used twice (*Il.* 6, 152; 210) by Glaucus in address to Diomedes:

> ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη μυχῷ Ἄργεος ἱπποβότοιο,
> ἔνθα δὲ Σίσυφος ἔσκεν, ὃ κέρδιστος γένετ᾽ ἀνδρῶν.

<div align="right">(Il. 6, 152–153)</div>

"There is a city Ephyra in a corner of Argos, pastureland of horses, and there dwelt Sisyphus who was craftiest of men (transl. A. T. Murray).

The scholiast remarks on this passage:

ὅτι Ἐφύρην τὴν Κόρινθον ἐξ ἡρωϊκοῦ προσώπου εἶπεν (schol. A ad *Il.* 6, 152)

"That he called Corinth Ephyra when speaking through the heroic character's mouth".[21]

The idea became popular with Roman scholars, cf. in particular Velleius Paterculus:

Paulo ante Aletes (…) Corinthum, quae antea fuerat Ephyre, claustra Peloponnesi continentem, in Isthmo condidit. Neque est quod miremur ab Homero nominari Corinthum; nam ex persona poetae et hanc urbem et quasdam Ionum colonias iis nominibus appellat, quibus vocabantur aetate eius, multo post Ilium captum conditae (Vell. Pat. 1, 3, 3).

"Shortly before these events Aletes (…) founded upon the Isthmus the city of Corinth, the key to the Peloponnesus, on the site of the former Ephyra. There is no need for surprise that Corinth is mentioned by Homer, for it is in his own person as poet that Homer calls this city and some of the Ionian colonies by the names which they bore in his day, although they were founded long after the capture of Troy" (Trans. F. W. Shipley).

Velleius Paterculus may have found the definition of Ephyra as the ancient name for Corinth in geographical treatises, where the identification appeared regularly. Thus, Pliny mentioned Ephyra as the ancient name of Corinth:

In medio hoc intervallo, quod Isthmon appellavimus, adplicata colli habitatur colonia Corinthus, antea Ephyra dicta, sexagenis ab utroque litore stadiis, e summa sua arce, quae vocatur Acrocorinthos, in qua fons Pirene, diversa duo maria prospectans. (Plin. *HN* 4, 6).

"In the middle of this neck of land which we have called the Isthmus is the colony of Corinth, the former name of which was Ephyra; its habitations cling to the side of a hill, seven and half miles from the coast on either side, and the top of its citadel, called Acrocorinth, on which is the spring of Pirene, commands views of the two seas in opposite directions."

<div align="right">(transl. H. Rackham).</div>

This remark probably goes back to Pausanias (2, 1, 1), but unlike Pliny, Pausanias spoke of Corinthia (Κορίνθια), calling Ephyraea (Ἐφυραία) the whole region. Pausanias was drawing not on a scholarly source, but on a certain "Eumelus" (fr. 4 Bernabé), whose poem *Corinthiaca* he summarized:

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[21] This remark was later included in Eustathius' commentary on the *Iliad*: σημειοῦνται δὲ οἱ παλαιοί, ὅτι τὴν Κόρινθον, ἡνίκα ἡρωϊκόν ἐστι τὸ λαλοῦν πρόσωπον, Ἐφύρην καλεῖ — Eust. *ad Il.* 2, 570, van der Valk I, 448.

ἡ δὲ Κορινθία χώρα μοῖρα οὖσα τῆς Ἀργείας ἀπὸ Κορίνθου τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκε (…) Εὔμηλος δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιλύτου τῶν Βακχιδῶν καλουμένων, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἔπη λέγεται ποιῆσαι, φησὶν ἐν τῇ Κορινθίᾳ συγγραφῇ—εἰ δὲ Εὐμήλου γε ἡ συγγραφή—Ἐφύραν Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατέρα οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ (…) καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σικυῶνος τὴν Ἀσωπίαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τὴν Ἐφυραίαν μετονομασθῆναι (Paus. 2, 1, 1).

"The Corinthian land is a portion of the Argive, and is named after Corinthus (…) Eumelus, the son of Amphilytus, of the family called Bacchidae, who is said to have composed the epic poem, says in his *Corinthian history* (if indeed the history be his) that Ephyra, the daughter of Oceanus, dwelt first in this land (…) and that Asopia was renamed after Sicyon, and Ephyraea after Corinthus" (transl. W. H. S. Jones).

Pausanias reports that a region was named after Ephyra, the daughter of Epimetheus, but "Eumelus" would have probably called the city of Corinth so as well.[22] The use of the toponym Ephyra instead of Corinth can be found in poetic contexts, both Greek and Latin. In Ovid (*Met.* 7, 391–392) Medea reaches Ephyra (*scil.* Corinth). Similarly, Ephyra was used as a poetic substitute for Corinth in Callimachus (*Hymn* 4, 42), and in an epigram by Agathius Scholasticus (*AP* 7, 220). And in another passage of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Ephyra appears both as a toponym and as the name of the eponym nymph: *quaerit Beotia Dircen, / Argos Amymonen, Ephyre Pirenidas undas* (Ov. *Met.* 2, 239–240).

Thus, in poetry the name Ephyra was regularly used to designate Corinth; there is in fact an interesting example of such usage in a relatively late Corinthian elegiac inscription:

στῆσε δὲ μ᾽ εἰν Ἐφύρ[ῃ] Πιρηνίδος ἀγχ[ὶ ῥεέθρων] / τῇδε Σεκου[νδ (IG IV, 1604)

"…put me up so in Ephyra near the stream of Peirene Secundinus".

The name Σεκου[νδεῖνος] restored by B. D. Meritt clearly shows that the inscription must be dated to Roman times.[23] The choice of the poetic and archaizing toponym Ephyra, unusual for epigraphic sources, for Corinth, reinforces the general solemnity of the inscription, although it may also be due to metrical considerations.

Origially, Ephyra and Corinth would have denoted different places. In the *Iliad* Ephyra is described as situated μυχῷ Ἄργεος ἱπποβότοιο (*Il.* 6, 152). The expression μυχῷ Ἄργεος occurs twice in Homer, in *Od.* 3, 263 denoting the city of Argos. The word μυχῷ in *Il.* 6, 152 suggests that location of the city was at a certain distance from the shore, but Corinth is situated on the two gulfs. In fact, the location of Argos is not obvious here and it was interpreted differently in the scholia: Ἄργος ἱππόβοτος was placed by Aristonicus following Aristarchus in Peloponnesus, and by other scholiast — in Thessaly (schol. bT).[24] According to Strabo, there was Ephyra in Thessaly, that was identified with Crannon,

[22] Ἐφύρα ἡ Κόρινθος, ἀπὸ Ἐφύρας τῆς Ἐπιμηθέως θυγατρός· Εὔμηλος δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐφύρας τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος, γυναικὸς δὲ γενομένης Ἐπιμηθέως: "Ephyra is Corinth, named after Ephyra, the daughter of Epimetheus; but Eumelus said, that after Ephyra, the daughter of Ocean and Tethys, who became the wife of Epimetheus" (Eum. fr. 1 Bernabé=Schol. in Ap. Rhod. 4, 1212–14b). The myth about Ephyra is also known from Hyginus: *Ephyre nympha Oceani filia Ephyren [condidit], quam postea Corinthum appellarunt* (Hyg. *Fab.* 275): "The nymph Ephyre, daughter of Ocean, founded Ephyre, which was later named Corinth".
[23] Meritt 1931, 66.
[24] Ἄργος δὲ ἱππόβοτον τὴν Πελοπόννησον καλεῖ, τὴν δὲ Θετταλίαν Ἄργος Πελασγικόν (schol. A ad *Il.* 6, 152). Also ἄμεινον δὲ Ἄργος ἱππόβοτον τὴν Θεσσαλίαν λέγειν (schol. bT ad *Il.* 3, 258).

whose location on the plain of Larissa suits the expression μυχῷ Ἄργεος better (Strab. 9, 5, 6). Thus, W. Leaf assumed that myth about Bellerophon recounted by Glaucus (Hom. *Il.* 6, 155–211), referring to a certain Ephyra, came from Thessaly, and only later was transposed to Corinth.[25] However, the scholiast (scholium A *ad loc.*) remarked that the epithet Ἄργος ἱππόβοτος denoted Peloponnesian Argos that could be taken metonymically: W. Leaf in addition to the Thessalian Ephyra, proposed another solution, as the expression μυχῷ Ἄργεος should be taken to mean "in a corner of Peloponnesus"; thus, Ephyra would be situated near Corinth. [26] Finally, μυχῷ Ἄργεος can be taken in the broad sense as "in the heart of Greece". According to Stephanus of Byzantium, μυχῷ Ἄργεος should be understood here as "in the heart of Greece", as Argos means the realm of Agamemnon (*Il.* 1, 30; 2, 108; 13, 379) and may imply the Peloponnesus and the whole Greece. Similarly B. Graziosi and J. Haubold thought that the expression referred to Glaucus' hometown in Greece, i. e. that for the hero, while at Troy, Ephyra seemed very far away, so that speaking about it he imagined it as situated in the very heart of Greece.[27]

As Ephyra was suggested to be situated in the vicinity of Corinth, there have been attempts to identify it with the remnants of the settlements near the city. P. Monceaux placed Ephyra near the sanctuary of Poseidon on the Isthmus; this version was not accepted by other scholars.[28] Thus, W. Leaf and C. W. Blegen were debating on Korakou and Aetopetra: Leaf placed Ephyra of Glaucus in Sicyonia (it was his third suggestion about location of Homeric Ephyra), identifying the citadel of Aetopetra with Ephyra and the river Longopotamos with the Selleeis (Aetopetra is situated 3 km. to the west from ancient Corinth and about 13 km. from Sicyon).[29] C. W. Blegen initially identified Ephyra with Korakou in the vicinity of Lechaeum, 4 km. to the northeast from ancient Corinth, however, two years later, in a discussion with Leaf, he admitted that Aetopetra as well as Corinth itself, could also be the Homeric Ephyra, and that "the exact situation may indeed never be identified".[30] A. Philippson referring to C. Blegen does not specify the location of Ephyra, but suggests that it may have been the part of Corinth.[31] Other scholars are more cautious: R. J. A. Talbert does not indicate Corinthian Ephyra on the map in the Barrington Atlas,

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[25] Leaf 1900, 268. R. Drews also believes that "Ephyre of the Bellerophon story was originally either Aetolian or Thessalian Ephyre", and that Ephyra could not be the ancient name of Corinth, because Κόρινθος "seems to be one of the oldest place-names in Greece" (Drews 1979, 122). The suffix -ινθ- shows the pre-Greek origin of this toponym (Lenschau 1924, 1010). On the other hand, G. S. Kirk in his commentary on this passage (Hom. *Il.* 6, 152) notes only that Ephyra was the old name of Corinth, without remarking on the possible transfer of toponym (Kirk 1990, 177).

[26] Leaf 1900, 268. B. Mader shares Leaf's opinion about the transfer of the toponym from Ephyra, situated near Corinth, to Corinth itself (Mader in LfgrE, Lief. XIV, 1489 (s. v. Κόρινθος). Autenrieth also understood Argos in *Il.* 6, 152 as *pars pro toto* for Peloponnesus (1904, 52 s. v. Ἄργος).

[27] …ἠγνόησε δ᾽ ὅτι μυχὸς ἡ Κόρινθός ἐστι Γλαύκῳ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς οἰκοῦντι ὡς ἂν τῆς Εὐρώπης οὖσα δυτικωτάτη — Steph. Byz. *Ethnica* 290, 7 s. v. Ἐφύρα. Cf. Graziosi, Haubold 2010, 119.

[28] "Ces changements de nom cachent… la substitution des Doriens aux Ioniens" (Monceaux 1885, 406). Cf. "the cuttings in the rock described by Monceaux appear to date from the occupation of the site in the early classical period" (Fowler, Blegen 1932, 112).

[29] Leaf 1923, 155.

[30] Blegen 1923, 162–163. A type of ware found in Korakou was dubbed "Ephyraean", as Blegen supposed that Korakou "may perhaps be the Homeric Ephyra" (Blegen 1921, 54); this term is used to this day. Blegen's identification of Ephyra with Korakou is so far the best established identification (Dunbabin 1948, 60; Catenacci 2001, 121). About Aetopetra and Korakou see Blegen 1920, 3–5.

[31] „Doch scheint zuerst die Unterstadt an dem Nordfuß des Berges auf den beiden oberen Terrassen entstanden zu sein" (Philippson 1959, 84).

and the Basel commentary on the *Iliad* states that it is located somewhere in the northeast of Peloponnesus.[32]

If we compare these suggestions with literary sources, both Aetopetra and Korakou are situated near ancient Corinth and could in fact be identified with Ephyra: Aetopetra would have suited the expression ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ Σικυῶνα Σελλήεις ποταμὸς καὶ Ἐφύρα πλησίον κώμη better, while Korakou would have corresponded to Ἐφύρα πόλις… τῆς Κορίνθου (Strab. 8, 3, 5), if Strabo, or rather his sources, had known these Mycenaean settlements. As for Glaucus' hometown Ephyra, situated as Homer says μυχῷ Ἄργεος, it is difficult to choose between Korakou or Aetopetra: according to Homer only, Aetopetra, which is more distant from the shore, suits better; Strabo seems to mention both Korakou (Ἐφύρα πόλις… τῆς Κορίνθου) and Aetopetra (ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ Σικυῶνα Σελλήεις ποταμὸς καὶ Ἐφύρα πλησίον κώμη); or Korakou/Aetopetra meaning Ἐφύρα πόλις… τῆς Κορίνθου and another unidentified Ephyra on the Selleeis in the vicinity of Sicyon.

Finally, it is impossible to be certain which of these places "Eumelus" meant when he identified Ephyra with Corinth. It was thus that Ephyra began its literary existence independently of the original historical Ephyra.

The exact location of Simonides' Ἐφύρα πολυπῖδαξ cannot be identified solely on the basis of the verses cited by Plutarch. The word ἄστυ as well as πόλις can be applied both to a fortress and to the whole city,[33] and given that both Acrocorinth and Corinth abounded in water, πόλις Γλαύκοιο, Κορίνθιον ἄστυ and Ἐφύρα πολυπῖδαξ should not necessarily be opposed (cf. Pindar's expression ἄστυ Πειράνας that can refer to either). Pausanias' testimony on the Ephyraea cannot be used to corroborate the idea that Κορίνθιον ἄστυ denoted Acrocorinth, and Ephyra the chora of Corinth: he calls the region Ἐφυραία, so that the city's name would be Ἐφύρα. It is remarkable that Pliny identified Ephyra not with Acrocorinth but with the whole of Corinth; in other words, for him Ephyra included both the town and the citadel.

Naturally, the possibility that Simonides might have been opposing the city of Corinth and its suburban territories cannot be fully excluded, but C. Catenacci is surely right in attaching greater importance to the chronological distinction.[34] The toponyms Corinth and Ephyra in Simonides' elegy must be interpreted as referring not to a fortified center and a suburb (or chora) but to the ancient name of Corinth and the name used in the times of Simonides. The context in which Simonides' verses appear shows that Plutarch considered citizens of historical Corinth to be descendants of Ephyrians, who share the same reputation for courage on the battlefield. According to Simonides, Corinthians had shown their valour in the Trojan war, and thus πόλις Γλαύκοιο, Ἐφύρα and the Homeric epithet πολυπῖδαξ all serve to emphasize similar heroism displayed by contemporary Corinthians in the battle of Plataea. Furthermore, establishing a link between the toponyms Ἐφύρα, Κορίνθιον ἄστυ and the figure of Glaucus, Simonides stresses that he is speaking of the inhabitants of the same city, but in different ages, perhaps also alluding more specifically

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[32] Talbert 2000, 58. Stoevesandt 2008, 61.
[33] Euvals, Voigt in LfgrE, Lief. VIII, 1453 (s. v. ἄστυ); Schmidt in LfgrE, Lief. XX, 1364 (s. v. πόλις).
[34] "Una partecipazione unitaria che fuga le ombre che dal passato epico si proiettano per i Corinzi sul passato recentissimo delle guerre persiane" (Catenacci 2001, 126); "Negli anni della vittoria sui Persiani, viene inaugurata la rilettura della guerra di Troia come precedente paradigmatico dello scontro tra Greci e Persiani, all' interno della contrapposizione antica tra Europa e Asia (*idem*, 124).

in his description of Ephyrians' valour (παντοίης ἀρετῆς ἴδριες ἐν πολέμῳ) to Glaucus'
speech in Homer:

πέμπε δέ μ᾿ ἐς Τροίην, καί μοι μάλα πόλλ᾿ ἐπέτελλεν
αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων,
μηδὲ γένος πατέρων αἰσχυνέμεν, οἳ μέγ᾿ ἄριστοι
ἔν τ᾿ Ἐφύρῃ ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐν Λυκίῃ εὐρείῃ.

<div align="right">(Il. 6, 207–210)</div>

"He [*scil.* Hippolochus] sent me to Troy and straightly charged me ever to be bravest and preem-
inent above all, and not bring shame upon the race of my fathers, that were far the noblest in
Ephyre and in wide Lycia." (transl. A. T. Murray)

Thus, the juxtaposition of πόλις Γλαύκοιο, Κορίνθιον ἄστυ and Ἐφύρα πολυπῖδαξ in
Simonides serves above all to create an association with Homeric epics and not to refer to
geographical or historical *realia*. The presence of both Ephyra and Corinth in Simonides'
elegiac fragment emphasizes the idea of continuity, suggesting that to the poet contem-
porary Corinthians, judging by their bravery in the battle of Plataea, appeared as worthy
successors of Homeric heroes.

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Le Sirene e l'Arte culinaria

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The present contribution examines the relationship between ancient Greek comic poets, who worked in different periods and cultural contexts. The study considers the specific case that binds Epicharmus (Syracuse, 5th century BC), Nikophon (Athens, 5th century BC) and Hegesippus (native of Taras, 3rd century BC). The comparison of fragmentary texts casts new light on the connection between these authors, highlighting the reuse of subjects previously known and developed. The main part of this work analyses a long fragment from Hegesippus, where a boastful chef compares his own culinary skills to the seduction technique of the Homeric Sirens. The juxtaposition of these monstrous beings with food is not only a parody of Homer and does not constitute a new image in the Greek comic literature. Instead, it seems to be part of a shared repertoire, since it was used by Epicharmus and Nikophon two centuries earlier. It is therefore possible that the ancient Greek comic poets had at their disposal a number of models and situations already tested and deemed good for the success of the pieces. The paper considers the importance of Epicharmus' image and examines the function of the Homeric parody as well as the meanings that it conveys. Hegesippus refers to this subject with an allusion which should be easily understood by his audience.

Keywords: Hegesyppus, Epicharmus, Nikophon, Sirens, Greek comedy, a boastful chef, ancient Greek culinary art.

{ΣΥ.} βέλτιστε, πολλοῖς πολλὰ περὶ μαγειρικῆς
εἰρημέν' ἐστιν· ἢ λέγων φαίνου τι δὴ
καινὸν παρὰ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν ἢ μὴ κόπτε με.
{Α.} οὐκ ἀλλὰ τὸ πέρας τῆς μαγειρικῆς, Σύρε,
5 εὑρηκέναι πάντων νόμιζε μόνον ἐμέ.
οὐ γὰρ παρέργως ἔμαθον ἐν ἔτεσιν δυεῖν
ἔχων περίζωμ', ἀλλ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον
ζητῶν κατὰ μέρη τὴν τέχνην ἐξήτακα·
εἴδη λαχάνων ὅσ' ἐστί, βεμβράδων τρόπους,
10 φακῆς γένη παντοδαπά. τὸ πέρας σοι λέγω·
ὅταν ἐν περιδείπνῳ τυγχάνω διακονῶν,
ἐπὰν τάχιστ' ἔλθωσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς,
τὰ βάπτ' ἔχοντες, τοὐπίθημα τῆς χύτρας
ἀφελὼν ἐποίησα τοὺς δακρύοντας γελᾶν.
15 τοιοῦτος ἔνδοθέν τις ἐν τῷ σώματι
διέδραμε γαργαλισμὸς ὡς ὄντων γάμων.
{ΣΥ.} φακὴν παρατιθεὶς, εἰπέ μοι, καὶ βεμβράδας;
{Α.} τὰ πάρεργά μου ταῦτ' ἔστιν. ἢν δὲ δὴ λάβω

τὰ δέοντα, καὶ τοὐπτάνιον ἁρμόσωμ' ἅπαξ,
20 ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθε Σειρήνων, Σύρε,
ἐγένετο, καὶ νῦν ταὐτὸ τοῦτ' ὄψει πάλιν.
ὑπὸ τῆς γὰρ ὀσμῆς οὐδὲ εἷς δυνήσεται
ἁπλῶς διελθεῖν τὸν στενωπὸν τουτονί·
ὁ δὲ παριὼν πᾶς εὐθέως πρὸς τὴν θύραν
25 ἑστήξετ' ἀχανής, προσπεπατταλευμένος,
ἄφωνος, ἄχρι ἂν τῶν φίλων βεβυσμένος
τὴν ῥῖν' ἕτερός τις προσδραμὼν ἀποσπάσῃ.
{ΣΥ.}μέγας εἶ τεχνίτης. {Α.} ἀγνοεῖς πρὸς ὃν λαλεῖς·
πολλοὺς ἐγὼ σφόδρ' οἶδα τῶν καθημένων,
30 οἳ καταβεβρώκασ' ἕνεκ' ἐμοῦ τὰς οὐσίας.

(Hegesipp. *fr.* 1 K.-A.)

{Sir.} «Mio caro, tanto è stato detto da molti a proposito dell'arte culinaria: o mi mostri, parlando, qualcosa di nuovo oltre a quello che sapevo prima, oppure smettila di scocciarmi». {A.} «No ma, credimi, Siro, io solo tra tutti (5) ho raggiunto la perfezione nell'arte culinaria. Non l'ho imparato per caso in due anni portando il grembiule, ma per tutta la vita ho ricercato e indagato attentamente l'arte in tutti i suoi elementi: quali sono le apparenze delle verdure, le qualità di acciughe, (10) i diversi tipi di zuppa di lenticchie. La perfezione, ti dico; quando mi capitò di servire ad una festa funebre, non appena i parenti tornarono dal funerale con i vestiti neri, sollevando il coperchio della pentola, feci ridere quelli che prima piangevano. (15) Un tale solletico si diffuse nei loro corpi dal di dentro, come se fossero stati ad un matrimonio». {Sir.} «Dimmi, hai servito zuppa di lenticchie e acciughe?» {A.} «Questi qua sono dettagli per me. Se ho la possibilità di prendere quello che serve e organizzare la cucina una volta per tutte, (20) allora vedrai ancora, Siro, la stessa situazione che avvenne davanti alle Sirene. E con un odore simile, nessuno potrà attraversare semplicemente questo stretto qui; uno, avvicinandosi tutto immediatamente alla porta, (25) resterà immobile a bocca aperta, bloccato, in silenzio, finché un altro degli amici, tappandosi il naso, non si precipiti a portarlo via». {Sir.} «Sei veramente un grande esperto». {A.} «Tu non sai con chi stai parlando; conosco benissimo molti del pubblico che si sono mangiati le loro sostanze a causa mia».

Ai versi 20–21 il cuoco fa riferimento alle Sirene e mette in relazione le proprie competenze artistico-culinarie con l'attitudine dei mostri marini ad attirare i navigatori di passaggio. In questo brano comico, alcuni elementi sono particolarmente interessanti e utili per una migliore comprensione del paragone:

Il cuoco precisa che il suo talento è la conseguenza di un duro lavoro ripartito su diversi anni (almeno più di due anni, come dimostra il v. 6). Questa dichiarazione, associata ad una critica velata ai presunti *mageiroi*, si ritrova anche nel fr. 1 K.-A. di Sosipatro, nel quale un cuoco annuncia che un vero *mageiros* è tale soltanto se ha appreso l'arte culinaria fin dall'infanzia (v. 7: ἐκ παιδὸς ὀρθῶς εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμ' εἰσηγμένον). Sembra infatti che un giovane non potesse diventare cuoco rapidamente se non in casi eccezionali: a questo proposito, nel fr. 1 K.-A. di Eufrone, un cuoco si compiace dei risultati ottenuti dal suo allievo Lico, che è divenuto uno specialista della cucina dopo soli dieci mesi (vv. 3–4: ἄπει γεγονὼς μάγειρος ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας / ἐν οὐχ ὅλοις δέκα μησί, πολὺ νεώτατος).

Le parole del cuoco di Egesippo trovano quindi conferma nei discorsi di altri cuochi protagonisti della commedia greca di III secolo a. C. L'esperienza pluriennale da lui ostentata contrasta però con gli esempi di cibi scelti per dimostrare la propria conoscenza in campo culinario: le verdure, le lenticchie e i piccoli pesci come le acciughe non sono certo

le migliori prove che un cuoco può dare della propria arte.[1] I *mageiroi* comici, infatti, preferiscono dedicarsi soprattutto alla preparazione di piatti a base di pesci costosi e prelibati con cui stupire gli ospiti.[2] Tuttavia, la scelta di alimenti ordinari contribuisce alla vanteria del cuoco poiché, se egli è riuscito a modificare completamente un pasto utilizzando solo ingredienti poveri, di conseguenza sarà in grado di fare cose eccezionali con degli alimenti pregiati.

Il cuoco dà prova di competenza culinaria narrando in maniera retorica[3] una circostanza che gli è capitata. Egli racconta di essere riuscito a rendere allegro un momento triste quale il banchetto funebre cucinando dei legumi: il rumore della zuppa di lenticchie, infatti, ha suscitato il riso negli ospiti e li ha rasserenati come se si fossero trovati ad un matrimonio. Questa storia, che il cuoco include nel suo discorso, non è funzionale ad altro che a dimostrare la sua abilità con gli alimenti. C'è naturalmente qualcosa di esagerato nelle sue parole (tanto che la risposta di Siro al v. 28, "Sei veramente un grande esperto", potrebbe avere un valore ironico) ma tutto ciò fa parte della vanagloria tipica del personaggio. Anche gli ultimi tre versi del frammento perseguono lo stesso obiettivo, vale a dire sottolineare la bravura del cuoco, che ha condotto alla rovina molti spettatori tra il pubblico.[4] Per raggiungere la perfezione in cucina bisogna dunque conoscere i gusti e i gradimenti dei clienti o degli ospiti, come dimostra anche Posidippo nel fr. 28 K.-A. ai vv. 16–18:

> καὶ τὰ στόμια γίνωσκε τῶν κεκλημένων·
> ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰς τἀμπόρια, τῆς τέχνης πέρας
> τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν, ἂν εὖ προσδράμῃς πρὸς τὸ στόμα.

«E impara a conoscere i gusti dei commensali; questa è la perfezione dell'arte, quando tu navighi bene in una bocca come in un porto commerciale.»

Dopo aver lodato le proprie capacità gastronomiche, il cuoco di Egesippo si paragona alle Sirene nei vv. 20–27 del frammento. Il confronto tra la sua abilità e quella delle Sirene si spiega innanzitutto con la vanteria caratteristica del personaggio. Il cuoco comico di III secolo a. C. non ha paura di mettersi allo stesso livello degli esseri mitici dei quali è noto il potere persuasivo: a suo dire, l'odore dei piatti cucinati produce lo stesso effetto sugli uomini di quello che il canto delle Sirene aveva sui marinai di passaggio. Il profumo delle

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[1] Le verdure costituiscono uno degli elementi base della dieta quotidiana e, proprio in virtù della loro grande diffusione a tutti i livelli sociali, diventano simbolo di povertà in commedia: cf. ad esempio Alex. fr. 167 K.-A., Polioc. fr. 2 e Antiph. fr. 225 K.-A. Allo stesso modo, la zuppa di lenticchie (φακῆ) è ben conosciuta in ambito comico greco, dove è considerata un piatto modesto: cf. Pherecr. fr. 26 K.-A., Ar. *Pl.* 1004 e fr. 23 K.-A., Stratt. fr. 47 K.-A. e Diphil. fr. 42 K.-A. Infine le acciughe (βεμβράδες), come in generale il pesce di piccola taglia, sono ritenute un alimento adatto alle fasce più povere della popolazione: il loro prezzo è accessibile anche ai non abbienti e il gusto non particolarmente ricercato fa sì che i ricchi le scartino per altre specie più costose e raffinate: cf. Aristom. fr. 7 K.-A., Ariston. fr. 2 K.-A.

[2] Su questo argomento, cf. Wilkins 2000, 257–311 e in particolare pp. 293–303, che sono dedicate al pesce come alimento di lusso in commedia. Cf. anche Davidson 1993, 54, il quale mostra come il pesce fosse elemento di discriminazione sociale tra chi poteva permetterselo e chi non era in grado di comprarlo.

[3] A suonare retorica è soprattutto la formula οὐ γὰρ παρέργως… ἀλλά…, per cui cf. Men. *Sam.* 638 e fr. 397,6.

[4] A questo proposito, Wilkins 2000, 393 nota: "his mention of running through their money presumably indicates that rich members of the audience are at risk from his full repertoire in the kitchen. This is a notable development, for in the many excesses of the fish-loving elite […] the audience itself was not normally prey to ruinous consumption that extended beyond fish to their own property."

sue pietanze sarebbe dunque tale che chiunque passasse davanti alla sua cucina o all'uscio di casa non avrebbe saputo resistere alla tentazione e sarebbe rimasto fermo ad annusare, come fosse incantato.[5] Nel testo di Egesippo è presente dunque una parodia[6] dell'episodio omerico, soprattutto se si considera che un momento di vita quotidiana viene descritto attraverso una scena a carattere epico ed eroico come quella delle Sirene. Gli stessi testimoni che trasmettono il frammento di Egesippo (Athen. 8, 290b–e ed Eust. *in Od.* p. 1709, 59) attribuiscono grande importanza al paragone da lui istituito tra il cuoco e le Sirene. Da una parte, Ateneo (o, meglio, uno dei dotti a banchetto) mette in luce l'affinità delle due arti: dopo aver citato il frammento di Egesippo, infatti, egli sottolinea la somiglianza tra questo cuoco e le Celedoni di Pindaro (*Pae.* 8, 68–79), creature mitiche che, come le Sirene, fanno sì che chi le ascolta si consumi nel piacere. D'altra parte, Eustazio ricorda come l'abilità e la raffinatezza nel parlare accomunino il cuoco di Egesippo e le Sirene dei racconti mitici (Ἀθήναιος δὲ παραφέρει μάγειρόν τινα ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὰς Σειρῆνας μύθου ἀστεϊζόμενον οὕτως […]).

La parodia del testo omerico sembra trovarsi anche a livello lessicale: analizzando le parole scelte dal cuoco di Egesippo, si nota l'uso dell'espressione τὸν στενωπὸν τουτονί, 'questo stretto qui', nella quale στενωπός potrebbe essere di derivazione epica. Omero usa il termine in *Od.* 12, 234 per descrivere lo Stretto di Messina, ai lati del quale abitano rispettivamente Scilla e Cariddi, che Odisseo affronterà con molta difficoltà; invece, il cuoco comico impiega il termine riferendosi verosimilmente al proprio uscio o al vicolo di fronte alla porta di casa[7] e ciò che gli interessa è far capire il 'rischio' che si corre a passarci vicino.[8] Egesippo sembra quindi giocare con la parodia su più livelli, riprendendo ed elaborando sia il contenuto che la lingua del testo omerico.

Tuttavia, il paragone stabilito dal cuoco comico potrebbe avere anche una seconda spiegazione, meno evidente e non necessariamente alternativa a quella della parodia omerica ma in dialogo con essa. Il legame tra le Sirene e il cibo, infatti, non è nuovo nel mondo della commedia greca. Si conoscono tre drammi intitolati *Sirene*, nei quali l'alimentazione gioca un ruolo di primo piano: il più antico è quello di Epicarmo (Sicilia, VI–V secolo a.C.), seguito da quello di Nicofonte e di Teopompo (Atene, V secolo a.C.). Tutte e tre queste commedie ci sono pervenute in frammenti e i loro testi hanno dimensioni talmente ridotte da rendere impossibile una restituzione della trama originale. Tuttavia, è abbastanza evidente che le Sirene comiche non persuadono più attraverso la loro voce melodiosa ma attirano i naviganti con il cibo. È il caso del frammento 122 K.-A. di Epicarmo:

> πρῴ μέν γ᾽ ἀτενὲς ἀπ᾽ ἀοῦς ἀφύας ἀποπυρίζομες
> στρογγύλας, καὶ δελφακίνας ὀπτὰ κρέα καὶ πωλύπους,
> καὶ γλυκύν γ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ὧν ἐπίομες οἶνον. {Β.} Οἰβοιβοῖ τάλας.
> {Α.} † περὶ σᾶμά με καλοῦσα κατίσκα † λέγοι. {Β.} Φοῦ τῶν κακῶν.

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[5] Anche in Arched. fr. 2 K.-A. il cuoco sottolinea l'importanza di riempire la casa dell'odore delle pietanze preparate. Sugli odori nella commedia greca di mezzo e nuova, cf. Lilja 1972, 98–103.

[6] Sul significato di «parodia» nella commedia greca (e in particolare in Aristofane), cf. Rau 1967, 14–15.

[7] Il termine στενωπός con il significato di 'vicolo', 'passaggio' si ritrova ancora in ambito comico, in particolare in Men. *Mis.* A 6–7, dove il soldato Trasonide, in piedi sull'uscio di casa, confida alla Notte le proprie pene d'amore con queste parole: πρὸς ταῖς ἐμαυτοῦ νῦν θύραις ἕστηκ᾽ ἐγὼ / ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ.

[8] Qualche tempo prima, anche Antifane nel Φιλοθήβαιος (fr. 217, 5–7 Kock) aveva portato in scena un cuoco che si esprimeva in modo simile, affermando che nemmeno delle narici di bronzo avrebbero potuto salvare un passante dalla tentazione di fermarsi a mangiare il pesce cucinato.

5 {A.} ὃ καὶ παρά τρίγλας τε καὶ παχηα κὰμίαι δύο
διατετμαμέναι μέσαι, φάσσαι τε τοσσαῦται παρῆν
σκορπίοι τε κἀγλαοὶ κόκκυγες, οὓς παρσχίζομες
πάντες, ὀπτᾶντες δὲ χἀδύνοντες αὐτοὺς χναύομες.

«Al mattino, a partire dall'alba, arrostiamo piccoli pesciolini rotondi, carne scottata di scrofa e polipi, e poi bevemmo un vino dolce. {B.} «Ahi, ahi, ahi! Me infelice!» {A.} « † …Chiamandomi…† direbbe». {B.} «Ahi! Che dolore!» (5) {A.} «…triglie e… due amie tagliate a metà e c'erano molti colombacci, scorfani e splendide gallinelle, che laceriamo tutti e mangiamo dopo averli arrostiti e conditi.»

Qui, un locutore (un compagno di Odisseo?) elenca alcuni alimenti preparati dal mattino: acciughe, carne di maiale arrostita, polipi, il tutto accompagnato da vino dolce. Colui che ascolta la lista di prelibatezze (il locutore B) si rammarica della propria situazione, forse perché non può partecipare al banchetto: questo personaggio è generalmente identificato con Odisseo, che non deve resistere alla tentazione di ascoltare il canto melodioso ma di mangiare le specialità gastronomiche elencate.[9] Epicarmo modifica il comportamento dell'eroe omerico, lo trasforma, facendolo diventare un personaggio più umano, sottomesso alla volontà del ventre. Il fatto che Odisseo desideri degustare piatti a base di pesce e molluschi mostra infatti la sua predilezione per i piaceri della vita, poiché l'eroe omerico non mangia pesce che in casi di estrema necessità.[10]

Una situazione simile traspare anche nelle *Sirene* di Nicofonte. Il suo frammento 21 K.-A. presenta le caratteristiche tipiche del Paese di Cuccagna, vale a dire l'*automatos bios* del cibo e l'abbondanza di piatti (fiocchi di farina d'orzo, pezzi di pane, pioggia di purea, fiumi di brodo e pezzi di carne, dolci).[11] Secondo l'ipotesi di Hoffmann,[12] ripresa successivamente da Pellegrino,[13] a parlare sono le Sirene, le quali elencano alcune prelibatezze per convincere Odisseo a fermarsi. Naturalmente è possibile che Nicofonte si sia ispirato a Epicarmo per descrivere l'episodio della persuasione dell'eroe, facendo parodia del testo omerico. Anche se in modo diverso da Epicarmo, il secondo testimone mostra ugualmente il legame tra le creature malvage e le squisitezze culinarie.

La trama della commedia di Teopompo è, al contrario, più difficile da ricostruire perché sono rimasti soltanto cinque versi; ma il riferimento al cibo (tonno di Sicilia:

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[9] Per l'interpretazione di questo passaggio, cf. Kerkhof 2001, 122ss., che immagina che il locutore A sia stato trattenuto al banchetto delle Sirene e che, ritornato da Odisseo, gli riferisca tutti i piatti prelibati che ha assaggiato. In questo caso si assisterebbe ad un'inversione della situazione omerica, dal momento che sono i compagni di Odisseo, e non l'eroe, ad ascoltare il richiamo delle Sirene.

[10] Cf. Plat. *Resp.* IV 404b–c e l'articolo di Heath 2000. Epicarmo non è nuovo a questo genere di rovesciamento comico: nell'*Odisseo disertore* (frr. 97–103 K.-A.), ad esempio, l'eroe omerico viene rappresentato come un vigliacco, poiché non ha portato a termine la missione che i capi achei gli avevano assegnato a Troia. Nei frammenti rimasti, Odisseo si dichiara infatti estremamente sfortunato per la situazione in cui si trova (fr. 97 K.-A.) e specifica la sua predilezione per una vita condotta nella tranquillità (fr. 105 K.-A.). Sulla commedia epicarmea, cf. ad esempio Barigazzi 1955, 132–133, che analizza la scelta di vita non-eroica di Odisseo; Cassio 2002, 73–77 e Willi 2008, 183ss., che propongono una contestualizzazione ed un esame dei brani rimasti. Epicarmo compone anche altre commedie caratterizzate da parodia epica, quali ad esempio il *Ciclope* (frr. 70–72 K.-A.) e l'*Odisseo naufrago* (fr. 104; 105 K.-A.). Sulla parodia epica e mitologica in Epicarmo, cf. il volume di Casolari 2003, 52–57, 205–209 e 261–274.

[11] Sul paese di Cuccagna, l'abbondanza di cibo e la commedia greca, cf. Bertelli 1989; Ceccarelli 1996; Pellegrino 2000; García Soler 2015.

[12] Hoffmann 1910, 23.

[13] Pellegrino 2013, 67.

fr. 52 K.-A.) e agli strumenti di cucina (padella per friggere, mortaio e fiaschetta d'olio: fr. 54 K.-A.) suggerisce che quest'opera mettesse in scena una persuasione gastronomica.

Si può dunque affermare che la commedia greca di V secolo a.C. ripensa in modo parodico l'episodio omerico dell'incontro con le Sirene, trasformando l'eroe in un uomo sottomesso alle richieste del ventre. A partire da questa osservazione, si può allora supporre che il riferimento alle Sirene nel frammento di Egesippo sia più complesso e articolato. Sostenendo che l'odore delle sue preparazioni provoca lo stesso effetto ottenuto dalle Sirene, il cuoco sottolinea la sua abilità ad ammaliare qualcuno, esattamente come avviene nel caso delle creature omeriche. Ma potrebbe ugualmente fare allusione alla tradizione comica delle Sirene, secondo la quale esse attirano gli sfortunati passanti con il cibo. Il paragone avrebbe dunque un secondo livello di lettura: il cuoco è talmente bravo a cucinare che attira i passanti grazie al profumo degli alimenti, così come hanno fatto le Sirene preparando il banchetto per Odisseo e i suoi compagni nei brani dei poeti comici. In sostanza, ciò che il cuoco mette a confronto non sarebbe la mera capacità di sedurre, ma di farlo attraverso il cibo.

Se quest'ipotesi è corretta, i versi di Egesippo continuerebbero la tradizione di Epicarmo e Nicofonte di parodiare l'episodio omerico, mettendo in relazione le Sirene con il cibo. Il legame tra questi esseri mostruosi e la gastronomia fa quindi parte del repertorio comico della tradizione letteraria greca e sembra essere diffuso e conosciuto ancora due secoli dopo Epicarmo. E anche se la menzione delle Sirene in Egesippo è sommaria, è possibile che il pubblico comprendesse il riferimento letterario agli antichi commediografi.

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"May Their Limbs Melt, Just as This Lead Shall Melt…": Sympathetic Magic and *Similia Similibus* Formulae in Greek and Latin Curse Tablets (Part 1)*

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In this contribution, we present a representative corpus of *similia similibus* formulae attested in ancient Greek and Latin curse tablets or *defixiones*. The simile formulae, attested in about 80 tablets in widely differing states of preservation and legibility, are introduced in the context of sympathetic magic and, in contradistinction to literary similes, as performative utterances that are based on a persuasive analogy. This analogy operates in the general form of "just as X possesses property P, so let also Y possess property P", in which Y is the target or victim of the curse, while X and P are variables that change in accordance with the intended results. We provide a provisional taxonomy of simile formulae, offer new readings and interpretations of some *defixiones*, and compare Greek and Latin documents. Due to its length, the paper has been divided into two parts. In the first part, presented here, we focus on *comparata* that reference the materiality of the tablet itself and *comparata* referencing corpses or ghosts of the dead. The remaining *comparata*, namely animals, historiolae and rituals, aversus formulae and unusual orientations of the script, "names", and drawings, will be presented in a follow-up paper, to be published in the next issue of *Philologia Classica*.

Keywords: curse tablets, *defixiones,* ancient magic, sympathetic magic, Greek and Latin epigraphy, *similia similibus*, simile formula, materiality, ghosts in antiquity.

Introduction

Curse tablets provide an important piece of epigraphical evidence for ritual practices based on sympathetic magic in the ancient Mediterranean world. In what follows, we aim to provide a representative overview and provisional taxonomy for the use of simile formulae in Greek and Latin *defixiones*, attested in about 80 tablets (in widely differing states of preservation and legibility) spanning more than a millennium in time, from the 5th cent. BCE up to the 5th cent. CE, and attested in every corner of the *oikumene*, from Aquae Sulis (modern Bath) in Britannia and Hadrumetum in Africa to Pontic Olbia in Ukraine and Oxyrrhynchus in Egypt. The conclusions will briefly summarize the similarities and differences between Greek and Latin documents. *Defixiones* or curse tablets have been minimally defined as "inscribed pieces of lead, usually in the form of small, thin sheets, intended to influence, by supernatural means, the actions or the welfare of persons or animals against their will".[1] To date, over 1,600 Greek and Latin *defixiones* have been published, with new findings and known but previously unpublished texts increasing the number every year. Approximately one third are written in Latin and two thirds in Greek; occasionally, we also find bilingual curses. Greek tablets start appearing in our records from the 5th cent. BCE, often in the form of simple lists of names, while the earliest Latin curses are dated to the 2nd cent. BCE.[2] Both disappear from the archaeological record in the 5th cent. CE. In many cases, we are not able to pinpoint the context, the background, or the author's precise desired effects, and these curses are classified as non-specific.[3] Those curses in which the motivations and desires of the practitioners are more transparent have been traditionally classified as *defixiones iudiciariae* (legal curses)*, agonisticae* (agonistic curses)*, amatoriae* (love spells), and *in fures* (curses against thieves).[4]

Legal curses were usually aimed at an opponent in court and strived to eliminate his or her ability to think or speak during the process, resulting in the cursing party winning the lawsuit. Agonistic curses were aimed at rivals in *circenses* (gladiators, racers, charioteers, and racehorses) and were predominantly intended to limit their physical abilities and thus prevent them from winning in competition. The authors of these curses were their professional competitors or non-professionals betting on the teams.[5] Love spells are associated with love and its desires. They were most often used to awaken a beloved person's affection in the case of unrequited love and sometimes included cases of rivalry in love, where the primary objective was to eliminate a rival by using a so-called "separation curse".[6] Audollent's original category of curses "against thieves" was significantly restruc-

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[1] Jordan 1985b, 205. While the vast majority of defixiones were written on lead, on occasion other materials were used as well; see note 18 below.

[2] The cursing tradition had spread across the territory of ancient Italy among not only the Latins but also other nations of Ancient Italy. The fact that the earliest Latin curse tablets are attested only from the 2nd cent. BCE might be due to the randomness of the preserved archaeological record. It is likely that Latin curse practices (just like the Oscan and Etruscan ones) started as early as the 4th–3rd cent. BCE; see Urbanová 2018, 209–212.

[3] Kropp 2008a; Kropp 2008b; Urbanová 2018, 18–20.

[4] See Audollent 1904, lxxxiii and Kagarow 1929, 28. For a basic outline of modern taxonomies, cf. Faraone 1991, 3–5; Kropp 2008b, 179–189; Urbanová 2018, 18–30.

[5] For an overview, see Tremel 2004.

[6] See Faraone 1999 for an overview of the Greek material and Urbanová 2018, 175–177 for Latin documents.

tured by Henk Versnel,[7] a rethinking occasioned especially by new finds from Brittania in the 1970s and 1980s. Versnel introduced a new category of "prayers for justice", which was only loosely identifiable with the traditional *defixiones in fures*. These texts were mostly directed against thieves or people who had done some harm to the authors, i.e. against the (mostly) unknown culprits of robberies, with the desired effect of vengeance — the thief was to be punished and the stolen things returned.

The use of simile formulae in literature, from Homeric epics onwards, has been a constant focus of scholarly attention.[8] Such use by Greek and Latin authors alike is both *epistemic*, which is to say that unknown or unfamiliar properties and relations encapsulated in a simile formula are explained via comparison with more familiar ones, and *aesthetic*, adding to the richness and beauty of the poetry. Thus, in Homer, Hector kills Patroclus just "as a lion overpowers a weariless boar in wild combat" (ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε σῦν ἀκάμαντα λέων ἐβιήσατο χάρμῃ)[9] and Achilleus in turn pursues Hector "as when a hawk in the mountains who moves lightest of things flying | makes his effortless swoop for a trembling dove" (ἠΰτε κίρκος ὄρεσφιν ἐλαφρότατος πετεηνῶν | ῥηϊδίως οἴμησε μετὰ τρήρωνα πέλειαν).[10] The use of simile formulae in *defixiones* and other epigraphic documents pertaining to magical tradition is a much less researched topic. The most important difference for the simile formulae encountered in *defixiones* (as compared to the literary functions) lies in their *performative force*. The given similarity is not simply observed and stated — it is "weaponized" since the writers of the ancient curses wished to transfer, by magical means, the properties of certain objects and actions onto their adversaries or objects of desire.

Thus, the use of simile formulae in Greek and Latin *defixiones* may be viewed as a token of "sympathetic" or, more precisely, "homeopathic" magic, the principles of which were established over a century ago by the pioneers of comparative anthropology Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917)[11] and James George Frazer (1854–1941).[12] While their *general* views on magic as a primitive stage of human thought that later evolved into "religion" and eventually reached maturity in science have been long abandoned,[13] the principle of homeopathic magic or the "law of similarity"[14] has been salvaged by the cognitive turn in so-

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[7] See especially Versnel 1991, 60–106 and Versnel 2010, 275–356, who defined these as prayers addressed to gods who were to punish a person or people (usually unknown) who had caused some harm to the tablet's author (e.g. through theft, fraud, denigration, false accusation). Frequently, compensation for damages was also demanded (e.g. the thief would be compelled to return the stolen things or plead guilty in public). Despite these important observations, the category of "prayers for justice" has been criticized by Martin Dreher, who proposed a new category: *defixiones criminales*; cf. Dreher 2010, 301–335 and Dreher 2012, 29–30. For a comparison of these two competing views, see Urbanová 2014, 1070–1081 and Urbanová 2018, 24–30, 180–197 and especially 420–425. This analysis of the desired results in both cases shows that these are to a great extent similar. Both curses and prayers for justice use the same sort of means to afflict the victim or the culprit; furthermore, the authors of prayers for justice frequently invent significantly more cruel ways to afflict the victims than the authors of other types of curses (Urbanová 2018, 24–30, 180–197).

[8] Cf. especially Scott 1974 and Scott 2009; for a comparative perspective, see Ready 2018.

[9] Hom. *Il*. 16, 823.

[10] Hom. *Il*. 22, 139–140.

[11] Tylor 1871, 104–106 spoke about the principle of an "Association of Ideas" and a "connexion […] of mere analogy or symbolism".

[12] Tylor 1871, 101–144; Frazer 1990 12–48.

[13] Pyysiäinen 2004, 90–112; Yelle 2001, 634.

[14] Frazer 1990, 12–13: "Perhaps the most familiar application of the principle that like produces like is the attempt which has been made by many peoples in many ages to injure or destroy an enemy by injuring or destroying an image of him, in the belief that, just as the image suffers, so does the man, and that when it perishes he must die."

cial sciences and humanities.[15] Simile formulae, just as ancient "voodoo-dolls" or *kolossoi*, employed persuasive analogies, which, unlike empirical analogies, do not anticipate future events by virtue of parallel events observed. On the contrary, they try to actively influence future events according to a predesigned model. In terms of cursing rituals, persuasive analogies are intended to transfer the desirable features of one object to another, with the objects concerned possessing both similarities and differences.[16] If the literary use of a simile follows the general structure of "X is/will be like Y", the performative variant follows the form of "just like X has the property P, so let Y also have the same property P".

In Greek, this performative function is realized on the syntactic level as a complex sentence introduced by ὥσ(περ) + *comparatum* + indicative followed by a οὕτω(ς) clause containing the target of the curse + future indicative, dynamic infinitive, subjunctive, or optative. In Latin, comparative clauses with *qomodo — sic ior ut/ita — sic* are used with a wish-formula containing the volitive (prohibitive) subjunctive in the main clause, which is unattested in literary texts and very rare in other epigraphic documents.[17] In what follows, we offer an overview of the most commonly found *comparata* in extant Greek and Latin *defixiones* containing one or several simile formulae. These are arranged into seven categories depending on whether the persuasive analogy makes use of (I) the materiality of the tablet, location, and manipulation; (II) human corpses and ghosts of the dead; (III) animals; (IV) *historiolae* and rituals; (V) *aversus* formulae and unusual orientations of the script; (VI) "names"; or (VII) drawings on the tablets. Due to the prohibitive length of the original paper, it was necessary to divide it into two parts. Here, we cover categories (I) and (II); in the second part of the paper, to be published in the subsequent volume of *Philologia Classica*, we will focus on the remaining categories and present the final conclusions.

I. Materiality, location, and manipulation

In the following section, we discuss simile formulae in which the persuasive analogy refers to either the material of the curse tablet itself, its location, or any manipulation that the tablet as a whole has been subject to. In both Greek and Latin magical tradition, the most numerous *comparatum* in simile formulae on *defixiones* in this category is — quite unsurprisingly — lead, the metal of choice for ancient curses by a very large margin.[18] Lead was used as a *comparatum* as early as the 5th cent. BCE (to be discussed below as item 5 in our corpus), but the most representative examples are provided by three tablets with curses in legal contexts from Attika dated to the 4th and 3rd cent. BCE.[19]

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[15] Nemeroff — Rozin 2000; Sørensen 2007.

[16] See, e.g., Tambiah 1978, 275; Faraone 1991, 8; Kropp 2008b, 175–177.

[17] For a detailed linguistic study of the *quomodo … sic* clauses in Vulgar Latin, see Urbanová 2016; for simile formulae on *defixiones*, see Kropp 2008b, 175–177 and Kropp 2010, 370.

[18] A clear majority (around 95 %) of extant curses are on lead, yet its use was not obligatory or exclusive. There are instances in the PGM of instructions requiring papyrus or lead (cf., e.g., PGM V, 305) and the metal's superior durability (compared to papyrus or wax) certainly skewers our perspective on how much of which materials were used. See further especially Faraone 1991, 7 for some evidence of other media than lead (such as wax) and Kropp 2008b, 329 for Latin curses.

[19] To the three curses cited here we could add Ziebarth 1934, 1033, No. 7 (SGD 72): [ὡς ὁ μόλυβδος] οὗτος ἀδύ[νατος κεῖται οὕτω καὶ ἄχρηστα ἔστω ἃ] ἂν Νικα[σ]ὼ [πράξηι] … "Just as this lead lies powerless, in the same way, let the business which Nikasō does be useless…" (transl. Eidinow), but unfortunately the tablet is too damaged to be sure that the *comparatum* was indeed lead.

(1) DTA 105 (TheDeMa 976)

Ὡς οὗ[το]ς ὁ μόλυ[βδ]ος ψυχρὸς καὶ ἄ[θ]υμος [οὕτως καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐνταῦθα γεγ]ραμμένων ψυχρ[ὰ ταὶ ἄθυμα ἔστω] καὶ ἔπη καὶ ἔργα κ[αὶ γλῶττα…]

"Just as this lead is cold and spiritless, in the same way also, let the words and deeds and tongue of those inscribed here be cold and spiritless…" (transl. Eidinow)

(2) DTA 106 (TheDeMa 977)

…καὶ ὡς οὗτος ὁ μόλυβδος ἄχρηστος, ὣς ἄχρηστα εἶναι τῶν ἐνταῦθα γεγραμμένων καὶ ἔπη καὶ ἔργα…

"And just as this lead is useless, in the same way may the words and deeds of those inscribed here be useless…" (transl. Eidinow)

(3) DTA 107 (TheDeMa 120)

…καὶ ὡς οὗτος ὁ βόλυβδος ἄτιμος καὶ ψυχρός, οὕτω ἐκε(ῖ)νος καὶ τὰ ἐκε(ί)νω ἄτιμα [κ]αὶ ψυρχὰ ἔστω καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκε(ί)νο(υ) ἃ περὶ ἐμο(ῦ) λέγοιεν καὶ βο(υ)λευοίατο.

"And just as this lead is worthless and cold, so may that man and his doings be worthless and cold and for those on his side, whatever they say or plan about me." (transl. Eidinow)

In all three instances, the material's physical characteristics and relative uselessness in the system of economic exchange relative to "precious" metals, such as gold or silver, are alluded to and transferred to the targets of the curses. Lead is "cold" (ψυχρός), an observation readily made by anyone coming into contact with it, and the cursed persons should also become "cold", i.e. incapacitated and rigid, possibly dead, as well as "spiritless" (ἄθυμος). The other two adjectives refer to lead as having no value (ἄτιμος) and being useless (ἄχρηστος). This is very much in line with the picture provided by contemporary literature, where lead is a prime example of a low-quality metal, inferior in strength to iron and incomparable in monetary value to precious metals.[20] In both (**1**) and (**2**), the words and deeds of the targets of the curse should become "worthless" and "useless" (most likely in the context of a court case, referring to the inability to speak before court),[21] in

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[20] Cf. Thgn. 417–418, 1104a–1106, 1164g–1064h; Hdt. 3, 56; Ar. *Nub.* 912–913; for Roman authors, see, e.g., Ov. *Met.* 1, 463–473.

