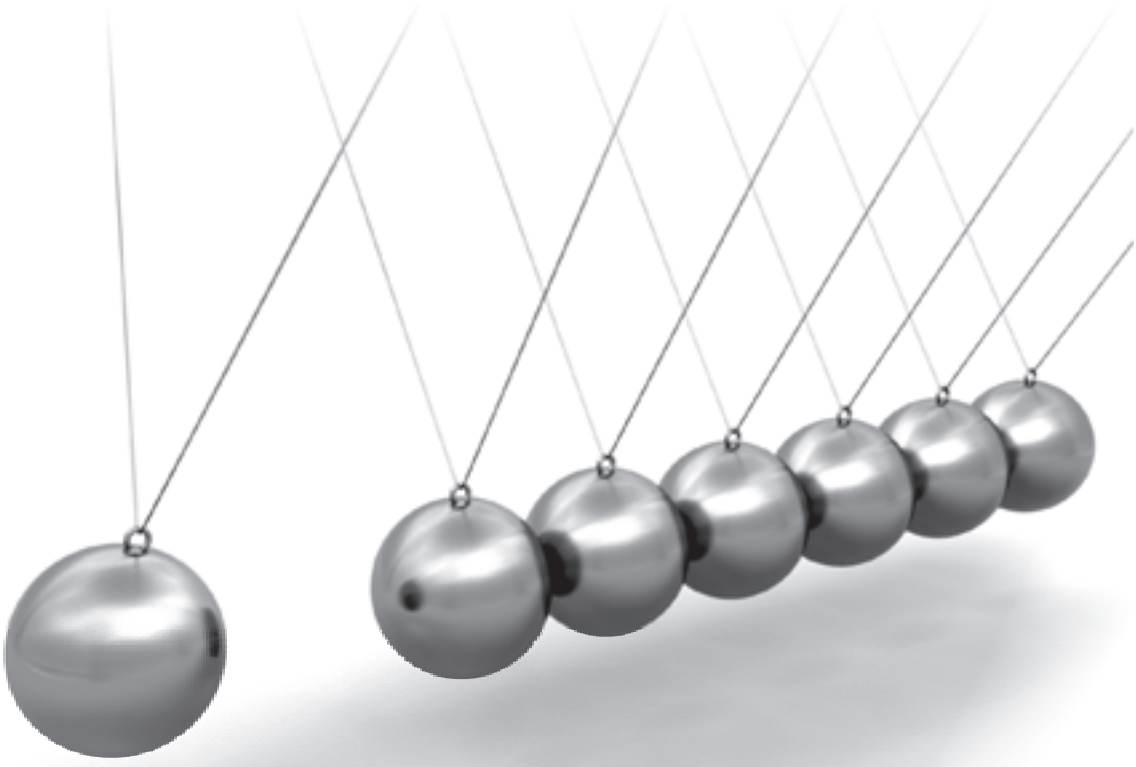
HUMANS AND SOCIETY IN TIMES OF CRISIS

Women in Times of Crisis

Edited by Irina Deretić



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CONTENTS

Tamara Plećaš*

FEMALE FRIENDSHIP IN ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME IN TIMES OF CRISIS

Abstract: This paper aims to show that the idea of a female friendship in Ancient Greece and Rome is possible, even in terms of an "ideal" friendship, i.e. form of a friendship ancient philosophers aspired to. The author of this paper will elucidate the position of women in Greece and Rome and points out that various women actively participated in the work of the philosophical schools and women's societies. In accordance with the philosophical ideals, "ideal," "perfect" or "genuine" friends could only be those who possess or at least strive for moral virtue (ἀρετή), while education (παιδεία) was seen as a precondition for acquiring moral virtue. Having in mind that various women met that precondition, it is emphasized that the ideal friendship could be ascribed not only to virtuous men but also to virtuous women. Thus, educated women could potentially be both, "ideal" and "ordinary" friends.

Keywords: Sappho, female philosophers, Pythagoras, Plato, Hellenistic and Roman philosophers.

