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**PERSONALITY IN THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL
NARRATIVES OF THE RUSSIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY
OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY
(ON MACROBIUS' LITERARY HERITAGE)¹**

This paper discusses the research carried out on Macrobius' texts (fl. V c.) in the Soviet epoch by Tatyana Miller (1963), Ilya Golenishchev-Kutuzov (1972), Victoria Ukolova (1986, 1989, etc.), Alexei Losev and Aza Taho-Godi (1990, etc.). The study of Macrobius' texts in Russia dates back to the 1960–70s, a time when a gradual revision of the attitude to various types of mentality, the history of ideas and intellectual history began in Russian historiography, a time when researchers began to pay more attention to specific texts and their thorough and deep reading, asserting the generic community of the history of texts and history itself. The contribution of the scholars mentioned above to Russian “macrobievedenie” (“criticism of Macrobius”) is demonstrated, and the stimulating influence of their work on post-Soviet researchers is revealed.

Keywords: Soviet epoch, text, transition, historiography

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1 *Citation: M. S. PETROVA, “Personality in the Historical and Philosophical Narratives of the Russian Historiography of the Second Half of the 20th Century (On Macrobius' Literary Heritage)”, *RussianStudiesHu* 4, no. 2 (2022): 19 pp. DOI: 10.38210/RUSTUDH.2022.4.21*

The paper in question is devoted to Late Antique narratives and their interpretation in the Russian historiography of the Soviet period, and in particular to the analysis of the literary heritage of Macrobius² (fl. 5th c.) by Russian scientists. He is well known for his *Commentary on the "Dream of Scipio,"* his *Saturnalia* and a treatise *On the Differences and Similarities of Greek and Latin Verbs.*³

By this time, in foreign historiography, study of Macrobius' writings had lasted for more than a century, a fact which greatly facilitated the work of Russian specialists. So, by the end of the 20th century, academic use featured firstly, modern critical editions of all Macrobius' works,⁴ secondly, complete commented translations of the *Saturnalia* and the *Commentary* in French,⁵ English,⁶ Italian⁷ and German,⁸ and thirdly there

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- 2 For the reconstructed biography of Macrobius, see ALAN CAMERON, "The Date and Identity of Macrobius", *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 56, Parts 1–2 (1966): 25–38. <https://doi.org/10.2307/300131>; in Russian: М.С. ПЕТРОВА, *Макробий Феодосий и представления о душе и о мироздании в Поздней Античности* (Москва: Кругъ, 2007), 8–41.
 - 3 Hereinafter designated as *Commentary*, *Saturnalia* and *On Verbs*.
 - 4 Critical editions of Macrobius's writings (considered modern) are as follows: LUDWIG VON JAN (ed.) *Opera quae supersunt*, (Leipzig: Quaedlinburg, 1848–1852), Vol. 1–2; IACOBUS [JACOB] WILLIS (ed.) *Ambrosii Theodosii Macrobiani Saturnalia*, (Lipsiae, 1963; rev. 1970; 1994); IACOBUS [JACOB] WILLIS (ed.) *Ambrosii Theodosii Macrobiani Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, (Lipsiae, 1963; rev. 1970; 1994); PAOLO DE PAOLIS (ed.) *Macrobiani Theodosii de verborum graeci et latini differentiis vel societatibus excerpta*, (Urbino, 1990); MACROBIO, *Commento al sogno di Scipione*, saggio introduttivo di ILARIA RAMELLI, traduzione, bibliografia, note e apparati di MORENO NERI (Milano, 2007).
 - 5 Hereinafter, translations of Macrobius' works into new European languages are indicated to complete the picture (these are often accompanied by original texts). The translations in question were published not only at the end of the 20th, but also at the beginning of the 21st century: *Œuvres de Macrobe*, traduites par CHARLES DE ROSEY (Paris, 1827), Vol. 1–2; MACROBE, *Œuvres complètes*, avec la traduction en français. Publiés sous la direction de M. NISARD (Paris, 1845), Vol. 1 (the name of the translator A.J. MAHUL is mentioned in the introduction to this edition); *Œuvres de Macrobe*, traduction nouvelle, par MM. HENRI DESCAMPS, N.A. DUBOIS, LAAS D'AGUEN, A. UBICINI MARTELLI (Paris, 1845–1847), Vol. 1–3; MACROBE, *Les Saturnales*, traduction nouvelle, avec introduction et notes par HENRI BORNECQUE (Paris, 1937), Vol. 1–2; MACROBE, *Commentaire au songe de Scipion*, texte établi, trad. et comm. par MIREILLE ARMISEN-MARCHETTI (Paris, 2001–2003), t. I. Livre I; t. II. Livre II.
 - 6 MACROBIUS, *Commentary on the "Dream of Scipio,"* trans. by WILLIAM HARRIS STAHL (New York, 1952; corr. 1966; rep. 1990); MACROBIUS, *The Saturnalia*, trans. by PERCIVAL VAUGHAN DAVIES (New York, 1969); MACROBIUS, *Saturnalia*, ed. and trans. by ROBERT A. KASTER (Cambridge, MA; London, 2011), Vol. 1–3. <https://doi.org/10.4159/DLCL.macrobius-saturnalia.2011>
 - 7 MACROBIO TEODOSIO, *I Saturnali*, introdução, tradução em italiano e notas de NINO MARINONE (Turim, 1967); MACROBIO, *Commento al Somnium Scipionis*, introduzione, testo, traduzione e commento a cura di MARIO REGALI (Piza, 1983–1990), lib. 1–2.
 - 8 AMBROSIUS THEODOSIUS MACROBIUS, *Tischgespräche am Saturnalienfest*, Übersetzt von OTTO UND EVA SCHÖNBERGER (Würzburg, 2008).