[21] The reference to the tongue and the transfer of attributes from lead to the tongue, only conjectured in 1, is attested in DTA 97 (TheDeMa 206): …ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτοῦ μόλυβδος γένοιτο […] ἡ γ[λ]ῶσσα αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μόλυβδος γένοιτο καὶ μὴ δύναιντο φθέγγεσθα[ι] μηδὲ ποῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν κέντησον […] ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτῆς μόλυβδος γένοιτο καὶ κέντησον αὐτῆς τὴν γλῶσσαν. ("…may his tongue become lead […] may their tongues and souls become lead and may they be unable to speak or act; but rather stab their tongue […] may her tongue become lead; and stab her tongue", transl. Gager). Compare also LCT 70 (DFX 5.1.2/1): …*ut Fronto fiat mutus, cum accesser(it) consularem, ut sit mutus neque pos(sit) loqui, neque quicquam agree…* "…may he become mute when he approaches the legate, may he be mute and unable to speak or do anything…"; LCT 71 (DFX 5.1.2/2): *(Do i)nimicos Sexti, ut sic non possint (cont) ra Sextum venire nec agere quicq(uam) possint… ut sic (sint) vani et m(uti)…* ("[I commend] the enemies of Sextus, so that they will not be able to come out or take any actions against Sextus… so that they will be idle and mute…"); LCT 136 (DFX 11.1.1/32): …*(alligo linguas)… medias, extremas, novissimas… colligo, ligo linguas… medias, extremas, novissimas, ne quid respondere (possint), facias vanos…* ("…[I bind their tongues]… in the middle, back, and front… I tie, bind up [their] tongues in the middle, back, and front, [so that they cannot] testify, make [them] idle…"). The adjective *vanus* may be a possible parallel to ἄχρηστος in (2).

(**3**) it is also the cursed individuals themselves that should become "cold and useless" (i.e. paralysed or even dead).

It remains unknown whether the use of lead as the medium for the curse tablets was due to its availability or whether some magical properties attributed to lead by ancient Greeks and Romans played a role.[22] Despite the fact that a handful of scholars have argued for the importance of magical and symbolic factors in selecting lead as the material of choice for curse tablets,[23] the *communis opinio* suggests that the primary reason for the use of lead was its easy availability as a by-product of silver mining. The association of lead with magical powers due to its physical characteristics, such as its greyish dark colour,[24] coldness,[25] and durability (compared to wax or papyrus) is most likely only a secondary development, a by-product of using lead in production of *defixiones* for economic and pragmatic reasons (lead was commonly used for writing since it is cheap and easy to write on with a stylus made from harder metal).[26]

A tablet from Boiotia with widely divergent dating,[27] addressed to one Theomnēstos (= att. Theomnēstos), contains no less than three simile formulae. While the first references the corpse or ghost of Theomnēstos (see 24), the other two mention lead. For the magical transfer of essence, they do not use the metal's physical properties, as was the case in 1, 2 and 3, but rather its location.[28] The curse is directed against Zōilos, who was at the time seeing a girl named Antheira. In a fashion typical for separation spells, the curse is aimed at destroying the relationship and securing the girl's love for the author of the curse by eliminating the amorous rival. The lead tablet is deposited in a "location separate or distant from human settlement" (ἔν τινι τόπωι χωριστῷ ἐ⟨κ⟩ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, i.e. in a grave) — and just so should Zōilos be separated or grow distant from Antheira. The lead tablet is buried deep underground (κατορωρυγμένος) — Zōilos' well-being should be equally "buried down" and destroyed.

> (**4**) Curbera 2017, No. 2 (Ziebarth 1934, No. 23; TheDeMa 185)
>
> A: … ὥσπερ κὴ ὁ μόλυβδος οὗτος ἔν τινι τόπωι χωριστῷ ἐ⟨κ⟩ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὕτως Ζωίλῳ χωρισμένον ἀπ᾽ Ἀνθείρας τὸ σῶμα, κὴ ἄψειν κὴ τὰ φιλείματα κὴ τὰ συνουσιάσματα τὰ Ζωίλω κὴ Ἀνθείρας κὴ φ⟨ρ⟩ο⟨νή⟩ματα· […] B: … ὥσπερ ὁ μόλυβδος χωρίσσεται πά[ν]παν κατορωρυγμένος κὴ μονα[δὰν] αὐτεῖ, οὕτως κὴ Ζωίλον τάχ[α] κατορύχοις κὴ ἐργασία κὴ οἰκονομία κὴ φιλία κὴ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα.

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[22] Forbes 1950, 177–178.

[23] Kagarow 1929, 9–10.

[24] Ov. Fast. 2, 275: tunc cantata ligat cum fusco licia plumbo.

[25] Plut. *De sera* 30, 567b10–c1.

[26] See already Wünsch 1897, iii: "Sed primis licet temporibus in his lamminis non tam ex peculiari quadam superstitione quam ex facili et commodo eius metalli in scribendo usu scripserunt antiqui, ubi primum adhibebant hoc metallum ad artes magicas, accessit superstitio, quae plumbum efficacissimum inter omnia esse docebat, quo dii inferi allicerentur." Gager 1992, 3–4 essentially agrees with Wünsch that the primary reason for choosing lead was its availability and that the connection with magic properties was a later, secondary development; cf. also Graf 1996, 119–120; Baratta 2012, 24; Kropp 2015, 78–80. Regarding various uses of lead in antiquity, see Baratta 2013, 283–284 (with further literature); for the connection of lead to Saturn (stella nocens), see Baratta 2012, 24–25.

[27] Faraone 1991, 13 dated it to the 3rd–2nd cent. BCE; Gager 1992, 88, No. 20 and López Jimeno 2001, 145, No. 300 both to the 2nd–3rd century CE; Bravo 1987, 202, however, again to the 3rd cent. BCE; Curbera 2017, 142 again to the 3rd–2nd cent. BCE.

[28] Unfortunately, we have no indication of the place of origin, but the context makes it virtually certain that it was deposited in a grave.

"…and just as this lead (is) in some place separated from humans, so may Zoilos' body be separated from Anthera — and touch and kisses and the intercourse of Zoilos and Anthera, and their thoughts … […] … just as the lead is completely separated, buried and isolated here, so too bury Zoilos quickly, and his activity, dealings, love and all the rest." (transl. Curbera)

The oldest Greek tablet with a performative simile explicitly mentioning lead is an enigmatic opistographic tablet from Sicily (found near Gela) dated as early as the 5th cent. BCE. Side A seems to contain a record of a financial transaction in which Apellis, the presumed author of the curse on side B, makes an appearance as the guarantor of the transaction and the money deposit connected with it.[29] On side B, Apellis seems to be reusing the lead tablet as a means to a new end, namely to fashion a curse that is intended to benefit his friend or lover Eunikos in a contest of "chorus-leaders" (χορηγοί) at the expense of other participants whose names are listed on the tablet. We find the simile formula at the very end of the curse.

(5) Wilson 2007 (Jordan 2007, SEG 57:905, TheDeMa 250)[30]

Ὅς οὗτος ⟨ὁ⟩ βόλιμος, τὸς τή/[νων] Ἐνόδιαι τιμὰν ἐρύσαιντο. Εὐνίκοι ἀὲ νικᾶν παντε̃·

"Just as this lead (*sc.* effectively drew the *tima* of the guarantee), so may the *Enodiai* draw out the *tima* of those men (*sc.* the rival *khoragoi* and their supporters listed in the tablet by ἀπογράφω). For Eunikos may there be victory always, everywhere." (transl. Wilson)

There have been many interpretations of this puzzling tablet. Dubois translated the simile as "Que tant de tablettes de plomb, que le prix du plomb (qui est considérable) sauvegardent à tout jamais et par tout la victoire pour Eunikos …",[31] but this makes little sense, since the value or price of lead ("prix du plomb") was emphatically not high ("considérable") — as has been shown above, lead was rather cheap and easy to obtain. Gager proposed the translation "As this lead tablet (is inscribed) so let … preserve victory for Eunikos everywhere…", but this does not command much confidence either.[32] According to the most recent interpretation by Peter Wilson,[33] which we consider the best available, just as the lead tablet had already successfully "guaranteed" the financial transaction in its first use (a record of which is preserved on side A), it should be just as efficient in securing the success of Eunikos by eliminating ("drawing out the honour or prestige") his opponents in the competition of the chorus-leaders via a timely intervention by *Enodiai*, in plural an otherwise unattested name but in its singular form used to refer to Hecate — Wilson even floated the suggestion that it could be a collective name for the goddesses Demeter and Kore.

In Latin curses, lead appears as a *comparatum* in six tablets from Germania, Gallia, and Pannonia (dated to the 1st and 2nd cent. CE), of which four are readily interpretable.

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[29] See Jordan 2007, 337–342 for a detailed analysis.

[30] The tablet was first published by Miller 1973. The cited SEG entry is a new autopsy by Jordan 2007, 342–343, which runs as follows: ὁς οὗτος ⟨ὁ⟩ βόλιμος, τὸς ΤΕ[-ca. 5-]ΟΔΙΑΙΤΙΜΑΝ ἐρύσαιντο Εὐνίκοι ἀὲ νικᾶν παντε̃·We print the reading and translation by Wilson 2007, 375–377, which is itself based on Jordan's text.

[31] Dubois 1989, 158–159, No. 134.

[32] Gager 1992, 76–77, No. 17.

[33] Wilson 2007, 375–377.

The first from Carnuntum is a unique prayer for justice, containing the typical aggressive features of curses (*defigo Eudemum*) incorporated into a prayer for justice that targets the suspected thief, Eudemus, by name. Found in an amphitheatre (possibly deposited in a "Leichenkammer" underneath it)[34] and dated to the 2nd cent. CE, the writer requests from the gods of the underworld the punishment of a certain Eudemus, a man who stole his vessel.

(6) Egger 1962 (DFX 8.3/1, LCT 239, TheDeMa 265)[35]

Defigo Eudem(um) nec(et)i(s) eum pes(s)imo leto, ad inf(er)os d(uca)tis eundem recol(l)igatis M(anibu)s ministeria infernorum (d)eu(m). (Quom)do i(lle) plu(m)bus po(n)dus h(a)bet sic et (E)ud(e)mus h(a)beat v(o)s iratos, inter la(r)vas… ia(m) hostiat quam celeris(s)im(e).

"I curse Eudemus; kill him by the worst death, lead him to the underworld and bind him with ghosts, you servants of the infernal gods. Just like this lead has weight, may Eudemus feel your [heavy] anger, may he enter among the ghosts of the dead as quickly as possible."[36]

The lead tablet is described here as "heavy" (*plumbus pondus habet*), which is a quality alluded to indirectly by other two tablets as well. Both seem to convey the "heaviness" of lead using verbs of "falling" or "sinking" (*decadere*, *subsistere*) into the depths. The term *ira* with the meaning of "anger/wrath of gods" is well attested from Latin *defixiones*.[37] The term *pondus* may be understood also metaphorically — just the curse has "weight" (i.e. importance) among the gods, so may they be angered at Eudemus and kill him.

(7) Marichal 1981 (DFX 4.4.1/1, LCT 226, TheDeMa 735)

Quomodo hoc plumbu(m) non paret (= apparet?) et decadet[38] sic decadat aetas, membra, vita, bos, grano(m), mer(x) eoru(m), qui mihi dolum malu(m) fecerunt…

"Just as this lead is not visible and sinks to the bottom, so may the youth, limbs, life, livestock, grain, and trades of those who deceived me badly also fall into decay…"

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[34] Cf. Egger 1962, 81 and Kropp 2004, 85.

[35] Most of the *defixiones* texts have been damaged to a greater or lesser extent, primarily due to age, corrosion, or mechanical damage caused by manipulation with the tablets, either already in antiquity (e.g. by the tablet being folded and pierced with nails) or during excavations. Moreover, the Latin texts contain numerous deviations from the classical norm caused by various factors (e.g. local specifics, diachronic developments, the author's literacy). For the purpose of this article, we have included emended Latin texts that do not necessarily follow the Leiden Conventions since rigorous adherence to epigraphical *modus operandi* would make the texts less intelligible to the general reader (cf. also the *Lesetext* of Kropp 2008). Round brackets are used to denote editorial interventions, such as emendations, restorations, *lectiones variae*, and other peculiarities.

[36] Unless indicated otherwise, the translations are our own.

[37] See, e.g., the curse from Bergenz, DFX 7.1/2 (LCT 104), most likely written in the context of a rivalry in love, which is terminated by the words *Ira dei*. A tablet from Mainz (DTM 5, LCT 85) reads *Bone sancte Atthis Tyranne, adsi(s), advenias Liberali iratus.* ("Good, holy Att(h)is, Lord, help [me?], come to Liberalis in anger.") As Kropp 2004, 88 suggested, the author of the curse could have considered the anger of the gods as an appropriate punishment for the morally reprehensible behaviour by the culprits which is denounced in the prayers for justice.

[38] Cf. Marichal 1981, 41–43 and Lejeune 1981, 51–52, *decadet = class. Lat. decidit.*

(8) DT 98 (DFX 5.1.4/5, LCT 76, TheDeMa 744)

…sic comdi (=quomodo) plumbum subsidet, sic Sintonem et Martialem Sint(onis) et adiuto-rium Sintonis et quisquis contra Rubrium fr(atre)m[39] et me Quartionem, si qui(s) contrave-nerit, Sintonem et adiutorium eius Sintonis defero ad infero(s). Sic nusquam contra nos (inve)nisse respon(sio)nis, cum loquantur inimici. Sic (d)esumat non parentem[40] tanquam infero(s).

"Just as the lead sinks [to the bottom], so I drive down to the gods of the underworld Sin-to and Martialis, [the son/slave] of Sinto, and his assistant and whomever [is] against my brother Rubrius and me, Quartio, if anyone comes out against [us], Sinto and the assistant of this Sinto. In this way, [he/they, i.e. our enemies] can never compose a response against us when our enemies speak out. In this way, may [this lead tablet] afflict? [Sinto] absent [at court?] just like [as if he was in?] the underworld."

In the case of (**7**), a prayer for justice dated to the 1st cent. CE, it is important to note that the tablet was not found in a grave but in a well in Montfo (modern Magalas, southern France). The tablet was supposed to remain invisible to mortals' eyes (*non apparet*) and its descent into the depths (*decadet*) was to be mirrored by the gradual decay of the target's life, livestock, and grain as an appropriate punishment for the *dolum malum* caused to the tablet's author by the suspects named on the tablet. Simile (**8**), a legal curse found in a grave in Kreuznach and dated to the 2nd cent. CE, also contains a persuasive analogy based on the "fall" of the lead tablet. It "sinks to the bottom" (*subsidet*) and similarly Sinto and Martialis — and, pre-emptively, anyone wishing to do harm to Rubrius and Quartio, the authors or commissioners of the curse — should be thrown into the underworld (*de-ferre ad inferos*). Several Latin curse tablets from the Sanctuary of Mater Magna in Mog-ontiacum (modern Mainz), dated to the 1st–2nd cent. CE, showcase simile formulae con-taining implicit references to special manipulation of the lead tablets — more specifically, throwing them into fire or burning them (at least symbolically?). Consider, for instance, the best-preserved example of a prayer for justice aimed at punishments for the culprits.

(9) DTM 11 (LCT 236, TheDeMa 754)[41]

Placida et Sacra, filia eius: sic illorum membra liquescan(t) quatmodum hoc plumbum liq-uescet ut eoru(m) exsitum sit.

"Placida and Sacra, her daughter: may their limbs melt, just as this lead shall melt, so that it shall be their death." (transl. Blänsdorf)

Jürgen Blänsdorf, the editor of the Mainz tablets, argued that the curses were eventu-ally thrown into the sanctuary's sacrificial fire where they melted down (the fact that they have been preserved is, according to him, due to "chance").[42] Two other tablets from the same archaeological find reference "melting" (*deliquescat*) or "flowing" (*defluit*) in close

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[39] The text is slightly corrupted; we are following the reading of DFX 5.1.4/5 and CIL XIII 2, 1, 7554.

[40] We follow Wünsch, who reads *desumat* (sc. *plumbum Sintonem*) and then *non parentem* (*sc. ita ut in iudicio non appareat*). The tablet may be unfinished; the writer may have run out of space. Perhaps we could surmise something akin to *tanquam esset apud inferos*.

[41] An almost identical formula is found on the tablet DTM 12, a continuation of this one. Moreover, DTM 12 includes a list of body parts that should melt away: *sic … s siccum QUANMI qu(omo)di hoc liquescet se (…sic co)llum membra, me(du)lla, peculium d(e)l(i)ques(ca)nt eoru(m)* "so … dry … just as this is to melt, so may his neck, limbs, strength, savings melt away" (transl. Blänsdorf).

[42] Blänsdorf 2012, 124.

syntactic proximity to lead;[43] unfortunately, they are too damaged to contribute much to our knowledge of this peculiar practice. Further support for this interpretation may be found in the following hitherto unpublished Sicilian Greek *defixio* dated to the 1st–2nd cent. CE, which also references "melting" of the lead.

(10) Rocca — Bettarini — Bevilacqua, in print

…ὥς ὁ βόλιμος κατατάκετε εἴνα οὕτω τὰ(ν) Πρώτην κατατάξῃς καὶ ποίσῃς τὰ(ν) Πρώτην ὅλῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ κατατακ[ο]μέναν κάτω ἐλθεῖν…

"Just like the lead melts away, so let also Protē melt away and make it so that Protē, after melting away for an entire year, will descend [into the underworld?]."

Our last example from Mainz, dated to the 1st–2nd cent. CE and written with the apparent desire to do away with a rival in love, does not mention lead (*plumbum*) explicitly, but rather denotes the tablet with the term *haec carta*.

(11) DTM 15 (DFX 5.1.5/4, LCT 91, TheDeMa 753)

…(P)rima Narcissi aga(t) como haec carta nuncquam florescet, sic illa nuncquam quicquam florescat.[44]

"May this befall Prima, the lover of Narcissus: just as this tablet shall never bloom, so she shall never bloom in any way."[45]

There can be no doubt that *haec carta* is the lead tablet itself. It is quite common for curse authors to call their creations "letters";[46] furthermore, the nature of the simile itself confirms this identification — indeed, the one thing that a piece of cold, dark lead cannot do is "bloom". A Latin *defixio* from Fontanaccia, found in a grave and dated to the 2nd–3rd cent. CE, combines a mention of a "letter" (*charta*), as seen in the previous example (11), with an implied reference to downward movement (falling, descent), as seen in (7) and (8).

(12) Stanco 2003 (TheDeMa 1091)[47]

Q(u)omodo h(a)ec charta coelis abeati (=abeat) in deo Adonine (= Adonide) cito iacit, silet, lang(u)et sic(c)ata, sic Quintus, Agrippini s(ervus) uter saltuensis (= salutarius?), languiat aigrotis …

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[43] These are LCT 235 (DTM 7, TheDeMa 878): …*quomodi (et) ho…sucus defluit e…hoc plumbum…* "…just as liquid flows out of … this lead [will melt?]…" and LCT 89 (DTM 10, TheDeMa 124): …*diliquescant quatmmodi hoc diliquescet…* "…may they melt away just as this [piece of lead] will melt away…".

[44] For this interpretation, see Blänsdorf 2007–2008, 6. The text is written counterclockwise because of the magic use of compounds of the verb *verto*.

[45] For the simile formula, see also Urbanová 2016, 333–339.

[46] See, e.g., Curbera — Papakonstantinou 2018, No. 4 (TheDeMa 118, DTA 103): Ἑρμ[ηι] καὶ Φερσεφόνι τήνδε ἐπιστολ[ὴν] ἀποπέμπ[ω… ("I am sending this letter to Hermes and Persephone…") and its Latin analogue LCT 306 (TheDeMa 713) *carta qua(e) Mercurio donatur*.

[47] The reading is ours. Stanco reads Ligo: modo modo hec charta coelis abeat<i>, in deo Adonine cito iacit, silet, langet sicata, sic Quintus, Agrippini s(ervus) uter saltuensis, languiat aigrotis; ex omologi(s) feri igni(s), n(atus) ann(is) IL, devincit; non seion fortior et sic moriatur.

"As this letter quickly descends from the upper regions down to the god Adonis [and there] lies mute, enfeebled, and drained dry, so let Quintus, servant of Agrippinus, *uter salutensis*,[48] be enfeebled and sick…"

Another interesting Latin tablet containing a simile formula that references a "letter" (*epistula*, i.e. the tablet itself) has been found in Kempraten (Switzerland) in the precinct of a Gallo-Roman sanctuary. It is dated to the 2nd to 3rd cent. CE and contains a prayer for justice addressed to *Magna Mater*.[49] The text is partly damaged, but the use of the tablet as the *comparatum* of the simile formula is manifest.

(13) Frei-Stolba et al. 2015 (TheDeMa 944)

…et qui lucer(n)am eius sustulit et qui conscius est et qui dolum malum facit, sic iace(at) +++micto[50] *que(m)admodum haec epistula iacitura est.*

"…and the one who stole the lamp and the one who knows about it and who deceived [me], let him/her lie […] just like this letter will lie [here]."

The first part of the simile formula is difficult to interpret and the authors of the *editio princeps* believe that the sequence *+++micto* is a substantivized participle of the verb *meio* ("to urinate"), from which they provisionally translate the simile formula as "…wer seine Lampe gestohlen hat und wer Mitwisser ist und wer arglistig täuscht, soll so im (zehnmal erzeugten?) Dreck liegen wie dieser Brief (im Dreck) liegen wird", but this seems quite unlikely to us as this reading presupposes that the tablet was deposited in a filthy place, which would hardly be appropriate for a solemn prayer to *Magna Mater* (there are no available parallels to such a deposition of a tablet). Despite the difficulties of interpretation, the tablet itself (*epistula*) is clearly used as a *comparatum* in the simile formula.

Two Greek curses written on other media than the virtually omnipresent lead seem, at least *prima facie*, to contain a simile formula with a "stone" as the *comparatum*. A closer look, however, reveals that the persuasive analogy is based on either manipulation of the material support for the curse (in the first example here, (**14**)) or the physical properties thereof (in the second example here, (**15**)). A unique curse written on papyrus (3rd–4th cent. CE, Oxyrrhynchus) mentions a "Hermes-stone of the mill" and targets the brain and heart of a certain Zētous. These are to be ground or turned just like the stones in the mill turn and grind — not only wheat, but the curse itself!

(14) SupplMag 56 (TheDeMa 291)

ὥσπερ στρέφεται ὁ ἑρμῆς τοῦ μυλαίου καὶ ἀλήθεται τοῦτο τὸ πιττάκιον, οὕτως στρέψον τὸν ἐγκέφαλον καὶ τὴν καρδίαν καὶ πᾶσαν διάνοιαν Ζητοῦν τῆς ἐπικαλουμένης Καλημέρας, ἤδη, ἤδη, ταχὺ, ταχύ.

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[48] Stanco 2003, 138 translates this as *nello stesso modo il servo di Agrippino Quinto, quello dei due addetto alla custodia del latifondo…* The reading *uter* is unclear; *saltuensis* could mean something akin to *saltuarius*, a "person employed in looking after an estate".

[49] The text contains parallels to the Mainz tablets, such as the invocation of *Mater Magna*, as well as technical terms used in other prayers for justice (*sustulit, dolum malum etc.*); cf. also DTM 2, DTM 7, DFX 3.22/16, DFX 7.5/1.

[50] Geisser — Koch 2018, 298, n. 4 read *in x(!) micto.*

"As the Hermes-stone (?) of the mill turns and as this chit is ground, so turn the brain and the heart and the entire mind of Zetous also called Kalemera, now, now, quickly, quickly." (transl. Daniel — Maltomini)

Older discussions of the text have been marred by the reading "marrow" (μυελοῦ) instead of "mill" (μυλαίου),[51] but the "sympathetic structure" and the simile formula have been recognized from the outset.[52] Faraone's new interpretation,[53] which identified ὁ ἑρμῆς τοῦ μυλαίου with the "rotating part of the mill", superseded the older ones: The action on the papyrus containing the spell (being ground or turned in the millstone) should be replicated in the brain and heart of Zētous. While usually considered a love charm[54] in which the "turning of the brain and heart" should represent the spark of a new love interest in the curse's author, Faraone preferred to consider it an indeterminate curse,[55] while Daniel and Maltomini have argued that the spell "was most likely used by a master against the slave Zetous-Kalemera, who was probably a fugitive or suspected of planning to run away".[56] A far more straightforward simile featuring a stone is attested on an ostracon dated to the 4th–5th cent. CE found in Egyptian Thebes and a self-professed θυμοκάθυκων (= θυμοκάτοχον) and νικητικῶν (= νικητικόν) — a spell to restrain wrath and a charm for victory.[57]

(15) SupplMag 58 (TheDeMa 310)

…ὡς ὡ λίθως οὗτος ἄφονος καὶ ἄλαλος, οὕτω καὶ πάντεσοί κατά μαι ἄφονοι καὶ ἄλαλοι καὶ ἐπήκωοί μοι γένωνται.

"…just as this stone is voiceless and speechless, so let also all who are opposed to me be voiceless and speechless and obedient to me." (transl. Daniel — Maltomini)

The "stone" in the simile formula is described as "voiceless" and "speechless" and the victim should become the same, cf. also ἄφωνοι κὲ ἄλαλοι κὲ ἄγλωσσοι in our corpus in item **(28)**. Daniel and Maltomini observed that the incipit of the curse was most likely mistakenly copied from the formulary, which moreover prescribed "stone" as the support material of choice.[58] It is likely that the practitioner preferred to use ostrakon (which is, after all, much easier to write on than a stone) and the term ὡ λίθως οὗτος then refers to the ostrakon itself, transferring the muteness of the ostrakon-"stone" to the victim. The magical analogy at work here is of the same kind as in the other cited cases featuring lead tablets — the only thing that changes is the material on which the curse is written. The last item in our first section is a famous prayer of justice from Aquae Sulis (Bath), found

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[51] *Editio princeps* Turner 1976; see also Griffiths 1977, Giangrande 1978, and Gorissen 1980. Versnel 1988, 290–291 conserved the reading ὁ ἑρμῆς τοῦ μυελοῦ and suggested that "the enigma may be solved if we take Hermes to be a little figurine", probably made of wax (cf. the Greek μυελός, "fat").

[52] See, e.g., Giangrande 1978, 102.

[53] Faraone 1988.

[54] This is true for all authors mentioned in note 52 except Versnel.

[55] Faraone 1988, 286.

[56] Daniel — Maltomini 1992, 31.

[57] Regarding these, see, e.g., Faraone 1999, 107–109.

[58] Daniel — Maltomini 1992, 44–45.

in 1880 and dated between the 2nd and 4th cent. CE, "the only instance in the Bath tablets of sympathetic magic".[59]

    (16) TabSulis 4 (RIB 154, LCT 242, TheDeMa 150)

        Qu(i) mihi Vilbiam in(v)olavit sic liquat com(odo) aqua…

        "May he who carried off Vilbia from me become as liquid as water…" (transl. RIB)

There have been various interpretations of *vilbia*: Audollent read *man(n)teliu(m)*;[60] Tomlin in 1988 tentatively suggested either a copying error or *fib(u)lam* (a suggestion followed by Kropp);[61] Russell argued that *vilbia* could be "a Brittonic term for some kind of pointed tool … [whose] reflex may have survived in Welsh as Middle Welsh *gwlf*".[62] It is also possible, however, that *Vilbia* is a female name and the prayer for justice targets a kidnapper or kidnappers.[63] Whatever the case, the simile seems to destroy the target by literally "liquefying" him or her. Even under this straightforward interpretation, there is undoubtedly a deep-seated connection with the place of deposition of the tablet, which was sunk into water (Aquae Sulis, as the name suggests, were celebrated Roman baths). According to the OLD, *liqueo* means "to be in a molten or liquid state",[64] and we find it quite possible that in the mind of the author of the curse, the simile meant something akin to *quomodo [hoc plumbum liquet] aqua (= in aquā) sic liquat [fur ille] qui mihi Vilbiam involavit* ("Just as this lead tablet is submerged in water, so let the thief that stole my Vilbia be submerged in water, i.e. drown and die"). This interpretation would be very much in line with the fact that the physical interaction with the tablet reinforces the magical analogy: The author is not merely stating that the victim should become "liquefied" — rather, he or she performs the ritual action of submerging the tablet in water, which causes his or her adversaries to be symbolically submerged and drowned, since the tablet features a list of names (possible culprits of the crime). The logic of sympathetic magic in this case is no different than in the case of casting tablets into the fire to melt the victims or the case of placing curses written on a piece of papyrus between the millstones to "turn" or "grind" their brains and hearts.

II. Dead human body, ghost of the dead

Since tombs and graveyards are among the most common depositories for curse tablets,[65] it is not surprising that human corpses and ghosts serve as *comparata* in several simile formulae. In these similes, it is sometimes very difficult to tell whether the writer was alluding to a dead body or a ghost, but the context and the specific qualities selected for magical transfer enable us to make an educated guess in most cases.[66] We shall start

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    [59] Tomlin 1988, 112. We include this tablet despite the simile formula being manifestly incomplete since there are interesting parallels with the Mainz tablets (see our 9 and DTM 10 and DTM 12).
    [60] Audollent 1904, 104.
    [61] Tomlin 1988, 112, No. 4; DFX 3.2/1.
    [62] Russell 2006, 366.
    [63] RIB 154, accepted by Tomlin — Hassall 1999, 384.
    [64] OLD, s.v. *liqueo*.
    [65] Graves are prevalent, but by no means exclusive, locations; see Urbanová 2018, 59.
    [66] The problem is complicated by the fact that creatures such as "revenants" were believed to be ghosts that returned to inhabit their former physical bodies, further blurring the difference between a corpse and

with those instances where it can be reasonably assumed that the *comparatum* of the simile formula is a physical dead body. In these cases, the properties that are supposed to be magically transferred to the victims are predominantly of a restrictive and paralysing nature — the victims are to remain mute, immobile, and so on. In a tablet from Attica, dated to the 4th cent. BCE,[67] the corpse lying in the grave is described as "useless" or "ineffective" (ἀτελὴς); thus, the words and deeds of a certain Theodora, clearly the author's object of desire, should become the same with respect to Charias, probably her husband or lover (as well as other men, just to be sure).

(17) Jordan 1993 (DT 68, TheDeMa 104)[68]

[ὡς] οὗτος [ἐ]ντ[α]ῦ[θ]α ἀτε[λ]ὴς κ[εῖται, οὕτως] ἀτέλεστα ε[ἶ]ναι Θεοδώρας πάντ[α, κα]ὶ ἔπη καὶ ἔργα τὰ πρὸς Χαρίαν καὶ [πρ]ὸς ἄλλος ἀνθρώπος.

"Just as this (*sc.* dead person) lies here *ateles*, so let all things of Theodora, her words and deeds with respect to Charias and other men, be *atelesta*." (transl. Jordan)

In the context of love magic, the desire of the curse's author for the victim not to engage in any erotic activities (except with the author, of course) is an extremely common feature[69] and here it is reinforced by a simile formula — as the dead body certainly cannot (under usual circumstances) engage in sexual intercourse (or wed), likewise Theodora should not be able to enjoy sexual intercourse with (or wed) anyone except the author.[70] It is important to highlight the possibility of a double meaning for the adjective ἀτελής, which, when applied to a corpse, could mean in addition to "useless" also "uninitiated", i.e. "buried without proper funeral rites".[71] It was widely believed that "special dead" (to borrow David Garland's term),[72] i.e. those who died prematurely, without proper burial rites, by their own hand, violently, or under other irregular circumstances, were uniquely positioned to facilitate magical operations. Another attestation of this belief provided by curse tablets has been identified only very recently (2018) by Jaime Curbera and Zinon Papakonstantinou in their new reading of a *verso* side of a legal curse from Athens, dated to the 3rd cent. BCE. In addition to a list of names written in a retrograde manner and a simile formula of the *aversus* subcategory on the *recto* side, the curse clearly turns towards the dead person in whose grave it was deposited.

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a ghost. Regarding terminology and classification, see especially Felton 1999, 22–37 and Stramaglia 1999, 27–35. For the invocations of the dead in Greek magic, see Martín Hernández 2011, 100–111.

[67] The tablet has usually been dated to the 4th century BCE; see, e.g., Gager 1992, 90, No. 22 or Graf 2005, 266, No. 89.

[68] DT 68 and TheDeMa 104 read as follows: [Καὶ ὡς] οὗτος [ὁ νεκρὸς] ἀ[τ]ε[λ]ὴς κ[εῖται οὕτως] ἀτέλεστα ε[ἶ]ναι Θεοδώραι πάντ[α καὶ] ἔπη καὶ ἔργα τὰ πρὸς Χαρίαν καὶ πρὸς [το(ὺ)ς ἄλλο(υ)ς ἀνθρώ[π]ο(υ)ς· ("[And just as] this corpse lies useless, [so] may all the words and deeds of Theodora be useless with regard to Charias and to the other people", transl. Gager). We prefer the reading and interpretation proposed by Jordan 1993, 130, which we also print. A similar formula, unfortunately on a badly damaged tablet and reliant on a dubious conjecture, seems to be in DT 69 (TheDeMa 762): … καὶ ὡς ο[ὗτος ὁ νεκρὸς ἀτελὴς κεῖται] οὕτως ἀτελῆ εἶναι [… πάντα καὶ ἔ]ργα καὶ ἔπη ("… and just as this corpse lies useless, in the same way useless may be […] everything; both deeds and words", transl. Eidinow).

[69] See Pachoumi 2013 for a recent overview of erotic and separation spells.

[70] Cf. Petropoulos 1988, 220: "… it is undeniable that the *defixio* seeks to alienate a couple by making the woman generally 'ineffectual' (ἀτελὴς) *vis-à-vis* the man and by causing 'forgetfulness' in the man."

[71] Jordan 1993, 130–131; the interpretation is also accepted by Johnston 1999, 78.

[72] Garland 1985, 77–103.

(18) Curbera — Papakonstantinou 2018, No. 3 (TheDeMa 955)

… ὥσπερ σὺ ἄωρος [οὕ]τω ἄωρα καὶ ἀτέλε[σ]τα [εἶ]ναι, ἄωρα [καὶ] ψυχ[ρ]ὰ καὶ …

"…just as you are untimely dead, so let [the business of my opponents] be untimely and ineffective, untimely and cold and …"

A similar analogy is also found in a curse from Pannonia, dated to the early 3rd cent. CE.[73]

(19) Gáspár 1990 (TheDeMa 350)[74]

Αβρασαρξ, παρατίθεμαί σοι Ἄδιεκτον, ὃν ἔτεκεν Κουπεῖτα, ἵνα ὅσον χρόνον ὧδε κεῖται μηδὲν πράσσοι ἀλλὰ ὡς σὺ νεκρὸς εἶ, οὕτως κἀκῖνος μετὰ σοῦ, εἰς ὁπόσον χρόνον, ζῆ.

"Abrasarx (young flesh?), I deposit with you Adiektos, whom Koupeia bore, so that as long as [this dead body] lies here he will be unable to do anything, but just as you are dead, so let him be with you for his entire life."

Dorottya Gáspár, who published the *editio princeps* of the tablet, argued that the simile formula should be understood as "Just as you (*scil.* daemon) are dead, so should also he (*scil.* Adiektos) 'live' forever with you (*scil.* 'die')."[75] This is largely correct, though we believe that it is not entirely clear whether the extension of the relative "you" is the corpse (which is trivially "dead") or the demon. As Gáspár herself noted, the appellative Αβρασαρξ (probably an alternative or misspelled form of Αβρασαξ, well attested in all sorts of ancient magical texts) may be understood as ἀβρὰ σάρξ, "delicate (i.e. young) flesh", referring thus to ἄωρος or the "untimely dead" person in whose grave the tablet has most likely been deposited. Under this interpretation, the sequence ὅσον χρόνον ὧδε κεῖται could also be understood as denoting the corpse and not necessarily the tablet,[76] with the meaning of "for as long as this (corpse) lies here (= forever), let him be unable to do anything".

The following two Latin curses with simile formulae using a human corpse as the basis for a persuasive analogy exhibit strong parallelism to (**17**) and (**18**). Both are written in the context of a rivalry in love and function as separation spells — the women Philematio (**20**) and Rhodine (**21**), most likely slaves or freedwomen, are the objects of jealousy from another woman (or a man). Rhodine should be hated and scorned by M. Licinius (likely her master, maybe also lover?) and Philematio should be abandoned as well. Both are to become as attractive and pleasing to their masters and/or lovers as the corpses next to which the tablets have been deposited (both tablets were found in graves). The persuasive analogies are based on the parallel with the dead body that is separated from the living, unable to exercise any physical or mental action, and naturally arousing the emotion of disgust in human beings. The first curse (20), written on two tablets, comes from Pompei

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[73] NGCT 53.
[74] BE 1991, 452, No. 144 prefers the reading ἀλλὰ ὡς σὺ νεκρὸς εἶ, οὕτως κἀκῖνος μετὰ σοῦ, εἰς ὁπόσον χρόνον ζῆ, "mais de même que tu es mort, qu'il le soit aussi avec toi, tout le temps de sa vie".
[75] Gáspár 1990, 16.
[76] This is how Gáspár 1990, 13 translated the text: "Abrasarx, ich übergebe dir den Adiektos, den Koupeita gebar, damit er, so lange (die Tafel) hier liegt, nichts tun kann, sondern wie du tot bist, so soll auch jener mit dir leben, für alle Zeit!" See also Barta 2015a, 133–134, with parallels to our item (21).

and is dated to the 2nd cent. CE; the second (21) was found in Rome and dates to the 1st cent. BCE.

(20) DFX 1.5.4/1 (LCT 33, TheDeMa 543)

A: P(hi)lematio Hostili (serva) facia(m) (=faciem) … capil(l)u(m), cerebru(m), flatus, ren(es)…ut illai non suc(c)edat[77] … ut il(l)ic (=ille) illa(n)c (=illam) odiat. Como(do) …(h) aec nec agere ne ilaic (=illa)… qui(c)qua(m) agere pos(s)it ula …os P(hi)lematio… B: nec age-re nec in…nec u(l)la(s) res pos(s)it pete(re), quae ul(l)o (h)uma(no… Comodo (=quomodo) is eis desert(us), ilaec (=illa) deserta sit cu(n)no.

"Philematio, [the slave] of Hostilius: [I curse? her] face… hair, brain, breath, kidneys…, may she not succeed… may he hate her. Just like… this [corpse] cannot do anything… may she equally be unable to do anything… Philematio… may she be unable to act… or to ask for anything, what to any human (?) … Just like this [corpse] is deserted by them, may she be deserted in her cunt."[78]

(21) DT 139 (DFX 1.4.4/3, LCT 17, TheDeMa 263)

Quomodo mortuos, qui istic sepultus est nec loqui nec sermonare potest, seic Rhodine apud M(arcum) Licinium Faustum mortua sit nec loqui nec sermonare possit. Ita uti mortuos nec ad deos nec ad homines acceptus est, seic Rhodine apud M(arcum) Licinium accepta sit et tantum valeat, quantum ille mortuos, quei istic sepultus est. Dite pater, Rhodine(m) tibi com-mendo, uti semper odio sit M(arco) Licinio Fausto…

"Just like this dead one, who is buried here, cannot speak or talk [to anyone], so may Rho-dine be dead for Marcus Licinius Faustus and not be able to speak or talk [to him]. Just like the dead one is dear to neither gods nor men, so may Rhodine be equally [little] dear to Marcus Licinius, and may she mean to him as much as this dead one who is buried here. Father Dis, I commend Rhodine to you so that she may always be hated by Marcus Licinius Faustus."

An interesting feature of some Greek and one Latin simile formulae is the explicit naming of the deceased in whose tomb the tablets have been deposited. At times, the dead person is even addressed directly in the 2nd person singular and the vocative case. Con-sider, for instance, the "twin" curse-letter[79] directed to "Pasianax", found in Megara and dated variably between the 3rd and 1st cent. BCE. [80] The two curses are virtually the same; the only thing that changes are the targets — in the first, the author seeks to incapacitate Neophanēs, and in the second Akestōr and Timandridas, all three being opponents in a legal battle.

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[77] CIL I² 2, 2541 has *suc(c)edas*.
[78] See also the interpretation of Varrone 2002, 128–129, who proposed the following as a possible context for the tablet: The curse was written by a women who is venting her anger at her rival, Philematio, slave of Hostilius, and — indirectly — also the man who evidently preferred this rival to her, reading the second simile as *comodo is eis (=coleis) deser(tus)*… ("Even as he must remain with idle testicles, so may she remain with an empty cunt…").
[79] Regarding curse-letters, see further López Jimeno 1990 and Ceccarelli 2013, 47–53. We have al-ready seen (12), where the curse tablet was called *haec carta* by the author.
[80] Ziebarth 1889, 126 dated it to the 2nd to 1st cent. BCE; Hoffmann 1900, 201 argued, *pace* Ziebarth, for the 3rd cent. BCE; a more recent entry in SEG 37:351/52 dated the two tablets to the 3rd cent. BCE.

(22) SEG 37:351 (TheDeMa 139)

ὅταν σύ, ὦ Πασιάναξ, τὰ γράμματα ταῦτα ἀναγνῶς — ἀλὰ οὔτε ποτὲ σύ, ὦ Πασιάναξ, τὰ γράμματα τοῦτα ἀναγνώσει, οὔτε ποτὲ Νεοφάνης ατασιρω[.]δωι δίκαν ἐποίσει, ἀλ' ὥσπερ σύ, ὦ Πασιάναξ, ἐνθαῦτα ἀλίθιος κεῖοι, αὔτω καὶ Νεοφάνεα ἀλίθιον καὶ μηδὲν γενέσθαι.

"Whenever you, O Pasianax, read this letter—but neither will you, O Pasianax, ever read this letter, nor will Neophanês ever direct a lawsuit against Aristandros (?). But just as you, O Pasianax, lie here idle, so also let Neophanês be idle and nothing." (transl. Gager)

(23) SEG 37:352 (TheDeMa 1202)

ὅταν σύ, ὦ Πασιάναξ, τὰ γράμματα ταῦτα ἀναγνῶς — ἀλ' οὔτε ποτὲ σὺ ταῦτα ἀναγνώσει, οὔτε ποτὲ Ἀκέστωρ ἐπὶ ερατ[.]φαενεα δίκαν ἐποίσει οὐδὲ Τιμανδρίδας, ἀλ' ὥσπερ σὺ ἐνθαῦτα ἀλίθιος κεῖοι καὶ οὐδέν, οὕτως καὶ Ἀκέστωρ καὶ Τιμανδρίδας ἀλίθιοι γένοιντο (or γενέσθων).

"Whenever you, O Pasianax, read this letter—but neither will you ever read this (letter), nor will Akestôr direct a lawsuit against Eratophanês— and not Timandridas either. But just as you lie here idle and nothing, so also let Akestôr and Timandridas become idle." (transl. Gager)

Older interpretations assumed that "Pasianax" (πάσι-ἄναξ, "supreme ruler") could be an eponym for Hades,[81] and argued that the author was invoking this infernal deity. These views have since been largely abandoned,[82] and quite rightly so. John Gager argued (as Wünsch had long before him)[83] that Pasianax is not a deity but the dead person buried in the grave in which the tablet has been deposited and the spell is based on a "curious set of assumptions" — the writer first assumes that the curse will be effective the moment Pasianax reads it ("whenever you read this letter"), but then realizes that corpses are quite unlikely to be able to read anything "but neither will you ever read this", and "thus the third and final thought takes the spell in an entirely new direction", using a simile formula as homeopathic magic that transfers the attributes of the corpse to the author's enemies at court.[84]

It seems highly unlikely to us that the writer could be so confused (especially since there are two almost identical curses!). Rather, it seems that the writer is constructing a persuasive analogy already with the first clause, albeit without the typical underlying syntax (a ὥσπερ … οὕτως clause). We find it plausible that the meaning is something akin to "just as this corpse will never be able to read a letter, so let my enemies be unable to present a lawsuit…". It is very likely that this type of direct address to the deceased is found also on the tablet with similes already discussed as item 4. The other simile at the very beginning of the same tablet runs as follows.

(24) Curbera 2017, No. 2 (Ziebarth 1934, No. 23, TheDeMa 185)

A: ὥσπερ τύν, Θεόμναστε, ἀδύνατος εἶ χειρῶν, πο[δ]ῶν, σώματος πρᾶξή τι, οἰκονομῆσή τι, φιλεῖμεν, παρ' γυνῆκα καταμένειν, οὕτως κὴ Ζωΐλος ἀδύνατος μένει παρ' Ἀνθείραν

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[81] Wünsch 1900, 67: "Pasianax zunächst war offenbar ein alter Beiname des Königs der Unterwelt"; Audollent 1904, 78–79: "Πασιάνακτα autem cognomen fuisse patet eius qui dominatur in *Inferis*…".

[82] Dubois 1986, 321; Bravo 1987, 200.

[83] Wünsch 1900, 67–68.

[84] Gager 1992, 130–131.

βαίνιμεν, κὴ Ἀνθείρα Ζωίλον τὸν αὐτὸν τόρπον· […] B: … ὥσπερ σφίγμηι ἀνθρώπους ἐνδείσας, ἀποτέλη φθάνων τὸ⟨ν⟩ κατάδεσμον τοῦτον· ὥσπερ τόδε σῶμα πάγνυτη αὐτῶ, οὕτως κὴ Ζωυλος ὁ ἐνγεγραμμένος εἰς αὐτὰν {γ} γίνεσθε·

"Just as you, Theomnastos, are powerless in your hands, feet, body to do anything, to handle anything, to love, to stay with a woman, so too may Zoilos remain powerless to go to Antheira and in the same way Anthera (to go) to Zoilos […] Just as you tie people up, hurry up and accomplish this binding-spell; just as this corpse here is stiff, so Zoilos, the one written here, should be towards her…" (transl. Curbera)

These similes, quite like (**17**) and (**20**), operate as separation formulae aimed at transferring the negative qualities of the dead corpse of Theomnēstos to Zōlios, the author's rival in love. One instance of a named dead individual is attested also with Latin *defixiones*. The tablet containing a curse in a legal context was found in a grave in Carthage and is dated to the 2nd to 3rd cent. CE:

(**25**) DT 221 (DFX 11.1.1/7, LCT 117, TheDeMa 794)[85]

…Se(curus?) como(d)o …no(n) potes(t?) (contr)a nos d(e)r(e)spondere … sic no(n possint respondere?) contra patre(m) meu(m con)tra (me) advocati … comodo li(t)tera(e) non possu(nt) … nec nemo potes(t) ilos (=illoc) venire, comodo Securus …o sic n(o)n pos(s)it (lo)qui, comodo Securus non potes(t?) loqui (sic n)on possint (lo)qui arvo… (=advocati?)

"As Securus … cannot testify against us…, so let the advocates be unable to testify against my father and me … as the letter (= this tablet)[86] is unable (*scil.* to leave this grave?) … so let nobody be able to come (*scil.* to the court?) … as Securus … so let them be unable to speak, as Securus is unable to speak, so let the advocates be unable to speak …"

Despite the less than optimal state of preservation, it seems clear to us that "Securus" is the corpse of the person in whose grave the table has been deposited and not the target of the curse (as Audollent would have it).[87] The curse contains three simile formulae, of which two are readily interpretable. If we would accept nominative for vocative[88] and the preserved form *potes* (2nd person singular), they could also read "Securus, just as you are unable to testify against us…" and "Securus, just as you are unable to speak…", but it makes little pragmatic difference. In both cases, the negative qualities of Securus (or, rather, his dead body) are to be transferred to the advocates and thus make them lose the legal battle they are waging against our author. Whether he addressed the dead body directly (*potes*) or indirectly (*potest*) is immaterial. The last Greek curse to be discussed under the rubric of the explicit naming of the dead people in whose graves tablets were deposited is an enigmatic early *defixio* from Sicily dated to the 5th cent. BCE and likely to be interpreted in a legal context, just as (**23**) and (**25**).

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[85] The emendations, only partially accepted, are those of Kropp (DFX 11.1.1/7); we follow Audollent's text for the most part.
[86] Other tablets also call curse tablets *litterae* (and even formally follow the norms of ancient letter-writing); see TheDeMa 769. For the term *carta*, see TheDeMa 575, 664, 713, 753, 1091.
[87] DT 221.
[88] For the tendency to use the fixed nominative in curse texts, see Urbanová, in print.

(26) Jordan — Rocca — Threatte 2014 (TheDeMa 945)

hōς Ὄλτις ἐς τέλος ἰασα ἀπόλετο τὸς Ῥατōν ἀτέλεστ᾽ἀγορεύεν, τὸν καὶ Κέλōν καὶ ἐς ἔπεα καὶ ἔργα ἐν τᾶι δίκαι. hōς ἀτέλεστος Ὄλτις ἀπόλετο ἐς τέλος ἰασα, τὸς Μύσκελος ἀτέλεστ᾽ἀ⟨γορεύεν⟩ δ⟨ί⟩και καὶ ἐς ἔπεα καὶ ἔργα ἐν τᾶι δίκαι. hōςὌλτις ἀτέλεστος ἀπόλετο, hōς Λέπτōν ἀτέλεστ᾽ἀγορεύον. μεδὲν hανύοι ἐν τᾶι δίκαι.

"As Oltis, being at/going to telos, was destroyed, so let Rhaton fruitlessly plead, him and Kelon/Kaikelon both in words and deeds in court. As, fruitless, Oltis was destroyed being at/going to telos, so let Myskelos fruitlessly <plead> in court, both in words and deeds in court. As Oltis, fruitless, was destroyed, so let Lepton fruitlessly plead. Nothing be accomplished in court." (transl. Jordan — Rocca — Threatte)

The editors argued that the destruction of "Oltis", an otherwise unattested feminine variant of the Greek name Ὄλτος, is to be understood as either an otherwise unknown local *historiola*[89] or a Plinian Olta, a wolf-like creature of Etruscan lore.[90] We would like to suggest an alternative interpretation focused on the "fruitlessness" of "Oltis". The *crux* here lies in the meaning of the sequence ἐς τέλος ἰασα ("going to *telos*"). Since the text makes numerous references to "Oltis" being ἀτέλεστος ("fruitless"), it is, in our opinion, plausible to take the τέλος to mean "proper burial" or "funerary rites". We have already encountered the cognate word ἀτελής (ἀτέλεστος) in formula (17), where the dead body was referred to as "useless" or "lacking funeral rights". There are two more curses from Sicily that are relevant in this context: One from Lilybaion (Marsala, Sicily) in which ἐς τοὺς ἀτελέστους, though hard to connect with the surrounding text, seems to mean "to the ghosts of those lacking proper burial";[91] the other, a short *defixio* from the Buffa necropolis (Sicily), mentions ἀτέλεστα καὶ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ("unaccomplished words and deeds"),[92] mirroring almost *verbatim* our (26). Furthermore, we know from the *Lex Sacra* of Selinous,[93] roughly contemporary with our tablet, that ἐλαστέροι, spirits pursuing those who have committed a homicide, were believed to roam the land. In fact, it has been argued that one of the purposes of this "law" (in fact a purification procedure) was "to deal with comparable miasma arising from deaths and perhaps from ineffective funerary

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[89] See especially Rocca 2015, 307: "On peut aussi considérer la comparaison initiale comme une historiola à la saveur locale faisant référence à Oltis, personne que toute la ville connaît et dont l'évocation du nom suffit à rappeler l'affaire en cours, une sorte de mini-récit qui donne peu d'informations, mais qui déploie la mémoire et les connaissances ainsi que la faculté du rédacteur d'adapter une situation particulière pour l'ériger en exemple parfait et, par extension, en norme générale".

[90] Jordan — Rocca — Threatte 2014, 235, cf. Plin. NH 2, 240: Extat annalium memoria sacris quibusdam et precationibus vel cogi fulmina vel inpetrari. Vetus fama Etruriae est inpetratum, Volsinios urbem depopulatis agris subeunte monstro quod vocavere Oltam, evocatum a Porsina suo rege.

[91] Jordan 1997 (SEG 47:1442, TheDeMa 308). As Jordan 1997, 394 pointed out, "[t]he ἀπευχόμενοι νεκροί and the ἀπευχόμεναι (sc. νεκραί), the 'abominating dead', i.e., who send or enact curses, would be the equivalent, presumably, of the dead whom we meet with later in this line, the ἀτέλεστοι. These last, as I would interpret them, are dead persons whose forces are still active because of a lack of proper funeral rites…". See also Bettarini 2015, 297. Compare with DT 68 (TheDeMa 104): [Κα]ταδῶ Θε[ο]δώρα[ν] πρὸς [τ]ὴ[ν] παρὰ Φε[ρρε]φάττηι καὶ πρὸς [το(ὺ)ς] ἀτελ[έ]σ[το(υ)ς] …. Gager 1992, 90 translated (in our opinion incorrectly) this as "I bind Theodora in the presence of the one (female) at Persephone's side and in the presence of those who are unmarried." The *verso* side of the tablet, on which simile (17) is found, makes it more probable that ἀτέλεστοι here means "those dead people without proper funeral rites".

[92] CDS 15: [— —]κοι hότ[ι] κα λεῖεῖ ἀτέλεστα καὶ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ε[με]ν καὶ Σικαναι ἀτέλεστα *vacat* καὶ ἔργα καὶ ἔπε[α hότ]ι κα λεῖεῖ.

[93] See Lupu 2009, 359–387, No. 27 for a recent edition, a translation, and commentary.

rites for those dead (*cf.* the *miaroi Tritopatores*) and to provide ritual cleansing from the pollution of hostile spirits, similar to those instigated by curse tablets".[94]

Taken together with all the tablets discussed so far in this section, the phrase ἐς τέλος ἰασα ἀπόλετο may mean that Oltis perished while "being on her way" to a proper funerary ceremony (τέλος) and as such she is now ἀτέλεστος, not only "fruitless" but "without proper burial rites". Oltis then would be the name of the unfortunate female in whose grave the tablet was deposited, just like Pasianax, Theomnēstos, and Securus in our examples (**22**), (**23**), (**24**), and (**25**). The author chose her grave because she failed to find her last rest (ἐς τέλος ἰασα ἀπόλετο) and, as such, her ghost is uniquely equipped to fulfill the required magical transfer and cause the legal business of the author's adversaries to fail. It has already been acknowledged at the beginning of this section that a clear-cut differentiation between a dead body (νεκρός, νέκυς) and a ghost of the dead (νεκυδαίμων) is rather difficult to make. However, since similes (**22**) and (**23**) allude to Pasianax's inability to read a letter (i.e. a curse in the form of a letter) and simile (**24**) alludes to Theomnēstos' general inability to make a movement, it seems probable that the names "Pasianax" and "Theomnastos" denote the dead bodies of the men who once held these names rather than their ghosts.[95] Let us now consider the following example from Olbia, dated variously to the 4th or 3rd cent. BCE. [96]

> (**27**) Belousov, in print (Bravo 1987, SEG 37:673, Jordan 1997, TheDeMa 232)
>
> [ὥ]σπερ σὲ ἡμεῖς οὐ γεινώσκομεν, οὕτως Εὔπο[λ]ις καὶ Διονύσιος, Μακαρεύς, Ἀρι[σ] τοκράτης κα(ὶ) Δημόπολις, [Κ]ωμαῖος, Ἡραγόρης, ἐπ᾽ [ὁκο]ῖον πρᾶγμα παραγείνο̄νται, κ[α]ὶ Λεπτίνας, Ἐπικράτης, Ἑστιαῖος, ἐπ᾽ ὅ τι πρᾶγμα [παρα]γείνο̄νται, ἐπ᾽ ὅ τινα μαρτυρίην ο[ὕ]τοι ᾽νόησαν ὥ[σπε]ρ ἡμεῖς σέ. [ἢ]ν δέ μοι αὐτοὺς κατάσχης καὶ κ[ατα]λάβης, ἐπ᾽ ᾧ δέ[97] σέ τειμήσω καί σο[ι] ἄριστον δ[ῶ]{ρ}ρον παρασκε[υῶ].
>
> "Just as we do not know you, so shall not Eupolis and Dionysios, Makareus, Aristokrates and Demopolis, Komaios and Heragores [know us] at whichever lawsuit they attend. And also do not let Leptinas, Epikrates, Hestiaios attend any lawsuit for which they have planned (to give?) testimony — just as we do not know you. And if you maintain this spell on them (κατάσχης) and seize them (κ[ατα]λάβης), I will indeed honour you for that and prepare the best gift." (transl. Belousov, modified)

On this *defixio*, which has been known for quite some time (*editio princeps* 1908) but garnered more attention following Benedetto Bravo's 1987 fresh reading and interpretation,[98] the practitioners address the ghost, not the dead person's body. This is

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[94] Jordan 1993, 131. Regarding the relationship of the *lex sacra* to *defixiones*, see Bouffier 2015.

