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ΥΠΟΔΟΧΗ
ΤΟΥ ΞΕΝΟΥ ΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ
PETER MARSHALL FRASER

ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΣΗ ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΥ κ. ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ΣΚΑΛΚΕΑ

Ἡ Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν ἔχει τὴν ἐξαιρετικὴ τιμὴ καὶ χαρὰ νὰ ὑποδέχεται σήμερα γιὰ νὰ περιλάβει στοὺς κόλπους της, ὡς Ξένο Ἐταῖρο, τὸν διαπρεπῆ Ἱστορικὸ τῆς Ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδος καὶ Ἐπιγραφικὸ, Καθηγητὴ κ. Peter Fraser.

Ἀπὸ τὰ φοιτητικὰ του χρόνια, ὁ κ. Fraser, ἔχει ἀφιερωθεῖ στὴ μελέτῃ τῆς Ἀρχαίας Ἱστορίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν Ἐπιγραφῶν της. Κατὰ τὴ διάρκεια τῆς Κατοχῆς τῆς χώρας μας ἀπὸ τὶς Δυνάμεις τοῦ Ἀξονος, δύο φορὲς ἦλθε μὲ ἀποστολὴ ὡς κομμάντο, γιὰ νὰ συμβάλει στὴν κοινὴ μας ὑπόθεση, στὴν ἀντιμετώπιση τῶν ἐχθρῶν μας.

Στὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπανῆλθε τὸ 1945, ὡς μαθητὴς πλέον τῆς Ἀγγλικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Σχολῆς. Ξαναῆλθε ἀργότερα καὶ παρέμεινε ἀρκετὰ καὶ τέλος ἀνέλαβε τὴν Διεύθυνση τῆς Ἀγγλικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Σχολῆς Ἀθηνῶν.

Οἱ ἱστορικὲς μελέτες του ἐκτείνονται σ' ὅλο τὸν ἀρχαῖο ἐλληνικὸ κόσμος, ἀπὸ τὴν Ἰλλυρία, τὴ Μακεδονία, τὴ Θράκη καὶ τὰ νησιά τοῦ Αἰγαίου ἕως τὴν Ἑλληνιστικὴ Αἴγυπτο, μὲ κορωνίδα τὸ μεγάλο του ἔργο γιὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρεια τῶν Ἑλληνιστικῶν χρόνων.

Τελευταία του προσφορὰ εἶναι τὸ ἐξαιρετικὰ σημαντικὸ βιβλίον του, γιὰ τὶς πόλεις ποὺ ἵδρυσε ὁ Μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος, κατὰ τὴν ἐκστρατεία του στὴν Ἀσία, οἱ ὁποῖες ἔφεραν τὸ ὄνομά του. Ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀποκορύφωμα τῆς ἐπιστημονικῆς του σταδιοδρομίας, εἶναι τὸ μεγάλο ἔργο ποὺ ἐμπνεύστηκε καὶ φέρει σὲ πέρασ, τὸ μνημειώδες λεξικὸ τῶν «Κυρίων Ἑλληνικῶν Ὀνομάτων» (Lexicon of Greek

Proper Names). Μὲ τὸ λεξικὸ αὐτό, ὁ κ. Fraser, ἀναδεικνύεται ἐφάμιλλος λεξικογράφος τῶν μεγάλων Βρετανῶν ὁμότεχνών του, τοῦ 19ου καὶ τοῦ 20οῦ αἰῶνα, τῶν ὁποίων τὰ ἔργα ἀποτελοῦν κοσμήματα τῆς φιλολογικῆς ἐπιστήμης καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπιστικῆς Παιδείας.

Μὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς Συγκλήτου, ὁ Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς κ. Βασίλειος Πετράκος, θὰ παρუსιάσει τὴν βιογραφία καὶ τὸ ἐπιστημονικὸ ἔργο του.

Ἀγαπητὲ Συνάδελφε, Κύριε Peter Fraser,

Εἶναι τιμὴ γιὰ μένα, ποῦ στὸ πρόσωπό σας, ὑποδέχομαι στὸ Ἀνώτατο Πνευματικὸ Ἰδρυμα τῆς χώρας μας, ἓναν παλαιὸ φίλο τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ παλαιὸ Ἀθηναῖο, ὁ ὁποῖος χαίρει μεγάλῃς ἐκτιμήσεως μεταξὺ τοῦ ἐπιστημονικοῦ καὶ πνευματικοῦ μας κόσμου.

Γι' αὐτὸ ἀπευθύνομαι πρὸς ἐσᾶς, στὴν ἐλληνικὴ γλῶσσα, τὴν ὁποία κατέχετε.

Σᾶς καλωσορίζω μὲ ἀγάπη καὶ σᾶς εὐχομαι, νὰ συνεχίσετε ἐπὶ μακρόν, τὴν λαμπρὴ σας ἐπιστημονικὴ προσπάθεια, ἥ ὁποία ἐτίμησε καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Ἱστορία καὶ τὴν Ἐπιγραφικὴ.

Καλῶς ἤλθατε στὸ Ἀνώτατο Πνευματικὸ μας Ἰδρυμα.

ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑΣΗ ΠΟΤ ἈΚΑΔΗΜΑΪΚΟῦ Κ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟῦ ΠΕΤΡΑΚΟῦ

Ἐνα ἀπὸ τὰ πολὺ σημαντικὰ καθήκοντα τῶν Ἀκαδημαϊκῶν εἶναι ἡ ἐπίσημη παρουσίαση νέων συναδέλφων. Ἡ ἀποψινὴ ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὅτι ἔχει ἰδιάζουσα σημασία εἶναι γιὰ μένα καὶ πολὺ εὐχάριστη, γιατί ὁ νέος μας ἐταῖρος καὶ συνάδελφος σὲ ἔδρα τῆς ἀρχαίας ἱστορίας, ὁ κύριος Peter Marshall Fraser, δὲν εἶναι μόνον σπουδαῖος ἱστορικὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ παλιὸς φίλος τῆς σημερινῆς Ἑλλάδος. Ἀπὸ τὸ 1944 ἕως σήμερα, ἐπὶ 58 χρόνια, ἀσχολεῖται μὲ τὰ ἐλληνικὰ πράγματα, τὰ σύγχρονα πρῶτα, τὰ ἀρχαῖα κατόπιν.

Μὲ τὸν κ. Fraser γνωρίζομεθα ἀρκετὰ χρόνια. Ὅμως πολὺ περισσότερα χρόνια τὸν γνωρίζω ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τὰ ἔργα του, ὅταν νέος εἰδικευόμενος στὴν Ἐπιγραφικὴ μελετοῦσα τὸ βιβλίον του γιὰ τὶς βοιωτικὲς στήλες ἢ τὸν τόμο μὲ τὶς ἐπιγραφὰς τῆς Σαμοθράκης.

Ὁ κ. Fraser γεννήθηκε τὸ 1918 καὶ διετέλεσε καθηγητὴς τοῦ All Souls College τῆς Ὁξφόρδης κατὰ τὸ διάστημα 1954-1988. Ἀπὸ τὸ 1988 εἶναι fellow

του ιδίου Κολλεγίου. Διετέλεσε επίσης Lecturer in Hellenistic History του Πανεπιστημίου της Όξφόρδης κατά το διάστημα 1948-1964 και Reader από του 1964 μέχρι του 1985. Τέλος, είναι μέλος της Βρετανικής Ακαδημίας από το 1960.

Ήλθε στην Ελλάδα ως μαθητής της Αγγλικής Αρχαιολογικής Σχολής Αθηνών κατά το 1945 και διετέλεσε Διευθυντής της κατά το διάστημα 1968-1971. Κατά τη δεκαετία 1972-1982 διετέλεσε Πρόεδρος του Διοικητικού Συμβουλίου της Εταιρείας Αφγανικών Σπουδών. Έχει τιμηθεί με πολλούς επίσημους τίτλους. Πρώτα πρώτα είναι Επίτιμος Αντιπρόεδρος της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας (1999), όπως επίσης είναι Επίτιμος καθηγητής του Brasenose College της Όξφόρδης (1977), Τακτικό μέλος του Γερμανικού Αρχαιολογικού Ινστιτούτου (1979) και Επίτιμος διδάκτωρ (1984) του Πανεπιστημίου της Trier της Γερμανίας, του Πανεπιστημίου La Trobe της Μελβούρνης (1996) και του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών (2002).

