



UNIVERSITÉ DE FRIBOURG
UNIVERSITÄT FREIBURG

IPS

INTERNATIONAL
PLUTARCH
SOCIETY

XITH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLUTARCH SOCIETY
10–13 MAY 2017
FRIBOURG (SWITZERLAND)

The Dynamics of Intertextuality in Plutarch

A close-up photograph of several metal type blocks (galleys) scattered on a surface. The blocks are of various shapes and sizes, some with letters or symbols. A small green plant is growing from one of the blocks.

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- Fribourg Tourisme et Région
- Chocolat Villars – Fribourg

XIth International Congress of the International Plutarch Society

La dynamique de l'intertextualité chez Plutarque

Il est largement admis que les œuvres de Plutarque cherchent à susciter la réflexion et à améliorer l'existence de leurs lecteurs. Tout aussi notoire est la démarche du philosophe pour atteindre ce but éducatif: en se référant à des penseurs, à des historiens et à des figures légendaires, Plutarque incite le lecteur à (re)découvrir des auteurs et des traditions de référence. L'intégration de ce riche héritage historique, littéraire, philosophique, religieux, médical et scientifique, révèle la forte présence d'un savoir du passé dans les œuvres du philosophe. Aussi, l'intertextualité constitue-t-elle une approche indispensable à l'étude des textes de l'auteur. Le colloque portera sur les différents aspects et fonctions de l'intertextualité chez Plutarque.

Intertextualität und ihre Dynamik bei Plutarch

Plutarchs Werke sind darauf angelegt, die Leserinnen und Leser zum Nachdenken über ihr Leben und dessen Ziel anzuregen, um sie auf diese Weise voranzubringen. Dieses pädagogische Ziel erreicht Plutarch u.a. dadurch, dass er sich unentwegt auf Philosophen, historische und mythische Persönlichkeiten, Autoren und die durch sie übermittelten Traditionen bezieht, die er seine Leser (neu) zu entdecken einlädt. Dass die Werke Plutarchs auf diese Weise eine große Fülle und Vielfalt historischen, literarischen, philosophischen, religiösen, medizinischen und im weitesten Sinne wissenschaftlichen Erbes aufnehmen, macht sie zu einer Fundgrube unterschiedlicher Wissenstraditionen. Die Untersuchung intertextueller Bezüge erweist sich dadurch zugleich als unverzichtbar für ein Verständnis seiner Werke. Die Tagung widmet sich den unterschiedlichen Aspekten und Funktionen von Intertextualität bei Plutarch.

The Dynamics of Intertextuality in Plutarch

It is widely recognized that Plutarch's works aim to bring the readers to reflect upon and thus to improve their own existence and way of life. It is also well known that this educational goal is achieved by constant hints of, or references to, philosophers, historical and mythical figures, authors and traditions that Plutarch invites the reader to (re)discover. In so far as they integrate this rich historical, literary, philosophical, religious, medical and more widely scientific heritage, Plutarch's works are a mine of knowledge of the past. In this perspective, intertextuality is an indispensable part of the study of his works. The conference focuses on the various aspects and functions of intertextuality in Plutarch.

Organizing Committee:

- Thomas Schmidt,
University of Fribourg
- Rainer Hirsch-Luipold,
University of Bern
- Maria Vamvouri Ruffy,
University of Lausanne

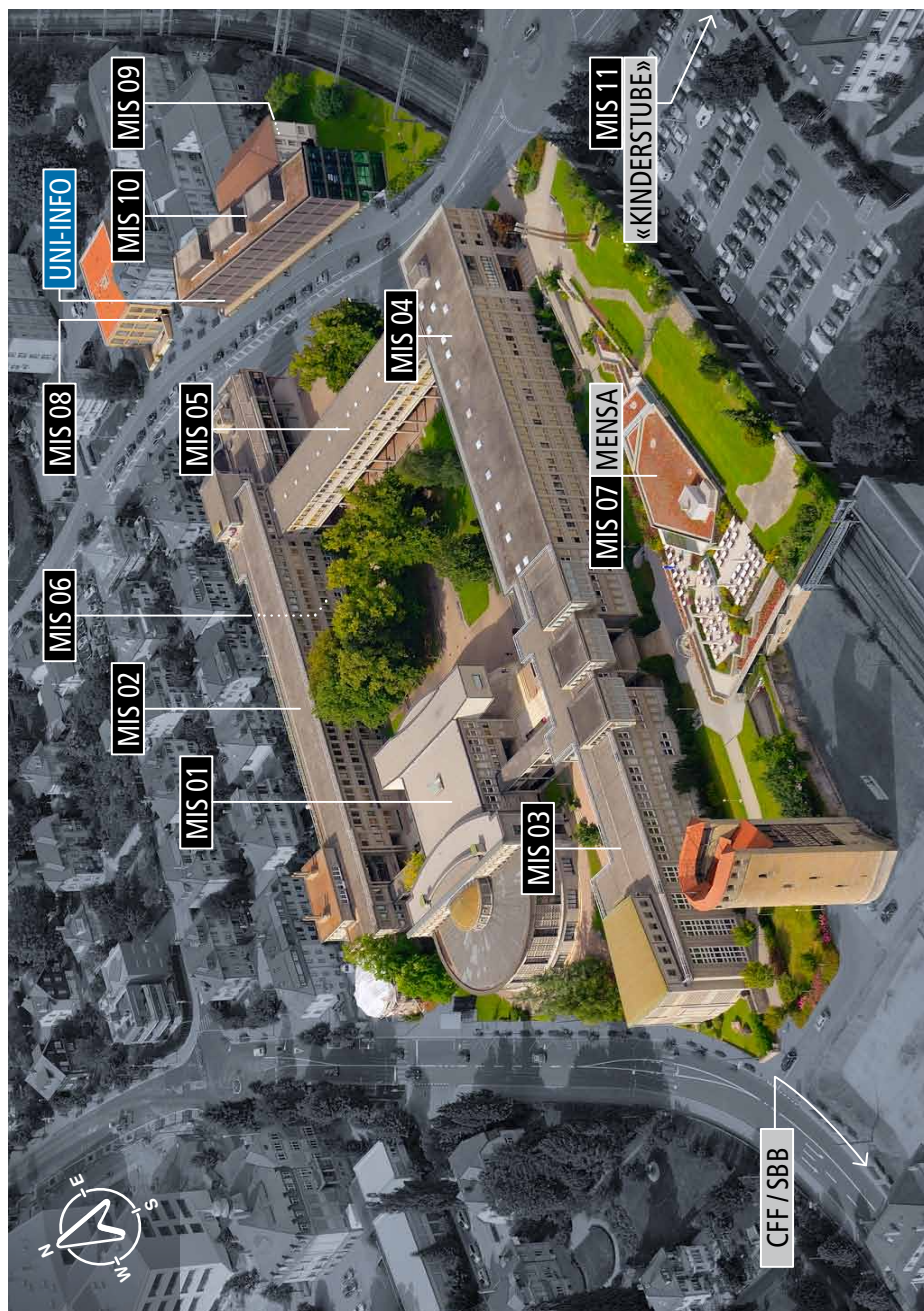
Scientific Committee:

- Mark Beck (South Carolina)
- † Françoise Frazier (Paris X - Nanterre)
- Aristoula Georgiadou (Patras)
- Delfim Ferreira Leao (Coimbra)
- Chris Pelling (Oxford)
- Aurelio Perez Jiménez (Malaga)
- Geert Roskam (Leuven)
- Paola Volpe Cacciatore (Salerno)

CONFERENCE VENUE:

University of Fribourg – SITE MISÉRICORDE (MIS)

MAP OF CONFERENCE VENUE



Wednesday, 10th May 2017

ROOM MIS 01 – Hall d'honneur

15.30 – 16.30

WELCOME AND REGISTRATION

Luggage room available (15.30 – 20.00)

ROOM MIS 03 – Auditorium B

16.45 – 18.30

OPENING SESSION

Words of welcome

- Jean-Pierre Siggen, State Councillor
- Thomas Schmidt on behalf of the organizing committee

In memoriam Françoise Frazier

- Delfim F. Leão

Launch of Brill's Plutarch Studies

- Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta and Delfim F. Leão

Introduction to the theme of the Congress:

- Maria Vamvouri Ruffy
- «Plutarch in the mirror of the academic reader»

KEYNOTE PAPER

- **Christopher Pelling (Oxford)**

«Intertextuality: what's the point?»

Presiding: Thomas Schmidt

ROOM MIS 01 – Hall d'honneur

18.30 – 20.00

COCKTAIL DINNER

Words of welcome

- Astrid Epiney, Rector of the University of Fribourg

ROOM MIS 08 – 101

09.00 – 10.30 01

**INTERTEXTUALITY:
PHILOSOPHICAL TRADITION**

Presiding: Zlatko Pleše
Johan C. Thom
Geert Roskam
Marion Schneider

ROOM MIS 08 – 102

09.00 – 10.30 02

INTERGENERICITY AND THE EDUCATIONAL GOAL: COMEDY

Presiding: Ewen Bowie
Anna Peterson
Frances B. Titchener
Sophia Xenophonos

ROOM MIS 08 – 202

09.00 – 10.30 03

**INTERDISCURSIVITY IN PLUTARCH:
MEDICINE AND MUSIC**

Presiding: Maria Vamvouri Ruffy
Eleni Plati
Fabio Tanga
Mariella De Simone

ROOM MIS 08 – 0.101

09.00 – 10.30 04

**INTRATEXTUALITY:
THE EDUCATIONAL GOAL AND THE
RHETORIC OF PROOF I**

Presiding: Lucia Athanasaki
Jeffrey Beneker
Lucy Fletcher
Philip Bosman

10.30 – 11.00 COFFEE BREAK

11.00 – 12.30 05

**PLATONIC ALLUSIONS AND THE
MEMORY OF THE IDEAL READER**

Presiding: Gennaro D'Ippolito
Maria do Céu Fialho
Joseph Geiger
Chrysanthos Chrysanthou

11.00 – 12.30 06

**AUCTORIAL GENERICITY:
PLUTARCH AND TRAGEDY**

Presiding: Judith Mossman
Elsa Giovanna Simonetti
Giovanna Pace
Argyri Karanasiou

11.00 – 12.30 07

**INTERDISCURSIVITY, POPULAR DIS-
COURSES AND SOCIAL PRACTICES**

Presiding: Geert Roskam
Julia Doroszewska
Christina Harker
Israel Muñoz Gallarte

11.00 – 12.30 08

**INTRATEXTUALITY:
THE EDUCATIONAL GOAL AND THE
RHETORIC OF PROOF II**

Presiding: Frances B. Titchener
Brad Buszard
Delfim Ferreira Leao
Timothy Duff

12.45 – 14.15 LUNCH BREAK (MENSA – MIS 07)

14.30 – 16.00 09

**INTERTEXTUALITY:
PERIPATETIC TRADITION**

Presiding: James Chlup
Michiel Meeusen
Zlatko Pleše
Georgia Tsouni

14.30 – 16.30 10

**GENERIC ENRICHMENT IN
PLUTARCH**

Presiding: José A. Fernandez Delgado
Raphaëla Dubreuil
Katarzyna Jażdżewska
Francisca Pordomingo
Alessio Ruta

14.30 – 16.30 11

**FORMS AND LITERARY FUNCTIONS
OF INTERTEXTUALITY**

Presiding: Jeffrey Beneker
Lawrence Kim
Gennaro D'Ippolito
Aurelio Pérez Jiménez
Marta González González

14.30 – 16.30 12

**INTRATEXTUALITY:
THE EDUCATIONAL GOAL AND THE
RHETORIC OF PROOF III**

Presiding: Aristoula Georgiadou
Philip Stadter
Tobias Hirsch
Karin Schlapbach/Cristiana Sogno
Paola Volpe Cacciatore

16.30 – 17.00 COFFEE BREAK

17.15 – 18.30 TRAIN VISIT THROUGH FRIBOURG

Departure in front of «Théâtre Equilibre» (directions will be provided)

FREE EVENING OR

19.30 – 20.30 ORGAN CONCERT BY NICOLAS VIATTE

St-Nicholas Cathedral

ROOM MIS 08 – 101

09.00 – 10.30 13

INTERTEXTUALITY: RELIGIOUS AND MYTHICAL TRADITION I

Presiding: Anastasios Nikolaidis
Caitlin Emma Prouatt
Frederick Brenk
Donato Loscalzo

ROOM MIS 08 – 102

09.00 – 10.30 14

INTERGENERICITY: THE HISTORIC TRADITION I

Presiding: Noreen Humble
Michele Lucchesi
Federicomaria Muccioli
Eran Almagor

ROOM MIS 08 – 202

09.00 – 10.30 15

INTERGENERICITY: FROM EPIC AND ART TO PHILOSOPHY

Presiding: Delfim Ferreira Leao
Stefano Amendola
Eleni Kechagia-Ovseiko
Anastasia Serghidou

ROOM MIS 08 – 0.101

09.00 – 10.30 16

INTERTEXTUALITY: WORDS AND MOTIFS

Presiding: Daniel Richter
Judith Mossman
Dámaris Romero González
Eva Falaschi

10.30 – 11.00 COFFEE BREAK

11.00 – 12.30 17

INTERTEXTUALITY: RELIGIOUS AND MYTHICAL TRADITION II

Presiding: Frederick Brenk
Rainer Hirsch-Luipold
Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta
Aydin Mutlu

11.00 – 12.30 18

INTERGENERICITY: THE HISTORIC TRADITION II

Presiding: Timothy Duff
Mark Beck
José Vela Tejada
Zoe Stamatopoulou

11.00 – 12.30 19

ROME AND LATIN SOURCES

Presiding: Philip Stadter
James Chlup
Michael Nerdahl

11.00 – 12.30 20

INTERGENERICITY IN THE DE AUDIENDIS

Presiding: Sophia Xenophontos
Marta Isabel de Oliveira Várzeas
Vassiliki Kondylaki
Maria Sokolskaya

12.45 – 14.15 LUNCH BREAK (MENSA – MIS 07)

14.30 – 16.00 21

PLATONIC ALLUSIONS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SELF

Presiding: Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta
Elisabetta Berardi
Bram Demulder
Luisa Lesage Gárriga

14.30 – 16.00 22

INTERGENERICITY: THE EPIC TRADITION

Presiding: Chris Pelling
Diotima Papadi
Anna Lefteratou
José Antonio Fernandez Delgado

14.30 – 16.00 23

SYMPOSIA AND INTERTEXTUALITY

Presiding: Katarzyna Jażdżewska
Craig Cooper
David Driscoll
Timothy Howe

14.30 – 16.00 24

FUNCTIONS OF INTERTEXTUALITY

Presiding: Joseph Geiger
Fabio Guidetti
Christian Neumann
Carlos Alcalde-Martín

16.00 – 16.30 COFFEE BREAK

16.30 Departure to Gruyères (by bus) in front of MIS 08

17.30 Visit of Gruyères,
conducted by Patrice Borcard, Prefect of the District of Gruyère

19.30 BANQUET

Restaurant «Fleur de Lys», Gruyères

22.30 (approx.) back in Fribourg

ROOM MIS 08 – 101

09.00 – 11.00 25

**EXPLORING PLUTARCH'S POLITICAL
THOUGHT THROUGH INTERTEXTU-
ALITY**

Presiding: Mark Beck
Andrea Catanzaro
Rebecca Kingston
Susan Jacobs
Andrew Worley

ROOM MIS 08 – 102

09.00 – 11.00 26

**«INTERTEXTUAL» SPARTA IN
PLUTARCH**

Presiding: Craig Cooper
Philip Davies
Olivier Gengler
Noreen Humble
Lunette Warren

ROOM MIS 08 – 202

09.00 – 11.00 27

**POTENTIALITIES OF INTERTEXTUA-
LITY**

Presiding: Aurelio Perez Jiménez
Ana Ferreira
Theofanis Tsiampokalos
Daniel Richter

ROOM MIS 08 – 0.101

09.00 – 11.00 28

**PLUTARCH'S SOURCES – PLUTARCH
AS SOURCE**

Presiding: Alexei Zadorozhny
Chandra Giroux
Michael Paschalis
Gabriella Guarino

11.00 – 11.30 COFFEE BREAK

ROOM MIS 03 – Auditorium C

11.30 – 12.30

CLOSING SESSION

KEYNOTE PAPER

Alexei Zadorozhny (Liverpool)

«Hearing Voices: Orality, Writteness, and the Platonic Anxiety in Plutarch»

Presiding: Rainer Hirsch-Luipold

ROOM MIS 08 – Hall d'honneur

12.30 – 14.00

COCKTAIL LUNCH

Luggage room available (8.30 – 14.00)

Thursday, 11th May 2017, 09.00 – 10.30

MIS 08 – 101 INTERTEXTUALITY: PHILOSOPHICAL TRADITION 01

Johan C. Thom

Plutarch's Use of the Pythagorean *Akousmata*

Geert Roskam

"Let us make the most of what they offer us." Different layers of intertextuality in *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum*

Marion Schneider

Plato vs. Plato. The staging of a Platonic discourse on eliminating an opponent in Plutarch's *Life of Dion* (I. C., II. A)

MIS 08 – 102 INTERGENERICITY AND THE EDUCATIONAL GOAL: COMEDY 02

Anna Peterson

Plutarch's *Comparison of Aristophanes and Menander* and the Agonistic Poetics of Old Comedy

Frances B. Titchener

Plutarch and the Comedians

Sophia Xenophontos

Comedy as moralising intertext in Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*

MIS 08 – 202 INTERDISCURSIVITY IN PLUTARCH: MEDICINE AND MUSIC 03

Eleni Plati

Medical understandings of φύσ(ε)ις in Plutarch's *Comp. Cim.-Luc.* 2.7.1-6

Fabio Tanga

Aspects and functions of Intertextuality in Plutarch's *De tuenda sanitate praecepta*

Mariella De Simone

The auletic tradition and its ethical/ideological functions in Plutarch's *Lives* and *Moralia*

MIS 08 – 0.101 INTRATEXTUALITY: THE EDUCATIONAL GOAL AND THE RHETORIC OF PROOF I 04

Jeffrey Beneker

Death on the Nile: The Final Episodes of Plutarch's *Agesilaus* and *Pompey*

Lucy Fletcher

Intertextuality across paired *Lives*: Plutarch's *Nikias-Crassus*

Philip Bosman

Narrative mood and texture in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*

Thursday, 11th May 2017, 11.00 – 12.30

MIS 08 – 101 PLATONIC ALLUSIONS AND THE MEMORY OF THE IDEAL READER 05

Maria do Céu Fialho

Symposiastic intertextualities between Plato's *Symposium* and Anytus' banquet in the *Life of Alcibiades*

Joseph Geiger

Intertextuality in the *De Genio Socratis*: Beyond the *Phaedo*

Chrysanthos Chrysanthou

Plutarch's *Demosthenes* 1 and Plato's *Theaetetus*

MIS 08 – 102 AUCTORIAL GENERICITY: PLUTARCH AND TRAGEDY 06

Elsa Giovanna Simonetti

Who is the best prophet? The "manifold" character of a quotation in Plutarch

Giovanna Pace

Euripide nei *Parallela minora*

Argyri Karanasiou

Plutarch's transformation of tragedy: the function of lyric quotations

MIS 08 – 202 INTERDISCURSIVITY, POPULAR DISCOURSES AND SOCIAL PRACTICES 07

Julia Doroszewska

The Paradox of the Eye in Plutarch's *De Curiositate* (*Mor.* 515b-523b)

Christina Harker

Plutarch's Intertextual References to Tattoos and Brands

Israel Muñoz Gallarte

The Plutarch's Image of Androgyny in Context

MIS 08 – 0.101 INTRATEXTUALITY: THE EDUCATIONAL GOAL AND THE RHETORIC OF PROOF II 08

Brad Buszard

Plutarch's *Theseus-Romulus* and the Murder of Remus

Delfim Ferreira Leao

Plutarch and Demetrius of Phaleron: a multimodal expression of intertextuality

Timothy Duff

Platonic intertextuality in Plutarch's *Alcibiades*

Thursday, 11th May 2017, 14.30 – 16.30

MIS 08 – 101 INTERTEXTUALITY: PERIPATETIC TRADITION 09

Michiel Meeusen

Intertextuality and Aetiological Overlap in Plutarch's Αἰτιαί Φυσικαί

Zlatko Pleše

Plutarch's Intertextual Hierarchies: Platonic and Aristotelian Traditions in the *Moralia*

Georgia Tsouni

Peripatetic Views on Moral Development in Plutarch's Philosophical Works

MIS 08 – 102 GENERIC ENRICHMENT IN PLUTARCH 10

Raphaëla Dubreuil

Demosthenes' end: the triumph of oratory over theatre

Katarzyna Jazdzewska

Generic syncretism and dialogue literature: the case of Plutarch's *Amatorius*

Francisca Pordomingo

Las *Vitae* de Plutarco y el epigrama

Alessio Ruta

Plutarch's proverbial intertexts in the *Lives*

MIS 08 – 202 FORMS AND LITERARY FUNCTIONS OF INTERTEXTUALITY 11

Lawrence Kim

Literary Revival in Plutarch's *De Pythiae oraculis* and Dionysius' *De antiquis oratoribus*

Gennaro D'Ippolito

Forms and functions of intratextuality in Plutarch's corpus

Aurelio Pérez Jiménez

Ejemplos de responsio gramatical en el *Teseo-Rómulo* de Plutarco

Marta González González

Daimones announcing death, *Dion* 55.2 and *Brutus* 36.7

MIS 08 – 0.101 INTRATEXTUALITY: THE EDUCATIONAL GOAL AND THE RHETORIC OF PROOF III 12

Philip Stadter

Aesopic Wisdom in Plutarch

Tobias Hirsch

Writing poetry, doing politics: Plutarch's *Life of Solon*

Karin Schlapbach/Cristiana Sogno

What can stories teach? Reading Plutarch's *De curiositate* as a commentary on attitudes toward literature

Paola Volpe Cacciatore

Plutarco personaggio dei *Moralia*

Friday, 12th May 2017, 09.00 – 10.30

MIS 08 – 101 INTERTEXTUALITY: RELIGIOUS AND MYTHICAL TRADITION I 13

Caitlin Emma Prouatt

Meeting in the Middle: the Opening of *De Defectu Oraculorum*

Frederick Brenk

Voices from the Past: Plutarch's Use of Quotations in the Pythian Dialogues

Donato Loscalzo

Polemiche e riprese nel *Bruta animalia ratione uti* di Plutarco

MIS 08 – 102 INTERGENERITICITY: THE HISTORIC TRADITION I 14

Michele Lucchesi

Plutarch's Pausanias, regent of Sparta, between intertextuality and intratextuality

Federicomaria Muccioli

Appius Claudius Caecus's speech and Alexander the Great (Plut., *Pyrrh.*, 19, 1-4). Plutarch, the counterfactual history and the ambiguity of a paradigm

Eran Almagor

How to Do Things with Hellenistic Historiography: Plutarch's Use(s) of Polybius

MIS 08 – 0.202 INTERGENERITICITY: FROM EPIC AND ART TO PHILOSOPHY 15

Stefano Amendola

Leggere Plutarco con Plutarco (?). Il *De sera numinis vindicta*, il *Commentario agli Erga* di Esiodo e il pensiero plutarcheo sulla giustizia

Eleni Kechagia-Ovseiko

Epicurean intertexts in Plutarch: a foil for Platonism?

