CLOTHO

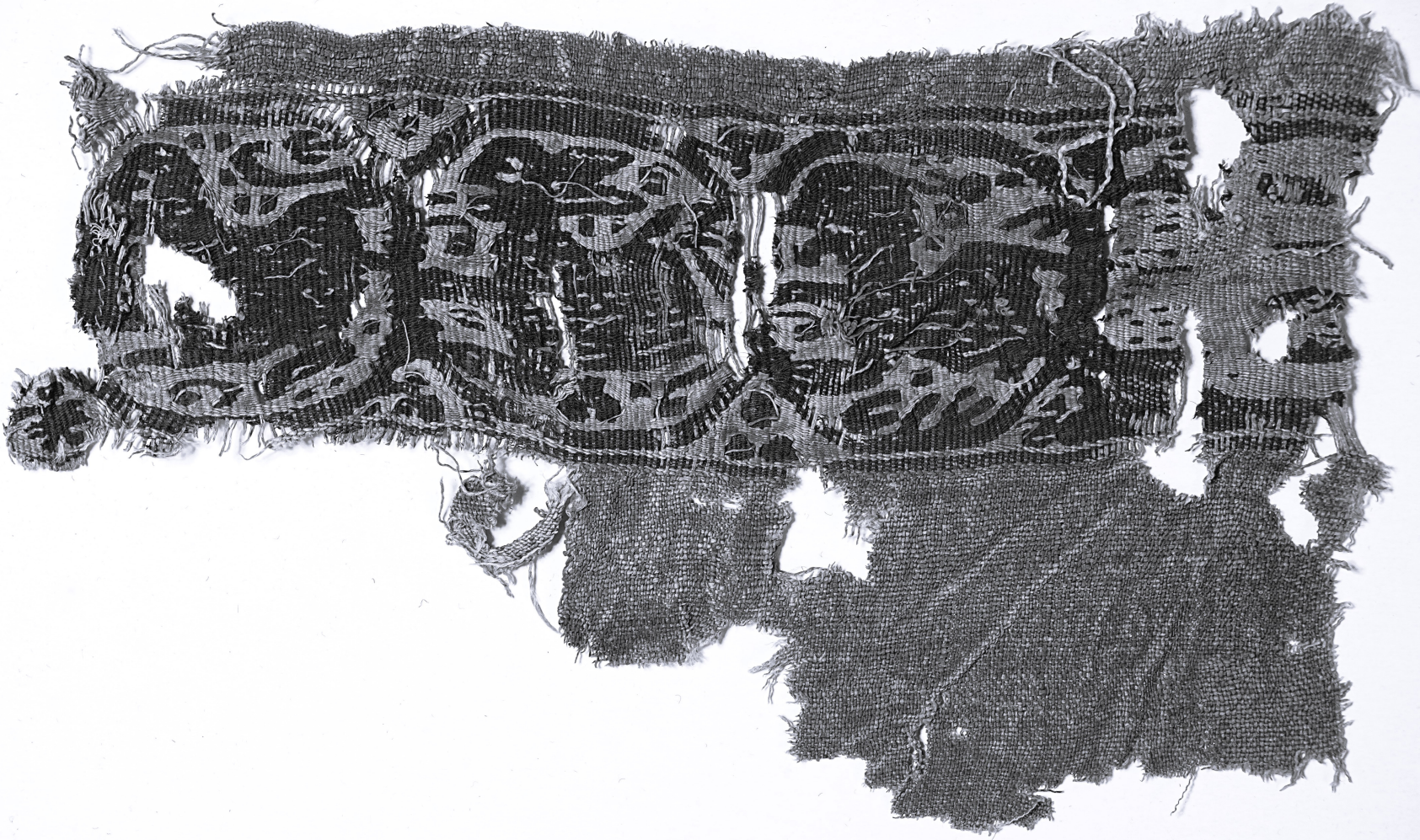
volume 6 · issue 2 · 2024

CLOTHO volume 6, issue 2, 2024 / letnik 6, številka 2, 2024
ISSN: 2670-6210 (print / tisk), 2670-6229 (online / splet)

Address / Naslov:
Aškerčeva cesta 2, 1000 Ljubljana
Publisher / Založnik: University of Ljubljana Press /
Založba Univerze v Ljubljani
For the publisher / Odgovorna oseba založnika: Gregor Majdič,
Rector of the University of Ljubljana / rektor Univerze v Ljubljani
Issuer / Izdajatelj: Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts /
Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani
For the issuer / Za izdajatelja:
Mojca Schlamberger Brezar, Dean of Faculty / dekanja
Design and typesetting / Oblikovanje in prelom: Nika Bronič
Language Advisor / Jezikovni pregled:
Anja Božič (Slovenian/slovenščina), Jonathan Rebetz (English/angleščina)
Website / Spletna stran: journals.ff.uni-lj.si/clotho
Email / E-pošta: clotho@ff.uni-lj.si
Printing / Tisk: Birografika Bori d.o.o., Ljubljana // **Cena / Price:** 7 €
Revijo sofinancira ARIS. / The journal is supported by ARIS.
Front page and photo essay / Naslovnica in foto esej: Coptic textiles from Milan Kovač's private collection / Koptske tkanine iz zasebne zbirke Milana Kovača.

CONTENTS

ARTICLES



DOI: https://doi.org/10.4312/clotho.6.2.5-26

Destroy Your Enemy Becoming Your Friend: Priam and the Amazons in the Trojan War

Arturo Sánchez Sanz*

INTRODUCTION

Achilles, one of the great heroes of Greek mythology associated with the Trojan War, makes the story of the confrontation between the Achaeans and the Trojans, including the episode involving Queen Penthesilea, the crucial epic event of antiquity.[1] Any self-respecting Greek mythical hero would have counted a victory over such mighty warriors among his exploits. Even considering only the number of known sources, this story is one of the most widespread, after the Ninth Labor and the Adventure of Theseus, albeit with significant omissions.[2]

The most important of these sources is Homer himself, the main narrator of these events, whose account does not mention Penthesilea. Nevertheless, he was aware of this tradition since he was the

* Complutense University of Madrid, C/ Profesor Aranguren, 28040 Madrid; Isabel I de Burgos University (C/ Fernán González, 76, 09003 Burgos); asblade@msn.com.

1 Arctinus of Miletus; cf. Proclus (*Chr.* 2; *Schol. Hom. Il.*, 24.804); Stesichorus (Tz. ad Lyc. 266); Lyc. (cf. Tz. ad Lyc. 266); Ps.-Apollod., *Ep.* 5.1; Verg., *Aen.* 1.488–93; Iust., *Epit.* 2.31–32; Str. 12.24; Ovid *AA.*, 2.741–46 and 3.1–5; Dictys Cretensis 3.15–16; Thrasyll. Mend., *FHG.* 3.503, 3; Paus. 1.16; Plin., *NH* 5.115; Q. S. 1.48–53, 559–62, 568–74, 724–29 and 800–9; Seru. Hon. 1.491; Ptol. Heph. 6 (cf. Phot., *Bibl.* 190); Sen., *Tro.* 236 ff.; Diodorus Siculus 2.46; Hyg., *Fab.* 163; Triph. (cf. Tz., *PH.* 209); Dares Phrygius 36.

2 Sanchez Sanz, *Ars Amazonica*, 25.

first to allude to these mythical figures in his work.[3] Moreover, we can intuit an earlier origin for this episode since the first written reference corresponds to another contemporary poet, Arctinus of Miletus (8th century BC), who reappears shortly afterward in the works of Stesichorus (7th century BC). Nevertheless, there are no further mentions of him until the 3rd century BC, although his memory was present in the collective imaginary through numerous artistic works dated throughout antiquity and tradition.[4]

Homer himself was likely aware of this tradition since he mentions the Amazons twice in his verses in the *Iliad*, but the episode takes place chronologically after the death of Prince Hector, so he could not include it in this work, which only recounts the events of the Trojan War up to that point. However, Homer's account is important for placing the events that happened later in context – especially the ones concerning the Amazons, since the authors who mention the events of the Amazon queen were familiar with Homer's work and were obliged to try to explain Penthesilea's attitude and her relationship with Priam before recounting the battle that would lead to her losing her life to the greatest of the Achaean heroes. We will also analyze the few archaeological sources that offer us representations directly related to this episode to conduct a comparative analysis between both sources to know the different existing versions of these myths.

Homer has become the leading exponent of the Greek epic, but it would be inappropriate to regard him as its creator since he was undoubtedly well acquainted with other contemporary and earlier poems.[5] However, this article does not intend to analyze the degree of originality or tradition of the Homeric poems in search of their sources since they represent only a minor part of the history of the Trojan War. In this respect, our interest differs from the neo-analytic methodology, although we accept many of its findings. We are interested in focusing on how many (or all) characters appearing in his poems were already well-known to his audience.[6] This certainty could have originated in earlier poems and the oral tradition, which transmitted the mythical stories. For this reason, Homer did not need to explain who Batiea was; it

3 Hom., *Il.* 2.811–14.

4 Transmitted mainly by the female element in society; Buxton, *Imaginario*, 31; Veyne, *Creyeron*, 80; Sanchez Sanz, *Deconstructing*, 11.

5 Burgess, *The tradition*, 2. Foley and Arft, *The Epic Cycle*, 94.

6 Sanchez Sanz, *Viral*, 12.

was not necessary because everyone knew her, and that is why we have considered it more appropriate to apply the methodology of intertextuality[7] to the oral traditions related to the Amazon episode analyzed in this work.

> ἔστι δέ τις προπάροιθε πόλιος αἰπεῖα κολώνη
> ἐν πεδίῳ ἀπάνευθε περίδρομος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
> τὴν ἤτοι ἄνδρες Βατίειαν κικλήσκουσιν,
> ἀθάνατοι δέ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρθμοιο Μυρίνης·
>
> Now there is before the city a steep mound afar out in the plain, with a clear space about it on this side and on that; this do men verily call Batieia, but the immortals call it the barrow of Myrine, light of step.
>
> Hom., *Il.* 2.811–14

Our reference is to contextualized intertextual analyses of the information related to the appearance of the Amazons in Troy as part of the epic cycle, as opposed to the perhaps too superficial analysis proposed by authors such as Malcolm[8] when he mentions a very different image of women in the *Aethiopis* of Arctinus of Miletus and the *Iliad*. However, this is not the case since Homer neither denies the power of the Amazons nor avoids mentioning them (although he could have done so without any problem). This paper leaves aside the Unitarians of the nineteenth century and the Neoanalysts and Oralists of today, as it does not adhere faithfully to any of these schools of thought. However, it recognizes that all of them provide helpful methodological tools for analyzing the characters of the epic cycle. It is sometimes necessary to move away from dogmatism to apply a holistic approach to analyzing the available sources.[9] In short, there was probably a rich and long oral tradition of poems about the Trojan War, from which the poems that now make up the epic cycle were later fixed in writing. What form this fixation took, who composed them, and how many different versions there were are still matters of debate.

7 Nagy, *Pindar's*, 70–79.
8 Malcolm, *The Greek*, 51.
9 Sanchez Sanz, *El corazón*, 12.

WRITTEN SOURCES

Most stories of the Amazons were well known in antiquity,[10] but those relating the Trojan king Priam to the Amazons correspond to the famous episode of Penthesilea, who became his ally to confront the Achaeans and who perished at the gates of the city after a single battle with Achilles. Arctinus of Miletus recalled such events as early as the 8th century BC, becoming one of the first known authors whose texts reference the mythical Amazon universe.[11] However, he was not the only one.

At the same time, Homer, while referring to an epic dedicated to the narration of the Trojan War, concludes his contribution without mentioning Penthesilea. On the contrary, he gives us three passages showing that these traditions were much more numerous than we think and that their origin was lost even further back in time. He alludes to the myth of Bellerophon,[12] the existence of the Libyan Amazons, and the moment when a young Priam decided to take on the mighty Amazons.[13]

> ἤδη καὶ Φρυγίην εἰσήλυθον ἀμπελόεσσαν,
> ἔνθα ἴδον πλείστους Φρύγας ἀνέρας αἰολοπώλους,
> λαοὺς Ὀτρῆος καὶ Μυγδόνος ἀντιθέοιο,
> οἵ ῥα τότ› ἐστρατόωντο παρ› ὄχθας Σαγγαρίοιο·
> καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ἐπίκουρος ἐὼν μετὰ τοῖσιν ἐλέχθην
> ἤματι τῷ, ὅτε τ› ἦλθον Ἀμαζόνες ἀντιάνειραι·
>
> Ere now have I journeyed to the land of Phrygia, rich in vines, and there I saw in multitudes the Phrygian warriors, masters of glancing steeds, even the people of Otreus and godlike Mygdon, that were then encamped along the banks of Sangarius. For I, too, being their ally, was numbered among them on the day when the Amazons came, the peers of men.
>
> Hom., *Il.* 3.184–89 (translation by A.T. Murray)

10 Sanchez Sanz, *Mujeres*, 146.

11 Procl., *Chr.* 2; *Schol. Hom. Il.* 24.804.

12 The hero faced the Amazons with the help of Pegasus; Sanchez Sanz, *Belerofonte*, 40.

13 Hom., *Il.* 3.184–89.

Homer does not devote many more verses to this section on the Trojan monarch than to the others, although the chronological moment in which the action takes place leaves no doubt that it took place long before the Achaeans presented themselves at the gates of Ilion. Unsurprisingly, one of the main problems it raises will have a direct impact on the credibility that many later authors gave to the Penthesilea episode since some found it impossible that this ruler would choose to ally herself with the Trojans when that monarch had long before acted as their enemy.[14] Perhaps for the same reason, some of the sources that recount the battle between Penthesilea and Achilles had to explain this change of attitude on the part of the Amazons by claiming that it was due more to the need for expiation than for the good relations between the two Near Eastern peoples since it was not equally necessary to justify the interest of Priam, whom his enemies besieged after the death of Hector.

Homer says that as a young man, Priam traveled to Phrygia when Otreus and Mygdon began a campaign towards the Sangarius River and decided to accompany them. It is there, it seems, that they encountered the Amazon forces, whom he decided to fight as an ally of his hosts. He ends his narrative at this point, and we do not know the battle's outcome, although Priam's survival would seem to indicate that it ended in Amazon defeat. Indeed, we know that the cooperation between the two peoples must have grown even closer after these events, for the Phrygians were among the Trojans' allies against the Achaeans.[15]

We have already mentioned the existence of several iconographic scenes depicting the agreement between the sovereign and the Amazon queen to take part in this contest,[16] but, as with the rise of the Sauromatian people, the episode on the island of Leuce or the meeting between Alexander and Thalestris, we do not know of a single piece dedicated to this confrontation. Not surprisingly, two coins from Apamea[17] and Ancyra,[18] which followed the Roman trend of depicting the city in the Amazon style, can hardly be associated with the Phrygian kingdom, so much so that they seem to have forgotten

14 Str. 12.24.

15 Hom., *Il.* 2.858; Ps.-Apollod., *Epit*., 3.3; Str. 12.4.

16 Megarian terracotta cup (175–50 BC, Berlin, Staatl Mus. 3171); Etruscan relief from Volterra (1st century BC, Museo Guarnacci 429) and several Roman sarcophagi (170 AD, Rome, Galleria Borghese, Saal II, Standortnummer LXXX; Rome, Villa Borghese, LIMC, *Priamos* 76; 170 AD, Palermo, Mus. Naz.).

17 Trebonianus Gallus (251–253 AD, Apameia, Phrygia).

18 Antoninus Pius (138 AD, ANS 1973.191.151).

the ancient disputes mentioned by Homer, apart from alluding to them. The same is true of the few other Amazon pieces linked to Phrygia, a Roman sarcophagus decorated with a relief of the Heraclean Amazonomachy[19] and one of the figures that decorated the Hadrianeum, representing the Asian provinces under Roman control, in this case, dedicated to Phrygia with an Amazon appearance.[20] The Asiatic warriors were known for sowing terror among the Anatolian kingdoms with their raids in search of booty, wealth, and territory, whose victories contributed to their fame in antiquity.[21] Perhaps this explains their presence in Phrygia and why their rulers decided to fight them to end such actions.

Otreus was one of the sons of the Phrygian king Dimas[22] and, therefore, the brother of Hecuba, who was to become Priam's wife.[23] This adventure sealed the friendship between the two leaders, to the point of winning the hand of this princess as a reward for her collaboration against the Amazons. Not surprisingly, one of her other brothers, Asius, went on to fight against the Achaeans in the Trojan War.[24] Homer mentions the river Sangarius (now the Sakarya, which flows into southern Pontus), which, as a river god, was made the father of Eunoe, wife of Dimante, and mother of Otreus.[25] We know of Phrygian pieces depicting the hero Otreus at the time of Geta (193–209 AD), in which he appears on the reverse side,[26] although we do not have any works dedicated to this story. Nor does it seem that the Phrygians resisted when the Libyan Amazons crossed their territory,[27] as was the case with the Asiatic Amazons.

On the other hand, Mygdon was a descendant of Poseidon and the nymph Melia, king of the Bebryces, a Thracian people who settled in northern Bithynia[28]. We know that near Lake Ascanius, on the eastern

19 160–190 AD (Phrygia).

20 145 AD (Hadrianeum, a temple of the deified Hadrian in the Campus Martius, Naples National Archaeological Museum 16275378996).

21 Iust., *Epit*. 2.15; Ps.-Callisth. 3.26; Lys. 2.4–6; Str. 9.5, 3; D. S. 2.45.

22 Otreus sometimes appears in the sources as the son of the Dorian king Aegimius (Pin., *P*. 5; Ps.-Apollod., *Epit*. 7.7, 8. 3) and sometimes as a descendant of Phoenix, son of Agenor (Dictys 1.9).

23 Hyg., *Fab*. 91.1; Ps.-Apollod., *Epit*. 3.12, 5; Q. S. 7.606.

24 Hom., *Il*. 17.583–85.

25 Pherecydes of Leros in Scholium to *Iliad* 16.718.

26 Franke, *Kleinasien*, 154; Weber, *Weber Collection*, 7160–61.

27 D. S. 3.40.

28 Ps.-Apollod., *Epit*. 5.9.

border of Bithynia, there was a city called Otroia,[29] named after his companion with whom he confronted the Amazons, a name that closely resembles that of the Amazon queen Otrere.[30] Arraino also points out that the term "Amazonio" was used to designate different places in Attica, Boeotia, and Bithynia,[31] which could allude to lost traditions that, in the case of Bithynia, could be related to the customary foundations. His son, Corebo, also participated in the Trojan War because of his love for Cassandra.[32]

The Bebryces are already mentioned in the account of Alexander III and his encounter with Thalestris as the cause of the meeting between Candaules, son of Queen Candice, and Alexander III, as the cause of the defeat that forced him to seek refuge in the Macedonian camp.[33] On the other hand, Thracians and Euboeans are mentioned among the allies of the Gargarians against the Amazons,[34] so it would not be the only time that the two peoples met. Indeed, the Thracians appear again, in coalition with the Scythians, as responsible for the final defeat that would end the adventure of the Libyan Amazons in Asia Minor, led by Mopso and Sippilus.[35] However, when Menecrates of Janto wrote his account of the Bithynian city of Nicaea, he did not mention any of these accounts, but only the myth of Antiope.[36]

The iconographic records attributed to Bithynia and related to the mythical world of the Amazons are also scarce. In this case, we know of two coins minted in Nicaea[37] and Heraclea in Pontus,[38] which show only the ninth labor on the reverse, together with a stele decorated with the relief of an Amazonomachy (2nd century AD).[39] Not surprisingly, there is evidence that Herakles himself killed Mopso after seizing Hippolyta's belt.[40]

29 Str. 12.4, 7.

30 A. R. 378–390; Hyg., *Fáb.* 30.112 and 163; Tz., *PH.* 8; Ps.-Apollod., *Epit.* 5.1.

31 Arr., *An.* 3.595. 59.

32 Verg., *Aen.* 2.341 ss.

33 Ps.-Callisth. 3.19. Herakles defeated the Bebryces at the time when he faced the Amazons. (Str. 7.3.2; Ps.-Apollod. 2.5.9).

34 Str. 11.5.1–3.

35 D. S. 3.40.

36 Plu., *Thes.* 26–27.

37 Nicaea with Maximinus the Thracian on the obverse (235–238 AD, Bithynia).

38 Heraclea of Pontus under Septimius Severus (193–213 AD, LIMC *Amazons,* 159), Macrinus (217–18 AD, LIMC *Amazons* 161) and Gordian III (238–44 AD, LIMC *Amazons,* 161a).

39 Bursa Archaeological Museum.

40 Tz. ad Lyc. 980.

Phrygia and Bithynia were borderlands, which in turn may have been on the borders of the Amazon kingdom, with the river Sangarius acting as a natural boundary between them,[41] although this situation would imply war rather than defense against a group of Amazons in search of booty. We do not know the earlier situation that Homer did not mention, but we assume they were already organized and established as a people in one of these regions, perhaps in the traditional Thermodon. However, the mouth of the Sangarius is about 700 km from the Amazon, which is perhaps too far away for the Amazons to have extended the borders of their kingdom there. Priam's encounter with them does not surprise him, so Homer makes him aware of their existence. The same must have been true of his audience, for at no point in his work does he stop to explain who these warriors were.[42] Like any worthy Greek hero, he seems to have managed to defeat them and their allies, which puts them on a par with the most important figures in Greek mythology and thus reinforces their lineage.[43]

More than seven centuries separate Homer from Strabo (1st century BC – 1st century AD), who will mention this episode even more briefly and with a very different intention.[44] Undoubtedly, the poet's fame made his work immortal even in antiquity, and he may have become Strabo's source, but he was probably not the only one to remember this episode, although we do not know of its presence in other authors. He devotes the passage to giving his opinion on the veracity of the participation of various peoples in the Trojan conflict as allies of King Priam, according to different traditions. It consists of two distinct parts, the first of which refers to this episode, stating that the Amazons were enemies of the Trojans long before their famous contest with the Achaeans, and they were not the only ones since he also mentions other peoples, such as the Cimmerians and the Treres.

Apparently, Priam declared war on the Amazons in his youth as an ally of the Phrygians (for nothing is said here, as in Homer, about the Bithynians), so he does not seem to doubt the words attributed to the poet. However, he uses this statement to justify the second part of the commentary, in which he denies any credibility to the presence of

41 Zografou (*Amazons*, 24, 33) states that this incursion would necessarily have also threatened the Hittite fortress of Salappa in the area, occurring shortly before or after the death of Laomedon. Blok, *Early*, 148, indicates that this confrontation would have taken place two generations before the Trojan War.

42 Koromila, *Greeks*, 191.

43 Sanchez Sanz, *Heráldica*, 81.

44 Str. 12.24.

Penthesilea after these events since he does not see how this change in Priam's attitude can be explained nor how they could forget the previous events so close in time. Perhaps Homer thought the same since he never mentions Penthesilea, but we have already remarked how many other authors have tried to resolve this contradiction by attributing to the Amazon queen the need for atonement for the death of her companion.

The Treres and the Cimmerians were historical peoples, quite the opposite of the Amazons, but their joint mention seems to be an attempt to provide further veracity to their existence. There are several references to the Treres in historiography. They are a tribe of Thracian origin, usually associated with the Cimmerians themselves,[45] who are said to have ravaged Ionia and other regions of Asia Minor from the north,[46] perhaps in the same way as seems to have happened in Phrygia. Plutarch places the Treres and Tilatheans between Mount Scombrus (or Escomius, the modern Vitosha massif outside Sofia in Bulgaria)[47] and the river Ostium (modern Iskar, a tributary of the Danube in Bulgaria). The incursions of the Treres and Cimmerian tribes into these regions were well known and almost legendary in the sources, which Strabo uses to justify the Amazon expedition into Phrygia, stating that there was no reason to deny that these peoples had done the same from areas as far away as Thrace or northern Pontus.

Herodotus places the territory of the Cimmerians between the Boristhenes and the Tanais[48] rivers, driven out by the Scythians around the 7th century BC. We do not know the exact extent of their territory since only the present-day Crimean Peninsula is mentioned with certainty, although it could have been much more extensive, from the mouth of the Danube or the course of the Dniester (where the royal Cimmerian necropolis could be located)[49] to the Don or the north-western Caucasus. The identification of the Cimmerians has always been difficult, to the extent that their existence has been questioned by the possibility that the sources used the term to refer to the Scythians themselves. We cannot even be sure whether they were a single people or a confederation of different tribes because

45 Th. 2.96; Str. 1.3.18; Stephen of Byzantium 97.16–21.

46 Plu., *Alex*. 1.

47 Th. 2.96.

48 Hdt. 1.6, 15, 103, 4.12. A place in which Homer (*Od*. 11.14) and Aristotle (quoted by Stephen of Byzantium 97.16–21) would locate the cities in which they claim to have lived.

49 Lebedynsky, *Cimmériens*, 95.

of the scarcity of archaeological remains that can be attributed to them[50] and the fact that they were widely dispersed. In addition, we have only brief mentions in written sources,[51] as well as fragments in Assyrian-Babylonian texts (the *Gimri*)[52] and passages of the Bible.[53] They have even been related to the Camarites, who lived on the east coast of Pontus,[54] or to the Cimmerians, who are thought to have lived around the Cimmerian Bosporus,[55] because of the similarity of the names and despite the distance between this Germanic people and the original Cimmerian homeland.

In any case, apart from the eponymous allusions, the archaeological record has not contributed to the veracity of the account of their expulsion by the Scythians.[56] Posidonius even points out that the Cimmerian Bosporus does not owe its name to these people but to the arrival of the Cimbri from the West, who would have been known to the Greeks as the Cimmerians,[57] something improbable and which

50 Ghirshman, *Manuscrit*, 55 (sheet III, 2, 3, 5–6; IV, 3; VI, 1, 2, 3, 7).

51 Ar., *Lys*. 45; Paus. 10.9,9; Hom., *Od*. 11.14–19.

52 Although Diakonoff, *Cimmerians*, 114–15, argues that this term would be used to define the Scythians or Sakas.

53 Sometimes they are called Gomer or Gamadiens (Gen. 10.2–3; Ez. 38,6 and 27,11).

54 Tac., *Ann*. 3.47; Amm. Marc. 22.8,24; Str. 11.2.12.

55 Plin., *NH*. 6.6; Call., *H*. 253–258; Str. 7.2.2. D. S. 5.32.4.

56 Sauter, *Studiem*, 142, denies this episode, stating that there is no historical evidence of such a confrontation, not even of its consequences in the form of numerous kurgans that would have had to be erected to house the Cimmerians who had fallen in battle. In fact, Ivantchik (*Sinope*, 66) and Ustinova (*Supreme*, 13) do not even grant the Cimmerians their own entity, including them within the material horizon known as "Archaic Scythian," on the assumption that their socio-cultural and economic characteristics are linked to the nomadic groups of Eurasia.

57 Poseid. (cf. Strab. 7.2,2); Strb. 7.2.2. Pisani (*Griechische*, 37) argues for this. It is possible that when the Romans became acquainted with the climatic conditions of the Jutland peninsula (which was made the homeland of the Cimmerians), its thick fogs, etc. they soon assimilated to the environment in which Homer described the Cimmerians' home place north of Pontus (Sauter, *Studien*, 178). Hennig, *Neue*, 292, and *Westlichen*, 5, as well as Duncan, *Bede*, 4, already suggested that this climatic panorama was very similar to that of the British Isles, making the Cimmerians and Scythians coincide with Celtic groups located in south-west Britain such as the Scots (also because of the similarity of their names) and the Picts, based on the account of Bede the Venerable (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.1), an option which, like Merrills, *History*, 284, we believe to be an invention of our own. Also in Italy, the allusion to the entrance to Hades that is associated with the Cimmerian homeland is used by Pliny to place the Cimme-

seems born of a search for an explanation based on the similarity of their names. Plutarch also makes the Cimmerians a tribe belonging to the Celto-Scythian groups that arose in the areas of contact between the two north of Pontus,[58] although this presupposes a frontier that hardly ever existed.

It has been suggested that the Cimmerians may have been an Iranian tribe who arrived in northern Pontus and the Crimea in the 8th century BC, also from Central Asia,[59] more specifically modern Kazakhstan,[60] as their dress, weapons, and customs were very similar to those of the Scythians, Sarmatians or Sakas.[61] However, they may also have been descended from the Srubna (or Wooden Tomb) culture,[62] which settled between the Dnieper and the Volga in the 16th-10th centuries BC, and the latter from the Yamnaya and earlier Catacomb culture,[63] as well as the Sabatinovka culture, which settled between the Danube and the Dnieper in the late Bronze Age.[64] The rest of their heritage was a mixture of contributions from the Kamychevakha-Tchornohorivka and Novotcherkassk cultures of the northern Caucasus, as well as elements from Siberia and Central Asia, which would have been the most important since two of the three names of Cimmerian rulers recorded in the sources have an Iranian semantic root.

Assyrian documents place the arrival of the Scythians at the end of the 8th century BC,[65] and they were first mentioned in 681 BC[66] during their migration across the Caucasus. They briefly settled south of this mountain range,[67] where they clashed with the Urartians and Assyrians, before moving south of Pontus and reaching the Milesian

rians in the settlement of Cumae, by Lake Avernus (Plin., *NH* 61). The Scots were described by Isidore of Seville, *Orig.* 9.2,103, cf. 14.23.7, as being fond of tattoos, as were the Scythians.

58 Plu., *Mar.* 11.6–8.

59 Lebedynsky, *L'épée*, 20; Prusek, *Chinese*, 119.

60 Harmatta, *Studies*, 37.

61 Sanchez Sanz, Scythian, 22.

62 Just like the Scythians; Diakonoff, *Cimmerians*, 123.

63 Mongait, *Archaeology*, 155.

64 Lebedynsky, *Cimmériens*, 70.

65 Waterman, *Royal*, 75–77; Latyshev, *Izvestiya*, 262–69.

66 Some authors use it to indicate the possibility that Cimmerians and Scythians are names of the same group, although not necessarily, as it is possible for a source to mention contemporary groups at similar times and places for a variety of reasons; Latyshev, *Izvestiya*, 270–71; Porada, *Art*, 123.

67 North, north-west or north-east of Urartu; Kristensen, *Who*, 13–14; although Salvini, *Geschichte*, 87, takes them further to the Iranian plateau.

colony of Sinope.[68] Sources sometimes mention that they made this raid in cooperation with the Amazons[69] and at a much earlier date (*c.* 786–783 BC), perhaps on the understanding that there was some feud between the colonists and the nearby Amazon kingdom of Thermodon.[70] However, the name Sinope has sometimes been associated with the Amazons, although Pseudo-Scymnus recalls that the area then belonged to the Syroi people.[71] The Cimmerians had occupied an earlier city of this people,[72] only to abandon it shortly afterward and have it rebuilt by the Milesian settlers.[73]

Their journey continued southwards, attacking Phrygia,[74] perhaps in the first quarter of the 7th century BC,[75] and later Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Lydia, and Ionia, destroying important cities such as Sardis[76] and Ephesus[77] before disappearing. The Phrygians possibly joined forces with the Urartians to drive them out of the region, so they began to move westwards again,[78] eventually occupying Phrygia itself.[79]

68 Hdt. 4.12.

69 Even classical sources associate the Amazons with the foundation of Sinope, a city that we know was conquered by the Cimmerians on their journey in Asia Minor, sometimes together with the Thracians; Hdt. 4.12; Ps.-Scym. 5.948; Hecat., *FHG*. 352.

70 Oros., *Hist*. 1.21.1–2.

71 Ps.-Scymn. 986–97, Diller = F 27 Marcotte = Anon. Peripl. Pont. Eux. 22. 8v35–38. This we cannot consider as a periegesis; Rostovtzeff, *Skythien*, 27. Naturally, all the names of Amazons that we know, including those indicated in the sources and those that appear in iconography, show a clear Greek origin, associated with the creators of their mythical universe, or feminized variants of the names of the Scythian kings (such as Scyleia of king Esciles, Bothmer, *Amazons*, 9.39; Beazley Archive 300727).

72 Herodotus 4.12 mentions that they stayed there for a long time, but the archaeological record disproves this. Ivantchik, *Sinope*, 66.

73 As we can see in a fragment of Phlegon of Trales recorded by Stephen of Byzantium; FGrHist 257 F 30.

74 Str. 1.3.21.

75 Lebedynsky, *Cimmériens*, 17.

76 Hdt. 1.15.

77 Call., *H*. 251–58.

78 Diakonoff, *Cimmerians*, 109.

79 Dozens of Scythian arrowheads, also used by the Cimmerians, have been found in the walls of the Urartian fortress of Ayanis Kaie, near the Urartian capital and dated to the third quarter of the 7th century BC; Burney, *First*, 79; Ivantchik, *Archäologischen*, 331. However, arrowheads may have served as a bargaining chip used by the Scythians, Thracians and Olbites; Encinas Moral, *Etnogénesis*, 362–63; Grakow, *Skythen*, 30.

We cannot be sure that this is how events unfolded, for it seems difficult to place the Phrygians as allies of the Urartians, notably if the problem could be shifted to their territory, as it seems to have been. Indeed, the Scythians and Cimmerians conceivably acted as Urartian allies against the Assyrians.[80] Arrian related the Cimmerians and Scythians to each other.[81] If the Cimmerians had never reached the South Caucasus, it would be difficult for them to have ever been known and mentioned by the Assyrians,[82] as they were located near the kingdom of Urartu (Armenia). Strabo states that the Treres would have occupied Sardis sometime after the Cimmerians but before the Lycians.[83]

The last known reference is to their defeat by the Lycian king Aliates, who expelled them from Asia Minor in the 6th century BC, although Arrian places their disappearance in Bithynia, perhaps when they reached that region from Phrygia.[84] In any case, he states that their enemies were Thracians, so we cannot rule out the possibility that a group of Thracians, possibly the Thracians, met them on a plundering campaign on the other side of the Bosporus, defeated them, and then conquered Sardis, a sequence of events that fits in with the order of the peoples who attacked the city at the time given by Strabo, and which would explain their relationship with the Cimmerians in the sources.

Some people have tried to identify the Cimmerian women as the origin of the Amazon myth, claiming that they must have taken an active part in the military campaigns because of the supposed parity of the female element in the nomadic societies of antiquity.[85] This theory is based on the presence of the Cimmerians in Sinope and

80 Azarpay, Urartian, 61; Piotrovskiy, *Vanskoye*, 112–14. We know that in many male and female burials associated with the Urartians and dated to the 8th century BC, a specific type of weapon has been found in the form of a curved-bladed iron knife. This could reflect certain similarities with Scythian and Sarmatian female tombs as evidence of this alliance; Mohen, *Avant*, 207; Sanchez Sanz, *First*, 197–98.

81 In his *History of Bithynia*; Eustath. ad Hom. *Od*. 13.14sqq. 1631.27.

82 The oldest Cimmerian material remains have been found in this region. According to Harmatta, *Studies*, 36, part of the Cimmerian people would have migrated to northern Pontus in the 8th century BC, making them the first Iranian nomads to reach western Eurasia.

83 Str. 13.4.8. However, some claim that Strabo is wrong to confuse the two peoples; Diakonoff, *Cimmerians*, 104.

84 Eustath. ad Hom. *Od*. 13.14sqq. 1631.27.

85 Ghirshman, *Manuscrit*, 12.

Herodotus' assertion that it was an Amazon foundation,[86] considering both peoples as one. He claims that the Amazons spoke the Scythian language, which he assumes to be the same as that of the Cimmerians, although forgetting Herodotus' account of the difficulties the Amazons had in communicating with the Scythians themselves.[87]

> μετὰ δὲ συμμίξαντες τὰ στρατόπεδα οἴκεον ὁμοῦ, γυναῖκα ἔχων ἕκαστος ταύτην τῇ τὸ πρῶτον συνεμίχθη. τὴν δὲ φωνὴν τὴν μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐδυνέατο μαθεῖν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἱ γυναῖκες συνέλαβον.
>
> Presently they joined their camps and lived together, each man having for his wife the woman with whom he had had intercourse at first. Now the men could not learn the women's language, but the women mastered the speech of the men.
>
> Hdt. 4.114 (translation by A. D. Godley)

At the same time, he will recall this passage to claim that the Sauromatians fought with their men as part of their Amazon traditions, as did the Cimmerians.

Themyscira would, therefore, have been the capital of the Amazons and the Cimmerian metropolis from which they founded Sinope and used it as a base for their incursions into Asia Minor (although there is no archaeological evidence for this city). Indeed, for supporters of this theory, Homer's passage about the confrontation between Priam and the Amazons would be irrefutable proof that the Cimmerians were already in Asia Minor in the last third of the 2nd millennium BC. However, Strabo acknowledges that the Phrygian kingdom would have been formed between 1000 and 800 BC, which makes a Cimmerian presence in the country even more difficult and further complicates belief in this hypothesis. Not surprisingly, the Amazon accounts were written before Homer's time, when the Cimmerians were campaigning in Asia Minor.

86 Hdt. 4.12.

87 Hdt. 4.114. However, Ivantchik, *Légende*, 213, points to several very different Scythian dialects, which could favor this misunderstanding between Scythian groups, although perhaps never completely.

Fig. 1. Terracotta cup depicting Penthesilea and Priam, from Megara (175–150 BC, Berlin. Staatl. Mus. 3171).

ARCHAEOLOGY SOURCES

With regard to iconography, only one piece of pottery shows a clear link with the Cimmerians. This is the so-called François vase (570–560 BC),[88] which depicts the Calidonian wild boar hunt, in which one of the hunters with a bow is called *Kimepioe*. It seems clear that here, the name attributed to the culture was used as an anthroponym, similar to another of the archers called Toxamis, a name known in the Amazonian world,[89] so that the author could also indirectly show this link between the Cimmerians and the Amazons long before Herodotus.

Regarding actual Cimmerian archaeological material, only a few scattered Kurgan burials have been found, perhaps because many of their remains have been misidentified as Scythian or Sakas.[90] The weaponry includes bows (similar to those of the Scythians),[91] and only one female grave has been found with an awl and an iron needle among the grave goods (Tomb 2 of the Kurgan of Tchornohorivka).[92] We cannot, therefore, be sure that the female status of the Cimmerians reached the same level as that which we seem to associate with their Scythian, Sarmatian, or Sakas counterparts.

CONCLUSION

Undoubtedly, in the Hellenic collective imaginary, there was a high degree of association between the Amazon cultural sphere and that of many of these cultures, usually associated with a common Iranian origin and a specific geographical context, the Eurasian steppe, which favored not only relations between them but also the transmission of traditions and customs associated with their way of life. Scythians, Thracians, Cimmerians, and Sauromatians appear frequently in their accounts, showing either a direct and causal relationship with the emergence of Amazon society or a circumstantial one that the

88 Archaeological Museum of Florence no. 4209.

89 Two Attic vases show inscriptions alluding to the name of the Amazons they represent: Toxis and Toxaris (Bothmer, *Amazons*, lam. IX. 5, and 7). Curiously, this second option would be used by Lucian of Samosata in the 2nd century AD to title one of his dialogues Toxaris which, precisely, he turns into a plea for sincere friendship (Lizcano, *Tóxaris*, 231) between the Greek Mnesippus and a Scythian who takes that nickname.

90 Diakonoff, *Cimmerians*, 133.

91 Harmatta, *Studies*, 37.

92 Lebedynsky, *Cimmériens*, 78.

authors could easily explain due to geographical proximity or the cultural similarities they established between them. In these accounts, the mythical past is interwoven with actual events that lend credibility to the story, even if they often present contradictions and chronological problems.

The mention of the Teres, Cimmerians, Phrygians, and Trojans placed the Amazons on the same plane of reality regarding the collective imaginary, in which certain events tried to relate to each other to articulate an accepted narrative. However, this is not always the case, or we do not have the necessary information to understand it properly since the initial enmity between Priam and the Amazons makes it challenging to accept that they could later become allies without further explanation, as Strabo himself states. In any case, the purpose of the Amazons' presence in such episodes does not change, as it maintains the didactic character that seems to be at the origin of these stories,[93] showing them as mythical figures[94] of prestige that helped to grant merit and prestige to other characters, but always finally defeated as part of their destiny, understood as logical.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Azarpay, Guitty. *Urartian Art and Artifacts*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968.

