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THE LINEAR SIGN AB 30

By

MAŁGORZATA ZADKA

I

The character AB 30 (or L60)¹ in Linear B script has the phonetic value *ni* and ideographic function NI ‘fig’ assigned to it. It appears in *Scripta Minoa* I², where it is explained as a ‘fig tree twig’, as well as in SUNDWALL³, who translates this term as ‘fig tree’ and ‘fig’. It frequently occurs with quantitative terms and together with other ideograms depicting plants (such as a sign AB 131a ‘wine’)⁴. Since it is assumed that the phonetic value of the ideograms could also be the first syllable of the word, which it symbolically represented (for example: *120 GRAnum may be associated with syllabogram AB 41 SI from σῖτος ‘grain’)⁵, scholars also established that the syllable *ni* probably begins the word meaning ‘fig’.

Among the Greek names of this plant no word of such a beginning is found (Greek word for fig is σῦκον; wild fig is ἐρινεόν and φήληξ; edible fruit of wild fig is ὄλυνθος or ὄλονθος; dried one is ἰσχάς)⁶. So attention was paid to the word νικύλεον, which appears at Athenaeus (III 76e): Ἑρμῶναξ δ’ ἐν Γλώτταις Κρητικαῖς σύκων γένη ἀναγράφει ἀμάδεα καὶ νικύλεα. Although the place in the text where the word νικύλεα appears was at first seen as corrupt⁷, it was accepted later by VENTRIS, CHADWICK⁸ and FURUMARK⁹. NEUMANN not only

¹ Numeration according to PUGLIESE CARRATELLI 1945.

² EVANS 1909: 220.

³ SUNDWALL 1943: 10 f.

⁴ NEUMANN 1960: 182.

⁵ BARTONĚK 2003: 118.

⁶ See LSJ s.vv.

⁷ Cf. also NEUMANN 1962: 52.

⁸ VENTRIS, CHADWICK 1956: 35, 96, 130.

⁹ FURUMARK 1956: 11.

indicates the relationships of its structure to the other Greek words, containing the suffix *-ul-*, identifying fruits: μιμαίκυλον (with collateral form μεμαίκυλον or μιμάκυλος), ‘Strawberry Tree fruit, *Arbutus unedo*’, ἄκυλος (ἄκυλον) ‘edible acorn of Holm Oak, *Quercus ilex*’, βράβυλον (βράβυλος, βραβύλη) ‘black-thorn, sloe’, ἄχτυλα· κάρυα. Κρήτες ‘nuts’ in Hesychius¹⁰, σταφυλή ‘grape’¹¹, but also refers it to Egyptian theme *nḳ.w.t*, *nḳw.t* ‘red coloured fruit’¹². There is also certain analogy to the mention in Hesychius †<μιρύεον>· σχοῖνον, where we find the word probably broken, but similar to νικύλεον because of the layout of vowels and the semantic scope associated with the names of plants.

Etymology of the word νικύλεον is probably not Greek, so we can assume that this word is Minoan¹³. Moreover, this is not the only word of this kind. BARTONĚK also lists the other ideograms, whose sound does not agree with the expected beginning of a word in Greek:

- LB 31 SA = ideogr. *SA (LI_{Num} ‘flax’)
- LB 21 QI = ideogr. *106 (OVI_s ‘sheep’)
- LB 22 BI = ideogr. *107 (CA_{Per} ‘goat’)
- LB 85 AU = ideogr. *108 (SUS ‘pig’)
- LB 23 MU = ideogr. *109 (BOS ‘ox’)
- LB 65 JU = ideogr. *129 (FAR ‘flour’)
- LB 33 RA₃ = ideogr. *144 (CRO_{cus} ‘saffron’)¹⁴.

NEUMANN mentions 70 appearances of the ideogram AB 30. As a syllabogram it appears 25 times, including 12 times in the middle of a word (HT 6b. 1; 6b. 6; 10a. 1; 25a. 3; 27a. 1; 85b. 4; 86b. 1; 93a. 1; 93a. 8; 95b. 3; 96a. 1; 102. 2) and 13 times at the end (HT 6a. 7; 13. 4; 25a. 2; 26b. 2; 26b. 3; 41. 3; 49. 3; 85a. 2; 85a. 4; 93a. 3; 99b. 1; 103. 1?; 108. 2), but never at the beginning. In addition, it appears 24 times as an independent character, immediately before the numeral (HT 12. 5; 18. 2; 28a. 3; 28b. 3; 30. 2; 30. 4; 44a. 2?; 44b. 4; 48a. 5; 91. 3; 94b. 3; 94b. 4; 96. 2; 96. 3; 96b. 3; 100. 4; 103. 1; 110b. 3; 114a. 3; 121. 3; 125b. 5; 129. 2; 130. 1; 131. 1). NEUMANN also draws attention to the tablet HT 88, where a group VIR *ka* 20 appears in the first line, while NI *ki-ki-na* 7 in the second¹⁵.

¹⁰ WITCZAK 1998.

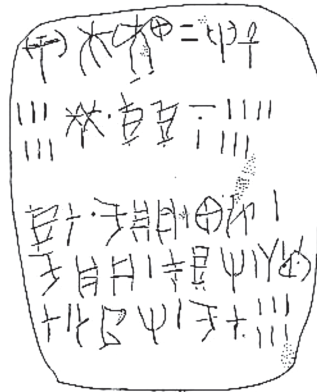
¹¹ NEUMANN 1957: 158.

¹² NEUMANN 1962: 52.

¹³ DUHOUX 1989: 71; NEUMANN 1957 and 1962.

¹⁴ BARTONĚK 2003: 118.

¹⁵ Reading the LB values, and in accordance with the values of similar characters in the Cypriote Syllabary; cf. NEUMANN 1960, especially p. 183, n. 1.



HM 1312 - 5,80 x 7,00 x 0,90 cm.; drawn on
 left side at 2,60 cm. from left edge.

Fig. 1. Tablet HT 88, from: *GORILA*, vol. I, 138.

NEUMANN assumes that the sign read as a representation of a man VIR is the ideogram and that so is NI. Therefore, he also assumed that the subsequent word is the naming of what the ideogram previously presented. The ideogram and a group of characters is followed by the number 'seven'. So this would be first the general naming of the type of a plant (FICUS), and then further specification of the species or the particular type of figs. Piero MERIGGI understands this sequence of characters in this way¹⁶. YOUNGER however proposes here to see different terms of figs, as e.g.: 'fresh', 'dried', 'green', 'black', etc.¹⁷

In Hesychius' lexicon there appears the word κεικύνη· συκάμινος, which means 1. 'mulberry tree, mulberry'; 2. 'sycamore fig, fig-mulberry, sycamore'. M. SCHMIDT mentions this word on p. 455 of his edition of Hesychius (1858), referring to the word κίκυνα in Theognostos, *Kanones* 101, 7, but without giving the meaning, stating only that it is a *proparoxytonon*: τὰ διὰ τοῦ ννα προπαροξύτονα διὰ τοῦ υ φιλοῦ γράφονται· οἶον, χέλυνα· ἄμυνα· εὔθυνα· ἔρυνα· Δίκτυννα· σίγυννα· κίκυνα¹⁸. The word συκάμινος means *Ficus Sycomorus* L., therefore the fruitful tree giving a less tasty kind of fig, but edible. It is also mentioned in Diodorus I 34: τῶν δὲ συκαμίνων αἱ μὲν τὸν τῶν μόρων καρπὸν φέρουσιν αἱ δὲ τὸν τοῖς σύκοις ἐμπερῇ. The description of this plant appears, however, in a place where the flora of the Egyptian Nile Delta is discussed. Also Teophrastus in *Historia Plantarum* IV 2, 1 mentions *Ficus Sycomorus* among the specifically Egyptian plants, but in the passage IV 2, 3 he

¹⁶ MERIGGI 1956: 28.

¹⁷ Compare the note to the tablet HT 88. 2 on the internet page <http://people.ku.edu/~jyounger/LinearA/HTtexts.html>.

¹⁸ Cf. NEUMANN 1960: 185.

says that ἔοικε δέ τις παραπλησία ἡ φύσις εἶναι καὶ τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ καλουμένης Κυπρίας συκῆς, what may indicate the presence of this species on Crete. Similar information is also found in Dioscorides I 127¹⁹.

NEUMANN recognizes the difference between the vowels in the statement of *ki-ki-na* with κίκυνα / κεικύνη²⁰, but the transformation of the sounds *i* / *u*, according to him, does not raise doubts, as has been repeatedly confirmed in Greek²¹. In the same neighbourhood of consonants *k* – *n*, the exchange of vowels occurs in words κινάρα / κυνάρα ‘artichoke’ and κίνδαλος / κύνδαλος ‘tree trunk’.

Yves DUHOX also draws attention to the tablet HT 88.2, containing ideogram AB 30 = LB NI (‘fig’), followed by a separation sign, the word (*hapax*) LA 103-103-26, and the numeral ‘seven’. Substituting here the values known from the Linear B, we obtain an expression *ki-ki-na*, which brings to mind the Greek word κεικύνη (f.) ‘sycomore tree’ or κίκυνα (Nom-Acc pl) ‘fruit of sycomore’²². This word also has no known etymology, so it is possible that it is borrowed from the Minoan word meaning fig²³. The other ideograms that seem to work in a similar way in both systems, are signs LB GRA (‘grain’) = LA 120 and LB VIN (‘vine’) = LA 131a. In the Linear B script those signs often occur together: NI with GRA, GRA with VIN and NI with VIN. In the Linear A script we find a combination LA 30 with 120, 120 with 131a and 30 with 131a. According to DUHOX, it indicates a similar use of these signs in both scripts and linking *ki-ki-na* with κίκυνα or κεικύνη may constitute evidence supporting the substitution of these values in Linear A²⁴. According to DUHOX in this way we obtain the word which we can associate with the Greek word belonging to the suitable semantic group.

II

Without knowing the full structure of the Linear A script, it is difficult to conclude the features of individual characters, but some regularity should be noticeable in the simple combination of the groups of characters. Since most of the finds were discovered in Hagia Triada, it is natural that the majority of the context for the sign AB 30 comes from there. It appears on 44 tablets HT²⁵ and taking into account that on some tablets it is written two or even three times, it

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ Ibidem.

²¹ VENTRIS, CHADWICK 1956: 77; CHADWICK 1956: 89; KUIPER 1956: 215, Anm. 17.

²² Theophrastus stating that sycamores were known in Crete: *Historia Plantarum* I 1, 7.

²³ NEUMANN 1960.

²⁴ DUHOX 1989: 63.

²⁵ Data on the number of appearances of the sign LA 30 are based on GODART, OLIVIER 1976–1985 and on OWENS, TRENCH 2005.

can be estimated that altogether it occurs about 60 times. In 36 cases²⁶ the sign AB 30 appears in isolation, separated from other characters by dots or numerals, while in 24 cases it is a part of a sequence of characters. Other places of finds (Arkhanes [2], Khania [23], Palaikastro [2], Petras [1], Phaistos [4], Zakros [4]) provide less material, for on the 37 tablets sign AB 30 appears 42 times in total, including 13 times when it is a part of a larger group of characters. Even fewer inscriptions with the sign AB 30 have survived on the other objects than tablets. There are four clay roundels from Hagia Triada (HT Wc 3004a, 3005a, 3007 and 3008a), where the sign AB 30 appears in the middle or at the end of the three sign group and one from Khania (KH Wc 2005), where it stands on the penultimate position in a group of four characters. In addition, there are four other items made of clay (KN Zb 35, <39>, THE Zb 1 and KN Zc 6), and three objects made of metal (CR (?) Zf 1 – golden pin, KO (?) Zf 2 – bronze bowl and PL Zf 1 – silver pin). Sign AB 30 appears three times on the pin from Platanos.

The discussed sign appears 111 times in total on 88 relics. It occurs 52 times in a group of characters and 38 times separately, surrounded by numerals²⁷. Groups of characters are on objects: HT 6b (twice), 10a, 13, 23b, 25a (twice), 26b, 27a, 79 [+], 83, 85a, 85b, 86a, 86b, 93a (three times), 95a, 95b, 96a, 99b, 102, 108, 140, PK 1, PH 6, PH 14a, ARKH 4a, ARKH 5, ZA 5a (twice), ZA 8, ZA 14, KH 91, KH 92, PK Zb 21, PE 1, HT Wc 3004 a, Wc 3005a, Wc 3007, Wc 3008a, KH Wc 2005, THE Zb 1, KN Zc 6, CR (?) Zf 1, KO (?) Zf 2, PL Zf 1. Certain sequences of signs are repeated:

a.1) HT 10a	81-30-58 ·
HT 79 [+], 83	] 81-30 [
HT 86b	08-77-26-81-30'58
HT 95a	81-30-58
HT 95b	81-30-58
HT 96a	81-30-08
KH 92	81-30-04

A similar structure is also noticeable on tablets HT 13, 26b and 85a (a.2). Whereas another group of characters is repeated in the following inscriptions:

b) HT 6b	56-30-06
HT 93a	56-30-06 ·
	56-30-06
HT 102	56-30-120
PL Zf 1	59-55-30-67- 06'30-55-30'

²⁶ Obviously there were also included places where the sign AB 30 is not preceded by other characters nor followed by them, because the place next to the sign has been corrupted.

²⁷ Cases uncertain because of damage have been purposely omitted, hence the difference in comparison with the previous calculation.

And another:

c)	HT 25a	08-53-30-59
	HT 27a	37-30-59
	PH 6	28-79-53-30-59
	ARKH 4a	08-51-30-59-06
	ZA 8	08-30-59

On the HT Wc 3004a and HT Wc 3005a the same group appears: 59-30-77, while on the HT Wc 3007 and HT Wc 3008a it is 54-07-30 (d).

The graphic representation of the sequences of characters:

HT 10a $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \square$
 HT 93a83 $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \square$
 HT 866 $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \square$
 HT 95a $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \square$
 HT 95b $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \square$
 HT 96a $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \square$
 KH 92 $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \square$

a.1)

HT 13 $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \ast \ast - \ast \ast \ast$
 HT 266 $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \ast \ast$
 HT 85a $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \ast \ast$

a.2)

HT 66 $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \ast \ast - \ast \ast \ast$
 HT 93a $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \ast \ast$
 HT 102 $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \ast \ast$
 PL 211 $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \ast \ast$

b)

HT 25a $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \ast \ast \square$
 HT 27a $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \ast \ast \square$
 PH 6 $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \ast \ast \square$
 ARKH 4a $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \ast \ast \square$
 ARKH 5 $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \ast \ast \square$
 ZA 8 $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \ast \ast \square$

c)

HT Wc 3004a $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \ast \ast \square$
 Wc 3005a $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \ast \ast \square$
 Wc 3007 $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \ast \ast \square$
 Wc 3008a $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \ast \ast \square$
 KH Wc 2005 $\Rightarrow \ast \ast \ast \ast \square$

d)

Of course these similarities may be entirely coincidental, especially if groups of two or at most three characters are concerned²⁸. However they may indicate some permanent structures, of which the sign AB 30 was a part.

It is therefore odd enough to infer the correctness of the reading of phonetic values from the *hapax legomenon* *ki-ki-na*, which appears on the tablet HT 88. Despite the great convergence in the sense of words *νικύλεον* and *ki-ki-na* (of course assuming that it is to be read in this way), the fact that the word 67-67-06 appeared only once, while about a hundred of contexts are quite a large group, is striking. If this was a term for some kind of figs, it seems logical that it should be found also in other places. It is difficult to assume that this is an extremely rare species or method of processing. It would be useful to identify other words, being also terms for figs, but so far there has been no success in that matter. The only analogy to this group is the inscription on the pin from Platanos, where the characters instead of 67-67-06 are written as follows: 59-55-30-67-06, and so instead of *ki-ki-na* we should substitute the *ta-nu-ni-ki-na* (not *ni· ki-ki-na*, but *ni-ki-na* – without one *ki*), which can be perhaps a different grammatical form of this word.

Scholars assume that the sign AB 30 is a part of the word (as in the case of *ku-ni-su* ‘Knossos (?)’) no doubt also included in the groups which are not separated by the numerals known from other contexts. There is therefore no certainty that in other places it serves as an ideogram. Besides, in part of the relics the sign LA 30 appears two or three times – if it was to mean a fig, it would be surprising to incise it in several places instead of one. It is possible, however, that repetition was not the result of having to give a different number, but different types of these plants. The doubts, as it was mentioned above, could be dispelled by the discovery of other terms for figs among the sequences of characters following the sign AB 30. Unfortunately, it is difficult to find such a regularity. It is also possible that this sign served a dual function – as an ideogram, when it appears on the right side of the tablet, symbolizing a fig and followed by the signs indicating their number, and as a syllabogram, when it is standing on the left side of the tablet and is a part of the word, without necessarily having any semantic connection with figs. Two similar possible locations of AB 30, which may be related to dichotomy of the function of this sign, are visible on Linear B tablets (i.e. Ab 186, 189, Fn 187). However, taking into account that the discussed words are attested in a very poor and unreliable way, the fact of finding the above mentioned connections between them does not seem to be an incontrovertible proof confirming the validity of the substitution of phonetic values of Linear B to Linear A.

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²⁸ Initially the sequence 81-30-58 was read by the Linear B values as *ku-ni-su*, and treated as a sign of grain. However, YOUNGER collates it with the geographical name ‘Knossos’. Cf. also HOOKER 1975.

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ODYSSEUS' ERSTE STUNDEN ZU HAUSE –
VERKEHRTE GASTFREUNDSCHAFT UND ANDERE RITUALE
(*OD. XVII UND XVIII*)

Von

ŁUCJA ZIĘBA

ABSTRACT: The events in books XVII and XVIII of the *Odyssey* are to be considered as part of Odysseus' gradual reintegration into Ithacan society. This is underlined by the performance of the rituals of supplication and hospitality. Yet the suitors' hospitality which Odysseus experiences in his own house disguised as a beggar is a reverse hospitality.

Die Heimkehr des Odysseus nach Hause stellt die ganze Rahmenhandlung der *Odyssee* dar. Sie ist im Epos als ein dauerhafter Vorgang geschildert, der im Grunde in Homers Erzählung nicht vollendet wird. Deshalb bedeutet Odysseus' Ankunft nach Ithaka nicht das tatsächliche Zurückkommen nach Hause, kann aber als eine vorläufige Rückkehr betrachtet werden. Die Rückkehr bedeutet das Wiedergewinnen der früheren Position in der Familie und der Gesellschaft. Um seinen Herrscherstatus auf Ithaka zurückzugewinnen, muss sich Odysseus mit den Freiern seiner Gattin Penelope im eigenen Haus auseinandersetzen. Er wird von Athene in einen Bettler verwandelt und in dieser Gestalt gelangt er nach Hause. Im XVII und im XVIII Gesang der *Odyssee* wird er mit seinen Familienmitgliedern wie auch mit den Freiern seiner Gattin konfrontiert. Jene Begebenheiten werden durch rituelle Handlungen bzw. durch die Anspielungen auf solche Handlungen deutlich geprägt. Es wird hier angenommen, dass Rituale wie auch alle Parallelen zu rituellen Handlungen ein Netz der gegenseitigen Bezüge bilden und zur Markierung der einzelnen Etappen von Odysseus' Heimkehr dienen.

Die im 20. Jahrhundert entwickelte *oral poetry theory* gab nicht nur eine neue Antwort auf die Frage nach der ursprünglichen Fassung der homerischen Epen, sondern schlug auch eine andere Darstellung ihrer Struktur vor. Milman PARRY und Albert LORD konzentrierten sich auf diejenigen Einheiten der epischen Dichtung, die für den Aufbau des Epos wesentlich sind, nämlich auf Formeln,

typische Szenen und Themen¹. Alle diese Einheiten wiederholen sich ständig in den homerischen Epen. Dadurch konnten die *aoidoi* im antiken Griechenland die Handlung des Epos memorisieren und sie mit jeweiligen unvermeidbaren Variationen mehrfach erzählen. In den meisten typischen Szenen bei Homer werden verschiedene rituelle Handlungen dargestellt. Aufgrund dieser Tatsache lassen sich Rituale auch als ‚typische‘ Einheiten im homerischen Epos betrachten. Zur Analyse der rituellen Handlungen in der *Odyssee* muss man vor allem die immer wieder zurückkehrenden Gastmahlszenen untersuchen und alle sie begleitenden Umstände berücksichtigen. Bei der Analyse der einzelnen Szenen fällt sofort auf, dass das Ritual ihr unentbehrlicher Bestandteil ist. Ein Mahl ist am meisten von einer Reinigung und einem Opfer an die Götter begleitet und falls die Gäste daran teilnehmen, müssen die Rituale der Hikesie und der Philoxenia ausgeübt werden. Die Abfolge der einzelnen Handlungen selbst kann wohl als ein ritualisiertes Verfahren bezeichnet werden².

Im XVII und XVIII Gesang der *Odyssee* wird ein Mahl der Freier geschildert, dem sich auch Odysseus in Bettlers Gestalt anschließt³. Seine Anwesenheit als Gast wie auch sein niedriger gesellschaftlicher Status fordern von den Gastgebern, die üblichen Rituale der Gastfreundschaft durchzuführen (vgl. LATEINER 1995: 189). Merkwürdig ist aber, dass die Freier als Gastgeber auftreten, obwohl sie selbst Gäste im Haus des Odysseus sind. Jene Rollen- und Statusumkehrung in den ersten Szenen nach Odysseus' Heimkehr ist besonders zu beachten bei der Analyse der *nostos*-Geschichte. Die Rituale von Hikesie und Philoxenia in der *Odyssee* bilden den Referenzpunkt für die Verhaltensweise der Protagonisten. Ein Bettler ist ein um Schutz und Hilfe flehender Wanderer, d. i. ein Fremder, der in der *Odyssee* als *hiketēs* bezeichnet wird⁴. Es ist dann die Pflicht des Angeflehnten ihm beides zu gewähren, sonst muss er mit einer Bestrafung durch die Götter rechnen (vgl. CROTTY 1994: 133 f.). In der *Odyssee* wird der Schutzflehende von den Göttern, vor allem Zeus Herkeios geschützt, der auch den Beinamen Xeinios

¹ Vgl. LORD 2003: 30–68 und die Zusammenfassung von PARRYS und LORDS Ansichten in FOLEY 1997.

