Antiquitas • Byzantium • Renascentia X.

Investigatio Fontium

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Herausgegeben von

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Investigatio Fontium

Griechische und lateinische Quellen mit Erläuterungen

Beiträge der Tagung

Klassisches Altertum - Byzanz - Humanismus

der XI. Ungarischen Konferenz für Altertumswissenschaft

Herausgegeben von

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RENASCENTIA

Vorwort des Herausgebers

Von der im Rahmen des OTKA-Projekts *Klassisches Altertum, Byzanz und Humanismus. Kritische Quellenedition mit Erläuterungen* (NN 104456) wirkenden philologischen Forschungsgruppe wurde bei der XI. Ungarischen Konferenz für Altertumsforschung (22.–24. Mai 2014, ELTE Budapest) eine separate, eigenständige Tagung veranstaltet. Mehrere Mitarbeiter anderer Institute haben sich hierbei den Forschern des Eötvös-József-Collegiums der ELTE angeschlossen, so dass die Vortragenden der Tagung die zahlenmäßig stärkste Gruppe der renommierten ungarischen Konferenz für Altertumskunde bildeten. Obwohl die in den Vorträgen und in hier abgedruckten Studien repräsentierten Forschungsbereiche durch die thematische Vielfalt des Forschungsinteressen bedingt in vielen Fällen keine unmittelbaren Berührungspunkte aufweisen (können), so haben sich doch die Forschungsmethode, die gemeinsame philologische Perspektive und die Liebe zur Wissenschaft ganz im Sinne der Organisatoren wieder einmal als stark verbindende und identitätstiftende Kräfte erwiesen.

Sorgfältige Rezeption und präzise Deutung der primären Quellen – alt- und neugriechischer, lateinischer, altfranzösischer, italienischer und englischer Texte, von Papyri und Codices, sowie philosophischer und astrologischer Abhandlungen – bilden unseres Erachtens das Fundament der historisch-philologischer Forschung. Auf diesem Fundament – allerdings ohne den soliden Boden der Empirie unter den Füßen zu verlieren – haben sich die Autoren vorliegenden Bandes auf die Suche nach breiteren Zusammenhängen und umfassend-ganzheitlichen Interpretationen gemacht.

Mit dem Band erhält der Leser somit eine echte „Blütenlese" – eine Anthologie im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes. Falls er bereit ist, die Mühen der Verfasser zumindest teilweise auf sich zu nehmen und die Texte aufmerksam zu lesen, so wird er zweifelsohne ein einmaliges geistiges Abenteuer miterleben können. Von all dem bin ich nicht nur aufgrund meiner Eindrücke als Zuhörer bei der Tagung, sondern auch als Herausgeber des Bandes nach der fesselnden Lektüre der hier abgedruckten Beiträge zutiefst überzeugt.

Ich darf mich bei den Referenten der Tagung und den Autoren des Bandes für ihren Beitrag zum Zustandekommen des vorliegenden *Testimoniums* herzlichst bedanken.

Budapest, den 31. August 2014

László Horváth

ANTIQUITAS

Tibor Szepessy

La fin de l'histoire. Quelques contributions au roman d'Achille Tatius*

Achille Tatius n'a pas besoin d'être présenté. Son roman Leucippé et Clitophon, en huit livres, fait partie des cinq romans d'amour ou « roman idéaux » grecs qui nous sont parvenus dans leur intégralité et que les spécialistes ont surnommés les « cinq grands ». Après de longues années d'incertitude, les recherches de ces dernières décennies ont permis de situer la naissance de ce roman avec une grande probabilité dans le dernier tiers du IIe siècle apr. J.-C.[1], c'est-à-dire dans une époque qui serait, d'après nos connaissances actuelles, l'âge d'or des romans de l'Antiquité. Bien évidemment, les papyrus ont joué un rôle majeur dans la datation : neuf fragments du *Leucippé et Clitophon* ont été découverts à ce jour, ce qui est, de par le nombre, comparé aux autres romans antiques qui nous sont restés, le plus important[2] (la découverte la plus récente ne remontant qu'à guère quelques années) ; de plus, ces fragments viennent de pas moins de sept (!) exemplaires antiques[3]. Ces découvertes fournissent des preuves supplémentaires à ce que nous savions déjà sur l'auteur : il devait faire partie, avec Héliodore, un autre romancier, des écrivains les plus populaires de la Byzance chrétienne. Leur parallèle ne s'arrête pas là : Achille Tatius aussi sera pris pour un évêque et ses héros, un couple d'amour, Leucippé et Clitophon se verront attribués l'honneur d'être les parents de deux saints qui souffrirent le martyr sous Dèce : Galaction et Épistème.

Alors qu'Achille Tatius est adulé à Byzance, il connaîtra une relative disgrâce dans l'Europe des Temps Modernes, et c'est avec des sourcils froncés, des

* Étude rédigée avec le soutien du projet OTKA NN 104456.

1 Voir en détail Plepelits, K. : « Achilleus Tatios », In *The Novel in the Ancient Word*, Schmeling, G. L. (éd.), Leiden – New York – Köln, 1996, p. 388 sqq.

2 C'est ce que pensait aussi W. H. Willis, voir « The Robinson-Cologne Papyrus of Achilles Tatius », *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 31 (1990), p. 76 ; au cours des quinze dernières années, d'autres papyrus ont été retrouvés avec des passages du roman d'Achille Tatius.

3 Voir en détail Henrichs, A. : « Missing Pages: Papyrology, Genre, and the greek Novel », In *Culture In Pieces. Essays on Ancient Texts in Honour of Peter Parsons*, Obbink, D. – Rutherford, R. (eds), Oxford, 2011, p. 302 sqq.

hochements de tête désapprobateurs et des reproches au bout des lèvres que de nouveaux lecteurs feuillettent alors ses écrits dont de nombreux passages sont considérés comme déconcertants, flous, incompréhensibles. Les propos par lesquels Helen Morales commence son livre sur Achille Tatius sont révélateurs : elle affirme qu'il s'agit, à sa connaissance, de la première monographie consacrée à Achille Tatius[4].

La forme narrative suscite à elle seule la désapprobation des lecteurs : pourquoi donner la parole à un narrateur à la première personne[5], contrairement à ce que font les autres auteurs de roman d'amour ? Et pourquoi de surcroît y a-t-il deux narrateurs : l'auteur qui fait une brève apparition dans l'intrigue, demande en personne, après une courte introduction de deux chapitres, à son héros, Clitophon, le deuxième narrateur, de raconter ses aventures (à partir de 1,3). Et si l'auteur le met ainsi en scène au début du roman dans une narration encadrée, pourquoi ne fait-il pas reparaître Clitophon à la fin, une fois son récit achevé, dans le bosquet magnifique de Sidon sous les arbres duquel il avait commencé à raconter son histoire ?

Voilà des questions épineuses. La narration à la première personne constitue, pour ainsi dire, un élément obligatoire des romans « réalistes » de l'époque. Il en va ainsi dans les œuvres de Pétrone, de Lucien et d'Apulée, pour ne citer que les plus connues. Dans ces romans, les narrateurs sont des personnages qui présentent des faiblesses très humaines et, même en tant qu'amoureux, sont loin d'être parfaits, idéaux – dans ces cas, la narration à la première personne semble accréditer le fait que l'histoire ainsi que les personnages sont issus de la réalité. Il en va de même dans le roman d'Achille Tatius, qui nous introduit par ailleurs dans un univers d'emblée beaucoup plus réaliste que celui qui sert de cadre aux quatre autres romans d'amour, par conséquent, cette attitude narratoriale hors du commun ne semble pas relever du hasard mais plutôt d'un choix délibéré.

En revanche, on n'a toujours pas fourni d'explication satisfaisante à l'étrange impression d'inachèvement que donne la fin du roman[6]. Ce qui est toutefois

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[4] Morales, H. : *Vision and Narrative in Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon*, Cambridge, 2004, p. 1.

[5] Cf. entre autres Reardon, B. P. : « Achilles Tatius and Ego Narrative », In *Greek Fiction : The Greek Novel in Context*, London – New York, 1994, p. 80–96.

[6] À titre d'exemples, parmi les nombreuses interprétations proposées : Rabau, S. : « Le roman d'Achille Tatius a-t-il une fin ? Ou comment refermer une œuvre ouverte ? », *Lalies* 17 (1997), p. 139–149 ; Nakatani, S. : « A re-examination of some structural problems in Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon », *Ancient Narrative* 3 (2003), p. 63–81 ; Repath, I. :

admis à présent, c'est que le roman n'a pas été tronqué au cours de sa transmission jusqu'à nous : les nombreux manuscrits préservés concordent en tout point. Par ailleurs, un simple regard sur la structure du roman suffit à y déceler une composition consciente, et alors à écarter l'idée d'une faute de la part de l'auteur concernant la conclusion de son récit ou – *horribile dictu* – d'un oubli : tout au contraire, telle que nous la voyons et lisons aujourd'hui, cette fin découle de choix délibérés.

Leucippé et Clitophon se divise clairement en quatre unités thématiques, chacune constituée de deux livres[7]. Les deux premiers relatent la rencontre des amoureux et leur fuite, les deux suivants leur naufrage sur la côte de l'Égypte, ainsi que les aventures traversées parmi les brigands (des péripéties qui mènent d'ailleurs à la mort apparente de Leucippé). C'est dans cette série de vicissitudes que s'inscrivent les livres cinq et six, d'une narration captivante, qui placent toutefois Clitophon au centre de l'intérêt : Leucippé semble être assassinée et Clitophon demande Mélité, qu'il croit veuve, en mariage, mais il se révèle sous peu que Leucippé ainsi que Thersandre, le mari de Mélité sont bel et bien vivants, et ce dernier veut prendre revanche sur les trois autres. Dans les deux derniers livres, un procès plein de rebondissements inattendus se termine sur la victoire de la justice et un happy ending pour Leucippé et Clitophon, qui se marient.

Une étude plus approfondie de l'intrigue démontre encore mieux à quel point la conception relève d'une démarche consciente de la part de l'auteur.

Les lecteurs qui sont familiers avec les autres romans d'amour vont ici de surprise en surprise[8] : certes, ce roman aussi met sur scène un couple d'amoureux, mais, en partie du fait de la narration à la première personne, le « coup de foudre » traditionnel des romans manque ici, car, dans un premier temps, l'amour n'est éprouvé que par Clitophon et le topos de la « beauté éblouissante » des héros se limite, du moins *expressis verbis*, à Leucippé, que son père, Sostratos, avait par ailleurs fait sortir de la ville de Byzance, alors en guerre, pour lui assurer un refuge à Tyr, chez le frère de celui-ci, le père de Clitophon. Cependant ce n'est pas le détail qui surprend le plus : l'originalité de l'intrigue des deux premiers livres, dont on ne retrouve aucun équivalent dans les autres

« Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Cleitophon: what happened next? », *CQ* 55 (2005), p. 250–265. Cf. pour un aperçu Morales (note 4) 143–151. (Pour d'avantage d'exemples voir ci-dessous, notes 22 et 23.)

[7] Anderson, G. : « Perspectives on Achilles Tatius », *ANRW* 2.34.3 Sprache und Literatur (1997), p. 2281.

[8] Cf. Reardon (note 5) 86 sqq.

romans d'amour, surprend bien d'avantage ! Dans les autres romans, un seul moment d'extase suffit pour qu'une union éternelle soit scellée entre les deux héros sans que l'un(e) ou l'autre doive longtemps faire la cour pour éveiller et attiser l'amour de la/du bien-aimé(e). Ce moment extatique qui pourrait déclencher un amour mutuel n'est toutefois pas accordé à Clitophon, dont la seule préoccupation consistera donc, dans le premier quart du roman, à obtenir les faveurs de Leucippé. Pour y arriver, il n'hésite pas à demander des conseils d'amis et recourt même à l'aide de son serviteur (à la manière des amoureux des comédies antiques) tout en gardant le secret sur ses projets, car c'est Calligoné, sa demi-sœur que son père lui destine comme épouse et un éventuel mariage avec Leucippé serait hors de question. Mais avant qu'un lecteur amateur d'histoires d'amour puisse, une fois pour toute, s'emporter contre ce roman, Achilleus Tatius intervient pour inspirer un rêve à la mère de Leucippé, qui, tout effrayée voyant sa fille en danger, se précipite dans la chambre de celle-ci et empêche ainsi les amoureux d'enfreindre les bienséances romanesques (2,23). C'est à la suite de ces antécédents que le couple prend la fuite et, quoique Clitophon insiste pour mener à son terme le rendez-vous inopinément interrompu de l'autre nuit, l'auteur engage ses héros dans les méandres habituels des roman d'amour : en effet, Leucippé s'oppose à cette idée, en se référant à la divinité d'Artemis, qui lui était apparue en rêve pour lui promettre Clitophon comme mari mais pour l'engager en même temps à préserver en attendant sa virginité, décision que Clitophon, se rappelant un rêve très semblable qu'il avait fait, finit par respecter (4,1).

Dès lors, Leucippé[9] entre dans le panthéon des héroïnes idéalisées, sans tache ni défaut, et montrera pour Clitophon une fidélité sans faille tout au long du roman, tandis que ce dernier apparaîtra sous un jour différent, plus « réaliste ». Certes, lui aussi témoigne d'une fidélité absolue à l'égard de Leucippé, même au moment où il la croit morte (livres 5 et 6), mais, placé dans une situation critique dont nous parlerons tout à l'heure, il se rend une fois coupable à son égard. Son aura de héros romanesque « idéal » se ternit également du fait qu'il sera battu comme plâtre plus d'une fois au cours du

[9] À propos de Leucippé, voir Napolitano, F. : « Leucippe nel Romanzo di Achille Tazio », In *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia della Università di Napoli* 26 (1983-1984), p. 85-101 ; Dollins, E. : « Leucippe : chasing Achilles Tatius' disappearing heroine », *Rosetta* 12 (2012), p. 35-48 ; Dümmler, N. : « Constructing Self : Leucippe's personae in Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon », In *International Conference on the Ancient Novel IV ; Crossroads in the Ancient Novel : Spaces, Frontiers, Intersections*, Lisbon, Portugal, 21 July 2008 – 26 July 2008, p. 1-13.

récit, et qu'il n'essaie même pas de se défendre (2, 12 ; 5, 23 ; 8, 1)[10] – et ainsi de suite ; il en est de même pour le passage dans lequel il se flatte de ne pas être tout à fait inexpérimenté en ce qui concerne les plaisirs d'Aphrodite, qu'il avait découverts dans les bras de celles chez qui ils peuvent se négocier (2, 37) – une affirmation inimaginable dans la bouche d'autres personnages de roman d'amour[11] !

Les habituelles vicissitudes des romans d'amour et les aventures qui jalonnent ce parcours commencent au livre 3 et 4 avec, pour commencer, un naufrage auquel les héros survivent de justesse, suivi de leur captivité chez des brigands, au cours de laquelle surviennent l'apparent sacrifice (3,15) et la maladie (4, 9–17) de Leucippé – de véritables scènes d'horreur, surtout la première ! C'est aussi à ce point du récit qu'apparaît le personnage du « séducteur », lui aussi tiré de la panoplie des romans d'amour : il s'agit de l'officier lubrique qui commande aux soldats arrivés pour secourir les captifs. Comme ce dernier périt dans la bataille décisive, un nouveau « prétendant », un ancien mercenaire, prendra aussitôt le relais. Tout cela pourrait donner à penser au lecteur que dès lors, l'intrigue adopte les voies bien connues des romans d'amour.

Il n'en est rien : les deux livres suivants nous fournissent une surprise de taille avec le rapt de Leucippé par les pirates mercenaires évoqués ci-dessus, qui n'hésitent pas, dans une nouvelle scène d'horreur, à trancher la tête d'une femme pour échapper à leurs poursuivants au moment où le bateau de ceux-ci s'approchait déjà dangereusement du leur (5, 7)[12]. Clitophon croyant Leucippé morte, fait son deuil sans que cette solitude ne dure toutefois très longtemps : il fait connaissance avec Mélité[13], une jeune femme belle et riche, qui croit son mari mort, noyé dans la mer. Celle-ci tombe amoureuse

[10] Cf. Brethes, R. : « Clitophon ou une anthologie de l'anti-héros ». In *Les personnages du roman grec*. Actes du colloque de Tours, 18-20 novembre 1999, Pouderon, B. (éd.), Lyon, 2001, p. 181-191.

[11] M. Fusillo va encore plus loin : « Clitofonte appare sempre impaurito e dubbioso, dipende dai consigli altrui ; possiede insomma tutte le caratteristiche dell'antieroe » (*Il romanzo greco. Polifonia ed eros*, Venezie, 1989, p. 102).

[12] Cf. McGill, S. C. : « The Literary Lives of a Scheintod: Clitophon and Leucippe 5. 7 and Greek Epigram », *CQ* 50 (2000), p. 323-326.

[13] À propos de Mélité, voir Cresci, L. R. : « La figura di *Melite* in Achille Tazio », *Atene e Roma* 23 (1978), p. 74-82 ; Liviabella Furiani, P. : « Di donna in donna. Elementi «femministi» nel romanzo greco d'amore », In *Piccolo Mondo Antico. Le donne, gli amori, i costumi, il mondo reale nel romanzo antico*, Liviabella Furiani, P. – Scarcella, A. M. (eds), Napoli, 1989, p. 66 sqq.

de Clitophon et n'a d'autre désir que de s'assurer son amour. Autrement dit, elle semble endosser le rôle du séducteur d'office, à ceci près que Mélité, bien qu'amoureuse passionnée, ne mériterait pas d'être un tel qualificatif. En outre, la formule classique de la séduction dans les romans d'amour exige la mise en scène de trois personnages, c'est-à-dire d'un couple et d'un tiers qui cherche à compromettre leur harmonie en se livrant à des manigances ou en imposant son pouvoir. En revanche, Mélité croit que Leucippé est morte ainsi que Clitophon qui prend Mélité pour une veuve : dans ces circonstances, leur relation naissante, puis leur mariage, dans le temple d'Isis, n'enfreignent, en principe, aucune loi morale ou civile. Tout ce que Clitophon pose comme condition, c'est que le mariage, par respect envers la défunte Leucippé, ne soit pas consommé aussitôt, mais qu'ils se rendent d'abord à Éphèse, chez Mélité – condition à laquelle celle-ci finit par acquiescer, à contrecœur certes. La Mélité d'Achille Tatius n'a rien à voir alors avec les séductrices libidineuses que l'on connaît des romans d'amour, car, dès le début, c'est un personnage qui est loin d'être antipathique. Au contraire, c'est une amoureuse non seulement passionnée, mais qui se montre aussi compréhensive et discrète, et se révèle même, plus tard dans le récit, sensible et humaine (ce qui ne devait pas manquer de provoquer une profonde surprise chez les lecteurs familiers des romans antiques) au point de s'élever, petit-à-petit à la hauteur de la deuxième héroïne tragique du roman[14]. Ce n'est pas par hasard si Achille Tatius l'associe à Leucippé dans les ordalies finales[15].

Dès leur arrivée à Éphèse, leurs noces toujours différées, Clitophon et Mélité doivent faire face à des nouvelles qui mettent brutalement fin à leur idylle : d'abord, ils apprennent que Leucippé, malgré les apparences, n'est pas morte (5,18), mais qu'elle vit en esclave, sur la propriété même de Mélité. Puis, un peu plus tard, c'est Thersandre, le mari de Mélité, déclaré mort, qui surgit à son tour du néant. (5, 23). Que pourrait, dans ces circonstances, faire Mélité, déçue par l'amour ? À sa place, les séducteurs que l'on trouve dans les autres romans, ne cesseraient d'employer des stratagèmes pour prendre leur revanche sur Clitophon et Leucippé : il n'en est rien ici. Mélité n'est motivée par aucun désir de vengeance : au terme d'un combat intérieur et après s'être adressé à elle-même de violents reproches, elle finit même par donner sa bénédiction à l'union de Clitophon et de Leucippé, à la seule condition que Clitophon ne

[14] D'après B. P. Reardon « if there is one character in the story who has regularly attracted readers' sympathy, it is Melite », Reardon (note 5) 87.

[15] Cf. Segal, C. : « The Trials at the End of Achilles Tatius' Clitophon and Leucippe : Doublets and Complemantaries », *SIFC* 77 (1984), p. 183–191.

la rejette pas et la considère pour une première et dernière fois seulement comme sa femme – une demande que Clitophon ne saura pas refuser[16].

Les parallèles que présente, pour ce qui est des grandes lignes d'évolution, l'histoire Clitophon-Mélité avec celle de Clitophon-Leucippé du début du roman, ne doivent pas échapper au lecteur averti. La seule différence à relever réside dans le fait que tandis qu'au début, c'est plutôt Clitophon qui prend l'initiative, ce rôle passe plus tard à Mélité ; au début du roman, même le désir mutuel doit être endigué, alors qu'ici, Mélité arrive à persuader un Clitophon plutôt réticent. Et ce n'est pas tout. Avant d'arriver à Éphèse, ils auraient pu consommer ce mariage sans aucune mauvaise conscience ni regret, ce à quoi ils ont renoncé à cause des hésitations de Clitophon. Plus tard, une fois que Leucippé et Thersandre ont été retrouvés, cette « seule fois » relève alors bien de l'adultère et du crime d'infidélité. Cependant Achille Tatius ne fait pas de reproches à Clitophon, sans se mettre trop en peine de trouver des excuses pour expliquer le consentement de celui-ci face à la demande exprimée par Mélité ; qui sera, elle aussi, discrètement acquittée à la fin du roman[17], car les ordalies prévues par le tribunal pour mettre à l'épreuve les vertus des deux dames (8, 11) finissent par démontrer non seulement la virginité de Leucippé, mais aussi la véracité des paroles de Mélité qui avait affirmé sous serment, d'après les propos de Thersandre, ne pas avoir commis d'adultère en *l'absence* de son mari – ce n'est que le lecteur, auquel tous les secrets ont été confiés, qui sait à ce moment qu'un acte adultère a bel et bien été commis, mais en effet, *après le retour* du mari à la maison. Si l'on croit au roman, ce *lapsus*, cette occasion exceptionnelle est restée le secret intime, très bien gardé par les parties concernées (et le lecteur, bien évidemment), du moins, quand on les accuse d'adultère, indépendamment l'une de l'autre, cet événement ne figure pas parmi les preuves citées par le parquet.

À partir de ce moment du récit, et pendant un certain temps, c'est Thersandre, ce personnage dépeint sous les couleurs les plus sombres, qui va dominer l'intrigue. C'est d'abord, Clitophon, l'adultère présumé, qui sera sa victime et qu'il fait emprisonner, puis c'est Leucippé qu'il fait enlever sans fondement légal pour en faire, en la leurrant par ses belles paroles de séducteur, un objet

[16] Schwartz, S. : « Clitophon the Moichos. Achilles Tatios and the Trial Scene in the Greek Novel », *Ancient Narrative* 1 (2000-2001), p. 93-113.

[17] C'est ce que fait également, en fin de compte, M. Foucault dans son célèbre ouvrage *The History of Sexuality*, où il considère le geste de Clitophon comme « an honourable, moral lapse » (*The History of Sexuality III. The Care of the Self*, Hurley, R. [trad.], New York, 1988, p. 231.)

de plaisir. C'est alors Thersandre qui incarne, face à Leucippé, le séducteur traditionnel – certes un séducteur à la personnalité beaucoup plus complexe que ses prédécesseurs dont les figures paraissent un peu pâles en comparaison. C'est en opposant à Thersandre un courage héroïque que Leucippé donne la preuve éclatante de tout ce de toutes les paroles qu'elle lancera au séducteur dans son discours final, par lequel se termine le livre 6 : ni les belles paroles, ni les menaces, ni les tortures ne pourront ébranler sa fidélité et sa vertu.

Thersandre ne renonce toutefois pas à Leucippé, loin de là : il paie un complice pour que celui-ci raconte à Clitophon, emprisonné, que Mélité a fait assassiner Leucippé par jalousie. Le but de cette manœuvre étant de faire en sorte que même si Clitophon était acquitté par le tribunal, il ne partirait pas à la recherche de Leucippé et ne chercherait pas non plus les faveurs de Mélité, pensant que celle-ci est une meurtrière. C'est sur ces entrefaites que commence la partie finale du récit, qui occupe les deux derniers livres. Dans la suite – cela vaut la peine d'être évoqué en détail – le tribunal se réunit, et Thersandre accuse Clitophon d'adultère, sans que son accusation ait un quelconque bien-fondé, puisque, les lecteurs le savent très bien, le secret de la « première et dernière fois » entre Clitophon et Mélité ne lui est pas parvenu. C'est à ce moment, qu'a lieu un retournement plus que surprenant. Dupé par les fausses nouvelles qu'il a entendues en prison, Clitophon se désespère devant ces nouvelles de mort réitérées (la troisième au cours du récit !), et souhaite mourir à son tour : à la grande surprise de tous, surtout de ses amis, il ne veut pas se défendre, ne dément pas l'adultère dont il est accusé, non plus, mais avance une histoire selon laquelle il aurait conçu l'assassinat de concert avec Mélité – un aveu qui devrait leur coûter la vie.

Le tribunal devait ainsi se prononcer sur trois chefs d'accusation différents, chacun dépourvu de tout fondement, et une situation complètement invraisemblable se produit : l'accusé, Clitophon s'accuse lui-même d'un crime bien plus grave que celui dont le plaignant, Thersandre, l'avait accusé à l'origine, et la défense, au lieu d'appuyer les propos du présumé coupable, les contredit[18]. En effet, cette auto-accusation n'est pas sans résultat : tandis qu'une décision définitive à l'égard de Mélité est reportée à plus tard, on commence, sans tarder, les préparatifs de l'exécution de Clitophon (7, 12). Une exécution qui aurait dû avoir lieu si le prêtre d'Artémis n'avait pas fait son apparition,

[18] Parmi les bizarreries du procès, on peut relever l'intervention du prêtre d'Artemis devant le tribunal : sa liberté de langage rappelle celle d'Aristophane : Παρελθὼν δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς (ἦν δὲ εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀδύνατος, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν Ἀριστοφάνους ἐζηλωκὼς κωμῳδίαν) ἤρξατο αὐτὸς λέγειν (8, 9, 1).

accompagné de Sostatros, le père de Leucippé, sorti vainqueur de la guerre et venu, avec d'autres envoyés de Byzance, rendre à la déesse un sacrifice pour la remercier de leur avoir donné la victoire.

Après Leucippé, à présent, c'est donc au tour de Clitophon de frôler la mort, en accord apparemment avec les conventions du roman d'amour qui font du courage face au danger, même mortel, une des vertus caractéristiques du héros idéal. Mais en réalité, malgré une ressemblance extérieure, Achille Tatius s'écarte largement, sur ce point aussi, du canon. Les personnages des autres romans traversent de semblables vicissitudes, et on les voit aussi se lamentant, les larmes aux yeux, croyant leur bien-aimé(e) mort(e) et clamant que leur vie n'a plus de sens sans elle ou sans lui. Ils flirtent également avec l'idée de suicide, et certains en font même la tentative. Cependant, dans les autres romans, on ne voit jamais le héros ou l'héroïne s'accuser faussement d'avoir commis un assassinat et un adultère, ni s'exposer à une mort humiliante par les mains du bourreau, après un procès.

La fin du livre approche. Leucippé échappe à Thersandre et vient se constituer « contre-preuve vivante » devant les juges, Clitophon est pris en charge par le prêtre d'Artémis et Sosatros, le père de Leucippé qui vient juste d'arriver. Thersandre quant à lui, doit sauver sa vie par une fuite honteuse. Le procès terminé ainsi que les infortunes des deux amants, Clitophon raconte qu'ils se sont alors embarqués pour Byzance où « le mariage tant souhaité pouvait être célébré » (8, 19 : τοὺς πολυεύκτους ἐπιτελέσαντες γάμους)[19]. On ne lit rien sur les fastes de la fête ou le bonheur des amoureux et des parents : un dénouement d'une simplicité et d'un prosaïsme qui étonne, si on le compare aux dénouements des autres romans d'amour. Ce n'est toutefois pas sur cet épisode que Clitophon termine son récit. Nous étudierons plus loin la façon dont Achille Tatius finit son roman. Mais avant d'aborder ce sujet, il convient de faire quelques remarques générales sur la construction de l'intrigue dans le *Leucippé et Clitophon*.

Le résumé des différents épisodes du roman nous permet de constater que bien que l'auteur s'écarte consciemment de la tradition du roman d'amour sur de nombreux points, il n'en manifeste pas moins la volonté de respecter les lois du genre. Ainsi comme dans tous les autres romans d'amour, le récit du *Leucippé et Clitophon* commence avec la première rencontre des amoureux

[19] Le caractère prosaïque de cette annonce a également été relevé par S. Bartsch, qui constate : « his marriage to Leucippe is mentioned in the briefest and barest of terms » (*Decoding the Ancient novel. The Reader and the Role of Description in Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius*, Princeton, 1989, p. 92).

et finit avec leur mariage. D'autres caractéristiques structurelles permettent de rattacher cette œuvre au genre romanesque, en dépit des originalités surprenantes, voire parfois choquantes, dont elle est remplie et qui ouvrent au public de nouvelles perspectives.

Quant à l'épisode par lequel Clitophon finit son récit, il s'agit du voyage à Tyr entrepris par les deux héros après leur mariage à Byzance pour célébrer les noces de Calligoné, la sœur de Clitophon. Les dernières paroles du narrateur sont une prière, faite au nom des quatre nouveaux mariés, où il demande aux dieux « de leur faire la grâce de veiller à mon mariage ainsi qu'au leur (c'est à dire celui de Calligoné et de son époux) » (τούς τε ἐμοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου γάμους σὺν ἀγαθαῖς φυλαχθῆναι τύχαις). En lisant cet épilogue, on est fondé à se demander pourquoi la sœur de Clitophon surgit ainsi, tout à coup à la fin du roman.

Pour répondre à cette question, nous devons remonter dans le roman jusqu'au tout début. Là, on s'en souvient, Clitophon nous apprend que son père l'avait promis à Calligoné, sa demi-sœur (1,3) ce à quoi il ne s'opposait pas avant de faire la connaissance de sa cousine Leucippé, qui arrive à Tyr fuyant la guerre qui fait rage à Byzance. À partir de sa rencontre avec Leucippe cependant, il est plus que réticent envers le projet de son père. Le rôle que joue dès lors Calligoné dans le récit est plutôt marginal : elle ne réapparaît que plus tard dans le roman, dans des circonstances assez étranges : c'est justement Leucippé qui est la cause, certes involontaire, de cette réapparition. Elle avait en effet un soupirant, un certain Clisthène, « riche, mais fainéant, prodigue » (2, 13 : πλούσιος, ἄσωτος δὲ καὶ πολυτελής), qui s'était épris de Leucippé dès qu'il avait entendu parler (!) de sa beauté. Comme Sostratos ne voulait pas lui donner la main de sa fille, il se rend à Tyr dans le dessein de l'enlever, sans se faire trop de scrupules. Mais ne l'ayant jamais vu de ses propres yeux, il la confond avec Calligoné et l'enlève par erreur (2, 18). Ce qui arrive dans la suite à Calligoné ne sera révélé que vers la fin du roman, dans des circonstances beaucoup moins dramatiques, par le père de Leucippé : après le procès, il raconte à Clitophon que Clisthène, tombé amoureux de Calligoné, se mit à lui faire la cour et que, après leur retour à Byzance, il chercha à satisfaire tous ses souhaits. Il finit par conquérir son cœur et, en même temps, par se transformer profondément en devenant un homme honnête, laborieux et un citoyen respecté de tous, et ainsi Sostratos consent à leur mariage (8, 17–18)[20].

[20] À propos du couple Calligoné-Clisthène, voir Frazier, F. : « Le Jeu de l'Amour et de la littérature dans le Roman de Leucippé et Clitophon d'Achille Tatius », *L'information littéraire* 53/2 (2001), p. 29 sqq.

Le roman se termine donc par deux happy ends à la fois, au lieu d'un seul. Des « happy end » qui sont complémentaires l'un de l'autre et se mettant ainsi réciproquement en relief.

Grâce à cette mise en relief, le fait que ni l'un ni l'autre de ces mariages ne suit le schéma en vigueur dans les romans d'amour traditionnels, ne peut pas passer inaperçu : le bonheur conjugal est en effet dans les deux cas accordé à des ravisseurs, dont l'un n'est pas sans tâche, et l'autre menait, il y avait peu, une vie de bohême. Le sens d'un pareil dénouement est que le respect rigoureux du code moral ne garantit pas un « happy end », et que les infractions plus ou moins grandes à ce code ne l'empêchent pas, ce qui est d'ailleurs également suggéré par d'autres épisodes, ci-dessus évoqués, du roman d'Achille Tatius. Autrement dit, le happy end est tout à fait possible : mais il ne se réalise pas dans un monde idéalisé, « retouché » en blanc impeccable tel celui dans lequel se déroulent les autres romans d'amour. Comme dans la réalité, il advient à la suite de souffrances, tel que l'illustre le cas de Clitophon. Le *Roman de Leucippé et Clitophon* se lit, pour ainsi dire, comme la version corrigée des autres romans d'amour. Si cette interprétation s'avère vraie, elle nous fournit également la clef du mystère de la double narration : si le premier narrateur cède la place à un deuxième, c'est afin de corriger l'abstraction habituelle des romans d'amour par l'expérience vécue.

D'autre part, si la fin en apparence tronquée du roman est marquée par un double mariage, c'est qu'Achille Tatius doit procéder ainsi pour rendre complet le récit de Clitophon, dont il est en partie l'initiateur, sous le masque du premier narrateur « je ». C'est en effet lui qui, commentant à voix haute l'image représentant l'enlèvement d'Europe, reprend la constatation banale selon laquelle Éros est le maître de tout, sur la terre ainsi qu'au ciel, et attire ainsi l'attention de Clitophon qui approuve en citant son propre cas. Il se met ensuite à raconter son histoire à la demande du premier narrateur « je ». Puisque le thème central de son témoignage est l'amour, il ne peut commencer son récit qu'en évoquant Calligoné et Leucippé, deux femmes dont l'une lui était promise et l'autre est devenue son épouse (1, 3) : si les deux dames, déjà mariées, apparaissent dans les derniers chapitres du roman côte-à-côte, c'est pour faire écho au début du récit de Clitophon et indiquer ainsi qu'il touche à sa fin en même temps que le roman dans son ensemble. Mais c'est aussi pour insister sur la centralité de l'amour dans ce roman. Les points de départ et d'arrivée sont également marqués par Achille Tatius à l'aide d'autres moyens, peut-être encore plus évidents : l'introduction qui précède la rencontre des deux narrateurs (1, 1–2), mais aussi la fin

tronquée où on ne revient pas à la situation d'énonciation initiale, procédé qui déclenche chez le lecteur le sentiment d'un manque à combler. On ne sait pas en effet où le premier narrateur et Clitophon se rendent, ce qu'ils font après avoir quitté la scène et, de même, on ne comprend pas pourquoi Clitophon n'est pas accompagné de Leucippé qu'il vient d'épouser[21] ; la scène du début fait écho à la fin dans le sens où elle ne révèle pas non plus d'où les deux interlocuteurs, de simples connaissances de circonstance, arrivent pour se rencontrer au bosquet de Sidon, sur les bords du ruisseau à l'eau froide comme la glace. On ne sait pas quel bon vent amène Clitophon à cet endroit depuis Tyr ou Byzance, les deux villes qu'il connaît.

Grâce à ce parallèle entre le début et la conclusion de son récit, Achille Tatius n'était pas obligé de reconduire le lecteur à Sidon – même sans cela, il pouvait très bien percevoir le roman comme complet et logiquement terminé. Mais comme l'auteur a fait intervenir les deux narrateurs à deux moments différents – puisque si le premier dialogue qui servait d'introduction est ancré dans l'« aujourd'hui », le récit de Clitophon doit forcément relever du « hier » ou d'« avant-hier » –, il donne l'impression d'avoir cherché sciemment à donner au lecteur cette impression d'inachèvement et ne semble en rien se soucier de le laisser ainsi sur sa faim. Un regard comparatiste avec les quatre autres romans d'amour permet d'arriver d'une simple suspicion à la certitude : pareillement à Achille Tatius, les autres narrateurs, par ailleurs omniscients, ne continuent pas non plus la narration après le moment de dénouement heureux, mais, contrairement à lui, ceux-ci ne jouent pas sur deux registres temporels. Ce qui fait que, chez eux, le happy end ne laisse pas un sentiment d'inachèvement au public. Ajoutons tout de même que Xenophon d'Éphèse ainsi que Longos ressentent la nécessité de prononcer, après le happy end sous forme de retrouvailles, quelques mots à propos de l'avenir du couple, sans que ces renseignements dépassent vraiment les formules succinctes des contes populaires, du genre « ils vécurent heureux jusqu'à la fin de leurs jours ». Achille Tatius renonce même à ces petits biens d'information supplémentaire, ce qui nous laisse à croire que son geste relève d'une stratégie délibérée, mise en place d'emblée pour donner à son lecteur du fil à retordre et le pousser de cette manière à chercher à compléter ou débrouiller les

[21] Entre la rencontre à Sidon et le mariage tant souhaité par Clitophon, il ne pouvait pas s'écouler trop de temps, du moins, le premier narrateur « je » décrit Clitophon comme jeune homme : « Ce qui est sûr, d'après ton physique, c'est que tu ne peux pas être initié depuis très longtemps aux secrets de ce dieu [Éros] » (καὶ γὰρ ὁρῶ σου τὴν ὄψιν οὐ μακρὰν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ τελετῆς 1, 2, 2).

éléments de l'intrigue, voire à réinterpréter tout le récit. Nous ne prétendons certes pas qu'Achille Tatius soit le seul parmi les romanciers d'amour qu'on pourrait soupçonner d'une telle intention : leur différence réside dans le fait que les autres formulent explicitement au cours de la narration des questions dans le but de vérifier et de corriger l'interprétation éventuellement fausse des lecteurs, tandis qu'Achille Tatius y renonce et ne fournit d'autres appuis, pour une éventuelle réinterprétation, que la conclusion de son œuvre. Comme la littérature spécialisée l'a remarqué à maintes reprises, cette stratégie de recourir à la participation active des lecteurs permet à ces derniers d'apporter différentes réponses aux questions posées par le texte, sans que celles-ci soient d'ailleurs contradictoires.

Dresser la liste de toutes les réponses jusqu'ici formulées dépasserait le cadre de notre étude, mais rien que quelques exemples suffisent à nous en donner un aperçu. Une des hypothèses consistait à dire que, après de nombreux retournements surprenants tout au long du récit, Achille Tatius voulait réserver, en ne refermant pas le cadre narratif, une dernière surprise à ses lecteurs[22]. Cette hypothèse, malgré le caractère quelque peu superficiel de l'idée, n'est pas tout à fait fausse, car elle saisit quelque chose des caractéristiques fondamentales de *Leucippé et Clitophon*. Sans démentir cette première interprétation, l'explication qui fait appel à Platon pour fournir une clé de lecture, va beaucoup plus loin : le maître athénien a en effet, de son côté, des dialogues à cadre narratif tronqué, par exemple le *Parménide.* Mais surtout parce qu'au début du roman, le narrateur « je » mène Clitophon dans un bosquet ombragé, traversé par un ruisseau, qui rappelle à merveille celui où sera entraîné Phèdre par le Socrate du *Phèdre*[23]. En outre, l'intrigue comporte de nombreuses allusions plutôt transparentes à des idées platoniciennes – J. J. Winkler attire l'attention sur les parallèles avec le *Banquet*[24]. La conclusion inhabituelle sert alors à inscrire le roman dans la lignée d'ouvrages de renom, et à mettre par là le lecteur en garde de ne pas voir dans ce révit un simple passe-temps, mais d'en tirer des leçons.

Nous pourrions également citer une explication semblable, mais qui relève plutôt de la théorie littéraire. Il n'est pas douteux que les sentiments de

[22] Voir Morales (note 4) 143.

[23] Voir entre autres Ní Mheallaigh, K. : « Philosophical Framing: The Phaedran Setting of Leucippe and Cleitophon », In *Philosophical Presences in the Greek Novel*, Morgan, J. R. – Jones, M. (eds), *Ancient Narrative Supplementum* 10, Groningen, 2007, p. 231–244.

[24] Achilleus Tatius : *Leucippe and Clitophon*, In *Collected Greek Novels*, Reardon, B. P. (éd.), Berkeley, 1989, p. 170 sqq. (dans la préface de sa traduction).

manque déclenchés par le cadre narratif incomplet concernent en premier lieu Clitophon : on ne sait pas pour quelle raison il se retrouve à Sidon, ni où il se rend après avoir terminé son récit. De même, l'absence de Leucippé reste sans explication, et de manière générale, on peut se demander où et comment ils vivent après le mariage, après le happy ending. Et l'auteur, qui semble bien préparé à ce genre de questionnement de la part des lecteurs, au lieu de fermer la porte au nez de son public curieux, la claque avec fracas pour affirmer clairement que son œuvre est un roman d'amour qui finit sur des noces, c'est-à-dire sur le happy end. Mais ce n'est pas tout. Avec l'introduction d'un deuxième registre temporel[25], le récit de Clitophon, qui fournit en fait le récit principal, le roman, est relaté par celui-ci après coup, alors qu'il est l'époux de Leucippé. Notre auteur, aurait-il l'intention de suggérer par là que le happy end est une étape importante, mais qui est loin d'être le point d'arrivée final[26], comme les romans d'amour qu'il connaît le font systématiquement croire ? C'est bien possible et cela explique rétrospectivement la sobriété, déplacée dans un roman d'amour, avec laquelle Clitophon présente, son propre happy end, comme nous venons de le voir. Par la remise en question du happy end en tant que point d'arrivée définitif, Achille Tatius semble remettre en question le genre même du roman d'amour et, par là, son propre roman, ce qui nous autoriserait à voir dans la conclusion étrange de *Leucippé et Clitophon* l'expression masquée d'un doute auctorial. Pour considérer cette question dans une perspective plus large, on pourrait affirmer qu'Achille Tatius avait en quelque sorte le pressentiment de la différence que l'anglais établira beaucoup plus tard entre les notions de *romance* et de *novel*.

Quoi qu'il en soit, Achille Tatius ne se rend pas facilement. Nous devons procéder de la manière proposée par Léon dans un de ses épigrammes[27] à tous les lecteurs de *Leucippé et Clitophon* : « cherche ce qu'il veut dire, ce qu'il a pour message, l'essentiel » (τῆς γραφῆς σκόπει θέαν, / τὴν τοῦ λόγου δὲ πρῶτα συνδρομὴν μάθε).

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[25] Bien que sur d'autres bases, T. Whitmarsh réclame également de faire la distinction entre le Clitophon « narrateur » et le Clitophon « narré », voir : « Reading for pleasure: narrative, irony, and erotics in Achilles Tatius », In *The ancient Novel and beyond*, Panayotakis, S. – Zimmerman, M. – Keulen, W. (eds), Leiden, 2003, p. 202.

[26] Pareillement, chez T. Whitmarsh, voir *Narrative and Identity in the Ancient Greek Novel*, Cambridge, 2011, p. 107 : « anticlosurality is not just a formal, literary choice : it also has implications for the identity politics of the romance. Marriage, it implies, is neither the absolute end of the story nor the natural destiny of the human subject ».

[27] AG IX. 203.

Attila Hajdú

Apologia Athēnaiōn – Nicolaus' Speech in Diodorus Siculus (D.S. XIII, 20.1–27.6)

In 413 BC, the destruction of Athens' fleet at Syracuse foreshadowed the outcome of the Peloponnesian War. According to Thucydides, the battles dragged on for years and the greatest war of the Greek history culminated in the destruction of the Athenian Armada,[1] which partly led to the fall of Athens' hegemony. The Sicilian defeat clearly indicated that the Athenians recognized the frailty of their political power and victories and the fact that they suffered from their own power politics described in the Melian dialogue (Thuc. V, 84–114).

We can read about the hardships the rest of the Athenian army had to face after the Sicilian failure in Thucydides' *Historiae* (Thuc. VII, 72–87). The decimated troops attempt to reach the interior of the island.[2] Firstly they head to the north – to their ally, Katanē. However, their plan has to be changed since the Syracusans march towards them so they turn southwest.[3] By this time the situation is obvious*:* the Athenian army's collapse is inevitable. First Demosthenes chooses to surrender with about 6000 people,[4] and then Nicias as well following the events at the Asinarius-River.[5] Then the victors capture the rest of the Athenians and take the seven thousand captured to Syracuse.[6] The Spartan command, Gylippus wants to take the Athenian generals as trophies to Sparta

[1] Thuc. VII, 87.5. The present paper has been prepared with the support of the Campus Hungary Scholarship of the Balassi Institute.

[2] Thuc. VII, 73.1.

[3] Thuc. VII, 80.2.

[4] Thuc. VII, 82.3.

[5] Thuc. VII, 85.1.

[6] Thuc. VII, 87.4.

in the hope that he can get a reward.[7] Nevertheless, the *strategi* are executed in the city against his will and the hostages are immediately sent to the quarries, where the Athenians work under inhumane conditions. We do not know any more about the fate of the Athenian prisoners.[8]

The defeat in Sicily must have been a sore point for the Athenian historian, which may explain why he does not detail the circumstances of the conviction of the Athenian hostages. The Syracusans only express the *timōria*-principle towards the prisoners of war. Thucydides does not mention any other possible alternatives. The *strategi* are immediately executed and the fate of the Athenian prisoners is not discussed for and against.

The post-Thucydidean – but possibly already the 4th century BC – historical tradition tried to make up for this lack of the Athenian historiographer. In this paper I intent to examine this circumstance of the Sicilian expedition in Book 13th of Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheca Historica*.

Unlike Thucydides, Diodorus aims at describing the history of the Athenian hostages' conviction from other viewpoints and compensating the one-sided decision of the Syracusans. Let us see how.

After the Syracusans return to the city, Diodorus gives an account of an assembly consulting about the fate of the Athenian prisoners and a heated debate that takes place there. The ecclesia is an excellent field for the Sicilian historiographer to deliver speeches. Perhaps Diodorus uses the indirect and the direct speeches to highlight the difference between these *orationes*. At first, the demagogue Diocles wants to speak.[9] In the politician's opinion the Athenian generals have to be tortured to death immediately, while the prisoners have to be sent to the quarries.[10] After this proposal, Hermocrates appears before the Syracusan assembly. He claims that κάλλιόν ἐστι τοῦ νικᾶν τὸ τὴν νίκην ἐνεγκεῖν ἀνθρωπίνως.[11] The Syracusan command's attempt is in vain since the raucous clamour of the people silences him.[12] Thus, he has to finish his oratory.

This is followed by a lengthy speech delivered in *oratio recta* (XIII, 20.1–27.6). It is also a great opportunity for Diodorus to show off his oratorical skills to his

[7] Thuc. VII, 86.1–2.

[8] Cf. D.S. XIII, 30.1; *FGrHist* 556 F 55; *FGrHist* 566 F 100b–101. In details, see Kelly, D. H.: What Happened to the Athenians Captured in Sicily? *The Classical Review* 20 (1970) 127–131.

[9] Cf. Plu. *Nic*. 28. In the account of Plutarch, Eurycles, one of the demagogues speaks in the same way.

[10] D.S. XIII, 19.4.

[11] D.S. XIII, 19.5. Cf. Plut. *Nic*. 28.2.

[12] D.S. XIII, 19.6.

readers. Unlike the Thucydidean historical tradition, a new character appears on the *rostrum* in a rather theatrical manner. Nicolaus is neither a general nor a politician but only an old Syracusan man. However, his appearance on the *rostrum* is justified. The speech of Nicolaus tells about his personal tragedies (ἐστερημένος ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δυεῖν υἱῶν) and the audience listens to it carefully. The *dēmos* believes that Diocles' proposal will be supported by Nicolaus, but on the contrary, Nicolaus agrees with Hermocrates in his *oratio*. Now I am going to describe briefly the structure of Nicolaus' speech.

The beginning of his oration has a personal tone. He has every right to have a hatred of the Athenians (εἰκότως οὖν μισῶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους), since his sons died in the war against Syracuse while fighting against Athens. Overcoming his personal pains, he urges the assembly to take the interest (τό τε κοινῇ συμφέρον) and fame (δόξα) of the city into consideration and judge the prisoners not by the *timōria*-principle, but by the mercy to their enemies (ἅμα τῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἠτυχηκότας ἐλέῳ κρίνεται).[13]

Nicolaus warns the Syracusans of the *hybris*. In his opinion, the gods always punish the arrogant men, which is illustrated by the *exemplum* of the defeated Athens (ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῆς ἰδίας ἀνοίας ἀξίαν κεκόμισται τιμωρίαν).[14] The financial background guaranteed by the Delian League seemed to have been futile[15] (ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς τηλικαύτης παρασκευῆς οὔτε ναῦς οὔτ' ἀνὴρ οὐθεὶς ἐπανῆλθεν, ὥστε μηδὲ αὐτοῖς τὸν ἀγγελοῦντα τὴν συμφορὰν περιλειφθῆναι.).[16]

He presumes that Tychē, who has a higher and superhuman (ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον) power, has something to do with the events (ἣ φύσει ταῖς ἀνθρωπίναις ἡδομένη συμφοραῖς ὀξείς τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ποιεῖ τὰς μεταβολάς).[17]

Further, in his speech, he points out that those who want to take a leading political position (τοὺς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀντιποιουμένους), cannot obtain it by the force of the armies and the fear, but by the *epieikeia* (μὴ οὕτως τοῖς ὅπλοις

[13] D.S. XIII, 20.5.

[14] D.S. XIII, 21.1–2.

[15] D.S. XIII, 21.3. τίς γὰρ ἄν ἤλπισεν Ἀθηναίους μύρια μὲν εἰληφότας ἐκ Δήλου τάλαντα, τριήρεις δὲ διακοσίας εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπεσταλκότας καὶ τοὺς ἀγωνισομένους ἄνδρας πλείους τῶν τετρακισμυρίων, οὕτως μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς περιπεσεῖσθαι; Cf. Isoc. *De pace* 84–86.

[16] D.S. XIII, 21.3. "From the gigantic force they fitted out not one ship, not one man has returned home, so that there is not even a survivor left to bring them the news of this disaster." (Diodorus' English translations – if not otherwise indicated – by Green, P.)

[17] D.S. XIII, 21.5. "who by her nature delights in human suffering and works such sharp changes in human prosperity."

ἑαυτοὺς ἰσχυροὺς κατασκευάζειν, ὡς τοῖς τρόποις ἐπιεικεῖς παρέχεσθαι).[18] The old man continues like this:

> οἱ γὰρ ὑποτεταγμένοι τοὺς μὲν φόβῳ κατισχύοντας καιροτηρήσαντες ἀμύνονται διὰ τὸ μῖσος, τοὺς δὲ φιλανθρώπως ἀφηγουμένους βεβαίως ἀγαπῶντες ἀεὶ συναύξουσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.[19]

To justify his claim, Nicolaus takes the tone of Herodotus and illustrates the necessity of philanthropy with more *exempla* from the past. He recalls the fall of the Median Empire, which happened because of its brutality (ὠμότης), the history of the *philanthrōpos* Cyrus and Croesus and Gelo who is endowed with *epieikeia*.[20]

After having introduced these political and ethical concepts,[21] he tries to persuade his audience that this event offers the opportunity to establish the friendship with Athens (τίνα καλλίω καιρὸν εὑρήσετε τοῦ νῦν ὑπάρχοντος, ἐν ᾧ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπταικότας φιλανθρωπίαν ἀφορμὴν τῆς φιλίας ποιήσεσθε;).[22] In the rest of his *oratio*, Nicolaus focuses on the political and cultural merits of Athens. This is nearly like an *enkōmion*:

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[18] D.S. XIII, 21.8.

[19] D.S. XIII, 22.1. "The subjugated watch for their opportunity to retaliate, out of hatred against those who use fear to repress them; whereas humane leaders they regard with constant affection and thus invariably help to strengthen their authority."

[20] D.S. XIII, 22.1–5.

[21] D.S. XIII, 23.1–24.6. In the following chapters, Nicolaus expresses with the idealized image of the unity of humanity that the aim is not to slaughter each other, but rather to show compassion, kindness and gentleness towards each other. According to him, everyone is weak, helpless and dependant on the power of Fortuna. It is important to note that Nicolaus always uses the word οἱ ἄνθρωποι for the Greeks. See Burde, P.: *Untersuchungen zur antiken Universalgeschichtsschreibung*. München 1974, 18. According to his belief, there is a concept which connects the whole humankind (τὰ κοινὰ πάντων νόμιμα). The sympathy resides in the civilized (i.e. Greek) soul, it is the part of human nature. He provides another historical example to demonstrate it. The Athenians captured many Lacedaemonians in the battle of Sphacteria (in 425 BC) in the Peloponnesian War. However, the brutal massacre did not happen since the Lacedaemonians could ransom the prisoners. Nicolaus says that the hatred between the Greeks is only allowed until victory but who goes further and "wreaks vengeance upon the vanquished who flees for refuge to the leniency of his conqueror is no longer punishing his enemy but, far more, is guilty of an offence against human weakness." The old man keeps reminding of the vagaries of Tychē, who can make the winners weaker than their subjects at any time. Nicolaus quotes some old commonplace sayings to highlight the power of the goddess: ἄνθρωπε, μὴ μέγα φρόνει; γνῶθι σαυτόν; ἰδε τὴν τύχην ἁπάντων οὖσαν κυρίαν.

[22] D.S. XIII, 25.1.

> οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ πρῶτοι τροφῆς ἡμέρου τοῖς Ἕλλησι μεταδόντες, ἣν ἰδίᾳ παρὰ θεῶν λαβόντες τῇ χρείᾳ κοινὴν ἐποίησαν· οὗτοι πρῶτοι τοὺς καταφυγόντας διασώσαντες τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἱκετῶν νόμους παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἰσχῦσαι παρεσκεύασαν· ὧν ἀρχηγοὺς γενομένους οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτους ἀποστερῆσαι.[23]

He points out that the Athenians offered their city to the common school of mankind (τοῖς τὴν πατρίδα κοινὸν παιδευτήριον παρεχομένοις πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις) so the Syracusan people must be owed a debt of gratitude for their benefits to mankind (χάριν δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπομερίσαι τῶν εἰς ἄνθρωπον εὐεργετημάτων).[24]

The Syracusan man emphasizes that Athens' Sicilian failure does not mean the loss of its leading role. He underlines his statement by mentioning the Athenian hardships during the Greco-Persian War – by the *exempla* of the destruction of the fleet in Egypt or Athens burned down by the army of Xerxes in particular. Despite these defeats, Athens was able to endure. The enforced peace of Callias,[25] the victory over Xerxes and the gain of the hegemony over Hellas (τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν ἡγεομονίαν ἐκτήσατο) can all justify it. [26]

Nicolaus closes his speech with the *exemplum* of Nicias, the *proxenos* of Syracuse, who was the biggest loser of this campaign. Maybe the fate of the general makes the audience think or rather terrifies them. By means of *diaphora*, he contrasts the glorious past of Nicias with his tragic present. Here, in Syracuse, Tychē also displays her ferocious power (δύναμις). By creating unexpected situations, the goddess of Fate strikes down and interferes in the life of Nicias.[27] Nicolaus' final sentence sums up the message of his speech well:

[23] D.S. XIII, 26.3. "It was the Athenians who first introduced the Greeks to cultivated grain: though they had it as a gift from the gods for their own use, they made it available to all at need. They it was also who discovered laws, by means of which the life of mankind advanced from a savage and unregulated state to that of a civilized and law-abiding society. They likewise were the first to spare the lives of those who sought refuge with them and by so doing ensured that their laws regarding suppliants would come into force worldwide. Since they pioneered these laws, it would be unseemly to deprive them [of their protection]."

[24] D.S. XIII, 27.1.

[25] Cf. *FGrHist* 115 F 153–154. For the Peace of Callias in details, see Schubert, C.: *Perikles.* Darmstadt 1994, 19–31.

[26] D.S. XIII, 25.2.

[27] D.S. XIII, 27.5–6. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐπισημοτάτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπάρχων καὶ διὰ τὴν καλοκἀγαθίαν ἐπαινούμενος μακαριστὸς ἦν καὶ περίβλεπτος κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν· νυνὶ δ' ἐξηγκωνισμένος καὶ ἐν ἀσχήμονί τινι προσόψει τῶν τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας οἰκτρῶν πεπείραται, καθαπερεὶ τῆς τύχης ἐν τῷ τούτου βίῳ τὴν ἑαυτῆς δύναμιν ἐπιδείξασθαι βουλομένης.

> ἧς τὴν εὐημερίαν ἀνθρωπίνως ἡμᾶς ὑπενεγκεῖν προσήκει καὶ μὴ βάρβαρον ὠμότητα πρὸς ὁμοεθνεῖς ἀνθρώπους ἐνδείξασθαι.[28]

His words seem effective. By the end of the speech, he is able to elicit the sympathy of the Syracusans for the Athenians.[29] However, Diodorus knows all the way that he could not change the fate of the Athenian prisoners. He has just one purpose: to make the audience ponder on their responsibility. The contemporary readers also knew that the ideas of Nicolaus had been doomed to failure from the beginning. The destiny of the captured Athenians is *hic et nunc* inevitable.

Then the Spartan Gylippus is about to speak. By legitimating the proposal of Diocles, he ultimately decides the fate of Athenian hostages. The discussion continues in direct speech (XIII, 28.2–32.6). The general, that is, Gylippus strives for one goal: to destroy the ideas of Nicolaus in his speech against the Athenian *archē,* based on the concept of *pleonexia* and *timōria.*[30]

He accuses those who are responsible for the lust of power in Athens. He does not only criticize Alcibiades who suggested this Sicilian campaign, but also the orators, the key figures of the Athenian democracy, the institutions of the democracy and the whole Athenian community:

> ναί, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ αἴτοιν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀλλ᾽ Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ ταῦτα συμβουλεύσας. ἀλλ᾽ εὑρήσομεν τοὺς συμβούλους κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον στοχαζομένους τῆς τῶν ἀκουόντων βουλήσεως, ὥσθ᾽ ὁ χειροτονῶν τῷ ῥήτορι λόγον οἰκεῖον ὑποβάλλει τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως, οὐ γὰρ ὁ λέγων κύριος τοῦ πλήθους, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ δῆμος ἐθίζει τὸν ῥήτορα τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν χρηστὰ βουλευόμενος. (...) εἰ δὲ καὶ κατ᾽ ἀλήθειαν αἴτιοι γεγόνασιν οἱ σύμβουλοι τοῦ πολέμου, μεμφέσθω τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τοῖς ῥήτορσιν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐξηπάτησαν, ὑμεῖς δὲ δικαίως μετελεύσεσθε τὸ πλῆθος ὑπὲρ ὧν ἠδίκησθε. (D.S. XIII, 31.2–5)[31]

[28] D.S. XIII, 27.6 "The prosperity she gives we must needs bear with proper humanity and not display barbarous savagery in our dealings with those of our own race."

[29] D.S. XIII, 28.1.

[30] In my paper, I will not go into details about the Gylippus-speech. I would like to emphasize the significance of the *pleonexia*-idea, by which Gylippus destroys the praise for Athens expressed by Nicolaus. By falling a victim to greed and lust of power, Athens began an uninhibited expansion. This desire made Athens intervene in the affairs of Sicily. Gylippus did not omit to recall the three most expressive examples of the aggressive foreign policy of Athens (in Mytilene [in 427 BC], in Melos [in 416 BC] and Scione [in 421 BC]). In details, see D.S. XIII, 30–31.

[31] "Yes, but it's not the Athenian people as a whole who are to blame – only Alcibiades, who proposed this expedition.' In fact, we shall find that, by and large, advisers hew very close to

Although the speech of Nicolaus is in the centre of this paper, his oration closely relates to the dictum of Gylippus.[32] The correspondence between the two speeches can be proven by the following arguments.

The first common element is their communication mode, namely the *oratio recta*. These two, much longer direct speeches immediately stand out of the indirect speeches, which introduced the readers to different details of the Thucydidean tradition. The indirect speeches forecast the speech of Nicolaus and Gylippus while the direct speech allows the historian to elaborate not only on the character of his speakers, but also to illustrate the dramatic impacts and the emotional moods.[33] The political and ethical ideas lying behind these speeches also prove the coherence between them. Thus, it is likely that one historian wrote both speeches. However, there is no consensus on the source Diodorus used for these speeches. There are several theories, but the answers are not convincing. It is also questionable to what extent Diodorus preserves the original form of the speeches,[34] and from where he borrowed them. In the following, we try to find answers to these questions.

It is well known that regarding the history of the Greek mainland in the Book 11th–15th (maybe even also the 16th) of his *Bibliotheca Historica* Diodorus followed excerpts (?) from the main chapters of *Historiae* of Ephorus of Cyme and/or filled it with other sources (?).[35] The same applies to the narrative

the wishes of their audience, so that in fact it is the voter who suggests to the speaker an argument germane to his own purpose. An orator is not the master of the many: quite the reverse. It is the demos that, by adopting excellent resolutions, accustoms the orator likewise to advocate what is best. (…) But if it is really true that responsibility for the war lies with those who advocated it, let the masses blame the speakers for the upshot of their deception; but you will then be justified in seeking retribution from those same masses in respect of the wrongs that you suffered."

[32] Green made a translation of the debate of the Syracusan assembly. See Green, P. (Trans.): The Sicilian Expedition: The Fate of the Athenians Debated. *Arion* 7 (1999) 64–78.

[33] The *orationes rectae* may show the personal interest of the historiographers as well. Cf. Usher, S.: Oratio Recta and Oratio Obliqua in Polybius. *GRBS* 49 (2009) 487–514, esp. 512.

[34] Cf. Diodorus suggests he is quoting only a part of the original speech (τὸ τελευταῖον εἶπεν) of the Spartan general, Callicratidas (D.S. XIII, 98.1).

[35] See Volquardsen, C. A: *Untersuchungen über die Quellen der griechischen und sizilischen Geschichte bei Diodor, Buch XI bis XVI.* Kiel 1868; Holzapfel, L.: *Untersuchungen über die Darstellung der griechischen Geschichte von 489 bis 413 vor Chr. Bei Ephoros Theopomp U.a. Autoren.* Leipzig 1879, 1–46; Schwartz, Ed. In *PWRE* V (1905) 679, s. v. Diodoros. Until the middle of the 20th century, it was generally assumed that these books of Diodorus were only epitomes of Ephorus. However, the philologists' opinions are more sceptical recently: Drews, R.: Diodorus and His Source. *AJPh* 83 (1962) 383–392; Reid, C. I.: *Diodorus and His Sources*. Harvard 1969. non vidi. Reid's opinion can be found: Wickersham, J. M.: *Hegemony and Greek*

of the Peloponnesian War.[36] Consequently, it is assumable that Ephorus is the author of these speeches.[37] Based on the biographical tradition regarding the relationship between Ephorus and Isocrates[38] affirmed this theory, since allusions of the speeches of Isocrates can be noticed in the speech of Nicolaus, especially in the chapters regarding the merits of Athens.[39] These rhetorical *topoi* may have come into the narrative of Diodorus from the *Historiae* of Ephorus. The universal worldview displayed in Nicolaus' speech (τὰ κοινὰ πάντων νόμιμα: the generally accepted customs of mankind or the mentioning of the Barbarian-Greek conflict) perfectly matches with the main idea of the first Universal history.[40] The presence of Tychē implies that the *chance* concept was also an influential element on the whole course of human history in the *Historiae* of Ephorus.[41] Besides Ephorus, there are other alternatives that must be taken into consideration. Let us see them.

The Syracusan locale may refer to the fact that the writer of the speeches was a Sicilian historian. These addresses could derive from one of the *Sikelika* on the history of the Western Greeks. If so, then maybe this Sicilian author aimed at exempting the Syracusans from sentencing the Athenian generals to death.

Historians. Lanham–London 1994, 164–165; Sacks, K. S.: *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century.* Princeton 1990; Pownall, F.: *Lessons from the Past. The moral use of history in fourth-century prose.* Ann Arbor 2004, 118; Hau, L. I.: The Burden of Good Fortune in Diodoros of Sicily: A Case for Originality? *Historia* 58 (2009) 171–197. The issue that how much and to what extent Diodorus borrowed from the *Historiae* of Ephorus or from other sources, cannot be considered here. The most recent and detailed discussions of this can be found in Parmeggiani, G.: *Eforo di Cuma: studi di storiografia greca.* Bologna 2011, 349–394.

[36] Cf. Green, E. L.: *Diodorus and the Peloponnesian war.* (Ph. D. Thesis) John Hopkins University 1897, 51.

[37] See Volquardsen (n. 35) 103; Holzapfel (n. 35) 40; Laqueur, R.: Ephoros. 1. Die Prooimien. *Hermes* 46 (1911) 206; Barber, G. L.: *The Historian Ephorus*. Cambridge 1935, 81; 167; Mühl, M.: Zur Entstehungszeit der Historien des Ephoros. *Klio* 29 (1936) 111–113.

[38] See *FGrHist* 70 T 1; T 2a; T 3;T 4; T 5; T 7; T 8; T 27; T 28. Most recent, see Parker, V.: Ephoros (70). In Worthington, I. (ed.): *Brill's New Jacoby. Brill Online* 2007, Comm. ad T 1. (http://www.encquran.brillnl/entries/brill-s-new-jacoby/ephoros-70-a70) (08. 10. 2013).

[39] See e.g. D.S. XIII, 21.3 – Isoc. *De Pace* 86; D.S. XIII, 26.3 – Isoc. *Panegyricus* 38–39. See Schwartz (n. 35) 681; Barber (n. 37) 81; 167; 184; Stylianou, P.J.: *A Historical Commentary on Diodorus Siculus Book 15.* Oxford 1998, 60–61.

[40] See Burde (n. 21) 18–19.

[41] According to Mühl, Ephorus, like the historians in the Hellenistic age, used the work, περὶ τύχης of Demetrius of Phaleron when describing the character of Tychē. See D.S. XIII, 27.6 cf. Plb. XXIX, 21 = fr. 21 Ostern. See Mühl (n. 37) 111–113. There is consensus that Tychē appears in the *Historiae* of Ephorus: See Stylianou (n. 39) 13–14; Meister, K. In *DNP* III (1997) 1036, s. v. Ephorus.

One of the candidates is Philistus of Syracuse who was the younger contemporary of Thucydides and he had autopsy of the events in Sicily (Plu. *Nic.* 19.6: τῶν πραγμάτων ὁρατής).[42] Concerning the carefully composed speeches, the note of the *Suidas* should also be involved in the research. According to the Byzantine writer of the entry of "Philistus," "he was the first man who wrote about history in accordance with the art of rhetoric" (ὃς πρῶτος κατὰ τὴν ῥητορικὴν τέχνην ἱστορίαν ἔγραψε).[43]

Furthermore, the research has also brought up Timaeus of Tauromenium.[44] Besides Ephorus, he may have been the other main source for the Sicilian narrative[45] for Diodorus and he was also famous for his speeches in his historical work.[46] According to Klaus Meister, Ephorus was the source for the history of the Sicilian campaign,[47] but Diodorus borrowed the address of Nicolaus and Gylippus from the *Historiae* of Timaeus. His arguments are in fact parallels which can be found in Diodorus' Sicilian narratives based on the account of Timaeus, and in the *loci* of *Nicias-vita* of Plutarch.[48] According to Polybius, who also provides evidence, Timaeus destroys the peculiar value of history (ἀναιρεῖ τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἴδιον), when "introduces false rhetorical exercises and discursive speeches" (ψευδῆ δ' (…) ἐπιχειρήματα καὶ διεξοδικοὺς λέγων λόγους).[49] Lionel Pearson says that the moralizing speech of Nicolaus is in

[42] "Though this speech, and its rebuttal by Gylippus (28–32) are no more to be taken as accurate reports of what was actually said than those of Thucydides, it is reasonable to suppose that some such public debate did take place, that Nicolaus was as a real person as Gylippus, and that the historian Philistus recorded their exchange, having almost certainly witnessed it." Green, P. (Trans.): *Diodorus Siculus, the Persian Wars to the Fall of Athens: Books 11–14.34 (480–401 BC. E.)*. Austin 2010, 180, note 20.

[43] Suda s.v. *Philistos*.

[44] Cf. Meister, K.: *Die sizilische Geschichte bei Diodor von den Anfängen bis zum Tod des Agathokles: Quellenuntersuchungen zu Buch IV–XXI*. (Diss.) München 1967, 64.

[45] There was a heated discussion about the issue that from where Diodorus borrowed the material for his Sicilian narratives. There is no *communis opinio* regarding this as well. The majority of the philologists believe that this pattern may be Timaeus or/and Ephorus for Diodorus. See Volquardsen's *locus classicus* writing: Volquardsen (n. 35) 72–107. For discussion and further bibliography, see Stylianou (n. 39) 51, note 145.

[46] *FGrHist* 566 F 31a, b. Cf. Baron's recent monograph: Baron, C. A.: *Timaeus of Tauromenium and Hellenistic Historiography.* Cambridge 2013, 170–201.

[47] See Meister (n. 44) 68.

[48] See Meister (n. 44) 65–66. These arguments were adopted: Hau (n. 35) 190. On the other hand, the parallels offered by Meister are unfounded: "But this is the kind of inwarranted assumption which makes nonsense source of criticism." See Stylianou (n. 39) 170, note 61.

[49] In details, see Plb. XII, 25b, 25e–i. Translated by Edwards, H. J.

perfect harmony with the value judgment of Polybius. Although Timaeus knows the written sources perfectly well, he does not seek to shed light on the underlying causes behind the scenes of the assembly, but he gives only banal addresses about the events.

Likewise, the *paradoxon*, which can be seen in the Nicolaus-*oratio,* refers to Timaeus: although Nicolaus lost his two sons in the war, he steps on the podium to ask for forgiveness for the killers of his sons. The issue of the possible author of the Gylippos-speech confused Pearson as well. He did not rule out the possibility that the oratio of the Spartan general may derive from the *Historiae* of Ephorus.[50]

In recent decades, researchers have begun to pay attention to the historiographical conception of Diodorus Siculus: his universal history is considered a coherent whole. As a result of these investigations, his work seems to contain a coherent and conscious concept. The philanthropy, the *epieikeia*, the *hybris*, the human weakness and the moderate behavior are commonplaces of *Bibliotheca Historica* – especially in the speeches.[51] The debate in Syracuse is no exception to this. The description of the debate can also be Diodorus' own writing, but if there was some kind of source – according to Drews that was the rhetorical handbook of a schoolmaster[52] – he adapted it to his own political philosophy and ethical program and the taste of the stylistic of his own age. Thus, the direction of the research seemed to change and the Diodorus-philologist dealt with *how* his sources helped the Sicilian historian to find his own writing voice. In the following, I will try to argue that, although partly adapted, Ephorus was the model for Diodorus, when he composed the speech of Nicolaus and Gylippus. There are no fragments collected by Felix Jacoby of the Sicilian expedition of Athens, so I can only rely on the text of Diodorus Siculus.

The relationship between Ephorus and the speeches is the first stage of my investigation. Although there is no evidence of these in the fragmentary tradition, we can be sure that they were originally in the *Historiae*. On the one hand, some evidence for this can be seen in the recently found papyrus-fragment of

[50] See Pearson L.: *The Greek Historians of the West: Timaeus and his Predecessors.* Atlanta 1987, 146; see also Pearson L.: Speeches in Timaeus' History. *AJPh* 107 (1986) 350–368, esp. 358.

[51] See Sack (n. 35) 102–103; see also Drews (n. 35) 383–392; Ambaglio, D.: Introduzine alla Biblioteca storica di Diodoro. In Ambaglio, D. – Landucci, F. – Bravi, L.: *Diodoro Siculo: Biblioteca storica. Commento storico. Introduzione generale.* Milano 2008, 78.

[52] Drews (n. 35) 387.

Theramenes (P. Mich. 5982 + P. Mich. 5796b),[53] and on the other hand, in the *testimonia,* which can also provide guidance on the issue.[54]

According to Polybius, Ephorus convincingly talked about the comparison of the historiography and the epideictic oratory (ὁ γὰρ Ἔφορος (…) κατὰ δέ τινα συντυχίαν εὐχαριστότατα καὶ πιθανώτατα περὶ τῆς συγκρίσεως εἴρηκε τῆς τῶν ἱστοριογράφων καὶ λογογράφων (…).[55] However, we do not know from this fragment handed down by Polybius what function of the addresses could have in the Universal history of Ephorus. It may be assumed that from Ephorus' point of view the historiography is considered more laborious than the oratory. Thus, it is likely that he intended to draw the attention to the differences between the two genres in this way.[56] The praefatio of the 20th Book of Diodorus can give us some guidance (XX, 1–2). Diodorus, while seeking the harmony of the *logoi* and the *erga*, recommended (I, 2.8) the brief speeches and their moderate use in the historical works. He condemned those who used the speeches excessively or made the whole historical narrative an attachment of the public addresses (νῦν δ' ἔνιοι πλεονάσαντες ἐν τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς λόγοις προσθήκην ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ὅλην ἱστορίαν τῆς δηνηγορίας).[57] Let us see the main thoughts of this *prooemium*:

> Τοῖς εἰς τὰς ἱστορίας ὑπερμήκεις δημηγορίας παρεμβάλλουσιν ἢ πυκναῖς χρωμένοις ῥητορείαις δικαίως ἄν τις ἐπιτιμήσειεν· οὐ μόνον γὰρ τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς διηγήσεως διὰ τὴν ἀκαιρίαν τῶν ἐπεισαγομένων

[53] In details, see Breitenbach, H. R.: Der Michigan-Papyrus 5982 über Theramenes. Historische Probleme und Autorenschaft. In Walser, G. – Herzog, H. E. – Frei-Stolba, R. (eds.): *Labor omnibus unus. Gerold Walser zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden Kollegen und Schülern.* Stuttgart–Wiesbaden 1989, 121–135. See also Loftus' writing: Loftus, A.: A New Fragment of the Theramenes Papyrus (P. Mich. 5796b). *ZPE* 133 (2000) 11–20.

[54] Plutarch's criticism clearly indicates that Ephorus of Cyme used rhetoric and grand periods, when he mustered the arming troops. It is assumed that these were the exhortations that the generals said to their soldiers. See *FGrHist* 70 T 21: ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Ἐφόρου καὶ Θεοπόμπου καὶ Ἀναξιμένους ῥητορειῶν καὶ περιωδόν, ἃς περαίνουσιν ἐξοπλίσαντες τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ παρατάξαντες, ἔστιν εἰπεῖν· οὐδείς σιδήρου ταῦτα μωραίνει πέλας. For the *testimonium*, see Parker (n. 38) Comm. ad T 21. Diodorus borrowed the Spartan Callicratidas' exhortation (D.S. XIII, 98.1) from the *Historiae* of Ephorus. See Breitenbach (n. 53) 133; Sack (n. 35) 99–100.

[55] *FGrHist* 70 F 111. In details, see Parker (n. 38) Comm. ad F 111.

[56] Pownall (n. 35) 140; Marincola, J.: Universal History from Ephorus to Diodorus. In Marincola, J. (ed.): *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*. Oxford 2007, 173.

[57] D.S. XX, 1.3.

> λόγων διασπῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν φιλοτίμως ἐχόντων πρὸς τὴν τῶν πράξεων ἐπίγνωσιν <μεσολαβοῦσι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν>. καίτοι γε τοὺς ἐπιδείκνυσθαι βουλομένους λόγου δύναμιν ἔξεστι κατ' ἰδιαν δημηγορίας καὶ πρεσβευτικοὺς λόγους, ἔτι δὲ ἐγκώμια καὶ ψόγους καὶ τἆλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα συντάττεσθαι· τῇ γὰρ οἰκονομίᾳ τῶν λόγων χρησάμενοι καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις χωρὶς ἑκατέρας ἐξεργασάμενοι κατὰ λόγον ἂν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πραγματείαις εὐδοκιμοῖεν. (D.S. XX, 1.1–2)[58]

Nevertheless, the insertion of the speeches is necessary, since the narrative will be really varied by means of these. The historiographer, however, must follow the principle of *mēden agan*, when he creates the speeches.

> οὐ μὴν παντελῶς γε τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς λόγους ἀποδοκιμάζοντες ἐκβάλλομεν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορικῆς πραγματείας τὸ παράπαν. ὀφειλούσης γὰρ τῆς ἱστορίας τῇ ποικιλίᾳ κεκοσμῆσθαι κατ' ἐνίους τόπους ἀνάγκη προσλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους – καὶ ταύτης τῆς εὐκαιρίας οὐδ' ἂν ἐμαυτὸν ἀποστερῆσαι βουληθείην – ὥσθ' ὅταν τὰ τῆς περιστάσεως ἀπαιτῇ πρεσβευτοῦ ἢ συμβούλου δημηγορίαν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τι τοιοῦτον, ὁ μὴ τεθαρρηκότως συγκαταβαίνων πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀγῶνας καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπαίτιος ἂν εἴη. (D.S. XX, 2.1) [59]

There is no reassuring answer among the classical philologists to the question that where Diodorus borrowed these ideas from.[60] The conception reminds of

[58] "One might justly censure those who in their histories insert over-long orations or employ frequent speeches; for not only do they rend asunder the continuity of the narrative by the ill-timed insertion of speeches, but also they interrupt the interest of those who are eagerly pressing on toward a full knowledge of the events. Yet surely there is opportunity for those who wish to display rhetorical prowess to compose by themselves public discourses and speeches for ambassadors, likewise orations of praise and blame and the like; for by recognizing the classification of literary types and by elaborating each of the two by itself, they might reasonably expect to gain a reputation in both fields of activity." Translated by Oldfather, C. H.

[59] "Nevertheless, in disapproving rhetorical speeches, we do not ban them wholly from historical works; for, since history needs to be adorned with variety, in certain places it is necessary to call to our aid even such passages – and of this opportunity I should not wish to deprive myself – so that, whenever the situation requires either a public address from an ambassador or a statesman, or some such thing from the other characters, whoever does not boldly enter the contest of words would himself be blameworthy." Translated by Oldfather, C. H.

[60] According to Fornara, Duris of Samos was the model for Diodorus. See more about Fornara, C. W.: *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome*. Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1983, 149–150.

Thucydides' method, namely that he lays down the methodological foundations for the speeches created by him. However, he does it in a different manner than Thucydides. Laqueur and Jacoby supposed a certain model behind this Diodorean *prooemium*. According to them, this is Ephorus of Cyme,[61] because he drew the line between the historiographical and the rhetorical genre. As we have seen, Diodorus did the same as Ephorus. If this premise is accepted as correct, then we can explain the relationship between Ephorus and the speeches. Based on this, Ephorus did not take objection to the speeches *per se*, but rather to their profusion and generally faulty integration into their context. If this *locus* bears the imprint of the thoughts of Ephorus in some form, it cannot be excluded that the Cymean historian attacked Thucydides in this way who broke the continuity of his narrative by employing ample public speeches.[62] As the speech of Nicolaus and Gylippus indicated, the *enkōmion* and the *psogos* can be used as a type of speech in the historiography in Diodorus' opinion. These addresses provide opportunity for the historians not only to show off their oratorical skills, but also to offer the examples of the moral lessons by means of the powerful *logos rhētorikos*.[63]

Without any doubt, Ephorus, the father of the rhetorical historiography, was the first really significant historian to introduce the categories of *epainoi-psogoi* into the historiography, which he borrowed from the practice of epideictic oratory based on Gorgias and Isocrates.[64] Let us see how he used them.

The so-called critical appraisal, the ἐπιμετροῦντες λόγοι, which Polybius also appreciated, completed and commented the "objective" historical facts in the *Historiae*.[65] It is quite possible that the *enkōmion* and the *psogos* were allowed to infiltrate into the narrative via such "channels," since this is an excellent possibility for the historiographer to examine the human deeds and the human character. That is the key to the essence and success of the Ephoran

[61] Laqueur (n. 37) 206; Jacoby, F.: *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker.* II. C. Berlin 1926, 64. See also: Avenarius, G.: *Lukians Schrift zur Geschichtsschreibung*. Meisenheim/Glan 1956, 107, note 10., 152–153.

[62] Sack (n. 35) 94.

[63] Cf. Arist. *Rhet*. 1358B; Quint. *Inst.* III, 7.1.

[64] According to Fornara, Philistus applied these categories in his historical work as well (*FGrHist* 556 T 16). By the age of Ephorus, these concepts became accepted, grounded in theory as the accessories in the Greek historiography. See Fornara (n. 60) 108, note 25; 109.

[65] *FGrHist* 70 T 23. See Avenarius (n. 61) 160–161. In detail, see also Parker (n. 38) Comm. ad T 23.

historiography. His aim is to encourage the readers for a better, more virtuous lifestyle by the *exempla* of this *historiē*. Do not forget: as Fornara said "the history became a moralistic schoolroom."[66]

Let us summarize the findings so far. It is possible that there was a certain model for Diodorus, when he composed his methodological introduction. As we have seen, Ephorus of Cyme is also among the candidates. However, we must be careful. It can hardly be true that Diodorus reflects Ephorus' view *expressis verbis*.

For this reason, Sack's suggestion deserves attention. The researcher sought to demonstrate that the *prooemium* of the 20th Book regarding the speeches is solely Diodorus' own creation.[67] The text clearly shows that Diodorus Siculus works with the terms used in contemporary rhetorical theory.[68] In this *locus*, we can see the separation of the rhetoric and the historiography in a more mature form (τὸ γὰρ ἱστορίας γένος ἁπλοῦν ἐστὶ καὶ συμφυὲς αὑτῷ),[69] and he took the needs of the (reading) public into consideration which is more characteristic of the 1st century BC. Although we have no intention to draw foregone conclusions on the basis of these two theories, we find that these are not mutually exclusive. It is possible that Diodorus really used Ephorus' work, but he did not only borrow the concept appealing to him from 4th century BC, but he adapted to the tastes of the 1st century BC.

The first major *prooemium* of the *Historiae* provides another viewpoint, where we can find reference to the speeches, too.[70] Ephorus notes in particular that "we assume that neither any of the events nor most speeches are likely to be remembered to so great an extent" (ὑπολαμβάνοντες οὐτε τὰς πράξεις ἁπάσας οὐτε τῶν λόγων τοὺς πλείστους εἰκὸς εἶναι μνημονεύεσθαι διὰ τοσούτων).[71] Beyond the credibility issues regarding the speeches, this statement may imply that *to prepon* was the guiding principle of *logos*, that is, what words suit the speaker, the subject and the occasion.[72] This concept may not be far from a disciple of Isocrates. The reasons are the following.

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[66] See Fornara (n. 60) 109.

[67] Sack (n. 35) 98.

[68] In detail, see Sack (n. 35) 97, esp. note 52, 54, 55.

[69] See D.S. XX, 1.5 and D.S. I, 76.

[70] Cf. Thuc. I, 1.2; 20.1; 22.1.

[71] *FGrHist* 70 F 9. Translated by Parker, V. See the Commentary Parker (n. 38) Comm. ad F 9.

[72] The case of *to prepon* in Diodorus: D.S. XIII, 52.2; 92.1; XIV, 32.2; XVI, 88.2; XX, 2.2.

