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# Scripta Classica

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## Introduction

The present volume of *Scripta Classica* is a collection of ten studies analysing various aspects of ancient culture, from Homer's language through Oppian's *Halieutica* to Byzantine Gello. The opening article celebrates forty years of didactic and scholar activities of professor emeritus Józef Sieroń. A passage of Schrödinger's book closing the volume promotes a Polish translation of *Nature and Greeks* as well as puts forward the idea that different disciplines of modern scholarship may shed the fences between them united in their pursuit of understanding the world better.

*Tomasz Sapota*



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## *Nosce te ipsum* W 40-lecie pracy dydaktycznej i naukowej Profesora Józefa Sieronía

**Abstract:** Department of Classics at the University of Silesia in Katowice was formed in 1991. The founder and the first head of the Department was Professor Stefan Zabłocki — a specialist in Neo-Latin, who entrusted the task of creating the foundations of Hellenic studies to Professor Józef Sieroń — classical philologist and philosopher, who was formerly affiliated with the Medical University of Silesia in Katowice. 2010 is the year of 40<sup>th</sup> Jubilee of Professor Józef Sieroń's work as a teacher and as a scholar.

**Key words:** University of Silesia in Katowice, Department of Classics, Jubilee of Professor Józef Sieroń

Filologia klasyczna zajmuje szczególne miejsce wśród nauk o kulturze antycznej. Będąc dyscypliną autonomiczną, stanowi zarazem narzędzie do badań z zakresu archeologii śródziemnomorskiej, historii starożytnej czy prawa rzymskiego. Znaczenie filologii klasycznej jest także oczywiste w odniesieniu do wielu innych nauk, których początki sięgają czasów antycznych. W dziedzinie nauk humanistycznych w sposób bodaj najbardziej oczywisty dotyczy to filozofii. Interdyscyplinarność jest więc cechą wspólną wszystkich nauk o kulturze antycznej, które się wzajemnie przenikają i dopełniają. Z faktów tych wynika specyficzny model formacji naukowo-badawczej specjalistów, podejmujących studia z zakresu różnych nauk o kulturze antycznej.

Droga naukowa Profesora Józefa Sieronía jest przykładem potwierdzającym potrzebę interdyscyplinarnych studiów nad antykiem. Najpierw studiował filo-

logię klasyczną na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim, którą skończył w 1966 roku, uzyskując tytuł magistra, przedstawivszy pracę magisterską pt. *Ludzie pracy u Platona*, napisaną pod kierunkiem profesora Władysława Madydy. Następnie rozwinął filologiczno-filozoficzne zainteresowania, podejmując studia na Wydziale Filozoficznym Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, które zwięńczył drugim magisterium w roku 1969, napisawszy pod kierunkiem Profesora Jana Legowicza pracę magisterską pt. *Ontologiczne uzasadnienie wolności u Epikura*. Solidnym przygotowaniem do obu kierunków studiów były wcześniejsze studia w Instytucie Teologicznym w Tarnowie w latach 1956—1960.

W roku 1970 magister Józef Sieroń przybył na Śląsk z Małopolski, gdzie urodził się 25 kwietnia 1938 roku w Lubaszu. Jego droga na Śląsk wiodła więc z rodzinnej ziemi tarnowskiej przez Kraków i Warszawę. Właśnie tutaj, czterdzieści lat temu, rozpoczął pracę dydaktyczną w Zakładzie Nauk Społecznych ówczesnej Śląskiej Akademii Medycznej na stanowisku najpierw wykładowcy, a od roku 1974 na stanowisku starszego wykładowcy. W latach 1977—1979 pracował w Zakładzie Etyki Instytutu Historii Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach, po czym został przeniesiony do pracy w Instytucie Nauk Społecznych Śląskiej Akademii Medycznej, gdzie wykładał filozofię do roku 1990. W tym czasie doktoryzował się na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim, uzyskując w 1987 roku stopień naukowy doktora nauk humanistycznych w zakresie filologii klasycznej, po obronie rozprawy pt. *Inspiracje filozoficzne w twórczości Wergiliusza*, napisanej pod kierunkiem Profesora Józefa Korpantego, która kilka lat później ukazała się w postaci książkowej<sup>1</sup>.

W roku 1990 podjęte zostały inicjatywy związane z utworzeniem w Uniwersytecie Śląskim Katedry Filologii Klasycznej, co formalnie stało się w roku następnym<sup>2</sup>. Założycielem i pierwszym kierownikiem Katedry był Profesor Stefan Zabłocki — znakomity neolatynista<sup>3</sup>, który w roku 1991 powierzył zorganizowanie od podstaw hellenistyki doktorowi Józefowi Sieronowi. W roku następnym jednolite magisterskie studia filologii klasycznej rozpoczęli pierwsi studenci, którzy pod jego kierunkiem poznawali język i literaturę grecką, filozofię starożytną i epok późniejszych, a potem kilkoro z nich napisało prace magisterskie, a jedna z absolwentek — magister Agata Bogdańska-Ciempiel ma otwarty przewód doktorski z zakresu hellenistyki. Profesor Sieroń wyróżnia się w działalności dydaktycznej nadzwyczajną rzetelnością i sumiennnością, a także rzadko już dziś spotykaną akrybią, które to cechy stara się zaszcześcić również studentom i współpracownikom. Jest wymagającym nauczycielem akademickim, który jednak potrafi mieć prawdziwie filozoficzny dystans do słabości i niedociągnięć

<sup>1</sup> Por. J. Sieroń: *Inspiracje filozoficzne w twórczości Wergiliusza*. Katowice 1994.

<sup>2</sup> Por. T. Aleksandrowicz: "Quinze années des études classiques à l'Université de Silésie à Katowice". W: *Scripta Classica*. Vol. 5. Red. T. Aleksandrowicz. Katowice 2008, s. 9—11.

<sup>3</sup> Por. Idem: "Professor Stefan Zabłocki (1932—2001) — the Founder and the First Head of the Department of Classics at the University of Silesia in Katowice". W: *Scripta Classica*. Vol. 2. Red. T. Sapota. Katowice 2005, s. 106—110.

studentów, ze zrozumieniem odnosząc się do ich problemów i trudnych sytuacji życiowych. W sprawach merytorycznych nie zwykł jednak być pobłażliwy, czego dowodzą recenzje jego autorstwa, zarówno niepublikowane oceny prac magisterskich i rozpraw doktorskich, jak i publikowane recenzje ważnych wydawnictw naukowych<sup>4</sup>. Z pracą dydaktyczną związane są także pierwsze publikacje Józefa Sieronia — *Przewodnik metodyczny do zajęć z filozofii dla studentów medycyny, stomatologii i farmacji* oraz *Wprowadzenie do zagadnień logiki*<sup>5</sup>.

Działalność dydaktyczna jest prawdziwą pasją Profesora Sieronia, którą łączy z pracą naukową szczególnie owocnie od chwili przejścia do Katedry Filologii Klasycznej. Jego dorobek naukowy godzien jest tym większej uwagi, że systematyczne badania interdyscyplinarne nad literaturą i filozofią starożytną mógł podjąć stosunkowo późno. W ciągu ostatnich kilkunastu lat opublikował cztery monografie, najpierw wspomniane już *Inspiracje filozoficzne w twórczości Wergiliusza*, a następnie rozprawę pt. *Status jednostki i państwa w greckiej pólis w świetle filozofii Sokratesa, Platona i Arystotelesa*<sup>6</sup>, która stała się podstawą uzyskania stopnia naukowego doktora habilitowanego nauk humanistycznych w zakresie literaturoznawstwa klasycznego na Wydziale Filologicznym Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach w 2004 roku. W dwa lata po rozprawie habilitacyjnej opublikował monografię pt. *Pojęcie szczęścia i przyjaźni w literaturze i filozofii starożytnej*<sup>7</sup>, która stała się podstawą otrzymania stanowiska profesora nadzwyczajnego Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w 2005 roku. Po dwóch kolejnych latach ukazała się jego monografia pt. *Problem cierpienia w literaturze i filozofii starożytnej Grecji*<sup>8</sup>.

Książki te ukazują główne kierunki poszukiwań badawczych Józefa Sieronia. Pokazał więc wpływ filozofii greckiej na twórczość Wergiliusza, podkreślając, że rzymski poeta nie opowiedział się bez zastrzeżeń za żadnym ze znanych mu kierunków ówczesnej filozofii, chociaż korzystał z inspiracji filozoficznych wielu myślicieli, najpierw Epikura, potem zbliżył się do stoików, pitagorejczyków i Platona, ale na każdym z tych etapów zachował niezależność twórczą.

Niezależność Wergiliusza koresponduje ze szczególną wrażliwością Profesora Sieronia na ideę wolności, która bodaj najpełniej realizowała się w indywiduali-

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<sup>4</sup> Por. J. Sieroń: [Rec.]: Lizjasz: *Mowy*. Przełożył, opracował i wstępem poprzedził R. Turasiewicz. Kraków 1998. *Pallas Silesia* 1998, T. 2, s. 115—119; J. Sieroń: [Rec.]: Ö. Larsen: *Ethik und Demokratie. Die Entstehung des ethischen Denkens im demokratischen Stadstaat Athen*. Aus dem Dänischen von M. Wesemann. Berlin—Hamburg 1990. *Pallas Silesia* 1999, T. 3, s. 157—162.

<sup>5</sup> Por. J. Sieroń: *Przewodnik metodyczny do zajęć z filozofii dla studentów medycyny, stomatologii i farmacji*. Katowice 1973; Idem: "Wprowadzenie do zagadnień logiki". W: *Materiały pomocnicze dla uczestników Kursu Pedagogicznego Asystentów Śląskiej Akademii Medycznej*. Katowice 1973, s. 91—131.

<sup>6</sup> Por. Idem: *Status jednostki i państwa w greckiej pólis w świetle filozofii Sokratesa, Platona i Arystotelesa*. Katowice 2003.

<sup>7</sup> Por. Idem: *Pojęcie szczęścia i przyjaźni w literaturze i filozofii starożytnej*. Katowice 2005.

<sup>8</sup> Por. Idem: *Problem cierpienia w literaturze i filozofii starożytnej Grecji. Zagadnienia wybrane*. Katowice 2007.

zmie starożytnych Greków. Ukazany obraz jednostki i państwa oraz wzajemnych między nimi relacji w świetle filozofii Sokratesa, Platona i Arystotelesa konkluduje stwierdzeniem ostatniego z tej trójki, który w *Etyce eudemejskiej* napisał, że dla człowieka najprzyjemniejszą rzeczą jest drugi człowiek.

Niezależność, wolność i indywidualizm skłoniły następnie Józefa Sieronia do refleksji nad pojęciem szczęścia i przyjaźni w literaturze i filozofii starożytnej. W pracy poświęconej temu zagadnieniu podkreślił, że cechą charakterystyczną starożytnych teorii przyjaźni jest przekonanie, iż związki przyjaźni posiadają większą wartość niż łączące ludzi więzy miłości.

Swoistą tetralogię Józefa Sieronia zamyka studium nad wybranymi problemami cierpienia w literaturze i filozofii starożytnej Grecji. Analizując pod tym kątem teksty najpierw wielkich tragiczków, a potem dziejopisarzy i filozofów, dochodzi do przekonania, że odpowiedź na pytanie o sens cierpienia znaleźć można dopiero w księgach *Nowego Testamentu*. Książka ta najpełniej odzwierciedla główne obszary jego poszukiwań badawczych, obejmując literaturę antyczną, filozofię starożytną i teologię chrześcijańską.

Kilkanaście szczegółowych zagadnień z zakresu filologii klasycznej i filozofii starożytnej przedstawił Józef Sieroń w cyklach artykułów, opublikowanych w kwartalnikach *Meander*<sup>9</sup> i *Nowy Filomata*<sup>10</sup>, w katowickich periodykach *Scripta Classica*<sup>11</sup>, *Pallas Silesia*<sup>12</sup> i *Civitas Mentis*<sup>13</sup>, a także w *Pracach Komisji Filologii Klasycznej PAU*<sup>14</sup> oraz w pracach zbiorowych<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Idem: "Problem wolności w filozofii Epikura". *Meander* 1983, T. 38, s. 187—197; Idem: "Wergiliński ideał człowieka i jego stosunek do przyrody". *Meander* 1985, T. 40, s. 29—39; Idem: "Rozwój zainteresowań i poglądów filozoficznych Wergiliusza". *Meander* 1986, T. 41, s. 427—442; Idem: "Obraz myśli filozoficznej Wergiliusza". *Meander* 1988, T. 43, s. 307—329; Idem: "Człowiek jako jednostka w świetle dialogów filozoficznych Platona". *Meander* 2002, T. 57, s. 255—274.

<sup>10</sup> Idem: "Ideowe i polityczne wątki poglądów Tukidydesa". *Nowy Filomata* 2004, T. 8, s. 3—18; Idem: "Problem cierpienia w świetle tragedii Eurypidesa". *Nowy Filomata* 2005, T. 9, s. 243—261; Idem: "Pojęcie cierpienia w *Dziejach* Herodota". *Nowy Filomata* 2006, T. 10, s. 163—178; Idem: "Rola namietności w życiu człowieka w świetle pism etycznych Arystotelesa". *Nowy Filomata* 2008, T. 12, s. 129—137.

<sup>11</sup> Idem: "Pojęcie szczęścia i przyjaźni w filozofii Arystotelesa". W: *Scripta Classica*. Vol. 1. Red. M. Bednarski, T. Sapota. Katowice 2004, s. 30—42.

<sup>12</sup> J. Sieroń: "Sokrates mniej znany". *Pallas Silesia* 1999, T. 3, s. 15—27.

<sup>13</sup> Idem: "Postać obywatela w greckiej polis w świetle *Polityki* Arystotelesa". W: *Civitas Mentis*. T. 1. Red. T. Sławek, Z. Kadłubek. Katowice 2005, s. 17—41.

<sup>14</sup> J. Sieroń: "Zasada środka w etyce Arystotelesa". W: *Prace Komisji Filologii Klasycznej PAU*. T. 27. Red. R. Turasiewicz. Kraków 1998, s. 145—159.

<sup>15</sup> J. Sieroń: "Początki żeglugi starożytnych na Morzu Śródziemnym". W: *Morze w kulturze starożytnych Greków i Rzymian*. Red. J. Rostropowicz. Opole 1995, s. 25—35; J. Sieroń: "Inspiracje filozoficzne w *Georgikach* Wergiliusza". W: *Studia nad kulturą antyczną*. T. 1. Red. J. Rostropowicz. Opole 1997, s. 69—83; J. Sieroń: "Koncepcja wychowania w teorii politycznej Platona". W: *Studia nad kulturą antyczną*. T. 2. Red. J. Rostropowicz. Opole 2002, s. 29—57.

Profesor Józef Sieroń jest osobą niezwykle skromną i prawą, postępującą w rygorystycznej zgodzie z wyznawanym przez siebie systemem wartości. W kwestiach istotnych jest bezkompromisowy, a w sprawach mniej ważnych — wyrozumiały. Nie tylko nie zabiega, ale wręcz stroni od stanowisk, funkcji i innych honorów. Nie przepada za wyjazdami na konferencje i różne zebrania, jakby wciąż był urzeczony epikurejską maksymą — żyj w ukryciu (λάθε βιώσας).

Od dwóch lat Józef Sieroń jest emerytowanym profesorem nadzwyczajnym Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach, ale łacińskie słowo *emeritus* ma w tym przypadku również znaczenie wartościujące. Nasz Jubilat dowiódł swymi dociekaniami badawczymi i pracą dydaktyczną oraz swoją drogą życiową, że poznanie samego siebie było nie tylko dążeniem Greków (γινῶθι σεαυτόν) oraz ich rzymskich naśladowców (*nosce te ipsum*), ale stało się myślą przewodnią, towarzyszącą również jemu samemu. *Plurimos annos, carissime Josephe.*



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## Transitiveness of Passive Forms in Homer Based on the First Book of the *Iliad*

**Abstract:** The deliberations presented in the article are the attempt to bring closer and verify the views on the transitiveness, to point some difficulties and make some suggestions about possible classifications. The general aim, however, is to analyse specific examples, i.e. the passive forms that occur in the first book of the *Iliad*. It seems that the presented method of analysing the text may give a chance for new interpretation, increase the preciseness and eliminate the burden of the traditional notions.

**Key words:** Homer, *Iliad*, transitive, passive, language

Transitiveness, the grammatical and semantic property of the verb seems to have been of minor interest in linguistic research. The attempts at its characterization are marked by generalizations or divisions, which are the result of difficulties connected with the necessity of analysing the two areas mentioned above — semantic and grammatical. The relation between them in this case is very close and significant. The syntactic structure, however, is not an obvious reflection of the semantic interpretation of the verb. Thus, defining transitiveness by determining the shared area of these two aspects requires an intuitive approach which should not dominate, though.

On the other hand, transitiveness is connected with such important syntactic categories as object and voice — the latter considered crucial in many theoretical deliberations concerning verbs.

The aim of the first part of this work is to bring closer and verify the views on this issue as well as to point some difficulties and make some suggestions about possible classifications. The general aim, however, is to analyse specific exam-

ples, i.e. forms which occur in the text. The closer look at the theory will provide a proper background for that kind of examination.

The material chosen for analysis provides verb forms at a particular stage of the development of their meaning. In this work it is derived from the *Iliad*. In the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, the estimated time of the *Iliad*'s origin<sup>1</sup>, the process of forming the passive aorist in ancient Greek had hardly been completed<sup>2</sup> and therefore the examination of the character of passive forms, meaning and syntactic position in the text of that time seems to be interesting and well grounded.

In ancient Greek there are separate passive forms in the future and aorist tenses only. Other tenses' forms make no formal distinction between the passive and the middle voice. This fact determines the area of analysis, which is also limited to the forms that occur in the first book of the *Iliad*<sup>3</sup>. The linguistic material of that size should be sufficient to reach some conclusions and put forward some possible interpretations concerning the passive forms and their transitivity in the *Iliad*. This work, however, should be considered only as a part of a bigger one that has to be undertaken to give us relatively objective view on the enquired issue.

The linguistic analysis consisting in careful observation of the syntactic and semantic relations in the text is a method imposed by that kind of material and problem to be discussed. Thus, it is used in this work. The main point of reference in this case is grammar of the language of the analysed text and a syntactic structure of a particular sentence in which passive forms occur. The other important element that has to be taken into consideration is the meaning of the analysed verb form, hence the lexicographical definitions is referred to. Finally, the context that is not a part of a particular syntactic structure is studied, so that the complete characterization of the element to be described can be obtained.

Firstly, some crucial terms shall be briefly outlined. According to the definition<sup>4</sup>, a transitive verb (*transitivum*<sup>5</sup>) is in limited, grammatical sense the verb that needs an object. It also has to be possible for the whole sentence having that verb as a predicate to be transformed into the passive voice. Then, the direct object of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. K. Kumaniecki, J. Mańkowski: *Homer*. Warszawa 1974, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. D.B. Monro: *Homeric Grammar*. Bristol Classical Press 1998, p. 45, § 44.

<sup>3</sup> All the quoted fragments of the *Iliad* come from the edition by G. Dindorf: *Homeri Ilias*. Lipsae—Teubner 1899. The version of the text from the electronic edition is also taken into account: T.W. Allen: *Homeri Ilias*. Oxford 1931.

The article presents the analysed examples chosen from the author's dissertation as the most interesting ones.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. K. Polański: "Czasownik przechodni (*transitivum*)". In: *Encyklopedia językoznawstwa ogólnego*. Ed. K. Polański. Wrocław 1999, p. 98.

<sup>5</sup> Lat. *transitus* — passage over.

an active sentence becomes a subject of the passive one<sup>6</sup>. In wider, semantic sense the transitive verb is the one that has an object, no matter what grammatical form the object takes.

In the further part of this entry an intransitive verb (*intransitivum*<sup>7</sup>) is defined as lacking in the features mentioned above. However, the verbs transitive in semantic sense are a common element, and therefore two groups can be distinguished: the verbs intransitive in grammatical but transitive in semantic sense and the verbs intransitive in both senses<sup>8</sup>. This group contains the verbs which do not take any objects as the action described is restricted to the agent<sup>9</sup>.

Such a definition indicates the problem with differentiating between semantic and grammatical area when the verb is to be identified as transitive or intransitive. It is also noticeable that some doubts may appear when transitiveness of reflexive verbs is described. In this case, the action is restricted to the agent, but the grammatical position corresponding with an object (position of a reflexive pronoun) may appear.

The concept of transitiveness rarely occurs in descriptive grammars and it is not analysed in detail. For example, when the direct object is defined, a syntactic dependence on a transitive verb (i.e. the one that can be transformed into passive) is said to be the feature of this object, although not a necessary one<sup>10</sup>. This problem and the definition from the linguistic encyclopaedia will be discussed later.

Tadeusz Milewski in his work *Wstęp do językoznawstwa* defines transitive and intransitive verbs using a concept of syntactic connotation. According to his definition, a transitive verb connotes a nominative subject, and an accusative object (so the verb opens a place in a sentence for these cases), and an intransitive verb connotes a nominative subject only<sup>11</sup>. Then, the author discusses the two syntactic schemas of a transitive and intransitive sentence — the former having three elements: a subject, a direct object and a transitive predicate which describes the action transferred from the subject to the object; the latter having two elements only: an intransitive predicate and a nominal part the state of which is described by the predicate<sup>12</sup>.

When differences between these two schemas are analysed, crucial and functional terms of agent and patient<sup>13</sup> are usually introduced to describe the nominal

<sup>6</sup> It is pointed out in the quoted definition that in the Greek language the described transformation is also possible for the verbs governing genitive and dative. Cf. K. Polański: „Czasownik przechodni...”, p. 98.

<sup>7</sup> Lat. *In-* — a negation, *transitus* — passage over.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. K. Polański: „Czasownik przechodni...”, p. 98.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *ibidem*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. A. Nagórko: *Zarys gramatyki polskiej*. Warszawa 2003, p. 289.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. T. Milewski: *Wstęp do językoznawstwa*. Łódź—Warszawa—Kraków 1960, p. 44.

Syntactic connotation is a quality of lexeme consisting of opening a place or places for other lexemes or the group of lexemes. Cf. H. Wróbel: *Gramatyka języka polskiego*. Kraków 2001, p. 238.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. T. Milewski: *Wstęp do językoznawstwa...*, pp. 116—117.

<sup>13</sup> An agent is an entity from which the action starts and a patient is an entity to which the action passes over. Cf. T. Milewski: *Językoznawstwo*. Warszawa 1976, p. 99.

parts of the sentence regardless of their formal realisation. The terms refer to the semantic sphere<sup>14</sup>.

Ancient Greek is a nominative-accusative language<sup>15</sup> so in Greek there is no greater difficulty in distinguishing the formal subject as far as tradition is concerned. Characterising it as an agent, patient or stating that it does not qualify to any of these categories — analysing the relation between the agent, patient, subject and object is more problematic, however, it is of essential importance when describing the passive voice (patient is a subject then) and interpreting transitivity. We shall focus on these questions and bring closer some of John Lyons' views and opinions.

John Lyons in his *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*<sup>16</sup> analyses the linguistic issues using mainly English to make exemplifications. In the chapter concerning the agent and the patient the author describes a subject as an agent when the predicate is either transitive or intransitive verb, but not the stative one (the noun which is the object in a transitive sentence is the patient then)<sup>17</sup>. Thus, it is clear that the agent is not characterised by opposition — it may occur in a sentence without the patient. The subject of the intransitive sentence may be the agent, but the verb or the sentence is described as intransitive when the action is not transferred. The relation between the two elements, the existence of such a relation, determines transitivity.

Such view on the problem corresponds, as the author claims, with traditional semantic interpretation of transitivity<sup>18</sup>. He notices, however, the difficulty in interpreting some of the verbs, for instance those of perception such as *to hear*, which is syntactically transitive. The problem appears when the direction in which the action is transferred is to be indicated, especially, since Lyons considers verbs of that kind as stative, non-progressive<sup>19</sup>, having pointed out that the subject of the stative verb cannot be the agent. Lyons states, nevertheless, that the classification made on the basis of the semantic definition is correct if it is possible to apply such a definition to the major number of syntactically corresponding verbs. We can also assume, as John Lyons notices<sup>20</sup>, that perception is most commonly understood as the action which to some extent or in some way passes to the perceived object. It follows that the verb should be regarded as active one and its subject as the agent.

Another group of verbs that the author distinguishes is the group of transitive verbs which do not have to take the object. The verb in such a situation may be considered intransitive, but since the verb is of a transitive nature it seems to be

<sup>14</sup> Cf. T. Milewski: *Wstęp do językoznawstwa...*, pp. 117—118.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 117.

<sup>16</sup> J. Lyons: *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. Cambridge 1968—1995.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 341.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 350.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 351.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *ibidem*.

more convincing to describe such a construction as pseudo-intransitive and to use a term “the deletion of the object”, following John Lyons<sup>21</sup>. The term “pseudo-intransitive” corresponds with formal lack of the object and with an empty position in semantic sphere.

Sentences with reflexive verbs that do not have any formal determinant of reflexivity are termed “the implicitly reflexive sentences” and are also classified as pseudo-intransitive constructions<sup>22</sup>. The implicitly reflexive sentence is a sentence with the deletion of the object when the object is identified with the subject. The reflexive sentences then are semantically transitive, but the subject (the agent) may be identified with the object (the patient). Thus, the action is restricted to the subject — the agent, but it definitely has a transitive character. The same situation occurs in the case of the explicitly and implicitly reflexive sentences. And so, once more, the term “pseudo-intransitive” is associated with formal issues only.

In nominative-accusative language the subject identified by formal means is usually the agent (the topic of the passive voice will be discussed later). Lyons states that it is one of the conditions held in Latin and Greek (and other Indo-European languages)<sup>23</sup>: “One of the two nouns in transitive sentences (and, when the ‘notional’ category of ‘actor’ is clearly applicable, it is the noun which denotes the ‘actor’) is marked with the same case-inflection (the ‘nominative’) as the subject of intransitive sentences”<sup>24</sup>.

The author also raises the question of equating the agent with the subject in the nominative-accusative languages or using the agent as a criterion for identifying the subject. He indicates that “in the sentences *Wealth attract robbers* and *Riches attract robbers*, the subjects are *wealth* and *riches* (according to the criterion of subject-verb concord)”<sup>25</sup> but they are not the agents. The noun *robber* is the agent<sup>26</sup>. According to Lyons, this fact does not challenge thoroughly the traditional opinion “that the subject of an active, transitive sentence is the initiator of the action, and the object of the ‘patient’ or ‘goal’”<sup>27</sup>. The decisive factor in this case is the tendency for the greater number of the transitive verbs to take an animate noun as a subject. In intransitive sentence such a tendency is rare.

We may state now that it is hard to determine unquestionably whether an inanimate noun may have an agentive nature or not. An inanimate object cannot act. It can influence animate ones, however. There is no doubt that the evoked reaction depends on the reacting object, on its psyche. The process of that kind appears also

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<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, pp. 360—361.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, pp. 361—363.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. ibidem, p. 342.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, p. 341.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. ibidem.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem.

in some cases when the subject is animate and the sentence is transitive e.g. *This cat irritates her*. In this case, although it is obvious that the *cat* is the agent, it is not clear without any contextual information if it acts or if the irritation is only the woman's reaction to the cat's existence. We shall define the noun *cat* as the agent because it is an animate noun. However, it seems that we would not assume that the woman is the agent even if we could conclude from the context that this sentence describes solely her reaction to the cat, though at the moment it does nothing but exists. Such a difficulty would also occur if the subject of that sentence were an inanimate noun. Thus, it seems acceptable to identify an agent with an inanimate noun for example in the sentence: *Wealth attracts robbers*.

Lyons does not allow that kind of interpretation<sup>28</sup>. He regards the animate character of a noun as "the 'notional' basis for the system of transitivity"<sup>29</sup>. The author describes the sentence *Wealth attracts robbers*, which is the example of a transitive sentence, as "'parasitic' upon the more 'normal' type of transitive sentences with an animate subject"<sup>30</sup> and unsatisfying "the conditions of the 'ideal' system"<sup>31</sup>, in which an inanimate noun cannot be agentive. It looks as if he made that assumption while deliberating not only the ideal system but also other ones. This type of sentences should be regarded, then, as syntactically, formally transitive, but semantically intransitive. According to semantics, the action cannot start from the subject that is not the agent. It is rather questionable to state that the predicate *attracts* describes the action that passes from the agent *robbers* to the subject.

As we can see, the analysis of transitiveness will require some careful semantic and formal interpretation, identification of the agent or the patient, closer look at their formal realisation and the position in syntax. In a transitive sentence the subject may be an agent, the sentence is semantically transitive then, though it may be formally identified as an intransitive one when the object is deleted. The subject of a transitive sentence may also be a patient<sup>32</sup> and the sentence is in the passive then. Finally, it may be difficult to decide clearly if the subject is an agent or a patient, as in the quoted sentence *Wealth attracts robbers*, and then the sentence is formally, syntactically transitive. In an intransitive sentence the subject may have the agentive or neutral character. Various understood element of passing of the action (of its effects) from an agent to a patient even if they do not have a surface realisation seems to be in most cases the main factor that lets us decide whether the construction is transitive or not. Thus, the element associated with the semantic definition is the most important one.

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<sup>28</sup> Neither does the definition from the linguistic encyclopaedia. According to that definition, only an animate and conscious entity may be the agent. Cf. K. Polański: "Agens". In: *Encyklopedia językoznawstwa...*, p. 20.

<sup>29</sup> J. Lyons: *Introduction...*, p. 359.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. K. Polański: "Pacjens (patiens)". In: *Encyklopedia językoznawstwa...*, p. 417.

Let us consider now the issue of transitivity as it is presented or rather signalled in descriptive grammars of the ancient Greek. The way they treat the syntactic matters is traditional. The traditional terms with semantic background are used in the definitions which, however, are based mostly on the analyses of the surface grammatical structure.

The question of transitivity is signalled, for example, by Marian Auerbach and Marian Golias — the accusative being mentioned as a case of the direct object, the transitive verb is defined as the one that can be transformed into passive<sup>33</sup>.

The definition of transitivity corresponding with this sentence has been referred to earlier in this work — the transitive verb is a verb that takes an object and can be transformed into passive, when the object becomes a subject.

In accordance with that criterion, in the Greek language, verbs that govern cases other than the accusative might be regarded as transitive as they can be transformed into passive. Although the case that is characteristic for the direct object is the accusative case and, for example, in Latin transitive verbs take the direct object almost only in the accusative<sup>34</sup>, a group of verbs in Greek governing genitive or dative can be transformed into passive with the genitive or dative objects becoming subjects in the nominative<sup>35</sup>. Thus, sentences of such a syntactic construction are, in the light of the definition taken from the linguistic encyclopaedia<sup>36</sup>, semantically transitive, as the verb takes the object. However, the problem is to decide if they are grammatically transitive following the definition that a verb is transitive if the direct object of an active sentence becomes the subject of the passive one. Hence the terms “direct” and “indirect object” will be the next discussed question.

In Polish linguistics the direct object is the (first) element which has the (first) place<sup>37</sup> by the verbs that can be changed into passive so it is the one that becomes the nominative subject in the passive sentence<sup>38</sup>. In Polish such an object is usually in the accusative and when negated it takes the genitive, but it may also be in the genitive or instrumental case in declarative sentences. Indirect objects are the elements that take all other places by the main element<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. M. Auerbach, M. Golias: *Gramatyka grecka*. Warszawa 1985, p. 164, § 159.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Z. Samolewicz, T. Sołtysik: *Składnia łacińska*. Bydgoszcz 2000, p. 28, § 15.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. M. Auerbach, M. Golias: *Gramatyka grecka...*, p. 164, § 159, p. 180, § 197; cf. H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar*. Cambridge 1956, p. 395, § 1745: „Active or middle verbs governing the genitive or dative may form (unlike the Latin use) a personal passive, the genitive or dative (especially if either denotes a person) becoming a subject of the passive”.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. K. Polański: “Czasownik przechodni...”, p. 98.