[95] Already Bravo 1987, 198 highlighted the difference between "mort" in the sense of "l'âme du mort" (= ghost of the dead) and in the sense of "une chose inerte, absolument impuissante" (= dead body). Dubois 1996, 177 likewise commented that the *defixio* is addressed "au mort anonyme, au νεκυδαίμων dans la tombe duquel a été retrouvée la tablette et dont est implorée l'assistance efficace"; cf. also Nisoli 2007, 40–41.

[96] Jordan 1997, 215 dated it to the 4th cent. BCE; Bravo 1987, 194 and Slings 1998, 85 to the 3rd cent. BCE; Belousov, in print, to the 4th–3rd cent. BCE.

[97] Nieto Izquierdo 2016, 125–126 proposed ἐπῳδ<ῇ> in lieu of ἐ(γ)ὼ δέ, with the meaning "Si tu me les ligotes et les retiens avec une incantation, je te rendrai des honneurs".

[98] Bravo 1987 (SEG 37:673, TheDeMa 232) read as follows: [ὥ]σπερ σε ἡμεῖς οὐ γεινώσκομεν, οὕτως Εὔπο[λ]ις καὶ Διονύσιος, Μακαρεὺς, Ἀρι[σ]τοκράτης κὰ Δημόπολις, [Κ]ωμαῖος, Ἡραγόρης ἐπὶ [δ]ινὸν πρᾶγμα παραγείνονται, κ[α]ὶ Λεπτίνας, Ἐπικράτης, Ἑστιαῖος· ἐπ᾽ ὅ τι πρᾶγμα [π]αρ(αγ)είνονται, ἐπ᾽ ὅτινα μαρτυρίην ο[ὕ]τοι ⟨ἐκοι⟩νώ⟨ν⟩ησαν, ὥ[σπε]ρ ἡμεῖς σε· [ἢ]ν δέ μοι αὐτοὺς κατάσχης καὶ κ[ατα]λάβης (or

abundantly clear from the negotiation with the ghost in the concluding sentence, in which he is offered recompense should he succeed in paralysing the author's opponents in court. It would make little sense to be bargaining with a corpse. The tablet is also unique in that the νεκυδαίμων does not act as an intermediary between the practitioner and the chthonic deities (nor is he commanded through chthonic deities with the typical κατά injunction) but operates as an "autonomous entity".[99] There are two outstanding issues here — first, the exact meaning of the simile formula itself, and second, the nature of the "most agreeable gift" that the practitioners are offering to the ghost.

Bravo argued that the simile served to reinforce the probability of an occurrence the practitioner had prior knowledge of, with a meaning akin to "as it is absolutely certain that I do not know you, ghost, let it be also certain that these men will come to the court and do a 'terrible thing' (δινὸν πρᾶγμα)".[100] It is unclear to us why the cursing party would want such a thing to happen given the fact that targets of judiciary curses are practically always enemies and the curses strive to incapacitate them before the court, not to make sure they make it there. Dubois mostly accepted Bravo's interpretation while noting that in formulae such as (22), (23), and (24) there is "un parallélisme de fond entre les deux membres du systéme comparatif; dans le texte d'Olbia ne subsiste plus que le cadre stylistique",[101] which could be very much true but does not advance the interpretation of the simile in any way.

The reading proposed by David Jordan makes better sense in two ways:[102] First, he argued that the second Ὥ[σπε]ρ ἡμεῖς σε ("just as we [do not know] you") is likely a mistake on the part of the author who was using a formulary,[103] and second, it does away with the absurdity of the author wishing for his opponents to make it to the court and present evidence against him. Instead of the second "… just as we …", we might imagine a forgotten second part of the clause with the meaning "… just as we do not know who you are, ghost, so too let Eupolis, Dionysos, and all the others … at whatever lawsuit they are present … at whatever taking of evidence … let them [forget who we are and thus make it impossible for them to proceed against us?]". Second, according to Jordan, the ghost being "unknown" to the author means "buried without proper funeral rites" — and the "gift" consequently consists of paying proper tribute to the ghost and thus letting him rest.[104]

π[αρα]λάβῃς ?), ἐ⟨γ⟩ὼ δέ σε τειμήσω καὶ σο[ι] ἄριστον δ[ῶ]{ρ}ρον παρασκε[υ]ῶ. "[Just as] (it is a matter of fact that) we do not know you, in the same manner (it is also true that) Eupolis and Dionusios, Makareos, Aristokratês and Dêmopolis, [K]ômaios, Heragorês are coming (to court) in order to do a terrible deed, and Leptinas, Epikratês, Hestiaios. (We do not know) for what deed they are coming (to court), (we do not know) upon what testimony those men have agreed, just as we do not know you. If you restrain and constrain them for me, I will honor you and prepare a most agreeable gift for you." (transl. Gager)

⁹⁹ Bravo 1987, 211, see also Gager 1992, 138.

¹⁰⁰ Bravo 1987, 195, followed by Nisoli 2007, 39–40.

¹⁰¹ Dubois 1996, 177.

¹⁰² Jordan 1997, 217: [Ὥ]σπερ σε ἡμεῖς οὐ γεινώσκομεν, οὕτως Εὔπο[λ]ις καὶ Διονύσιος, Μακαρεὺς, Ἀρι[σ]τοκράτης κα⟨ὶ⟩ Δημόπολις, [Κ]ωμαῖος, Ἡραγόρης, ἐπ᾽ [ὁκο]ὶον πρᾶγμα παραγείνονται, κ[α]ὶ Λεπτίνας, Ἐπικράτης, Ἑστιαῖος, ἐπ᾽ ὅ τι πρᾶγμα [παρα]γείνονται, ἐπ᾽ ὅ τινα μαρτυρίην (sc. παραγείνονται) ο[ὕ]τοι [?]ΝΩΗΣΑΝ[?]. {Ὥ[σπε]ρ ἡμεῖς σε} [Ἢ]ν δέ μοι αὐτοὺς κατάσχῃς καὶ κ[ατα]λάβῃς, ἐ⟨γ⟩ὼ δέ σε τειμήσω καὶ σο[ι] ἄριστον δ[ῶ]ρρον παρασκε[υ]ῶ. "Just as we do not know you, so too let Eupolis and Dionysos, Makareus, Aristokrates and Demopolis, Komaios, Heragoras, at whatever lawsuit they are present, at whatever taking of evidence (μαρτυρίη) (sc. they are present), let them … {Just as we you} And if you put a spell on them and capture them, I shall indeed honor you and shall prepare for you the best of offerings." (transl. Jordan)

¹⁰³ Jordan 1997, 216.

¹⁰⁴ Jordan 1997, 217.

The latest reading by Alexey Belousov further improves on Jordan's text and likewise argues that the curse is "a judicial spell addressed to a vengeful spirit (νεκυδαίμων) of an untimely deceased person (ἄωρος)".[105]

This is an intriguing hypothesis, which in our opinion received further support in a remarkable *defixio* found in 2011 in the necropolis of ancient Pantikapaion (modern Crimea, reasonably close to Olbia Pontica/Borysthenes) and dated to the 3rd cent. BCE. [106] This curse tablet contains a single word, ἀνώνυμος ("without a name", i.e. "unknown"), repeated 18 times. The editors argued that this refers to "a special group of the dead called ἀνώνυμοι, a group that includes the souls of people who died prematurely, usually in a violent manner", and cite our Olbian *defixio* as supportive evidence, concluding that "the addressee of the lead plate in question was the spirit of an untimely deceased person (or a number of such souls)".[107] This agrees well with Jordan's and Belousov's interpretation as well as other items in our corpus, especially (**5**), (**17**), and (**26**). Another Greek curse that also features ghosts of the dead (as opposed to dead bodies) as the *comparata* in a simile formula is from a collection of over two dozen curses found at Amathous in Cyprus, dated to the 2nd to 3rd cent. CE. [108] Its somewhat damaged text, the only one in the entire series containing a simile formula, reads as follows.

(**28**) Mitford 1971, No. 130 (TheDeMa 142)

> ἀλλὰ ὡς ὑ[μῖς ἄταφοι κὲ ἄφω]νοι κὲ ἄλαλοι κὲ ἄγλωσσοι, οὕτω […] οἱ ἀντίδικοι ἤτωσαν ἄλαλοι ἄφ[ωνοι ἄγλωσσοι]·

> "But just as you are … wordless and speechless … so also let my opponents be speechless and voiceless." (transl. Gager)

The fact that the author of this curse is using ghosts of the dead as the basis of the persuasive analogy seems to be dictated by the incipit of the text, where he or she invoked "daimones whoever you may be and who lie here, having left grievous life, whether violently slain or foreign or local or unburied" (δέ]μ<ο>νες <οἵ>τινές ἐ<σ>θε κὲ ἐνθά[δε κῖσθε βίον λιπόντες πολυκηδ]έα, βιωθάνατοι εἴτε ξένοι ἴτε ἐντόπιοι ἴτε [ἄποροι ταφ]ῆς).[109] On other tablets in this series, the same *daimones* are also characterized as πολυάνδριοι ("buried in a mass grave") and ἄωροι ("untimely dead").[110] These adjectives again drive home the importance of the "special dead" for magical practices, but some of these references, especially the passive "lying" and the unfortunate circumstances of the death ("untimely dead", "violently slain") and post-mortem irregularities ("buried in a mass grave", "unburied"), could be more easily associated with the inert physical bodies than with ghosts. Some degree of conflation between the two categories is to be expected, however, since corpses as objects are known to cause dissociation in our cognitive systems.[111] Another

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[105] Belousov, in print.

[106] Belousov — Fedoseev 2014.

[107] Belousov — Fedoseev 2014, 147–148.

[108] The provenance of this series of tablets has been indicated for a larger part of the 20th century incorrectly as Kourion; cf., e.g., Audollent 1904, 35; Preisendanz 1930, 131; and Mitford 1971. The original location has been identified by Aupert — Jordan 1981, 184.

[109] The editorial supplements are reasonably safe since the formulaic text can be reconstructed on the basis of other, better preserved tablets in the Amathous series.

[110] Mitford 1971, No. 127 (TheDeMa 141).

[111] Boyer 2001, 203–228, especially 222–224.

curse in a legal context containing a simile formula that mentions the ghosts or souls of dead people, albeit very obliquely, is attested from Attika and dated to the 4th cent. BCE.

(29) Robert 1936, No. 11 (TheDeMa 442)

> Καταδ[έω] τὸς ἐνθαῦτα ἐνγεγραμμένος καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας ὅσοι ἐνθαῦτα ἐνγεγραμένοι εἰσίν, πρὸς Ἑρμῆν Κάτοχον καὶ Γῆν καὶ Περσεφόνειαν καὶ ὅσπερ οἶ παρ[ὰ] ταύτην ἀφικνῶνται οἴκαδε νοστῶσι ὅτως οἱ ἐνθαῦτα ἀντίδικοι τέλος λαβόντον τῆς [δίκ]ης.

> "I bind those inscribed here, both men and women who are here inscribed, in the presence of Hermēs the Binder and Earth and Persephonē. And just as those who arrive at her side (*scil.* Persephone's) make a journey home, exactly in the same way may those opposing litigants reach the end of the lawsuit." (transl. Eidinow)

In this case, the writer does not seem to target restless ghosts who are βιωθάνατοι ("violently slain"), ἄωροι ("untimely dead"), ἄταφοι ("unburied"), or ἀτέλεστοι ("deprived of proper funerary rites"), but rather the more peaceful lot whose death and burial did not exhibit any "irregularities" since they are making their last journey to the realm of Persephonē (unlike the "restless" dead, to whom this last journey is forbidden). A Latin tablet from Rome, dated to the 4th–5th cent. CE, also seems to be addressed to a ghost. The author of this curse, which was found likely in a grave,[112] appealed to "holy angels" (*sancti angeli*), but these are supposed to take his adversary into hell instead of the expected heaven. The curse is non-specific, possibly written in the context of a rivalry in love. The simile explicitly refers to the ghost being "trapped" in a tomb (*anima intus inclusa*):

(30) DFX 1.4.4/13 (LCT 25, TheDeMa 536)

> *Deprecor vos Sancti Angeli. Quomodo (ha)ec anima intus in(cl)usa tenetur et angustiatur (et) non vede(t) (ne)que (l)umine (=lumen), ne(que) a(li)quem (refri)gerium non (h)abet, (sic a)nima, (mentes, cor)pos Collecticii, quem pepe(rit) Agne(lla) teneatur, ard(eat), destabescat (=detabescat). Usque (ad) infernum (se)mper (du)ci(t)e Collecticium, quem peperet Agnella.*[113]

> "I beg you, holy angels/daemons. Just like this soul is enclosed inside, imprisoned, and sees no light and has no recreation, so may the soul, mind, and body of Collecticius, whom Agnella bore, be equally enclosed, may it burn and fall into decay. Lead Collecticius, whom Agnella bore, away all the way to hell."

The last two items in this section have been published only recently by Andrea Barta. Both tablets are curses in a legal context found in graves in a necropolis at Acquincum, dated to the 2nd to 3rd cent. CE.[114] The two curses are likely interrelated and **(31)** might help us with the interpretation of **(32)**:

(31) Barta 2015a (TheDèMa 1115)

> *Dis Pater, Aeracura! Mercuri Cylleni, ea nomina tibi dicto, tradas diris canibus! Di Manes Tartaris! Marcum, Marciam, Charitonem, Secundum, quicumque adversarius surrexerit, qui*

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[112] The exact location of the find is unknown. Solin 1968, 34 noted that the inscription, which is damaged to a large extent, was painted in black on the inner side of a terracotta urn.
[113] Reading and emendations by A. Kropp.
[114] Barta 2015a; Barta 2017a; see also Lassányi 2017 and Barta, in print.

tibi antepistulam adferet. Muta et Tacita! Quomodo manes muti et taciti sunt, sic qui tibi antepistulam[115] adferent, muti et taciti sint. Adversarios Bellici accipite, Tricerberi, et retinete ill[–]os …[116]

"Dis Pater, Aeracura! Mercurius Cyllenius, I dictate the following names to you, hand them over to the dreadful dogs! Infernal souls in Tartarus! Marcus, Marcia, Chariton, Secundus, and whoever may act like an opponent who will bring a curse-in-reply to you. Mute and Silent goddess! Just as the infernal souls are mute and silent, so are those who will bring a curse-in-reply to you may be mute and silent. Three-headed Cerberus, catch the opponents of Bellicus and keep them …" (transl. Barta).

This curse is most likely a preventive anti-spell in case the author's enemies (probably in the context of a legal battle) would want to influence the case or harm him or her via a curse of their own. The desire to silence opponents is extremely common for Latin curses in legal contexts (see, e.g., 8, 25, etc.). Most relevant to our 31 is a tablet from Kempten (DFX 7.2/1, LCT 105) in which the infernal divinity *Muta Tacita*[117] is addressed by the author: *Mutae tacitae, ut mutus sit Quartus, agitatus erret ut mus fugiens aut avis adversus basyliscum, ut e(i)us os mutu(m) sit, Mutae. Mutae (d)irae sint, Mutae, tacitae sint, mutae.*[118] *(Qu)a(rt)us ut insaniat, ut Eriniis rutus sit et Quartus Orco. Ut Mutae tacitae, ut mut(ae s)int ad portas aureas.* "Silent Mutae, [I ask you] may Quartus be mute, may he stray around aroused like a mouse, or a bird, fleeing from a basilisk, may his mouth be mute, Mutae. May Mutae be cruel, Mutae, may they be silent, mute. May Quartus go insane, may he be driven to Erinyes and [may] Quartus [be driven to] Orcus. May Mutae be silent, may they be mute at the golden gates."[119] *Muta Tacita* appears also on a Siscia tablet[120] as a goddess that is supposed to silence the author's enemies (also in a legal context). The other Acquincum curse with a simile formula is significantly harder to interpret.

(32) Barta 2017a (TheDeMa 1429)

… Mercurio. At Tartara tradas comodo epistularius, qui tibi epistulas tradet … epistula(s) tradet comodo verbis nar(r)at… sic atversari loquantur di manes contra Beroene(m), contra Iosimu(m) (=Zosimum), qui tib(i) epistula(s) tradet, sic illos mutos (ta)c(i)tos (m)anes CRASSA vobis (ro)gamus…

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[115] Barta 2015a, 107 assumed that in the context of *defixiones* the word *antepistula*, unattested in Classical Latin (the only other known instance is attested in Greek from the 4th cent. CE with the meaning "letter in reply") is not a "letter in reply", but rather a "curse in reply", anticipating or knowing that the enemies of the *defigens* could or did try to curse her or him.

[116] Emendations by Barta 2015a, 112.

[117] The infernal goddess Tacita, probably an old Roman deity, is mentioned by Ovid in *Fast.* 2, 572, and her cult goes back to the age of the Roman Kingdom. Ovid (*Fast.* 2, 538) also refers to a nymph named *Muta* who was deprived by Jupiter of speech and condemned to live in the marshlands of the underworld because she slandered him. In addition, Ovid uses the word *taciti* to denote the underworld ghosts called *Manes* in his description of the festival of *Lemuria* (November 9 and May 13), which was the time when the ghosts of the deceased called *lemures* returned to their homes at night (*Fast.* 2, 422).

[118] We assume that the author in this case invokes *Mutae* and uses *tacitae* as their epithet: *Mutae (d)irae sint, Mutae tacitae sint, mutae.*

[119] Egger 1963, 254 associated the golden gate with Silius Italicus' gate to the underworld (*Pun.* 13, 556), which was golden as well. This would suggest that *Mutae* are supposed to guard this gate and deny Quartus entrance to Elysium.

[120] Cf. a new revised reading with a helpful discussion of the previous interpretations by Barta 2017b, 28–38 and LCT 107.

> "… to Mercurius. As a messenger, hand over to Tartarus those who will hand letters to you … will hand letters … just as he/she does speak, so may our opponents speak, oh infernal souls, against Beroe and against Zosimus, who will hand letters to you, so the infernal souls may … them mute and silence, we ask you." (transl. Barta)

The tablet is slightly damaged and the meaning of the two simile formulae is far from clear.[121] The problem is the relative *qui* preceding *epistulas tradet*: Barta argued that it refers to either Mercury, who is asked to send to the underworld those who will hand him letters (curses), or someone unknown, most likely the *nekydaimon*, i.e. the spirit of the deceased person into whose grave the tablet was deposited, who is asked to send to Mercury in the underworld those who will hand letters (curses) to him.[122] Given the Greek parallels in this section, the *nekydaimon* seems more probable. The simile *quomodo verbis narrat* might be *adynaton* (as with the Greek (**22**) and (**23**)), meaning something akin to "just as the ghost of the dead is unable to speak, so let also our enemies be unable to testify against Beroen". The next simile (in which *quomodo* is absent) could be interpreted as [*quomodo*] *qui tibi epistulas tradet* [*mutus tacitus est*]*, sic illos mutos tacitos (faciatis) di manes cras*[123] *a vobis rogamus.* The basis of the persuasive analogy here might also be a ghost of the dead — the adjectives *mutus* and *tacitus* often refer to ghosts and are analogous to the Greek ἄφωνοι κὲ ἄλαλοι in (**28**) and the Latin *manes* in (**31**) (*quomodo manes muti…*).[124]

Summarizing conclusions as well as the remaining categories, namely (III) animals, (IV) historiolae and rituals, (V) aversus formulae and unusual orientations of the script, (VI) "names", and (VII) drawings, will be presented in a follow-up paper, to be published in the next issue of *Philologia Classica*.

Abbreviations

BE	*Bulletin épigraphique*
CDS	Bettarini, *Corpus delle* defixiones *di Selinunte*
DFX	Kropp, *Defixiones: Ein aktuelles corpus lateinischer Fluchtafeln*
DT	Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*
DTA	Wünsch, *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae*
DTM	Blänsdorf, *Defixionum Tabellae Mogontiacenses*
LCT	Urbanová, *Latin Curse Tablets of the Roman Empire*
PGM	Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*
RIB	*Roman Inscriptions of Britain*
NGCT	Jordan, *New Greek Curse Tablets*
SGD	Jordan, *A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora*
SupplMag	Daniel — Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*

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[121] The first line of side B, immediately before …*Mercurio*…, is illegible. The text after …*tradet sic*… containing the second part of the simile formula has been added vertically and runs through the rest of the text (probably due to the lack of space left on the tablet).

[122] Barta, in print.

[123] For a similar sequence, see Blänsdorf — Piranomonte 2012, 629: …*(roga)mus cras deas vest(ra)s*….

[124] *Di Manes*, the underworld ghosts, included also ghosts of people with untimely or violent deaths who roamed restlessly the places close to their bodies. For an overview of their powers with respect to the ancient cursing practices, see Audollent 1904, lix–lxvii; Preisendanz 1972, 6–8, 13, 17; Gager 1992, 12–16; Ogden 1999, 44–46; Kropp 2008b, 94–98. For a detailed survey on *Di Manes* in literature and epigraphy, see Tantimonaco 2016, 4–18. Her analysis suggests that, from the Augustan age onward, Manes are simply "defunti divinizzati".

TabSulis	Tomlin, *The Curse Tablets*
TheDeMa	*Thesaurus Defixionum Magdeburgensis*
ThesCRA	*Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*

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Plut. *Ti. Gr.* 16, 1: a Gracchan law on appeal?

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According to Plutarch, Tiberius Gracchus announced during the election campaign of the 133 BCE, that he would pass a number of laws, and among them — the law granting the right of appeal to the people (*provocatio*) ἀπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν. Ti. Gracchus has died before he passed the alleged law. Besides Plutarch, his last reform programme is attested only by Cassius Dio, who mentions no law on appeal. The whole programme is very similar to the laws of Gaius Gracchus, and there is suspicion, that it consists of the laws of Gaius which were ascribed to Tiberius to depict him as a power-seeking demagogue. What could be the aims of the law on appeal and what it meant exactly? Both Gracchi could consider an appeal against the senatorial extraordinary commissions which would protect the Gracchans against political persecution. This measure seems to be more appropriate after the advocates of Tiberius Gracchus were prosecuted in senatorial courts. But Gaius Gracchus, instead of it, prohibited appointing the extraordinary courts *iniussu populi*. If the aim was to gain the electors, Tiberius could promise them appeal against murder courts, though it would be pernicious for the public order. In all other cases the bill on appeal would be of no use for the Gracchans, but would make them a good target of criticism. Such a measure could well be invented by an anti-Gracchan source.

Keywords: *provocatio ad populum,* Gaius Gracchus, Tiberius Gracchus.

Provocatio — an appeal to the Roman people — has long been a matter of debate. Th. Mommsen saw it as part of any comitial trial which he regarded as "zweistufiges magistratisch-komiziales Verfahren", where *provocatio* might be allowed in cases of *iudicatio*. The *iudicatio* was for Th. Mommsen some sort of judicial verdict by a magistrate. This scheme can be deduced from some theoretical notes of our sources,[1] but it is difficult to

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[1] E.g. Pomp. *Dig.* 1, 2, 2, 16; Cic. *De leg.* 3, 6 and 27. See Mommsen 1899, 166–167; ³1887, 138, 1; 167, 1.

apply it to the majority of both the comitial courts and the precedents of *provocatio.* For in the most comitial trials no appeal is attested, and the most cases of appeal concern not *iudicatio*, but *coercitio* — the penalties which a magistrate could impose without any trial for the benefit of public order.[2] On this fact is based the alternative view, namely that that *provocatio* was not required for a comitial court, and that it was possible against *coercitio*.[3]

A curious instance of an attempt to introduce *provocatio* as a means of challenging court rulings can be found in Plut. *Ti. Gr.* 16, 1: describing the tribunal elections of the summer of 133 BCE, in the course of which Tiberius Gracchus attempted a re-election and, according to Plutarch and Cassius Dio (24, Frg. 83 (Dindorf) = 84 (Boissevain) 7–8), put forward a number of reforms. Before we get down to the discussion of the law on *provocatio* itself, it is worthwhile to cite both testimonies about the election programme and to assess their reliability, Plut. *Ti. Gr.* 16, 1:[4]

(1) Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνορῶντες οἱ φίλοι τὰς ἀπειλὰς[5] καὶ τὴν σύστασιν ᾤοντο δεῖν ἑτέρας περιέχεσθαι δημαρχίας εἰς τὸ μέλλον, αὖθις ἄλλοις νόμοις ἀνελάμβανε τὸ πλῆθος, (2) τοῦ τε χρόνου τῶν στρατειῶν ἀφαιρῶν, *(3) καὶ διδοὺς ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν,* (4) καὶ τοῖς κρίνουσι τότε συγκλητικοῖς οὖσι καταμειγνὺς ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων τὸν ἴσον ἀριθμόν, (5) καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἤδη τῆς βουλῆς τὴν ἰσχὺν κολούων[6] πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ φιλονικίαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν τοῦ δικαίου καὶ συμφέροντος λογισμόν.

"(1) And now his friends, observing the threats and the hostile combination against him, thought that he ought to be made tribune again for the following year. Once more, therefore, Tiberius sought to win the favour of the multitude (*plebs*?) by fresh laws, (2) reducing the time of military service, (3) *granting appeal to the people from the verdicts of the judges,* (4) adding to the judges, who at that time were composed of senators only, an equal number from the equestrian order, (5) and in every way at length trying to maim the power of the senate from motives of anger and contentiousness rather than from calculations of justice and public good."[7]

Cassius Dio 24, frg. 83 (Dindorf) = 84 (Boissevain), 7–8:

(2) <…> ὁ Γράκχος τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἐκ τοῦ ὁμίλου νόμους τινὰς ἐπικουροῦντας ἔγραφε, (4) καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱππέας μετῆγε, (1+5) φύρων καὶ ταράσσων πάντα τὰ καθεστηκότα, ὅπως ἔκ γε τούτου ἀσφαλείας τινὸς ἐπιλάβηται. καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα αὐτῷ προεχώρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἦν καὶ ἔμελλεν ἀπαλλαγεὶς αὐτῆς αὐτίκα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑποβληθήσεσθαι, ἐπεχείρησε καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπιὸν ἔτος μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ δημαρχῆσαι καὶ τὸν πενθερὸν ὕπατον ἀποδεῖξαι, μηδὲν μήτ' εἰπεῖν μήθ' ὑποσχέσθαι τισὶν ὀκνῶν.

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[2] The only exception is the court of *duumviri perduellionis*, where *provocatio* is well attested (Liv. 1, 26, 5–14; Dio Cass. 37, 25, 4–28, 4). There were attempts to refute the evidence because of an alleged contradiction between it and Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 12. See Kuznetsova 2017.

[3] Mommsen's views (albeit compressed) can be gathered from Mommsen 1899, 151–174; ³1887, 162–169. For objections, see Bleicken 1959. Lintott 1972, 226–227 gives a brief abstract of the polemic. This might be enough to understand the essential points.

[4] For the purposes of clarity, we split the text into passages numbered in round brackets.

[5] Plutarch seems to be neglecting the threats of prosecution Tiberius could face once he stepped down as *tribunus plebis*; Cassius Dio mentions these in the passage cited, as does Appian (*B. C.* 1, 13, 57). In what is above, Plutarch is dealing with the outrage Tiberius encountered in connection with the will of Attalus and renunciation of Octavius; it is possible that ἀπειλαί imply a real danger, not verbal abuse.

[6] *Cf.* Plut. *C. Gr.* 5, 1 about C. Gracchus: Τῶν δὲ νόμων, οὓς εἰσέφερε τῷ δήμῳ χαριζόμενος καὶ καταλύων τὴν σύγκλητον, ὁ μὲν ἦν…

[7] Transl. Perrin 1988.

"(2) <…> Gracchus was proposing certain laws for the benefit of those of the populace serving in the army, (4) and was transferring the courts from the senate to the knights, (1+5) disturbing and overturning all established customs in order that he might be enabled to lay hold on safety in some wise. And when not even this proved of advantage to him, but his term of office was drawing to a close, when he would be immediately exposed to the attacks of his enemies, he attempted to secure the tribuneship for the following year also, in company with his brother, and to appoint his father-in-law consul; and to obtain this end he did not hesitate to make any statement or promise anything whatsoever to people. Often, too, he put on mourning and brought his mother and children into the presence of the populace to join their entreaties to his."[8]

The evidence for the last reform programme of Tiberius Gracchus is slim: the law on *provocatio* is mentioned only in Plutarch;[9] both attest to the law on the reduction of the term of military service and on lists of jury courts which are unattested in the rest of our extant sources.[10] The relevant passage in Appian, one of the main sources on the life of Tiberius Gracchus, does not say a word about these laws (*B. C.* 1, 14, 58–17, 72).

Cassius Dio seems to be locating these drafts in the time prior to the election campaign. Both he and Plutarch can speak of the laws, which Tiberius has put in action. But Plutarch associates these drafts with the time of the election campaign. He could just as well imply not the reforms carried out, but an election programme. Such explanation is more feasible: there is no evidence either for the application of these laws, or for their revocation, while the law on the transferring of the courts to equestrians was passed only by Gaius Gracchus. Thus we suppose that both Plutarch and Cassius Dio speak of the election programme of Tiberius Gracchus which probably remained unimplemented.

What catches the eye here is the similarity this programme bears to the laws introduced later by Gaius Gracchus: *lex Sempronia militaris* of 123 BCE differs from the draft of Tiberius, but both may be considered to be moving in the same direction;[11] one can only regret the loss of the details of the Gaius Gracchus' law concerning the lists of jury courts in Cassius Dio, but in Plutarch — our only source describing the relevant drafts of both brothers — the essence of their proposals is the same.[12] As well in other sources:

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[8] Transl. Cary 1989.

[9] Rotondi 1912, 300 suggests a comparison between Plutarch's testimony and Macr. *Sat.* 3, 14, 6 Eyssenhardt, or else with the law on the makeup of court commissions. Both comparisons are unlikely, see the next note.

[10] Macr. *Sat.* 3, 14, 6 Eyssenhardt mentions the speech of Scipio Aemilianus *contra legem iudiciariam Tib. Gracchi*. Meyer ²1842, 191–192 refers this testimony to a bill on the makeup of law courts and concludes that it was voted down thanks to the efforts of Scipio. Rotondi 1912, 300 accepts this point. But Scipio was in Numantia during the whole tribuneship of Tiberius Gracchus (Münzer 1900, 1456; Schulten 1936, 1260). Thus, this speech could only refer to a law, which was in force after Tiberius' death. It could be the law granting the *triumviri agrarii* the power to decide on the legal status of contested plots of land (Rotondi 1912, 300 (*lex Sempronia agraria altera*); for a detailed discussion see Lapyrionok 2016, 36–52 [Р. В. Лапыренок. *Наследие аграрного закона Тиберия Гракха : земельный вопрос и политическая борьба в Риме 20 -х гг. II в. до н. э.*]. As a result of the efforts of Scipio these powers were transferred on to the consul of 129 BCE. C. Sempronius Tuditanus (Broughton 1951, 504), which makes it plausible that the speech dates to that very year. Holding to this point are Malcovati 1930, 1, 120–121; Gabba 1958, 60–61; Münzer 1900, 1457.

[11] Is mentioned in Plutarch *G. Gr.* 5, 1; Diod. 34/35, 25. It is possible that this law was meant by Asconius *In Cornel.* 54 Stangl to be among the laws revoked by M. Iunius Silanus. See Marshall 1985, 242. We owe this prompt to V. K. Khrustaljev.

[12] Plut. *Ti. Gr.* 16, 1 *et C. Gr.* 5, 2–3. See Fraccaro 1914, 154–155, who notes, that the description by Cassius Dio is identical with Liv. *Epit.* 60 (on Gaius' law). Fraccaro's hypothesis that the Tiberius' bill on *provocatio* might reflect an earlier version of the same judicial law of Gaius, is puzzling. It is based on the

Velleius Paterculus (2, 2, 3)[13] ascribes to Tiberius Gracchus the initiative of Gaius to grant citizenship to Italics.[14] It looks like as if some laws of Gaius were ascribed to Tiberius. Anyway, bills which were not passed as laws, could have easily been distorted already in the ancient tradition. Whatever was the source of Plutarch and Cassius Dio, their censorious tone makes an impression that this was a source hostile to the Gracchi, trying to ascribe to Tiberius certain radical proposals that could have served as a justification of his murder. All this makes the evidence of Plutarch and Cassius Dio suspicious.[15] But it can not be simply refuted. Certain discrepancies between the sources as well as the silence of Appian concerning these laws do not imply, that the laws were invented after Tiberius' death.[16] And it would be unwarranted to say, that the laws could not be conceived by Tiberius because they are too similar to the laws of his brother or because the evidence reflects an anti-Gracchan source.

If the Plutarchs's source invented the bill on *provocatio*, it is natural to think, that the invention was based on some project of Gaius Gracchus, the same way as the rest part of the election programme.[17] The bill on *provocatio* could have been conceived and left unfulfilled by both brothers as well as their advocates. Our task is to work out to which ends the law on *provocatio* could have served them.[18] Chronologically, we are working between 133 BCE, the year Tiberius was voted *tribunus plebis*, and 122 BCE, the death of Gaius.

Which procedure could be implied in the Gracchan bill on appeal? The tradition gives no detailed account of the procedure, which was needed in case of *provocatio*. Its reconstruction depends on one's understanding of *provocatio*. For Th. Mommsen *provocatio*

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assumption, the Tiberius' bill on appeal might be designed on behalf of the equestrian order, namely to give them protection in *repetundarum* cases; Fraccaro seems to suppose the same for the judicial law of Gaius. *Cf.* further, n. 37.

[13] Rotondi 1912, 300 wrongly points to App. *B. C.* 1, 23, 98–100 as a mention of this bill of Tiberius Gracchus; in fact, it refers to Gaius Gracchus. Lange ³1879, 685 points to App. *B. C.* 1, 21, 86–87, in fact, describing the events of 125 BCE (rogation of consul Fulvius Flaccus, see Rotondi 1912, 306).

[14] On this bill, see various suggestions of: Münzer 1923a, 1392; Gabba 1958, 79–80; Sherwin-White ²1973, 139–149; Stockton 1979, 185–195. The relevant sources: Vell. Pat. 2, 6, 2; Plut. *G. Gr.* 5, 2; App. *B C.* 1, 23, 98–10. This bill has never been passed law.

[15] See criticism of Fraccaro 1914, 145–161, especially 154–160. Part of his argumentation resting on a psychological portrait of Tiberius drawn by Appian cannot, in our opinion, be verified; to counter his argument that consistent policy aiming at segregation of senators and equestrians belongs to Gaius and is impossible for Tiberius (op. cit. 159–160), one may object that the latter, feeling the danger, could seek support of all strata of society.

[16] Münzer 1923b, 1419–1420 on these grounds accepts the quoted testimonies of Plutarch and Cassius Dio. Stockton 1979, 72–74 observes, that it is impossible either to corroborate or to refute them, and suggests (*ibid.* 68, n. 26) that this programme may be a part of a sweeping reform project, conceived by Tiberius shortly before his death. Mommsen 1899, 476 accepts Plutarch's note on the bill concerning *provocatio;* he does not discuss the other points of Tiberius' programme. Lintott 1972, 240: "Whether Plutarch is relating a genuine proposal of Ti. Gracchus or one that appeared in his brother's propaganda, there is nothing essentially implausible in it." The main reason for this point of view appears to be the hypothesis (*ibid.,* 239–240) that *provocatio* against court rulings was not forbidden by law and was acceptable in the eyes of the Romans. Lintott's later judgement concerning the programme of Tiberius Gracchus (Lintott 1994, 69) is far more careful.

[17] To this we return at the end of the present article.

[18] The points of the programme as related by Plutarch and Cassius Dio may come from different sources, but they would be worth discussing as a whole. We have to forgo this opportunity and concentrate on *provocatio* which interests us most, while a broader approach would far outreach the proposed study.

by definition led to a comital court.[19] But according to J. Bleicken's point of view, it could be a *plebiscitum* as well.[20]

Iudicium populi was a procedure inherently cumbersome and easily disrupted. Cf. Cic. *De Domo* 45:

ne improdicta die quis accusetur, ut ter ante magistratus accuset intermissa die quam multam inroget aut iudicet, quarta sit accusatio trinum nundinum prodicta die, quo die iudicium sit futurum, <…> si qua res illum diem aut auspiciis aut excusatione sustulit, tota causa iudiciumque sublatum est.

"To prevent the accusation of anyone without notice being given, but demanding that the magistrate shall lay his accusation thrice, with an interval of a day between each accusation, before he inflicts a fine or gives his verdict, while the fourth accusation shall convey an intimation that the trial will after three (eight-day) weeks from the day on which it is laid; <…> if the day named is cancelled by reason of unfavourable auspices or of any other excuse, the whole process and the trial itself are also cancelled."[21]

If the Gracchan bill prescribed not a trial, but a *rogatio* on pardoning of the accused, the time taken by the procedure would be only a little shorter. *Promulgatio* was to take place within *trinum nundinum* before the voting. In the 1st c. BCE this period was laid down as law (*lex Caecilia Didia* 98 BCE: e. g. *de Domo* 41), and there is no reason to suppose that prior to that it was not done likewise by custom.[22] In order to be functional in the case of *provocatio*, a clause specifying a magistrate to file rogation should be written

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[19] This can be supported by the vocabulary used in the context of *provocatio*, though allowing for a non-technical interpretation: *certare ad populum* (e. g. Liv. 1, 26) or *iudicium populi* (e. g. Liv. 8, 33, 8). As for Greek, Dion. Hal. 5, 19, 4 describes *provocatio* as προκαλεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου κρίσιν. *Provocare* and *appellare* in post-classical language are synonymous and imply a court of last resort (e. g. Tac. *Ann.* 14, 28); *provocare* often means "to take to court" (OLD *s. v.* 6).

[20] J. Bleicken suggests, that *provocatio* stemmed from a spontaneous appeal of a plebeian to his comrades: if the tribunes of the *plebs* saw, that their *ius auxilii* in this case could be ignored, they summoned the *plebs* and demonstrated by means of a plebiscite, that people were ready to defend their comrade. See Bleicken 1959, 345–356. The precedents of *provocatio* against the main pontiff seem not to correspond the procedure of the comitial trial. See Bleicken, 1957, 462–468 with the list of the cases *ibid.* 450–457; and 1959, 341–345. One should consider, if the description of the cases in the tradition fits the procedure and if the described procedure was the formally correct consequence of the *provocatio* and not a compromise reached in an insoluble conflict between the religious norms and the citizen's right of appeal. I must concede that my own quotation of Liv. 40, 42, 9–11 as a *iudicium populi* (Kuznetsova, 2017, 295–296) is open to doubt. Note that Bleicken admits no fixed procedure for *provocatio*; a plebiscite might be passed sometimes, not always, and only before the right of appeal was recognized by the laws. Because, as he argues, the laws on appeal had as consequence not the exercise of it, but the fall of the appealable punishment out of use: this punishment began to be prescribed only by means of *iudicium populi*. See Bleicken 1959, 2462–2463. But it's unlikely that the laws ordered a magistrate to repeal the punishment, if it was appealed against. They *must* have prescribed some procedure. And it might be not a voting on a plebiscite: a law ordering to pass another law looks quite strange. Lintott 1972, 239–240 suggests a voting on a rogation for the bill of Antonius (Cic. *Phil.* 1, 21–26). As Lintott himself points out, a proposal of pardoning the accused would contradict the norm *privilegia ne inroganto.*

[21] Trans. Watts 1923 with my corrections. Cloud 1994, 501 suggests that the formal procedure described by Cicero was not adhered to at all times. He corroborates his cause quoting, without any comment, two passages from Livius: Liv. 25, 3 and 43, 16. *Cf.* Briscoe 2012, 444, who thinks, that Livy (in the latter passage) describes the trial in inappropriate way. We suppose rather that Livy simply ignores details not relating to the voting. We see nothing inappropriate in it. In any case, we see no reasons to believe that comitial courts could be "speeded up". The quoted passages of Livy do not imply it.

[22] Wesener 1962, 1239–1241.

into the Gracchan law. Comitial court is in an advantage of having as default prosecutor the praetor having as a *provincia* the court which pronounced the sentence appealed against to the people.

In whatever form the people of Rome made a decision in cases of appeal, the procedure might take a lot of time. Any obstacle could have had the acquittal of the accused as a consequence, if it was a comitial court.[23] And if it was a voting on a proposal, the consequences of an omen could become a matter of a heated discussion: should the convected be acquitted or not.[24] The more trivial the court case, whose sentence was made eligible for a *provocatio*, the more inconveniences it was likely to breed. Either the court would fall out of use, or else *provocatio* would become futile, no longer an inviolable and sacred right of a Roman citizen, but an empty sound.

What exactly does ἀπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν mean? The following variants are possible:

— *provocatio* against a private court appointed by a praetor:
    — *provocatio* against *legis actiones*:
    — *provocatio* against a *legis actio sacramento* in criminal cases;[25]
— *provocatio* against a conviction before a standing commission (*quaestio perpetua*);[26]
— *provocatio* against a condemnation before an extraordinary commission (*quaestio extraordinaria*);
    — appointed by the popular assembly;
    — appointed by the senate.[27]

An appeal in any *legis actio*, as far as we know, has not as yet been suggested; it is well worth considering. The introduction of *provocatio* against *legis actiones* would mean a popular assembly labouring under a burden of issues of trifling importance and a multitude of checks for the party bringing legal action. In particular, that would have grave consequences for the business life in Rome.

In civil *legis actiones* it is difficult to imagine a right for *provocatio* due to one more reason: in the Roman tradition, *provocatio* is viewed as a safeguard of the liberties of a Roman citizen against the implementation of certain severely grave punishments, while in *legis actiones* the issue at stake was at the most the loss of property, and this not as form of punishment, but a necessity to cover the expenses of the opposite party.

It is easier to conceive a *provocatio* against *legis actio sacramento* in a criminal case, the existence of which was suggested by W. Kunkel.[28] While the laws of the 12 Tables were in effect, it could have been possible that severe corporal punishments (*talio*) and capital punishment could well have been imposed, against which *provocatio* could be used. It is however questionable as to whether an introduction of such a *provocatio* could be attrac-

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[23] See *de Domo* 45 quoted above. *Cf.* Kuznetsova 2017, 294–296 for some details.

[24] However, such details could be included into Gracchan bill on *provocatio*.

[25] W. Kunkel conjectured their existence before the introduction of *quaestiones perpetuae* to substitute for the bipartite court with obligatory *provocatio* suggested by Th. Mommsen. See Kunkel 1962, 97–130; in brief: *Id.* 1963, 728–731. Nobody related ἀπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν to them.

[26] Lintott 1972, 240 (*cf.* further, n. 33) may imply every form of *quaestio*, but his examples concern *quaestiones perpetuae*. Fraccaro 1914, 154 explains ἀπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν in such a way, but does not accept Plutarch's evidence.

[27] Interpretation of Botsford 1909, 255.

[28] See above, n. 26.

tive to the general public; it seems to be too disruptive for public order, for the condemnation of the criminal in this case would be complicated.[29]

On balance, *provocatio* against "non-criminal" *legis actiones* is highly improbable; and in "criminal" *legis actiones* (if they existed) it could be attractive for lower strata, if they were not aware of the possible consequences of such a law. In this case the Gracchan bill can be explained only as a purely demagogic step.

The same might be said in the case of *quaestio inter sicatios*.[30] Besides of it, we hear of only two *quaestiones perpetuae* in the 2nd cent. BCE: *quaestio repetundarum*[31] and *de ambitu*.[32] The latter is not attested before 121, but suppose all the three existed. A *provocatio* against condemnation *repetundarum* would play into the hands of the senators. The *lex Acilia repetundarum*[33] of the time of Gaius Gracchus allows to bring action against the majority of magistrates and the sons of those who are senators at the time of the trial;[34] one can well imagine that an equestrian who went no further in office than *aedilis*, could be put on trial under this law, but mostly it had a bearing on senators. It is questionable, however, whether at an earlier date the laws were not somehow different.[35] In the majority of the attested extortion trials of the 2nd c. BCE the defendants were former provincial governors; judging by a number of sources, by the 1st c. BCE it was common practice to hold them responsible for the actions of their underlings.[36] It is evident that in this case

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[29] It's often suggested that the process before *quaestores parricidii* included appeal to the people (see Wesener 1963, 803–806 (including literature)). The details of this process are unattested. *Provocatio* is conjectured on base of the analogy with the court of *duumviri perduellionis,* where the appeal is well attested (Liv. 1, 26, 5–14; Dio Cass. 37, 25, 4–28, 4), though very much debated (see Kuznetsova 2017). When we draw this analogy, *provocatio* should be the part of both procedures, — but they both would allow no acquittal (Liv. 1, 26, 7: *absolvere ne innoxium quidem posse*), and this might be the fact, which made an appeal indispensable. There was then no resemblance between the court of *quaestores parricidii* and *quaestio de sicariis;* even if there was an appeal to the people in the former, this makes no easier enacting of the right of appeal in the latter.

[30] It's attested for the 141 BCE: Cic. *De Fin.* 2, 54: (*L. Hostilius Tubulus*, see Broughton 1951, 475*) qui cum praetor quaestionem inter sicarios exercuisset, ita aperte cepit pecunias ob rem iudicandam ut anno proximo P. Scaevola tribunus plebis ferret ad plebem vellentne de ea re quaeri.* About the *quaestio inter sicarios* see Kunkel 1962, 45 n. 171 and 1963, 736. The *quaestio de veneficiis* is first attested for 98 BCE, but could have existed before, see Kunkel 1963, 738–739.

[31] Kunkel 1963, 736–737; Rotondi 1912, 292. Cic. *Brut.* 106 refers to it as the first *quaestio perpetua*.

[32] Alexander, 1990 № 34–36 — the first cases *ambitus* quoted by him — are all dated 116 BCE, what makes the *quaestio de ambitu* likely to be established not long before. The testimonies quoted by Lintott, 240, 75 *do not* attest *quaestio (perpetua) de ambitu* for the time of Gracchi: the earliest case is Plut. *Mar.* 5; Cic. *de Orat.* 2, 174 describes the events of 97 BCE (see Leemann *et al.* 1989, 311), and the quoted passages of Livy — *leges de ambitu* from the first time of the 2nd c. BCE, that is, before the first *quaestio extraordinaria* (149 BCE, *cf.* Cic. *Brut.* 106).

[33] We accept the identification of the *lex repetundarum tabula Bembina* as *lex Acilia*. See Crawford 1996, 1, 51–52 and bibliography *ibid.* 39–40. The text of the *lex Acilia* is cited according to this edition.

[34] *Lex Acil.* I. 2. The passage is corrupt: Crawford 1996, 1, 95; Damon, Mackay 1995, 41, n. 17.

[35] Cic. *Pro Rab. Post.* 12–19 argues, that Rabirius should not be condemned *lege Iulia de repetundis* (59 BCE) even under the clause *quo ea pecunia pervenerit*: such a precedent would be dangerous for the *equites*, who were not indictable under this law (except for this clause). Concerning the *lex Iulia* see Kleinfeller 1914, 607–608; Damon, Mackey 1995, 44, n. 30. It seems that no *lex repetundarum* (at least since the Acilian law) infringed on the interests of the equestrian order: only the former magistrates were indictable. The situation might have been the same also before the Acilian law.

[36] See Damon, Mackay 1995. Under the cases collected by Alexander 1990 before 76 BCE we are aware only of two precedents, which may contradict to their conclusions: № 94, prosecution of a legate, on which see Damon, Mackay 1995, 47, n. 42; and № 96, the prosecution of M. Aemilius Scaurus *ob legationis Asiaticae invidiam* under the *lex Servilia* (Asc. 21 C.; on the Servilian law see Berger 1925b, 2414–2415).

the senators would have a vested interest in *provocatio*. But the Gracchi could not gain the majority of the senate by such a law. At best they could gain support of several politicians, but it is no less questionable: the condemnation in the extortion court was at this time rare.[37] This fact makes the appeal dispensable also for the equestrians: if they wanted to support the magistrates active on their part in the provinces, they had more convenient means (e. g. bribery).

The second objection is purely of legal character: before the Acilian law the *quaestio repetundarum* was a *legis actio sacramento,*[38] which did not specify any particular punishment — only the the recovery of losses; the Acilian law was the first to specify a penalty, namely the restitution of damages *in duplum*.[39] Thus, any *provocatio* against the sentence *repetundarum* before the Acilian law would be a *provocatio* against *legis actio sacramento* discussed above.[40]

Finally, *provocatio* in the extortion court would have aggravated the position of the provincials and the Italic allies of the Romans alike.[41] This would have caused violent opposition on the part of the latter, thus granting the senate a strong argument in propaganda. C. Gracchus defended the interests of provincials and allies; there is also some not very reliable evidence for Tiberius' intention to give citizenship to Italics (see above, 3–4). Would appeal in extortion courts contradict the course of Gracchan politics? This depends on whether the agrarian laws of Tiberius (Liv. *Per*. 58) did hurt the allies. This is a matter of debates.[42] Anyway, there were heated conflicts between the agrarian commission and the italics. Thus the power to render a judgement on disputed parcels was transferred from agrarian triumvirs to the consul of 129 BCE C. Sempronius Tuditanus, who neglected the task.[43] If the agrarian laws did not offend the allies, the law on appeal in extortion courts would do it and would not go with the other Gracchan laws, e. g. *lex Acilia repetundarum*. If the agrarian laws did, it would be highly unreasonable to exacerbate the struggle by the law on *provocatio*. Thus the law allowing an appeal in extortion courts could not be proposed by C. Gracchus and then be ascribed erroneously to Tiberius. And it is at least doubtful, that it could be submitted by the latter.

Quaestio de ambitu raises doubts on similar juridical grounds. In the last fifty years of the Republic, the earlier the law was passed, the milder was the punishment for bribery: *lex Pompeia* of 52 BCE enforces not only the current punishment, but the court procedure;

This *legatio* is mentioned nowhere else. *Cf.* Marshall 1985, 134–136 for further discussion. Anyway, the most people prosecuted *repetundarum* were senators. Therefore we can't accept the hypothesis of Fraccaro 1914, 156–157, *cf.* 159 that the appeal in extortion courts would be attractive for *equites*.

[37] *Cf.* Alexander 1990 № 8, 9, 23; Lintott 1994, 77; Cloud 1994, 507–508.

[38] *Lex Acil*. 23 *neive eum [quei condemnatus siet, quod cum eo lege Calpu]rnia aut lege Iunia sacramento actum siet aut quod h(ace) l(ege) nomen [delatum sie]t*. Cf. Kunkel 1962, 12–13; Crawford 1996, 1, 101–102.

[39] The exile was not a punishment but a method of avoiding it, *cf.* further, n. 53. For the penalty both in the Acilian law and the earlier laws see *Lex Acil*. 58–59 (*de litibus aestumandis*).

[40] We are grateful to V. K. Khrustaljev for this argument.

[41] That the extortion court could be of interest for the italics, one may conclude from *l. Acil*. 1 *[quoi socii no]minisve Latini exterarumve nationum…* The text in brackets is conjectured by C. A. C. Klenze (see Crawford 1996, 1, 75).

[42] Stockton 1979, 42–46 suggests, that the allies believed erroneously, that their rights were infringed: the cause was the misrepresentation of the agrarian law by the senate, For the contrary view cf. Lapyrionok 2016, 13–52. For him, C. Gracchus tried to compensate the losses of the allies by giving them civic rights (*Ibid.,* 52–67; as to the rights of the Roman citizen he seems to take into account only the possession of public land; I am not sure, what he thinks of the right of *provocatio* (*ibid*., 67)).

[43] *Cf.* above, n. 10.

lex Tullia of 63 BCE adds to the mentioned below a decade of exile; *lex Calpurnia Acilia* of 67 BCE requires a life-long ban on running for any office and a fine; the Sullan law only suspended the eligibility for any office for ten years.[44] One may surmise that before that, in the 2nd c., the sentences imposed were even milder. In which case a *provocatio* against them was of no use.[45] To this, Polyb. *Hist.* 6, 56, 4 is an obstacle:

> παρὰ μὲν Καρχηδονίοις δῶρα φανερῶς διδόντες λαμβάνουσι τὰς ἀρχάς, παρὰ δὲ ʿΡωμαίοις θάνατός ἐστι περὶ τοῦτο πρόστιμον.

> "A proof of this[46] is that at Carthage candidates for office practice open bribery, *whereas at Rome death is the penalty for it.*"[47]

The question is what Polybius has in mind. He may refer to a certain law, or to an instance of prosecution conducted in an extraordinary court (a *quaestio extraordinaria* or a comitial trial) not necessarily in conformity with some law.[48] The problem is that there is no evidence for death penalty for bribing voters either in the time of Polybius, or before. I have looked in vain for any court *de ambitu* before 116 BCE. [49] As for the laws, we know of two dating before the 2nd c. BCE (Liv. 4, 25 et 7, 15, 12–13), both dubious. They concern electioneering, but not bribery, and there is no mention of *any* penalty in the sources. The two laws from the early 2nd c. BCE (Liv. 40, 19, 11[50] and *Epit.* 47[51]) are only mentioned, and there is no evidence on their contents.[52] One cannot exclude both that in the times of Polybius a certain law did inflict death penalty for bribing of voters and that it could form an extraordinary committee of judges. However, it is easier to suppose, that, at least in practice, in the 2nd c. BCE death penalty was not imposed for this; any mention of it may date back to some point in early history and a practice fallen out of use.[53] The idea

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[44] *Schol. Bob.* 78–79 Stangl. Lists of the laws on electioneering see in Hartmann 1894, 1801; Mommsen 1899, 873–875.

[45] We are grateful to V. K. Khrustaljev for all the said in this paragraph.

[46] *I. e.* of the fact that the Romans consider an inappropriate profit to be the worst shame.

[47] Trans. Paton 1979.

[48] The discussed passage of Polybius can be understood as concerning not a purchasing of votes but some other kind of bribe, but even then we can't illustrate it with any examples.

[49] The only case, which could be related to *ambitus* — the investigation of C. Maenius quoted n. 56, — has nothing to do with bribing.

[50] *Et legem de ambitu consules ex auctoritate senatus ad populum tulerunt.* See Stolle 1997, 64–65; Mommsen 1899, 866, n. 6.