Ephorus belongs to the age, when the political and cultural decline of the *polis* already began; the political stages of the Periclean Athens no longer play their old role. The public, improvising and agonistic political speeches became emptied, and slowly started to lose their significance.[73] However, the 4th century BC is believed to be the golden age of the rhetoric and the Greek prose. Thanks to the spread of literacy, the carefully developed orations gradually spread in written form as well (see: Isocrates only published his political pamphlets in written form).[74] Therefore, the *kairos* and the *prepon* become the significant concepts in the rhetorical theory and practice of the 4th century BC as well. This is especially true for the conception of Isocrates.[75] Of course, the rhetoric has a significant influence on the historiography and the style of Isocrates will determine the further development of the Greek prose as well.[76]

Although Ephorus is still at the beginning of this process, we believe that he felt necessary to rethink the role of the speeches in the historiography. He does it opposite to Thucydides.[77] The continuous appearance of the written sources and long-haired attitude typical of Ephorus made it much more necessary to review the previous ideas. As he himself says, he undertook a Herculean task, thus, it is impossible to reconstruct the speeches accurately, which are recorded by the personal inquire – at least if the historical tradition of the 5th century BC is considered a standard. Under these conditions, Ephorus suggested the modest use of speeches in the historical works. If he used them, he did it in the spirit of the isocratic *paideia*. I think that the speech-duel of Nicolaus-Gylippus correspond to this. The educated audience fully understood that Ephorus did not give the *ipsissima verba* of his character by means of the speeches, but rather his own moralizing advice which befits for a historical situation.[78]

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[73] Cf. Fornara (n. 60) 150.

[74] Ritoók, Zs.: Költészet és rétorika a görögöknél [Poetry and Rhetoric in Ancient Greece]. *Holmi* [*Things*] 11 (2004) 1339–1345, esp. 1343. (http://epa.oszk.hu/01000/01050/00011/pdf/holmi_2004_11_1339-1345.pdf) (28.07.2014).

[75] For the *kairos*-conception see Sipiora, P.: Introduction: The Ancient Concept of Kairos. In Sipiora, P. – Baumlin, J. S. (eds.): *Kairos and Rhetoric: Essays in History, Theory, Praxis*. Albany 2002, 1–22. See also Usher, S.: Kairos in Fourth-Century Greek Oratory. In Edwards, M. – Reid, C. (eds.): *Oratory in Action.* Manchester 2004, 52–61.

[76] Cf. Green (n. 36) 40.

[77] Avenarius (n. 61) 153.

[78] Cf. Pownall (n. 35) 140.

Although the Syracusan locale itself could serve as evidence for the fact that the author of the speeches was a Sicilian historiographer,[79] other aspects should also be considered. The bias of the speakers can be associated with the bias of Ephorus as well. It also points to the fact that Diodorus borrowed these addresses from Ephorus. The appearance of the unknown Syracusan man[80] and his speech given in defense of Athens reflect Ephorus', the disciple of Isocrates, bias towards Athens.[81] This bias is not without precedent. His bias towards the hometown, Cyme is also well documented in the fragmentary tradition.[82] This can be traced in the 11th Book of the *Bibliotheca Historica*. On the eve of the battle of Thermopylae, a Cymean man (τὸ γένος ὢν Κυμαῖος, φιλόκαλος δὲ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὢν ἀγαθός), who is not mentioned in the previous historical tradition, the valiant Tyrrastiadas warns the unsuspecting Greeks of the attack of the Great King.[83] Ephorus does not have a high opinion of Sparta: the alteration of the Thucydidean Gylippus can correlate with the anti-Spartan attitude of Ephorus.[84]

In the next and the final part of my paper, I will analyze the relationship between Thucydides and the speech of Nicolaus and Gylippus, which offers new possibilities for interpretation. The debate of Nicolaus and Gylippus is probably just a literary imitation of Thucydides, namely *mimēsis* of the speech-duel between Cleon (Thuc. III, 37–40) and Diodotus (Thuc. III, 42–48) on the fate of the Mytilenean prisoners in 427 BC.[85] Further, in the Nicolaus-speech, especially in that part where he praises Athens, there are not only Isocratic allusions, but also some references of the *Epitaphios Logos* of Pericles.[86]

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[79] Cf. Ambaglio (n. 51) 77.

[80] Kroll, W. In *PWRE* XVII (1936) 359, s. v. Nikolaos.

[81] For the bias of Ephorus towards Athens see *FGrHist* 70 F 31b; F 63; F 189; F 198. Further see Parker (n. 38) Bibliographical Essay: E. In generally Barber (n. 37) 84–105.

[82] *FGrHist* 70 F 236. In details, see Samuel, D. H.: Cyme and the Veracity of Ephorus. *TAPA* 99 (1968) 375–88.

[83] D.S. XI, 8.5. See Flower, M. A.: Simonides, Ephorus, and Herodotus on the Battle of Thermopylae. *CQ* 48 (1998) 365–379.

[84] Cf. *FGrHist* 70 F 189; F 116; F 117. See Parker (n. 38) Bibliographical Essay: E; in details, see Pesely, G. E.: The Speech of Endius in Diodorus Siculus 13. 52. 3–8. *CPh* 80 (1985) 321, note 5.

[85] Pesely (n. 84) 320.

[86] For the Thucydidean allusions see Pesely (n. 84) 321, note 4. For the Nachleben of the debate of Cleon-Diodotus see also Sal. *Cat.* 51–52. In details, see Marincola, J.: Speeches in Classical Historiography. In Marincola, J. (ed.): *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography.* Oxford 2007, 130. The Plataeans, having surrendered to the Spartans, put in a word for their own defence (III, 53–59). This is followed by the indictment of Thebans (III, 61–67). Finally,

The *imitatio Thucydidis* can be found in another speech of Diodorus Siculus, namely, in the speech of the Spartan *ephor*, Endius, who visited Athens as an ambassador (D.S. XIII, 52.3–8). In fact, here Endius is the opposite of the Thucydidean Pericles. While Pericles urges the Athenians to begin the war (cf. Thuc. I, 140–144), Endius – imitating the periclean arguments – asks for peace when he arrives in Athens after the destruction of the Spartan fleet at Cyzicus in 410 BC. The direct source of the Endius-speech is Ephorus of Cyme, who – similarly to the speech of Gylippus – described the speech of Cleophon, the opponent of Endius, in details. However, Diodorus did not do this in this case. He just summarized the arguments of Cleophon, who destroys the peace proposal of Endius.[87]

Parmeggiani provides further arguments for the relationship between Thucydides and Ephorus. The Italian researcher's view is that the rhetorical examples of the speech-duel of Nicolaus-Gylippus on the good hegemony of Cyrus, Croesus, Gelo and the bad hegemony of the Athenians clearly show continuity with the dilemmas of the political philosophy of the 5th century BC, namely with the Melian dialogue of Thucydides.[88]

Thucydides puts the words into Melians' mouth, namely that the hegemony continues to exist, if the power rules by complying to the *koinos agathos* the *dikaios*-ideas (Thuc. V, 90). Nicolaus knows this very well. Being scared of future punishment, he encourages the Syracusans, the current rulers of Sicily, to the *epieikeia* and the philanthropy, since he knows that these principles are the requirements for the stable and peaceful functioning of the hegemony. Gylippos, however, disapproves of the Athenian democracy. He accuses not only the *cheirotonia* legitimizing the Sicilian expedition, but also the speakers and the whole Athenian community of the outbreak of the war.[89]

This criticism evokes the immediate causes of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, which Diodorus wrote on the basis of Ephorus in the 12th Book of the *Bibliotheca Historia* (D.S. XII, 38–41).[90] According to him, the personal motives of Pericles, the celebrated statesman of the Athenian democracy,

Plataea was destroyed and the inhabitants of the city were executed. For the early Byzantine Nachleben of the siege of Plataea in Thucydides' *Historiae* see: Mészáros, T: Variations on a theme: From Thucydides to Procopius. *Acta Ant Hung.* 52 (2012) 225–234.

[87] Pesely (n. 84) 320; Breitenbach (n. 53) 132–133.

[88] Parmeggiani (n. 35) 465.

[89] Parmeggiani (n. 35) 466.

[90] See Parker (n. 38) Comm. Ad F 198; Parmeggiani (n. 35) 417–457.

the excellent orator and demagogue stand behind the war.[91] Pericles armed himself with the *logou deinotēs*, thus he was able to begin a war by persuading the citizens of Athens. Thus, the criticism of Gylippus does not only apply to the Sicilian expeditions of Athens, but also to a whole era of the Athenian history. Presumably, this criticism regarding the institution of democracy really derives from a historian lived in the 4th century BC (Ephorus?), who interpreted the Athenian defeat in 413 BC as a justification of the Melian dialogue and who wanted to make his readers think about Athens' political mistakes in the 5th century BC and the responsibility of the Athenian politicians.[92]

In summary, we can say that it is not *possible* rather *most likely* that Ephorus was the author of the speech of Nicolaus and Gylippus by reason of his hegemony-centric aspects,[93] his ethical approximation of the rise and fall of it and his conscious *aemulatio* of Thucydides.[94] Further, it is also likely that the *Historiae* of Ephorus was one of the models for the historiographical *ars poetica* of Diodorus. Perhaps it does not sound far-fetched if we complete the previous proposal of Breitenbach with the *Redeagon* of Nicolaus-Gylippus besides the addresses of Callicratidas (D.S. XIII, 98.1) and Endius so that it could also enrich the collection of the fragments of Ephorus.[95] Further, maybe we have to look for the answer to the question of why the fragmentary tradition did not preserve any of the speeches of Ephorus' Universal history in Diodorus' work. Diodorus may somehow have preserved for posterity the above-mentioned speeches of the Ephoran *Historiae* in his *Bibliotheca Historia*. If he did indeed, then the *Historiae* of Ephorus of Cyme, just like Thucydides' historical work, remained *ktēma es aei* after all, although only in the library of Diodorus.

[91] For the portrait of Pericles, see more details Schubert (n. 25) 5–18.

[92] Parmeggiani (n. 35) 466.

[93] The Universal History of Ephorus wanted to describe the Greek history as a continuous reconfiguration of subsequent hegemonies. This can be concluded from the *FGrHist* 70 F 118 and F 119. Some ethical factors are needed for a state (*politeia*) to acquire the leading power over Hellas. These are all concepts borrowed from Isocrates: the *paideia*, the *agōgē*, the *homonoia*, the *logos* and the *eusebeia.* Keeping power is not easy. Ephorus gives a detailed explanation of the reasons for the fall of the hegemony. According to him, the dispatch of the *paideia* and the harmful effect of *tryphē* and the *pleonexia* can be blamed for the loss of the power. Cf. Wickersham (n. 35) 119–177; Pownall (n. 35) 131–132; Blankenship, C.: *The Role of the Individual in Ephoros' Histories.* (Thesis) 2009, 16–17. (http://www.dartmouth.edu/~classics/docs/christopherblankenshipthesis.pdf) (10. 08. 2013).

[94] Cf. Hornblower, S.: The Fourth-Century and Hellenistic Reception of Thucydides. *JHS* 115 (1995) 47–68.

[95] Breitenbach (n. 53) 134.

László Horváth

Plutarchs μεθ' ἱστορίας καὶ ἀποδείξεως: *Über die Bosheit des Herodot* und die „olympische Geschichte" (Plut. *Dem.* IX,1)

In Kapitel IX. der *Demosthenes-Vita* widerlegt Plutarch die Behauptung des Aischines, nach der Demosthenes nichts weiter als ein Maulheld gewesen sei, und belegt mit Beispielen, dass der Rhetor auch in zugespitzten, riskanten Situationen tapfer genug und jederzeit bereit war, eine Rede zu halten. Hierbei beruft sich Plutarch zunächst auf das allgemein bekannte thebanische Rededuell des Demosthenes mit dem Redner Python, etwas später erwähnt er jedoch auch folgende, beinahe unbekannte Geschichte:

> ἢ Λαμάχου τοῦ Σμυρναίου γεγραφότος ἐγκώμιον Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου τῶν βασιλέων, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ Θηβαίους καὶ Ὀλυνθίους εἰρήκει κακῶς, καὶ τοῦτ' ἀναγινώσκοντος Ὀλυμπίασι, παραναστὰς καὶ διεξελθὼν μεθ' ἱστορίας καὶ ἀποδείξεως, ὅσα Θηβαίοις καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσιν ὑπάρχει καλὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ πάλιν ὅσων αἴτιοι γεγόνασι κακῶν οἱ κολακεύοντες Μακεδόνας, οὕτως ἐπέστρεψε τοὺς παρόντας, ὥστε δείσαντα τῷ θορύβῳ τὸν σοφιστὴν ὑπεκδῦναι τῆς πανηγύρεως; (Plut. *Dem.* IX,1)
>
> Oder als Lamachos von Smyrna eine Schrift zur Verherrlichung der Könige Alexander und Philipp herausgab, in der er die Thebaner und Olynthier grob verunglimpft, und sein Werk in Olympia verlas, trat er [d.i. Demosthenes] hinzu, um aufgrund historischer Fakten kategorisch nachzuweisen, wie viel das Griechentum den Thebanern und Chalkidiern zu verdanken hat. Andererseits zeigte er auch, wie viel Schaden die Lakaien der Makedonen angerichtet hatten, womit er das Publikum dermaßen aufstachelte, dass der Sophist – vor der allgemeinen Empörung zurückgeschreckt – sich unbemerkt von den Festspielen entfernte.[1]

[1] Übers. des Verf. Die Veröffentlichung der im Aufsatz präsentierten Forschungsergebnisse wurde vom Nationalen Wissenschafts- und Forschungfonds Ungarn (OTKA NN 104456) unterstützt.

Die Geschichte taucht sonst nur in der Sammlung *Leben der zehn Redner* (*Vitae decem oratorum*) auf:

> γενόμενος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπιακῇ πανηγύρει καὶ ἀκούσας Λαμάχου τοῦ Τερειναίου Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐγκώμιον ἀναγινώσκοντος Θηβαίων δὲ καὶ Ὀλυνθίων κατατρέχοντος, παραναστὰς ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν μαρτυρίας προηνέγκατο περὶ τῶν Θηβαίοις καὶ Ὀλυνθίοις καλῶς πραχθέντων, ὡς παύσασθαί τε τὸ λοιπὸν τὸν Λάμαχον καὶ φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς πανηγύρεως. (*Vita X. Or.* 845C)

> Er [d.i. Demosthenes] ging auch zu den Olympischen Spielen, und als er Lamachos von Terina seine zum Ruhm von Philipp und Alexander abgefasste Schrift, in der er die Thebaner und Olynthier verunglimpfte, vorlesen hörte, stellte er sich ihm, um die edlen Taten der Thebaner und Olynthier mit Zitaten aus den alten Dichtern zu belegen. Dies verschlug dem Lamachos die Sprache, so dass er schließlich von den Festspielen ausriss.[2]

Die vorliegende Studie setzt sich zum Ziel, mit philologischen und historischen Argumenten zu beweisen, dass Plutarch die „olympische Geschichte" von Lamachos und Demosthenes nicht einfach in der bekannten, für seine *Vitae* typischen Weise benutzt (das heißt, dass er die historische Wahrheit der Charakterisierung der dargestellten Person unterordnen und die Geschichte nach der jeweils zu akzentuierenden ethischen Aussage abtönen würde), sondern – gewissermaßen wohl auch zum eigenen Vergnügen – auch die eigene Person in die Geschichte integriert. Die in der *Demosthenes-Vita* von Plutarch benutzte Formel μεθ' ἱστορίας καὶ ἀποδείξεως ist nämlich eine unverkennbare Herodot-Reminiszenz.[3] Mit ziemlicher Sicherheit geziert und gesucht zitiert der Verfasser die Ausdrücke – auch dem Autor der *Leben der zehn Redner* gegenüber. Das Ebenbild der Geschichte finden wir gerade in Plutarchs eigenem „literarischem Eingriff": Er eilt nämlich mit seinem Werk *Über die Bosheit*

[2] Übers. des Verf.

[3] Holden, H. A.: *Plutarch's Life of Demosthenes. With Introduction Notes and Indices*. Cambridge 1893, erkennt in seiner Erklärung (67) bloß die Anlehnung an Polybios: „For μετ' ἀποδείξεως, cp. Polyb. 3, 1, 3 where the writer proposes μετ' ἀποδείξεως ἐξαγγέλλειν (i.e. in the main body of his history, the events which he had already glanced at in his two Introductory Books); 10, 24 (21), 3 τὰς διαθέσεις καὶ περιστάσεις μετ' ἀποδείξεως ἐξαγγέλλειν and § 8 where he contrasts τὸν μετ' αὐξήσεως ἀπολογισμόν with τὸν κεφαλαιώδη, 18, 16 (33), 6 τὰς ἐν ταύτῃ πράξεις μετ' ἀποδείξεως ἐξηγησάμεθα, which he had expressed before by πότε καὶ δια τί καὶ πῶς ἐγένετο, Plut. *Mor.* 145 B where τὰ μετ' ἀποδείξεως καὶ κατασκευῆς λεγόμενα are opposed to popular precepts."

des Herodot seinen Landsleuten zu Hilfe, und verteidigt die Thebaner und Olynthier gegen den über sie lästernden, von Plutarch selbst für φιλοβάρβαρος gehaltenen Historiker.[4] *Mutatis mutandis* entspricht Lamachos in der Szene der plutarchschen *Vita* somit Herodot, während Demosthenes als Plutarchs „Äquivalent" gelten kann. Lamachos griff die Thebaner und Olynthier an, während Herodot die Thebaner und Korinthier anging. Neben den möglichen Zuordnungen von Personen und Rollen ist das zentrale Moment die Schmach der Thebaner, sowie die Verteidigung ihrer Ehre, die dem an seiner engeren Heimat Chaironeia und Böotien hängenden Plutarch sehr am Herzen liegt. Wie sonst so oft sind Plutarchs Gedanken auch hier von der Vaterlandsliebe und dem Bestreben durchdrungen, das eigene Land zu verteidigen. Diese Vermutung wird auch durch den Umstand verstärkt, dass er gerade in der Einleitung der *Demosthenes-Vita* das mit seinem ganzen Leben bezeugte Bekenntnis ablegt: „wir aber leben in einer Kleinstadt, und damit es nicht noch kleiner wird, hängen wir an ihr" – ἡμεῖς δὲ μικρὰν οἰκοῦντες πόλιν, καὶ ἵνα μὴ μικροτέρα γένηται φιλοχωροῦντες (*Dem.* II,2).[5] Diese innere Anlehnung oder Selbstreflexion soll nun nach folgender philologischen und historischen Schwerpunktsetzung skizziert werden:

1. Quellen der *Demosthenes-Vita*
2. historische Ereignisse der 114. Olympiade (324 v. Chr.) und literarische Lesung bei den olympischen Festspielen
3. die Person des Lamachos
4. Art und Weise der Abwendung der Invektive gegen die Griechen.

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[4] Die Schrift *De malignitate Herodoti – Über die Bosheit des Herodot* gilt nach dem *consensus philologorum* als Werk des Plutarch von Chaironeia. Obwohl die Autorschaft des in *Moralia* 854E–874C überlieferten Textes längere Zeit als zweifelhaft galt, wird in letzter Zeit u.a. von Grimaldi und besonders Hershbell Plutarch als Verfasser angesehen (Grimaldi, M. [Hrsg.]: *Plutarco, La Malignita di Erodoto*. Napoli 2004; Hershbell, J. P.: Plutarch and Herodotus – The Beetle in the Rose. *RhM* 136 [1993] 143 ff.). Ziegler und Lachenaud argumentieren darüber hinaus mit gutem Grund dafür, dass das Werk zu Plutarchs späteren Schriften gehört: nämlich könnte Plutarch – aufgrund des internen Verweises auf Leonidas – zu dieser Zeit auch bereits mit den *Vitae* angefangen haben (Ziegler, K.: Plutarchos. In *PWRE* XXI [1951] 872; Lachenaud, G. – Cuvigny, M.: *Plutarque Œuvres Morales*, *XII.* Paris 1981, 128 f.).

[5] Burlando, A.: Breve nota a Plutarco, Demostene 1-2. In Van Der Stockt, L. (Hrsg.): *Rhetorical Theory and Praxis in Plutarch. Acta of the IVth International Congress of the International Plutarch Society Leuven, July 3–6, 1996.* Louvain / Namur (Peeters) [Collection d'études classiques, 11.] 2000, 61 ff. Auch der Verfasser betont, dass sich die Einleitung der *Demosthenes-Vita* durch einen ungewöhnlich persönlich gehaltenen Ton auszeichnet.

Quellen der *Demosthenes-Vita*

Sucht man nach dem Ursprung der „olympischen Geschichte", so hat man selbstverständlich zunächst die Quellen der *Demosthenes-Vita* durchzusehen. Aufgrund der Einleitung der *Vita* und des literarischen Wettstreits mit den Vorgängern (vor allen mit dem Caecilius) wird mit gutem Grund angenommen, dass Plutarch für diesen Text intensive Forschungen durchgeführt haben muss. So werden etwa von Holden mehr als zwanzig Autoren bestimmt, auf die der *Vita*-Verfasser – über die Geschichten aus der mündlichen Überlieferung hinaus – unmittelbar oder mittelbar, explizit oder stillschweigend zurückgreift.[6] Im Falle der „olympischen Geschichte" hingegen wird auf niemand Bezug genommen. Andererseits lässt die Fassung im plutarchschen *Leben der zehn Redner* den Schluss zu, dass das Grundmotiv höchstwahrscheinlich nicht von Plutarch selbst stammt, so dass eher Douris von Samos und Caecilius von Kaleakte als Quellen vermutet werden können: Plutarch bedient sich des Öfteren ähnlicher Genrebilder aus dem geschichtlichen Werk des Douris, das sowohl nach der Meinung antiker Kritiker, wie auch nach Plutarchs Ansicht (*Dem.* XXIII,3) als historisch unzuverlässig galt (das Werk behandelte die griechische Geschichte zwischen 370–281 v. Chr.). Zudem war Douris Olympia auch sehr verbunden – nach dem schwer rekonstruierbaren antiken Testimonium wurde er auf der Olympiade von 324 v. Chr., wo Lamachos vorgelesen und Demosthenes eine Rede gehalten haben sollen, der Jugendsieger im Faustkampf.[7] Douris kann über die Gegebenheit folglich auch als eigenes Erlebnis berichtet haben. Nach der *Suda* (s.v. Κεκίλιος) schrieb Caecilius von Kaleakte eine vergleichende Analyse über Demosthenes und Cicero (Σύγκρισις Δημοσθένους καὶ Κικέρωνος), in der er nach dem niederschmetternden Urteil des Plutarch in erster Linie rhetorische Fragen prüfen wollte (nach der von Ion zitierten Zeile mit etwa dem gleichen Erfolg „wie ein angeschwemmter Fisch …").[8] Obwohl Caecilius selbst für die Festlegung des

[6] Holden (Anm. 3) xi-xxii. Linott, A.: *Plutarch, Demosthenes and Cicero.* Oxford 2013, setzt sich mit der Frage so gut wie überhaupt nicht auseinander.

[7] Paus. VI, 13.5, Nach maßgeblichen Korrekturen des verderbten Textes (Budé: Casevitz, M., Erläuterungen: Jacquemin, A. [Paris 2002] und BT: Rocha-Pereira, M. H. [Leipzig, 1990]) muss Douris bei dem Wettkampf gesiegt haben. Vgl. Moretti, L.: Olympionikai: i vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici. *Atti dell' Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie* (Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche) ser. 8, v. 8, fasc. 2. Roma 1957, 128: der 471. Sieger ist Douris. Das Datum: 324 v. Chr.

[8] Διὸ καὶ γράφοντες ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ, τῶν παραλλήλων βίων ὄντι πέμπτῳ, περὶ Δημοσθένους καὶ Κικέρωνος, ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς διαθέσεις πρὸς

Rednerkanons aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach nicht verantwortlich war, kann sein Werk Περὶ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων eine wichtige Quelle für die Sammlung *Vitae decem oratorum* gewesen sein: außer bei Plutarch ist die „olympische Geschichte" – wie erwähnt – nur hier überliefert. Neben dem Einfluss des Douris kann Plutarch also das Grundmotiv der Geschichte aus diesem „Quellgebiet" geschöpft haben, um es dann nach seinem eigenen Konzept zu stilisieren.[9]

Historische Ereignisse der 114. Olympiade (324 v. Chr.) und literarische Lesung bei den olympischen Festspielen

Allgemein akzeptiert wird in der Fachliteratur die Tatsache, dass die Geschichte in der 114. Olympiade im Jahre 324 spielt.[10] Das mit den Festspielen verbundene bedeutende politische Ereignis wurde am essentiellsten von Diodor zusammengefasst (Diod. XVIII, 8.2-9);[11] die maßgebende moderne Analyse der

ἀλλήλας ἐπισκεψόμεθα, τὸ δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἀντεξετάζειν καὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι, πότερος ἡδίων ἢ δεινότερος εἰπεῖν, ἐάσομεν. κακὴ γὰρ ὥς φησιν ὁ Ἴων ‘δελφῖνος ἐν χέρσῳ βία’, † ἣν ὁ περιττὸς ἐν ἅπασι Καικίλιος ἀγνοήσας, ἐνεανιεύσατο σύγκρισιν τοῦ Δημοσθένους λόγου καὶ Κικέρωνος ἐξενεγκεῖν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως, εἰ παντὸς ἦν τὸ γνῶθι σαυτὸν ἔχειν πρόχειρον, οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκει τὸ πρόσταγμα θεῖον εἶναι. (Plut. *Dem.* III,1)

[9] Cooper, Cr.: The Moral Interplay Between Plutarch's *Political Precepts* and *Life of Demosthenes*. In Nikolaidis, A. G. (Hrsg.): The Unity of Plutarch's Work. "Moralia" Themes in the "Lives", Features of the "Lives" in the "Moralia". (Millenium Studies in the Culture and History of the first Millenium C. E. Vol. 19) Berlin/New York (Walter de Gruyter) 2008, 79 vermutet in Kap. VII-XI. der *Vita* den Einfluss des Demetrios von Phaleron und einer rhetorischen Sammlung: „It would seem that in composing chapters 7 to 11 of the *Life* Plutarch drew on the same source he used in chapters 6-8 of *Political Precepts*, where he deals with the statesman's speech. That source, which was obviously a work on rhetoric, contained a number of anecdotes that compared Demosthenes' style of oratory in an unfavourable light to that of his contemporaries."

[10] Longo, Ch. P. – J. Geiger, J. (Hrsg.): *Vite parallele. Plutarco, Demostene e Cicerone.* Milano 2005[5], 214. Anm. 52. (Traduzione di B. Mugello. Note di L. Ghilli. Con contributi di B. Scardigli e M. Manfredini.)

[11] Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ βραχεῖ χρόνῳ πρότερον τῆς τελευτῆς ἔκρινε κατάγειν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνίσι πόλεσι φυγάδας, ἅμα μὲν δόξης ἕνεκεν, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ἔχειν ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει πολλοὺς ἰδίους ταῖς εὐνοίαις πρὸς τοὺς νεωτερισμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀποστάσεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων. διόπερ ὑπογύων ὄντων τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Νικάνορα τὸν Σταγειρίτην, δοὺς ἐπιστολὴν περὶ τῆς καθόδου· ταύτην δὲ προσέταξεν ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει διὰ τοῦ νικήσαντος κήρυκος ἀναγνωσθῆναι τοῖς πλήθεσιν. τούτου δὲ ποιήσαντος τὸ προσταχθὲν λαβὼν ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνέγνω τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τήνδε. Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων φυγάσι. τοῦ μὲν φεύγειν ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἡμεῖς αἴτιοι γεγόναμεν, τοῦ δὲ κατελθεῖν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας ἡμεῖς ἐσόμεθα πλὴν τῶν ἐναγῶν. γεγράφαμεν δὲ Ἀντιπάτρῳ περὶ τούτων, ὅπως τὰς μὴ βουλομένας τῶν πόλεων κατάγειν ἀναγκάσῃ. κηρυχθέντων δὲ τούτων μεγάλῳ κρότῳ ἐπεσήμηνε τὸ πλῆθος· ἀποδεξάμενοι γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν χάριν τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ τὴν χαρὰν ἠμείβοντο τὴν

Begebenheit stammt von Arnold Schäfer.[12] Alexander hatte mehrere politische Ziele im Auge, als er sich 324 v. Chr. entschloss, die griechischen Staaten – unter Aufhebung des Vertrages von Korinth – anzuweisen, mit der Ausnahme gemeiner Verbrecher alle Verbannten in ihre Heimatstädte zurückkehren zu lassen. Der Verordnung verlieh er auch militärisch Nachdruck, indem die im Mutterland stationierten Truppen des Antipatros den Befehl erhielten, jeglichen Widerstand niederzuschlagen. Die bevorstehenden olympischen Spiele (ὑπογύων ὄντων τῶν Ὀλυμπίων) boten eine glänzende Gelegenheit zur Bekanntgabe der Verordnung: waren doch die panhellenischen Festspiele in Elis seit jeher der geeigneteste Schauplatz für diejenigen, die alle Griechen gemeinschaftlich ansprechen wollten. Alexanders Brief wurde durch Nikanor „ausgehändigt", sein Inhalt allerdings bereits vor der eigentlichen Verkündung allgemein bekannt, so dass eine Zuhörerschaft von mehr als 20.000 Griechen die Bekanntmachung erwartete. Um die für sie katastrophalen Folgen (den Verlust von Samos) abzuwenden, schickten die Athener Demosthenes als Anführer (ἀρχιθέωρος) der festlichen Gesandtschaft nach Olympia.[13] Die Verordnung des Königs galt sicherlich nicht für die Thebaner, sowie höchstwahrscheinlich auch nicht für die Bürger derjenigen Städte, die von den Makedonen verwüstet worden waren (Olynth wurde 348 von Philipp, Theben 335 von Alexander zerstört).[14]

Diese Gelegenheit wollte nun Lamachos nutzen, um dem Beispiel der großen Schriftsteller und Redner folgend den versammelten Griechen aus seinem die makedonischen Könige preisenden Werk vorzulesen,[15] und lästerte

εὐεργεσίαν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις. ἦσαν δ' οἱ φυγάδες ἀπηντηκότες ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τὴν πανήγυριν, ὄντες πλείους τῶν δισμυρίων. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τὴν κάθοδον τῶν φυγάδων ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ γινομένην ἀπεδέχοντο, Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι δυσχεραίνοντες τῇ πράξει χαλεπῶς ἔφερον. Αἰτωλοὶ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Οἰνιάδας ἐκβεβληκότες ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος προσεδόκων τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς παρανομήμασιν ἐπακολουθοῦσαν κόλασιν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἠπειληκὼς ἦν ὡς οὐκ Οἰνιαδῶν παῖδες, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐπιθήσει τὴν δίκην αὐτοῖς· ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν Σάμον κατακεκληρουχηκότες οὐδαμῶς τὴν νῆσον ταύτην προΐεντο. οὐκ ὄντες δ' ἀξιόμαχοι ταῖς τούτου δυνάμεσι κατὰ μὲν τὸ παρὸν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, ἐπιτηροῦντες καιρὸν ἔυθετον, ὃν ἡ τύχη ταχέως αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύασε.

[12] Schäfer, A.: *Demosthenes und seine Zeit I-III*. Leipzig 1885–1887², III, 314 ff.

[13] Vgl. Hyp. *Dem.* Fg. IV. col. XVIII, 4-16; Din. I, 81. Zu Letzterem s. Worthington, I: *A Historical Commentary on Dinarchus.* The University of Michigan Press 1992, 250 f. (mit weiterer Literatur).

[14] Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ κηρύξαντος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κατιέναι τοὺς φυγάδας ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πλὴν Θηβαίων, ἀτυχὲς μέν, ἔφη, ὦ Θηβαῖοι, τὸ κήρυγμα ἀλλ' ἔνδοξον· μόνους γὰρ ὑμᾶς φοβεῖται Ἀλέξανδρος. (Plut. *Mor.* 221A)

[15] Zur Lesung historischer Werke vgl. Rhode, E.: *Der Griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer.* Leipzig 1914, 327 f. Anm. 1.

dabei nach Zeugnis der „olympischen Geschichte" – sich mit Riecher und Fingerspitzengefühl wohl auch dem Inhalt der königlichen Verordnung anpassend – über die Maßen gegen die Thebaner und Olynthier.

Ob dies nun wirklich so geschah oder nicht – in der antiken Tradition war die Vorstellung lebendig und markant, dass (nach mehreren früheren Orten) sich auch Herodot schließlich für Olympia als den geeigneten Ort für seine Autorenlesung entschied. Für den in den Jahren um Plutarchs Tod geborenen Lukian etwa war die Legende bereits zum selbstverständlichen Gemeinplatz geworden. In den ersten beiden Kapiteln seiner Schrift mit dem Titel *Herodot* beschreibt er lang und ausführlich, wie der Historiker den besten Platz und die beste Gelegenheit zu dem Zweck gefunden hatte, um zu möglichst vielen Griechen gleichzeitig sprechen zu können, sowie welche Folgen dies für seine Publizität hatte.[16] Die *Suda* (s.v. Θουκυδίδης) und die *Markellinos-Vita* (54) malen die Geschichte wiederum derart weiter aus, dass der junge Thukydides über Herodots Lesung in Olympia sogar Tränen vergoss.[17]

Die Person des Lamachos

Die Person des Lamachos in der „olympischen Geschichte" ist uns völlig unbekannt.[18] Neben der unsicheren Lesart seiner Geburtsstadt stammt die einzige weitere Angabe zu ihm von Plutarch selbst, der ihn als „Sophisten" bezeichnet. Als seine Heimat wird – je nach Gutdünken der Textherausgeber – Smyrna, Myrina oder Terina angegeben. Im Apparat der Teubner-Ausgabe führt Ziegler zum im Text stehenden Attribut Σμυρναίου noch folgende Formen an: σμυρναιου N: μυρρηναιου Y τερειναιου mor.[19] Holden entscheidet sich im

[16] Lucian. *Her.* 1-2. τὴν γνῶσιν, ἐπεβούλευε δέ, εἰ δυνατὸν εἴη, ἀθρόους που λαβεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας. ἐνίσταται οὖν Ὀλύμπια τὰ μεγάλα, καὶ ὁ Ἡρόδοτος τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο ἥκειν οἱ νομίσας τὸν καιρόν, οὗ μάλιστα ἐγλίχετο, πλήθουσαν τηρήσας τὴν πανήγυριν, ἁπανταχόθεν ἤδη τῶν ἀρίστων συνειλεγμένων (...). Ἤδη οὖν ἅπαντες αὐτὸν ᾔδεσαν πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας αὐτούς. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἀνήκοος ἦν τοῦ Ἡροδότου ὀνόματος, οἱ μὲν αὐτοὶ ἀκούσαντες ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πανηγύρεως ἡκόντων πυνθανόμενοι.

[17] Zu den einschlägigen Testimonien zur Lesung des Herodot vgl. Schmid, W. – Stählin, O.: *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur*. München 1934, I, 2. 590 (Anm. 5).

[18] LGPN V.A s.v. *Lamachos* aufgrund der zwei Testimonien (Plutarch und der *Vitae decem oratorum*): „Smyrna (?): (1) 324 BC FGrH 116, Berve 461 (Stephanis 1526) (or Aiolis Myrina)." Berve, H.: *Das Alexanderreich auf Prosopographischer Grundlage I-II.* München 1926, II, 461: „unbekannter Abkunft aus Myrina im aitolischen Kleinasien (Plut. Dem. 9), wie eine andere, unwahrscheinliche Tradition, die wohl auf Textverderbnis zurückzuführen ist, sagt, aus Terina in Bruttium."

[19] Editionem correctiorem cum addendis curavit H. Gärtner. Stuttgart / Leipzig 1994.

Haupttext für Μυριναίου, im Kommentar wiederum: „'of Myrina', an Aeolian city on the western coast of Asia Minor, also called Smyrna, hence the reading of **N** and **E** Σμυριναίου. In the vit. X or. 845C (...) he is called Τερειναίου, 'of Terina', the colony of Croton on the W. coast of the Bruttian peninsula." Stillschweigend ist auch Schäfer für die letztere (im *Leben der zehn Redner* tradierte) Form Τερειναίου.[20]

Die am nächsten liegende Lesart (Σμυρναίου) erscheint nicht nur wegen ihrer relativen Einfachheit, sondern auch der Unzuverlässigkeit der sie tradierenden Handschrift als unglaubwürdig und fraglich: Manuskript N = Matritensis 55 (Madrid 4685) enthält in zahlreichen Fällen gerade bei Eigennamen extrem vereinfachte Formen.[21] Für die Lesart Λαμάχου τοῦ Τερειναίου der *Moralia* spricht nicht nur das Prinzip der *lectio difficilior*,[22] sondern auch der Umstand, dass infolge des Itazismus und einer Verschreibung des Kopisten aus τερειναιου ohne Weiteres eine Form μυρρηναιου entstanden (und später vereinfacht worden) sein kann. War Lamachos tatsächlich Bürger von Terina, so lebte er in der Nachbarschaft von Thurioi, der Wahlheimat des Herodot – und war zugleich literarischer Gefährte des plutarchschen Herodot.[23]

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[20] Schäfer (Anm. 12) III, 318. Anm. 1: „Plut. Dem. 9. L. d. X R. S. 845^{bc}. Dort heißt es, Lamachos sei von Myrina (auf Lesbos) gewesen, hier von Terina auf der brettischen Halbinsel. [Terina, eine Kolonie von Kroton (...) war 356 von den Brettiern erobert worden (Diod. 16, 15); 332 hatte es Alexander von Epirus zurückgewonnen (Liv. 8, 24 (...); um 324 schlugen die Krotoniaten mit Hilfe von Syrakus die Brettier zurück (Diod. 19, 3. (...); sie mögen um dieselbe Zeit sich auch an Alexander d. Gr. gewandt haben (Plut. Alex. 34).] Dass Lamachos bei der Feier der 114. Olympiade aufgetreten sei, ist nicht überliefert, es könnte auch die 112. (332) gewesen sein, dieselbe, nach welcher die Athener in Strafe genommen wurden (o. S. 294). Aber dass Demosthenes damals zu Olympia gewesen sei, wissen wir nicht, und schwerlich hätte in jenem Jahre eine Rede, welche wenigstens indirekt gegen die makedonischen Könige gerichtet war, zu Olympia so unverhohlenen Beifall gefunden."

[21] Cook, B. L.: Theopompos not Theophratos. *AJP* 121.4 (2000) 537 ff. listet in Anm. 13 in Anlehnung an Gudeman mehrere Fälle auf, in denen der Kopist den Text der Vorlage – insbesondere bei Eigennamen – sinnvoll zu korrigieren trachtete. Nach seiner Feststellung wurde Handschrift N von vielen überschätzt und nicht kritisch genug geprüft.

[22] Die maßgebende Ausgabe des Textes (Teubner) wurde von J. Mau (Leipzig 1971) erstellt.

[23] Hansen, M. H. – Nielsen, Th. H. (Hrsg.): *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. Oxford 2004, 303 f. Im Kapitel *Italia and Kampania* steht als 73. Titel Terina (Terinaios), Kolonie von Kroton. Der *terminus ante quem* für ihre Gründung ist 460 v. Chr. Titel 74. ist ihre Nachbarstadt Thourioi (Thourinos), mit der sie sich auch in Waffenkonflikte verwickelte. Andererseits behält Plutarch auch die Frage im Auge, ob man Herodot als Halikarnassier oder als Thourier betrachten sollte: Ἔδει μὲν οὖν μηδὲ τοῖς μηδίσασιν Ἑλλήνων ἄγαν ἐπεμβαίνειν, καὶ ταῦτα Θούριον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων νομιζόμενον αὐτὸν δὲ Ἁλικαρνασέων περιεχόμενον, οἳ Δωριεῖς ὄντες μετὰ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐστράτευσαν. (Plut. *Mor.* 868A)

Art und Weise der Abwendung der Invektive gegen die Griechen

Die Invektive gegen die Griechen, genauer gegen die Thebaner und Olynthier, bzw. Thebaner und Korinther wird von dem Demosthenes der „olympischen Geschichte" und Plutarch, dem Verfasser der Schrift *Über die Bosheit des Herodot*, im Wesentlichen nach derselben Methode abgewendet. Nicht nur das Moment der Verteidigung der Thebaner ist also identisch, sondern auch die Vorgehensweise. Obendrein – ebenso wie Plutarch gegen den „Barbarenfreund" Herodot für alle Griechen eintritt – wirft auch „Demosthenes" dem Lamachos vor, dass die Lakaien der Makedonen (in den überlieferten Reden des Demosthenes der Inbegriff der verächtlichsten Barbaren) am ganzen Unheil schuld haben.

Nach dem *Leben der zehn Redner* untermauert Demosthenes die edlen Taten der Thebaner und Olynthier mit Dichterzitaten (ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν μαρτυρίας προηνέγκατο), laut Plutarch lieferte er jedoch auch genaue historische Beweise (διεξελθὼν μεθ' ἱστορίας καὶ ἀποδείξεως). Obwohl beide Mittel selbstverständlich und klischeehaft sind, baut der gesamte Text *Über die Bosheit des Herodot* auf sie auf. Gegenüber Herodots Lügen bekräftigt Plutarch die Größe und Tapferkeit der Thebaner und Korinthier so, dass er einzelne Momente der Schlachten bei Thermopylai und Salamis bis ins Detail prüft und analysiert, um aus diesen seine logischen Schlüsse zu ziehen. Daneben gibt es auch lyrische, literarische Zitate im Überfluss: an die zehn wörtlich zitierten Belege sollen den Heldenmut der Korinthier bezeugen.[24]

Alles zusammengenommen wird man sich mit der Behauptung wohl kaum irren, dass Plutarch, der vom Eifer zur Verteidigung seiner Heimat und der Ehre der Thebaner durchdrungen war, in eine sonst eher belanglose Episode aus dem Leben des Demosthenes seine eigene schriftstellerische Tätigkeit hineinprojiziert haben könnte (wobei ihn gleichzeitig der Gedanke an die Schrift *Über die Bosheit des Herodot* beschäftigt haben mag, oder er mit dem Werk vielleicht auch bereits fertig war).

[24] In 867C wird Pindar über die Heldentaten bei Artemision zitiert; in 867F steht eine Inschrift in Gedichtform über den Sieg bei Artemision; 869C enthält ein Simonides-Zitat über die Heldentaten der Naxier; in 870E liest man ein Grabgedicht von der Heldentat der Korinthier, sowie die Inschrift auf deren Grabmal am Isthmos; 870F enthält die Grabepigramme des Schiffskommandanten Diodor und des Feldherrn Adeimantos; in 871B wird ein Epigramm des Simonides über die korinthischen Frauen, in 872D ein weiteres Simonides-Gedicht über den Heldenmut der Korinthier bei Platäa zitiert; 873B enthält die gesamtgriechische Versinschrift aus Platäa, 873C schließlich die – später ausgekratzte – Versinschrift des Pausanias aus Delphoi, in der er den Ruhm des Sieges mit sämtlichen Griechen teilt.

Die Bausteine der Geschichte boten sich anfangs möglicherweise von sich selbst dar, und passten sich dann Plutarchs eigener literarischer Aktivität an (er lässt einen Verfasser aus Süditalien / aus Terina [?] seine Schrift zu Ehren von Fremden und zur Schmach der Griechen, vor allem der Thebaner, in Olympia vorlesen, der versucht, sein Werk in der griechischen Welt in dieser Weise zu verbreiten, dessen Lügen jedoch von einem griechischen Patrioten mit historischen und literarischen Argumenten widerlegt werden), um dann das eigene apologetische literarische Schaffen bewusst und mit gesuchten sprachlichen Anlehnungen zu unterstreichen.

Tamás Mészáros

Two Critical Notes on the Ancient Biographical Tradition of Thucydides*

I.

One of the most determinative characteristics of the ancient Greek literature is its fragmentariness: the oeuvres of the Greek authors have been transmitted in fragments, the majority of the extant dramas, poems, rhetorical speeches are known to us from fragments, and our knowledge about the lives and careers of certain authors is even more fragmentary. In the case of certain popular authors, some biographies of dubious authenticity happen to be preserved by mere chance, but usually we cannot hope for more. The case of Thucydides is actually an exception to this rule. Although the works of Didymus, Zopyrus, Antyllus and Cratippus dealing with Thucydides' life – a fact known to us from ancient references – have been lost together with several further biographies, the extant material is still significant.

The expression "ancient biographical tradition" in the title of the present paper is a generic expression for a group of strongly heterogeneous texts. The individual works, entries in lexica, anecdotes, references belonging to this group are different regarding their language, wordage and stylistic elaboration; the dates of their compilation are also varying. Their authors are usually unknown – even if the manuscripts preserved the name of the alleged authors next to the title of the work. Sometimes the lack of the unity is conspicuous even within a single work. Thus, the only common point they share is the subject, i.e. the person of Thucydides, the prominent historiographer of the antiquity – or, more precisely, Thucydides and his historical work, because from time to time the authors were more interested in the questions about Thucydides' *work*, even if the titles of the biographical works promised biographies *expressis verbis*. The same is true in a reversed way: as the biographers did not refrain from

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making literary critical comments, the authors dealing with the historical work from the viewpoints of aesthetics and stylistics also offer some biographical data. For instance, Dionysius of Halicarnassus' works related to Thucydides and Hermogenes of Tarsus' references to Thucydides also belong to the latter group, but we could even mention the scholia to Thucydides which also present some biographical information. It is necessarily the result of subjective decision what we regard as part of the tradition from this extensive *corpus* and what not;[1] the ancient biographical tradition of Thucydides is so huge that it cannot be embraced anyway.

Several scholars dealt with the biographical tradition of Thucydides already in the golden age of modern classical philology.[2] The researchers at the end of the 19th century primarily aimed to clarify the textual and prosopographical questions of the biographies, or sometimes they intended to reveal the sources. As for the evaluation of the whole of the tradition, their opinion is forgiving at best, sometimes even mockingly scornful: they regarded the texts as a mixture of misunderstandings and conscious falsifications only rarely containing a few affirmable statements. However, their results are unquestionable: our knowledge about Thucydides' life is mostly based on their research work even today. Then a long break followed. Although the Thucydides philology kept on flourishing, the biographical questions were brought into focus only rarely, even then as a side-effect of the research work of the ancient historians,[3] while

[1] The texts of some biographies are usually published in various textual editions of Thucydides: Bekker, I.: *Thucydidis De bello Peloponnesiaco libri octo.* Berolini 1832; Poppo, E. F.: *Thucydidis De bello peloponnesiaco libri octo I/1.* Lipsiae 1886; Hude, C.: *Thucydidis Historiae I.* Lipsiae 1905; Stuart Jones, H. – Powell, J. E.: *Thucydidis Historiae I.* Oxford 1942; Luschnat, O.: *Thucydides.* Lipsiae 1954; Alberti, I. B.: *Thucydidis Historiae I.* Roma 1972. Cf.: Piccirilli, L.: *Storie dello storico Tucidide.* Genova 1985.

[2] Some more important works from the Thucydides literature of the end of the 19th century without aiming to give a complex picture: Grauert, W. H.: Ad Marcellini vitam Thucydidis observationes criticae. *RhM* 1 (1827) 169–193; Krüger, K. W.: *Untersuchungen über das Leben des Thukydides.* Berlin 1832; Roscher, W.: *Leben, Werk und Zeitalter des Thukydides.* Göttingen 1842; Ritter, F.: Das Leben des Thukydides aus Scholien zur thukydideischen Geschichte geschöpft von Marcellinus. Quellen und geschichtlicher Werth dieser Lebensbeschreibung. *RhM* 3 (1845) 321–359; Packard, L. R.: On Some Points in the Life of Thucydides. *TAPA* 4 (1873) 47–59; Petersen, E.: *De vita Thucydidis disputatio.* Dorpati Livonorum 1873; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von: Die Thukydideslegende. *Hermes* 12 (1877) 326–367; Hirzel, R.: Die Thukydideslegende. *Hermes* 13 (1878) 46–49; Schöll, R.: Zur Thukydides-Biographie. *Hermes* 13 (1878) 433–451; Gilbert, O.: Zur Thukydideslegende. *Philologus* 38 (1879) 243–268; Unger, G. F.: Die Nachrichten über Thukydides. *Jahrb. für class. Phil.* 133 (1886) 97–11, 145–173; Herbst, L.: Die Arbeiten über Thukydides. *Philologus* 49 (1890) 134–180, 338–375.

[3] More important pieces are: Cavaignac, E.: Miltiade et Thucydide. *RPh* 55 (1929) 281–285;

nowadays the literary critical and rhetorical approach prevails – if we can detect any kind of trends from the few papers published in the last decade at all.[4]

Due to the accurate work of the predecessors it would be irrational to hope that all what we have thought about Thucydides' life so far could be shaken. Thus, we cannot promise anything else than two minor corrections, minor suggestions that seem to offer new information in connection with passages in two different biographies.

II.

First let us have a look at a text written on a special writing material: the biography of Thucydides found on an Oxyrhynchus papyrus (P. Oxy. 1800).[5] The pieces of the papyrus roll presumably from the end of the 2nd century AD contain various short biographies selected according to undetermined criteria out of which – beside the Thucydides biography – nine further biographies have been identified so far.[6] Unfortunately, the short fragment of the Thucydides biography does not offer any new information; moreover, in a reading of the first fragment – in my opinion – a minor error occurs. The first fragment of the Thucydides biography was published by Grenfell and Hunt in the following transcription lacking diacritic marks and punctuation:[7]

περι Θουκυδι[δου
Θουκυδιδης το μεν γε[νος
ην Αθηναιος παι[ς δ Ο]λο

Cadoux, T. J.: The Athenian Archons from Kreon to Hypsichides. *JHS* 68 (1948) 70–123; Wade-Gery, H. T.: Miltiades. *JHS* 71 (1951) 212–221; Bradeen, D. W.: The Fifth-Century Archon List. *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 187–208; Frost, F. J.: Pericles, Thucydides, Son of Melesias, and Athenian Politics before the War. *Historia* 13 (1964) 385–399; Meyer, H. D.: Thukydides Melesiou und die oligarchische Opposition gegen Perikles. *Historia* 16 (1967) 141–154; Phillips, D. J.: Men named Thoukydides and the General of 440/439 BC. *Historia* 40 (1991) 385–395.

[4] Maitland, J.: Marcellinus' Life of Thucydides. Criticism and Criteria in the Biographical Tradition. *CQ* 46 (1996) 538–558; Burns, T.: Marcellinus' Life of Thucydides. *Interpretation* 38 (2010) 3–25.

[5] Grenfell, B. P. – Hunt, A. S.: The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XV. London 1922, 137–150, particularly 140–141 and 147–148.

[6] The reconstructed order of the biographies is as follows: Sappho, Simonides, Aesop, Thucydides, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Thrasybulus, Hyperides, Leucocomas, Abderus.

[7] See Grenfell – Hunt (n. 5) 140, frg. 2, col. II, 66. The digital image of the fragment is available on the following website: http://163.1.169.40/gsdl/collect/POxy/index/assoc/HASH9e99/183be4ab.dir/POxy.v0015.n1800.a.02.hires.jpg
See Plate I in Appendix.

ρου διαβαλλουσι δε τον πα
τερα αυτου Θραικα οντα
εις Αθηνας μετοικισθη
ναι δυνατος δε εν λογοις α 70
ο
νηρ γ[εν]αμενος[8] ανεγρα
ψεν το[ν] γενομενον Αθη
ναιοις [και] Πελοποννη>
[σιοις πολεμον

Concerning Thucydides. Thucydides was by birth an Athenian, and the son of Olorus; his father is maligned as being a Thracian who migrated to Athens. Having literary skill he wrote the history of the war between the Athenians and Peloponnesians.[9]

From the viewpoint of content, the text does not offer any new information. Although Thucydides' father was surely an Athenian citizen, the Thracian origin of his ascendants is a commonplace in his biographical tradition.

In the transcription presented in the edition of the papyrus, the reading παι[ς δ Ο]λορου (= παῖ[ς δ' Ὀ]λόρου) at the end of line 3 seems to be objectionable for several reasons, although it is eventually correct in its *content* ("Thucydides was the son of Olorus"). My objections are as follows:

1) Although in the transcription the letter *iota* after the syllable πα- is indicated as clearly visible, I cannot see traces of this *iota* on the digital image.

2) Since the script is *scriptio continua* lacking diacritic marks, the *lacuna* after the syllable πα- requiring complementation seems to be longer than three letters. On the basis of the number of letters in the remaining lines, I assume that approximately five letters have been lost there.

3) Finally, I think that the presupposition of elision in the transcription is unnecessary. From this aspect, the hand is not consequent; he did not always avoid hiatuses elsewhere. The hiatus emerging between δέ and ἐν did not disturb him some lines later (70), whereas the editor elided the – interpolated – word δέ above.

In my opinion the following happened. In the course of the transcription, the editor started out from the name of the father that was fairly easy to decipher,

[8] The original – wrong – form γεναμενος is corrected by the same hand writing an *omicron* above the *alpha*.

[9] Translated by Grenfell – Hunt (n. 5) 147.

then he filled the *lacuna* in accordance with the *genitivus originis* Ὀ]λόρου. Obviously he thought that the complementation of the syllable πα- to παῖ[ς was evident (although this does not explain the problem of the *iota*), then due to the extension of the *lacuna* – for want of something better – he also added the particle δέ, which was with all probability intended as the pair of the μέν found in the previous line (65). I emphasize that the solution is understandable and correct in its content. Thus, our task is to offer a reading that is also correct in its content and eliminates the difficulties mentioned above at the same time.

My suggestion, i.e. the transcription of the passage complemented with diacritic marks and punctuation is the following:

περὶ Θουκυδί[δου
Θουκυδίδης τὸ μὲν γέ[νος
ἦν ᾽Αθηναῖος, πα[τρὸς Ὀ]λό-
ρου, διαβάλλουσι δὲ τὸν πα-
τέρα αὐτοῦ Θρᾷκα ὄντα
εἰς ᾽Αθήνας μετοικισθῆ-
ναι. δυνατὸς δὲ ἐν λόγοις ἀ-
νὴρ γ[εν]όμενος ἀνέγρα-
ψεν τὸ[ν] γενόμενον ᾽Αθη-
ναίοις [καὶ] Πελοποννη-
[σίοις πόλεμον

Concerning Thucydides. Thucydides was by birth an Athenian, born from the father Olorus; his father is maligned as being a Thracian who migrated to Athens. Having literary skill he wrote the history of the war between the Athenians and Peloponnesians.

On the one hand, the meaning of the reading πα[τρὸς Ὀ]λόρου is in agreement with the reality ("Thucydides was born from the father Olorus"), on the other, the complementation seems adequate regarding the number of letters (five letters in contrast to the three letters of the previous solution). Moreover, the same expression – the *genitivus originis* and the common noun in agreement with it in the role of apposition – also appears in the text of the biography by Marcellinus (ch. 2): Θουκυδίδης Ὀλόρου προῆλθε πατρός ("Thucydides came into being from the father Olorus"). The second part of the structure μέν – δέ is not the

particle δέ added and elided by the editor, but rather the particle δέ in line 67: thus, the Athenian origin and the Thracian ancestry are perfectly contrasted.

III.

But was Thucydides' father really called Olorus? My second example shows that even this is questionable according to some. Let us start out from the fact that in his historical work Thucydides calls himself undoubtedly son of Olorus:[10] in dealing with his own activity as strategos, he tells us that the people of Amphipolis under siege: πέμπουσι ... ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον στρατηγὸν τῶν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης, Θουκυδίδην τὸν Ὀλόρου, ὃς τάδε ξυνέγραψεν, ὄντα περὶ Θάσον (IV, 104, 4).[11]

Let us see what the so called Marcellinus biography writes about this question – this biography is the most significant in the biographical tradition of Thucydides due to its extension and importance; its text full of wrong readings and lacunas was preserved in approximately a dozen Thucydides manuscripts.[12] The work was presumably composed for the students of schools of rhetoric in the Hellenistic period, intended as an introduction to the study of Thucydides. Marcellinus,[13] the alleged author of the biography is possibly identical with the educated orator who learnt also philosophy and wrote commentaries to the rhetorical works of Hermogenes of Tarsus.[14] However, the biography comprising 58 chapters is not an organic work. Apart from the interruptions in the narration, the frequent repetitions and corrections, and obvious contradictions,

[10] Prentice, W.: Thucydides and the Cimonian Monuments. *Jbh. des Österr. Arch. Inst.* 31 (1939) 36–41 mistakenly doubts the authenticity of this passage. I accept the arguments of Luschnat, O.: Der Vatersname des Historikers Thukydides. *Philologus* 100 (1956) 134–139.

[11] "[They] sent to the other commander in Thrace, Thucydides son of Olorus, the author of this history, who was at the isle of Thasos." Translated by Crawley, R.

[12] The manuscripts kept in Heidelberg (*Codex Palatinus Graecus 252*) and in Wolfenbüttel (*Guelferbytanus Gudianus Graecus 35*) count as authoritative. About the single manuscripts and the tradition see Alberti (n. 1) clxxiv–clxxix for details.

[13] About Marcellinus see Bux, E.: Μαρκελλῖνος 49. *PWRE* XIV (1930) 1450–1487 and Schissel, O.: Μαρκελλῖνος 50. *PWRE* XIV (1930) 1487–1488. Earlier it was wrongly assumed that the author might be identical with the Roman historiographer Ammianus Marcellinus. Cf. Fornara, Ch. W.: Studies in Ammianus Marcellinus II. Ammianus' Knowledge and Use of Greek and Latin Literature. *Historia* 41 (1992) 420–438.

[14] Beside Syrianus (appr. the end of the 4th c. AD – the beginning of the 5th c. AD) and Sopater (appr. the end of the 5th c. AD) Marcellinus (appr. the middle of the 5th c. AD) is the third Hermogenes scholiast known by name. Cf. Walz, E. Chr.: Rhetores Graeci. Stuttgart et alibi 1832-1836, Vol. IV.

linguistic and stylistic arguments also confirm that the biography in its present form was compiled from at least two,[15] but possibly even from four different authors' works sometime in the middle of the 5th century AD.[16] The author of the biography often refers to his sources: apart from Thucydides approximately twenty different historiographers, poets, orators and other prose writers are named – sometimes together with the title of the works cited.[17] The content is similarly varied: we can find factual statements based on thorough research on the one hand and fabulous stories and apparent absurdities on the other; the narration is recurrently interrupted by rhetorical reflections, stylistic observations and literary critical notes.

Since the major part of the biographical tradition also mention Thucydides' father as Olorus,[18] we can read the discussion about the right form of the name in the Marcellinus biography with some astonishment. To be more precise, we could read this discussion, if the text of chapter 16 in question had not been heavily damaged even in the *Codex Palatinus Graecus 252* regarded as authoritative. The manuscript, which is usually indicated with the signature E in the critical editions of Thucydides, was with all probability copied in one of the scriptoria of the imperial library in Constantinople, possibly in the second half of the 9th century, or perhaps in the first half of the 10th century.

Before the analysis of the passage in question, let us clarify a less interesting problem. In some of the manuscripts of the *Suda* lexicon, in the text of the Thucydides biography we can find the form Ὄλωρος, with an *omega* in the middle syllable. Moreover, the use of this variant name is inconsequent, because the variant with the *omega* does not appear in all four *loci*, but only

[15] According to Oomen, G.: *De Zosimo Ascalonita atque Marcellino.* Monasterii Westfalorum 1926, chapters 2–44 and 56–58 were written by Marcellinus, while chapters 1 and 45–55 were written by Zosimus of Ascalon. For the latter see Gärtner, H.: Zosimos von Askalon. *PWRE* X A (1972) 790–795.

[16] According to Bux (n. 14), Marcellinus compiled the work from Proclus' *Chrestomathia* and from the works of Caecilius of Caleacte and Zosimus.

[17] The catalogue is rich: beside Aeschylus, Herodotus and Xenophon, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Didymus, Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Polemon, Hermippus, Antyllus, Timaeus, Philistus, Androtion, Praxiphanes, Philochorus, Demetrius of Phaleron, Cratippus, Prodicus, Theopompus and Asclepius are mentioned by name. Homerus, Pindar and Gorgias are also cited several times.

[18] Apart from the above mentioned P. Oxy. 1800, the form Olorus is used consequently for instance in the biography of Thucydides from an unknown author the text of which is published in all Thucydides editions (cf. Alberti [n. 1] clxxx–clxxxv), in the majority of the manuscripts of the *Suda* lexicon and by Eudocia Macrembolitissa (cf. Flach, H.: *Eudociae Violarium.* Lipsiae 1880, 377, ch. 474).

once or twice depending on the manuscripts.[19] The phenomenon can be easily explained with the phonetic changes of the later Greek language (the differences between short and long vowels faded away), which was also reflected by the instability of the orthography.

Returning to the Heidelberg manuscript mentioned, we do not think either that the form Holorus (῞Ολορος) appearing in the main manuscript of the Marcellinus biography would have any importance: the occasional mistake in the aspiration in the case of a lesser known name is a forgivable mistake. Furthermore, the orthography of the manuscript is notoriously inaccurate and its punctuation is insecure.[20]

It is a more complicated question whether the form Orolus (῾Ορολος) is right or wrong – already the ancient researchers of Thucydides were divided on this question, and this obscurity resulted in the emergence of the textual problem mentioned. The difficulty is obviously caused by the fact that the name sounded unfamiliar to the Greek speakers, and they could easily swap the two similar consonants – both the *rho* and the *lambda* are liquids – in pronunciation.

After this introduction let us see chapter 16 of the Marcellinus biography in the Heidelberg manuscript (Cod. Pal. Gr. 252, 2^{r}, 25–30).[21] The transcription strictly following the text of the manuscript is presented below:

> μὴ ἀγνοῶμεν δὲ τοῦτο ὅτι Ὅλορος ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ ἐστί· τῆς μὲν πρώτης συλλαβῆς τὸ ρ ἐχούσης, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας τὸ λ· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ γραφή, ὡς καὶ Διδύμῳ δοκεῖ, ἡμάρτηται. ὅτι γὰρ Ὅρολός ἐστιν, ἡ στήλη δηλοῖ ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ κειμένη, ἔνθα κεχάρακται Θουκυδίδης Ὀρόλου Ἁλιμούσιος.

[19] The *apparatus criticus* of Piccirilli (n. 1) 54 adds the following remarks to the *loci* in question: ᾽Ολόρου omnes fere codd. (cfr. Suida s. vv. ῞Ολορος et ὀργᾶν): ᾽Ολώρου A V E, then later ῞Ολορον et ῞Ολορε omnes fere codd.: ῞Ολωρος [*sic*! *recte*: ῞Ολωρον] et ῞Ολωρε V E.

[20] This is why the name appears in the form Holorus elsewhere in the manuscript – except for the damaged text of chapter 16. See M. J. Luzzatto's essential monograph, which gives a complex analysis of the metrical scholia in the Cod. Pal. Gr. 252 (*Tzetzes lettore di Tucidide. Note autografe sul Codice Heidelberg Palatino Greco 252.* Bari 1999).

[21] See the website of the Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, where digital images of the codex have been published recently:
http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpgraec252/0015?sid=ba89ebc319c24159a24051fc78badf57
See Plate II in Appendix.

> Let us not be senseless, the name of his father was Holorus, the first syllable has a rho, the second one has a lambda; since this way of writing, as it also seems to Didymus, is corrupt. For that it is Horolus is clearly attested by his gravestone where the following words are inscribed: Thucydides, son of Orolus, from the deme of Halimus.

The confusion is clear: although according to the first sentence the name Olorus is correct (the variant forms Holorus~Olorus have just been discussed), later the author argues for the reading Orolus (Horolus). Between the two we can find a statement intended as correction about the consonantal parts of the single syllables, which instead of helping us increases the chaos. Finally, as conclusive evidence, the alleged funeral inscription is presented that justifies the variant Orolus.

Perhaps the *apparatus criticus* of the latest critical edition of the biography can help us. We can find the following critical remarks to the first sentence:[22]

> ῎Ολορος E : ᾽Ολορος Vg Vm : ᾽Ορολος Ab Gu Pc Pl Pe^{3} Vm^{1} : Ὄλορος <οὐκ Ὄρολος> Oomen 84 : <Ὄλορος, οὐκ> Ὄρολος Grauert : ᾽Ορολος ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἔψευσται vel ἐσχεδίασται prop. Schmidt 323 : minus recte Preller 39 vulgatam (Ὄρολος) defendens lacunam esse statuit post λ sic explendam οὐκ ᾽Ολορος.

The following remarks are added in the *apparatus criticus* to the second sentence that contains the name Orolus and the funeral inscription cited as evidence:[23]

> ᾽Ολορός Vg : ᾽Ορολός Ab Gu Pc Pl Vm Pe^{3} : ῎Ολορός E || ᾽Ολόρου Vg Vm Pe^{3} : ᾽Ορόλου E Ab Gu Pc Pl.

With the letter **E** the reading of the Codex Palatinus Graecus 252 is indicated, then it is followed by the readings of the different Vatican, Milan, Wolfenbüttel and Paris manuscripts: almost everywhere we can find different forms without any traces of consequence. Our first impression seems to be confirmed: complete uncertainty characterizes this question.

Let us see the conjectures of the different editors. In the first place, I discuss the German Gerhard Oomen's suggestion[24] which was also adopted by Piccirilli

[22] Piccirilli (n. 1) 16.

[23] Piccirilli (n. 1) 18.

[24] Oomen (n. 15) 84.

in the main text. Oomen accepts the form Olorus and he corrects the text accordingly, and then he uses an interpolation so that the statement referring to the syllables could gain sense. Thus, the result is by and large the following: "the name of his father was Olorus, not Orolus, the first syllable has a rho, the second one has a lambda" etc.

The next attempt to restore the original text, the conjecture of Wilhelm Grauert is merely interesting from the viewpoint of the history of the scholarship, since it is based on a mistake.[25] Presumably Grauert could not check the Heidelberg manuscript personally – and he does not mention other codices in his paper – he only used the reading Orolus he found in an earlier edition,[26] and since he assumed that the variant Olorus was right – similarly as Oomen did – he interpolated a negation into the text accordingly. Thus, the final result is the same as in the previous case by accident.

Moritz Schmidt, the editor of Didymus does not make an independent suggestion, he only states that the form Orolus is the result of a mistake made by accident or out of negligence.[27]

Ludwig Preller[28] has a contrasting standpoint, who – in defence of the variant Orolus – even suggests an interpolation resulting in a contrasting sense – Piccirilli reprehends him for it. Thus, according to Preller, the correct text is as follows: "the name of his father was Orolus, the first syllable has a rho, the second one has a lambda, not Olorus".

In my opinion, although out of the suggestions above Oomen's solution is almost correct, he also misunderstood the statement referring to the syllables, so his solution needs some correction. I repeat: both Thucydides' own statement and the major part of the tradition support the variant Olorus: I also accept this version, and accordingly I suggest the consequent correction of the forms Orolus similarly as Oomen does. However, the text also mentions the wrong version, thus, somewhere the form Orolus also had to appear. The question is where.

---

[25] Grauert (n. 2) 176–178.

[26] This resulted in further misunderstandings. First Hude (n. 1) misunderstood Grauert's suggestion and indicated it wrongly in his apparatus (E ῞Ορολος), then Luschnat also adopted Hude's misleading remark and he corrected it only later, on the basis of H. Hommel's personal suggestion (E ὅλορος). See Luschnat (n. 10) 137.

[27] Schmidt, M.: *Didymi Chalcenteri grammatici Alexandrini fragmenta quae supersunt omnia.* Lipsiae 1854, 323.

[28] Preller, L.: *Polemonis periegetae fragmenta.* Lipsiae 1838, 39.

Now if we take either the name Olorus or the name Orolus, it is sure that both of them consist of *three* syllables. In accordance with the rules of orthography, the syllabification of the name is either ᾽Ο-λο-ρος or ᾽Ο-ρο-λος; the syllabifications ᾽Ολ-ορ-ος or ᾽Ορ-ολ-ος would be grammatically incorrect. This can be confirmed with the fact that the scribe writes ᾽Ο-λόρου[29] when the genitive form of the name appears at the end of the line in the Heidelberg codex.[30] Thus, in the first syllable, neither variants of the name contains a consonant: neither *rho* nor *lambda* appears there. Oomen and the others were possibly misled by misunderstanding two different concepts: the first and second consonants versus the consonants in the first and second *syllables*. If this is the case, and the first syllables of either variant name contain no consonants, how can we interpret the statement referring to the syllables?

Presumably we need to count with the same phenomenon as the one we all know regarding the accentuation of the Greek words, i.e. one should start counting the syllables from the back of the words. As for instance the expression *paroxytone* refers to the second syllable from the back (penultimate syllable), and the expression *proparoxytone* to the third syllable from the back (antepenultimate syllable), we also need to count the syllables from the back of the word. The statement "the first syllable has a rho, the second one has a lambda" thus means that "the first syllable from the back has a rho, the second one from the back has a lambda". Now this statement is only valid to the variant Olorus regarded as correct also earlier, and not to Orolus. Consequently, the interpolation suggested by Oomen needs to be replaced right after the statement referring to the syllables, so the demonstrative pronoun αὕτη also gains sense. Thus, my suggestion to restore the text of chapter 16 is the following:

> μὴ ἀγνοῶμεν δὲ τοῦτο ὅτι Ὄλορος ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ ἐστί· τῆς μὲν πρώτης συλλαβῆς τὸ ρ ἐχούσης, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας τὸ λ, <οὐκ Ὄρολος·> αὕτη γὰρ ἡ γραφή, ὡς καὶ Διδύμῳ δοκεῖ, ἡμάρτηται. ὅτι γὰρ Ὄλορός ἐστιν, ἡ στήλη δηλοῖ ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ κειμένη, ἔνθα κεχάρακται Θουκυδίδης Ὀλόρου Ἁλιμούσιος.
>
> Let us not be senseless, the name of his father was Olorus, the first syllable from the back has a rho, the second one from the back has

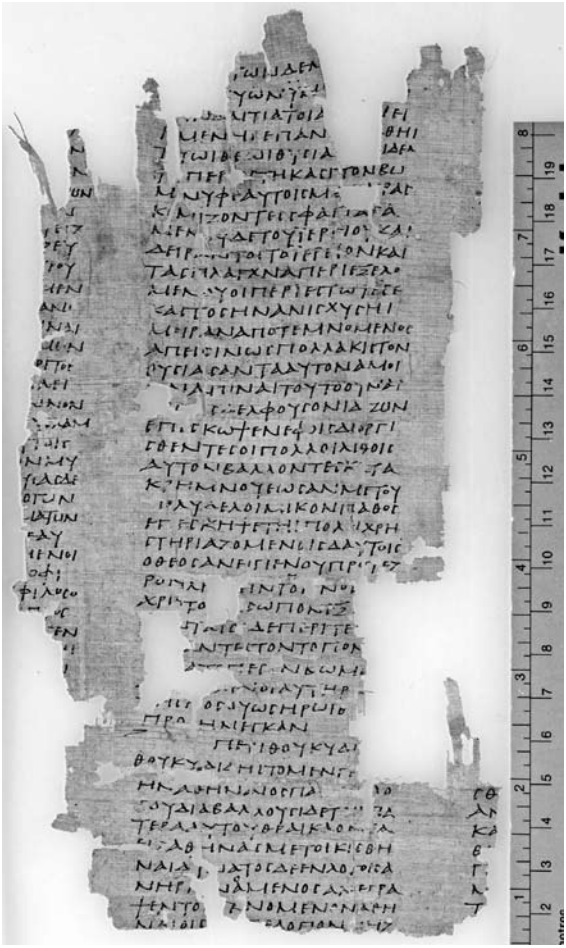
[29] Similarly a separated form appears in the text of P. Oxy. 1800 presented above, in the correct form ᾽Ολό-ρου.

[30] Cod. Pal. Gr. 252, 2^{r}, 5.

a lambda; since this latter way of writing, as it also seems to Didymus, is corrupt. For that it is Olorus is clearly attested by his gravestone, where the following words are inscribed: Thucydides, son of Olorus, from the deme of Halimus.

Appendix

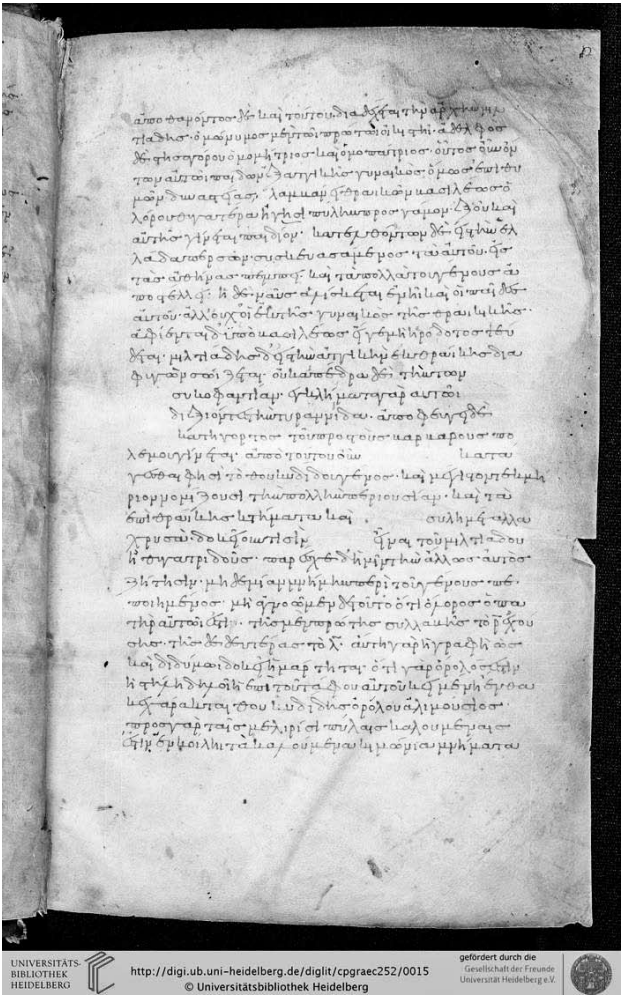
Plate I.



P. Oxy. 1800, frg. 2, col. II.[31]

[31] Courtesy of The Egypt Exploration Society and Imaging Papyri Project, Oxford. I would like to thank the education and public engagement manager, Carl Graves for his kind support.

Plate II.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Cod. Pal. Gr. 252, 2[r].[32]

[32] I would like to thank Michaela Meiser for her kind support.

BYZANTIUM

Katalin Delbó

Ein byzantinischer Roman aus dem 12. Jahrhundert. Niketas Eugenianos: *Drosilla und Charikles*[*]

Gerade dann, als die Gattung der *chanson de geste* und die frühen Artusromane sich in Westeuropa verbreiteten, erschienen in Konstantinopel diejenigen vier Werke, die nach einer acht Jahrhunderte langen Pause die ersten Exemplare der fiktiven griechischen Liebesromane waren. Im Hintergrund der Erneuerung der Gattung stehen gleicherweise innere und äußere Faktoren: die byzantinische Niederlage bei Manzikert und die anschließende Identitätssuche, der wirtschaftliche Aufschwung, die sozialen Veränderungen, die kulturelle Entwicklung, die bestimmende Rolle der Rhetorik im Unterricht und im Alltag, und nicht zuletzt die französisch-byzantinischen Beziehungen.[1] Diese alle zusammen übten eine Wirkung auf die Literatur aus, waren gewissermaßen treibende Kräfte der Literaturentwicklung, die sich in zwei Aspekten äußerte: einerseits im Individualismus, anderseits in der Rückkehr zu antiken Vorgängern, in der Wiederverwendung der antiken Werke und Gattungen – kurzum im literarischen Experiment. Daraus resultierte, dass die Grenzen

[*] Die Veröffentlichung der im Aufsatz präsentierten Forschungsergebnisse wurde vom Nationalen Wissenschafts- und Forschungfonds Ungarn (OTKA NN 104456) unterstützt.

[1] Die Ansichten über die Umstände der Wiederbelebung der Gattung stehen miteinander nicht voll im Einklang. Einige wichtige Anhaltspunkte für diese Frage: Kažhdan, A. P. – Epstein, A. W.: *Change in Byzantina Culturein the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Berkeley / Los Angeles / London 1985, Beaton, R.: *The medieval Greek romance*. London 1996[2], bes. 9–13, 18–21; Agapitos, P. A. – Smith, O. L: *The Study of Medieval Greek Romance. A Reassessment of Recent Work*. Copenhagen 1992, bes. 15–21; Agapitos, P. A.: Narrative, Rhetoric, and 'Drama' Rediscovered. Scholars and Poets in Byzantium Interpret Heliodorus. In Hunter, R. (Hrsg.): *Studies in Heliodorus*. Cambridge 1998, 125–156; Jeffreys, E.: The Novels of Mid-Twelfth Century Constantinople. The Literary and Social Context. In Ševčenko, I. – Hutter, J. (Hrsg.): *AETOΣ. Studies in honour of Cyril Mango.* Stuttgart / Leipzig 1998, 191–199; Jeffreys, E.: The Wild Beast from the West. Immediate Literary Reactions in Byzantium to the Second Crusade. In Laiou, A. E. – Mottahedeh, R. P. (Hrsg.): *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*. Washington 2001, 110–13; Nilsson, I.: *Erotic Pathos, Rhetorical Pleasure. Narrative Technique and Mimesis in Eumathios Makrembolites' Hysmine & Hysminias*. Uppsala 2001, bes. 33–34.

in der byzantinischen Literatur zwischen Lyrik, Epik und Drama verwischt wurden. Auch der Roman ist keine traditionelle epische Gattung mehr, im Wesentlichen vereinigt er in sich die Charakteristika der drei Genres.

Die vier byzantinischen Romanautoren aus dem 12. Jahrhundert – Eustathios Makrembolites, Theodoros Prodromos, Niketas Eugenianos und Konstantinos Manasses – schrieben ihre Werke vermutlich für die aristokratischen Patrone und die byzantinische Intelligenz.[2] Ihr Vorbild war der griechische Liebesroman, der während der zweiten Sophistik in voller Blüte stand – zum Beispiel *Leukippe und Kleitophon* von Achilleus Tatios, *Aithiopik*a von Heliodoros oder *Daphnis und Chloe* von Longos. Alle vier Werke wurden im attischen Griechisch, im sogenannten hochsprachlichen Griechisch verfasst, und mit Ausnahme von Makrembolites' *Hysmine und Hysminias* in Versform. Alle haben einen Überfluss von biblischen Allusionen und rhetorischen Elementen. Obwohl manche Romane (unter anderen Prodromos' *Rhodanthe und Dosikles*, Makrembolites' *Hysmine und Hysminias*) in der Renaissance in Europa bekannt waren, wurden sie später sowohl vom Leserkreis, als auch vom wissenschaftlichen Interesse vernachlässigt. Das Erstere ist mit der großen Zahl der erotischen Elemente und Hinweise zu erklären, das Letztere aber mit der Ansicht, dass die byzantinischen Romane keine selbständigen literarischen Werke sind, sondern einfache – sogar sklavische – Nachahmungen der antiken Vorbilder. Das ist vielleicht der Grund dafür, dass mehrere frühere Romanforschungen sich nur mit der Analyse der antiken Motive und Themen beschäftigten, um die antiken Wurzeln der Komnenischen Romane zu beweisen. Diese ungünstige Anschauung, die im Allgemeinen für die ganze byzantinische Literatur galt, veränderte sich in den letzten 30 Jahren. Ein wichtiger und bis zum heutigen Tag gültiger Grundsatz der Forschung war beispielweise der Folgende: man soll nicht nur untersuchen, was die Autoren von den antiken Verfassern übernahmen, sondern auch was, wie und warum, beziehungsweise was nicht und warum nicht übernommen wurde.[3]

Im Mittelpunkt dieses Beitrages steht *Drosilla und Charikles* von Niketas Eugenianos. Die Ziele der Analyse sind in einer Hinsicht die byzantinische Eigenart der Gattung und die typischen Merkmale in Eugenianos' Roman zu zeigen, in anderer Hinsicht zu beleuchten, was *Drosilla und Charikles* sich von

[2] Roilos, P.: *Amphoteroglossia. A Poetics of the Twelfth-Century Medieval Greek Novel*. Washington 2005, 11–13; Burton, J. B.: Byzantine Readers of the Novel. In Whitmars, T. (Hrsg.): *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel*. Cambridge 2008, 272–281.

[3] Dieser Grundsatz erscheint auch in der Untersuchung der byzantinischen Romane, siehe: Nilsson (Anm. 1).

ihren Vorbilder unterschiedet und wo dieses Werk im Entwicklungsprozess der Gattung steht.

Eugenianos – Heliodoros – Prodromos

Nach dem heutigen Stadtpunkt der Wissenschaft wurde *Drosilla und Charikles* später verfasst als *Rhodanthe und Dosikles* von Prodromos. Demgegenüber besteht kein Konsens über die Entstehungszeit des Werkes.[4] Die Fachliteratur erwähnt aufgrund struktureller Ähnlichkeiten zwei Vorbilder von Eugenianos: Heliodoros und Prodromos. Die Verknüpfung zwischen den drei Werken lässt sich in knappen Zügen folgenderweise darlegen. Die Grundwendungen der Handlungen sind gleich: es gibt ein Liebespaar, das von zu Hause weggeht – die Verliebten werden vom Schicksal voneinander getrennt – sie geraten in Gefangenschaft der Piraten und barbarischer Herrscher – aber nachdem sie die Abenteuer und die schweren Prüfungen überstanden haben, gewinnen sie den Lohn der Ehe.[5]

Der Roman von Eugenianos, wie das Werk von Prodromos, besteht aus neun Büchern. Eugenianos folgte Prodromos auch darin, dass er seinen Liebesroman in byzantinischen Zwölfsilbern schrieb – im Gegensatz zu dem dritten byzantinischen Versroman des 12. Jahrhunderts.[6] Beide Romane beginnen genauso wie *Aithiopika* von Heliodoros: *in medias re*s, der Haupterzähler ist aber ein extra- und heterodiegetischer Narrator. Neben den strukturellen Ähnlichkeiten unterscheiden sich jedoch die Werke von Prodromos und Eugenianos durch die Erzähltechnik, durch die quantitative und qualitative Anwendung der antiken Motive, und durch die Charakterschilderung. Beide sind auf verschiedenen thematischen Schwerpunkten aufgebaut: Prodromos legte Wert auf Ausarbeitung und Darstellung von epischen Szenen und Elementen

[4] Der Anhaltspunkt zur Datierung ist eine Bemerkung, die im Codex Parisinus gr. 2908 nach dem Titel zu finden ist: τοῦ φιλοσόφου κυρ. Θεοδώρου τοῦ Πρό(δρομου) τὰ κατὰ Δροσίλλαν καὶ Χαρικλέα. Conca, F.: *Nicetas Eugenianus. De Drosillae et Chariclis amoribus.* Amsterdam 1990, 31. Každan datiert den Roman in die Jahre um 1170, nach einer anderen Ansicht schrieb ihn Eugenianos im Zeitraum zwischen 1156 und 1158. Každan, A. P.: Bemerkungen zu Niketas Eugenianos. *JÖBG* 16 (1967) 101–117, bes. 101–104; Plepelits, K.: *Niketas Eugenianos. Drosilla und Charikles.* Stuttgart 2003, 1.