² Vgl. FOLEY 1999: 169–174 und 2001: 92 f. FOLEY entwickelt eine Theorie der *sēmata* zur Analyse der Mahlszenen. Folglich ist die ganze Mahlszene allein als ein *sēma* (Zeichen) zu betrachten, das jeweils aus kleineren *sēmata* besteht. Die einzelnen *sēmata*, d.i. das Bad, die Bewirtung des Gastes usw. haben nicht nur wörtliche Bedeutung, sondern beziehen sich auch auf die traditionelle Referentialität, d.i. das Wissen der Rezipienten über Zusammenhänge in der jeweiligen Kultur (vgl. die Definition in FOLEY 1999: 13–34). Dies bedeutet, dass die Rezipienten der Dichtung anhand ihrer eigenen Assoziationen und Erfahrungen die gegebenen *sēmata* in Verbindung mit dem Mahl perzipierten.

³ Eine detaillierte Untersuchung der Rituale der Gastfreundschaft in den homerischen Epen wie auch ihres Einflusses auf die Struktur des Epos lieferte REECE 1993. REECE bezeichnet Odysseus' Ankunft nach Hause als „final hospitality scene“ in der *Odyssee* (S. 165). Vgl. auch SPITZER 1993: 599–606 und HILTBRUNNER 2005: 26–33.

⁴ Vgl. PEDRICK 1982: 131.

besitzt (vgl. XXII 330 ff., wo der Sänger Phemios sich an Zeus' Altar hinsetzen will, um dem Tod zu entgehen)⁵. Neben dem *hiketēs*-Status besitzt der Bettler aber auch den Status eines Fremden, der mit dem Namen *xeinós*⁶ bezeichnet wird. Mit diesem Namen bezeichnet Penelope den Bettler, als sie Telemachus wegen der Misshandlung des verkleideten Odysseus tadelt (XVIII 223–225):

πῶς νῦν, εἴ τι ξείνος ἐν ἡμετέροισι δόμοισιν
ἦμενος ὥδε πάθοι ῥυστακτύος ἐξ ἀλεγεινῆς;
σοὶ κ' αἴσχος λῶβη τε μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλοιτο⁷.

Wie nun, wenn so diesem Fremden, der hier in unserem Haus weilt,
etwas geschähe durch das schmerzhaftes Zerren und Schleifen?
Dann träfe dich wohl Schimpf und Schande unter den Menschen⁸.

Es gehört sich, den Bettler in das Haus einzulassen, ihn zu bewirten und mit neuen Kleidern zu beschenken. Somit erhält er den Status eines Gastes. Ein Verstoss gegen die Regeln der Gastfreundschaft gilt als Schande für den Gastgeber und bringt ihm einen schlechten Ruf unter den Menschen. Schutz und Hilfe, die von dem Gastgeber geleistet werden, gehören also zugleich zum Ritual der Hikesie wie auch der Philoxenia. Ein Fremder ist ein Flehender, der gleichzeitig ein Gast ist, dem die Rituale der Gastfreundschaft zu gewähren sind⁹.

Der Wortschatz, der Odysseus und seine Lage nach der Heimkehr beschreibt, ist ebenso zu berücksichtigen. Odysseus wird mehrfach als *xeinós* bezeichnet und Telemachus nennt sich selbst *xeinodokos*. Der Referenzpunkt für seinen Status bleibt immer die Schwelle (*oudos*)¹⁰. Das Betreten der Schwelle hat zur Folge die Angliederung an die Gemeinschaft, die sich im Megaron befindet (über räumliche Übergänge vgl. VAN GENNEP 1986: 29), und dann auch den Versuch, die alte Ordnung zu wiederherzustellen. Verkleidet als Bettler geht Odysseus immer wieder zur Schwelle zurück, wenn ihm die Freier das Essen gaben¹¹. Ferner schleppt

⁵ Zu Zeus als Beschützer der Schutzflehenden vgl. BENVENISTE 1969: 94.

⁶ Zur Bedeutung von *xeinós* in der *Odyssee* s. *LfgRE* III 463–468 und SANTIAGO ÁLVAREZ 2004: 25–42.

⁷ Vgl. dazu auch Odysseus' Lügengeschichte im Gespräch mit Antinoos (XVII 419–421): καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ποτε οἶκον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἑναίον/ ὄλβιος ἀφνειὸν καὶ πολλὰκι δόσκον ἀλήτη/ τοίῳ, ὅποῖος εἶσι καὶ ὅτεν κεχρημένος ἔλθοι („Denn auch ich bewohnte einstmals unter den Menschen/ glücklich ein reiches Haus und gab oft einem streunenden Bettler./ so wie er eben war und was der Mann grade brauchte“).

⁸ Deutsche Übersetzung der *Odyssee*-Passagen von STEINMANN 2007.

⁹ Vgl. GOULD 1973: 90; PEDRICK 1982: 140; REECE 1993: 165; SANTIAGO ÁLVAREZ 2004: 37 f.

¹⁰ Vgl. *Od.* XVII 339; XVIII 17, 33.

¹¹ Zu Odysseus' Umhergehen im Megaron und Betteln um Essen im Zusammenhang mit Hikesie (XVII 365–368 und 450–452) s. NAIDEN 2006: 76, Anm. 269. Odysseus macht sicherlich eine

er den besiegten Iros über die Schwelle in den Hof und schließt ihn somit aus der im Haus befindlichen Gesellschaft aus (XVIII 100–104). Die Wörter *xeinos* und *oudos* evozieren auf Anhieb Assoziationen mit der Hikesie und der Philoxenia.

Wenn man die oben erwähnten Ereignisse fundiert analysieren und schließlich anhand eines breiten Spektrums von Aspekten ritueller Handlungen interpretieren möchte, ist Odysseus' Heimkehr als ein gradueller Prozess zu betrachten. Der ganze Vorgang hat seine Reintegration in die Familie und in die ithakische Gesellschaft wie auch die Rückgewinnung und Bestätigung des früheren Herrscherstatus zum Ziel. In der Forschung wurde jener Prozess mithilfe der Theorie der Übergangsriten interpretiert, die in der modernen Ethnologie und Anthropologie von Arnold VAN GENNEP und Victor TURNER entwickelt wurde¹². Diesem Ansatz nach besteht der Übergangsritus aus drei Teilen, nämlich aus einer Trennungs-, Schwellen- und aus einer Angliederungsphase, die auch als präliminal, liminal und postliminal bezeichnet werden¹³. Das Modell kann universell appliziert werden und hilft wesentlich, die Struktur der *Odyssee* zu analysieren und zu interpretieren, sogar im Falle der kleineren Texteinheiten, die dann als autonome Teile betrachtet werden können. Folglich können die Ereignisse im XVII und im XVIII Gesang des Epos in die drei oben genannten Phasen eingeteilt werden. Odysseus schleicht sich zuerst in das Megaron hinein und setzt sich auf die Schwelle an der inneren Seite der Tür (XVII 339: ἵζε δ' ἐπὶ μελίνου οὐδοῦ ἔντοσθε θυράων [„setzte sich hin auf die eschene Schwelle am Eingang zum Saale“]). Nun befindet er sich in der liminalen Phase, wobei sein Platz ganz typisch für einen Bettler ist, der in einem fremden Haus eine Gabe erbitten will. Die Schwelle ist jetzt ein Referenzpunkt für seinen Status in der Gesellschaft. Das Überschreiten der Schwelle bedeutet eine Auseinandersetzung mit den Menschen im Megaron und versetzt Odysseus in die sogenannte liminale Phase. Alle nachfolgenden Ereignisse bis zum siegreichen Kampf mit Iros und der Aufnahme durch die Freier in der Bewirtung mit Ziegenmägen und der Erklärung zum ‚anerkannten‘ Bettler der Gesellschaft bringen ihn in eine neue Lage, die als Angliederungsphase bezeichnet werden kann.

Der Kampf mit Iros bildet an sich selbst einen Kulminationspunkt. Der Hiketes wird gezwungen, sich in einen Kämpfer zu verwandeln. Der Streit findet aber noch auf der Schwelle statt. Dadurch wird ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung, nämlich ein Platz des Flehenden zu sein, umkehrt: der von Ruhe und Demut

Supplikationsgebärde, wenn er die Freier ums Essen bittet, nennt aber sich selbst *epistatēs* und besitzt in diesem Moment keinen *hiketēs*-Status.

¹² Vgl. BREMMER 1978: 5; AUFFARTH 1991: 431. Einen bibliographischen Überblick zur Initiation wie auch eine überzeugende Zusammenfassung des Problems im Falle der *Odyssee* findet man bei VERSNEL 1993: 50–88.

¹³ Vgl. VAN GENNEP 1986: 21 und TURNER 2000: 159. Ferner s. auch die aufschlussreiche Zusammenfassung von VAN GENNEPS und TURNERS Ansätzen in YATROMANOLAKIS, ROILOS 2004: 23 f.

gezeichnete Platz wird zum Ort heftiger Auseinandersetzung. Die Freier finden die ganze Situation lustig und versammeln sich um die beiden Bettler. Es wird ein Siegespreis ausgelobt, nämlich die Ziegenmägen. Danach erfolgt die Vorbereitung der beiden Gegner: Odysseus entblösst sich – es ist zugleich eine Demonstration der Kraft und Kampfesfähigkeit; dagegen wird der zitternde Iros unter Zwang von den Freiern herbeigeführt und ausgezogen. Nun kommt die Ironie der ganzen Szene und die Verkehrung der Rollen am deutlichsten zum Ausdruck: ein Athlet, der bislang wegen seines schäbigen Aussehens für einen Schwächling gehalten wurde, steht einem erschrockenen bisherigen Favoriten gegenüber. Der Kampf endet blutig mit Iros' totaler Niederlage¹⁴. Die Freier reagieren darauf mit dem Erheben ihrer Hände und mit Lachen. Diese Geste kann hier sowohl Freude als auch Akzeptanz und einen freundlichen Empfang bedeuten. Danach schleppt Odysseus seinen Gegner in den Hof, setzt ihn an den Zaun und legt ihm einen Stab in die Hand: Iros soll jetzt Hunden und Schweinen statt Fremden und Bettlern befehlen. Dann zieht er sich seine Lumpen an und nimmt wieder seinen früheren Platz auf der Schwelle ein. Es kommt wieder ein Moment der Suspendierung, das die Schlägerei von den nächsten Ereignissen trennt. Die Freier sprechen nun Odysseus freundlich an und Antinoos, der ihn vorher misshandelt hatte, gibt ihm den Siegespreis. Odysseus wird endlich wie ein Gast mit einem guten Mahl bewirtet und mit herzlichen Worten von Amphinomos empfangen (XVIII 122 f.):

χαῖρε, πάτερ ὦ ξεῖνε· γένοιτό τοι ἔς περ ὀπίσσω
ὄλβος· ἄτάρ μὲν νῦν γε κακοῖς ἔχειαι πολέεσσι.

Sei mir begrüßt, Vater, Fremder! Möge in Zukunft dir Segen
werden; jetzt freilich bist du im Griff von vielerlei Übeln.

Der auf der Schwelle sitzende Odysseus befindet sich außerhalb der Gesellschaft, deren Vertreter alle Menschen im Megaron sind. Er muss den Bettler Iros als einen Gegner besiegen, um in das Megaron (d.h. in die Gesellschaft) nach zwanzig Jahren zurückkehren zu dürfen. Danach wird er von den Menschen im Megaron freundlich empfangen, also wieder in die Gesellschaft aufgenommen. Selbstverständlich ist dies eine vereinfachte Erklärung der Szene: Odysseus hat hier zwar seinen Status verändert, jedoch ist er nur von einem fremden Schmarotzer zu einem *offiziell* anerkannten Bettler geworden. Dies geschieht schon, wenn Odysseus Iros seinen Bettlerstab reicht. Der Stab kann als Symbol des Status eines wandernden Bettlers interpretiert werden: nun wird Odysseus ihn los. Seinen früheren sozialen Status als Herrscher auf Ithaka wird er aber

¹⁴ Zur deutlichen Parallele zwischen Iros und Freiern in Bezug auf ihre Niederlage s. LEVINE 1982.

erst nach einer ganzen Reihe von Ereignissen zurückgewinnen. Dennoch ist der Kampf mit Iros ein kleiner Schritt hin zum Ziel.

Einen Teil der Ereignisse im XVII und im XVIII Gesang der *Odyssee* bilden die rituellen Handlungen, die mehrere Bereiche des Lebens der Protagonisten betreffen. Sie sind als eine Art Konglomerat der Rituale der Gastfreundschaft, der Hikesie und der Aufnahme in die Gemeinschaft zu betrachten, denn sie treten eng miteinander in Verbindung auf und bedingen sich gegenseitig. Von Wichtigkeit ist auch die Verkehrtheit der Rollen und der Ordnung in Odysseus' Haus, die den speziellen Status von Odysseus markiert. Der Herrscher Odysseus kommt nach Hause in einer Bettlertracht und mit dem Status eines fremden Schmarotzers. Ihm wird hier eine verkehrte Gastfreundschaft von seinen Dienern, Melanthios und Melantho geleistet. Ebenso ist die Aufnahme von den Freiern als verkehrt zu bezeichnen. Dies kann anhand von zwei Tatsachen bewiesen werden. Erstens verstoßen die Freier gegen die Gesetze der *Philoxenia* indem sie den Bettler und zugleich ihren Gast mit spottenden Worten ansprechen und misshandeln¹⁵. Zweitens sind hier die Rollen verkehrt: Odysseus' Untergebene behandeln ihn als Bettler und erniedrigen ihren Herrn ohne sich dessen bewusst zu sein. Alle diese Faktoren prägen die Schilderung der ersten Ereignisse nach Odysseus' Rückkehr nach Ithaka¹⁶.

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¹⁵ Merkwürdig bleibt auch die Verkehrtheit der Gabe: anstatt Nahrung zu bekommen, wird der Bettler misshandelt. Odysseus fleht die Freier um eine Spende an, bekommt jedoch Abweisung von den führenden Freiern. Antinoos schlägt den Bettler mit einer Fussbank, nachdem er um eine Spende gebeten wird (XVII 462–464). Danach verspottet Eurymachos den Bettler und nachdem ihm Odysseus mutig geantwortet hat, wirft er einen Fußschemel gegen ihn (XVIII 388–394). Der andere Freier Ktesippos sagt explizit, dass er Odysseus ein Gastgeschenk geben will und schleudert einen Rindsfuss gegen ihn (XX 299 f.).

¹⁶ Besten Dank für Alexandra SCHARFENBERGER für ihre Hilfe bei der Textkorrektur und alle ihre anregenden Bemerkungen.

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ŚUNAḤŚEPHA THE ‘DOG’S MEMBER’ AND HERMES
 ‘THE DOG STRANGLER’,
 OR DOG AS *PHARMAKOS* IN THE IAMBIC CODE*

By

KAROL ZIELIŃSKI

The metaphors of a dog is extremely frequent and plays a crucial role in reprimand poetry. The starting points for the understanding of its nature would be two unclear sections in Sanskrit and Greek literatures. The comparison of these two sections is justified by the presence of the elements of the same pattern. I posit that they should be associated with a scapegoating rite complex, known in the ancient Greek culture as *φάρμακος*. The similarities found both in the myth pattern, as well as in the elements of the used language code allow us to find a common (for both cases) socio-cultural basis of this phenomenon. It is inextricably linked with the role of the blame poetry and status of a poet of reprimand in archaic Greece and ancient India. Hence it may be assumed that there is a common Indo-European provenance for the metaphoric use of ‘a dog’ in the rituals of community purification through the elimination of an individual. Our knowledge on this subject is continuously advancing thanks to the researchers, but still many questions remain without clear answers. I do hope that the discussion below will, to some extent, facilitate the understanding of this complex matter.

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In the *Bhagavata Purāṇa* (IX 7, 21; IX 16, 30–37; VII 5, 46) and in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII 13–18) we find a complicated, though brief, story of Śunaḥśepha whose name means ‘dog’s member’. At the beginning it is connected with the story of a childless king Hariścandra, who wished to have a descendant

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and made a pledge to the god Varuna that if he gives him a son, Hariścandra shall offer him up as a sacrifice. Hariścandra postpones the fulfilment of this irrational promise by indicating subsequent stages of the childhood as appropriate for making the offering, until the adolescent son Rohita learned about the obligation. In order to avoid death, Rohita went to the forest, where he remained for five years. In the sixth year he bought from a starving Brahmin Ajīgarta his middle son, named Śunaḥśepha in order to offer him to Varuna as a sacrifice instead of himself. Varuna agreed to the exchange, but when Śunaḥśepha, tied to a triple stake (*dru-pada*), started to call all gods, one by one, for help, he was finally freed by Dawn Goddess Uṣas. Then Śunaḥśepha was adopted by Viśvāmitra: Śunaḥśepha is recognised as a wise man (like his older brother Jamadagni) and Viśvāmitra makes him the oldest, i.e. the most important out of his 101 sons; 50 are actually disinherited, as they did not acknowledge Śunaḥśepha, while the rest – including the middle, fifty first son, named Madhucchanda, accepts the father's decision.

J.L. SHASTRI points out that the story about Śunaḥśepha is clearly divided into three parts: (1) the Varuna, Hariścandra and Rohita episode, (2) the Śunaḥśepha and Ajīgarta episode, (3) the sons of Viśvāmitra and Śunaḥśepha episode¹. The commentators have the impression that the story is a blend of a few tales, of which the third seems to be a completely mechanical addition. While analysing stories of this kind one has to be obviously aware that the initial version of the story may have undergone many transformations through reinterpretations which also attempted to present the story as a whole. We should then think not so much about the mechanical sewing together of disparate elements, but about reinterpretative transformation of stories, even if alien elements were included in this process.

The first two parts of the story resemble the stories about Iphigenia or Isaac, i.e. about offering humans as sacrifice². Both SHASTRI and E. ŚLUSZKIEWICZ³ reject such interpretation (EGGELING's and HILLEBRANDT's suggestions) claiming that it does not involve a real human sacrifice. However, it is not important whether during the "king's consecration" ceremony a human was sacrificed, but whether the story about Śunaḥśepha is contained within the myth pattern regarding the abandonment of sacrificing humans. Comparing the myth of Iphigenia and the myth of Isaac we find enough similar features to state that they are formed on the basis of the same pattern. (1) A ruler is obligated by a god to offer his child

¹ SHASTRI 1973.

² I am aware that the two stories may have different cult origins. W. BURKERT derives the sacrifice of a girl, especially a king's daughter, from hunting rituals. It is recognized as a giving up a sexual act on the part of men who are grooming for killing. Future victims are compensated to a deity by an offering consisting in renouncing sexuality (see BURKERT 1983: 58–72, ch. 7: *The Sexualization of Ritual Killing: Maiden Sacrifice, Phallus Cult*). However, I am concerned with a common pattern of a myth that functions, to a large extent, independently of the ritual.

³ SHASTRI 1973; ŚLUSZKIEWICZ 2001.

as sacrifice. (2) A child is brought to the place of the sacrifice by using deceit and is unaware of the awaiting fate. (3) A god prevents the human sacrifice by substituting an animal for the human. This myth depicts the deity's aversion to the act of human sacrifice, even though in both cases the deity beguiles the man and demands such sacrifice. The human deceit is futile, because it is nothing compared to the deity's trick⁴. The myth is thus an explanation of the reasons for the abandonment of the human sacrifice in a particular culture. The sacrifice of one's own child, especially first-born, is an act of desperation in a situation of extreme misfortune. By sacrificing their own children, people make the biggest possible sacrifice, when in an exceptionally difficult situation they came to realise that only this can avert the wrath of the deity or ensure the deity's help⁵. This can also constitute an act of highest devotion to the deity, as it is stressed in the story of sacrificing Isaac. The situation of misery preceding the divine order is in turn emphasised in the myth of Iphigenia. Both stories contain religious ideas that are characteristic for its culture. For example, the myth of Iphigenia assumes the fault of Agamemnon who committed *hybris*, because he boasted that he surpasses the goddess Artemis (this is a typical motif of competition with deity in which the deity always wins). Such *hybris* was not committed by Abraham, but the way he is beguiled by God is interpreted as testing his faithfulness.

The story about Rohita and Śunaḥṣepha is part of the myth pattern regarding the abandonment of the human sacrifice; however, different elements of the myth are highlighted. Rohita's sacrifice does not take place, because a substitute sacrifice is offered. This is in fact not a sacrifice animal, but another man. Still his name contains the name of an animal – a dog. The role of the deity in the Sanskrit story is completely different than in the Greek and in the Hebrew stories. The deity does not deceive, but is beguiled by Hariścandra, and does not substitute the sacrifice, but agrees for the substitution suggested by Rohita, who was to become a sacrifice. The situation of misfortune that precedes the obligation of making a sacrifice is identical to the Hebrew version. Both Abraham and Hariścandra have been childless for a long time and they are in danger of not having an heir. God demands that a late-born only child be sacrificed, raising their fear that the misery will return. The paradoxical Hariścandra's arrangement with god carries some traces of the original formation of the myth. God gives a son under the condition that he is returned; the father postpones the returning of the son and keeping his pledge. This arrangement of events resembles folktales (for example, in Polish folklore a peasant often attempts to avoid keeping

⁴ Cf. Agamemnon's deceit used against the army in Book II of the *Iliad* that does not have the desired effect because Agamemnon is not aware of Zeus' deceit he himself fell victim to.

⁵ Even though a child was considered, as many researchers claim, as a not fully valuable person, sacrificing a child was choosing a lesser evil. In India however, having a male descendant is clearly emphasised as very important.

the promise given to the devil). Hariścandra is not punished, but he also does not manage to lie his way out of keeping the pledge by means of deceit, as it often takes place in folk tales. The fulfilment of the pledge takes place only by connecting the story with another tale about human sacrifice. This type of human sacrifice also constitutes a substitute sacrifice.

Three issues appear to be crucial for the explanation of the story: the issue of the substitute sacrifice in the sacrifice offering ritual, the description of the character offered as sacrifice and the motif of the metamorphosis of the sacrificed character from the 'worst' to the 'best'.

In Hittite texts dated to 1350–1250 BC the ritual substitution is related to purification of the king or queen who are somehow flawed. A prisoner is dressed in robes and a diadem and is commended to the evil, i.e. to the enraged or envious deity as a substitute for the real sacrifice (KUB XXIV 5 + IX 13, ll. 19–24: "chase this substitute [*tarpalli*]"). LOWENSTAM emphasises the significance of the attempts to fake the sacrifice and to deceive the deity⁶. During the sacrifice *tarpalli* is killed, and his body burnt (KUB VII 10 II), and the deity is given a significant amount of precious metals, olive and honey (KUB XXIV 12 II).