Ο κ. Fraser αποτελεί εξέχουσα μορφή της σύγχρονης αγγλικής ιστορικής επιστήμης και αρχαιολογίας και το δημοσιευμένο έργο του είναι μεγάλο και έντυπωσιακό. Η επιστημονική δραστηριότητά του αρχίζει το 1950, συνεχίζεται έως σήμερα και αποτελείται από μεγάλο αριθμό ιστορικών, αρχαιολογικών και επιγραφικών μελετών που έχουν δημοσιευθεί στα έγκυρότερα, επίσημα και διεθνώς αναγνωρισμένα περιοδικά. Όλες αφορούν ζητήματα της ιστορίας των ρωμαϊκών χρόνων της Βορείου Αφρικής, της Αιγύπτου, των νησιών του Αιγαίου, της Ίλλυρίας, της Μακεδονίας, της Θράκης και των αιγυπτιακών λατρειών και της εξάπλωσής τους στον ελληνικό και ελληνιστικό κόσμο. Όλες διέπονται από ένιατο πνεύμα: ο κ. Fraser με την συνδυασμένη μελέτη και κριτική εξέταση των φιλολογικών κειμένων, των επιγραφών και των παύρων καθώς και των πορισμάτων της αρχαιολογίας, επιτυγχάνει τη διαφώτιση και την επίλυση ιστορικών ζητημάτων.

Ακόμη σημαντικότερο είναι το έργο του κ. Fraser που αποτελείται από σειρά αυτοτελών μονογραφιών εκδοσμένων από μεγάλους εκδοτικούς οίκους. Όλες αποτελούν σημαντικές και μοναδικές έως τώρα συμβολές στα ειδικά θέματα τα οποία εξετάζει, όπως είναι *Η Ροδιακή Περαία και τα νησιά* (The Rhodian Peraea and Islands 1954 με τη συνεργασία του G. E. Bean), *Οι Επιτύμβιες στήλες της Βοιωτίας και της Δυτικής Ελλάδος* (Boeotian and West Greek tombstones 1957 με τη συνεργασία του T. Rönne), έργο το οποίο συμπληρώθηκε με τη συνέχειά του που επιγράφεται *Και άλλες επιτύμβιες στήλες της Βοιωτίας και της Δυτικής Ελλάδος* (Some more Boeotian and West Greek

tombstones 1971 με τή συνεργασία του T. Rönne-Linders), *Οι ἐπιγραφές της Σαμοθράκης* (Samothrace. The Inscriptions on stone 1960) και τέλος τὰ *Ροδιακά ἐπιτύμβια μνημεῖα* (Rhodian funerary monuments 1977).

Ἐνδεικτικὸ τῶν πρώιμων ἐπιστημονικῶν ἱκανοτήτων τοῦ κ. Fraser καὶ τῆς ἐκτίμησής τοῦ ἐπιστημονικοῦ κόσμου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶναι, ὅτι ὁ πανεπιστημιακὸς ἐκδοτικὸς οἶκος Oxford, Clarendon Press τοῦ ἐμπιστεύτηκε, ἤδη τὸ 1957, τὴν ἐπιμέλεια τῆς ἐπανεκδόσεως καὶ ἀναθεώρησής τοῦ μνημειώδους ἔργου τοῦ M. Rostovtzeff, *Ἡ Κοινωνικὴ καὶ Οἰκονομικὴ Ἱστορία τῆς Ρωμαϊκῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας* (The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire) καὶ τὸ 1978 τοῦ ἐμπιστεύτηκε ἐπίσης τὴ δεύτερη ἐκδόση τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ A. J. Butler, *Ἡ Ἀραβικὴ κατάκτηση τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα τριάντα χρόνια τῆς Ρωμαϊκῆς Κυριαρχίας* (The Arab conquest of Egypt and the last thirty years of the Roman dominion). Γνωρίζουμε ὅτι, στὴ Βρετανία τουλάχιστον, τὴν ἀναθεώρηση μεγάλων ἔργων, ὅπως αὐτὰ ποὺ μνημόνευσα, τὴν ἐμπιστεύονται σὲ ἀντάξιους τῶν συγγραφέων τοὺς ἐπιστήμονες.

Ἄν ἐξαιρεθοῦν τὰ βιβλία τοῦ κυρίου Fraser γιὰ τὶς στῆλες τῆς Βοιωτίας, τὴ Ρόδο καὶ τὶς ἐπιγραφές τῆς Σαμοθράκης, τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ οἱ περισσότερες μικρότερες μελέτες του, ἔχουν ὡς θέματά τους ζητήματα ποὺ ἀφοροῦν τόπους ποὺ βρίσκονται ἀνατολικά καὶ νότια τῆς κυρίως Ἑλλάδος. Ἀπὸ τὶς πολλὲς δεκάδες τῶν μελετῶν τοῦ αὐτῶν θὰ σταθῶ σὲ δύο μόνο ποὺ δὲν μνημόνευσα προηγουμένως. Ἡ πρώτη εἶναι ἡ *Πτολεμαϊκὴ Ἀλεξάνδρεια* (Ptolemaic Alexandria) ποὺ δημοσιεύτηκε τὸ 1972 ἀπὸ τὸ πανεπιστήμιον τῆς Ὁξφόρδης σὲ τρεῖς τόμους καὶ μπορεῖ νὰ χαρακτηρισθῇ ὡς τὸ μεγάλο ἔργο γιὰ τὴ βασίλισσα τῆς Μεσογείου κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα. Μὲ τὴ μονογραφία αὕτῃ ὁ κ. Fraser μᾶς προσέφερε τεκμηριωμένη μελέτη γιὰ ὅλες σχεδὸν τὶς κύριες ὕψεις τῆς Ἀλεξανδρινῆς ζωῆς κατὰ τὰ χρόνια τῶν Πτολεμαίων καὶ γιὰ τὸν ἰδιότυπο ἐλληνισμὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τοῦ ὁποῖου τὴν ποιητικὴ ὄψη μᾶς δίνει ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος Καβάφης. Μελετώντας τὸ βιβλίον τοῦ κ. Fraser διαπιστώνουμε πόσο εὐτυχὲς εἶναι τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα στὴν ἱστορικὴ σύνθεσιν, ὅταν γιὰ τὴ δημιουργία τῆς συνδυάζονται στὸ ἴδιο πρόσωπο, μαζὶ μὲ τὸν ἱστορικό, ὁ φιλόλογος, ὁ ἐπιγραφικός, ὁ παπυρολόγος καὶ ὁ ἀρχαιολόγος. Τότε ἔχουμε ἔργα ὅπως ἡ *Πτολεμαϊκὴ Ἀλεξάνδρεια*, ἔργα ποὺ γράφονται μόνο μὴ φορά.

Τὸ ἄλλο αὐτοτελὲς ἔργο τοῦ κ. Fraser, ποὺ ἐπίσης δὲν μνημόνευσα, εἶναι τὸ τελευταῖον ποὺ δημοσίευσε, μὲ τὸν τίτλον *Πόλεις τοῦ Μ. Ἀλεξάνδρου* (Cities of Alexander the Great, Ὁξφόρδη 1996). Εἶναι ἱστορικὴ, φιλολογικὴ καὶ γεωγρα-

φικὴ πραγματεία γιὰ τὶς 57 πόλεις ποὺ ἔφεραν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ γιοῦ τοῦ Φιλίππου. Μία τὸ φέρει ἀκόμη, ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Πολλὲς ἀπὸ τὶς ἀρχαῖες Ἀλεξάνδρειες βρίσκονται σὲ χώρες ποὺ ἀποτελοῦν σήμερα ἀντικείμενο τῶν μερῶν μας καὶ τῶν φόβων μας, στὸ Ἰράν, τὸ Ἰράκ, τὸ Ἀφγανιστάν. Σ' αὐτὴ τὴν τελευταία χώρα, ποὺ οἱ τύχες τῆς τόσο μᾶς ἀπασχόλησαν καὶ μᾶς ἀπασχολοῦν, βρίσκόταν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια Ἀραχωσίας, μάλιστα στὸ Κανταχάρ.

