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Ποιμένι λαῶν

Studies in Honor of Robert J. Penella

Edited by

CRISTIANA SOGNO
(Fordham University, New York)

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διαπλήσας τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λόγων τε καὶ ὁμιλητῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην
Eunapius, *Vitae sophistarum*, 10, 8, 4, 494

ROBERT J. PENELLA

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PREFACE

This volume was born of a one-day conference in Spring 2016 at Fordham University celebrating the distinguished career of my colleague, Robert J. Penella. Bob joined the Department of Classical Languages and Civilization at Fordham in 1971, as a newly minted Ph.D. from Harvard University, and he remained at Fordham until his retirement in 2016. In those forty-five years, Bob's research garnered international recognition and acolytes, and the present volume is a clear testament to the impact and influence of his work.

At the conclusion of the conference in his honor, Bob gave a moving speech of thanks in which he paid tribute to the two most powerful influences on him as a scholar: his Jesuit education and a lifelong dedication to philology. It bears reprinting here Nietschze's own ode to philology that Bob included in his speech, not only because, as Bob argued, it is a much needed antidote to the current result-driven and productivity-obsessed culture, but because it illustrates Bob's creed and practice as a scholar:

> *Philologie nämlich ist jene ehrwürdige Kunst, welche von ihrem Verehrer vor Allem Eins heischt, bei Seite gehn, sich Zeit lassen, still werden, langsam werden—, als eine Goldschmiedekunst und -kennerschaft des Wortes, die lauter feine vorsichtige Arbeit abzutun hat und Nichts erreicht, wenn sie es nicht lento erreicht. Gerade damit aber ist sie heute nötiger als je, gerade dadurch zieht sie und bezaubert sie uns am stärksten, mitten in einem Zeitalter der "Arbeit," will sagen: der Hast, der unanständigen und schwitzenden Eilfertigkeit, das mit Allem gleich "fertig werden" will, auch mit jedem alten und neuen Buche:—sie selbst wird nicht so leicht irgend womit fertig, sie lehrt gut lesen, das heisst langsam, tief, rück- und vorsichtig, mit Hintergedanken, mit offen gelassenen Türen, mit zarten Fingern und Augen lesen… (Friedrich Nietzsche, Morgenröthe. Nachgelassene Fragmente, Anfang 1880 bis Frühjahr 1881. Nietzsche Werke V.1, ed. G. Colli and M. Montinari [Berlin, 1971], 9.)*

> Philology is that venerable art which demands of its votaries one thing above all: to go aside, to take time, to become still, to become slow—it is a goldsmith's art and connoisseurship of the word which has nothing but delicate cautious work to do and achieves nothing if it does not achieve it lento. But for precisely this reason it is more necessary than ever today; by precisely this means does it entice and enchant us the most, in the midst of an age of "work," that is to say, of hurry, of indecent and perspiring haste, which wants to "get everything done" at once, including every old or new book:—this art does not easily get anything done, it teaches to read well, that is to say, to read slowly, deeply, looking cautiously before and aft, with

> reservations, with doors left open, with delicate fingers and eyes. (Translation adapted, with only slight changes, from R. J. Hollingdale, Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *Daybreak: Thoughts on the Prejudices of Morality* [Cambridge, 1982].)

More than anyone I know, Bob embodies the ancient ideal encapsulated in Buffon's dictum: "*le style est l'homme même*". The author of four books, one edited volume, and fifty-five scholarly articles and counting, Bob is a remarkably unassuming and approachable academic. His lack of pomp and "groundedness" are reflected in his scholarship that is as groundbreaking as it is rooted in the tradition of Classical philology.

A few words on the nature of this volume are in order. The eight papers that constitute the volume are as much an homage to Bob as they are original contributions to the study of late antique rhetoric, literary and social history, and the reception of late antique education and culture. There is no attempt at an overarching argument, and the strength of the volume lies in its variety.

The order of the chapters is a reflection of its nature and follows a fluid and associative rationale. In the first chapter entitled "Robert Penella and the Twentieth Century Renaissance in the Study of Late Antique Greek Literature: A Study of the Monody", Edward Watts offers a comprehensive overview and heartfelt tribute to Bob's "wide-ranging and significant contributions" before delving into the study of Pseudo-Menander Rhetor as well as the monodies of Libanius and Himerius and arguing that late antique rhetoric "animated by a desire to creatively explore and expand the limits of the literary forms and genres that later Greek authors inherited from the Classical world and authors of the second sophistic." Raffaella Cribiore's chapter on "Strategies of Teaching: Declamations, Orations, and What Was in Between" follows up with a spirited study of the Libanian corpus in order to demonstrate the limits of the traditional reconstruction of the ancient school curriculum and show that teachers like Libanius were very much attuned to the practical concerns of their students as they helped them bridge the gap between their school education and their activity as orators. In his chapter on "The Limits of Παιδεία Ὀρθή: The Emperor Julian on Cognition and the Development of the Ψυχή", Thomas Banchich explores Julian's view on education with the precise intent to "appreciate the assumptions that underlie Julian's broader view of παιδεία ὀρθή" rather than focus on the emperor's formal educational agenda. Federica Ciccolella's "The Sleep of Theseus: Classical Myth and *Interpretatio Christiana* in Procopius of Gaza's *Description of the Image*" rounds out the discussion on ancient education with a thought-provoking essay on the ways in which Procopius, like the other literates of the School of Gaza, combined the classical heritage with the Neoplatonic-Christian values he shared with his intended audience in a fashion that reflected the "interpenetration between Greco-Roman *paideia* and a Judeo-Christian sensibility characteristic of the School of Gaza between the fourth and sixth century." In the following chapter, Martin Bloomer shifts our attention to the study

of the reception of ancient educational ideals by focusing on "Erasmus' edition of the *Disticha Catonis*." Chapter Six and Seven transport us to the nineteenth century's United States and Sweden respectively. Aldo Corcella's "La cultura classica e l'erudizione di Edgar Allan Poe: altre fonti dei *Pinakidia*" offers a fascinating and learned exploration of the poet's Classical education and influences; and in his chapter on "Fourth-Century Athens in Viktor Rydberg's Novel *The Last Athenian*," Mikael Johansson examines Rydberg's novel in relation to textual, historiographical, and archaeological sources, while pondering the question whether Rydberg wrote "a historical novel or historical fiction." Last but not least, Lenski's monumental "Searching for Slave Teachers in Late Antiquity" concludes the volume with a groundbreaking study of the role of servile labor and the transformation of the late antique educational system.

I am extremely grateful to Raffaella Cribiore, Noel Lenski, and Edward Watts for encouraging me to put a volume together following the 2016 conference in Bob's honor. My biggest thanks and gratitude are for the eight contributors to this volume who made my work as an editor such a pleasure. Their immediate and enthusiastic acceptance of my invitation is in itself a tribute to Bob both as a researcher and as a person.

Finally, the volume owes its existence to Eugenio Amato. Eugenio was instrumental in bringing the project to fruition, and I am indebted to him for supporting its publication in the *Revue des Études Tardo-Antiques*. I cannot think of a more perfect venue and a more fitting tribute to Bob.

Cristiana SOGNO
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"Robert Penella and the Twentieth Century Renaissance in the Study of Late Antique Greek Literature: A Study of the Monody"

Abstract: La rinascita degli studi sulla retorica greca tardoantica è dovuta in gran parte agli studi di Robert Penella che hanno reso accessibili a un pubblico accademico più vasto le figure più rappresentative del periodo. Il rinnovato interesse per i testi di personaggi come Imerio, Temistio e Coricio ha portato ad una rivalutazione non solo dell'originalità e creatività del progetto letterario al quale queste figure presero parte, ma anche del dinamismo che caratterizza la retorica greca tardo-antica. Partendo dai contributi fondamentali di Robert Penella, questo articolo utilizza sia il trattato dello Pseudo-Menandro Retore sia le monodie di Libanio e di Imerio per dimostrare che la retorica tardoantica, lungi dall'essere la disciplina culturalmente arida e priva di originalità descritta nella scholarship tradizionale, fu in realtà un tipo di letteratura animata dal desiderio non solo di esplorare, ma di ampliare i confini delle forme e dei generi letterari che gli autori greci tardoantichi ereditarono dagli autori Classici e da quelli della Seconda Sofistica.

Keywords: Himerius, Libanius, Themistius, Aelius Aristides, Ps. Menander Rhetor, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory Nazianzen, Epistolography, Monody

It is difficult to imagine what the scholarly landscape would now look like without the wide-ranging and significant contributions that Robert Penella has made over the past four decades. In projects centered on authors as diverse as Apollonius of Tyana, Himerius, Eunapius, and Choricius, he has led a revolution that made the texts of many of the most important late antique Greek authors available and accessible to students and scholars. Indeed, a quick glance at bibliographies from the middle part of the 1990s shows how much his work has reshaped the basic ways that we all approach later Greek literature. An English-speaking student looking to investigate the career of Himerius in the mid-1990s could turn to Timothy Barnes's 1987 *Classical Philology* article on Himerius's career and, if her institutional library was large enough, the critical edition of his works published by Colonna in 1951.[1] If, however, the text of Colonna was missing, the next most

[1] T. D. Barnes, « Himerius and the Fourth Century », *Classical Philology* 82, 1987, pp. 206-25. The critical edition is that of A. Colonna, *Himerii declamationes et orationes: cum deperditarum fragmentis*, Rome 1951.

recent (non-critical) edition was published in 1790 and, if it could be found at all, it likely resided in the rare books library.[2] If the same student then turned in frustration to the orations of Themistius, she would find a large hole filled only later in the decade by John Vanderspoel's biography of the philosopher-statesmen, a work that summarizes but does not reproduce the texts of Themistius's speeches.[3] For those, she would again need a very large library and an excellent command of Greek to make use of the speeches themselves. And the situation with Choricius was, if anything, even more dire.

It is remarkable how much has changed in the last couple of decades . Because of Professor Penella's work, none of these situations still persist. The speeches of Himerius, the private orations of Themistius, and most of the important corpus of Choricius now are easily available to students. These authors have gone from exotic, rather inaccessible oddities at the scholarly margins to regular subjects of study and even components of undergraduate syllabi.

When Professor Penella's work on later Greek rhetoric is placed alongside the volume of Themistian orations prepared by Peter Heather and David Moncur and those of Libanian materials recently completed by Raffaela Cribiore and Scott Bradbury, it becomes clear that we have lived through a revolutionary moment in the study of late antique Greek rhetoric.[4] Just in the last couple of decades, we have moved past the point where the works of major Greek rhetoricians of late antiquity were locked away in centuries-old critical editions, accessible only to scholars with a good library. We have now entered an age where scholars and students can easily access the corpora of Himerius, Themistius, and Choricius in Greek through the TLG and in well-executed English translations by Robert Penella and others. For the first time in decades (and perhaps centuries), significant numbers of students and scholars can easily read across the corpora of the major Greek rhetoricians of late antiquity, compare their approaches, and come to appreciate their creativity and literary innovation. This promises to truly revolutionize not only the ways in which we think about these individual authors but the ways in which we understand late antique literary culture more broadly. Thanks in large part of the work of Robert Penella, we sit in the midst of a renaissance in the study of later Greek literature.

[2] This was the edition of G. WERNSDORFIUS, *Himerii Sophistae Eclogae et Declamationes*, Göttingen 1790. To give a sense of the rarity of the book, WorldCat indicates that twenty-eight copies of this book exist in the United States and only five in France.

[3] J. VANDERSPOEL, *Themistius and the Imperial Court*, Ann Arbor 1995.

[4] P. HEATHER and D. MONCUR, *Politics, Philosophy, and Empire: Select Orations of Themistius*, Liverpool 2001; R. CRIBIORE, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch*, Princeton 2007 and eadem, *Libanius the Sophist*, Ithaca 2013; S. Bradbury, *Selected Letters of Libanius*, Liverpool 2004.

The importance of this development should not be underestimated. For much of the past few centuries, Classicists have taken a dim view of both the quality of Greek rhetorical productions of the later Roman period and the creativity of the authors who produced this work.[5] Their orations and declamations have been derided as uncreative imitations of glorious Classical models and even as a poor shadow of the once-maligned work of the second sophistic. The language is criticized for being overly ornate or, paradoxically, overly simplistic. Indeed, this literature has been so neglected that it is not included at all in the *Cambridge History of Classical Literature* and rarely shows up on any graduate student Greek reading list—even in programs that train many students to work on late antique authors.

It is then quite surprising to realize how relatively recent this prejudice against late antique Greek literature actually is. For most of the period between the fourth century and today, the great Greek rhetoricians and epistolographers of late antiquity were not just in the Classical canon—in some cases, they WERE the Classical canon.[6] Even if one excludes genres like chronicles and ecclesiastical histories that were invented in late antiquity, we still find many cases where later Byzantines consciously turned their backs on earlier, supposedly Classical exemplars and instead embraced the work of late antique Greek authors. One sees this in genres ranging from philosophical commentary to biography, but perhaps the most illustrative example of this tendency comes from epistolography. Collections of Greek literary letters long predated late antiquity.[7] Examples include the collection of letters of pseudo-Alexander the Great used extensively by Plutarch and the large collection of second century letters of Herodes Atticus. The first major collection of Greek literary letters that survives from antiquity, however, is the collection associated with Apollonius of Tyana, a group of texts which Robert Penella edited. But the Apollonius collection is a chronological outlier. No other major collections of Greek literary letters survive from before the mid-4th century.[8] Greek letter collections were not a late antique invention, but, to Byzantines, the fourth century

[5] Typical of this is Gibbon's characterization of Libanius's writings as "the vain and idle compositions of an orator who cultivated the science of words…whose mind, regardless of his contemporaries, was incessantly fixed on the Trojan war and the Athenian commonwealth." (E. GIBBON, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, volume 2, London 1781, ch. 24).

[6] See, for example, A. KALDELLIS, «Late Antique Literature in Byzantium», in S. MCGILL and E. WATTS (eds.), *A Companion to Late Antique Literature*, New York 2018, pp. 557-568.

[7] C. P. JONES, «Greek Letter Collections before Late Antiquity», in C. SOGNO, B. STORIN, and E. WATTS (eds.), *Late Antique Letter Collections: A Critical Introduction and Reference Guide*, Oakland 2017, pp. 38-53.

[8] C. SOGNO, B. STORIN, and E. WATTS, «Greek and Latin Epistolography and Epistolary Collections in Late Antiquity», in *Late Antique Letter Collections: A Critical Introduction and Reference Guide*, pp. 1-10.

was the golden age of letter writing with figures like Libanius, Basil, and Gregory Nazianzen becoming the standard to which later epistolographers aspired.[9] And, trailing somewhat behind were figures like Themistius. While Themistius's collected letters are now lost, a scholion to a Libanian manuscript indicates that they were read into at least the middle Byzantine period.[10] Indeed, it is nothing more than an arbitrary coincidence in dating that made Latinists feel perfectly comfortable accepting the canonicity of literary letter collections of Cicero and Pliny while most Classical Hellenists tend to pay little attention to Greek letter collections at all. It is not that the quality of Pliny exceeds that of Libanius but that Libanius simply fell on the wrong side of the chronological boundary that early modern scholars set to demarcate the classical from the late antique.

But the fourth century was not just the great formative age of Greek letter collections. It was also a Golden Age of later Greek rhetoric more generally. The quality of the productions, the fame of the authors, and the range of surviving materials suggest that later Greek readers saw fourth century authors as incredibly skilled and profoundly influential. And, if the fourth century was an Age of Gold, figures like Choricius, Procopius, Aeneas, Dorotheus, Zacharias Scholasticus, and Barsanuphius and John (all from around the city of Gaza) marked the fifth and early sixth centuries as a sort of silver age of late Greek literature.

Robert Penella's work shows us that the Byzantines had it right. Late antique Greek authors and rhetoricians fully belonged to a living, evolving, and dynamic Classical literary tradition—and, most importantly, they saw themselves as playing a vital role in shaping the continued development of that tradition. Unlike the Carolingian Einhard, who felt obliged to apologize for not measuring up to the example set by Cicero, Themistius, Himerius, and Choricius felt no anxiety about not measuring up to their Classical predecessors.[11] They could (and did) follow in the footsteps of revered figures like Demosthenes and Aelius Aristides, but they also fully appreciated their capacity to make new and important literary contri-

[9] See, for example, the forged epistolary exchange between Libanius and Basil that was widely read by Christians from the early fifth century on. On it see L. VAN HOOF, «Falsification as a Protreptic to Truth: The Force of the Forged Epistolary Exchange between Basil and Libanius», in P. GEMEINHARDT, L. VAN HOOF, and P. VAN NUFFELEN (eds.), *Education and Religion in Late Antiquity: Genres and Discourses in Transition*, London and New York 2016, pp. 116-130.

[10] This *scholion*, which records a response to Libanius, *Ep.* 241, is included by A. F. NORMAN, *Libanius: Autobiography and Selected Letters*, vol. 1, Cambridge, MA 1992 p. 498.

[11] "I submit the book…there is nothing in it to wonder at besides his deeds, except the fact that I, who am a barbarian, and very little versed in the Roman language, seem to suppose myself capable of writing gracefully and respectably in Latin, and to carry my presumption so far as to disdain the sentiment that Cicero is said in the first book of the Tusculan Disputations to have expressed when speaking of the Latin authors." (Einhard, *Life of Charlemagne*, Pref., trans. Ganz).

butions that went well beyond what any of these Classical predecessors could imagine.

One sees this creativity reflected in some of the most unexpected places. The late third or early fourth century Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν of pseudo-Menander Rhetor is in some ways probably the most derivative work imaginable. It offers a series of descriptive templates for how an aspiring rhetorician should compose various forms of epideictic oratory and walks one through the outlines of a range of speeches. For the βασιλικὸς λόγος, the text describes how the speech begins with a prooemia, then moves to a discussion of the emperor's native country, his family, his education, and his progression through his career.[12] Menander gives sample material for each component of the speech that one could use so that the text reads a bit like a color-by numbers approach to rhetoric. On a superficial reading, then, Pseudo-Menander seems to perfectly demonstrate the old view of late antique Greek literature as derivative drivel.

This dismissive view of Pseudo-Menander does not give the work nearly enough credit. The handbooks attributed to Menander were not drab catalogs of 600 or 700 year old literary forms. They were instead attempts to systematize the tremendous evolution that Greek rhetoric had undergone across its history. The Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν reflects the rhetorical standards developed in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, but it expanded and updated these models so that they better represented the dramatic creative expansion of Greek rhetoric in the Roman imperial period. It reflected a canon that included the innovations of Isocrates from the fourth century BC as well as those of Aelius Aristides from the second century AD. Indeed, if Menander is a good guide, it seems that fourth century Greek authors had a nuanced view of how to use their Greek literary patrimony. They looked first to Classical and Hellenistic exempla when determining how to appropriately frame an oration for a public events or prominent figures. But, when they sought models for the orations appropriate to weddings, funerals, and departures of ordinary people, these authors were more inclined to look at imperial-era authors like Dio Chrysostom or Aelius Aristides who offered spectacularly original examples to imitate.[13]

The monody offers a good example of this tendency. There were, strictly speaking, no classical or Hellenistic prose monodies that match up to the model the Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν lays out. Instead, the Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν draws heavily on Aelius Aristides' *Monody on the Destruction of Smyrna*. This is not at all surprising. The *Monody on Smyrna* was a compelling work that took the power of a poetic

[12] This discussion is found at Menander, Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν, 368.3-377.30.

[13] D. A. RUSSELL and N. G. WILSON, *Menander Rhetor: Edited with a Translation and Commentary*, Oxford 1981, pp. xvii-xviii.

lament and channeled it into an emotionally striking piece of prose.[14] It begins with an invocation of Zeus in which Aristides asks whether he should remain silent in the face of Smyrna's devastation.[15] The next lines expand the chorus of laments so that they touch first on Hellenes and barbarians as well as all of their ancestors, but even their collective voices cannot capture the extent of the sorrow.[16] The text then transitions to a genealogy of the city of Smyrna. It invokes time as a witness to the city's roots, its growth, and its mature greatness.[17] The next twenty lines describe the city's beauty, but in an almost abstract way that focuses on its setting by the sea. Aristides never offers specific details of what the city contained, though he mentions that its beauty left such an impression on the eyes that it can still be remembered amidst the current devastation and crumbled buildings.[18] Even then, the buildings are mere abstractions. The speaker and listener now both must imagine the fountains, covered walkways, agora, and the public square that once were spectacular but now are no more.[19]

Halfway through the *Monody*, Aristides switches focus to what future people have lost because of Smyrna's destruction. This begins a long series of laments with which he concludes the text. The laments are designed to show the loss of Smyrna echoing ever more widely. First it reverberates across Asia, then as far as Cadiz, then across the Ocean until cries for the city are heard across all the lands that the sun touches.[20] It is worse than the sack of Troy, the Athenian disaster in Sicily, and the destruction of Thebes. It is so overwhelming, in fact, that Aristides says that all he can do is to hope to have this grief made eternal in the same way that the Heliades entombed theirs in amber.[21]

The creative power of this oration should be clear. Not only does Aristides's work seem to pioneer the form of the prose monody, but the work's profoundly powerful emotional statement had a tangible effect on the real world. [22] Indeed, Philostratus tells us that the monody and its accompanying letter so moved the emperor Marcus Aurelius that it prompted him to release funds for the rebuilding of the Smyrna.[23]

[14] This is Aristides, *Oration* 18. For Aristides as a model for Libanius' monody on Nicomedia see C. A. BEHR, *P. Aelius Aristides, The Complete Works, vol. 2*. (Leiden, 1981), p. 358 n. 1; T. BEKKER-NIELSEN *Urban Life and Local Politics in Roman Bithynia*, (Aarhus, 2008), p. 163 n.42.

[15] Aristides, *Or.* 18.260.10-13.

[16] *Or.* 18.260.13-17.

[17] *Or.* 18.260.17-26.

[18] *Or.* 18.260.27-261.23.

[19] *Or.* 18.261.23-30.

[20] *Or.* 18.262.1-4.

[21] *Or.* 18.262.5-263.7.

[22] The clearest example of this comes in Libanius, *Or.* 61, the Monody on Nicomedia, which very closely mirrors Aristides, *Oration* 18.

[23] This letter is now marked at Aristides, *Oration* 19 in the modern edition of his works. For this

Following the basic blueprint of Aristides, Pseudo-Menander explains that the monody served as a short speech that had a relaxed style and was regularly punctuated by statements of lament.[24] It was, however, tightly organized. According to Menander, it blended lament and encomium in a way that followed the general structure of an encomium but "stressed the element of lamentation continually."[25] The text of the monody should explain the tragedy of the person's death or the city's destruction in a way that marks what it once was as well as what has been lost because of its disappearance. To have the greatest effect, the monody is divided into three periods of time. It begins in the present and refers either to the cause of the person's death or to the people who have gathered to hear the speech. It then moves to the past in order to speak about what characteristic virtues the subject manifested. The monody finally looks to the future. In this section, the orator discusses what opportunities have been lost because of this death. He then concludes by describing the funeral and the collective grief everyone should now feel.[26]

Although Homer is the only author mentioned explicitly as a model for the prose monody, the author of the Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν had Aristides's speech in mind (or even in hand) when framing this. The three periods of time the monody is supposed to cover and the order in which they are addressed match Aristides's structure. So too does the recommended pattern of the speech and the rhythmic interludes of lament enlaced within it. Pseudo-Menander is then affirming that the Greek literary canon and the blueprints of literary genres it illustrates have both been expanded to include notable creations of the high empire. To him, exemplary Greek literature was not a finished category that took its final shape in the Hellenistic period. It was instead an ever-evolving organism that continually grew more complicated, impressive, and better adapted.

Once we recognize this view of imperial Greek literature, we can begin to appreciate some of the literary efforts of fourth, fifth, and sixth century Greek authors in a new way. They continued this process of evolution in ways that further explored the potential of the literary genres they inherited. But the monody offers some other relatively small but illustrative examples.[27] In the late 350s and early

moment see Philostratus, *VS* 582. For discussion see J. Walker, «Aelius Aristides,» in M. BALLIFF and M. MORAN (eds.), *Classical Rhetorics and Rhetoricians: Critical Studies and Sources*, Westport, CT 2005, pp. 48-9.

[24] Menander 2.16 (437.1-4).

[25] Menander, 2.16 (434.22-3).

[26] Menander, 2.16 (435.28-30 on the discussion of the future, 436.12-21 on the funeral).

[27] The discussion of Libanius and Himerius here serves to expand upon and update points first made in E. WATTS, «The historical context: the rhetoric suffering in Libanius' *Monodies*, *Letters*, and *Autobiography*,» in L. VAN HOOF (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Libanius*, Cambridge 2014, pp. 37-57 and «Himerius and the Personalization of the Monody,» in G. GREATREX and H. ELTON (eds.)

360s, Libanius and Himerius both pushed the monody in exciting, new directions that were simultaneously true to the rules of the genre and utterly unprecedented in their use of it.

Libanius struck the first blow, so to speak, in this process of creatively adapting the monody. His first effort followed an earthquake that devastated the city of Nicomedia in 358. Nicomedia was a city dear to Libanius's heart. He had lived there from 344 through 349 and left the city only when the emperor Constantius had compelled him to Constantinople.[28] Even after his forced migration to the capital, Libanius returned to spend the summers of 350 and 351 in Nicomedia.[29] Libanius's dear friend and regular correspondent Aristaenetus also lived in Nicomedia. This is what made the destruction of Nicomedia so difficult for Libanius.

Although he no longer lived in the city in 358, Libanius could not help but be affected by the earthquake. It was a truly dreadful event. Nicomedia climbed up a hill along a bay, with narrow roads serving as the only land routes in and out of the city. The earthquake caused many of the buildings in the city to slide down the hill, blocking both the roads and the harbor. Ammianus speaks of people starving or dying of thirst in their collapsed homes. One of them, who Ammianus mentions by name, was Libanius's friend Aristaenetus.

Libanius idolized Aristides and evidently saw in this disaster an opportunity to match (or even exceed) what Aristides had done in his *Monody on Smyrna*.[30] Libanius wrote two monodies in response to the Nicomedia earthquake. One, which mourned the premature death of Aristaenetus, has been lost. But the oration commemorating the loss of Nicomedia survives and shows the effect of both Aristides's example and Libanius's creativity.[31]

Libanius's Nicomedian monody is a relatively short text that is basically consistent with the brevity modeled by Aristides and prescribed by Menander. But Libanius's monody does far more with its subject than Menander suggests is possible—and even does more than Aristides attempts in his model oration on Smyrna. Libanius's oration moves in a clear and tight progression that gives more specific details about Nicomedia than Aristides does for Smyrna and offers more tangible discussion of the emotional power of the disaster than the abstract laments Aristides offers.

Libanius first establishes the necessity of such a lament when a glorious city was reduced to rubble.[32] He next turns to the gods and asks of them why such a city

Shifting Genres in Late Antiquity, Ashgate, 2015, pp. 319-324.

[28] *Oration* 1.75.

[29] *Oration* 1.77.

[30] On Libanius's idolization of Aelius Aristides see Libanius, *Ep.* 1534.

[31] This is *Oration* 61.

[32] *Or.* 61.1-2.

deserved to be punished so contemptuously when others avoided this fate.[33] The oration then illustrates the splendor of the city and contains rich descriptions of the effect that its architecture had on those who approached it.[34] Libanius moves on to describe the departure of the gods[35] and then recounts the disaster as it unfolded. He details the destruction of the initial earthquake and notes the few remaining parts of the city that escaped the fire.[36] The oration then concludes with a series of laments over what was lost. As Aristides had done before, Libanius mentions the destruction wrought by the earthquake, but, unlike Aristides, he offers more precise and detailed descriptions of the paths, porticoes, fountains, senate house, baths, circus, mansions, and all of the city's inhabitants that now have been destroyed.[37] Again following Aristides, Libanius transitions to a call for all to mourn what is no more.[38] The oration's conclusion, however, differs dramatically from that of Aristides's original. Whereas Aristides simply called upon the grieving world to remember Smyrna, Libanius calls for wings to carry him so that he might console himself by viewing the ruins of the city from above.[39] This personalization of the lament, a step that Aristides did not take, serves a clear rhetorical purpose. Libanius has, of course, just concluded with his own bird's eye view of the devastation in the preceding sections and offered his audience the very cure that he now seeks. Unlike Aristides, Libanius has here offered his audience a way forward and a path to overcome their grief.

It is easy to miss the creativity in what Libanius has done here. This is a prose monody on the destruction of a city by an earthquake that is consciously modeled on a 180-year-old text. But Libanius is not simply aping Aristides. Aristides's monody was primarily a lament for loss, but it worked so well because it was part of a two-pronged emotional assault on the emperor Marcus Aurelius. It was offered to the emperor along with *Oration* 19, a letter that defined the destruction of the city lamented in the *Monody*. The two texts of Aristides then worked together. The *Monody* conditioned the audience to respond to the letter's description of Smyrna's destruction in precisely the way that Aristides wanted.[40] Libanius is aware that his

[33] *Or.* 61.3-6.
[34] *Or.* 61.7-10.
[35] *Or.* 61.11-13.
[36] *Or.* 61.14-15.
[37] *Or.* 61.17-19.
[38] *Or.* 61.20-22.
[39] *Or.* 61.23.
[40] When writing of the effect of Aristides's texts, Philostratus indicates that Marcus Aurelius received both at the same time, but the quote that the "West wind blows through desolation" that so moved him came from *Oration* 19.3, not the monody. The *Monody* then gave the emotional background necessary to contextualize the descriptions of *Oration* 19.

audience has read Aristides's *Monody*. He also assumes that they know Aristides's *Oration* 19 and appreciate the combined effects that the two texts had on Marcus. Libanius's innovation is to combine the power of these two resonant, canonical works into one efficient text. Not only had Libanius clearly set out to do this, but he knew that his audience would immediately understand what it meant that he had succeeded in blending in one text what Aristides could only adequately express in two different works. This was, in every sense of the word, a creative literary work that showed the literary dynamism of the moment.

Indeed, it is worth noting the confidence that Libanius had in this creation. Libanius did in fact write to Julian about the destruction of Nicomedia when Julian was still serving as Caesar, but that short letter responds to an earlier letter of lament sent by Julian to Libanius. It also spends only a couple of lines suggesting that Julian rebuild the city, and then uses the final two-thirds of the letter to discuss the personality of Helpidius and Julian's recent military successes. This suggests that Libanius believed that his monody itself could handle all of the heavy lifting that Aristides needed a monody and a letter to do.[41]

For all of the sheer rhetorical power of Libanius's Nicomedean Monody, Himerius upped the bar even more in a monody written following the death of his son Rufinus in the early 360s. This is a powerful text that Robert Penella introduced and translated in his volume of Himerian orations.[42] The monody on Rufinus shows both Himerius' clear understanding of the parameters within which a monody worked and his creative willingness to work within them to do something quite innovative. Rufinus was an Athenian citizen who had died when Himerius was exiled from the city of Athens following the death of the emperor Julian.[43] Upon learning of Rufinus' death, Himerius wrote a speech that simultaneously lamented the loss of his son and shamed those who were responsible for sending Himerius out of the city. The resulting speech mixes elements of encomium, liberal expressions of lament, and regular allusions to the speaker's exile. It was a monody designed to resonate far beyond the circle of people who would remember Rufinus—and it was a monody as much about Himerius as his son.

Despite these competing aims, the monody follows the structure that Pseudo-Menander prescribes. The first three chapters begin in the present. They tell how Himerius saw a messenger approach and welcomed him, expecting that he would announce that Rufinus was coming to visit his father. Instead, the messenger told Himerius of his son's death. Himerius notes that he had labored to provide Rufinus the best things in life without realizing that he would in fact be paying for the

[41] This is *Ep.* 35.
[42] R. PENELLA, *Man and the Word: The Orations of Himerius*, Berkeley 2007, pp. 20-21.
[43] For the location and date of his exile see PENELLA, *Man and the Word*, pp. 20-21.

construction of his tomb. This comment then allows Himerius to transition from the present to the past and launch into a discussion of the virtues Rufinus manifested while he grew up under his father's supervision. He was, Himerius claims, a sophist before he even learned to speak[44] whose reputation was known everywhere and mentioned by everyone who met his father.[45] He loved his father, piously observed the rites of the gods, and displayed tremendous courage when contending with his final illness.[46]

Himerius then shifts again, this time moving his discussion into the future and focusing upon what has been lost because of Rufinus' death. He had hoped that Rufinus would 'speak more forcefully than Minucianus, more solemnly than Nicagoras, more eloquently than Plutarch, more philosophically than Musonius, more intrepidly than Sextus—in a word, more brilliantly and better than all of his ancestors'.[47] In his death, Himerius claimed, an evil spirit robbed the family and the city of Athens of all of this.

Himerius then brings the oration back to the present for his conclusion. Because he could not attend the funeral, Himerius poured a libation into the Melas River on the night when he wrote this monody.[48] This was, he claims, a moment in which time, place and occasion all shared the same features. The libation was poured in darkest night, beside the Black River, and it marked the untimely death of Rufinus. He then concludes the oration with a lament and a statement of his hope that this oration will make Rufinus immortal by ensuring that his reputation will live on.

As this brief summary shows, Himerius' monody fits neatly within the generic conventions that Pseudo-Menander describes. It treats each of the three periods Pseudo-Menander recommends discussing in exactly the order that he suggests. It follows the general outline of an encomium by focusing upon Rufinus' virtues in the past and the effect that their loss would have in the future. And each of these discussions is punctuated by laments for what has been lost. As Menander recommends, these laments[49] work as the oration's architectural frame around which all of the major points that Himerius makes are built.

[44] Himerius, *Or.* 8.4. All translations of *Oration* 8 are those of PENELLA, *Man and the Word.*

[45] *Or.* 8.5-6.

[46] *Or.* 8.8-13.

[47] *Or.* 8.21. All of these men mentioned were prominent Athenian teachers and intellectuals of the second and third century. For discussion see E. WATTS, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria*, Berkeley 2006, pp. 38-44; F. MILLAR, «P. Herrennius Dexippus: The Greek World and the Third Century Invasions», *JRS* 59, 1969, pp. 12-29.

[48] For this particular Melas River see PENELLA, *Man and the Word*, 21n.12.

[49] This word choice is extraordinary. θρῆνος is used six times in the laments of *Oration* 8 and three times in the rest of Himerius' entire corpus.

But this monody also pushed the genre in new, unexpected directions. Like Libanius a few years before, Himerius has inserted himself within the text. This is not the impersonal prose lament of Aristides but a deeply personal expression of loss by the speaker. Himerius bemoans that, as an exile, he cannot visit his son's tomb.[50] He laments the fact that his son's loss likely means that the orator will never return to his home in Athens.[51] And he even claims that he can no longer perform anywhere lest his speech degenerate into a "a lament (θρῆνος) for Rufinus."[52] In fact, as Himerius makes clear, the most significant consequence for the Athenians of the loss of Rufinus is that it also will lead to the city's permanent loss of Himerius.

It is here that we can finally begin to appreciate the subtext of Himerius' monody. This was a speech mourning the loss of Rufinus, but it was a speech primarily about Himerius himself. Rufinus's death and Himerius's fate then were intertwined—and Himerius aimed to use the loss of his son to regain his Athenian position. It seems that it might have worked, too. Himerius' exile seems to be a small blip in an otherwise quite successful career, most of which was spent teaching in Athens.

The monodies of Libanius and Himerius show how monodies themselves evolved in the fourth century. Himerius offers the most extreme example of a tendency common to other fourth century monodies in which authors placed themselves and their experiences at the center of the speech. Traditionally, the orator used the monody to voice a collective lament over the premature death of an important figure and, Menander implies, he seldom delivered a monody for anyone in his immediate family other than his wife.[53] Fourth century authors breached both of these boundaries. Himerius, of course, represents the most extreme such example, but Libanius too saw that rhetorical laments could be made more powerful by placing himself at their center. Libanius hesitated to go so far as to offer a monody for his own son when he died in the late 380s,[54] but his Nicomedian monody and his later Julianic monody of early 364 both work off of the conceit that Libanius can soothe the pain of his audience by taking their collective grief upon himself.[55] Given the tightly bunched chronology of these

[50] *Or.* 8.1-2.

[51] *Or.* 8.18.

[52] *Or.* 8.18.

[53] Menander does indicate that some relatives were permissible (2.16 [434.19-21]).

[54] In *Ep.* 1048 Libanius did, however, bludgeon a friend with guilt for not writing such a monody for Cimon.

[55] On Libanius' monody for Julian see P. VAN NUFFELEN, «Earthquakes in A.D. 363-368 and the Date of Libanius, *Oratio* 18», *CQ* 56.2 2006, pp. 657-661. The (now fragmentary) *Monody on the Daphne Temple of Apollo* that Libanius delivered in 362 seems to have worked somewhat differently

orations, it is perhaps even possible to read Himerius' monody and those of Libanius as competing works in which each author experiments with ways to make the monody's short, highly-structured lament more versatile and powerful.

Prose monodies are a very small part of the literary ecosystem. After the dynamic boundary pushing of Libanius and Himerius in the late 350s and early 360s, one is hard pressed to find another fourth century author who experiments with the form. But even a speech that is so short and relatively uncommon in surviving Greek rhetorical corpora allows us to see something important about the authors that Robert Penella has done so much to bring back to the scholarly mainstream. In these short pieces, Himerius and Libanius reveal something about how rhetorical experimentation was done by late antique authors. Although even the most creative and prolific late antique rhetoricians hesitated to create entirely new rhetorical genres, they did work hard to stretch existing genres in new and interesting ways. This often meant writing a speech that did something completely new while simultaneously following well established and easily recognized rhetorical conventions. In many ways, this is a harder and more intellectually challenging type of creative activity—and it is an activity that Penella's work has helped us to understand better.

It is, of course, impossible to sum up a career as prolific and distinguished as that of Robert Penella in a short essay. It is less difficult to speak about what his contributions have meant to those of us now working on later Greek rhetoric and what they will mean to those working on these authors in the future. It goes without saying that no one now would be able to write about Apollonius, Himerius, Themistius, Choricius, Libanius, Eunapius, or even Hypatia without reference to Robert Penella's work. But there is also little doubt that, if we were to imagine a volume of collected essays on Himerius in the year 2119, the bibliography of every paper would still include Penella's *Man and the Word*. Similarly, any volume on Themistius in the 21st or even 22nd century will still rely heavily on Penella's *Private Orations* to reconstruct the more private concerns of the figure whose public orations expertly reflected the cadence of Eastern Roman political life in the middle decades of the fourth century. As the achievements of these authors become better appreciated by Classicists, scholars will comfortably move completely beyond the early twentieth century dismissal of the literary qualities of imperial and late antique Greek rhetoric. Robert Penella has taught us all to appreciate some of the truly innovative things late antique rhetoricians were doing and he has encouraged scholars and students of our era to look for more exciting innovations in their

and followed a more traditional structure. This may, however, be due to the fact that the conclusion of the speech, where the Nicomedian monody contains the most intensive personalization, is apparently now lost.

works. It is indeed a thrilling time to be working on late Greek rhetoric. Robert Penella deserves a great deal of credit for making this so.

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Strategies of Teaching: Declamations, Orations, and What Was in Between

Abstract: Gli storici dell'educazione nell'antichitá e i manuali di retorica considerano la declamazione come l'ultimo stadio di istruzione prima che uno studente lasciasse la scuola per cimentarsi con esercizi epidittici, deliberativi, e forensi. È difficile presupporre che un giovane retore dovesse migliorare interamente da solo la sua perizia retorica in modo da riuscire a funzionare in società. Il corpus di Libanio nel quarto secolo mostra tuttavia che gli insegnanti non erano sordi a esigenze pratiche e cercavano di facilitare il passagio dalle declamazioni alle orazioni.

Keywords: *Controversia*, Declamation, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Epistolary Writing, Libanius, Mixidemus, Orations, Seneca the Elder, students, versions of orations.

Scholars of education in the Greek and Roman worlds are used to stereotyped descriptions of the curriculum from the elementary to the rhetorical levels. When I was working on my first book, *Writing, Teachers and Students in the Graeco-Roman World,* I struggled to reconcile the descriptions of exercises for learning to write given by the ancient literary sources with what I observed in many of the school exercises from Greek and Roman Egypt.[1] The traditional *ordo docendi* that Marrou and those who followed him upheld was often unsatisfactory.[2] It invariably dictated a rigid progression from letters to alphabets, syllables, words, and sentences that I could not reconcile with the evidence of the extant school exercises. Among them, in fact, there were texts copied letter by letter by beginners without understanding and with no knowledge of the syllables. The student's copy deteriorated as he/she went down the papyrus or the tablet. The answer was that copying texts blindly letter by letter and learning to write and to read properly, syllable by syllable, were different activities, suited to students at different levels. The first method catered

[1] R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman* Egypt, Atlanta 1996, pp. 139-52. See also R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman* Egypt, Princeton-Oxford, 2001, pp. 167-72. Cf. Augustine *De ordine* 2, 7 (24); Ambrose *Ab Abraham* 1,30; Manilius *Astronomica* 2,755-64; Jerome *Ep.* 107, 4 and 128,1; Gregory of Nyssa *De beneficentia* 5-13.

[2] H-I Marrou, *Histoire de l' éducation dans l' Antiquité*, Paris 1975, 7th ed., pp. 227-40.

to those who needed to take advantage of some literary skill right away by having them copy texts. It appeared that the ancient sources were not interested in describing the minor strategies used by teachers in various circumstances and histories of educations accepted those descriptions without questioning them.

Likewise, the teaching of epistolary writing fell through the cracks and was not even mentioned by historians of education, though Greek and Roman writers mastered this art to perfection. But when and at what educational level did they acquire that skill? Partial answers were given by Peter Parsons and me. Parsons tried to explain the formulaic character of simple letters from Egypt by invoking the writers' spontaneous recourse to clichés.[3] I placed at the grammarian's level the teaching of letters that were not too elaborate, even though Dionysius Thrax did not mention writing in his description of the six parts of grammar.[4] A possible explanation for historians' of education general neglect of this issue is that it could not be encapsulated within teaching and practice at a single educational level. Students did not learn to write letters at a specific point in their education but acquired a smattering of skills at the very beginning and became increasingly more proficient as instruction progressed. At the level of rhetoric, epistolary skills were honed, as the evidence of Theon, Nikolaus, Cicero, Fronto, and Libanius strongly suggests.[5]

In this essay I am inquiring as to whether students of rhetoric, who had gone beyond the stage of declamations, progressed to more difficult material and, in general, whether teachers of rhetoric attempted to ease the passage from rhetorical exercises to epideictic, deliberative and forensic discourses. Here too, we need to go beyond stilted descriptions of the rhetorical curriculum. Some students of rhetoric must have needed to go beyond fictitious exercises in order to be ready to present cases in court, give epideictic demonstrations, or discuss issues of practical relevance once they left school. Not all rhetors lived exclusively in a fictional world.[6] And yet it is unclear how young men learned skills that enabled them to function adequately and to perform in society. Were they left to their own devices in trying to adapt what school had offered? The evidence is admittedly scanty but in what follows I will make some suggestions based on the writings of the fourth-century sophist Libanius.

[3] P. PARSONS, "Background: The Papyrus Letter", *Didactica Classica Gandensia* 20-21, 1980-81, pp. 3-19.

[4] See CRIBIORE *Gymnastics* [n. 1] pp. 215-19. See also pp. 111-14 for some papyrus letters of students communicating with people at home. Dionysius Thrax. *Grammatici Graeci* 1.1, p. 5, 1-5.

[5] See now with more evidence R. CRIBIORE, "A History of Education in Antiquity: Filling in some Blanks," *Annali di storia dell'educazione* 24, 2017, pp. 29-40.

[6] M. HEATH, *Practical Advocacy in Roman Egypt*, dans M. EDWARDS-C. REID (éds.), *Oratory in Action* Manchester-New York, pp. 62-82.

Robert Penella is right in saying that "declamations would serve to immortalize professorial ability",[7] but we cannot possibly imagine that young men devoted years of study only to the practicing of declamations. According to historians like Marrou, students' rhetorical training in school ended with theses exercises, even though Marrou recognized in passing that there was no end to the study of rhetoric".[8] The attendance in a school of rhetoric varied considerably with some students staying a couple of years and others remaining for six or more.[9] Libanius mentions that after his many years of training Eusebius (25) could have been an accomplished teacher of rhetoric if he so desired. In the Antioch school he had become "an orator of a high standard," and "made discourses similar to those of the ancients."[10] A former student Optimus who became a bishop practiced oratory in the service of the church. In class this student had shown his speeches to Libanius in order to have them corrected, and after leaving Antioch gave speeches that displayed marks of the training he had received from his teacher.[11] Another student, Parthenopaeus, had acquired considerable ability and, when his training was over, continued to send Libanius some of his speeches. The proud educator showed them to a circle of cultivated people who praised the writer, applauded and even gave standing ovations. The audience easily recognized the traces of Libanius' writings in the compositions of the new rhetor.[12]

Sixty-four complete orations of Libanius have been preserved though he wrote many more.[13] Among them there are formal epideictic orations, speeches concerning Julian the Apostate, *logoi* on contemporary issues such as the state of the prison or patronage, and on his activities as professor of rhetoric. Some of these were transmitted in many manuscripts but others, whose content was apparently more controversial, attracted less attention. One of these is *Or.* 39, which concerned what Foster described as a *homo abiectissimus*, a very vile man.[14] It is likely that the many sexual references in this discourse were considered too daring for

[7] R. PENELLA, *Libanius' Declamations,* dans L. VAN HOOF (éd.) *Libanius. A Critical Introduction*, Cambridge 2014, pp. 107-17: 109.

[8] MARROU, *Histoire* [n. 2], pp. 291-306.

[9] R. CRIBIORE, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch,* Princeton-Oxford, 2007, pp. 174-96.

[10] *Ep.* 884 and 886, CRIBIORE *School* [n. 9] nos. 78 and 80.

[11] *Ep.* 1544, CRIBIORE *School* [n. 9] no. 155.

[12] *Ep.* 1009, CRIBIORE *School* [n. 9] no.160. Libanius was the "writer's father."

[13] Cf. *Oration* 11.2 in which he boasted to have produced more compositions than any man alive. On this oration, see lately M. CASEWITZ-O. LAGACHERIE-C. SALIOU, *Libanios, Discours,* Tome III, XI *Antiochicos,* Paris 2016.

[14] See R. CRIBIORE, *Between City and School. Selected Orations of Libanius*, *TTH* 65, Liverpool 2015, pp. 136-52, a translation and commentary of this speech.

wide distribution. *Or.* 39 stands out among Libanius' pieces not only because the sophist allowed himself much more moral license than usual but also because of its puzzling nature. It is presented at the beginning as an epideictic piece, a παραμυθία, that is, a consolation to comfort a rhetor, Antiochus,[15] who was at the beginning of his career and deeply resented that an infamous man called Mixidemus was damaging his professional interests by promoting the career of another rhetor. And yet this oration deals only very marginally with the wounded pride of Antiochus but is a truly vitriolic attack against Mixidemus.

What is the nature of this piece? we may ask.[16] It is hardly possible to regard it as a true consolation. The term παραμυθία which occurs in the first two sections is resumed at the end with the verb παραμυθεῖν (to console). But the consolation works as a sort of artificial frame for a discourse in which the plight of Antiochus is mentioned very rarely. In the corpus of Libanius, moreover, there is only one other παραμυθία*, Or.* 41, in which the sophist comforted a governor who was dejected because he was not acclaimed in the theater.[17] It was a proper consolatory speech that attacked the practice of targeted acclamations. At the end of *Or.* 39, the reference to the poet Archilocus, who, according to Menander Rhetor, was often quoted in invectives[18] seals this speech and is a reminder of its true character as a brutal and virulent invective against Mixidemus. It attacks the man on every side, not only as a corrupt lawyer and patron but especially for his depraved sexual mores.

In reading this speech for the first time, I was puzzled by the indecent details that seemed preposterous in a piece that was supposed to target a real individual even though he was probably hidden under a pseudonym.[19] I wrote then that the pseudonym Mixidemus may have masked a real person, but I am inclined now to consider *Or.* 39 a fictitious piece. In a discourse that contains 24 sections, Libanius attacks Mixidemus in at least 18 of them, accusing him of depravity from a young age. He writes:

> This man, Mixidemus, started to be bad from childhood, though he had been in no way decent even for a few days, and he has reached old age in utter depravity. He made money from his body in Egypt, himself inviting all those who could pay, and did the same in Palestine, and his beard did not prevent it. Even when he became an advocate, he did not cease to profit from this activity but received pay for his

[15] Antiochus 9 in *PLRE* I.

[16] D.A. RUSSELL, *Greek Declamation,* London-New York 1983, pp. 12-13 remarks that sometimes the practical side of declamation makes precise distinctions difficult.

[17] See Cribiore, *Between City* [n. 14], pp.118-35.

[18] D. A. RUSSELL and N.G. WILSON, *Menander Rhetor. A. commentary,* Oxford 1981, II 393, 9-12.

[19] On Libanius' occasional use of pseudonyms, see CRIBIORE, *Between City* [n. 14], p. 138.

> services in two ways, from above and below, by soliciting some soldiers and harassing others. (5)

This initial accusation of prostitution until the man reached adulthood is not in itself surprising; I have shown that this was a traditional element in invectives.[20] Then Libanius continues to excoriate Mixidemus:

> He had the herald, the men in service, the belt of office, the sword, and the power of justice but even with all this he could not become a man; what he was as a student he was as an advocate, confounding all the laws of Aphrodite, born a man, he added on the other sex, debauched many, and submitted himself to more. (6)

Mixidemus was a liar, perjured himself, insulted the gods, amassed much wealth by flattery, committed ignoble deeds, impoverished some people unfairly, harassed governors and gained unjust favors.

In the second part of *Or.* 39, sections 15-22 contain the most scathing attacks of a sexual nature. Libanius says that Mixidemus courted the favors of a young man from Cyprus and made such persistent advances to him that the youth was forced to leave the city to escape. A dark and complicated family affair then reveals that in some inexplicable way Mixidemus was able to get ahold of the inheritance of his wife's father. He lived with three women, including his sons' wives, and behaved indecorously with them. Graver episodes also occurred, of mythical magnitude. Like Demosthenes' Phrynon,[21] Mixidemus sold the sexual favors of his son to a man.

> Mixidemus does not let us doubt the veracity of the story of Phrynon, since now he has received money for his son as Phrynon did long ago and calmed his feigned anger over what had been done with such a truce that both could be satisfied, the one for having escaped danger, the other for the pay. And the earth and the sea were full of the story of this sale; even people coming from the Ocean and the Galatians there came here knowing it (18-19).

The comments of Libanius underline the enormity of the affair. In Rome the story was considered so infamous that everyone, starting from the Great Senate, "knew exactly who gave, who received, what was given." But that was not enough, so Libanius goes on to portray Mixidemus as having committed incest with his younger son.

[20] See R. CRIBIORE, *Libanius the Sophist. Rhetoric, Reality, and Religion in the Fourth Century*, Ithaca-London 2013, pp. 95-116.

[21] The story of Phrynon who sold his son to Philip appears in Demosthenes *Or.* 19. 230 and 233.

> This man has made everything I said pale in comparison to what I will now say, something new and without precedent. Perhaps he committed all the other crimes after others and followed but did not lead, as in the case of Phrynon. In this, however, he will be called the leader, if he has anyone who will follow him, which I don't think will happen. He is for his own son what Philip was for the son of Phrynon (22).

Thus, this man—Libanius says with another literary reference—was worse than Thyestes, who raped his daughter, implying perhaps that Mixidemus might even have tried to rape his son. The sexual details of *Or.* 39 pile up with unremitting force. They are stupefying, are mixed with literary reminiscences, and have no rhetorical precedent.

"The domestic life of Sophistopolis was quite turbulent" D.A. Russell wrote.[22] According to a little treatise that was preserved under the name of Dionysius of Halicarnassus ethical concerns were central to declamations.[23] Homosexual prostitution played a part, together with troubled family life that included adultery, contested dowries, and also rape. Daring details emerge from Seneca the Elder's *Controversiae* such as the gang-rape of a young man who as a consequence was in danger of being barred from public speaking.[24] As a prank, he went out in public in women's clothes and was raped by ten youths. Yet what Seneca preserves is the bare skeleton of a narration with few comments. The potentially shocking drama of the rape of a transvestite does not make much noise in its muffled rendering. The sexual content of declamations seems divorced from reality. As Bob Kaster remarked: "rape in declamations is almost never treated as an attack on or by fully human subjects."[25] Its potential impact, therefore, is greatly diminished and victims' claims are almost silenced.

Daring conceits are visible in some of Libanius' declamations. Declamation 25 has the courtesan Lais as protagonist; she seduced many youths and caused a proliferation of adulteries in the city. Adultery is the subject of 38 where a rich man had an affair with a poor man's wife and worse, in 39, a father appears to be seducing his son's wife, a theme that recalls Mixidemus' sexual intentions. In declamation 42 a tyrant is so enamored with a handsome boy that the boy's father

[22] RUSSELL, *Declamation,* [n. 16] p. 33; and on sexual elements in declamations, pp. 9 and 33-35.

[23] See Ps.-Dion. *Opuscola* 2, *Art of Rhetoric* section 10 "On Mistakes in Declamations" Usener-Radermacher, pp. 359-74. Cf. RUSSELL, *Declamation,* [n. 16] p. 72. On this treatise, see G. LONGO, "Ecfrasi e declamazioni 'sbagliate': Pseudo-Dionigi di Alicarnasso 'sugli errori che si commettono nelle declamazioni' 17", *Lexis* 33, 2015, pp. 282-300.

[24] Seneca *Contr.* 5,6.

[25] R.A. KASTER, *Controlling reason: Declamation in Rhetorical Education* in Y.L. TOO (éd.) *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Leiden-Boston 2001, pp. 317-37: 327.

does not see any solution but killing his son to preserve his virtue. Even two spurious declamations are significant in this respect, showing that tradition did not refrain from attributing declamatory sexual themes to Libanius. In 40 a husband shockingly enticed his own wife to commit adultery while 49 shows a stepmother sleeping with her stepson. As it is customary for declamations, however, these works also evidence that individual responsibility and inner reactions are not in question, and erotic and sordid themes remain distant and abstract.

The deeds of Mixidemus, however, have the force of reaching us because he is fully human. While the crescendo in wickedness assumes fabled proportions, enough realistic details remain in the whole account. We are told that this man propositioned a handsome young man from Cyprus "in the small bath and everywhere in the house." As a father-in-law, he afforded himself a great deal of g great deal of license when he was together with his daughters-in-law. The vivid details of him playing footsie with them as they reclined at dinner make the scene lurid and authentic. Declamations do not expand on the reactions of the relatives of sexual victims, but in *Or.* 39 we see the whole family falling apart. Mixidemus' sons wish to escape and run away but only one succeeds in doing so.[26] Mixidemus' wife is a silent victim "for many reasons"[27] but when the truth comes out, her brother protests loudly as Mixidemus keeps his eyes on the ground, "admitting to the intercourse [with his own son] with his sweat." This is the final act of a lurid play.

But now, we may wonder, what is the place of this piece in the voluminous oeuvre of Libanius? I suggest that it may represent some sort of a pastiche that combines elements from a supposedly real world with others from the world of the declaimers. During the course of their education in rhetoric, students read declamations and composed some of their own. Libanius tells a father that his son's μελέται had improved considerably though he adds that "some people will say that they are bad, not a few because of ignorance but more on account of envy."[28] I think that in composing *Or.* 39 Libanius might show young men how to import fanciful details into a speech, how to invent and richly develop outrageous elements that could then be inserted in a counterfeit frame that claimed to be realistic.

Teachers of rhetoric must have had specific strategies to lead their students from declamations to real-life orations. I can now propose another way in which they

[26] The older one takes refuge in Constantinople, 39.21. The younger son who was sexually abused could not find a position anywhere.

[27] Libanius implies that she is cognizant of what is happening but cannot denounce him because she is tied to him.

[28] *Ep.* 121, CRIBIORE *School* [n. 9] no. 197, the student is Titianus, one of his favorites and the son of an orator.

might work on the transition: First the sophist would expose young men to speeches that were addressed to relatively undemanding audiences, then, some time later, he would make another version of the same speech, addressed to a broader public or to officials.

The corpus of Libanius contains orations that are referred as "doublets", pairs of speeches which cover basically the same issues but emphasize different aspects of them. The manuscripts have transmitted *Or.* 27 and 28 (Against the governor Icarius, written at approximately the same time in 385); 51 and 52 (Against the private visits that people paid to governors, written in the spring or summer of 388) and *Orations* 48 and 49 addressed in the summer of 388 to the emperor to improve the conditions of town councils. These different versions are very interesting because they allow us to enter into the genesis of ancient written texts. Libanius' practice of composing pairs of speeches was briefly discussed in 1956 by Paul Petit, who discarded as too simplistic the idea that they represented different moments in the composition of the same speech (that is, drafts versus complete orations).[29]

About forty years ago, French scholars suggested that modern literary works are not static but exist in different versions either in early manuscript forms or notes, drafts, and autobiographical writing by authors or subsequent editors. Genetic criticism has focused on archives of notes, drafts, and revisions of modern authors such as Victor Hugo or Proust.[30] Scholars of antiquity are of course not as fortunate as modern critics who can mine rare book and manuscript libraries in search of autograph materials. Yet, among a few other ancient examples, these speeches of Libanius allow us to perceive to some degree the nature of writing, the creative process of choosing and sifting materials, and of privileging certain points. At the same time, they reveal the social forces behind a composition and the need to produce different versions depending on the make-up of the audience. We can ask ourselves what the meanings of different versions are and what are the reasons for revisions. Among Libanius' orations doublets exist only for those speeches I just mentioned. We can suppose that he discarded drafts of other orations or that they were not preserved due to lack of interest.

I would like now to look, albeit briefly, at a pair of orations, 51 and 52.[31] They both denounce the private visits that people paid to governors, but they differ

[29] P. PETIT, "Recherches sur la publication et la diffusion des discours de Libanius", *Historia* 5, 1956, pp. 479-509.

[30] See, e.g., *Genesis,* the journal of the Institut des textes et manuscrits modernes (ITEM); A. HERSCHBERG PIERROT, *Le style en movement: Littérature et art,* Paris-Berlin, 2005. J. BRYANT, 2002, *The Fluid Text: A Theory of Revision and Editing for Book and Screen,* Ann Arbor, 2001. S.A. GURD, *Work in Progress: Literary Revision as Social Performance in Ancient Rome,* Oxford, 2012.

[31] CRIBIORE, *Between City* [n. 14], pp. 173-207.

especially because the first mentions in passing that a law would be needed to limit those visits while 52 is a formal proposal for that law. I suggest that Libanius composed first *Or.* 51, which is shorter, less formal, more colloquial, and focuses to some degree on education and teachers. He had in mind an audience of parents and students who could be entertained by the numerous lively vignettes and the light tone. In writing *oration* 52, however, Libanius was addressing an important official audience and had to present the issues at hand with an urgent tone of indignation and many details.

Considering language and style may be of help in deciding whether *Or.* 51 could suit an audience of students. It is obvious that modern readers have their own criteria of style, but, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus argued, shorter sentences, lack of *anacolutha*, avoidance of parenthetical thoughts that intrude and hamper understanding, and driving a clause directly to the end aided comprehension by ancient readers and listeners.[32] This is what *Or.* 51 offered, together with some casual observations such as that the laws had to pursue and exact justice upon those that violated them.[33] We may not agree with what Dionysius suggested in rewriting Thucydides, but he was probably right when he supposed that some people might encounter difficulties and that style had to fit an audience.[34] Dionysius had the disposition of a teacher and it is not by chance that the didactic *Art of Rhetoric* which I mentioned previously as containing sensible observations about declamations was attributed to him.[35] In writing *Or.* 52, however, Libanius meant to show himself as a recherché rhetorician, a master of style who could dazzle an audience of cognoscenti or at least those who liked to pass for such. Lucian in fact argued in his *Professor of Rhetoric* that difficulties and some obscurity could enhance the audience's regard for the rhetor's skill.[36] Libanius was the official sophist of the city, and we might expect that the other sophists of Antioch (in spite of jealousy) would attend a major lecture proposing a new law.

Enargeia and the vividness of examples might also attract students who were progressing from declamations to orations. In another oration, *Or.* 3, Libanius in fact portrayed the lack of commitment and nonchalance of pupils who attended his lectures without enthusiasm. In 51 he presented a number of attractive vignettes that must have commanded some attention, as he showed the petitioners following the governors to their homes:

[32] See e.g., Dionysius *Demosthenes* and *Thucydides* passim.
[33] 51, 2; such remarks were inappropriate in 52.
[34] See Dionysius, *Demosthenes* 15.
[35] See Ps.-Dionysius, note 23.
[36] Lucian, *RhPr.*16-17.

> They go there immediately after lunch, shaking off the sleep that lunch induces. Those who arrive when governors are still eating sit down below, chatting in such a way that the governors notice them. This means that either the governors get up before the end of the meal, or they reach the end, but with displeasure. In addition, they are deprived of sleep. The loud voices of the people who come in awaken those who managed to sleep rather more abruptly than when pedagogues awaken children. (4)

Or the visitors "accompanying" the officials to the bath:

> Many requests can be addressed to the governors when they are naked, being scrubbed, and are in the pools of hot and cold water. People who have need of those who are bathing like this wait for them to come out and follow them closely, praying to hear something to their own advantage. By their expressions, the governors indicate that the deed requires not a little work, but allow them to hope, so that they both have sweet dreams, dreams of success and dreams of payment. (9)

Justice is the dominant theme in 52, where it commands serious attention, but has less space in 51, which, however, devotes a long excursus to the prevarications of teachers who supplement their earning by working in the courts and thus become rich. The official audience of 52 might not have been very interested in such an issue[37] while students and their parents might appreciate Libanius' lamentations.

While these people corrupt the trials, there is something else too, the damage that affects their schools, for this practice often makes the worse teacher fare better than the more competent. Success is measured by the number of students, but the teacher who is friendly with the governor gains more of them because fathers hand over their sons not because of rhetoric but on account of this kind of powerful influence (15).

Several reasons suggest that an oration such as 51 might have offered a good training ground for students who had to learn to compose orations on real themes. It is possible that Libanius handed them the text of the speech and went over some sections with them. In oration 5 *To Artemis* we glimpse him sitting on his *thronos* while going over the work of a young man (48).[38] Yet in another speech, 3.16, he also hinted at a teaching strategy by which his pupils, during and after one of his lectures, could reproduce his oration, learning at the same time to make it their own. The young men listened very carefully as he delivered a speech and—says

[37] 52.13 is the only section that concerns the damage that education suffers.

[38] The text was not necessarily a declamation.

Libanius—memorized different passages of it. After the lecture the students assembled, each one bringing his own contribution, tried to fit all the sections in order, and attempted to reconstruct the whole speech. It took them several days to accomplish this, and they continued to recite the whole text even at home, to their fathers. We may wonder if the resulting speech was identical to the original. Probably it was not but represented their own version of it. The exercise that Libanius describes, whether entirely the work of memorization or the result of note taking at the lecture, built up in a remarkable way young men's understanding of the nature of writing and composing, and allowed them to progress beyond declamations.

Historians of education have regarded declamations as the last stage of rhetorical instruction, but it seems that on leaving school students were unprepared to function in a world where rhetoric was essential. I have considered pedagogical ways aimed at expediting students' transition from declamation to real-life orations. The corpus of Libanius includes fictitious declamations like 39 that would show students how to combines "realistic" and fanciful elements. Some of his speeches, moreover, exist in different versions (from simpler to more elaborate texts) that aimed at a different audience and offered a good training ground for young men. Competent educators used special strategies to prepare and empower their students even though ancient and modern handbooks of rhetoric do not mention them.

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The Limits of ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ ὈΡΘΗ: The Emperor Julian on Cognition and the Development of the ΨΥΧΗ

Abstract: Questo studio esamina le opinioni dell'imperatore Giuliano sulle componenti cognitive della psicologia dell'educazione, le sue idee sui tipi di materiali più adatti allo sviluppo mentale di coloro che avrebbero potuto diventare i protégés di sofisti, di filosofi, o, eccezionalmente, di guide ai più alti livelli di illuminazione e le sue convinzioni circa i modi migliori di presentare alla maggioranza dei giovani ciò che egli riteneva più utile al benessere mentale. Benché ognuna di queste considerazioni abbia un suo rilievo nell'ambito della teoria dell'educazione di Giuliano, l'obiettivo principale di questo studio è di mettere in luce i presupposti della visione di Giuliano riguardo alla παιδεία ὀρθή. La discussione che segue mette al centro la testimonianza dello stesso Giuliano.

Keywords: Allegory, Cognition, Education, Exegesis, Julian, Soul.

The concerns of this study are threefold: Julian's views on the cognitive components of what we might term without much anachronism the developmental psychology of education; Julian's thoughts on the types of materials best suited for the psychic development of the young up to the point when a select few of them would become protégés of sophists, philosophers, or, in rare instances, of guides who could show the way to the highest levels of enlightenment accessible to humans; and, finally, Julian's beliefs about the proper ways to present to the majority of young people what he deemed most efficacious for their psychic well-being. Though each of these concerns has some relevance to Julian's formal educational agenda, the principal objective here is to appreciate in their own right assumptions that underlie not only Julian's school legislation proper but also his broader view of παιδεία ὀρθή. The focus throughout will be very narrowly on Julian's own testimony.

To be sure, a range of sources presumes to tell us what was on Julian's mind, though in most cases these sources are significantly removed from Julian in time, place, and disposition—in the last case, particularly with regard to matters of religion. This is true even in the few cases when testimony survives from people who actually had had personal contact with Julian. The invectives of Gregory of Nazianzus against the emperor and several of Libanius of Antioch's orations that have Julian as their subject provide prominent examples. In contrast, all of Julian's

writings are, as JOSEPH BIDEZ recognized long ago, «œuvres de circonstance».[1] These stretch from the encomium for Constantius, composed at the earliest in 355, at least to the *Misopogon* of 363 and include various genres, each with distinctive characteristics. One consequence of this combination of contingent character, diversity of form, and composition over the course of time is a risk of mistaking continuity or diversity due to conventions within or across genre with consistency or development in Julian's thought. Nonetheless, it would be difficult to deny that Julian himself is our best guide by far in the investigation of the issues that are this essay's concerns.

Cognition and psychological development

What we can glean from Julian's writings about what he understood to be the role cognition played in psychological development suggests that his views were largely derivative and did not change in any significant way through Julian's adult life. Neither did he ever articulate them in any systematic fashion.[2]

The emperor's *Or.* 7, probably composed in around March 362 as a response to the Cynic Heracleius' criticisms of the form and content of most myths, includes a digression on the origins of mythmaking. Embedded therein is an explanation of what Julian maintains is humankind's innate disposition to think.[3] All living things, he argues, use their components for purposes to which those components are naturally suited. Distinctive among the components of a human being are reason (λόγος) and knowledge (ἐπιστήμη). These, he notes, wise men call a «faculty» (δύναμις). For Julian, this δύναμις is in fact the soul (ψυχή) enclosed in each of us, and it is why humans turn or are turned to learning, investigation, and study. Of all the components of human beings, this psychic faculty is the most distinctively human and, consequently, of all their components, the one human beings most naturally try to employ.[4]

In *Or.* 9 [6], probably composed around the same time as *Or.* 7, Julian explains the contribution the ears and eyes make to psychic action through their transmission of sensory perceptions to the ψυχή or by providing conduits through which ψυχή

[1] Julian, *Œuvres complètes. Discours de Julien César*, I.1, Paris 1932 [reprint Paris 1972], p. xiii. Unless otherwise noted, all citations of Julian's works refer to the Budé edition of BIDEZ, I.1 and I.2, Paris 1924; G. ROCHEFORT, II.1, Paris 1963; and C. LACOMBRADE, II.2, Paris 1964.

[2] «Psychological development» refers here to alterations to or within the ψυχή as Julian employed the term, whether loosely or in a precise sense.

[3] Lib. *Or.* 18.157 sets the date.

[4] *Or.* 7.2/206a-b.

may leave and re-enter us, bearing perceptions with it. By either process, these streams stimulate a steady activity of thought, apprehension, and memory that may result in varieties of knowledge (ἐπιστήμη) and that certainly fuel the soul's continuous purification of itself.[5] But human ψυχή to Julian is much more than a reasoning receptor and processor. Independent of any instruction, knowledge that there is a god exists in humans by nature.[6] This, so Julian maintains in an echo of *Or.* 7 in his *Contra Galilaeos* (composed in the winter of 362-363), can be inferred from a predilection for the divine that all humans possess, in private and public, both individually and with respect to each ethnicity: «For we all, without instruction, have a belief that there is something divine».[7] Though not the only shared concept of humankind, it is the most fundamental.