The Historical and Political Background

The women of the Athenian πόλις did not have political or economic rights, and in the life of each one of them, there had to be present a man (κύριος) who took care of all of her personal affairs with the only exception of the household, in the strict sense of the word. Namely, in Athens "a modest, well-brought-up young woman was hidden from the public eye" (Pomeroy, 2002, p. 3), and for most girls, even the mere possibility of education (παιδεία) was not an option. On the other side, Athenian marriage was an important political institution, to the extent that unmarried men were forbidden to take part in some of the state jobs. However, the woman was mainly "the subject of a contract" established between her κύριος, that is her father, and later her husband, which "closely reflected on her social

* Tamara Plećaš, Research Associate, Institute for Philosophy, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, e-mail: tamara.plecas@gmail.com; tamara.plecas@f.bg.ac.rs.

position" (Avramović & Stanimirović, 2012, p. 118). Thus, a lawful and "well-brought-up" Athenian wife's daily routine occurred within the area of the home where she received barely or no education at all (see also: Atanasijević, 2010, pp. 61–62). "We have courtesans for pleasure, concubines to perform our domestic chores, and wives to bear us legitimate children," Flaceliere quotes words of Demosthenes (Δημοσθένης) (Flaceliere, 2002, p. 73). Solon (Σόλων), an Athenian statesman who lived centuries before Demosthenes, ordered the opening of brothels, at the same time reducing the dowry to a minimum, because "he did not wish that marriage should be a matter of profit or price," but rather the ordinary life of a man and a woman which should consist in having children, delight and friendship (χάριτι καὶ φιλότητι) (Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 20.4). Thus, a woman of the Athenian πόλις was marginalized and her role was mainly reduced to being a wife and a mother who bears legitimate children, and it seems that the majority of Greek city-states followed the Athenian example. However, in the vast Greek world, apart from Athens, did exist rare communities where women enjoyed far more freedom than women of Athens. These communities were mostly found in Sparta and the island of Lesbos.

Although women possessed little, if any freedom at all, they, nevertheless, maintained a distinguished place in Greek religion and mythology. Women played an important role in ritual and religious ceremonies and aspects of πόλις life (see also: Katz, 2000, pp. 514–516). One of the most prestigious Greek oracles was in Delphi, where ruled Apollo, who ever since "discovered the secret of prophecy," taught this secret to his priestesses (Grevs, 2008, p. 73). Numerous girls and women, nameless to history, were given the name of Pythia after becoming priestesses, sibyls, or prophetesses at Apollo's temple in Delphi. Only a few we know by their name: Phemonoe (Φημονόη), Aristonike (Ἀριστονίκη) and Periallos (Περίαλλος) (Dillon, 2017, p. 358; *Hdt*. 7.140.1; *Hdt.* 6.66.2). The enigmatic words of Delphic priestesses were influential, in the sense that prophecies of the Delphic oracle shaped the history of the ancient world for more than a thousand years.

If the well-known Delphic principle or maxim "know thyself," which was always on "Apollo's lips" (Grevs, 2008, p. 75), was applied to his priestesses, it would be apparent that they had very little or no rights, being primarily reduced to the tools or property of the sanctuary as "Apollo's prophetic 'mouthpiece'" (Dillon, 2017, p. 9). Those women were powerful, and simultaneously characterized as insane and possessed by Apollo (Pl. *Phdr*. 244b), and they were not the only ones. Trojan princess Cassandra (Κασσάνδρα) was also an instrument of Apollo's. However, Cassandra, unlike Pythia, represented a prophetic voice that could not influence the

course of the events, not even of her own destiny, even though her area of expertise was the *world of war* which was "traditionally reserved for men" (Gudo, 2003, p. 7). Yet, there were distinguished voices of other women that could be *heard* through some of the Greek plays, though written by male authors, such as Euripides' (Εὐριπίδης) *Hecuba* (Ἑκάβη) or *The women of Troy* (Τρῳάδες), Sophocles' (Σοφοκλῆς) *Antigone* (Ἀντιγόνη) (see also: Knežević, in this Vol.), Aristophanes' (Ἀριστοφάνης) *Lysistrata* (Λυσιστράτη), and others.