Ὁ κ. Fraser μὲ ὁδηγὸ τὶς φιλολογικὲς μνεῖς γιὰ τὴν ἱδρυση πόλεων ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρο τὸν ἴδιο, πόλεις ποὺ ἔφεραν τὸ ὄνομά του, ἀνιχνεύει ἀνάμεσα στὴν ἀγλὴ τῶν μύθων γιὰ τὸν Μακεδόνα, τὴν ἱστορικὴ ἀλήθεια. Ποιὲς πόλεις ἱδρυσε ὁ ἴδιος ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ποιὲς ἀπ' ὅλες τὶς πόλεις ποὺ ἀποδίδονται σ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τὶς πηγές, ὑπῆρξαν πραγματικά. Ἀκολουθώντας διαφορετικὴ μέθοδο ἀπὸ τὸν Johann Gustav Droysen, ποὺ θεμελίωσε τὴ μελέτη τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν ἐλληνιστικῶν μοναρχιῶν, μελετᾷ καὶ κρίνει τὶς πηγές ποὺ διαδέτομε. Ὅπως λέγει ὁ κ. Fraser στὸν πρόλογο «ὁ ἀναγνώστης θὰ αἰστανθεῖ ὅτι ὁ ἴδιος ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος δὲν μετέχει στὸ βιβλίον τόσο πολὺ, ὅσο θὰ μπορούσε, καὶ ὅτι στὸ δράμα λείπει ὁ Ἄμλετ. Σ' αὐτὸ μόνο μπορῶ νὰ ἀπαντήσω, ὅτι κύρια πρόθεσή μου δὲν ἦταν νὰ ἀσχοληθῶ μὲ τὸν Ἄμλετ».

Ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔργο ὅμως γιὰ τὸ ὁποῖο ὁ κ. Fraser θὰ μνημονεύεται ἐπὶ μακρὲς δεκαετίες εἶναι τὸ *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (LGPN)* τοῦ ὁποίου ὁ πρῶτος τόμος κυκλοφόρησε τὸ 1987, ὑπὸ τὴν αἰγίδα τῆς Βρετανικῆς Ἀκαδημίας. Στὸ λεξικὸ αὐτό, τοῦ ὁποίου ἔχουν ἐκδοθεῖ ἕως σήμερα τέσσερις τόμοι, ἀποδησαυρίζονται κριτικῶς ὅλα τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐλληνικὰ ὀνόματα προσώπων, τὰ ὁποῖα μᾶς εἶναι γνωστὰ ἀπὸ τοὺς συγγραφεῖς, τοὺς παπύρους καὶ τὶς ἐπιγραφές. Πρόκειται γιὰ ἔργο μοναδικὸ ποὺ κατὰ ἓνα τρόπο ἀποτελεῖ καὶ τὴν προσωπογραφία τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἐλληνικοῦ κόσμου. Ὁ τόμος I περιέχει τὰ ὀνόματα ποὺ ἀπαντοῦσαν στὰ νησιὰ τοῦ Αἰγαίου, τὴν Κύπρο καὶ τὴν Κυρηναϊκὴ (1987), ὁ II περιέχει τὰ ὀνόματα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὁ IIIA τῆς Πελοποννήσου, τῆς Δυτικῆς Ἑλλάδος, τῆς Σικελίας καὶ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος (1997), ὁ IIIB τῆς Κεντρικῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀπὸ τὴ Μεγαρίδα ἕως τὴν Θεσσαλία (2000). Τὸ 2004 πρόκειται νὰ ἐκδοθεῖ ὁ τόμος IV, πέμπτος γιὰ τὴν ἀκρίβεια, μὲ τὰ ὀνόματα τῆς Μακεδονίας, τῆς Θράκης, τῆς Ρουμανίας, τῆς Βουλγαρίας, καὶ τῆς Νοτίου Ρωσίας. Θὰ ἀπομείνει ὁ τόμος μὲ τὰ ἐλληνικὰ ὀνόματα τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας, ποὺ ἐτοιμάζεται.

Τὸ ἔργο αὐτὸ ἔχει συνταχθεῖ μὲ τὴ συνδρομὴ ἐλληνιστῶν καὶ ἐπιγραφικῶν πολλῶν χωρῶν καὶ φυσικὰ Ἑλλήνων. Ὅλοι εὐχαρίστως ἀνακοίνωσαν ἀδημοσίευτα ἢ ἄγνωστα ὀνόματα ποὺ ἀπαντοῦν σὲ ἐπιγραφές. Τοῦ λεξικοῦ οἱ ἕως

σήμερα τόμοι αριθμούν συνολικώς 2000 σελίδες· όταν τὸ ἔργο ολοκληρωθεῖ θὰ διπλασιασθοῦν.

Ἔως τὸ 1987 μεταχειρίζομασταν τὸν πρόγονο τοῦ λεξικοῦ τοῦ κ. Fraser, τὸ Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen τοῦ Wilhelm Pape τοῦ 1842, ὅπως αὐξήθηκε καὶ συμπληρώθηκε ἔπειτα ἀπὸ εἴκοσι χρόνια, τὸ 1862, ἀπὸ τὸν Gustav Eduard Benseler, μὲ τὴ βοήθεια πολλῶν ειδικῶν, μεταξὺ τῶν ὁποίων ὁ σημαντικώτερος ἦταν ὁ Στέφανος Ἀθανασίου Κουμανούδης. Τὸ νέο λεξικὸ ποὺ ἐκδίδει ὁ κ. Fraser δείχνει τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἔκταση τῶν σημερινῶν γνώσεών μας στὸν τομέα τῶν ἀρχαίων ὀνομάτων, σὲ σχέση μὲ τις γνώσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ 19ου αἰῶνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς προσπάθειας καὶ τοῦ ἐπιτεύγματος τοῦ κ. Fraser, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐρεύνησε τὴν ἀπέραντη φιλολογικὴ, γλωσσολογικὴ, παπυρικὴ καὶ ἐπιγραφικὴ βιβλιογραφία τῶν δύο τελευταίων αἰῶνων καὶ κατόρθωσε νὰ περιλάβει στὸ λεξικὸ πλῆθος ὀνομάτων ποὺ ἀπαντοῦν σὲ ἀδημοσίευτα ἀκόμη κείμενα. Μὲ κριτικὴ μελέτη πλῆθος ὀνομάτων, γνωστῶν ἀπὸ τὰ παλαιότερα χρόνια, ἀποκαταστάθηκαν. Μᾶς εἶχαν παραδοθεῖ λανθασμένα στὶς δημοσιεύσεις τῶν κειμένων καὶ τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν.