<sup>37</sup> A place filled by the subject is not taken under consideration here. Otherwise, the direct object would be said to fill the second place.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. S. Karolak: “Dopełnienie”. In: *Encyklopedia językoznawstwa...*, p. 125.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *ibidem*.

Alicja Nagórko states that the direct object is the object of the transitive verb, which she also defines as the one transformable into passive<sup>40</sup>. She also notices that the genitive and the instrumental are sometimes cases of the direct object and become subjects in the passive voice<sup>41</sup>. The indirect object is then the object of the intransitive verb and it is put in different cases. The transitive verb can also take indirect object usually in the dative. It generally refers to the receiver of the results of the action (*dativus commodi* or *incommodi*)<sup>42</sup>. There is the reference to semantics then, but the fact that this object does not become the subject in the passive voice still remains the decisive criterion.

Since, on the one hand, transitivity is defined on the basis of the fact that the verb can be transformed into passive and the direct object changes its position and, on the other hand, we define the direct object on the grounds of its different positions in the active and the passive voice and on transitivity of the verb, it seems acceptable to admit that on the grammatical level transitivity of the verb depends only on its ability to be transformed into passive, as this ability of the verb is the syntactic representation of the semantic element of transitivity.

It has been mentioned above that in the Polish language cases other than the accusative may be used to mark the indirect object. According to Greek descriptive grammar, it is possible for the action to pass from the subject to the object noun put into genitive, for example, when the scope of the action is limited to a part of the object<sup>43</sup>. The conditions, however, are fulfilled: the verb can be transformed into passive and then the object becomes the subject. That object has, as it seems, the first (and the only) place by the verb<sup>44</sup>, so it may be a direct object. Thus, the verb governing the genitive case may be regarded as grammatically transitive.

If the object is a noun in the dative, the verb may be a three-place verb<sup>45</sup> with two objects — one is a noun in the accusative and the other one in the dative. When the sentence is transformed into passive, the object with the accusative noun is not the only one that can become the subject, provided the indirect object of the active sentence is animate<sup>46</sup>. Still, the verb's ability to be transformed into passive remains the criterion which decides that the verb is grammatically transi-

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<sup>40</sup> Cf. A. Nagórko: *Zarys gramatyki polskiej...*, pp. 289—290. There are lexically conditioned exceptions to this rule.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 290.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 291.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. M. Auerbach, M. Golias: *Gramatyka grecka...*, p. 168, § 168; cf. W.W. Goodwin: *Greek Grammar*. Boston 1900, p. 233, § 1097—1098.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *fn.* 38.

<sup>45</sup> The subject is included in this number.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. D.Q. Adams: "Passives and Problems in Classical Greek and Modern English". *Working Papers in Linguistics* 1971, no. 10, p. 2; cf. H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar...*, p. 396, § 1748: „An active verb followed by an accusative of a direct object (a thing) and an oblique case of a person, retains, when transferred to the passive, the accusative of the direct object, while the indirect object becomes the nominative subject of the passive”.

tive. There is yet another possibility — when the verb has only one object and it is in the dative. It seems that this is also a grammatically transitive verb if it can be transformed into passive, and if the object becomes the subject. The object in the dative would be the direct object then.

Douglas Q. Adams writes about Greek: “There one finds large classes of verbs which either optionally or obligatorily take a direct object in the dative or genitive”<sup>47</sup>. Verbs of that kind, as the author says, could not be transformed into passive until the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>48</sup>. We do not know, however, how he defines the direct object and if he regards the objects of the verbs of the time when the passivization applied only to the object in the accusative as direct objects. Taking into consideration the foregoing statements, we might conclude that this class of verbs at some point became grammatically transitive.

However, the construction of that type (with the object in the genitive or dative) occurring in the Greek language is, according to the definition taken from already quoted encyclopaedia, an example that there is no necessary association between passivization and transitivity<sup>49</sup>. That kind of verb, although it can be transformed into passive, is regarded here as a “multi-place intransitive verb”, i.e. the verb that takes the indirect object and not the direct one<sup>50</sup>.

The direct object is identified with the accusative and that seems to be the problem. When the criterion which decides if the object is direct is the fact that this object becomes the subject in the passive construction this identification (the direct object — the accusative case) corresponds with what Adams says<sup>51</sup> and is correct, but applies only to the state before the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

That criterion used without any temporal limits occurs in *Greek Grammar* by Herbert W. Smyth. He states: “Verbs capable of taking a direct object are called *transitive* because their action *passes over* to an object. Other verbs are called *intransitive*”<sup>52</sup>. He notices that intransitive verbs are used as transitive and the verbs usually transitive often take the indirect object<sup>53</sup>. The direct and indirect object are both clearly defined: “An object may be *direct* (in the accusative) or *indirect* (in the genitive or dative)”<sup>54</sup> and “The accusative is the case of the direct object. The accusative is used with all transitive verbs (and with some intransitive verbs used transitively)”<sup>55</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> D.Q. Adams: “Passives and Problems in Classical...”, p. 4.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 5.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. S. Karolak: “Passivum”. In: *Encyklopedia językoznawstwa...*, p. 424.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *ibidem*.

<sup>51</sup> D.Q. Adams: “Passives and Problems in Classical...”, p. 4.

<sup>52</sup> H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar...*, p. 257, § 920; cf. C. Pharr: *Homeric Greek: A Book for Beginners*. [Sine loco et dato ed.], p. 298, § 1062: „A transitive verb is one whose action *passes over* to an object in the accusative”.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar...*, p. 257, § 920.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 257, § 919; „The object of a transitive verb is always put in the accusative”. *Ibidem*, p. 389, § 1706.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 354, § 1533.

It seems that in some cases the object in dative or genitive is considered indirect only because the direct one is equated with the accusative case, although there is no syntactic or semantic motivation. This problem may be partly solved by using the category *complement* apart from the category *object*.

Then, the status of partitive genitive, when it holds a place by the transitive verb, is somewhat different: “The genitive may serve as the immediate complement of a verb, or it may appear, as a secondary definition, along with accusative which is the immediate object of the verb”<sup>56</sup>.

The situation is similar with the dative. In one of its functions it is also referred to as the “direct complement of verbs”<sup>57</sup>: “The dative may be used as a sole complement of many verbs that are usually transitive in English”<sup>58</sup>. The dative is then the only complement of the verb, but also the direct complement. Still, such a construction is considered intransitive, though it can be transformed into passive: “An intransitive verb taking the dative can form a personal passive, the dative becoming the nominative subject of the passive”<sup>59</sup>. The dative in other position is the “indirect complement of verbs”<sup>60</sup>, and when it fills one of the three places by the verb and the accusative fills the other one, the dative is the “indirect object”<sup>61</sup>. Thus, the indirect complement is the indirect object, but the direct complement is not the direct object.

According to these opinions, what determines whether the verb is regarded as transitive is the fact that the verb takes the object in the accusative. It is then the model characteristic for Latin and not for Polish. The difference is that while the sentence in Latin is transformed into passive only the object in the accusative can become the nominative subject<sup>62</sup>, so only the object in the accusative is the direct object, while the Greek syntax is in this regard similar to Polish rather than Latin. It is hard to find the reason to make a distinction between the object and the complement and to accept the definition which says that only the object in the accusative is the direct object. Even if, in some respect, there is a semantic difference between the object in the genitive or dative and the object in the accusative, the object in the genitive or dative may still meet the syntactic and semantic criteria that the direct object has to meet.

Having analysed such arguments we may come to the conclusion that, provided we resigned from identifying the direct object with the accusative, Greek might be in this respect regarded as the language system close (at least since the 5<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Ibidem, p. 320, § 1339.

<sup>57</sup> Ibidem, p. 338.

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem, p. 338, § 1460; cf. C. Pharr: *Homeric Greek...*, p. 287, § 996; W.W. Goodwin: *Greek Grammar...*, p. 223, § 1046—1048.

<sup>59</sup> H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar...*, p. 340, § 1468.

<sup>60</sup> Ibidem, p. 340.

<sup>61</sup> Ibidem, p. 340, § 1469.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. M. Auerbach, M. Golias: *Gramatyka Grecka...*, p. 180, § 197.

century BC) to the ideal one, in which the criterion for deciding whether the verb is transitive equates the semantic and grammatical transitivity. The syntactic connotation and the action passing from the agent to the patient, being semantics issues, may be considered then the most important criteria while defining grammatical transitivity<sup>63</sup>.

Such a set of criteria, with a greater stress put on semantics, could be helpful in changing the situation described by H.W. Smyth: "The distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs is a grammatical convenience, and is not founded on an essential difference of nature"<sup>64</sup>. The indirect object would be characterised as the object filling the third place by the verb, while the second place is filled by the accusative. This position would be used to define the indirect object, rather than the relation in passive transformation. The difference between the direct objects marked with different cases would be of semantic character then, not being the criterion for transitivity. The accusative would still stay a case characteristic to the direct object but this category would become open for the cases that usually perform other functions.

Greek descriptive grammar describes also an intransitive use of transitive verbs, when the verb that usually takes the object is used without it, because of "the ellipsis of a definite external object"<sup>65</sup> or because the verb is used "absolutely, i.e. with no definite object omitted"<sup>66</sup>. These constructions may be the examples of discussed earlier deletion of the object and may be regarded as pseudo-intransitive.

The other term used in the title of this work is the term *passive*. We shall discuss the category of the active and passive voice trying to emphasise its relation with transitivity and set the position it will take in the analysis of the text.

The category of voice, though regarded as a morphologic, has a syntactic character, as Alicja Nagórko states<sup>67</sup>. Its semantic shade results in arranging the elements according to priority<sup>68</sup>, but as a consequence the meaning changes.

The general definition by Tadeusz Milewski says that the category of voice settles the relation of the transitive verb to the subject and the object<sup>69</sup>. The characterization of the voices in a syntactic schema of the Polish language consists in analysing the direction in which the action passes, i.e. from the subject to the object (the active voice), from the subject and back to it (the reflexive voice), and

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<sup>63</sup> Cf. C. Pharr: *Homeric Greek*..., p. 298, § 1063: "An intransitive verb is one whose action does not pass over to an object".

<sup>64</sup> H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar*..., p. 389, § 1708.

<sup>65</sup> Ibidem, p. 389, § 1709.

<sup>66</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. A. Nagórko: *Zarys gramatyki polskiej*..., p. 104.

<sup>68</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>69</sup> T. Milewski: *Językoznawstwo*. Warszawa 1976, p. 101.

to the subject in nominative (the passive voice)<sup>70</sup>. It is important that the category of voice is discussed with respect to transitive verbs.

The active voice, as Alicja Nagórko says, reflects the natural hierarchy when the doer or the entity that has a particular property or is in some state, so the element with the highest rank is in the position of subject, which is the most important one<sup>71</sup>. There is no comment that this category is limited to the transitive verbs. It is hard not to remark that kind of limitation while characterizing the passive voice, especially since not the morphological but the syntactic aspect of this category is the most important one. The passive voice insists in reversal of the natural hierarchy<sup>72</sup>, which is possible only when there is another element apart from the main one in the basic schema. In the passive voice, the agent has the lower position in the hierarchy (it is an adjunct and may be omitted) while the object of the active sentence becomes the subject of the corresponding passive sentence<sup>73</sup>. Thus, in the passive voice the patient is the subject. Since the passive voice is characterised in this way, it seems correct to use the same method of description for the active voice. This category would then apply to the two- and three-place verbs only.

The traditional Greek grammar distinguishes three voices: the active, the passive and the middle voice (*activum*, *passivum* and *medium*)<sup>74</sup>.

The active voice in Greek has the same meaning as in Polish, although some active verbs may replace the passive of others<sup>75</sup>. The characterization of the active voice is done by stating that “the active voice represents the subject as performing the action of the verb”<sup>76</sup>.

The middle voice signals that the action in some particular way concerns the subject itself, its belongings or the area around it. The subject may be at the same time the object of the action (and then it has the same meaning as the active voice with the reflexive pronoun as the object of the verb). Another possibility is that the action is done in the subject’s interest or with its strong commitment<sup>77</sup>.

When the subject of the sentence is the object of the action expressed by the verb, it is the passive voice. The passive voice developed from the middle voice taking its forms in most cases. The aorist and the future tense are exceptions, although “many future middle forms are used passively”<sup>78</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. *ibidem*.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. A. Nagórko: *Zarys gramatyki polskiej...*, p. 105.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. *ibidem*.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. J. Lyons: *Introduction...*, p. 376.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. H.W. Smyth: *Gramatyka grecka...*, p. 107, § 356; cf. M. Auerbach, M. Golias: *Gramatyka grecka...*, p. 180.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 180, § 196.

<sup>76</sup> H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar...*, p. 389, § 1703.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. M. Auerbach, M. Golias: *Gramatyka grecka...*, pp. 181—182; cf. H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar...*, pp. 390—394.; cf. D.B. Monro: *Homeric Grammar...*, p. 9, § 8.

<sup>78</sup> H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar...*, p. 394, § 1737.

In the passive voice, ὑπό with the genitive is usually used to express the agent, but also other prepositions with this case may be used in this function: ἀπό, διά, ἐκ, παρά, πρὸς; or ὑπό with the dative<sup>79</sup>. The agent may also appear marked with the dative alone as a *dativus auctoris*<sup>80</sup>. The dative is also used “when the agent is a thing”<sup>81</sup>.

The suggestions about the relation between the form and the meaning of the verb are also worth discussing, especially as they concern the forms to be analysed. The general rule says: “In verbs with both first and second tenses [...] the first tense is usually transitive [...], the second intransitive”<sup>82</sup>. In Greek grammar books, we may also find comments that are relevant to the passive aorist forms: the second passive aorist developed from active intransitive forms, and with time, it gained the passive meaning<sup>83</sup>. Aoristic forms that end with -ην being at the same time the forms of intransitive verbs have the active meaning<sup>84</sup>. The first passive aorist may have the active or middle meaning<sup>85</sup>.

According to Smyth, “in Homer all the second aorist forms in -ην are intransitive except ἐπλήγην and ἐτύπην *was struck*. Most of the forms in -θην are likewise intransitive in Homer”<sup>86</sup>.

Deponent verbs are another example of the disagreement between the form and the meaning: “Deponent verbs have an active *meaning* but only middle (or middle and passive) *forms*. If its aorist has the middle form, a deponent is called a middle deponent [...]; if its aorist has the passive form, a deponent is called a passive deponent [...]. Deponents usually prefer the passive to the middle forms of the aorist”<sup>87</sup>. However, they may have a passive meaning sometimes, for example, the passive aorist of the middle deponents has a passive meaning<sup>88</sup>.

Thus, the link between the form and the meaning is not obligatory. The passive form may have meaning other than passive and occur in the sentence that is not passive. Therefore, the form of the verb form is not the only factor that determines whether the sentence is active or passive. The necessary criterion is the arrangement position of the agent and the patient.

The grammatical form of the analysed word, the meaning of the word and

<sup>79</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 398, § 1755.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 343, § 1488; cf. M. Auerbach, M. Golias: *Gramatyka grecka...*, p. 176, § 186.

<sup>81</sup> H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar...*, p. 344, § 1494.

<sup>82</sup> C. Pharr: *Homeric Greek...*, p. 298, § 1064; cf. *ibidem*, p. 247, § 864; cf. H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar...*, p. 220, § 819.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. M. Auerbach, M. Golias: *Gramatyka grecka...*, p. 182; cf. H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar...*, p. 395, § 1739, p. 181, § 591, p. 219, § 802.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. M. Auerbach, M. Golias: *Gramatyka grecka...*, p. 182.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar...*, p. 219, § 804.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 395, § 1740.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 107, § 356.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 220, § 810; cf. D.B. Monro: *Homeric Grammar...*, p. 44, § 44.

the syntax of the sentence should be taken into account in a grammatical description. It seems that in the definitions and opinions presented in the Greek descriptive grammars there is an element that requires clarification or augmentation, and it pertains to the way the concept of voice and its relation with transitivity is understood. The descriptive grammars clearly suggest that the category of active verbs contains transitive and intransitive verbs: "Active verbs are *transitive* or *intransitive*"<sup>89</sup>. They may have both meanings<sup>90</sup>. Such a statement is correct, when we assume that it concerns only the form and perhaps the character of the verb, but not the syntax of the whole sentence. As said above, the subject of the intransitive verb may be the agent. Then the verb has the active meaning (regardless of this fact it may have an active form). When the verb is stative, the subject cannot be considered the agent. It seems, however, that in both cases it is not the syntactic category of voice that is discussed. This category should be reserved for the transitive verbs, and the intransitive verbs could be described as having active or stative character or meaning. Then, the active form would have the transitive or intransitive meaning, in the intransitive meaning it would have the active or stative meaning, in the transitive meaning it would have the active meaning (or the passive one, for example, in one of the interpretations of the verbs like hear and see) and would be categorised as syntactically active<sup>91</sup>. The situation for the passive form would be similar, but the verb in the passive form having the active or middle meaning would be syntactically active and the one having the passive meaning would be categorised as syntactically passive. The passive voice would concern only the transitive and pseudo-intransitive verbs.

The attempts to make critical review of the definitions are not of the definitive character, though naturally some conclusions are based on the decisions and answers given to the discussed problems. It is not the aim of such a review to create a rigid framework for the text to be fitted into. The aim is to provide the background for the analysis. The interpretation of the text will be an attempt to investigate thoroughly the grammatical and semantic structure analysing as many references in the context as possible. To decide whether the passive form is transitive, it has to be established in the first place whether the subject is the agent, the patient or none of them. These categories are essential in the description of transitivity. Positions of the objects and other positions that might express the agent will undergo the semantic analysis. It is necessary to consider that these positions may not be realized. The observations will eventually be compared with the notions about transitivity presented above.

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<sup>89</sup> H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar*..., p. 389, § 1704.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. M. Auerbach, M. Golias: *Gramatyka grecka*..., p. 180, § 196.

<sup>91</sup> The verb in the active form may substitute the passive form of another verb. It has the transitive meaning then, although the voice is syntactically passive. Cf. J. Lyons: *Introduction*..., p. 415.

## Example 1

*Iliad*, I 9

ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε  
 Ἀτρεΐδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.  
 Τίς τάρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;  
 Δημοῦς καὶ Διὸς νιός ὃ χάρ βασιλῆϊ χολωθείς 9  
 νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὄρσε κακὴν, ὀλέκοντο δὲ λαοὶ  
 οὖνεκα τὸν Χρῦσιν ἠτίμασεν ἀρητῆρα  
 Ἀτρεΐδης

The form that we will focus on while analysing this fragment is the first aorist passive participle of the verb χολόω. It is a nominative singular masculine. The participle is in concord with a demonstrative pronoun ὃ<sup>92</sup>, which is the subject of the analysed sentence. The subject of the sentence is an agent as the pronoun refers to the animate noun νιός, and it is Apollo who is mentioned here. The group consisting of the pronoun and the participle is accompanied by the dative which is syntactically connected with the participle. The noun in dative is an animate noun βασιλῆϊ — we learn from the context that it is Agamemnon.

Agentive character of the subject of the sentence with ὄρσε as a predicate contradicts the patientive character that the subject of the sentence with the participle changed into the predicate should have. It could be the suggestion that the participle χολωθείς is a form with an active or intransitive meaning. The connection between this participle and the subject of the sentence with the personal verb is weakened to some extent as it is the circumstantial participle (*participium coniunctum*) with the causal meaning not the attributive one. We may assume rather predicative use of the participle and the stronger connection or symmetry with the predicate ὄρσε. There is still some contrast between the active and passive form. It seems, however, of lesser importance and although both sentences have the same subject, the cause and effect relation and the fact that an aorist participle expresses action prior to that of the main verb makes the connection weaker by creating some temporal and spatial distance between the actions concerning the subject and therefore the subject may change its character. Thus, it may be interpreted as a patient for one of the predicates and an agent for the other one.

Considering a wider context, we can say more about the character of the interaction between Apollo and Agamemnon. The direct cause of the Apollo's wrath is the fact that τὸν Χρῦσιν ἠτίμασεν ἀρητῆρα Ἀτρεΐδης. Although the disposition of the events in the text depends on the composition, it is possible to observe

<sup>92</sup> There are two versions of the text. In the quoted edition D — a demonstrative pronoun, which can also serve as a relative pronoun. According to the electronic edition, the form of the pronoun is Ὁ. Then the basic form is Ὁj, and it is written as Ὁ mainly when the pronoun serves as a demonstrative pronoun. The decision is not crucial in this case. Cf. H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar...*, pp. 284—287.

the cause and effect relations and notice the sequence: Agamemnon's insult to the priest, the Apollo's wrath, the sending of the plague, and the death of many people. Obviously, the first cause is the cause of all the effects, but the immediate consequence of the Agamemnon's act is the Apollo's wrath. The description of the action that directly causes the wrath may be regarded as some suggestion about the direction of passing over of the action expressed by the participle *χολωθείς*. It has to be pointed out, however, that the Agamemnon's action was not directed straight against Apollo and that provoking the god's anger was not Agamemnon's major intention. On the other hand, it is hard to assume that, regardless of his intention, what he does could not be described as provoking the anger, as he was fully aware of Chryses' dignity and status<sup>93</sup>.

Such an interpretation lets us identify the character of the participle and the syntax as passive, and thus the transitive meaning of the analysed form. In this case, the dative *βασιλῆϊ* would be unusual as the element expressing an agent. Although it is an animate noun, and therefore easy to regard as the agent, it occurs in the dative. In Greek dative may be used in the passive construction as a *dativus rei efficientis* and express an acting thing or it may be used as a *dativus auctoris* particularly when the verb is in the past tense. However, when the animate noun is the agent it is usually marked with *ὑπό* with the genitive.

If we consider that it is more probable that the subject; being an agent in the sentence with *ὄρσε* as a predicate keeps its agentive character in relation with the participle the combination of the active character and the passive form appears. We know from the context that the wrath is directed against Agamemnon. When we apply the criterion saying that the verb is transitive if it takes an object, we may regard the meaning transitive and the syntactic voice passive or middle. In this case, the middle voice would express the commitment of the subject. When we interpret the form as active or middle, we pay less attention to the aspect of causality which is contextually motivated or the fact that the designatum of the noun *βασιλῆϊ* has the character of the source of the anger. Of course, the analysed construction does not meet the criterion of passivization and the object is not in the accusative case. If we take into account the common understanding of the grammatical transitivity, the analysed form cannot be considered grammatically transitive. What is even more important, the meaning of the verb in such a context is not marked by transitivity. It casts doubts on the way the semantic transitivity is defined or suggests that the dative is not the object but has a different function.

Another interpretation appears when *βασιλῆϊ* is considered to be *dativus causae*. Let us assume that Agamemnon did not intend to make the god angry. The participle would then express the subject's emotional state and have intransitive meaning. The problem is that anger can be at the same time a kind of state and to

<sup>93</sup> The words said by Agamemnon in the twenty eighth verse seem sufficient as a reference: μή νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμη σκῆπτρον καὶ στέμμα θεοῖο.

some extent a kind of activity. Moreover, as an activity it turns toward the factor that causes it by acting or by simply existing and, therefore, it is difficult to identify the function of the dative and to decide whether the construction is transitive or not. However, if we assume that the participle is rather attributive, we stress its stative character. It is linked with the reduction of the predicative character of the participle<sup>94</sup>, though it is somewhat limited by the fact that there occurs the element indicating the cause.

Another argument for interpreting the meaning and the syntax as passive is the meaning of the basic — active form of the verb *χολόω*, which, according to the dictionaries, means: ‘anger’, ‘provoke’, ‘enrage’<sup>95</sup>. The verb is transitive and takes an object in the accusative. The active form meets the criteria for grammatical transitivity. There are no syntactic obstacles then for this verb to be transformed into the passive voice.

Smyth also uses the two forms: *ἐχολώθη* and a middle aorist form, as an example of the passive usage of the middle voice. Both of them have passive meaning<sup>96</sup>. The interchangeability of these forms is also pointed out by Monro, but he apparently signals a different direction — the passive forms have the middle meaning<sup>97</sup>. It seems to stay in accordance with what has been said earlier about the meaning of the passive voice, especially in Homer’s poems.

In the dictionary by H.G. Liddel and R.A. Scott the passive and middle forms of *χολόω* are translated as ‘to be angered’ or ‘provoked to anger’<sup>98</sup>, which seems to suggest the passive meaning. On the other hand, the passive aorist form *χολώθη* (together with the perfect forms) is described as *verbum intransitivum*, and the dative it takes is the *dativus personae* and it is said to be the indirect object. The genitive that may appear accompanying this form expresses the cause. It may be an argument against the causative function of the dative, which may rather be *dativus incommodi* having the character of the indirect object and indicating transitivity, at least the semantic one. Evidently intransitive meaning ‘be angry’ for the middle and the passive is suggested by the G. Autenrieth’s dictionary<sup>99</sup>. Then, in this case the participle would mean just ‘angry’.

C. Pharr also deems this form intransitive, as it takes dative<sup>100</sup>. However, he translates it as ‘having been enraged’<sup>101</sup> not ‘having been angry’.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Ł. Tofilski: “Funkcje semantyczno-składniowe imiesłowu greckiego w pierwszej mowie Lizjasza”. *Classica Wratislaviensia* 2001, Vol. 22, pp. 31—48.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. *Słownik grecko-polski*. Ed. Z. Abramowiczówna. Warszawa 1965, Vol. 4, p. 630; cf. H.G. Liddel, R.A. Scott: *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford 1996, p. 1997; cf. G. Autenrieth: *Homeric Dictionary*. London 1984, reprinted 1998, p. 331.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar...*, p. 218, § 802, § 802 D.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. D.B. Monro: *Homeric Grammar...*, p. 44, § 44.

<sup>98</sup> H.G. Liddel, R.A. Scott: *A Greek-English Lexicon...*, p. 1997.

<sup>99</sup> G. Autenrieth: *Homeric Dictionary...*, p. 331.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. C. Pharr: *Homeric Greek...*, p. 34, § 83, p. 287, § 996.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 34, § 83.

It seems then that the analysed form may be regarded as intransitive, although in this case the problem of classification of the dative βασιλῆϊ arises, especially in the context of semantic transitiveness and the syntactic connotation as the criterion of transitiveness in general. The active or the middle meaning is for semantic reasons the hardest to justify. It is possible, however, to describe the form as transitive and the voice as passive, although it is not typical to mark the agent with dative. The conclusion being to some extent a generalization may be reached after having analysed all the forms of this verb that occurs in Homer's poems.

Example 2

*Iliad*, I 47

Ὦς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,  
βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων χωόμενος κῆρ,  
τοξ' ὥμοισιν ἔχων ἀμφορεφέα τε φάρετρήν·  
ἔκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' οἷστοι ἐπ' ὤμων χωομένοιο,  
αὐτοῦ κινήεντος· ὃ δ' ἦϊε νυκτὶ ἐοικώς.

47

Another form is the first aorist passive participle of the verb κινέω. It is in the genitive singular and the word is in concord with the pronoun αὐτός. It is a construction of the genitive absolute. The participle has no complements. The passive form of the verb with no signalled reference does not let us assume that the subject of the sentence in which this construction appears could be the object of the participle. No other element from the context could be the object. Except for the subject there is no element that indicates the agent for the participle κινήεντος. The pronoun, which is in accordance with the participle and would be the subject of the sentence analogous to the analysed construction, refers to Apollo, so it is animate. The verb expresses movement. The subject has then an agentive character. The fact that there is no object leaves two possible interpretations — the form is intransitive or pseudo-intransitive.

There is a difficulty resulting from the fact that the reflexive meaning is in ancient Greek one of the meanings of the middle voice. The question arises whether the sentence of this kind should be considered pseudo-intransitive because there is no position of the object, or whether to regard the morphological determinant of the voice as the element indicating the object. Such a verb is not semantically intransitive. It may be assumed that the middle voice with the reflexive meaning is the special case of pseudo-intransitiveness which could be described basing not on the criterion of the optional occurrence of the object but on the criterion of the possibility for the middle construction to be transformed into the active one with the reflexive pronoun.

Smyth indicates the general characterization of this verb. He classifies the verb into a group of active verbs whose passive aorist often has the reflexive or the middle meaning, and he translates the form ἐκινήθην as “*was moved or moved*



On the other hand, there is no agentive element in positions other than the position of the subject, the subject is animate and there is no object — these three facts suggest that we can regard the analysed verb as intransitive or pseudo-intransitive. Although the predicate adjective of the other clause has the passive character it is an intransitive sentence describing a situation, a state. We may regard this fact as an argument for intransitiveness of the discussed verb if we consider the clause with ὁμηγερέες semantically equivalent to the one with the passive aorist form, as we have done before, and if we take into account that the subject in both clauses is the same.

If we reject the passive interpretation we should notice the difference between the analysed clauses. The subject by the predicate ἤγερεν has the agentive character, the action described has the active character. This character may appear in the active or middle voice and that is impossible for the stative one, and the second clause has the stative character.

Let us compare the verb ἀγείρω, especially its passive forms that are deemed intransitive<sup>106</sup> with the verb *gather*. When intransitive, it seems to take as subject only the nouns in plural and the collective or uncountable nouns. It is also syntactically analogous to the verb *move* used by J. Lyons in the analysis of transitivity as this verb has both transitive and intransitive meanings<sup>107</sup>. Both *move* and *gather* may take a reflexive pronoun if the subject is an animate noun e.g.: *He moved* and *He moved himself*; *People gathered in that building* and *People gathered themselves in that building*. It is not, however, the same situation as with the implicitly reflexive sentence. The fact that the verb can take a reflexive pronoun is only a matter of stressing the agentive character of the subject<sup>108</sup>. The Polish sentences: *On poruszył się* or *Ludzie zgromadzili się*, are not reflexive either. The crucial factor is not the surface realisation but the semantic element. Similarly, the form ἤγερεν could not be deemed pseudo-intransitive, even if it were possible to replace this form with an active one having a reflexive pronoun<sup>109</sup>.

According to this interpretation, the sentence taking no object is semantically and grammatically intransitive.

When the context is taken into account, it seems that the analysed form may be interpreted in two ways: as transitive with the passive meaning and syntax, and as intransitive.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. G. Autenrieth: *Homeric Dictionary...*, p. 3; cf. H.G. Liddel, R.A. Scott: *A Greek-English Lexicon...*, p. 7; cf. *Słownik grecko-polski...*, Vol. 1, p. 8.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. J. Lyons: *Introduction...*, pp. 351ff.

<sup>108</sup> It seems that John Lyons has not considered such a case in his analysis.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Example 2.

## Example 4

*Iliad*, I 59

Ἀτρεΐδῃ νῦν ἄμμε πάλιν πλαγχθέντας οἶω      59  
 ἄφ' ἀπονοστήσειν, εἴ κεν θάνατόν γε φύγομεν,  
 εἰ δὴ ὁμοῦ πόλεμός τε δαμᾷ καὶ λοιμὸς Ἀχαιούς·

The next form to be analysed is *πλαγχθέντας*. In the commentary by G.S. Kirk<sup>110</sup> and in the electronic edition the form is *παλιμπλαγχθέντας*. The first version we shall analyse is the one written separately, as it occurs in the quoted edition.