[5] Hunger, H.: *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner II*. München 1978, 119–14; Harder, R.: Der byzantinische Roman des 12. Jahrhundert als Spiegel des zeitgenössischen Literaturbetriebs. In Panayotakis, S. – Timmerman, M. – Keulen. (Hrsg.): *The Ancient Novel and Beyond*. Leiden / Boston 2003, 357–369, 359.

[6] Knstantinos Manasses schrieb sein Werk *Aristandros und Kallithea* in byzantinischen Fünfzehnsilbern (politischen Versen).

(z.B. Kriegsschilderungen), beziehungsweise von Herrschaftsinszenierung und bezieht mehr philosophische Erklärungen ein, die Handlung spielt meist in einer städtischen, zivilisierten Welt; Eugenianos setzte hingegen die Erzählung in bukolische Umgebung.[7] Durch diese Eigenart des *Drosilla und Charikles* wird klar, dass Heliodoros nicht das alleinige antike Vorbild von Eugenianos war. In dieser Hinsicht zeigt er einen greifbaren Zusammenhang mit Longos' *Daphnis und Chloe* – wie auch das feine Spiel mit den Anfangsbuchstaben darauf verweist (Daphnis-Drosilla, Chloe-Charikles).[8]

Was würde man unter bukolischer Umgebung verstehen? In diesem Fall kommt nicht die typische bukolische Schäferwelt von *Daphnis und Chloe* für die Leser zum Vorschein. Hier ist die Stimmung bukolisch: wir finden viele Naturbeschreibungen, viele Allusionen, Zitate von Theokritos und Szenen, die man als Dichterwettbewerb deuten kann. Solche Szenen gibt es schon auch im ersten Kapitel, wenn die Jungen am Fest im Dionysoshain schnell hintereinander über die Kraft des Eros eine Reihe von kurzen Reden halten oder wenn Charikles und Kleandros ihre Lebensgeschichte einander vortragen, dann ihre poetische, literarische Leistung mit wenigen Worten auswerten. Die am meisten zur Bukolik passende Figur ist Kallidemos, ein Dorfbewohner, der die Gunst von Drosilla mit einem langen Lied zu erlangen strebt. Dieses Lied ist darum besonders, weil dieser Dorfbewohner aus den Meisterstücken der Antike zitiert oder so auf sie verweist, dass das Leserpublikum die antiken Quelle identifizieren kann. Das Milieu, in das Eugenianos seinen Roman setzte, unterscheidet sich sowohl von den antiken, als auch von den byzantinischen Romanen des 12. Jahrhunderts – er schuf eine neue Umgebung mit spezifischen Merkmalen.

Niketas Eugenianos weicht anhand seiner literarischen Technik von den antiken Vorbildern und seinen Zeitgenossen auch ab. Wie es früher erwähnt wurde, gibt es keine strengen Grenzen zwischen den Gattungen in der Literatur des 12. Jahrhunderts. Lyrische, epische und dramatische Züge lassen sich schon in den antiken Romanen finden, aber sie bekommen keinen so großen Akzent wie in den byzantinischen Werken. Eugenianos und Prodromos bauten ähnliche Textsorten ein, das heißt Lieder, Briefe, aber mit verschiedenem Gewicht. Der Verfasser von *Drosilla und Charikles* übertraf den Meister nicht nur darin, dass er auch auf andere Gattungen zugriff – z.B. kleine Reden, Mythenerzählungen –, sondern auch darin, dass er mit diesen viel bewusster

[7] Harder (Anm. 5) 365.

[8] Beaton (Anm 1) 76.

arbeitete. Ruth E. Harder deutet in einem vorherigen Aufsatz sehr klar auf dieses Charakteristikum des Romans von Eugenianos hin: «Wenn man sich die Textstellen genauer ansieht, stellt man fest, dass Eugenianos…Reden, Briefe, Mythen und Lieder, Teile von Theokritidyllen, ganze anakreontische Gedichte und Epigramme aus der *Anthologia Palatina*…bearbeitet und als zusammenhängende Versfolgen in seinen Text integriert».[9] Das ergibt, dass das Werk von Eugenianos im Vergleich mit den anderen zwei Versromanen weitaus lyrischer ist. Gleichfalls kann man die Festivallieder als eine Neuerung betrachten, die lyrischen Einlagen waren nämlich im Allgemeinen in Romanen als Hymnen anwesend.

Eine zweite Ebene, auf der die Neuerung darzustellen ist, verknüpft sich indirekt mit der Vielfalt der Gattungen, und wird in der Struktur des Romans sichtbar. Wenn man den Aufbau von *Drosilla und Charikles* mit der Struktur von *Aithiopika* oder mit der Struktur des Werkes von Prodromos vergleicht, fällt es auf, dass dieser viel einfacher ist, als jene: die Handlung konzentriert sich fast ausschließlich auf Charikles und Drosilla. Obwohl das übliche Motiv des anderen Liebespaars auch in diesem Roman mit Kleandros und Kalligone erschient, ist ihre Geschichte nur eine Nebenhandlung, die am Anfang und am Ende des Romans eine Rolle spielt. Die Handlung schreitet mit kürzeren-größeren Unterbrechungen fließend, es gibt keine großen Sprünge in Raum und Zeit. Daraus resultiert, dass die zwei Hauptpersonen sich, zwar voneinander getrennt, in Raum und Zeit in dieselbe Richtung bewegen, ihr Treffen ist daher quasi unvermeidlich.

Die inhaltlichen Abweichungen zwischen Prodromos und Eugenianos wurden von Brigitte Helfer gesammelt, die die folgenden Punkte betonte:[10] 1. die Geschichte des Freundes des Liebespaares; 2. die Erzähltechnik des Protagonisten, wenn er seine Erlebnisse dem Freund erzählt; 3. das Treffen des Helden mit der Heldin; 4. die „Barbaren"-Liebe (Rhodanthe - der Barbarhauptmann, Drosilla - der Herrensohn und Kleandros - die Königin); 5. das Abenteuer der Heldin auf See und ihre Rettung; 6. der Charakter des Barbarenkönigs und des Arabenfürsten; 7. die Umstände des Zusammentreffens des Liebespaares; 8. das Treffen des Liebespaares mit ihren Eltern.[11]

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[9] Harder (Anm. 5) 363.

[10] Helfer, B.: *Niketas Eugenianos. Ein Rhetor und Dichter der Komnenenzeit, Mit einer Edition des Epithaphios auf den Grossdrungarios Stephanos Komnenos.* (Dissertation) Wien, 1972, 18–20.

[11] 1. R&D 1, 160 f. – D&C 2, 57 f ; 2. R&D 2, 1 f. – D&C 3, 51 f.; 3. R&D 2, 175 f. – D&C 3, 101 f.; 4. R&D 3, 150 f. – D&C 4, 76 f.; 5. R&D 6, 225 f. – D&C 6–8, passim; 6. R&D7, 320 f. – D&C 6, 95 f.; 7. R&D 8, 226 f. – D&C 7 f.; 8. R&D 9, 184 – D&C 9. 149 f.

Motive, Themen, Charaktere

Im Sinne der oben Erwähnten ist vielleicht nicht überraschend, dass Eugenianos in der Verwendung antiker Motive und Themen auch auf einfache Weise vorging. Neben jenen Motiven, die die Grundverwendungen der Liebesgeschichte versichern, fehlen oder bekommen eine kleine Rolle solche, die in der Bereicherung der Handlung oder in der Verbindung der Nebenhandlungen eine Rolle spielen. Eine Realisierungstendenz zeichnet sich ab und es ist auch wahrnehmbar, dass sich die Motive und die Themen entsprechend der christlichen Gesinnung des 12. Jahrhunderts verfeinert wurden.

Im Roman lassen sich die folgenden antiken Motive finden:[12] 1. Trennung und am Ende Wiedervereinigung der Verliebten – Eugenianos gab das Motiv der Heimkehr von Heliodoros auf, die Protagonisten gehen nach Barzon zurück, nicht in ihre Heimat; 2. Liebe auf den ersten Blick; 3. Flucht; 4. Treue und Bewahrung sexueller Unberührtheit – es ist im Roman besonders betont; 5. Mord, Giftmord, Selbstmord – es ist der christlichen Wirkung zuzuschreiben, dass das Motiv des Selbstmordes in den byzantinischen Romanen in den Hintergrund gedrängt wurde; 6. Eros als Tyrann; 7. Tykhe als allmächtige Lebensmacht. Welche Motive bekamen keinen Platz in *Drosilla und Charikles*? Welche sind zu finden, allerdings verändert? Es gibt nicht viele Abenteuer, Intrigen, Prüfungen, noch weite exotische Reisen oder Berichte über Wunder. Man kann nicht über Orakel lesen, es erscheint nicht das Motiv des Scheintods,[13] noch der Mordversuch gegen die Hauptpersonen. Die Träume, die der Handlung weiterhelfen, sind kurz und verständlich. Drosilla muss nicht zwecks Bewahrung ihrer Jungfräulichkeit gegen gewalttätige Bewerber auftreten. Bei diesem Motiv kam Eugenianos mit einer humorvollen – zwar ein bisschen bissigen – Variante: der heftigste und zielstrebigste Bewerber ist Charikles selbst. Der Autor verfuhr gleichermaßen bei dem Thema, Prüfungen der jungen Frau. Drosilla wird nicht von Piraten oder Räubern dem Charikles entrissen, sie geht über Bord wegen eines Zweigs, der sie vom Wagen herunterreißt. Eine ungewöhnliche und unerwartete Rolle hat die Liebesgeschichte von Kleandros und Kalligone. Kalligone erscheint in der Handlung des

[12] Die Vorführung der Motive ist nach der Gruppierung von Herbert Hunger. Hunger (Anm. 5) 124–125, 135.

[13] Das Motiv des scheintoten Mädchens war im Mittelalter in Europa sehr beliebt, es kommt in der mittelalterlichen französischen Romanliteratur häufig vor. Dazu und zum Zusammenhang des byzantinischen und französischen Romans: Egedi-Kovács, E.: *La « morte vivante » dans le récit français et occitan du Moyen Âge.* Budapest 2012.

Romans nicht persönlich, es wird auf sie bloß hingewiesen. Die Liebe dieses Liebespaares endet mit einer Tragödie. Klenadros, nachdem er den Tod seiner Geliebten erfahren hat, begeht Selbstmord. Als Drosilla und Charikles ihr Ziel erreichen, treffen sie zusammen und feiern. Bei dem Begräbnis singt Drosilla eine lange Klage, zuerst für Klenadros, später für das unbekannte Mädchen. Obgleich die Klage der Eltern oder der Freunde von der Gattung des Romans nicht fremd ist, ist die Klage der Hauptperson ungewöhnlich. Außerdem ist eine weitere Neuerung zu beobachten: Die Klageszene nimmt nämlich fast die Hälfte des Schlusskapitels ein, und wirft Schatten auf das Happy End der Geschichte.

Eugenianos änderte auch einige typische Romancharaktere, er verdrehte sie sozusagen. Der Autor gab die Tradition auf, dass die Protagonisten ausgesetzte Kinder nobler Familien sind, die am Ende des Romans ihre Eltern auffinden. Für Charikles und Drosilla ist wahr, dass sie das eigene Schicksal nicht zu verändern versuchen, warten vielmehr nur ab. Sie sind überhaupt keine „Heldenfiguren", viel eher vertiefen sie sich in Klagelieder, ihr Charakter entwickelt sich gar nicht.[14] Charikles ist sogar ein weibischer Held, rosenwangig, bartlos, mit blonden Haaren und kleinen Händen.[15] Als eine grundlegende Neuerung kann man die Figur von Kleandros ansehen, der die einzige tragische Gestalt im Roman ist. Im Werk zeigt sich der barbarische Herrscher, Chagos, weder grausam, noch blutgierig, vielmehr ist er von der Geschichte des Charikles berührt und hilft beim Zusammentreffen von Charikles und Drosilla. In diesem Roman gibt es keine Hexe, keine Frau mit übernatürlicher Kraft, an ihrer statt kommt Maryllis vor,[16] die der in der Komödie wohl bekannten Kupplerin ähnelt, naseweis, aber wohlwollend und manchmal ziemlich amüsant. Ebenso eine komische Figur ist Kallidemos, der junge Dorfbewohner, der die antike bukolische Literatur vollkommen kennt, und sogar dichten kann.

Alexander Každhan warf es am Ende der 1960er Jahre auf, dass Niketas Eugenianos den Roman mit Elementen der neuen Komödie durchwebt, so aber die Tradition der Gattung parodiert.[17] Das ist einerseits aus der Charaktergestaltung ersichtlich – wie wir eben andeuteten –, andererseits aus komischen Szenen. Für das Letzte können wir mehrere Beispiele nennen:

[14] Hunger (Anm. 5) 135.

[15] Beaton (Anm. 1) 78.; Každan (Anm. 4) 155.

[16] In den Kodizes steht in einem Fall Maryllis (M), in anderen drei Handschriften Baryllis. Conca (Anm. 4) 175.

[17] Každan (Anm. 4) 114–116.

Im dritten Buch gibt es eine Kleinrede, die auf dem Dionysosfestival von einem Gefährten von Charikles gehalten wird. In dieser Rede macht sich der Junge über die sichtbaren Zeichen des Alterns der Frauen lustig.[18] Eine andere komische Episode ist die Umwerbung von Kallidemos,[19] der, obwohl er Drosilla erobern möchte, in seiner Rede ausschließlich tragische Liebesgeschichten erwähnt. Die komische Situation lacht selbst auch Drosilla aus. Das dritte Beispiel ist die Maryllis-Episode, die sich bei der Feier der Wiedervereinigung von Drosilla und Charikles so betrunken ist, dass sie auf dem Tisch auf bacchantische Weise tanzt,[20] dann hinunterfällt, sich auf dem Boden wälzt, ununterbrochen lacht und drei Winde lässt. In der Frage der Parodie-Interpretation ist die Forschung nicht einig, R. Beaton ist beispielweise dafür, dass die Merkmale der Parodie in Roman von Eugenianos eindeutig nicht nachweisbar sind.[21]

Es ist aber sicher, dass dieser komische Faden, zu der Attitüde von Eugenianos sehr gut passt. Eugenianos spielt nämlich mit den Gattungen, spielt mit den antiken Zitaten und Allusionen, mit den Motiven und den Charakteren. Er drückt die Grenzen der Romangattung auseinander.

Die byzantinischen Romane und das *theatron* (?)

Es ist wert einen Blick auf die Erzähltechnik von *Drosilla und Charikle*s zu werfen. Sowohl bei Heliodoros und Prodromos, als auch bei Eugenianos gibt es eine auktoriale Erzählsituation. Niketas Eugenianos zeigt immer genau, „wer spricht" und „wer sieht". Die erste Arbeit des Haupterzählers ist die Handlung zu führen und die Worte der Figuren zu binden. Dieser Roman hat aber über dies alles hinaus eine spezielle Eigenheit: der Haupterzähler gibt immer gerade an, wer nach welcher Gattung redet, einige Beispiele: τὰς ἀκοὰς διδοῖμι τῇ τραγωδίᾳ (II, 35); ἄκουσον...τρίτης συλλαβῆς (II, 238 sq.); τοιῶνδε τερπνῶν ᾀσμάτων ἀπηργμένος (II, 325) μοι γέλως / ἐκ σῶν μελιχρῶν ἦλθε διηγημάτων (III, 197 sq.). Zu welchem Zweck, warum informiert er darüber? Zur Antwort können mehrere Wege führen, gehen wir jetzt ins Zentrum des Literaturlebens des 12. Jahrhunderts zurück.

Die sogenannten *theatra* funktionierten als literarische Salons in je einem aristokratischen Hof, wo die Autoren ihre Werke aufführen und über sie

[18] 3, 175–215.

[19] 6, 382–551.

[20] Über die Interpretation der Tanze von Maryllis: Roilos (Anm. 2) 292–296.

[21] Beaton (Anm. 1) 78.

diskutieren konnten.[22] Mehrere Forscher formulierten bereits die Meinung im Hinsicht auf die antiken Romane, dass sie unter theatralischen Umständen vorgestellt worden waren. Bei *Aithiopika* von Heliodoros ist darauf aufmerksam zu machen, dass sein Text viele theatralische Hinweise enthält oder seine Gestalten so plötzlich auftauchen und verschwinden, als ob sie von einem Kran bewegt worden wären. Die Performance-Merkmale der byzantinischen Romane wurden noch nicht gründlich genug analysiert. E. Jeffreys erwähnte diese Möglichkeit in ihrem Buch, das im vorigen Jahr erschien («R&D, like other three novels from this period presented here, survives in written form, but almost certainly would initially have been presented in a performance context, in a *theatron*, either book by book or perhaps as a selection of detachable highlights.»),[23] aber darüber hinaus beschäftigte sie sich nicht mit der Frage. Worauf weist das in *Drosilla und Charikles* hin? Da diese Frage ein selbständiges Thema eines künftigen Beitrages wäre, werden jetzt lediglich drei solche Eigenartigkeiten des Romans dargestellt, durch die die Elemente der mündlichen Vorstellung auszulegen wären.

Erstens lässt sich der Erzähler, genauer gesagt, die Rolle des Erzählers untersuchen. Wie es eben gesagt wurde, versäumt der Hauptnarrator niemals zu nennen, wer im Werk spricht und nach welcher Gattung. Er achtet akkurat auch darauf, wer auf welcher Art und Weise (mit was für einer Stimme, mit was für einem Sinn) redet, beziehungsweise, wer was sagt oder wie man auf das Gehörte reagiert. Diese sind kurze Verbindungstexte, die die Gefühle der Helden beschreiben, oder deren Wirkung auf die anderen. Zweitens kann man der untersuchten Frage durch die Überprüfung der Komposition nahe kommen. Die Rolle des Narrators ist in diesem Fall ziemlich knapp. Die beschreibenden Teile sind in Roman wirklich nicht so bedeutend, die Monologe und die Dialoge machen den größten Teil des Textes aus – wie im Falle der Dramen. Diese Dialoge bestehen aus längeren Sprechakten und ermöglichen eine mündliche Aufführung.

Zum Schluss kehren wir zur Frage der Rhetorik zurück. Die byzantinischen Autoren bauten in ihre Romane verschiedene *Progymnasma*-Typen ein,

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[22] Zur *theatra* siehe Mullett, M.: Aristocracy and Patronage in the Literary Circles of Comnenian Constantinople. In M. Angold (Hrsg.): *The Byzantine Aristocracy: IX to XIII Centuries*. (*BAR International Series 221)*. Oxford 1984, 173–201 und Marciniak, P. : Byzantine Theatron – A Place of Performance?. In Grünbart, M. (Hrsg.): *Theatron: rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter / Rhetorical Culture in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Berlin 2007, 277–86.

[23] Jeffreys, E.: *Four Byzantine Novel*. Liverpool 2014, 14.

zahlreicher als die antiken Romanautoren. R. E. Harder sammelte die in byzantinischen Werken besonders häufig vorkommenden *Progymnasmata*: Klagen und Reden als *Ethopoiie*n, *Ekphrasis*, *Ana-* und *Kataskeuai*, *Mythoi*, *Diegemata*.[24] Bemerkenswert ist, dass wenige Kodizes, die das Werk *Drosilla und Charikles* bewahrten, so überliefert sind, dass die einzelnen *Progymnasma*-Typen markiert sind.[25] Da die Rhetorikübungen nicht nur in der Schulausbildung, sondern auch in den literarischen Salons eine wichtige Rolle spielten, deuten die Bezeichnungen der Handschriften darauf hin, dass die byzantinischen Romane, wie auch *Drosilla und Charikles*, oral vorgestellt wurden.

Die vielen Reden, die lyrischen Einlagen, die Bewertung der künstlerischen Leistung, die genaue Abschreibung der Reaktion verstärken die Annahme, dass sich der Leser in einem literarischen Symposion befindet. Wenn man von den erwähnten Merkmalen der Mündlichkeit absieht und das *theatron* als ein Motiv betrachtet, sind die Episoden des Dichterwettbewerbs auch noch bedeutend. Durch diese erscheinen nämlich kleine Szenen aus dem byzantinischen Literaturleben des 12. Jahrhunderts, ein kleiner Spiegel des Salons.

Zusammenfassung

Stellt der byzantinische Roman eine selbständige Gattung dar? Wie neu ist der Roman von Niketas Eugenianos, oder ist er nur eine Nachahmung von antiken Romanen in neuer Kleidung? Dieser Beitrag versucht sichtbar zu machen, auf welche Weise sich die Gattung in den Händen eines Autors aus dem 12. Jahrhundert formt. Darüber lässt sich nicht streiten, dass *Drosilla und Charikles* zusammen mit drei anderen Romanen auf antiken Grundlagen liegt, sich aus denen ernährt. Gleichzeitig wurde während der Analyse ersichtlich, dass man nicht mit einem traditionellen griechischen Liebesroman zu tun hat. Eugenianos setzte ihn in eine christliche, bukolische Umgebung, bildete ihn nach den literarischen Ansprüchen der Epoche, machte einen Versuch: wie schon erwähnt, spielte er mit den Gattungen, den Charakteren, den Motiven; er drückte die Grenzen der Romangattung auseinander.

Dieser Roman ist nicht nur bedeutungsvoll, weil er die Wieder- und Neugeburt einer Gattung zeigt, sondern auch, weil die griechische Bukolik und die bukolische Dichtung mit diesem Werk in der byzantinischen Literatur auch erscheinen. Außerdem gibt es in der Geschichte des griechischen Romans zuerst

[24] Harder (Anm. 5) 359–360.

[25] Conca (Anm. 4) 17., Harder (Anm. 5) 366.

hier direkte Hinweise auf andere Romane.[26] Also, auf die oben erwähnte Frage kann man folgendes antworten: die Kleidung ist wirklich neu, aber *Drosilla und Charikles* von Eugenianos überschreitet in dem Entwicklungsprozess der Gattung die antiken Vorbilder und repräsentiert eine selbständige Station.

[26] In der Rede von Kallidemos: 6, 382–551.

Emese Egedi-Kovács

La traduction française de la version grecque dite d'Iviron de *Barlaam et Joasaph*. À propos de l'édition critique en cours[*]

Le codex d'Iviron N°. 463 est un manuscrit conservé au Mont Athos qui contient l'une des versions abrégées du texte grec du roman de *Barlaam et Joasaph*. Son caractère exceptionnel provient – outre les splendides miniatures qu'il renferme – du fait d'avoir ses marges entièrement remplies d'une ancienne traduction française restée, à l'exception de quelques fragments, largement inexplorée. La haute qualité de l'écriture française mérite d'être soulignée, et plus encore le fait qu'une traduction soit exécutée directement à côté de son original, ce dont on ne connaît, semble-t-il, aucun autre exemple dans la littérature byzantine. L'histoire de *Barlaam et Joasaph* provient très probablement d'un récit bouddhique écrit en sanskrit, et racontant la vie de Bodhisattwa. Par l'intermédiaire de l'arabe et du géorgien – il finit par parvenir sous une forme christianisée à Byzance où il est traduit en grec. Une vieille tradition attribue, certainement de façon erronée, la version christianisée à Jean Damascène (v. 676-749). Il est néanmoins certain que l'on doit la traduction grecque à un moine géorgien nommé Euthymius d'Athos[1]. À partir du XI[e] siècle des traductions latines en furent exécutées[2], puis, à partir du XIII[e] siècle, l'histoire se répandit largement en Europe de l'Ouest (en ancien français il en existe de nombreuses versions[3]). Selon l'histoire de la version

[*] Nos recherches sont soutenues par les projets OTKA PD 108622 et OTKA NN 104456.

[1] Sur l'auteur et l'origine de l'œuvre, voir Volk, R. : *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, VI/1, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin / New York, 2006, « Einleitung », *passim*.

[2] Voir Peri, H. : « La plus ancienne traduction latine du roman grec de *Barlaam et Josaphat* et son auteur », *Studi Mediolatini e Volgari* VI-VII (1959), p. 169–189 ; Peeters, P. : « La première traduction latine de *Barlaam et Joasaph* et son original grec », *Analecta Bollandiana* XLIX (1931), p. 276–312.

[3] Voir entre autres *Barlaam und Josaphat*, Französisches Gedicht des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts

christianisée, Abenner, roi païen de l'Inde, persécute avec acharnement les disciples de la nouvelle Église, les chrétiens. Lors de la naissance de son fils, Joasaph, des astrologues prédisent qu'il se convertira au christianisme. Abenner décide alors de l'isoler en l'enfermant dans un palais, afin de le tenir à distance de tous les maux terrestres. Malgré toutes ces précautions, Joasaph rencontre l'ermite Barlaam qui le convertit au christianisme, et en dépit de la colère de son père, le jeune homme restera fidèle à sa décision. Abenner lui aussi finit par se convertir, puis transmet le pouvoir à son fils et devient ermite. Joasaph, après avoir converti son peuple, abdique lui-même pour rejoindre son maître, Barlaam, dans le désert.

Étant donné que le manuscrit du Mont Athos était (et est toujours) difficilement accessible, l'ancienne traduction française écrite sur ses marges – qui, soulignons-le, diffère complètement d'un point de vue philologique de toutes les autres versions françaises – a été jusqu'ici peu étudiée[4]. C'est cette lacune que nous nous proposons de combler en préparant l'édition critique du texte français que nous essayerons, autant que possible, de restituer et de compléter à l'aide du texte grec, ce qui nécessite évidemment de transcrire aussi ce dernier, tel qu'il se présente dans le codex d'Iviron, avec de nombreuses leçons différant de celles des versions éditées. Dans la présente étude, nous voudrions faire part d'ores et déjà de quelques résultats intéressants de nos recherches préparatoires à cette édition en cours. Par ailleurs, si l'étude de ce sujet nous semble particulièrement intéressante, c'est qu'elle semble confirmer dans une large mesure nos précédentes recherches, en particulier notre hypothèse selon laquelle il y aurait eu un contact direct entre les littératures grecque / byzantine et française à une époque relativement haute, à savoir

von Gui de Cambrai, Zotenberg, H. – Meyer, P. (eds), Stuttgart, 1864 ; Chardry : *Josaphaz*, In Altfranzösische Bibliothek herausgegeben von W. Foerster, Erster band, Heilbronn, 1879 ; Sonet J. : *Le roman de Barlaam et Josaphat*, Tome II, La version anonyme française, Première partie : Texte critique, Namur / Paris, 1950 ; Sonet, J. : *Le roman de Barlaam et Josaphat*, Tome II, La version anonyme française, Deuxième partie : Études critiques et mise en prose, Namur / Paris, 1950 ; *L'histoire de Barlaam et Josaphat. Version champenoise d'après le ms. Reg. lat. 660 de la Bibliothèque Apostolique Vaticane*, éditée avec une introduction par L. R. Mills, Genève, Librairie Droz, 1973.

[4] Nous tenons à présenter nos remerciements les plus chaleureux au Professeur Peter Schreiner pour avoir attiré notre attention sur ce document, et pour nous avoir fourni une copie des microfilms du manuscrit, ce qui nous a permis d'examiner de plus près la version française. Sur la rencontre de l'Est et de l'Ouest dans les manuscrits, notamment dans celui d'Iviron No. 463, voir Schreiner, P. : « Die Begegnung von Orient und Okzident in der Schrift », In *Byzanz und das Abendland: Begegnungen zwischen Ost und West,* Juhász, E. (éd.), Eötvös-József-Collegium ELTE, Budapest, 2013, p. 11–41.

dès le XII^e^ siècle, exactement au moment où le roman français connaissait ses débuts[5].

Bien qu'une nouvelle édition de la version grecque du roman *Barlaam et Joasaph* ait été publiée il y a peu de temps, en 2009, par Robert Volk[6] (édition monumentale d'ailleurs, avec deux volumes contenant une introduction remarquablement détaillée et un appareil critique établi avec une grande minutie), la transcription et l'édition éventuelle du texte grec présent dans le codex d'Iviron N^o^ 463 ne nous semblent pas un travail inutile. En effet, le manuscrit d'Iviron ne figure pas parmi les textes pris en considérations par l'apparat critique de l'édition de R. Volk. Or, toute variante – omission, ajout ou leçon différente – aussi petite soit-elle, s'avère décisive si l'on veut déchiffrer le mieux possible le texte français. Sur le *stemma* établi par R. Volk, le codex d'Iviron N^o^. 463 appartient à la famille *e*, celle qui rassemble les manuscrits contenant une version abrégée du roman de *Barlaam et Joasaph*. Parmi ces manuscrits, seules les leçons de X, Y et Z sont indiquées dans l'apparat critique, alors que celle du manuscrit d'Iviron s'en écarte sur certains points. À tel point que sur le *stemma* celui-ci représente une branche tout à fait indépendante. Le manuscrit, en possession du monastère d'Iviron sur le Mont Athos, comporte 135 feuillets de parchemin de 23 sur 17 cm, rédigés sur une seule colonne, et ornés de 80 enluminures magnifiquement élaborées (dont l'une, celle qui figurait au verso du feuillet 126, est – de manière fort regrettable – totalement effacée[7]). Il faut souligner qu'alors que, dans le texte original, aucune légende ne s'ajoute aux miniatures, dans la version française, en revanche, les phrases écrites en lettres grasses et à l'encre rouge – dont on ne trouve aucun équivalent dans le texte grec – semblent apparemment remplir cette fonction. En voici quelques exemples :

> Si cum li filz del roi Ioasaf fu nés e de la profecie de l'austronomien (fol. 8v)
> Deus ermites qui fu[ren]t martir (fol. 11v)

[5] Egedi-Kovács, E. : *La « morte vivante » dans le récit français et occitan du Moyen Âge*, ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, Tálentum sorozat, Budapest, 2012 (http://www.eltereader.hu/media/2013/04/03_Egedi_opt.pdf).

[6] Volk (n. 1) VI/1-2.

[7] Cette miniature devait représenter la scène de l'accueil de Joasaph par un ermite, telle qu'elle apparaît peut-être dans un autre manuscrit (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ancien fonds grec 1128, fol. 189v). Nous nous demandons si cet accueil n'était pas trop « chaleureux », du moins au goût de celui qui effaça la miniature. Le texte semble d'ailleurs équivoque sur plusieurs points, et la trame elle-même montre une parenté étroite avec les romans d'amour grecs. Voir Jouanno, C. : « *Barlaam et Joasaph* : Une aventure spirituelle en forme de roman d'amour », *Pris-Ma* (Recherches sur la littérature d'imagination au Moyen Âge) XVI/1, N^o^ 31, Janvier-Juin, E.R.L.I.M.A., Université de Poitiers, 2000, p. 61-76.

> Cum il encontre le mesiau e l'avogle (fol. 14v)
> Coment Bar[laam] doctrina Ioasaf [sent]ant sun trespas[emen]t e li dist qu'il le me[s]ist en terre (fol. 128v)
> Co[men]t il li dona sa […] e sa beneiçun [pu]is rendi l'ar[me. E] coment Ioasaf [le pl]ora e enterra (fol. 132v)

Dans son état actuel, le manuscrit est malheureusement incomplet, il lui manque plusieurs feuillets. Toutefois, ceux-ci étaient sans doute encore là à l'époque où la traduction française fut exécutée. Cela est manifeste au verso du feuillet 10, par exemple, sur lequel le texte français cite quelques lignes du texte grec actuellement perdu :

> (…) je ne devenrai chretien e que guahanerai ie en ma roiauté ces autres ioies e es delices del siecle. Avuec les bones e[…] que j'ai dechacés avuec caus me voil ie metre. Que vos senble de ce e que m'en consel[les… (fol. 10v)

> [εἰ μὴ Χριστιανός τε γένωμαι καί - χαίρειν εἰπὼν τῇ δόξῃ τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἡδέοις καὶ τερπνοῖς τοῦ βίου - τοὺς ἀσκητὰς ἐκείνους (…) οὓς ἀδίκως ἀπήλασα, ἐκείνοις ἑαυτὸν ἐγκαταμίξω. Πρὸς ταῦτα τί φὴς αὐτὸς καὶ ὁποίαν δίδως βουλήν][8]

Il est également intéressant de noter qu'entre les feuillets 26 et 27, une grosse partie du texte manque, ce qui n'est certainement pas l'effet du pur hasard. Les feuillets perdus devaient en fait contenir une partie importante, sans doute tout le chapitre qui racontait justement l'histoire de Jésus-Christ. Hormis les pertes de feuillets, on peut constater une interversion dans l'ordre de certains feuillets. En ce qui concerne le texte grec, quelques divergences s'y manifestent par rapport aux autres manuscrits, avant tout au niveau de l'orthographe[9]. Quant aux abréviations, le copiste s'en sert du système usuel[10].

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[8] *Historia animae utilis de Barlaam et Ioasaph*, 4, 46-50, Volk (n. 1) VI/2, 31-32.

[9] 1. Graphie o pour ω / ω pour o : ἱεροσύνης (ἱερωσύνης), τετελειομένος (τετελειωμένος), δωρυφορίας (δορυφορίας), ἀποζώντων (ἀποζόντων), βιωτήν (βιοτήν), μονότατον (μονώτατον) ; 2. η pour ι : καταχρήσας (καταχρίσας), ἐνεφάνησεν (ἐνεφάνισεν) ; 3. orthographe divergente qui semble parfois fautive : χρυσοκλήτου (χρυσοκολλήτου), καταχριωμένους (κατωχριωμένους), οὕτως (οὕτω), διορίζοντα (διωρίζοντο), ἐπαναστραφθέντα (ἐπαναστραφέντα), ἐπάναγοντα (ἀπάγοντα), γενομένος (γενομένης) ; 4. l'usage abusif de ν mobile : προσεκύνησεν καὶ ἀναστὰς ; ἔπνευσεν δυσωδία ; Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς ; ὑποστάσεσιν δοξαζόμενον ; ἐστιν καὶ ; 5. répétition due à l'inattention : fol. 23r : πόσου δὲ ταῦτα πόσου δὲ ; fol 26r : ἐκόλασαν καὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας – οὕτω γὰρ ὁ λαὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐκέκλητο – διὰ ξηρᾶς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν διήγαγον. Τὸν δὲ Φαραὼ καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους κατ' ἴχνος ἐκόλασαν ; 6. ajout de mots, différentes leçons par rapport aux autres manuscrits : fol. 25r : σὺν γυναικὶ ; fol. 14v : βίον (pour αἰῶνα) ; fol. 25r : κατώκησεν (pour κατέστησεν) ; fol. 26r : τὸν Ἰσραήλ (pour τὸν λαὸν).

[10] 1. Abréviation des terminaisons : ἐκεῖν(ος), μόν(ας), οὐδεν(ός), ἀπαγαγ(εῖν), καθείρξε(ως) ;

Pour ce qui est du texte français écrit directement à côté du grec, c'est Paul Meyer qui fut le premier et – semble-t-il – le seul à l'avoir jusqu'à présent examiné sinon entièrement du moins dans une toute petite partie. Car à l'époque, l'éminent savant n'avait sous les yeux que quelques photos (faites par l'historien d'art, Pierre Sevastianoff) des feuillets ou de parties de feuillets, et uniquement de ceux sur lesquels se trouvaient des miniatures[11]. En 1866, P. Meyer dut donc se contenter de publier seulement quelques fragments du texte français, 19 pages sur 270, avec « tant de lacunes et d'incertitudes » comme il le reconnut lui-même. D'après les fragments transcrits, P. Meyer data la traduction du commencement du XIII^e^ siècle. Selon lui, elle devrait avoir été exécutée par « quelqu'un de ceux qui accompagnèrent Boniface II, marquis de Montferrat dans la Grèce et à Salonique ». La documentation sur le texte français est minime[12], et il faut également souligner que les versions françaises qui existent à partir du XIII^e^ siècle, et dont la base philologique a été déjà largement explorée, n'ont aucune relation avec le texte du manuscrit d'Iviron. Les marges du codex sont remplies par la version française de la première jusqu'à la dernière page, il s'agit donc de 270 (!) pages d'un texte en ancien français totalement inédit. L'écriture est régulière et soignée : c'est une graphie claire, et relativement uniforme, exécutée par une seule main, sans doute celle du traducteur lui-même. Il s'agirait par conséquent d'un texte autographe, ce qui rend ce document encore plus précieux. Malheureusement, le manuscrit a subi de graves mutilations : le rognage a ainsi enlevé parfois une ou deux lignes sur les marges supérieures et inférieures ; sur les marges latérales, le plus souvent ce sont deux ou trois lettres qui semblent avoir été perdues. Cependant, il faut signaler que les marges supérieures ne comprenaient certainement pas toujours deux lignes de traduction : aux folios 13 et 14 par exemple, on peut affirmer en toute certitude qu'elle n'en contenait qu'une seule :

2. abréviation des mots fréquents ou des noms sacrés : φ(ησίν), θ(εό)ς / θ(εο)ῦ, ἄν(θρωπ)ός / ἄ(νθ)ρ(ωπ)ος / ἄν(θρωπ)ον / ἀν(θρώπ)οις / φιλαν(θρωπ)ίαν / ἀν(θρώπ)ινα, π(ατ)ήρ / π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς / π(ατ)ρί, ὑι(ός), κ(ύριο)ς, σ(ωτή)ριος / σ(ωτη)ρίας, πν(εῦμ)α / πν(εύματ)ι / πν(ευματ)ικῆς, οὐ(ρα)νόν etc.

[11] Meyer, P. : « Fragments d'une ancienne traduction française de *Barlaam et Joasaph* faite sur le texte grec au commencement du treizième siècle, *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, vingt-septième année, tome deuxième, Librairie A. Franck, Paris, 1866, p. 313–335.

[12] Sonet, J. : *La légende des saints Barlaam et Josaphat dans les littératures romanes médiévales, étude bibliographique et critique*, Université de Louvain, 1934–1935 ; Sonet, J. : *Le roman de Barlaam et Josaphat : Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite latine et française*, Louvain, 1949.

(…) e de la grace del seint espirit e co- (fol. 13v)
mença a uvrir ses oilz a entendement de bien e de sa sauveté (…) (fol. 14r)

Quant à la question de la provenance et de la datation du manuscrit d'Iviron, des recherches récentes[13] ont prouvé qu'il fut très probablement rédigé dans le monastère de Lophadion à Constantinople et non dans celui d'Iviron où il est actuellement conservé, et ce à une époque beaucoup plus ancienne qu'on le supposait, à savoir la fin du XI^e siècle (v. 1075)[14]. À cet endroit qu'il aurait été conservé à l'époque de l'Empire latin et, selon K. Weitzmann, c'est pendant cette période, après la IV^e croisade, que ses marges furent chargées d'une traduction française[15]. Par la suite, peut-être du fait de la reconquête inattendue de la ville en 1261, le manuscrit ne parvint jamais dans un pays francophone et resta au monastère de Lophadion après la restauration de l'Empire byzantin et la fuite des Latins (qui n'eurent vraisemblablement pas le temps de l'emporter avec eux). Plus tard, sans que l'on puisse savoir à quelle date exactement, il fut porté au monastère d'Iviron[16]. Quant à la version française, P. Meyer supposa, comme nous l'avons indiqué plus haut, qu'elle avait été rédigée au commencement du XIII^e siècle : « c'est la date qu'indique l'écriture, et la langue, un français excellent, n'y contredit point »[17] affirma-t-il. Or, à notre avis, rien n'empêche de supposer qu'elle soit plus ancienne, remontant peut-être au début du XII^e siècle voire à la fin du XI^e. En réalité, on connaît peu de chose sur la graphie de cette période, « les textes rédigés à cette époque ne nous étant parvenus que dans des copies très postérieures »[18]. Toutefois, les éléments caractérisant la graphie des chansons de geste et des autres textes du XII^e siècle qui nous sont parvenus, tels qu'ils ont été rassemblés par Charles

[13] D'Aiuto, F. : « Su alcuni copisti di codici miniati mediobizantini », *Byzantion* 67 (1997), p. 5–59.

[14] Notons qu'en 1886, déjà, P. Meyer, émit la même hypothèse et data le manuscrit du XI^e siècle : « Du onzième siècle, selon M. Miller, à qui j'ai montré ces épreuves photographiques, et qui d'ailleurs avait vu le ms. à son dernier voyage en Orient », Meyer (n. 9) 313.

[15] Weitzmann, K. : *Aus den Bibliotheken des Athos*, Hamburg, 1963, p. 105–107, cité par Volk (n. 1) VI/1, 271–272.

[16] Selon une autre théorie, qui – toute séduisante qu'elle soit – semble peu probable, le codex aurait été préparé dans le monastère d'Iviron à l'époque (au XIII^e siècle) où celui-ci passa provisoirement sous l'autorité de la papauté (Pérez, M. : « Apuntes sobre la historia del texto bizantino de la *Historia edificante de Barlaam y Josafat* », *Erytheia* 17 [1996], p. 176–177.)

[17] Meyer (n. 9) 316.

[18] Beaulieux, Ch. : *Histoire de l'orthographe française*, Tome premier, « Formation de l'orthographe des origines au milieu du XVI^e siècle », Paris, 1927, p. 42.

Beaulieux dans son ouvrage sur l'histoire de l'orthographe française[19], semblent bien apparaître dans le texte français du manuscrit d'Iviron alors que ceux propres aux textes écrits à partir du XIII^e^ en semblent complètement absents. À ce stade préparatoire, il serait évidemment trop tôt pour formuler une conclusion définitive sur la graphie et le langage. Nous nous contenterons donc ici d'en dégager quelques traits marquants. L'orthographe semble nette et assez systématique, basée sur la phonétique[20]. Nous n'y décelons ni un nombre excessif de caractères, ni de références artificielles à la graphie latine[21]. Citons à titre d'exemple le mot « marguerite » ('perle'), qui apparaît dans notre texte sous la forme *margerite*, au lieu de *margerie*, la forme populaire (v. 1130) qui a été éliminée par la forme savante *margarite* (fin XII^e^ s.)[22]. Le traducteur écrivit donc ce mot avec *t*, sans doute à cause de la leçon grecque (μαργαρίτας), en restant indifférent à toute considération étymologique ou savante qui aurait suggéré le remplacement du graphème *e* par *a*[23]. Notons en même temps l'apparition du mot « basilic » ('serpent venimeux') sous la forme purement latine (*basiliscum*), dont une forme francisée est pourtant attestée à partir du premier quart du XII^e^ siècle[24].

La voyelle [*u*] se note systématiquement par le monographe *o* (*norri, morir, trover, doze, doce* etc.) et nous ne remarquons pas l'apparition du digraphe *ou*, commençant à le concurrencer dès le XIII^e^ siècle[25]. On note la diphtongue *ue* – ayant succédé à *uo*, issue d'« ò » libre[26] – dans les mots *cuer* et *puet*, mais notons *pople* (et non *pueple*). Les imparfaits sont en *oi* (*estoit / estoient, tenoit,*

[19] Beaulieux (n. 16) 42–86.

[20] « La morphologie n'influence donc pas la graphie. Aussi bien, les mots sont encore les aboutissants directs des formes latines, et la graphie n'a d'autre souci que de représenter fidèlement la prononciation », Beaulieux (n. 16) 45.

[21] En revanche, dans les textes écrits du XIII^e^ au XV^e^ siècle, une préoccupation étymologique exagérée est manifeste (p. ex. : *escript, obvier, faict, poinct* etc.), ce qui aboutit parfois à des orthographes faisant références à des étymologies erronées (p. ex. : *scavoir*, sur SCĪRE, pour *SAPĒRE). Allières, J. : *La formation de la langue française*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1982, p. 46 ; Beaulieux (n. 16) 177.

[22] *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française*, Sous la direction d'A. Rey, Le Robert (Nouvelle édition), tome 2, 2012, s.v. 'marguerite'.

[23] Le mot apparaît sous cette même forme (*margerite*) dans *Aucassin et Nicolette* (fin XII^e^ s.), mais au sens de 'fleur'.

[24] *basilisc* (v. 1120), Rey (n. 20) tome 1, s.v. 'basilic'.

[25] Buridant, C. : *Grammaire nouvelle de l'ancien français*, Sedes, 2000, p. 38 ; Allières (n. 19) 45.

[26] Beaulieux (n. 16) 62.

avoit, disoit, pensoit, trovoit, devoit, voloit etc.). Ce type d'imparfait, à élément thématique en *oi* (aux personnes 1, 2, 3 et 6), est attesté dès le début du XII^e^ siècle[27]. *C* s'emploie pour noter [*ts*]/[*s*] non seulement devant *e*, *i* (*cent, tristece, cercle, celeste*), mais aussi devant *a*, *o*, *u* (*caus, comenca, enbracoit, chacoient, beneicum, recut*). La combinaison *sc* – dont les scribes se servaient à partir du XIII^e^ siècle[28] – pour indiquer le son [*s*], semble complètement absente. Ainsi trouve-t-on *leece, tristece, proece, parfundece* (et non *leesce*, *tristesce* etc.). L'auteur semble ne pas se servir du graphème *k* et use de *qu* pour *que, qui, quand*. En ce qui concerne l'*y*, celui-ci semble s'en servir uniquement pour remplacer les mots d'origine étrangère (*hydeuse, ydre, ydole, ymne, Ynde*). Sa bonne connaissance du grec est évidente, ce qui explique pourquoi il n'abuse nullement de ce type de graphie, comme c'était le cas pour certains copistes au XII^e^ et au début du XIII^e^ siècle : « il suffisait qu'un nom propre renfermant un *i* eût une physionomie étrangère pour qu'on l'affublât d'un *y* »[29]. Toutefois, notons que « l'usage de ce caractère » restait jusqu'à la fin du XII^e^ siècle « fort restreint ». Au XIII^e^, en revanche, « les copistes de chartes cherchèrent à tirer un meilleur parti de cette lettre (…). Aussi l'utilisèrent-ils (…) comme *litera legibilior* en place d'*i* voyelle »[30]. Or, ce phénomène paraît totalement absent dans notre *corpus*. L'*x* qui vaut *-us* n'est pas très fréquent dans notre texte. Si l'on a *espirituex* et *quex*, on trouve constamment *Deu* et non *Dex*. L'adjectif « chrétien » et ses dérivés sont à chaque fois abrégés par la graphie *xp* (les lettres grecques *chi* et *rho*) surmontée d'un tilde (*xpīen* pour *chrétien* ; *xpīens* pour *chrétiens* ; *xpīente* pour *chrétienté*). Cependant, le nom de Christ apparaît constamment sans abréviation (*Iesu Crist*). Si ce type d'abréviation (*xp*) était tout-à-fait habituel dans les manuscrits latins (*xps* pour *Christus*), il ne nous semble pas qu'il en ait été de même pour les manuscrits en ancien français. Notons enfin deux traces d'archaïsme : la graphie *a* qui note un [*e*] final atone (*faca* 'face'), et une forme verbale en *-re* (*poret*)[31], résidu du plus-que-parfait latin, qu'on trouve dans les plus anciens textes[32].

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[27] « A P. 1, 2, 3, 6, /ej/ graphié *ei* passe à /oj/ graphié *oi* dès le début du XII^e^ siècle. » *Manuel du français du moyen âge, 3. Systèmes morphologiques de l'ancien français, A. le verbe*, Sous la direction d'Y. Lefèvre, Sobodi, Bordeaux, 1983, p. 128.

[28] Beaulieux (n. 16) 179.

[29] Beaulieux (n. 16) 51.

[30] Beaulieux (n. 16) 163.

[31] « Dans la langue des troubadours, il est surtout employé dans des contextes hypothétiques, alors qu'en français il semble déjà obsolète vers l'époque de *Roland* (…) », Buridant (n. 23) 252.

[32] « La graphie des premiers textes français, Serments de Strasbourg et Eulalie », Beaulieux (n. 16) 37.

Tout bien considéré, le début du XIII^e^ siècle, que P. Meyer avança pour la datation de la version française du codex d'Iviron, nous semble plutôt un *terminus ante quem*. D'ailleurs, du point de vue des faits historiques, rien n'empêche de supposer qu'il ait pu y avoir à Constantinople – dès la fin du XI^e^ siècle – un franc capable de traduire tout un texte écrit en grec. Outre le fait que la présence française s'accrut sans doute considérablement lors des deux premières croisades, il faut souligner que la première traduction latine du roman grec de *Barlaam et Joasaph*, exécutée vers 1048, est justement due – selon toute apparence – à un français vivant depuis longtemps à Constantinople[33].

En ce qui concerne la langue dans laquelle est rédigée la version française, c'est le francien – la koïnè littéraire de l'époque – qui en constitue la base, à laquelle quelques phénomènes dialectaux viennent se superposer :

1. Réduction de la diphtongue *ue* (issu de O ouvert) à *o* (p. ex. : *pople*). « Le fait est attesté en anglo-normand, dès le début du XII^e^ siècle. La même réduction peut avoir lieu aussi dans le Nord-Est (picard, wallon) et le résultat est écrit *u* ou *o* : cette réduction s'observe dès le XII^e^ siècle (…). »[34]
2. Fermeture en *i* de *e*, *ei*, *oi* atones devant une consonne anciennement palatalisée (p. ex. : *signor, conisance, reconisance, orisun*), qui est un trait picard[35].
3. Non-palatalisation ou dépalatalisation de L mouillé (p. ex. : *consel, traval, mervelle, vellars*) qu'on remarque en normand, en picard, en tournaisien, dans le nord de la Champagne et en anglo-normand[36].
4. La triphtongue *ieu* (toutes origines) est représentée par *iu* (p. ex. : *liu*), trait qui est propre au picard.
5. L'usage de *-es* à la 2^e^ personne du pluriel, au lieu de *-ez* (p. ex. : *vos porres, vos receves*), dont les copistes picards usent couramment, en dépit d'une confusion de lecture possible[37].
6. L'orthographe du mot *austronomien* que nous rencontrons dans notre *corpus* écrit systématiquement avec le digraphe *au* nous semble un phénomène assez curieux. S'agirait-il de « la tendance inverse, celle qui

[33] Peri (n. 2) 178.

[34] Chaurand, J. : *Introduction à la dialectologie française*, Bordas, Paris, 1972, p. 63.

[35] Zink, G. : *L'ancien français (XII^e^-XIII^e^ siècle)*, Paris, 1987, p. 28.

[36] Chaurand (n. 32) 93.

[37] Chaurand (n. 32) 115.

porte A à se vélariser et donc à tendre vers O qui s'observe en anglo-normand, ainsi que dans le Nord-Est et surtout l'Est devant le groupe BL maintenu (p. ex. : *tauble* pour *table*, *Psautier lorrain*) »[38] ? Si c'est le cas, ce serait plutôt un trait anglo-normand, car nous trouvons dans notre texte *table* et non *tauble*.

7. O nasalisé est écrit *u* (*religiun, barun, sun, cunta, charungne*). Ce trait est observé dans le Nord et le Nord-Est (picard, champenois) aussi bien que dans l'Ouest (normand, anglo-normand)[39].

Il semblerait donc que les traits picards et normands l'emportent en nombre, surtout peut-être les traits picards. Pourtant, ajoutons que de nombreux traits marquants qui caractérisent la graphie picarde[40] n'y apparaissent nullement. En comparant notre texte par exemple avec celui du manuscrit *A* (Paris, BNF, fr. 375) du roman de *Floire et Blanchefleur*, dans lequel « la plupart des traits dialectaux et des pratiques graphiques en usage dans les ateliers picards du XIII^e^ siècle sont présents »[41], nous pouvons constater les différences suivantes :

1. Absence du graphème *k* qui concurrence le signe polyvalent *c* ou le digraphe *qu* ;
2. Aucun exemple pour la graphie *ch* qui note une chuintante en picard, issue de la palatalisation de *c* latin devant *e*, *i*, *yod* ;
3. Aucun exemple pour la graphie *w*, pour une occlusive /g/ ;
4. Aucun exemple pour le maintien des occlusives palatovélaires notées *c, k, g* devant /a/ latin ou germanique et devant /e/, /i/ germaniques (*cose, gambe* etc.) ;
5. L'article féminin au CSsg. est toujours *la* (p. ex. : *la vie*) et non *le* (ou *li*) comme ce serait en picard.

[38] Chaurand (n. 32) 53.

[39] « (…) O nasalisé est souvent écrit *u*, *ou* dans le Nord et le Nord-Est (picard, champenois) aussi bien que dans l'Ouest (normand, anglo-normand) : *u*, *ou* + nasale représentent alors soit [õ], soit [ũ] provenant de [*o*] fermé en [*u*] à l'époque de la nasalisation (XII^e^ siècle). Dans la *Chanson de Roland* (manuscrit d'Oxford), on remarquera sans peine les formes *felun*, *esperuns*, *Carlun* (laisse CXIV) (…) », Chaurand (n. 32) 78.

[40] Sur la graphie picarde, voir Gossen, Ch. Th. : *Grammaire de l'ancien picard*, Éditions Klincksieck, Paris, 1970.

[41] Robert D'Orbigny : *Le conte de Floire et Blanchefleur*, Publié, traduit, présenté et annoté par J.-L. Leclanche, Honoré Champion, Paris, 2003, p. IX-XI.

Ajoutons d'ailleurs, que les dialectes ne furent formés qu'au XIII^e^ siècle, ce qui suggère peut-être également une datation haute pour notre texte. Comme nous l'avons souligné plus haut, le texte français du manuscrit d'Iviron diffère du point de vue philologique de toutes les versions françaises connues. Alors que ces dernières adaptent ou remanient très probablement l'une des traductions latines, le texte français du codex d'Iviron suit fidèlement son original grec. À titre d'exemple, nous pouvons citer le texte du recto du feuillet 5. Ici, dans le grec, on lit : « τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ὑπάρχων μοίρας », ce qui signifie « assujetti à la partie grecque / aux coutumes grecques », c'est-à dire qu'« il menait (à savoir le roi Abenner) une vie païenne ». Dans les adaptations françaises on trouve tout simplement à chaque fois le terme « païen »[42], tandis que la traduction du codex d'Iviron cite cette expression mot-à-mot : « a la partie des eleins ». Le mot grec μοίρας (μοῖρα, -ας 'part', 'portion') est donc traduit, de façon très précise, par le substantif « *partie* ». Ce qui est encore plus intéressant, c'est de constater l'apparition du mot « eleins » qui serait évidemment une forme francisée de « Ἑλληνικῆς ». Cependant, ce terme ne figure dans aucun autre texte en ancien français. Si certains dérivés existent certes aujourd'hui dans la langue française (hellène < *Hellên, Hellênos*, 1681 ; hellénique < *hellênikos*, 1712), ceux-ci n'y sont entrés – selon le dictionnaire étymologique[43] – qu'après 1681. Que la traduction française ait été basée sur la version grecque, et justement sur celle que le codex d'Iviron présente, cela ne fait donc aucun doute. En voici une autre trace manifeste : au recto du feuillet 26 on lit : διαγαγὼν τὸν Ἰσραήλ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ « 'menant Israël au désert' ». Selon l'apparat critique de l'édition de R. Volk, cette leçon ne figure dans aucun autre manuscrit, partout on a « τὸν λαὸν ». Or, la traduction française cite exactement la version du codex d'Iviron : « enmena caus d'Irrael el desert » (« emmena ceux d'Israël au désert »). Il est intéressant de noter dans le texte français le mot Israël écrit avec deux *r*. Ce type de graphie qui n'apparaît nulle part ailleurs, refléterait-elle la prononciation du traducteur lui-même ? Il faut souligner en effet que ce mot figure dans le texte grec sous forme abrégée (ἰήλ).

L'importance de la mise à jour de ce nouveau *corpus* nous semble immense. Non seulement parce qu'il pourra constituer un nouveau témoignage sur l'ancien français, d'une longueur remarquable d'ailleurs (il s'agit d'une trois

[42] Version dite « Champenoise » : « il estoit *païeins* » (Mills [n. 3], p. 29) ; Version dite « Anonyme » : « De nostre foi ne savoit rien / Ainz menoit vie de *paien*. », v. 117-118 (Sonet [n. 3] Tome II, Première partie, 8) ; Version dite « Anonyme », prose : « De no foi ne savoit riens, ains vivoit selonc la foi des *paiens* » (Sonet [n. 3] Tome II, Deuxième partie, 492).

[43] Rey (n. 20) tome 2, s.v. 'hellène', 'hellénique'.

centaines de pages !), mais aussi parce qu'on peut espérer en retirer plusieurs résultats intéressants du point de vue littéraire et philologique. L'examen de cette ancienne traduction française, sa mise en parallèle avec l'original grec pourrait en effet ouvrir de toutes nouvelles perspectives pour la recherche, car ce serait la première fois qu'il nous serait possible d'analyser avec son équivalent grec un texte français, d'une époque relativement haute, et d'un genre voisin du genre romanesque, ce qui devrait permettre de faire plusieurs découvertes en philologie. L'étude de ce manuscrit est également susceptible de fournir de nouveaux éléments aux recherches littéraires concernant les romans français de la même époque, ainsi que les débuts du roman courtois.

Zoltán Farkas

Three Epigrams (*cod. Paris. suppl. Gr.* 309 f. VI)*

The *Funeral Oration* of the Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425) is one of the most widely known Byzantine examples of its genre, the *epitaphios*. The oration was written by Manuel in memory of his younger brother Theodore I Palaiologos, despot of Mistra, who died in June 1407.[1] A shorter version was probably written in 1407, while the longer, final version, after several revisions and some chiselling was probably finished for the second anniversary of Theodore's death in 1409. The *epitaphios* is preserved in seven manuscripts, in some of which several texts belonging to the *Funeral Oration* precede the text of the oration. These short texts are a so-called προθεωρία followed by a short stylistic description of the oration and three short texts referred to by the editor Julian Chrysostomides repeatedly and consistently as epigrams.[2]

The best manuscript of the Emperor's *Funeral Oration* is the one marked with **P** (*cod. Paris. suppl. Gr.* 309). In this 15th century vellum codex the text is preceded by four additional leaves. The second, the third and the fourth leaf are marked with Roman numbers from I to VI. On ff. 2^{r}-3^{r} (ff. I-III) we can find a summary of the *epitaphios* (προθεωρία τοῦ παρόντος λόγου), on f. 3^{v} (f. IV) there is a stylistic description of the *epitaphios* (περὶ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τοῦ λόγου), f. 4^{r} (f. V) contains the first line of an epigram lacking the initial letter and the first three words of the second line, and finally on f. 4^{v} (f. VI) we can read the three so-called epigrams.

The first epigram is a ten-line Byzantine dodecasyllable, in which all the lines "share the same characteristics: paroxytone verse endings; two colons of five and seven syllables, divided by a strong sense pause; a logico-syntactic verse

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1 For a general introduction to the early years of Palaiologan rule in the Morea (1382-1407) see Necipoğlu, N.: *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins. Politics and Society in the Late Empire*. Cambridge (Cambridge University Press) 2009, 235–258.

2 Chrysostomides, J. (ed.): *Manuel II Palaeologus: Funeral Oration on his Brother Theodore with Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes*. (CFHB 26 ser. Thessalonicensis) Thessalonike (Association for Byzantine Research) 1985.

structure and isometry (avoidance of enjambment)".[3] According to the *titulus* in two manuscripts (**W**: *cod. Vindob. Phil. Gr.* 98 and **Va**: *cod. Vatic. Gr.* 632 *olim* 428) this epigram was written by Matthew Chrysocephalos, probably an imperial treasurer belonging to the close circles of the Emperor Manuel.

Τοῦ κυροῦ Ματθαίου τοῦ Χρυσοκεφάλου
Ἥκω σέ, πάντ' ἄριστε, πενθήσων ὅμως
εἰ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν πάντων ἔβης·
βλέπειν ἄδακρυς οὐ σθένω γὰρ τὸν σὸν τάφον· (*sic*)
ἡμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸ σοῦ, φίλτατέ μοι,
οὓς σαυτὸν εἶλες, τὸ κράτιστον κτημάτων·
ἀλλὰ καὶ κοσμήσων σε ταῖς εὐφημίαις
ὅσον χρέους ἅψασθαι, ὡς οἷόν τέ μοι·
τὸ γὰρ κατ' ἀξίαν σοι οὐ βροτῶν νόος,
οὐ γλῶσσαι πᾶσαι, εἰ συνῆλθον εἰς ἅμα,
συνεισενεγκεῖν οἶμαι δύναιντ' ἂν ὅλως. (ed. Chrysostomides)

The second epigram consists of twelve lines and according to the same two manuscripts (**W** and **Va**) is the work of a certain Demetrios Magistros.

Τοῦ κυροῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Μαγίστρου
Ἦλυθον, ἀνδρῶν φέρτατε, πενθήσων, θρηνήσων
καὶ σὲ μέν, εἰ καὶ πὰρ μέγαν ᾧχου περ θεὸν ἤδη·
οὕτοι γάρ μ' ἐάᾳ φύσις εἰσορόωντα τεὸν τάφον
μὴ κατὰ δάκρυ χέειν· πρό γε μὴν σέο ἡμέας αὐτούς,
οὓς δὴ σαυτὸν ἀφείλεο, ὅσσε, φόος ψυχήν τε,
τῶν θ' ὧν εἴχομεν αὖ πάντων τὸ κάλιστον ἐόντα.
Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ μὴν ὄφλω καί μοι νόος μενεαίνει
κοσμεῖν ἠδ' ὑμνεῖν σε λόγοισί τε ἠδ' ἐπέεσσι,
τίσω δὴ καὶ τόδ' ὅσον μοι σθένος, οὐχ ὅσσον δέον·

[3] Lauxtermann, M. D.: *The Spring of Rhythm. An Essay on the Political Verse and Other Byzantine Metres*. (Byzantina Vindobonensia 22) Wien (Verlag der ÖAW) 1999, 42 (in reference to Maas, P.: Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber. *BZ* 12 [1903] 278–323).

εἰ γὰρ καὶ μερόπων γε πρόπας νόος ἠδὲ καὶ πᾶσαι
γλῶσσ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄγερθεν ἀολλέες, οὐκ ἄν γε σχεῖν
οὐδ᾽ οὕτω σε, ὄχ᾽ ἄριστε, ὀΐομαι ἄξια τῖσαι. (ed. Chrysostomides)

It is apparent at first sight that this epigram also consists of lines, but the metre is hard to identify. In the manuscripts as well as in the edited text there are elisions marked by apostrophes and certain vowel juxtapositions which are difficult to explain. The editor also kept some unusual forms, e. g. the word κάλιστον in line 6 – from the two best manuscripts and the earlier edition (1926) by Sp. Lampros – *metri causa*. True enough, the poem does contain a large number of poetic words and Homeric forms. The poetic language and the subject matter – mourning the dead hero – lend the poem a definite epic character, which makes it reasonable to assume that the lines of the poem were written in a kind of (Byzantine) hexameter.

The position of the three epigrams is defined by the picture dominating the middle of the page (see Appendix),[4] a portrait of the Emperor Manuel wearing robes studded with gems, in full regalia (*stemma* with *prependulia*, scepter, *akakia*). The legend in red *capital* letters (with accents and breathings) reads as follows:

col. 1.	col. 2.
Μανου	κ(αὶ)ἀυτο
ὴλεν	κράτωρ
Χ(ριστ)ῶ τῶ θ(ε)ῶ.	Ρωμάιων
πιστὸςβα	ὁ Παλαι
σιλεὺς·	ολόγο(ς)··

Above the picture in the top margin are written the ten lines of the dodecasyllable, in two columns. However, the poem is to be read not according to the columns, but in lines. The second epigram is structured the same way, placed under the picture of the emperor in the bottom margin.

[4] Pl(ate) I in Julian Chrysostomides' edition; for a better quality image also see Evans, H. C. (ed.): *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261-1557)*. Catalogue of the Exhibition "Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261-1557)" at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, from March 23 through July 4 2004. New Haven–London (Yale University Press) 2004, 4 (fig.1,1; with wrong dating: 1309-11); 26 (Cat.1; with wrong *locus*: fol. 6r). http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8593567m/f10.image

Both texts are good, with a very small number of spelling mistakes. Reading and interpretation is helped by phonetic symbols, e. g. by the thorough marking of breathing, accentuation and apostrophes. Sometimes there are two dots on the ι and the υ (ϊ - ϋ). The iota subscript is marked on two occasions, on two other occasions it is unmarked. The accentuation caused by enclitics is always marked, with one exception.

Considering the very high quality of the manuscript and the accuracy of the copyist we have to pay special attention to the punctuation. The texts are concluded with two dots followed by a dash (:–); on this page this mark occurs three times. There are two other types of marks structuring the text: the comma and the dot. (On the page a hyphen is used only on one occasion.)

In the first epigram at the end of the first and the ninth line there is a comma, at the end of the tenth line there is a closing mark: two dots followed by a dash; at the end of the other lines there is a dot. Within the lines there are no dots. The commas in lines 3 and 8 are clearly visible. They are placed after the fifth or the seventh syllable in the twelve-syllable line, i. e. in the third or fourth foot, which is where the caesura of the dodecasyllable might be located.

In the first line of the second epigram the caesura is marked with a comma, at the end of the line there is a dot. The third word of the second line (the first foot) is followed by a comma, the end of the line is marked with a dot. At the end of the third line there is a comma, in the fourth the caesura and the end of the line are marked with a dot. In the middle and at the end of line 5 there is a dot. In line 6 at the caesura and at the end of the line there is a dot. In line 7 the first word is followed by a comma and at the end of the line there is a dot. At the end of line 8 there is a comma, after the fourth foot of line 9 and the end of the line there is a dot. In line 10 there is no punctuation. In line 11 after the fourth foot and at the end of the line there is a comma. The end of the last line is marked with two dots followed by a dash.

The methodical examination of Byzantine manuscripts from a new point of view has started in the past two decades and has been gaining momentum in the past few years.[5] Previously the research focused on late Byzantine manuscripts, more exactly on literary works from the Palaiologan period, especially on

[5] For a general survey of the results see Giannouli, A.: Introduction. In Giannouli, A. – Schiffer, E. (eds): *From Manuscripts to Books – Vom Codex zur Edition. Proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts, Vienna, 10-11 December 2009*. (Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 29) Wien (Verlag der ÖAW) 2011, 17–24 (with further reading: 210–213).

texts preserved in only one manuscript, occasionally an autograph.[6] Different methods could be used for examining Byzantine literary anthologies of classical Greek literature prepared for school use and for Greek translations of Latin classical authors, Church Fathers and other theological works.

In the course of the examination of the punctuation in the manuscripts the greatest difficulty seems to lie in establishing the meaning, the size and the type of the commas and dots, their position relative to the imaginary or actual ruled lines, their distance from the letters (*spatium*) and last but not least in deciding how consistent the copyist was in his use of punctuation.[7]

In the epigrams discussed here the comma usually marks a break shorter than the one marked with the dot placed at the end of the lines. It is to be noted that the comma does not mark and separate syntactic (or rhetorical) clauses. Lines 3 and 8 of the first epigram are examples of this:

3 βλέπειν ἄδακρυς, οὐ σθένω γὰρ σὸν τάφον
8 τὸ γὰρ κατ᾽ ἀξίαν σοι, οὐ βροτῶν νόος

It is worth mentioning that the dots are at the end of the line, and not after the syllable actually closing the word and the line in interlinear position. Similarly, if the punctuation mark is within the line, it does not follow the letters above the line, but the element within the line, as seen in the case of the comma in line 6 of the second epigram (πάντ^{ων},). The punctuation marks at the end of the lines in this epigram indicate that the dot does not only mark the end of the line, but a kind of break as well. The only end of line without a punctuation mark is that of line 10, where the lack of punctuation marks an enjambment.

[6] Giannouli, A.: Leon Balianites: Exegetische Didaskalien. Zur Interpunktion im Codex Escorialensis. In *From Manuscripts to Books*. (n. 5) 79–84; Panteghini, S.: La prassi interpuntiva nel *Cod. Vind. Hist. gr*. 8 (Nicephorus Callisti Xanthopulus: *Historiae ecclesiastica*): un tentativo di descrizione. *Ibidem* 127–174; Reinsch, D. R.: Palinodien eines Editors (Matthaios von Ephesos, Kritobulos von Imbros, Anna Komnene). *Ibidem* 175–184; Schiffer, E.: Codex *Baroccianus* 131 und Codex *Coislinianus* 278 als Überlieferungsträger von Texten des Patriarchen Germanos II. *Ibidem* 185–191; Tocci, R.: Zur Interpunktion in Codices der Palaiologenzeit. *Ibidem* 193–206.

[7] Gastgeber, Chr.: Das Patriarchatsregister von Konstantinopel. Aspekte der Interpunktion und Satzstrukturgliederung. In Giannouli – Schiffer (n. 5) 55–78, esp. 57–59; Noret, J.: Une orthographe relativement bien datée, celle de Georges de Chypre, patriarche de Constantinople. *Ibidem* 93–126, esp. 93–96.

The phrase consisting of the two words standing at the end of line 10 and at the beginning of line 11

10 (…) πᾶσαι
11 γλῶσσ᾽ (…)

seemed to be unseparable for the Byzantine copyist and reader, which is indicated by the absence of the punctuation mark. The commas at the end of the lines also warn the reader that a cohesive unit is to be continued in the next line.

Another question is when the phonetic signs and punctuation marks got into a manuscript. In many cases the text of the copy is known to have been marked by a later hand. On the *recto* side (f. V) of the leaf in question (f. VI), as I have mentioned before, only the first line and three words of the second line of the second epigram discussed here are written by the same hand as the three leaves (ff. I-VI) preceding the *Funeral Oration*.

λϋθον ἀνδρῶν φέρτατε, πενθήσων θρηνήσ(ων)· (*vel* ·)
καὶ σὲ μὲν

Although the initial letter (**᾽H**) of the unfinished epigram is missing, in the incomplete text the two dots are put above the υ (ϋ), the smooth breathing above the *alpha* (ἀ), the appropriate accents are marked at the appropriate places and there is a dot at the end of the first line. The copyist must have copied the signs and marks together with the letters as parts of the text.

The dot at the end of the first line of the incomplete text inevitably raises the question of the positioning of the punctuation marks. Let us start with the three parts of the closing mark: the two dots mark the position of a low dot and an upper dot respectively, while the dash marks the position of a middle dot. The dash here has probably evolved from one or two middle dots, i. e. the closing mark has originally consisted of two dots and a dot or three dots and a dot. (This supposition can be proved by inscriptions engraved in stone, metal, wood and ivory, carved stone inscriptions and ones in mosaic.) In my opinion in the manuscript of the two epigrams in question the dots cannot be identified as middle or upper dots, but all of them are middle dots (using the term known from the *techné* of Dionysios Thrax (AG 1,1,7-8): μέση στιγμή).

The editors of the Palaiologan texts suggest that the information gained in the course of the examination of the phonetic signs, the punctuation marks and the orthography of the manuscripts should be included in the critical editions. As this would overburden the part containing the readings (*lectiones variae*), along with the main text of the critical edition a transcription of the text exactly as it appears in the manuscripts (a so-called diplomatic transcription) should also be provided, preferably with the digitised images of as many manuscripts as possible. In short: along with the paper-based critical edition electronic editions should also be prepared making use of the currently available technology.[8] These new editions may provide a solid basis for the historical examination of Byzantine orthography and the usage of phonetic signs and punctuation marks, which would improve the understanding of ancient Greek literary texts as well. This research project can be compared to the increasingly accurate dating process of the manuscripts, resulting in new scientific material provided by several disciplines presenting a continually improving database. The two epigrams discussed here illustrate that very short texts (*paroimion, monostichos, apophthegma, epigramma, mythos, scholion*) are also worth examining.

As for the two epigrams, due to the good manuscript our only task is to replace the numerous punctuation marks currently used in the editions with the three marks originally used in the manuscript and to replace the grave accent in order to restore the text to its original condition and thus make it suitable for further research.

῾Ηκω σὲ πάντ᾽ἄριστε πενθήσων ὅμως,
εἰ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν θ(εὸ)ν πάντων ἔβης·
βλέπειν ἄδακρϋς, οὐσθένω γὰρ σὸν τάφον·
ἡμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸ σοῦ φίλτατέ μοι·
οὓς σαυτὸν εἶλες τὸ κράτϊστον κτημάτων·
ἀλλὰ καὶ κοσμήσων σε ταῖς εὐφημίαις·
ὅσον χρέους ἄψασθαι ὡς οἷόν τέ μοι·
τὸ γὰρ κατ᾽ἀξίαν σοι, οὐβροτῶν νόος·
οὐ γλῶσσαι πᾶσαι εἰ συνῆλθον εἰς ἅμα,
συνεισενεγκεῖν οἶμαι δύναιντ᾽ἂν ὅλως :–

[8] Dendrinos, Ch.: Palaiologan Scholars at Work. Makarios Makres and Joseph Bryennios' Autograph. In Giannouli – Schiffer (n. 5) 37 f.

Ἦλϋθον ἀνδρῶν φέρτατε, πενθήσων θρηνήσ(ων)·
καὶ σὲ μὲν, εἰ καὶ παρ μέγαν ᾧχου περ θ(εὸ)ν ἤδη·
οὗτοι γάρ μ᾽ἐάα φύσις εἰσορόωντα τεὸν τάφον,
μὴ καταδακρυχέειν· πρό γε μὴν σέο ἡμέ(ας) αὐτούς·
οὓς δὴ σαυτὸν ἀφείλεο, ὅσσε φόος ψυχήν τε,
τῶν θ᾽ὧν εἴχομεν αὖ πάντων, τὸ κάλϊστον ἐόντα·
Αὐτὰρ, ἐπεὶ μὴν ὄφλω καί μοι νόος μενεαίνει
κοσμεῖν ἠδ᾽ὑμνεῖν σε λόγοισί τε ἠδ᾽ἐπέεσσι,
τίσω δὴ κ(αὶ) τόδ᾽ ὅσσον μοι σθένος οὐχ ὅσσον δέον·
εἰ γὰρ καὶ μερόπων γε πρόπας νόος ἠδὲ κ(αὶ) πᾶσαι
γλῶσσ᾽ἐπὶ τῶδε ἄγερθεν ἀολλέες, οὐκ ἄν γε σχεῖν,
οὐδ᾽οὕτω σε ὄχ᾽ἄρϊστε, ὀϊομαι ἄξϊα τῖσαι :–

The fact that the two epigrams belong together is apparent even without a knowledge of the manuscript tradition. They share the same subject matter, which they deal with the same way, in different metre. It would be superfluous to meticulously collect and present the structural similarities and linguistic parallels. The literary atmosphere was not averse to *mimesis*, i. e. imitation and emulation, although the question of precedence, due to lack of evidence, remains unanswered. In any case the third text in the left margin of the leaf, next to the emperor's image is also worth examining.

Τοῦ βασιλέως

Ἥκω πενθήσων καὶ σὲ μέν, πάντων ἄριστε, εἰ καὶ πρὸς θεὸν ἐκδεδήμηκας – ἡ φύσις γὰρ οὐ δίδωσιν ἀδακρυτὶ τὸν τάφον θεάσασθαι – ἡμᾶς δ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸ σοῦ, οὓς τὸ κράτιστον ὧν εἴχομεν ἀφῄρηκας, σαυτόν. Δέον δὲ ὧν καὶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις κοσμῆσαί σε, τὸ χρέος ἀφοσιώσομαι· τὸ γὰρ κατ᾽ ἀξίαν οὐδ᾽ ἂν οὐδ᾽ εἰ πᾶς μὲν ἀνθρώπειος νοῦς, πᾶσαι δὲ γλῶσσαι εἰς ταὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς συνῆλθον, συνεισενεγκεῖν ὅλως εἶχον. (ed. Chrysostomides)

or in the manuscript:

῾Ηκω πενθήσων·
καὶ σὲ μὲν πάντων
ἄρϊστε, εἰ καὶ πρὸς
θ(εὸ)ν ἐκδεδήμηκας·
ἡ φύσις γὰρ, οὐδί
δωσιν ἀδακρυτί
τὸν τάφον θεάσα
σθαι· ἡμᾶς δ'αὐτοὺς
καὶ πρὸ σοῦ· οὓς
τὸ κράτϊστον ὦν
εἴχομεν ἀφῄρη
κας σαυτόν δέον
δὲ ὂν καὶ τοῖς ἐπαί
νοις κοσμῆσαί σε,
τὸ χρέος ἀφοσϊ
ώσομαι τὸ γὰρ
κατ'ἀξίαν οὐδ'ἄν,
οὐδ'εἰ πᾶς μὲν ἀν
θρώπειος νοῦς,
πᾶσαι δὲ γλῶσσαι
εἰς ταυτὸν ἀκρϊβ(ῶς)
σϋνῆλθον, συνεισεν-
εγκεῖν ὅλως
εἶχον :–

Strictly speaking this third epigram is not an epigram at all, but a text written in prose. This is indicated by the choice of vocabulary and the word order as well. The subject matter is the same as that of the two epigrams written in verse, and it even sums up the 20-25-line train of thought of the *Funeral Oration*, which starts on the facing page of the codex (**P**). One of the manuscripts

(**W**) attributes the short text to the Emperor Manuel himself. In my opinion this text could have served as the basis of the two epigrams. The three texts together with the image of the emperor form an organic unit with the beginning of the *epitaphios*. This might be the reason why most of the manuscripts do not contain the names of the authors of the two epigrams: these superfluous data would have destroyed the unity of the consciously edited opening pages.

One of the conclusions we can arrive at from this short text is that the literary works written in verse in ancient times and in the Middle Ages could have or actually had a summary of contents written in prose. For these germs to have been preserved, as it happened here, there is of course very little chance. But the existence of prose paraphrases of various poetical works so popular in late Byzantine literature indirectly also supports this hypothesis.

Besides the literary conclusion the text also makes an interesting contribution to the history of Byzantine punctuation marks. On the one hand the use of the comma and the dot can be collated with that in the two versions of the text written in different metres. On the other hand this short text, although broken up in the critical edition into smaller units with various punctuation marks, for the Byzantine copyist and reader was one single sentence, one carefully constructed period, which tries the Greek sentence as a conceptual and linguistic unit to its limits. In this carefully constructed period the positioning of the punctuation marks is (as yet) unusual. Their usage can only be understood if we learn to read and think as the Byzantines used to do.

Cod. Paris. suppl. Gr. 309 f. VI.

Erika Juhász

Scelus nomine Andreas Darmarius scriptor et veterator nequissimus[*]

In the study of the manuscripts of the classical and Byzantine authors the name of Andreas Darmarios emerges several times. In their book on medieval and Renaissance scribes published in 1909 Marie Vogel and Victor Gardthausen collected more than 300 manuscripts that were partly or completely prepared by Darmarios.[1] The list is not complete, and as it has been proven, the authors were wrong in some cases. However, the number is still astonishing. The number of those manuscripts that were not transcribed by Darmarios is even higher, but he still had an important role in their provenience as bookseller.

In the specialized literature his name usually emerges only in connection with different authors he copied.[2] Although some shorter papers were published on him in the 19th century, the information they contain has become outdated or needs correction.[3] No monograph has been published on him so

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[1] Vogel, M. – Gardthausen, V.: Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance. *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen. Beiheft* 33 (1909) 16–27. [Repr. Hildesheim 1966.]

[2] Some examples: Browning, R.: The So-Called Tzetzes Scholia on Philostratus and Andreas Darmarios. *CQ* (New Series) 5 (1955) 195–200; Kresten, O.: Andreas Darmarios und die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Pseudo-Julios Polydeukes. *JÖB* 18 (1969) 137–165; Sosower, M. L.: A Forger Revisited: Andreas Darmarios and Beinecke 269. *JÖB* 43 (1993) 289–306; Fuentes González, P. P.: Andrés Darmario, Copista en Granada de Alejandro de Afrodisiade. *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 61 (1999) 719–728; Leverenz L.: Two Darmarios Manuscripts of Scholia on Oppian's "Halieutica". *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge* 142 (1999) 345–358; Martínez Manzano T.: Die Aufenthalte des Andreas Darmarios in Madrid und Salamanca und ihre Bedeutung für die „Recensio" der Philostrat- und Oppianscholien. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge* 151 (2008) 400–424.

[3] Vogel, E. G.: Verzeichniss griechischer Abschreiber aus dem IX–XVI. Jahrhunderte, nach datierten Handschriften. *Serapeum* 5 (1844) 273–288, esp. 277–282; Vogel, E. G.: Noch Einiges über Andr. Darmarius und Ant. Eparchus. *Serapeum* 7 (1846) 254–256; Schmidt, L.: Andreas Darmarius. Ein Beitrag zur Handschriftenkunde des 16. Jahrhunderts. *Centralblatt*

far. In his PhD thesis defended in 1967, Otto Kresten attempted to outline the main phases of Darmarios' life on the basis of the written sources (primarily on the basis of the manuscripts copied by Darmarios) and he also analysed his manuscripts on palaeographical and codicological grounds. However, the thesis has never been published. I mainly use the data found in this thesis regarding the biographical facts and the statistical analysis of the Darmarios manuscripts.[4] The following biography can be reconstructed from the data gained from the manuscripts and from other written sources:

Andreas Darmarios was born in 1540 in Monembasia (in Epidauros Limera), a town on the Peloponnese.[5] According to his subscriptions his father was called Georgios. He got his linguistic education from Dorotheos of Nauplion in Sparta, and allegedly at that time he had already been engaged in the transcription and sale of manuscripts.[6]

According to his subscription in his first dated manuscript (*Codex Vaticanus Graecus 2349*) in 1559 he was already in Rome. In the subsequent years he also visited Padua and Venice, then at the end of 1562 he arrived in Trent, a significant station of his life, where the last phase of the council was taking place. In Trent he got in touch with Spanish ecclesiastical dignities and he gained such important patrons as for instance Diego de Covarrubias (later Bishop of Segovia) or Antonio Agustín, Bishop of Lleida and later Archbishop of Tarragona.

He got married in 1564 in Venice, and possibly his first child, a son was also born this time. Presumably he returned to Venice to his family again and again from his trading trips.

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für Bibliothekswesen 3 (1886) 129–136., who mainly summarized Charles Graux's statements (Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l' Escurial. *Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études* 46 [1880] 287–297, et passim).

[4] Kresten, O.: *Der Schreiber Andreas Darmarios. Eine kodikologisch-paläographische Studie. Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades an der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Wien*. Wien 1967.

[5] Among the sources on Darmarios' life, the German philologist, Martin Krauß's (Martin Crusius) letters, diary and historical work are of special importance (*Annales Suevici sive Chronica rerum gestarum antiquissimae et inclytae Suevicae gentis*. Frankfurt 1595). Numerous quotations from the latter ones can be found in Mystakides, B. A.: Μαρτῖνος ὁ Κρούσιος καὶ ᾽Ανδρέας Δαρμάριος ὁ ᾽Επιδαύριος ἐν Τυβίγγῃ 1584. In *Forschungen und Versuche zur Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit. Festschrift Dietrich Schäfer zum siebzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht von seinen Schülern*. Jena 1915, 500–526. According to the entry in Karuß's diary dated to 1584: "Ait se [Darmarius] 44 annorum aetatem habere". (Crusius, *Diarium* III, 895; Mystakides 512).

[6] Legrand, E.: Notice biographique sur Jean et Théodose Zygomalas. *Publications de l'école des langues orientales vivantes, III[e] série*, 6/2 (1889) 67–264. 254.: "Ait (sc. Darmarius) se noctu surgere, libros legere (quorum et multos sua manu describit, ac vendit cum aliis) et ita linguam alere."

We have sources on his first provable business trip to Augsburg in 1566. From then onwards he kept on going on business trips almost all his lifetime; he visited numerous cities in Europe. He did not usually prepare the books he offered to sell alone; he rather ran a scriptorium.