was a fairly clear idea of Macrobius himself and his intellectual environment.⁹

The problems of the transition period are especially varied and complex, since it is necessary to take into account both interacting cultures. There were different approaches to solving this problem in different periods of the development of Russian historical studies. At first, the idea of continuity dominated when the relationship between Antiquity and the Middle Ages was emphasized. The relationship's essence was preserving elements or parts of ancient culture during the transition to the Middle Ages. A different solution to the problem was proposed by Marxist historians who rejected the idea of continuity, highlighting the struggle between two opposing cultures taking place according to certain social laws.¹⁰ Since the 1960s and 70s, there has been a gradual transition to a new vision of this problem. This was because a gradual revision of the attitude towards intellectual history, the development of social psychology, and everyday consciousness was taking place. The focus was on the different mentality types of the transitional period and on the phenomenon of coexistence and opposition of folk and elite cultures, which stimulated the emergence of culturological, sociopsychological, ethnographic and linguistic research. If we talk about the latter, Russian researchers paid more and more attention to particular texts and close reading of them, asserting the generic commonality of the history of texts and history itself.¹¹

New trends in historical writing demonstrated the inseparability of history from other disciplines such as linguistics, philosophy and

9 E.g.: JACQUES FLAMANT, *Macrobie et le Néoplatonisme Latin à la fin du IV^e Siècle* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), xxxi + 738 p. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004295308>, STEPHEN GERSH, *Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism: The Latin Tradition*, in 2 vols. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), VII, 493 sqq. WILLIAM HARRIS STAHL, "Introduction", in MACROBIUS, *Commentary on the "Dream of Scipio"* (21990), 3–65.

10 After the collapse of the USSR in 1991, the party's diktat was lifted, and the Marxist trend was abandoned as the main approach to the study of history. Historians gained creative freedom. Against this background, on the one hand, publications of pseudo-historical "studies" began to appear (see, for example: А.Т. Фоменко, Г.В. Носовский, *Новая хронология и концепция древней истории Руси, Англии и Рима*. Факты. Статистика. Гипотезы, http://lib.ru/FOMENKOAT/rus_ar.txt_with-big-pictures.html [Accessed November, 2021] et cet.), and on the other hand, it became possible to revise many overly politicized moments in Russian historiography. There was a weakening of the material basis; commercialization of archives and publishing activity began.

11 Г. И. ЗВЕРЕВА, «Реальность и исторический нарратив: проблемы саморефлексии новой интеллектуальной истории», *Одиссей. Человек в истории* (1996): 11–24.

psychology.¹² Under the influence of the “linguistic turn,” historical research expanded its scope, paying attention to the identification of “key” figures of the transition period.

Thus, in the period mentioned above of 60–70 years of the 20th century, quite a lot of studies appeared in Russia aimed at investigating a particular personality. These were studies which demonstrated a new approach to studying the era and a fresh look at the problem of the continuity of cultures (for example, attention was paid to the language of the authors, their research methodology and techniques and the main themes of their essays).

There are quite a few examples of such works, one being a study by Olga Dobiash-Rozhdestvenskaya on medieval scriptoria (1930), which examines the creative activity of scriptoria in the context of the development of European writing.¹³

Medieval Italo-Latin Literature, a monograph by Ilya Golenishchev-Kutuzov (1972) which discusses the works of both pagan and Christian authors,¹⁴ is devoted to the analysis of Italian literature.

Problems of the history of culture and literature are considered in a paper by Sergei Averintsev, “The Fate of the European Cultural Tradition in the Era of Transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages” (1976).¹⁵ In particular, the coexistence of a new Christian worldview which has preserved the essential components of the ancient cultural tradition is shown in this well-argued work. Another work by S. Averintsev, entitled “The Poetics of Early Byzantine Literature” (1977),¹⁶ as well as a study by Gennady Mayorov, named “The Formation of Medieval Philosophy: Latin Patristics” (1979),¹⁷ concern the topic of the development of medieval literature, philosophy and aesthetics. Mayorov’s study touches upon problems connected with determining the stages of the development of philosophical knowledge in

12 Л. П. РЕПИНА, «Вызов постмодернизма и перспективы новой культурной и интеллектуальной истории», *Одиссей. Человек в истории* (1996): 25–38.