Anastasia Serghidou

Du théâtralisme esthétique aux fonctions narratives de la mécanicité dans la *Vie de Démétrios*

MIS 08 – 0.101 INTERTEXTUALITY: WORDS AND MOTIFS 16

Judith Mossman

Plutarch, Grammar, and Grammarians

Dámaris Romero González

As Alexander says. The Alexander-dream as a motif in the Successors' Lives

Eva Falaschi

"Painters say ...". Reconsidering Plutarch's terminology in its intertextual context

Friday, 12th May 2017, 11.00 – 12.30

MIS 08 – 101 INTERTEXTUALITY: RELIGIOUS AND MYTHICAL TRADITION II 17

Rainer Hirsch-Luipold

ἕλη θεολογίας. Religious lore as intertext in Plutarch's *Moralia*

Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta

Modes of Hypertextuality in Plutarch's Myths in *De Genio*, *De sera* and *De facie in orbe lunae*

Aydin Mutlu

Myths and non-elite audiences in Plutarch and St. Basil: *De audiendis poetis* and *Oratio ad adulescentes*

MIS 08 – 102 INTERGENERICITY: THE HISTORIC TRADITION II 18

Mark Beck

Thucydides and Plutarch's *Pericles*: an Intertextual Reading

José Vela Tejada

Construyendo un retrato histórico: relaciones dialógicas entre la *Vida de Sila* de Plutarco y Estrabón

Zoe Stamatopoulou

Receiving Herodotus: the story of Arion in Plutarch's *Symposium of the Seven Sages*

MIS 08 – 202 ROME AND LATIN SOURCES 19

James Chlup

Individual as Intertext: C. Cassius Longinus in Plutarch's Roman Lives

Michael Nerdahl

The Encounter between Roman Virtue and Platonism in Plutarch's *Cato the Elder*

MIS 08 – 0.101 INTERGENERICITY IN THE *DE AUDIENDIS* 20

Marta Isabel de Oliveira Várzeas

In defence of poetry: intertextuality in Plutarch's *De audiendis poetis*

Vasiliki Kondylaki

Relire Homère dans le *De audiendis poetis* de Plutarque : l'effet émotionnel de la poésie épique

Maria Sokolskaya

Die Dichtung im nicht-idealen Staat: Der philologische und der philosophische Diskurs in *De audiendis poetis*

Friday, 12th May 2017, 14.30 – 16.00

MIS 08 – 101 PLATONIC ALLUSIONS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SELF 21

Elisabetta Berardi

Eloquenza di Gorgia, eloquenza di Lisia: allusioni platoniche nel *De audiendo*

Bram Demulder

Plato's *Republic* in Plutarch's *Dialogue on Love*: intertextuality without the text

Luisa Lesage Gárriga

Is light in Plutarch a *causa efficiens* or a *causa finalis*?

MIS 08 – 102 INTERGENERICITY: THE EPIC TRADITION 22

Diotima Papadi

The educational role of poetry: Plutarch reading Homer

Anna Lefteratou

Plutarch's less tragic heroes: dramatic and epic intertexts in Plutarch's *Pelopidas*

José Antonio Fernandez Delgado

Homer as a model of Plutarchan advise on good governance

MIS 08 – 202 SYMPOSIA AND INTERTEXTUALITY 23

Craig Cooper

Symptotic intertextuality in Plutarch's *Maxime cum principibus philosopho esse disserendum* (*Moralia* 776b-779c)

David Driscoll

Party poopers: physical and cosmological allegory of Homer at Plutarch's symposia

Timothy Howe

In Vino Veritas? Symposia, Murder and the Nature of Kingship in Plutarch's *Alexander*

MIS 08 – 0.101 FUNCTIONS OF INTERTEXTUALITY 24

Fabio Guidetti

Plutarch, Sulla, and the Fortune of the Romans

Christian Neumann

Über die vorbildliche Arbeit mit Vorbildern – Intertextualität in Plutarchs *Quaestiones Graecae* und *Romanae*

Carlos Alcalde-Martín

Algunos apuntes sobre la comparación interna en las *Vidas de Foción y Catón el Joven*

MIS 08 – 101 EXPLORING PLUTARCH'S POLITICAL THOUGHT THROUGH INTERTEXTUALITY 25

Andrea Catanzaro

A new taxonomy for old models: ancient theories of forms of government and their original combination in the *De unius*

Rebecca Kingston

Plutarch, Intratextuality and the Phenomenon of the Public

Susan Jacobs

Heroes Imitating Heroes: Cross-References within the *Parallel Lives*

Andrew Worley

Screeching Volumes: Plutarch's use of the *Ath. Pol.* as intertextual bridge between Athens and Rome

MIS 08 – 102 «INTERTEXTUAL» SPARTA IN PLUTARCH 26

Philip Davies

Crafting Sparta: Intertextuality in Plutarch's Spartan Lives

Olivier Gengler

Autour d'Agésilas : la Sparte de Plutarque et Xénophon

Noreen Humble

Dissecting Plutarch on Spartan Women

Lunette Warren

Reading Plutarch's Women: the *Lives* as extension of the *Moralia*

MIS 08 – 202 POTENTIALITIES OF INTERTEXTUALITY 27

Ana Ferreira

Aspects of intertextuality in Plutarch's *Life of Pericles*

Theofanis Tsiampokalos

Plutarch defines Rhetoric, while playing with Pretexts (*Praec. ger. reip.* 801C–D)

Daniel Richter

Plutarch and Fictionality

MIS 09 – 0.03 PLUTARCH'S SOURCES – PLUTARCH AS SOURCE 28

Chandra Giroux

The Power of Bones: An intertextual reading of the retrieval of Theseus' bones in Plutarch's *Life of Cimon*

Michael Paschalis

At the Crossroads of Intertextuality: Plutarch's *Life of Antony* between Cavafy and Shakespeare

Gabriella Guarino

La simbologia del cane in Plutarco: tra ri-uso della tradizione zoologica ed innovazione

CARLOS ALCALDE-MARTÍN (UNIVERSIDAD DE MÁLAGA)

Algunos apuntes sobre la comparación interna en las *Vidas de Foción y Catón el Joven*

Es muy conocido que la falta de una comparación formal final en el par de biografías de Plutarco *Foción -Catón el Joven* se compensa, y se justifica, con una comparación entre ambos al comienzo de la biografía de Foción. Partiendo de tal comparación, se han realizado estudios que analizan muchos paralelismos del carácter de los dos personajes en sus respectivas biografías. Sin decirlo expresamente, Plutarco va trazando una comparación interna entre ambos y deja al lector la tarea de identificarla. Esto se puede comprobar no solo en la descripción del carácter y la terminología empleada para definirlo, sino también en la narración de algunos episodios equivalentes, el contraste de los protagonistas con otros personajes y, de manera muy especial, la confrontación de su *areté* con una *týche* adversa.

ERAN ALMAGOR (INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR)

How to Do Things with Hellenistic Historiography: Plutarch's Use(s) of Polybius

Plutarch is unique among his contemporaries in his sustained interest in the Hellenistic period, chronologically placed between two ages in Greek history, namely, the Classical era and the rise of Rome in the Mediterranean and the Greek-speaking world. Plutarch is also noteworthy in his persistent use of the historical writings of this era. A person who exemplifies both Hellenistic history and historiography is Polybius, who stood at the cultural crossroad of Greek and Roman worlds, indeed, the very junction which Plutarch most probably saw himself as occupying.

Polybius is explicitly mentioned twenty six times in Plutarch's extant corpus. This paper will attempt to explore the intertextual play between the history of Polybius and Plutarch's historically-related *bios* ("Polybius the Historian": e.g., *Aem. Paul.* 15-16). It will also address the manner in which Plutarch refers to the external text of Polybius ("Polybius the Text": e.g., *De fortuna Romanorum* 12). Lastly, the paper will point to the interesting transition of Polybius from being a narrator in his own narrative to a character in the story of Plutarch's narrator, whether Polybius is seen as a historical agent in Megalopolis and Rome ("Polybius the Historical Agent": *Philop.* 21) or as an author cited by the biographer, and thus a resident of the narrative world himself (strictly speaking, as part of its fictional *exegesis* and not its *diegesis*).

The assumption of the study is that Plutarch's mention of historians and writers in his works is not merely intended to show his erudition and his wide reading, nor is it aimed solely at substantiating his assertions. Rather, these references have largely artistic, literary and historiographic goals, namely, to shed light on the protagonist, on the narrative, and on Plutarch's views concerning the course of political history or the development of historiography (and his own place within these processes). Addressing the historiographic dimension, the references to Polybius will also be compared with other (lost) Hellenistic historians (e.g., Phylarchus).

STEFANO AMENDOLA (UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI SALERNO)

Leggere Plutarco con Plutarco (?). Il *De sera numinis vindicta*, il *Commentario agli Erga* di Esiodo e il pensiero plutarco sulla giustizia

Nella recente *editio singularis* per Les Belles Lettres del *De sera numinis vindicta* (2010) - con traduzione e note di F. Frazier - l'opuscolo è seguito in appendice da una breve antologia

di testi antichi, selezionati per vicinanza di contenuto al trattato plutarco sulla teodicea: tra essi si segnala il fr. 38 Sandbach, facente parte del perduto commentario attribuito a Plutarco agli *Erga* di Esiodo. Il lavoro esegetico sul testo del poeta di Ascra e, in particolare, i commenti dedicati a OD 225-276, sezione degli *Erga* dominati dalla figura di Dike e dal valore della giustizia per gli uomini, offre infatti al filosofo di Cheronea l'occasione per riflettere su temi assai prossimi a quelli del *De sera numinis vindicta*, quali, ad esempio, la presenza del male, il procedere - non sempre lineare - della giustizia (umana e divina) e, soprattutto, la responsabilità dell'uomo nello scegliere il male e delle ricadute che tali scelte individuali hanno su comunità più ampie, quali *genos* e *polis*.

Ci si propone di condurre una lettura/analisi 'parallela' di otto frammenti del commentario esiodico (dal n. 32 al n. 39) e di alcune sezioni del *De sera*, individuate in base ad evidenti affinità tematiche (e.g. 559A-E, 562D), al fine di evidenziare, mediante una serie di incroci e rimandi intertestuali, non soltanto i presumibili punti di contatto, ma ancor più le eventuali e apparenti divergenze contenutistiche e/o lessicali che possano caratterizzare il pensiero plutarco sulla giustizia in due opere che, almeno originariamente, dovrebbero presentare finalità diverse - etico-religiosa il *De sera*, più specificamente di critico-letteraria il *Commentario*. Questa "lettura incrociata" dei due testi potrebbe inoltre consentire un nuovo approccio a problemi ecdotici e interpretativi che gravano ancora il testo e l'esegesi dei frammenti oggetto di analisi.

MARK BECK (UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA, COLUMBIA)

Thucydides and Plutarch's *Pericles*: an Intertextual Reading

One location of supreme importance for several of his Greek *Lives* is Athens of course, a city in which Plutarch resided for some time as a pupil of the philosopher Ammonius. The *Life of Pericles* is one of several Greek *Lives* that deal with Athenian statesmen and is one of the most important for understanding Plutarch's view of the educational role of biography and the importance of space. The prologue to the *Lives of Pericles and Fabius Maximus* (*Per.* 1-2) is allusive and complex. It presents Plutarch's ideas about mimesis and emulation, and is rife with words that denote the act of viewing or contemplation. Significantly for our topic this prologue explains the powerful psychological effect that a certain type of analytical viewing and contemplation of buildings and other monuments can have. It conditions the reader for an enhanced appreciation of the Periclean constructions on the Acropolis presented later in the life (*Per.* 12-13). Pericles' adornment of the Acropolis is a chronotope. Pericles is gone but the monuments, whose erection he oversaw, survived him, a physical testimony to his virtue. By adopting this rhetorical strategy in the prologue to call attention to *erga* arising from *arête*, Plutarch is echoing parts of Pericles' famous funeral oration (*Epitaphios*) transmitted to us by Thucydides (esp. 2.41-43). A subtle intertextual relationship is detectable between Plutarch and Thucydides in this context. It involves the intersection between character formation and space. Space in the form of buildings and foundations inspires emulation, valor, and *arête*, because the deeds are fixed in the commemorative monuments and the monuments support collective memory and ritual. In this paper I will analyze the relationship between these two texts and Plutarch's use of the chronotope to arrive at a deeper understanding of one of Plutarch's most important Athenian *Lives*.

JEFFREY BENEKER (UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON)

Death on the Nile: The Final Episodes of Plutarch's *Agésilus* and *Pompey*

In this paper I trace the intertextual connections between the final episodes in each *Life* of the *Agésilus-Pompey*. In both the formal *synchrisis* and the *Lives* themselves, Plutarch treats these episodes as a mix of parallels and contrasts. In the *synchrisis*, Plutarch argues that the

pair's final adventures, which are parallel because they occur in the same location, are in all other respects a study in contrasts: Pompey, after his defeat at Pharsalus, was forced to flee to Egypt, where his trust was betrayed by the king, while an elderly Agesilaus elected to go to Egypt as a mercenary and then betrayed the men who had trusted him (5).

In the *Lives*, however, we find in these adventures deeper parallels and starker contrasts that communicate significant information about the two men. For instance, contrary to the argument of the *synkrisis*, both men choose to go to Egypt, and their purposes (one to protect his family, the other for personal profit) reflect their values and character (*Ages.* 36; *Pomp.* 76). Both men also die in the course of their Egyptian adventure, the Spartan of old age and the Roman by murder. This second parallel, however, leads to an important contrast: the care given to Agesilaus' body at the close of the first *Life* (*Ages.* 40.4) sets a standard for the honor due a great man, and thus it brings the abuse suffered by Pompey's body (*Pomp.* 80) into sharp relief.

In addition to exploring the parallels and contrasts in the death scenes, I will trace connections between other scenes in the *Agesilaus-Pompey* and in other *Lives* (e.g. *Demosthenes-Cicero*). I will argue that Plutarch has crafted several final or death scenes in the *Lives* to demonstrate how great men often fail to end their careers with dignity.

ELISABETTA BERARDI (UNIVERSITÀ DI TORINO)

Eloquenza di Gorgia, eloquenza di Lisia: allusioni platoniche nel *De audiendo*

Come è ben documentato dalla edizione commentata di Hillyard 1981, il *de audiendo*, nato come conferenza e rielaborato per una circolazione scritta, è intessuto di richiami a opere classiche soprattutto platoniche. Il rapporto intertestuale con le opere del filosofo è spesso di natura allusiva: già nella dedica iniziale al giovane Nicandro con ogni probabilità Plutarco rielabora con finalità proprie l'apertura dell'VIII libro della *Repubblica* (Jazdzewska 2013). Ma anche in altri punti del *de audiendo* alcune immagini appaiono velatamente richiamare celebri passi platonici all'attenzione di un pubblico avveduto e preparato, siano essi gli uditori della originaria conferenza sia i successivi lettori del testo riadattato. Intendo infatti mostrare come Plutarco, in dialogo competitivo con la nascente Seconda Sofistica (Schmitz 2012), riscriva in modo fortemente allusivo immagini platoniche che già mettevano in luce il pericolo di seduzione della *epideixis* retorica, allo scopo di colpire il fenomeno a lui contemporaneo dell'atticismo linguistico. In un gioco di richiami ora aperti ora velati (*de aud.* 42D come probabile allusione a *Grg.* 456BC: Schmitz 2014; a *Phdr.* 228AE: Berardi in corso di stampa in *X International Congress IPS*), il *de audiendo* rievoca ipotesti che presentano modelli di eloquenza dei *palaioi* (Gorgia e Lisia rispettivamente nel *Gorgia* e nel *Fedro*). Plutarco intende quindi in punti cruciali del suo trattato riferirsi sottilmente a due opere frequentatissime dalle scuole di eloquenza, il *Fedro* e il *Gorgia* (Trapp 1990; 2000); nel momento in cui mette in guardia i giovani dai rischi dell'atticismo, che offusca il contenuto del messaggio dando preminenza alla sua forma, lascia ai lettori stessi il piacere di decrittare immagini di ascendenza platonica note grazie alla comune *paideia* retorica.

PHILIP BOSMAN (UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA, PRETORIA)

Narrative mood and texture in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*

The paper will consider some motifs in Plutarch's *Alexander* in order to show how he moulds material from his sources to create a layered depiction of his protagonist. These can be divided into a number of categories. There are stories which attain new dimensions in his narrative and have significance beyond what they had in his source material. Bucephalus (*Alex.* 6), for example, may be read as a symbol for Alexander himself, where even his fear of his own shadow and the need to look towards the sun attain additional meaning. Likewise, the naphtha episode (*Alex.* 35) becomes a parable for Alexander's

relationship with Babylon. Then the authors weaves recurring themes into his narrative to add texture, such as that of fire which occurs from the birth legends to Alexander's own feverish death. Furthermore, Plutarch uses various divine interventions throughout the *Life* to set the mood, starting with omens which initially are even by force interpreted positively to later highlight Alexander's 'fear of his own shadow'. Plutarch also employs material from the domain of medical theory, from Alexander's humour (*Alex.* 4) to the case history of his death (*Alex.* 76), while referring early on to Alexander's own interest in medicine (*Alex.* 7). Such material does have didactic purposes and reveals character, but it also adds considerable narrative complexity, in order to delight the attentive reader.

FREDERICK BRENK (PONTIFICIO ISTITUTO BIBLICO, ROMA)

Voices from the Past: Plutarch's Use of Quotations in the Pythian Dialogues

Plutarch in his dialogues allows the great authors of the past to express a view, stimulate, and produce a reaction. The quotations, then, have a very serious intellectual, educational, and cultural purpose, especially for the Second Sophistic. (For recent studies, see, especially Bowie, Klotz, König, Kindt, Nicholson, Obsieger, Ruffly, and Thum.) All Plutarch's quotations here come from the great authors of the past, none from contemporary ones. Some of the quotes represent our only fragment of a work. We find 28 authors cited from 52 works, resulting in 66 quotes, along with 45 indirect quotes or references, altogether, 111 quotes, indirect quotes, or references. Overall, the most popular are: Euripides 10 quotes, Homer 9, Adespota (lyric and tragedy) 7, the Delphi Oracle (from Herodotos 4, and Thucydides 1), Pindar 5, Plato 5, Herakleitos 4, Hesiod 4, Sophokles 4, and Empedokles 3. Rarely does a quote appear in another Pythian dialogue, or even elsewhere. "Clusters" (see Van der Stockt) though important, are not so frequent. The structure and goal of each dialogue is different. Thus, the very long *On the E at Delphi*, rejecting less profound interpretations and listening to Plato, enunciates the concept of a Middle-Platonic supreme God equated with Being and the One. In the *Oracles of the Pythia*, the voices recreate the cultural and social memory of the Delphic past. Most often the voice supports the speaker's position or emphasizes the principal theme. *The Obsolescence of the Oracles*, more like the *Sympotic Questions*, rejects competing voices of the past to settle on that of Aristotle. Thus, the voices speak both to the *personae* and to us in numerous and complex ways. Plutarch's own self-presentation of an extraordinary *pepaideumenos*, who dazzles with his erudition and wit, while exploring profound questions of society, life, and death.