A corresponding notion of the substitute ritual sacrifice is present also in Greek culture. VAN BROCK (1959) suggested that the Hittite *tarpalli*- and *tarpalli*- and the Luwian *tarpašša*- should be linked with the Greek θεράπων carrying unclear Homeric meaning of a 'vassal, servant' and that the original meaning of these words is common and refers to a 'ritual substitute' (with particular emphasis on the role of Patroclus in the *Iliad* tradition)⁷. The identification factor is crucial here. Patroclus goes to fight in Achilles' armour creating panic among the people of Troy, who are convinced that they are dealing with Achilles. His death is the anticipation of the death of Achilles, who dies as a result of the cooperation of god Apollo and Priam's son.

The ritual substitution aimed at the purification of the ruler from a flaw does not function by itself, but within a set of beliefs observed in the cultures of the Aegean Sea, Palestine and Mesopotamia. It is known widely as the scapegoating ritual, found in the Greek culture under the name φαρμακός (*pharmakos*)⁸.

⁶ LOWENSTAM 1981: 128.

⁷ This hypothesis was accepted and proved by further research made by LOWENSTAM 1981: 126–177 and NAGY 1999: 33 and 292–297. The opposing voice of GREENHALGH 1982 was based on the observation that we do not encounter a direct meaning of θεράπων 'ritual substitute' in Greek texts. However, COMPTON 2006: 4 accepts the Hittite-Greek analogy and points out that "*pharmakos* is used in order to obtain a *therapeia* – 'service, tending, medical treatment' – for the prevailing disaster".

⁸ It is impossible not to refer to an invaluable collection of materials on this topic, i.e. to *The Golden Bough* by J.G. FRAZER who described the popularity of the scapegoat phenomenon in various cultures and its multiple forms (pt. VI: *The Scapegoat*). Despite later criticism of FRAZER's work it seems that the cult did in fact appear, in its variants, in many ancient cultures. Cf. HARRISON 1922:

It seems that the story about Śunahśepha is related to it and encapsulates many aspects of this complex phenomenon. In order to answer the question why Śunahśepha should be identified with the ritual substitute sacrifice made for the purpose of purification, it is necessary to interpret the meaning of Śunahśepha's name 'dog's member' by referring to the archaic Greek poetry and the iambic code it contains. The following fragment 3a W (2 D) from Hipponax shall be a starting point for the discussion:

Ἑρμῇ κυνάγχα, Μηιονιστὶ Κανδαῦλα,
φωρῶν ἑταῖρε, δεῦρό μοι σκαπαρδεῦσαι⁹.

Hermes, dog throttler, Candaules in Maeonian,
companion of thieves, come give me a hand(?)¹⁰.

Tzetzēs (*Chil.* I 147, p. 547 LEONE) introduces this fragment with an explanation: "Candaules is a Lydian word meaning 'dog strangler' (τὸν σκυλοπνίκτην¹¹), as Hipponax shows in his first iamb...". D.E. GERBER claims that the explanation of Tzetzēs is based only on this fragment of Hipponax and it may simply refer to a Lydian equivalent of Hermes. The problem is that the meaning of the Greek epithet for Hermes is also unclear. Κυνάγχη indeed refers to something that strangles the dog, namely 'dog angina' (Arist. *HA* 604a5, Ant. Lib. 23, 2; this is the origin of the word for a sore throat in medical literature, for example Hippoc. *VM* 19), or 'dog's collar' in *AP* VI 34. The form constitutes a *hapax*, and Olivier MASSON claims that it is merely a translation of the Maeonian term *Kandaula*, recognised by linguists as Indo-European. The first segment corresponds with some form of the noun 'dog', cf. Lat. *canis*; the second segment is derived from the root **dhau* 'to strangle', cf. OSi. verb *daviti* 'to strangle'¹². However, this epithet is not entirely understandable, because it is not clear why Hermes would be called like that. At first it may be thought that the god who is summoned is needed to deal with the dogs which guard the house against a thief¹³. However, what makes the matter more difficult is the ambivalence of meanings used to depict both the dog and Hermes. The latter is summoned as a patron of thieves, in the Homeric hymn he himself is depicted as a thief, but he is also the one

95–114. A more recent stand is presented by BURKERT 1979: 59–77 (ch. III: *Transformations of the Scapegoat*) and 1985: 82–84, BREMMER 1983: 299–330, COMPTON 2006: 3–18.

⁹ σκαπαρδεῦσαι *coni.* MEINEKE, σκαπερδεῦσαι *codd.*

¹⁰ The meaning of the word is not clear: it may mean 'help me win the case over to my side' or 'help me dig a tunnel to my neighbour' – as GERBER 1999 implies.

¹¹ A word related to τὸ σκύλαξ 'pup'.

¹² MASSON 1962: 104.

¹³ For example, GERBER 1999: 357, n. 1 "So as to overcome guard-dogs".

who protects against thieves or even punishes them¹⁴. The perversity in depicting Hermes is in line with the carnival function of iamb and with the carnival inversion of roles¹⁵. A dog in turn often occurs as a synonym of a guard, e.g. in the Homeric epic (in the *Iliad* only in comparisons, more often in the *Odyssey*, because it depicts life during peace¹⁶). It also contains negative connotations related to a scavenger, a man of no shame or someone dishonoured. The explication of these issues needs to be found in the iambic code, present – as it was proved by Gregory NAGY – both in lyric poetry and in the Greek archaic epic¹⁷.

The ambivalence observed in the depiction of the object and subject of the reprimand in iambic poetry is analogous to the double role of Hermes. A closer examination of the network of meanings and of the socio-cultural background enables us to explain why it was Śunahśepha who was chosen for a substitute sacrifice and why the failed victim experiences such elevation. In view of research made by G. DUMÉZIL and M. DETIENNE, who claim that the entrenching of mentality in praise–reprimand polarity is common for Indo-European cultures, there is no reason why we should not compare Sanskrit and Greek texts in this context¹⁸.

The blame poetry in the preserved Greek archaic poetry is distinctly separated from the poetry of praise; however, the two genres may have been used, as it is assumed, by the same poet¹⁹. A curse could have been a primal kind of

¹⁴ *Hymn. Hom. Merc.* For punishing thieves see *AP* XVI 193, XVI 11. T. ZIELIŃSKI (1926), who did not notice the role of inversion in the image of the deity, stated that recognising Hermes as a patron of thieves is an invention of poets.

¹⁵ Inversion in the cult of Dionysus and Demeter and in cult-related poetry (BROWN 1997: 20 f., 41 f.) is connected with M. BAKHTIN's idea of role reversals in carnival.

¹⁶ Dogs guarding Eumaeus' homestead (*Od.* XVI 4, 6, 9, 162, XVII 200); the statues of golden and silver dogs in Alcinous' palace (*Od.* VII 91). FAUST 1970 compiles places in Homer which contain references to a dog and groups them in 'Haustiere usw.' next to comparisons, images of scavengers and metaphorical expressions. He finds only two mentions of dogs in the *Iliad* that fall outside the three categories: I 50, XXIII 173 – both depict the death of these animals.

¹⁷ NAGY 1999: 222–242.

¹⁸ DUMÉZIL 1969 (revised 1943 edition) grounded the idea that the Indo-European society functions on the principle of praise–reproach balance (of which poetry is the main medium) on the comparison of the Indian and Old Irish sources. DETIENNE 1973 proved that the oppositions of praise and reproach played a similar role in the Greek archaic society.

¹⁹ For discussion on Celtic filid poets using both praise and reproach see CHADWICK, CHADWICK 1932: 97 f., 602–607. Ancient testimonia list many poets as authors of iambs even though they are not considered iambographers. According to the *Suda* encyclopedia the following poets were the authors of iambs: Anacreon, Homer, Sappho, Simonides, Simmias, according to Tzetzes (*Chil.* VIII 400) Aeschylus. M.L. WEST 1974: 38 points out that some works by Solon and Xenophanes were described as iambs. Research by NAGY 1999 and COMPTON 2006 proves that (1) lyric and epic poets could make use of reprimand, (2) the reprimand is used functionally in the interest of the community threatened by the injustice – the harm for which a poet seeks redress on behalf the society is not his private matter, but it affects the entire community. The compensation for the wrong done is guaranteed by gods and involves a restoration of the *dike* order. Only the choral lyric poets, Pindar

iambic scorn²⁰. The risk of receiving a reprimand, as well as of being cursed, was extremely dangerous and undesirable even for those who were most powerful, because a reprimand deprived a person of reverence and social recognition (τιμή) and at the same time pushed them outside the society. The Greek archaic and pre-archaic society was described as a society of shame or disgrace (αἰδώς). All members of society cared about what others say about them. This is not to say that the sense of remorse for committing a bad deed was not present, but that the priority was an individual's vigilance so that they are not accused of bad conduct²¹. Being shown respect was desired and required, and praise was received as a confirmation of one's value. Homer's aristocrats are always ready to aggressively defend their even slightly threatened virtue and they are inclined to start violent arguments leading directly to bloodshed even for trivial (in our understanding) reasons²². As the poetry of this time was meant solely for public performance, the iambic accusation reaches its target publicly, which leads to the disclosure of the offence to the public and deprives the attacked person of virtue, and consequently of the society's respect. A Homeric hero cannot afford to be blamed or accused of any vice, and hence he is described with a conventional epithet ἀμύμων 'flawless', literally, 'a person who cannot be accused of anything nor reprimanded'. The accusation may be presented directly in the form of a reprimand, but it may also take a form of scorn, mockery, ridicule and evoke public laughter at the criticised person. Evoking the laughter of the society is a much stronger weapon against the opponent. This type of attack also constitutes a way of defending against the rage of a person who is being deprived of respect. A poet can attack persons more powerful than himself or even those who play the most important role in the society because he places himself in a weaker position and in this way takes the wind out of the attacker's hand. It is a kind

and Bacchylides, declare a strict separation of the two poetic functions (Pind. *Pyth.* 2, 54–56, *Nem.* 7, 61–63; Bacch. 3, 67 f.: εὖ λέγειν πάρεστιν ὅστις/ μὴ φθόνῳ παίνεται – the task of the poet of praise is to speak well of somebody, “not to gorge oneself, to fatten up envy” [*phthonos*]). Sometimes their songs contain criticism of someone's behaviour; however, these poets, as opposed to the poets of reprimand, promote moderation in criticism. GENTILI 1988: 110–114 states that this is an inevitable blending of genres: “...it will be difficult or impossible to put together a eulogy that does not involve criticism of traditional values and thus a degree of faultfinding, however minimal” and applies for these fragments the term ‘para-invective’, which – in his opinion – usually takes the form of a parody. Still, a strict separation of praise and reprimand at the roots of the Greek culture does not prevent one poet from using both. Both Simonides and Pindar seem to remain within the traditional stream of composing poetry and only the new circumstances of creating for a contract involve a strong need to emphasise praise, for which the unmoderated reproach constitutes a contrast.

²⁰ See BROWN 1997: 30 ff.

²¹ The evolutionary concept of DODDS 1951: 28–63 about the transformation of a shame culture into a guilt culture has been criticised: DOVER 1975: 236–243; LLOYD-JONES 1990; CAIRNS 1993; cf. COMPTON 2006: 37–40.

²² The issue of the mentality of the Homeric aristocracy and role of respect in this community is currently best explained in VAN WEES 1992.

of buffoonery – by putting on an “iambic poet mask” the poet admits that he is weaker, but the iamb he has at his disposal may defeat someone stronger. Such scorn evokes even greater common laughter because it is amusing that a weaker person defeats a stronger one²³. On the other hand, the stronger person cannot take revenge on someone so visibly weaker and inferior to himself, just as one could not take revenge on a jester for his jokes at a medieval court²⁴.

Iambic criticism falls on someone who does harm to somebody else. The reason for such antisocial actions is sought in envy (φθόνος). Driven by envy, people try to take something away from another member of the society. Piracy, for example, is not wrong because it involves taking goods from outside the social group, to which the individual belongs. Envy may do harm or damage to fellow citizens and that is why it is reprehensible, but the person who has a reprimand at his disposal may also be perceived as someone who is driven by envy – due to the fact that he harms others by criticising them. This is why in iambic code the characteristics also apply to the one who reprimands, i.e. sings iambs.

The caricatural image of the reprovved played a key role in using reprimand in poetry. The iambic reprimand depicts the victim in unfavourable light, as a character devoid of virtue, and takes away his honour and respect (τιμή) due to him so far. As a result, it transforms beauty into ugliness – as the internal value is in pre-Socratic times perceived as a value which manifests itself outside²⁵. The caricatural image of the reprimanded character cumulates all qualities of ugliness of the time, including body deformation and handicap. The ugliness of the reprimanded person involves conventional depiction, and not necessarily real deficiencies²⁶. However, the fact that an iambic poet puts himself in an inferior position and that his accusations are so dangerous and undesired, affected the emergence of a caricatural image of the poet himself and its presence in tradition. The poet adopts the image he himself used to revile others. He becomes a loathsome and despicable character. Two aspects of this phenomenon may be observed: (1) the poet is given a caricatural image by an enemy or acquires such image in the public opinion; (2) the poet depicts himself in a caricatural manner.

²³ The example of Hephaestus who caught Ares red-handed with his wife Aphrodite in Demodocus' song (*Od.* VIII 307–309, 329–332). Gods, called in to see the lovers, burst out with laughter, which is explained by a paradox that a slow one caught a fast one. See K. ZIELIŃSKI 2004: 211–213.

²⁴ Fables used by iambic poets could serve as an example. Archilochus in fragments 172–179 (combined into one by WEST) compares his situation with that of a fox, which despite its inability to climb a rock, gets revenge on the eagle thanks to Zeus' help. A fable about a falcon and a nightingale, introduced by Hesiod, could have had similar overtones. The fable includes only bragging and threats of the falcon, but does not require an ending, because Hesiod assumes that the readers know the punchline. The situational context of the fable determines its iambic character; cf. NAGY 1999: 239–242.

²⁵ For discussion on beauty which indicates heroism or value see K. ZIELIŃSKI 2006: 134–137.

²⁶ For discussion on the image of Pittacus in Alcaeus' poetic blame see KURKE 1994.

The first group features various types of ancient testimonies on the ugliness of the poets²⁷ (there is some probability that the works quoted critical statements about poets made by their enemies²⁸). The second group includes autothematic statements by poets. As it arises from what remains of the works of Archilochus of Paros, the poet depicts himself in the light of accusations traditionally used against the enemies. Therefore even the later Greeks, who could no longer understand the iambic code, could not understand how a man can describe himself as someone greedy, lecherous, cowardly and even as a slave's bastard²⁹. A poet who describes himself in unfavourable light is more effective in reaching his aim. His attack stems from the fact that he himself was hurt by someone and the honour demands that he take revenge even on someone who is stronger and more powerful. On a weaker person one may take revenge directly, e.g. by open aggression, and on a more powerful person the revenge may only be taken by means of a trick. In an iamb the poet publicly shows that someone offended him, displaying *hybris* – an offence which should be reciprocated according to what justice demands. Redressing the wrongs is in the public interest, because *dike*, which is guarded and guaranteed by Zeus, was violated. The avenged or compensated harm is a value common to the entire community. The power of iambic poetry is so great that it may lead to the death of the attacked³⁰, it is thus parallel to the magical power of the curse, which may also cause death³¹.

A person who has been attacked in an iamb will be presented by the iambic poet as someone who no longer deserves to remain within the community and who should be treated as a criminal – lashed and expelled. The object of the attack is placed in the position of *pharmakos*, which constitutes a Greek version of a scapegoat. Walter BURKERT (1979: 71) explained that a very simple situation is the source of this religious and cultural phenomenon: in the face of danger threatening the community an individual is chosen and sacrificed in order to save the rest. The individual selected has to be of a least possible value to the community. On the other hand he or she is dressed and decorated so that the metaphysical or

²⁷ According to COMPTON's list (2006), ancient sources report on ugliness/body deformation of the following: Aesop, Hipponax, Sapho, Simonides, Tyrtaeus, Aeschylus, and Socrates, whom COMPTON qualifies to the poets' category as "the second Aesop".

²⁸ Also Pindar sees himself as Archilochus' enemy, while declaring himself a poet of praise, e.g. *Pyth.* 2, 54–56.

²⁹ Critias 88 B 44 D–K ap. Ael. *VH* X 13 = test. 33 GERBER (fr. 295 W).

³⁰ The suicide of Lycambes and his daughters as victims of Archilochus' reprimand is a model example. This topic recurs in Hipponax, whose iambs were to cause the suicidal death of Bupalus and Athenis (Plin. *HN* XXXVI 12). The motif is frequent in the Celtic culture, COMPTON 2006: 196–198.

³¹ RANKIN's opposing stand (1974 and 1977: 52) that the preserved Greek poetry does not display functional magic appears too principled nowadays. Cf. COMPTON 2006: 47 for bibliography on this matter.

real power responsible for the threat considers the victim valuable. The aim of the sacrifice is to satisfy the power which brought the misfortune. In Greece, this ritual acquired a large number of various myths and beliefs which, in line with the nature of creation and the circulation of stories in the oral tradition, undergo multiplication and multilevel modifications. In the process of analysing individual stories it is impossible to rely merely on BURKERT's reduced pattern. A full set of topics found in stories related to this ritual or based on it has been shown by Todd COMPTON (2006: 13–18) and I shall draw on his patterns. The most important topics outlined by COMPTON are as follows: (1) a ritual flaw constituting a crime committed by a hero (real or alleged) or/and a crime on a hero or harm done to him; (2) a calamity affecting the entire community, such as a plague, hunger or war, which becomes the reason for the exile or death of a hero or which is caused by his exile or death; (3) a prophecy which reveals a remedy for the experienced misfortune; (4) the motif of someone "inferior": a poor man, a beggar, a hungry man, a slave, a criminal, someone ugly/deformed, alien etc.; (5) the motif of the "superior": a saviour, a sanctified (usually in a heroic worship), a winner, an athlete, a sage or a member of a royal family whom he becomes often after; (6) a transformation from an "inferior" involving an unfair public judgement, a freedom of sacrifice or exile, the procession of exile/execution. An individual, who is *pharmakos*, is expelled from the society as a 'piece of rubbish' περικάθαρμα; however, due to sacrifice, which in the Greek culture is often voluntary, he or she gains prestige and becomes a saviour/benefactor. The fact that COMPTON calls such individual a hero is appropriate and justified. This subject matter is much more elaborate and complex and particular evidence regarding various stories contains only some pieces of this puzzle. An inseparable feature of the motif of *pharmakos* found in poetry and biographical sources about poets is the ambivalence and shifts of meanings: someone who reprimands becomes reprimanded and *vice versa*, similarly a judge becomes judged, those who expel become expelled, those who kill are killed, those who cheat are cheated, those who bring a disaster become saviours, the inferior becomes superior etc.

Let us analyse this matter using specific examples. In fragment 5–10 W (26–30 D) Hipponax calls the victim of his iambic attack *pharmakos* in explicit terms. He presents in detail everything that the victim will experience as in a real ritual:

πόλιν καθαίρειν καὶ κράδησι βάλλεσθαι
 βάλλοντες ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ ραπίζοντες
 κράδησι καὶ σκίλλησιν ὥσπερ φαρμακόν.
 δεῖ δ' αὐτὸν ἐς φαρμακὸν ἐκποιήσασθαι.
 κάφηι παρέξειν ἰσχάδας τε καὶ μᾶζαν
 καὶ τυρόν, οἷον ἐσθίουσι φαρμακοί.
 πάλαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς προσδέκονται χάσκοντες
 κράδας ἔχοντες ὡς ἔχουσι φαρμακοῖς.
 λιμῶι γένηται ξηρός· ἐν δὲ τῶι θύμῳ
 φαρμακὸς ἀχθεῖς ἐπτάκις ραπισθεῖη.

to purify the city and to be struck with fig branches
 in winter striking and flogging him with fig
 branches and squills as though a scapegoat
 it is necessary to make him into a scapegoat
 and to provide within his grasp dried figs, barley
 cake and cheese, such as scapegoats eat.
 for they have long been waiting for them, openmouthed,
 holding fig branches as they do for scapegoats.
 (so that?, until?) he become withered from hunger,
 and led like a scapegoat may he be flogged seven times on his manhood³².

Poetry would not be what it is, had it limited itself to naming things explicitly. All negative qualities ascribed to φαρμακός – the social “scum” who represents the worst offences and is destined to be excluded from the community are accumulated in Greek poetry in the metaphors of a dog.

Iambic poetry conventionally uses three accusations against someone who is meant to be reprimanded: gluttony, lecherousness and cowardice, which are often combined together. The word κύων ‘dog’ or ‘bitch’ and its derivatives constitute a permanent element of this code. They may function as invectives (for example, Achilles insults Agamemnon with κύνωπα ‘looking like a dog’, Hom. *Il.* I 159, and κυνὸς ὄμματ’ ἔχων ‘with dog’s eyes’, I 225) and metaphorically describe someone’s bad conduct and vile behaviour³³. On one hand, the vile act of a dog or a bitch seems to stem from the fact that its character is considered nasty. It is seemingly friendly because it even fawns, but at the same time it is ready to bite (Hipponax, fr. 66 W [32 D] κοῦκ ὡς κύων λαίθαργος ὕστερον τρώγει “And later he did not eat like a dog which treacherously bites”). It is a common belief, even today, that during a meal a dog may bite his master, if it sees that he may want to take away its food – hence Hipponax’s comment about the treacherousness of dog’s bites. On the other hand, the fact that a dog was seen as a scavenger may have affected the negative image of a dog. In Greek poetic code dogs feed on the fat of the dead, by and large on unburied bodies of people in a battlefield. Gregory NAGY points out that the behaviour of Odysseus towards Ajax, criticised by Pindar, and the fact that he grabbed Achilles’ armour to which Ajax was more righteously entitled, is described analogously (the envy/*phthonos* of Odysseus “devoured” Telamon’s son κείνος καὶ Τελαμῶνος δάφεν υἱόν, Pind. *Nem.* 8, 22). This means that the unfair insult to Ajax qualifies the offender, i.e. Odysseus, as a dog, only because he provoked a reproach (depriving someone of due praise is equal to reproach): “the unjustified blame of Ajax

³² Trans. by D.E. GERBER.