Belief, however, is not knowledge, and the difference between the two makes it difficult for every man to know or, even for those who do know, to describe this divine something in precise terms. Sometimes a benevolent god intervenes to convert δόξα into ἐπιστήμη. In such rare cases, the consequence is instantaneous knowledge, the immediate realization of the potentiality of the soul. For the vast majority of humans, who possess psychic capacities for reason and knowledge in widely varying degrees, this remains a potentiality. To complicate matters, most humans more enthusiastically teach and learn falsehoods than they do truths.[8] Furthermore, various factors can conspire to divert or impede even those souls most capable of psychic development from participation in divinely ordained activities that might otherwise have exposed them to symbolically charged actions, words, or sights.

The content of the education of the soul

One of these activities was engagement with sacred music. In the course of his letter to Ecdicius, Prefect of Egypt, written after June 362, perhaps in 363, Julian directs him to select from good families of Alexandria and to supply with training, clothing, and an allowance of grain, along with olive oil and wine, youths

[5] *Or.* 9[6].10/189c-d: Ὑπουργεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα πρὸς φρόνησιν εἴτε ἐγκατορωρυγμένῃ τῇ ψυχῇ, ὡς ἂν θᾶττον καθαρθῆναι δύναιτο τῇ γε ὡς ἀρχῇ [καὶ] ἀκινήτῳ τοῦ φρονεῖν δυνάμει, εἴτε, ὥσπερ τινὲς οἴονται, καθάπερ δι' ὀχετῶν τοιούτων εἰσφερούσης τῆς ψυχῆς.

[6] Jul. *Gal.* 52B*, Iuliani Imperatoris librorum contra Christianos quae supersunt*, K. J. NEUMANN [ed.], Leipzig 1880, p. 165.1-2: … οὐ διδακτὸν, ἀλλὰ φύσει <τὸ εἰδέναι θεὸν> τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει.

[7] 52B, NEUMANN [ed.], p. 165.4-5: «ἅπαντες γὰρ ἀδιδάκτως θεῖόν τι πεπιστεύκαμεν».

[8] *Or.* 7.2/206b-c.

(μειρακίσκοι) to be instructed in the performance and the science (ἐπιστήμη) of sacred music (ἡ ἱερὰ μουσική). For youths able to partake of the ἐπιστήμη of sacred music to the highest degree, Julian promises even more: great rewards for their labor from the emperor himself. «For,» Julian explains, «trust must be put in those correctly offering explanations at the outset about these things, that, even in preference to us, they [*i.e.*, the students] will have benefit from their souls having been purified by the divine music».[9] Whatever those rewards were, their precondition is the effect of sacred music on the souls of those students of sacred music who achieve not only a high level of technical virtuosity but also the highest degree of knowledge about sacred music itself. This, in turn, is something beyond all but a select few, whatever natural advantages their voices bring or whatever advantages to the formation of their characters their good families have afforded them. It is also something nobody could have known in advance. To give the boys the chance and to offer them the best instruction alone would tell the tale.[10]

This same issue of psychic uncertainty figures in Julian's letter (or perhaps letters) of mid summer to early fall of 362 on παιδεία ὀρθή with respect to teachers of literature and their students.[11] Modern scholarship has tended to focus on the professional status of the teachers to whom the letter refers, on the investigation of its possible relationship to *Cod. Theod.* 13.3.5, and on fitting it into an interpretive context defined by mainly Christian commentators' views on what they saw as Julian's broader educational program. This has obscured Julian's concern therein for the psychic conditions of teachers and students alike.

Julian opens with the declaration that he considers παιδεία ὀρθή to be «a healthy disposition of thought having intelligence and true opinions both about things good and bad and things noble and shameful» (Παιδείαν ὀρθὴν εἶναι νομίζομεν οὐ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασιν καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ πολυτελῆ εὐρυθμίαν, ἀλλὰ διάθεσιν ὑγιῆ νοῦν ἐχούσης διανοίας, καὶ ἀληθεῖς δόξας ὑπέρ τε ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, καλῶν τε καὶ αἰσχρῶν).[12] He goes on to assert that propriety demands of teachers that «they not bear notions in their soul that conflict

[9] *Ep.* 109[56]/442b-c: Ὅτι γὰρ καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τῆς θείας μουσικῆς καθαρθέντες ὀνήσονται, πιστευτέον τοῖς προαποφαινομένοις ὀρθῶς ὑπὲρ τούτων. Julian's words likely allude to Ps.-Plu. *De musica* 2/1131d-e and 42/1146c-d.

[10] *Ep.* 109[56]/442a-c. See too BIDEZ'S accompanying comments at I.2, pp. 120-121, and his Number 166, at p. 215. For Ecdicius Olympus 3, see *PLRE* I, pp. 647-648.

[11] *Ep.* 61c[42]/422-424. For the date see T. M. BANCHICH, «Julian's School Laws: *Cod. Theod.* 13.3.5 and *Ep.* 42», *AncW* 24, 1993, pp. 5-14, and N. MCLYNN, «Julian and the Christian Professors», in C. HARRISON, C. HUMFRESS, and I. SANDWELL (eds.), *Being Christian in Late Antiquity: A Festschrift for Gillian Clark*, Oxford 2014, pp. 120-136, especially pp. 123-127.

[12] *Ep.* 61c[42]/422a.

with what they practice in public» (μὴ μαχόμενα οἷς δημοσίᾳ μεταχειρίζονται τὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φέρειν δοξάσματα …).[13] Such men dishonor the gods who taught and were honored by the authors of the texts these very men expound. Through the dishonesty of teaching the works of those to whom they impute a mistaken respect for false gods, they reveal themselves hypocrites and unfit to teach texts whose purpose is to cultivate morality through their effects on intellect. If these teachers are to be honest, they need to believe that they impart into their students the noble teachings of these authors and of the gods who inspired them. If they do not so believe and present the authors they teach as impious, they may compromise by their example the moral lessons it is their purpose to instill.[14] Though he does not explicitly say so here, the broader context of Julian's views on the psychology of education for students would seem to imply that those who teach what they in their souls do not believe is true, by the example of that act alone, may do their students psychic harm. As for these students, the lacunose text of *Ep.* 61c[42] renders it impossible to know if Julian noted any logical connection between the psychic conditions of teachers and those of their charges. However, he does emphasize the psychic dimension of παιδεία ὀρθή as it pertains to students by stressing to guides and teachers (καθηγεμόνες and διδάσκαλοι) the need to avoid the introduction of irrational methods—fear, force, and punishment—into what should be a process in which those as yet «without understanding» (οἱ ἀνοήτοι) must, after instruction, make a rational choice to participate willingly in the journey along the best path (ἡ βελτίστη ὁδός) toward ancestral customs (τὰ πάτρια).[15]

Some of these same issues emerge yet again in two texts that may be parts of a letter Julian wrote sometime after his arrival in Antioch (June 362) to the high priest Theodorus.[16] In his description of what constitutes proper priestly character, Julian

[13] *Ep.* 61c[42]/422c.

[14] *Ep.* 61c[42]/422d: βούλονται … ἠθῶν … εἶναι διδάσκαλοι.

[15] *Ep.* 61c[42]/424a-b. BIDEZ renders ἀνοήτοι as *déraisonnent*, W. C. WRIGHT, *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, III, Cambridge, MA 1923, as «demented». Julian's use of ἀνόητος elsewhere shows that he does not mean it narrowly to describe Christians and that WRIGHT'S «demented» is too strong. *Cf.*, for example, Jul. *Or.* 28/35d and 35/43d; *Or.* 2[3].14/122d; *Or.* 3[2]16/70c, 30/90c, 33/93b, 36/98a, and 38/100b; *Or.* 7.6/340b, 18/224b, 19/349c, and 29/359d; *Or.* 9[6].11/190c; *Or.* 11[4].26/147b; *Ep.* 82[59]/146a; *Gal.* 39B, p. 163.5, 93D, p. 118.14, and 230A, p. 206.5; *Mis.* 9/242d and 29/359a.

[16] In his Budé text of Julian's works [n. 1], J. BIDEZ, following arguments of J. R. ASMUS, «Eine Encyklika Julians des Abtrünnigen und ihre Vorläufer,» *ZKG* 16, 1895, pp. 45-71, especially pp. 53-63, and 220-252, combined as his Numbers 89a[63]/452a-454d and 89b/288a-305d (Julian, *Œuvres complètes* I.2, pp. 151-174, with BIDEZ'S comments at pp. 102-105) the emperor's letter to a Theodorus and a long fragment of a another letter preserved in *Leidensis Vossianus Gr.* 77 III. These

comments on what he views to be texts conducive to the intellectual formation of the best of Theodorus' students and on the proper and improper methods of the explication of those texts. He hopes that those suitable by nature and morally upright will follow the right leads, for "they will recognize the words are kindred to them" (ἐπιγιγνώσονται γὰρ οἰκείους ὄντας ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς λόγους).[17] There were prohibitions, too, against saying or listening to shameful things.[18] Thus, because of the dangers they posed to the souls of the priests of his Hellenic clergy, Julian dismissed four components of the Greek literary tradition as unsuited to play a role in their παιδεία: the poems of Hipponax, at least some of those of Archilochus, their imitators, and obscene passages from Old Comedy.[19] The potential for psychic damage inherent in the writings of Jews and Christians was obvious, for they transmitted to the souls of those who read them impious and unphilosophical teachings about the gods. But too much attention to the specifics of psychic corruption through texts and teachings risks diverting attention from the underlying conviction that justifies Julian's concerns: «By means of words, a certain disposition is engendered in the soul».[20]

Myths and fables, too, could affect souls. This could happen both within and outside of the parameters of formal instruction, and not only through hearing but also through sight, by listening to and watching a reader or performer or by engaging in reading oneself. No matter their age, those with the souls of small children were particularly susceptible to myths and fables. Indeed, Julian suggests that mythmakers consciously fashioned their creations precisely for «the souls of small children» (ταῖς τῶν παιδίων ψυχαῖς). Most such writers, he says, excepting the select few who related divinely-inspired myths through which one might access «true knowledge» (ἡ ἀληθὴς ἐπιστήμη), composed «for the little soul (τῷ ψυχαρίῳ) sprouting wings and longing to know something more but not yet being able to be taught the truth».[21] In addition to those who related myths, certain authors of no special status with respect to the gods (*i.e.*, working with no divine inspiration) composed fables and tales (αἶνοι) the purpose of which was to entertain and to communicate a moral to men, not just to children but to grownups, too.[22] Julian gives Hesiod as an example of a poet who employed fable, Archilochus

appear in WRIGHT'S *The Works of the Emperor Julian* [n. 16], II, pp. 296-339 as a «Fragment of a Letter to a Priest», and III, 54-61, as her *Ep.* 20. For Theodorus, see *PLRE* I, p. 897.

[17] 89b/289a.

[18] 89b/300c: αἰσχρὸν δὲ μήτε λέγοντας μήτε ἀκούοντας.

[19] 89b/300b-d. Note that Julian extended this verdict to philosophers who, unlike Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics, had not chosen the gods as their guides.

[20] 89b/301c: ἐγγίνεται … τις τῇ ψυχῇ διάθεσις ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων. Here Julian refers specifically to works of fiction, especially to love stories.

[21] *Or.* 7.2/206c-d.

[22] *Or.* 7.3/207a.

as an example of a poet who used myth, and, in an apparent conflation of some of the features of myth and fable, adds Aesop, «the Homer, or Thucydides, or Plato of myths».[23] The vast majority of the time, such tales were just harmless, and they could even be edifying. In some cases, this edification might even start a select few with capable intellects on the track to higher forms of knowledge. Though Julian allowed that fables embedded in Jewish or Christian texts could afford pleasure and offer moral lessons, those texts belonged to traditions inimical to the worship of the gods. As such, he suspected they might divert those who internalized them from rites and symbolic forms central to correct psychic formation and so compromise even capable souls in their psychic progress.

Methods of the education of soul

The senses of sight and sound, individually or in concert, could, then, affect souls for good or ill. Yet even in the case of particularly receptive souls the process was not necessarily a simple, mechanistic, one-to-one transfer. Explanations of the meanings of things said, read, sung, or done could be as influential in determining their psychic consequences as were the objects of attention themselves. Due to the potential psychic effects of the combination of sounds and the meanings of the words heard by the young, proper diction (λέξις) demanded special care. Wicked, blasphemous, and impious words, particularly when employed by people who composed stories about divine things, could do real psychic harm. Λέξις in tales in which gods and goddesses played a role should be modest, dignified, beautiful, splendid, divine, pure, appropriate to the gods to the greatest degree, and on point as far as possible when it came to the essence of the gods.[24] With regard to thought (διάνοια), however, and apart from diction, a certain amount of content apparently at odds with these desiderata might actually prove beneficial, for it could serve as a sort of value-added boon to trigger in certain souls an urge to search for secret meanings not foisted on a tale by interpreters but inherent in a story itself.[25]

In his own writings, Julian often practiced what he preached. For example, in his panegyric to Constantius, Julian asserts that he gives a factual, historical account of Constantius and that he has not behaved «like those who interpret the myths of poets and analyze them into plausible versions that allow them to introduce fictions

[23] *Or.* 7.3/207 b-c.

[24] *Or.* 7.13/218a-d.

[25] *Or.* 7.14/219a: Τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπεμφαῖνον χρησίμου γιγνόμενον χάριν ἐγκριτέον, ὡς ἂν μή τινος ὑπομνήσεως ἔξωθεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι δεόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ λεγομένων τῷ μύθῳ διδασκόμενοι τὸ λανθάνον μῶσθαι καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν ὑφ' ἡγεμόσι τοῖς θεοῖς προθυμηθεῖεν.

of their own, though they start out from very slight analogies and, having recourse to a very shadowy basis, try to convince us that this is the very thing that the poets intended to say».[26] Julian warns of this same danger of attribution of meaning through unwarranted exegesis in a restrained interpretation of *Il.* 18.239-240 in his *Hymn to King Helios*:

> For with respect to «And Helios, unwearied, did ox-eyed queen Hera dispatch to go unwilling to Oceanus' streams», [Homer] means that, because of a sort of severe fog, it was thought to be night before the appropriate time. For the goddess surely is this, and elsewhere in the poem [*Il.* 21.6] he says «And a thick mist was Hera spreading before them». But, on the one hand [In contrast to what Julian maintains Helios himself teaches.], let us grant impunity to the material of the poets. For, along with the divine, it contains much that is human, too.[27]

Of course, Julian allowed that in the hands of select masters of theology some of the obscured essence of the gods could nourish not only souls but also stimulate physical pleasure «whenever it, with the theatrical display of the myths, [was] poured through enigmas in them into the ears of the majority who are unable to receive purely divine things».[28] But ultimately even the right instructors required the right objects of study—divinely inspired texts, rituals, and music—and the right students—a select few whose souls were the fit receptors of revelations contingent on the understanding and psychic internalization of divine symbols. They also needed the right methods of instruction, and Julian makes it clear that freewheeling allegorical exegesis, seemingly capable of application to any text by anyone, was

[26] *Or.* 3[2].20.5-9/74d-75a: καθάπερ οἱ τοὺς μύθους ἐξηγούμενοι τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ ἀναλύοντες ἐς λόγους πιθανοὺς καὶ ἐνδεχομένους τὰ πλάσματα, ἐκ μικρᾶς πάνυ τῆς ὑπονοίας ὁρμώμενοι καὶ ἀμυδρὰς λίαν παραλαβόντες τὰς ἀρχὰς πειρῶνται ξυμπείθειν ὡς δὴ ταῦτά γε αὐτὰ ἐκείνων ἐθελόντων λέγειν.

[27] *Or.* 11[4].11/137b-c: Τὸ γὰρ «Ἠέλιόν τ' ἀκάμαντα βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη / Πέμψεν ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοὰς ἀέκοντα νέεσθαι» πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ φησὶ νομισθῆναι τὴν νύκτα διά τινα χαλεπὴν ὁμίχλην. Αὕτη γὰρ ἡ θεός που καὶ ἄλλοθι τῆς ποιήσεώς φησιν· «ἠέρα δ' Ἥρη / Πίτνα πρόσθε βαθεῖαν». Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τῶν ποιητῶν χαίρειν ἐάσωμεν· ἔχει γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ θείου πολὺ καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον. The dedicatee of *Or.* 11[4] may be Flavius Sallustius, author of *Concerning the Gods and the Universe*, A. D. NOCK [ed.], Cambridge 1926, praetorian prefect of Gaul from 361-363 and, in that last year, consul together with Julian. *Cf.* Sallustius 2 and Flavius Sallustius 5, *PLRE* I, pp. 796-798.

[28] *Or.* 7/216c-d: καὶ τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον τῆς τῶν θεῶν οὐσίας οὐκ ἀνέχεται γυμνοῖς εἰς ἀκαθάρτους ἀκοὰς ῥίπτεσθαι ῥήμασιν. Ὅπερ δὲ δὴ τῶν χαρακτήρων ἡ ἀπόρρητος φύσις ὠφελεῖν πέφυκε καὶ ἀγνοουμένη· θεραπεύει γοῦν οὐ ψυχὰς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώματα, καὶ θεῶν ποιεῖ παρουσίας. Τοῦτ' οἶμαι πολλάκις γίγνεσθαι καὶ διὰ τῶν μύθων, ὅταν εἰς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ἀκοὰς οὐ δυνα<μένας> τὰ θεῖα καθαρῶς δέξασθαι δι' αἰνιγμάτων αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῆς μύθων σκηνοποιίας ἐγχέηται.

decidedly not that method. Indeed, neither ἀλληγορία nor ἀλληγορεῖν or, for that matter, any words that share ἀλληγορ- appear in Julian's writings. Given Julian's views on the developmental psychology of παιδεία and on the importance of παιδεία ὀρθή for those souls suited to travel the very narrow path toward ἐπιστήμη, the best result of such an approach would be to do no harm. For Julian, who himself had made that journey, this was hardly a recommendation. Rather, it was symbolic exegesis of the sort to which Julian had been privy that was the safer, perhaps the sole, guide.

Conclusion

Julian's views about the effects of cognition on ψυχαί and on the moral, intellectual, and spiritual consequences of the processing of sensory data seem to have remained consistent from the composition of his encomium to Constantius in 355 through that of his *Misopogon* and *Contra Galilaeos* in 363. To him, the minds of the vast majority of humans were incapable of much development beyond a basic level of rational thought, though almost all possessed an innate belief in the existence of something divine. Some, mostly thanks to various external stimuli—be they visual, auditory, tactile, or olfactory—, and a very few, as a result of being in possession of ψυχαί with exceptional intellectual and spiritual potential actualized through sensory stimuli or by ideas themselves, could be elevated by and to higher levels of thought. However, even for them, exposure at any time to psychically harmful sensations, even in the form of misrepresentations of perceptions otherwise neutral or beneficial, could compromise the attainment of spiritual heights potentially within their grasp. Only in the rarest instances and most often under the supervision of extraordinary guides who had earned access to such mysteries and who, consequently, could explain symbols and texts and conduct rites and rituals able to elevate the finest ψυχαί to a proximity to the divine as close as was humanly possible, might realization of psychic δύναμις and the attainment of true ἐπιστήμη occur. But, apart from the case of Julian himself, these fortunate few fall outside the purview of this study, which has concentrated instead on the winnowing process that preceded and was a precondition for a soul's ascent to the ultimate spiritual heights.

Julian's views of the role παιδεία ὀρθή played in this process were exclusive and hierarchical. As such, they reflect the social, economic, and political realities of the world in which he lived. More precisely, they mirror what we know of as the stages of Julian's own psychic development.[29] Thanks to his intellect and to the

[29] See J. BOUFFARTIGUE, *L'Empereur Julien et la culture de son temps*, Paris 1992, pp. 13-49, for the course of Julian's education.

help of texts and teachers along the way, he had risen to rarified spiritual and intellectual heights. Who, except perhaps for the gods, could have anticipated this? As he reflected on his psychic maturation through various forms of παιδεία from the dangers of his Christian upbringing, through the joy and excitement he had felt under the tutelage of Mardonius, the nurturing of λόγος he owed to subsequent teachers, and the culmination of his spiritual refinement orchestrated by the hierophantic Maximus of Ephesus, his experience would have colored and reinforced his views of risks to psychic rectitude, of the difficulty of gauging the psychic potential of any youth, and of the prize that awaited a select few, a group to which Julian himself would have been certain he belonged and for admission to which παιδεία ὀρθή had prepared him.[30]

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[30] Of the many debts I owe Bob Penella, three stand out from the rest. One is for his role as outside reader of my 1985 State University of New York at Buffalo doctoral dissertation, *The Historical Fragments of Eunapius of Sardis*. A second is for his invitation to me to participate in a session devoted to Julian the Apostate he was co-organizing for the 1991 Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association. The third is for the thoughtful interest he has shown over the years in much of my scholarship.

The Sleep of Theseus: Classical Myth and *Interpretatio Christiana* in Procopius of Gaza's *Description of the Image**

Abstract: Euripide, Omero e, probabilmente, altre fonti mitografiche e/o figurative sono alla base della *Descrizione dell'immagine collocata nella città di Gaza* di Procopio di Gaza. Questo articolo prende in esame in particolare la figura di Teseo dormiente, che costituisce l'elemento più originale dell'*ekphrasis*, per proporre un'interpretazione morale e religiosa della scena descritta da Procopio. L'*ekphrasis* di Procopio, quindi, costituisce un importante documento della compenetrazione tra *paideia* classica e sensibilità giudaico-cristiana che caratterizza l'ambiente della Scuola di Gaza tra il V e il VI sec.

Keywords: *ekphrasis*, Procopius of Gaza, Theseus, Phaedra, Euripides, Homer, mosaics, sleep, Bible.

1. The εἰκών

The vast rhetorical production of Procopius of Gaza (c. 470-c. 530) includes two *ekphraseis*, which convey important information on late antique visual arts and technology. This paper proposes a reading of Procopius's Ἔκφρασις εἰκόνος ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Γαζαίων κειμένης, "Description of the image located in the city of Gaza," in order to highlight the ways in which Procopius, like the other literates of the School of Gaza, combined classical heritage with the Neoplatonic-Christian values he shared with his intended audience.[1]

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Unless otherwise specified, all translations from Greek and Italian are my own.

[1] On Procopius's life and work, see E. Amato's introduction to his critical edition (Procope de Gaza, *Discours et Fragments*, Paris 2014; hereafter: *Procope*), pp. XI-LII, and the bibliography quoted

Like many of the works of the Gazan scholars, this description was composed for a public performance. Delphine Lauritzen has proposed to identify the occasion with the ἡμέρα τῶν ῥόδων, the "Day of the Roses,"[2] a festival originally related to the celebration of the coming of spring and apparently "Christianized" in late antique Gaza.[3] Another hypothesis, proposed by Eugenio Amato, relates the *ekphrasis* to the inauguration of the building where the εἰκών was located.[4] In any case, Procopius's *ekphrasis* displays the style and motives of the best examples of Gazan epideictic rhetoric, which had its most important representatives in Choricius, John of Gaza, and Procopius himself.

Although the work of art described by Procopius is no longer extant, it is possible to reconstruct at least its main features.[5] It consisted of a painting on a wooden panel or a fresco composed of several scenes (**Pl. 1**). No element allows us to understand whether the "image" was located in a public or a private space. At the end of his *ekphrasis*, Procopius gives us the name of the patron, whose portrait surmounted the picture: a noble man and imperial official named Timotheus, a benefactor, who had organized horse races and financed the building of public baths in the city.[6]

therein. In addition to the *ekphrasis* examined in this paper (*Op.* IX Amato, *ibid.,* pp. 190-210), Procopius wrote an Ἔκφρασις ὡρολογίου (*Op.* VIII Amato, pp. 138-145). All quotations from Procopius's *ekphrasis* (hereafter *Descr.*) are taken from Amato's edition

[2] D. LAURITZEN (RENAUT), *La récitation d'ekphraseis: une réalité vivante à Gaza au VI^e siècle*, in C. SALIOU (ed.), *Gaza dans l'Antiquité Tardive. Archéologie, rhétorique et histoire. Actes du colloque international de Poitiers (6-7 mai 2004)*, Salerno 2005, pp. 197-220: 215-216. On the "intended audience" of Gazan literates, see F. CICCOLELLA, *Swarms of the Wise Bee: Literati and Their Audience in Sixth-Century Gaza*, in E. AMATO – A. RODUIT – M. STEINRÜCK (eds.), *Approches de la Troisième Sophistique. Hommages à Jacques Schamp*, Bruxelles 2006, pp. 78-95; and A. CORCELLA, *Usi del mito a Gaza*, in G. CIPRIANI – A. TEDESCHI (eds.), *Le chiavi del mito e della storia*, Bari 2013, pp. 77-99.

[3] See in particular E. AMATO, *Procopio e il* dies rosarum: eros *platonico,* agape *cristiana e rappresentazioni pantomimiche nella Gaza tardoantica*, in E. AMATO (ed.), *Rose di Gaza. Gli scritti retorico-sofistici e le* Epistole *di Procopio di Gaza*, Alessandria 2010, pp. 56-70.

[4] E. AMATO, *Procope* [n.1], p. 170. The two hypotheses do not exclude each other: a text conceived for either occasion could be adapted to suit the other.

[5] I follow the reconstruction proposed by E. AMATO in *Procope* [n.1], p. 174 (**Pl. 1**). For the Phaedra and Theseus scene, I rely on P. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Spätantiker Gemäldezyklus in Gaza. Des Prokopios von Gaza* Ἔκφρασις εἰκόνος, Vatican City 1939, Tafel XI (reproduced as **Pl. 2**). The importance and the limits of ancient *ekphraseis* for the reconstruction of lost works of art have been often emphasized. See, e.g., R. WEBB, Ekphrasis, *Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, Farnham-Burlington, VT 2009; J. ELSNER, *Art and the Roman Viewer: The Transfiguration of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 21-48; and H. MAGUIRE, «Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art», *DOP* 298, 1974, pp. 113-140 = G. NAGY (ed.), *Greek Literature*, IX. *Greek Literature in the Byzantine Period*, New York-London 2001, pp. 258-300.

[6] *Descr.* 42. The name can be inferred from the periphrasis τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ Κόνωνος τὴν αὐτὴν

The lower part of the εἰκών included two scenes from the myth of Phaedra and Hippolytus. The first scene (**Pl. 2**) is set in a bedchamber. Theseus, the king of Athens, lies asleep in his bed, while Phaedra, his wife, sits at the bed's foot, contemplating an image of her stepson Hippolytus painted on the room's architrave; servants and other figures are also placed near the main characters. In the second scene, Phaedra's nurse brings her mistress's letter to Hippolytus while he is hunting in the woods with Daphne. While Hippolytus throws the letter to the ground, one of his servants punishes the old woman, and a falconer attempts to defend her.[7] Above the representation of Phaedra's myth, four scenes from Book 3 of the *Iliad*, lines 259-446, were depicted: Priam's and Antenor's arrival at the Greek camp; the signing of a truce between the Greeks and the Trojans; the duel between Menelaus and Paris with the intervention of Aphrodite, who saves Paris from certain death; and, finally, Aphrodite leading Paris and reluctant Helen to their bedchamber.

What is the relationship between the two parts of the εἰκών? Procopius places emphasis on Priam's and Antenor's white hair and sufferings, which apparently recall the appearance and sad fate of Phaedra's old nurse; like her, the elderly men carry a fatal message, Paris's refusal to give up Helen.[8] A clearer connection, however, is the theme of adultery: Phaedra plans it, while Helen carries it out.[9] Also, a peacock and a pair of doves depicted on top of Theseus's palace symbolize Hera and Aphrodite, respectively, and as such represent two different aspects of femininity.[10] Procopius describes them emphasizing marital fidelity: the peacock's tail resembles the canopy of the nuptial bed, while the doves are male and female

ἔχων προσηγορίαν καὶ τύχην, "with the name and fate identical to Conon's son," i.e., the Athenian general Timotheus (d. 354 B.C.E.). For a tentative identification of the Timotheus mentioned by Procopius, see E. AMATO in *Procope* [n.1], pp. 159-171; *Rose* [n.3], pp. 282-283 n. 144; and especially «Sur l'identité de Timothée, commanditaire de la fresque de Gaza», *RET* 3, 2013-2014, pp. 69-86.

[7] *Descr.* 23-29, pp. 201, 10-204, 22. On this scene, see V. DRBAL's considerations in «L'*Ekphrasis Eikonos* de Procope de Gaza en tant que reflet de la société de l'antiquité tardive», *ByzSlav* 69, 2011, pp. 106-122 = 113-117.

[8] See in particular *Descr.* 38, p. 207, 15-17 and 40, p. 209, 4-9, and the observations by R. TALGAM, *The* Ekphrasis Eikonos *of Procopius of Gaza: The Depiction of Mythological Themes in Palestine and Arabia During the Fifth and Sixth Centuries*, in B. BITTON-ASHKELONY – A. KOFSKY (eds.), *Christian Gaza in Late Antiquity*, Leiden-Boston 2004, p. 214.

[9] See E. AMATO, *Rose* [n.3], pp. 33-34.

[10] *Descr.* 8-9, pp. 193, 12-194, 4. Hera adorned the tail of the peacock with Argus's one-hundred eyes after Hermes had killed him; see Ov. *Met.* 1, 720-723. As for the dove, its link with Aphrodite is well attested in literature (e.g., Ael., *N.A.* 10. 33 and Ov., *Met.* 14, 597), as well as figurative arts: see B. BREITENBERGER, *Aphrodite and Eros: The Development of Erotic Mythology in Early Greek Poetry and Cult*, New York-London 2007, pp. 15-17; and M.S. CYRINO, *Aphrodite*, London-New York 2010, pp. 121-122.

in love with each other.[11] Interestingly enough, both the first and the last of the scenes described are set in a bedchamber (θάλαμος), which, consequently, becomes at the same time the point of departure and arrival of the description. Both female characters are scantily dressed: Phaedra and Helen wear light garments that reveal hidden parts of their bodies.[12] The two male characters are the opposite of each other: Theseus is a hero and Paris a coward. However, both are forced to surrender to a stronger power: Theseus to sleep and Paris to Aphrodite. A ring-composition or chiastic structure also appears when comparing the progression of the *Iliad*'s scenes and the scenes from Phaedra's myth. While, in the part on Phaedra and Theseus, Procopius proceeds from the closed environment of a bedchamber to an "open" scene of hunting and violence, the scenes from the *Iliad* suggest an opposite route: from violence on the battlefield to sex within the secrecy of the θάλαμος.

2. Literary and artistic models

Procopius's description begins with a statement on the power of Eros, which is superior to that of Zeus:

> "Eros and Eros's arrows roam about everywhere and penetrate everything. Not even Zeus is free when the Erotes will it, but he, the venerable, the supreme one, whose 'might is unyielding' (Hom. *Il.* 8, 32) desires Semele, cares for Hera, shows himself as a bull to Europa and swims through the sea steered by Eros. And if he appears as gold, Danae's virginity disappears."[13]

[11] *Descr.* 8, p. 193, 22-24: ἀνορθοῖ ταῦτα μετέωρα καὶ πρὸς βαθύν τινα κόλπον κοιλαίνει τὸ μέσον καὶ παστάδα μιμεῖται τῷ σχήματι, "(the peacock) straights up its feathers and, in the center, creates a bosom-like hollow, which imitates a nuptial bed" (see AMATO's comment in *Procope* [n.1], pp. 212-213 n. 19). *Descr.* 9, pp. 193, 28-194, 1: θῆλυ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ἄρρεν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἡδόμενα ἔρωτι, "(the doves) are male and female, enjoying mutual love."

[12] For Phaedra, see *Descr.* 17, p. 198, 12-13: λεπτῷ δὲ χιτωνίσκῳ [σχεδόν τ]ι καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων ὑπέδειξεν, "with her light short dress, she revealed, so to speak, even her secret parts." For Helen, see *Descr.* 41, p. 209, 24-25: λεπτῷ χιτῶνι μηδὲν τῶν ἔνδον λανθάνουσαν, "hiding nothing of her body with her light dress." G.W. BOWERSOCK (*Mosaics as History: The Near East from Late Antiquity to Islam*, Cambridge, MA-London 2006, pp. 59-60) notices the influence of mimes in the representation of Phaedra as half-naked (see below, p. 42); see also K.M.D. DUNBABIN, *Mythology and Theatre in the Mosaics of the Graeco-Roman East*, in S. BIRK – T.M. KRISTENSEN – B. POULSEN (eds.), *Using Images in Late Antiquity*, Oxford-Philadelphia 2014, pp. 227-252 = 239. Conversely, in *Descr.* 28, p. 204, 12-15, Daphne, Hippolytus's chaste companion in hunting, is described as fully dressed, except for her right arm.

[13] *Descr.* 1, p. 190, 1-8: Ἔρως δὲ καὶ Ἔρωτος τὰ τοξεύματα πανταχῇ φοιτᾷ καὶ διὰ πάντων διέρχεται. καὶ οὔτε Ζεὺς ἐλεύθερος, ὅταν ἐθέλωσιν Ἔρωτες· ἀλλ' ὁ σεμνὸς καὶ ὕπατος καὶ ᾧ "τὸ σθένος οὐκ ἐπιεικτὸν" Σεμέλην τε ποθεῖ καὶ Ἥραν περιεργάζεται καὶ βοῦς Εὐρώπῃ δοκεῖ καὶ νήχεται θάλασσαν ὑπ' Ἔρωτος κυβερνώμενος· κἂν φανῇ χρυσός, οὐ φαίνεται Δανάη παρθένος.

Procopius's learned public were certainly able to recognize some of the "gods' love stories" used for declamations in schools of rhetoric, as well as the Homeric quotation announcing the important role that, as we shall see, Homer plays in this *ekphrasis*.

After a brief mention of Poseidon's and Apollo's love affairs, Procopius concludes his introduction:

> "Finally, the Erotes taunt their own mother (i.e., Aphrodite); that's why she was stirred by passion for Adonis, and the rose proclaims her love. As you can see, they directed their arrows against Phaedra also."[14]

This passage refers to a myth that occurs frequently in the works of the Gazan rhetoricians: while chasing her beloved Adonis, Aphrodite pricks her foot with the thorn of a rose, and the goddess's blood turns the rose from white into red;[15] Procopius's short reference seems to support Lauritzen's hypothesis of a connection between this *ekphrasis* and the Day of the Roses.

The real *ekphrasis* begins at this point, with a description of the first group of images, centered on the myth of Phaedra. The many versions of this widely treated myth show some general features. Phaedra, the daughter of the Cretan king Minos and Pasiphae, married Theseus and fell in love with her stepson Hippolytus, who rejected her. In her frustration, Phaedra accused Hippolytus of attempting to rape her; Theseus believed her and cursed his son, who died shortly thereafter. Then Phaedra, oppressed by remorse, revealed her lie to her husband and committed suicide.

Sophocles, Euripides, Ovid, Seneca, and, presumably, other ancient authors treated this myth in various ways and forms.[16] In late antiquity, the story of Phaedra

[14] *Descr.* 1, p. 190, 12-15: ἤδη δὲ τῇ τεκούσῃ προσπαίζουσι μὲν Ἔρωτες, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἄρα πρὸς Ἄδωνιν ἐνεπτόητο, καὶ βοᾷ τὸ ῥόδον τὸν ἔρωτα. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ κατὰ Φαίδρας, ὡς ὁρᾷς, ἀνετείναντο τὰ τοξεύματα.

[15] On this myth and its use in the School of Gaza, see the exhaustive study by S. LUPI, «Il mito di Afrodite e Adone alla scuola di retorica di Gaza», *REA* 144, 2012, pp. 83-100.

[16] Sophocles wrote a *Phaedra*, of which only eighteen fragments remain (nos. 677-693 ed. S. RADT, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. IV: *Sophocles*, Göttingen 1999[2]). Euripides' extant *Hippolytus* (Στεφανέφορος, "Garland-Bearer") was apparently a remake of a previous play, also entitled *Hippolytus* (Καλυπτόμενος "Veiled"), which is lost except for twenty short fragments (nos. 428-447 ed. R. KANNICHT, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. V.1: *Euripides*, Göttingen 2004). Seneca used the plays by Euripides and, probably, Sophocles as models for his *Phaedra*. The fourth of Ovid's *Heroides* consists of Phaedra's fictitious letter to Hippolytus. For the myth of Phaedra in ancient drama, see the excellent study by L. THÉVENET, *L'*ekphrasis eikonos *de Procope de Gaza: visite guidée d'une tragédie*, in E. Amato – A. Corcella – D. Lauritzen (eds.), *L'École de Gaza: espace littéraire et identité culturelle dans l'antiquité tardive*, Leuven-Paris-Bristol 2017, pp. 225-265 (I thank the author for making her article available to me before publication). On the Latin versions and elaborations of Phaedra's myth, see L. FULKERSON, *The Ovidian Heroine as Author*, Cambridge 2005, pp. 122-142.

and Hippolytus was object of mimic and pantomimic performances.[17] Its popularity extended to visual arts: it appears, for example, in the decoration of sarcophagi from the second century C.E. onwards, as well as in at least three floor mosaics from the Eastern Mediterranean.[18] The earliest one is in the House of Dionysus at Kato Paphos (Cyprus) and is dated to the second century C.E. Hippolytus stands with a spear in one hand and a diptych in the other; a dog is at his feet. He looks at Phaedra, who sits on a throne leaning toward him; beside Phaedra, a winged Eros holds a bow in his left hand and a torch in his right, pointing the flame toward her.[19] The second mosaic, located at Sheikh Zuweid in Northern Sinai and dated to ca. the mid-fifth century, shows Phaedra sitting in an *aedicula*, while the nurse hands her letter to Hippolytus at the presence of two huntsmen. The third, discovered in 1982 in the so-called Hippolytus Hall at Madaba (Jordan), is a rather sophisticated work attributed to the first half of the sixth century; it shows some similarities to Procopius's description, particularly in the connection between the myth of Phaedra and Hippolytus and the myth of Aphrodite and Adonis.[20] The

[17] Aristophanes (*Ra.* 1044 and *Th.* 579-580) mentions Phaedra as a symbol of female lust together with other women of myth. Phaedra's shamelessness apparently constituted a popular topic in mimes and pantomimes, especially if contrasted with Hippolytus's chastity. See, e.g., Lucian, *Salt.* 2: Ἀνὴρ δὲ τίς ὢν ὅλως, καὶ ταῦτα παιδείᾳ σύντροφος […] κάθηται καταυλούμενος, θηλυδρίαν ἄνθρωπον ὁρῶν ἐσθῆσι μαλακαῖς καὶ ἄσμασιν ἀκολάστοις ἐναβρυνόμενον καὶ μιμούμενον ἐρωτικὰ γύναια, τῶν πάλαι τὰς μαχλοτάτας, Φαίδρας καὶ Παρθενόπας καὶ Ῥοδόπας τινάς, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ὑπὸ κρούμασιν καὶ τερετίσμασι καὶ ποδῶν κτύπῳ; "Who, being a man at all, and an educated man, […] can sit subdued by a flute, watching an effeminate individual priding himself with soft clothes and lascivious songs and imitating little women in love, the most lustful ones of old, the various Phaedras, Parthenopes, and Rhodopes, all of this accompanied by knocking, whistling, and tapping of feet?" See also Libanius, *Or.* 64, 67 (ed. R. FOERSTER, *Libanii opera,* vol. 4, Leipzig 1908, p. 462, 12-13): Φαίδραν ὀρχηστὴς ἐποίησεν ἐρῶσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἱππόλυτον προσέθηκεν, ἐγκρατῆ νεανίσκον, "a dancer showed Phaedra in love, but also added Hippolytus, a self-controlled young man" (English translation by M.E. MOLLOY, *Libanius and the Dancers*, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 1996, p. 160). Mimes on Phaedra also were performed in sixth-century Gaza, according to Choricius of Gaza, *Or.* 21 (*Dial.* 12), 1, p. 248 and *Or.* 29 (*Decl.* 8), 31, p. 323 ed. R. FOERSTER – E. RICHTSTEIG, *Choricii Gazaei opera*, Leipzig 1929, repr. Stuttgart 1972. On mimes and pantomimes in late antique Palestine, see Z. WEISS, *Public Spectacles in Roman and Late Antique Palestine*, Cambridge, MA – London 2014, pp. 120-135.

[18] See, e.g., S. MUCZNICK, *Devotion and Unfaithfulness: Alcestis and Phaedra in Roman Art*, Rome 1999, pp. 83-109 and pls. 60-164; and P. ZANKER – B.C. EWALD, *Living with Myths: The Imagery on Roman Sarcophagi* [Engl. transl. J. SLATER], Oxford 2012, pp. 344-350. For the myth of Phaedra in visual arts, see also THÉVENET, *Ekphrasis* [n.16], pp. 228-232.

[19] See Ch. KONDOLEON, *Domestic and Divine: Roman Mosaics in the House of Dionysos*, Ithaca-London 1995, pp. 40-50. Kondoleon identifies influences from Antiochene mosaics and Roman sarcophagi in the composition of the scene, and considers it as "a pastiche of figures and details excerpted from several sources at some stage in the pictorial evolution of this myth" (pp. 42-43).

[20] On both mosaics, in addition to TALGAM, *Ekphrasis* [n.8], see EAD., *Mosaics of Faith: Floors of*

same connection can be observed in three anacreontic poems commonly attributed to George the Grammarian but actually anonymous, which can be assigned to the School of Gaza and to Procopius's age. These poems treat Phaedra's myth in the spirit of the celebration of the Day of the Roses: Phaedra convinces Hippolytus to accept a crown of roses and, in this way, her love.[21]

Such fondness for a pagan myth involving insane lust, unjust death, and suicide seems incompatible with a Judaic-Christian environment like Gaza's. However, as Gianfranco Agosti has observed, it is possible to solve this contradiction taking into account what Paul Zanker has termed "decontextualization" of the characters, which were perceived outside their traditional myth and according to some aspects of their personality and behavior. Consequently, the Phaedra portrayed on late antique sarcophagi is not the lascivious and unfaithful woman of myth and mimes but the wife or the mother mourning the absence of her husband or son. Similarly, Theseus is the father horrified at the death of his son and Hippolytus the pure young man prematurely taken from life. Agosti indicates the cause in a "loss of a unitary and synthetic view in favor of an analytical approach," which makes it possible to emphasize the detail rather than the whole and focus "on the peculiarities of what has been defined as *jeweled style*: a precious style, adorned with the gems of refined allusions."[22] In this way, it became possible also to establish a connection between Phaedra's failed attempt to seduce Hippolytus and the episode of Joseph and Potiphar's wife in Gen 39:7-20, which was certainly familiar to the Gazan audience.

In the εἰκών (Pl. 2), it is noon on a summer day in Athens. Theseus lies on his bed, which, as Procopius notices, stands in the middle of the bedchamber and is luxurious, soft, and with yellow and blue decorations.[23] The bedchamber has a wall with niches for statues and a colonnade supporting an architrave adorned with

Pagan, Jews, Samaritans, Christians, and Muslims in the Holy Land, Jerusalem-University Park 2014, pp. 365-367, 373-374; and DUNBABIN, *Mythology* [n.12], pp. 235-242, with the vast bibliography quoted therein.

[21] On [Georg. gramm] *anacr.* 5, 6a, and 6b, see F. CICCOLELLA, *Cinque poeti bizantini. Anacreontee dal Barberiniano greco 310*, Alessandria 2000, pp. 220-237 (edition, Italian translation, and commentary); and EAD., «Phaedra's Shining Roses: Reading Euripides in Sixth-Century Gaza», *SCI* 26, 2007, pp. 181-204.

[22] G. AGOSTI, *Fedra e Ippolito in Giordania*, in R. DEGL'INNOCENTI PIERINI – N. LAMBARDI – E. MAGNELLI et al. (eds.), *Fedra. Versioni e riscritture di un mito classico. Atti del Convegno AICC (Firenze, 2-3 aprile 2003)*, Florence 2007, pp. 113-130 = 116-117. See also P. ZANKER, *Phädras Trauer und Hippolytos' Bildung: zu einem Sarkophag im Thermenmuseum*, in F. DE ANGELIS – S. MUTH (eds.), *Im Spiegel des Mythos. Bilderwelt und Lebenswelt / Lo specchio del mito. Immaginario e realtà*, Wiesbaden 1999, pp. 131-142.

[23] *Descr.* 2, p. 190, 16-17: Ἀθῆναι ταῦτα καὶ θέρους ἀκμὴ καὶ μέσον ἡμέρας; p. 191, 4-7: μέση δὲ τῶν βασιλείων ἡ κλίνη, σεμνὴ καὶ μάλα τρυφῶσα, ὑπείκουσα μὲν, ὡς δοκεῖ, τῷ καθεύδειν ἐθέλοντι, χρωμάτων δὲ παραλλαγῇ τὸ ξανθὸν ἀεὶ τῷ κυανῷ παραπλέκουσα.

paintings. Procopius describes these paintings from the right to the left: Hippolytus hunting, Theseus fighting against the Minotaur, Ariadne giving Theseus the thread that will allow him to escape from the labyrinth, and the group of young Athenians sent to Crete to be sacrificed to the monster.[24] The order of these scenes reverses the chronology of the story and probably corresponds to the way they appeared to viewers: this detail enhances the realism of the description.[25]

Then Procopius returns to Theseus:

> "Theseus occupies the center (of the scene): he is neither fighting against the Minotaur nor hitting Cercyon or making Sinis give up his arrogance; you may see such stories on another painting. This time he, worn out by the long day, lay out on his bed; he gives rest to his body, averting the stifling heat of midday with sleep. He was conversing with his wife, who is by him but not lying with him—for it is at night time that moderate people lie in bed;—instead, she sits on a folding stool. And apparently Theseus was dragged into sleep amidst the conversation, letting his words die away half-finished because of his weariness."[26]

Theseus, whom the most horrible monsters were unable to defeat, is overcome by sleep, which seized him in the middle of a conversation with his wife. The paradox of a sleeping Theseus appears even more striking if compared to the celebration of his heroism in the images on the architrave.[27] In order to underline the depth of Theseus's sleep, the artist has represented the god of sleep, Hypnos, as a winged young man with a white ribbon bound on his head, who hides in the shadow (ἐξ ἀφανοῦς), leaning on Theseus's bed; he also sleeps, holding his forehead with his hands. Procopius remarks that Hypnos's position and ribbon represent his stealthy nature and, at the same time, his power:[28] the ribbon, in fact, recalls the diadem of the Hellenistic kings and the late antique Roman emperors.[29]

[24] *Descr.* 5, p. 192, 11: ἐκ δεξιᾶς εἰσιόντι. The paintings are described at *Descr.* 4-7, pp. 191, 21-193, 7.

[25] See H. MAGUIRE's considerations in *Truth* [n.5], p. 265.

[26] *Descr.* 10, p. 194, 6-17: μέσος δὲ ἐν μέσοις **Θ**ησεύς, οὐ **Μ**ινωταύρῳ μαχόμενος, οὐ **Κ**ερκυόνα βαλὼν ἢ **Σ**ίνιν παύων τῆς ὕβρεως. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἂν ἴδοις ἐν ἑτέρᾳ γραφῇ· τὸ δὲ παρὸν πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας μῆκος ἀποκαμὼν ἐπὶ κλίνης ἐτράπη καὶ διαναπαύει τὸ σῶμα, τῆς μεσημβρίας τὸ πνῖγος ἀποπεμπόμενος ὕπνῳ. καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ γυναικὶ διελέγετο οὐ σὺν αὐτῷ κατακειμένῃ· νυκτὸς γὰρ ἡ κοίτη τοῖς σώφροσιν· ἐπὶ δίφρου δέ τινος ὀκλαδίου παρακαθέζεται. καὶ **Θ**ησεὺς μὲν μεταξύ τε λέγων πρὸς ὕπνον, ὡς εἰκός, συνηρπάζετο καὶ ἡμιτελῆ τὸν λόγον ὑποχαυνώσας τῷ πάθει.

[27] See Talgam, *Ekphrasis* [n.8], p. 213.

[28] *Descr.* 11, p. 194, 17-28.

[29] On the origin and uses of the diadem in Greco-Roman antiquity, see E. SAGLIO, *Diadèma*, in CH. DAREMBERG – E. SAGLIO (eds.), *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*. II.1, Graz 1969 (orig. ed.: Paris 1892), cols. 119-121.

Hypnos dominates the right side of the scene, which contains no action:[30] two of Theseus's servants are sleeping near their master, while a third servant reproaches one of them for having surrendered to torpor. Only two figures, a hound chasing a she-dog, are in motion. Procopius explains that the she-dog has just given birth to her puppies; now she, scared, runs with her tail between legs, while the hound "springs upon her with the pride of a master."[31] This attempted rape takes place while the servant put in charge of them is sleeping.

Proceeding from right to left, as in the description of the architrave's paintings, Procopius transitions to the second half of the scene, where everything changes:

> "Theseus sleeps and the servants make the most of this circumstance. But 'sweet sleep' (Hom. *Il.* 2, 2) did not take hold of Phaedra. Instead of sleep, love was occupying her heart. But what's the matter with you, woman? You are suffering in vain from an unsuccessful love."[32]

In the next lines, Procopius continues addressing Phaedra, recommending her to be faithful to her legitimate husband and abandon her insane passion for her stepson.[33] Eventually, Procopius realizes that he has gone too far:

> "But what has happened to me? I have been led astray by the artist's skill! I thought that those same figures were alive and it has escaped my sight that they were painted."[34]

The description of Phaedra is centered on Eros: as Procopius remarks, "her appearance is evidence to her love."[35] Her languid look, her spirit overwhelmed by passion, her weak body almost abandoned by the soul, her languishing limbs, and all the other details of her figure show the symptoms of lovesickness.[36] A wooden

[30] *Descr.* 13-15, pp. 195, 22-197, 12.

[31] *Descr.* 15, p. 197, 4-5: θυμῷ δὲ ἐκεῖνος τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐφάλλεται.

[32] *Descr.* 16, p. 197, 13-17: **Θ**ησεὺς μὲν καθεύδει καὶ τὴν τύχην οἰκέται βιάζονται. **Φ**αίδραν δὲ ἐκείνην οὐ κατέσχε "νήδυμος ὕπνος" (Hom. *Il.* 2. 2). ἀνθ'ὕπνου δὲ ταύτῃ τὴν καρδίαν Ἔρως ἐνέμετο. ἀλλὰ τί πάσχεις, ὦ γύναι; ἀνόητον πονεῖς οὐκ εὐτυχοῦντος τοῦ Ἔρωτος.

[33] *Descr.* 16, p. 197, 17-25; see also below, n. 82.

[34] *Descr.* 17, p. 197, 26-28: Ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο πέπονθα; τῇ τοῦ ζωγράφου τέχνῃ πεπλάνημαι καὶ ζῆν ταὐτὰ νενόμικα καὶ λανθάνειν τὴν θέαν, ὅτι πέφυκε γράμματα. On this *topos* in ancient descriptions, see, e.g., MAGUIRE, *Truth* [n.5], p. 274; and WEBB, *Ekphrasis* [n.5], p. 176.

[35] *Descr.* 17, p. 197, 29-30: τὸ γὰρ σχῆμα ταύτης ἐλέγχει τὸν ἔρωτα.

[36] *Descr.* 17, pp. 197, 30-198, 11: ὁρᾷς, ὑγρὸν τὸ βλέμμα καὶ νοῦν τῷ πάθει μετέωρον καὶ σῶμα στηριγμάτων ἐπιδεόμενον, ψυχὴν ὥσπερ ἀποδημοῦσαν καὶ ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ σώματος […] ὁρᾷς δὲ πῆχυν καὶ πάθει λυόμενον […] ποὺς ποδὶ λυομένῳ συνέρχεται. On the representation of lovesickness in ancient poetry, see M.S. CYRINO, *In Pandora's Jar: Lovesickness in*

tablet lies on Theseus's bed: it will contain the fatal letter with which Phaedra will reveal her feelings to Hippolytus.[37] Some female figures stand near Phaedra: her old nurse and other servants, one of which carries a casket with her mistress's jewels.[38] As Hypnos dominates the right "male" part of the scene, two winged Erotes explain that love is the force determining the action in the left "female" part. The first Eros holds a burning torch in one hand and, with the other, points to the representation of Hippolytus on the architrave.[39] Meanwhile, the second Eros hands Phaedra the ink and the stylus to write the letter.[40] Eros's permeating presence recalls Procopius's assertions of his power in the prologue.

The personification of Eros has a long history in Greek literature.[41] For example, according to Hesiod's *Theogony*, Eros is the fourth primordial deity after Chaos, Gaia, and Tartarus.[42] In Plato's *Symposium*, Phaedrus maintains that Eros is the oldest of all gods and supports his argument with Hesiod's poem and the genealogies of Acusilaus and Parmenides.[43] As for Hypnos, whose personification dates back to the *Iliad*, in the *Theogony* he is the brother of Thanatos, "Death." Both are children of Nyx, "Night," and live in the Tartarus.[44] Also, both act as psychopomps, accompanying the souls of the dead to the underworld, as, for example, in the *Iliad* and in several fifth-century white-ground *lekythoi*.[45]

The most prestigious literary model for the story of Phaedra, Theseus, and Hippolytus is Euripides' *Hippolytus*, which, as we have seen, was only one of the Greek plays produced on this myth.[46] The presence of citations from tragic and comic poets in the works of the Gazan authors shows that either the entire texts

Early Greek Poetry, Lanham-New York-London 1995, pp. 71-164. The description of Phaedra's "sickness" in Euripides' *Hippolytus* has been analyzed by J.C. KOSACK, *Heroic Measures: Hippocratic Medicine in the Making of Euripidean Tragedy*, Leiden-Boston 2004, pp. 49-65.

[37] *Descr.* 17, p. 198, 16-18.

[38] *Descr.* 20-22, pp. 199, 14-201, 9.

[39] *Descr.* 18, p. 198, 22-27. The passage is incomplete because of a gap between lines 22 and 23: see E. AMATO's apparatus in *Procope* [n.1].

[40] *Descr.* 19, p. 199, 6-11.

[41] See, e.g., C. CALAME, *I Greci e l'eros. Simboli, pratiche, luoghi* [It. transl. M.R. FALIVENE], Rome-Bari 1992, pp. 8-29; J.-P. VERNANT, *L'individuo, la morte, l'amore* [It. transl. A. GHILARDOTTI], Milan 2000, pp. 114, 133-150; and CYRINO, *Aphrodite* [n.10], pp. 44-49.

[42] Hes. *Th.* 116-122. See also G.W. MOST, *Eros in Hesiod*, in E. SANDERS – CH. THUMIGER – CH. CAREY – N. LOWE (eds.), *Erôs in Ancient Greece*, Oxford 2013, pp. 163-174.

[43] Pl. *Smp.* 178 a-c.

[44] Hes. *Th.* 211-212, 756-761. See J. STENGEL, *Somnus*, in H. CANCIK – H. SCHNEIDER (eds.) *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*. XI, Stuttgart-Weimar 2001, cols. 712-713.

[45] E.g., Hom. *Il.* 16, 453-455, 671-673, 681-683. See BREITENBERGER, *Aphrodite* [n.10], pp. 82-83, and the bibliography quoted therein.

[46] See above, n. 16.

or selected passages of tragedies and comedies were read in that environment.[47] However, no sleeping Theseus appears in Euripides' play. Another fundamental difference between the play and the scene described by Procopius concerns Phaedra's letter. In the *Hippolytus*, Phaedra, before committing suicide, writes a letter to Theseus accusing Hippolytus of raping her.[48] Conversely, Procopius suggests that, in the painting, Phaedra writes to Hippolytus to reveal her love for him.[49] This version, which some scholars have attributed to Sophocles, was adopted by Ovid in his *Heroides* and was very successful in visual arts, as the Kato Paphos and the Sheikh Zuweid mosaics demonstrate. Although we cannot exclude that, in late antiquity, Ovid's work was known in Gaza and in other areas of the Middle East, it is more probable that both Ovid and the artists of Kato Paphos and Sheikh Zuweid took inspiration from a common source lost to us: perhaps the work of a Hellenistic poet or some manual of mythology.[50] Similarly, the violent treatment received by the nurse,[51] which is absent from Euripides' play, appears in Seneca's *Phaedra*, albeit in a different version: Theseus orders that the old woman be tortured, so that she may reveal Phaedra's secret.[52] We may suppose that in late antique Gaza, as elsewhere, different versions of classical myths were circulating; artists, poets, and rhetoricians could adopt any of them according to the demands and tastes of their audiences.[53]

The scenes from the *Iliad* depicted above Phaedra's myth and the quotations scattered through the *ekphrasis* hint at the second fundamental literary model: Homer. Procopius, who shared his interest in Homer with other authors of the School of Gaza,[54] wrote a lost *Metaphrase of Homer's Verse*, most probably destined for his school.[55] The presence of Hypnos and his connection with Eros in the

[47] In particular, for Euripides' *Hippolytus*, see CICCOLELLA, *Phaedra* [n.21].

[48] E. *Hipp.* 882-886.

[49] In *Descr.* 19, p. 199, 12-13, Procopius gives the text of the letter that Phaedra is about to write: "**Μ**έχρι δὴ τίνος σωφρονήσεις, **Ἱ**ππόλυτε; **Φ**αίδρα δὲ ποθεῖ σε καὶ βούλεται," "How long will you be temperate, Hippolytus? Phaedra longs for you and desires you."

[50] See AMATO's considerations in *Procope* [n.1], pp. 179-180 and n. 72, and THÉVENET, *Ekphrasis* [n.16], pp. 240-242. On the origins, features, and uses of mythological manuals from antiquity to late antiquity, see A. CAMERON, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World*, Oxford 2004.

[51] *Descr.* 24-26, pp. 202, 2-203, 24. See THÉVENET, *Ekphrasis* [n.16], pp. 250-253.

[52] Sen. *Phaed.* 882-885.

[53] See TALGAM, *Ekphrasis* [n.8], p. 215; and AMATO, *Procope* [n.1], pp. 182-183.

[54] See, e.g., CICCOLELLA, *Swarms* [n.2], pp. 83-84 (on John of Gaza).

[55] Only two fragments of this work remain: *Fragments* VI, F. 1-2 Amato, in *Procope* [n.1], p. 500. According to Photius (*Bibl.* cod. 160. 103a, II p. 123 Henry = VI, T.1 Amato, *ibid.*), Procopius offered "paraphrases of Homer's verse expressed in various styles" (στίχων **Ὁ**μηρικῶν μεταφράσεις εἰς ποικίλας λόγων ἰδέας ἐκμεμορφωμέναι). See AMATO, *cit.*, pp. XLIII-XLV. On paraphrases and their uses in schools, see also CAMERON, *Mythography* [n.50], pp. 67-69.

ekphrasis recalls the episode known as Διὸς Ἀπάτη in Book 14 of the *Iliad*, where Hera tricks Zeus in order to accomplish the victory of the Greeks over the Trojans.[56]

The Homeric passage begins with Hera's plan to seduce Zeus and make him fall asleep, pouring "innocent warm sleep" into his eyes and infallible mind.[57] In order to achieve her goal, Hera adorns herself with precious clothes, jewels, and perfumes. Additionally, she obtains from Aphrodite an "elaborate, pattern-pierced zone" full of the charms that may facilitate seduction.[58] Then she goes to Lemnos, where she meets Hypnos. After addressing him respectfully as "lord over all gods and all mortal men,"[59] Hera asks Hypnos to make Zeus fall asleep when he lies with her; in exchange, she will give him a precious gift.[60] Hypnos is reluctant: he fears Zeus's anger, which he experienced in the past; only Hera's promise to give him Pasithea, one of the Graces, as his wife convinces him.[61] The deception is successful: after making love, Zeus falls asleep, overcome by sleep and passion and holding Hera in his arms.[62] Then Hypnos goes to Poseidon and, stressing his

[56] Hom. *Il.* 14. 230-360. This episode, which elicited contrasting opinions already in antiquity (e.g., Pl. *R.* 390c), is still object of scholarly debate: see, e.g., L. GOLDEN, «Διὸς ἀπάτη and the Unity of *Iliad* 14», *Mnemosyne* 42, 1989, pp. 1-11 = 1-4; and A. KELLY, «The Babylonian Captivity of Homer: The Case of the *Dios Apate*», *RhM* 151, 2008, pp. 259-304. For an analysis of this episode, see CYRINO, *Pandora* [n.36], pp. 11-16.

[57] *Il.* 14, 161-165: ἥδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνετο βουλή, / ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἴδην εὖ ἐντύνασαν ἑ αὐτήν, / εἴ πως ἱμείραιτο παραδραθέειν φιλότητι / ᾗ χροιῇ, τῷ δ'ὕπνον ἀπήμονά τε λιαρόν τε / χεύῃ ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἰδὲ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμῃσι, "And to her mind this thing appeared to be the best counsel, / to array herself in loveliness, and go down to Ida, / and perhaps he might be taken with desire to lie in love with her / next her skin, and she might be able to drift an innocent / warm sleep across his eyelids, and seal his crafty perception" (English translation by R. LATTIMORE, *The* Iliad *of Homer*, Chicago-London 1951, p. 298).

[58] *Il.* 14, 214-217: … κεστὸν ἱμάντα / ποικίλον, ἔνθα τέ οἱ θελκτήρια πάντα τέτυκτο· / ἔνθ'ἔνι μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ'ἵμερος, ἐν δ'ὀαριστὺς / πάρφασις, ἥ τ'ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων, "… an elaborate, pattern-pierced / zone, and on it are figured all beguilement, and loveliness / is figured upon it, and passion of sex is there, and the whispered / endearment that steals the heart away even from the thoughtful" (transl. LATTIMORE, *Iliad* [n.57], pp. 299-300). Pseudo-George the Grammarian's *anacr.* 2 Ciccolella, broadly inspired by the dialogue between Hera and Aphrodite in *Il.* 14, 190-213, demonstrates the popularity of this passage in rhetorical schools of Gaza or, more in general, the Syrian-Palestinian environment (text in CICCOLELLA, *Cinque poeti* [n.21], pp. 196-201); for an analysis and interpretation of this poem, see G. VENTRELLA, «Poesia pagana e simboli cristiani nella Gaza tardo-antica: la 'conversione' del mito di Afrodite e della rosa in Giorgio Grammatico», *RET* 1, 2011-2012, pp. 71-84.

[59] *Il.* 14, 233: ἄναξ πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων.

[60] *Il.* 14, 236-241.

[61] *Il.* 14, 242-276.

[62] *Il.* 14, 352-353: ὣς ὁ μὲν ἀτρέμας εὗδε πατὴρ ἀνὰ Γαργάρῳ ἄκρῳ / ὕπνῳ καὶ φιλότητι δαμείς, ἔχε δ' ἀγκὰς ἄκοιτιν, "So the father slept unshaken on the peak of Gargaron / with his

contribution to the success of Hera's plan,[63] urges the god to help the Greeks as long as Zeus is sleeping.

As in the Διὸς Ἀπάτη, in Procopius's εἰκών Eros and Hypnos act together; Hypnos's white diadem is a visual symbol of the power to subdue mortals and gods that the artist, like Hera, attributed to him. In both cases, we have a male character succumbing to sleep and, in this way, allowing other forces to prevail; also, the casket full of jewels in the hands of one of Phaedra's maidservants recalls the ornaments Hera wears for the seduction act. There are, however, substantial differences between the two scenes. The most important is that, whereas in the *Iliad* Hypnos intervenes because of Hera's decision, in Procopius's scene Theseus simply falls victim to sleep without any external direction. In turn, Phaedra, unlike Hera, has no control over her erotic impulses but is rather a victim of Eros. Interestingly, in the εἰκών Eros is duplicated: both Erotes guide Phaedra's action, but the one holding the torch evokes threat and pain.[64]

Thus, the artist(s) of Procopius's εἰκών depicted both Theseus and Phaedra as victims of two equally strong forces. Indeed, the kinship between Eros and Hypnos, as well as Thanatos, which had been well known since Alcman's time,[65] also appears in iconography. From the Hellenistic age, both Eros and Hypnos were represented as winged naked young men: with their wings, they moved quickly and carried out their task of intermediaries between the divine and the human worlds.[66] Like Thanatos, both "loosen the limbs" and cannot be opposed by humans. Nonnus of

wife in his arms, when sleep and passion had stilled him" (transl. LATTIMORE, *Iliad* [n.57], p. 303. On uses and meanings of the term φιλότης, see CALAME, *I Greci* [n.41], pp. 30-33.

[63] *Il.* 14, 359-360: … ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ ἐγὼ μαλακὸν περὶ κῶμα κάλυψα / Ἥρῃ δ'ἐν φιλότητι παρήπαφεν εὐνηθῆναι, "… since I have mantled a soft slumber about him, / and Hera beguiled him into sleeping in love beside her" (transl. LATTIMORE, *Iliad* [n.57], p. 303.

[64] In addition to the bow and arrows, fire is a common attribute of Eros. The theme of "love's fire" was extremely fortunate in ancient erotic poetry (see, e.g., Mel. *AP* 5, 180, 1-2; 12, 84, 3; etc.; and CALAME, *I Greci* [n.41], p. 45). Eros's torch appears in Hellenistic epigrams (e.g., Mosch. *AP* 9, 440, 22-23; Mel. *AP.* 12, 63, 4; 12, 83, 1; etc.), as well as in visual representations (see N. BLANC – F. GURY, *Eros / Amor, Cupido*, in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae.* III.1, Zürich-Munich 1986, cols. 850-1049 = 881-882).

[65] Alcm. 3 fr. 3 col. ii, 61-62 Page (*Poetae melici Graeci*, Oxford 1962, p. 12): λυσιμελεῖ τε πόσωι, τακερώτερα / δ'ὕπνω καὶ σανάτω ποτιδέρκεται, "because of limb-loosening desire, her look melts more than Hypnos and Thanatos." On πόσος = πόθος as both "passion, desire" and "mourning," see VERNANT, *L'individuo* [n.41], p. 121. See also CALAME, *I Greci* [n.41], p. 22.

[66] In some Attic red-figure kraters, both Hypnos and Thanatos appear as winged young men wearing helmets and armors. Hypnos and Eros also can be confused in visual representations. A statue of the third century B.C.E., found in Attalus's *Stoa* in Athens, represents an interesting case: Thanatos is portrayed as a winged young man with his eyes closed, like Hypnos, and an upside-down torch in his hand, like Eros. See VERNANT, *L'individuo* [n.41], p. 111; C. LOCHIN, *Hypnos/Somnus*, in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae.* V.1, Zürich-Munich 1990, cols. 591-609 = 593-596; and

Panopolis states a clear connection between Eros and Hypnos in his *Dionysiaca* when, in a sort of re-enactment of the Διὸς Ἀπάτη, he defines Hypnos as "attendant of the Erotes."[67]

3. Sleep, pagan and Christian

The "anomalous" representation of sleeping Theseus in the εἰκών leads to further considerations. It must be noted that Theseus's sleep is not fundamental for the unfolding of the events: for example, in Euripides' version, which Procopius knew well, Theseus was travelling, and his absence allowed Phaedra to unleash her passion.

In one of his *Images*, Philostratus the Elder describes another mythological hero, Heracles, in a similar situation. After killing Antaeus, the king of the Pygmies, Heracles, overcome by fatigue, falls asleep on the sands of Libya. The Pygmies decide to take revenge attacking him in his sleep. In the image, Hypnos stands next to Heracles and, according to Philostratus, seems to claim his important role in the hero's upcoming misfortune.[68] Eventually, the story ends badly for the Pygmies: as soon as Heracles wakes up, he captures them, "packs" them into his lion skin, and carries them to Eurystheus. It is clear, however, that the presence of Hypnos is associated with a dangerous situation. We are reminded of similar circumstances in the *Odyssey*. In Book 9, Odysseus manages to prevail over Polyphemus and avoid certain death for himself and his companions by making the Cyclops fall asleep.[69] In Book 10, immediately after sighting the coast of Ithaca, Odysseus falls asleep and his companions throw Aeolus's goatskin full of winds overboard; the storm that arises pushes them away from their land.[70] In Book 12, when Odysseus and his companions arrive on the island of Trinakia, the companions kill and eat the Sun's cattle while Odysseus is asleep and, in this way, cause their own ruin.[71] In the

E. VERMEULE, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1979, pp. 154-157.

[67] Nonn. *D.* 32. 97: ὁμόστολος Ὕπνος Ἐρώτων. See G. WÖHRLE, *Hypnos der Allbezwinger. Eine Studie zur literarischen Bild des Schlafen in der griechischen Antike*, Stuttgart 1995, pp. 35-39.