BRAD BUSZARD (CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT UNIVERSITY)

Plutarch's *Theseus-Romulus* and the Murder of Remus

The intertext of Remus' death recurs several times in our Latin and Greek sources. The variations follow two lines. According to one, Romulus is not directly responsible and the blame falls instead upon one of his men, Celer. In the other, called the *uolgatior fama* by Livy (*AUC* 1.7.2), Romulus murders Remus with his own hand. Livy, perhaps following Ennius (cf. Macrobius *Sat.* 6.1.15), is the only author to restrict himself to this more horrific variant. Other sources—Diodorus 8.6, Ovid *Fast.* 4.811-854—follow the Celer version. Still others simply avoid the question: Dionysius mentions στάσις in vague terms but attributes no blame (*Ant. Rom.* 2.2.4); Cassius Dio too mentions στάσις but says only 'Ρώμος ἀπέθανεν (*Zon.* 7.3). Plutarch is the only author to discuss both versions, but he does not give them equal weight. In the body of *Romulus* itself, he seems to side with the Celer narrative; in the *synkrisis*, he comes down wholly on the side of the *uolgatior fama*. In the *proem* to *Theseus-Romulus* Plutarch stresses the similarities between his two subjects, saying that neither escaped domestic misfortune or congenital nemesis (*Thes.* 2.3). So prepared, the reader is surprised to find that Hippolytus' death in *Theseus* is hardly

mentioned, and surprised again by the very full treatment of Remus' murder in *Romulus* 9-10. The greatest surprise comes in the *synkrisis*, where Plutarch discards the Celer version and argues that Theseus' motives and the domestic circumstances preceding Hippolytus' death would cause one to favor him over Romulus (*synk.* 3). His idiosyncratic treatment of Remus' death is more critical than most, but too even-handed and inconsistent to be reckoned a full-throated indictment. Rather, it combines with the narrative of Hippolytus' death to exonerate Theseus for the murder of his son.

ANDREA CATANZARO (UNIVERSITY OF GENOVA)

A new taxonomy for old models: ancient theories of forms of government and their original combination in the *De unius*

Starting from Herodotus, in Ancient Western political thought the forms of government were classified according to the number of people in charge: the treble partition *monarchy*, *aristocracy*, *democracy* – alongside its corresponding negative one – was conceived as the sole possible taxonomy of the political regimes. Therefore authors involved in the debate concerning the forms of government had to work within a predetermined framework and were allowed to modify only some elements of a structure that had been taken for granted as a whole for a long time. That is why, if we look at Herodotus', Plato's, Aristotle's and Polybius' works, we can find differences in the labels used in order to identify the various regimes, in their features and in the causes of their genesis, but not in the taxonomy as a whole. From this perspective, Plutarch's *De unius* is no exception. However, there is something worth stressing in his analysis, something that appears new and original. With a view to creating his taxonomy, Plutarch chooses to use elements coming from the texts of Plato, Aristotle and Polybius devoted to this theme, blending them into a new one that is, at the same time, original but deeply linked to the previous tradition of Greek political thought. Through a lexical analysis, the paper will highlight the elements of continuity and discontinuity between the *De unius* and its sources, stressing what reading and use Plutarch made of the texts where Plato, Aristotle and Polybius had discussed the crucial political problem of the forms of government.

JAMES CHLUP (UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA, WINNIPEG)

Individual as Intertext: C. Cassius Longinus in Plutarch's Roman Lives

Scholars acknowledge the unique position of the *Brutus* as a double-Life or near double-Life, in which Plutarch allocates to C. Cassius Longinus a very prominent guest role. Cassius also features in three other *Lives* of the Later Roman Republic: *Crassus*, *Caesar*, and *Antony*. The interdependence of these Cassius narratives are, arguably, implied: for example, what Plutarch writes about Cassius in *Brutus* insists upon awareness of Cassius' career which falls outside the scope of that Life, referring to Cassius' efforts as the quaestor of Crassus during the Parthian misadventure (7.3). This comment acquires significance from the Parthian narrative in *Crassus*, where Cassius' positive efforts are conveyed (e.g., 18, 20, 22, 23, and 27). Cassius assassinates Caesar twice, once each in *Caesar* (62-67) and *Brutus* (8-20), where Plutarch explores the event from the perspectives of the victim and murderer, respectively. Finally, there is overlap between the post-Ides narratives in *Brutus* (21-53) and *Antony* (14-22).

If intertextuality uncovers latent relationships between texts, then examining a supporting character who features in several *Lives* as an intertext would seem to represent an opportunity to enhance understanding of how Plutarch imagines the relationship(s) between the Later Roman Lives. That is, Cassius as an intertext serves to establish, and at the same time agitate, connections between *Lives*, making the Later Roman Lives appear as a more organic whole on the one hand, or exposing inconsistencies across *Lives* on the other.

These relationships provide an additional, fascinating layer of complexity to Plutarch's biographical project.

CHRYSANTHOS CHRYSANTHOU (UNIVERSITÄT HEIDELBERG)

Plutarch's *Demosthenes* 1 and Plato's *Theaetetus*

Plutarch is an acute reader of Plato, and he assumes that his readers are acute enough too to welcome the numerous Platonic allusions he includes in both the *Moralia* and the *Lives*. In this paper I wish to add to the scholarly discussion on Plutarch's engagement with Plato's texts. More precisely, I want to suggest that in the first chapter of the prologue to the *Lives of Demosthenes and Cicero* there is an allusion to Plato's *Theaetetus*—a work with which Plutarch was certainly familiar (W.C. Helmbold and O.N. Edward, 1959, *Plutarch's Quotations*, 61–2)—which has passed unnoticed by modern scholarship.

Plutarch begins the *Demosthenes–Cicero* prologue by opposing the encomiast of Alcibiades who thinks that the happiness of a man depends on the happiness of his city (*Dem.* 1.1). He goes on to draw a contrast between virtue and arts (*Dem.* 1.2–3). Unlike virtue, Plutarch states, which 'like a sturdy and self-sufficient plant takes root in any location when it fastens on to a good nature and hardworking spirit,' the other arts 'which are developed for practical purposes and to secure good repute are likely to waste away (ἀπομαρναίεσθαι) in unimportant and humble cities' (*Dem.* 1.3, tr. A. Lintott, 2013, *Plutarch: Demosthenes and Cicero*). My contention is that the word ἀπομαρναίεσθαι seems to allude to Plato's *Theaetetus* 177b, and more precisely to Socrates' reference to the art of rhetoric (cf. καὶ ἡ ῥητορικὴ ἐκείνη πως ἀπομαρναίεται). Readers who know this work will remember that Socrates' words occur in the digressional part of the dialogue where Socrates in his inquiry into the question of knowledge and good juxtaposes the way of life of the philosophers with that of the orator-politicians (172c–177b). If this allusion, I argue, together with its context within the Platonic dialogue from which it is drawn, is recognised, it can enrich our understanding of the prologue as well as of the following parts of the *Demosthenes–Cicero* book, for it prompts a fundamental dialogue with Plato about the relationship between the philosophical, rhetorical, and political ways of life.

CRAIG COOPER (UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE)

Sympotic intertextuality in Plutarch's *maxime cum principibus philosopho esse disserendum* (*Moralia* 776b-779c)

Plutarch begins this little essay by comparing the philosopher, who converses with a man in a position of power, to an *erastes* courting an *eromenos*: "To embrace Sorcanus to your bosom, and to prize, purse, welcome and cultivate *philia*, ... is characteristic of those who love beauty, are politically minded (*politikon*) and generous, and not, as some believe, characteristic of those who love a reputation" (776b). The opening statement (776b), which sets the tone for the whole essay, is tinged with homoerotic language. The context, where the encounter between the philosopher and the man of power takes place and their *philia* is given expression, is the symposium. In the essay there are varying degrees of intertextuality at play. In some cases we are looking at quotations or allusions from other genres, like epic, philosophy, tragedy and comedy, that are interwoven into the text, the kind quotations or allusions, which one would expect to find in clever rhetorical display pieces delivered by participants at a symposium. But the intertextuality goes deeper almost to the point of intergenerativity. To demonstrate this I will trace the sympotic imagery that is woven through the essay, to see whether there is any generic influence from Plato's or Xenophon's *Symposium* (are the two kinds of *logoi* talked about by Plutarch meant to recall the two kinds of *eroi*?), and second to examine some of language and metaphors

used in this essay that we find repeated elsewhere in the *Moralia* and the *Lives* in order to understand more fully what Plutarch means here when he calls his philosopher *politikos*.

PHILIP DAVIES (LUDWIG-MAXIMILIANS UNIVERSITÄT, MÜNCHEN)

Crafting Sparta: Intertextuality in Plutarch's Spartan Lives

Spartans feature prominently within Plutarch's corpus: as historical figures, disciplined citizen-soldiers, and purveyors of laconic wit. Above all, they appear as products of a city noted for its exceptional culture and practices, and for the major role which it played in Greek history. The city of Sparta of course persisted in Plutarch's own time, but in his depiction of 'ancient' Sparta, its history and culture, he drew heavily upon earlier historians, philosophers and other writers. As part of my current research project on "Plutarch's Sparta," I am exploring how the authors and texts with which Plutarch engaged in his writings contributed to the image of Sparta he presented – what we might term an 'inter-textual Sparta'.

For the purposes of this paper, I will be focussing upon the five *Lives* which Plutarch dedicated to individual Spartans (*Lycurgus*, *Lysander*, *Agesilaus*, *Agis* and *Cleomenes*). I will examine the authors and texts whose presence or influence is apparent within these works, and the diverse forms which Plutarch's intertextual engagement with these takes. In particular, I will consider the intertexts which are apparent in relation to a major theme and recurring point of reference within Plutarch's Spartan Lives: the lawgiver Lycurgus and the constitution which he established. Ultimately, I will seek to address to what extent analysing Plutarch's intertextual engagement can provide us with insight regarding the influence which specific authors and texts, in particular major sources such as Xenophon, Plato and Aristotle, had upon his conception of Sparta.

BRAM DEMULDER (KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT LEUVEN)

Plato's Republic in Plutarch's Dialogue on Love: intertextuality without the text

At first sight, Plato's *Republic* does not seem to play a significant role in Plutarch's *Dialogue on Love*. There is only one direct quotation from Plato's ten-book work (*Resp.* V.462C in *Amat.* 767D) and, then again, this quotation is used in defence of a practice which would blatantly contravene Plato's state law. Nevertheless, as I argue in this paper, intertextuality with the *Republic* (esp. book VI) is the key to understanding the structural and philosophical climax of Plutarch's dialogue.

I offer an analysis of Plutarch's subsequent comparisons of love with the sun and the rainbow. The influence of the *Republic* on the former has been pointed out but only a close reading can show how Plutarch subtly rewrites Plato's image of the sun. The latter image has always been taken as an original invention on Plutarch's part. I suggest that it is actually an ingenious (and, indeed, thoroughly Plutarchan) rewriting of Plato's simile of the divided line. After the analysis of these comparisons, I broaden the perspective to discuss the importance and the fundamental problems of the *Republic* for Plutarch's *Dialogue on Love*, drawing also upon other works (esp. *Platonic Questions*, *On the Face in the Moon*, and *On Isis and Osiris*).

This paper contributes to the development of a broader understanding of the concept of 'intertextuality' in Plutarch studies. Plato's texts can be very much present even when they seem absent. This raises the question of how Plutarch comments on, adapts and struggles with the Platonic source text. Moreover, it shows how studying this broad intertextuality can give insight in Plutarch's own philosophical ideas, c.q. his conception of love.

JULIA DOROSZEWSKA (UNIVERSITY OF SILESIA, KATOWICE)

The Paradox of the Eye in Plutarch's De Curiositate (Mor. 515b-523b)

In my paper I would like to explore the role of sight (*opsis*) in Plutarch's treatise *On Curiosity* (*Peri polypragmosynēs*). I shall argue that the busybody (*polypragmōn*) is depicted by Plutarch as a spectator (*theatēs*) who desires to pry into the affairs of others by watching their secrets that are described as the spectacle (*theama*).

Sight and seeing serve as a thematic preoccupation in *On Curiosity*, and therefore provide a complex cluster of vocabulary and phraseology concerning visual perception; apart from the numerous literal terms (such as the verbs *theasthai*, *blepein*, *oran* and their cognates), one finds there in abundance various suggestive metaphors, comparisons and anecdotes related to these issues, among which a particularly intriguing phenomenon is the figurative use of the house, windows and doors. The latter two play a prominent role as transitional places that lead simultaneously to and from the house interior, and this particular aspect enables comparing them to human eyes which also function as a passage to and from the soul. However, as such windows and doors may be viewed as the weak points of the house, since they are vulnerable to external influences such as someone's curious gaze. Similarly the eyes are both powerful and feeble, active and passive: the viewer, especially the meddlesome one, can penetrate and dominate the view, but the view can also reciprocally captivate the viewer and deprive him of his self-control and will. This paradox of the eye is underpinned by a blend of ancient conceptions of sight, especially by the amalgam of both the so-called extra- and intro-mission theories.

I will attempt to show that Plutarch, discussing the vice of meddlesomeness, engages in the ancient philosophical and popular discourse on sight and vision. This interdiscursivity works for Plutarch's educational goal: the danger that lies in the paradox of the eye grants much of a persuasive power to his argumentation.

DAVID DRISCOLL (STANFORD UNIVERSITY)

Party poopers: physical and cosmological allegory of Homer at Plutarch's symposia

In Plutarch's vision of an intellectual and social community, intertextual play with Homer plays a prominent role; particularly in his *Quaestiones Convivales*, characters use Homeric quotation and interpretation as a means of forming community and also establishing a hierarchy within that community. This paper analyzes the represented social dynamics surrounding a particular subset of Homeric play: namely, the allegorical interpretation of Homer as referring to the natural world (physical) and the broader universe (cosmological). Despite its importance in contemporary intellectual culture, such allegory only occurs once in the conversations of the *Quaestiones Convivales*. This paper argues that such conversation is controversial among Plutarch's peers and hence inappropriate to the convivial atmosphere of Plutarch's symposium.

The argumentation of the paper falls into three parts, gradually narrowing down to the symposium. First, I briefly sketch the broader role of physical and cosmological allegory of Homer in Plutarch's corpus: I agree with the consensus that Plutarch does not altogether avoid such allegory in his works, despite *De aud. poet.* 19e-20a. Second, I analyze two instances in Plutarch's dialogues where cosmological interpretation of early Greek poetry brooks controversy: at *De pyth. or.* 400b Sarapion's cosmological reading of *Od.* 3.1 (referring to the Stoic idea that the sun obtains its fuel from the ocean) is ridiculed by the narrator Philinus as "emotional melodrama" (τραγωδία), and at *De def. or.* 415f-16a Cleombrotus "cannot brook" Demetrius' cosmological interpretation of Hes. fr. 304 MW.

Finally, I turn to the one instance of cosmological interpretation in the *QC*, Ammonius' reconciliation of the Homeric Sirens with the Platonic ones (9.14.745d-f). This exception proves the general rule: despite mitigating factors allowing this moment of allegory (Ammonius as host, the Platonic occasion of a festival of the Muses), even this interpretation produces mild discomfort and a rare silence in the symposium.

RAPHAËLA DUBREUIL (UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH)
Demosthenes' end: the triumph of oratory over theatre

The paper I propose explores Plutarch's use of the Demosthenic corpus in his depiction of Demosthenes' death scene (*Dem.* 29). While much important work has been done on the sources which have influenced Plutarch's portrayal of the orator, they have been identified as later, philosophical reinterpretations of Demosthenes, designed to portray him in a negative light (cf. Craig Cooper (2000) on the Peripatetic influence; Laurent Pernot (2005) for a wider discussion of possible sources). When allusions have been noted, their role has often been restricted to that of serving the narrative, by supplying information (cf. Lintott (2013)'s commentary), rather than that of exploring important themes to the *Life*.

I contend that Plutarch used Demosthenes' oratorical corpus to characterise his subject as a brave orator in his dying moment. This is crucial, since Demosthenes' cowardice, which permeates much of the narrative, is owed to non-Demosthenic sources. I argue my point by looking closely at Plutarch's narrative of the events preceding Demosthenes' suicide: the orator, being pursued by Archias, an ex-actor sent by the Macedonians to kill him, takes refuge in the temple of Poseidon at Calauria, and after a dream, wakes up to verbally battle with his pursuer. Plutarch creates a contrast between Archias, the actor who embodies falsehood, and Demosthenes, the orator who speaks the truth. This characterisation is achieved by drawing on the historical depiction of his own character and that of his opponent Aeschines in his own speeches, especially in *On the Crown*. Rather than arguing that Archias be read as a symbolic Aeschines, I contend that Plutarch draws on Demosthenic imagery to cast his subject as a courageous orator standing for his principles. I read Plutarch's allusion to the Demosthenic corpus as a means to depict the moral worth of the historical figure he is describing.

TIMOTHY DUFF (UNIVERSITY OF READING)
Platonic intertextuality in Plutarch's *Alcibiades*

Alcibiades was one of the most controversial of Socrates' pupils and features heavily in two works of Plato: the *First Alcibiades* and the *Symposium*, in which Plato tacitly defends Socrates for his failure to reform Alcibiades. It is therefore not surprising that, when Plutarch came to write the *Life of Alcibiades*, he should use those two texts as sources both for Alcibiades' character and for his relationship with Socrates.

However, intertextual references to Platonic works in the *Alcibiades* go far beyond the *First Alcibiades* and the *Symposium*. As I hope to demonstrate in this paper, the early parts of the *Alcibiades* contains allusions to several other Platonic texts in which Alcibiades does not occur as a character and in which his name is not mentioned: *Charmides*, *Lysis*, *Phaedrus*, *Apology*, and *Republic* Books 6 and 8. As I hope to demonstrate, the reader's understanding of the *Alcibiades* is changed and enriched by recognition of both the original Platonic passages and, importantly, of the context of those passages within the Platonic texts from which they are drawn.

At the same time, the density of allusion to Plato lends to this part of the *Alcibiades* a highly Platonic or philosophical flavour, and encourages the reader to see and judge Alcibiades from a philosophical point of view. (By contrast, other parts of the *Life* have a highly histo-

riographical, rhetorical or comic flavour). This is, in other words, not simply a question of *intertextuality* but also of *intergenericity*.

EVA FALASCHI (SCUOLA NORMALE SUPERIORE, PISA)
"Painters say ...". Reconsidering Plutarch's terminology in its intertextual context

In two famous passages of the *Moralia* (*Quaest. Conv.* 725c, *E ap. Delph.* 393c) Plutarch states that painters and dyers say of mingled pigments that they are "destroyed" (φθειρεσθαι), and call the process "destruction" (φθορά). Since Plutarch uses the same word, φθορά, to define also the innovation introduced in the art of painting by the painter Apollodorus of Athens, art historians and archaeologists have read Plutarch's words as the indication of an artistic terminology used by painters themselves to define their work. Therefore, they have tried to explain the technical meaning of this terminology by the comparison with other literary sources on painting as well as the archaeological evidence, but unfortunately without reaching a final conclusion.

This paper aims at discussing again the issue in the light of Plutarch's literary, philosophical and cultural knowledge, that is within Plutarchean dynamics of intertextuality. In fact, the analysis of the texts shows an overlapping of literary quotations – in particular from Homer – philosophical thoughts and philological debates on the *Iliad*. Nonetheless, until now these aspects have been neglected in the evaluation of Plutarch's statements, so that it has led to a misunderstanding of the texts themselves and their wrong use in the modern debate on ancient painting.

Through this case study, the paper will show how the dynamics of intertextuality, intratextuality and interdiscursivity overlap and intertwine in the same text. It also will point out their value as a research method in the understanding of Plutarch's text and in the use of the information it transmits.

JOSÉ ANTONIO FERNANDEZ DELGADO (UNIVERSIDAD DE SALAMANCA)
Homer as a model of Plutarchan advice on good governance

Apart from the known quotations with ornamental or authority function which the Homeric text provides for the stylistic configuration of the Plutarchan works dedicated to political advice (*Max. c. princ.*, *Ad princ.*, *An seni*, *Praec. ger. reip.*), a very high proportion of them play a role in the generic configuration of these works. They offer, to the extent that their greater or lesser extension permits, the action model of good governance which the successive exhortations promote. It is also possible to distinguish in them the model function which certain heroes characteristic of the epos or certain similes show, and to observe the inclination which quite a few works share for certain Homeric expressions, some of which manage to adopt a programmatic function. This is the thematics which my proposal aims to approach, in the frame of the reception of Homer by Plutarch as the scholar model par excellence.