Ἀπὸ τὰ χρόνια τοῦ Ἑρρίκου Στεφάνου τοῦ Β' (1530-1598) ποὺ μᾶς ἔδωσε τὸν ἀπαράμιλλο Θησαυρὸ τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσας (*Thesaurus graecae linguae*), ἀπὸ τὸν 16ο αἰῶνα ἕως σήμερα, λίγα εἶναι τὰ μεγάλα γλωσσικὰ λεξικογραφικὰ ἔργα ποὺ εἶδαν τὸ φῶς. Ἐνα ἀπὸ αὐτά, ἔργο μεγάλο, αἰώνιο, ἔργο τῆς βρετανικῆς σοφίας, ἐπιστημονικῆς καὶ μεθόδου, εἶναι ἐκεῖνο ποὺ μᾶς συντροφεύει καθημερινὰ στὶς δεκαετίες τῆς μελέτης μας, τὸ Ἑλληνοαγγλικὸ Λεξικόν (*A Greek-English Lexicon*), τὸ πασίγνωστο Liddel-Scott-Jones, τὸ ὁποῖο μὲ τὸν ἀπατηλὸ τίτλο του περιέχει στὶς 2200 σελίδες του ὅλες τις ἐλληνικὲς λέξεις, χωρὶς τὰ ὀνόματα, ἀπὸ τὸν Ὅμηρο ἕως τὰ πρωτοβυζαντινὰ χρόνια. Ἐλεγε τὸ φυσικὸ συμπλήρωμά του, τὸ λεξικὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐλληνικῶν ὀνομάτων. Μᾶς τὸ προσφέρει τώρα ὁ Peter Fraser καὶ οἱ συνεργάτες του.

Στοὺς μεγάλους δημιουργοὺς τῶν λεξικῶν αὐτῶν, στὸν Γάλλο Ἑρρίκο Στέφανο τὸν Β', στοὺς Βρετανοὺς Henry George Liddel, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones καὶ στὸν Peter Fraser ἀρμόζουν μερικοὶ στίχοι ἀπὸ μιὰ ὠδὴ τοῦ Ὁρατίου, ἐκείνη (III, XXX) μὲ τὴν ὁποία ὁ ποιητὴς ἀποτιμᾷ τὸ ἔργο του. Σᾶς τὴν διαβάξω στὴν ὥρα αἰα μετὰφραση τοῦ συναδέλφου κ. Κωνσταντίνου Γρόλλιου:

Μνημεῖο ἀποτελείωσα κι ἀπὸ χαλκὸ πιὸ αἰώνιο
καὶ πιὸ ψηλὸ ἀπ' τοὺς ρηγινικοὺς τάφους τῶν πυραμίδων,

πού μήτ' ἡ φαγανὴ βροχὴ μπορεῖ νὰ τ' ἀφανίσει
 μήτ' ὁ ἀσυγκράτητος Βοριᾶς μήδ' ἡ σειρά τῶν χρόνων
 ἡ ἀμέτρητη καὶ τῶν καιρῶν τὸ φευγαλέο διάβα.

Κυρίες καὶ κύριοι,

Πρὶν εἴκοσι μέρες ἀκριβῶς γιορτάσαμε τὴν ἐπέτειο τῆς 28ης Ὀκτωβρίου, τὴν ἐπέτειο τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ 1940 πού γιὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνες βάστηξε ἕως τὸ φθινόπωρο τοῦ 1944. Στὸν πόλεμο αὐτόν, τὸν πόλεμο τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μετέσχε ὁ Peter Fraser. Νεαρός, 25 χρονῶν, μὲ τὸν βαθμὸ τοῦ λοχαγοῦ, ἀνῆκε στὴν εἰδικὴ στρατιωτικὴ μονάδα SOE, Special Operations Executive, μονάδα κομμάντος γνωστότερη μὲ τὸ ὄνομα Δύναμις 133. Τὸ καλοκαίρι τοῦ 1943 ἔπεσε μὲ ἀλεξίπτωτο στὸν Μοριά, κοντὰ στὴν Καλαμάτα. Ἐπὶ ἓνα χρόνο σχεδὸν κυκλοφοροῦσε μυστικὰ στὴν Πελοπόννησο γιὰ νὰ ἐκπληρώσει τὴν ἀποστολὴ του. Διαφεύγει στὴν Ἰταλία καὶ ἐπιστρέφει στὴν Αἴγυπτο, καὶ σχεδὸν ἀμέσως ξαναπέφτει μὲ ἀλεξίπτωτο, στὴ Ρούμελη αὐτὴ τὴ φορά, κοντὰ στὴ Λαμία. Πεζοπορεῖ τρεῖς μέρες γιὰ νὰ φτάσει στὸν προορισμὸ του, τὸ Πήλιο. Σκοπὸς του ἦταν νὰ ὀργανώσει τὴ μεταφορὰ ὅπλων ἀπὸ τὴ Σμύρνη στὴ Θεσσαλία. Ἐνα χρόνο ἔμεινε πάλι στὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἀποστρατεύτηκε τὸ 1945 τιμημένος μὲ τὸν ἀγγλικὸ στρατιωτικὸ σταυρό. Γύρισε πολὺ γρήγορα πάλι στὴν Ἑλλάδα ὅχι ὡς δάσκαλος τοῦ πολέμου ἀλλὰ ὡς μαθητὴς τῆς Ἀγγλικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Σχολῆς, χωρὶς κανεὶς σχεδὸν νὰ γνωρίζει τὴ δίχρονη πολεμικὴ του δράση στὸν τόπο μας. Μάλιστα κάποια ἀρχαιολόγος, πρὶν ἐκεῖνος ἔλθει ἐδῶ, τοῦ ἐπέστησε τὴν προσοχὴ στὸ ὅτι στὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ καλοκαίρια ἦσαν ζεστὰ καὶ οἱ χειμῶνες κρύοι, κάτι ὅμως πού ἤδη τὸ εἶχε μάθει πρακτικὰ στὴ Θεσσαλία καὶ στὸν Μοριά.

Ἀγαπητὲ συνάδελφε, ἀγαπητὲ φίλε,

Ἡ παρουσίασή σου ἀπόψε στὴν Ἀκαδημία ἀπὸ μένα, μαθητὴ σου στὴν ἐπιστήμη, ἀποτελεῖ μεγάλη τιμὴ καὶ προνόμιο. Αἰτία τῆς γνωριμίας μας, πρὶν ἀπὸ ἀρκετὰ χρόνια, ἦταν τὸ Λεξικό. Ὅταν μοῦ γράφεις, καὶ κάθε φορὰ πού ἔρχεσαι στὴν Ἑλλάδα μοῦ μιλάς γιὰ τὴν πρόοδο τῆς σύνταξής του, μοῦ μεταδίδεις τὴ χαρὰ πού αἰσθάνεσαι καθὼς τὸ βλέπεις νὰ πλησιάζει στὴν ὀλοκλήρωσή του. Σοῦ ὀφείλεται εὐγνωμοσύνη γιὰ τὸ ἔργο πού ἤδη ἐπιτέλεσες, γιὰ τὸ Λεξικὸ πού ἐμπνεύστηκες καὶ ὀλοκληρώνεις. Ἀπὸ μᾶς τοὺς Ἑλλήνες σοῦ ὀφείλεται εὐγνωμοσύνη γιὰ ἓναν ἀκόμη λόγο, γιατί συμμερίστηκες τὸν ἀγῶνα μας γιὰ τὴν ἐλευθερία καὶ ἀγωνίστηκες κι ἐσὺ μαζί μας.

THE PUBLIC AND THE POET IN PTOLEMAIC ALEXANDRIA

ΕΙΣΙΤΗΡΙΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΞΕΝΟΥ ΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ κ. PETER MARSHALL FRASER

My subject this evening is as old as the Pharos: the relationship between the poets of Alexandria and their public in the third century B.C., particularly in the reign of Ptolemy II, Philadelphus, who built the Pharos. I want to consider this relationship through the eyes of the Alexandrian bourgeoisie, not from the sophisticated viewpoint familiar from the epigrams and other poems of the emigré poets of the capital, Asclepiades of Samos, Callimachus of Cyrene and Posidippus of Pella, the latter at present very topical. That the boundaries between the two classes fluctuated is well shown by a piece by one of the third-century epigrammatists, Dioscorides, the only one who perhaps had a local background, and evidently had some interest in popular poetry. It illustrates admirably in four lines how the humbler level of literary achievement was judged by one of the other coterie. It concerns a recitateur, named Athenion, who bored Dioscorides with her recitation of “The Ten Years’ War”, “The Ἰππορς”.