Blok, Josine. *The Early Amazons: Modem and Ancient Perspectives on a Persistent Myth*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995.

Bothmer, Dietrich. *Amazons in Greek Art.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.

Burgess, Jonathan. *The Tradition of the Trojan War in Homer and the Epic Cycle.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

Burney, Charles. "A First Season of Excavations at the Urartian Citadel of Kayahdere." *Anatolian Studies* 16 (1966): 55–112.

Buxton, Richard. *El Imaginario griego: Los contextos de la mitología*. Madrid: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Diakonoff, Igor. "The Cimmerians." *Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne* 1 (1981): 103–140.

Duncan, Archibald. "Bede, Iona and the Picts." In *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages*, edited by Richard Southern, 1–42. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.

93 Sanchez Sanz, *Aproximación*, 36.

94 Sanchez Sanz, *Heráldica*, 65.

Encinas Moral, Angel Luis. *Etnogénesis y evolución de la sociedad escita*. Madrid: Alem, 1999.

Foley, John and Arft, Jutin. "The Epic Cycle and oral tradition." In *The Greek Epic Cycle and Its Ancient Reception*, edited by Marco Fantuzzi and Christos Tsagalis, 78–95. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Franke, Peter. *Kleinasien zur Römerzeit*. Beck: Verlag, 1968.

Ghirshman, Roman, and Thérèse Sonneville-David. *Le Manuscrit de Roman Ghirshman: Les Cimmériens et leurs Amazones*. Paris: Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1983.

Grakow, Boris. *Die Skythen*. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag, 1980.

Harmatta, John. *Studies on the History of the Sarmatians*. Budapest: Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetemi Görög Filológiai Intézet, 1950.

Hennig, Richard. "Die Westlichen und Nördlíchen Kultureinflüsse auf die Antike Mittelmeerwelt." *Klío* 25 (1932): 1–21.

———. "Neue Betrachtungen zur Geographie Homers." *Geographische Zeitschrift* 32 (1926): 290–96.

Ivantchik, Askold. "Die Archäologischen Spuren der Kimmerier im Vorderen Orient und das Problem der Datierung der vor- und Frühskythischen Kulturen." In *Migration und Kulturtransfer: Der Wandel vorder-und zentralasiatischer Kulturen im Umbruch vom 2. zum 1. vorchristlichen Jahrtausend*, edited by Ricardo Eichmann, Hermann Parzinger, 329–42. Berlin: Habelt, 1999.

———. "Sinope et les Cimmériens." *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 16 (2010): 65–72.

———. "La Légende Grecque sur l'Origine des Scythes (Hérodote 4. 8–10)." In *Origines Gentium*, ed. by Valérie Formentin and Sophie Gotteland, 207–20. Bordeaux: De Boccard, 2001.

Koromila, Marianna. *The Greeks in the Black Sea from the Bronze Age to the Twentieth Century*. Athens: Panorama, 1991.

Kristensen, Anne Katrine. *Who were the Cimmerians, and where did they come from? Sargon II, the Cimmerians, and Rusa I*. Copenhagen: Den Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 1988.

Latyshev, Vasily. *Izvestiya drevnikh pisateley o Skifii i Kavkaze* [News of Ancient Writers about Scythia and Caucasus]. Saint Petersburg: Farn, 1947.

Lebedynsky, Iaroslav. *De L´épée Scythe au Sabre Mongol: Les Armes Blandes des Nómades de la Steppe; IXe siècle avant J.-C. - XIXe siècle après J.-C.* Paris: Errance, 2008.

———. *Les Cimmériens, Les Premiers Nómades des Steppes Européennes IXe-VIIe siècles av. J.-C.* Paris: Errance, 2004.

Lizcano Rejano, Susana. "El Tóxaris de Luciano de Samósata: Un paradigma de la amistad entre griegos y bárbaros." *Cuadernos de filología clásica: Estudios griegos e indoeuropeos* 10 (2000): 229–52.
Malcolm, D. *The Greek Epic Cycle*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 1989.
Merrills, Andy. *History and Geography in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
Mohen, Jean-Pierre. *Avant les Scythes: Préhistoire de l'art en U.R.S.S.* Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1979.
Mongait, Aleksandr. *Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.* New York: Penguin, 1961.
Nagy, Gregory. *Pindar's Homer: The Lyric Possession of An Epic Past*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.
Piotrovskiy, B. B. *Vanskoye tsarstvo* [The Urartian Kingdom]. Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura, 1959.
Pisani, Vittore. "Griechische Miszellen, 4: Kimmerier-Kimbroi." In *Beiträge zur Ethnolinguistik: Gedenkschrift zum 100*, edited by Ferdinand Hestermann, 34–37. Jena: University of Jena, 1980.
Porada, Edith. *The Art of Ancient Iran: Pre-Islamic Cultures*. New York: Crown, 1965.
Prusek, Jaroslav. *Chinese Statelets and the Northern Barbarians in the Period 1400–300 BC*. Dordrecht: Reidel, 1971.
Rostovtzeff, Michael. *Skythien und der Bosporus*. Berlin: H. Schoetz & Co, 1931.
Salvini, Mirjo. *Geschichte und Kultur der Uratiier*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995.
Sanchez Sanz, Arturo. "Viral Amazons: The First Influencers in History." In *Amazons in the Digital Era: The Reception of the Warrior Woman Image*, edited by Arturo Sanchez Sanz, 12–21. London: Bloomsbury, 2025.
———. "The 'First' Amazons: Development of Genre in Eurasian Bronze." In *Actas del X Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Iranología (SEI), Tbilisi (Georgia), 20–21 de octubre de 2022*, edited by Tea Vardosanidze Rusadze and Gerardo Matallana Medina, 173–203. Tbilisi: Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University Press, 2024.
———. «El corazón de las amazonas. Reimaginando la mitología." In *História em Quadrinhos na Perspectiva da Prática de Ensino*, edited by Carlos Costa Campos and Federico Bantim de Assumpção, 81–133. Río de Janeiro: Editora da Universidade de Vassouras, 2024.
———. "Dalí's Amazons. The Surrealism of the Classical Female Body." In *Cuerpos en diálogo: tejiendo ecos de diversidad e identidad*, edited by L. Robledo Díaz and A. Grau I Muñoz, 109–130. Madrid: Dykinson, 2024.

Sanchez Sanz, Arturo. "La heráldica amazónica." *Thersites: Journal for Transcultural Presences & Diachronic Identities from Antiquity to Date* 16 (2023): 1–82.

———. "Scythian Amazons: Female Burials in northern Pontus." *Erga-Logoi: Rivista di storia, letteratura, diritto e culture dell'antichità* 11 (2023): 7–27.

———. *Ars Amazónica: Estudio de fuentes y análisis comparativo*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2019.

———. "Belerofonte y las amazonas." *Journal of Intercultural and Interdisciplinary Archaeology* 3.2 (2019): 39–45.

———. "Mujeres Guerreras: El mito amazónico en la Época Arcaica y Clásica." In *Experiências Religiosas no Mundo Antigo: Volume II*, edited by Carolina Corsi and Carlos Eduardo da Costa Campos, 145–68. Curitiba: Prismas, 2017.

———. "Aproximación al mito de las amazonas en la iconografía griega Arcaica y Clásica." *Historias del Orbis Terrarum* 12 (2014): 14–42.

Sauter, Hermann. *Studien zum Kimmerierproblem*. Bonn: Habelt, 2000.

Ustinova, Yulia. *The Supreme Gods of the Bosporan Kingdom: Celestial Aphrodite and the Most High God*. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Veyne, Paul. *¿Creyeron los griegos en sus mitos?* Buenos Aires: Gránica, 1987.

Waterman, Leroy. *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire: Part 1*. Ann Harbor: University of Michigan Press, 1930.

Weber, Hermann. *The Weber Collection of Greek Coins*. London: Spynk and Son, 1952.

Zografou, Mina. *Amazons in Homer and Hesiod (a Historical Reconstruction)*. Athens: Editions EOS, 1972.

ABSTRACT

The legend of the battle of Troy between the hero Achilles and the Amazon queen Penthesilea is one of the most famous stories in Greek mythology. However, we may wonder why the Amazons decided to travel to Troy and become allies of King Priam to fight the Achaeans. This fact is important, especially since this episode does not appear in Homer's work, but the author does mention the Amazons on three occasions. In one of them, King Priam himself is the protagonist, in his youth. Many years before the Achaeans besieged his city, the young Priam traveled to Phrygia, where he decided to accompany the rulers Otreus and Mygdon on their campaign towards the river Sangarius. There, they were surprised by a group of Amazons who did not hesitate to attack them – for no apparent reason. This paper analyzes both episodes' written and archaeological sources to explain why the Amazons decided to change their minds and become Priam's allies after having fought against the Trojan ruler years before. It analyzes the motives of Queen Penthesilea to confront the Achaeans, which would result in her death at the hands of the hero Achilles, who was in love with her.

KEYWORDS: Priam, Penthesilea, Amazons, Achilles, Troy

Uniči sovražnika, ki postaja prijatelj: Priam in Amazonke v vojni za Trojo

IZVLEČEK

Legenda o bitki za Trojo med junakom Ahilom in amazonsko kraljico Pentezilejo je ena najbolj znanih zgodb grške mitologije. Morda se lahko porodi vprašanje, zakaj so se Amazonke odločile odpotovati v Trojo in postati zaveznice kralja Priama v boju proti Ahajcem. Slednje je še posebej pomembno, ker se ta epizoda v Homerjevih delih ne pojavi. Homer sicer Amazonke omeni trikrat, pri čemer je v eni izmed epizod protagonist sam kralj Priam v svoji mladosti. Daleč preden so Ahajci oblegali Trojo, je mladi Priam odpotoval v Frigijo, kjer se je odločil spremljati vladarja Otreja in Mygdona na njuni vojaški odpravi proti reki Sangarij. Tam jih je presenetila skupina Amazonk in jih – brez očitnega razloga – napadla. Prispevek analizira pisne in arheološke vire obeh epizod ter skuša pojasniti, zakaj so si Amazonke premislile in postale Priamove zaveznice, čeprav so se v preteklosti borile proti trojanskemu vladarju. Obravnava tudi motiv kraljice Pentezileje za spopad z Ahajci; ta se je končal z njeno smrtjo v naročju junaka Ahila, ki je bil zaljubljen vanjo.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Priam, Pentezileja, Amazonke, Ahil, Troja

DOI: https://doi.org/10.4312/clotho.6.2.29-55

Showing the Many Why Philosophers Should Rule: On *Republic* 6.500–501

Karel Thein*

The practicability of the best city, as described by Socrates in Plato's *Republic,* is a perennial topic in Platonic scholarship.[1] The text may not offer a non-equivocal answer to this question. However, when prompted by Glaucon, Socrates claims that, hypothetically, a philosophical rule could be instituted, but this will not happen "until philosophers rule as kings or those who are now called kings and leading men genuinely and adequately philosophize, that is until political power and philosophy entirely coincide" (5.473c11–d3).[2] When returning to the same question in Book 6 (starting with line 499b1), Socrates will again insist that only two kinds of events could bring philosophy to power: either some chance (τύχη) compels the few virtuous and useless philosophers to take care of the city and the citizens to obey them, or some divine inspiration (θεία ἐπίπνοια) overwhelms the present rulers with "a true love for true philosophy" (499b3–c2). Both alternatives consist, therefore, of a reversal brought about by external causes beyond human control – a fact that may lead the reader to accentuate other passages where Socrates seems rather

* Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Náměstí Jana Palacha 3, 116 38 Prague; thein@ff.cuni.cz.

1 A well-known example is Burnyeat, "Utopia and Fantasy." Burnyeat's initial statement could be the motto of this article: Plato's Kallipolis "exists where it is constructed, in the discourse between Socrates and his interlocutors; that is, in their imagination, and in ours when we read the *Republic*." Seen in this light, the passage that I will analyze imagines Socrates imagining how different minds do and should imagine philosophical nature.

2 Translations of Plato are from Cooper, *Plato: Complete Works* (often modified). I retain the pronoun "he" used for "philosopher" as corresponding to the grammar of the original without expressing (I hope) any gender bias.

pessimistic about the real prospects of such a rule. In this paper, I aim not to decide which reading is the "true" one but to take a closer look at the immediately following and much-quoted passage that deals with how the philosophers once in power could persuade the many that they are perfect kings. The question is, therefore, how the philosophical "Muse" (499d4) that controls the city can address its citizens to make them obedient. This makes the passage unique within the *Republic*, if not in Plato. At 499d–502c, Socrates does not deal with the education of future philosopher-kings (a topic reserved for later) but wonders about changing the majority's view of the philosophers. He does not deal only with true knowledge *per se*, but also with translating it into a vivid and persuasive image of philosophy, an image that stays true to the core elements of knowledge but expresses them in a more colorful and accessible language.

In what follows, my focus will be on pages 500c–501e, a vibrant part of the text that does not hesitate to allude to or directly borrow from poetry. In these lines, Socrates first describes the philosophers as looking towards unchanging things, imitating them, and striving to become like them (500c2–5), and then affirms that philosophers should rule since "the city will never find happiness until its outline is sketched by painters who use the divine model" (500e2–4). I will argue that these assertions need to be read from multiple perspectives: the many whose image of philosophy should be modified are a hypothetical audience that does not participate in the dialogue and has no knowledge of its themes and unfolding. However, while considering this imaginary audience, Socrates keeps addressing his interlocutors, including Glaucon and Adeimantus, who have followed the whole conversation and understand the nature of the Forms – which is why the argument works *also* on a level inaccessible to the many. The argument is finally addressed to the readers who, from their external position, can appreciate this argument's role in the progress of the *Republic* as a whole.

Therefore, Socrates' larger argument also deserves a fresh analysis that combines attention to textual detail with a broader perspective. While there is no doubt that lines 500c2–5 refer to the Forms introduced in Book 5,[3] the invitation to imitate the rational and unchanging order gives the argument further relief that is brought

3 Cf., e.g., Scott, *Levels of Argument*, 48n5: "At 6, 500c3–501c3 the philosopher ruler looks to the Forms of the virtues as models to imitate in his own soul and in those of his citizens. This implies definitional knowledge of each Form (cf. esp. 501b1–3)." I do not contest this reading but ask to consider that the Forms of

to fruition in the metaphor of political painting that blends different ways of life and promotes the godlike features of human character.

In this reading, "the divine model" should guide the practical refashioning of the city that reaches beyond knowledge as defined in Book 5. As Socrates' argument broadens, this model implies a connection to other passages in the *Republic* and to the *Timaeus*.[4] This connection, including contiguity with the divine creation mentioned in both dialogues, is confirmed by a remarkable shift (at 501b–c) whereby the philosophers become the demiurges of the citizens whom they fashion after both the Forms and themselves. This is why I believe that Socrates' explanation operates on three distinct yet interconnected levels: he relies on the existence of the intelligible realm grasped by the philosophers; then he suggests its connection to the visible order or cosmos, something understandable by the many; finally, he suggests how all this should impact the order in the soul of both the rulers and their subjects. The interaction between these levels is not explicit throughout the passage. In fact, after the introductory remarks about changing the general opinion about philosophers, Socrates would seem to elaborate his new image of philosophers only for Adeimantus and Glaucon. However, lines 501c4–d3 confirm that all that was said until that point should be persuasive to the many who were misled into attacking all philosophers without distinction.

In what follows, I begin with the unchanging objects of the philosophers' interest. I first review the evidence that these objects are the Forms and follow the evolving sense of Socrates' analogy between philosophers and painters (section 1). Then, I suggest the advantages of a broader understanding of the objects of philosophical interest in Books 5–7 (section 2). A new analysis of the imitation of these objects (section 3) finally reveals the philosopher's role in sketching the citizens of the best regime (section 4). This progress should shed more light on why *Republic* 6.500–501 is a very specific passage with its own aims and an integral part of the architecture of the dialogue.

the virtues cannot be known to the many so that the positing of their existence would not, in itself, be enough to make them accept the rule of the philosophers.

4 In this respect, my perspective is close to Johansen, "Timaeus in the Cave," who highlights important overlaps between the *Republic* and the *Timaeus*. On the presence of the cosmological horizon in the *Republic*, see Section 3 with quotations from Paul Shorey, Anthony Long, Andrea Nightingale, and Raphael Woolf, all of whom notice its possible echo in 6.500c.

"THINGS THAT ARE ORGANIZED AND ALWAYS THE SAME" AND THEIR MENTAL MODEL

To properly understand what Socrates means by "things that are organized and always the same, that neither do injustice to one another nor suffer it, being all in a rational order," we need to consider this expression in relation to what precedes, but also in relation to what it announces. *Republic* 6.500 brings together two previously discussed issues: the nature of the philosopher and the Forms. By connecting them in a new way, it keeps its eye on changing the majority's perception of the philosophers (498d–502c). This task frames our central text, which does not begin as a theoretical exposition of the Forms but as an offshoot of Socrates' optimistic claim that the gentle majority could be persuaded to accept the rule of a philosopher king (499d10–500b6). Our central passage thus reflects the need for a persuasive image of philosophy as true wisdom that inspires peace rather than conflict in the city. In this respect, our text is an inverted, philosophically refined echo of the image (εἰκών) of the unruly Ship of State (488a–489d), an echo that is meant to show that philosophy is not idle stargazing but can serve to reform the souls of the citizens. Socrates' insistence on the gentleness shared between most people and true philosophers is thus a prelude to grounding this agreement in the nature of the objects desired by philosophers. Ultimately, even the earlier discussed harmony of the individual soul finds its guarantee in these objects.[5]

This is why, in this section, I will focus on Socrates' new description of the unchanging things, although I will already touch upon the issue of imitation that Socrates mentions in the same breath. I will pay more attention to imitation in the next section, but I will argue that its mention should have a bearing on our understanding of the scope of what philosophers desire to know.

Since the text is very dense and pages 500–501 move from one complex issue to another at a fast pace, I will start by quoting the first part of our central passage:

> - Οὐδὲ γάρ που, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, σχολὴ τῷ γε ὡς ἀληθῶς πρὸς τοῖς οὖσι τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχοντι κάτω βλέπειν εἰς ἀνθρώπων πραγματείας, καὶ μαχόμενον αὐτοῖς φθόνου τε καὶ δυσμενείας ἐμπίμπλασθαι, ἀλλ' εἰς τεταγμένα ἄττα καὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἀεὶ ἔχοντα ὁρῶντας καὶ θεωμένους οὔτ' ἀδικοῦντα οὔτ' ἀδικούμενα ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, κόσμῳ δὲ

5 See Gill, "The Good and Mathematics," 261n26, who connects *Republic* 3.401d–402c and 6.500c–501b.

πάντα καὶ κατὰ λόγον ἔχοντα, ταῦτα μιμεῖσθαί τε καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα ἀφομοιοῦσθαι. ἢ οἴει τινὰ μηχανὴν εἶναι, ὅτῳ τις ὁμιλεῖ ἀγάμενος, μὴ μιμεῖσθαι ἐκεῖνο;
- Ἀδύνατον, ἔφη.
- Θείῳ δὴ καὶ κοσμίῳ ὅ γε φιλόσοφος ὁμιλῶν κόσμιός τε καὶ θεῖος εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γίγνεται· διαβολὴ δ' ἐν πᾶσι πολλή.

- No one whose thoughts are truly directed towards the things that are, Adeimantus, has the leisure to look down at human affairs or to be filled with envy and hatred by competing with people. Instead, as he looks at and studies things that are organized and always the same, that neither do injustice to one another nor suffer it, being all in a rational order, he imitates them and tries to become as like them as he can. Or do you think that someone can consort with things he admires without imitating them?
- I do not. It's impossible.
- Then the philosopher, by consorting with what is divine and ordered, himself becomes as ordered and divine as a human being can, despite all the slanders around that say otherwise.

(500b8–d2, trans. by Grube and Reeve)

On a first approximation, the lesson of these words appears almost simple: assuming that "the things that are" are the Forms, Socrates leads us from what the latter *are* to what a philosopher *does*. This shift differentiates our text from previous evocations of the Forms. Until now, the Forms were described as what the philosophical nature desires to know; they were not, however, said to compel us to imitate them and become like them. In light of this shift, we should consider whether there is a straightforward overlap or a difference between our text and earlier passages concerning the scope of the philosophers' interests.

To assume that "the things that are" are the Forms is non-controversial and that they "are always the same" (κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἀεὶ ἔχοντα) confirms this reading. With variations, this last characteristic occurs earlier in the dialogue, setting the Forms apart from the ever-changing sensible things. Before the above-quoted text, it was employed by Socrates three times, and these occurrences belong to one unfolding argument that leads from narrow epistemological matters back to the relation between the philosophers and the city. We can go quickly through the two mentions of things that are always the same at the end of Book 5. However, I will spend more time with the context of the formula "always the same" at 6.484b, where Socrates reaffirms the

contrast between the changeless and the ever-changing things before supplementing it with an unexpected analogy between philosophers and painters: an analogy that will give way, at 6.501, to the description of philosophers *as* painters of a special kind. This shift, which happens on the basis of imitation of the unchanging order, will then be analyzed in detail in the next section.

In Book 5, the things that "are always the same" are first so labeled at 479a2–3, where the singular form of this expression is applied to Beauty, which "remains always the same" (ἀεὶ μὲν κατὰ ταὐτὰ ὡσαύτως ἔχουσαν) and can be opposed to "the many beautiful things" that also appear ugly since they can be beautiful only to a certain degree. The same contrast is extended to Justice and the many just things that also appear unjust, and Piety in contrast with pious things. Beauty and Justice continue to exemplify the Forms at 479e, where Socrates describes the philosophers as those who study or contemplate "the things themselves that are always the same" (ἀεὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ὡσαύτως ὄντα, 479e7–8). This is a close anticipation of lines 500c2–3, including the use of the verb θεάομαι to characterize philosophers' activity. The same verb also appears at 484d1 in a text that not only mentions "things that stay always the same" but brings us closer to the issue of imitation.

At the beginning of Book 6, the passage in question develops the conclusions reached in Book 5 about the difference between philosophers and non-philosophers:

> - Τί δ' ἄλλο, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἢ τὸ ἑξῆς; ἐπειδὴ φιλόσοφοι μὲν οἱ τοῦ ἀεὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντος δυνάμενοι ἐφάπτεσθαι, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἀλλ' ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ παντοίως ἴσχουσιν πλανώμενοι οὐ φιλόσοφοι, ποτέρους δὴ δεῖ πόλεως ἡγεμόνας εἶναι;
> - Πῶς οὖν λέγοντες ἂν αὐτό, ἔφη, μετρίως λέγοιμεν;
> - Ὁπότεροι ἄν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, δυνατοὶ φαίνωνται φυλάξαι νόμους τε καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα πόλεων, τούτους καθιστάναι φύλακας.
> - Ὀρθῶς, ἔφη.
> - Τόδε δέ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἆρα δῆλον, εἴτε τυφλὸν εἴτε ὀξὺ ὁρῶντα χρὴ φύλακα τηρεῖν ὁτιοῦν;
> - Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, οὐ δῆλον;
> - Ἦ οὖν δοκοῦσί τι τυφλῶν διαφέρειν οἱ τῷ ὄντι τοῦ ὄντος ἑκάστου ἐστερημένοι τῆς γνώσεως, καὶ μηδὲν ἐναργὲς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντες παράδειγμα, μηδὲ δυνάμενοι ὥσπερ γραφῆς εἰς τὸ ἀληθέστατον ἀποβλέποντες κἀκεῖσε ἀεὶ ἀναφέροντές τε καὶ θεώμενοι ὡς οἷόν τε ἀκριβέστατα, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε νόμιμα καλῶν τε πέρι καὶ δικαίων καὶ ἀγαθῶν τίθεσθαί τε, ἐὰν δέῃ τίθεσθαι, καὶ τὰ κείμενα φυλάττοντες σῴζειν;

> - Since those who are able to grasp what is always the same are philosophers, while those who are not able to do so and who wander among the many things that vary in every sort of way are not philosophers, which of the two should be the leaders in a city?
> - What would be a sensible answer to that?
> - We should establish as guardians those who are clearly capable of guarding
> the laws and the ways of life of the city.
> - That's right.
> - And is it clear whether the guardian who is to keep watch over anything should be blind or keen-sighted?
> - Of course it's clear.
> - Do you think, then, that there's any difference between the blind and those who are really deprived of the knowledge of each thing that is? The latter have no clear model in their souls, and so they cannot – in the manner of painters – look to what is most true, make constant reference to it, and study it as exactly as possible. Hence they cannot establish down here conventions about what is fine or just or good, when they need to be established, or guard and preserve them, once they have been established.
>
> (6.484b3–d3, trans. by Grube and Reeve)

For the first time, this text connects the Forms, the knowledge of the latter, and the translation of such knowledge into human laws. This nexus explains the sudden placing of the *known* model in the soul: the reference of the term παράδειγμα at 484c8 are not the Forms but the *internalized knowledge* of what is "always the same," the knowledge that transforms, in the knower's soul, into a blueprint that can be put to further use. In this respect, the quoted text anticipates pages 500–501 quite closely: what it designates as a "model" is the intimate knowledge that can be mobilized whenever the need arises (see ἀεὶ ἀναφέροντές at 484c9). The resulting laws will be "about what is fine or just or good." This ambiguous phrase captures the scope of the argument: the plural καλῶν τε πέρι καὶ δικαίων καὶ ἀγαθῶν can refer to the Forms (this is the case at 7.520c5–6), or it can already point to the fine, good, and just things that the philosophically created laws will produce in the city.

If this is the structure and meaning of the quoted passage, one is tempted not to make much of the brief comparison between the philosophers and the painters. The important point is the vivid clarity of the model in the soul, its *enargeia*, and the comparison emphasizes this quality. It does not imply that a painter looks toward the same truth that a philosopher does, but that they both work from a model

whose likeness they bring into material existence.[6] Still, placed at the beginning of Book 6, the analogy between the philosophical and the painterly use of a vivid model looks both forward to pages 500–501 and back to 5.472b–e, where Socrates, at the dialogue's pivotal moment, already suggests a parallel between his depiction of the best city and a painter's work from a model.

Without attempting a detailed exegesis of 5.472b–e, it is important to remember that Socrates acknowledges here the likely, if not the necessary, gap between justice as such and the just human being: the latter is as close to the former as possible but never identical to it. The search for justice itself and injustice itself, as well as for a perfectly just and unjust man (ἀνήρ), was the search for a model (παράδειγμα) whose validity is not affected by the actual non-existence of perfectly just or unjust human beings. In the same way, it would make no sense to claim "that someone is a worse painter if, having painted a model (ἂν γράψας παράδειγμα) of what the finest and most beautiful human being (ὁ κάλλιστος ἄνθρωπος) would be like and having rendered every detail of his picture adequately, he could not prove that such a man could come into being" (472d4–7). In our case, concludes Socrates by pursuing the analogy, "we were making, in words, a model of the good city" (παράδειγμα ἐποιοῦμεν λόγῳ ἀγαθῆς πόλεως, 472d9–e1).

This use of painting as an art capable of *creating* an ideal model is strikingly different from the criticism of the art of painting in Book 10, which relegates the painters to the position of imitating sensible things. In some respects, our passage is closer to Xenophon's *Memorabilia* 3.10.2, where Socrates leads Parrhasius to explain that painters compose their figures from the best parts available in visible reality since the latter never contains a perfect figure to be imitated as a whole. In Xenophon, the dialogue between Socrates and Parrhasius leaves undecided the issue of whether the painters can, if they find the best available body parts, compose an image that would be faithful to the mental model of a perfect human being. In *Republic* 5.472d4–7, Socrates presupposes that the perfect mental model *can* be expressed in painting regardless of the existence or not of a perfect human being: hence the *analogy* between a model used in painting and a mental model used in discussion of justice itself. *Republic* 6.484b3–d3 then assumes the same analogy but brings the two models *closer* together since its focus is less on justice itself than on the model in

6 On painters and philosophers in the *Republic*, see Männlein-Robert, "Mit Blick auf das Göttliche," 168–75, and Halliwell, "The Shifting Problems."

the philosopher's soul (cf. ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντες παράδειγμα derived from what is always the same). Our central passage will take a further step in describing the philosophers themselves as painters, which is, of course, a metaphor but a very apt one in that it captures the task that *Republic* 6.500–501 ascribes to the philosophers: to bridge, first in their soul and then in the city, the gaps between what is always the same, the knowledge of it in the soul, and the sensible things.

A BROADER SCOPE OF "THINGS THAT ARE ORGANIZED AND ALWAYS THE SAME"

Before we look at how this task starts to be fulfilled thanks to the desire to imitate the object of knowledge, it is important to address the qualifications that the "things that are always the same" receive at 500c3–5 and c9. In my reading, these qualifications mark a difference from the earlier uses of the same expression and this difference, correlative to the emphasis on imitation and assimilation, consists in the potentially broader scope of what "things that are always the same" may be.

Even on first look, the claim that these things "neither do injustice to one another nor suffer it, being all in a rational order" (500c3–5) and that they are "divine and ordered" (500c9) represents a significant step beyond the austere presentation of forms in Book 5, where we learn nothing about the relations between the Forms except the insistence that a Form such as the beautiful, the just, and the good have each exactly one opposite (the ugly, the unjust, and the bad). This is firmly established at 475e9–476a5 and not contradicted by Socrates' subsequent explanation that each Form "is itself one, but because they manifest themselves everywhere in association with actions, bodies, and one another (τῇ δὲ τῶν πράξεων καὶ σωμάτων καὶ ἀλλήλων κοινωνίᾳ πανταχοῦ φανταζόμενα), each of them appears to be many (πολλὰ φαίνεσθαι ἕκαστον)" (476a5–7). This explanation establishes that we *perceive* many instances of the properties conveyed by the Forms on sensible things. The expression ἀλλήλων κοινωνίᾳ relates directly to the rest of the sentence, namely πανταχοῦ φανταζόμενα πολλὰ φαίνεσθαι ἕκαστον. This describes how the things around us appear to us (hence the use of φαντάζομαι and φαίνεσθαι) while *they* simultaneously instantiate different Forms. This, and the co-presence of the opposites in things (clearly implied at 479b9–10 and whereby the same thing appears, from different angles, both beautiful and

ugly, large and small), is how the Forms can "appear" associated with other Forms.[7]

Strictly speaking, Book 5 introduces the Forms in pairs of opposites without any extension of this narrow conception. Of course, this does not mean that our passage cannot aim at a broader understanding that would consider a variety of Forms and assume that we can establish meaningful relations between them. However, no such enlargement is spelled out in Book 5, and remarkably, the rest of the dialogue stays equally silent about it. To fill this gap, some readers suppose that the order among the Forms could be an instance of orderliness, with the Good as its (best-ordered) source.[8] However, if this were the case, it should be noted that the Good, insofar as it is a source of an ordered structure, is also a prominent cause behind the structure of the universe, including the Sun (its "offspring," ἔκγονός, 6.506e3), the other celestial bodies, and our senses that perceive them. Indeed, they are all related to the Good via several passages in Books 6 and 7 (I will return to this point below).

Paying attention to the careful unfolding of Socrates' argument in Books 5–7, we can, therefore, legitimately ask whether the phrase κόσμῳ δὲ πάντα καὶ κατὰ λόγον ἔχοντα and the expression θεῖος καὶ κόσμιος do not point towards both the Forms and the divinely ordered universe. Also, before we develop this particular reading in more detail, it is important to note that, in between the above-quoted texts and our passage, Socrates pays more attention to the objects that a philosophical nature desires, characterizing them first as "everything both divine and human as a whole" (τοῦ ὅλου θείου τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνου, 6.486a5–6) and then as "all time on the one hand, all being on the other hand" (παντὸς μὲν χρόνου, πάσης δὲ οὐσίας, a8–9). This passage is all the more interesting because, exactly like our central text, it complements this desire with a disdain for petty affairs. Sure, the philosophical desire described here is only a rough one that must be polished by a

7 The talk about κοινωνία is best understood in the same sense that it receives in *Phaedo* 100d4–8: if something is beautiful, "nothing else makes it beautiful other than the presence of, or the communion with (εἴτε παρουσία εἴτε κοινωνία), or however you may describe its relationship to that Beautiful we mentioned," so that "all beautiful things are beautiful by the Beautiful." For a different use of κοινωνία, see *Sophist* 248a, which, while describing the view of the Friends of Forms, opposes the κοινωνία in the world of ever-changing bodies to the κοινωνία of our soul with "real being" that "is always the same."

8 This is one of the options listed in Leigh, "The Status and Power," 1270. On the metaphysical dimension (and tradition) of this issue, see Broadie, *Plato's Sun-Like Good*, 162.

new kind of education. However, this education would also build on the reform of sciences such as cosmology, whose knowledge would become an integral part of the philosophical curriculum. At the same time, the question discussed at 6.500–501 is one of how to *establish* a city where this curriculum could take place for the first time so that the philosophers from this passage are, quite explicitly, *not yet* those educated in and by the best city they could help to bring into being.

This last remark also implies that the most directly related passage would be *Republic* 9.592b2–3, where Socrates admits that the best city exists only in words but immediately adds that "perhaps there is a model of it in heaven (ἐν οὐρανῷ παράδειγμα), for anyone who wants to look at it (τῷ βουλομένῳ ὁρᾶν) and to make himself its citizen on the strength of what he sees." Even the readers who take 6.500–501 to refer only to the Forms assume that lines 592b2–3 use παράδειγμα to name the celestial or cosmic order.[9] To describe this order as a model for the ordering of the human mind would be one of the evident connections between the *Republic* and the *Timaeus*, where Plato talks about what is always the same while referring to *both* the Forms (28a2, 48e6) *and* the invariable sameness of thought that is encoded in celestial revolutions (40a4–b6). These revolutions are an integral part of the cosmos as a *mimēma* of the Forms, but also a divine being in its own right (a created god, 92c7). Timaeus' much commented-upon description of celestial order as an object of imitation by the revolution of human intellect (47b6–c4, 90c6–d7) can also be meaningfully evoked in this context, especially if we focus our exegesis of *Republic* 6.500–501 on Socrates' mention of *kosmos* as rational order, a mention closely connected to the issue of imitation of the object of thought.

Before discussing this issue in the next section, I would like to briefly address the worry that extending the "things that are always the same" to encompass the celestial order goes against the account of the heavens elsewhere in the *Republic*. How should we evaluate the difference between Timaeus' claim that the celestial motions are "completely unstraying" (πάντως ἀπλανεῖς, 47c3) and Socrates' warning, in Book 7, that "the decorations in the sky" (τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ποικίλματα) may be "the most beautiful and most exact of visible things," but their motions "fall far short of the true ones" that only the mind can grasp (529c7–d5)? I suggest that these claims can indeed be reconciled if we pay attention to Socrates' subsequent remark that

9 See, e.g., Burnyeat, "Culture and Society," 249n68: for Plato, "Justice is an abstract order exemplified in the heavens as well as in cities and souls, and even healthy bodies: *Rep.* 592ab, *Tim.* 81e ff."

"the embroidery in the sky" is a παράδειγμα that can be used to study the true motions, something not unlike the drawings by Daedalus or some other artist that are not *identical* to true proportions but offer their best *approximations* (529d7–530a1).

In contrast with the painter's perfect mental model described at 5.472d4–7 (and still assumed at 484b3–d3), lines 529d7–530a1 thus contain an important shift to the second well-attested meaning of παράδειγμα: the celestial embroidery is not a perfect *model* to be imitated but an imperfect *example* of a sensible instantiation of the intelligible perfection that guided the creation of the visible heaven. The example of Daedalus plays an important role in this shift since it offers an analogy to what will be emphasized in the subsequent lines, where Socrates passes from the human craftsman to the divine demiurge. By doing so, he uses the current practice of astronomy to illustrate his previous radical claim that studying the heavens is like staring at the ornaments on the ceiling, using eyes instead of understanding (529a–c). To this criticism, Socrates now adds some remarks that make the whole issue more complex, not least because they remind us of the task of philosophers as hypothetical lawgivers:

> - Τῷ ὄντι δὴ ἀστρονομικόν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὄντα οὐκ οἴει ταὐτὸν πείσεσθαι εἰς τὰς τῶν ἄστρων φοράς ἀποβλέποντα; νομιεῖν μὲν ὡς οἷόν τε κάλλιστα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔργα συστήσασθαι, οὕτω συνεστάναι τῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ δημιουργῷ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ· τὴν δὲ νυκτὸς πρὸς ἡμέραν συμμετρίαν καὶ τούτων πρὸς μῆνα καὶ μηνὸς πρὸς ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων πρός τε ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα, οὐκ ἄτοπον, οἴει, ἡγήσεται τὸν νομίζοντα γίγνεσθαί τε ταῦτα ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως καὶ οὐδαμῇ οὐδὲν παραλλάττειν, σῶμά τε ἔχοντα καὶ ὁρώμενα, καὶ ζητεῖν παντὶ τρόπῳ τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν;
> -Ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ, ἔφη, σοῦ νῦν ἀκούοντι.
> - Προβλήμασιν ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, χρώμενοι ὥσπερ γεωμετρίαν οὕτω καὶ ἀστρονομίαν μέτιμεν, τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐάσομεν, εἰ μέλλομεν ὄντως ἀστρονομίας μεταλαμβάνοντες χρήσιμον τὸ φύσει φρόνιμον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἐξ ἀχρήστου ποιήσειν.
> -Ἢ πολλαπλάσιον, ἔφη, τὸ ἔργον ἢ ὡς νῦν ἀστρονομεῖται προστάττεις.
> - Οἶμαι δέ γε, εἶπον, καὶ τἆλλα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον προστάξειν ἡμᾶς, ἐάν τι ἡμῶν ὡς νομοθετῶν ὄφελος ᾖ. ἀλλὰ γάρ τι ἔχεις ὑπομνῆσαι τῶν προσηκόντων μαθημάτων;
>
> - Then don't you think that a real astronomer will feel the same when he looks at the motions of the stars? He'll believe that the craftsman of the heavens arranged them and what's in them in the finest way

> possible for such things. But as for the ratio of night to day, of days to a month, of a month to a year, or of the motions of the stars to any of them or to each other, don't you think he'll consider it strange to believe that they're always the same and never deviate anywhere at all or to try in any sort of way to grasp the truth about them, since they're connected to body and visible?
> - That's my opinion anyway, now that I hear it from you.
> - Then if, by really taking part in astronomy, we're to make the naturally intelligent part of the soul useful instead of useless, let's study astronomy by means of problems, as we do geometry, and leave the things in the sky alone.
> - The task you're prescribing is a lot harder than anything now attempted in astronomy.
> - And I suppose that, if we are to be of any benefit as lawgivers, our prescriptions for the other subjects will be of the same kind.
>
> (7.530a3–c5, trans. by Grube and Reeve)

Compared with the previous rebuke of the practice of astronomy, this text adds two crucial motifs: it introduces the demiurge, which implies an intentional creation of the visible heavens, and it returns to the idea of philosophers as lawgivers who must project their knowledge of true astronomy onto the structure of the city. The reference to the demiurge furnishes us with one of the most evident connections between the *Republic* and the *Timaeus*. In the present context, this reference should be read together with a complementary text in Book 6, where we learn about "the demiurge of our senses" (τὸν τῶν αἰσθήσεων δημιουργὸν) who spent his greatest effort on "the power to see and to be seen" (τὴν τοῦ ὁρᾶν τε καὶ ὁρᾶσθαι δύναμιν, 507c6–7). This twofold power, says Socrates, can be exercised thanks to the light produced by the sun, which is itself the offspring *and* the analog of the Good (508b13). The *Republic* does not clarify the relation between the Good and the demiurge who organized the heavens together with "what is in them," including our senses. However, we can assume a complementarity with the *Timaeus*, where the Good guides the demiurge in choosing this precise arrangement of the universe, considering the material aspect of the cosmos, including the celestial bodies.