ANA FERREIRA (UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO)
Aspects of intertextuality in Plutarch's *Life of Pericles*

In order to substantiate his description of Pericles' character and deeds, Plutarch calls on written testimonies of several authors contemporaries of 5th century Athens greatest statesman. Through quotations, references and allusions, one may listen to the voices of comedy writers (Cratinus, Aristophanes, Plato Comicus), philosophers (specially Plato, Aristotle and Theophrastus) and historians (such as Thucydides, among many others).

This paper intends to ponder over the intergenericity of this life, particularly rich regarding the variety of intertexts. This paper also aims reflect on how the biographer deals with the original texts in order to achieve his educational goals. Why does Plutarch prefer these

literary genres in this specific life? How does he rework the selected excerpts as a means to achieve his goals and to support his points of view?

DELPHIM FERREIRA LEO (UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA)

Plutarch and Demetrius of Phaleron: a multimodal expression of intertextuality

Plutarch mentions Demetrius of Phaleron a good number of times, both in the *Lives* and in the *Moralia*. Those references are very often interwoven with considerations respecting personalities with whom Demetrius was involved in his political and intellectual activity, or on whom he made considerations in his own work, in those passages where Plutarch is using the Phalereus as an explicit source. But at other times, it is the very activity and personality of Demetrius (as ruler or as an intellectual in exile) that is being examined by Plutarch, and presented at his turn as an exemplum.

It is therefore the purpose of this paper to analyse, on the one hand, the way Plutarch mentions Demetrius as his own source and, on the other, as an intellectual character and statesman “per se”, in order to discuss the multimodal approaches deriving from the dynamics of intertextuality.

MARIA DO CÉU FIALHO (UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA)

Symposiastic intertextualities between Plato's *Symposion* and Anytus' banquet in the *Life of Alcibiades*

By the way Plutarch shapes Alcibiades's arrival and his behaviour at Anytus's banquet, he appeals to his reader's memory and plays with the similarities and contrasting situations between this scene and Alcibiades' arrival and his behaviour at Agathon's banquet: he was invited to Anytus' house, he arrives later, drunk (as well as by Plato), and gives full expression to his arrogance and prepotency, by brutally breaking the rules of hospitality towards a man he knows he dominates through erotic charm: Anytus is absolutely seduced by him. The reader constructs then the intertextual links with Plato's *Symposion*, where the non-invited Alcibiades arrives at Agathon's house (also breaking the banquet's rules), also drunk, but totally surrendered to Socrates, erotically attracted towards the philosopher as Anytus towards him. In both situations, it is evident that Alcibiades is unable to attain a higher level of eros – that one that opens the way to philosophy – either as seducer or as seduced. This implicit intertextuality prepares the reader to the unsuccessful hunt by which Socrates tries to lead Alcibiades to virtue and philosophy in Plutarch, as well as it happened in Plato.

LUCY FLETCHER (UNIVERSITY OF READING)

Intertextuality across paired *Lives*: Plutarch's *Nikias-Crassus*

At *Nikias* 5.7 Plutarch says that *Nikias*' life was such that he could say the words of Euripides' Agamemnon about himself: ‘as ruler of life we have pride (ὄγκον), but to the mob we are slaves’ (quoting Euripides, *Iph.A.* 449-450). This quotation appears very early in the *Life*. When a reader remembers the original Euripidean context from which it comes, various further similarities emerge between Agamemnon and *Nikias*. These similarities foreshadow later events in *Nikias*' life and function to draw the early biographical material into a causal pattern which explains the course of the later, foreshadowed events, providing the *Life* with a structure which transcends the merely chronological. This pattern emerges by aligning *Nikias* and Euripides' Agamemnon and thus *Nikias*' story is revealed as conforming to a broad paradigm to which Euripides' Agamemnon also belongs. This is very significant for understanding Plutarchan biography and the nature of his interest in individuality.

The *Nikias* is, however, only one half of the book. What, then, are the effects of such an important intertext for the second *Life* and for the book as a whole? *Nikias* is paired with

Crassus because, as Plutarch says, to place them in parallel seems not inappropriate (*Nik.* 1.1). The two individuals have a lot in common, most especially their misfortunes in Sicily and Parthia. Do *Crassus*' misfortunes, though, arise as a result of the same causal paradigm as those of *Nikias* and Agamemnon? This paper argues that *Crassus*' *Life* does not conform to this paradigm. Across the pair, therefore, the intertextual quotation functions to individuate the two subjects by revealing differences between their otherwise very similar biographical stories. This is in addition to having raised the first *Life* from the purely individual to an example of a broader structural pattern. Overall, therefore, this paper demonstrates the subtle and complex functioning of Plutarchan intertextuality across paired *Lives* through examination of the *Nikias-Crassus* book.

JOSEPH GEIGER (HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM)

Intertextuality in the *De Genio Socratis*: Beyond the *Phaedo*

The intertextual associations between the *De genio Socratis* and Plato's *Phaedo* is arguably the most often explored among such relationships in Plutarch's works. Moreover, a number of scholars have drawn attention also to other works of a variety of authors at the background of Plutarch's dialogue. While due attention will be paid to all these important observations, the approach of this paper will emphasise a different connexion. Already at the outset of the dialogue (575A-E) Plutarch makes clear, that his expected reader is not the layman without knowledge of art, but rather the sophisticated connoisseur, the lover of honour and beauty. In the following it is made known what is exactly required of this ideal reader: acquaintance with Plato's *Phaedo* is clearly implied, but there is also the expectation of a favourable attitude to Boeotia and Thebes and of familiarity with their history. It is in this connexion that the intriguing and seemingly unnecessary introduction into the dialogue of the figure of Epaminondas will be discussed, relating it to the *Life of Pelopidas* as well as to the lost *Life of Epaminondas* and to other occurrences of Plutarch's favourite Boeotian hero in his writings.

OLIVIER GENGLER (UNIVERSITÄT TÜBINGEN)

Autour d'Agésilas: la Sparte de Plutarque et Xénophon

À côté d'Athènes, Sparte occupe une place prééminente dans l'œuvre de Plutarque, qu'il s'agisse des *Vies* ou des *Œuvres morales*. D'un texte à l'autre, Plutarque développe une vision cohérente de la destinée de la cité, où le système politique institué par Lycurgue et son observance plus ou moins grande par les acteurs de l'histoire lacédémonienne occupent une position centrale. Derrière cette image de Sparte construite par Plutarque se distingue l'ombre de l'Agésilas et de la *Constitution des Lacédémoniens* de Xénophon, œuvres qui par ailleurs nourrissent concrètement nombre de passages des *Vies* d'Agésilas, de Lycurgue, mais aussi de la *Vie* de Lysandre ou des *Apophtegmes*. Les relations complexes entre ces textes relèvent donc à la fois de l'intertextualité (de Plutarque à Xénophon) et de l'intratextualité (de Plutarque à lui-même et, en arrière-plan, de Xénophon à Xénophon). En nous appuyant essentiellement sur la *Vie d'Agésilas*, nous voudrions montrer dans cette communication comment se construisent ces relations, quelles marques elles laissent dans le texte — essentiellement par le jeu d'un vocabulaire récurrent, mais aussi par des renvois explicites — et quelles fonctions elles exercent dans le projet littéraire de Plutarque. On verra que, au-delà du jeu entretenu avec le lecteur, invité à établir les rapprochements entre les différents textes, Plutarque entend asseoir sa conception de la vertu civique qui, en l'occurrence, entre en résonance avec l'image que les élites spartiates de son temps voulaient donner d'elles-mêmes.

CHANDRA GIROUX (MCGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL)

The Power of Bones: An intertextual reading of the retrieval of Theseus' bones in Plutarch's *Life of Cimon*

The mythical figure of Theseus is prominent in Plutarch's work, not only in the *Life* reserved for him, but also in the *Life of Cimon*. In this *Life*, the fifth century BCE Athenian general follows an oracular command to retrieve the bones of Theseus from Scyros (8.5), and finds a skeleton of extraordinary proportions, similar to that of the bones of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, as told by Herodotus (1.67-8). The possibility of Plutarch's passage in *Cimon* being influenced by that of Herodotus should be considered, for while the circumstances surrounding the 'tomb' of the heroes are very different, the retrieval follows a similar pattern. Similarly, two near contemporaries of Plutarch, Pausanias and Polyaeus, also relate episodes of the re-appropriation of heroic bones, Pausanias further describing Theseus (3.3.7) and Polyaeus, Rhesos (6.53). It is clear from these passages that hero cults were prominent in ancient Greece, but more importantly, that Plutarch recognized their celebrity by saying that Cimon's retrieval of the bones, "...was the chief reason the people took kindly to him" (8.6). Plutarch doesn't end the connection between Theseus and Cimon there, but links their families again in his *Life of Theseus* (35.8). M. Zaccarini (*Histos* 9, 2015) recently examined the episode of the bones of Theseus and its layered reception. My paper will build on Zaccarini's work by focusing on how Plutarch's episode ties into the literary tradition of bone retrieval. Specifically, it will develop the following questions: what similarities do the above mentioned passages have with *Cimon*? How does the link between Theseus and Cimon's family add to the educational program of the *Parallel Lives*? And, more broadly, what does this tell us about how Plutarch uses the mythical past to shape anecdotes in the *Lives* for the delight of his reader?

MARTA GONZÁLEZ GONZÁLEZ (UNIVERSIDAD DE MÁLAGA)

Daimones announcing death, *Dion* 55.2 and *Brutus* 36.7

According to Plutarch, the daimon which appears to Dion and announces to him his imminent death looks like a Tragic Erinys (*Dion* 55.2). Plutarch tells also that a vision which identifies itself as "your evil daimon" appears to Brutus, just before the battle of Philippi, to announce to him his death (*Brutus* 36.7). We find this last motive also in *Caesar*. This paper focuses on the similarities between these episodes which announce the death to Dion and Brutus in a similar way, establishing intertextual links between these *Lives*. Secondly, I'll pay attention to the relationship between these texts and the tragedy.

GABRIELLA GUARINO (AVELLINO)

La simbologia del cane in Plutarco: tra ri-uso della tradizione zoologica ed innovazione.

Nelle descrizioni zoologiche è possibile delineare la rete di relazioni che Plutarco intrattiene con modelli letterari impliciti o espliciti, sia di epoche precedenti sia coevi, da Aristotele a Plinio. L'*imaginaire* zoologico di Plutarco è particolarmente ricco. Ricollegendosi ad una tradizione fortemente radicata nella cultura greca, che promuove il mondo animale quale specchio dei comportamenti, delle attitudini, dei caratteri degli esseri umani, il Cheronese non esita a servirsi del paragone etologico tra uomo ed animale, per giustificare, valorizzare, condannare una tipologia di comportamento. Come per i suoi predecessori, la riflessione plutarca sugli animali non proviene quasi certamente quasi mai da una conoscenza diretta, ma da un retroterra di credenze, da un insieme di rappresentazioni, che ha saputo osservare e catturare i movimenti degli animali cristallizzandoli in un sistema semantico. La polifunzionalità dell'animale nell'uso plutarco è dato inconfutabile: l'animale in Plutarco può essere al centro di studi di matrice pseudo-scientifica ed etologica; può essere un

simbolo, una metafora, l'oggetto di una similitudine, un *instrumentum* di cui l'autore si serve per confutare le proprie idee e per attuare la *persuasio* sul suo pubblico, l'oggetto di riflessioni in chiave zoo-psicologica e filo-animalistica. Il cane rappresenta un esempio d'intelligenza nel mondo animale: in questo contributo si rileveranno le sue caratteristiche e si evidenzierà il ri-uso dell'animale nei più svariati contesti. Nell'uso e ri-uso di aneddoti, curiosità, notizie pseudo-scientifiche e scelte lessicali Plutarco evidenzia il suo legame profondo ed originale con la zoologia a lui precedente e contemporanea.

FABIO GUIDETTI (UNIVERSITÀ DI PISA)

Plutarch, Sulla, and the Fortune of the Romans

Plutarch's treatise *On the Fortune of the Romans* has often been considered as little more than a rhetorical exercise, and some scholars have even judged it incomplete or lacking its final revision. On the contrary, I will argue that this work is not only well structured, but also particularly relevant to a key problem in Plutarch's thought: the role of *Tyche* as master of human events, both individual and collective. In this treatise Plutarch distances himself from the Hellenistic tradition, which regarded *Tyche* as an unstable and unpredictable force: in Plutarch's eyes, *Tyche* is the agent of a providential design, whose aim is the establishing and conservation of Roman hegemony. In developing this argument, Plutarch draws heavily on Latin sources. He quotes explicitly Livius and Caesar, but most of his references are to events of the late 2nd and early 1st century BC, involving especially the family of the Metelli: the forefather Metellus Macedonicus, his sons and nephews, as well as those who entered that family through marriage, such as Scourus, Sulla, Lucullus. At an intratextual level, these anecdotes can shed light on Plutarch's working practices, because the same materials also appear in other treatises of the *Moralia* and in some of the *Parallel Lives*; but they also give some clues to the much debated issue of Plutarch's intertextual relation to Latin sources. In particular, the hypothesis will be explored that Plutarch's new concept of *Tyche* is highly indebted to the idea of *felicitas* developed by Sulla and elucidated in the dictator's memoirs, which Plutarch read and quoted in many passages of his *Life of Sulla*. This work could offer him not only information on Sulla's life and career, but also a coherent theory about divine intervention in human affairs, which may have influenced Plutarch's own thoughts on this subject.

CHRISTINA HARKER (UNIVERSITÄT BERN)

Plutarch's Intertextual References to Tattoos and Brands

Tattooing in antiquity operated as a kind of text on people's faces and skin. Involuntary tattooing in particular relayed the message a more powerful person had written on their slave or war captive. Plutarch's references to tattooing and branding can stand alone or they can appear with a quote where a famous author describes an instance of branding and tattooing. These double references—where Plutarch cites another author describing a third text (the tattoo)—perform identity-making work. They contrast the privilege of the author and expected reader with branded people who have been turned into writing surfaces. These people are texts to be read, they are not the people writing or even reading them. In the most basic sense, they are passive and acted upon while Plutarch and his reader are active. This draws a circle around Plutarch and his knowledgeable reader as those who read and understand, in contrast to those who do not read or write but are read and written on. Thus, Plutarch's doubled intertextual references align himself and his expected reader in two ways (through shared knowledge of other authors and shared social status). His references function as literal descriptions of historical events in the *Lives*, but Plutarch can also deploy notions of branding and tattooing in a metaphorical sense in the *Moralia* (e.g. *De sera numinis vindicta* where they are part of the catalog of Thespisius's father's sins, now

written on his body). In either case, Plutarch uses the imagery of tattooing in sophisticated intertextual references where the tattoos themselves function as texts communicating social or even moral meanings, depending on his authorial needs.

TOBIAS HIRSCH (RUPRECHT-KARLS-UNIVERSITÄT HEIDELBERG)

Writing poetry, doing politics: Plutarch's *Life of Solon*

In this paper I focus on the *Life of Solon* and especially on Plutarch's intertextual engagement with Solon's poetry. My aim is to examine how Plutarch employs different styles of Solon's poetry in his biography of Solon in order to scrutinise specific aspects of Solon's life and prompt readers' reflection on Solon's character and political career. As shall be argued, Solon's political effectiveness is brought into light through his convincing public use of elegiac and hexameter poems, particularly present in the first half of the *Life*. On the contrary, Solon's iambic poetry and invective style prove to be less successful in ensuring public control. Overall, I show that a change in Solon's use of poetic style signals a more or less effective 'change' in his character and statesmanlike ability. To back up my claims, I often refer to Plutarch's theoretical principles in the *Political Precepts* and the *How to Study Poetry* and regularly make comparisons to Solon's paired *Life of Publicola*.

RAINER HIRSCH-LUIPOLD (UNIVERSITÄT BERN)

ἕλη θεολογίας. Religious lore as intertext in Plutarch's *Moralia*

Taking inspiration from Plutarch's well-known quote at the beginning of *De defectu* (410B), this paper will explore the ways in which Plutarch uses religious lore as the material basis for his philosophical theology. Plutarch's 'intertextual' references to certain traditions—in our case taken from the sphere of lived religion—are shaped in a way that allows him to make specific points in a given argumentative context. This material, thus, is reworked according to the role it will have to serve in its new context, just like Plutarch—as many ancient writers—would adjust a written quotation to the context of his argument. In our case, we are dealing with the interaction between the traditions of lived religion and the philosophical quest for the truth—surely one of the most fascinating forms of interdiscursivity in the work and thought of the philosopher-priest from Delphi.

TIMOTHY HOWE (ST. OLAF COLLEGE, NORTHFIELD)

In Vino Veritas? Symposia, Murder and the Nature of Kingship in Plutarch's *Alexander*

In two well-known symposion scenes—Philip II's post-wedding feast (*Alexander* 9-10) and Alexander's post-proskynesis party (*Alexander* 51)—Plutarch offers the reader opportunities to ponder the nature of royal power and the consequences of royal decisions. In these two scenes, royal power is challenged and defended in markedly different ways. At the post-wedding feast, Alexander questions his father Philip's bad administrative decision to align the royal house through marriage with Attalos, a man who has just insulted Philip's right hand and heir—Alexander. As if to prove the validity of Alexander's criticism that his father is not competent to rule, Philip attempts to stab Alexander but is too drunk to achieve his goal. Alexander subsequently flees, plots against his father with Pixodaros, satrap of Karia, but is later forgiven his treachery against the king, a policy that Plutarch judges ill-conceived, for Alexander ultimately supports Philip's murderer, Pausanias. At the post-proskynesis party, Kleitos, Alexander's right-hand man, criticizes the drunk Alexander on his bad administrative decision to introduce proskynesis. Alexander, like his father Philip years earlier, draws a weapon on his critic, but unlike Philip, Alexander, even though soundly inebriated, is able to kill his man, thus ending any further criticism in the *Life* about the proskynesis policy. Both scenes climax in quotes from Euripidean drama. This paper

explores the intratextual dynamics between these two scenes, as well as the intertext of using Euripides as a climax, to probe at the message Plutarch is offering us about both kingship and Alexander. Some questions to be considered: how does Plutarch use intra- and intertextuality to instruct the audience in the relationships between ruthlessness and royal success in the *Alexander*? How does intratext highlight the ways in which Plutarch's Alexander succeeds in ruling the Macedonians (and conquering Asia) and his Philip fails?

NOREEN HUMBLE (UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY)

Dissecting Plutarch on Spartan Women

This paper will examine how Plutarch constructs his picture of Spartan women in the *Lycurgus* (14-15). While the passage in question is not a long one, it is dense with intertextual and intratextual material, both explicit and implicit, and so illustrates well the complexity of Plutarch's compositional technique. Explicit intertextual references and allusions come from works that we can still examine (e.g. *Lyc.* 14.1 with Aristotle *Pol.* 2.6.8, and *Lyc.* 15.1 with Plato *R.* 458d). Implicit allusions, however, dominate and in many ways these, and how Plutarch subtly alters them and integrates them into his picture, are more interesting. For some a reasonable origin can be posited (e.g. *Lyc.* 15.7 with Xen. *Lac.* 1-7-8; and *Lyc.* 15.8-9 with Plato *R.* 459a-460d); for others origins are frustratingly lost (e.g. the marriage rite at *Lyc.* 15.3-4). Intratextual material can also be found (e.g. *Lyc.* 14.4 = *Mor.* 240e; *Lyc.* 15.2 = *Mor.* 228f, and *Lyc.* 15.10 = *Mor.* 228c). Comparison of all these with the source versions confirm what has already been noted in other regards, that Plutarch was very flexible with his use of his sources (see e.g. Stadter *GRBS* 2004), but what has not been appreciated fully enough is how the point of view in one of Plutarch's sources may dominate the way he shapes the rest of his raw material. This paper will show, therefore, how the picture of Spartan women in this passage has more in common with Plato's ideal republic than with what we can recover of Spartan reality. This finding is not negligible, given the tendency by some scholars to draw upon Plutarch to show that Spartan women were remarkably independent.

GENNARO D'IPPOLITO (UNIVERSITÀ DI PALERMO)

Forms and functions of intratextuality in Plutarch's corpus

My paper, taking up several of my earlier studies in Plutarch's corpus, intends to analyze forms and functions of that particular aspect of intertextuality which is called intratextuality (or autotextuality), understood as relationships within one or more texts by the same author. As to the forms, it will distinguish between two levels of intratextuality, horizontal (or syntagmatic), which concerns formal aspects of problem setting and analytical procedures, and vertical (or paradigmatic), which concerns recurrence of themes or expressions. Among the cases of horizontal intratextuality it will consider dramatic composition, syntactic structure, open shape in problem solving, binary formal structure in the analyses of *pathe* (diagnosis and *askesis*); and at the verbal level, use of binary patterns, in pairs of single words or phrases. As regards vertical intratextuality, it will consider recurrence of themes, characters, and exempla (literary, as quotations, and historical, as anecdotes). Among themes: fundamental ones of *philanthropia* and *paideia*; the theme of woman (on an innovative plane with respect to the master Plato: in the erotic field, autonomous women's suitability to love; in the family field, marriage as communion of souls, and not as union contracted for the sole purpose of procreation; in the social field, education of women not unlike that of men); the theme of the crisis, and particularly of religious crisis; theatrical imagery; interest in music, and especially the contrast between grandeur of ancient music and negative evaluation of contemporary music. The main function of the intratextual analysis, in addition of course to allowing a precious exegetical deepening, is

to highlight the compactness of Plutarch's corpus and its quality as a macrotext (where the *Lives* appear the practical side of anthropological reflection contained in the *Moralia*). Sometimes, such an analysis can also resolve chronological issues or confirm Plutarchan authorship of discussed works.