[51] *Lex de ambitu lata.* The law is mostly referred to as *lex Cornelia Fulvia.* Both the date (159 BCE) and the authorship of the law (the consuls Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius Nobilior) seem to be generally accepted (Berger 1925a, 2344–2345; Broughton 1951, 445; Hartmann 1894, 1801; Lange [3]1879, 312; Rotondi 1912, 288 *et al.*). As far as I can understand, the date is lead from the fact, that the law is mentioned between the praetorship of Cn. Tremellius (Broughton 1951, 428) 159 BCE and the census of the same year; this is supported by Plinius' note, that the censors tried to limit the *ambitio* (*Hist. Nat.* 34, 14). See Rinkes 1854, 47–52.

[52] But both laws were linked to the cited passage: Walbank 1957, 741 (doesn't make choice between the two laws)); Hartmann 1894, 1801 votes for 159 BCE;. Lange [3]1879, 312, 663 and, following him, Rotondi 1912, 288 conclude from the cited passage of Polybius, that the law of 159 BCE might have toughened up the penalty by prescribing a *banishment.* But θάνατος may mean death penalty, and in Polybius' time the exile was not a punishment, but a method of avoiding it, cf. *e .g.* Kunkel 1963, 766–768; Kleinfeller 1909, 1684; Levy 1931, 5–14.

[53] Lintott 1990, 3 (φανερῶς is understood as *manifesto,* and the law as "directed against the clearly attested giving of bribes by the candidate himself"). Mommsen 1899, 668–669 cites these words of Polybius among the sources concerning the three kinds of fraud, for which, in Mommsen's view, was fixed death

of an appeal to the people against condemnation for bribing the same people seems to be a good target for criticism. The Gracchi would not gain a lot by promulgating such a law. To sum up, it was but useless for the Gracchi to introduce a *provocatio* on the sentence of *quaestiones perpetuae*. At best it can be explained as a demagogic step, — and only if it concerned the *quaestio inter sicarios*.

The *extraordinary* committees were set up to ensure a speedy court procedure. P*rovocatio* would have rendered them useless. An extraordinary court could be set up by ruling of either the senate or the public assembly.[54] In the latter case, a clause excluding an appeal could be introduced into the bill setting up the court; in the former case the senate would need a separate law. Thus, at first sight, a law on *provocatio* against the rulings of extraordinary trials could affect the interests of the senate. Before the murder of Tiberius Gracchus the senate did decree an extraordinary trial in case of high-profile crimes potentially disrupting the law and order, but not in case of political crimes.[55] Hence an introduction of *provocatio* against extraordinary courts was of no evident advantage to Tiberius Gracchus. One may proffer a guess that that was his way of safeguarding himself and his advocates against possible baiting on the part of the senate should there be no *tribunus plebis* ready for intercession. This measure seems, however, to fit better in the wake of the murder of Tiberius Gracchus when the senate did rule a series of extraordinary court trials to be held against his advocates, thus reaching out for this long unused measure in political struggle.[56] As for Gaius Gracchus, it is known that the first thing he did was to pass the law prohibiting the summoning of extraordinary courts otherwise than by ruling of the popular assembly; this was his answer to the attacks on the advocates of Tiberius Gracchus.[57] With this law adopted, it would have been useless to introduce *provocatio* against extraor-

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penalty in the 12 Tables (namely, perjury, purchasing of votes and of court decision). But Mommsen's interpretation lacks parallels.

[54] For the 2nd c. BCE cf. Polyb. 6, 16, 1–2: "The senate … cannot carry out inquiries into the most grave and important offences against the state, which are punishable with death, and their correction, unless the *senatus consultum* is confirmed by the people" (Trans. Paton 1979). See Walbank 1957, 690–691. Polybius may have in mind only the *quaestiones*, which took place in Rome and investigated the crimes of the Roman citizens. For investigating the crimes of Italics the senate did not need a decision of the people (*cf.* Polyb. 6, 13, 4 and 7; Walbank 1957, 679–680). Polybius could mean the review of the commission's judgment by the people or the right of appeal against it. But such a view would not fit the evidence, on which see Ungern-Sternberg 1970, 29–38. Polybius could also have in mind not a custom, but the *lex Sempronia* of the 123 BCE: as Walbank, 1972, 11–13 suggests, in 118 BCE he could still be working on his "History". I am very grateful for this remark to A. Verlinsky. Whether the approval of the people was needed in the concrete case or not may have depended both on the position of *tribuni plebis* and of the senate. Cf. e.g. Liv. 4, 50–51: the tribunes vetoed the SC, and the senate asked them for a plebiscite. The passage is the only source on the case, which reports this fact (see Broughton 1951, 75), but if Livy invented it, he might have used a well-known scheme.

[55] In the 2nd c. BCE the "political" crimes could be investigated only after the voting of the people. See literature quoted in n. 55. In the earlier time the senate might need no approval of the people (Kunkel 1963, 732), but it's rather difficult to cite any sources. The only attested case concerning a "political" crime might be the consular investigation of *coitiones*, which was ordered by the senate after resignation of the dictator C. Maenius (314 BCE), who had begun the inquiry. See Liv. 9, 26 and Oakley 1998, 319–320 (*coitiones*); Oakley 2005, 318–322 about C. Maenius. Kunkel 1963, 732 suggests convincingly that also the *quaestio caedis Postumianae* of the 413 BCE might be appointed not by the *plebs* (Liv. 4, 51), but by the senate. *Cf.* Ogilvie 1965, 611–612.

[56] See Ungern-Sternberg 1970, 43.

[57] I am convinced by Ungern-Sternberg 1970, 50–54 concerning the content of the law. See Kuznetsova 2018, 284 for the discussion of the sources.

dinary trial courts. Consequently, the most appropriate time for such a project must be 132–122 BCE, and it might be the Tiberius' supporters, who considered it.

Thus, Plutarch's testimony can be interpreted in two ways. If the Gracchan bill concerned the senatorial *quaestiones extraordinariae*, it could have been discussed as a necessary measure against political prosecution, and such a measure could have been especially appealing after a series of persecutions of the advocates of Tiberius Gracchus. There is nothing in this reform that is exceptional or reprehensible. In any case, even if the *provocatio* was normally directed against *coercitio,* there is a slim chance that a speeded court procedure in such trials made *provocatio* against them natural even from the legal viewpoint.[58] In Plutarch we witness a description of a bill distorted beyond recognition (the question remains whether it was intended[59]) and the whole idea is not very convincingly attributed to Tiberius.

The second possibility is that the alleged bill dealt with some other court. In this case it is easier to criticize this law, than to put forward arguments in its favour: it is difficult to think of beneficent consequences it could have had; apart from the reference to the civic value of the right for *provocatio*, it is hardly possible to justify this law as such. As we have seen, *provocatio* in murder trials could be attractive for common people, if they were not aware of possible consequences of such a law. Yet more likely is the possibility that the bill was ascribed to Tiberius Gracchus by a source hostile to Gracchi. To introduce the *provocatio* was, in fact, in most cases useless and even dangerous: it could harm the interests of the various strata of society and give the senate a good argument in propaganda. Hence, it is very probable that the author of this testimony aimed at representing Tiberius Gracchus as cunning and unprincipled demagogue, caring not if there could be point in the alleged bill and what content it could have.

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[58] See the beginning of this article. This depends on whether the *quaestiones extraordinariae* could be regarded as *caedes civis indemnati*. Against this possibility is Kunkel 1963, 733. See, however, Ungern-Sternberg 1970, 36–37 with n. 57.

[59] If Plutarchs' reference stems from anti-Gracchan propaganda (see further), the bill on appeal against senatorial courts could hardly be described in an appropriate way: the bill was justified more than it was needed by what happened after the murder of Tiberius Gracchus. How dangerous any mention of it might be for the *optimates*, one could see, e. g., from the polemic around the execution of the Catilinarians *contra legem Semproniam*.

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On Two Expressions for the New Moon in Latin*

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The article examines two expressions for the new moon in Latin, *luna silens* and *luna sicca* (or *sitiens*). Despite the unusual imagery behind the choice of these epithets, the expressions appear in unremarkable, technical contexts (mostly, in works on agriculture by Cato, Columella, Pliny the Elder) and denote this particular phase of the lunar cycle without any indication that the metaphors were perceived by speakers. The paper aims at explaining this paradox. It is shown that neither of these expressions was based on superstitions or popular lore. They reflected, in fact, an attempt to present the phase of the lunar cycle when the moon is invisible in contrast to other visible phases, which are easier to identify. Thus, *luna silens* was created by opposition to *luna crescens* "the waxing moon", as denoting the moment before active, visible growth will begin. *Luna sicca*, on the other hand, was created by opposition to *luna plena*, "the full moon", where the moon would be imagined as a vessel, gradually filled to its fullness by white light. Finally, *luna sitiens* was an expression, synonymic to *luna sicca*, created by analogy with *luna silens*. While these expressions were used as terms without any artistic effect, Augustan poets seem to have recognized their poetic potential and, on some occasions, put it to use (in particular, Verg. *Aen.* 2, 255 and Prop. 2, 17, 15).

Keywords: new moon, *luna silens*, *luna sicca (sitiens)*, Cato, Pliny the Elder, Columella, agricultural lore, Vergil, Propertius.

Latin has several expressions for the new moon, i.e. the day that opens the new lunar phase when the Moon is not visible due to it having the same ecliptic longitude as the Sun:[1] paradoxically, *luna nova* was not one of them, as the term seems to have been used for the "new moon" in a broader sense, designating the first days of a lunar month.[2]

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[1] Throughout this article the term "new moon" will be used in this narrow, terminological sense of the moon in conjunction with the sun, and not in the more popular usage that designates the first days of the lunar cycle as the "new moon".

[2] Thus, Tavenner 1918, 80; cf. *novae lunae* in Hor. *Carm.* 3, 19, 9 (with Nisbet, Rudd 2004, 234 *ad loc.*, who compare the expression with Greek νουμηνία which can be used to designate the beginning of the month. While this parallel is certainly pertinent, there is a slight difference that distinguishes νουμηνία in Greek: the term was originally used for the first day of the lunar month considered a holy day, linked to religious celebrations and practices (cf. Mikalson 1972). Thus, there is a transfer of meaning from the astronomical designation of the new moon to the day of the month (cf. Thuc. 2, 28, 1 where the historian stresses

Two expressions, *interlunium* or *luna intermenstrua*, were clearly of astronomic origins, referring to the notion of transition from one lunar cycle to another. The idea behind two remaining expressions, *luna silens*, literally "the silent moon", and *luna sicca* or *luna sitiens*, "the dry/thirsty moon", is much less obvious and requires a separate examination. If taken literally, neither the verb *sileo, silere* nor the adjective *siccus* are an intuitive choice to qualify the moon, and the resulting expressions, if viewed through the lens of classical Latin, would appear strikingly metaphoric. However, what renders them all the more enigmatic is the fact that both *luna silens* and *luna sicca (sitiens)* are attested principally in technical, unpoetic texts, both being more popular with Roman agricultural writers than the more straightforward *luna intermenstrua* or *interlunium*.[3] Moreover, the contexts suggest that for average Latin speakers *luna silens* and *luna sicca (sitiens)* were the neutral designation of the particular day of the lunar cycle, while the metaphoric nature of the two epithets seems to have gone largely unnoticed.[4] This article proposes to explain the origins of the two expressions and to analyze some poetic contexts in which they are used for artistic effect.

Before examining the two designations of the new moon, it is worth making an overview of the denominations of lunar phases; these expressions are fairly well attested, especially, as in agricultural lore different phases were considered appropriate for different agricultural tasks.[5] The name for the waxing moon in Roman writers is *luna crescens* (sometimes allowing for periphrastic expressions such as *cum luna incrementum capit*).[6] The full moon was called *plena luna* (more seldom, designated by a universalised term, *plenilunium*).[7] The first and last quarter-moon was called *dimidia luna* or *luna dimidiata*,[8] and the waning moon could be designated as *luna decrescens, luna senescens, luna minuens* or by some kind of periphrasis.[9] Even a cursory glance at these terms is sufficient to discover a tendency to designate opposite moon phases by antonymic expressions. This is especially evident in the case of *luna decrescens / senescens / minuens* as opposed to *luna crescens*, where the coexistence of three terms based on two distinct metaphors shows beyond doubt that *luna crescens* was the original term, while *luna decrescens / senescens / minuens* were created either by simple negation or, by antonym, in opposition to two

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that he is talking about the νουμηνία in the astronomical sense); however, due to the religious dimension, νουμηνία is still applied to one day only, contrary to the expression *luna nova* which can be applied to several days.

[3] For examples of *luna intermenstrua* and *interlunium* in agricultural contexts, see Cato, *Agr.* 37, 4; Plin. *HN.* 17, 215; 18, 158; 18, 322; 18, 158; etc.

[4] This is particularly evident when the expression appears in combinations like *luna silenti post meridiem* (Cato, *Agr.* 40, 1; cf. below).

[5] For the fullest overview of the evidence, see the excellent article by Tavenner (1918).

[6] Columella, *Rust.* 2, 10, 12; for the discussion of this expression, see n. 12.

[7] For *luna plena*, see, e.g., Plin. *HN.* 14, 134; 17, 215; 18, 322; Colum. *De arb.* 15; for *plenilunium*, Columella, *Rust.* 11, 2, 85; Plin. *HN.* 16, 194; etc. In poetry, the phase of the full moon could also be indicated by applying the epithet *plenus* to features of the moon: cf., *plenos extinxit Cynthia vultus* "the moon extinguished her full face" (Petron. *Sat.* 122, line 130); *bis quinos plena cum fronte resumeret orbes / Cynthia*, "when the moon regained for the tenth time the orb with the fullness of her brow" (Stat. *Theb.* 1, 576–577).

[8] E. g., Cato, *Agr.* 37, 4; Plin. *HN.* 18, 322; Vitr. 9, 2, 3; etc.

[9] For *luna decrescens*, cf. Columella, *Rust.* 11, 2, 11; 11, 2, 52; Cato, *Agr.* 31, 2; Plin. *HN.* 17, 146; 18, 321; etc. For *luna senescens*, cf. Varro, Rust. 37, 1 and 3; Gell. *NA* 20, 8, 4 (with the possibility of periphrasis *cum senescit luna*, cf. Varro, Rust. 1, 64, 1). A less specific kind of expressions for the waning moon were based on the comparative *minor, minus*: thus, *cum luna minuitur* (Pallad. 10, 12); and Horace's *minorem ad lunam* (*Sat.* 2, 8, 31–32), as Kuijper 1966 has shown, must also refer to the waning moon.

meanings, literal and metaphorical, of *crescere*, "grow in size, grow physically" and "grow to adulthood, age". As we shall show, a similar process seems to have been at work in the case of *luna silens* and *luna sitiens (sicca)*.

1. *Luna silens*

In the preserved texts, the expression *luna silens* appears almost exclusively in the ablative, the variation of the ending showing that the epithet could be interpreted either as an adjective (in which case the expression becomes an ablative in its temporal function, *silenti lunā*), or as a participle forming an ablative absolute construction, *lunā silente*.[10] The verb *silere* in this expression seems to have never been replaced by a synonym[11], so that we are dealing with a fixed term. The majority of contexts where *lunā silenti* appears concern advice on sowing, planting or manuring, together with indications of the best season and weather (especially, as regards the winds) for these farming procedures, e.g.:

> *Alteram quartam partem (scil. stercoris) in pratum reservato idque, cum maxime opus erit, ubi favonius flabit, evehito luna silenti* (Cato, *Agr.* 29).

> "Keep the other quarter (of manure) for the field and, when it is most needed, bring it out on the day of the new moon, when west wind blows."

> *Per ver haec fieri oportet: <…> in locis crassis et umectis ulmos, ficos, poma, oleas seri oportet: ficos, oleas, mala, pira, vites inseri oportet luna silenti post meridiem sine vento austro* (ibid. 40, 1).

> "In spring the following should be done: in places that are rich and moist, elms, figs, apple-trees, olive-trees should be planted; figs, olive-trees, apple-trees, pear-trees, vines should be planted on the day of the new moon, in the afternoon, when there is no south wind."

> *Prata primo vere stercerato luna silenti: quae inrigiva non erunt, ubi favonius flare coeperit* (ibid. 50).

> "Fields should be manured in the beginning of spring on the day of the new moon: for they will not be well-watered, once the west wind starts to blow."

> *Silente luna fabam vellito ante lucem, deinde cum in area exaruerit, confestim, prius quam luna incrementum capiat, excussam refrigeratamque in granarium conferto.* (Columella, *Rust.* 2, 10, 12).

> "Gather the beans during the new moon before sunrise; then, after they have dried on the threshing-floor, at once, before the moon gains <noticeable>growth,[12] stock them in the granary, having beaten them out and cooled them."

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[10] It is very probable that the expression *silenti luna* was the original form, while the ablative absolute was a reinterpretation (this will be discussed in a separate article).

[11] A. Ernout in his edition of Pliny reconstructed an expression for the new moon in which *silenti* would be replaced by *tacenti* (Ernout 1962, 27–28): *Ungues resecari nundinis Romanis <luna> tacenti atque a digito indice multorum persuasione religiosum est*, "Cutting nails on the Roman *nundinae* (market-days) during (the new moon?), and commencing from the forefinger, is considered a bad sign in the opinion of many people" (Plin. *HN.* 28, 28). The transmitted text is certainly obscure, and it is difficult to understand *tacenti* as it stands. However, there is no external evidence that *tacēre* could be substituted for *silere* in the designation of the new moon; moreover, the application of the superstition would be uncharacteristically limited, if the recommendation to avoid cutting nails were restricted to days when the *nundinae* coincide with the new moon.

[12] The expression *prius quam luna incrementum capiat* is sometimes understood as indicating of the beginning of the waxing moon phase, which necessarily makes the scholars interpret the expression *silente*

<…> hoc (scil. vicia, passioli, pabulum) silente luna seri iubent (Plin. *HN.* 18, 314).

"They advise that these (i.e. vetch-peas, calavance, fodder plants) should be sown in the new moon".

Pliny formulates the general principle of observance of this phase of lunar cycle with regard to agricultural tasks in the following manner:

Inter omnes vero convenit utilissime in coitu eius sterni, quem diem alii interlunii, alii silentis lunae appellant (Plin. *HN.* 16, 190).

"However, of all days, timber is to be felled with most advantage when the sun and moon come together, on the day that is called by some the midmoon day, and others call the day of the silent moon."

These contexts show that for Latin speakers the expression *lunā silenti* (*silente*) was a neutral indication of the lunar phase that could even be combined with an indication of the time of day, amounting in paradoxical expressions of the type *luna silenti post meridiem* (Cato, *Agr.* 40, 1)[13]. However, the choice of the verb *silere* is not self-evident, as the transition from the idea of being silent to the notion of not giving light makes for a fairly bold metaphor. In fact, lemmas in dictionaries have a difficulty of finding an appropriate category for the expression: *OLD* is a case in point, as it makes a separate entry for *lunā silenti*.[14] There have been diverse attempts to explain the use of *silere* in *lunā silenti*. Works on Roman religion unsurprisingly associate the epithet *silens* with the allegorical representation of the moon as a deity (moreover, associated with Hecate);[15] however, the technical nature of the texts and absence of explicit religious connotations or any stylistic features that usually accompany allegoresis is a serious drawback to accepting this explanation. Another approach linked the use of *silere* to its association with other forces of nature, in particular, with the winds:[16] the parallel, however, does not seem appropriate,

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luna as referring to the waning moon, not only to the new moon: thus, "Here it is apparent that the dark of the moon is thought of as the remnant of the waning moon; and that if the moon should begin to increase before the harvest was garnered, the beans would not dry successfully" (Tavenner 1918, 70, quoted with approval by Cram 1936, 258). This goes contrary to the specific use of the expression *silenti luna* to denote the day between two lunar cycles when the moon is invisible. It seems much better to understand the expression *prius quam luna incrementum capiat* as referring to a stage of the waxing phase, when the moon's *incrementum* clearly seen. Unfortunately, I was unable to ascertain how long it takes for beans to dry; intuitively, during a dry summer several days under the sun might suffice, so that the moon would not even have to reach the *dimidia luna* stage. Alternatively, D. V. Keyer has suggested to me that the words *prius quam luna incrementum capiat* might be a gloss on *silente luna* that was accidentally incorporated into the main text, rendering Columella's instructions practically unfeasible (he considers that the beans would have to dry for a longer period of time), and hence Palladius' correction to *luna minuente* in his rendering of the same advice (Pall. 7, 3, 2). However, as the expression *incrementum capere* is rare, I would prefer to keep Columella's text as it is and to understand *incrementum* as *noticeable* growth: Columella's lack of precision in this case could be explained by varying delays for the process depending on how dry or moist the season is.

[13] This paradoxical usage is often remarked on by scholars: Shackleton Bailey 1947, 90; Heyworth 2007, 187 n. 51.

[14] See *OLD* 1968, 1761, s.v. silens, -ntis.

[15] Thus, Lunais 1979, 335; Green 2007, 134. Tavenner 1918, 81–82 was certainly right when he insisted that agricultural lore (i.e. the system of practical observations and beliefs according to which a Roman farmer scheduled his activities) should be distinguished from religious beliefs and practices.

[16] That the semantic development was thus reconstructed is evident from the lemma in Georges 1886, Bd. II, 2390–2391, s.v. *sileo*, partic. *silens* (b). For this usage of *silere*, cf. *verumtamen praestat eligere sationi*

as the choice of *silere* is not unexpected when speaking of a natural phenomenon which, in its stronger manifestations is associated with sound. Finally, Ernout and Meillet in their discussion of the use and etymology of the verb *silere*, indicate (implicitly rather than explicitly) that *lunā silenti* might have originated with the use of *silere* in the vegetal sphere which could be at the origin of the expression.[17] Indeed, an overview of agricultural contexts in which the verb *silere* appears shows a number of contexts connected to growth (especially of vegetation), to indicate the moment that immediately precedes active, visible growth — the moment when the plant has all the potential for bringing forth new branches and stems, is ready for it but no signs of growth are as yet apparent:[18]

> *quae* (*scil. sarmenta et calamenta*) *sicco tamen solo legenda sunt, ne lutosa humus inculcata maiorem fossori laborem praebeat, qui protinus adhuc silentibus vineis inducendus est* (Columella, *Rust*.4, 27, 1).

> "These (*scil.* prigs and deadwood) should be gathered while the ground is dry, so that the trampling of muddy earth does not render the task more difficult for the digger, who should be sent for at once, while the vines are still dormant".

> <…> *eoque debemus intellegere nullam partem anni excipi, si sit sarmenti silentis facultas* (ibid. 4, 29, 1).

> "And for that we must understand that no part of the year should be an exception, should there be any capacity for growth of prigs (i. e. in plants that are as yet dormant)."

In these passages the verb is applied to perennial plants so that the idea behind the expression *silentibus vineis* is contrasted with *antequam germinent* (4, 27, 1), as well as that behind *sarmenti silentis* with *sine germine* (4, 29, 1). It should be noted specifically that the verb *silere* in the sense of expectation of active growth tends to be used in the present participle, focusing on the dormant state; it can also be applied to eggs that have not yet hatched:

> <…> *nam post unum et vicesimum diem silentia oua carent animalibus* (ibid. 8, 5, 15).[19]

> "For eggs that are not hatched after twenty-one days have no living creature in them."

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silentis vel certe placidi spiritus diem, "however, for sowing it is best to choose a day of no wind, or a gentle one" (Columella, *Rust*. 3, 19, 3); *[…] diem quoque tepidum silentemque a ventis eligat* "let him choose a warm and windless day" (Columella, *Rust*. 4, 29, 5). It was also popular in poetry: *ibi omnes silent venti…* "there all winds are silent…" (Plin. *Epist*. 2, 17, 7); *unde hiemes ventique silent* "thence tempests and winds are silent" (Stat. *Ach*. 1, 54); *silet umidus aer* "moist air is silent" (Ov. *Met*. 7. 187); *aequora tuta silent*, "the safe sea is silent" (Verg. *Aen*. 1, 164); *cur adhuc undae silent?* "why are waves still silent?" (Sen. *Phaedr*. 954).

[17] See Ernout–Meillet 1967, 625 who mention the expression *lunā silenti* between the uses of *silere* for forces of nature and its use for plants and vegetative growth; cf. also Kazanskaya (forthcoming).

[18] The lemma in *OLD* 1968, 1761, s.v. sileo, groups very different usages under the last meaning "5 To be inactive, be quiet. b (of processes, actions, etc. not to function, be quiescent. c (of plants, etc.) to be dormant; (of eggs) to show no sign of activity, i.e. not to hatch": the problem is that the lemma does not distinguish between the use of the verb for artistic effect and terminological use where no such effect is apparent. Cf. Lunais 1979, 337 who remarks: « Dans ces deux cas (*scil.* Cic. *Mil*. 10 and Tac. *Hist*. 3, 47 — M. K.) ; l'image se comprend d'elle-même ; le français peut la garder sans la déformer. Il en va tout autrement de la lune 'silencieuse' ».

[19] D. V. Keyer suggests that the usage of *silere* in *silentia ova* may in fact have been the primary metaphor, and that thence the verb was transferred to the vegetative sphere. Unfortunately, the expressions are not sufficiently well attested (*silentia ova* occurs only once) to decide which of them was primary and which was secondary.

The usage of *silere* to designate the period immediately preceding growth, when all the potential for growing is in place but the process has not yet begun, corresponds exactly to the meaning that we were looking for in *lunā silenti*: the choice of *silere* for the periphrasis was at once accurate and technical, as it characterized the astronomical phenomenon (the period when the moon is not visible) by means of the antonym to *crescere* that described its positive counterpart (the period when the moon grows). The metaphor behind *silere* thus equated the lunar cycle to the cycle of vegetative growth, which, given the persistency of beliefs in the connection between the growth of the moon and the growth of plants, hair, young animals,[20] made the expression *lunā silenti* all the more natural and acceptable. It should be stressed however that this connection was secondary.

2. *Luna sicca* (*sitiens*)

The expressions *lunā siccā* "during the dry moon" and *lunā sitiente* "during the thirsty moon" seem to have been less current than *lunā silenti*. As in the case of *lunā silenti*, the epithet is clearly metaphorical, but the dictionaries offer no clue as to which meaning of *siccus* and *sitiens* the expression is grounded on.[21] In Roman sources, Pliny the Elder is the only one to use it, and it is also from him that we learn of the existence of an analogous expression, *lunā sitiente*:

> <…> *fimum inicere terrae plurimum refert favonio flante ac luna sitiente. id plerique prave intellegunt a favonii ortu faciendum ac Februario mense tantum, cum id pleraque sata <et> aliis postulent mensibus. quocumque tempore facere libeat, curandum, ut ab occasu aequinoctiali flante vento fiat lunaque decrescente ac sicca. mirum in modum augetur ubertas effectusque eius observatione tali* (Plin. *HN.* 17, 57).

> "It pays best to manure the ground when the west wind is blowing and the moon is thirsty. The majority wrongly take it that this should be done when the west wind sets in and only in the month of February, whereas most crops need manuring in other months as well.[22] Whatever the season when it is done, one must take care to do it when the wind blows from due west (i.e. west as the point of sunset on the equinoxes — M. K.) and when the moon is waning or dry. Observing <this rule> increases fertility and the effectiveness of the procedure."

Given that the expression is not otherwise attested, and that Pliny is here closely following Cato (*Agr.* 29, 1, passage cited above), it does not come as a surprise that there have

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[20] Among plants, animals and other entities whose development was linked by the Romans to the growing phase of the moon, sources mention lentils (Pallad. 3, 4), reeds (Plin. *HN.* 17, 108); trees in general (Columella, *Rust.* 5, 11, 2; *De arb.* 29, 1; Cato, *Agr.* 40, 1), eggs (Plin. *HN.* 18, 322, cf. Columella, *Rust.* 8, 5, 9 — the logic behind Columella's advice is aptly explained by Tavenner 1918, 77–78), hair and wool (Varro, *Rust.* 1, 37), oysters and other mollusks (Cic. *Div.* 2, 33–34), etc. The general principle guiding farmers' choice of the lunar phase was laid down by Palladius: *omnia quae seruntur crescente luna et diebus tepidis sunt serenda* "all cultures that are sown should be sown during the waxing moon and on warm days" (Pallad. 1, 6, 12). For a thorough discussion of this belief, see Tavenner 1918, *passim*; cf. Riess 1893, col. 39–40 and Roscher 1890, 61–67.

[21] *OLD* ignores the expressions *luna sicca* and *luna sitiens* (see *OLD* 1968, 1754–1755, s.v. siccus; 1774, s.v. sitiens).

[22] Manuscripts of Pliny give *aliis*, and the conjunction *et* was added by H. Rackham in his Loeb edition. This is a fortunate addition from the point of view of style and content: <et> *aliis mensibus* nicely balances *Februario mense tantum*; and a number of crops are indeed regularly given additional, albeit lighter, manuring during the months of their growth.

been attempts at correcting the text. Ferdinandus Pintianus (Latin name of the Spanish humanist Hernán Núñez de Toledo y Guzmán), based on a comparison with Cato's discussion of manuring the fields, surmised that the expression *lunā sitiente* must be equivalent to *lunā silenti*, and concluded from it that in Pliny *sitiente* should be modified to *silenti*.[23] Although the equivalence is certainly correct, editors of *Natural History* are right to reject his correction,[24] as it gives preference to the *lectio facilior* over the interesting rarer variant. The second example of *lunā sitiente* occurs in the same book of *Naturalis historia*, and in this case as well the transmitted text provoked certain doubts:

> *Inseri autem praecipit pira ac mala per ver et post solstitium diebus L <et> post vindemiam, oleas autem et ficos per ver tantum, luna sitiente, [hoc est sicca] praeterea post meridiem ac sine vento austro* (17, 112).

> "[Cato] advises that the pear and apple trees be grafted during the spring, and fifty days after midsummer and after the vintage, whereas the olive and fig trees only in the spring, when the moon is thirsty [i.e. dry], moreover, in the afternoon and not when a south wind is blowing."

Once again, Pliny follows Cato (in this case, referring to him by name), conflating two distinct passages from *De agricultura*.[25] The second part of the advice takes up Cato's *luna silenti post meridiem sine uento austro*, "during the silent moon, in the afternoon, without south wind" (Cato, *Agr.* 40, 1). And while Pliny's *lunā sitiente* clearly rephrases Cato's *lunā silenti*, Detlefsen suggested bracketing the parenthesis *hoc est sicca* as an explanatory gloss that had in all likelihood been interpolated from the earlier passage from the same book of *Natural History* (17, 57) where *lunā siccā* and *lunā sitiente* had appeared in close proximity.[26]

Despite doubts occasionally expressed over the correctness of the transmitted text in these passages, there can be little doubt that the expressions *lunā sitiente* and *lunā siccā* existed and were used as doublets for *lunā silenti*. Unfortunately, their rareness does not allow us to determine whether Pliny's avoidance of *lunā silenti* reflected a change in Latin usage (i.e. that contemporary Latin speakers viewed it as an archaism), or the expression was still current in Pliny's day, so that his preference for *lunā sitiente* (*sicca*) was idiosyncratic[27]. Some stylistic difference between the two expressions cannot, of course, be ruled out (e.g. that one appeared slightly more archaic than the other), just as it is impossible to

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[23] Pintianus in Hermolaus Barbarus *et al.* 1668, 333 (on Plin. *HN.* 17, 57): "scribendum silente non sitiente ex Catone ipso, cap. 29"; cf. *ibid*. p. 351 (on Plin. *HN.* 17, 112).

[24] Cf. Detlefsen 1992 (1868), 66 ; Ian–Mayhoff 1892, 81; André 1964, 39; Rackham 1950, 40; König 1994, 44.

[25] Cato, *Agr.* 41, 2 and 40, 1; cf. André 1964, 147 n. 1 (on § 112).

[26] Detlefsen 1992 (1868), 76: "uncis inclusi"; Detlefsen's doubts regarding the authenticity of the parenthesis are shared by Rackham 1950, 78 and König 1994, 78 who actually omit *hoc est sicca* from the main text, as well as by Ian–Mayhoff 1892, 97 and André 1964, 58 who follow Detlefsen in bracketing the phrase. On the other hand, Lunais 1979, 329 accepts the parenthesis as genuine, even using it as proof that for Pliny the expressions *luna sicca* and *sitiens* were equivalent: "Il est évident que *luna sicca*, la lune sèche, est l'équivalent de *luna sitiente* et s'explique de la même manière. Pline écrit d'ailleurs un peu plus loin (XVII, 112) *luna sitiente (hoc est sicca)*".

[27] Lunais 1979, 330 notes that the use of *luna sitiente* is restricted to two books of the *Naturalis Historia*: "Constatons simplement cette étrangeté, sans lui chercher d'autres raisons peut-être qu'un certain engouement très passager pour cette expression (*scil. luna sitiente* — M. K.) de la part de Pline au moment où il rédigeait les livres XVII et XVIII de son ouvrage".

rule out that inhabitants of different regions of Italy did not yield a slight preference for one or the other term. It is, however, possible to explain the choice of the epithets *sicca* and *sitiens* and to establish a relative chronology for the expressions.

If one takes as the starting point the idea that the new moon (phase of the lunar cycle when the moon was not visible) was difficult to describe *per se* and that the easiest way to denote it was through an antonym of a visible, easily identifiable phase of the lunar cycle, it is easy to guess that the expression *luna sicca* was derived in contrast with the full moon, *luna plena*. The expression *luna plena* suggests that the moon orb was imagined as a vessel that is progressively filled up by some white liquid: the epithet *siccus* in this context is the closest antonym, suggesting not only emptiness (adjectives such as *inaninis* or *vacuus* would express that notion as well) but also the gradual drying up of the white light that had once filled the orb, as well as the certainty that eventually it will be filled up once more.[28] There is in fact one context which illustrates very clearly this idea. In Lucius' prayer to the moon, the goddess' rays are qualified as "wet":

> <…> *ista luce feminea conlustrans cuncta moenia et udis ignibus nutriens laeta semina et solis ambagibus dispensans incerta lumina, quoquo nomine, quoquo ritu, quaqua facie te fas est invocare* (Apul. *Met.* 11, 2, 3).

> "You, who light up with your womanly light every city, and nourish with your wet fires joyous seeds, and dispense your fluctuating beams according to the motion of the Sun, by whatever name, by whatever rite, in whatever guise it is permitted to invoke you…"

M. Zimmermann, when discussing this passage, focuses on physical theories underlying the idea of the connection between the moon and moistness, and hence to vegetal growth[29]. However, it seems even more probable that Apuleius was combining in this passage natural theories with popular lore, which called the phase when the moon was invisible the "dry" (*sicca*) moon, while the rays of the full moon could, by contrast, be characterized as "wet" — especially as Apuleius had stated specifically that on that night the moon was full and extraordinarily bright (*Met.* 11, 1, 1).

It is very probable that the terms *lunā siccā* (describing the phase of the new moon as the exact opposite of the full moon) and *lunā silenti* (describing it by contrast with the phase of the growing moon) coexisted for a fairly long time and were used interchangeably by the Latin speakers. While there is no proof that one is more archaic than the other, chances are that *lunā siccā* was created at a slightly later stage, as it seems to reflect a systemic view of the lunar cycle and a search for symmetry in the terminology for opposing phases of the moon, with *plena luna* opposed to *sicca luna*, just as *luna crescens* is

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[28] For *siccus* of vessels, *OLD* 1968, 1755 (s.v. siccus 6b) cites two examples: Horace's *stetit urna paulum / sicca* "for a little while the jar stood empty" (Hor. *Carm.* 3, 11, 22–23) and, from the corpus Tibullianum, *quem vestrum pocula sicca iuvant?* "Which of you likes empty cups?" ([Tib.] 3, 6, 18). Naturally, the cognate *siccare* could be used of draining a vessel: *siccat inaequalis calices conviva solutus / legibus insanis* "every guest drains his cup, be it small or big (literally, cups of uneven size), not bound by insane laws" (Hor. *Serm.* 2, 6, 68–69); *siccatoque avide poculo negat sibi umquam acidius fuisse* "and having avidly drained the cup he declares that never had he tasted anything sourer" (Petron. *Sat.* 92); cf. *bina die siccant ovis ubera* "they drain twice a day the udder of the sheep" (Verg. *Buc.* 2, 42), etc.

[29] See Zimmermann 2012, 6–7, in particular: "Apuleius may have enjoyed wrapping his allusions to the above theories about the moistening effluences of the moon into one striking oxymoronic phrase" (*ibid.* 7).

opposed to *luna decrescens* (it is worth noticing that earlier agricultural writers show a marked preference for the expression *lunā silenti*). As for the doublet *lunā sitiente*, there can be little doubt that it was a secondary, analogical creation under the influence of *lunā silenti*, combining the imagery of *lunā siccā* with the syntactical construction of the latter expression. Finally, the idea behind the epithets *sicca* and *sitiens* and the representation of the new moon as the "dry" or "thirsting" found additional support in the Roman lore, in particular, in the belief that the growth was linked to the quantity of dew that falls during the night.[30]

3. Allusions to *luna silens* and *luna sicca* in Roman poetry

We hope to have shown that the two designations of the new moon, *luna silens* and *luna sicca (sitiens)*, were invented in opposition to different phases of the lunar cycle — the waxing moon and the full moon: in both cases, the search for the opposite expression was the guiding principle for creating the expression, so that the epithets *silens* and *sicca* are nothing more than antonyms of *crescens* and *plena* (respectively), and the appearance of the two expressions in agricultural texts show that for Latin speakers they were technical terms and did not carry particular poetic associations. However, Roman poets did not fail to notice the poetic potential of *luna silens* and *luna sicca (sitiens)*, and Augustan poetry offers two passages where this potential is put to use — Verg. *Aen.* 2, 255 and Prop. 2, 17, 15. The remarkable fact is that in both passages, which have attracted a fair amount of attention from modern scholars, a reference to the agricultural term, suggested at some point, is rejected by the majority of commentators; as Vergil and Propertius allude to two different expressions and the contexts are not interconnected, the two passages are never considered in parallel: however, given the similarity in the approach of the two poets, a comparison seems to be worth the effort.

In *Aen.* 2, 250ff. Aeneas recounts the details of the Achaeans' ruse, stressing that the enemy had awaited nightfall before taking action, both inside and outside Troy:

> *et iam Argiva phalanx instructis navibus ibat*
> *a Tenedo tacitae per amica silentia lunae*
> *litora nota petens, flammas cum regia puppis*
> *extulerat, fatisque deum defensus iniquis*
> *inclusos utero Danaos et pinea furtim*
> *laxat claustra Sinon…*
>
> (*Aen.* 2, 254–259).

"And already the Argive phalanx was advancing on ship arranged in battle order from Tenedos thorough the benevolent silence of the quiet moon, seeking the well-known shores, when the

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[30] See Roscher 1890, 49–55; Tavenner 1918, 68. According to a very specific superstition, Thessalian witches had the power to bring down with their incantations a particular kind of poison (*virus lunare*, also described as *venenum* or *spuma lunaris*) from the moon and gather it as foam from the dewy grass (Lucan. 6, 506 and 669; Stat. *Theb.* 2, 284–285; Val. Flacc. 6, 447); I thank D. V. Keyer for calling my attention to this belief. The connection between the moon and the dew is so well established that it has misled some modern scholars into reconstructing the folk belief as the main cause for the expression *luna sicca*: cf. Shackleton Bailey 1947, 90 in his examination of the use of *sicca… luna* in Prop. 2, 17, 15, remarks after mentioning several passages where the waning moon is linked to tasks that demand dry conditions, "it is natural to suppose that […] *sicca luna* implies a dry atmosphere".

flagship (literally, the royal deck) raised the flames into the air, and Sinon, protected by unjust fates of the gods, releases Danaans, locked in the [Trojan horse's] womb, and removes surreptitiously the pine bolts."

Verse 255 has been discussed by scholars and commentators since antiquity. The darkness and, to a lesser degree, the silence of the night that protected the Greeks had been stressed by Aeneas in previous verses (250–253); it would not then be out of place to emphasize once more the silence in which the fleet advanced: however, the wording of v. 255 with its almost tautological *tacitae silentia lunae* is peculiar. Already for ancient commentators the exact meaning of the line was not evident, and different interpretations were offered. Thus, Donatus, arguing with unnamed predecessors who considered the line a *vitium scribentis*, understood it as an indication that the first part of the night was moonless, whereas the moon came out later, and that it was then that the Greeks acted.[31] Servius proposed two interpretations: *tacitae silentia lunae* was either used for artistic effect (this is also the interpretation preferred by Servius Danielis), or as an allusion to the Platonic conception of the music of the spheres.[32] The first scholar to insist that *tacitae silentia lunae* could not fail to provoke the association with the expression *luna silens* was Angelo Politiano who followed Donatus in understanding the periphrasis as an indication that the moon was invisible for a part of the night;[33] this suggestion was promptly dismissed by several scholars, including Scaliger, on the basis of the early epic tradition that Troy fell during the full moon.[34] Since then scholars have been divided in their approach, with some accepting Politiano's idea, but the majority following Scaliger in rejecting the resemblance of *tacitae silentia lunae* to the agricultural term as accidental and irrelevant

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[31] Cf. Donat. Ad Aen. 2, 255: Multi vitium putant scribentis, ut qui dixit 'et ruit Oceano nox involvens umbra magna terramque pollumque Myrmidonumque dolos' hic diceret 'tacitae per silentia lunae'. Nullum in hoc vitium est si quidem nonnullae noctes habent primas partes tenebrosas, sequentes vero luna superveniente inlustris. Tale ergo noctis tempus elegerant Graeci quod tenebras haberet oportunas complendis insidiis et somni quietem daret et dehinc aliquid luminis e radiis lunae, et sine periculo vel errore venirent a Tenedo ad civitatis excidium. ("Many consider it to be an authorial error, that the same poet who said 'and the night falls, enveloping in her great shadow the earth and the heavens, and the Myrmidon ruses' (2, 251–255) now says 'through the silence of the quiet moon'. There is no error in this, as some nights are dark in the first part and illuminated in the later parts, when the moon comes out. This was the moment of the night that the Greeks chose, because it has darkness that is useful for accomplishing treachery and gives stillness of sleep, and later on some light from the moonbeams, so that they could arrive without risk nor error from Tenedos for the destruction of the people").

[32] Thus, Servius, when discussing the expression, notes, Ad Aen. 2, 255: tacitae lunae: aut more poetico noctem significat aut physicam rationem dixit, nam circuli septem sunt, Saturni, Iovis, Martis, Solis, Veneris, Mercurii, Lunae. et primus, hoc est Saturni, vehementer sonat, reliqui secundum ordinem minus, sicut audimus in cithara. ("Quiet moon: either he thus poetically denotes the night, or explains the physical reasons. For there are seven circles, that of Saturnus, of Jupiter, of Mars, of the Sun, of Venus, of Mercury, of the Moon. And the first <of these>, i.e. Saturnus' circle, has deep sound, while the others less so, according to their order, just as we perceive in the case of the cithara.")

[33] Politiano (1489, cap. 100) cites the use of *luna silens* in agricultural writers, and goes on to reconstruct from Vergil's description that the moon was alternatively visible and invisible on the night that Troy fell: "Nondum igitur luna lucebat, cum illi a Tenedo sub vesperam navigabant. Sed lucere tum coepit, cum iam urbem occupaverant. Non igitur aut sera fuerit, aut pernox luna, tum nec lunae quidem omnino coitus, sed tempus arbitror potius quandiu illa non luceret".

[34] For the overview of first responses to Politiano's interpretation, see the clear and succinct summary in Grafton, Swerdlow 1986, 212–213.

to the understanding of Vergil's passage[35]: this alternative interpretation sees in *tacitae silentia lunae* a simple indication that the night was a still, silent one, and presupposes that *luna* is largely equivalent to *nox* (as a sort of metonymy).[36]

Politiano's interpretation does in fact have one major weakness (and one that surprisingly does not seem to have been explicitly pointed out by his critics), namely, that the term *luna silens* is never used indifferently for any night without moonlight — it designates a specific phase of the lunar phase when the moon cannot be seen, regardless of whether the night sky is clear or not. This usage would seem to severely debilitate Politiano's idea that the periphrasis *tacitae silentia lunae* alluded to the fact that on the night that Troy fell the moon was not *pernox*.[37] However, the expression *tacitae silentia lunae* is too pointed (to the point of becoming tautological) to be accidental; indeed, Statius, when reusing Vergil's phrase in his *Thebaid*, eliminated the pleonasm (*per Arcturum mediaeque silentia lunae*, Stat. *Theb*. 2, 58). In Vergil, deliberate juxtaposition of *silentium* and *tacitus* renders the association with *luna silens* unescapable; and the idea that *luna* could be used as a metonymy for *nox* does not gain unequivocal support from texts.[38]

A look at ancient sources on the fall of Troy suggests a certain solution as to the effect sought by Vergil in v. 255. Ancient scholars seem to have debated whether or not Troy was captured on a moonlit night. This problem seems to have arisen with a line from the *Ilias parva*, which indicated that the moon was shining brightly on that night: νὺξ μὲν ἔην μεσάτη, λαμπρὴ δ' ἐπέτελλε σελήνη "it was midnight, and bright was the moon rising" (fr. 9 Bernabé)[39]. This line attracted attention of ancient scholars, who used it to deduce, with the help of astronomical observations, on which day of the year Troy was taken — an outline of the two positions of the issue by Callisthenes (ca. 360–327 BCE) is preserved in a scholium to Euripides' *Hecube*:

Καλλισθένης ἐν β τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν οὕτως γράφει· "ἑάλω μὲν ἡ Τροία Θαργηλιῶνος μηνὸς, ὡς μέν τινες τῶν ἱστορικῶν, ιβ ἱσταμένου, ὡς δὲ ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα, η φθίνοντος. διορίζει γὰρ

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[35] E. g., Austin 1964, 119–120 (on *Aen*. 2, 255) and Horsfall (2008, 226) with references follow Scaliger in rejecting Politiano's idea of Vergil evoking the term for the new moon; on the other hand, Marouzeau 1933, Cram 1936, Grafton, Swerdlow 1986, Barigazzi 1990 accept Politiano's general idea, corroborating or refining it each in his own way.

[36] The idea that *lunae* stands for *noctis* goes back to ancient commentators of Vergil, appearing in Servius as one of the two possible explanations of *tacitae lunae* (*aut more poetico noctem significat, aut…*, Serv. *Comm. in Aen*. 2, 255 Thilo, Hagen). In modern scholarship this can be stated with varying degrees of explicitness: see Conington 1863, 133 (*ad Aen*. 2, 255), Heinze 1903, 24 n. 1, Cram 1936, 254 and 258 (with references); Barigazzi 1990, 228 is rightly and explicitly skeptical of the idea. Indeed, in a recent article Giardina 2006 went so far as to propose correcting *lunae* into *noctis* in v. 255; this correction is unnecessary and is not followed by editors (cf. Horsfall 2008, 227; Conte 2009, 42 makes no mention of it in his apparatus, *ad loc.*).

[37] "[…] potius accipimus tacitae lunae silentia lunam ipsam quam vocant silentem, hoc est minime tum quidem lucentem, ut latere insidiae magis possent, pulchra nimirum et eleganti tralatione ad auribus ad oculos" (Politiano 1489, cap. 100). The point that *luna silenti* is only used for a precise phase of the lunar cycle appears in argumentation, whether they be in favour or against Politiano's interpretation of this passage, only rarely (Marouzeau 1933 did note the term's application to the lunar cycle, but suggested that Virgil evoked it with a degree of poetic license, to speak of the moon temporarily disappearing behind clouds).

[38] There are no traces of such usage in *OLD* 1968, 1050, s.v. lūna. In an independent search for examples of *luna* for *nox* in Latin poetry, we were able to find no good examples with the exception of Statius' *mediaeque silentia lunae* (Stat. *Theb*. 2, 58) which is clearly modelled on Vergil (*Aen*. 2, 255).

[39] This fragment is preserved in three sources with minor adjustments of language: Clem. Alex. *Strom*. 1, 21, 104, 1; *schol. in Eur. Hec*. 910; *schol. in Lycophr. Alex*. 344. We quote the text as reconstructed by Bernabé in his edition.

αὐτὸς τὴν ἅλωσιν φάσκων συμβῆναι τότε τὴν κατάληψιν, ἡνίκα "νὺξ μὲν ἔην μέσση, λαμπρὰ δ᾽ ἐπέτελλε σελήνη". μεσονύκτιος δὲ μόνον τῇ ὀγδόῃ φθίνοντος ἀνατέλλει, ἐν ἄλλῃ δ᾽ οὔ" (*Schol. in Eur. Hec.* 910).

"Callisthenes in the second book of his *Hellenica* writes thus: 'Troy was taken during the month of Thargelion, according to some historians, on the twelfth day when the moon was waxing, but according to the author of the *Little Iliad* on the eighth day when the moon was waning. For he determines the capture when he later says that the city was taken when 'it was midnight, and bright was the moon rising' (fr. 9 Bernabé). For it rises at midnight only on the eighth day of the waning moon, and on no other day.'"

This testimony is remarkable in that it shows that the date of the fall of Troy was discussed in pre-Alexandrian times: the scholium goes on to state that Callisthenes' position was opposed by Lysimachus. However, there can be little doubt that the discussion was taken over by Hellenistic scholarship, and Vergil, with his thorough knowledge not only of the Greek epic tradition but also of Alexandrian studies and discussions of Homer, would most certainly have been aware of the issue: moreover, in this case we can be certain that he would have specifically looked into the matter, when working on Aeneas' account of the fall of Troy, as the presence or absence of moonlight is important for the perception, and even for the development, of events of that night[40]. Modern commentaries to Vergil cite a series of passages from the second book of the *Aeneis* pertaining to the question of moonlight: thus, Vergil stresses the darkness of the night in v. 250–251 (*ruit Oceano nox / involvens umbra magna terramque polumque*), v. 360 (*nox atra*), v. 397 (*nox caeca*), v. 420 (*obscura nocte*), but pointedly mentions moonlight in v. 340 (*oblati per lunam*). It is evident from this list that in some cases Vergil preferred to stress either the glimmer of light or the darkness of the night (which, incidentally, would have been congruent with the subjectivity of Aeneas' account). However, in v. 255 the choice of words seems to suggest that Vergil was alluding to the scholarly debate on the presence or absence of moonlight[41]. Vergil clearly imagined the night as moonlit, and the association with the term *lunā silenti* was introduced in order to show that he was aware of the issue and to subtly emphasize his own position. In the absence of the context of fr. 9 Bernabé, it is difficult to establish whether Vergil's wording in *Aen.* 2, 255 would have made his readers think specifically of the *Ilias parva*.[42] However, for a reader unaware of the discussion regarding the day of the month on which Troy was captured, the expression *tacitae per amica silentia lunae* would appear as a kind of poetic exaggeration that likened the moon to a silent witness standing by the Achaeans' ruse.[43]

A passage from Augustan poetry seems to offer an instance of similar play with the astronomical term. In 2, 17 Propertius uses the expression *sicca… luna* in the description of his unhappiness since he has fallen out of favour with Cynthia:

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[40] The fact that Vergil deliberately shifts his emphasis from moonlight to darkness throughout the account of the events of that night, was rightly stressed by Heinze 1903, 24–25; cf. Barigazzi 1990, 237: „L'oscurità della notte è un fatto obiettivo e non si può pretendere che il poeta, intento a trarre dal buio effetti particolari, precisi o sfumi ogni volta le gradayioni fra le tenebre e le luci".

[41] Thus, also Cram 1936, 258–259; Grafton, Swerdlow 1986, 218; cf. Barigazzi 1990, 235.

[42] Cf. Severyns 1926, 301 who characterizes the parallel as "une ressemblance trop vague pour qu'on en puisse tirer argument".

[43] Cf. Horsfall 2008, 226 (*ad Aen.* 2, 255): "in [Vergil] the moon's silence belongs to a general tendency to 'humanise' nature […] and here that silence may also suggest her connivance, as a kind of celestial accomplice, at Greek trickery".

> durius in terris nihil est quod vivat amante,   9
> nec, modo si sapias, quod minus esse velis.
> quem modo felicem Invidia maerente ferebant,
> nunc decimo admittor vix ego quoque die,   12
> nec licet in triviis sicca requiescere luna   15
> aut per rimosas mittere verba fores

<div align="right">(Prop. 2, 17, 9–12; 15–16)</div>

"There is no human nor beast that lives a harder life than the lover, and none that you would wish less to be. I, who only a while ago was considered blessed, as Envy gnashed her teeth, now scarcely gain access <to my beloved> once in ten days; nor am I permitted to lie on streets, when the moon is dry, or to direct my words through the cracks in her door".[44]

The poet is only rarely admitted to Cynthia's presence, he cannot even try to persuade his beloved through the closed doors.[45] The meaning of *in triviis requiescere* has been interpreted as referring either to former love encounters with Cynthia on crossroads, or, more convincingly, to Propertius' vigils by the doorstep of his beloved.[46] Turning to *sicca luna*, most modern commentators, as was the case with *Aen.* 2, 255, insist on dissociating Propertius' choice of epithet from the term used by agricultural writers, arguing that the poet was simply referring to a clear, dry night.[47] On the rarer occasions, when the association of Propertius' *siccā lunā* with the term for the new moon is recognized, the poet's meaning is reconstructed through popular beliefs. Thus, Shackleton Bailey tried to explain the expression *siccā… lunā* in Prop 2, 17, 15 through the belief that the dew that falls during the night, and especially its quantity, depends on the moon and its phase:

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[44] The transposition of v. 15–16 was first proposed by Lachmann 1973 (1816), 164. For a long time, the majority of editors were convinced by Lachmann's arguments and accepted the transposition; however, Cairns 1975 has argued that the order of lines as they appear in manuscripts may be retained.

[45] Manuscripts give the verb in v. 15 as *licet*, but whether this is the right modality for Propertius' context, has been called into question by some editors: thus, Guyet (Guyetus) suggested correcting the verb into *libet*, and Herzberg into *iuvat*. Heyworth in his recent edition (Heyworth 2007a, 63) follows Guyet, explaining his reasons in his companion to the text of Propertius: "There seems to be no point in the introduction 'and it is not possible': what is stopping him? It cannot be the dangers of the crossroads at the new moon, as *sicca luna* is so placed that it qualifies only *in triviis requiescere*. Better would be *nec libet* (or *iuvat*): he no longer cares to play the part of the deserted lover <…> This is what I print; but to be franc I am puzzled" (Heyworth 2007b, 186–187). I believe that the manuscript reading should be retained, and that it suits with Propertius' wordplay in this passage, as explained below.

[46] The former interpretation has been prompted above all by the resemblance of Prop. 2, 17, 15 to 4, 7, 19–20 which does in fact speak explicitly to love-making *in trivio* (thus, Enk 1962, II, 249; Butler, Barber 1933, 220 on Prop. 2, 17, 15–16.13–14; Shackleton Bailey 1947, 91). Lately, however, the explanation has shifted to understanding both verses of the distich 15–16 as play with the motif of *exclusus amator* (Cairns 1975; Thomas 1980; Fedeli 2005, 519–520 on Prop. 2, 17, 11–12.15–16). This interpretation does seem preferable, as it explains the choice of the verb *requiescere*, and brings out the continuity between verse 15 and 16 (for fuller argumentation, see Fedeli 2005, 520).