As discussed in *Republic* 7, the knowledge of the Good is more than the sum of the sciences that explain the individual parts of the cosmos and their relation to various Forms. The metaphor of enlightenment, used by Socrates to describe the last step in the philosophical curriculum, renders the grasp of the source of the order that encompasses "everything." This is why the knowledge of the Good can furnish the

model for the city, which is what Socrates says in another much-quoted passage, whose echoing of pages 500–501 is unmistakable. At 7.540a4–b1, in the text that summarizes the development of the dialogue between our central passage and the successful ascent towards the Good, we learn the following:

> Πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη, ἦν δ' ἐγώ. γενομένων δὲ πεντηκοντουτῶν τοὺς διασωθέντας καὶ ἀριστεύσαντας πάντα πάντῃ ἐν ἔργοις τε καὶ ἐπιστήμαις πρὸς τέλος ἤδη ἀκτέον, καὶ ἀναγκαστέον ἀνακλίναντας τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐγὴν εἰς αὐτὸ ἀποβλέψαι τὸ πᾶσι φῶς παρέχον, καὶ ἰδόντας τὸ ἀγαθὸν αὐτό, παραδείγματι χρωμένους ἐκείνῳ, καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἰδιώτας καὶ ἑαυτοὺς κοσμεῖν.
>
> Then, at the age of fifty, those who've survived the tests and been successful both in practical matters and in the sciences must be led to the goal and compelled to lift up the radiant light of their souls to what itself provides light for everything. And once they've seen the good itself, they must each in turn put the city, its citizens, and themselves in order, using it as their model.
>
> (7.540a4–b1, trans. by Grube and Reeve)

Here, there is no doubt that the model is the Good. However, it is the Good *together with everything* that it gives both to the world and the philosopher's soul. The description of this situation in terms of the double light (αὐγή used to describe the state of the shining soul and φῶς that characterizes the action of the Good on the universe) is important. The light metaphor can be dangerous because of its inherent appeal to the imagination. However, a controlled use of the imagination is integral to what happens in the philosopher's mind, whose understanding of the universal order must be recreated in the imperfect material of the city.

In this nexus of understanding, imagining, and creating, even those orderly structures that are not on par with the *perfect* Forms offer a guide to understanding the *best possible* structure of the material universe, of which the city legislated by philosophers would be an integral part. This broader perspective applies equally well to the *Republic* and the *Timaeus*. In the latter, the celestial motions are the paradigm of the mind that always thinks the same thoughts, but Critias reminds us of the deviation (παράλλαξις) that is inherent to the material realization of these motions. Even the best part of the universe, which we are invited to imitate, is ultimately one of the causes of the great cataclysms (22c1–e2). What Critias thus reveals is

consistent with *Republic* 7 and need not contradict Timaeus' account of the heavens. It is the philosophers who recognize the gap between the bodies moving through space and the bodiless calculations that determine their trajectories. In contrast, for all practical ends and purposes, even the philosophers as rulers can assume that the stability of the heavens is reliable over the lifetime of one civilization.

If we return to the *Republic*, this situation also relates to the second motif introduced in the text quoted above, namely Socrates' insistence that studying true astronomy would be necessary for the philosophers as lawgivers. Socrates does not explain this necessity, but the "beneficial" aspect of true astronomy could relate to the rules of procreation that a well-known passage in Book 8 connects to the "periods of fruitfulness and barrenness of both soul and body": periods whose knowledge cannot be gained through sensation but would allow for calculating the best time of human begetting (546a–547a, with an insistence on the limits of human as opposed to divine knowledge). In a safer reading, the benefit would first concern the philosopher's soul as it fortifies its rational order, which would remain the same and never be affected by the philosopher's political tasks. There would be no exact translation of the soul's order to the order of the city, but the knowledge of true astronomy would itself be part of the firmly shaped mental model that, as a result, could indeed be described as "divine" (500e3).

This brings us from the scope of "things that are always the same" to the second main theme of our central text, the imitation of these ordered things by philosophers. Focusing on the exact meaning or, instead, the range of meanings of μιμεῖσθαι and ἀφομοιοῦσθαι at 500c, the following section should lend support to a broader understanding of "things that are always the same" and prepare the shift to the philosophers themselves as a model for the future citizens and painters of the best city's constitution.

IMITATING WHAT IS RATIONALLY ORDERED

We are still in the first part of our central passage, but we will move from the nature of the rationally ordered things that remain the same to what the knowledge of these things implies for the philosopher. At 7.500c5, this implication is stated as follows: the philosopher "imitates them and tries to become as like them as he can" (ταῦτα μιμεῖσθαί τε καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα ἀφομοιοῦσθαι). To which Socrates adds that "the philosopher, by consorting with what is divine and ordered, himself

becomes as ordered and divine as a human being can (θείῳ δὴ καὶ κοσμίῳ ὅ γε φιλόσοφος ὁμιλῶν κόσμιός τε καὶ θεῖος εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γίγνεται)" (500c9–d1).

Turning from the unchanging object to the change provoked in the philosopher who studies it, Socrates prepares the ground for the philosopher's action on other human beings as inhabitants of the best city. The adjectives θεῖος and κόσμιος can, therefore, characterize both what the philosophers study (be it the Forms or the rationally organized universe) and what kind of being they become in virtue of such a study. The demiurgic aspect becomes more pronounced as the emphasis shifts to the "painting" of the new constitution.

In this context, it is worth stressing that if the imitation of order aims at the Forms, our text is the only description of the Forms as ordered in the whole *Republic*.[10] This is a simple fact, not an argument. However, the context of making the philosophers acceptable to the majority and the emphasis on attributes such as θεῖος or κόσμιος make a broader reading of "order" plausible, not in the least because it would complement the narrow conception of the Forms in Book 5 (where even the Good is first introduced as only the opposite of the Bad, see 5.476a4–5). In any case, Socrates focuses no longer on the Forms but first on the philosophers' self-fashioning and then on their fashioning of future citizens. This double activity is doubtless an ordering and, even in the case of the citizens, the ordering of the souls will precede the political order. In contrast, the text does not even hint at whether the Forms would be ordered individually (so that they would possess an internal structure), whether they compose an ordered whole, or whether both options are valid.[11]

To my knowledge, there has been no detailed interpretation of these three options, an interpretation that would have to deal with the negative Forms that Book 5 endows with the same formal characteristic as the Just, the Beautiful, or the Good. If we believe that our central passage is a unique piece of evidence that enables us to claim that "Plato emphasizes the harmonious relationship of the Forms,"

10 Cf. Scott, *Listening to Reason*, 37: "In the first section (500b8–d10), there are clear references to entities that are orderly, unchanging, and divine; in addition, there is the idea (not mentioned elsewhere in the work) that they stand in relation of justice to each other. This is an explicit reference to the Forms." See also Granieri, "Unmixed Forms," 90, on Plato's avoidance of using the verb διακοσμέω but also the noun κόσμος in relation to the Forms.

11 Kraut, "The Defense of Justice," 311, makes a similar point. Singpurwalla, "Plato's Defense of Justice," 276, assumes that the Forms are ordered "both individually and as a whole."

we should offer a plausible account of how this harmony includes the Unjust, the Ugly, and the Bad.[12] The absence of such account does not invalidate the view that the Forms are indeed the objects intended at 6.500b–d, but we should be more open to the possibility that the talk about things that are "ordered" and "divine" leaves, quite deliberately, some space for a broader kinship between the ordered soul of a philosopher and the general understanding of order or cosmos. Again, this would fit well with the main aim of Socrates' presentation, not least because Socrates would use this space in the next step of his argument, which will move from the philosopher to the citizen and include a shift in the meaning of the imitation concerning the "divine."

In the context of self-fashioning and the order it imitates, we should note that some earlier readers also felt that page 500b–d evoked the regularity associated with the celestial order and its divine status. Having quoted lines 500c3–7 and d1–2, Raphael Woolf adds a footnote to the effect that the object referred to as "the things that are" (500c1) seems to be the Forms, but also that "Socrates' later words would apply quite naturally to the celestial order, a perhaps deliberate choice given the elevated place that objects of mathematical study have in the dialogue's ontology."[13] A similar observation has already been made by Paul Shorey:

> This passage is often supposed to refer to the ideas, and ἐκεῖ in 500 D shows that Plato is in fact there thinking of them, though in *Rep*. 529 A–B ff. he protests against this identification. And strictly speaking κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἀεὶ ἔχοντα in C would on Platonic principles be true only of the ideas. Nevertheless poets and imitators have rightly felt that the dominating thought of the passage is the effect on the philosopher's mind of the contemplation of the heavens.[14]

Shorey then appends a list of references that includes Sophocles and Aristotle (not to mention Dante or Matthew Arnold) so that he reaches far beyond my suggestion that the image of perfect order to be imitated in our soul evokes the *Timaeus*. However, Shorey's note has another weak point: it ignores the context, which involves both

12 The quoted claim is from Nightingale, *Philosophy and Religion*, 61. Interestingly, Menn, "On the Digression," 81, suggests that "*Republic* 6, 500 b–d is the *only* passage in Plato that can be cited against Forms of vices," which are nevertheless introduced, in a different context, at 6.476a.

13 Woolf, "Truth as a Value," 36n50.

14 Shorey, *Plato: The Republic*, 68–9 n. b. The remark on 529a–c is clearly too hasty. As we have seen, this text warns against confusing the celestial *bodies* with the incorporeal principles of their motion.

the minds of the philosophers and the minds of those who are used to mistrust philosophy and need to be offered a new image of it. On this point, my position is close to the sentiment expressed succinctly by Anthony Long, who connects the text of 6.500c with 4.443d on justice and the soul's harmonious state and concludes that the "central doctrine of the *Republic* acquires massive reinforcement from the just person's godlikeness, mediated by affinity between a rationally structured philosophical disposition and the divinely structured cosmic order." Hence the analogy between the demiurge of the *Timaeus* and "philosophical rulers, who use the *divine* paradigm of cosmic order so as to become the 'craftsman' (demiurge again) of moderation and justice and all public (demotic) virtue, not only for themselves but also for their community at large (500d)."[15] If we find the possible reference to the cosmic order acknowledged by a modern philosopher, it is not wide of the mark to suppose that Plato's Socrates uses such a culturally rich reference deliberately as part of the prospective effort to persuade the non-philosophers that the philosophers would always prefer order rather than quarrelsome anarchy. As far as the whole argument does not lose sight of not only contemplating but *establishing* the order, it naturally unfolds from the Forms and the universal order towards the soul and the city, where the order will have to be produced by human activity. Hence, Socrates turned to imitation as a creative re-enactment.

This turn follows the general premise that humans imitate what they desire. This is why, as Richard Kraut puts it, the philosopher's relation to the Forms is not "merely contemplative" but, rather, productive of a harmony that is "a likeness of the harmony of the Forms."[16] So, when philosophers imitate the object of their desire, they do not only internalize their theoretical knowledge of moral Forms such as Justice. They will also have to *decide* how to proceed in their imitation since the order they will establish in their souls, let alone the order they will "paint" in the souls of the citizens, cannot be a static copy of what is always the same. This follows from the still valid presentation of the Forms in Book 5: since Justice has Injustice as its unique opposite and since Justice and Injustice are Forms in the same sense (see again

15 Long, "Politics and Divinity," 72. Cf. Dodds, *Plato: Gorgias*, 337, who connects the *kosmos* that embraces human society and the universe (*Gorgias* 507d6–508a8) with *Republic* 6.500c9 and *Timaeus* 90c–d.

16 Kraut, "The Defense of Justice," 317. Based on 500b–d, Kraut, "Return to the Cave," 244–9, also argues that the philosophers' active imitation of the Forms *necessarily* implies their effort at forming the souls of the citizens (see Section 4).

5.475e9–476a7), even the knowledge of Injustice as one of the perfect Forms could lead to a behavior that would avoid all vacillation and be perfectly stable. Without some additional distinction between Justice and Injustice (i.e., without the assumption that Justice is *compelling* independently of being a Form), the philosophers assimilate the *stability* proper to the Forms in general, regardless of what Forms they are.

This outcome would be absurd. Socrates' mention of the Forms of Ugliness, Injustice, and even Badness implies that knowing Justice *as a Form* is not enough. It is also necessary to know Justice *as Justice* and to have *reasons* for preferring Justice to its opposite. Once we understand such reasons, we are entitled to say, as Socrates does at the beginning of Book 6, that "the being that always is" (τῆς οὐσίας τῆς ἀεὶ οὔσης) has different parts, which the philosophical nature desires whether they are "large or small, more valuable or less so" (485b5–6). This is somewhat surprising,[17] but it fits well with the need to distinguish between the morally valuable Forms and their opposites: something of which the untrained philosophical nature is incapable. An essential function of the philosophical curriculum with its ascent to dialectics would, therefore, consist of offering a guarantee that the philosophers assimilate into their mental paradigm Justice rather than Injustice and the Good rather than the Bad. Hence also the claim that the knowledge of the Good makes *all other knowledge* beneficial (see 6.505a7–b1).

In my reading, this last claim is supported by the view that the Good is instantiated to the highest degree in the structure of the universe as a whole, which we also learn in the *Timaeus*. To properly understand this instantiation, the philosophers' knowledge of the Forms must include knowledge of what the Forms cause in the universe and why the universe is the best available instantiation of the Good. This broad knowledge, with its cosmological horizon, becomes an integral part of the "imitation" of "the things that are always the same," an imitation that reminds us again of the celestial model in 9.592b2–3.

The instances where Plato invites us to imitate something more perfect do not form some unified doctrine. The *Timaeus* explains why we should imitate various parts or structures of our universe,[18] and several dialogues talk about the famous "becoming like god" while transforming the Homeric picture of divinity in agreement with the

17 Even to the point that Grube's translation (revised by Reeve) makes Socrates say that philosophers "love all such learning," not "being." But πάσης αὐτῆς refers to οὐσία ἀεὶ οὖσα (485b2), not to μάθημα (b1).

18 On various levels of imitation in the *Timaeus*, see Spinelli, "*Mimoumenoi*," and Thein, "Le dieu."

criticism of the poets in *Republic* 2–3. What connects all these passages is the insistence on an unimpeded exercise of one's impartially searching intellect, which is divine at its core. The divine element then explains why ordering oneself by using an independently existing pattern goes together with discovering one's true self (see *First Alcibiades* 133c1–6). However, this double activity, which will make the philosophers of Book 6 capable of ordering the other citizens and thus the city, is never described as identical to the epistemic success in grasping the Forms.

In this respect, it should be noted that the other passage in the *Republic* that is often cited together with 6.500–501, a passage that recommends "making oneself as much like a god as a human can," describes the life that fulfills this task simply as the life of a virtuous person (10.613a4–b1). The text does not limit this advice to philosophers who know the Forms.[19] Naturally, this does not diminish the importance of the reference to the Forms at 6.500–501, but this reference alone seems insufficient to account for all the elements and levels of this text. Even in the *Republic*, the discovery of the divine features of the human mind is no less important than the narrowly defined theoretical knowledge of the Forms. Hence the potential appeal of the broader reading of *Republic* 6.500–501 that makes the philosophers become less like the Forms themselves and more like the divine demiurge, except that they will create not the universe but the best city as its part.[20] This brings us, finally, to how the philosophers are portrayed in the rest of our central text.

FROM THE PHILOSOPHERS' SELF-FASHIONING TO THE FASHIONING OF THE CITIZENS

I have explained why I believe that reading *Republic* 6.500c–d as referring *only* to the order of the Forms does not do entire justice to the rich context and letter of the passage. In this section, I hope to show that the suggested alternative reading fits smoothly with Socrates'

19 Even *Republic* 10.611e, which affirms that the soul is "akin to the divine and immortal and what always is" (συγγενὴς οὖσα τῷ τε θείῳ καὶ ἀθανάτῳ καὶ ἀεὶ ὄντι), makes this kinship *independent* of the soul's intentional imitation of the Forms. Since *every* soul is "akin to the divine," this kinship and the striving to become godlike are not the same thing: the former belongs to the soul's nature, the latter to philosophy as a specific human activity.

20 Here, I agree with Johansen, "Timaeus in the Cave," 91: "Timaeus' universe looks much like a cosmic counterpiece to Callipolis; both are fashioned by benevolent craftsmen, a god and a philosopher respectively." To this statement, Johansen appends, in n. 3, a joint reference to *Timaeus* 28a–29a and *Republic* 6.500d6.

subsequent talk about imitating a fixed order as a step in the activity of a philosopher who starts with self-fashioning and proceeds to fashion the citizens of the hypothetical best city.

First, we should keep in mind the expressions that Socrates uses while characterizing the philosophers' intercourse with "the things that are always" and "neither do injustice to one another nor suffer it, being all in a rational order" (500c2–5). Between 500c5 and 500d1, the verbs used were μιμεῖσθαι and ἀφομοιοῦσθαι (both at 500c5), ὁμιλῶν (c9) and γίγνεται (d1).[21] These verbs were all meant to describe the change in the philosopher's soul. While describing the consequence of this change, Socrates moves from the language of knowledge to the idiom of creation. Here is the entire second part of our central passage:

> - Ἆν οὖν τις, εἶπον, αὐτῷ ἀνάγκη γένηται ἃ ἐκεῖ ὁρᾷ μελετῆσαι εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἤθη καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ τιθέναι καὶ μὴ μόνον ἑαυτὸν πλάττειν, ἆρα κακὸν δημιουργὸν αὐτὸν οἴει γενήσεσθαι σωφροσύνης τε καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ συμπάσης τῆς δημοτικῆς ἀρετῆς;
> -Ἥκιστά γε, ἦ δ' ὅς.
> - Ἀλλ' ἐὰν δὴ αἴσθωνται οἱ πολλοὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγομεν, χαλεπανοῦσι δὴ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις καὶ ἀπιστήσουσιν ἡμῖν λέγουσιν ὡς οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἄλλως εὐδαιμονήσειε πόλις, εἰ μὴ αὐτὴν διαγράψειαν οἱ τῷ θείῳ παραδείγματι χρώμενοι ζωγράφοι;
> - Οὐ χαλεπανοῦσιν, ἦ δ' ὅς, ἐάνπερ αἴσθωνται. ἀλλὰ δὴ τίνα λέγεις τρόπον τῆς διαγραφῆς;
> - Λαβόντες, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὥσπερ πίνακα πόλιν τε καὶ ἤθη ἀνθρώπων, πρῶτον μὲν καθαρὰν ποιήσειαν ἄν, ὃ οὐ πάνυ ῥᾴδιον· ἀλλ' οὖν οἶσθ' ὅτι τούτῳ ἂν εὐθὺς τῶν ἄλλων διενέγκει<α>ν, τῷ μήτε ἰδιώτου μήτε πόλεως ἐθελῆσαι ἂν ἅψασθαι μηδὲ γράφειν νόμους, πρὶν ἢ παραλαβεῖν καθαρὰν ἢ αὐτοὶ ποιῆσαι.
> - Καὶ ὀρθῶς γ', ἔφη.
> - Οὐκοῦν μετὰ ταῦτα οἴει ὑπογράψασθαι ἂν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πολιτείας;
> - Τί μήν;
> -Ἔπειτα, οἶμαι, ἀπεργαζόμενοι πυκνὰ ἂν ἑκατέρωσ' ἀποβλέποιεν, πρός τε τὸ φύσει δίκαιον καὶ καλὸν καὶ σῶφρον καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο αὖ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐμποιοῖεν, συμμειγνύντες τε καὶ κεραννύντες ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τὸ ἀνδρείκελον, ἀπ' ἐκείνου τεκμαιρόμενοι, ὃ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐκάλεσεν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐγγιγνόμενον θεοειδές τε καὶ θεοείκελον.

21 On the language of 500d, where these verbs are in the indicative, and the subsequent shift to subjunctive mood when Socrates passes from the philosophers to other citizens, see Jenkins, "Plato's Godlike Philosopher," 336–7.

> - And if [the philosopher] should come to be compelled to put what he sees there [*sc*. in what is divine and ordered] into people's characters, whether into a single person or into a populace, instead of shaping only his own, do you think that he will be a poor craftsman of moderation, justice, and the whole of popular virtue?
> - He least of all.
> - And when the majority realize that what we are saying about the philosopher is true, will they be harsh with him or mistrust us when we say that the city will never find happiness until its outline is sketched by painters who use the divine model?
> - They won't be harsh, if indeed they realize this. But what sort of sketch do you mean?
> - They'd take the city and the characters of human beings as their sketching slate, but first they'd wipe it clean—which isn't at all an easy thing to do. And you should know that this is the plain difference between them and others, namely, that they refuse to take either an individual or a city in hand or to write laws, unless they receive a clean slate or are allowed to clean it themselves.
> - And they'd be right to refuse.
> - Then don't you think they'd next sketch the outline of the constitution?
> - Of course.
> - And I suppose that, as they work, they'd look often in each direction, towards the natures of justice, beauty, moderation, and the like, on the one hand, and towards those they're trying to put into human beings, on the other. And in this way they'd mix and blend the various ways of life in the city until they produced a human image based on what Homer too called "the divine form and image" when it occurred among human beings.
>
> (6.500d4–501b7, trans. by Grube and Reeve)

In this part of the text, the philosophers are described as producing more than the copies of the Forms (from a broader list, Socrates selects τὸ δίκαιον καὶ καλὸν καὶ σῶφρον). Instead, they use their knowledge of these Forms to produce the mixtures of characters that will use the properties conveyed by the Forms. To succeed at this task, philosophers need to know not only what the Forms are but also what different characters the city needs. If the Forms do not contain a ready-made recipe for blending the city, their knowledge furnishes the philosophers only with the necessary ingredients for the resulting mixture. These ingredients, however, are not the only things needed to create a well-ordered city. For instance, in the case of just citizens, their justice should reflect what the philosophers

derive from Justice as a Form but also obey the established rule that justice in a well-mixed city consists of doing exactly and only what one is best suited to do.

Therefore, citizens, or their souls, are not mixed images of different Forms. On this point, Socrates is clear: the citizens in question come about as a mixture of various human occupations or arts and crafts (ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, 501b4–5; for this sense of ἐπιτήδευμα, roughly on a par with τέχνη, see 5.455a1). The need to harmonize these occupations based on the human character is why the "divine model" (θεῖον παράδειγμα) at 500e3, while including the Forms of the virtues, implies a broadly conceived natural order that should extend to the best-organized city as a corporeal entity affected by natural processes. What philosophers do while using the "divine model" consists of making the city a better part of this universe. This happens in two distinct steps: first, the philosophers must shape themselves; second, refashioned in the best possible way, they become the "demiurge" (δημιουργόν, 500d6) of other human beings as citizens. Here, we are quickly reminded of *Timaeus* 41c5–6 and the advice of the demiurge to the lesser gods who must create the mortal species: "Imitate the power I used in causing you to be." On a human and political level, the philosophers of the *Republic* are invited to extend even further this chain of creation via imitation (compare Socrates' use of the "sculptural" verb πλάττειν at 500d6 with the same verb describing the divine fashioning of mortal bodies in *Timaeus* 42d6).

That Socrates borrows simultaneously from the language of the arts and from Homer to characterize the result of the philosophers' effort only underlines the eclectic character of the whole passage, which still echoes the task of persuading the non-philosophers and winds its way towards a mixture of philosophical ethics and civic ideology that should appeal to the new citizens themselves. Hence, Socrates' next replica describes the new citizen as also "godlike" in the sense of being "dear to god" (θεοφιλής, 501c1): even gods would appreciate such humans as something wonderful to behold. This conclusion is not contradicted by the subtlety of Socrates' use of τὸ ἀνδρείκελον, which can refer to the well-blended citizens themselves or describe a recipe that will be instantiated in these citizens. This ambiguity fits well with the necessity of reproducing the same characters in each new generation. Seen in this light, "the divine form and image" (the Homeric θεοειδές τε καὶ θεοείκελον) is also a name for this required stability since the best city, not unlike the cosmos that owes its stability to the goodwill of the demiurge (*Timaeus* 41a8–b6), would stay the same only under the constant care of the semi-divine philosophers.

The conclusions about the philosophical blending of the best characters are thus part of the answer to the question that Socrates introduced at 6.497b7–c4: "But if [the philosophical nature] were to find the best constitution, as it is itself the best (αὐτὸ ἄριστόν ἐστιν), it would be clear that it is really divine (τῷ ὄντι θεῖον ἦν) and that other natures and ways of life are merely human. Obviously, you're going to ask next what the best constitution is." Our central passage ends by implying that the "really divine" city may also be part of the well-crafted cosmos because it would be dear to behold to the gods. This reminds us not only of Critias' story in both the *Timaeus* and the *Critias*, where the gods will mold the best citizens of ancient Athens and impart some of their best qualities to them. In the *Republic*, the philosophers should do something similar so that the citizens and the new city will be, to a degree, their self-portrait. Even this conclusion has its parallel in the *Timaeus*, where we learn that the demiurge turned to the Forms to give the world the best possible shape, but also that his first motivation (ἀρχή) for fashioning our cosmos was that he "wanted everything to become as much like himself (μάλιστα ἑαυτῷ) as was possible" (29e2–3).

The above suggested reading of *Republic* 6.500–501 would be similar to this balancing of a double paradigm: on the one hand, there are the Forms; on the other hand, there is the creator (a god, or indeed a philosopher) who imparts their creation not only the order derived from the Forms but also their own goodness. My suggestion is that our central text anticipates this whole structure and need not be reduced to describing only the rational order of the Forms. In this context, it should be emphasized one last time that such a description would be unique in the Platonic corpus, which repeatedly invites us to wonder about how sensible things instantiate many different Forms but never really expands on the issue of order that would exist among the Forms. Hence my attempt to read *Republic* 6.500–501 in such a way as to integrate it more fully into the arc formed by Books 6–7, an arc that extends from the philosophical nature to the knowledge of the Good and its implications for the best city and its place in Plato's universe.[22]

22 This work was supported by the Czech Science Foundation (Project 22–11418S). A different earlier version was presented in the seminar of Groupe de Recherche Antiquité Moyen-Âge, Transmission Arabe (GRAMATA) in Paris, January 27, 2023. I thank Pierre-Marie Morel for his invitation and all the participants for their questions and comments.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Broadie, Sarah. *Plato's Sun-Like Good: Dialectic in the* Republic. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Burnyeat, M. F. "Culture and Society in Plato's *Republic*." *Tanner Lectures on Human Values* 20 (1999), 215–324.

———. "Utopia and Fantasy: The Practicability of Plato's Ideally Just City." In *Plato, Volume 2: Ethics, Politics, Religious and the Soul*, edited by Gail Fine, 297–308. Oxford: University Press, 1999.

Cooper, John M., ed. *Plato: Complete Works*. Indianapolis: Hackett, 1997.

Dodds, Eric Robertson. *Plato: Gorgias*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959.

Gill, Christopher. "The Good and Mathematics." In *Pursuing the Good: Ethics and Metaphysics in Plato's* Republic, edited by Douglas Cairns, Fritz-Gregor Herrmann, and Terry Penner, 251–274. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.

Granieri, Roberto. "Unmixed Forms and Ordered Sensibles: On *Philebus* 16c9-d1." *Ancient Philosophy* 44 (2024): 83–97.

Halliwell, Stephen. "The Shifting Problems of Mimesis in Plato." In *Platonic Mimesis Revisited,* ed. by Julia Pfefferkorn and Antonino Spinelli, 27–46. Baden-Baden: Academia Verlag, 2021.

Jenkins, Michelle. "Plato's Godlike Philosopher." *Classical Philology* 111 (2016): 330–52.

Johansen, Thomas K. "Timaeus in the Cave." In *The Platonic Art of Philosophy*, edited by Christopher Gill, George Boys-Stones, and Dimitri El Murr, 90–109. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Kraut, Richard. "Return to the Cave: *Republic* 519–521." In *Plato 2: Ethics, Politics, Religion, and the Soul*, edited by Gail Fine, 235–254. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.

———. "The Defense of Justice in Plato's *Republic*." In *The Cambridge Companion to Plato: Second Edition*, edited by David Ebrey and Richard Kraut, 298–327. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022.

Leigh, Fiona. "The Status and Power of the Good in Plato's *Republic*." *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 31 (2023): 1269–1278.

Long, Anthony. "Politics and Divinity in Plato's *Republic*: The Form of the Good." In *Themes in Plato, Aristotle, and Hellenistic Philosophy*, edited by Fiona Leigh, 63–81. London: University of London Press, 2021.

Männlein-Robert, Irmgard. "Mit Blick auf das Göttliche oder Mimesis für Philosophen in *Politeia* und *Nomoi*." In *Platonic Mimesis*

Revisited, ed. by Julia Pfefferkorn and Antonino Spinelli, 167–192. Baden-Baden: Academia Verlag, 2021.

Menn, Stephen. "On the Digression in the *Theaetetus*." *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 57 (2019): 65–120.

Nightingale, Andrea. *Philosophy and Religion in Plato's Dialogues*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Pfefferkorn, Julia, and Antonino Spinelli, eds. *Platonic Mimesis Revisited*. Baden-Baden: Academia Verlag, 2021.

Scott, Dominic. *Levels of Argument: A Comparative Study of Plato's* Republic *and Aristotle's* Nicomachean Ethics. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

———. *Listening to Reason in Plato and Aristotle*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.

Shorey, Paul. *Plato: The Republic*. Books 6–10. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935.

Singpurwalla, Rachel. "Plato's Defense of Justice in the *Republic*." In *The Blackwell Guide to Plato's* Republic, edited by Gerasimos Santas, 263–282. Oxford: Blackwell, 2006.

Spinelli, Antonino. "*Mimoumenoi tas tou theou periphoras*: Die Mimesis des Kosmos als menschliche Aufgabe im *Timaios*." In *Platonic Mimesis Revisited,* ed. by Julia Pfefferkorn and Antonino Spinelli, 291–312. Baden-Baden: Academia Verlag, 2021.

Thein, Karel. "Le dieu qui est image: Le *Timée* sur le monde, les humains et la variété mimétique." In *Platon et la pensée de l'image*, edited by Anca Vasiliu and Elsa Grasso, 242–272. Paris: Vrin, 2023.

Woolf, Raphael. "Truth as a Value in Plato's *Republic*." *Phronesis* 54 (2009): 9–39.

ABSTRACT

While discussing how true philosophers could rule and make the citizens obey them (*Republic* 6.499–502), Socrates expands his earlier remarks about philosophical nature and the objects of its interest. The scope of this enlarged argument is not limited to the Forms but includes an effort to translate philosophical knowledge into human souls and, ultimately, to the city. Focusing on the often quoted but rarely analyzed argument that unfolds in several steps at 500–501, the article brings out its complexity and possible role in the unfolding of the dialogue.

KEYWORDS: Plato, *Republic*, philosophical nature, city and cosmos, philosophers and painters

Pokazati množici, zakaj naj vladajo filozofi: *Država* 6.500–501

IZVLEČEK

Sokrat med razpravo o tem, kako lahko pravi filozofi vladajo in pripravijo državljane do tega, da jih ubogajo (*Država* 6.499–502), razširi svoje prejšnje pripombe o filozofski naravi in predmetih njenega zanimanja. Področje te razširjene argumentacije ni omejeno na ideje, temveč odgovarja tudi na presajanje filozofskega znanja v človeške duše in nazadnje v mesto. Članek se osredotoča na pogosto citirani, a redko analizirani argument, ki se v več korakih razvije pri 500–501, ter izpostavlja njegovo kompleksnost in morebitno vlogo v razpletu dialoga.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Platon, *Država*, filozofska narava, mesto in kozmos, filozofi in slikarji

DOI: https://doi.org/10.4312/clotho.6.2.57-69

Towards the Interpretation of the Latin Inscription on a Fragment of a Roman Jug from the Territory of Ancient Nauportus

Luka Repanšek*

Recently, a yet unpublished inscribed fragment of a Roman ceramic jug recovered from the Ljubljanica river near the ancient Roman vicus of Nauportus (present-day Vrhnika) came under renewed attention of archaeologists and epigraphers.[1] Due to its squat lower

* University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana; luka.repansek@ff.uni-lj.si. The author acknowledges the financial support from the Slovenian Research Agency (research core funding No. P6-0218).

1 The ceramic jug was found in the Ljubljanica river near Vrhnika (ancient Nauportus) in the late nineteen-eighties, at which point the drawing of the inscription and the sherd itself was made by Dragica Knific Lunder. I was approached by Asst. Dr. Tina Berden to inspect the inscription in November 2023. Unfortunately, the paleographic and linguistic analysis had to be performed with the help of the drawing alone since the jug is currently missing and could so far not be relocated among the inventory held by the National Museum of Slovenia. Since, for this reason, an autopsy was impossible, I am careful about making any assumptions about the second inscription applied to the bottom of the pot (seemingly *ante cocturam* as is typical of potters' signatures), that one badly damaged. What can be established is that it uses the *capitalis* and that the last letter is *t*, so it almost undoubtedly represents a verb in the 3rd person singular. Based on the numerous parallels, the likeliest candidate is *fecit,* but judging from the drawing, the antepenultimate letter form can hardly represent a <c>. What can be established with certainty is that the two inscriptions do not belong together and form two separate units. They were applied in two different chronological phases, two different techniques, and two different Roman scripts. Typologically, the co-occur-

body, the jug can be broadly dated to the period between the last third of the 2nd century BC and the first half of the 1st century AD: since the neck and mouth are missing, as is the handle, a more precise date is impossible to establish. No local varieties of such vessels are on record, so the jug almost undoubtedly represents an Italic import.[2]

The bottom of the jug bears a Latin graffito arranged in an almost perfect semicircle (see Fig. 1). The inscription is exceptionally well preserved, with slight damage at the rightmost edge, where the upper part of the last letter has been broken off. Enough characteristic traits of the damaged letter form are still intact, however, for it to be undoubtedly recognized as an <s>.

The inscription consists of three words separated by two mismatching word dividers (represented in the transcription as = and –, respectively) scratched *post cocturam* in Old Roman cursive (i.e., cursive majuscule) and can be roughly dated to the 1st century AD. This is supported by the shape of the letter <a>, which is of the archaic, three-bar type with the medial articulus still attached to the right oblique hasta,[3] the equally archaic-looking single-stroke <s> with a nondetached upper curve (prevalent in inscriptions dating to the period between the 1st c. BC and 2nd c. AD), and further corroborated by the conservative four-stroke <m> (1st c. BC–2nd c. AD), three-stroke <n> (1st c.–2nd c. AD), two-stroke <u/v>, all three with unattached strokes, the primitive bow-shaped <c>, and non-slanted <s>. These live side-by-side with the non-archaic lambda-like two-stroke <r>, which was gaining

rence of cursive or non-cursive inscriptions with potters' signatures is not uncommon.

2 I wish to thank Boštjan Laharnar (National Museum of Slovenia), Tina Berden (Institute of Archaeology, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts), Jure Krajšek (Celje Regional Museum), Janka Istenič (National Museum of Slovenia), and Jana Horvat (Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts) for their invaluable insights into the archaeological context of the find, as well as Michael Weiss (University of Cornell) and Reinhold Wedenig (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften) for valuable comments on the first draft. All opinions and errors remain entirely my responsibility.

3 Note that this is not necessarily conclusive, as can be suspected based on the individual specimens of the three-bar <a> in later inscriptions reaching up to the beginning of the 3rd century AD (see Bakker and Galsterer-Kröll, *Graffiti auf römischer Keramik*, 13–14, and Wedenig, "Graffiti," 554 (Fig. 117, No. 94)).

ground in first-century Roman cursive inscriptions and became well-established by the 2nd century.[4]

The second, almost s-like <i> that extends into a prominent leftward tail is paleographically rather remarkable. Given that the first word is unambiguously a genitive singular of a male personal name, however, the reading <i> seems incontrovertible. Somewhat problematic is the last letter but two, which resembles the first <i> characterized by a short horizontal headmark. The fact that here the horizontal stroke cuts through the vertical hasta could, however, speak in favor of a <t>. The type of <t> with a short intersecting vertical hasta is well-attested in ancient graffiti.[5] However, in the case of the graffito from Ljubljanica, this would be the *lectio difficilior*, given that such a minimalistic representation of a <t> stands in stark contrast to the sixth letter form, which is marked by a pronounced vertical line (as is generally typical of Roman Cursive) and undoubtedly represents a <t>.

The reading can be established as an owner's mark formulated as the so-called "speaking object" inscription ("I am the *x* of *y*"):

amianti = svm – cvrtoṣ

Typologically similar graffiti can be found on the bottom of coarse ware from all around the Roman empire, e.g., *Helueiti sum* (CIL 1, 2376 = 15, 5925, Rome),[6] *Hyalissi sum* (CIL 15, 5926, Rome), *sum Marti(a)lis* (CIL 15, 5927, Rome), *Philerotis sum* (CIL 15, 5928, Rome), *Epaphroditi sum* (CIL 10, 8055.14, Pompeii),[7] *Paris sum* (EDR 177101, Aquileia), *Romuli sum* (AE 1968, 304 = EDCS-09701573 = 54600377, Lugudunum),[8] *Tiburtini sum* (AE 1958, 53 = EDCS-13500186, Peyrestortes),[9]

4 Cf. the typology of Old Roman Cursive used in Pompeii (CIL 4, p. 273), the *tabellae defixionum* discussed by Bartoletti, "La scrittura Romana," 43 (Fig. 1), Schiaparelli, *La scrittura*, 39–105, and the discussion of ORC used in the Roman writing tablets discovered in Vindolanda (Bowman and Thomas, *Vindolanda*, 51–71). Cf. also Mallon, *Paléographie romain*, and De Robertis, "Old Roman Cursive." For a periodization of the letter shapes typical of graffiti on Roman ceramic vessels, see Bakker and Galsterer-Kröll, *Graffiti auf römischer Keramik*, 13–28.

5 See Schiaparelli, *La scrittura*, 99, Fig. 1, No. 7.

6 The entire inscription reads *Noli me tollere. Helueiti sum* 'Do not steal me. I belong to Helveitus.'

7 *Epaphroditi sum. Tangere me noli* 'I belong to Epaphroditus. Do not touch me!'

8 *Romuli sum. Kaue fur* 'I belong to Romulus. Beware, thief!'

9 *Tiburtini sum. Fur, caue malum* 'I belong to Tiburtinus. Be careful, thief!'

Fig. 1: The Latin inscription scratched on the bottom of the Roman potsherd from the Ljubljanica river. Drawing: Dragica Knific Lunder, © Narodni muzej Slovenije

Maximini sum (EDCS-48800014, Matrica),[10] *Gaii sum peculiaris* (RIB 2502.2, Londinium), *Nat(alis) sum* (RIB 2303.352, Bremetennacum), *[---]i · sum [---]* or *[---a]e sum [---]* (Wedenig 2000, No. 34, p. 56). In all of the enumerated cases, the object's designation is elided – clearly because it would have been obvious and could be supplied at any moment. Owner's marks of this type (i.e., consisting of a genitive of a personal name, usually the cognomen, and the verb *sum* 'I am') in which the speaking object explicitly names itself indeed seem to be an exception rather than the rule,[11] and there are barely any that one could directly compare to the graffito attested on the potsherd from Ljubljanica. There is an example of a decorated drinking vessel from Ercavica (Hispania) that claims *[---]n(a)e pan(n)a sum* (EDCS-03700466) 'I am the *panna* of *[---]na*',[12] while the plate from Iuvavum (Wedenig, *Geschirrgraffiti*, 321, Fig. 3–4) is ambiguous and relevant to our case only if the reading is to be interpreted as *Luciaes Q. uas sum* (or, potentially, *Luciae sQ. uas sum*) 'I am the dish of Lucia Q.' rather than the equally probable *Luciaes Quas. sum*.[13] Additional two cases of a structurally parallel formula seem to be *Euces sum p[atera]* (CIL 1, 3405b) and *[---]cnnidi sum po[culum]* (Agostiniani, *Iscrizioni parlanti*, No. 601, p. 244).

The Roman cognomen *Amiant(h)us*,[14] here attested in the possessive genitive *Amianti* 'of Amiantus,' is most widely attested in central Italy, particularly in Rome and at Pompeii, with sporadic occurrences in Venetia et Histria, Noricum, Dalmatia, Belgia, Germania, Hispania, and Africa proconsularis.[15] The spelling *Amianthus* predominates and is about two times more commonly attested in Roman inscriptions than its varia lectio *Amiantus*.[16] The geographical distribution of the

10 *Maximini sum. Refer me.* 'I belong to Maximinus. Give me back!'