The text runs:

Ἰππον Ἀθήνιον ἤισεν ἐμοὶ κακόν· ἐν πυρὶ πᾶσα
 Ἴλιος ἦν, καγὼ κείνην ἄμ’ ἐφλεγόμαν,
 οὐ δέισας(?) Δαναῶν δεκέτη πόνον· ἐν δ’ ἐνὶ φέγγει
 τῶι τότε καὶ Τρῶες καγὼ ἀπωλόμεθα.

“Athenion sang her wretched ‘Horse’ to me. All Ilion was in flames, and I too burned along with it, though not fearing(?) the ten years’ struggle of the Greeks¹. On that one day the Trojans and I were destroyed alike”.

1. Anth. Pal. 5, 138 =Gow-Page, *HE*, 1471ff., who say at loc. ‘A woman named Athenium, performing a musical composition on the Sack of Troy, sets the poet’s passions as well as the city on fire’. This is surely a misunderstanding of the epigram (though accepted by myself in *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. p. 598), embodied in ἐμοὶ κακόν; he is bored, and the parti-

Athenion belonged to a group of mostly female performers who attracted the middle ranks of Alexandrian society. Where did her audience come from, what sort of people were they, and what sort of performances did they want to see? Of course, Macedonians and Thracians, veterans of Alexander's campaigns and others, settled in the city, the senior men at Court and in military commands, and in the city-garrison, the *θεραπεία*, while most of the lower ranks settled in the Nile Valley and the Fayyum, where they developed their communal agricultural life. But although mercenary soldiers and their families must have settled in large numbers in Alexandria itself from the outset—the painted funerary stelai from the early Ptolemaic necropoleis include military personnel, identifiable by their uniforms, and their ethnics, among which *Θεσσαλός* and *Γαλάτης* predominate—the bulk of the population of the new city, was certainly of urban origin, and we must ask what it represented in demographic terms. Rostovtzeff said that the administrative class which occurs in the correspondence of Zenon, the steward of Apollonius, the diokete of Philadelphos, were Greeks of the metic type and class, and this is no doubt also true of Alexandria in general, but the situation that created the impetus for this new population needs consideration.

In the fourth century the Greek world witnessed violent staseis and the careers of vicious tyrants, who slaughtered their political opponents, and were themselves slaughtered in due course, until the established hellenistic kingdoms brought some order to the scene. No region reveals this situation better than Sicily, and especially Syracuse, which, from the arrival of Timoleon from Corinth in 344 B.C., underwent continual demographic changes, including the influx of many thousand Corinthian settlers, whom Timoleon requested from the mother-city. But the prosperity and order achieved by Timoleon across most of Sicily, in the shadow of Carthage, was followed a generation later by the political chaos caused by Agathokles, which lasted from ca.317 B.C., until his assassination in 289 B.C. From this situation, which prevailed in many other cities and regions in Sicily and elsewhere, there was, for the man-in-the street, if he could manage it, or if it was imposed on him by exile,

ciple at the beginning of 1.3, transmitted as *οὐδέϊσας*, should be assimilated to that situation. It has been variously emended, as Page-Gow record, but *οὐδέϊσας* could perhaps be retained in the sense 'though I had no Ten Years' War to fear'.

perhaps through *πεταλισμός*, the Syracusan version of ostracism, only one solution—emigration to the new world of Alexandria or another of the new megapoleis. These migrants formed, I believe, a substantial part of those we may call ‘metics’ and the Syracusians no doubt prospered quickly: the wealth of their native city was proverbial².

Greek society was maintained by a sense of continuity in all aspects of life: in political forms (though these fluctuated within recognised limits), in local cults, which supplemented the Olympian religion everywhere, and provided a domestic faith for the family; and in other social customs, and systems of civic organisation, which passed on unaltered from mother city to colony. Towards the end of the second century B.C., that is some hundred and fifty years later, Polybius stressed this sense of continuity among the Greek population of Alexandria, but the Alexandria to which the metics and the migrants came in the first place was a new city of free men seeking a new life, from the most varied backgrounds and motives—Ionic, Aeolic, Doric—to a land of which they may have known something by repute, or even, by personal experience, but in any case to a city where they had to find a new way of life. We do not know how they did it, though we know that early in the reign of Philadelphus some of the population were organised into numbered residential tribes and into demes with Macedonian and mythical eponymous titles, invented by the royal bureaucracy; but it probably took a generation or two for these new

2. One version of the tradition of Syracusan wealth is to be found in Str.269C, where it is told in the context of the competitive colonisation of Kroton and Syracuse, in which the Delphic oracle poses the choice for Myskellos, the founder of Kroton, and Archias, the founder of Syracuse, between health and wealth. Myskellos chooses Kroton and health, and Archias Syracuse and wealth: ἅμα δὲ Μύσκελλον τέ φασιν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐλθεῖν καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν χρηστηριαζόμενον, ἐρέσθαι [δὲ] τὸν θεόν, πότερον αἰροῦνται πλοῦτον ἢ ὑγίειαν· τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀρχίαν ἐλέσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, Μύσκελλον δὲ τὴν ὑγίειαν· τῷ μὲν δὲ Συρακούσας δοῦναι κτίζειν, τῷ δὲ Κρότωνα· καὶ δὴ καὶ συμβῆναι Κροτωνιάτας μὲν οὕτως ὑγεινήν οἰκῆσαι πόλιν, ὥσπερ εἰρήκαμεν, Συρακούσας δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐκπεσεῖν πλοῦτον, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν παροιμίας διαδοθῆναι, λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς ἄγαν πολυτελεῖς, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐκγένοντο αὐτοῖς ἢ Συρακουσίῳ δεκάτῃ. Another, different, ‘historical’, background for the *παροιμία* will be found in *Append. Proverb. (Corp. Paroem. Gr.)*, iv, 8 8. For the linguistic difficulty in Strabo’s account see the notes of Kramer, and Müller’s (Didot) edition, and Meineke’s note to the truncated version of the legend in Stephanos, s.v. *Συράκουσαι*.

units to establish their own traditions. Once they were established, the use of the ethnic to denote the origin of an individual would be replaced in the new system by a new nomenclature, and it is noticeable that, except in specific contexts, foreign ethnics are not common in the city, though they occur in abundance in the population of the chora.

At all levels, society has to find common interests, and in the Greek world one such link lay in public festivals and entertainment. This is visible at a humble level in such a performance as Athenion's recitation of the Fall of Troy. At a higher level, drama, especially Attic New Comedy, went on being produced (and, still more, studied), but perhaps it did not wholly satisfy the requirements of the bourgeoisie out for the evening with their older children. Alexandria had no traditions, and its festivals and festivities had to be created from scratch.

The classic drama was replaced by the recitatif, the dramatic monologue, the *μονωιδία*, and the mime, with a principle speaker, male or female, and with one or two other lesser performers who appeared intermittently on the stage. The mime, the *μῖμος*, was a semi-dramatic form, but lacking religious and mythical roots, and thus particularly suitable to a new heterogeneous community. As an art-form, it seems to have owed its birth to a Syracusan of the late Classical age (v/iv B.C.), Sophron, the son of Agathocles and Damnasyllis (I would betray my alter ego if I did not point out that the mother's name is ἄπαξ εἰρημένον), and he would have remained, perhaps, lost for ever, if, Plato had not met him in Syracuse and brought his mimes to Athens, and 'to have moulded himself upon them (*ἡθοποιῆσαι πρὸς αὐτά*)'³. Aristotle said of the connection between Sophron's Mimes and the Socratic dialogues 'we have no general term referring to the mimes of Sophron and Xenarchos and the Socratic dialogues, nor to an imitation in iambic trimeters or elegiac couplets that one might produce'⁴, and this feeling that mimes existed on the

3. See Diog. Laert. iii, 18: δοκεῖ δὲ Πλάτων καὶ τὰ Σώφρονος τοῦ μίμογράφου βιβλία ἡμελημένα πρῶτος εἰς Ἀθήνας διακομίσαι καὶ ἡθοποιῆσαι πρὸς αὐτά· ἃ καὶ εὐρεθῆναι ὑπὸ τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ. See also Duris (*FGrH* 76 F 72 (Ath.504b)), and Kaibel. *Sophron*, T.3

4. *Poet.* 1447b: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἔχομεν ὀνομάσαι κοινὸν τοὺς Σώφρονος καὶ Ξενάρχου μίμους

boundary of prose and verse persisted in the later definition of them as composed *καταλογάδην*, ‘in prose’. It is indeed remarkable, if it is true, that Plato should have been so influenced by Sophron, and it is unfortunate that we cannot tell what influenced him, because of Sophron there survive only eighteen barely metrical lines on a papyrus, of which the authorship is not beyond dispute,⁵ and about 165 citations, largely consisting of single words which grammarians quoted because of their incomprehensible, Doric forms— the street language, one might suppose, of Syracuse.