At the end of the 1560's he travelled in the Low Countries with three of his colleagues to buy manuscripts, but he was captured by Flemish soldiers and he lost his fortune. Lacking money, he attempted to sell his books at a higher price, in vain.

From 1570 we can find Darmarios in Spain: he subscribed and dated his first manuscript (*Cod. Matrit. Pal. 25*) there to 16 June 1570, in Lleida, at the residence of Bishop Antonio Agustín. On 23 November 1570 Agustín introduced Darmarios to Jerónimo Zurita y Castro (1512–1580, Hieronymus Zurita), the famous Aragonese scholar.[7] At the beginning of 1571 Darmarios had sold codices to the Escorial library. In the next three years he visited Venice several times, and in spring 1573 he returned to Spain (to Lleida). With the help of Zurita, Agustín managed to arrange that Darmarios could copy manuscripts from the stock of the still closed Escorial library.

We can find no indication of place in his manuscripts dated to 1575 and 1576; it is even more astonishing that in autumn 1576 he subscribed two copies in prison. Some state that he was incarcerated due to his counterfeiting,[8] but according to Kresten it is more probable that Darmarios only committed a minor offence,[9] and on the basis of a manuscript dated to 18 June 1577 in Madrid he did not spend much time in prison. In the subsequent years he usually commuted between the Spanish Kingdom and Venice; in the middle of the 1580's he still sold manuscripts in the German cities. In 1587 he presumably managed to sell books once for the Escorial library,[10] but as a scribe – primarily due to counterfeiting the titles – he lost his credit and could not sell manuscripts in Spain any more. After 1587 we have no data about him; the year of his death is also unknown.

The persons and places mentioned above are also important regarding the history of the research on the Paschal Chronicle, since in the 16th century

[7] Graux (n. 3) 292.

[8] Lundström, V.: Studien zu spätgriechischen und byzantinischen Chroniken. *Eranos* 1 (1896) 150–168. 164: "Obgleich er während der Zwischenzeit, zweifelsohne seiner Fälschungen wegen, die Gefängnissluft genossen hatte, ist er jetzt als Titelfälscher frecher als jemals."

[9] Kresten (n. 4) 38–39.

[10] de Andrés, G.: Una venta desconocida de códicos griegos hecha por Andrés Darmarios en Espana en 1587. *La Ciudad de Dios* 178 (1965) 118–127, esp. 121.

Darmarios prepared three copies of the text preserved in the 10th century *codex unicus* possessed by Jerónimo Zurita y Castro at that time and now kept in the Vatican Library.[11]

According to Andreas Darmarios' subscriptions at the end of the manuscripts, the *Codex Monacensis Graecus 557* was completed on 1 July 1573 in Lleida;[12] the *Codex Holmiensis Graecus Va. 7,1-2* was completed on 1 October 1573 in Madrid,[13] while the *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus n. 2* was finished on 18 February 1579,[14] but the place of the transcription was not indicated. On the basis of these subscriptions it was assumed that the Munich copy was completed first, then the Stockholm copy followed and the Uppsala manuscript was copied last. The data in the subscriptions have not been questioned by the researchers so far, but Peter Schreiner pointed out in his edition of the fragments of the Megas Chronographos[15] that some questions seemed unanswerable on the basis of the dating of the manuscripts.

Beside the text of the Paschal Chronicle the *Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1941* also contains other texts partly copied by the 10th-century scribe and partly added later on the blank pages. However, the *Codex Monacensis Graecus 557* dated as the first contains the least of these texts. The other two copies now kept in Sweden retained more passages from the texts interpolated to the Paschal Chronicle, but differences can be found between the two versions.

On f. 1v in the *Codex Monacensis Graecus 557* we can only read a short passage that originates from the text preceding the Paschal Chronicle in the Vatican manuscript (*Syntagma de Paschalibus)*. Here we can read shorter or longer passages from several authors on calculating Easter – these texts were

[11] *Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1941*. See: Canart, P.: *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 1745-1962. I-II.* Vatican 1970, I, 715–718; 738; II, LXVI-LXVII.

[12] See: Hardt, I.: *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae.* Monachii 1812, 416–417.

[13] See: Torallas Tovar, S.: De codicibus Graecis Upsaliensibus olim Escurialensibus *Erytheia. Revista de Estudios Byzantinos y Neogriegos* 15 (1994) 252–256.

[14] See: Torallas Tovar (n. 13) 196–204.

[15] The Stockholm codex contains several fragments from the Megas Chronographos that cannot be found in the Munich manuscript. In relation to this issue Peter Schreiner writes the following: "Da der Monacensis die Notizen aus dem *megas chronographos* nicht enthält und dem kodikologischen Befund nach auch nie enthalten haben kann, ergibt sich für die Darmarios-Forschung das Problem, ob auch für eine weitere Kopie das Original zur Vorlage diente oder Darmarios es dafür nochmals zur Kontrolle heranzog und die bei der ersten Kopie vergessenen Notizen gesondert nachtrug. Dieses Verhalten wäre in beiden Fällen gleichermaßen ungewöhnlich." (Schreiner, P.: *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken. I. [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Vindobonensis 12,1]* Wien 1975, 38.)

copied by the 10th-century scribe before the chronicle due to their close relatedness to the Paschal Chronicle.[16] The first folio (the fifth leaf in the codex) was seriously damaged; the text can hardly be deciphered. We know that the first quotation is from Philon, then the name of Petrus Alexandrinus appears in the left margin of the verso. The text becomes legible only from the middle of f. 6r, and from then onwards it can be easily read up to f. 18v. However, in the *Codex Monacensis Graecus 557* only the last paragraph of the introductory text is legible, above in the first line we can find the name of Petros Alexandreias written in red ink in an abbreviated form.

It is on f. 2r where the text of the Paschal Chronicle starts with the following title also present in the Vatican manuscript: ᾽Επιτομὴ χρόνων τῶν ἀπὸ ἀδὰμ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου ἀνθρώπου· ἕως κ᾽ ἔτους τῆς βασιλείας ἡρακλείου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου· καὶ μετὰ ὑπατείαν ἔτους ιθ᾽· καὶ ιη᾽ ἔτους τῆς βασιλείας ἡρακλείου νέου· κωνσταντίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἰνδικτίονος γ᾽. The text of the chronicle ends with line 11 on f. 773r. From the end of the Vatican manuscript presumably some text occupying one or two leaves was lost, and the last folio preserved is seriously damaged; Darmarios did not attempt to decipher the fragmentary text, he noticed after the last line that the text is mutilated due to its antiquity. On f. 773v Darmarios' subscription can be read, and at the end of the codex we can find six blank leaves (where the folio numbering continues up to 779).

Darmarios copied the full text of the *Syntagma de Paschalibus* from f. 1r up to f. 30v in the *Codex Holmiensis Graecus Va. 7,1-2*, starting from the point where the text becomes legible within the quotation from Petrus Alexandrinus. At the top of the first page he presented the remark taken from the left margin of the Vatican manuscript as title, written in red ink (Πέτρου ἐπισκόπου ᾽Αλεξανδρείας καὶ μάρτυρος, ὅτι ἀπλανῶς ἔταξεν (sic) οἱ ῾Εβραῖοι τὴν ιδ′ τοῦ α′ μηνὸς τῆς σελήνης ὡς (sic) τῆς ἁλώσεως τῶν ῾Ιεροσολύμων).

The Paschal Chronicle starts with the usual title ᾽Επιτομὴ χρόνων... on f. 31r and it ends on f. 796v. (The Stockholm codex consists of two volumes, but the numbering of the folios started in the first volume continues in the second volume.) The fragmentary ending of the chronicle cannot be found here, either; we can only read Darmarios' remark telling us that the text was mutilated. The subscription was written on the next page, on. f. 797r.

[16] About the relationship of the *Syntagma de Paschalibus* and the *Chronicon Paschale* (together with the French translation of the *Syntagma*) see: Beaucamp, J. – Bondoux, R. Cl. – Lefort, J. – Rouan-Auzepy, M. Fr. – Sorlin, I.: Temps et histoire I : Le prologue de la chronique pasquale. *Travaux et Mémoires* 7 (1979) 223–301.

The verso of this leaf remained blank, but on ff. 798r–799r Darmarios copied three fragments from the *Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1941* that do not belong to the Paschal Chronicle and were only added later in the blank spaces. Out of the fragments attributed to the so-called Megas Chronographos thirteen can be read on ff. 241v and 242r (in the Vatican manuscript), and a further one was placed on f. 242v.[17] Out of the first thirteen Darmarios copied the first two and the last one, then he copied the separate 14th fragment of the Megas Chronographos on f. 800r-v after leaving f. 799v blank. Below this in the Vatican manuscript one can observe the activity of a third hand, as well a list of the nine muses, which also copied by Darmarios on the next page (f. 801r).

In contrast to what we have seen before, the first page (1r) of the *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus n. 2* seems to be rather disordered. The name of the author Πέτρου ἐπισκόπου ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ μάρτυρος is indicated in red ink in the first line; then from line 2 it is followed by the title of the Paschal Chronicle (᾽Επιτομὴ χρόνων...) in red ink, but the title is not followed by the chronicle; instead, we can read the last paragraph of the *Syntagma de Paschalibus* there. The actual text of the Paschal Chronicle starts only on f. 1v, but before the *incipit* the words ἀρχὴ τῆς χρονικῆς διηγήσεως are inserted in red ink. The text of the chronicle ends on f. 495r, where it is indicated in the usual way that the text is mutilated.

The subscription can be found on the back of the f. 495. From the next folio, i.e. from f. 496, almost the complete text of the *Syntagma de Paschalibus* can be read: Darmarios left out the illegible part from the beginning here as well, and he did not repeat the last paragraph he had already copied on the first page. The text ends on f. 520v with the closing formula τέλος σὺν Θεῷ ἁγίῳ | ἀμήν, but the folio numbering there is confused.

Based on what has been said above, the former standpoint regarding the relationship of the manuscripts cannot be sustained, and Darmarios possibly did not copy the further manuscripts from the Munich copy, which was allegedly completed first.

A possible starting point is to question the credibility of Darmarios' subscription, which might not be an extremely bold assumption in the light of what has been presented at the beginning of the paper.

In dating manuscripts one needs to consider several different viewpoints: both the palaeographical and the codicological analyses are essential. However,

[17] To the fragments of the Megas Chronographos see: Schreiner, P.: *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken. I-III. (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Vindobonensis 12,1-3)* Wien 1975, 37–39; 1977, 70–87; 1979, 11–15.; Whitby, L. M.: The Great Chronographer and Theophanes. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 8 (1982–1983) 1–20.

in this case, the textual critical analysis seems to be useful. In what follows we attempt to establish the right order of the manuscripts through the collation of some passages.

First of all, it is worth collating the lacunas and the interpolations in the single copies. In the Vatican manuscript apart from the items mentioned earlier, two further fragments can be read from the Megas Chronographos that were inserted in the margin, next to the related passage. The two fragments can be found in all the three copies by Darmarios in the main text, inserted at the same place. On f. 140^{v} the hand copying the Megas Chronographos fragments also added a list of Roman emperors to the text of the chronicle that appears in the main text of the copies, indicated with a title in red ink and written in continuation of the main text.

The difference is straightforward in the passage discussing the history of the kings of Israel and the Kingdom of Judah: while the 10th-century scribe discussed the kings on the opposing pages in a parallel way (*Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1941* ff. 72^{v}–90^{r}), Darmarios presented the kings of the two dynasties alternately in all the three manuscripts he copied (*Codex Monacensis Graecus 557* ff. 155^{r}–201^{r}; *Codex Holmiensis Graecus Va. 7,1-2* ff. 184^{r}–230^{r}; *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus n. 2* ff. 96^{r}–125^{v}).

Among the lacunas we might mention that on f. 206^{v} in the Vatican manuscript we can find the names of the consuls of the second and third years in the 278th Olympiad (Δαλμάτου καὶ Ζηνοφίλου and ᾽Οπτάτου Πατρικίου καὶ ᾽Ανικίου Παυλίνου), while in all the three copies we can only read the first and the last names: Δαλμάτου καὶ ᾽Ανικίου Παυλίνου (*Codex Monacensis Graecus 557* f. 539^{rv}; *Codex Holmiensis Graecus Va. 7,1-2* f. 565^{v}; *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus n. 2* f. 344^{v}). However, the most characteristic lacuna can be observed in Emperor Justinian's decree. From the decree quoted in full length in the Vatican codex (from f. 249^{r}) a two-page long part is missing in all the three copies (*Codex Monacensis Graecus 557* f. 681^{r}; *Codex Holmiensis Graecus Va. 7,1-2* f. 703^{v}; *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus n. 2* f. 436^{v}). This phenomenon can be interpreted as a simple scribal error: after copying f. 257^{r} Darmarios turned two pages at once by accident and he continued the transcription with the first word of f. 258^{v} instead of f. 257^{v}. He did not realize that the text became incomprehensible this way (or he did not have the opportunity correct his error), and he retained the damaged text in the later copies as well.

Although we can find further parallels in the manuscripts, we can claim even on the basis of the examples presented above that all the three manuscripts

originate from the Vatican codex, and it seems that the three copies were not prepared independently on the basis of the Vatican original. However, an analysis of further passages is needed to establish the order of their transcription.

Primarily the disjunctive errors (or possibly the corrections) can help us. The seemingly insignificant mistakes can also be informative; e.g. on f. 221^{v} in the Vatican manuscript we can find the dating πρὸ δ′ ἰδὼν ἰανουαρίων, which is present in the Stockholm codex (f. 606^{r}) in a correct form, while from the Munich (f. 583^{r}) and Uppsala manuscripts (f. 374^{r}) the word ἰδὼν was left out.

In the majority of the cases Darmarios copied the texts mechanically, but sometimes he attempted to correct the passages of the original text he found wrong. We can find an example for this case in the copies of the passage in lines 14-15 on f. 139^{v} in the Vatican manuscript. The name of Ptolemaios was inserted incorrectly to the original sentence (ἀρχὴ γαΐου ἰουλίου καίσαρος· καὶ πομπηίου πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ λεπίδου), thus the structure πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ λεπίδου was formed, which was corrected by Darmarios to Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοῦ Λεπίδου, which seems to be a better solution, but it still does not eliminate the error. However, this passage is important to us because the correction appears only in the Munich (f. 335^{v}) and Uppsala (f. 209^{v}) manuscripts, while the Stockholm codex (f. 366^{r}) still contains the original version. However, two lacunas are still more convincing: the four years of the 297th Olympiad and the beginning of the first year of the 298th Olympiad (*Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1941* f. 222^{v}) are missing from the Munich and Uppsala manuscripts (*Codex Monacensis Graecus 557* f. 585^{r}; *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus n. 2* f. 375^{v}), whereas the Stockholm codex (ff. 608^{v}–609^{r}) follows the Vatican original closely. The same can be observed in the discussion of the 350th Olympiad (*Codex Vaticanus Graecus* ff. 280^{rv}), where the description of two years was left out from the Munich (f. 744^{v}) and Uppsala manuscripts (f. 477^{v}), while the Stockholm codex seems to be complete compared to the *codex unicus* (ff. 768^{v}–769^{r}).

Based on what has been said above, it seems that Darmarios prepared the *Codex Holmiensis Graecus Va. 7,1-2* first out of the three copies. Consequently, the dates in the subscriptions can also be questioned.[18]

Our sources do not inform us about incidents due to counterfeited subscriptions, although Darmarios was heavily criticized by his contemporaries for

[18] To establish the relationship between the *Codex Monacensis Graecus 557* and the *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus n. 2* it is necessary to examine further passages and to carry out a codicological analysis, which are to be discussed in a separate paper.

counterfeiting titles. Darmarios fell under suspicion also because of the copies of the Paschal Chronicle: as we could see, at the beginning of the Munich manuscript and in the Uppsala codex prepared for Philip II on the first page he indicated the name of Peter of Alexandria, because he was in fact the source of the quotation following the title. However, his remark was later reinterpreted as if he had named Petrus Alexandrinus as the author of the Paschal Chronicle. On f. 31^{r} in the Stockholm manuscript copied for Antonio Agustín Darmarios wrote the following: οἶμαι εἶναι Μαρκελλίνου ἢ Ἱππολύτου ἐπιτομήν – this statement was later regarded as a fact by the compilers of manuscript catalogues. After Agustín's death this copy also became part of the stock of the Escorial, where for some time it was not realized that both manuscripts contain the Paschal Chronicle, whose author is in fact unknown. However, during the reorganization of the library the identity of the manuscripts was revealed, and David Colville, the librarian of the Escorial severely scolded Darmarios in the margin of f. 31 in the Stockholm manuscript:

> scelus Darm[ari] | tune idem scrip|sisti tua manu | in II. Θ. 20. | esse Petri | Alexandrini | cum nullius ex | tribus esse | possit, cum long[e] | antiquiores | sint.

In the Uppsala manuscript in f. 1^{r} he wrote:

> Darma[ri] | scelus a[tque] | pecus pe[ssi]|mu(m), tun[e] | scripsist[i] | manu tua | propria [in] | V. Θ. 20 p[ag.] | 31 esse | Marcell[ini] | et Hipp[olyti].[19]

Colville was so relentless that he even entered into the catalogue of Agustín's own library next to the chronicle indicated as the work of Marcellinus that this rascal, this old fox had sold the same work to Philip II under a new, false title with the indication of Petrus Alexandrinus' authorship:

> Marcellini] Scelus nomine Andreas Darmarius scriptor et veterator nequissimus qui hunc ipsum codicem descripsit et titulum prostituit magnificum Marcellini, idem alium codicem descripsit sua propria manu at prostituit eum Regi Philippo II sub nomine Petri alexandrini ut sic primum (?) scelus lucraretur ex novis et fictis titulis.[20]

[19] Lundström (n. 8) 161.: "die Randbemerkungen von David Colvillus Scotus' Hand".

[20] Graux (n. 3) 348. and 462. (in the latter passage we can find *Philippi* instead of *Philippo*). In the last sentence the word *primum* was suggested by Graux. According to Lundström the word *pessimum* should be there (Lundström [n. 8] 162. note 4).

As we could see, in this case the accusation of deliberate forgery is not founded adequately, although we cannot deny that Darmarios tended to manipulate the manuscripts. In forming a judgment, however, we also need to consider that he was primarily active as a bookseller and not as a scribe; copying manuscripts for him was a way of making a livelihood, which was not always lucrative.

Patrícia Szikora

An Avar Embassy in Constantinople (Corippus: *In laudem* III, 231–407)*

In 534 under the command of Belisarius the Byzantine army liberated Africa from the Vandal rule. The campaign was succesful but some years later they had to face Berber and Moorish tribes. John Troglita, Justinian's general restored peace for a time. Flavius Cresconius Corippus was living in Africa during this period. His epic poem in eight books on Troglita's campaigns (*Iohannis seu de bellis Libycis*)[1] was written soon after the events. After a long silence, in 566–7 he celebrated the accession of Justin II in four books (*In laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris*)[2] in Constantinople. He may have found the favour of the emperors Justinian I and Justin II and high-ranking officials, moreover, he might have become one of them.[3] Not only does he inform us about the details of the ascendance to the throne and the *inauguration*, but also helps us to understand their significance and gives some interpretations. On the seventh day of the new reign an Avar embassy visited the Palatium. In book III Corippus speaks about the historical event as an ideological argument. Apparently, in both epic poems the conquest of Roman–Byzantine power and culture over barbarians is significant. In this paper I provide a short summary about how Corippus used Anchises' well-known words from the *Aeneid* to highlight Roman identity.[4]

Reading the preface of the *Iohannis* a modest and untalented man is pictured, as he says, who claims to glorify John Troglita. Though the poet does not have any merits like Virgil, the *ductor* does: *Aeneam superat melior virtute Iohannes* (praef. 15). While the general is fighting, he is able to overmount his *furor*; while he is praying, he forgets his safety and starts to worry about his son.

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1 Diggle, J. – Goodyear, F. R. D. (eds.): *Flavii Cresconii Corippi Iohannidos seu de bellis Libycis libri VIII*. Cambridge 1970.

2 Cameron, Av.: *Flavius Cresconius Corippus: In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris.* London 1976.

3 Baldwin, B.: The Career of Corippus. *The Classical Quarterly* NS. 28.2 (1978) 372–376; Cameron, Av.: The Career of Corippus again. *The Classical Quarterly* NS. 30.2 (1980) 534–539.

4 Verg. *Aen*. VI, 851–3.

Beyond the parallel scenes and unambiguous allusions the poem contains some catalogues and examples of *ekphrasis* and *aristeia*. Constructing metaphors and images, even commenting on the weather, Corippus lends the epic style and verbal expressions. On the other hand, he tries to eliminate the Christian voice and he is not dogmatizing at all. Of course, he underlines how blind and insignificant the barbarian pagans are. According to him, Roman victory is preordinated, their success is guaranteed by God, recalling Aeneas' *fatum*. Yet, imitating a classical epic poem is quite laborious for Corippus. His role models are Virgil, Ovid, Lucan and Statius, but he also follows Claudian. Corippus keeps trying to accomodate two types of narrative that seem inconsonant.[5] He imitates a classical model, while, according to the literature of late antiquity, he writes discontinuously. Hence, during this period, Corippus was criticized as lacking poetical qualities. However, he alloys two different genres. The text is also panegyrical. The *narratio* and the *laudatio* are interwoven, they are inseparable, therefore the *Iohannis* is a 'panegyrische Epos' as well.[6]

After Justinian's death in 567 he had already completed his second poem *In laudem Iustini*. Despite the form of the title it is not a *panegyricus* or *laudatio* literally. Even though panegyrical details are unfrequent on the whole, there is a coherent narrative in this work. Here, Corippus informs us about the arrangements, quotes Justin's and Sophia's prayers and Justin's speech in the Palatium and in the Hippodrom. The poet gives an account of the Avar embassy, then at the end he describes the *inauguration*. Corippus now does not avoid the Christian aspects, but uses them to explain e. g. the symbolism of the Hagia Sophia or the meaning of the prayers. Using metaphors he refers to Justin's doctrinal politics. Many times the text is reminiscent of the epic poems: beyond the allusions there are two catalogues and two *ekphrases*, there is even an epiphany of the *Pietas*. The poem itself is neither panegyrical in structure, nor epic in the usual sense. However, he does not eliminate the *Aeneid* or any classical epic poems, since the concept '*imperium*' and the identity linked to it comes from Roman history. Corippus incorporates some disharmonic elements, e.g. *Pietas* as Venus from the *Aeneid*, just to bring Justin's merits into prominence in every respect. Every sentence declares Justin as the chosen one – chosen by God, by Justinian, also by senators and by his people. There is only one event that shows Justin's aptitude – at least in Corippus' version.

[5] Hajdu P.: Corippus kísérlete a folyamatos elbeszélés visszahódítására. In Hajdu P.: *Már a régi görögök is*. Budapest 2004, 148–157.

[6] Hofmann, H.: Überlegungen zu einer Theorie der nichtchristlichen Epik der lateinischen Spätantike. *Philologus* 132 (1988) 101–159.

The reception of the Avar embassy also appears in some Greek historical works. The most particular descriptions were written by Menander Protector and John of Ephesos, and today we are able to read all the historical resources relevant to the Avar embassies since they had been collected by Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss.[7] In these, we can find that when Justinian was already old and weak, shocking the citizens with their ugly clothes and pigtailed hair, the Avars went to Constantinople in January 558 for the first time. The emperor was gracious to them. He hoped that they, fighting against folks on the steppe, would not be a danger to the *imperium*. They left the court satisfied. Four years later they went back with similar expectations, that time from areas next to the lower part of the river Danube. Justinian was worried about the boundaries, hence he made an offer: the Avars could occupy *Pannonia Secunda*. They refused this opportunity but left with the usual gifts - ἐντεῦθεν ἤρξατο ἡ δυσμένεια Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἀβάρων. Unlike Justinian, his successor was far more rigourous. In 565 the Avars, according to John of Ephesos, demanded their precious gifts. Moreover, Menander says, they acted confident threatening the new emperor with their military power. Getting angry Justin suggested they should be pleased to stay alive. They could have some gifts as a payment for their servitude. This time they left as he brought them to their knees.[8]

Corippus' version is quite similar. There is no place here for scepticism towards its historical credibility. Nevertheless, we cannot forget that Corippus could attend some other meetings, even previous receptions of the Avars. As a matter of fact, he emphasized some moments or wrote some sentences that had never actually been said – probably about the Roman mission. This makes Corippus' description unique compared to other historical resources.

According to the poet, the Avar embassy arrives at the Palatium on the seventh day after the ascendance. Horrified by the watchmen and their armed forces they enter the throne-room like Hyrcanian tigers in the Hippodrom – first they do not roar but look up to the people sitting around, then they walk around proudly. The same way Tergazis and his fellowmen realize that they are the spectacle themselves. They appear as uncivilized and unreasonably confident. Tergazis flaunts their success, their bearing capacity. However, his words sound like a rhetorical exaggeration filled with clichés:

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[7] Szádeczky-Kardoss S.: *Az avar történelem forrásai*. Budapest 1998.

[8] Dindorf, L. A.: *Historici Graeci Minores. Menander Protector et Agathias. Vol. II*. Leipzig 1871, fr. 4–9, 14.

... Threicium potis est exercitus Hebrum
exhausto siccare lacu fluviumque bibendo
nudare et nondum plene satiatus abire.
(...) Rupimus Euphraten, gelidos superavimus amnes,
hibernasque nives, cursus qua frenat aquarum
frigus et omnigenis fit durior unda metallis.
Vidimus extensos vitrea testudine pontes
stagna lacus fluviosque super fontesque iacere.
In silicis morem vel stratae marmore terrae
cognatos latices laticum concreta tegebant.
Plaustra super solidas stridentia duximus undas.
(*In laud*. III, 274–6; 281–8)

He demands the presents given by Justinian years ago. Their behaviour here reminds us of Menander's description.

Justin answers the disrespectful sentences in quite a tranquil manner. He is *benignus* (236), *clemens* (264), *tranquillus* (309) talking *ore sereno* (266), *nulla commotus in ira* (308). Certainly, he scolds Tergazis for the way he speaks – considering how legates should. Then Justin calls him a liar using empty words. The Avars could not defend their own lands either.

These hundred lines interpreted so far draw a sharp contrast between the impetuous Tergazis and the calm emperor Justin. First we see an uncivilized, rough-spoken pagan, then a serene, patient Christian. Thus the second part of the scene is described as an ideological conflict between the barbarian and the Roman world. Justin's speech consists of 88 lines. Evidently, it is not a carefully constructed oration. Two ideas are emphasized in it: on the one hand, the Roman mission appears when he quotes the maxim *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*, and, on the other, we also find the idea of the Empire protected by God here. Even if these two sections can be separated, this does not seem necessary: principles like *virtus* and *pietas* are closely connected to the basic idea of divine protection, which will have a larger tradition in the Byzantine rule. Tergazis tries to make a merit of fictive events, and Justin, on the contrary, talks about the Roman–Byzantine superiority and confirms its legitimacy.

Almost twenty lines recall Anchises' words. It is clearly expressed by the sententious remarks:

sanctum hoc imperium toto sic floruit orbe,
bella gerens pacemque tuens. Nos more parentum

pacem diligimus, numquam fera bella timemus.
Pax est subiectis, pereunt per bella superbi.
Parcimus innocuis, sonti non parcimus ulli.
(...) Quisquis amat pacem, tutus sub pace manebit.
At qui bella volunt, bellorum clade peribunt.
(*In laud*. III, 328–32; 339–40)

The others, the barbarians must accept the slavery. If they refuse that, at first they will be warned *more gubernandi*, then they will be destroyed in battles. Moreover, the Roman army does not claim war but persecutes it, once it had begun. However, Byzantine troops do not need any weapons at all: *Res Romana dei est, terrenis non eget armis* (333).

God helps them to be strong, to be victorious and to conquer the rebellious folks. He considers Latin people to be above all the other kingdoms. Nothing else is able to fight against them, against their power.

Quod super est, unumque meum speciale levamen,
imperii deus est virtus et gloria nostri,
a quo certa salus, sceptrum datur atque potestas;
qui populos clemens super omnia regna Latinos
constituit, pacemque suam commendat amari;
cuius spe fruimur, cuius virtute superbos
deicimus, cuius populos pietate tuemur;
qui nostros auget mira virtute triumphos.
(*In laud*. III, 359–66)

Bajan's plans seem ridiculous. Tergazis obviously does not know about past events and the strength of the Roman Empire. The Avars do not have any chance to fight either, they would be able to do so if the sculptures came to life and the earth made war in the sky, since the Roman–Byzantine form their practice based on two principles: *virtus* and *pietas*.

The written idea of the Roman ideology is the key to divine protection. According to the obvious quotation, the Avars act like a *gens superba* that deserves to be defeated – if they do not yield, Justin wants to *debellare superbos* instead of *parcere subiectis*. The Roman mission is set again. While Tergazis' words are only exaggeration, Justin confirms his power by the ideology that has made the Empire greater than any other land. And this ideology keeps the Roman Empire everlasting – now instead of Juppiter's *fatum*, it is guaranteed by God.

The *Aeneid* is set up as a model for both epic poems. It is more conspicuous in the case of *Iohannis*. Hence it is not surprising that the first book depicts this ideology as well. Justinian reviews John Troglita's victories for long and decides to send him to Africa to save the Roman people, to bring an end to the Moorish destruction. He warns John Troglita to be careful:

> Tu prisca parentum
> iura tene, fessos releva, confringe rebelles.
> Hic pietatis amor, subiectis parcere, nostrae est,
> hic virtutis honor, gentes domitare superbas.
> Haec mea iussa tenens, ductor fidissime, serva.
> Cetera Christus agat, noster dominusque deusque,
> in melius referens, et te per cuncta gubernet
> prosperitate sua. Titulis melioribus auctos
> pro meritis nos rite tuos videamus honores.
> (*Ioh.* I, 146–54)

This must be kept in mind, this will help them to triumph over the pagan barbarians. Finally, this ideology came to fruition in the Roman Africa. Iohannis was Aeneas to Corippus. However, the Roman army commemorates their ancestor at the Trojan coast as well:

> et legit antiquae litus lacrimabile Troiae.
> Inclita tunc referunt Smyrnaei carmina vatis
> significantque locos alta de puppe priorum.
> (...) Demoleum hoc victor prostravit litore magnum
> Aeneas proavus, celsae quo moenia Romae
> nomen et imperii praeclarum auctore refulget
> atque tenet latum dominantis foedere mundum.
> (*Ioh.* I, 174–6; 180–2)

The *Aeneid* is not only a model but also history, tradition and cultural memory to them. Corippus imitates its style, adopts expressions and also its intentions. For him, invoking the *Aeneid* is the most respectful way to glorify a general saving the African land and its people. What is more, Troglita's mission is greater than Aeneas' *fatum* since Iohannis is a Christian.

The lines quoted in the *Iohannis* and in the *In laudem* are almost the same. As they are said by two different emperors, the purposes are quite different. The first lines of the preface of the *In laudem* are missing, but Corippus starts his poem enumerating peoples overcome by Justinian and Justin.

Now the Avars are willing to serve thanks to the new emperor (*imperio subiecta tuo, servire parata ...exorat pacem*; praef. 6 f.). Moreover, at the end of book III it seems Corippus wanted to finish his epic poem (*et pleni tenor est in fine libelli* – III, 404) after he had given a description of the embassy, which was the only historical event he could use for justifying Justin's ascendance to the throne. The idea of *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* appears here as a threat and also as self-justification, making a statement about their own identity that distinguishes them from others. According to these lines, *virtus* and *pietas* made them successful. Unlike Justin, Justinian says that *virtus* and *pietas* will make Iohannis succeed in fighting for Roman Africa. Justinian believed in the everlasting Roman Empire and made his dreams come true for a short time. In *Iohannis* these words sound hopeful suggesting that the Christian golden age will come. Taking back Africa is a stage in rebuilding the Empire, which was Justinian's overall aim.

Corippus saw Iohannis taking Justinian's advice and saving Africa. Then, some time later he went to Constantinople, and he had the chance to witness the greatness of the Palatium, to understand the symbolism of the new reign; however, at the same time he had to see Justinian die and the Empire collapse. The Empire was weakening then. As a result, reciting the Roman ideology has changed in the second poem. Justin and Corippus do not admit it, but they certainly suspect that being proud of the victories becomes more and more vacant. Justin concentrates on the past and the growth attained:

> Si, barbare, nescis,
> quid virtus Romana potest, antiqua require,
> quae proavi, patres et avi potuere Latini.
> Quid noster senior potuit pater, inscie, disce.
> (*In laud.* III, 380–3)

As a matter of fact, it is the seventh day of his reign; however, we know he will not increase the territory of the Empire. The only thing he could do is to trust Justinian's words against some insignificant barbarians.

I would not claim that Corippus gives an account of the emperors' propaganda. However, he lived in a transitional period when the Roman identity was changing. A few years later, as some say, it faded into a kind of conservatism or elitism. At least, according to Justin's words, this ideology entitled them to make anyone their slaves. Justin wished to *debellare superbos* in words. Corippus says he succeeded – at least for sixty years.

Iván Tóth

The Last Byzantine Historiographer and his Audience

This is the first piece of advice that Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives those determined to engage in historiography:[1]

> πρῶτόν τε καὶ σχεδὸν ἀναγκαιότατον ἔργον ἁπάντων ἐστὶ τοῖς γράφουσιν πᾶσιν ἱστορίας ὑπόθεσιν ἐκλέξασθαι καλὴν καὶ κεχαρισμένην τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις.[2] (*Pomp*. 3)

Kritobulos of Imbros, the last Byzantine historiographer failed as early as the first step – at least compared to Dionysius. In his letter addressed to Gnaeus Pompeius Geminus, the historian of Halicarnassus criticises Thucydides – among other things – for depicting a war that destroyed many Greek cities and people, so readers keen on learning more about Greek affairs are predisposed to regard the historiographer's work with aversion.[3]

Although Kritobulos wrote *in the fullest detail* about the destruction of only one Greek city,[4] this would have hardly served him as an excuse. And not only because this one city happened to be Constantinople, and its loss meant also losing the last remains of the culture that was so precious to Dionysius and the Greek people, but also because the protagonist of Kritobulos' work was the very person that brought such destruction to the City and Byzantium.

On the first pages of the *autographical* manuscript of the work entitled *Syngraphēs historiōn* preserved in the library of the Serai (*cod. Seragliensis* G. İ. 3) we can read the Byzantine historiographer's letter of dedication

[1] This paper was supported by János Bolyai Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and OTKA NN 104456.

[2] "The first, and one may say the most necessary, task for writers of any kind of history is to choose a noble subject and one pleasing to their readers." Translated by Roberts, W. Rhys.

[3] Cf. D.H. *Pomp*. 3.

[4] The work consisting of five books follows the events from the enthronement of Mehmed II in 1451 to 1467. Constituting as much as one third of the work, the first book describes the conquest of Constantinople, while the other four of the books are about the sultan's further conquests.

addressed to Mehmed II the Conqueror.[5] Kritobulos recommends his writing as a simple servant (δοῦλος εὐτελής) to the sultan, who, in his opinion, has completed greater and more illustrious deeds than any former monarch or general. However, having completed the letter full of adulation (that later on provoked revulsion in most Byzantinologists),[6] in the *prooimion* and the *paraitēsis* evoking classical models, the author goes on to address his words to his compatriots.

The present paper explores the relationship and correlations between this latter audience and the historian who devoted his work to this (Byzantine) audience as well as the sultan. Two paths are available for such analysis: we can depart from the ambivalent situation that Kritobulos got himself into when he chose Mehmed II as the protagonist of his account and examine the subtle and resourceful rhetorical methods that the Byzantine historiographer implements in order to justify his choice of topic to his compatriots. Or we can observe our historiographer and his audience from a wider perspective and look for clues in the text that reveal the more general aspects of the complex system of relations between the author and the readers. Although the first choice seems more exciting, holds out more established results and even readers may find it more attractive, still – forgetting about Dionysius' word of warning – we now opt for the latter, more comprehensive (and maybe less attractive) subject matter.

The relations of Byzantine historiography and its audience represent an area yet unexplored. The Byzantinologists trying hard to keep up with colleagues researching classical philology just began to approach this *terra incognita* in the last decade.[7] I now highlight only three of the countless questions emerging in the process of mapping out this field, hoping that the analysis of Kritobulos' work reveals additional data that help answer these questions.

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[5] Originally, two letters of dedication were written for his work. About the letters of dedication see Grecu, V.: Kritobulos aus Imbros. *Byzantinoslavica* 17 (1957) 1–17, esp. 4–7; Reinsch, D. R. (ed.): *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*. (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae vol. 22.) Berlin–New York 1983, 18–27. About the manuscript see Reinsch 5–6.

[6] On the scientific criticism of Krtitobulos and his work see Reinsch (n. 5) 48–49.

[7] See, for example: Croke, B.: Tradition and Originality in Photius Historical Reading. In Burke, J. et al. (eds.): *Byzantine Narrative. Papers in Honour of Roger Scott*. Melbourne 2006, 59–70; we can also find interesting data at Kaldellis, A.: The Byzantine Role in the Making of the Corpus of Classical Greek Historiography: A Preliminary Investigation. *JHS* 132 (2012) 71–85.

The first one is about the channels through which historical works reached their audience in Byzantium, and how these channels changed between the 4th and 15th century or if they changed at all. The studies of Brian Croke trying to find an answer to this question reveal that the majority of Byzantine historiographers – similarly to their antique predecessors – designed their narratives not merely for solitary contemplation but also for oral interpretation before an audience.[8] Croke compiled data that seem to support the above statement mainly from the period between the 7th and 12th centuries. These data and evidence may be divided in three groups. The first group consists of the *loci* that refer to public performances in a text-like manner; such reference may be found, for example, in Thophylact Simocatta, who modestly mentions having had to disrupt reading his historical account because the audience broke out in tears while he was recounting Emperor Maurice's death (cf. VIII, 12.3–4).[9] The second group is made up of the rhetoric phrases addressing the audience like, for example, "future listener" (ἀκουσόμενος) in Eustathius or "for the friendly listener" (πρὸς φιλήκοον ἀκοήν) in Psellos or "oh, listeners" (ὦ ἀκροαταί) in Genesius.[10] The third and last group of evidences includes manuscripts. The traces of oral recitation can be discovered not only in the direct references but also in the manuscript tradition. The famous Madrid manuscript of John Skylitzes' work, the *Synopsis of Histories* displays a graphic evidence of this: beyond the beautifully structured semi-uncial letters, its clear and exaggerated punctuation demonstrates that the text was intended for oral interpretation.[11] Besides public recitation solitary reading (also carried out loud) was naturally present in Byzantium, too. According to Croke signs like the frequent occurrence of the verb ἀναγιγνώσκειν in the texts may show this.[12]

If we start investigating Kritobulos' work for similar clues, we need not search long; already the *prooimion* includes quite a few. In the opening sentence of the introduction we can read the following:

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[8] Croke, B.: Uncovering Byzantium's historiographical audience. In Macrides, Ruth (ed.): *History as Literature in Byzantium*. Farnham 2010, 25–53, esp. 29–30, 44–46.

[9] Cf. Croke (n. 8) 29.

[10] Eustathius, *Report on the Capture of Thessalonica* 18. 6; Psellos *Chron*. 6. 21; Genesius, *On Imperial Reigns* 4. 3; cf. Croke (n. 8) 40–41, 44.

[11] Burke, J.: The Madrid Skylitzes as an Audio-Visual Experiment. In Burke, J. et al. (eds.): *Byzantine Narrative. Papers in Honour of Roger Scott*. Melbourne 2006, 137–148, esp. 142–146.

[12] Croke (n. 8) 37, 45.

> Κριτόβουλος ὁ νησιώτης, τὰ πρῶτα τῶν Ἰμβριωτῶν, τὴν ξυγγραφὴν τήνδε ξυνέγραψε δικαιώσας μὴ πράγματα οὕτω μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν γεγονότα μεῖναι ἀ ν ή κ ο υ σ τ α[13] (Krit. I, 1.1)

Then a few lines later we find this:

> τὰ μὲν γὰρ παλαιὰ τῶν ἔργων πρεσβύτατα ὄντα καὶ μέγιστα δυσπαράδεκτά πώς εἰσι καὶ ε ἰ ς ἀ κ ο ὴ ν ἔ ρ χ ε τ α ι μ ό γ ι ς.[14] (Krit. I, 1.2).

Although the expressions ἀνήκουστα and εἰς ἀκοὴν ἔρχεται do not refer to an oral recitation so directly as the notes of Thophylact Simocatta, Psellos, Genesius and Eustathius, they lead us to the conclusion that in the 15th century orality continued to assume an important role in the process of taking in historical works. While phrasing his historical work, Kritobulos must have also imagined his listening audience. We can spot traces and words alluding to both oral recitation and solitary reading, although the phrase indicating the latter is not the usual: the future participle (ξυνεσομένους) derived from the verb σύνειμι is most likely to apply to intense solitary reading.[15]

But what was the composition of the audience and what expectations did it have towards historiographers? Generally speaking, the listeners and readers (as well as the authors) of historical works in Byzantium mainly included the representatives of a narrow social class, the members of the ecclesiastical and secular aristocracy.[16] The majority of this community received excellent education, grew up reading classical authors (mainly Thucydides and Herodotus), and, through the thorough knowledge and study of historiographers, developed a firm idea of the right style, subject matter, structure and proportions of historical accounts.

Being readers themselves, Byzantine historiographers were also well aware of these expectations and they strived to take the needs of the audience into

[13] "Noble islander Kritobulos of Imbros wrote this historical account, for he thought it right to ensure that such great and wonderful things that happened in our time should not remain *unheard*, . . ." For the English translation of Kritobulos' texts I have consulted with the following edition: Riggs, Ch. T.: *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*. Westport 1970. (Reprint)

[14] "ancient and enormous as they may be, olden deeds are to a certain extent incomprehensible, and *are hardly heard* (...) ."

[15] παραιτοῦμαι δὲ τούς τε νῦν τούς τε χρόνῳ ὕστερόν ποτε ξυνεσομένους τῇδε τῇ ξυγγγραφῇ. (Krit. I, 3.1)

[16] Naturally, the audience was not entirely homogeneous; on this, see Croke (n. 8) 28, 32–34, 46–47, 53.

account when composing their works. Historians' notes responding to the needs of the audience also justify this assumption.

For example, in his contemporary history entitled *Chronographia,* Psellos apologizes to his friend for not recounting every detail in order (ἐφεξῆς διεξιέναι) with great precision (ἐξακριβοῦσθαι), and for not describing the events that thorough historiographers (τοῖς ἀκριβέσι τῶν συγγραφέων) usually do mention (εἴθισται λέγειν). Psellos then goes on to say that since his friend only requests a so called summary and not a historical account (τὴν συγγραφήν), he omitted several things worth mentioning, did not either organize the events according to the Olympiads and divide years in winter and summer seasons as *the historiographer* (ὁ συγγραφεύς) did, but simply compiled the most important ones using his memory.[17]

Psellos' apologies confirm that when writing contemporary history, authors had to observe certain editing principles also well known and expected by the audience. The most important ones included the chronological order of events and their precise recount strictly observing this order. The text also reveals that these principles were also accompanied by a historiographer's example, in Psellos' case it was Thucydides, whose name is hidden behind the word ὁ συγγραφεύς.

Then four centuries later the Athenian historiographer will also serve as a pattern to Kritobulos,[18] who in his *prooimion* rephrases the guidelines described by Psellos:

> γράψω δὴ καθέκαστα ὡς ἐγένετο[19] ἀκριβῶς τούς τε λόγους ξυναρμόζων τοῖς ἔργοις τά τε ἔργα μηδαμοῦ τῶν καιρῶν ἀποδιιστὰς ἔν τε τοῖς προσώποις καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς τὴν γιγνομένην τάξιν μ ε τ ὰ τ ο ῦ π ρ ο σ ή κ ο ν τ ο ς σῴζων.[20] (Krit. I, 1.4)

[17] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐφεξῆς πάντα διεξιέναι, ἕκαστόν τε ἐξακριβοῦσθαι ἀφ' οἵων ἀρχῶν εἰς οἷα τέλη κατήντησε, συντάξεις τε καταλέγειν καὶ στρατοπεδείας, ἀκροβολισμούς τε καὶ ἀψιμαχίας καὶ τἄλλα ὁπόσα εἴθισται λέγειν τοῖς ἀκριβέσι τῶν συγγραφέων, ὡς μακροῦ καιροῦ καὶ λόγου δεόμενα εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἀναβάλλομαι· οὐ γάρ με τὴν συγγραφὴν, φίλτατε πάντων ἀνδρῶν, φιλοτιμοτέραν, ἀλλὰ κεφαλαιωδεστέραν ἀπῄτησας· διὰ τοῦτό σοι κἀγὼ πολλὰ τῶν ἀξίων εἰρῆσθαι παρῆκα τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, μήτε πρὸς ὀλυμπιάδα ἐτῶν ταύτην ἀναμετρήσας, μήθ' ὡς ὁ συγγραφεὺς πεποίηκεν εἰς τὰς τοῦ ἔτους ὥρας αὐτὴν διελόμενος, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς οὑτωσὶ τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα ταύτης ὑπαγορεύσας καὶ ὁπόσα μοι ἱστοροῦντι κατὰ μνήμην συνήθροισται. (Psellos *Chron*. VI, 73)

[18] On Kritobulos' imitation of Thucydides see Mastrodemetres, P. D.:Ἐσωτερικαὶ ἐπιδράσεις τοῦ Θουκυδίδου ἐπὶ τὸν Κριτοβούλου. *Ἀθηνᾶ* 65 (1961) 158–168; Reinsch (n. 5) 48–54.

[19] Thucydides' imitation is also apparent: Γέγραφε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ αὐτὸς Θουκυδίδης ᾿Αθηναῖος ἑξῆς, ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγένετο, … (Thuc. V, 26.1)

[20] "So I will describe [the events] one after the other, exactly as they occurred, I will choose my

The comparison of the two loci does not serve to suggest that Kritobulos knew Psellos' work, and that any direct relationship exists between *Chronographia* and *Syngraphēs historiōn* – since there is not –, it merely directs our attention to the considerations used by both authors that keep reoccurring in historical accounts of Greek historiography throughout the centuries, and not only connect the authors indirectly (and sometimes even directly), but also link the audiences listening to or reading their works. Furthermore, it is worth citing another relevant locus of Kritobulos' text. In his proem, the historiographer of Imbros makes a promise to later on describe the history of the Ottoman Empire. In his opinion, this is necessary because of the following reasons:

> εἰ γὰρ καὶ πολλοὶ περὶ τούτων εἰρήκασιν, ἀλλ' οὐ κ α τ ὰ τ ά ξ ι ν οὐδὲ κ α λ ῶ ς τε καὶ ὡ ς ἔ δ ε ι τὴν ἱστορίαν ξυνέθεσαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν ἐπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς ἢ κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν τῆς γνώμης ἢ τὸ ξυμβαῖνον τῆς μνήμης ἢ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων πείρας εἶχον, τῆς δ' ἀκριβείας ὀλίγον ἐφρόντισαν.[21] (Krit. I, 2.2)

In the review, the general rules and phrases of writing like, for example, κατὰ τάξιν or καλῶς reoccur here, accompanied by expressions like ὡς ἔδει (*as it should have been*), that, similarly to the phrase μετὰ τοῦ προσήκοντος (*duly*) alludes to the fact that these rules defining *writing* historiography were based on a certain "consensus" – an unspoken agreement between historiographers and the audience mainly established on the grounds of classical traditions.

The lines of the cited text also bear testimony to this. Kritobulos – who, beyond assuming his role as a historiographer, here presents himself as a reader, since he formulated his criticism probably based on his experience as one – sets a Thucydidean tone: the historiographers who recount events in accordance with their opinion assumed to be right, what is more, they do so following their memories, fail to observe the requirements of the Thucydidean *akribeia* claiming that a historiographer must revise his own opinion and remembrance as well as that of others.[22]

words to suit deeds, and I will never separate the events from their time; I will also duly observe the established order as regards characters and times."

[21] "Although many have spoken about these, they did not do it correctly, and what is more, they failed to structure the results of their investigations as they should have. Instead, they compiled these as they were revealed to them: based on their own opinion that they thought was right, or as their memory preserved them, or according to their experience with things, caring little about precision."

[22] τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος πυνθανόμενος ἠξίωσα γράφειν, οὐδ' ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον δυνατὸν

The last locus can also be read in the *prooimion* – its analysis, in my opinion, may shed some light on the audience interested in history of 15th century Byzantium:

> δόκει δέ μοι καὶ διὰ τόδε οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀναγκαία εἶναι ἥδε ἡ νῦν ξυγγραφή· τὰ μὲν γὰρ παλαιὰ τῶν ἔργων πρεσβύτατα ὄντα καὶ μέγιστα δυσπαράδεκτά πώς εἰσι καὶ εἰς ἀκοὴν ἔρχεται μόγις τῷ χρόνῳ ὥσπερ γηράσκοντα καὶ διαπιστούμενα ἢ τῷ γε πολλῷ τῆς μνήμης συνεθισμῷ καὶ καταφρονεῖται· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ πλεονάζον ἐς κόρον ἥκει, κόρος δὲ ἀηδίαν φέρει. τὰ δὲ δὴ νῦν καινά τε ὄντα καὶ προσεχῆ καὶ ὡς γνώριμα εὐπαράδεκτά τέ ἐστι καὶ κατέχεται καὶ ὡς προσεχῆ μᾶλλον θαυμάζεται, καὶ τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ὅσῳ καὶ μᾶλλον διαφέροντα ᾖ καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἔχοντα τῷ σαφεῖ καὶ γνωρίμῳ χαιρόντων τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς καινοτέροις τῶν ἔργων καὶ τούτοις μᾶλλον ἐθελόντων ἕπεσθαι.[23] (Krit. I, 1.2)

Kritobulos' description shows that the audience of 15th century Byzantium might have turned away from studying the events of the remote past, and its interest seemed to focus on recent occurrences. However, the so called 'public opinion poll' above seems somehow contradicted by the fact that various antique historiographers and authors' manuscripts are preserved from the 14th and 15th century, among others, due to Kritobulos himself, who is known to have possessed a manuscript of Thucydides (*cod. Parisinus Graecus* 1636) and he himself copied Herodotus' work (*cod. Laurentianus* 70, 32), Arrian's work entitled *Anabasis Alexandrou* (*cod. Seragliensis* G. İ. 16) and Aelius Aristeides' writings (Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη cod. 1064).[24]

ἀκριβείᾳ περὶ ἑκάστου ἐπεξελθών. ἐπιπόνως δὲ ηὑρίσκετο, διότι οἱ παρόντες τοῖς ἔργοις ἑκάστοις οὐ ταὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἑκατέρων τις εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχοι. (Thuc. I, 22.2–3) cf. Reinsch (n. 5) ad loc.

[23] "Among other reasons, I considered the present historiographical analysis necessary due to the following: being old and great, ancient deeds are inconceivable to a certain extent, and they are hardly heard, since with time they became anachronistic and unreliable or they were cited so many times that they became trivial and despised; since all exaggerations eventually lead to surfeit, and surfeit provokes disgust. Being new, recent and well known, the present events, however, can be understood easily and memory preserves them. Furthermore, the fact that they are recent provokes more admiration: the more precious and authentic they are due to being clear and well known, the more they are recognized; since people in general find joy in the latest deeds and are happy to follow these."

[24] See Reinsch (n. 5) 68–71.

Whatever the answer to the contradiction may be, perhaps Kritobulos' above cited observation offers some additions to the question of whether throughout the centuries Byzantium experienced a change in the interest on history, the different historical periods and genres, and if so, how this change evolved. While Kritobulos for some unknown reason arrived at the conclusion that his readers and listeners are rather interested in the recent past, in the 6th century, Procopius of Caesarea seemed to experience quite the opposite of this. In the preface of his monumental contemporary historiograpghical work entitled *Wars*, Procopius concludes the oratorical aggrandizement of his selected topic, emperor Justinian's wars with the following:

> πέπρακται γὰρ ἐν τούτοις μάλιστα πάντων ὧν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν θαυμαστὰ οἷα, ἢν μή τις τῶν τάδε ἀναλεγομένων τῷ παλαιῷ χρόνῳ τὰ πρεσβεῖα διδοίη καὶ τὰ καθ' αὑτὸν οὐκ ἀξιοίη θαυμαστὰ οἴεσθαι.[25] (*Bell.* I, 1.7)

The historiographer goes on to say that these readers appreciate the fighters of the Trojan War more than the soldiers of present times. This is why Procopius begins a long explanation which serves to prove that the Justinian armed forces excel the fighters of the Trojan War in every aspect. However, at the end of the justification evoking Thucydides, Procopius states resignedly that "[s]till there are those who take into consideration none of these things, who reverence and worship the ancient times, and give no credit to modern improvements."[26]

Although I do not intend to draw farfetched and absolute conclusions from these two loci concerning the Byzantine audience of the 6th and 15th century, it may be worth noting that Procopius and Kritobulos' different experiences seem to partly reflect the spectrum of historiography in these two periods: since in the early Byzantine period not only did contemporary historiography flourish, but the ecclesiastic historiography originated from Eusebius also lived on, while, due to the world chronicles born at the end of the era, the type of historiography that went farther back in time also had its place. This colourfulness fades a bit by the Palaiologos dynasty period, which will witness the almost exclusive dominance of monographs of contemporary history.

[25] "For in them (sc. in these wars) more remarkable feats have been performed than in any other wars with which we are acquainted; unless, indeed, any reader of this narrative should give the place of honour to antiquity, and consider contemporary achievements unworthy to be counted remarkable." I cite the English translation of Dewing, H. B.

[26] εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ τούτων ἥκιστα ἐνθυμούμενοι σέβονται μὲν καὶ τεθήπασι τὸν παλαιὸν χρόνον, οὐδὲν δὲ ταῖς ἐπιτεχνήσεσι διδόασι πλέον. (*Bell.* I, 1.16)

By analysing some loci in one of the last Byzantine historiographical works, the present study offered *insight* into the relationship of Byzantine historiographers and their audience. Here, the word "insight" is not merely a figure of speech, but strives to draw attention to the undertakings and shortcomings of the paper. We know very little about the contemporary audience of historiography, one of the most significant genres in Byzantine literature. Various questions and even more uncertainties remain open before us. Nevertheless, one thing is sure: however great a historiographer may be, without his audience, he is close to nothing. Kritobulos, whose work lay forgotten in the Topkapi Serai's library until the middle 19th century, had this fate – maybe he should have followed Dionysius' advice after all.

RENASCENTIA

Orsolya Bobay

L'immagine dell'Egitto nel Commentario di Ioachimus Vadianus

L'immagine dell'Egitto formata dall'umanista svizzero Vadianus[1] è influenzata dalle tendenze generali della sua formazione universitaria, cioè dall'oscillazione degli influssi della scienza medievale e di quella umanistica. Joachimus Vadianus fu prima studente e poi professore dell'università di Vienna, nei primi decenni del Seicento. In seguito alla pubblicazione del suo commentario scritto al *De situ orbis* di Pomponio Mela,[2] basato sulle lezioni tenute negli anni precedenti tornò a Sankt Gallen, la sua città natale. Il suo commentario dopo la prima edizione uscita nel 1518, fu pubblicato nel 1522 a Basilea, e nel 1530 a Parigi. L'esame dell'immagine dell'Egitto si basa sulla prima edizione del testo, messa a confronto con l'opera posteriore di Vadianus, intitolata *Epitome trium terrae partium*. Prima di questa opera fu pubblicato un altro commentario geografico, quello su Dionisio il Periegeta, scritto dal teologo francescano italiano Giovanni Ricuzzi Velluti (Johannes Camers).[3] Quest'ultimo non trattò le nozioni relative all'Egitto in un capitolo separato, quindi da questo punto di vista il commentario di Vadianus può esser considerato una novità. Ralph J. Hexter nel suo saggio sui commentari medievali di Ovidio definisce il periodo compreso tra il Trecento e il Cinquecento come l'epoca dei commentari tardo medievali e sottolinea che rappresentano una fase intermedia tra il commentario scolastico medievale e il commentario rinascimentale.[4] Analizzando

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[1] La forma italianizzata del nome è Joachim Vadiano, nell'articolo ho preferito utilizzarlo nella forma latina.

[2] *Verfasserlexikon: Deutscher Humanismus,* 1480–1520. Band 2. 1179–1180, s.v. Vadian, Joachim.

[3] *Commentaria in C. Julii Solini Polyhistora* (...) Ioanne Camerte autore Viro in omni literarum genere prestanti. Basileae per Henricum Petri, (1557).

[4] Hexter, R. J.: *Ovid and Medieval Schooling. Studies in medieval school commentaries on Ovid's Ars Amatoria, Epistulae ex Ponto, and Epistulae Heroidum*. (Jan Thorbecke Verlag GmbH & Co.) München 1986, 11.

le caratteristiche del commentario su Pomponio Mela possiamo trarre la conclusione che il periodo di transizione da lui definito nel caso delle opere legate all'università di Vienna si estende fino ai primi decenni del Seicento. Questo fatto viene menzionato anche da Dana Bennett-Durand nella sua dissertazione sulla tradizione cartografica presso l'università viennese. L'autrice afferma che le posizioni dello scolasticismo non furono danneggiate dopo l'introduzione delle *artibus humanitatis* nel curriculum universitario, anzi fino alla fine del Settecento rimasero definitive.[5] In base a tutto questo, possiamo sottolineare che pure nel capitolo sull'Egitto si possono osservare i segni del legame con l'esegesi tradizionale i quali non possono essere considerati come retrocessione o degradazione ma sono i sintomi del pensiero scientifico dell'epoca in cui l'aggettivo *scholasticus* era sinonimo dell'aggettivo scientifico. Lo scopo delle scienze naturali fu quello di conoscere i fenomeni del mondo creato da Dio e di definirli esattamente nella maggior parte dei casi, basandosi sulle opere di Aristotele. Di conseguenza anche nel commentario troviamo spesso degli scoli che rispetto alla maggioranza degli scoli interpretativi spiegano le singole parole latine (soprattutto i verbi), le citazioni degli *auctores* invece, seguendo le tradizioni scolastiche vengono introdotte dalle parafrasi con le quali tramite l'uso del verbo appropriato dimostrano l'accettazione o il rifiuto da parte dell'autore in questione. Come esempio possiamo menzionare lo scolio *Ubi rursus coit* sulla confluenza dei due rami del Nilo.[6] All'inizio dello scolio che tratta la fecondità del Nilo possiamo trovare ulteriori esempi riguardanti la parafrasi e i metodi

[5] Bennett Durand, D.: *The Vienna-Klosterneuburg Map Corpus of the Fifteenth Century: A Study in the Transition from Medieval to Modern Science*. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill (1952) 66.

[6] Ubi rursus coit. Plinius nec ante Nilus quam se totum aquis concordibus rursus iunxit. Dionysius poeta, Sirin ab Aethiopibus Nilum dici scribit, antequam totus confluat. Vitruvius vero Dyrin a monte, ex quo oritur. Rufi versus ex Dionysio hi sunt: Hic qua secretis incidit flexibus agros, Aethiopum in lingua Syris ruit, utque Syenen Coerulus accedens diti loca flumine inundat, nomine se claro Nilum trahit, <et reliqua>. Dictum Sirin autumat Stephanus et Eustathius, a Sirio, quoniam sub ortum canis per introitum Solis in Leonem augeatur, ut Hermolaus scribit. Seneca certe infra Philas amni coeunti nomen Nili esse scribit. Eius verba haec sunt: Philae insula est, aspera et undique praerupta, duobus in unum coituris amnibus cingitur, qui Nilo mutantur et eius nomen ferunt. Philae autem Straboni infra Moerorem sunt, ad quas ipse Strabo se ex Syene plaustro per plana aliquando vectum scribit. Meminit et Lucanus libro decimo: Rursus multifidas revocat piger alveus undas. Qua dirimunt Arabum populis Aegyptia rura, regni claust[r]a Philae, et cetera. Ab his vero haud longe abest, solis Antistitibus pressa Abatos insula, nomen sortita a difficili accessu. De qua Seneca et Lucanus, quanquam apud illum corrupte Abactos legitur, et ibidem, illa prima saxum, corrupte pro, in illa primum lapsum, passim codices habent. *Pomponii Melae Hispani, Libri de situ orbis tres, adiectis* Ioachimi Vadiani Heluetii *in eosdem Scholiis. Addita quoque in Geographiam Catechesi, et Epistola Vadiani ad Agricolam digna lectu*.Viennae Pannoniae 1518, 105.

medievali di commentazione;[7] lo scolio viene pure sottolineato da Vadianus con una glossa marginale. Accanto all'elevato numero delle soluzioni medievali dell'esegesi testuale – rappresentate anche dalla parafrasi delle *Naturales questiones* e dalle nozioni filologiche – nelle citazioni di Claudiano e Tibullo possiamo osservare l'atteggiamento mutevole nei confronti della tradizione antica, il quale sottolinea l'importanza delle tradizioni precedenti e volendole conservare ne sottolinea le corrispondenze del contenuto.

Tuttavia, per quanto riguarda i commentari scritti all'inizio dell'età moderna Karl Enenkel sottolinea che i margini tra il testo originale e il commentario non sono sempre identificabili e come esempio cita proprio il commentario su Mela nel quale Vadianus in più casi tratta dei temi non menzionati da Mela.[8] Le opzioni più adatte per la trasformazione del testo originale sono fornite dalla descrizione della Germania alla quale aggiunge la descrizione dell'antica Rhetia, cioè la Svizzera contemporanea come osserva Katharina Suter-Meyer nel suo articolo scritto sullo scolio in cui descrive il Reno.[9] Allo stesso tempo in uno scolio successivo (*Sive quod solutae*) cita il filosofo presocratico Anassagora accettando le nozioni da lui trasmesse in merito alla possibilità della neve nella parte meridionale del mondo (all'epoca il luogo immaginario del popolo dei cosiddetti *antichtones*) nonostante le obiezioni dei più autorevoli Erodoto, Seneca, e Diodoro Siculo ma contraddice l'opinione secondo la quale la neve sciolta dal Sole in Etiopia abbia causato l'inondazione del Nilo.[10] Negli scoli del

[7] Nilus efficit. In quo unicam spem suam Aegyptus habet, ut ait Seneca: nam sterilis, aut fertilis annus est, prout ille magnus influxit, aut parcior. Inde est, ut nemo aratorum in Aegypto coelum suspiciat, quod ex Seneca depromptum, eleganter Claudianus huiusmodi verbis reddidit: Felix qui Pharias proscindit vomere terras. Nubila non sperat tenebris condentia coelum, nec graviter flantes pluviali frigore Coros invocat, aut arcum variata luce rubentem. Aegyptus sine nube ferax, imbresque serenos Sola tenet, secura poli, non indiga venti, Gaudet aquis, quas ipsa vehit, Niloque redundat. Ubi per serenos imbres fecundam Nili irrigationem, quae sereno coelo fit, intellexit. Plinius quoque in Panegyri ad Traianum: Aegyptus, inquit, alendis augendisque seminibus ita gloriata est, ut nihil imbribus coeloque deberet, siquidem proprio semper amne perfusa, nec alio genere aquarum solita pinguescere, quam quas ipse advexerat. Vadianus (n. 6) 102.

[8] Enenkel, K. E. (ed.): *Transformation of the Classics via Early Modern Commentaries*. (Brill) Leiden 2013, 3.

[9] Suter-Meyer, K.: Frühneuzeitliche Landesbeschreibung in einer antiken Geographie- der Rhein aus persönlicher Perspektive in Vadians Kommentar zu Pomponius Mela (1522). In Enenkel (n. 8) 389–409.

[10] Sive quod solutae. Ita sensit Anaxagoras, cui improperant, ut inepte locuto, Herodotus, Diodorus et Seneca, sed nimis meo iudicio temere. Nam in Austrino latere nives cadere, et pluviis undis vel a meridie fluentem, Nilum accrescere posse, evidentibus rationibus indicari potest. Sed in hoc indubie peccatum est, quod Sole Cancrum occupante, quando accrescit Nilus, Aethiopicas ad meridiem nives liquefieri Anaxagoras existimavit, Sole videlicet tunc maxime atque altissime

capitolo sull'Egitto possiamo quindi trovare altri esempi riguardanti il fatto che Vadianus durante l'esegesi del testo, accanto agli autori classici, utilizza anche i testi più antichi e rimasti solo in frammenti, traendo poi una conclusione che dal punto di vista della scienza odierna non può essere scientificamente provata. Inoltre per quanto riguarda la tradizione biblica possiamo dire che gli scoli non rafforzano l'affermazione di Dannenfeldt che gli umanisti si ispiravano indirettamente alle Sacre Scritture. Più volte possiamo leggere infatti che Vadianus usa le citazioni bibliche di Sant'Agostino o di Eusebio di Caesarea.

In rapporto al commentario intero, il capitolo sull'Egitto ha un ruolo particolare: non presenta semplicemente un luogo geografico ma presenta l'Egitto come uno spazio atemporale e mistico, depositario della sapienza primordiale. L'effetto della tradizione ermetica caratterizzato dalla menzione di Ermete Trismegisto (identificato con Mercurio) e di Platone vengono presentati soltanto all'inizio del capitolo, negli scoli successivi l'Egitto diventa gradualmente uno spazio geografico e storico sempre più realistico. I riferimenti ad esso collegati sono presenti in molti scoli, tuttavia per quanto riguarda i confini del territorio, sembra che rappresentino un tema meno importante e sono trattati negli scoli più brevemente dove spesso è definitiva l'esperienza personale dell'autore antico, come si vede anche nello scolio *Elephantidem* dove la città viene definita come l'ultima tappa del viaggio navale sul Nilo, in base alla descrizione di Strabone.[11] Accanto all'esperienza personale, in altri scoli la trasmissione delle informazioni riguardanti le singole zone, grazie alla tradizione già confermata all'università di Vienna, è caratterizzato anche da un punto di vista matematico e cartografico della geografia. Nello scolio *Certasorum oppidum* tutto ciò può essere osservato insieme all'analisi filologica nella quale Vadianus cita la forma *Cercasorum* presente in Erodoto ma evita di esprimere il proprio parere e seguendo Plinio e Tolomeo descrive le dimensioni dell'isola del Nilo ivi situata.[12] L'influsso delle conoscenze matematiche e cartografiche,

distante, qui hieme nostra magis illam liquefaceret, cum ob rectos in ea loca radios, tum ob maiorem in terram vicinitatem, tunc enim Australia signa ipse occupat. Vadianus (n. 6) 108–109.

[11] Elephantidem. Plinius quinto libro: Elephantis inquit insula infra novissimum Cataractem navigationis Aegyptiae finis, ubi Aethiopiae conveniunt naves, namque eas plicatiles humeris tra[n]sferunt, quoties ad Cataractas perventum est. Ipse Strabo se in Syenem insulam mediterraneae cognominem traiecisse libro ultimo scribit. Vadianus (n. 6) 106.

[12] Certasorum op. Herodotus quoque libro secundo. Cercasorum urbem refert, iuxta quam inquit scinditur Nilus in Pelusium fluens et Canobum. De Metili, in urbibus Stephanus meminit, et Metiliten nomon Plinius. capite nono libri quinti inter alios numerat. Notandum vero super haec loca Nilum quoque aperiri et insulam facere quam Nili nominarunt, longam passuum

più significativo di quelle filologiche, si osserva anche nello scolio successivo: alla presentazione del delta del Nilo, visibilmente importante per Vadianus, la distanza dall'Asia viene presentata usando i dati desunti dalla *Naturalis historia*, inoltre riassume le nozioni riguardanti l'aspetto esteriore del Delta e la sua formazione, sia con le proprie sia mediante l'uso delle citazioni desunte da autori antichi. In alcuni casi nel capitolo sull'Egitto è percepibile l'influsso dei risultati astronomici viennesi, caratterizzati con il nome di Georg von Peuerbach e Johannes Regiomontanus, per esempio quando nello scolio *Aestivo sidere* riguardante l'inondazione estiva del Nilo, Vadianus, sempre tramite l'uso del testo della *Naturalis historia*, fornisce una spiegazione astronomica del fenomeno.[13] Lo spazio geografico sempre più realistico viene tuttavia popolato da esseri e fenomeni esotici, strani o insoliti, seguendo il filone molto popolare già nella letteratura greca e romana. Lo scopo di tutto questo è l'intrattenimento del lettore, il mantenimento della sua attenzione, quindi come potremo vedere anche in seguito, questo non significa necessariamente che Vadianus abbia accettato senza dubbi la realtà di questi fenomeni. Inoltre, come invero sottolinea, la riflessione ermeneutica adottata da Vadianus è una concezione generica di questa epoca e non può esser considerata quale fenomeno particolare nemmeno nel pensiero geografico. Ad esempio nella *Cosmographiae introductio* di Martin Waldseemüller, edito nel 1507 possiamo leggere che l'indagine riguardante l'origine delle cose e l'interesse e parallelamente l'interessamento per la conoscenza dei luoghi lontani, sono legati alla persona di Platone e di Apollonio di Tyana.[14]

Negli altri scoli del capitolo sull'Egitto non possiamo leggere affermazioni simili, quindi da ciò possiamo supporre che si tratti piuttosto dell'influsso

quinquaginta milium cuius Ptolemaeus et Plinius meminerunt, verum alveis rursus coeuntibus. Vadianus (n. 6) 106.

[13] Aestivo sidere. Idem Seneca, Diodorus, Herodotus Plinius. Sed Plinium sequi libet, cuius haec libro quinto verba sunt: Incipit crescere Luna nova, quaecunque post solstitium est, sensim modiceque Cancrum Sole transeunte: abundatissime autem Leonem, et residet in Virgine iisdem, quibus accrevit modis. In totum autem revocatur i[n]tra ripas in Libra, ut tradit Herodotus centesimo die. Aristoteles (nisi me lectionis fallit memoria) Plinio et Senecae contrarius, subito venire Nilum credidit. Non [solum] autem Delta irrigat, sed et superiorem Aegyptum. Vadianus (n. 6) 107.

[14] In multas adiisse regiones et populorum ultimos vidisse, non solum voluptarium, sed etiam in vita conducibile est (quod in Platone Apollonio Thyaneo atque aliis multis philosophis qui indagandarum rerum causa oras petierunt clarum evadit). Martinus Ilacomylus: *Cosmographiae introductio: cum quibusdam geometriae ac astronomiae principiis ad eam rem necessariis. Insuper Quattuor Americi Vespucij navigationes*. S. Deodati Fanum 1507, 5.

della concezione generale dell'epoca e meno di opinione personale. La prova della nostra supposizione può essere anche il fatto che nel caso di altri umanisti viennesi sembra essere più decisivo e personale l'influsso del pensiero ermetico. Ad esempio Giovanni Antonio Modesti nella sua opera intitolata *Oratio de nativitate Domini* conferisce un ruolo molto più decisivo ad Ermete Trismegisto: come altri filosofi anche lui ha preannunciato la nascita del Signore, anche se le sue conoscenze sono molto inferiori rispetto a quelle dei profeti e dei re dell'Antico Testamento. Vadianus invece cerca di adottare un punto di vista razionale e non avrebbe voluto identificarsi con la concezione mistica ed ermeneutica, e in conformità con tutto ciò negli scoli inserisce solo alcune brevi osservazioni.[15]

Dalla tradizione antica Vadianus sottolinea alcuni temi che sono per lui molto importanti: le conoscenze relative al Nilo, e le nozioni relative alla religione egiziana, questi sono i temi trattati in maggiore quantità. Accanto ad essi sono temi di rilievo quelli che presentano le piramidi e la fauna egiziana. Altri temi importanti per gli umanisti dell'epoca,[16] come i geroglifici e le usanze funerarie, sono presenti in percentuale minore.

Le differenze presenti tra gli scoli vengono definite dalla coesistenza dell'osservazione della tradizione e del distaccamento da essa. Alle questioni che ritiene più difficili Vadianus aggiunge una spiegazione più ampia, in molti casi staccandosi dalla tradizione antica, per quanto riguarda invece i temi nei quali non riscontra problemi di interpretazione, essi vengono spiegati seguendo le conoscenze dell'antichità. Nei casi in cui giustifica il suo interesse personale, egli segue il metodo di distaccamento parziale dalla tradizione antica, per esempio quando distingue le piante officinali usate nell'antichità e agli inizi del Seicento.[17]

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[15] Hanc autem nativitatem prophetae cognoverunt, Sibyllae cecinerunt huius Mercurius ille Trismegistus Philosophique meminerunt. Ioanantoni Modesti Umbri *Oratio de nativitate Domini. Eiusdem Ulysses.* Viennae (Austriae Hieronymi Vietoris industria) 1510, 12.

[16] Dannenfeldt, K. H.: Egypt and Egyptian Antiquities in the Renaissance. *Studies in the Renaissance* 6 (1959) 16–22.

[17] Arte medicatos. Plinius sexto decimo libro scribit in Syria picis genus cedrium vocari, cuius tanta vis est, ut in Aegypto corpora hominum defunctorum eo perfuso serventur. Consimilis ingenii est aloe, quod recentiores medici succocitrinum nominant, contra putrefactionem praesentissimum, ac nescio quidem an idem sit cum cedrio, quasi corrupto vocabulo succocedrium dictum, ut gummi hodie Armoniacum prope omnes nominant, quod Plinio et Solino Hammonicum dicitur a loco, nam supra Cyrenas ad Hammonis regionem provenit, de illo nihil statuo. Multa Diodorus. de cadaverum in Aegypto condendorum cura lib.2. Vadianus (n. 6) 116–117.

Il collegamento alla tradizione antica gioca un ruolo importante anche nel caso del capitolo sull'Egitto. Questi influssi sono i più forti nella descrizione dei singoli paesaggi egiziani, ma in più casi possiamo osservare anche qui il progresso scientifico, lo sforzo per superare le conoscenze dell'antichità. Tuttavia Vadianus in molti casi utilizza le definizioni semantiche considerabili come l'eredità dell'esegesi scolastica quando con le citazioni tratte dagli autori antichi conferma il proprio punto di vista. Non possiamo contestare la probabilità dell'ipotesi che l'adozione della pratica esegetica medievale significhi soltanto una scelta formale, visto che la prima parte dello scolio, dal punto di vista del contenuto, può essere considerata come un' analisi geografica basata sulle tradizioni antiche, egli suppone infatti che (almeno) una parte dell'Egitto appartenga all'Africa, citando le opere di Strabone ed Erodoto, quest'ultimo nella traduzione latina di Lorenzo Valla, al quale conferisce in maniera evidente una credibilità maggiore rispetto alla traduzione di Strabone, ultimata da Guarino Veronese. Tuttavia lo stesso testo di Erodoto non in tutti i casi porta l'*auctoritas* agli occhi di Vadianus. Nel caso delle questioni di minore portata e non abbastanza conosciute, egli accetta l'opinione antica ma in altri casi quando il riferimento di Erodoto tocca le questioni più importanti oppure relative alla geografia dell'Europa e trasmette dei dati che Vadianus riconosce inattendibili, l'autorità del traduttore umanista non garantisce l'attendibilità delle nozioni antiche: nello scolio *Amnium maximus* riguardante il Nilo Vadianus sconfessa la nozione di Erodoto secondo la quale il fiume più grande del mondo è il Nilo.[18]

L'attaccamento alla tradizione e la sua rivalutazione appaiono anche nel caso della descrizione del Nilo che può esser considerato il tema centrale del capitolo. Gli scoli che presentano l'origine del fiume e il suo ruolo di fonte della vita gestiscono le nozioni antiche in due modi divergenti. Vadianus vede la possibilità di conservazione delle tradizioni antiche nelle opere poetiche del passato quindi per esempio il concetto della fertilità viene confermato con le citazioni di Ovidio, Tibullo e Claudiano, per sottolineare l'unità della tradizione antica. Ulteriori esempi dell'attaccamento alle tradizioni antiche sono la

[18] Pars prima Aegypti, ea scilicet, quae trans Nilum in ortum sita est, nam quae citra Nilum Libyam versus iacet, ad Africam attinet, si modo Africae terminus Nilus est, seiungitur autem a Cyrenaica Catabathmo. Hinc Strabo libro ultimo: sursum in Nilo navigantes dextram ripam Libyae tribuere, sinistra[m] Arabiae esse ait: eandem partitionem, et Herodotus fecit libro secundo. De Delta vero quae extimis Nili [alveis] ab Asia, et Africa seiungitur inferius referemus. Herodoti verba alicubi haec sunt, ut Valla transtulit: Porro Nilus ubi inflatus est, non modo Delta inundat, verum etiam plagam quae dicitur Africana esse, vel Arabia, idque utroque versus duorum dierum itinere, et amplius vel minus etc. Vadianus (n. 6) 101.

descrizioni di alcune popolazioni, nel caso delle quali Vadianus si rivolge allo stesso modo alla poesia antica, citando per esempio Lucano.[19] La tradizione antica rappresentata dal corpus testuale unitario, tuttavia, non si collega strettamente in tutti i casi all'esegesi medievale. Anche se la citazione di Claudiano serve per sottolineare le nozioni scientifiche desunte dalle *Naturales quaestiones*, le osservazioni filologiche leggibili nello scolio presentano l'influsso della tradizione del commentario scolastico, facendo scomparire in questo modo il trattamento dei dati delle scienze naturali relativi all'Egitto e anche quelli effettuati dagli storiografi. Negli altri scoli l'influsso della tradizione dell'esegesi scolastica non è così forte in tutti i casi. Ad esempio nello scolio *Partim asper*[20] il quale presenta le cataratte anche Vadianus usa la descrizione degli autori antichi per confermare il proprio punto di vista, però mancano del tutto le osservazioni filologiche e possiamo leggere delle informazioni relative alla spiegazione del fenomeno e al suo cattivo influsso sanitario sull'uomo.[21]

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[19] Maximus. At libro quarto Herodotus: Ister, inquit, omnium quos novimus fluviorum maximus. Sed maiorem esse Danubio Nilum ex his intellexi quoque qui utrumque amnem haud longe ab ostiis navigarunt: quamquam et ille septem ostiis Euxinum illabitur, de quibus alibi. Vadianus (n. 6) 103.

[20] Partim asper. Propter Cataractas, hoc est, praecipites et torrentes undarum ex asperis et urgentibus scopulorum angustiis lapsus, qui in Nilo multi sunt, ob crebra insularum rupiumque e medio alveo extantium <irritamenta> [impedimenta], mitem enim alioqui, et dulcissimi haustus fluvium, immania rupium obstacula ita exasperant, ut saevus quidem, sed minime sua culpa, insurgat. Strabo duas Cataractas facit: Maiorem, qui in montanis est in Aethiopiam vergentibus, et minorem qui Syene proximus. In utraque tantus colluctantium undarum sonitus, ut qui iuxta sunt, sufferre diutius nequeant, multis qui aspera illic habitarunt, sedes ad quietiora transferre coactis, ut Seneca scribit libro Naturalium quaestionum. quarto. Hinc Africanus apud Ciceronem libro de republica sexto, gentem quae ad Nili Catadupa accolit, ob sonitus magnitudinem sensu audiendi carere dixit. Frequentia illic (Diodorus inquit) saxa scopulis similia, aquam magna vertigine mirabilique allisam reflectunt, inque contrarium cursum spumis agunt redundantibus, quae res stuporem aspicientibus praebet. Et Seneca Nilum ait postquam in scopulos cautium libravit, spumare. Quod ipsum si mediocres per aspera delapsi amnes faciunt, quid de Nilo dubitamus? qui ubi infra Meroen confluxit, latitudinem duorum et viginti stadiorum habet, authore Diodoro. Et sunt illic tamen (ut intermina est mortalium audacia) qui tenuibus sc[h]aphis, in regum illic spectaculum, insidentes, per ingentia praecipitia una cum amne decidant incolumes, ac iaculi more per impetum rapti [elabantur], quod Strabo scribit, et Seneca tanquam incredibile miratur. Tales apud nos et in Rheni Cataractis remigare audio, qui aere vili vitam mercantes, naves exoneratas per rupium anfractus summo discrimine traducunt. Vadianus (n. 6) 98. A szkholion az elsődleges forrásként használt 1518-as kiadás másolatában (Kaiserlich-königliche Hofbibliothek, Österreische Nationalbibliothek,Wien 47.C.2) nem szerepel, az 1522-es második kiadás másolatában (Kaiserlich-königliche Hofbibliothek, Österreische Nationalbibliothek,Wien 47.Mm.67) található meg.

[21] Ad Arabas. Qui citra sinum Arabicum Aegyptiis proximi littus habitant de quibus libro tertio.

Per quanto concerne le nozioni riguardanti il Nilo, esse sono presenti in più scoli. In alcuni casi Vadianus si allontana totalmente dalle citazioni desunte dalle opere antiche ed esprime delle opinioni indipendenti, come ad esempio nello scolio *Nec statim Nil(us)*, il quale nonostante la sua brevità, mostra una dicotomia nelle spiegazioni grammaticali o lessicografiche legate alle tradizioni scolastiche e a quelle appartenenti alle scienze naturali.

Tralasciando la presentazione dettagliata del ragionamento complesso sull'origine del Nilo sottolineiamo solo che Vadianus cerca di attualizzare le nozioni antiche tramite le conoscenze geografiche e cosmografiche contemporanee, e alla fine, basandosi su Tolomeo, sfata l'opinione molto diffusa dell'epoca che l'Equatore a causa del grande calore non è permeabile. La descrizione del corso del Nilo è più vicina allo spazio geografico reale che viene presentata da Vadianus tramite la descrizione delle spedizioni antiche mirate alla scoperta dell'origine del fiume. Dall'aneddoto sul sovrano persiano Cambise II in cui possiamo leggere dell'origine del nome dell'isola di Meroe, si può notare che le informazioni riguardanti la storia dell'Egitto hanno come scopo l'addurre degli esempi morali e non quello di fornire informazioni storiche. Per quanto riguarda l'importanza di Meroe, Vadianus non ci offre ulteriori informazioni, tuttavia dal commentario su Tolomeo di Johannes de Stobnica possiamo appurare che l'importanza dell'isola era dovuta alla divisione delle linee climatiche.[22] Da ciò possiamo supporre che la citazione di Strabone può essere in correlazione con il dato cosmografico prima menzionato, ma non possiamo scoprire ulteriori paralleli tra i due testi. In questa prima fase della formazione del pensiero scientifico moderno, accanto alle opere cosmologiche di Aristotele, si leggevano anche gli scritti di Tolomeo, anzi questi ultimi avevano un'autorità molto maggiore, come possiamo vedere anche dal commentario su Tolomeo.[23] Tutto questo non significa che le loro conoscenze desunte da Tolomeo fossero aggiornate, anzi conservavano gli errori da lui commessi, causando in questo modo un progresso relativamente lento del pensiero scientifico moderno.[24]

Pomponius. Ab ortu igitur Arabas Nilus, ab occasu Libyes habet intermedia Aegypto. Hinc Lucanuslibro decimo. De Nili decursu. Cursus in occasum flexus torquetur et ortum. Nunc Arabum populis Libycis nunc aequus arenis. Vadianus (n. 6) 101.

[22] Ideoque non inutile erit etiam de climatibus aliquid hic disserere, quapropter sciendum est, clima esse spatium terrae inter duos paralellos interceptum in quo longissime diei ab initio climatis usque ad finem dimidiae horae variatio est. (Johannes de Stobnica: *Introductio in Ptholomei Cosmographiam cum longitudinibus et latitudinibus regionum et civitatium celebrium.* Cracouiae [per Hieronymum Vietorem Calcographum] 1519, 16–18).