[68] Philostr. *Im.* 2, 22, 2: αὐτός τε ὁ Ὕπνος ἐφέστηκεν αὐτῷ ἐν εἴδει μέγα οἶμαι ποιούμενος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους πτώματι. "and Sleep (Hypnos) stands over him in visible form, making much, I think, of his own part in the fall of Heracles" (English text and translation by A. FAIRBANKS, consulted online at http://www.theoi.com/Text/PhilostratusElder2B.html#22).

[69] Hom. *Od.* 9, 371-397.

[70] Hom. *Od.* 10, 28-49.

[71] Hom. *Od.* 12, 335-365. Sleep also foreshadows Odysseus's change in status, as in *Od.* 5, 491-493 (on the island of the Phaeacians) and 13, 78-80 (on the way to Ithaca). See K. DOWDEN, *The Value of Sleep: Homer, Plinies, Posidonius and Proclus*, in TH. WIEDEMANN – K. DOWDEN (eds.), *Sleep*, Bari 2003, pp. 141-163 = 145-146.

Homeric poems, sleeping appears as a natural state for both men and gods and, at same time, a source of danger, because sleep does not allow the mind to exert control over actions and circumstances. For this reason, most Homeric heroes spend their days fighting and their nights making decisions or accomplishing dangerous missions. Many ancient authors—especially physicians and philosophers—stated that sleep means inactivity of the mind, whereas lack of sleep distinguishes great men from ordinary people.[72]

Christians also considered sleep with suspicion. For example, in the Old Testament, long sleep is a sign of laziness that must be punished (Prov 6: 4-9; etc.). Also, sleep is sent by God as a prelude to the destruction of Babylon (Jer 51:39) and causes Jonas to be thrown overboard during his journey (Jon 1: 4-6). In any case, God never sleeps (Ps 120 [121]:3).[73] In the New Testament, although sleeping is considered normal (Mt 13:25, Mk 4:27, etc.), the Apostle Paul often urges Christians to wake from their sleep and accept Christ's message of salvation: sleep, even if not negative in itself, prevents Christians from being ready to respond to the divine call.[74] The same mistrust of sleep appears in Neoplatonic and Christian writers.[75]

Day sleep received more critiques than night sleep. According to Hippocrates and Galen, napping subverts the body's natural rhythm; exceptions are allowed only during summer.[76] In Plautus's comedies, siesta is associated with a slavish status; non-Romans were obviously considered less able to control fatigue than Romans. For Pliny the Elder, napping was an obstacle to work. Imperial panegyrics tell us that good emperors never slept, whereas bad emperors were unable to control both their sleep and their temper. If good emperors like Vespasian and Septimius Severus happened to nap, their hard work during the rest of the day compensated for this weakness.[77]

Eastern and Western monastic rules allowed monks to take a siesta only during summer or in case of serious health problems. As for late antique Gaza, an important document comes from the letters of two monks, the Egyptian Barsanuphius and his pupil John, who settled in the desert near the city at the beginning

[72] In addition to the passages quoted by DOWDEN, *Value* [n.71], pp. 147-150, see L. DOSSEY, «Watchful Greeks and Lazy Romans: Disciplining Seep in Late Antiquity», *JECS* 21, 2013, pp. 209-239 = 212-213.

[73] See A. OEPKE, **Καθεύδω**, in G. KITTEL – G. FRIEDRICH, *Grande lessico del Nuovo Testamento* [Ital. ed. F. MONTAGNINI et al]. IV. Brescia 1968, cols. 1301-1318 = 1308-1313.

[74] Rom 13: 11; Eph 5:14; 1 Thess 5: 6-8; see also Mk 13:35-36. See OEPKE, **Καθεύδω** [n.73], cols. 1313-1316, and H. BALZ, **Ὕπνος**, in G. KITTEL – G. FRIEDRICH, *Grande lessico del Nuovo Testamento* [Ital. ed. F. MONTAGNINI et al]. XIV. Brescia 1984, cols. 633-634 = 654-661.

[75] See the thorough study by DOSSEY, *Watchful* [n.72].

[76] DOSSEY, *Watchful* [n.72], p. 220 and n. 46.

[77] See the passages quoted by Th. WIEDEMANN, *The Roman Siesta*, in TH. WIEDEMANN – K. DOWDEN (eds.), *Sleep*, Bari 2003, pp. 125-139 = 132-135.

of the sixth century. Barsanuphius and John condemn sleep as an opportunity for passions and demons to prevail: for them, as for other Christian writers, the sleep of the body is equivalent to the sleep of the soul. At the same time, however, both show attention to the physical demands of their fellow monks, who are allowed more sleep in case of illness.[78]

Procopius, whom his pupil Choricius compared to a priest,[79] was certainly aware of the Christian views of sleep. Perhaps a trace of his awareness can be found in his statement about moderate people sleeping only at night.[80] Also, in his letter 131, Procopius uses the famous myth of Endymion to urge his friend Sabinus to wake from the long sleep that prevents him from pursuing virtue.[81] The "authorial voice" in the *ekphrasis* expresses the same preoccupation for moral principles that appears in the letters. Thus, for example, Procopius urges Phaedra to remain faithful to her husband, approves of the disgust Hippolytus and Daphne feel at Phaedra's letter, and underlines Paris's cowardice.[82]

As inappropriate sleep gives way to temptations and sins for a Christian, Theseus's sleep causes a disruption of order and a chain of transgressions at his

[78] See in particular letters 167, 183, 216, 321, and 503. On Barsanuphius and John, see B. BITTON-ASHKELONY – A. KOFSKY, *The Monastic School of Gaza*, Leiden-Boston 2006, pp. 83-126; R.M. PARRINELLO, *Comunità monastiche a Gaza. Da Isaia a Doroteo*, Rome 2010, pp. 135-213, and the bibliography quoted therein. The 848 letters of their correspondence have been edited by F. NEYT – P. DE ANGELIS-NOAH, *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza*, *Correspondance*, Paris 1997-2002 ("Sources Chrétiennes" 426, 427, 450, 451, 468), with a French translation by L. REGNAULT. An English translation is provided by J. CHRYSSAVGIS, *Barsanuphius and John, Letters*. I-II, Washington, D.C. 2006.

[79] See Chor. *Or.* 8 (*Or. fun. in Proc.*), 21-22, pp. 117-118 Foerster-Richtsteig [n.17], and the observations by C. GRECO, *Due orazioni funebri*, Alessandria 2010, pp. 166-167.

[80] See above, p. 44.

[81] *Ep.* 131, 12-13, p. 67 ed. A. GARZYA – R.J. LOENERTZ, *Procopii Gazaei epistolae et declamationes*, Ettal 1963: ἀλλὰ μέχρι δὴ τίνος ὕπνῳ μακρῷ πεδηθεὶς οἷά τις Ἐνδυμίων πρὸς ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀνίστασαι; "But for how long, chained to a long sleep like some Endymion, will you give up rising to virtue?" On sources and treatments of the myth of Endymion, see S. JACKSON, «Apollonius of Rhodes: Endymion», *QUCC* 82, 2006, pp. 11-21.

[82] *Descr.* 16, p. 197, 18-22: τί σαυτὴν αἰσχύνεις ἀνόμῳ κοίτῃ πλησιάζειν ἐθέλουσα; βραχύ τι μεταστρέφου καὶ δίδου τῷ συνοίκῳ τὸ βλέμμα καὶ μὴ τὸ παρὸν μέμφου, τὰ μὴ παρόντα ζητήσασα, "Why throw shame at yourself, wishing to embark an illicit relationship? Turn for a moment, take a look at your husband, and do not despise what you have, looking for what you do not have." *Descr.* 28, p. 204, 4-7: σὺ δέ μοι σκόπει τὴν Δάφνην, ὡς ἀποστρέφει σὺν Ἱππολύτῳ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τῶν ὁμοφύλων τὴν ἀκολασίαν αἰσχύνεται τῆς μὲν τῶν γραμμάτων ἀκούσασα, τὴν δὲ θεασαμένη διάκονον ἀσελγείας, "Look at Daphne, how she, with Hippolytus, averts her face and feels shame at the immorality of those of her sex, having heard the letter of the one and seen the other serving licentiousness." *Descr.* 41, p. 209, 18: Θάλαμος ἐντεῦθεν τὸν ἄνανδρον στρατιώτην ἐδέξατο, "Then the bedchamber received the cowardly fighter." Procopius's moral attitude in his letters has been analyzed by F. CICCOLELLA, *Le Epistole*, in AMATO, *Rose* [n.3], pp. 120-150 = 121-134.

home: servants take advantage of their master's lack of attention to stop working, and the hound tries to rape the she-dog while the slave in charge of her is asleep. More importantly, while Hypnos dominates Theseus, Eros takes control of Phaedra and inspires her insane decision to write a letter to Hippolytus. Procopius may have interpreted a variant of the myth of Phaedra, Hippolytus, and Theseus represented in the εἰκών as a means to convey a moral message to his audience.

4. Conclusions

The reading of Procopius of Gaza's *Description of the Image* proposed in this paper confirms and expands on Alan Cameron's remark in his thought-provoking book *The Last Pagans of Rome*:

> "It is clear from his introduction that Procopius sees these paintings as a warning of the dangers of sexual passion. […] This is a moral purpose of which all Christians would approve, but it is expressed in wholly pagan or (better) secular terms."[83]

The painting cycle described in Procopius's *ekphrasis* was based on two myths: the story of Phaedra and Hippolytus and the duel between Menelaus and Paris. In both cases, the artist drew inspiration from ancient literary models or, more probably, took into account versions that were circulating in his environment, whose sources are lost to us. The loss of the work of art described prevents us from evaluating the faithfulness of Procopius's description. If, however, we look at the *ekphrasis* as a narrative text, it appears to be organized around two main motifs. The first is the opposition between marital faithfulness and adultery: it results from the chiastic structure of the description—which begins and ends in a bedchamber—and is reinforced by the two symbolic animals on the roof of Theseus's palace. The second main motif concerns the sleep of the hero and opens the way to a Christian reading: Theseus represents the Christian who, yielding to the sleep of the body and soul, allows disorder and sin to prevail.[84]

[83] A. CAMERON, *The Last Pagans of Rome*, Oxford 2011, p. 704.

[84] For a different interpretation of Theseus's sleep, see THÉVENET, *Ekphrasis* [n.16], pp. 237-238. A Christian interpretation of the εἰκών may be justified also considering that the peacock and the doves (see above, n. 10) were popular elements of Christian art. The peacock was a symbol of eternity and immortality, because its flesh was believed to be incorruptible; also, the "eyes" on its tail indicated the Church watching over everything. In addition to the Holy Spirit (e.g., Mt 3:16, Lk 3:22, and Jn 1:32), the dove meant regeneration and peace: in Gen 8:11, a dove returns to Noah's Arch with an olive branch signaling the end of the Flood and God's reconciliation with humankind. See, e.g., H. MAGUIRE, *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art*, University Park-London 1967, pp. 39, 58-59, and 64; J. SPEAKE, *The Dent Dictionary of Symbols in Christian Art*, London

The great variety of literary and artistic forms of late antiquity mirrors a culture that, on the one hand, was rooted in the prestigious Graeco-Roman classical tradition and, on the other, was projected toward the values introduced by Christianity. The literary works of the Gazan scholars show that, within a Christian context, pagan literature survived and flourished, but at the same time was adapted to the tastes and expectations of contemporary society. Reading and interpreting such works at two levels is the only way to restore the knowledge of all aspects of such a complex cultural environment.

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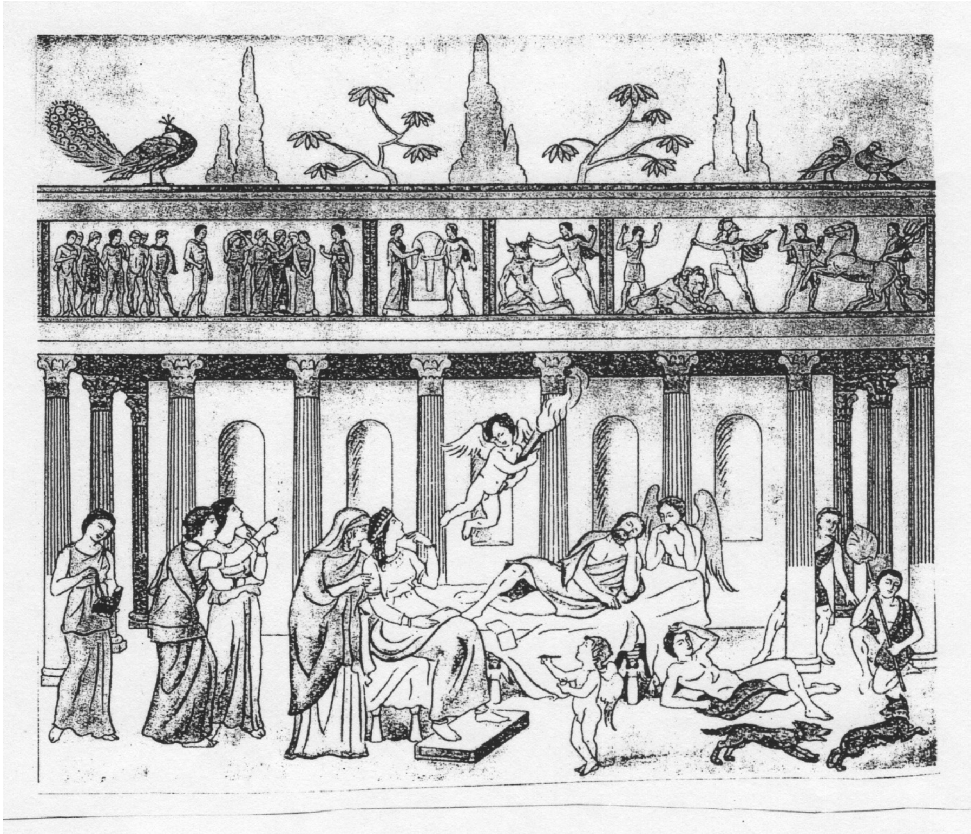
1994, pp. 45-46, 110-111; KONDOLEON, *Domestic* [n.19], pp. 109-117; A. OVADIAH, «Symbolism in Jewish and Christian Works of Art in Late Antiquity», Δελτίον ΧΑΕ 20, 1998 (Περίοδος Δ'. Στη μνήμη τοῦ Δημητρίου Ι. Πάλλα [1907-1995]), pp. 55-64 = 62; J. ANDELKOVIĆ – D. ROGIĆ – E. NICOLIĆ, «Peacock as a Sign in the Late Antique and Early Christian Art», *Archaeology and Science / Arheologija i Prirodne Nauke* 6, 2010, pp. 231-248; and TALGAM, *Mosaics* [n.20], pp. 200-201.

Plate 1

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4">Portrait of the patron</td></tr>
<tr><td>Priam and Antenor arrive at the Greek camp</td><td>Truce between Greeks and Trojans</td><td>Duel between Paris and Menelaus; Aphrodite rescues Paris</td><td>Aphrodite leads Paris and Helen to the bedchamber</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Upper part of Theseus's palace with accessory scenes</td><td colspan="2">Upper part of the landscape with accessory scenes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Theseus and Phaedra in the bedchamber</td><td colspan="2">Hippolytus and Daphne hunting; delivery of Phaedra's letter; punishment of the nurse</td></tr>
</table>

Source: Procope de Gaza, *Discours et fragments*, ed. E. Amato *et al.*, Paris, 2014, p. 174

Plate 2



Source: P. Friedländer, *Spätantiker Gemäldezyklus in Gaza. Des Prokopios von Gaza* Ἔκφρασις εἰκόνος, Vatican City 1939, Tafel XI

Erasmus' edition of the *Disticha Catonis*

Abstract: Nella sua edizione dei *Distici di Catone*, una collezione di proverbi che fu parte ininterrotta del curriculum scolastico da Roma antica fino ai suoi giorni, Erasmo fece uso della sua nuova filologia e dei suoi ideali educativi. Con l'aiuto del suo testo emendato e di un puntuale e conciso commentario, gli alunni venivano introdotti alla vita dell'umanista cristiano. L'edizione di Erasmo conobbe un successo straordinario, anche se fomentò polemiche con editori precedenti.

Keywords: Erasmus, education, proverb, sententia, humanism, philology

The preliminary school exercises of ancient Greece and Rome have had a long and strong influence throughout the history of education. Prof. Penella in particular has been responsible for a new impetus to the understanding of the context and purposes of the Greek progymnasmata. This service to scholarship is all the more important since these "preliminary" exercises were relatively neglected by scholars of literary culture. Literary or rhetorical theory had often been considered more important for the analysis of ancient literature; and within the school curriculum, scholars have studied more the advanced pieces of Greek and Roman declamation, perhaps since they are nearer to literature in their narrative complexity and stylistic ornamentation. The lifelong habits and attitudes encouraged by schoolbooks have recently received greater critical attention, but the old disparagement or neglect of early schooling, found in Cicero but not in Quintilian, continues to grip many assessments of literary culture. Histories of rhetoric for instance are far more likely to emphasize what the rhetorical theorists say to do than what the schoolmasters and schoolchildren actually did. In returning the progymnasmata to a certain pride of place, Prof. Penella was anticipated by another classicist keen to have the old exercises properly edited, understood, and employed. Erasmus of Rotterdam edited the *Disticha Catonis*, the Latin gnomology used in Roman, medieval, and renaissance schools to teach the constitutionally connected twin goals of good Latin and good morals. Erasmus' immediate predecessors had used the *Distichs* for grander purposes, philosophical, rhetorical, and theological, and he wished to intervene in this process of misuse.

To answer why Erasmus chose to edit this text leads in interesting and important directions, into his biography and that of the text, both in its prior manifestations to which Erasmus took such great exception and to its future life as a favorite of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century printers. Certain biographical events brought him to send his text to be printed in Louvain in 1514,[1] and there ensued a series of printings, whose frequency demonstrated that this was a best seller for many printers, seven of whom had some collaboration with Erasmus himself.[2] In addition, we can see what Erasmus said of this text, both in his correspondence and in his dedicatory letter. But a full explanation for what Erasmus wanted his text to do requires a close internal inspection. It may well be that the composition history, Erasmus' stated intentions, and the reception of the text by printers and by Erasmus himself all tell slightly different stories. To tease apart the threads of composition, reception, recomposition, and re-reception requires far more inquiry than here allowed. The present study will describe the circumstances of composition, and then test Erasmus' stated ambitions for the text against his predecessors methods and against Erasmus' own methods of philology within the text.

Our questions are then threefold: What did Erasmus believe his annotated version of a traditional set of aphorisms would achieve? How did it better accomplish the education of the young, better than the traditional printings and approaches? How did it model his new methods, his improved and improving philology? This paper offers a brief introduction to the Latin text Erasmus chose to edit before preceding to consideration of the commentaries on this text with which Erasmus found great fault. By advertising their wrong path and trumpeting his achievement in mending the text and applying the right sort of commentary, Erasmus was both trying to sell his book and his new method. The final section of the paper analyzes the particulars of that method.

[1] Described below and see n. 5.

[2] In her research for the Digital School Book project, Dr. Hailey LaVoy has identified 101 editions. This project under the direction of Prof. Bloomer and Prof. Andrew Irving will publish online this census along with a census of the pre1600 manuscripts of the *Disticha Catonis* in winter 2020. Erasmus seems to have been involved in the following printings:

ed. pr. Louan., Th. Martinus, mense Septembri, 1514

ed. Argent., Math. Schurerius, mense Octobri [16 cal. Nov.], 1515

ed. Argent., Math. Schurerius, [mense Martii] 1516

ed. Louan., Th. Martinus, [1517]

ed. Basil., Io. Frobenius, mense Octobri, 1520

ed. Basil., Io. Frobenius, mense Iunio 1526

ed. Basil., Io. Frobenius, 1534.

I would like to thank Dr. Irving for much help with this paper and especially with the printing history of Erasmus' *Distichs*. Our edition of the text will appear in the Amsterdam series *Opera omnia Erasmi*.

The base text

The *Distichs* was a rather modest classical poetry book probably written about the year 100 AD for use in the Roman schools.[3] This description mirrors its confusing or developing history. In origin it was a gnomology, a collection of wisdom sayings meant for early reading and writing (and memorizing) practice. In late antiquity it received paratexts that made it a full fledged educational volume on the lines of a poetry book, with book divisions and dedicatory letter, and an (imagined) author, Cato whether the old censor or the republican martyr not specified. Already in the Carolingian world it received glosses and commentaries before serving in the high middle ages as a prompt or substructure of sorts for major theological, philosophical, and even political "commentaries" that are in fact nearer to digests, encyclopedias, or treatises.[4] In origin it was a gnomology intended I believe to replace a collection of sayings of the real Cato the censor. Cicero refers to a collection of the censor's sayings current in his day. The *Distichs*' sententiae reflect thoughts drawn from Seneca's works, notably the *De beneficiis* and *De ira*, expressed in an Ovidian hexameter koine, which reuses poetic diction and phrases form Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucretius, but from no poet later than Manilius. Echoes of the *Distichs* on two inscriptions from the first century CE support a dating to that century.

Despite being a collection of sayings, the *Distichs* has a certain inherent consistency, not it is true the consistency of a developed philosophical ethics. Rather a recurrence of form, self-admonition, situations, and goals encourage the young reader to imagine his present schoolwork as progress toward a future, adult life as a Roman man, who will then but cannot now command his good reputation, his skill in speaking, and his disciplined self. The world imagined for the student

[3] On its use in the schools see W. M. BLOOMER, "The Moral Sentence," in *The School of Rome. Latin Lessons and the Origins of Liberal Education*, California 2011, pp. 139-69. On the dating see now S. CONNOLLY, "Disticha Catonis Uticensis," *Classical Philology* Vol. 107, No. 2 (April 2012), pp. 119-130.

[4] For the Latin commentaries see M. BALDZUHN, *Schulbücher im Trivium des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit: Die Verschriftlichung von Unterricht in der Text- und Überlieferungsgeschichte der 'Fabulae' Avians und der deutschen 'Disticha Catonis'* I, Quellen und Forschungen zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte 44, Berlin and New York 2009, pp. 264-87. Dr. Andrew Irving and I are preparing the entry on the *Disticha Catonis* for the *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum. Medieval and Renaissance Latin translations and commentaries. Annotated lists and guides*, V. BROWN † et al., edd., Washington. We have identified more than 1,200 manuscripts. For the early tradition of this text, see W. M. BLOOMER, "The *Distichs of Cato* in Late Antique Spain," in P. F. MORETTI, R. RICCI, and C. TORRE (edd.), *Culture and Literature in Late Antiquity. Continuities and Discontinuities*, *Studi e Testi TardoAntichi*, Leiden 2015: pp. 345-364.

reading, writing, and memorizing these rather regular hexameters is, as I have argued, one filled with academic peril, punishment from teacher and father always threatening, recognition of academic, rhetorical merit and social utility on the distant horizon. In between, in the here and now, the student labors to cultivate his self and speech, win friends, and secure his reputation. The first distich sets the student on the Ciceronian course of *cultura animi*.

> 1.1
> Si deus est animus nobis, ut carmina dicunt,
> Hic tibi praecipue sit pura mente colendus.
> "Seeing as our intellect is divine, as the poets tell,
> You must especially cultivate this with a pure mind."

In this nicely self-referential text, the necessary development of the human self is from ignorant youth to educated man. Life without book learning is impossible:

> 3.1
> Instrue praeceptis animum, ne discere cessa,
> Nam sine doctrina vita est quasi mortis imago.
> "Fortify your mind with precepts; do not stop learning:
> For the unlettered life is a likeness of death."

The recurrent imperatives of the verses set the boy to fix his problems, and those problems are just as repeatedly the temporary, present difficulty of becoming a *disertus vir*, the accomplished adult recognized for his (oratorical) skills. The difficulty is always a distraction from the proper route forward. The by-ways can include too much play or gambling or listening to the wrong person, but these are but the surface manifestations of the failure to master the self, to compose one's *animus*:

> 1.23
> Si tibi pro meritis nemo respondet amicus,
> Incusare deos noli, sed te ipse coerce.
> "If no friend treats you as you deserve,
> Do not reproach the gods but check yourself."

The "moral" advice has the schoolboy imagine his future life of the married, slave-owning pater familias. The self-composition that will bring him to maturity is something of a closed economy. The boy has all that he needs. A dose of misogyny that is part and parcel of the ancient gnomological tradition contributes to this evocation of a boys' world:

1.8
Nil temere uxori de servis crede querenti:
semper enim mulier, quem coniux diligit, odit.
"Never believe straightaway your wife when she complains of the slaves,
For a woman always hates whom her husband cherishes."

In the imaginary of the *Distichs* the young student wants to be an orator. The text has as twin goals morality and eloquence/learning which mean that Quintilian's and the real Cato's ideal is still alive, the *vir bonus dicendi peritus*, although the schoolboy must work to get here which is expressed positively as imperatives to study or read and negatively as admonitions to avoid all the threats to his good self-composition. Hate and love, repulsion and a not too passionate attraction, infamy and good repute, ignorance and education, slave-woman-child and Roman man are the poles calling the student.

Composition history

Such was the raw canvas for Erasmus to edit and to remoralize. Except that the canvas had already been embellished by the medieval commentators and by printers across Europe. Erasmus does not come to the text as imagined above—just the base text printed relatively plainly and clearly or with the imaginary described as a mixture of Quintilianic education and Senecan virtues with a dose of the old gnomology's archaic impulse to help oneself and one's friends. Rather Erasmus knew the *Distichs* as one of those classical texts in large commentary format. He wants his reader to think of these widespread treatments as hypertrophic and hybrid. And we are to think of him as the castigator, the chastiser, he who makes chaste not simply the base text but the accompanying commentary.

The little book seems a small pledge in one of those great, public friendships of the humanists. When visiting Leuven in 1502 and 1503 Erasmus had met perhaps through his host, the university rhetor John des Marais, Paludanus, the scholars Leo Outers, John Becker, and John de Neve, to whom he would dedicate the book in a letter dated August 1, 1514, and Martin van Dorp, who would on the renewal of their friendship in August 1514 be entrusted to bring it through the press.[5] The volume was a collection of ethical, educational aphorisms, the *Distichs*, the sayings of Mimus Publianus (Publianus Syrus), those of the Seven Sages, and Erasmus' poem *Institutum Christiani Hominis*. The composition was probably not so occasional and swift as the story from Erasmus' correspondence depicts. He had

[5] In his letter to Erasmus, ca. September 1514 (P. S. ALLEN, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi*

in these first years of the sixteenth century been collecting and editing *dicta* just as he had been working on school materials (the *Copia* was first printed in 1512).[6] The kind of dramatic, biographical accounts of composition which rather colorfully depict Erasmus reacting to unforeseen events with a quick run to the press neglect the continuity of his interests and the seriousness of his preparation and purpose. The story of the *Adagia* can be told this way: with his monies confiscated by English customs on his way to Paris, Erasmus concocted a present for his English patron, Lord Mountjoy, who had given him bad advice about the currency regulations. Thus he dashed off 818 adages in Paris, the first printing, in 1500, of that work which would grow and grow. Such historical sketches, written from the at times breathless accounts of Erasmus' travels and writings in his correspondence, reproduce the sense of speed or even haste in the great man's frenetic life. If this quality of *festinatio* is combined with some sense of the humble utility of these works as against the great projects, e.g., the New Testament, the *Praise of Folly*, *A Discussion of Free Will*, or the daunting collection of all the letters, the reader may well be falling for what is a trope in Erasmus, a mode of self-depreciation with a long history in Latin letters. The protest of the slightness and immediacy of the little book from Catullus on is a gesture for the learned, one which the good Latinist is to appreciate. Even if he dashed the works on proverbs off in a few days, if we believe the self presentation of his letters, he returned to them again and again. And his contemporaries bought and bought. By 1508 the *Adagia* numbered 3,000, in 1536 the final count was 4,151.[7] The first publication of the *Distichs* came then midway the course of his burgeoning publication of proverbs. With these works Erasmus can be the great educator, showing in his works of wisdom how to read the old texts, to excerpt them, to interpret and reuse them in one's own compositions and for one's own moral life.

Roterodami, t. II, Oxford 1906, 2 Ep. 304), Dorp mentions that he had been entrusted with the work by Erasmus, and that he had corrected the prints, and that he dedicated the work to John de Neve (following Erasmus' instructions). See also G. MORINCK, Life of Martin van Dorp, Humanistica Lovaniensia, Vol. 4, Texts and Studies about Louvain Humanists in the first half of the XVIth century, Leuven 1934, pp. 138-139 and see ALLEN 1906, pp. 1-3 (= Ep. 298) II 3014.156-160. Evidence for Erasmus' first visit and making of acquaintance with John de Neve and Leo Outers at the Lily in Louvain is found in Erasmus' Ep. 298 (Allen vol. 2) and 735 (Allen vol. 3) (see also Van Morinck's Life of Martin, p. 126n2).

[6] For Erasmus' contributions to the curriculum of St. Paul's School see C. R. THOMPSON, *Colloquies 1*, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Toronto 1997, p. 89 (he revised *Lily's Grammar*, wrote the *De copia* and various verses and prayers).

[7] The Toronto translations (*Collected Works of Erasmus*), the Amsterdam Latin editions (*Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Rotterodami*), and K. EDEN, Friends Hold All Things in Common, New Haven 2001 will plunge the reader into this vast text and its history.

When he came to defend his little book, Erasmus would stress that it was little—it had cost him scarcely a day. Thanks to a single letter of his correspondence, 292 To William Gonnel[8] (CWE 2:289-90) London, 28 April [1514] = Allen 1: 560-61 at 561, we can set aside his apologetics and see that he was earnest about it—he treated it as of the same status of others of his compositions and wanted it to come to light—and that he had composed it some months before he sent it to Martin van Dorp:

> The *Cato*, with the things I have added to it, has long since been finished, but for want of transcribers I possess only a single copy. I have added to my former collection a great number of *similia* from Pliny; I think they will be most useful to you and yours, but there is no one to make a fair copy of them. Among the Britons the avoidance of hard work is so prevalent and the love of ease so great that they cannot be roused even if a bright glimpse of flattering money dawns upon them. If you come here, I will be delighted to put these things and all the others at your disposal. It is for you to decide whether this would be to your advantage…[9]

The subsequent, immediate history of Erasmus' reaction to his text can be sketched from his correspondence. At first all seems well. Dorp wrote him to communicate that the book was published, accurately he says but in fact not so accurately (*Ep.* 304 From Maarten van Dorp [CWE 3: 17-23] Louvain, [c September 1514] [Allen 2: 10-16], here ll. 156-58):

> the Cato you corrected and entrusted to me he [Dirk van Aalst the printer[10]] has printed very accurately, and I corrected the mistakes. I dedicated the work, as you told me to, to Jean de Nève, regent of the Collège du Lys, who is so much attached to you by this kindness that on your return you will be fully conscious of this…

Néve's alleged gratitude is the first reception of our work. Another friend gives the first reaction of a contemporary reader. In *Ep.* 450 ca. 13 August 1516[11] John

8 Allen's introduction to *Ep.* 274 (*Collected Works of Erasmus* 2:254) notes: "William Gonnell (d 1560) was a young man living at Landbeach, a village five miles northeast of Cambridge, and apparently in charge of a school. He did copying for Erasmus and looked after his horse when he was away from Cambridge. Later he became tutor to More's children. Earlier in September [1513] Erasmus had left Cambridge to avoid the plague, probably staying with Gonnell at Landbeach."

9 All translations of the letters are from Charles Fantazzi, trans., and J. K. Farge, annot., *The Correspondence of Erasmus, Collected Works of Erasmus*, Toronto 2010.

10 Allen notes, "This is Dirk (Thierry) Martens; cf. *Ep.* 263:10n. He published the *Enchiridion* first in the *Lucubratiunculae* of 15 February 1503, and reprinted it on 6 November 1509 (NK 836); cf. *Ep.* 164 introduction. He printed the *Gratulatorius panegyricus ad Philippum Archiducem Austriae* (NK 837) in 1504; cf. *Ep.* 179."

11 Allen dated this letter from Watson's belief that Erasmus was still in England.

Watson, a friend of Erasmus from Cambridge, then rector of Elsworth, has stumbled on our edition (the translation is from CWE 4: ll. 51-57 (p. 36) [Allen 2: 316]):

> I happened a few days ago on the *Petty Cato* [Incidi ante paucos dies in Catonem minorem quem commentariolis elucidasti] which you have provided with brief explanatory notes; you would not believe how much I enjoyed them, marvelling at so sweet and plentiful a harvest in such a modest field. Do please add a list of all you writing to one or other of your books. I did not know of this small book, and I fear there may be others too of which I am unaware.

From November of the same year comes another notice of approval, which also importantly demonstrates the use and utility of the work for schooling. In Ep. 492 Adriaan Cornelissen van Baerland (1486-1538, at this time teaching in Louvain) wrote his brother Cornelis [CWE 4: 131-37] [Allen, 2: 385-90], ll. 95-97 (p. 135) and (ll. 115-123, p. 136):

> "Then the *Disticha moralia*, commonly called *Cato*, the *Mimi Publiani*, the *Institutum hominis christiani*…There have been two editions this year of his brief notes on the book commonly called the *Cato*. This I have expounded to my pupils, hoping by its high moral precepts to train up their minds in virtue and their tongues in correct Latinity; for to teach one without the other is to corrupt rather than instruct. He has also lately revised Seneca, whose text was hitherto in a most parlous state. The first psalm, *Beatus vir*, he has expounded in a most learned commentary. O how fortunate we are, who have had the good luck in our early years to see, to con over and to teach works of such perfection.

This fan mail had not been matched by the great French scholar Budé (1468-1540), who only agrees on the diminutive nature of the enterprise. *Ep.* 421 is Erasmus' reply [*CWE* 3:303-309] [Antwerp], [ca. 19 June 1516] [Allen 2: 252-256]., here *CWE* p. 307 ll. 99-101 (Allen 2:254, ll. 91-92):

> Nothing could be more trifling than the Cato, on which I spent one short day [Nihil Catone minutius, in quo dieculam absumpsi]. But these light pieces, however trifling, I set above Scotus and all his quillets. … And it is just these "trivialities" such as they are, that are welcomed by the most authoritative theologians, and they say they have derived a flood of light from them. … And in any case, if I were to measure myself by my own foot, I should undertake only trifling tasks, and avoid "burdens too great for puny heart and frame." Again I find it somehow more attractive to mix serious topics with my trifles than to show myself a trifler on great topics. And nothing seems to me a greater waste of time than to go on discussing the worthless questions which make so many theologians fancy themselves gods; for to you I can speak the truth. In fact, in this order of subject I think I have done better than all my predecessors in diligence at any rate, if not in erudition.

Budé refused to give ground. From Paris, 7 July [1516] he wrote Erasmus *Ep.* 435 [CWE 3: 328-33] [Allen 2: 272-76]; the following extract from *CWE* p. 331 [Allen 2:272, l. 89]:

> For it is commonly thought right that you and writers of your class should choose the subject on which you mean to shine from among special and exulted themes. Such is my opinion of your "trivialities," since you are so much upset by the word. … At this point too (for pity's sake!) you will say that you have edited the petty Cato [Catunculus], and do not regret it because it cost you only one day, besides some small things put together privately; as though all these trivial pieces could do your name no harm. You must make up your own mind on such a point. But I think it reasonable that you should give me leave to differ from you on this, begging your pardon, especially since I have others voting on my side.

Erasmus replied from Brussels, 28 October 1516 in *Ep.* 480 [*CWE* 4: 102-111], here *CWE* 104-105, ll. 73-77:

> Finally, the man whose sole object is not to advertise himself but to help people, asks not so much Is it grand, my chosen field? as Is it useful? I will not shrink from tasks even more despicable than my so much despised Petty Cato, provided I can see that they help to promote liberal studies. I write these things not for your Persius or your Laelius but for children and dullards.[12]

Budé and Erasmus are rather grandly disagreeing about what a humanist should do and be. Erasmus has settled on a triple defense: the work is slight, improving, and better than theology. Whether Bude resented the book's success—and the far wider readership Erasmus would get for a work far simpler to read than Budé's—may remain in the realm of speculation. We, however, can conclude that Erasmus was getting into the schools, quickly in England and the Low Lands.

In three additional letters that explain in passing his purposes in editing the *Distichs,* Erasmus maintains its serious purpose, and worth. In *Ep.* 1275 to Jean Glapion [*CWE* 9:64-68] Basel, [c 21 April] 1522], who two years before had become the personal confessor to Charles V and whom Erasmus met only once in the summer of 1521, Erasmus explains why he does not need to write various works to defend Catholic doctrine: e.g. the primacy of the pope: "My views on the sacraments I have now made clear in some verses added to the small book known as the Cato" (i.e., in the *Institutum christiani hominis carmine pro pueris*; cf. *Ep.* 298 and 679). This is perhaps the closest acknowledgement of the theological work that his

[12] Erasmus remembers from Cicero, *De oratore* 2.6.25 that Lucilius said he wrote not for learned (like Persius) but the common man (Laelius). Erasmus sets himself a rung lower than the old satirist.

pedagogic texts performed. His critics or enemies saw this clearly. In *Ep.* 1301 To the Theologians of Louvain, Basel ca. 14 July 1522 [*CWE* 9:129-36] Erasmus attempts a *reductio ad absurdum*.[13] In Louvain theologians under the leadership of Nicolaas Baechem of Egmond (d 1526)[14] prior of the Carmelites at Louvain were agitating against Erasmus. His school conversations, the *Colloquia*, had come under criticism for their alleged heterodoxy. Erasmus responded (*CWE* 9: 134), "And these, if you please, are the outrageous heresies which this keen-eyed Lunceus has detected in a child's school-book! I wonder he does not go carefully through my poor little Cato and my *Mimi Publiani*!" Erasmus jokes, but the day would come when even his *Distichs* would be censured. In the important letter in which he discusses his works, *Ep.* 1341A to Johann von Botzheim, Basel 30 January 1523 [CWE 9: 291-364] [Allen 1: 1-46], Erasmus defends his work on the grounds (p. 309) that the text was corrupt, badly commented upon, and a disservice to the young and (p. 354, Allen 1: 12) implies that it was morally improving: Erasmus places his Cato in volume four "given to works which contribute to the building of character."

These direct remarks, despite the controversy kindled and fanned by Budé, demonstrate Eramsus' ongoing enthusiasm and even pride about the little Cato. The diminutive *Catunculus*, while it may have a touch of the Roman poets' talk of their little books (*libellus*, *nugae*, *silvae*) with their slight, almost spontaneous effort at composition (Erasmus' *dieculam*) and with a preference for small compass against those who purport to treat of grand themes (in the Erasmian *recusatio* theology takes the place epic poetry or history had served for the lyric or elegiac poets), also has the resonance that the book is Erasmus' child, in need of protection and well-served by the paternal author. Erasmus was proud of his educational mission, as he saw it, and his philological emendation, a consideration to keep in mind as we trace his hand in the various reprintings and augmentations of the book.

The *Distichs* would play a large and important role in this aspect of the publication of Erasmus' philology, for they were printed a hundred times in his lifetime. First published at Leuven in 1514, they were immediately and repeatedly reprinted. In the second edition in Strassburg in 1515 the printer Mathias Schuererius (Schürer 1470-1519) maintained that Erasmus has corrected the earlier edition and that his is the castigated version. Despite printer's errors, the slightly enlarged text became the model for the more than 100 reprintings in Erasmus' lifetime alone.[15] The Froben edition of Basel 1528 claims again to have Erasmus'

[13] Erasmus expanded this letter in the first edition (April 1523) of the *Catalogus lucubrationum* (*Ep.* 1341A).

[14] A fierce critic of Erasmus and a favorite of Charles V (see Allen ad loc.).

[15] Boas 1952: lii cites this round number. Thanks in great measure to the researches of Dr. Hailey LaVoy, we have cataloged 101 prints before his death.

blessing, and the text would continue to be printed either on its own or with Erasmus' notes joined to others'. Shorter, less expensive, more familiar, and frankly easier than all those hard nuggets of the *Adagia* (some with rather elaborate explanation), the *Distichs* proved good reading for more than schoolboys and girls.

Erasmus prepared the way for his success with his brief notices of purpose and method in the dedicatory letter, in his comparatively spare and simple mise-en-page, and by the example of his own philological method. Erasmus thus presents a three fold castigation, a correction of the base text, of the older commentaries, and of the school children, their morals and their Latin.

The predecessors and competitors

In manuscript Erasmus could have found a great variety of commentaries on this text. Perhaps at school his teacher had read one of the many late medieval enlarged versions of the accessus current in northern Europe and used this as the basis of his lectures. Erasmus refers to two versions, which seem easily identifiable. He chastises the two large commentary makers who were the favorites of his day. He begins his edition with a letter dedicated to the educator Neve:

> Disticha moralia uulgo Catonis inscripta titulo, Neui Theologorum decus, primum diligenter a mendis repurgauimus, collata Planudis interpretatione: tametsi Graeculus ille Romani carminis sententiam saepenumero non assequitur. Addidimus et scolia, perbreuia quidem illa, sed aliquanto commodiora, ni fallor, iis commentariis, quibus duo quidam opusculum hoc contaminauerant, quorum alter insulsissime rhetoricatur, homo ipsa infantior infantia, alter ineptissime philosophatur, uterque **ΟΥΔΕΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΠΟΣ** loquitur.
>
> Nevus glory of the theologians, I have first of all studiously freed from errors the Moral Distichs, commonly entitled Cato's, after checking the translation of Planudes, even though that Greekling often fails to grasp the meaning of the Latin poem. And I have added explanations, very concise but somewhat more useful, unless I am mistaken, than those commentaries, by which two fellows have polluted this little work, the first rhetoricizing in the most tasteless fashion, the second philosophizing in the most inappropriate fashion, and neither saying anything *apropos*.[16]

It is a bit unjust that we can so easily identify the targets of Erasmus' polemic. The first is probably Robert of Evremodio who cannot restrain himself from grandiose (to the classical taste) rhetoricizing—almost every paragraph expands a distich into a turgid prose paragraph with insistent tricola and a diction varied so

[16] My translation.

as to be something of a Latin vocabulary lesson—and the second is Philip of Bergamo who wrote a *Speculum regiminis*,[17] which "philosophizes" by adducing classical authors, canon law, and church fathers to support some argument of political virtue. The printed edition of the first text is a 90 page, 19,000 word commentary; the second runs on to 350 or more folios, complete with an elaborate and useful index. His third competitor in print was Maximus Planudes, mentioned in the letter with slight disparagement and chastised regularly in the commentary for missing the point, although Erasmus found his Greek version useful, as evidence for variant readings.[18] Erasmus is so good at his self-promotion that these editions tend to be forgotten. Instead we think of the early editors as Erasmus, Badius, and Scaliger until we come to the 1952 critical edition of Marcus Boas.[19] Of course for the early sixteenth-century reader the editions from authors of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries were more important and influential than Erasmus allows. He wanted to sweep them aside, and his edition was immediately and repeatedly reprinted and reworked. Why Erasmus' edition succeeded, without exactly sweeping the field, is a complex chapter in the history of printing, too large for the present occasion. Instead a comparison of Robert, Philip, and Erasmus may help demonstrate Erasmus' innovatory intent but also his unacknowledged debts to his predecessors.

[17] G. BRINKHUS, "Philipp von Bergamo," in Kurt Ruh et al. (edd.), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, 2. Aufl. Bd. 6 (Berlin and New York 1987), p. 597f; BALDZUHN pp. 268-72, who notes that the cost of reproducing the commentary impeded its printing: of 44 commentated Cato editions produced in incunabula in France, only two contain the *Speculum regiminis*; in Germany it was printed only twice out of 16 commentated Cato incunabula; N. HENKEL, "Disticha Catonis. Gattungsfelder und Erscheinungsformen des gnomischen Diskurses zwischen Latein und Volkssprache," in B. FRANK, T. HAYE, and D. TOPHINKE (edd.), *Gattungen mittelalterlicher Schriftlichkeit*, Tübingen 1997, pp. 261-283, 272: the work not suitable for schools, was rather a philosophical summa.

In some manuscripts and prints his text is combined with Robert's, resulting in a text of considerable length. Moreover, many manuscripts of the commentary contain elaborate and expensive decorations, indicating that they were prepared for a reading public of greater means than the average student. One manuscript has a letter of dedication to Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Lord of Milan 1378-1402. Padua passed from control of Galeazzo to that of Francesco il Novello da Carrara in 1390. The rest of the manuscripts have a letter of dedication to Novello.

[18] R. J. SCHOEK, "Agricola and Erasmus: Erasmus' Inheritance of Northern Humanism," in F. AKKERMAN and A.J. VANDERJAGT (edd.), Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius (1444-1485), proceedings of the international conference at the University of Groningen, 28-30 October 1985, Leiden and New York 1988, pp. 181-188. On Planudes' edition of the Disticha, see V. ORTOLEVA, Disticha Catonis in Graecum translatum, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, Rome 1992, which edition is criticized by Manoles Papathomopoulos, Κάτωνος γνώμαι παραινετικαί δίστιχοι "Ας μετήνεγκεν εκ της Λατίνων φωνής εις την Ελλάδα διαλεκτόν" Μάξιμος Μοναχός ο Πλανούδης: Κριτική έκδοση (Athens 2009).

[19] M. BOAS and H. J. BOTSCHUYVER, Disticha Catonis, recensuit et apparatu critico instruxit Marcus Boas, Amsterdam 1952.

According to his declaration he is the paragon of new philology, who has rescued the text from faults and from an overgrown, errant kind of commentary. And yet his similarities to his late medieval precursors are instructive. In format he has learned a good deal from the printing of Robert of Evremodio (specifically the combining of different versions and commentary on one page, with subtitles and with sample showcase mini-essays) and in ease of use from the opening index of Philip of Bergamo's huge edition. These editions may have influenced his editing of sententiae collections, not the *Distichs* but the *Adagia*. As for the tasteless rhetoricizing and foolish philosophizing of his predecessors, it is quite true that the language of the commentary on the *Distichs* is relatively plain, in vocabulary and syntax. He has suited his edition for the schoolmaster's lectures. Thus he has brought or encouraged the return of the text to an earlier stage of education, before the student was able to appreciate or produce the elaborated *amplificatio* of Robert. Perhaps other Erasmian texts were needed for that, the *Colloquia* and especially the *Copia* or to master style the *Ciceronianus*. And yet Erasmus' philology is far more theological than his statements of method acknowledge. The impulse to correct the text includes correcting the interpretation of the text and since that text is profoundly ethical philology requires or even constitutes an intervention into the morals of the day. Thus he levels several polemical charges against the errant churchmen and errant laity of his day. Philology clarifies *sapientia* and applies it to theology.

To measure Erasmus' achievement requires an assessment of the difference of his commentary from that of his immediate predecessors, in particular the two he singles out for his polemic. To take a more sympathetic approach to these older commentaries, one could note that they served far different purposes and audiences from those the Dutch humanist imagined for his slender work. The older commentaries are epitomes of culture, late medieval or proto-humanistic, and decidedly not an *aide de lire* in the economical sense of that expression, viz. a set of notes limited to the express purpose of helping a reader understand just so much of a foreign language and foreign culture that will allegedly enable him to understand the original idiom, references, and ultimately meaning of the text. For the earlier commentary writers the pagan text offered a sort of substructure on which to build an integrated account of wisdom or knowledge. In such commentaries the base text serves as a scaffold on which to hang a great breadth of reading. We must see to what degree Erasmus achieved the positive ideal of a philological commentary focused on explication of the ancient text and the negative ideal, the severe pruning of the old commentary mode.

The work which Erasmus deemed poor philosophizing was the *Speculum regiminis* (sometime titled the *Postilla Catonis*) of Philippus de Bergamo, written in the second half of the fourteenth century.[20] The author, Philip of Bergamo (d. 1380) was the

[20] See n. 15 above.

Benedictine Prior of Santa Maria in Vango in Padua. The work is a philosophical *summa*, which was used in universities as a handbook for intellectual and spiritual instruction. Philip wrote a lengthy prolog which explains the following lengthy subject index (ten percent of the whole). This alphabetical index of subjects, which are indeed to be found in the *Distichs* (like pride or charity or war), provide the lemma for Robert to direct the reader to the treatment in canon law, Aquinas, Aristotle and elsewhere in his own book (with heavy reliance too on Valerius Maximus and Seneca). This is a political topica. In some manuscripts and prints his text is combined with Robert's. Early printed editions exceed 300 folios. Moreover, many manuscripts of the commentary contain elaborate and expensive decorations, indicating that they were prepared for a reading public of greater means than the average student. One manuscript has a letter of dedication to Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Lord of Milan 1378-1402. Padua passed from control of Galeazzo to that of Francesco il Novello da Carrara in 1390. The rest of the manuscripts have a letter of dedication to Novello. The mode of presentation, the range of authorities cited, and the sheer size of the text are so different from Erasmus that no single factor can be deemed responsible for the humanist's disdain. The range of classical sources employed prevent one from labeling Philip's work with that catch all phrase of Erasmus' disapproval, "scholastic." I suspect the success of Philip's work played a role in Erasmus' censure. It had influenced the tradition of commentaries in Germany. Further, Philip's book was quite simply the most elaborate intellectual use of the *Distichs* (a competitor might be the commentary *Summe deus largitor*, but that is more properly scholastic and had a more limited circulation). Philip's text could perhaps best be described as a concordance, a reference book that harmonizes pagan *sapientia* with Christian *doctrina* (and not simply *scriptura*, for he adduces most often Aquinas and canon law). To treat a text as a source for lemmata of course deforms the original. The form of the original simply is not important. Even the sequence of topics is rearranged. To take Philip's side briefly: the prior saw the *Distichs* as a necessarily incomplete wisdom text. The text must be turned into a systematic account of virtue and to do so both the original form of the text can be neglected and the text must have a Christian supplement. We shall consider below what sort of supplement Erasmus deemed appropriate, perhaps even necessary, for it is not the case that Erasmus will simply return the text to its pagan context. His de-theologization of the text will be partial as will his historicization.

A closer competitor for Erasmus' edition was his second target, the commentary of Robert of Euremodio.[21] It too was aimed at a younger audience, though for its

[21] See BALDZUHN: 1.268-272; M. BOAS, "De Cato-bewerking van Robertus de Euremodio." *Het Boek* 26 (1940/42): pp. 49-68; G. BRINKHUS, "Philipp von Bergamo OESA," *Verfasserlexicon* 7: col. 597-98; N. HENKEL, "Beiträge zur Überlieferung der 'Disticha Catonis' in deutscher

pedagogy to be effective a student would have to be on the threshold of reading sentences as complex as Cicero's. It is relentlessly moralizing and relentlessly stylized. All that is known of the author is contained in the dedicatory letter: he was from Envermeu in the north of the modern Département Seine-Maritime, or, more precisely at the southernmost limits of the Dutch/Flemish zone. He was a monk of Clairvaux. We can discern a little more from his dedicatory letter, for the dedicatee is Petrus de Saluciis, son of the Marquis de Saluces. Pierre was a student of law in the University of Orleans in 1393, canon of Amiens from 1382-1389, bishop of Mende in 1409; he died in September 1412.[22] Robert refers to him as an *adulescentulus* so we should perhaps put the time of publication as ca. 1375, perhaps a bit earlier.

Euremodio is not concerned to undertake a full explication of the text *en détail*; rather his is a commentary that repeats with rhetorical variation what has already been said in the *Distichs*. He has a little paragraph or so for each distich, which is a show piece or model of rhetorical *amplificatio*—using unusual words so that it is something of a vocabulary builder. Some of his curious vocabulary seems to correspond to the style of Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus* and *De planctu naturae*, so texts and style far removed from Erasmus' taste. The *amplificatio* ad 1.14 offers a taste of Robert's diction and its sources:

> O tu quisquis in huius vitae fluuio, immo in mari magno ac spacioso nauigas, hoc in aerario memoriae sedula consideratione reponas, ne alienis laudibus intumescens plus extere assertioni quam proprio iudicio condescendas. In hoc enim proprie fallitur humanae deliberationis iudicium, quod more oculi corporalis aliena prospiciens, non seipsum permittit intueri, sed dum palponum mendacia, adulatorum phaleras et caetera seductionis ministeria aures laudis bibule minus prudenter attendunt, tunc demulcetur peccator in desideriis animae suae et iniquus benedicitur, aut ambulans quidem in magnis et mirabilibus super se, non testimonium conscientiae veracis insequitur, sed acquiescit fraudulentiae falsitatis. Sane postquam adulatrix loquacitas ministrante fortuna adulationis optata stipendia sibi adepta concepit, fauos laudis dulcifluos conuertet in detractionis aculeos in momento.

Übersetzung (I). Die Übersetzung des Clm 3059," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 107 (1978): pp. 298-318 at p. 298; IDEM, "Disticha Catonis. Gattungsfelder und Erscheinungsformen des gnomischen Diksurses zwischen Latein und Volkssprache," in B. FRANK, T. HAYE, and D. TOPHINKE (edd.), *Gattungen mittelalterlicher Schriftlichkeit*, Tübingen 1997, 261-83 at 272-73; and A. ZUMKELLER, *Manuscripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken. Cassiciacum 20*. Würzburg 1966 (Zumkeller misattributes the work to Giacomo Filippo Foresti; see BALDZUHN 1:269 n. 299).

[22] D. de SAINTE MARTHE, *Gallia Provincia*, vol 1, Paris and Rome 1870, p. 102 XLVI Petrus III (under the subheading of bishops of Mende): *Petrus de Saluciis canonicus et comes Lugdunensis, Frederici marchionis Saluciarum ex Beatrice Gebennensi filius, frater Amedie cardinalis, episcopus electus post translationem Guillelmi, an. 1409. Possessionem adipiscitur, exemtus e vivis an. 1412. Ex actis capitularibus.* For his family tree, see http://gw.geneanet.org/pierfit?lang=en&p=pierre&n=de+saluces&oc=2.

The river of life, ultimately from *Apocalypse* 22, occurs four times in Bede. Some of the diction seems to reflect a twelfth- and thirteenth-century French intellectual milieu: e.g., the sting of slander is found in two hagiographical works, but the French connections are suggested by the remaining instances: Alan of Lille, *De planctu naturae* 14.55 has *dectractionis aculeos facit*; Guillelmus Alvernus (Bishop of Paris 1228-1249) *Sermo* 294, p. 589 line 81 *aculeo detractionis*; John of Salisbury *Policraticus* II, lib. : 7, cap. : 24, pag. : 217, linea : 12 *detractionis declinat aculeos*. That Robert has been reading Alan of Lisle's *Anticlaudianus* is clear from 7.197-199:

> Non animo facili, non **aure bibente** fauorem
> Audiat ypocritas laudes, **mendacia** fame,
> **Palponis phaleras**, qui uerba sophistica pingit,
> And perhaps Bonvicinus de Ripa, vers. 51
> lingua tibi non sit detractrix, subdola, vana,
> grandis, **adulatrix**, falsa, superba, **loquax.**

The phrase "ears bibulous of praise" is ultimately from Persius (4.50) (so too *palpo* is found at Persius 5.176) but found in Bede, Alcuin, Walter Alexandreis, and Petrus Cantor. The combination of echoes, however, makes clear the specific source. With *in magnis* … Robert echoes *Ps.* 130.1. The melange is noteworthy for the transfer into prose of the verse expressions of Alan of Lille augmented by echoes of the Psalms and the Gospels.

This is the amplification he advertises. The version that Erasmus read and used was probably one of the post 1486 printings; the earlier (1475) is a little different, but it had already significantly enlarged the text as found in manuscripts of Robert. The printer had added the *epistula* and the *breves* and rather useful glosses throughout. He has also added verses from the *Novus Cato* (an eleventh-century leonine hexameter version). Certainly, Robert is presenting a rapprochement of Christian doctrine and pagan *sapientia*. The chief means for doing so is an old and familiar one, integrating, almost as stylistic doublets, phrases from Christian scripture into the explication of the pagan text. His penchant for poetic expressions from Alan of Lilles or Aldhelm Scriburensis, combined with echoes of the Psalms themselves, along with the chant like quality to his rhymes abetted by his prose rhythm suggests a psalmification of the *Distichs*.[23]

The print which Erasmus likely saw looked like this. Here is a transcription of the first distich:

[23] Thus in explaining *Distichs* 1.14, which counsels to be one's own judge, Robert writes *aut ambulans quidem in magnis et mirabilibus super se* following *Ps.* 130:1 *Domine non est exaltatum cor meum neque elati sunt oculi mei neque ambulavi in magnis neque in mirabilibus super me*.

Que dicta sunt a Catone breuiter prosaice
ampliore stilo prosequitur eleganter metrice

Pura mente deum tuum ama [a 4r]
[1.1]
pro quoniam .i. nostra ratio naturalis .i. scripture sacre
Si deus est animus vt nobis carmina dicunt
deus .i. a te .i. principaliter supra omnia honorandus amandus
Hic tibi praecipue sit pura mente colendus.

Naturalis ratio, legalis institutio et communis conceptio animorum hoc habet, discernit et praecipit, quod vnus credatur deus omnipotens, diligatur cordialiter et magnae venerationis officiis adoretur. Qui quidem est tanquam clauus fixus et stabilis, circa quem omnia reuoluuntur, originale seminarium omnium entium, omnium rerum primordiale principium, qui iuxta Salomonis eloquium omnia disponit in numero, pondere et mensura,[24] comprehendens omnia et a nullo alio comprehensus. Et vt verbis Augustini vti liceat: Deus est intra caelum non inclusus, extra caelum non depressus.[25] Quia igitur ex eius gratuita liberalitate procedit quod sumus, quod viuimus, quod mouemur,[26] sine cuius manutenentia tota natura rediret in nihilum, sicut ex nihilo est creata, hic igitur deus est tota cordis intentione pensandus, honorandus sacrificio et toto oris iubilo[27] collaudandus. *Hic tibi praecipue sit pura mente colendus.*

Unde nouus Cato:

Lingua paterna sonat quam dei sapientia donat;
Haec audi fili mentisque repone cubili.[28]

Pronus dei cultum pronum tu dilige multum,
Qua sine cultura non est mens crimine pura.[29]

[24] *Sap.* 11:21b *sed omnia mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti.*

[25] Quoted freely from the *Glossa Ordinaria*. The passage interpreted here is *Psalm* 81.1 *Deus stetit in synagoga deorum*. The Glossa says: *Deus stetit. Cujus non est stare, qui coelum et terram complet, qui est* ***intra*** *omnia* ***non inclusus***, ***extra*** *omnia* ***non exclusus***, *sed breviter Deum hominem indicat.* (PL 113, 981B).

[26] *Acts* 17:28a *in ipso enim vivimus et movemur et sumus.*

[27] *Iubilum* "a wild cry" is an infrequent classical Latin word. The noun occurs in the Vulgate only four times, all in the *Psalms*: 26.6; 32.3; 46.6; 88.16 where it is the joyful noise associated with the very act of singing and playing the psalms. NB above Robert has *Psalm* 88 in mind, and he probably understood the opening of the *Cato Novus* just below (*lingua paterna sonat*) as referring to the *Psalms*, especially given the *Psalm*-like use of *cubilis*, in the second half of that line, to mean one's heart or mind. Indeed the author of the *Cato novus* was in effect making a rapprochement of the *Distichs* and the *Psalms*, bringing together the first two items of the curriculum and bringing together Christian and pagan sapiential literature. Thus in explaining *Distichs* 1.14, which counsels to be one's own judge, Robert writes *aut ambulans quidem in magnis et mirabilibus super se* following *Ps.* 130:1 *Domine non est exaltatum cor meum neque elati sunt oculi mei neque ambulavi in magnis neque in mirabilibus super me.*

[28] ZARNCKE's edition of the *Cato novus* in his *Der Deutsche Cato*, Osnabrück 1966 (1852): *Lingua paterna sonat quod ei sapientia donat: / Exaudi, fili, mentisque repone cubili.*

[29] ZARNCKE: *Principio cultum domini tu dilige multum, / Qua bene cultura fruitur mens crimine pura.*

Perhaps the pastiche of scriptural citations was so common among Christian intellectuals that we need not claim as direct but only as original, distant source the practice of Augustine in the *Confessions*. One needs to be particularly precise about Robert's sources. In this passage the words he cites as Augustine's are in fact taken from the *Glossa ordinaria* (in whose margins quite often a source's name was written and perhaps here wrongly transposed by Robert). He turns again and again to the *Psalms* and the *New Testament*, for which he no doubt had no need to consult a text. The incorporation of *Acts* 17:28 is helped by its form, a tricolon of verbs. His sentences have an insistent habit of tricolonization—in building long periods here he is aping Cicero. More charitably, one could say that he is preparing his students to understand more complex sentences and indeed to generate them, even though the method is more than a bit mechanical. *Amplificatio* is thus stylistic elongation chiefly by expansion of a single word or phrase into a tricolon, with as a necessary consequence a certain practice in synonyms, dictional and phrasal triplets. His diction helps another rapprochement. His paragraphs of *amplificatio* tend to recast in scriptural phrases the content of the *Distichs*. The *amplificatio* is an intensification of the sound effects of the verse original: Psalmic and Christian verse phrases and Robert's strong assonance and even rhyme seems to reflect the opening line of the *Cato novus: lingua paterna sonat*… Father Cato's sonorous verse expresses Christian truth, and Robert seems to have emulated this concordance of sound and sense. The sonorous quality is palpable in Robert's prose, where triple rhymes underscore his cola (note **–lis/nis**, *-tio*, -et/it; and-**tur**):

> Natura**lis** ra*tio*, lega**lis** institu*tio* et commu**nis** concep*tio* animorum hoc habet, discernit et praecipit, quod vnus creda**tur** deus omnipotens, diliga**tur** cordialiter et magnae venera*tio*nis officiis adore**tur**.

Erasmus' Response

Such a poetic inclination with its mixture of registers and genres was just the sort of confusion of strata that Erasmus's philology sought to separate. The deliberate artistic and theological purposes of such *poiesis* could not compete with the conviction that the expression had mixed what should be single. As we shall see in the discussion of aphorism below, there was a second wrong fusion. The text of the *Distichs* did express universal and hence Christian truths, e.g. God was to be venerated with the soul or intellect, but they did so not as anticipations or allegories of Christian doctrine but as truth independent of revelation.

Erasmus has avoided the style, length, and modes of theologizing and philosophizing of the two prior commentators. He does not follow their adducing of parallels from Christian literature. His polemical *castigatio* leads the reader to think that he or she now has the right text in the right form, and that all that

Erasmus has done is to correct, especially by elimination. But what were the positive virtues of his edition? His pruning philology does at times explain the historical milieu, but his central interest seems to be to return the *Distichs* to a status of an early schooltext. The text's original purpose and not simply its original form need to be restored. Still the *Distichs*' great tradition as sapiential literature did influence him, but not in the edition of the *Distichs*. The *Adagia* in some formal ways, including the production of mini discursive essays almost as showpieces for what to do with a sententia reprises the expansive mode of the old commentaries. More positively, what did Erasmus do in his commentary? The relative brevity and restricted focus of his remarks are striking. His comments can be analyzed as reflecting a fivefold method abetted by or aiming at a sixth consideration: polemic; historical explanation; textual emendation; explanation by aphorism; citation of classical parallels; and a present minded interpretation—one concerned with moral action today or moral action on the great issues of the day. Philology it seems does not substitute for or exclude ethical protreptic.

Erasmus' "philological" practice

Polemic with other scholars is a necessary constituent of Erasmus' philology. Censure produces a drama in which the present text is a species of redress. In the present case, the blunderings of Philip, Robert, and an important third, Maximus Planudes, have left Erasmus no choice but to fix things. Polemic is not part of the fix except that it is motivational: it accounts for Erasmus' activity and is meant as a sort of protreptic to the reader. If philology is understood as the science of textual repair cum interpretation, then polemic is not simply advertisement of the genius of the editing critic. By assigning blame, polemic explains how the text went wrong.

Thus even when Erasmus' philology seems more recognizably philological to the modern reader,[30] disagreement with another scholar frames and fuels the issue. For instance, Erasmus points out that Planudes had made a mistake in translating the ablative phrase *nimio cultu* in 2.14:

> Invidiam nimio cultu vitare memento,
> Quae si non ledit, tamen hanc sufferre molestum est.

[30] On Erasmus' philological practice with his New Testament, see H. NELLEM and J. BLOEMENDAL, "Erasmus's Biblical Project. Some Thoughts and Observations on Its Scope, Its Impact in the Sixteenth Century and Reception in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Church History and Religious Culture* 96 (2016): pp. 595–635.

After giving Erasmus' Greek, Erasmus explains: *Quamquam hic ablatiuus Nimio cultu, non refertur ad uerbum Vitare, sed ad inuidiam, ut subaudias conflatam, aut ex nimio cultu*. This may well be a bit of Erasmian showmanship: he understands the Latin better than the Greek translator and he understands the Greek. It is interesting as an example of Erasmus' method: he dos not generally make small grammatical explanations. He reads his competitor with an eye to finding faults, and the detected fault merits observation and explanation.

This tendency to intervene in the text so as to correct a fault, in the transmitted text, in a critic's understanding of it, seems the strongest guiding principle of his philology. There certainly are a number of comments which can properly be described as historical explanation, but often here too the philological comment is made not to clarify a practice or institution of old but to castigate the present. This tendency is in part a reflex of his belief that the text is above all a moralizing agent, a source of ethical instruction or even religious inspiration. Erasmus' comment on two of the *sententiae breves* is exemplary:

> 36. Trocho lude. 37. Aleam fuge.
> Trochus conuenit pueris. Alea infamis erat et apud gentiles. Nunc principum christianorum lusus est. immo quorundam etiam sacerdotum deliciæ.

What to play with and what not, just like whom to associate with and whom not, are typical concerns of the *Distichs*, which reinforce the divisions of the schoolchild's role and world. Erasmus says it more economically than that: "the hoop suits boys." The censure of the leaders of church and state seems almost gratuitous. The perfectly correct notice that gambling was infamous among the ancient Romans and Greeks is the slimmest possible historical contextualization. In fact, the comment does not return the text to some past milieu, rather it serves to collapse then and now into a (im)moral continuum. Errors of the contemporary edition, editor, prince, and priest seem to exert the strongest impulse on Erasmus' castigation.

Erasmus had a fine eye for sense. His textual criticism does not show the command of idiom that the next two centuries would bring to improve classical texts. I do not say this to denigrate his achievement. He reads Planudes' Greek and realizes that Planudes was following a different Latin text.[31] He is very good at

[31] Erasmus explains his preference for the reading *incertis* at 1.33 (*Cum dubia incertis uersetur uita periclis*):

> Planudes graecus legit in certis. vt sint duæ dictiones. Cum igitur uita per se incerta. uersetur in periculis certis. vnumquemque uitae diem in lucro deputa, vnusquisque enim dies poterat esse vltimus. et incertum erat an tibi contigeret. Ergo in tot uitae periculis quicunque dies non eripitur. is in lucro sit imputandus. Quicunque laboras. id est quicunque sollicitus es, et angeris huius uitae malis. Tametsi

seeing where sense should lead to a different reading (at 4.6 *Fortasse pro sed legendum se*). Yet his tolerance for double readings is at times surprising. So he reports two versions of one of the *breves*:

40. Tu te consule.
A teipso pete consilium, qui te. tuaque optime nosti.

Aut, tuto consule.
Id est caue a consiliis periculosis, tuta consilia sequere. Nam duplex est lectio.

Aside from profiting from inspection of more of the early manuscripts, the modern critic would be impressed and moved by the fact that the first version of #40 follows Senecan phrasing. Erasmus goes wrong again where inspection of more manuscripts or perhaps an appreciation of an Ovidianesque alliteration at the caesura would have made clear that the *et* below is intrusive:

1.20. Exiguum munus, cum dat tibi pauper amicus
Accipito placide, plene *et* laudare memento.

As at other cruxes if it scans he lets it go.

To dwell too long on his textual emendations distorts the understanding of Erasmus' philology. He offers his corrections often tentatively in the last words of his comments. The truth of the text must be supported, and not simply its wording. Thus a recurrent mode of comment is the explanation by aphorism. Aphorism is ultimately for Erasmus a form of veracious wisdom.[32] That one aphorism can be proof of another necessarily follows from their Erasmian status as a species of

non ignoro Planuden secus exposuisse. Sed non est sententia illum per omnia sequi. Nam mihi magis probatur, ut legamus incertis periclis. id est casibus. Nam pericula hoc minus a nobis uitari possint. quod incerta sunt. Vitasti naufragium. non vitasti ruinam. uitasti bellum. incidis in latrones. uitasti pestæm. morderis a uipera. Mille periculis obnoxia est hominis uita, atque his quidem incertis. et ob id ineuitabilibus.