The form is the first aorist passive participle in the accusative singular. The basic form of the word is *πλάζω*. The participle is the attributive adjective qualifying the pronoun *ἄμμε*, which is the subject in the *accusativus cum infinitivo* and refers to the Achaeans. The participle has no objects and there is no grammatical position of the agentive adjunct. However, there is, in the context, the element that could refer to the agent and it is the plague sent by Apollo, and therefore Apollo can be regarded as the indirect agent.

The subject of the sentence with *ἀπονοστήσειν* as a predicate is an agent, although the sentence is intransitive. If we tried to interpret the participle or the analogous sentence as passive, we would have to assume, as we did in the first example, that the subject is agentive and passive at the same time. Once again, it is the argument for considering the meaning other than passive. However, the participle may be considered circumstantial (*participium coniunctum*) with the temporal meaning, and like the causal meaning in the first example the temporal one in this case weakens the contradiction. The participle would then translate as 'held off', 'repelled' and the adverb *πάλιν* would complete the meaning characterizing the direction. Such a meaning of the adverb, which can also describe the recurrence of an action, is characteristic for the early epic<sup>111</sup>. In this interpretation the form is regarded as transitive, syntactically and semantically passive.

To interpret the form as having the intransitive meaning ('having receded', 'having turned away from') we have to diminish the strength of the connection between the situation that induces Achilles to say the words quoted in this fragment and the cause of the Achaeans' miseries. At the same time we put a greater stress on the semantic relation with the verb *ἀπονοστήσειν*. The action expressed by the participle would describe a manner or a condition. Such a character is implied especially by the adverb *νῦν*. The agentive subject in *accusativus cum infinitivo* construction would have the same character in the sentence equivalent to the participle.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. G.S. Kirk: *The Iliad*..., p. 59.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. H.G. Liddel, R.A. Scott: *A Greek-English Lexicon*..., p. 1292.

In the analysis of the form παλιμπλαγχθέντας<sup>112</sup> (the basic form is παλιμπλάζω) the fact that according to the dictionaries this word occurs in Homer only as a passive aorist participle is to some extent a limitation. In the dictionaries one finds only the passive meaning<sup>113</sup>: ‘foiled’, ‘driven back’. It seems, however, that also this time, in accordance with the context, it is possible to consider the form intransitive.

Example 5

*Iliad*, I 187

[...] ἐγὼ δέ κ' ἄγω Βρισηΐδα καλλιπάρηον  
αὐτὸς ἰὼν κλισίηνδ' ἐπὶ σὸν γέρας ὄφρ' ἐὺ εἰδῆς  
ὅσσον φέρτερός εἰμι σέθεν, στυγέη δὲ καὶ ἄλλος  
ἶσον ἐμοὶ φάσθαι καὶ ὁμοιωθῆμεναι ἄντην. 187

Another passive form (of the verb ὁμοιόω) is the passive aorist infinitive ὁμοιωθήμεναι and it is a part of *accusativus cum infinitivo* construction. It has no object and the adverb ἄντην is the only modifier. There is no agentive element in position other than the one of the subject. Such an element in the context could indicate the passive voice. The action clearly does not leave the subject. This fact is determined by the intention of Agamemnon saying the quoted words. He himself remarks that his action is aimed at awing Achilles (ὄφρ' ἐὺ εἰδῆς ὅσσον φέρτερός εἰμι σέθεν) and intimidating the others (στυγέη δὲ καὶ ἄλλος), so that they will restrain their audacity. Restraining the audacity should stop them from action which is expressed in the *accusativus cum infinitivo* constructions. They depend on the main verb — στυγέη, and are analogous. The first infinitive (φάσθαι) does not have the passive meaning.

We shall consider whether the action is intransitive or pseudo-intransitive — middle, reflexive<sup>114</sup>. The decision may be based on the semantic analysis of the word and on the comparison with other occurrences of the analysed form. The dictionary by G. Autenrieth reports that this verb occurs in Homer only in the analysed form<sup>115</sup> and only twice. The dictionary describes the form as intransitive<sup>116</sup>. It seems, however, that this word may have a reflexive meaning, especially when it is modified by ἄντην, and it may be equivalent to the active form with a reflexive pronoun as an object.

<sup>112</sup> According to D.B. Monro, having the temporal meaning the participial compound form may be written separately. Cf. D.B. Monro: *Homeric Grammar*..., p. 121, § 125.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. G. Autenrieth: *Homeric Dictionary*..., p. 245; cf. H.G. Liddel, R.A. Scott: *A Greek-English Lexicon*..., p. 1292.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Example 2.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. G. Autenrieth: *Homeric Dictionary*..., p. 231.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. H.G. Liddel, R.A. Scott: *A Greek-English Lexicon*..., p. 1225.

The form would be pseudo-intransitive in a particular, suggested earlier<sup>117</sup>, interpretation of this term. There is no object in the surface realization and there is practically no possibility to add such a position. The form is the only determinant; in this case, the passive not the middle form.

Example 6

*Iliad*, I 200

θάμβησεν δ' Ἀχιλεὺς, μετὰ δ' ἐτράπετ' αὐτίκα δ' ἔγνω  
Παλλὰδ' Ἀθηναίην· δεινὴ δέ οἱ ὅσσε φάανθεν· 200

Another form is the first aorist passive indicative in the third person plural. It may be regarded as a form of two verbs which, however, have almost the same meaning — the verbs φαεῖνω and φαίνω. The first one is the poetic equivalent of the second one.

The verb φαίνω has two passive aorist forms ending in -θην and in -ην. In the descriptive grammars of Greek we find the remark that in such a situation usually the -θην form is transitive and the -ην form is intransitive<sup>118</sup>.

The subject of the analysed sentence may be considered animate. The Athena's eyes are the subject. There is also the pronoun οἱ, which is the personal pronoun in the dative singular and refers to Athena or Achilles.

If the pronoun refers to Athena (that is G.S. Kirk's<sup>119</sup> and C. Pharr's<sup>120</sup> proposition) it is not the agent. The dative itself is not a typical way of marking the personal agent. Such a classification in this case is not possible for semantic reasons. It seems that the animate subject is the agent. The sentence, then, is definitely neither semantically nor syntactically passive. The form φάανθεν does not take the object in the accusative, so it may be regarded as grammatically intransitive. Semantically, it has no reflexive character, so it cannot be considered pseudo-intransitive. It is the example of the intransitive meaning of the first aorist passive form, although the analysed verb has also the second aorist passive forms. The dative of the personal pronoun (οἱ) has the function of *dativus commodi*<sup>121</sup>. The meaning of the pronoun that is used in this function is often similar to the genitive in a possessive function<sup>122</sup>. *Dativus commodi* is classified by H.W. Smyth as a „modifier of the sentence”<sup>123</sup>. It is not an object nor is it an indirect complement. Such a classification may be deemed accurate as the action seems to be neither semantically nor grammatically transitive.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Example 2 and Example 3.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar*..., p. 222, § 819.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. G.S. Kirk: *The Iliad*..., p. 74.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. C. Pharr: *Homeric Greek*..., p. 106, § 292.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar*..., p. 342, § 1481.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. D.B. Monro: *Homeric Grammar*..., p. 136, § 143.

<sup>123</sup> H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar*..., p. 341.

There is another possible interpretation, when we regard that *oi* refers to Achilles. This interpretation is less probable because of the lack of the element referring to the context. The expressed thought would be too general then and rather obscure in the context. However, it is not an argument that could definitely eliminate this version and make the analysis groundless. According to such an interpretation, ὄσσε and δεινὼ are the nominative cases of the subject and the predicate adjective and the verb φάανθεν is the copula<sup>124</sup>. It would mean ‘to appear’, ‘to seem’ and it would have an intransitive character. The pronoun would also be *dativus commodi* having, however, slightly different meaning.

The problem of the semantic nature appears, then. It is difficult to decide what the direction of the perception and what a kind of assessment is. It seems, however, that the interpretation presented above satisfactorily meets the syntactic and semantic criteria, and a further analysis would distract us from the main issue.

#### Example 7

*Iliad*, I 266

οὐ γάρ πω τοίονς ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι,  
οἶον Πειρίθοόν τε Δρύαντά τε ποιμένα λαῶν  
Καινέα τ' Εἰσάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον  
Θησέα τ' Αἰγείδην, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν·  
κάρτιστοι δὴ κείνοι ἐπιχθονίων τράφεν ἀνδρῶν·     266  
κάρτιστοι μὲν ἔσαν καὶ καρτίστοις ἐμάχοντο  
φῆρσιν ὀρεσκόοισι καὶ ἐκπάγλως ἀπόλεσσαν.

The form τράφεν is the next form we shall analyse. It is the second aorist passive indicative of the verb τρέφω and it is the third person plural. The pronoun κείνοι is the subject. In positions other than the position of the subject, there is no element that could be considered the agent.

Smyth classifies τρέφω into the group of verbs that “[...] show the result of their action upon a substantive or adjective predicate to the direct object”<sup>125</sup>. The accusative in this case is then the predicate accusative and it is the accusative of the result. In the analysis of this example, it is important to remark that the verbs that in the active voice take the accusative of the object and the predicate accusative, in the passive voice take the double nominative — the subject and the predicate nominative<sup>126</sup>.

The adjective κάρτιστοι could be a predicate nominative in this situation. It would suggest that the verb is in the passive voice so it is transitive. However,

<sup>124</sup> Cf. M. Auerbach, M. Golias: *Gramatyka grecka...*, p. 164, § 157.

<sup>125</sup> H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar...*, p. 357, § 1579.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 362, § 1618; cf. M. Auerbach, M. Golias: *Gramatyka grecka...*, p. 167, § 163.

some intransitive verbs also take double nominative. We should take into consideration that the second aorist passive forms often have the intransitive meaning, especially when the verb has forms of both the first and the second passive aorist. We can find information that the second passive aorist of this verb may have the intransitive and the passive meaning<sup>127</sup>, but we should probably agree that the lack of the agent or even the contextual reference to the agent is the decisive argument for classifying the verb as intransitive.

It seems that none of the presented interpretations can be categorically rejected.

#### Example 8

*Iliad*, I 464

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' εὗξαντο καὶ οὐλοχύτας προβάλοντο,  
 αὐέρυσαν μὲν πρῶτα καὶ ἔσφαξαν καὶ ἔδειραν,  
 μηρούς τ' ἐξέταμον κατὰ τε κνίσῃ ἐκάλυφαν  
 δίπτυχα ποιήσαντες, ἐπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὠμοθέτησαν·  
 καίε δ' ἐπὶ σχίζῃς ὁ γέρων, ἐπὶ δ' αἶθοπα οἶνον  
 λείβε· νέοι δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔχον πεμπώβολα χερσίν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μῆρα κἀ καὶ σπλάγχνα πάσαντο,      464  
 μίστυλλον τ' ἄρα τᾶλλα καὶ ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειραν,  
 ὥπτησάν τε περιφραδέως, ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα.

Κατακῆ, the next passive form we shall analyse is the second passive aorist indicative in the third person singular. There is a tmesis — κατὰ is separated from the verb by μῆρα.

Μῆρα is the subject of the clause, it is an inanimate noun and it is not an agent. Two interpretations are possible. If we assume that the subject is a patient, the syntax is passive. Otherwise the clause is intransitive.

The second passive aorist, as mentioned above, often has intransitive meaning. There is such an indication also in reference to the verb καίω<sup>128</sup>. This form may be easily considered intransitive because of the meaning of the verb, the character of the subject, and because there is no object.

However, if we notice what the character of all other actions in the situation described in the text is, we may observe that the context indicates the agentive element. It can be omitted in the surface realization of the analysed clause. In the previous sentences as well as for the next predicates the Danaans and Chryses are the subject. They prepare the sacrifice and participate in offering it to Apollo. They are the ones who burn the pieces of the flesh of the thighs (μῆρα). In such a case, the subject would be a patient, and the clause would be transitive with the passive syntax.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. H.W. Smyth: *Greek Grammar...*, p. 182, § 595.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 701.

The analysed verb is singular, although the subject is plural. It is possible in Greek, if a neuter noun is a subject. The number differentiates this predicate form from the other predicates in the context. They are all plural and the Danaans are the subject, although there is no noun or pronoun in the position of the subject. There is also a neuter plural noun by πᾶσαντο the predicate of the clause joined with the analysed one by the coordinating conjunction *and*. The noun, however, is the object, and is indicated semantically and syntactically by πᾶσαντο which is a deponent verb and has the active meaning 'to eat'<sup>129</sup>. This difference is an argument against the interpretation of the κᾶη as the middle, transitive form with the object μῆρα, although this interpretation seems possible according to Greek grammars. In this case, the fact that the verb is singular could be explained by the distinct subject — Chryses himself (ὁ γέρω) would end the act of burning.

It is hard to decide categorically whether the verb is passive or intransitive, especially after analysing this single example only, but the intransitive interpretation of this form seems more probable.

Creating a complete definition of transitiveness is not an easy task. The deliberations presented above might be regarded as the suggestion that the grammatical and semantic spheres should be more unified while defining transitiveness. The greatest stress should be put on semantics, as the meaning of the verb is the main factor deciding about this quality of the verb. The fact that a verb takes an object is the most important syntactic element reflecting transitiveness. However, the meaning of the verb should always be taken into consideration in the first place. We should also agree that the syntactic category of the voice is the category reserved for the transitive verbs and notice the difference between the active syntax and the active character of a verb.

There are four participles and two infinitives among the thirteen passive forms<sup>130</sup> in the first book of the *Iliad*. The other forms are indicatives. Six forms are definitely intransitive. Two forms may be interpreted as pseudo-intransitive. The remaining five forms may be considered syntactically passive. Although the interpretation is not unequivocal, a rather big generalization has to be made to reject it.

The element that may be the agent in position other than the subject occurs only in the first example, though its form is not typical for such a function. In the other cases, with the exception of Example 7, a wider context is the basis of a passive interpretation. Considering Example 7 as passive seems to be the most controversial.

There are four second aorist passive forms, and two of them may be interpreted as passive (including Example 7).

<sup>129</sup> Cf. H.G. Liddel, R.A. Scott: *A Greek-English Lexicon*..., p. 1347.

<sup>130</sup> In the conclusion all the occurrences of the passive aorist forms in the first book of the *Iliad* are included. They are analysed in the author's Master's Dissertation, on which the article is based.

The question remains open because of the limited material analysed in this work. The complete view on this issue may be reached in the analysis of the whole texts of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

It seems that the presented method of analysing the text may give a chance for the new interpretation, increase the preciseness and eliminate the burden of the traditional notions.



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## The Eleusinian Themes in Plato's *Phaedrus*

**Abstract:** Plato's *Phaedrus* can be considered on two levels. First is literal and the second is mystical. The construction of dialogue is based on Eleusinian Mysteries. Each part of *Phaedrus* suits each part of this mystery, including *visio beatifica*. It could be noticed from the very first beginning of the dialogue: place where Socrates is taken by Phaedrus is the same where the Little Eleusinian usually starts — in Agrai. We can notice the similarities during the whole dialogue. But Platon didn't say a word which can suggest the relation between *Phaedrus* and Mysteries. It is easy to explain. Nobody can talk about Mysteries during 5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> century BC. It was kind of *arretion*. But this similarities are obvious and prove how important religion was to Plato.

**Key words:** Plato, *Phaedrus*, religion, Eleusinian Mystery, philosophy

*Phaedrus*, along with *Symposium*, is one of those dialogues where Diotima, a priestess, while explaining to Socrates the nature of love, differentiates between physical and spiritual sphere, comparing them to the lesser (*myesis*) and greater (*epoptika*) mysteries, in which Eleusinian Mysteries play an important part. Although Plato does not say it directly in any of these texts, for the ancient Greeks it was obvious, as indicated not only by the structure of the dialogue (reflecting the structure of the ceremony) but also by the place of the conversation as well as its unusual teaching about the soul. The aim of this study is to show this parallelity, the duality of the fields of dialogue, the parallel way of developing the mysterial thread by Plato and the philosophical one by Socrates, who is the main, though not the eponymous, character of the dialogue — and, in the end, the specific counterpoint of both these fields as shown in the culminating point of the dialogue, namely in Socrates' Great Speech, being an equivalent of mystical *visio beatifica*.

## Place

The place of the dialogue itself is connected with the cult of the divine Diad — Demeter and Persephone. Socrates, in the company of Phaedrus, is walking along the bank of Ilissos, near the Agrae sanctuary, which was the scene of the Lesser Mysteries serving as a preparation to the Greater Mysteries in Eleusis. This preparation played a role of an initial teaching concerning what was supposed to happen later in Eleusis. The ritual passage from Agrae to Eleusis took the form of strict religious law. The holy shrine in Agrae was situated on the bank of Ilissos. Up till now, its name is associated with blossoming *lygos* and the shadow of planetrees. The name itself relates to the hunting grounds of Artemis the Huntress — Artemis Agrotera. However, the traditional name, official and sacral, was *en Agras* — “within the territory of the goddess called Agra” (“hunting trophy”). In classical times the Agrae cult was perceived as Lesser Mysteries of Demeter and Mysteries of Persephone. These are Eleusinian names. What is also interesting, according to another tradition, these mysteries may also have been connected with Dionysus. A small reference, which may easily pass unnoticed to the modern reader, can also be found even in *Phaedrus*. It concerns the name of Oreithyia, the daughter of the king of Athens, abducted by the north wind — Boreas. “Oreithyia” means “Mountain-Rager”, and this is exactly what the women did during their Dionysian festivals. Her history calls to mind not only Dionysia but also the abduction of a virgin.

It seems that the choice of an ultimate place for repose of both the thinkers is not accidental. Socrates chooses a quiet place in the shadow of a branchy plane-tree, the tree traditionally attributed to Dionysus, though Apollo was also called *Platanistios*. In later part of the dialogue one of the four kinds of mania, namely prophetic inspiration, is ascribed to this god. Dionysus, whose connection with the plane-tree is obvious, is the author of the other, mystical, inspiration. Also the Muses, the originators of the third, poetical, kind of inspiration, are appealed to by Socrates. The thinker, when sitting under the plane-tree, hears cicadae, whose sounds he compares to the singing of Sirens, asserting, to the surprise of Phaedrus, that if they do not let themselves be seduced by these sweet sounds they will receive the gift from them, like from the Muses. Socrates explains to his companion that when there were no Muses yet, cicadae were human beings. When the Muses came, some people were so much entranced with their singing that they sang with them, neglecting worldly affairs, and in the end died, not realizing it. Now, even in the shape of cicadae, they report to the Muses everything that they hear from the people (*Phaedrus* 259A—E). It is worth noticing that Phaedrus made an oath (*horkos*) even on the plane-tree, causing Socrates to retort Lysias’ speech. Socrates’ interlocutor makes a quick choice, asking himself: “I say, or rather swear — but what god will be witness of my oath?” (*ibidem*).

The connection between Dionysian and Eleusinian mysteries existed not only in the mythological but also in the phraseological area, in the ceremony itself and in the formal aspect. The myth of the descent to the underworld is common here. Demeter goes there to seek her daughter — Persephone, whilst Dionysus wants to find there his mother — Semele. This correspondence has its reflection also in the rite. When the wife of the king Archon (whose presence at the ceremony, like the presence of her husband during Eleusinian Mysteries, emphasized official character of the festival) set out to marry Dionysus, the Keryx from Eleusis went at her side. Also during the Lenaia the invocation to Dionysus was undertaken by the man who carried the torch from Eleusis. In a very discreet way Dionysus slipped into the festival of two goddesses, invisibly, because under the name of Iacchus. He stayed there for good in 5<sup>th</sup> century BC as a leader of the procession from Athens to Eleusis.

The reason of the discussion between Phaedrus and Socrates is the speech of Lysias. This character is also not free from connections with mysteries. One of the Demosthenes' speeches reveals Lysias' love for a young slave — Metanira. Her owner was a woman from Corinth who was taking away all the gifts which the girl received from her admirer — so Lysias decided to offer her a gift which would be costly and at the same time impossible to take away. Initiation was this gift, as it is known that it included animal offering.

The mystical *myesis* appearing in the Lesser Mysteries which took place in Agrae may be rendered by the Latin *initia*, “the beginnings” or its derivative *initiatio* — “initiation”, which means introduction to the secret. It is similar in the dialogue. Firstly, the place, and then, the first speech of Socrates suggest introduction to what will take place later — the second speech, which can be compared to the Greater Mysteries in Eleusis. After giving his first speech Socrates says that he committed a sin (*hamartema*) because he offended Eros, the son of Aphrodite, and now he needs purification. Also the ritual bath in nearby Ilissos served the purpose of this purification. To propitiate Eros, a mighty deity, Socrates will have to give another speech.

## The Teaching About the Soul

A substantial part of the second — propitiatory — speech is the teaching about the soul, both human and divine. The thinker gives its definition and describes its substance: “The soul through all her being is immortal, for that which is ever in motion is immortal; but that which moves another and is moved by another, in ceasing to move ceases also to live. Only the self-moving, never leaving self, never ceases to move, and is the fountain and beginning of motion to all that moves besides. Now, the beginning is unbegotten, for that which is begotten has

a beginning; but the beginning is begotten of nothing, [...] But if unbegotten, it must also be indestructible; [...] But if the self-moving is proved to be immortal, he who affirms that self-motion is the very idea and essence of the soul will not be put to confusion". Later, he adds: "[...] when perfect and fully winged [...] losing her wings and drooping in her flight at last settles on the solid ground — there, finding a home, she receives an earthly frame [...] and this composition of soul and body is called a living and mortal creature. For immortal no such union can be reasonably believed to be; although fancy, not having seen nor surely known the nature of God, may imagine an immortal creature [...]"'. The wings raising the soul are the divine element consisting of beauty, goodness and wisdom. These are also the nourishment which causes the wings of soul to grow. They wither and waste because of evil and "foulness" (245D — 246E). Philosophical *visio beatifica* takes place in the later part of the speech: "Zeus, the mighty lord, holding the reins of a winged chariot, leads the way in heaven, ordering all and taking care of all; and there follows him the array of gods and demigods, marshalled in eleven bands [...] of the rest they who are reckoned among the princely twelve march in their appointed order. They see many blessed sights in the inner heaven, and there are many ways to and from along which the blessed gods are passing, every one doing his own work; he may follow who will and can, for jealousy has no place in the celestial choir. But when they go to banquet [...] then they move up the steep to the top of the vault of heaven. The chariots of the gods in even poise, obeying the rein, glide rapidly; but the others labour, for the vicious steed goes heavily [...] and this is the hour of agony and most extreme conflict for the soul. For the immortals, when they are at the end of their course, go forth and stand upon the outside of heaven, and the revolution of the spheres carries them round, and they behold the things beyond. But of the heaven which is above the heavens, what earthly poet ever did or ever will sing worthily? [...]:

There abides the very being with which true knowledge is concerned; the colourless, formless, intangible essence, visible only to mind, the pilot of the soul. The divine intelligence, nurtured upon mind and pure knowledge, and the intelligence of every soul which is capable of receiving the food proper to it, rejoices at beholding reality, and once more gazing upon truth, is replenished and made glad, until the revolution of the worlds brings her round again to the same place. In the revolution she beholds justice, and temperance, and knowledge absolute, not in the form of generation or of relation, which men call existence, but knowledge absolute in existence absolute; and beholding the other true existences in like manner, and feasting upon them, she passes down into the interior of the heavens and returns home; and there the charioteer putting up his horses at the stall, gives them ambrosia to eat and nectar to drink" (ibidem).

The term *visio beatifica* (Beatific Vision) was coined to designate the supreme goal, the *telos*, of Christian life. In medieval usage it signifies the immediate sight

of God, *videre Deum*; those who obtain this vision are transported into the state of eternal beatitude. The medieval concept of the *visio beatifica* forms the highest conceivable stage in a series of historical religious experiences, and the historical examples, such as the Eleusinian mode of religious experience, may be interpreted as approximations to this limit.

The nature of the vision is determined not only by its function but also by the actual quality of the seeing. A vision may be seen with closed or with open eyes. Seeing and “having seen” are sufficiently stressed by the words employed to designate the source of the beatitude obtained at Eleusis (as will be seen below). The tone of these words in Greek does not suggest “seeing” in the figurative sense, with closed eyes. But it does not necessarily exclude it. However, seeing with open eyes may be inferred from the explicit references to closing one’s eyes, or to letting them close, in the first phase of initiation, the *myesis*. The term *deiknymena*, “things shown”, has gained popularity in scientific literature on the Eleusinian Mysteries along with two others, the *legomena* and the *dromena*; it has come to designate a part of the secrets. The opening of the eyes was taken so literally as to form the basis of assertion that on at least one occasion Demeter had given sight to a blind man, although Demeter is not a deity of healing. Persephone, on the other hand, was the object of the vision. This cure of a blind man may be shown by the marble votive relief of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC with the inscription “To Demeter Eucrates”. Over the inscription are two eyes wide open, along with the nose. Over them there is the head of a goddess surrounded by red rays which suggest the light accompanying the appearance of the goddess. When an initiate contemplated the head, he was probably reminded of the epiphany of Persephone, although the inscription under the head expressed gratitude only to her mother. Although no sources giving the description of Eleusinian *visio beatifica* have survived to our times, the relief mentioned above and the vision in Plato’s *Phaedrus* confirm its existence.

It is worth considering what was hidden under the above term *visio beatifica* — “beatifying, blessing vision”. Sophocles partially reveals the secret in his *Triptolemos*, where the eponymous hero says: “Thrice blessed are those among men who, after beholding these rites [the Eleusinian Mysteries], go down to Hades. Only for them is there life; all the rest will suffer an evil lot”. Pindar also mentions the “seeing”: “Blessed is who will see / before his descending under the earth; / he has already known the end of life, / he knows the beginning which the gods have given us”.

An initiate possessed the knowledge which gave blessing, not only in the underworld. Cicero too, in *On the laws* directs the reader’s attention to the light brought by Eleusis to human life: “[...] by them we especially learn [...] not only the art of living agreeably, but of dying with a better hope”, and later: “there is nothing better than the mysteries by which we are polished and softened into politeness, from the rude austerities of barbarism. Justly indeed are what they called initiations, for by them we especially learn the grand principles of philosophic

life". Also Isocrates, an accomplished Attic orator, so as not to reveal the essence of the mysteries, described three hundred years before the hopes originating from the participation in the mysteries for a single man as well as for the whole humankind, skilfully using equivocal expressions. In his eulogy on Athens (IV 28) he writes about two gifts of Demeter: corn and Eleusinian ceremonies. Regarding the latter, he distinguishes two blessings: "[...] sweeter hopes regarding both the end of life and all eternity". The equivocal *aion* may have meant the term of a single life or the time of existence of all the universe. Isocrates probably had in mind the latter sense, which is attested by other fragments containing that term.

The analogy of *visio beatifica* as presented by Socrates to the Eleusinian vision is confirmed also by his own words: "[...] and then we beheld the beatific vision and were initiated into a mystery which may be truly called most blessed, celebrated by us in our state of innocence, before we had any experience of evils to come, when we were admitted to the sight of apparitions innocent and simple and calm and happy, which we beheld shining impure light, pure ourselves and not yet enshrined in that living tomb which we carry about, now that we are imprisoned in the body".

Those who saw *visio beatifica* experienced the state called *epopteia*. It is worth noticing that according to Aristotle's analysis of the above mentioned Diotima's speech from *Symposium*, the highest stage of philosophy is analogical to *epopteia*. Though little is known about *visio beatifica* as such, definitely more can be said about *imitatio dei vel deae* enacted during *epopteia*. During the culminating point of the mysteries the participants proceeded to the Telesterion, which, however, did not fulfil the function of a theatre. Those who came there had been earlier properly prepared. Unlike in a theatre, the masks were not displayed and the initiated took part in their own drama — without the masks mentioned above, but "in disguise" of the ritual attires. The *imitatio* there enacted was an *imitatio Cereris*. Men and women alike appeared in the role of the goddess (for that there is historical evidence indicating that the initiate regarded himself as a goddess and not as a god: the coins of the Emperor Gallienus from the years 265/66) searching for her daughter, for a part of herself in her offspring.

Another difference between the *epopteia* and the *theama*, theatrical performance, lied in the fact that the former was closer to the visiting and beholding of divine images. The objects of that contemplation were *agalmata*, statues of gods. The visiting — *visitatio* — is equivalent to Greek *theoria*, as *theoriai* pleased the gods and brought about the perfect *visio beatifica*. It is necessary to mention that *agalmata* were created by artists, who were inspired and at the same time limited by a collective imagination along with their own, disciplined by a living tradition.

## The Names of the Goddesses and Their duality

Taking into consideration the obvious references to Eleusinian Mysteries one should ask why Plato does not directly mention the name of Demeter or Persephone. The answer is simple: because he could not. It was forbidden to say these names aloud, especially Persephone's name in context of the mysteries.

*Theos*, which in Greek means "god", corresponds to a predicative concept. When used without an article it designates a god as an event, as the article removes the emphasis from the event and introduces a more personal view of the god. *Theos* with the masculine or feminine article points to a definite deity, whom the speaker does not wish to name, either because he may not or because he need not. Between the usage with article and that without one there usually lies the proper name, which the profane were not allowed to utter (see also *Phaedrus* 238). *Theos* could correspond at most to *arreton* ("ineffable"), the proper name belonged to the *aporrheta* ("kept secret under a law of silence"). In Eleusis, the deity of the mysteries was known to the public as "the two deities" in a dual form which can mean either "the two gods" or "the two goddesses". Long after classical period, exceptionally pious people still used this vague expression. Everyone knew that those deities were goddesses. In public, emphasis was on the two, however, when the initiated entered the sphere of the *aporrheta*, they actually encountered more deities. It is assumed that in *arreton* the Two became One. Poets preferred to call her Kore, the "Maiden".

The outward turned member of the Diad who was turned outward was Demeter. Her name means "Mother" and "De" (an older form "Da"). The same syllable, in the language already connected with *meter*, in the Mycenaean script probably meant a measure for grainfields. In that Demeter differed from Gaia or Ge, the Earth; Earth she was, too, but not in a sense of universal mother but as the mother of grain and of a mysterious daughter, whose name was not to be uttered.

No doubt, a dialogue constructed in such a way is a tribute to Eleusinian Mysteries. Even though for a modern reader this aspect may seem irrelevant, for an ancient Greek it was essential. The period when it may have been written was an especially turbulent time for the Greek religion. Traditional beliefs were criticized, but also the influence of former historical events (especially Persian wars) made the faith of the Athenians falter. Because of that the religious context of the dialogue is extremely important. It was a time of not only great religious changes, but also political and social ones, a time in which the sophists and their teachings played an important role, and a time when long existing values were undermined. When the Parmenidean One was supplanted by Heraclitean plurality, subjective opinions took place of one Truth. That tendency also influenced Plato, who based his teachings on the oscillation of the Cosmos between the One and the Many.

Nonetheless, *Phaedrus* is a dialogue in which the creator of the Academy is loyal not only to the Truth — the One, but also to the traditional mystery religion. Such an interpretation of Plato's makes it easier to understand the absurdity of the accusations brought against Socrates during his trial (impiety and "corruption" of the youth) and the dramatic form of his defense speech described in the "Apology".

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## *Hannibal stelio* (Petr. Sat. 50, 5)

**Abstract:** Petronius when calling Hannibal “a lizard” not only alludes to the symbolic system built upon the concept of *Punica fraus*, but also refers to the Carthaginian commander’s military tactics as presented by ancient historians.