Apollodorus of Athens indicates that Sophron’s Mimes fell into two classes, *Ἀνδρεῖοι* and *Γυναικεῖοι*, and when the grammarians quote the Doric glosses, they often state in which category the word occurred; the *ἀνδρεῖοι* had only male performers, the *γυναικεῖοι* only female; and among the *γυναικεῖοι* we find the *Ἀκροστρίαι*, ‘The Sempstresses’, and other titles, the most significant of which is *Ταὶ θάμναι τὰ Ἴσθμια*, ‘*The Ladies who went to see the Isthmia*’. the festival of Poseidon in Syracuse (fr. *10 Kaib.). The Argument to Theocritus’s *Adoniazousai*, states that in some way that Idyll was ‘based on’ Sophron’s Mime: *παρέπλασε δὲ τὸ ποιημάτων ἐκ τῶν παρὰ Σώφρονι θε(ω?)μένων τὰ Ἴσθμια*⁶. The verb *παρέπλασε* is perhaps slightly derogatory: ‘he derived the idea from’. Of this mime only the three opening words survive: *φέρ’ ὦ τὸν δρίφον*, ‘bring the chair’, (note the High Doric form, *δρίφος*), an order from a lady to her slave, on the arrival of a guest, words which illuminate the mime as a genre. We shall meet them again in Theocritus and in Herondas, and may conclude that a chat (sometimes a very confidential chat) between two ladies of the middle class was one standard opening scene of mimes, inherited perhaps from Sophron. Such elegantly dressed prosperous ladies are very familiar to us from terracottas from the fourth century B.C. onwards.

So, against this demographically nebulous Alexandrian background, let

καὶ τοὺς Σωκρατικούς λόγους οὐδὲ εἴ τις διὰ τριμέτρων ἢ ἐλεγείων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινῶν τῶν τοιοῦτων ποιοῖτο τὴν μίμησιν.

5. The fragment is *Papiri Greci e Latini*, xi (1935), no.1214, but is readily available in D.L.Page’s *Select Papyri* iii (Loeb, 1950), no.73. Gow, Theocritus, i, pp.34-5., has a critical analysis of the problem of authorship.

6. See Gow, *ibid.*, ii, pp.265-6, who maintains that Theocritus may have been more influenced by Epicharmus than by Sophron. The Argument to Id. ii, assigns that poem also to the influence of Sophron, but this is not likely.

us look at Theocritus's Ἀδωνιάζουσαι, *The Ladies at the Festival of Adonis*, apparently in some way adapted from Sophron's *Ladies at the Isthmia*, and an outstanding example of a mime combined with a monody. The poem re-creates a public performance on a festal occasion in Alexandria, as seen through the eyes of two ladies, Gorgo and Praxinoa, Alexandrian housewives, but, like Sophron's ladies, and, like Theocritus himself, natives of Syracuse. One visits the other, and here too, the lady of the house orders the slave to bring a chair : ὅρη δρίφον, Εὐνόα, αὐτᾶ: the same situation and the same high Doric form δρίφον; after some κουτσομπολιές and a γλυκὸ they agree to go and listen to the recitateur who will be reciting the tale of the Syrian youth Adonis, who died through the love of Aphrodite. The Ἀδώνια (unlike the Isthmia at Syracuse) was a woman's festival, held, on this occasion, in the royal palace under the patronage of Arsinoe Philadelphos herself. The visitor, having already walked to her friend's house, says that the streets are crowded, the traffic in chariots and horsemen almost intolerable, and complains that it's a great pity they don't live near one another. Once on their way, together with Gorgo's maid, the other lady says the crowds are like endless ants, but eventually they get there. They admire the soldiers, they admire the palace, they chatter away, say how much better things are since Philadelphus's father joined the Immortals (πολλὰ τοι, ὦ Πτολεμαῖε, πεποιήται καλὰ ἔργα, ἐξ ὧ ἐν ἀθανάτοις ὁ τεκὼν (a bit blunt)): in the past you had to watch out for Egyptian pickpockets, but now (11.47-8). οὐδεὶς κακέρργος / δαλεῖται τὸν ἰόντα παρέρπων Αἰγυπτιστί, a phrase which casts a brilliant light on the standing of the native Egyptians of the adjacent village of Rhakotis. Then suddenly there's trouble. A man in front of them tells them in broad Doric to stop chattering like doves in their broad Doric (πλατειάσδοισαι-- δωρίζουσαι, as the scholiast says). Praxinoa lets him have it, and her spirited response is very relevant to our theme. I would like to have quoted the lines in the original Doric, but I think it better to keep to plain English, as translated by A.S.F.Gow:

Stranger: My good women, do stop that ceaseless chattering— perfect turtle-doves, they'll bore one to death with their broad Doric vowels. *Praxinoa*: "Gracious, where does this gentleman come from? [I wonder whether 'gentleman' quite gives to ὠνθρῶπος its full flavour] And what business is it of yours if we do chatter? Give orders where you're master. It's Syracusans you're ordering about, and let me tell you we're Corinthians by descent just like Bellerophon [a reference to the strictly Corinthian version of the legend of Bellerophon].

We talk Peloponnesian, and I suppose Dorians may talk Doric.” So the link with Archias, the Corinthian oekist, and Timoleon, the Corinthian re-founder of Syracuse is brought home.

The ξένος thus put in his place (in spite of speaking Doric), the ladies move into the palace, where they admire the huge tapestry embroidered with the figures of Aphrodite and Adonis embracing, and then the Γυνή Ἀοιδός starts her recitation, which is a hymn of praise for Aphrodite and Queen Arsinoe, and a θρηνηδία for the death of the Syrian boy, Adonis, whom Aphrodite loved, and who alone of human kind passed half his time on earth and half in the underworld (καὶ ἐνθάδε κῆς Ἀχέροντα). It is a most moving θρήνος, recited in broad Doric hexameters. After it is finished, practicalities emerge at once. Gorgo has to hurry back to cook for her difficult husband, Diokleidas: “The man’s like vinegar if he doesn’t get a proper lunch”.