13 О. А. ДОБИАШ-РОЖДЕСТВЕНСКАЯ, *Мастерские письма на заре западного Средневековья и их сокровища в Ленинграде* (Ленинград: Академия наук СССР, 1930), 32 с.

14 И. Н. ГОЛЕНИЩЕВ-КУТУЗОВ, *Средневековая латинская литература Италии* (Москва: Наука, 1972), 308 с.

15 С. С. АВЕРИНЦЕВ, «Судьбы европейской культурной традиции в эпоху перехода от Античности к Средневековью», в *Из истории культуры Средних веков и Возрождения* (Москва: Наука, 1976), 17–64.

16 С. С. АВЕРИНЦЕВ, *Поэтика ранневизантийской литературы* (Москва: Наука, 1977), 320 с.

17 Г. Г. МАЙОРОВ, *Формирование средневековой философии* (Латинская патристика) (Москва: Мысль, 1979), 433 с.

the Middle Ages and discusses issues related to identifying the prominent authors who formed the Christian teaching.

The topic of continuity in the philosophy of slave-owning and feudal societies and the idea of penetration of ancient culture into medieval ones are thoroughly discussed in a monograph of the same name by Vazgen Chaloyan entitled *East-West: Continuity in the Philosophy of Ancient and Medieval Societies* (1979).¹⁸

Abram Ranovich's book *Primary Sources on the History of Early Christianity: Ancient Critics of Christianity* (1933–1935, reprinted in 1990),¹⁹ which discusses the economic state of the Roman Empire during the era of Christianity, is devoted to the problems of ancient criticism of Christianity, Christian ideology and the organization of the Christian church.

Here, one should also mention a thorough, two-volume work, *The Culture of Ancient Rome* (1985),²⁰ published under the editorship of Elena Golubtsova, in which, along with highlighting features of Roman intellectual culture, considerable attention is paid to the state of the material culture of Late Antique society.

Issues of culture are considered differently in a monograph by Aron Gurevich entitled *Problems of Medieval Folk Culture* (1981),²¹ in which the development of folk culture in the Middle Ages is discussed not in the context of "high" culture, but at the level of mass consciousness and the crystallization of a unique mentality.

The sketches of the first section of a book by O. Dobiash-Rozhdestvenskaya, *The Culture of the Western European Middle Ages* (1933; 1987),²² deal with problems of culture in general, emphasizing the continuity of various elements (both written and material) of both ancient and medieval culture.

A thematic collection of articles, *Antiquity as a Type of Culture* (1988),²³ is devoted to the peculiarities of ancient culture. It includes a study by

18 В. Г. Чалоян, *Восток — Запад. Преемственность в философии античного и средневекового общества*, ред. Б. М. Кедров, Г. З. Апресян (Москва: Наука, 1979), 216 с.

19 А. Б. Рано́вич, *Первоисточники по истории раннего христианства. Античные критики христианства* (Москва: Издательство политической литературы, 1990), 480 с.

20 Е. С. Голубцова (ред.), *Культура древнего Рима*, в 2-х тт. (Москва: Наука, 1985), т. 1, 431 с., т. 2, 397 с.

21 А. Я. Гуревич, *Проблемы средневековой народной культуры* (Москва: Искусство, 1981), 359 с.

22 О. А. Добиаш-Рождественская, *Культура западноевропейского Средневековья. Научное наследие*, ред. В. И. Рутенбург (Москва: Наука, 1987), 349 с.

23 А. Ф. Лосев (ред.), *Античность как тип культуры* (Москва: Наука, 1988), 336 с.

Alexander Mikhailov, “Antiquity as an Ideal and a Cultural Reality of the 18th and 19th Centuries,”²⁴ which demonstrates the influence of Antiquity on the modern era.

It is also important to note the works of a historical nature which make it possible to reliably assess the political, economic and social structure of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Among them are the first two volumes (1988; 1992) of *The History of Europe*,²⁵ which include sections devoted, in particular, to the culture of the transition period, as well as the first two volumes (1983–1984) of a multivolume edition of *A History of World Literature*,²⁶ which cover problems of interaction between Greek and Roman literature of the antique period.

In the Russian historiography of the Soviet period, works directly devoted to Macrobius²⁷ and his writings have only appeared since the 1960s. There are few such works. Macrobius is either presented as an author of the transition period from Antiquity to the Middle Ages or as an encyclopedist, included in a number of other compilers and transmitters of ancient knowledge (such as Iamblichus, Calcidius, Cassiodorus, Martianus Capella and Boethius) or as a representative of Roman Late Antique Neoplatonism.²⁸ Along with this, Macrobius was quite often referred to by

24 А. В. Михайлов, «Античность как идеал и культурная реальность XVIII–XIX вв.», *Античность как тип культуры*, ред. А. Ф. Лосев, 308–324.