SUSAN JACOBS (COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK)

Heroes Imitating Heroes: Cross-References within the *Parallel Lives*

At *Demetrius* 1.5-7, Plutarch refers to his *Parallel Lives* as providing "παράδειγματα" of behaviors to imitate or avoid. This function of the subjects of the *Lives* as role models is further illustrated in Plutarch's incorporation of his heroes as standards of comparison in other *Lives*, where statesmen, such as Themistocles, for instance, are cited as exempla of ethical traits or effective leadership in the *Lives* of leaders who lived later. This paper addresses two questions. First, in what contexts does Plutarch evoke the heroes of his other *Lives* as standards of comparison or models of conduct to imitate or avoid? Second, to what extent do these cross-references provide a unifying thread connecting the ethical, political and military themes examined from different perspectives across the series?

In this paper, Plutarch's cross-references in the twenty-two pairs of *Lives* are divided into three groups: (1) references by the hero himself to the examples set by predecessors (e.g. Phocion's emulation of Solon, Aristides and Pericles at *Phocion* 7.3); (2) comparisons between the hero and his predecessors voiced by the people or other contemporaries (e.g. the people's comparison of Flamininus to Agesilaus, Lysander, Nicias and Alcibiades at *Flamininus* 11.3); and (3) Plutarch's authorial comments (e.g. the comparison of Alcibiades to Aristides at *Comp. Cor.-Alc.* 2.4). The analysis will show that other heroes are cited as paradigms of the ethical traits and practical skills emphasized in their own *Lives* and that Plutarch's deployment of his heroes as exempla thus provides a fundamental unifying element across the *Parallel* series. Ultimately, the cross-references underscore attributes and practical competencies of statesmen and generals that not only are applicable to the varied political arenas across the *Lives*, but also underlie effective political and military leadership in his own era.

KATARZYNA JAŹDŻEWSKA

(CARDINAL STEFAN WYSZYNSKI UNIVERSITY, WARSAW)

Generic syncretism and dialogue literature: the case of Plutarch's *Amatorius*

– On Helicon, Autobulus, it is that the conversation took place (...)?

– On Helicon, in the presence of the Muses (...)

The opening lines of the *Amatorius* emphasize that the conversation narrated in the dialogue happened on the Mount Helicon, the place associated with poetic inspiration and fiction. Such location is particularly apt for a work of such level of literary creativity as *Amatorius*. The work's ingenuity relies, in an important part, on adventurous intermingling of diverse strains of Greek literature. Several aspects of intertextuality and intergenerativity of Plutarch's *Amatorius* have been discussed in recent decades, in particular the dialogue's relationship with Plato (*Phaedrus*, *Symposium*) and the Greek novel (see e.g. papers by Hunter, Rist, Goldhill).

The proposed paper will begin with a discussion of literary formats, genres, and conventions which Plutarch incorporates: philosophical dialogue, drama, novel, didactic literature, and historical anecdote. As I analyze Plutarch's integration of various strains of Greek literary tradition, I will also point out certain correlation between the narrative plot (story-line) and the argumentative plot (trajectory of discussion), arguing for significance of

the Empedoclean dynamic model of Love and Strife, which, as I will propose, informs the structure of the story-line.

In the concluding section I will reflect on functions of intergenerativity, emphasizing above all its potential to engage the reader and make him an active and adventurous participant in the process of reading and re-constructing the text. I will discuss Plutarch's merger of different traditions in the context of remains of earlier, Hellenistic dialogic literature, taking as examples fragments of works which likewise, as far as we can tell, integrated diverse literary formats and their conventions.

ARGYRI KARANASIOU (UNIVERSITÄT DES SAARLANDES)

Plutarch's transformation of tragedy: the function of lyric quotations

Employing an inter-generic approach this paper explores Plutarch's relation to Greek tragedy. It focuses on the interplay of poetry and prose. Indeed, the middle-Platonist introduces poetry as a preparatory learning process for the study of philosophy and invites his reader to „imitate poetry, like poetry imitates life“. Thus, he integrates numerous lyric quotations in his text.

This practice leads to a re-evaluation of tragedy by Plutarch, a re-discovery of Greek drama for his readers. Tragedy is no longer a medium for the transmission of knowledge; it rather becomes a medium for an emotion-charged *diegesis*. Hence, the re-activation of the classical tradition remains only a general aspect of his work. That does not explain why Plutarch quotes especially from lyric passages (either choral or monodic) and why does he go far beyond the educational utility of a quotation to engender „lyric episodes“ within his prose. The author operates like a poet securing the poetic licence for himself, in order to deal most freely with the ancient originals.

The question posed is, how Plutarch treats songs from Greek plays. The answer lies in the fact that he primarily exploits the dramatic effect of these verses or, occasionally, of the related theatrical scenes. Because, whether these lyric quotations derive from the historic-biographical tradition or are cited by memory (presupposing some knowledge of the original), he consciously selects them and transforms stage-songs into the dramatic setting of his narratives, as in the following passages:

a. *Vit. Crass.* 33, 5 f. 564f--565a (Eur. *Bacch.* 1169–71, 1179)

b. *Anim. an corp. affect. sint peior.* 3. 501c (Eur. *Bacch.* 1169–71)

c. *Vit. Lysandr.* 15, 4. 441e (Eur. *El.* 167 f.)

d. *An seni sit gerend. republ.* 3.785a (Soph. *O.C.* 668–73)

ELENI KECHAGIA-OVSEIKO (NUFFIELD COLLEGE, OXFORD)

Epicurean intertexts in Plutarch: a foil for Platonism?

Plutarch's work contains numerous references to and discussions of Epicurean philosophy. Quite apart from his self-contained anti-Epicurean treatises, which inevitably interact widely with Epicurean texts, Plutarch's writings, and in particular his *Moralia*, are rich in allusions to Epicurus. In addition to Epicurean "text", several contemporary Epicurean characters also make an appearance in the Plutarchan dialogues and are given the opportunity to speak in favour of their philosophical allegiance, thus creating an interesting set of intertexts. Given Plutarch's hostility to Epicurean philosophy, as documented convincingly in his three extant anti-Epicurean treatises, one question that has arisen in Plutarchan scholarship is why Plutarch gave so much presence to Epicureanism in his writings. In a recent article discussing the role of two Epicurean characters in Plutarch (Boethus in the *De Pythiae Oraculis* and Cassius in *Brutus*) Patricia FitzGibbon argued that "Epicureanism naturally serves as a foil for Plutarch's Platonism" (p. 446). But is this so? This paper aims to explore further the role of Epicurean intertexts in Plutarch. Setting aside the three anti-Epicurean

treatises, I will focus on Epicurean presences in other works and I will seek to show how Plutarch adapts his engagement with Epicurean texts and personas to fit each time the particular context of the individual work. While his overall attitude to Epicureanism is undoubtedly critical, Plutarch does not simply and uniformly use Epicurean intertexts as an opportunity for anti-Epicurean polemic and Platonist propaganda; he also appears to use them to teach his audience more broadly how to philosophize, how to argue, and how to be a gracious companion in the search of philosophical enlightenment.

LAWRENCE KIM (TRINITY UNIVERSITY, SAN ANTONIO)

Literary Revival in Plutarch's *De Pythiae oraculis* and Dionysius' *De antiquis oratoribus*

The purpose of this paper is to examine the interdiscursive relationship between the 'literary histories' in *De Pythiae oraculis* 19-29 and Dionysius of Halicarnassus' preface to *De antiquis oratoribus*. The two texts have never been systematically compared; a surprising fact given their similarities, to which I call attention in the first part of my paper. Both sketch a history of Greek literary practice ranging from the classical past to the Imperial present, divide that past into distinct periods, and see the literary practices of a given era as reflecting its broader moral values. Both view the classical period as a golden age, but also see the present, unusually, in *positive* terms, ushered in by a decisive "change" (μεταβολή) from what went before; this model of progress depends upon imagining an 'un-classical' era from which the present has turned away, placed either after the classical (Dionysius) or before (Plutarch).

I then devote more attention on one further parallel: their association of literary revival with the Roman regime. Like Dionysius, Theon (in chs. 28-29) sets the transformation against the backdrop of Roman peace, speaks as if the revival is currently underway and will continue into the future, and compares the splendor of the present with the desolation of the immediate past. In fact, he uses nearly the same words to describe the change as Dionysius had. While one could plausibly argue that Plutarch is alluding to Dionysius here, I suspect rather that the similarity is due to the fact that both authors are responding to more familiar ancient literary historical models by emphasizing *progress* rather than decline, and expressing a particularly Imperial Greek confidence toward their own literary production.

REBECCA KINGSTON (UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO)

Plutarch, Intratextuality and the Phenomenon of the Public

This paper will explore the interconnection between two essays of the *Moralia*, "Old Man in Public Affairs" and "To an Uneducated Ruler" and the *Lives* of prominent figures who are mentioned as examples in those essays with a focus on the theme of the "public". The purpose of the paper is to help to uncover in greater detail Plutarch's understanding of the specificity of the nature of public life while at the same time exploring both continuities and shifts in these ideas as Plutarch works them out in theory and then through a consideration of specific examples. My focus on the *Lives* then will be to demonstrate whether or how the analysis of the theme of the nature of public life as presented in those two moral essays plays out in the actual depiction of the careers and lives of Plutarch's examples.

While there are other moral essays that focus on the nature of political life, I have chosen the two mentioned above in part for their broader conception of statesmanship that does not only pertain to acting rulers thereby allowing for a larger set of examples (See "Old Man in Public Affairs" 796c), such as Cato and Aristides. In addition, my focus is less on how to manage the challenges of public life and power (e.g. "How to Profit from your Enemies") but rather an account of the identifying features of what makes a public life *public* in a descriptive and loose phenomenological way. So, for example, "To an

Uneducated Ruler" suggests that the nature of public power is that vices are not easily concealed in the way that they could be in a private setting (782e).

The paper will be divided into three parts. In the first part I will provide an analysis of the theme of the public as presented in the two chosen essays of the *Moralia* and then, in a second part, I will focus on the various examples raised by Plutarch in the course of his discussions and demonstrate both the continuities and discontinuities in his treatment of the various components of this theme. The third and concluding part will offer some broader reflection on the patterns revealed through this study, including the degree to which the essays of the *Moralia* could be understood as matters of serious philosophical reflection or situated practical advice (i.e. depending on the degree of continuity between one and another), as well as how this study might shed light on the purposes behind the writing of the *Lives*.

This paper forms part of a larger project I am working on related to the reception of Plutarch into traditions of French and English political thought from the Renaissance to 1800. Given that in the French tradition there is a great deal of emphasis in the early Renaissance on Plutarch's notion of 'la chose publique' it is important for me to explore how this theme works itself out in particular ways through examples cited in the *Moralia* and carried through into the *Lives*. This will allow me to be able to explore in deeper ways the particular contours of the French interpretation and its relation to Plutarch's own thought and its development.

VASILIKI KONDYLAKI (UNIVERSITÉ DE LAUSANNE)

Relire Homère dans le *De audiendis poetis* de Plutarque: l'effet émotionnel de la poésie épique

Écrit vers 80 après J.-C., le *De audiendis poetis* est un traité pédagogique qui cherche à légitimer la place de la poésie dans le système éducatif de l'époque impériale. Si Plutarque dialogue explicitement dans cette œuvre avec Platon, il construit son argumentation par le biais de citations poétiques dont un grand nombre relève de la poésie homérique.

L'objectif de cette communication est d'examiner les vers homériques cités dans l'œuvre plutarquienne en rapport avec leur effet émotionnel : l'activation des passions peut contribuer, dans certaines conditions, à un perfectionnement moral selon le penseur de Chéronée. Sous cet angle, dans la poésie homérique se cache un potentiel thérapeutique. Est-ce que ce potentiel constitue une invention de Plutarque qui sert à ses buts éducatifs ? Ou bien, s'agit-il d'une faculté déjà reflétée dans les épopées d'Homère ? Ces questions nous permettront de nous interroger sur la double fonction de l'intertextualité homérique. Si celle-ci crée la réception d'une œuvre archaïque dans l'Antiquité tardive, elle donne aussi lieu à une relecture de la poésie épique.

ANNA LEFTERATOU (UNIVERSITÄT HEIDELBERG)

Plutarch's less tragic heroes: dramatic and epic intertexts in Plutarch's *Pelopidas*

The *Vita Pelopidae* (*VP*) does not play explicitly with mythical, epic and dramatic, intertexts to the degree other Plutarchan lives do. Unlike Alexander, who is emulating Achilles or Pompey, who explicitly associates himself with Ajax, or Antony (Mossman 1988, Duff 2004, Papadi 2008), the epic and the dramatic tones are underplayed in the *VP*. Mossman rightly argues tragic patterning appears in those passages that emphasize the responsibility of the character for his downfall. But Plutarch's eulogy of the Theban hero (Georgiadou 1997) leaves little room for such self-doubts. Although it might be that Pelopidas' life was more suitable for the task of a historiographer than of a biographer, as Nepos argues, the

lack of explicit analogy might just imply that Plutarch experiments here with a different notion of the epic and dramatic discourse.

In fact, the text offers non-dismissible epic and tragic echoes: Plutarch's digression on why the statesman needs not to rush to his death is labeled as *proanaphonesis*, a term which in the *Progymnasmata* is tightly associated with the prolepsis of Patroclus' death in *Il.* 16.46 and which also fits Pelopidas' ending. Equally, Pelopidas' disdain of human sacrifice at Leuctra opposes him to Agamemnon or Creon. Moreover, the near escape of the blond virgin from the altar echoes the near sacrifice of novelistic heroines. Ultimately, the whole *VP* is rich in an Aristotelian notion of *peripeteia*, since the hero is characteristically presented as nearly succeeding or nearly failing a deed. These repeated *metabolai*, from good to bad fortune and vice versa, are not only dramatic in nature but also very similar to those found in the Greek novels.

The major questions then asked are the following:

- What is the function of the epic and the dramatic intertexts in the *VP* and how do the various *metabolai* highlight Plutarch's dramatic discourse?
- Is the reception of these intertexts influenced by the reader's familiarity with the treatment of epic and drama in the *Progymnasmata* and the Greek novels?
- Given Plutarch's wariness of tragedy, is Pelopidas fashioned as the 'ideal tragic' hero?

LUISA LESAGE GÁRRIGA

(UNIVERSIDAD DE MÁLAGA/UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN)

Is light in Plutarch a *causa efficiens* or a *causa finalis*?

Plutarch uses in many passages of his work the simile of the light; a simile that can easily be traced back to his master, Plato. But is he using it with the same purposes and in the same way? If in Plato's work the light serves as means for us to recognize and discover the truth, it has been stated that in Plutarch light is the goal of our quest. In this paper I would like to explore the use that these two writers make of the simile, and try to find what was Plutarch's intentions when he resorted to it.

DONATO LOSCALZO (UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI PERUGIA)

Polemiche e riprese nel *Bruta animalia ratione uti* di Plutarco

Per intertestualità si può intendere anche la ripresa di un modello consolidato con l'intento di superarlo attraverso la riscrittura, apporti originali e la prospettiva di nuovi punti di riflessione. L'autore apre un dialogo con il testo letterario di riferimento, creandone uno nuovo, e anche se non sempre sono evidenti i rimandi e le citazioni, lo sono invece le allusioni.

In particolare, il rapporto che Plutarco nel *Bruta animalia ratione uti* crea con i modelli omerici, platonici e aristotelici, porta a un rovesciamento, a una vera e propria inversione dei paradigmi convenzionali e delle opinioni correnti sugli animali. I testi citati non emergono con evidenza, ma costituiscono una sorta di ipotesto e attraversano l'intero dialogo. Il breve trattato affronta il problema della possibilità di un'etica nel mondo animale e ipotizza che la *psyché* delle bestie, rispetto a quella dell'uomo, abbia una migliore disposizione naturale per produrre virtù. Infatti, senza ricevere imposizioni e senza insegnamento, come un terreno non seminato e non arato, per natura produce e accresce la virtù adatta a ciascuno.

È questa una posizione originale nel dibattito sulla superiorità dell'uomo sugli altri animali, nel quale le posizioni platoniche e aristoteliche avevano sancito la preminenza del primo. Nel *Protagora* di Platone (321c), per esempio, è detto che, a differenza dell'uomo, gli altri esseri viventi posseggono armoniosamente tutto e posseggono tutte le qualità per sopravvivere e riprodursi, egli invece è nudo, scalzo, privo di giaciglio e di armi. Per sopravvivere deve trarre dalla natura sostentamento grazie al sapere tecnico appreso da Prometeo.

Nell'ottica platonica, le arti e le tecniche, oltre a essere una prova della superiorità dell'uomo, hanno contribuito a un perfezionamento della natura e dell'etica, proprio nel suo lottare con una natura che non gli ha fornito tutto.

Così anche nell'inizio della *Politica* di Aristotele (1253a 2-9), l'uomo senza una città sarebbe degradato a una condizione animale: del resto, gli animali tendono a vivere e riprodursi, mentre l'uomo cerca di vivere bene.

Sono questi i punti di un dibattito importante che celebra la superiorità dell'uomo sullo stato ferino dal quale si sarebbe emancipato, nel quale si inserisce Plutarco, che invece fa sostenere a Gryllos la superiorità etica degli animali, molto più vicini alla purezza della natura primigenia e quindi non corrotti e virtuosi per loro stessa natura.

MICHELE LUCCHESI (FACOLTÀ TEOLOGICA DI TORINO)

Plutarch's Pausanias, Regent of Sparta, between intertextuality and intratextuality

The Spartan Regent Pausanias is one of those historical figures of whom Plutarch could have written a biography, but he did not. Rather, in the *Lives of Aristides, Themistocles, and Cimon* in many respects Pausanias is portrayed as the antagonist of the Athenian heroes of the Persian War. Indeed, through him Plutarch points out the differences between Athens and Sparta. At the same time, the controversies surrounding Pausanias reveal how the Spartans dealt with their 'atypical' leader and his desire for power, something that later in Spartan history became an even bigger issue, which ultimately caused Sparta's decadence and fall after the Battle of Leuctra.

In my paper, I shall try to discuss how Pausanias can be examined, on the one hand, against Plutarch's views on the Persian War period and the complex dynamics between the Athenians and the Spartans. In this regard, despite being influenced by Herodotus, Plutarch also offers his personal interpretation of the facts, sometimes strongly disagreeing with his illustrious predecessor, as one can read in *De Herodoti malignitate*. On the other hand, the events concerning Pausanias can be better read in light of the historical trajectory of Sparta, which is developed in the five biographies devoted to *Lycurgus, Lysander, Agesilaus, and Agis and Cleomenes*. Thus, Pausanias, taken as an important secondary character within the *Parallel Lives*, can illuminate the intertextual relationship between Plutarch and Herodotus as much as the intratextual links between different *Lives*. Not only does this allow us to reflect on Plutarch's method of composition, but it can also invite us to consider the readers' expected historical knowledge, their possible response to Plutarch's moral evaluation of Pausanias, and, more broadly, the relationship between author/narrator/teacher and readers/narratee/learners.

MICHIEL MEEUSEN (KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON)

Intertextuality and Aetiological Overlap in Plutarch's Αἰτίαι Φυσικάί

Aetiological research is an important aspect of Plutarchan writing and plays a significant discursive role throughout the *Vitae* and the *Moralia*. The Chaeronean composed a significant number of collections of Αἰτίαι, several of which are still extant today, while others are now lost or partially preserved in fragmentary form. One collection in specific, the Αἰτίαι φυσικάί (*Quaestiones naturales*), offers an intriguing perspective on Plutarch's causal interest in natural phenomena. The work exhibits a remarkable degree of similarity to the Aristotelian Προβλήματα φυσικά, which circulated widely at the time and served as Plutarch's model.

The aim of this paper is to examine how the Αἰτίαι φυσικάί tie in with Plutarch's aetiological programme more generally, that is, which intertextual dynamics can be observed in the work. To this end, I will argue that the different strands of aetiology present in the work

(not only physical aetiology!), testify to the, at times, very close affiliation with Plutarch's other aetiological writings, including cultural-antiquarian, technical-philosophical, and literary-exegetical collections¹. By providing an analysis of the conceptual overlaps with these works, I will try to demonstrate that they reveal the openness and all-round applicability of many kinds of knowledge to different contexts – an intertextual dynamic that lies at the heart of Plutarch's πολυμάθεια project.