[23] Debuss, A. G.: *Man and nature in the Renaissance*. Cambridge 1978, 78.

[24] Kimble, G. T. H.: *Geography in the Middle Ages*. (Russel & Russel) New York 1968, 125.

Anche se nel caso di Stobnica possiamo scoprire le caratteristiche dell'esegesi scolastica (per esempio le spiegazioni linguistiche), per quanto riguarda l'intera presentazione possiamo tuttavia stabilire che rispetto a Vadianus fornisce più informazioni, le quali da un punto di vista odierno sono più precise visto che l'Egitto viene considerato come parte dell'Africa e non dell'Asia.

Negli altri scoli del capitolo sull'Egitto, analizzando le soluzioni adottate durante la stesura del testo, possiamo vedere anche delle descrizioni diverse dove lo scopo principale non è quello di fornire un insegnamento morale. Lo scolio messo in risalto anche tramite la glossa marginale *Aegypti termini,* descrive i confini del territorio paragonando tra loro i testi antichi, partendo dalla *Naturalis historia*; in seguito cita Strabone per presentare i confini vetusti (*communes Aegypti termini*) ponendo la questione in un contesto storiografico. Lo spazio presentato da Vadianus quindi è reale, ma dominato dalla memoria (*locus mnemnonicus*) il quale allo stesso tempo ha anche delle dimensioni storiche visto che, citando Sant'Egesippo, Vadianus conclude lo scolio conferendogli carattere storico e moralizzante e con questo sottolinea l'immunità del territorio, e non pertanto la dominazione straniera e la schiavitù. Tra le nozioni riguardanti le scienze naturali gioca un ruolo importante lo scolio *Expers imbrium* nel quale sullo sfondo della concezione scientifica autonoma possiamo osservare l'influsso della scienza aristotelica e scolastica, le cui posizioni forti vengono sottolineate anche centocinquanta anni dopo nell'opera dello scienziato cistercense Juan Caramuel de Lobkowitz (1606-1682), intitolata *Mathesis biceps vetus et nova*. Lobkowitz nel capitolo *Quid ventus sit* scrive che secondo Aristotele la pioggia e il vento sono dei fenomeni naturali apparentati e quell'ultimo viene generato dalla potenza del Sole che essicca l'umidità.[25] La perennità degli influssi scolastici viene sottolineata anche dal capitolo *De potentia* delle *Questiones disputatae* di San Tommaso D'Aquino nel quale viene descritto il fenomeno della pioggia.[26] Nello scolio quindi Vadianus si basa sulle concezioni scolastiche ma pone già delle domande individuali – anche se a volte errate – ed inquadra il cambiamento delle stagioni e i fenomeni meteorologici diversi tra loro con la lontananza dal Sole. La fine dello scolio nel quale cita i testi antichi in contraddizione tra loro, in

[25] Caramuellis, I..: *Mathesis biceps vetus et nova*. Campaniae (Officina Episcopali) 1670, 721.

[26] Unde alii dicunt, quod nomine firmamenti intelligitur caelum aereum nobis vicinum, supra quod elevantur per vaporum ascensionem aquae vaporabiles, quae sunt materia pluviarum: ut sic inter aquas superiores quae sunt in medio aeris interstitio vaporabiliter suspensae, et aquas corporeas quas videmus supra terram consistere, medium existat aereum caelum. Hasselhof, G. K.: *Dicit Rabbi Moyses*: *Studien zum Bild von Moses Maimonides im lateinischen Westen vom 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert.* (Königshausen & Neumann) 2004,182.

merito alle piogge egiziane, da un lato conferma la sua intenzione di trasmettere in modo poliedrico le nozioni scientifiche, dall'altro mette in evidenza che le divergenti descrizioni hanno suscitato, a ragione, le intenzioni di sopravvalutare le conoscenze del passato e di revisionarle anche se nel caso di questi due testi tutto ciò non avviene.

Negli altri scoli del capitolo sull'Egitto nei quali Vadiano tratta le usanze degli egiziani, le caratteristiche del territorio, e le nozioni zoologiche, cerca di farle capire al lettore utilizzando un esempio – anche morale – più vicino al suo pensiero, quindi questi ultimi scoli rappresentano un modo particolare della reinterpretazione delle conoscenze antiche. La comunicazione delle esperienze personali allo stesso tempo per Vadianus non è un metodo da seguire solo per se stesso, ma cita queste esperienze anche dai testi antichi. Nello scolio *Ubi rursus coit*, già menzionato prima, scrivendo di Phile, dice che Strabone ha visitato di persona il luogo.[27] Il testo della *Geographica* è presente numerose volte in questo contesto nel capitolo sull'Egitto e anche altrove, quindi traendo una conclusione generale possiamo supporre che la comunicazione delle esperienze personali reperibili spesso da Strabone contrariamente agli altri autori (tranne Erodoto), sia stata considerata di grande importanza da Vadiano. Il loro utilizzo nel caso dell'Egitto infatti aiuta ancora una volta a rendere più vicina al lettore la trasformazione del territorio in uno spazio reale geografico e storico. Alla presentazione delle cataratte del Nilo la caratteristica da condannare è l'arditezza, riguardante l'usanza descritta da Erodoto, i tuffi arditi nell'acqua del fiume paragonati alle barche che corrono velocemente nell'alveo tortuoso del Reno. Nella descrizione delle piramidi che segue il testo della *Naturalis historia,* il carattere negativo è l'*ostentatio*: per presentare meglio l'ostentazione come caratteristiisca dei sovrani egiziani utilizza un esempio familiare ai lettori, la costruzione delle torri troppo alte delle chiese che viene considerata da lui come segno di ostentazione. L'analisi parallella dei due scoli richiama quindi l'attenzione sul fatto che Vadianus anche nel caso dei paragoni più lontani trova la possibilità di superare le conoscenze trasmesse dall'autore antico e di dare un significato morale al testo analizzato.

Concludiamo l'analisi dello studio mirato alla pubblicazione delle conoscenze personali e alla reinterpretazione della tradizione antica con la presentazione delle conoscenze zoologiche presenti nel capitolo sull'Egitto, partendo dalla descrizione del coccodrillo.

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[27] Philae autem Straboni infra Meroen sunt, ad quas ipse Strabo se ex Syene plaustro per plana aliquando vectum scribit. Vadianus (n. 6) 102.

Le nozioni riguardanti gli animali esotici erano importanti non solo per Vadianus ma anche per gli altri umanisti i quali si interessavano alle scienze naturali. Anche Giovanni Ricuzzi Velluti (Johannes Camers), negli scoli del suo commentario su Solino presenta la fauna egiziana, scrivendo a lungo del coccodrillo ma anche dell'ippopotamo.[28] Paragonando tra loro gli scoli dei due commentari possiamo osservare che non si sono ancora formulate delle idee unitarie e accettate da entrambi. Mentre Camers accetta le idee negative trasmesse da Solino e le sottolinea con alcune storie riguardanti le curiosità, la trasmissione delle conoscenze delle scienze naturali per Vadianus gioca un ruolo più importante: anche nella sua opera sono presenti gli elementi tipici delle *curiositates*, ma non cita l'osservazione di Solino riguardante la malvagità come caratteristica negativa del coccodrillo. Presentando il culto religioso degli animali e le usanze pertinenti ad esso Vadianus seguendo Eusebio di Cesarea li definisce come vanità ma a parte questa osservazione non va contro la tradizione, presentando semplicemente antichi aneddoti pertinenti, ad esempio il nutrimento rituale dei coccodrilli descritto da Strabone come esperienza personale. Al contrario quindi degli scoli presentati in precedenza, qui non viene tratto l'insegnamento morale, probabilmente perché Vadianus non trovò nessun esempio paragonabile alla storia descritta da Strabone. Tuttavia in un altro scolio parla del coccodrillo, e nonostante affermi che a Vienna ha visto un animale simile, non sa niente del coccodrillo e anche le altre sue osservazioni sottolineano come le sue conoscenze zoologiche non superassero il livello dell'epoca. Risulta incerto anche nella definizione del coccodrillo: in alcuni casi lo considera come una specie particolare di pesce, in altri casi come una lucertola, inoltre accetta come attendibili le informazioni considerabili come *curiositas* e menziona come miracolo le nozioni zoologiche oggi comunemente riconosciute. La nascita del coccodrillo dalle uova, per esempio, viene introdotta con la nota *mirum est*, mentre condivide l'opinione antica secondo la quale il coccodrillo è timido nei confronti delle persone coraggiose ed osa ad attaccare quelle che sembrano pusillanimi: egli ci tramanda queste informazioni come attendibili.[29]

[28] *Commentaria in C.Julii Solini Polyhistora.* Ioanne Camerte *auctore Viro in omni literarum genere prestanti*. Basileae (per Henricum Petri) 1557, 287.

[29] Terribilis haec contra fugaces belua est, fugax vero contra insequentes, ut Plinius. Seneca, fugax inquit, animal audaci, audacissimum timido. Mirum est, id animal quod ex <ovo> [quo] gignitur, in longitudinem duodeviginti cubitorum excrescere ut Plinius octavo libro asserit. Lingua caret, maxilla tantum superiore mobili, dentibus acerrimis, et in saevitiam pectinatim coeuntibus. Ipse Viennae vidi, Venetiis advectos complures sex cubitorum. et tenellos etiamnum

Anche se da parte di Vadianus non possiamo accettare il ragionamento scientifico nel senso odierno, in alcuni casi anche nel capitolo sull'Egitto sono già presenti i dubbi riguardanti le nozioni antiche. Come esempio possiamo menzionare l'osservazione sugli esseri metà animale e metà uomo viventi nel Nilo, presente nella traduzione del Chronicon di Eusebio eseguita da San Girolamo, la cui realtà può essere accettata da Vadianus solo in virtù della conferma del commentario dell'umanista italiano Matteo Palmieri.[30] Confrontando l'opinione qui espressa di Vadianus con i riferimenti prima analizzati dell'immagine dell'Egitto del commentario, possiamo osservare i primi segni di un cambiamento verso l'*auctoritas* delle opere antiche. L'autorità del testo scritto rimane una questione primaria ma può essere rappresentata non solo dagli scritti antichi, ma anche dai commentari e dalle opere scientifiche degli umanisti.

Conclusione

Tramite la presentazione dell'immagine sull'Egitto del commentario abbiamo voluto presentare la pratica dell'esegesi umanista attraverso alcune manifestazioni caratteristiche, ma non abbiamo cercato di presentare i fenomeni nella loro ampiezza. L'accettazione o la rivalutazione dei fenomeni antichi possono essere considerate come una pratica generale degli umanisti, seguite anche da Vadiano durante la compilazione del commentario. Nella sua opera posteriore, intitolata *Epitome trium terrae partium*, l'immagine dell'Egitto si amplia: mentre scompaiono molti elementi caratteristici del commentario, seppur interessanti per i lettori, e nonostante i paragoni rimanenti, possiamo considerare quest'ultima come un'immagine dell'Egitto ancora più decisamente storiografica, nella quale lo scopo precipuo non è l'intrattenimento del lettore. Finalmente, paragonando le nozioni sull'Egitto contenute nelle due opere possiamo osservare gli effetti dello sviluppo nel ragionamento di Vadianus, dal pensiero geografico-enciclopedico verso quello storiografico.

unius cubiti, lacertis <nostrastibus> [nostrantibus] grandiusculis admodum similes, nisi quod colore plerumque sunt flavo. Vadianus (n. 6) 108.

[30] Glebis infundat animas. De animalibus Ovidius, et Diodorus. Verum quod ad humanam effigiem attinet, nunquam equidem credidissem, nisi ex annalibus Matthaei Palmerii Florentini, qui apud Eusebium in[i(tio)] Chronicis Hieronymi et Prosperi historiis subiuncti extant certior factus essem. Hic septimo anno pontificatus Pelagii, in Nilo animalia masculina, et foeminea visa esse scribit, quae ad lumbos usque humanam effigiem habuerint, eaque ipsa per Deum adiurata, a matutino adusque nonam horam se videnda praebuisse. Vadianus (n. 6) 108.

Ádám Bujdosó

Nicolaus ex Mirabilibus on Conscience

We have three works by Nicolaus ex Mirabilibus, Dominican friar of a presumable Italian origin, born in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), which survived to our day. The earliest was written in Florence, in early 1489. The basis for it was a preach by Nicolaus held in a Dominican female cloister named after martyr Saint Peter, about conscience. This preach was reworked and completed by the author; hence his first work known to us was born. His second work, a tractate already written in Latin, recorded a disputation in Florence, primarily on the cause of evil, held in the cathedral of Sancta Reparata and in Lorenzo de' Medici's house, also in 1489. His third work – already written in the court of Vladislaus II of Hungary in 1493, also in Latin – was on predestination.[1]

In my paper, I am going to deal with the earliest work by Nicolaus, on conscience, written in early 1489. The tractate was published by Jenő Ábel in 1886, under the title *Libello de consciencia*.[2] It is known that both the Dominican school representing the intellectualist view and the Franciscan school representing the voluntarist view were present in Florence at the end of the 15th century. The names of the views originate from that for intellectualists it was reason (*intellectus*) that served as the main criterion of the freedom of choice, while for voluntarists it was will (*voluntas*). Nicolaus was a prominent representative of Dominicans, while Georgius Benignus de Salviatis of South Slavic origin was a memorable Franciscan. Elsewhere I lined up arguments for that in his work about the cause of evil and in his work entitled *Disputatio* Nicolaus aims at following the teachings of Thomas Aquinas, and takes an intellectualist standpoint, while his main opponent, Georgius follows John Duns Scotus,

[1] Ábel, J.: Nicolaus de Mirabilibus élete és munkái. [Life and Works of Nicolaus de Mirabilibus.] In Fraknói, V. – Ábel, J. (eds.): *Két magyarországi egyházi író a XV. századból. Andreas Pannonius – Nicolaus de Mirabilibus.* Irodalomtörténeti Emlékek. I. [*Two Ecclesiastical Authors in Hungary from the Fifteenth Century. Andreas Pannonius – Nicolaus de Mirabilibus.* Literary History Reminiscences. I.] Budapest 1886, XXIII–XLVIII. XXV; XXVII; XXX–XXXII; XLIII.

[2] Ábel (n. 1) 287–350.

and takes a voluntarist view.[3] A legitimate question is whether it is also true of Nicolaus' work about conscience that its author is a follower of Thomas Aquinas, and an intellectualist.

First, let me outline, for the sake of intelligibility, the contents of the work. Nicolaus' definition of conscience follows Origen and Thomas Aquinas. Conscience is the educator and supervisor of our soul, which starts out of a natural judgement of our souls, and urges us to be devoted to good and keep aloof from evil. Three factors play roles in the decision of conscience: first, the so-called *synderesis*,[4] second: *ratio superior* or *inferior*, and third: *conscientia*, that is conscience itself.[5] (Attention should be paid to the inconsistency of the term; that is, the word *conscientia* denotes conscience itself, the third element of the enumeration above, and also in general, the unity of the three factors!)

Following Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, Nicolaus defines synderesis as an inclination innate in our souls, that drives us in all cases to seek good and to avoid evil.[6]

This is followed by the description of the two *ratio*s. *Ratio superior* (*ragione superiore*) means the wisdom directed at unearthly matters. In Nicolaus' opinion, besides Christians, Jews are the ones who own this ability, as they are also owners of a part of the divine revelation. Besides them, pagan philosophers, poets and orators[7] could also own ratio superior, inasmuch they were, during their observations, able to find the true God.

As opposed to ratio superior, *ratio inferior* (*ragione inferiore*) means the proficiency in earthly matters and sciences. This is indeed inferior to ratio superior, as the most one that can be reached by the observation of natural phenomena and by contemplating upon them is the idea of the one God.[8]

It is no surprise, therefore, that ratio inferior, according to Nicolaus, is fallible, as it is only proficient in earthly prudence. However, ratio superior is

[3] *Nicolaus ex Mirabilibus a rosszról.* [*Nicolaus ex Mirabilibus on Evil.*] Lecture given at Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Budapest, 14 January 2014.

[4] For the possible etymology of the word "synderesis" (συνείδησις or συντήρησις) see: Potts, T. C.: *Conscience in Medieval Philosophy*. Cambridge 1980, 10.

[5] Ábel (n. 1) 293.

[6] Ábel (n. 1) 294.

[7] Mentioned by name: Hermes Trismegistus, Plato, Aristotle, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Simplicius, Avicenna, Avempace, Averroes, Terence, Virgil, Ovid, Horace, and Cicero. Ábel (n. 1) 300.

[8] Ábel (n. 1) 294–300.

also fallible. Sensuality, as something created by God, entails great pleasure out of God's will, and this can mislead ratio superior, which, being misled by sensuality, may believe that luxury is good, because it entails great pleasure out of God's will. Or, in another example of Nicolaus, ratio superior is apt to believe that dwelling among sinners is good, as Christ also dwelt among them in order to engage in conversations with them.[9]

Finally, the task of *conscientia*, i.e. conscience in proper sense, is to make decisions above the proposals of synderesis and ratio superior or inferior. According to the etymology related to by Nicolaus, its name is conscientia exactly because it is what makes the decision: *concludens scientia*.[10]

The question can be raised: what do erroneous judgements and acts result from? Out of the three factors, synderesis is infallible, as what it does is no more than urging us to do good and avoid evil, and to obey God.

Neither is, according to Nicolaus, conscience fallible, as it cannot judge whether a deed is good or evil. Consequently, the expressions "wide", "good" or "bad conscience" do not relate to conscientia itself, but to the judgement that arises from the co-operation between synderesis, either of the ratios, and conscientia.[11]

So if neither synderesis nor conscientia are fallible, then the sole cause of error can be within either of the ratios, which is fallible owing to either negligence, when it does not take the trouble to learn what it has to know (Nicolaus' example to this is the Jews' belief of Messiah), or owing to the fact that it cannot control its passions as a result of the original sin.[12]

Following that, Nicolaus describes what the acts of conscience in its wider, general sense manifests itself in. First, it testifies all our good and evil deeds done in the past, and hence it can be the cause of our spiritual joy or pain over them. Second, it accuses us in the present when we are about to commit an evil act. Third, it warns and urges us to do or not to do something in the future.[13]

The author states at the end of his tractate that we have to obey the word of conscience at all times, even if it is false (*erronea*) due to our ignorance, negligence, excessive self-love or conceit, and similarly, if it is scrupulous

[9] Ábel (n. 1) 311.

[10] Ábel (n. 1) 312–314.

[11] Ábel (n. 1) 314–315.

[12] Ábel (n. 1) 318–320.

[13] Ábel (n. 1) 330–335.

(*scrupulosa*) as being built upon unfounded assumptions. Quite unsurprisingly, if we remember that this tractate is a reworked and completed version of a preach, Nicolaus' answer to the question as to how we can avoid erroneous or scrupulous conscience is: keep to the teachings of the Scriptures, ask for the help of the wisdom of God in our prayers, humble our proud hearts, live a wise life without tormenting ourselves beyond the necessary extent, follow the advice of confessors, preachers and wise persons, and — last but not least — submit ourselves to the mercy of God.[14]

I.

After getting acquainted with Nicolaus' thoughts, we seek answer to the question that *to what extent Nicolaus follows Thomas Aquinas' views*.

According to Aquinas, similarly to how theoretical[15] reason must rely on principles that are known through themselves (*per se nota*, like the principle of non-contradiction), so must exist such principles available for the practical reason regarding human deeds.[16] That is, the whole establishment of knowledge must rely upon necessarily true principles, as, if we could be mistaken in these principles, then nothing could be asserted for sure from that on.[17] For the practical reason, these true principles in moral matters are served by synderesis.[18] Unlike Albert the Great, who attributed special content to them ("adultery is forbidden", "killing is forbidden", "compassion must be felt for those suffering"),[19] Thomas Aquinas thinks that the principles of synderesis are the simplest and most general ones: "avoid evil", "do nothing that is forbidden", "obey God", "live correspondingly to reason".[20] Every person knows these principles from the beginning, and accesses them whenever needed. Due to its nature, synderesis is infallible, and it only shows that one must seek good and avoid evil.[21]

[14] Ábel (n. 1) 339–350.

[15] Nicolaus uses the word *speculativo*.

[16] Hoffmann, T.: Conscience and Synderesis. In Davies, B. – Stump, E. (eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of Aquinas*. Oxford 2012, 255–264, see 256.

[17] Aquinas, *Quaest. de veritate* q.16, a.2, co. All the works of Thomas Aquinas are available here: http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/iopera.html.

[18] Aquinas, *Super Sent*. II d.24, q.2, a.3, co.; *Quaest. de veritate* q.16, a.1, ad 9.

[19] Cited by Hoffmann (n. 16) 263, note 9.

[20] Aquinas, *Super Sent*. II d.24, q.2, a.3, co. and d.39, q.3, a.2, co.; *Quaest. de veritate* q.16, a.1, ad 9.

[21] Potts, T. C.: Conscience. In Kretzmann, N. – Kenny, A. – Pinborg, J. (eds.): *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*. Cambridge 1982, 687–704, see 701; Hoffmann (n. 16) 256–257.

Synderesis is, therefore, a natural disposition of the human reason; it is infallible, and it exists in order to make the most elementary principles of moral action accessible to us.

Conscience applies these elementary principles of synderesis in the particular moral situations. However, conscience also needs further, secondary principles, which one can become in possession of by exercising and learning the virtue of wisdom. Therefore, conscience applies the principles of synderesis and the secondary principles learned by the practice of wisdom, which means that conscience is the application of our moral knowledge in a given situation.[22] The structure of making a moral decision is described by a syllogism: its major premise is the infallible word of synderesis, its minor premise is the practical reason, while the conclusion is the decision of the conscience. If the practical reason is in accordance with the divine wisdom, it can be regarded as *ratio superior*; if, however, it is characterised by earthly prudence, then it is only *ratio inferior*,[23] as seen at Nicolaus. The key to a morally right decision is that *ratio* should provide a correct minor premise to the syllogism.[24]

Based on the above, we see that the opinions of Nicolaus and Thomas correspond to each other. Still, let's have a look at what happens when the conscience makes an erroneous decision. We have seen at Nicolaus that one must always obey the decision of conscience, even if it is erroneous or over-scrupulous. Thomas Aquinas represents a seemingly paradox standpoint regarding obedience to conscience. He argues that I should never act against my conscience, stating, at the same time, that I do not always have to obey it.[25] How to resolve this contradiction? According to Aquinas, it is negligence not to realise that a decision of my conscience and moral laws conflict. This lapse of conscience, that is, could have been avoided if more attention was paid to my moral development. However, the possibility to abandon this negligence and to raise doubts against the decision of my conscience is given to me in every moment. And if there are doubts as for the erroneous decision — making it a doubtful decision —, then I am in the position of being able to revise (*deponere*) the decision of my conscience.[26] Similarly, I can also improve my conscience by

[22] Aquinas, *ST* I–II q.19, a.5, s.c. and co.; *Quaest. de veritate* q.17, a.2, co.

[23] Aquinas, *Quaest. de veritate* q.15, a.2.

[24] Hoffmann (n. 16) 257–258. E.g. in Aquinas, *ST* I–II q.19; *Quaest. de veritate* q.17, a.2, co.

[25] Hoffmann (n. 16) 261.

[26] Aquinas, *Super Sent*. II d.39, q.3, a.3, ad 5; *Quodl*. III q.12, a.2, ad 2; *ST* I–II q.19, a.6, ad 3.

means of moral development in the practice of the virtues.[27] Thomas, therefore, states, that one must not obey the decision of the erroneous conscience, but it must rather be revised, and the decision of the revised conscience must be accomplished, in which way it will become true that neither have I acted against it, nor have I obeyed it, as I have revised its decision when it was erroneous.

So we can see that Nicolaus highly relies on the teachings of Aquinas in the matter of conscience, but he diverts from them in an important point, as he, on the contrary to Aquinas, states that one must always obey the voice of conscience.

II.

Second, we seek for an answer to the question *whether or not Nicolaus' standpoint is intellectualist, and whether, in this regard, he is a follower of Aquinas.*

Aquinas strongly emphasizes the dependence of will on reason. In *Summa Theologiae* he writes:

> The root of freedom is the will as its subject, but reason as its cause. The will is, in fact, free with regard to alternatives, because reason can have different conceptions of the good. Accordingly, the philosophers defined free decision (*liberum arbitrium*) as free judgment owing to reason (*liberum de ratione iudicium*), implying that reason is the cause of freedom.[28]

For Aquinas, will is a moved mover, a passive potency, which is actualised by the object which the reason presents to it. The specific object of will is the good that it perceives to be suitable and adequate. This is why one can long for a given object as good, regardless whether or not it is in fact good, merely because reason has presented it to him as an object appearing to be good (*sub ratione boni*).[29] Resulting from this, will is unable to long for or decide upon anything else other than what reason has presented to it as the best and the most suitable.[30] Therefore, will is able to act freely, inasmuch reason is able

[27] Hoffmann (n. 16) 261.

[28] Aquinas, *ST* I–II q.17, a.1, ad 2: "Ad secundum dicendum quod radix libertatis est voluntas sicut subiectum, sed sicut causa, est ratio. Ex hoc enim voluntas libere potest ad diversa ferri, quia ratio potest habere diversas conceptiones boni. Et ideo philosophi definiunt liberum arbitrium quod est liberum de ratione iudicium, quasi ratio sit causa libertatis." Quoted and translated by Hoffmann, T.: Intellectualism and Voluntarism. In Pasnau, R. (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Medieval Philosophy. I.* Cambridge 2010, 414–427, see 415.

[29] Aquinas, *ST* I–II q.8, a.1; q.9, a.12; *Quaest. de malo* q.6, ad 6.

[30] Aquinas, *ST* I–II q.77, a.1, co. and III q.18, a.4, ad 2.

to make judgements freely. If will acts erroneously, the error must lie within knowledge or judgement.

Based on the above, we should consider Thomas intellectualist, and he is usually classified this way.

As opposed to him, John Duns Scotus is a typical representative of the voluntarist view, who focuses on will instead of reason in his system of thought. In his opinion, will is different from anything else in this world. That is, it is only will that is able to drive itself towards opposite acts: it can will or not will something.[31] Will is primarily characterised by its ability to control itself, contrary to reason, which is unable to have control over itself. That is, reason lacks the power to understand or not to understand. Moreover, according to Duns Scotus, if, following Aristotle, we consider rational that which has the power to cause opposite effects, and consider irrational that which is determined to cause a specific effect[32], then will must be considered a rational power, as it has the freedom to decide in alternative ways, and so we must consider reason irrational.[33] Undoubtedly, Duns Scotus' standpoint is a voluntarist one.

Back to Aquinas; he says more than what is usually attributed to him, and what we have set forth above. He writes that the free judgement of the reason and the free inclination of the will are mutually dependent on each other: reason moves will and will moves reason, even though not in the same respect. Reason determines and specifies the act of the will (e.g. that it should long for learning, or should choose walking). However, reason does not necessarily move will – apart from one case, when it presents a thing to the reason as something good and suitable in every aspect, like happiness. Similarly, will also moves reason so that it can exert its own acts (that is, for instance, that it thinks or not, or that lingers over a notion or not). Moreover, not only does will initiate thinking, but it also controls and governs the whole process of thinking. Whether will makes a definitive or provisonal judgement is also dependent on will, as will may insist on the judgement of reason, but it may also urge reason to revise the judgement.[34]

What we see here is that Aquinas distinguishes the act of reason and that of the will with regards to free decision, however, he does not make a harsh differentiation. The contribution of reason is necessary for every act of the will,

[31] Ioh. Duns Scotus, *Lect.* II, 25.92 and 93.

[32] Arist. *Metaph*. IX,2 (1046b).

[33] Hoffmann (n. 28) 424; Ioh. Duns Scotus, *In Metaph.* IX, 15.21–22 and 35–41.

[34] Cf.: Aquinas, *Quaest. de malo* q.6, ad 15.

while the process of the use of reason is controlled and governed by will. The acts of reason and will permeate each other, and it is ultimately man himself, the person, that moves himself by means of his reason and will.[35] As, in this respect, the acts of the reason and will are mingled, Thomas Aquinas' thought cannot simply be categorised as intellectualist[36], even though it is close to it.

We can state about Nicolaus' intellectualism that, in his work *Disputatio*, he represents, as far as I can see, an intellectualist standpoint. In his tractate on conscience he places a strong emphasis on reason, as it is responsible for the acts morally assessable, however, he does not go into details about the role of the will: he only says that we have to put it away.[37] We must, on the basis of this, assume that he takes an intellectualist standpoint.

Finally, we can state that Nicolaus ex Mirabilibus is significantly a follower of the teachings of Thomas Aquinas in his work on conscience, however, at one point – in the question of obedience to the erroneous conscience – he diverts from him. Besides that, Nicolaus can be considered intellectualist – based on his two works written in Florence –, on the contrary to Aquinas, who, being undoubtedly close to the thought of the intellectualists, cannot simply be classified as intellectualist.

[35] E.g.: *ST* I q.82, a.4, ad 1 and I–II q.17, a.1, co. and I–II q.17, a.5, ad 2.

[36] Hoffmann (n. 28) 415–417.

[37] Ábel (n. 1) 312: „Leva via la propria volonta."

Péter Ekler

Classical Literature as a Model and Standard in the *De Modo Epistolandi* of Augustinus Moravus Olomucensis

The international conference to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the death of Augustinus Moravus Olomucensis (Augustin Olomoucký, Augustinus Käsenbrot, 1467–1513) raised a number of important questions requiring further study.[1] Among them there is the thorough investigation of Augustinus's *De modo epistolandi cum nonnullis epistolis quam pulcherrimis* (hereafter: *De modo epistolandi*), a "coursebook" in style to teach letter-writing, published in Venice, Italy in 1495.

The *De modo epistolandi* was published once only (in 1495), and has no modern issue. It is a short and simple manual teaching letter-writing in a clear structure. After the general description of the genre (fol. [A_{ii}^{v}-B^{v}]), it follows the train of thought in book four of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (1st century BC) and presents the various rhetorical devices (fol. [B^{v}]-C), and finally gives thirteen letters in Latin as positive examples (fol. C_{ii}-[D_{iii}]).[2]

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[1] Ekler, P. (ed.): *Augustinus Moravus Olomucensis 500. International symposium to mark the 500th anniversary of the death of Augustinus Moravus Olomucensis (1467-1513). 13th November 2013. National Széchényi Library, Budapest.* Budapest (National Széchényi Library – Institute for Literary Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – Eötvös Loránd University) 2013. The present paper has been produced with a grant from János Bolyai Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (BO/00177/13/1), and with the support of my employer, the National Széchényi Library. I am grateful to the following people for the useful advice and information they have provided me with: Marta Vaculínová, Milada Studničková, Simona Kolmanová, Eszter Kovács, John Monfasani, Roman Mazurkiewicz, Michael Moser, Harald Bollbuck, Ivo Hlobil, Petr Elbel, Petr Maťa, Martin Svatoš, Štěpán Kohout, Antonín Kalous, Tamás Adamik, István Bartók, István Monok, Kornél Szovák, László Takács, András Zoltán, Árpád Mikó, Barnabás Guitman, Tamás Fedeles, Farkas Gábor Kiss.

[2] I used the exemplar of the *De modo epistolandi* kept in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (4° Inc. c. a. 1228). Based on the chapters in the printed book (1495), I have numbered the chapters for the sake of more transparency (I-X.).

Gustav Bauch introduced the content of *De modo epistolandi* (primarily the letters at the end) in his study written in German. In his contribution in Czech, Eduard Petrů gave an insight into *De modo epistolandi*. The present paper has two objectives: (1) to introduce *De modo epistolandi* through ample Latin excerpts, (2) to introduce the classical authors that Augustinus cites in his work and whose teachings and spirit *De modo epistolandi* relies on.[3]

Based on the present author's thorough investigations, the following premises need to be made:

> (1) Due to its short length, the work *(De modo epistolandi)* has a transparent structure and is a pleasant read.
> (2) Thanks to its brevity, it is suitable for teaching some general points.
> (3) It offers Augustinus an opportunity to express his own views concerning letter-writing.
> (4) It also gave him a chance to publish his private letters that he had earlier sent to various people.

Addressed to Heinrich Oseven,[4] the dedication letter at the very beginning gives the reasons that prompted Augustinus to write *De modo epistolandi*. As we can read in the dedication letter, Augustinus's motivation for this volume was that the letter was often mistaken for other genres (primarily orations), and consequently

[3] About the life and activity of Augustinus Moravus Olomucensis and *De modo epistolandi*, see: Bauch, G.: Zu Augustinus Olomucensis. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für die Geschichte Mährens und Schlesiens* 8 (1904), 119-136; *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě. Enchiridion renatae poesis Latinae in Bohemia et Moravia cultae.* Založili Antonín Truhlář a Karel Hrdina. Pokračovali Josef Hejnic a Jan Martínek. Vol. I. Praha 1966, 111-116; Hlobil, I. – Petrů, E.: *Humanism and the Early Renaissance in Moravia.* Olomouc 1999, 157–158; Petrů, E.: Augustin Olomoucký a česká epistolografie. *Česká literatura* 49 (2001/6) 564–571; Czapla, R. G.: Augustinus Moravus. In Worstbrock, F. J. (ed.): *Deutscher Humanismus 1480-1520. Verfasserlexikon*. Berlin–New York 2005, Vol. I, 61-72.

[4] "Opusculum componendarum epistolarum familiarium Augustini moraui Olomucensis decretorum atque Artium liberalium doctoris ad Henricum Oseuen Decanum glogouiensem et canonicum Vratislauiensem." (fol. A^{r} [recte: $A_{ii}{}^{r}$!]). For Heinrich Oseven (Oswein), see: Bauch, G.: Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte des schlesischen Humanismus. VI. *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens*. 38. (Breslau 1904) 318-319; Bauch, G.: Analekten zur Biographie des Bischofs Johann IV. Roth. In *Darstellungen und Quellen zur schlesischen Geschichte. Herausgegeben vom Verein für Geschichte Schlesiens. Dritter Band. Studien zur schlesischen Kirchengeschichte*. Breslau 1907, 97-101; *Kapituła głogowska w dobie Piastowskiej i Jagiellońskiej (1120-1526).* Ed. H. Gerlic. Gliwice 1993, 221-222. I am grateful to Barnabás Guitman, Tamás Fedeles, and Roman Mazurkiewicz for calling my attention to these volumes.

similarly to speeches, they tend to divide letters into concrete sections:

> Doleo interdum, mi Henrice, quom quorundam non minimi etiam nominis epistolas intueor, intra me non parum stomachari, hominum aeui nostri inerciam detestatus, qui a familiari illa puri sermonis consuetudine ita in epistolari hoc officio attolluntur, ut nullum penitus texendae orationis et epistolaris imaginis in his discrimen inueniatur. (…) Neque id solum uerborum structura delectuque quodam exquisitiore admittunt. Sed ut numeros omnes absolute dictionis implesse uideantur, rem ipsam et altius etiam exordiuntur, Narrationem subiiciunt, propositionem, eius deinde confirmationem, contrariorum confutationem, excursionem, et quod in oratione est ultimum, causae etiam perorationem annectunt, Eorum fortasse preceptis admoniti, qui in libellis ipsorum, quos rhetoricos inscribunt, eisdem, quibus orationem partibus, epistolam etiam depingunt. (fol. A^{r} [recte: $A_{ii}{}^{r}$!]);

similarly to speeches, they over-decorate their letters with rhetorical devices:

> Quin etiam, ne quid ad perfectionem desit, figuras uerborum et sententiarum per omnem passim orationem ita disparciunt, ut eis tanquam floribus quibusdam et pigmentis, totus ille sermonis contextus respersus uideatur. (fol. A^{r} [recte: $A_{ii}{}^{r}$!]).

Augustinus does not name any writers or works. Augustinus considers these procedures wrong. Referring primarily to the styles and practice of Cicero and Seneca the Younger, he stresses that as the letter as a genre is different from other genres (historiography and orations), we must not impose their methods, features and rules on the style or structure of letters.

Augustinus will support his opinion referring to the practice of classical authors and use their quotes (fol. A^{r-v} [recte: $A_{ii}{}^{r-v}$!]). First he quotes Saint Jerome:

> Lege ad Herennium Tullii libros, inquit diuus Hieronymus, lege rhetoricos eius, reuolue tria uolumina de oratore, in quibus introducit eloquentissimos illius temporis oratores Crassum et Antonium disputantes. Et quartum oratorem, quem iam senex ad Brutum scribit, tunc intelliges aliter componi hystoriam, aliter orationes, aliter dialogos, aliter epistolas, aliter commentarios.[5]

[5] Hieronymus, *Apologia adversus libros Rufini missa ad Pammachium et Marcellam* I, 471. (PL 23 [1883], col. 428)

Next, Augustinus cites Cicero's *De oratore*:

> Quis nescit, inquit Cicero, primam historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat, huiusque exedificationem positam esse in rebus et uerbis, rerum ratio ordinem temporum desiderat, regionum descriptionem, consilia euentus. Verborum autem ratio, genus orationis fusum arque [*sic*] tractum, cum lenitate quadam aequabili profluens, sine iudiciali asperitate et sine sententiarum forensium aculeis.[6]

Later, Augustinus cites Cicero again:

> Et in Bruto de Caesaris commentariis. Commentarios, inquit, scripsit ualde quidem probandos, nudi sunt, recti et uenusti, omni ornatu orationis tanquam ueste detracta. Sed dum uoluit alios habere paratam, unde sumerent, qui uellent scribere historiam, inaeptis gratum fortasse fecit, qui illa uolunt calamistris inurere, Sanos quidem homines a scribendo deterruit.[7]

I. *Quid sit epistola. Eius genera. Quodque ipsius officium*

Based on the categorisation in Cicero's letter to Curio (*Epistulae ad familiares* 2, 4), Augustinus outlines the three main categories that letters may be put into, depending on their content:

> unum, cuius gratia inuenta est, ut scilicet per hanc certiores redderemus absentes, si quid esset, quod eos scire aut nostra aut ipsorum intersit. Familiare et iocosum alterum. Tertium uero seuerum quoddam et graue. (fol. [A_{ii}^{v}])

II. *Quibus partibus constet epistola*

As explicitly argued in the dedication to Heinrich Oseven, Augustinus disapproves of dividing the letter into concrete parts in the same way as orations are structured. (Augustinus does not name though any writers or works.) Augustinus argues that in a letter we must express our ideas in a simple and clear manner, deviating minimally from the style of correct (everyday) speech. Therefore, Augustinus discourages us from the affected and unnatural practice of introducing sections in the way classical orations are structured.

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[6] Cicero, *De oratore* 2, XV, 62–64.

[7] Cicero, *Brutus* 262.

> Sunt, qui epistolam eisdem, quibus orationem partibus constare autumnent. Principio scilicet, quod et exordium dicitur, Narratione, Propositione, Confirmatione, Confutatione, Digressione et Peroratione siue Epilogo. (…)
> Sed falluntur mea sententia non modice, qui id artificii in rebus familiari ac domestico prope more tractandis admitti debere contendunt. Tanquam si quum per epistolam de grauibus aliquibus rebus agatur, ad oratorios protinus neruos confugiendum sit.[8] Neques res arduae aliter tractari possint, quam ut eas concionatoriis his faleris obuestiamus.
> Nonne Ciceronis Epistolae magna ipsarum parte arduas difficilesque reipublicae causas comprehendunt, quis est tamen, qui non uideat hunc in illis omnibus his partibus taliter abstinuisse, ut eum non aliter scripsisse appareat, atque familiari sermone praesens coramque dixisset.
> Quapropter nullis quidem partibus epistolam distribuas recte. Quin omne id, quod describere uelis, ita simpliciter planeque aperias, ut a familiaris purique sermonis consuetudine non – nisi paruo discrimine quodam – discessisse uideare. (fol. [A_{ii}^{v}-A_{iii}^{r}])

III. *Quod in epistolis scribendis plus, quam praecepta, ualeat exercitatio*

Augustinus also deals with the question whether letter-writing can be taught at all, or in other words, whether rules can be drawn for teaching and learning how to compose a letter. The third chapter of *De modo epistolandi* is about practice, exercise *(exercitatio)* and imitation *(imitatio)*.

According to Augustinus Moravus, good letter writing skills cannot be acquired from course books. Only with lots of practice can you compose well. He considers a thorough knowledge and imitation of classical authors' style to be the ideal method of being able to produce simple and clear Latin letters.

In this chapter, Augustinus takes his arguments primarily from the works of Cicero and Quintilianus. He thinks that in order to acquire a grammatical correct, clear and friendly style, it is advisable to get familiar with comedy writers, and Cicero's letters. Their style and expressions will automatically come to mind when composing letters. It is also well worth reading the poetry of Virgil and Ovid.

> Hallucinari mihi preterea uidentur non mediocriter, qui epistolarum formandarum praecepta quaedam iam constitui posse existimant, ut his statim rudes adhuc litterarum animos et uixdum gramatices uestibulum ingressos imbui debere contendant. (…)

[8] cf. Cicero, *Orator* XIX, 62.

> Comicos precipue poetas sectari assuescat, quo familiaris sermonis facilius uirtutem et consuetudinem imbibat. Ciceronis deinde epistolis deditus ipsius sententias uerbaque ita sibi familiaria efficiat, ut ea si quid quandoque scribat, non uocata etiam sub acumen stili succurrant. Tum Vergilii Nasonisque placeat potissimum uersare poemata. Quaeque ex his conuenire uidebuntur in epistolarem contextum tanquam teniis aliquibus excultioribus intexere, rarius tamen hoc ipsum dum faciat, ne uel uicium, id quod summum in scribendo est affectationis, incurrat. Nonque id, quod scribit, epistolae stilum habere uideatur, sed excogitate alicuius potius orationis. (fol. [A_{iii}^{r-v}])

IV. *Quot genera dicendi inueniantur*[9]

Augustinus Moravus – following the categorisation in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* – distinguishes between three kinds of style *(tria dicendi genera)*: the grand *(grave – hadron)*, the middle *(mediocre – meson)* and the simple *(attenuatum – ischnon)*. This is how Augustinus Moravus defines the simple type of style:

> Attenuatum tertium, quod Ischnon graeci appellant, usque ad uulgatissimam illam puri sermonis consuetudinem demissum. (…) In attenuato autem exili, arido exanguique decipiere sepiuscule. Ita enim temperatum esse debet, ut neque se attollat ad excogitatum, neque ad rude inelaboratumque demittat. (fol. [A_{iii}^{v}])

V. *Qualis in epistolis stilus esse debeat*

According to Augustinus Moravus, the simple type of style does fit epistles. When writing letters, only in very well justified cases should we use ornamentation and embellishment.

> Epistolaris itaque formula attenuato stilo ducetur potissimum, in quo nihil, aut parum pigmenti nihilque fuci, nisi ubi dignitas rei expostulet, adhibeatur. (…) Solutus is sit, sed non ut fugiat tamen, non ut erret, Sed ut sine uinculis, ut Cicero ait, sibi ipsi moderetur, uerba ipsius non quasi

[9] Chapters IV. and V. are given a thorough analysis in the Hungarian paper: Ekler, P.: "Epistolaris itaque formula attenuato stilo ducetur potissimum ..." Az ideális stílusnem kérdése Augustinus Moravus Olomucensis *De modo epistolandi*-jában. In Békés, E. – Tegyey, I. (eds.): *Convivium Pajorin Klára 70. születésnapjára*. (Societas Neolatina Hungarica, Sectio Debreceniensis; Institutum Doctrinae Litterarum Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Classica – Mediaevalia – Neolatina VI) Debrecen–Budapest 2012, 75–81.

> ad filum coagmentata ducantur, sed conueniat in hoc aliquid negligentiae admisisse. Sit sermo tamen latinus et purus, nec incitatus sed placidus pocius, tranquillus atque sedatus coloribus et schematibus, non nisi raro intercurrentibus. (fol. [A_{iii}^{v}])

In the exact description of the letter style, Augustinus relies on two works by Cicero: *De oratore* and the *Orator*.[10]

The words echo Cicero's lines where he (i.e. Cicero) describes the ideal "Attic" orator. For Cicero, the ideal orator is calm and simple; his listeners regard his way of expression so natural that they imagine they themselves could speak like that – although imitating simple speech is by no means easy; on the contrary, it is a very hard task. The simple style is based on everyday colloquial language; nevertheless its formulation requires great care.[11]

It is primarily the style of Emperor Augustus that Augustinus regards as a model. Thus, he cites at length (fol. [A_{iii}^{v}–A_{iiii}^{r}]) the relevant lines by Suetonius.[12]

In the chapter, Augustinus repeatedly refers to Seneca the Younger and in each case to his *Epistolae morales* (fol. [A_{iiii}^{r}]). The first time he cites the parts of Seneca's letter that talk about the violators of the right style. First he mentions those who love the "rough staccato" style.[13] Then he goes on to cite those lines of the letter where Seneca is scolding people applying other kinds of wrong language usage, namely those who look into the past and "loan" words from an earlier century *(ex alieno saeculo petunt uerba),* and those who accept the banal colloquial language *(tritum et usitatum uolunt).*[14]

Subsequently (fol. [A_{iiii}^{r}]), Augustinus quotes the beginning of another Seneca letter (*Epistolae morales* 9, LXXV, 1). In it Seneca is apologising for sending Lucilius letters written with less than appropriate care.[15] Seneca believes that only those speak accurately *(accurate)* who wish to be affected *(putide).* Seneca's argument is that our letters should be like the language we speak when we are sitting together and walking, namely spontaneous and effortless *(illaboratus et*

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[10] Cicero, *De oratore* 3, XLVIII, 184; Cicero, *Orator* XXIII, 77.

[11] Cicero, *Orator*, XXIII, 79. Cf. Adamik, T.: *Antik stíluselméletek Gorgiastól Augustinusig.* Budapest 1998, 78. and 129.

[12] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 86.

[13] Seneca, *Epistolae morales ad Lucilium* 19, CXIV, 15.

[14] Seneca, *Epistolae morales ad Lucilium* 19, CXIV, 13.

[15] Seneca, *Epistolae morales ad Lucilium* 9, LXXV, 1: "Minus tibi accuratas a me epistulas mitti quereris."

facilis); they should not have anything pedantic and arty *(accersitum, fictum)*. Augustinus closes down his chapter with two quotes from Ovid. Both of them urge to use clear, everyday and straightforward vocabulary (fol. [A_{iiii}^{r}]):

> Munda, sed e medio consuetaque uerba, puellae,
> Scribite: sermonis publica uerba placent;[16]

> Sit tibi credibilis sermo, consuetaque uerba,
> Apta [*sic*] tamen, presens ut uideare loqui.[17]

VI. *De ornatu*

The 6th and 7th chapters will be about embellishment and composition. If justified, letters may also resort to embellishment for the sake of ornamentation.

> Sed quoniam oratio ipsa rudis ex se et informis est, nisi uel sententiarum uel uerborum ueluti floribus quibusdam pingatur, Nisique sibi aliquid, quo uulgarem notam effugiat, alicunde ornatus asciscat. Studebit anne omnia scriptor diligentissimus, ut in eo tali moderamine utatur, ne id, quod cauendum plurimum professus sum, effeminatam illam, delumbem et fluxam scribendi consuetudinem incurrat. Quin oratio sit uirilis pocius, et natiuo magis colore, quam externo fuco uersicolorique habitu aliquo distincta: Non ab re igitur facturi uidebamur aliquid ea in re de uerborum sententiarumque ornatu ex sententia Ciceronis precipere, non quidem, ut his frequentius epistolas respargendas uelim, sed ut ea lector cognoscens, intelligat una, quantum inter orationem intersit, quae his tanquam luminibus illustretur, et hanc epistolarem formulam, quam inaffectatam dixi esse debere, puram, simplicem, apertam et planam. Pariter etiam, ut ubi res, persona locusque exigant, aliqua sibi ab his mutuanda fore cognoscat. (fol. [A_{iiii}^{r-v}])

Ornamentation *(ornatus)* is based on three main points: *verba, sententiae, compositio.* Augustinus first addresses words *(verba)*. He introduces words briefly, listing them with clear examples, using the following groups: *verba simplicia; verba coniuncta, composita, continuata; verba propria, verba inusitata, verba novata, verba translata, verba vulgaria, verba obsoleta, verba aliena, verba gentilia* (fol. [A_{iiii}^{v}]–B_{i}^{r}).

Augustinus intends to draw our attention to (1) what words are encouraged, (2) which ones should be used in moderation, and (3) which ones should be

[16] Ovidius, *Ars amatoria* 3, 479-480.

[17] Ovidius, *Ars amatoria*, 1, 467-468.

avoided in letters. In the *De ornatu* chapter, Augustinus proceeds following Cicero's *De oratore, De inventione* and the *Orator* and Quintilianus.

VII. *De compositione*

The seventh chapter is useful mainly because it lists the cases that we should avoid unless we want to err against artistic composition. Composition *(compositio)* is created by three factors: *ordo, iunctura, numerus*.

> De compositione. Compositio ergo, quae potissimam scribendi laudem affert, tribus rebus in primis absoluitur: ordine uidelicet, iunctura et numero. (fol. B_i^r)

In the second half of the chapter, Augustinus lists the mistakes, vices *(uicia compositionis)* violating the rules of composition:

> uicia compositionis secundum fortunatianum permaxima sunt ea, quae graeci iocacismum, metacismum, labdacismum, homeopropheron, dispropheron, polisigma frenosque uocant. (fol. B_i^{r-v})[18]

When listing the mistakes, Augustinus basically follows Martianus Capella.[19] An interesting exception is the quotation that comes from a work by the contemporary Francesco Maturanzio (fol. [B_i^v]):

> et lita de fluvio labat ungula lapsa per alga [*sic*].[20]

VIII. *De verborum et sententiarum coloribus*

The middle third of Augustinus's work is taken up by introducing rhetorical devices (fol. [B_i^v]–C_i^r). The itemised lessons concerning rhetorical devices in *De modo epistolandi* originate from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.

[18] "Casus Cassandra canebat"; "Maiam ipsam amo quasi meam animam" (myotacismus); "Sol et luna luce lucent albam lacteam [*sic*]." (labdacismus); "iuno iovi iure irascitur." (iotacismus); "Sosia in solario soleas sarciebat suas." (polysigma); "O tite, tute, tati, tibi tanta, tyranne, tulisti." (homoioprophoron); "Persuatrices prestigiatrices atque inductrices tygres." (disprophoron); "per pol quam paucos reperias meretricibus / euenire amatores, Syra." (freni); "Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.", "Sale saxa sonabant.", "Torquet agens circum et rapidus uoat aequore uortex.", "Et lita de fluuio labat ungula lapsa per alga."

[19] Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 5 *(De rhetorica)*, 514-518. (ed.) Willis, J. 1983, 178-179.

[20] Franciscus Maturantius Perusinus, *De componendis carminibus opusculum.* Venice, 1502, fol. [11^v]: "et lita de fluuio labat ungula lapsa per algas".

> De Verborum et Sententiarum coloribus. Verum quoniam uerborum et sententiarum colores aliquando etiam epistolae inspargendos retulimus, immoque quod de his a Cicerone proditum sit,[21] quam breuissime deinceps etiam disseremus. (fol. [B_i^v])

Augustinus closely follows the text by Cornificius. There is one diversion: he does not give all the example sentences. The length of *De modo epistolandi* justifies the fact that Augustinus lists only some of the examples. The chapter follows the train of thought in the fourth book of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* with the following content: figures of diction (*verborum colores*, including the 10 tropes),[22] figures of thought *(sententiarum colores).*[23]

IX. *De punctis, quibus epistola distinguitur*

The last two chapters (IX-X) are short and are restricted to supplying the main information. Augustinus teaches rules for punctuation on the basis of Virgil's famous epic poem, the *Aeneid*.

> Interpuncta itaque principalia, quibus orationem distinguimus, sex reperiuntur potissimum. Suspensiuus, Coma, Colon, Periodon, Parenthesis et Interrogatiuus. Nam admiratiuum et exclamatiuum, quem uocant, minime hac in re necessarium ducimus. Suspensiuus, quum orationem nondum completo sensu, quietis gratia tenui quadam nota ueluti incidimus. Sic:
>
> Arma.
>
> Coma uero, quod incisionem appellant latini, quum sensus quidem completus est, sed tamen aliquid adhuc ad eius perfectionem exposcitur. Vt
>
> Arma uirumque cano:
>
> gemino annotatum puncto hoc modo. Colon, quod membrum latini dicunt, quando perfectam orationis alicuius plene compleuimus sententiam, simplici id in fine clausulae puncto annotantes, ut
>
> Arma uirumque cano, troiae qui primus ab oris
> Italiam, fato profugus, lauinaque uenit
> littora. (fol. C_i^{r-v})

[21] Formerly, the *Rhetorica ad Herrenium* was attributed to Cicero.

[22] repetitio, conuersio, complexio (…) conclusio; nominatio, pronominatio (…) translatio, permutatio.

[23] distributio, licentia (…) breuitas, demonstratio.

X. *De inscriptionibus*

The most important warnings for addressing the recipient of the letter: (1) the address should be short and simple; (2) the letter writer's name is followed by the addressee's name, e.g. "Servius Sulpicius is greeting Cicero". You should avoid the "barbaric" custom of placing the more respected addressee's name before that of the writer. Naturally, Augustinus refers to classical traditions:

> Quanto simplicius grauiusque latini uetustiores. M. T. C. Bruto Imperatori. S. Seruius Sulpicius Ciceroni. S. Nominibus ipsorum eorum, ad quos scribebant nomina subiicientes, Ne uel in hoc barbarum eorum morem imitari uideamur, qui maiorum nomina honoris gratia ipsorum nominibus praeponi debere contendunt. Quod neque graeca neque latina consuetudine obseruatum inuenias usquam. (…) Quod et Cice omnibus in locis obseruauisse perspicitur, ut recentiorem eruditissimorum consuetudinem praetereamus. (fol. [C_i^v])

The thirteen letters featuring after the theoretical chapters constitute about one third of the whole *De modo epistolandi* (fol. C_{ii}^r– [D_{iii}^r]). With the dedication letter addressed to Heinrich Oseven, there is a total of fourteen letters, all of them from Augustinus, but each addressed to different recipients. Most of the letters are undated: they must have been composed in 1493–1494 when Augustinus was staying in Italy. They mostly constitute the exchange of news between Augustinus in Padua and his friends and acquaintances in Ferrara, Bologna and Venice. As they report on their shared literary experiences, and encounters, these letters are important documents of their friendship. They have a pleasant tone, while there are no signs of polemization. Augustinus's sentences reflect that the author does not just like Cicero's and Seneca's letters, but tends to imitate them in his own.

Conclusion

In the first third of *De modo epistolandi* (in fact, in chapters I-VII, and IX-X) Augustinus frequently (over 50 times) mentions and cites classical (exclusively Latin) authors. The middle third of the work is the abstract based on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. In the last third, namely in 13 letters, Augustinus mentions and cites the following authors: Quintilian, Seneca, Juvenalis, Persius, Lucilius, and Cicero. On one occasion, he quotes a Greek author, Pindar (in Latin). In the letters, relatively rarely does Augustinus mention and cite classical authors (over 10 times).

Konstantinos Nakos

The Role of the Age of Antiquity in the First Years of the Young Modern Greek State (1830-1850)

From the day of the downfall of Constantinople, it was a firmly-held thought of the Greeks that the fall of the Byzantine Empire was the punishment of God, primarily, for making two alliances with the Western church. This idea is echoed in the following line of today's most famous lament of the era mourning over the fall of the Hagia Sophia: "For it was the will of God that the City should fall on Turkish hands".[1] This idea is the evidence that a cyclical view of time prevailed in that era in which the Golden Age was followed by the age of decline, as a consequence of the sins committed. The idea also held that on the termination of the ages of punishment, it is still possible to return to the previous times of sinless conditions. However, this is possible on the condition only that the people accept the punishment God imposed upon them, since this is the only way to find salvation, that is, to restore the previous conditions.

This is the cause of the Greek passivity of the early modern era, namely, the fact that for 300 years until the Age of Enlightenment, the Greeks suffered under the supposed yoke of God without any major uprising. They did this in the unshakeable belief that when all these come to an end, they will have Constantinople again and the Byzantine Empire will be restored. Although the idea could not arise that the Greeks themselves will liberate Constantinople and expel the Turkish forces from the Byzantine territories, they did not renounce the liberation as such. In the hope of intervening external forces, certain prophecies about the liberation of Constantinople gained more and more emphasis, most notably, the legend of the *Marble King* or that of the *Fair Nation*. Up until the Age of Enlightenment, these prophecies, beliefs and hopes ruled the Greek public opinion.

In the Greek-inhabited area of the Ottoman Empire, the Enlightenment itself occurred with a delay, since the social stratum promoting the ideas of the Enlightenment did not emerge until the end of the 18th century. This was

[1] Trypanis, C. A.: *The Penguin Book of Greek Verse.* London et al. 1971, 470.

the stratum of the middle class merchants, who established direct connections with Western Europe during their commercial travels. Getting into contact with the new ideological currents, this stratum become the promoter of these currents in their own state, the Ottoman Empire. Since the Greek language was used in the reception of the Enlightenment, the Greek-speaking middle-class became privileged in the newly-formed social system; thus, the Greek language became the primary channel of culture among all the languages spoken in the Empire. This stratum of middle class merchants did not identify itself with the traditional, Byzantine-Orthodox identity, but it started to seek a new identity conforming to their own ideas.

This was also the time of the occurrence of different nationalist movements, the key figures of these movements belonged to the stratum of the middle-class merchants. The nationalist movements had a dual goal: besides fighting against absolutism, after 300 hundred years of idle waiting, the idea of liberation from the foreign rule was pinned on the banners of the people.

The ideas of the Enlightenment brought a fundamental change to the ruling Greek ideological system. The cyclic view of time was replaced by a linear one and this change implied that mistakes cannot be undone by accepting the imposed punishment and that not acting upon chances can be a waste of time. With the emergence of the linear view of time came the notion of a national view of time. The making of the unbroken continuity of the Greek national view of time, however, proved a long process and it did not end until the middle of the 19th century.

The first stage of this view is the making of the Enlightenment as well: this was the time of the re-acceptance of the previously rejected Ancient Greek past. The Hellenic age of Antiquity meant the shameful pagan past for the Byzantine-Orthodox ideology and instead of calling themselves a "Hellenic" nation, as was the custom of the Ancient Greeks, the name "roman" was used. The restoration of the pagan age of antiquity, however, co-occurred with the underrating of the Christian medieval times and this way, instead of excluding the antiquity from the continuity of the national view of time, the Byzantine medieval ages became rejected. In accordance with the new system of values, the ages of antiquity meant freedom while medieval times came to mean the age of slavery and the gap in the national view of time was not restored until the end of the Enlightenment Era.

The new national identity emerged with the ideas of the Enlightenment and it was not based on religion; thus, the confrontation with the oppressing power

was not based on religion, either. The Orthodox Church, being troubled by the thought of Enlightenment ideas gaining general knowledge, supported the Ottoman government authority and so did the stratum of high-ranked traditional Greek elite, the stratum of Phanariotes. This traditional elite had less and less influence on the promoters of the Enlightenment, the newly-formed strata of Bourgeoisie and it was unable to make them stay loyal to the Ottoman Empire. The merchants displeased with the government authority formed different cabals on freemasonic conventions and these prepared the war of independence for action.

The goal of the war of independence was not the same for everyone. Many freedom fighters sought to restore the Byzantine Empire, while others strived to create the Greek nation-state, or simply win their own personal laurels in fighting. These oppositions came to light in a short period of time and the split emerging from these became the characteristic of the whole of the war of independence. After long years of fighting, the final victory was achieved with the intervention of the world powers and the foundation of the next state was in turn led by the world-powers as well.

The newly-formed state became an absolute monarchy – in the time of the restoration following the Napoleonic Wars, no other form of state was in practice in Europe. Since there was no aristocracy present in the Greek society since the fall of Byzantium, the king for the young nation-state was assigned by the world-powers as well. The area of the Modern Greek nation-state, however, covered only a part of the Greek-inhabited territories and it included only the one-third of the Greek territories inside the Ottoman Empire. In consequence, the thought of transiency remained after the founding of the state and the idea of restoring the borders of the Byzantine Empire was present in the public opinion.

The foreign government of the underage king and the regents governing in his name placed the Ancient Greek past in the centre of the new state-ideology in the heat of the positive associations created by the Enlightenment and it tried to legitimise its own power as the guardian of this concept. With the strengthening of the state came the forming of the Greek Archaeological Service and that of the Archaeological Society at Athens and the publishing of the Archaiologike Ephemeris (a periodical on archaeology) started. In addition, a huge amount of royal statutes was created to save the ancient Greek monuments, to warrant the excavations and to make neoclassicism the prevailing architectural style. These events, the fact that the previous capital, Nafplio, was replaced by Athens and the worship of the antique era supported and strengthened by

the Bavarians being a characteristic of that age; these all created a spiritual background, in which "the world of antiquity became closely connected to the present of the Kingdom of Greece."[2] In conclusion, the Bavarians, motivated by a general interest in the age of antiquity in the German-speaking territories, encouraged the Greeks to turn to their own antique past.

Besides the over-played worship of the antique ages, the regime of King Otto had an ambivalent relationship with the Byzantine medieval ages. To decrease the influence of the Orthodox Church, the regime made it independent from the Patriarchy of Constantinople as it was the most important point of alignment for the Greeks since Byzantine times. After such antecedents, the power rejected the Byzantium and the Byzantine legacy officially, but it gave room to popular beliefs connected to the current government, since these ideas further strengthened its legitimacy. The most notable of these popular beliefs are the legends of the *Marble King*[3] and the *Taking of the Red Apple-tree*.[4] The Bavarians quickly understood that these popular beliefs can not only bestow Greek aspects to kingship, but it can make it look like having popular Greek origins and this way, contributing to its general acceptance. In other words, "the natural Greek inclination to the monarchical form of state" proved particularly useful to the power of that period. This way, a strange, dual system emerged in connection with the Byzantium and the Byzantine history: the official rejection and the unofficial permissiveness co-occurs in this system.

One of the prominent events in the mental sphere of the period was the 1836 establishment of the first university. The Greek political leadership was interested in the thought of establishing an institution of higher education from the beginnings, but since the educational policy of Kapodistrias had other

[2] Σκοπετεα, E.: Το πρότυπο βασίλειο και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα. Όψεις του εθνικού προβλήματος στην Ελλάδα *(1830-1880).* Athens 1988, 171, translated from Greek.

[3] The myth of the *Marble King* (Ο μαρμαρωμένος βασιλιάς) is one of the Byzantine, or in a broader sense, European eschatological ideas. According to this, the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI (Palaiologos) was not slain when Constantinople was captured, but he, turned to marble stone at the depths of a cavern, is waiting for the right moment lead his nation again to make its total liberation come true. See Alexander, P. J.: The Medieval Legend of the Last Roman Emperor and its Messianic Origin. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978) 1-15; Veis, N. A.: Περί του ιστορημένου χρησμολογίου της Βιβλιοθήκης του Βερολίνου (Codex Graecus fol. 62-297) και του θρύλου του «Μαρμαρωμένου Βασιλιά». *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 13 (1937) 203-244.; Brandes, W. – Schmieder, F.: *Endzeiten: Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen.* Berlin–New York 2008.

[4] The *Red Apple-tree* is the mythical early homeland of the Turks, where the revived *Marble King* will expel the conquerors usurping Constantinople; in other versions, he will not only do this, but conquer this territory as well. See Romaios, K.: Η Κόκκινη Μηλιά. Athens 1979.

priorities, the plan could not come true. The foundation of the state, however, induced fundamental changes in the walk of educational policy: the establishment of a university became an urgent national interest, since the new state was in an immediate need of officials who could cope with the demands of working in the polity. The most obvious way of creating such human workforce was, beyond doubt, to have the state itself deal with their education.

Not only these causes encouraged the state of King Otto to establish a university, however, moreover, it is possible to say that these were not the most important among the reasons. Those establishing the university wanted to follow through a more important one.

Ludwig von Maurer, who was responsible for the educational policy during the era of the regency, said the following words in one of his speech urging the establishment of a university:

> For it is the mission of Greece, to transmit the light of the European culture into Asia one day, and even further; and in doing so, she is assisted by her exceptional geographical location and the spiritual insight of her people. And since she was once the cradle of the European culture that derives the knowledge from She now, so must She derive the millennia-old knowledge from Asia, Egypt and from other countries in the East, in accordance with the conventions of bartering.[5]

Indeed, the words of Maurer above, connected to the function and goals of the future university, are significant. The words "mission" and "transmission" in the speech were central elements in the discourses of the Bavarian regency. In terms of this ideology, the place of Greece in the South-Eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula is not unintentional: she is located there to cope with her "mission", that is, to transmit the European culture to the East.

Some years later, these ideas of Maurer were improved by Konstantinos Schinas, the first president of the university. In his speech in the inauguration of the university, Schinas mentions that the lack of political unity was the greatest weakness of the ancient Greek world, then, continuing his train of thought, he emphasises that the greatest accomplishment of the Modern Greeks, on the other hand, is their ability to create a unitary, strong and centralised state. Henceforth, he speaks of seeing the establishment of the university as the second great accomplishment of the Modern Greeks:

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[5] Maurer, L.: Ο ελληνικός λαός ["The Greek Nation"]. Athens 1835, 421 (translated from Greek).

> Since our university is situated halfway between the East and the West, it is the mission of this institution to be a fertile soil for the seeds of wisdom and after germinating the sprouts of prolific knowledge from them, it should transmit this to our Eastern neighbours in a tender, fruitful form.[6]

In conclusion, Maurer highlights two important aspects of the establishment of the university: the "transmission" of the European culture to the East and the "mission" of the Greecs to become the leading power of this region. Schinas repeats these thoughts adding the prominent notion of unity to them. It is obvious that he does not express his own ideas in his ceremonial speech, but it is easy to see that his words echo the official policy of the regency not only in connection with the issue of the university, but in terms of state preferencies as well. The reason behind the Greek nation establishing the university is not exclusively the fact that she wants to raise able and loyal officials for her beaurocracy, but it has more to do with creating the starting point of a long-term practise of influencing thr whole Middle-Eastern region both politically and culturally. Maurer's and Schinas's carefully-formulated triad of "transmission – unity – mission" breaks through the borders of university life soon and starts to prevail in a much broader sense.

The thought of a Greece that transmits the light of knowledge to the undeveloped East had a strange, appealing effect on the figures of both the scientific and the political life. Some years later in 1842, staying at this idea, another significant figure of the Greek intelligentsia, Georgios Pentadis Darvaris, likens Greece to Prometheus, who "reaches for Asia-Minor with her one hand, while she does so for Thrace and Macedonia with her other one".[7] Two years later, Ioannis Kolettis, one of the most notable politicians of his age, said the following words in his famous speech: "It is the mission of Greece to irradiate the East with her revival",[8] in 1846, Panagiotis Soutsos emphasises that "Greece is a torch with shining light between the East and the West that God sets light to shine on Europe in one case, than on Asia in the other".[9]

According to the official state ideology, the Modern Greeks are descendant of blood to the glorious ancients of the antique ages and this honourable title is the result of their heroic courage shown in the war of independence. As the mental sphere encircling the establishment of the university markedly pointed

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[6] Dimaras, K.: Ελληνικός Ρωμαντισμός. Athens 1985, 350 (translated from Greek).

[7] Dimaras (n. 6) 351 (translated from Greek).

[8] Dimaras (n. 6) 405 f. (translated from Greek).

[9] Dimaras (n. 6) 352 (translated from Greek).

it out, Greece is just half-way between Europe and Asia and it is her God-given duty, to transmit the Western culture to the East, as it were, in gratitude to the fact that East did the same for West in the antique ages. The keywords of this ideology are, in short, the following: *transmission*, *unity* and *mission*.

With the establishment of the absolutism, different question arose in the life of the Greek society that the official state ideology could not answer. Since the middle of the 1830s, a significant religious boom of popular origin was present, a one that the power could not restrict. This shed a new light on the prophecies of re-taking Constantinople and this met with the aspirations of a Greek economic elite, living outside of the borders of the new nation, to extend the borders of it to include every Greek-inhabited territory. The precedent of the Western (mainly German and Italian) movements in re-unificating themselves gave further boosts to these ideas. Eventually, after the Western superpowers started to patronise Turkey in the Crimean War, one part of the Greek intelligentsia became disillusioned with Western culture interpreting the event as a treachery and did not want to transmit it to the East any more. The state ideology of the Otto regime, therefore, was in an urgent need of a revision.

The solution was the newly-forming national ideology called the Great Idea, connected to poplar representative Ioannis Kolettis. In the 1844 national assembly, he seized power to protest against a bill of a group of representatives assigning different legal standing to the citizens originating in-and outside of the borders. If this bill had ever become a law, it would have placed the latter group into a disadvantageous position. He tried to point it out in his speech that the goal of the war of independece was to create a strong and unitary nation state, but this cannot happen if such distinctions are made between the citiens, since it undercuts the sense of national unity. It is interesting that Kolettis revived two issues that were mentioned by the president of the university as well. In the other parts of his speech, he re-emphasised the idea that the greatest weakness of the ancient Greeks was the lack of unity[10] and he

[10] It is an interesting parallel that Paparrigopoulos, in the beginning of his career as a historian, in his book *The last year of the Greek independence,* also mentions this idea and he emphasises the establishment of political unity: "Unity is the condition of independence, but this would not be achieved so long as the unity of the nation of Hellas was disorganised by some many forces. Our servitude was inevitable under such conditions. [...] Polytheism, however, was replaced by the unitary nature of Christianity, so were the many dialects of language by linguistic unity and so were tribal differences by national unity; the nation of Greeks, in turn, strives to achieve national unity with a crust of this triple weapon." (Paparrigopoulos, K.: Το τελευταίον έτος της ελληνικής ελευθερίας. Athens 1844, 3 f.; Dimitrakopoulos, Ph.: Βυζάντιο και Νεοελληνική Διανόηση στα μέσα του δέκατου ένατου αιώνος. Athens 1996, 172).

draw the attention to the cultural role that Greece has to fullfil in the mental sphere of the East. The part of the speech mentioning the Great Idea for the first time is the following:

> I remark the day of our pledge with thrill in which we promised to do every possible thing, even sacrificing our lives for the freedom of Greece. Many of those are yet among the living. We lie under the weight of that pledge now, when we gather together to write a new constitution, this gospel of our political lives, so that we will have two gospels henceforth, one for religion and one for politics. Deriving from our geographical location, Greece is the centre of Europe: with East at his right hand and West at his left one, it is her mission to irradiate West with her decline and East with her revival. The former was achieved by our ancestors, the latter is our duty. In the spirit of this pledge and this Great Idea, I have always thought that the representatives are not only deciding on the fate of Greece, but on that of the whole Greek nation.[11]

The most important condition of the birth of the Great Idea was the restoration of the Byzantine history and placing it into the unity of the national view of time. Upon this coming true, the new ideology was able to unite the poplar religious beliefs of Byzantine origins, the intelligentsia disillusioned with the Western culture and the ruling classes preparing for a territorial expansion. For the sake of the ideological firmament, it was essential to prove the continuity of the permanent Greek presence on the desired territories; thus, this became the most important duty of historical science in the second half of the 19th century. With the restoration of Byzantium, the continuity of the national view of time, overarching the period between the antique era and our present day, became a whole including both the pagan antiquity and the Christian medieval ages. One of the first formulations of this is Spyridon Zampelios's three theories of the era, upon which Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos based his victorious ideology of three phase-theory. With his 1853 words in the periodical Pandora:

> There is a nation in the East that laid down the foundations of the mental and political sphere (…) in the medieval times, it became the apostle and most important advocate of the Word of God. (…) A nation that has not lost the hope so far despite all the sorrows it has to suffer, (…) but its people were fighting (…) making it a wonderful naval power, becoming rich from commerce and boldly fighting in the sudden war of independence to become politically independent. A nation living in the unshakeable belief that after accomplishing a great historical mission in the antique era, the

[11] Dimaras (n. 6) 405 f. (translated from Greek).

> Divine Providence kept it under the Roman rule as well to accomplish its second great mission in the medieval ages, then after this, God kept it under the Turkish rule as well so that this nation could accomplish its third mission not less significant than the previous ones; this would be to become the leading figure in the revival of the East.[12]

This new national ideology proved amazingly efficient; it is possible to say that it has become the new "national orthodoxy." Paparrigopoulos's new ideology, based on the trichotomy of the Greek history, swept away the last traces of the old ideology on which the intellectual revival of the previous era was based, the very same ideology that became the foundation of the war of independence. Thus, the new ideology of national unity replaced the previous system of ideas from the Greek Enlightenment.

It is also easy to see that the Paparrigopoulos's theory of three phases is not only present in the minds of the Greek society, but it prevailed and from that time, it became a defining element in historical theory. Since this ideological formation became undistinguishable from the Greek ideology of state, it soon sank into oblivion that this theory and all other elements generated by it (e.g. "Greco-Christian ideas") are relatively new and this has several negative consequences. The immensely popular new ideology became an undistinguishable part of the political rhetoric and this often led to different missuses and manipulations of power.

The original meaning of the theory of three phases was often misused to achieve different goals in current politics; among them, the most flagrant one is connected to the foundations of the Metaxas-regime. Metaxas's new system of 4th August, 1936 was based on the theory of the "third Greek culture", since misusing the theory of the three phases provided proper rhetorical and ideological background even for dictatorial claims. Many blame Zampelios and Paparrigopoulos for the later manipulation of their principle, but this paper claims that they are not responsible for that. The sad series of misusing Paparrigopoulos's theory did not end with the Metaxas-regime, unfortunately; the period after the 1946-1949 civil war saw the emergence of an official ideology based on the "Greco-Chrisitan patriotism" and the historiography of the era is also heavily depending on the range of Paparrigopoulos's ideas. Although this cycle of thoughts is often misused even today, this does not underrate the important role that the Great Idea has in the ideological foundations of the Modern Greek state.

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[12] *Pandora* V/79 (1. July 1853) 173 and cited by: Dimaras, K.: Κωνσταντίνος Παπαρρηγόπουλος. Η εποχή του, η ζωή του, το έργο του. Athens 1986, 183 and Skopetea (n. 2) 181.

Áron Orbán

Individual Astrology as a Means of Character-building in the Poetry of Konrad Celtis

The essential role astrology (inseparable from astronomy) played in Renaissance thought has long been a commonplace in scholarly literature. Astrology permeates especially deeply the oeuvre of Konrad Celtis (1459–1508), the "Arch-Humanist" of Germany. The literature on Celtis has yielded important results in exploring this theme, still, scholars generally have not gone beyond the surface, only the most spectacular astrological text has been delved into deeply. It is all the more important to make up for this deficiency since, in my opinion, astrology is not only one aspect among many in Celtis' poetry, but a kind of symbolic language, a conceptual framework which, together and interwoven with other conceptual frameworks (Classical mythology, Christian motifs, Platonic philosophy, and so on) helps to express a number of ideas of key importance to the poet. These ideas cannot be understood in depth and the relevant passages cannot be translated if one does not understand the expressions that incorporate the stars. Furthermore, the texts investigated below reflect, as a kind of cross-section, the general character of Celtis' poetry: his poetic self-fashioning, his main concepts about the micro- and macrocosm, his attachment to symbolic languages, and his attitude to certain types of sources.

Rerum causas repetere …[1] *singulis rebus reperire causas …*[2] *naturae seriem rimari …*[3] The reader of Celtis frequently comes across the issue of the secret causes of things. The desire to know and mentally conquer the cosmos – and possibly the farthest or most secret regions – was a natural inclination in this poet, and he propagated a sensuous poetic representation or recreation of

[1] *Od.* I,20,70 (*Libri odarum quattuor, cum epodo et saeculari carmine.* ed. Schäfer, E. Tübingen 2012).

[2] *Od.* I,11,38.

[3] *Od.* I,1,16.

the world (and man) as early as the definition of *poetica* in his first work, the *Ars versificandi.*[4] Celtis has become an exemplary representative of a type of German humanism which was enthusiastic about *philosophia,* and which did not recognize a strict separation between the natural sciences and humanities, or between science and literature.[5] He was especially interested in the relation between the terrestrial and celestial realms, the sub- and supralunar spheres, and in the correspondences that can occur between micro- and macrocosm (an issue of key importance in the thought of the age) – and astrology provided evident examples of these relations for him and his contemporaries. Throughout his life, Celtis was surrounded by many people who were fascinated by the stars beyond the average (from different perspectives and together with other disciplines); Celtis' personal interest and his involvement in similarly interested surroundings reinforced each other. Here I survey the main components of the biographical context of this issue, which will, at the same time, exemplify the growing significance of astrology in Germany and Europe. [6]

In the second half of the fifteenth century, in Celtis' lifetime, astrology was gaining more and more ground in German intellectual, courtly, and daily life due to printing,[7] the personal achievements of astronomers (primarily the

[4] *Ars versificandi et carminum*. Leipzig (Martin Landsberg) ca. 1492–95. Fol. A 6v–B 1r. Analyzed by Robert, J.: *Konrad Celtis und das Projekt der deutschen Dichtung: Studien zur humanistischen Konstruktion von Poetik, Philosophie, Nation und Ich*. Tübingen 2003, 48–61.

[5] Cf. esp. Wuttke, D.: Renaissance-Humanismus und Naturwissenschaft in Deutschland. *Gymnasium* 97 (1990), 232–254. In contrast Robert (n. 4) 60 calls attention to the problematic nature of the expression "integrative humanism" often used by scholars.

[6] The literature on European Renaissance astrology (especially in the context of intellectual history) has grown extensive by now, largely as a result of the Warburg school. About the main general monographs, collected volumes, lexicons, and the scholarship of astrology in Germany, a useful survey has been provided by Reisinger, R.: *Historische Horoskopie. Das iudicium magnum des Johannes Carion für Albrecht Dürers Patenkind.* Wiesbaden (Harrassowitz) 1997, 10–13. These I complete here only with some important items of the recent literature: Newman, R. W. – Grafton, A. (eds.): *Secrets of Nature: Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, MA and London (MIT Press) 2001; Oestmann. G. – Rutkin, H. D. – von Stuckrad, K. (eds.): *Horoscopes and Public Spheres: Essays on the History of Astrology*. Berlin and New York (Walter de Gruyter) 2005; von Stuckrad, K.: *Geschichte der Astrologie: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. München (C.H. Beck) 2007. Nevertheless, scholars have not paid much attention to the investigation of actual horoscopes and the theoretical aspects of interpretation; in this regard, Reisinger's work is pioneering.

[7] In the catalogue of Zinner (Zinner, E.: *Geschichte und Bibliographie der astronomischen Literatur in Deutschland zur Zeit der Renaissance*. Leipzig [Hiersemann] 1941), 600(!) titles of astronomical-astrological prints fall in a period of no more than 20 years between Celtis' crowning as poet and his death.

Viennese school and Regiomontanus),[8] intellectual trends coming from Italy (e.g., the reception of Ficino),[9] economic, and geographical factors (e.g., the role of Nuremberg). Critiques of divination (partly from clerics) and debates over the effects of the stars may have just enhanced the significance of these ideas in public thought.[10] Celtis himself acquired the rudiments of astronomy-astrology, one of the *septem artes liberales,* no later than his studies at the university of Heidelberg.[11] In the two years after his graduation as a *magister artium* (October 1485) he became acquainted with two astronomers, and through them, the world of courtly astrology. In the *Ars versificandi* (1486), dedicated to Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, he himself refers to the intermediary role of Pollich von Mellerstadt, Frederick's physician, who taught at the university of Leipzig (just as Celtis did), and wrote several *Pronosticons* and a calendar. Johannes Canter, the astronomer of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III, cast the horoscope of Celtis' laureation. The poet laureate started his "wandering years" in Italy where he could have seen and heard astrological ideas in many forms. Pomponio Leto's Roman and Ficino's Florentine academies had a great impact on him; astrology played an especially important role in Ficino's syncretic philosophy (the reception of Ficino is frequently debated in the literature about Celtis).[12] As for Latin literature in Italy, on the one hand, the genre of the astronomical-astrological didactic poem was prospering (Basini, Pontano, Bonincontri) in connection with the reception of Manilius, and, on the other

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[8] Cf., e.g. Byrne, J. S.: *The stars, the moon, and the shadowed earth: Viennese astronomy in the fifteenth century*. (PhD Dissertation) Princeton University 2007.

[9] Summarily: Steppich, Chr. J.: '*Numine afflatur*': *die Inspiration des Dichters im Denken der Renaissance*. Wiesbaden (Harrassowitz) 2002, 218–35.

[10] Pico's *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem* (1494) has to be mentioned primarily, which also caused a great stir in Germany. The debate over syphilis/the French disease (from 1496) between Pollich von Mellerstadt (Celtis' acquaintance, see below) and Simon Pistoris had astrological aspects, too. French, J. – Arrizabalaga, J.: Coping with the French Disease: University practitioners' Strategies and Tactics in the Transition from the Fifteenth to the sixteenth century. In French, R. (ed.): *Medicine from the Black Death to the French disease*. Aldershot, Hants (Ashgate) 1998, 90–96.

[11] In Heidelberg, where he stayed from December 1484 to October 1485, a humanist circle around Bishop Johann von Dalberg was already taking shape; it was reorganized as *Sodalitas Rhenana* at the time of Celtis' return in 1495, and it showed great interest in Platonism, cosmology-cosmography, astronomy-astrology and Kabbalah. Wiegand, H.: Phoebea sodalitas nostra. Die Sodalitas Litteraria Rhenana. In Wiegand, H.: *Der zweigipflige Musenberg. Studien zum Humanismus in Kurpfalz*. Ubstadt-Weiher (Regionalkultur) 2000, 29–49.

[12] About the problem cf. Luh, P.: *Kaiser Maximilian gewidmet. Die unvollendete Werkausgabe des Konrad Celtis und ihre Holzschnitte*. Frankfurt/Main u. a. 2001, 80.

hand, the reader of other poetic genres could also find scattered astrological references and topoi (frequently used, for example, by Naldo Naldi, Ficino's friend, but also by Callimaco Esperiente,[13] a disciple of Leto with whom Celtis was in close touch in Poland).

Between 1489 and 1491 Celtis stayed in Cracow; his travel there was certainly motivated by the opportunity to deepen his astronomical-astrological knowledge.[14] The university of Cracow laid greater emphasis on this discipline than any other university of the age, and the influence Albert Blar (Brudzewo; the teacher of Copernicus, for example) had on Celtis is quite demonstrable.[15] It is not accidental that many of Celtis' texts investigated below fall into the Polish period, for instance, addressing members of the humanist circle there. After Cracow, Celtis spent his life mostly in southern German and Austrian regions, primarily in university milieus (lecturing on Ptolemy, for instance) and as the central figure of several sodalities; the main scenes of his activity – Ingolstadt, Nuremberg and Vienna – are all significant in the history of European astronomy-astrology. In 1501 he obtained the foundation charter of *Collegium Poetarum (et Mathematicorum)* from Maximilian I,[16] an institute founded with the purpose of training a humanist elite; its very name demonstrates the idea of how closely the study of the stars belongs to the realm of the muses. In Vienna, Celtis got closer to Maximilian,[17] in whose world view – as in the view of many other Habsburg emperors – horoscopes and celestial signs played an essential role.[18] At the same time, Celtis stood in close relationships and had correspondence with several members of Maximilian's court who dealt with astronomy, Stabius and Grünpeck, for instance.[19]

[13] Filippo Buonaccorsi's original name; according to G. Paparelli, G.: *Callimaco Esperiente*. Salerno (Beta) 1971, 48 he may have actively practised astrology.