³³ Also by using the adjective κύνεος ‘canine, shameless’, *Il.* IX 373 (Achilles to Odysseus about Agamemnon). An enemy can be referred to as a dog: *Il.* VIII 299 (Hector is a mad dog), VIII 527 (Hector uses this word to describe Achaeans), XIII 623 (Menelaus about the Trojans as godless and violating the hospitality principles), XVII 153 (Glaucus about the Achaeans).

by Odysseus qualifies as *óneidos* (ὄνειδος [blame, reproach]: *N.* 8.33). But here the praise poem itself insults Odysseus – not by calling him *kuôn* ‘dog’ but rather by describing his actions as those of a dog feeding on human flesh³⁴. Though it may seem surprising, the role of Odysseus in the *Odyssey* shows the entire ambivalence of *pharmakos*. The metamorphosis beggar/king, receiving reproach, the revenge of a weaker person on someone stronger, the buffoonery in a duel with Iros the beggar, clearly emphasised analogy to Hephaestus³⁵, and finally assuming the role of a quasi-singer by the character – all these elements indicate that the image of Odysseus is established on the basis of the *pharmakos* pattern. An important element is Odysseus’ use of deceit (δόλος) in a fight (as a heroic character he also possesses the power [βίη] which he eventually uses and proves his heroism; earlier on several occasions he is forced to renounce it; Odysseus is also clearly polarised with Achilles in this respect)³⁶. Deceit is the weapon of the hero who plays the role of *pharmakos*, as he is not strong enough to oppose the enemy openly. Pindar’s identification of Odysseus with the dog is not unjustifiable because a dog is considered as not only treacherous but also deceitful. Eumaeus, who defends Odysseus the beggar, was called by Melanthius “a dog which knows fatal deceits”, κύων ὀλοφώϊα εἰδώς (*Od.* XVII 248). COMPTON points out that deceit is one of the topics of the metaphors of *pharmakos*, but he only mentions the deceit used against the hero/*pharmakos* without taking into consideration the fact that also the hero can make use of deceit. Similarly, he only notices the traps set up for a hero. This means ambivalence in the *pharmakos* situation – a trap is also mentioned in the *Odyssey* in Odysseus’ Cretan story, in which he was supposed to kill Orsilochus, the son of Idomeneus and hid in a trap, λοχησάμενος (II 264 f.). Another trap is one he prepared for the suitors³⁷. The name Orsilochus is meaningful – it probably means ‘attacking from

³⁴ NAGY 1999: 226 f.

³⁵ Iros, the beggar who issues a reprimand towards Odysseus, is reprimanded and reminded not to be greedy for something that does not belong to him (NAGY 1999: 228–230). Let us point out that Iros is not only beaten by Odysseus (like Thersites – the flagellation of *pharmakos*), but also sentenced to death (the execution of *pharmakos*). Iros’ weakness is juxtaposed with his size (lack of ἴς and βίη ‘strength’ and ‘power’ which characterise a warrior/hero, despite the fact that he is described with another heroic label μέγας ‘great’). This constitutes a rational presentation of the paradoxical nature of loosing weight and languishing despite uncontrollable gluttony/greed – according to Homer Iros is simply fat. Hephaestus is depicted as a comic character that perhaps evokes laughter due to his handicap (*Il.* I 599 f.). In the *Odyssey* he evokes gods’ laughter thanks to his craftiness, see note 37 below. For Odysseus–Hephaestus parallels see NEWTON 1987.

³⁶ See Demodocus’ song VIII 75 in NAGY’s interpretation of the opposition μῆτις/βίη, NAGY 1999: 42–49.

³⁷ Also Hephaestus remains in hiding after laying snares for his unfaithful wife and her lover (*Od.* VIII 283–285) – this scene is directly related to Odysseus’ fate. On one hand it provides contrasting background to his fate (a betrayed husband), and on the other it anticipates his revenge on the suitors.

an ambush' (from ὄρνυμι med. 'get up, to rush, to attack'). LOWENSTAM (1981) shows the connection between the character that is marked down to die or functions as θεράπων in a sense of 'ritual substitute sacrifice' and the way he fights in an ambush: Meriones (p. 136 f.) and Odysseus (p. 50 f.), who probably identifies himself with Meriones in his story. LOWENSTAM writes (p. 173): "Odysseus is asserting in his speech to Athena that he was not to be destroyed by Orsilochoi ('Source of Ambush') but that he ambushed Orsilochoi". For LOWENSTAM an ambush is the element of the metaphors of sacrifice because it suggests a deafening assault, from concealment, on an unaware victim³⁸. This unawareness is emphasised in Homeric narration by describing the character as νήπιος 'stupid' (it is worth noticing that also Iphigenia and Isaac are deceived before the sacrifice). It is certainly related to the motif of deceiving *pharmakos*, who is sentenced for death (just like the animals which were deceived before they were offered as sacrifice). The ambivalence of the deceived/deceiving one in the character of Odysseus is parallel to the beggar/king ambivalence: an alleged victim becomes the one who kills the suitors. NAGY suggests a possible etymology of the poet's name in imitation of *bōmo-lokhos* 'a beggar lurking by the altar to ask for a portion of meat under threat of reproach', Arkhi-lokhos 'someone who mastered this skill in the highest degree'³⁹. An 'ambush' (λόχος) constitutes an element of the same string of connotations: a beggar, iambic poet, *pharmakos*.

Let us return to the associations connecting the image of the dog with the metaphors of the gluttony accusation⁴⁰, which should be understood as a metaphor for greed leading to taking (out of envy) something that does not belong to someone, and what is more, something that one does not deserve⁴¹. Such behaviour

³⁸ LOWENSTAM 1981: 173 f.: "Odysseus is not to be a sacrificial victim. The Phaiakians have been his ritual substitutes by suffering Poseidon's punishment. Odysseus is the only character in the Homeric poems who successfully transfers his miasma (in our *Odyssey* the blinding of Kuklops) to a ritual substitute. If Odysseus had not been successful in this transference, he would have suffered the same fate as Achilles. Through sacrificial substitution Odysseus becomes free".

³⁹ The etymology of βωμολοχία 'buffoonery, a beggar hiding behind the sacrificial altar to bum a piece of sacrificial meat': NAGY 1999: 245, n. 3. According to Lucian (*Pseudol.* 2) the target of Semonides' iambic attacks was Orodokides. M.L. WEST 1974: 28 suggests that the name is non-metric and he restores it as Οὔρο- or Ὀρσο-λοιχίδης (with an obscene meaning). I posit that the second version is the probable equivalent of 'the son of Orsilochoi'. Someone who lays a trap for Semonides falls into the trap of his iambs. Similarly, Archilochus vaunts that he is the best in using iambic reprimand (fr. 25 W, see BURNETT 1983: 65 f.).

⁴⁰ Odysseus (*Od.* VII 216) says that "there is nothing more canine than an awful (that is hungry) stomach" (οὐ γάρ τι στυγερεὶ ἐπὶ γαστέρι κύντερον ἄλλο). More on the meanings and mutual relations on the terminology of biting and voracity see NAGY 1999: 224–227, who emphasises the use of the adjective μάργος 'voracious' describing someone driven by φθόνος 'envy, greed', and K. ZIELIŃSKI 2004: 204 f. The image of the stomach in the satiric tradition is also present in SVENBRO 1976: 50–59; BURNETT 1983: 59; LEFKOWITZ 1981: 2.

⁴¹ When Odysseus reveals his identity in front of the suitors, he addresses them directly as κύνες 'dogs'. He argues that for their offence they deserve death and accuses them of devouring his house

transgresses against the hierarchy of values (αἰδώς), accepted by the community. Therefore Achilles, who calls Agamemnon a dog, thinks that he went against αἰδώς (IX 372 f.)⁴². The rulers are sometimes referred to as those who devour the city (Achilles hurls at Agamemnon an insulting epithet δημοβόρος βασιλεύς, I 231)⁴³. This metaphor is probably rooted in a common custom: entertaining rulers with a meal by the citizens who constitute a group of supporting friends; the rulers on the other hand probably returned the favour while sharing the spoils of war during war campaigns. Benefiting from the privilege to be entertained is undeserved for example if the ruler does not display adequate courage and engagement in fight or passes unfair judgements⁴⁴.

Such conduct is perceived as both insolent and shameless – an expression occurs in *Iliad* VIII 483: οὐ σέο κύντερον ἄλλο “there is nothing more insolent than you” (literally “more canine”)⁴⁵. Insolency leads to feuds (ἔρις)⁴⁶, therefore it has similar effects to envy (φθόνος), which drives people to reach for something that does not belong to them. Such behaviour deserves a reprimand (ψόγος) and the poetry of reprimand was in archaic cultures the primary medium for reproaching. In this type of poetry greed is depicted as gluttony – so voracious that the greedy person does not chew, but immediately swallows food. The result of this, paradoxically, is losing weight, shrivelling and languishing of the glutton. A model example can be found in the *Hymn to Demeter* by Callimachus, who quotes a myth about Erysichthon punished by the goddess for his greed and untamed gluttony which drove him to take what was not his (a tree from her sacred grove). Erysichthon devours his entire wealth, but he cannot satisfy his hunger; paradoxically he loses weight, languishes and finally dies in poverty. The story reflects precisely the essence of the iambic accusation and therefore Demeter twice calls him κυόν, κυόν ‘dog, dog’. The fragment 118 W (129 D) in

and forcing the maids to sleep with them (*Od.* XXII 35). This is an example of combining two accusations: gluttony and lecherosness.

⁴² For this reason Hephaestus calls his mother Hera κυνώπις, blaming her for the fact that he fell from the height (i.e. Olympus) when she wanted to hide him because he was lame (*Il.* XVIII 395). Hephaestus clearly claims that his mother should not have acted in this way.

⁴³ Also *Il.* XXIV 262; Alcaeus about Pittacus fr. 70, 7; 129, 22–24; 429 L–P; Diog. Laert. I 81. Cf. KURKE 1994: 67–94.

⁴⁴ VAN WEES 1992: 44–48 and 78–86; cf. *Il.* XII 310–321.

⁴⁵ This adjective occurs not only in the comparative, e.g. *Od.* XX 18, where Odysseus addresses his heart: κραδίη καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ’ ἔτλης, thinking about a situation worse than the present one, but also in the superlative, e.g. *Il.* X 503: Αὐτὰρ ὁ μερμήριζε μένων ὃ τι κύντατον ἔρδοι, where Diomedes considers how to tease the Trojans at this moment.

⁴⁶ Excessive insolence (θάρος ἤητον) leading to feud (ἔρις) among gods is an accusation that Ares presents against Athena, at the same time calling her κυνάμια ‘a canine fly’ (*Il.* XXI 394; Hera hurls the same epithet at Aphrodite, XXI 421). It is also possible that Homer used the name Thersites ‘insolent’ in a manner that is adequate to the nature of the scene in which he appears and to outline the character, see K. ZIELIŃSKI 2004: 209–216.

Hipponax preserved in excerpts presents someone whom the poet calls Sannos as *pharmakos*. A charge of sacrilege⁴⁷ and of uncontrollable gluttony causing irrational weakness occurs.

b λαιμάι δέ σοι τὸ [χεῖ]λος ὡς [ἐρωι]διοῦ.

your beak is as ravenous as a heron's.

c τοῦς] βρα[χίονας
καὶ τὸ]ν τράχ[ηλον ἔφθισαι
κα[τεσθίεις δέ]· μὴ σε γαστρίῃ [λάβῃ.

your arms and neck (are wasted?) . . .
see that you don't (get?) colic⁴⁸.

Due to the fact that COMPTON does not take this fragment into consideration when he follows through the function of *pharmakos* in Hipponax's poetry, we should add that the situation of the scapegoat for the attacked person is proved in further shreds of information: imperatives πρῶτον μὲν ἐκδύς 'undress first', then exercise and take a poison παραινεῖ αὐτῷ πρῶτον χειρονομ[ήσαντι τὸ] φάρμακον πιεῖν⁴⁹ and a promise αὐλήσει δέ σοι Κίκων τὸ Κωδά[λου μέλος "Cicon shall play the melody of Codalus on aulos", which is a reference to the disharmonic music accompanying the ritual of *pharmakos*⁵⁰.

The weakness referring in an iambic code to the paradoxical reaction to voracity is related with Pindar's description of Archilochus' helplessness ἀμαχανία (Ion. ἀμηχανία) being a result of his greed for using a reprimand, *Pyth.* 2, 54–56:

ἐμὲ δὲ χρεῶν
φεύγειν δάκος ἀδινὸν καταγοριᾶν.
Εἶδον γὰρ ἐκάς ἐὼν τὰ πόλλ' ἐν ἀμαχανίᾳ
ψογερόν Ἀρχίλοχον βαρυλόγοις ἔχθεσιν
παινόμενον.

But I must
flee the persistent bite (*dakos*) of censure,

⁴⁷ As COMPTON 2006 points out, this is an accusation of the Aesop's sacrilege, typical for the metaphors of *pharmakos*.

⁴⁸ Trans. by D.E. GERBER. Fragmentarily preserved words can be understood thanks to the comments on papyrus, Hippon. fr. 118C (fr. 1 col. II) W.

⁴⁹ This information is found in the same scholia preserved in fragments on papyrus (fr. 118C W). As the commentator explains, physical exercise improves the circulation of poison in the body. This is probably why hemlock was used. Why was it supposed to an arm exercise is unclear; perhaps it was intended as a kind of joke.

⁵⁰ For description of aulos disharmonic music accompanying the ritual of *pharmakos* see BREMER 2000: 750, cf. Hippon. fr. 153 W.

for standing at a far remove I have seen
 Archilochos the blamer (using *psogos*) often in straits as he fed on
 dire words of hatred⁵¹.

NAGY points out that δάκος ‘nipping’ should be linked with dog’s behaviour⁵². Archilochus is thus metaphorically depicted by Pindar as a dog. Swallowing like a heron in turn is related to the fragment 66 W in Hipponax quoted above, in which τρώγει refers to the voracious devouring of food without biting into it: “and he did not bite into pieces (did not chew) then like a devious (treacherous) dog”. Referring to the dog’s voracity during eating stems from the fact that it swallows entire mouthfuls without chewing.

Depicting a dog as a scavenger in the light of the above metaphorical meaning acquires a special semantic value. As a scavenger a dog devours the fat of fallen warriors and feeds on it.

VIII 379 f. Athena foretells the defeat of the Trojans:

ἢ τις καὶ Τρώων κορέει κύνας ἢδ’ οἰωνούς
 δημῶ καὶ σάρκεσσι, πεσῶν ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.

or one of his Trojans too
 will glut the dogs and birds with his fat and flesh,
 brought down in blood against the Argive ships (trans. by R. FAGLES).

XI 817 f. Patroclus predicts the miserable fate of the Achaeans:

ὥς ἄρ’ ἐμέλλετε τῇλε φίλων καὶ πατρίδος αἴης
 ἄσσειν ἐν Τροίῃ ταχέας κύνας ἀργέτι δημῶ.

how doomed you are, look – far from your loved ones
 and native land – to glut with your shining fat
 the wild dogs of battle here in Troy (trans. by R. FAGLES).

XIII 829–832 Hector foretells miserable fate to Ajax:

...ἐν δὲ σὺ τοῖσι πεφήσσαι, αἶ κε ταλάσσης
 μεῖναι ἐμὸν δόρυ μακρόν, ὃ τοι χροῖα λειριόεντα
 δάψει· ἀτὰρ Τρώων κορέεις κύνας ἢδ’ οἰωνούς
 δημῶ καὶ σάρκεσσι πεσῶν ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.

If you have the daring to stand against my heavy spear
 its point will rip your soft warm skin to shreds.
 Then, then you’ll glut the dogs and birds of Troy
 with your fat and flesh-cut down by the beaked ships! (trans. by R. FAGLES).

⁵¹ Trans. by W.H. RACE.

⁵² NAGY 1999: 224–226, 242.

The passages above show that scavengers devour both the fat and the flesh of the warriors. The scavenger meal is described in the *Iliad* as δαΐς. This word means a feast which is a division of the victim among people and gods. Fat is the part of a victim which falls to the gods (Hes. *Theog.* 538–541).

LOWENSTAM proposed an interesting hypothesis that in an epic the gesture of the hero patting his thighs is received as a harbinger of his inevitable death, which was related to the fact that thighs/thighbones (τῶ μηρῶ) constituted the part that fell to the gods⁵³. Achilles covers the body of the cremated Patroclus with fat, which LOWENSTAM interprets as an indication of perceiving the burial of Patroclus as a sacrifice. Achilles offers human sacrifice by Patroclus' body XXIII 181–183:

δώδεκα μὲν Τρώων μεγαθύμων υἱέας ἐσθλοὺς
τοὺς ἅμα σοι πάντας πῦρ ἐσθίει· Ἑκτορα δ' οὐ τι
δώσω Πριαμίδην πυρὶ δαπνέμεν, ἀλλὰ κύνεσσιν.

Here are twelve brave sons of the proud Trojans –
all, the fire that feeds on you devours them all
but not Hector the royal son of Priam, Hector
I will never give to the hungry flames –
wild dogs will bolt his flesh! (trans. by R. FAGLES).

Similarly as in VIII 831 the behaviour of the dog, i.e. 'biting, nipping' is metaphorically taken over by Hector's spear, just as now it is moved to the fire. It is not the fire which is to 'nip' Hector, but the dogs. In the first case, killing Ajax with a spear is as though it was the first bite in a foreboding wish to suffer a disgraceful fate, i.e. being devoured by scavengers. In the second case it turns out that burnt human sacrifice offered to the shades of Patroclus constitutes a fate incomparably better than being eaten by dogs, which is what Achilles foretold Hector's body. The fire and the dogs annihilate the body of the warrior in a similar way, i.e. as a whole. But while Patroclus' body covered with fat may be seen as a sacrifice to gods, which probably makes the heroic eschatology possible (at the same time the remaining animal and human burnt sacrifices should be treated as offered to worship the hero), being eaten by the dogs deprives the warrior of such opportunity⁵⁴. The consumption of fat by dogs and birds is an important signal that part of the sacrifice to the gods is taken away. Hence, metaphorically, the body of the killed warrior, which would fall (by burial-cremation) to the gods, fell to dogs and birds, which brought dishonour to the warrior and possibly was the source of eschatological problems. I think that the behaviour of the

⁵³ LOWENSTAM 1981: 159–177.

⁵⁴ The significance of fire during sacrifice – HARRISON 1922: 93 f.

scavengers shown in Homer's poems corresponds to the accusations of greed and insolence depicted through images of dogs' voraciousness⁵⁵.

Envy/greed (*phthonos*) leads to a destructive strife (*eris*) which is clearly present in Hesiod's lesson for Perses who, in his opinion, took something that did not belong to him. The bad Eris (according to Hesiod who distinguishes between the good and the bad Eris) brings misfortunes – just like the strife (*eris*) between Achilles and Agamemnon, which the invocation to the *Iliad* shows as the cause of Achaeans' misfortunes. The paradigm which illustrates the occurrence of the disasters on the Earth is Pandora who, among many gifts, also received something from Hermes, *Op.* 67 f.:

ἐν δὲ θέμεν κύνεόν τε νόον καὶ ἐπὶ κλοπὸν ἦθος
Ἑρμείην ἦνωγε, διάκτορον Ἀργεῖφόντην.

and he ordered Hermes, the intermediary, the killer of Argus,
to put a dog's mind and a thievish character into her⁵⁶.

A bitchy mind and thievish character are two separate gifts, but in fact they constitute two aspects of the same⁵⁷.

⁵⁵ In the *Iliad* also fish are scavengers. Fish behaviour is described as the behaviour of dogs: by murdering Lycaon Achilles anticipates that fish will lick ἀπολιχμήσονται (XXI 122 f.) the blood from his wound and devour his white fat ἰχθύς [...] φάγησι [...] ἀργέτα δημόν (XXI 127; similarly XXI 203 f.). HOUSEHOLDER, NAGY 1972: 768 claim that the "original selection of ἰχθυοίς was probably motivated not by a striving for fanciful descriptions of the sea, but rather by the implication of lurking danger". This opinion is based on passages of the *Odyssey* depicting the sea as a host for monsters (κήτεα) which threaten people (V 421), cf. HAINSWORTH 1993: 58 f. and S. WEST's commentary (1988: 169) to μεγαλήτεα *Od.* III 158.

⁵⁶ Trans. by G.W. MOST. Feminine baseness is described in the *Iliad* only twice: Helen refers to herself by means of an epithet κυνώπις (III 180) or directly calls herself 'a bitch' in the context of bringing all the misfortunes of war (VI 344 and 356). The epithet κακομηχάνου that appears in the first of the two lines points to the fact that she makes treacherous plans, which led to misfortune (also *Od.* IV 145). This is found more frequently in the *Odyssey*. In VIII 319 adulterous Aphrodite is described with the same epithet as Helen, and in XI 424 Clytaemnestra as unfaithful wife who plotted mariticide (Agamemnon adds that there is nothing more terrible and more canine than such woman αἰνότερον καὶ κύντερον, 427). Penelope (XIX 154), and a bit later Eurycleia (XIX 372), refer to maids who betray their mistress as 'bitches', κύνες. Thus, in case of women, the motif of dogs' treacherous nature is emphasised. It is contrasted with the motif of the loyalty of the dog Argos in Book XVII. A comparison with a bitch may also have other pejorative meanings, as it is observed in fragments by Semonides fr. 7, 12–20 W or Archilochus fr. 196a, 25–27 W³.

⁵⁷ Perhaps Agamemnon's attack on Achilles (I 132: μὴ [...] κλέπτει νόον "do not rob me in your mind" meaning do not cheat on me; Achilles gets revenge by twice using epithets that characterise Agamemnon as a dog). NAGY 1999: 227 is of the opinion that Achilles is never depicted as a dog in Homer. However, according to a list of Homeric passages referring to a dog and prepared by FAUST 1970, the ambivalence of roles concerns all characters, also Achilles. In *Il.* XXII 29 he is compared to Orion's Dog, the brightest, but sinister star, and later in XXII 189 Achilles is compared to a dog that chases a young deer.

These gifts are given by Hermes, called the killer of Argos by virtue of abducting Io by killing the monster-guard. The description of Hermes Argeiphontes ‘the killer of Argos’ envisaged as a monster with multiple eyes refers to the archetypal role of the killer of a guard incessantly keeping watch. Some testimonia (*Schol. recent. in Aesch. Prom.* 567–569, *Schol. vet. in Eur. Phoen.* 208–214 and *Etymologicum Gudianum*, *Addimenta in Etymologicum Gudianum* alpha, pp. 186–216) suggest that the monster was a dog⁵⁸. Perceiving a dog as a personification of vigilance is present in the myths about Cerberus and Orthus (the first of these two dogs was tamed and the second was killed by Heracles). However, it may be that the myth about killing Argos is a mythical and etiological story added to an already not very well understood term ‘dog killer’.

Such conclusion arises if we consider that a dog in the iambic code refers to a purifying sacrifice *φαρμακός*. Analysing Hipponax’s poetry COMPTON states that this poet uses the *φαρμακός* metaphors in reference to the opponents attacked in iambs⁵⁹. It is worth noticing that another metaphor he uses against his enemy is *κύων* and this is found in fr. 115, 11–13 W (194 D), which sounds like a curse:

... ὡς [κ]ύων ἐπὶ στόμα
κείμενος ἀκραςίῃ
ἄκρον παρὰ ῥηγμῖνα κυμα...δου.

he lies on his face like a dog
at the edge of the surf, his strength spent⁶⁰.