25 *История Европы*, в 8 тт. (Москва: Наука, 1988–1994), т. 1 (1988): Древняя Европа, 704 с.; т. 2 (1992): Средневековая Европа, 816 с.

26 *История всемирной литературы*, в 9 тт. (Москва: Наука, 1983–1994), т. 1 (1983), 303–515 [584 с.]; т. 2 (1984), 441–59 [672 с.].

27 Previously, Macrobius was mentioned in F. A. Brockhaus and I. A. Efron’s encyclopedic dictionary. See: Ф. А. Брокгауз, И. А. Эфрон, «Макробий», в *Энциклопедический словарь* Ф. А. Брокгауза и И. А. Эфрона, т. 18/35: «Лопари — Малолетние преступники» (Санкт-Петербург, 1890–1897), 433, <https://dlib.rsl.ru/viewer/01003924225#?page=1> (Accessed November, 2021). We do not refer to the later encyclopedic articles.

28 It is important to consider that Roman Neoplatonism is not similar to the Greek one, since it was adapted to the needs of a different time, to different knowledge and a different demand for such knowledge. The importance of the Roman Neoplatonic tradition for medieval Christian culture is obvious, since it was Roman Neoplatonism which had points of contact with Christianity in very cardinal issues of faith and nurtured medieval thought (see: *История Европы*, т. 2, 8). One example of this is Augustine, who determined the form of Christianity and was influenced by pagan philosophy and Neoplatonism in particular (see А. К. Дживелегов, «Блаженный Августин», в *Бл. Августин. Энхиридион или О вере, надежде и любви* [Киев: УЦИММ-ПРЕСС, 1996], 4).

Russian researchers either as a grammarian, or as a philosophizing writer or a Neoplatonic writer who lived in the 4th century.²⁹

A small number of works on Macrobius and his writings were complemented both by general studies related to the problems of the transition period from Antiquity to the Middle Ages which contributed to defining the place of Macrobius in the culture of his time and detailed studies devoted to his younger or older contemporaries which analyzed his intellectual environment.

Here we should also point to sources translated into Russian, which are provided with detailed introductory articles and commentaries. Below only a few of them (six in all) are mentioned, those which in our opinion added separate touches to the existing picture on Macrobius, his place in Late Antique culture and his time (this list also includes works that appeared in the late 90s).

- 1) A monograph by V. Ukolova. This shows Boethius' place in the culture of the turn of the eras, analyses his works in detail, describes the fate of Boethius against the background of the death of the ancient world and the birth of the medieval one.³⁰ This book is correlated with a translation by V. Ukolova and M. Zeitlin of a treatise of Boethius' *Consolation in Philosophy*, which is provided with a detailed commentary.³¹
- 2) An introductory essay by A. Stolyarov, "Aurelius Augustine: His Life, Doctrine and Fate." (preceding the translation of Augustine's *Confessions*, by M. Sergeenko)³² not only examines the epoch of Augustine's life and discusses his teachings, but also clarifies biographical information.
- 3) A paper by M. Gasparov entitled "Ausonius and his Time"³³ determines the place of the poet in the culture of Late Antiquity against the

29 E.g., see В. П. ГАЙДЕНКО, Г. А. СМЕРНОВ, *Западноевропейская наука в Средние века* (Москва: Наука, 1989), 59; В. И. КУЗИЩИН (ред. и др.), «Макробий», в *Словарь Античности* (Москва: Прогресс, 1989), 329; Г. С. ЛИТИЧЕВСКИЙ, «Идеи стоической физики в Естественной Истории Плиния Старшего», в *Mathesis. Из истории античной науки и философии* (Москва: Наука, 1991), 195 с.

30 В. И. УКОЛОВА, *Последний римлянин Бозций* (Москва: Наука, 1987), 160 с.

31 Бозций, «Утешение философией» и другие трактаты, ред. Г. Г. МАЙОРОВ (Москва: Наука, 1990); 190–290, 302–12; <http://ancientrome.ru/antlitrt/t.htm?a=1466700100> (Accessed November 2021).

32 АВРЕЛИЙ АВГУСТИН. *Исповедь*, пер. М. Е. СЕРГЕЕНКО, вступит. ст. А. А. СТОЛЯРОВ (Москва: Издательство Ренессанс, 1991), 487 с.

33 АВСОНИЙ, *Стихотворения*, изд. подг. М. Л. ГАСПАРОВ (Москва: Наука, 1993), 251–72.

background of the historical situation of the time and considers the contemporary education system.