Plato (Πλάτων) also mentions one woman that could be easily both a Sybil and a priestess, and a female philosopher. Her name was Diotima of Mantinea (Διοτίμα), who was wise (σοφή) on the subject of Love and "on many other subjects too," and who taught Socrates (Σωκράτης) the discourse about Love (τὰ ἐρωτικὰ ἐδίδαξεν) (Pl. *Symp*. 201d). Besides Diotima, Plato speaks about Aspasia (Ἀσπασία) (Pl. *Menex*.; see also: Deretić, in this Vol.). We are told that Pericles (Περικλῆς) fell in love with Aspasia because of her "political wisdom" and intelligence and that sometimes she was visited by Socrates and his friends (Plut. *Vit. Per*. 24). Once again, Socrates claims that he learned discourse (this time funeral speech) from a woman who "made many good people orators," including Pericles (Pl. *Menex*. 235e). Thus, we conclude that even in Athens, specific women possessed a certain political power, and they could influence male citizens of Athens to some extent. However, these women were not Athenian by their birth. Furthermore, Diotima and Aspasia are silent in these Plato's dialogues; Socrates is the one who speaks. Nevertheless, Aspasia's example shows that political friendships and alliances between women and men, by all accounts, existed to some degree.

Apart from here mentioned priestess and women of Greek drama, as well as the women mentioned by Plato, some Greek women were engaged in writing poetry, philosophy, and science. However, Greek women of letters lived in challenging periods. Namely, the most famous Greek women poets and philosophers, almost without exception, lived and taught in times of crisis, that is, in times of "great danger" and various difficulties, which will be described in the following passages. Crisis (κρίσις) is also defined as an "*event*," "*issue*," "*turning point* of a disease," "*sudden change* for better or worse" (Liddell & Scott, 1940), and thus could be applicable to the periods of social instability, poverty, exiles, war periods or periods in which something has to be *decided*, etc.

Sappho (Σαπφώ) abandoned her birthplace on the island of Lesbos (Campbell, 1982, p. xi) during the reign of the tyrant Pittacus of Mytilene (Πιττακός). However, due to insufficient information about her life, it is not entirely clear to what extent Sappho acted against the tyrannical regime. It

seems that the Poetess lived in Sicily for a certain period, which could imply that she (or at least her family) was an obstacle to the tyrant's regime. Perhaps her undesirable position was influenced not only by her aristocratic origins, but also by her engagement in a closed society, where the Poetess gathered around other women, and where love was celebrated. Several centuries later, Aristotle (Ἀριστοτέλης) wrote that tyranny, in general, should be seen as the most harmful form of government (Arist. *Pol*. 1310b). Moreover, tyrants are inclined to follow certain rules, such as the prohibition of all kinds of communal meals and associations of any kind (Arist. *Pol*. 1313b), and this could be a good explanation for Sappho's exile. Apart from Sappho, certain philosophers, like Pythagoreans and the Stoics, were also exiled from their hometowns on several different occasions.

The educated women of Sparta were part of a military, strictly hierarchically organised society. Paradoxically, they possessed greater freedom than other Greek women. Nevertheless, they lived in rough conditions, especially during the military expeditions that Sparta undertook.

The Athenian πόλις experienced its greatest economic and cultural prosperity during Pericles' reign. Athens of the "golden age" was the confluence of democracy, art, and philosophy. However, the internal situation in Athens was far from stable. The Athenians, after the controversial law on ostracism was implemented, expelled from Athens some of the most glorious military leaders who were responsible for the development and supremacy of Athens. In 431 BC, Athens went to a Peloponnesian war against Sparta and its allies. Both Athens and Sparta suffered substantial losses during the long and exhausting war, which ended in 404 BC. At that time Socrates was 65, while Plato was 23 (or 24) years old. The unfavorable political climate in Athens further deepened in the years that followed, and even Aristotle fled from the city. The Athens of the Hellenistic and Roman era differed from the Athens of Plato's time. However, Athens was still perceived as a philosophical center in the following centuries. Roman orator, statesmen and philosopher Marcus Tullius Cicero, for example, studied philosophy in Athens, like many others.