11 But contrast this with the (equally rarely attested!) type *panna Balbi*, *Donati urciolus*, or *Pacuui olola* (see Vavassori, "La personalizzazione," 94–99).

12 *[---]n(a)e pan(n)a sum. Pone.* 'I am [---]'s *panna*. Put (me) down!' vel sim.

13 The inscription *panna Uerecundaes empta uiges* from Flavia Solva (Noll, *Sigillataschüssel*, 149–52, cf. Wedenig, *Geschirrgraffiti*, 327) is irrelevant as a potential typological parallel, given that it is not in fact conceived as a "speaking object" inscription and rather refers to the price at which the vessel was bought.

14 The cognomen itself is based on a Greek personal name (see Pape, *Wörterbuch*, 73; Solin, *Sklavennamen*, 411; Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen*, 785).

15 For the attestations see OPEL 1 *s.v.*; EDH *s.v.*; EDCS *s.v.*; Alföldy, *Dalmatia*, 147; Lochner von Hüttenbach, *Steiermark*, 15; Kakoschke, *Germania*, 98; Kakoschke, *Noricum*, 250).

16 For Latin <th> see Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, 159–63.

spelling variants does not seem to form any significant patterns.[17] However, the genitive singular *Amianti* is nearly always attested with a <t> (eight out of eleven examples harvested by the EDCS read *Amianti* rather than *Amianthi*).

Much less straightforward, and the real crux of this inscription is the word *curtos* <cvrtos> that follows the copula *sum*. Given the typology of the inscription, the syntax here requires a nominative singular, but in an inscription datable to the 1st century AD, a nominative singular ending *-os* is entirely out of order in a word like *curtos*. In the Classical Latin period (1st c. BC to late 3rd c. AD), *-os* would only be expected and/or justifiable in a Latin transcription of a Greek word and in native words after consonantal *u* (i.e., the *seruos*, *saluos* type).[18] One could potentially think of some embryonic Vulgar Latin development since a putative *curtos* < **curtus* would be the expected outcome of the development of Latin (unaccented) *u* to Vulgar Latin *o̩*,[19] but even so, *curtos* would be a unique example of such a spelling. There are only three examples of Latin (i.e., non-Greek) nominative singular *-us* (after consonants other than *u* /w/) being spelled <-os> on the wall graffiti from Pompeii (all male personal names), viz. *Habitos* (CIL 14, 6709),[20] *Uenustos*[21] (CIL 4, 3959), and *Seueros*[22] (CIL 4, 8956),[23] the majority of <os> being again limited to cases like *seruos* (once even spelled *seruo* with final *s*-drop) for Classical Latin *seruus*.[24]

Nevertheless, even if the unexpected and, on the whole, an exceptionally sparsely attested ending *-os* in *curtos* were explained along the

17 Note that none of the immediately adjacent attestations (both nominatives) has this variant; Waldstein, see CIL 3, 2362: *Iulius Dii lib(ertus) Amianthus*, and Aquileia, see Lettich, *Aquileia*, No. 120: *Amianthus an(norum) V*.

18 See Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, 49; 423. The territory of Emona itself has two examples of this phenomenon, viz. *Flauos* (CIL 3 10775 = Šašel Kos, *Roman Inscriptions*, No. 51 = Šašel Kos, *Emona*, No. 78), dated to the first third of the 1st c. AD, and *Primitiuos* (CIL 3, 3893 = Šašel Kos, *Emona*, No. 235), which is datable to the second century AD.

19 See Lausberg, *Romanische Sprachwissenschaft*, 204; Väänänen, *Latin vulgaire*, 36–37.

20 Questionable since marked as already invisible by CIL 4, though on record in EDCS (EDCS-27400100), EDR (EDR-180552), and AGP.

21 Note the coexistence of apparent *-us* > *-o̩s* in the unaccented final position with the absence of simultaneous lowering of accented *u* > *o̩*, exactly like in *curto̩s* < **curtus*.

22 If not, in fact, *Seuero s(alutem)* as tentatively suggested by CIL.

23 Väänänen, *Inscriptions pompéiennes*, 28–29.

24 Väänänen, *Inscriptions pompéiennes*, 77–81.

lines of incipient Vulgar Latin pronunciation of the type observable in Pompeian *Uenustos*, the central problem remains that Latin *curtus* does not seem to be attested in substantival use in any of the extant sources. The TLL 4.7 (s.v. *curtus*) gives the meanings 'truncated, cut (off), short, low; mutilated, shattered, broken' ("*truncus*, *lacer*, *fractus*"), all of which derive from the basic meaning 'cut, shortened' and are chiefly used to describe broken or damaged vessels ("*praecipue de uasis*"). In the eight attested examples, however, *curtus* is always used adjectivally:

(1) Juvenal, *Satires* 3.270/71: *rimosa et curta uasa* 'cracked and broken pots'
(2) Lucilius, *Satires* 13.467: *Samio curto catino* 'on a broken Samian plate'
(3) Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 4.1026: *dolia curta* 'chamber-pots' < 'low pots'
(4) Martial, *Epigrams* 1.92.6: *curtus calix* 'a broken cup'
(5) Martial, *Epigrams* 3.82.3: *curta testa* 'from a broken/cracked jar'
(6) Martial, *Epigrams* 12.32.13: *matella curto rupta latere meiebat* 'a broken chamberpot (*matella curta*) was leaking through its shattered side (*curto latere*)'
(7) Propertius, *Elegies* 4.75 *curto uetus amphora collo* 'an old amphora with broken neck'
(8) Ovidius, *Fasti* 2.645 *curto testu* 'on a potsherd' < '(piece of) broken earthenware'

Since the jug is broken off right after *curtos*, the inscription might have been originally longer, terminating in a substantive, to which *curtos* would be the attributive adjective (e.g., *curtus uasus* vel sim.). If, however, the apparent nearly perfect semicircular organization of the inscription is premeditated, one would then have to reckon with something like a substantivized (via ellipsis) *curtus* to designate a *specific type* of short vessel, for which there does not seem to be any substantial proof in the attestations (except for *dolium curtum* 'chamberpot').

Another option, then, is to think along the lines of *curtus* being used metonymically for 'pot' (cf. Old Church Slavonic *črěpъ* 'earthenware, pot; shard' or Slovene *črep* and *črepinja* 'idem', which go back etymologically to '(pot)sherd').[25] However, based on the available

25 See Bezlaj, *Etimološki slovar*, 87–88 s.v. *črep*, Snoj, *Slovenski etimološki slovar*, s.v. *črep*.

evidence, such a possibility, even though theoretically still within the realm of plausibility, remains unsubstantiated for Latin, and neither does it seem to be supported by the linguistic data from Romance languages.[26]

Be that as it may, the fact is that in our inscription, the object possessed by *Amiant(h)us* explicitly names itself. In contrast, typological parallels on Arretine pottery show that this was not usually the case but that the obviousness of what was owned rather obviated the need to express it. This would support the idea that <curtos> is not, in fact, the obvious or indeed, the common designation of the object at hand.

Since *-os* in post-second-century inscriptions can be most straightforwardly explained along the lines of a Latinate transcription of an Ancient Greek word, as already pointed out above, an additional possibility presents itself, namely that <curtos> stands for Greek κύρτος 'weel, fish trap' (cf. κύρτη).[27] Greek upsilon (υ) was regularly transcribed as <u> in Latin borrowings up to the Augustan era, which finally saw the introduction of <y> (alongside <z>), but the use of simple <u> for <υ> was still commonly used well into the 1st c. AD,[28] so that <curtos> for <cyrtos> should not be too surprising.[29] One can imagine ceramic pots being (re-) used as fish or, more specifically, eel traps. However, what seems to be inferable from the archaeological finds, combined with the depictions of fishing gear on Roman mosaics and supported by modern-day practices in the Mediterranean, is that fishing pots were used predominantly to catch octopus and cuttlefish.[30] Since an ordinary clay jar used as a fishing pot would not be specifically marked as such (none of the preserved pots bear any comparable inscriptions), a repurposed ceramic jug might be unconventional enough to have merited the designation. The main problem with this is that the shape and size of such pots do not match the find from the Ljubljanica river. Based on the low and squat, somewhat

26 See Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 225, for the attestations across Romance.

27 I owe the suggestion to Michael Weiss, University of Cornell (E-mail correspondence, 12/12/2023).

28 Väänänen, *Inscriptions pompéiennes*, 32–33.

29 For typological reasons at least, it is significantly less likely that this could be a Latinate spelling of the Greek adverb κυρίως <curios> 'legitimately, properly' (with <i> as the *lectio facilior*, for which see above).

30 See Montebelli, *Halieutica*, § *Ollette fittili*, and cf. Bernal-Casasola, "Fishing Tackle in *Hispania*," 124–26.

globular body and a broad ring base, the vessel was probably a Roman single-handled jug similar to a *lagynos*, which would typically terminate in a longish vertical neck and rounded mouth.

The only remaining solution would be to assume that the graffito does not terminate after <curtos> and abandon the *lectio difficilior* in favor of <curios>. This opens the possibility of reading the inscription as a bi-partite sequence and restoring *curios[e]* 'with care, carefully', which was probably followed by an imperative, cf. the inscription *poni curiose* 'Put me back/down with care' from Gaul (CAG 2, 492, EDCS-42000208), and – for a less striking typological parallel – *Pone me. Domnae sum* 'Restore me / Put me down! I belong to Domna' (AE 2003, 1145 = EDCS-68300116, Latara). If our inscription is interpreted to stand for something like *Amianti sum. Curios[e pone]* 'I belong to Amiantus. Put me back with care' vel sim., this would neatly obviate the problem presented by the apparent substantive use of *curtos*, its dubious lexical meaning, the issues around the unexpected ending *-os*, and the fact that there are very few convincing parallels in the typologically comparable inscriptions to support the syntactic structure 'I am the *x* of *z*.'

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AGP = *The Ancient Graffiti Project: A Digital Resource for Studying the Graffiti of Herculaneum and Pompeii*. Available online.

AE = *L'Année épigraphique*, Paris, 1888–.

CAG 2 = *Carte archéologique de la Gaule.* Vol. 2, *L'Aisne*. Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 2003.

CIL = Mommsen, Theodor et al., eds. *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1862–.

EDCS = *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby*. Available online.

EDH = *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg – Epigraphic database Heidelberg*. Available online.

EDR = *Epigraphic Database Roma*. Available online.

OPEL 1 = Lörincz, Barnabás, ed. *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum*. New ed. Vol. 1, *ABA–BYSANVS*. Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2005.

RIB = Collingwood, R. George, and Richard P. Wright. *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*. Stroud: Sutton, 1990–95.

TLL 4.7 = *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*. Vol. 4, bk. 7, *cur–cyulus*. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1991.

Agostiniani, Luciano. *Le "iscrizioni parlanti" dell'Italia antica*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki editore, 1982.

Alföldy, Géza. *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*. Heidelberg: Winter Verlag, 1969.

Bakker, Lothar, and Brigitte Galsterer-Kröll. *Graffiti auf römischer Keramik im rheinischen Landesmuseum Bonn*. Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag GMBH, 1975.

Bartoletti, Guglielmo. "La scrittura romana nelle *tabellae defixionum* (secc. I a.C.–IV d.C.): Note paleografiche." *Scrittura e civiltà* 14 (1990): 7–47.

Bernal-Casasola, Darío. "Fishing Tackle in Hispania: Reflections, Proposals and First Results." In *Ancient Nets and Fishing Gear: Proceedings of the International Workshop on 'Nets and Fishing Gear in Classical Antiquity: A first approach,' Cádiz, November 15–17, 2007*, edited by Darío Bernal Casasola and Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen, 83–137. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz and Aarhus University Press, 2010.

Bezlaj, France. *Etimološki slovar slovenskega jezika 1: A–J*. Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1976.

Bowman, Alan K., and John David Thomas. *Vindolanda: The Latin Writing Tablets*. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1983.

De Robertis, Teresa. "Old Roman Cursive." In *The Oxford Handbook of Latin Palaeography*, edited by Frank T. Coulson and Robert G. Babcock, 39–59. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.

Kakoschke, Andreas. *Die Personennamen in den römischen Provinzen Germania inferior und Germania superior*. 2nd ed. Vol. 2, bk. 1, *Cognomina ABAIUS-LYCHNIS*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021.

Kakoschke, Andreas. *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Noricum*. Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann, 2012.

Lausberg, Heinrich. *Romanische Sprachwissenschaft*. 3rd ed. Vol. 1, *Einleitung und Vokalismus*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1969.

Lettich, Giovanni. *Itinerari epigrafici Aquileiesi: Guida alle iscrizioni esposte nel Museo archeologico nazionale di Aquileia*. Trieste: Editreg srl, 2003.

Leumann, Manu. *Lateinische Grammatik*. New ed. Vol. 1, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1977.

Lochner von Hüttenbach, Fritz. *Die römerzeitlichen Personennamen der Steiermark: Herkunft und Auswertung*. Graz: Leykam, 1989.

Mallon, Jean. *Paléographie romaine*. Madrid: Consejo superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Antonio de Nebrija de Filología, 1952.

Montebelli, Christina Ravara. *Halieutica: Pescatori nel mondo antico*. Pesaro: Museo della Marineria Washington Patrignani Pesaro, 2009.

Noll, Rudolf. "Eine Sigillataschüssel mit Eigentumsvermerk und Preisangabe." *Germania* 50 (1972): 148–52.

Pape, Wilhelm, and Gustav Eduard Benseler. *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*. 3rd ed. Braunschweig: Friedrich Vieweg, 1884.

Schiaparelli, Luigi. *La scrittura latina nell'età romana*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1979. First published 1921 by Ostinelli (Como).

Snoj, Marko. *Slovenski etimološki slovar*. 3rd ed. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2016.

Solin, Heikki. *Die griechischen Personennamen in Röm: Ein Namenbuch*. 2nd ed. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003.

———. *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen: Ein Namenbuch*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1996.

Šašel Kos, Marjeta. *Emona*. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej Slovenije, 2024.

———. *The Roman Inscriptions in the National Museum of Slovenia / Lapidarij Narodnega muzeja Slovenije*. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej Slovenije, 1997.

Vavassori, Marina. "La personalizzazione della ceramica domestica." *Sylloge Epigraphica Barcinonensis* 10 (2012): 81–99.

Väänänen, Veikko. *Introduction au Latin vulgaire*. 3rd ed. Paris: Klincksieck, 1981.

———. *Le Latin vulgaire dans les inscriptions pompéiennes*. 3rd ed. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966.

Wedenig, Reinhold. "Graffiti aus den Grabungen 1997–1999 im vicus Ost von Mautern a.d. Donau." In *Forschungen im vicus Ost von Mauthern-Favianis: Die Grabungen der Jahre 1997–1999*, edited by Stefan Groh and Helga Sedlmayer, 541–65. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006.

———. "Geschirrgraffiti mit Frauennamen aus Noricum." In *Instrumenta inscripta Latina II: Akten des 2. internationalen Kolloquiums Klagenfurt, 5.–8. Mai 2005*, edited by Manfred Hainzmann and Reinhold Wedenig, 317–27. Klagenfurt: Verlag des Geschichtsvereines für Kärnten, 2008.

———. "Ritzinschriften auf Gefäßkeramik aus der römischen Siedlung von Gleisdorf." In Gerhild Jeschek, *Die grautonige Keramik aus dem römischen Vicus von Gleisdorf*, edited by Thuri Lorenz, 35–76. Vienna: Phoibos-Verlag, 2000.

ABSTRACT

A Latin possessor inscription was discovered scratched on the bottom of a Roman potsherd (datable to the period between the Late Republic and the Julio-Claudian dynasty) recovered from the Ljubljanica river near Vrhnika. The inscription reads *amianti sum curtos* in Old Roman cursive. Based on paleographical characteristics, the inscription can be tentatively dated to the 1st c. AD. Several good typological parallels of possessor inscriptions consisting of a genitive of a personal name and the verb *sum* are found on ceramic vessels across the Roman empire. However, the type in which the object explicitly names itself is rare. The Roman cognomen *Amiant(h)us* is well attested, especially in Italy, so the only problematic part of the inscription is *curtos*. Given that the pot is damaged, it is possible that the inscription was originally longer and that *curtos* stood in attributive position to a word like *calix*/*uasus*/*urceus* et sim. If this is not the case, however, it can only be understood as a substantivization, potentially signifying something like a '(pot) sherd' > 'pot'. In support of this, however, Latin epigraphical and literary sources are silent. An additional problem is raised by the final *-os*, which in the Classical period would only be justifiable after *u*. The attested form *curtos* for expected *curtus* could potentially be explained as a reflex of Vulgar Latin development of *us* to *-o̩s*, which is sporadically attested in Pompeian graffiti, or assumed to be a letter-for-letter Latin transcription of the Ancient Greek word κύρτος '(fish)trap'. The latter solution runs into the problem of the pot from Ljubljanica not matching what we know of ceramic pots used for fishing in terms of shape and dimensions. Given its shape, the vessel was probably a single-handled Roman *lagynos*. Allowing for the fact that the inscription does not terminate after <curtos> and that the <t> should be read as an <i>, which indeed seems to be the *lectio facilior*, another possibility is to restore *curios[e]* 'with care, carefully' and assume a bipartite text such as *Amianti sum. Curios[e pone]* vel simile.

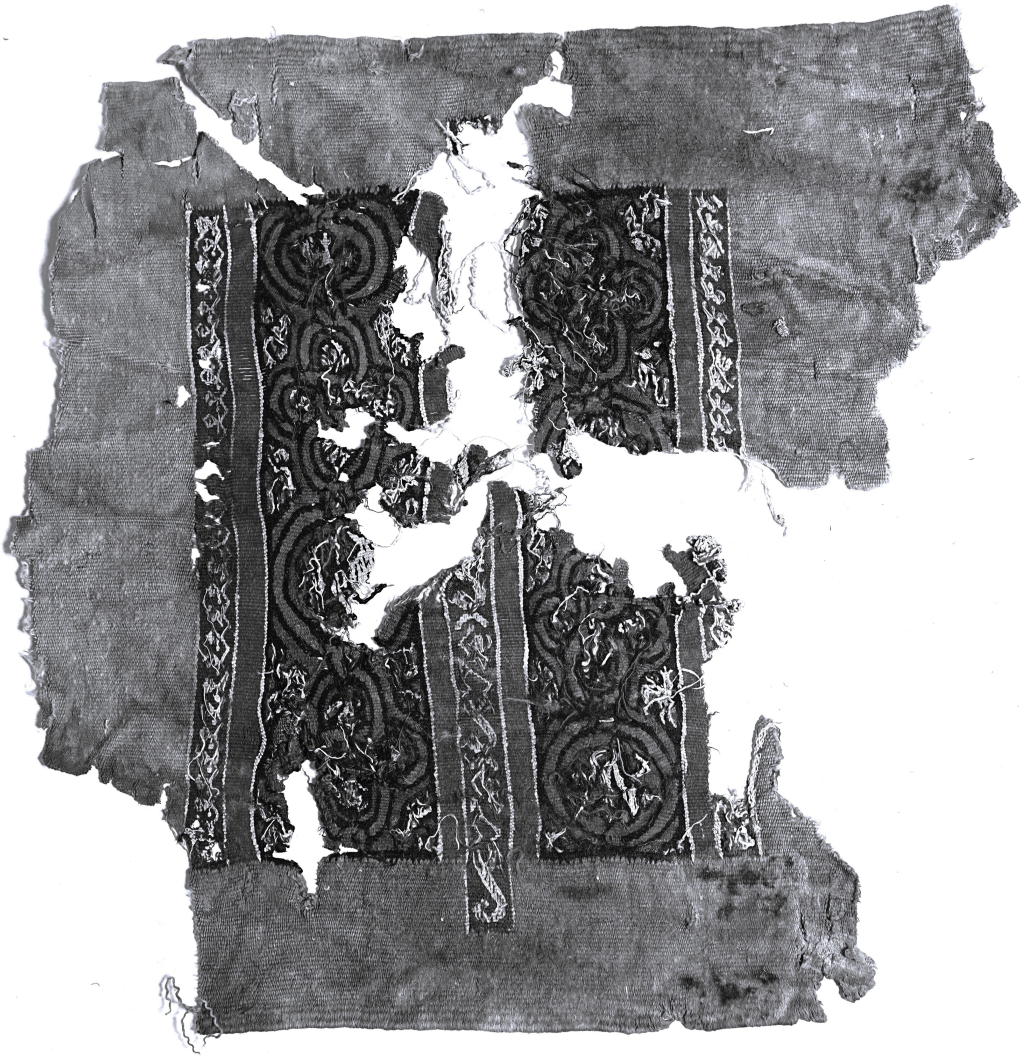
KEYWORDS: Latin epigraphy, possessor inscriptions, paleography, Old Roman cursive

K interpretaciji latinskega napisa na odlomku rimskega vrča z območja antičnega Navporta

IZVLEČEK

Na dnu rimskega keramičnega vrča, datiranega med poznorepublikansko in klavdijsko obdobje, ki je bil odkrit v reki Ljubljanici v bližini Vrhnike, je vpraskan dobro ohranjen latinski napis v starejši rimski kurzivi *amianti sum curtos*, ki se ga da na podlagi paleografskih značilnosti datirati v 1. stol. po Kr. Napis ima številne tipološke paralele na rimski keramiki, vendar v lastninskih napisih tega tipa, torej takih, ki vsebujejo osebno ime v rodilniku in glagol *sum*, predmet, ki je v posesti, samega sebe praviloma ne omenja eksplicitno. Rimski kognomen *Amiant(h)us* sicer prednjači v Italiji, a je dobro izpričan po celotnem imperiju, tako da kot izrazito problematična ostaja le beseda *curtos*. Ker je dno vrča poškodovano, je teoretično mogoče, da je *curtos* prvotno stal v atributivni poziciji, npr. *curtos (calix/uasus/urceus …)*, sicer pa bi ga bilo treba razumeti v posamostaljeni funkciji (eventualno 'črepinja' > 'posoda'), a za to v latinskih epigrafskih ali literarnih virih ni vzporednice. Poleg tega ostaja odprto vprašanje končnice *-os*, ki bi jo v klasičnem obdobju dejansko pričakovali zgolj v položaju za *u*. Obliko *curtos* za pričakovano *curtus* bi bilo sicer mogoče razložiti kot odraz vulgarnolatinske glasovne spremembe *us* > *-ọs*, kakršna je že v 1. stol. po Kr. izpričana na pompejanskih grafitih, ali pa sklepati, da gre v resnici za latinsko transkripcijo starogrške besede κύρτος 'past (za ribe)'. Ob taki rešitvi sicer nastopi težava, da vrč iz Ljubljanice tipološko ne ustreza vrčem, ki so bili v rimskem obdobju v uporabi za lov na hobotnice in sipe, saj gre najverjetneje za enoročajni rimski vrč tipa *lagynos*. Če sprejmemo možnost, da je napis poškodovan, ter zadnjo ohranjeno besedo interpretiramo kot *curios[e]* 'previdno' (ob upoštevanju dejstva, da po paleografskih značilnostih <t> v odnosu do branja <i> dejansko predstavlja *lectio difficilior*), bi ga bilo mogoče razumeti tudi kot dvodelno besedilo, npr. *Amianti sum. Curios[e pone]* ali podobno.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: latinska epigrafika, lastninski napisi, paleografija, starejša rimska kurziva



DOI: https://doi.org/10.4312/clotho.6.2.71-93

Coptic Textiles from the Architect Milan Kovač's Private Collection

Jan Ciglenečki,* Abdelrazek Elnaggar,** and Žiga Smolič***

INTRODUCTION

Numerous museums and private collections worldwide hold extensive collections of Coptic textiles, which represent the unique artistic heritage within the rich and long history of weaving in Ancient Egypt.[1] Unearthed mostly from archaeological excavations of burial mounds, preserved over time due to the arid conditions of Egyptian climate, the majority of surviving Coptic textiles were produced from late antiquity to the Islamic period, approximately from the 3rd to 12th century AD.[2] These textiles bear witness to a diverse range of functional and ornamental uses and were commonly fashioned from linen, wool, silk, or cotton, employing various weaving techniques. Coptic textiles are renowned for their rich ornaments, motifs, and imagery, which mirror the fusion of indigenous Egyptian traditions and Greco-Roman

* Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana; jan.ciglenecki@ff.uni-lj.si.

** Heritage Science Laboratory, Faculty of Chemistry and Chemical Technology, University of Ljubljana, Večna pot 113, 1000 Ljubljana; abdelrazek.elnaggar@fkkt.uni-lj.si.

*** Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana; ziga.smolic@ff.uni-lj.si.

1 The authors would like to thank Mr. Milan Kovač for his generous assistance and permission to work closely with his private collections and archival material; where not stated otherwise, the information below comes from interviewing him.

2 For a general overview, see the entry on "Textiles, Coptic" in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 7, 2210–30.

influences, intricately interwoven with the emerging symbolism and iconography of Christianity.

In the wake of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt from 1798 to 1801, which resulted in the landmark work *Description de l'Égypte*, French geographer and Egyptologist Edme-François Jomard undertook a pioneering effort to describe and classify textiles found in Saqqara, marking the beginning of scholarly inquiry into late antique textiles from Egypt.[3] During this period, individual textiles were incorporated into European collections. Still, it was not until the latter decades of the 19th century that more systematic research began, prompted by targeted excavations unearthing vast quantities of textiles.

The rediscovery of Coptic textiles sparked widespread interest among museums, private collectors, art dealers, diplomats, and researchers alike, leading to an unprecedented increase in demand and propelling a trade in textiles from Late Antiquity. Among those who participated in this fervor was the National Museum of Slovenia (then known as the Provincial Museum of Carniola), which, in 1890, at the peak of this period, acquired a collection of 53 Coptic textiles.[4]

MILAN KOVAČ AND HIS COLLECTION

For many years, the National Museum of Slovenia collection was believed to be the only Coptic textiles collection in Slovenia. However, except for a brief display upon its acquisition in 1890,[5] the collection has remained stored in the museum depot and has never been presented to the public through an exhibition.[6] For this reason, the Department of Applied Arts at the National Museum of Slovenia, responsible for safeguarding the collection, decided to conduct new research and prepare its debut exhibition in 2019. Throughout the process of working on the exhibition catalog,[7] none of the team members involved were aware of

3 Fluck, »The Most Beautiful and Original Thing Created by the Imagination of the Orient«, 93–94.

4 The textiles in the collection of the National Museum of Slovenia were likely excavated in the mid-1880s by a German archaeologist Franz Bock at the Akhmim necropolis in Upper Egypt. Knez, "A Record of the Collection of Coptic Textiles," 17.

5 *Slovenec* 18/82, 11. 4. 1890, 3.

6 In 1963, curator Darinka Zelinka prepared a short description of the entire collection, published under the title *Koptske tkanine v Narodnem muzeju v Ljubljani*.

7 Ciglenečki et al., *Coptic Textiles from the Collection*. The new catalogue, organized according to typological classification, was prepared by Aurore Ciavatti,

a comparable collection of Coptic textiles held in private possession by Slovenian architect Milan Kovač (born in 1940), who brought it to Ljubljana in February 1964 following his study trip to Egypt and Sudan.

This collection only came to light in the spring of 2021 during a more systematic investigation of Kovač's extensive archival material from 1979 to 1988, when he was involved in numerous projects to protect the cultural heritage of Ancient Egypt.[8] Over nearly ten years of activities in Egypt with his architectural bureau based in Sweden, he developed a range of innovative approaches to safeguard some of Egypt's most significant monuments.

Among these were ambitious proposals for an underground museum for the Cheops boat beneath the Great Pyramid in Giza and the exhibition of restored objects belonging to Queen Hetepheres I and other wooden artifacts. He also prepared a study of royal mummies and coffins, proposing an underground mausoleum at Mokattam Hill on the eastern outskirts of Cairo to house them. Kovač designed a prototype of protective mask against wind erosion for the Great Sphinx in Giza and, with the team of ICOM (International Council of Museums), put forward a comprehensive plan for the renovation of the Egyptian Museum at Tahrir Square in Cairo. In Luxor, he conducted measurements of the royal tombs and the tombs of the nobles. He proposed protective strategies and solutions against tourist erosion for numerous monuments in Western Thebes, including those in the Valley of the Kings, Valley of the Queens, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, and Deir el-Medina.

Kovač's most notable accomplishment in Egypt was the restoration of the tomb of the scribe Nakht (TT 52), located within the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna region in the Theban necropolis. Despite many of his visionary projects remaining unrealized due to political and financial constraints, he received support from prominent scholars, including the *grande dame* of Egyptology Christiane Desroches Noblecourt, Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, Rostislav Holthoer, Kamal El-Malakh, Hassan Fathy, as well as from public figures such as Prince Philip, consort of Queen Elizabeth II, and Carl XVI Gustaf, the King of Sweden.

In December 2023, on the 60th anniversary of Kovač's first visit to Egypt, an exhibition on his work titled "Architect Milan Kovač: Pioneer of Heritage Science in Egypt" was inaugurated at the Egyptian Museum at Tahrir Square in Cairo.[9] On this occasion, Ali Abdelhalim,

ibid. 185–291. See also Ciavatti and Ciglenečki, "Les textiles coptes."

8 Kovač, *Utrinki arhitektove življenjske poti*, 313–61.

9 The authors of the exhibition were the same as the authors of this article.

Fig. 1: Portrait of Milan Kovač holding a replica of the scribe Nakht after completing the restoration works in 1988. Source: Personal archive of Milan Kovač.

the general director of the Egyptian Museum, presented Kovač with a Certificate of Appreciation for his long-standing efforts and services in protecting Egypt's cultural heritage.

The purpose of this paper, which forms part of a systematic investigation of Kovač's vast archival material and personal collections,[10] is to explore the circumstances surrounding the acquisition of his collection of Coptic textiles and the history of its preservation. While a comprehensive analysis of the textiles is not the focus of this discussion, the paper provides an initial assessment of their preservation status and highlights the urgent need for restoration and conservation efforts.

STUDY TRIP TO EGYPT AND SUDAN (1963–1964)

After completing his studies at the Faculty of Architecture in Ljubljana in Professor Edo Ravnikar's seminar in 1963, Milan Kovač pursued his diploma under the mentorship of Professor Marjan Mušič. His thesis focused on the pressing challenges of preserving the Nubian temple of Abu Simbel, which has been increasingly threatened by the rising waters of the Aswan High Dam since its construction began in 1960. To delve further into the issues surrounding the endangered architectural heritage in Ancient Nubia, Kovač embarked on a study trip to Egypt and Sudan in December 1963, accompanied by his colleague Miha Kurnik.[11]

They first arrived on Egyptian soil in Alexandria on 23 December, having traveled by ship from Naples. During a brief stopover in Cairo, they visited the city's major tourist attractions, including the Citadel,

10 The investigation and digitization of the private archives and collections of Milan Kovač are carried out as part of the Slovene Egyptology Database (Baza slovenske egiptologije) project, co-led by Mateja Ravnik and Jan Ciglenečki. This collaborative initiative is a partnership between the Center for Middle Eastern Studies (Section for Egyptology and Coptology) at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, and the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia. The project aims to systematically collect, archive, catalog, and digitize a wide range of materials – including private collections, archival documents, drawings, photographs, maps, and publications – related to Slovenian contributions to the study of Ancient Egypt from the 19th century to the present.

11 Kovač first described their journey to Nubia in a newspaper article under the title "Žrtvovana dežela" ("Sacrificed Country"), published one year after their return in *Tedenska tribuna*, 25. 3. 1965, 3. A more detailed description of their journey is included in his autobiography *Utrinki arhitektove življenjske poti*, 54–111.

the Egyptian Museum, and the pyramids in Giza and Saqqara. Before heading south, they obtained permits from the Ministry of Antiquities to visit archaeological sites in Nubia.

En route to Aswan, they visited Malawi, Tuna el-Gebel, and Tell el-Amarna and spent New Year's Eve in Asyut. Continuing their journey southward and exploring archaeological sites in Abydos, Dendera, Luxor, Edfu, and Kom Ombo, they eventually reached Aswan, known in ancient times as the "Gateway to Africa." From there, they traveled by river steamer to Wadi Halfa on the Sudanese side, where they boarded a train headed for Khartoum. After nearly two days of travel, they arrived in the Sudanese capital on 14 January 1964. As they were advised against traveling further south due to unrest in the region, this marked the southernmost point of their journey. They returned by train to Wadi Halfa, from where they set out to explore Nubia.

During this period, Wadi Halfa was a central hub for foreign archaeological expeditions in Sudan as part of UNESCO's International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia in response to the imminent flooding of the valley caused by the construction of the Great Aswan Dam.[12] As Kovač's thesis focused on the endangered heritage of Nubia, they visited several sites on the Sudanese side, including Faras, Buhen, Khor, Dorgonarti, Meinarti, Mirgissa, and Semna, all of which are now submerged. Due to financial constraints, they traversed a significant part of the journey on foot.

On 24 January 1964, they returned to the Egyptian-Sudanese border and continued toward the temple complex of Abu Simbel, still situated in its original location at the time. At that location, Kovač and his friend encountered members of a Yugoslav UNESCO expedition tasked with conserving and restoring medieval Coptic wall paintings.[13] Spending several days with their compatriots, they were advised to explore the recently uncovered church of Abdullah Nirgi, located a few kilometers north of Abu Simbel, where the Yugoslav team had already completed its work.

After visiting Abu Simbel, they returned to Aswan by riverboat and took a bus to Cairo, where they spent a few days. During these final days of their journey, Kovač acquired his Coptic textiles collection. Leaving Cairo, they journeyed back to Alexandria, facing challenges

12 For more details on the UNESCO campaign, see: Säve-Söderbergh, *Temples and Tombs of Ancient Nubia*.

13 Medić et al., *Participation de la Yougoslavie*; Pirnat, "Snemanje in konserviranje koptskih fresk"; Smolič and Ciglenečki, "Organizacijski vidiki."

Fig. 2: Kovač resting at the base of the colossal statues at the entrance to Abu Simbel Temple, 1964. Source: Personal archive of Milan Kovač.

securing transportation because of their lack of funds. The captain of the Yugoslav ship refused to accommodate them on board due to their inability to pay the fare, compelling them to board a Turkish ship and exhaust their last remaining money. They traveled back to Yugoslavia by hitchhiking from Naples.

Upon returning home, Kovač completed his studies with a BA thesis titled "Urban Plan for the New Abu Simbel and Nubian Architecture."[14] Soon after graduating, he left Yugoslavia and began working in Sweden, establishing his architectural firm. He returned to Egypt in 1979 and remained there until 1988, dedicating his efforts to various projects to preserve ancient Egypt's cultural heritage.

THE ACQUISITION OF COPTIC TEXTILES IN CAIRO

Kovač's acquisition of the collection of Coptic textiles is linked to both stopovers he and his friend made in Cairo on their way to Nubia and their return journey home. Upon their first arrival in Cairo on 27 December 1963, they remained in the city for only a brief period, eager to proceed southward. According to Kovač's recollection, while wandering through the city, they encountered a souvenir seller who led them to his shop. Among the displayed souvenirs were various antiques, including numerous fragments of Coptic textiles. This was a traditional antiques market permitted by the Egyptian heritage laws of the time. Kovač inquired about the price, finding it surprisingly low. However, as their journey had just begun, he promised the shopkeeper that he would return on his way back.

When Kovač returned from Nubia in late February 1964,[15] he was penniless. Upon arriving in Cairo, he had to withdraw a small amount of money sent from Sweden. He once again sought out the souvenir seller, though he no longer remembers the shop's location today. He recalls the highly disorganized shop, filled with scattered objects, ancient and modern.

According to the seller, the Coptic textiles had been discovered on an ancient rubbish dump in the Fustat area, Cairo's oldest hi-

14 Unfortunately, the thesis is not retained in the archive of the Faculty of Architecture in Ljubljana and is considered lost. Kovač published the only surviving parts, which deal with traditional Nubian architecture, in his autobiography *Utrinki arhitektove življenjske poti*, 102–104.

15 The exact dates of their second stay in Cairo, as well as their return journey from Alexandria to Naples, are not known.

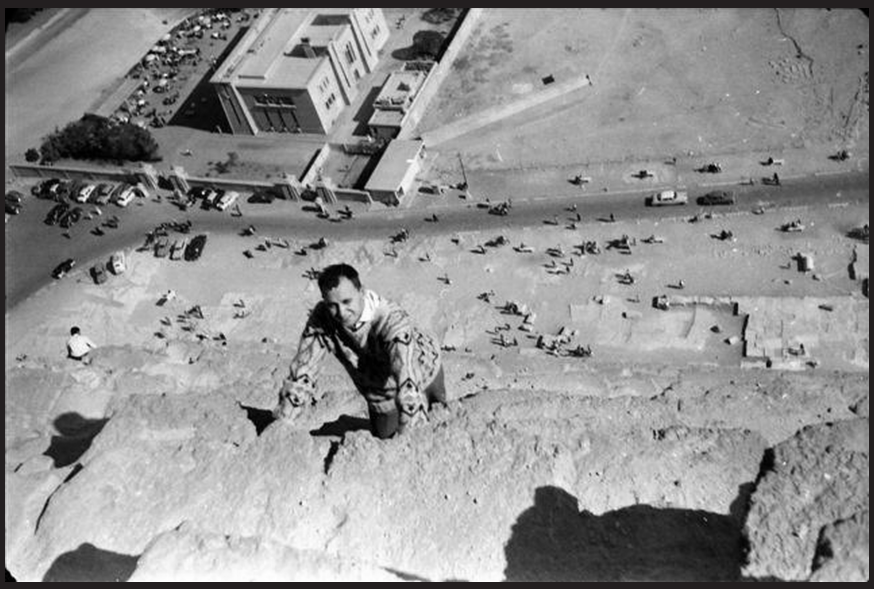


Fig. 3: Milan Kovač ascending the Great Pyramid of Giza, 1963. Source: Personal archive of Milan Kovač.

storic district and the first Islamic capital of Egypt, renowned for its archaeological significance and an important hub for textile production.[16] The mounds in the Fustat area served as rich sources of natural fertilizer and extensive landfill for the nearby swamps. The utilization of this natural resource began in the late 19th century, leading to the discovery of numerous historical artifacts and valuable relics. The seller claimed to have acquired numerous fabrics from this location, enabling him to offer them at a minimal cost due to the general lack of interest in Coptic textiles.

While the shop owner had larger specimens available, Kovač lacked the funds to purchase them, so he opted for the cheapest pieces, which were nevertheless diverse in ornamentation, colors, weaving techniques, and sizes. A revealing detail regarding the price is that Kovač recalls sacrificing a single lunch to acquire the entire collection.

At the time of purchase, Kovač regarded the textiles merely as souvenirs from Egypt and made no effort to verify their authenticity. Although he initially considered studying Coptic fabrics, he never had the time to pursue this interest further, nor did he ever have his collection examined by any textile specialist.

STORAGE HISTORY AND PRESERVATION OF THE COLLECTION

After acquiring the collection, Kovač folded the fabrics, placed them in a bag, and carried them back home in a travel backpack. Since his return in 1964, he has stored his collection in a cupboard drawer in an unheated room. The textiles, piled on one another and separated by paper sheets, have remained untouched in this position for many years.

In the early 1990s, Milan Ropret, a photographer and Kovač's friend from university, provided cardboard folders of various sizes to accommodate the collection. These folders, the only conservation measurements taken, have served as the provisional storage solution for the textiles. At that time, Ropret photographed three textiles, as Kovač intended to use the reproductions as Easter cards. These photographs, taken three decades ago, hold potential value for comparing the preservation status back then with the present condition.

16 Bacharach, *Fustat Finds*, VII.

Fig. 4: General view of the Fustat area, where the textiles from Kovač's collection were presumably found. Photo by Jan Ciglenečki, 2024.

Fig. 5: The cardboard folders in which the collection of Coptic textiles was stored since the early 1990s. Photo by Jan Ciglenečki, 2024.

When Kovač was engaged in a restoration project for a Roman kiln at Ptuj,[17] he sought to arrange for the restoration of his textile collection at the specialized workshop in Ptuj, known for its expertise in textile conservation.[18] Regrettably, no agreement was reached, and the textiles have not undergone any conservation treatment since their purchase sixty years ago.