**Key words:** Hannibal, Petronius, Livy, *stelio*

Trymalchio — a protagonist of Petronius’s satire and a host of a famous feast — while entertaining his guests told them an unbelievable story about the creation of a Corinthian bronze, in which Hannibal was also mentioned. The entire narrative, though only consisting of a two sentences, has a very rich meaning. The Carthaginian was described as *homo vafer et magnus stelio*. This description seems only a passing remark, but after a deeper analysis it turns out to be ambiguous and can be also seen in relation to the epithets used by the other authors. It is worth noting that this entire passage is characterized by intertextuality and a game with the literary conventions<sup>1</sup>.

*Homo vafer* can have a double meaning — on the one hand it describes a man who is shrewd, clever when it comes to tricks, stratagems and ruses, and almost ingenious; on the other hand, it depicts somebody who is cunning and crafty in a negative sense. This twofold description corresponds nicely with the way of waging the war by Hannibal, as it was portrayed by Roman historiography.

The Carthaginian leader waged the war *suis artibus*<sup>2</sup>, which were contrasted by Livius with the *Romanis artibus*<sup>3</sup>, defined by contrast to *ars Punica: minime*

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<sup>1</sup> See B. Baldwin: “Hannibal at Troy: The Sources of Trimalchio’s Confusion”. *The Petronian Society Newsletter* 1987, Vol. 17, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. 21, 34, 1: *non bello aperto sed suis artibus, fraude et insidiis*.

<sup>3</sup> Liv. 5, 27, 8: *Romanis artibus, virtute opere armis*.

*arte Romana, fraude ac dolo*<sup>4</sup>. A similar — though somewhat ironical — statement we find in the work of Valerius Maximus<sup>5</sup> who might allude to the proverbial *versutiae Punicae*<sup>6</sup>. Florus, however, proposed to battle the Carthaginians with the aid of *suis consiliis*<sup>7</sup>, which also mean wicked intrigues and, in a military sense, tricks and stratagems. So consequently his proposition was not so dissimilar from the Punic means. War tricks, i.e. ambushes, are to be found in the repertoire of any leader<sup>8</sup>, while cunningness and insidiousness are among the virtues of a good leader, as already noticed by Xenophon<sup>9</sup>. These characteristics became, however, typically associated with Hannibal, in fact more than with any other military leader. A proof of that is a rhetorical question posed by Eumolpus, another character in the Petronius's work: '*Quae autem hic insidiae sunt*' inquit '*aut quis nobiscum Hannibal navigat?*'<sup>10</sup>. One of the often mentioned epithets of Hannibal is a polysemous adjective *callidus*<sup>11</sup>. *Calliditas* in its primary meaning is synonymous with *astutia* and *versutia* but can also mean *prudentia*, *sapientia* and finally *acies ingenii*<sup>12</sup>. It can have a positive meaning when it is used as a description of military leaders and orators, also Roman ones<sup>13</sup>. Yet, as Hans Friedrich Mueller noticed, this word underwent some semantic change and acquired also a moral connotation since the same characteristic (prudence, ingenuity) when applied to Roman circumstances is called *prudentia* while used in a Punic context — *calliditas*<sup>14</sup>. *Callidus* is thus synonymous with *vafer*, which is used only once to describe Hannibal — in the work of Valerius Maximus<sup>15</sup>. This author depicts an ingenious stratagem which consisted in sparing the estate of general Fabius Maximus.

Still more interesting is the epithet *stelio* — a lizard — metaphorically meaning a treacherous man, liar and a cheater<sup>16</sup>. Treachery, falsehood and hypocrisy bore a similarity to the image of a split tongue. A use of such an imagery can be found in Plautus's comedy *Poenulus* where a Carthaginian Hanno was characterized as somebody whose tongue is split like that of a snake *bisulci lingua quasi*

<sup>4</sup> Liv. 1, 53, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Val. Max. 7, 4, ext. 2: *haec fuit Punica fortitudo, dolis et insidiis et fallacia instructa*.

<sup>6</sup> Liv. 42, 47, 7: *religionis haec Romanae esse, non versutiarum Punicarum neque calliditatis Graecae, apud quos fallere hostem quam vi superare gloriosus fuerit*.

<sup>7</sup> Flor. 1, 22: *quippe adversus hostem totiens victorem tam callidum non virtute tantum, sed suis etiam pugnare consiliis oportebat*.

<sup>8</sup> Polyb. 1, 57, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Xen. Memor. 3, 1, 6.

<sup>10</sup> Petr. 101, 4.

<sup>11</sup> Nep. Hann. 9, 2; Nep. Reg. 3, 5; Flor. 1, 22; Front. Strat. 1, 1, 9; Front. Strat. 1, 8, 7; Cic. off. 1, 108.

<sup>12</sup> P. Probst: "Calliditas". *TLL*, Vol. 3, fasc. 1, Leipzig 1989, col. 167—169.

<sup>13</sup> Nep. Hann. 5, 2; Cic. off. 1, 108 (Fabius Maximus); Flor. 2, 13 (Caesar).

<sup>14</sup> H.-F. Mueller: *Roman Religion in Valerius Maximus*. London—New York 2002, p. 90.

<sup>15</sup> Val. Max. 7, 3, ext. 8: *Hannibalis vafri mores*.

<sup>16</sup> *OLD*, p. 1817.

*proserpens bestia*<sup>17</sup>. Certainly, here the meaning is close to a far more often used adjective *bilinguis* — bilingual but at the same time “treacherous, insincere, false”. In the latter meaning it was used by Vergil, in the first book of the *Aeneis*, where he describes fear of the goddess Venus, who is conducive to the Trojan refugees, trying to escape *Tyriosque bilinguis* — treacherous Tyrians<sup>18</sup>. As Maurus Servius Honoratus in his commentary to the work of Vergil explains, *bilinguis* should be understood simply as *fallaces*. He also adds that this adjective refers to the character not to the language<sup>19</sup>. The use of the name of a mother-city with reference to the Carthaginians might be seen as a poetic employment of *variatio* (in a similar functions it features also in the poem *Punica* by Silius Italicus). At the same time it might point to the fact that this *topos* has a longer history and was inherited from Phoenician antecedents. One may find the adjective *bilinguis* also in the aforementioned work of Silius. First time in the second book<sup>20</sup>, in which the African tribes were described. Most likely there the primary meaning of the word *bilinguis* was intended since the inhabitants of this part of Africa could speak both Punic and Libyan languages<sup>21</sup>. Clearly, this is not an obstacle to undertaking a conscious literary game with a reader, especially as we have here also the adjective *distinctus*. For the second time *bilinguis* features in the Scipio’s oration to Masinissa<sup>22</sup> and there it is used undoubtedly in a metaphorical way. The Roman uses the following phrase: *dimitte bilingues ex animo socios*.

The use of *stelio* instead of *proserpens bestia* by Petronius might serve the purpose of adding some additional meanings which are absent from the snake-imagery. On the one hand, this expression preserves all the connotations bound to a split tongue (so in effect describing somebody treacherous and deceptive), on the other hand, additional meanings appear, which describe agility and changeability. Consequently, *stelio* can be understood as chameleon, which appears to be an accurate description of a strategy used by the Carthaginian, which consisted in deceiving his enemies with the help of disguises<sup>23</sup>. Although the chameleon has its own generic name (*chamaeleon*) and was perceived as a distinctive species in antiquity<sup>24</sup>, maybe this specific usage can be seen as a synecdoche. This seems all the more possible, if we take into account the fact that such an interpretation of

<sup>17</sup> Plaut. *Poen.* 1034.

<sup>18</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 1, 661.

<sup>19</sup> Servius Honoratus: *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 1, 661: *nec enim ad linguam rettulit, sed ad mentem*.

<sup>20</sup> Sil. *Pun.* 2, 56: *Discinctos inter Libyas populosque bilingues [...]*.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. B. Rochette: “Sur le bilinguisme dans les armées d’Hannibal”. *Les Études Classiques* 1997, Vol. 65, pp. 153—159.

<sup>22</sup> Sil. *Pun.* 16, 156—157.

<sup>23</sup> Polyb. 3, 78; Liv. 22, 1, 3; App. *Annib.* 21, 22. See P. Krafft: *Hannibals Perücken. Motivik und Erzählstruktur von Livius 22, 1*. RhM 2007, Bd. 150, pp. 67—88.

<sup>24</sup> Levit. 11, 30, 31: *migale et cameleon et stelio ac lacerta et talpa / omnia haec immunda sunt*.

the word *stelio* gives us much more possibilities of reading than its direct meaning (i.e. lizard). This particular lizard belongs to the family *Lacertidae* or *Gekonidae*, which is widely spread in both Europe and Africa. Chameleons, however, which also belong to the same species, though they are a specialized clade of lizards, are found mostly, but not exclusively, in Africa. Perhaps, this could point also to the place of Hannibal's origin. The weakness of this theory lies in the fact that at the tip of a chameleon tongue there is a cub-like structure so the tongue is not split (I am not sure, how common was this knowledge in antiquity). On the contrary, this lizard was known for its venom and was described as *stelio venenatus*<sup>25</sup> while Plinius mentions also *stelio transmarinus*<sup>26</sup>.

However, some researchers such as Alfred Marbach<sup>27</sup>, are of opinion that the correct reading is *scelio* (from *scelus* — crime). Nonetheless, the correction proposed by Heinsius (*stel(l)io*) was widely accepted. Giovanni Alessio points to its semantic evolution<sup>28</sup> which coupled with the following passage from Plinius: *nulum animal fraudulentius invidere homini tradunt; inde stelionum nomine in maledictum translato*<sup>29</sup>, confirms the metaphorical meaning and highlights *fraus*, commonly associated with the Punicians. Consequently, all this excludes Marbach's correction. When we take into consideration the original context in which *stelio* is mentioned (*homo vafer et magnus stelio*), the metaphorical translations appears to be fully justified, although the additional meanings can in the same time be present in the common consciousness of the readers.

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<sup>25</sup> Colum. 9, 7, 5 and Plin. n. h. 29, 73.

<sup>26</sup> Plin. n. h. 30, 53; 30, 55; 30, 88.

<sup>27</sup> A. Marbach: *Wortbildung, Wortwahl und Wortbedeutung als Mittel der Charakterzeichnung bei Petron.* Gießen 1931, pp. 19—20.

<sup>28</sup> G. Alessio: '*Hapax legomena*' ed altre '*cruces*' in *Petronio*. Napoli 1967, p. 336.

<sup>29</sup> Plin. n. h. 30, 89.

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## The Image of κῆτος in Oppian of Cilicia's *Halieutica*

**Abstract:** The Greek word τὸ κῆτος has many meanings, all of them connected with miscellaneous water creatures. The didactic poem written by Oppian of Cilicia describes the inhabitants of the sea, κήτεα included. In *Halieutica* the noun τὸ κῆτος is used to design various animals. The article presents the usage and different meanings of this word in Oppian's poem.

**Key words:** κῆτος, Oppian, *Halieutica*

*Halieutica* (*Fishing*) by Oppian of Corycus (or Anazarbus) in Cilicia, the author flourished in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, is a didactic poem in five books concerning the fishing, dedicated to the Emperor Antoninus and his son (the most probably to Marcus Aurelius and his heir Commodus). Oppian's biographer, Constantinus Manasses (12<sup>th</sup> century AD), writes about the origin of this poem (*Vita Oppiani*, Colonna). When the Emperor Severus was paying a visit in Cilicia, the only person who didn't show him any respect was philosopher Agesilaus, Oppian's father. Neglected Severus banished him to an island called Melite (Malta?). In his exile Agesilaus was accompanied by his son. On the island Oppian found an object of interest — the fish. He started to write a poem and finished it shortly before Severus' death. Thanks to this event, Oppian was able to visit Rome and try to gain a pardon for his father. After presenting *Halieutica* in the Roman court, Oppian was rewarded by the Emperor, who enjoyed it mostly because of its theme, language and hexameter. Finally, he could come back to his native country with his father. Unfortunately, the author died shortly after that, when he returned to Cilicia, and after his death he was commemorated by a splendid monument. An inscription on it praises his great talent and work. The poem contains not only

a piece of advice how to catch the fish, but is also an ichthyological compendium — and besides, describes also the other marine creatures. One of these creatures is κῆτος, which appears in *Halieutica* several times.

The noun τὸ κῆτος has a number of meanings which always refers to the aquatic animals and designs many types of real or mythological sea-monsters. Amongst the second group the most famous is undoubtedly the one which was supposed to devour princess Andromeda and was killed by the hero Perseus; also κῆτος of Troy, defeated by Hercules. However, in mythical poems κῆτος can mean common sea-animals (seals, dolphins, sharks, etc.) as well. Finally, it is the name of the constellation, which symbolizes the sea-monster from the mentioned above myth of Andromeda (this constellation, known in Latin as *Cetus*, nowadays is showed rather as a whale<sup>1</sup>). In scientific works the word κῆτος is used when the author wants to describe the fauna of e.g. a river, region or country (eventually in mythical narrations that are put to entertain the reader). Usually, it is not specified which creature is meant by this word, it refers rather to general groups. Sometimes some sea-gods can be called κήτεα: for example Glaucus (Strab. IX 2 Meineke) or Triton (Apoll. Rhod. *Arg.* IV 1613—1616 Fraenkel).

At the very beginning, the author generally presents the main theme: “The tribes of the sea and the far scattered ranks of all manner of fishes, the swimming brood of Amphitrite, will I declare, O Antoninus, sovereign majesty of earth”<sup>2</sup>. Oppian declares that he will describe all kind of fish and things connected to them — their habits, dwellings, mating and breeding, life, even feelings — and finally, the ways of catching them. After that introduction Oppian’s narration concentrates on the description of labours, which a fishermen’s work is plenty of — in contradistinction to hunters seeking their prey in the mountains or woods where hunting itself is a pleasure. On the land people can also take the hounds to find the animals’ trails and help to kill them. The only one the fisherman can truly depend on is himself. Moving across the sea in tiny boat requires both skills and great courage — for humans’ lives can be endangered in any moment; it can perish not only because of the imminent storms, violent winds and waves. Beneath the surface of the water lurks the real horror — marine beasts, κήτεα. People who meet it, shiver with fear:

πρὸς δ’ ἔτι καὶ βλοσυρῆς δυσδερκέα δείματα λίμνης  
κήτεα πεφρίκασι, τὰ τε σφίσιν ἀντιώσιν  
εὖτ’ ἂν ὑποβρυχίης ἄδυτον περώωσι θαλάσσης<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See also J.H. Rogers: “Origins of the ancient constellations: II. The Mediterranean traditions”. *Journal of the British Astronomical Association* 1998, Vol. 108, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Opp. *Halieut.* I 1—3, p. 201. In: *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus*, with an English translation by A.W. Mair. Loeb 1928.

<sup>3</sup> Opp. *Halieut.* I 47—49 Mair.

The author calls them (κῆτεα) δέιματα (objects of fear, terror), adding the adjective δυσδερκέα — ugly; the word δέιμα is used as a synonym for κῆτος by several ancient writers, e.g. by Aratus of Soli (*Phaen.* 629 Martin).

Further in the first book, Oppian refers to κῆτεα and their various species — each of them perilous and belligerent. Besides, he mentions or describes more precisely their features and habits. He writes as follows: “The Sea-monsters (κῆτεα) mighty of limb and huge, the wonders of the sea, heavy with strength invincible, a terror for the eyes to behold and ever armed with deadly rage — many of these there be that roam the spacious seas, where are the unmapped prospects of Poseidon, but few of them come nigh the shore, those only whose weight the beaches can bear and whom the salt water does not fail”<sup>4</sup>. From amongst them Oppian successively enumerates such kinds (I 367—373): λέων (a kind of crab; a sea-monster<sup>5</sup>), ζύγαινα (a hammer-headed shark), πορδάλιες (a ravenous sea-fish), φύσαλοι (the poisonous toads/fish; kinds of whales), μέλαν θύνων ζαμενὲς γένος (“the impetuous black race of the Tunny”<sup>6</sup>), πρήστις (a saw-fish), λάμνη (a fierce shark), μάλθη (a great fish), κρίοι (the sea-monsters; kinds of mussels), ὑαῖνη (a sea-fish) and κύνες (the dog-fish or sharks). The last group contains 3 smaller which dwell different places, but are all fierce and strong:

[...] ἐν δὲ κύνεσι  
 τριχθαδὴ γενεή· τὸ μὲν ἄγριον ἐν πελάγεσσι  
 κήτεσι λευγαλέοις ἐναρίθμιον· ἄλλα δὲ φύλα  
 διπλόα καρτίστοις μετ’ ἰχθύσι δινεύονται  
 πηλοῖς ἐν βαθέεσι [...]

Sometimes, κῆτεα can come out their natural watery environment — they flow out to the shore and rest on the beaches: “There are also those among the stern Sea-monsters (ἐνὶ κήτεσιν) which leave the salt water and come forth upon the life-giving soil of the dry land”<sup>8</sup>. The author provides us such names of species: ἐγγέλυνες (eels), χελώνη (a turtle), καστορίδες (sea-calves, seals), φάλαινα (a whale) and φῶκαι (seals). The most surprising here is the noun φάλαινα, a whale, which is not supposed to leave the sea. Diodorus Siculus, in the narration about the siege of Tyre in 332 BC, also describes amazingly huge κῆτος, that

<sup>4</sup> Opp., I 360—366 Mair, p. 241: Κῆτεα δ’ ὀβριμόγυνια, πελώρια, θαύματα πόντου, ἄλκιῃ ἀμαιμακέτω βεβριθότα, δέιμα μὲν ὅσσοις εἰσιδέειν, αἰεὶ δ’ ὅλοῃ κεκορυθμένα λύσση, πολλὰ μὲν εὐρυπόροισιν ἐνιστρέφεται πελάγεσσιν, ἔνθα Ποσειδάωνος ἀτέκμαρτοι περιωταί, παῦρα δὲ ῥηγμίνων σχεδὸν ἔρχεται, ὅσσα φέρουσιν, ἠϊόνες βαρύνοντα καὶ οὐκ ἀπολείπεται ἄλμης.

<sup>5</sup> Compare to *LSJ*.

<sup>6</sup> Opp. I 369 Mair, p. 243.

<sup>7</sup> Opp. I 373—377 Mair, p. 243: “Of the Dog-fish there are three races; one fierce race in the deep seas is numbered among the terrible Sea-monsters; two other races among the mightiest fishes dwell in the deep mud”.

<sup>8</sup> Opp. I 394—395 Mair, p. 245.

was thrown by the great wave into a dam (surprisingly, despite its magnitude, the creature did not cause any damage), then laid and rested there for a while, and finally returned to the sea (XVII 41, 5—6 Vogel). Except providing the information, Oppian mentions a certain superstition related to the voice of καστορίδες — it's believed to bring misfortune and even death to whoever happens to listen to it. The similar thing is also contained in *Natura Animalium* of Claudius Aelianus, who writes about the ill-omened walrus' voice (IX 50 Hercher).

In the next passus the author describes a paradise for the fish, which is the Black Sea. Each spring, the fish come here to breed, since the water is the clearest and best for them; also surrounding area — the sandy beaches and beautiful shores — seems to be safe and profitable. The underwater caverns are shady, but there are no hostile creatures — like octopuses (πουλύπουδες), lobsters (άστακοί), crabs (πάγουροι) and κήτεα. No bigger animals dwell there, except for dolphins, but they are no menace for other beings. These mammals also belong to the group of κήτεα — they were classified as ones by Homer firstly (*Od.* XII 93—97 Dindorf):

ἐν δέ οἱ οὔτε τι κῆτος ἀνάρσιον οὔτε τι πῆμα  
ἐντρέφεται νεπόδεσιν ὀλέθριος οὐδὲ μὲν ὄσσοι  
δυσμενέες γεγάσιν ἐπ' ἰχθύσι βαιοτέροιςιν  
ὀλκοὶ πουλυπόδων οὐδ' ἄστακοὶ οὐδὲ πάγουροι  
παῦροι μὲν δελφῖνες, ἀκιδνότεροι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
κητείης γενεῆς καὶ ἀκήδες ἐννεμέθονται<sup>9</sup>.

Next notices about monsters come from 5<sup>th</sup> book. Oppian compares there aquatic and terrestrial creatures which are known as dangerous and strong. He admits that more powerful are marine beasts: “And the huge Sea-monsters (κήτεα) that are bred in the habitations of Poseidon are, I declare, no whit meaner than the ravening children of the land, but both in strength and size the dauntless terrors of the sea excel”<sup>10</sup>. Terrestrial tortoises, dogs, leopards, hyenas and rams can not compete against aquatic ones. The boar does not have the strength that can be compared to the force of mighty λάμνη and the hammer-head's courage and valour surpasses even the lion's. Even the bears will be frightened to fight the terrible seal (!). Yet the biggest and most dangerous are “real” κήτεα, which live deep in the bottom of the oceans. There are so many of them and they are very huge (πλείστά τε καὶ περίμετρα<sup>11</sup>). Rarely do they come into sight because of gi-

<sup>9</sup> Opp. I 606—611 Mair, pp. 263, 265: “But no fierce Sea-monster inhabits there nor any deadly bane of the finny race nor any of those which prey upon the smaller fishes — no coiling Poulpe nor Lobster nor Crab; Dolphins, indeed, dwell there but few, and feebler even these than the Sea-monster breed and harmless”.

<sup>10</sup> Opp. V 21—24 Mair, p. 461.

<sup>11</sup> Opp. V 47 Mair.

gantic form and big weight, so they stay put at the bottom of the sea, they are also very gluttonous: “And not often do they come up out of the brine, but by reason of their heaviness they keep the bottom of the sea below. And they rave for food with unceasing frenzy, being always anhungered and never abating the gluttony of their terrible maw: for what food shall be sufficient to fill the void of their belly or enough to satisfy and give a respite to their insatiable jaws?”<sup>12</sup>. Their gluttony is so big, that they kill and devour each other:

[...] οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
ἀλλήλους ὀλέκουσι, χερεῖονα φέρτερος ἀλκῇ  
πέφνων, ἀλλήλοις δὲ βορὴ καὶ δαίτες ἔασι<sup>13</sup>.

Some of them may also leave the depths of the Ocean and stay near the surface. They frequently swim across the Iberian Sea and approach to the areas where the ships sail — there can be seen by the people from those ships’ crews. These big κήτεα resemble — because of their magnitude — ships with 20 oars (νήεσσιν ἐικοσόροισιν ὁμοῖα<sup>14</sup>). Strabo confirms the information about κήτεα in the Iberian Sea as well (III 2, 7 Meineke). Similar story is described by Diodorus Siculus, who mentions about group of huge sea-monsters seen from the ships of Nearchus’ fleet during the Alexander the Great’s expedition (XVII 106, 6—7 Vogel).

Oppian writes also about the other, rather unexpected side of κῆτος — which as also described in all details by Claudius Aelianus in *Natura Animalium* (II 13 Hercher) — about its, so to speak, friendship with another animal. He gives a description of some kind of small fish, which serves as a guide for the big one, which because of own largeness and stoutness can not move and does not see far:

κήτει δ’ ἐκπάγλως κεχαρισμένος ἐστὶν ἑταῖρος  
πομπὸς τε φρουρὸς τε· φέρει δέ μιν ἢ κ’ ἐθέλησι  
ρήιδίως.<sup>15</sup>

An invincible κῆτος can make friends with this tiny fish, which guides it and shows the oceanic paths, food or warns it about dangers like the shallow water, dangerous reefs or fishermen’s traps. The guide can do this thanks to the motions of its tail, which shows the right direction. Although that small fish can easily lead κῆτος to doom, it does not want to make any harm. The author compares that relationship to the situation from human world: among the people the wise will always rescue

<sup>12</sup> Opp. V 47—53 Mair, p. 463.

<sup>13</sup> Opp. V 53—55 Mair, p. 463: “Moreover, they themselves also destroy one another, the mightier in valour slaying the weaker, and one for the other is food and feast”.

<sup>14</sup> Opp. V 59 Mair.

<sup>15</sup> Opp. V 71—73 Mair.

the stronger, but not opposite. Unfortunately for it, when the guide fish happens to be missing or dies, the sea-monster is not able to find its way or shun the danger. It wonders around aimlessly, not knowing what to do. This is the chance for people to kill it: “Thereupon with eager thoughts the fishers hasten to the labour of the hunt, praying to the blessed gods of whale-killing (μακάρεσσι κητοφόνοις) that they may capture the dread monster of Amphitrite”<sup>16</sup>. Oppian uses here the word τέρας (a wonder; a sea-monster) as a substitute for κήτος.

After description of the species and habits of κήτεα, the author starts to relate how the hunting for them looks like. Many fishermen participate in that perilous action, and they must have a sophisticated, warlike equipment, which have to be prepared with great accuracy: special weapons such as iron blades, sharpen tridents and axes, big as for killing oxen. They also need better boats than for usual fishing. As they start the hunt, the fishermen must stay alert all the time and observe the sea’s surface attentively. When the beast, sleeping on the waves, is seen, people need to keep quiet while moving towards it and row with caution, in order to not to wake the monster; if not, the great κήτος will hearken to the sound of splashing and dive deep into the ocean:

μή τι μάθοι μάγα κήτος ἀλευόμενόν τε νέοιτο  
βυσσὸν ὑποβρυχίην, ἄλιον δέ κε μόχθον ἄροινο.<sup>17</sup>

As it was said, the fishermen must exert themselves tirelessly, because it is very difficult to kill the monster through its magnitude and weight:

Κήτεα μὲν τοίοισιν ἐδηώσαντο πόνοισιν  
ὅσσα δέμας προβέβηκεν ὑερφυές, ἄχθεα πόντου.<sup>18</sup>

To be killed, κήτος must be firstly immobilized (with help of big harpoons and thick ropes that cannot be torn easily by the beast). After catching and killing the sea-monster, it is needed to be hauled up to the shore. However, sometimes κήτος crawls on the beach itself and because of its large size and — most of all — weight is not able to go back to the sea: “But when he comes nigh the land, then destruction real and final rouses him, and he struggles and lashes the sea with his terrible fins, like a bird upon the well-built altar tossing in the dark struggle of death. Unhappy beast! verily many an effort he makes to reach the waves but the strength of his valour is undone and his limbs obey him not and panting terribly he is dragged to land”<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Opp. V 111—113 Mair, p. 469.

<sup>17</sup> Opp. V 158—159 Mair.

<sup>18</sup> Opp. V 350—351 Mair, p. 487: “Such are the labours by which they slay those Sea-monsters which exceed in monstrous bulk of body, burdens of the sea”.

<sup>19</sup> Opp. V 304—311 Mair, p. 483.

Finally, Oppian writes again about one of fishermen's superstitions. They do believe that some of marine threatens can be avoided: the storm, danger of meeting the sea-monster (κῆτειον πῆμα) or whatever else. Fishermen pray and beseech sea gods to help and protect them from any peril connected with sailing and sometimes this help really comes. Besides, there exists some kind of fish, also known as 'Beauty-fish', κάλλιχθυσ (fishermen call it 'the holy fish', ἱερὸς ἰχθύς). It is the sign of sea tracks' safety. If the sea track is safe, it means that it is free from an invincible κῆτος:

οὐ γάρ πω κείνησι νομαῖς ἔνι κῆτος ἄαπτον,  
οὐ δάκος, οὐδέ τι πῆμα θαλάσσιον ἄλλο φαάνθη,  
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ καθαροῖσιν ἀπημάντοισι τε πόροισι  
τερπονται· τῷ καὶ μιν ἐφήμισαν ἱερὸν ἰχθύν<sup>20</sup>.

What's that holy fish — we do not know, but it seems to be some kind of animal which is opposed to κῆτος — the symbol of the terror and danger of the sea. The adjective ἱερὸς appears as an epithet of a fish also in *Iliad*. Homer describes a fight between Patroclus and Thestor, son of Enops; Patroclus pierces his opponent with a spear and drags him out of the chariot like a fisherman sitting on the seashore rocks drags the holy fish (ἱερὸς ἰχθύς) from the sea to the land (XVI 407 Allen).

In the 1<sup>st</sup> book Oppian calls κήτεα horrors of the sea. They are mostly big aquatic creatures, fierce and strong. To emphasize the features (rather negative) of the sea-monsters Oppian uses adjectives, which lay stress on their magnitude (ὀβριμόγυιον, πελώριον, μέγα, περίμετρον). He also describes κῆτος as hostile and invincible (ἀνάρσιον, ἄαπτον) and uses some synonyms that show its threatening and wondrous nature: δυσδερκές (awful, abominable) δαῖμα, τέρας, θαῦμα πόντου. The enormous weight of κήτεα is mentioned several times in *Halieutica*; the author even calls them the burdens of the sea (ἄχθεα πόντου).

Some of them can also stay on the dry land; not all of them are aggressive towards the other beings (e.g. the dolphins). People can kill it as well, but a hunting itself is very risky. Yet, the biggest and most terrifying sea-monsters live in the deepest parts of the ocean, in the dominions of Poseidon — whose true servants they are, according to Homer (*Il.* XIII 27—28 Allen).

So far we examined the text of the poem, Oppian uses the word κῆτος to determine the water animals like sharks or whales; it's rather a general name for them. The same thing is seen in Homer's poems — the poet enumerates several kinds of κήτεα: for example seals, which are described as fat, ζατερεφεῖς (*Od.* IV 443, 450—451 Dindorf). *Halieutica* is a scientific work where the author writes about

<sup>20</sup> Opp. V 629—632 Mair, p. 511: "for where these range there never yet hath any dread Sea-monster appeared nor noxious beast nor hurtful thing of the sea but always they delight in clean and harmless paths: wherefore also men have named it the Holy Fish".

real creatures and their features — it has obviously didactic purposes. He describes the superstitions connected to κήτεια partly because it makes the narration more attractive, and for the reason that mythical or fabulous tales are often kind of justification if there are no reasonable evidences.

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## The Jewish Festival of Sukkot in the Eyes of the Pagan Authors<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** The pagan authors did not pay much attention to the Jewish festivals celebrated in Jerusalem. The only one we may precisely discern is the Festival of Tabernacles i.e. Sukkot. Plutarch in his *Table talks* made some interesting but incoherent remarks on it. It is certain that he has not obtained his information from personal observation and investigation but he has clearly referred to other pagan authors. His view of Sukkot reflects Sadducean tradition. His labelling of one specific Jewish feast by the name of Bacchus allows us to consider if he knew something about Essean community. Two other pagan authors, Tacitus and Menander of Laodicea, who also wrote about the Jewish festivals, do not deliver us any details concerning Sukkot as such.

**Key words:** Sukkot, Tabernacles, Plutarch, Jerusalem

### Introduction

Within the borders of the Roman Empire the Jewish diaspora was present in almost all, even the most remote, parts of the Mediterranean, having been particularly numerous and influential in Asia Minor, Egypt and their surroundings. No wonder, that in preserved works of Greek and Roman authors, the remarks on the Jews and their customs are relatively common. Such customs as male circumcision, food restrictions or endogamy draw pagans' attention. Although, if we scrutinize our sources no Jewish religious celebration but Sabbath is

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<sup>1</sup> The article is an revised and expanded version of paper presented at 5<sup>th</sup> International Student Conference in Antiquity and Byzantine Studies which took place in Poznań, 7—9 May 2009.

well testified<sup>2</sup>. Great annual festivals celebrated in Jerusalem are almost absent in the source material. It was so probably because of the specific status of the Temple, magnificent and renown but inaccessible for the Gentiles. Hecataeus of Abdera around the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC has stated briefly: “(Moses) established the temple that they hold in chief veneration, instituted their forms of worship and ritual”<sup>3</sup>. However he mentions no particular religious custom by its name.