- 4) It is essential to mention a work published in Milan³⁴ in Russian by Angelo Paredi, entitled *St. Ambrose of Mediolan and His Time*. Ambrose's work is discussed in the context of the struggle between paganism and Christianity.
- 5) G. Taronyan's *Pliny the Elder*, which contains detailed information on the Latin encyclopedist Pliny and the study of his *Natural History* in foreign historiography, includes a translation of fragments on art, accompanied by thorough analysis and detailed commentaries.³⁵
- 6) The spread of Christianity and the establishment of the Christian worldview on the territory of the Roman Empire from the middle of the 2nd century are the main topics of a paper by A. Stolyarov entitled "Tertullian: His Epoch and His Life". This is followed by a translation of selected works of Tertullian in the book of the same name³⁶.

Russian-commented translations of historical works contributed to a better understanding of the historical background of the life of Macrobius and his closest contemporaries. These include: 1) a translation of *The History of Rome* by Ammianus Marcellinus (translated by Yu. Kulakovskiy and A. Sonny),³⁷ which is preceded by an article by L. Lukomskiy entitled "Ammianus Marcellinus and his Time"³⁸ and 2) translations of works by authors from the 4th century, published under the editorship of M. Timofeev.³⁹ A translation of Eutropius' *Abridgement of Roman History* by A. Donchenko is among them. It is preceded by A. Donchenko's introductory article (co-authored with M. Vysokiy and M. Khorkov) entitled "The Last Historians of the Great Empire."⁴⁰

34 А. ПАРЕДИ, *Святой Амвросий Медиоланский и его время* (Милан: Христианская Россия, 1991), 267 с.

35 Плиний СТАРШИЙ, *Естествознание. Об искусстве*, пер. Г. А. ТАРОНЯН (Москва: Научно-издательский центр «Ладомир», 1994), 941 с.

36 КВИНТ СЕПТИМИЙ ФЛОРЕНТ ТЕРТУЛЛИАН. *Избранные сочинения*, сост. и ред. А. А. СТОЛЯРОВ (Москва: Издательская группа «Прогресс», 1994), 448 с.

37 АММИАН МАРЦЕЛЛИН, *Римская история* (Киев, 1906–1908), вып. 1–3.

38 Л. Ю. ЛУКОМСКИЙ, «Аммиан Марцеллин и его время», в Аммиан Марцеллин, *Римская история*, пер. Ю.А. Кулаковского и А. И. Сонни, ред. Л. Ю. Лукомский (Санкт-Петербург: Алетейя, 1994), 5–21.

39 М. А. ТИМОФЕЕВ (ред.), *Римские историки IV века* (Москва: РОССПЭН, 1997), 384 с.

40 А. И. ДОНЧЕНКО, М. Ф. ВЫСОКИЙ, М. Л. ХОРЬКОВ, «Последние историки великой империи», в *Римские историки*, 297–318.

More detailed works devoted to Macrobius and his texts appeared in the last decade of the existence of the Soviet system. These can be analyzed chronologically and characterized in terms of the problems involved.

First among them is Tatyana Miller's study "Literary Criticism of Virgil's Poetry in the Period of 'Pagan Revival': Servius and Macrobius."⁴¹ It examines the problem of Macrobius' relationship to Virgil and identifies the main themes of Macrobius' *Saturnalia*. The main emphasis in this work is placed on the fact that Virgil was perceived in the era of Late Antiquity not so much as a poet, but as a philosopher and a sage. A Russian translation of the relevant passages from the *Saturnalia*, where Virgil is extolled, confirms the results obtained.⁴²

The research by T. Miller mentioned above is correlated with a section of Ilya Golenishchev-Kutuzov's monograph *Medieval Latin Literature*,⁴³ which is devoted to the work of Macrobius, and defines his place in the culture of the 4th - 5th centuries.

Works on Macrobius and his texts by Victoria Ukolova were published at the end of the 1980s. The problem of Macrobius' perception in the Middle Ages is raised and studied in Ukolova's works "Macrobius and His Role in the Formation of Medieval Culture"⁴⁴ and "Macrobius and the Problems of Medieval Culture."⁴⁵ These works defined the place of Macrobius in the culture of his epoch as one of the most important compilers and transmitters and noted his influence on subsequent authors of the Middle Ages (starting from the 6th century) up to the Renaissance. They also marked the peak of interest in Macrobius' texts as being in the medieval

41 Т. А. Миллер, «Литературная критика поэзии Вергилия в период «языческого возрождения». Сервий. Макробий», в *Очерки истории римской литературной критики*, ред. Ф. А. ПЕТРОВСКИЙ (Москва: Академия наук СССР, 1963), 283–306.

42 Here we should also note a work by Yuri Vinogradov: *A Political History of the Olbia Polis of the 7th – 1st Centuries BC*. The events in Olbia during its siege by Zopirion are reconstructed with the help of excerpts from Macrobius' *Saturnalia*. See Ю. Г. Виноградов, *Политическая история Ольвийского полиса VII–I вв. до н.э.: Историко-эпиграфическое исследование* (Москва: Наука, 1989), 150–3. For translations of Macrobius' texts, see below.

43 И. Н. Голенищев-Кутузов, *Средневековая латинская литература*, 54–61.