In spring 2023, the cardboard folders containing the textiles were relocated from the unheated storage room where they were kept for several decades to an apartment equipped with central heating. It was here that we had our first opportunity to examine the collection.

FROM ANALYSIS TO CONSERVATION

The first research question that arose was related to the authentication of the collection. The reconstructed circumstances of its purchase in 1964 provide valuable clues, enabling us to assume its provenance to the Fustat area in historic Cairo. However, the claims made by the antiquities seller, based on the present owner's recollections from 60 years ago, need to be corroborated with further scientific analysis. The authentication of Coptic textiles, typically made of dyed linen or wool fibers, is a complex process from both historical and technical perspectives, requiring expertise in textile craftsmanship, art history, and scientific analysis.

When the collection becomes accessible, the research will explore techniques such as tapestry weaving, embroidery, and appliqué while meticulously examining design and stylistic elements.[19] On the textiles from Kovač's collection, these elements are marked by intricate patterns inspired by nature, geometric configurations, figural representations, or religious symbols such as crosses. Authentic pieces typically integrate these symbolic representations in a meaningful manner.

Without venturing into detailed analysis, it may be broadly asserted that the majority of textiles in Kovač's collection originate from garments. Much like the collection housed in the National Museum of Slovenia,[20] these artifacts exemplify a diverse array of weaves and

17 Kovač described his involvement in the restoration of the Roman kiln in his autobiography *Utrinki arhitektove življenjske poti*, 420–22.

18 The same restoration workshop in Ptuj was in 2019 responsible for the restoration and conservation of the Coptic textiles collection from the National Museum of Slovenia. Ilec, "Conservation of Coptic Textiles."

19 A summary of this is available in Han, "A Study on the Characteristics."

20 Ciglenečki et al., *Coptic Textiles from the Collection*, 189.

ornamental techniques traditionally associated with tunics, shawls, and upholstery.

With regard to color, the pieces in Kovač's collection can be categorized into monochrome, dichromatic, or polychrome groups. Among the tunic fragments are numerous examples of *clavi*, embellished with stylized vegetal, animal, or human motifs. The assemblage further encompasses *tabulae* adorned with geometric and floral patterns, as well as decorative bands and stripes. A damaged polychrome woolen portrait, circular in shape, stands out for its depiction of a human face – possibly Christ – encased within a stylized cross motif.

A comprehensive typological classification, accompanied by an analysis of weaving techniques, decorative characteristics, and dating derived from comparative analysis, will be undertaken following the completion of protective conservation measures. Investigating the material of the textiles will further illuminate the composition of materials used and their deterioration over time, particularly concerning burial and storage conditions. Both non-invasive and invasive scientific methods will be employed to identify the fibers and weaving techniques, determine the coloring materials, and diagnose the state of degradation. This will enable a comprehensive assessment of conservation needs for proper storage and exhibition, including fumigation, stabilization, cleaning, and consolidation. The textiles will undergo analysis, including microscopic investigations, hyperspectral imaging, X-ray fluorescence, infrared spectroscopy, analytical chemistry, and dating methods.[21]

A brief visual examination of Kovač's collection revealed that the textiles had suffered considerable damage. Numerous small fragments were scattered in the cardboard folders, and some larger pieces were at imminent risk of detaching completely. Upon opening the folders, we also noticed the presence of insects (specifically silverfish) visible to the naked eye.[22]

In preserving these valuable artifacts, urgent conservation is of crucial importance. The condition of the objects must be first assessed by examining signs of damage such as tears, stains, discoloration, insect damage, or mold infestation. Documenting the condition with detailed descriptions and photographs is important to create a conservation plan for proper treatment by qualified conservators using reversible methods. Many of the textiles from Kovač's collection are mechanically

21 For details on these procedures, see: Amin, "Technical Investigation."

22 Silverfish (*Lepisma saccharina*) are small insects that thrive in dark, humid environments and feed on starch-rich materials. For a recent overview of the problem, see Abdallah, "Insect Identification."

and structurally unstable, requiring urgent intervention to prevent further deterioration. This might involve consolidating loose threads or fibers, securing weak areas with stitching or glue, or providing support with backing materials. Gentle cleaning may be required to remove surface dirt, dust, or stains that could contribute to accelerated deterioration over time.

Maintaining optimal environmental conditions is crucial for textiles' long-term storage or display.[23] This includes ensuring stable humidity and temperature to avoid fluctuations that could result in biological infections or fiber degradation. Minimizing exposure to light, particularly ultraviolet (UV) radiation, is essential to prevent fading and degradation of dyes and fibers. Items should be stored in acid-free archival-grade materials such as tissue paper to protect them from environmental pollutants and physical damage.

These considerations will be crucial for formulating appropriate conservation strategies, procedures, and measures to meet the requirements for future exhibitions.

TOWARDS THE EXHIBITION

The authors wish to conclude this paper by expressing profound gratitude to Mr. Milan Kovač for temporarily loaning his Coptic textiles collection to the University of Ljubljana. This generous act will facilitate further, more detailed research and analysis, thus supporting much-needed conservation and restoration efforts. The preservation measures outlined above are crucial for the work of the researchers, which will be facilitated through access projects at the Slovenian Node of the European Research Infrastructure for Heritage Science (E-RIHS.SI) and the SloveNile: Slovenian-Egyptian Heritage Science Platform research group. As part of these activities, Kovač's collection of Coptic textiles will also serve educational purposes and provide students and young researchers from diverse disciplines with the unique opportunity to engage with the material culture of Christian Egypt.

Mr. Kovač's explicit wish is that his textile collection and other collections comprising archaeological, photographic, and valuable documentary materials ultimately find a home in a museum. Displayed collectively as the "Private Collection of Milan Kovač," such an exhibition would stand as a testament to his enduring legacy and commitment to preserving the world's cultural heritage.

23 Elnaggar et al., "Risk analysis for preventive conservation."

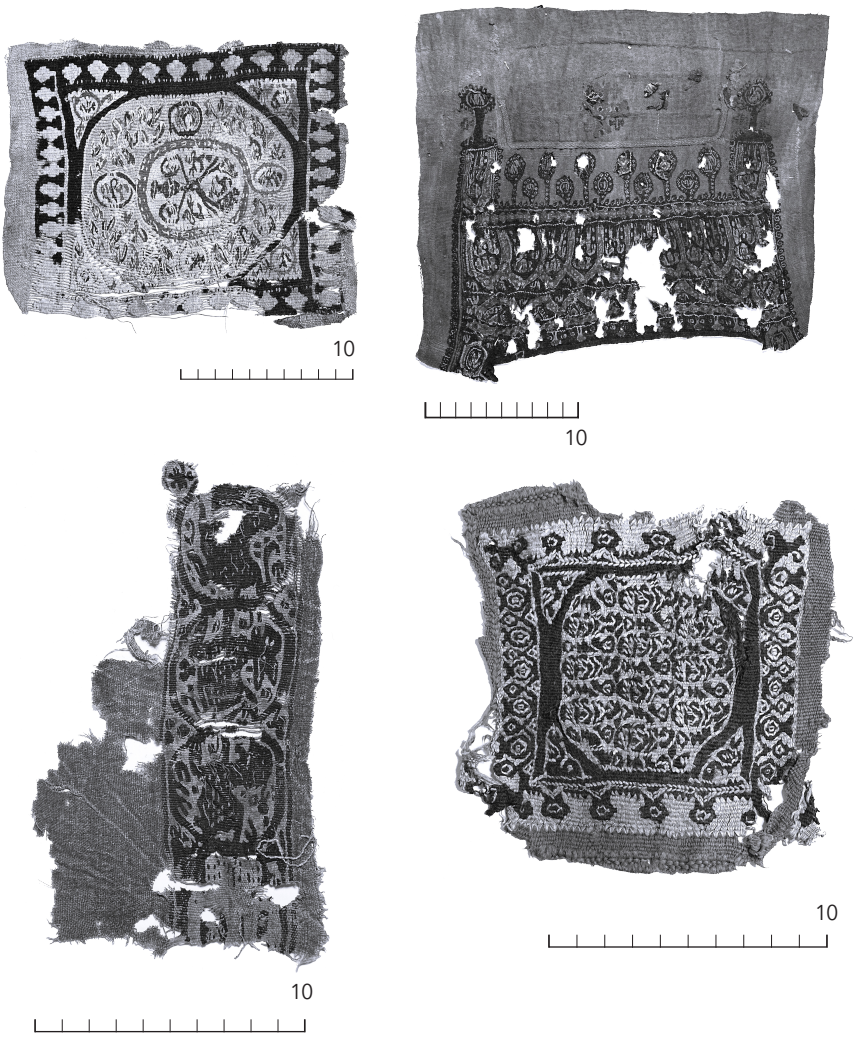
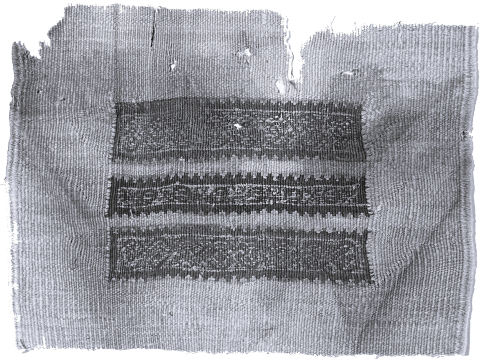


Fig. 6: Milan Kovač's collection of Coptic textiles – visual documentation. The Coptic textiles from Kovač's private collection presented here were photographed in the same order as found in the unnumbered folders, without any particular rearrangement. Smaller pieces are not included in the photographic documentation provided. Further analysis is necessary to match detached fabrics, determine the precise sizes of each piece, and identify the materials used and the weaving techniques employed. Following this, a new numbering system will be introduced in the catalog.

10

10



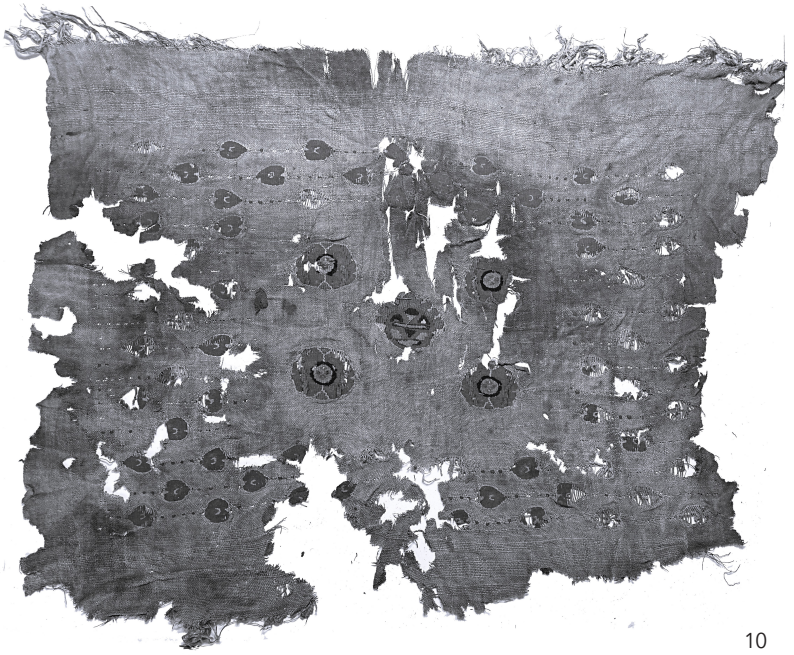
10

10

10

10

10

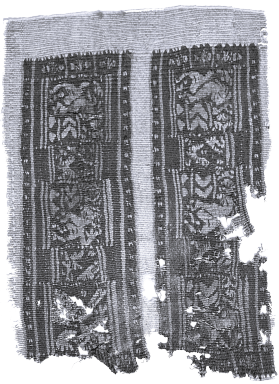


10


10


10


10

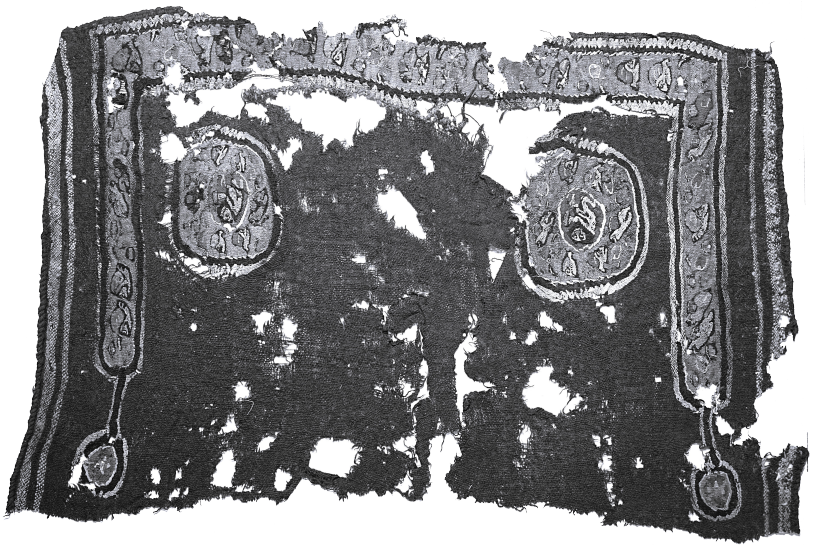

10


10

10

10

10



10

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdallah, Medhat. "Insect Identification and Signs of Damage on Organic Monuments from Ancient Egypt-Saqqara." *International Journal of Conservation Science* 14, no. 2 (2023): 527–36.

Amin, Enas Abo El Enen. "Technical Investigation and Conservation of a Tapestry Textile from The Egyptian Textile Museum, Cairo." *Scientific Culture* 4/3 (2018): 35–46.

Anon. "Izvirni dopisi." *Slovenec*, Vol. 18, no. 82 (April 11, 1890).

Atiya, Aziz Suryal, ed. *The Coptic Encyclopedia: Vol. 7.* New York: Macmillan, 1991.

Bacharach, Jere, ed. *Fustat Finds: Beads, Coins, Medical Instruments, Textiles, and Other Artifacts from the Awad Collection*. Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 2002.

Ciavatti, Aurore and Jan Ciglenečki. "Les textiles coptes du Musée national de Slovénie." In *Egypt as a Textile Hub: Textile Interrelationships in the 1st Millennium AD*, edited by Antoine De Moor, Cäcilia Fluck, and Petra Lindscheid, 174–91. Tielt: Lanoo, 2019.

Ciglenečki, Jan, Tomislav Kajfež, Darko Knez, and Miran Pflaum, ed. *Koptske tkanine iz zbirke Narodnega Muzeja Slovenije / Coptic Textiles from the Collection of the National Museum of Slovenia*. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej Slovenije, 2019.

Elnaggar, Abdelrazek, Mahmoud Said, Iva Kraševec, Aly Said, Josep Grau-Bove, Hosam Moubarak. "Risk Analysis for Preventive Conservation of Heritage Collections in Mediterranean Museums: Case Study of the Museum of Fine Arts in Alexandria (Egypt)." *Heritage Science* 12 (2024).

Fluck, Cäcilia. "The Most Beautiful and Original Thing Created by the Imagination of the Orient." In *Koptske tkanine iz zbirke Narodnega Muzeja Slovenije / Coptic Textiles from the Collection of the National Museum of Slovenia*, edited by Jan Ciglenečki, Tomislav Kajfež, Darko Knez, and Miran Pflaum, 90–117. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej Slovenije, 2019.

Han, Jung-im. "A Study on the Characteristics of the Designs on Coptic Textiles of Ancient Egypt." *Journal of Fashion Business* 15 (2011): 112–24.

Ilec, Eva. "Conservation of Coptic Textiles from the National Museum of Slovenia." In *Koptske tkanine iz zbirke Narodnega Muzeja Slovenije / Coptic Textiles from the Collection of the National Museum of Slovenia*, edited by Jan Ciglenečki, Tomislav Kajfež, Darko Knez, and Miran Pflaum, 127–41. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej Slovenije, 2019.

Kovač, Milan Zdravko. *Utrinki arhitektove življenjske poti: V službi najrevnejših, najbogatejših in že davno umrlih; Pripovedi, spomini, srečanja*. Ljubljana: samozaložba, 2019.

Kovač, Milan Zdravko. "Žrtvovana dežela." *Tedenska tribuna*, 25. 3. 1965, 3.

Medić, Milorad, Vlado Mađarić, Mihajlo Vunjak, Jovan Nešković, and Milka Čanak Medić. *Participation de la Yougoslavie dans la campagne internationale pour la sauvegarde des monuments de la Nubie antique*. Belgrade: Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, 1965.

Pirnat, Miha. "Snemanje in konserviranje koptskih fresk v egiptovski in sudanski Nubiji." *Varstvo spomenikov* 9 (1962–1964): 104–20.

Säve-Söderbergh, Torgny. *Temples and Tombs of Ancient Nubia: The International Rescue Campaign at Abu Simbel, Philae and Other Sites*. New York: Thames and Hudson Inc., 1987.

Smolič, Žiga, and Jan Ciglenečki. "Organizacijski vidiki jugoslovanske udeležbe v Unescovi akciji reševanja spomenikov stare Nubije med letoma 1960 in 1964." *Retrospektive: znanstvena revija za zgodovinopisje in sorodna področja* 7, no. 1 (2024): 41–70.

Zelinka, Darinka. *Koptske tkanine v Narodnem muzeju v Ljubljani*. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej, 1963.

ABSTRACT

This article aims to reconstruct the circumstances surrounding the purchase and preservation history of a previously unknown collection of Coptic textiles from the private holdings of architect Milan Kovač (b. 1940). Acquired during Kovač's study trip to Egypt and Sudan in 1964, the textiles were obtained from a souvenir seller he met while wandering around Cairo. The seller claimed they originated from an ancient rubbish dump in the Fustat area, Cairo's oldest historic district and the first Islamic capital of Egypt, renowned for its archaeological significance and as an important hub for textile production. The collection of Coptic textiles that Kovač has held in private possession for six decades has undergone minimal conservation efforts and remains in urgent need of restoration. The article outlines the collection's authentication, analysis, and conservation plans. The paper concludes with the first-ever publication of photographs of the entire collection.

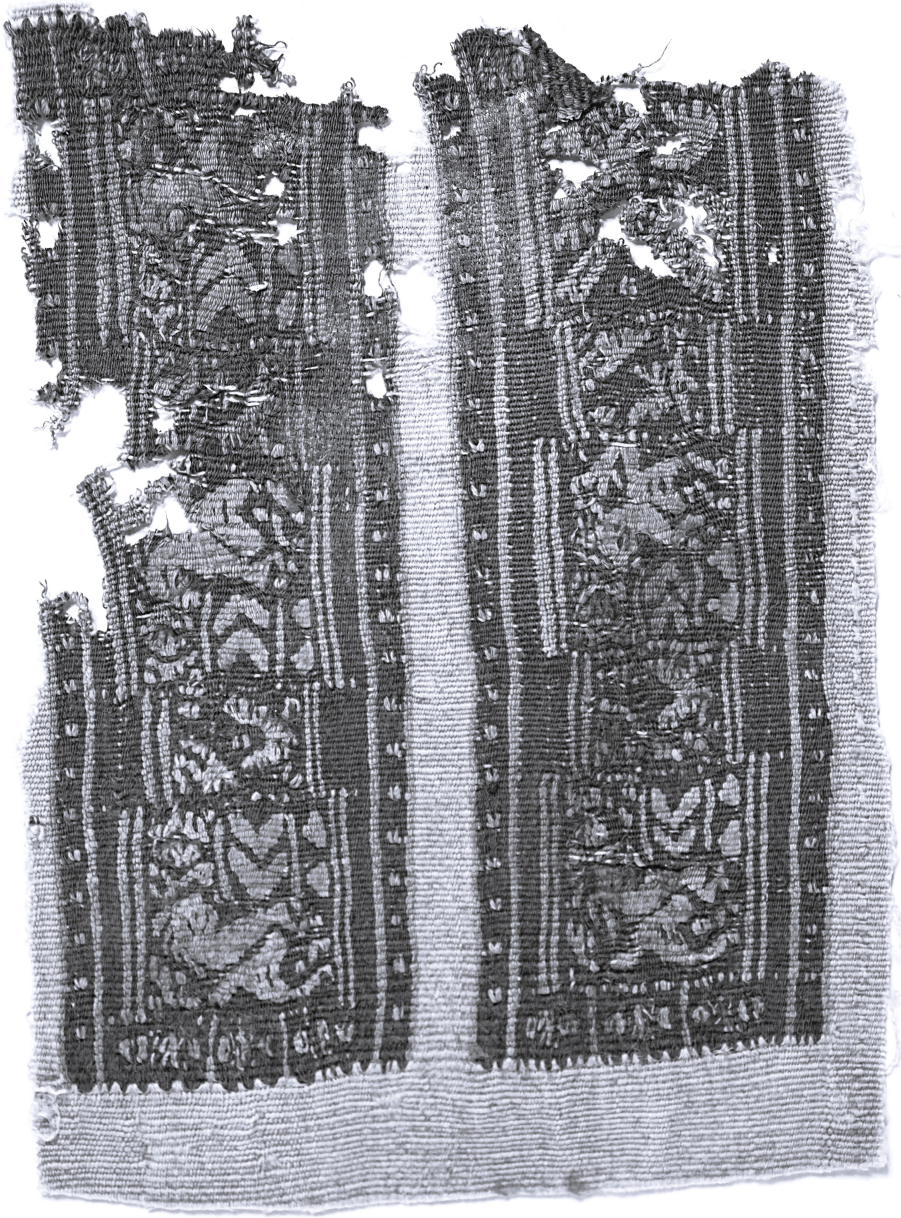
KEYWORDS: Coptic textiles, Christian Egypt, private collections, Milan Kovač, Fustat

Koptske tkanine iz zasebne zbirke arhitekta Milana Kovača

IZVLEČEK

Članek poskuša rekonstruirati okoliščine nakupa in zgodovino hrambe prej neznane zbirke koptskih tkanin, ki se nahaja v zasebni lasti arhitekta Milana Kovača (r. 1940). Zbirko koptskih tkanin je Kovač leta 1964 med študijskim potovanjem po Egiptu in Sudanu kupil od prodajalca spominkov, ki ga je po naključju srečal med sprehajanjem po Kairu. Prodajalec je trdil, da so bile tkanine najdene na antičnem smetišču v Fustatu, zgodovinski četrti starega Kaira in najstarejši islamski prestolnici Egipta, ki je bil pomembno središče za proizvodnjo tkanin. Zbirka koptskih tkanin, ki je v Kovačevi lasti že šest desetletij, je bila deležna le minimalne zaščite in jo je nujno temeljito restavrirati. Članek obravnava načrte za avtentifikacijo, analizo in nadaljnjo hrambo zbirke. Članek zaokroža prva objava fotografij celotne zbirke.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: koptske tkanine, krščanski Egipt, zasebne zbirke, Milan Kovač, Fustat



DOI: https://doi.org/10.4312/clotho.6.2.95-121

Eating on the Eve of the Early Modern Period: Paolo Santonino as an Informant of Culinary Knowledge and Practice in the Alps-Adriatic Region in the 1480s

Stephan F. Ebert*

Between 1485 and 1487, bishop Petro Carlo of Caorle (Italy) went on three canonical visitations to Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola – the Alps-Adriatic region. He was sent there by the patriarch of Aquileia to re-consecrate churches, chapels, and cemeteries that belonged to his jurisdiction and had been desecrated during the Turkish invasions. The bishop was accompanied by his private secretary, Paolo Santonino (ca. 1440–1507), a jurisprudent from Udine who kept a diary of the journeys. In his *Itinerarium* ("travel account"), he wrote about ecclesiastical affairs, the cultural manners he encountered, and the daily food served to the travelers.[1] Those dishes make up a large part of his writing. Santonino is deeply interested in the preparation of various meals, draws connections between the menus and matters of health, and gives information about the quality and origin of many foodstuffs – especially if they are new to him.[2] This is interesting because a new style of cooking emerged in Italy in the 1400s that favored the natural taste of regional products and highly influenced the cooking of later times.[3] By mentioning people involved in the cooking process,

* Institute of History, Technical University of Darmstadt, Residenzschloss 1, 64283 Darmstadt; ebert@pg.tu-darmstadt.de.

1 Santonino and Vale, *Itinerario*.

2 Hundsbichler, "Exponent kulinarischen Wissenstransfers," 240–41.

3 Ballerini, "The Art of Cooking," 29; Winter, "Spices and Comfits," 63–64.

his *Itinerarium* provides an outstanding document on the history of culinary art, cultural history, and social and economic history in the Alps-Adriatic region. It is therefore hardly surprising that Santonino is well-known in Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola. Popular publications, restaurants, even the Austrian Federal Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, Regions, and Water Management refer to his *Itinerarium* to illustrate the culinary heritage of the three regions.[4]

In this paper, I discuss Santonino's account regarding the potential of understanding the culinary landscape on the eve of the Early Modern period. Of course, I am not the first to do so. Santonino's writing has been analyzed in culinary matters by historians like Helmut Hundsbichler and Donata Degrassi before. In these prior studies, the focus has been largely on the medieval cuisine and dietetics being reflected in the *Intinerarium*.[5] Hundsbichler has also spotted new culinary preparation styles and Degrassi has connected the travelogue with eating habits of Friuli. Here, however, the aim is to look for hints that could identify the Alps-Adriatic region, precisely Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola, as a key area for future studies on how culinary knowledge (and, with regard to the products used, also agronomic knowledge) as well as new cooking styles were first put into practice within the Holy Roman Empire and how.

The Holy Roman Empire covered both regions north and south of the Alps. Although Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola are located within or south of the Alps, Santonino looked at these regions of the German and Slavic speaking world as already *ultramontanas* ("beyond the Alps").[6] I want to pick up this aspect and focus on the following set of questions relating to how Santonino presents his information regarding the regions he visited:

1. Novel cooking: What can be learned from the author's writing regarding the knowledge about novel foods and their preparation?

2. Local production: To what extent is it possible to find evidence regarding the local production of popular foodstuffs?

3. Trade network: How well connected were Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola to the trade network of Santonino's time in terms of food and luxury food supplies?

4 Ibid., 239; Reinthaler and Sommer, "Kärntner Kasnudeln;" Kugler and Maier, *Santoninos Kost*.

5 Hundsbichler, "Exponent kulinarischen Wissenstransfers;" Hundsbichler, "Reise, Gastlichkeit und Nahrung," 105; Degrassi, "Alimentazione," 595–637.

6 Santonino and Vale, *Itinerario*, 223.

4. Culinary experts / practitioners: What people were directly involved in the cooking process – i.e., who composed and who prepared the order of courses (menus), who stood at the cooker?

The paper makes a contribution to food studies, an interdisciplinary field of research that explores the place of food in history and society by looking at it from various perspectives such as agriculture, art, economy, gastronomy, the humanities, journalism, religion, science, and the history of knowledge.[7] While the culinary landscape is portrayed in many recipe collections of late medieval and early modern Europe, and various scholars have studied their manuscript tradition, the practical dimension of cooking the recipes remains a desideratum in food studies.[8] By discussing the cultivation knowledge of extraordinary foodstuffs and contemporary trade routes in the Alps-Adriatic region, this study also contributes to the local, agricultural history of the Holy Roman Empire "beyond the Alps".[9] Extraordinary or novel foodstuffs can be products that are either only found in niches of the Holy Roman Empire due to their climatic requirements or dishes unusual in the Empire due to their culinary novelty. In this respect, the paper adds aspects of local knowledge and agricultural and environmental history to existing studies on Santonino's *Itinerarium*.

PAOLO SANTONINO AND HIS *ITINERARIUM*

Paolo Santonino was born in Stroncone in southern Umbria. His father, Giovanni (d. 1476), was a *spectabilis vir* – an honorable man, which indicates the family's high social status.[10] Paolo Santonino

7 For an overview on the various perspectives in food studies see Albala, *Handbook of Food Studies*.

8 Denicolò, "Von Speis zu kochen;" Ebert, "Reispfannen," 99; Ehlert, *Haushalt und Familie;* Ehlert, *Kochbuch des Mittelalters;* Ehlert, *Küchenmeisterei;* Ehlert, "Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit;" Flandrin and Montanari, *Food;* Earle, "European Cuisine," 6–8; Hofmeister-Winter, Klug, and Kranich-Hofbauer, *Der Koch;* Peters Kernan and Müllneritsch, *Culinary Texts in Context;* Laurioux, "Kochbücher;" Mennell, *Kultivierung;* Montanari, "Dreiständeordnung;" Montanari, *Hunger und Überfluss;* Rippmann Tauber, "Aneignung."

9 Häberlein and Schmölz-Häberlein, "Transfer und Aneignung;" Rublack, "Knowing the Market;" Rückert, "Spargel in Württemberg;" Rippmann, "Vater der Pflanzen;" Schmölz-Häberlein, "Außereuropäische Pflanzen;" Schmölz-Häberlein, "Gärten un[d] für die Fenster;" Wiethold, "Archäobotanik und Archäozoologie."

10 Santonino and Vale, *Itinerario*, 103n4.

was a notary by profession and most likely came to Friuli in 1468, where he became secretary to the bishop. He was a layman, married and a father to seven children.[11] He owned a house in Udine (plus properties *extra muros*) and became a town citizen in 1473. Later, he was appointed chancellor of the Curia in Aquileia. He lost his office in the 1490s due to disputes with the new patriarch, Nicolò Donato (d. 1497), and was only reinstated after 1500 when Donato passed away. Santonino died in ca. 1507.[12]

The title *Itinerarium* comes from Santonino himself.[13] It is not an official report on a canonical visitation but must instead be read as a private travel account written for himself and, perhaps, a broader audience (such as friends or acquaintances) because he directly addresses the reader in his writing: *adverte hic lector* ("please note, reader").[14] Public reception of Santonino's travelogue was limited. It was neither printed nor shared through a large number of handwritten copies. The only surviving manuscript has been kept in the Vatican Library since 1549.[15] Since it has Santonino's handwriting, it was most probably his own. The relevant critical edition, to which I refer in this paper, is by Guiseppe Vale (1943).[16] Santonino's *Itinerarium* corresponds to the Venetian travelogue of the Middle Ages but also reflects humanistic influences. His Latin account is not stringent, as some dishes are described in great detail, others hardly at all; especially the third journey is less detailed in this respect. Short summaries describe the areas traveled in terms of topography and culture. The author also describes antique inscriptions in Celje (Slovenia). Probably because of his juridical background, the report displays a remarkably neutral choice of language, and, unlike other Italian authors at the time, Santonino largely avoids common pejorative attributions that tend to describe foreign cultures outside of Italy as "barbarian."[17]

11 Ibid., 10–13, Beilage 2.

12 Ibid., 10–13.

13 Ibid., 15.

14 Santonino and Vale, *Itinerario*, 154.

15 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3795.

16 Santonino and Vale, *Itinerario;* for a digital overview of Santinono's travels and the dishes served, see Klug, "Itinerar des Paolo Santonino."

17 Voigt, *Italienische Berichte,* 197; Hundsbichler, "Reise, Gastlichkeit und Nahrung," 19.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Santonino's *Itinerarium* is particularly interesting because – as mentioned above – during the 1400s, a new way of cooking was established in Italy when chefs and authors formed what was about to become the cuisine of the Renaissance. The most influential chef of this period was Maestro Martino da Como (cook to the patriarch of Aquileia). His book *Libro de arte coquinaria* ("The Art of Cooking") from ca. 1465 presents a cooking manual divided into six chapters: 1) meat, 2) various types of victuals (e.g., Sicilian macaroni, rice, lasagna), 3) sauces, 4) cakes (including many Lenten recipes), 5) egg dishes, and 6) fish.[18] The novel approach in this book is Martino's penchant for local and fresh products. He looks at spices and sauces as extensions to be used in order to support the natural taste of foods.[19] On the contrary, medieval cuisine used to "drown" dishes in sauces and spices.[20] A good chef would use his skills to carefully compose a menu and pleasingly highlight each ingredient's nature. This new style of cooking did not emerge out of the blue. It was based on a combination of practical treatment and the medical theory of the humors that humanists found in the works of antique experts like the Greek physicians Hippocrates (ca. 460–370 BCE) or Galen (ca. 129–199 CE) and oriental thinkers like Ibn Butlan (d. ca. 1066), which were translated into Latin and vernacular languages during the Middle Ages. According to Hippocrates and Galen, the body's basic substances consist of four fluids: blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile. These were divided into so-called primary qualities corresponding to the basic elements of fire, water, air, and earth, i.e., hot, cold, moist, and dry. Following Galen, illnesses were based on *dyscrasias* – an incorrect mixture of these humors. Such an imbalance of the juices could be corrected through nutrition because each food was attributed certain qualities. It was, therefore, important to know the exact composition of individual foods to recommend a healthy diet.[21]

The theory of the humors was thus not new to chefs or physicians, but the focus on local products and their natural taste was.[22] Maestro Martino, for instance, appreciated the high quality of Roman broccoli.[23]

18 Faccioli, *L'arte della cucina*.

19 Ballerini, *The Art of Cooking,* 29.

20 Ibid.

21 Weiss Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times,* 205–6; Willan, Cherniavsky, and Claflin, *The Cookbook Library,* 46–7.

22 Ibid., 49.

23 Ballerini, *The Art of Cooking,* 29.

Sugar, initially considered a medicine, was about to replace honey as the prime sweetener – at least in wealthier circles.[24] The new approach to cooking became extremely prominent through the work of Bartolomeo Sacchi, called "Platina" (1421–1481).[25] Platina was a humanist and librarian at the Vatican Library. He heavily drew on Maestro Martino's recipes in his 1474 cookbook, *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* ("Of Honest Indulgence and Good Health"). Platina also adapted his menus to the theory of the humors and referred to the expertise of classical agronomists such as Cato, Varro, or Pliny the Elder.[26] In doing so, he skillfully circumvented the accusation of gluttony and put indulgence into a healthy framework.[27] An ideal dinner, for example, consisted of three courses, beginning with apples, pears, lettuce, and vegetables, followed by soups, meat, cakes, and eggs, and finished by a third course of almonds, nuts, chestnuts, and matured cheese.[28] Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* was the first ever printed cookbook. It was published in Venice and became a huge success.[29] Hundsbichler assumes that Santonino knew it.[30] Platina's new cooking style spread through numerous new editions of the Latin original and translations into Italian, French, and German.[31] While Santonino traveled through the Alps-Adriatic region, this process was already underway. However, it was not the only change that took place.

The "Medieval Warm Period" was followed by a climatic trend of more harsh winters and rainy summers. Historical climatology refers to this period as the "Little Ice Age" (ca. 1300–1850).[32] It severely affected agriculture – especially pomi- and viticulture. For example, viticulture collapsed in areas such as England or the Baltic. Simultaneously, Mediterranean foodstuffs were introduced in climatically favorable regions north and east of the Alps. This was an ongoing process throughout the Middle Ages that – I would argue – can also be described as a "Mediterranean Exchange," as many foodstuffs originating in Asia (e.g., peaches, sugar, walnuts) were first introduced to Europe through the (eastern)

24 Mintz, *Sweetness and Power,* 96–106; Abulafia, "Zucker," 682.

25 Ballerini, *The Art of Cooking,* 10–11; Jenkins, "Maestro Martino," 97–8; Willan, Cherniavsky, and Claflin, *The Cookbook Library,* 45–9.

26 Platina, *De honesta voluptate,* passim.

27 Peter, *Cucina & Cultura,* 73.

28 Ibid., 74.

29 Willan, Cherniavsky, and Claflin, *The Cookbook Library,* 39.

30 Hundsbichler, "Reise, Gastlichkeit und Nahrung," 22.

31 Trefzer, *Klassiker der Kochkunst,* 37.

32 Rohr, Camenisch, and Pribyl, "European Middle Ages;" Pfister et al., "Early Modern Europe."

Mediterranean, and then spread beyond the Alps. The Carolingian *Capitulare de villis* (ca. 795) is a prominent example of this process. It describes more than eighty (primarily Mediterranean) plants and fruit trees to be cultivated on the royal demesnes.[33] This process accelerated in the Late Middle Ages as asparagus, chestnuts, spinach, or saffron were increasingly planted in climatic niches of the Holy Roman Empire outside of Italy.[34] Due to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, many products from the eastern Mediterranean – spices in particular – became less available, and prices escalated. The trend towards moderate seasoning and the focus on the natural flavor of local products were probably also related to these market-economic circumstances.[35]

Later, new foods were discovered in the New World and spread via the "Columbian Exchange" after 1492, e.g., capsicum (sweet peppers or chilies), maize, and turkey.[36] These novel foods were soon integrated into the European diet. For example, maize spread from Spain to southern France, Italy, Carinthia, and Styria in the 16th century.[37] Likewise, turkey was bred from Spain to present-day Slovenia and the Croatian Zagorje region, where it was introduced between the 1520s and, at the latest, 1561 (because the oldest evidence of a roasted turkey in Zagorje dates from this year).[38] Even north of the Alps, sophisticated individuals came across New World foods, as the German artist Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531) painted two maize plants in order to illustrate an exotic landscape in a 1518 painting; German botanist Leonhard Fuchs (1501–1566) informed his readership about *Indianischen Pfeffer* ("Indian pepper," i.e., capsicum) in his herbal *De historia stirpium* (1542) / *New Kreüterbuch* (1543), and Marx Rumpolt, a native Hungarian who had served in numerous kitchens of the Empire before he became chef to the archbishop of Mainz, described how to prepare *Indianische Henn* ("Indian hen," i.e., turkey) in a 1581 recipe.[39]

What is specific about most of these publications is their hands-on information about the relevant humoral-pathological qualities of foods,

33 Landau, "Das Capitulare de Villis," passim.

34 Hamburger, "Safran im Kanton Solothurn;" Regnath and Ostermann, "Edelkastanie und Rebkultur;" Reinicke, "Safran;" Schenk, "Gartenbau," 59–64.

35 Ballerini, *The Art of Cooking*, 30.

36 Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange*.

37 Brunner, "Maisanbau in der Steiermark," 5–15; Röser, "Biologie und Naturgeschichte," 35–42.

38 Kodinetz, "Beitrag zur Kenntnis," 144; Kovačić et al., "Zagorski puran," 8.

39 Alte Pinakothek München, "Hans Burgkmair d. Ä.;" Fuchs, *De historia stirpivm*, 731–5; Fuchs, *New Kreüterbůch*, CCLXXXI; Rumpolt, *Ein new Kochbuch*, LXVI; for Rumpolt's life see Trefzer, *Klassiker der Kochkunst*, 78.

the growth phases of certain plants, and their requirements regarding climate and soil. This knowledge was spread both in Latin and the vernacular. Thanks to the invention of the printing press, practitioners who wanted to reproduce this new culinary style could obtain relevant publications more easily. This is especially true for regions close to the early printing centers along the river Rhine (since the 1450s) and – in northern Italy – Venice (1469).[40] From there, cooking and dietetic literature was distributed throughout Europe, like Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*.

Santonino's travelogue was written too early to include the effects of the Columbian Exchange. However, it is possible to identify the other aforementioned influences, and they may illuminate the general potential of the Alps-Adriatic region as a research area in terms of culinary theory and practice.

PAOLO SANTONINO AND THE ALPS-ADRIATIC REGION: CLIMATE, SPACE, AND CLASS

The Alps-Adriatic region covers alpine, hilly, and plain areas, and therefore incorporates various climates. The areas along the Adriatic shores have a Mediterranean climate. The climate of the Julian Alps is continental, with snowfall occurring earlier and more frequently than in the lowlands.[41] The Illyrian climate region is to be found in the east. It covers the southeastern borders of the Alps, the Klagenfurt Basin, Styria, and Slovenia. These are the regions Santonino traveled. It is influenced by the dry-warm Mediterranean climate.[42] Today, the vegetation there features sweet chestnuts, fruit, wine, hops, and tobacco. Regarding the 15th and 16th centuries, the cultivation of Mediterranean (and later New World) foods seems most likely to have happened in this region. This is an important characteristic because it allows for comparison with other regions. The regions Santonino traveled belonged to the Holy Roman Empire ruled by Frederick III of the House of Habsburg (1415–1493). In the Holy Roman Empire of the 1400s, many Mediterranean foodstuffs like asparagus, chestnuts, or saffron were planted in the Upper Rhine Valley.[43] This region also has a mild climate. According to data from the German Meteorolog-

40 Geldner, "Buchdruck," 815–23.

41 Kasang, "Bildungswiki Klimawandel."

42 Bamberger et al., *Österreich-Lexikon*, 546.

43 See note 35 above.

ical Service (DWD), the Rhine Valley is one of the warmest regions in Germany on a 30-year average (1961–1990). Among these, the Upper Rhine Plain, with its peripheral mountain ranges, the Vosges, the Black Forest, and the Swiss Jura, stands out as subtropical-Mediterranean air masses flow into the region through the Burgundian Gate.[44] In this respect, the Illyrian climate region is well suited for comparing processes within the Empire. It would seem reasonable to assume that the Alps-Adriatic region displays culinary and agricultural acculturalization processes similar to the Upper Rhine Valley.