[32] See e.g., "Desiderius Erasmus 1469?-1536," in M. LeBLANC (ed.), *Literature Criticism from 1400-1800*, vol. 93, 2003: p. 283: "Not least of the things that friends hold in common, proverbs belong to no individual member of a society or culture but to all alike. In the arena of discourse proverbs are the common stock. Indeed, Erasmus makes this one of the two preconditions of the form; it must be in common use, as his definition of paroemia in the introduction unambiguously affirms. A paroemia is celebre dictum (LB II, 2B), or what he calls elsewhere sermo communis (LB II, 2C), and its celebritas is encoded in its name. So Erasmus explains that "this is the origin of the word paroimia in Greek (from oimos, a road, as though well polished in use and circulating), that which travels everywhere on the lips of men, and of adagium in Latin, as if you should say 'something passed around,' following Varro" (LB, II, 2B; CWE, 31, 4-5). Lacking a single author, proverbs derive their authority from longstanding and general consensus."

non revealed truth. Thus both in content and form aphorism can be a philological principle (a technique of validating the authenticity of the received text). At *Breves* 22 he prints wrongly *te*, but more interesting is the explanation.

> 22. Vino te tempera.
> Esto moderatus in uino, uel abstine a uino. Nam adulescenti dare uinum, est oleum igni addere.

Wisdom is encapsulated in sententiae. It is not the case that Erasmus sees in such crystalline expression the spirit of a people or ancient culture. Rather the brevity and pungency are features, indicators of truth as is the frequency, the currency of the expression. And his philology here includes adducing as parallels passages that he had already treated in the *Adagia*.[33]

Erasmus' philological tendencies and his achievement as an editor can be well seen in his first lengthy comment. His discussion of *Distichs* 1.1 shows a strong interest in theology, so much so that he goes wrong with his interpretation and punctuation. It also demonstrates his present minded castigation of customs and religion in particular and thirdly his citation of classical parallels.

> 1.1 Si deus est animus nobis ut carmina dicunt,
> Hic tibi praecipue sit pura mente colendus.
>
> Vulgus existimat deum placari uictimis pecudum, rebusque corporeis. Verum cum deus ipse sit animus, hoc est mens, non corpus, et consentaneum est simile gaudere simili. nimirum potissimum colendus est puritate mentis. Quin et hodie vulgus christianorum corporeis quibusdam ceremoniis colit deum. cum gratissimus cultus sit animi pietas. Tales enim adoratores quærit pater, qui in spiritu adorent, cum ipse sit spiritus. Nulla gratior pietas diuis, quam si uitam illorum imiteris. hoc est tolerantiam, mansuetudinem, castimoniam. Atqui haec animi sunt. Animus est deus fac quantum potes a corpore te abducas. et ad illum quantum potes accedas, et gratissimum immolaris sacrificium. Pura mente. Nam vulgus lotis manibus ac pedibus ad sacrum accedabat. Tu mentem purga. Huius sordes deum offendunt, qui vidit ea quæ sunt in animo non in corpore. Si deus. si hic non dubitantis est, sed rationcinantis. Vt carmina. Nam Vergilius in sexto, deum spiritum et mentem vocat. Praecipue. vt intelligas non damnari cultum corporalem, sed hunc tamen nempe animi esse deo gratissimum.

[33] For example, Erasmus' discussion of the *Brevis* "Foro te para" reuses *Adag.* 92, *ASD* II, 1, p. 92; "Vino te tempera" reuses *Adag.* 109, ASD I, 2, p. 9; *Distich* 1.1 reuses *Adag.* 121, *ASD* I, 2, p. 21; *Distich* 1.24 reuses *Adag.* 1087, *ASD* II, 1, p. 87.

The opening of the *Distichs* encourages the student toward the Ciceronian ideal of *cultura animi*. Some of the diction of this couplet is even taken from Cicero. The first phrase translates a tag from Euripides, hence the reference to poetry.[34] The distich means, "Since our intellect is divine as poetry tells,/ this (intellect) you must especially cultivate with a pure mind." Erasmus understood the first colon to end at *animus* and implies a translation as if the phrase were in typical prose order, no doubt under the influence of the Christian idea of the Holy Spirit, "Since god is spirit, as poetry tell us,/ this (spirit) you must especially worship with a pure mind." The poetic passage he adduces is *Aeneid* 6.724-727. Erasmus was not alone in this understanding of the first distich. Many medieval manuscripts punctuate with a comma after *animus*. But perhaps too polemic and his present tending moralizing have swayed him as well. He cannot resist a swipe at traditional pietism. This passage against the liturgy like the one discussed above about priests at dice have been blotted out in a print at the Newberry Library. The secretary of the Inquisition has put his name (not very elegantly) on the second page, with the notice that the book in its redacted form can now be read.[35] The censure of Erasmus' censure of the mob and the bishops detheologizes the text, once again making it safe for young readers. Erasmus thought of course that his philology would protect the young readers. The *Distichs* have an inherent agonistic elitism in them—the schoolboy is after all seeking *fama* and pursuing mental not banausic arts—and Erasmus turns this exclusivist *cultura animi* to something more like a *cultura animae*, a moral self-perfection that is at odds with the world.

Erasmus' pruning philology is then no simple de-theologizing of the text. Only occasionally does he presents some item in the *Distichs* as a product of Roman society or Roman values. He seldom turns to his historical toolkit. Far more significant for his explanation of the text seems to be its genre. He does not ask like the old *accessus* tradition, to what part of philosophy does the present text belong, but he sees the whole of Cato's text, like aphorism itself, as a species of wisdom literature—perfectly and necessarily consonant with Christian theology. His departure from the old commentary writers should then be understood as one of degree and not altogether of kind. The physical format of his book has great

[34] Euripides, *Frag.* 1018: ὁ νοῦς ἡμῶν ἐστιν ἐν ἑκάστῳ θεός ("in each of us our *nous* is a god"). See BLOOMER 2011: p. 239.

[35] On p. 2 of a 1538 print from Lyon (Newberry Library Case PA6272 .A2 1538), the ownership note of "don Pablo de Veruck notario del santo officio" is found with a date of the end of September, 1633. More broadly: P. F. GRENDLER, *Renaissance education between religion and politics*, Aldershot 2006 (esp. ch. X "The Adages of Paolo Manuzio : Erasmus and the Roman Censors"); J. E. Longhurst, *Erasmus and the Spanish Inquisition: The case of Juan de Valdes*, Albuquerque 1950; and F. M. AVILÉS, *Erasmo y la Inquisición: El Libelo de Valladolid y la Apología de Erasmo contra los frailes españoles*, Madrid 1980.

similarity to the old printed commentaries especially with their combinatory virtuosity—the way they present gloss, titles, interpretation with moral exhortation to the reader and also the way they attract or gobble up other texts. Erasmus certainly eliminates the presence of the *Psalms*, the *Glossa*, and Augustine but he prints the Greek of Planudes and adds classical citations. Here too we should be sensitive to his different purpose. He is decidedly writing for the schoolboy not the university student. Thus his references are relatively light (especially when one compares the *Adagia* which he was augmenting at the same time). Like the old commentators, he has a heavy ethical hand. The young student, the gambling clerics, the superstitious *vulgus*, the text itself all need his *castigatio*. And as a close second they all need the *sapientia* of the *Distichs*.

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La cultura classica e l'erudizione di Edgar Allan Poe: altre fonti dei *Pinakidia*

Wie schwer sind nicht die Mittel zu erwerben,
Durch die man zu den Quellen steigt!
Goethe

Abstract: The article traces some sources of Edgar Allan Poe's "Pinakidia" and "Supplementary Pinakidia" that hitherto escaped the notice of Poe's scholars. Among these sources is Thomas Stackhouse's *New History of the Bible*, whence Poe drew some fifteen items, as well as various information on sacred history and the ancient world that he also used in writing his tales (esp. "A Decided Loss" / "Loss of Breath" and "Epimanes" / "Four Beasts in One").

Keywords: Edgar Allan Poe, "Pinakidia", Thomas Stackhouse.

1. Nell'agosto del 1836 Edgar Allan Poe pubblicò sul *Southern Literary Messenger*, da lui curato, una serie di brevi note erudite, accompagnate da una introduzione e intitolate *Pinakidia*[1]; nel 1985 Burton Ralph Pollin ne fornì una edizione criticamente fondata e riccamente annotata all'interno di un fondamentale volume contenente tutte le *Brevities* di Poe[2]. Altri brevi pezzi di analogo tenore erano già comparsi, come riempitivi delle colonne della medesima rivista, già a partire dall'agosto del 1835 e continueranno a uscire fino al novembre del 1836; e nel 1848 ne appariranno di analoghi, sempre in forma anonima. L'attribuzione di queste note sparse a Poe è più dubbia, ma a seguito degli studi di David Kelly Jackson esse sono state egualmente pubblicate da Pollin con il titolo di *Supplementary Pinakidia*[3].

[1] E.A. Poe, « Pinakidia », *Southern Literary Messenger* 2.9, August 1836, pp. 573-582.

[2] E.A. Poe, *The Brevities: Pinakidia, Marginalia, Fifty Suggestions and Other Works*. Edited with Introduction and Notes by B.R. Pollin, New York, The Gordian Press, 1985, pp. xi-xv (introduzione, con storia del testo e rassegna delle precedenti edizioni), xxxiv-xxxv (sintesi sulle fonti), 1-106 (testo e note). Useremo, per indicare i singoli *Pinakidia*, i numeri introdotti da Pollin (e assenti nel *Southern Literary Messenger*).

[3] D.K. Jackson, « Poe Notes: "Pinakidia" and "Some Ancient Greek Authors" », *American Literature* 5, 1933, pp. 258-267; Poe, *The Brevities* [n. 2], pp. xxiv-xxv (introduzione), xxxv (sintesi sulle

L'edizione di Pollin è un capolavoro di acume e dottrina. Migliorando le precedenti edizioni e sviluppando le ricerche dei suoi predecessori (tra cui vanno soprattutto ricordati Frederick Clarke Prescott, Thomas Ollive Mabbott, Earl Leslie Griggs, David Kelly Jackson, Margaret Alterton, Palmer Cleone Holt, Edgar Colby Knowlton)[4], egli ha identificato una buona parte delle fonti utilizzate da Poe per compilare le sue raccolte; soprattutto, ha scrupolosamente distinto fonti dirette e indirette, mostrando come molta dottrina giungesse a Poe attraverso la mediazione di raccolte di detti, aneddoti e varia erudizione, nonché di riviste. Nonostante le sue lunghe e accurate ricerche, tuttavia, le fonti di alcuni *Pinakidia* restavano ignote. Oggi, l'ampia disponibilità di libri, riviste e giornali digitalizzati in rete consente anche con relativa facilità – a patto di saper operare e integrare la *full-text search* con la sensibilità e le antiche astuzie del filologo – identificazioni che un tempo erano il frutto di anni di metodiche letture o tutt'al più di fortunate *trouvailles*; e già vari studiosi sono quindi riusciti a perfezionare i risultati raggiunti da Pollin (soprattutto – come vedremo – Paulo Butti de Lima e Kevin James Hayes). In questo contributo, come omaggio a un collega lungamente attivo in quella Fordham dove Poe abitò ed entrò in cordiale contatto con i membri del St. John's College, proseguiremo su questa strada, proponendo l'identificazione di alcune fonti dei *Pinakidia* finora sfuggite – almeno a quanto ci consta – all'attenzione degli studiosi; ma mai come in questo caso occorre confessare *nos esse quasi nanos gigantum humeris insidentes*, e cautamente aggiungere *nec scire fas est omnia*: il *world wide web*, per quanto a volte sembri ambire ad essere la borgesiana mappa dell'impero, non è – per fortuna – il mondo[5].

fonti), 424-453 (testo e note). Anche per indicare i *Supplementary Pinakidia* faremo ricorso alla numerazione introdotta da Pollin.

[4] Si vedano *Selections from the Critical Writings of Poe*. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by F.C. PRESCOTT, New York, Holt, 1909, pp. 346-348; T.O. MABBOTT, « "Antediluvian Antiquities", A Curiosity of American Literatur and a Source of Poe's », *American Collector* 4, July 1927, pp. 124-126; E.L. GRIGGS, « Five Sources of Edgar Allan Poe's "Pinakidia" », *American Literature* 1, 1929, pp. 196-199; JACKSON, « Poe Notes » [n. 3]; *Edgar Allan Poe: Representative Selections*. With Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes. Begun by M. ALTERTON and completed by H. CRAIG, New York, American Book Co., 1935, pp. 540-544; P.C. HOLT, « Poe and H.N. Coleridge's *Greek Classic Poets*: "Pinakidia," "Politian," and "Morella" Sources », *American Literature* 34, 1962, pp. 8-30; E.C. KNOWLTON, « Poe's Debt to Father Bouhours », *Poe Studies* 4.2, 1971, pp. 27-29. Cfr. la sintesi di Pollin in POE, *The Brevities* [n. 2], pp. xii-xiii.

[5] Oltre a utilizzare le risorse offerte da *Google Books*, *HathiTrust Digital Library* e *Internet Archive*, e dalla banca di dati *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (*ECCO*) per le pubblicazioni britanniche del XVIII secolo, ho tratto notevole profitto, per i giornali locali americani tra '700 e '800, dai siti *Chronicling America. Historic American Newspapers* della Library of Congress (<https:// chronicling america.loc.gov>) e *Newspapers.com* (<https://www.newspapers.com>), nonché dal non meno benemerito sito curato da Thomas M. Tryniski (<www.fultonhistory.com> e <https://fulton search.org>); per i giornali in lingua francese, dalla piattaforma *RetroNews* della Bibliothèque Nationale (<https://www.retronews.fr>).

2. Innanzitutto, alcune osservazioni complessive. Poe aveva alle spalle buoni studi, ma la sua cultura classica e più in generale la sua erudizione, con generosità esibite in tutte le opere, sono spesso di seconda e terza mano[6]. Nel caso di compilazioni miscellanee come i *Pinakidia* ciò è, ovviamente, ancora più vero. Gli studiosi di Poe hanno ben mostrato il ruolo che, in questo processo, svolsero alcune opere che fungevano da collettori; in questa sede mostreremo che testi già messi in luce come fonti dei *Pinakidia* furono utilizzati più ampiamente di quanto finora non risultasse, e d'altra parte individueremo nuove fonti, tanto libri quanto riviste, usate sporadicamente o in maniera più sistematica.

Nel campo della generale erudizione storico-antiquaria, una fonte da Poe molto sfruttata fu *Les premiers traits de l'érudition universelle* di Jacob Friedrich Freiherr von Bielfeld[7]. La scoperta di questa fonte si deve a Griggs[8], e lo stesso Griggs mise in luce che vari pezzi dei *Pinakidia* di argomento mitologico o comunque riguardanti l'antichità classica e orientale derivavano dalla memorabile opera di Jacob Bryant intitolata *A New System; or, An Analysis of Antient Mythology*, uscita in prima edizione tra il 1774 e il 1776; tale risultato rimane indubitabile, anche se ritengo che Poe non abbia consultato la ponderosa opera originale, ma si sia fondato sugli estratti dall'opera di Bryant raccolti nel 1793 da William Holwell nel *Mythological, Etymological, and Historical Dictionary*, più agile repertorio organizzato per lemmi in ordine alfabetico che potrebbe aver conosciuto già nei suoi anni di studio[9]. Per quanto più

[6] Si tende, negli ultimi tempi, a ridimensionare notevolmente la cultura classica di Poe: ved. G. HAYS, *Ancient Classics*, in K.J. HAYES (ed.), *Edgar Allan Poe in Context*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp. 221-231 (223 su *Pinakidia* e *Marginalia*). Sulle conoscenze di greco di Poe, dopo T.O. MABBOTT, « Evidence That Poe Knew Greek », *Notes and Queries* 185, 1943, pp. 39-40, si veda il più riduttivo B.R. POLLIN, « Poe's Greek: A Short Prolegomenon to a Long Inquiry », *The Edgar Allan Poe Review* 2.2, Fall 2001, pp. 71-77. Quanto al latino, dopo E.K. NORMAN, « Poe's Knowledge of Latin », *American Literature* 6, 1934, pp. 72-77, si può ora vedere A. GONZÁLEZ-RIVAS FERNÁNDEZ, « Edgar Allan Poe: latinista », *Trans- Revue de littérature générale et comparée* 11, 2011 (in linea: <https://journals.openedition.org/trans/449>). In generale sulle letture di Poe, e la sua cultura libresca, è importante K.J. HAYES, *Poe and the Printed World*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000; per il suo attingere a riviste, in particolare britanniche, restano fondamentali M. ALTERTON, *Origins of Poe's Critical Theory*, Iowa City, University of Iowa, 1925, pp. 7-45 e M.L. ALLEN, *Poe and the British magazine tradition*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1969 (per un caso particolare cfr. ora A. CORCELLA, « A Source for Poe's "Marginalia" », *The Edgar Allan Poe Review* 18.2, Autumn 2017, pp. 193-208).

[7] L'opera originariamente uscì in 3 volumi a Leida, Chés Sam. et Jean Luchtmans, nel 1767; Pollin giustamente annota che Poe potrebbe averne usato la traduzione inglese di W. Hooper, pubblicata con il titolo *The Elements of Universal Erudition* a Londra (J. Robson and B. Law) nel 1770.

[8] GRIGGS, « Five Sources » [n. 4].

[9] W. HOLWELL, *A Mythological, Etymological, and Historical Dictionary; Extracted from the Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, London, C. Dilly, 1793: nella prefazione, l'opera era indicata come soprattutto rivolta «to the young beginner, as a kind of Initiatory Compendium» (p. vi); sull'autore ved. J. SAM-

specificamente concerne la storia sacra, nel 1928 William Mentzell Forrest notò l'ampia presenza di temi biblici tanto nei *Pinakidia* quanto nel resto dell'opera di Poe, e si spinse a parlare di un suo «religious bent»[10]. Già l'anno prima, però, Mabbott aveva accennato al ruolo di mediazione svolto, in quest'ambito (ma anche per un paio di annotazioni letterarie), da una curiosa opera edita a Boston nel 1829, le *Antediluvian Antiquities*[11]. Le nostre indagini ora rivelano che una quindicina dei

BROOK, « Holwell, William (1725/6 - 1798) », in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 27, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 846. Tutti i brani di Bryant individuati da Griggs e Pollin come fonti dei *Pinakidia* si ritrovano in effetti nel dizionario di Holwell (*Pin.* 57 = p. 202; *Pin.* 58 = p. 252; *Pin.* 60 = p. 294; *Pin.* 61 = p. 326; *Pin.* 62 = pp. 375-376; *Pin.* 63 = p. 259; *Pin.* 70 = p. vii; *Pin.* 71 = p.5; *Pin.* 72 = pp. 34-35), e in taluni di questi casi (soprattutto *Pin.* 58, 60, 62, 71) il testo di Poe pare riprodurre alcuni adattamenti apportati all'originale da Holwell (che tra l'altro incorporava nel testo le note di Bryant); la mediazione è poi certa nel caso di *Supplementary Pinakidia* 14 (ricondotto a Bryant già da JACKSON, « Poe Notes» [n. 3]): il pezzo è infatti aperto da un «BAI» che chiaramente rivela l'esatta riproduzione dell'impostazione lessicografica di Holwell (dove il passo si ritrova infatti sotto il lemma «BAI», a p. 67), e d'altra parte la sintetica formulazione del *Dictionary* (con l'omissione di un cruciale «or») rendeva più facile l'errore per cui «Phoenix» venne da Poe preso come il nome del cavallo di Diomede (errore messo in evidenza da S. LEVINE - S. LEVINE, « Poe's Use of Jacob Bryant in "Metzengerstein" », *Poe Studies* 9, 1976, p. 53). A un primo esame, direi che sempre in Holwell Poe poteva trovare anche tutte le varie nozioni in ultima analisi risalenti a Bryant che utilizzò in altre opere, specialmente nei racconti, e sono state poi messe in luce soprattutto da Stuart e Susan Levine (S. LEVINE - S. LEVINE, « History, Myth, Fable, and Satire: Poe's Use of Jacob Bryant », *ESQ* 21, 1975, pp. 197-214; *The Short Fiction of Edgar Allan Poe. An Annotated Edition*. Edited by S. LEVINE and S. LEVINE, Urbana-Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1976, pp. 59, 109-111, 148, 451) e da Kent Ljungquist (K. LJUNGQUIST, « Poe's Nubian Geographer », *American Literature* 48, 1976, pp. 73-75; ID., « Poe's Raven and Bryant's *Mythology* », *American Transcendental Quarterly* 29.1, Winter 1976, pp. 28-30; ID., « Descent of the Titans: The Sublime Riddle of "Arthur Gordon Pym" », *The Southern Literary Journal* 1.2, Spring 1978, pp. 75-92; ID., « Uses of the Daemon in Selected Works of Edgar Allan Poe », *Interpretations* 12.1, July 1980, pp. 31-39): per non fare che due più rilevanti esempi, il «foul Charonian canal» di *Shadow* era menzionato a p. 181 e il «*Mare Tenebrarum*» del «Nubian geographer» di *A Descent Into the Maelström*, *Eleonora*, *Mellonta Tauta* ed *Eureka* a p. 410 del *Dictionary* (non deriva invece da Bryant, né da Holwell, il riferimento, in *Berenice*, alla roccia che tremava se toccata da un asfodelo citata da Tolomeo Efestione, nonostante il diverso parere di Mabbott in *The Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe*. II: *Tales & Sketches 1831-1842*. Edited by T.O. MABBOTT, Cambridge, Mass., Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978, p. 220 n. 9; la fonte potrebbe essere una voce di enciclopedia – ad es. la voce « Stone, Rocking, or Logan » nell'edizione americana della *Cyclopædia* di Rees, XXXV, Philadelphia, Samuel F. Bradford, s.d.; cfr. *infra*, n. 42 – oppure meno probabilmente T. MOORE, *The History of Ireland*, I, London, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, and John Taylor, 1835, p. 40 = Philadelphia, Carey, Lea, & Blanchard, 1835, p. 42: quest'ultima opera era in effetti nota a Poe, che le dedicò una scheda in *The Southern Literary Messenger* 1.10, June 1835, p. 595, ma dubito che egli potesse già conoscerla nel marzo dello stesso 1835, quando *Berenice* uscì sulla medesima rivista).

[10] W.M. FORREST, *Biblical Allusions in Poe*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1928, *praes.* pp. 17 e 186-188.

[11] *Antediluvian Antiquities. Fragments of the Age of Methuselah*. Translated by an American Traveller

Pinakidia e uno dei *Supplementary Pinakidia* sono quasi alla lettera tratti dal testo (e spesso dalle note) di una edizione della *New History of the Holy Bible* di Thomas Stackhouse, pubblicata a Londra dapprima nel 1733 e in veste rivista tra il 1742 e il 1744, quindi più volte ristampata[12]. Una certa diffusione ebbero alcune edizioni pirata in sei volumi in ottavo: quella di Dublino del 1748 venne riprodotta, con qualche variante grafica, nelle due edizioni stampate a Edimburgo tra il 1764 e il 1767[13]; e da queste risulta dipendere anche quella uscita a Glasgow tra il 1795 e il

in the East, I, Boston, Munroe and Francis, 1829 (su cui attirò l'attenzione MABBOTT, « "Antediluvian Antiquities" » [n. 4]). Si rammentino i sandali del tipo «of those worn before the flood» che colpiscono l'«antiquarian eye» di Pedro Garcia in *The Bargain Lost* (ved. *The Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe*. II. Ed. MABBOTT [n. 9], p. 89).

[12] Dopo una controversa fase di difficili rapporti con editori e librai, l'opera uscì in fascicoli, per essere infine pubblicata in due volumi in folio con numerazione continua a Londra, a spese dell'autore (sul primo volume era indicato «Printed for the Author, and sold by T. Payne […]», sul secondo «Printed and sold, for the Author, at J. Huggonson's […]», e la data apposta era il 1733); la seconda edizione, «carefully revised, corrected, improved, and enlarged, by the Author», uscì, sempre in due volumi in folio con numerazione continua, a Londra, «Printed for Stephen Austen» (il primo volume era datato 1742, il secondo 1744; ma a p. 1199 l'inizio del libro VIII era marcato da un nuovo frontespizio, *A History of the New Testament Of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ […]*, con data 1743). Ulteriori edizioni in due volumi in folio furono quindi pubblicate a Londra da John Hinton (erede di Stephen Austen per averne sposato la vedova) nel 1752-53, 1755-56 e 1762-64; e ancora nel 1787-88 è attestata un'edizione londinese in due volumi stampata da I. Garner e W. Adlard per Edward Beetham. Su Thomas Stackhouse e la sua opera si veda S.H. MANDELBROTE, « Stackhouse, Thomas (1681/2 - 1752) », in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 52, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 32-33: qui tra l'altro la notizia di una edizione della *History* uscita a Newcastle nel 1809, che non mi è altrimenti nota.

[13] Le tre edizioni erano assai simili nell'impaginazione; mentre però tanto nell'edizione dublinese (T. STACKHOUSE, *A New History of the Holy Bible, from the Beginning of the World to the Establishment of Christianity […]*, I-VI, Dublin, E. and J. Exshaw, 1748) quanto nell'edimburghese del 1764 (T. STACKHOUSE, *A New History of the Holy Bible, from the Beginning of the World to the Establishment of Christianity […]*, I-VI, Edinburgh, Sands, Murray, and Cochran for J. Meuros, 1764) la *History of the New Testament* cominciava, con frontespizio autonomo, all'interno del vol. V (p. 224), nell'edizione edimburghese del 1767 (T. STACKHOUSE, *A New History of the Holy Bible, from the Beginning of the World to the Establishment of Christianity […]*, I-VI, Edinburgh, Printed for A. Donaldson, and J. Wood, and for J. Meuros, 1767) la distribuzione del testo tra i volumi III e VI venne invece mutata in modo da far coincidere la *History of the New Testament* con gli ultimi due volumi (che già peraltro erano stati stampati anche come opera a sé nel 1765 da Sands, Murray, and Cochran). Sulle edizioni pirata dublinesi nel '700 si vedano A. JOHNS, *Piracy. The Intellectual Property Wars from Gutenberg to Gates*, Chicago - London, The Chicago University Press, 2009, pp. 145-177 e S. CRIDER ARNDT, *Balancing Theoretical Models and Local Studies: The Case of William St Clair and Copyright in England*, in J. MCELLIGOTT - E. PATTEN (eds.), *The Perils of Print Culture. Book, Print and Publishing History in Theory and Practice*, Houndmills, Basingstoke - New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, pp. 82-95 (a p. 85 notizia di una ulteriore edizione dublinese del 1765 della *History* di Stackhouse, che non mi è altrimenti nota), mentre utili informazioni sui rapporti tra Irlanda e mercato librario scozzese si possono leggere in S.W. BROWN - W. MCDOUGALL, *Ireland*, in S.W. BROWN - W. MCDOUGALL (eds.), *The Edinburgh*

1796[14]. Seguirono, nella prima metà dell'800, riedizioni con aggiunte e aggiornamenti a cura di altri ecclesiastici: al 1817 risale quella, in tre volumi in quarto, con le correzioni e le aggiunte di George Gleig, e al 1836 quella, in un unico volume, rivista da Daniel Dewar[15].

La *History* di Stackhouse era, in realtà, un'opera compilativa; e molte delle annotazioni in essa presenti risultavano tratte, talora pressoché alla lettera e talora più liberamente, da fonti precedenti (in genere espressamente citate)[16]; pertanto, non si può a rigore escludere che, almeno in alcuni casi, Poe abbia consultato queste fonti invece che – o accanto a – Stackhouse. Non mancano però passi in cui le tracce della fonte mediatrice traspaiono più evidenti (si confronti quanto osserveremo a proposito di *Pin.* 59 e di *Suppl. Pin.* 8); e più in generale gli accordi sono troppo numerosi per essere mere coincidenze, sicché la *History* di Stackhouse

History of the Book in Scotland. II. *Enlightenment and Expansion 1707-1800*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2012, pp. 198-202; sulla controversia giudiziaria che, a seguito della ristampa del 1767 della *History*, vide John Hinton contrapporsi ad Alexander Donaldson, oltre il quadro generale in JOHNS, *Piracy* [*supra*], pp. 109-143 e *passim*, ricchi dettagli sono offerti da R. DEAZLEY, « Commentary on *Hinton vs. Donaldson* » (2008), in L. BENTLY - M. KRETSCHMER, *Primary Sources on Copyright (1450-1900)*, <www.copyrighthistory.com>; H. MACQUEEN, « The War of the Booksellers: Natural Law, Equity, and Literary Property in Eighteenth-Century Scotland », *The Journal of Legal History* 35, 2014, pp. 231-257; ID., *Literary property in Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, in I. ALEXANDER - H.T. GÓMEZ AROSTEGUI (eds.), *Research Handbook on the History of Copyright Law*, Cheltenham, UK - Northampton, Mass., E. Elgar, 2016, pp. 119-138, *praes.* 128-132.

[14] T. STACKHOUSE, *A New History of the Holy Bible, from the Beginning of the World to the Establishment of Christianity […]*, I-VI, Glasgow, J. Galbraith, 1795-1796 (dove era riproposta la ripartizione tra i volumi dell'edizione dublinese e dell'edimburghese del 1764).

[15] T. STACKHOUSE, *A History of the Holy Bible, from the Beginning of the World to the Establishment of Christianity […]*. The Whole Corrected and Improved […] by G. GLEIG, I-III, London, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown *et al.*, 1817; T. STACKHOUSE, *A History of the Holy Bible, from the Beginning of the World to the Establishment of Christianity […]. Together with an Introduction, Additional Notes, Dissertations, and Complete Indexes*. By D. DEWAR, Glasgow, Blackie & Son, 1836.

[16] Tra le fonti più spesso impiegate non potevano naturalmente mancare, oltre i vari commenti ai libri del Vecchio e Nuovo Testamento (di Jean Le Clerc, Simon Patrick, William Burkitt, Daniel Whitby, Augustin Calmet, Isaac de Beausobre, etc.), la *Connection* di Humphrey Prideaux (uscita in prima edizione come *The Old and New Testament Connected in the History of the Jews and Neighbouring Nations […]*, I-II, London, R. Knaplock and J. Tonson, 1716-1718 e poi più volte riedita con vari ampliamenti), la *Scripture Chronology Demonstrated by Astronomical Calculations* di Arthur Bedford (London, J. and J. Knapton *et al.*, 1730) e il *Dictionnaire historique et critique de la Bible* di Dom Calmet (uscito in prima edizione francese tra il 1722 e il 1728 e tradotto in inglese già nel 1732 [London, J., J. and P. Knapton *et al.*]; in seguito ebbe molta fortuna la versione rivista da Charles Taylor, originariamente uscita a Londra, per lo stesso Ch. Taylor, tra il 1797 e il 1801 e poi variamente riedita: ne ho consultato la quinta edizione di Londra in cinque volumi, Holdsworth and Ball, del 1830 e quella americana ridotta curata da E. Robinson, Boston, Crocker and Brewster - New York, J. Leavitt, 1832).

si impone come una delle fonti principali per Poe, che appare averne fatto uso anche nella composizione di altri scritti, oltre che per i *Pinakidia*. Una ricognizione completa di tutta la sua opera potrebbe in questo senso riservare notevoli sorprese, ma è fin d'ora evidente, ad esempio, che le affermazioni sugli assedi delle città antiche in *A Decided Loss* (1832), poi riprodotte all'inizio di *Loss of Breath* (1835), appaiono quasi alla lettera tratte da una annotazione che si legge nel libro VI, cap. III della *History*[17]. Ancora più ricca è, prevedibilmente, la serie di riprese da Stackhouse nel racconto ambientato nell'antica Antiochia *Epimanes* (già composto nel 1833 e pubblicato in prima versione nel 1835, quindi nel 1845 come *Four Beasts in One*), a partire dall'esordio, anzi dallo stesso motivo ispiratore, e fino almeno alla menzione dell'inno per Aureliano tramandato nella *Historia Augusta*[18].

La presenza di riprese dalla *History* di Stackhouse in racconti la cui composizione risale ai primi anni '30 rende quindi improbabile che Poe abbia usato, per i *Pinakidia*, l'edizione del 1836 rivista da Dewar; e anche a voler ammettere che essa fosse già disponibile nell'agosto di quest'anno, a ciò inoltre osterebbero molti altri dati: ad esempio, i versi di Claudiano citati nell'originale latino in *Pin.* 49, e che sempre in latino erano riportati nelle precedenti edizioni della *History*, furono invece riprodotti da Dewar nella sola traduzione inglese[19]. Le riprese in *Epimanes* aiutano d'altra parte

[17] STACKHOUSE, *History of the Bible*, IV, p. 192 n. * nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13] (dalle annotazioni di Patrick e Calmet); per i passi di *A Decided Loss* e *A Loss of Breath* ved. *The Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe*. II. Ed. MABBOTT [n. 9], pp. 59 e 61-62. Sempre a Stackhouse (libro VII, cap. II: IV, p. 463 n. * nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13], da Prideaux e Calmet) parrebbe del resto risalire anche la spiegazione del termine Mago come «Mige-Gush» = «orecchie tagliate» presente nel medesimo racconto (pp. 57 e 68 dell'ed. MABBOTT [n. 9]).

[18] Il profilo di Antioco Epifane nel primo paragrafo del racconto (*The Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe*. II. Ed. MABBOTT [n. 9], pp. 119-120), ma anche altri spunti successivi, paiono ricavati dal cap. I del libro VII della *History* (IV, pp. 434-436 e 442-443 nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13], in un contesto in cui si parla degli animali, a volte chimerici, simboli degli antichi re orientali) con in più un inserto di sintetiche notizie sulle vicende del sovrano così come erano esposte nell'indice dei nomi (*s.v.* «ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes», alla sesta pagina non numerata nel vol. VI dell'ed. 1764 [n. 13]): qui, infatti, fin dalle prime edizioni, si leggeva la banalizzazione «the temple of Diana at Ephesus» (in luogo del corretto «at Elymais» presente nel testo) che Poe pedissequamente trascrive. Per i seguenti paragrafi su Antiochia, cfr. il cap. V del libro VIII (VI, p. 335 n. † nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13]); ma a Poe stesso risalirà il riferimento ai «three successive earthquakes», in cui certo rientra la serie impressionante di terremoti verificatisi tra il 1822 e il 1824 (notevole che un riferimento ai terremoti sia stato aggiunto alla nota di Stackhouse, sulla base del *Gazetteer* di Mansford, anche nell'edizione di Dewar del 1836 [n. 15], p. 1069 n. c). Quanto alla citazione dalla *Historia Augusta* (*The Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe*. II. Ed. MABBOTT [n. 9], pp. 124-125), cfr. il cap. II del libro V (III, pp. 223-224 e n. * nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13]). Ma i riscontri sono più diffusi e meriteranno uno studio specifico, a integrazione e correzione di alcune ipotesi di LEVINE - LEVINE, « History, Myth, Fable, and Satire » [n. 9], pp. 200-204, fondate sull'idea di una dipendenza da Bryant.

[19] Cfr., nell'edizione di Dewar del 1836 [n. 15], p. 553 n. a.

a compiere una ulteriore esclusione: le indicazioni cronologiche che Poe si compiace di esibire nell'esordio del racconto (l'ascesa di Antioco Epifane nel 171 a.C., l'ambientazione del racconto nell'anno 3830 dalla creazione, etc.) erano infatti assai facilmente recuperabili dalla *Chronological Table* che accompagnava tutte le edizioni precedenti, ma non erano più altrettanto chiaramente presenti nella tavola così come era stata modificata nel 1817 da Gleig; soprattutto, poi, nella tavola rivista da Gleig mancava quel riferimento al calcolo dell'era volgare da parte di Dionisio il Piccolo che, come vedremo, è verosimilmente alla base di *Pin.* 136[20]. Escluse quindi le due edizioni ottocentesche, quali elementi abbiamo per restringere ulteriormente la scelta? Tra le riprese in *Epimanes / Four Beasts in One* compare anche il riferimento al dio-scimmia «Ashimah», che riecheggia una annotazione di Stackhouse in modo molto preciso (e per giunta con un gioco ironico sulle interpretazioni degli eruditi che rompendo l'illusione narrativa rinvia alla fonte)[21]. Lo stesso passo della *History* sembra del resto essere stato usato – assieme a *Zillah* di Horace Smith – per la lista di divinità, in ultima analisi derivata dal *Libro dei Re*, che si legge in *A Tale of Jerusalem* (già composto nel 1831 e pubblicato l'anno dopo); e anche qui la grafia è «Ashimah»[22]. Ora, tra le edizioni di Stackhouse precedenti agli scritti di Poe quasi tutte quelle che ho consultato hanno la forma «Ashima»; solo nelle due edizioni di Edimburgo e in quella di Glasgow del 1795-96 si ha invece «Ashimah»[23]. Non mancano, d'altra parte, nell'edizione di Edimburgo del 1767, grafie che non trovano esatto riscontro nei *Pinakidia*: come a suo luogo vedremo, è soprattutto il caso di «Ausburgh» contro l'«Ausburg» di Poe in *Pin.* 47. Meno significativo è invece l'evidente errore «Macrobis» dell'edimburghese del 1767 contro il corretto «Macrobius» di *Pin.* 43, dato che Poe certamente conosceva l'esatto nome dell'autore latino (citato anche in *Pin.* 58, sulla scia di Bryant e Holwell) e poteva quindi ben introdurlo per correzione; sicché anche il fatto che nel corrispondente passo dell'edizione di Glasgow del 1795-96 si legga il differente errore «Macrobious» non è davvero decisivo e sarebbe quindi imprudente, su questa sola base, escludere che

[20] Si confronti la tavola come compare in appendice al vol. VI dell'ed. 1764 [n. 13] con quanto si legge alle pp. 533 e 538 del vol. III dell'edizione di Gleig [n. 15].

[21] *The Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe*. II. Ed. MABBOTT [n. 9], p. 124, da confrontare con il testo e l'annotazione al cap. IV del libro VI della *History* di Stackhouse quali si leggono nel vol. IV, p. 237 e n. †[4] dell'ed. 1764 [n. 13] (con rinvio a Patrick, oltre che al discorso *Of Idolatry* di Thomas Tenison, dove però vari dettagli mancano). Dalla medesima nota dipendono del resto anche le notizie sul culto del Sole in Siria riportate, nel racconto, poco prima (p. 122 dell'ed. MABBOTT [n. 9]).

[22] *The Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe*. II. Ed. MABBOTT [n. 9], p. 46. Né escluderei la presenza di Stackhouse (libro V, *Dissertation* V: III, p. 508 e n. † dell'ed. 1764 [n. 13]) tra le fonti usate, nel medesimo racconto (pp. 44-45 dell'ed. MABBOTT [n. 9]), per la descrizione di Gerusalemme.

[23] Nell'edizione di Edimburgo del 1767 [n. 13], ved. IV, p. 91; in quella di Glasgow del 1795-96 [n. 14], IV, p. 237. «Ashima» si legge invece anche nell'edizione di Dublino [n. 13], IV, p. 237.

Poe possa aver usato quest'ultima per arrivare a stabilire, sulla base di un'unica concordanza in lezione esatta, che debba necessariamente essersi avvalso dell'edimburghese del 1764. Né va, del resto, nascosto che lo stesso indizio costituito dalla grafia «Ashimah» è piuttosto debole: Poe potrebbe aver lui stesso modificato un «Ashima» della fonte, sulla base delle sue abitudini grafiche nella resa di forme ebraiche, a seguito di tradizione vulgata oppure anche per consultazione o memoria di altri testi (dalle traduzioni del *Libro dei Re* a dizionari e repertori come quello di Calmet)[24].

Come si vede, insomma, la questione richiederà ulteriori approfondimenti e riscontri, che si potranno compiere solo tenendo conto di tutte le riprese nell'intera opera di Poe ed esaminando in maniera esaustiva le varianti in tutte le edizioni della *History* – nonché le sue fonti, i suoi compendi, e altre compilazioni e repertori con cui i prestiti da Stackhouse potrebbero essere stati contaminati. Quanto ora accennato basterà però – si spera – a spiegare la scelta, che già abbiamo fin qui compiuto e ripeteremo in seguito, di rinviare per il testo della *New History of the Holy Bible* all'edizione di Edimburgo del 1764, che ha qualche probabilità di essere quella usata da Poe; si tenga comunque presente che l'edizione dublinese del 1748 e quella di Glasgow del 1795-96 hanno una impaginazione pressappoco eguale (con oscillazioni da cui derivano differenze che possono arrivare fino a non più di una pagina), e d'altra parte aggiungeremo alle indicazioni di pagina i riferimenti al libro e al capitolo, sì da facilitare il confronto con le altre edizioni[25].

[24] «Ashimah» era in effetti la forma riportata nella versione londinese del *Dictionnaire* di Calmet del 1830 (I, p. 199), mentre la versione americana del 1832 aveva «Ashima» (p. 106) [n. 16].

[25] Non sarebbe forse del tutto impossibile ipotizzare che Poe avesse acquisito una prima familiarità con l'opera di Stackhouse già quando frequentava, tra il 1817 e il 1820, la Manor House School di Stoke Newington, sotto la guida dell'erudito reverendo John Bransby: aveva solo una decina d'anni, ma secondo la nota testimonianza di William Elijah Hunter era «far better acquainted with history and literature than many boys of a more advanced age who had greater advantages than he had had» (ved. A.H. QUINN, *Edgar Allan Poe. A Critical Biography*, New York-London, D. Appleton Century Company Inc., 1941, pp. 71-79). Potrebbe del resto aver allora avuto tra le mani la riduzione scolastica che della *History* di Stackhouse fece John Trusler (*A Compendium of Sacred History […]*, I-II, Egham, Printed for the Author by C. Boult, 1797), rimastami purtroppo inaccessibile. Quando frequentava l'università della Virginia avrebbe d'altra parte avuto a disposizione un esemplare dell'edizione londinese in due volumi del 1752-53 (si veda il catalogo del 3 giugno 1825, consultabile sul sito della University of Virginia Library); ma alla luce di quanto abbiamo esposto è forse piuttosto degno di nota che una edizione della *History* in sei volumi fosse conservata nella biblioteca della Library Company di Baltimore (ved. *A Catalogue of the Books, &c. Belonging to the Library Company of Baltimore*, Baltimore, Edes and Leakin, 1809, pp. iv e 16): per la possibilità che Poe vi avesse accesso, per il tramite del cugino Neilson, cfr. HAYES, *Poe and the Printed World* [n. 6], p. 33.

3. Passando ora al campo delle letterature antiche e moderne, è ben noto che Poe ampiamente utilizzò, oltre a varie altre opere, *La manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages de l'esprit* di Dominique Bouhours[26] e le *Curiosities of Literature* di Isaac D'Israeli[27]; mostreremo che, oltre ai riscontri già individuati, si possono ravvisare ulteriori prestiti da queste opere nei *Supplementary Pinakidia* (si vedano le note a *Suppl. Pin.* 5, 33, 42, 45). Nel 2007, poi, Paulo Butti de Lima ha mostrato che i *Pinakidia* 30, 33, 36, 38, 40, 94, 95 vanno ricondotti alle *Relics of Literature* pubblicate da Thomas Byerley con lo pseudonimo di Stephen Collet[28]; a ulteriore conferma, forniremo qualche dettaglio supplementare a proposito di *Pin.* 30 e 40. Da ultimo, i più importanti contributi si devono a Kevin James Hayes. Questo studioso ha innanzitutto individuato l'ampio uso fatto da Poe delle *Lectures on English Poetry* raccolte nelle reliquie letterarie di Henry Neele (cui riconduce i *Pinakidia* 48, 50, 146, 150, 171, 172)[29] e delle *Travelling Recreations* di William Parsons (da cui fa derivare i *Pinakidia* 86, 87, 88, 99)[30]; rileveremo che anche altri pezzi sono tratti da queste fonti (si vedano le note a *Pin.* 98, 100, 138; *Suppl. Pin.* 3, 13). Lo stesso Hayes ha inoltre os-

[26] L'opera venne originariamente pubblicata, adespota, a Parigi, Chez la Veuve de Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, nel 1687; ho tenuto presente la ristampa uscita a Parigi, Chez les Libraires Associés, nel 1771, nonché gli adattamenti inglesi *The Art of Criticism*, London, D. Brown and A. Roper, 1705 (nel facsimile a cura di Ph. Smallwood uscito a Delmar, NY [Scholar's Facsimiles and Reprints] nel 1981) e *The Arts of Logick and Rhetorick*, London, J. Clarke and R. Hett, J. Pemberton, R. Ford, and J. Gray, 1728.

[27] Le due serie delle *Curiosities of Literature* uscirono in 5 volumi, tra il 1791 e il 1824, dopo di che ve ne furono numerose riedizioni e ristampe; ne ho consultate varie, ma farò riferimento all'edizione americana in un unico volume (la "Alexandrian Edition") uscita a New York (William Pearson & Co.), Boston (S. Colman) e Philadelphia (Chappell and Co.) nel 1835. Nello stesso volume è peraltro ristampata (e di qui si citerà) anche un'altra opera di D'Israeli originariamente uscita nel 1795, *The Literary Character, Illustrated by the History of Men of Genius, Drawn from Their Own Feelings and Confessions*, che Poe menziona nell'introduzione ai *Pinakidia* e pare essere stata usata per la compilazione di alcuni *Supplementary Pinakidia* (nrr. 15, 29, 30, 31, 32). Per la presenza delle opere di D'Israeli nella biblioteca della Library Company di Baltimore ved. HAYES, *Poe and the Printed World* [n. 6], p. 33.

[28] S. COLLET, *Relics of Literature*, London, Th. Boys, 1823, su cui si veda P. BUTTI DE LIMA, « La sentenza rubata: il Seneca di Poe », *Quaderni di storia* 65, gennaio-giugno 2007, pp. 83-128: 93-94 e n. 18. Alla lista di Butti de Lima si può aggiungere anche *Marginalia* 139A.

[29] Ne ho tenuto presente l'edizione americana: *The Literary Remains of the late Henry Neele*, New York, J. & J. Harper, 1829. Si veda K.J. HAYES, « Edgar Allan Poe and Henry Neele's *Literary Remains* », *Notes and Queries* 58, 2011, pp. 552-554; ma anche l'annotazione di Jeffrey A. Savoye apposta, a proposito di *Pin.* 150, al testo elettronico dell'edizione di Pollin sul sito, ormai imprescindibile per ogni studioso di Poe, della Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore (<https://www.eapoe.org/works/pollin/brp20302.htm>).

[30] W. PARSONS, *Travelling Recreations*, I-II, London, Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1807, su cui ved. K.J. HAYES, « Poe and William Parsons's *Travelling Recreations* », *Notes and Queries* 59, 2012, pp. 395-396.

servato che l'epigramma *Impia tortorum etc.*, divenuto celebre esergo di *The Pit and the Pendulum* ma già annotato nei *Pinakidia* (nr. 145), è tratto da una raccolta di estratti dagli scritti di John Moore edita nel 1803[31]; anche in questo caso si può mostrare che tale raccolta è stata da Poe più largamente utilizzata (si vedano le note a *Pin.* 79, 134 e 147).

In alcune di queste opere venivano ristampati contributi già comparsi nella stampa periodica; e, per converso, esse a loro volta alimentavano quel ricco fiorire di saggistica erudita, affidata ad articoli e note miscellanee, tipico dei giornali e delle riviste tra '700 e '800. Nell'introduzione ai *Pinakidia*, Poe mostra di essere pienamente cosciente di inserirsi in questa tradizione; una tradizione che – con le debite differenze (accennate peraltro in *Pin.* 44, di cui si dirà più sotto) – finiva col riconnettersi all'uso antico di compilare, in ambito retorico, raccolte di *excerpta*, aneddoti e *chreiai*, e di pubblicare opere quali le *Variae Historiae*, o le *Noctes Atticae* di Gellio. Tanto per gli antichi quanto per i moderni, in fondo, resta vero che la trasmissione ad ampio raggio del sapere non di rado passa, più che attraverso la diffusione dei testi originali, per filoni vulgati e *Mittelquellen* (con tutti gli effetti deformanti che ne conseguono). L'indagine delle fonti direttamente usate da Poe può quindi offrire qualche spunto per comprendere le mediazioni attraverso le quali la tradizione classica, e anche elementi della cultura moderna, giungevano, nella prima metà dell'800, a un più ampio pubblico; e per riflettere, in generale, sui modi di diffusione del sapere – nonché, in un esercizio di *Quellenkritik*, sulla difficoltà di ricostruirli esattamente.

4. Di seguito si discuteranno quei *Pinakidia* per cui – a quanto mi risulta – non è stata ancora identificata una fonte convincente. Si fornirà, inoltre, qualche correzione e aggiunta alle indicazioni già offerte da Pollin e da altri studiosi.

Pin., Introduction. Pollin ha notato che Poe verosimilmente riprese il titolo *Pinakidia* dal saggio *Titles of Books* inserito nelle *Curiosities of Literature* di Isaac D'Israeli (pp. 76b-78a nell'edizione americana del 1835 [n. 27]). Attraverso la mediazione di Adrien Baillet (*Jugemens des savans sur les principaux auteurs*, I, Paris, Ch. Moette, 1722,

[31] L'opera fu dapprima edita con il titolo *Mooriana: or, Selections from the Moral, Philosophical, and Miscellaneous Works of the late Dr. John Moore […]*. By F. PREVOST and F. BLAGDON, I-II, London, B. Crosby and Co., 1803, quindi ripubblicata lo stesso anno, quale seconda edizione corretta, con il titolo *Beauties of Dr. John Moore; Selected from the Moral, Philosophical and Miscellaneous Works of That Esteemed Author […]*, London, B. Crosby and Co., 1803. L'epigramma è riportato in *Mooriana*, II, p. 166 n. * = *Beauties*, p. 376 n. *, come mostrato in K.J. HAYES, « Poe's Motto to "The Pit and the Pendulum" », *Notes and Queries* 58, 2011, p. 88; cfr. anche *The Annotated Poe*. Edited by K.J. HAYES, Cambridge, MA - London, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2015, p. 241.

pp. 259-288), D'Israeli recuperava il termine πινακίδιον dagli elenchi di titoli presenti nella *praefatio* della *Naturalis Historia* di Plinio e in quella delle *Noctes Atticae* di Gellio nelle forme vulgate correnti fino ancora alla prima metà dell'800 (e in ultima analisi risalenti all'umanista Andrea Bussi: la parola, assente nella paradosi, si cercherebbe oggi invano nelle moderne edizioni critiche di entrambi gli autori)[32]. La prefazione vulgata di Gellio era stata d'altronde ampiamente commentata da Vicesimus Knox nelle *Winter Evenings*, uscite in prima edizione nel 1788 (nell'edizione in sette volumi dei *Works*, pubblicata a Londra per J. Mawman nel 1824, ved. II, pp. 295-304); e nello stesso anno in cui apparivano i *Pinakidia* gli elenchi di Plinio e di Gellio, sempre nella versione vulgata, venivano riportati all'interno della dotta discussione sulla storia delle miscellanee erudite che fungeva da introduzione a *The Book of Table-Talk*, raccolta di saggi e aneddoti in buona parte dovuta a Charles MacFarlane (I, London, Charles Knight, 1836, pp. 1-63, *praes*. 7-10). Su Gellio come antenato dei «periodical moral essays» esisteva del resto una lunga tradizione, cui Poe stesso mostra di essersi ispirato in *Pin.* 44 (e si veda quanto a suo luogo annoteremo). Alla luce di tutto ciò, l'incongrua attribuzione del termine πινακίδια da parte di Poe a Dionisio di Alicarnasso suona davvero come il «final joke of the Intro.» (Pollin) e potrà ben essere, se non mero *lapsus memoriae*, una creativa invenzione. Dubito infatti che Poe potesse avere una qualunque nozione del passo di Eustazio di Tessalonica in cui si menziona una glossa del lessicografo atticista Elio Dionisio – anche lui di Alicarnasso, ma diverso dal più noto retore – accennando ai πινακίδια degli antichi (*Comm. Od.* 1710, 21-22 = Elio Dionisio μ 5 Erbse), oppure del *pinax* di Dionisio il Periegeta menzionato da Cassiodoro (*Inst.* 1, 25); tutt'al più, potrà aver avuto notizia, per varie mediazioni (forse attraverso note di commento a *Ev. Luc.* 1, 63?), del fatto che Dionisio di Alicarnasso ricordava – ma senza usare il termine – l'uso di scrivere testi su tavolette (in *De comp. verb.* 25, su Platone e la δέλτος con l'esordio alternativo della *Repubblica*) o su altri supporti speciali (ad es. in *Ant. Rom.* 3, 36, 4; 4, 43, 1; 4, 58, 4: passi ricordati, ad esempio, nella discussione sui materiali scrittorî antichi compresa nella recensione agli *Herculanensia* londinesi del 1810 in *The Critical Review* 21, 1811, p. 242), ovvero che menzionava πίνακες nel senso di «cataloghi» (*Ad Amm.* 4; *Din.* 11).

Pin. 1. Collocato in posizione liminare, è il più originale dei *Pinakidia*, simile per certi versi ad alcuni pezzi raccolti nei *Marginalia*. Poe vi critica l'argomentazione sull'immortalità dell'anima sillogisticamente proposta da Edward Bulwer-Lytton

[32] Si veda S. ROCCHI - L. HOLFORD-STREVENS, « "Graeca" e "Latina" stravaganti dalla praefatio alle *Notti Attiche* nella princeps e nella vulgata », *Studi Medievali e Umanistici* 8/9, 2010/11, pp. 149-165, spec. 155-156. Sull'origine del titolo di Poe da Plinio e Gellio è ora fondamentale P. BUTTI DE LIMA, Pinakidia, in R. OTRANTO - P.M. PINTO (a cura di), *Storie di testi e tradizione classica per Luciano Canfora*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2018, pp. 13-18.

nelle *Conversations with an Ambitious Student in Ill Health*, notando che «his summary of the attributes of Deity» può essere confutato a causa di una significativa omissione. Pollin non è riuscito a individuare, nel testo di Bulwer-Lytton, né i sillogismi né il «summary» cui Poe allude, ma a me pare che essi si trovino nella settima conversazione, dove l'autore inglese parte dall'essenza di Dio e ne indica gli attributi, tralasciando l'infinità e soffermandosi sulla sua sapienza, potenza e bontà, donde deriverebbe anche la giustizia, non visibile pienamente in terra e quindi da postulare nell'aldilà: si veda, nell'edizione americana in volume che è possibile Poe abbia usato, E. BULWER-LYTTON, *Conversations with an Ambitious Student in Ill Health: With Other Pieces*, New York, J. & J. Harper, 1832, pp. 89-91[33].

Pin. 6. I versi sulle comete che Poe ha probabilmente ripreso da Bielfeld (così Pollin) sono di Giovanni Domenico / Jean-Dominique Cassini (Cassini I^{er}) e si leggono nel famoso *Abrégé* del 1681: *Abrégé des observations & des réflexions sur la comète qui a paru au mois de décembre 1680, & aux mois de janvier, février & mars de cette anneé 1681*. Presenté au roy par Mr CASSINI, Paris, Estienne Michallet, 1681, p. 21.

Pin. 8. Più che Voltaire (Pollin), la fonte per questo pezzo sul *De tribus impostoribus* sembra essere l'*Esquisse* di Condorcet: evidenti sono infatti le consonanze anche letterali con quanto si legge nella traduzione inglese anonima *Outlines of an Historical View of the Progress of the Human Mind*, London, J. Johnson, 1795, pp. 161-162 (= pp. 108-109 dell'edizione americana, Baltimore, J. Frank, 1802). Che Poe conoscesse l'*Esquisse*, attraverso una traduzione, è del resto mostrato dalla retroversione in francese di un passo in *Bon-Bon* (ved. *The Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe*. II. Ed. MABBOTT [n. 9], pp. 109 n. * e 116 n. 21).

Pin. 10. Il pezzo sulle lamentazioni di Geremia è il primo dei *Pinakidia* tratti dalla *History of the Holy Bible* di Stackhouse, e precisamente da una annotazione (fondata su Bedford e Calmet) al cap. V del libro VI: si veda IV, pp. 341-342 n. † nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13].

[33] Su Poe e Bulwer-Lytton si vedano da ultimo B.R. POLLIN, « Bulwer-Lytton's Influence on Poe's Works and Ideas, Especially for an Author's "Preconceived Design" », *The Edgar Allan Poe Review* 1.1, Spring 2000, pp. 5-12; M. MIQUEL-BALDELLOU, « Poe's English Double: Bulwer-Lytton as a Transatlantic Haunting Presence », *Meridian Critic* 15.2, 2009, pp. 117-127; EAD., « A Case of Transatlantic Intertextuality: Edward Bulwer-Lytton and Edgar Allan Poe », *Op. Cit.* 12, 2010, pp. 223-239; A. CORCELLA, *Un gioco di parole in greco in Edgar Allan Poe*, in G. CIPRIANI - R.M. LUCIFORA (a cura di), *Antiquam exquirite matrem*, II, Foggia, Il Castello edizioni, 2017, pp. 45-70 (alla cui bibliografia è indispensabile aggiungere A. HAMMOND, « Literary Commerce and the Discourses of Gastronomy in Poe's "Bon-Bon" », *Poe Studies* 39/40, 2006, pp. 38-45). Sulla posizione di Poe rispetto all'infinità di Dio ved. ora H. SILCOX, *Transcendentalism*, in HAYES, *Edgar Allan Poe in Context* [n. 6], pp. 269-278, *praes.* 274.

Pin. 11. Difficile trovare una fonte sicura per la brevissima affermazione «The fullest account of the Amazons is to be found in Diodorus Siculus», in fondo a suo modo veritiera (si rammenterà l'ironia di Voltaire, nelle *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*, su Diodoro che «seriously examines the history of the Amazons and their queen Thalestris» – così nella traduzione di John Gorton: *A Philosophical Dictionary*, from the French of M. de Voltaire, III, London, John and Henry L. Hunt, 1824, p. 6). La formulazione potrebbe far pensare a un dizionario o a un repertorio, enciclopedico o specificamente di mitologia e storia antica, e però tra quelli che Poe poteva conoscere non ho trovato nulla di analogo: piuttosto lontana è la definizione delle Amazzoni come «warlike women, who entirely possessed a great part of Asia, and inhabited Scythia near the Mæotis and Tanäis», seguita dalla precisazione «Diodorus tells us of another nation of them in Africa, and gives a large account of them also», nel diffusissimo dizionario latino per le scuole di Robert Ainsworth (ho consultato una delle edizioni riviste da Thomas Morell e John Carey: *Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary*, London, C. and J. Rivington *et al.*, 1823, *s.v. Amazon, onis* nella sezione *Nomina propria*). In alternativa, Poe potrebbe dipendere da una nota di commento erudita a un testo in cui le Amazzoni fossero menzionate: si potrebbe pensare ad esempio a Virgilio, le cui edizioni scolastiche sono alla base di altri *Pinakidia* (si confronti quanto diremo su *Pin.* 13 e 25), e tuttavia non mi riesce di individuare, in esse, un adeguato riscontro (anche se per spiegare il *Threiciae … Amazones* di *Aen.* 11, 659-660 Charles de la Rue, nell'edizione *ad usum Delphini*, non aveva mancato di annotare che le migrazioni delle Amazzoni si potevano ricostruire a partire da vari autori, «praecipue Diodoro»: *P. Virgilii Maronis Opera.* Interpretatione et notis illustravit Carolus RUÆUS Soc. Jesu, Parisiis, Apud Simonem Benard, 1682[2], p. 803). D'altra parte, Poe certo conosceva (ved. *Pin.* 94 con la nota di Pollin) le annotazioni di Zachary Grey allo *Hudibras* di Samuel Butler, dove per un «account of the Amazons» si rinviava a Diodoro (II, London, J. Bettenham *et al.*, 1744, p. 162); ma Diodoro era qui citato come una prima fonte cui ne seguivano altre, senza affermare che fosse la più completa. Analogamente, il confronto con gli altri autori manca anche in vari altri testi in cui si evocava il racconto di Diodoro sulle Amazzoni in forme parzialmente simili a quella usata da Poe (e che peraltro è meno probabile Poe conoscesse): ad esempio, Richard Paul Jodrell nel commentare Euripide aveva scritto «The history of the Amazons may be seen in Diodorus Siculus» (*Illustrations of Euripides, on the Ion and the Bacchae*, London, J. Nichols, 1781, p. 144); mentre in *The Broad Stone of Honour* di Kenelm Henry Digby si poteva leggere «As for the Amazons of old, their exploits will be found in Diodorus» (a p. 381 dell'*Orlandus* nell'edizione London, Sold by Joseph Booker, 1829). La fonte di *Pin.* 11 resta quindi ancora da individuare.

Pin. 12. Il pezzo sembra rivelare una certa elaborazione da parte di Poe, che parrebbe avervi unito tre differenti fonti (a meno che ovviamente non abbia attinto a un unico testo, a me ignoto, in cui le tre fonti fossero già combinate). Quanto alla

prima parte («Theophrastus, in his botanical works, anticipated the sexual system of Linnæus»), la formulazione più vicina a me nota di questo non ovvio concetto è quella di Thomas Campbell nelle *Letters to the Students of Glasgow on the Epochs of Literature*: «In the Botanic works of Theophrastus, it is remarkable that he shows some anticipation of the sexual system of Linnæus» (London, H. Colburn, 1827, p. 43; anche in *The New Monthly Magazine* 22, 1828, p. 279)[34]. La seconda parte, il cui contenuto destava i comprensibili dubbi di Pollin («Philolaus of Crotona maintained that comets appeared after a certain revolution – and Ækcetes contended for the existence of what is now called the new world»), è evidentemente ripresa dalla traduzione, a cura di Henry Hunter, delle *Études de la nature* di Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre: «*Philolaüs*, of Crotona, […] held that Comets were Stars, which re-appeared after a certain revolution. *Ækcetes*, another Pythagorean, maintained the existence of two Continents, that which we inhabit, and one opposite to it; an idea applicable only to America» (*Studies of Nature*. By J.-H.-B. DE SAINT-PIERRE. Transl. by H. HUNTER, II, London, C. Dilly, 1796, p. 258 = I, p. 393 della prima edizione americana stampata nel 1797 a Worcester, Mass. dalla ditta Thomas, Son and Thomas per J. Nancrede, Boston, dove si ha «*Philolaus*» senza dieresi). Che Poe conoscesse le *Études de la nature*, e in particolare la loro traduzione inglese (probabilmente nella citata edizione americana del 1797), era già noto, tra l'altro, dall'introduzione ai *Marginalia*, dove sembra essere presente una retroversione in francese di un passo dello studio XIV[35]; qui, invece, Poe sta citando un brano dalla annotazione posta in calce allo studio IX, sui principî delle scienze. Per la menzione di Filolao, de Saint-Pierre evidentemente si fondava sulla attribuzione a questo filosofo, già tradizionale ma oggi screditata, di quanto Aristotele osservava

[34] Per la familiarità di Poe con altre opere di Thomas Campbell (e col *New Monthly Magazine*, da Campbell diretto) cfr. POE, *The Brevities* [n. 2], *ad ind.* Su Teofrasto e la sua parziale descrizione del sesso delle piante si veda da ultimo L. TAIZ - L. TAIZ, *Flora Unveiled. The Discovery and Denial of Sex in Plants*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2017, pp. 220-226; ma soprattutto merita di essere meditato il memorabile saggio di O. REGENBOGEN, « Eine Forschungsmethode antiker Naturwissenschaft », *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik, Astronomie und Physik* 1.2, 1930, pp. 131-182 (= ID., *Kleine Schriften*, München, C.H. Beck, 1961, pp. 141-194).

[35] Ved. Pollin in POE, *The Brevities* [n. 2], pp. 110-111; altre riprese nell'opera di Poe (in *Al Aaraaf*, in *Manuscript Found in a Bottle*, in *The Thousand-and-Second Tale of Scheherazade*, forse anche in *A Descent into the Maelström*) sono discusse in B.R. POLLIN, « Poe's Use of Material from Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Etudes* », *Romance Notes* 12, 1971, pp. 331-338 (alle pp. 332-333 buoni indizi per ritenere che Poe dipendesse dalla prima edizione americana del 1797 e non dalla successiva, stampata a Philadelphia da A. Small nel 1808, dove il nostro passo si legge a p. 341 del vol. I). Sull'edizione del 1797 ha scritto in varie sedi Madeleine Bettina Stern: segnalo soprattutto M.B. STERN, « Saint-Pierre in America: Joseph Nancrede and Isaiah Thomas », *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 68, 1974, pp. 312-325; EAD., « Saint-Pierre's "Studies of Nature": the first American edition », *Publishing History* 37, 1995, pp. 5-16.

a proposito del parere sulle comete di «alcuni Pitagorici» in *Meteorologica* 342b, 29-35[36]. Più curioso è il riferimento alla teoria di «Æcetes» («Oecette» nell'originale francese, dove gli si attribuiva la tesi «qu'il y avoit deux terres, celle-ci et celle qui lui est opposé; ce qui ne convient qu'à l'Amérique»: cito dalla prima edizione, *Études de la nature*, II, Paris, P.F. Didot le jeune, 1784, p. 56). Questo «Æcetes/Oecette»[37] è, ovviamente, come Pollin non ha mancato di notare, Iceta di Siracusa: de Saint-Pierre sta infatti riprendendo un passo degli pseudoplutarchei *Placita philosophorum* (895C), nel quale **Ἰκέτης** (ma i cosiddetti *codices Planudei* leggono **Οἰκέτης**, forma di solito messa a testo nelle edizioni settecentesche e trasposta in latino come *Oecetes* o *Oecetas*, donde «Oecette») era ricordato per aver postulato l'esistenza di due terre, «questa qui e l'*antichthon*». Si trattava, insomma, della ben nota teoria pitagorica dell'Antiterra come corpo celeste la cui rivoluzione si compirebbe sulla stessa orbita in posizione opposta alla Terra; ma de Saint-Pierre stravolgeva tale teoria confondendola con l'idea di un nuovo mondo contrapposto all'*oikoumene* sull'altra faccia della Terra – un'idea che venne effettivamente sostenuta da alcuni antichi scienziati, tra cui Ipparco, ma non da Iceta[38]. A queste notizie tratte da Thomas Campbell e da Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (attraverso Hunter) Poe aggiungeva, infine, un'ultima sezione in cui ripeteva quel che già altri prima di lui avevano detto sulla "profezia" di un nuovo mondo al di là dell'Atlantico nel *Morgante Maggiore* di Luigi Pulci e in precedenza nella *Divina Commedia*. John Herman Merivale, per esempio, aveva insistito sulla "profezia" di Pulci nelle note al suo poema *Orlando in Roncisvalles* (London, J. Murray, 1814, pp. 97-98); e il suo commento era stato ripreso da Thomas Moore nell'undicesimo volume dell'edizione delle opere di Byron (che oltre alla traduzione del primo canto del *Morgante* raccoglieva peraltro anche la *Dante's Prophecy*: ved. *The Works of Byron*, XI, London, J. Murray, 1832, p. 193). Ma per quanto Poe faccia riferimento, in *Pin.* 12, alla celebre definizione byroniana di Pulci («the sire of the half-serious rhyme»), la sua fonte diretta va cercata altrove; e credo che possa essere individuata nel saggio « Italian Narrative Poetry » di William

[36] Ved. ad es. C.A. HUFFMANN, *Philolaus of Croton, Pythagorean and Presocratic*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. 239-240.

[37] Sull'incertezza nelle rese dei digrammi *æ* e *œ* ved. Pollin in POE, *The Brevities* [n. 2], pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

[38] Cfr. in proposito L. RUSSO, *L'America dimenticata. I rapporti tra le civiltà e un errore di Tolomeo*, Milano, Mondadori, 2013[2]. Che le menzioni antiche di una ἀντίχθων nel senso di «terra agli antipodi, altro emisfero» anticipassero la scoperta dell'America era già stato visto, tra gli altri, dal Turnebo (*Adversaria* XX, cap.11, alle coll. 686-688 del secondo tomo nell'edizione di Basilea, presso Guarino, del 1580); ma che l'ἀντίχθων in questo senso fosse cosa ben diversa dalla ἀντίχθων dei pitagorici, «terra circa alteram partem centri mota nobis invisibilis», era stato ad es. mostrato, con amplissimo dispiego di dottrina, nel terzo tomo delle *Observationes selectae ad rem litterariam spectantes* di Nicolaus Hieronymus Gundling (Halae Magdeburgicae, prostat in off. libr. Rengeriana, 1701, pp. 373-406).