[14] Cf. e.g. Spitz, L.W.: *Conrad Celtis. The German Arch-Humanist.* Cambridge (Harvard University Press) 1957, 15.

[15] Müller, G. M.: *Die 'Germania generalis' des Conrad Celtis: Studien mit Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar.* Tübingen 2001, 311 ff. demonstrates the close parallels between the *Germania Generalis* and Blar's *Theoricae novae* commentary.

[16] Graf-Stuhlhofer, F.: Lateinische Dichterschule. Das Collegium poetarum des Konrad Celtis von 1501 bis 1537. *Grazer Beiträge. Zeitschrift für die Klassische Altertumswissenschaft* 22 (1998) 211–214. About the problem of its name: 211–2.

[17] Summarily Wiener, C.: *Et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum.* Celtis' Beziehungen zu Maximilian I. In Wiener, C. (ed.): *Amor als Topograph.* Schweinfurt 2002, 75–82.

[18] Treated in detail in Darin Hayton's soon-to-appear monograph: *Astrology and Politics in the Holy Roman Empire.* I am grateful to Darin Hayton who put his draft at my disposal.

[19] Cf. the three letters of Stabius between 1494–98, and Grünpeck's 1496 and 1505 letters

He maintained an even closer relationship with a number of humanists who wrote – each with a different emphasis – astronomical, astrological and poetic works at the same time, and with whom he exchanged many letters and odes of praise: Dietrich Ulsenius,[20] Johannes Tolhopf,[21] Augustinus Moravus,[22] and Laurentius Corvinus.[23] The latter praises Celtis in a letter with these words: your songs "delight me above all, since they contain an especially great amount of astrology and natural charm".[24] Celtis sang odes to famous astronomers, too, praising them together with their knowledge; see his odes to Albert Blar (*Od*. I,17) and Regiomontanus (*Od*. III,23; *Epigr*. II,83). Among the surviving items of Celtis' library, one finds several works directly related to the issue of astronomy-astrology, Regiomontanus' calendar and almanach, and three works containing *prognosticons*.[25] He was also welcome in the library of his Nuremberg patrician friend, Hartmann Schedel; according to the surviving catalogue, it had a considerable astronomical-astrological collection.[26]

The bare enumeration of biographical facts already shows how many different external sources the poet's astrological ideas could have fed on. As regards the relevant texts by Celtis himself, the scholarly literature has discussed them in two ways: on the one hand, some general monographs in the older literature on Celtis have a subchapter-length part (or a few pages) that argue for the significance of the astrological aspect in his poetry, supporting the argument with the most evidently astrological passages (Pindter, Novotny, Spitz, Größing);[27] on the other hand, Jörg Robert and Kober analyze in depth the most

(Rupprich, H. (ed.): *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis*. München (Beck); henceforth: *BW*); as for Stiborius, Celtis dedicated an ode to him (*Od.* II,14).

[20] Correspondence between 1492 and 1497 (cf. *BW* – n. 19). Ulsenius' ode to Celtis: on the last page of Tritonius' *Melopoiae* (Augsburg 1507). Celtis' ode to Ulsenius: Schäfer's *Odes*-edition (n. 1), app. IV.

[21] Correspondence between 1492 and 1499 (cf. *BW* – n 19). Celtis' ode to Tolhopf: *Od.* II,13. On the close relationship between Celtis and Tolhopf: Luh (n. 12) 342–8.

[22] Correspondence between 1497 and 1505 (cf. *BW* – n. 19); Celtis' ode to Augustinus: *Od.* IV,6.

[23] Correspondence between 1499 and 1503 (cf. *BW* – n. 19).

[24] *BW* (n. 19) nr. 294. "Delectant enim [carmina tua] me plurimum, cum presertim astrologie et naturalis dulcedinis sint plena." The word *astrologia* can also mean astronomy, and *naturalis* may also refer to the study of nature.

[25] Henkel, N.: Die Bücher des Konrad Celtis. In Arnold, W. (ed.): *Bibliotheken und Bücher im Zeitalter der Renaissance*. Wiesbaden 1997, 129–165.

[26] Stauber, R.: *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek. Ein Beitrag zur Ausbreitung der italienischen Renaissance, des deutschen Humanismus und der medizinischen Literatur*. Freiburg I. Br. 1908, 105–7.

[27] Pindter, F.: *Die Lyrik des Conrad Celtis*. (PhD Dissertation) Vienna 1930, 144–158. Novotny, E.:

important text, the very first *Amores* ode, which presents the poet's nativity;[28] Robert and Größing touch on other relevant passages of the *Amores*, too.[29] Comprehensive research has not been conducted yet, although it is justified, at least for individual astrology.

Astrology is a heterogeneous term;[30] with regard to the issue here, the differentiation between the traditional types seems to be the most useful classification. According to a widely accepted medieval terminology, the stars' effects on nations, greater regions or world history belong to mundane astrology, while individual astrology investigates the stars' impact on the individual. To the latter belongs, first of all, natal astrology (*nativitates*); in most cases, catarchic (*electiones*)[31] and horary (*interrogationes, horaria*)[32] astrology also deal with the fate of the individual.[33] Considering all these, in Celtis' case it is worth classifying the astrological references under four categories:

Die Weltanschauung des Konrad Celtis. (PhD Dissertation) Vienna 1938, 44–53. Spitz, L. W.: The Philosophy of Conrad Celtis, German Arch-Humanist. *Studies in the Renaissance* 1 (1954) 25–7. Grössing, H.: *Humanistische Naturwissenschaft: zur Geschichte der Wiener mathematischen Schulen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts.* Baden-Baden (Koerner) 1983, 157–170.

[28] Birth horoscope.

[29] Robert (n. 4) 451–481; Robert, J.: Zum Dichter geboren: Die Astrologie in den Amores. In *Amor als Topograph* (n. 17) 51–60; Kober, M.: Das Humanistenleben als Sühne. Zu Konrad Celtis' Einleitungselegie 'Amores' I. 1. *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft*. N.F. 23 (1999) 245–263; Helmuth Grössing, H.: *Astra inclinant?* Astrologie in den *Amores* des Konrad Celtis. In Friedrich, C. (ed.): *Pharmazie in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Festgabe für Wolf-Dieter Müller-Jahncke zum 65. Geburtstag*. Stuttgart (Wiss. Verl. Ges.) 2009, 167–182.

[30] Its main types can be classified from different points of view. With regard to complexity, the scale ranges from a simple astrological idea (e.g. the appearance of a comet signifies the death of the king) to methods requiring complex calculations (horoscopes). The stars' effect can be restricted to the material world, or it can involve the dimension of the soul and free will; one can also differentiate between a fatalist and a non-fatalist concept of astrology. According to a typical terminology often used in the Middle Ages, the "milder" extremes of these scales belong to *astrologia naturalis,* generally accepted in that age, while the other extremes are characteristic of the often debated *astrologia superstitiosa* (Cf. Láng, B.: Asztrológia a késő középkori tudományos diskurzusban. [Astrology in the late medieval scientific discourse.] *Magyar filozófiai szemle* 43 [1999] 747–774). Naturally, the differentiation between the two is not pure; the classification according to the types discussed in the following is clearer.

[31] The election of a favorable date for a future event based on the planetary positions.

[32] One raises a question and looks for the answer in the horoscope cast for the exact time of the question.

[33] More about the medieval astrological terminology: Burnett, Ch.: Astrology. In Mantello, F. A. C. – Rigg, A. G. (eds.): *Medieval Latin: an Introduction and Bibliographical guide*. Washington (Catholic University of America Press) 1996, 372–8.

– individual astrology;

– mundane astrology;[34]

– the effect of the stars[35] or a certain planet[36] in general, not mentioning concrete cases;

– texts criticizing astrologers[37] (they also mirror Celtis' attitude to astrology, although indirectly).

This study focuses on individual astrology for more than one reason. The passages belonging to the last three categories are often short and commonplace and they may be embedded in a comprehensive train of thought during a meditation about the cosmos; for instance, they may appear in a cosmological-astronomical, Platonic or Stoic context, so they can only be treated in the framework of a comprehensive analysis of Celtis' concepts about the cosmos – which would go beyond the scope of an article. Individual astrology is more "independent", more concrete; passages that contain complex, open or hidden, astral symbolism and require a deeper analysis generally pertain to individual astrology. These passages can often be connected to each other, all the more since the employment of this symbolic language is one of the general strategies for character-building considered effective by the poet.

During this analysis, considerations of to what extent Celtis believed in astrology or its specific branches is not the central question. Two things are clear; first, Celtis certainly believed in at least the basic astronomical-astrological teachings and the issue of the stars' effect was an essential component of his thought; second, as was typical of humanists, he viewed this discipline with a critical eye, especially with regard to the exaggerations or false divinations of certain astrologers.[38] Beyond this ambivalence, the assessment of the exact nature of his belief is all the more difficult since these are literary texts, mixing reality and fiction in specific ways. Celtis' characteristic irony often includes

[34] *Am.* III,9,37–8 (*Quattor libri amorum.* ed. Pindter, F. Leipzig 1934); *Am.* III,14,33; *Epigr.* I,35 (Hartfelder, K. [ed.]: *Fünf Bücher Epigramme von Konrad Celtis*. Berlin 1881); *Epigr.* I,68,4; *Od.* II,2, 57–72.

[35] From among the vast number of examples, a few typical ones: *Od.* II,17,37–40; *Epigr.* I,6; *Epigr.* II,34.

[36] In the case of Venus e.g. *Am.* I,7,53–4; in the case of Saturn e.g. *Od.* I,18,17–19.

[37] E.g. *Am.* III,10,59 f., 71–8; *Epigr.* I,35; *Epigr.* I,59,1–10; *Epigr.* I,60; *Epigr.* II,73.

[38] Other scholars of Celtis, too, find this ambivalence: Pindter (n.27) 144; Grössing (n. 27) 165–170.

the presentation of the stars' effects, too;[39] one does not have to draw far-reaching conclusions from these. While the older scholarly literature treated Celtis' texts largely as pieces of real experience, quasi-biographical sources, the recent literature is more sensitive to genre-specific requirements, ways of stylization, and the author's – poetologically justified – inclination for roleplay, which are especially characteristic of his works that have a more comprehensive narrative structure, like the *Amores*.[40] Astrological passages were not excepted from Celtis' general attitude of *seria mixta ioci*; in these, too, he is speaking seriously and playing at the same time. The interesting question is what these texts signify, or at least suggest, what the function of individual astrology is in his poetry, and how it participates in poetic creation.

Besides his interest in the relations of micro- and macrocosm, another essential concept in Celtis' poetry is the idea of the close connection between poet and celestial powers, the idea of a kind of divine election. Since Petrarch and Boccaccio these ideas (otherwise of Classical origin) played a central role in the Renaissance discourse about poetry, they were branching out more and more and owed much to scholastic antipathies and attacks against poetry, defended in many arguments. The word has the power of creation, the poet, as ποιητής, creator of a world, follows the example of God. The deepest truths in the Bible about the world and man were already manifested, although in germ form, by pre-Christian mythical figures like Orpheus or Zoroaster, in poems: this is the tradition of *poetica theologia.* It is because of his relevant inborn abilities, his *ingenium*, that he is able to tell divine truths. His inspired state of mind was most often referred to as *furor poeticus,* the "madness" of the poet; through this "possessed" condition he can establish a direct connection to the celestial powers.[41] These ideas were, on the one hand, worked out in poetological, philosophical treatises, and on the other hand, the poets themselves applied them, either in elaborated trains of thought or as topoi (a large number of the most frequent topoi in Neo-Latin Poetry is involved in this ideology).[42] Celtis himself appears in his poetry time and again as the favorite of the gods,

[39] Robert (n. 29) 56.

[40] Robert (n. 4) e.g. 10 and 241–7.

[41] About all these in detail cf. Steppich (n. 9) part I.

[42] For example, the Platonic idea of *furor poeticus* (that formed part of the poetological discourse in Italy as early as the fourteenth century) was developed further by Ficino, who incorporated it in his philosophical system, connecting it to the idea of anamnesis and emphasizing its positive role. In the Neo-Latin poetry of Italy or Germany, the *furor poeticus* became a frequent topos. Steppich (n. 9) 146–197 and 300–7.

the priest of the muses, the inspired poet, the heir of the Orpheic tradition, who has an intimate relationship to the celestial powers, thus he excels above the common people. However, in Celtis' case the matter at issue is something even more: He is the first poet laureate of his nation, the bringer of the muses to the German lands, the organizer of sodalities.[43] Apollo, the Sun God and the leader of the muses (to mention only the most important god for Celtis) not only appears in trite commonplaces, he becomes a kind of personal god for the poet. Celtis takes revenge on the slanderers of poetry with the help of Phoebus' arrows;[44] he sacrifices, sings, prays to the god;[45] and most importantly, they meet in the framework of an epiphany several times.[46]

Astrological symbolism provided a means of expressing both his view about the interrelation of macro- and microcosm and a consciousness of divine election at the same time in a demonstative and spectacular way. It is only natural that Celtis took advantage of the opportunity.

The stars of Celtis' birth

The *Amores,* Celtis' main work, issued in Nuremberg in 1502, presents a world systematically interwoven with correspondences (already shown by its programmatic woodcuts).[47] These correspondences appear on many levels, ranging from celestial spheres through geographical regions ("Germania") to the world of the individual. For instance, the four books correspond to the four cardinal zodiacal signs, the four cardinal points, the four bodies of water that border Germany, the four temperaments, and so on. In the classical elegies, which provided the basic patterns for the *Amores*, the mythological sphere, the world of the gods, served as a backgound for the human world. In Celtis' work the mythological layer is replaced by a geographical layer (the presentation of "Germania") and an astronomcal-astrological layer;[48] whenever possible, the Greek-Roman gods and the planets meld.[49] Moreover, the opening elegy

[43] Summarily cf. Worstbrock, F. J.: Konrad Celtis. Zur Konstitution des humanistischen Dichters in Deutschland. In Boockmann, H. (ed.): *Literatur, Musik und Kunst im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*. Göttingen (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht) 1995, 9–35.

[44] *Od.* I,19; *Od.* II,16; *Epod.* 9; *Epigr.* I,27.

[45] *Od.* I,29; *Od.* III,15; *Epod.* 16 f.

[46] *Poema ad Fridericum* (see below); *Am.* I,3.

[47] The most detailed study of the *Amores*: Robert (n. 4).

[48] *Ibid.* 274–5.

[49] This fusion, related to the Classical-medieval tradition of *allegoria physica*, is a frequent phenomenon in Neo-Latin poetry and Renaissance Platonic philosophy.

of the *Amores*, with its planetary gods and epic features, "revives"[50] the poet's own birth horoscope:

Ad Fridianum Pignucium Lucensem infeliciter se ad amorem natum ex configuratione horoscopi sui

Sidera quae nostrae fuerint natalia vitae,
candide Pignuci, carmine nosse cupis.
Accipe, per Latias vates doctissimus oras
Lucanae gentis gloria magna tuae:
nox erat et Februae submerso sole Calendae
transierant mensis februa maesta colens.
Candidus inflexa Phoebus tunc stabat in Urna,
proxima cui nitidae stella serena Lyrae,
cumque Sagittiferi surgebant sidera signi
horaque post medium tertia noctis erat.
Tunc mea me genitrix reserata effudit ab alvo
et dederat vitae stamina prima meae.
Illa nocte Lyram nemo conspexit Olympo,
Phoebus enim roseis hanc sibi iunxit equis
plectraque pulsabat toto resonantia caelo
et dixit : "Phoebo nascere, quisquis eris!
Ipse meam citharam plectro gestabis eburno
Lesboaque canes carmina blanda chely,
seu te Germano contingat cardine nasci,
sive Italo, Gallo, Sarmaticove polo,
nam mea sunt toti communia numina mundo,
sim licet Arctois languidior radiis."
Dixit et assensit Capricorni frigidus astro
Saturnus, totiens qui mihi damna tulit,
Marsque sub aestivo micuit tunc forte Leone
et medium caeli cum Iove Virgo tulit.
Lunaque fraterno capiens iam lumen ab ore
cornua cum Capri cornibus implicuit.
Quaque mihi nato volucris sub parte refulsit,
haec eadem coepto pars orientis erat.
Principium Maiis fuerat tunc forte Calendis,
concepit nostrum dum pia Mater onus,
mater centenos quae quasi impleverat annos
et vidit quartam stirpe sua subolem.
Mercuriusque suo junxit vaga lumina Phoebo,
lusit et ad citharam verba canora suam.
Iamque Venus stabat Vervecis sidera lustrans
deridens tremuli frigida membra senis,
quam pater in quarta dum vidit adesse figura,
increpat et contra talia voce refert:
„Saeva Venus, nostro quam de genitore creavi,
eius ut inieci secta verenda mari,
cur mea derides venerandae membra senectae
et falcem, quacum cuncta sub orbe meto?

To Fridianus Pighinutius of Lucca about that he was born for unhappy love according to the planetary positions of his horoscope

Radiant Pighinutius, you want to know by our song what the stars of my birth were. Hear then, you, the most learned poet in the region of Latium, the great glory of your Luccan nation:
It was night, and after sunset the first of February arrived (?), the month of the sorrowful expiatory sacrifice. Radiant Phoebus stood in the curved Urn [Aquarius], next to him the bright star of the brilliant Lyre, and when the constellation of the Archer was rising, it was three o'clock after midnight. It was then that my mother sent me forth from her opening womb, giving me the thread of my life. That night noone could see the Lyre in the heaven, since Phoebus bound it to his rose-colored horses. Then he plucked the strings, making all the heaven resound, and said:
"Be born for Phoebus, whoever you will be! You will take with yourself my lyre with the ivy plectrum, and you will sing charming songs in the style of the lyre of Lesbos, no matter where you will be born, under a German sky, or under an Italian, Gallic or Sarmatian; because I have the same power all over the world, even if my rays are weaker in the North."
So he spoke, and cold Saturn in the constellation of Capricorn agreed, Saturn, who did me harm so many times. Mars happened to shine under the summer Lion, and the middle of the sky was possessed by the Maiden with Jupiter. The Moon, who borrowed her light from his brother's face, hooked her horns together with Capricorn's horns. And the grade under which the winged [planet] shone at my birth was the grade of the eastern horizon at my conception. My origin, when my good mother conceived her burden, happened to fall on the first of May; my mother completed her hundredth year, as it were, and saw me as her fourth child in the lineage. Mercury joined his wandering light with his Phoebus, and sang harmonious songs playing the lyre.
Now Venus stood there, staying in the constellation of Wether [Ram], and ridiculed the trembling old man's cold members; when the father saw that they were in a quadrate, he rebuked her with these words:
"Cruel Venus, whom I helped to be born from our father, having thrown his cut loins in the sea, why do you ridicule the members of my honorable old age and the sickle with which I cut off everything under the sky?

[50] Robert (n. 4) 462–3.

Ipse ego iam, tecum qui inimico lumine volvor
et male concordi foedere semper ago,
efficiam: quicumque sub hac vitam accipit hora
sentiat immites semper amore deos."
Dixit. Et auratae Veneris fera spicula fregit(,)
plumbea sed tarda iussit abire mora.
Inde mihi facilem nulla est quae femina mentem
praebeat et stabilem servet amore fidem.
Testis Sarmaticis Hasilina est nata sub oris,
Elsula Danubio quaeque creata vago,
Ursula Rhenanis et quae vaga gloria ripis
adque Codoneum Barbara nota sinum
atque aliae multae quas fido pectore amavi,
quis mea deceptus munera saepe dedi,
munera, quae cunctas retinent in amore puellas
et validas vires semper amoris habent.[51]

I, revolving in an inimical aspect with you, always in a disharmonious bond with you, I am going to bring about this: whoever comes into the world in this hour, may he always feel the gods cruel with regard to love!"
So he spoke, and he broke the wild arrows of golden Venus, ordering that the lead arrows can only go on their way belatedly. That is why no woman is freely inclined to me, no woman is faithful in love. This is attested by Hasilina, born in the Sarmatian region, or Elsula, who came to the world by the far-flowing Danube, or Ursula, who has a far-reaching glory on the banks of the Rhine, or Barbara, known at the Codonean bay, or many other women whom I loved with a faithful heart, and for whom I often gave my gifts, though they decieved me; such gifts that keep every girl in love, and always have the great strength of love.

In the following I summarize just briefly the results of those scholars (primarily Jörg Robert) who have discussed the elegy, and I analyze the poem further paying an even greater attention to the horoscope itself, other works by Celtis, and possible Italian influences. The elegy is part of a question-answer game characterisitc of humanists. Its precedent is an ode by Pighinutius (1487)[52] in which he expresses his admiration for Celtis by guessing the stars of his birth: "Which star shone for you at your birth, reveal with your song!"[53] The replying poem, at least its core, might have been composed at about the same time, but the whole poem is only seen now in the Nuremberg manuscript of *Amores*[54] (1500) and in the 1502 printed edition, which contains the ode to Pighinutius in a somewhat altered version.[55] What literary models could Celtis have considered while composing this horoscope elegy? Classical literature could only provide patterns for a few components of the poem. The biographical *sphragis* of Propertius' *Monobiblos* (I,22) presents the poet's origin, and the introductory lines of the two poems[56] undoubtedly harmonize. Here and there the elegists complain about the erotic bondage that is due to the bad influence of the

[51] Punctuation after the Pindter-edition.

[52] Appeared in Celtis' *Proseuticum ad diuum Fridericum tertium pro laurea Appollinari.* Nürnberg (F. Creussner) 1487. Fol. 1v–2v.

[53] "Quod tibi sidus micuit sub ortu." (v. 3)

[54] Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Cent. 5 app. 3.

[55] As regards astronomy-astrology, the changes – probably due to Celtis himself – are not significant, although the later version lays emphasis on the hour of his birth: "Aut tibi Maiae fidibus lyraeque / Filius natalicia sub hora / Fulsit." (v. 21–23)

[56] V. 1–2 both in Propertius and Celtis.

stars.[57] The motif of favorable birth due to the gods appears in Classical works on a general level.[58] In the astrological literature, Firmicus Maternus mentions examples of poets' nativities, for instance, that of Homer.[59] The models provided by contemporary poetry, dealing with actual elements of horoscopes, are more important than the Classical preliminaries. Pontano mentions the constellation that determined his or his relatives' fates in several of his poems.[60] More significant is Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's poem entitled *Excusatio quod amet*,[61] which provides a parallel for Celtis' elegy in its topic and function. Pico describes his nativity by making a circle around the signs and he explains and justifies his erotic addiction with the power of the stars.[62]

Some other patterns can be added to those enumerated by Robert. As already mentioned by Hübner,[63] in the *sphragis* of the *Apotelesmatica*, a work attributed to Manetho, the poet demonstrates his exceptionally lucky birth by summarizing his nativity.[64] Four planets, the traditionally most favorable planets at that (Juppiter, Sun, Venus, Mercury), stay in the same sign (the Twins), and one can find the Κενταύρος in the MC.[65] This text, just like that of Pico, shows some parallels with Celtis' elegy;[66] however, since one cannot find exact textual agreements and the manuscript tradition is too unexplored (the work did not appear in print in the fifteenth century), one can only speculate about a possible influence on Celtis. As for contemporary Neo-Latin poetry in Italy, several astrological topoi show up that could have provided patterns for the relevant aspects of Celtis' poem. Complaints were often made about the unfavorable position and strongly

[57] E.g. Ov. *Epist.* XV,15,81 f; *Trist.* V,3,27.

[58] E.g. Horace's *Ode to Melpomene* (IV,3,1f).

[59] *Mathesis* VI,30,23 ff.

[60] Hübner, W.: Die Rezeption des astrologischen Lehrgedichts des Manilius in der italienischen Renaissance. In Krafft, F. – Schmilz, R. (eds.): *Humanismus und Naturwissenschaften*. Boppard 1980, 55f.

[61] *Carm.* 2 (ed. Speyer, W. Leiden [Brill] 1964).

[62] About Pighinutius' ode and the sources see Robert (n. 4) 451–461.

[63] *Neue Pauly* XIV, 534.

[64] Köchly, A. (ed.): *Manethonis Apotelesmaticorum qui feruntur libri VI.* Leipzig (Teubner) 1858, v. 738–750.

[65] According to Neugebauer, O.: *Greek Horoscopes.* Philadelphia (American Philosophical Soc.) 1959, 92 the last position refers to Centaurus (and not the Archer); the horoscope was cast for 28 May 80 AD (2 hours after sunset).

[66] Compared to Pico, Pseudo-Manetho analyses his nativity more briefly, but he emphasizes the MC (and a Centaur-like constellation) just as Celtis did; Pseudo-Manetho wrote about favorable birth, Pico about the love problem, and in Celtis' elegy both topics are equally important.

negative effects of Saturn.[67] Celtis' friend, Callimaco, suspects the harmful stars with his lasting "love servitude".[68] The lucky planetary positions in Celtis' nativity are at least as important for him as the Saturn-Venus problem., and one often reads about favorable stars of birth in Italian poems; for instance, when they describe how the gods assist in the birth of the patron, god and planet merge, and the actual elements of horoscopes are also referred to.[69] Pighinutius' ode, too, is based on a topos; it provides an example for that sort of *rogatio* where the poet guesses which planetary position could have brought about the birth of such an excellent patron or friend.[70] Pighinutius may have not been interested in Celtis' actual horoscope; he seems to have simply expressed his admiration for his fellow poet, adjusting to contemporary literary norms and maybe Celtis' interest. However, the poet laureate grasped the opportunity and answered, and the symolism of his poems indicates, among other things, such as an "Orpheic" identity and calling that reminds one of Ficino's assessment of his own nativity: in a letter he assumed the role of the restorer of ancient wisdom in the framework of *poetica theologia*.[71] With regard to all these Italian patterns, one cannot and need not know what exactly Celtis heard or read; here it is enough to know that almost all the important components of his elegy had Italian Renaissance (or, to a lesser extent, Classical) precursors. However, he composed by a "*mirifica*

[67] See examples below, note 129.

[68] *Carm.* 2 *Ad Bassum* (Sica, Fr. [ed.]: *Callimachi Experientis Carmina*. Neaples [F. Conte] 1981), v. 1–20: "Liber eram nullosque mihi meditabar amores, / Contentus casto vivere posse thoro: / Ast amor abrupit pacte mihi federa pacis / Et iubet assueto reddere colla iugo. / Prima peregrinis faculis mea pectora doris / Attigit et mentis sedit in arce mee, / Dura sed inceptas fregerunt sidera curas / Et periit subito vix bene natus amor. (…) Sive hanc nascenti legem dedit hora maligna / Fitque meum molli sidere pectus iners; / Sive aliquid natura iubet me semper amare / Inque tuis castris signa tenere, Venus; / Sive adamanteo fuso fatalia nentes / Hanc curam filis implicuere meis: / Ardor inest menti tecum gerere arma, Cupido, / Nec licet a signis me procul esse tuis."

[69] Amerigo Corsini, *Compendium in vitam Cosmi Medicis* I,39–69 (Juhász, L. [ed.]: *Compendium in vitam Cosmi Medicis ad Laurentium Medicem*. Leipzig [Teubner] 1934); Naldi, *Epigr.* 181 (*Ad Laurentium Medicen*) (Perosa, A. [ed.]: *Epigrammaton liber.* Budapest [K. M. Egyetemi Nyomda] 1943). Alessandro Cortesi refers to concrete planetary positions in the nativity of Matthias of Hungary: *Laudes Bellicae Matthiae Corvini Hungariae regis* 198–200. In Ábel, J. (ed.): *Olaszországi XV. századbeli íróknak Mátyás királyt dicsőitő művei* [Fifteenth-century Italian authors' works praising Matthias of Hungary]. Budapest (MTA) 1890, 307.

[70] Another example in Janus Pannonius' panegyric to Lodovico Gonzaga: Teleki, S. – Kovásznai, S. (eds.): *Iani Pannonii Poemata quae uspiam reperiri potuerunt omnia*. Utrecht (Wild) 1784, I, 238.

[71] Ficino, *Epist.* VIII,19 (to J. Pannonius, 902) (*Epistolarum libri*, in Kristeller, P. O. – et al. (eds.): *Opera omnia.* Torino [Bottega d'Erasmo, repr.] 1962; I, 637–922). Ficino's correspondence was published by Koberger in Nuremberg in 1497.

permixtio" of these components a relatively original poem with few commonplacs and it found followers in the later Neo-Latin poetry of Germany.[72]

Focusing on the elegy itself, first the problem of the date of birth should be clarified. In several of his poems (*Am*. II,10,3f; *Am*. I,9,5; ode to Höltzl, 1–7[73]) Celtis unambiguously refers to his birth on the *Calendae* of February, that is, 1 February (1459). The older scholarly literature has accepted this, Dieter Wuttke, for instance, who highlighted the symbolic significance of 1 February and 1 May, the date of his conception (cf. *Am*. I,1,31–32): "these moments, just as that of his death, tie him to the great circulation of Nature, whose investigation he propagated emphatically and in an exemplary way."[74] Nevertheless, in the horoscope elegy itself he uses a problematic expression. In lines 5–6, where he speaks about his birth, the expression *februae* (…) *Calendae transierant* itself can be translated as "1 February elapsed;" therefore, the more recent scholarship (Kober, Robert, Mertens) argues that it was the night of 1–2 February when 3 o'clock fell on 2 February.[75] Thus Celtis would have told a *Datumslüge* (Kober, "a lie about the date"), contradicting his other statements that referred to 1 February.

In the Nuremberg manuscript, one finds the nativity itself attached to the elegy (Fig. 1a) in two forms, sketchy and elaborate. The elaborate form was the customary way representing horoscopes in that age.[76] The drawings may go back to Rosenperger, Celtis' scribe, or even to Celtis himself;[77] who cast the charts is not known.[78] What does the nativity reveal on the question of the date? The date stands in the middle of the elaborate chart: *1459. 1 Feb: 3 horae mane,* this must mean: 1 February, 3 o'clock in the morning. Computer-aided[79] investigation of the real planetary positions on this date reveals that the results correspond quite well to the horoscope data of the Nuremberg

[72] Robert (n. 4) 460–1.

[73] *Libri odarum*. Schäfer (n. 1) app. 1.

[74] Wuttke, D.: Conradus Celtis Protucius. In Füssel, S. (ed.): *Deutsche Dichter der frühen Neuzeit (1450 – 1600): ihr Leben und Werk.* Berlin (Schmidt) 1993, 173.

[75] Kober (n. 29) 254; Robert (n. 29) 56; Mertens, D.: Die Dichterkrönung des Konrad Celtis: Ritual und Programm. In Fuchs, F. (ed.): *Konrad Celtis und Nürnberg*. Wiesbaden (Harrassowitz) 2004, 35.

[76] MS: Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Cent. 5 app. 3.

[77] Wiener, in *Amor als Topograph* (n. 17) 61.

[78] It is improbable that Celtis himself cast the horoscope: he might have looked up the planetary positions of the given date from any almanak/ephemerids, but establishing the house cusps required more complex calculations and Celtis was not an astrologer.

[79] ZET 8 Lite.

manuscript, except that in reality the MC fell to the Scales (the horoscopes can be compared with the help of Figs. 1 b–c).[80] However, the planetary positions on 2 February at 3 o'clock show more significant differences from the Nuremberg nativity,[81] for instance, it strikes the eye that the Moon was then in Aquarius (5°). Since contemporay astrologers were able to cast quite exact horoscopes for a given date,[82] it is improbable that this nativity was intended for 2 February. Based on the inscription in the chart and the comparison of recorded and real horoscope data, this is clearly a horoscope cast for 1 February 3 o'clock. Celtis regarded this as his nativity and refers to the numerical data in several of his poems (see below).

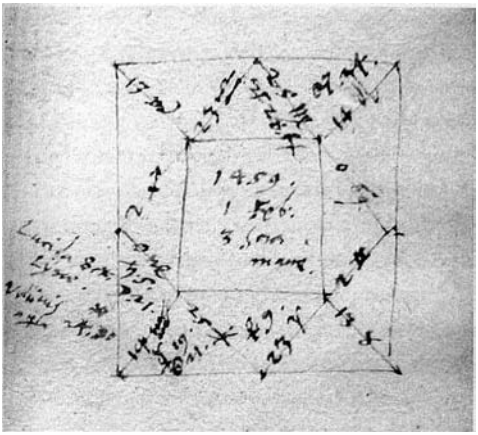

Fig. 1a. Celtis' nativity in the Nuremberg manuscript

[80] In modern charts (horoscopes represented in modern fashion) the aspects between the planets are indicated, too (I followed the contemporary astrological rules for determining the aspects): straight lines indicate positive aspects and broken lines negative aspects. The aspect mentioned in Celtis' poem is indicated by a thicker line. Nativity 1c. is calculated for Würzburg because Celtis was born in Wipfeld, near Würzburg.

[81] Kober also points this out (n. 29) 248.

[82] Bollók, J.: *Asztrális misztika és asztrológia Janus Pannonius költészetében.*[Astral Mysticism and Astrology in the Poetry of Janus Pannonius.] Budapest (Argumentum) 2003, 52 ff. My own experience, too, shows that the fifteenth-century learned astrologers determined the planetary positions with generally no more than 1–2° deviance; the cusp data (calculated with the method of unequal houses) show a greater deviance, but rarely more than 5°.

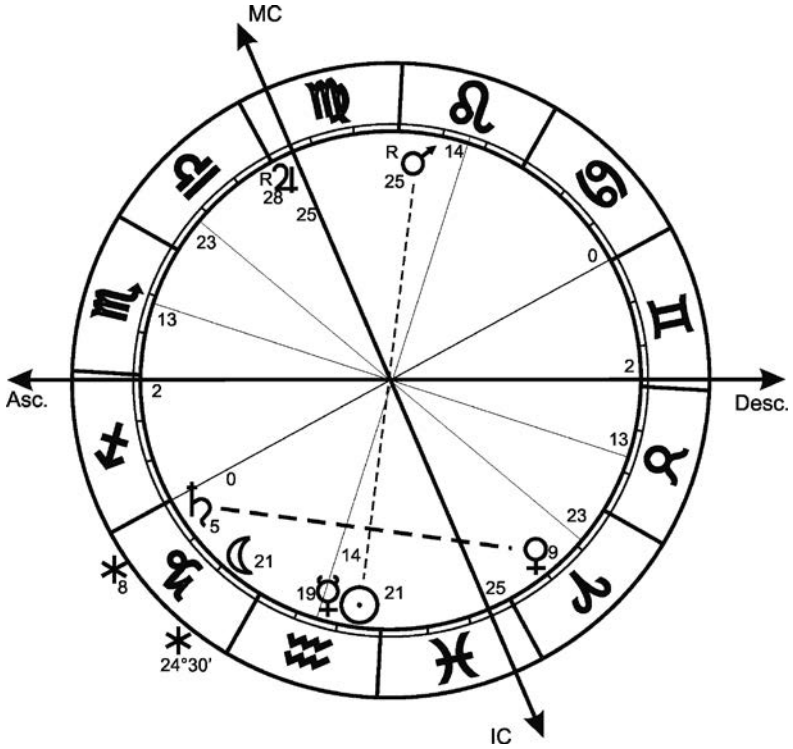

Fig. 1b. Celtis' nativity in modern form, after the Nuremberg manuscript

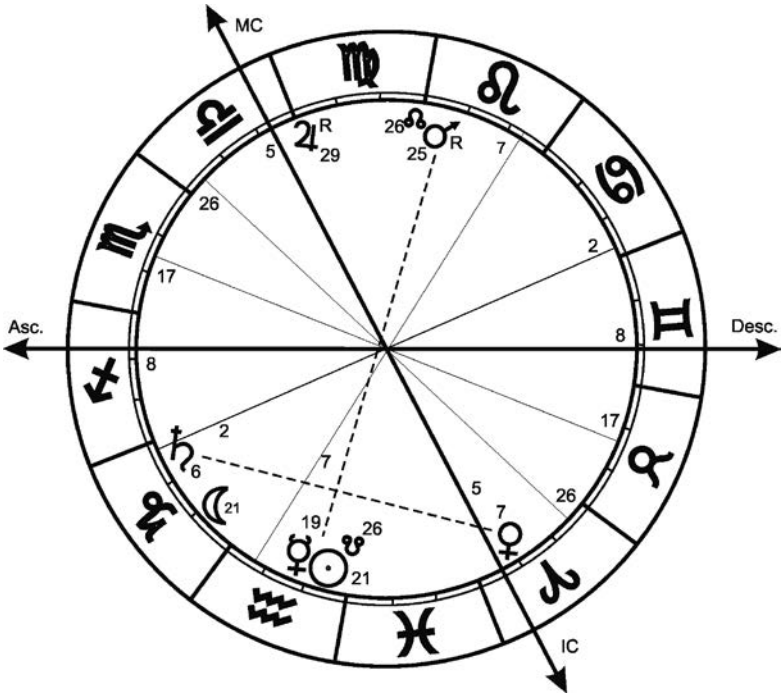

Fig. 1c. Celtis' nativity in modern calculations, based on the given date (01.02.1459, 03:00, Würzburg)

What then does the sentence in lines 5–6 mean? The lack of punctuation in the original text renders its clarification even more difficult. Some translations interpret *mensis februa maesta colens* by taking *colens* for a participle belonging to *mensis* and the latter for an apposition belonging to the previous clause;[83] indeed, there seems to be no better solution. Thus, if *Calendae transierant* were translated as "the first (of February) elapsed", it would also involve the passing of the *mensis* (the apposition of *Calendae*); however, the text is only suggesting the arrival of the month. The two clauses only fit together

[83] Kühlmann, W. in Kühlmann, W – Siedel, R. – Wiegand, H. (eds.): *Humanistische Lyrik des 16. Jahrhunderts. Lateinisch und deutsch.* Frankfurt am Main 1997, 73; Robert (n. 4) 465.

if *transierant* means "arrived." Taking into account the primary meaning of *transeo* – "to go over, cross, turn over" (used in these meanings by Celtis in other texts),[84] also referring to time,[85] the author may have intended to say: "the time turned over, 1 February and thus February itself arrived." Naturally, the translation of *transierant* as "arrived" – which Kober[86] raises as an option – is grammatically problematic, too, since it is in fact the time that "turns over," not the first of February, but this is not the only case where Celtis uses a verb irregularly with regard to the subject.[87] After all, this interpretation seems to be a better solution than to suppose that the author contradicts himself in a spectacular and incomprehensible way, emphasizing two birth dates at the same time. As will be seen below, Kober's argument for 2 February is not justified either.

Thematically and structurally, the elegy rests on two pillars. One is the speech of Sun/Phoebus, according to which the poet to be born would belong to this god; in contrast, Saturn assures the poet in a speech that he will never find lasting happiness in love. This two-faced fate destined by the stars, this "lifelong erotic-Apollonic attachment (*Doppelbindung*, in Robert's words)," this dialectic of *laetitia* and *tristitia* leaves its mark on the whole of the *Amores*[88] as already indicated in the closing part of the poem. Between the two speeches the poet enumerates the planetary positions of his nativity: first, the three planets in the spheres above the Sun (the middle planet), than the three under the Sun. With regard to the actual order of the enumeration from the Sun to Venus, Jupiter stands in the fourth, that is, middle, place – just as in the horoscope he also stands in the MC, in the "middle of the sky." This is a well thought-out, symmetrical structure that highlights both the Sun and Jupiter.[89]

The positions of the stars that support a birth proper for a poet have a symbolism and intertextual context that has partly been explored by earlier scholars. The constellation *Lyra* disappears from the sky, since the Sun took it (v. 13–14).

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[84] *Am.* III,1,27; *Am.* IV,5,35.

[85] Cf. e.g. Ov. *Met.* XV,200.

[86] Kober (n. 29) 248.

[87] Cf. e.g. the use of *verto* at *Od.* I,11,31. On Celtis language and style, cf. Gruber, J. (ed.): *Conradi Celtis Protucii Panegyris ad duces Bavariae.* Wiesbaden (Harrassowitz) 2004, LIX.

[88] Robert (n. 4) 464; 474.

[89] Kober (n. 29) 248–9. However, his concept that three masculine planets are followed by three feminine planets is strained; from an astrological point of view, Mercury is neutral, and he is a masculine god in mythology; in general, it is not the gender of the planets /gods that determines the system of planetary relations in the poem.

The poet alludes here to the events falling at the beginning of February in Ovid's *Fasti,* thus he sheds a mythical light on his role as a singer, flashing up the figures of the Lyre, the Dolphin and Arion.[90] The lyre is the instrument of Orpheus; its rise at birth gives talent for music and poetry in Manilius (I,324–330; V,324ff).[91] In the elegy, too, the Lyre must be rising, since the Sun that took it is also rising; it was not a problem for Celtis that the *Lyra*, rising at 1:30, could be seen at 3 o'clock at that geographical place[92] and the Sun would rise only 6:30.[93] According to Kober, he "rendered" the *Lyra* unseen only for the sake of the erudite reminiscence on *Fasti*; however, the poet could support the proximity of the Sun and the Lyre (v. 8: *proxima cui*)[94] using astrological literature. Several Classical authors, including Firmicus Maternus,[95] place the *Lyra* in Capricorn, which is next to the Sun's sign, Aquarius. This was important for Celtis: according to the so-far-disregarded star-indications of the nativity, at Capricorn 8° one reads *Lucida Lyrae,* an expression for the brightest star of *Lyra* (*alpha Lyrae / Vega*), and at Capricorn 24°30' it is the second brightest star of this constellation (*Jugum/Sulafat/gamma Lyrae*).[96] Furthermore, the "disappearance" of the *Lyra* can be given an interpretation that makes this motif harmonize with both the self-mythification in the poem and the symbolism of rebirth, of light prevailing over darkness (this general Renaissance symbolism is especially significant in Celtis). In catasterism,[97] the *Lyra* goes up to the sky after Orpheus' death; in the poem, the *Lyra* returns at the birth of a new Orpheus, since Phoebus' son, Orpheus/Celtis will eventually take it.

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[90] Kühlmann (n. 83) 984; Robert (n. 4) 468–9. According to a passage from *Fasti*, the disappearance of the Lyre happens on the night of 1–2 February, but this cannot be used as an argument for Celtis' birth being on 2 February. The disappearance of the *Lyra* goes together with that of the *Delphinus*, which happens the next night in the *Fasti* (II,79–84). When alluding to his role as Arion the poet refers back to this whole series of motifs and exploits the date of these mythical events insofar as they fall at the beginning of February, just as the poet's birth. Furthermore, in another place the *Fasti* dates the disappearance of the Lyre to the end of January (I,653–4).

[91] Kühlmann (n. 83) 984.

[92] Kober (n. 29) 250.

[93] Checked by the computer program *CyberSky 3.3.1*.

[94] *Cui* may refer both to *Phoebus* and *Urna,* but this polysemy has no significance since they are together in the horoscope.

[95] *Mathesis* VIII,15,3: the *Lyre* rises at Capricorn 10°. It is an exceptional case that Manilius places the *Lyra* at Scales 26° (see below).

[96] As a rule, individual fixed stars in significant positions are indicated in horoscopes, not constellations.

[97] E.g. Hyg. *Astr.* II,7.

It is also proper for a poet that the Sun stands in conjunction with Mercury (v. 35), the planet of intellect and science among other things; the two planets/gods, also found together in other works by Celtis,[98] complete each other well under the banner of *philosophia.* Italian examples exist for the favorable position of Mercury at birth[99] and the Sun-Mercury conjunction.[100] Line 36 connects Mercury to the symbolism of *Lyra*, with good reason, since he is the inventor of the lyre. The conjunction takes place in Aquarius (v. 7); theoretically, this is not the most favorable place for the Sun, since it is the domicile of Saturn and the Sun is in detriment there. However, Celtis renders this situation rather favorable in several of his related works. In an elegy in *Amores* he can remember exactly that the Sun stood at 22°, and he calls the Aquarius here the star of Ganymede,[101] who can be related to Aquarius (as early as in the Classical literature) as the cup-bearer of the gods, the pourer of *Urna.* Thus the poet puts into play an Aquarius-symbolism that could have been important for other humanists, too. In his coat-of-arms Janus Tolophus (Tolhopf), Celtis' friend, used a representation of Janus, of which several components – Janus' nudity, the jug adorned with stars, Deucalion and Parnass – originated in the iconography of Aquarius.[102] For both Tolhopf and Celtis the main source of the Aquarius-Ganymede identification was obviously Manilius, who sporadically speaks about him as a beautiful naked youth.[103] Thus, Celtis connects Aquarius to the realm of beauty. In his ode for Höltzl's birthday, also 1 February, Celtis plays with pleasure with the Sun-*Urna* combination.[104]

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[98] Kober (n. 29) 252. In *Am.* I,12,19 (see below) the poet expressly states that this conjunction gives the power of his *ingenium.*

[99] E.g. in one of his letters (VI,21; 823), Ficino considers the position of Mercury as "master of lyre and letters" to be crucial in the nativity.

[100] According to Gauricus' collection of horoscopes (*Lvcae Gavrici Geophonensis Episcopi Civitatensis Tractatvs Astrologicvs*. Venice [C. T. Nauò] 1552, Fol. 61r), in Petrarch's nativity Mercury stands exactly on the Ascendant in the Lion, and the Sun can be found in the first house in conjunction with him.

[101] *Am.* III,12,31–2. "Phoebe, bis undenas Ganymedis sidere partes / servabas, vitam ut das mihi in orbe meam."

[102] Luh (n. 12) 340. Luh does not mention that Aquarius may have been important for Tolhopf (also) because of the month January, related to Janus. It is an old tradition that a month is indicated by the sign which the Sun enters in that month, e.g. the Sun enters Aquarius on 21 January.

[103] *Ibid.* The expression *inflexa… Urna* (v. 7 in Celtis' elegy) can be found in Manilius in the same way, in the same metrical feet (I,272; Kühlmann [n. 83] 984).

[104] *Libri Odarum* (Schäfer [n.1]), app. 1, v. 7–8, 33–36.

Ganymede was abducted by Jupiter in mythology – which leads to the most important element of the symbolism of divine poetry in the horoscope elegy, Jupiter shining in MC and in the Virgin. In Manilius, the Virgin gives an inclination, beyond eloquence, for learning, for exploring the mysteries of nature and the secret causes of things[105] – this is just Celtis' hobby-horse. Manilius highlights the general significance of the MC, too (II, 810f). The Virgin receiving the MC and thus the tenth house, that of *mores,* glory, career, is indeed a telling symbol of Celtis' ideology; it is not by chance that Pighinutius, too, alluded to this possibility in his ode (v. 25–6) and Celtis naturally makes the best of the opportunity (v. 26). In the words of Robert: "this [astrological] situation seems to reflect Celtis' expectation of achieving lasting fame through poetry that combines *eloquentia* and *sapientia*."[106] What is more, it is just Jupiter, the *fortuna maior,* the royal planet, that can be found on the MC, moreover, Jupiter is the birth ruler because of the Archer Ascendant. In my opinion, previous interpreters have not emphasized the significance of these facts enough, although Robert enumerates several passages from Celtis where he refers to the favorable position of Jupiter.[107] Even the chart highlights Jupiter, by indicating his birth-ruler quality with the sign of the Archer next to the sign of the planet. Other references, too, suggest that the Jupiter of his nativity was especially dear to the poet. In an elegy in the *Amores* he describes how robbers attacked him and he grieves over not having checked in advance the position of the stars that forecast the catastrophe (this is a subsequent catarchic astrological investigation, as it were):[108] the Moon opposed (the most unlucky aspect) Saturn, and the too strong Mars oppressed the good rays of the Jupiter that stood in conjunction with him. Here it is the Jupiter whom

[105] Manil. IV,189–196. "At quibus Erigone dixit nascentibus aevum / ad studium ducet mores et pectora doctis / artibus instituet, nec tam compendia census / quam causas viresque dabit perquirere rerum. / illa decus linguae faciet regnumque loquendi / atque oculos mentis, qui possint cernere cuncta / quamvis occultis naturae condita causis."

[106] Robert (n. 4) 465. About the planetary position *ibid.* 456, 465. Kühlmann (n. 83) 985 has previously referred to the Manilius-passage.

[107] E.g. *Am.* II,10,71. "Iuppiter aeternos tribuat tibi, Celtis, honores"; *Od.* I,9, 3. "et cui mite dedit sidere Juppiter / felici, ingenium clarum et amabile." It is ambiguous whether lines 19–22 of the ode to Höltzl (see above) also refer to Jupiter in MC. "Candidam famam placidamque vitam,/ integram mentem dabis et quietam, / Iuppiter, celso residens Olympo, / rite precamur."

[108] *Am.* II,12,81–88 "quod si de caelo ceu dicunt fata hominum sunt / utramque et sortem sidera celsa regunt / incautus prorsus fueram: quia sidera caeli / non cavi: infausto hoc quae micuere die / nam Luna opposito Saturnum lumine vidit / Mars luna et radio viderat opposito / conjunctusque Jovi fuerat mavortius heros / oppressitque mei fata benigna Jovis."

the poet calls "his" planet, which brings him good fortune in general (*mei fata benigna Jovis*). In a letter, Ulsenius warns Celtis playfully about neglecting his Mercury and Jupiter (that is, the activities related to these planets) and yielding to saturnine influence.[109] Celtis, when alluding to horoscopes of his close acquaintances, quite often highlights the favorable Jupiter, thus reminding one of his own Jupiter. Naturally, the role of this planet as bringing luck is almost a commonplace, as Italian examples show,[110] but Celtis' Jupiter in its given position seems to have been important for him indeed, at least with regard to the image of a poet favored by the heavens.

Compared to this, the Archer Ascendant, although important, seems to have less significance. It renders possible the role of Jupiter as birth ruler; furthermore, Manilius' description of the Archer has some qualities proper for a singer: an Archer native has – among other things – sharp wits and good comprehension (IV,241 f.);[111] he softens tigers and tames lions (IV,235).[112] However, taken in its entirity, the characterization calls forth rather the image of a herdsman or a clever animal-tamer, far from the image of a *poeta doctus*; the above discussed horoscope-elements fit Celtis more clearly. Among the elements of a horoscope it is the Ascendant and the MC that wander all over the signs during a day. If Celtis (or his astrologer) defined or modified, "rectified",[113] the exact date of his birth himself, he probably considered the possibility of joining the MC to the Virgin and Jupiter in the first place, and it would have come in handy that the Ascendant thus fell in the Archer, which belongs to Jupiter and can be partly included in the divine singer symbolism. It is almost certain that Celtis "chose" 3 o'clock, 1 February, as his birth date; it would have been a curious stroke of luck if the nativity, providing so much opportunity for self-mythification, had originated on the real birth date.

[109] Ulsenius to Celtis, 31 Oct. 1496 (*BW* [n. 19] 226). "Mercurium (…) negligis et nescio cui Saturno indulgens Iovem posthabes."

[110] Naldi, *El.* 7,143–4 (Grant, W. L. [ed.]: *Bucolica, Volaterrais, Hastiludium, Carmina varia.* Florence [Olschki] 1974) about the Jupiter standing in the Fish (its domicile); Ficino expresses his wish to be together with someone born under the Jupiter so that this person could mitigate his too strong Saturn (*Epist*. V,45; 835).

[111] Kühlmann (n. 83) 984.

[112] Kober (n. 29) 250.

[113] The phenomenon is rather euphemistically called "rectification", the adjustment of the date, according to which one has to find the exact birth date by taking into account the planetary positions of the period around the birth; not surprisingly, the dates thus "rectified" often provide rather favorable planetary positions.

In order to complete his astrological portrait, Celtis mentions the horoscope of his conception, too (v. 29–32). As Größing has observed, these lines prove that Celtis knew the method called *trutina Hermetis* (the scales of Hermes) by which astrologers tried to establish the exact time of conception.[114] The question remains whether the poet refers to a horoscope that was actually cast. The essence of the method, generally attributed to Ptolemy, is: where the Ascendant took place in the nativity, there is the Moon in the horoscope of conception, and where the Moon was in the nativity, that will be the place of the Ascendant in the other one.[115] Therefore, *volucris* in line 29 can only mean the Moon (mentioned just before, in line 27), and not "winged god" (Mercury);[116] the Moon is "winged" because it is the fastest among the planets. Its exact position is at issue: *qua sub parte* means "on which grade".[117] To be sure, it is rare to have a horoscope that equals the "reverse" of the nativity with regard to the grades, therefore, astrologers generally aimed at an exact equivalence of at least one pair of horoscope elements (e.g., the Moon of the nativity and the Ascendant of the conception), while the other pair had to fall at least into the same sign.[118] Calculated in this way, can Celtis' horoscope of conception fall on 1 May? Yes, in the late spring of 1458 it occured on just three days between 30 April and 2 May that the Moon stayed in the Archer while the Ascendant stood at Capricorn 21°.[119] Naturally, one can only speculate about what the poet took into account, nevertheless, since the contemporary horoscope data can be well deduced from the exact modern, computer-generated, data and a horoscope of conception was often cast beside a nativity,[120] it is probable that Celtis refers to an actual horoscope. If this was the case, mention of the horoscope may have been motivated by the fact that the chart of 1 May is exceptionally lucky with regard to the aspects (Fig. 2): it has six trines (the most lucky aspect) and only

[114] Grössing (n. 27) 167.

[115] Cf. e.g. *Centiloquium,* 51.

[116] So translated by Kühlmann (n. 83) 75.

[117] The earlier translations are imprecise and too general (Kühlmann [n. 83] 74: "Konstellation"; Kober (n. 29) 247: "Teil.")

[118] Cf. e.g. Reisinger (n. 6) 159.

[119] In the horoscope calculated (by ZET 8 Lite) for 1 May 1458, 0:15, Würzburg, the Moon stands at Archer 13°; in the equivalent horoscope of the previous day, at Archer 0°48' (here it is possible that on account of the slight inaccuracy of contemporary calculations the Moon was placed in Scorpion); on 2 May the Moon stood at Archer 27°.

[120] Cf. the German examples in Reisinger (n. 6) 156–8.

one quadrate.[121] Kober's argument that Saturn, rising just above the horizon, features as the most significant element of the horoscope, especially important for Celtis, is by no means valid.[122] According to astrological thinking, Saturn would only be in a key position on the Ascendant or in the first house, but it was in the eleventh house around 1 May, in a retrograde movement, without *dignitas* at Archer 27°. It is also true that, independently of the horoscope, the symbolic value of the date itself, 1 May (a *Calendae*, that goes well with the other one, 1 February) might have been enough for Celtis to mention it. In any case, the importance of the time of conception for this poet is demonstated, beyond the reference to the (presumed or real) horoscope, by an elegy in the *Amores* where the poet invites Barbara to celebrate the anniversary of his conception[123] (thus, the elegy may be regarded as a parallel to his odes inviting to birthday celebration). Naturally, they celebrate the significant anniversary with abundant love-making.

[121] Both Saturn and Jupiter cast a trine at the Mars-Mercury conjunction; there are wide trines between Jupiter and Saturn, and between Jupiter and the Moon (a 7° deviance from the ideal case was still accepted in contemporary astrology); a negative aspect, a quadrate, can only be found between Jupiter and the Sun. The aspect relations of the horoscopes for 30 April and 2 May differ little from those of 1 May.

[122] Kober (n. 29) 258.

[123] *Am.* IV,13. "Invitat Barbaram ad hortum, ut secum diem conceptionis suae celebret."

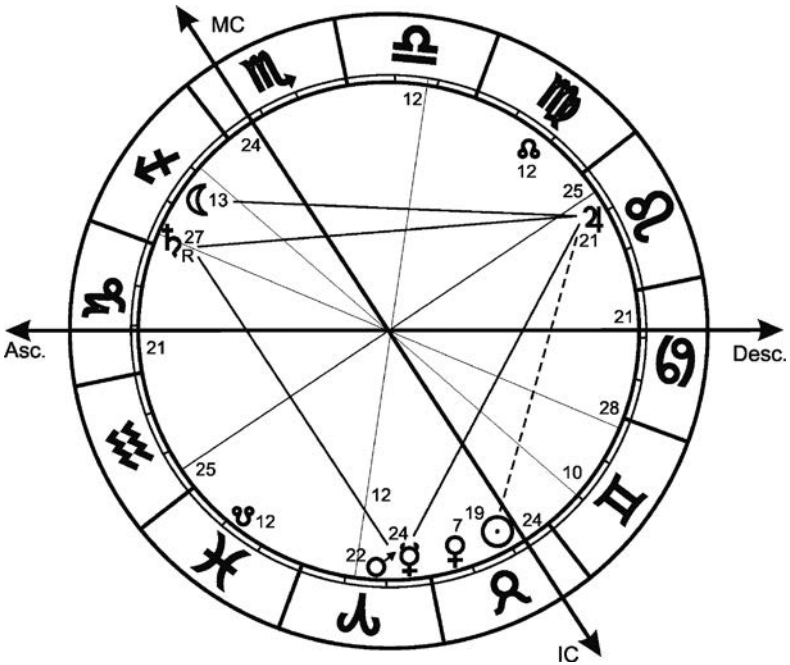

Fig. 2. Celtis' hypothetical horoscope of conception in modern calculations, based on the date 01.05.1458, 00:15, Würzburg.

However, the *ingenium* that supports an exceptional philosopher-poet is only one element of the protagonist's fate. Venus gets into conflict with Saturn, who pronounces a sentence damning the poet's future loves; Venus would take care of *amor honestus* in vain, it is rendered impossible by the cold planet of misfortune. The astrological base of this rather tragicomic scene is the quadrate of Saturn cast on Venus, clearly indicated by the expression *quarta figura* (v. 39).[124] Robert has analyzed the scene and its love problem in detail in the context of Classical elegies (the opposition of *laetitia* and *tristitia*), neoplatonic

[124] *Quarta figura* cannot be translated as "fourth house" (Kühlmann [n. 83] 75). It is true that Venus stands in the fourth house, the house of the father, and the text refers to Saturn, the "father" of Venus, with the word *pater*; however, neither of the meanings of *figura* fits the concept of horoscope house; it usually means the chart itself in the astrological literature; more importantly, such a translation would make the astrological basis for the Saturn-Venus conflict disappear.

love concepts (e.g., *amor honestus* és *amor infamis*), and astrological traditions of Saturn, all this with regard to the whole of *Amores.*[125] Several passages he collected,[126] just as other texts by Celtis,[127] make clear what earlier scholars, too, have indicated, Ficino's positive reevaluation of Saturn; interpreting it as the planet of intellect and contemplation was not characteristic of Celtis' thinking. Kober's arguments for this interpretation cannot stand their ground (see below). In the horoscope elegy – as in general in Celtis – Saturn is definitely the negative force, the counterpole of Phoebus or Jupiter. Italian poetry – which, as suggested above, provided models for Celtis to a greater extent than was previously thought – also continues the medieval tradition by commonplace allusions to Saturn as the planet of misfortune.[128] Naldi presents a horoscope interpretation explaining how Saturn hinders the favorable conjunction of Mars and Venus, that is, the happy love of the poet and his beloved.[129]

Saturn's power manifesting itself in the elegy is justified by its astrological position; on the one hand, it is in his own domicile, Capricorn,[130] thus the stronger party in its quadrate relation to Venus; on the other hand, it dominates the Sun and Mercury (through his other domicile, Aquarius); moreover, it is on a house cusp. Consequently, Saturn's *assensio* (v. 23) might have an ironic note, especially when applied to the whole of the Sun's speech that elevates

[125] Cf. Robert (n. 4) esp. 471–5.

[126] *Ibid*. 473.

[127] An interesting example referring back to the horoscope elegy: *Am.* II,6 describes the lechery of priests, among others, and lines 87–8 read: "Hei mihi qua steterat caeli Venus aurea parte, / Praeda fuit rasis semper amata mihi." I can only interpret these lines in the following way: "and because of the grade of the sky (the horoscope) where the golden Venus stood, my beloved always fell victim to the shaven (the priests)." Since he complains of the unfavorable position of Venus, this can only refer to the Ram 9° of his nativity, which position happens to be a quadrate-distance from Saturn, the planet that always hinders *amor honestus.*

[128] Juhász, J. (ed.): Naldo Naldi, *Elegiarum libri III. ad Laurentium Medicen.* Leipzig (Teubner) 1934, I,29. 45; III,7,79; Naldi, *Epigr.* 82, 26; 181,1; Campanino, *Epigr.* 4,1; *Carm.* 4 (http://www.perseus.tufts.edu. 2014.05.06).

[129] *Elegiarum libri III. ad Laurentium Medicen* I,10,55–66. "Et quid agis? Caram reprehendere, Nalde, puellam / Desine, namque tibi mitior illa foret. / Sed tua Saturnus subvertit vota malignus / Disiungens radiis astra propinqua malis. / Nam iungi poteras Marti, Cytherea, furenti, / Obstet ni veteris stella maligna dei. / Quin etiam Titan, Phrixei vellera signi / Dum subit et Martem comprimit orbe ferum, / Efficit, ut nostri ne tu, Venus aurea, possis / Monstratrix Marti concubuisse tuo. / Nam bona Gradivus monstrat dum vota puellae, / Combustas vires perdidit ille suas."

[130] Also mentioned by Kober (n. 29) 251.

the poet;[131] in the consciousness of his power and his role as the Sun's enemy Saturn "agrees" or "is in line with" the Sun's words.

Irony permeates the Saturn-Venus scene, too, even deeper than the previous literature has suggested. Lines 39–44 speak openly about Uranos' mutilation and the birth of Venus,[132] and this kind of sexual symbolism can be expanded. Venus ridicules the "trembling old man's cold members:" the Classical elegists also used *membra* (in the plural) in the sense of "virile member,"[133] and Celtis exploits the polysemy of this word several times in the *Amores*.[134] Saturn's sexual potency is not his strength – in contrast to Venus (who takes a place in the Ram, the sign of the sexually similarly potent Mars). When the offended Saturn breaks the *fera spicula* of Venus, replacing them with lead arrows (v. 49–50), behind this deed one may feel a kind of envy and lust for revenge because of the potency problem. *Spicula* (spear, arrow) can rather clearly mean "viril member" in Celtis.[135]

All the results of this discussion of the elegy complete well and reinforce Robert's analysis,[136] the poetic *Doppelbindung*-concept; at the same time they render even more doubtful the results of Kober, who makes many good observations, although his concept – as Robert has demonstrated for the most part[137] – is rather shaky. Kober interprets the elegy basically in a Christian context; the poet has to do penance for his sinful loves, but he can rely on the comforting power of poetry, *philosophia,* Saturn. One group of his basic arguments is related to the date 2 February: *Calendae… transierant* (v. 5–6) means "1 February elapsed;" *mensis februa maesta colens* (v. 6), the offering of the purifying sacrifice in February should be connected to *Phoebus* (v. 7); the lyre music has a comforting, purifying effect according to Ficino, too; an ecclesiastical text, the pericope for the *Purificatio Mariae* on 2 February,[138] declares that the child born belongs to the Lord, and lines 11 and 16 of the elegy,

[131] *Assentit* may also refer to just the last line of the Sun's speech: the *frigidus* Saturn is happy to agree that the Sun's rays are weaker in the north.

[132] Robert (n. 4) 471. Saturn is "father" in the sense that Venus owes him her birth (v. 41).

[133] Tib. I,4,70; Ov. *Am.* III,7,65.

[134] E.g. *Am* III,3,52. "si dabitur blando et membra fovere sinu." *Am.*I,9,24. "membraque adhuc Veneris non bene firma iocis."

[135] Cf. line 39 in the sex scene of *Am.* IV,10. "pande sinum: distende pedes: mea spicula tendo."

[136] Except for the issue of the birth date: see above and below, too.

[137] Robert (n. 4) esp. 476–7.

[138] Lk. 2,23. "quia omne masculinum adaperiens vulvam sanctum Domino vocabitur."

taken together, have a similar meaning.[139] Robert has already shown that the sentence selected from from the pericope has a rather different context than the lines of the elegy, furthermore, while the pericope mentions first-born children, Celtis definitely speaks about himself as the fourth child (v. 34); after all, the similarity of the two texts is atmospheric.[140] Kober's punctuation connecting lines 6 and 7 (*mensis… Urna*) is arbitrary, and the whole behaviour, the solemn speech of Phoebus is almost contrary to the motif of the mournful expiatory offering; *februa maesta colens* can be simply considered as a playful etymological apposition of *mensis* February, related to the *Fasti.* The symbolism behind *Phoebus* and *Lyra*, the ideology of the divine singer is well demonstrable (see above), and taking this into account it seems arbitrary to pick up the Ficinian example just to connect the lyre to the idea of comfort and expiation (nevertheless, it is true that celestial music and harmony – v. 15: *toto resonantia caelo* – remind one of the music of the spheres, a basic idea of Renaissance Platonism).[141] After all these considerations one can easily see the untenability of the argument that the elegy would make Phoebus/Celtis and Christ parallel, on account of the Christian associations of the birth and the Phoebean "sacrifice" that "makes us think of Christ".[142] It is rather lines 33–4 that have Christian associations, but these, too, point in another direction than Kober's interpretation does.[143] The other pillar of Kober's argumentation is the allegedly dominant role of Saturn as the planet of intellect (see Ficino) and purification with regard to Celtis' fate.[144] However, as seen above, Saturn does not prove strong in the horoscope of conception and is only one of the dominant horoscope elements in the nativity. The view of Saturn as an intellectual or purifying planet is not justified in Celtis' case. Furthermore, an interpretation that makes the Saturn-Venus opposition the main conflict axis of the poem, putting down Saturn as a good planet and Venus as a bad one, contradicts the well supported concept of the elegy. Kober's many other

[139] Kober (n. 29) 250–5.

[140] Robert (n. 4) 476–7.

[141] Kober (n. 29) 251.

[142] *Ibid.* 255.

[143] Cf. Robert (n. 4) 477–480. Celtis adds a Christian color to his own myth (in a syncretist way typical of Renaissance Platonism) by referring to Abraham, who sired his son in his hundreth year, Sarah's old age when she bore the child, and the number four, which is discussed in Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* and has a central role in the *Amores.* According to the text and biographical data, Celtis was born as the fourth child, and not the fifth, as Kober interprets it.

[144] Kober (n. 29) 257–261.

arguments are based on arbitrary associations,[145] and more importantly, there is poor coherence among the arguments themselves, just as between the interpretation of the horoscope elegy and the whole of *Amores*. The ideas of penance, comfort, and intellectual purification blur, and the Christian reading cannot be supported by other texts from *Amores* with similar messages, contrary to the concept outlined above, according to which the horoscope elegy forecasts the dialectic and mythological-astral symbolism of the whole *Amores* (indeed, Orpheus and related motifs formed part of the discourse between Celtis and the *sodales*).[146]

After all, Celtis seems to have proclaimed throughout his whole oeuvre that he was born on 1 February, and he added the hour, 3 o'clock "at dawn", in the horoscope and the elegy around it; to be sure, this does not mean that he really came into the world at this time. As seen above, the position of Jupiter is too favorable not to think about a manipulated date, at least with regard to the hour. The data of the nativity that was cast for this date roughly equal the real house cusp and planet data (see fig. 1 b–c). The planetary positions of the horoscope differ by c. 1–2°, the cusp positions by a little more from the real data (e.g., the Ascendant fell to the Archer 8° in reality, not to 2°). Taking into consideration the average accuracy of the horoscopes cast in that age, one does not need to suspect an intentional distortion of facts on this level, at most in one case: intrestingly, the MC "slipped" over to the Virgin, standing at a 10° distance from the real position, Scales 5°. More important is the question of what differences are on the next level: What does the comparison of the nativity and the elegy reveal? That is, how does the horoscope "interpretation" implied by the poet differ from a standard interpretation to be expected at that time?[147] As already seen, several important motifs of the elegy – e.g., the power of Saturn, his conflict with Venus – are based on astrological facts. It is conspicuous, however, how many facts "escaped" the poet's attention.[148]

[145] E.g. Kober associates to lines 49–50 that moment of the story of Apollo and Daphne where the laurel comforts the god (p. 253); according to the interpretation of lines 57–60 the poetry comforts Celtis because its presents (*munera*) are everlasting, and all the girls will read them (page 254). Taking into account the weakness of Kober's argumentation (see above), it is not at all justified to force these lines of the elegy into the context of "comfort".

[146] Robert (n. 4) 469–470.

[147] An absolutely consistent system of rules for interpreting horoscopes did not exist in that age, but the astrologers did adjust to the main rules based on Classical astrological literature (e.g. when fixing the favorable and unfavorable aspects, the birth ruler, etc.), they were not allowed to interpret in too arbitrary a way. Cf. Reisinger (n. 6).

[148] Observed by Robert, too (n. 4) 462.

No less than four planets are in detriment: the Moon, Venus, the Sun, and Jupiter; in the elegy, the last two are supposed to support a birth proper for a poet. Jupiter is retrograde, which would carry a negative meaning. Mars stands in opposition to the Sun and Mercury[149] and theoretically opposition is a more powerful negative aspect than the quadrate, which alone was regarded in the elegy. The houses are not taken into account in the poem,[150] in contrast to standard contemporary horoscope interpretations which examine the houses one by one in order to reveal the native's character and future. Among the fixed stars, *Lyra* appeared in the nativitiy and the elegy, although it would have been more justified to include, for instance, *Cassiopeia,* which can be found at Aquarius 20° according to both Manilius and Firmicus Maternus, so it would belong to the Sun-Mercury conjunction in the nativity. In sum, Celtis (or his astrologer) seems to have deviated from reality on three levels: most probably in the "rectification" of his birth time; perhaps in the establishment of the horoscope data, too; and most significantly, in the poetic interpretation of his nativity. Celtis took great advantage of poetic freedom and did not take the most standard astrological authorities, Ptolemy and Firmicus Maternus, as a basis, but instead Manilius, who suited his taste the best, and who displayed his astrological knowledge in verse form. The problem of "poetry and reality" is a ticklish but important issue; it is not simply the fictitious protagonist of the *Amores* that the elegy presents. The real Celtis blurs with the Celtis of the *Amores,* and the poet noticeably intends to present his nativity as a real one, especially with regard to his "elected poet" identity, the planetary positions that support the symbolism of Phoebus, Jupiter, and Orpheus; he fashions his general image as a poet, and not just a portrait of the protagonist in the *Amores.* It is not accidental that, as will be seen below, certain elements of his nativity recur in other of his works and, indeed, also in the works of the *sodales*.

The horoscope of laureation

On a spring day in 1487, in the castle of Nuremberg, Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III placed the laurel wreath on Konrad Celtis' head. Thus, the first German *poeta laureatus* was created, through the mediation of Frederick the Wise of Saxony who went there with his retinue to participate in the imperial assembly. The most detailed source about the laureation comes from the poet

[149] Grössing (n. 27) 197.

[150] Except that the Ascendant equals the cusp of the first house, and the MC the cusp of the tenth.

himself, who gave thanks to the emperor in the *Proseuticum,* a print that appeared soon after the event and recorded, among other things, the panegyrics that he sang. The horoscope of the laureation appears at the end of the print. Mertens writes in detail about the circumstances of the event and its biographical, institutional historical, and intellectual historical preliminaries;[151] furthermore, the scholarly literature deals to a satisfactory extent with the laureation as a phenomenon of growing importance in the Renaissance, reflecting the relation of the *poeta laureatus* and his patron.[152] Here I focus on what can be further revealed by analyzing the horoscope to examine his poetic self-fashioning and assess the significance of the laureation in his thinking.

Beginning with Petrarch, more and more poets were granted a laurel wreath in the Renaissance (the act is related to contemporary graduation ceremonies;[153] its intellectual historical traditions go back to antiquity).[154] The laureation created a kind of "symbiosis of fame" between poet and ruler; the poet sang the praise of the ruler, whose patronage provided the means for the poet's glorious career. One can imagine what the laureation meant for Celtis, who was yearning for glory and royal support or what the very fact could have meant for him that he, of peasant origin, could kneel face to face with the emperor. More than that, he contended for a leading role in literary life and he had already alluded to the laureatoin in the *Ars versificandi* dedicated to Frederick the Wise.[155] As Mertens summarizes Celtis' ideology of the laureation: "After Petrarch, Konrad Celtis is the first to make the laureation an integrant part of his individual career and his epoch-making literary oeuvre," so that he could be seen "as the creator of a new literary and cultural period in Germany."[156]

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[151] Mertens (n. 75).

[152] A. Schirrmeister: *Triumph des Dichters. Gekrönte Intelektuelle im 16. Jahrhundert*. Köln etc. 2003. At the time of Maximilian I the alliance of ruler and poet laureate grew especially strong, and by far the most wreath-laying fell in his reign. Schmid, a.: *Poeta et orator a Caesare laureatus.* Die Dichterkrönungen Kaiser Maximilians I. *Historisches Jahrbuch* 109 (1989) 56–108.

[153] The speeches and poems delivered at the celebration, the symbols of laureation (the ring, *birreta* and so on) are all related to the traditions of university graduation. In theory, the poet proved his suitability for the distinction by delivering proper speeches or poems, as if he did an *examen.*

[154] The motif of laureation has been kept in the cultural memory of the Middle Ages owing to such works as Horace's famous ode to Melpomene (III,30,15 f).

[155] Schirrmeister (n. 152) 92.

[156] Mertens (n. 75) 42. About the laureation in the context of Celtis' ideology of "epoch-making" cf. Robert, J.: *Carmina Pieridum nulli celebrata priorum*. Zur Inszenierung von Epochenwende im Werk des Conrad Celtis. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 124 (2002) 111–2.

Several of his works attest how he surrounded the laureation with a mythical aura. In an epigram he sings:

Phoebe, veni, capitique meo sacer imprime laurum, Ut tibi Palladia carmina mente canam.[157]	Come, Phoebus, and place the sacred laurel on my head, so that I can sing to you with a Palladian mind.

Phoebus may signify here the emperor,[158] but the emphasis is on the divine support; he receives the wreath from the god of poetry and this enables him to sing with divine wisdom. (Pallas Athene / Minerva is the goddess of *artes* and wisdom; Apollo and Minerva can be seen together in several *insignia* belonging to the *Collegium poetarum,* for instance, in the wreath itself.)[159] The laureation was not simply an appreciation of the poet's skills, it mediates sacred powers. In the *Proseuticum* itself the poet ends his *Ode monocolos...* with the idea that the proper praise of the emperor is difficult even for the famous singers nor is Celtis' muse able to do that until he receives the wreath.[160] The reworked version of this poem in the *Libri odarum,* ends thus:

dum vires dabis ac ingenium mihi, atque inculta probes si mea carmina, ornans laurigeris tempora frondibus, me gustasse putem nectar Olympicum.[161]	If you give me strength and talent, an accept my rude songs, ornating my temples with laurel leaves, then I will think I tasted the Olympic nectar.

The poet's *ingenium* is resuscitated, "reactivated", he wins divine powers, and indeed, he is reborn. Celtis' sympathy for the stars/planet gods is well known, just like his ambition; of course he would perpetuate the "moment" of his laureation by publishing its horoscope. Furthermore, one may suspect that it was a well chosen moment. Indeed, Mertens has proved that Celtis suppressed the real time of his laureation, and replaced it with a "symbolic" one.[162] But what is this symbolism like? Much can be revealed by the horoscope, so far not analyzed by scholars.

Earlier it had not been customary to make a horoscope of laureation, so the very fact of casting a chart already suggests (as intended by Celtis) how exceptional this event was. Nevertheless, horoscopes were often cast for significant

[157] *Epigr.* II,93. *Ad Phoebum et musas dedicatae.*

[158] The parallelism of the ruler and the Sun is an age-old idea.

[159] *Rhapsodia, laudes et victoria de Boemanis Maximiliani.* Augsburg 1505, Fol. B1v.

[160] *Ode monocolos.* 43. "dum doctis dederit premia frontibus." This is the transposition of the famous Horatian lines (*Od.* III,30,29 and. 35)

[161] *Od.* I,1,40–3.

[162] Mertens (n. 75) 32–7.

events in general, mainly in courtly life, and the poet's idea might also have come from the practice of casting horoscopes of coronation (the possibility of making a laureation and coronation parallel is already implied by the fact that *corona* can mean both kinds of head-dress).[163] In the text under the chart, its maker is identified as Johannes Canter, then the astrologer of Frederick III; he must have been on friendly terms with Celtis and the humanists, if only because his brother was Jakob Canter, the famous poet with whom Celtis had a good relationship and exchanged several letters.[164] Celtis himself certainly had much to do with the details of the horoscope, since the final form of the chart is characteristic of him. The way of representation is special, differing from what was customary in that age (fig. 3a). It displays the four cardinal houses and the four "in-between" areas, perhaps drawing on a specific concept of some Classical astrological authorities according to whom a horoscope has to be divided to eight houses. In fact, this is a traditional horoscope with twelve houses, only the representation is unusual.[165] After comparing it with its modern equivalent, a computer-generated horoscope based on exact calculations (fig. 3 b–c), one can see that a relatively precise horoscope has been cast for the date (18 April 1487, 18:01:20 with equal hours). For the planets, the difference is at most 1–2°, and among the houses only the second and third differ by more than 5°.[166] However, the date itself seems different indeed from the real date of the laureation, since it entails a conspicuously favorable horoscope, while it remains a rather theoretical possibility that this date would have been chosen in advance by the method of catarchic astrology, and everything would have been organized so that the laureation would happen just at this moment.[167]

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[163] From another perspective, Celtis' idea might also have come from Martin Pollich, who was an astrologer and physician of Frederick the Wise, and paved the way for Celtis (Mertens [n. 75] 45).

[164] Cf. Canter's four letters from 1492–8 in *BW* (n. 19). About the two Canters cf. also Mertens (n. 75) 35.

[165] J. D. North: *Horoscopes and History.* London (Warburg Inst., Univ. of London) 1986, 173–5. North connects the method of 8-house division only to Manilius, although this alternative also occurs in Firmicus Maternus, *Mathesis* II,14.

[166] Among the planets, the greatest difference is in the case of Mars (2°); among the houses, in the case of the fifth house its cusp does not fall in the same sign as the fifth house of the real chart. These differences are not significant, in contrast to the "disappearance" of Saturn, discussed below.

[167] Otherwise the real date would not have been hushed up (see above).

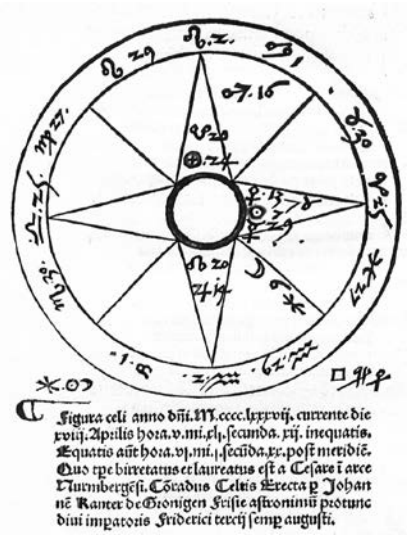

Fig. 3a. Celtis' horoscope of laureation in the *Proseuticum*

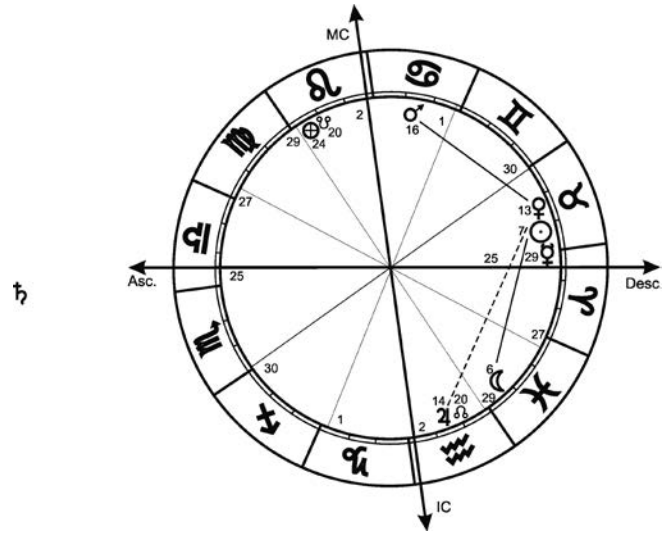

Fig. 3b Celtis' horoscope of laureation in modern form, after the horoscope in the *Proseuticum*

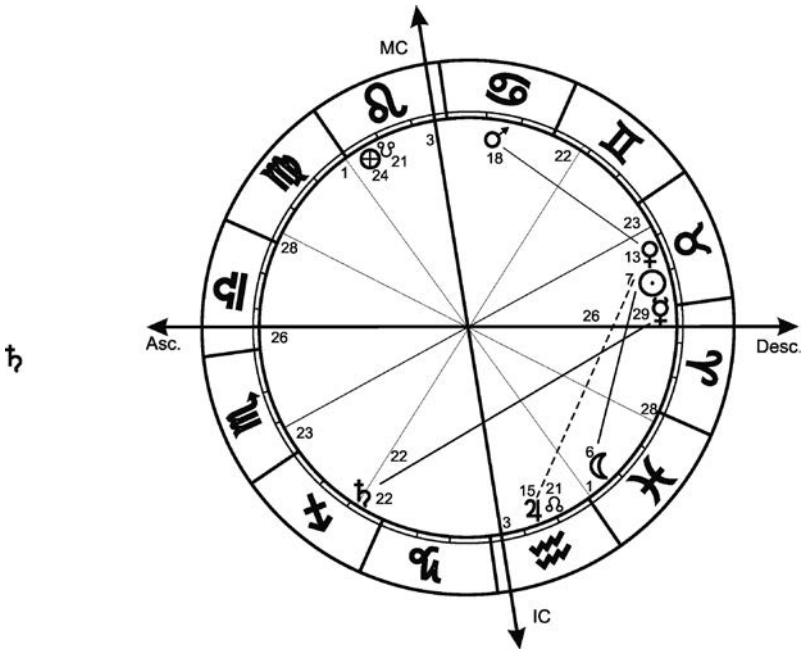

Fig. 3c. Celtis' horoscope of laureation in modern calculations, based on the given date (18.04.1487, 18:01:20, Nuremberg)

What can the contemporary reader, well-versed in astronomy-astrology, see when looking at the chart? First of all, the Mercury-Sun-Venus triple conjunction. Although it is a rather wide conjunction, the contemporary astrological practice allowed the 6–8° difference that can be seen between the planets,[168] Celtis and his contemporaries must have considered it to be a conjunction. When a triple conjunction occurs – a relatively rare but spectacular aspect – it is a highly significant element of the horoscope and if it contains mainly good or well situated planets such a conjunction must be desirable; it can provide excellent opportunities for a favorable interpretation. Several contemporary examples attest to this: Federigo de Montefeltro features the triple conjunction of his birth, the Mars-Jupiter-Venus trio, on his medal;[169] in the coronation horoscope of Matthias of Hungary, Venus, Jupiter and Saturn are in conjunction, illuminated

[168] Reisinger (n. 6) 66.