The Alps-Adriatic region is a transit region. It links the German, Italian, and Slavic worlds. Merchants passed this region on their way to the markets of the upper German towns, noble residences in the Habsburg lands and Hungary, or ecclesiastical sees and monasteries of Central Europe.[45] Here, it seems likely that novel dishes were prepared at an earlier stage than elsewhere. This also appears to be probable due to its nearby location to Friuli, where an edition of Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* was printed in 1480 by Gerardo de Fiandra (also known as Gerardo de Lisa) in Cividale[46] and sophisticated individuals like Nicolò de Portis (ca. 1411–1492) combined the teachings of classical authorities with humanists' writings and used own observations to make notes on food and health.[47]

The foodstuffs for the new cooking trend were generally available in and beyond the Alps. This is proven by the handwritten cookbook of the Augsburg patrician's daughter, Philippine Welser (1527–1580), who received a collection of recipes during her marriage to the Prince of Tyrol. It contains numerous descriptions of Roman dishes and imported goods, such as rose water, which document this new way of cooking. Philippine must have used the cookbook in Tyrol, for it contains handwritten notes.[48] Her noble background leads to another aspect regarding Santonino's travel.

Accompanying the bishop on a canonical visitation came with certain conveniences. The food and accommodation provided for the travelers probably met similar standards to those of a church prince. Moreover, the purpose of the journey was to re-consecrate religious

44 Regionalverband Südlicher Oberrhein, *Regionale Klimaanalyse*, 7–11.

45 Kumer, "Flugblattlieder in Slowenien," 114; for the trade route from Italy to Hungary via Celje and Ptuj, see Hundsbichler, "Reise, Gastlichkeit und Nahrung," 42, note 163; Kosi, "Potujoči srednji vek."

46 Platina, *De honesta voluptate*, ed. Gerardus de Lisa.

47 Udine, Biblioteca Civica Joppi, Fondo Joppi, 61; Guariglia, "Nicolò de Portis," 178–79; Degrassi, "Alimentazione," 612–13.

48 Ehlert, *Das Kochbuch des Mittelalters*, 207; "Kochbuch der Philippine Welser."

sites and perform Christian initiation rites such as confirmation. These occasions were something extraordinary and celebratory. In other words, the travelers were served festive meals or the *haute cuisine* of their time. The travel group usually consisted of about sixteen people plus servants.[49] Cooking for so many people required a decent kitchen equipped with suitable utensils to prepare sophisticated dishes, enough staff to serve the requested menus, and some experience and expertise on what to serve to churchmen and noble travelers. The places of accommodation, therefore, were usually vicarages, guesthouses, castles or aristocratic residences, and monasteries. Farmhouses of some kind are mentioned only twice.[50] Hence, the culinary picture Santonino draws of the regions he visited is that of a professional cooking world. Although he occasionally describes less distinguished guest meals and relates them to the social status of the hosts as well as local conditions, Santonino does not tend to document the everyday diet of the rural population.[51]

PAOLO SANTONINO'S TASTE OF THE ALPS-ADRIATIC REGION: FOODS AND DISHES

The guiding questions of this paper include knowledge of novel foods of the time, evidence of the cultivation of these foods, the connection of the area to supra-regional trade routes, and relevant actors involved in culinary practice. Rather than treating these aspects in extensive detail, I will pick out a few exemplary cases that can give preliminary answers to these questions.

1) Novel Cooking: Between Theory and Practice

On 12th October 1485, the traveling party stayed in the Tyrolean village of Dölsach. After the bishop had consecrated the church and its altars, the travelers were served several courses. "Among them, something new, little worms made from flour [i.e., pasta] cooked in milk and a fat soup that everybody liked because it was tasty and sweet."[52] Inte-

49 Hundsbichler, "Reise, Gastlichkeit und Nahrung," 26–8.

50 Ibid., 59–68.

51 Ibid., 104.

52 Santonino and Vale, *Itinerario*, 140: "[…] quorum illud novum fuit, vermiculorum ex farina, in lacte et pingui iure elixorum, placuit hoc omnibus quia sapidum et dulce fuit." Unless noted otherwise, English translations are made

restingly, Santonino uses a culinary term, "fat soup" (*ius pingue*), which is used in the same way by the influential *haute cuisine* authors Platina and Maestro Martino. Santonino thus avails himself of a professional language that fully integrates the latest culinary trends. A similar dish appears during the third journey in Slovenske Konjice (28th May 1487).[53] On the evening of 12th October, the company was served pancakes, some filled with sage, others with tiny apples. Santonino writes that it was sprinkled with sugar instead of salt on the outside.[54] The "little worms made from flour" (*vermicelli*) are considered the ancestors of spaghetti, first described in a recipe by Maestro Martino,[55] who used to cook them in bouillon for one hour or – if it was a fasting day – in almond milk with sugar or in goat's milk.[56] The way Santonino describes the dish comes close to this recipe. It is not quite clear whether the pasta is new to him or new in general; however, Santonino notices that here he is served a novel dish that can be found in the latest culinary literature of his time.[57] In the case of the pancakes (*fritulas*), the use of sugar instead of salt reflects the new preference of the Quattrocento for sugar, which led Platina to quip that there is no food you can spoil with sugar.[58] Again, Santonino encounters a cooking practice that is in harmony with the latest culinary preferences.

On the other hand, the travelers are also served established dishes such as rice cooked in milk: *Blanc-manger* (white dish), usually made from milk or almond milk, rice, poultry, and sugar. The first German cookbook *Buoch von guoter spîse* ("The Book of Good Cuisine") from ca. 1350 already lists it as *blamensier*.[59] On 20th September 1486, while the traveling party was staying at Castle Finkenstein near Villach / Beljak, chatelaine Omelia and her maids put a variation of this dish on the table: rice cooked and poured over with almond milk and almond seeds stuck in the middle. Santonino learned that the recipe was called *mater mundi*

by the author. For the origin of the term *ius pingue*, see Hundsbichler, "Reise, Gastlichkeit und Nahrung," 21–2 with note 82; Degrassi, "Alimentazione," 618.

53 Santonino and Vale, *Itinerario*, 253: "[…] ubi discumbentibus primo allata est recentiori lactis pinguedo in cumulum vermiculorum disposita, saccaroque conspersa per totum: quod profecto edulium dulce fuit atque suave."

54 Ibid., 141: "Habuimus preterea fritulas optimas, quarum alique salvie folia, alie vero micia poma in interna concavitate servabant, saccarum pro sale aspersum babebant […]."

55 Peter, *Cucina & Cultura*, 55.

56 Faccioli, *L'arte della cucina,* 145.

57 Hundsbichler, "Exponent kulinarischen Wissenstransfers," 241.

58 Platina, *Von der Eerliche(n),* XI.

59 Munich, LMU-University Library, Cim. 4 (= 2° Cod. ms. 731), fol. 156.

("world mother") in German.[60] This is most probably a reference to the Virgin Mary as the white color stands for purity, virginity, and divine light.[61] The recipe is, of course, not a novel dish but rather a staple food of medieval *haute cuisine*. However, the dish was anything but cheap, requiring costly imported goods such as rice, which came from Spain or Italy.[62] The fact that it had received a local name indicates a regional tradition of preparing this high-class recipe. Hence, besides novel dishes, the region's culinary repertoire also consisted of culinary classics.[63]

Another aspect is the arrangement of menus. Historians realized that many foods served to the bishop's company followed contemporary dietetic theory and fasting regulations.[64] Due to the physical exertion of the journey, this was indeed relevant. On fasting days, for example, fish replaced meat.[65] Donata Degrassi suggested that the alternation of dishes with "hot" primary qualities, such as roast meat, with "cold" and "moist" ones, such as fish, could also serve to create a balance within the courses.[66] In this respect, the company could have been served a sophisticated form of medieval dietetics. Various kinds of fruit (apples, pears, and sometimes peaches), nuts, and cheese typically completed the banquets. Platina also recommended that nuts, cheese, and fruit be served at the end of the banquet.[67] Santonino notices the elaborated order of a menu served at Castle Finkenstein: "The dishes were entirely prepared with such art, deliciousness, exquisite order, and served so well that I have not seen it done better anywhere before nor do I expect that I will ever see it."[68] This is not an exception. Santonino usually describes the menu order meticulously and occasionally compliments the dishes' composition.[69] This is, of course, a subjective description, but it should be pointed out that the words Santonino uses fall within

60 Santonino and Vale, *Itinerario*, 214: "[…] sextum risum elixum pastaque amigdalorum opertum et in medio amigdala decoriata infixa. Hoc edulium dicitur Germana lingua mater mundi."

61 Stein-Kecks, "Sacrae religionis color optimus," passim.

62 Häberlein and Sanz Lafuente, "Reis," passim.

63 See also Praprotnik, "Prehranjevalne," 49.

64 Degrassi, "Alimentazione," 635–36; Hundsbichler, "Exponent kulinarischen Wissenstransfers," 244–49.

65 Ibid., 246.

66 Degrassi, "Alimentazione," 635.

67 Peter, *Cucina & Cultura*, 74.

68 Santonino and Vale, *Itinerario*, 214: "Fuerunt fercula ipsa tanta arte munditia et ordine parata et apposita: ut necubi melius perspexerim aiit visurus sim."

69 For more examples, see Hundsbichler, "Exponent kulinarischen Wissenstransfers," 245–46.

the semantic field of beauty, yet it was not understood in today's sense. *Pulchritudo* (beauty) is a reflection of harmony and order rather than an aesthetic category and thus refers to God.[70] In this respect, descriptions that touch on this semantic field can indeed be seen as an individually perceived recognition of an optimal food sequence that is not only in harmony with culinary knowledge and practice, but also expresses a divine ideal.

2) Local Production

Santonino writes about local food production on several occasions. Here, I will focus on regions in (or close to) the Illyrian climate zone. When the company passed the Gailtal (valley of the river Gail) in Carinthia on 24th October 1485, they came to the village of Mitschig. Santonino describes the dessert there as follows:

> The ninth course was mild cheese with pears, apples, and peaches in the color of saffron, which had been picked shortly before in the garden of the noble host and were not much behind ours in taste and beauty. Moreover, the bread was snow-white and light, and white wine and red wine were not to be despised in taste and color.[71]

While apples and pears appear on almost every page, peaches are mentioned less regularly. Here, Santonino gives information about the pleasing quality of the fruit and – by referring to beauty – he also offers a religious interpretation of an ideal arrangement (see above). Santonino's impression is obviously subjective, yet it seems unlikely that the travelers would have been served unripe fruit. The peach (*prunus persica*) is a thermophile fruit tree and can only be cultivated in climatically favorable areas. The critical limit to winter temperatures is about –18 °C. The harvest season for peaches in Austria extends from July to September. The fact that Santonino's entry is dated in October indicates a late-ripening type, perhaps similar to the "Weingartenpfirsich" or the Italian "Pesco Tardiva di San Gregorio"

70 Hundsbichler, "Relativierung," 88–90. For Santonino's use of the word *pulchritudo*, see also note 71.

71 Santonino and Vale, *Itinerario*, 158: "[…] novissimum vero caseus dulcis cum piris malis et persicis crocei coloris ex horto nobilis convivantis paulo ante lectis, que sapore et pulchritudine non multum a nostris differebant. Panis preterea candidus et levis fuit, vinum album et nigrum saporis et coloris non contemnendi."

which, however, appears to have fully ripened in the Gailtal.[72] The advantages of the Illyrian climate region, in particular, are summed up at the end of Santonino's travelogue, when he reflects on the Mark an der Sann / Savinjska marka.

> The region is rich in fertile soil and has, therefore, a lot of domesticated animals. Crops, fruits, and vine grow abundantly. The vineyards can only be found on the hilltops and in sunny places. They are tied to wooden sticks in the Roman style. […] There are also a lot of geese and ducks. More than I have seen anywhere else.[73]

The author thus describes local food production in great detail and notes microclimatic characteristics, such as the exploitation of hilly terrain for viticulture. In this respect, it becomes clear that the region is generally suited for further research into introducing new, thermophilic plants. The cultivation of maize in Carinthia and Styria in the second half of the 16th century is evidence of this.[74] The wealth of poultry probably also explains why the turkey was introduced here early in the 1500s, as local conditions, infrastructure (e.g., enclosure, fodder), and most likely peasants' knowledge were ideal for turkey fattening.[75] Marx Rumpolt might have picked up the recipe for preparing *Indianische Henn* (see above) from here before he published it in Mainz.

3) Trade Network

Generally, Santonino's *Itinerarium* offers a picture of standard late medieval high-class cookery, which included plenty of meat, fish, and spices such as cloves, cinnamon, ginger, pepper, saffron, and sometimes sugar.[76] These ingredients appear often, so it can be assumed that they were relatively easy to obtain. Hosts did not need to travel

72 Cf. Sommer and Trenker, "Weingartenpfirsich;" "Pfirsichanbau in der Steiermark;" "Pesco Tardiva."

73 Santonino and Vale, *Itinerario*, 266: "[…] abundat pascuis pinguissimis, et ex consequenti magna domesticorum animalium habetur copia: Est frugum, pomorum, ac vini ex se feracissima, nisi iratus Iuppiter dedescenderit, ut sepe contingit: vinee tamen non nisi in dorso colliumet in apricis locis piantate cernuntur: quo crebre sunt, et ligneis romano more palis vites, innixe, et firmate. […] tantusque ubique et anserum et anatum numerus cernitur: ut plures alibi non viderim."

74 Brunner, "Maisanbau in der Steiermark."

75 See note 38 above.

76 Hundsbichler, "Reise, Gastlichkeit und Nahrung," Beilage 14.

far to acquire the necessary products for their banquets – if they were not in stock already. An indicator of this is also given by an account book of the cellarer of the monastery of Rein (Styria) for the years 1473–1477. The monastery had such wide-ranging estates and contacts that it may serve to illustrate the trade situation of the region at large.[77] The account book lists, for example, almonds, cloves, ginger, olive oil, pepper, saffron, and sugar.[78] Hence, the region was well connected to contemporary trade routes; these spices did not grow in local gardens. Santonino refers to this aspect as he frequently mentions imported goods, mainly wine: e.g., "fresh and sweet grapes from Italy," "a Malvasia, not to be despised, delivered from afar," or "he brought us a vase of the sweetest Rebolio."[79] In the case of the latter, the transport route was likely quite short – if it was necessary at all. Rebolio, or Rinfal, is an autochthonous grape in Friuli and Istria, also known as *Ribolla Gialla* or *Rebula*, and could, therefore, be grown on lands to which the hosts had access.[80] Today, the *Rebula* from Slovenian Goriška Brda yields an excellent wine.[81] Although Santonino's praise of the quality of the local wine is again a subjective opinion, the report provides at least an indication of the potential of Carinthia, Styria, and Carnolia for cultivating Mediterranean and New World foods.

The rice in the *mater mundi* dish is further evidence that people in the region could purchase ingredients for very sophisticated dishes due to existing trade networks. The local name of the dish and the tradition associated with it also suggest that these products were not brought in on the singular occasion of the bishop's visit but that there were established consumer habits and merchant connections. This is undoubtedly due to the region's location along the trade route from Venice to Central Europe.[82]

4) Culinary Experts / Practitioners

Culinary experts, chefs, or other people involved in cooking the dishes rarely appear in the *Itinerarium*. The order of the courses, however, indicates that hosts knew how to prepare a decent high-class feast.

77 Freidinger, "Stift Rein," 83–86; Müller, "Gründungsgeschichte," 26–29.

78 Rein, StiA, Rest. Nr. 1.163, fol. 23v, 34v–35r.

79 Santonino and Vale, *Itinerario*, 156: "uveque recentes ac suaves, ex vindemmia nostra delate […]"; 256: "allatum fuit preterea malvaticum non respuendum, de longinquis, quod prandentium animos […]"; 265: "misit vas dulcissimi rebolii."

80 Ibid., 131, note 5; Schubert, *Essen und Trinken*, 202–3.

81 Priewe, *Wein*, 116.

82 See note 45 above; Ebner, "Essen und Trinken," 2.

Chatelaine Omelia and her maids at Castle Finkenstein (see above) exemplify such individuals. If and when Santonino does mention cooking personnel, they are usually female. Santonino refers to a well-experienced female chef at Castle Greifenburg in the Drava Valley.[83] While traveling through the Ptuj region, he notes that Omelia of Hornegg (the wife of Count Hermann of Hornegg) personally cooked a saffron--yellow soup.[84] Only once does he mention a male cook. The company abstains from a cabbage and bacon/lardo dish to leave something for the *cocho* (cook).[85] This was no affront. Indeed, leaving leftovers to the staff was not at all unusual. The dish itself reflects similarities with the Friuli region where cabbage was an integral part of the diet.[86] The text does not clarify whether the *cocho* was a professional cook or simply a skilled person. A comparison with a case from Speyer in the Rhine Valley may illuminate the kitchen's organization. Bishop Matthias of Rammung (1464–1478) employed a cook named Peter of Gernsheim and a maid responsible for the kitchen and cooking in the cook's absence. Moreover, there was a designated kitchen servant.[87] This was a typical set-up in medieval and early modern noble households.[88] The situation was probably similar here. In the other cases, it seems likely that the cooking experts were indeed the women Santonino mentions because preparing a feast for such a noble company as the bishop's would require a specialist – not an assistant. This is revealing. Although it is known that women played a crucial role in the exchange of the European culinary arts, they are generally considered to be subordinate to male chefs in the kitchen hierarchy.[89] Santonino's report, however, indicates that women were certainly on a par with men in the kitchen hierarchy.

The cooking personnel in the Alps-Adriatic region seems to be somewhere in between the two definitions of a "broad" and "more narrow" type of culinary professionals proposed by Ken Albala,

83 Santonino and Vale, *Itinerario*, 168: "Habet idem dominus Stefanus focariam etatis annorum xxxx (que formosa fuit satis) in popinaria peritissimam."

84 Ibid., 237: "[…] ibique pullos assos, et optimos pisces, in sapido et croceo iure eburneis manibus ipsius domine Omelie decoctos, ut sumeremus, benigne institerunt."

85 Ibid., 253: "[…] quarto caules comminute cum laridi sive succidie frusto: ab hoc ferculo, omnes fere abstinuimus, ut cocho reservaremus."

86 Degrassi, "Alimentazione," 625.

87 Fouquet, "Kuchenspise," 14.

88 Kühne, "Essen und Trinken," 95.

89 Mennell, *Kultivierung*, 95; Kühne, "Essen und Trinken," 95; Rückert, "Spargel in Württemberg," 321–27, Schenk, "Gartenbau, " 13–80, for gender studies in the field of medieval culinary arts, see Woolgar, "Food," 12–14.

as they appear to have come from both inns, taverns, or caterers ("broad") and a world of professional training (possibly) under a guild's supervision ("narrow").[90] In the case of higher-ranking persons, "cooking" was possibly limited to final operations such as seasoning, while previous steps (without planning the menu) were carried out by experienced kitchen staff. Not a cook, but, according to Santonino, a *medicus* – or, perhaps better, a "dietetic connoisseur" – was priest Michael from Austria, who decided to serve a pure Rebolio to the company to stimulate digestion.[91] Where could practitioners obtain such dietetic knowledge?

Besides book markets, libraries were an option. Santonino refers to these reservoirs of knowledge in only one instance.[92] During the third journey, he describes the library of the monastery of Seitz / Žiče (near Slovenske Konjice), which contained more than two thousand books from all fields of knowledge, most handwritten – not printed – on parchment.[93] Here, and in similar places, individuals interested in cooking or dietetics could find relevant information. In the early 1500s, for example, Rein's library kept an incunabula version of Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*.[94] He stresses that an almond dish (like *mater mundi*) is good for the stomach, chest, and mind.[95]

Apart from humoral pathology, the spices and ingredients must also be considered from a medical point of view, for they do ease certain sufferings: for example, cinnamon, ginger, and saffron can be used to treat digestive problems. Almonds have the same effect but also help with heartburn and prevent cardiovascular disease. Olive oil can be used to lower blood pressure.[96] This is a modern perspective, but it does not necessarily mean that these applications were unknown to contemporaries of the 15th and 16th centuries, given their practical experience.

90 Albala, "Professional Cooking," 118.

91 Santonino and Vale, Itinerario, 136: "Iussit idem Michael, ut providus medicus, post hoc edulium fieri haustum de optimo ac simplici rebolio, ut ocyus concoqueretur in stomacho."

92 For an overview of the various places relevant for spreading knowledge about food and agriculture in the Late Middle Ages, see Schenk, "Gartenbau."

93 Santonino and Vale, *Itinerario*, 257: "Cernuntur in ipsa biblioteca ad duomilia et ultra, librorum volumina, in omni scientia, et pro maiori parte in pergameno descripta: antiqua etiam, et calamo exarata, non ut iam moris est impressa."

94 Stift Rein, *Altbestands-Katalog*, 446.

95 Platina, *De honesta voluptate*, 93v.

96 Küster, *Wo der Pfeffer wächst*, 93, 143, 174, 224, 288.

Turning the final focus on agriculture, Santonino's report on the vineyards in Savinjska marka reflects an elaborated cultivation practice that drew on specific knowledge of enology. Tying vine to wooden sticks is a technique specially designed for vineyards on hillsides, where the relief of the terrain is followed easily. Moreover, this kind of cultivation is ergonomic and helps expose the vine to the sun better.[97] This means that winemakers skillfully adapted their cultivation to environmental conditions.

CONCLUSION

The Alps-Adriatic region, especially the Illyrian climate area, is promising for further studies on the changes in agriculture and nutrition at the end of the Middle Ages. Santonino's *Itinerarium* from the 1480s indicates significant parallels between latest culinary and dietetic literature and cooking practice. His travelogue documents novel dishes like pasta or popular thermophilic fruits like peaches, as well as established *haute cuisine* meals like *blanc-manger*. This is due not only to the location of this particular region that connects Italy and the German and Slavic parts of the Holy Roman Empire but also to its climatically favorable location. In terms of trade network, Santonino's writing – together with archival material from Styria – shows that the ingredients needed for the courses served to the bishop and his company were readily available in the region. Furthermore, there was experienced staff (culinary experts / practitioners) who knew about the latest culinary trends and recipes, and knew how to cook them well. This personnel was mainly female, which adds to the general understanding of how professional kitchens were organized in the Middle Ages. Since dietetic literature was available in local monasteries like Rein, there was also the chance to read about how to compose an opulent and healthy feast. This seems even more likely as some courses in Santonino's *Itinerarium* align with Platina's recommendations. There was also agricultural expertise, as winemakers used viticultural techniques that suited the hilly landscape of Carniola. In light of the above, the region appears well suited for further inquiry into the cultivation and consumption of Mediterranean and New World foods following contemporary culinary and dietetic expertise. The fact that maize or turkey were introduced here early suggests that the region was among the first in the German and Slavic speaking world of the Holy Roman Empire to

97 Regnath and Ostermann, "Edelkastanie und Rebkultur," 89.

experiment with those new types of foodstuffs. Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola promise to prove useful to understand early developments that significantly changed the culinary landscape of the 16th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abulafia, David S. H. "Zucker, Zuckerrohr." *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 9 (1998): 679–82.

Albala, Ken. "Professional Cooking, Kitchens, and Service Work." In *In the Renaissance*, edited by Ken Albala, 117–33. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013.

———, ed. *Routledge International Handbook of Food Studies*. London: Routledge, 2014.

Alte Pinakothek München. "Hans Burgkmair d. Ä., Johannesaltar, linker Flügel: Hl. Erasmus, 1518." Available online.

Ballerini, Luigi, ed. *The Art of Cooking: The First Modern Cookery Book*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

Bamberger, Richard, Maria Bamberger, Ernst Bruckmüller, and Karl Gutkas, eds. Österreich-Lexikon: In zwei Bänden, vol. 1. Vienna: Verlagsgemeinschaft Österreich-Lexikon, 1995.

Brenner, Elisabeth, ed. *Stift Rein: Geschichte – Kultur – Glaube*. Kumberg: Sublilium Schaffer, 2018.

Brunner, Walter. "Frühe Nachrichten über Maisanbau in der Steiermark." *Blätter für Heimatkunde* 68 (1994): 5–15.

Crosby, Alfred W. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492. 30th Anniversary Edition*. Westport: Greenwood Pub. Co, 2003.

Degrassi, Donata. "Alimentazione e salute nell'area adriatico-alpina (secoli XIV–XV)." *Studi medievali* 56, no. 3 (2015): 595–637.

Denicolò, Barbara. "'Von Speis zu kochen': Kochbücher und Rezeptsammlungen als diskursive Praktiken und Quellen für die Kulturgeschichte des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit." PhD diss., Paris Lodron University Salzburg, 2023.

Earle, Rebecca. "European Cuisine and the Columbian Exchange: Introduction," *Food and History* 7 (2009): 3–10.

Ebert, Stephan F. "Reispfannen im Kloster Eberbach: Küchenutensilien und andere Marker des kulinarischen Wandels im deutschsprachigen Raum um 1500 zwischen Theorie und Praxis – Potenziale und Untersuchungsregionen." In *Vom Buch aufs Feld – vom Feld ins Buch: Verflechtungen von Theorie und Praxis in Ernährung und*

Landwirtschaft (ca. 1300–1600), edited by Stephan F. Ebert and Gerrit J. Schenk, 86–123. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2025.

Ebner, Alois. "Essen und Trinken: Exkurs zu Paolo Santoninos Reisebericht 1485." *Osttiroler Heimatblätter* 68, 10/11 (2000): 1–5.

Ehlert, Trude. *Das Kochbuch des Mittelalters: Rezepte aus alter Zeit*. Zürich: Artemis, 1990.

———, ed. *Haushalt und Familie in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit: Vorträge des Symposions vom 6.–9. Juni 1990 in Bonn*. Sigmaringen, 1991.

———. "Indikatoren für Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit in der deutschsprachigen Fachliteratur am Beispiel der Kochbuchüberlieferung." In *Durch aubenteuer muess man wagen vil: Festschrift für Anton Schwob zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by Wernfried Hofmeister, 73–85. Innsbruck: Institut für Germanistik, 1997.

———. *Küchenmeisterei: Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar zweier Kochbuch-Handschriften des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010.

Faccioli, Emilio. *L'arte della cucina in Italia: Libri di ricette, testi sopra lo scalco, i trinciante e i vini. Dal XIV al XIX secolo*. Turin: Einaudi, 1987.

Flandrin, Jean-Louis, and Massimo Montanari, eds. *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Fouquet, Gerhard. "'Wie die kuchenspise sin solle': Essen und Trinken am Hof des Speyerer Bischofs Matthias von Rammung (1464–1478)." *Pfälzer Heimat* 39 (1988): 12–27.

Freidinger, Ludwig. "Stift Rein und seine Beziehungen zum Mutterkloster Ebrach sowie zu weiteren Niederlassungen des Ordens vom Mittelalter bis 1600." In *Stift Rein: Geschichte – Kultur – Glaube; Sammelband der Segmente-Schriften des Reiner Kreises*, edited by Elisabeth Brenner, 81–95. Kumberg: Sublilium Schaffer, 2018.

Fuchs, Leonhart. *De historia stirpivm commentarii insignes*. Basel: Isingrin, 1542 [VD16 F 3242].

———. *New Kreüterbůch*. Basel: Isingrin, 1543 [VD16 F 3243].

Geldner, Ferdinand. "Buchdruck." *Lexikon des Mittelalters 2* (1983): 815–23.

Guariglia, Federico. "Il Libro di ser Nicolò de Portis: Una raccolta pratica nel Quattrocento friulano." *Medioevi. Rivista di letterature e culture medievali* 8 (2022): 175–209.

Häberlein, Mark, and Gloria Sanz Lafuente. "Reis." *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 10 (2009): 974–79.

Häberlein, Mark, and Michaela Schmölz-Häberlein. "Transfer und Aneignung außereuropäischer Pflanzen im Europa des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts: Akteure, Netzwerke, Wissensorte." *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie* 61, no. 2 (2013): 11–26.

Hamburger, Dagmar. "Safran im Kanton Solothurn: Ein geschichtliches Ereignis und namenkundliche Spuren." *Jahrbuch für Solothurnische Geschichte* 66 (1993): 407–20.

Hofmeister-Winter, Andrea, Helmut W. Klug, and Karin Kranich-Hofbauer, eds. *Der Koch ist der bessere Arzt: Zum Verhältnis von Diätetik und Kulinarik im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit; Fachtagung im Rahmen des Tages der Geisteswissenschaften 2013 an der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 20.6.–22.6.2013.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2014.

Hundsbichler, Helmut. "Reise, Gastlichkeit und Nahrung im Spiegel der Reisetagebücher des Paolo Santonino." PhD diss., University of Vienna, 1979.

———. "Alltag, Realität und Mentalität in den Reisetagebüchern des Paolo Santonino: Relativierungen anhand der Beispiele aus dem Kirchendistrikt Saunien (1486, 1487)." *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 88 (1997): 71–91.

Hundsbichler, Helmut. "Paolo Santonino als Exponent kulinarischen Wissenstransfers." In *Linguistica culinaria: Festgabe für Heinz Dieter Pohl zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by Hubert Bergmann and Regina M. Unterguggenberger, 239–53. Vienna: Praesens-Verlag, 2012.

Jenkins, Nancy Harmon. "Two Ways of Looking at Maestro Martino." *Gastronomica* 7, no. 2 (2007): 97–103.

Kasang, Dieter. "Bildungswiki Klimawandel: Gletscher in den Alpen." Wiki Bildungsserver Klimawandel, available online.

Klug, Helmut W. "Das Itinerar des Paolo Santonino: Ein kulinarhistorisches Dokument." Das Itinerar des Paolo Santonino, available online at gams.uni-graz.at/santonino.

"Kochbuch der Philippine Welser: Manuskript, Kochbuch." Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, available online.

Kodinetz, Georg. "Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Rasse und der Entwicklung des Zagorianer Truthuhnes (Meleagris gallopavo)." *Zeitschrift für Tierzüchtung und Züchtungsbiologoie* 47, no. 2 (1940): 140–65.

Kolmer, Lothar, and Christian Rohr, eds. *Mahl und Repräsentation: Der Kult ums Essen, Beiträge des internationalen Symposions in Salzburg, 29. April bis 1. Mai 1999*. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002.

Kosi, Miha. "Potujoči srednji vek: Cesta, popotnik in promet na Slovenskem med antiko in 16. stoletjem." Ljubljana: ZRC, 1998.

Kovačić, Damir, Zlatko Janječić, Kristijan Krsnik, Članovi PZ "Puran zagorskih brega," and Članovi Udruge uzgajivača Zagorskog purana Varaždinske županije. "Zagorski puran: Oznaka zemljopisnog podrijetla." Available online.

Kugler, Hans Gerold, and Barbara Maier. *Santoninos Kost*. Klagenfurt: Wieser, 2001, also in Slovenian translation [Kugler, Hans Gerold, and Barbara Maier. *Santonino srednjeveške jedi: Iz Santoninovih popotnih dnevnikov in starih kuharskich knjig,* trans. Alojz Angerer. Klagenfurt: Wieser, 2003].

Kumer, Zmaga. "Zur Frage der Flugblattlieder in Slowenien." *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 21 (1976): 114–25.

Kühne, Andreas. *Essen und Trinken in Süddeutschland: Das Regensburger St. Katharinenspital in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2006.

Küster, Hansjörg. *Wo der Pfeffer wächst: Ein Lexikon zur Kulturgeschichte der Gewürze*. München: Beck, 1987.

Landau, Peter. "Das Capitulare de Villis – eine Verordnung Ludwigs des Frommen." In *Le règne de Louis le Pieux (814–840) et la transformation de l'Empire carolingien = Produktivität einer Krise: Die Regierungszeit Ludwigs des Frommen (814–840) und die Transformation des karolingischen Imperiums*, edited by Philippe Depreux and Stefan Esders, 259–71. Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2018.

Laurioux, Bruno. "Kochbücher vom Ende des Mittelalters." In *Mahl und Repräsentation: Der Kult ums Essen; Beiträge des internationalen Symposions in Salzburg, 29. April bis 1. Mai 1999*, edited by Lothar Kolmer and Christian Rohr, 157–66. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002.

Mennell, Stephen. *Die Kultivierung des Appetits: Geschichte des Essens vom Mittelalter bis heute*. Translated by Rainer von Savigny. Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1988.Mintz, Sidney W. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Penguin Books, 1986.

Montanari, Massimo. *Der Hunger und der Überfluss: Kulturgeschichte der Ernährung in Europa*. München: Beck, 1993.

———. "Die Dreiständeordnung des Mittelalters im Spiegel der Ernährung." In *Mahl und Repräsentation: Der Kult ums Essen; Beiträge des internationalen Symposions in Salzburg, 29. April bis 1. Mai 1999*, edited by Lothar Kolmer and Christian Rohr, 53–61. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002.

Munich LMU-University Library. Cim. 4 (= 2° Cod. ms. 731). Available online.

Müller, Norbert. "Zur Gründungsgeschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Rein." In *Stift Rein: Geschichte – Kultur – Glaube; Sammelband*

der Segmente-Schriften des Reiner Kreises, edited by Elisabeth Brenner, 12–38. Kumberg: Sublilium Schaffer, 2018.
"Pesco Tardiva di San Gregorio (Prunus persica)." Vivai Gabbianelli. Available online.
Peter, Peter. *Cucina & Cultura: Kulturgeschichte der italienischen Küche*. 3rd ed. München: Beck, 2012.
Peters Kernan, Sarah, and Helga Müllneritsch, eds. *Culinary Texts in Context, 1500–1800: Manuscript Recipe Books in Early Modern Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2024.
"Pfirsichanbau in der Steiermark." Obstland Steiermark. Available online.
Pfister, Christian, Franz Mauelshagen, and Sam White, eds. *The Palgrave Handbook of Climate History*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
Pfister, Christian, Rudolf Brázdil, Jürg Luterbacher, Astrid E. J. Ogilvie, and Sam White. "Early Modern Europe." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Climate History*, edited by Christian Pfister, Franz Mauelshagen, and Sam White, 265–95. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018.
Platina, Bartholomaeus. *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*. Venice: Ulrich Han, 1474 [GW M33898].
———. *De honesta voluptate*. Cividale: Gerardus de Lisa, 1480 [GW M33895].
———. *Von der Eerlichẽ zimlichen auch erlaubten Wolust des leibs*. Augsburg: Heinrich Stayner, 1542 [VD16 P 3237].
Praprotnik, Mateja. "Prehranjevalne navade plemstva v poznem srednjem veku." BA Thesis, Maribor: University of Maribor, 2013.
Priewe, Jens. *Wein: Die grosse Schule*. 4th ed. München: ZS Verlag, 2017.
Regionalverband Südlicher Oberrhein, ed. *Regionale Klimaanalyse Südlicher Oberrhein (REKLISO)*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Regionalverband Südlicher Oberrhein, 2006.
Regnath, R. Johanna, and Regina Ostermann. "Edelkastanie und Rebkultur – eine Spurensuche in der Ortenau." *Die Ortenau* 90 (2010): 81–104.
Rein Stiftsarchiv [StiA]. Rest. Nr. 1.163.
Reinicke, Christian. "Safran: 2; Anbau und Handel." *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 7 (1995): 1251.
Reinthaler, Doris, and Eva Sommer. "Kärntner Kasnudeln: Schlick-/Schlutzkrapfen." Bundesministerium für Land- und Forstwirtschaft, Regionen und Wasserwirtschaft. Available online.
Rippmann, Dorothee. "… dass die Erde die Mutter und die Sonne der Vater der Pflanzen ist: Bartholomaeus Anglicus' enzyklopädisches Wissen über Pflanzen im Solarzeitalter." *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 123, no. 2 (2015): 341–70.

Rippmann Tauber, Dorothee. "Aneignung von 'Wildem' und Neuem durch Sprache – im Lichte von Agrarschriften und Kräuterbüchern." In *Wer das Gras wachsen hört: Wissensgeschichte(n) der pflanzlichen Ressourcen vom Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, edited by Simona Boscani Leoni and Martin Stuber, 14–36. Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2017.

Rohr, Christian, Chantal Camenisch, and Kathleen Pribyl. "European Middle Ages." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Climate History*, edited by Christian Pfister, Franz Mauelshagen, and Sam White, 247–63. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018.

Röser, Martin. "Biologie und Naturgeschichte des Mais." In *Mais: Geschichte und Nutzung einer Kulturpflanze*, edited by Daniela Ingruber, 35–42. Frankfurt am Main: Brandes und Apsel, 2001.

Rublack, Ulinka. "Knowing the Market: Hans Fugger's Affective Economies." In *Early Modern Knowledge Societies as Affective Economies*, edited by Inger Leemans and Anne Goldgar, 35–57. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2020.

Rückert, Peter. "Der erste Spargel in Württemberg: Zur Verbreitung des Spargels und den Anfängen der italienischen Küche im späten Mittelalter." In *Kontrapunkte: Festschrift für Manfred Rösch*, edited by Jutta Lechterbeck and Elske Fischer, 321–7. Bonn: Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, 2017.

Rumpolt, Marx. *Ein new Kochbuch*. Frankfurt am Main: Sigmund Feyerabend, 1581 [VD16 ZV 13440].

Santonino, Paolo, and Giuseppe Vale. *Itinerario di Paolo Santonino in Carintia, Stiria e Carniola negli anni 1485–1487.* Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1943.

Schenk, Gerrit Jasper. "'Erlesener' Gartenbau? Überlegungen zum Wandel von Landwirtschaft und Gartenbau zwischen Theorie und Praxis (ca. 1350–1570)." In *Gewissheiten im Wandel: Wissensformierung und Handlungsorientierung von 1350–1600*, edited by Christa Bertelsmeier-Kierst, 13–80. Berlin: Peter Lang, 2020.

Schmölz-Häberlein, Michaela. "Außereuropäische Pflanzen in realen und imaginären Gärten des 16. Jahrhunderts." In *Städtische Gartenkulturen im historischen Wandel: 51. Arbeitstagung in Bamberg, 23. Bis 25. November 2012*, edited by Mark Häberlein and Robert Zink, 39–71. Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2015.

———. "… un[d] ist nun überall in Gärten un[d] für die Fenster bey uns also gemein worden: Außereuropäische Zier- und Nutzpflanzen im Südwesten des Alten Reichs (16.–18. Jahrhundert)." *Alemannisches Jahrbuch* 65/66 (2017/2018): 103–20.

Schubert, Ernst. *Essen und Trinken im Mittelalter.* 3rd ed. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2016.

Sommer, Eva, and Daniela Trenker. "Weingartenpfirsich." Bundesministerium für Land- und Forstwirtschaft, Regionen und Wasserwirtschaft. Available online.

Stein-Kecks, Heidrun. "Sacrae religionis color optimus: Reines Weiss und bunte Farben im Sakralraum." In *Farbe bekennen!: Bilder im Spannungsfeld der Religionen vom frühen Christentum bis zur Kunst der Moderne*, edited by Christina Strunck and Ute Verstegen, 53–65. Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2020.

Stift Rein. *Altbestands-Katalog.* Rein: Eigenverlag, 2002.

Trefzer, Rudolf. *Klassiker der Kochkunst: Die fünfzehn wichtigsten Rezeptbücher aus acht Jahrhunderten*. Zürich: Chronos, 2008.