Hickling Prescott, pubblicato in *The North American Review* 20.45, October 1824, pp. 337-389[39]. Qui, a p. 349, Poe poteva infatti trovare sia un riferimento al passo di Pulci «in which a devil announces to Rinaldo, the existence of another continent beyond the ocean, inhabited by mortals like himself» sia, in calce, la nota «Dante, two centuries before, had also expressed the same belief in an undiscovered quarter of the globe», seguita dalla citazione testuale di *Inf.* 26, 115-117 – esattamente gli stessi versi che anche Poe riproduce.

Pin. 13. Come Pollin ottimamente annota, l'uso di *finis* tanto al femminile quanto al maschile era un dato ovvio, «noted by every schoolboy in reading the *Orations* of Cicero or Virgil's *Aeneid*». È quindi probabile che Poe dipenda da un commento a Cicerone o a Virgilio; e in effetti una formulazione assai simile si ritrova nella nota a *Aen.* 5, 384 dell'edizione virgiliana, fondata su quella di Charles de la Rue e sul «Davidson's *Virgil*», curata nel 1812 da William Staughton: «*Quæ finis.* Virgil loves to use this noun as a feminine one. Æn. II. 554. *Hæc finis Priami fatorum.* Cicero commonly employs it as masculine; *usque ad eum finem, &c.*» *(The Works of Virgil: With the Latin Interpretation of Ruaeus, and the English Notes of Davidson. […]* By W. STAUGHTON, Philadelphia, Farrand, Hopkins, Zantzinger, and Co., 1812 e Philip H. Nicklin, 1813 = Baltimore, J. Cushing, 1813; Philadelphia, H.C. Carey and I. Lea, 1825[2], p. 330; a p. 218 la nota a *Aen.* 2, 554 ricordava invece un esempio ciceroniano di *finis* anch'esso femminile)[40]. Nell'originaria nota di Charles de la Rue era registrata la predilezione di Virgilio per *finis* al femminile, ma mancava il riferimento a Cicerone (*P. Virgilii Maronis Opera* [*supra*, su *Pin.* 11], pp. 472-473; cfr. anche la nota a *Aen.* 2, 554, a p. 330); mentre – se ho ben visto – nulla sul genere di *finis* era detto nelle varie edizioni del Virgilio di Davidson (per cui si veda quel

[39] Si trattava di una recensione alle traduzioni dell'*Orlando Innamorato* di Berni e dell'*Orlando Furioso* di Ariosto curate da William Stewart Rose, pubblicata sulla *North American Review* in forma anonima e in seguito ristampata in W.H. PRESCOTT, *Biographical and Critical Miscellanies*, London, Richard Bentley, 1845, pp. 361-430 (volume che Poe recensirà in modo sostanzialmente positivo in *The Broadway Journal* 2.24, 20 December 1845, p 373 e 2.25, 27 December 1845, p. 384; cfr. *The Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe*. III: *Writings in* The Broadway Journal. *Nonfictional Prose*. Edited by B.R. POLLIN, *Part I. The Text*. New York, The Gordian Press, 1986, pp. 342 e 350 e *Part II. The Annotations*, ibid., pp. 254-255). Ved. anche C. HARVEY GARDINER, *William Hickling Prescott. A Biography*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1969, pp. 74-75.

[40] Non ho veduto la rara prima stampa del 1812, ma i dati catalografici lasciano intendere che le differenti edizioni riproponevano, con identica impaginazione, il medesimo testo stampato a Philadelphia nella ditta di William Fry (ancora socio nel 1812 di Joseph Kammerer, che viene quindi con Fry citato nel frontespizio della prima stampa ma non più in quelli delle seguenti perché già nel 1813 si era ritirato: ved. J. BIDWELL, « The Publication of Joel Barlow's *Columbiad* », *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 93.2, 1984, pp. 337-380, *praes.* 344, con ulteriore bibliografia).

che noteremo più avanti a proposito di *Pin.* 25). Il rinvio ciceroniano parrebbe quindi essere uno degli «original remarks which the habit of reading and teaching Virgil for many years has suggested», vale a dire una didattica aggiunta di Staughton conforme alla natura prettamente scolastica della sua edizione di Virgilio[41].

Pin. 14. In forma pressoché identica la notizia su Dante e Rambaldo di Vaqueiras (nella medesima grafia «Rambaud de Vachieras» adottata da Poe) si leggeva in CH. BURNEY, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, II, London, Printed for the Author, 1782, p. 229 (= I, p.566 nell'edizione a cura di F. Mercer, London, G.T. Foulis / New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1935]), donde lo stesso Burney trasse la voce « Song » per la *Cyclopædia* di Rees (nel vol. XXXIV dell'edizione americana uscita a Philadelphia per Samuel F. Bradford, senza indicazione di data), che come in altri casi potrebbe essere la fonte diretta di Poe[42].

Pin. 16. Il pezzo sulla croce, con la citazione da Giusto Lipsio e la critica alla tradizione pittorica, è ripreso da una annotazione nella *History of the Holy Bible* di Stackhouse (libro VIII, cap. IV, senza indicazione di fonte): si veda VI, pp. 179-180 n. † nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13].

Pin. 19. La curiosa idea per cui il mito platonico sulla divisione dell'androgino sarebbe un'eco corrotta del racconto biblico su Adamo ed Eva risaliva a Daniel Whitby (*A Paraphrase and Commentary of the New Testament*, I, London, Awnsham and John Churchill, 1706[2], p. 158; se ne può vedere la più accessibile ristampa a

[41] La citazione è tratta dalla *Preface*, p. vi. Sull'attività di insegnante svolta da William Staughton a Philadelphia negli anni in cui preparava l'edizione ved. S.W. LYND, *Memoir of the Rev. William Staughton, D.D.*, Boston, Lincoln, Edmands, & Co. - Cincinnati, Hubbard and Edmands, 1834, pp. 154-162; a p. 220 il giudizio per cui la sua edizione virgiliana «has been highly approved, and extensively adopted in the education of youth». Sintetici dati su William Staughton in J.R. SHOOK (ed.), *Dictionary of Early American Philosophers*, II, New York - London, Continuum, 2012, pp. 974-976, con essenziale bibliografia (cui va almeno aggiunto R. HAYDEN, « William Staughton: Baptist Educator and Missionary Advocate », *Foundations* 10, 1967, pp. 19-35).

[42] Sugli articoli di argomento musicale che l'ormai anziano Burney scrisse per la *Cyclopaedia* di Rees, spesso attingendo alla propria *History*, ved. tra l'altro P.A. SCHOLES, *The Great Dr. Burney*, II, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1948, pp. 184-201; R.H. LONSDALE, *Dr. Charles Burney: a Literary Biography*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965, pp. 407-431; ID., « Dr. Burney's "Dictionary of Music" », *Musicology Australia* 5.1, 1979, pp. 159-171 (non ho veduto A.P. WOOLRICH, « Dr Burney and Rees's Cyclopaedia », *Burney Letter* 23.1, Spring 2017, pp. 1-2 e 10-11, segnalato in *Wikipedia*). Per l'uso da parte di Poe della *Cyclopaedia* di Rees ved. le osservazioni di Pollin in E.A. POE, *The Imaginary Voyages*. Ed. by B.R. POLLIN, New York, The Gordian Press, 1994[2], *ad ind.* e in POE, *Brevities* [n. 2], pp. 16, 20, 25-26, 103, 458 (non penso invece che *Marg.* 87 derivi dalla *Cyclopaedia*, come Pollin suppone a p. 190: la dimostrazione in altra sede); cfr. anche *supra*, n. 9.

cura di J.R. Pitman in *A Critical Commentary and Paraphrase of the Old and New Testament and the Apocrypha*. By PATRICK, LOWTH, ARNALD, WHITBY, and LOWMAN, V, London, R. Priestley, 1822, p. 164); ma Poe la riprende, riproducendo alcune minime variazioni nel dettato, dalla *History of the Holy Bible* di Stackhouse (libro VIII, cap. III): si veda VI, p. 52 n. †[2] nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13].

Pin. 20. I versi 799-800 (= atto III, scena 3, 7-8) pronunciati, nel *Cid* di Corneille, da Chimène («Pleurez, pleurez, mes yeux, et fondez-vous en eau, / La moitié de ma vie a mis l'autre au tombeau») risentivano fortemente dello stile barocco della fonte da cui erano pressoché letteralmente tradotti (*Las mocedades del Cid* di Guillén de Castro) e proprio per questo furono molto discussi già nella contemporanea *querelle*, a partire almeno dalle critiche di George de Scudéry, e poi variamente in seguito: Poe potrebbe così averli letti, per esempio, nei popolari *Elements of criticism* di Lord Kames (I, p. 514 nella sesta edizione Edinburgh, J. Bell and W. Creech - T. Cadell and G. Robinson, 1785 = p. 245 dell'edizione americana a cura di A. Mills, New York, Conner & Cooke, 1833)[43], o anche nell'*Essay on Irish Bulls* di Richard Lovell e Maria Edgeworth (London, J. Johnson, 1802, p. 110 = I, p. 131 nell'edizione dei *Tales and Novels* uscita a New York, presso Harper & Brothers, nel 1835, dove compare – come in Poe – la virgola dopo il secondo «pleurez», assente nelle precedenti edizioni)[44]. In questo secondo testo il passo di Corneille (accostato peraltro ai due versi di Berni citati come ariosteschi, sulla scia di Bouhours, in *Pin.* 102) compariva sia nell'originale francese, in nota, sia in traduzione inglese, nel testo, nella forma «Weep eyes; melt into tears these cheeks to lave: / One half myself lays t'other in the grave»; la resa è diversa da quella fornita da Poe, ma era accompagnata dall'indicazione che Chimène li pronuncia «to inform us that half herself has buried the other half», e questa parafrasi ricorda più da vicino la traduzione del

[43] Sulla presumibile conoscenza da parte di Poe degli *Elements of Criticism* di Henry Home, Lord Kames, ved. M. ALTERTON, *Origins of Poe's Critical Theory*, Iowa City, Russell & Russell, Inc., 1925, p. 74 e n. 20 e, più in generale, R.D. JACOBS, *Poe: Journalist & Critic*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1969; per la sua presenza nella biblioteca della Library Company di Baltimore ved. HAYES, *Poe and the Printed World* [n. 6], p. 33, e per la diffusione dell'opera nelle università americane tra '700 e '800 F.E. COURT, *The Scottish Connection. The Rise of English Literary Studies in Early America*, Syracuse, NY, Syracuse University Press, 2001, *passim*.

[44] Il trattino stampato in luogo della virgola dopo «eau» nel *Southern Literary Messenger* potrebbe invece ben attribuirsi allo stesso Poe: cfr. *Marginalia* 196 e l'osservazione di Mabbott in *The Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe*. I: *Poems*. Edited by T.O. MABBOTT, Cambridge, Mass., Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969, p. xx. Per la conoscenza da parte di Poe degli scritti di Maria Edgeworth (in particolare del romanzo *Helen*, del 1838) ved. Pollin in POE, *Brevities* [n. 2], p. 504; C.C. TARR, « Purloined Letters: Edgar Allan Poe, Maria Edgeworth, and the Study of Chirography », *The Edgar Allan Poe Review* 14.2, Autumn 2013, pp. 178-198.

secondo verso nei *Pinakidia*, dove si ha «Weep, weep, my eyes! it is no time to laugh / For half myself has buried the other half». Poiché non mi riesce di ritrovare quest'ultima traduzione, in forma identica, in nessun testo precedente, sino a futura smentita non andrà quindi scartata l'ipotesi che sia stato Poe stesso a proporre una propria versione in competizione con i tentativi di altri, forse appunto a partire dal testo degli Edgeworth (di cui segnalo peraltro la ripresa in *Democratic Review* 21.110, August 1847, pp. 154-155)[45].

Pin. 21. Nonostante le sue accurate indagini, Pollin non riuscì a stabilire donde Poe attingesse la notizia che «Over the iron gate of a prison at Ferrara is this inscription – "Ingresso alla prigione di Torquato Tasso."». Molti viaggiatori in Italia nella prima metà dell'800 riportano la notizia, ma la formulazione di Poe è particolarmente vicina a quella di Anna Jameson: «Yesterday we passed through Ferrara […]. We snatched a moment to visit the hospital of St. Anna and the prison of Tasso—the glory and disgrace of Ferrara. Over the iron gate is written "Ingresso alla prigione di Torquato Tasso"» (*Diary of an Ennuyée*, London, H. Colburn, 1826, p. 87; Poe potrebbe averne visto l'edizione uscita a Boston, presso Lilly, Wait, Colman, and Holden, nel 1833, dove il passo compare a p. 72). Si confronti anche quel che diremo su *Pin.* 135.

Pin. 23. La notizia sul libro *Esperança de Israel* edito nel 1650 ad Amsterdam dal rabbino Manasseh ben Israel è tratta dalla *History of the Holy Bible* di Stackhouse (libro VI, cap. IV): si veda IV, pp. 299-300 nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13].

Pin. 25. «"Defuncti injuria ne afficiantur" was a law of the twelve tables». Pollin nota che la sentenza fu da Poe ripresa nelle *Fifty Suggestions* e in *Never Bet the Devil Your Head*, ma non si ritrova nelle moderne ricostruzioni delle leggi delle dodici tavole. Nel XVI secolo, però, la frase era stata effettivamente inserita in alcune palingenesi, a partire da Aymar du Rivail (*Libri de historia iuris civilis et pontificii*, Valentiae in biblioteca Ludovici Olivelli, 1515, fol. XI verso) e Johann Oldendorp (*Iuris naturalis, gentium, et civilis* εἰσαγωγὴ *[…]*, Coloniae exc. Io. Gymnicus, 1539, p. 198), che l'avevano riportata, rispettivamente, nelle forme *Defuncti iniuria non afficiuntor* e *Defuncti iniuria ne afficiuntor*. L'inserimento era arbitrario, e in apparenza ispirato da alcune norme attestate nel *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (*Inst.* 1, 6, 1 discute della possibilità, prevista dalla *lex Aelia Sentia*, che un proprietario insolvente nomini suo

[45] Non saprei dire quanto la traduzione offerta nei *Pinakidia* suoni in inglese davvero felice, ma in ogni caso sembra aver ispirato Samuel Salomon, che nel 1969 rese i versi di Corneille con «Weep, weep, my eyes, for I shall no more laugh! / Half of my life has slain the other half» (P. Corneille, *Seven Plays*, New York, Random House, 1969, p. 59).

erede uno schiavo in grado di soddisfare le pretese dei creditori, o nel cui nome questi abbiano la facoltà di vendere la proprietà, *ne iniuria defunctus afficiatur*; mentre *Nov.* 60 era tradizionalmente indicata col titolo *Ne defuncti, seu reliquiae eorum adficiantur contumelia*, e lo stesso Oldendorp aveva commentato questa costituzione, nel 1543, in un apposito opuscolo); in ogni caso, tra il XVI e il XVII secolo la formula *Defuncti iniuria ne afficiuntor* fu non di rado considerata una effettiva legge delle Dodici Tavole, tant'è vero che ancora nel 1738 Saco Herman van Idsinga avvertiva il bisogno di dichiararla spuria, «uti (verba) nullius auctoris fidei testimoniove innixa» (*Variorum Iuris Civilis Liber Singularis […]*, Harlingae, apud Folkerum vande Plaats, 1738, p. 180; si confronti anche H.E. DIRKSEN, *Uebersicht der bisherigen Versuche zur Kritik und Herstellung der Zwölf-Tafel-Fragmente*, Leipzig, J.C. Hinrichsche Buchhandlung, 1824, p. 640, con ulteriori riferimenti bibliografici). Di conseguenza, come legge delle Dodici Tavole essa venne più volte addotta dai commentatori virgiliani nelle note a *Aen.* 3, 41 (*iam parce sepulto*). Già nel 1559 Lambertus Hortensius annotava «Lex erat xij tabularum, *Defuncti iniuria ne afficiuntor*» (*Enarrationes in sex priores libros Aeneidos Vergilianae*, Basileae, per Henricum Petrum et Ioannem Oporinum, 1559, p. 145), seguito alla fine del secolo da Jacobus Pontanus (Jakob Spanmüller), che similmente scriveva, ma con la formula non più all'imperativo bensì al congiuntivo, «Lex erat 12. tab. Defuncti iniuria ne afficiantur» (*Symbolarum libri XVII […]*, Augustae Vindelicorum ad insigne pinus, 1599, col. 989)[46]. L'annotazione del Pontanus passò quindi nelle edizioni *cum notis variorum* delle opere di Virgilio (ad esempio in quella a cura di G. Valkenier, Amstelodami, ex off. A. Commelini, 1646, p. 403; o ancora nel quinto volume di quella stampata a Londra, per i tipi di A.J. Valpy, nel 1819, a p. 2608), e per tale via giunse anche al «Davidson's *Virgil*», e cioè alla popolarissima edizione scolastica con costruzione, traduzione prosastica e note in inglese intitolata *The Works of Virgil Translated Into English Prose, As near the Original as the different Idioms of the Latin and English Languages will allow. With the Latin Text and Order of Construction in the opposite Page; and Critical, Historical, Geographical, and Classical Notes, in English,*

[46] Sulla scia di Hortensius una analoga nota (con la forma *afficiuntor*) compariva anche nel commento manoscritto a Virgilio di Jacques Sirmond: ved. K.L. HAUGEN, « A French Jesuit's Lectures on Vergil, 1582-1583: Jacques Sirmond between Literature, History, and Myth », *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, 1999, pp. 967-985: 975-977. Non è invece certo che Filippo Camerario, quando citava *Defuncti iniuria ne afficiuntor* come un «praeceptum Sapientum», intendesse anch'egli le Dodici Tavole – e cioè i decemviri come loro autori (*Operae horarum succisivarum sive Meditationes historicae*, Altorphii, typis C. Lochneri et I. Hofmanni, 1591, p. 9): può essere che, come Edward Bensly propose più di un secolo fa, avesse invece in mente una massima attribuita a Chilone, uno dei Sette Sapienti, e ne offrisse una versione latina (E. BENSLY, « King's "Classical and Foreign Quotations" [XV] », *Notes and Queries* ser.11.4, 1911, pp. 323-324: 324; Bensly discuteva dell'attestazione della frase, senza alcuna attribuzione, nel popolare repertorio *Classical and Foreign Quotations* di William Francis Henry King [London, J. Whitaker & Sons, 1904^3, p. 389, nr. 3036]).

from the best Commentators both Ancient and Modern, beside a very great Number of Notes intirely New, uscita in due volumi a Londra, presso l'editore e libraio Joseph Davidson, nel 1743 e poi nel 1748, quindi più volte ristampata[47]; qui, infatti, a commento di *Jam parce sepulto* si leggeva quanto segue: «It was a Law of the twelve Tables, and indeed is the common Voice of Humanity, *Defuncti injuria ne afficiantur, let no Injury be offered to the Dead*» (così alla p. 143, nella prima edizione del 1743, e con minime varianti ortografiche alle pp. 123-124, nella seconda edizione del 1748, della sezione dedicata all'*Eneide*, all'interno del volume I; e poi alle pp. 303-304 del volume I nelle varie successive riedizioni e ristampe, ivi compresa la «first American edition» a cura di Malcolm Campbell, uscita a New York, presso E. Duyckinck, T. & J. Swords, P.A. Mesier, and G.F. Hopkins, nel 1803, e seguita da una seconda nel 1811)[48]. Questa fortunata edizione di Virgilio «for the Use of Schools, as well as of Private

[47] La prima edizione del 1743 (alcuni fascicoli uscirono però già nel 1741) e la seconda del 1748 recavano sul frontespizio la sola indicazione «*LONDON*. Printed for Joseph Davidson, at the *Angel* in the *Poultry, Cheapside*», ma furono stampate da William Strahan (ved. R.M. WILES, *Serial Publication in England Before 1750*, Cambridge, At the University Press, 1957, pp. 148, 180-181, 184, 330); le successive edizioni londinesi da me consultate (ved. la nota seguente), che uscirono dopo la morte di Davidson, sopraggiunta - come informa *The Scots Magazine* 14, 1752, p. 510 – il 12 ottobre 1752, risultano «(p)rinted by Assignment, from Joseph Davidson» per gruppi di editori-librai di volta in volta diversi. Che il traduttore in prosa e annotatore di Virgilio e degli altri autori classici (Orazio, Ovidio e Fedro) pubblicati in quel torno di anni per le scuole da Davidson fosse – come spesso si legge – lo stesso editore e libraio, e non un dotto al suo servizio, è del tutto improbabile (di un «unnamed translator» opportunamente parlava L.J.D. RICHARDSON, « *Facilis Iactura Sepulcri* », *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 46, 1940/41, pp. 85-101: 101 n. 42; poco limpide mi paiono le combinazioni che porterebbero a identificarlo con Tobias Smollett accumulate sul blog di Don Shelton, alla pagina <tobiassmollett.blogspot.com/2015/01/pope-v-memoirs-of-life-and-writings-of.html> [consultata il 4.X.2018]); per qualche osservazione sul carattere di questa traduzione virgiliana con note si veda A. LEFEVERE, *Translation Practice(s) and the Circulation of Cultural Capital*, in S. BASSNETT - A. LEFEVERE (eds.), *Constructing Cultures. Essays on Literary Translation*, Clevedon - Philadelphia - Toronto - Sydney - Johannesburg, Multilingual Matters, 1998, pp. 41-56, *praes.* 52-53.

[48] Dopo le pagine introduttive contrassegnate da numeri romani, nelle prime due edizioni la sezione contenente le *Bucoliche* e le *Georgiche* e quella contenente l'*Eneide* recavano ciascuna una autonoma numerazione in cifre arabe, e però – almeno per come sono rilegate le copie che ho esaminato in rete – il primo volume terminava con il libro III dell'*Eneide*; mentre nelle ristampe successive si riscontra la medesima ripartizione del contenuto tra i due volumi, ciascuno dei quali veniva però ad assumere una più regolare numerazione indipendente: oltre la prima delle due citate edizioni americane, ho in particolare consultato, in copie digitali, le ristampe londinesi del 1754, 1763, 1770, 1785, 1790 e 1794 (ma altre ne furono prodotte, ad es. nel 1801 e nel 1810, e si ebbero anche ristampe dublinesi, per James Williams nel 1771 e per James Moore nel 1792). La seconda edizione del 1748 e quindi le ristampe londinesi hanno «indeed» tra virgole e «*Let*» con l'iniziale maiuscola, varianti che si ritrovano nella prima edizione americana, dove inoltre viene stampato «*injuriá*» con il circonflesso; per una ulteriore variante in edizioni successive ved. *infra*.

Gentlemen» è un'ottima candidata come fonte per *Pin.* 25, e alla luce della sua popolarità tanto in Gran Bretagna quanto negli Stati Uniti non sarebbe azzardato pensare che Poe ne abbia usato e consultato un esemplare già da studente[49]. Più difficile formulare un'ipotesi su quale delle sue tante riedizioni e ristampe egli possa eventualmente aver adoperato. Discutendo di *Pin.* 13, abbiamo visto che verosimilmente Poe conobbe l'edizione virgiliana, anch'essa destinata alle scuole, pubblicata nel 1812 (e poi nel 1813 e nel 1825) a cura di William Staughton, che riprendeva le note del «Davidson's *Virgil*» unendovi quelle di Charles de la Rue. Nel Virgilio di Staughton, tuttavia, la nota a *Aen.* 3, 41 (a p. 234 in tutte le ristampe e riedizioni [*supra*, su *Pin.* 13]) si presentava, rispetto alle più antiche edizioni del Virgilio di Davidson, con una sia pur minima divergenza (peraltro attestata anche in altre recenti riprese di quest'ultimo)[50]: la sostituzione dell'articolo determinativo («It was the law of the Twelve Tables») all'indeterminativo presente anche in Poe («It was a Law of the twelve Tables»). Non si può, a rigore, del tutto escludere che Poe, nel redigere il testo dei *Pinakidia*, abbia adattato il testo dell'edizione virgiliana di

[49] Fra le molte testimonianze sul prolungato successo nelle scuole di entrambe le sponde dell'Atlantico, tra '700 e '800, dell'edizione virgiliana di Davidson, a volte malvista dagli specialisti più severi ma di grande efficacia didattica, si possono rammentare il giudizio della londinese *Literary Gazette* 1889, 2 April 1853, p. 325, col. 2 («Davidson's "Virgil" of our school-days, which is still furtively resorted to by many a puzzled construer») o quello di un contributore al newyorkese *Crayon* 4.7, July 1857, p. 215, col. 2 («The prose version of Davidson, of which repeated editions in England, Ireland, and the United States, attest the long-continued popularity, as the lazy school-boys' refuge, and the half-taught schoolmasters' secret assistant»); per gli Stati Uniti, in particolare, si veda quanto riportato in R. MIDDLEKAUFF, *Ancients and Axioms: Secondary Education in Eighteenth-Century New England*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1963, p. 158 e n. 11 (con la testimonianza di William Benley per cui, nel 1793, «(t)he teaching by Duncan's Cicero, & Davidson's Virgil is so common, […] that no other School Books are to be found»: *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D., Pastor of the East Church, Salem, Massachusetts*, II, Salem, Mass., The Essex Institute, 1907, p. 12). Alla luce di ciò, si può supporre che Poe avesse preso familiarità con una edizione del «Davidson's *Virgil*» forse già quando intraprese i primi studi di latino a Londra nel 1818 (ved. D. THOMAS - D.K. JACKSON, *The Poe Log. A Documentary Life of Edgar Allan Poe 1809-1849*, Boston, G.K. Hall & Co., 1987, p. 36) e più probabilmente tra il 1820 e il 1823, quando sappiamo che lesse Virgilio nella scuola di Joseph H. Clarke a Richmond (*ibid.*, p. 47, con rinvio a E.L. DIDIER, *The Life and Poems of Edgar Allan Poe*, New York, W.J. Widdleton, 1877, p. 30).

[50] L'articolo determinativo si legge ad es. anche nella «new edition» del Virgilio di Davidson pubblicata a Londra per F.C. and J. Rivington *et al.* nel 1821, I, p. 303, e si ritroverà quindi nella fortunata ulteriore revisione americana di Joab Goldsmith Cooper: ved. *Publii Virgilii Maronis Opera; or, The Works of Virgil. With Copious Notes […]*. By the Rev. J.G. COOPER, New York, White, Gallaher & White, 1827 [e varie ristampe], p. 245. Qualche indicazione sulle edizioni americane di Virgilio, a partire da Campbell e Cooper, e i loro rapporti col «Davidson's *Virgil*», in M. REINHOLD, *Classica Americana: the Greek and Roman Heritage in the United States*, Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1984, p. 224.

Staughton, finendo così casualmente col ripristinare la versione originaria, ma è più prudente pensare che si sia invece fondato, per *Pin.* 25, su una differente versione del «Davidson's *Vergil*»[51].

Pin. 30. Che i versi *Incidis in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim* risalissero alla *Alexandreis* di Gualtiero di Châtillon (ma Poe scrive «the "Alexandrics" of Philip Gualtier») era stato osservato da Edmond Malone nella *Life of Dr. Johnson*, come Pollin annota. Ma Poe certo attinge da fonte mediatrice, e Butti de Lima l'ha ottimamente identificata nelle *Relics of Literature* [n. 28]: si noti in effetti che qui, alle pp. 183-184, l'opera di Gualtiero è egualmente citata come «Alexandrics», e si tratta di importante errore congiuntivo (non appare invece separativo il «Gaultier» delle *Relics*, dato che «Gualtier» è facile banalizzazione; e infatti l'analoga forma erronea «the Abbé Gualtier», a indicare presumibilmente l'educatore Aloïsius-Édouard-Camille Gaultier, si legge in tutte le versioni di *The Duc De L'Omelette*: ved. *The Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe*. II. Ed. MABBOTT [n. 9], p. 37).

Pin. 40. La consonanza dei versi di Oliver Goldsmith «Man wants but little here below / Nor wants that little long» con un verso di Edward Young («Man wants but little, nor that little long») era stata spesso osservata, almeno a partire da James Boswell, che pensava a memoria poetica (ved. *The London Magazine* 48, 1779, pp. 295-296). Ma Butti de Lima ha mostrato che la fonte immediata, dove analogamente si parla di «furto» («stolen»), è nelle *Relics of Literature* [n. 28], p. 181.

Pin. 43. Il passo di Macrobio pare ripreso dalla *History of the Holy Bible* di Stackhouse (libro IV, cap. III): si veda III, p. 48 n. * nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13], dove si ha, come nelle londinesi e nella dublinese, il corretto «Macrobius», mentre l'edizione di Edimburgo del 1767 [n. 13] presenta «Macrobis» (III, p. 48 n. *) e quella di Glasgow del 1795-96 [n. 14] «Macrobious» (III, p. 48 n. *).

Pin. 44. Il *Cortegiano* di Castiglione, che ebbe subito grande successo in tutta Europa ed era ben noto in Gran Bretagna[52], era stato indicato come antesignano

[51] Per curiosa coincidenza, sarà proprio il motto virgiliano *Jam parce sepulto* ad essere poi inciso, nel 1860, sul retro della lapide destinata alla tomba di Poe ma distrutta in un incidente prima di esservi posta: fonti e considerazioni in C. SCHARPF, *Where Lies a Noble Spirit? An Investigation into the Curious Mystery of Edgar Allan Poe's Grave in Baltimore*, in B.F. FISHER (ed.), *Masques, Mysteries and Mastodons: A Poe Miscellany*, Baltimore, The Edgar Allan Poe Society, Inc., 2006, pp. 194-222, *praes.* 195.

[52] Si veda P. BURKE, *Le fortune del Cortegiano. Baldassarre Castiglione e i percorsi del Rinascimento italiano*, trad. it. Roma, Donzelli, 1998, *praes.* pp. 129-131 sulla fortuna di Castiglione nella cultura inglese del XVIII secolo.

della saggistica periodica da Samuel Johnson in un celebre passo della biografia di Joseph Addison (*The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets […]*, II, London, C. Bathurst *et al.*, 1781, pp. 361-362), poi ripreso tra gli altri da Alexander Chambers nella prefazione al primo volume dei *British Essayists* (London, J. Johnson *et al.*, 1803, pp. xiii-xvi) e da Samuel Miller nel secondo volume della prima parte di *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, T. and J. Swords, 1803, pp. 243-244); ma soprattutto Nathan Drake, ridiscutendo il tema dei predecessori dei periodici britannici del primo '700 nel saggio *General Observations On Periodical Writing*, contenuto nel primo volume degli *Essays, Biographical, Critical, and Historical, Illustrative of the Tatler, Spectator, and Guardian* (London, John Sharpe, 1805 = London, Suttaby, Evance, and Fox - Sharpe and Hailes, 1814[2], pp. 15-40), subito prima di ricordare Castiglione (p. 28, con menzione della data di pubblicazione, come in Poe) si era soffermato anche su Gellio (pp. 25-27). La fonte diretta di Poe andrà però cercata non in Drake, bensì in un autore che ne dipendeva, e cioè il reverendo David Graham, che sui primi due numeri del periodico *The Pioneer* da lui fondato a Pittsburgh (1.1, 28 February 1812; 1.2, 17 March 1812) pubblicò un saggio intitolato « On the Origin and Progress of Periodical Essay-Writing », nella cui prima parte rielaborava le *General Observations* di Drake: la trattazione su Gellio – integrata con informazioni tratte dal *Classical Dictionary* di Lemprière – era qui chiusa da un'affermazione che ne limitava il valore di antesignano della saggistica morale, in quanto nelle *Noctes Atticae* «little, if any thing, appeared to correct the indiscretions, or regulate the minor duties, of social intercourse»; mentre «(t)he first attempt of this description of which we have any information, was the "Courtier" of BALDAZZAR CASTIGLIONE, an Italian, published in 1528» (si veda, nell'edizione in volume, D. GRAHAM, *The Pioneer, Consisting of Essays, Literary, Moral and Theological*, Pittsburgh, S. Engles and Co., 1812, pp. 1-2). L'evidente vicinanza nel dettato e la medesima grafia usata per il nome di Castiglione («Baldazzar») lasciano pochi dubbi sul fatto che Poe abbia ripreso il testo del *Pioneer*[53].

[53] Su Miller e Drake come storici e teorici della saggistica periodica settecentesca (e dei suoi precedenti nell'antichità e nel Rinascimento) si veda da ultimo R. SQUIBBS, *Urban Enlightenment and the Eighteenth-Century Periodical Essay. Transatlantic Retrospects*, Houndmills, Basingstoke - New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, pp. 29-34 e *passim*; ma sul tema restano soprattutto importanti i dettagliati studi di H.W. DRESCHER, « Nathan Drake: Frühe Perspektiven der *Periodical*-forschung », *Die Neueren Sprachen* N.F., 14, 1965, pp. 201-211 e M. CHRISTADLER, *Der amerikanische Essay 1720-1820*, Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1968, *praes.* pp. 143 e 369-371, dove si troveranno informazioni su David Graham e il suo debito verso Drake (dai cui *Essays* Graham non solo parafrasa ma riprende anche un brano virgolettato; e dalla stessa fonte derivano del resto gli schizzi biografici di Joseph Addison e Isaac Watts pubblicati nei successivi numeri del *Pioneer*). Ulteriori dati su Graham e *The Pioneer* in E.P. ANDERSON, « The Intellectual Life of Pittsburgh [II] », *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 14.2, April 1931, pp. 92-114: 95 e 110-111; V.E. LUCKHARDT, *Notable Printers of Early Pittsburgh*, MLS Thesis, Pittsburgh, Carnegie Library School, 1949, pp. 36-37.

Pin. 45. La quartina di François Maynard ebbe una certa popolarità, ma veniva citata in forme diverse, il che può in principio aiutare a individuare la fonte usata da Poe. È possibile che essa vada ravvisata in una delle *Letters on Various Occasions* pubblicate da Elizabeth Singer Rowe nel 1729 e poi innumerevoli volte ristampate in appendice alla popolarissima raccolta epistolare intitolata *Friendship in Death* (nel primo volume dell'edizione dei *Works* uscita a Londra, per John e Arthur Arch, e Edinburgo, per Silvester Doig, nel 1796, si veda p. 167): come Poe, Rowe menzionava infatti il nome del poeta nella forma «Menard» e riferiva che i versi erano «written over his closet door», quindi riportava «De l'amour» all'inizio del secondo verso e «ou la craindre» alla fine del quarto (contro il «Des Muses», o il «De la cour», e il «ni la craindre» di altre fonti, per non dire di altre più sostanziali varianti)[54]; quanto al «J'attends» del terzo verso (così il *Southern Literary Messenger*), è vero che in molte edizioni del testo di Rowe, compresa quella appena citata, si leggeva «j'attens», ma la forma più moderna compariva, ad esempio, nell'edizione londinese, per T. Longman *et al.*, del 1793, a p. 131 (nonché in quella americana pubblicata a Philadelphia, per Robert Johnson, nel 1805, a p. 111, dove tuttavia si ha l'erroneo «du fort»; o ancora in quella londinese, uscita per W. Lewis and Co., nel 1818, a p. 121, dove il corretto «du sort» è seguito da un incongruo punto interrogativo). Se così è, si dovranno comunque a Poe le virgole aggiunte nei versi 1-2 e quella soppressa, dopo «desirer», al verso 4, sicché rimane un qualche margine di incertezza[55].

Pin. 46. Una formulazione assai simile della notizia sulla celebre invettiva di Martin Lutero si legge nella lettera II, §§ 101-103 della *History of the Protestant "Reformation" in England and Ireland* di William Cobbett: si vedano, nell'edizione americana del 1826 (Philadelphia, O. Connolly), le pp. 73-74[56].

Pin. 47. La notizia sui salmi di Salomone conservati ad Augsburg è una nuova ripresa dalla *History of the Holy Bible* di Stackhouse (libro V, cap. V): si veda III, p. 472 n. † nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13] (dalle annotazioni di Le Clerc e Calmet). Si noti peraltro che in questa edizione, come già nelle prime londinesi e in quella di Glasgow del

[54] Le forme originarie sembrerebbero essere state «Des Muses» e «ni la craindre»: ved. CH. DROUET, *Le poète François Mainard (1583? - 1646). Etude critique d'Histoire littéraire*, Paris, Honoré Champion, 1909, p. 318 e n. 3.

[55] Anche in altri casi Poe pare aver modificato la punteggiatura dei versi francesi ripresi dalle sue fonti (ad es. in *Pin.* 31, 76 e 126, dove sopprime segni di interpunzione in fine di verso). Cfr. anche *supra*, su *Pin.* 20, e *infra*, su *Pin.* 140.

[56] Che Poe conoscesse (e non amasse) le opere di William Cobbett è ben noto: ved. Pollin in POE, *Brevities* [n. 2], pp. 542-543.

1795-96 [n. 14] (III, p. 471 n. †), si ha la stessa grafia «Ausburg» che ritorna in Poe (da Pollin normalizzata in «Augsburg»), contro «Ausburgh» della dublinese del 1749 e della edimburghese del 1767 [n. 13], III, p. 472 n. †.

Pin. 49. Anche questo pezzo sulla regina di Saba proviene dalla *History of the Holy Bible* di Stackhouse (libro VI, cap. I): si veda IV, p. 54 e n. * nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13].

Pin. 56. Molto simile quel che sulla diffusione della favola di Cenerentola si leggeva nella nota riportata in *German Popular Stories, Translated from the Kinder und Haus-Märchen, Collected by M.M. Grimm, From Oral Tradition*, II, London-Dublin, J. Robins, 1826, p. 247 (fondata – ma con l'aggiunta del riferimento alla «new edition of Warton» – sulla più ampia annotazione in *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen.* Gesammelt durch die Brüder GRIMM, III, Berlin, G. Reimer, 1822[2], pp. 36-40). L'individuazione della fonte – non so se diretta – chiarisce peraltro che lo «Swerhn» di Poe non sta per «Schwerin» (come vorrebbe Pollin), ma bensì per «Zwehrn» (villaggio nei pressi di Kassel, oggi quartiere della città col nome di Niederzwehren, dove i Grimm raccolsero vari materiali dalla bocca di Dorothea Viehmann); mentre «Schottky», lungi dall'essere un errore, è un riferimento a J.M. SCHOTTKY, « Bärensohn. Ein Serbisches Volksmärchchen », *Büschings Wöchentliche Nachrichten für Freunde der Geschichte, Kunst und Gelahrtheit des Mittelalters* 4, 1819, pp. 54-62: 61. Quanto alla menzione di Aschenbrödel in Lutero (in particolare nelle *Tischreden*, WA TR 1, 25, 35-37, oltre che in vari altri passi) si vedano ora le osservazioni di S. HIEBSCH, *Figura Ecclesiae: Lea und Rachel in Martin Luthers Genesispredigten*, Münster - Hamburg - London, LIT Verlag, 2002, pp. 161-163[57].

Pin. 59. Nuovamente un brano attinto alla *History of the Holy Bible* di Stackhouse (libro VIII, cap. IV): si veda VI, p. 188 n. † nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13]. L'annotazione sulla lettera di Dionisio l'Areopagita ad Apollofane era tratta dalla compilazione *An Universal History: From the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time*, III, London, C. Bathurst *et al.*, 1779, p. 258 n. R, e qui si legge «Either the Author of nature suffers, or sympathizes with the sufferer», mentre nella *History* di Stackhouse si ha «either that the Author of nature suffered or that he was sympathising with some one who did»; Poe, che scrive «"Either," says Dionysius "the author of nature suffers, or he

[57] La possibilità che Poe conoscesse, attraverso le traduzioni inglesi, le favole dei Grimm è stata varie volte adombrata: ved. ad es. S. LEVINE, *Edgar Poe: Seer and Craftsman*, DeLand, FL, Everett - Edwards, 1972, p. 74. Per parte sua Pollin (in POE, *The Imaginary Voyages*. Ed. by POLLIN [*supra*, n. 42], p. 466) ha suggerito che il nome dell'inventore Grimm in *Hans Pfaall* possa essere ispirato a quello dei due fratelli.

sympathizes with some who do"», ha i verbi al presente come la *Universal History*, ma che questi siano solo il frutto della parafrasi semplificatrice del testo della *History* di Stackhouse è mostrato dal «some who do», adattamento di «some one who did».

Pin. 79. Assai simile è quanto a proposito degli epigrammi satirici sulla statua di Luigi XV si legge negli scritti di John Moore [n. 31]: *Mooriana*, II, pp. 149-150 = *Beauties of Dr. John Moore*, pp. 361-362. Nel quarto verso, Poe omette una parola («met»), probabilmente per mera svista (*saut du même au même* dopo «Et»).

Pin. 81. Anche questa notizia sull'*etrog* è ricavata dalla *History of the Holy Bible* di Stackhouse (libro VII, cap. V): si veda V, pp. 137-138 n. * nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13] (anche in questo caso fonte dichiarata per l'annotazione è la *Universal History* [ved. *supra*, su *Pin.* 59], III, p. 119, che però ha un testo piuttosto diverso).

Pin. 82. La frase di Saint-Evremond si ritrova, con una variante («I do not envy the reputation he acquired by it» invece del sintetico «I do not envy him»), in una sua lettera a Edmund Waller: si veda, nell'edizione americana, *Letters Supposed to have passed between M. De St. Evremond and Mr. Waller*. Collected and published by Doctor LANGHORNE, Baltimore, Coale and Thomas, 1809, p. 44. Una fonte mediatrice potrebbe essere ravvisata nella ripresa in E. BRONSON *et al.*, *Select Reviews, and Spirit of the Foreign Magazines*, III, Philadelphia, From the Lorenzo Press of E. Bronson. Publ. by Edward Earle, 1810, p. 81 (dove si ha «Eacus», come in Poe, contro l'«Æacus» dell'originale).

Pin. 84. Sulla distinzione tra anima, spirito e corpo in Flavio Giuseppe una formulazione molto simile («Josephus supposed man to be compounded of spirit, soul, and body, with St. Paul, 1 Thessalonians 5:23, and the rest of the ancients») si leggeva in una nota di William Whiston a *AJ* 1, 1, 2 in *The Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus*, originariamente pubblicati a Londra, «for the Author» nel 1737 (qui si veda p. 5 n. d) e innumerevoli volte ristampati, anche negli Stati Uniti (si vedano, tra l'altro, le seguenti edizioni: Worcester, Mass., Isaiah Thomas, 1794, I, p. 80 n. †; New York, Evert Duyckinck, John Tiebout, and M. & W. Ward, 1810, I, *Ant.*, p. 2 n. †; New York, David Huntington, 1815, I, p. 82 n. †; I, Boston, S. Walker, 1821, I, p. 12 n. ‡; New York, William Borradail, 1823, I, p. 16 n. ‡ = 1828, I, p. 12 n. *; Bridgeport, Conn., M. Sherman, 1828, p. 76 n. †; Philadelphia, J. Grigg, 1829, I, p. 12 n. * = 1833 e 1835, I, p. 12 n. †; Baltimore, Armstrong and Plaskitt, and Plaskitt & Co., 1830 e 1832, p. 25 n. †; Philadelphia, Kimber & Sharpless, 1831, I, p. 11 n. ¶). Non si può però ovviamente escludere una mediazione attraverso recensioni o repertori. La seconda parte («The distinction between soul and spirit is an essential point in ancient philosophy») riprende in ogni caso alla lettera una nota a p. 217 delle *Antediluvian Antiquities* [n. 11].

Pin. 85. L'affermazione sul riconoscimento della paternità degli scandalosi dialoghi tra Cristo e Socrate e tra Davide e Cesare Borgia da parte di Lord Lyttelton si fonda, evidentemente, sulla tredicesima delle lettere raccolte da William Combe in *Letters of the Late Lord Lyttelton*, London, J. Bew, 1780, p. 84 e n. * (varie ne furono le riedizioni e ristampe, in alcune delle quali peraltro compariva la stessa grafia «Lyttleton» che si ha nel *Southern Literary Messenger*: così ad esempio nella prima edizione americana, Troy, NY, Wright, Goodenow, & Stockwell, 1807, dove si veda p. 56 e n. *; se ne confronti la notizia in *The Port Folio* s.2, 5.2, 9 January 1808, pp. 22-24). L'autenticità di queste lettere è dubbia; in ogni caso, il Lord Lyttelton in questione non è George (come supponeva Pollin) ma suo figlio Thomas, «the wicked Lord Lyttelton»[58].

Pin. 98, 99, 100. Che *Pin.* 99 fosse tratto dal secondo volume delle *Travelling Recreations* di William Parsons [n. 30], e precisamente dalle pp. 72-73, è stato già visto da Hayes. Ma anche *Pin.* 98 e 100 sono attinti alla stessa fonte, e proprio da due passi che si trovano poco prima e poco dopo di quello usato come base di *Pin.* 99. Nella nota apposta alle pp. 69-70 si legge infatti «the expression "nemorumque noctem" has been improperly criticised; Virgil's "medio nimborum in nocte" being a sufficient authority for it» (si noti l'errore «medio», per «media», che si ripresenta anche nei *Pinakidia*); quindi, nella nota a p. 80, si citano i vv. 710-715 delle *Nubi* di Aristofane come un passo «remarkable for being in rhyme».

Pin. 115. La considerazione sul significato delle effigi di cavalli negli antichi monumenti funebri trova un riscontro abbastanza preciso nella anonima recensione ai *Greek Marbles* di Edward Daniel Clarke in *The Edinburgh Review* 15.30, January 1810, pp. 453-458: 455[59].

Pin. 117. Per i versi dall'*Hymnus in Auroram* di Marcantonio Flaminio si confrontino gli *Sketches in Verse* di Robert Hutchinson Rose (Philadelphia, A. Conrad & Co.,

[58] William Combe, se pure falsificò o alterò le lettere, dovette comunque basarsi su precisi ricordi della vita di Thomas Lyttelton, suo amico dai tempi di Eton: così R. BLUNT,

[59] La dotta recensione è attribuita a Richard Payne Knight nel *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals* (ER-507) solo «possibly», mentre gli viene ascritta senza riserve ad es. in B. DOLAN, *Exploring European Frontiers. British Travellers in the Age of Enlightenment*, Houndmills, Basingstoke - New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2000, p. 171 o in T. DEVONSHIRE JONES, « Art in "The Edinburgh Review" », *The British Art Journal* 9.3, Spring 2009, pp. 27-31: 29; non viene citata nell'elenco (comunque incompleto) di opere pubblicate da Knight in M. CLARKE - N. PENNY, *The Arrogant Connoisseur: Richard Payne Knight 1751-1824*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1982, p. 119. L'attribuzione mi appare effettivamente possibile, ma tutt'altro che sicura.

1810), p. 133, dove già se ne commentava l'armonia imitativa, consistente nel «fine sobbing» creato dall'«a-vulsus» diviso tra i due versi, impossibile da leggere «without gasping for breath». Ciò ben spiega perché Poe stampi la parola con doppio trattino, sia dopo «a-» sia, a capo, prima di «-vulsus».

Pin. 133. La notizia su Arato, Menandro ed Epimenide citati nel *Nuovo Testamento* viene, nuovamente, dalla *History of the Holy Bible* di Stackhouse (libro VIII, cap. V): si veda VI, p. 365 n. † nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13] (dalle annotazioni di Beausobre e Burkitt e dai *Sermons Preached at Boyle's Lecture* di Richard Bentley).

Pin. 134. Di questo epigramma su papa Alessandro VI si narrava ad esempio nel *Diary of an Invalid* di Henry Matthews (London, J. Murray, 1835[5], p. 347); ma la fonte di Poe, come in altri casi pressoché letteralmente ripresa, sarà senz'altro da ravvisare negli scritti di John Moore [n. 31]: *Mooriana*, II, p. 274-275 n. † = *Beauties of Dr. John Moore*, pp. 468-469 n. ‡.

Pin. 135. Come *Pin.* 21, anche questo pezzo sembra derivare dal *Diary of an Ennuyée* di Anna Jameson (p. 244 dell'edizione londinese del 1826; p. 180 della bostoniana del 1833). L'aneddoto su Sir Humphry Davy trasformato in «Seromf(r)idevi» doveva comunque aver avuto un'ampia circolazione: si veda ad esempio la lettera di William Gell a Thomas Young (18.III.1827) in *Miscellaneous Works of the Late Thomas Young*, III, London, J. Murray, 1855, p. 410[60].

Pin. 136. «The vulgar Christian era is the invention of Dionysius Exiguus». L'elementare notizia (ripresa anche in *Suppl. Pin.* 41) può trovare paralleli in innumerevoli testi; e Jeffrey A. Savoye, sul sito della Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore (<https://www.eapoe.org/works/pollin/brp20302.htm>), ha indicato come possibile fonte un passo di John Fry (*A Short History of the Church of Christ*, London, J. Duncan, 1825, p. 5 n. 3). Ma un riscontro ancor più preciso si legge, ancora una volta, nella *History* di Stackhouse, dove nella *Chronological Table* (in fondo alla sua quintultima pagina non numerata nel vol. VI dell'ed. 1764 [n. 13]) si annotava «That the vulgar Christian æra (which was the invention of Dionysius Exiguus) begins four years after the time of Christ's nativity».

Pin. 137. Fortemente verosimile, per la stretta vicinanza del dettato, la dipendenza di questa notizia sulla lingua originale del *Libro di Giuditta* e i difetti della

[60] La fortuna dell'aneddoto non si è del resto a tutt'oggi esaurita: lo ritrovo ancora riportato, nel 2018, attraverso chissà quali e quante mediazioni, all'interno della rubrica «Leggendo qua e là…» di una rivista popolare italiana («La Settimana Enigmistica» 87.4523, 29 Novembre 2018, p.4).

versione inglese dalla *History of the Holy Bible* di Stackhouse, libro VI, cap. V: si veda IV, pp. 327-328 n. * nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13] (da Prideaux).

Pin. 138. Anche questo pezzo, per quanto non considerato da Hayes, sarà tratto dai *Literary Remains of the Late Henry Neele*, dove si parla di «St. Paul, who thought it not unworthy of him to insert a verse of Euripides, the great tragic writer of Greece, into the Holy Scriptures:– 1 Corinthians, 15th chapter, 33d verse, "Be not deceived, evil communications corrupt good manners"» (p. 96 dell'edizione americana del 1829 [n. 29]).

Pin. 139. Oltre e più che da Bielfeld (Pollin), questa nota sulle epoche di Varrone potrebbe dipendere, data la vicinanza del dettato, dalla *History of the Holy Bible* di Stackhouse, libro VI, cap. V: si veda IV, pp. 368-369 nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13].

Pin. 140. L'aneddoto sui versi estemporanei di Poliziano si poteva ad esempio leggere nell'articolo di Thomas Moore intitolato « Private Theatricals », in *The Edinburgh Review* 46.92, October 1827, pp. 368-390: 371-372[61]. Di qui Poe sembra aver ripreso la traduzione inglese degli originari versi greci, che però riporta con alcune varianti: in Moore (a parte la presenza di una virgola, al primo verso, tra «me» e «that») si aveva «hopeless» invece di «hapless», quindi «my sighing hours» e «Thou giv'st me nought but leaves and flowers» invece di «my hours» e «Thou givest me naught but flowers». Per la prima variante – come ovviamente per «naught» in luogo di «nought» – sarebbe difficile trovare una motivazione diversa da un libero adattamento o da un mero errore (tanto «hopeless suit» quanto «hapless suit» sono nessi ben attestati all'epoca, e nelle sue poesie Poe aveva usato sia «hopeless», in *Dreams*, sia «hapless», in nesso con «hour», in *Tamerlane*). Le ultime due varianti sembrano invece mirare alla creazione di una più piana struttura metrica: «givest» va comunque inteso come «giv'st» e l'assenza di rientro per l'ultimo verso nel *Southern Literary Messenger* non può che essere un refuso (ed effettivamente entrambi gli errori risultano corretti, e inoltre viene reintrodotto «nought», nella pronta ri-

[61] L'articolo (che prendeva lo spunto dal volume *The Private Theatre at Kilkenny*, s.l., s.d., 1825) uscì in forma anonima, ma la sua paternità fu rivendicata dallo stesso Thomas Moore nella prefazione al vol. VII dei suoi *Poetical Works* (London, Longman, Orme, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1841, p. xxiii) e trova conferma in varie annotazioni nel suo diario (ved. *The Journal of Thomas Moore*. Volume 3. *1826-1830*. Ed. by W.S. DOWDEN, Newark, University of Delaware Press - London and Toronto, Associated University Press, 1986, pp. 1050-1058 e 1087), sicché se ne ebbero ristampe nelle raccolte delle sue opere (ad es. in T. MOORE, *Prose and Verse, Humorous, Satirical, and Sentimental*, London, Chatto & Windus, 1878, pp. 145-176: il passo su Poliziano alle pp. 149-150); cfr. *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*, ER-1194.

stampa di *Pin.* 140 in *The New-Yorker* 1.23, 27 August 1836, p. 359, col. 3; cfr. p. 365, col. 2 e le osservazioni di Pollin in Poe, *The Brevities* [n. 2] pp. xi e 3 n. a, *s.f.*), sicché si ha un *common metre* non dissimile ad es. da quello di *A Paean* (che Poe aveva ripubblicato pochi mesi prima dei *Pinakidia* nello stesso *Southern Literary Messenger* 2.1, January 1836, p. 71). Quanto all'omissione della virgola al primo verso, essa potrebbe in ogni caso corrispondere alle abitudini grafiche di Poe (notevole, tra l'altro, che il «Too well, that» al v. 232 nella prima edizione di *Tamerlane* del 1827 sia stato da lui modificato in «Too well that» nelle versioni successive).

Pin. 141. Sempre dalla *History of the Holy Bible* di Stackhouse (libro VII, cap. I): si veda IV, p. 454 n. † nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13]. La fonte citata è Prideaux, che a sua volta riecheggiava le discussioni di Jacques Le Paulmier de Grentemesnil e Samuel Bochart sull'erronea traduzione di σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος in Erodoto 1, 181, 3 come «crassitudine simul et altitudine stadii» (così nelle edizioni a stampa della traduzione di Lorenzo Valla): ved. S. BOCHART, *Geographiae Sacrae pars prior: Phaleg […]*, Cadomi, typis P. Cardonelli, 1646, p. 51.

Pin. 147. Alla pari di *Pin.* 145 (come ha già visto Hayes) e di *Pin.* 79 e 134, anche questo pezzo sull'epigramma satirico per l'obelisco di Pio VI appare tratto dagli scritti di John Moore [n. 31]: *Mooriana*, II, p. 251 n. * = *Beauties of Dr. John Moore*, p. 448 n. *.

Pin. 164. L'evocazione dell'omaggio reso a Lucrezio da Ovidio, *Amores* 1, 15, 23-24 attraverso la ripresa di *De Rerum Natura* 5, 92 e 95 (così nella numerazione oggi corrente) era frequente nei commenti a Lucrezio, almeno a partire da Tanaquillus Faber (*Titi Lucretii Cari De Rerum Natura Libri Sex*, Salmurii, Apud Ioannem Lenerium, 1662, p. 502). Sean Moreland ha però ben visto come la fonte di Poe (che di suo ha aggiunto l'erroneo «Carmine» in luogo di «Carmina») possa cercarsi in una nota di commento nell'edizione lucreziana di John Mason Good (*The Nature of Things. A didactic Poem. Translated from the Latin of Lucretius* […], II, London, Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1805, p. 230), oppure eventualmente in N. DRAKE, *Literary Hours: or Sketches, Critical, Narrative, and Poetical*, Sudbury, for the author, 1798 = I, London, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820[4], p. 1[62]. In entrambi i testi la presentazione delle parole di Lucrezio, con «terras» fra trattini, è nella sostanza eguale a quella del *Southern Literary Messenger*, ma per quanto Moreland mostri in maniera convincente che Poe lesse l'edizione lucreziana di Good, in questo caso particolare propenderei per ritenere che la sua fonte imme-

[62] S. MORELAND, « Beyond "De Rerum Naturâ, Esqr.": Lucretius, Poe, and John Mason Good », *The Edgar Allan Poe Review* 17.1, Spring 2016, pp. 6-40: 32-33.

diata sia piuttosto da ravvisare in Drake, dove manca, come nel testo dei *Pinakidia*, l'ulteriore trattino dopo «exitio» e i versi sono introdotti con l'analoga formulazione «lib. v. 93, 96.»[63].

Pin. 166. Questa riflessione sul senso esatto di *Jud.* 15,8 è l'ultima ripresa, nei *Pinakidia*, dalla *History of the Holy Bible* di Stackhouse (libro V, cap. II): si veda III, p. 199 n. || nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13] (dalle annotazioni di Le Clerc).

5. Infine, qualche nota su alcuni *Supplementary Pinakidia.*

Suppl. Pin. 3. Anche questa notizia su Milton dipendente da Marino è attinta dai *Literary Remains of the Late Henry Neele* (p. 50 dell'edizione americana del 1829 [n. 29]).

Suppl. Pin. 5. È sfuggito agli studiosi che anche questo pezzo sui singolari paralogismi di un anonimo *Abbé* risale a *La manière de bien penser* di Dominique Bouhours: si vedano le pp. 57-58 dell'edizione francese del 1771 e *The Art of Criticism*, p. 39 = *The Arts of Logick and Rhetorick*, pp. 47-48 [n. 26]. L'individuazione della fonte corrobora l'attribuzione a Poe.

Suppl. Pin. 8. Pollin comprese che la nota sul *kikayon* risaliva al dizionario biblico di Dom Calmet, che ampiamente discuteva e traduceva la testimonianza di Girolamo (*In Ion.* 4,6; *ep.* 112,22). Come sempre, però, la fonte mediatrice è la *History of the Holy Bible* di Stackhouse (libro VI, cap. III): si veda IV, p. 190 n. † nell'ed. 1764 [n. 13], dove a Calmet si fa esplicito riferimento. La derivazione è resa evidente da alcuni echi precisi (ad es. «acknowledges»); notevole è peraltro il modo in cui l'«according to him (= Girolamo)» della fonte viene trasformato in «according to Calmêt [*sic*]»: gioco ironico sull'*auctor* tipico di Poe, e che ulteriormente conferma l'attribuzione. Caratteristico della cultura di Poe è poi anche l'uso di un dotto termine scientifico («non-parasitical») per rendere il «supported by its trunk, without being upheld by any thing else» che traduceva il *suo trunco se sustinens* di Girolamo.

Suppl. Pin. 10. Il maldicente aneddoto su Martorelli ha la sua fonte ultima nella lettera che Isidore Taylor scrisse da Pompei, il 16 novembre 1824, a Charles Nodier e conobbe quindi una certa fortuna: originariamente pubblicata su *La Quotidienne*

[63] Tanto Good quanto Drake (e Poe con loro) dipendevano naturalmente dal testo vulgato del *De rerum natura*, nel quale veniva a determinarsi un verso in più in corrispondenza di 5, 30-31: di qui la diversa numerazione rispetto a quella oggi accolta, di derivazione lachmanniana.

346, 11 Décembre 1824, pp. 1-3 e di qui in *Le Moniteur Universel* 348, 15 Décembre 1824, p. 1606, nonché in forma riassuntiva in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* 24, 1824, pp. 424-425, fu subito tradotta in inglese in *The London Literary Gazette* 9.415, 1 January 1825, pp. 10-11 e, sunteggiata, in *The New Monthly Magazine* 15, 1825, Part III: *Historical Register*, pp. 67-68, per essere poi variamente ristampata in raccolte e volumi (ad esempio in *Annales Romantiques. Recueil de morceaux choisis de littérature contemporaine*, Paris, Urbain Canel, 1826, pp. 248-255 e in C. DELAVIGNE, *Sept Messéniennes nouvelles*, Paris, Ladvocat, 1827, pp. 189-195, nonché – ancora con tagli – in appendice a F.A.R. DE CHATEAUBRIAND, *Voyages en Amérique et en Italie*, Paris, Ladvocat, 1827, pp. 392-394, donde la differente versione inglese in ID., *Travels in America and Italy*, II, London, Henry Colburn, 1828, pp. 427-429). A partire dalle prime traduzioni, una sintetica versione dell'aneddoto assai simile a quella poi riportata nel *Southern Literary Messenger* comparve quindi spesso, sotto il titolo « Labor Lost », nelle colonne della stampa periodica di lingua inglese, soprattutto americana, fino almeno da *The National Gazette* (Philadelphia), 5.1364, 25 March 1825, p. 2, col. 2 («A learned man of Naples, Martorelli, occupied himself for two years in writing an enormous memoir in order to prove that the ancients were unacquainted with the use of glass for windows; and fifteen days after the publication of his folio, a house was discovered in *Pompeii*, all the windows of which were paned with glass»); tra le riprese tralaticie successive segnalo quelle in *Franklin Herald and Public Advertiser* (Greenfield, MA), 34.740, 12 April 1825, p. 4, col. 3; *The Ladies' Garland* (Harper's Ferry, VA), 2.11, 23 April 1825, p. 44, col. 2; *The Wilmingtonian, and Delaware Register* 2.33, 12 May 1825, p. 2, col. 4; *Mechanics' Magazine* (Londra) 9.240, 22 March 1828, p. 144; *American Masonic Record* (Albany), 2.22, 28 June 1828, p. 171, col. 3; *The Literary Journal, and Weekly Register of Science and the Arts* (Providence), 1.45, 12 April 1834, p. 360, col. 3. Il *Southern Literary Messenger* arrivava quindi buon ultimo, e Poe – o chi per lui, ché mai come in questo caso, in cui non si tratta di «original matter», l'attribuzione appare alquanto dubbia – si limitò a ricopiare, con alcune minime varianti per lo più tese ad abbreviare il testo, un pezzo che da più di un decennio fungeva da riempitivo.

Suppl. Pin. 13. La riflessione su Stazio, *Silv.* 4, 3, 112-113 trova un perfetto riscontro nelle *Travelling Recreations* di W. Parsons [n. 30], I, p. xvi.

Suppl. Pin. 15. La fonte per il passo di Adam Smith va probabilmente cercata in *The Literary Character* di Isaac D'Israeli: molto simile è infatti ciò che si legge a p. 408b dell'edizione americana del 1835 [n. 27].

Suppl. Pin. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34. Questi sei pezzi comparvero insieme sotto il titolo di *Excerpta*. Pollin vide nel primo l'epitome del saggio *Of Lord Bacon at Home* raccolto nelle *Curiosities of Literature* di Isaac D'Israeli (pp. 350b-352b dell'edizione americana del 1835 [n. 27]). Tuttavia, D'Israeli espose il medesimo contenuto, in

una forma sintetica più simile a quella riportata nel *Southern Literary Messenger*, anche in *The Literary Character* (p. 416a dell'edizione americana del 1835 [n. 27]); e che questa sia la fonte diretta di *Suppl. Pin.* 29 è confermato dal fatto che anche i tre pezzi seguenti (*Suppl. Pin.* 30, 31, 32) ne derivano, in sequenza: si vedano rispettivamente le pp. 418b-419a, 419a, 419b della citata edizione. Alle *Curiosities of Literature* è invece attinto, anche se Pollin non l'ha notato, *Suppl. Pin.* 33 (p. 74b dell'edizione americana del 1835 [n. 27]); di conseguenza, poiché anche *Suppl. Pin.* 34 (eguale a *Pin.* 92) è tratto – come Pollin ha questa volta visto – dalla stessa fonte (pp. 147b-148a della citata edizione), tutti e sei gli *Excerpta* sono ricavati da D'Israeli, ma da due diverse opere. Quanto alle fonti originarie, a proposito di *Suppl. Pin.* 31 si noti che il paragone di Socrate con il vaso dei farmacisti era attribuito a Platone da Francesco Bacone negli *Apophthegms* (nr. 196) e nel libro I del *De Augmentis Scientiarum* (vol. II, p. 121 dell'edizione Spedding-Ellis-Heath), per poi tornare in innumerevoli altri testi, dall'*Encomium Debiti* di Robert Turner ai più vari giornali ed almanacchi dell'800; alla base c'è quel confronto tra le effigi dei Sileni citate in Platone, *Smp.* 215ab ed i moderni albarelli già attestato nel prologo di Rabelais al *Gargantua*. Riguardo a *Suppl. Pin.* 33, invece, Pollin non riuscì a trovare, nell'opera di Gibbon, il riferimento all'ambiguità dell'abbreviazione *mil.*; ma il passo in questione si legge, di fatto, nella *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, nella n. 73 al cap. XVI (nell'edizione londinese per i tipi di W. Strahan and T. Cadell del 1776, ved. I, *Notes*, p. lxxxi).

Suppl. Pin. 39. L'epigramma fu composto da James Smith (noto quale autore, assieme al fratello Horace, dei *Rejected Addresses*), ma l'aneddoto cui esso è legato ha poi avuto ampia fortuna, sicché non è facile stabilire da quale esatta fonte diretta sia giunto al *Southern Literary Messenger*. In ogni caso esso vi è citato nella stessa forma che si legge a p. 130 della *Biographical Notice of James Smith* pubblicata in *The Law Magazine* 23, 1840, pp. 117-131 (e ripresa in *The American Jurist and Law Magazine* 24, 1840, pp. 16-32: 31, nonché – in forma più sintetica – in alcuni periodici e quotidiani, tanto inglesi, come *The Literary World* 56, 18 April 1840, pp. 39-42, quanto statunitensi, ad esempio *The New World* 1.2, 13 June 1840, p. 25; *New-York American* 26 June 1840, col. 5; *The Evergreen* 1.7, July 1840, pp. 345-346), oppure ad esempio in J.T. SMITH, *An Antiquarian Ramble in the Streets of London*, I, London, Richard Bentley, 1846[2], p. 227[64].

[64] Che la forma originaria dell'epigramma fosse lievemente diversa fu sostenuto da J.E. LATTON PICKERING, *Notes and Queries* ser. 11, 4, 1911, p. 476. Va peraltro ricordato che Poe (se a lui davvero si deve questa nota) conobbe bene e variamente usò i *Rejected Addresses*, come pure altre opere (ad es. *Zillah*, cui già si è accennato) di Horace Smith, verso la cui figura mostrò un certo interesse: ved. B.R. POLLIN, « Figs, Bells, Poe, and Horace Smith », *Poe Newsletter* 3, 1970, pp. 8-10.

Suppl. Pin. 42. Anche in questo caso sembra essere finora sfuggito che l'ironica osservazione sul parere di Lord Bolingbroke compariva nelle *Curiosities of Literature* di Isaac D'Israeli (p. 85a-b dell'edizione americana del 1835 [n. 27]).

Suppl. Pin. 45. La concettosità dei versi di Góngora sul Manzanares era stata notata da molti, ma la fonte diretta per il *Southern Literary Messenger* è con ogni probabilità ancora da cercare nelle *Curiosities of Literature* di Isaac D'Israeli (p. 29a dell'edizione americana del 1835 [n. 27])[65].

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Fourth-Century Athens in Viktor Rydberg's Novel *The Last Athenian*

Abstract: Il presente articolo esamina *L'ultimo Ateniese*, il romanzo ottocentesco di Viktor Rydberg, in relazione sia alle fonti testuali antiche sia alla storiografia e archeologia moderna. L'analisi di alcune delle descrizioni di luoghi e personaggi che sono centrali nel romanzo indica che Rydberg aveva una buona conoscenza dell'Atene tardoantica, ma molti degli eventi che vengono oggi considerati fatti storici erano più o meno impossibili da scoprire all'epoca in cui il romanzo venne scritto. L'articolo infine pone la questione se il romanzo di Rydberg sia un romanzo storico o storia romanzata.

Keywords: Viktor Rydberg, *The Last Athenian*, fourth-century Athens, historical fiction

Introduction

In 1859 the Swedish writer and future member of the Swedish Academy, Viktor Rydberg (1828-1895), published the serial novel *Den siste athenaren* (*The Last Athenian*) in the daily Swedish newspaper *Göteborgs Handels och Sjöfarts Tidning*, a newspaper with a liberal agenda.[1] Later that year it was also published, by the author himself, as a novel in its entirety. The events described in the novel take place at Athens before, during, and after the reign of Julian the Apostate. The author's obvious aim with the work was to advocate contemporary liberal ideas, such as political, religious, and scholarly liberty. Hence the work is a novel of ideas, and as such it has been considered the best one of nineteenth-century Sweden.[2] The author's ideological intentions manifest themselves throughout *The Last Athenian*. But as the novel is also commonly referred to as a historical novel (*historisk roman*), this paper will focus on the historicity and authenticity of Rydberg's portrait of late antique Athens.[3]

[1] For biographical details concerning Viktor Rydberg, visit the English homepage of the Viktor Rydberg Society at http://vrsidor.se/eng/index.html.

[2] G. Hägg, « Den siste athenaren », *Veritas* 25, 2009, p. 61.