44 В. И. Уколова, «Макробий и его роль в формировании средневековой культуры», в *Балканы в контексте Средиземноморья. Проблемы реконструкции языка и культуры* (Тезисы и предварительные материалы к симпозиуму) (Москва: Институт славяноведения и балканистики АН СССР, 1986), 73–4, https://inslav.ru/images/stories/pdf/1986_Balkany_v%20kontekste_Sredizemnomorja_Tezisy.pdf (Accessed November 2021).

45 В. И. Уколова, «Макробий и проблемы средневековой культуры», в *Средние века* 52 (1989): 173–92.

period from the 11th to the 13th centuries. Among the most prominent authors of the Middle Ages who knew the texts of Macrobius, V. Ukolova mentioned not only Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, Peter Abelard, Hugh of Saint Victor and Peter Lombard, but also Dante, Petrarch and Pico della Mirandola.

V. Ukolova's works "Macrobius' Commentary on the 'Dream of Scipio' in Medieval Philosophy"⁴⁶ and "Macrobius and his *Saturnalia*" (1989),⁴⁷ which are devoted to a detailed analysis of the main themes of Macrobius' writings, are of significant interest in the historical, philosophical and cultural context. Her monograph *Ancient Heritage and the Culture of the Early Middle Ages*⁴⁸ defines the place of Macrobius in the literary tradition in the period of the change of ancient culture to the medieval one. A special section of another monograph by V. Ukolova entitled *Late Rome: Five Portraits*⁴⁹ supplements her previous works with a discussion of the natural-philosophical views of Macrobius, a reconstruction of his worldview, consideration of issues related to Macrobius' ideas on myths and dreams, and an exposition of Greek arithmetic and astronomy.

One should consider the works of Alexei Losev, which also study the creative heritage of Macrobius. In addition to analyzing the main themes of Macrobius' texts, it is noted that he belongs to the Neoplatonic tradition. A. Losev wrote on this in his work named *The History of Ancient Aesthetics*: "... the Neoplatonism of Macrobius has a dual character. On the one hand, it is a presentation of traditional Greek systems with their Latin coloring, in which the philological side often prevails over the philosophical one. On the other hand, a completely new sense of personality is already visible in his works, unfamiliar to the ancient philosophers. It demanded new, different teaching, which Macrobius, as a representative of the ancient Roman tradition, could not and did not want to accept."⁵⁰ Another work by A. Losev in collaboration with Aza Taho-Godi, entitled "Macrobius

46 В. И. Уколова, «Комментарий на 'Сон Сципиона' Макробия и средневековая философия», в *Из истории философского наследия древнего Средиземноморья* (Москва: Институт философии РАН, 1989), ч. 2, 135–60.

47 В. И. Уколова, «Макробий и его Сатурналии», в *Культура и общественная мысль: Античность. Средние века. Эпоха Возрождения* (Москва: Наука, 1988), 50–7.

48 В. И. Уколова, *Античное наследие и культура раннего Средневековья (конец V – начало VII веков)* (Москва: Наука, 1989), 320 с.

49 В. И. Уколова, *Поздний Рим. Пять портретов* (Москва: Наука, 1992), 154 с.

50 А. Ф. Лосев, «Макробий», в *История античной эстетики. Итоги тысячелетнего развития* (Москва: Искусство, 1992), т. 8, кн. 1, ч. 2, 152.

and Marcianus Capella — Philosophizing Writers of Late Antiquity,”⁵¹ is a comparative study. In particular, it states the importance of Macrobius as a translator of pagan (antique) culture for the transition period from Antiquity to the Middle Ages. A detailed analysis of Macrobius’ writings — *Commentary* and *Saturnalia* — is carried out in the work by A. Losev mentioned above. The study in question is included in the 8th volume of Losev’s *History of Ancient Aesthetics*,⁵² which describes in detail both of Macrobius’ works, lists their philosophical themes and indicates the dates⁵³ the Latin author lived⁵⁴.

Such a small number of studies on Macrobius and his texts (primarily the *Commentary*) in the Russian historiography of the Soviet period is explained by the fact that scholars specializing in classical studies dealt mainly with the classical (Greek) period of the development of scientific knowledge. They often did not place importance on the commentary as a genre, instead drawing attention to the original texts which were used and revised by such late authors as Macrobius. Medievalists, however, did not pay enough attention to the authors of the transition period from Antiquity to the Middle Ages because the content of their works was still considered “classical.”⁵⁵ Thus, in Russian historiography, study of the works of Macrobius (5th century) was initiated by T. Miller (1963), I. Golenishchev-Kutuzov (1972), V. Ukolova (1986, 1989, 1992) and A. Losev and A. Taho-Godi (1990, 1992). All these works gave impetus to interest in Macrobius and his texts and the accumulation of knowledge on him and helped to identify issues which required solutions.