Udine Biblioteca Civica Joppi. Fondo Joppi, 61.Voigt, Klaus. *Italienische Berichte aus dem spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland: Von Francesco Petrarca zu Andrea de' Franceschi (1333–1492).* Stuttgart: Klett, 1973. Diss., Berlin: Freie Universität, 1969.

Weiss Adamson, Melitta. *Food in Medieval Times*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2004.

Wiethold, Julian. "Archäobotanik und Archäozoologie: Naturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zu Küche, Kochen und Ernährung, Bemerkungen zum Forschungsstand und zu aktuellen Forschungsproblemen." *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Archäologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* 19 (2007): 43–50.

Willan, Anne, Mark Cherniavsky, and Kyri W. Claflin. *The Cookbook Library: Four Centuries of the Cooks, Writers, and Recipes That Made the Modern Cookbook.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Winter, Johanna Maria van. *Spices and Comfits: Collected Papers on Medieval Food*. Totnes: Prospect Books, 2007.

Woolgar, Chris M. "Food and the Middle Ages." *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010): 1–19.

ABSTRACT

Between 1485 and 1487, the Patriarch of Aquileia sent the bishop of Caorle (Italy) to the Alps-Adriatic region to re-consecrate churches, chapels, and cemeteries that had been desecrated during the Turkish invasions. Among the travelers was the bishop's private secretary, Paolo Santonino (ca. 1440–1507). He kept a diary of the journeys and recorded not only ecclesiastical matters but especially the daily meals served to the travel group. Since the travelers were of high status, the dishes were primarily late-medieval *haute cuisine*, as many recipes matched contemporary culinary literature. The preparation of these dishes presupposed culinary experts (e.g., chefs) and connections to trade networks, supplying the kitchen with exotic spices and ingredients. Books and other written forms of expert knowledge were also needed, and local products had to meet the high standards of sophisticated consumers. In the 1400s, the demands of these consumers were changing as foodstuffs from the Mediterranean were being introduced to the north of the Alps (e.g., asparagus, lettuce, saffron, spinach). This paper looks at the Alps-Adriatic region as a connecting area of this transformation process, focusing on particularly favorable areas such as the Illyrian Climate Region. It discusses the potential of Santonino's *Itinerarium* by analyzing culinary and dietetic knowledge, local food production and consumption, and people involved in regional culinary practices.

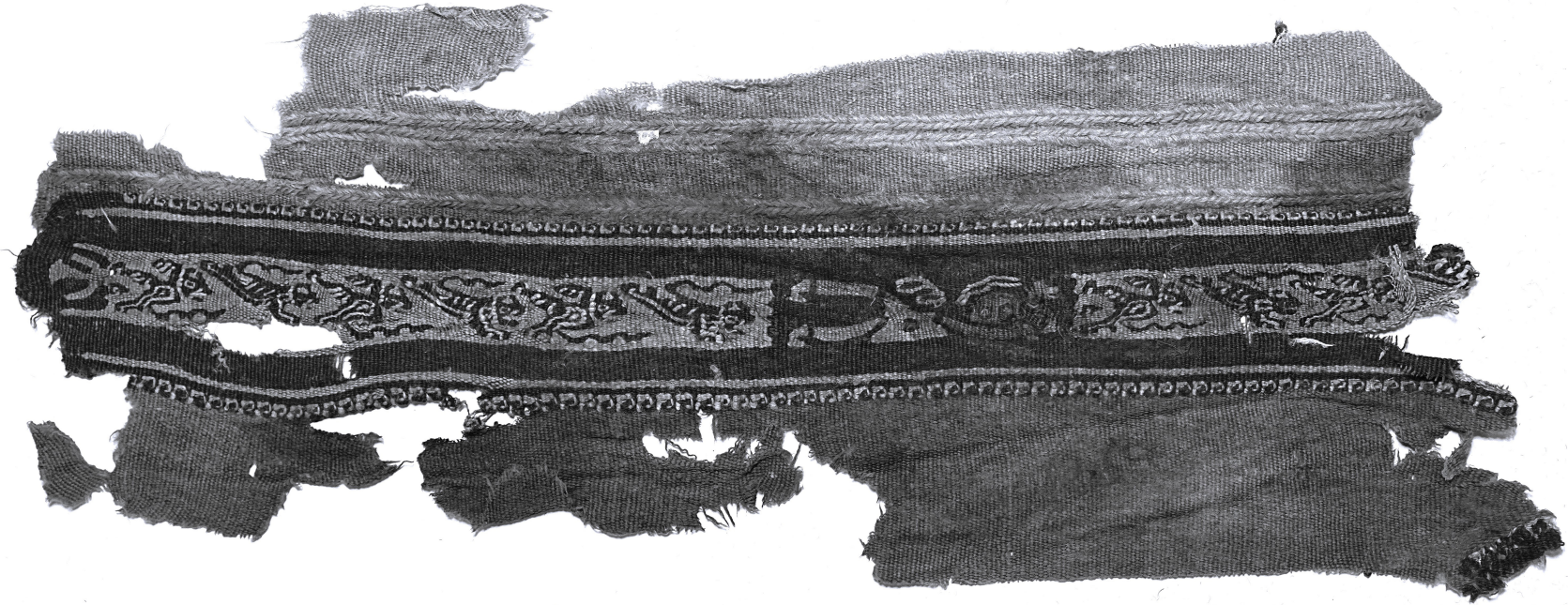
KEYWORDS: Renaissance humanism, medieval cooking, culinary studies, environmental history, travel literature

Prehranjevanje na predvečer zgodnjega novega veka: Pavel Santonino kot poročevalec o kulinaričnem znanju in praksi med Alpami in Jadranom v osemdesetih letih 14. stoletja

IZVLEČEK

Med letoma 1485 in 1487 je akvilejski patriarh poslal škofa iz Caorleja (Italija) v alpsko-jadransko regijo, da bi ponovno posvetil cerkve, kapele in pokopališča, ki so bili oskrunjeni med turškimi vpadi. Med potniki je bil tudi škofov osebni tajnik Paolo Santonino (ok. 1440–1507). O potovanjih je vodil dnevnik in poleg cerkvenih zadev beležil tudi dnevne obroke, ki so jih postregli skupini potnikov. Ker so bili popotniki visokega stanu, so bile jedi večinoma poznosrednjeveška visoka kuhinja, saj se številni recepti ujemajo s takratno kulinarično literaturo. Priprava teh jedi je zahtevala kulinarične strokovnjake (npr. kuharje), povezave s trgovskimi mrežami za oskrbo kuhinje z eksotičnimi začimbami in sestavinami, pa tudi knjige in druge pisne oblike strokovnega znanja ter lokalne pridelke, ki so ustrezali visokim standardom zahtevnih potrošnikov. Od leta 1400 so se zahteve slednjih spreminjale, saj so se severno od Alp pojavila živila iz Sredozemlja (npr. šparglji, solata, žafran, špinača). Članek obravnava alpsko-jadransko regijo kot povezovalno območje procesa spreminjanja prehrambenih navad, pri čemer se osredinja na posebej ugodna območja, kot je ilirska podnebna regija. Obravnava potencial Santoninovega *Itinerarija* glede analize kulinaričnega in dietetičnega znanja, lokalne pridelave in porabe hrane ter ustreznih akterjev, ki so bili vključeni v kulinarične prakse v regiji.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: renesančni humanizem, srednjeveška kuhinja, kulinarične študije, okoljska zgodovina, potopisi



DOI: https://doi.org/10.4312/clotho.6.2.123-156

KAOS, Not "a Soap with Unusual Names"?

Anna Baranek* and Elżbieta Olechowska*

PREAMBLE

The ancient Greek Χάος[1] is rendered in the Latin alphabet as "Khaos" but translates into today's contemporary English as "chaos," losing in modern usage, along with its capital initial, the original sense of grandiose emptiness or cosmic void[2] and acquiring a primary meaning of utter confusion, anarchy, and disarray. Charlie Covell's 2024 dark comedy is titled more politely than the one they wrote for Channel 4,[3] but while slathered with comic relief, in the content and expression, it is just as sinister and brutal, and it also announces the end of the world. The title suggests that the Hesiodic Chaos, or as some prefer, Chasm,[4] was the first divinity before the other gods, so it would be the last when the gods fail. In its current audiovisual manifestation, Chaos is spelled *KAOS* to signal its ancient origin to the viewers.

* Faculty of "Artes Liberales," University of Warsaw, Nowy Świat 69, 00-046 Warsaw; a.baranek3@student.uw.edu.pl, olechowe@al.uw.edu.pl.

1 See Covell, *KAOS;* the series was created and co-written by Charlie Covell, directed by Georgi Banks-Davies and Runyararo Mapfumo, and co-written by Georgia Christou. The quotation from the title comes from Hanink, "Netflix's *KAOS*, with creator Charlie Covell."

2 Hesiod in *Theogony* 116; 123–25, says: "ἤτοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένετ'· (…) ἐκ Χάεος δ'Ἔρεβός τε μέλαινά τε Νὺξ ἐγένοντο· / Νυκτὸς δ' αὖτ' Αἰθήρ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη ἐξεγένοντο, / οὓς τέκε κυσαμένη Ἐρέβει φιλότητι μιγεῖσα." – "First of all Chaos came into being, (…) From Chaos came Darkness and black Night, and from Night came Brightness and Day, whom Night conceived and bore by uniting in love with Darkness." Trans. Barry B. Powell.

3 *The End of the F***ing World* directed by Jonathan Entwistle, Lucy Tcherniak, Lucy Forbes, et al. The series was released in 2017–19 in two eight-episode seasons. The plot was based on Charles Forsman's 2013 graphic novel / minicomic under the same title.

4 See Most, *Hesiod*, 13.

Classical myths explore most, if not all, kinds of human fates, personality types, weaknesses, strengths, desires, and aspirations: exceptional, admirable, mundane, despicable, and terrifying. Classically educated fathers of modern psychology used mythological names in their classifications of personality types and disorders, treating them as archetypes and symbolic shortcuts to people's imagination and understanding. Today, when a solid knowledge of antiquity becomes the domain of classical scholars and some intellectuals (and the so-called "nerds"),[5] these shortcuts still function in the language and popular culture. The series *KAOS* intriguingly deviates from them, creating suspense and arousing interest in the directions the deviation may lead and what it means for the story and the audience.

In order to understand the mechanisms of classical reception operating in *KAOS*, we will first situate the series within the landscape of the 21st-century audiovisual productions, then discuss Covell's imaginative narrative devices used in season 1, and next, analyze female protagonists in relation to their mythological models, in particular, we will try to detangle the significant transformation of the two figures crucial for the plot, Eurydice and Ariadne. These three steps will serve as a basis for achieving our purpose in this paper, which is to explore Covell's vision and their intended message, which does not escape the single most powerful law of classical reception: the reality of the creator trumps the reality of the myth. *KAOS* is more about today's world than about mythology.[6]

POWERFUL (DIVINE) FAMILIES IN AUDIOVISUAL SERIES

Producers of television series, the 21st-century dominant audiovisual genre, have been displaying consistent fascination for powerful families, their "splendors and miseries" or "highs and lows," like in Honoré de Balzac's expressions used in the title of one of his novels in the cycle *La Comédie humaine*,[7] the powerful 19th-century precursor of television

5 That's what Covell and Misia Butler (the actor playing the transgender character Caeneus) call themselves. See Hanink, "Netflix's *KAOS*," and Butler, "Misia Butler Unpacks *KAOS*."

6 An anonymous reviewer of this paper suggested with reason that classical reception is part of a much wider phenomenon of contemporary reinterpretation targeting not only ancient but also any other texts considered classic. While it is a promising research theme, it reaches well beyond the remit of this article.

7 *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes* is Honoré de Balzac's novel, published in the cycle in 1838–47. Altogether, almost a hundred interconnected stories were

series. Now, the emphasis remains on the *miseries* and *lows*, as it did almost two hundred years ago, but the general tone veered away from tragedy towards humor and lighter satire, i.e., offering only a smidgeon of reflection and a mountain of entertainment.

Looking at the last two decades of television series, we see quite a few examples of high-quality and wide audience-appeal productions about today's powerful families, among which *Succession* (2018–2023),[8] the most recent, comes to mind first, but we still live under the shadow of *The Sopranos* (1999–2007),[9] fondly remember *Revenge* (2011–2015) with its Alexandre Dumas pedigree, enjoy *Riviera* (2017–2020) highlighting Zeus and Io romance, and *The Fall of the House of Usher* (2023), a masterly reminder of what Edgar Allan Poe was capable of before the advent of broadcast media.

When all is said and done, the Greek gods are a closely related and exceptionally powerful family. The actual kinship seems too close for modern taste and customs, just as it was for ancient Greek mortals; on the other hand, it was perfectly acceptable in Pharaonic Egypt, especially in its Ptolemaic era, where brother-sister royal marriages followed the example of the Egyptian gods, Isis and Osiris, ensuring the purity of the bloodline and keeping power in the family.[10] Ancient Greek leaders and heroes may have had some divine blood in their veins due to their gods' romances with mortals, but for them, it was not the basis of power on Earth. Ancient Greeks disliked monarchy so much that once they emerged from the time of myths and legends, they invented democracy, reluctant to copy the Olympian regime for their use.[11]

Examples of series presenting the Greek gods as active today within a family situation are few. In such cases, the gods are usually part of

published between 1829 and 1848, providing a wide perspective on the French society of the period.

8 The similarity of *Succession* to *KAOS* was noticed by several reviewers of the series, e.g., Yossman, "Creating 'Kaos'."; Izzo, "*Kaos* reigns," and Lloyd, "Jeff Goldblum."

9 As one of the reviewers said: "Olympians are a sort of divine crime family"; Berman, "Netflix's *KAOS* Updates Greek Mythology."

10 See Ager, "Royal brother-sister marriage, Ptolemaic and otherwise," 346–58.

11 For the evolution of government leading to the democratic polis and for the ancient Greek view of democracy, see for instance Strauss, "The Classical Greek Polis and Its Government," 22–37 and Ober, "What Did 'Democracy' Mean to Greek Democrats?," 73–82; for the importance of fairness and equality ensured by the use of lots in the exercise of democracy, see Malkin, "Conclusions and Implications," 419–25.

an unseen and unacknowledged supernatural world, occasionally populated by gods from other cultures, often from Norse mythology. A 2004 BBC 3 documentary miniseries, *Gory Greek Gods*, presents Zeus and company as a ruthless family of gangsters, extremely powerful but not particularly divine.[12] A 2008–2009 production entitled *Valentine*[13] features a group of Olympians and other mythological figures (Aphrodite, Ares, Hephaestus, Eros, Circe, Hercules, and the Titan Phoebe) living in Los Angeles. They were given by Fates a niche mission of bringing together soulmates. If they fail, they risk losing their divinity. The 2010–2015 *Lost Girl*[14] presents Hades bent on world domination in rivalry with just as despicable Zeus, Hera, Persephone, Demeter, Nyx, and Iris, while Dark and Light Fae and other supernatural later arrivals join their company.

The 2017–2021 three-season adaptation of Neil Gaiman's *American Gods*[15] includes Hephaestus, Demeter, Argus, and Prometheus in the struggle between the Old and New gods. The Greek gods in the series are more relatable and convincing than the powerful and ruthless Norse gods. In the adaptation of Gaiman's 1989–1996 graphic novel *The Sandman* – still waiting for its season 2 – there are only Oneiros' / Morpheus' siblings, his former lover, the Muse Calliope; their son Orpheus is only mentioned but scheduled to appear in season 2.[16] From December 2023 until the end of January 2024, the first season of *Percy Jackson and the Olympians* was released on Disney+.[17] Like the 2010 and 2013 movies based on Rick Riordan's novels for young teens, the series features Olympus on the 600th floor of the Empire State Building in New York. Riordan's gods, being no less anthropomorphic than their ancient prototypes, have related shortcomings and weaknesses. They cannot stop themselves from falling in love with mortals, and despite the ban on increasing the numbers of major Olympians'

12 Directed, written, and prod. by Arif Nurmohamed. See Maurice, *Screening Divinity*, 46–47.

13 Directed by Kevin Dowling, created and written by Kevin Murphy for Media Rights Capital, Baked Goods Productions, and Valentine's Day, originally aired on The CW. See Olechowska, *This is the Song,* 166, 334.

14 Created by Michelle Lovretta and aired on Showcase. See Olechowska, *This is the Song*, 193–94 and 353–55.

15 Aired on Starz. See Olechowska and Pszczolińska, "Neil Gaiman's Use of Antiquity," 131–147, and Olechowska, *This is the Song,* 200 and 358–60.

16 Season 1 concluded on August 20, 2022. See Olechowska, *This is the Song*, 220 and Olechowska and Pszczolińska, op. cit.

17 In contrast with 2010 and 2013 film adaptations of the first two novels, co-written and co-produced by Rick Riordan. See Olechowska, *This is the Song*, 224.

offspring, such unions occasionally produce new demigods who are acknowledged and provided with more parental attention than their siblings in ancient times.

The Percy Jackson television series, launched barely a year before *KAOS*, creates an atmosphere much closer to the novels written by Riordan for his son to help him deal with dyslexia and ADHD, an important aspect neglected in the two movie adaptations, where the characters were aged up from middle graders to older high school students, losing in the process "so much of the wonder" and infuriating the massive fandom of the novels.[18] The contrast between the excessive verbal vulgarity of *KAOS,* reinforced by the sinister mood of the series, and the optimistic and upbeat message of the Disney+ production using a much gentler language may be easily explained by the difference in the target audiences: young adults versus younger teens. The fact remains that Disney+ renewed *Percy* for the next season in February 2024 to stream in 2025, and *Netflix* axed *KAOS* because of disappointing ratings in early October 2024, less than two months after the release of season 1. In an article published in *The Independent*, Adam White insightfully analyzed the reasons for the cancellation and concluded: "It was just because not enough people watched it."[19] On the other hand, Disney+ knew exactly how the plot was going to develop for at least four more hypothetical seasons (*The Sea of Monsters*, *The Titan's Curse*, *The Battle of the Labyrinth*, and *The Last Olympian*); Netflix had only some enigmatic hints as to the further two seasons planned by Covell and may have considered the investment too risky.

As it was recently demonstrated,[20] two-thirds of audiovisual productions inspired by classical mythology in the 21st century have opted for a present or future setting for their stories; the action of most of the remaining ones happens in mythological times, a handful – usually the time-traveling science fiction variety – alternates between antiquity and the present. Why do today's audiovisual content creators still reach for the millennia-old mythological stories but reframe them in contemporary, recognizable sceneries? An evident reason related to the commercial nature of the entertainment industry is cost avoidance. A period piece recreating ancient reality implies constructing expensive sets in Mediterranean or Mediterranean-looking locations, filming there,

18 See Hailu, "*Percy Jackson* Strikes Back."

19 White, "There is a Simple Reason."

20 See Olechowska, *This is the Song,* 297–99.

and employing an army of costume designers under the costly supervision of classical experts.

Another possibly more important reason is the production's relevance to the potential viewers as a requirement for financial success. A mythical story is chosen for its universal themes, themes of resonance to the time period, and the cultural and artistic sensitivity of the creators who want to share their beliefs based on a renewed vision of the timeless elements of the story. If such a vision is presented against today's reality, it becomes more powerful and relevant to the viewer.

CHARLIE COVELL'S *WHAT IF* DEVICE

KAOS, Netflix's newest but rare venture[21] into the world of Greek mythology, offers a plethora of fascinating and universal topics that are particularly relevant today; they are bound to draw the attention of those interested in classical reception. Among them stands out the layered commentary about the various forms of power (whether through religion, propaganda, or physical tools of control), the idea of fixed fate/destiny, or the difficulty in finding one's purpose in life. These issues, firmly embedded in the show's narrative, merit to be explored using various approaches, as they form a net tying together several expressively portrayed characters – many of them women, human and divine. Two mortal protagonists, Eurydice and Ariadne, will be discussed in more detail later.

What is Charlie Covell's attitude to the mythical stories they selected to inform their vision? One of the series reviewers summed it up for the public: "no-idea-too-wild romp through ancient Greek mythology – no classics degree necessary."[22] Classicists could even say that their expertise may interfere with the viewing pleasure, at least until they lower their defences and let the show seduce them.

Covell treats the Greek gods without any reverence and views these divinities through an unforgiving lens of social satire; they make fun of the gods somewhat in the manner of the 19th-century Jacques

21 Since the beginning of its existence, Netflix was only involved in a few such projects; it co-produced the BBC *Troy: The Fall of a City* in 2018; streamed in 2018–20 a mythologically inspired series *Chilling Adventures of Sabrina*, and in 2019–20 another witch series with classical elements, *The Order*; it also produced two animated mythological series, *Blood of Zeus* (season 1 in 2020, season 2 in 2024) and *Centaurworld* in 2021. Not counting the minor participation in the BBC 2018 *Troy*, *KAOS* is Netflix's first live-actor mythological series.

22 Baker, "*KAOS* review."

Offenbach's *opéra bouffe* – *Orphée aux enfers*.[23] We wonder how the ancient Greeks would react to *KAOS*; after all, they did worship their gods,[24] built all these marvelous temples for them, and wrote beautiful hymns, but they also had a powerful sense of humor attested by their comedies and other literature. Still, the fact that the religious beliefs of ancient Greeks are not granted even a semblance of respect in the series shows their purely instrumental role, akin to political propaganda effectively used in highly oppressive regimes; however, Covell's treatment of gods reveals their sinister side and was not used only for comic effect like Offenbach did in the *Orphée aux enfers*.

In their interview with Johanna Hanink, who as a classicist expressed her enthusiasm for the series, Covell says they felt they could not completely stray from the myth: "There has to be a nod to the actual myth" because otherwise, the series would look like "a soap with unusual names."[25]

The whole series is more than a nod; it is a nod with a question. What if all the myths we know, all their protagonists, were different in some respects from what we thought we knew? What if Eurydice was tired of Orpheus and wanted to leave him? What if Orpheus was not torn limb from limb by the Maenads? What if Hades and Persephone were a love match and ran the black-and-white Underworld like a corporate bureaucracy? What if Zeus had a midlife crisis and became paranoid? What if Hera hated Zeus' philandering but loved being the Queen of the Gods and found pleasure in a clandestine affair with Poseidon, her and her husband's brother? What if Dionysus was a playboy who aspired to better things? What if the Amazon-born transgender Caeneus did not become a brutal super-warrior but a gentle, kind, and caring young man? What if the Fates did know all the futures, but for these to happen, people (whether gods or humans) had to believe them? What if Minos were a power-hungry villain and the gods' puppet and both the Minotaur and Ariadne were his and Pasiphae's children? What if Prometheus could engineer Zeus' demise and hang on his rock, pecked by Zeus' eagle, waiting millennia for his plan to succeed? What if the gods despised humans and harvested their souls to retain immortality having no intention of keeping their

23 Our thanks to Katarzyna Marciniak for reminding us of this example of classical reception.

24 See Lisa Maurice's statement: "it should not be assumed that the Greeks did not honour, fear and worship their deities." As well as her discussion in *Screening Divinity*, 6–8 of what several other scholars said on this topic.

25 Hanink, "Netflix's *KAOS*."

promise of rebirth? What if the world shrank to an island, a mountain, and a rock? Moreover, what if all this was taking place today on Crete, on Olympus, and in the Underworld but was filmed[26] in Spain, Italy, and the UK? The what-if device brings in the unexpected, often comical, but always thought-provoking stuff.

Covell illuminates crucial current issues by transposing them on a canvas of alleged Greek mythology populated by people and stories tweaked to draw attention to their timelessness. These eternal matters belong to the private and public spheres. They include political, social, and religious life and encompass powerful emotions of love, hatred, fear, trust, loyalty, devotion, justice, equality, respect for others, discrimination, kindness, and friendship. The list goes on and could be replaced by one timeless question: what does it mean to be human?

COVELL'S PROPHECY DEVICE

The two prophecies on which hinges the plot of the series are: A LINE APPEARS, THE ORDER WANES, THE FAMILY FALLS, AND KAOS REIGNS concerning three mortals (Riddy, Ari, Caeneus) and Zeus; and Minos' (although it also concerns Ari) prophecy: YOUR END BEGINS IN THE MARITAL BED, THE FIRST CHILD TO DRAW BREATH WILL KILL YOU DEAD. In their vagueness, they resemble ancient Greek prophecies which play an important role in Greek mythology and ancient history,[27] but it is Covell's idea to add to the predictions an overtone of inevitability or necessity by having them originate with Clotho, Lachesis (Lachy), and Atropos, the three Greek Moirai, called in *KAOS* the Fates, in line with the license accorded to mash-ups.

In "reality," prophecies are the domain of Apollo, a son of Zeus visibly absent from *KAOS*. In the series, we only meet the Trojan seer Cassandra, who received the gift of prophecy from Apollo (this is not disclosed in *KAOS*); unfortunately, combined with a curse ensuring that nobody would believe or heed her predictions (this part is disclosed). In *KAOS*, the Fates formulate prophecies for everybody, including the

26 See Bove, "Where Was *Kaos* Filmed?"

27 There is an important recent scholarship on the subject. Specifically about the role of prophecies in the Greek epic, see Beck,«Prophecies in Greek epic,« 597–614; cognitive dissonance between a prophecy and the reality of the event that is predicted is discussed by Eidinow, "Oracular Failure in Ancient Greek Culture," 93–115; see also the entire 2023 volume edited by Woddard, *Divination and Prophecy in the Ancient Greek World*.

gods, which gives them power over the Olympians. In recent times, prophecy as a concept was given global exposure via the extraordinary popularity of J. K. Rowling's (b. 1965) Harry Potter novels and films. The forthcoming television adaptation of the books, scheduled to launch in 2026[28] on Max (and run until 2036!), will undoubtedly spread the already familiar notion among the next generation. The prophecy linking Harry to Voldemort is the factor driving the plot of the novels; combined with the Hall of Prophecies at the Ministry of Magic and the sheer number of individual predictions stored there, it may have inspired Covell to use the same device, primarily because of its mythological origin and of its globalized acceptance by the audiences. Another writer of mythological stories set in the present, Rowling's contemporary, who could have potentially influenced Covell in this respect, is Rick Riordan (b. 1964). He uses prophecy as a plot driver in his Percy Jackson and other cycles involving the Greek pantheon. However, contrary to Covell, Riordan retains the traditional, ancient source of prophecies, the Oracle of Delphi.[29]

Another recent and fascinating literary and audiovisual example of the use of prophecy as a narrative driver is Philip Pullman's trilogy featuring a young girl, Lyra Belacqua, who descends to the Underworld, liberates souls of the dead from the torment by the Harpies and from final degradation, and explodes the divine lie, foundation of the corrupt and highly oppressive religion of her world.[30] While the story is only marginally inspired by Greek mythology, Lyra in *His Dark Materials* achieves *mutatis mutandis* a result mirrored – as you will see in the last sections of our discussion – in the final goal facing the three protagonists of *KAOS*, Eurydice, Ariadne, and Caeneus.

WOMEN IN *KAOS*

There is Hera – not just Zeus' sister-wife but also an intelligent and shrewd goddess who knows precisely how to play around her husband's quickly-changing nature. Then there is Persephone, who

28 See Armstrong, "Child Stars and JK Rowling."

29 See *Percy Jackson and the Olympians* (2005–24), adapted recently as a television series and available on Disney+, *The Heroes of Olympus* (2010–14), and *The Trials of Apollo* (2016–20).

30 Philip Pullman, *His Dark Materials* (1995–2000) and the 3-season television series *His Dark Materials* broadcast on BBC One in 2019–2022 and currently streamed on Max.

chose Hades instead of being merely his kidnapped victim; Hecuba and Andromache, leading the Trojan refugee minority resistance movement; Ariadne ("Ari"), who will one day become the sole ruler of Crete; her mother Pasiphae, obsessively grieving her allegedly long-dead son; the ruthless Amazons; and others. Whether goddesses or mortal women, like most characters in *KAOS*, they are famous mythological figures known to the viewers who, at least to some extent, are familiar with the story of the Minotaur or Orpheus' descent to the Underworld. These characters are re-framed to fit the show's particular blend of modern and mythological influences. This, by its design, hardly faithful or true-to-the-source approach to Greek mythology, allowed the writers to take great liberties with how the characters – and their stories – have been transferred into the world of *KAOS*, including a deliberate increase of women's agency in the plot.

Of course, the intersection between classical reception and feminist voices is not a new phenomenon. Hélène Cixous' famous, three-decade-old essay, *The Laugh of the Medusa,*[31] and Mary Beard's still relatively new publication, *Women & Power: A Manifesto,*[32] provide convincing proof that the Greco-Roman mythology has often been used as a background for discussing women's experiences in the contemporary world – perhaps, at least in part, due to its often male-centered narratives and the inherent, powerful potential for subversion.

What is more, this tendency continues unabated both in scholarship and in literary fiction – Margaret Atwood's *The Penelopiad*[33] retells a Greek epic with a focus on female characters, and so does Madeline Miller's *Circe*,[34] where a vivid narration offers a fresh perspective on many classical myths from the perspective of the titular witch. Natalie Haynes' aptly titled *Pandora's Jar: Women in the Greek Myths*[35] and her retelling of the Trojan War from the women's point of view in *A Thousand Ships*,[36] as well as Maria Tatar's *The Heroine with 1,001 Faces,* offer a fascinating alternative to long-established, male-centered understandings of heroes and their stories.[37]

31 Cixous, "Laugh of the Medusa," 875–93.
32 Beard, *Women & Power*.
33 Atwood, *Penelopiad*.
34 Miller, *Circe*.
35 Haynes, *Pandora's Jar*.
36 Haynes, *A Thousand Ships*.
37 Tatar, *The Heroine with 1,001 Faces*.

Examples of similar focus on mythical women exist in other forms of media as well, such as in the webcomic *Lore Olympus*, which changes the story about Hades and Persephone by offering the latter more agency in her complicated relationship with the ruler of the Underworld,[38] and in many popular films and TV shows. The late 20th and early 21st centuries witnessed the phenomenon of *Xena: Warrior Princess* (1995–2001), an even more successful spin-off of the six-season-long *Hercules: The Legendary Journeys* (1995–1999). It is a bold, fantastic mix of ancient history and classical mythology featuring a complex, quasi-divine female warrior able not only to love but even to kill immortal gods… and generate a mountain of classical scholarship.[39] In *The Clash of the Titans* remake, Andromeda becomes an active participant in the story,[40] whereas Diana, the main character of the superhero comic book and movie series *Wonder Woman*,[41] is inspired by mythical stories about the Amazons.[42] Even in digital games, such as the award-winning *Hades* by Supergiant Games, one can find nuanced portrayals of many mythological female figures, including Persephone and Eurydice.[43] All of those, and many more examples, have already built a vast transmedia framework to which *KAOS* is simply the newest addition.

The strong presence of female characters, deliberately cast as crucial agents in the story, can be felt in nearly all narrative strands of the show. For instance, the willing human sacrifice giving her life to honor the Olympian Gods during the annual Olympia Day celebrations on Crete[44] is not a woman by random choice; the decision to introduce Eurydice right after Zeus seems

38 Smythe, *Lore Olympus*.

39 See Olechowska, *This is the Song*, 126, ch. 3 (227–66), 273–75, 330, 371.

40 Leterrier, *Clash of the Titans*.

41 The cycle includes the 2009 *Wonder Woman* (see Olechowska, *This is the Song*, 167–68), the 2017 *Wonder Woman* (dir. by Patty Jenkins), see ibidem, 200–201; the 2019 *Wonder Woman: Bloodlines* (dir. by Sam Liu and Justin Copeland), see ibidem, 2010–11; the 2020 *Wonder Woman 1984* (dir. by Patty Jenkins), see ibidem, 213–14.

42 Shokoohi, "Ancient Roots of Wonder Woman."

43 *Hades* was released by Supergiant Games on 17 September 2020.

44 Olympia Day is a Cretan annual celebration of the gods, which includes a willing human sacrifice and various live shows, presided over by President Minos and enjoyed by mortals and Olympians alike; see *KAOS*, season 1, episode 1.

rather deliberate, and so does the limiting of her interaction to Cassandra in the first five minutes of episode 1.[45]

These early examples announce at the outset that, in *KAOS*, female characters will be given a notable degree of attention. While it would be satisfying to attempt an analysis of all women appearing in the show, our reasoning will gain clarity if we focus on the two that are the most crucial to the main narrative – Eurydice and Ariadne. Their characterization in *KAOS* seems to significantly deviate from their original myths in ways that shift the balance of agency and power in their favor: their choices and actions change much more than just their individual experience, serving as catalysts – or gathering points – for other story threads woven through the season. As the following analysis will hopefully demonstrate, this treatment not only continues the feminist trends in classical reception but also opens an interesting question. What happens when characters are no longer entirely defined by the elements by which many have come to recognize them?

EURYDICE

Throughout time, the story of a Thracian musician bravely defying the fundamental laws of life and death to save his beloved wife has usually been told with a focus on Orpheus himself – such is the case of the two main Latin sources of the myth: Book 4 of Virgil's *Georgics*,[46] and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book 10.[47]

Those two most notable surviving records of the myth laid the foundations for the tale as it appears in various retellings: a tragic story about an artist who loved his wife so much that, when she died in a tragic accident, he went to the realm of the dead to beg Hades to let him bring her back. Moved by the power of Orpheus' songs, Hades agreed to make an exception for the musician – under the condition that, on his way back to the world of the living, he would never turn around to see if his wife, Eurydice, is indeed following

45 The two women meet in a grocery store and their interaction sets up the foundations for many important themes explored in season 1, including Eurydice's complicated relationship with Orpheus and the mistreatment of the Trojans (whom in this scene Cassandra represents) by the government authorities; *KAOS*, season 1, episode 1.

46 Virgil, *Georgics* 4.455–527.

47 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.1–77.

him. The tragedy, of course, lies in the fact that the hero cannot resist the temptation and does glance back, thus losing his beloved for the second time.

As mentioned, this basic structure of the story functions in most contemporary renditions of the ancient myth – and in many of them, the focus remains on Orpheus himself. Eurydice, the woman for whom he risks so much, is most often given just enough characterization to highlight her husband's love, anguish, and determination. Such is the case in the famous operas *L'Orfeo* composed by Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643)[48] and *Orfeo ed Euridice* by Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714–1787).[49] Rainer Maria Rilke's classic *Sonnets to Orpheus* also generally focus on the Thracian musician,[50] and Marcel Camus' 1959 film *Orfeu Negro* portrays Eurydice primarily as innocent and vulnerable – somewhat passive despite her still-central role in the story.[51] Even more contemporary references to the discussed myth often focus primarily on the musician. Such is the case in episode 4 in season 7 of the show *Stargate SG-1*, aptly titled *Orpheus*, where two characters, a young boy and his old mentor, are rescued from slave labor and death on the planet Erebus by the heroic father of the boy – echoing Orpheus' brave descent into the Underworld to save his wife – in an otherwise science-fiction setting.[52]

There are, of course, retellings that take a different approach. The mentioned earlier Jacques Offenbach's (1819–1890) operetta (*opéra bouffe*), *Orphée aux enfers* (1858), was revised and expanded as a twice as long *opéra féerie* (1874). Offenbach lampooned the myth, making Pluto kidnap Eurydice, who hates Orpheus and his music, partly because she is in love with someone else who proves to be Pluto himself. Orpheus, a country violinist who fancies a shepherdess, conspires with Pluto to engineer Eurydice's death. Then, very reluctantly, he descends to the Underworld, where the other Olympians start interfering, and all hell breaks loose… To make the long story short, Pluto, tired of Eurydice, lets her become Bacchus' priestess, and everybody calms down. The opera became highly popular even

48 Monteverdi, *L'Orfeo*, libretto by Alessandro Striggio. The myth of Orpheus and Eurydice was, because of music playing such a crucial role in the story, particularly inspiring to opera composers who had used it over seventy times since the beginning of the 17th century and continue doing so well into the 21st.

49 Gluck, *Orfeo ed Euridice*, libretto by Ranieri de' Calzabigi.

50 Rilke, *Sonnets to Orpheus*, trans. Stephen Mitchell.

51 Camus, *Orfeu Negro* (*Black Orpheus*).

52 "Orpheus," *Stargate SG-1*, season 7, episode 4, originally aired 2003, directed by Peter DeLuise; see Olechowska, *This is the Song*, 142, 321.

though Offenbach was accused of lacking respect for antiquity and parodying Gluck. The *Galop infernal* from *Orphée aux enfers* was made famous by Paris cabarets, adopting it as the quintessential French can-can.

The 1950 film *Orpheus* by Jean Cocteau portrays Eurydice with remarkable complexity extending beyond her role as Orpheus' beloved,[53] whereas Sarah Ruhl's play *Eurydice* moves the focus away from just the Thracian musician, narrating the myth from the perspective of Eurydice herself.[54] Anaïs Mitchell's musical *Hadestown,* with its heart-wrenching portrayal of tragic love and Eurydice willingly leaving Orpheus behind in the hope of a better life, is also worth a mention.[55] So is the game *Hades* from the studio Supergiant Games, which interestingly shows the mythical couple remaining apart, even though they both now exist in the Underworld, and gives the player an option to reunite them.[56] The book *Orphia and Eurydicius,* written by Elyse John, offers, in turn, a fascinating variation on the classic love story, in which, partly due to the gender swap of Orpheus and Eurydice, a woman takes on a much more central role.[57]

However, even with all those varied examples in mind, it still feels quite refreshing to see another creative project in which Eurydice is offered not just a voice but also a notable amount of agency in the story. This deviation from the expected path is hinted at very quickly, too – in the first words that the *KAOS*' narrator, Prometheus, uses to introduce Eurydice to the audience:

> This is Eurydice. She prefers Riddy.[58]

Including a (nick)name[59] *she* prefers immediately alerts the viewer that, this time, the classical myth will be approached differently and

53 *Orpheus*, directed by Jean Cocteau.

54 Ruhl, *Eurydice*.

55 Mitchell, *Hadestown*.

56 Johns, "Hades."

57 John, *Orphia and Eurydicius*.

58 *KAOS*, season 1, episode 1.

59 *KAOS* is not the first piece of media in which mythological names are shortened to modern nicknames – Rick Riordan's *Percy Jackson & the Olympians* series (2005–2009) utilizes a similar approach, even for the protagonist – his full name, Perseus, becomes "Percy." Hercules and Megara become Herc and Meg in the 2011–18 ABC series *Once Upon a Time*; see Olechowska, "Between Hope and Destiny" in Marciniak, *Our Mythical Hope*, 606–608; and idem, *This is the Song*, 317.

establishes Eurydice as someone who defies the roles thrust upon her. This deliberate rejection of more typical retellings continues further throughout the entire introductory scene – Prometheus does mention that Riddy is quite preoccupied with matters of the heart. Nevertheless, the audience soon learns that she is not *happy* or in love, and the rather mundane grocery shopping scene swiftly subverts the usual expectations about her relationship with Orpheus. This is, yet again, achieved with a deceptively simple remark Eurydice makes to the woman who will later be identified as the Trojan seer Cassandra:

> My husband asked me for something specific, but I can't remember what he said.[60]

The audience will likely realize right there that the story is not one of happy love. Instead, Eurydice's doubts and a degree of detachment are underlined, opening a narrative space to consider who she is when she is not defined by her relationship with Orpheus – a thought that *KAOS* consequently uses as a basis for further plot development, hinting at her distance towards not just her husband, but the ever--present cult of the Olympian gods and Minos' rule over Crete as well. She is not enthusiastic about Olympia Day celebrations, chooses to help Cassandra when the supermarket's guard attempts to detain her for stealing, and looks more tired than thrilled upon noticing a billboard advertising Orpheus' new music album on the cover of which she is depicted as his muse. The last example can make one wonder whether it is not just a part of the plot but also the writers' way of making a broader comment about our world as well – regardless, all those elements present *KAOS*' Eurydice as someone who does not feel happy in the confines of the life that the universe seemed to have destined for her. This sentiment, already interesting on its own, is only a catalyst for a narrative arc that, quite ironically, begins with an event rather fitting into the usual depictions of the myth about Orpheus and Eurydice.