In my research I have took into consideration every piece of the evidence from the pagan sources which could be combined with the Jewish pilgrimage festivals, even if it has very general character. Besides the Sukkot (Feast of Tabernacles) two other festivals are in the question: Passover (Pesach), and Feast of Weeks (Shavuot). All three were preceded and followed by other periods of particular religious importance. It is to be said, that neither Pesach nor Shavuot are even hinted by pagans by their names or characteristic features.

The Jewish Festival of Sukkot has its well-established biblical foundation<sup>4</sup>. Although its origins are deeply rooted in agricultural activities of the ancient farmers (it originated probably from some kind of feast of the fruit harvest) the Sukkot reached its full development in the post-Exilic period<sup>5</sup>. It was celebrated in autumn, lasted seven days and comprised several rituals and customs. Two of them were the most significant: living in booths and processions with *lulav* — bunch of twigs. Deuteronomy prescribes a joyful feast not only for Jews, but also for sojourners (Septuagint translates ‘proselyte’) who live among the Jews<sup>6</sup>. Also Nehemiah notes that there was a great rejoicing during the feast<sup>7</sup>. In non-canonical Book of the Jubilees Sukkot is labelled as “Feast of joy” too<sup>8</sup>. The most extensive source to investigate the celebration of Tabernacles in the Second Temple Period

<sup>2</sup> Examples: Agatharchides, apud: Josephus: *Contra Apionem*, I 210 (Stern 30a); Tibullus: *Carmina*, I 3, 18 (Stern 126); Horatius: *Sermones*, I 9, 69 (Stern 129); Pompeius Trogus, apud Iustinus: *Historiae Phillipcae, Libri XXXVI Epitoma*, 2, 14 (Stern 137); Ovidius: *Ars Amatoria*, I 75, 416 (Stern 141—142); Ovidius: *Remedia Amoris*, 220 (Stern 143); Seneca Senior: *De Superstitione*, apud: Augustinus: *De Civitate Dei*, VI 11 (Stern 186); Seneca Senior: *Epistulae Morales*, XCV 47 (Stern 188); Persius: *Satirae*, V 179—184 (Stern 190); Petronius: *Fragmenta*, 37 (Stern 195); Plinius Maior: *Historia Naturalis*, XXXI 24 (Stern 222); Frontinus: *Strategemata*, II 1, 17 (Stern 229); Martialis: *Epigrammata*, IV 4 (Stern 239); Plutarchus: *De Superstitione*, 3, 8 (Stern 255—256); Tacitus: *Historiae*, V 4 (Stern 281); Vettius Valens: *Anthologiae*, I 10 (Stern 338); Juvenalis: *Satirae*, VI 159 (Stern 298); Juvenalis: *Satirae*, XIV 96, 105—106 (Stern 301); Suetonius: *Divus Augustus*, 75 (Stern 303); Suetonius: *Tiberius*, 32 (Stern 305); Cassius Dio: *Historia Romana*, XXXVII 15, 4. XLIX 22, 5. LXVI 7, 2 (Stern 406, 414, 430); Porphyrius: *De Abstinencia*, IV 13 (Stern 455).

<sup>3</sup> Hecataeus: *Aegyptiaca* apud Diodorus Siculus: *Bibliotheca historica*, XL 3, 3 (Stern 11).

<sup>4</sup> Lev. xxxiii: 33ff; Num. xxix: 12ff; Deut. xvi: 13ff; Neh. viii: 13ff.

<sup>5</sup> E. Auerbach: “Die Feste im Alten Israel”. *Vetus Testamentum* 1958. Vol. 8, fasc. 1, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Deut. xvi: 13ff.

<sup>7</sup> Neh. viii: 17.

<sup>8</sup> Jub. xvi: 20ff.

is Mishnaic tractate of Sukka. Hakan Ulfsgard, an author of the book on celebration of Tabernacles in antiquity summarizes: “The mishnaic picture of Sukkot in the Second Temple shows a popular and joyful feast, not focusing on exclusively priestly sacrificial worship, but on typical elements of such parts of celebration in which common people could participate, actively or as eager spectators”<sup>9</sup>.

## Plutarch

There are only few pagan sources dealing with the Feast of Sukkot. First and the most important are Plutarch’s *Table Talks* in which he deliberates over the question: Who the God of the Jews is? (*Quaestiones convivales* IV 6: 2)<sup>10</sup>. *Table talks* have the structure of an informal dialogue, full of digressions. It has been written most probably at the end of the first decade of the second century CE<sup>11</sup>. Plutarch writes:

πρῶτον μὲν τῆς μεγίστης καὶ τελειοτάτης ἑορτῆς παρ’ αὐτοῖς ὁ καιρὸς ἐστὶν καὶ ὁ τρόπος Διονύσῳ προσήκων. τὴν γὰρ λεγομένην νηστείαν <ἄγοντες> ἀκμάζοντι τρυγητῷ τραπέζας τε προτίθενται παντοδαπῆς ὀπώρας ὑπὸ σκηναῖς καὶ καλιᾶσιν ἐκ κλημάτων μάλιστα καὶ κιττοῦ διαπεπλεγμέναις καὶ τὴν προτέραν τῆς ἑορτῆς σκηνὴν ὀνομάζουσιν. ὀλίγαις δ’ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἄλλην ἑορτὴν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀν’ αἰνιγμάτων ἀλλ’ ἄντικρυς Βάκχου καλουμένην, τελοῦσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ κραδηφορία τὴν ἑορτὴν καὶ θυρσοφορία παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ἐν ᾗ θύρσους ἔχοντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσίσαισι· εἰσελθόντες δ’ ὅ τι δρῶσιν, οὐκ ἴσμεν, εἰκὸς δὲ βακχεῖαν εἶναι τὰ ποιοῦμενα· καὶ γὰρ σάλπιγξι μικραῖς, ὥσπερ Ἀργεῖοι τοῖς Διονυσίοις, ἀνακαλοῦμενοι τὸν θεὸν χρῶνται, καὶ κιθαρίζοντες ἕτεροι προΐασιν, οὓς αὐτοὶ Λευίτας πρὸς ὀνομάζουσιν.

The time and character of the greatest, most sacred holiday of the Jews clearly befit Dionysus. When they celebrate their so-called Fast, at the height of the vintage, they set out tables of all sorts of fruit under tents and huts plaited for the most part of vines and ivy. They call the first of the days of the feast Tabernacles. A few days later they celebrate another festival, this time identified with Bacchus not through obscure hints but plainly called by his name. There is also festival, which is a sort of ‘Procession of Branches’ or ‘Thyrus Procession’ in which they enter the temple each carrying the thyrsus. What

<sup>9</sup> H. Ulfsgard: *The Story of Sukkot. The Setting, Shaping and Sequel of the Biblical Feast of Tabernacles*. Tübingen 1998, p. 231.

<sup>10</sup> I have already deliberated over the Dionysiac interpretation of the Jewish God in an article: P. Piwowarczyk: “Dionizyjska interpretacja Boga żydowskiego i jej źródła”. In: *Religie w świecie antycznym*. Eds. R. Matuszewski, P. Piwowarczyk. Poznań 2007, pp. 47—61.

<sup>11</sup> L.H. Feldman: “Jews as viewed by Plutarch”. In: Idem: *Studies in Hellenistic Judaism*. Leiden—New York—Köln 1996, p. 531.

they do after entering we do not know, but it is probable that the rite is a Bacchic revelry, for in fact they use little trumpets to invoke their god as do the Argives at the Dionysia. Others of them advance playing harps; these players are called in their language Levites<sup>12</sup>.

Firstly, let us consider Plutarch's account more thoroughly. In the dialogue the Dionysiac argumentation is presented by the Athenian, Moiragens. Its structure is as follows:

1. Time and character of the greatest, most sacred holiday of the Jews befit Dionysus.

2. Jews celebrate their so-called fast at the height of vintage. They pitch the tents or plait huts, for the most part of ivy and vines. Under them they set out the tables of various fruits.

3. They call the first of the days of the feast "Tabernacles".

4. A few days later they celebrate another Festival. The Jew call that Festival by the name of Bacchus.

5. A sort of "Procession of Branches" or "Thyrsus procession", in which Jews enter the Temple each carrying a thyrsus, is also mentioned by Plutarch. However he does not connect it with Tabernacles. According to him the Jews probably perform some kind of Bacchic revelry inside the Temple. Some of them invoke their god using the trumpets, and others, called Levites, proceed playing citharas.

Menahem Stern juxtaposes elements of Plutarch's description with the Jewish calendar. As a result, he obtains a combination of various cultic elements connected with different autumn Jewish festivals. First of them seems to be the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur), preceding the Feast of Tabernacles by four days. It is described by the term *nesteia* — the fast. The main narration is, however, focused on Sukkot. Plutarch knew about a custom of pitching the tents. The Festival called by Bacchic name is the most difficult to identify. Stern supposes that it is Shemini Atzeret, the feast, which follow the seventh day of Tabernacles. Procession of branches should be again connected with cheerful aspects of Tabernacles, music accompaniment and waving green branches<sup>13</sup>.

A very interesting point is, that although Plutarch describes the rituals which were performed within the Temple walls and in the inner yard, he does not mention those held out of it, such as picking willow-twigs in Mosa out of Jerusalem and bringing them into the temple, or drawing water from the Pool of Siloam<sup>14</sup>. It is worth noting, that both of these customs do not have any scriptural foundation but are testified by Mishna.

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<sup>12</sup> Plutarch: *Quaestiones Convivales*, IV 6: 2, p. 671D—E. Trans. H.B. Hoffleit (slightly corrected). In: M. Stern: *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*. Vol. 1, no. 258, Jerusalem 1974, p. 553 (Greek original); 557 (translation).

<sup>13</sup> M. Stern: *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*. Vol. 1, pp. 560—561.

<sup>14</sup> MSukka iv: 5A, iv: 9A.

It is clear that Plutarch made many misinterpretations, featuring minor, and passing over fundamental parts of the celebration. He does not point out that women play no important role in celebrating the Tabernacles, in contrast to the Dionysiac revels<sup>15</sup>. There could be found, however, some common points with accounts of the Jewish authors. Josephus calls Tabernacles *ἐορτή μέγιστη*, precisely as Plutarch has done<sup>16</sup>. Also the term *θύρσος* is sometimes used by the Jewish writers for *lulav*. Stern points at Ant XIII, 372 and II Macc. X: 7 as examples<sup>17</sup>. It is probable, that Plutarch knew the name of Sukkot in Greek translation. Septuagint use two forms; one of them, slightly preferable, is: *ἐορτή (τῶν) σκηνῶν*, and the second: *ἐορτῇ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας*. Philo follows the former, Josephus and John the latter. For our subject it is also important that use of the term *σκηνοπηγία* was not limited to Jewish milieu. It appears also in the pagan inscription from the Isle of Kos<sup>18</sup>.

The main problem remaining to solve is identification of the Jewish festival called by the name of Bacchus. Plutarch does not hand down any details. However, we can find very useful hint in scholion to Aristophanes' *The Knights*. There, among other meanings of the term *Βάκχος*, we read as follows:

Βάκχον [...] ἐκάλουν [...] τοὺς κλάδους οὓς οἱ μύσται φέρουσι. μέμνηται δὲ Ξενοφάνης ἐν Σίλλοις οὕτως· “ἐστᾶσιν δ’ ἐλάτης <βάκχοι> πυκινὸν περὶ δῶμα”.

The branches which the initiated carry were called Bacchus. Xenophanes in Silloi mentioned: “Bacchi made of fir stood about solid house”<sup>19</sup>.

The Plutarch's second feast, plainly called by the name of Bacchus, could be then understood as some sort of “festival of branches”. What kind of branches would it be? Either *lulav* (bunch of three different plants) or *aravot* (willow twigs), both used during the Tabernacles. The seventh day of Tabernacles was even plainly called “the Day of the Willow”. Regardless of choice made between these two branches, the feast of Bacchus seems to refer to Sukkot. Plutarch or his source does not discern various customs connected with Sukkot and divides them into three separate festivals. The only problem is, that such a identification, Bacchus as a branch, is delivered only by *Scholia* with a sole reference to Xenophanes. It might seem to be hazardous to build a firm conclusion only on that.

<sup>15</sup> L.H. Feldman: “Jews as viewed by Plutarch”..., p. 545.

<sup>16</sup> Josephus: *Antiquitates*, VIII 100.

<sup>17</sup> M. Stern: *Greek and Latin Authors*..., p. 561.

<sup>18</sup> H. Ulfgard: *The Story of Sukkot. The Setting, Shaping and Sequel of the Biblical Feast of Tabernacles*. Tübingen 1998, p. 217.

<sup>19</sup> *Scholia in Equites*, 408. In: *Scholia in Acharnenses, Equites, Nubes*. Ed. W.J.W. Koster. *Scholia in Aristophanem* 1.2. Groningen 1969 (digitalized edition). See also: K. Clinton: *Bakchos* (3). In: *Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Vol. 2, Eds. H. Cancik, H. Schneider. Stuttgart—Weimar 1997, p. 410.

There is also another possible solution. The new light is shed upon Plutarch's account by John C. Revees' article<sup>20</sup>. On the basis of the *Book of Jubilees* and some hints derived from Qumran *Temple Scroll* and *Genesis Apocryphon* he reconstructs a sectarian Jewish feast of the first fruits of wine, parallel to those, which were held in the ancient Caanan. Originally it had been celebrated, like Sukkot, in the autumn<sup>21</sup>. This festival has no scriptural basis, although the Bible contains some mysterious passages referring to the joyful wine celebration, during which the Israelites were dancing and drinking heavily<sup>22</sup>. Also in the case of the festival of the first fruits of wine the special emphasis was put on the rejoicing<sup>23</sup>. Greeks and Romans were aware of the existence of the Essene community in Qumran (or in its neighbourhood). Pliny devoted short description to the tribe of the Essenes (gens Esseni)<sup>24</sup>. Also Dio Chrysostomus mentioned them independently<sup>25</sup>. Any other particular Jewish religious group was distinguished by ancient writers. We may assume, with a certain probability, that also Plutarch, roughly contemporary of Pliny and Dio, knew something about the Essenes and their cultic calendar and connected it with the Bacchic celebrations.

Morton Smith is much more daring in his equation of Tabernacles with Dionysiac feast. He states: "Plutarch's source and his own judgement were right about this — the feast was certainly sacred to a wine god"<sup>26</sup>. Smith surmises that after conquest of Palestine, Jews associated local wine god with their own. He even mentions his name — Eshkol, which means "wine cluster", and rates him among three Canaanite gods of Hebron<sup>27</sup>. Smith's generalization seems to be going too far, but it sounds more plausible if we suppose that not the Tabernacles but the separate feast of the first fruits of wine was originally a celebration in honour of wine aspect of Jewish God, irrelevant if under the name of Eshkol or not. Very often name Βάκχος as well as Latin Bacchus was used, especially in poetry, as synonym for wine. Such a practice could be traced back to Euripides<sup>28</sup>. Those examples, supported by some Dionysiac epithets, like Staphylites (σταφυλίτης) „guardian of grapes" or Protrygaius (προτρύγαιος) „presiding over the vintage"<sup>29</sup>

<sup>20</sup> J.C. Revees: "The Feast of the First Fruits of Wine and the Ancient Canaanite Calendar". *Vetus Testamentum* 1992, Vol. 42, fasc. 3, pp. 350—361.

<sup>21</sup> In the Temple Scroll it was shifted into orbit of the Feast of the Weeks, probably to distance it from the pagan background.

<sup>22</sup> Judg. ix: 27; 1 Sam. i: 3ff.

<sup>23</sup> 11QT xxi: 8—9; Jub. vii: 6.

<sup>24</sup> Plinius Maior: *Historia Naturalis*, V 73.

<sup>25</sup> Dio Chrysostomus apud Synesius: *Vita Dionis*, 3.

<sup>26</sup> M. Smith: "On the Wine God in Palestine (Gen 18, John 2, and Achilles Tatius)". In: M. Smith: *Studies in Cult of Yahweh*. Vol. 1: *Studies in Historical Method, Ancient Israel, Ancient Judaism*. Leiden—New York—Köln 1996, p. 234.

<sup>27</sup> Gen. xiv: 13.

<sup>28</sup> Euripides: *Iphigenia Aulidensis*. 1061. See also: Euripides: *Bacchae*. 284.

<sup>29</sup> Both recorded by Aelian: *Varia historia*, III 41.

may lead Plutarch to equation of the Jewish wine feast (whose Greek name is not known) with Bacchus.

The most crucial point is to investigate possible Plutarch's sources. It is very improbable that he has sought information in the Jewish community in Boeotia, where he lived and was active as a priest in Delphi, despite of the Jewish presence in that area since 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, again confirmed for 1<sup>st</sup> century AC by Philo<sup>30</sup>. We know, that Sukkot was celebrated in the Jewish diaspora, at least in Alexandria. Philo mentions, that the Jews built booths and prayed in synagogues, even though he says nothing about processions or carrying lulav<sup>31</sup>. There is also evidence of feasting Sukkot from Edfu and Berenice in Cyrenaica<sup>32</sup>. Though he has visited both Alexandria and Rome, in his relation about the third feast the Temple is mentioned, so it may refer only to the celebration in Jerusalem. Also *lulavim* are not confirmed in case of diaspora celebrations. Despite of that Plutarch certainly has not based his account on personal observations made at Jerusalem. Lacks and discrepancies in his account make him improbable as an eye-witness. Plutarch, describing two others feasts, gives no geographical data, but he also does not state that it was his (or Moiragenes') personal observation made in some diaspora community. It is certain that he has used some indirect sources.

His account refers to the situation before 70 AD, i.e. before the destruction of the Temple. So he must have drawn from some sort of literary material. I have already noted that Plutarch had not referred to the customs which had not been corroborated by Torah. It harmonizes with the tradition of the Sadducees. So probably such a tradition is reflected in *Table talks*. Of course, it is very improbable that Plutarch has acquainted himself with the Sadducean view of Sukkot personally. It is possible that he based his account on a certain treatise entitled "On the Jews". We know about six or seven monographs on that subject written by pagan authors, unfortunately all of them are forgotten and known only by titles or at best from excerpts<sup>33</sup>. We know also that there were some lost works on Jewish War written by pagan authors. Josephus mentions them at the very beginning of his own *Jewish War*<sup>34</sup>. There is a remark, included in Minucius Felix' *Octavius*, on Antonius Julianus, author of such a work, who is probably identical with procurator of Judea since 70 AC<sup>35</sup>. He, and his contemporaries, could obtain some information about

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<sup>30</sup> D.M. Lewis: "The first Greek Jew". *Journal of Semitic Studies* 1957, Vol. 2, pp. 264—266; Philo: *Legatio*, 281.

<sup>31</sup> Philo: *Flacc.* 116—124.

<sup>32</sup> A. Kasher: "Synagogues as 'Houses of Prayer' and 'Holy Places' in the Jewish Communities in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt". In: *Ancient Synagogues: Historical Analysis and Archeological Discovery*. Eds. D. Urman, P.V.M. Flesher. Leiden—New York—Köln 1998, p. 213.

<sup>33</sup> There were written by Apollonius Molon, Alexander Polyhistor, Teucer of Cyzicium, Damocritus, Nicarchus, Herennius Philo of Byblos and probably by Hecataeus of Abdera.

<sup>34</sup> Josephus: *BJ*, i: 1—3, 7—8.

<sup>35</sup> Minucius Felix: *Octavius*, 33, 4.

Jewish festivals, as well as about the community of Essenes (during the Jewish War also the Qumran community ceased to exist), after the Jewish War, when a lot of the Jews were captured and enslaved. Pliny and others owed their knowledge probably to those Jews. Their works were then read by compilers and antiquarians. Plutarch included some detail about wine festival in the general description of Tabernacles creating a complex but heterogeneous composition.

There is also a second fragment from Plutarch dealing with Tabernacles short passage *Sayings of Kings and Commanders*.

The Jews, when Antiochus was besieging Jerusalem, asked for an armistice of seven days for their most important festival (πρὸς τὴν μεγίστην ἑορτήν), and he not only granted this, but he also made ready bulls with gilded horns, and a great quantity of incense and spices and brought all these in solemn procession as far as the gates<sup>36</sup>.

The designation ἑορτή μέγιστη clearly indicates the Feast of Tabernacles. Episode recorded in *Apophthegmata* has common source with the very similar Josephus' description of the same event<sup>37</sup>. Both of them use a certain Hellenistic source dealing with Antiochus Sidetes' siege of Jerusalem.

## Tacitus

A very ambiguous testimony is handed down by Tacitus:

But since their priests used to chant to the accompaniment of pipes and drums and to wear garlands of ivy (*hedera vinciebantur*), and because a golden vine was found in their temple, some have thought that they were devotees of Father Liber<sup>38</sup>.

Although Tacitus had a lot of opportunities to get to know about the Jewish festivals (he was one of *quindecimviri* who, among other duties, also supervised foreign cults in Rome) he was not eager to do so. His description of the Jewish celebrations is so general that it could not be precisely matched with any particular Jewish festival. All of them were celebrated with musical accompaniment. We know nothing about usage of ivy garlands by the Jews, apart from the times of An-

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<sup>36</sup> Plutarchus: *Regum et Imperatorum Apophthegmata* 148E—F. Trans. F.C. Babbitt. In: M. Stern: *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*. Vol. 1, no. 260, Jerusalem 1974, pp. 563—564 (Greek original and translation).

<sup>37</sup> M. Stern: *Greek and Latin Authors...*, p. 564.

<sup>38</sup> Tacitus: *Historiae*, V 5, 5. Trans. C.H. Moore. In: M. Stern: *Greek and Latin Authors...* Vol. 2, no. 281, Jerusalem 1980, p. 19 (Latin original), pp. 26—27 (translation).

tiochus IV's persecutions, when they were forced to wear the ivy wreaths during the festival of Dionysus<sup>39</sup>. Writing his relation Tacitus could have had that period in mind.

## Menander of Laodicea

Last relevant fragment we owe to minor rhetorician Menander of Laodicea, who lived perhaps in 3<sup>rd</sup> century AC:

For the glory of the festival is enhanced when those who proclaim the gathering are themselves of high repute, as well as when those who assemble are very great in number or of the highest repute. An example of the last kind are those who go to Olympia, for the more renowned meet here; while the largest multitudines are to be found at the festival of the Hebrews living in Syria Palaestina, as they are gathered in very large numbers from most nations<sup>40</sup>.

Stern states correctly that it is difficult to imagine such a kind of festival in Meander's own time, when the Temple had not existed any longer. He must have been dependent on sources from the Second Temple Period. Since he only remarks one external feature — a great number of participants — it is clear that he had used some report of pagan observer, who was in Jerusalem during one of the great pilgrimage feasts. The Jewish author would have mentioned the feast by its name.

## Concluding remarks

In conclusion, it is useful to summarize remarks on the subject I was concerned with:

1. Only the Feast of Tabernacles is mentioned by its proper name, and only in one of the relevant sources.
2. Plutarch's relation depends on the pagan written sources. On the one hand he used one of the lost treatises 'On the Jews', on the other, works about the Jewish War. He uses the Jewish testimonies only indirectly through the works of the pagan authors he had read.
3. His sources are depended exclusively or at least mainly on the Sadducean view of The Temple worship.

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<sup>39</sup> 2 Macc, 6: 7.

<sup>40</sup> Menander of Laodicea: *Epidictica*. Trans. M. Stern. In: M. Stern: *Greek and Latin Authors...* Vol. 2, no. 446, Jerusalem 1980, p. 414 (Greek original and translation).

4. Three feasts described by Plutarch may be preferably understood as related to Sukkot exclusively (apart from fast referring to Yom Kippur), which had been split into three by the pagan author who had not obtained any single piece of information at first hand.

5. Another possibility is that he might have known something about the obscure Essean feast of first fruits of wine or its Cannanite equivalent. Such a solution would make our picture of Plutarch's sources more complicated and demanding further consideration. We do not know how it would relate to Sukkot among Essenes.

6. Plutarch was not conscious that his description does not fit the actual situation. This fact supports our observation that he is not interested in the Jewish festivals for their own sake. He needs them only to confirm his presupposition of the identity of the Jewish God with Dionysus. Shortly speaking he (or his source) misrepresents the source material, combining the data derived from various works into a heterogeneous jumble.

7. Tacitus and Menander give us no details about Sukkot or any other Jewish Festival. Menander confirms only that there was a huge gathering in Jerusalem on that occasion, which is corroborated by both the Jewish and Christian sources. Tacitus probably confuses events from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC with those from his own times, which shows that he knew nothing about the Jewish celebrations.

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## A Few Words on the Sisinnios-type of Gello Story

**Abstract:** There is a family of late mediaeval Greek texts that records an history of Gello — a female demon from Byzantium. Gello is an example of a female demon who attacks women in the travail of childbirth and their new born babies. Because of demon's adversary Gello story is divided into two types: Archangel Michael's type and a legendary saint Sisinnios. This article concerns the Sisinnios type and reveals Gello's connections to the demons of the ancient East as well as ancient Greece and Rome.

**Key words:** Gello, Gellou, demon, demonology, Byzantium, Pseudo-Psellos, The Testament of Solomon

There is a particular family of late mediaeval Greek texts which recounts the story of Gello, a female demon who stole new-born babies and attacked pregnant women or women either in childbirth or immediately after they had given birth. She seems to have been very popular or maybe even the most popular female demon in Byzantium. There are two types of the Gello story. In one of them Archangel Michael appears and in the other type, it is the legendary saint Sisinnios, who figures. The most important work on this theme is the article "Saint Sisinnios, the Archangel Michael and the Female Demon Gyllou: the Typology of the Greek Literary Stories" by Richard P.H. Greenfield<sup>1</sup>. In this article Greenfield examines the thirty-two extant Greek manuscripts of Gello. Twenty-two of them represent the Michael-type of the story; seven are the Sisinnios-type; and the remaining three manuscripts contain both types of the story. The manuscripts ana-

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<sup>1</sup> Richard P.H. Greenfield: "Saint Sisinnios, the Archangel Michael and the Female Demon Gyllou: the Typology of the Greek Literary Stories". *Byzantina* 15 (1989), pp. 83—142.

lysed by Greenfield date from 15<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The manuscript tradition of these thirty-two manuscripts is exceptionally complex; this is neither the right place nor time to examine it in the detail required. In this paper I would like to present the case of Gello and try to analyse the second type of her story.

The roots of the Byzantine female demons stretch back to ancient Assyria, where myths about Lilitu and Lamashtu came into being<sup>2</sup>. One such myth was concerned with tempting men and then not satisfying them. The name for the demon who did this is derived from a word meaning 'the wind'. The other demon myth was a demon who harmed pregnant women, lurking to kidnap and eat their children. It is possible that both these female demons were joined together by the ancient Hebrews and turned into Lilith, who combines features of both Lilitu and Lamashtu, but her name, apart from phonetic resemblance, is — according to some scholars — falsely derived from a Hebrew noun meaning 'night'.

In Hebrew literature one finds tales about Lilith, when she was encountered by the prophet Elijah<sup>3</sup>. He made her promise not to harm anyone in any house, where a list of her names could be found. The Jews tried to defend themselves against Lilith by making charms, on which were written the names of the she-demon. The number of names is not identical in each version of the story, but all versions are unanimous in saying that omitting even one of the names from the list will cause the charm to be useless. If a house which contained a woman in childbirth contained such a charm of all the names of Lilith, the she-demon was able to harm neither woman nor her child. It was the same for Gello, as I shall relate.

According to the mediaeval rabbinic tradition, God sent three angels named Senoi, Sansenoy and Semangelof to bring Lilith back to paradise<sup>4</sup>. As they did not manage to do this, they were then to drown her in the Red Sea. The demon begged them for mercy, and out of their grace they let her live. In return, she promised that she would not harm any child protected by a charm bearing the names of the three angels. Furthermore, she had to agree that every day a hundred of her numerous brood, called *Lilim* or *Shiddim*, would die. The names of the three angels, Senoi, Sansenoy and Sammangelof/Samangelof, are very similar to the names of the saints from the story about Gello — Sisinnios and Sisinnodoros.

In ancient Greece the vast majority of demons was thought to be feminine (e.g. the *Erinies* (the Furies), *Lyssa* (Madness)) because of their ancestry and because

<sup>2</sup> See A.A. Barb: "Antaura, the Mermaid and the Devil's Grandmother". *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 29 (1966), pp. 4—6.

<sup>3</sup> See M. Gaster: "Two thousand years of a charm against the child-stealing Witch". *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Mediaeval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology* (London, 1925—1928), pp. 1005—1038; A.A. Barb: "Antaura...", p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See R. Pathai: "Lilith". *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 77, no. 306 (Oct.—Dec. 1964), pp. 296—297.

they were supposed to inhabit darkness and to invade humans' mind<sup>5</sup>. It was obvious, allegedly, because of the connection between Mother Earth and a woman's womb. Human beings were born of their mother's womb and after death return to the womb of Mother Earth. Chthonic deities were connected either with fertility or with death. Similarly, deities from Celtic mythology had connections with both these aspects of life and/or death<sup>6</sup>. Women in antiquity were also considered to be impure, because of some aspects of their biology, and polluting to men, for example during menstruation and after giving birth. Moreover, in ancient Greek there was one word, σπλάγχνα, for defining two things — womb and mind. Probably that is because the Greeks were concerned about the location of emotion and intellect in the breast and stomach. As Ruth Padel mentions:

The *splanchna*, therefore, are a dark inward area which daemonic forces enter and inhabit. [...] Female *splanchna* obviously fill with dark liquid (blood, in Greek, is usually characterised by the word we translate 'black'); and women are commonly perceived as more easily enterable by daemonic passion<sup>7</sup>.

In Greek mythology there is a tale about a female monster stealing and eating babies. Her name is Lamia. She was an ordinary girl, with whom Zeus fell in love. Their relationship came to fruition in several children, but Hera, the jealous wife of the god, killed almost all the babies. From that time on Lamia became an evil monster devouring children (either her own or other women's) and sucking their blood<sup>8</sup>.

Other female demons sucking blood were the Empusas. They were numbered among Hecate's (the goddess of black magic) retinue. Sometimes Empusas were identified with Lamia.

In his *Ars poetica* Horace refuses to show the scene of worming a baby out from Lamia's stomach — a baby she had eaten for breakfast: *neu pransae Lamiae vivum puerum extrahat alvo*<sup>9</sup>. So, it appears that the ancient Romans thought that if Lamia was caught, the eaten babies could be restored alive. This belief was then borrowed by the Byzantines, which we can see in the stories about a female demon named Gello. Ovid<sup>10</sup> describes winged female demons, who hunt for babies, snatch

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<sup>5</sup> R. Padel: "Women: Model for Possession by Greek Daemons". In: *Images of Women in Antiquity*. Eds. A. Cameron, A. Kuhrt. Detroit 1983, pp. 3—4.

<sup>6</sup> S. Botheroyd, P.F. Botheroyd: *Słownik mitologii celtyckiej*. Trans. P. Latko. Katowice 1998, p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> R. Padel: "Women...", p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Suda On Line, [http://www.stoa.org/sol-bin/search.pl?db=REAL&search\\_method=QUERY&login=guest&enlogin=guest&user\\_list=LIST&page\\_num=1&searchstr=lamia&field=any&num\\_per\\_page=100](http://www.stoa.org/sol-bin/search.pl?db=REAL&search_method=QUERY&login=guest&enlogin=guest&user_list=LIST&page_num=1&searchstr=lamia&field=any&num_per_page=100).