[47] Butler, Barber 1933, 220 (*ad* Prop. 2, 17a, 15–16, 13–14): "The sense is uncertain. […] Probably it means no more than that the air is dry, the moon is clear and bright"; this interpretation appears also in Camps 1967, 138 (*ad loc.*), Enk 1962, II, 249, *ad loc.* ("ego credo *lunam siccam* vel *sitientem* esse 'lunam fulgentem in sicco aethere'"), as well as by Rotstein 1920, 326 (*ad loc.*), who adds: „Es ist keine Feuchtigkeit in der Luft, so daß der Mond hell leuchtet". Cf. Lunais 1979, 330: "Une telle précision (*scil.* la nuit passée à la nouvelle lune — M. K.) apparaît à la fois bien prosaïque et bien inutile, pour ne pas dire encombrante dans un poème tout empreint de lyrisme mélancholique".

"Since dew falls from the moon the deduction is obvious that when there is no dew it is because the moon is temporarily short of moisture, *sicca*; and *sicca luna* will be another way of saying *rore non cadente*. It is therefore an error to suppose that cold and clear conditions are implied; rather the reverse, for it is on cloudless nights that the dew comes thickest, an observation which no doubt led to the popular theory of its lunar origin" (Shackleton Bailey 1947, 90–91).

Similarly, Heyworth suggested that sleeping on the street on the night of the new moon would be particularly dangerous for an *exclusus amator*, as on that night Hecate and other infernal forces would be roaming the streets.[48] Finally, O'Neil, in line with his idea that Cynthia is associated with the moon throughout Propertius' *œuvre*, suggested that in Prop. 2, 17, 15 the epithet *sicca* was used as a synonym for *frigida*, with an erotic double-entendre:[49] however, his explanation of Propertius' meaning is very vague, and while he stresses that *in triviis requiescere* must refer to the poet's love encounters with Cynthia on crossroads, he does not explain exactly how the calembour reconstructed for *sicca luna* would relate to the situation.

None of the previously mentioned explanations is satisfactory either. The interpretation that sees in the expression *sicca luna* a reference to a clear, dry night would imply that Propertius was ready to pass his vigils by Cynthia's door only in comfortable meteorological conditions; Shackleton Bailey's suggestion that the phrase referred to a cloudy night without dew is open to similar criticism, while it seems to rely to an even greater degree on a conjectural reconstruction of the situation without substantial support from the text;[50] neither is there anything to support Heyworth's suggestion that Propertius was referring to popular superstitions about Hecate and her followers roaming the crossroads on the night of the new moon.

However, there seems to be one interpretation that could explain Propertius' meaning, while avoiding the weaker points of earlier explanations. Unless one is willing to discard the expression *lunā siccā* as attested only in Pliny the Elder, it is unlikely that Propertius' readers would have failed to associate the expression *sicca luna* in Prop. 2, 17, 15 with the agricultural term, and it is, in fact, precisely this association that seems to offer the key to understanding the passage: if the entire distich Prop. 2, 17, 15–16 is taken as an enumeration of the (slightly exaggerated) woes of the *exclusus amator*, who besides being banished from Cynthia's presence is also forbidden to enjoy the usual activities of *exclusi amantes* (i.e. sleeping by his beloved's house or trying to convince her to let him in), the *siccā lunā* of v. 15 would be a tongue-in-cheek allusion not only to (moonless) nights that he would wish but is forbidden to spend in the street by Cynthia's house, but also to Cynthia's refusal to show herself to her lover.[51] Propertius' wording thus evokes the strict terminological usage of *lunā siccā*, exploiting in the meanwhile the poetic potential that the expression, if taken literally, carried.

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[48] Heyworth 2007b, 187 n. 51: "At the new moon Hecate and her followers would be at large, making the crossroads especially dangerous".

[49] O'Neil 1958, 5; the idea however is evoked with approval by Fedeli 2005, 520 (*ad* Prop. 2, 17, 11–12, 15–16).

[50] Cf. in particular, his evocation of the dangers of malaria of which there is no hint in Propertius' text (Shackleton Bailey 1947, 91).

[51] For the designation of the moon by the epiclesis *Cynthia*, cf. Lucan. 1, 218; 4, 60; 8, 721; Petron. *Sat.* 122, line 130; Sil. Ital. *Pun.* 4, 480; Stat. *Theb.* 1, 577; Val. Flacc. 2, 56; etc.

4. Conclusion

We hope to have shown that the expressions of the new moon in Latin, *lunā siccā* and *lunā silenti*, were originally created by opposition to other visible and thus easily identifiable phases of the lunar cycle, i.e. to the waxing moon and to the full moon, respectively. There was thus no poetic impulse behind the creation of these expressions, which accounts for their unremarkable usage in agricultural writers. However, there are traces of a certain recognition in Roman literature of the poetic potential of these expressions, if taken literally. Thus, in Prop. 2, 17, 15 the expression *siccā lunā* is used not only to evoke the astronomical term, but also as part of wordplay, likening his current banishment from Cynthia's presence to the changeability of the moon. In Verg. *Aen.* 2, 255 the expression *tacitae per amica silentia lunae* hinted at the scholarly debate regarding the day of the lunar cycle, endowing the moon at the same time with personal traits, so that it appears as a silent, benevolent witness to the Achaeans' ruse. Vergil's wording is close enough to the term *lunā silenti* to create the association with the particular phase of the lunar cycle; however, it is adapted to the context, as the poet brings out the metaphor present in *lunā silenti*, if the participle *silens* is taken in its literal sense, combining both visual and auditive associations in one expression.[52]

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[52] Cf. Barigazzi 1990, 232: "Ma la corrispondenza con la frase catoniana (*scil. lunā silenti* — M. K.) sarebbe da vedere piuttosto in *tacitae lunae* per la non rara trasposizione dal piano visivo a quello uditivo, come nei noti passi danteschi *mi rispindeva là dove il sol tace* (*Inf.* 1.60), *io venni in loco d'ogni luce muto* (*Inf.* 5.28)". Indeed, it has been argued that these two passages in Dante had been inspired by Vergil (Brightman 1919, 327–329).

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Dual Semantics of the Latin *inter*(-)*

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The paper analyzes the function of the prefix *inter-*, which allows to reduce the 15 main senses (described in the *OLD*) to the basic two. The sense of the prefix depends on the situation described with the compound: a) the situation of dividing space: 'a border between two or more points disconnecting them' (*inter hostes flumen erat*). Most of the verbs in this group are transitive and accompanied by a countable object: *intercalare* 'to insert a day or month into the calendar'; *interloqui* 'to interrupt, to speak between'. b) the situation of connected space: 'all the space (or time) between two points connecting them within the same situation' (*inter arma tacent musae*). The majority of these verbs are transitive and are used with an uncountable object: *interbibere* 'to drink dry, drain'; *interlegere* 'to pick off here and there, to thin'. Some verbs can have either sense depending on the context (*interesse*: a. 'to lie between, intervene' *modo inter me atque te murus intersit* (Cic. *Cat.* 1. 10.), b. 'to be in the company of, to take part' *legit scripta de se carmina, legit historias, et posteritati suae interfuit* (Plin. *Ep.* 2.1.2). On the basis of this classification principle four verbs are analyzed in which the meaning of the prefix *inter-* is unclear: *interire*, *interficere*, *interimere*, *intellegere*. Three of them have the prefix *inter-* in the sense of division and form pairs of compounds (an intransitive verb of state *interire* — a verb of action *interimere*, *interficere*). The verb *intellegere* has two senses as different stages of its semantic development: 1. 'to choose between', 'to notice, discern' and 2. 'to collect together (all the parts)' > 'to grasp, understand (the whole picture of an object or a situation)'.

Keywords: historical grammar of Latin, Latin etymology, Latin lexicology.

1. Reducing the meaning of *inter* to two basic senses

I propose an alternative structure of basic senses of the Latin preposition (and prefix) *inter*(-) instead of that in the *OLD*, which describes 15 senses of the preposition *inter*. I suggest that most of them are in fact contextual modifications of the two basic senses — either a) a border between two or more points disconnecting them (*inter hostes flumen erat*) or b) all the space (or time) between (within or among) two points connecting them within the same situation (*inter arma tacent musae*).

1.1. The basic sense of *inter-* describing a situation of division (group a)

To make the analysis less complicated I assume that the prefix *inter-* in the transitive verbs has the same two senses as the preposition: a) 'a border between two objects (or interruption within a process)':[1]

(1) *intercalare* 'to insert (a day or month) into the calendar': (< *calare* 'to announce, proclaim') *posterior dies kalendarum intercalatur* (Ulp. *Dig.* 4.4.3.3.)

(2) *intercludere* 'to make impassable, block, cut': *omnis aditus ad Sullam intercludere* (Cic. *S. Rosc.* I 10.)

(3) *intercīdere* 'to cut through, sever': *lacus Velinus… interciso monte in Nar defluit* (Cic. *Att.* 4.15.5.) (the intransitive parallel — *intercidere* 'to fall between, perish').

(4) *intercipere* 'to seize or catch in transit, cut off from its destination, intercept': *tun redimes me, si me hostes interceperint* (Pl. *As.* 106.)

(5) *interdare* 'interpose in time or in space': *nec mora nec requies interdatur ulla fluendi* (Lucr. 4 227.)

(6) *intercinere* 'to sing between or in the interval of': *neu quid medios intercinat actus* (Hor. *AP* 194.)

(7) *intervenire* 'to arrive during the course of an activity, come on the scene', 'to drop in or break in (on a person)': *pro Iuppiter! — quid est? — sponsae pater intervenit* (Ter. *An.* 732.)

(8) *interfari* 'to interrupt (a speaker)': *priusquam… ille postulatum perageret… Appius interfatur* (Liv. 3.47.4.)

(9) *interpellere* 'to interrupt, to impede': *cuius orationem Caesar interpellat* (Caes. *BCiv.* 1. 22. 5.)

(10) *interloqui* 'to interrupt, to speak between': *permitte mihi aliquid interloqui* (Sen. *Ben.* 4. 26.1.)

(11) *interdicere* 'to forbid': *interdicere alicui aqua et igni* (*inter-* can be interpreted here as 'to interrupt something by speaking, to obstruct, get in the way of', the original meaning of the syntactic construction: to speak in order to bar somebody from using water and fire). It can be objected that the Romans did not perceive *interdicere* as a compound at all, but I think they did because *inter-* expresses here a kind of an interruption (cf. the usage of such verbs as *interpellere* and *interponere* that mean 'to intervene in order to forbid').

1.2. The basic sense of *inter-* describing a situation of connected space (group b): the whole space (or time) between two points in the same environment or space in which a certain process is taking place:

(12) *interbibere* 'to drink dry, drain': *mare interbibere* (Naev. *Trag.* 52.)

(13) *interlegere* 'to pick off here and there, to thin': *uncis carpendae manibus frondes interque legendae* (Verg. *G.* 2.366.) (cf. also two synonymous verbs *intervellere* and *interputare*).

(14) *interrogare* 'to ask' *in testibus interrogandis* (Cic. *Verr.* 1.29.) (*inter-* expresses here a reciprocal action of conversation as a whole process).

(15) *interradere* 'to decorate with incised carving or intaglio': *interradimus alia (vasa) ut quam plurimum lima perdiderit* (Plin. *HN.* 33.140.)

1.3. Verbs which express either sense depending on the context (group c):

(16) *interesse* has both senses: a 'to lie between, intervene': *modo inter me atque te murus intersit* (Cic. *Cat.* 1. 10.) , 'to constitute a difference': *multum interest inter hoc dicendi genus et superiora* (Cic. *Orat.* 98.) and b. 'to be in the company of, to take part' *legit scripta de se carmina, legit historias, et posteritati suae interfuit* (Plin. *Ep.* 2.1.2).

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[1] The list of the verbs is not exhaustive and serves for the purpose of exemplification.

(17) *intercurrere* a. 'to occur': *intercurrunt quaedam stellae… nobis novae* (Sen. *QNat.* 7.13.1. and b. 'to extend between, mediate': *latitudine intercurrentis freti* (Plin. *HN* . 3.100.)

(18) *interlucere* a. 'to have gaps': *qua rara est acies interlucetque corona non tam spissa viris* (Verg. *Aen.* 4. 9. 508.) b. 'to be manifest' (of differences): *dissimilis forma atque natura loci comparandi sunt, ut distincti interlucere possint* (*Rhet. Her.* 3. 31.)

(19) *intercedere* a. 'to divide': *planities inter utraque castra intercedebat BHisp.* 29.1. and b. 'to be, exist' *magna inter nos officia paria et mutua intercedunt* (Cic. *Fam.* 13.65.1.)

1.4. Verbs which do not express either of the two senses (group d):

(20) *interimere* 'to kill': *hunc veprem manifestum est interimi non posse* (Plin. *HN.* 2.3.7.) (intransitive parallel — *interire* 'to die, perish').

(21) *interficere* 'to kill': *cuius pater…ab civitate erat interfectus* (Caes. *BGal.* 7.4.1); *nam vita humana prope uti ferrum est. Si exerceas, conteritur; si non exerceas, tamen rubigo interficit* (Cato *Mor.* 3 (J)). (intransitive parallel — *interfieri* 'to die, perish').

(22) *interire* 1. (of living things) 'to die, perish, be killed', 'to die out, become extinct': *ut ego hanc familiam interire cupio* (Plaut. *Poen.* 870.); *non interire animas, sed… transire ad alios* (Caes. *BGal.* 7.71.3.). 2. (of material things) 'to be destroyed, disappear': *ne forte credas interitura, quae verba loquor* (Hor. *Carm.*4.9.1).

(23) *intellegere* 1.'to discern, recognize' (form, colour, taste or other physical characteristics). 2. 'understand' (see the examples below, in § 2.2.).

2. The semantic structure of the pair *interimere* 'to kill' — *interire* 'to die'

The Group d. consists of the verbs some of which trace back to Indo-European times because they have exact Indo-European parallels. Their age and hence the peculiarity of the situation they describe can make a false impression that *inter-* as their element expresses neither sense a., nor sense b. Nonetheless it is plausible that *inter-* in the examples (20–22) represents the sense a. 'a dividing barrier between two points'. The definition in *OLD* for *interimere* 1. 'to cut off from life, kill' speaks for this explanation. [2]

2.1. The semantic structure of the verb *interficere* 'to kill'

The Lat. *interficere* 'to kill' as well as *interimere* 'to kill' builds the transitive parallel to the intransitive *interire* and *perire* 'to die'. The same semantic relationship between a verb of 'coming into a state' and a verb which causes this state — such verbal pairs as *interīre* 'to die' and *interficere* 'to kill' — exists in other I.-E. languages, e. g. Skr. *antar-gam* (lit. 'in the middle, between'-'go') 'disappear' (Apte 1957, 124) — *antar-dha* 'to kill, destroy' (lit. 'in the middle, between'-'put') (Mayrhofer 1992, 76) = *inter-ficere* = *per-dere*. In sum, the verbs *interficere* 'to kill' and *conficere* 'to kill' can describe a situation in which the direct object disappears as a result of the action while the verb *perficere* 'to complete' describes a situation as a result of which the direct object completes its quality without going away.

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[2] M. M. Pozdnev proposed a Greek parallel ἀναιρεῖσθαι 'to take up', 'to kill' and a convincing German semantic parallel: *umgehen — umbringen,* which is similar to *perire (interficere) — interficere.*

2.2. The semantic structure of the verb *intellegere* 'to understand'

The etymology of *intellegere* (23) is not clear at all (see a different interpretation by Kümmel 2001, 276). I will only give some suggestions based on the classical etymology of the verb which connects it to the Lat. *legere* 'collect' (Ernout-Meillet 2001, 348–350) and (Walde–Hoffmann 1938, 780). It has the sense of the type a. 'to discern, recognize (form, colour, taste or other physical characteristics)', 'to distinguish mentally, recognize as existing', as well as the type b. sense — 'to grasp mentally, understand, realize'.[3] The two senses do not contradict each other. The ultimate etymological sense must have been sense a. 'to discern, recognize (form, colour, taste or other physical characteristics)' which is expressed by *inter* — the comparative form of the adverb *in* (that later came to be felt as a prefix). Ernout-Meillet (2001, 348–350) and Walde–Hoffmann (1938, 780) assume *inter-* in the sense a., i. e. 'to choose between' with the further semantic development into 'to notice, discern' and 'to understand'. An alternative solution would be to reconstruct the original sense 'to collect together (all the parts)' > 'to grasp, understand (the whole picture of an object or a situation)' in which case *inter-* means 'to collect as a whole'. The Latin *com-prehendere* 'understand' (lit. 'grasp together') is a partial semantic parallel for this reconstruction. This parallel is not exact in both parts: *legere* means 'collect' whereas *prehendere* means 'grasp'; *com-* means 'with', whereas *inter-* means 'between'. Nevertheless, both have the same etymological sense — the idea of first physically collecting and then mentally piecing together an object as a whole in all its parts.

I think there is no need to choose between a. and b. In this particular case both are only two subsequent stages in the semantic evolution of the compound. Thus, I propose that *intellegere* might have meant first 1. 'to choose between', 'to notice, discern'. This stage is well attested in such contexts as *intellecturis auribus uti* Ov.; *vestigia hominum intellegi a feris* Plin.; *ut aquae salsae non intellegatur* Plin.; *nullos intellegit ignes* Ov.; *cum frigus contra temporis consuetudinem intellexeris* Colum. (the examples are from Georges 1913, 2655); Which one of the senses does *inter-* in *intellegere* belong to?

The second stage is 'to collect together (all the parts)' > 'to grasp, understand (the whole picture of an object or a situation)' which is attested in such contexts as *intellexi ex tuis litteris, te audisse* Cic.; *intellexti* 'right', 'you get it right' Ter. 'understand', 'know': *propositio ex se intellegitur* 'is self-explanatory'.

3. Conclusion

The dictionary entry for the Latin prefix *inter-* should be based on the function of this prefix within the compounds with this component, which allows to reduce the 15 main senses (described in OLD) to the basic two ones. Either sense of the prefix depends on a situation described with the compound: a. the situation of dividing space (group a, examples 1–11, most of them are transitive (except for 7–8) or used as transitive with a countable object) or b. a situation of connected space (group b, examples 12–15, most of them are transitive with uncountable object, one verb expresses a reciprocal action (example

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[3] During my presentation at the international philological conference which was held in St. Petersburg State University on the March 2018, E. V. Zheltova proposed an idea that the Latin *intellegere* was formed in accordance with the same semantic model as the Latin *comprehendere* and thus its original meaning was 'to grasp together', which came to mean 'to understand'.

14) or space of an object to work on (15)). Because of the nature of their lexical meaning (intransitive verbs of state), some verbs can have either sense depending on the context (group c, examples 16–19). Three of them (20–22) have the prefix *inter-* in the sense of division and form pairs of compounds (an intransitive verb of state *interire* — a verb of action *interimere*, *interficere*). Some of them have archaic cognate in other Indo-European languages which speaks for the old age of these compounds that form a pair (an intransitive verb of state *interire*, *perire* — a verb of action *interimere*, *interficere*). The verb *intellegere* has two senses as different stages of its semantic development: 1. 'to choose between', 'to notice, discern' and 2. 'to collect together (all the parts)' > 'to grasp, understand (the whole picture of an object or a situation)'. Which sense develops in which case (or both develop) depends on the lexical properties of the verb: on its transitivity and on the type of an object it can have (countable or uncountable).

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Per peccatum cecidit diabolo faciente: On the causal/instrumental uses of "faciente + (pro)noun" in imperial and late Latin*

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This present paper is concerned with the causal/instrumental uses of *faciente* + (pro)nominal head within an ablative absolute. We only examine the instances in which the participle does not govern a direct object and is not accompanied by further arguments and/or satellites, as in Jer. *In psalm.* 89 l. 28 *qui per peccatum cecidit, **diabolo faciente**, rursum per Christum resurgat ad gloriam* ("he who fell through sin under devil's influence, shall soon be reborn to the Glory through Christ"). The analysis is restricted to the imperial and late period because the construction is not attested until Ovid (*Met.* 2, 540–541 **lingua faciente loquaci** / *qui color albus erat, nunc est contrarius albo* "through his tongue's fault the talking bird, which was white, was now the opposite of white", transl. Loeb). The discussion consists of four main sections. After a short survey of the main studies on the topic, we introduce the analysed corpora, the selection criteria of the data and the overall results. In section 5 we discuss some possible reasons behind the origin of the syntagm. Subsequently, the use and expansion of the syntagm in later centuries is analysed in the light of recent studies on the reanalysis of participles as prepositions. We show that *faciente* began a categorial shift into the class of causal/instrumental prepositions, but for reasons that shall be explained, this process remained unaccomplished. In the last section, we make a brief comparison with other absolute ablatives that include semantically related participles (*operante, instigante, praestante*), pointing out the main differences between them.

Keywords: Late Latin, Christian Latin, categorial reanalysis, transcategorization, grammaticalization, participles, deverbal prepositions, ablative absolute, semantic bleaching, *facere*.

Previous studies on *faciente*

Starting from Ovid's often quoted verses, *Met*. 2, 540–541: *lingua faciente loquaci / qui color albus erat, non est contrarius albo* ("through his tongue's fault the talking bird, which was white, was now the opposite of white", transl. Loeb), one encounters several times in Latin a special use of *faciente* + (pro)nominal head not accompanied by further arguments and/or satellites and bearing nearly systematically causal/instrumental force. The first scholar to mention these uses was Heraeus in his well-known study on Petronius' language (1899, 36 n. 2) and, more in detail, in a later paper (1903), where he regards it as a characteristic late Latin phenomenon[1]. Similarly, a few years later, the construction is referred to by Löfstedt (1911, 167) in connection with the expansion of *facio* in late Latin sources[2]. Horn (1918, 37) reports several examples in a chapter dealing with the formulaic absolute ablatives and Flinck-Linkomies (1929, 220–221) inserts it within the more general discussion of present participles governed by inanimate nouns. The monumental *facio*-lemma in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* devotes a whole paragraph to the idiom (*TLL* VI, 123, 52–64), quoting further instances, and a brief mention is also found in Hofmann, Szantyr (1972, 133–134). Despite the initial interest, though, this use has been entirely neglected over the last 50 years, leaving aside a few remarks in commentaries of late texts[3].

Analysed corpora and general results

Our investigation is based on Brepol's Library of Latin Texts A and B, from which we considered all the sub-corpora included between the beginning of Latin literature and the end of the 8th century AD[4]. These data have been integrated on the one hand with the two on-line databases *Corpus Corporum* (University of Zürich) and *Digital library of late-antique latin texts* (University of Eastern Piedmont)[5], on the other hand, with all passages quoted in scholarly literature, including the *TLL*-lemma. Additionally, we consulted the main electronic corpora of non-literary Latin texts[6] and, for the Merovingian period, we referred to the PaLaFra corpus[7] and to the *Leges Antiquiores* included in the *Monumenta*

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[1] "Die Umschreibung mit *faciente* zur Bezeichnung der Urheberschaft, der Veranlassung, des Beweggrundes uä ist dem Spätlatein eigenthümlich" (1903, 466). In this paper, Heraeus also observes that in some cases ancient manuscripts and modern editions erroneously normalize *faciente* with other, more 'classical' verbal forms, such as *fauente*. Cf. also Kortekas (2007, 124).

[2] Specifically, referring to *Act. Achat*. 4 p. 118, 29 *non hominum more deus filium ex muliebri coitu genuit, sed Adam primum dextera sua faciente formauit* ("God did not generate his son from a woman by intercourse, as humans do, but first created Adam with his right hand"), Löfstedt (1911, 167) remarks that *faciente* "fast gänzlich zur Bedeutung von 'durch', 'mit' herabgesunken ist".

[3] Cf. for instance Kortekas (2007, 124) and Panayotakis (2012, 163) in relation to the *Historia Apollonii*.

[4] These are: (a) *Antiquitas* (until 200 AD), (b) *Aetas Patrum I* (ca. 200–500), (c) *Concilia oecumenica et generalia Ecclesiae catholicae* (mainly 6th — 8th c.), (d) *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam* (ca. 4th — 5th c.) and (e) *Aetas Patrum II* (501–735).

[5] See http://www.mlat.uzh.ch/MLS/ and http://digiliblt.lett.unipmn.it/.

[6] For the inscriptions, we searched the Epigraphic-Datenbank clauss-Slaby (http://www.manfredclauss.de/) and the Epigraphic Database Heidelberg (https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home?&lang=en). For the papyri, we referred to the papyrological Navigator (http://papyri.info/). Additionally, we explored all the curse tablets edited in the CD attached to Kropp's monograph (2008).

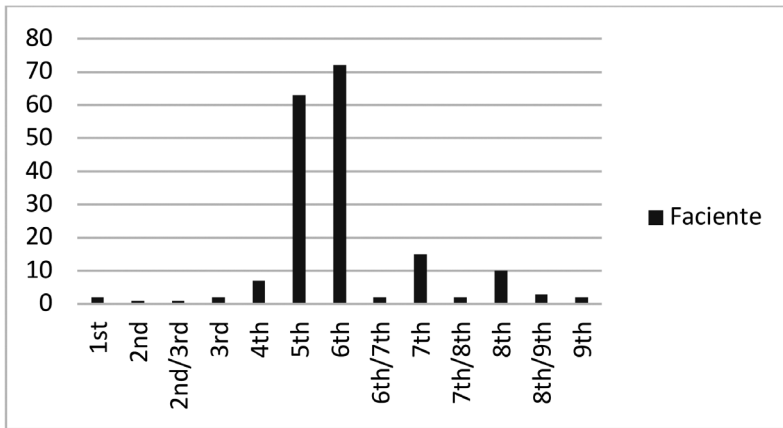[7] Cf. http://txm.bfm-corpus.org/?command=documentation&path=/BFM2016.

Fig. 1. Diachronic distribution of *faciente*

Germaniae Historica[8]. In this way, we could achieve an almost complete picture of the phenomenon and of its diffusion over the entire antiquity.

The focus of the research lies on the instances in which *faciente*, typically displaying instrumental or causal function, undergoes semantic bleaching and a partial transcategorization from participle to preposition can be assumed (see section 5). To this purpose, we excluded all instances in which the participle syntactically preserves its verbal function, being determined by an adverb or a prepositional phrase,[9] e.g.

(1) idcirco **te post dominum faciente** damnatus est, quod ausus sit perpetuae castitati matrimonium conparare (Jer. *Ep.* 49, 2)

"On this ground he has been damned, while you were acting according to the Lord, because he dared to compare the marriage with perpetual chastity."

The analysis revealed a relatively spread use of the construction (182 examples). The diachronic distribution is though uneven, as shown in figure 1.

The syntagm starts to expand around the 4th c., reaches its peak in the 5th and 6th c., and drastically drops in the following period,[10] though never entirely disappearing from written language (several examples are attested in late medieval authors). Although Horn, as seen above, classifies the pattern among the "formelhafte Ablativi Absoluti" (Horn 1918, 35–39), the number of nouns involved is remarkably high (100 in total) and the vast majority of them is found only once (69 times) or twice (15 times), which rather

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[8] Cf. https://www.dmgh.de/.

[9] There are only five such cases, one of which is moreover ambiguous because the prepositional cluster (*apud Baias*) may refer, by hyperbaton, to the main predicate. See (19) below. On the other hand, we retained 21 occurrences in which *facio* (or *fio*) is employed within the same sentence and therefore we cannot rule out that, at least in some of them, *faciente* preserves its standard meaning of "doing", "making" etc. Such instances are particularly common in Augustine.

[10] Note that the diachronic distribution cannot be accounted for by the date of the analysed texts. For, based on the works included in Brepol's database, which constitute the great bulk of our corpus, one would rather expect a peak of occurrences in the 4th and 5th century (414 and 483 texts, respectively) and a much lower incidence in the 6th c. (289 works).

speaks against a formulaic use.[11] A significant variety can also be observed in relation to the literary domains. Expectedly, Christian texts dominate, notably those of theological and exegetic nature (38 instances were found in the commentaries of holy writings).[12] The syntagm, however, is also well represented in juridical sources, narrative prose and in the scholiasts (cf. also Heraeus 1899, 167).[13] As for the diaphasic and diastratic axis, it is striking that texts typically associated with popular or substandard Latin, such as the *Itinerarium Egeriae* and the *Mulomedicina Chironis* provide no examples of the construction.[14] The same is true for nearly all documentary sources included in the corpus (inscriptions, curse tablets, papyri). Moreover, the great majority of the texts adopting the syntagm, and particularly those in which it figures several times cannot be classified as stylistically low (see for instance Cassiod. *In psalm.*, August. *De civ. D.* and *In psalm.*). We might hence argue *ex silentio* that this use was not common in ordinary speech, especially in lower varieties. However, due to its emergence in Augustine's *Sermones* — cf. (20) below –, in late juridical texts and, above all, in a 6th century papyrus from Ravenna — see (3), (4) — we cannot rule out the possibility that this use gained some currency even in spoken language. Additionally, it should be noted that about the half of the occurrences are found within exegetic (both Christian and pagan) or prescriptive texts (see n. 12). Since such works aim at explaining texts and giving rules and are thus in principle characterized by the clarity of the language, we must assume that this special use of *facio* did not generate ambiguity in the reader.[15]

On the origin of the syntagm

Despite the large amount of studies discussing or mentioning the phenomenon, almost none of them attempted to give an explanation to its origin. The only exception is represented by Flinck-Linkomies' monograph (1929, 220–221). He sees the starting point in the general decrease of frequency of nominal ablative absolutes, such as *aliquo auctore, adiutore, hortatore* etc., which would eventually lead to their total disappearance in late Latin. They were first replaced by expressions as *aliquo adiuuante, hortante, suadente* etc., already admitted in classical Latin, and then by *aliquo faciente* that, according to the author, constitutes the exact pendant of *auctore aliquo*. In support of his theory, Flinck-Linkomies (1929, 221) quotes a passage from Lucifer Calaritanus where *faciente Deo* could easily be replaced by *auctore Deo*:

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[11] The highest incidence emerges with *casus*, *Deus* (both 10 times), and *necessitas* (9 times). Conversely, with the semantically contiguous participles *operante, instigante* and *praestante* the frequency of individual clusters is much higher (see below section 6).

[12] The high frequency in Christian sources cannot be ascribed to (or influenced by) the Bible, as it is often the case in Christian literature (see Adams 2016, 643–644), because no instances were found in the translation or quotation of the Holy Scriptures.

[13] This is the exact distribution among the different domains: 1. religious (a. theological writings, b. hagiographies, c. commentaries to the Holy Scriptures, d. *Concilia, canones, regulae* and alike), 107 times; 2. technical (a. juridical, b. veterinary, c. medical sources), 24 times; 3. epistolary, 17 times; 4. historical, 14 times; 5. didactic (1. scholiasts, 2. grammarians), 11 times; 6. poetry, 8 times.

[14] The use of absolute ablatives is quite common in these two texts, both with present and perfect participles. In particular, Egeria resorts ten times to the pattern *Deo iubente*, in which the participle could have been in principle replaced by *faciente* (see n. 11 above)

[15] See also below our commentary on Jordanes' passage (19).

(2)   quia **faciente Deo** tuam calcemus ut lutum potentiam (Lucif. *De non parc.* 9)

"Because with God's help we shall tread your power as mud."

He thus concludes that *faciente*-syntagms are by no means unusual, but they only provide evidence of the "augmented verbal force" of absolute constructions in later Latin.[16] This explanation, though interesting, appears questionable on several grounds. First, nominal absolute ablatives never disappear from written language. For instance, *aliquo adiutore* and *aliquo auctore* are documented more than 160 and 280 times, respectively, in the Brepols' corpus between the 3rd and 8th c. AD.[17] Second, such syntagms typically refer to a person or a god, while *faciente*, as we shall see below, is much more frequently found with inanimate subjects. Third, and most importantly, Flinck-Linkomies only suggests one factor that may have contributed to the origin and spread of the syntagm but does not explain why specifically *facio* was chosen as a verb within it. Probably, the main reason is thus to seek in the multifunctionality and polysemy of the verb that, in addition to the original value of "making", "producing", "creating" etc., could convey already in classical times several other meanings, such as "acting", "being active", "taking action". Furthermore, it may be governed by both animate and, less frequently, inanimate subjects, with various degrees of control over the action.[18] Moreover, the verb is often followed by *ut* + subjunctive (less frequently the subjunctive alone) or an infinitive clause, with the causative meaning of "bring about", "cause to happen", "let happen", etc. (cf. *TLL* VI 104, 53–106, 37). In such instances, documented throughout Latinity, the subject may be both animate and inanimate,[19] as in Plaut. *Stich.* 177 *paupertas fecit ridiculus forem* ("poverty caused my being funny", transl. Loeb). It is hence possible that behind a sentence as Cassiod. *In psalm.* 89 *si illi* **iniquitate sua faciente** *dispersi sunt* ("if they were ruined because of their wickedness") some speakers may have recognized the pattern *si iniquitas fecit, ut illi dispersi sint* (or *disperderentur*) ("if the wickedness caused/brought them to be ruined"), with *iniquitas* identified as the main cause of the matrix clause. A hint in this direction is found in two late papyri from Ravenna approximately written in the same years:

(3)   signum † Wiliarit clerici, s(upra)s(crip)ti uenditoris, qui **facien[te] inuecillitate oculorum** suscribere non potuit ideoque signum f[ecit][20] (*Papyr. Tjäder* 2, 34 l. 92, 551 AD).

"the Cross mark of priest Wiliarit, above-mentioned salesman, who, due to a disease of his eyes, could not sign and therefore put the (Cross) mark".

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[16] "Itaque nullo alio nomine nova est haec elocutio, nisi quod de aucta verbali absolutae elocutionis vi est testimonio" (Flinck-Linkomies 1929, 221).

[17] It should also be observed that already in archaic and classical Latin these syntagms were not common. In the period between 200 BC and 200 AD (*Aetas Antiquissima* in the Brepols' database) we recorded less than 25 instances of *adiutore*, 3 of *suasore* and 2 of *impulsore*.

[18] See the recent contributions by Fruyt (2018, 16–23) and Galdi (2018, 244–254). Ancient authors were certainly aware of the polysemic nature of the verb, as it emerges, for instance, from this passage of the jurist Papinianus (*dig.* 50, 16, 218) *uerbum 'facere' omnem omnino faciendi causam complectitur dandi, soluendi, numerandi, indicandi, ambulandi* ("the word *facere* embraces entirely all sorts of "doing": "giving", "paying", "reckoning", "declaring", "walking").

[19] Cf. Fruyt (2018, 21–22).

[20] The same expression is also found at l. 92: signum † Vitaliani praesb(yteri) s(upra)s(crip)ti uenditoris, qui f[acien]te inuecillitate oculorum suscribere non potuit, signum f[ecit].

(4) **faciente nequissima egritudine polagrae,** quia suscribere non potui, signum tamen ḅe[at] ạe crucis, ụt potui, coram testibus inpressi (ibid. 1, 4–5 B VII, l. 3, 552–575 AD)

"since/although the terrible disease of goat caused that I couldn't sign, yet I impressed the mark of the Holy Cross, as far as I could, in front of testimonies".

As observed by Tjäder (1982, 274) the two papyri were written by the same scribe, i.e. Deusdedit. In (3) we read that due to an illness of the eyes the salesperson was not able to subscribe the document and therefore put the sign of the Cross on it. Similarly, in (4) a man reports that although the gout didn't allow him to sign the text, he marked it with the Holy Cross.[21] Now, while in the first case the standard *faciente*-syntagm occurs (*faciente inuecillitate oculorum*), with a clear causal force, in (4) the scribe, though resorting to a very similar pattern (*faciente egritudine polagrae*), converts the syntax into a causative structure by adding the subordinate *quia*-clause (*faciente … quia subscribere non potui*).[22]

Categorial shifts of participles

The recategorization of participles and their shift into the prepositional class represents a well-known phenomenon typically associated with the more general grammaticalization process by which content/lexical items develop into function/grammatical items.[23] A reference paper on deverbal prepositions in European languages, including Latin, is that by Kortmann and König (1992). They observe, among other things, that prepositions deriving from verbal forms on the one hand "are marginal in their lexical class" on the basis of several criteria such as low frequency, number of syllables, conservation of verbal properties etc., and, on the other hand, constitute an "extremely heterogeneous group" whose members share different properties. In particular, referring to English, they recognize a scalarity with respect to the degree of reanalysis, as shown on figure 2 (Kortmann, König 1992, 684):

lowest degree				highest degree
facing	*considering*	*according to*	*during*	*past*
lining	*failing*	*allowing* (*for*)	*pending*	*ago*
preceding	*barring*	*owing to*	*except*	*bar*
succeeding	*following*	*notwithstanding*	*concerning*	

Fig. 2. Gradient with respect to the degree of reanalysis of participles as prepositions

The items on the left are those that exhibit a higher degree of "verbiness" and, therefore, "can be categorized as prepositions only in certain, but not in all of their uses", while

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[21] Here, the use of *tamen* in the main sentence makes a concessive reading of *faciente* more plausible ("despite the disease of goat, nevertheless I could sign").

[22] Incidentally, it should be observed that the syntagm *facio quia* corresponding to *facio ut* (or infinitival clause) is unknown elsewhere. The *TLL* and Hofmann, Szantyr (1972) report no examples of the construction and we couldn't find any parallel in the Brepol's corpus.

[23] For bibliographic references, cf. Brinton (2012) and Rovai (2013, 176).

those on the right are characterized by a higher degree of reanalysis and are thus closer to the nominal pole.

As for Latin, deverbal prepositions constitute all in all a relatively rare category (Lehmann, in print). Some of the most common ones, i.e. *praesente, absente, stante, excepto, excluso* and *anteposito* have been recently investigated by Rovai (2013), who quotes several examples.[24] As a framework, Rovai adopts the "Non-discreteness hypothesis of Parts of speech", which considers word classes as flexible lexical categories definable on the base of given morphological, syntactical and semantico-pragmatic properties[25]. These categories are "established language-specifically over a continuum, whose cornerstones are the prototypes of noun and verb" and "they are connected by the two scales of increasing nouniness/decrasing verbiness and decreasing nouniness/increasing verbiness", according to the following schema (Rovai 2013, 181):

PROTOTYPICAL NOUN				PROTOTYPICAL VERB
Noun Adjective		Preposition	Participle	Verb
[+ nouniness]				[– nouniness]
[– verbiness]				[+ verbiness]

Fig. 3. The Noun-Verb *continuum*

According to the figure, there exists no clear-cut division between prepositions and participles, but they represent scalar categories "whose prototypes combine both verbal and nominal features in different degrees, whose boundaries are fuzzy, and in which membership is a matter of gradience" (Rovai 2013, 181). The recategorization of participles as preposition represents hence a spread phenomenon in the world's languages, but the specific reasons behind it are not always clear-cut. According to Rovai, the main factor triggering the reanalysis of participles in Latin, as well as in other world's languages, lies in the semantics of the verbs they derive from, which all exhibit at least one of two features that drastically contribute to decrease their "verbiness", shifting them towards the nominal pole. These are (a) "non-factuality" (*absente* "in the absence of", *excepto, excluso* "leaving aside, barring", etc.) and (b) "time-stability" (the participles chiefly derive "from the most stative, i.e. the least prototypical verbs"[26]). Additionally, Rovai notices that proper transcategorization only takes place if two changes surface at the mopho-syntactic level, i.e. loss of number agreement with the noun (thus, participle in the singular and noun in the plural), and stable word order reversion, from verb-final to verb-initial.[27] Both features are exemplified in (5), (6):

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[24] In his contribution of 2014, Rovai also includes *praesidente* in the discussion.
[25] Cf. Sasse (2001). See also Rovai (2013, 181; 2014, 488) with further references.
[26] Cf. Rovai (2013, 199).
[27] Cf. also Kortmann, König (1992, 674–676). Note, however, that the rigidification of the word order V-N, though nearly systematic, does not always occur. In English, for instance, the deverbal preposition "notwithstanding" can be found in both sentence-initial and sentence-final position, as in the two examples reported by Kortmann, König (1992, 675): a. We did it, his objections notwithstanding and b. We did it, notwithstanding his objections.

(5)　nec **praesente nobis** alius quisquam est seruos Sosia (Plaut. *Amph.* 400)

"And when the two of us are present, there's no other slave Sosia" (transl. Loeb).

(6)　**stante ista omnia**, quod super(ius) diximus (*Chartae Lat. ant.* 13, 571, 690–691 AD)

"Given all these things that we mentioned above".

The evolution of *faciente* and its shift into the prepositional class

If we now apply the morpho-syntactic and semantico-pragmatic conditions posed by Rovai to the *faciente*-syntagms, we easily recognize that most of them are not fulfilled. Therefore, one cannot speak of a real or complete transcategorization of the participle. To begin with, at the semantico-pragmatic level — which, according to Rovai, constitutes the most important factor triggering the categorial reanalysis — *facio* displays very different properties as compared to *excepto, absente* and analogous participles. As seen above, it is typically characterized by strong agentivity features (animacy of the subject, dynamicity, change of state, etc.) and it is, consequently, high in "verbiness".[28] Additionally, *faciente* expresses nearly systematically the cause or reason lying behind the main predicate[29] and is consequently involved in the innermost layer of the matrix clause. Conversely, prepositions like *excepto, praesente* and alike provide more marginal information and are rather related to the periphery of the main clause.[30] Concerning word order, there is a clear dominance of the classical N-V, not only in absolute terms (128 times, that is, 70 % of the totals) but also in relation to the single periods and genres. Furthermore, agreement errors are extremely rare: we annotated only seven instances in which the participle, the noun or both are in the accusative case, (some of these, as (7), may easily be put down to a scribal error), e.g.

(7)　taliter fuit professus, quod **faciente inimicum** ipsum hominem occidisset (*Formul. Sal. Bignon.* 9, 8th c.)

"he admitted that he had killed the man under the enemy's influence"

(8)　si quis hominem liberum **casum facientem** nolendo occiderit (*Edict. Roth.* 387, 7th c.)

"if someone killed accidentally and unintentionally a free person".

Of these, however, only one (9) involves number agreement and may thus be considered representative of a reanalysis process (note here, though, the standard word order N-V):

(9)　quae unus de fidelibus ac leodebus… **interrigna faciente** uisus est perdidisse (*Edict. Cloth.* p. 285, 7th c.)

"the possessions that one of his servants or subjects has lost because of the partition of the Kingdom".

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[28]　See Baños Baños (2016, 9 n. 21) and Galdi (2018, 245).

[29]　Among the very few exceptions is the cluster *casu faciente* (on which see below), which bears rather a modal meaning ("by chance").

[30]　The same applies to the deverbal prepositions analysed by Kortmann and König (1992, 691).

Finally, this use is not confined to the singular: we annotated 41 absolute ablatives with the plural *facientibus* fulfilling the same conditions posed for *faciente* (i.e. occurring within an absolute ablative and without adverbial or prepositional determinations).[31] This represents, though, a very formulaic use, because it is only found in Christian authors and is almost entirely restricted to *peccatis* (34 times) or to semantically related nouns,[32] e.g.

(10) dum **peccatis nostris facientibus** morimur, eius clementiae remissione saluamur (Cassiod. *In psalm.* 41)

"while we die because of our sins, we are rescued by the forgiveness of his mercy".

(11) ecclesia Tadinatis … est **delictis facientibus** hostili feritate occupata atque diruta (Gregory the Great *epist.* 1, 77)

"the church of Tadinum, due to its crimes has been occupied and destroyed by the hostile savageness".

Now, despite the four factors outlined above (high "verbiness" of the participle, (nearly) no agreement errors, strong dominance of the word order N-V and use of the plural), important clues reveal that *faciente* is used in a peculiar way in our syntagm, and some of them point to a partial transfer into the class of prepositions. First, in its prototypical uses, *facio* is accompanied by one or more arguments and/or satellites and is governed by an animate — generally human — subject exerting control on the action. According to the *facio*-lemma in the *TLL*, the absolute use of the verb, i.e. without adverbial or prepositional determinations (as in our syntagm), is not common. More specifically, if we confine our attention to the instances with inanimate subject, the figures drastically drop: of the nearly 4300 lines making the *TLL*-article, only 29 (roughly 0,7 %) are devoted to this use and some of them don't even count because they include adverbs of manner ("*nude vel cum adverbio modi*", *TLL* VI 122,12). Conversely, in the analysed corpus, 115 examples of *faciente*, that is, almost two thirds of the totals, are governed by an inanimate subject. Interestingly, a diachronic analysis shows that this type of nouns significantly increases in later centuries, as represented on fig. 4:

Of the 75 instances found until the end of the 5th century, 49 (thus, 65 %) involve animate subjects, which is in line with the classical uses of the verb. Specifically, 39 of these refer to divine entities, such as *Deus, Iesus Christus, diabolus* (cf. [2] above). On the contrary, the same is true for only 17 (thus, 16 %) of the 106 occurrences found in the later period. Correspondingly, the incidence of cases with inanimate subjects increases from 35 % (1st — 5th c.) to 84 % (6th — 9th c.). Of course, in most of these instances, no direct control of the subject can be assumed, as in (12).

(12) *sexta ceruice feratur*: lectica enim **faciente luxuria** a sex hominibus portabatur (Schol. Iuv. 1, 64)

"*he is carried on six necks*: for, due to luxury, the litter was carried by six persons".

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[31] Interestingly, this type is not mentioned in any study dealing with *faciente* (see section 1 above).

[32] Additionally, the use of *facientibus* is quite late. I only recorded five instances before the 6th century.
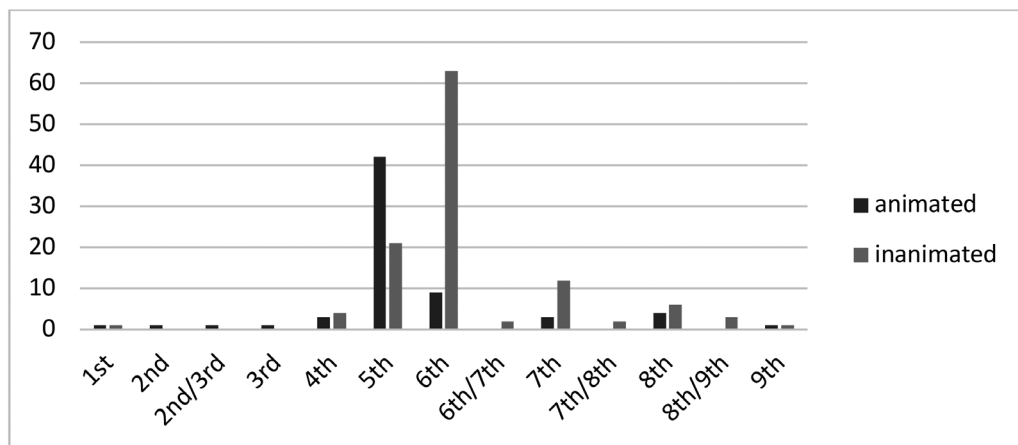
Fig. 4. Diachronic distribution of subjects' animacy

The picture becomes though more accurate if one considers the type of inanimacy of the subject. To this purpose, we made a distinction between two equally large classes of inanimate nouns exhibiting the same diachronic distribution (ca. 20 % until the 5th c. and ca. 80 % from the 6th c. onwards).

(A) (52 instances) Nouns expressing a human or divine property, action, condition or part of the body (*superbia, frugalitas, duritia, lingua* etc.), behind which one may recognize an intentional choice, attitude or responsibility of an animate entity. For instance, in (12) *luxuria* is not conceived by the Scholiast as a purely abstract property, but as the result of a deliberate attitude of the forger who is carried on the litter. A similar consideration applies to *odio* (13) and *obliuione* (14) below, for in both cases we may assume an involvement or responsibility of the persons to whom they are associated (Theophilus and the author himself, respectively):

(13) hunc Theophilus ab ecclesia **odio faciente** proiecit (Cassiod. *hist.* 10, 10, 9)

"Theophilus expelled him from the church out of hatred."

(14) **faciente nostra obliuione** (epistula) apud quem remanserit ignoramus (Ferrand. *epist.* 13, 3)

"Due to our forgetfulness, we ignore who is now in possession of the letter."

In all such cases, despite the inanimacy of the subjects, a degree of control or, at least, involvement of the animate entity 'behind' them can reasonably be guessed.

(B) (53 instances) Nouns denoting a human or non-human property, state or (rarely) object that falls entirely outside the control of animate entities. Particularly remarkable, here, are instances with *casus* (8)*,* (17), *necessitas* (15), *mors* (16) and alike, which clearly rule out any form of human responsibility or involvement.

(15) quia singulis, ut solebam **faciente necessitate** scribere non potui (Euseb. Verc. *Epist.* 2, 11)

"because, forced by necessity, I could not reply to the single letters, as I used to do".

(16) **qua** (**morte**) **faciente** (pater) funus filii non potuit cernere (*Schol. Stat. Theb.* 8, 651–652)

"due to his death (= since he was dead), the father could not attend the funeral of the son".

Interestingly, in some texts *faciente* occasionally alternates with the simple ablative of the name it is in agreement with, without any remarkable difference. Compare, for instance, (17) with (18), both taken from Cassiodorus' *Expositio psalmorum*:

(17) in derogatione alterius non **casu aliquo faciente** dilapsus est, sed diutinus fratris sui de tractor insedit (Cassiod. *In psalm.* 49)

"He did not lapse accidentally into the calumny of another person, but he kept acting for a long time as a slanderer of his brother."

(18) fieri enim potest ut homo sanctus **casu aliquo** ad concilium ueniat iniquorum (ibid. 25)

"for it can happen that a holy man accidentally joins a gathering of evil persons".

Such cases are revealing of a desemanticization of the participle[33] that appears to be used for functional rather than for semantic reasons.[34] Of special interest, in this regard, is the following passage from Jordanes' *Romana*:

(19) Adrianus **morbo apud Baias faciente** obiit (Iord. *Rom.* 270).[35]

"Hadrian died because of an illness at Baia."

As it is well known, Jordanes bases its works on a large variety of sources and he often adapts their language either on merely stylistic grounds, or in order to make it more explicit and 'accessible' for the average reader of the mid-6th c. AD.[36] In (19) the model, i.e. Jerome's *Chonicon*, reads, *Hadrianus, morbo intercutis aquae aput Baias moritur* (*chron. a.Abr.* 2153). Jordanes on the one hand shortens the text, omitting the type of sickness and the death age of the emperor, but on the other hand extends it, specifying the causal/instrumental function of *morbo* with *faciente*, which does not convey any discernible semantic value.[37]

The probably best piece of evidence in support of the desemanticization of *faciente* and, above all, of its functional evolution towards the prepositional pole is found in a longer passage from Augustine's sermons which found so far no attention in scholarly literature. We quote it at length:

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[33] This process was first noticed by Heraeus (1903, 466), who speaks of pleonasm: "In vielen dieser Beispiele … ist *faciente* geradezu pleonastisch".

[34] Semantic bleaching is one of the changes frequently accompanying the reanalysis of participles as prepositions. Cf. Kortmann, König (1992, 680–681).

[35] Note that this occurrence was not included in the totals, because according to the word order *faciente* is determined by the prepositional phrase *apud Baias* and displays, hence, verbal function at the syntactic level. However, based on the text of Jerome (*morbo intercutis aquae aput Baias moritur,* see further) we cannot rulle out that *apud Baias* is linked, through hyperbaton, to *obiit*.

[36] Cf. Galdi (2010) with references.

[37] Similarly, a few lines back in the same paragraph, the author replaces *sponte propria* ("spontaneously") of Rufinus, with *nulla faciente necessitate* ("even though there was no necessity").

(20) *quotidie morior per uestram gloriam, fratres, quam habeo in Christo Iesu Domino nostro. per uestram gloriam iuratio est. non quasi sic ait: per uestram gloriam morior, quasi "uestra gloria me facit mori"; quomodo si diceret: "per uenenum mortuus est", "per gladium mortuus est", "per bestiam mortuus est", "per inimicum mortuus est"; id est* **"faciente inimico", "faciente gladio", "faciente ueneno"**, *et similia.* (August. *Serm.* 180)

"*I die daily, (I protest) by your glory, brothers, which I have in Jesus Christ our Lord. Per uestram gloriam* is an oath. He does not say *per uestram gloriam morior* with the meaning "your glory causes me to die"; as if he would say "he died because of poison", "he died because of a sward", "he died because of an animal", that is, "because of an enemy", "because of a sword", "because of poison", and similar."

Commenting on Paul's text quoted in italics (1 *Cor.* 15, 31), Augustine points out that *per uestram gloriam* is a form of oath ("by" or "in the name of your glory"). This is, in such a context, a fundamental remark, because, as observed by the author, due to the word order, *per uestram gloriam* may easily be misunderstood as the cause of the death (*quasi "uestra Gloria me facit mori"*). Obviously, such a reading would totally reverse the original sense of Paul's words. In order to clarify this point, Augustine zooms in the wrong interpretation, giving, as example, three sentences with *per* + noun + *mortuus est*, in which the causal/instrumental function of the preposition appears evident. He then glosses these expressions by replacing the prepositional clusters with our syntagm (*faciente inimico, faciente gladio, faciente ueneno*). Three central remarks should be done here. First, and most importantly, Augustine considers in this context the causal/instrumental cluster *per* + accusative as semantically equivalent and thus interchangeable with *faciente*. This provides us decisive evidence for an at least partial reanalysis and transfer of the participle into the domain of prepositions. Second, two of the three instances with *faciente* involve inanimate nouns (*gladio, ueneno*). Since Augustine adopts the construction for merely exegetic purposes (he wants to be sure that *per uestram gloriam* is not interpreted the wrong way), we have to assume that the average reader and/or listener of his time would have readily understood what he meant. Hence, it is likely that the combination of *faciente* with non-animate subjects was already common by that time (beginning of the 5th c.), even though it first spreads, in written sources, from the 6th c. onwards (see fig. 4 above). Third, it is noteworthy that *per* is glossed with *faciente*, because there were at least three other prepositions perfectly apt to express the cause in this context, that is, *ob, propter* and *prae*[38]. Now, given that the *Sermones* were conceived for an oral delivery directed to a multifarious audience and their style was thus presumably "not too far removed from that of the normal speech" (Herman 2000, 24), we can legitimately assume that this use of *faciente* was commonplace at that time, possibly even among lower social classes.[39]

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[38] Additionally, in late Latin the ablative of cause is often replaced by *ex, de* and *in*. Cf. Hofmann, Szantyr 1972, 134.

[39] Another less explicit, but still instructive passage is found in Fulgentius (*praedest.* 3, 17). Here the author alternates, without any apparent semantico-pragmatic difference, *faciente* and *propter* within the same context: *an forte dicitur cordis illorum duritia faciente Saluatorem nostrum suae agnitionis aperire noluisse mysterium? … illos … quibus* (Christus) *propter duritiam cordis eorum nolebat suae agnitionis aperire mysterium* "may somebody perhaps say that our Saviour didn't want to unveil the mystery of his knowledge because of the harshness of their hearts? … those … to whom Christ didn't want to unveil the mystery of his knowledge because of the harshness of their hearts".

Summing up, the results discussed above reveal both a relatively spread use of *faciente*, especially after the 4th c. AD, and a diachronic change. Until the 5th c., it mainly refers to animate (notably divine) entities (65%), while in the later period inanimate subjects become strongly dominant (84%). Accordingly, we observe on the one hand a decrease of control of the subject over the participial action and, on the other hand, a semantic weakening of the verb, which often appears redundant. Both aspects are particularly evident with nouns as *casus, necessitas* etc., for which no form of control can be assumed (see group (B) above). This evolution points to a partial grammaticalization of the participle: in several — especially later — instances, *faciente* loses, to a large extent, its classical meaning, apparently fulfilling a pure grammatical function as a marker of the causal or instrumental value of the noun it agrees with.[40] Example (20) above, where causal *per* is glossed with *faciente*, confirms our hypothesis. However, as opposed to other, more common deverbal prepositions such as *absente, excepto* etc., this development does not become "visible" at the morpho-syntactic level — through loss of agreement or inverted word order — but remains restricted to the semantic domain.