The ritual of dog killing is probably the reason for describing Hermes as a ‘dog strangler’ in the fragment of Hipponax (fr. 2 D) quoted earlier. Olivier MASSON presents a rigorous view that Hipponax refers to a non-Greek ritual of offering dogs as sacrifice⁶¹. However, there are reasons to allow a possibility that the custom was present also in Greece. As it appears from the comment made by one of the interlocutors in the *Deipnosophistae*, killing dogs may have had a cultic dimension, Athen. *Deipn.* III 99E:

ἀλλὰ μὴ βάϋζε, εἶπεν, ὦ ἐταῖρε, μηδὲ ἀγριαίνου τὴν κυνικὴν προβαλλόμενος
λύσσαν τῶν ὑπὸ κύνα οὐσῶν ἡμερῶν, δέον αἰκάλλειν μᾶλλον καὶ προσσαίνειν

⁵⁸ Perhaps the name of Odysseus’ dog, Argos, is related with the monster’s name. In the *Odyssey* Scylla is depicted as young, barking bitch (XII 85 f.); this is also an example of name etymologizing, typical for the epic (Σκύλλη – σκύλαξ).

⁵⁹ COMPTON 2006: 67: “he uses *pharmakos* imagery to attack his poetic targets”. Apart from the above mentioned fr. 5–10 and 118 W such situation certainly takes place in fragments 104, 128 and 152 W.

⁶⁰ Trans. by D.E. GERBER. Similarly Hor. *Epod.* 6, 1, see below.

⁶¹ MASSON 1962: 104 f. GREENEWALT 1978 and TALAMO 1979 inform that the archaeological research confirms offering dogs as sacrifice in the ancient Lydia.

τοῖς συνδείπνοις, μὴ καὶ τινα Κυνοφόντιν ἑορτὴν ποιησώμεθα ἀντὶ τῆς παρ' Ἀργείοις ἐπιτελουμένης.

Don't bark, my friend, or go wild and unleash your canine distemper (*lyssa* 'rabies'?) during the Dog-days! You should instead be fawning on your fellow-guests and wagging your tail at them (as a dog) to keep us from having a Dog-slaughter festival like the one celebrated in Argos⁶².

The statement is figurative and not entirely clear, but it suggests that there was a rite in Greece during which dogs were killed or perhaps someone who was considered to be a dog. The *arnis* feast in Argos, during which there was a custom of killing dogs, and perhaps even sacrificing them, is mentioned also by Callimachus (*Aetia* fr. 26–31 Pf = 28–34 Massimilla)⁶³. I believe that these facts should be linked with the offering rites *φαρμακός*. There is ongoing debate whether the sacrifice of an individual for the purification of the community ended up in a scapegoat's (*φαρμακός*) death or merely in expulsion from a polis. BREMMER concludes that, as opposed to mythical stories, in which death awaited the sacrificed individual, in historical reality *φαρμακός* was merely expelled, analogously to the situation presented in Hittite texts and in the Old Testament. BREMMER finds only two testimonia that go against this thesis. One of them is the testimonium of Tzetzes which quotes fr. 5–10 W of Hipponax and the other is the story told in the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* by Philostratus (IV 10). Apollonius found the culprit of a plague, pointing to a "hateful to gods" (τὸν θεοῖς ἐχθρόν) beggar who was stoned to death at his prompting. BREMMER thinks that the source is too metaphorical⁶⁴, and thus analogous to the mythical stories: after death the body of the old man was to disappear under a pile stones, but instead a monstrous dead dog was found. BREMMER, as well as other researchers, do not take into consideration the relationship between this metaphor and the word 'dog' used in the iambic code to refer to the one that plays the role of *φαρμακός*. In the Apollonius story we encounter a mythologizing transformation of a real situation: for the purpose of the purification of the community its worst individual i.e. a 'dog' is sacrificed. This situation is parallel to substituting an animal sacrifice for human sacrifice. In both cases the substitution involves the identification of a human with an animal. Therefore the Dog Killing feast mentioned by Athenaeus is

⁶² Trans. by S.D. OLSON.

⁶³ This is confirmed by testimonies of Aelian (Clearch. Sol. fr. 70 M ap. Ael. *NA* XII 34: ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἃς καλοῦσιν Ἀρνηίδας οἱ αὐτοί [*scil.* Ἀργεῖοι] ἐὰν κύων ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν παραβάλη, ἀναιροῦσιν αὐτόν ["During these days, called *arneis*, they (the inhabitants of Argos), will kill a dog, if it enters the agora"]) and Conon (Conon 1, 1: καὶ θυσίαν ἄγουσιν καὶ ἑορτὴν Ἀρνηίδα (ἀρνίδα codd.), κτείνοντες ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ κυνῶν ὅσους εὕρωσι ["celebrate sacrifices and *arneis* feast, killing on this day as many dogs as they can find"]).

⁶⁴ BREMMER 1983: 289: "yet the passage looks rather novelistic".

a ritual based on sacrificing φαρμακός⁶⁵. The dog found under a pile of stones in the Apollonius story was said to have a foaming muzzle like dogs having rabies (παραπτύων ἀφρόν ὥσπερ οἱ λυττῶντες). Rabies in a disputant that is called a dog is also referred to in Athenaeus' passage. The common element of the two stories does not seem accidental and neither does the exaggeration in depicting the dog found instead of the beggar, which supposedly resembled a Molossan dog and in size equalled the biggest lion. In the *Iliad* Teucus calls Hector a 'mad dog' (feeling the need to kill him) as he is the primary cause of Achaeans' misfortunes (VIII 299: οὐ δύναμαι βαλέειν κύνα λυσσητήρα)⁶⁶. In the same book Hector refers to the Achaeans by the name 'dogs brought by the Keres' and in this way he shows his hope for chasing out the disasters from Troy (VIII 526–528):

ἔλπομαι εὐχόμενος Δί τ' ἄλλοισιν τε θεοῖσιν
ἐξελάαν ἐνθένδε κύνας κηρεσιφορήτους
οὓς κῆρες φορέουσι μελαινάων ἐπὶ νηῶν.

My hopes are rising now –
I pray to Zeus and the great array of deathless gods
that we will whip the Achaeans howling out of Troy
and drive them off to death, those dogs of war,
the deadly fates drove here in their black ships! (trans. by R. FAGLES).

The wish that the Achaeans-dogs be taken away by the Keres, who earlier brought them as a plague to the city, seems to correspond to sending away the scapegoat to Azazel or sending a ram to hostile powers that bring a plague to the city, the evidence for which is found in Hittite texts. COMPTON expresses a view that the expulsion is also a kind of death – in the phenomenon of *pharmakos* we may talk about either a real or symbolic death of the scapegoat. The Dog

⁶⁵ An analogical situation we can find in Egypt. Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 73 (*Mor.* 380 D): καὶ γὰρ ἐν Εἰλειθυίας πόλει ζῶντας ἀνθρώπους κατεπίμπρασαν, ὡς Μανεθῶς ἱστόρηκε, Τυφωνεῖους καλοῦντες καὶ τὴν τέφραν αὐτῶν λικμῶντες ἡφάνιζον καὶ διέσπειρον. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐδράτο φανερώς καὶ καθ' ἓνα καιρὸν ἐν ταῖς κυνάσιν ἡμέραις ("The fact is that in the city of Eileithyia they used to burn men alive, as Manetho has recorded; they called them Typhonians, and by means of winnowing fans they dissipated and scattered their ashes. But this was performed publicly and at a special time in the dog-days", trans. by F.C. BABBIT).

⁶⁶ In the same context, Odysseus states that Hector was overcome by λύσσα 'lupine rage, canine rabies' (*Il.* IX 239 κρατερή 'powerful' and 305 ὁλοή 'disastrous'). Hector who threatens Achaean ships is called λυσσώδης 'seized with λύσσα, insane'. Also Achilles is said to be seized with λύσσα, when he directly poses threat to Troy (*Il.* XXI 542). The motif of rabies/madness of dogs is connected with the motif of mistrust towards dogs, which can become scavengers even to their own master: Priam anticipates what awaits him when the Achaeans take over the city, XXII 66–71: κύνες [...] οὓς τρέφον [...] ἐμὸν αἶμα πίνοντες ἀλύσσοντες περὶ θυμῷ. Eumaeus hears a similar threat i.e. that he will be eaten by his own dogs, which he fed himself (*Od.* XXI 363).

Killing feast in Argos may be related to killing the Argos monster by Hermes⁶⁷, the consequence of which might also be the fact that Odysseus' dog was named Argos. The *pharmakos* ritual is found in many parts of Greece; numerous myths and various stories, as well as poets' biographies enable us to consider it common. Therefore, lack of a mention of *pharmakos* in Argos may arise only from the scantiness of our sources.

However, the expression 'canine death' θάνατος κύνειος is found in Aristophanes in the parody of the trial in *The Wasps* (*Vesp.* 898), which proves the commonness of this term in Athens. In the comedy 'a dog' accuses another 'dog' of theft. The theft is metaphorically described as eating cheese τὸν τυρόν [...] κατήσθιεν (896). The persecution expects a 'fig collar punishment' τίμημα κλωρός σύκινος (897). The word κλωρός refers to a collar put both on dogs and slaves but the adjective that adds point to the phrase does not mean that the collar had to be wooden. A fig branch garland was worn by both *pharmakoi* expelled from Athens⁶⁸. What we therefore gain is a clear joke: the punishment for a dog is dog's fate, i.e. becoming *pharmakos*. The accused dog is also referred to as πολύ/ κυνῶν ἀπάντων ἄνδρα μονοφαγίστατον "a man (sic) who out of all dogs stuffs himself the most in solitude". Not accidentally, the 'dog' was to eat cheese. Even though it is not dog food, in Athens it was fed to 'scapegoats' – as it appears from the quoted fr. 8 W of Hipponax καὶ τυρόν, οἷον ἐσθίουσι φαρμακοί, which also mentions the fact that dry figs should be given to him κάφῃ παρέξειν ἰσχάδας. The accusations of gluttony and theft appear together as suitable for a dog. It is also observable that the Athenian ritual of expelling *pharmakos* is referred to as a 'canine death', and thus it constitutes death at least in the symbolic dimension.

As mentioned before, also the one who uses iambs and makes use of a reprimand may be perceived as someone despicable and hated, who should be punished in public, lashed and chased away. The poet himself may present his caricatural image which constitutes the mask of the "poet of the reprimand". He may even perceive himself as φαρμακός, Hipponax fr. 37 W (47 D): "He told them to throw stones and stone Hipponax". In fr. 3a W (2 D), which was discussed at the beginning, it is difficult to decide whether the narrator who calls Hermes for help is an iambic poet (assuming that the narrator of the work acts as an iambic poet) or a third party, whose statement is quoted. Both Hipponax's enemy and

⁶⁷ A myth can become independent from a ritual and therefore it is easy to imagine that the original killing of Argos, the dog whose name could represent the entire city (each time *pharmakos* represents the whole community) underwent reinterpretations and in myth the dog was associated with the function of watching and guarding.

⁶⁸ Helladius in Photius, *Bibl.* 534a HENRY: καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν ἀνδρῶν μελαίνας ἰσχάδας περὶ τὸν τράχηλον εἶχε, λευκὰς δ' ἄτερος ("one of the men had black figs around his neck, and the other white ones"). The meaning of fig wreaths: BURKERT 1985: 83; BREMMER 1983: 284 f.

Hipponax himself (whose name represents the role of an iambic poet⁶⁹) may be the thief. Thereby, it remains an open issue whether, as a “dog strangler” Hermes is to act against Hipponax or against his enemy. Everything depends on whether we link the fragments 3⁷⁰ and 3a W (1 and 2 D) in direct order, knowing that they come from Hipponax’s first iamb directed against Bupalus. If so, the form 3 p. sg. ἔβωσε indicates that someone else, perhaps Bupalus, called Hermes for help⁷¹. However, undoubtedly, in fr. 32 W (42 D) Hermes of Cyllene is summoned to support Hipponax by robbing a neighbour, so certainly he does it himself. By means of analogy, we may expect that also in fr. 3a W (2 D) Hipponax summons this god, who may play for Hipponax a role of a guardian, as Aphrodite for Sappho.

Poets presenting themselves in this role was a convention. Just like their enemy was *pharmakos* = a dog, they themselves did not hesitate to call themselves *pharmakos* = a dog. Horace who in his *Epodes* follows Archilochus and Hipponax, addresses his adversary *canis* ‘dog’ (*Epod.* 6, 1–4), at the same time warning that he will ‘snap back’ *me remorsurum*. In Aesop’s *Vitae* in order to describe Aesop’s ugliness the expression κυνοκέφαλος ‘dog’s head’ (G 11, 30; W 31) was applied. It should be recognized as a metaphorical identification of a ‘society outcast’ with a dog, rooted in the iamb tradition. The evidence is found in a passage from Aristophanes’ *The Knights* (411–416). The agon between a sausage seller and Paphlagon is about who is characterised by a greater insolence ἀναιδεία (*Eq.* 409), which was earlier defined as behaviour that brings shame as it goes against the system of values accepted by the community. The sausage seller is sure of his victory and claims that he did not eat ‘dog food’ in vain (ἀπομαγδαλιά corr. ‘dough/the inside of bread which was used to wipe hands after a meal and then thrown to the dogs’) and hence grew ‘so tall’ τοσοῦτος. Devouring scraps from the banquet table paradoxically enables the human to grow big – this resembles the motif of a fattening ‘dog’, analogous to the size of Iros the beggar in the *Odyssey*. Paphlagon beats him by declaring an even greater insolence *Eq.* 415 f.:

ἀπομαγδαλιάς ὥσπερ κύων; ἦ παμπόηρε, πῶς οὖν
κυνὸς βορὰν σιτούμενος μαχεῖ σὺ κυνοκεφάλῳ⁷².

⁶⁹ See M.L. WEST 1974: 29.

⁷⁰ Fr. 3 W (1 D): ἔβωσε Μαίης παῖδα, Κυλλήνης πάλμυν “he [most probably] screamed to call the son of Maia, ruler of Cyllene (Hermes)”.

⁷¹ As assumed e.g. by MIRALLES in MIRALLES, PÓRTULAS 1988.

⁷² In later academic works the term is used to refer to remote fairy-tale peoples and baboons (MALINOWSKI 2004: 42–45). The apes were mentioned probably due to their ugliness (the ugliness of an ape was considered the most prominent, see Semonides fr. 7, 71–73 W; Archilochus fr. 185–187 W). MALINOWSKI aptly points out that the name κυνοκέφαλος originated in Greece and that it is not merely an adaptation of the Sanskrit *siuna-mukha*. However, he erroneously indicates that Egypt was the source of ideas about dogheads and draws on the earliest mention of dogheads in Greek literature found in Herodotus (IV 191). The word must have been in circulation earlier since the name of Pindar’s town is Κυνοσκεφάλαι (*Vita Pindari* 1).

You mean bread for wiping hands, just like a dog?
 You silly fool, on a diet of dog food,
 how will you battle a dog-faced baboon (trans. by Ian JOHNSTON).

Paphlagon calls the sausage seller's food βορά which is used as prey for predators or man-eaters. This word represents the manner of greedy devouring, present earlier in Achilles' description of Agamemnon δημοβόρος (I 231). Aristophanes who uses the term 'dog head' does not talk about some fairy-tale people or a baboon, but most probably he uses a customary term to describe someone who was chosen as the worst member of the community and is sacrificed in the *pharmakos* ritual, as is proved by the fact that the epithet was used to describe Aesop⁷³. Thersites' example may serve as an analogy. For his insolent (in Odysseus' opinion) accusations, Thersites was beaten and chased away from the place in which he was making a speech by Odysseus. Thersites, who wanted to ridicule Agamemnon by reproaching him severely, did it only for buffoonery and for a laugh (II 215 f.: ἀλλ' ὅ τι οἱ εἴσαιτο γελοῖον Ἀργείοισιν/ἔμμεναι). Therefore when accepting the aggressive revenge of Odysseus with tears in his eyes, Thersites himself becomes the object of laughter of the whole army. Thersites is depicted by Homer as an awfully looking cripple and this image is, in my opinion, dependent on its function in the work: of someone who hurls insults at the leaders and dares to reprove them for their conduct, at the same time depriving them of heroic reverence⁷⁴. Odysseus' criticism towards Thersites resembles the criticism that the poets of praise use towards the poets of reprimand. Thersites is depicted as someone who does not show moderation in expressing the words of reproach ἀμετροεπής (II 212), while the poets of praise declare their moderation. For the poets of praise the one who uses reprimand also sates oneself with his scorns in vain, like Archilochus, who, in Pindar's opinion, remains helpless ἀμαχανία.

In the *Iliad* Thersites seems to be combining the characteristics of an iambic poet and a scapegoat. The qualities that link him with a poet are the following: scorn, reprimand, using typical accusations of greed, lecherousness and cowardice, resulting in buffoonery that is action performed for the public laughter. Not insignificant for the figurative presentation of the character of the "the worst of the Achaeans" is the caricatural image of a despicable cripple, far from the images of this character in other songs of the Trojan Cycle. The one who hurls iambs

⁷³ MALINOWSKI's (2004: 46–48) attempt to explicate the use of this term in *The Knights* as an obscene joke after accepting DINDORFF's conjecture κυνοκεφάλῳ is unconvincing. It does not explain why Paphlagon did not describe himself as κυνοφάλλος. The suggested pun would be possible but through twisting the already known κυνοκέφαλος. If the arguments for the conjectures are right to some extent, Aristophanes would make allusions to the meaning of 'doghead' understood as 'dog's member', which falls within the iambic code and reminds us of the meaning of Συναῖσση's name.

⁷⁴ K. ZIELIŃSKI 2004.

is needed by the society, but above all loathsome; people shun him and in a sense are afraid of him. The “mask” of an iambic poet is ugly, like the caricatural image of the victims of his scorn and reprimand. Ugliness is often a characteristic of a scapegoat. Frequently visible deficiency, handicap and ugliness determine the choice of person who is supposed to play this role⁷⁵. Thersites accepts the punishment that is due to a scapegoat. He is beaten with a sceptre by Odysseus, similarly to the lashing experienced by a scapegoat⁷⁶.

Hipponax and Thersites (who is identical with the iambic poet) are presented as *pharmakoi*⁷⁷. Both of them have the potential to cause someone to be excluded from the society by means of a scornful reprimand, but both can become victims of their own weapon.

A similar combination of an iambic mask and a scapegoat is found in the Indian story of Śunaḥśepha. It is common in iambic poetry to use telling names, hedged with the iambic code⁷⁸. In the name Śunaḥśepha, referring to a ‘dog’s member’, both references are present. (The name of his younger brother Śunaḥpaccha is similar and refers to a ‘dog’s tail’⁷⁹.) Iambic poetry has a strong sexual charge which is often expressed directly in a vulgar and lewd manner⁸⁰. This stems from the close relation to the vegetative cults of Dionysus and Demeter⁸¹. Scorns and mockery referring to sexuality were an element of the ritual stimulating soil

⁷⁵ In Colophon “the most deformed of all” was selected as *pharmakos* (Tzetzes, *Chil.* V 731: τὸν πάντων ἀμορφότερον), and in Athens two (vide Harpokration, s.v. *pharmakos*) ugly persons were selected as *pharmakoi* (*Schol. in Aesch. Sept.* 680: τὸν ἀηδέστατον καὶ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἐπιβεβουλευμένον πηρόν, χωλόν, τοὺς τοιούτους [...] ἔθουν “they offered up as sacrifice the most unkind person and by nature exposed to the aversion of others [?], crippled, lame”; *Schol. in Arist. Ran.* 742: τοὺς γὰρ φαύλους καὶ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἐπιβεβουλευμένους “the ugly and those by nature exposed to the aversion of others [i.e. crippled, lame]”).

⁷⁶ The purification of the community of cowardice and disobedience towards Agamemnon’s rule by means of sacrificing Thersites remains unsaid in the *Iliad*, but it was certainly understandable for the contemporary audience.

⁷⁷ The ugliness of iambic poets as a distinctive element in the image of *φαρμακός* is identified by COMPTON 2006.

⁷⁸ NAGY 1999: 229–233 explains the meanings hidden in the names Archilochus, Margites; M.L. WEST 1974: 26 f. on the name Lycambes; alternatively ROSEN 1988: 29–41 on using proper names like Bupalus (whom Hipponax gives the meaning ‘bull’s member’) in a irreverent manner.

⁷⁹ Using the synonym “male member = tail” is typical for the iambic code. Sometimes it is reflected in a cult. BURKERT (1983: 69) points to the castration of sacrifice animals: “...when the October-Horse was sacrificed and its tail carried bleeding to Regia from the Campus Martius, we may suspect that the ‘tail’ represented the genital organ...”.

⁸⁰ On aeschrology of iambic poets see BROWN 1997: 11–88; M.L. WEST 1974: 25 and 28 f.; DANIELEWICZ 1990; COLLINS 2004: 225–230. The charge of lecherousness is often combined with ridiculing excessive potency by making fun of the large size of a male member in the metaphors. In fr. 43 W Archilochus connects the accusation of lecherousness with the image of fattening: ἡ δὲ οἱ σάθη ... ὥστ’ ὄνου Πριηνέως / κήλωνος ἐπλήμυρεν ὀτρυγητάγου “his prick... swelled like that of a Prierian grain-fed breeding ass” (trans. by D.E. GERBER).

⁸¹ M.L. WEST 1974: 24–27.

fertility. A male member frequently appears in this poetry, called both explicitly and metaphorically. In Hipponax fr. 10 W, the member is also the organ in which a man described as *pharmakos* is flogged.

It is because of the name that Śunahśepha is not an ordinary substitute for Rohita as a sacrifice offered to god, but someone worse, who accepts the punishment and plays the role of an outcast – a ‘dog’, or even a dog’s member. Many cultures developed a custom of faking the death of a king by substituting someone else in his place, usually a criminal, prisoner of war or a slave, who could benefit from all royal privileges for a short time but it earned him inevitable, and often cruel, death⁸². *Pharmakos* rites did not take place incidentally, i.e. in the face of some direct threat or plague, but cyclically. Usually the cult took place at the end of a year or a season, when the old time was over and the new was about to come. The Ionian Thargelia, during which the ritual of *pharmakos* in Athens took place, may serve as an example. A human sacrifice was to prophylactically satisfy the deity’s envy towards successful people⁸³. Lambs belong to the same set of cults and rituals as the phenomenon of sacrificing a scapegoat. They constitute – as has been mentioned before – the elements of the vegetative cult, in Greece the cult of Demeter and Dionysus, in which the key role is played by the time of change, the movement from the phase of nature’s death to the phase of revival. A man tries to help the earth in accomplishing this change and to ensure the best possible effects for himself.