<sup>9</sup> Quintus H. Flaccus: *Epistles, Book II, and Epistle to the Pisones ("Ars poetica")*. Ed. N. Rudd. Cambridge 1989, p. 70, v. 340.

<sup>10</sup> Publius Ovidius Naso: *Fastorum Libri Sex*. Eds. E.H. Alton, D.E.W. Wormell, E. Courtney. Leipzig 1978, pp. 141—142, B. VI 131—140.

them and then rend them limb from limb; and they do it by night. So, these demons act like Lamias, but the author uses the word *striges* to label them. The very same name appears in treatise *Περὶ στρυγγῶν* ascribed to John of Damascus<sup>11</sup>. *Striges* are described here also as winged female demons, which in their spare time, of course during the night, suffocate children, at a pinch tear out their livers, which of course results in the children's death — the author even points out that it is impossible for a child to survive without a liver. He also mentions that *striges* are called Γελούδες as well; the term of course is derived from Gello's name.

Gello first appears in a poem by Sappho<sup>12</sup>, as a demon devouring children. Later on, Hesychius of Alexandria, a grammarian from approximately the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD wrote a lexicon of preserved unusual and obscure Greek words and one of them is *Gello*. According to Hesychius' dictionary Gello is not only a child-stealing demon, but also an immature form of Empusa<sup>13</sup>.

In the *Suda* (a hybrid lexicon-encyclopaedia from the 9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century AD) it is mentioned that Gello died as a young girl and from that time on her ghost appeared to children and to those who had suffered unseasonable deaths<sup>14</sup>.

There is a treatise *Περὶ δαιμόνων*, falsely ascribed to Michael Psellos<sup>15</sup>, the greatest authority on Byzantine demonology, who lived in the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century. This treatise says that demons are genderless — they can form themselves into human shape, appearing either female or male<sup>16</sup>. However, in texts dealing with Byzantine popular beliefs, there are many female demons, e.g. in the so-called *Testamentum Solomonis*<sup>17</sup>. *The Testament of Solomon* dates from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup>

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[...] *sunt avidae volucres, non quae Phineia mensis  
guttura fraudabant, sed genus inde trahunt:  
grande caput, stantes oculi, rostra apta rapinis;  
canities pennis, unguibus hamus inest;  
nocte volant puerosque petunt nutricis egentes,  
et vitiant cunis corpora rapta suis;  
carpere dicuntur lactentia viscera rostris,  
et plenum poto sanguine guttur habent.  
Est illis strigibus nomen; sed nominis huius  
causa quod horrendum stridere nocte solent.*

<sup>11</sup> Ioannes Damascenos: *Περὶ στρυγγῶν*. PG 94, 1604.

<sup>12</sup> "Τέλλως παιδοφιλωτέρα". In: *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*. Eds. E. Lobel, D. Page. Oxford 1963, fr. 178, p. 101.

<sup>13</sup> Non vidi; see Oeconomides: "Yello...", p. 331.

<sup>14</sup> *Suda On Line*: [http://www.stoa.org/sol-bin/search.pl?db=REAL&search\\_method=QUERY&login=guest&enlogin=guest&user\\_list=LIST&page\\_num=1&searchstr=gello&field=any&num\\_per\\_page=100](http://www.stoa.org/sol-bin/search.pl?db=REAL&search_method=QUERY&login=guest&enlogin=guest&user_list=LIST&page_num=1&searchstr=gello&field=any&num_per_page=100).

<sup>15</sup> P. Gautier: "Le de Daemonibus du Pseudo-Psellos". *REB* 38 (1980), pp. 105—106.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 165—169, II 480—481, 514—519.

<sup>17</sup> Ch.Ch. McCown: *Διαθήκη Σολομώντος. The Testament of Solomon*. Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, Heft 9. Leipzig 1922.

century AD, but it enjoyed long popularity throughout the Byzantine period<sup>18</sup>. It is a kind of catalogue of demons summoned by King Solomon to help him build a Temple, and that is probably why the authorship of this treatise was attributed to King Solomon himself.

Graphic depictions of female demons are also to be found in the art of the Byzantine times, e.g. so-called “Beautiful from the Mountains” from the magical papyrus *Bononiensis* 3632. She is shown as a woman with long hair, a crown on her head and a fish-tail and feet armed with claws<sup>19</sup>.

In the article mentioned before Greenfield presents an edition of the text based on the manuscript *d’Orville* 110, which is kept in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. It is one of the Sisinnios-type texts; its title is *The Life and Public Activity* (Βίος καὶ πολιτεία) of the Saints of God Sisinnios and Sisinnodoros, Saint Melitene’s Brothers; and the story is more or less as follows:

Once upon a time, during the reign of king Laurentios in Arabia there lived a woman called Melitene. She had given birth to seven children, which were stolen by a female demon called Gellou. And soon she became pregnant again and when the time came for her to give birth to a child, she ordered a fortified tower built. Melitene hid herself inside the tower with her two maids and they took provisions for twenty-five years.

One day her brothers, saint Sisinnios and saint Sisinnodoros, who were soldiers somewhere in Arabia, desired to visit their sister. Unfortunately, she had just given birth to the next child and she did not want to let her brothers into the tower, because she was afraid of Gellou. But Sisinnios and Sisinnodoros begged her so much, that she succumbed and finally she let them into the tower. But Gellou came into the Melitene’s stronghold together with the saints Sisinnios and Sisinnodoros. Gellou had an ability to change herself into different shapes, and this time she had taken the shape of the dust, and at about midnight Gellou killed the child of Melitene.

When Melitene realized that her child has been abducted by Gellou, she started crying and lamenting, regretting that she had ever let Sisinnios and Sisinnodoros into her tower. The saints felt guilty and they prayed to God to give them His power against Gellou. The angel of God descended from heaven and said that the Lord had heard their prayers and sent His angel to give them His might. So they set out to the mountains of Lebanon to look for Gellou.

On their way saints Sisinnios and Sisinnodoros met a pine tree. They asked it, if it had seen Gellou, but the pine tree denied having seen her. Sisinnios and Sisinnodoros got angry and they cursed the pine tree, because it did not tell them the truth. Next Sisinnios and Sisinnodoros encountered an olive

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<sup>18</sup> A. Delatte, Ch. Josserand: “Contribution à l’étude de la démonologie Byzantine”. In: *Mélange Bidez. Annuaire de l’Institut de Philologie et d’Histoire Orientales de l’Université Libre de Bruxelles* 2. Bruxelles 1934, p. 207.

<sup>19</sup> A.A. Barb: “Antaura...”, plate 1c.

tree and asked it the same question. The olive tree told the saints that Gellou had passed by and she had hidden herself near the sea, among the children's corpses. And Sisinnios and Sisinnodoros blessed the olive tree for telling the truth.

When Sisinnios and Sisinnodoros finally caught up with Gellou, they ordered her in the name of God to surrender. But Gellou did not listen to the saints and she started running into the sea. Sisinnios and Sisinnodoros galloped to catch the demon. When they managed to do so, Gellou asked them why they tortured her so much. Saint Sisinnios answered her that if she gave him back the seven children of Melitene, he would not torture her. Gellou said that she would give him back the seven children of Melitene if Sisinnios were able to return the milk which he had sucked from his mother's breast. Then Sisinnios started to pray to God to give him the strength to return his mother's milk and God heard his prayer and Sisinnios was able to do so. When Sisinnios returned his mother's milk, he told Gellou to give him back Melitene's seven children and she immediately returned the stolen children. Gellou begged Sisinnios and Sisinnodoros not to torture her and she also promised them not to harm anyone who would be able to write her names as a charm. She gave them a catalogue of her twelve names and she swore on many saints. Her first name is Gellou, the second Mothrus, the third Abidzus, the fourth Maramatotus, the fifth Marmanilla, the sixth Seleninus, the seventh Ariane, the eighth Salasaleutu, the ninth Egyptiane, the tenth Asbletus, the eleventh Haimabibon, the twelfth Ktarkarischu.

And Gellou swore to them by the Cherubim and Seraphim saying "Holy, Holy, Holy Lord Sabaoth" that she would spare the homestead of the servant of God so-and-so, from malice and poison, jealousy, magic, nosiness, revenge and all wickedness let the house containing the charm with her names written on it [be delivered].

These texts were probably used as exorcisms — in some of them there is a space to mention the name of a person who is to be protected from Gello — the homestead of the servant of God 'so-and-so'. However, the texts are quite long, so maybe they were used for something else as well.

Let us analyse this story about Gello. There is a woman called Melitene. What we know about her is that she had given birth to seven children and is going to have another child. She is afraid of Gello, a female demon whose occupation is stealing children and harming mothers-to-be and women just after delivery. In order to hide from Gello, Melitene orders a fortified tower built and she takes with her two servants, significantly both female. She has two brothers, each of them is a saint — Sisinnios and Sisinnodoros, and Melitene is a saint as well (though not in every version).

It would be unbelievable and awkward for a woman in Byzantium to have given birth to seven children and to be pregnant yet again and not to have a husband. We know nothing about her family, apart from the fact that she has two brothers.

She hides in a stronghold instead of being protected by her husband. It would be a real scandal in Byzantium for a woman to have children and not to be married. Moreover, how could such a woman with several children but without a husband be a saint? It is just impossible. Besides, if she were a saint, why did she not defend herself and the child? Sisinnios and Sisinnodoros derived all their strength against Gello from God, so Melitene could have prayed to God as well, and God would have heard her prayer and helped her.

In some of the texts Melitene is looking for a hideout in a tower or just in a house *after* she has given birth to a child. In one late version she builds tower *before* she gets pregnant and Sisinnios and Sinidoros come to visit her because God has sent them, after having heard her prayer. This one is really confusing — how could Melitene become pregnant, if she was locked in the tower *alone*? Even if she was there together with her husband it is not to his credit at all.

A man, whose name is Theodoulos, appears as Melitene's husband only in four manuscripts, the latest ones. It is probable that a scribe when copying the manuscript simply did not accept a lack of Melitene's husband in the story and made him up<sup>20</sup>. It must have seemed indecent that Melitene was not married, but had several children. These four late manuscripts contain some further motifs that are different from other texts, e.g. they write about Melitene's *three* brothers (only one other manuscript apart from these late four does so).

As mentioned before, Melitene orders a tower built and hides in it. This raises many questions. Usually in stories women are locked in towers against their will and they want somebody to rescue them. For example Rapunzel from Brothers' Grimm fairy tale, who was locked in a tower without any doors or windows by a witch. Melitene by contrast does not want to be rescued at all (apart from one mentioned version). Additionally, she fortifies her tower so that nobody could enter her stronghold.

What is also strange is the fact that Melitene takes with her provisions for such a long time. As we know, Gello attacks only new-born babies and women just before or after delivery, so it seems pointless to make provision for twenty-five years.

The scene in which saints Sisinnios and Sisinnodoros ask Melitene to let them into the stronghold resembles the scene from another fairy tale, "The three little pigs". However, the brothers do not want to harm their sister in any way; their only intention is to help her.

Another interesting thing is that the children can be got back from Gello *alive* even though it is written that they have been killed by the demon. And if there were eight children of Melitene altogether, and Gello kills only new-born ones, it would appear that between the first and the last baby having been killed there

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<sup>20</sup> It was a common activity for scribes to correct the text that they were copying in a way they thought to be right, by adding or omitting something.

were about seven years. It is curious and the texts says nothing about children's condition when they are returned by Gello, so it must not be so important. In fact in some manuscripts Gello returns not all the children, but sometimes only one.

Anyway, the restoration of children killed by Gello is a visible evidence of divine intervention, just like the motif with Sisinnios mother's milk. In some texts saints can also change their shape — they catch Gello flying in the air as hawks.

There are some motifs that differ, but the main sense of the story is the same in every version. Sometimes third brother is given to Sisinnios and Sisinnodoros and the spelling of their names is different. There is always a killed/stolen child, adventures during the chase for the demon, the recovery of the child, and the catalogue of demon's names. The number of names is different in different texts<sup>21</sup>, but there is unanimity that omitting even one of the demon's names would cause the charm to be useless. Some of the names are easy to understand (e.g. Seleninus, Haimabibon) and some seem to be a kind of a magic "hocus-pocus". Sometimes it is hard to see similarity between some variants of one name in different texts. The most frequently used names are variants of Gello and Abyzouth. The one that is of importance here is *stringla*.

The time the story is supposed to take place is hard to determine. Only two versions of the text mention that the events took place during the reign of a ruler who really existed — one of them is Trajan and the other is Aurelian. Actually, we do not know if this is significant, but if it were we could conclude that the story itself is much more older than the manuscripts in which it has been preserved. The places where the events take place are different in different versions of the story as well.

The number of trees encountered, questioned and then cursed or blessed by Sisinnios and Sisinnodoros also varies from two to four. What was the purpose of running this motif in the story, if the saints knew the right answer? Were these questions only rhetorical ones? What was the reason of choosing particularly these kinds of trees? The olive tree has very wealthy symbolism, and a very positive one. From an old legend one can find out that the Christ's cross was made of olive and cedar wood<sup>22</sup>. The olive tree symbolizes for example strength, purification and victory. In other versions of the Gello story we find also a willow and a briar.

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<sup>21</sup> From twelve (or twelve and a half) to twenty or to even seventy-two. Half a name was very popular in ancient Greek magic; see e.g. F. Pradel: *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters*. Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten III. 3. Giessen 1907, pp. 73 and 78ff. Seventy-two names seem to refer to seventy-two names ascribed to God; see Jewish Encyclopaedia Online: <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid=52&letter=N>.

<sup>22</sup> On olive's symbolism see J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant: *The Penguin Dictionary of Symbols*. Trans. J. Buchanan-Brown. London, 1996; A. Room: *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*. London 2001, p. 848.

Gello herself seems to be an archetype of evil witch from fairy tales who steals children and then eats them. Just like in the story about Hansel and Gretel, although they are older than the children stolen and killed by Gello.

Another significant motif from Sisinnios-type of the story is that Gello, chased by saint Sisinnios and saint Sisinnodoros runs away into the sea. When looking at the name *Obyzouth/Abyzouth* one can find a parallel to a Greek word ἄβυσσος meaning 'the abyss'. Greeks borrowed this noun from Assyrians or Sumerians. Apsu/Abzu was, according to Mesopotamian mythology, a primeval ocean from which the world was made. It was genderless, but Babylonians divided its duties between Abzu and Tiamat. First one was representing sweet water and a masculine element, the other — salt water and a feminine element<sup>23</sup>. So, it seems that Apsu/Abzu evolved and from genderless became first masculine and later on — feminine. But that is not all about the female demons' connections with the water. Pseudo-Psellos writes that the demons connected with water and the earth take a female shape, like the Nereids<sup>24</sup>.

When Lilith, said to be the first wife of Adam, turned against him and ran away from Paradise she took up residence in the Red Sea<sup>25</sup>. There are also preserved some Greek charms against migraines and other illnesses which are brought by female demons coming out of the sea. They are called Auras or Abras. In the antique versions of charms against them it is Artemis of Ephesos who appears, in mediaeval charms it is Jesus Christ who appears to drive them away<sup>26</sup>. The texts of these charms against illnesses are similar to the texts about Gello (Michael-type) and texts containing mentions of Lilith.

The Sisinnios-type of Gello story contains some motifs known to us from fairy tales and actually this should not be surprising. As it was mentioned before, the earliest preserved manuscript of the story is from 15<sup>th</sup> century, but the story itself came into being much more earlier. It is hard to say when exactly, but I think it had been living in an oral tradition for centuries before being written down. And in every culture oral tradition has something from fairy tales. Paul Perdrizet in his work on Greek-Oriental demonology states that faith in preventive abilities of saint Sisinnios originate from antiquity. His statement is based on preserved late antique or early Byzantine magical amulets with images of saint Sisinnios killing a female demon<sup>27</sup>. In a late Egyptian monastery in Bawit (Bauit) there is a Coptic wallpainting presenting a man on a horseback slaying a female demon. The inscription names him as saint Sisinnios, and the demon is called Alabasdria. A.A. Barb writes that this name survived in a modern Turkish folklore in a changed version of

<sup>23</sup> A.A. Barb: "Antaura...", pp. 5—6.

<sup>24</sup> P. Gautier: "Le de Daemonibus...", pp. 169—171, II 545—548.

<sup>25</sup> R. Pathai: "Lilith"..., p. 296.

<sup>26</sup> A.A. Barb: "Antaura...", pp. 2—3.

<sup>27</sup> P. Perdrizet: *Negotium Perambulans In Tenebris. Publications de la faculte de lettres de l'Universite de Strasbourg* 6. Strasbourg 1922, p. 15.

Albasti<sup>28</sup>. She shares almost the same features as Lilith. The fresco shows another female demon called a daughter of Alabasdria and some animals, for example vipers, a scorpion and an owl, which is connected with Lilith. Both “ladies” are painted as pretty, the mother has a fish-tail and her daughter as well, but she (the daughter) is also... winged, as befits an evil female demon connected with both the sea and the wind.

There is one significant difference between the Sisinnios- and Michael-types of the Gello history. As I mentioned before, in Sisinnios type of the story there is a kind of introduction before the demon needs to be chased. In the Michael type there is no introduction like this. Neither Melitene nor her brothers appear in this type of story — a leading character is the Archangel Michael. He meets the demon when descending from heaven or Mount Sinai. The demon’s appearance is described and the Archangel makes her confess where she has come from and where she is going. Then the demon says that she is harming babies and women just before or after giving birth to a child, but that she can also do other bad things. In the end, the demon is coerced by the Archangel into doing the same thing as in the Sisinnios-type of the story — giving a list of her names and promising not to hurt anyone who possesses a charm with all her names.

As we can see Gello, whose name is first mentioned in Greek literature by Sappho, disappears (but only from literature) for several centuries in order to re-appear in Byzantine texts. Gello must have really enjoyed popularity since her fabulous story, which had originated from little mentions in literature and simple amulets, survived many centuries, first in oral tradition and then later in the written one. And not only in the Greek tradition — it is very popular for example in Romania. Moses Gaster gives a translation of a charm written on a basis of a Romanian peasants’ tale<sup>29</sup>. The story is about the Archangel Michael encountering Avezuha, while he was descending from the Mount of Olives. She says that she is going to Bethlehem, where Jesus Christ is to be born, to kill him. Then, threatened by the Archangel Michael Avezuha says in what shapes she can change herself (a dog, a cat, a fly, a spider, a raven, an evil-looking girl) in order to “enter into the houses of the people and hurt the women and bring trouble upon the children”. She gives the Archangel Michael a catalogue of her names and promise not to hurt anyone having these names written on an amulet.

What we have here is undoubtedly Michael-type of Gello story — it has the same construction. And what is interesting, in some of Byzantine versions of Gello story there was the mention of her attempt at killing the new-born Christ which was foiled by the Archangel Michael. The demon’s ability to change shapes is also significant. Gello’s names are different, however in *Avezuha* one can see changed form of *Obyzouth/Abyzouth*. The Sisinnios-type of Gello story is to be found in Romanian tradition as well.

<sup>28</sup> A.A. Barb: “Antaura...”, p. 7.

<sup>29</sup> M. Gaster: *Two Thousand Years...*, pp. 1008—1009.

Lamia, Empusa, Strix/Stringla — these are just a few from numerous Gello's "code names". And Gello seems to be only another Lilitu-Lilith's "incarnation". Within centuries she has traveled to many countries, she gained some new names, became a little bit more civilized. And finally she settled down in a forest, in a cottage made of gingerbread, or standing on a chicken's leg where she lurks waiting for Hansel and Gretel to fatten them and eat them — though this time not raw. But, there always will be somebody, not necessarily a saint, who will slay her, at least for a time.



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## The Origins of Hermes Trismegistos and his Philosophy The Theory of Tadeusz Zieliński

**Abstract:** Although there are many works, in a Latin, Greek, Arabic and a Coptic version, ascribed to Hermes Trismegistos, that show the words of wisdom of this ancient prophet, Hermetism still seems not to be a well-known philosophy. It is even hard to explain, if it was a philosophy or a religion. The author of this article — that is based on a theory of Tadeusz Zieliński — using one of these works in a Latin and a Coptic version, tries to explain a problem of the origins of Trismegistos himself and his knowledge.

**Key words:** Hermes Trismegistos, philosophical Hermetism, *Nag Hammadi Codex* VI, 8 / *Asclepius* 27

The origins of Hermes Trismegistos (the Trice-greatest Hermes) and a creation of his philosophy (Hermetism) are not explicit. This very situation is connected with many different opinions about a birth of the theoretical (philosophical) Hermetism.

A theory of Tadeusz Zieliński concerning a beginning and evolution of a Hermetic knowledge is a response to the opinion of Richard Reitzenstein, the forerunner of a Hermetic research, whose theory was based on Egyptian, and later, Iranian sources of philosophical Hermetism. Zieliński, contrary to Reitzenstein, saw the Egyptian episodes in a different form and in a different time of a Hermetic evolution, referring to the Hermetic written sources: *Asclepius* and seventeen Hermetic tractates.

While talking about the Zieliński's doctrine, we are reaching for the knowledge of "the world-creator — Hermetic trinity". Zieliński showed its creation and metaphysical evolution in three steps:

1. Hermetism of the ancient Arcadia: Zeus — Hermes — Pan (according to Zieliński, Arcadia was a home of a primal Hermes).

2. Hermetism of the Strasbourg cosmogony: Zeus — Hermes — Logos (it has something in common with the Arcadian sources but together with an expressive Greek philosophy).

3. Late Hermetism: Nous the First (God) — Nous the Creator (Craftsman) — Logos (this type of Hermetism is made of two Hermetic pieces: 1 — the Greco-Egyptian and 2 — the Roman one).

This very third step — the Late Hermetism — is the best known one from those three Hermetic steps and is identified with Hermes Trismegistos as his revelation, as the revelation of the ancient prophet and a grandson of Hermes proper. Above all, we are interested in this particular Hermetic step, as a Greco-Egyptian form, because of Zieliński's theory, which was actually against the idea of looking for the Egyptian origins of philosophical Hermetism. In connection with the Hermetic origins, Zieliński asked himself: How did the Arcadian Hermetism come to Egypt (where it generally grew up)? For Zieliński there is only one answer: after Alexander the Great came to Egypt, there must have been an ancient connection between Arcadia and Alexandria — a Greek city in Africa. According to Zieliński, it should have been Cyrene, that was sort of a bridge connecting Arcadia and Alexandria in Africa, and linked the Arcadian Hermetism with the ancient Egyptian and the Jewish culture guiding the primal Arcadian Hermes to Egypt.

Zieliński found a verification of his theory about "Cyrene as a bridge", in dialogue between the Trice-greatest Hermes and Asclepius: *Asclepius sive dialogus Hermetis Trismegisti* / Λόγος Τέλειος. To be precise, he discovered it in this very excerpt that survived in bilingual record — the Coptic (*NHC* VI,8: 70,3—76,1) and the Latin one (*Ascl.* 24—27). The Coptic version was found in a sixth codex of the Nag Hammadi Library, between the Gnostic treatises and two other Hermetic texts (*NHC* VI,6 and *NHC* VI,7), all written in a Coptic language. According to J. Brashler, P. Dirkse and D. Parrott, the researchers of the Gnostic literature, the whole Hermetic treatise *Asclepius* (paragraphs 1—41) was originally written in a Greek language and entitled ὁ λόγος τέλειος. As a complete text, however, it is composed in a Latin version ascribed to Apuleius of Madaura and later to Pseudo-Apuleius. The Coptic version is a translation of a small excerpt (paragraphs 65,15—78,43 in *Nag Hammadi Codex* VI,8 and paragraphs 21—29 in Latin version) of whole treatise. For many reasons the Latin version differs from the Coptic one, the similarity of contexts, however, shows that both — Coptic and Latin version derive from Greek sources, which is proved with three original fragments written in Greek language (VI,8: 73,23—74,2; VI,8: 76,2—76,15;

VI,8: 78,44—78,50)<sup>1</sup> analogous to the Coptic translation and close to the Latin adaptation.

This tractate is in the form of a dialogue between two interlocutors: the disciple — Asclepius and the mystagogue — Trismegistos (there are also two other persons — Tat and Ammon, but generally they don't participate in this discussion). The Coptic fragment, *NHC* VI,8: 65,15—78,43 and its Latin equivalent, *Ascl.* 21—29, can be thematically divided:

1. (*NHC* VI,8: 65,15—65,37, *Ascl.* 21) The mystery of sexual intercourse between a man and a woman.

2. (*NHC* VI,8: 65,37—68,19, *Ascl.* 22) The difference between the pious and the impious, the knowledge and the ignorance.

3. (*NHC* VI,8: 68,20—70,2, *Ascl.* 23) The gods created according to human likenesses.

4. (*NHC* VI,8: 70,3—76,1, *Ascl.* 24—27) The apocalyptic section.

5. (*NHC* VI,8: 76,2—78,43, *Ascl.* 27—29) The death and the immortality. The characteristic of a great daimon, who guards the reasonable and god-fearing man against the evil.

The most important section for us, of all those five, is the fourth one: the Apocalypse (*NHC* VI,8: 70,3—76,1, *Ascl.* 24—27), which is discussed by Zieliński in his work *Religia Cesarstwa Rzymskiego*<sup>2</sup>. It needs to be said that Zieliński didn't know the Coptic version of this apocalyptic text and, as a result of this, his theory needs to be specified and confronted with a new Coptic text.

The Latin excerpt, that Zieliński's theory is based on, and its Coptic equivalent are as follows:

The Coptic version:

*Nag Hammadi Codex* VI,8: 75,26—76,1

26 Ⲙⲉⲛⲁⲥⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛ  
ⲥⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲙⲓⲛⲕⲁⲓⲧⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ Ⲙⲉⲛⲁⲉ

28 ⲕⲟⲩⲩ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲕⲓ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲥⲕⲓ  
ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲟⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲕⲙⲉⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲕⲟ

30 ⲧⲥ ⲕⲛ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲕⲱⲧⲓⲛⲧⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲥ

The Latin version:

*Asclepius* 27

Dis <cedent><sup>3</sup> uero

qui terrae dominantur, et conlocabuntur

in ciuitate in summo

initio Aegypti, quae

a parte solis occidentis condetur,

<sup>1</sup> The particular fragments are in the following works of Lactantius and Stobaeus: "1<sup>st</sup> fragment (cf. 73,23—74,2), dans Lactance, *Les Institutions divines* VII, 18,4; 2<sup>e</sup> fragment (cf. 76,2—76,15), dans Stobée, *Anthologie* IV, 52,47; 3<sup>e</sup> fragment (aussitôt après 78,43), dans Lactance, *Les Institutions divines* II, 16,6, et Cyrille d'Alexandrie, *Contre Julien* IV, 130E". In: J.-P. Mahé: *Écrits gnostiques. La bibliothèque de Nag Hammadi*. Québec 2007, p. 1003.

<sup>2</sup> T. Zieliński: *Religia Cesarstwa Rzymskiego*. Toruń 1999, p. 389.

<sup>3</sup> Dis <cedent>, Mahé; *distribuentur*, Dirkse, Parrott.

<p>           ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΣ            32 ΕΤΙΕ ΝΕΤΝΗΝΗΟΥ ΖΗ ΘΑΛΑССΑ              ΕΤΙΕ ΝΕΤΝΗΝΗΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΙΚΡΟ·            34 Ω ΠΤΡΙCΜΕΓΙCΤΟC ΝΑΪ ΤΝΟΥ              ΕΥΝΑΚΑΛΥ ΤΩΝ· Ω ΑCΚΛΗΠΙΕ            36 ΖΗ ΤΝΟC ΜΜΠΟΛΙC ΤΑΪ ΕΤ'ΖΙ ΠΤΟΟΥ              [ΘC]            [ΝΛΙΒΗ<sup>4</sup>]         </p>	<p>           ad guam terra marique            festinabit omne mortale ge-            nus.              — Modo tamen hoc in tem-            pore, ubi isti sunt,            o Trismegiste?            — Conlocati sunt in maxi-            ma ciuitate in monte              Libyco<sup>5</sup>.         </p>
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A translation of the Coptic version of the Apocalypse:

„And these, who rule the earth will go away, and they will settle themselves in a city that is in a corner of Egypt that will be built toward the sun going down, every man will go there by the sea or by the shore — Trismegistos, where will they live? (Coptic version) / But where are they now? (Latin version) — Asclepius, in the city that is on the Libyan mountain (Coptic version) / — They settled themselves in the great city on the Libyan mountain (Latin version)”.

According to Zieliński's theory, a geographical location of Cyrene and the one place described in the Latin text are coherent. Comparing one version of the text with another, however, it is clear that grammatical points contradict the Zieliński's statement, especially when he refers to the Latin text that suggests two different geographical locations, and in fact the Coptic version shows only one place. We can prove it by explaining the grammatical structure of these two parallel texts. In the Coptic text there is a future tense in all quoted excerpt: „And these, who rule the earth will go away (CΕΝΑCΕΖΤΟΥ), and they will settle themselves (CΕΝΑ-ΤΑΖΟΥ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ) in a city that is in a corner of Egypt that will be built (ΕΥΝΑ-ΚΟΤC) toward the sun going down, every man will go (ΝΑΒΩΚ) there by the sea or by the shore — Trismegistos, where will they live (ΕΥΝΑΚΑΥ)? [...]”. It means that this particular text is talking about only one city that really exists somewhere in a corner of Egyptian land (ΟΥΠΟΛΙC ΕCΖΙ ΟΥΚΟΟZ ΝΤΕ ΚΗΜΕ) toward the sun going down (ΕΥΝΑΚΟΤC ΖΗ ΝCΑ ΝΖΩΤΠ' ΝΤΕ ΠΡΗ) and on the Libyan mountain (ΕΤ'ΖΙ ΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΛΙΒΗ). But the Latin version of this same text gives us the information concerning two different cities, because of two tenses forming the Latin excerpt: future tense, while talking about the city, where *qui terrae dominantur* and *omne mortale genus* will settle themselves and this very fragment

<sup>4</sup> ΝΛΙΒΗ, Dirkse, Parrott; ΝΛΙΒΥΝ, Mahé. P.-A. Dirkse, D.-M. Parrott: *Asclepius* 21—29, VI,8: 65,15—78,43. In: J.-M. Robinson: *The Coptic Gnostic Library. A Complete Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*. Vol. 3. Brill, Leiden, Boston, Köln 2000, p. 438.

<sup>5</sup> J.-P. Mahé: *Le Fragment du Discours parfait et les Définitions Hermetiques Arméniennes*. (Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi, 3,7). Québec 1978—1982, pp. 193—195.

seems to be analogous to the Coptic one quoted above; and present tense, in a question about god's location nowadays: "*Modo tamen hoc in tempore, ubi isti sunt* [...]", by which it differs from the Coptic quotation: **Ω ΠΤΡΙΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΑΙ ΤΝΟΥ ΕΥΝΑΚΑΔΥ ΤΩΝ** ("Trismegistos, where will they live?").

All in all, it is extremely hard to verify explicitly the main idea of Zieliński's doctrine, which says that this text shows Cyrene as the only one solution in this case. It is proved by Copenhaver, who gives many other conceptions of the city described in both versions of the apocalyptic section:

Scott identifies the sunset city as Alexandria, Zieliński chooses Cyrene, but Festugière thinks that the writer's apocalyptic hope requires no particular location. Scott believes that the city in question was Arsinoe or Crocodilopolis and that Libyan mountain refers to the elevated land west of the Nile. [...] The Greek word *Libue* could mean either Egypt west of the Nile or the territory of Alexandria. Although, like Festugière, Van Rinsveld admits that Libya need not be any particular place to suit the apocalyptic message, he suggests that in the original ΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ, if its setting were Ptolemaic, Alexandria might have been a suitable place for the return of the gods but that in the Christian times of the Latin *Asclepius* Alexandria would not have been thinkable<sup>6</sup>.