JUDITH MOSSMAN (UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM)

Plutarch, Grammar, and Grammarians

This paper looks at Plutarch's interdiscursivity with the discourse of language learning and language education, at his use of grammatical terms and his characterisation of grammarians. Eshleman (2013) has examined the marginal status of grammarians as symposiasts in *Table Talk*; but Plutarch sometimes presents himself as a master of grammatical lore as well – hardly surprisingly, given the importance of grammar to, for example, Stoic philosophers. In interacting with the apparently elementary science of the *grammatikoi*, Plutarch is able to use the universality of grammatical discourse to fortify complex and sophisticated arguments and to assert the fundamental importance of the nuts and bolts of communication. Passages discussed will mostly be from *Table Talk* but other works will also be adduced.

FEDERICOMARIA MUCCIOLI (UNIVERSITÀ DI BOLOGNA)

Appius Claudius Caecus's speech and Alexander the Great (Plut., *Pyrrh.*, 19, 1-4).

Plutarch, the counterfactual history and the ambiguity of a paradigm

Alexander the Great is often used as *exemplum* in the *Corpus Plutarcheum*, besides the biography and the *De Alexandri Magni fortuna aut virtute*. Plutarch is well-aware of the various traditions about the Macedon king, and that the son of Philip may be viewed in a negative way by his *pepaideumenoí*, especially the Roman ones. The strong criticism expressed, among others, by Livy, Cicero and Seneca had probably still great influence on Plutarch's audience, although Alexander was mostly referred to as a positive *exemplum* during the Roman empire under Trajan. In this respect it is particularly important the speech of Appius Claudius Caecus in the Roman Senate, as presented in the *Life of Pyrrhus*. The statesman exhorts the Romans not to make peace with Pyrrhus and he underlines that if Alexander, who was considered Great and Invincible, had come to Italy and had engaged the Romans in battle, he would have fled or possibly fallen.

The aim of my paper is first to compare this passage with parallel sources (above all, Appian, *Samn.*, 10, 1-6 and the *Ineditum Vaticanum*, *FGrHist* 839 F 1, 2), in order to see Plutarch's intertextual play with previous tradition. Consequently, I will examine how he adjusts this episode according to his target audience (taking into account *An seni*, 794d-e, some features of the pair *Pyrrhus-Marius* and the *imitatio Alexandri* by the epirot dynast, a *Leitmotiv* in the biography). Secondly, I will tackle the background of this topic belonging to counterfactual history, which presents a negative image of Alexander and it is balanced in the *Corpus Plutarcheum* by the nuanced view expressed in *De fort. Rom.*, 326a-c. To do it, it is necessary to put the *locus* into the context of greco-roman sources about the Macedon, especially Livius (IX, 17-19).

ISRAEL MUÑOZ GALLARTE (UNIVERSIDAD DE CÓRDOBA)

The Plutarch's Image of Androgyny in Context

Following the article of Wayne A. Meeks in *History of Religions* (1974), it seems safe to assure that one of the most interesting and productive myths in the Greek and Latin literatures is, during the second and third centuries of our era, that of the androgyne or hermaphroditus. Its symbolism does not only affects to the diverse aspects of knowledge, such

as anthropology and cosmology, but also to different cultures in contact, to wit, Romans, Greeks, Jews, and Christians. Plutarch stands up at the crossroads of these cultures, and, consequently, to explore the meaning of the androgyny's myth and his sources turns into a capital chapter to elucidate the Quaeronian's relationship with the cultures of his age. This paper will try to contextualize the Plutarch's mentions to the hermaphroditus in his contemporary sources, especially the corpus of Nag-Hammadi and heresiologists.

AYDIN MUTLU (UNIVERSITÉ DE FRIBOURG)

Myths and non-elite audiences in Plutarch and St. Basil: *De audiendis poetis* and *Oratio ad adulescentes*

In my presentation I focus on Plutarch's concept of myth and its impact on non-elite audiences. I compare Plutarch's attitude towards myth with that of St. Basil of Caesarea in particular, who often used pagan myths in his writings. Plutarch and St. Basil were interested in myths for similar purposes. Both addressed young men directly, and both were aware of the informative function of myths for the education of children. Plutarch, unlike Plato, did not reject poetic myth, but aimed to show his audience what was useful in it. In similar fashion St. Basil tried to identify what could be profitable in pagan literature, in contrast to the common perception of Christian authors who were inclined to condemn pagan myths. My purpose is to clarify the views of both authors regarding myth and to show how myth was used to relate to non-elite audiences such as children, women, tutors, etc. From this survey, we shall see to what extent St. Basil, as a religious personage of his time, was influenced by Plutarch as his predecessor and how he perceived pagan myths.

MICHAEL NERDAHL (BOWDOIN COLLEGE, BRUNSWICK)

The Encounter between Roman Virtue and Platonism in Plutarch's *Cato the Elder*

As Simon Swain (1990) has noted, one of Plutarch's criteria for elucidating the figures of his Roman *Lives* is a subject's relationship with Hellenic culture. It is in this respect that evaluation of Cato the Elder is rather problematic, for while Plutarch repeats the claim that Cato came to Greek literature late in life and that his works are full of Greek aphorisms and concepts (*Cato Maior* 2.5), his Cato is also anti-Hellenic (12.5) and anti-philosophical (22). He detests Socrates as a corrupter of his country and even claims that when Greek literature truly enters Rome, the Romans will be destroyed (23.1-2). Indeed, such disdain for Hellenic culture, as in the case of Gaius Marius (*Marius* 2.2-3), draws indignation from Plutarch and anticipates a subject's potential moral failings.

Still, a reader of the *Life* of Cato the Elder is likely to infer that Cato's anti-philosophical stance is not as absolute as it appears. For instance, Cato, like Numa, is impressed by Pythagoreanism (*Numa* 8; *Cato Maior* 2.3-4), which becomes a vector for his introduction to Platonism. In fact, various references to Socrates and allusions to Plato's corpus that appear in the text show how an irascible hater of Greek philosophers nevertheless is morally guided and shaped—at times unknowingly—by the tenets of those he so rabidly condemns. The collective effect of such instances within the *Cato* does not merely emphasize the beneficial impact of Greek culture on this Roman man of virtue nor is Cato "claimed" as an example of the benefits of Hellenic *paideia*. Instead, Cato's paradoxical relationship to Platonic philosophy suggests that the paths to virtue are both more myriad and dynamic than Plutarch's enthusiastic promotion of Hellenism suggests.

CHRISTIAN NEUMANN (UNIVERSITÄT GÖTTINGEN)

Über die vorbildliche Arbeit mit Vorbildern - Intertextualität in Plutarchs

Quaestiones Graecae und Romanae

In den *Quaestiones Graecae* und *Romanae* behandelt Plutarch institutionelle, kalendarische und religiöse Besonderheiten aus der griechischen beziehungsweise römischen Welt. Neben antiquarischem Interesse liegt diesen Schriften jedoch auch ein weitreichendes Bildungsziel zugrunde.

So bietet Plutarch in den *QG* und *QR* nicht nur reines Faktenwissen, sondern strebt danach, dem Leser eine universelle Bildung zu vermitteln, die rituelle Kompetenzen, ein der Oberschicht angemessenes Verhalten in sozialen Kontexten sowie eine das gesamte Leben bestimmende Wissbegier kombiniert mit einer gründlichen Forscherhaltung umfasst. Zur Umsetzung dieses Zieles bedient sich Plutarch einer Vielzahl didaktischer Strategien wie etwa einer prägnanten und daher leicht zu memorierenden sprachlichen Gestaltung der Inhalte, der Verwendung von *exempla* für positive und auch negative Verhaltensweisen und einer subtilen Selbststilisierung als umfassend gebildete Vorbildfigur für den Leser.

In diesem Vortrag soll an einer Auswahl verschiedener Textstellen aus den *QG* und *QR* gezeigt werden, wie Plutarch speziell Intertextualität in unterschiedlichen Funktionen nutzt, um sein übergreifendes Bildungsziel umzusetzen. Diese Funktionen reichen von der Anführung von Belegen als Beglaubigungsstrategie über die Beurteilung und Hierarchisierung von Zitaten unterschiedlicher Autoritäten (z.B. Kritik an Varro, Homer versus römische Historiker), was dem Leser Plutarch als Vorbild für einen weit belesenen und kritisch-abwägenden Forscher vorführt, bis zur Präsentation mehrerer Zitate ohne explizite Entscheidungshilfe, wobei der Leser selbst die Plausibilität der Erklärungen beurteilen muss. Somit kommt der Intertextualität in den *QG* und *QR* die Konstruktion des Selbst“ sowohl in der Konstruktion von Plutarch als Lehrerfigur als auch in der Konstruktion des idealen Lesers zu, der sich diese Lehrerfigur zum Vorbild nimmt. Überdies findet Intertextualität noch weitere didaktische Anwendungsmöglichkeiten, besonders bei der Vermittlung von oberflächlichen Verhaltensweisen und ethischen Einsichten, und dient somit einem übergeordneten pädagogischen Ziel.

MARTA ISABEL DE OLIVEIRA VÁRZEAS (UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO)

In defence of poetry: intertextuality in Plutarch's *De audiendis poetis*

In *De audiendis poetis*, the quotations, references and allusions to poets and philosophers of Greek tradition are part of Plutarch's argumentative strategies to claim the importance of poetry for the education of young people.

But it is not just the use of the so-called argument from authority that is at issue here. The evocation of other texts is the most important thread that weaves its argumentative discourse and evidences, in practice, the benefits that can be drawn from knowledge of the poets.

The intertextuality in this work also takes the form of a more or less explicit dialogue with Plato and Aristotle, as well as with some aspects of Stoic philosophy; a dialogue marked by the independence of mind and critical capacity that the author wants to see developed in young people.

GIOVANNA PACE (UNIVERSITÀ DI SALERNO)

Euripide nei *Parallela minora*

Il lavoro si propone di analizzare la presenza di Euripide come fonte nei *Parallela minora* pseudo-plutarchei (20A, 24A, 26A). Si prenderà in esame, in una prospettiva intertestuale, la relazione tra i *Parallela*, le altre fonti per la conoscenza dell'argomento dei drammi euripidei citati nell'opera pseudo-plutarchea e il testo delle tragedie stesse (sia frammentario,

nel caso dell'*Eretteo* e del *Meleagro*, sia completo, nel caso dell'*Ecuba*); sarà inoltre oggetto di studio la relazione tra la sezione greca e romana di ciascuna coppia di narrazioni. Il lavoro discuterà in particolare i seguenti argomenti:

1. Il tipo di relazione intertestuale (dipendenza, rielaborazione, derivazione da una fonte comune...) tra i *Parallela* e le altre fonti (sia precedenti sia posteriori) degli episodi mitici.
2. Il contributo che queste fonti possono dare alla *constitutio textus* dei *Parallela*.
3. La conoscenza (più o meno diretta) delle tragedie euripidee da parte dell'autore dei *Parallela*.
4. Il contributo dato dai *Parallela* alla nostra conoscenza dell'argomento del *Meleagro* e dell'*Eretteo* di Euripide.
5. I criteri che possono aver guidato l'autore dei *Parallela* nel selezionare gli episodi e nel riassumere il contenuto delle tragedie euripidee, con particolare riferimento al genere letterario dell'opera pseudo-plutarchea e alle analogie tra la narrazione greca e quella romana di ciascuna coppia.

DIOTIMA PAPADI (NEAPOLIS UNIVERSITY, PAFOS)

The educational role of poetry: Plutarch reading Homer

It comes rather as no surprise that Homer is the most quoted poet in Plutarch's work: Homer is referred as 'The Poet'; he is admittedly the best poet and the poet against whom all others are measured. Homer can add to Plutarch's treatises and dialogues the authority of a wise poetic voice. Therefore, it is particularly interesting to investigate how Homeric quotations and resonances work in various contexts. In my paper I attempt to investigate the function and the possible thematic clusters of Homeric quotations in Plutarch's *How a young man should read poetry*, and to discuss the interaction between, on the one hand, Plutarch's pedagogical and ethical purposes, and, on the other hand, Homer's themes and artistry.

Plutarch's treatment of Homer is closely connected to his Platonic background and stance towards poetry and its aesthetic, educational and pragmatic value. His goals remain highly practical and his approach pragmatic, with an underlying coherence in his views on poetry. Plutarch guides his readers towards a path of learning how and what to value in poetry. Among other things, they must learn to accept falsehood and fiction not as things consciously chosen by the poets in order to mislead but as necessary poetic devices for the purposes of pleasure, allurements and diversity; to accept that poetry is an imitative art and as such it must be valued for its artistic qualities and not for any reality it depicts, although it clearly has references to real life and real character types; to extract useful messages even from erroneous poetic sayings, or correct them by finding better statements as an antidote within poetry itself; and, finally, to be critical of the poetic sayings rather than of the poets themselves.

MICHAEL PASCHALIS (UNIVERSITY OF CRETE, RETHYMNO)

At the Crossroads of Intertextuality: Plutarch's *Life of Antony* between Cavafy and Shakespeare

Plutarch's *Life of Antony* is the main source-text of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, inspired *Timon of Athens* (through the digression of chs. 69-70 commenting on Antony's mood after the naval defeat at Actium) as well as events in *Julius Caesar*. Scenes of the *Life of Antony* inspired Cavafy's poems "The God Forsakes Antony" (1911), "Alexandrian Kings" (1912), and "Caesaron" (1918). Regarding a fourth poem, the unpublished "Antony's Ending" (1907), it has been suggested (by Filippo Maria Pontani and commentators) that it reworks Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* 4.15.51-58, itself an adaptation of North's translation of Plutarch, though in fact the passage draws directly on Plutarch's

Life of Antony 77.5-7. Cavafy's piece contains nothing peculiarly Shakespearean and in addition the oriental female manifestations of grief, which Cavafy causes to condition the reaction of dying Antony, occur in Plutarch but not in Shakespeare. In all twelve (eleven) instances of Plutarchan themes Cavafy worked directly with the Greek text and sometimes he quotes from it. Furthermore "Antony's ending" and "The God Forsakes Antony" form a pair in which the latter functions as a palinode of the former against the background of the *Life of Antony*: by moving just two chapters back in Plutarch's account (from 77.5-7 to 75.4-6) Cavafy composed his memorable poem that retracts Antony's earlier "Roman" reaction (by contrast in Shakespeare the impact of ch. 75.4-6 is diluted into a conversation between soldiers). Cavafy had no reason to enter into a competition with Shakespeare, who had only a third-hand acquaintance with Plutarch's text, while he could directly converse with and quote the ancient author in the original and could also "correct" the information he provides (by contrast Shakespeare deals only with North's translations errors and as a rule reproduces them). For instance, in the "Alexandrian Kings" he attributes the title "King of Kings" not to Alexander and Ptolemy, Antony's younger sons by Cleopatra, as Plutarch does (*Life of Antony* 54.7), but to Caesarian, the presumed son of Julius Caesar, as Dio Cassius does. Cavafy was obsessed with historical accuracy though not as an end to itself, in the sense that the poet's preference for Caesarian was conditioned by the latter's adolescence and eventual tragic fate. Coming back to the issue of Cavafy's relation to Shakespeare, one could argue that, though "Antony's Ending" does not and cannot have depended directly on Shakespeare, competent Cavafy and Shakespeare readers may pause to reflect on Cavafy's adaptations of scenes from Plutarch's *Life of Antony* and *Life of Caesar* when coming across Shakespeare's adaptations of the same in *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Julius Caesar*, and vice versa.

CHRISTOPHER PELLING (CHRIST CHURCH COLLEGE, OXFORD)

Intertextuality: what's the point?

I have written before on 'Intertextuality and Interpretation', but without particular reference to Plutarch (*Histos* 7 (2013), 1–20: http://research.ncl.ac.uk/histos/Histos_CurrentArticles.html); I have also covered particular topics in Plutarchan intertextuality, most recently on 'Tragic colouring in Plutarch' (in *A Versatile Gentleman: Consistency in Plutarch's Writings*, ed. G. Roskam, J. Opsomer, and F. Titchener (2016), 113–33). In this paper I would bring the two aspects together, and discuss the range of ways in which intertextuality can give added value to a Plutarch work.

There has been a casual tendency to assume that intertextuality can almost be an end in itself, adding depth and richness to a narrative. That is not wholly wrong: there is a bonding of author and audience given by the interplay of allusion and recognition, and can be regarded as an extension of various other ways Plutarch has for creating and strengthening such a bond (e.g. development of an authorial persona involving attractive moral positioning, 'you' and 'I' language in proems and conclusions to suggest a joint pursuit of truth or a joint exercise in moral evaluation, and so on.) There may also be what Luke Pitcher calls 'author theatre', building up a more authoritative persona: that may not simply be a matter of projecting deep knowledge of the material but also of creating an image of philosophical and ethical insight, based above all on intimate knowledge of Plato and Aristotle. Still, there is more, and selected test-cases will bring out a number of themes:

– Strengthening plausibility: if one sequence evokes another classically familiar one, that can underline the believability of that current narrative. If similar things happened once, they can happen again. Possible cases might be the evocation of Salamis in the narrative

of Actium or of Thucydides' Sicilian expedition in the fall of Syracuse to Marcellus; echoes of the Trojan War (e.g. *Camillus*) may come in here too.

– Setting the register: echoes of Thucydides as the Roman civil war breaks out gives an indication of what can be expected this time.

– Setting the moral and thematic agenda: echoes of Plato's *Symposium* in the proem to *Agis–Cleomenes* and in *Amatorius* raise questions of idealism, perhaps ideal love, and prompt reflection on how far these narratives fit that Platonic picture.

– Suggesting equivalences: Dionysius and Plato's tyrant-figures might be a test-case here.

– Marking things that should not be happening in the real world, but do: 'tragic' scenes of suicide in *Brutus* (with perhaps a hint that Brutus' own tragedy, of a different sort, may be looming).

– Indicating a register that does *not* fit: Pericles cannot be fitted into either a comic or a tragic story-pattern despite the mockery of the comic poets or the exaggerations of a Duris; Caesar at the end does not fit the expectations of a Platonic tyrant, but suffers the same fate.

– Raising the question how far a character does or does not fit a mould: echoes of Homeric Achilles in *Coriolanus* could serve here.

– 'Dialogue' with a familiar authority, marking out a Plutarchan interpretative line as distinctive: e.g. the stress on religious factors in the Sicilian expedition or the praise of Nicias' demeanour. Dialogue with Polybius on Philopoemen and Xenophon on Agesilaus might be interesting cases here, but only if time allows. That too is a sort of 'author theatre'.

So: intertextuality is not just for show, and not just an aesthetic game: it's not even just one game or one point, but a repertoire.

AURELIO PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ UNIVERSIDAD DE MÁLAGA

Ejemplos de responsio gramatical en el *Teseo-Rómulo* de Plutarco (paper delivered in Spanish)

During the last years researchers on Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* have insisted on the thematic intertextuality (i.e. literary, ethical, political etc. topics) between the two confronted biographies. The aim of their studies has been to confirm an unitarian conception of each book (including the two *Lives* with the prologue, and the syncretism) by Plutarch. It is not common, however, to analyse other structural correspondences, as e.g. those reflected in the formal patterns of both biographies. Concerning the particular case of the *Theseus and Romulus*, their thematic relationships already have been studied with great competence by Larmour in an old (1988) article. In this paper I will try to complete Larmour's study by underlining the linguistic (mainly lexical) procedures of intertextuality which we can detect in both *Lives*.

ANNA PETERSON (PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY)

Plutarch's *Comparison of Aristophanes and Menander* and the Agonistic Poetics of Old Comedy

Transmitted among Plutarch's corpus, the fragmentary epitome, *A Comparison of Aristophanes and Menander*, offers up a colorful critique of Aristophanes, unfavorably comparing his poetic style and characters with the educative and entertaining qualities of Menander. While the full scope of the original text remains a mystery, the *Comparison* is generally presumed to encapsulate Plutarch's disapproval of Old Comedy. Recent discussions of it have focused on how the text replays traditional philosophical anxieties about the corrosive nature of Aristophanic humor (Hunter 2009) and on the possible format of the original text (Marshall 2015), without fully exploring how the *Comparison* engages directly with the intricacies of Old Comedy as a genre. Acknowledging this dimension of

the *Comparison* in turn invites a reconsideration of Plutarch's use of Old Comedy elsewhere in his corpus, and in particular his fifth-century *Lives*.

This paper examines how the *Comparison* recasts the agonistic poetics of Old Comedy into an anachronistic rivalry between Aristophanes and Menander and, by extension, the imperial audiences that they attract. Beyond amusing readers who recognize that the comic poet's own attacks on his rivals have been turned against him, this reworking of Aristophanes' agonistic language becomes a demonstration of the power of unbridled comic license, the very object of Plutarch's emphatic criticism.

The *Comparison's* repurposing of this feature of Old Comedy is thus in line with how Plutarch deploys quotations from Old Comedy in his *Life of Pericles*. There, Plutarch repeatedly underscores the problematic nature of Old Comedy as a source at the same time as he uses quotations from it to serve the ethical didacticism of that *Life*. In all, the *Comparison's* appropriation of Old Comedy's language and tropes requires us to acknowledge that Plutarch's engagement with the genre is more thorough and nuanced than has been previously acknowledged.