[3] This paper is a slightly revised version of an article originally written in Swedish and published in *Veritas*, which is the journal of the Viktor Rydberg Society: M. Johansson, « Viktor Rydbergs *Den siste athenaren* och det Historiska Athen », *Veritas* 29, 2014, pp. 1-9.

All references to *The Last Athenian* are to the first edition published in 1859. It is a well-known fact, and yet important to remember, that Rydberg revised the text several times. For example, in the third edition (1876), the contentious preface of the first edition was omitted.[4]

A Historical Novel or Historical Fiction?

In the preface to *The Last Athenian* it is announced that the novel is "a retrospect of the downfall of antiquity and the first great triumph of the Church".[5] The exact meaning of this declaration I leave to others to discuss. It is, however, clear that Rydberg offers the reader a novel based, as far as possible, on historical facts ("a retrospect"). And regarding historical facts as, for example, sketching out the historical course of events of the period in general, describing urban settings, or portraying the main characters of the novel, Rydberg probably managed rather well in relation to contemporary knowledge, as will be seen below.[6]

Let us, however, briefly and as a prelude to this paper, focus on the fact that some of the novel's main characters, who are supposed to be Athenians of the fourth century A.D., in an apparently anachronistic manner are spokesmen for political ideas which belong to the liberal movements of nineteenth-century Europe. This blend of modern and ancient world views makes it less natural to categorize the work as a historical novel. In order to count as a historical novel, intentionally counterfactual features ought not to constitute central elements of a

[4] As far as I know, the only translation into English is the one by William Widgery Thomas, Jr.: W. W. THOMAS, Jr., *The Last Athenian*, Philadelphia 1869. Until 1865 Thomas was the United States consul at Gothenburg, Sweden. That translation omits the preface of the original Swedish publication. In the preface to the translation THOMAS (p. 21) writes that he was persuaded by the Swedish writer and feminist reformer Fredrika Bremer to undertake the translation. The translator's forewords also include a short letter from Fredrika Bremer to the translator, thanking him for taking on the task. This letter was written on December 8, 1865, just a couple of weeks before Bremer's death on December 31. The letter possibly contains "the last words Fredrika Bremer ever wrote for publication" (p. 22). Part of the letter reads (p. 23): "Let me congratulate you, and thank you for having, through your translation of the delightful work, given the American public the best and most genial historical novel that ever was written in Swedish language".

[5] "En återblick på antikens undergång och kyrkans första stora triumf". V. RYDBERG, *Den siste athenaren*, Göteborg 1859, vii.

[6] In his doctoral thesis, Torsten Hegerfors, among many other things, discusses which historical works Rydberg could have relied upon when writing the novel. Hegerfors mentions various historical atlases and overviews, but he also establishes the influence from novels such as Edward Bulver-Lytton's *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834) and Charles Kingsley's *Hypatia* (1853). T. HEGERFORS, *Viktor Rydbergs Utveckling till Religiös Reformator*, Göteborg 1960, pp. 279-281.

work. And since *The Last Athenian* is not so much a review of an antique ideological/philosophical/political debate as it is a contribution to a modern ideological debate, although placed in antiquity, the correct genre, to my mind, would be historical fiction. And since also the main characters are fictional persons, not historical, branding the work as historical fiction stands to reason. The liberal doctrines of the nineteenth century concerning individual, political, scholarly, and religious liberty hardly match any political currents that can be ascribed to fourth-century Athens. Rather the ideals attributed to the novel's upright hero (who could also be taken as the *vox scriptoris*), the old Athenian philosopher, are hybrids of the ideals of the classical Athenian (as Rydberg saw him) and those of the modern liberal, but not those of the late antique Athenian.

The Last Athenian

The events described in *The Last Athenian* take place in and round Athens, roughly during the years 361-363 A.D. (before, during, and after the reign of the emperor Julian). Nowadays Julian's struggle against Christianity is often described as the death-throes of paganism, a conclusion easily drawn from the fact that the new religion stood strong before and after the emperor's short period on the throne.[7] This is also how Rydberg pictures the situation – Athens is a Christian city already before Julian ascends the throne. The author portrays the emperor as at the same time reactionary and progressive, as both an advocate of pre-Christian and a reformer of non-Christian *mores*. The progressiveness lies in Julian's ambitions to modernize and popularize the polytheistic religion.[8] The plot is based on the dichotomy between the dogmatic Church and (the notion of) an open-minded, liberal pagan antiquity. Julian's rise to power illustrates this dichotomy. His becoming Augustus promises the coming of a period of righteousness and enlightenment, while the time before and after Julian is gloomy. There is also a conflict within the Church concerning the nature of Christ. And the two most vociferous Christian groups (the Athanasians and the non-Athanasians) hate each other as much as they hate the pagans.

The two main characters of the novel are poles apart. We have Krysanteus, a neo-Platonist and the leader of Plato's old academy, who is a representative of

[7] For the emperor Julian as a literary topic in modern Europe, see R. BRAUN and J. RICHER (eds.), *L'Empereur Julien: Études* (vol. 2), *De la legend au mythe (de Voltaire à nos jours)*, Paris 1981. Among the many modern authors who has written about Julian, we find Henrik Ibsen, Dmitry Merezhkovsky, Gore Vidal, and Constantine Cavafy.

[8] RYDBERG, *Den siste athenaren* [n. 5], p. 188.

liberal antiquity. His opponent, bishop Petros, is a representative of the Church and its dogmas. Who is currently the most powerful man in Athens depends on macro-political events within the Roman Empire. Within this frame story, the novel *inter alia* contains a romantic, but impossible, love affair between Krysanteus' daughter, the pagan Hermione, and the young man Karmides, who is used by Petros in order to get to Krysanteus. There are also religiously triggered intrigues within and between Athenian families. The novel also offers detailed descriptions of Athens, Delphi, and the Greek countryside. This, together with vivid descriptions of city riots and skilled portrayals of late antique scholarly and everyday life, makes the novel quite enjoyable. The *grande finale*, in which Krysanteus dies, takes place on Cape Sounion on the southernmost tip of Attica.

The Athenian Agora

Regardless of Rydberg's skill, there are several descriptions of late antique Athens that are outdated (this, of course, should not be taken as a shortcoming of the author). The main classical square of Athens, the *agora*, plays a central part in the novel and is described as a lively and vibrant meeting-point. And the famous magnificent architectural monuments of the classical period are still standing.[9] This, however, is not how the *agora* would have looked in the fourth century A.D. Archaeology reveals that by then the *agora* lay in ruins, due to the Heruli attack on Athens in 267.[10] Its ancient temples, including the Temple of Ares which is of some importance to the story,[11] were destroyed, and the same is true of most of the porticoes round the square. Only the buildings on the north side of the square remained in a fairly good condition. A few decades after the attack, the Athenians built a new city wall east of the *agora*. This left the *agora* outside of the new city wall and it never again regained its role as a public square.

Rydberg, of course, described the fourth-century *agora* based on what was known to him in the 1850s. By then it lay below ground – it was excavated in the 1930s by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. It is, however, very likely that Rydberg knew that Athens was attacked in 267. He returned to this historic event later in his career when he composed the poem *Dexippos*. He may have read about the attack in a late antique collection of biographies, the *Historia*

[9] RYDBERG, *Den siste athenaren* [n. 5], pp. 6-9; *passim*.

[10] For a brief topographic overview of Athens in late antiquity and the remains of the *agora*, cf. J. CAMP, *The Archaeology of Athens*, New Haven and London 2001, pp. 233-238. The more inquisitive turns to A. FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity: A.D. 267-700* (*The Athenian Agora,* vol. 24), Princeton 1988.

[11] RYDBERG, *Den siste athenaren* [n. 5], pp. 60-61; *passim*.

Augusta. There it is claimed, as does Rydberg in *Dexippos*, that it was the Goths, not the Heruli, who attacked Athens.[12] But exactly what the effects of the attack on Athens were must have been hard to know much about in the 1850s. To the well-educated reader of today, the *agora* in *The Last Athenian* appears as a blend of the classical square, a centre for commerce and politics, and the *agora* of the early Roman period, which included the Temple of Ares. (The Temple of Ares was moved to the *agora*, possibly during the early Roman occupation of Greece.)

The Sanctuary at Delphi

Early in the novel Krysanteus and his daughter Hermione visit the Oracle at Delphi.[13] The oracular shrine is closed and has been so since the days of the emperor Constantine (306-337). The entire precinct is deserted except for an old priest of Apollo who makes his living as a tourist guide. The last Pythia is long dead, even Apollo himself is said to be dead. The entire sacred precinct is described, probably correctly, as being deprived of its ancient riches. We know that emperors such as Nero and Constantine had splendid works of art removed from Delphi, so the place might have been quite in decline. But historically, the sanctuary was not closed until the time of Theodosius I (381), when also the temple of Apollo was demolished.[14] Later a church was built on the site. Again, it is possibly the lack of archaeology that explains parts of Rydberg's sorrowful description of Delphi. When Delphi began to be excavated by *L'École française d'Athènes* in 1892 Rydberg had only three years left to live. Knowing the fate of fourth-century Delphi without access to any archaeological facts must have been difficult.[15] (An interesting fact is that later Christian sources claim that it was Julian who received the very last oracular answer of the Pythia, a prophecy of the shrine's impending destruction.[16])

[12] HIST. AVG., *Gall.* 13, 8. That Athens was besieged is mentioned also in Zosimus, *Historia Nova* 1, 39 (probably building on the Athenian historian Dexippus). In this work the invaders are the Scythians.

[13] RYDBERG, *Den siste athenaren* [n. 5], chapters 3 and 5.

[14] P. M. PETSAS, *Delphi. Monuments and Museums*, Athens 2008, p. 17.

[15] HEGERFORS (*Viktor Rydbergs Utveckling* [n. 6], p. 294) stresses the influence of Edward Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* on all later historians concerning the closure of the Delphic shrine during the reign of Constantine.

[16] The oldest preserved source to this saying dates to c. 400 A.D.: Philostorgius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 7, 1.

Athens as a Multicultural City

Viktor Rydberg portrays Athens as a multiethnic or a multicultural city. It is possible that he was influenced by ancient, mainly Christian, texts that describe late antique metropoles as Alexandria or Antioch. But Athens in the fourth century was a small and conservative provincial town that was not too fond of modernity. It did not attract hordes of people who came looking for a living, it was not a centre of urbanization, quite the contrary. In the novel's *agora* there are swarms of Christian and pagan Athenians, but also Jews, Egyptians, Persians, and others.[17] But the historical reality was not that exciting. In Athens lived, lo and behold, Athenians, and they to a large extent were pagans. The city's many rhetorical and philosophical schools of course attracted well-educated men from other areas of the eastern Roman Empire, such as Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, but they too were Greeks.

In *The Last Athenian* the Christians appear as a large and important group in Athens, perhaps the most influential. When the two main Christian groups clash with each other in violent street fights they are so many that the rest of the population is forced to escape, head over heels, from central Athens.[18] On a couple of occasions, there are Church bells ringing – the city even has a very large Church building (*storkyrka*) – and the Christians attend Church.[19] Archeology, however, has not been able to find any evidence in support of this. The oldest established Christian building in Athens dates to the 430s. And neither do the written sources confirm that Athens was a Christian city in the fourth century. In fact, the situation seems rather to have been the opposite. The city appears essentially to have been dominantly pagan throughout the century, despite the fact that paganism in practice was banned by Theodosius I in the 390s.[20]

[17] RYDBERG, *Den siste athenaren* [n. 5], p. 7; *passim*.

[18] RYDBERG, *Den siste athenaren* [n. 5], pp. 141-144.

[19] RYDBERG, *Den siste athenaren* [n. 5], p. 9 ; 144 ; 153 ; *passim*.

[20] That the schools of Athens attracted Christian teachers and students is an indisputable fact. The most famous teacher of the time seems to have been a Christian sophist by the name of Prohaeresius (c. 276–c. 368). (Prohaeresius is primarily known from Eunapius, *Vitae sophistarum* 485-493; *passim*.) And two future Church fathers, Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus, studied in Athens in the fourth century, as the latter's autobiographical poems show (**Περὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον** vv. 211-236). But these Christians were all visitors or new inhabitants, and they did not, as far as we know, constitute a large population within the city. (Late antique Athens as a Christian and pagan intellectual centre has left traces in modern literature. In, for example, Henrik Ibsen's play *Emperor and Galilaean* [*Kejser og Galilæer*] from 1873, Julian, Basil, and Gregory are portrayed as belonging to the same circle of intellectuals at Athens.)

Krysanteus

That the novel's hero, Krysanteus, is a neo-Platonist is essential for Rydberg's description of him as a representative of liberal antiquity. And Rydberg lets Krysanteus hold his lectures in Plato's Academy. But based on what can be deduced from the novel, the Academy seems still to be located in the *Akademeia*, the sacred grove north of Athens where Plato himself had been active in the fourth century B.C.[21] But in fact the representatives of the Academy, already after Sulla's destruction of Athens in 86 B.C., had moved the Platonic school into the city, inside of the city walls. There is not much evidence as to the exact location of the Academy in the fourth century A.D. It had a new heyday in the fifth century, but by then the school activities seem to have been carried out in the philosophers' own houses in Athens, far from the location of the original Academy.[22] When excavating the southern slopes of the Acropolis in the 20th century, archaeologists discovered a house and a teaching hall which could have belonged to the famous neo-Platonist Proclus. Proclus was the head of the Academy from the mid-440s. Most likely also a fourth-century Platonic philosopher of Athens would have given lectures in his own house.

Viktor Rydberg strived to make the characters' traits authentic, really a *negotium difficillimum*. The characterization often becomes over-explicit and not very "late antique". The character Krysanteus is partly built on the historically verifiable neo-Platonist Chrysanthius of Sardis.[23] This Chrysanthius is reported to have been a student of the philosopher Aedesius of Pergamum and a teacher of Julian – this is the case also with Krysanteus in *The Last Athenian*.[24] Krysanteus also holds the public function of archon in Athens. This old representative office survived in Athens throughout antiquity. So far, so good. But other things make Krysanteus less late antique. He wants to revive classical Athens, and as part of this he invests in olive groves in the countryside, just as, in reality, the Athenians of the classical period had done. He also pays for theatrical plays and acts as a patron of young playwrights, just like a classical wealthy Athenian acting as *choregos*.[25] Anachronisms like these present Krysanteus as a classical Athenian – well-educated, committed, and concerned about his native city – but not necessarily as an Athenian of late antiquity.

[21] RYDBERG, *Den siste athenaren* [n. 5], p. 37 ; 76 ; *passim*.

[22] For the Athenian philosophical schools in the fifth century, see E. J. WATTS, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 2006, pp. 79-110.

[23] Our knowledge of Chrysanthius is based on Eunapius, *Vitae sophistarum* 474 ; 500-506.

[24] RYDBERG, *Den siste athenaren* [n. 5], pp. 37-40.

[25] RYDBERG, *Den siste athenaren* [n. 5], pp. 32-35.

In the novel it is primarily the Church and its dogmas that are under fire. This is also what the author himself states in the preface.[26] In the fourth century, when the events in the book take place, the Church had the full support of the imperial power, with the exception of Julian's short reign. And it was with the imperial approval that the Church was allowed to reach its position of power – the Church depended on the emperor. Also Viktor Rydberg describes the Church as entirely dependent on the emperor of Rome. Thus, it is also against absolutism and dictatorship in general that Rydberg (through his Krysanteus) hurls the spear.[27] But that a prominent Athenian philosopher would have opposed the Roman government is unlikely. The real Krysanteus would have had too much to gain by being on good terms with Rome, as the schools of Athens lived just as much in harmony with Rome as the Christian Church.

Petros, the Bishop of Athens

Whether or not the duplicitous bishop Petros can be said to have had any historical prototype in Athens is hard to say. The bishop reads Tertullian's *De carne Christi* in order to improve his Latin, not out of any deeper theological interests. And he plans for a future career at the Church of St. Peter at Rome.[28] It is possible, perhaps even probable, that Athens had its own bishop in the 360s. We know the names of several earlier bishops, but the sources are almost entirely silent on the situation in the fourth century. Regardless of this, a possible bishop of Athens would hardly have had such a large flock as the novel's Petros, who leads huge crowds.

Annæus Domitius

In *The Last Athenian* we are also introduced to the proconsul of the Roman province of Achaea, the (mostly) Christian Roman nobleman Annæus Domitius. Achaea was the Roman province to which Athens belonged. To Rydberg's mind, it probably was a matter of course that a Roman official in an empire ruled by

[26] RYDBERG, *Den siste athenaren* [n. 5], v-viii.

[27] In the preface to the novel, which is dedicated to S. A. Hedlund (editor in chief of *Göteborgs Handels och Sjöfarts Tidning*), Rydberg, being himself a fighter for the political ideas "for which he lives and breathes", states that the novel is "a spear thrown at the enemy lines" (RYDBERG, *Den siste athenaren* [n. 5], v).

[28] RYDBERG, *Den siste athenaren* [n. 5], p. 70.

Christian emperors must have been a Christian. It was not, however, until 416 A.D. that a confession to Christianity was required for holding a public office.[29] Historically we know that Vettius Agorius Praetextatus was proconsul of Achaea between 362 and 364,[30] that is to say, partly during same time as the novel's Annæus Domitius. Vettius Agorius Praetextatus was also a priest of several pagan cults, but he could nevertheless still continue climbing the Roman career ladder even after the death of Julian, as he continued to receive several new assignments during the reigns of the following Christian emperors.

Epilogue

As a classicist I could continue to line up examples of things that can no longer be considered historically tenable in *The Last Athenian*. But I refrain, both for reasons of space and because I am aiming this paper at a general audience. I would also like to mention that I am very fond of the novel and of Viktor Rydberg. Rydberg was a brave man who fought for what he believed in: individual liberty and liberal democracy (Sweden was far from being a democracy at the time). And for this he has to be admired.

Rydberg had good knowledge of late antique Athens, despite the fact that this period of the city, then and now, is often overlooked by scholars. I myself certainly have *The Last Athenian* to thank for having my interest once drawn to late antiquity. And from my perspective, the ancient historian's, and, based on modern knowledge of late antique Greece, *The Last Athenian* is a remarkable reminder of how much our knowledge of history has changed from 1859 until today. And in another hundred and fifty years from now historians probably will have a totally different view. Someone will perhaps write an article about how all that which is written here in the 2010s is hopelessly outdated and incorrect. That would be nice.

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[29] See COD.Theod. 16, 10, 21. A law, dated to December 7, 416, forbids the *gentiles* both to enter the military and to become administrators or judges (/…/ *nec ad militiam admittantur nec administratoris vel iudicis honore decorentur*).

[30] Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 22, 6.

Searching for Slave Teachers in Late Antiquity

Abstract: Il lavoro di Robert Penella sulla retorica ed educazione tardoantiche ha messo in luce l'importanza del capitale sociale acquisibile grazie alla padronanza e alla capacità di insegnamento delle arti liberali. Tuttavia, i recenti studi sulla schiavitù tardoantica hanno continuato ad insistere sull'importanza del lavoro servile nel sistema educativo tardoantico, sostenendo che il sistema tipico della società romana del primo secolo a.e.c., basato principalmente sullo sfruttamento degli schiavi per l'educazione dei giovani, continuò essenzialmente immutato fino al quinto secolo e.c. Il presente studio, che offre un'analisi completa ed esauriente delle fonti, rivela l'infondatezza di questa recente teoria. Non vi sono dubbi che i *grammatici*, che nel primo secolo a.e.c. erano di origine servile nella stragrande maggioranza dei casi, furono quasi interamente liberi di nascita nel quarto. Un'analisi d'insieme delle fonti epigrafiche riguardanti gli insegnanti di livello inferiore rivela che lo stesso vale per i *magistri ludi* / διδάσκαλοι. L'analisi dei dati epigrafici e testuali dimostra che anche i cosiddetti *paedagogi* / παιδαγωγοί provenivano dai ceti liberi, specialmente nella parte orientale dell'impero. Gran parte di tale cambiamento ebbe luogo nel contesto di una professionalizzazione dell'industria dell'insegnamento che riconosceva maggiori privilegi e prestigio agli educatori – cambiamento che si verificò di pari passo con lo spostamento delle attività d'insegnamento all'ambito del mercato del lavoro. Quattro sono le ragioni ipotizzabili di questo cambiamento: una maggiore enfasi attribuita al ruolo dell'educazione nello sviluppo morale e spirituale; il crescente prestigio dell'educazione come mezzo per il successo economico-sociale; i cambiamenti generali nel mercato del lavoro che aprivano nuove posizioni a lavoratori di origine libera; e, infine, un declino generale nell'utilizzo degli schiavi e della schiavitù in tutti i settori dell'economia tardoantica.

Keywords: Education; Slavery; Pedagogues; Grammaticus; Free labor

Were the teachers of Late Antiquity slaves? It is certainly the case that the late Republican and early Imperial period witnessed the regular deployment of slave labor for the education of children and youths. Suetonius *De grammaticis et rhetoribus*, our best source for the prosopography of educators in the first centuries BCE and CE, leaves no room for doubt that educators at all levels were often, even predominantly, slaves or freedmen in this period. But can the same be said of Late Antiquity? Those familiar with the abundant and outstanding work on late antique

education by ROBERT PENELLA might well expect the answer to be no: the educational environment described by Libanius or Ausonius looks markedly different from the world of Zeno or Cicero.

Yet two recent studies of late ancient slavery have made the case that servile labor remained a crucial, even the crucial foundation of late antique education. In his monumental *Slavery in the Late Roman World AD 275-425*, KYLE HARPER argues:

> The ancient household was both a school and a business firm, two functions it could fulfill only through the services of slaves. In both cases, we should imagine that slavery was a structural fit because a sufficient private market failed to develop…. The ancient school existed in a symbiotic relationship with the elite household and its servile workers. The cultural output of the late ancient world stands as an impressive artifact of coercive exploitation.[1]

HARPER asserts that an open market for educational services never developed in Roman antiquity with the result that instruction – particularly at the elementary level – was always managed through the household and its slaves. This assertion is rooted in M.I. FINLEY'S (ultimately MAX WEBER'S) notions about the primitive nature of the ancient economy – which never escaped the household paradigm and thus never developed structures like private, for profit schools, let alone a system of publicly funded education. HARPER'S argument for the central importance of slave teachers fits into a larger case asserting that all aspects of slavery remained robust throughout antiquity down to the early fifth century, rendering Late Antiquity every bit as much an exemplar of FINLEY'S "Slave Society" as the world of Cicero had been.

The case has been further developed in CHRIS DE WET'S *Preaching Bondage: John Chrysostom and the Discourse of Slavery in Early Christianity*.[2] While DE WET more openly acknowledges that many sorts of teachers were free in Late Antiquity, he follows HARPER in focusing on *paidagōgoi* who were, he argues, by default servile.[3] His is a Foucauldian reading of Chrysostom which relies on the normativity of servile pedagogues to animate a macabre world populated by teachers who inculcate the arts of exploitation and domination in their future masters – what DE WET terms "The Didactics of *Kyriarchy*."

[1] K. HARPER, *Slavery in the Late Roman World, AD 275-425. An Economic, Social, and Institutional Study*, Cambridge 2011, pp. 113-117, quotations at 113 and 117.

[2] C. L. DE WET, *Preaching Bondage. John Chrysostom and the Discourse of Slavery in Early Christianity*, Berkeley 2015, ch. 4, part. pp. 141-158.

[3] Throughout I use spelling to distinguish between western *paedagogi* and eastern *paidagōgoi*, in no small part because, as we shall see below, the word, and the profession, had slightly different connotations in the two contexts.

The problem merits investigation. There can be no question that slaves continued to operate as educational laborers in Late Antiquity. Did they, however, play a crucial or marginal role? Furthermore, what was their importance to the educational system relative to the obviously indispensable role they played in the first centuries BCE and CE? This study will investigate the question with an eye to comparisons. It will proceed from the same methodology used by HARPER in his broader investigation of late antique slavery – by using searches in epigraphic and textual databases. In contrast with his approach, however, it will incorporate both slave and free teachers into the picture to determine their relative importance.

HARPER and DE WET find no solid evidence for servile teachers at the level of *grammatici* or *rhetores* in Late Antiquity. Instead, both build from the assumption that it was *paedagogi* / *paidagōgoi* who were primarily slaves, and the contention that these were the indispensable lowest rung of the educational ladder. To make his case, HARPER cites a total of eight sources relevant to pedagogues as support for the prevalence of enslaved elementary teachers, yet only two of these confirm servility.[4] A third may indicate servile status,[5] three others say nothing at all about status,[6] and the last two (both from Libanius) point to free status, although he construes them to seem otherwise.[7] He also cites a single source for two *grammatici* reported by Ausonius to have been the sons of freedmen but mistranslates the citation – which is textually tenuous – by calling them "freedmen teachers."[8] DE WET recycles one of HARPER's miscued Libanius passages but focuses mostly on John Chrysostom, the subject of his study. Nevertheless the *paidagōgos* Chrysostom discusses in most detail – and whom DE WET treats most extensively – was certainly free.[9] Indeed, DE WET points to no single example of a pedagogue described by Chrysostom who was certainly a slave.

[4] Lib., *ep.* 734, 3, describing the slave *paidagōgos* of his bastard son Cimon; and Jul., *Mis.* 22, 352a-c, describing his own (and his mother's) *paidagōgos*, the eunuch Mardonius. See more below at n. 80.

[5] Them., *Or.* 32, 361a; cf. R. J. PENELLA, *The Private Orations of Themistius*, Berkeley 2000, p. 199, which assumes Themistius's παιδαγωγοὺς implies servitude, although this is not explicit in the text.

[6] Hier., *apol. c. Ruf.* 1, 24 (CCSL 79, 24); Lib., *Or.* 9, 11; Joh. Chrys., *Ad pop. Ant.* 16, 4 (*PG* 49, 168). In the last passage, John describes how fathers threaten their sons with violence to curb misbehavior, but HARPER, *Slavery* [n. 1], p. 114 misreads the object as being the children's *pedagogues*.

[7] See below beginning at nn. 149 and 151.

[8] Auson., *prof.* 21: *Liberti ambo genus, sed quos meruisse deceret / <sic> nasci, ut cluerent patribus ingenuis.* The textual tradition for these lines is corrupt, even to the extent that "*liberti*" is an emendation for "*liberi*," see R. P. H. GREEN, *The Works of Ausonius*, Oxford 1991, p. 359. Nevertheless, there is no reading by which the two *grammatici* in question (Crispus and Urbicus) are freedmen; *liberti genus* indicates both were the children of freedmen, as does the contrafactual *ut cluerent patribus ingenuis*; see R. A. KASTER, *Guardians of Language. The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley 1988, no. 40 (Crispus) and no. 165 (Urbicus).

[9] Joh. Chrys., *Adv. Oppug. Vit. Mon.* 3, 12 (*PG* 47, 368-369), with DE WET, *Preaching Bondage* [n. 2], pp. 142, 152.

None of this is to deny that there were servile teachers, particularly pedagogues, in Late Antiquity, for there certainly were. But the implication that enslaved teachers were the basis of late ancient literacy is a distortion, and HARPER'S assertion that this was necessarily the case because a market for educational services outside the household never developed flies in the face of abundant evidence to the contrary. Much of the problem stems from methodology. HARPER'S book is monumental in scope and has already had a major impact on the study of ancient slavery. The formidable evidentiary base on which it rests was, as HARPER explains, assembled by database searches for slave terms in the TLG and CLCLT. Close readings of the broader source pool were not undertaken, and no parallel searches were performed to determine the relative importance of free labor. Instead, the database was fitted into the classic model developed by FINLEY in the 1960s and 1970s of the "Slave Society," which is adopted as the framework on which HARPER hangs his argument.[10] If Late Antiquity, like Classical Rome, remained a "Slave Society", then Late Antiquity, like Classical Rome, must have depended on servile labor for educational services. As we shall see in what follows, the second part of this analogy proves not to be the case, and the first should surely be further interrogated.

Searching for Slaves in Suetonius and Ausonius

One obvious place to look for comparisons on the history of slavery in ancient education are the parallel works of Suetonius and Ausonius cataloging ancient teachers. In his *De grammaticis et rhetoribus* (c. 107/118 CE), Suetonius lists teachers of grammar and rhetoric in Rome by way of constructing a sort of history of education in the city between the mid second century BCE and the early first century CE.[11] Ausonius, writing c. 388, makes a similar effort to catalog grammarians and rhetoricians with some connection to his native Bordeaux in the fourth century CE.[12] Although the parallels between the two works are not exact, the similarities are striking and offer a good starting point from which to determine whether the status of educators in the late empire followed the same patterns as in earlier periods. A detailed list of the data can be found in Appendices 1 and 2, but a summary of the results is offered here in Table 1.

[10] M. I. FINLEY, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*, expanded edition, B.D. SHAW (ed.), London 1980 [repr. Princeton 1998]. For debate on FINLEY'S model, see N. LENSKI – C. M. CAMERON (eds.), *What Is a Slave Society? The Practice of Slavery in Global Perspective*, Cambridge 2018.

[11] R. A. KASTER, *Suetonius. De grammaticis et rhetoribus*, Oxford 1995, xxi-xlviii, esp. xliii-xlvi.

[12] GREEN, *Ausonius* [n. 8], pp. 328-330. See also KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], pp. 100-106; H. SIVAN, *Ausonius of Bordeaux. Genesis of a Gallic Aristocracy*, London 1993, pp. 74-93.

	Servile (attested)	**Freeborn (attested)**	**Freeborn (likely)**	**Unknown**	**Lowly birth (free)**
Suet., *gramm.* – *grammatici*	16	3	1	6	0
Suet., *gramm.* – *rhetores*	1	4	0	0	0
Suetonius Totals	**17**	**7**	**1**	**6**	**0**
Ausonius *Prof.* – *grammatici*	0	22	0	0	5
Ausonius *Prof.* - *rhetores*	0	11	0	0	0
Ausonius Totals	**0**	**33**	**0**	**0**	**5**

Table 1. Slave and Free *grammatici* and *rhetores* in Suetonius *De grammaticis et rhetoribus* and Ausonius *Professores* (see Appendices 1-2)

The contrast is clear and striking. Each of the two authors reports nearly the same number of personae (Suetonius n=31; Ausonius n=33), but in Suetonius the vast majority of those whose status can be determined were servile (either slave or freed: 17 out of 25 = 68%) whereas not one individual in Ausonius's reckoning is said ever to have been a slave. To be sure, five of Ausonius's *grammatici* were of lowly or impoverished birth, including three who were the sons of freedmen.[13] But Ausonius's readiness to report such compromising backgrounds is proof that he would have had little problem revealing enslavement had it been relevant. Instead, at the opposite end of the social spectrum, eight of Ausonius's *grammatici* and *rhetores* attained positions of quite high social status, including two provincial governors (*Prof.* 2 [Nepotianus], 17 [Exuperius]) and two others granted high imperial honors (Latinus Alcimus Alethius [*Prof.* 2] delivered a panegyric to Julian; Attius Delphidius Tiro [*Prof.* 5] served in an imperial post under the usurper Procopius). Already at the outset, then, the simplest available test of the relative status of early and late imperial teachers indicates that something had changed about the status of secondary and tertiary educators.

[13] Auson., *prof.* 10 (Anastasius, Macrinus, Sucuro) and 21 (Crispus and Urbicus), with n. 39 below. See KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], pp. 100-102.

The Education System of the Roman Empire: A Primer

It is worth reviewing the changes that occurred in the conduct of education over the imperial centuries. This may seem superfluous to specialists in ancient education, but it is of greater importance to those studying slavery who might otherwise be tempted to follow HARPER when he asserts:

> It is worth pausing to reflect on the fact that the education and culture industries of antiquity were organized through the structures of the household. A metropolis like Antioch kept professors on the public payroll, and the imperial bureaucracy employed its own class of free scribes for official business. But private slave labor was the foundation of literacy as well as the physical side of cultural production, such as transcription.[14]

Leaving scribes aside (although here too the landscape had shifted), this gnomic pronouncement overlooks research going back at least as far as HÉNRI MARROU which has shown the increasing professionalization of the teaching industry over the course of the imperial centuries.[15] In the broadest terms, ancient education proceeded along a track supervised first by the *litterator* / γραμματιστής (who taught basic literacy), continuing with the *grammaticus* / γραμματικός (who schooled older children in the greats of Latin and Greek literature), and culminating in the *orator* / ῥήτωρ (who trained more advanced youths in declamation and composition). This curriculum was never rigid or fixed: precocious youngsters could move rapidly past the first stage; slave children and the sons of commoners were often trained in basic literacy and other skills without ambitions to a full literary education[16]; particularly wealthy parents could employ advanced teachers to work even with smaller children; and teachers themselves were often willing to teach

[14] HARPER, *Slavery* [n. 1], p. 117.

[15] H. I. MARROU, *A History of Education in Antiquity* [trad. ing. G. Lamb], New York 1964, pp. 265-313; S. F. BONNER, *Education in Ancient Rome. From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny*, London 1977, pp. 34-75, 146-62; KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], pp. 50-70, 106-134; R. CRIBIORE, *Gymnastics of the Mind. Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, Princeton 2001, pp. 59-64; B. RAWSON, *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy,* Oxford 2003, pp. 158-183; W. M. BLOOMER, *The School of Rome. Latin Studies and the Origins of Liberal Education*, Berkeley 2011; E. SZABAT, *Teachers in the Eastern Roman Empire (Fifth-Seventh Centuries). A Historical Study and Prosopography*, IN T. DERDA – T. MARKIEWICZ – E. WIPSZYCKA (eds.), *Alexandria. Auditoria of Kom El-Dikka and Late Antique Education*, Warsaw 2007, pp. 177-345: 181-208.

[16] See especially A. D. BOOTH, « The Schooling of Slaves in First-Century Rome », *TAPhA* 109, 1979, pp. 11-19; RAWSON, *Children* [n. 15], pp. 187-194; H. SIGISMUND-NIELSEN, *Slave and Lower-Class Roman Children*, in J.E. GRUBBS AND T. PARKIN (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, Oxford 2013, pp. 286-301.

across the spectrum of competencies.[17] Moreover, the three main identifiers listed here for teachers in Latin and Greek respectively were by no means exhaustive, for many other designations were in use[18]; and any given individual might claim more than one of these titles – at more than one level – over the course of a career as teachers strove to climb from the lower to the higher ranks of the profession.[19]

The late Republican and Julio-Claudian periods did indeed witness the widespread use of slaves as teachers at the first two levels of this system, at least in the western, Latin speaking half of the Empire. By 70s CE, however, we begin to sense a shift, for it was then that Vespasian first granted *grammatici* and *rhetores* a blanket exemption from municipal *munera*, an indication that he considered teachers at these levels generally to be free.[20] This was then extended over the course of the second century to include exemption from service as guardians, gymnasiarchs, public priests, etc.[21] These privileges, which surely encouraged freeborn citizens to seek employment as teachers, remained in place into the fourth century, when we have ample evidence for their regulation in the *Theodosian Code*.[22] Vespasian also introduced imperially funded chairs of Greek and Latin rhetoric in Rome, and Marcus Aurelius followed suit with imperially financed chairs in Athens – which

[17] Ausonius, for example, taught pupils from elementary to quite advanced stages, see *ep.* 22, 63-76 with A. D. BOOTH, « Elementary and Secondary Education in the Roman Empire », *Florilegium* 1, 1978, pp. 1-14. More on the fluidity of educational structures at R. A. KASTER, « Notes on 'Primary' and 'Secondary' Schools in Late Antiquity », *TAPhA* 113, 1983a, pp. 323-346.

[18] Other names for teachers at the elementary level include *magister*, *magister primus*, *magister puerorum*, *magister ludi* (*litterarii*), *praeceptor*, διδάσκαλος, γραμματοδιδάσκαλος, παιδοδιδάσκαλος, γραμματεύς. See further discussion at A. D. BOOTH, « Litterator », *Hermes* 109, 1981, pp. 371-378; KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], pp. 443-446, app. 1; S. AGUSTA-BOULAROT, « Les références épigraphiques aux *grammatici* et Γραμματικοὶ de l'Empire Romain (I^er^ s. av. J.-C., IV^e^ s. ap. J.-C.) », *MEFRA* 106, 1994, pp. 653-746: 655-661; CRIBIORE, *Gymnastics* [n. 15], pp. 50-58; SZABAT, *Teachers* [n. 15], pp. 178-181.

[19] Augustine offers the classic example: he began his career as a *grammaticus* in his native Thagaste, where he taught even early learners, before shifting to Carthage to teach rhetoric, then moving to Rome, and eventually rising to the municipal chair of rhetoric in Milan, sources at KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], pp. 246-247, no. 20; cf. KASTER, « Notes » [n. 17], p. 333.

[20] McCrum and Woodhead, no. 458; cf. *FIRA*, I, 73; 77 and see *Dig.* 50, 4, 18, 30. MARROU, *History of Education* [n. 15], pp. 299-313 first built the case for increasing state intervention in education beginning in the late first century. He is followed by BONNER, *Education* [n. 15], pp. 146-161; KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], pp. 216-230; RAWSON, *Children* [n. 15], pp. 184-187. W. V. HARRIS, *Ancient Literacy,* Cambridge 1989, pp. 15-24; 235-48 challenges this theory, but on the basis of an inadequate reading of the sources.

[21] *Dig.* 27, 1, 6 regulates immunity for public professionals, including *grammatici* and *rhetores*. See also MARROU, *History of Education* [n. 15], pp. 110-111; BONNER, *Education* [n. 15], pp. 146-162; KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], pp. 223-227.

[22] *CTh* 13, 3, 1; 5; 11.

also had its own civically funded chairs.[23] Indeed, as tended to happen in so many arenas of public beneficence, local notables followed the emperor's lead by creating similar structures at the municipal level. Privately endowed gymnasia are attested in the Greek world already at the dawn of the second century BCE, and by the first century CE, local notables were founding public schools all across Italy: Pliny the Younger, for example, founded a school in Como, as we learn from a letter he sent to Tacitus requesting recommendations for the holder of its first chair; the letter makes clear that Pliny regarded his beneficence as entirely typical in northern Italy.[24] We have similar evidence from the provinces. Papyrological sources confirm that *grammatici* were officially employed by the Egyptian towns of Arsinoe and Oxyrhynchus already in the second century CE.[25] On the other side of the empire an inscription from Tritium Megallum in Hispania Citerior confirms that this modest town also had a publicly funded *grammaticus*.[26] A regulatory inscription from the Metallum Vipascense in Lusitania confirms that this remote mining community supported teachers (*ludimagistri*) with public immunity.[27] We also have archaeological evidence for the architecture of public educational structures, the most spectacular example being the remains of the teaching complex excavated at Kom El-Dikka in Alexandria.[28]

The trend toward collectively financed teaching positions reached its climax in the fourth century when we find publicly funded and managed schools (*schola publica*

[23] On Rome, see Suet., *Vesp.* 18; Zon. 11, 17. On Marcus and Athens, Dio Cass. 72, 31, 3; Philost., *VS* 2, 2, 566, with MARROU, *History of Education* [n. 15], pp. 303; 442. Athens's chair continued into the sixth century, see Damasc., *Vit. Isid.* Epit. Phot. 168, Zintzen fr. 290; Malch., *fr.* 20; cf. E. J. WATTS, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria*, Berkeley 2006, pp. 33-34.

[24] Plin., *ep.* 4, 13. Compare the endowment of Opramoas of Rhodiapolis for the feeding and education of children of Xanthias up to their sixteenth year, *SEG,* XXX, 1535 (152 CE). Endowments for the foundation of public schools in the Greek East are attested from 200 BCE onward, e.g. *Syll.*[3], 577; 578; 671; 672; *IG*, XII, 9, 235; cf. MARROU, *History of Education* [n. 15], pp. 112-113.

[25] *SB*, I, 5808 = *Stud. Pal.*, 13, p. 1, translated at W. ECK – J. HEINRICHS (eds.), *Sklaven und Freigelassene in der Gesellschaft der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Texte zur Forschung, 61, Darmstadt 1993, pp. 36-37, no. 50; *P. Oxy.* XLVII, 3366 = *P. Col. Youtie* II, 66; cf. *P. Ross Georg.* V 60 from Hermopolis. See more below nn. 55-56.

[26] *CIL* II, 2892.

[27] *CIL* II, 5181 l. 57 = *ILS*, 6891.

[28] T. DERDA – T. MARKIEWICZ – E. WIPSZYCKA (eds.), *Alexandria. Auditoria of Kom El-Dikka and Late Antique Education*, Warsaw 2007. See also the discussion of public school structures in Constantinople at *CTh* 14, 9, 3. And see the spectacular painted private schoolroom discovered in Trimithis (Amheida) in 2006, R. CRIBIORE – P. DAVOLI – D. M. RATZAN, « A Teacher's Dipinto from Trimithis (Dakhleh Oasis) », *JRA* 21, 2008, pp. 171-191, whose painted epigrams stand as testimony to the penetration of organized literate education into the remotest parts of the Empire. On school spaces, see also CRIBIORE, *Gymnastics* [n. 15], pp. 21-36; EAD., *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch*, Princeton 2007, p. 30.

/ *municipalis*, or πολιτικός θρόνος) attested all across the Empire.[29] Ausonius lists them in Gaul at Bordeaux, Lyon, Besançon, and Toulouse; Augustine at Carthage and Milan; Libanius at Apamea, Caesarea, Chalcis, Elusa, Heliopolis, Nicaea, Nicomedia, Antioch, and Constatinople.[30] Indeed, Rome and Constantinople are well attested as having had multiple public chairs: a law of 425 CE indicates that Constantinople had three Latin orators and ten grammarians as well as five Greek sophists and ten grammarians, all of whom were expected to operate independently of the many private teachers in the city.[31] This would seem to represent an expansion from the time of Antoninus Pius, who issued a rescript limiting the number of professional doctors and teachers any given city could exempt from *munera* to three *grammatici* in small cities (*civitates minores*), four in larger, and five in the largest.[32] Based on Ausonius's *Professores* KASTER calculated that fourth-century Bordeaux's cadre of publicly funded teachers amounted to one Latin rhetor, one Greek *grammaticus*, and two Latin *grammatici*, but there would also have been private teachers to supplement these numbers.[33] To be sure, these figures are not grand. Nevertheless, in keeping with relatively low ancient expectations for the diffusion of literate education, they are large enough to confirm that the teaching profession was widely considered to be a public concern.

Publicly registered municipal teachers were chosen by city councils, which are attested as having used competitions and examinations to select qualified candidates.[34] Julian would of course exploit this preexisting system to exclude teachers who professed Christianity,[35] but he was hardly the first emperor to involve

[29] For these terms see Aug., *Conf.* 6, 7, 11; Auson., *grat. act.* 7, 31; Philostr., *VS* 2, 20, 600.

[30] Auson., *praef.* 23; *grat. act.* 7, 31; *prof.* 17, 7; Aug. *Conf.* 5, 13, 23; 6, 7, 11; Lib., *Or.* 1, 35; 37; 48; *Or.* 31, 42; *Or.* 54, 48; *epp.* 132 (with O. SEECK, *Die Briefe des Libanius*, Hildesheim 1906 [repr. Hildesheim 1966], p. 131); 1255; 1256; 1391. R. A. KASTER, « The Salaries of Libanius », *Chiron* 13, 1983, pp. 37-59, is especially useful in drawing the distinction between imperially versus civically funded chairs, which could coexist in the same city, as was the case at Antioch. See also A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602. A Social Economic and Administrative Survey*, Oxford 1964, pp. 998-999; KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], pp. 107-108.

[31] *CTh* 14, 9, 3. On Rome's publicly funded chairs in the fourth century, see Symm., *Rel.* 5. See also *CTh* 14, 9, 1, regulating student life in Rome. Suet., *gramm.* 3, 4 speaks of more than 20 well attended private schools already in late Republican Rome.

[32] *Dig.* 27, 1, 6, 2.

[33] KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], pp. 455-562.

[34] MARROU, *History of Education* [n. 15], pp. 305-308; BONNER, *Education* [n. 15], pp. 158-160.

[35] *CTh* 13, 3, 5 = *CJ* 10, 53, 7 (a. 362); Jul., *ep.* 61C, 423B; Amm. Marc. 22, 10, 7; cf. R. J. PENELLA, *Greek Philosophers and Sophists in the Fourth Century AD. Studies in Eunapius of Sardis*, ARCA, Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs, 28, Leeds 1990, pp. 92-93; G. A. CECCONI, « Giuliano legislatore e l'interdizione della docenza ai cristiani. Intorno a un contributo di J.-M. Carrié », *Prometheus* 44, 2018, pp. 227-233.

himself in the process of vetting, selecting, and expelling municipal educators. Already Gordian is attested as having empowered cities to review and recall the occupants of public teaching chairs, and the ninth Latin Panegyric informs us in detail of Constantius I's involvement in the restoration of the public schools of Autun, which had a tradition stretching all the way back to the first century.[36] The growing intrusion of the emperors into the municipal schools in the fourth century is perhaps best attested in what is termed "Gratian's School Law" of 376. Directed to the Praetorian Prefect of the Gauls, it set a new scale for the imperially funded salaries of *grammatici* and *rhetores* in all the major cities (*civitates frequentissimi*) of the Gallic dioceses.[37] These were, to be sure, teachers operating at the higher end of the system – not mere pedagogues. But the creation of such institutions and their maintenance and regulation at the municipal and imperial level shows that HARPER'S blanket assertion that ancient education was perennially organized through the structures of the household is well off the mark, certainly for Late Antiquity and arguably even going back to the second century CE.

A Social Index of Late Antique *Grammatici*

The continualist model of ancient slave teachers proceeds from the assumption that educational structures remained more or less constant and that the status of educators – particularly those at the lower levels of the system – were, by default, servile. To test whether this is true, it is worth returning to *grammatici* for a moment before proceeding to the educators at the bottom rungs of the system. *Grammatici* were, as well shall see below, often teachers of elementary letters, even those who attained relatively high status in the profession.

The second section of this study already asserted that at least one source pool indicates that the picture had changed radically between the earlier and later Empire. Late Republican and early Imperial *grammatici* were generally slaves or freedmen, as we have seen from Suetonius, and as JOHANNES CHRISTES had argued from a broader evidence pool in a monograph of 1979.[38] Yet we have also seen that Ausonius indicates the opposite was true in the later Empire, and the exhaustive study of KASTER from 1988 confirmed this. Of the 281 late antique grammarians KASTER assembles in his prosopographical appendix, not one was servile. The

[36] On Gordian, see *CJ* 10, 53, 2. On Constantius and Autun, see *Pan. Lat.* 9[4], 14-17; cf. Tac., *An.* 3, 43.

[37] *CTh* 13, 3, 11 with R. A. KASTER, « A Reconsideration of 'Gratian's School-Law' », *Hermes* 112, 1984, pp. 100-114.

[38] J. CHRISTES, *Sklaven und Freigelassene als Grammatiker und Philologen im antiken Rom*. Forschungen zur Antiken Sklaverei, 10, Wiesbaden 1979, pp. 165-201.

closest any comes to servile status are three grammarians who were the sons of freedmen, all known from Ausoniuis, including the two discussed above and a third from the same text that HARPER seems to have missed.[39] In 2007, ELŻBIETA SZABAT published a new prosopography of attested teachers from the eastern empire which adds a further 13 γραμματικόι to KASTER'S catalog, none of whom can be identified as a slave or freedman.[40] The only attestation I have found that may point to a slave *grammaticus* in Late Antiquity is a reference in the fourth-century homilist Asterius of Amaseia to a "Scythian" (Gothic) captive who had been bought as a boy by a γραμματικός of Antioch and became proficient in Latin and Greek so effortlessly that he eventually went on to teach law – presumably after attaining his freedom.[41] Whether this anonymous genius went through a phase as a grammar teacher is not attested but, given the profession of his owner, it seems likely. Yet Asterius's story is clearly meant to seem miraculous – the exception rather than a rule.

The same pattern can be charted in the catalog of epigraphic attestations to *grammatici* published by SANDRINE AGUSTA-BOULAROT in a major article of 1994. Details from her findings are assembled in Appendix 3 and are summarized in Chart 1.[42] It is clear from this that datable attestations to servile and libertine *grammatici*

[39] Auson., *prof.* 10, 15; 21 with KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], no. 146 (Sucuro).

[40] SZABAT, *Teachers* [n. 15].

[41] Asterius, *Frag. Homiliae in servum centurionis* (apud Photius Bibl. 271), esp. Ὁ δ' ὠνησάμενος Σύρος ἦν, Ἀντιοχείας πολίτης καὶ γραμματικῆς παίδων διδάσκαλος.

[42] AGUSTA-BOULAROT, « Références » [n. 18], pp. 653-746. With Latin epigraphy, I have assumed slave or freedman status in the case of: 1) direct attestation (e.g., *s*(*ervus*), or *l*(*ibertus*)); 2) the use of the Latin tria-nomina with imperial praenomen and nomen (for imperial freedmen); 3) the tria-nomina with a Greek cognomen in a Latin-speaking context (a common, though not exclusive, marker of servile origin); or 4) the use of single names of Greek origin. With Greek epigraphy, I have assumed slave or freedman status in the case of: 1) direct attestation; or 2) single names without a patronymic. Freeborn status is assumed: 1) when filiation is reported (e.g. M(arci) f(ilius)); 2) when traditional Latin tria-nomina are found; or 3) when the subject attains civic offices not associated with *liberti* (e.g. decurio). Some cases must be determined subjectively. In a general way, I have followed AGUSTA-BOULAROT, with some deviation, based especially on the earlier work of CHRISTES, *Sklaven* [n. 38], pp. 147-153. I have also followed AGUSTA-BOULAROT'S datings. In cases with a date range (e.g. 'first or second century') I have assigned these to one or the other century in alternating fashion so as to smooth the data. The same criteria are applied with the Latin inscriptions cited below from other studies, where I also generally follow W. RIESS, *Stadtrömische Lehrer zwischen Anpassung und Nonkonformismus. Überlegungen zu einer epigraphischen Ambivalenz*, in G. ALFÖLDY – S. PANCIERA (eds.), *Inschriftliche Denkmäler als Medien der Selbstdarstellung in der römischen Welt*, Stuttgart 2001, pp. 164-207, and C. LAES, « School-Teachers in the Roman Empire. A Survey of the Epigraphical Evidence », *Acta Classica* 50, 2007, pp. 109-127; ID., « Pedagogues in Greek Inscriptions in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity », *ZPE* 171, 2009, pp. 113-122; ID., « Pedagogues in Latin Inscriptions », *Epigraphica* 71, 2009, pp. 303-325.

cluster in the first centuries BCE and CE, drop off markedly in the second, and cease by the third to be replaced by exclusively freeborn teachers. Yet another important trend observable in the epigraphic data is the much greater tendency of *grammatici* in Rome and the rest of Italy to be servile or libertine than those in the provinces: 8 of 13 Roman *grammatici* whose status is known were servile (61% - AGUSTA-BOULAROT*, Références* [n. 18], nos. 1; 2; 3; 3bis; 5; 6; 10; 14) and 3 of 7 Italian *grammatici* whose status is known were servile (43% - AGUSTA-BOULAROT*, Références* [n. 18], nos. 4; 7; 17); while only 3 of 25 *grammatici* with known status from the provinces were certainly servile (12% - AGUSTA-BOULAROT, *Références* [n. 18], nos. 30; 39; 40).[43] The Roman numbers are particularly inflated by a series of inscriptions to *grammatici* who had served as slaves to the emperor and to high status aristocrats.[44] These data tell us two things: first, the status of *grammatici* shifted from servile to freeborn between the early and late imperial periods; and second, the heavy reliance on servile teachers was always more an Italian phenomenon than a provincial one.

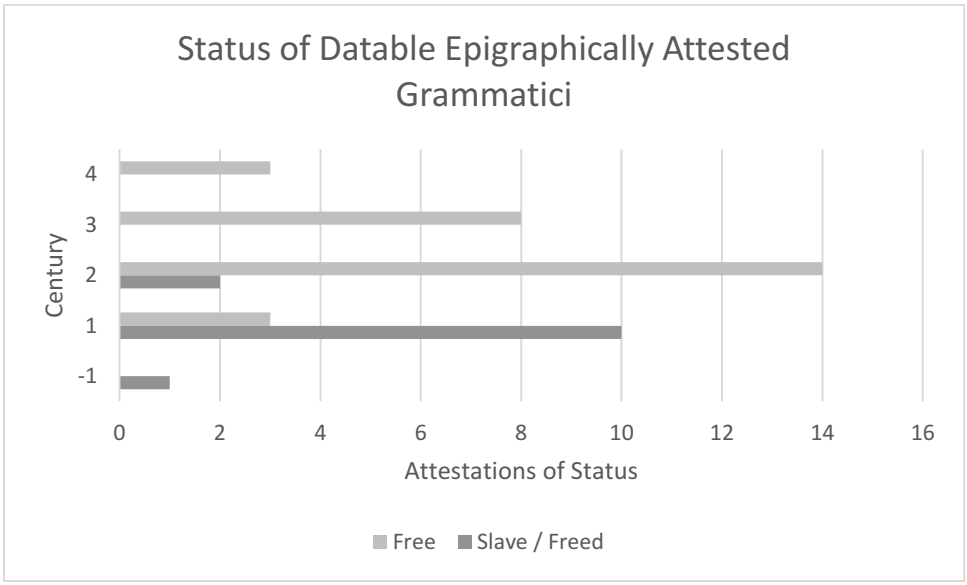

Chart 1. Status of Datable Epigraphically Attested *Grammatici* (see Appendix 3)

[43] More on teachers and education in the provinces at I. BILKEI, « Schulunterricht und Bildungswesen in der römischen Provinz Pannonien », *Alba Regia* 20, 1983, pp. 67-74; D. TUDOR, « Beiträge zur Frage der Erziehung und des Unterrichts in Scythia Minor und Dacia », *Das Altertum* 11, 1965, pp. 102-114; F. H. STANLEY, « Roman Education. Observations on the Iberian Experience », *REA* 93, 1991, pp. 299-320; K. VÖSSING, *Schule und Bildung im Nordafrika der römischen*

Indeed, teaching at the level of *grammaticus* had not simply shifted from a servile to a free occupation. Between the early and late Empire the average *grammaticus* had also vaulted to a middling social status. As KASTER has stressed, the teaching of literature to the young had become a respectable profession.[45] The argument can be supported on numerous levels. Here we will focus on just three that shed particular light on how far later imperial *grammatici* were socially removed from their servile predecessors of earlier centuries: first, the tendency of the profession to have become hereditary; second, examples of the surprisingly lofty status achieved by some grammarians; and third, evidence for the remuneration of the grammarian.

The fact that the profession of *grammaticus* was often hereditary in Late Antiquity is well documented. We know of a number of men, as well as one woman, who passed down the teaching profession to members of their family in the next generation. These include:

- Spercheus > Menestheus (KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], nos. 99; 139)
- Phoebicius (*grammaticus*) > Attius Patera (*rhetor*) > Attius Delphidius Tiro (*rhetor*) (KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], no. 122, with full references)
- [Anonymous father] > Calliopius (KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], no. 169)
- Danaus > Diphilus (KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], nos. 43; 49)
- Clamosus *père* > Clamosus *fils*, of Parentium (KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], nos. 29; 30)
- Alypius > Olympius (KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], nos. 2; 95 = SZABAT, *Teachers* [n. 15], nos. 12; 197)
- Horapollon > Asclepiades > Fl. Horapollon (KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], nos. 17; 77; 78 = Szabat, *Teachers* [n. 15], nos. 29; 124; 125)
- Apollinarius of Laodicea (*père*, *grammaticus*) > Apollinarius (*fils*, *rhetor*) (KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], no. 14)
- Adamantius > Martyrius (KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], nos. 2; 95 = SZABAT, *Teachers* [n. 15], nos. 2, 175)
- Volusia Tertullina > Q. Volusius Iunior (*AE* 1996, 1903 and *CIL*, VIII, 21107 with AUGUSTA-BOULAROT, « Références » [n. 18], no. 49)[46]

Kaiserzeit, Collection Latomus, 238, Brussels 1997; CRIBIORE, *Gymnastics* [n. 15]; G. COULON, *L'enfant en Gaule Romaine,* 2eme éd., Paris 2004, pp. 111-136.

[44] AGUSTA-BOULAROT, « Références » [n. 18], no. 1 = *CIL*, VI, 592 = 9449, Pudens, grammaticus of Aemilia Lepida, daughter of M. Aemilius Lepidus, cos. 6 CE, wife of Drusus Julius Caesar; AGUSTA-BOULAROT, « Références » [n. 18], nos. 3 = *CIL*, VI, 9452 and no. 3bis = *CIL*, VI, 19071, slaves of the domus Volusiae; AGUSTA-BOULAROT, « Références » [n. 18], no. 6 = *CIL*, VI, 7883, C. Serveileius Croesus, slave of the domus Servilii; AGUSTA-BOULAROT, « Références » [n. 18], no. 7 = *CIL*, VI, 9450, Restitutus, slave of C. Bellicus Natalis, cos. 68 CE.

[45] KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], pp. 57-70; 99-138.

[46] This example is particularly interesting, both because it shows a succession of mother to son

- See also, Aemilius Magnus Arborius (uncle) > Decimus Magnus Ausonius > Pomponius Maximus Herculanus (nephew) (KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], nos. 21; 70)

The *professio litterarum* was thus considered a respectable career of the sort to which the offspring or close relatives of local notables might aspire. This assumption is reinforced by a passage from the *Gesta apud Zenophilum*, a trial record of 320 CE during which the governor of Numidia opened his interrogation of the Latin grammarian Victor of Cirta with a series of questions on his background and social status (*dignitas*). Victor replied, "My father was a decurion of the people of Constantina [Cirta]; my grandfather, a soldier."[47] It was the entirely normal for the son and grandson of local aristocrats to become a professional *grammaticus*.

In fact, several other teachers climbed considerably higher, sometimes attaining the loftiest public offices or honors. This was true already in the fourth century and became even more so over the course of the fifth and sixth. Thus, from the fifth century we know of at least ten *grammatici* who attained senatorial (*clarissimi*) or Flavian status.[48] The Bordelais courtier Ausonius, Consul in 379, is of course the star example of the heights which some grammarians attained, but he is hardly alone. One thinks, for example, of the consular governor and VUR Simplicius of Emona, the *PUR*, *PPO* and Consul Dioscorius, the *Quaestor* Isokasius, and the *Comites* Syrianus and Theophilus.[49]

It could be objected that the titles had changed while the underlying situation remained the same: the designation *grammaticus* may simply have come to be applied to a more elevated sort of instructor without the status of low level teachers having shifted from slave to freeborn. But this is demonstrably not so, on two counts. First, the early imperial slave and freedman *grammatici* about whom we know were often those who operated at the highest levels of the profession as scholars and commentators: M. Verrius Flaccus, tutor to Gaius and Lucius Caesar and the author

as *grammatici* and because this family of Volusii of Mauretania Caesariensis may be related to the famous sixth-century grammarian Volusius Priscianus, cf. AUGUSTA-BOULAROT, « Références » [n. 18], pp. 709-710; cf. KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], pp. 346-348.

[47] *Gesta apud Zenophilum* (*CSEL* 26.185). Other curial grammatici include Cyrus of Antinoopolis (KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], no. 41 = SZABAT, *Teachers* [n. 15], no. 160); Nepotianus (KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], no. 105); P. Atilius Septicianus of Como (*CIL* 5.5278); Q. Tuticanus Eros of Verona (*CIL* 5.3433); M. Rutilius Aelianus of Beneventum (*CIL* 9.1654).

[48] See KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], nos. 31; 37; 44; 62; 68; 78; 128; 130; 137; 211; cf. SZABAT, *Teachers* [n. 15], nos. 48; 49; 125.

[49] Simplicius at KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], no. 137. Dioscorius at KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], no. 48 = SZABAT, *Teachers* [n. 15], no. 58. Isokasius at KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], no. 85 = SZABAT, *Teachers* [n. 15], no. 151. Syrianus at KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], no. 147 = SZABAT, *Teachers* [n. 15], no. 276. Theophilus at KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], no. 154 = SZABAT, *Teachers* [n. 15], no. 298.

of numerous scholarly works including the first alphabetical Latin dictionary and the still partially extant *Fasti Praenestini*, operated at the same level of teaching and scholarship as his fourth-century counterpart Decimus Magnus Ausonius, tutor to the emperor Gratian and himself the author of an extensive extant corpus.[50] The glaring difference separating them was that Flaccus was born a slave while Ausonius was the son of a well-off physician of Bordeaux.[51] Secondly, the title *grammaticus* continued to be used to describe not just high-level teachers like Ausonius, nor mid-level teachers of literature (its most common meaning), but it was also used to identify elementary teachers of the very youngest children even in the late antique period.[52] As we have seen above, the titles used for teachers were fluid, and many offered instruction to pupils at a variety of levels regardless of their professional expertise: again, Ausonius serves to illustrate, for he began his career teaching young children and in some sense ended it there as well, albeit as tutor to a seven year-old Augustus. To be sure, instruction in basic literacy was not the province of most *grammatici*, but some claiming this title did offer elementary lessons. Moreover, as we shall see below, by the later Empire even those specializing in elementary teaching with titles like *ludimagister* or *praeceptor* tended to be freeborn.

Finally *grammatici* had always been able to command a living wage, and those with skills and reputation could sometimes earn quite handsomely.[53] The money to be made as a *grammaticus* thus conduced to the rise of the profession as a viable and respectable career for the freeborn in the imperial period. We will discuss elite teachers below, but here it is important to note that the employment of freeborn members of the profession extended downward to relatively low status individuals, many of whom lived in unexalted places. Already Horace draws the distinction between the elite schools of Rome, where he was educated, and the pedestrian school of Flavius in his local Venusia, where boys paid their instructor "eight asses each." If this is meant to represent a monthly wage, it was pitifully (perhaps satirically) low, especially considering that the school year generally lasted only eight

[50] On Verrius Flaccus see Suet., *gramm.* 17 with KASTER, *Suetonius* [n. 11], pp. 190-196. On Ausonius, see KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], pp. 247-249, no. 21; SIVAN, *Ausonius* [n. 12].

[51] K. HOPKINS, « Social Mobility in the Later Roman Empire. The Evidence of Ausonius », *CQ* 11, 1961, pp. 239-249, is useful for cataloging Ausonius's family property and connections but verges into baseless speculation that his father, Julius Ausonius, was a slave.

[52] Examples include KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], no. 40 (Crispus); no. 120 (Philoumenos = SZABAT, *Teachers* [n. 15], no. 221); no. 231 (Hieronymos = SZABAT, *Teachers* [n. 15], no. 120, which emphasizes his teaching of younger children).

[53] More on the salaries of *grammatici* at MARROU, *History of Education* [n. 15], pp. 267-268; BONNER, *Education* [n. 15], pp. 146-157; KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], pp. 114-123; AGUSTA-BOULAROT, « Références » [n. 18], pp. 714-718; LAES, « School-Teachers » [n. 42], pp. 112-113. On the considerable wealth amassed by some teachers, see WATTS, *City and School* [n. 23], pp. 32-35.

months – making for an annual income of four denarii per pupil.[54] The same issue arises in a papyrus of 258 CE in which Lollianus, the public *grammatikos* of Oxyrhynchus, complains that his annual salary, contracted at 500 attic tetradrachms, was paid desultorily and often in sour wine and rotten grain rather than coin.[55] Tellingly, however, with this petition he appeals to the emperors Valerian and Gallienus for permission to be granted the income from a publicly owned orchard that would have more than doubled his wages – we know not to what effect, although we do know that his predecessor benefitted from this very arrangement. From Arsinoe we also have a papyrus attesting to the sale of a slave by the public *grammatikos* Asclepiades in 124 CE, and other sources attest to teachers as owners of chattel slaves and real estate.[56] On the other side of the empire, in the modest town of Tritium Megallum in Hispania Citerior, the funerary inscription of the public grammarian L. Memmius Probus confirms that he was contracted by his community at 1100 denarii per annum, about four times the annual salary of a legionary.[57] Local *grammatici* in the High Empire were thus hardly top earners, but they appear to have enjoyed the benefit of a steady, living wage – not unlike contemporary public teachers.

The system witnessed further elaboration in Late Antiquity. *Codex Theodosianus* 13, 3 preserves a whole series of laws reconfirming or expanding the privileges granted to public "Doctors and Professors" beginning in the first century. Thus in 321 Constantine added to previous privileges enjoyed by civic *grammatici* exemption from duties on real property, exemption from law suits, and claims to special penal damages against any who committed gross insult (*iniuria*) against them; in 333 he also extended the traditional exemptions for civic *grammatici* to their wives and children.[58] These privileges were reaffirmed in several laws issued over the course

[54] Hor., *sat.* 1, 6, 72-75. More on elementary teachers' fees in the late Republic and early Empire at Cic. *fam.* 9, 18, 4; Ov., *fast.* 3, 829; Iuv. 7, 215-243; 10, 116; cf. Mac., *Sat.* 1, 12, 7.

[55] *P.Oxy.*, XLVII, 3366 = *P.Coll.Youtie* II, 66; KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], pp. 304-305.

[56] *SB*, I, 5808 = *Stud. Pal.*, 13, p. 1. Further slave owning teachers at *CIL*, II, 3872 = *ILS*, 7765; *CIL*, VI, 9454 = *ILS*, 7769; *CIL*, VI, 33859; *Anth. Gr.* 10, 86; Lib., *Or.* 31, 9-11; *Philogelos* 7; *P. Leipz.* 11, 12; *P. Cair. Masp.* I 67077; *SB*, XII, 11084 with H. MAEHLER, « Menander Rhetor and Alexander Claudius in a Papyrus Letter », *GRBS* 15, 1974, pp. 305-312. See also *SB*, I, 5941 for the purchase of a house by "the grammarian and teacher of Greek letters" Flavius in 510 CE; cf. *SB* VIII 9902; *P. Berl. Bork.* 12, 34; *P. Berl. Bork.* 1, 18 and SB XII 10981, 25; Lib., *ep.* 640; *or.* 31, 11; Auson. *prof.* 24. See more on the wealth of teachers at KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], pp. 111-113; CRIBIORE, *Gymnastics* [n. 15], pp. 62-63.

[57] *CIL*, II, 2892 with U. ESPINOSA, « Das Gehalt eines *Grammaticus* im westlichen Teil des römischen Reiches. Eine epigraphische Revision », *ZPE* 68, 1987, pp. 241-246. *CGL*, V, 605 indicates that a teacher's income was also supplemented by the annual gifts called *nefrenditium* offered in meat, cf. BONNER, *Education* [n. 15], p. 149. More on gifts in kind at *P.Giss.* 80; Lib., *or.* 42, 26.

[58] *CTh* 13, 3, 1; 3.

of the fourth and fifth centuries.[59] We also have laws setting pay rates for teachers, the first being Diocletian's Prices Edict which set monthly pay for Greek and Latin *grammatici* at 200 denarii per pupil, and for *oratores* at 250 denarii.[60] Perhaps the most striking evidence for imperial involvement in the remuneration of public education is Gratian's school law of 376, issued to the Praetorian Prefect of Gaul in order to fix pay rates for publicly funded *rhetores* and Latin and Greek *grammatici* in the metropoleis of the Gallic dioceses. Latin *grammatici* were to receive 20 annonae at Trier and 12 at all other metropoleis, while Greek *grammatici* were to receive 12 at all metropoleis including Trier.[61] The law makes it clear that these salaries were not to be supplemented by the cities themselves but were to be paid entirely by the imperial fisc. But the rates were more than ample: if we commute *annonae* to solidi at the rate of 1/4 reported at Valentinian III's *Novel* 13, 3, this amounted to 48 and 80 solidi respectively, or about ten to twenty times subsistence. Even as late as the sixth century, Justinian's pragmatic sanction restructuring Africa in 534 set the rate for imperially funded teachers in Carthage at 10 *annonae* plus 5 *capita*, which commuted to 70 solidi by the revised rate of the period.[62] These were of course much higher salaries than most teachers could command. Indeed, late antique teachers – like their high-imperial predecessors – complained regularly about wage rates. Palladas the early fourth-century epigrammatist lamented his measly annual rate of 1 solidus per pupil.[63] Even Libanius, who enjoyed considerable wealth from birth, found himself plagued by students trying to avoid paying their dues.[64] Yet Libanius's case is perhaps representative of the disconnect between rhetoric and reality, for he profited handsomely from the profession. As KASTER has shown, after abandoning the imperially funded chair in rhetoric he held in Constantinople in 354, Libanius sought to collect the attendant salary for three years before being forced to step down. Meanwhile, he had won a civically funded chair in Antioch by 354 and by 360 was also receiving an imperial salary. Although he ceased collecting the emoluments from the civic chair, he never surrendered full control over the

[59] *CTh* 13, 3, 14 (a. 387); 16-17 (a. 414); 18 (a. 427).