A suitable theoretical framework to describe this process is the grammaticalization model of semantic change proposed by Heine (2002), which "rests on a clear-cut division between context and meaning" (Heine 2002, 86). Heine outlines a "scenario of how a linguistic expression acquires a new grammatical meaning" (*ib.*), assuming four subsequent stages that develop over a continuum. For each stage, Heine indicates a specific context and a resulting meaning, as shown in fig. 5 (cf. Heine 2002, 86):

Stage	Context	Resulting meaning
I Initial stage	Unconstrained	Source meaning
II Bridging context	There is a specific context giving rise to an inference in favor of a new meaning	Target meaning foregrounded
III Switch context	There is a new context which is incompatible with the source meaning	Source meaning backgrounded
IV Conventionalization	The target meaning no longer needs to be supported by the context that gave rise to it; it may be used in new contexts	Target meaning only

Fig. 5. Grammaticalization model of semantic change

At the first stage, the source (or original) meaning occurs in unconstrained contexts. At stage II, there appears a bridging context: the source meaning cannot be ruled out, but the target meaning offers "a more plausible interpretation of the utterance concerned".

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[40] Significantly, in nearly all instances the participle and the nominal head or its modifiers, are a in contiguous position. There are only seven exceptions, of which three within the syntagm *faciente ac suscipiente uerbo*: two of these, though, are quotations from Augustine: *nonne faciente ac suscipiente Verbo, ipse homo ... filius Dei unicus esse coepit?* (*praed. sanct.* p. 982) "wasn't through the mediation and support of the Word that the man started being the unique son of God?".

Stage III is characterized by a switch context "that no longer allows for an interpretation in terms of the source meaning". This leads to the final step, in which the target meaning appears "freed of the contextual constraints that gave rise to it" and is therefore conventionalized.[41] In the case of *faciente*, due to the lack of morpho-syntactic clues, the context can only be defined in relation to the type of noun subject. Specifically, we must consider both the animacy of the noun and the degree of control over the participial action. The different stages are exemplified in (21)–(23)

(21) si (mancipium) contra legem uenditionis **faciente te** ad libertatem peruenerit (Pompon. *Dig.* 21,2,34)

"if the slave shall come to freedom through your help against the sale law".

(22) ab his, quae tibi inminent, **faciente Dei auxilio** libereris **et misericordia** (Arnob. Iun. *Confl.* 2, 29)[42]

"you shall be freed by the things that threaten you through the help and mercy of God".

(23) pauperibus uel infirmis, qui **debilitate faciente** non possunt suis manibus laborare (*Conc. Aurel.* a. 512, p. 9)

"to the poor and ill people that cannot work with their hands because of an illness".

Instances as (21), characterized by [+ animacy] and [+ control] of the subject illustrate the first stage, in which *facio* fully preserves its source meaning of "acting", "operating" (cf. also (2), (7)). Accordingly, in such cases, as opposed to (22) and (23), the omission of the participle would make the sentence unintelligible (e.g. **te ad libertatem peruenerit*). Example (22) is representative of stage II: the subject is inanimate, but since it expresses a divine action (*auxilio*) and property (*misericordia*), we can assume (to different extents) a form of control behind it (cf. (12)–(14) above)[43]. The source meaning of *facio* is still recognizable, but the target one is now foregrounded. Finally, instances as (23) which, in addition to the inanimacy of the noun, exclude any form of control on the verbal action,[44] are suggestive of stage III. There is a switch context, incompatible with the source meaning, and *facio*, while semantically redundant, appears as a grammatical marker of the instrumental/causal function of the noun in agreement. Our syntagm never achieved the last stage outlined by Heine, because in that case we would reasonably expect a rigidification of both the singular *faciente* and the word order V-N (e.g. **faciente peccatis*, **faciente occasionibus* etc.).[45] The main reason why the evolution did not go beyond stage III has to be sought in the semantics of *facio*. As explained by Rovai, the triggering factor behind the categorial reanalysis of participles as prepositions probably lies in semantico-pragmatic factors, namely the "non-factuality" and/or "time-stability" of the underlying verbs, which situates them closer to the nominal pole. On the contrary, in its standard uses, *facio*

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[41] Note that in principle all stages may synchronically coexist side by side as "contextually defined variants" (Heine 2002, 86).

[42] This is the only instance in which two nouns governing *faciente* are kept apart by the main predicate.

[43] The same applies to the class of inanimate nouns outlined above under (A).

[44] Cf. the class of nouns (B) above.

[45] As observed above, the plural *facientibus* keeps on being used until the latest centuries, although it is essentially confined to *peccatis* and synonymic words.

exhibits high agentivity features, and its degree of "verbiness" is therefore marked. Due to the very common use of the verb throughout the history of Latin[46] (and, later, in the Romance languages), speakers remained certainly aware of these properties. Additionally, prototypical deverbal prepositions as *absente, excepto* etc., generally develop where core prepositions are lacking (Kortmann-König 1992, 690; Rovai 2013, 184), while the instrumental/causal function of *faciente* could be expressed by several prepositions or even by simple case-marking.

Relation with semantically contiguous syntagms

Before moving to the conclusions, let us briefly look at the relation between *faciente* and similar constructions with present participle largely attested in the late centuries, such as *instigante, fauente, operante* etc. + nominal head. Several scholars mention these syntagms in connection with *faciente*, regarding them as nearly synonymic choices. Flinck-Linkomies, for instance, referring to our syntagm claims: "[non] secernenda est ex aliis, quae saepissime obviam fiunt apud inferioris aetatis scriptores, in quibus participia praesentia variorum verborum similiter in absolute usu adhibentur" (1929, 221).[47] Similarly, Horn (1918, 35–39) includes these participles within the formulaic absolute ablatives, and Hofmann, Szantyr (1972, 133–134) discuss them all together in the same paragraph ("*faciente, operante* u.ä").

We have restricted our analysis to *opero, instigo* and *praesto* both because of their semantic affinity with *facio* and of their spread use in the late centuries. For each verb, we annotated all the instances found in the Library of Latin texts A and B between the 3rd and 8th c. AD.

Of the three verbs, *opero* is the one semantically closest to *facio*. The participle *operante*, despite its relatively high frequency (111 times, from Tertullian onwards), displays important differences to *faciente*. First, its use is mainly attested in religious works (92 times, thus 83 %), especially theological treatises and commentaries, and it is never found in technical texts. Additionally, ca. 40 % of the examples are found within three recurring clusters with *gratia* (14 times), *Deus* and *Spiritus* (both 15 times), while *faciente* exhibits a much larger variety of nouns.[48] Second, inanimate subjects are not as common (52 times, thus 47 % of the totals as against 64 % with *facio*), and more than the half refer to divine properties (especially *gratia*), behind which we can assume a form of control[49]. More generally, divine entities or properties constitute the subject in almost three fourths of the totals (81 times) as against less than one third with *facio* (54 times). The verbal character appears thus much more prominent with *operante* than with *faciente* and this is confirmed by the fact that in 52 instances not included in the totals the participle is accompanied by a prepositional phrase or an adverb,[50] e.g. *operante … et proficiente usque*

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[46] Cf. Fruyt 2018, 16–17.

[47] He refers, here, among the others, to (co)operante, dispensante, instigante and praestante

[48] As observed above (n. 11) recurring clusters are not common with this participle. Two exceptions are represented by *Deo faciente* and *casu faciente* (both 10 times).

[49] See the class of names (A) in section 6.

[50] Conversely, this is only five times the case with *faciente* (see n. 9). Note also that in 23 occurrences (21 %) *operante* is coordinated to another present participle displaying standard verbal function. This phenomenon is much less common with *faciente* (13 times, thus, 7 %).

in finem gratia Dei (Tert. *De virg.* 1) "as long as the grace of God is at work and advances until the end".

The results found with *operante* apply even more to *instigante* (57 occurrences) and *praestante* (283 times). Both participles are mainly concentrated in religious, notably theological texts and their subject is in far most of the instances (79 % and 94 %, respectively) an animate — generally divine — entity deliberately performing a controlled action. Particularly spread are the four clusters *diabolo instigante* (29 times), *Domino praestante* (118 times), *(Iesu) Christo praestante* (79 times) and *Deo praestante* (43 times), which became, at a large extent, stereotyped expressions.[51]

To sum up, despite the undeniable similarities,[52] significant divergences emerge between the constructions with *faciente* and those with *operante, instigante* and *praestante*, and the same is most likely true for other, semantically contiguous participles. For one thing, the former is spread over different genres and registers, even in technical texts, while the latter are mostly confined to religious sources, often within formulaic phrases. For another thing, and more to our point, inanimate subjects and, consequently, lack of (direct) control characterize most of the occurrences of *faciente*, whereas animate nouns gain the upper hand with *operante* and, even more, with *instigante* and *praestante*. Our data point thus to the conclusion that these participles, as opposed to *faciente*, did not undergo any reanalysis process, retaining their verbal force until the latest centuries. A crucial element that contributed to this difference is to seek in the polysemy and multi-functionality of *facio*, which could already in classical times be employed in a large variety of contexts and was often associated with inanimate subjects.

Conclusions

In this contribution, we discussed the instrumental/causal use of *faciente* + (pro) nominal head without adverbs or arguments in a large corpus including both non-literary and literary sources. The analysis lead to three central results. First, the construction is relatively well represented in the corpus, with 182 instances, from Ovid onwards, reaching its peak in the 5th and 6th c. AD and surviving until the late medieval period. Additionally, a notable variety emerged in terms of both nouns involved (100 in total) and literary genres and registers (see n. 13) and we may not rule out the possibility that the syntagm found its way in some spoken varieties of the language. Second, a lexical and semantic analysis of the nouns involved reveals that the participle underwent a partial categorial reanalysis as preposition. This process becomes evident through (a) the use of inanimate subjects (*superbia, militia, peccatum,* etc.), notably such as *casus, necessitas, egestas, tempus* etc. which exclude any form of control by a human or divine entity and (b) an explicit testimony found in Augustine's sermons (20), where *faciente* is used as an equivalent of the causal pattern *per* + accusative. Specifically, taking as reference point the grammaticalization model proposed by Heine (2000), we assumed that the evolution of the participle reached

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[51] In particular, the three above-mentioned expressions with *praestante* are chiefly used after the matrix clause as stock-phrases, often within dialogic contexts, as in English "with God's help", "with the assistance of God", e.g. August. *Serm.* 272B *obliuiscamur aliquando terram ut de terra in caelum leuari mereamur praestante Domino nostro Iesu Christo* ("let us once forget the earth in order to deserve to be raised from earth to heaven with the help of our Lord Jesus Christ").

[52] Note for instance that *Dominus* and *misericordia* are found as subject of all four participles without remarkable semantic differences.

stage III, characterized by a "switch context … that no longer allows for an interpretation in terms of the source meaning". However, the non-generalization of the word order V-N, which stably remains much less common than N-V, and of the singular *faciente* (the plural *facientibus* is found 41 times) show that the development never attained the fourth and final stage of Heine's model, in which namely the target meaning is conventionalized. We cannot therefore speak of a proper, or full transcategorization of the participle and the reason for that is most likely to be sought in the semantic nature of *facio*, which prototypically displayed high agentivity features and was thus "unbalanced" towards the verbal pole. Finally, the analysis has shown that the three participles *operante, instigante* and *praestante*, often regarded in studies as synonymic alternatives to *faciente*, differ from it in at least two aspects. On the one hand, they are mainly restricted to Christian sources and are very often found in recurring clusters, such as *Deo praestante, diabolo instigante*, or *Spiritu operante.* On the other hand, and more importantly, the type of nouns involved indicates that they generally remained high in "verbiness" and did not thus undergo any reanalysis process. The latter difference has been crucially fostered by the fact that *facio*, as opposed to other verbs, kept throughout Latinity a high degree of polysemy and multifunctionality and could hence be employed in a large variety of contexts with both animate and inanimate subjects.

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Orality in the *Gesta concilii Aquileiensis* (AD 381)

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In this paper, a methodological issue is considered concerning the *corpus* of texts bearing witness to "spoken Latin". Within this *corpus* there are also some texts that have been neglected up until now, stemming from shorthand records of spoken utterances: all of them — either dialogal or monologal — share a conversational *allure*, that allows the singling out of both universal and historical features of spoken (late) Latin. One of these texts, the *Gesta concilii Aquileiensis*, is then examined: the shorthand report of a Church council summoned in AD 381, where a lively debate is recorded among bishops supporting opposite views — Catholic vs. Arian — of the divinity of Christ. The survey on the universal traits of orality surfacing in the *Gesta* focuses on the *textual-pragmatic*, the *syntactic* and the *semantic levels*. It leads to interesting results, concerning above all *syntax* (prominence of parataxis, and of descendent order of the phrasal constituents within the complex sentence, i.e. independent clause > dependent clause) and *semantics* (lack of lexical innovation; inclination for expressive words). Despite the undeniably formal — and sometimes even formulaic — character of the dialogue, I would argue that the *Gesta* allow us to listen as it were to the voices of a group of cultured bishops animatedly discussing subtle theological matters.

Keywords: Latin language, spoken Latin, late Latin, Christian Latin, universal traits of orality, orality, Council of Aquileia (AD 381).

   This paper aims at investigating the traces of orality surfacing in the *Gesta concilii Aquileiensis*.[1] First, I will consider the methodological issue concerning the *corpus* witnessing the traits of 'spoken Latin'. I will argue that it also includes texts resulting from shorthand records of linguistic utterances performed *viva voce*, a category of texts that have so far been almost neglected. Second, I will focus on one of these texts, the *Gesta concilii Aquileiensis*,[2] and attempt to single out the universal traits of orality featuring in it. The council of Aquileia took place on September 3rd, AD 381. It had been summoned by emperor Gratian, in order to have the bishops discuss the Trinitarian doctrines professed by Palladius of Ratiaria and Secundianus of Singidunum, two Illyrican bishops that were followers of Arius (who had been famously judged as a heretic at Nicaea, AD 325). Only Western bishops took part; among them, Ambrose of Milan was the most important

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   [2] Latin text in Zelzer 1982, 325–368.

speaker on behalf of the Catholic party, that endorsed the Nicene creed. In the *Gesta* a lively debate is recorded, involving speakers who supported opposite views on the divinity of Christ.

1. Shorthand records of 'spoken Latin'[3]

Spoken utterances of any language can be recorded even through a written medium: as a matter of fact, this "unimportance of the medium" in the search for oral varieties of a language was the methodological premise of Johann Baptist Hofmann's investigation of 'Lateinische Umgangssprache'.[4] Traces of orality can be preserved by any linguistic utterance as far as it reflects a 'langage de l'immédiat' (conceptional orality):[5] so much so that in the case of 'Korpus-Sprachen' we can catch a glimpse of their totally lost spoken varieties from written documents bearing witness to a 'parlé graphique'.[6]

Typologies of texts which are relevant thereof are listed by Wulf Österreicher:[7] texts written by illiterate or semi-literate people (Pompeii graffiti, *tabellae defixionum*), sometimes in bilingual environments (letters by Claudius Terentianus and Rustius Barbarus, from Graeco-Roman Egypt); informal writing by educated people (Cicero's letters); writings accommodated to the (low) skills of the intended addressee (Latin translations of the Bible); literary texts mimicking orality (Plautus, Petronius, Apuleius). A further category is mentioned by Österreicher (1998, 151): 'temoignages informels enregistrés… citations d'un langage informel, souvent grossier, que l'on a documenté', elsewhere referred to as 'passage au graphique d'un parlé spontané (procès verbaux, etc.)'.[8] Österreicher doubtfully mentions a couple of examples: an *adclamatio* raised by the inhabitants of Rome against the Pope in 545 (recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis*) and the two *exempla* of *genus adtenuatum* that we read in *Rhet. Her.* 4, 62–66. To this category belong texts stemming from shorthand records of *viva voce* performances,[9] which promise a 'close approximation to a verbatim record'[10].

Furthermore, if we tone down the adjectives 'informel' and 'spontanée' featuring in Österreicher's definitions, we will be able to enlarge the *corpus* of texts conceivably hosting fragments of authentic orality. Basically, I suggest that these kind of texts might be arranged into two groups.[11]

(a) Some belong to 'dialogal discourse', in that they record dialogues, featuring the voices of more than one speaker: among them, the *Gesta concilii Aquileiensis*, to which I

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[3] This will also be discussed in a separate article.

[4] Ricottilli (2003, 23; 51) speaks of 'irrilevanza del medium'. The first German edition of the seminal book by Hofmann (Italian translation in Hofmann 2003) was published in 1926 (*Lateinische Umgangssprache*, Heidelberg, Carl Winter).

[5] Conceptional orality applies to texts in which the 'allure linguistique de l'énoncé' is conceived of as pertaining to a 'communication de l'immédiat', involving intimacy between the speakers, their co-presence in space and time, influence of emotion: Koch, Österreicher 2010, 584–588.

[6] Koch, Österreicher 2010, 585.

[7] Österreicher 1998, 149–153.

[8] Koch, Österreicher 2010, 614.

[9] Hagendahl 1971 is still fundamental for the investigation of the role played in Latin antiquity by shorthand reports of orally performed speeches of any kind; see also Teitler 1985.

[10] Heath 2004, 263.

[11] I draw on the terminology prompted by Karoline Kroon (Kroon 1995, 108–115); see also Moretti 2018, 4–6.

shall return shortly; the *Gesta collationis Carthaginiensis*, a council featuring Augustine of Hippo and other Catholic bishops debating with their Donatist antagonists (AD 411);[12] the *Gesta senatus Romani de Theodosiano publicando*, the recording of the session during which the Theodosian Code was presented to the senate in Rome (AD 438);[13] *verbatim* reports of trials in the most ancient *Acta martyrum*.[14]

(b) Others belong to 'monologal discourse', as they are uttered by one speaker, who sometimes gives the floor to a — real or fictitious — interlocutor: he does so either overtly, so that the 'monologal' discourse becomes 'dialogical monologal', or in a more implicit and indirect way, so that the 'monologal' discourse, although spoken by one (that is 'monological'), takes on some conversational features, becoming 'diaphonic' ('diaphonic monological monologal'). Two examples of 'monologal' discourse, partly 'dialogical' and partly 'diaphonic monological' — it just depends on the sections we examine — are three works by Ambrose of Milan (*Apologia David altera*, *Explanatio Symboli*, *De sacramentis*), stemming from records of homilies preached by the bishop,[15] and the *Commentum in artem Donati* of the African grammarian Pompeius, consisting of reports of his grammar classes.[16]

2. The 'Gesta concilii Aquileiensis'

At the beginning of September AD 381, a group of Western bishops came to Aquileia. Their gathering was formally presided over by the local bishop, Valerianus of Aquileia, but the discussion was actually lead by Ambrose of Milan. The purpose was to examine and to judge the doctrinal views of the two homaean — i.e. Arian — bishops Palladius and Secundianus, having them confronted with the core of Arius' doctrine: Christ would not share all God the Father's prerogatives, that is, his being eternal, good, wise, and true; rather, Christ, as 'son of God', would be inferior to God. After the first discussion, encompassing Palladius' trial, the bishop of Ratiaria was solemnly excommunicated by all the participants; then began Secundianus' trial, which is partially lost, as the *Gesta* break off abruptly.[17]

As McLynn puts it, 'the transcript of the […] debate defies categorization':[18] it appears a judicial trial, having Ambrose pursue decidedly his doctrinal allegations against the adversaries, who, besides defending their views, questioned the legitimacy of the council.[19]

The recording of that discussion, the proper *Gesta*, is preserved. In that they are an official report, the *Gesta* must be the result of an editing process similar to that which is

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[12] Ed. Weidmann 2018.

[13] Regrettably, these *Gesta* are only an epitome of the words spoken and of the *adclamationes* uttered on that occasion: cf. Atzeri 2008, 118; 147–151; 161 (the *Gesta* are published at 319–322): however, this text remains fundamental as it likewise bears witness to a 'formal' and officially codified spoken Latin.

[14] As suggested by De Ste. Croix 1984, 17–22 in a paper dealing with the Graeco-Roman world (at 23–24, he also hints at the recordings of Church councils).

[15] See at least Visonà 2004, 61–65; 95; 132–133. The *Explanatio Symboli* will be dealt with in a separate article.

[16] See Kaster 1988, 139–168; Pontani 2007, 207–210; Zago 2017, xcvii–xcix; Zago 2018.

[17] McLynn 1994, 124–137.

[18] McLynn 1994, 127.

[19] Allegedly Gratian had summoned also the Eastern bishops, who were prevented from coming by Ambrose's maneuvers. On how, when, and by whom the bishops had been summoned to Aquileia, see Gryson 1980, 121–132.

described in the *Gesta collationis Carthaginiensis*:[20] shorthand record of the discussions (*notae*); transcription (*descriptio*) *in apices evidentes*; *emendatio*, followed by official approval (the speakers', the stenographers' and the judges' *recognitio*); publication (*editio*). As often mentioned by the speakers, also the *Gesta concilii Aquileiensis* are recorded by *exceptores*, chosen by both parties, their main task being to write down exactly each word as it was uttered:

> (1) 34. *Palladius dixit:* "*Tu iudex es, tui exceptores hic sunt*". *Ambrosius episcopus dixit:* "*Scribant tui qui volunt*". 43. *Palladius dixit:* "*Non tibi respondeo, quia quaecumque ego dixi non sunt scripta; vestra tantummodo scribuntur verba, non vobis respondeo*". … *Palladius dixit:* "*Si vultis exceptores nostri veniant et sic totum excipiatur*". *Sabinus episcopus dixit:* "*Adducat suos exceptores*". 46. *Palladius dixit:* "*Exceptor vester et noster stent et omnia scribant*". *Valerianus episcopus dixit:* "*Iam quae dixisti et negasti scripta sunt omnia*". 51. *Palladius dixit:* "*Date auditores, veniant et ex utraque parte exceptores*".

Shorthand reports of 'dialogal discourse' seemingly should give an insight into the ancients' spoken language. In this respect, two further clarifications are needed.

First, the accurate editing process, besides exposing the text to omissions and falsifications, certainly involved slight ameliorative formal changes, whose impact on the original linguistic *facies* of the text is difficult to guess: as a matter of fact, in the reworking of the original records most of the spontaneous marks of oral delivery are likely to have been expunged or amended, whereas only the original 'overall syntactic structure of the sentence' and 'lexicon' are likely to have been preserved.[21]

Second, the linguistic *facies* of the *Gesta*, from the very beginning of their oral performance, belong to a careful linguistic register,[22] and must contain many technical and formulaic elements.

Despite that, I assume that neither revision nor presence of technical or formulaic turns of phrase prevent them from being almost exact recordings of high register spoken Latin, which reflect the actual wording of the participants, and are therefore worthy of linguistic investigation.[23]

As regards our text, its linguistic reliability is perhaps shown also by comparison with some passages of the *Gesta* which are quoted in the so called *Scolia Maximini* (= *SM*), a commentary put together by a certain Maximinus,[24] and written on the margins surrounding the *Gesta* in the 5th century manuscript Paris. Lat. 8907 (ff. 336r-353v: the commentary reads on ff. 336r-349r). As we will see below, in some cases the author of the

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[20] Illustrated by Lancel 1972, 337–353, 390–391; Teitler 1985, 5–15; Atzeri 2008, 88–97. On the *acta* of Greek Church councils, see Graumann 2018 (dealing with Chalcedon).

[21] See the remarks by Mari, forthcoming, where even a comparison is made between the audio recording of a meeting of the UK House of Lords and its official shorthand report.

[22] On 'careful' and 'casual speech', see Adams 2013, 6. On the *acta* of bishops' councils as bearing witness to 'careful speech', see Moretti 2018, 8–10.

[23] On the language of the *Gesta conlationis Carthaginiensis*, see Lancel 1972, 309–316 (oral traits), 321–327 (elements pertaining to the higher register, such as metrical and rhythmical *clausulae*); Pinkster 1998; Moretti 2018. For a comparable investigation of the Greek text of the *Acta concilii Chalcedoniensis*, see Mari, forthcoming.

[24] Possibly, the Arian bishop who confronted Augustine in 427/428, a debate recorded in the *Collatio cum Maximino Arianorum episcopo* (cf. Gryson 1980, 63–79). See also Zelzer 1987, cliii (and n. 10), clvi–clvii, who dates Maximinus' writing from after AD 438.

scolia quotes and comments upon a "better" text, that is not found in any of the surviving manuscripts of the *Gesta*.[25] Obviously, it would be haphazard, although tempting, to speak of an 'Arian' version of the *Gesta*, also owing to the poor number of Maximinus' quotations;[26] however, we might think that Maximinus, whilst commenting on the text, slightly amended it, even for the sake of clarity, deleting some oral elements.

In what follows, I will point out some universal oral traits which are found in the *Gesta*.[27] Relevant passages of the text illustrating each phenomenon will be quoted, drawn from all the participants' speeches; the French and/or the Italian translations are added in square brackets, whenever they help elucidate the orality of the Latin text.[28] Moreover, when statistical data are presented, they will result from the comparison between a sample of words spoken by bishop Ambrose during the council (971 words)[29] and another text, which presumably bears witness to a formal register of 'written Latin': an official epistolary account of the council addressed to emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius by Ambrose and the other bishops in September 381, which was circulated together with the *Gesta* (*epist.* 2: 976 words).[30]

2.1. The textual-pragmatic level

As for the universal traits of orality, the elements pertaining to the textual-pragmatic level are only scantily attested, perhaps because they do not usually escape an accurate revision: this is true, e.g., for discourse structuring particles (opening or closing or turn-taking markers).

A typical example is offered by *et*, which in oral passages may work as a turn-taking particle, rather than as a syntactic coordinating one:[31]

(2.a)   25. *Palladius dixit: "Status divinus immortalis est".* [a cunning answer, by means of which Palladius avoids asserting overtly Christ's immortality] *Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "Astute et* [= *etiam*] *hoc, ut de dei filio nihil exprimas evidenter, **et** ego dico: Immortalitatem habet dei filius secundum divinitatem, aut nega quia habet immortalitatem".*

(2.b)   39–40. *Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "Subiectus secundum carnis rationem. Cetera et ipse meministi quia legisti: 'Nemo venit ad me nisi quem pater attraxerit'". Sabinus episcopus dixit: "Dicat si secundum divinitatem subiectus est patri an secundum incarnationem". Palladius dixit: "Ergo pater maior est". Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "**Et** alibi scriptum est: 'Fidelis deus per quem vocati estis in communionem fili eius'".*

(2.c)   69. *Eusebius episcopus dixit: "Hoc Fotinus non negat, hoc Sabellius confitetur". Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "**Et** qui hoc non confitetur iure damnatur, ac per hoc saepe <te> convenio licet cavillando negaveris veritatem".*

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[25] Gryson 1980, 54–58.

[26] They preserve about 1/4 of the surviving *Gesta*.

[27] Cf. Koch, Österreicher 2010, 591–601. Koch 1998 examines the freedmen's speeches in Petronius as a sample of spoken Latin.

[28] Both the Italian and the French translations I will refer to (Banterle 1988, 349–393; Gryson 1980, 330–383) rely on Zelzer's critical text and apparatus, which was shared with Gryson by the Austrian scholar before publication (cf. Gryson 1980, 57 n. 1).

[29] Chapters 1 to 32. Biblical quotations are ruled out.

[30] Ed. Zelzer 1982, 316–325.

[31] Koch 1998, 128–129.

Also other particles, such as *ergo* (which furthermore looks like a linguistic tic in Ambrose's spontaneous speaking)[32] and *igitur*, might be used as structuring devices. What is remarkable are the translators' hesitations between rewording and omitting them, which would not be easily accounted for if *ergo/igitur* had their most common logical conclusive meaning:

(3.a)   12. *Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "… Dicitis quod Arrium <non> sequamini. Hodie aperta debet esse sententia: aut condemna illum aut astrue quibus vis lectionibus". Et adiecit: "**<u>Ergo</u>** iuxta epistulam Arri Christus dei filius non est sempiternus?*

(3.b)   41. *Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "Dicat quia non secundum divinitatem apostolus dixit subiectum sed secundum carnem; scriptum est enim: 'Humiliavit semetipsum factus obaudiens usque ad mortem'. In quo **<u>ergo</u>** mortem gustavit?"* [Banterle omits *ergo*: 'In che cosa sperimentò la morte?'] *Palladius dixit: "Qui<a> se humiliavit".*

(4)   16. *Felix episcopus et legatus dixit: "Si qui filium dei negaverit sempiternum et coaeternum negaverit, non solus ego legatus totius provinciae Africanae damno, sed et cunctus chorus sacerdotalis qui ad hunc coitum me sanctissimum misit etiam ipse ante damnavit". Anemius episcopus dixit: "Caput Illyrici non nisi civitas est Sirmiensis, ego **<u>igitur</u>*** [Gryson omits *igitur*: 'et je suis'] *episcopus illius civitatis sum. Eum qui non confitetur filium dei aeternum et coaeternum patri quod est sempiternum anathema dico, sed etiam is qui idem non confitetur".*

Markers of correction, depending on insufficient discourse planning, are quite rare:[33]

(5)   50. *Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "Damna impietatem Arri". Cumque reticeret Palladius, Eusebius episcopus dixit: "Superfluis immoramur. Tot impietates Arri Palladius noluit condemnare, **<u>immo potius</u>** asserendo confessus est. Hunc qui non damnat similis illius est et haereticus iure dicendus est".*

As far as I could ascertain, modal particles, phatic contact markers, and interjections do not feature in our text.

2.2. The syntactic level

The syntactic level turns out to be quite interesting.

Admittedly, spoken language usually prefers parataxis and opts for independent clauses preceding dependent ones in hypotactic constructs ('ordine discendente', i.e. descendent order, as Durante puts it): this is accounted for in light of the ordering principle 'base, sviluppo, sviluppo…' which tends to shape oral syntactic structures.[34]

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[32]   As shown by *sacr.* (Mohrmann 1976, 111, 114, 118) and *expl. symb.* (Moretti forthcoming). In the *Gesta* it occurs 16 times in Ambrose's spoken words. Another tic of Ambrose's idiolect is perhaps *ac per hoc*, to which I shall return below.

[33]   Cf. Koch 1998, 131.

[34]   Durante 1985, 54–55: 'Data una sequenza di enunciati, il primo convoglia una informazione che o è virtualmente autosufficiente, oppure configura una premessa che richiede continuazione. In entrambi i casi la funzione che compete al primo enunciato può essere definita col termine di base. L'enunciato successivo si aggancia al dato prioritario apportando nel primo caso una informazione aggiuntiva, e nel secondo caso integrando la linea semantica: chiamerò questa diversa funzione col termine di sviluppo. […] Possiamo schematizzare questo semplicissimo principio organizzativo nella formula: base, sviluppo, sviluppo… […]

As regards the proportion between parataxis and hypotaxis, the impression one gets at a glance is that parataxis is prominent, independent clauses significantly outnumbering dependent ones. This is consistent with the 'statut problématique de l'hypotaxe' in spoken languages.[35] The figures are quite meaningful, and the difference between Ambrose's spoken words and *epist.* 2 is apparent:

Table 1. **Independent and dependent clauses**

	indep./dep. clauses	*ratio* **indep./dep. clauses**	**max>min length**	**average length**
Ambrose	141/85	1:0.6	58>1	8.7
***epist.* 2**	55/101	1:1.8	73>4	28.7

In the words spoken by Ambrose the *ratio* independent/dependent clauses shows a clear prominence of the former over the latter, and clauses are often rather short: their average length is about 8.7 words. On the contrary, in the words written by the bishops the *ratio* independent/dependent clauses shows a prominence of dependent clauses, and clauses are often long: their average length is 28.7 words.

Sentence average length is no doubt a far-reaching feature. As a matter of fact, in the *Gesta* we find many examples of long sentences made up by coordinate clauses following one another per asyndeton, and of lively dialogue-strings, consisting of short clauses:

(6.a)   11. *Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "Sequestrata sit causa orientalium, sententiam tuam hodie quaero. Arri tibi epistula lecta est; soles te Arrianum negare: aut damna hodie Arrium aut defende".*

(6.b)   20. *Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "Iohannes dixit in epistula sua: 'Hic est deus verus', nega hoc".*

(6.c)   26. *Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "Ergo male dixit Arrius, cum etiam filius dei habet immortalitatem secundum divinitatem". Et adiecit: "Bene dixit an male?" Palladius dixit: "Non consentio". Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "Cui non consentis? Anathema illi qui non explicat fidei libertatem". Omnes episcopi dixerunt: "Anathema". Palladius dixit: "Dicite quod vultis; eius est divinitas immortalis". Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "Cuius? Patris an et fili?" Et adiecit: "Multas impietates congessit Arrius, ad alia transeamus".*

(6.d)   48. *Palladius dixit: "Cum impietatis te argui, te iudice non utor, transgressor es". Sabinus episcopus dixit: "Quas impietates obicias fratri nostro et consacerdoti Ambrosio dicito". Palladius dixit: "Iam vobis dixi, pleno concilio respondeo et praesentibus auditoribus".*

(6.e)   49–50. *Valerianus episcopus dixit: "Nolite multum adigere Palladium, non potest vera nostra simpliciter confiteri; ipsius enim conscientia duplici blasfemia confusa est, nam a Fotinianis est ordinatus et cum ipsis est damnatus et nunc plenius damnabitur". Palladius dixit: "Hoc proba". Sabinus episcopus dixit: "Nec aliter poterat Christum verum <deum> negare nisi auctores suos sequeretur". Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "Obiecisti me esse impium, hoc proba". Palladius dixit: "Expositionem nostram afferimus, cum attulerimus, tunc disputatio habebitur". Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "Damna impietatem Arri".*

Chiamerò questo tipo di articolazione sintattica col termine di ordine discendente' [emphasis mine]. See also Koch, Österreicher 2010, 598 (drawing on Durante); Koch 1998, 135–137.

    35   Koch 1998, 135.

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As for the order of sentences within the period, in the sample of spoken Latin we would expect the descendent order (independent clause > dependent clause) to be prominent, according to the already mentioned principle of 'base, sviluppo, sviluppo…'. However, the descendent order significantly prevails in both samples: it is found in 79 examples (out of 101) in the bishops' epistle (78.2 %), and in 60 examples (out of 85) in Ambrose's speeches (70.5 %). Furthermore, it should be remarked that anteposition of causal, temporal, conditional, and (in Latin) *cum* clauses, results in semantic (although not syntactic) descendent order, because time, condition, and cause work as semantic 'base', whose 'sviluppo' is the main clause, that is accordingly postposed.[36] The prominence of descending order in both texts might be deemed to be typical of late Latin as a whole, as parallel to the trend from from left- to right-branching structures (SOV to SVO) involving word-order.[37]

Moreover, sometimes preposing of a dependent clause can be explained in pragmatic terms, as the topicalization of (phrasal) contrastive focus constituents,[38] especially in highly conversational strings of text, that mirror the lively debate among the bishops:

(7.a)   23. *Palladius dixit: "<u>Et ego vos quod interrogavi</u> respondere noluistis".*
(7.b)   34. *Palladius dixit: "<u>Ego quae interrogo</u> non respondetis?".*
(7.c)   42. *Palladius dixit: "Mandavi ut sederetis ut arguerem vos; quare subrepsistis imperatori? <u>Ut concilium plenum non esset</u>, obrepsistis".*

Topicalization might also involve noun contrastive focus constituents (8). It is definitely not by chance that words referring to the crucial issue which is debated — the definition of Christ as *verus Deus* — are topicalized:

(8.a)   17. *Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "Et in hoc damna eum qui negat filium deum verum. Cum enim ipse sit veritas, quemadmodum non est deus verus?" Et adiecit: "Quid ad hoc?" Palladius dixit: "**<u>Filium verum</u>** qui non dicit?".*
(8.b)   66. *Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "Verum deum dicis?" Secundianus dixit: "**<u>Verum unigenitum filium</u>** qui negat verum filium dei?".*
(8.c)   20. *Cumque Palladius reticeret, Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "**<u>Solum verum filium dei</u>** qui dicit et non vult dicere deum verum, videtur negare".*
(8.d)   28. *Eusebius episcopus dixit: "Etiam Secundianus ad hoc respondeat". Cumque Secundianus reticeret, Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "Quia tacet, integrum vult habere iudicium". Et adiecit: "**<u>Solum patrem bonum</u>** cum dicit, filium confessus est an negavit?".*
(8.e)   30. *Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "Vides ergo quia Christum bonum filium, non bonum deum dicis, quod a te quaeritur". Et adiecit: "**<u>Bonum deum filium dei</u>** qui non confitetur, anathema".*

Moreover, a remarkable merge of pragmatically determined orality and fixed formulas is found in the section containing the Catholic bishops' *sententiae* of condemnation (54–64).[39] Iustus' *sententia* (9.a) shows the formulaic template as consisting of: Accusative of the direct object (topicalized focus) + relative clause, justifying the condemnation + *damnandum censeo* (and tantamount formulas). In Constantius' long *sententia* (9.b) the

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[36]   Durante 1985, 55–56; Koch 1998, 137; Koch, Österreicher 2010, 598.
[37]   On Latin word order, see Bauer 2009; the parallel between syntactic micro- and macro-structures is underscored in Durante 1983, 63.
[38]   Gundel, Fretheim 2006. A similar phenomenon is examined in Pinkster 1998.
[39]   See also Pinkster 1998.

direct object is preposed, and the accusative looks hanging until, in the end, the verb comes, governing it. In Amantius' *sententia* (9.c) we find left dislocation of the topicalized focus (*Palladium*), referred to by a co-referential pronoun (*eum*):

(9.a) 56. *Iustus episcopus dixit: "Palladium, qui blasfemias Arri damnare noluit sed etiam has magis confiteri videtur, censeo ulterius sacerdotem dici non posse"*[40].

(9.b) 55. *Constantius episcopus Arausicus dixit: "Palladium Arri discipulum, cuius impietates iam olim damnatae sunt a patribus nostris in concilio Nicaeno et nunc hodie probatae, cum recenserentur Palladio singulae — non confusus est dicere dei filium a deo patre esse alienum, cum creatura<m> confitetur, cum temporalem dicit, deum verum negat –, in sempiternum censeo esse damnandum"*.

(9.c) 64. *Amantius episcopus Lotevensium dixit: "Palladium qui sectam Arri non destruxit, secundum consacerdotum meorum <sent>e<n>tiam et ego eum condemno"*.

As can be easily seen, most of the *sententiae* result from the (more or less oral) reworking of a fixed formula.

In the *Gesta* there is almost no syntactic inconsistency. I could find only one — rather doubtful — example of interrupted sentence in (10):

(10) 11. [on the alleged role of the emperor in preventing the Eastern bishops from coming to Aquileia] *Eusebius episcopus dixit: "Non credimus religiosum imperatorem aliud dixisse quam scripsit. Episcopos iussit convenire, non potuit tibi soli contra rescriptum suum dicere, ut sine orientalibus causa minime diceretur". Palladius dixit: "Si Itali soli iussi sunt convenire…". Evagrius presbyter et legatus dixit: "… Ut ante quattuor dies et ante biduum respondere<s> t<e> adfuturum. Quid ergo exspectabas? Ut dicis, orientalium consortium tuorum sententiam expectandam? Sic debuisti mandare, non promittere conflictum"*.

The Arians questioned the authority of the council, as Eastern bishops did not take part. The Catholic Eusebius reasserted the legitimacy of the assembly, notwithstanding the Eastern bishops' absence. I guess that Palladius' response (*Si Itali soli iussi sunt convenire…*) should be read as an interrupted sentence, sounding like: "But, what if only the Italians have been ordered to come…". It is interpreted as an interrogative clause in Zelzer's edition: but the omission of *si* in the two translations based on Zelzer's text betrays a difficulty (Gryson: 'Est-ce que seuls les Italiens ont reçu l'ordre de se réunir?'; Banterle: 'Solo gli Italiani hanno avuto l'ordine di riunirsi?'). Also Evagrius' response has not a straightforward interpretation (… *Ut ante quattuor dies et ante biduum respondere<s> t<e> adfuturum*): "… so that four days ago, and then two days ago, you answered you would be present".[41] The passage as it is might reflect faithfully the fragmented *allure* of the dialogue, or must be otherwise corrupted.[42] Again, Maximinus' text is less problematic (*SM* 22–23):[43] should we think of him as drawing from a better manuscript or as willingly avoiding — i.e. amending — obscurities of the spoken text?

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[40] Cf. all the other bishops' condemnation *sententiae*, which follow roughly the same scheme (54–64).

[41] Banterle 1988, 356–357 preserves Evagrius' answer as edited by Zelzer 1982, 332; whereas Gryson 1980, 357 amends it (partially based on Maximinus' text: see below, n. 43).

[42] See the apparatus ad loc. in Zelzer 1982, 332.

[43] Palladius dixit: "Ergo Itali soli iussi sunt convenire, exclusis eis?". Evagrius presbyter et legatus dixit: "Et ante quattuor dies et ante biduum respondere te adfuturum dixeras. Ergo exspectabas, ut dicis, orien-

2.3. The semantic level

Some further oral elements pertain to the semantic level, where the principles of economy and emotion play a crucial role.

As for economy, many passages reflect a trend to brachylogy. See for instance (11):

(11.a) 17. *Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "Et in hoc damna eum qui negat filium deum verum. Cum enim ipse sit veritas, quemadmodum non est deus verus?" Et adiecit: "Quid ad hoc?" Palladius dixit: "Filium verum qui non dicit?". Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "<u>Arrius negavit</u>* [scil. *filium deum verum*]".

(11.b) 25. *Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "<u>Astute et hoc</u>* [scil. *dicis*]*, ut de dei filio nihil exprimas evidenter, et ego dico: Immortalitatem habet dei filius secundum divinitatem, aut nega quia habet immortalitatem".

(11.c) 26. *Palladius dixit: "Dicite quod vultis; eius est divinitas immortalis". Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "<u>Cuius</u>* [scil. *est divinitas immortalis*]*? <u>Patris an et fili?</u>".

(11.d) 32. *Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "Filius dei deus potens est?" Palladius dixit: "<u>Potens</u>* [scil. *est*]*". Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "Deus bonus est?" Palladius dixit: "Iam dixi filium dei unigenitum esse potentem". Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "*[scil. *Dicis*] <u>*Deum potentem*</u>*". Palladius dixit: "*[scil. *Dico*] <u>*Filium dei potentem*</u>".

A lack of lexical innovation is likewise remarkable.[44] This feature can be quantified by calculating the 'Token/type *ratio*' index (= TTR), indicating the proportion between the total number of words and the number of different words (i.e. lexemes) featuring in a text.[45] The TTR in *epist.* 2 is expectedly higher than in Ambrose's spoken words:

Table 2. **The Token/type *ratio***

	words	**'different' words**	**%TTR**
Ambrose	936	250	26.7
***epist.* 2**	950	359	37.78

But after all, it is remarkable that the TTR is not so high even in *epist.* 2. As a matter of fact, in both texts some technical or paramount words need to be repeated: e.g., in the *Gesta* we have *dicere* (= *confiteri*, "to assert according to the truth"), *respondere* ("to give an answer, defending oneself from an official charge"), or *anathema* (the curse formula). The Christian truth being at issue, both exactness and clearness are needed, which have an impact on lexical choice, as they might discourage from lexical variation. See for instance (12), where the emphasis is on *deus*, as this term embodies the divine prerogative that the Arians deny to Christ:

(12) 57. *Eusebius episcopus Bononiensis dixit: "Quia impietates Arri diabolico stilo conscriptas, quas non licebat nec ad aures admittere, Palladius non solum noluit condemnare sed earum*

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talium consortium tuorum sententiam? Sic debuisti mandare, non promittere conflictum" (Gryson 1980, 222–223).

[44] Cf. Koch 1998, 138.

[45] See also Mari forthcoming. Each lexical item counts for one "word" in absolute terms; each lexeme, together with all its flectional variants, counts for one "different word". Proper nouns, both personal and geographical, and all the biblical quotations have been ruled out.

extitit assertor negando filium dei deum verum, deum bonum, deum sapientem, deum sem-piternum, hunc a coetu sacerdotali et mea sententia et omnium catholicorum iudicio arbitror iure esse damnatum".

Among repetitions, I should perhaps single out two lexical 'tics', possibly typical of Ambrose's idiolect: *ergo* — sometimes working as a conclusive adverb, sometimes as a discourse marker[46] — and *ac per hoc* ("and hence"), which in the *Gesta* appears only in Ambrose's spoken words, quite often and rather mechanically:

> (13) 5. *"Ecce quod Christianus constituit imperator: Noluit iniuriam facere sacerdotibus, ipsos interpretes constituit episcopos.* **Ac per hoc** *quoniam in sacerdotali concilio consedimus, responde ad ea quae tibi proponuntur. 21. "Etsi in multis impietatibus deprehensus sit, erubescimus tamen ut videatur qui sacerdotium sibi vindicat a laicis esse damnatus,* **ac per hoc** *quoniam et in hoc ipso damnandus est qui laicorum expectat sententiam cum magis de laicis sacerdotes debeant iudicare, iuxta ea quae hodie audivimus Palladium profitentem et iuxta ea quae condemnare noluit, pronuntio illum sacerdotio indignum et carendum[47] ut in loco eius catholicus ordinetur. 68. "In hoc fraudem facis ut non deum verum dicas sed deum unigenitum,* **ac per hoc** *dic simpliciter: 'Unigenitus dei filius deus verus'". 69. "Et qui hoc non confitetur iure damnatur,* **ac per hoc** *saepe <te> convenio licet cavillando negaveris veritatem; non quaero ut tantummodo unigenitum filium dei dicas sed etiam deum verum". 75. "Audi qua ratione permoveat nos et impietas et insipientia tua; cum dicis deum verum unigenitum, non deum verum dicis sed verum unigenitum,* **ac per hoc** *ut istam adimas quaestionem ita responde: Ex deo vero deus verus est".*

Also the redundant presence of a second *numquid* in (14) might be explained as an oral repetition:

> (14) 10. *Palladius dixit: "Dixit mihi: 'Vade', diximus: 'Orientales conventi sunt?' Ait: 'Conventi sunt'.* Numquid *si orientales non fuissent conventi,* numquid *nos convenissemus?".*

The second *numquid*, which had been expunged from the text published in the *editio Romana*,[48] should be preserved, as the redundancy is admissible in spoken language. It is noteworthy that *numquid* is omitted also in the *SM* 19.[49]

Besides economy, the second lexicon-informing trend is emotion, which accounts for the choice of some expressive words:[50]

> (15.a) 15. *Ambrosius episcopus dixit: "Dubitas* [scil. *Arrium*] *damnare post divina iudicia cum* **crepuerit** *medius?*
>
> (15.b) 59. *Limenius episcopus Vercellensis dixit: "Arrianam doctrinam saepe esse damnatam manifestum est et ideo Palladius conventus in hac sancta synodo Aquileiensi quoniam noluit corrigere vel emendare <se> sed magis probavit deprehensibilem et* **oletavit** [oletavit: *editio Romana, Maurini, Gryson; olitavit: Zelzer, Banterle*] *perfidia quam se publice professus est tenere, habeat sententiam meam: et ego hunc profiteor a consortio sacerdotali esse privatum".*

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46 See above (3).
47 Perhaps to be emended into *curandum*?
48 Cf. apparatus ad loc. in Zelzer 1982, 332.
49 Numquid si orientales non fuissent conventi nos convenissemus? (Gryson 1980, 222).
50 See Koch 1998, 140.

Medius crepuerit in (15.a) is a strong expression (Gryson: 'il a crevé par le milieu'; Banterle: 'egli è morto squarciato nel mezzo'), evoking Jude's death as referred to in the Acts of the Apostles.[51]

In (15.b) Palladius is said to have defiled (*oleto, -are*, linked to *oleo, -ēre* "to stink") himself with heresy (Gryson: 'il a empesté l'hérésie'; Banterle: 'ha diffuso il fetore dell'empietà'): *oleto* usually refers to physical contamination (of waters), and here is used metaphorically to describe spiritual defilement.[52] I read *oletavit* (a *lectio* to be found in the *editio Romana* and in the *Maurini*, preferred also by Gryson) as *olitavit*, supported by the manuscripts, to be connected to an otherwise unattested *olitio, -ōnis*, "bad smell, stink".[53] However, both variants have approximately the same meaning, and most importantly result in a lively metaphor.

Last but not least, very often suprasegmental features — voice intonation, etc. — must be added in order to fully understand the text, so that many sentences can only be understood when they are read aloud:

(16.a) 28. *Palladius dixit:* "*Legimus: 'Ego sum pastor bonus', et nos negamus?* [of course we would not dare deny Christ's being *bonus*! Gryson: 'Nous lisons: Je suis le bon pasteur, et nous irions le nier?'; Banterle: 'Leggiamo: Io sono il buon pastore, e noi lo negheremo?'] *Quis non dicat bonum dei filium?*".

(16.b) 31. *Item recitavit* [scil. *epistulam Arrii*]: "*Solum potentem*". *Ambrosius episcopus dixit:* "*Potens est filius dei an non?*" *Palladius dixit:* "*Qui omnia fecit non est potens, qui omnia fecit minus potest?!*" [of course the one who made everything is powerful! how can you deny that?; Gryson: 'Celui qui a fait toutes choses n'est pas puissant? Celui qui a fait toutes choses ne puet pas grand-chose?'; Banterle: 'Chi ha fatto ogni cosa non è potente, chi ha fatto tutto ha minore potenza?'] *Ambrosius episcopus dixit:* "*Ergo Arrius male dixit*". *Et adiecit:* "*Vel in hoc damnas Arrium?*" *Palladius dixit:* "*Unde scio qui sit? Ego pro me respondeo tibi*". *Ambrosius episcopus dixit:* "*Filius dei deus potens est?*" *Palladius dixit:* "*Potens*". *Ambrosius episcopus dixit:* "*Deus bonus est?*" *Palladius dixit:* "*Iam dixi filium dei unigenitum esse potentem*". *Ambrosius episcopus dixit:* "*Deum potentem*". *Palladius dixit:* "*Filium dei potentem*".

(16.c) 73. *Ambrosius episcopus dixit:* "*A deo vero deus verus est*". *Secundianus dixit:* "*Et cum nomini etiam addis 'verum', audis qualis in te fides sit, et Christianus es?*" *Eusebius episcopus dixit:* "*Qui negavit illum deum verum!? Arrius et Palladius negavit!* [you dare ask: who denied it?! of course there are some who did deny it: Arrius and Palladius did!; Gryson: 'Qui a nié qu'il soit Dieu véritable? Arius et Palladius l'ont nié'; Banterle: 'Chi ha negato che egli sia Dio vero? Lo hanno negato Ario e Palladio'] *Tu si deum verum credis, debes simpliciter designare*".

To reinforce the impression that this text reflects orality, perhaps it is worth noticing that even some historical features of spoken (late) Latin might be singled out, on which I will not dwell here: e.g., "*quod/quia/quoniam*-type clauses" replacing AcI as propositional

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[51] Act 1, 18: Et hic quidem possedit agrum de mercede iniquitatis et suspensus crepuit medius et diffusa sunt omnia viscera eius.

[52] ThlL 9/2, 545, 23–29, s.v. oleto, -are. See Frontin. Aquaed. 97, 5–6: In isdem legibus adiectum est ita: "ne quis aquam oletato dolo malo, ubi publice saliet. Si quis oletarit, sestertiorum decem milium multa esto"; at 97, 7 a gloss has entered the text, which — although spurious — might be clarifying: [oletato videtur esse olidam facito].

[53] ThlL 9/2, 563, 74–77, s.v. *olitio, -ōnis*. The word might be attested by Sen. *Ep.* 91, 21 (*haec* [scil. *mors*] *malam olitionem habet*), but Seneca's text is doubtful.

objects or subjects;[54] direct interrogative clauses with no interrogative particle;[55] prominence of postposition of infinitive in Verb-Phrases 'auxiliary+infinitive', especially in main clauses, where word order is admittedly less conservative than in subordinate clauses.[56]

3. Conclusion

It is beyond doubt that we cannot assume that shorthand records straightforwardly reflect actual speeches, especially when we consider texts like the *Gesta concilii Aquileiensis*, whose language is formal and formulaic, and whose reports have undergone revision.

Nevertheless, the survey of universal traits of orality still surfacing in the *Gesta* might lead to interesting results. On the *textual-pragmatic level*, as can be expected, only a few discourse structuring particles have escaped revision, which work as markers of opening/closing/turn-taking, or correction. The *syntactic level* turns out to be perhaps more meaningful: prominence of parataxis, and of descendent order (independent clause > dependent clause) in hypotactic constructs, together with pragmatics playing a crucial role. On the *semantic level*, I have remarked brachylogy, lack of lexical innovation (quantified in terms of TTR index), and sometimes an inclination for expressive words. Moreover, in some of the passages suprasegmental features must be added in order to fully understand the text.

To sum up, the *Gesta* enable us to have an insight into a formal register of spoken late Latin, and to allow the voices of the educated bishops gathered in Aquileia to decide the case of Palladius and Secundianus to surface in our imagination.

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[54] In Ambrose's words a rough equivalence between the two constructs is found (AcI:"*quod*-type" = 6:4, i.e. 40 % of "*quod*-type" clauses), vs. a clear prominence of AcI in *epist.* 2 (AcI:"*quod*-type" = 16:1, i.e. 5.9 % of "*quod*-type" clauses; *quia* occurs only once, to introduce a biblical quotation).

[55] Such as: 12. *"Ergo iuxta epistulam Arri Christus dei filius non est sempiternus?"*; 14. *"Verum deum dicis filium esse dei?"*; 15. *"Dubitas damnare post divina iudicia cum crepuerit medius?"*; 18. *"Verum deum dicis filium esse dei?"*; 65. *"Deum verum dei filium confiteris?"*…

[56] In Ambrose's words, we find: Inf+Aux:Aux+Inf = 1:6 (85.7 % of postposed Infinitive in main clauses), and Inf+Aux:Aux+Inf = 4:3 (subordinate clauses); in *epist.* 2: Inf+Aux:Aux+Inf = 5:6 (54.5 % of postposed Infinitive in main clauses), and Inf+Aux:Acc+Inf = 9:3 (subordinate clauses). On this Verb-Phrase, see Moretti 2018, 3–12.