Women of Rome, just like women of Greek *polises*, did not have political rights and they were mostly excluded from all the public affairs, with the exception of the Roman priestesses. However, some amongst them were politically influential and glorious, like, for example, Cornelia, who was the daughter of Publius Scipio and Aemilia, and the mother of the Gracchi, Octavia Minor, Julia Agrippina, and others. Cicero did listen to Laelia, a daughter of Gaius Laelius and wife of Mucius Scaevola, who was eloquent like all good legal orators, and "Laelia's *elegantia* was passed on to her daughters, the two Muciae, and to her

granddaughters, the two Liciniae" (Bauman, 1994, pp. 47–8). Although Laelia is not mentioned by name in Cicero's dialogue *On friendship*, his dialogue may owe much to the memory of the conversations he had with her (Bauman, 1994, p. 48). Nevertheless, Cicero ascribed virtue (*virtus*) only to men (*vir*) (Cic. *Tusc*. 2.43).

Fourth century Alexandria was "the western world's center of scientific, philosophic, and other intellectual achievements" and "the site of tremendous social, political, religious, and academic turmoil" at the same time (Waithe, 1987, p. 169). Hypatia (Ὑπατία), a Neoplatonist philosopher and mathematician, was perhaps the most famous of all Greek women philosophers. She lived and taught in Alexandria[1], and has been called a philosopher (ἡ φιλόσοφος) (Deretić, 2020, pp. 148–151). Because of her involvement in the political circumstances of Alexandria at the time, and her intellect, beauty, and political connections, she died tragically, being murdered at the Caesareum.[2]

The Possibility of a Female Friendship

The Greek word φίλος has a variety of meanings such as "beloved," "dear," "friend," "husband," etc. while the female form of the noun, that is φίλη, means "dear one," "friend," "wife," "mistress," etc. (Liddell & Scott, 1940). Friends could be members of the same family, society, or even πόλις, allies, etc., which is an "ordinary," "usual," or "everyday" meaning of the word. A friend could also be described as "another self," because "friendly relations with one's neighbours [...] seem to have proceeded from a man's relations to himself" (Arist. *Nic. Eth*. 1166a).

We cannot claim with certainty that *intimate* friendships between men and women or between women and women existed, especially since there are no documented sources and female records. However, one such assumption is reasonable, even though it wasn't until the fifteenth century that women began to express their personal views on friendship more loudly and openly. Namely, one of the first women to cultivate a large number of intellectual friendships with both men and women was

1 It is fascinating to point out that Alexandria was previously the capital of Ptolemaic Egypt, where women, contrary to the women of Greece and Rome, possessed more freedom, to the extent that some of them even ruled. Namely, in Ptolemaic Egypt "queens are to be found in the traditionally man spheres of government," which was in Greek societies "off-limits to respectable women" (Pomeroy, 1984, xviii).

2 The Caesareum of Alexandria was a temple founded by Cleopatra VII Philopator. One outstanding woman built this temple to celebrate love, and another died in it because of her love for wisdom.

an Italian writer and humanist, Laura Cereta, who was greatly influenced by Cicero's thought and his dialogue *On friendship* (James & Kent, 2014).

Ancient Greek and Roman philosophers searched for the definition of an "ideal," "genuine," "perfect," or *intimate* friendship. Plato's and Aristotle's thought on this subject influenced Cicero and the Stoics, while readings of Aristotle and Cicero had a substantial influence on the medieval and modern thinkers. Philosophers were solely focused on the nature of male friendship. Moreover, the *perfect* friendship was opposed to "everyday" or "ordinary" forms of friendships. Besides that, it is important to point out that Greek and Roman philosophers assumed that men in general can acquire moral virtue (ἀρετή). Furthermore, they assumed that moral virtue was a required precondition for an *ideal* friendship. In other words, no vicious man can be a true friend to anyone, not even to himself (see: Pl. *Lys.* 214 d; Arist. *Nic. Eth*. 1165b-1166b; Diog. Laert. 7.124). On the contrary, a vicious man could be a friend in the usual connotation of this word, because he is someone's son, father, etc. Having all this in mind, can we make any conclusive presumptions about the female friendship of that period?