As we can see, many disagreements and a different interpretation of the text show a huge interest in the Hermetic subject, in its beginning and meaning. The theory of Tadeusz Zieliński mostly boils down to the statement that the Egyptian influence on the primal Hermetism is not true. Zieliński also tries to ascribe the origin of the earliest Hermetism to Arcadia, where the primal Hermes could have been born. Then, he guides the Hermetism of ancient Arcadia through the Cyrene (but can we agree with that idea in a view of new Coptic version of the apocalyptic text?) and unites it with ancient Egyptian religion by which Zieliński brings about a division of Hermetism into philosophical and popular *Hermetica*, in order to certify finally that there is nothing what can be called "Egyptian" in the Late Hermetism except the figures and names of the Egyptian gods, which means that in the Late Hermetism there is no place for mysterious Egyptian magic (that is a crux of the popular Hermetism) but only for the Greek philosophy, because "the Late Hermetism" paraphrasing the words of Zieliński, "as a sort of system of the religious knowledge, has a Greek soul and Egyptian exterior"<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> B. Copenhaver: *Hermetica. The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius in a New English translation with Notes and Introduction*. Cambridge 1992, p. 245—246. Cf.: "Les dieux, présentement retirés dans une grande ville du désert de Libye (Memphis, d'après Fowden, *The Egyptian*, p. 40), reviendront s'installer dans une cité bâtie à l'extrême bord de l'Égypte et fréquentée par des hommes du monde entier, Alexandrie, port international, réputée «près de l'Égypte» (*ad Aegyptum*), et non «en Égypte» (*in Aegyptio*)" J.-P. Mahé: *Extrait du «Discours Parfait» D'Hermès Trismégiste à Asclepius (NH VI,8)*. In: *Écrits gnostiques. La bibliothèque de Nag Hammadi*. Québec 2007, p. 1002.

<sup>7</sup> T. Zieliński: *Hermes Trzykroć-Wielki (Hermes Trismegistos)*. Zamość 1921, p. 46.



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## Deskrypcje bogów rzymskich w *Panegirykach* Klaudiana

**Abstract:** The author presents translation of the so-far unpublished in Poland selected sequences from Claudian's three panegyrics (*Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, *Panegyricus dictus Probino et Olybrio consulibus*, *Panegyricus de consulatu Stilichonis*). They include descriptions of personifications of natural phenomena, abstract places and ideas depicted as mythical gods and goddesses. They are: *Tiberinus*, *Eridanus*, *Roma* and *Clementia*.

**Key words:** Claudian, *Panegyrics*, mythical gods, description technique

### Nota od tłumacza

Prezentowany przekład wybranych sekwencji spośród trzech panegiryków Klaudiana (*Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, *Panegyricus dictus Probino et Olybrio consulibus*, *Panegyricus de consulatu Stilichonis*)<sup>1</sup> zawiera opisy zjawisk przyrody, miejsc i pojęć abstrakcyjnych, które w utworach nadwornego poety cesarza Honoriusza zostają przedstawione jako mistyczni bogowie. W deskrypcjach wyglądu zewnętrznego oraz charakteru posługuje się retor techniką wizualizacji, czerpiąc obficie z szerokiej skali epitetów przymiotniko-

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<sup>1</sup> Tłumaczenie powstało na podstawie wydania: Claudian (vol. 1—2), with an English translation by Maurice Platnauer. Ed. J. Henderson (vol. 1), G.P. Goold (vol. 2). London 1998; z uwzględnieniem wydań: C. Claudianus: *Opera*. Ed. J.B. Hall. Leipzig 1985 oraz Claudian: *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*. Ed. M.J. Dewar, with Introduction, Translation and Literary Commentary. Oxford 1996. Przekład sporządzony został wierszem trzynastozgłoskowym.

wych, zarówno pojedynczych i uogólniających, jak i bardziej urozmaiconych, które dokładnie oddają złożoność nadludzkiej natury. Prawdziwym artystą okazuje się Klaudian w uwzględnianiu kolorystyki szat i wyliczaniu atrybutów postaci mitologicznych, z wyraźną skłonnością do stosowania antytez, w przypadku, gdy podkreśla kontrast skrajnie różnych barw lub opisuje sprzeczne cechy osobowości bogów. Wyraźnie zaznacza się to w opisie bogini Miasta, w której postaci połączył retor cechy delikatności kobiecej z walecznością wodza, przy okazji podkreślając śnieżnobiały kolor skóry, kontrastujący z purpurą odzienia. W prezentacji wizerunków mitycznych bohaterów nie wykracza poza ramy tradycji literackiej, zwłaszcza epickiej. Deskrypcje bogów utrzymane są w konwencji gatunku panegirycznego, którego zasadniczą funkcją było wychwalanie piękna zewnętrznego i wewnętrznego opisywanych postaci. Na różnorodny kształt opisów wpływa widoczna w utworach Klaudiana skłonność do psychologizowania, która podporządkowana została tendencji idealizacyjnej, najwyraźniej zaznaczonej w prezentacji bogini Łagodności, której opis określa stałe cechy charakteru Stylichona. Szczególnie dużą wartość obrazową mają opisy personifikacji rzek, gdzie szczegółowe ujęcie treści pozwala czytelnikowi wytworzyć w wyobraźni równie dokładny obraz realnej przyrody, co wizerunek kreowanego uosobienia. Wszystkie zastosowane przez Klaudiana techniki łączenia tradycyjnych *loci communes* w nową całość dzięki rozszerzaniu elementów realno-enkomiaistycznych o znane wątki mitologiczne sprawiają, że Klaudianowe opisy cechuje ogromne zróżnicowanie pod względem tematyki opracowywanej materii, co potwierdza często wypowiedane i zgodne na ogół opinie badaczy o sylwicznym charakterze utworów Greka, w którego twórczości odnajdujemy wyraźne echa okazjonalnej poezji oratorskiej Stacjusza<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Istotnej wiedzy na ten temat dostarczają prace: A. Cameron: *Claudian. Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius*. Oxford 1970, s. 255—267, 282—297, 417—426; D. Romano: *Claudio. Palermo* 1958; A. Fo: *Studi sulla tecnica poetica di Claudiano*. Catania 1982.

Claudius Claudianus, *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu  
Honorii Augusti*<sup>3</sup>, w. 159—177

(Eridanus)<sup>4</sup>

- To rzekła. On znów podniósł głowę wysoko nad  
spokojne rzeki. Lśniły ze złota rogi na  
pokrytej rosą twarzy, rozlewając światło  
na wszystkie brzegi. Mokrej grzywy nie wieńczy mu  
163 z trzciny korona, zielone gałęzie cór Słońca  
cieniem kryją czub głowy, włos bursztyń oblewa.  
Wielkie ramiona palla zdobi: tu Faeton  
wyszyty na ojcowskim rydwanie oświeśla  
szaty niebiesko-szare. Trzymany pod piersią  
168 dzban cudny w ryte gwiazdy świadectwem jest boskiej  
chwały. I wskazał Tytan wszystkie powody swych

<sup>3</sup> Mowa pochwalna na szósty konsulat Honoriusza Augusta należy do utworów pochodzących z najpóźniejszego okresu twórczości Klaudiana, w której wzajemnie przenikają się elementy tradycji enkomiaistyczno-epickiej. W datowanym na 404 r. panegiryku, prócz wyjątkowo dużej liczby przemówień, odnajdujemy barwne opisy miejsc, zdarzeń oraz postaci (zarówno historycznych, jak i mitologicznych), wśród których na szczególną uwagę zasługuje deskrypcja boga rzeki Erydan.

<sup>4</sup> Tytuły w nawiasach pochodzą od tłumaczki. *Eridanus* — bóstwo północnoitalskiej rzeki Pad (gr. Erydan). Por. Stat. *Theb.* XII 413; Ov. *Met.* II 324. Mityczny Erydan miał być synem Oceanusa i Tetydy, która zrodziła Nil, Alfęjos, Erydan, Strymon, Meander, Istros, Skamander i in. Por. Hes. *Th.* 336—345.

w. 159. *To rzekła* — słowa te kończą wypowiedź jednej z nimf wodnych, której imienia autor nie podaje.

w. 163. *córy Słońca* — Heliady, siostry Faetona. Por. Ov. *Met.* II 340—343; Verg. *Aen.* X 190.

w. 165. *palla* — rodzaj obszernego szala, noszonego początkowo wyłącznie przez kobiety, w okresie późnego cesarstwa także przez mężczyzn. Zwyczaj wymagał, by kobiety zamężne przetrzucały pallę przez oba ramiona, przeprowadzając materiał kolejno pod prawym i lewym zgięciem ręki. Inaczej okrycie to nosiły cudzoziemki i panny, które zarzucały pallę na jedno ramię, a spleciony materiał spinały broszką. Palla, która zastąpiła rzymskie *ricinium*, była okryciem zbliżonym do greckiego himationu. Por. O. Jurewicz, L. Winniczuk: *Starożytni Grecy i Rzymianie w życiu prywatnym i państwowym*. Warszawa 1968, s. 122—123; *Faeton* — syn Słońca i Klimeny. Chcąc dowieść boskiego pochodzenia, poprosił ojca o zgodę na powożenie słonecznym rydwanem. Jowisz, w obawie przed pożarem Ziemi, jaki mogło spowodować nieostrożne prowadzenie kwadrygi przez syna Heliosa, zabił Faetona piorunem, co stało się główną przyczyną trosk Tytana. Por. P. Grimal: *Słownik mitologii greckiej i rzymskiej*. Przeł. M. Bronarska i in. Wrocław—Warszawa—Kraków—Gdańsk—Łódź 1987, s. 97; Ov. *Met.* I 751—779, II 1—400.

w. 169. *Tytan* — Helios (Słońce), w literaturze przedstawiany najczęściej jako sługa bogów olimpijskich, którego zadaniem było dostarczanie ziemi światła. Każdego dnia, poprzedzany rydwanem Jutrzenki, wyruszał w podróż po nieboskłonie, przemierzając drogę łączącą Wschód z Zachodem. Por. P. Grimal: *Słownik...*, s. 126; Ov. *Met.* I 751—779, II 1—401; Hes. *Th.* 760—763.

- na Olimpie trosk: starca w pióra zmienionego,  
siostry w liście i rzekę, która rany syna  
obmyła. Teraz w mroźnej jest strefie Woźnica,  
173 Hyady strzegą szczątków rodzonego brata,  
Droga Mleczna Cynusa rozpostarte skrzydła  
zrasza. Gwiazdny Erydan, krętą płynąc drogą,  
skrapia jasne sklepienie Notusa i w strachu  
przed mieczem z gwiazd strumieniem oblewa Oriona.

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w. 170. *starzec w pióra przemieniony* — Cynus, bliski przyjaciel i krewny Faetona, którego śmierć opłakiwał tak bardzo, że bogowie przemienili go w łabędzia, by pomny gromu, jakim Jowisz zabił Faetona, mógł żyć w środowisku wodnym, z dala od ognistego żywiołu. Opis przemiany Cynusa w łabędzia odnajdujemy w drugiej księdze *Metamorfoz* Owidiusza: [...] *cum vox est tenuata viro canaeque capillos / dissimulant plumae collumque a pectore longe / porrigitur digitosque ligat iunctura rubentis, / penna latus velat, tenet os sine acumine rostrum. / Fit nova Cynus avis* (Ov., *Met.* II, 373—377). Cynus to imię „mówiące”: por. łac. *cynus*, gr. κύκνω.

w. 171. *siostry przemienione w liście* — Heliady, córki Słońca i Klimeny, siostry Faetona, które po śmierci brata przemienione zostały w drzewa: Wergiliusz w *Eneidzie* (X, 189—191) podaje, że były to topole: *populeas inter frondes [...] sororum* (Verg. *Aen.*, X, 190), w szóstej eklodzie, że olchy: *tum Phaethontidas musco circumdat amarae / corticis, atque solo proceras erigit alnos* (Verg. *Ecl.*, VI, 62—63).

w. 171.—172. *rzeka, która rany syna obmyła* — Erydan, mityczna nazwa Padu, do którego strącony został Faeton uderzony piorunem Jowisza. Por.: *Quem procul a patria diverso maximus orbe / excipit Eridanus fumantiaque abluit ora* (Ov. *Met.* II 323—324); *Sic Hyperionium trepido Phaethonta sorores / fumantem lavere Pado* (Stat. *Theb.* XII 413—414). *Woźnica* — Faeton.

w. 173. *Hyady* — sąsiadujące z Plejadami gwiazdy konstelacji Byka, których wzejście zapowiadało deszczową porę roku. Por. Stat. *Silv.* I 6, 21—24: *Non tantis Hyas inserena nimbis / terras obruit aut soluta Plias, / quails per cuneos hiems Latinos / plebem grandine contudit serena*; Hor. *Carm.* I 3, 14. Por. także uwagę J.M. Gesnera: *Novus Linguae et Eruditionis Romanae Thesaurus*. Leipzig 1749, s. 932: *Sunt septem stellae in capite Tauri, quae et Haedi, et Suculae dicuntur, et Atlantides*.

w. 177. *Miecz Oriona* — fragment konstelacji, w którą przemieniony został mityczny myśliwy (Orion) na skutek zemsty Artemidy, która w obawie przed utratą dziewictwa zesłała na syna Posejdona Skorpiona. Ten za wyświadczenie Artemidzie przysługi (jak podaje tradycja — ugryzł Oriona w piętę), przeniesiony został w sferę gwiazd i jako konstelacja nieustannie goni Oriona. Por. P. Grimal: *Słownik...*, s. 267—268. Por. Hor. *Carm.* I 22, 28; Ov. *Met.* VIII 207 oraz XIII 294.

Claudius Claudianus, *Panegyricus dictus Probino  
et Olybrio consulibus*<sup>5</sup>, w. 73—99

(Roma)

- Gdy wojowniczy August odepchnął cios wrogi,  
z pioruna siłą chroniąc Alpy od pożogi,  
Roma, chcąc złożyć godne Probusowi dzięki,  
do cesarza iść skora, by przez moc poręki  
77 młodym przychylność zdobyć. Rydwan jej skrzydlaty  
szykują słudzy — Atak i w grozę bogaty  
Strach — towarzysze Romy z gwarem prowadzący  
wojny: gdy Partów bije lub cios włócznie tnący  
Hydaspu nurt uderza. Ten mocuje koła,  
82 tamten pod jarzmem konie pędzi: „Służbę” — woła —  
„uzdom posłuszną trzeba spełnić”. Ją też zowie  
panią niebo wraz z ziemią, w czynie swym i słowie  
Minerwy niezamężnej obiera zwyczaj.  
Nie chce, by grzebień włosy upinał, nie daje  
87 ozdobom szyi stroić, bok prawy, w kolorze  
bieli ramię, odważną pierś odsłaniać może.  
Fałd sukni broszką spina. Pas do zawieszenia  
miecza dzieli pierś bladą od barwy odzienia.  
Z wdziękiem łączy się męstwo, uroczą nieśmiałość  
92 w trwogę się zbroi srogą. Wzdłuż przyłbicy mroczność  
cienia bladego pada spod krwawych pęków piór.  
I w trwożnym blasku tarcza rzuca wyzwanie z chmur  
Słońcu: wykuł ją Kowal z artysty zręcznością.

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<sup>5</sup> Panegiryk dla braci Anicjuszów jest pierwszą mową pochwalną napisaną przez poetę z Egiptu, a zarazem debiutem Klaudiana jako poety łacińskiego. Utworem tym uczcił Klaudian konsulat, jakim Teodozjusz obdarzył synów Probusa mimo ich młodego wieku.

w. 73. *August* — Teodozjusz.

w. 75. *Probus* — urodzony ok. 330 r. wybitny polityk rzymski z rodu Anicjuszów. Kilkakrotnie sprawował urząd prefekta pretorium (Illyrikum, Galii, Italii oraz Afryki). Konsul na rok 371. Ojciec Anicjusza i Probinusa, którzy w 395 r. osiągnęli konsulat. Istotnych wiadomości na temat pochodzenia, majątku, godności i charakteru Probusa dostarcza historyk Ammian (XXVII 11, 1—7).

w. 77. *młodym* — synom Probusa (Anicjuszowi i Probinusowi).

w. 81. *Hydaspes* — rzeka w Indiach (dopływ Indusu), której nazwa pochodzi od imienia najstarszego króla Medów — Hydaspesa. Jej wody miały toczyć złoto i drogie kamienie. Por. J.M. Gensner: *Novus Linguae et Eruditionis Romanae Thesaurus*. Leipzig 1749, s. 933; Stat. *Theb.* IX 441; Hor. *Carm.* I 22, 7.

w. 95. *Kowal* — Wulkan, bóg ognia utożsamiany z greckim Hefajstosem. Najbardziej znana wersja mitu dotyczy prac wykonywanych w kuźniach, gdzie z pomocą cyklopów przygotowywał zbroje i tarcze dla bohaterów greckich i rzymskich. Por. opis tarczy Achillesa (Hom. *Il.* XVIII 483—608), Eneasza (Verg. *Aen.* VIII 526—728) i Heraklesa (Hes. *Scut.* 140—317).

- Na niej widoczny bóg Mars z ojcowską miłością,  
 97 dzika piastunka, bracia i nabożna rzeka.  
 Tyber w bursztyn się stroi, bliźnięta powleka  
 złoto, z brązu jest wilk, Mars mieni się od stali.

Claudius Claudianus, *Panegyricus dictus Probino  
 et Olybrio consulibus*, w. 209—225

(Tiberinus)<sup>6</sup>

- W krętej grocie usłyszał ów dźwięk Tiberinus  
 w niskiej siedząc dolinie. Nadstawił uszu, tkwiąc  
 w zamyśleniu nad zgiełku ludzi przyczyną. Wtem  
 opuszcza mchem porośłe łożę, z nim sypialnię  
 213 z zielonych liści, Nimfom wodnym powierza dzban.  
 Na włóchatym obliczu lśnią mu szare oczy  
 niebieskimi barwione plamami, wzrok niczym  
 Oceanusa, szyja gęsta od splotu traw,  
 czubek głowy porasta trzcina wpięta we włos.  
 218 Wiatr zachodni jej zniszczyć nie może, spalona  
 słońcem uschnąć nie zdoła. Lecz równie sędziwa  
 głowa wypuszcza młode pędy. Ze skroni, jak  
 u byka, wyrastają rogi — z nich sączą się  
 rzeki, po piersi spływa woda, czoło tryska  
 223 strumieniami, na źródła rozdziela się broda.  
 Ramiona płaszcz okrywa — utkała go Ilia,  
 żona, pod nurtem wodnym przędac z kryształu nić.

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w. 97. *dzika piastunka, bracia i nabożna rzeka* — mowa tu o okolicznościach porzucenia w rozlewiskach Tybru Romulusa i Remusa oraz legendzie przypisującej odnalezienie bliźnięt wilczycy, która usłyszawszy kwilenie niemowląt, zbiegła z okolicznych gór i nakarmiła potomstwo kapłanki Rei i Marsa. Historię tę przytacza m.in. Liwiusz (I 4) oraz Plutarch (*Rom.* 1—6).

<sup>6</sup> *Tiberinus* — bóstwo rzeczne Tybru. Jak podaje Owidiusz (*Fast.* II 389—390; *Met.* XIV 614—616), Tyber wziął nazwę od imienia mitycznego króla Alby Longi — Tiberinusa, który miał utopić się w wezbranych wodach rzeki. Być może także bóstwo rzeczne dawnej Albui (wcześniejsza nazwa Tybru) przyjęło imię od władcy latyńskiego miasta.

w. 216. *Oceanus* — według pierwotnych wyobrażeń: personifikacja rzeki, która miała opływać świat; w późniejszym okresie Oceanusa utożsamiano z bogiem wód zachodniej granicy świata antycznego. Mityczny syn Uranosa i Gai, mąż Tetydy, ojciec rzek. Por. Hes. *Th.* 20, 133, 215, 242, 274, 294, 776, 974.

w. 218. *wiatr zachodni* — Zefir, ciepły wiatr zwiastujący nadejście wiosny. Por. J.M. Gesner: *Novus...*, s. 1145: *Graecis dicitur Zephyrus, [...] quem Latini Favonium nominant*; Verg. *Aen.* III 120; Georg. II 330—331; Hor. *Carm.* I 4, 1; Ov. *Met.* XV 700.

Claudius Claudianus, *De consulatu Stilichonis*<sup>7</sup>, II, w. 6—29(Clementia)<sup>8</sup>

- Najpierw na straży świata wielkiego Łagodność  
stała, domem jej była strefa Jowisza, chłód  
z żarem łącząc, niebiosą trzyma w równowadze,  
ona z niebian najstarsza. Z litości nad masą  
10 niesformą pierwsza Chaos przegnała, obliczem  
swym jasnym rozproszywszy mrok, wieki na światło  
wydała. W miejsce świątyń i ołtarzy ciepłych  
od kadzideł na dom swój wybrała to serce  
i ciebie. Ona uczy, byś za barbarzyńskie  
15 i złe uznał sycenie się rzezią i ludzkim  
cierpieniem, byś miecz wojną skrwawiony w okresie  
pokoju suchy nosił, byś jako wróg nie dał  
pożywki dla wzrastania nienawiści, winnym  
byś chciał wybaczyć, gniew swój porzucił szybciej, niż  
20 go wznieciłeś, byś prośbom twardo nie oparł się  
nigdy, wrogów nie deptał i z góry spoglądał  
jak lew, który rozszarpać chce byka — przechodzi  
nad korną swą ofiarą. Za jej sprawą jeńców  
ułaskawiasz, gdy prosi, groźny szał ustaje  
25 i to, co nigdy szkody nie przyniesie. Zaraz  
kłótnie porzucasz z lęku przed Jowiszem, który  
wstrząsając wszystko grzmiotem, pociski Cyklopów  
na skały i potwory morskie rzuca i krwi  
ludzkiej szczędząc, na lasy etyjskie śle gromy.

<sup>7</sup> Panegiryk ten należy do najdłuższych mów pochwalnych Klaudiana. W trzech księgach sławi poeta męstwo, zdolności przywódcze i cnoty moralne wodza Stylichona.

<sup>8</sup> *Clementia* — personifikacja Łagodności.

w. 13—14. *wybrała to serce i ciebie* — bezpośredni zwrot do adresata panegirycznej mowy.

w. 27. *pociski Cyklopów* — pioruny kute przez jednookich olbrzymów dla Jowisza. Miejszem pracy Cyklopów były kuźnie Wulkanu. Por. Verg. *Aen.* VIII 416—443, a zwłaszcza wersy 426—428: *His informatum manibus iam parte polita / fulmen erat, toto genitor quae plurima caelo / deicit in terras* [...].

w. 29. *lasy etyjskie* — lasy na górze Eta, leżącej na pograniczu Tesalii i Macedonii. Jak podaje J.M. Gesner: *Novus Linguae...*, s. 561: „Mons [...] clarus morte e sepulcro Herculis, in quo stellae videntur occidere”. O górze tej wspomina Owidiusz przy okazji przytaczania mitu o śmierci i apoteozie Herkulesa (Ovid. *Met.* IX 134—272). Por. także: Verg. *Ecl.* VIII 30.



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## ***Natura i Grecy* Erwina Schrödingera — prezentacja i fragment tłumaczenia**

**Abstract:** The introduction is a short presentation of the person and interdisciplinary position of Austrian physicist Erwin Schrödinger. What follows is a Polish translation of a chapter from his book *Nature and the Greeks* entitled *The Pythagoreans*. In it Schrödinger presents scientific accomplishments of the philosopher and his school as well as provides us with his professional opinion on the importance of these. The main part of this section of the book consists of a simple and elegant proof of the Pythagorean theorem.

**Key words:** philosophy, Ancient Greek science, Pythagoreans, Pythagorean theorem

Pozycja Erwina Schrödingera we współczesnej fizyce jest niepodważalna. Jako twórca równania falowego, znanego szerzej jako równanie Schrödingera, położył fundamenty pod fizykę kwantową, która w dalszym ciągu stanowi jedną z kluczowych gałęzi tej nauki<sup>1</sup>. Był jednak, jak większość genialnych fizyków tamtego okresu, człowiekiem o niezwykle szerokich horyzontach, które sięgały między innymi obszarów wiedzy ludzkiej zwykle dostrzeganych wyłącznie przez filologów klasycznych.

Oczywiście fakt, że wybitny fizyk zna łacinę lub grekę, sam w sobie nie stanowi problemu interesującego dla filologów. Sytuacja zmienia się jednak radykalnie, gdy ów fizyk postanawia swą wiedzę fizyczną połączyć z ową wiedzą filologiczną w poszukiwaniu starożytnych podstaw współczesnych nauk ścisłych. Wtedy rzecz staje się bezcenna, ponieważ stosunkowo niewiele miejsca we współczesnej filologii klasycznej poświęca się starożytnej nauce. W obowiązkowym programie

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<sup>1</sup> Na temat doniosłości równania Schrödingera por. m.in.: R.P. Feynmann, R.B. Leighton, M. Sands: *Feynmanna wykłady z fizyki*. Tłum. A. Szymała. T. 3. Warszawa 1974, s. 299—300.

nauczania uniwersyteckiego studenci poznają zrab filozofii klasycznej, znacznie dokładniej zajmują się literaturą piękną, jednak niemal zupełnie nie zajmują się fascynującymi problemami starożytnej matematyki, fizyki czy medycyny. Problem jest o tyle bardziej złożony, że zagadnienia te znajdują również niewielu zainteresowanych po drugiej stronie barykady, wśród matematyków, fizyków czy lekarzy. Wynika to, po części, ze sztucznego i zasadniczo błędnego podziału na nauki humanistyczne i ścisłe, w których historia nauki, zwłaszcza historia nauki starożytnej — leży niemal w samym centrum ziemi niczyjej. Barierą bywa również, co oczywiste, język oraz, co nie mniej ważne, trudna dostępność oryginalnych tekstów.

Z powyższych powodów napisana w sposób niezwykle przejrzysty, a przy tym nie idąca na kompromisy w kwestii treści, książka E. Schrödingera *Natura i Grecy* stanowi tak cenną pozycję owego pogranicza nauk. Zawiera ona, w swych siedmiu rozdziałach, obraz rzeczywistości antycznej zarysowany z perspektywy współczesnego fizyka, zastanawiającego się, jakie cechy naszego światopoglądu naukowego, których być może wcale nie dostrzegamy, wkradły się do niego bezpośrednio z filozofii greckiej. Lektura ta dla „wykształconego laika”, zwłaszcza wykształconego filologicznie, stanowić może początek wielkiej intelektualnej przygody, do której doskonałym zaproszeniem jest rozdział 3., w którym austriacki laureat nagrody Nobla omawia poglądy jednego z najbardziej tajemniczych filozofów starożytnych — Pitagorasa.

Erwin Schrödinger

## Pitagorejczycy<sup>2</sup>

Od myślicieli takich jak Parmenides czy Protagoras niewiele możemy dowiedzieć się o naukowej skuteczności ich radykalnych poglądów, ponieważ żaden z nich naukowcem nie był. Prototypem szkoły o silnie naukowej orientacji, a przy tym o wyraźnie zaznaczającym się, graniczącym wręcz z religijnym uprzedzeniem, skrzywieniu, by sprowadzić budowlę natury do czystego rozumu, byli pitagorejczycy. Ich główną siedzibę stanowiły południowe Włochy, miasta, takie jak Krotona, Sybaris, Tarent, leżące wokół zatoki między „piętą” a „palcami” półwyspu. Zwolennicy ruchu tworzyli coś na kształt religijnego zakonu charakteryzującego się osobliwymi rytuałami między innymi w kwestii jedzenia, trzymali

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<sup>2</sup> Jest to nieco skrócony rozdział 3. książki tegoż autora pt. *Nature and the Greeks*. Cambridge 2002, s. 34—52.

też w tajemnicy przed ludźmi z zewnątrz co najmniej część swego nauczania<sup>3</sup>. Założyciel, Pitagoras, który działał w drugiej połowie szóstego wieku przed Chrystusem, był z pewnością jedną z najbardziej niezwykłych osób antyku. Legendy o ponadnaturalnych mocach niemal same rodziły się wokół niego: pamiętał jakoby wszystkie poprzednie wcielenia w ramach swej metempsychozy (podróży duszy); ktoś, ponoć przypadkowo szarpnąwszy jego okrycie, odkrył, że udo miał z czystego złota. Wydaje się, że nie pozostawił po sobie nawet linijki tekstu. Jego słowa były święte dla uczniów, czego dowodem jest znana fraza αὐτὸς ἔφα („Mistrz rzekł”), która rozstrzygała wszelkie ich spory i zyskiwała status niezachwianej prawdy. Mówi się także, że odczuwali respekt przed wypowiedzianiem jego imienia i zamiast tego mówili o nim „ów mąż” (ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ). Niejednokrotnie trudno jednak stwierdzić, czy jakaś konkretna doktryna pochodzi od niego, czy wręcz od kogo w ogóle bierze swój początek, z powodu opisanego powyżej charakteru i nastawienia tej społeczności.

Ich apriorystyczny światopogląd został wyraźnie przejęty przez Platona i Akademię, którzy byli pod wielkim wrażeniem i wpływem wschodniowłoskiej szkoły. W zasadzie, z punktu widzenia historii idei, można by Szkołę Ateńską nazywać odłamem pitagoreizmu. Fakt, że formalnie nie należeli do „Zakonu”, nie ma wielkiego znaczenia, jeszcze mniejsze zaś to, że bardziej niż podkreślić starali się tę zależność ukryć, kładąc nacisk na własną oryginalność. Tymczasem nasze najlepsze dane o pitagorejczykach zawdzięczamy, podobnie jak wiele innych informacji, wiarygodnym sprawozdaniom Arystotelesa, mimo iż przeważnie nie zgadza się on z ich poglądami i oskarża o nieugruntowane skrzywienie apriorystyczne, do którego zresztą sam również miał skłonności.

Uważa się, że podstawowa doktryna pitagorejczyków głosiła, że *rzeczy są liczbami*, choć niektóre przekazy usiłują osłabić paradoks twierdzeniem, że rzeczy „są jak liczby”, do liczb analogiczne. Daleko nam do pełnego zrozumienia, jakie było prawdziwe znaczenie powyższego stwierdzenia. Jest wielce prawdopodobne, że pojawiło się ono jako prawdziwie wielkie i odważne, jednak nadmierne, uogólnienie słynnego odkrycia Pitagorasa, mianowicie całkowitych lub wymiernych podziałów struny (takich jak  $1/2$ ,  $1/3$ ,  $3/4$ ) tworzących interwały muzyczne, które wplecione w harmonię pieśni, mogą wzruszyć nas do łez, przemawiając niejako wprost do naszej duszy. (Z ich szkoły pochodzi także piękna alegoria relacji duszy i ciała, prawdopodobnie autorstwa Filolaosa: dusza nazywana jest harmonią ciała, pozostając z nim w takiej relacji, w jakiej do muzycznego instrumentu pozostają dźwięki, które on wydaje).

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<sup>3</sup> Różni antyczni autorzy komentują wielki skandal, wywołany przez Hipposusa, który ujawnił istnienie pentagono-dodekahedronu lub, jak twierdzą inni, pewnej „niewyliczalności” (ἀλογία) i „asymetrii”. Został wydalony z zakonu. Wspomniane są również inne kary: przygotowano mu grób, jak osobie zmarłej; zginał (zemsta bóstwa) utopiony na głębokim morzu.