[169] Wind, E.: *Pagan mysteries in the renaissance.* London (Faber and Faber) 1968, 95.

by positive aspects.[170] Furthermore – to mention an example from the circles of Celtis – the nativity of Caritas Pirckheimer contains a Sun-Saturn-Venus conjunction, with Mercury in the most significant first house.[171] However, there is something more in Celtis' horoscope; exactly the three planets closest to the muses come together: Mercury, Phoebus, and Venus (moreover, the latter is in the Bull, her own domicile, and she is the birth ruler on account of the Scales Ascendant). To be sure, there is nothing new in assigning someone's outstanding intellectual or artistic talent to various combinations of these three planets. The greatest astrological authority, Ptolemy, while enumerating the properties of a native who profited from a favorably situated conjunction of Venus and Mercury, mentions the love of beauty, poetry, and the muses several times.[172] Pontano echoes this: Venus and Mercury together create poets.[173] In an epigram, Naldo Naldi explains to Johannes Guido, *vir doctissimus,* how much Mercury increases the strength of Jupiter and Venus by joining them or illuminating them in a positive aspect.[174] As for the surviving nativities of Italian poets, the chart of Battista Mantovano (*Frater Baptista Carmelita poeta*), for instance, has the Sun, Mercury, and Venus all in the first house, which determines the character of the native the most; his Mercury and Venus are in tight conjunction.[175] Not surprisingly, Ficino, a philosopher of beauty (in the Platonic sense) who contemplated astrology gladly and creatively, often plays with the idea of the juncture of the planets in question, especially in his letters.[176] Naturally, these

[170] Orbán, Á.: Judiciális asztrológia Mátyás király udvarában. [Judicial Astrology at the court of Matthias Corvinus.] In *Mikro&Makro – Fiatal kutatók konferenciája 4.* [*Mikro&Makro – Conference of young scholars 4.*] Pécs 2013, 202.

[171] Fricke-Hilgers, A.: Horoskope für Familienangehörige. In Kurras, L. – Machilek, Fr. (eds.): *Caritas Pirckheimer 1467–1532 (Katalog).* München 1982, Nr. 31; page 56.

[172] Ptol. *Tetr.* III,12,166 (ed. G. P. Goold, trans. F. E. Robbin. Cambridge [Harvard University Press] 1980). Ptolemy does not involve the Sun and the Moon in the discussion of planet combinations.

[173] *De rebus coelestibus* 6,11, page 2315; 7,4, page 2339; 7,6, page 2349 (*Opera omnia*. Basel 1519, vol. 3). Hübner (n. 60) 54.

[174] Naldi, *Epigr.* 183,1–6.

[175] Gauricus, *Tractatvs* fol. 63r.

[176] E.g. according to *Epist.* I,92 (page 681) astrologers often speak about the conjunction of the Mercury and the Venus that results in good musical skills. In *Epist.* IV,34 he sees with his mental eyes Phoebus and Mercury escorting Venus. The three planets/gods appear as an allegorical triad, too: Mercury – *veritas,* Apollo – *concordia,* Venus – *pulchritudo*; cf. C. Wiener: Der Liebhaber in vielen Gestalten. Überlegungen zum Einfluß des Neuplatonismus auf die Amores des Konrad Celtis. In *Violae solutae. Im Andenken an unseren Lehrer Prof. Dr. Hans Thurn*. Würzburg 1994, 113.

three planets' traditional association with poetry and muse-like characteristics is trivial enough, there is no need to reveal direct Italian influences on Celtis. The above examples are meant to show the intellectual climate in which it was natural for a poet to exploit a triple conjunction in his horoscope. When Celtis refers in his works to the power received from the gods, he certainly thinks of the conjunction, too, and it is also *possible* to take the three stars that feature on Celtis' shield as a reference to this conjunction.[177]

Many other elements of the horoscope would certainly be interpreted as favorable in contemporary astrological practice. The point of fortune (*pars fortunae*) is certainly indicated because it falls in the tenth house, so it could convey a similar message with regard to fame and career as Jupiter–MC in the nativity. The MC itself falls to the Lion, the most "royal" sign, that of the Sun. A planet's conjunction with the dragon's head (*caput draconis*, the "positive" lunar node) generally means luck,[178] and in this chart Jupiter, the *fortuna maior*, is in wide conjunction with the dragon's head. It is in a quadrate with Venus and the Sun, but the Sun and the Moon are connected with a favorable aspect, a sextile (see the indication under the chart to the left), just as Venus and Mars. Looking at the Ascendant, at first one can only see that it falls in the Scales, the sign of Venus. However, if one checks the data of the rising stars reported by Classical authorities, one finds in Manilius' *Astronomicon* that the *Lyra,* the constellation giving musical and literary talent, stands at Scales 26°, that is, at the Ascendant of this horoscope![179] The coincidence cannot be accidental, and it connects the whole symbolism of *Lyra* in the nativity with the laureation. True, the *Lyra* falls in another sign in the nativity; his interest there was the consideration of other astrological authorities. Celtis had a selective attitude; the point is that the rise of this constellation undoubtedly suggests the rebirth of the poet, the singer. (Less importantly, the *Pleiades* standing at Bull 6° in Manilius is in conjunction with the Sun standing at Bull 7° in the horoscope; see below.) This selective attitude is even more noticeable in this horoscope than in the other; Saturn disappears from the chart, although it was only

[177] The shield with the stars can be seen in several woodcuts (e.g. the one called "Autorenbild" in the *Amores* or the "Götterkonzert" of the *Melopoiae*); Lanckoronska, M.: Die Holzschnitte zu den *Amores* des Conrad Celtis. *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 46 (1971) 331 refers to the stars as "the three stars of his birth hour" (?). However, it is not the nativity that displays a well discernible triple-star group, but the horoscope of laureation with its triple conjunction. Naturally, the three stars can be interpreted in several ways.

[178] Reisinger (n. 6) 57.

[179] Manil. V,337–8.

the "secondary" components like the fixed stars or the various "points" (e.g., *pars fortunae*) that could be indicated optionally in contemporary astrological practice; the planets always had to be there.[180] Saturn would be at the Archer 22°, in retrograde movement, but with good aspects (trine with *pars fortunae,* trine with Mercury, sextile with the Ascendant). The traditional idea of Saturn as the planet of misfortune seems to have been of greater weight.

This meets expectations; the horoscope records the divine, muse-inspired "intervention" of the heavens, thus the new powers won by the poet, and the favorable perspectives for his future. As for the selection of the date and the horoscope, two factors seem to have been of the greatest account (beyond the requirement that one must not deviate too much from the real date of the laureation): the presence of the triple conjunction (this conjunction existed between around 17 April and 4 May in the given year), and the linking of *Lyra* with the Ascendant (this is the bottle-neck, it is possible only for a short period within a day). The horoscope that was eventually cast proved a good choice with regard to the position of the MC, Venus, the point of fortune, too. The symbolism of the horoscope is comparable to that of the nativity. The poet displays his luck, glory, power, and *ingenium* received from the gods/planets, involving the *Lyra* (the instrument of Orpheus) from among the non-zodiac fixed stars. The way he considers the horoscope elements, selects among the astrological authorities – he relies mainly on Manilius – and selects the horoscope itself, is arbitrary, or from a more sanguine perspective, playful and poetic. (To be sure, the arbitrariness is characteristic of the practice of astrological interpretation in general.) While the nativity presents the birth of the talented poet, the horoscope of laureation presents his rebirth; that is why Celtis counts the years from the year of laureation in the *Codex epistolaris.*[181] The idea of rebirth may also be connected to the facts that the laureation fell in the spring, the conjunction was in spring signs (mainly the Bull, but also the Ram), and in the "Ode Sapphica…" of the *Proseuticum*, which beautifully describes spring and the regeneration of the world, it is April, the Sun stands in the Bull, and his rays "scorch" the *Pleiades* (which is in conjunction with him in the horoscope).[182]

[180] Saturn can only be discovered among the aspect data under the chart, to the right; it is supposed to stand in quadrate with Venus. However, this is false information, Venus stands at an angle of 140° to the real position of Saturn (Archer 22°) and Venus stands in a quadrate with Jupiter.

[181] Mertens (n. 75) 49.

[182] V,5–8. "Taurus Arctoo propior Coluro, / oritur tecum [with Phoebus], referens tepores, / cum vagas sentit Pleiades aduri / lampade Phoebi."

The well-matched lovers

On occasion, Celtis versified the horoscopes of his close acquaintances and these texts connect to the symbolism of his own horoscopes at many points. According to a contemporary astrological method, one could compare two charts and look for the common characteristics in them. This seems to have been less frequent in the Classical-medieval tradition than in modern astrology, which calls the method "synastry." One use of this is to determine whether lovers are well matched. The method is rare, but known in premodern astrological literature;[183] other texts, however, primarily poetic, refer in a more superficial way to the harmony of two lovers' stars.[184] Considering the importance of the astrological layer in the *Amores* and the *amores* itself as the main topic, it is not surprising that one finds this phenomenon in Celtis, too.

In the twelfth elegy of the first book, where the poet courts Hasilina, he intends to demonstrate by his nativity how many good properties he was granted by the heavens, especially emphasizing characteristics that are needed in a love relationship:

Septimus a primo qui dicitur angulus orbis,
prospera (ni fallor) sidera nostra refert:
fervidus Haemonio iuvenis mihi surgit in arcu
et medium caeli cum Iove Virgo regit,
quin et suscipiens Phoebum Cyllenius ignis
ingenium vires iussit habere suas,
nec dea cunctipotens aversa fronte resedit,
cum numero partem per mea signa suam.[185]

The cardinal house that is called the seventh one reckoned from the first shows our stars to be favorable, if I am not mistaken: the hot-tempered youth with the Thessalian bow rises for me, and the middle of the sky is reigned by the Virgin with Jupiter; what is more, the Cyllenian fire [Mercury] received Phoebus, thus ordering that the [poet's] talent would be outstanding; and the almighty goddess [Venus] did not sit there with her face turned away from me, since I reckon her house among my signs.

Septimus angulus means the seventh house, traditionally the house of marriage;[186] on the issue of a love relationship, it is natural that the poet takes this component of the horoscope into account. Two facts about Celtis' nativity

[183] E.g. Ptol. *Tetr.* IV,5,184.

[184] An example from medieval poetry: Schmeller, A. J. (ed.): *Carmina Burana.* Stuttgart 1883, Nr. 62 (page 152); cited by Boll, Fr.: Synastria. *Sokrates* 5 (1917) 458. ("Jove cum Mercurio geminos tenente.")

[185] *Am.* I,12,15–22.

[186] *Angulus* originally meant the main axes, the cardinal houses of a horoscope (houses 1, 4, 7, 10), so *septimus angulus* would literally mean the "seventh cardinal house", however, it is customary in astrological literature to use such a contracted expression that refers both to the number of the house and its cardinal quality; cf., e.g. the horoscope interpretation written for Eleonore of Portugal: Schmeidler, F. (ed.): *Joannis Regiomontani opera collectanea*. Osnabrück (Zeller) 1972, fol. 80r.

support the opinion that the seventh house contributes to a favorable horoscope. The ruler of the house, Mercury, stands in conjunction with the Sun and they give strength to the *ingenium*. More importantly, Jupiter casts a trine to the house cusp; the *Fortuna maior,* the birth ruler (because of the Archer Ascendant) stands in the Virgin, the sign belonging to Mercury, and casts the most favorable aspect on the house of marriage. All these planetary positions are recorded in lines 16–18, although the author does not relate them directly to the favorable seventh house mentioned just before (v. 15). Together with his own excellence, he also asserts the great ardor of his love and exploits in his rhetoric astrological facts that can be related to fire or hotness: the sign of the Archer belongs to the element of fire, and the Centaur, by which this sign is traditionally represented, features as a warlike, hot-tempered youth; Mercury is the "Cyllenian fire", because stars are heavenly fires in poetry in general and in the Stoics in particular; the Sun may also evoke an association to fire. Lines 21–22 make sense only if the *pars* is translated as "house":[187] the fourth house, where Venus stays, falls in the Fish, whose ruler is Jupiter, Celtis' birth ruler; that is why the poet can reckon Venus as belonging to "his signs."[188] The Celtis of the *Amores* makes use of his favorable stars with the aim of a love conquest and he also refers to this strategy in another elegy in the *Amores*.[189]

In the next book of the *Amores* the poet is courting Elsula; this time he idealizes her nativity after enumerating how many stars' brilliance she surpasses:

Crediderim ex illis unam micuisse sub ortu,
Elsula, dum vitae sunt data fila tuae:
Taurus erat, blanda rutilat cui fronte Cupido,
ille tibi primo cardine fila dedit.
Phoebus et in nona caeli tibi parte refulgens
cultorem Phoebi strinxit amore tibi.
Iuppiter in medio stabat tunc laetus Olympo
et Venus in gremio luserat alma suo.
Hi tibi finxerunt speciosi corporis artus
Atque animum radiis composuere suis.[190]

Therefore I have to think that one [star] was shining at your birth, Elsula, when you were given the thread of your life: it was the Bull, whose loving face flushed with Cupido, he gave you the thread of life, being in the first house. And Phoebus, shining in the ninth house [or grade] of the heavens, bound the follower of Phoebus with love to you. Jupiter stood then propitiously in the middle of the heaven, and nourishing Venus played in his lap. They created the members of your beautiful body, and they fashioned your character with their rays.

[187] *Partem suam* in itself could be translated as "her [Venus'] grade", that is, Ram 9°; however, there is no such division [decans, *termini* etc.] of the Ram that would allow us to connect the 9° with the Archer or the Virgin (*per mea signa*).

[188] *Per mea signa* is either a poetic plural or it really refers to both signs that belong to Jupiter, that is, the Archer and the Fish.

[189] In *Od.* I,17,53–60 he jokingly warns Albert Blar (Celtis' most important teacher of astrology) not to misconstrue the will of the heavens (his nativity), according to which Celtis will win Hasilina.

[190] *Am.* II,5,71–80.

Here it is not a real horoscope that stands behind the text,[191] the poet mixes commonplaces with real planetary positions, outlining the main elements of an "ideal" horoscope. In the next book of *Amores* he describes Ursula's lucky birth in a similar manner, although astrologically less detailed: Ursula's Ascendant is the Lion, the sign of Phoebus, and she, too, has a Venus-like figure.[192] When applying such motifs, Celtis could use the topoi circulating in Italian poetry; Venus, Jupiter or Phoebus, separately or together, often feature as planets shining on the birth, giving beauty, luck, and perfect characteristics;[193] the eyes of the beloved woman may even outshine the brilliance of Venus and Jupiter.[194] Nevertheless, the passage about Elsula is astrologically more elaborate, and eventually a whole horoscope unfolds. Most of its elements can easily be explained; the Ascendant (*primo cardine*) is in the Bull,[195] so the birth ruler is Venus; Jupiter is in MC, in conjunction with Venus.[196] The position of the Sun can be explained in two ways. *Nona caeli parte* may mean the ninth house.[197] Although it is primarily the house of journeys, in Firmicus Maternus it is the house of religion and the Sun God, too,[198] which may be the reason why she is attracted to *Phoebi cultor,* that is, Celtis. However, the word *pars* in an astrological context more often signifies "grade" than "house"; at least three passages in Celtis can be cited where it means grade,[199] while it is only in the previous passage that it unambiguously means house,[200] and in the astrological literature, too, it means grade and not house. In a passage quoted above[201] Celtis actually refers back to the exact position of Venus in his nativity (Ram 9°).

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[191] Such a planetary combination would not have been possible in that period of the fifteenth century (checked with ZED 8 Lite)

[192] *Am.* III,3,13–18. "His te crediderim stellis natalibus ortam, / dum tibi ab Eoo surgeret axe Leo, / quo vagus exaltat sua fervida lumina Phoebus, / dum metit optatum falce colonus agrum. / Arte Dionaea splendet tibi corpore vultus / et rutilant niveis ora venusta regis."

[193] E.g. Naldi, *Hastiludium* 96. "cui se Venus aurea protinus uni / obtulit, atque suos nascenti afflavit honores."

[194] Janus Pannonius, *Epigr.* 283 and 284 to Alte (Mayer Gy. et al. [ed.]: *Iani Pannonii Opera Quae Manserunt Omnia. Vol. I. Epigrammata.* Budapest [Balassi] 2006).

[195] It has to be observed that in Celtis the Bull may also have negative associations, as in *Od.* I,22,7, regarding Hasilina's husband: "vel Taurus tibi Scorpiusve surgit".

[196] Grössing (n. 29) 180.

[197] *Ibid.*

[198] *Mathesis* II,19,10.

[199] *Am.* I,1,30; *Am.* III,12,31; *Am.* II,6,87.

[200] *Am.* I,12,22.

[201] Cf. note 127.

All this makes it possible for the *nona caeli parte* to signify the ninth grade reckoned from the beginning of the celestial circle, that is, Ram 9°. This would expressively explain why the words *strinxit amore* are used and why the two lovers match; in Celtis' nativity Venus, Elsula's equivalent, stands at Ram 9°, while in Elsula's nativity Phoebus, Celtis' equivalent, stands at the same grade. Both interpretations are possible, and the latter provides an original example of the literary application of synastry.

The passage about Elsula also exemplifies that Celtis is always inclined to fashion his mythical image as a poet, even when idealizing someone else. Elsula's Jupiter in MC may remind the reader of the similar position of the poet's Jupiter, and it is "the follower of Phoebus", the priest of Apollo, whom Elsula is bound to.

The stars of friends

When Ficino explains in his letter to Marco of Venice how much they resemble each other and how similarly they feel towards each other, he attributes this to "our Mercury".[202] In other works, too, he praises the favorable stars of his friends and fellow writers favored by the muses and he associates the notion of friendship with with the harmonizing stars; this phenomenon occurs in other Italian Neo-Latin works as well, although not frequently.[203] The occurance of this motif is not surprising in the humanist milieu, where mentions of the stars and the praise of others were both usual. In Classical literature, the idea of congeniality indicated by the stars not only occurs in the astrological literature,[204] but also in Celtis' most important model, Horace, who mentions actual signs of the zodiac in his ode to Maecenas before he concludes that: "both of our stars incredibly harmonized".[205]

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[202] *Epist.* VIII,25 (page 905).

[203] Wind (n. 169) 65 points to the "cult of synastry" in Ficino's letters, but he does not mention examples. A characteristic example can be found in Ficino's letter to Bembo (*Epist.* IV,22, page 802): the twin lyres of Ficino and Marco Aurelio may have been tuned by the Mercury in the Bull or the Sun in the Twins… Among the Italian poets, cf., e.g. Landino, *Carm.* 8. 61–68 (Perosa, A. [ed.]: *Christophori Landini carmina omnia*. Florence [Olschki] 1939, esp. v. 67–68. "Dulce loqui dulci risu ingenuoque pudore / Mercurius facili sidere, Bembe, dedit.")

[204] Pseudo-Ptolemy, *Centiloquium* 32.

[205] *Od.* II,I7, I7–25. "seu Libra seu me Scorpios aspicit / formidulosus, pars violentior / natalis horae, seu tyrannus / Hesperiae Capricornus undae, / utrumque nostrum incredibili modo / consentit astrum: te Iovis impio / tutela Saturno refulgens / eripuit volucrisque Fati / tardavit alas."

Celtis was a central figure of the network of *res publica litteraria* in Germany; a "dialogical way of life"[206] was especially characteristic of him, and he addressed most of his works, especially the odes, directly to his friends. His ode to Höltzl, mentioned in the discussion of the nativity, provides an explicit example of attributing congeniality to similar planetary positions (among other things). Höltzl was born on 1 February, so he had the Sun of his nativity at the same grade of Aquarius as Celtis; after describing this position poetically, he concludes: "therefore, a mutual love awakes in our soul."[207] In other poems our poet refers indirectly to congeniality or spiritual relationship, insofar as he praises his friends' favorable birth stars (often similar to those of his own). He begins his ode to Salemnius (or Salamius) Delius, one of his disciples, with these lines:

Deli, purpurea quem face Cynthius irroravit amans matris ab ubere, et cui mite dedit sidere Iuppiter felici ingenium clarum et amabile.[208]	Delius, you whom the Cynthian [Apollo] sprinkled with his purple rays in your babyhood, and to whom graceful Jupiter has given bright and amiable talent by his lucky star…

Apollo, who the name of Delius ("one from Delos") alludes to, features again as both the god of poetry and the Sun itself, while Jupiter is either God, who provides favorable stars (Celtis generally calls the one God Jupiter), or more likely the planet Jupiter. A technique typical of Celtis is to start from Classical topoi and mix a religious-mythological milieu with an astrological one, which often grows dominant.

Speaking about the favorable stars of his *sodales* he highlights the effect of Jupiter in other works as well. At the birth of the muse-beloved Graccus Pierius (Krachenberger) "Jupiter shone, providing many virtues".[209] In the case of Sigismundus Fusilius, a member of Celtis' circle in Poland (like Delius), the *sidus patrium,* the "paternal star" gave the outstanding virtues;[210] taking into account Jupiter's/Zeus' paternal role among the gods and the above examples, the expression should be interpreted primarily as the planet Jupiter.

[206] Rüegg, W.: *Anstösse, Aufsätze und Vorträge zur dialogischen Lebensform***.** Frankfurt 1973.

[207] *Libri odarum* (ed. Schäfer [n. 1]), app. 1, v. 5–10. "Celtis et tali est generatus olim / luce, dum claro radians in orbe / fulserat Phoebus tepidaque stabat / fulgidus urna. / Mutuus nostris animis calescens / hinc amor surgit."

[208] *Od.* I,9,1–4.

[209] *Od.* II,9,11–2. "Virtutibus multis decoro / Iuppiter ut tibi fulsit ortu."

[210] *Od.* I,11,10–12. "cui dedit sidus patrium decoros / pectoris mores, et honesta sanctae / pignora mentis."

And perhaps it is Jupiter again that hides behind the lines of the epitaph for Regiomontanus: [211]

Regia cui fulsit coeli clarissima stella, hic iacet astrorum dux, decus et patriae. Regius hunc genuit mons, quem mea Francia tollit, haud procul a ripis, inclyte Moene, tuis.[211]	For whom the brightest, royal star of the heaven shone, he lies here, the commander of the stars, the glory of the fatherland. A royal mountain bore him, that rises in my Franconia, not far from your banks, O famous Main.

Clearly he uses the expression *regia stella* because of the pun with *Regiomontanus*; the "royal star" may be associated with several actual stars, for instance with the *Regulus* (*alpha Leonis* / *Rex*), which is indeed one of the brightest stars in the sky. However, in the collection of Gauricus a surviving nativity for Regiomontanus has the Jupiter just rising.[212] It is not known whether Celtis knew such a nativity of Regiomontanus, but considering the astrological tradition that Jupiter provides characteristics worthy of a king, and that Celtis speaks several times about the favorable Jupiter at birth, the option of interpreting *regia stella* as Jupiter does exist.

Beyond the appreciation or eulogy of his friends' abilities and talents, these poems always refer – directly or indirectly – to the congeniality between the poet and the addressee and the same condition of being divinely elected. These references are primarily topoi, related to Phoebus or the muses, found in the works of other humanists as well. Nevertheless, it is rather conspicuous that the actual heavenly bodies that Celtis mentions often remind one of his own nativity; he features Jupiter several times as the star "shining at birth",[213] and he explicitly refers to the position of his own Sun. These texts are rather mirror-like; speaking about a friend, the poet praises himself at the same time. They enjoy the gifts of the gods, the muses, the stars together. It was typical of humanist communities that they separated themselves as the intellectual elite from non-humanist outsiders by means of various strategies and symbols; in Celtis, this endevour took on an astrological coloring. One can observe in germ form how astrological symbols begin to assume the role of creating group identity, although this aspect does not blossom out in Celtis' oeuvre and

[211] *Epigr.* II,83.

[212] Gauricus, *Tractatus* fol. 62v. Jupiter (at Scorpio 10°) stands by just 6° from the Ascendant (Scorpion 16°), and 2° from the dragon's head (Scorpion 14°).

[213] The expression may refer both to the Ascendant and the MC, the two most significant components of a horoscope. The gifts of Jupiter mentioned in these passages – virtues, glory, etc. – fit well the MC – tenth house, but at the same time are commonplace expressions; they cannot be taken as unambiguous references to actual horoscopes.

it does not go beyond the level of commonplaces in more than a few passages. He does not draw a parallel between his and other horoscopes, if only because he assumed a leading role in the community, and he justifies his exceptional position – among others – with his exceptional horoscopes. Indeed, in the works of the *sodales* Celtis' nativity does appear as a topic. Salemnius Delius provides a characteristic example with his fragmentarily surviving ode to Celtis which contains, beyond the topoi of divine birth and education by the muses, a concrete reference to the poet's Ascendant: "the Archer shone for him in the first hour."[214] (Unluckily, the fragment breaks at this point.)

Horoscopes of rulers

The *Poema ad Fridericum,* a programmatic work at the beginning of *Ars versificandi*,[215] elevates the poet into mythical, sacred spheres in the framework of a spectacular epiphany scene with Phoebus, propagating the *Ars versificandi* itself and a new cultural era. However, this required support from a patron and Celtis does not fail to refer to the nativity of the dedicatee, Frederick the Wise, in order to make it clear that his patron is also favored by the muses.

Te Gemini aspiciunt, vitale, Caducifer, astrum
et Venus assurgunt; haec genitura tua est.
per varios cantus Gemini modulataque verba,
et gracilis calamos te, Friderice, trahunt.
Atlantis, Tege[ae]e, nepos facundus in astro
ingenii vires blandaque verba movet,
et Cytherea tuos aptavit corporis artus,
membra decora fovens, mollibus apta iocis.[216]

The Twins are looking at you, the life-giving star of the Caduceus-bringer [Mercury] and Venus are rising: this is your nativity. The Twins take effect on you, Frederick, by varied songs, harmonious verses and slender pipes. Atlas' eloquent grandson [Mercury], the Tegean (?) arouses, as a star (?), the powers of your talent and gives charming words, and it was the Cytherean [Venus] who fitted the members on your body, she took care of these beautiful members, suitable for soft play.

As Robert observed, the poet sets out from Manilius here, too. Characterizing the Twins, Manilius explains that this sign of Mercury provides talents for singing, music, and eloquence. Some expressions in the passage correspond word for word to the text of the *Astronomicon.*[217] Celtis also has Venus appear; he describes her activity in line with the relevant Venerean topoi. The phenomenon that a poet eulogized the ruler through his horoscope also occured in

[214] Bezold, Fr.: Aus dem Freundeskreis des Konrad Celtis. *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit* N.F. 29 (1882) 61 f. V,21. "Arcifer prima sibi fulsit hora."

[215] Fol. A 2r–3v.

[216] V,91–8.

[217] Manil. IV,152–8; Robert (n. 4) 40.

contemporary Italian poetry.[218] Some characteristics of the passage, however, are quite typical of Celtis; he quotes from Manilius, and highlights elements of the horoscope that are related to wisdom, art, and beauty, that elevate the ruler into the empire of the muses, as if the poet wrote to a *sodalis*.

The question arises whether the astrological references are based on a real horoscope. In such a case the poet's words would have more weight – and there was a great deal at stake, the poet's later career demonstrates how important it was to gain the support of Frederick the Wise. Rulers had far more means to have their horoscopes cast and propagated than humanists did, and in most cases they used the opportunity. The birth date of Frederick is known (17 January 1463, a little before 13 o'clock),[219] on the grounds of which his hypothetical nativity can be cast (fig. 4); at first sight one can see that Celtis drew on this. The Ascendant is in the Twins, whose ruler, Mercury stands in conjunction with Venus.[220] This corresponds roughly to the text, moreover, it helps to interpret it: *aspiciunt* refers to the Ascendant; because of this rising sign the poet uses the verb *assurgunt* for the related planets. In his edition of Hrosvitha, also dedicated to Frederick the Wise, Celtis mentions again that the ruler's outstanding mental and corporal properties are the gift of the stars, "as the astrologers say".[221]

[218] See above, note 69.

[219] Ludolphy, I.: *Friedrich der Weise: Kurfürst von Sachsen*. Göttingen (Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht) 1984, 43. The place of birth is Torgau (near Leipzig).

[220] The horoscope contains other important planetary positions, too, but Celtis does not seem to have been interested in considering them. Jupiter, too, stands in conjunction with Mercury and Venus. Saturn in MC, in his own domicile, ruling over five planets, is outstandingly strong.

[221] *BW* (n. 19) 467. "Animi tui nobilissimi et corporis tui egregii, illa divina quaedam ex natalibus et sigillatis, ut genethliaci dicunt, stellis dona sunt." Robert (n. 4) 40.

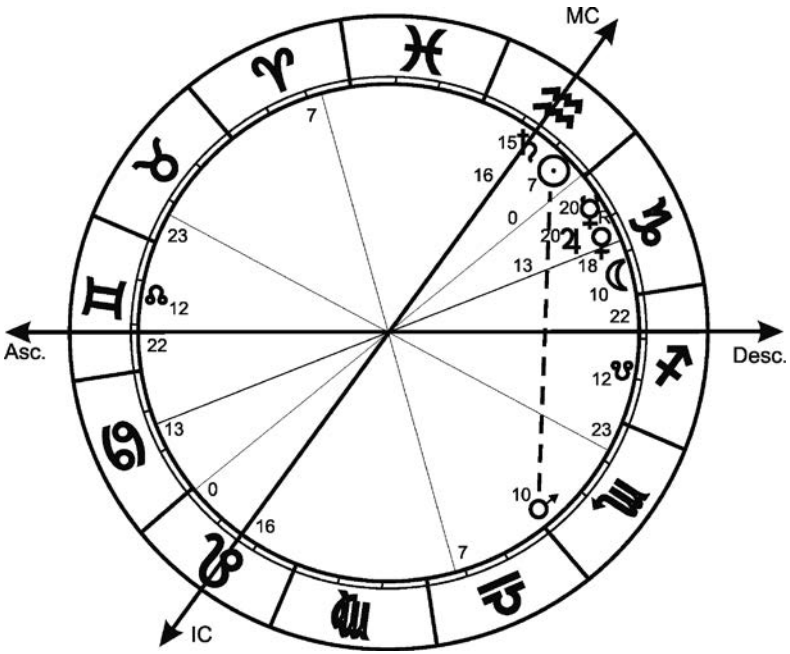

Fig. 4 The nativity of Frederick the Wise in modern calculations, based on the given date (17.01.1463, 12:55, Leipzig)

Celtis' direct informer may have been Martin Pollich von Mellerstadt, Frederick's physician and astrologer, who helped the poet later. The dedication, to be found above the *Poema ad Fridericum*, reads: "I was informed by your physician… Martin von Mellerstadt, that you are absolutely fascinated by the poets' honey-flowing songs, and that you are engrossed in this discipline, stimulated by your good nature."[222] The expression *natura ipsa bona* may also be associated with his birth.

After these observations, one would expect to find concrete references in Celtis to the horoscopes of Frederick III, the giver of the laurel wreath, or Maximilian I, with whom Celtis had good relations; all the more since these emperors were interested in horoscopes even beyond the average. However,

[222] Fol. A 2r. "Accepi (…) ex physico tuo (…) Martino Mellerstat te summe mellifluis poetarum carminibus oblectari: atque ita natura ipsa bona id studii genus amplecti."

Celtis speaks only in a commonplace manner about the favorable stars of Maximilian, in the context of royal majesty,[223] a victorious battle[224] or lucky birth in general.[225] The most concrete reference can be identified in a passage in the *Ode Sapphica* of the *Proseuticum*. In the description of the rebirth of the world, the golden age of Saturn and the future reign of his son, Jupiter, the two gods are clearly associated with the two emperors, and as the text reads, "antiquity elevated these [Saturn and Jupiter] above the heaven".[226] In other words, they have "become" planets, and indeed, at least the connection of the Saturn to Frederick III is well established. His surviving nativity[227] has the MC in Aquarius, under the rule of Saturn; more importantly, he was widely held to be of a saturnine character because of his general properties.[228] The case of Maximilian is much less clear; although in his nativity[229] Jupiter (Virgin 22°) is at a distance of only 4° to the Ascendant (Virgin 26°), so its position can be interpreted as significant, still, Maximilian himself seems to have held his Mercury and Mars (and occasionally his Saturn) to be the most dominant planets.[230] Apart from this, Celtis may have taken the planet Jupiter as representative of Maximilian, but it is rather the well-established association of Frederick III and the Saturn which makes it possible to interpret the passage in an astrological context.

After all, there are relatively few astrological references to the emperors in Celtis and one reason might be that their nativities provided fewer opportunities for a "muse-oriented" interpretation than, for instance, the nativity of Frederick the Wise. Celtis was primarily interested in planetary positions that supported poetry and *philosophia* and created poets; furthermore, he was much more interested in his own stars than in those of others.

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[223] *Ludus Dianae* (Pindter, F. [ed.]: *Ludi scaenici.*Budapest 1945), v. 1. "Rex cui Maximium praestant pia sidera nomen."

[224] *Rhapsodia* (in *Ludi scaenici*) v. 169. "Sed maiora tuis fieri his speramus ab astris."

[225] *Am.* I,12,25–6. Maximilianus was born *fausto sidere*.

[226] V,47–8. "quos supra caelum tulerat vetustas / laude decoros." The later, modified version of the poem: *Od.* II,1.

[227] Schöner, J.: *Opera mathematica*. Nürnberg 1561, LXVI/a.

[228] Cf. Orbán, Á.: Astrology in Janus Pannonius's Poems of Praise. *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 19 (2013) 120–128.

[229] The nativity cast by Regiomontanus: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. lat. 5179, fol. 2v.

[230] Cf. Hayton (n. 18) chapter I.

Conclusion

After the above investigation, I can definitely assert that individual astrology was a significant aspect of Celtis' poetry, especially with regard to his poetic self-fashioning, in his image as a divinely inspired and supported poet. Some patterns for the literary application of astrological symbols were already available to Celtis, to some extent in Classical literature, to a much greater extent in fifteenth-century Italian Neo-Latin literature (e.g., in Naldo Naldi, Pico, or even Ficino). These influences seem to have been more significant than has previously been thought, however, one must not overemphasize them, either. In the relevant genres of Italian poetry astrological references are rare and scattered, almost always commonplaces and they occur most often in certain types of contexts, for instance, in praises of the ruler and in frameworks of the panegyric genre. Celtis does apply similar topoi, but he likes to develop them further, to render them more concrete. He often goes into technical details, referring to actual horoscope elements, and it is unprecedented in contemporary literature that the very first elegy, the exposition of the whole *Amores,* his main work, is entirely based on his nativity. As for astrological methods, Celtis typically takes into consideration the basic components of the horoscope (planets, signs, aspects, Ascendant, MC, sometimes non-zodiacal fixed stars) and their standard meanings. Nevertheless, in many respects he deviates from the contemporary traditions of apotelesmatics and horoscope interpretations, which is conspicuous even if one considers the difference between the poetic and "scientific" genres. While the houses were generally central and organizing factors in standard interpretations, Celtis was interested in the cardinal houses at most; he does not consider specific components (e.g., decanes, *termini, pars amoris, Alchocodan* and so on). While astrologers scrutinized mainly the future in the horoscopes, Celtis lays the stress on the specification of character. He has the attitude of a poet to the horoscopes, which in any case provide a wide range of possible interpretations, and he takes advantage of the poet's freedom even to the point of breaking basic rules (see the "disappearance" of Saturn from the horoscope of laureation). As regards the reception of astrological literature, texts by Celtis show no sign of a direct use of medieval astrological works, for instance those translated from Arabic to Latin (Albumasar and so on), and among the Classical authors he draws far more frequently on Manilius' poetic *Astronomicon* than on Ptolemy or Firmicus Maternus (as astrologers in general).

Celtis used the potentialities of individual astrology primarily for fashioning of his own poetic character, his own mythification, also taking advantage of the fact that the borderline between fiction and reality is uncertain in a literary work and wide-ranging possibilities open up for "self-mystification."[231] The image of the "elected" poet is reflected even when he speaks about the stars of other "elected" ones. Celtis' role as a poet was special; he was a pioneering *vates* who made a new literary epoch as the first German poet laureate, who brought the muses to the German lands, and who owed a great deal to the celestial *numina*. From the perspective of astrology, the two pillars of this role as poet are the horoscope elegy and the horoscope of laureation; both contain exceptional positions that fit the role of poet well. The *Amores* particularly, which contains many astrological passages, mixes serious and playful attitudes, reality and fiction in a specific way. In certain astrologically relevant parts fiction dominates, as in the presentation of the idealized horoscope of the beloved woman or when he explains his love problems with the Saturn-Venus quadrate. However, the other pole of the horoscope elegy, the idea of the Orpheus-like Phoebean poet, goes well beyond the *Amores* and supports Celtis himself in the role of *vates*. The nativity, just like the horoscope of laureation, is presented as real. Horoscopes draw their power from just this "reality", that is why they are important for Celtis; the position and characteristics he emphasized were supported by actual planetary positions and could be related to the will of the heavens. Moreover, a further reason why star symbolism has a prominent role in his arsenal is the sensual power of symbols in general; in certain circumstances, horoscope elements can be highly spectacular and more expressive than words. Planetary positions such as the Jupiter-MC-Virgin combination or the Mercury-Sun-Venus in conjunction have much to say.

[231] Robert (n. 4) 458.

Zsuzsanna Ötvös

Marginal Notes and their Sources in the Manuscript ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45*

In the Greek-Latin dictionary of ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45[1] (ff. 1r–298r) thousands of glossary notes can be found in the margins and between the two columns containing the Greek and Latin lemmas. The manuscript ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45 is connected to the famous Hungarian humanist poet, Janus Pannonius on several grounds.[2] Until recently, the transcription (or even the compilation) of the Greek-Latin dictionary was attributed to Janus Pannonius, since in the 18th century, librarian Michael Denis made the following observation in describing the codex:

> codex (…) hanc Notam praefert: **Ιανος ὁ παννονιος ἰδια χειρι εγραψεν. ὁταν τα ἑλληνικα γραμματα μαθειν ἐμελεν.** Janus Pannonius propria manu scripsit, quando graecas literas discere cura fuit.[3]

Although this assumption was successfully rejected by István Kapitánffy,[4] the manuscript still seems to be related to the humanist poet: Janus was one of the possessors of the codex[5] and he presumably used this dictionary for

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1 The most up-to-date description of the manuscript is found in Hunger, H. (unter Mitarbeit von Ch. Hannick): *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* IV, Supplementum Graecum. Wien 1994, 85–87. The description, however, needs correction at several points.

2 For details on this question see Ötvös, Zs.: A Renaissance Vocabularium by Janus Pannonius? (ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45). *Acta Ant. Hung.* 48 (2008) 237–246.

3 Regarding accents, aspiration marks, spelling and punctuation, I closely follow Denis's script (ÖNB Cod. Ser. n. 3953, 63r).

4 First in Hungarian in Kapitánffy, I.: Janus Pannonius görög szótára. *IK* 95 (1991) 178–181; then in German in Kapitánffy, I.: Aristophanes, Triklinios, Guarino und Janus Pannonius. *Acta Ant. Hung.* 36 (1995) 351–354.

5 See Ötvös, Zs.: Some Remarks on a Humanist Vocabularium. In Gastgeber, Chr. – Mitsiou, E. – Pop, I-A. – Popović, P. – Preiser-Kapeller, J. – Simon. A. (eds.): *Matthias Corvinus und*

translating Greek texts into Latin.[6] Thus, it is tempting to assume that one of the hands entering marginal notes in the margins of the dictionary was Janus's, although this supposition cannot be proven easily, since no considerable example of his handwriting has been preserved.[7] Consequently, mapping and identifying the sources of the marginal notes in ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45 might also help us clarify this question.

Basically, the marginal notes in the Greek-Latin dictionary can be divided into two major groups through analysing the characteristics of the handwriting and through mapping their sources. In this paper, I attempt to outline the sources of these two major groups of interrelated glossary notes: exploring their sources might also contribute to a better understanding of the textual history of the Greek-Latin dictionary in the Vienna manuscript and of the history of the codex itself, particularly its relationship to Janus Pannonius. First, a group of marginal notes of varied content and written in various languages will be presented briefly, then another group of glossary notes comprising mainly quotations from scholia to Aristophanic plays and from the *Synopsis Major Basilicorum* is to be discussed in more details.

The glossary notes from the first major group are usually inserted either after the Latin lemmas of the dictionary in the margins or in the intercolumnium in a position where they precede the Latin lemmas they belong to. It is fairly easy to separate these marginal notes from the Latin lemmas of the dictionary after a cursory look even if the glosses are inserted in continuation of the list of the Latin lemmas: although the Latin handwriting is very similar – or perhaps the same as the handwriting of the Latin lemmas – a darker ink and a different writing tool drawing considerably thinner lines were used for the addition of these marginal notes. Such marginalia appear on almost all of the pages of the Greek-Latin dictionary.

Regarding language and content, the marginal notes are not unified in this group. Predominantly Latin marginal notes are inserted. Most often, they give

seine Zeit. Europa am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit zwischen Wien und Konstantinopel. Wien 2010, 104–105.

[6] For an illustrative example see Horváth, L.: Eine vergessene Übersetzung des Janus Pannonius. *Acta Ant. Hung.* 41 (2001) 209.

[7] See Csapodi, Cs.: *A Janus Pannonius-szöveghagyomány.* Budapest 1981, 46–51. On page 47, Csapodi lists the so far known items displaying Janus's handwriting, then he also adds a possible new item to the list, a Sevilla manuscript (its signature is 82-4-8). However, his argumentation regarding the so-called Sevilla II codex is heavily criticized by Boronkai, I. in his book review published in the journal *Magyar Könyvszemle* (98) 1982, 293–294 and in another book review by Csonka, F. published in the journal *Irodalomtörténet* (1984.3) 634–635.

synonyms of the original Latin lemmas or alternative meanings of the Greek entries. Apart from glossary notes of predominantly lexicographical content, grammatical additions can also be found, although they appear less often. In this group of marginalia one can also find glossary notes at least partly written in Greek or relevant to one of the Greek entries. However, in some instances, even Italian marginal notes appear inserted in the same manner and with the same ink and writing tool as the Latin and Greek marginalia mentioned so far.

In a previous article,[8] I dealt with the origin of this major group of marginal notes in details. Here, I only intend to summarize the results of that previous research work relevant to the subject of the present paper.

In the textual tradition of the manuscript ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45, I have not found any traces of this group of marginal notes so far. The Greek-Latin dictionary in the Vienna manuscript indirectly goes back to the Greek-Latin lexicon in the 8th-century codex Harleianus 5792 (ff. 1v-240v) now kept in the British Library.[9] Its edited version is available in the second volume of the series *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*.[10] However, the glossary notes now discussed do not appear in the edited version of the codex Harleianus. I managed to find and study so far three manuscripts containing Greek-Latin dictionaries from a different textual tradition which seems to be a good candidate for the ultimate origin of this specific group of glossary notes in the Vienna manuscript on the basis of the collation of their material with the marginal notes in ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45. The three codices are as follows: Vat. Pal. Gr. 194, Cod. Gr. 4 (University Library, Budapest) and Res. 224 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid).[11]

The Greek-Latin dictionary in these three codices belongs to a different textual tradition compared to the lexicon in the Vienna manuscript. The vocabulary

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[8] Ötvös, Zs.: A Group of Marginal Notes from Another Textual Tradition. In Juhász, E. (ed.): *Byzanz und das Abendland: Begegnungen zwischen Ost und West*. Budapest 2013, 71–120.

[9] The digitized version of the manuscript Harley 5792 is available under the following link on the website of the British Library: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_5792_fs001r (downloaded on 9 May 2014). A description of the manuscript can be found in the preface to the second volume of the series *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, see Glossae Latinograecae et Graecolatinae: accedunt minora utriusque linguae glossaria. In Goetz, G. – Gundermann, G. (eds.): *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum II*. Leipzig 1888, XX–XXVI. A more up-to-date description with a list of relevant bibliography is available again online at the website of the British Library: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6563&CollID=8&NStart=5792 (downloaded on 9 May 2014).

[10] Goetz – Gundermann (n. 9) 215–483.

[11] For the description of the three codices see Ötvös (n. 8) 77–79, where ample bibliography on these manuscripts is also provided.

from this textual tradition seems to show striking agreements with the first printed Greek dictionary of Johannes Crastonus; and with all probability it belongs to the prehistory of this lexicon. This textual tradition was the main subject of Peter Thiermann's PhD dissertation[12] and he also planned a critical edition of the text.[13] In an article, he lists 42 manuscripts from 18 cities that contain a Greek-Latin dictionary of the same textual tradition which according to Thiermann originates from the Greek-Latin dictionary attributed to Guarino Veronese[14] and published around 1440.[15] However, further results of Thiermann's research on this textual tradition of Greek-Latin dictionaries are not available since his PhD dissertation is unpublished.

I have collated the glossary notes in the alpha, beta and gamma sections of the dictionary in ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45 with the corresponding sections of the three manuscripts (Vat. Pal. Gr. 194; Cod. Gr. 4, University Library, Budapest and Res. 224, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid) of different textual tradition. The results of the collation[16] can lead us to two conclusions: 1) the high number of significant agreements – even in the cases of Italian glossary notes

[12] Thiermann, P.: *Das Wörterbuch der Humanisten. Die griechisch-lateinische Lexikographie des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts und das 'Dictionarium Crastoni.'* Hamburg 1994. The bibliographical data of the PhD dissertation is mentioned in Thiermann, P.: I dizionari greco-latini fra medioevo e umanesimo. In Hamesse, J. (ed.): *Les manuscrits des lexiques et glossaires de l'antiquité tardive à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Louvain-la-Neuve 1996, 662, note. 21.

[13] See Thiermann, P.: Forschungsvorhaben. *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen* 18 (1994) 94–95 and Thiermann, P.: Arbeitsvorhaben. *Gnomon* 66 (1994) 384.

[14] Thiermann (n. 12) 662–663. In a book review published in 2008, Paul Botley, who also had the possibility to consult Thiermann's unpublished doctoral dissertation, suggests that one should not accept Thiermann's bold statement about Guarino's authorship and the list of manuscripts containing this Greek-Latin lexicon without criticism: "The evidence presented in the thesis for the date of the compilation, and for its connection with Guarino, is much more tenuous than the bald statement in the published article implies. The notion of 'Guarino's dictionary' cannot be allowed to gain currency until it has been much more firmly established. Similarly, the list of Greek works published in Thiermann's article must be treated with some caution. The method used to discern these works in the lexicon was to be the subject of an article which Thiermann did not live to publish. No doubt some or all of these claims could be substantiated; until such time, the list is merely suggestive," see Botley, P.: Book Review: Joannis Deligiannis , Fifteenth-Century Latin Translations of Lucian's Essay on Slander. (Studia Erudita I. Pisa and Rome, Gruppo Editoriale internazionale, 2006.) *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 15c (2008) 681.

[15] The earliest dated copy of this Greek-Latin dictionary was completed on 13 September 1441, in Florence by Cristoforo Benna. Cf. Botley, P.: *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396–1529. Grammars, Lexica, and Classroom Texts.* Philadelphia 2010, 64.

[16] Described in Ötvös (n. 8) 80–84, related comparative tables are presented in Ötvös (n. 8) 85–120 (appendix section).

and Greek ones – seems to prove that this group of additional glossary notes in ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45 ultimately takes its origin from another textual tradition of Greek-Latin lexica, i.e. the one represented by the three codices used for the purposes of the collation; 2) the occasional differences between the glossary notes of the Vienna manuscript and the corresponding lemmas of the other three codices seem to indicate that none of them can be regarded as the direct source of this group of marginal notes.

The second major group of interrelated glossary notes is more unified regarding its language and content: the marginalia are written predominantly in Greek by the same hand and the majority of them ultimately go back to Greek literal sources. The highest number of glossary notes within this group is quoted from scholia written to the plays of Aristophanes: one can find more than 400 (approximately 440) quotations from Aristophanic scholia written in the margins of the dictionary. More than a half of these marginal notes (more than 250 items) are quoted from the scholia written to the Aristophanic play *Nubes*. The second biggest group contains approximately 160 marginal notes quoted from the play *Plutus*, the first play by Aristohanes on the Byzantine curriculum, while the remaining glossary notes (about 20) are quoted from other plays by Aristophanes. The predominance of the plays *Nubes* and *Plutus* can easily be explained since these two plays formed part of the Byzantine triad of Aristophanic plays (*Ranae* being the third one) which were transmitted – often together with their scholia – in a far greater number of manuscripts compared to the other plays of the comedy writer.[17] The second biggest group of 65 glossary notes differs greatly from the first one regarding its genre: these marginal notes quote legal texts from the abridged version of the *Basilika* called *Synopsis Major Basilicorum*.[18] In the margins of the Greek-Latin dictionary one can find further glossary notes of literary origin that were added by the same hand that inserted the glosses quoting Aristophanic scholia and the *Synopsis Major Basilicorum*. Compared for instance to the large group of

[17] For a discussion and a list of the manuscripts of Aristophanes with the indication of their contents see White, J. W.: The Manuscripts of Aristophanes. *CP* 1 (1906) 1–20 and 255–278. The predominance of the so-called Byzantine triad (*Nubes*, *Plutus* and *Ranae*) in the manuscript tradition becomes apparent even if one only quickly scans the contents of the codices listed. For an account about the use of the Aristophanic plays as school texts during the Renaissance see Botley (n. 15) 88–91.

[18] For further details on this specific group of marginal notes of legal content see Ötvös, Zs.: Glossary notes of legal source in the manuscript ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45. *Acta Ant. Hung.* 51 (2011) 329–344.

glossary notes containing several hundreds of Aristophanic scholia, this group consists of only approximately a hundred glosses quoting miscellaneous Greek literary sources: Xenophon, Plutarch, Plato, Thucydides, Aristoteles, Lucian of Samosata, Herodotus etc. There is a fourth group of marginal notes in the Greek-Latin dictionary of the manuscript ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45 that was entered by the same hand as the one adding the Aristophanic and legal marginalia and the glosses related to miscellaneous Greek literary authors. The marginal notes belonging to this group cannot be traced back to Greek literary sources: the origin of many of these glossary notes cannot be identified even with the help of the huge database of the online *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, while numerous glosses in this group seem to be related to Greek lexicographical sources,[19] mainly to the *Suda* lexicon.

So far, the possible identification of the glossator who added the marginalia analysed above (i.e. the marginalia quoting Aristophanic scholia, the *Synopsis Major Basilicorum* and other Greek literary and lexicographical sources) has been expected from the thorough mapping of the textual history of these glossary notes mainly within the textual history of the Aristophanic scholia to *Plutus* and *Nubes* and that of the *Synopsis Major Basilicorum*. For instance, István Kapitánffy attempted to identify the glossator with Guarino Veronese on this basis.[20] However, Kapitánffy did not identify the source of the marginal notes of legal content, thus, in his identification of the glossator he only relied on the marginal notes quoting scholia to *Plutus* and *Nubes* and glosses quoting entries from the *Suda* lexicon. Since Guarino possessed manuscripts of Aristophanes's works (including the plays *Nubes* and *Plutus* together with the scholia) and a manuscript containing the *Suda* lexicon. In this identification the glossary notes of legal content originating from the *Synopsis Major Basilicorum* pose a problem: to our knowledge, Guarino did not possess any manuscripts containing the *Synopsis Major Basilicorum* or other legal texts.[21]

[19] E.g. Hesychius, Zonaras, *Etymologicum Magnum*, Photius.

[20] See Kapitánffy 1995 (n. 4) 356.

[21] For a list of the Greek manuscripts possessed by Guarino see Omont, H.: Les manuscrits grecs de Guarino de Vérone. *Revue des Bibliothèques* 2 (1892) 79–81; and more recently Diller, A.: The Greek Codices of Palla Strozzi and Guarino Veronese. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24 (1961) 318–321. According to Diller, Guarino bought his manuscript of the *Suda* lexicon during a visit to Rhodes; the codex is now lost, but there is possibly another codex (Laur. 55, 1) that is an apograph of Guarino's exemplar (see at Diller, 319). Guarino possessed the 14th-century manuscript Vat. Pal. gr. 116 containing Aristophanic works (see at Diller, 319). A further manuscript, Holkham Hall 88 containing eight Aristophanic plays with scholia and interlinear Greek glosses was identified as Guarino's copy by Giannini, A. M.:

However, instead of searching for a new candidate, another humanist in possession of the manuscripts that contain all of the works appearing in the marginalia, a new approach is needed in this question since the Greek-Latin dictionary in the Vienna manuscript ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45 is not the only vocabulary list containing quotations from scholia written to the Aristophanic plays *Plutus* and *Nubes* and from the *Synopsis Major Basilicorum*: the manuscript Σ I 12 now kept in the Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial in Madrid also contains the same quotations in the margins.[22]

This paper codex consisting of 311 folios is basically a collection of manuscript fragments with diverse dating, written by different hands and having their own provenience. The content of the manuscript is heterogeneous. Among others, the manuscript contains parts of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (ff. 1–44), a collection of alphabetically organized proverbs (ff. 47–50v), paraphrase of Aristotle's *Physics*, Book I (ff. 54–56), works from Dionysius Halicarnasseus, Galen or Plutarch. In the rest of the manuscript, lexicographical content can be found: an extensive Greek-Latin vocabulary list (ff. 91–293), a Latin-Greek lexicon (ff. 293v–309v) and a short list of Greek and Latin plant names (ff. 309v–310).[23]

The different parts of the manuscript were written by various hands. Although some of them have been identified, the scribe of the lexicographical unit on ff. 91–310 is so far unknown; it was probably a Western hand.[24] The same hand copied the collection of proverbs on ff. 47–51, which indicates that the two sections belong together. In the literature no specific information can be found regarding the provenience of the lexicographical section on ff. 91–310 and on ff. 47–51.

Holkham Hall 88: Guarino's Aristophanes. *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 12 (1971) 287–289. According to Giannini (page 288), this manuscript could be item no. 43 on the list published by Omont (page 80: "43. Aristophanis comediae octo cum scholiis, et cum quadam Ephestionis appendice de metris, ubi sunt etiam nonnulla de caractere."), which Diller failed to identify. The *Synopsis Major Basilicorum* or other manuscripts containing legal texts cannot be found either on Omont's or on Diller's list.

[22] The description of the manuscript is available in Revilla, P. A.: *Catálogo de los Códices Griegos de la Biblioteca de el Escorial*, Tomo I. Madrid 1936, 252–256; Miller, E.: *Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque de l'Escurial.* Amsterdam 1966, 58–67; and Moraux, P. et al.: *Aristoteles Graecus. Die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles. I.* Alexandria–London–Berlin–New York 1976, 150–153 (written by Dieter Harlfinger based on his autopsy in April 1967).

[23] The content of the manuscript is described in Revilla (n. 22) 253–256; Miller (n. 22) 58–67 and Moraux et al. (n. 22) 151–152.

[24] See Moraux et al. (n. 22) 152.

The dating of the various sections bound together in the codex is also problematic. Revilla dates the lexicographical section (fols. 47–51 and 91–310) to the 16th century,[25] while Miller dates the collection of proverbs and the vocabulary lists to the 17th century.[26] Neither of them provides ground for the dating given. Compared to Revilla and Miller's standpoint, Harlfinger dates the lexicographical section much earlier, at the end of the 14th century, around 1400 on the basis of the watermark (deer) characteristic of this section.[27] Thiermann, however, argues that this dating must be too early given that the dictionary of Pseudo-Cyril (ms. Harl. 5792) reappeared only around 1330.[28]

The lexicographical section starting on f. 91r has its own title added in the upper margin: *Lexicon graecolatinum*. The dictionary belongs to the same textual tradition as the vocabulary list in the Vienna manuscript. On each page, two columns can be found: one column containing the Greek lemmas and another one where their Latin equivalents are visible. On a page, usually 40–43 lines are added; the lines are not ruled in advance.[29]

In the margins, the Greek-Latin dictionary in the Madrid manuscript contains hundreds of glossary notes apparently from two different hands.[30] One of the glossators who seems to be called Benedictus according to one of the glosses[31] usually enters marginalia from scholia written to the Aristophanic plays *Plutus* and *Nubes*, from the *Synopsis Major Basilicorum* and sometimes from other Greek authors (e.g. from Aristotle, Lucian, Homer, Plato, Plutarch and Xenophon) and from Latin authors (Cicero, Isidore), while the other hand usually adds passages from Latin authors (Aulus Gellius, Cicero, Livy, Seneca, Suetonius, Virgil).[32] The glossary notes inserted by the first hand tend to show striking agreement with the glossary notes entered in the margins of the Vienna manuscript ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45 even at first sight. For the purposes of a thorough investigation, I have chosen to collate the marginal notes found in the alpha sections of the two manuscripts. Since marginal notes containing Aristophanic,

[25] Revilla (n. 22) 253.

[26] Miller (n. 22) 67.

[27] Moraux et al. (n. 22) 150.

[28] Thiermann (n. 12) 659, note 12.

[29] I had the possibility to study the black-and-white digital images of the Greek-Latin dictionary in the ms. Σ I 12 provided by the Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial in Madrid.

[30] Out of the three codex descriptions, only Revilla mentions that the Greek-Latin dictionary contains glosses from several different Greek authors; see Revilla (n. 22) 255–256.

[31] Cf. Σ I 12, f. 141v: "alibi ita ego benedictus legi…"

[32] Cf. Thiermann (n. 12) 659–660.

legal and other Greek literary quotations occur in a relatively high number in the whole of the Greek-Latin dictionary of ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45, the collation of a single section can provide us with valuable information about the connection of these glossary notes in the Madrid and Vienna manuscripts.

The alpha section of the Vienna codex contains approximately 50 quotations from scholia to *Plutus* or *Nubes*. All of these quotations can be found in the marginalia of the Madrid manuscript, as well. The source of the quotations is also indicated with the same abbreviations in the codex Σ I 12: *Aristoph.*, *in Aristoph.*, *in Arist.*, *in Ar*. A part of the quotations show word-by-word agreement in the two dictionaries, particularly in the case of shorter quotations consisting of only a few words. On f. 7r 24, for instance, two synonyms are quoted from the scholia to *Nubes*,[33] which are also present in the Madrid manuscript in the same form. However, we can also find longer quotations showing word-by-word agreement, e.g. on f. 37v 18.[34] It is even more instructive to see that the marginalia in the two manuscripts sometimes share the same variant or even textual error compared to the textual tradition of the Aristophanic scholia. A particularly nice example can be found for this phenomenon if one collates the marginalia quoting a scholion to *Nubes* 44c: ἀκόρητος, ἀνεπιμέλητος, ἀκαλλώπιστος. ὡρῶ γὰρ τὸ ἐπιμελοῦμαι. In Aristophane (on f. 10r 7 in ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45 and on f. 96v in Σ I 12): both codices have ὡρῶ instead of κορῶ, which appears in the codices of the *Nubes* scholia.[35]

In several cases, however, the Vienna manuscript tends to present a modified version of the Aristophanic scholia: they are either shortened or they are partly or completely translated into Latin, while in the Madrid manuscript longer versions of the marginalia can usually be found. Shortening in the Vienna manuscript is usually effected in two ways: either by omitting parts of the longer marginalia found in the codex Σ I 12 or by giving a summary of them. A good example for shortening the original scholia by leaving out parts of it is offered on f. 5r 14. While the Madrid manuscript quotes the full scholion to *Nubes*, the Vienna manuscript retains only the four different meanings of the verb ἀδολεσχῶ and omits the examples provided as an illustration of

[33] *Sch. Nub*. 1042a: αἰρουμένον προκρίναντα. In Aristophane.

[34] *Sch. Nub*. 1156a-b: In Aristophane. ἀρχεῖα, κεφάλαια, ὅτι οἱ πρῶτοι τόκοι παραταθέντος τοῦ δανείου, κεφάλαια γινόμενοι, τόκους δέχονται ἄλλους.

[35] See Koster, W. J. W. (ed.): Scholia recentiora in Nubes. In Koster, W. J. W. (ed.): *Scholia in Aristophanem*. Pars I. Prolegomena de comoedia. Scholia in Acharnenses, Equites, Nubes. Fasc. III/2. Groningen 1974, ad loc.

the alternative meanings.[36] The order of the four meanings is different in both codices compared to the scholion: the last two meanings are listed in a reversed order in both of them. The agreement in the order of the meanings nicely shows the relationship of the two marginalia even if one of them is shortened. For giving a summary of an originally longer marginal note the following gloss might be illustrative in the Vienna manuscript: on f. 11v 10, only the gist of the longer marginal note in the Madrid codex is found in Latin, i.e. the Greek lemma, ἀλεκτρυών can also mean "hen" in the works of Plato, the Athenian comic poet, a contemporary of Aristophanes. The codex Σ I 12, however, contains the whole Aristophanic scholion on this question.[37] Sometimes it also happens that parts of the original Aristophanic scholia are translated into Latin in ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45, while the Madrid manuscript contains the original Greek version in all of these instances. For instance, on f. 4v 6 in ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45,[38] a very short quotation – the explanation of the Greek word ἀδελφιδῆ – is translated into Latin. However, relatively longer passages from scholia also appear in Latin translation sometimes in ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45 (e.g. on f. 18v 26), while the codex Σ I 12 retains the original Greek version of these scholia.

In the alpha section of the Vienna manuscript, ten quotations are inserted in the margins from the abridged version of the *Basilika*, the *Synopsis Major Basilicorum*.[39] All of these quotations can also be found in the margins of the Madrid manuscript, with the same indication of the source, i.e. ἐκ τῶν νόμων. Compared to the marginal notes quoting Aristophanic scholia, it is striking that the quotations from the *Synopsis Major Basilicorum* tend to show word-by-word agreement in the two codices in the overwhelming majority of the cases, although these quotes tend to be longer than the ones from Aristophanic scholia. A good example can be found on f. 18v 15 in ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45 compared to

[36] *Sch. Nub*. 1480e: τὸ ἀδολεσχεῖν τέσσαρα σημαίνει. τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν, ὡς τὸ "ὁ δὲ δοῦλος σου ἡδολέσχει ἐν τοῖς δικαιώμασί σου", τὸ παίζειν, ὡς τὸ "ἐξῆλθεν Ἰακὼβ ἀδολεσχῆσαι εἰς τὸ πεδίον", τὸ φλυαρεῖν, ὡς τὸ "ἀδολεσχεῖς, ἄνθρωπε", καὶ τὸ ὀλιγωρεῖν, ὡς τὸ "ἡδολέσχησα καὶ ὠλιγοψύχησε τὸ πνεῦμά μου". ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45, f. 5r 14: quattuor significat hoc verbum τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν, τὸ παίζειν, τὸ ὀλιγωρεῖν, τὸ φλυαρεῖν.

[37] ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45, f. 11v 10: apud Platonem comicum et gallina (it refers to the Greek lemma ἀλεκτρυών in the main text of the Greek-Latin dictionary; cf. *sch. Nub.* 663a). Σ I 12, f. 97v: (…) ἀττικοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς θηλείας οὕτως ἐκάλουν. Πλάτων γὰρ ὁ κωμικὸς οὕτω λέγει. ἐνίοτε πολλαὶ τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνων καὶ ὑπηνέμια τίκτουσιν ᾠὰ πολλάκις. In Aristophane.

[38] ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45, 4v 6: ἀδελφιδῆ. fratris filia in Aristophane. Σ I 12, f. 93r: ἀδελφιδῆν, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα. In Aristophane. Cf. *sch. Nub*. 47.

[39] The modern textual edition of the work is available in Zépos, J. – Zépos, P.: Synopsis Basilicorum. In Zépos, J. – Zépos, P. (eds.): *Jus Graecoromanum V.* Athens 1931.

the matching gloss on f. 102r in Σ I 12.[40] If any, only minor differences can be observed between the quotations in the two manuscripts. For instance, on f. 19r 17 in ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45, the word πάντως is left out from the quotation, although it is also present in the textual tradition of the *Synopsis Major Basilicorum*.[41] This might also be a scribal error, since the following word, πᾶσα, also has the beginning πα-. In the case of the legal quotations, the two manuscripts also share the same textual variants not found elsewhere in the textual tradition of the *Synopsis Major Basilicorum* in several instances. This might be illustrated with the following example: in both the Vienna and Madrid codices,[42] the quote ends with the words πάντα τὰ δένδρα, while the manuscripts of the *Synopsis Major Basilicorum* contain the ending πάντες οἱ καρποὶ δηλοῦνται instead.

Apart from quotations from Aristophanic scholia and the *Synopsis Major Basilicorum*, other literary quotations also appear in both manuscripts: from Plato, Homer, Plutarch, Xenophon and even a Latin quotation from Nonius's *De compendiosa doctrina*. In the Vienna manuscript, however, these glossary notes tend to appear in a shortened way again: the full quotations are often omitted and only their lexicographical information is retained. An illustrative example is offered on f. 21v 25 in ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45.[43] However, one can also find instances where the Vienna manuscript also retains the full quotation (e.g. on f. 11v 18), although this is definitely a rarer phenomenon.

The matching marginal notes in the Vienna and Madrid manuscripts often contain additional lexicographical or grammatical information that can be traced back to lexicographical sources in some of the cases. They are again predominantly written in Greek, although in some instances we can find Latin

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[40] ἐκ τῶν νόμων. περὶ ἀντελλόγου χρέους. μέχρι τῆς συγκροτούσης ποσότητος τῆς ἐξ ἑκατέρου πλευροῦ κεχρεωστημένης. ἡ τοῦ ἀντελλόγου δύναμις, μίμησιν ἔχει καταβολῆς. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου ἀναιρεῖται ἑκατέρων ἡ ἀπαίτησις τῶν τόκων. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ὑπερβαλλούσῃ ποσότητι, ἔστω ἰσχυρὰ ἡ τῶν τόκων ἀπαίτησις. εἰ γε ὅλως κεχρεώστηνται τόκοι ἐξ ἐπερωτήσεως. Cf. *SMB* X II Index + *SMB* X II,47.

[41] Σ I 12, f. 102r: τὸ τῆς ἀντιγραφῆς ὄνομα νομικόν ἐστιν. ὅθεν καὶ νόμου ῥητὸν διακελεῦον. ἐχέτω π ά ν τ ω ς πᾶσα βασιλικὴ ἀντιγραφὴ τὸ εἰ ἀληθῆ ἐδίδαξε. καὶ μηδὲ ἄλλως ἐρρώσθω, cf. *SMB* B IV,6. In ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45, f. 19r, the underlined word πάντως is left out from the quotation.

[42] ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45, f. 10v 16 and Σ I 12, f. 97r: ἐκ τῶν νόμων. τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς βαλάνου πάντες οἱ καρποὶ δηλοῦνται. ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τῶν ἀκροδρύων π ά ν τ α τ ὰ δ έ ν δ ρ α.

[43] ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45, f. 21v 25: ἄξιος apud Xenophontem. Carus ut annona cara est. Σ I 12, f. 104r: σημειοτέον ὁτι ἔστιν ὁτε ἄξια λέγομεν ὥνια τὰ πολλοῦ δηλονότι τιμώμενα. Ξενοφῶν. ὅταν γε πολὺς σῖτος καὶ οἶνος γένηται ἀξίων ὄντων τῶν καρπῶν, οὐκ ἀλυσιτελεῖς αἱ γεωργίαι γίγνονται. Cf. Xen. *De vectigalibus* IV, 6.5.

glosses, as well (e.g. f. 1r 26[44]). Such glosses of lexicographical content either give a short definition (e.g. f. 3v 23[45]) or insert additional Greek-Latin lemma pairs (e.g. f. 13r 7 and 9[46]). These marginalia in the Vienna manuscript are again sometimes shortened or summarized compared to the matching glosses in the Madrid manuscript (e.g. f. 27r 26, 44v 23).

The examination of the sources of the two major groups of glossary notes in the Greek-Latin dictionary of the manuscript ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45 can thus lead us to the following conclusions: 1) The high number of glossary notes in both groups seems to indicate that their addition was the result of a systematic and organized process aiming at the conscious enlargement and broadening of the original lexicographical material of the dictionary; 2) Both major groups of glossary notes in the Vienna manuscript seem to originate from or be more closely related to a lexicographical tradition rather than a literary one: The first group of glossary notes is ultimately based on an entirely different tradition of Greek-Latin lexica; while the striking agreements of the glossary notes in the Vienna and the Madrid manuscripts suggest that a set of marginal notes containing mainly Aristophanic and legal quotations once made their appearance in the textual tradition of the Greek-Latin lexicon found in the codex Harleianus and then perhaps were handed down as a part of the dictionary in a branch of the tradition.

The two major groups of glossary notes have never been examined and discussed in such depth earlier in the related literature. Thus, the assumption has prevailed for long that the identification and meticulous analysis of the ultimate sources and their textual traditions can help us identify the glossator who added these glosses in the margins of ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45. However, the final conclusions of this paper also imply that it is highly improbable that these glossary notes in the Vienna manuscript could offer any valuable information about the person of the glossator either through their textual tradition or through their content since they seem to be rather rooted in the lexicographical tradition of contemporary Greek-Latin lexica than in the literary traditions of the works quoted or referred to in the case of the first major group of glossary notes. The second major group of marginalia with its purely lexicographical origin further confirms this statement.

[44] ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45, f. 1r and Σ I 12, f. 91r: πηνίον˙ panus tramae involucrum quam dimininutive panuclam vocamus. unde tumor inguinum ex formae similitudine sic vocatur.

[45] ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45, f. 3v and Σ I 12, f. 92v: ἀγύρτης λέγεται ὁ συναθροίζων πολλοὺς περὶ ἑαυτὸν λέγων τί ἢ ποιῶν καινότερον.

[46] ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45, f. 13r and Σ I 12, f. 98v: ἀμπελουργός vinitor; ἀμπεχόνη amictus.

Miklós Péti

Equal in Fate – Equal in Renown: Poetic Self-presentation in Homer and Milton*

"His great works were performed under discountenance, and in blindness, but difficulties vanished at his touch; he was born for whatever is arduous, and his work is not the greatest of heroic poems, only because it is not the first" – thus ends Samuel Johnson his "Life of Milton",[1] mixing biographical and critical commentary and creating the image of the blind, inspired bard also popularized in the iconographic tradition depicting "Milton dictating *Paradise Lost* to his daughters".[2] Johnson's concluding remarks are, however, also remarkable for the covert criticism they provide of the commonplace of the "oldest and foremost" poet, a title generally given to Homer since antiquity. That Homer's epics are the greatest, Johnson's words imply, is partly the result of their temporal priority, a contingent circumstance that does not in the least diminish the excellence of the Greek poet, but raises Milton's prestige a great deal. Within the context of Milton's early critical heritage, this view may be considered a rather moderate judgment of Milton's stature: Samuel Barrow, for example, concludes his Latin prefatory verses to the 1674 second edition of *Paradise Lost* evoking Propertius on the *Aeneid*: "Cedite *Romani* Scriptores, cedite *Graii* / Et quos fama recens vel celebravit anus. / Hæc quicunque leget tantum cecinesse putabit / *Mæonidem* ranas, *Virgilium* culices".[3] Or, to take another example, John Dryden, Milton's late contemporary and poet laureate of Restoration England, compares Milton to both Vergil and Homer in his epigram prefixed to the 1688 edition of the epic:

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1 Johnson, S.: *The Lives of the Poets. A Selection*. Oxford 2009, 114.

2 On this iconographic tradition see, Kovács, A. Zs.: Milton Dictating to His Daughters. Varieties on a Theme from Füssli to Munkácsy. In Ittzés, G. – Péti, M. (eds.): *Milton Through the Centuries*. Budapest 2012, 322–337.

3 Milton, J.: *Paradise Lost*. (ed.) Lewalski, B. K. Oxford 2007, 6. Unless otherwise indicated, all further references to Milton's epic are to this edition. References are in parentheses; the abbreviation *PL* is followed by the pertinent book and line number(s).

> Three *Poets*, in three distant *Ages* born,
> *Greece*, *Italy*, and *England* did adorn.
> The *First* in loftiness of thought surpass'd,
> The *Next* in Majesty, in both the *Last*:
> The force of *Nature* could no farther goe;
> To make a Third she joyned the former two.

It is one thing that Milton's early readership was impressed by the poet's achievement almost beyond measure (and several examples could be adduced to the above), interestingly enough, however, the text of *Paradise Lost* itself also encourages such comparisons with the ancients. In his several invocations or proems the epic narrator makes clear that his enterprise is "unattempted yet in Prose or Rhime" (*PL* 1.16), that he soars "Above th'*Aonian* Mount" (i.e. Helicon; *PL* 1.15), "Above the flight of *Pegasean* wing" (*PL* 7.4). Further, his "argument" is "Not less but more heroic than the wrauth / Of stern *Achilles* […] or rage / Of Turnus […] Or *Neptun*'s ire or *Juno*'s" (*PL* 9.13–19) that is, the themes of the *Iliad,* the *Aeneid*, and the *Odyssey*, respectively; and compared to his "Heav'nly Muse" (*PL* 1.6; i.e. "Urania", cf. *PL* 7.1), the classical Muse is but "an empty dreame" (*PL* 7.39).

Not that this essentially agonistic conception of Milton's relationship to his forerunners, which, in Milton's own text, often takes on a distinctively combative character,[4] should entail disrespect: the choice of subject might place Milton and his poem above the classics; *Paradise Lost*, nevertheless, professes to remain an epic in the classical tradition, its author respectfully innovating on the resources, devices, and models provided by his great predecessors. References to Homer seem particularly intriguing in this respect, especially if we take into account the possible parallels between the mythically blind figure of the ancient Greek poet/singer and the representation of the blind English bard in *Paradise Lost*. Milton's text itself seems to promote such parallels; in the invocation to Holy Light at the beginning of Book 3 the epic narrator presents a long digression on his blindness in which the narrator expresses his wish to be "equal'd in renown" (*PL* 3.34) with "Those other two equal'd with me in Fate" (*PL* 3.33), Homer, and the mythical blind bard, Thamyris. Critics and editors of *Paradise Lost* are also quite aware of Homer as a potential model: Milton still stands the surest chance as a candidate for the illustrious title of

[4] On traditional this stance, see Burrow, C.: Combative Criticism. Jonson, Milton, and Classical Literary Criticism in England. In Norton, G. P. (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism. III: The Renaissance*. Cambridge 1999, 487–499.

the "English Homer"—in a field including such names as Chaucer, Spenser, or Shakespeare.

There is, thus, a well-documented attempt both in the text of *Paradise Lost* and the poem's early critical reception to represent the epic narrator, and by extension often even Milton himself, as excelling the ancients and at the same time, becoming one of their kind. In terms of the above example we might risk that Milton is often perceived to be, as the narrator of his epic often tries to be, more Homeric than Homer. But is the desire to imitate and the promise to emulate Homer anything more than just a conventional early modern commonplace? Is the tendency in the critical reception to characterize Milton as overgoing or outdoing Homer more than just an instance of taking the text at face value and automatically submitting to its propositions? Exactly how Homeric is Milton's narrator in *Paradise Lost*? There are a number of different contexts in which one could deal with these questions in contemporary Milton Studies; my purpose in this paper is to provide only some possible answers to them by considering those elements in the Miltonic narrator's self-presentation which might meaningfully be compared to instances of poetic self-fashioning in the Homeric epics. In what follows, therefore, I will compare and contrast the Homeric and the Miltonic narrator figures from three broad (and interconnected) perspectives: the description of the origins of poetic composition, the presentation of the poet's blindness, and the subject of the epic song. As far as Milton is concerned, I will mainly focus on the invocation to Book 3 of *Paradise Lost*, but other invocations and proems and even other works by Milton will also be drawn into the discussion. My ultimate aim is thus to detect and possibly explain how one of the most un-Homeric passages of *Paradise Lost* contributes to what has been called the "intangible Homeric quality" of Milton's epic.[5]

The classical epic tradition naturally guarantees a strong link between *Paradise Lost* and the Homeric epics, but that in itself does not wash away the striking differences between the historical, cultural, and aesthetic backgrounds of early modern and ancient Greek epic poetry. It is my contention, however, that the often-overlooked role of dictation in the composition process of *Paradise Lost* provides ample platform to analyze both Milton and Homer outside the context of traditional critical commonplaces. To put my assumptions very simply, the fact that *Paradise Lost* is a dictated text had not only

[5] Harding, D. P.: *The Club of Hercules. Studies in the Classical Background of Paradise Lost.* Urbana 1962, 109.

affected the text itself, but also the poet's self-presentation. In recent decades several Miltonists have tried to call attention to the difference between Milton the poet and the narrator of *Paradise Lost* (elements of whose autobiographical narratives undoubtedly feature important resemblances to Milton's life), and Robert McMahon has even argued that "Milton exploited in an original way the poetic resources in the epic convention of an oral Bard".[6] One can partly agree with this statement: the narrator of *Paradise Lost* does repeatedly and consistently present himself singing his "song" (cf. e.g. *PL* 1.13) rather than writing his poem. However, what McMahon calls an "epic convention" was for Milton the stark reality: the poet who was one of the most literate people of his generation (in both senses of the word) was forced in his forties to switch to a completely different mode of composition.[7] In dictating his late masterpieces Milton inevitably had to readjust his working methods, and while the new situation did not transform himself into a seventeenth century *aoidos* or the "guslar of Chalfont St. Giles", the texts he produced got strangely and quite uniquely caught up between oral and written discourses. I propose that this fact places *Paradise Lost* in a different category than other "secondary" or literary epics, and also warrants a comparison with the Homeric poems. In the present paper I contend, more specifically, that the circumstances of the epic's composition had significantly influenced, among other things, the way the narrator presents himself. The long invocations of the poem, especially the invocation to Book 3 with its strong narratorial presence, provide an excellent field to test this hypothesis as well as to fathom the differences between Miltonic and Homeric self-fashioning.

The proem to Book 3 explicitly thematizes the uniqueness of the poem's conception for the first time. After the invocation to Holy Light, the narrator enters into a long digression on his blindness:

> thee [the Holy Light] I revisit safe,
> And feel thy sovran vital Lamp; but thou
> Revisit'st not these eyes, that rowle in vain
> To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn;
> So thick a drop serene hath quencht thir Orbs,
> Or dim suffusion veild. Yet not the more

[6] McMahon, R.: *The Two Poets of Paradise Lost.* Baton Rouge 1998, 6.

[7] See also Joseph Wittreich's criticism of McMahon's position: Wittreich, J.: 'Reading' Milton: The Death (and Survival) of the Author. *Milton Studies* 38 (2000) 10–46, 13.

Cease I to wander where the Muses haunt
Cleer Spring, or shadie Grove, or Sunnie Hill,
Smit with the love of sacred Song; but chief
Thee *Sion* and the flowrie Brooks beneath
That wash thy hallowd feet, and warbling flow,
Nightly I visit: nor somtimes forget
Those other two equal'd with me in Fate,
So were I equal'd with them in renown,
Blind *Thamyris* and blind *Mæonides*,
And *Tiresias* and *Phineus* Prophets old.
Then feed on thoughts, that voluntarie move
Harmonious numbers; as the wakeful Bird
Sings darkling, and in shadiest Covert hid
Tunes her nocturnal Note. Thus with the Year
Seasons return, but not to me returns
Day, or the sweet approach of Ev'n or Morn,
Or sight of vernal bloom, or Summers Rose,
Or flocks, or heards, or human face divine;
But cloud in stead, and ever-during dark
Surrounds me, from the chearful wayes of men
Cut off, and for the Book of knowledg fair
Presented with a Universal blanc
Of Natures works to mee expung'd and ras'd,
And wisdome at one entrance quite shut out.
So much the rather thou Celestial light
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
Irradiate, there plant eyes, all mist from thence
Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell
Of things invisible to mortal sight. (*PL* 3.21–55)

This powerful section, featuring a number of different discourses from biographical recollection through conventional homage to lament and prayer, has often been branded a digression which, however, most critics "would not wish out of the poem" (to use Addison's words) for its beauty.[8] Indeed, compared to invocations in classical epic, the amount of material extraneous

[8] *The Spectator* Saturday, February 9 1712 In Addison, J.: *Critical Essays from the Spectator.* (ed.) Bond, D. F. Oxford 1970, 86.

to the plot or the prospective design of the poem seems overwhelming; the lines are, nevertheless, instrumental in enhancing the special character of the epic narrator as well as in reinterpreting the traditional problem of blindness and insight. Starting with the representation of the blind bard, an interesting duality is immediately noticeable. Milton's narrator is keen to be presented as an active agent in the creation of the epic: in spite of his bereavement he does not "Cease […] to wander where the Muses haunt", nightly visits "*Sion* and the flowrie Brooks beneath", and "feed[s] on thoughts", that is, he carries on studying, searching, preparing for, and pondering on his "great Argument" (*PL* 1.24). At the same time, however, he is the passive receiver of inspiration: like Vergil he is "Smit with the love of sacred Song",[9] his thoughts "voluntarie [i.e. involuntarily] move / Harmonious numbers", and he prays to Holy Light to "Purge and disperse" the mist from his mind and to "plant eyes" there. There is, thus, in Milton's text, a simultaneous presence of creative effort and supernatural assistance, which might remind one of the "unity of subjective purpose and divine gift" (to use Zsigmond Ritoók's words) characteristic of the description of Homeric bards.[10] Like Phemios who is "self-taught", *but* "the god has planted in [his] heart lays of all sorts", Milton's narrator is proud, even boasting of his individual effort, while not forgetting about the Muse's special intellectual allowance.[11]

In the text of *Paradise Lost* this "double motivation" is strongly connected to the circumstances of composition, especially the motif of nightly inspiration.[12] In the lines above, the narrator pays nocturnal visits to *Sion* (i.e. he listens to or meditates on the psalms), remembers his predecessors, and "feed[s] on thoughts". In other parts of the epic, however, it is the Muse who nightly visits the "slumbring", that is, not entirely conscious poet.[13] In the invocation to Book 7, for example, the epic voice complains of being "fall'n on evil dayes" and "evil tongues" and

[9] Cf. *Georgics* 2.475–476.

[10] Ritoók, Zs.: The Views of Early Greek Epic on Poetry and Art. *Mnemosyne* 42 (1989) 331–348.

[11] αὐτοδίδακτος δ᾽ εἰμί, θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἴμας / παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν. *Od.* 22.347–348. Hereafter I quote Homer and the translation of his poems from the Loeb edition (Cambridge 1995). Following Ritoók, I emphasize δέ by translating it "but". See Ritoók (n. 10) 342.

[12] On the "double motivation" of the Homeric singers, see also De Jong, I.: The Homeric Narrator and His Own *Kleos*. *Mnemosyne* 59.2 (2006) 188–207.

[13] Cf. *OED* s.v. "slumber" 1a.

> In darkness, and with dangers compast round,
> And solitude; set not alone, while thou [i.e. Urania]
> Visit'st my slumbers Nightly, or when Morn
> Purples the East. (*PL* 7.26–30)

Then, in the invocation to Book 9, he is even more explicit as he pleads for "answerable style" from his

> Celestial Patroness, who deignes
> Her nightly visitation unimplor'd,
> And dictates to me slumbring, or inspires
> Easie my unpremeditated Verse. (*PL* 9.21–24.)

Milton's early biographers and critics supplied ample material for later commentators to identify in these sections the very circumstances of the epic's composition.[14] The biographical interpretation is undoubtedly significant if we are interested in the actual historical process of composition, but in itself is not enough to account for the image of the epic narrator developing in these lines. Accordingly, Alastair Fowler has convincingly suggested the story of Caedmon's "nightly visitations" as recited by Bede Venerabilis as a possible parallel to the special inspiration Milton's narrator receives.[15] The reference to the medieval dream-vision tradition, and especially to Caedmon who, according to Bede, "was wont to make songs fit for religion and godliness", seems especially apt if we want to emphasize pervasive themes, and even continuity between medieval and early modern English literature.[16] From the perspective of Milton's classical predecessors, however, the duality of nightly visiting Sion and being nightly visited by the Muse as well as the possible ambiguity of the poet "slumbring" while also receiving *dictation* from the Muse (as well as the underlying fact of Milton himself *dictating* his epic) also recalls the description of Demodocus by Alkinoos, to whom "above all others had the god granted skill in song, to give delight in whatever way his spirit prompts him to sing".[17]

[14] Cf. Darbishire, H.: *The Early Lives of Milton*. Oxford 1932, 33, 291.