Firstly, we should emphasize that an *everyday* or *ordinary* female friendship existed, which is also highlighted in ancient and other sources (Flaceliere, 2002, pp. 70–71; Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 20.4). Namely, the Greek and Roman housewives, often accompanied by their slaves, visited each other, and those visits were good opportunities for them to exchange daily news, worries, etc. Philosophers also recognize this type of relationship (Arist. *Nic. Eth*.; Plećaš, 2019) and we can easily observe that Aspasia was Pericles' φίλη and that Sappho had at least a few φίλαι. However, we need to answer the question if these or other educated women could be *ideal*, *perfect*, or *genuine* friends.

The so-called saying, which is often attributed to Pythagoras (Πυθαγόρας) and his followers (Diog. Laert. 8.10) that "friends have all things in common" (κοινὰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν φίλων) (Pl. *Phdr*. 279 c), was later used as a proverb by the Cynics and the Stoics (Diog. Laert. 6.72; Diog. Laert. 7.23). This saying implies that friends are equal and that they can share anything for that particular reason. Pythagoras was "the first Greek philosopher to include women among his disciples" (Pomeroy, 2013, p. xv), and we can assume that these women had some (equal) rights with their fellow men in the Pythagorean community.

Ancient philosophers mainly believed that through education human beings become more receptive to moral virtue. Moreover, as Lucius Annaeus Seneca claims, moral virtue could be cultivated only in an edu-

cated soul, that is in a soul which "has been trained and taught, and by unremitting practice brought to perfection" (Sen. *Ep*. 90.46). For that reason education, especially philosophical education, was seen as an indispensable precondition for acquiring moral virtue or excellence. It should be also stressed that the primary goal of education was not erudition, but pursuit of happiness (εὐδαιμονία).

Plato was explicit about the female capacity to obtain moral virtues. Namely, in Plato's *Republic,* we find the idea that natural capacities among men and women are distributed equally, meaning that a woman can "by nature" participate in all affairs in which a man participates (see also: Kandić, in this Vol.). Moreover, the guardian women will instead of clothes "be clothed with virtue as a garment" (Pl. *Resp*. 457 a). The education that both women and male guardians should adopt consisted of music and gymnastics education, as well as warfare skills (Pl. *Resp*. 451e-452b). On the other side, Aristotle thought that a woman is not reasonable in the same manner as a grown-up man and that she is, by her nature, subordinated to a man (Arist. *Pol*. 1260 a-b). This means that a woman is not fully rational like a grown-up man. Nevertheless, friendships amongst women and men could exist, according to Aristotle, but only as an unequal form of a friendship, because one side of this relationship is more dominant than the other (see: Plećaš, 2019). However, love and mutual affection between a man and a woman could provide both benefit and enjoyment.

When it comes to Hellenistic philosophical schools, some of the Roman Stoics, like Musonius Rufus, held that education should be available not only to men but also to women who can equally develop moral virtue (Muson. 3, 4). Seneca "believed in women's capacities for philosophical thinking" (Grahn-Wilder, 2018, p. 191), while Epictetus (Ἐπίκτητος) also thought that women could be philosophers (Epict. *Diss*. 2.14.7–8). Since rationality was seen as a precondition for a person to have moral virtues, then moral virtues, according to the Stoics, were equally available to women because they thought that women were also rational beings in the same manner as men (see also: Deretić, 2016, pp. 102–104). The Stoics, like Socrates, equated moral virtue with knowledge (Dobrijević, 2021), which implied that happiness (εὐδαιμονία) depended exclusively on the complete realization of the rational nature of a human being. Stoic ideas followed, in a sense, Roman social practices.

In the Roman time, friendship or *amicitia*, at least seemingly, was exclusively oriented towards men. However, during the last century of the Roman Republic and the first centuries of the Roman Empire, the position of women gradually improved, although the family was still the "property"

of the *paterfamilias*. Roman women "in the early Empire" possessed more rights than women of the classical Greek period, and they were able to participate more actively in festivals and feasts (Motto, 1972, p. 156). Furthermore, wealthy Roman citizens could afford tutors for their daughters who educated them. With the rise of women's rights and education, the number of divorces in Rome also had inevitably risen. Seneca writes, referring to women of his time, that "they leave home to marry, they marry to divorce? So long as it was a rarity, a divorce was feared; now that the divorce is a fashionable topic of a conversation, they have learned to perform what they have heard so often described" (Sen. *Ben*. 3.16.2; Motto, 1972, p. 156).