[60] *Ed. pret.* 7, 70-71 (S. LAUFFER, *Diokletians Preisedikt*, Texte und Kommentare, 5, Berlin 1971, p. 124).

[61] *CTh* 13, 3, 11 with KASTER, « Reconsideration » [n. 37].

[62] *CJ* 1, 27, 42 (a. 534). See also Cassiod., *var.* 9, 21, 5-6 (a. 533); *Just. Nov.* 164, 22 (a. 554) for the ongoing payment of public teacher's salaries in Rome and Constantinople in the sixth century.

[63] *Anth. Gr.* 9, 174; cf. A. CAMERON, « Roman School Fees », *CR* 15, 1965, pp. 257-258. On teacher's fees, see also Them., *or.* 23, 288C-289B; 294A, with PENELLA, *Private Orations* [n. 5], pp. 114-115; Fulg., *Virgiliana Continentia* 142 (Helm, p. 86, ll. 4-6); C.A. FORBES, *Teacher's Pay in Ancient Greece*, University of Nebraska Studies, May 1942, Studies in the Humanities, 2, Lincoln 1942, pp. 52-57. For teachers' fees from the student perspective, see *P. Oxy.*, XVIII, 2190.

[64] Lib., *or.* 54, 17.

revenue but instead used it to hire a small army of assistants, who were able to increase his student load, and thereby his revenue stream – for each student also owed him fees.[65]

The intermediate – at times even elementary – level education offered by the *grammaticus* was thus far from being "organized through the structures of the household." Although this had been true of the earliest imperial century – the period taken as paradigmatic for "Roman" slaveholding by HARPER and so many others who study ancient slavery – it is was no longer universally the case already by the late first century, and was certainly not so in Late Antiquity. We do ourselves a disservice by not opening our eyes to the shifts in educational structures and their social consequences over the course of the imperial centuries.

Individual Instruction

In keeping with his larger project of charting continuity in the use of slaves between the early and later Empire, HARPER has built a case for the central role of slavery in education on models that were developed to describe the situation in the first century CE. KEITH BRADLEY in particular has shown the role played by slave child-minders in the rearing of young children during the first two centuries CE, relying especially on epigraphic evidence of *paedagogi* and other types of child-minder (*tata, mamma, papas*), who are abundantly attested, especially in Rome.[66] Rome was, however, in many ways anomalous, not least because it was home to the Empire's super-elite, and, through the early third century, the imperial household itself. The Roman elite, it is true, clung particularly strongly to old Republican models that favored owning slave teachers who could offer childcare and individual instruction to the children of their owners. This method was especially useful in protecting girls and boys from sexual advances by their teachers, a constant worry of ancient (as also with modern) parents. Thus the prolepticly named slave Pudens

[65] KASTER, « Salaries of Libanius » [n. 30], on Lib., *or.* 31, part. 31, 17; 20-21; 29-31; cf. P. F. WOLF, *Vom Schulwesen der Spätantike. Libanius-Interpretationen*, Offenburg-Baden 1951, pp. 60-75; A. F. NORMAN, *Antioch as a Centre of Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanius*, Translated Texts for Historians, 34, Liverpool 2000, pp. 66-83; L. VAN HOOF, *Lobbying through Literature. Libanius, For the Teachers (Oration 31),* in P. VAN NUFFELEN – L. VAN HOOF (eds.), *Literature and Society in the Fourth Century AD: Performing Paideia, Constructing the Present, Presenting the Self*, Leiden 2015, pp. 68-82.

[66] K. R. BRADLEY, *Discovering the Roman Family. Studies in Roman Social History*, New York-London-Oxford 1991, pp. 37-75. For the scanty epigraphic evidence on childminders in Late Antiquity, see B. STAWOSKA-JUNDZIŁŁ, « *Mamma*, *Tata* i *Papas* w Łacińskich Inskrypcjach Chrześcijańkich z Rzymu III-VI Wieku », *Vox Patrum* 22, 2002, pp. 487-500. It is not possible to confirm status for any of the fourteen case she collects.

served in the early first century not just as *grammaticus* to his charge, Aemilia Lepida, but also as her "caretaker and the governor of her morals."[67] Lepida was the daughter of M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 6 CE), and the future wife of Drusus Julius Caesar. Operating with similar concerns, Septimius Severus's praetorian prefect Plautianus had numerous male slaves castrated so that his daughter, Plautilla – Caracalla's future wife – "should have only eunuchs as her attendants in general, and especially as her teachers in music and other branches of art."[68]

BRADLEY'S study of early childhood education opens with the young Julio-Claudian princes and princesses, all of whom appear to have had servile *paedagogi* and teachers early in life. Augustus had a slave pedagogue named Sphaerus whom he eventually manumitted and honored with a public funeral, and, as we have seen, his grandsons Gaius and Lucius were taught by the freedman M. Verrius Flaccus.[69] As a small child, Nero was reared by two servile *paedagogi* in the household of his aunt Domitia Lepida while his mother, Agrippina, was in exile. After her return and remarriage to Claudius, two other *paedagogi* finished his early education, Beryllus and Anicetus. Both were certainly manumitted slaves, and both went on to serve the young emperor in high level administrative posts: the former as Nero's *ab epistulis Graecis*, the latter as commander of the imperial fleet at Misenum.[70] Nero's step-brother Britannicus also had a slave *educator* named Sosibius.[71] And we have epigraphic testimonia to the same phenemonon in the case of Hymnus, the *paedagogus* of Julia Livilla (daughter of Germanicus); of Malchio, *paedagogus* of "Drusus" (whether the son of Tiberius or Germanicus is uncertain); Philocrates, *paedagogus* of Valeria Messalina (third wife of the emperor Claudius); and of M. Livius Prytanis, *paedagogus* of Livia Julia (daughter of Nero Claudius Drusus).[72]

But a shift in taste and practice in the early education of princes is already apparent by the late first century, around the same time the emperors started moving away from the use of the imperial family for the administration of government. Increasingly Rome's rulers became interested in hiring highly skilled *ingenui* to train their children and the children of close family members, as in the case of Quintilian, teacher to the children of Domitian's uncle T. Flavius Clemens,

[67] *CIL*, V, 592 = *ILS*, 1848: *Pudens M(arci) Lepidi l(ibertus), grammaticus, procurator eram Lepidae moresq(ue) regebam.*

[68] Dio Cass. 75, 14, 4-6. See also Plin., *ep.* 3.3, recommending the freeborn teacher Julius Genitor for the son of a deceased friend because of his moral rectitude before a boy "endowed with striking physical beauty."

[69] Dio Cass. 48, 33, 1; Suet., *gramm.* 17; cf. Above n. 50.

[70] Suet., *Ner.* 6, 3; 22, 1; 35, 2; Jos. *AJ* 20, 182-184; Tac., *ann.* 14, 3, with BRADLEY, *Discovering* [n. 66], pp. 37-38.

[71] Tac., *ann.* 11, 1; 11, 4.

[72] *CIL*, VI, 3998; 3999; 4459; 33787; cf. LAES, « Pedagogues in Latin » [n. 42], p. 319.

who were being groomed for possible succession before Domitian's assassination.[73] The education of Marcus Aurelius is unusually well documented: the *Historia Augusta* catalogs some eighteen teachers, including three at the elementary level – Euforio the *litterator,* Geminus the *comoedus*, and Andro, the *musikos* and *geometer*. These three were likely servile, but beyond this his education was entrusted to men who either were already of equestrian or senatorial rank or who attained to this in the years to come.[74] The education of young emperors was thus becoming a matter of state, to be overseen primarily by men of high status.

By the fourth century, the shift to freeborn educational labor in the training of princes was essentially complete. Constantine hired the Latin rhetor L. Cornelius Lactantius, already famous and advanced in years, to train his son Crispus from the time the boy was five years old.[75] He then employed the Gaul Aemilius Magnus Arborius to train his younger sons in Constantinople.[76] He or his half-brother Dalmatius hired another freeborn Bordelais, Exsuperius, to train the princes Dalmatius and Hannibalianus.[77] Valentinian I hired the Gallic sensation Ausonius to begin training Gratian when the boy was just seven.[78] Ausonius, of course, went on to hold high-imperial office as Quaestor, PPO, and Consul. As such he offers a close parallel with Nero's educators Beryllus and Anicetus – with the crucial exception that he was freeborn. In similar fashion, Licinius hired the teacher Optatus to teach his homonymous child, again as a small boy, for Licinius junior did not live past ten. Optatus's previous attainments are unknown, but his freeborn status is assured, for he went on under Constantine to be appointed Consul (324) and Patricius – the first to hold this new title.[79]

This is not to say that servile labor was entirely eschewed in the training of fourth-century princes: Julian (who was not intended as an imperial successor) was educated in part by the eunuch Mardonius, one of the two solid testimonia for servile labor in late antique education offered by HARPER.[80] The eunuch Antiochus

[73] Quint., *inst.* 4, praef. 2 with Suet., *Dom.* 15, 1.

[74] *Hist. Aug., Mar. Aur.* 2, 2-7, with A. R. BIRLEY, « Some Teachers of M. Aurelius », *BHAC* 1966/1967, pp. 39-42; E. CHAMPLIN, *Fronto and Antonine Rome*, Cambridge 1980, pp. 118-121. Cf. *Hist. Aug., Ver.* 2, 5-7 on the education of L. Verus.

[75] Hier., *chron.* s.a. 318; *vir.ill.* 80; *PLRE*, I, L. Caecilius Firmianus signo Lactantius 2. Crispus was born c. 305, cf. *PLRE,* I, Fl. Iulius Crispus 4, and Lactantius came to Gaul to tutor him c. 310, cf. N. LENSKI, *Il valore dell'Editto di Milano*, in R. MACCHIORO (ed.), *Costantino a Milano. L'editto e la sua storia (313-2013)*, Biblioteca Ambrosiana Fonti e Studi 28, Milan 2017c, pp. 5-58: 53.

[76] Auson., *prof.* 16; *par.* 3.1-6; *PLRE,* I, Aemilius Magnus Arborius 4.

[77] Auson., *prof.* 17.7-11 with *PLRE*, I, Exsuperius 1.

[78] See KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], pp. 247-249 no. 21 for full references. See also SIVAN, *Ausonius* [n. 12], pp. 104; 108-110.

[79] Lib., *or.* 42, 26, with *PLRE*, I, Flavius Optatus 3.

[80] Jul., *mis.* 351A-354A; Soc., *h.e.* 3, 1, 9. Mardonius was a family slave of Gothic origin who had

is also said to have played a crucial role in the upbringing of the young Theodosius II, although there is no direct attestation to his influence as a teacher.[81] By and large, however, late antique imperial children were educated by freeborn teachers of relatively high status: Valens had his daughters, Anastasia and Carosa, educated by Marcianus, a former imperial officer who had turned to the priesthood.[82] He also contracted the superstar rhetorician Themistius to teach his son Valentinian Galates when he was still a toddler.[83] Themistius was then employed by Theodosius I to teach the six-year old Arcadius.[84] Theodosius also brought the Roman senatorial Arsenius to Constantinople to finish the training of Arcadius and his younger son Honorius – again, while in their boyhood.[85] Indeed, thanks to a letter of Jerome, we know that Theodosius established a sort of palace school at which not just the young princes but also the children of other imperial relatives and high officials were taught.[86] Leo I hired the seasoned *grammatikos* Dioscorus of Myra to tutor his daughters Ariadne and Leontia, and went on to appoint him PUC and Consul.[87] And a recently published inscription has shown that Valentinian III was educated by none other than the blue-blooded senatorial Petronius Maximus, whom SILVIO PANCIERA has argued was employed as *praeceptor* to the boy emperor in the midst of a career that included appointments as CSL, PUR, PPO, and Consul. Petronius, of course, ultimately went on to supplant Valentinian as emperor in 455, after having assassinated his former pupil.[88] Petronius was, of course, preceded by Eugenius as a teacher-cum-emperor, for the latter had managed a school in Rome before climbing the administrative ranks and eventually landing on the throne.[89] In

been trained by Julian's grandfather to serve as an educator and had also trained Julian's mother, Basilina. Cf. *PLRE*, I, Mardonius; H. SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN, *Kaisertum und Bildungswesen im spätantiken Konstantinopel*, Historia Einzelschriften, 94, Stuttgart 1995, pp. 49-50.

[81] See Joh. Mal., *chron.* 14, 16 (Thurn p. 281) = Priscus *fr.* 53* (Carolla p. 84) = Priscus *fr.* 7 (Blockley p. 232); *Suda* Θ 145 = Priscus *fr.* 3.2 (Blockley p. 228).

[82] Soc., *h.e.* 4, 9, 4-5; cf. SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN, *Kaisertum* [n. 80], pp. 53-54.

[83] *PLRE*, I, Valentinianus Galates; N. LENSKI, *Failure of Empire. Valens and the Roman State in the Fourth Century A.D.*, Berkeley 2002, p. 95.

[84] Them., *or.* 16, 204b-c; 213a-b (delivered in 383 – Arcadius was born c. 377); *or.* 18, 224a-c; cf. *PLRE*, I, Themistius 1; SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN, *Kaisertum* [n. 80], pp. 54-55.

[85] Cedrenos, vol. I, p. 573; Zonaras 13, 19; cf. SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN, *Kaisertum* [n. 80], pp. 56-57.

[86] Hier., *ep.* 79, 5; cf. Zos. 5, 3, 2 with *PLRE*, I, Flavius Promotus.

[87] *Suda* Δ 1208 with *PLRE*, II, Dioscorus 5; KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], no. 48, Dioscorius.

[88] *CIL*, VI, 41398 = *AE*, 2006, 15 with S. PANCIERA, *Petronio Massimo precettore di Valentinian III*, in *Epigrafi, epigrafia, epigrafisti. Scritti vari editi e inediti (1956-2005) con note complementari e indici*, 2, Rome 2006, pp. 1152-1166; cf. *PLRE*, II, Petronius Maximus 22.

[89] *PLRE*, I, Fl. Eugenius 6; cf. KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], pp. 403-404, n. 211. Soc., *h.e.* 5.25.1 and Theophan. p. 71 (de Boor) claim he had been a *grammatikos*, but Zos. 4, 54, 1 mentions only the teaching of rhetoric.

light of this mountain of evidence for the employment of high-status freeborn teachers to serve as tutors to princelings – and even as princes – it is impossible not to see that the educational environment in the palace had changed radically from the heavily slave dependent early Empire. This appears to be reflexive of a broader shift in the teaching profession, a change which these revised imperial habits simultaneously reflected and influenced.

One final shift in individual instruction detectable in the later Empire is the trend toward what one might call early Christian "home schooling". Late Antiquity in general and the fourth century in particular witnessed a wholesale reevaluation of the content, nature, and purpose of education as Christian normative and ideological structures supplanted traditional paradigms. Evidence for the tensions negotiated by Christian cultural leaders has left its mark on treatises like Basil of Caesarea's *Address to Young Men*, which recommends retaining the study of Classical literature so as to profit from its benefits while rejecting the poor morals it often portrays; Augustine's *On Christian Doctrine*, which idolizes the study of scripture as the ultimate goal of learning but grants that traditional education can enhance theological understanding; and John Chrysostom's *On Vainglory*, which favors a more radical rejection of tradition in favor of a focus on morality with the goal of forming children into "soldiers of Christ".[90]

This same spirit of reevaluation and reform can also be witnessed in the increased incidence of home-schooling methods for early education. To be sure, deeply conservative figures like Cato the Elder had already favored the personal teaching of their own children in the second century BCE. Despite owning a slave teacher named Chilo, Cato refused to allow his son to be taught by him, preferring instead to teach the boy himself.[91] Quintilian indicates that, still in the late first century CE, some preferred to have their children taught at home rather than in a school for both moral and pedagogical reasons, although Quintilian himself strongly favored school training.[92] Concern for the morality of the child was, as we have seen, always an issue, but the new emphasis on a reformed Christian curriculum in the fourth century appears to have tipped the balance in favor of early education by fellow family members as a new normal. Thus in the mid-fourth-

[90] A. M. MALINGREY, *Jean Chysostome. Sur la vaine gloire et l'éducation des enfants*, Sources chrétiennes 188, Paris 1972; P. BROWN, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity. Towards a Christian Empire*, Madison 1992, pp. 35-70; 122-23.

[91] Plut., *Cat. Ma.* 20, 3-4; cf. BONNER, *Education* [n. 15], p. 37. Even Augustus is said to have taught his grandsons, Gaius and Lucius to read, Suet., *Aug.* 64, 3. More on home schooling in the Republic and early Empire at BONNER, *Education* [n. 15], pp. 10-19; RAWSON, *Children* [n. 15], pp. 160-162.

[92] Quint., *inst.* 1, 2, 1-10.

century, Basil's sister Macrina was educated by her mother, who made a point of avoiding the Classics in favor of training in the Scripture; and Macrina in turn took responsibility for teaching her younger brother Peter by the same principles.[93] Somewhat later in the fourth century, the future ascetic leader Hypatius of Rouphinianae was taught to read and write at home by his father.[94] Around the same time on the other side of the empire, Paulinus of Pella seems to have learned the basics from his parents before being sent to school to learn the *ars grammatica*.[95] Jerome was, of course, famous for his advocacy of cloistered education for girls, notably expressed in his letter to Laeta, daughter-in-law of his patroness Paula, about the home-schooling of her daughter, also named Paula after her grandmother.[96] The fifth-century bishop Fulgentius of Ruspe was educated in reading, writing, and Greek language by his mother.[97] And Eutychius, the mid-sixth-century Patriarch of Constantinople, was educated in reading and writing by his grandfather.[98] Most of these stories derive from saints' lives, which present home-education as a surer path to holiness in topological, almost repetitive fashion. This should not, however, diminish the credibility of such testimonia but rather enhance their importance as indicators that the new gold-standard among leading Christian families was education at home. Indeed Theophylact Simocatta's admonition that fathers should train their own sons rather than employing a pedagogue indicates that, by the early seventh century, this assumption was widespread.[99] Schoolroom training had by no means ceased, but insofar as individual instruction continued in the home environment, it was now often offered by parents rather than slaves with the intention of inculcating in students not just the basics of reading and writing but also the intellectual value of Christian scripture and the moral and ethical principles of the newly dominant Christan religion.

Elementary Teachers: *Paedagogi*, *Praeceptores,* and *Magistri*

The preceding discussion has focused on changes in education at the mid-level of a child's academic progress with the object of demonstrating that measurable

[93] Greg. Nys., *vit. Mac.* 2-3; 14 (*Gregorii Nysseni Opera* 8, 1, 373; 383-384).

[94] Callinicus, *vit. Hyp.* 1, 1 (*SCh* 177).

[95] Paul. Pell., *euch.* 55-79 (*SCh* 209, 62). Interestingly, Paulinus reports learning Greek by playing with Hellenophone slaves, not, however, from slave school teachers.

[96] Hier., *ep.* 107 (*CSEL* 55, 290-305).

[97] Ferrand., *vit. Fulg.* 1, 4-5 (*CCSL* 91F, 158-159).

[98] *Eustratratii Presbyteri Vita Eutychii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani*, ll. 219-27 (*CCSG* 25, 10).

[99] Theoph. Sim., *ep.* 58 (Zanetto p. 32).

changes occurred in the status of teachers between the early and late Empire. But DE WET and HARPER build their characterization of ancient education as an institution bound up with servile labor on teachers at the lowest level of the system. Indeed, both are concerned primarily with the pedagogue, whom they cast as an almost invariably servile extension of the ancient family.[100] It is certainly the case that servile pedagogues were the norm in the elite households of Rome in the late Republican and early Imperial period.[101] Apart from BRADLEY, whose work on the question was highlighted earlier, WERNER RIESS has demonstrated from a systematic study of epigraphic testimonia for all levels of teachers from the city of Rome that, while those at the level of *grammaticus* and higher tended to be freeborn from the second century onward, *paedagogi* and other elementary level teachers (*praeceptores, magistri*) were generally servile.[102] These data are presented in Appendix 4 and can be visualized in Chart 2.

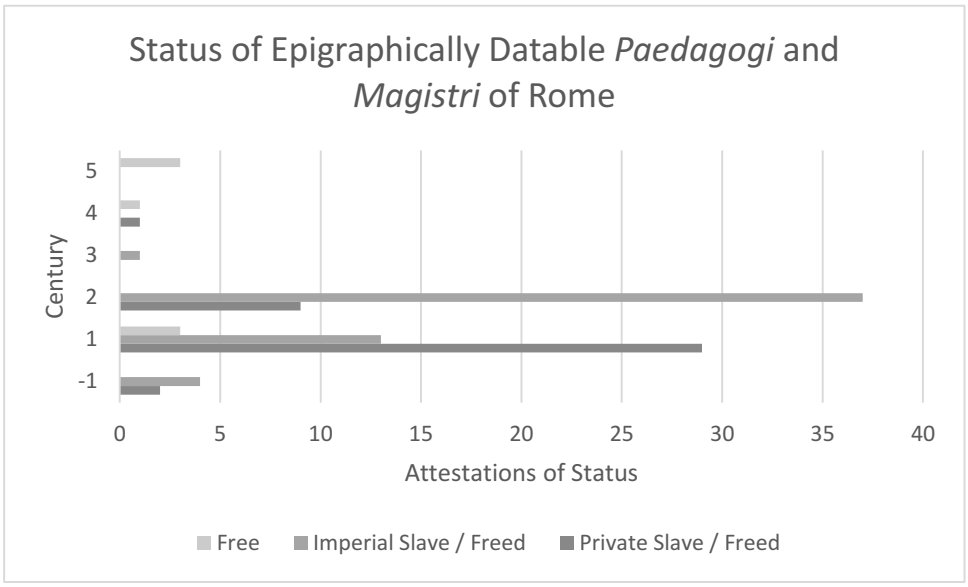

Chart 2. Status of Datable Epigraphically Attested Elementary Educators of Rome (see Appendix 4)

[100] They are hardly alone in assuming *paedagogus* / *paidagōgos* was essentially synomymous with slave, see A. J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Antioche Païenne et Chrétienne. Libanius, Chrysostome et les moines de Syrie*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 194, Paris 1959, p. 107; L. MAURICE, *The Teacher in Ancient Rome. The Magister and His World*, Lanham 2013, p. 127.

[101] More on pedagogues and elementary teachers at R. BOULOGNE, *De plaats van de paedagogus in de Romeinse cultuur*, Groningen 1951; FESTUGIÈRE, *Antioche* [n. 100], pp. 107-109; BONNER, *Education*

It is important to note, however, that by the fifth century, if not sooner, a shift had been made to free labor even in the field of elementary instruction. Moreover, a closer look at the data demonstrates how peculiar the Roman situation was, primarily because of the dominant impact of the *familia Caesaris* on the epigraphy. Thus, while 101 of the 110 Roman *paedagogi* and *praeceptores* whose status can be determined or surmised were servile (92%), 57 of these (52%) were imperial slaves. Furthermore, of these, 46 (81%) are attested as having been responsible for the teaching of other imperial slaves (*paedagogi puerorum* or *praeceptores puerorum Caesaris nostri*). This training was carried out in the so-called *paedagogia*, slave schools two of which have been discovered archaeologically in Rome.[103] Most of these Roman teachers were therefore not pedagogues employed by private families for the training of their children but were instead part of the elaborate, self-reproducing structure of the Imperial *familia*.[104] As such, this group tells us little about how education functioned in the private market. Moreover, 22 of the 44 inscriptions (50%) attesting to servile private *paedagogi* are associated with super-elite families, five of these being families connected directly to the imperial house.[105] The Roman

[n. 15], pp. 34-46; BRADLEY, *Discovering* [n. 66], pp. 37-75; H. SCHULZE, *Ammen und Pädagogen. Sklavinnen und Sklaven als Erzieher in der antiken Kunst und Gesellschaft*, Mainz 1998; CRIBIORE, *Gymnastics* [n. 15], pp. 47-53; EAD., *School of Libanius* [n. 140], pp. 118-20; RIESS, *Stadtrömische Lehrer* [n. 42]; RAWSON, *Children* [n. 15], pp. 163-167; 214-219; LAES, « School-Teachers » [n. 42], pp. 118-120; ID. « Pedagogues in Greek » [n. 42]; ID. « Pedagogues in Latin » [n. 42]; ID., *Children in the Roman Empire. Outsiders Within*, Cambridge 2011, pp. 113-131; MAURICE, *Teacher* [n. 100], pp. 127-130. For iconographic evidence, see J. MANDER, *Portraits of Children on Roman Funerary Monuments*, Cambridge 2013, pp. 141-143; cf. H. I. MARROU, Μουσικός ἀνήρ. *Étude sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains*, Paris 1937.

[102] RIESS, *Stadtrömische Lehrer* [n. 42]; cf. BRADLEY, *Discovering* [n. 66], pp. 71-72. See also on female *paedagogae* C. ZACCARIA, *Paedagoga. Un 'optional extra'?* in A. BUONOPANE – F. GENERINI (eds.), *Donna e lavoro nella documentazione epigrafica. Atti del I seminario sulla condizione femminile nella documentazione epigrafica, Bologna, 21 novembre 2002*, Faenza 2002, pp. 24-41.

[103] P. KEEGAN, *Reading the 'Pages' of the Domus Caesaris: Pueri Delicati, Slave Education, and the Graffiti of the Palatine Paedagogium*, in M. G. GEORGE (ed.), *Roman Slavery and Roman Material Culture*, Phoenix Supplementary Volumes, 52, Toronto 2012, pp. 56-98, with earlier references. There were, of course, also private *paedagogia*, see MARROU, *History of Education* [n. 15], p. 266; BOOTH, « Schooling of Slaves » [n. 16]; HARRIS, *Ancient Literacy* [n. 20], pp. 247-248; RAWSON, *Children* [n. 15], pp. 189-190; MAURICE, *Teacher* [n. 100], pp. 121-126.

[104] Inscriptions attesting to *conpaedagogitai* appear to record deceased slave students in these schools rather than *paedagogi*, cf. Appendix 4, reference nos. 39-44.

[105] For super-elite families, see Appendix 4, reference numbers 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 16; 23; 24; 28; 29; 30; 33; 34; 109; 110; 113; 114; 120. For imperial connections, see reference numbers 2; 3; 4 (from the Monumentum Liviae); 5 (from the Monumentum Marcellae); 15 (for the pedagogue of C. Gargilius Proculus, son of the imperial freedman C. Iulius Philagrus). On the preponderance of pedagogues from very high status families in Rome, see LAES, « Pedagogues in Latin » [n. 42], pp. 308-309.

epigraphic evidence is thus heavily skewed toward the very highest echelons of imperial society, the sorts of people who could afford to own a slave dedicated to attending upon school-aged children. The concentration of this wealth and status class in Rome should warn against taking the Roman inscriptions as somehow representative of the empire as a whole. Finally, although the vast majority of epigraphically attested private *paedagogi* in Rome were indeed slaves or freedmen, the numbers are much closer to parity between servile and free private *praeceptores* (4:2) and *magistri* (2:3) (see Table 2).

	Paedagogi			***Paedagogi / Praeceptores puerorum***		***Praeceptores* of freeborn children (?)**		***Magistri***		
	Slave/ Libertus	**Free**	**Unclear**	**Slave/ Libertus**	**Free**	**Slave/ Libertus**	**Free**	**Slave/ Libertus**	**Free**	**Unclear**
Private	33	2	4	1	0	4	2	2	3	7
Imperial	11	0	0	46	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	44	2	4	47	0	4	2	2	3	7

Table 2. Epigraphically attested paedagogi, praeceptores and magistri of Rome (see Appendix 4)

The situation is quite different when we look at the epigraphy outside of Rome – in the rest of Italy and the provinces. CHRISTIAN LAES has collected epigraphic evidence for extra-urban *paedagogi* and *magistri* as well as other elementary teachers in three separate studies, and I have added supplements to his tables.[106] These are summarized in Appendix 5 and can be visualized in Chart 3. They reveal a situation that looks much closer to that of the *grammatici*. *Paidagōgoi* are found epigraphically in the eastern Mediterranean already in fourth-century BCE Athens, where attestations are uniformly to servile individuals. Over the course of the Hellenistic centuries, however, free elementary teachers became increasingly common, as is clear from the early second-century Gymnasiarchic Law of Beroia, which permits the gymnasiarch to punish the *paidagōgoi* of unruly youths, "with blows for those who are unfree but a fine for those who are free."[107] By the imperial period, *paedagogi* and elementary *magistri* derived from the ranks of the free as commonly as from slaves and freedmen, and by the later Empire, epigraphically attested *paedagogi* and *magistri* were exclusively free. At first this may seem surprising, but the literary

[106] LAES, « School-Teachers » [n. 42]; LAES « Pedagogues in Greek » [n. 42]; LAES, « Pedagogues in Latin » [n. 42].

[107] *SEG*, XXVII, 261 B 21-24. See P. GAUTHIER – M. V. HATZOPOULOS, *La loi gymnasiarchique de Beroia*, Meletēmata 16, Athens 1993, pp. 20; 72-76.

evidence we will examine below reinforces this picture: education, even at the lowest levels, came increasingly to be associated with free labor.[108]

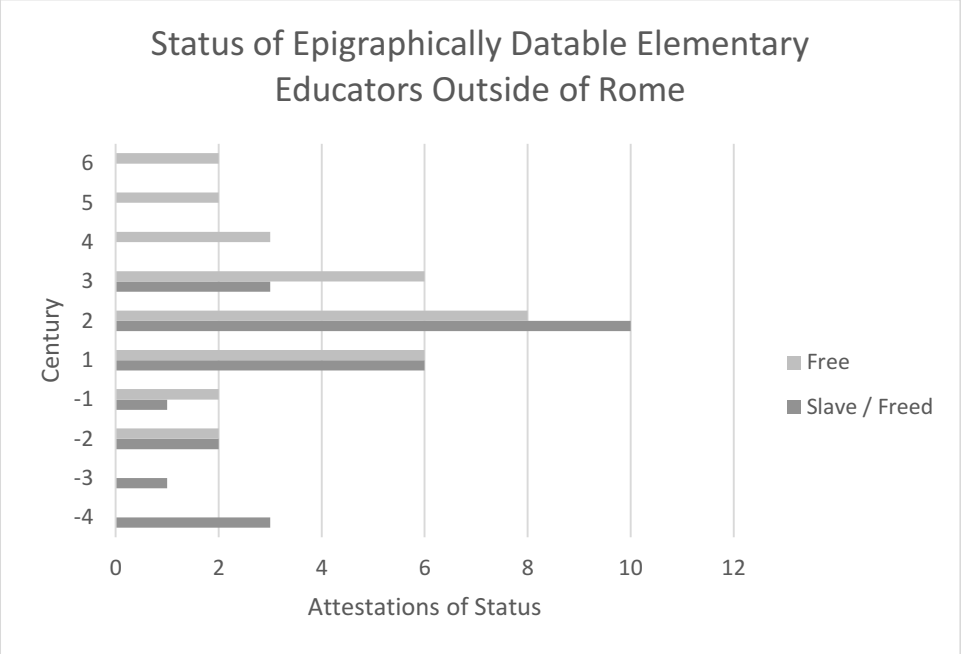

Chart 3. Status of epigraphically Datable Elementary Educators Outside of Rome (see Appendix 5)

The status of epigraphically attested elementary educators is thus more complex than meets the eye: in Rome, servile *paedagogi* and *praeceptores* prevail, but the predominance of imperial slaves and particularly imperial slave teachers of other slaves skews the picture; by the later Empire, even in Rome, free labor has come to the fore. In Italy and the provinces, free labor is already common in the late Republican period and becomes the norm by the third century. There was, in other words, regional and temporal variation, but it is hardly the case that educational laborers at the elementary level were uniformly servile across the expanse of the

[108] See also BOOTH, « Schooling of Slaves » [n. 16], who makes the case that functional literacy for slave and free children intended for more banausic professions was achieved through wage labor in what he terms "street schools", by teachers who were a mix of free and slave. See, for example, the free shorthand teacher Apollonius hired to teach the slave Chaerammon in 155 CE at *P.Oxy.*, VI, 724 = *Sel. Pap.* 15.

Empire, and certainly not so in the later Empire. Indeed, KASTER has argued that in the late period elite children tended when possible to begin their elementary education with a *grammaticus* – as we have seen, fundamentally a free profession by the fourth century.[109]

It is nevertheless worth investigating more closely the nature of the occupants of the lowest rungs of the education ladder, the *paedagogi*/*paidagōgoi*, to determine more about their social status and their role in the larger educational system with an eye to the question: were servile pedagogues the default elementary educators of children in Late Antiquity? Pedagogues, as their name indicates, had always been charged with accompanying children to school. This remained the case into the later empire, when the word was used to characterize a class that functioned simultaneously as child-minders and as teachers.[110] But there seems to have been a marked difference in usage between West and East. Where in the West the *paedagogus* was primarily an attendant, in the East his role as educator was much more pronounced.[111]

The best evidence for the western situation in Late Antiquity comes from the corpus of Augustine. In his Latin speaking context the designations *praeceptor* and *magister* were the norm for elementary teachers, while *paedagogi* appear exclusively in the role of attendants. Throughout his corpus as registered in the CLCLT (see Appendix 6), Augustine uses *paedagogus* 56 times, 46 of which focus on a single scriptural reference: "Therefore the law was our *paedagogus* in Christ so that we may be justified in faith; but when faith came, we are no longer under the *paedagogus*" (Gal. 3.24-25).[112] In referencing these lines, Augustine makes it clear again and again that it was the job of the *paedagogus* to bring the child to his *magister*, while the *magister* was responsible for teaching. This is evident in several passages in which he lists *paedagogi et magistri* as a logical pairing, with the latter instructing the child and the former accompanying him and supervising his activities outside of school hours.[113] As he repeats in two of his sermons, "The *paedagogus* does not instruct but takes [the child] to the *magister*. Once instructed and fortified by the *magister*, [the child] is

[109] KASTER, « Notes » [n. 17]. The appendix of papyri attesting to educational laborers at R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Atlanta 1996, pp. 161-70 indicates that in this province educational laborers at the level of γραμματικός, γραμματοδιδάσκαλος, χαμαιδιδάσκαλος and διδάσκαλος were exclusively free (where status can be determined), while we find a mix of free and slave for those termed καθηγετής (slave: no. 5, 6. 7; free: 1, 2, 3, 4, 8) and παιδαγωγός (slave: no. 1, 3, 5; free: nos. 6, 7).

[110] BRADLEY, *Discovering* [n. 66], pp. 37-64; R. BOULOGNE, *De plaats* [n. 101], pp. 47-71; LAES, *Children* [n. 101], pp. 113-122.

[111] See more at LAES « Pedagogues in Greek » [n. 42], part. pp. 116-117.

[112] *itaque lex pedagogus noster fuit in Christo ut ex fide iustificemur, at ubi venit fides iam non sumus sub pedagogo*. Cf. I Cor. 4.14-15: *non ut confundam vos haec scribo sed ut filios meos carissimos moneo, nam si decem milia pedagogorum habeatis in Christo sed non multos patres, nam in Christo Iesu per evangelium ego vos genui.*

[113] Aug., *conf.* 1.19, 30 (bis); *serm.* 62 (*PL* 38, 423) (bis); *serm.* 156 (*PL* 38, 856-857) (bis); *serm.* 349

no longer under the power of the *paedagogus*."[114] In two passages (Appendix 6, reference numbers 47-48), Augustine indicates that he considered *paedagogi* to be slaves, but this must be understood in the broader context of a flood of references indicating that he also considered them not to be teachers as such.[115] In another he states that children could attend school without a *paedagogus*.[116] His *paedagogus* was, in other words, an attendant rather than an educator, important for the supervision of the child, but not essential to his learning.

We get the same impression from the *Colloquia* of the *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana*, a series of bilingual narratives in Latin and Greek meant to serve as primers for language learners. These include vignettes from the daily routine of a schoolboy in a series of recensions created between the first and fourth centuries CE. In most versions of the text, the boy is attended at home by a servile nurse (*nutrix* or *nutritor* / τροφός or τροφεύς) and by another slave (*puer* / παῖς) who accompanies him to school (qua *paedagogus* / παιδαγωγός) and meets practical needs like preparing his writing supplies (qua *scriniarius*) and carrying his books (qua *capsarius*).[117] Such *paedagogi* are distinguished, however, from the boy's teachers, who are referred to as *magister* / διδάσκαλος or *praeceptor* / καθηγητής, are addressed as free men (*domine* / κύριε), teach elementary to intermediate pupils in their own schoolroom (*auditorium* / ἀκροατήριον), and collect a wage (*merces* / μισθός).[118]

(*PL* 39, 1533); *gest. Pelag.* 1, 3 (*CSEL* 42, 53) (bis). The notion of the *paedagogus* as attendant (*pedisequus*) is already present in earlier sources, see *CGL*, II, 392; V, 472.

[114] Aug., *serm. Dolb.* 15D, 2 (F. DOLBEAU, *Vingt-six sermons au peuple d'Afrique*, 2nd ed., Collection des études augustiniennes, Série Antiquité, 147, Paris 2009, p. 197): *Paedagogus non instruit, sed ad magistrum ducit. Instructus munitusque a magistro, iam non erit sub paedagogo*; cf. *serm.* 156, 3 (*PL* 38, 851). See also Hier., *Gal.* 2, 3, 24-26 (*CCSL* 77A, 100): *Non tamen paedagogus magister et pater est nec haereditatem et scientiam paedagogi is qui eruditur exspectat.*

[115] Aug., *div. qu.* 53 (CCSL 44A, 91): *inchoatio ergo quaedam facta est sub paedagogo, ut magistro perfectio seruaretur, cum tamen idem deus et paedagogum paruulis dederit, legem illam scilicet per famulum suum, et magistrum grandioribus, id est euangelium per unicum suum.* We find the same at Amb., *ep.* 65, 5 (*CSEL* 82, 2, 158).

[116] Aug., *gest. Pelag.* 1.3 (*CSEL* 42, 53). Augustine also mentions *capsarii*, who carried books for the child but then waited for him outside the schoolroom: Aug., *en. Ps.* 40, 14 (*CCSL* 38, 459); *serm* 5, 5 (*CCSL* 41, 56).

[117] *Colloquia Monacensia-Einsidlensia* 2e; 2h; 3e (E. DICKEY, *The Colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana*, 2 vols., Cambridge 2012, vol. 1, pp. 105; 110); *Colloquium Stephani* 8a (DICKEY, *Colloquia*, vol. 1, p. 226); *Colloquium Harleianum* 3a; 5a-b; 6a (DICKEY, *Colloquia,* vol. 2, pp. 20-22); *Colloquium Celtis* 3a; 6a; 15b (DICKEY, *Colloquium*, vol. 2, p. 165-166; 169); cf. *Hermeneumata Vindobonensia* 15-16; 44-46 (A. C. DIONISOTTI, « From Ausonius' Schooldays? A Schoolbook and Its Relatives », *JRS* 72, 1982, pp. 83-125: 98; 101). The *colloquia* are too jejune to determine if the boy has multiple slaves to serve these various functions or is referring to a single slave attendant with various epithets. On the complex ramifications of the text, see DICKEY, *Colloquia*, vol. 1, pp. 28-43.

[118] *Colloquia Monacensia-Einsidlensia* 2g; 2i; 2m; 2u (DICKEY, *Colloquia*, vol. 1, pp. 105; 106-108); *Colloquium Stephani* 10a; 11c; 14a; 38c (DICKEY, *Colloquia*, vol. 1, p. 226); *Colloquium Harleianum* 1h; 4a; 6a (DICKEY, *Colloquia*, vol. 2, pp. 21-22); *Colloquium Montepessulanum* 2a; 2g (DICKEY, *Colloquia*,

Thus for westerners – the *Colloquia* were created in a western context – *paedagogus* appears to have meant "child-minder" or "attendant" and was distinguished from the "teacher" who actually instructed the child.

Other sources confirm that elementary teachers at the level of *magistri* tended to be free and work for wages from the second century onward. Already under Tiberius, the notorious *delator* Junius Otho, who had worked as a schoolmaster, was clearly freeborn, for he eventually rose to the praetorship.[119] The future emperor Helvius Pertinax also served as a schoolmaster before enlisting in the army.[120] Several laws regulating the immunity of teachers from *munera* preserved in the *Digest* explicitly reject attempts on the part of elementary instructors to obtain immunity, which implies that they too were of free status.[121] The *Historia Augusta* reports that the usurper Bonosus was the son of a *paedagogus litterarius*, by which the fourth-century author clearly intended a free profession.[122] The same can be said of a number of known pedagogues in the Hellenic East and later in the western Empire as well. Here it should be recalled that the East had its own traditions of education that predated those of the Roman West and differed from them significantly. One important divergence was the emphasis on physical education, overseen at the lowest level by *paidotribai* (gymnastic trainers).[123] Already in the early second century BCE, we learn of wage rates for *grammatodidaskaloi* and *paidotribai* at the publicly endowed gymnasia of Miletus and Teos, implying that both groups of teachers were often free.[124] In the eastern Empire of the late first and early second century CE, both Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom speak of free, wage earning *paidagōgoi* as something normal.[125] Indeed in this same period the designation *paidagōgos* began

vol. 2, pp. 95-96); *Colloquium Celtis* 18; 19; 22a; 37a; 40a; 42a; 45a (DICKEY, *Colloquia*, vol. 2, pp. 170-171; 175; 177-178).

[119] Tac., *ann.* 3, 66, with A. D. BOOTH, « Some Suspect Schoolmasters », *Florilegium* 3, 1981, pp. 1-20: 4-5; cf. BONNER, *Education* [n. 15], p. 155.

[120] *Hist. Aug.*, *Pert.* 1, 1-6; cf. Dio Cass. 71, 3. BOOTH, «Some Suspect» [n. 119], pp. 9-12 questions the veracity of the tradition, but even its rejection would not negate the fact that the author of the *Historia Augusta* accepted the notion of free schoolmasters.

[121] *Dig.* 50, 5, 2, 8: *Qui pueros primas litteras docent, immunitatem a civilibus muneribus non habent: sed ne cui eorum id quod supra vires sit indicatur, ad praesidis religionem pertinet, sive in civitatibus sive in vicis primas litteras magistri doceant.* Cf. *Dig.* 50, 4, 11, 4; 50, 13, 1, 6.

[122] *Hist. Aug., tyr. quadr.* 14, 1 with BOOTH, «Some Suspect» [n. 119], pp. 3-4.

[123] E. CASEY, *Educating the Youth. The Athenian Ephebeia in the Early Hellenistic Era*, in J. E. GRUBBS – T. PARKIN (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, Oxford 2013, pp. 418-443, with earlier bibliography.

[124] *Syll.*[3] 577, ll. 50-52; 578 ll. 7-14. See also Plut., *Alex.* 5, 4-5 on Alexander's παιδαγωγός Lysimachus, a free man of Acarnia, and his relative Leonidas, who also used the name παιδαγωγός to the prince.

[125] Plut., *An virtus doceri possit* 2, 439F; *De vitando aere alieno* 6, 830A-B; Dio Chr., *or.* 7, 114. Plut. *De liberis educandis* 7, 4B-5A, assumes a slave παιδαγωγός and a free wage-earning teacher (διδάσκαλος).

to acquire a certain air of nobility, such that it could be used in a transferred sense to mean "primary instructor" when applied to individual authors or philosophers, or employed to describe philosophical and theological primers.[126] By the later Roman Empire, Diocletian's *Edict on Maximum Prices* lays out monthly wage limits for the elementary school teacher (*magister institutor litterarum* / χαμαιδιδάσκαλος) at 50 denarii per pupil and for the *paedagogus,* at the same rate.[127] This assumes, of course, that the *paedagogus* would not have been the slave of his charge but rather a free man who earned his living from wages. The same is reconfirmed by John Chrysostom, who reports more than once that *paidagōgoi* collected a wage.[128] And, as we shall see below, Libanius, also regularly discusses wage-earning *paidagōgoi*.

None of this is to deny that some late antique *paedagogi* and even *magistri* were enslaved. We have already encountered, for example, Julian's eunuch Mardonius, one of HARPER'S two definite slave teachers. HARPER'S second was a slave gifted to Libanius by his friend Seleucus who served as *paidagōgos* to Libanius's bastard son Cimon.[129] We can add two further instances from Libanius's corpus: Dositheus, the *paidagōgos* of his student Philagrius, and an anonymous eunuch who was the *paidagōgos* of the brothers Apolinarius and Gemellus.[130] In addition, a lengthy satyrical letter of Synesius of Cyrene laments about the alcoholic tendencies of a *paidotribēs* he owned as a slave.[131] And an archaeological attestation of a likely servile elementary teacher is found in a pristine fourth-century tomb excavated in a Hypogeum on the Via Latina in Rome that preserves the image – and probably the skeletal remains – of a *magister* named Generosus. To judge by his name and clothing, he was likely the slave of the tomb's dedicatee, the young Trebius Iustus

[126] Sen., *ep.* 89, 13; 110, 1; Colum. 1, 1, 13; *Hist. Aug., Marc. Aur.* 37, 3. See also Clement of Alexandria's theological primer titled *Paedagogos.*

[127] *Ed. pret.* 7, 65-68 (LAUFFER, *Diokletians Preisedikt* [n. 60], p. 124). The monthly wage of 50 denarii per pupil would have necessitated the enrollment of at least 30 paying students in order for the teacher to achieve a wage commensurate with that of a stonemason (*lapidarius*), joiner (*faber*), blacksmith (*faber ferrarius*) or baker (*pistor*).

[128] Joh. Chrys., *exp. in Ps.* 4, 3 (*PG* 55, 43): Οὐκ εἰς μουσεῖον ἀπιέναι δεῖ, οὐδὲ χρήματα ἀναλίσκειν, οὐδὲ παιδαγωγοὺς μισθοῦσθαι, καὶ ῥήτορας, καὶ σοφιστάς; *adv. oppug. vit. mon.* 3, 8 (*PG* 47, 361): Οὐδὲν ὄφελος δικαστηρίων, οὐδὲ νόμων, οὐδὲ παιδαγωγῶν, οὐ πατέρων, οὐκ ἀκολούθων, οὐ διδασκάλων· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἴσχυσαν διαφθεῖραι χρήμασιν, οἱ δ'ὅπως αὐτοῖς μισθὸς γένοιτο μόνον ὁρῶσι…. καὶ παιδαγωγοὺς καὶ διδασκάλους ἐφιστῶντες, καὶ χρήματα ἀναλίσκοντες; Cf. *adv. oppug. vit. mon.* 2, 2 (*PG* 47, 333). The two late antique papyri attesting to paidagōgoi both involve money payments, but it is unclear whether these are for wages or other transactions, *Stud. Pal.* XX 85.11v (320-321 CE); PSI VII 809.9 (IV-V CE) with Cribiore, *Writing* [n. 109], p. 161-162.

[129] Lib., *ep.* 734 with S. BRADBURY, *Selected Letters of Libanius. From the Age of Constantius and Julian*, Translated Texts for Historians 41, Liverpool 2004, no. 155.

[130] Lib., *epp.* 131; 233, 3.

[131] Synes., *ep.* 45 (Roques pp. 64-65).

signo Asellius.[132] A passage from a sermon of John Chrysostom indicates that certain well born children "held paidagōgoi," probably meaning "owned" them.[133] Furthermore, Justinian's *Institutes* record that one reason for an exception to the restrictions of the Lex Aelia Sentia on manumission was the freeing of a slave who had served as the master's *paedagogus*. Yet even here the evidence is ambiguous, for Justinian's text actually represents a transcription of Augustus's original law of 4 CE, which Justinian had just abrogated, as he is at pains to point out. The *Institutes* passages is thus less a record of a common sixth-century practice of freeing slave *paedagogi* than a reflection of the memory of having done so regularly in the first century CE.[134]

We have already seen that epigraphic sources indicate that by the second century most elementary teachers at the level of *magister* or higher were free – certainly outside of Rome, and by the fifth century even within it. Much more interesting are the many indications that fourth-century pedagogues were themselves also free wage earners. Apart from the material presented above, word searches in the corpora of John Chrysostom (the subject of DE WET'S book) and Libanius (our best attested late antique teacher) confirm this hypothesis.

John Chrysostom uses the word παιδαγωγός 85 times in his corpus as registered in the TLG. These are listed in Appendix 7 and are summarized in Table 3 here. In most instances he uses the word to explicate scripture, particularly with reference to I Cor. 4, 15 and, above all, Gal. 3, 24-25 – Augustine's favorite. In most of these, John's metaphorical exegetical language makes it impossible to determine whether he thinks of pedagogues as free or slave. Moreover, in many instances that discuss pedagogues without direct reference to scripture, his intent is again metaphorical and his reference so vague that status remains unclear. In some cases, however, John speaks in enough detail that status can be surmised. As Table 3 reveals, the vast majority of these point to free *paidagōgoi*.

[132] R. REA (ed.), *L'ipogeo di Trebio Giusto sulla via Latina. Scavi e restauri*, Vatican City 2004, pp. 89-90 with fig. 79, cf. *CIL*, VI, 37833. The status of the figure is uncertain. H. SOLIN, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen. Ein Namenbuch*, Forschungen Zur Antiken Sklaverei, 2, Stuttgart 1996, vol. 1, p. 129 finds only one freedman named Generosus, while I. KAJANTO, *The Latin Cognomina*, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, 36.2, Helsinki 1965, p. 313 points to eight *ingenui* with the name, which means literally "well born." Nevertheless, the combination of the single name and the short tunica worn by Generosus as well as the fact that he stands alongside a figure named Fortunatus, who is more clearly a slave, point toward slave status. The skeletal remains of two males, one aged 30-40 and the other 40-50, were found interred in the wall immediately below the fresco, REA, *L'ipogeo* [n. 133], p. 110.

[133] Joh. Chrys., *ep. I ad Cor.* 10. (*PG* 61, 84): Ὡς γὰρ παισὶν εὐγενέσι παιδαγωγοὺς ἔχουσι καὶ μέλλουσι πάντα κληρονομεῖν, οὕτω διαλέγεται.

[134] Just., *inst.* 1, 6, 5, which follows the verbiage at Gaius, *inst.* 1, 19.

	Free	Slave	Metaphorical	Unclear
Number	26(14)[135]	2	30	26
Percentage	31%	2%	36%	31%

Table 3. References to παιδαγωγός in the Corpus of John Chrysostom (see Appendix 7)

One instance (Appendix 7, ref. no. 27) indicates pedagogues could be either free or slave, and is therefore not counted in Table 3. Taken from *On Vainglory*, John's long treatise on education, it admonishes fathers to select a pedagogue carefully to help in raising the child: "Whichever slave will be useful in providing assistance. And if there is no one, seek out a free person for a wage, a virtuous man, and put him in charge of everything, so that he may assist you in the task."[136] Nothing could make it clearer that both were options for fourth-century Antiochenes. We have already noted above that John speaks of hiring pedagogues on multiple occasions, and he also tends regularly to distinguish between pedagogues and slave attendants, the former who supervised the child's activities and behaviors, the latter who carried his supplies and served him as a menial.[137] Above all, John provides us with perhaps our most well-developed portrait of a pedagogue to survive in ancient sources in a passage from his treatise *Against the Opponents of the Monastic Life*. This pedagogue is most definitely free. The man dwelt among the ascetics in the hills outside Antioch, where he had related his story to John personally. He had been sent to the area to accompany a boy whose parents wished him to be educated in Latin and Greek in the city's justifiably famous schools. The boy's father was a soldier and wanted his son to follow him in his profession, but his mother yearned for the child become a monk. She had thus hired this man to serve in the station of pedagogue (ἐν τάξει παιδαγωγοῦ) in hopes that his own ascetic lifestyle might bend the boy in the direction of the monastery. Nothing could illustrate better the way in which the pedagogue's role as guardian and moral authority had been magnified in a fourth-century environment intent on inculcating Christian ideals as part of the educational process; this moral imperative surely played a role in favoring the selection of pedagogues from the ranks of the freeborn.[138]

[135] Appendix 7 reference numbers 4-11 and 17-22 repeat the word παιδαγωγός multiple times in reference to a single incident or idea. The smaller number reduces the impact of these two series by counting the multiple references as a single case each.

[136] Joh. Chrys., *De inani gloria* 37-38 (*SCh* 188, 128-30): Ἀλλ ὅσοι τῶν οἰκετῶν χρήσιμοι συναντιλαβέσθαι· εἰ δὲ μηδείς ἐστιν, ἐλεύθερον μισθῷ ζήτησον, ἄνδρα ἐνάρετον, κἀκείνῳ μάλιστα τὸ πᾶν ἐπίτρεψον, ὥστε συναντιλαβέσθαι τοῦ ἔργου. Plut., *De liberis educandis* 7, 4B, also indicates that fathers would cull a *paidagogos* from their existing stock of household slaves.

[137] Joh. Chrys., *De inani gloria* 31-33; 37-38, 57-59 (*SCh* 188, 122-124; 128-130; 154-156).

[138] Joh. Chrys., *adv. oppug. vit. mon.* 3, 12 (*PG* 47, 368-369). De Wet, *Preaching Bondage* [n. 2], pp.

We also find evidence in the corpus of Libanius that an adherent of traditional paganism regularly assumed pedagogues were free. Like John Chrysostom, Libanius draws a distinction between *paidagōgoi* and slaves, especially those used to carry books and other school supplies for children.[139] He also assumes *paidagōgoi* were wage earners: he indicates that his own mother paid out fees to schoolmasters for his early education[140]; complains that the *paidagōgoi* of Antioch sought to fatten their pocketbooks by "selling" their students from one teacher's supervision to the next[141]; jests about children paying out as a wage the "silver of the *paidagōgos*"[142]; asks why parents bother to hire their child's *paidagōgos* for money[143]; and states that, in a child's education, the father provides the money while the *paidagōgos* must provide for everything else.[144]

A similar impression is gleaned from a look at the statistics for the use of the word *paidagōgos* in Libanius's corpus (see Table 4 and the corresponding Appendix 8). He employs the noun 89 times in his extant works as registered in the TLG. In most of these cases, as with the earlier authors, it is impossible to determine status, but there are strong indications of free status in 21 attestations (24%) and of slave status in 8 (9%). Libanius's use of *paidagōgos* in metaphorical examples is much sparer, both because he was not attached to a scriptural proof text in the way Augustine and Chrysostom had been, and because Libanius had such intimate familiarity with pedagogues through the management of his own school. Indeed, earlier scholarship had assumed Libanius employed a raft of elementary teachers for his younger pupils, although RAFFAELLA CRIBIORE has demonstrated that there is little solid evidence for this.[145] Regardless, his testimony is unparalleled in its level of detail on pedagogues, with whom Libanius had daily contact and some of whom

142-143 misses much of the subtlety of this passage, see N. LENSKI, *rec.* in *SLA* 1, 2017b, pp. 215-219.

[139] Lib., *or.* 25, 50; 58, 19. Contrast Lib. *or.* 54, 31. More on Libanius's school, far and away the best attested in antiquity, at WOLF, *Schulwesen* [n. 65]; P. PETIT, *Les étudiants de Libanius*, Paris 1956; CRIBIORE, *School of Libanius* [n. 28].

[140] Lib., *or.* 1.4.

[141] Lib., *ep.* 405.8; cf. *or.* 34, 30; 43, 9; *ep.* 1475; WOLF, *Schulwesen* [n. 65], pp. 55-56.

[142] *or.* 54, 17: ἔχεις, ἄνθρωπε, μισθὸν τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν λόγων πόνων εἰς μὲν τὴν χεῖρά σοι θέντος τοῦ παιδὸς στατῆρας, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ποσὶν ἄργυρον τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ.

[143] Lib., *prog.* 3, 2, 5: καὶ μὴν τὸ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τοῦ νέου παρὰ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ τὴν τιμωρίαν λαβεῖν νοῦν ἐχόν των εὑρήσομεν. ἐνθυμηθῶμεν γὰρ ὅτου χάριν οἱ γονεῖς μισθοῦνται τοὺς ἐπιστησομένους τοῖς υἱέσιν. ἆρά γε μάτην ἐπιθυμοῦντες δαπανᾶσθαι χρήματα, ἀναλίσκειν πλοῦτον; πόθεν; οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἀπόπληκτος.

[144] Lib., *prog.* 3, 2, 9: οὐκοῦν τοῦ μὲν πατρὸς ἀργύριον δοῦναι, τοῦ δὲ παιδαγωγοῦ τῶν λοιπῶν φροντίσαι μηδὲν ὑποστελλόμενον.

[145] See CRIBIORE, *School of Libanius* [n. 28], pp. 30-37, contra P. PETIT, « Étudiants de Libanius » [n. 140], pp. 85-86; KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], pp. 303, 401.

he clearly regarded as friends. Some of these, it is clear, were slaves, but many were free.[146] The fact that his evidence skews so heavily in favor of free pedagogues should give us pause before proceeding from the assumption that fourth-century pedagogues were generally servile.

	Free	Slave	Metaphorical	Unclear
Number	21	8	8	52
Percentage	24%	9%	9%	58%

Table 4. References to παιδαγωγός in the Corpus of Libanius (see Appendix 8)

Particularly illuminating is Libanius *Progymnasma* 3, 2, a passage which represents one of the two HARPER misinterprets. This literary exercise focuses on pedagogues and takes as its starting point a legend that Diogenes the Cynic had struck the pedagogue of an insolent boy for failing to manage his charge. With this historical example Libanius clearly understands the pedagogue to have been a slave, but much of the narrative of the *progymnasma* implies that pedagogues of Libanius's own day were free. The authoritative translation of the passage by CRAIG GIBSON renders the relevant sentence, "For it is for this reason that beating and choking and torturing and everything done by masters toward their slaves – they think that these, too, should be permitted to those who supervise their sons so that there may be no excuses later".[147] Pedagogues are, in other words, permitted acts of abuse against their charges – a commonplace in Libanius's corpus.[148] HARPER, however, implies that it was the pedagogues themselves who were liable for such mistreatment because of their alleged servile status, a less than satisfactory reading at which he arrives because of the assumption that pedagogues were almost always slaves.[149]

HARPER'S second problematic interpretation occurs in a longer text, *Oration* 58, which is entirely about a *paidagōgos* who had recently suffered the fate of being

[146] These included Eumathius (free – *ep.* 88); Dositheus (slave – *ep.* 131), "Of Seleucus" (slave – *ep.* 734), and possibly Tatianus (free – *ep.* 456). See also the free διδάσκαλοι Calliopius (*epp.* 575; 576; 625; 678; 696) and Cleobulus (*epp.* 68, 1; 155; 361, 2).

[147] Lib., *prog.* 3, 2, 9: διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ παίειν καὶ ἄγχειν καὶ στρεβλοῦν καὶ ἃ τῶν δεσποτῶν πρὸς τοὺς οἰκέτας, ταῦτα καὶ τῶν υἱέων τοῖς ἐφεστῶσιν ἀξιοῦσιν ὑπάρχειν, ὡς μηδεὶς ἀπόλογος ἐσύστερον ᾖ. Translation C. A. GIBSON, *Libanius's Progymnasmata. Model Exercises in Greek Prose Composition and Rhetoric,* Writings from the Greco-Roman World, 27, Atlanta 2008, p. 58.

[148] Lib., *epp.* 911, 2; 1188, 3; *or.* 52, 23; 58, 9; *prog.* 3, 3, 8; 12, 5, 12.

[149] HARPER, *Slavery* [n. 1], p. 114: "Thus thrashing and throttling and torturing, and all the things which the masters use against their slaves, are also deemed fitting for those who are set over their sons." Problematic is the reading ὑπάρχειν to mean "fitting for" rather than "to be in the power of" or "to be permitted to".

"carpeted" at the hands of students.[150] This was a demeaning game in which a group of youths tossed their victim repeatedly in the air on a carpet, insulting and even injuring him. HARPER enlists this passage as evidence for the abuse suffered by pedagogues due to their servile status, and in the accompanying note he argues that the passage suggests enslavement.[151] In fact, however, there are a number of indications that the pedagogue in question was free: at 58, 6-7 Libanius emphasizes the prestige that should be enjoyed by "a profession that has a proud tradition (τὸ μετὰ φρονήματος διάγον ἔθνος)"; at 58, 10 he speaks of the pedagogues' attachment to their charges even in absence of family ties, something that would not strictly have been true of slaves, who were part of a *familia*; at 58, 11 he describes one pedagogue who was made the legal guardian (ἐπίτροπός) of a boy that was orphaned, an impossibility for a slave; at 58, 15-17 he indicates that any offenses committed by pedagogues should be tried in court, not avenged through carpeting; at 58, 19 he contrasts the slaves (οἰκέται) who carry a boy's books with pedagogues, whom he dubs "members of an honorable profession" (κατὰ τῶν ἐν σεμνῇ προσηγορίᾳ); at 58, 26 he suggests that the collectivity of Antiochene pedagogues might well have approached the governor to complain, hardly a possibility for slaves; and at 58, 37 he suggests that, no longer honorable or formidable before his charge, the carpeted *paidagōgos* would not be able to earn his daily bread and would be left to beg for food. This last is an indication that the man in question was no slave under the control of a *familia* but a wage earner whose livelihood had been compromised by an attack on his honor. Much the same is implied in *Oration* 34 "Against the Slanders of the Pedagogue", in which Libanius defends himself against an upstart pedagogue who had accused him of wasting the tuition payments of his young charge. Here again, the pedagogue is clearly free, as A.F. NORMAN assumes in the introduction to his translation of this speech.[152]

It cannot be denied that Libanius was entirely familiar with servile pedagogues, a point emphasized above. But his reports on the profession indicate an assumption that pedagogues were often, even usually, free. The situation was thus radically different from what one expected in early imperial Rome. In Italy of the first centuries BCE and CE, education had been an industry thoroughly dominated by

[150] For a translation and commentary of this oration, see NORMAN, *Antioch* [n. 65], pp. 169-181; cf. FESTUGIÈRE, *Antioche* [n. 100], pp. 467-475.

[151] HARPER, *Slavery* [n. 1], p. 115 and n. 112, "But the construction of the passage… at least suggests their slave status…" On students' physical abuse of their teachers, see CRIBIORE, *Gymnastics* [n. 15], pp. 156-157. For a particularly gruesome late antique example, see Prud., *Perist.* 9, which recounts with dramatic coloring the martyrdom of Cassian, *magister litterarum* of Forum Cornelii (Imola), at the hands of his students. Prudentius clearly assumes Cassian was free.

[152] Lib., *or.* 34, part. 5; 30-31, with NORMAN, *Antioch* [n. 65], p. 134, "…a mere employee of a lower social status operating on the fringes of the educational system…"

slaves, yet it had undergone so fundamental a transformation by the fourth that even those operating at its lowest rungs – at least in the eastern educational metropolis of Antioch – were more often than not free wage earners.

Conclusions / Explanations

There can be no doubt that slaves were employed in education throughout the history of the Roman Empire. If we take education in the broadest sense to mean the rearing of children to adulthood, slaves provided the perfect solution to many of the problems this process presented, at least for people wealthy enough to own them. As members of a *familia*, slaves could be involved in the highly intimate and personal relationships crucial to the care of all of its members, including the very youngest. And as natally alienated subordinates existing in a relationship of property to the head of household, slaves could be expected and even compelled to bear the most grueling and unpleasant aspects of the work of bringing up a child. This meant that slave nurses (*nutritores*, *nutrices*), child-minders (*tatae*, *mammae*, *papas*), and attendants (*apparitores*, *pedisequi*) remained common. This was especially true of elite families with enough wealth to afford large and well-articulated *familiae*, but even in smaller households slaves were regularly assigned tasks related to childcare in addition to their other responsibilities.

What is striking, however, is that the involvement of slaves in the process of teaching literacy and numeracy to children went from very common to uncommon over the course of the first four centuries CE. As we have seen, where slaves had regularly been employed as *grammatici* in the early Empire, they almost never were by the fourth century. Indeed, the position of *grammaticus* had gained such a level of respectability and prestige by Late Antiquity that it could even provide a springboard to the most elevated governmental posts. The elementary teacher (*magister, praeceptor,* and γραμματιστής) also shifted from being primarily servile to primarily, though not exclusively, freeborn. Even the pedagogue, who inhabited the lowest rungs of the educational apparatus and had been almost exclusively servile in the first century CE, enjoyed a measureable degree of elevation such that he was largely attested as a wage earning freeman in fourth-century Antioch. To be sure, the situation was regionally conditioned, with westerners continuing to employ servile *paedagogi* in the fourth century, yet the western holders of this title appear to have played the role of attendants rather than teachers, for the inculcation of knowledge was largely the province of the freeborn in the West as well. This meant that pedagogues could often be drafted from among the slaves already in a *familia* who could be assigned the title during the years of a child's tuition regardless of their own expertise in academic teaching. Thus, any characterization of ancient education as a glaciated system which shifted little in its reliance on servile personnel must be revised.

One might still ask, however, why a shift occurred. The reasons are complex and unlikely to be reduced to simple explanations. Surely, however, at least four factors played an important role: changes in the understanding of the purpose of education put a heavier emphasis on moral and spiritual development; the growing prestige of higher learning as a path to social and economic success increased the social significance of teaching; changes in the broader labor market opened many positions once reserved for slaves to freeborn workers; and a decrease in the reliance on slaves and slavery in all sectors of the late Roman economy probably increased demand for free laborers. Each of these can be treated only in brief here.

Moral development had always been a concern of the educational process, but the increased emphasis on interiority and the cultivation of the soul created a new imperative that might have favored the turn to free teachers. Parents had long been concerned with the potential threat posed to the sexuality of their children by teachers. This gave rise to frequent accusations against teachers of sexual misconduct, and also to claims on the part of teachers themselves to have remained unblemished in their morals.[153] This same concern prevailed into Late Antiquity, when, for example, Augustine could speak of the "true teacher" as one "who does not grope anyone nor trick anyone".[154] There was also a concern with teachers and pedagogues instilling self-control and decorum through stern severity and at times also physical violence. This too stretched from the early to the later empire.[155] Yet Augustine as well as John Chrysostom make it clear that in their late antique universe still more was expected of teachers and pedagogues, who were charged not just with conveying knowledge and keeping children out of trouble but also with the formation of their very soul: it was with this in mind that the ascetic pedagogue described above was hired by the Antiochene soldier's wife with the intent of turning her son into a monk.[156] Nor was this emphasis on the training of the soul unique to late antique Christians, for Libanius also claimed regularly to be

[153] For charges of sexual misconduct see Suet., *gramm.* 16; 23; Val. Max. 6, 1, 3; Plin., *ep.* 3, 3, 3-4; Auson., *prof.* 7, 5-6; Lib, *or.* 58, 35. For the assertion of moral rectitude see *CIL*, VI, 9447 = *ILS,* 7770; *CIL*, VI, 9449 = *ILS,* 1848; *CIL*, XIII, 1393; *CIL*, X, 3969 = *CLE*, 91; *FD*, III, 1, 465. See also BONNER, *Education* [n. 15], pp. 105-106; CHRISTES, *Sklaven* [n. 38], p. 193; AGUSTA-BOULAROT, « Références » [n. 18], pp. 722-724.

[154] Aug., *serm.* 156, 12 (*PL* 38, 856): *magister enim uerus qui neminem palpat, neminem fallit…*

[155] On the fearsome severity of pedagogues and teachers, see Aug., *serm.* 62 (*PL* 38, 423); 349 (*PL* 39, 1533); *util. cred.* 3, 9 (*CSEL* 25, 12); Joh. Chrys. *gen. serm.* 4, 2 (*PG* 54, 596); *Ad pop. Ant.* 16, 4 (*PG* 49, 168); Lib., *or.* 9, 11. On physical violence, see Hor., *ep.* 2, 1, 70; Suet., *gramm.* 9; Quin. *inst.* 1, 3, 14-17; Aug., *civ.* 22, 22; John. Chrys. *Matt. hom.* 35(36), 4 (*PG* 57, 411). See also CRIBIORE, *Gymnastics* [n. 15], pp. 65-73; EAD., *School of Libanius* [n. 28], p. 312; LAES, *Children* [n. 101], pp. 118; 124.

[156] Joh. Chrys., *adv. oppug. vit. mon.* 3, 12 (*PG* 47, 369, l. 1): Οὗτος ὁ νέος εἶχεν ἀκολουθοῦντα παιδαγωγὸν, ἓν ἔργον ἔχοντα μόνον διαπλάττειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχήν; cf. *PG* 47, 369, ll. 36-37:

engaged in the formation of his pupils' souls (ψυχαί).[157] To ensure the proper spiritual formation of the young, it became increasingly important that teachers be unencumbered of the moral and ethical burdens of slavery.