Not all elements of Śunahśepha’s sacrifice seem to overlap with the pattern of sacrificing a scapegoat and *pharmakos*. An objection may be raised that Śunahśepha is not lashed, stoned nor knocked off a rock, but he is offered as sacrifice while being tied to a triple stake (*dru-pada*). I believe that again the fragment of Hipponax’s iamb (fr. 3a W) quoted at the beginning may come to aid.

⁸² Sacrificing “the worst” of the subjects in lieu of the death of the ruler reminds of a well-known, though disputed, concept of FRAZER presented in the volume *The Dying God of The Golden Bough*, which has been already mentioned. According to the concept, an ageing king represents the decreasing powers of nature that have to be revived, and hence a new ruler must replace an old one; over time the ritual killing of a king was to be replaced with substitute sacrifice. According to HARRISON 1922 *pharmkos* is not a substitute sacrifice but he is killed because he is so much interfectured by the evil that his further life is impossible. *Pharmakos* is not a sacrifice at all but only a disposal of impurity.

⁸³ According to BURKERT 1979: 73, Thargelia festival in Samos and Naxos suggests the deity to destroy its wealth by immoderate feasting. “Man feels surrounded by danger which does not allow him to enjoy life to its full extent, and which can only be averted by separating oneself from what seem to be most precious”. Thanks to this he is defended against the envy (φθόνος) of the supernatural powers. A related story from Herodotus about Polycrates’ ring presents a situation in which, after the ring is recovered by Polycrates, it turns out that the ritual is invalid. The point of departure for the ritual appears different, as it is a condition of prosperity and success. The role of the ritual is to prevent a future misfortune from happening. The story of Polycrite of Naxos, found in Parthenius as a love story, serves him as an example. The heroic act of Polycrite, who kills the leader of the enemy, leads to the annihilation of the enemy’s army during Thargelia; Polycrite herself was showered with wreaths and ribbons and died under their weight outside the city walls. Her tomb was called “a tomb of a bad eye” βασκάνου τάφος, i.e. “an envious look”.

The unclear description of Hermes as κυνάγχα ‘dog strangler’ has already been mentioned before. The gloss of Hesychius indicates a different meaning of the noun κυνάγχη than the one presented earlier – ‘pillory’. The relationship between dog’s angina, a collar on dog’s neck and a pillory seems to be based on the fact that someone who was called a dog may have been tied to a pillory with a noose around the neck and then probably strangled. Hence colloquially, the pillory could be referred to as a ‘dog strangler’. A victim that was killed in this way could have been named ‘a dog’ in accordance with iambic nomenclature. Death by hanging, close to strangulation and resulting from suicide is closely linked with an iamb and with the ritual of *pharmakos*. As has been proved earlier, the victims of Archilochus’ and Hipponax’s iambic attacks hang themselves and commit suicide. However, the same motif is found also in myths related to the cult. A scholiast to Hephaestio (281/154T) informs that Iambe, a character present in the cult of Demeter, who was a heroine – an eponym of iambic poetry, hanged herself. One of the myths regarding the introduction of the Dionysus cult shows the suicidal death by hanging of Erigone, whose father Icarius was beaten with sticks by Athenian shepherds drunk with wine for the first time and suspecting that they had been poisoned. God punished the Athenians whose daughters commit suicide in the same way. The motif of Dionysus’ revenge is analogous to the motif in which God punished the Parians for the harm done to Archilochus (inscription by Mnesiepes A(E₁), col. III), since impotence just like the death of daughters may result in lack of offspring. Yet, the suicide by hanging in the myth of Erigone corresponds to strangling by means of a noose of a cult statue. The myth about Charila tells the story of a poor girl, an orphan, who during famine asked the king for something to eat and hanged herself of shame as she was beaten and chased away. An oracle ordered to establish a cult for her in Delphi, where her statue was (analogously to what happened to Charila) kicked, taken out (= exile), strangled with a rope and buried. Pausanias VIII 23, 6 f. tells the story of children in Kaphyai, who pretended that they were hanging Artemis’ statue and for this were stoned by angry citizens. When the women of this city were punished with miscarriages, Pythia ordered to establish a cult of the children. It is thus right to recognise the relation between these cults and myths and the *pharmakos* ritual⁸⁴, which is also closely linked with the notion of ensuring fertility.

The verb σκαπαρδεῦσαι that appears in the second line proves, in my opinion, the connection between the iamb from fr. 3a W of Hipponax, which became a basis for this comparative study, and the scapegoating rituals. Tzetzes explains this word as ‘to support, to be an ally’. It is certainly related with the word ῥ σκαπέρδα that describes tug-of-war during the Dionysia: a rope was threaded through a hole in a post, and boys on two ends standing back to back tried to beat

⁸⁴ COMPTON 2006: 33 and 51 f. Earlier ROBERTSON 2003: 260–262 connected the cult of Charila at Delphi with the execution of Aesop.

the opponents by pulling the rope to their side (Poll. IX 116). Carles MIRALLES provides an outline of this rite⁸⁵ and claims that it played the role of a trial by ordeal which determined the guilt or innocence of the accused (hence probably the meaning of one of the Hesychius' glosses σκαπαρδεῦσαι· κρίναι 'to judge, to settle'), and later a game or torture that sometimes ended with death penalty for the condemned. This punishment could have been applied to a thief (which is emphasised by calling Hermes a 'thieves' companion' φωρῶν ἑταῖρε), as well as to someone guilty of sexual excesses, such as a prostitute, a homosexual or a person who commits incest⁸⁶. The pole, which probably gave name to this credibility test, was initially high, and the hole, through which the rope went, was located on top. Therefore the failure may have ended with hanging the rascal on the rope or even with his death by strangling.

Thus, Hipponax's appeal to Hermes: σκαπαρδεῦσαι may refer to a request for support in the tug-of-war, to prevent the rival from defeating him in this battle. This link will seem deeper if we take into consideration the fact that FRAZER identifies the rope pulling custom as an element of a magical ritual which is to ensure fertility and good harvest thanks to victory over the demons of death, hunger etc. At the same time the custom is related to the scapegoat sacrifice ritual. In the game, which is treated seriously, one group represents the local community and the second the demon of misfortune. The victory of one of the groups means propitiousness and good harvest or disaster and hunger in the coming year. Sometimes members of two neighbouring towns compete and then the winning party in a magical way ensures well being for the community, while the loser may expect misfortune and worse harvest in a given year⁸⁷.

In a metaphorical sense, describing Hermes as 'dog strangler' would mean that Hermes is summoned as the one who punishes the outcasts who deserve it (like a pillory)⁸⁸. For Hipponax, a 'dog' is his enemy, who no longer deserves to be a member of the community and should be punished like φαρμακός. Iambs constitute revenge of someone who was hurt and who, in the name of justice, has no other option than to take revenge. An iamb may be a response to a malign and sneering attack. Hipponax calls the enemy a 'dog' also because of the fact that he perpetrated such a defaming act. We know that in this way the poet took revenge on the sculptors, Athenis and Bupalus, for making a caricatural image of him.

⁸⁵ MIRALLES in MIRALLES, PÒRTULAS 1988.

⁸⁶ According to MIRALLES in MIRALLES, PÒRTULAS 1988: 33–35 the procedure may have also been applied to treat impotence.

⁸⁷ FRAZER 1913: 174–184.

⁸⁸ A hypothesis that seems tempting is that 'Kandalūēs', the Maeonian description of Hermes, mentioned by Hipponax, may be related with the Sanskrit *Cāṇḍālāh* referring to the 'member of the lowest and most despised caste', a word of unclear etymology (MAYRHOFER 1956 s.v.: "wohl ein unarisches Wort"). If, however, the origin was Indo-European, would the Sanskrit term originate from the same ritual?

The harm in this context is equal to public ridicule and the poet revenges himself by a deriding them publicly in iambs. Help in the ‘rope pulling’ means supporting a competition, in which the loser should be punished. However, Hesychius’ gloss provides another understanding of the word σκαπερδεῦσαι· λοιδορῆσαι ‘to reprove, scold someone’, which is a basic notion in the iambic poetry of reprimand⁸⁹. When Hipponax or Bupalus enter the tug-of-war with an enemy, they ask Hermes, the ‘companion of thieves’ to help. If the poet himself plays this role, perversely – according to our standards – Hipponax attacks someone whom he considers a ‘dog’, at the same time not considering himself anything better than that. Yet, it is understandable in the iambic convention which depicts the poet as unfavourably as the victims of the criticism. The metaphorical value of the analysed lines of the iambs is thus the following: “Hermes, you who punish foul wrongdoers, help me now”⁹⁰. It is possible that, being led by Hesychius’ gloss, we should think about supporting in reviling the enemy, which is about supporting the iambic attack. “Let it be him”, then, “and not me” who becomes a scapegoat, cursed and unworthy of living in this community.

Also, the name of Śunaḥśepha’s father proves that there is a clear link between the story about Śunaḥśepha and iambic poetry. As E. ŚŁUSZKIEWICZ points out, Ajīgarta means ‘not having anything to put in his mouth’, or more appropriately ‘not having anything to swallow’. The name is a synonym of hunger (and not asceticism). In the scapegoating ritual the victim represents the demonic power of misfortune and crop failure, which have to be defeated. ‘Dog’s member’, son of ‘Hunger’ is an adequate patronymy for this name⁹¹. Using fictional and functional names of parents is not infrequent in iambic poetry. For example, Archilochus is said to have said about himself that he is the son of a slave, Enipo, ‘Insult, Reprimand’. On the other hand, hunger leading to such vile act as selling one’s own son for sacrifice⁹² reminds of the image of insatiable hunger, impossible to satisfy despite growing greed.

In the Indian story, the myth about abandoning human sacrifice is connected with the myth of a sacrifice in a scapegoating ritual. The relationship is close and logical and probably dates further back in the past than the religious interpretation given to the story. Obscene names of Śunaḥśepha, Śunaḥpaccha and Ajīgarta do not fit in any way to the Brahminic tradition. Let us notice also that the loose connection of the third part about Viśvāmitra adopting Śunaḥśepha to the rest

⁸⁹ Perhaps another gloss of Hesychius is related to this σκαπερδεῦσαι·μαντεύσασθαι ‘to foretell for oneself, to ask an oracle’. The result of the ritual fight with a demon in tug-of-war is a prophecy for the future. It resembles a particular form of a trial of ordeal.

⁹⁰ In the original δεῦρο refers to a place ‘here, in this place’.

⁹¹ BURKERT qualifies the ritual in Chaeronea in which a slave representing Βούλιμος, ‘Hunger’ was chased out the door (Plut. *Quest. conv.* 693 f.) as one of the cases of *pharmakos*.

⁹² Śunaḥśepha renounces his father.

of the story, contrary to appearances, may not mean that it has been added later, but that it constitutes a more transformed version of the ending of the story, modified by reinterpretations and textual contaminations. Adopted Śunaḥśepha is recognized as the oldest of Viśvāmitra's sons, what – as it has been pointed out – diverges from his role of a middle son. Viśvāmitra expels 50 older sons who cannot resign themselves to the new role of the adopted son, 51 sons remain and recognize Śunaḥśepha's rights. Among these, the first one, i.e. originally the middle one is Madhucchanda, whose name means 'a desire sweet as honey, longing'. After his name all remaining brothers were collectively named Madhucchandas. The arithmetic of Ajīgarta's and Viśvāmitra descendants is analogous: $1 + 1 + 1$ corresponds to $50 + 1 + 50$. Madhucchanda, praised in a song, plays among Viśvāmitra's sons a role similar to Śunaḥśepha. It can be posited that in the original story the transformation of a 'dog's member' to a wise man could have involved a name change. The name Madhucchanda seems to be very suitable for this function. Making Madhucchanda a separate character is an unnecessary multiplication of figures in the story and it may arise from lack of understanding of the previous story. Śunaḥśepha would take the middle place among Viśvāmitra's sons, assigned to him. It is the most important place, interpreted in the story as Śunaḥśepha's role of the oldest son, but in fact it must have meant a position in between extremes: Śunaḥśepha mediates among Viśvāmitra's sons like he did earlier between his brothers, out of which the elder, Jamadagni, is recognized as a sage and the younger, Śunaḥpaccha, ('dog's tail') must take the opposite place due to the meaning of his name⁹³. There was point in naming the remaining, loyal Viśvāmitra's sons after the new Śunaḥśepha's name, Madhucchandas.

The transformation of the social outcast into a sage also conforms to the iambic pattern and is not necessarily justified by the specific nature of the Indian religion. The *pharmakos* ritual means a sacrifice of an individual for the good of community. Yet, the antiquity abounds in examples of outstanding individuals who sacrifice their lives, in a similar way, for the good of community⁹⁴. Such self-sacrifice for the interest of the community, in conflict with the deity, is also the basis for the hero myth. Accepting the role of a scapegoat may thus be voluntary and useful. The transformation of 'the worst' into 'the best' is probably one of the most characteristic feature of myths within the *pharmakos* cultural complex⁹⁵. The Old Attic Comedy, which is in a sense an emanation of the iambic

⁹³ Śunaḥśepha plays the role of a mediator according to C. LEVI-STRAUSS' structural theory of myth.

⁹⁴ BURKERT 1985. COMPTON on the voluntary nature of *pharmakos* (2006: 16): "...the *pharmakos* is sometimes voluntary. This is attested in the ritual tradition, but is almost de rigueur in the legendary tradition".

⁹⁵ COMPTON (2006: 15) determines two subjects of *pharmakos*: "the worst" and "the best", and the transformation, which he refers to as "peripety", is one-way: "The scapegoat can undergo a peripety from best to worst; the well-fed and clothed *pharmakos* suddenly finds himself a hated

poetry, provides examples of metamorphoses of outcasts to sages. The sausage seller from Aristophanes' *The Knights*, who wins an agon as the worst citizen (in every respect), unexpectedly becomes a good and wise servant of the personified Attic people. This metamorphosis is also connected with the original magical function of the song. It may serve as a curse and, as mentioned before, lead to the illness or death of the attacked persons or cause infertility, crop failure and barrenness of the entire country⁹⁶. A song may also bring opposite effects or – to be more precise – ensure that the disaster is averted. A clear example of this is the evidence regarding an archaic Greek poet Thaletas of Crete, who cured the community of Sparta of an epidemic by means of his song⁹⁷. Similarly to Apollo, a poet may both bring a disaster and avert it. In the Celtic culture such magical abilities are ascribed to poets and Druids⁹⁸. Greek texts only mention the fact that a deity is urged to undertake action by a prayer/song both by poets and priests, as indicates Chryses' prayer to Apollo for bringing a plague on Achaeans (I 37–42)⁹⁹. Still, it may safely be assumed that there had to be an original conviction that the song itself (and also the one who can sing it) has the power to cause a misfortune and to save from it. However, this conviction may have been undergone transformations and reinterpretations in particular cultures.

The fact that Śunahšepha was saved by the Dawn Goddess may, I posit, prove the original cohesion of the story about Śunahšepha. A metaphor of reviving

outcast". However, I am of the opinion that the fact that in the end in the myth *pharmakos* experiences heroic cult is a transformation. Sometimes such transformation is noticeable already in the lifetime of a hero. For example, Aesop is transformed from the worst slave to a sage and the best servant of the Babylonian king, then, accused and condemned by the Delphians becomes 'the worst' and finally covers himself with glory as a benefactor and receives heroic cult. Similarly Odysseus assumes a beggar's role in order to return to royal ranks.

⁹⁶ For many examples of such actions in the Celtic culture see COMPTON 2006: 198 f.

⁹⁷ Ps.-Plut. *De Mus.* 42 (*Mor.* 1146 B–C): ...Τέρπανδρον δ' ἄν τις παραλάβοι τὸν τὴν γενομένην ποτὲ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις στάσιν καταλύσαντα, καὶ Θαλήταν τὸν Κρήτα, ὃν φασὶ κατὰ τι πυθόχρηστον Λακεδαιμονίους παραγενόμενον διὰ μουσικῆς ἰάσασθαι· ἀπαλλάξαι τε τοῦ κατασχόντος λιμοῦ τὴν Σπάρτην, καθάπερ φησὶ Πρατίνας. "...Terpander, who brought the feuding sides together in an internal conflict in Lacedaemon; and Thaletas of Crete, who is said to be brought to Lacedaemonians by the order of the Delphic oracle, so that he can heal them with his music (poetry) and save from the plague, as found in Pratinas". In the case of Thaletas we can see a number of motifs referring to saving the community from a plague, analogous to the *pharmakos* pattern presented by COMPTON: the oracle of Apollo ordered to establish a heroic cult of Aesop and Archilochus in order to be saved from a plague. Non accidentally I also quoted the example of Terpander who quelled an internal conflict. A poet of reprimand is perceived as the one who initiates internal conflicts: Irish examples – Aithirne, Laidchen, Fer Fi (three musicians), Morrigu – see COMPTON 2006: 199, n. 44 for bibliography on the subject; Greek example – Thersites, whose task is to "set the kings at variance" ἐρίζεμεναι βασιλεῦσιν (*Il.* II 220). Like Thaletas, Terpander has the power to obviate evil, which he can bring as a poet.

⁹⁸ According to Dindsenchas of Laigen "the druids of Ireland nearly exterminated by their songs the tribe of the Gaileoin", see COMPTON 2006: 197.

⁹⁹ On the other hand, Achaeans sing a paeon to quell Appollo's anger (*Il.* I 473).

a hero after experiencing death can be found in her act. This motif is visible also in Greek poetry: Eos immortalizes her fallen son, Memnon, and lover, Tithonus etc. Another sign of this may be curing Rohita's father of hydropsy. Hariścandra wronged Varuna by not keeping a pledge and the illness may be the symptom of it. The sacrifice *φαρμακός* brought successful results. Curing the father of the one, for whom the sacrifice was to be offered, means cleansing of blame, thanks to offloading the blame to a victim (a scapegoat). Śunaḥśepha takes on Rohita's and his father's, Hariścandra's blame as a substitute sacrifice and takes the flaw off them. Śunaḥśepha is miraculously saved like Iphigenia or Isaac, yet usually the death of *pharmakos* is essential for the purification to take place. It may be concluded that in the old Indian story two very similar mythical patterns were contaminated. Yet, it is possible that all these elements make up common mythical and religious ideas underlying the stories.

Rescue coming from the Dawn Goddess should be read as a symbol of sacrifice revival. As it has been demonstrated by Mircea ELIADE, in Vedic cults the highest sacrifices, very similar to each other, *aśvamedha* 'horse sacrifice' and *puruṣamedha* 'human sacrifice' combine the idea of a world revival¹⁰⁰. In *puruṣamedha* a brahmin or *kṣatriya*, i.e. someone from the significant class, was offered as sacrifice. Similarly to a horse sacrificed in *aśvamedha*, he was given freedom for a year, and after death a queen lied down next to him imitating a sexual act. Some texts (*Śāṅkhājana*, *Vaitāna*) mention killing the sacrifice, other substituting an animal for the human. The cyclic purification and revival of the world through sacrificing a human for which an animal is substituted or a human perceived as an animal is analogous to the *pharmakos* cult discussed above. Both Vedic victims mentioned have a clear Indo-European provenance: the horse sacrifices are found in many Indo-European peoples, also the Greeks, and *puruṣamedha* has an equivalent in Odin's self-sacrifice¹⁰¹. Odin's sacrifice brings back the motif of hanging, as Odin hangs himself on the World Tree (*Hávamál* 138–140). In a ritual described by Adam of Bremen that takes place every nine years in Uppsala nine men used to be hanged¹⁰². ELIADE compares the Vedic victims with a *dīkṣa* 'offering' and with the ritual of *rājasūya*, the consecration of a king, which brings the renewal of the order of the universe. Greek rituals of revival are related with an iambic obscene joke in the cults of Demeter and Dionysus, which reinforces the effectiveness of magical imitation acts that are to stimulate nature to procreation. In the Vedic ritual of *aśvamedha* "the main wife [of a king] lied down next to the body of an animal and, covered with a coat, pretended that she united with it. At the same time the priests exchanged lewd

¹⁰⁰ ELIADE 1997: 143 f.

¹⁰¹ SAUVÉ 1970: 173–191.

¹⁰² Odin often meditates among trees, where the hanged man can be found (*Ynglingasaga* 7). This kind of suicide guarantees the entry to Walhalla (DUMÉZIL 2006: 57 f.).

jokes with women”¹⁰³. This supports my thesis that there is a certain complex of meanings present in the revival cults, in which sacrificing an individual combines the idea of the purification of the community and the individual. The most adequate sacrifice for such an important ritual is a human, and a significant human, for whom, however, a less worthy human or an animal can be substituted.

To conclude, let us discuss one more disputable issue related to the *pharmakos* ritual. Tzetzes (Chil. I 147, p. 547 LEONE) informs that after death the body of *pharmakos* was burnt on the wood of wild trees, and the ashes were thrown into the sea and dispersed by the wind (τέλος πυρὶ κατέκαιον ἐν ξύλοις τοῖς ἀγρίοις, καὶ τὴν σποδὸν εἰς θάλασσαν ἔρραινον εἰς ἀνέμους). This is usually not held to be true and it is assumed that pieces of information must have been confused. Let us point out, however, that a related substitute sacrifice ritual among the Hittites provided for the burning of the *tarpalli*’s body (KUB VII 10 II), which was discussed above¹⁰⁴. If we assume, after VAN BROCK, that the Homeric θεράπων carries some original characteristics of a substitute sacrifice, in parallel to the Hittite *tarpalli*, then according to LOWENSTAM’s findings, also in Patroclus’ case the body is burned clearly in sacrifice, as indicates the act of putting fat on it. Śunaḥśepha was to be a *yajña* – a sacrifice animal (*Vāyu Purāṇa* 91–93). Sometimes reservations are made in reference to the *pharmakos* ritual (whether it constituted a real sacrifice) but such stand appears to be too principled¹⁰⁵ or rigorous¹⁰⁶. In the light of so varied materials, often vague and metaphorical, it is difficult to insist that in the real ritual *pharmakos* was merely expelled but not killed¹⁰⁷. If Tzetzes’ testimony is right, the fact that the burning took place using “the wood of wild trees”, i.e. useless and worthless trees, is disturbing enough to allow for a possibility that the Sanskrit *dru-pada* refers both to a pillory and to a special stake, on which a strangled victim was burnt. Burnt sacrifice, obligatory in the heroic cult, is related to the myth of establishing a heroic cult, even though cremation of heroes is not obligatory (more likely it refers to epic heroes). On the other hand, we saw that the fire devouring the entire body is analogous to the body being devoured by scavenger dogs – the emphasis is put on scavengers eating fat, which during a normal sacrifice was reserved for gods. The inversion of events and the ambivalence of meanings rooted in the ritual and myth of φαρμακός allow for accepting a thesis that *pharmakos*/a dog should experience the same fate it brings.