The Syracusan dialect used throughout raises a major issue. I have already hinted that the turmoil of contemporary Syracuse may have led to substantial immigration thence to Alexandria, and we know of other Syracusians who lived in Egypt, both in the chora, and (like Theocritus, Archimedes and Moschos,) in Alexandria, and it is noteworthy that among the Ptolemaic garrison commanders in the Aegean early in the reign of Philadelphos is a Syracusan, Hieron, the son of Timokrates, Συρακούσιος, honoured by the demos of Koresia-Arsinoe (as it was renamed) for his benevolence⁷. Granted that the broad Doric dialect was natural to Theocritus as a Syracusan and the successor of Sophron, and to the dramatic role of the two Syracusan ladies, a wider question arises: how did the various elements of the heterogeneous Alexandrian population (the Egyptians apart) normally communicate with each other, both colloquially and publicly? At home, no doubt, in their own dialect, Syracusan, Thessalian, Boeotian; but at the Bank, where the clerk may have been from Ionian Ephesus or from Xanthos in Lycia, both then under Ptolemaic control? Large communities such as Alexandria inevitably breed a uniformity of speech, a dilution of phraseology and dialect, and the process is probably complete in two generations. Social requirements thus lead to the restriction of dialects to private life--We have probably, most of us, come

7. *IG*, xii(5)1061.

across examples of this —and as the authentic use of dialect shrank— artificiality began to dominate literary language. The epigrammatists used varying dialect-forms which were alien to their own upbringing, and also contained elements of the old epic language. Thus Callimachus, the Cyrenaean, writes epigrams, and much more, with Ionic forms, and Posidippus of Pella, to whom a Northern Doric dialect was natural, also uses Ionic forms, while Asclepiades of Samos uses Doric, and Theocritus wrote complete poems in Aeolic. These features, which are found in epigrams elsewhere, are anomalous in common speech, and the piece of Dioscorides about Athenion unintentionally illustrates the point very well. He says of the artist's recital of the destruction of Troy, ἐν πυρὶ πᾶσα / Ἴλιος ἦν, καὶ γὰρ κείνηι (Ionic) ἐφλεγόμεν (Doric)⁸. The conflict between dialect and the common speech is well illustrated by the works of Archimedes, who, though living mostly in Syracuse, kept up regular scientific contact with the Alexandrian scientists whom he met there later in the century⁹.

It is in keeping with this change of atmosphere that in Alexandria in

8. There is a clear discussion of the problem of the dilution of dialect generally in the *Anthology* in Gow-Page, *HE*, i, pp. xlv-xlvi.

9. He was born in ca.287 B.C., and therefore his contacts with Alexandria probably stretched over parts of the reigns of both Philadelphos and Euergetes. The story of his death at the time of the Roman capture of Syracuse in 212 B.C. is familiar. For a general account of his links with Alexandrian scientists see *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i, pp. 399-409. He is said by his commentator, Eutokios (v A.D.), to have loved his native Doric (see Ivor Thomas, *Greek Mathematical Works*, ii (Loeb, 1951), pp. 136-7: Eutokios searched for, and found, some texts in the original Doric : ἐνετετύχαμεν θεωρήμασι γεγραμμένοις...ἐν μέρει δὲ τὴν Ἀρχιμήδει φιλὴν Δωρίδα γλῶσσαν ἀπέσωζον καὶ τοῖς συνήθεσι τῷ ἀρχαίῳ τῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ὀνόμασιν ἐγγέγραπτο... Little of this Doric remains after copyists and commentators have done their work (see the summary of this by Ivor Thomas, loc. cit. p. 20, note b) but it is fairly well preserved in the Ψαμμίτης (ibid. pp. 199ff.), while on the other hand his poem on Indeterminate Analysis (ibid. pp. 202ff.), the βοῖκὸν πρόβλημα, conforms to the conventional Epic-Ionic style. Its prefatory lemma, though not the work of Archimedes himself, well expresses his role as a creative influence in Alexandria: Πρόβλημα, ὅπερ Ἀρχιμήδης ἐν ἐπιγράμμασιν εὐρὼν τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ περὶ ταῦτα πραγματευομένοις ζητεῖν ἀπέστειλεν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐρατοσθένη τὸν Κυρηναῖον ἐπιστολῇ: for the interpretation of this see *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, ii, p.587, n.243. The poetic remains of Eratosthenes himself (*Collect.Alex.*pp. 58ff. :*Suppl.Hell.*no.397A) also show no trace of Doric.

the third century ethnics are rarely used in private dedications to the Royal House or to deities, and that when they are, and the ethnics indicate an origin in an area of dialect, the dialect is not used. All such dedications are written in standard Attic. At the same time we cannot identify any specifically Alexandrian epichoric personal names before the Imperial period.

Let us move on now to the first Mime of Herondas, written at about the same time as Theocritus's *Adoniazousae*, and called Προκυκλὶς ἢ Μαστροπός, The Procuress, which some of you may have heard me mention before. It is relevant here, because whether or not Herondas, of whose origin nothing is recorded, was a native of Cos, as is probably rightly supposed, he was certainly familiar with Alexandria. The closest links existed between Alexandria and Cos, where Philadelphos had been born, and under Ptolemaic patronage the island remained a centre of poetry, no less than of medical studies, until the end of the Hellenistic age and even later. Meleagros of Gadara was proud to have been awarded honorary citizenship there in his old age¹⁰. Herondas's interests and style are different from those of the contemporary court circle: his interest is in potentially real domestic situations. Before looking at his poem, we must remember, first, that his *Mimes* survive only on a single very illegible papyrus,¹¹ written in about the second century A.D., and that the difficulty of understanding the woefully damaged text is greatly increased by the fact that he chose to write in an artificial hyper-Ionic language (interspersed with occasional Attic and even Doric forms) which bears no relation to his subject-matter, and that he also wrote in the prosaic choliambic metre, the skazon, thus stressing that he stood in the Ionian tradition of the early choliambic satirist, Hipponax of Ephesos, and not in the Dorian tradition of

10. *AP*, vii, 44 (=HE 3994-7):

Πρῶτα μοι Γαδάρων κλεινὰ πόλις ἔπλετο πάτρα,
ἦνδρῶσεν δ' ἱερὰ δεξαμένα με Τύρος,
εἰς γῆρας δ' ὅτ' ἔβην, <ἀ> καὶ Δία θρεψαμένα Κῶς
κῆμὲ θετὸν Μερόπων ἄστων ἐγηροτρόφει.

Note also *AP*, xii, 53 (=HE 44328), a message to Φάνιον, a Coan lady, to look out for him when he crosses from Halikarnassos.

11. Brit. Library Pap. 135. There are many editions of the poems of Herondas, with commentaries, and I need not detail them here.

Sophron. It seems unlikely that contemporary *readers* would have understood all his linguistic eccentricities, but we are dealing with a sort of *Καραγκιόζης*, and an *audience* (which is what he was writing for) would have had little difficulty in appreciating the drama. Differences of manner and style apart, Herondas's *Mimes* are, like the *Adoniazousai*, set within a dramatic framework, and the seven that survive in fairly good shape show a more varied dramatic style than Athenion's monody on the *Fall of Troy*. Of the seven, two (6 and 7, the best preserved), though unsuitable for the present occasion, are very lively, and the rest are equally realistic and effective. The first *Mime*, which, in content, would belong to the *Γυναικεῖοι Μῆμοι*, demands two major speakers, and one minor character, the ubiquitous slave. It describes an attempt by an elderly procuress named Gyllis to seduce a young grass-widow, Metriche, whose husband, Mandris, has been sent to Egypt in the Ptolemaic army, and has not written to her for ten months. Gyllis dilates pell-mell on the allurements of Alexandria, clearly from personal experience, the Eldorado, which only fifty years ago had been a strip of beach by a native village: "The home of the goddess is there. For everything in the world that exists and is produced is in Egypt: wealth, a wrestling school, gold, youths (*νεγνίσκοι*), the sanctuary of the Theoi Adelphoi, the goodly King, the Museum, wine, every good thing he could desire, women as many, by Hades's maid, as the stars that Ouranos boasts of bearing, and as lovely as the goddesses who once hastened to Paris for judgement". She urges Metriche to accept a local bedmate in Mandris's place, specifically a distinguished athlete named *Γρύλλος*, very well-to-do, *ἄθικτος ἐς Κυθηρίην σφρηγίς*, and dying of love for her. Metriche, withstands the old girl's blandishments, tells her that her white hairs have blunted her wits, gives her some undiluted wine to drink, and the maid shows her the way out, amid the *Ζήτω*s of the Alexandrian audience (whether or not they could understand the dialect). Gyllis' last words show she bears no grudge: *ἡδῖον οἶνον Γυλλίς οὐ πέπωκεν [χω]*; she adds significantly, "she's still got Myrtale and Sime to talk to", and goes on her way. No ill feelings: *ἀσ[ρά]λίζ[ε]υ σαυ-τῇ*: "Look after yourself". This masterpiece, on a par with, but very different, from the *Adoniazousai*, does not exhaust Herondas' earthy genius, but rather than describe another mime of his, I would like to show you finally a papyrus fragment which reveals an even murkier side of life than Herondas's Gyllis. It reminds us of the scenes shown on some S. Italian Phlyakes-vases illustrating the *φλυακογραφία*, the crude phallic performances, mainly by satyrs, turned

into a parody of drama by another Western Greek, Rhinthon, also of Syracuse, who apparently lived (or, at least died) in Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Soter¹².