Then too, as KASTER, CRIBIORE, and PENELLA have shown, teaching itself gained in prestige as the Empire wore on. Rome had experienced a fitful introduction to intellectual culture in the Middle Republic.[158] Well into the early Empire it had left the business of teaching to slaves and freedmen, many of them foreign. This old habit died hard such that the taste for servile teachers continued into the second century, even if a new class of elite intellectuals – many of them native Romans – began to emerge already in the first century. By the fourth century, the penetration of freeborn individuals into the teaching profession was deep enough that only few elementary teachers are attested as having been servile, and in the East even the pedagogue appears regularly to have been free. Indeed, from the perspective of economic rationalism, this was advantageous. Owning a slave dedicated exclusively to the education of one's child or children was a costly prospect, especially if that slave was trained at a relatively high level of competence. Slaves operating at this level were wildly overpriced already in the early Empire, and even trained elementary teachers were quite expensive to acquire as slaves.[159] Moreover, owning a trained pedagogue represented an economic risk given the high level of childhood mortality and the relatively brief window in a child's life when the learned pedagogue could be of service. It thus made sense to turn to wage laborers to fill this need for all but the wealthiest.

Nor was teaching the only profession that witnessed such a shift. Industries formerly dominated by servile labor in the first centuries BCE and CE came increasingly to be populated by wage-earning freeborn individuals by the second. These included baking, pottery production, tanning, fulling, the building trades, painting, mosaic laying, and the list could go on.[160] These trends were accelerated

Οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τυχόντων ὁ λόγος ἐμοί· ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παιδίου μου ψυχῆς ὁ ἀγὼν καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος. See also Joh. Chrys., *Matt. hom.* 59, 7 (*PG* 58, 584); *De inani gloria* 56-59 (*SCh* 188, 154-156); *Hom. post. Goth. cont.* 7 (*PG* 63, 510).

[157] Lib., *ep.* 337, 1; 398, 2; 969, 1; cf. KASTER, *Guardians* [n. 8], pp. 67-69.

[158] On the early history of education in Rome see MARROU, *History of Education* [n. 15], pp. 229-254; BONNER, *Education* [n. 15], pp. 20-33; A. D. BOOTH, « The Appearance of the *Schola Grammatici* », *Hermes* 106, 1978, pp. 117-125; KASTER, *Suetonius* [n. 11], pp. 58-107.

[159] Suet., *gramm.* 3, 5; Plin., *NH* 7, 128; cf. CHRISTES, *Sklaven* [n. 38], pp. 12-15; KASTER, *Suetonius* [n. 11], pp. 82-84. For this reason, Quint., *inst.* 1, 1, 8 recommends that the *paedagogus* either be highly educated or not educated at all. This reflect the same rationale: one needed either to invest in a well-trained *paedagogus* or assign as *paedagogus* a slave who was responsible only for supervision and not teaching.

[160] See S. BOND, *Trade and Taboo: Disreputable Professions in the Roman Mediterranean*, Ann Arbor

in the fourth century as new forms of dependency arose that locked semi-servile laborers into trades such as clothiers, dyers, minters, arms manufacturers, and so forth, without reducing them to chattel slavery.[161] Indeed, the contrast is even starker in trades involving high-level intellectual competencies: slave doctors, so common in the late Republic and early Empire, essentially disappear in Late Antiquity[162]; public slaves, particularly those charged with administrative responsibilities of local polities, wane in the fourth century and largely fade out in the fifth[163]; and the imperial slaves and freedmen who managed the administration of the Julio-Claudian Empire have vanished by the fourth century, replaced by a new and well remunerated class of professional bureaucrats.[164] Teachers clearly fit comfortably in the same category. In this sense, the change in the teaching profession is reflexive of broader trends in labor management that should make us wary of uncomplicated continualist models.

This brings up the larger question raised by HARPER'S argument on teachers, which is used in the service of a project aimed at portraying the fourth-century Empire as very much the same "Slave Society" that classical Rome had been two centuries earlier. The picture is boldly drawn, derives from a formidable evidence pool, and has shown that the late antique texts are veritably loaded with references to slaves. This is different, however, from demonstrating that the later Empire was a "Slave Society". This is true for at least two reasons. First, the vast majority of references to slavery in the late sources, like those to pedagogues discussed above, occur in the context of scriptural exegesis and often reveal very little about the practice of slavery in lived experience. Slaves were good to think with and thus play an outsized role in the Christian source record relative to their importance in the

2016; Christelle Freu, « Labour Status and Economic Stratification in the Roman World: the Hierarchy of Wages in Egypt », *JRA* 28, 2015, pp. 161-177; J. FABIANO, «Builders and Integrated Associations in Fourth-Century CE Rome: A New Interpretation of AE 1941, 68», *JLA* 12, 2019, pp. 65-87; M. DI BRANCO, «Lavoro e conflittualità sociale in una città tardoantica. Una rilettura dell'epigrafe di Sardi CIG 3467 (= Le Bas-Waddington 628 = Sardis VII,1, n. 18)», AnTard 8, 2000, pp. 181-208; cf. L. SCHUMACHER, *Sklaverei in der Antike. Alltag und Schicksal der Unfreien*, München 2001, *passim*.

[161] A. J. B. SIRKS, « Did the Late Roman Government Tie People to their Status or Profession? », *Tyche* 8, 1993, pp. 159-175.

[162] JONES, *Later Roman Empire* [n. 30], pp. 112-113; F. KUDLIEN, *Die Stellung des Arztes in der römischen Gesellschaft. Freigeborene Römer, Eingebürgerte, Peregrine, Sklaven, Freigelassene als Ärzte*, Forschungen zur Antiken Sklaverei, 18, Stuttgart 1986, pp. 92-118.

[163] N. LENSKI, *Servi Publici in Late Antiquity*, in J.-U. KRAUSE – C. WITSCHEL (eds.), *Die Stadt in der Spätantike. Niedergang oder Wandel? Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums in München am 30. und 31. Mai 2003*, Historia Einzelschriften 190, Stuttgart 2006, pp. 335-357.

[164] Compare P. R. C. WEAVER, *Familia Caesaris. A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves*, Cambridge 1972, and JONES, *Later Roman Empire* [n. 30], *passim*. Slave personnel in the imperial household was largely restricted to the core of *cubicularii* by the fourth century.

society around them. Second, word-search studies are only as good as the criteria used to construct them. Because HARPER used no controls for non-servile forms of labor, he often assigns a greater role to slave labor than it would have received had his slave references been put into dialogue with attestations for free labor. In mathematical terms, he has derived proportions from a numerator absent its denominator. This has been shown here in the subfield of education, but the same could be said of other labor sectors, chief among them agriculture. Here too, the absence of serious discussion of non-servile labor and particularly the rise of the bound colonate and other forms of semi-servile dependency draw broader conclusions into question.[165] Late Roman educators can thus teach us a valuable lesson not just about shifts in ancient education but also in the broader economy of the classical and late antique ancient world.

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[165] See N. LENSKI, *Peasant Slave in Late Antique North Africa, c. 100-600 CE*, in R. LIZZI-TESTA (ed.), *Late Antiquity in Contemporary Perspective*, Cambridge 2017, pp. 113-155.

Appendix 1: Status in Suetonius *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*[166]

Name	Citation: Suet., *gramm.*	Date	Origin	Status[167]
C. Octavius Lampadio	2	Fl. 130 BCE	Italy?	Slave (verna)[168]
Laelius Archelaus	2	130-70 BCE	Unknown	Unknown
Vettius Philocomus	2	130-70 BCE	Unknown	Unknown
Octavius Teucer	3	1st BCE	Unknown	Unknown
Sescenius Iacchus	3	1st BCE	Unknown	Unknown
Oppius Chares	3	1st BCE	Unknown	Unknown
Lutatius Daphnis	3	Fl. 100 BCE	Italian (Pisaurum)	Slave (verna)[169]
M. Sevius Nicanor	5	120-70 BCE	Unknown	Slave
Aurelius Opillus	6	150-80 BCE	Italy	Slave
M. Antonius Gnipho	7	114-64 BCE	Gaul	Slave (alumnus)
L. Orbilius Pupillus	9	114 – c. 14 BCE	Beneventum	Freeborn
M. Pompilius Andronicus	8	110-50 BCE	Syria	Unknown
P. Valerius Cato	11	1st BCE	Gaul	Freeborn(?)[170]
L. Ateius Praetextatus Philologus	10	105-30 BCE	Athens	Slave (captive)
Cornelius Epicadus	12	110-60 BCE	Illyria	Slave (captive)
Staberius Eros	13	Fl. 80 BCE	Thrace	Slave (captive)
Pompeius Lenaeus	15	100-30 BCE	Italy	Slave
Q. Caecilius Epirota	16	68 – 15 BCE	Tusculum	Slave (verna)
L. Crassicius Pasicles sive Pansa	18	Fl. 30 BCE	Tarentum	Slave (captive?)
C. Iulius Hyginus	20	60 BCE – 10 CE	Spain	Slave (captive)
Scribonius Aphrodisius	19	55 BCE – c. 1 CE	Unknown	Slave (verna?)
M. Verrius Flaccus	17	55 BCE – 25 CE	Italy	Slave (verna?)
C. Maecenas Melissus	21	50 BCE – 20 CE	Spoletium	Slave (alumnus)
M. Pomponius Marcellus	22	c. 15 – 40 CE	Italy	Freeborn
Q. Remmius Palaemon	23	5/15 – 70/80 CE	Vicetia	Slave (verna)
M. Valerius Probus	24	c. 20 – 105 CE	Berytus	Freeborn
L. Plotius Gallus (rhetor)	25	1st BCE	Rome	Free
M'. Otacilius Pitholaus (rhetor)	27	1st BCE	Rome	Slave
M. Epidius (rhetor)	28	1st BCE	Nuceria	Free
Sextus Clodius (rhetor)	29	1st BCE	Sicily	Free
Gaius Albucius Silus (rhetor)	30	1st BCE	Novara	Free

[166] Not included are Curtius Nicias (Suet., *gramm.* 14), who studied grammar but appears not to have taught, and who went on to become tyrant of Cos with the support of Mark Anthony; and M. Valerius Probus (Suet., *gramm.* 24) who is said explicitly not to have managed a school but only to have published and held a sort of literary salon.

[167] At entry into the Roman educational market.

[168] See CHRISTES, *Sklaven* [n. 38], p. 8.

[169] See CHRISTES, *Sklaven* [n. 38], p. 10-15.

[170] Suetonius reports that some considered him the freedman of a certain Bursenus from Gaul but that P. Valerius Cato himself said otherwise in a treatise. The dispute reflects both the ease with which grammarians and slaves were equated and the shame this incurred for practitioners of the art, cf. KASTER, *Suetonius* [n. 11], pp. 150-151.

Appendix 2: Status in Ausonius *Professores*[171]

Name	Citation: Auson. *prof.* (*PLRE*)	Status	Teaching Level	Lowly birth
Tiberius Victor Minervius	1 (*PLRE*, I, 603-4)	Free	Orator	
Latinus Alcimus Alethius	2 (*PLRE,* I, 39)	Free	Rhetor	
Luciolus	3	Free	Rhetor	
Attius Patera	4 (*PLRE,* I, 669-70)	Free	Rhetor	
Attius Tiro Delphidius	5 (*PLRE*, I, 246)	Free	Rhetor	
Alethius Minervius	6 (*PLRE*, I, 603)	Free	Rhetor	
Leontius Lascivus	7 (*PLRE*, I, 502)	Free	Grammaticus	
Romulus	8 (*PLRE*, I, 771)	Free	Grammaticus Graecus	
Corinthus	8 (*PLRE*, I, 229)	Free	Grammaticus Graecus	
Spercheus	8 (*PLRE*, I, 851)	Free	Grammaticus Graecus	
Menestheus	8	Free	Grammaticus Graecus	
Iucundus	9 (*PLRE*, I, 467)	Free	Grammaticus	
Macrinus	10 (*PLRE*, I, 529)	Free	Grammaticus (elementary)	*Humili stirpe*
Sucuro	10 (*PLRE*, I, 859)	Free	Grammaticus (elementary)	son of freedman (*libertina progenie*)
Concordius	10 (*PLRE*, I, 219)	Free	Grammaticus	
Phoebicius	10 (*PLRE*, I, 700)	Free	Grammaticus	
Ammonius	10 (*PLRE*, I, 54)	Free	Grammaticus (elementary)	
Anastasius	10 (*PLRE*, I, 59)	Free	Grammaticus	*pauper et tenuem victum habitumque colens*
Pomponius Maximus Herculanus	11 (*PLRE*, I, 420)	Free	Grammaticus	
Thalassius	12 (*PLRE*, I, 889)	Free	Grammaticus	
Citarius	13 (*PLRE*, I, 205)	Free	Grammaticus	
Censorius Atticus Agricius	14 (*PLRE*, I, 30)	Free	Rhetor	
Nepotianus	15 (*PLRE*, I, 624)	Free	Grammaticus and Rhetor	
Aemilius Magnus Arborius	16 (*PLRE*, I, 97)	Free	Rhetor	
Exuperius	17 (*PLRE*, I, 321)	Free	Rhetor	
Marcellus	18 (*PLRE*, I, 551)	Free	Grammaticus	
Sedatus	19 (*PLRE*, I, 818)	Free	Rhetor	
Stephanus	20	Free	Grammaticus and Rhetor	
Crispus	21 (*PLRE*, I, 232)	Free	Grammaticus (elementary)	son of *libertus*
Urbicus	21 (*PLRE*, I, 984)	Free	Grammaticus Graecus (elementary)	son of *libertus*
Victor	22	Free(?)	Subdoctor sive proscholus	
Dynamius	23	Free	Rhetor	
Acilius Glabrio	24	Free	Grammaticus	

[171] The table does not include Latinus Alcimus Alethius (*prof.* 2 = *PLRE*, I, Latinus Alcimus Alethius 2), who was a poet and rhetor but also taught younger children on occasion.

Appendix 3. Epigraphic attestations of *grammatici* / γραμματικόι (based on AGUSTA-BOULAROT, « Références » [n. 18])

Agusta-Boularot no.	Citation	Cent.	Location	Name of Grammaticus	Status
1	*CIL*, VI, 592 = 9449	1 CE	Rome	Pudens	Libertus
2	*CIL*, VI, 9444	2 CE	Rome	P. Aelius Sotio	Libertus
3	*CIL*, VI, 9452	1 CE	Rome	Anonymous	Slave(?)
3bis	*CIL*, VI, 19071	1 CE	Rome	?	Slave(?)
4	*CIL*, VI, 9451	1 CE	Rome	Sota	Slave
5	*CIL*, VI, 33859	1 CE	Rome	Mylaeus Peloris	Libertus
6	*CIL*, VI, 7883	1 CE	Rome	C. Serveileius Croesus	Libertus
7	*CIL*, VI, 9450	1 CE	Rome	Restitutus	Slave
8	*CIL*, VI, 9446	4 CE	Rome	Bonifatius	Free
9	*CIL*, VI, 9448	3 CE	Rome	…]io Clemens	Free
10	*CIL*, VI, 9445	2 CE	Rome	M. Attius Amarantus	Libertus
11	*CIL*, VI, 9447	3 CE	Rome	Marius Fidens	Free
12	*Epigraphica* 31, p. 187	4 CE	Rome	Crispianus	Free
13	*BCAR* 79, p. 141	2 CE	Rome	Lupus	Unclear
14	*CIL*, VI, 9453	1 CE	Rome	Q. Gargilius Lysander	Libertus
15	*CIL*, VI, 9454	2 CE	Rome	M. Mettius Epaphroditus	Unclear
16	*CIL*, VI, 9455	2 CE	Rome	Q. Spedioleius Cerialis	Free
17	*CIL*, X, 3961	1 CE	Capua	T. Claudius Lacon	Libertus Augusti(?)
18	*CIL*, IX, 5545	1 CE	Urbs Salvia	L. Lictorius [Cle]mens	Free
19	*CIL*, IX, 1654	2 CE	Beneventum	M. Rutilius Aelianus	Free
20	*CIL*, V, 3433	1 CE	Verona	Q. Tuticanus Eros	Free
21	*CIL*, V, 5278	2 CE	Como	P. Atilius Septicianus	Free
22	*CIL*, II, 5079	?	Astorga	[anonymous]	Unclear
23	*CIL*, II, 2892	2 CE	Tricio	L. Memmius Probus	Free
24	*CIL*, II, 3872	2 CE	Saguntum	L. Aelius Caerialis	Free
25	*ILER*, 5716	2 CE	Tarragona	Demetrius	Free(?)
26	*CIL*, II, 2236	2 CE	Corduba	Domitius Isquilinus	Free(?)
27	*CIL*, XIII, 3702	2 CE	Treviri	Aemilius Epictetus sive Hedonius	Unclear
28	*AE*, 1978, 503	4 CE	Treviri	L. Terentius Iulianus qui et Concordius	Free
29	*CIL*, XIII, 1393	3 CE	Limoges	Blaesianus	Free
30	*CIL*, XIV, 2434	?	Marseilles	Athenades	Slave
31	*FD*, III, 3, 338	1 BCE	Delphi	Menander of Thyrion	Free
32	*FD*, III, 2, 115	2 CE	Delphi	[anonymous]	Free
33	*FD*, IV, 1, 61	1 CE	Delphi	L. Licinius Euclides	Free
34	*FD*, III, 1, 465	2 CE	Delphi	Macedo	Free
35	*FD*, III, 1, 206	3 CE	Delphi	Naevianus	Free
36	*IG*, XII, 5, 20	3 CE	Ios	Lysander	Free
37	*IG*, III, 1256	1 BCE	Rhodes	Aphrodeisios	Unclear
38	*CIL*, III, 12702	2 CE	Doclea	C. Gordius Maximianus	Free

39	*IGBR*, III, 1, 1021	?	Philippopolis	Astakides	Slave
40	*IGSK*, XXIV, 1, 652	1 CE	Smyrna	G. Iulius Mousonius	Libertus Augusti(?)
41	*IGSK*, XXXIII, 173	?	Hadrianeia	Nereus	Free
42	*BE*, 1973, 414	2 CE	Labraunda	T. Claudius Anteros	Free
43	*CIL*, III, 406	?	Thyatira	Valerios Valeriou	Unclear
44	*IKEph*, III, 956A	2 CE	Ephesus	Eisidorus Neikon Ioulieus	Free
45	*BCH* 33, 1909, p. 27, no. 11	?	Zeli	Publius Tattios Rouphos	Free
46	*IGRR*, III, 118	3 CE	Sebastopolis	Maximus	Free(?)
47	*IKByz*, LVIII, 120	4 CE	Byzantium	Theodoros Domitiou	Free
48	*P. Oxy.*, XLVII, 3366	3 CE	Oxyrhynchus	Lollianus ho kai Homoeus	Free
49	*CIL*, VIII, 21107	3 CE	Caesarea Mauretaniensis	[Q] Volusius Iunior	Free
50	*AE*, 1996, 1803	2 CE	Caesarea Mauretaniensis	Volusia Tertullina	Free

Appendix 4. Epigraphic Attestations of *Paedagogi*, *Praeceptores* and *Magistri* of Rome (based on RIESS, *Stadtrömische Lehrer* [n. 42], with supplements)

Reference No.	Citation	Cent.	Name	Designation	Status
1	*CIL*, VI, 6328	1 CE	Ossa Iasullus	paedagogus	Libertus
2	*CIL*, VI, 6329	1 CE	Philocalus	paedagogus	Slave?
3	*CIL*, VI, 6330	1 CE	T. Statilius Zabda	paedagogus	Libertus
4	*CIL*, VI, 6331	1 CE	Statilia Tyranis	paedagoga	Liberta
5	*CIL*, VI, 7011	?	L. Maro[3]	paedagogus	Libertus
6	*CIL*, VI, 7298	1 CE	Phoebus	minister paedagogi	Slave
7	*CIL*, VI, 7657	1 BCE	Felix	paedagogus	Slave
8	*CIL*, VI, 8012	1 CE	C. Gargilius Haemon	paedagogus	Augusti libertus
9	*CIL*, VI, 8613	2 CE	Artemisius	paedagogus	Augusti libertus
10	*CIL*, VI, 8967	1 CE	Rami	paedagogianus	Augusti libertus
11	*CIL*, VI, 8980	1 BCE	Carus	regis paedagogus	Imperial slave
12	*CIL*, VI, 8984	2 CE	Niceratus	Augustorum n(ostrorum) paedagogus	Imperial slave
13	*CIL*, VI, 8985	2 CE	M. Ulpius Agathonicus	paedagogus	Augusti libertus
14	*CIL*, VI, 8986	3 CE	?	paedagogus	Augusti libertus
15	*CIL*, VI, 8988 = 33756	2 CE	Hothus Aug(usti) lib(erto)	paedagogus	Augusti libertus
16	*CIL*, VI, 8989 = 24079	1 CE	Q. Lollius Philargyrus	Paedagogus of imperial freedman	Libertus?
17	*CIL*, VI, 8990	1 BCE	Secundio[3]	paed[agogus]	Imperial slave
18	*CIL*, VI, 9739	1 CE	L. Sentius Index	Supra paedagog(is)	Free?
19	*CIL*, VI, 9741	1 CE	Acratus	Paedagogus	Libertus
20	*CIL*, VI, 9742	1 CE	[Q.] Aemilius Diadumenus	Paedagogus	Libertus?
21	*CIL*, VI, 9743	1 CE	Q. Caedius Agatho	Paedagogus	Libertus
22	*CIL*, VI, 9744	2 CE	]on Chariton	Paedagogus	Libertus
23	*CIL*, VI, 9745	1 CE	L. Ciartius Hyperetes	Paedagogus	Libertus

24	*CIL*, VI, 9746	2 CE	Q. Cospius Phyl(acion)	Paedagogus	Libertus
25	*CIL*, VI, 9747	1 CE	Diadumenus	Paedagogus	Libertus
26	*CIL*, VI, 9748	1 CE	Hilario	Paedagogus	Slave
27	*CIL*, VI, 9751	2 CE	Phoebus	Paedagogus	Slave
28	*CIL*, VI, 9752 = 33815	1 CE	Soterichus	Paedagogus	Slave
29	*CIL*, VI, 9753	2 CE	P. Statius Bion	paedagogus	Libertus
30	*CIL*, VI, 9754	1 CE	C. Sulpicius Venustus	Paedagogus	Libertus
31	*CIL*, VI, 9754	1 CE	Sulpicia Ammia	Paedagoga	Libertus
32	*CIL*, VI, 9755	?	?	Paedagogus	Unclear
33	*CIL*, VI, 9757	?	?	Paedagogus vicarius	Slave
34	*CIL*, VI, 9758	1 CE	Urbana	Paedagoga	Slave?
35	*CIL*, VI, 33894	2 CE	Nicepiorus	Paedagogus	Unclear
36	*CIL*, VI, 3999 and 37761a	1 BCE	Malchio	Paedagogus	Caesaris libertus
37	*CIL*, VI, 37812	1 CE	[P]hylargyrus	Paedagogus	Slave
38	*CIL*, VI, 37812a	1 CE	Sasa	Paedagogus	Slave
39	*CIL*, VI, 9759	1 CE	Erasto	Conpaedagogita	Slave
40	*CIL*, VI, 9760	2 CE	Helius	Conpaedagogita	Slave
41	*CIL*, VI, 9761	1 CE	Nerites	Conpaedagogita	Slave
42	*CIL*, VI, 9762	1 CE	T. Claudius Evangelus	Conpaedagogita	Libertus
43	*CIL*, VI, 9763	2 CE	Onesimus	Conpaedagogita	Slave
44	*CIL*, VI, 9764	1 CE	C. Valerius Myrismus	Conpaedagogita	Libertus
45	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Tryferus	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
46	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Euperilemptus	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
47	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Tutyfron	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
48	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Trophimus	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
49	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Pollux	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
50	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Chrysomallus	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti

51	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Phileterus	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
52	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Eutyches	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
53	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Spendon	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
54	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Perseus	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
55	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Hermes	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
56	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Felix	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
57	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Petizaces	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
58	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Zoillus	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
59	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Frequens	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
60	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Modestus	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
61	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Patroclus	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
62	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Hermes	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
63	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Nichomachus	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
64	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Paedicus	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
65	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Hermogenes	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
66	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Neon	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
67	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Anemurius	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
68	*CIL*, VI, 1052	2 CE	Eutyches	paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Libertus Augusti
69	*CIL*, VI, 5354	?	?	[Paedagogus pu]erorum	Libertus Augustus
70	*CIL*, VI, 5563	1 CE	Epagathus	Paedag]ogus puerorum [Agr]ippinae	Libertus / Servus Augustae
71	*CIL*, VI, 7290 = 27557	1 BCE	Primigenius	Ab hospitiis et paedagogus puerorum	Slave

72	*CIL*, VI, 7767	2 CE	Philetaerus	paedagogus p(uerorum) C(aesaris) N(nostri	Augusti libertus
73	*CIL*, VI, 8966	2 CE	Helenus	ex paedagogio	Imperial slave
74	*CIL*, VI, 8968	2 CE	T. Aelius Peregrinus	paedagogus puerorum	Augusti libertus
75	*CIL*, VI, 8969	1 CE	T. Claudius Eutychus / T. Flavius Venustus	paedagogus puerorum	Augusti liberti
76	*CIL*, VI, 8970	1 CE	T. Flavius Ganymedus	paedagogus puerorum	Augusti libertus
77	*CIL*, VI, 8971	1 CE	Flavius Stephanus	paedagogus puerorum	Augusti libertus
78	*CIL*, VI, 8972	2 CE	Narcissus	Paedagogus [puero]rum	Augusti libertus
79	*CIL*, VI, 8973	1 CE	Onesatus	Paedagogus puerorum	Imperial slave
80	*CIL*, VI, 8974	?	?	Paedagogus [p]u{a}erorum Caesaris nostri	Imperial slave
81	*CIL*, VI, 8975	?	Quintus	[paed]dagogus [puer]orum	Unclear
82	*CIL*, VI, 8982	2 CE	P. A(elio) Acmazontus	pedagogus puer(orum) kap(it is) Afr(icae)	Augusti libertus
83	*CIL*, VI, 8983	2 CE	P. Aelius Lycus	Paedagogus puerorum a capite Africae	Augusti libertus
84	*CIL*, VI, 9740	1 CE	Laletus	paedagogus puerorum	Imperial slave
85	*AE*, 1991, 248	2 CE	Dionysius	paedagogus puerorum	Unclear
86	*CIL*, VI, 8965	1 CE	Halotus / Phlegon	ex paedagogio	Imperial slave
87	*CIL*, VI, 8976	1 CE	T. Flavius Anicetus	sub paedagogo puerorum Caesaris nostri	Augusti libertus
88	*CIL*, VI, 3919 = 32931	1 CE	Iulius Leonidas	praeceptor Caesarum	Augusti libertus
89	*CIL*, VI, 8977	2 CE	Hermes	prae(ce)ptor puerorum Caes(aris) n(nostri)	Augusti libertus
90	*CIL*, VI, 8978	1 CE	Pierius	praec(eptoris) puer(orum) Caesaris n(ostri)	Augusti libertus

91	*CIL*, VI, 8979	2 CE	Ulpius Sotacus	praeceptor puer(orum) C(aesaris) n(ostri)	Augusti libertus
92	*CIL*, VI, 9827	1 CE	L. Avillius Irenaeus	praeceptor	Free
93	*CIL*, VI, 9828	2 CE	M. Iulius Ptolemaeus	praeceptor	Libertus
94	*CIL*, VI, 10011	1 CE	Symphorus	praeceptor	Slave
95	*CIL*, VI, 10011a	2 CE	M. Tuccius Eutyches	praeceptor	Libertus
96	*CIL*, VI, 41398	5 CE	Petronius Maximus	praeceptor Placidi [Valentiniani sem]p(er) Aug(usti)	Free
97	AE, 1982, 81	2 CE	Coetus Hermeros	praeceptor	Slave
98	*CIL*, VI, 9529	6 CE	?	magister ludi litterarii	Unclear
99	*CIL*, VI, 10008	5 CE	Aurelius Gerontius	magister	Free
100	*CIL*, VI, 10012	?	Iulius	magister	Unclear
101	*CIL*, VI, 10013	5 CE	Coritus	magister	Free
102	*CIL*, VI, 10015	4 CE	Panpino	magister	Unclear
103	*CIL*, VI, 10017	1 CE	Secundus	magister	Unclear
104	*CIL*, VI, 32045	4 CE	Septimius Rufus	magister	Free
105	*CIL*, VI, 33930	4 CE	?	magister	Unclear
106	*CIL*, VI, 33930a	2 CE	P. Licinius Eros	magister	Collibertus
107	*CIL*, VI, 37833	4 CE	Generosus	magister	Slave
108	*ILCV*, 720	4 CE	Gorgonus	magister	Unclear
109	*CIL*, VI, 4718	1 CE	M. Fulvinius Alexander	Paedagogus	Libertus
110	*CIL*, VI, 33392	1 CE	C. Cestilius Pasiphilus Caestiliaes	Paedagogus	Libertus?
111	*CIL*, VI, 9749	1 CE	L. Laebius Nicepor	Paedagogus	Libertus
112	*CIL*, VI, 9750	?	]stidius Philemo	Paedagogus	Free
113	*CIL*, VI, 6327	1 CE	Gemellus	Paedagogus	Slave
114	*CIL*, VI, 2210	1 CE	C. Iulius Hymetus	Paedagogus	Free?
115	*CIL*, VI, 3998	1 BCE	Hymnus	Paedagogus	Imperial Slave
116	*CIL*, VI, 33787	1 CE	M. Livius Prytanis	Paedagogus	Libertus Caesaris
117	*CIL*, VI, 4459	1 CE	Philocrates	Paedagogus	Imperial slave
118	*CIL*, VI, 9757	?	?	Paedagogus	Unclear
119	*AE*, 1926, 53	?	Sescenius	Paedagogus	Unclear

120	*AE*, 1964, 82	1 CE	M. Scribonius Storax	Paedagogus	Libertus?
121	*AE*, 1997, 21	?	Ctetus	Paedagogus	Slave?

Appendix 5. Epigraphic Attestations of Elementary Teachers Outside of Rome (based on LAES, « School-Teachers » [n. 42]; ID., « Pedagogues in Greek » [N. 42]; ID., « Pedagogues in Latin» [N. 42], with supplements)

Reference No.	Citation	Cent.	Location	Name	Designation	Status
Laes « School-Teachers» [n. 42], p. no.						
113-114	*CIL*, VI, 21846; *CIL*, X, 3969	?	Capua	Furius Philocalus	magister ludi literari	Free
114	*CIL*, IX, 4226	?	Amiternum	P. Apisius P.l. Salvius	mag(ister) ludi	Libertus
114	*AE*, 1994, 1575	1 CE	Dyrrachium	L. Etereius	Magister ludei	Free?
115	*RIU*, I, 185	1 CE	Scarbantia	L. Cotonius G. f. Pollia	magister ludi	Free
115	*CIL*, III, 10805	2 CE	Neviodunum	C. Marcius Celer	praec(eptor) Graecus	Free
115	*IRT*, 850	?	Sidi Ali el-Fergiani	L. Canuleius Verna	ludi mag(ister)	Unclear
115	*CIL*, VIII, 9088	?	Auzia	Axius Victoricus	didacticus	Free
116	*ILS*, 7762	4 CE	Iomnium	Domitius Rufinus	magister liberalium litterarum	Free
116	*I. It.*, X, 2, 58	5 CE	Parentium	Clamosus	mag(ister) puer(orum)	Free
116	*I. It.*, X, 2, 74	5 CE	Parentium	Clamosus	magister puerorum	Free
Laes « Pedagogues in Greek » [N. 42], No.						
1	*IG*, II(2), 4814	1 CE	Piraeus/Athens	Nemerios Arellios	paidagogos	Free
2	*IG*, II(2), 9658	1 BCE	Athens	Heracleides	paidagogos	Free
3	*BE*, 1971, 281	1 BCE	Athens	Heracleides	paidagogos	Free
4	*IG*, II(2), 10715	4 BCE	Athens	Apollodoros	paidagogos	Slave?
5	*IG*, II(2), 10903	4 BCE	Athens	Attis	paidagogos	Slave?
6	*IG*, II(2), 11932	3 or 2 BCE	Athens	Kteson	paidagogos	Slave?
7	*IG*, II(2), 12433	4 BCE	Athens	Pausanias	paidagogos	Slave?
8	*IG*, II(2), 12611	2 or 1 BCE	Athens	Simon	paidagogos	Slave?
9	*SEG*, XVI, 190	3 or 2 BCE	Athens	Demeas	paidagogos	Free
10	*SEG*, XXV, 509	?	Thespiae	Straton	paidagogos	Unknown

11	*IG*, X, 2, 1, 374	6 CE	Thessalonike	?	paidagogos	Free
12	L. Gounaropoulou & M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Epigraphes kato Makedonias*, no. 279	2 CE	Beroia	Nephos	paidagogos	Slave?
13	*ID*, 2628, II line 27	2 BCE	Delos	Sunetos	paidagogos	Slave?
14	*Iscr. di Cos*, (Fun.), EF 331	1 to 3 CE	Cos	Epaphroditus	paidagogos	Slave
15	*IK*, LVIII, 156	2 BCE	Byzantium	Athenodoros	paidagogos	Free?
16	*IK*, XXIII, 507	1 to 3 CE	Smyrna	Epiktetos	paidagogos	Slave?
17	*JOAI*, 15, 1912, p. 54, no. 27	1 to 3 CE	Clarus	Iulius Philetus	paidagogos	Free
18	*SEG*, XXXVII, 978	2 CE	Clarus	Epaphrodeitus	paidagogos	Free
19	*REA*, 1940, 303	1 to 3 CE	[Mudurnu]	Epityncanos	paidagogos	Slave?
20	C. Marek, *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia*, p. 141, no. 16	1 to 3 CE	Pompeiopolis	Celsus	paidagogos	Free
20bis	C. Marek, *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia,* p. 141, no. 16	1 to 3 CE	Pompeiopolis	[?]nus	paidagogos	Free
21	J.R.S. Sterrett, *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*, p. 222, no. 360	1 to 3 CE	Sücüllü	T. Munatius Skamandrus	paidagogos	Free
22	*SEG*, LIV, 1338	2 to 4 CE	Hierapolis	Heliodorus	paidagogos	Free
23	*IGUR*, 551	3 CE	Rome	?	paidagogos	Unclear

LAES, « Pedagogues in Latin » [n. 42], no.						
Spain 1	*CIL*, II, 1981	?	Abdera	N(onius) Auctus	paedagogus	Free
Spain 2	*CIL*, II, 1482	2 CE	Astigi	Numerius Istoricus l(ibertus)	paedagogus	Libertus
Spain 3	*ERZaragoza*, 60	1 CE	Sadava	Hilarus	paedagogus	Slave?
Gallia Narbonensis 1	*CIL*, XII, 3832	2 CE	Nemausus	Porcia Lade	Paedagoga	Liberta
Gallia Narbonensis 1a	*CIL*, XII, 3832	2 CE	Nemausus	Optatus	Paedagogus	Slave
Africa 1	*CIL*, VIII, 1506	3 CE	Thugga	Cornelia Fortunata	Paedagoga	Free
Africa 2	*CIL*, VIII, 3322	3 CE	Lambaesis	Ael. Agnitus Canopus	Paedagogus	Free?
Africa 3	*CIL*, VIII, 12649	2 CE	Carthage	Fortunatus	Paedagogus	Imperial slave
Africa 4	*CIL*, VIII, 12650	2 CE	Carthage	Optatus	Paedagogus	Libertus Augusti
Africa 5	*CIL*, VIII, 12651	?	Carthage	?	Paedagogus	Unclear
Africa 6	*AE*, 1969/1970, 665	3 CE	Theveste	C. Asiaticus Felix	Paedagogus	Libertus
Africa 7	*BCTH*, 1900, p. cli	?	Caesarea	Hyacinthus	paedagogus	Slave?
Balcan 1	*CIL*, III, 2111	3 CE	Split	C. Agrius Clarus	paedagogus	Free
Balcan 2	*CIL*, III, 14731	3 CE	Salona	Ulp[ius / U]rsulus	p[aeda]gogus	Free
Balcan 3	*ILJug*, III, 2146	?	Salona	Caetenni[us P]rimigenius	paedagogus	Free
Gallia Cisalpina 1	*CIL*, V, 3157	?	Vicetia	Lucius Furius Lalus	Paedagogus	Libertus
Gallia Cisalpina 2	*CIL*, V, 5144	1 CE	Bergomum	P. Rubrius Theophilus	Paedagogus	Free
South Italy 1	*CIL*, IX, 6325 (cf. ZACCARIA, *Paedagoga* [n. 102], no. 5	1 CE	Corfinium	Benigna	Paedagogo(g)a	?
South Italy 2	*CIL*, X, 1943	1 CE	Puteoli	L. Calpurnius Phaedon	Paedagogus	Libertus?

South Italy 3	*CIL*, X, 1944	2 CE	Puteoli	Symphorus	Paedagogus	Slave
South Italy 4	*CIL*, X, 6561-6562	1 CE	Velitrae	Acratus	Paedagogus	Slave
South Italy 6	*CIL*, X, 8129	1 CE	Surrentum	[Q.] Messius Priscus	Paedagogus	Libertus
South Italy 7	*AE*, 1983, 298	1 CE	Nursia	L. Greius Secundus	Paedagogus	Libertus
South Italy 8	*AE*, 1988, 424	?	Corfinium	C. Lucilius Apollonius	Paedagogus	Libertus
South Italy 9	*AE*, 1990, 213	2 CE	Regium Iulium	Cinarus	Paedagogus	Slave
Central Italy 1	*CIL*, 11, 5440	3 CE	Asisium	M. Pettius Primigenius	Paedagogus	Libertus
Latium 1	*AE*, 1985, 169	?	Ostia	Atticus	Paedagogus	?
Epigraphic Database no.						
HD028364	*CIL*, II, 2236	2 CE	Corduba	Domitius Isquilinus	magister gramm(aticus) graecus	Free
F000975	*CIL*, II, 4319	?	Tarraco	L. Aemilius Hippolytus	educator	Libertus
F018529	*CIL*, II, 5079	?	Asturica Augusta	?	grammaticus	Unclear
HD025223	*CIL*, II, 3872	2 CE	Saguntum	L. Aelius Caerialis	magister artis grammaticae	Free?
EDR145330	*CIL*, XI,.9530	6 CE	Centumcellae	Melleus	magister ludi	Free
EDR133313	*I. It.*, X, 2, 58	4 CE	Parentium	Clamosus	magister puerorum	Free?
EDR130990	*CIL*, I(2), 2705	1 BCE	Minturnae	Chillus	magister ludi	Slave
EDCS-09202308	*CIL*, XII, 3832	2 CE	Nemausus	Optatus	Paedagogus	Slave
EDCS-08601101	*ILTun*, 1086	3 CE	Carthage	Felix	[magis]tro(?) ludi	Unclear
EDCS-23200096	*CIL*, VIII, 9088	2 CE	Auzia	Axius Victoricus	Didaskalus	Free
EDCS-31300215	*ILS*, 7762	4 CE	Iomnium	M. Domitius Rufinus	Magistro liberalium litterarum	Free
EDCS-03400151	*RIT*, 443	2 CE	Tarraco	Demetrius	magister [gramma]ticus	Free
EDCS-01300368	*InscAqu*, I, 722	1 CE	Aquileia	Diogenes	Praeceptor	Free?

Appendix 6. *Paedagogi* in Augustine

Reference No.	Work	Citation	Text Edition	Status: M(etaphor)/ S(lave)/ U(nclear)	Summary
1	*ep.*	145	*CSEL* 44, 268	M	Law as paedagogus
2	*doctr. Chr.*	3, 10	Simonetti 182	M	Law as paedagogus
3	*doctr. Chr.*	3, 10	Simonetti 182	M	Law as paedagogus
4	*quest. Hept.*	55	*CCSL* 33, l. 879	M	Law as paedagogus
5	*exp. Gal.*	17	*CSEL* 84, 73, l. 7	M	Law as paedagogus
6	*exp. Gal.*	17	*CSEL* 84, 73, l. 7	M	Law as paedagogus
7	*exp. Gal.*	27	*CSEL* 84, 92, l. 4	M	Law as paedagogus
8	*exp. Gal.*	27	*CSEL* 84, 92, l. 6	M	Law as paedagogus
9	*exp. Gal.*	27	*CSEL* 84, 92, l. 7	M	Law as paedagogus
10	*exp. Gal.*	27	*CSEL* 84, 92, l. 10	M	Law as paedagogus
11	*exp. Gal.*	28	*CSEL* 84, 94, l. 8	M	Law as paedagogus
12	*exp. Gal.*	29	*CSEL* 84, 94, l. 26	M	Law as paedagogus
13	*exp. Gal.*	30	*CSEL* 84, 95, l. 18	M	Law as paedagogus
14	*exp. Gal.*	30	*CSEL* 84, 95, l. 25	M	Law as paedagogus
15	*exp. Gal.*	31	*CSEL* 84, 96, l. 25	M	Law as paedagogus
16	*en. Ps.*	101, 1, 81	*CCSL* 40, l. 20	M	Scriptural
17	*en. Ps.*	118, 25, 7	*CCSL* 40, l. 32	M	Law as paedagogus
18	*serm.*	156, 3	*PL* 38, 851	M	Law as paedagogus, Christ as magister
19	*serm.*	156, 12	*PL* 38, 857	M	Law as paedagogus, Christ as magister
20	*serm.*	161, 8	*PL* 38, 882	M	Law as paedagogus
21	*serm.*	349	*PL* 39, 1533	M	Law as paedagogus, Christ as magister
22	*serm. Dolb.*	15D, 2	DOLBEAU, *Vingt-six sermons* [n. 114], p. 197	M	Law as paedagogus, Christ as magister
23	*serm. Dolb.*	15D (283auctus), 2	DOLBEAU, *Vingt-six sermons* [n. 114], p. 197	M	Law as paedagogus, Christ as magister
24	*serm. Dolb.*	15D (283auctus), 2	DOLBEAU, *Vingt-six sermons* [n. 114], p. 197	M	Law as paedagogus, Christ as magister
25	*serm. Dolb.*	22D (341auctus)	DOLBEAU, *Vingt-six sermons* [n. 114], p. 574	M	Law as paedagogus
26	*div. qu.*	44	*CCSL* 44A, 65	M	Law as paedagogus
27	*fide et op.*	10, 15	*CSEL* 41, 52	M	Law as paedagogus
28	*cont.*	3, 7	*CSEL* 41, 148	M	Law as paedagogus

29	*civ.*	22, 22	*CCSL* 48, 843	M	The punishments of paedagogi are crucial to inculcating discipline
30	*util. cred.*	3, 9	*CSEL* 25, 12	M	Law as paedagogus
31	*util. cred.*	3, 9	*CSEL* 25, 12	M	Law as paedagogus
32	*c. Adim.*	17	*CSEL* 25, 165	M	Law as paedagogus
33	*c. Adim.*	17	*CSEL* 25, 166	M	Law as paedagogus
34	*c. Faust.*	15, 6	*CSEL* 25, 428	M	Law as paedagogus
35	*c. Faust.*	19, 7	*CSEL* 25, 504	M	Law as paedagogus
36	*c. Litt. Pet.*	3, 55, 67	*CSEL* 52, 222	M	Law as paedagogus
37	*brev.*	8, 8	*CCSL* 149A	M	Law as paedagogus
38	*spir. et litt.*	10, 16	*CSEL* 60, 168	M	Law as paedagogus
39	*spir. et litt.*	10, 16	*CSEL* 60, 169	M	Law as paedagogus
40	*spir. et litt.*	18, 31	*CSEL* 60, 184	M	Law as paedagogus
41	*nat. et gr.*	1, 1	*CSEL* 60, 233	M	Law as paedagogus
42	*nat. et gr.*	12, 13	*CSEL* 60, 240	M	Law as paedagogus
43	*x. ep. Pel.*	4, 5, 10	*CSEL* 60, 530	M	Law as paedagogus
44	*perf. iust.*	5, 11, 11	*CSEL* 42, 11	M	Law as paedagogus
45	*perf. iust.*	19, 42, 44	*CSEL* 42, 45	M	Law as paedagogus
46	*gr. et pecc. or.*	1, 8, 9	*CSEL* 42, 132	M	Law as paedagogus
47	*serm.*	156, 13	*PL* 38, 857	S	Law as terrifying paedagogus – explains spiritus servitutis.
48	*div. qu.*	53, 4	*CCSL* 44A, 91	S	inchoatio ergo quaedam facta est sub paedagogo, ut magistro perfectio seruaretur, cum tamen idem deus et paedagogum paruulis dederit, legem illam scilicet per famulum suum, et magistrum grandioribus, id est euangelium per unicum suum.
49	*conf.*	1, 19, 30	*CCSL* 27, 16	U	The boy Augustine evaded his *paedagogi*, *magistri*, and parents to make mischief
50	*conf.*	1, 19, 30	*CCSL* 27, 17	U	Pairs *paedagogi* and *magistri*
51	*serm.*	62, 12	*PL* 38, 423	U	*Paedagogus* comes upon child in mud and forces him to clean up
52	*serm.*	62, 12	*PL* 38, 423	U	Children evade the *paedagogus* and return to mud
53	*serm.*	156	*PL* 38, 851	U	*Paedagogus* leads the child not to himself but to the *magister*
54	*serm.*	156	*PL* 38, 856	U	Law as *paedagogus*, Christ as *magister*
55	*gest. Pel.*	1, 3	*CSEL* 42, 53	U	Children may reach school without having a *paedagogus*
56	*gest. Pel.*	1, 3	*CSEL* 42, 53	U	Children may reach school without having a *paedagogus*

Appendix 7. Pedagogues in John Chrysostom

Ref. No.	Work	Citation	Text Edition	Status: F(ree)/ S(lave)/ M(etaphor) / U(nclear)	Summary
1	*adv. oppug. vit. mon.*	2, 2	*PG* 47, 333	F	Father had high hopes, spoke with pedagogues, hired teachers, spent money (διελέχθην παιδαγωγοῖς, παρεκάλεσα διδασκάλους, ἀνήλωσα χρήματα), staid up nights worrying about decorum, about education.
2	*adv. oppug. vit. mon.*	3, 8	*PG* 47, 361	F	There is no use in courts, nor laws, nor pedagogues, nor fathers, or attendants and teachers. The one can be corrupted with money, the others worry only that they get paid their wage (Οὐδὲν ὄφελος δικαστηρίων, οὐδὲ νόμων, οὐδὲ παιδαγωγῶν, οὐ πατέρων, οὐκ ἀκολούθων, οὐ διδασκάλων· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἔσχυσαν διαφθεῖραι χρήμασιν, οἱ δ' ὅπως αὐτοῖς μισθὸς γένοιτο μόνον ὁρῶσι.)
3	*adv. oppug. vit. mon.*	3, 8	*PG* 47, 363	F	When we wish to educate children, we do not just just offer the lesson but prepare all the accoutrements, we put teachers and pedagogues over them, spend money, etc (αἰ παιδαγωγοὺς καὶ διδασκάλους ἐφιστῶντες, καὶ χρήματα ἀναλίσκοντες).
4	*adv. oppug. vit. mon.*	3, 12	*PG* 47, 368	F	Wealthy boy with hired pedagogue.
5	*adv. oppug. vit. mon.*	3, 12	*PG* 47, 369	F	Wealthy boy with hired pedagogue.
6	*adv. oppug. vit. mon.*	3, 12	*PG* 47, 369	F	Wealthy boy with hired pedagogue.
7	*adv. oppug. vit. mon.*	3, 12	*PG* 47, 369	F	Wealthy boy with hired pedagogue.
8	*adv. oppug. vit. mon.*	3, 12	*PG* 47, 369	F	Wealthy boy with hired pedagogue.
9	*adv. oppug. vit. mon.*	3, 12	*PG* 47, 370	F	Wealthy boy with hired pedagogue.
10	*adv. oppug. vit. mon.*	3, 12	*PG* 47, 370	F	Wealthy boy with hired pedagogue.
11	*adv. oppug. vit. mon.*	3, 12	*PG* 47, 370	F	Wealthy boy with hired pedagogue.
12	*exp. in Ps.*	4, 3	*PG* 55, 43	F	There is no need to send the child to school, to spend money, to hire pedagogues (οὐδὲ παιδαγωγοὺς μισθοῦσθαι), and rhetors, and sophists or spend lots of time in order to learn this eloquence.

13	*De inani gloria*	31-33	*SCh* 188, 122-124	F	If you hear him being insolent, tell the mother to talk to the child, to the pedagogue, and to the attendant (ἀκόλουθος) and make them all guardians of the boy.
14	*Matt. hom.*	35, 4	*PG* 57, 411	F	Fathers often reprimand pedagogues for abusing children; but then tell children they should endure such abuse.
15	*Matt. hom.*	59, 7	*PG* 58, 584	F	When we have a mule, we get the best groom; but when seeking a pedagogue, we carelessly take the first one that comes along.
16	*Gal.*	3, 5	*PG* 61, 656	F	The law was the pedagogue to faith; a pedagogue does not oppose the teacher but cooperates with him, protecting a child from all evil and preparing him to learn his lessons; a pedagogue would make mockery of a child if, after he no longer was needed, he stayed with him.
17	*Gal.*	3, 5	*PG* 61, 656	F	As no. 16
18	*Gal.*	3, 5	*PG* 61, 656	F	As no. 16
19	*Gal.*	3, 5	*PG* 61, 656	F	As no. 16
20	*Gal.*	3, 5	*PG* 61, 656	F	As no. 16
21	*Gal.*	3, 5	*PG* 61, 656	F	As no. 16
22	*Gal.*	3, 5	*PG* 61, 656	F	As no. 16
23	*Eph.*	5, 2	*PG* 62, 39	F	As if a man entrusts his child to a pedagogue (εἴ τις παιδίον παραδοὺς παιδαγωγῷ), then when the child is disobedient, liberates the child and takes him away from the pedagogue (καὶ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ ἐλεύθερον ποιήσειε, καὶ ἀπαγάγοι)
24	*De inani gloria*	46	*SCh* 188, 144	F	A boy goes to a place with nothing, neither slave, nor nurse, nor pedagogue nor anyone.
25	*ep. I ad Cor.*		*PG* 61, 96	F	As when a sick child's food is taken away by the doctor, and the servants ask the father or pedagogue to retrieve it.
26	*I Tim.*	9, 2	*PG* 62, 546	F	The youth is wild and needs many supervisors, including teachers, pedagogues, followers, and nurses (Ἄγριον ἡ νεότης, πολλῶν δεομένη τῶν ἐπιστατούντων, διδασκάλων, παιδαγωγῶν, ἀκολούθων, τροφέων).
27	*De inani gloria*	37-38	*SCh* 188, 128-130	F/S	Do not let the children hear strange things from the slaves, from the pedagogue or from the nurses.
28	*ep. I ad Cor.*		*PG* 61, 84	S	Like well born children who have pedagogues and will inherit everything.
29	*I Thess.*	6, 4	*PG* 62, 434	S	Like those who ride horses, or who have fine pedigreess or are followed by attendants and pedagogues.
30	*hom. de statuis*	15, 2	*PG* 49, 156	M	Fear is our pedagogue toward virtue

31	*De fato et prov.*	1	*PG* 50, 753	M	Knowledge that blasphemy is a great crime was inculcated in the time of boyhood, milk, the pedagogue, etc.
32	*De mutatione nom.*	4, 5	*PG* 51, 151	M	Quotes 1 Cor. 4.15: if you have many pedagogues in Christ.
33	*Sat. et Aur. Act. in Exs.*	3	*PG* 52, 417	M	Expectation disciplines us like a pedagogue.
34	*Gen. hom.*	2, 1	*PG* 53, 27	M	Fasting is the paedagogus of the soul, the teacher (*didaskalos*) of moderation.
35	*Gen. serm.*	4, 2	*PG* 54, 596	M	Like the loving father who gives his child stern pedagogues and teachers (*didaskaloi*).
36	*Gen. serm.*	4, 2	*PG* 54, 596	M	Like the loving father who gives his child stern pedagogues and teachers (*didaskaloi*).
37	*In Bassum Mart.* [dubious]	1	*PG* 50, 721	M	God made the earth for us like a pedagogue.
38	*In crucem* [spurious]		*PG* 50, 819	M	The cross is a pedagogue for the foolish.
39	*In illud Isaiae: Ego dominus*	5	*PG* 56, 150	M	Hunger is the best pedagogue.
40	*Act. Apost. hom.*	14, 4	*PG* 60, 117	M	Alms are the pedagogue and teacher of philosophy.
41	*Act. Apost. hom.*	41, 4	PG 60, 293-4	M	Over the wealthy stands a demon like an executioner or a pedagogue with whip over children.
42	*Act. Apost. hom.*	42, 4	*PG* 60, 301	M	Fear stood over them like a pedagogue over a child.
43	*Act. Apost. hom.*	42, 4	*PG* 60, 302	M	We need fear to train us, just as children need the fear of the pedagogue.
44	*ep. I ad Cor.*	13, 2	*PG* 61, 109	M	Explicating I Cor. 4.15.
45	*ep. I ad Cor.*	13, 2	*PG* 61, 109	M	Explicating I Cor. 4.15.
46	*ep. I ad Cor.*	13, 2	*PG* 61, 109	M	Explicating I Cor. 4.15.
47	*ep. I ad Cor.*	13, 2	*PG* 61, 109	M	Explicating I Cor. 4.15.
48	*ep. I ad Cor.*	15, 2	*PG* 61, 123	M	Opening the doors of repentance to Satan, as if to give such a one to a pedagogue.
49	*ep. II ad Cor.*	4, 2	*PG* 61, 421	M	Explicating I Cor. 4.15.
50	*Gal.*	1, 3	*PG* 61, 617	M	Metaphorical pedagogue.
51	*Gal.*	5, 5	*PG* 61, 672	M	Like a pedagogue and teacher who in fear says, "If you are led by spirit, you are not under the law."
52	*Gal.*	5, 5	*PG* 61, 672	M	If the law were under the spirit, one would not need to abide by the pedagogue.
53	*Gal.*	5, 5	*PG* 61, 672	M	What need does the one who succeeds on his own have of a pedagogue.
54	*Col.*	3, 4	*PG* 62, 322	M	Angels watch over us as if a pedagogue were present.
55	*Col.*	4, 4	*PG* 62, 330	M	One would not be wrong to call Moses a teacher, nurse, or pedagogue.
56	*I Tim.*	2, 2	*PG* 62, 511	M	There is no need for a harness for a trained horse nor for a pedagogue for an educated person.

57	*frag. in Prov.*	16	*PG* 64, 708	M	The law is our pedagogue to Christ.
58	*frag. in Prov.*	20	*PG* 64, 725	M	The law is our pedagogue to Christ.
59	*Act. Apost. hom.*	42, 4	*PG* 60, 302	M	Children need the fear of the pedagogue.
60	*adv. oppug. vit. mon.*	3, 13	*PG* 47, 371	U	In contrast with monastic life, you have much to fear in sending your children to school: stupidity of teachers, negligence of pedagogues, lack of leisure for the father, lack of money and wages.
61	*De inani gloria*	56-59	*SCh* 188, 154-156	U	The child's pedagague and slave must be particularly alert the child is not corrupted through what he sees.
62	*adv. oppug. vit. mon.*	2, 1	*PG* 47, 332	U	Fathers take children to teachers and pedagogues.
63	*adv. Iudaeos*	2, 2	*PG* 48, 859	U	The greatest glory of the paedogogue is when the youth in his charge no longer needs his supervision.
64	*hom. de statuis*	14, 2	*PG* 49, 145	U	The pedagogue often swears not to let his youth eat until he has finished his work.
65	*hom. de statuis*	15, 1	*PG* 49, 154	U	If fear were not a good thing, why would fathers and pedagogues use it on children.
66	*hom. de statuis*	16, 4	*PG* 49, 168	U	Fathers ward off slave catchers by sending their children to school under the guidance of pedagogues.
67	*hom. de statuis*	16, 5	*PG* 49, 168	U	God hands us over to painful experiences to discipline us, as if unto pedagogues and teachers.
68	*hom. de statuis*	17, 1	*PG* 49, 172	U	A child under a strict pedagogue learns discipline.
69	*hom. de statuis*	17, 1	*PG* 49, 172	U	A child under a strict pedagogue learns discipline.
70	*de paenitentia*	6.2	*PG* 49, 317	U	If children are not intimidated by the pedagogues, you also will not be by Christ.
71	*de paenitentia*	6.5	*PG* 49, 320	U	The one who ignores the teacher also ignores the pedagogue.
72	*In S. Julianum mart.*	5	*PG* 50, 673	U	The strict father and paedagogus can rein in the urges of a boy.
73	*Matt. hom.*	58, 4	*PG* 58, 571	U	The souls of rich men are like those who are under the power of thousands of pedagogues or executioners.
74	*Matt. hom.*	81, 4	*PG* 58, 737	U	In childhood, we set pedagogues and teachers over children to protect from these.
75	*Matt. hom.*	81, 4	*PG* 58, 738	U	In childhood, we set pedagogues and teachers over children to protect from these.
76	*Act. Apost. hom.*	5, 3	*PG* 60, 53	U	The harsh pedagogue is hated by his pupils.
77	*Eph.*	5, 4	*PG* 62, 42	U	The soul needs the body as gold needs lead for strength or the well-born child needs a pedagogue.
78	*I Thess.*	9, 1	*PG* 62, 445	U	Children never cease to pester teachers, pedagogues and parents with questions.

79	*Tit.*	4, 4	*PG* 62, 685	U	Wickedness is hard to escape even when under the direction of a father and mother, a pedagogue, a master, and teacher, etc.
80	*Hom. post. Goth. cont.*	7	*PG* 63, 510	U	We establish pedagogues over our children to keep them from error.
81	*De Bab.*	70	*SCh* 362, 184	U	The shrine of Babylas warns faithful to behave as a pedagogue would if he saw his charge at a symposium.
82	*De inani gloria*	16	*SCh* 188, 96-98	U	When a child is born, his father begins to provide for him - there is need of a pedagogue.
83	*De inani gloria*	40	*SCh* 188, 138	U	Fear of pedagogue.
84	*De inani gloria*	56	*SCh* 188, 154-6	U	The pedagogue accompanies the youth to the market to watch over him.
85	*Job*	14, 3	Hagedorn and Hagedorn	U	Fear of the pedagogue.

Appendix 8. Pedagogues in Libanius

Ref. No.	Work	Citation	Status: F(ree)/ S(lave)/M (etaphor)/ U(nclear)	Summary
1	*ep.*	41, 1	F?	Eumathius, paidagōgos of Adamantius's son Anatolius, helps the boy through illness; helps persuade Adamantius in Armenia not to listen to Libanius's detractors; travels freely (see SEECK, *Briefe* [n. 30], pp. 4; 11-12; 135)
2	*ep.*	44, 5	U	Titianos is well served by his pedagogue, Marcellos, who follows him everywhere, but he would not need a pedagogue to behave.
3	*ep.*	44, 5	U	As no. 2
4	*ep.*	88, 4	F?	Eumathius, pedagogue of Anatolius, carries letter of Iphicrates and Leontius from Armenia to Antioch, but is slow in delivering it.
5	*ep.*	104, 2	U	Libanius sends pedagogue to Letoius to report on his son's progress.
6	*ep.*	139, 2	U	Son of Achillius has motivational pedagogue.
7	*ep.*	172, 2	F	Stratonicus pays his son's pedagogue a wage: ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅ γε παιδαγωγὸς πατρὸς οὐ χείρων κατὰ τὴν εὔνοιαν. ᾧ κἂν ὅτι πλεῖστα δῷς, μικρὰ δεδωκὼς ἔσῃ.
8	*ep.*	201, 1	U	Stratonicus also owes Leontius (otherwise unknown), who was as diligent as the boy's pedagogue.
9	*ep.*	233, 3	S	Apolinarius and Gemellus neglect their pedagogue, a eunuch.
10	*ep.*	300, 3	M	You are under the hope of excellence as if under a pedagogue.
11	*ep.*	405, 8	F?	Libanius is upset because the pedagogues are making money by 'selling their students': ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς παιδαγωγοὺς ἰσχύοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ πωλεῖν τοὺς νέους καὶ τὸν ἐν μουσείοις κόσμον ἀπολωλότα συμβουλεύω τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ πολίταις μὴ ταῦτα περιορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἀγανακτῆσαί τε καὶ κωλύσαι.
12	*ep.*	734, 3	S	Libanius has a slave pedagogue named "of Seleucus" gifted to him by by the former advisor to Julian.
13	*ep.*	911, 2	M	The pedagogue's whippings.
14	*ep.*	1188, 3	S?	The pedagogue of the son of Theodorus has beaten him too much; the noble Julianus has threatened to beat the pedagogue to put a stop to it; the pedagogue either was a sailor or resembles a sailor.
15	*ep.*	1188, 4	S?	As no. 14
16	*ep.*	1475, 3	U	Reviles pedagogues who persuade boys to change teachers.
17	*Or.*	1, 12	U	The vigilance of pedagogues.
18	*or.*	9, 11	U	Swallows release boys from the fear of teachers and pedagogues.
19	*or.*	12, 27	U	Julian learned under fear from teachers and pedagogues.
20	*or.*	18, 11	S	Julian is educated by a eunuch (Mardonius).
21	*or.*	18, 289	S	Everything is up for sale after Julian's death, including slaves, nurses, and pedagogues.
22	*or.*	23, 23	F?	Contrasts students, pedagogues, and slaves left after mass exodus.
23	*or.*	25, 47	U	The sophist is a slave to those whom he governs, to pedagogues, to parents, to mother, nurse, grandfather.
24	*or.*	25, 50	U	No one is useless, not workman, soldier, athlete, pedagogue, the one who carries books on their shoulders for children.

25	*or.*	29, 24	U	The sort of thing fathers do toward pedagogues of their sons.
26	*or.*	34, pr	U	Title - Against the slanders of the pedagogue.
27	*or.*	34, 2	F	Pedagogue insults Libanius in public.
28	*or.*	34, 4	U	No pedagogue has criticized him before.
29	*or.*	34, 5	F	Pedagogue begins slandering Libanius after friends leave for baths.
30	*or.*	34, 5	F	Pedagogue of youth slanders Libanius with claims he wasted tuition money.
31	*or.*	34, 29	F	Pedagogue of youth slanders Libanius with claims he wasted tuition money.
32	*or.*	34, 31	F	Boy's father had a decent and good pedagogue (οὔτ' ἦν αὐτῷ τοιοῦτος παιδαγωγός, ἀλλ' ἐπιεικὴς, μέτριος, σώφρων).
33	*or.*	34, 31	U	Difference between being a teacher and a pedagogue.
34	*or.*	40, 26	U	Eumolpius is left with one supporter, a pedagogue in ragged clothes.
35	*or.*	43, 9	U	Fathers, mothers and pedagogues must know that defections to other professors are wrong.
36	*or.*	43, 9	U	You must allow pedagogues to sit in the classroom and pay them bribes to humor them.
37	*or.*	51, 4	U	Pedagogues wake children for school.
38	*or.*	53, 6	U	Pedagogue, nurse and slave may neglect child.
39	*or.*	53, 11	U	A boy left orphaned revels with adult men while pedagogue, attendant, and servant wait outside doorway.
40	*or.*	53, 23	U	Pain is often inflicted by teachers and pedagogues on children.
41	*or.*	54, 17	F	Children pay staters in teacher's hand, the 'silver of the pedagogue'.
42	*or.*	54, 31	S	When Libanius is ill, Eustathius, consularis Syriae, does not send a slave of the sort who carries books - a pedagogue.
43	*or.*	55, 28	U	A foreigner entrusted his sons to Libanius, stayed in Antioch, dismissed the pedagague and played this role himself.
44	*or.*	55, 28	U	As no. 43
45	*or.*	58, 6	F	It was the rule to respect the profession of pedagogues (οὓς αἰδεῖσθαι νόμος ἦν), but you have assaulted a profession that has a proud tradition (τοῖς δὲ ἀπειλεῖτε καὶ ταπεινὸν πεποιήκατε τὸ μετὰ φρονήματος διάγον ἔθνος).
46	*or.*	58, 7	F	Teachers used to grant honors to pedagogues (παρ' ὧν καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπῆρχον τιμαὶ τοῖς παιδαγωγοῖς τὸ δίκαιον ἔχουσαι).
47	*or.*	58, 9	U	Pedagogues teach children after they are finished in school.
48	*or.*	58, 9	U	Pedagogues teach children through violence.
49	*or.*	58, 10	F	Attendants abide by child in illness; pedagogues do as well even though not bound by the same ties.
50	*or.*	58, 11	F	Pedagogue becomes legal guardian (ἐπίτροπόν ποτε δίκαιον) of a boy after his father dies.
51	*or.*	58, 12	U	A more able sophist would have more praise for pedagogues.
52	*or.*	58, 13	U	Libanius used to support his own pedagogue.
53	*or.*	58, 15	F	Any offenses of pedagogues should be tried in court, not punished through carpeting.
54	*or.*	58, 17	F	As no. 53
55	*or.*	58, 20	U	Abused pedagogues flee or are ridiculed.
56	*or.*	58, 21	U	Pedagogue had insulted a Latin teacher.

57	*or.*	58, 24	U	Latin teacher had ordered the boys to carry out the carpeting.
58	*or.*	58, 25	U	All pedagogues are affected by the carpeting of the one.
59	*or.*	58, 28	U	All pedagogues live in fear from this one event.
60	*or.*	58, 30	F	Teacher's orders do not constitute grounds for doing wrong, leading all pedagogues to fear.
61	*or.*	58, 31	U	Some may have organized this to keep pedagogues away from handsome pupils.
62	*or.*	58, 35	U	Just as it is not right to abuse other people's pedagogues, so it is not right for you to abuse this one.
63	*or.*	58, 36	U	Now the pedagogue will turn students away from Libanius's school.
64	*or.*	58, 37	F	The pedagogue who has been insulted will not be able to earn his living and will starve.
65	*or.*	62, 32	U	People avoid teaching because they must serve too many masters, including fathers, mothers, and pedagogues.
66	*or.*	64, 48	U	People who are by nature corrupt are not impeded from immorality by being surrounded by pedagogues.
67	*or.*	64, 48	U	I have known some beautiful boys who can avoid advances even when free of pedagogues.
68	*dec.*	9, 1, 17	U	Children curse their pedagogues when compelled to learn but later praise them.
69	*dec.*	32, 1, 36	U	A youth's pedagogue protects him from prostitutes.
70	*dec.*	42, 1, 8	U	Pedagogue follows a child to protect him from trouble.
71	*dec.*	47, 1, 26	U	With no respect for mother, father, or pedagogues.
72	*dec.*	50, 1, 6	U	My father loved me dearly and provided pedagogues, teachers, allowances, concerns, prayers to the gods, sacrifices, praise to other fathers.
73	*prog.*	3, 2, 1	M	Diogenes, seeing a misbehaving son, beats his pedadogue: historical example.
74	*prog.*	3, 2, 3	M	Diogenes assaulting a pedagogue who allowed his charge to become insolent.
75	*prog.*	3, 2, 4	M	As no. 74
76	*prog.*	3, 2, 5	F	Parents hire pedagogues.
77	*prog.*	3, 2, 7	U	Parents seek out best pedagogues.
78	*prog.*	3, 2, 8	U	Every man judges character of youth by character of pedagogue.
79	*prog.*	3, 2, 9	F	Father provides money, pedagogue must think of everything else.
80	*prog.*	3, 2, 12	M	Diogenes and the pedagogue.
81	*prog.*	3, 2, 12	M	Pedagogue cannot turn youth from bad behavior.
82	*prog.*	3, 2, 13	M	Pedagogue enables the youth's bad behavior.
83	*prog.*	3, 2, 15	U	Libanius has observed that pedagogues are proud of their well behaving charges.
84	*prog.*	3, 2, 17	U	Pedagogues received praise for charge's good qualities and blame for his faults.
85	*prog.*	3, 2, 19	U	Everyone attributes the fault of a child to his pedagogue.
86	*prog.*	3, 3, 8	S	The pedagogue is harsher than his masters (ὁ δὲ δὴ παιδαγωγός, Ἡράκλεις, τῶν δεσποτῶν βαρύτερος ἐφεστηκὼς ἀεί).
87	*prog.*	3, 3, 13	U	Grown boys enjoy as much pleasure in their station as they did pain under the pedagogue.
88	*prog.*	12, 5, 12	U	Pedagogues and teachers are not cruel on New Years Day.
89	*prog.*	12, 29, 9	U	Pedagogues are not cruel to their charges on feast days.