¹⁰³ ELIADE 1997: 143.

¹⁰⁴ Similarly in the Egyptian custom cited above (n. 65), Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 73.

¹⁰⁵ MURRAY 1934: 328 f. makes a reservation that the evidence for it to be a sacrifice is relatively late.

¹⁰⁶ NOWICKI 2008.

¹⁰⁷ BREMMER 1983.

The logic of the inversion indicates that ‘a dog’ should also be ‘devoured’. It should be assumed that the representation of *pharmakos* being ‘devoured’ by a metaphysical power which accepts the purifying sacrifice is similar to Azazel’s role in the Hebrew ritual. I believe that we find a trace of those original concepts in a passage from the *Iliad* that contains, which may seem surprising, Zeus’ warning directed to other gods that they should not try to interfere with his plan. The one who violates the ban may expect the following (VIII 12–14):

πληγείς οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἐλεύσεται Οὐλύμπου δέ·
ἢ μιν ἐλὼν ῥίψω ἐς Τάρταρον ἡρόεντα
τῆλε μάλ’, ἢ χι βάθιστον ὑπὸ χθονός ἐστι βέρεθρον.

back he comes to Olympus, whipped by the lightning,
eternally disgraced. Or I will snatch and hurl him
down to the murk of Tartarus half the world away (trans. by R. FAGLES).

G.S. KIRK analysing the word βέρεθρον (Att. βάραθρον) concludes that “it implies a gulf, pit or recess which devours anything that penetrates it, from the same root as e.g. βιβρώσκειν and Lat. *vorare*”¹⁰⁸. Let us add that both verbs mean ‘eat, devour’. This interpretation is supported by the second usage of this word in the *Odyssey* (XII 94); in the description of Scylla this word refers to a cavern, out of which a monster emerges:

ἔξω δ’ ἐξίσχει κεφαλὰς δεινοῖο βερέθρου.

she shoots out her heads, out of that terrifying pit (trans. by R. FAGLES).

KIRK adds one more interesting detail, but he distances himself from drawing further conclusions: “At Athens criminals were cast into the *barathron* (cf. e.g. Herodotus 7.133), a special cleft, but it is doubtful whether there is any such specific overtone here. The term does not recur in any of Hesiod’s quite full descriptions of the underworld...”¹⁰⁹. The material analysed above enables us to explain this juxtaposition of meanings. The motif of devouring bodies by powers representing the underworld of the dead is obviously frequent and appears not only in the Greek culture. According to the method adopted by Georges DUMÉZIL for the analysis and interpretation of myths, if some characteristic elements of myths occur together, we cannot talk about accidental concurrences or merely archetypal images. In the passage from the *Iliad* Zeus designs the fate of the punished deity similarly to the fate put on *pharmakos*. He is to be lashed, he will have to go to Olympus, or he will be thrown to the βέρεθρον of Tartarus. After being lashed *pharmakos* is either chased away or pushed off a cliff. The punishment

¹⁰⁸ KIRK 1990: 297.

¹⁰⁹ Ibidem.

of throwing into a chasm is analogous to the punishment administered to the criminals, like in the case of an Athenian βάραθρον mentioned earlier. Pushing off a cliff or throwing down a chasm or a rock crevice means sending a man to the Land of the Dead without funeral rites that are to prepare him for the journey. Metaphorically it means that an immoral soul is devoured by chthonic demons. Jumping from a rock to the sea in Leucadia has exactly the same meaning. Jumping from the White Rock implies directly crossing the gates of death (the White Rock is the first gate leading to Hades, before the Gate of Death and the Gate of the Sun). Jumping from the White Rock is connected with the myth of immortalizing a hero, which the researchers find in the motif of a jump from the White Rock caused by love (Sappho, Anacreon) and in the myth about Achilles' posthumous rule on Leuke 'the White Island'¹¹⁰. Tying birds to the hands of the condemned and attaching feathers to him, waiting in boats to save the drowning man – included in the Leucadia ritual – was part of a fraud (essential in the notion of archaic mentality) designed so that the blame for the death of the condemned, who was a member of the community, did not fall upon the community. It is difficult to assume that the condemned was able to survive such fall to the sea. It is thus difficult to agree with BREMMER, who quotes the example of Leucadia to prove his thesis that the historic *pharmakoi* did not meet with the death. The same reason stands behind pushing *pharmakos* into a crevice or a chasm, stoning or strangling – since this is death without 'bloodshed', i.e. without the use of instrument whose blade would cut the skin¹¹¹. Also, as Mircea ELIADE points out, jumping to the sea is a clear mythical and ritual sign of death¹¹².

All these elements include stories about monsters devouring people, hidden in a sea or in a rock crevice/cleft on the shore. The sea monster in Homer is described with the word κῆτος. The monsters threaten people both in water (*Od.* III 158, V 421 f., XII 97) and on land (*Il.* XX 144–152). The epithet for the sea μεγακήτεα (*Od.* III 158) may be understood in two ways: either as 'inhabited by huge monsters' or 'referring to an abyss'. The second meaning stems from juxtaposing κητώεσσα with *hapax legomenon* in the formula (*Il.* II 581 = *Od.* IV 1):

¹¹⁰ NAGY 1973 and 1990.

¹¹¹ In the society in which a murder weapon, such as a knife, is judged during criminal proceedings, committing murder without such weapon creates the illusion that the murder did not take place. An important element of the sentencing of *pharmakos* is the fact that the entire community participates in it and everyone takes the blame for his death – everyone has to throw a stone. At the same time the way the execution is conducted creates the impression that the fault is not present because no crime has been committed. Still, in myths, e.g. legends of the deaths of poets, like Aesop, Archilochus or Hesiod, the deity punishes the society for his death, but the motif of the innocent death of the poet is emphasised.

¹¹² ELIADE (1997: 174) points to the symbolic death of the deities diving in the sea (Dionysus, Hephaestus) and to the use of this motif in the myth reflecting the initiation ritual (Theseus).

οἳ δ' εἶχον κοίλην Λακεδαίμονα κητώεσσαν.

At last they gained the ravines of Lacedaemon ringed by hills (trans. by R. Fagles).

It is probably a derivative from the unpreserved *κῆτος referring to ‘a hollow, a cleft, a crevice in the ground’¹¹³. The etymology of both κῆτος is unknown; however, I doubt whether we are dealing with two words having the same form here. In light of the presented material, we can risk a hypothesis that the sea monster devouring people may have been identified with an underworld demon that devours souls and the demon in turn with a cleft or a hollow as synonyms of the abyss equalled with the land of the dead.

There also lives Scylla in βέρεθρον “whose yelp it is true is only that of a newborn whelp, yet she is a foul monster whom not even a god could gaze at with pleasure” (*Od.* XII 85–88). In Homer the hatred and reluctance to encounter the World of the Dead is emphasised many times. According to Circe’s orders Odysseus had to direct his ship towards Scylla’s cave “to the west, towards Erebus” (*Od.* XII 81). The cave itself is ‘misty, covered with mist’ (XII 80 ἡεροειδές), just like Tartarus, where a god who transgresses Zeus’ ban is thrown (*Il.* VIII 13 ἡερόεντα). Scylla is therefore a demon who devours the souls of the dead. Analogous role is sometimes ascribed to Cerberus, whose function of a guard is not – as it appears – the only one¹¹⁴. Not accidentally, Scylla has dog features. Just like a chthonic demon, she devours the souls of the villains who, according to these archaic images, are also ‘dogs’¹¹⁵. The train of thought, though irrational for us, is still consistent: a ‘dog’ is ‘devoured’ by a ‘dog’ for ‘devouring’ others.

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¹¹³ S. WEST 1988, ad *Od.* IV 1; KIRK 1985, ad *Il.* II 581; HAINSWORTH 1993, ad *Il.* IX 4.

¹¹⁴ Hesiod (*Theog.* 310) describes Cerberus as a monster which “devours raw meat” ὠμηστής. An essential feature common to the description of both monsters is the multiple heads: according to the *Odyssey* Scylla had six heads, Cerberus had three, but in Hesiod *Theog.* 312 fifty. The motif of terrible dogs which guard the Land of the Dead is quite common (e.g. in Slavic beliefs). In Iranian and Indian texts (also in Germanic beliefs) demonic dogs of four eyes (a symbol of vigilance) are mentioned (WILLMAN-GRABOWSKA 1931: 39). The Indian god of death, Yama, is accompanied by two *śabālau* dogs identified with Κέρβερος (since the 19th century in academic research: F. SPIEGEL, A. KUHN, A. KAEGI, followed by WILLMAN-GRABOWSKA 1931: 33 f.). WILLMAN-GRABOWSKA considers the representations of demonic dogs as the earliest in the evolutionary transformation of the image of a dog.

¹¹⁵ COMPTON 2006: 202 notices that the motif of being engulfed by the earth can be found in the biographies of Celtic poets and that “this kind of death is found also in the legendary scapegoat tales of Greece”. As an example he quotes the stories of Anchuros who falls, together with his chariot, into a crevice in the earth opened by the Idaean Zeus (Pseudo-Callisthenes, *FGrHist* 124 F 56) and Trophonius engulfed by the earth (Paus. IX 37, 7). Also, the story of Amphiarus, who is swallowed by earth together with his chariot and falls into a crevice opened by Zeus’ thunderbolt, should be added here. Amphiarus is both a warrior and a prophet, so he perfectly fits COMPTON’s conception.

Comparative studies always involve considerable risk. Taking this risk, I am guided by the methodological directive formulated by Karol MODZELEWSKI: "...historical sources distant in time and space may and should be examined jointly, if they concern a similar anthropological situation"¹¹⁶. Obviously establishing arguments sufficient for comparative conclusions based on this similarity is difficult and often doubtful. In the presented comparison the situation is even more complicated, as various manifestations of the posited mythical and cultic complex are observed over considerable stretches of time and space. It would have been different if the phenomena pertained to a homogeneous cultural stem, as it is in the case of discovering the beliefs of Indo-Europeans. Meanwhile we are dealing with a cult, whose name was taken from a ritual recorded in the Old Testament and which was widely popular among the Semitic peoples inhabiting the area of Syria and Palestine¹¹⁷. All other examples described in this article come from various Indo-European cultures (even if Hipponax referred to a non-Greek ritual, the Maeonic language turns out to be an Indo-European language, cognate with Phrygian) in which (in a variety of manifestations) the mythical pattern of the *pharmakos* cult can be traced¹¹⁸.

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¹¹⁶ MODZELEWSKI in the introduction to the third edition of *Mitologia Słowian* [*Mythology of the Slavs*], by Aleksander GIEYSZTOR, Warszawa 2006, p. 11.

¹¹⁷ The researches agree that the origins of the cult should be found in northern Syria (JANOWSKI, WILHELM 1993: 132; BREMMER 2000: 750), and that it was adopted from the Hittites and the Phoenicians by the Greeks (Ionians) (ROSÓL 2006 is in favour of the second option).

¹¹⁸ For an outline of the issue of the Indo-European roots of the Greek culture see KATZ 2005. WILLMAN-GRABOWSKA 1931, noticing the contrast regarding treating dogs in the *Vedas*, explains the deteriorating situation of the animal by the evolutionary transition of the pastoral nomads into the agricultural society. Whereas in the *Vedas* dogs are treated with contempt, early Iranian texts treat dogs in a privileged manner, showing particular need for its protection and care in breeding (*Vendidad codification*), as well as its important role in purification rituals (*Gathas*).

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ALLEGORESIS IN THE FIFTH CENTURY BC

By

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ABSTRACT: The article deals with the development of allegoresis in the fifth century BC. While the exegetical works of Metrodorus of Lampsacus and Diogenes of Apollonia are its main focus, the paper argues that the aim of these allegorists was not to exonerate Homer from the charges of immorality but rather to propagate the philosophical explanation of the world laid down by Anaxagoras. Thus, the parallel development of philosophy and allegory in the fifth century is taken to suggest that it was the flowering of the former that actuated the latter.

The purpose of allegorical interpretation is to discover the hidden meaning of a text. The practice arose in the sixth century BC as a result of attempts to exonerate Homer from the charges of impiety¹. In the fifth century, allegorical interpretation no longer served the purpose of exculpating the poet, since now its primary objective was to facilitate the process of replacing the mythological account of the world provided by Homer and Hesiod with a more scientific one put forward by the first philosophers. This development was reflected in two very important assumptions that were made with regard to Homer: the poet was assumed not only to have shared the full-fledged philosophical picture of the world offered by the Ionian thinkers, but also *intentionally* to have camouflaged it in his poems. Hence, the fifth-century allegorists participated in the process of rationalizing the then view of the world by interpreting the old narratives of Homer in accordance with the findings of Anaxagoras' new science as *deliberate* allegories. While this development is clearly illustrated by the exegetical work of Metrodorus of Lampsacus and, to a lesser degree, of Diogenes of Apollonia, the present paper will focus on the two thinkers as *strong* allegorists, i.e., interpreters who read into Homer the physical teachings of Anaxagoras on the assumption that Homer not only prefigured the profound philosophy of Anaxagoras but also purposefully disguised it as poetry². Accordingly, it will be shown here that

¹ The sixth century allegoresis lies beyond the scope of the present paper, but see n. 13 below.

² Thus, I agree with those scholars who assess that Metrodorus and, at least to some extent, Diogenes interpreted Homer allegorically precisely in the strong (i.e., *intentional*) sense, see especially NADDAF 2009: 117. Cf. also RICHARDSON 2006: 79 and LONG 2006: 215.

for Metrodorus and Diogenes Homer was an inspired sage who anticipated the “scientific” account of the universe and allegorically expressed it in his poems. As a result of this assumption, both exegetes aimed to demonstrate that a proper reading of the poet would contribute to a better understanding of the origin, structure and composition of the world. While the ideas of Metrodorus and Diogenes illustrate a curious symbiotic relationship between a philosophical explanation of the world and an allegorical interpretation of the poet, the fact that both thinkers were inspired by the philosophy of Anaxagoras in their exegeses of Homer makes the parallel development of philosophy and allegory a good argument for the interrelationship between the two. Thus, the scope of the thesis advanced in the present paper is twofold: firstly, to show that the outpour of allegorical readings of Homer in the fifth century BC must have been actuated by the flowering of the Ionian philosophy, and secondly, to suggest that it may have contributed to the philosophical transformation of *mythos* into *logos*.

A discussion of allegorical readings of Homer cannot avoid such important questions as why the allegorists chose the poet as the subject of their allegoresis and how they treated his poems. When trying to answer these questions, it is useful to avail oneself of Heraclitus’ *Homeric Problems*³, since the work is the largest preserved example of ancient allegoresis of Homer⁴. With regard to the first question the answer seems rather obvious and the parallels between the poems of Homer on the one hand and the Bible on the other have often been drawn. Perhaps, no one has stressed Homer’s cultural importance so fervently, though, as Heraclitus, who offers the following assessment:

From the very first age of life, the foolishness of infants just beginning to learn is nurtured on the teaching given in his [*scil.* Homer’s] school. One might almost say that his poems are our baby clothes, and we nourish our minds by draughts of his milk. He stands at our side as we each grow up and shares our youth as we gradually come to manhood; when we are mature, his presence within us is at its prime; and even in old age, we never weary of him. When we stop, we thirst to begin him again. In a word, the only end of Homer for human beings is the end of life (*Quaest. Hom.* I 5–7)⁵.

³ While the three most important editions are: OELMANN 1910; BUFFIÈRE 1962; RUSSELL, KONSTAN 2005, I use the last one, as it is based on the most recent scholarship and contains a very good English translation.

⁴ At this point, it seems advisable to offer an explanation why I mention here Heraclitus’ *Homeric Problems* rather than the Derveni papyrus. After all, the papyrus dates from the fourth century BC (cf. e.g. FUNGHI 1997: 26; BETEGH 2004: 61; KOUREMENOS, PARÁSSOGLU, TSANTSANOGLU 2006: 9; BETEGH 2007: 135 f.; FREDE 2007: 10–12) and is, therefore, closer chronologically to the subject of the present paper than Heraclitus’ treaty which is from the first (or perhaps even second) century AD. The reasons are twofold. First of all, the subject of allegoresis in the Derveni papyrus is Orpheus rather than Homer. Secondly, and more importantly, the Derveni author does not seem to interpret Orpheus allegorically in the strong sense (cf. RANGOS 2007: 40 f.). See also n. 6 below.

⁵ Translation by RUSSELL, KONSTAN 2005: 3. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are by the author.

When describing the role of the “Greek Bible”, Heraclitus points to Homer’s being the cornerstone of the then educational system. The metaphors he uses are very suggestive: children are “breast-fed” (τιτθεύεται) on Homer, his poems are their “swaddling clothes” (ἐνεσπαργανωμένοι) and so on. In fact, the allegorist suggests that the entire process of socialization pivots on the poet. Given the vital role that Homer’s poems had always performed in Greece, providing an explanation for why the fifth-century allegorists stuck to the poet is relatively easy. Clearly, Homer was still a natural candidate for a subject of allegorical interpretation, since having already shaped to a large extent the Greek language and thought, he continued to be the standard point of reference for the preponderance of literary and philosophical debates in the fifth century BC and, as the case of Heraclitus shows, afterwards. Thus, making use of his authority was enormously strategic, for proving that an idea was already present in the most revered and venerable poems could obviously lend credence to a novel and, therefore, perhaps slightly suspicious doctrine. For that reason allegorists from Metrodorus to Heraclitus willingly and frequently made use of the poet. With that we may pass on to the other question: for what purpose did the fifth-century allegorists employ Homer’s poems? Again, a confrontation with Heraclitus might shed some light on the characteristics of the fifth-century allegoresis.

Although Heraclitus’ approach to Homer is similar to Metrodorus’ in that both thinkers interpret Homer allegorically in the strong sense, it is only the former that can be labelled as a representative of apologetic exegesis. Indeed, Heraclitus puts it in no uncertain terms that the aim of his treatise is to exculpate Homer from the charges of immorality. In the opening sentence of his work, the allegorist asserts (*Quaest. Hom.* I 1) that Homer “would be totally impious, if he did not speak allegorically” (πάντα γὰρ ἡσέβησεν, εἰ μὴδὲν ἡλληγόρησεν). Thus, Heraclitus makes it clear that he is primarily concerned with the task of defending the poet⁶. The matter is quite different, however, for Metrodorus who – as we shall see below – assumes Homer to allegorically have expressed the physical doctrine of his Anaxagoras and does not busy himself with any apology. The thinker perceives the poems of Homer as a repository of hidden cosmological truths that generally anticipate many ideas of the Anaxagorean school and at no time does he try to exonerate Homer from the charges of blasphemy. When subjecting Homer to allegorical interpretation and eliciting the symbolic contents of his poems, Metrodorus looks for purely natural causes symbolically and intentionally expressed under mythological guise in the poet. While scholars generally agree

⁶ Interestingly enough, in this particular aspect there is a close parallelism between the work of Heraclitus and the Derveni author, for the latter appears to have been a pious Orphic who believed both Orpheus’ revelation and Presocratic physics to be true, and who, as a result, sought rather to reconcile religion with philosophy than merely to replace the former with the latter (cf. in this respect MOST 1997: 122, 128–131; LAKS 1997: 123, 134–138; OBBINK 1997: 40, 52–54; BETEGH 2004: 350–372 and RANGOS 2007: 69 f.).

that Metrodorus' physical exegesis of Homer was shaped by certain ideas of the Anaxagorean school⁷, there is less consensus on the cultural import of his work⁸. In what follows I shall try to estimate the significance of Metrodorus for the development of ancient allegoresis, taking into particular consideration the affinity between the exegetical work of Metrodorus and that of Diogenes of Apollonia.

1. METRODORUS OF LAMPACUS

Metrodorus of Lampsacus is mentioned in the context of the art of interpreting Homer by Plato in the *Ion*. In the pertinent passage, Socrates observes (530c) that a "good rhapsode" (ἀγαθὸς ῥαψωδός) must "understand the words of the poet" (συνεῖη τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ), and, consequently, he "must be an interpreter of the mind of the poet to the listeners" (ἐρμηνεῖα δεῖ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῆς διανοίας γίγνεσθαι τοῖς ἀκούουσι). To this, Ion boastfully replies that he has mastered this "art" (τέχνη) better than Metrodorus of Lampsacus, Stesimbrotus of Thasos, Glaucon or any other man (530c–d)⁹. With regard to this testimony it needs to be emphasized that as we have very little and very uncertain information about Stesimbrotus and Glaucon our considerations will focus exclusively on Metrodorus. Naturally, Stesimbrotus and Glaucon *are* mentioned by other sources, but their reliability can be questioned. For the purpose of the present discussion, suffice it to observe that Plato enumerates Metrodorus, Stesimbrotus and Glaucon, whereas Xenophon mentions Stesimbrotus and Anaximander as those exponents of Homer who looked for the "inner and hidden meanings" (ὑπονοίας)¹⁰ in the poet (*Symp.* III 6). As far as Glaucon is concerned, it is plausible to assume that Plato's *Ion* refers to the same Glaucon that appears in Aristotle's *Poetics*. The Stagirite reports (*Poet.* 1461b 1) him to have opposed those critics who "unreasonably presuppose something and pass harsh sentences" (ἀλόγως προὔπολαμβάνουσί τι καὶ αὐτοὶ καταψηφισάμενοι) on the poet. Thus, although it is impossible to ascertain any facts about Stesimbrotus, Glaucon

⁷ Cf. NESTLE 1907: 503–510; WEHRLI 1928: 92–95; TATE 1929: 142–144; TATE 1934: 105–108; BUFFIÈRE 1956: 126–132; FRÄNKEL 1960: 390–397; KRAFFT 1971: 141–148; CALIFF 2003: 21–36; OB-BINK 2003: 180; STRUCK 2004: 28 f.; GATZEMEIER 2005: 378; RICHARDSON 2006: 67–70; NADDAF 2009: 116–119.

⁸ Indeed, the import of Metrodorus work has been appraised very differently. TATE (1929: 142 and 1934: 105), for instance, found Metrodorus to be one of the most prominent figures in the history of allegorism. On the other hand, BUFFIÈRE (1956: 125) did not classify the thinker as a representative of "le courant classique de l'allégorisme" and asserted that Metrodorus' interpretation theory did not exert any far-reaching influence on his successors. For my assessment of Metrodorus' significance see below.