The papyrus¹³, like that of Herondas, is of Imperial date, but there can hardly be any doubt that it is a Ptolemaic piece. It is acephalous, and consists largely of a monologue by a female *αοιδή*. It is written in Attic Greek prosaic verse (like Sophron's, *καταλογάδην*), with no signs of dialect or provincialism, a sort of *καθολοιλουμένη*, an indication that the spoken language has triumphed over the literary dialects. The title, *Ἡ Μοιχεύτρια*, *The Adulteress*, is modern, unlike Herondas's *Ζηλότυπος*, which would do equally well for this piece, on which it may have been modelled, of which, indeed it might be considered an effective parody. It was described by the most discriminating of English critics, the late Denys Page, as 'a fine piece of writing', and though that seems to me overgenerous, it is good music-hall, which everybody could understand. Unfortunately, none of the names of any of the *dramatis personae*, or provisions for change of scene or speaker survive, so it is not easy to determine always where the situation has changed, or who is speaking, at a particular moment, but there are plenty of violent changes in the dramatic situation. These are divided by modern editors into eight scenes, which I shall summarise for you in English, with some specimens of the Greek.

The recitateur, who is also the main character, probably never left the stage herself, except when she says so (usually she says "I'm going indoors", but she never stays there for long). In the fragmentary text (which may be the beginning of the performance) the recitateur, who calls herself *ἡ Κυρία*, begins with the statement that she is going indoors to undress, "I want", she

12. For Rhinthon's date see the Suda P 171: *Ταραντίνος, κωμικός, ἀρχηγός τῆς καλουμένης ἱλαροτραγωιδίας, ὃ ἐστὶ φλυαρογραφία υἱὸς δ' ἦν κεραμέως καὶ γέγονεν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου Πτολεμαίου*. Nossis of Italian Lokri, who wrote his epitaph, and was his approximate contemporary, stated that he was a Syracusan (*AP*, vii, 414=*HE* 2827): *Πίνδων εἰμὶ ὁ Συρακόσιος*, and she is not likely to have been wrong.

13. *POxy* 413v; Page, *Greek Lit.Papyri*, 77 (less the opening twenty lines, *proprietas causa*); for the full text (with some different restorations), see Crusius, *Herodae Mimi*, (Teubner, 1914), pp. 110ff.; Cunningham, *Herodae Mimiambi* (Teubner, 1987), pp. 47ff., no. 7, both with different variations in attribution and supplements.

says, “to be made love to”, and she evidently orders her slave Αἴσωπος, her “whipping-boy”, (μαστίγία, ἐγὼ ἡ κυρία), to play his part, but he refuses, because he has a girl of his own, a fellow-slave, named Apollonia. The enraged woman first threatens to have all his teeth pulled out, abuses him viciously, and then orders her loyal slaves to gag and bind the two recalcitrant ones to separate trees, cut their throats, “and meet me inside” (σφαγιάσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς / πρὸς μέ ἔσω ἀντᾶτε). (2) The loyal slaves evidently let the two escape, and on their reappearance without them, they are told to get them at all costs, though (she adds) in any case they won’t escape the ὀρεοφύλακες (presumably as runaway slaves). (3) The two slaves are then brought in, after all, and ἡ Κυρία orders the loyal slaves to hand the girl over to the police, and to kill the man and bring her the body. She then goes indoors, but (4), when she comes out again, and the body of Aisopos has been brought in, she expresses a passionate love for the now dead slave, bewails that he would not accept her original order, and that his refusal then cannot assuage her suffering now. She then roughly orders another slave, Spinthér to strain some wine for her (presumably for poison), and (apparently—the wording, though certain in itself, is ambiguous-) to take Aisopos’s place in her bed. (5) She next appears and tells another slave, by name Malakos (an opprobrious name, used in its adjectival sense of a drummer in a wandering band of minstrels in the Fayyum)¹⁴, that she has decided to kill the lot (πάντας, including her husband), sell up and clear out. She has just the right poison for the job—the φάρμακον, which she will mix with οἶνόμελι (mead)— and tells Malakos to go and find ‘the old man’ (ὁ γέρων) and his servant, ὁ παράσιτος (perhaps a proper name, Παράσιτος) to whom the nefarious plot is to be explained. However in the next scene (6) the situation suddenly changes. Apollonia, Aisopos’ fellow-slave and girl-friend has been killed, and her body is brought in, and dumped beside that of Aisopos.

The Mistress pretends she doesn’t know either of them—οὗτος τίς ἐστι; / αὕτη δὲ; anyhow, she says she’s repented, and wants a reconciliation with the Old Man; so ‘go and get him’, she says to Parasitos, ‘and I’ll prepare lunch—ἄριστον ὑμῖν ἐτοιμάσω,’ a masterly touch. Now (7), the other slave, Malakos, reappears; she thanks him for preparing the poison so quickly, hands him the additional οἶνόμελι, and invites the two slaves indoors, to lunch, to make ar-

14. *PHib.* 54, 11: Ζηγόβιος ὁ μαλακὸς ἔχων τύμπανον. Smyly, quoted in *PHib.*, ad loc., aptly compared Plaut. *Mil.* 668: Tum ad saltandum non cinaedus malacus aequat atque ego.

rangements for the future: εἰσελθ[όν]τες περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν / ἀσφάλεστερον βουλευσώμεθα. The next scene(8) is the last surviving one, and perhaps actually the last one; it contains surprises for the Mistress and for the audience. Ὁ γέρος appears on a stretcher, dead, but Parasiteos is unhappy and asks Spinther to give him a knock-out drop: ἐπίδος μοι φόνον (?) ἱκανόν, and then laments the death of the γέρος, whom he describes as his ἐλευθέριον φῶς— his light of liberty. He gets no sympathy from Spinther or (probably) Malakos, of whom the former says φοβ[οῦ]μαι / μὴ γελάσω, and the latter begins a mock dirge: ἐγὼ αὐτὸν θρηγῆσω οὐαὶ σοι, ταλαίπωρε, ἄκκληρε, ἄ[λ]γεινέ, ἀναφρόδιτε· οὐαὶ σοι. But just at that moment ὁ γέρος jumps up off the bier and tells Spinther to bring the ξύλα, whatever they, or it, may be, the gallows, stocks, something painful, for Malakos. But a moment later he catches sight of somebody else: οὗτος πάλιν τίς ἐστίν; --Aisopos, of course, whom we all thought dead, but Spinther assures the old man that they, whoever 'they' may be, are, 'safe and sound: μένουσι σῶοι δέσποτα'. That's it, and the curtain probably fell, leaving the sequence of events clearer to the audience than to us.

Let us consider this piece in terms of the characters we have already met, which may help us to estimate the changes in public morality as seen through imaginative literature. Gorgo and Praxinoa, I feel, would have left during the first scene; Gyllis and her cronies would have felt the whole thing very unsophisticated stuff, but stayed on. I would like to leave with you my own fantasy: that one day the audience of the piece included, or would include, members of that Alexandrian σύνοδος τῶν ἀμυμητοβίων, which became the σύνοδος τῶν συναποθανουμένων after the disaster of Aktion, in the dark days after the God had abandoned Antony and Alexandria. The massive frame and spirit of the quondam Triumvir would have found more in the Alexandrian Pantomime to make him laugh, and to help him to forget the cold face of the young Octavian, than in a conventional domestic comedy by Menander.