Further studies, as a rule, identified the Greek and Latin sources of Macrobius’ works and ways of interpreting them and reconstructed the Greek teachings transmitted by Macrobius, the author’s personality,

51 А. Ф. Лосев, А. А. Тахо-Годи, «Макробий и Марциан Капелла — философствующие писатели Поздней Античности», в *Античность в контексте современности. Вопросы классической филологии* (Москва: Издательство МГУ, 1990), вып. 10, 5–33.

52 А. Ф. Лосев, «Макробий», в *История античной эстетики*, 152.

53 This information on the period of Macrobius’s life and the appearance of his works was subsequently revised (see below).

54 We consider the studies of V. Ukolova and A. Losev, published in 1992, as belonging to the Soviet tradition.

55 This is how William Harris Stahl explained the lack of detailed research on Macrobius’ texts when he began working on the English translation of the *Commentary* (see: WILLIAM HARRIS STAHL, “Introduction”, ix–x). It seems to us that his words apply to the current situation with the study of the texts of Macrobius and also to Russian historiography of the Soviet period.

his intellectual environment and the dating of his works. Studies by T. Umanskaya on Macrobius' arrhythmology,⁵⁶ I. Semenov on the possible dependence of Macrobius on Aristotle,⁵⁷ V. Zvirevich on the image of Virgil as a philosopher according to Macrobius' *Saturnalia* and *Commentary*⁵⁸ can be named among these works. In our own investigations,⁵⁹ we reconstruct Macrobius's doctrine of the soul and his ideas on the universe, we discuss Macrobius' synthesis of elements of Platonism and Stoicism and identify and analyze⁶⁰ Greek and Latin sources.⁶¹

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- 56 Т. А. Уманская, «Числовая символика космоса и человека», в *Знание за пределами науки: мистицизм, герметизм, астрология, алхимия, магия в интеллектуальных традициях I–XIV веков*, сост. и ред. И.Т. Касавин (Москва: Республика, 1996), 290–2.
- 57 И. А. Семенов, «Самодвижность души как основание её бессмертия (Проблема самодвижности души у Макробия)», *Логос* (1999) 6 (16): 33–58, — https://ruthenia.ru/logos/number/1999_06/1999_6_06.htm (Accessed November 2021).
- 58 В. Т. Звиревич, «Вергилий-философ в представлении Макробия», *Известия Уральского федерального университета*, сер. 3. Общественные науки (2016) 1 (149): 117–24.
- 59 Early studies (up to 1996–2010) were included partially in the form of constituent parts in my monograph on the *Commentary* (2007), and an introductory sketch to the translation of the *Saturnalia* (2013) by V. Zvirevich. See M. С. Петрова, *Макробий Феодосий и представления о душе* (Москва: Кругъ, 2007), 464 с., ЕАДЕМ, «Макробий Феодосий и его *Сатурналии*», в *Макробий Феодосий, Сатурналии* (Москва: Кругъ, 2013), v–lxx.
- 60 М. С. Петрова, «Онейрокритика в Античности и в Средние века (на примере Макробия)», в *Интеллектуальные традиции Античности и Средних веков* (исследования и переводы), ред. М. С. Петрова (Москва: Кругъ, 2010), 176–228; ЕАДЕМ, «Платонизм у Макробия», в *Космос и душа (Выпуск второй). Учение о природе и мышлении в Античности, Средние века и Новое время (Исследования и переводы)*, ред. А. В. Серегин (Москва: Прогресс-Традиция, 2010), 184–209; ЕАДЕМ, «Солнечный монотеизм у Макробия», в *PLATONIKA ZHТНМАТА. Исследования по истории платонизма*, ред. В.В. Петров (Москва: Кругъ, 2013), 226–39; ЕАДЕМ, «Полемика эпикурейцев и платоников о допустимости использования вымысла в философских рассуждениях (на примере *Комментария на 'Сон Сципиона'* Макробия)», в *Платоновский сборник II. Приложение к Вестнику Русской христианской гуманитарной академии* (Москва; Санкт-Петербург: РГГУ-РХГА, 2013. Т. 14. С. 264–74; ЕАДЕМ, «Представления платоников о делении мира в изложении латинского энциклопедиста Макробия», *Диалог со временем* 50 (2015): 139–51; ЕАДЕМ, «Макробиев *Комментарий на 'Сон Сципиона'* и релевантные контексты», *ΣΧΟΛΗ (Scholē)* (2015) 9 (2): 306–12; ЕАДЕМ, «Прояснение смысла и содержания фрагмента *Об опьянении*, приписываемого Аристотелю, посредством *Сатурналий* Макробия», *Интеллектуальные традиции в прошлом и настоящем* 3 (2016): 43–58; ЕАДЕМ, «Пир как театр: к вопросу о мизансцене *Сатурналий*», *Nurothekai. Журнал по истории античной педагогической культуры* 2 (2018): Воспитание театром и в театре: античная педагогика сцены: 143–62. <https://doi.org/10.32880/2587-7127-2018-2-2-143-162>
- 61 E.g., M. С. Петрова, «История развития *Quellenforschung* (теории источников) в зарубежной историографии конца XIX начала XX веков в ракурсе изучения текстов позднеримских энциклопедистов», в *Вспомогательные исторические дисциплины*