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Греческое послание Вяч. Иванова Г. А. Рачинскому*

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Three ancient Greek epigrams by Vyacheslav Ivanov (1866–1949), dedicated to renown classical scholars Tadeusz F. Zieliński, Mikhail I. Rostovtzeff, and to religious philosopher and literate G. A. Rachinsky (1859–1939), were published in the collection of poems *Nezhnaja tajna* ['Soft Secret'], ΛΕΠΤΑ, *Humaniorum studiorum cultoribus* (SPb, 1912, 112–113). This article provides a commentary on the Greek poem to Rachinsky based partly on archive materials. Rachinsky, of whose personality we know mostly from memoirs by Andrey Bely and N. A. Berdyaev, chaired the Moscow Religious Philosophic Society 'in memory of Vl. Solovjov'. He translated into Russian, *inter alios*, Nietzsche, Goethe, Maupassant and Balzac. Ivanov's archives in Rome and Moscow keep some unpublished letters written by Rachinsky to Ivanov in 1910–1914. The correspondence allows to suppose that cordiality and even friendship between them developed in 1910. In the 'Soft Secret', Ivanov also dedicated to Rachinsky a Russian poem 'On Receiving a Greek Prayer'. On December 25, 1910, Rachinsky sent to Ivanov from Moscow to St. Petersburg a card, most probably his Christmas greeting, with the Ode 5 for Choir, Irmos of the morning service for Christmas, in Greek. Conceivably, this text is a key to understanding of Ivanov's quite dark Greek and Russian poems, which formed a poetic answer in gratitude for Rachinsky's Greek prayer. In Ivanov's Greek poem, there is a deliberate mixture of pagan and Christian vocabulary. It starts with the pagan πρόμαντις 'prophet' and goes on to οἰκτιρμῶν τε τοῦ Πατρός… εἰρήνης τε 'Father of mercies and peace'. This recalls the wording of the NT and the Prayer for Christmas: Θεὸς ὢν εἰρήνης, Πατὴρ οἰκτιρμῶν. A scholarly poet, Ivanov expressed his thanks to a friend who could reveal insight into his complicated style. The author of the present contribution specifies the date of Ivanov's Greek poem as between December 26, 1910 and January 28, 1911, and of his 'On receiving a Greek Prayer' between the 17th and the 28th of January, 1911.

Keywords: Vyacheslav Ivanov, G. A. Rachinsky, ΛΕΠΤΑ, neo-Hellenic poetry.

В Приложении к сборнику «Нежная тайна» (1912 г.) Вячеслав Иванов поместил два дружеских послания Григорию Алексеевичу Рачинскому — «На получение греческой молитвы» и стихотворение на древнегреческом языке. Ниже предлагается перевод греческого послания, комментарий к нему и соображения о датировке обоих стихотворений.

«Приложение озаглавлено Λεπτά, — объясняет Иванов, — в подражание александрийским поэтам, которые называли так свои поэтические "мелочи". Да не усмотрят школьного педантизма в том, что последние из этих лепт выбиты древним чеканом».[1] Кроме послания Рачинскому, древнегреческим «чеканом» в сборнике «выбиты» эпиграммы М. И. Ростовцеву[2] и Ф. Ф. Зелинскому.[3]

Несколько слов о Г. А. Рачинском (1859–1939).[4] Религиозный философ, литератор, член редакции журнала «Вопросы философии и психологии», сотрудник религиозно-философского издательства «Путь», он был первым председателем «Московского религиозно-философского общества памяти Владимира Соловьева» и редактировал три последних тома собрания сочинений Соловьева. Много переводил с французского и немецкого: Бальзака, Мопассана, Клейста, Гете и Ницше. Собрание сочинений Ницше Рачинский подготовил к изданию, став и автором предисловия. Ему принадлежит одна из первых брошюр о Ницше на русском языке («Трагедия Ницше», М., 1900). В 1914 году в «Мусагете» вышла его «Японская поэзия», небольшой очерк с переводом стихов, выполненном с немецкого перевода. Рачинский был своим в кругу московских символистов, в мемуарах Андрея Белого ему посвящено несколько ярких страниц;[5] о нем также вспоминает Н. А. Бердяев в автобиографическом «Самопознании».[6] В начале 1919 года Рачинский, участвовавший в «Совете объединенных приходов Москвы», оказался в Таганской тюрьме; был освобожден 27 ноября «в силу показаний психиатра о невменяемости подсудимого».[7] Он преподавал немецкую литературу на «Высших государственных литературных курсах»; впечатлительный слушатель дает портрет «похожего на Гомера» профессора.[8] Сведения о его дальнейшей судьбе немногочисленны и проти-

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[1] Иванов 1912, 112–113; 1979, 3, 59. Далее в ссылках указываем том и страницу этого издания.

[2] Иванов 1979, 3, 59. Стихи — своеобразно выраженная благодарность ученому, по настоянию которого Иванов дописал и издал в 1911 г. свою латинскую диссертацию De societatibus vectigalium publicorum populi Romani, над которой он работал во время их первой встречи в 1893 г. в Риме (Бонгард-Левин 1997, 248–258).

[3] Иванов обращается к Зелинскому как к «толкователю дельфийской жрицы», так обозначая посредничество между современностью и античностью, затем сравнивает его с Фаустом, «вызвавшим Елену из жилищ Аида»: Δελφίδος ἑρμηνεῦ… / ἐξ Ἀΐδαο δόμων ἀγκαλέσας Ἑλένην. В финале — напоминание о дорогой обоим идее Возрождения античности в славянском мире. Перевод и контекст: Тахо-Годи 2002, 181–276.

[4] Подробный биографический очерк, библиография Рачинского, литература о нем и указания на архивы: Гучков, Котрелев 2007, 266–269; Лавров 2018, 155.

[5] Белый 1990, 339–349; 2014 (1923), 499–518; об их переписке и — не всегда ровной — дружбе: Малмстад 2005, 127–147.

[6] Бердяев 1983 (1949), 181–183, 224.

[7] В самом процессе по «делу Самарина-Кузнецова» он не фигурировал: ЦГАМО. Ф. 5062. Оп. 3. Д. 6,7. См. http://kuz1.pstbi.ccas.ru/bin/nkws.exe/docum/ans/ans/newmr/?HYZ9EJxGHoxITYZCF2JMTd G6XbuEcCScfS4ee8YUUy0ccuvUe8YUU8iZei4ZdO8ctk (10.04.2019).

[8] Голицын 1990, 294–295: «Назову некоторых наших профессоров. У иных я запомнил даже интонацию их голосов — настолько незабываемым было впечатление от их лекций. Григорий Алексеевич Рачинский читал нам немецкую литературу. В прошлом был он ближайшим последователем Владимира Соловьева. После смерти философа издал его полное собрание сочинений, был близок

воречивы.[9] Из литературоведов о нем писали А. Б. Шишкин (1990, 12), А. В. Лавров (2002, 191 = 2018, 155–156) и А. Л. Соболев.[10] Сохранившиеся письма Рачинского Вяч. Иванову (1910–1914 гг.) не опубликованы.[11]

Обратимся к посланию Иванова «Г. А. Рачинскому» (3, 59):

1. Πρόμαντις οἰκτίρμῶν τε τοῦ Πατρὸς φίλοις
2. πέφυκας εἰρήνης τε συντεθλιμμένοις,
3. αὐτὸς συνοικτείρας μέν, ἐν καιρῷ δέ πως
4. θεοπροπήσας εὐστόμως νέαν χάριν
5. σὺν τοιγαροῦν χαῖρ᾽ ὦγάθ᾽ ἐν Χριστῷ φίλε.

«Ты стал провозвестником Отца милосердия и мира для страдавших (букв. "подавленных", "притесняемых") вместе с тобой друзей (1–2), сам рыдавший вместе с ними, а когда настало время, проповедавший им наступившую радость благими устами (3–4). Так возрадуйся же общей радостью, о добрый друг во Христе! (5)»

Автограф стихотворения не сохранился.[12] Стихи в «ΛΕΠΤΑ» всегда доверительно интимны, понять их можно лишь в контексте отношений автора с адресатом в годы создания того или иного дружеского послания.

К интерпретации:

Ст. 1 объединяет маркированно языческую и христианскую лексику (ср. в ст. 4): πρόμαντις (нередко о Пифии: Thuc. 5, 16, 2; Paus. 3, 4, 3 et al.) по соседству с ново-

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с символистами, особенно с Валерием Брюсовым. А с виду он больше всего напоминал Гомера, которому боги, однако, оставили чуточку зрения. Гомера старого, вдового и потому неухоженного, одетого в засаленную черную куртку и в помятые брюки. Он начал рассказывать нам о древнегерманской мифологии, потом перешел на Нибелунгов и застрял на их подвигах на целых полгода. Он говорил громким, слегка сиплым, вдохновенным голосом, отчеканивая каждую фразу. Когда же кончал говорить, у многих из нас горели глаза, и сам я выходил в коридор с головокружением. Жил он рядом с курсами, в глубине двора в маленьком ампирном домике, в котором раньше жил Поленов. После войны на том домике повесили охранную доску — «Памятник старины», а некоторое время спустя домик снесли. Я был однажды у Григория Алексеевича. Жил он вдвоем с племянником, бывшим при Керенском товарищем министра путей сообщения. Потом племянника посадили, а восьмидесятилетний дядя, к великому удивлению родственников, женился. Последний раз я его видел в хорошем костюме, чистого, побритого и совсем не похожего на Гомера». Среди слушателей Рачинского на ВГЛК могли быть Арсений Тарковский и Юрий Домбровский. Ср. воспоминания учившейся на ВГЛК писательницы Н. Баранской (2011), мемуары А. П. Остроумовой-Лебедевой (1974) и Е. Галицкой в ОР РГБ ф. 743, к. 6, № 10. Сохранился инскрипт на экземпляре книги «Японская поэзия»: «Моему милому и талантливому ученику Эрне Георгиевне Бородиной на добрую память о Григории Рачинском. 16 марта 1930 г.»: http://www.litfund.ru/auction/7/238/ (11.02.2019). Э. Г. Бородина-Морозова (1904–1974) — фольклорист, переводчица с немецкого.

[9] См. Гучков, Котрелев 2007, 268.

[10] Статью А. Л. Соболева удобно найти по ссылке: https://lucas-v-leyden.livejournal.com/140926.html (09.03.2019). Г. А. Рачинский как подписчик журнала «Труды и дни» упоминается в книге Соболева «Тургенев и тигры» (2017, 681–682).

[11] В НИОР РГБ Ф. 109. Карт. 33. Ед. хр. 44. и в архиве Вяч. Иванова в Риме (Оп. 5. Карт. 9. П. 11). В рукописном отделе ИРЛИ РАН хранится три письма Рачинского. Два из них адресованы Э. Л. Радлову. В первом Рачинский, «не будучи лично знаком, но исполняя волю покойного Михаила Сергеевича Соловьева», просит о нескольких справках для комментария к тому 8 СС. Вл. Соловьева; во втором благодарит за помощь. Третье письмо неизвестному адресату касается Радлова: Рачинский указывает, что лучше Радлова никто не напишет биографического очерка Вл. Соловьева. Даты: март и апрель 1903 и февраль 1904 г. Приношу благодарность А. В. Вострикову за эти указания.

[12] Благодарю за консультацию по этому вопросу Г. В. Обатнина, А. Л. Соболева и Н. В. Котрелева.

заветным πατὴρ οἰκτιρμῶν (встречается в апостольских посланиях: *Rom* 12:1; *2Cor* 1:3:2). «Провозвестник» в христианском контексте отсылает к теме мессианского творчества самого автора.[13]

Ст. 2. «Мир», εἰρήνη, в христианском смысле «почти синонимичен»[14] спасению (например, *Lc* 2:29). συνθλίβειν в метафорическом значении — «заставлять страдать».[15]

Ст. 3. συνοικτείρειν — неологизм. Семантический акцент ставится на «*со-страдании*» (ср. συν-τεθλιμμένοις, συν-οικτείρας и σύγ-χαιρε in tmesi) и соотносим со следующим фрагментом из письма Рачинского Иванову от 23 мая 1910 г.: «Ничто в мире не случайно: и не случайно в гербе моем помещена в шлеме мученица с повязкой мученичества на голове, не даром эта повязка повторена на щите, и не даром девиз мой по гербу *Vitta in vitam*! Чем больше страдали люди, тем ближе они моей душе; чем трагичнее, безумнее, греховнее прошла их жизнь, тем больше братства я ощущаю к ним».[16] Для ἐν καιρῷ в значении *назначенного* времени ср. κατὰ καιρόν: *Rom.* 5:6.

Ст. 4. θεοπροπεῖν, «возвещать волю богов» (LSJ "prophesy", ср. θεοπρόπος о Калхасе: *Il.* 1, 109; 2, 322; *Od.* 2, 184; ο Мопсе: Pind. *Nem.* 4, 190). Глагол не засвидетельствован в новозаветных и патристических текстах; у Нонна Панополитанского в «Парафразе Евангелия от Иоанна» θεοπρόπος названы Каифа (11:51) и Иисус (4:29).[17] Иванов мог позаимствовать это редкое слово из Пиндара: перевод первой Пифийской оды размером подлинника был издан им в 1899 г.[18] Найденное Пиндаром сочетание μάντις θεοπροπέων могло превратиться в προμάντις θεοπροπήσας. Рачинский предстает древним прорицателем и одновременно пророком и проповедником Слова. Контаминация античного и христианского понятийного словаря характерна для Иванова, но и сам Рачинский ассоциировался сразу со многими несхожими мирами. Сравним хотя бы его портрет в воспоминаниях Евгении Казимировны Герцык: «Захаживал ко мне и старик Рачинский, просвещал в православии. Изумительная фигура старой Москвы: дымя папиросой, захлебываясь, целыми страницами гремел по-славянски из Ветхого завета, перебивал себя немецкими строфами Гете, и вдруг, размашисто перекрестясь, перебивал Гете великолепными стихирами (знал службы на зубок), и все заканчивал таинственным, на ухо, сообщением из оккультных кругов — тоже ему близких. Подлинно верующий, подлин-

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[13] Ср. Н. В. Котрелев, http://ivanov.lit-info.ru/ivanov/biografiya/kotrelev-avtobiograficheskaya-spravka.htm (17.06.18): «Еще красноречивее выбор тем, которые определили восприятие и истолкование Ивановым его собственной современности — в опыте и символах древности: он "сначала принялся за неоконченное исследование об оракулах и сивиллинеких пророчествах, влиявших на развитие римской государственной идеи до Августа и при Августе, а потом — под импульсом Ницше — за изучение Дионисовой религии". Трудно не догадаться: Иванов рассматривает институт прорицательства и его роль в судьбах римского государства, завершившего развитие дохристианского мира, в связи с тем, что сознает свое поэтическое призвание как пророческое, а свое время — как время близкого и катастрофического перелома в истории, если не ее конца. Дионисизм, сперва в ницшеанской интерпретации, затем — в полемике с ницшеанством, стал темой ивановской проповеди и инструментом чаемого преображения человечества.»

[14] Кузнецова 1997, 68.

[15] Lampe 1961, 1331.

[16] РГБ. Ф. 109. Карт. 33. Ед. хр. 44. Л. 2–2 об.

[17] Bauer 1988, Lampe 1961, s.v.

[18] Иванов 1899.

но ученый, и, что важнее, вправду умный, он все же был каким-то шекспировским шутом во славу Божию — горсткой соли в пресном московском кругу. И за соль, и за знания, и за детскую веру его любили».[19]

В стихотворении встречаются стилистические приемы, хорошо известные переводчику греческой лирики: сходство клаузул первого и последнего стихов (φίλοις — φίλε); эмфатические повторы однокоренных слов в первом и третьем стихах οἰκτιρμῶν — συνοικτείρας, а также в пятом χάριν — χαῖρʼ, равно как и трижды повторяющееся σύν, и аллитерации, настойчиво выделяющие πατήρ в первом стих и Χριστός в последнем.

Разгадкой аллюзий в греческих ямбах Иванова становится открытка от 25 декабря 1910 г. с текстом на древнегреческом языке и подписью «Григорий Рачинский» (РГБ. Ф. 109. Карт. 33. Ед. хр. 44):[20]

> Θεὸς ὢν εἰρήνης, Πατὴρ οἰκτιρμῶν,
> τῆς μεγάλης Βουλῆς σου τὸν Ἄγγελον,[21]
> εἰρήνην παρεχόμενον, ἀπέστειλας ἡμῖν.

Поздравляя Иванова с Рождеством, Рачинский переписывает начало канона, который исполняется во время рождественской заутрени: Кан. 1, Песнь 5, Ирмос (*Patrologia Graeca* 98, 461C): *Бог сый мира, Отец щедрот, / Великого Совета Твоего Ангела, / мир подавающа, послал еси нам.*[22] Греческое послание Иванова было ответом на это поздравление. Начало стихотворения отсылает к началу молитвы: Θεὸς ὢν εἰρήνης, Πατὴρ οἰκτιρμῶν явно прочитывается в οἰκτιρμῶν τε τοῦ Πατρὸς φίλοις / πέφυκας εἰρήνης τε. В тесном контексте ἐν καιρῷ δέ πως указывает на наступивший праздник Рождества: «проповедал радость» = «поздравил с Рождеством». Вне связи, известной лишь двоим, это слова приобретают более широкое значение радости обретения Нового Завета.

Перейдем теперь к русскому посланию Иванова Рачинскому в том же сборнике — «На получение греческой молитвы» (3, 43). В первой строфе Иванов говорит о той самой греческой молитве, которую он получил в дар на открытке от 25 декабря 1910 г.

> Твоих письмен, о брат мой старший,
> Царьградский золотой узор
> Был устный мед, иль антидор,
> Рукой предложен патриаршей.

«О брат мой старший» в первом стихе перекликается с ὦγαθʼ ἐν Χριστῷ φίλε в последнем стихе греческого послания. Рачинский называет Иванова «дорогой

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[19] Герцык 1973, 122; 1989, 2, 31.

[20] Ср. Лавров 2018, 155 = 2002, 191: «Основанием для написания обоих стихотворений Иванова послужила приветственная рождественская открытка, посланная ему Рачинским 25 декабря 1910 г.». Материалы исследования независимым путем привели нас к такому же выводу.

[21] *Is* 9, 5.

[22] «Ты, Бог мира и Отец милосердия, / послал нам Вестника великого Твоего замысла, / дарующего мир. Потому, приведенные к свету Богопознания, / после ночи рассвет встречая, / славословим Тебя, Человеколюбец.»

брат» в открытке от 28 января 1911 г.[23] В кругу «соловьевцев» (Блок — Белый — Сергей Соловьев), куда входил и Рачинский, именование *братом* было распространено и придавало их общению мистический привкус. Рачинский был среди друзей Белого, начиная с кружка «аргонавтов», который Белый называл «естественно возникшим *братством*» (см., например, Белый 2014, 380). Таким образом, «о брат мой старший», вероятно, воспринималась адресатом даже конкретнее, чем только «брат во Христе», хотя истовая религиозность Рачинского явно свидетельствует в пользу этого толкования.[24]

«Царьградский» — намек на византийское происхождение канона. Действительно, он был сложен Космой Маюмским в VIII в. «Устный мед», т. е. «мед уст» — это почти «слово Божие» (*Ps* 118, 103). Так Иванов определяет стихи канона, называя их далее «антидором» (частями просфоры, которые раздают после службы, т. е. в данном случае — рождественской) и величая дарующую их руку «патриаршей» (поскольку Косма не был избран на патриарший престол, патриарх у Иванова — сам Рачинский).

Затем поэт напоминает о своем ответном даре — греческом послании, которое, видимо, немедленно написал в ответ, умиленный словами молитвы:

> И эллинский сложил я стих,
> Напев простой, отзыв умильный,
> И — данник благостынь твоих —
> Тебе я пел…

Отметим скромность или даже «старомодную жеманность», по выражению Льва Шестова,[25] а еще точнее — кокетливое самоуничижение, столь свойственное Вячеславу Иванову при автохарактеристике стихов, написанных отнюдь не по гимназическому лекалу, а также характерную ивановскую, усиленную аллюзией, лексику: «отзыв умильный». Греческий «отзыв» с отражением формул молитвы, не может ли отсылать читателя и к его странному стихотворению «Отзывы» 1904 года?

Цитируем далее:

> …Судил Всесильный
> Тебя недугом испытать,
> Меня встревожить, опечалить;
> Но не хотел тех сил умалить,
> Которым должно возрастать,
>
> Дабы под спудом темной плоти
> Не гас светильник огневой.
> И дан покой моей заботе,
> И вестью светел верный твой.

В начале января 1911 г. у Рачинского наступает обострение болезни, о характере которой можно судить по словам Веры Шварсалон в письме Вяч. Ива-

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[23] РГБ. Ф. 109. Карт. 33. Ед. хр. 44.
[24] Пассаж о «братстве» соловьевцев принадлежит К. А. Кумпан.
[25] О Вячеславе Великолепном в «Potestas clavium»: Шестов 2007, 142.

нову от 11 января 1911 года: «Рачинский в плохом состоянии. Запой, кот<орого> не было уже 3 года. В то же время раскаяние, угнетенное состояние, стремление к монашеству»[26]); и Е. К. Герцык, написанном за два дня до этого: «Первое, что я узнала в Москве, это о болезни Григ. Алекс. — все праздники он был в остром возбуждении и пил запоем, теперь же он совсем не выходит и к нему никого не допускают, так как всякий разговор приводит его в состояние безумия».[27] «Светильник огневой» — возможно реминисценция евангельского образа, *Mt* 5:15; *Lc* 8:16 и 11:33: «Никто, зажегши свечу, не ставит её в сокровенном месте, ни под сосудом, но на подсвечнике, чтобы входящие видели свет». 17 января 1911 г. Рачинский посылает Иванову открытку из Риги, где он проходил лечение,[28] с успокоительными словами: «Дорогой Вячеслав Иванович. Моё здоровье лучше и скоро я поправлюсь».[29] Вестью от друга «дан покой заботе» Иванова.[30]

Последняя строфа в послании — пожелание выздоровления:

> Вернись же в дом твой, цел и здрав!
> Как угль на пурпурной завесе –
> С Востока Свет… Христос воскресе
> Из мертвых, смертью смерть поправ.

«Угль на пурпурной завесе» допустимо понять пролептически (завеса багровеет от света горящих углей) и живописно (солнце озаряет небо, багровеющее в рассветных лучах). Угль на церковной завесе — Христос, свет (Ин 1:9), сияющий с Востока (Мф 2:1). Иванов заканчивает русское послание Рачинскому возгласом из пасхального тропаря, так же как греческое он начинал парафразой из рождественского канона.

О стихотворениях Иванова, посвященных Рачинскому, упоминает А. Б. Шишкин в статье «Гекзаметры Григория Рачинского».[31] С греческого переведены характеристики Рачинского: «благовещает о милости отца друзьям своим», «возглашает благую весть» (νέαν χάριν?). Поводом для русского стихотворения, согласно автору, послужило некое переложение греческого литургического текста на современный русский язык, подобное тому, которое Рачинский издал в 1906 г. в сборнике «Свободная совесть». Материал для доказательства этой гипотезы не приводится. Между тем, вполне очевидным представляется, что поводом для греческого послания Иванова стали слова молитвы, отправленной Рачинским Иванову 25 декабря 1910 г., а для русского — открытка из Риги. В январе 1911 г. Иванова беспокоило

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[26] Письмо В. Шварсалон к Вяч. Иванову 11 января 1911 года (п. ш.) // РГБ. Ф. 109. Карт. 37. Ед. хр. 4. Л. 32. См. у Соболева 2011.03.14.

[27] Сестры Герцык. Письма. Сост. Т. Жуковская. М., 2002, 593.

[28] В Торенсберге, в психиатрической лечебнице Соколовского. Там же в 1903 г. лечился М. А. Врубель.

[29] http://www.v-ivanov.it/archiv/op5-k09.htm13 февраля 2019. Римский Архив Иванова. Оп. 5. Карт. 9. П. 11: «к письму от 17 янв. 1910<?> — приложен снимок санатория, в котором проходил лечение Г. Рачинский»; в описи для открытки из Риги указан 1910 г., однако на штемпеле отчетливо читается 1911 г., что соответствует и логике развития событий.

[30] Отметим попутно ритмический повтор ударного слога [-ве-] в этом стихе, же как и полногласие в сочетании «золотой узор».

[31] Шишкин 1990, 12; см. прим. 33.

состояние Рачинского: еще не получив отправленную Рачинским открытку, Иванов осведомляется о его адресе у А. С. Петровского.[32]

Время сближения Иванова и Рачинского — 1910 г.[33] Доказательством служат письма Рачинского Иванову: 18 апреля 1910 (?) — поздравление из Москвы с пасхой: «Христос воскресе» (РГБ. Ф. 109. Карт. 33. Ед. хр. 44); 22 мая — письмо Рачинского из Москвы: «Сейчас вернулся от Анны Рудольфовны <Минцловой> …» (РГБ. Ф. 109. Карт. 33. Ед. хр. 44. Л. 2 — 2 об.); 6 июня — инскрипт Рачинского Иванову на оттиске его предисловия к русскому изданию «Воли к власти» Ницше;[34] 5 октября [19]10 — письмо описано в Римском архиве так: «приложена открытка, с изображением круглого здания с колоннадой и действом вокруг него» (Римский Архив Иванова. Оп. 5. Карт. 9. П. 11). Наконец, 26 декабря (на штемпеле) — поздравительная открытка Рачинского из Москвы с Рождеством, в которой он посылает Иванову греческую молитву.

17 января 1911 Рачинский отправляет Иванову успокоительную открытку из Риги, а затем другую, которая датируется по штемпелю 28 января: «Спасибо, дорогой брат, за нежное и вдохновенное послание! Так как гимны певцов и звуки лиры издревле были целебным средством, то приписываю Вам долю в том, что чувствую себя теперь вполне хорошо: только очень устал. Приемлю с благоговением благословение красивых строк и отвечаю благословением же. Душою Ваш Рачинский» (НИОР РГБ Ф. 109. Карт. 33. Ед. хр. 44. Л. 6 об.). Перед Рождеством 1912 выходит «Нежная тайна» с двумя стихотворениями Иванова Рачинскому.

Таким образом, греческое послание Рачинскому могло быть написано между 26-м декабря 1910 и 28 января 1911 г., а «На получение греческой молитвы» между 17 и 28 января 1911 г.[35] Оба стихотворения свидетельствуют, что греческий, а в особенности греческий в христианской литургике, помимо прочего связывал Иванова с Рачинским.

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[32] О чем тот сообщил Рачинскому в письме от 19 января 1911: «Был в Петербурге и Вяч. Ив. Он взял Ваш адрес»: РГАЛИ. Ф. 427. Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 2843. Л. 16, см. Соболев, указ. соч.

[33] Гучков пишет, что их познакомила А. Р. Минцлова в 1908 году (Гучков 2007, 268); однако уже в 1906 они «встретились» в московском литературно-философском сборнике «Свободная совесть» (кн. 1), где Рачинский опубликовал перевод «Канона на Великую субботу» (стр. 200), а Вяч. Иванов стихотворение «Псалом солнечный» (стр. 166).

[34] Эти стихи были изданы А. Б. Шишкиным (1990): Волей надежды развей марево мира и жизни, / Душу свою погуби, свой созидая закон! / Волею веры открой путь в невозможные дали; / Волей любви разорви рока железную сеть. / Муки и крест полюбив, станешь соблазн иудеям. / Эллинам новых путей будешь безумием ты. Шишкин видит здесь аллюзии на *Mt* 16:25, *1Cor* 1:23, а также на сонет Иванова «Притча о девах» 1906 г., где персонифицируются Воля, Мудрость, Вера, Надежда, Любовь. Он считает, что «Эллины новых путей» — это Мережковский и его последователи, поскольку отчеты о религиозно-философских собраниях, в которых принимал участие Мережковский и другие, печатались в религиозно-философском журнале «Новый путь».

[35] Наши выводы не противоречат той хронологической последовательности обоих посланий Рачинскому в ЛЕПТА, которую предложил А. В. Лавров (2002, 191 = 2018, 155–156).

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A Tale of Two Manuscripts*

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The post-Renaissance copies of Aristotle's *Poetics* were mostly made for scholarly use. The copyists such as Anton Salvini, a Florentine polymath, librarian and professor of Greek, drew on MSS as well as on printed editions in an attempt to establish the text they could use for translation or academic teaching. Still uncertain remains the rationale of the latest known manuscipts — from the Vatopedi monastery on Mt. Athos (ca. mid 18th cent.) and from Bucharest (of the early 19th cent.). Several similarities these copies display suppose common provenance. The Greek diaspora in Bucharest blossomed around 1800 and Romania is linked to Vatopedi by a long tradition of orthodox learning. The MSS in question provide an over-all impression of a schoolwork. The Athoan is of supreme quality while the Romanian often resembles an abstract. The first MS was probably written soon after the foundation of the Athonite Academy near Vatopedi. Aristotle's *Poetics* is hardly suitable for monastic learning, but Eugenius Bulgaris who was the headmaster of Athonias from 1753 to 1758 introduced ancient texts into its curriculum: from one of his letters we conjecture that Plato and Aristotle were studied there. It is thus reasonable to suppose that the cod. Vatopedius was made in the Athonias for learning purposes. By 1800 the Academy was in decline but they still taught disciplines and read texts introduced by Bulgaris. So, the Bucarestensis could have been written in the same place. Judging by the composition of the codex its maker was nurturing interest in ancient and modern Greek literature.

Keywords: Aristotle, *Poetics*, manuscripts, Athonias Academy, Bulgaris.

Among the known MSS of Aristotle's *Poetics* quite a few are written long after the invention of printing. The considerable amount of Cinquecento copies[1] is by no means surprising, but there are three dating from late 17th or early 18th century, Marucellianus A 109, Parisinus suppl. gr. 0488 and Bibl. Britannica, Burney 64,[2] and two of even later date, Athous Vatopedius 778[3] and Bucarestensis gr. 59 (Litzica 749), the latter made most probably after 1800.[4] However popular the *Poetics* was with the post-Renaissance men of letters, scholars, teachers etc., its admirers must have had some *ad hoc* reasons for copying the text by hand despite the possibility to consult numerous and excellent printed editions.[5] What could these reasons possibly be?

To be sure, nobody would expect to discover within the text transmitted by the *recentissimi* any traces of independent tradition. They have never been collated let alone thoroughly studied from historical (codicological, paleographical) viewpoint. Still, they can reflect the trends of users' interest which is not altogether unimportant, considering what text is referred to. The collation, now in progress, allows to assume that the 17th–19th century copies are largely based on printed books. The same is already true for the late Cinquecento MSS that reproduce a number of vulgate readings found in the 1508 *editio princeps* by Aldus Manutius (the famous *Rhetores Graeci*) as well as the emendations made by Pietro Vettori in his 1560 Florentine edition (*Commentarii in primum librum Aristotelis de Arte Poetarum*, the 2nd revised ed. appeared in 1573).[6] This is not surprising, as the Aldine in which Aristotle's *Poetics* modestly follows the *Progymnasmata* of Aphtonius the "Sophist" was a great rarity[7] and could take value of a faithful witness, while the innovative Vettori's edition served later critics as a standard to evaluate manuscript readings. In Parisinus 0488 *Poetica* is also preceded by Aphtonius' *Progymnasmata* and so this MS is likely to depend on the Aldine, though the copyist most certainly drew from the manu-

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[1] They reach ten in number: Matritensis 4805 (N 92), Berolinensis Phillippicus 1599 (196), Parisinus gr. 2551, Ambrosianus P 34 sup. (Martini-Bassi 617), Riccardianus 15, Riccardianus 16, Ferrarensis Cl. II. 348, Parisinus gr. 2117, Ravennas 381, and possibly Monacensis gr. 360 which we have not been able to study yet. For dates of MSS and further references see esp. Lobel 1933; Wartelle 1963; Harlfinger 1971 and https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/recherche-generale/results/page.

[2] The date and provenience of Marucellianus is discussed below; for the date of Burney MS see also Pattie, McKendrick 1999 and esp. Thompson 1889, 442.

[3] Description: Eustratiades 1924, 152–153. Eustratiades dates the codex to the 18th century.

[4] Cf. Litzica 1909, 499; Chiron 2001, 41.

[5] Among them six voluminous 16th cent. commented eds. (Robortello, Maggi-Lombardi, Vettori, Castelvetro, Piccolomini, Riccoboni) and the highly elaborated *Aristotelis De poetica liber* by Daniel Heinsius edited in 1610 and again in 1611 (text., transl. and comm. supplemented by an exegetic treatise) on request of Elsevier.

[6] Notably, in ch. 1, 1447b28–29, where the vulgate reads τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν τεχνῶν ἐν αἷς ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν, Riccardianus 16 and Ferrarensis accept the emendation of Vettori ἐν οἷς which is considered appropriate by Bywater, Kassel and all the editors of the last decades. A majority of late copyists seem to have used the Guglielmo and Alessandro de' Pazzi's bilingual edition printed in Venice in 1536: cf., for instance, 47b22–23 καὶ ποιητὴν προσαγορευτέον, where the *recentissimi* probably wrongly agree with Pazzi against the Aldine in reading οὐκ ἤδη καὶ ποιητὴν.

[7] Esp. vol. 2 containing scholia. An anonymous reviewer of the monumental edition by Chr. Waltz cites as famous anecdote: "Wyttenbach erzählt, dass Hemsterhusius ungeachtet der eifrigsten Nachforschung kein Exemplar erlangte": G. B. 1835, 114; cf. Sicherl 1992, 111. The price of £21510 for which the book (2 vols.) was recently sold at Christie's should be considered low, since it certainly is one of the last in private hands.

script sources as well, sharing peculiar mistakes with some of the later ones.[8] Angelo Maria Bandini (1726–1803), a Florentine librarian, collated in 1777 four Laurentian copies of the *Poetics* (Laur. gr. 31.14, 60.14, 60.16 and 60.21) using Vettori's text as gauge: This curious early document of textual studies is preserved at the Marucellian library, where Bandini was appointed as first director (MS B. III. 55). In the same collection there is a codex which contains chapters 1–9 of the *Poetics* written some decades earlier by another Tuscan scholar, Anton Maria Salvini (1653–1729): Marucellianus A 109 is the only late MS whose authorship can be identified so far. As a classicist Salvini gained renown for his Tuscan translations of ancient authors (he translated the whole of Homer and Hesiod), so one might assume that in copying the *Poetics* he aimed to provide a reliable text for translation which he first planned, but then changed his mind for something different. Like Bandini, he consulted printed editions[9] and had old manuscript copies before his eyes, since he first tried to reproduce archaic letter forms, notably that of "nu" similar to "mu", but lacking consistency finally abandoned the imitative manner and confined himself to habitual graphemes. The 17th–18th century MS of the Burney Collection with its limpid albeit not decorative calligraphy distantly resembling the accurate ductus of Salvini seems to have been produced for some scholarly purpose as well. Still, Charles Burney would hardly have acquired the codex, if it had no value other than that of a reader's copy. Collation shows, indeed, that alongside with printed books its author has drawn on the 15th–16th century MSS. [10] In fact, Burney 64 and Marucellianus A 109 appear to descend from the same origins: a number of chapter headings is found only in these two copies, and they contain both *Bindefehler* and *Trennfehler*.[11] Whatever the intention of the post-Renaissance manuscript makers was (one could easily imagine them teaching, translating or commenting on the *Poetics*), while writing down the text they aimed at improving on it, and since in their age textual criticism was at its birth stage, they felt free to interpolate into the (already deeply contaminated) text from any source available to them, be it a manuscript or a printed edition, any reading they considered best.

All this can be true for the contemporaries of Salvini or Mabillon and Montfaucon, and explains the nature of Marucellianus, Parisinus and Burney, as these are by no means an exception.[12] But a century later the making of manuscript copies was already quite an unusual practice among scholars. No one would intend to do it, unless some collector would order such a copy,[13] which is definitely not the case with Athous, and even less with

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[8] Examples of errors of MSS including Paris. 0488 vs. Aldine: 1447a20 ῥυθμοῖς : 47b21 οὐ ποιοῖτο : 48a34 Χωνίδου : 35 Πελοποννήσῳ : 49a9 γενομένη οὖν : 10 αὐτοσχεδιαστικὴ : 13 ηὐξύνθη. Paris. 0488 displays surprisingly many separative errors: 1447a9 ἔχοι : 47a25 οὐ τοιαῦται : 47b26 δηθυραμβιῶν : 48a11 Ὅμαρος 49a4–5 ἀντὶ τῶν ἰαμβικῶν ἐ(γένοντο?) τραγῳδιδάσκαλοι : 49a12 καὶ καὶ. And see below, n. 14.

[9] Conceivably both the *editio princeps* and the Pazzi's edition (indicative is for instance the omission of παραφανείσης δὲ τῆς τραγῳδίας καὶ κωμῳδίας in ch. 4, 1449a2–3 on which see below). The emendations by Vettori are either ignored or not accepted.

[10] Errors that Burney 64 shares with MSS vs. early editions are ex. gr. 1447a22 τούτοις δὴ : 48a14–15 διθυράμβους καὶ τοὺς νόμους : 48a15 Πέρσας καὶ Κύκλωπας. Unlike Parisinus 488 Burney 64 is in general of good quality, it has only a small number of omissions and mistakes of its own.

[11] 1449a2–3 Burney reproduces without omission (see n. 9). Marucellianus has ηὐξύθη instead of ηὐξήθη in 49a13; only Marucell. and Athous Vatoped. read καὶ τοὺς μίμους in 1448a14–15; Marucell. shares the omission of γὰρ in 48a30–31 and erroneous ἀγριωτάτων in 48b12 with Burn. and some other MSS.

[12] Some typical examples are to be found in: Lutz 1975.

[13] Cf. ibid. 265–267: the Aldine edition of *Hero and Leander* was meticulously copied about 1800 on request of some wealthy collector, probably Sir John Thorold.

Bucarestensis written both in a quick cursive hand, the latter in a rather slipshod manner. The last quires of Ath. contain an arithmetic course book dated 1818. The date of the *Poetics* MS in Ath. will be discussed hereinafter, but it cannot possibly be earlier than 1750s. In Buc. Aristotle is preceded by versified texts in demotic Greek; the author might well have been inspired by the rise of Greek national spirit on the eve of Independence War. The chapter headings in Buc. coincide exactly with those of the 1788 bilingual edition by Lauritz Sahl (a professor of Greek at Copenhagen, his 2nd revised ed. of 1802 is more frequently referred to), thus providing the *terminus post quem*. So, the question remains: why these two copies came to be made?

In fact, what is most striking about Ath. and Buc. is their similarity. It becomes clear at first glance that they originate from the same school of writing: though ductus is individual to each of them, specific common features such as copulating letters with accents in δεῖ and ἔτι, a loop-like tau, a lambda with its angle sharpened and lowered deep below the line, are fairly obvious (cf. illustrations 1 and 2). Collation has revealed so far only one peculiar common mistake, resulting from an interpretative gloss,[14] but given the interpolated character of these MSS and their possible sources this affords another argument for their affinity. Naturally enough, they both display a number of mistaken readings and lacunas of the vulgate.[15] Yet, the Romanian copy abounds in yawning gaps of its own that increase in length around the middle of the treatise, the last MS pages containing little more than headings. In ch. 4, for instance, παραφανείσης δὲ τῆς τραγῳδίας καὶ κωμῳδίας (1449a2) is left out in the Aldine and several late copies including Marucellianus and Ath. (in some 15th cent. MSS it is added in the margin), because the eye of a scribe got stuck to κωμῳδίας in the same line (οὕτω καὶ οὗτος πρὸς τὰς κωμῳδίας) just before παραφανείσης. In Buc. the line is also missing, but its maker deliberately excluded the subsequent lines too, picking the text up again pretty recklessly with κωμῳδία at 49a10 (κωμῳδία, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον). The examples Aristotle gives are often left out in Buc., including the key ones like that of Homer and Empedocles in ch. 1, 1447b18 or Oedipus and Thyestes in ch. 13, 1453a11. Having passed over a major part of ch. 13, the scribe realized that something important should yet be noted and wrote down in brackets: πολλαὶ τραγῳδίαι τοῦ Εὐριπίδου εἰς δυστυχίαν τελευτῶσιν (cf. 1453a25). In short, the Bucharest MS with its 10 sparsely filled pages leaves an impression of an abstract made by a very negligent scholar or a student who witnessed the demise of his school. Quite the opposite is the case with Athous, whose maker did an accurate work in reproducing on 26 pages, with nice colophon and coda, all the virtues and flaws of the pattern text (or texts).

Concerning the lasting tradition that joins Romania with Athos as well as the density and influence of the Greek diaspora in Bucharest that reached its peak by the end of the 18th century,[16] it is not hard to guess where the traces lead. Aristotle's *Poetics* is, of course, hardly suitable to monastic learning. It never entered the medieval academic curriculum

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[14] 1448b26 καὶ τὰς τῶν τοιούτων τύχας. Parisinus 488 has καὶ τὰς τῶν τοιούτων τύχας πολλά. In Ch. 1, 1447b26 Ath. and Buc. read ἡ τῶν μίμων sharing this very peculiar mistake probably stemming from a common source with Marucellianus and Parisinus.

[15] 1447a22–23 τούτοις δὲ ἢ : 48a4–5 ἢ χείρονας ἀνάγκη μιμεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ οἱ γραφεῖς : 48a8 ἔστι etc.

[16] See Katsiardi-Hering 2012, Cândea 1996 and esp. Coman 2012 with links to further reading. Many of those "scholars, preachers, mystics and saints" of the Enlightenment age, who "moved continuously in and out of Athos" (Kitromilides 1996, 258), were teaching in Romania.

nor the repertoire of monastery scriptoria.[17] The fact is, however, that from the mid-18th till the early 19th century a very peculiar educational institution known as Athonite Academy functioned on Mount Athos in the immediate vicinity of the Vatopedi Monastery. The history of its rise, progress and decay has been reconstructed in main outlines,[18] but a detailed monographic study still remains a desideratum despite the great importance commonly attributed to this institution as one of the leading schools of Greek nation which paved the way for its liberation from the Ottoman rule. Whatever the reasons for this reticence, he who today comes close to the impressive ruins of the Athonias, might stop and think as he reads the words scratched by some learned traveller on a rusty gate tablet: *hoc loco stultitia superavit scientiam.*

As to the relevance of this charge, a word will be added later, insofar as it relates to our present subject. Lacking more precise information on the Athonias' school program designed probably by Meletius, the learned prohegumenos of Vatopedi,[19] we can but conjecture that it was framed in the usual disciplines of a mediaeval monastic school, i. e. "logic, philosophy and theology",[20] taught in classical Greek. The language course was given a great deal of importance within the curriculum, in which it was included from the very beginning. This we know from the official agreement concluded with the Vatopedi brothers by the school's first headmaster, a somewhat conservative orthodox scholar Neophytus Kausokalybitis (1713–ca.1784),[21] on December 1st 1749. Along with the duties and responsibilities of a rector Neophytus undertakes the teaching of Greek (παράδοσις τῶν γραμματικῶν).[22] This document anticipates the patriarchal sigillium of Cyril V (Karakallos) that settled formal matters concerning the functioning of the school. Cyril was the driving force behind this entire educational experiment, of which we gain some idea from Athous Vat. 778 encompassing, as noted above, a voluminous course of arithmetic in perfectly readable Byzantine Greek. Indeed, such strict enforcement of teaching Greek was a risky undertaking, especially as the textbook the monks used was, most probably, the *Grammar* of Gennadius (Georgius Kourtesius) Scholarius, the first Constantinople patriarch under the Turks.[23] This manual is still being applied for practical teaching in the monastery of Vatopedi, where Gennadius retired in 1456, and it is with his famous Περὶ τῶν θανασίμων καὶ συγγνωστῶν ἁμαρτημάτων that our Athoan codex opens. After three years Neophytus had to abandon his duties, while the total number of Athonias students

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[17] It is left to conjecture how cod. Meteorensis, Metamorph. 91 of the late 15th cent. written by Michael Suliardus (Harlfinger, Reitsch 1970, 39) came into the possession of the Metamorphosis Monastery.

[18] Even the most reliable accounts by Kitromilides 1996 and 1998, Εφραίμ Βατοπαιδινός 2010 and Ἀρκάδιος Βατοπαιδινός 2017 are sometimes divergent.

[19] Bishop Meletius took the initiative of establishing the school. He owned a number of manuscripts, among them most valuable ones now preserved in the Vatopedi library: Kitromilides 1998, 325–326, n. 2.

[20] Cf. the patriarchal sigillium of 1750: «…φροντιστήριον καταστῆσειν Ἑλληνικῶν μαθημάτων παιδείας τε καὶ διδασκαλίας παντοδαποὺς ἔν τε λογικαῖς, φιλοσοφικαῖς τε καὶ θεολογιθκαῖς [!] ἐπιστήμαις…»: Ἀρκάδιος Βατοπεδινός 2017, 335.

[21] He was one of the initiators of the reactionary 'Kollyvades Movement' much discussed in the orthodox scholarship: Patapios, Chrysostomus 2006, 27–45; https://www.johnsanidopoulos.com/2017/04/neophytos-kavsokalyvites-1689–1784.html. Since 1770 he preached in Romania. More on his teaching: Camariano-Cioran 1974, 413–431.

[22] Kitromilides 1998, 72–73; Εφραίμ Βατοπαιδινός 2010, 269.

[23] On his life, works and influence see Blachet 2008; Demetracopoulos 2018, 129–178, esp. 155. Several MSS by his hand are preserved in the Vatopedi library. The *Grammatica* of Constantine Lascaris and the *Syntax* of Theodor Gaza were also used by the Athonias teachers such as Panagiotis Palamas who also read "the texts of the ancients": Εφραίμ Βατοπαιδινός 2010, 273.

hardly exceeded 20.[24] Agapius Agiotaphites (born 1710) chosen as his successor in the spring of 1752 had no time to carry out any reform, because in August of the same year he was murdered by Janissaries.[25] However, only a few weeks later Cyril was reinstalled on the patriarchal see and with his habitual vigor applied himself to reanimation of his favourite creation. New funding opportunities were launched, and new school building with students' rooms, a library, headmaster's quarters and a chapel arose.[26] In what concerns the educational strategy, the patriarchal sigillium of 7th July 1753 is very clear: the programme should include "*Greek lessons, and education and teaching of every kind of the sciences of logic, philosophy and theology*".[27] Apparently, Cyril's ambitions grew, but still Greek comes first in plan, so he needed a rector able to integrate ancient language and up-to-date scientific content in classroom teaching, and arouse an interest for both in orthodox students. He addressed Eugenius Bulgaris, the only academic teacher of that time who could meet these criteria.

The life of Bulgaris (1716, Corfu –1806, St. Petersburg) is, of course, well known, though his early career is documented more sporadically as compared with the decades he spent in Constantinople, Germany and Russia.[28] During the last century of Turcocracy a number of orthodox gymnasia functioned in the Greek speaking world supported by patriotically-minded merchant families. Bulgaris started his career as a scholarch in 1742 in one of such institutions founded in Ioannina by brothers Maroutsis: he met them in Padua where he studied at the University while supporting himself by teaching in a local Greek school. At Maroutsaia he taught mathematics and philosophy and fascinated many with his practice of fusing ancient literature with contemporary natural science. How such a fusion could function on the background of strict orthodoxy, is anyone's guess, but it found both passionate followers and influential foes. The latter managed even to summon Bulgaris away from Ioannina;[29] for a short period he headed the "Stoa" school in Kozani adding lustre to its name, and then was called back to Maroutsaia, from where he moved to Athonias in 1753 following the patriarch's call. In his edict of 1753, Cyril commends the educational approach of "kyr Eugenius" by calling him "the wisest of teachers", and a person "*capable of training pupils not only in grammar and the art of logic but in philosophy and mathematical sciences and in theology and those things which belong to moral philosophy*".[30] What promised to be pedagogically beneficial about the curriculum here sketched was obviously the belief that the ancient concepts should be challenged in what regards sensible objects (since within the course of philosophy Bulgaris also taught physics[31]),

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[24] Ἀρκάδιος Βατοπεδινός 2017, 338

[25] We know about it from the letter by Bulgaris, a friend and possibly former teacher of Agapius: Εφραίμ Βατοπαιδινός 2010, 270.

[26] See Kitromilides 1998, 74, 78–79 and 326; idem 1996, 264. Illustrations 3 and 4 below (cited after Ἀρκάδιος Βατοπεδινός 2017, 333 and Kitromilides 1998, 73) show reconstruction of the last building stage (1785) and modern ruins with the view on Vatopedi monastery.

[27] Kitromilides 1998, 72–73, with reference to Meyer 1890, 554–560; Ἀρκάδιος Βατοπεδινός 2017, 334.

[28] See Batalden 1982; Knapp 1984; Κολοβού 2002; Gavrilov 2010. All authors provide further references for vast literature.

[29] Nikolaidis 2011, 156; Ευαγγελίδης 1936, I, 160–161.

[30] For full text see Ἀρκάδιος Βατοπεδινός 2017, 337–338. Citations: Kitromilides 1998, 74.

[31] On his courses in the Athonias: Kitromilides 1992, 30–32 with further references; on his engagement with Newtonian physics: Pantiotis 2007. Bulgaris also taught Latin and was fluent in reading, writing and speaking classical Greek (though his written language inevitably absorbs demotic elements). However, he never taught Greek grammar.

whereas in the field of humanities they virtually never become dated and thus should be studied alongside with or even previously to the modern ones. This principle is well illustrated by the content of the Athoan codex we are dealing with which includes ancient texts on the philosophy of language, classical prosody and literary theory that is Plato's *Cratylus*, Hephaestion's *Encheiridion* and Aristotle's *Poetics*.

These difficult pagan texts would have very little chance of enriching the orthodox academy's program, had it not been supported by the charismatic personality of Bulgaris. (In illustration 5 he is portrayed in an idealizing manner as an ordinary monk with a somewhat romantic but strong-willed look: this is how the Vatopedi brotherhood still conceives him.) Yet, he needed like-minded assistants, especially the skilled Greek teachers, like his former Marutsaia student and friend Cyprian of Cyprus, a deacon in Constantinople and later Alexandrian patriarch, to whom Bulgaris addressed an invitation letter dated 1756.[32] In convincing Cyprian to come and help he displays much eloquence. He describes at some length the natural beauty of the place with its "verdant flora" and many charming birds "*their voices ringing round here and there, and vying with these youths, nourished by the Muses, as they study in all freedom*". *What follows is an equally poetic description of what they study:*

> καὶ ἐκεῖ μὲν ἀγωνίζεται ὁ Δημοσθένης κατὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνος, θαρρύνων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· ἐκεῖ δὲ ῥαψῳδεῖ ὁ Ὅμηρος τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας τὰς ὑπὸ τὸν Ἴλιον· ἐκεῖ δὲ ἱστορεῖ μὲ ὕψους τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν στάσιν ὁ Θουκυδίδης· ἐκεῖ δὲ ἀφηγεῖται ὁ πατὴρ τῆς ἱστορίας ἰωνίζων τὰς ἀρχαιότητας καὶ τρόπαια κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων· ἐδῶ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων θεολογεῖ καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης πολυπραγμονεῖ τὴν φύσιν καὶ Γάλλοι καὶ Γερμανοὶ καὶ Ἄγγλοι προβάλλουσι τὰ νεωτερικὰ αὐτῶν συστήματα.

> "*And there Demosthenes strives against the Macedonian, encouraging the Athenians; there Homer recites poems about the deeds of courage and virtue at Ilium, there Thucydides describes with sublimity the discords of Hellas, there the father of history tells in Ionian style of antiquities and trophies won from the barbarians. And here Plato theologizes and Aristotle explores all kinds of questions concerning nature, and the French and Germans and English advance their innovative systems.*"

Aristotle and Plato are juxtaposed, just as in our codex, preceded by historians, a poet and an orator and followed by new European thinkers. The ancients represent humanities, while Descartes, Leibniz, Locke, Newton and the like are implicitly made responsible for exact and natural sciences. Hence the "exploring of nature" does not mean "physics" but the Aristotelian manner of philosophizing, and does not exclude the poetics, no more than its opposite, the "theologizing" of Plato which cannot possibly denote "theology" to an orthodox thinker, excludes the philosophy of language as it is exposed in the *Cratylus*.

As follows from the quoted lines, reading ancient authors was practised in the Academy. For this purpose, texts were copied from MSS (many of them were in private ownership) but mostly from printed books (and the Vatopedi library still preserves several old editions of the *Poetics*). Consequently, it can be supposed with good reason that the *Poetics* of the Vatopedi MS was copied in the Athonite Academy during the directorship of Bulgaris. But even if it is not so, it must have been him who introduced Aristotle's aesthetic treatise into monastic reading circle at the blossoming time of Athonias, when the school numbered several hundred students coming from all the Mediterranean, of whom many

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[32] Cited below after Ἀρκάδιος Βατοπεδινός 2017, 338–339 and Kitromilides 1998, 75–76.

have left their mark on the history of Greek enlightenment,[33] and when on the gate, where nowadays the above-cited pessimistic statement is scrawled, the proud motto was placed by order of the scholarch: *γεωμετρήσων εισίτω*, ου κωλύω etc.[34]

This time did not last long. Eugenius' appeals have gone unheeded: in spite of all the keen rhetoric of his letter culminating in demand to "*draw the plough for the benefit of the nation", Cyprian did not take over the teaching of Greek, Neophytus retired to hermit's life*,[35] *and the* παράδοσις τῶν γραμματικῶν was given to Panagiotis Palamas (1722–1803), a person of traditional learning, with whom the opposition to Bulgaris novelties reared its head.[36] In 1756 the conflict seems to have reached a flash point, since the rector strived not only to lure a like-minded teacher with promises of life in *locus amoenus*, but also to gain support from the patriarch, to whom he addresses in quite a different style: Κύριε σῶσον, ὅτι σφοδρῶς κυμαινόμεθα καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ ἀπολλύμεθα![37] Cyril was eager to help, but in the beginning of the next year he was deposed, came to Athos and tried to personally influence the situation. This finally severed his ties with Bulgaris who after two years of struggle had to leave the place. In 1759 he became head of the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople where his Athonite students followed him in 1761, after Nicolaus Zerzoulis of Metsovo (1710–1773), who was meant to teach along the same lines as Bulgaris,[38] also had to resign.

For Athonias it was the beginning of the end, and though the school lasted further and conspicuous effort was undertaken to revive it in the last decades of the 18th century, it dwelt on the memories of Bulgaris' days, trying to remain true to the spirit of his teaching. While applying for financial aid to Constantine Ipsilantis the Vatopedi fathers stressed that in the Academy, which still had four classes, they teach "grammar and the *Logic* of kyr Eugenius" (one of Bulgars most eminent works, printed in Leipzig in 1766, of which many students' copies are kept in the Vatopedi library). The letter bears no date, but since Ipsilantis is addressed as "the Great Dragoman of the Porta" it must have been written between 1796 and 1799.[39] Around 1800 an attempt was made to breath a new life into the Academy by appeals for assistance from the Greek communities of the diaspora. In 1803 Adamatios Korais wrote triumphantly about the civilizing mission of the "University on Athos".[40] All this gives additional clues to the date of our Rumanian MS. As noted above, it borrows the chapter headings from the text edited by L. Sahl firstly in 1788 and then in 1802. The *Poetics* in Bucarestensis is preceded by the *Rhetoric to Alexander*. In 1800 the 5th volume of Aristotle's complete works, in which these two texts are arranged in the same order, was edited

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[33] On the famous alumni of Athonias see Kitromilides 1996, 263–267. Among them are highly diverse personalities, broad=minded persons and supporters of the Enlightenment ideas as Iosipos Moisiodax and Gabriel Callonas, and the traditionalists like a church historian Sergius Macraeus or Athansius of Paros (who later became scholarch). St. Cosmas the Aetolian was one of Bulgaris' pupils.

[34] Εφραίμ Βατοπαιδινός 2010, 271; Ἀρκάδιος Βατοπεδινός 2017, 338.