Poets, Philosophical Communities and Women Philosophers

In this segment of the paper, we will highlight women who were educated, and therefore, were able to develop moral virtue, which was taken as a prerequisite for an "ideal" friendship. Several of these women have previously been introduced in this paper by their names.

Plato mentions one among "the wise women of old," namely "the lovely Sappho" (Σαπφοῦς τῆς καλῆς) (Pl. *Phdr.* 235 b-c), who was considered to be the tenth Muse in antiquity (*P. A*. 60: Campbell, 1982, p. 49). Although Sappho's work is fragmentarily preserved, we do know that the Poetess wrote lyric poetry on a variety of topics. She was a member of a closed society, as previously stated, where female deities were celebrated. However, it should be noted that closed societies or groups of this type were not an exclusive feature of Lesbos, but also of other parts of Greece like Sparta. Moreover, it seems likely that in such or similar communities women called Gorgo (Γοργώ) and Andromeda (Ἀνδρομέδα) taught (Campbell, 1982, p. xiii).

There are testimonials which "speak of Sappho as a *teacher* in some sense" (Parker, 1993, pp. 317–321). Nevertheless, we do not know with certainty that the Poetess "ran a school" (Parker, 1993, p. 321). However, the poets in general belonged to the group of people who were praised in every part of Greece, and their legacy was of high importance, both in ancient and modern times. Sappho's correspondence with other women from her circle was sometimes perceived as "highly controversial" (Konstan, 1997, p. 47) because it was suggested that Sappho was involved in some type of homoerotic relationships with other women. We could easily be "blinded by the largely unexamined assumptions of the previous gen-

erations of scholars" (Parker, 1993, p. 312), and thus cautious and critical evaluation of her work is very much needed. The Poetess "addresses some women as φῖλαι and ἑταῖραι" (Konstan, 1997, p. 47). However, this could also be interpreted in the sense that she perceived them as her *close* and *intimate* friends. This leads us to the assumption that her friendships could be explained without the homosexual connotation. Namely, sexual intimacy is not the only form of intimacy we could strive to achieve.

It could be perceived as peculiar but there was a great number of educated women in Sparta, to the extent that there were even more educated women than men. Sparta prescribed "an educational program for both boys and girls" since childhood and girls from Sparta married at the age of eighteen, later than other girls of Greece (Pomeroy, 2002, pp. 3–5). Thus, they had more time to learn writing, poetry, music, etc. Women of Sparta were "neither silenced nor secluded," while women of Athens were (Pomeroy, 2013, p. xvi). One of the distinguished women was Phintys of Sparta or Croton (Φίντυς), who belonged to the "members of Pythagoras' family and the original Pythagorean cults" (Waithe, 1987, p. 19).

Pythagorean society allowed some women to be educated. Furthermore, there were women within Plato's Academy. Namely, Axiothea of Philesia (Ἀξιοθέα Φλειασία) and Lasthenia of Mantinea (Λασθένεια Μαντινική) were known as Plato's students (Waithe, 1987, p. 83). Yet, there is no record of a single woman from Aristotle's Lyceum, which is not surprising if we recall his opinions on women.

When it comes to the Hellenistic philosophical schools and societies, it seems that most of them were, to some degree, open to the idea of women philosophers. One of the most prominent women of that era was the aristocrat Hipparchia of Maroneia (Ἱππαρχία ἡ Μαρωνεῖτις), who left her father's home, and lived on the streets of Athens with Crates of Thebes (Κράτης ὁ Θηβαῖος) (Diog. Laert. 6.96–98). This marriage "was prompted by love," and Hipparchia "was herself another Crates," that is a Cynic (Epict. *Diss*. 3.22.76). The Garden of Epicurus (Ἐπίκουρος) was also open to women (Nišavić, 2018, pp. 21–23; Diog. Laert. 10.25), while the Stoics encouraged women's education. Namely, some of the well known Roman Stoics, as we have previously pointed out, thought that women could also be philosophers.