ELENI PLATI (UNIVERSITÄT HAMBURG)

Medical under-standings of φύσις in Plutarch's *Comp. Cim.-Luc. 2.7.1-6*

The aim of this paper is to examine the medical metaphor located in Plutarch's *Comp. Cim.-Luc. 2.7.1-6*. According to it aristocratic *natures* (αἱ γὰρ ἀριστοκρατικαὶ φύσεις) are little in accord with the multitude, and seldom please it, but by so often using force to rectify its aberrations, they vex and annoy it, just as physicians' bandages vex and annoy, although they bring the dislocated members into their natural position (ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν ἰατρῶν δεσμοί, καίπερ εἰς τὰ κατὰ φύσιν ἄγοντες τὰς παραρθρήσεις). The under-standing of noble natures is attempted on the grounds of this metaphor in terms of medicine and in particular in treating dislocations. As Hippocrates states (*De fract.* 412-4) in treating fractures and dislocations, the physician must make the extension as straight as possible, for this is the most righteous natural direction (δικαιοτάτη φύσις). Galen comments on the last one in his work *In Hipp. Artic. comment. iv* 18a.320.10-15. It is obvious that nature plays a central role in reflecting these medical contexts. Peace as the earliest empirical characterization of health and its opposite disturbance belong to the common-sense naturalism of Greek thought. Thus they play an enormous role in Hippocratic medicine. However, it is not only this medical discourse that reflects the above Plutarchean passage (interdiscursivity). Furthermore, I investigate the Plutarchean metaphor in comparison with another metaphor on Solonian natural justice that Plutarch himself cites in his work permitting us to speak not only about the phenomenon of intratextuality but also of intertextual quotation (Plut. *Solon* 3.6 = fragm. 12.2 (West)). The Solonian fragment 12 introduces a similar comparison between nature and politics; the sea is stirred by the winds, if someone does not move it is the most righteous of all things.

ZLATKO PLEŠE (UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL)

Plutarch's Intertextual Hierarchies: Platonic and Aristotelian Traditions in the *Moralia*

Plutarch's intertextual web is extremely complex and variegated—a corpus constituted not only by concrete texts and textual fragments but also by various types of discourse and modes of enunciation that transcend specific authors and literary traditions. The paper explores the interplay of two dominant “intertexts,” Platonic and Aristotelian, in various sections of the *Moralia*. The first part examines Plutarch's transformative integration of Plato's *Republic and Laws* into his original version of philosophical religion—a project purporting to restore ancestral religious beliefs and practices to their original goal of teaching

virtue and godlikeness to non-philosophers. The second part of the paper focuses on the complementary role assigned to the Aristotelian tradition in Plutarch's project. In this part, special attention will be paid to Plutarch's employment of Aristotle's notion of connected homonymy in his universalist interpretation of the Egyptian myth (*De Is. et Os.* 45) and to the corrective effect of Aristotelian natural science on his Platonizing account of the causal chain involved in the process of prophetic inspiration (*De Pyth. or.* 38-52).

FRANCISCA PORDOMINGO (UNIVERSIDAD DE SALAMANCA)

Las *Vitae* de Plutarco y el epigrama

Plutarco incorpora un número no desdeñable de epigramas a sus *Vitae*. A través del análisis intertextual es posible descubrir el diálogo que se establece entre el texto citante, el de las *Vitae*, y el citado, los epigramas, así como la función retórica que estos cumplen en el nuevo contexto: siempre de ornato, por la “agramaticalidad” que toda cita entraña, y, con la mayor frecuencia, lógica o de autoridad; además, algunos de los epigramas contribuyen a delinear los caracteres de los personajes, elemento esencial de la biografía. Pero también es posible descubrir un *diálogo intergenérico*: la mayor parte de los epigramas citados en las *Vitae* son de tipo votivo y sepulcral y Plutarco, insistiendo en su carácter inscripcional, parece buscar la veracidad que la biografía exige. Al no conservarse, si no es excepcionalmente, la inscripción, se atenderá a “rescatar” el originario ser epigráfico de los epigramas citados y a evaluar si el texto dado es fiable, contrastándolo con el de otras fuentes literarias, incluida la *Antología Palatina*.

CAITLIN EMMA PROUATT (UNIVERSITY OF READING)

Meeting in the Middle: the Opening of *De Defectu Oraculorum*

Plutarch's dialogue *De Defectu Oraculorum* opens with intertextual references to two Delphic myths. The first instance briefly relates the more well-known, the meeting of some eagles or swans, sent from opposite ends of the earth, at Delphi, marking it as the centre of the world. In recounting the second myth, the author portrays the semi-mythical figure Epimenides in a negative light. Having dared to put the myth of Delphi's centrality to the test by asking Apollo himself, Epimenides is disappointed by receiving a vague oracle in response. He then composes verses, quoted in the text, denying Delphi (or anywhere else) the honour of being the centre of the world. The reason for the author's inclusion of these myths in such a prominent position is not immediately clear; however, it becomes obvious when the scene shifts from the mythical past to ‘present-day’ Delphi. Like the birds in the myth, both having travelled from far-flung locations, two of the narrator's distinguished friends have chanced to meet at Delphi in the recent past. By stripping the myth of the birds to include only its most basic elements (a meeting in the middle), and mirroring the language of the myth in his description of the friends' meeting, Plutarch draws attention to Delphi's continued function as an important site of interaction up to the ‘present’ of the Roman Empire. These myths are not simply ways of piquing the reader's interest. Rather, I argue that they provide a very definite authorial comment about Delphi's unchanged role. Regardless of what the dialogue's interlocutors conclude about the status of Delphi, the myths of the introduction show that the narrator-author eschewed Epimenides' arrogant comments; instead, he wished readers to perceive Delphi as a site whose significance remained strong, certainly as a meeting-place, if not necessarily as an oracle.

DANIEL RICHTER (UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES)

Plutarch and Fictionality

I am interested in this paper not in myth but in fiction and by fiction I mean something quite specific: a work of narrative prose in which there exists a tacit understanding between both

author and reader that the narrative is not intended to accurately depict events that actually took place. Much interesting work has been done in recent years on the “invention” of fiction in the ancient world (e.g. Larry Kim) and my own work is in active dialogue with recent directions in this field. This paper is part of a much larger book project (in progress) on the discursive and cognitive modes of fictionality in the ancient world. Fictionality, in the sense in which I use the term, is a narrative mode not limited to the novels but plays a central role in a wide variety of para-historiographic genres such as genealogy, local history, ethnography, and biography. It is this last that concerns me in this paper. In many passages in the *Lives*, Plutarch betrays an awareness of the rich potential of fictionality as a narrative mode – to cite but one example, the prologue to the *Life of Theseus* in which Plutarch deploys, almost playfully, a rich and allusive vocabulary that seems to intentionally blur the lines that separate myth from history, lies from fiction. For Plutarch, this is, in many ways, an intertextual project in the sense that Plutarch consistently invites his readers to reassess the generic status of both his source material as well as his own biographical project. Importantly, I situate Plutarch’s own awareness of fictionality within the broader context of ancient discussions of the status of various forms of prose narratives.

LAUTARO ROIG LANZILLOTTA (RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT GRONINGEN)

Modes of Hypertextuality in Plutarch’s Myths in *De Genio*, *De sera* and *De facie in orbe lunae*

By applying G. Genette’s approach to intertextuality in his *Palimpsestes. La littérature au seconde degré* (Paris, 1982), the present paper offers an analysis of Plutarch’s literary myths in *De genio Socratis*, *De sera numinis vindicta* and *De facie in orbe lunae* with a view to determining his debt to Plato’s precedents and his transformation of motifs, notions and meaning in order for them to suit the expository needs of his own literary creations. After an analysis that evaluates both what is traditional and what is innovation in Plutarch’s myths, my paper will attempt to establish, first, the place they occupy in the literary framework in which they are inserted; second, the role they play in the worldview behind the texts, and, third, the message they attempt to convey. This will allow us to compare Plato’s and Plutarch’s use of the myths, to understand the relationship among both authors and their strategies and, of course, to determine the degrees of dependence and independence of Plutarch’s mythological creations.

DÁMARIS ROMERO GONZÁLEZ (UNIVERSIDAD DE CÓRDOBA)

As Alexander says. The Alexander-dream as a motif in the Successors’ Lives

The importance of being Alexander was present not only during his life, but even more after his death, when he appeared to his Successors in dreams (the Alexander-dream motif). This importance of the Alexander-dream motif could be reflected, on the one hand, in the military use of his name by these Successors (*Eum.* 6.5, *Pyrrh.* 11.2, *Dem.* 29.1); on the other hand, the Alexander-tent, a variation of this motif, could be seen as a political use of the motif (*Eum.* 13.3-4).

Although the apparition of Alexander in dreams in the lives is a Plutarchan invention (neither the sources of Plutarch nor the subsequent authors collect the apparition), the Alexander-dream motif is found in other authors and Plutarch could have taken the idea from Diodorus, as well as the Alexander-tent could be taken from Curtius (intertextual device). The objectives of Plutarch when he uses this motif are, firstly, to assure the connection between Alexander and the protagonist of the *Life*, and, secondly, to exemplify the character of the protagonist of the *Life* (the educational goal and the rhetoric of proof).

GEERT ROSKAM (KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT LEUVEN)

“Let us make the most of what they offer us”. Different layers of intertextuality in *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum*

There is no doubt that intertextuality is simply one of the principal characteristics of Plutarch’s works. As a matter of fact, there are very few ancient authors whose works contain so many references to previous literature. Moreover, it is a characteristic that has already received much attention in scholarly literature, although a lot still remains to be done. For if intertextuality is no doubt one of the prominent features of Plutarch’s works, it is seldom its easiest aspect. Frequently, different layers can be distinguished in his works and general patterns based on clear references to one or more basic hypotexts are time and again interrupted by strings of quotations from other sources. As a result, the reader is often confronted with a particularly complex web of intertextual relations.

In this contribution, I want to examine this complicated intertextual dynamics by focusing on one work in which Plutarch’s intertextual approach is particularly complicated, viz. the anti-Epicurean polemic *That Epicurus actually makes a pleasant life impossible*. There, several major sources are combined with a lot of other material and introduced into the context of a new and coherent argument. Especially important are (1) the treatise of Colotes (which had itself an obvious intertextual dimension, as it contained an attack against the entire previous philosophical tradition), (2) the perspective of Plutarch’s school, where the whole discussion took place, (3) the works of Epicurus and Metrodorus (the real polemical targets of the work), and (4) the rich tradition attacked by the Epicureans and defended by Plutarch. And next to the input from these four sources, there is, of course, Plutarch himself, who as an author directs and structures the whole work, adding a wealth of quotations from poets, historians, philosophers, and so on.

By unravelling this multi-layered structure, we will lay bare the different aspects of Plutarch’s *modus operandi* and of his approach towards and use of literature in *That Epicurus actually makes a pleasant life impossible*.

ALESSIO RUTA (UNIVERSITÀ DI PALERMO)

Plutarch’s proverbial intertexts in the *Lives*

This paper examines Plutarch’s intertextual engagement with proverbial expressions in the *Lives*, an aspect only occasionally studied by Beardslee and Fernández Delgado, the latter focusing exclusively on the *Moralia*. Let it be stressed that the index of Plutarch’s quotations edited by Helmbold and O’Neil provides a list of proverbs which, as the editors admit, is «very incomplete, particularly for the *Vitae*» (p. 64).

In this paper I will examine those proverbs attested in the so-called *recensio Atheta* by Zenobius, which shows the authentic *ordo proverbiorum* of Lucillus’ Γερί παροιμιῶν (I A.D.). This work, as I will suggest, has been used by Plutarch. This could be deduced from the *Life of Pericles* (27,3-4), where proverbs 63 and 64 from the first book of the *recensio Atheta* are quoted in the same order by Plutarch, and from the *Life of Demetrius* (42,8) where the proverb Ἄρης τύραννος is ascribed to Timotheus, just as in the exegetical section of the *recensio Atheta* only (2,47). Moreover, I will explore how and to what end(s) Plutarch readapt the proverbs in the *Lives*. In some cases, proverbs allude to specific literary contexts which are of crucial importance for our understanding of Plutarch’s techniques of characterising and moralising. This is especially evident in the *Life of Gaius Gracchus* 33,8 where the Σαρδόνιος γέλως (Zen. Ath. 1,68) of Gaius at his opponents may recall that of Odysseus (Hom. *Od.* 20,300-302) and the haughtiness of Thrasymachus towards Socrates (Pl. *R.* 337a). Likewise, in the *Life of Cato Maior* (16,7) the expression “Υδραν τέμνειν (Zen. Ath. 1,10), referring to the difficulties of moralistic reformation, may echo the Platonic context in the *Republic* (426e) concerning the illusive attempt to improve the laws.

KARIN SCHLAPBACH/CRISTIANA SOGNO
(UNIVERSITÉ DE FRIBOURG/FORDHAM UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK)

What can stories teach? Reading Plutarch's *De curiositate* as a commentary on attitudes toward literature

At first glance, Plutarch's notion of *polypragmosyne* does not seem to apply to what we would call fiction. Curiosity for Plutarch is first and foremost a misplaced inquisitiveness directed at neighbors and strangers alike that is inextricably linked with the morally corrosive emotions of envy (*phthonos*) and malice (*kakoetheia*). And yet the question of how the *polypragmon* relates to the recipient of literary tales imposes itself in almost every page of Plutarch's treatise. *logoi* and *historiai* are arguably the primary object of *polypragmosyne*, and intertextuality is the privileged means by which the relationship between literature and curiosity is explored. Not only does a quote from Aeschylus underscore this point (517e), but the literary texture of the treatise itself displays such human interest in "stories". At 518b, for instance, in order to illustrate the kind of things that the curious person wants to hear, Plutarch quotes a tragic character who in turn mentions "singers" (ᾄοιδῶν), thus evoking not just any type of utterance, but the poetic song tradition. Plutarch, moreover, elaborates on this quote with a reference to the „Siren“, again playing on our intertextual knowledge of Odysseus whose meddlesomeness has already been criticized at the beginning of the treatise. There, Plutarch sets up two main intertextual frames for the discussion, namely Odysseus and myth (516ab) and salutary stories about Socrates (516c). This paper discusses the implicit and self-reflective distinction between healthy (or at least innocuous) and unhealthy forms of interest in literary stories with reference not only to other treatises of Plutarch, such as *De garrulitate* and *Quomodo adolescens*, but also in relation to Apuleius' novel, which is the object of a wider study.

MARION SCHNEIDER (UNIVERSITÄT WÜRZBURG)

Plato vs. Plato. The staging of a Platonic discourse on eliminating an opponent in Plutarch's *Life of Dion* (I. C, II. A)

As might be expected from a biography of one of his dearest friends, in Plutarch's *Life of Dion* we come across allusions to the writings of Plato almost everywhere we look. Among the especially 'Platonic' passages belongs the discussion in Chapter 47 on whether or not to kill Dion's treacherous political opponent, Heracleides. What is striking about this episode is the fact that both opposing parties use Platonic argumentation for furthering their standpoint: While the followers of Heracleides opt for clemency and therefore appeal to the Academic idea of self-restraint and forgiveness (cf. e.g. *Phd.* 94d; *Rep.* 375c; *Leg.* 735d, e), Dion's friends point to the Platonic idea of freeing the state from a dangerous illness (cf. e.g. *Plat. Rep.* 293d-e; *Leg.* 735d-e), thus arguing for Heracleides' execution.

Who's right in this dilemma in which one may cite the same authority for justifying opposite views? It is not easy to come to a conclusion by simply reading the outcome of the story as told by Plutarch, since Dion actually has to make his decision twice with each option turning out disastrous in the end. But there is another possible view on this passage, when considering the way Plutarch stages an interdiscursive drama around an inner-Platonic conflict of principles: By portraying the adherents of two contradicting standpoints as convincingly using Platonic arguments as the others, he underlines the hopelessness of Dion's attempt to reconcile Platonic ideals with pragmatic considerations and thus make the right decision.

This becomes even more striking when taking into account the suggestions made concerning Plutarch's (intermediary) historical sources, arguing that Dion's fellow-combatant Timonides may have been responsible for the depiction of Dion as trying to enact Platonic political ideals (and therefore falling for the manipulative rhetoric of his opponents), while

the democrat Athanis may have initiated the utilitarian interpretation of Dion's real intentions. Plutarch, I would like to argue, used both sources, but made up his own discourse on whether or not it was just to kill Heracleides, and by putting his sources' differing perspectives into the mouths of two well-characterized groups of opposition, primed his readers into siding with Dion's hopeless dilemma.

ANASTASIA SERGHIDOU (UNIVERSITY OF CRETE, RETHYMNO)

Du théâtralisme esthétique aux fonctions narratives de la mécanicité dans la *Vie de Démétrios*

Allant au delà des considérations abstraites sur les affinités ou les divergences existant entre les *technae* et les *aestheseis* nous proposons une lecture de la *Vie de Démétrios* à partir des éléments de discursivité qui dévoilent la fonction narrative des arts et des ingéniosités mécaniques qui forment le savoir du lecteur. «Observateur» des événements et des stratégies guerrières de cet hégémon le lecteur est invité à lire ses oeuvres à partir des univers des sensibilités où le *phobos*, notion occurrente dans le texte, mais pas seulement, fonctionne comme producteur d'histoire en termes de performativité esthétique. Dans un premier temps nous insistons sur les complexités qui s'esquissent à travers l'ambition du moraliste de formuler son récit sur le fond d'un entrelacement de l'art et de la parole raisonné (τέχνη μετὰ λόγου (I,1)). Nous nous intéressons par la suite à la manière dont s'introduit la manipulation des objets, conçue comme relevant d'une matérialité «autonome» (I,1). Cette manipulation s'ouvre vers le domaine de la morale qui n'étant pas dissociée de la sagesse et du savoir technique d'un médecin ou d'un musicien exige l'efficacité d'un géomètre ou d'un mathématicien qui savent appliquer les logiques du contraire (I,1). Cette conception géométrique du monde relève à plusieurs reprises de la question de la propriété causale de "substances" et des analogies qui s'inspirent des "formes" Platoniciennes (Timée, 31b4sq) ou des «matériaux» relevant des théories Aristotéliennes. Si Plutarque à croire J. Opsomer ne pose jamais des questions sur le lien existant entre les "qualités basiques" et les "éléments" autonomes, une problématique plus assidue se développe sur la «pratique» du philosophe contrastée par l'art des techniciens. La question de l'*harmonia*, par exemple, nous invite à étudier les interférences techniques qui existent entre l'enjeu narratif des matériaux précieux (allant de l'or à l'argent) et les stratégies politiques de la conquête de terres (*Vie de Démétrios*, 4,2; 12,1). De manière pertinente, ces stratégies se réinventent par des mécanicités performatives qui valent à Démétrios sa fonction de poliorcète. C'est sur ce dernier point que nous argumentons pour évaluer la façon par laquelle se traduisent les traces de l'histoire de l'émergence de la mécanique et son impact dans la vie du Stratège comme *méchanopoios*. Des notions comme μηχανή ou κατασκευή deviennent les termes pivots qui nous font visiter dans l'univers de l'intertextualité et de l'interdiscursivité où les valeurs interprétatives des *Mechanica Problemata* d'Aristote trouvent tout leur essor.

MARIELLA DE SIMONE (SALERNO)

The auletic tradition and its ethical/ideological functions in Plutarch's *Lives* and *Moralia*

It is well known that Plutarch attributed great value to musical discourse: even not mentioning the treatise *Peri mousikes*, whose authenticity is not commonly accepted, references to music are numerous and meaningful, and the use of specific musical terminology is well attested (Aspect I.C: interdiscursivity). But within musical discourse the tradition which seems to have a special role is the auletic one, the reference to which is recurrent in Plutarch's *Lives* and *Moralia*. Such numerous references (the aulos is the most quoted instrument in Plutarch's texts) show an ambiguous attitude of the philosopher, who, on

the one hand, tells stories about the aulos *refused* (Athena, Alcibiades) and emphasizes its inappropriateness in educational contexts, but, on the other hand, underlines the ritual and ceremonial function of the instrument (Plut. 667A; 712F-713A). In view of this, it seems useful to wonder what is the purpose of references to auletic tradition in Plutarch's works, to which extent allusions and quotations are adapted to the specific educational and ideological aims of Plutarch's speech and whether it is possible to find in such references different traditions and paradigms associated with music for aulos, eventually related to different periods and contexts (function II.A).

ELSA GIOVANNA SIMONETTI

(UNIVERSITÀ DI PADOVA/KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT LEUVEN)

Who is the best prophet? The "manifold" character of a quotation in Plutarch

In my paper, I will analyse the different meanings attributed to the Euripidean quotation "μάντις ἄριστος ὅστις εικάζει καλῶς", cited twice in Plutarch's Delphi dialogues. The nature of this specific external reference, employed with radically divergent aims in two different dialogical contexts, makes this case-study a notable and effective *exemplum* of intertextuality in Plutarch, worth of special attention.