Inny wielki antyczny skandal wiąże się z plotką, że Platon za ogromne pieniądze kupił od pitagorejczyka, który bardzo potrzebował pieniędzy, trzy manuskrypty, aby następnie skorzystać z nich, nie zdradzając źródeł (przyj. aut.).

Według Arystotelesa owe „rzeczy” (będące liczbami) miały przede wszystkim posiadać zmysłową naturę materialnych przedmiotów; przykładowo, po tym jak Empedokles rozwinął swoją teorię czterech żywiołów, one również „stały się” liczbami; dotyczyło to także „rzeczy”, takich jak Dusza, Sprawiedliwość, Możliwość, które „były” liczbami lub miały swe liczbowe odpowiedniki. W ramach takiego przyporządkowania znaczenie miały pewne proste własności z teorii liczb. I tak, kwadraty (4, 9, 16, 25, ...) związane były ze Sprawiedliwością; zwłaszcza pierwszą z tych liczb — 4 — z nią utożsamiano. Ideą, która legła u podstaw takiego rozwiązania, była z pewnością możliwość podziału na dwa *równe* czynniki (por. ang. *equal* — „równy”, *equity* — „sprawiedliwość”, *equitable* — „sprawiedliwy”). Liczba będąca kwadratem może zostać ułożona jako kwadrat z punktów, jak choćby kręgle. Opierając się na podobnym rozumowaniu, mówiono o liczbach trójkątnych, takich jak 3, 6, 10, ...



Liczbę taką otrzymuje się, mnożąc liczbę kropek jednego boku ( $n$ ) przez kolejną ( $n + 1$ ) oraz dzieląc ten iloczyn, który zawsze jest parzysty, przez 2, stąd  $n(n + 1)/2$ . (Najłatwiej dostrzec to, jeśli zestawić dwa trójkąty o przeciwnie zwróconych wierzchołkach i później ustawić figurę tak, by tworzyła prostokąt.



We współczesnej teorii „kwadrat orbitalnego momentu pędu” wynosi  $n(n + 1)\hbar^2$ , nie zaś  $n^2\hbar^2$ , gdzie  $n$  jest liczbą całkowitą. Uwaga ta ma jedynie ilustrować fakt, że wyodrębnienie liczb trójkątnych nie było iluzją, relatywnie często występują one w matematyce).

Trójkątna liczba 10 cieszyła się szczególnym szacunkiem, być może z uwagi na fakt, że była czwarta z rzędu, tym samym wskazywała na sprawiedliwość.

Ilość wierutnych bzdur, które muszą rodzić się z podobnych założeń, znajduje ilustrację w wiernych — nie *szyderczych* — opisach Arystotelesa. Własnością podstawową liczby jest jej Parzystość bądź Nieparzystość. (Jak na razie nie jest źle. Pitagoras zaznajomiony jest także z fundamentalnym podziałem na parzyste i nieparzyste liczby *pierwsze*, chociaż pierwsza z tych klas zawiera wyłącznie liczbę 2). Jednak Nieparzystość ma jakoby określać ograniczony, skończony charakter przedmiotu, Parzystość zaś odpowiedzialna jest za nieograniczoną lub

nieskończoną naturę pewnych rzeczy. Symbolizuje ona nieskończoność (!), podzielność, ponieważ liczbę parzystą podzielić można na dwie równe części. Inny komentator odkrywa defekt lub niedoskonałość liczb parzystych (wskazujące na nieskończoność) w tym mianowicie, że kiedy podzieli się je na dwa:

$$\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \mid \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$$

w środku pozostaje puste pole, któremu brak władcy oraz określenia liczbowego (ἀδέσποτος καὶ ἀνάρθμος).

Wydaje się również, że uważano cztery żywioły (ogień, woda, ziemia, powietrze) za zbudowane z czterech spośród pięciu brył doskonałych, podczas gdy piąta, dwunastościan foremny, zarezerwowana była na pojemnik dla całego wszechświata, prawdopodobnie dlatego, że była najbardziej zbliżona do kuli oraz że jej ścianami były pięciokąty; również ta figura odgrywała mistyczną rolę zarówno sama, jak i rozwinięta o swych pięć przekątnych ( $5 + 5 = 10$ ), które tworzą dobrze znany pentagram. Jeden z wczesnych pitagorejczyków, Petron, uznawał, że istnieją 183 światy, ułożone w trójkąt, choć przy okazji można dodać, że 183 nie jest liczbą trójkątną. Czy zostanie uznane za wielką zuchwałość wspomnienie przy tej okazji, że pewien wpływowy naukowiec ogłosił ostatnio, że całkowita liczba cząstek elementarnych we wszechświecie wynosi  $16 \times 17 \times 2^{256}$ , gdzie 256 jest kwadratem kwadratu kwadratu 2?

Późniejsi pitagorejczycy wierzyli w transmigrację duszy w bardzo dosłownym pojęciu. Uważa się, że wierzył w nią już sam Pitagoras. Ksenofanes w kilku dystychach opowiada następującą anegdotę o Mistrzu: kiedy przechodził obok małego psa, który był okrutnie bity, poczuł ogromne współczucie dla zwierzęcia i tak oto zwrócił się do dręczyciela: „Przestań go bić; bo ma on duszę przyjaciela, którego rozpoznałem, słysząc jego głos”. Ksenofanes, ze swej strony, chciał najprawdopodobniej ośmieszyć wielkiego mędrca, uznając jego zachowanie za wynik głupich poglądów. Trudno nam dziś nie spojrzeć na tę sytuację inaczej. Zakładając, że historia jest prawdziwa, można by pokusić się o znacznie prostsze tłumaczenie tych słów, jak choćby: „Przestań, słyszę bowiem głos zadreżanego przyjaciela, błagającego mnie o pomoc”. („Nasz przyjaciel pies” to stała fraza Charlesa Sherringtona).

Powróćmy teraz na moment do ogólnego poglądu, wspomnianego już na samym początku, tego mianowicie, że liczby są rewersem wszystkich rzeczy. Stwierdzono tu, że ewidentnie bierze on początek z akustycznych odkryć dotyczących długości wibrujących strun. By jednak oddać mu sprawiedliwość (pomimo wariackich wniosków nieraz z niego wyciąganych), nie należy zapominać, że był to czas i miejsce pierwszych wielkich odkryć matematyki i geometrii, które zwykle łączono z konkretnymi lub wyobrażeniowymi zastosowaniami do przedmiotów materialnych. Sednem myśli matematycznej jest jej zdolność do

abstrahowania liczb (długości, kątów i innych wielkości) z materialnej scenerii oraz zajmowania się ich relacjami jako takimi. W naturze tego rodzaju procedury leży fakt, że związki, schematy, wzory, figury geometryczne... osiągnięte w ten sposób mają zupełnie niespodziewaną tendencję do znajdowania zastosowania w ramach materialnego tła wiele różniącego się od tego, z którego zostały pierwotnie wyabstrahowane. Matematyczny schemat bądź wzór wprowadzają nagle porządek w dziedzinę, na której potrzeby nie były planowane, o której wcale nie myślano, kiedy je tworzone. Takie robiące duże wrażenie doświadczenia zdolne są wywołać wiarę w mistyczną moc matematyki. „Matematyka” wydaje się podstawą wszystkiego, jako że niespodziewanie znajdujemy ją w miejscach, w których nie umieściliśmy jej sami. Fakt ten często musiał robić potężne wrażenie na młodych adeptach; wraca on zresztą jako znaczące wydarzenie również w rozwoju nauk fizycznych, jak w przypadku gdy — by podać jeden tylko sławny przykład — Hamilton odkrył, że ruch ogólnego systemu mechanicznego rządzony jest dokładnie takimi samymi prawami, jak promień światła poruszający się w niejednorodnym medium. Nauka stała się ostatnio wyrafinowana, nauczyła się ostrożności w podobnych przypadkach, wystrzega się pochopnych wniosków o istnieniu wewnętrznego pokrewieństwa, gdy chodzić może zaledwie o analogię formalną, wynikającą z natury myśli matematycznej. Jednak w jej okresie niemowlęcym pojawianie się pospieszonych konkluzji natury mistycznej, jak te wcześniej przedstawione, nie może nikogo dziwić.

Interesującym, choć nieco może odbiegającym od tematu, współczesnym przypadkiem wzoru stosowanego w zupełnie innych okolicznościach materialnych jest tak zwana krzywa przejścia w planowaniu dróg. Łuk łączący dwa proste elementy drogi nie powinien być zwykłym kołem. Oznaczałoby to bowiem, że kierowca byłby zmuszony gwałtownie skrócić kierownicę w punkcie wjazdu z prostej na koło. Warunki idealnej krzywej przejścia są następujące: wymaga stałej prędkości obrotu kierownicy w pierwszej połowie przejazdu oraz tej samej stałej prędkości obrotu w przeciwnym kierunku w drugiej. Matematyczne sformułowanie tego warunku prowadzi do stwierdzenia, że krzywizna musi być proporcjonalna do długości krzywej. Okazuje się, że warunek ten spełnia bardzo charakterystyczna krzywa, która znana była na długo przed pojawieniem się samochodów, konkretnie spirala Cornu. Jedynym jej zastosowaniem, o ile się orientuję, był konkretny, prosty problem z dziedziny optyki, dotyczący rozkładu natężenia światła ugiętego na pojedynczej prostej szczelinie; to on doprowadził do teoretycznego odkrycia tejże krzywej.

Bardzo prostym problemem, znanym każdemu uczniowi, jest wstawienie pomiędzy dwie dane długości (lub liczby)  $p$  oraz  $q$  trzeciej  $x$ , tak aby stosunek  $p$  do  $x$  był taki sam, jak  $x$  do  $q$ .

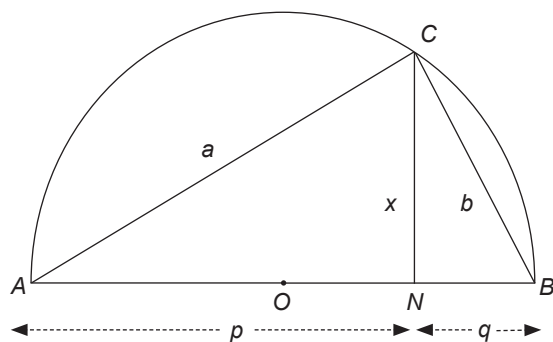
$$p : x = x : q. \quad (1)$$

Wielkość  $x$  nazywana jest wtedy „geometryczną średnią”  $p$  i  $q$ . Przykładowo, gdyby  $q$  było 9 razy  $p$ ,  $x$  musiałoby być 3 razy  $p$ , więc także jedną trzecią  $q$ . Stąd już blisko do uogólnienia, w myśl którego, kwadrat  $x$  równy jest iloczynowi  $pq$ ,

$$x^2 = pq. \quad (2)$$

(Można również wywieść powyższy wzór z ogólnej zasady proporcji, która mówi, że iloczyn czynników „wewnętrznych” równy jest iloczynowi czynników „zewewnętrznych”). Grecy interpretowali ten wzór geometrycznie, jako „kwadraturę prostokąta”, gdzie  $x$  jest bokiem prostokąta, którego powierzchnia równa jest prostokątowi o bokach  $p$  i  $q$ . Znali oni algebraiczne wzory oraz równania wyłącznie w ich interpretacji geometrycznej, ponieważ z zasady nie było *liczby* pasującej do wzoru. Jeśli na przykład przyjąć, że  $q$  równe jest  $2p$ ,  $3p$ ,  $5p$ , ... (a  $p$ , dla prostoty, po prostu 1), to  $x$  będzie czymś, co my nazywamy  $\sqrt{2}$ ,  $\sqrt{3}$ ,  $\sqrt{5}$ , ..., a co dla nich nie było liczbą, ponieważ liczb takich jeszcze wtedy nie wynaleziono. Każda konstrukcja geometryczna będąca realizacją tego wzoru jest więc po prostu geometryczną ilustracją pierwiastka kwadratowego.

Najprostsza metoda polega na nakreśleniu odcinków  $p$  i  $q$  wzdłuż linii prostej, następnie wyprowadzeniu poprzecznej z punktu ich złączenia (N) oraz przecięciu jej za pomocą okręgu, mającego swój środek O (punkt środkowy  $p + q$ ), przechodzącego przez punkty A i B, końcowe dla  $p + q$  (por. rys. 1).



Rys. 1

Proporcja (1) wynika więc z faktu, że  $ABC$  jest trójkątem prostokątnym,  $C$  jest „kątem wpisanym w półokrąg”, co sprawia, że *trzy* trójkąty  $ABC$ ,  $ACN$ ,  $CNB$  są trójkątami geometrycznie podobnymi. Dwie pozostałe „średnie geometryczne” widoczne są w naszych trójkątach; konkretnie, uzupełniając: przeciwprostokątna  $p + q = c$ :

$$\begin{aligned} q : b &= b : c, \quad \text{stąd} \quad b^2 = qc, \\ p : a &= a : c, \quad \text{stąd} \quad a^2 = pc. \end{aligned}$$

Z tego zaś wynika, że:

$$a^2 + b^2 = (p + q)c = c^2.$$

Jest to najprostszy dowód tak zwanego twierdzenia Pitagorasa.

Na proporcję (1) pitagorejczycy mogli też natrafić w całkiem innych okolicznościach. Jeśli  $p$ ,  $q$ ,  $x$  są długościami odmierzonymi na tej samej strunie za pomocą wsporników albo nacisku palców, jak w przypadku gry na skrzypcach, to  $x$  wydaje dźwięk „środkowy” między dźwiękami wydawanymi przez  $p$  i  $q$ ; interwały od  $p$  do  $x$  oraz od  $x$  do  $q$  są takie same. Fakt ten prowadzić może łatwo do problemu dzielenia interwału muzycznego na więcej niż dwa równe stopnie. Na pierwszy rzut oka wydaje się, że harmonia zostanie w tym przypadku zaburzona, ponieważ nawet jeśli wyjściowy stosunek  $p : q$  był liczbą wymierną, stopnie pośrednie liczbami wymiernymi już nie będą. A jednak dokładnie ten rodzaj podziału stosowany jest w dwunastotonowym, równomiernie temperowanym stroju fortepianu. Jest to kompromis, naganny z punktu widzenia czystości harmonii, trudny jednak do uniknięcia w przypadku instrumentów, jak fortepian, o tonach przygotowanych uprzednio, nie przez grającego.

Archytas (znany też ze swej przyjaźni z Platonem w Tarencie w połowie czwartego wieku) rozwiązał geometrycznie kolejną kwestię: znalezienia *dwóch* średnich geometrycznych ( $\delta\upsilon\omicron \mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu \epsilon\upsilon\phi\epsilon\iota\nu$ ) względnie podzielenia interwału muzycznego na trzy równe stopnie. To zaś równe jest znalezieniu pierwiastka trzeciego stopnia danej proporcji  $q : p$ . W tej ostatniej formie — wskazania pierwiastka trzeciego stopnia — zagadnienie to znane było w antyku jako problem delijski; kapłan Apolla na wyspie Delos zażądał kiedyś od proszącego wyrocznie, by ów zwiększył dwukrotnie rozmiar ich kamienia ofiarnego. Kamień ten był sześcianiem, a sześcián o podwójnej objętości musiałby mieć krawędź wielkości  $\sqrt[3]{2}$  krawędzi pierwszego.

We współczesnym zapisie symbolicznym problem ten wygląda następująco:

$$p : x = x : y = y : q, \quad (3)$$

z czego można wnioskować w sposób podany powyżej:

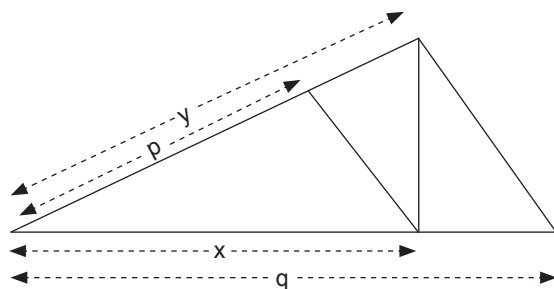
$$x^2 = py, \quad xy = pq. \quad (4)$$

Wymnożywszy czynniki oraz usunąwszy po obu stronach  $y$ , otrzymujemy:

$$x^3 = p^2q = p^3 \frac{p}{q} \quad (5)$$

$$x = p^3 \sqrt[3]{\frac{q}{p}}.$$

Rozwiązanie Archytasa wymaga powtórzenia konstrukcji wskazanej już wcześniej,



Rys. 2

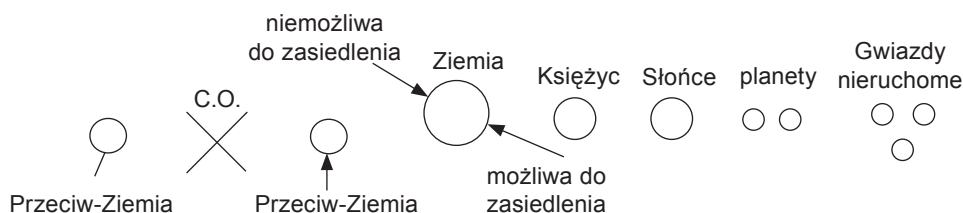
ale przy użyciu drugiego rodzaju proporcji wspomnianego wcześniej, która w tym przypadku przybierze postać:

$$p : x = x : y \text{ oraz } x : y = y : q.$$

To jedynie wynik końcowy konstrukcji Archytasa, która jest niezwykle rozwinięta przestrzennie. Występują w niej przecięcia kuli, stożka i cylindra — poziom jej złożoności jest tak znaczny, że w moim (pierwszym) wydaniu *Presokratyków* Dielsa rysunek, który miał rzekomo ilustrować tekst, był całkowicie błędny. Co więcej, pozornie nietrudnego rysunku przedstawionego powyżej nie da się skonstruować za pomocą linijki i cyrkla, mając dane jedynie  $p$  oraz  $q$ . Dzieje się tak, ponieważ za pomocą linijki można jedynie rysować linie proste (krzywe pierwszego porządku), za pomocą cyrkla jedynie okrąg, czyli konkretny przypadek krzywej drugiego porządku; by jednak skonstruować pierwiastek *trzeciego* stopnia, dostępna być musi krzywa co najmniej *trzeciego* porządku. Archytas wielce pomysłowo dochodzi do niej za pomocą owych krzywych przecięć. Jego metoda rozwiązania problemu nie jest, jak można by sądzić, nadmiernie skomplikowana, przeciwnie — to wspaniałe osiągnięcie, którego dokonał około pół wieku *przed* Euklidesem.

Ostatnim punktem nauki pitagorejczyków, któremu się przyjrzymy, będzie kosmologia. Jest ona dla nas szczególnie interesująca, ponieważ ukazuje niespodziewaną skuteczność poglądu tak silnie obciążonego nieugruntowanymi, poprzedzającymi poznaniem ideałami doskonałości, piękna i prostoty.

Pitagorejczycy wiedzieli, że Ziemia jest kulą, byli być może pierwszymi, którzy sobie to uświadomili. Wniosek ten najprawdopodobniej oparli na obserwacji okrągłych cieni na Księżycu podczas jego zaćmień, które interpretowali mniej lub bardziej poprawnie. Ich model systemu planetarnego i gwiazd jest schematycznie i skrótowo przedstawiony na rysunku 3.



Rys. 3

Kulista Ziemia w dwadzieścia cztery godziny okrąży stały środek (centralny ogień, nie Słońce!), do którego zawsze zwrócona jest tą samą półkulą — podobnie jak Księżyc w stosunku do niej — półkula ta niemożliwa jest do zamieszkania z uwagi na panującą tam zbyt wysoką temperaturę. Dziewięć sfer, wszystkie koncentryczne w stosunku do centralnego ognia, wyobrażone są jako niosące wokół owego środka odpowiednio: (1) Ziemię, (2) Księżyc, (3) Słońce, (4—8) planety, (9) gwiazdy umocowane sztywno. Każda ze sfer ma tylko sobie właściwą prędkość obrotu. (Stąd wniosek, że ustawienie wzdłuż linii prostej, takie jak na rysunku powyżej, jest wyłącznie schematyczne, nie mogłoby nigdy wystąpić). Oprócz tego istnieje sfera dziesiąta, a przynajmniej dziesiąte ciało: Antichthon — Przeciw-Ziemia, co do której nie jest całkowicie jasne, czy znajduje się w stałej koniunkcji z Ziemią, czy po przeciwległej stronie centralnego ognia (nasz rysunek przedstawia obie te możliwości). Tak czy owak te trzy: Ziemia, centralny ogień i Przeciw-Ziemia zajmować miały zawsze pozycję wzdłuż linii prostej — co jest naturalne, zważywszy, że Antichthon nie był nigdy obserwowany; był to nieuzasadniony wynalazek. Być może został wprowadzony z powodu świętej liczby dziesięć, uważano jednak również, że odpowiedzialny jest za zaćmienia Księżyca zachodzące czasem, gdy zarówno Księżyc, jak i Słońce widoczne były po przeciwnych stronach nisko na horyzoncie. Jest to możliwe, ponieważ dzięki refrakcji promieni w atmosferze gwiazda wydaje się jeszcze zachodzić, podczas gdy faktycznie od kilku minut jest już za horyzontem. Jako że fakt ten nie był jeszcze znany, zaćmienia tego rodzaju mogły stanowić kłopotliwy problem, zwiększający zapotrzebowanie na wynalazek Przeciw-Ziemi, a także wspierający tezę, że nie tylko Księżyc, lecz także Słońce, planety i nieruchomo umocowane na swej sferze gwiazdy podświetlane były przez centralny ogień oraz że zaćmienia Księżyca były wynikiem działania cienia Ziemi lub Antichthonu w świetle centralnego ognia.

Na pierwszy rzut oka model ten wydaje się tak błędny, że z trudem jedynie można by poświęcić mu odrobinę namysłu. Przyjrzyjmy mu się jednak bliżej, pamiętając, że nie wiadano wówczas nic na temat wymiarów (a) Ziemi i (b) orbit. Znany podówczas fragment Ziemi, obszar Morza Śródziemnego, faktycznie w dwadzieścia cztery godziny zatacza krąg wokół niewidzialnego środka, ku któremu zawsze zwrócony jest tą samą stroną. I ten właśnie fakt odpowiedzialny jest za znaczny dzienny ruch wspólny wszystkim ciałom niebieskim. Rozpozna-

nie w nim ruchu *pozornego* było samo w sobie wielkim osiągnięciem. W kwestii ruchu Ziemi błędny pozostawał punkt, że oprócz obiegu przydzielono jej także obrót *o takim samym okresie* — błąd tkwił tylko w kwestii okresu i środka obrotu. Pomyłki te, choć nam dziś mogą wydawać się znaczne, mają niewielką wagę w kontekście spektakularnego na tym etapie rozstrzygnięcia, że Ziemi przydzielona została rola jednej z planet, podobnie jak Księżycowi i Słońcu, i piątce nazywanej przez nas planetami. Jest to godzien pochwały akt samooswobodzenia się z przesądu, w myśl którego człowiek i jego schronienie muszą się znajdować w centrum wszechświata — to pierwszy krok ku światopoglądowi współczesnemu, który sprowadza nasz glob do poziomu jednej z planet przy jednej z gwiazd w jednej z galaktyk wszechświata. Wiadomo także, że krok ów, gdy już został w pełni dokonany przez Arystarcha z Samos około 280 r. p.n.e., następnie cofnięto, przywracając przesąd po to, by trwał on — oficjalnie w niektórych miejscach — aż do początków wieku dziewiętnastego.

Można by postawić pytanie, dlaczego w ogóle wymyślono ów centralny ogień. Trudności w wyjaśnianiu bardzo rzadkich zaćmień Księżyca nie wydają się wystarczającym powodem<sup>4</sup>. Fakt, że Księżyc nie ma własnego światła, tylko podświetlany jest z innego źródła, to bardzo wczesna wiedza. Tymczasem dwa najistotniejsze zjawiska na niebie, Słońce i Księżyc, bardzo są do siebie podobne pod względem swych dziennych ruchów, kształtu oraz rozmiaru, który spowodowany jest zbiegiem okoliczności, że Księżyc jest mniej więcej tyle samo razy bliżej, ile razy jest mniejszy. Wszystko to sprawia, że pojawia się tendencja do traktowania ich tak samo, do przenoszenia wiedzy dotyczącej Księżyca również na Słońce, tym samym do uznawania obu za oświetlane z tego samego zewnętrznego źródła, którym jest właśnie ów hipotetyczny centralny ogień. Ponieważ jednak nie był on obserwowany, nie można było umieścić go nigdzie indziej jak „pod naszymi stopami”, jako obiekt zakryty dla nas przez naszą planetę.

Ten model, być może błędnie, przypisywany jest Filolaosowi (druga połowa piątego wieku). Rzut oka na jego dalszy rozwój pokazuje, że nawet poważne błędy, popełnione w rezultacie skrzywienia, które miało swe źródło w poprzedzających poznaniach koncepcjach doskonałości i prostoty, mogą być relatywnie niewinne; więcej nawet, im bardziej arbitralne i nieuzasadnione są tego rodzaju założenia, tym mniej wyrządzają szkód umysłowych, ponieważ tym szybciej wyeliminuje je doświadczenie. Jak to kiedyś powiedziano, zła teoria jest lepsza niż brak teorii.

W tym przypadku pierwsze podróże kartagińskich kupców, sięgające poza „słupy Herkulesa” i nieco późniejsza wyprawa Aleksandra do Indii nie przyniosły żadnych informacji na temat centralnego ognia ani Antichthonu, ani nawet rzekomego mniejszego zamieszkania Ziemi poza granicami kultury śródziem-

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<sup>4</sup> Nie jest przy tym pewne, że zaćmienia tego rodzaju były w ogóle obserwowane (przyp. aut.).

nomorskiej. Wszystko to musiało więc zostać odrzucone. Gdy fikcyjne centrum (centralny ogień) zostało usunięte, pozbyto się także koncepcji dziennego ruchu okalającego Ziemię i postanowiono zastąpić go ruchem obrotowym, wokół własnej osi. Wśród historyków filozofii starożytnej zaznaczają się kontrowersje w kwestii, komu zawdzięczamy „nową doktrynę ruchu obrotowego Ziemi”; niektórzy twierdzą, że Ekfantosowi, jednemu z najmłodszych pitagorejczyków, inni skłonni są uznawać go jedynie za postać w dialogu Heraklidesa z Pontu (pochodzącego z Heraklei na Morzu Czarnym, jednego z adeptów szkół Platona i Arystotelesa) i przypisywać tę „nową koncepcję” (którą, warto przy okazji stwierdzić, Arystoteles przytacza, by następnie odrzucić) Heraklidesowi właśnie. Jest jednak może istotniejszym podkreślenie, że nie chodzi tu tak naprawdę o nową doktrynę: informacja o ruchu obrotowym Ziemi zawarta była już w systemie Filolaosa; ciało, które okrąża punkt centralny i pozostaje zwrócone do niego zawsze tą samą stroną — jak czyni to Księżyc w stosunku do Ziemi — nie może być uznawane za ciało nierotujące, jego okresy obrotu i obiegu są po prostu idealnie jednakowe. Nie jest to wyrafinowany opis naukowy, ani też równość okresów w przypadku Księżyca (i innych ciał do niego podobnych) nie jest przypadkowym zbiegiem okoliczności; jej przyczyną jest tarcie pływowe albo wewnątrz istniejącej niegdyś oceanicznej bądź atmosferycznej powłoki Księżyca, albo wewnątrz jego bryły<sup>5</sup>.

Jak powiedziano wcześniej, system Filolaosa przypisywał Ziemi, w stosunku do centralnego ognia, ten właśnie rodzaj ruchu, obrotowego i obiegowego o tym samym okresie. Odrzucenie drugiego z tych ruchów nie oznacza odkrycia pierwszego, ponieważ był on już odkryty. Bylibyśmy raczej skłonni nazywać sytuację tę krokiem w złym kierunku, ponieważ ruch obiegowy rzeczywiście istnieje, chociaż jego środek jest inny.

Jednak wspomnianemu Heraklidesowi, który pozostawał w bliskim kontakcie z późniejszymi pitagorejczykami, najprawdopodobniej należy się uznanie za postawienie najdonioślejszego kroku prowadzącego ku rozpoznaniu stanu faktycznego. Uderzające zmiany jasności planet wewnętrznych, Merkurego i Wenus, zostały już wtedy dostrzeżone. Heraklides poprawnie przypisał je ich zmiennej odległości od Ziemi. Nie mogły więc poruszać się po okręgach wokół niej. Dodatkowy fakt, że w swym głównym lub uśrednionym ruchu podążają w ślad za Słońcem, prawdopodobnie ułatwił sformułowanie poprawnego poglądu, że obie one poruszają się po okręgach wokół Słońca. W podobnych rozważaniach wkrótce uwzględniono także Marsa, który również wykazuje znaczne zmiany jasności. Ostatecznie, jak dobrze wiadomo, Arystarch z Samos ustanowił (około roku 280 przed Chrystusem), zaledwie półtora wieku po Filolaosie, system heliocentryczny. Jego solidność wielu przeoczyło i za następne 150 lat został odrzucony autoryte-

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<sup>5</sup> Tarcie pływowe na Ziemi powoduje (bardzo wolne) opóźnienie jej rotacji. Reakcją Księżyca musi więc być (bardzo wolne) odsuwanie się od Ziemi wraz z odpowiadającym mu wydłużaniem się okresu okrążenia. Z tego należy wnioskować, że nawet obecnie musi istnieć jakiś słaby agent, którego działanie utrzymuje idealną równość obu okresów Księżyca (przyp. aut.).

tem wielkiego Hipparcha, „Rektora Uniwersytetu w Aleksandrii”, jak zostałby nazwany dziś.

Jest faktem niezwykłym, ani odrobinę nie niepokojącym trzeźwych naukowców naszej doby, że to pitagorejczycy — z całym ich bagażem skrzywień i idei piękna i prostoty poprzedzających poznanie, dokonali więcej dla postępu w zrozumieniu struktury wszechświata co najmniej w tym jednym, istotnym obszarze od przedstawicieli trzeźwej szkoły jońskich „physiologoi”, o której jeszcze będzie mowa, oraz od atomistów, którzy byli ich duchowymi następcami. Z przyczyn, które pokazane zostaną wkrótce, naukowcy współcześni skłonni są uznawać Jończyków (Talesa, Anaksymandra itd.) i przede wszystkim wielkiego atomistę Demokryta za swoich duchowych przodków. Nawet jednak ostatni z wymienionych trzymał się kurczowo koncepcji płaskiej, ukształtowanej jak tamburyn Ziemi, koncepcji która rozpowszechniona została wśród atomistów przez Epikura i trwała aż do poety Lukrecjusza w pierwszym wieku p.n.e. Nieufność wobec braku ugruntowania, dziwacznych fantazji i aroganckiego mistycyzmu pitagorejczyków mogła stać się przyczyną, że umysł tak czysty jak Demokryta, odrzucił całe ich nauczanie, które sprawiało wrażenie arbitralnej, sztucznej konstrukcji. Jednak ich zdolność do obserwacji, wyćwiczona na owych wczesnych, prostych eksperymentach akustycznych na drgających strunach, z pewnością umożliwiła im rozpoznanie przez mgłę własnych przesądów czegoś na tyle zbliżonego do prawdy, że posłużyło jako dobra podstawa, z której szybko rozwinął się system heliocentryczny. Ten, należy niestety dodać, został równie szybko odrzucony pod wpływem szkoły aleksandryjskiej — ludzi uważających się za trzeźwych naukowców, wolnych od uprzedzeń, posłusznych wyłącznie faktom.

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