Pythagoras' student and later wife Theano of Crotone (Θεανώ), together with their daughters, laid the foundations of the Alexandrian school, while Arete of Cyrene (Ἀρήτη) succeeded her father Aristippus of Cyrene (Ἀρίστιππος ὁ Κυρηναῖος) as the head of the Cyrenaic school of philosophy (Popović, 2012, p. 24). There are no reliable sources of Arete's teachings; however, we do know that she taught Aristippus, "who went

by the name of mother-taught" (Ἀρίστιππος ὁ μητροδίδακτος ἐπικληθείς), and that his disciple was Theodorus the Atheist (Θεόδωρος ὁ ἄθεος) (Diog. Laert. 2.86). A couple of centuries after Pythagoras died, "Neopythagorean women became the first women in the Greek world to write prose texts that are extant" (Pomeroy, 2013, p. xv). These women lived in different places like Rome, Athens, western Greek colonies and Alexandria, and some of their texts are preserved (*ibid*., p. 42).

Finally, Hypatia was widely known for her philosophical work, and lecturing in the public square in Alexandria, wearing a philosophical cloak that was often considered to be a recognizable sign of a philosopher in Roman times (Whiting, 2020, p. 26). Yet, a cloak was not, as Roman Stoic Epictetus suggests, a sufficient indicator of whether one is a *genuine* philosopher (Epict. *Diss*. 4.8). Namely, Stoics accepted the idea that *true* philosophers should live in accordance with their philosophy, which was a widely common idea in Greek philosophy (Plećaš, 2021, p. 283). Hypatia met that condition, being a paradigm of how a philosophical life should be led.

Thus, having in mind all previously said, the following is observed. All of the educated women could be equal to men within the philosophical schools and various societies mentioned in this paper. More specifically, they could be equal to men only in the sense that they had equal opportunity for acquiring moral virtue because in that period of history they could not achieve equal political or even social status as men. Furthermore, *intimate* or *ideal* friendships among all of the schools or society members could be potentially developed. Thus, the idea of an *ideal* female friendship in antiquity stands not only as a mere possibility but rather as a reality. Of course, we should bear in mind that the philosophical ideal of friendship was, as the word says, an *ideal*, thus something which only rare men or women could hope to achieve.

Concluding Remarks

In the first segment of this paper we have discussed the historical and political context in which lived and taught some of the most prominent women of letter of Greece and vast Greek, and later Roman world, which could be described at the same time as a period of *crisis*. In the second part of this paper, we have questioned the possibility of a female friendship or, more precisely, the possibility of women being *ideal* friends, according to the criteria of Greek and Roman philosophers who discussed the topic of friendship. This ideal could be met only on the hypothesis

that women were able to achieve moral virtue, just like men. Finally, in the third segment of this paper, we wrote about known women of letters of Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire, apostrophizing ones again that the idea of a female friendship is possible.

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Тамара Плећаш*

ЖЕНСКО ПРИЈАТЕЉСТВО У АНТИЧКОЈ ГРЧКОЈ И РИМУ У ВРЕМЕНИМА КРИЗЕ

Апстракт: Циљ овог текста је да покаже да је идеја женског пријатељства, током периода античке Грчке и Рима, могућа, па чак и када је реч о „идеалном“ пријатељству, тј. облику пријатељства коме су стремили неки од најпознатијих античких филозофа. Да би то показала, ауторка овог текста, анализира позицију жена у Грчкој и Риму, указујући да су неке од њих активно учествовале у раду филозофских школа или да су биле чланице женских удружења. У складу са филозофским идеалима, „савршено“ или „идеално“ пријатељство је било могуће само међу онима који су поседовали, или макар тежили томе да остваре моралну врлину (ἀρετή), док се образовање (παιδεία) посматрало као предуслов за стицање врлине. Ако имамо у виду да су одређене жене могле да испуне тај предуслов, закључује се да се савршено пријатељство може приписати подједнако и женама и мушкарцима. Наиме, образоване жене могу, у начелу, да буду и „идеалне“, а не само „свакодневне“ пријатељице.

Кључне речи: Сапфа, филозофкиње Грчке и Рима, питагорејци, Платон, хеленистичке школе

* Тамара Плећаш, научни сарадник, Институт за филозофију, Филозофски факултет, Универзитет у Београду, имејл: tamara.plecas@gmail.com; tamara.plecas@f.bg.ac.rs.