First, I will briefly consider the wider background of other significant passages conceptually or chronologically related to Plutarch, in which this originally Euripidean verse (fr. 973 Nauck) also appears. The authors that I will take into account will be: Cicero (Cic. *Div.* II 12,5), Arrian (Arr. *An.* VII 16,6,4), Appianus (App. *BC* II 21,153,13) and Aelius Aristides (Aristid. *Or.* 39,9 Jebb).

Then, I will focus on two instances of the maxim in Plutarch's Delphic dialogues and propose a comparative analysis of their different contexts, thus showing how radically divergent objectives the phrase is supposed to realise. In *De defectu oraculorum* 432C, Lamprias employs Euripides' verse to prove the irrational character of inspired divination, in the wider framework of his passionate defence of oracular mantic. In *De Pythiae oraculis* 399A, instead, the quotation, exploited by Boethus, serves the entirely different ideological aim of sustaining the harsh criticism of the Epicurean against divination and itsgnoseological efficacy.

Relying on Plutarch's conceptual apparatus of divination and on its psychological foundations, I aim to show his ability of bending a single authoritative sentence to different philosophical intentions – which created a complex net of interconnections among his works – and to demonstrate how this technique helps the readers to envisage philosophical problems under multiple perspectives.

MARIA SOKOLSKAYA (UNIVERSITÄT BERN)

Die Dichtung im nicht-idealen Staat: Der philologische und der philosophische Diskurs in *De audiendis poetis*

De audiendis poetis kann man als Plutarchs eigenen Beitrag zum Thema „Intertextualität“ betrachten. Bei der Anleitung der Jugendlichen zur Lektüre wird im Wesentlichen gefragt: Wie geht man mit dem fremden Wort um, wenn man es in sein eigenes verwandelt, sei es in seiner inneren Rede, als einen Bestandteil seines Wort- und Gedankenschatzes, sei es, wenn man in seinen Aussagen Zitate verwendet, oder in einer Diskussion, wo der andere seine Argumentation mit Klassiker-Zitaten untermauert? Bei der Beantwortung dieser Frage ist Plutarch der „platonische Intertext“ (Hunter 2011), die Verbannung der Dichtung aus dem Idealstaat in der *Politeia*, ständig präsent. Welcher Zugang zur klassischen Dichtung resultiert aus der konsequenten Verflechtung des philosophischen und des philologischen bzw. grammatischen Diskurses in einem Alltag, der sich, im Unterschied zur platonischen Utopie, vor der Realität nicht hermetisch verschliessen lässt? Wie lässt sich das

Verhältnis zwischen der Einstellung Platons und derjenigen Plutarchs zur Dichtung näher beschreiben?

PHILIP STADTER (UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL)

Aesopic Wisdom in Plutarch

Plutarch's many citations from classical tragedy are well known. Less studied are his occasional references to Aesop and his tales. Aesop of course is an interlocutor in the *Banquet of the Seven Sages*, where his comments tend to puncture the dignity of the other rather self-important diners. But his fables are also cited on occasion, either anonymously or identified by name. This paper explores some of the ways Plutarch employs these references to suggest a down-to-earth commentary on political activity and philosophic questions. Rhetoricians recognized the usefulness of fables in oratory. Demetrius of Phaleron had made a collection which could have been known to Plutarch. Of particular interest is Plutarch's relation to the text of the life of Aesop and the Aesopian fables of Phaedrus (composed under Tiberius?) and Babrius (rather later). These collections seem to reflect a revival of interest in Aesopian tales which might have influenced Plutarch.

ZOE STAMATOPOULOU (WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, ST. LOUIS)

Receiving Herodotus: the story of Arion in Plutarch's *Symposium of the Seven Sages*

In Plutarch's *Symposium of the Seven Sages*, the conversation among the symposiasts is interrupted by the unexpected arrival of Gorgus, Periander's brother, who proceeds to recount the miraculous rescue of the poet Arion by dolphins (Mor. 160D-162B). My paper focuses on the intertextual engagement of this passage with Herodotus' account of Arion's rescue (Hdt. 1.23-24). Given that Herodotus is the only author identified as a source for this story in Imperial literature (e.g., Strabo 13.2.4, Paus. 3.25.7, Gell. *NA* 16.19), it is plausible to assume that Plutarch's erudite readers would take into consideration the Herodotean intertext when interpreting Gorgus' narrative—but to what effect? In this paper, I argue that Plutarch's engagement with Herodotus' narrative in the context of Gorgus' first-person testimony reiterates and develops further the dialogue's preoccupation with truth, memory, and fictionality, themes that are introduced as early as the opening of the *Symposium* (Mor. 146B-C with Hunter 2012: 202-03). Moreover, building on some observations in Durán Mañas 2010/11, I examine how the Herodotean account functions as a foil for Plutarch's representation of Periander in this dialogue. More broadly, I contextualize Arion's story as recounted in *Mor.* 160D-162B within the complex reception of Herodotus in Plutarch's reconstruction of the Greek past.

FABIO TANGA (UNIVERSITÀ DI SALERNO)

Aspects and functions of Intertextuality in Plutarch's *De tuenda sanitate praecepta*

The paper examines Plutarch's *De tuenda sanitate praecepta* as a work where intertextuality may be observed in some of its aspects and functions. In *De tuenda sanitate praecepta* Plutarch's educational goal seems to be the creation of a balance between soul and body, helping the readers to become good doctors of their body and to achieve the virtue through health. In this opusculum, philosophy, literature and medicine interact through intertextual devices and intratextual references to other texts within the *Plutarchean corpus*, sometimes showing the interdiscursivity with the medical discourse and the intergenericity with other different literary genres. Then, while the self-exploration appears as the best direction towards a moralistic vision of the intellectual and social community, the intertextual work can also contribute to solve critical problems concerning the textual transmission of the

work. Introducing the testimonies of previous authors, philosophers, rulers and famous or normal citizens, Plutarch contaminates and integrates his literary models, creating a discourse that seems to be at the same time complete, useful and pleasant for the readers.

JOHAN C. THOM (STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY)

Plutarch's Use of the Pythagorean *Akousmata*

There are frequent references in Plutarchan writings to the Pythagorean sayings known as *akousmata* or *symbola*. More than 25 sayings are cited or alluded to in at least 5 of Plutarch's works (*Numa, Quaestiones Romanae, De Iside et Osiride, Quaestiones convivales, De amicorum multitudine, fragment 93*, perhaps *Quaestiones Platonicae*, as well as the probably spurious *De liberis educandis*). Plutarch uses these sayings in several different ways. The sayings are in general presented in a manner that assume they are familiar to Plutarch's readers. They are therefore often used as comparative material to illuminate the meaning of less-known ideas and doctrines (e.g. Roman, Egyptian or Jewish customs) or to explain other abstruse sayings material (e.g. precepts in Hesiod's *Works and Days*). They are also cited as examples of non-literary, indirect expressions, in order to interpret other statements or precepts in a similar manner. In several instances the *akousmata* themselves form the point of departure for wide-ranging intellectual discussions. Plutarch also at times cites *akousmata* as justification of his own behaviour. In the *De liberis educandis* several *akousmata* are quoted as examples of the basic instructions young people ought to be taught as part of the psychagogical programme proposed by the author.

My paper will discuss the different intertextual sources, forms and strategies used by Plutarch as regards the *akousmata*, and also briefly compare these to the sources, forms and strategies used by rough contemporaries such as Alexander Polyhistor, Trypho, Athenaeus, Clemens of Alexandria, and Hippolytus of Rome.

FRANCES B. TITCHENER (UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY, LOGAN)

Plutarch and the Comedians

Plutarch's liberal use of quotations from drama make him a prime source for fragments, despite his own antipathy towards the art form. It is widely agreed that Plutarch did not care for drama at all, but used dramatic techniques like framing passages and foils especially in his biographies, understanding that his audience liked it, and would be more inclined to heed the deeper message. Scholars have discussed his attitude toward tragedy at some length, but less so his attitude towards comedy (with the exception of the *Comp. Arist. et Menand.*). And yet, comic lines are one of Plutarch's favorite ways to summarize character in his biographies, suggesting that he well understood the value of these tags, and supporting his own statement that "it is not Histories that I am writing, but Lives; and in the most illustrious deeds there is not always a manifestation of virtue or vice, nay, a slight thing like a phrase or a jest often makes a greater revelation of character than battles where thousands fall, or the greatest armaments, or sieges of cities" . This paper will collect and examine Plutarch's use of the comic poets to help identify and understand a deeper resonance in those passages.

THEOFANIS TSIAMPOKALOS (NKU ATHENS)

Plutarch defines Rhetoric, while playing with Pretexts (*Praec. ger. reip.* 801C–D)

In the introductory lines of his *Praec. ger. reip.*, Plutarch mentions that he wrote this particular work with the intention to help a young elite statesman from Sardis to learn and understand how the life of a philosopher being actively involved in politics looks like.

Following this course, Plutarch tries to authorise his views on several aspects of statesmanship, including rhetoric.

In particular, rhetoric is defined there as a simple co-ordinating factor in the general course of the production of persuasion, and not in the traditional way as the producer of persuasion. Given that the subject of the relationship between rhetoric and politics is a loaded one, Plutarch's choice to follow a particular approach excluding some other, indicates the author's willingness to take part in a long discussion, where many philosophers and rhetoricians had already participated.

More specifically, in the few lines where the aforementioned definition is given and explained, Plutarch makes two intertextual references, one to Plato's *Grg.*, and one to Plato's *Crit.*; he also quotes a line of Menander, and while discussing this line the formulations used clearly reflect further passages from earlier texts within his *corpus*. All these references seem to be related to each other inasmuch as they bring key-topics of Platonic philosophy into discussion (dissociation from sophistry, the idea of rhetoric as *psychagogia*, philanthropy, the call for 'divinization', etc.).

Hence, aim of this paper is to explore the way all these references construct a network of texts assisting Plutarch's argumentative goal, which is, of course, to prove that rhetoric is in fact not opposed to philosophical activity but, on the contrary, could stand in accordance with a philosophical way of life.

GEORGIA TSOUNI (UNIVERSITÄT BERN)

Peripatetic Views on Moral Development in Plutarch's Philosophical Works

Although Plutarch did not devote explicitly a treatise to the philosophical movement of the Peripatos, in some of his philosophical works, such as *De virtute morali*, Plutarch discusses Peripatetic views as the best approach to major issues concerning the acquisition of the virtues, and more generally moral education. Whereas the Stoics stress 'lack of emotions' as an ideal, the Peripatetics stress the constructive role of emotions and the ideal of a 'moderation of emotions.' A Peripatetic conviction, which Plutarch reflects in such works, is that character is shaped through a long process of habituation and depends on the influence of models and relevant guidance. In this process, Stoic vocabulary is used to highlight the Peripatetic views offering an "updated" version of the theory of the latter school. In this paper, I will examine in particular how in some major works of Plutarch on moral virtue, Peripatetic views on the emotions and the acquisition of virtue become captured in analogies which aim to educate the reader both philosophically and morally. Such examples are the botanical analogies, which survive in *De liberis educandis*. There, the Peripatetic views are conveyed not by explicit references to this philosophical current but by means of images which illustrate their views. The ample evidence of intertextuality with regard to Peripatetic material raises wider issues about Plutarch's Peripateticism, his access to the relevant sources and ways to reassess the (widely neglected) influence that this philosophical current plays in his philosophical corpus.

JOSÉ VELA TEJADA (UNIVERSIDAD DE ZARAGOZA)

Construyendo un retrato histórico: relaciones dialógicas entre la *Vida de Sila* de Plutarco y Estrabón

En el relato de la *Vida de Sila* encontramos una única cita directa a Estrabón (26.3 relativa a la estancia de Sila en Atenas), autor que en los libros V y VI —los correspondientes a Italia e islas— dedica especial atención a los acontecimientos que desencadenaron la Guerra Civil y la crisis de la República. Por otra parte, la evidente atención del geógrafo se constata

que resulta más subliminal que directa en su *Geografía*: (vid. 5.2.6, 3.10, 3.11, 4.2, 4.9, 4.11 y 4.13; 6.1.5 y 1.6).

Dada la relativa proximidad cronológica de unos veinticinco años en la sucesión de la vida de ambos escritores, creemos que puede postularse un uso directo. El propio Plutarco lo cita como única fuente griega para la *Vida de Sila* —frente a otras latinas como Fenestela, el mismo Juba, rey de Mauritania, Salustio y Tito Livio—, por lo que la importancia del geógrafo debió de ser mayor que la mera cita erudita. Teniendo en cuenta, además, que Plutarco (*Luc* 28.7; *Caes.* 63.3) alude a él como *philosophos* y que el de Amasia era identificado entre los estoicos, se puede atisbar una mayor interrelación entre ambos testimonios. A este respecto, un estudio de las relaciones dialógicas entre ambos autores debe acercarse necesariamente hasta los *Hypomnēmata* estrabonianos, pese a la dificultad que entraña considerar una fuente fragmentaria, porque, en ella, se entrevén contenidos relativos a la carrera del militar romano y a sus campañas militares, en particular las más próximas a la pónica Amasia natal del geógrafo. Plutarco, en efecto, conoció los citados *Hypomnēmata* a los que alude en la *Vida de Lúculo* (28.7), con motivo de la guerra emprendida por Roma contra Tigranes, rey de Armenia: “Y Estrabón, otro filósofo, en sus *Observaciones históricas*, dice que los propios romanos estaban avergonzados y se reían de sí mismos por necesitar las armas contra semejantes siervos.”

PAOLA VOLPE CACCIATORE (UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI SALERNO)

Plutarco personaggio dei *Moralia*

Scopo del presente contributo è individuare, secondo le moderne categorie interpretative dell’“autore eterodiegetico e autodiegetico”, alcuni brani degli opuscoli morali nei quali Plutarco esprime più direttamente il proprio pensiero, partecipando in prima persona alla discussione in corso. L’aspetto della intertestualità, che è centrale in tale comunicazione, è indagato essenzialmente in relazione alla struttura dialogica nella quale Plutarco espone le sue certezze o incertezze riprendendo, sia pure in un contesto diverso, temi già precedentemente trattati. Principale campo d’indagine per la mia ricerca saranno le *Quaestiones Convivales* nelle quali l’amabilità del conversare spinge il Cheroneo ad esprimere opinioni e giudizi su problemi e tematiche di varia natura relativi allo svolgimento dei simposi e alle regole comportamentali che dovrebbero caratterizzarli: oggetto di analisi saranno in particolare le *quaestiones* II 1 (*Quali siano per Senofonte le domande da porre e gli scherzi da fare a tavola*) e III 9 (*Sul detto “berne tre, cinque ma non quattro”*). Altro tema centrale nel pensiero morale plutarqueo e che si presta ad un’analisi fortemente intertestuale è di certo l’amore: nell’*Erotikos* il pensiero plutarqueo viene espresso, mediante argomentazioni e immagini rintracciabili anche in altri trattati, da Autobulo, il figlio di Plutarco: quest’ultimo appare però una sorta di “narratore-schermo”, dato che egli si limita a riportare le parole del padre, vero protagonista del dialogo.

LUNETTE WARREN (STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITEIT)

Reading Plutarch’s Women: the *Lives* as extension of the *Moralia*

Plutarch has two distinct bodies of work: the *Moralia* and the *Lives*. It is common for Plutarchan scholars to dwell within the confines of either the former or the latter; rarely are the boundaries between the two crossed. However, recently questions about the unity of Plutarch’s work as a whole have been raised, and it has become of some concern to scholars of ancient biography to establish the level of philosophical content in the *Lives*. An intratextual study of the women of the *Lives* and those in the *Moralia* may provide some insight into Plutarch’s greater philosophical project, that of philosophical education and the moral improvement of his readers. Five works in the *Moralia* are of special interest to the study of women in Plutarch: *Conj. praec.*, *Mulier. virt.*, *Amat.*, *Is. Os.*, and *Cons. ux.* These

works present a unified vision of Plutarch’s ideal Woman, both on a theoretical-philosophical and moral-philosophical level. Plutarch’s educational programme for women lays a firm groundwork for the role of Woman in society and the marital unit. The language in these works is consistent with the language used to describe women in the *Lives*, where historical women appear as exempla for the moral improvement of his female students. A study of prominent women in the *Lives* (Cleopatra, Octavia, Cornelia, Aspasia, and Olympias) reveals an uncomfortable probability: Plutarch presents women in the *Lives* in accordance with the principles set out in the *Moralia* and uses language and epideictic rhetoric to guide his female students towards a judgement of the exempla that agrees with his own views on the ideal Woman.

ANDREW WORLEY (UNIVERSITY OF EXETER)

Screeching Volumes: Plutarch’s use of the *Ath.Pol.* as intertextual bridge between Athens & Rome

Plutarch’s *Nicias* and *Gracchi* share textual remembrances of the description of the Athenian politician Cleon as described in *Ath.Pol.* 28.3 – Cleon as the first orator to shout in the assembly (πρῶτος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀνέκραγε καὶ ἐλοιδορήσατο). Whereas *Nicias* 8.3 has understandable direct reference to Cleon’s antics clipped from the *Ath.Pol.* (shouting, thigh-slapping, cloak waving) since Cleon is the political rival to the more restrained *Nicias*, *Ti. Gracchus* 2.2 again exploits this gobblet of *Ath.Pol.* as explanation of the *Gracchi*’s approach to public oratory. Plutarch seemingly applies a Greek anecdote without hesitation to a Roman context some three hundred years later for little purpose other than a repetitive display of erudition.

What this paper will discuss is Plutarch’s resurrection of Cleon as a figure of demagogic vocal excess, especially since extant Latin literature prior to Plutarch notably fails to fully exploit the possible pairings of Cleon’s rabble-rousing potential. Cleon’s remembrance as one given to κράζειν is less shouting and more screeching, as Plutarch’s own commentary on Gaius Gracchus would suggest, supported by Cleon’s contemporary Aristophanes’ description. Second, that Plutarch’s usage of Cleon attests to an afterlife for the Athenian politician where he was remembered not only for his fierce oratory and factious political approach, but also his questionable pitch. Despite Quintilian’s statement (*Inst. Or.* 11.3) that to a late C1st CE audience, Cleon’s style would have been hardly controversial, Plutarch sees pitch as a key measure of the orator. Plutarch’s erudition is far from banal – instead it enables us to reappraise the role of κράζειν in public political oratory on both sides of the linguistically divided empire.

SOPHIA XENOPHONTOS (UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW)

Comedy as moralising intertext in Plutarch’s *Parallel Lives*

Plutarch’s relation to comedy has been the subject of several studies. These mainly focus on the role of comedy in Plutarch’s educational programme, his attitude towards Aristophanes and Menander, or the comic features of his dialogue works. Comedy in Plutarch, however, is a more complex issue. When he means to criticise his heroes’ behaviour in the *Parallel Lives*, he sometimes places it in a setting that recalls the invective of comedy and often delineates his biographical figures as stock characters from comedy. In this paper I shall argue that despite any variations of this technique across the *Lives*, Plutarch’s use of invective always aims at the ethical instruction of his audience. I shall explore mainly the treatment of nicknames, abusive language, comic stereotyping and redirection of mockery in the *Demetrius and Antony* and *Pericles and Fabius Maximus*, and argue that comic invective is part and parcel of Plutarch’s moralising agenda in the *Parallel Lives*, assessing as it does the character of his protagonists.

ALEXEI ZADOROZHNY (UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL)

Hearing Voices: Orality, Writtleness, and the Platonic Anxiety in Plutarch

The paper is going to weigh Plutarch's intertextual practice against the polarity between orality and "writtleness". More specifically, the paper has a two-fold aim:

1. to flag up Plutarch's tendency to label intertextual material as, literally, "voice(s)" (*phônê, phônai*);
2. to draw attention to the "oral" vs "written" framing of the Plutarchan references to Plato.

When Plutarch transcribes or simply nods towards apophthegmatic anecdotage he may choose to call it "voices" (*Lycurgus* 25.5; *Demosthenes* 26.5; *Moralia* 145E, 330E, 330F-331A, 463E, 866D) or "voice" (*Lucullus* 27.9; *Moralia* 785F). The same term(s) can be used when referring to more firmly text-based sources, such as Solon's verse (*Solon* 3.1.7), comedy (*Pericles* 8.4; *Moralia* 769D), Philistus' *History* (*Timoleon* 15.10), Aratus' *Memoirs* (*Aratus* 38.11), and the philosophical discourse of Pythagoras, Socrates, Chrysippus, Epicurus (*Moralia* 44B, 106B, 1049E, 1097A) and, crucially, Plato (*Numa* 20.8; *Lucullus* 2.4). One must not altogether absolutize the opposition between *phônê* and the written word in Plutarch (cf. *Moralia* 431C, 1086D; *Cicero* 24.6), however, the oral-written dynamics of the Plutarchan intertextual engagement with Plato is of special interest, against the backdrop of Plato's critique of writing as an inadequate medium for philosophy. The paper will discuss select instances of Plutarch's choosing between "oral" and "written" vocabulary for switching on overt references to Plato.

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