[35] *See n. 21. Bulgaris cautiously hints at his displeasure with him:* ἔλθε — he begs Cyprian — διότι αὐτοῦ ταραχὴ καὶ τύρβη· ἐδῶ ἡσυχία καὶ ἄνεσις· αὐτοῦ ἐρημία καὶ μόνωσις· [!] ἐδῶ ὁμιλία γλυκυτάτη καὶ διατριβή. However, Bulgaris never quarreled with this scholar, whom he knew from Ioannina, and "despite his subsequent trouble with the grammarians at the school, considered Neophytos one of his friends": Kitromilides 1996, 261.

[36] Ibid., but cf. the characteristics of his learning in: Εφραίμ Βατοπαιδινός 2010, 273.

[37] Cited after Ἀρκάδιος Βατοπεδινός 2017, 340. The letter is dated 25 February 1756.

[38] Kitromilides 1998, 77: "A philosopher, able mathematician, professor at the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople, and the man who introduced Newtonian physics into Greek education." He was supported by patriarch Seraphim II who invited Bulgaris to Constantinople. Nicolaus left Athonias after Seraphim lost his throne.

[39] Kitromilides 1998, 79.

[40] Id. 1996, 262.

by Johann Gottlieb Buhle. The edition proved to be influential, especially as regards the *Rhetoric to Alexander*,[41] and since the order is not so obvious, we might assume that Buhle's text was among the sources of an Athonite student of "grammar" in early 1800s. The maker of Buc. copied an ancient treatise chosen for school reading by "kyr Eugenius".

The Academy near Vatopedi monastery was officially closed in 1809 by patriarch Gregory V who is celebrated for his martyrdom in 1821. But this is not where the story ends. The Athonite historians refer to παράδοσις (which is not altogether unscientific in dealing with Athos monasteries) according to which in 1811 there still existed a school on that place.[42] As the reader already knows, the arithmetic textbook in Cod. Vatopedius 778 dates from 1818, and it is preceded by the *Elements of Ethics* (Στοιχεῖα Ἠθικῆς) by Benjamin of Lesbos (ca. 1760–1824) written about 1812. It is very likely that the life in Athonias came to a full stop only with the beginning of the Independence War. There hardly was any regular teaching or learning on Athos at that time. But there still were learned people and students interested in ancient and modern poetics. The songs and poems in demotic Greek that open the Bucharest codex and the annotated verses in Turkish that close it[43] might point to the sentiments that prevailed in the Academy in its last turbulent years, when Rhigas Feraios took refuge in Vatopedi,[44] and when Greek scholars and teachers could have hoped, as the Italian teachers a century ago actually did, that studying the Aristotelian *Poetics* could revive the great poetry of their past.

The romantic dreams nurtured perhaps by the early 19th century Greek intellectuals like Korais were bound to remain unrealized. The "Athonite University" was finally ruined and that not so much because of funding shortage or lack of appropriate teaching stuff. The rising national spirit of the Greeks would have easily overcome these and suchlike obstacles. The main risk factor lied in the nature of monastic way of thinking and learning, virtually incompatible with reading into philosophical texts created in tradition other than Christian. We can promptly exemplify this with our Bucharest MS of the *Poetics* which, as said above, is very lacunar, most of the omissions comprising the examples Aristotle draws on to illuminate some of his main points. In proving the cognitive nature of aesthetic pleasure he remarks: "though the objects themselves may be painful to see, we delight to view (χαίρομεν θεωροῦντες) the most realistic representations of them in art, the forms for example of the lowest animals and dead bodies" (ch. 4, 1448b10–12, transl. I. Bywater). Note that this is not an example but "a proof from experience" (b9–10: σημεῖον δὲ τούτου τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων). Still, the passage is missing in Buc., and it is perfectly clear why the orthodox readers should not believe that they "view with delight" the images (τὰς εἰκόνας!) of a dead body. This is why a more realistic cleric scholar Dorotheos Proios (1765–1821) wrote prophetically that if a high school were to be founded on Athos "it would be destroyed in a short while".[45] *Praestat venerari quaedam, quam scrutari*, goes the much admired saying.[46] So, it is not the "stupidity" that prevented the progress of

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[41] It was used among other German philosophers by F. Schegel: Krause 2001, 71 with n. 143.
[42] Ἀρκάδιος Βατοπεδινός 2017, 345.
[43] The headings and page numbers are given in: Litzica 1909, 499.
[44] It is told that Velestinlis even studied there for some time under scholarch Athanasius: Εφραίμ Βατοπαιδινός 2010, 276–277; cf. Kitromilides 1996, 269.
[45] Ibid. 262.
[46] The words belong to Erasmus and are cited by Pfeiffer 1976, 75 alongside with *et scientiae pars est quidem nescire.* Pfeiffer comments on this as follows: "What this expresses is not a trivial skepticism, but the natural shyness of religious men, their fear of transgressing the limits of human reason".

"knowledge" in a monastic world, and one is left to wonder, how the tradition of studying ancient texts, to which our two late copies of Aristotle's *Poetics* owe their emergence, still continues to exist on Mt. Athos, in the heart of mystic Orthodoxy, over an unbridgeable schism between piety and science, between the old and the new.
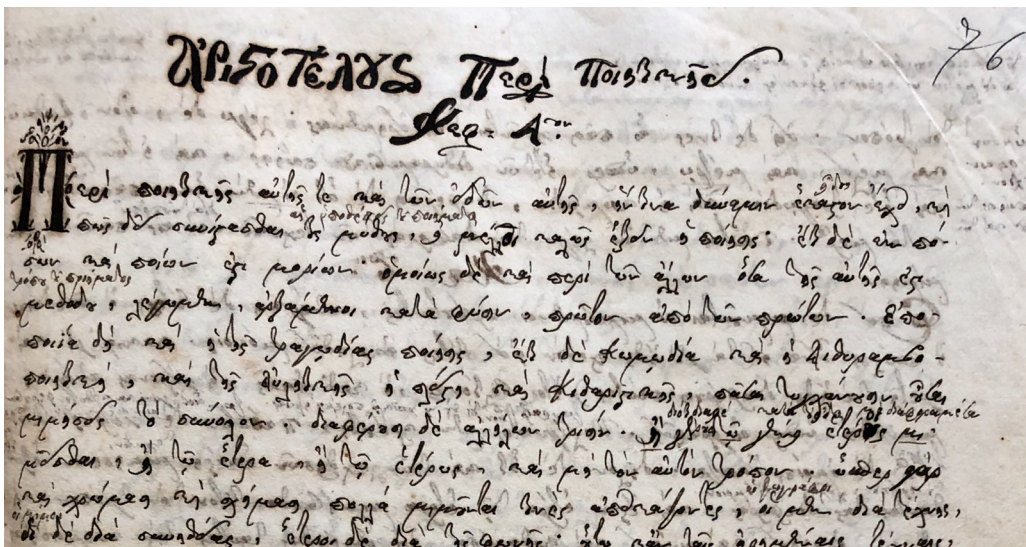
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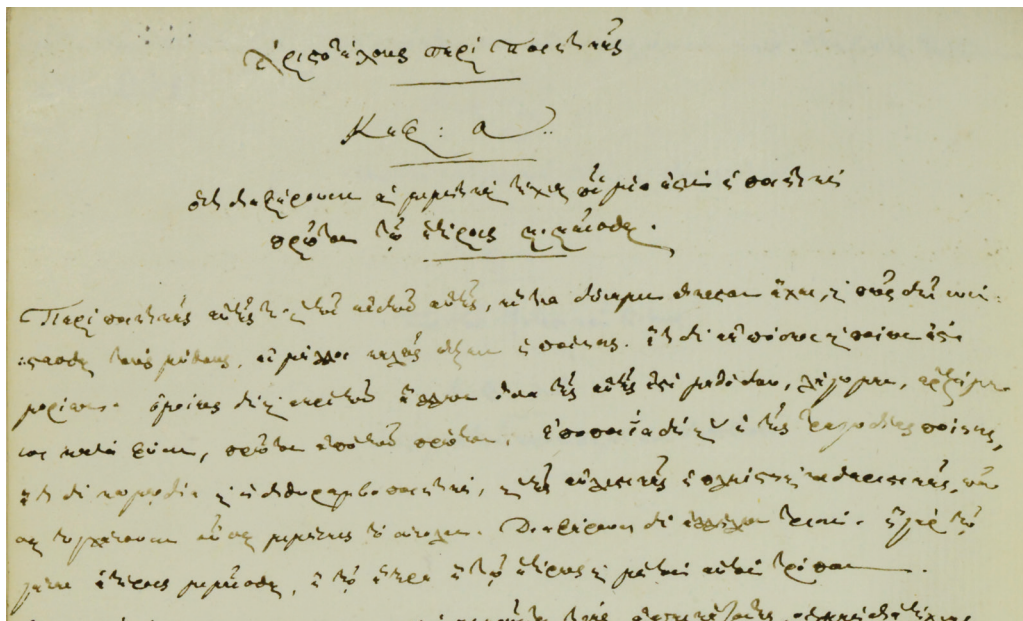Krause P. D. Unbestimmte Rhetorik: Friedrich Schlegel und die Redekunst um 1800. Tübingen, Max Niemeyer, 2001.

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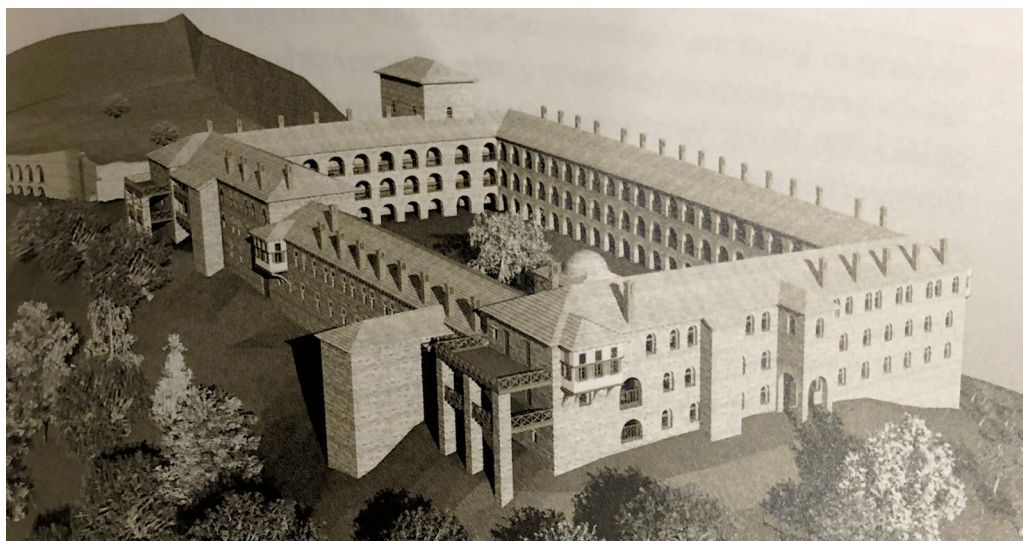
Appendix: Illustrations

Ill. 1. Cod. Athous Vatopedius Athous Vatopedius 778, Old Library of Vatopedi (fragment)

Ill. 2. Cod. Bucarestensis gr. 59 = Litzica 749, Biblioteca Academiei Române (fragment)

Ill. 3. The Athonite Academy (Reconstruction): Ἀρκάδιος Βατοπεδινός 2017, 333.

Ill. 4. Ruins of the Athonias with view on Vatopedi monastery: Kitromilides 1998, 73.

Ill. 5. Eugenius Bulgaris, after: Orthodox Calender for 2018 ed. by the Holy Monatery of Vatoped, Caryes, Athos 2018.

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Thoughts Shot Forth in Vain (Eur. *Hecuba* 599–602)

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In this piece, attention is once again drawn to the *locus classicus* of Euripidean sententious outbursts, lines 599–602 put in the mouth of Hecuba mourning her daughter Polyxena. Suggested for bracketing by W. M. Sakorraphos in 1893 and athetised by J. Diggle (1984) and D. Kovacs (1995) in their respective editions (although not in the editions of J. Gregory (1999) and K. Matthiessen (2010), the lines (and the whole passage 592–602) have also shouldered a weight of Euripidean *Weltanschauung* doctrines built on their slender frame. A brief overview of scholarly judgment, often overexacting, prompts one to occupy the middling ground allowing both for the possibility of the genuine character of the lines 599–602 and their relevance in context (and not only expressing the ideas current in Euripides' times) with both birth and upbringing contributing to virtuous character. The metaphor in line 603 should not be considered a brave mannerism, or a marginal remark of some critic, but a marker of a change of topic, its archery imagery well on the side of trite.

Keywords: Attic tragedy, Euripides, Hecuba, textual criticism, athetesis

<div style="text-align:center">

ὦ θύγατερ, οὐκ οἶδ᾽ εἰς ὅτι βλέψω ακῶν,   585
πολλῶν παρόντων· ἢν γὰρ ἅψωμαί τινος,
τόδ᾽ οὐκ ἐᾷ με, παρακαλεῖ δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν αὖ
λύπη τις ἄλλη διάδοχος κακῶν κακοῖς.
καὶ νῦν τὸ μὲν σὸν ὥστε μὴ στένειν πάθος
οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην ἐξαλείψασθαι φρενός·   590
τὸ δ᾽ αὖ λίαν παρεῖλες ἀγγελθεῖσά μοι
γενναῖος. οὔκουν δεινόν, εἰ γῆ μὲν κακὴ
τυχοῦσα καιροῦ θεόθεν εὖ στάχυν φέρει,
χρηστὴ δ᾽ ἁμαρτοῦσ᾽ ὧν χρεὼν αὐτὴν τυχεῖν

</div>

κακὸν δίδωσι καρπόν, ἄνθρωποι δ᾽ ἀεὶ   595
ὁ μὲν πονηρὸς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν κακός,
ὁ δ᾽ ἐσθλὸς ἐσθλὸς οὐδὲ συμφορᾶς ὕπο
φύσιν διέφθειρ᾽ ἀλλὰ χρηστός ἐστ᾽ ἀεί;
[ἆρ᾽ οἱ τεκόντες διαφέρουσιν ἢ τροφαί;
ἔχει γε μέντοι καὶ τὸ θρεφθῆναι καλῶς   600
δίδαξιν ἐσθλοῦ· τοῦτο δ᾽ ἤν τις εὖ μάθηι,
οἶδεν τό γ᾽ αἰσχρὸν κανόνι τοῦ καλοῦ μαθών.]
καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ νοῦς ἐτόξευσεν μάτην·

599–602 del. Sakorraphos[1]

"Daughter, I don't know to which of the ills to attend, there being so many. If I lend my heart to one, this [ill] doesn't abate, but a new grief ever calls on me from elsewhere, a sorry successor to sorrows. And now I am hardly able to take my mind off your death and not to lament it. But you have relieved me of excessive grieving having proved yourself to be noble. Is it not perplexing that while poor soil having received its due from the god in good season, yields good crop, and fertile soil having not received its due fails to bear a good harvest, among men it is always like this: a mean man is ever mean, rain or shine, and a noble man ever noble, and his nature never spoilt in misfortunes, but remains ever good? [But is it the parents or maybe also the ways of upbringing that cause the difference? Yet being well-brought does its bit for the acquisition of nobility too. If one learns it well, one at least knows the mean, having measured it against the standard of the noble.] But my mind has shot these thoughts forth in vain."

Hecuba has just received the news of the death of her last surviving daughter Polyxena and seems to have found some peace in the description of the nobility and beauty of the way Polyxena met it (especially 548–549, 560, 570 — ἑκοῦσα θνήσκω· μή τις ἅψηται χροὸς / τοὐμοῦ· παρέξω γὰρ δέρην εὐκαρδίως… μαστούς τ᾽ ἔδειξε στέρνα θ᾽ ὡς ἀγάλματος / κάλλιστα… κρύπτουσ᾽ ἃ κρύπτειν ὄμματ᾽ ἀρσένων χρεών — Talthybius, who is himself crying, has touched all the right strings with his narrative), since she spends the following ten-odd lines musing on the nature of man. Brimming with grief, she can still find in it a source for reasoning — 'flagship' lines 591–602 are a staple of gnomologia (*Hecuba* is a favourite, with 11 passages cited in Orion,[2] and 14 in Stobaios[3]). These (and especially 599–602, where her musings tend to become even more general) are the *versus suspecti*, over which scholars lock and fight. The division (taken to extreme) tends to be threefold: those who, on the rebound, spurn a confirmed moraliser in Euripides and hence are content to expose each general reflection as manifestation of this flaw; radical critics who hunt down every digression, illogicality or lapse and suspect an interpolation catering to the demands of a different audience thus often subjecting the text of the tradition to what F. Ferrari called "attraverso violente normalizzazioni";[4] conservative critics who try to ex-

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[1] I cite the text and (relevant part of the) apparatus as edited by Diggle 1984, 366–367, who never misses an opportunity to relieve Euripides of a line or two. Kovacs 1995 *ad loc.* suspects these lines. Page 1934, *ad loc.*, however, does not put this passage into his actors' interpolations category, or indeed into any intrusive lines category. The closest one to ours, which he believes to be an histrionic interpolation, is 606–608. He does admit that more can be discovered.

[2] Haffner 2001.

[3] Wachsmuth, Hense 1884–1912.

[4] Ferrari 1986, 62.

plain away each and every case either out of the logic of situation, character, and context, or out of facts of life external to the play.[5]

The sequence of 592–598 and 599–602 was first exposed as contradictory by H. Weil who believed Euripides bluntly spoke his mind forgetful both of the situation and the character, a mere mouthpiece: « cette noblesse de sentiments que les coups de la fortune ne sauraient altérer, tient-elle à la naissance ou à l'éducation? Euripide fait ici une certaine part à cette dernière ».[6] In the wake of Weil's remark, the bracketing of 599–602 was proposed by G. M. Sakorraphos in 1893. He condemned the lines on the following grounds: "indigni Euripide… pugnant enim non modo cum prioribus, sed etiam cum tota Euripidi doctrina. saepe enim vidimus praesertim Euripidem hanc quaestionem tractasse, num educatio hominis *naturam* vincere vel corrigere possit et sim. in iis omnibus locis, ut ratio postulat, natura opponitur educationi sive parentibus, hoc autem loco parentes et educatio inter se opponuntur".[7] It is notoriously hard to pin down a dramatist's *doctrina* and to pass judgement on whether or not any given verse befits the poet tilts precariously on the side of personal taste. While for Weil an outbreak in 599–602 is what he may well call Euripides' *doctrina*, Sakorraphos finds *doctrina* as it is in 599–602 distorted, introducing an opposition which is not there: οἱ τεκόντες in 599 stand for φύσις, the hereditary endowment, whilst τροφαί, or else τροφή — the upbringing and the environment. Having little sympathy for those who come to far-reaching conclusions churning a Euripidean *Weltanschauung*, one is naturally prompted to think that Euripides really understood that *both* are contributing factors.[8]

So far, the problem is that while the traditional aristocratic beliefs in nobility by birth (595–598) are in line with Hecuba's not easily forgotten queenly status, the shift to instruction in nobility and its teachability in 599–602 is a somewhat alien element. W. S. Barrett, a terse critic, discussing 191–197 in the *Hippolytos*, equally suspect on the grounds of dramatic irrelevance, saw reasons for excision of 599–602 not in the "glaring irrelevancy" of the lines (he rightly observes that Euripides' "reputation for moralising is largely exaggerated"), but in their being at odds with "the purpose of the scene".[9] His point is pressed home in a short piece (a posthumously published draft) devoted especially to these lines. Setting off with "599–602 are absurd here; the trouble is not that Hekabe is made to philosophize παρὰ καιρόν (that is common enough in Euripides); it is that the lines are utterly and disastrously irrelevant to her first and genuine point of 592–8", he suggests they come from "a context very different from ours", the one of tapping the "source of our knowledge of right and wrong", whereas in 592–598 Hecuba is concerned with "consistency in virtue and vice", not with any source of our knowledge of it.[10]

The lines have their champions just as well. J. Gregory, the author of a relatively recent commentary on the play, anchors what follows on the adjective γενναῖος (592), indeed placed in an emphatic *enjambement*, suggesting it "lends plausibility to the calm reflections that follow", only to call these later on "a general reflection of major thematic importance".[11] K. Matthiessen in his posthumously published most recent commentary

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[5] For an overview and judicious assessment, see Heath 1987, 40–68.
[6] Weil 1868, 255.
[7] Sakorraphus 1893, 199.
[8] A good turn to this thought given by Winnington-Ingram 1958, 175.
[9] Barrett 1964, 199.
[10] Barrett 2007, 473.
[11] Gregory 1999, 117.

on *Hecuba*, likewise benevolent, is inclined to catch a glimpse of the times, observing „sie [diese Reflexion] gehört in den Kontext der zeitgenössischen Diskussionen über dieses Thema, das Eur. auch sonst öfters berührt".[12] Ch. Collard lauded the excision in his review of Diggle's OCT ("It is salutary to be confronted with the deletion of half this passage. One sees, Hecuba's point is made as well by 592–598"), [13] while in his commentary he defends the lines on the grounds of their relevance in context: Hecuba is talking as Polyxena's mother and teacher, who moreover "learns from her daughter's example".[14] J. C. Kamerbeek, reviewing the same OCT volume, did remark that Diggle "is too prone to assume interpolation" also in "the seemingly irrelevant digressions in the rheseis of ratiocinating heroines which are characteristic of Euripidean *dramatis personae* echoing the discussions of the time" and went on to call the deletion "an instance of downright wrong athetesis" of a general reflection.[15] W. Biehl held 599–602 to be a reasonable development of the reflective lines 592–598[16] thus fitting the context, and K. Matthiessen believed the lines 599–602 to be indispensable: „weil hier der Schritt vom Glauben an die absolute Dominanz der Anlagen hin zu der Auffassung vollzogen wird, dass die Tugend, jedenfalls in gewissem Umfang, lehrbar ist. Das ist zugleich ein Schritt vom aristokratischen Menschenbild Pindars (Olympien 2,86–88, 9, 100–08) zu dem des Sokrates und der Sophisten, also genau das, was man bei Eur. erwarten sollte".[17]

So far, so good. Gregory, however, made a valid point in her commentary having observed in passing that while "the agricultural analogy is a commonplace in Greek literature, it is generally framed to emphasize similarities rather than differences".[18] The pool of examples (seasonal changes, as you sow you shall mow) could be further supplied by Eur. *Andr.* 635–637: πολλάκις δέ τοι / ξηρὰ βαθεῖαν γῆν ἐνίκησε σπορᾷ, / νόθοι τε πολλοὶ γνησίων ἀμείνονες, 'as barren land can often outdo rich soil in issue, so good many bastards are nobler than legitimate children' (El. 367–372 are very similar). In our case, poor soil can yield an ample harvest should it get the sun and rain at right times, while rich soil left parched or soggy with rain fails. A fine analogy this could make to τροφὴ in humans, but Hecuba's point is different: human beings, unlike responsive soil, remain steadfast both in virtue and vice inborn. Should we follow those who defend 599–603 and say with W. Schadewaldt that „das Problem wird regelrecht diskutiert"[19] to cover the issue of bringing up in excellence? Is it not a hairsplitting argument to pursue that 599–603 have at stake not the ability to be consistent due to proper upbringing, but the source of our knowledge of virtue and vice, as W. S. Barrett holds, and are alien matter?

Line 603 also poses a problem. It is in all probability genuine, since there are parallels of thoughts 'let fly' in aspiration, as in Eur. *Tro.* 643–644 (with a Genitive, standard use meaning 'aim at') ἐγὼ δὲ τοξεύσασα τῆς εὐδοξίας λαχοῦσα πλεῖον τῆς τύχης ἡμάρτανον, *Ion* 1411 ἐς τοῦθ' ἱκοίμην, τοῦδε τοξεύω, τέκνον, or when forwarding an argument, as in *Ion* 256–257 οὐδέν· μεθῆκα τόξα· τἀπὶ τῷδε δὲ / ἐγώ τε σιγῶ, καὶ σὺ μὴ φρόντιζ' ἔτι, and Aesch. *Suppl.* 446 καὶ γλῶσσα τοξεύσασα μὴ τὰ καίρια, the latter building, probably, the

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[12] Matthiessen 2010, 330.
[13] Collard 1986, 23.
[14] Collard 1991, 162 ad loc.
[15] Kamerbeek 1986, 93, 101.
[16] Biehl 1997, 120–122.
[17] Matthiessen 2010, 330–331.
[18] Gregory 1999, 117.
[19] Schadewaldt 1926, 139.

closest parallel along with Pindar's *Isthm*. 2, 3 ἐτόξευον μελιγάρυας ὕμνους in taking an Accusative (hence not necessarily a Euripidean idiom).[20] The scholiasts also did not stumble in understanding the line, a metaphor from archery, meaning 'οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν εἴρηται', but uneasily suggested that Euripides here is engaging in tongue-in-cheek commenting on his own penchant for the sentiment above.[21] This view is shared by Ch. Collard, who suggests Euripides is "gently mocking his own indulgence in such speculation".[22] Gregory and Matthiessen both believe 603 to mark a transition from a general reflection to involvement with issues at hand.[23] In the light of doubt cast over this line in the scholia, could it be a marginal remark (iambic trimetre as it is) left by some Alexandrian or Byzantine critic? It is unlikely, and the line can still be a mere transition phrase.

And a mere technicality, with excision adopted, the resulting immediate leap from 598 to 603 be seamless? Would it not make Hecuba wave off as "vain" the thoughts that consoled her, namely, that good noble nature of Polyxena did not falter in calamitous circumstances? Would it rather be more appropriate for her to curtly check herself after 599–602, the digression on instruction in virtue, painful to her, who has brought up and lost so many children in vain? Guesswork on the irrelevance of 599–602 may continue, what remains is that Hecuba's own nobility will soon be put to test (her ignoble deed was seen differently through the ages, with the Renaissance men finding no fault with her revenging on Polymnestor and his children). Was it that Euripides still wanted to undercut her judgment and prove by her action that there is, in fact, a limit to what a person could bear?

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[20] Noted already in Collard 1991, 163; Matthiessen 2010, 331.
[21] Dindorf 1863, 371; Schwarz 1891, 56.
[22] Collard 1991, 163.
[23] Gregory 1999, 118; Matthiessen ²2010, 331.

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Arist. *Poet*. 1461b1–3: a broad hint at Zoilus?*

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In *Poetics* 25 (1461b1–3), Aristotle mentions critics who tend to misunderstand the text or read it inaccurately and thus criticise not the actual work, but rather their ideas on it. Some of the extant fragments of Zoilus (4th c. BC), the best-known and the most notorious critic of all the Aristotle's contemporaries, imply that his critique was sometimes based on misreading and misinterpreting of the text so he could be one of those whom Aristotle meant. This article deals with three fragments attributed to Zoilus (two of them are found in the Scholia to the *Iliad*, the third one is quoted in Ps. Longinus' *De Sublimitate*), each containing criticism towards certain passages in Homer's poems. On closer examination it turns out that all the inconsistencies Zoilus postulated can be explained, should we read the text more carefully. Hence Zoilus dealt not with what is written but rather with what seemed to him to be convenient for his criticism.

Keywords: Aristotle, *Poetics*, literary criticism, rhetoric, Zoilus of Amphipolis.

Discussing critics and criticism in chapter 25 of the *Poetics*[1] Aristotle demands, 1461b1–3:[2]

κατὰ τὴν καταντικρὺ ἢ ὡς Γλαύκων λέγει, ὅτι ἔνιοι ἀλόγως προϋπολαμβάνουσί τι καὶ αὐτοὶ καταψηφισάμενοι συλλογίζονται, καὶ ὡς εἰρηκότος ὅ τι δοκεῖ ἐπιτιμῶσιν, ἂν ὑπεναντίον ᾖ τῇ αὐτῶν οἰήσει.

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ὅτι rec : τι vel τί Ξ ἔνιοι codex (?) Victorii (Ar) : ἔνια Ξ τι Β : om. Π εἰρηκότος Β : -ες Π

"[An interpreter should act in the way] opposite to those described by Glaucon, who says that certain [critics] presume some illogicality of their own beforehand and go on to infer censoriously as if what seemed to them had actually been said, should it only contradict their own notion."

An example of such reckless censure is provided further (1461b4–8),[3] still without any particular reference. Alfred Gudeman hints at the possibility to refer this criticism

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[1] It is generally believed that this chapter contains excerpts from Aristotle's Ἀπορήματα Ὁμηρικά, see e. g. Bywater 1907, 323; Rostagni 1945, 134; Lucas 1968, 232.

[2] The text quoted is Kassel 1965. The passage is included among the fragments of Glaucon of Teos by Pozdnev 2017, 20.

[3] The critics erroneously suppose that Icarius was a Spartan and Telemachus should have met him there. But his name was, in fact, Icadius and he was from Kephallenia. The example must be taken from

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to "obstrectatores Homeri" like Zoilus of Amphipolis.[4] Ingram Bywater mentions Zoilus as the most recognised critic of that time.[5] I will try to prove that judging by the extant fragments, Zoilus' criticism sometimes was indeed based on misunderstanding and misinterpretation, whether intended or not, of Homer's text, so he probably was one of those whom Aristotle had in mind.[6]

Although Zoilus' name is proverbial for punitive criticism, the extant testimonies reveal almost nothing certain about his life and personality.[7] He worked in ca. mid-4th c. BC., practiced rhetoric and wrote on grammar, history and Homer's poetry (Suda *s. v.* Ζωίλος);[8] among his pupils was Anaximenes of Lampsakos (*ibid. s. v.* Ἀναξιμένης). The most important of his works, Κατὰ τῆς Ὁμήρου ποιήσεως or Καθ᾽ Ὁμήρου,[9] consisted of nine books: conceivably, this is the main source of the extant fragments. Zoilus' fragments, preserved mostly in the homeric scholia, were first edited in the FGH;[10] this collection was then revised and extended by Ulrich Friedländer,[11] after whom and FGrHist[12] these texts are cited below.

The fragments demonstrate a variety of grounds for censure[13] suggesting that Zoilus' attacks on Homer formed no part of interpretative commentary or aesthetic treatise but rather a kind of rhetorical exercise, a criticism for criticism's sake. The intention to criticize instead of making an attempt to understand and explain is exemplified by Zoilus' critical remark, cited in Schol. ad *Il.* 23, 100–101. The soul of Patroclus leaves at the same moment when Achilles tries to embrace his friend:

ψυχὴ δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς ἠΰτε καπνός
ᾤχετο τετριγυῖα: ταφὼν δ᾽ ἀνόρουσεν Ἀχιλλεύς.

"The soul like smoke went beneath the ground with a shrill cry: Achilles in astonishment sprang up."

Glaucon's treatise (οἴονται γάρ). Lucas (1968, 247) thinks that it does not correspond with what is said before, but see Pozdnev 2017, 22.

[4] Gudeman 1934, 439.

[5] Bywater 1909, 323; cf. Lucas 1968, 232. However, more up-to-date commentaries (Dupont-Roc/Lallo 1980; Guastini 2010) ignore him. A. Schmitt mentions his name with no reference to the above cited lines: Zoilus goes together with Hippias from Thasos, to whose solving of Homeric problems Aristotle refers in 1461a22 (Schmitt 2008, 716).

[6] Sometimes scholars mention Zoilius when commenting on the *Poet.* 1461a10 and a14–15 where Aristotle discussed who are οὐρῆας in *Il.* 1, 50 and what means ζωρότερον in ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε (*Il.* 9, 202); see Bywater 190, 334; Gudeman 1934, 429; Rostagni 1945, 161; Lucas 1968, 241. There are Zoilus' remarks concerning these two passages of the Iliad (both seem to be widely discussed in antiquity): Friedl. 12 = FGrHist 71, 4 and Friedl. 6 = FGrHist 71, 5, but as interesting as they might be these examples of Zoilus' criticism and methodology are out of scope of the current article.

[7] For the current state of research see Gärtner 1978.

[8] Suida s. v. Ζωίλος (= Friedl. fr. 19).

[9] Gärtner 1978, 1540, 60–1541, 45.

[10] Müller 1848, 85.

[11] Friedländer 1895. No new fragments have been added to his collection; later scholars just organized these fragments differently and commented on them.

[12] Jacoby 1986 (¹1926), 109–112.

[13] In fact, all types of censure based on different grounds mentioned by Aristotle in ch. 25 of the *Poetics* might be found among Zoilus' fragments. Moreover, at least two issues commented on by Zoilus are also discussed in the *Poetics* (see above, note 6), both could belong to the Homeric questions discussed by the early critics.

Ζωΐλος δέ φησιν ὅτι ‘ἀλλ’ ὁ καπνὸς ἄνω φέρεται’.
<div align="center">(Friedl. 36 = FGrHist 71, 16)</div>

"But Zoilus says that smoke rises up."

Zoilus seems to find himself on the standpoint of hyperrealism,[14] though he should have taken into account that smoke sometimes drifts low over the ground and thus the scene is not *that* fantastic. But even if the catachresis is there, ἠΰτε καπνός gives the idea of insubstantiality of the soul together with precipitancy and subtlety of its vanishing. This is supported by the words Achilles utters immediately after the soul of Patroclus has gone, 103–104:

<div align="center">ὢ πόποι ἦ ῥά τίς ἐστι καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισι
ψυχὴ καὶ εἴδωλον, ἀτὰρ φρένες οὐκ ἔνι πάμπαν·</div>

"Oh strange! there is some kind of soul and phantom even in the house of Hades, though the heart (mind?) is not therein."

Φρένες hardly means reasonability (what Patroclus says is reasonable enough), but rather something that makes a living man differ from an insubstantial soul after death.[15] Another parallel is *Od.* 11, 207–208. Odysseus tries to embrace the soul of his mother:

<div align="center">τρὶς δέ μοι ἐκ χειρῶν σκιῇ εἴκελον ἢ καὶ ὀνείρῳ
ἔπτατ᾽ ἐμοὶ δ᾽ ἄχος ὀξὺ γενέσκετο κηρόθι μᾶλλον.[16]</div>

"Three times she slipped away from my hands like a shadow or dream; and pain grew in my heart even sharper."

These texts might reflect speculations about the soul and its physical state after death.[17] Smoke naturally rises up, but more important for the poet is the fact that it may go *through* something. And though in this case Zoilus condemns something not made up by him, but really present in Homer, he obviously does not try to interpret the text.

Closer to what Aristotle means is the fragment quoted in Ps. Longin's *De Subl.* 9, 14. To give just one example of many "fabulous and incredible things" found in the Odyssey, the author makes reference to men turned into swine:

τοὺς ἐν Κίρκης συοφορβουμένους, οὓς ὁ Ζωΐλος ἔφη χοιρίδια κλαίοντα[18]

—————————

ἐν Faber ἐκ P συοφορβουμένους MSS συομορφουμένους Valkenaer[19]

"Those who were at Circe's kept as swine, Zoilus called them piglets in tears."

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[14] Erbse 1977, 385.

[15] The discussion on the meaning of φρένες is summarised by Richardson 1996, 177–178. The scholar is convinced that the subject was debated in Homer's time. On ψυχὴ καὶ εἴδωλον, φρένες and the cited passage see also Nägelsbach 1861, 383–398 and 400–402; Rohde 1894, 42–43.

[16] Here and onwards the text quoted is after von der Mühll 1967.

[17] See above references to Rohde and to Richardson's commentary. It seems to be some kind of a general opinion that Homer's poetry reflects some insights inherent in his epoch.

[18] Quoted after Russel 1964. See also FGrHist 71, 3 (= Friedl. 7).

[19] Russel does not accept συομορφουμένους, though the passage is quoted with this emendation in FGrHist 71, 3.

This commentary is given with regard to *Od*. 10, 239–241:

οἱ δὲ συῶν μὲν ἔχον κεφαλὰς φωνήν τε τρίχας τε
καὶ δέμας, αὐτὰρ νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδος, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ.
ὣς οἱ μὲν κλαίοντες ἐέρχατο.

"And they had heads, voice, bristles and shape of a swine; but their minds were steadfast as before; so they were shut there weeping."

Commenting on *De Sublimitate* Donald Russel asks, if κλαίοντες means weeping or squealing and if Zoilus was disappointed with "the vulgarity of the description or improbability of pigs shedding tears."[20] It does not seem that Zoilus was interested in pure aesthetic items. His criticism is usually based on the lack of probability, inner logic or piety.[21] Thus, Zoilus' remark most probably concerns pigs crying (whether κλαίοντες means shedding tears, or weeping, or both). To be sure, κλαίω ("lament, weep, cry") never refers to animals except for this passage.[22] But even here, does it really refer to *animals*? Despite being turned into swine, Odysseus' companions were still sane (νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδος, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ). Κλαίοντες emphasizes it: they do not lose their mind and have natural *human* reactions, being aware of what is happening to them. Heubeck's commentary[23] adds another detail: in *Od*. 10, 234–238 Circe's drink makes them completely forget their motherland, but, unlike in Lotus-eaters episode, this amnesia does not mean losing νοῦς and forgetting themselves. Moreover, when they were turned back into people, they started crying again, this time out of joy (10, 398: πᾶσιν δ᾽ ἱμερόεις ὑπέδυ γόος). This proves that in swine's bodies they remained men and shed tears like men do. Zoilus' remark thus turns out to be about Zoilus' own impressions of the text.

Zoilus' critical comment which is definitely based on substituting his own meanings for those of Homer is found in Schol. ad *Il*. 22, 210. Zeus weights fates of Achilles and Hector to find out which hero is going to die: ἐν δ᾽ ἐτίθει δύο κῆρε ("and put there two fates of death"). On this Schol. T comments as follows:

γελᾷ δὲ τὸν μῦθον ὁ Ζωΐλος· ποδαπαὶ γὰρ αἱ Μοῖραι ἐν ταῖς πλάστιγξι, καθήμεναι ἢ ἑστηκυῖαι;

"Zoilus laughed at these words: what do Moirai look like in the scales of a balance, are they sitting or standing?"

If someone would like to answer Zoilus in Zoilus' own manner, he would probably say that Zeus "put" them, so they should be lying. Yet, there is no need to do it, since the critic makes a mistake mixing up Moirai and Keres.[24] Moira is one of the most complicated notions in Homer's poem.[25] What matters for this passage is that although sometimes (especially when it is not an appellative) Keres and Moirai may signify similar or even the

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[20] Russel 1964, 98.
[21] See Gärtner 1978; Spindler, 20–21; Blass 1874, 347–348; Apfel 1938, 250–251, etc.
[22] According to *Lexicon Homericum* and *LfgrE*, see Ebeling 1987, 810–811; Beck 1982 and LSJ, s. v.
[23] Heubeck 2006, 56–57.
[24] One of the scholiasts also admitted that in this case Keres and Moirai represent the same notion. Some commentaries seem to agree with it (see Erbse 1977, 312), though the scholium may have been added when the difference had already become unnoticeable.
[25] There is a great amount of literature dedicated to this concept, starting from Nägelsbach 1861, 120–148. See Eitrem 1932, 2453–2459; Nilsson 1992, 361–368 with references.

same notions,[26] they are different creatures with different functions[27] and this distinction is very present in Homer's poetry.[28] While Moira is a more general idea of human fate (from the very beginning till the end), Keres may be referred only to death or the death lot.[29] Hesiod mentions Keres as children of Night along with Moirai (*Theog.* 211, 217). Ker has its iconography: it is a female wearing dark clothes tinted with blood (as described in the *Iliad* (18, 538). The motive of Kerostasia was adopted in tragedy and gradually changed to Psychostasia.[30] According to LIMC, the weighing is usually depicted as scales on which two little figures of heroes (or, rarely, two little winged figures) are set; Keres on scales should probably resemble those whose lots they signify.[31] The Kerostasia of Achilles and Hector in *Il.* 22 has a parallel in *Il.* 8, 68–74: Zeus weights death lots of the Achaeans and the Trojans.[32] Moirai are usually depicted with tools for spinning.[33] In the *Iliad* this image occurs twice: 20, 127 (Αἶσα spanned Achilles' fate) and 24, 209 (Hector's fate was spinned by Μοῖρα). In fact, it must be hard to weigh somebody's Moira: there are just three of them for all people, and a fate they spin for smb. is never personified. Intending to satirize Homer's idea of gods, Zoilus eventually replaced it with his own.

As said above, Zoilus was probably not interested in explaining the text. What he does is focusing on inappropriate details and trying to mock them. Still, sometimes the assumed inconsistency results from wrong presupposition. Zoilus referred the smoke-comparison in *Il.* 23, 100 to a wrong notion, ignored the sense which crying has in *Od.* 10, 241 and laughed at weighing Moirai, i.e. something he made up himself instead of what stands in *Il.* 22, 210. In doing this he did exactly what Aristotle describes in *Poetics* 25 when talking of those who criticise not Homer's text, but rather their own ideas of it.

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[26] Apart from Keren, Homer uses also μόρος and αἶσα and derivatives when speaking about death (see Eitrem 1932, 2457, 49–51); there is also an expression μοῖρα θανάτοιο (e. g. *Od*. XVII, 326 et al.) as well as κὴρ θανάτοιο (*Il*. 2, 302; *Od*. 11, 171 et al.), but in this case μοῖρα is unpersonified. *LfgrE* evens Keres and Moirai, when both mean unpersonified faith or death (see Vlachodimitris 1982, Sp. 1404, 32–33)

[27] On Keres specially see Malten 1924; Nilsson 1992, 222–225 with many references; a brief summary of recent works and analysis of iconography may also be found in LIMC (Vollkommer 1992, 14–23; for quite an extensive bibliography see p. 15–16).

[28] Keres are mentioned in both poems several times, see Vollkommer 1992, 14.

[29] When in *Od*. 11, 171 Odysseus asks his mother's soul which κὴρ θανάτοιο conquered her, he wants to know how she died (see Heubeck 2006, 87).

[30] Vollkommer (1992, 15) mentions a number of episodes of Kerostasia from epos and tragedy. The change from Kerostasia to Psychostasia (i.e. to weighing Psychai instead of Keres), happened in Aeschylos' tragedy, although the iconography remained the same.

[31] See Vollkommer 1992, 19–20 with references to LIMC VI/2 (e. g. pictures on pp. 11–12. and a large amount of other examples).

[32] Richardson 1996, 129–130. A detailed analysis is given in Kirk's commentary to the 8th book (Kirk 1995, 303–304).

[33] Numerous examples in LIMC VI/2 on pp. 375–379; commentary and descriptions are in LIMC VI/2 (see de Angeli, 1992, brief summary and bibliography on pp. 636–338).

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Translating Catullus 85: why and how*

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This article argues that in the first verse of Catullus' epigram 85, the commonly found translation of *quare* as 'why' in English versions since the 17th century, but particularly in translations produced in the last fifty years, cannot be accepted. In the context of Catullus's poetry, with poems 72 and 75 offering an explicit background to and rationale for the contradiction in the poet's feelings between love and hate, and in the light of the incontrovertible connotation of *quare* (or *qua re*) as 'how' in a passage of Terence's *Eunuchus*, the correct translation of the word can only be 'how'. Some suggestions are made to account for the origins and the persistence of the mistranslation. The translation as 'why' in the prose version in the 1912 Loeb edition edited by F. W. Cornish is suggested to have influenced a generation of English-speaking students, and Martial's epigram 1.32 is invoked as a cause. But it is further argued that in taking Catullus's epigram as a model for his own, Martial may have expressly intended to suggest that the meaning of *quare* as 'why' that was current in his time was different in that very respect from the connotation 'how' clearly intended by his predecessor.

Keywords: Catullus, epigram 85, *quare*, translation.

> *Odi et amo; quare id faciam fortasse requiris:*
> *nescio, sed fieri sentio et excrucior.*

The brevity of this couplet is inversely proportional to the quantity of words written about it and the plethora of attempts to translate it. Yet despite that volume, more needs to be said about an issue central to its interpretation, because its meaning has almost universally been distorted (notably in the past fifty years of scholarship and reception) by the persistent rendering into English of *quare* in line 1 as 'why'. Thus three fairly recent versions run as follows:

> "I hate and love. Perhaps you're asking why I do that?
>   I don't know, but I feel it happening, and am racked."[1]

> "I hate and love. You wonder, perhaps, why I do that?
>   I have no idea. I just feel it. I am crucified."[2]

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    [1]   Lee 1998, 131.
    [2]   Green 2005, 190.

"I hate and love.
Perhaps you wonder why.
I don't know, but I feel it, and I am crucified."[3]

That this understanding (or misunderstanding) of the meaning of *quare* is not just a recent phenomenon is illustrated by the translation of the 17th-century poet Richard Lovelace (1617–1657):

I hate and love; would'st thou the reason know?
    I know not, but I burn, and feel it so.

Translators of the 18th and 19th centuries, including Walter Savage Landor, Charles Lamb, Richard Francis Burton, and the Scots poet Theodore Martin, concurred with Lovelace in penning versions with 'why' or 'wherefore', to be followed in the 20th century by, among others, the Eton schoolmaster Francis Warre Cornish (editor of the popular Loeb edition of Catullus that appeared in 1912), Ezra Pound, and C. H. Sisson.[4] Yet Lovelace's direct contemporary Abraham Cowley (1618–1667) offers this version using 'how':

I hate, and yet I love thee too,
How can that be? I know not how;
Only that so it is I know
And feel with torment that 'tis so.

And in a brief note published in 1923 J. P. Postgate, the scholarly editor of Catullus (1889), approvingly quotes two very similar translations of the poem with 'how' published in 1909 and 1912, the earlier one by the classicist J. Wight Duff:

I hate, yet love. You ask how this may be.
    Who knows? I feel its truth and agony.[5]

Postgate was a contributor to the Loeb edition edited by Cornish, which became a prime source for the study of Catullus in English-speaking schools. It is, however, Cornish's prose translation that stands in that edition, and was to remain when the Loeb was subsequently revised by G. P. Goold in 1976:

I hate and love. Why I do so, perhaps you ask?
    I know not, but I feel it, and I am in torment.

I propose here first to show that *quare* in this poem cannot mean 'why' or 'the reason', and then briefly to suggest one reason why such a mistranslation might have arisen and subsequently persisted within the scholarly community. 'The poem represents the ultimate stage in a process of condensation of thought and expression', comments Thom-

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[3] Uzzi and Thomson 2015, 148. The most recent translation that I know, that of Daisy Dunn (2016), also translates 'why'.
[4] A selection of English translations of C. 85 may conveniently be accessed online at https://briefpoems.wordpress.com/tag/catullus/.
[5] Postgate 1923.

son, 'earlier stages in which are represented by poems 72 and 75.'[6] In C. 72 (eight lines), Catullus addresses Lesbia as one who once reciprocated his whole-hearted love, but has now injured him by her infidelities. The result is that his love burns for her more fiercely (*impensius uror*, 5, *cogit amare magis*, 8), but he feels less benignly loving towards her (*sed bene velle minus*, 8). In C. 75 (four lines), he repeats that although he no longer feels good-will towards her (*bene velle*, 3), he cannot cease being in love with her (*desistere amare*, 4). The opposition expressed in C. 85 is therefore readily understandable in terms of this repeatedly explained conflict of feelings. The contrasting emotions the poet feels for his once wholly beloved Lesbia have arisen due to her injurious and culpable conduct towards him (*iniuria,* 72. 7, *culpa*, 75.1). The substance of that *culpa* is expanded in C. 11.22 with the exaggeratedly vivid image of Lesbia 'embracing three hundred lovers at the same time, loving none truly but busting their groins over and over again'. C. 85 sums up in its two lines the conflict of hate and love that rages in Catullus's heart, ending with the powerful (and barely metaphorical) verb *excrucior*, 'I am being torn in two on the rack'.[7] The poet presents himself as dying in torment as if hate is literally pulling him in one direction, love in another; he is being torn apart by these opposite forces. This is not something, he tells us, over which he has any choice: he is not *doing* it (*faciam*), it is being *done to* him (*fieri*). In both grammar and feeling, the shift from active to passive is a piercing acknowledgment of his helplessness.

The 1969 translation by James Michie avoids both 'why' and 'how', but neatly elucidates the meaning of the poem in these terms:

> I hate and love. If you ask me to explain
> The contradiction ⌈I̲⌉
> ⌊SEP⌋
> I can't, but I can feel it, and the pain
> Is crucifixion. [8]

If the apparent contradiction *odi et amo* were to elicit a question from the reader, it might well be reckoned 'why are you doing that?' An appropriate enough answer to that question might be 'I'm not *doing* it: I feel it being done to me' (*fieri sentio*). In C. 85, however, that answer is importantly preceded by *nescio*: that is, the immediate and unqualified answer to the question Catullus imagines the reader to pose is 'I don't know'. Yet the fact is that, as we have seen, Catullus does know why; he more than once makes clear elsewhere precisely why he is undergoing this excruciating torment. The reason is elucidated in the two poems cited earlier, and the situation is no less evident in others. He hates Lesbia for the *iniuria* she inflicts on him, yet his love or desire for her persists and is even stronger as a result of her conduct; that is why he both hates and loves. The verbal and emotional logic is unimpeachable, and thoroughly characteristic of Catullus: if the poet were not still in love with Lesbia, he would not be hating her for her treatment of him. It will not do to say 'Logic (2: *nescio*) has failed; all that remains is feeling (2: *sentio*) painful to the point of torture (*excrucior*).'[9] The problem is that both emotions somehow persist simultaneously,

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[6] Thomson 1997, ad loc.
[7] The literal meaning of *crux* is more likely be 'rack' than 'cross'; *cruciari* in this period is used to connote 'torture' in general rather than crucifixion.
[8] Michie 1969.
[9] Green 2005, 261.

and both poet and reader will be in no doubt about the cause of that painfully contradictory state of mind.

To the question 'why are you doing that?', then, the poet's answer could not have been *nescio*. Asked for the reason or cause of his action, the answer Catullus would surely give, as he gives elsewhere, is 'because of the way I'm treated by the woman I used to love unreservedly'. Let us, then, examine what else *quare* might mean. While all later citations of the term point to the connotation 'why', the earliest citation, standardly printed as two separate words, is found in an exchange between the slave Parmeno and the youth Chaerea in Terence's *Eunuchus* of 161 BC:

PA. *quid si nunc tute fortunatu' fias*?	CH. **qua re**, *Parmeno? responde.*
PA. *capias tu illi(u)s vestem.*	CH. *vestem? quid tum postea*?[10]
"PA: What if *you* were to get lucky now?	CH: How, Parmeno? Tell me.
PA: Take that man's clothes.	CH: His clothes? And then what?"

The meaning we must attribute here to *qua re* is unequivocal: it is not 'why', but 'how', literally 'by what thing' (the instrumental ablative, emphasised by the spelling of *qua re* as two separate words, prompts a tangible answer — 'this dress'). And while this is an early and admittedly rare occurrence of the word with that connotation, it is easy to see how 'by what thing' or 'by what means' may come to mean 'in what way' or 'how', and it is certain that such a usage, one that preserves the instrumental nature of the locution, would have been known to Catullus.[11]

Taking Catullus' *quare* to mean 'how' rather than 'why' resolves a host of unclarities. First, the statement *odi et amo* has been posed as, and is instantly interpretable as, a kind of paradox: hate and love, directed towards the same object by the same mind, surely cannot coexist. The poet appears to represent himself acting *per impossibile*. The obvious question to ask is not *why* he should be so acting, but *how* it is possible for him to do so. Secondly, 'how are you doing that?' is a question to which the answer *nescio* makes perfect sense. These emotions might be thought logically, and practically, incompatible. If one loves, how can one also hate? Should not love drive out its opposite, or vice versa? If one hates, can one still be susceptible to love? Yet that is the position that Catullus finds himself in, and we know *why*. What we don't know, and what the poet admits to not knowing, is *how* such a contradictory state of mind is possible. All he can observe is what he feels (*sentio*), a bewildering conjunction of negative and positive feelings to which he must succumb and which are not of his choosing, but the effects of which he is all too painfully aware.

Many readers of the poem have understood and will understand this meaning of *quare* to be 'how', and a fair number of translations published in the century prior to 1960 favour that translation.[12] Since then, however, the misguided and confusing translation 'why' has held sway, with remarkably few exceptions.[13] Why might this be? One possible reason is the reliance in English-speaking scholarship on the 1912 Loeb transla-

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[10] Ter. *Eun.* 369–370.
[11] Similar usages of *quare* to mean 'by which means, whereby' are found in Nepos (*Cat.* 2.3) and Cicero (*Rosc. Am.* 33.94).
[12] Translators using 'how', with publication dates, include: Robert Tyrrell (1895), Charles Stuttaford (1912), Hugh McNaghten (1925), and Roy Arthur Swanson (1959).
[13] Daniel Selden 1992, 541, translates *quare* as 'how', without explanation or comment.

tion originally edited by Cornish and revised by Goold. But another may be that learned readers have allowed themselves to be misled by the occurrence of *quare* meaning 'why' in another famous epigram, Martial 1.32.[14] Writing over a century after Catullus, Martial plays on the notion expressed in C. 85 with an elegiac distich of his own in which *quare* is used unmistakeably to connote 'why':

> *Non amo te Sabidi, nec possum dicere quare:*
> *Sed tantum hoc possum dicere: non amo te.*

> "I don't like you, Sabidius, nor can I say why:
>   All I can say is this: I don't like you."

For the witty later poet, the attitude here presented is not a question of passionate, unrequited love of the kind to which Catullus refers, but simply a matter of like or dislike. And in this case there is no question about the poet doing or feeling both things simultaneously: the issue is simply about disliking Sabidius. Martial does not, therefore, need to suppose that his reader's response might perhaps be to ask 'how'; no question need arise here about *how* he might dislike Sabidius, only the question of *why* he does so.[15] In that case, Martial continues, he cannot say why; the implication, as in Catullus's case, is that this is a feeling that cannot be explained. However, this is far from the Catullan encapsulation of his tormented, paradoxical feelings, of the kind that might well elicit from a reader the question of how it might be possible.

The distich has added point and wit, however, if we recognise that Martial understood himself to be offering a deliberate misreading of Catullus's *quare* (or *qua re*), which he will have understood correctly to mean 'how'. If one imagines *quare* in inverted commas (*non possum dicere 'quare'*) Martial would be slyly indicating 'I cannot say '*quare*' in the way Catullus does'. That is, he is unable to use the word in the sense that his predecessor has used it, because he has no reason to ask 'how', only 'why'; whereas Catullus, who was able to employ the word in a sense no longer current in Martial's time, clearly did mean 'how'. In this way, Martial's *nec possum dicere quare*, 'nor can I say why', instead of providing a guide for the understanding of *quare* as 'why', does the opposite: it offers itself as a guarantor of the true meaning of Catullus' *quare* as 'how'. In the light of this analysis, therefore, I offer here one further translation:

> I hate and love; perhaps you ask how both of these I do.
>   I don't know: I just feel it, and it's tearing me in two.

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[14] E. g. Lorenz (2007) begins his chapter on 'Catullus and Martial' by drawing the parallel, and cites scholarship that does so dating from 1876; he also notes that it was the model for the popular 'I do not love thee, Doctor Fell' (Howell 1980, 176–8). That version, attributed to the satirical writer Thomas Brown (1662–1704) continues 'The reason why I cannot tell'. The countless retellings of the certainly apocryphal but appealing tale of how Brown allegedly escaped expulsion at the hands of Dean Fell of Christ Church by thus translating the couplet at sight will have embedded the mistaken notion in the minds of many translators that *quare* in Catullus must similarly be taken to mean 'the reason why'.

[15] Nothing is known of Sabidius, so the nature of Martial's actual relationship with him or the reason for his dislike can only be a matter of speculation. No such knowledge is required for the reader to appreciate the barbed humour of the epigram.

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