In other words, Eurydice-Riddy dies. More than that, while Orpheus is singing on stage during the Olympia Day celebrations, she dies in an accident after having defied the gods in a rather direct way by exclaiming the following words to her mother (who, as we learn, had abandoned her family to become a *Tacita*):

60 *KAOS*, season 1, episode 1.

> They don't care, you know? The gods. You gave me up for them. You cut out your tongue for them, and they don't care about you. They don't give a shit about any of us. So I say fuck them. Did you hear me? I defy them. I defy the gods.[61]

As one might predict, Riddy then wakes up in the Underworld, but that is where *KAOS* again deviates from expectations set by classical versions of the myth. During the funeral, Orpheus, unable to fully let go of his beloved wife, impulsively hides away the golden coin that should have been buried with Eurydice's body to allow her a peaceful passage to the next life. Although she can cross the river Styx on a ferry, she cannot progress any further. Instead of moving through the Frame, a supposedly divine construction that allows human souls to be reincarnated into a new life,[62] she ends up in the Centre for the Unresolved, where she finds out that her only option to progress through to rebirth is to work in Hades' realm for 200 years – quite ironically, she is assigned the job of a Diver, someone meant to guide *other* souls to the Frame.[63] This not only deepens her resentment towards the gods *and* Orpheus but also, of course, sets the proverbial stage for the show's plot to go in several important directions. Meanwhile, realizing that his wife is likely stuck in the transitional stage between life and death eventually pushes Orpheus into his famous journey into the Underworld.[64]

What feels particularly significant in the context of this analysis is how Eurydice continues to escape the confines of the presumably expected developments. Not only does she come to terms with *not* loving her partner, but upon discovering that promised reincarnation is, in fact, merely a lie and that the Olympians use human souls to maintain their power, she starts to work against the gods

61 *KAOS*, season 1, episode 1.

62 Unlike in most other visions of the mythological Underworld, in *KAOS* the souls of the dead do not remain there forever as shades of their former selves. Instead, they are meant to pass through a supposedly divine construction known as the Frame, to be reborn into a new, hopefully better life. In reality, however, there is no reincarnation. As the narration reveals, Zeus has learned how to siphon the souls to maintain his power, meaning that all deceased mortals that have stepped through the Frame are gone forever – revealing the gods' lie becomes one of the major plot points of the show.

63 *KAOS*, season 1, episode 2.

64 Interestingly, he is aided more by Prometheus' longtime plans and Dionysus' involvement than by his music; *KAOS*, season 1, episode 2.

actively.[65] This strongly contrasts against the way most iterations of her myth leave her without much agency, merely passively existing in the Underworld until Orpheus arrives to save her. However, in *KAOS*, Eurydice, to a degree, assumes the role traditionally played by him. While a refreshingly assertive Persephone (note: not Hades who contrary to his mythological image is here the weaker link) eventually allows him to bring Eurydice back to the world of the living, *she* is the one who will be forced to leave a loved one behind – the man named Caeneus, another important actor in Prometheus' long-term plan to undermine Zeus' rule over the world.[66]

One could say, then, that although the motif of the Thracian musician journeying to the land of the dead to bring back his wife is still present (and remains a significant part of the show's narrative), *KAOS* takes the foundations of this story and builds something that very deliberately clashes with the established tropes. This direction becomes increasingly apparent with each passing episode and builds to a poignant finale. In this retelling of the myth, Eurydice and Orpheus manage to return to the world of the living safely, but soon after, *Riddy* is the one to let the musician go – notably, she even very purposefully asks him to look at her, which most certainly is meant to echo all the versions in which a glance was all that was needed to doom Orpheus' daring plan:

> ORPHEUS: Do you, uh… Do you want a ride? Do you want to go home, maybe?
> RIDDY: Orpheus, can you look at me? Please look at me.
> ORPHEUS: I don't want to.
> RIDDY: Why?
> ORPHEUS: Because you're not coming with me, are you?
> RIDDY: No.
> ORPHEUS: That's okay. That's okay.
> RIDDY: Can you please look at me?
> ORPHEUS: I'm sorry. I'm so sorry.
> RIDDY: You got me my life back, Orpheus. Thank you.[67]

65 Despite the heartbreak caused by having to leave Caeneus, Eurydice agrees to travel with Orpheus back to the world of the living, believing that other humans need to be warned about the gods' manipulation; *KAOS*, season 1, episode 6.

66 The pair agrees that, while Eurydice will tell the humans about the gods' lies, Caeneus will simultaneously work on "setting the dead free" by stopping them from going through the Frame; *KAOS*, season 1, episode 7.

67 *KAOS*, season 1, episode 8.

Concluding this brief consideration of Eurydice's character and role in *KAOS*, it is necessary to bring attention to one more detail. As mentioned previously, she is one of the three mortals meant to play a crucial part in Prometheus' plan to overthrow Zeus – and, in the last episode of the show, she once more encounters the prophet Cassandra, who explains her role with the following words (and, perhaps for the first time, contrary to tradition and against the curse, someone believes her):

> My name's Cassandra. I'm a prophet. So are you now. You must go to Ari and set the living free. Caeneus will do the same with the dead.[68]

Riddy's purpose, then, very clearly requires her to use her *voice* – in this version of the story, she, not Orpheus, is the one who will continue perhaps not to sing but *speak* after her return from the Underworld, and the show sets up a hope that her voice will be heard.

KAOS deliberately takes the classical myth about the Thracian musician and his tragic love and turns it into an unexpected – but wonderfully layered – commentary. Eurydice-Riddy is not just a more fleshed-out actor in Orpheus' story; instead, she is redefined outside of her role as his wife and gains a new vital purpose, ironically contrasting with the ancient myth. All these elements combined provide an all-around perfect example of Greek mythology's specific potential – how well-known myths can serve as familiar, relatable foundations for subversive new stories.

ARIADNE

When one thinks about myths centered around Crete, the tale of the Minotaur is likely the one that comes to mind first – and not without reason. Numerous accounts of this story have survived to modern times, including retellings in such crucial texts as Book 8, 155–74 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Book 3.1,4 and Epitome of Apollodorus' *The Library*, to quote one Latin and one Greek source.

It is an overall compelling tale to consider. A proud king of Crete, Minos, whose wife Pasiphae gives birth to a terrifying half-human and half-bull child as a punishment for Minos not sacrificing a bull received from Poseidon and promised to him. The child is then na-

68 In one of the final moments of the show, it is also revealed that Caeneus acquired a unique ability to renew the souls of the dead harvested by the Olympian gods; *KAOS*, season 1, episode 8.

med the Minotaur and locked away in a labyrinth, where innocent people are sacrificed to appease the monster until the hero Theseus bravely slays it with the help of Minos' daughter, Princess Ariadne… all those elements echoed throughout centuries in various cultural depictions.

Two mid-twentieth-century examples can be mentioned: Mary Renault's *The King Must Die*, where the Minotaur is not "just" a monster but also a symbol of power,[69] as well as Jorge Luis Borges' short story *The House of Asterion*, in which the Minotaur is given a voice – and perhaps made all the more terrifying for it.[70] The Minotaur has also, a decade ago, "graced" the stages in an unsettling[71] ballet production choreographed by Christopher Wheeldon[72] and showed up on screens in the 21st century, not only in film (perhaps most famously in *The Wrath of the Titans*)[73] and television (altogether almost twenty times[74]), but also in digital games, with the series *God of War*[75] and *Assassin's Creed*[76] featuring him as the respective protagonists' opponent. In contrast, the previously mentioned game, Hades, portrays the mythical monster as a thoughtful warrior, differing from Theseus' boastful behavior.[77]

In most of those and other retellings, the focus remains mainly on the Minotaur and Theseus. Rarely do female characters appear as anything more than passive elements of the story – particularly when it comes to Ariadne, the Cretan princess whose role remains primarily defined by how she aids Theseus in killing her monstrous brother, only to be later abandoned by him. The reasons behind him doing so and Ariadne's subsequent reactions vary from author to author, notably including a version of the myth in which she is taken from Naxos, where Theseus had left her, by Dionysus, who had fallen in

69 Renault, *The King Must Die*.

70 Borges, "House of Asterion," 169–173.

71 Particularly so due to the choreography, which not only highlights the Minotaur's animalistic and violent nature but also addresses the myth's darkest elements with brutal intensity accompanied by an almost dissonant musical score.

72 *The Minotaur*, choreographed by Christopher Wheeldon for the Royal Opera House in 2013.

73 *Wrath of the Titans*, directed by Jonathan Liebesman.

74 See Olechowska, *This is the Song*, 319–20.

75 *God of War* series, developed by Santa Monica Studio for PlayStation.

76 *Assassin's Creed: Odyssey*, developed by Ubisoft Montreal for PlayStation 4 & Windows.

77 *Hades*, Supergiant Games, 2020.

love with her and wished to marry her,[78] the scope of her role in the story remains generally unchanged, creating a repeating theme of passiveness. There are, of course, certain notable exceptions, such as the brave Princess Ariadne fighting against her sorceress step-mother Pasiphae in the 2013–2015 BBC series *Atlantis*, where the Minotaur proves to be an enchanted and unfortunate human, or Jennifer Saint's novel *Ariadne*, in which not only is the myth of the Minotaur told from the perspective of Minos' daughter, but her internal torment over helping the hero-Theseus, while simultaneously betraying her own family, is given the spotlight.[79]

However, in *KAOS*, after the audience is already introduced to the principal elements signaling which myth is being referenced (such as knowing the story takes place on Crete or the presence of Daedalus), the focus is very deliberately shifted to Ariadne – or Ari, as she is most often called.[80] The expectations are artfully subverted, as with Eurydice and Orpheus, to use the foundations of a well-known myth to create an unexpected story enveloped in several thoughtfully added layers. Similarly to Riddy's, Ariadne's arc in *KAOS* centers around her retaking agency in her own life, unmasking truth and, perhaps most importantly, stepping onto a path that defies the expectations set before her, both in the show itself and from the perspective of those familiar with the ancient myth.

At the time of her introduction on the screen, Ariadne is defined by guilt. Netflix's official blogpost describing *KAOS*' characters to the audience also characterizes her as such:

> Ari is President Minos' daughter and heir to his throne in Krete. She adores her father but has no relationship with her mother (Shila Ommi), who holds Ari responsible for the accidental death of her twin brother, Glaucus, when they both were children. Ari is consumed by guilt and grief, living a sheltered life in the palace […].[81]

78 Such narration is proposed, for example, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, suggesting that Dionysus fell in love with Ariadne and took her away from Naxos to marry her; see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.174–77 and also even more explicit Apollodorus, *Epitome* 1.9.

79 Saint, *Ariadne*.

80 Though the introductory header on the screen calls her Ariadne, the narrator--Prometheus immediately begins calling her Ari, a shortened version of her name that is then consequently used throughout the rest of the series; *KAOS*, season 1, episode 3.

81 Hudspeth, "The *KAOS* Cast."

Even her birthday, which ought to be a cause for celebration, is overshadowed by these feelings. For her mother, it seems to be primarily a day of grieving her dead son, Ariadne's twin, whom she honors by commissioning realistic wax statues of him, made every year by none other than Daedalus. Ariadne is no more than a reference for those eerie depictions of her brother – a narrative choice that becomes all the more impactful as the audience learns that she had supposedly killed Glaucus by rolling on top of him in their shared crib.[82] This further defines her through a tragedy she had no control over and underlines the recurring theme of Ariadne lacking real agency over her life. She is the daughter of President Minos and the future ruler of Crete, but at the same time, she exists between expectations and projections of others, never quite free to define herself outside of these burdens. Curiously, when she starts seeing the Furies sent (as she believes) to punish her for causing the death of her twin, she seems almost relieved by the thought of her upcoming end[83] – as if it would free her from the horror of her guilt.

None of the dynamics described above seem to have anything to do with Ariadne's personal prophecy (which is the same as the one received by Eurydice, Caeneus, and Zeus).[84] Her existence is shadowed by the words supposedly predicting her father's fate, though she remains unaware of them for most of her life. Only after the crucial conversation she has with the Furies in episode five of the show,[85] Minos' prophecy is revealed:

> Your end begins in the marital bed, the first child to draw breath will kill you dead.[86]

82 Prometheus tells the audience so as a part of Ari's introduction in episode 3, and the scene of Ariadne posing as a reference for a wax figure of her sibling underlines not only her guilt but also her mother's still-present anger; *KAOS*, season 1, episode 3.

83 After seeing the Furies for the first time, Ariadne says that they will come for her and that "there is nothing she can do about it" in a conversation with Theseus, her bodyguard. This, in turn, inspires him to ask her if she would save a life if she had the opportunity to do so – this way, Ari becomes involved in the plotline centered around the Trojan resistance in Crete; *KAOS*, season 1, episode 3.

84 Odom, "Zeus's Prophecy."

85 While Ari believes the Furies were sent to punish her, in reality, they are participating in Prometheus' plan to undermine Zeus' rule and show Ariadne a fragment of the past that reveals what – and why – truly happened to her twin; *KAOS*, season 1, episode 5.

86 *KAOS*, season 1, episode 5.

In those sequences of the show,[87] she learns that, despite everything she had been told for over three decades, she did not kill her twin. More than that – it was her father who ordered Daedalus, his prisoner, to dispose of the boy while keeping it a secret from the rest of the family. The inventor found himself incapable of killing a child, and Glaucus was instead hidden away in an underground prison labyrinth built by Daedalus and his son Icarus. This separation from the family, incarceration, and a lack of everyday human interactions slowly drove Ariadne's twin into madness, transforming him into the feared Minotaur, Minos' weapon of terror he used to maintain his power and horribly kill many of his political opponents.[88] To a degree, this version of the story echoes the Cretan myth in that the Minotaur and Ariadne have the same mother, with the boy turned into a monster and locked away in a labyrinth. However, *KAOS* changes the rest of the narrative, transforming its meaning entirely – Glaucus is Minos' son, so his father is not the bull sent by Poseidon, and he was not born a monster. Minos lied about Ari inadvertently suffocating Glaucus as a baby and cruelly burdened his daughter with an overwhelming feeling of guilt. Once the lie was uncovered, a natural pathway opened for her to break out of the confines of expectations and duty, parallel to what Eurydice had done.

The show introduces further changes to the myth. There is no brave hero to venture into the Labyrinth to kill the Minotaur, who is instead killed by his father, as ordered by Poseidon to counteract the prophecy. The name Theseus appears in the series, but he is not an Athenian prince with whom Ariadne falls in love. He serves as Ari's gay bodyguard, a member of the Trojan Resistance, and Prince Astyanax's lover. The so-called Trojan Seven is a small-scale resistance movement responsible for the destruction of the monument prior to its reveal on Olympia Day in episode one.[89] The Trojan Seven are executed by Minos, who breaks his promise to Ari that he would

87 The Furies transport Ariadne *into* the events of her childhood, partially making her relive those grim moments; *KAOS*, season 1, episode 5.

88 Ariadne learns as much from Daedalus who, as she discovers, is Minos' prisoner. The conversation, paired with earlier reveals from the Furies, makes Ari reconsider not just the perception of her own life, but also her father's actions as the President; *KAOS*, season 1, episode 5.

89 Having trusted in Ari's willingness to save a life, Theseus introduces her to Astyanax and reveals that the Trojan prince and his allies destroyed the monument and replaced it with a pile of fecal matter as a way of protesting the Cretan oppression Trojans have been facing for years; *KAOS*, season 1, episode 3.

spare their lives.[90] He was afraid to defy the gods who ordered the execution,[91] but his deed naturally increased the rift between him and Ariadne – and, subsequently, forced her into discovering the truth about her own life and family history.

After a conversation with Daedalus, who reluctantly confirms what the Furies had told her earlier, Ari ventures into the Labyrinth prison to find her brother.[92] She succeeds in facing him and even forms a thread of a connection with Glaucus when he recognizes her scent – another poignant deviation from classic versions of the myth – before the violent intervention of their father, Minos, who comes to counteract the prophecy[93] and kills his son despite Ariadne's protests.[94]

The unfolding events feel like part of an Ancient Greek tragedy[95] – while Minos fatally wounds his son, the prophecy that he has misunderstood prevails against his expectations. While Glaucus was born *first*, he came into the world silently; Ariadne was the one born screaming, making *her* the child of the prophecy – destined to kill

90 Convinced by Theseus, Ariadne asks her father to promise that he will spare those accused of destroying the monument if the group's leader turns himself in. Minos agrees but then, threatened by the gods, sentences the Trojan Seven to be killed anyway; *KAOS*, season 1, episode 3.

91 The show reveals that Minos owes all of his power to the gods, who threaten to take it all away if he does not obey their command to kill the Trojans; *KAOS*, season 1, episode 6.

92 Although Daedalus warns her not to do so, she remains determined to meet her twin. At the same time, Minos is just as determined to follow the gods' orders and kill Glaucus, even if the thought of venturing into the Labyrinth remains terrifying; *KAOS*, season 1, episode 7.

93 Afraid that his own prophecy is coming true, Zeus desperately seeks a way of proving that prophecies can be counteracted. With the assistance of Hera and Poseidon, he orders Minos to kill Glaucus, believing that if a mortal can defy his fate, then doing the same should not be a problem for a god; *KAOS*, season 1, episode 7.

94 As Glaucus recognized her and became non-violent, Ariadne hoped to reconnect with her brother. But her father's decidedly hostile appearance quickly ruins such hopes – Glaucus and Minos end up in a brutal fight; *KAOS*, season 1, episode 7.

95 Ariadne finds her unfortunate brother in the labyrinth, they slowly recognize each other. Enters their father and on the god's order kills his son to prevent the fulfilment of the prophecy he misunderstood. The daughter mad with grief at her twin's tragic life and death, kills their father guilty of both misfortunes. She shows her brother's body to her mother, admits her deed to her mother who approves her right to such revenge. The tension and horror mount until both women may begin grieving again, and the viewers are stunned in pity and fear.

her father, which is what she does, grieving over her brother's death for the second time in her life.[96] The subsequent, painful scene of Ariadne dragging the "Minotaur's" dead, bloodied body into the palace and calling out for her mother to come and see it is striking:

ARI: Ma! Ma! Go get my mother! And Daedalus is in the labyrinth. Go fetch him!
PASIPHAE: Ari? Ari, what is it? Ari!
ARI: Look at him. Look at him!
MINOS' SECOND-IN-COMMAND: That's the Minotaur.
ARI: No, it's Glaucus.
PASIPHAE: What?
ARI: He didn't die when he was a baby. Dad did it. Dad did this for the gods. Mama, I tried to save him. I really tried.
PASIPHAE (crying softly): Glaucus…
ARI: I killed him. I killed Dad.
PASIPHAE: Good.[97]

This conversation denotes another pivotal moment, a reconciliation between mother and daughter, and another proof of the Olympian gods' cruelty and Ariadne's innocence. Her guilt, the feeling that defined her since childhood, also disappears, replaced by hurt and anger – two forces that, presumably, will drive her actions as the new President of Crete, as implied during her meeting with Andromache, Astyanax's mother, in the final moments of the series.[98] On a metaphorical level, Ariadne lived her entire life trapped in a labyrinth of guilt. Her descent into the prison built for her brother and the tragic events that transpired there liberated her within the structure of the show's storyline and, in a larger sense, of a commentary underlying the contemporary reception of mythology in general. It would be quite wrong to suggest that Ariadne from *KAOS*, who was burdened by her lying father with guilt for allegedly killing her brother, could be in any way comparable to a famous in Greek mythology instance of guilt, the despair of Oedipus confronted with the fact of his non-culpable

96 *KAOS*, season 1, episode 7.
97 *KAOS*, season 1, episode 8.
98 Pasiphae and Ariadne are mourning Glaucus, now killed for the second time, whereas Hecuba grieves for Astyanax – both men have been killed by Minos under the gods' orders, therefore the suggestion of cooperation between the women can be seen not just as a shift of power in the mortals' world, but also as the beginning of a wider movement against the Olympian gods, exactly as Prometheus had planned; *KAOS*, season 1, episode 8.

incest and his mother/wife suicide. On the other hand, she did kill her ignominous father but did not seem to feel any remorse. Was it because she was fulfilling a prophecy or because her mother clearly considered it a legitimate act of justice?

A NEW MYTH FOR REWRITTEN HEROINES?

Similarly, the character of Eurydice, traditionally perceived through her relationship with Orpheus, was given new venues and lofty challenges by the creator of *KAOS*. With other women in the series liberated from their social and cultural bonds, Eurydice and Ariadne may work together for the common good and freedom. *KAOS* generally combines well-known myths with layered references to the contemporary world, navigating the web of transmedia positions accumulated over the centuries, first in literature, then film, broadcast media, streaming services, and games. The stories and tropes usually associated with the myths are given new meanings, often ones that the audience might not entirely expect, and well-established characters, such as the two women analyzed here, step out of the confines of their time-honored templates. In a sense, *KAOS* asks who these characters would become if they were not defined by their mythological origin. The answer, as provided by the series axed, so to speak, *in medias res*, points towards a shift of the balance of power towards women (also stated by the creator of the show).[99]

THE POWER TO CANCEL

Judging not only from Covell's statements[100] but also from how season 1 was constructed, there is no doubt that we are dealing only with part one of a planned three-season series. As one of the reviewers suggested:

> *KAOS* is never overwhelming. But it takes about half of the eight-episode season to get all the players introduced; by the finale, Season 1 starts to feel like an extended preface to Season 2. At least it's a fun preface, though, and one that builds anticipation for what's to come.[101]

99 Givens, "Kaos."

100 See e.g., Venn, "*KAOS* creator on Greek mythology icons; Hanink, "Netflix's *KAOS*"; Khomami, "*Kaos* Creator 'gutted.'"

101 Berman, "Netflix's *KAOS* Updates Greek Mythology."

Covell also said that "the first season's finale set up several potential storylines for future installments."[102] Indeed, watching the series, especially the finale, leaves us with important cliffhangers. The season ends precisely when the reign of *Kaos* is supposed to begin. Only Covell must have an idea of what it means.

The season finale tells us that the Fates, far from being destroyed by Zeus, continue exercising their powers. Hoping to counteract the prophecy he trusted, he put fire to the Fates' physical form and triggered the prophecy, ending Prometheus' eternal punishment and allowing the Fates to transfer the Titan from his rock in the Caucasus Mountains to Olympus. The Meander fountain,[103] which gave immortality to the gods, was fuelled by the dead passing through the Frame to be petrified instead of being "renewed," so it dried up when the dead were stopped from reaching the Frame. After burning the Fates, Zeus, confident that he had prevailed, brutally announced to his deceitful family that he was taking complete control, antagonizing all of them in the process. Hera phoned Ares,[104] asking him "to gather the troops and make up a spare bed," and marched somewhere with her mute servants, the *Tacitas*.[105] Ari, who became the new ruler of Crete, took up with the Trojans to help them rebuild Troy and destroy Olympus together. Cassandra told Riddy that she was now a seer

102 Khomami, "*KAOS* Creator 'gutted.'"

103 A Covell's addition to the mythology. Covell's fountain springs in an unusual circular movement, possibly to suggest infinity. The name traditionally refers to a winding river in modern Turkey draining into the Aegean. It is also the name of the well-known ornament imitating an endlessly winding stream and associated with ancient Greece. The god of the Meander river was called Meander too.

104 She does not say his name, but he is the most likely person she would turn to in the situation. However, your guess is as good as ours as to who was supposed to sleep in the spare bed.

105 These priestesses of Hera are another Covell's invention, however, their name and concept itself may have been borrowed from Ovid's *Fasti* 2.571–616, where he tells the story of Dea Tacita or Muta. The naiad Lara, daughter of Tiber, was a gossiper and she repeated to Juno that Jupiter desired the nymph Juturna. Jupiter punished her by tearing out her tongue and asked Mercury to take her to the marshlands, a proper place for mute naiads. Mercury fell in love with her but as she could not use words to refuse his advances, she ended up pregnant and gave birth to Lares, the twin guardians of Roman crossroads and of the city of Rome. *Tacitas* in *KAOS* are female worshippers of Hera who sacrifice their tongues and abandon their families in her service. People come to them to confess their secrets certain that as mutes they must keep them. Nobody (including Zeus) knows that Hera has a whole revolting library of their tongues and can access people's confessions at will which obviously, provides her with a source of power.

and should unite with Ari to set the living free; Caeneus would free the dead. Prometheus, the instigator and the driving force behind *KAOS*, is told by the incorporeal Fates to enjoy his freedom; they also warn him that it is up to him to decide what he wants to do with it. These cliffhangers are accompanied by the choir chanting a rousing four-word-long, ludicrous Latin mantra: *Celestis, Divinitus, Insania, Vero*, sounding like a satanic incantation from a supernatural horror movie, and again, like the *Tacitas*, or the *Fates,* constituting a nod to the Roman continuation of antiquity. Even if we know nothing of what will happen during *KAOS*' reign, what we know is chaotic and uncertain, a fact that could have contributed to the show's early cancellation. Any valid discussion of the series must begin and end with the eight aired episodes. Anything else would be *Insania*.

Classicists are used to dealing with incomplete or fragmentary texts; as impressive as it is, ancient literature survived only in bits and pieces of its original wealth. Media scholars, particularly those who study classical reception in audiovisual media, are no strangers to truncated, incomplete series that were abandoned before reaching their natural conclusion due to unsatisfactory ratings or related programming considerations. The recent cancellation of Neil Gaiman's *American Gods* barely a week after season 3 finished airing on STARZ[106] is a good case in point.[107] However, even if the adaptation introduced some changes to the plot, we can fill in the blanks in the narrative for the failed seasons 4 and 5 using the novel. *KAOS*, on the other hand, is an entirely original production, and while we could guess the direction of some of the potential developments, what would be the point of that?

FINAL THOUGHTS

We are left with some other unresolved issues. The first is the narrator and his uncertain role as the instigator of Zeus' fall. In mythology, Prometheus stole the fire and gave it to mortals. For this, the punishment was to hang chained on a cliffside forever and suffer the daily torment of having his liver devoured by Zeus' eagle. His wound healed overnight, and the next day, the eagle returned to repeat this horrific, Sisyphus-like but physically more painful, never-ending cycle of torture. There was also Pandora, his brother's bride, and her treacherous jar as the punishment for the mortals, but she is not men-

106 Patten, "*American Gods* Canceled at Starz."
107 See Olechowska, *This is a Song*, 358–60.

tioned in the series, and we can forget her here. In *KAOS*, Prometheus allegedly – he claims he was innocent – somehow betrayed Zeus, who had no choice but to hang him on the cliff. This did not prevent Prometheus from devising his plan in cahoots with the Fates, who obligingly produced an adequate prophecy waiting to be believed in and fulfilled. As the narrator of the series, he guides the viewers from the beginning, speaking more like a fellow spectator than someone condemned for eternity, and calmly comments on what happens until the Fates transport him to Olympus. At that moment, unsure of what is happening, he becomes confused. Sitting down on Zeus' throne, he waits for Kaos to unfold. However, it does not, because of the cancellation of the series.

The second issue is the presence of Trojans or, rather, the time paradox it creates. Prince Astyanax, son of Hector and Andromache, is a young man when Riddy dies. He was a baby when Troy was sacked. The Trojan refugees must have come to Crete after the war. Judging by what life on the island looks like, the time of the action in the series is now. The Trojan War must have ended no more than a decade ago; Odysseus probably did not have time to return to Ithaca. In the series finale, Ari promises Andromache to help rebuild Troy and defeat the gods together. Well, time may flow differently in a fantasy, and in any case, it would be foolish to look for razor-sharp logic in a mythological television series. Thanks to Netflix's financial wisdom, there is no need to detangle this knot of myths, old and new. Yet, whether we enjoyed the series or not, its cancellation naturally leaves us with a sense of unfinished business and with a possibly wrong impression of Covell's purpose. Their distinctive way of seeing the world and subverting classical heritage with today's intellectual and social priorities may feel abrasive to classicists but certainly invites those knowledgeable and those ignorant of antiquity to further reflection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ager, Sheila L. "Royal brother-sister marriage, Ptolemaic and otherwise." In *The Routledge Companion to Women and Monarchy in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. by Elizabeth D. Carney and Sabine Müller. London: Routledge, 2020, 346–58.

Armstrong, Stephen. "Child Stars and JK Rowling: Harry Potter the TV Series Is Under Way!" *The Sunday Times*, 7 July, 2024, available online.

Assassin's Creed: Odyssey. Developed and published by Ubisoft Montreal. Ubisoft, 2018. PlayStation 4 & Windows.

Atwood, Margaret. *The Penelopiad*. Toronto: Knopf, 2005.

Baker, Emily. "*KAOS* Review: A Blingy, Bloody Retelling of the Greek Myths." *i*NEWS, 29 August 2024, available online.

Beard, Mary. *Women & Power: A Manifesto*. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017.

Berman, Judy. "Netflix's *KAOS* Updates Greek Mythology in a Clever Eat-the-Rich Thriller." *Time*, 29 August 2024, available online.

Borges, Jorge Luis. "The House of Asterion." In *Labyrinths: Selected Stories and Other Writings*, ed. by Alastair Reid, 169–73. New York: New Directions, 1962.

Bove, Kate. "Where Was *KAOS* Filmed? Netflix Mythology's Filming Locations Explained." *ScreenRant*, 2 September 2024, available online.

Butler, Misia. "Misia Butler Unpacks *KAOS*." *Man About Town*, 30 August 2024, available online.

Camus, Marcel, dir. *Orfeu Negro* (*Black Orpheus*). Rio de Janeiro: Companhia Cinematográfica Vera Cruz, 1959.

Cixous, Hélène, Keith Cohen, and Paula Cohen. "The Laugh of the Medusa." *Signs* 1, 4 (1976): 875–93.

Cocteau, Jean, dir. *Orpheus*. Paris: Les Films du Palais, 1950.

Covell, Charlie, creator and co-writer. *KAOS*. Directed by Georgi Banks-Davies and Runyararo Mapfumo, co-written by Georgia Christou. Netflix, 2024.

Divination and Prophecy in the Ancient Greek World, ed. by Roger D. Woodard. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023.

Eidinow, Esther. "Oracular Failure in Ancient Greek Culture." In *Divination and Prophecy in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. by Roger D. Woodard, 93–115. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023.

Fairclough, Rushton, trans. *Virgil: Georgics*. Rev. by G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library 63. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999. 1st ed. 1916.

Frazer, James George, trans. *Apollodorus: The Library*, Vol.2. Loeb Classical Library 122. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921.

Giorgis, Hannah. "*KAOS* Offers a Sharp Twist on a Familiar Story: Thousands of Years into Their Telling, the Greek Myths Haven't Lost Their Power." *The Atlantic*, 6 September 2024, available online.

Givens, Alice. "*KAOS*: Charlie Covell on Creating a Dark and Twisted Comedy Series." *Cosmopolitan UK*, 25 September 2023, available online.

Gluck, Christoph Willibald. *Orfeo ed Euridice*. Libretto by Ranieri de' Calzabigi. Premiered October 1762. Burgtheater, Vienna.

God of War series. Developed by Santa Monica Studio. Santa Monica: Sony Interactive Entertainment, 2005–2018. PlayStation.
Hades. Supergiant Games, 2020. Mac OS, Switch, and Windows.
Hailu, Selome. "*Percy Jackson* Strikes Back: How Rick Riordan Defied Fox's Failed Movies, Fought Racists Trolls and Finally Returned to Hollywood for Disney+ Series." *Variety*, 18 October 2023, available online.
Hanink, Johanna. "Netflix's *KAOS*, with creator Charlie Covell." *Lesche (λέσχη): Ancient Greece, New Ideas*. Blog entry, 3 October 2024, available online.
Haynes, Natalie. *A Thousand Ships*. New York: Harper, 2021.
———. *Pandora's Jar: Women in the Greek Myths*. New York: Harper, 2021.
Hodges, Michael. Interview with Jeff Goldblum about his role in *KAOS*. *Radio Times*, 27 August 2024, available online.
Hudspeth, Christopher. "The *KAOS* Cast and Character Companion Guide: Meet the Mortals and Gods." *Tudum by Netflix*, 30 August 2024, available online.
Izzo, Christina. "*KAOS* Reigns with a Fresh, Ferocious Take on Greek Mythology." *AV Club*, 29 August 2024, available online.
Jenkins, Patty, dir. *Wonder Woman*. Burbank: Warner Bros. Pictures, 2017.
John, Elyse. *Orphia and Eurydicius*. Sidney: Harper Collins Publishers (Australia), 2021.
Johns, Hodey. "Hades: How to Reunite Orpheus and Eurydice and Help Them Find Love." *Game Rant*, 16 November 2020, available online.
Khomami, Nadia. "*KAOS* Creator 'Gutted' at Netflix Show's Cancellation." *The Guardian*, 11 October 2024, available online.
Kõiv, Mait. "Basileus, tyrannos and polis: The Dynamics of Monarchy in Early Greece," *Klio* 98.1(2016): 1–89.
Leterrier, Louis, dir. *Clash of the Titans*. Burbank: Warner Bros. Pictures, 2010.
Liebesman, Jonathan, dir. *Wrath of the Titans*. Burbank: Legendary Pictures, 2012.
Lloyd, Robert. "Jeff Goldblum is One of the Best Reasons to Watch Netflix's Greek Comedy *KAOS*." *Los Angeles Times*, 29 August 2024, available online.
Malkin, Irad, and Josine Blok. *Drawing Lots*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2024.
Marciniak, Katarzyna, ed. *Our Mythical Hope: The Ancient Myths as Medicine for the Hardships of Life in Children's and Young Adults'*

Culture. Our Mythical Childhood Series. Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press, 2021.

Maurice, Lisa. *Screening Divinity*. Screening Antiquity Series. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019.

Miller, Frank Justus, trans. *Ovid: Metamorphoses*. Rev. by G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library 43. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984. 1st ed. 1916.

Miller, Madeline. *Circe*. New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2018.

Mitchell, Anaïs. *Hadestown*. Directed by Rachel Chavkin. Premiered March 2019. Walter Kerr Theatre, New York.

Monteverdi, Claudio. *L'Orfeo*. A Five-Act Opera. Libretto by Alessandro Striggio. Premiered February 1607. Palazzo Ducale, Mantua.

Most, Glen W., ed. and trans. *Hesiod: Theogony, Works and Days, Testimonia*. Loeb Classical Library 57. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018. Rev. ed. 2006.

Odom, Dani Kessel. "Zeus' Prophecy in KAOS & How It's Connected to the 3 Human Prophecies," *ScreenRant*, 30 August 2024, available online.

Offenbach, Jacques. *Orphé aux enfers*. A Four-Act *opéra féerie*. Libretto by Hector Crémieux. Premiered February 1874. Théâtre de la Gaîté, Paris.

———. *Orphé aux enfers*. A Two-Act *opéra bouffe*. Libretto by Hector Crémieux and Ludovic Halévy. Premiered October 1858. Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens, Paris.

Olechowska, Elżbieta, and Marta Pszczolińska. "Neil Gaiman's Use of Antiquity in Television Series: *American Gods* and *Calliope*." *Clotho* 5.2 (2023): 131–147.

Olechowska, Elżbieta. "Between Hope and Destiny in the Young Adult Television Series *Once Upon a Time* Season 5, Episodes 12–21 (2016)." In *Our Mythical Hope: The Ancient Myths as Medicine for the Hardships of Life in Children's and Young Adults' Culture,* ed. by Katarzyna Marciniak, 593–610. Our Mythical Childhood Series. Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press, 2021.

———. "*This is the Song that Never Ends": Classical Mythology in the Twenty-First-Century Audiovisual Series for Young Adults*. Our Mythical Childhood Series. Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press, 2024.

"Orpheus." *Stargate SG-1*, season 7, episode 4. Directed by Peter DeLuise, written by Joseph Mallozzi and Paul Mullie. MGM Television, 2003.

Patten, Dominic. "*American Gods* Canceled at Starz; No Season 4 But Maybe a TV Movie." *Deadline Hollywood*, 29 March 2021, available online.

Powell, Barry B. *Hesiod: The Poems of Hesiod; Theogony, Works and Days, and The Shield*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017.
Renault, Mary. *The King Must Die*. New York: Pantheon, 1958.
Rilke, Rainer Maria. *Sonnets to Orpheus*. Trans. by Stephen Mitchell. New York: Modern Library, 2000.
Riordan, Rick. *Percy Jackson & the Olympians*. Disney-Hyperion, 2005–2009.
Ruhl, Sarah. *Eurydice*. Samuel French, 2003.
Saint, Jennifer. *Ariadne*. Flatiron Books, 2021.
Shokoohi, Kimiya. "The Ancient Roots of Wonder Woman." *BBC Culture*, 11 January 2021, available online.
Smythe, Rachel. *Lore Olympus*. Webtoon. Last modified August 2012, available online.
Strauss, Barry. "The Classical Greek Polis and Its Government." In *Blackwell Companion to Ancient Greek Government*, ed. by Hans Beck, 22–37. Malden, MA: Willey-Blackwell, 2013.
Tatar, Maria. *The Heroine with 1,001 Faces*. New York: Liveright Publishing, 2021.
Venn, Lydia. "*KAOS* Creator on Greek Mythology Icons, Hidden Meanings and Season Two Self-Proclaimed Mythology Nerd Charlie Covell Packed the Show with Easter Eggs." *Cosmopolitan*, 29 August 2024, available online.
Wheeldon, Christopher, choreographer. *The Minotaur*. London: Royal Opera House, 2013.
White, Adam. "There is a Simple Reason Netflix Cancels Shows So Quickly." *The Independent*, 12 October 2024, available online.
Yossman, K. J. "Creating *KAOS*: Writer Charlie Covell and Star Jeff Goldblum Talk Bringing Greek Myths to Life in New Netflix Series." *Variety*, 11 August 2024, available online.

ABSTRACT

Charlie Covell's vision and the intended message in Netflix's 2024 series *KAOS* are explored in the context of recent audiovisual productions featuring powerful families and through a comparison of myths transformed for the needs of the series with the actual myths. We intend to demonstrate that the series reflects current issues and challenges similar to timeless concerns related to being human, which are present in the myths. Of particular interest is the characterization of female characters that focuses on protagonists Eurydice and Ariadne as primary examples. The series combines recognizable elements of classical myths with a modern feminist perspective and offers a new approach to ancient narratives, not only situating itself within the well-established network of classical reception but also deliberately increasing the agency of female mythical characters. Examining Eurydice's and Ariadne's portrayals contextualizes them within the contemporary receptions of these mythological figures and highlights elements particular to *KAOS*, such as the unique changes made to the characters' respective myths. It is argued that the feminist vision of these characters aligns with broader trends in classical reception and opens up space to perceive these ancient women as liberated from the confines of the mythical ethos and time.

KEYWORDS: Greek mythology, Eurydice, Ariadne, classical reception, Netflix

KAOS, ki »ni žajfnica z nenavadnimi imeni«?

IZVLEČEK

Članek obravnava vizijo in načrtovano sporočilo serije *KAOS* (Charlie Covell, Netflix 2024) v kontekstu novejših avdiovizualnih produkcij, kjer nastopajo vplivne družine, ter s primerjanjem mitov, preoblikovanih za potrebe serije, z dejanskimi miti. Pokazati želi, da serija odraža aktualna vprašanja in izzive, podobne brezčasnim človeškim skrbem, ki jih najdemo v mitih. Posebej zanimiva je karakterizacija ženskih likov, ki se osredotoča zlasti na protagonistki Evridiko in Ariadno. Serija združuje prepoznavne elemente klasičnih mitov s sodobno feministično perspektivo in ponuja nov pristop k antičnim pripovedim. Ne le, da se pri tem umešča v ustaljeno mrežo klasične recepcije, temveč tudi zavestno povečuje zastopanost ženskih mitoloških likov. Preučevanje upodobitev Evridike in Ariadne ta dva lika kontekstualizira znotraj sodobne recepcije obeh mitoloških osebnosti in poudarja elemente, značilne za *KAOS*, denimo svojske spremembe v mitološkem izročilu o obeh junakinjah. Avtorici ugotavljata, da se feministično razumevanje obeh likov ujema s širšimi trendi v klasični recepciji in odpira prostor za dojemanje obeh antičnih žensk, prostih okvirov mitičnega etosa in časa.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: grška mitologija, Evridika, Ariadna, klasična recepcija, Netflix

KAZALO

ČLANKI