As for translations of Macrobius' texts into Russian, only translations of small fragments from the *Saturnalia*⁶² and *Commentary*⁶³ were formerly carried out. Complete commented translations of selected chapters of the *Commentary* were published only in the last years of the 20th century and in the first two decades of the 21st century. Among them, there is my translation,⁶⁴ that by T. Umanskaya, preceding her paper on the numerical symbolism of space and man⁶⁵ mentioned above and a translation by V. Zvirevich.⁶⁶ A full commented translation of *Saturnalia*, which was carried out by V. Zvirevich, was published in 2009.⁶⁷ In 2013, an existing translation by V. Zvirevich was republished with corrections and provided with an introduction,⁶⁸ notes and appendices.⁶⁹

Thus, the study of Macrobius' writings in Russia, which originated in the 1960s, has been going on for about 60 years. At the present time, Russian researchers continue to work on a complete commented translation of Macrobius' *Commentary* and his grammatical treatise *On Verbs*. However,

в современном научном знании: Материалы XXXIII международной научной конференции, ред. И. Г. Коновалова, Е. В. Пчелов (Москва: ИВИ РАН, 2020), 327–9.

- 62 Here it is necessary to point out a translation by A. Aleksanyan (1940) of two fragments (in some lines) from the *Saturnalia* (I, 7, 15 and I, 19, 8-19) on Egyptian sacrifices and the image of the sun. See *Архитектура античного мира: Материалы и документы по истории архитектуры*, сост. В. П. Зубов, Ф. А. Петровский (Москва: Издательство Академии архитектуры СССР, 1940), 62, <http://www.egyptology.ru/antiq/macrobius.htm> (Accessed November 2021); Миллер, «Литературная критика», 304-6 (Attachment to her paper) — see above; МАКРОБИЙ, *Сатурналии* (Frg.: Praef. I, 6-7, II, 2-4, VI, 1, VII, 16), пер. Е.А. БЕРКОВА, в *Памятники поздней античной научно-художественной литературы* (Москва: Наука, 1964), 342–55.
- 63 МАКРОБИЙ, *Комментарий* (Frg. I, 2, 6-10), пер. Е. А. БЕРКОВА, в *Памятники*, 355–6; ЦИЦЕРОН, *О Государстве VI*, пер. В. О ГОРЕШНТЕЙН, в *ЦИЦЕРОН, Диалоги. О государстве. О законах* (Москва: Наука, 1966; 1994), 80-1.
- 64 МАКРОБИЙ, *Комментарий*, кн. I, гл. 8–10, пер. М. С. ПЕТРОВА, в *Историко-философский ежегодник' 95* (Москва: Мартис, 1996), 221–31; МАКРОБИЙ, *Комментарий*, кн. I, гл. 11–14 и 17, кн. II, гл. 12–13 и 17, пер. М. С. ПЕТРОВА, *Историко-философский ежегодник' 96* (Москва: Наука, 1997), 68–97; МАКРОБИЙ, *Комментарий*, кн. I, гл. 1–4, пер. М. С. ПЕТРОВА, в *Историко-философский ежегодник' 2002* (Москва: Наука, 2002), 45–61.
- 65 МАКРОБИЙ, *Комментарий*, кн. I, гл. 3–5 и 6 [фрг. 1–59], пер. Т. А. УМАНСКАЯ, в *Знание за пределами науки*, 276–90.
- 66 МАКРОБИЙ, *Комментарий*, кн. II, гл. 14–16, пер. В. Т. ЗВИРЕВИЧ, в *Известия Уральского федерального университета*, сер. 3. Общественные науки 64, 12. no. 2 (2017): 181–96.
- 67 МАКРОБИЙ, *Сатурналии*, пер. В. Т. ЗВИРЕВИЧ, ред. С. П. ПУРГИН (Екатеринбург: Издательство Уральского государственного университета, 2009), 372 с.
- 68 М. С. ПЕТРОВА, «Макробий Феодосий и его *Сатурналии*», в *МАКРОБИЙ ФЕОДОСИЙ, Сатурналии*, пер. В. Т. ЗВИРЕВИЧ, общ. ред. М.С. Петрова (Москва: Кругъ, 2013), v-lxx.
- 69 МАКРОБИЙ Феодосий, *Сатурналии*, пер. В. Т. ЗВИРЕВИЧ, общ. ред. М. С. ПЕТРОВА (Москва: Кругъ, 2013), v-lxx + 810 с.

in general, it is unlikely that the curtain will ever be dropped on the study of Macrobius's literary heritage, not only in Russia but also abroad, since, as is well known, the process of studying the sources is limitless.

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