[15] Milton, J.: *Paradise Lost*. (ed.) Fowler, A. London 2007, note 469.

[16] "carmina religioni et pietati apta facere solebat" In *Baedae Opera Historica* transl. J. E. King, Cambridge 1931, 2:140–141.

[17] *Od.* 8.44–45. τῶι γάρ ῥα θεὸς πέρι δῶκεν ἀοιδὴν / τέρπειν, ὅππηι θυμὸς ἐποτρύνηισιν ἀείδειν. On the possible meanings of "dictates" in the invocation to Book 9, see my article "'Dictates to me slumbring': Orality, Literacy, and Inspiration in Paradise Lost" (forthcoming).

Like early Greek poets, who, in their descriptions of poetic inspiration, put equal emphasis on human endeavor and divine gift[18], Milton presents his epic narrator as consciously involved in poetic creation and involuntarily inspired by the Muse at the same time. What is more, as in the case of the Homeric singers the "gift or teaching does not preclude learning,[19] [but] presupposes it", so the epic voice in *Paradise Lost* can actually talk about the process of "choosing" his epic subject:

> Since first this Subject for Heroic Song
> Pleas'd me long choosing, and beginning late;
> Not sedulous by Nature to indite
> Warrs, hitherto the onely Argument
> Heroic deem'd, chief maistrie to dissect
> With long and tedious havoc fabl'd Knights
> In Battels feign'd; the better fortitude
> Of Patience and Heroic Martyrdom
> Unsung; or to describe Races and Games,
> Or tilting Furniture, emblazon'd Shields,
> Impreses quaint, Caparisons and Steeds;
> Bases and tinsel Trappings, gorgious Knights
> At Joust and Torneament; then marshal'd Feast
> Serv'd up in Hall with Sewers, and Seneshals;
> The skill of Artifice or Office mean,
> Not that which justly gives Heroic name
> To Person or to Poem. Mee of these
> Nor skilld nor studious, higher Argument
> Remaines. (Cf. *PL* 9.25–43)

In their attempt to redefine the heroic, these lines seem to perform Milton's characteristic strategy of *epicrisis* or *adiudictio*, that is, of fully reproducing an idea in order to pass criticism on it.[20] They are, however, also significant because of the way they problematize the question of inspiration vs. artifice, art vs. craft. The narrator expressly disavows "skill" and "study" in conventional

[18] Cf. Murray, P.: Poetic Inspiration in Early Greece. *JHS* 101 (1981) 81–100.

[19] Cf. Ritoók (n. 10) 342–343.

[20] On this Miltonic strategy cf. Shore, D.: Why Milton Is Not an Iconoclast. *PMLA* 127.1 (2012) 22–37.

epic devices and themes, and he also rejects the "Office mean" of previous epic poets in the name of his "higher Argument". This professed lack of interest in conventional epic themes, styles, and poetic roles is presented as the result of conscious and deliberate choice ("long choosing, and beginning late"), but also as the sign of being chosen (the "higher Argument" *remains* to the narrator): the voluntary rejection of earlier models is, paradoxically, both the precondition and the result of higher inspiration.

Thus, the presence of a kind of "double motivation" in the presentation of Milton's epic narrator, although highly similar to what we read in Homeric accounts of singers, is actually one of the means of keeping distance from the ancients. The theodicy at the heart of Milton's enterprise, the justification of "the wayes of God to men" (*PL* 1.26) necessitates a new epic subject and style as well as an epic singer with a new mode and model of inspiration. Writing an epic in the classical tradition, Milton cannot break with the strict thematic and formal conventions of the genre; instead, he thoroughly reforms them, endowing received forms with new content and function. This is also true of the motif of blindness, which will take on a different meaning in *Paradise Lost* than in Homer. Blindness is both a blessing and a curse for Milton's narrator, just like for Demodocus, whom, as Homer points out "the Muse loved above all other men, and gave him both good and evil". As Demodocus received "the gift of sweet song" for the loss of his eyesight,[21] the singer in *Paradise Lost* has to exchange his disability into the ability to "see and tell / Of things invisible to mortal sight" (*PL* 3.54-55). The intellectual compensation for blindness, and the idea that the blind singer is in possession of "knowledge which is beyond the reach of ordinary human beings" are of course commonplaces with distinct ancient and early modern reverberations,[22] and in his song about the love between Ares and Aphrodite Demodocus also sings about "things invisible to mortal sight". But that is where similarities and common motifs end. The invisible things Milton presents are obviously not mere tales of delight, but integral parts of the cosmic drama of fall and redemption. Also, whereas for Demodocus blindness is the token of his equidistance and even aloofness from his audience, the role of Milton's epic narrator is that of the paraclete or advocate of God; in fact, he is much more like those speakers and singers in early Greek epic whose purpose is to manipulate their audience,

[21] *Od*. 8.63–64. τὸν πέρι μοῦσ᾽ ἐφίλησε, δίδου δ᾽ ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε· / ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε, δίδου δ᾽ ἡδεῖαν ἀοιδήν.

[22] Graziosi, B.: *Inventing Homer: The Early Reception of Epic*. Cambridge 2002, 142; see also Wind, E.: *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*. Oxford 1980, 56.

and whose concerns are, significantly, bound up with the present.[23] Through Milton's reinventing, and innovating on, the role Homer assigns to his chief singer-figure—whom in one of his early pieces Milton actually called "wise Demodocus"—the traditional motif of blindness becomes instrumental in Milton's critique of traditional epic modes and themes.[24]

Nowhere is this more apparent in the invocation under discussion than in the detailed catalogue of lost spectacles ("but not to me returns", etc.) and the shortlist of blind epic (and prophetic) predecessors (Thamyris, Maeonides, etc). As far as the former is concerned, Miltonists have consistently, and correctly, tried to steer interpretation away from the rather obvious vestiges of autobiographical lament in the passage. Thus, Roger B. Rollin called the attention to the use of irony in the passage (the narrator cannot see the flowers, the flocks, etc. yet it is through his representation that the audience gets a glimpse of them), Stella Revard characterized it as "integral part of a hymnic digression", and Angelica Duran argued for generic and iconographic differences between representations of the blind bard in the sonnets and the invocations.[25] Further, according to Anne Ferry, Milton's images here "are obviously intended to remind us of pastoral poetry", and Franklin R. Baruch points out how these images "mingle the poet-figure with universal experience and frames of reference far larger than himself" as a result of which his blindness will become "a pre-condition for a vision embracing the universe".[26] To these we may add that the detailed description of things visible may also be interpreted as lack of access to, and, as such, even a conscious steering away from the iconographic traditions of classical epic, and especially the pictorial world of the Homeric similes. As already Aristarchus pointed out, Homer always makes his similes "from the things which are known to all"; which is, incidentally, a

[23] For this type of narrator see Scodel, R.: Bardic performance and oral tradition in Homer. *American Journal of Philology* 119.2 (1998) 171-194.

[24] See Milton's poem entitled "At a Vacation Exercise".

[25] Rollin, R. B.: *Paradise Lost*: "Tragical-Comical-Historical-Pastoral." *Milton Studies* 5 (1973) 3–38, 32. Revard, S.: Milton and the Progress of the Epic Proemium. *Milton Studies* 38 (2000) 122–140, 129. See also Chambers, A. B.: Wisdom at one entrance quite shut out: Paradise Lost, III, 1-55. *Philological Quarterly* 44 (1965) 218–225. Chambers finds the source of Milton's catalogue in *Timaeus* 47a-c. Duran, A.: The Blind Bard, According to John Milton and His Contemporaries. *Mosaic: a journal for the interdisciplinary study of literature* 46.3 (2013) 141–157.

[26] Ferry, A.: *Milton's epic voice: the narrator in Paradise lost*. Chicago 1963, 30. Baruch, F. R.: Milton's Blindness: The Conscious and Unconscious Patterns of Autobiography. *ELH* (1975) 26-37, 37.

chief source of the vividness or *enargeia* characterizing these images.[27] Milton's catalogue of spectacles focusing on universally available sights is characterized by a similar kind of vividness, while the actual epic similes of *Paradise Lost* usually explore a very different visuality.[28] It is, then, not so much the world of pastoral poetry, but rather Homeric *enargeia* that is evoked, in order to be removed in these lines.

The central section of the invocation, the crucial reference to the narrator's predecessors, is similarly a mixture of homage and dissent. To the two blind poets sharing the epic voice's fate the narrator adds two prophets, which is not so much a sign of Milton's (or his "Editor's") mathematical negligence—as his eighteenth century critic, Richard Bentley, suggested—but rather the attempt to complete the new image of the poet as prophet Milton has been developing in his epic.[29] Most commentators remark, however, that the four persons evoked do not form a homogenous group: to the emblematic figures of Homer Maeonides and Teiresias Milton adds lesser known names, Thamyris and Phineus, respectively.[30] Not only are these latter two obscure, but they are also quite problematic: Thamyris was blinded due to his boasts against the Muses, while Phineus lost his eyesight because he revealed what the gods planned. Accordingly, their mentioning could be considered the narrator's self-caution (against hubris), or, as Noam Flinker has argued, an attempt to combine (and "tap") different poetic and prophetic traditions.[31] From the vantage point of the "higher Argument" (*PL* 9.42) of *Paradise Lost*, however, the curious grouping of names could also be indicative of the narrator's effort to level the achievements of his predecessors regardless of their nature and outcome. Not surprisingly, therefore, Milton's phrasing of the wish to be "equal'd with them in renown" allows for not only the ambition to reach, but also the desire to rival the fame of old poets and prophets.[32]

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[27] ὁ γὰρ Ὅμηρος ἀπὸ τῶν γινωσκομένων πᾶσι ποιεῖται τὰς ὁμοιώσεις, quoted in and translated by Nünlist, R.:*The Ancient Critic at Work: Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia.* Cambridge 2009, 296.

[28] On this problem see my article: A heap of broken images or, why Milton is an iconoclast? *Classical Receptions Journal* 6.2 (2014) 270–293.

[29] Bentley, R.: *Milton's Paradise Lost. A New Edition*. London 1732, note 78.

[30] Cf. e.g. Fowler (n. 15) note 168, and others.

[31] Flinker, N.: Courting Urania: The Narrator of Paradise Lost Invokes his Muse. In Walker, J. M. (ed.) *Milton and the Idea of Woman.* Chicago 1988, 89.

[32] Cf. *OED* s.v. "equal" 3.

The strikingly detailed image of the epic narrator of *Paradie Lost* is of course a far cry from either the rather minimal "Homeric self-fashioning" or the ways in which singers (such as Demodocus or Phemios) are presented in the Homeric epics. As I have argued, however, Milton creates this image with recourse to, and through the profound transformation of, some of the most important structural elements in these brief Homeric poet-portraits, the double-motivation and the motif of blindness. Introducing a new type of epic *enargeia* in his "higher Argument", the narrator of *Paradise Lost* wishes for his fair share of "renown" (in early modern English the word is often a translation of the Greek *kleos*), that is, he promotes himself in the similar way as Homeric narrators do, and even lays an implicit claim for becoming the "hero" of his own poem.[33] Unlike "modest" Homeric epic, however, which "generally treats other epic traditions respectfully rather than competitively",[34] Milton's narrator explicitly stakes his claim for fame against his predecessors. With this final, ironic twist on Homeric values *Paradise Lost* yet once more proposes to retain and at the same time replace the Homeric heritage.

[33] Cf. De Jong (n. 13). For the poet as hero cf. in Milton's case, Fish, S.: *Surprised by Sin*: *The reader in Paradise Lost.* Cambridge 1998, 207; in Homer's Richardson, S. C.: *The Homeric Narrator*. Nashville 1990, 181.

[34] Scodel, R.: The Modesty of Homer. In Mackie, C. J. (ed.): *Oral Performance and Its Contexts*. Leiden 2004, 1–20, esp. 1.

Lajos Zoltán Simon

"Ov'ancor le sirene uson cantare"* Giovanni Boccaccio's *Silva cadens* (*Buccolicum carmen* 5)

Although Boccaccio's *Buccolicum carmen* is a highly neglected field of research, the political commitment of the so-called Neapolitan Eclogues (*Bucc. carm.* 3–6), displaying a radical change, the *inocerenza politico-morale* in Vittore Branca's formulation, has triggered quite many controversies. On the one hand, in Eclogue 3 (*Faunus*) Boccaccio committed himself to the Hungarian king Lewis the Great, who had launched a campaign against the Kingdom of Naples upon the bestial murder of his brother, Andrew of Hungary. On the other hand, Eclogue 4 (*Dorus*) already describes the hardships encountered by Louis of Taranto, Joanna's new husband, fleeing from Naples to escape the Hungarian troops. Eclogue 5 (*Silva cadens*) bemoans the fall of Naples, while Eclogue 6 (*Alcestus*) celebrates Louis of Taranto, who had returned to Naples following the sudden homecoming of the Hungarian king. According to the compact summary of Vittore Branca, the tone of the Neapolitan Eclogues gradually turns from an invective into a palinode, an elegy, and a paean: *Dall'invettiva volge succesivamente alla palinodia, all'elegia, al peana*.[1] In Branca's view, Boccaccio

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[1] "Lungo un tempo che è difficile fissare, il Boccaccio passa in questi componimenti da posizioni favorevoli a re Luigi d'Ungheria e da accuse per Giovanna e i Taranto (III, nella duplice redazione) a deprecazioni sulla ferocia ungherese e sulla misera fine di Carlo di Durazzo, a giudizi benevoli per Luigi di Taranto e i suoi seguaci, a rimpianti del buon tempo antico di Roberto, a esaltazioni dei sovrani e dell'Acciaiuoli (IV, V, VI). Dall'invettiva volge successivamente alla palinodia, all'elegia, al peana." Branca, V.: *Boccaccio. Profilo biografico.* Firenze 1977, 76. In the latest handbook on Boccaccio, D. Lummus refers to this compact formulation of Branca, however, somewhat imprecisely: "Vittore Branca has pointed out that the invective of the fourth eclogue turns into the elegy of the fifth, Silva cadens («Falling Forest»), and the paean of the sixth, Alcestus." Lummus, D.: The Changing Landscape of the Self. In Kirkham, V. – Sherberg, M. – Smarr, J. L. (eds.): *Boccaccio. A Critical Guide to the Complete Works*. Chicago and London 2013, 158. In fact, in Branca's interpretation, Eclogue 3 is the anti-Neapolitan

may have informed himself better on the events in Naples after the completion of the *Faunus* favouring the Hungarians, or he may simply have adjusted himself to the changes of Florentine politics, or perhaps he began to hope for the support of the Neapolitan court and mainly of Acciaiuoli.[2] All of the above could be quite understandable, and it is also a fact that the rash execution of Charles of Durazzo had turned the public opinion against the initially sympathetic Hungarian king not only in Naples, but in the whole of Italy, too. However, it should be kept in mind that the poet closed the collection of 16 eclogues only in 1366, almost twenty years after the events in Naples. Thus, Boccaccio, who often amended and altered his texts, would have had plenty of opportunities to eliminate or at least soften the political and moral incoherence of the Neapolitan Eclogues.[3] The fact that the *Silva cadens* has received little attention even in the few works dealing with the *Buccolicum carmen* in detail may also be the result of this indeterminacy of the interpretation. In his still indispensable handbook E. Carrara only just mentions this cold and lengthy (*fredda e prolissa*) eclogue, in which the changed political views of the poet (*il mutato animo del Boccaccio*) are reflected.[4] G. Lidonicci, who analyses the

invective, 4 is the palinode, 5 the elegy, and 6 the paean. Similarly Perini, G. B.: Buccolicum carmen, Introduzione. In Branca, V. (ed.): *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio. V/2*. Milano 1994, 696.

[2] "è evidente che il Boccaccio rivedevea e rettificava i suoi giudizi; sia per un miglior conoscenza dei fatti, sia in armonia alla politica fiorentina, sia in fine per le sue mai nascoste simpatie e – perché no? – speranze rivolte alla Corte angioina e all'Acciaiuoli…" Branca (n. 1) 76. note 36. For the sake of interest let us mention that the scholars writing about the *Buccolicum Carmen* in the patriotic atmosphere of Hungary celebrating its millennium (1896) have sharply criticized Boccaccio's Neapolitan Eclogues. In L. Kropf's view, Boccaccio was a common turncoat and a political weathercock ("egészen közönséges köpönyegforgató volt és politikai szélkakas."). Az aversai gyilkosság [The Murder in Aversa] 1–4. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 13 (1896) 265. A. Radó is somewhat more understanding. According to him, Boccaccio soon began to sing another tune after the Hungarian troops had invaded Naples and news of the devastation by foreigners came from here and there: his patriotic sentiment superseded his feeling for justice and in his fifth eclogue he bemourned the grim fate of the regions ravaged by the Hungarians ("De Boccaccio csakhamar más húrt kezdett pengetni. Midőn a magyar sereg elözönlötte Nápolyt, midőn innen is, onnan is az idegenek okozta pusztulásról érkezett hír: a hazafias érzés erősebb lett benne az igazságérzetnél és V. eclogájában siratta a magyarok dúlta vidékek gyászos végzetét."). *Az olasz irodalom története [A History of Italian Literature] I–II*. Budapest 1896, I, 200.

[3] "Il Buccolicum carmen, quale noi lo leggiamo nell'autografo Riccardiano, e infatti un testo omogeneo, che riferisce i sentimenti e le opinioni del Boccaccio dopo il '62. Ricci, P. G.: Per la cronologia del „Buccolicum carmen". In Ricci, P. G.: *Studi sulla vita e le opere del Boccaccio.* Milano-Napoli 1985, 51.

[4] Carrara, E.: *La poesia pastorale*. Milano 1909, 114.

Neapolitan Eclogues in detail, also stresses the monotony of the eclogue, which thus does not deserve to be treated in further detail, but which faithfully reflects the poet's shock at the devastation of Naples.[5]

It is known that Boccaccio whiled in Forlì in 1347, at the time of the revenge campaign of the Hungarian king Lewis the Great, and that Francesco Ordelaffi, his patron there, joined the Hungarian troops crossing Italy. In the eclogue he was given the name Faunus for his passion for hunting and his bravery, and Lewis the Great appears in the mask of Tytirus, the noblest shepherd, who sets out from the Danube to punish the she-wolf and the yellowish lions:

> Sed postquam Tytirus ista
> cognovit de rupe cava que terminat Hystrum,
> flevit et innumeros secum de vallibus altis
> Danubii vocitare canes durosque bubulcos
> infrendens cepit; linquensque armenta suosque
> saltus infandam tendit discerpere silvam,
> atque lupam captare petit flavosque leones
> ut penas tribuat meritis: nam frater Alexis
> Tytirus iste fuit. (3. 95–103)

The hint at Joanna and the conspirators is unmistakable. The atmosphere of the eclogue is cheerful in spite of the epic subject matter, and, in accordance with Boccaccio's conception of the genre opposing Petrarch's highly sublime eclogues, it is more than once comic: his mother or wife (in other interpretations, the town of Forlì or the Chruch), the worrying Testilis, desperately tries to hold Faunus back, but as a wise shepherd, Palemon, remarks, who could bridle the adventurous spirit of young men. It is women who should guard the house, *sedeant in limine matres* (122). Formulations taken from Roman comedy are not rare in the dialogues: *parvi pendis* (3),[6] *auribus accipe voces* (8),[7] *aperi percepta* (11), *nostin* (36).[8] There are also numerous examples for the parody of epic formulas. Pamphylus orders Palemon to stop his swine-herd by subverting the expression *siste gradum* well-known from the *Aeneid*,[9] and at the same time

[5] Boccaccio, G.: *Il „Buccolicum carmen"*. Trascritto di su l'autografo Riccardiano e illustrato per cura di G. Lidonicci. Città di Castello 1914, 198.

[6] Plautus, *Rud*. 650; Terence, *Heaut*. 715; *Hec*. 513.

[7] Plautus, *Cas*. 879; *Men*. 4; *Trin*. 828; Terence, *Hec*. 363.

[8] Plautus, *Truc*. 743.

[9] Vergil, *Aen*. 6. 465.

parodying Horace's famous spring ode (*Diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis…*):[10] *I, siste sues, ne gramina campis evellant rostris.* (5–6).[11] The murder of Andrew, however, is narrated in an all the more gloomy, almost Dantesque tone by another figure, Meris: the uncautious young man, while leading the herd confided to his care, fearlessly entered the pitchdark living quarters of wild animals and stumbled upon a frightfully furious pregnant she-wolf, who immediately sprang at him, sinking her teeth into his throat in a rage, so that Alexis, i.e. Andrew, met Adonis' fate on the hidden path of the wilderness:

> Ast moriens silvas iuveni commisit Alexi,
> qui cautus modicum dum armenta per arva trahebat
> in gravidam tum forte lupam rabieque tremendam
> incidit, inpavidus nullo cum lumine lustrum
> ingrediens; cuius surgens sevissima guctur
> dentibus invasit, potuit neque ab inde revelli
> donec et occulto spirasset tramite vita.
> Hoc fertur. Plerique volunt quod silva leones
> nutriat hec dirasque feras, quibus ipse severus
> occurrens venans mortem suscepit Adonis.[12] (3. 82–91)

The description raising Andrew to the rank of the mythological hero of pastoral poetry refers to Joanna's debauchery and profligate lifestyle unmistakeably: not only is *lupa* ambiguous, but the forest hiding place, *lustrum*, can also mean a brothel.

This troubled and sinister tone then becomes dominant in Eclogue 4 entitled *Dorus*, which describes the flight of Louis of Taranto and his loyal courtman,

[10] *Carm*. 4.7.

[11] It should be noted that although Vergil's influence can be detected throughout the poem, we cannot wholly agree with G. Resta's view, according to which Boccaccio's work – besides his competition with Petrarch – is characterized by the consequent evocation, moreover the meticulous reproduction of the Vergilian model: "piú appariscente sarà l'insistito richiamo all'esempio virgiliano tradotto in una puntigliosa riproduzione di schemi, formule, tipologie, nel consapevole, coerente ed approfondito intento di instaurare in area neolatina un 'codice' retorico bucolico modellato sullo exemplar virgiliano." Resta, G.: Codice bucolico boccacciano. In *I classici nel medioevo e nell'umanesimo. Miscellanea filologica.* Genova 1975, 71. Similarly L. Paoletti on the *Faunus*: "un pastiche di modelli ed echi diversi, dominati alla sovrabbondante presenza di Virgilio, e, con frequenza meno vistosa, di Ovidio." Virgilio e Boccaccio. In Chevalier, R. (ed.): *Présence de Virgile.* [Actes du Colloque des 9, 11 et 12 Décembre 1976 (Paris E. N. S.)] Tours–Paris 1978, 249–263.

[12] Adonis is a genitive here, cf. Perini (n. 1) 944.

Niccolò Acciauoli, from Naples to Tuscany. The change of tone is well-reflected by the fact that according to the author, Dorus, the bucolic name of Louis of Taranto in Eclogue 4, means *bitter* in Greek,[13] while in Eclogue 6 he bears the name Alcestus. Here, Boccaccio obviously alludes to Alcestis, who had been brought back from the underworld, yet, he goes on to give the etymology of the name: *alce* means *virtus*, and *estus* means *vehemence* (*fervor*).[14] Even more astounding is the sudden transformation of the Hungarian King Lewis. The good Tytirus of the *Faunus*, the fearless and just leader of all honest shepherds now appears as the savage Polyphemus: he strips off the bark of fruit trees with his bare nails, stains the clear spring water with blood, snaps the branches of trees with his teeth, and destroys even the colourfully feathered birds with a hoarse cry:

> Exuit infaustos ungues truculentior angue
> frendens, et pomis foliis et cortice nudat
> fructeta, et vitreos perturbans sanguine fontes,
> dentibus infringens ramos pictasque volucres
> murmure disperdens claustrisque repagula frangens;
> omne pecus mungit, decerpit, vellera tondet,
> absorbet natos, miseras eviscerat agnas:
> si peiora nequit, rescindit cornua tauris. (4. 76–83)

In Eclogue 5 Calcidia already bemoans this wasted, ravaged grove that had no equal in the whole world. A more thorough analysis of the text and the allusions of *Silva cadens*, however, reveals that the elegiac-idealizing traits of the image of Naples are in fact highly relative.

From the jut of Sicily, wandering in the flowery meadows of Cape Pelorus (*florida rura Pelori*, 6), the narrator of the eclogue, Caliopus, not only hears but also sees Calcidia, the personification of Naples, bemourning the ruin of the city on the sea-shore. From here he hurries on – another epic formula – *celeri*

[13] "Quarte egloge titulus est Dorus hanc ob causam: tractatur enim in ea de fuga Lodovici regis Sicilie; et quoniam liquisse proprium regnum eidem regi amarissimum credendum est, ut satis in processu egloge percipitur, ab amaritudine eam denominavi, nam grece «doris», «amaritudo» latine sonat." *Epist*. XXIII. The source of this misunderstanding is the attributive phrase *Doris amara* (5) "sea of bitter water" in Vergil's Eclogue 10, cf. Perini (n. 1) 947.

[14] "Sexta egloga Alcestus dicitur, eo quod de reditu regis prefati in regnum proprium loquatur, quem regem ego hic 'Alcestum' voco, ut per hoc nomen sentiatur quoniam circa extremum tempus vite sue optimi regis virtuosi mores assumpserat: et Alcestus dicitur ab 'alce', quod est 'virtus', et 'estus', quod est 'fervor'." *Epist*. XXIII.

passu (127)[15] to the Neapolitan Pamphylus, who is obviously far away from Naples, since he is singing about his beloved city free from care, unaware of the mournful events, as the opening lines show.[16] Thus, Boccaccio suspends spatial distances in a tale-like manner, as Perini has pointed out.[17] T. Leuker seeks to confute Perini's interpretation, according to him, the *netta dimensione metageografica* does not exist. Based on Servius he argues that the syrenes first inhabited Cape Pelorus, then the island of Capri. In Leuker's opinion Calcidia took refuge from the political turbulences of Naples at Parthenope's former whereabouts, thus the phrase *in litore Parthenopis* (26–27) would refer to Cape Pelorus.[18] However, this interpretation is forced under several aspects. Firstly, a similar suspension of spatial distances can also be observed elsewhere, so in Eclogue 4. Dorus and Phytias, i.e. the escaping Louis and his escort come to the humble cave of a shepherd called Montanus somewhere in Tuscany. Phytias comforts the still fearful prince: they are safe here, since, from the height of the hill, one can overlook the plain of Pisa, the grazing herds on the slopes of Tuscany, the distant Alps, the Rhône valley, and even the scarlet birettas of the cardinals residing in Avignon can be clearly discerned:

> Si potius nil, Dore, petis, quid summere differs
> oblatum? Spectare potes de vertice campos
> alpheos tuscosque greges alpesque remotas
> et ligurum saltus, Rhodanum rubrosque galeros

[15] Ovid, *Fasti* 2. 205.

[16] "Pamphyle, tu placidos tecum meditaris amores / Calcidie, viridi recubans in gramine solus; / ipsa dolens deflet miseras quas nescio silvas." (5. 1–3)

[17] "C'è nell'egloga una netta dimensione metageografica se dalla Sicilia (*sicilidum* per il classico *Sicelidum*; *Pelori*) Caliopo può udire i lamenti di Calcidia/Napoli, e se alla fine (127 sg.) può andare «di corsa» da Panfilo che è un «napoletano» ben lontano da Napoli (come autorizza a credere la spiegazione a Martino) e verosimilmente in Firenze. Non è solo questione di visione unitaria del Regno angioino, di continuità tra Sicilia e Napoli (v. a. III 69) ma di poetico annullamento delle distanze, di contiguità affettiva alle sciagure della *silva cadens*." Perini (n. 1) 955.

[18] "Contrariamente a quanto sostiene Giorgio Bernardi Perini, ultimo editore del *Buccolicum carmen*, questa spiaggia non è quella napoletana, lontanissima dai «boschi siciliani», bensì quella del capo del Peloro: anch'essa, in effetti, può essere chiamata 'spiaggia di Partenope', giacché le sirene, a dire di Servio, vi erano vissute prima di trasferirsi all'isola di Capri. Secondo lo scenario immaginato da Boccaccio, Calcidia, scacciata dal suo nido dai turbini politici che agitavano Napoli all'inizio del 1348, si era rifugiata presso la prima dimora italica di Partenope, la sirena considerata 'napoletana' per la leggenda che situa la sua tomba sul territorio della città." Leuker, T.: Due maestri del Boccaccio. Il papagallo e la fenice nel ritratto allegorico della Napoli di Roberto d'Angiò. (*Buccolicum carme*n V 28–68) *Studi sul Boccaccio* 35 (2007) 148 f.

metiri ac egram mentem revocare quiete.
Montani laudanda fides. I, summe. Quid obstat? (4. 16–21)

On the other hand, nothing in the text of the eclogue implies that Calcidia would be leaving the Neapolitan sea-shore:

Illa diu postquam faunos nymphasque vocavit
in cassum, pectusque manu pulsavit et ora,
vocibus assiduis syrene in litore fractis
Parthenopis residens misere singultibus inquit… (5. 24–27)

This is not only significant concerning Boccaccio's poetic devices. The parallel to the closing scene of Petrarch's eclogue entitled *Argus* is conspicuous. There, two of the three characters of the eclogue escape from the devastated forest after the terrible storm hitting Naples, which symbolizes the political crisis leading to Andrew's murder, when the *lacrimabilis arbor* (18), the slender cypress representing Andrew, had been rooted out: Silvius (Petrarch), leaves for Tuscany, Phitias (Barbato da Sulmona) for his hometown. Only the narrator, Ydeus (the Neapolitan Giovanni Barrili) stays at the storm-struck sea-shore, grieving alone:

His dictis, abeunt; patrii Sulmonis ad arva
Contendit Phitias, silvas petit alter etruscas;
Solus ego afflicto merens in litore mansi. (2. 122–124)

It only emerges from this extremely powerful closure that the narration beginning with the presentation of the idyllic circumstances in Naples, continuing with the description of the storm, then with Silvius' and Phitias' epicedium to King Robert is all related here at the sea-shore. Therefore, Boccaccio inverts the basic situation found in Petrarch's thematically similar poem: here, the narrator is Caliopus fleeing from Naples, while the city is bemourned by Calcidia, who stays at the sea-shore. The deliberate nature of the allusion is hardly questionable, as it is well-known that Boccaccio altered his views on the genre due to his master's Eclogue *Argus*, which was circulated as a separate poem, as proven by the first and the second, final version of the *Faunus*.[19]

[19] On this see Martellotti, G.: Dalla tenzone al carme bucolico; La riscoperta dello stile bucolico (da Dante a Boccaccio). In Bosco, U. (ed.): *Dante e Boccaccio e altri scrittori dall'umanesimo al romanticismo.* Firenze 1983, 71–89; 91–106.

However, the *Silva cadens* evokes the *Argus* in terms of a *Kontrastimitation* not only in its form, but also in its content.

To our knowledge, research has focused one-sidedly on the dramatic description of the devastation and has not recognized the negative or at least ambivalent traits of the figure and the mourning song of Calcidia. Leuker only relies on Servius' explanation, but seems to neglect the chapter on syrenes in the *Genealogia deorum*. At the beginning of this chapter Boccaccio does in fact quote the passage from Servius that Leuker uses, however, with reference to other authorities as Ovid, Pliny and Leonzio Pilato, he believes that they are five, not three, and based on Pliny he names Naples as their home (*Sirenum sedes*). More importantly, in accordance with Palaephatus and Pilato, he traces the origin of the legend of the syrenes back to the characteristic practices of prostitutes, who seduced their victims with their sweet words (*blanda facundia*).[20] It is for this reason that Caliopes is considered to be their mother. Boccaccio paraphrases her name with the attributive phrase *bona sonoritas* in Latin, with the same phrase he uses in his letter to Martino da Signa for the main figure of the *Silva cadens*.[21] Moreover, he even explains the name of Parthenope on the basis of the guiles of experienced courtesans, as they used to imitate the bashful behaviour of virgins or respectable matrons. Let us note that Boccaccio drew a rather negative image of Naples as the last home of the syrenes in Sonnet 48 of his *Rime*, which deserves to be quoted in full length:

[20] "Eas preterea dicit Servius iuxta Pelorum Sycilie promontorium primo, deinde ad Capream insulam secessisse. Plinius vero dicit, Neapolim Calchidiensium, et ipsam Parthenopem a tumulo Syrenis appellatam. Et sic iam quinque Syrenas habemus. Deinde paulo post dicit idem Plinius: Nuceria, Surrentum cum promontorio Minerve, Syrenum quondam etc. (…) Palefatus ante alios in libro Incredibilium scribit has meretrices fuisse, solitas decipere navigantes. Et Leontius asserit vetustissima haberi fama apud Etholos prima Grecorum fuisse meretricia, et tantum lenocinio facundie valuisse, ut fere omnem Achayam in suam vertissent predam; et ex hoc arbitrari fabule originis Syrenarum locum fuisse concessum. Et sic illis Etholie fluvius pater est dictus, eo quod eum penes primo sua scelesta cepere servitia; et ut intelligamus per labentem fluvium patrem, lascivam et effluentem concupiscentiam meretricum. Quibus ob blandam fere omnium facundiam Caliopes, id est bona sonoritas, mater ascribitur. Demum prima vocatur Parthenopia a parthenos, quod est virgo. Consuevere quidem meretrices docte volentes exteros irretire, virginum seu pudicarum matronarum mores fingere, oculos scilicet in terram deicere, verba pauca facere, erubescere, tactum fugere, petulcis etiam gesticulationibus ludere, et huiusmodi, ut ex his arbitrentur insipidi hostem honestatis hospitem esse, et incognitum appetant, quod erat cognitum fugiendum." *Genealogia* VII. Cap. XX.

[21] "Pro Caliopo ego intelligo aliquem optime recitantem damna desolate civitatis, nam «caliopes» grece, «bona sonoritas» est latine, que bona sonoritas in aliquo esse non potest nisi debito ordine dicenda dicantur." *Epist*. XXIII.

Dice con meco l'anima tal volta:
„Come potevi tu già mai sperare
che dove Bacco può quel che vuol fare,
e Cerere v'abbonda in copia molta,

e dove fu Partenopè sepolta,
ov'ancor le sirene uson cantare,
amor, fede, onestà potesse stare
o fosse alcuna sanità[22] raccolta?

E s'tu 'l vedevi, come t'occuparo
i fals'occhi di questa, che non t'ama,
e la qual tu con tanta fede segui?

Destati omai, e fuggi il lito avaro,
fuggi colei che la tua morte brama.
Che fai? che pensi? ché non ti dilegui?"

Parthenope is thus the city tempting with abundance and rapture, but threatening with fraudulency, volatility and deadly danger, where fidelity and honesty cannot exist. This image is conspicuously reminiscent of the one emerging from Petrarch's letters on Naples. The lack of *amor*, *fede*, *onestà* evokes the characterization given by Petrarch in his letter to Giovanni Colonna: *nulla pietas, nulla veritas, nulla fides*.[23] In the latest edition of the *Rime* Branca notes the allusion to the *Aeneid* (*Heu fuge crudeles terras, fuge litus avarum*, 3. 44),[24]

[22] The latest editor of the *Rime*, V. Branca, rightly rejects Massera's earlier conjecture: "sanità in senso translato: di senno, di mente, d'animo e di costumi. Non sembra quindi necessario correggere col Massera santità o tautologico o eccessivo." Rime a cura di V. Branca con Appendice degli Argomenti e Rubriche dantesche a cura di Giorgio Padoan. In: *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, a cura di V. Branca. V/1. Milano 1994, 298.

[23] *Fam*. V. 3. 8. Cf. Cicero, *Laelius de amicitia* 15. "Haec enim est tyrannorum vita nimirum, in qua nulla fides, nulla caritas, nulla stabilis benivolentiae potest esse fiducia, omnia semper suspecta atque sollicita, nullus locus amicitiae." On this parallel and on the figure of Joanna of Naples in Petrarch's letters see Lokaj, R. J.: La Cleopatra neapoletana: Giovanna d'Angiò nelle Familiares di Petrarca. *GSLI* 127 (2000) 487.

[24] Lokaj (n. 23) 507 duly noted that, to Petrarch, Robert's death and the accession of Joanna, who is represented as Cleopatra and is never mentioned by name because of his hatred for her, also meant the break of the connection between classical antiquity and the present: "sotto Giovanna cessano tutti i legami fra la classicità e la contemporaneità. La dolcezza, la sapienza, insomma, la grandezza del mondo antico non era più in grado di frenare il corso degli eventi,

but fails to record that this quotation can also be found in another letter by Petrarch descibing the ruin of Naples with schocking images.[25]

Whether we take Petrarch's influence into consideration in case of the sonnet or not, the image of Naples in the *Silva cadens* is similarly vexing. Calcidia bemourning her fate at the sea-shore is not exactly attractive, and it should be noted that the word *syrene* only appears here in the *Buccolicum carmen*. Her mourning song is by no means characterized by the *bona sonoritas*: *vocibus assiduis syrene in litore fractis / Parthenopis residens misere singultibus inquit* (26–27). The attributive phrase *fracta vox*, meaning not so much a broken or faint, but rather a distorted, inarticulate voice, is very rare in classical poetry, and appears mostly in connection with the Bacchanalian frenzy, e.g. in Juvenal's Satire 2: *hic turpis Cybele est, et fracta voce loquendi / libertas* (111–112). It can also befound in the description of the cult of Bacchus by Paulinus Nolanus: *Euhoe, Bacchi sonum fractis imitantur anheli vocibus* (19. 281–282). This frantic lamentation begins with a peculiar catalogue of forests: not even in the Ausonian fields had there ever been a more beautiful or mightier forest than that of Naples:

> Non fuit ausonicis campis, me iudice, silva hac
> letior aut maior, nulla atque capacior evi.
> Hec fagis celum tangebat et ylice multa,
> quercubus insignis, viridi spectandaque lauro
> ac cedro crebra, funesta et pulchra cupressu.
> Non adeo quondam formosa Libistridos ursis
> horrida, cui cessit magnorum Ercinia nutrix
> silvestrumque boum gelido sub cardine celi,
> Ydaque iudicio Paridis memoranda puellis,
> bebritiumve nemus cessit cessitque erimantum. (5. 28–37)

This opening description does not lack sinister allusions: besides the beeches, oaks and cedars, the woods of Naples was adorned with a funereal cypress:

di proteggere Napoli dal proprio annichilamento. Giovanna aveva spezzato una volta per tutte ogni speranza umanistica di suggere alla sacra linfa dell'antichità, sia cristiana, sia classica."

[25] "Sed de his hactenus; nam et tragicum opus est et multa super his inter obstinatos cives verba iam perdidi. Minime vero mirabere amicos tuos, tanto avaritie premio proposito, in ea urbe vinctos esse, in qua hominem innoxium occidere ludus est; quam licet unam ex omnibus Virgilius 'dulcem' vocet, non inique tamen, ut nunc est, Bistonia notasset infamia: Heu fuge crudeles terras, fuge litus avarum." *Fam*. V. 6. 6.

funesta pulchra cupressu (31), and this is a clear allusion to Petrarch's eclogue *Argus*, where Andrew is symbolized by a cypress torn out by the raging storm.[26] Even more baffling is the continuation: not even the monstrous, bear-inhabited forest of Libistridos, or the Hercynian forest with its huge bisons, or Mount Ida, memorable to maiden for the judgement of Paris, or else the famous woods of Erymanthus and Bebrycia, so Calcidia, were quite as beautiful. This list is hardly accidental, as Boccaccio gives a short description of all these forests in his scholarly treatise *De montibus, silvis, fontibus, lacubus, fluminibus, stagnis seu paludibus et de diversis nominibus maris*. We would look for the forest of Libistridos – based on the text this form is used as a nominative – in the classical authors in vain: Boccaccio probably misunderstood the verse in the *Aeneid* in which Euander offers the weary Aeneas a Libyan bearskin in his humble abode: *stratis foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae* (8. 367–368).[27] He may have known the far from idyllic and friendly Hercynian forest from Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*.[28] However, this forest was introduced to Roman poetry only later by Claudian, who was one of Petrarch's and Boccaccio's favourite poets, already because they believed him to have been a born Florentine.[29] The allusion to Claudian is also strengthened by a textual correspondence: *sub cardine celi*.[30] An eerie description of the Hercynian forest is to be found in Book 1 of the *De consulatu Stilichonis*: Stilicho's campaign will bring such peace to the wild Germanic tribes that it will be safe to hunt even in the gloomy silence of the Hercynian forest, and the Romans will be able to axe down the wild groves surrounded by ancient beliefs and the oaks venerated as Barbarian gods:

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[26] corruit et colles concussit et arva cupressus (11).

[27] Perini (n. 1) 956–957. "LIBYSTRIS silva est, ut quidam dicunt, Thessalie, alii vero illam apud Bistonas esse confirmant; que, etsi moltorum animalium altrix sit, ursos tamen pregrandes alit et validos." *De montibus* II. (*De silvis*)

[28] "ERICINIA multis silvis nomen est, sed maior atque notior ea est quam apud Germanos etiam Greci veteres cognovere eamque dixere Oriciniam. Huius quidem latitudo novem dierum iter expedito homini patet. Oritur autem ab Helvetiorum et Nemetum atque Turiacorum finibus et recta Danubii fluminis regione ad fines Dacorum et Anartium usque contingit. Inde se sinistrorsum flectens propter immensam sui magnitudinem multarum gentium fines attingit et cum .XL. dierum in longitudinem eius progressus factus sit, nemo tamen ex Germanis est qui se audisse aliquem ad eius devenisse finem dicat, aut quo sub celo oriatur seu potius finiatur acceperit. Multa quidem in ea ferarum sunt genera, cum quibus pro gloria robusti iuvenes silve propinqui exercentur." *De montibus* II. (*De silvis*)

[29] "conterraneus meus": Petrarch, *Sen.* VII. 1. 138.

[30] *In Rufin.* 2. 274.

ut procul Hercyniae per vasta silentia silvae
venari tuto liceat, lucosque vetusta
religione truces et robur numinis instar
barbarici nostrae feriant impune bipennes. (1. 228–231)

However, the woods of Bithynian Bebrycia are no less eerie: as Boccaccio also writes based on the story of the Argonauts, the king of the forest, Amycus, murdered all his guests, until he found his equal in Polydeuces.[31] In the *Thebaid* of Statius, whom Boccacio knew very well, Tydeus remarks before he embarks on a legation: I would rather travel to the wild Sarmatians or to the bloody-handed keeper of the Bebrycian grove: *melius legatus adissem / Sauromatas rabidos servatoremque cruentum / Bebrycii nemoris*.[32] The ominuous woods of the Arcadian Erymanthus, the *monstrifer Erymanthus* of Statius,[33] is well-known: it was from here that Heracles brought the Erymanthian boar as his fourth labour,[34] but according to the story well known from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, it was also here that Arcas almost killed her mother, Callisto.[35] These are the woods, then, that could not match the beautiful place whose fall Calcidia bemoans. The view that her mourning song would be no more than the sentimental evocation of the ancient splendour of Naples (*calde rievocazioni dell'antico splendore*), as propounded earlier by Lidonicci, and recently by Leuker (*l'idillio protetto e custodito da Titiro*), is therefore in need of revision.[36] Rather, it reflects the poet's ambivalent attitude towards the city.

In this sinister forest, only Tytirus, i.e. Robert the Wise, was capable of ensuring a peacefulness similar to that of the Golden Age, as a culture hero: he was the first to pass laws conceived with scholarly thoroughness that benefited both the herd and the grove:

[31] "BEBRYACUM nemus in Bithinia est, in quo aiunt quondam Amycom Bebriyciorum regem consuetum vim hospitibus inferre, quam cum in eodem Polluci a Colchide redeunti facere conaretur, a Polluce occisus est." *De montibus* II. (*De silvis*)

[32] *Theb*. 3. 351–353.

[33] *Theb*. 4. 298.

[34] "ERIMANTUS mons in Arcadie finibus constitutus est, in quo Hercules aprum cuncta vastantem vivum cepit eumque Euristeo detulit regi." *De montibus* I.

[35] *Met*. 2. 496–504. Cf. *Genealogia* V. Cap. XLIX. (*De Arcade XV filio secundi Iovis, qui genuit Yonium*.)

[36] Lidonicci (n. 5) 198. Leuker (n. 18) 149. Let us note that the German scholar quotes Calcidia's song with the omission of the part containing the forest similes.

ille est
qui primus pecori leges nemorique salubres
carmine cantavit, quarum nec clarior usquam
copia docta fuit legum nec prisca tulere
secula maiores, auro dum floruit etas
sanguine… (5. 57–62)

Again, the similarity to the description of the rule of Robert the Wise in Petrarch's eclogue *Argus* is conspicuous. The model for the figure of Argus was not so much offered by Ovid, but rather by Claudian. In Book 1 of the *De consulatu Stilichonis* Claudian compares the Vandal general to the hundred-eyed Argus and the hundred-armed Briareus, as only heroic work and ceaseless action undisturbed by weariness or the cloud of dream, keeping everything in hand and before the eye could save the empire from falling apart.[37] Petrarch's Argus does not only have a hundred eyes as sharp as a lynx's, but also a hundred delicate ears (referring to Robert's proficiency in jurisprudence according to the author of *Cod*. 33),[38] he is familiar with a hundred arts, his hundred arms and hundred hands reveal his extraordinary activity, his only, i.e. not deceitful tongue vests him with Orphean power, by which he can even rule over rocks and wild beasts, and he can root out ash trees. The contemporaneous commentator explained these last lines very witfully, namely that he could deliver people's souls from the evil rooted in them:[39]

Pastorum rex Argus erat, cui lumina centum
Lincea, cui centum vigiles cum sensibus aures,
Centum artes, centumque manus, centumque lacerti,
Lingua sed una fuit, cum qua rupesque ferasque
Flecteret et fixas terre divelleret ornos.
Ille diu clarus silvis, perque omnia notus,

[37] "quae brachia centum, / quis Briareus aliis numero crescente lacertis / tot simul obiectis posset confligere rebus: / evitare dolos; veteres firmare cohortes, / explorare novas; duplices disponere classes, / quae fruges aut bella ferant; aulaeque tumultum / et Romae lenire famem? quot nube soporis / immunes oculi per tot discurrere partes, / tot loca sufficerent et tam longinqua tueri? / Argum fama canit centeno lumine cinctum / corporis excubiis unam servasse iuuencam!" (1. 303–313).

[38] "cui centum vigiles cum sensibus aures, quia omnia audita et lecta iura rome intelligebat." Avena, A.: *Il Bucolicum carmen e i suoi commenti inediti.* Padova 1906, 184.

[39] "ET DIVELLERET ORNOS, idest ipsas arbores fixas terre; idest omnes malas radices fixa sin animo hominum eradicabat et divellebat." Avena (n. 38) 184.

> Pascua, formosis cantatus ubique puellis,
> Mille greges niveos pascens per mille recessus. (2. 107–114)

Thus, the image taken from Claudian not only lends epic pomp to the *epicedium* bemourning the king, but also describes his rule as a constant and heroic struggle for the preservation of the idyllic circumstances of the blissful grove. The last sentence of Boccaccio's passage quoted above – *auro dum floruit etas / sanguine*, where, in accordance with Perini, *sanguine* can hardly be anything but an *ablativus originis*[40] – implies even stronger than Petrarch's text that Calcidia is by no means talking about the rebirth of the mythical Golden Age, but of the Augustan Golden Age, of the rule evoking the strict legislative activity of the princeps. With the death of Robert the Wise, however, law and order disintegrated, and the campaign of the Hungarian king reached Naples as a divine punishment.

It fits in with the negative traits of Calcidia's figure and song that Pamphylus, who learns about her laments from Caliopus, comes to the scornful conclusion that the nymph believes to be able to annul the outrageous crime of Andrew's murder and the inevitable divine punishment with her tears:

> Heu miser, heu, video que sit sibi causa doloris:
> indignum facinus lacrimis revocare putabat,
> previsum dudum superis et pensa sororum.
> Errat stulta nimis: celo parere necesse est. (5. 120–123)[41]

Let us note that Dorus, i.e. Louis of Taranto himself also confesses to this crime in Eclogue 4, which is generally interpreted as the palinode of the *Faunus*:

> Post hunc miserandus Alexis
> qui, gregibus nimium durus silvisque molestus
> imperitans, abiit crudeli funere pulsus.
> Munere post Phytie pulchra est michi iuncta Liquoris,
> et sub me septas Argi tenuere nepotes,
> quas inter clarosque lacus pecorosaque tempe
> calcidici veteres silvam posuere coloni

[40] Perini (n. 1) 598.

[41] Cf. Petrarch, *Argus* 53–57. "Sed ferre necesse est. / Hec est vita hominum, Phitia; sic leta dolendis / Alternat fortuna ferox. Eat ordine mundus / Antiquo; nobis rerum experientia prosit: / Quo grex cumque miser ruerit, consistere pulcrum est."

a Cumis, qua nulla prior dum floruit; in qua
dum nos iurgantes pueros agitaret Erinis,
ecce celer quondam patriis Poliphemus ab arvis
progenitus nostris et nostro sanguine, ripis
altus in extremis Hystri, puto, lacte ferino,
quo iaculo incertum, certo mutilatus ab ictu
parte sui, iusta rabie succensus et ira ... (4. 53–66)

Montanus, who gives him shelter and listens to his story, plays the same role in the *Dorus* as Pamphylus in the *Silva cadens*. Both are characteristic representatives of the bucolic *otium*, and both listen to the stories of the arriving persons with considerable reserve. As Pamphylus asks Caliopus with some irony at the end of the eclogue whether he at least tried to cheer up the lamenting syrene with kind words (upon which Caliopus is not ashamed to admit that he did not, for fear that Poliphemus would turn up), Montanus also asks, feigning ignorance, where the dauntless Neapolitan heroes were when the wild Poliphemus appeared:

Quid Paphus, queso, cui centum brachia, centum
fama refert oculos, cui tanta licentia fandi
in superos hominesque fuit? Non cuspide lata
occurrit monstro? Quid tunc furibundus Asylas?
quid pecudum custos Phorbas? quid Damon amicus?
quid tu? quid Phytias? quid Pamphylus atque Molorcus?
ac alii tecum tangentes alta boatu
sydera, iactantes vario sermone palestras
atque pedum cursus, cestus et fortia facta? (4. 116–124)

The sarcastic tone of the passage is not only due to the fact that the heroes can only – unscrupulously – boast with their sports achievments, but also to the epic names of the Neapolitan noblemen (the Etruscan *fortis Asilas* is a hero in the *Aeneid*, and Molorchus, who hospitably received Hercules in Nemea, appears in Statius' *Thebaid*), as well as the epic *clausulae*: *cuspide lata*, *fortia facta*.[42] Thus, besides this tragically ironic praise of the Neapolitan *silva*, subverting the bucolic idyll, these eclogues do not lack the overt invective, often parodying the sublime epic formulas, and this is given voice to exactly by

[42] Perini (n. 1) 953.

the characters viewing the events from the outside. Based on the above, the least one can say is that Boccaccio was by no means prejudiced concerning the internal affairs of the state in which he had spent the most beautiful years of his youth.[43] We can agree with D. Lummus' statement: the ravaged forest is not merely the allegory of political events, but also of the decadent morals of the city.[44] However, the Neapolitan Eclogues do not only form a coherent whole from the political-moral viewpoint, but they organically fit into the composition of the *Buccolicum carmen*.

As Christine Ratkowitsch has shown in a study neglected by research on Boccaccio for no obvious reason,[45] the structure of the *Buccolicum carmen* can be divided into three large units corresponding to the three major parts of human life – thus yielding Boccaccio's intellectual-spiritual biography –, and to the activities related to them according to the medieval conception: youth is connected with love, i.e. the *vita voluptuosa*, adulthood with the assertion of the self, the *vita activa*, and old age with the *vita contemplativa* devoted to contemplation. The *vita activa* is the subject of the unit formed by Eclogues 3 to 9. Thus, the descriptions in the sometimes tragically ironic, sometimes bitterly sarcastic eclogues on the struggle for power and wealth, on the changes in Naples and Florence do not abound with disharmonic elements by chance. The expectant tone of Eclogue 6, *Alcestus*, celebrating Louis of Taranto's return, is not only undermined by the troubling closure of the poem,[46] but much rather by Eclogue 8 entitled *Midas*, whose excessively greedy title figure, Niccolò Acciaiuoli, acquired immense power in Naples as Louis of

[43] On the image of Naples in Boccaccio's works see recently: Morosini, R.: La 'bona sonoritas' di Caliopo: Boccaccio a Napoli, la polifonia di Partenope e i silenzi dell'Acciaiuoli. In G. Alfano, G. – D'Urso, T. – Periccioli Saggese, A. (eds.): *Boccaccio Angioino. Materiali per la storia di Napoli nel Trecento.* Bruxelles 2012, 69–87.

[44] "The pastoral landscape's destruction recalls more than just the political exile and dispossession of the king; it evokes a decadent moral state as well." Lummus (n. 1) 163.

[45] Ratkowtisch, Chr.: Mittelalterliches in der Hirtendichtung des Giovanni Boccaccio. *WS* 113 (2000) 301–334. It is peculiar that this excellent study is not mentioned even in the overview of the latest, not exactly vast literature on the *Buccolicum carmen*: Lorenzini, S.: Rassegna di studi sul Boccaccio bucolico. *Studi sul Boccaccio* 38 (2010) 153–165.

[46] "Amphibolie kennzeichnet aber auch das Ende der Ekloge, wo die positive Stimmung durch aufkommenden Lärm plötzlich wieder in Furcht und Schrecken umschlägt (6, 159–166). Ob damit bloß die kurzfristigen Wirren nach Louis' Rückkehr gemeint sind oder sich bereits der Zug Karls IV. nach Italien ankündigt, der in 7 und 9 thematisiert wird, bleibt für die eigentliche Aussage belanglos: Dieser bedrückende Schluß zeigt nochmals, daß die auf der politischen Karriere fußende vita activa stets von Unheil bedroht ist und daher nicht zum wahren Ziel führen kann." Ratkowtisch (n. 45) 316.

Taranto's supporter. The shepherds talk about him again in an invective tone, as someone who laboured ardently to marry Joanna and her lover for the sake of the solidification of his own power. In this eclogue, Damon from Naples tells the Florentine Phytias, personifying Boccaccio, about Acciaiuoli's misdeeds, upon which Phytias remarks: no-one can come to behold high ranks without the will of the just Lord: *nemo, nisi Iuppiter equus / iusserit, in celsos usquam conscendet honores* (63–64). He refers to a shepherd called Amintas, probably to be equated with Ovid, or maybe with Dante, as the ultimate authority, who sang about the volatility and the vicissitudes of the world at his older age:

> Sepe vices rerum verti cantabat Amintas
> iam senior! Lacrimas mecum mors equa resolvet. (8. 74–75)

In this earthly world exposed to perpetual change,[47] idyllic conditions can inevitably only be realized temporarily and in an odd manner, as in the case of Parthenope, flourishing under Robert the Wise, but changing into the dark forest of ostentatious pomp, dirty intrigues and bestial murders after his death.

When emphasizing the evanescent and futile nature of the earthly Golden Age, Boccaccio draws on the tradition leading back to the ancient Christian writers that related the classical descriptions of the Golden Age, especially the motifs of Vergil's Eclogue 4, to eschatology and reserved it for the description of the heavenly paradise. Already Lactantius believed that everything the pagan poets sang about Saturn's kingdom could only be fulfilled after the *apocalypsis*: *... denique tum fient illa quae poetae aureis temporibus facta esse iam Saturno regnante dixerunt*.[48]

Such descriptions of really Golden Age conditions also appear in Boccaccio, but only in the third part of the collection devoted to the *vita contemplativa*, so in Eclogue 14, which the aging poet devoted to the memory of his prematurely deceased daughter, Violante. The girl, who partakes of eternal bliss, and has transubstantiated to Olympia, appears to his old father at night to comfort him with the detailed description of the wonderful forest inhabited by those who have obtained salvation. On this mountain, the palms and cedars reach up to the stars, the creeks are as if they were made of silver, it is inhabited by

[47] Even if Lummus' assumption that Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is the most important model of the *Buccolicum carmen* appears debatable, perpetual change and transformation is doubtlessly the determining motif of the collection, a "story of transformation": Lummus (n. 1) 159.

[48] *Div. Inst.* 7. 24. 9.

golden horned deers, golden feathered birds and golden griffins.[49] However, at the very beginning of her account, Violante says that this wonderful land is inaccessible to sinned lambs: *est in secessu pecori mons invius egro, / lumine perpetuo clarus* (170–171). This indestructible Golden Age world serves as a counterpart of the Neapolitan Golden Age bemoaned in the mourning song of the *Silva cadens*, all the more highlighting its – as we hope to have shown – sinister, troubling and fated nature.

[49] On the *Olympia* see Carrara, E.: *Un oltretomba bucolico.* Bologna 1899.; Zabughin, V.: *L'oltretomba classico medievale dantesco nel medioevo.* Roma 1922, 57–62. Checchi, G.: Per l'interpretazione dell'egloga Olympia di Giovanni Boccaccio. *Studi sul Boccaccio* 23 (1995) 219–244.

Dora E. Solti

Überblick über die Byzanzrezeption der ungarischen Literatur im 20. Jahrhundert

Byzanz als Motiv ist in jeder Epoche der ungarischen Literaturgeschichte präsent,[1] aber kein anderes Jahrhundert ist so reich an Byzanzwerken wie das zwanzigste. Ungarn erlebte eine ereignisreiche und dramatische Geschichte im Laufe dieses Jahrhunderts, und das Motiv Byzanz fand unter diesen sich schnell ändernden historischen Bedingungen immer einen direkten Bezug zu den geltenden historisch-kulturellen Gegebenheiten.

Das erste bedeutende Byzanzwerk des 20. Jahrhunderts ein Bühnenspiel von Ferenc Herczeg aus dem Jahre 1904 mit dem Titel *Bizánc* („Byzanz"). Der Autor, *poeta laureatus* seiner Epoche, ist ein später Vertreter des Klassizismus und Verfechter eines moralischen Idealismus. Sein Trauerspiel *Byzanz* ist ein Experiment des symbolischen historischen Dramas, und gehört heute zu seinen bekanntesten Werken.[2]

Der Schauplatz der Handlung ist der kaiserliche Palast zu Konstantinopel am Tage des Untergangs des byzantinischen Reiches, am 29. Mai 1453. Um ihr Leben, sowie ihr Hab und Gut zu retten, versuchen sowohl das Volk als auch die Gefolgschaft von Kaiser Konstantin ein Abkommen mit dem Sultan zu schließen, und treten noch vor dem Zusammenbruch immer hemmungsloser zu dem Feind über. Die Kaiserin und die Träger hoher Ämter heucheln dem Kaiser Treue vor, aber niemand kämpft mehr an den Stadtmauern bis auf die genuesischen Söldner. Die Kaiserin bietet schon ihre Hand dem Sultan an, der Hofpoet schreibt Loblieder auf ihn, der Patriarch heißt ihn willkommen und die Gefolgsleute werben um seine Gunst. Als der Kaiser einsehen muss, dass ihm lediglich die Söldner und eine treue Dienerin beistehen, und das Reich nicht wegen des Feindes, sondern wegen des eigenen moralischen Verfalls untergeht, bleibt ihm nichts übrig, als der ruhmvolle Tod auf dem Schlachtfeld.

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[1] Zum Byzanzmotiv in der ungarischen Literatur der frühen Neuzeit s. Réger, Á.: Bizánc emlékezete a magyar régiségben. *Antik Tanulmányok* 55 (2011) 106–110.

[2] Gintli ,T. (Hrsg.): *Magyar irodalom.* Budapest 2010, 627 ff.

Die untreuen Byzantiner hofften vergebens auf Erbarmung: Mohammed lässt sie alle töten, während er dem gefallenen Kaiser die letzte Ehre erweist.

Das Werk beinhaltet eine äußerst scharfe Kritik einer heuchlerischen Gesellschaft, in der es den meisten gar nicht schwer fällt, für die erhofften Vorteile die Treue zu brechen, Ideologie zu wechseln und dem Feind zu dienen. Neben diesem, in jeder Epoche aktuellen Inhalt gab es zur Zeit der Erstaufführung noch einen Bezugspunkt zur Gegenwart: so wie das Byzantinische Reich gerade vor seiner Auflösung stand, erlebte auch die Monarchie ihre letzten Jahre, so wie die alte, feudale Gesellschaft. Wie in einer solchen Übergangsepoche üblich, versuchten die Inhaber der Macht ihre Privilegien um jeden Preis zu behalten.

Da das Theaterstück auch in späteren Epochen nichts an seiner Aktualität verlor, wird es immer wieder in ungarischen Theatern aufgeführt. Die jüngste Aufführung erfolgte im Jahre 2012 im Vörösmarty-Theater der Stadt Székesfehérvár. Es ist ebenfalls bemerkenswert, dass dieses Werk selbst eine Rezeptionsgeschichte aufweist: an dieser Stelle sei das Gedicht *Bizánc* („Byzanz") von László Kálnoky[3] aus dem Jahre 1982 erwähnt, in dem der Dichter seine eigenen Reflexionen zum Theaterstück beschreibt, das er in seiner Jugend in den 1930-er Jahren gesehen hatte.

Im Jahre des Zerfalls der Monarchie, 1918 wurde ein weiteres Theaterstück herausgegeben, in dem allerdings Byzanz nur als Hintergrund der Ereignisse eine Rolle spielt. Es handelt sich um das Mysterienspiel *Alexius* von Sándor Sík, dessen byzantinische Schauplätze, der Palast zu Konstantinopel bzw. die Stadt Edessa, die Handlung nicht beeinflussen. Das Bühnenspiel ist ein moralisch-idealistisches Lehrstück über das Lebes des Heiligen Alexius, eines jungen Gefolgsmanns des Kaisers, der seinem prächtigen Leben und der treuen Gemahlin den Rücken kehrt und seiner Berufung als heiliger Wundertäter nachgeht. Nach Konstantinopel kehrt er als Bettler zurück, und stirbt unerkannt im Haus seines Vaters. Obwohl Byzanz hier nur als Kulisse dient, kann das Mysterienspiel *Alexius* mit dem Trauerspiel *Byzanz* durch die starke moralische Ausrichtung verbunden werden.

Der erste byzanzbezogene historische Roman ist ein Roman des berühmtesten Schriftstellers der Jahrhundertwende, Géza Gárdonyi, und trägt den Titel *A láthatatlan ember.*[4] Der Held des Romans ist ein armer oströmischer Junge, der von seinem Vater als Sklave verkauft wird, und nach bitteren Erlebnissen

[3] Erschienen in *Kortárs: Irodalmi és kritikai folyóirat* XXVI/3 (März 1982), 331.

[4] Deutschsprachige Ausgabe: Gárdonyi Géza: *Ich war den Hunnen Untertan.* Budapest 1964.

zum Geschichtsschreiber Priskos gelangt. Als Priskos mit einer Botschaft des römischen Kaisers zum Hunnenkönig Attila gesandt wird, nimmt er auch seinen treuen Diener mit. Zeta, der Diener bleibt aber bei den Hunnen, da er sich in die Tochter eines Adeligen verliebt, und dient ihnen aus freiem Willen. Er nimmt an der Schlacht auf den Katalaunischen Feldern auf hunnischer Seite teil, und entkommt nur knapp dem Tode. Nach seiner Genesung kehrt er erneut zu den Hunnen zurück, erlebt den Tod von Attila und wird Augenzeuge des Todes der geliebten Frau.

Nach dem ersten Weltkrieg verlor Ungarn infolge des Friedensvertrags von Trianon zwei Drittel seines Gebietes, und dieses schockierende Erlebnis führte zu einer nationalistisch-irredentistischen Gesinnung der ungarischen Gesellschaft. In der Literatur wurde allmählich das nationale Thema vorherrschend, mit der ruhmreichen Vergangenheit der Ungarn im Vordergrund. Eines dieser ruhmreichen Ereignisse war die Landnahme der ungarischen Stämme im 9. Jahrhundert, dokumentiert von den byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibern. Um die historische Erforschung dieser Epoche zu ermöglichen, wandte sich die ungarische Byzantinistik den byzantinischen historiographischen Texten zu, und versuchte alle ungarnbezogenen Textstellen zu finden und zu interpretieren.[5] Die so entstandenen Studien wurden später zu den Hauptquellen der Byzanzliteratur ungarnbezogener Thematik.

Der erste byzanzbezogene historische Roman, der die Landnahme der Ungarn zum Thema hatte, erschien im Jahre 1941 unter dem Titel *Sátor és politika* („Zelt und Politik"). Der Autor, Bulcsú Bertalan Kissházy war kein bekannter Schriftsteller, und sein Werk dient vor allem nicht literarischen, sondern Propagandazwecken, was er im Vorwort des Werkes gar nicht verheimlicht. Das Thema des Romans ist die ungarische Landnahme, die Kriegszüge des 10. Jahrhunderts, sowie der Aufbau der ersten politischen Beziehungen zu Byzanz. Die Darstellung der Charaktere ist schematisch und einschichtig: die einfachen aber überaus ehrlichen und aufrechten Ungarn stehen den schlauen und hinterlistigen Byzantinern gegenüber und fallen ihnen zum Opfer. Da im Roman nicht nur die Byzantiner, aber auch die Vorfahren der Deutschen, die Franken eine negative Rolle spielen, wurde eine zweite Edition während des zweiten Weltkrieges untersagt, schließlich erschien das Buch im Jahre 1944 mit unverändertem Inhalt unter dem Titel *A bizánci méreg* („Das Gift von

[5] Das bekannteste unter diesen Werken war eine Quellensammlung von Gyula Moravcsik mit den ungarnbezogenen Textstellen byzantinischer Geschichtsschreiber, erschienen im Jahre 1934 unter dem Titel *A magyar történet bizánci forrásai* („Byzantinische Quellen der ungarischen Geschichte").

Byzanz"). Das negative Byzanzbild des Romans dient dem alleinigen Zweck, die Tugendhaftigkeit der Ungarn im Vergleich zur Niederträchtigkeit der Nachbarländer hervorzuheben.

In der ungarischen Nachkriegsliteratur entwickelt sich ein vielschichtiges Byzanzmotiv. Der Dichter György Faludy, der eine stark antikommunistische Meinung vertrat, widmete während der stalinistischen Ära einen ganzen Band seinen antikommunistischen und antistalinistischen Gedichten mit dem Titel *Emlékkönyv a rőt Bizáncról* („Erinnerungen über das rote Byzanz"), und schuf damit eine neue Art der Byzanzinterpretation. Das rote Byzanz ist mit der Sowjetunion gleichzusetzen, einer diktatorischen Großmacht, die sich früher selbst als zweites Byzanz definierte. Die Gedichte des Bandes werden durch die gemeinsame Metapher von Byzanz verbunden. In der „Ode auf den siebzigsten Geburtstag von Stalin" drückt der Dichter die Hoffnung aus, dass Stalin, der neue Konstantin seine irdische Laufbahn baldmöglichst beendet, und sein Reich, das „aus geronnenem Blut gebaute Byzanz" mit ihm untergeht. Das überaus suggestive Bild des roten Byzanz lässt also neben der Allusion auf die charakteristische Farbe von Byzanz, Purpur, eine zweifache Interpretation zu: Rot ist die Farbe des Kommunismus und der Fahne der Sowjetunion, aber auch die Farbe des Blutes der unschuldigen Opfer.

Im Jahre 1949 wurde Faludy in das Zwangsarbeitslager Recsk interniert, wo er mit der antistalinistischen Dichtung nicht aufhörte. Nach Stalins Tod wurde der Lager aufgelöst, und kurz danach emigrierte Faludy nach Westeuropa, später nach Amerika. Der Gedichtband „Erinnerungen über das rote Byzanz" konnte schließlich in London, im Jahre 1961 herausgegeben werden.

Die von Faludy geprägte Metapher *Byzanz gleich Sowjetunion* finden wir auch in dem Novellenband *Torkig Bizánccal* („Satt mit Byzanz") von Mátyás Sárközy. Die Novellen des Bandes handeln von der Revolution 1956, von dem Volksaufstand der Ungarn gegen die Sowjetunion. Byzanz kommt lediglich im Titel des Bandes, bzw. im Titel einer Novelle vor, und steht symbolisch für die Sowjetherrschaft.

Eine andere Möglichkeit der Byzanzinterpretation ist in den historischen Romanen der sechziger Jahre zu beobachten. Zwei Autoren sind an dieser Stelle zu nennen: Miklós Szentkuthy und László Passuth, die überaus verschiedene Wege eingeschlagen haben.

In den zwei Byzanzromanen von Miklós Szentkuthy, *A megszabadított Jeruzsálem* („Das befreite Jerusalem"), bzw. *Bizánc* („Byzanz") werden die Ereignisse aus der Perspektive eines fiktiven Erzählers, eines fremden

Geschichtsschreibers dargestellt. Die Perspektive des Außenseiters ermöglicht eine ironisch-kritische Erzählweise und eine Distanzierung von den Ereignissen.

Der fiktive Erzähler des Romans *Das befreite Jerusalem* ist ein Mönch namens Atheos, dessen Erzählung von seinem, mit dem Autor zu identifizierenden Ur-Urenkel ergänzt wurde. Im Prolog, geschrieben vom Ur-Urenkel, wird klar vorausgeschickt, wie das Werk zu verstehen sei. Es sei, so der zweite Erzähler, gar kein Roman, sondern eine moralistische Satire, die mit der Gattung des mittelalterlichen Todestanzes verwandt sei. Die Geschichtsauffassung des Werkes sei extrem zynisch, sogar diabolisch, und die Ereignisse seien aus einer Perspektive dargestellt, die im 20. Jahrhundert als linksextrem gelten würde. Nach so einem Prolog folgen zwei fiktive Chroniken des Mönchs Atheos, kommentiert und ergänzt von dem zweiten Erzähler, dem Ur-Urenkel. Der Schauplatz der ersten Chronik ist Byzanz in den Jahren vor dem 4. Kreuzzug, es werden aber nicht die historisch bedeutenden Ereignisse dargestellt, sondern die Intrigen des Hofes, die verfallene Moral der miteinander streitenden Kaiser und das alltägliche Leben der einfachen Menschen. Es werden kleine, bunte Geschichten aneinandergefügt, geschrieben im Stil der heutigen Boulevardpresse, in denen Betrug und Frauengeschichten im Mittelpunkt stehen. Die zweite Chronik stellt dieselbe Epoche in Westeuropa dar, wo der moralische Verfall ebenso groß sei, wie im Osten. Der Titel des Werkes drückt ebenfalls diesen hoffnungslosen Verfall aus: *Das befreite Jerusalem* ist ein ironischer Hinweis auf das ursprüngliche Ziel des vierten Kreuzzugs, der in der Wahrheit dazu führte, dass der verfallene Westen den verfallenen Osten angriff.

Der zweite Byzanzroman von Szentkuthy, mit dem Titel *Byzanz* schildert genauso kleine, bunte, unwichtige Episoden aus frühbyzantinischer Zeit, gesehen durch die Perspektive eines „plebäisch gesinnten" persischen Chronisten. Im Werk kommt die kommunistische Terminologie des 20. Jahrhunderts häufig vor: es geht um Ausbeutung der Armen durch die Reichen, um die Gleichsetzung der Religion mit dem Aberglauben, und sogar auch um das Proletariat.

László Passuth schlägt einen anderen Weg in der Byzanzliteratur der Nachkriegsjahre ein. Als Übersetzer des *Alexias* von Anna Komnene, verfügt er über tiefgehende Kenntnisse der Komnenenzeit und der ganzen byzantinischen Geschichte. Wie er selbst im Nachwort seines ersten Byzanzromans feststellt, bedient er sich bewusst der Gattung des klassischen historischen Romans, da „ein historisches Thema nicht geeignet ist, frei umgestaltet und

umgedeutet zu werden".[6] Im Gegensatz zu Szentkuthy spielt bei Passuth die historische Treue die wichtigste Rolle, und nicht die Reflexionen des Autors auf gewissen gesellschaftlichen Fragen.

Sein erster Byzanzroman trägt den Titel *A bíborbanszületett* („In Purpur geboren"),[7] und handelt von der Komnenenzeit, mit besonderem Augenmerk auf die Geschichte des ungarischen Prinzen Béla-Alexios, der als Verlobter der Tochter von Manuel Komnenos im byzantinischen Hof lebte. Die ungarnbezogene Thematik erscheint mit diesem Roman wieder in der ungarischen Byzanzliteratur.

Außer dem oben erwähnten, gibt es zwei weitere Romane von Passuth mit byzanzbezogener Thematik: *Ravennában temették Rómát* („In Ravenna wurde Rom begraben"),[8] bzw. *Hétszer vágott mező* („Eine siebenmal gemähte Wiese").[9] Der erste handelt von der Epoche Theoderichs des Großen, der zweite vom Zeitalter des vierten Kreuzzugs. Im Mittelpunkt des letzteren steht der Hof des Ungarnkönigs Andreas II, die Ereignisse seiner Zeit werden aber in einem europäischen Kontext dargestellt. Die Belagerung von Konstantinopel nimmt einen wesentlichen Teil des Romans ein, wobei auch die Vorgeschichte der Ereignisse von 1204 erleuchtet wird.

In den 1970-er Jahren erscheint eine weitere Art ungarnbezogener Byzanzliteratur. Für die Bildungspolitik des sozialistischen Staates war es die höchste Priorität, den Zugang zur eigenen nationalen Kultur und zur eigenen Geschichte den breitesten sozialen Schichten zu ermöglichen, mit dem Ziel, die Bildung für alle erreichbar zu machen, unabhängig vom sozialen Status und von den finanziellen Möglichkeiten. Die populärwissenschaftlichen Bücher, sowie die historischen Romane und Dramen wurden in Massenauflagen herausgegeben, wobei die Rentabilität keine Rolle spielte.

Unter diesen günstigen Bedingungen erschien der erste byzanzbezogene Jugendroman: *Aranyváros hercege* („Herzog der goldenen Stadt") von Tibor Fehér. Der Titelheld, der Herzog der goldenen Stadt ist Béla-Alexios, dessen Geschichte früher auch von Malvin Bokor[10], bzw. László Passuth

[6] Passuth László: *A Bíborbanszületett.* Budapest 1969, 700.

[7] Deutschsprachige Erstausgabe: Passuth, László: *In Purpur geboren.* Wien / Berlin / Stuttgart 1962.

[8] Deutschsprachige Erstausgabe: Passuth, László: *In Ravenna wurde Rom begraben.* Leipzig 1971.

[9] Noch ohne deutsche Übersetzung.

[10] S. Bokor Malvin: *Árpádvér* (1926[1], 1928[2], 1930[3], 1998[4], 2004[5]), bzw. S. Bokor Malvin: *Az esztergomi diák* (1928).

bearbeitet wurde.[11] Dieser Jugendroman versucht, die Beziehungen des Hauses der Árpáden zu Byzanz den jungen Lesern durch diese interessante Episode bekannt zu machen, und ihr Interesse für das Thema zu erwecken. Als Béla mit der Tochter von Manuel Komnenos verlobt wurde, war er selbst ein fünfzehnjähriger Junge, und die gleichaltrigen Leser können sich dank der gelungenen Erzähltechnik leicht mit ihm identifizieren.

Außer diesem Jugendroman erschienen in den 1980-er Jahren zwei weitere historische Romane, die die Beziehungen Ungarns zu Byzanz bearbeitet haben. Im ersten, *A látó és a vak* („Der sehende und der Blinde") von Péter Szentmihályi Szabó bleibt Byzanz im Hintergrund, als Zufluchtsort von Prinz Álmos, der infolge eines Thronstreits auf byzantinischem Boden Asyl sucht. Der zweite, *Árpád és Kurszán* („Árpád und Kurszán") von Tamás Lipp schließt sich der Tradition der von Miklós Szentkuthy geprägten Reflexionsliteratur an. Die Handlung spielt zur Zeit der Landnahme der Ungarn, aber anstelle einer einheitlichen Handlung finden wir selbständige kurze Kapitel, die die Gedanken des Autors über die damaligen Ereignisse widerspiegeln. Er kommentiert die Angaben der frühbyzantinischen Chroniken über die Epoche der Landnahme, sowie einige Studien der zeitgenössischen Byzantinistik. Die generische Bestimmung des Werkes ist auch nicht leicht, da es einen Übergang zwischen Roman und Essay darstellt. Aus den vielen bunten Mosaiksteinen der Quellen, der Sekundärliteratur und der Gedanken des Autors entsteht am Ende ein eindrucksvolles Bild der Epoche Árpáds.

Das Hauptmotiv der ungarischen byzanzbezogenen Dichtung ist die sagenhafte Episode des ungarischen Helden Botond vor Byzanz: er soll das eiserne Tor von Konstantinopel mit einer Keule eingeschlagen haben. Diese Episode hat in der nationalen Mythologie die Bedeutung, dass die sich in Europa neu angesiedelten Ungarn in Tapferkeit den großen Byzantinern ebenbürtig waren. So ein bekanntes und oft bearbeitetes nationales Thema kann aber leicht zum Spott werden: an dieser Stelle sei der Limerick von László Bertók erwähnt, [12] in dem Botond, nachdem er Beton mit Löffel aß, in seiner Wut das Tor von Byzanz einschlug, bzw. die Erzählung von György Moldova mit dem Titel *A bizánci kapu* („Das Tor von Byzanz").[13]

Die Herausgabe der ungarischen Übersetzung der *Anekdota* von Prokopios im Jahre 1984 stellt einen Wendepunkt in der Geschichte der ungarischen

[11] *A Bíborbanszületett* („In Purpur geboren"), s. Anm. 6.

[12] Erschienen im Gedichtband Bertók László: *Valahol, valami*. Budapest 2003.

[13] In Moldova György: *Tél tábornok*. Budapest 1993, 89-91.

Byzanzliteratur dar. Nach diesem Zeitpunkt handeln alle byzanzbezogenen historischen Romane von der Epoche Justinians und Theodoras, und der größte Teil dieser Romane stellt eine Paraphrase von Prokopios dar. Die Ereignisse werden aus einer einseitigen Perspektive dargestellt, und die düstere Atmosphäre von Prokopios bleibt vorherrschend.

Der erste solche Byzanzroman ist ein Kurzroman von Géza Hegedűs mit dem sprechenden Titel *Bordélyház Bizáncban* („Bordell in Byzanz"), aus dem Jahre 1987. Die Handlung folgt mit akribischer Treue der prokopischen Erzählung, mit einer schematischen Darstellung der Charaktere. Theodora und Justinian kommen dabei als extrem hemmungslose und böse Charaktere vor, die sich in einem Luxusbordell gegen den regierenden Kaiser verschwören, die Macht übernehmen, und die so errungene Macht genießen. Es wird klar formuliert, dass weder Justinian, der slawische Hirtenjunge, noch Theodora, die Prostituierte, der kaiserlichen Macht würdig seien, und der moralische Verfall des ganzen byzantinischen Reiches sei am besten durch ihre Geschichte charakterisiert. Dieser Kurzroman wird drei Jahre nach der Erstausgabe in einem Sammelband des Autors mit dem Titel *Ágyban szerzett diadal* („Im Bett errungener Triumph") erneut herausgegeben.

Eine ganz andere Annäherungsweise ist bei der Trilogie von Lívia Mohás *Theodora* (1995), *Jusztiniánusz* (2000) und *Prokopiosz* (2011) zu beobachten. Die Autorin ist eine bekannte Psychologin mit vielen populärwissenschaftlichen Büchern über diverse Fragen der Psychologie. In ihren literarischen Werken bleibt die psychologisierende Erzählperspektive erhalten, und wird durch die Dimension der Esoterik erweitert. Im Mittelpunkt der drei Romane stehen zwei alte Menschen, ein Mann und eine Frau, die sich seit ihrer Jugend heimlich lieben aber dies nur in ihrem hohen Alter eingestehen. Der alte Mann, Edward, der den Namen des von ihm verehrten Edward Gibbon trägt, versucht, die Geschichte von Justinian und Theodora aufzuklären, die Beweggründe ihres diabolischen Verhaltens zu verstehen, und bezieht seine alte Freundin in seine Forschungen mit ein. Sie versuchen, gemeinsam zu verstehen, wie Theodora dazu kommen konnte, ihren eigenen Sohn töten zu lassen, und führen eine verspätete Psychoanalyse durch. Den Grund ihrer Persönlichkeitsstörung finden sie in der Kindheit Theodoras: in der äußerst erniedrigenden Szene als das kleine Mädchen mit ihren Schwestern den Zirkusmeister anflehen sollte, damit der Stiefvater seine Stelle nicht verliert, und in den darauf folgenden Ereignissen als die kleine Theodora schon vor ihrer Pubertät als Prostituierte arbeiten sollte.

Diese historisch-psychologische Forschung erweckt das Interesse von Edward und Sára für die Epoche Justinians, und sie leben sich in die Geschichte derart hinein, dass sie sich am Ende gänzlich mit Justinian bzw. Theodora identifizieren, und ihre Liebe zueinander auf dieser ungewöhnlichen Weise ausdrücken.

Die Epoche Justinians wird nicht nur in historischen Romanen, sondern auch im Drama dargestellt. Die Tragikomödie von László Szenczei, mit dem Titel *Theodora és Justinianus* („Theodora und Justinian") handelt vom Nika-Aufstand und dessen Niederschlagung. In diesem Theaterstück erscheint Justinian als ein fanatischer Christ der sich selbst in den kritischen Momenten ausschließlich mit der Theologie beschäftigt, der sich von seiner Frau regelmäßig peitschen lässt und in den Staatsangelegenheiten keine Entscheidungen treffen kann. Theodora hingegen ist schlau, beredsam, tapfer, aber auch zynisch und unmoralisch, und regiert im Hintergrund anstatt ihres unfähigen Ehemannes.

Byzanz kommt in verschiedenen Kontexten im Laufe der ungarischen Literaturgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts vor. Die erste Gruppe bilden die ungarnbezogenen Byzanzwerke, in denen Byzanz häufig als eine verfallene und unmoralische Großmacht dargestellt wird, der gegenüber Ungarn tapfere Helden aufweisen kann. In diesen Werken werden zwei Epochen behandelt: die ungarische Landnahme bzw. das Zeitalter der Ungarneinfälle in Ost- und Westeuropa, sowie die Epoche der Árpáden.

Zur zweiten Gruppe gehören Byzanzwerke ohne Bezugnahme auf Ungarn: sie behandeln die Epoche Theoderichs, Konstantins des Großen, die Epoche von Justinian und Theodora, die Komnenenzeit, den vierten Kreuzzug und den Fall Konstantinopels.

Alle ideologischen Strömungen des 20. Jahrhunderts finden ihren Ausdruck in den ungarischen Byzanzwerken: der moralisierende Spätklassizismus, der Nationalismus, der Kommunismus und der antikommunistische Widerstand, die sozialistische Volksbildung, sowie die Desillusion der Postmoderne. Byzanz ist immer aktuell.