⁹ Ion's words are to be found in DK 61, 1.

¹⁰ On the history of the terms ὑπόνοια and ἀλληγορία, see WHITMAN 1987: 263–268.

can presumably be regarded as a representative of apologetic exegesis¹¹. In what follows, I shall refrain from speculating on the importance of Stesimbrotus' and Glaucón's contribution to the development of ancient allegorism, yet the fact that Plato, Xenophanes and Aristotle make passing references to these allegorists is important because it testifies beyond any reasonable doubt that allegorical exegesis must have been quite widespread in the fifth century BC. I will concentrate on Metrodorus not only because of the relative richness of the extant testimonies on the allegorist, but also because it is rather uncontroversial that his allegorical exegesis sought rather to propagate the philosophical account of the universe than merely to defend Homer.

We know for sure that Metrodorus was a disciple of Anaxagoras. Diogenes Laertios relates (II 11) that according to Favorinus of Arles, while Anaxagoras was the first "to have shown that the poetry of Homer treats of virtue and justice" (τὴν Ὀμήρου ποίησιν ἀποφάνασθαι εἶναι περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης), his disciple, Metrodorus of Lampsacus, "took the idea further" (ἐπὶ πλεῖον δὲ προστῆναι τοῦ λόγου) and became thereby the first "to have studied the physical doctrine of the poet" (σπουδάσαι τοῦ ποιητοῦ περὶ τὴν φυσικὴν πραγματείαν)¹². Thus, according to this testimony Anaxagoras would initiate a moral exegesis of Homer, and Metrodorus would father a physical one. Although we know nothing about the moral exegesis of the Anaxagorean school, we may certainly rule out the possibility that either Anaxagoras or Metrodorus was the *first* to have come up with the idea of an allegorical interpretation¹³. Still,

¹¹ Cf. e.g. TATE 1929: 143; BUFFIÈRE 1956: 133 and RICHARDSON 2006: 78 f. For an extensive, albeit slightly speculative, discussion of Stesimbrotus, see especially BUFFIÈRE 1956: 118 and 133–136; cf. also RICHARDSON 2006: 63, 71–75. Stesimbrotus has also been suggested as the author of the Derweni papyrus by BURKERT 1986. While other proposals include Epigenes, Euthyphro, Diogenes of Apollonia, Diagoras of Melos, Metrodorus and Prodicus of Ceos (see especially BETEGH 2004: 64, 183 f., and FUNGHI 1997: 36), all these suggestions remain highly controversial and disputable. I, therefore, leave the discussion of this issue for another paper.

¹² The second part of the sentence is to be found in DK 61, 2. Cf. PÉPIN 1976: 99; STRUCK 2004: 26 and RICHARDSON 2006: 67–70. While RICHARDSON is inclined to ascribe the physical allegory of Euripides' *Orestes* (982 ff.) to the Anaxagorean school, an antithetic opinion is to be found in SCODEL 1984: 13–24.

¹³ We know that the first allegorical attempts were made already in the sixth century BC by Theagenes of Rhegium and Pherecydes of Syros. Porphyry puts it in no uncertain terms that the idea of allegorical interpretation goes back to Theagenes "who first wrote about Homer" (ὃς πρῶτος ἔγραψε περὶ Ὀμήρου, DK 8, 2). The information is also evidenced by the *Suda* (DK 8, 4) and Tatian (DK 8, 1), who additionally places Theagenes in the times of Cambyses (i.e. 529 to 522 BC). For scholars who look for the origins of allegoresis in Theagenes, see the following works: WEHRLI 1928: 88; BUFFIÈRE 1956: 105; FORD 2002: 72; GATZEMEIER 2005: 340 and RICHARDSON 2006: 64. With regard to Pherecydes our data is less certain and, consequently, there is less agreement concerning his allegorism. One testimony has it that Pherecydes "spoke about the gods in allegory" (ἀλληγορήσας θεολόγησεν, DK 7 B 2) and Origen relates that Pherecydes "understood" the words of Homer in a particular way (*Contr. Cels.* VI 42 = DK 7 B 5). TATE (1927: 214 and 1934: 108) is positive that Pherecydes rather than Theagenes was the founder of allegorical movement. SCHIBLI

what is of paramount importance about Laertios' testimony is that it informs us that Metrodorus was taught by Anaxagoras who, as we know, was prosecuted on a charge of "impiety" (ἄσεβεία). Plutarch reports that when Diopithes suggested a decree that public accusations be levelled against people who "did not recognize the divinities or taught doctrines about the aerial things" (τοὺς τὰ θεῖα μὴ νομίζοντας ἢ λόγους περὶ τῶν μεταρσίων διδάσκοντας), Pericles furtively sent Anaxagoras out of the city (*Pericles* XXXII 2–6 = DK 59 A 17). The philosopher withdrew to Lampsacus where on his death he was given an official funeral and then honoured posthumously by the inhabitants of the city (Arist. *Rhet.* B 23 1398b 16 = DK 59 A 23). In the light of this testimony, one may venture an opinion that Metrodorus practiced allegorical interpretation motivated by the desire to exonerate his teacher from the charges of impiety and heresy¹⁴. Whatever his ulterior motives were, it is evident that being a student of Anaxagoras made it natural for Metrodorus to search in Homer for certain philosophical ideas of his master. What deserves to be pointed out here is that when reading Anaxagoras into Homer, Metrodorus participated in the process of overcoming the naïve and anthropomorphic cosmology of the first poets by propagating the philosophical view of the world worked out by Anaxagoras.

If Anaxagoras was exiled from Athens on the charge of impiety, then the views of his disciple were equally iconoclastic. In his work on Homer, Metrodorus was supposed to "transfer everything to the allegorical level" (πάντα εἰς ἀλληγορίαν μετέγων) so that gods such as Hera, Athena and Zeus became nothing but "hypostases of nature and arrangements of the elements" (φύσεως δὲ ὑποστάσεις καὶ στοιχείων διακοσμήσεις, DK 61, 3)¹⁵. To add insult to injury, Metrodorus allowed for the possibility that such heroes as Hector, Achilles and Agamemnon never existed (*ibid.*). Already this testimony makes it clear that Metrodorus did not practice apologetic interpretation. However, elsewhere he is also reported to "allegorically" (ἀλληγορικῶς) have interpreted Agamemnon as the aether (DK 61, 4). This shows that Metrodorus sought to substitute a scientific explanation of the world for conventional mythology by reducing the heroes to natural phenomena.

(1990: 99 f.) is cautious about classifying Pherecydes as an allegorist. STRUCK (2004: 26) believes SCHIBLI to be "overly cautious" with this respect. See also FORD 2002: 69; GATZEMEIER 2005: 372; RICHARDSON 2006: 77 and NADDAF 2009: 127.

¹⁴ NESTLE (1907: 504) was the first to have suggested this. Interestingly, NADDAF (2009: 116) suggests that Anaxagoras might have practiced allegorical interpretation so as to defend *himself*. More generally, GATZEMEIER (2005: 378) aptly, in my opinion, points out with regard to Metrodorus' allegorism that "Die Intention dieser Allegorese ist nicht nur die 'Rettung' Homer, sondern auch (und vor allem) die 'Rettung' der Philosophie". GATZEMEIER's appraisal is in accordance with my position that it was rather a promotion (or "Rettung" as he puts it) of philosophy than defence of poetry that was Metrodorus' intention.

¹⁵ While the translations of Metrodorus are mine, the translations of the Presocratic philosophers have been taken from KIRK, RAVEN, SCHOFIELD 1985 (often with small modifications).

Apart from the identification of Agamemnon with the aether, Metrodorus put forward such exegetical suggestions as the idea to interpret Achilles as the sun, Helen as the earth, Alexander as the air, Hector as the moon and the others analogously (ibid.). As far as the gods are concerned, Demeter became the liver, Dionysus became the spleen and Apollo became the gall (ibid.). Again, we see clearly, that Metrodorus' primary objective was not to defend Homer. This is evident from the fact that the allegorist reduced the heroes and the gods of the *Iliad* to the heavenly bodies and the human organs, respectively. This physical interpretation of the heroes and physiological interpretation of the gods reveals Metrodorus' unbridled rationalism¹⁶. The thinker seems to have regarded reason as the only authority and repudiated all supernatural accounts of the universe. If, as already stated, there is general consent among scholars that Metrodorus' bizarre allegorical interpretations echo Anaxagoras' scientific theories¹⁷, then his exegesis built on the assumption that Homer *symbolically* expressed various fundamental cosmic and physiological processes that were *scientifically* expounded by Anaxagoras. Let us see how it became possible for Metrodorus to attribute to Homer the theological and physical doctrines of his teacher.

Following Anaximenes (DK 13 A 5), Anaxagoras presented a very similar cycle of cosmological transformations from clouds and water to earth and stones (DK 59 B 16). Without discussing Anaxagoras' cosmology in minute details, suffice it to observe that it is especially two hypotheses from the Anaxagorean physics that are of great importance for understanding the aforementioned allegorical suggestions put forward by Metrodorus¹⁸. Firstly, Anaxagoras is reported to have believed:

the earth to be flat in shape and to stay suspended where it is because of its size, because there is no void and because the air, being very strong, keeps the earth afloat on it (τὴν δὲ γῆν τῷ αἵματι σχήματι πλατεῖαν εἶναι καὶ μένειν μετέωρον διὰ τὸ

¹⁶ Already NESTLE (1907: 503) characterized Metrodorus' interpretations as "Ausgeburten eines toll gewordenen Rationalismus".

¹⁷ Cf. n. 7 above. BUFFIÈRE proved beyond any doubt that Metrodorus' strange system need to be interpreted in the context of Anaxagoras' physics. The scholar demonstrated that "Métrocore utilise, pour expliquer Homère, les théories cosmogoniques ou médicales de l'école d'Anaxagore" (BUFFIÈRE 1956: 132). This conclusion is now generally acknowledged. OBBINK 2003: 180, STRUCK 2004: 28, RICHARDSON 2006: 68 and NADDAF 2009: 117 all stress that Metrodorus' idea to identify mortal heroes with the heavenly bodies (i.e., various parts of the universe) and immortal gods with the human organs (i.e., various parts of the human body) must have been influenced by certain Anaxagorean analogies between microcosm and macrocosm (i.e., the individual and the world), cf. in this respect also KIRK, RAVEN, SCHOFIELD 1985: 375. In a similar vein, GATZEMEIER (2005: 378), having characterized Metrodorus' physical allegoresis as "die Deutung von Götternamen als Begriffe für Naturgegebenheiten" and his physiological allegoresis as "die Deutung von Götternamen als Bezeichnungen für die Organe des Körpers", rightly observed that "der gesamte Homerische Götterstaat wird somit zu einer Allegorie des menschlichen Organismus".

¹⁸ In what follows, I draw particularly on BUFFIÈRE 1956: 128 and RICHARDSON 2006: 68.

μέγεθος καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι κενὸν καὶ διὰ τὸ τὸν ἀέρα ἰσχυρότατον ὄντα φέρειν
ἐποχουμένην τὴν γῆν, DK 59 A 42).

While Anaxagoras places the earth at the centre of the universe and considers it to be supported and surrounded by the air, Metrodorus interprets the earth as Helen for she is the central figure in the Trojan war, and the air as Alexander, for he surrounds (i.e., embraces) her. Furthermore, Anaxagoras assumed:

the sun, the moon and all the stars to be red-hot stones which the rotation of the
aether carries round with it (ἥλιον δὲ καὶ σελήνην καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄστρα λίθους
εἶναι ἐμπύρους συμπεριληφθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθέρος περιφορᾶς, *ibid.*).

Given the presence of Helen and Alexander, the aether which carries around with it the sun and the stars must be Agamemnon, for just as the aether kindles and sets in motion the heavenly bodies, so does Agamemnon foment and justify the Trojan war. Consequently, the interpretation of the two remaining heavenly bodies that Anaxagoras presented as fiery stones becomes obvious: the sun is Achilles and the moon is Hector, for the most prominent heavenly bodies must correspond to the most prominent heroes.

Having noticed the indisputable indebtedness of Metrodorus' allegoresis to the philosophy of Anaxagoras, we may further observe that Metrodorus was just as much a rationalist as his teacher: his primary motivation for allegorical interpretation was scientific rather than apologetic, since he sought to rationalize the life-view contained in the works of Homer and, thereby, to eliminate any mystical or supernatural elements from the cosmogony of the poet¹⁹. Hence, the allegorist could be characterized as a proponent of ancient "scientism": he interpreted Homer with the aid of the cosmological theories of the Anaxagorean school, for he believed that scientific methods should be applied in all fields of investigation. He probably perceived the divine nimbus surrounding the heroes and the gods of Homer as a product of a pre-scientific mentality that resorted to supernatural powers where it could not discern purely natural causes. While the case of Metrodorus undeniably shows that allegorical interpretation was actuated by philosophy, it seems worth considering what consequences his work had for the later development of Greek thought. According to BUFFIÈRE they were not particularly far-reaching:

Métrodoire ne fut guère suivi par les commentateurs postérieurs: sa théorie semble n'avoir pas eu d'écho chez les anciens. Ce sont les dieux, non pas les héros, que l'allégorisme classique transforme en éléments ou en forces cosmiques: on suit la direction indiquée par Théagène de Rhégium et non

¹⁹ This pertains not only to the heroes but also to the gods. Recall that Metrodorus suggested an allegorical interpretation of the gods as human organs (DK 61, 4). For an analysis of this exegetical suggestion see, for instance, BUFFIÈRE 1956: 130 f. and RICHARDSON 2006: 68.

pas celle du disciple d'Anaxagore²⁰.

Thus, while Metrodorus' originality consisted in considering the heroes rather than the gods to be the elements allegorically expressed in the *Iliad*, it was precisely this originality that prevented him from playing a major part in the history of Greek allegorism. BUFFIÈRE suggests that the reasons for this development were twofold: firstly, from an *apologetic* point of view it was more urgent to exculpate the gods rather than the heroes from the charges of immorality (evidently actions that may be pardonable among humans due to the obvious weaknesses of their nature are entirely incompatible with the notion of divinity) and, secondly, from a *scientific* point of view it was simply more natural to make the gods rather than the heroes the cosmic forces or the elements of the universe (clearly the gods were more fit for allegorical interpretation, because the historical reality of the heroes was undeniable for the then mentality)²¹. Although BUFFIÈRE's explanations seem sound and convincing, I would like to emphasize that one should not hastily belittle the cultural significance of Metrodorus' work.

The general thesis of the present paper is that allegorism can be characterized as a transitional stage between a fully mythical and a fully rational account of the universe. Subjecting a myth to allegorical interpretation is always tantamount to correcting it one way or another, for an attempt to rationalize a myth presupposes willingness to debunk it. Consequently, Metrodorus' allegoresis must have ultimately supported the then ongoing philosophical transformation of *mythos* into *logos*: the allegorist may not have proposed any influential readings himself, but he certainly stimulated the development of the allegorical movement which, in turn, promoted the philosophical account of the world. While philosophers from Thales onwards sought *rationally* to explain the whole of the universe on the basis of empirically observable phenomena rather than any supernatural forces, allegorical interpretations may have aided the process of liberating the struggling science from anthropomorphism, animism and supernaturalism that were characteristic of the early Greek cosmogonies. It is conceivable that, whether directly or indirectly, the first philosophers were supported by the first allegorists in their gradual overcoming of the naïve views of traditional mythology and supplanting them with accounts that were more scientific. If this is right and allegoresis is an important phase in the evolution from *mythos* to *logos*, then thinkers such as Metrodorus may have paved the way for what later was unanimously classified as philosophy proper. When using myths for the purpose of expounding the scientific cosmology of Anaxagoras, Metrodorus transformed the myths themselves. Thus, the thinker participated in the process of changing the shape of the then beliefs and prepared the ground for the development of the philosophical

²⁰ BUFFIÈRE 1956: 129.

²¹ Ibidem.

theories worked out by other Presocratic thinkers. As allegorizing mythology inevitably entails erosion of its mythical content, such exegetical efforts as those of Metrodorus eventually contributed to the emergence of a more scientific vision of the world and more accurate apparatus for its description. In the light of what has been said above, Metrodorus' hermeneutical activity seems to deserve a more positive appraisal than BUFFIÈRE puts forward.

Moreover, it should also be borne in mind that Metrodorus' exegetical efforts contributed to the process of propagating the very idea of *interpreting* a text. While promoting the view that there is more to a text than its literal meaning, Metrodorus strengthened the belief that one should look in Homer for profound scientific intuitions naïvely expressed in mythical language. With thinkers such as Metrodorus the idea of a hidden sense of text is definitely established in Greek culture and the quest for universal philosophical truths begins. Evidently, Metrodorus' quest for scientific concepts symbolically expressed in "the Greek Bible" produced results that often seem surprising and sometimes even fatuous. However, the idiosyncrasy and eccentricity of Metrodorus' exegetical endeavours should not obfuscate its cultural import, for it was precisely due to such extravagant efforts that ancient hermeneutics could thrive. This could be illustrated by the following development. In an important testimony (DK 61, 6), we learn that "the disciples of Anaxagoras" (οἱ Ἀναξαγόρειοι) would "interpret" (ἐρμηνεύουσι) mythical gods in such a way that Zeus would for instance become "Mind" (νοῦς). Again, the testimony makes it clear that Metrodorus appropriated myths in accordance with his philosophical concerns. Here, the thinker interprets Zeus as νοῦς so as to expound a cosmological idea of Anaxagoras with the aid of a traditional myth. If we agree that Metrodorus used the old mythical narratives of Homer so as to buttress the new cosmological theories of Anaxagoras, then a remarkable exegetical parallelism between Metrodorus of Lampsacus and Diogenes of Apollonia seems worth noting: if the former identified Zeus with Anaxagoras' νοῦς, then the latter identified the god with Anaximenes' air. While due to the scarcity of the extant testimonies we cannot be certain that Metrodorus' hermeneutical activity exerted *direct* influence on any other allegorist, the parallelism certainly deserves further investigation.

2. DIOGENES OF APOLLONIA

With regard to the practice of allegorical interpretation, a valuable testimony reports Diogenes of Apollonia to have "praised" (ἐπαινεῖ) Homer for speaking "truly" (ἀληθῶς) about "the divinity" (τοῦ θείου) rather than "mythically" (μυθικῶς) and to have considered Zeus to stand for air in the poet (DK 64 A 8). Considering what has been said above about Metrodorus, the similarity between Metrodorus' and Diogenes' exegeses can hardly be regarded as a matter of pure coincidence, especially given the fact that they were both disciples of

Anaxagoras. In fact, I will try to show that the case of Diogenes of Apollonia, as well as that of Metrodorus, perfectly illustrates the thesis about the symbiosis of philosophy and allegoresis in the fifth century BC. When trying to account for the same allegorical identification in Diogenes and Metrodorus, we must first observe that Diogenes of Apollonia aimed to reconcile the views of Anaximenes with those of Anaxagoras. Knowing what Diogenes took from the two philosophers is a prerequisite for comprehending his allegorical interpretation of Zeus.

As far as Anaximenes is concerned, the following ideas of his philosophy are crucial for our understanding Diogenes' allegoresis. First of all, Anaximenes rendered air the originative substance of the universe and explained the emergence of the world in terms of air's "difference in rarity and density" (διαφέρειν δὲ μανότητι καὶ πυκνότητι, DK 13 A 5). The philosopher posited a correlation between rarefaction and condensation of air, on the one hand, and its transformation from gaseous through fluid to solid body, on the other²². Secondly, Anaximenes' all-underlying principle became more than just the building material of the universe: not only do such components of the world as winds, clouds, sea and earth originate from its condensation and rarefaction, but air is also the cause of life. Anaximenes is reported to have drawn a parallel between air, on the one hand, and "breath" or "wind" (πνεῦμα), on the other (DK 13 B 2). If air was, thus, "the cosmic equivalent of the life-soul in man"²³, then the idea of air animating both people and the world must have contributed to Anaximenes' equation of air with divinity. Accordingly, the philosopher recognized air as the principle "from which the things that are becoming, and that are, and that shall be, and gods and things divine, all come into being" (ἐξ οὗ τὰ γινόμενα καὶ τὰ γεγονότα καὶ τὰ ἐσόμενα καὶ θεοὺς καὶ θεῖα γίνεσθαι, DK 13 A 7). Not surprisingly, Anaximenes hailed air as God (DK 13 A 10) and – as Augustinus relates – maintained that the gods "did not make air, but rather arose from it" ("non tamen ab ipsis [*scil.* deis] aerem factum, sed ipsos ex aere ortos", *ibid.*). If Anaximenes assumed all things, ranging from the material cosmos and living organisms to the immortal gods, to owe their existence to the omnipresent air, then it was quite consistent of him to deify air. Subsequently, this deification was echoed in Diogenes' identification of air with Zeus.

As far as Anaxagoras is concerned, it is especially his idea of the intelligent force arranging the whole of the universe that is relevant for Diogenes' exegesis. Anaxagoras' νοῦς has, again, all the characteristics of a deity. In order to justify its ability to "control" (κρατεῖν) everything, the philosopher characterized his Mind as "infinite" (ἄπειρον), "self-ruled" (αὐτοκρατές), "mixed with nothing" (μέμικται οὐδενὶ χρήματι) and "all alone by itself" (μόνος αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἑωυτοῦ ἐστίν, DK 59 B 12). Furthermore, Mind was considered to "have all knowledge

²² Cf. BARNES 1982: 33 and GRAHAM 2006: 46.

²³ KIRK, RAVEN, SCHOFIELD 1985: 161.

about everything and the greatest power” (γνώμην γε περὶ παντὸς πᾶσαν ἴσχει καὶ ἰσχύει μέγιστον), to “control all things” (πάντων [...] κρατεῖ), to “have come to know all things” (πάντα ἔγνω) and to “have arranged all things” (πάντα διεκόσμησε): the stars, the sun, the moon, the air and the aether (ibid.). While Anaxagoras made his Mind the sole causative factor behind the emergence of the world, the philosopher came closest from all Presocratic thinkers to the idea of an immaterial and incorporeal being, even though he did remain within the naturalistic view that did not distinguish between the material and immaterial²⁴. What is especially important for the present discussion of Diogenes’ allegoresis is that Mind was deified in Anaxagoras as air was deified in Anaximenes. Again, it was natural for Diogenes to make use of this deification.

When combining the teachings of Anaximenes’ with those of Anaxagoras’, Diogenes of Apollonia, on the one hand, assumed air to be the ultimate substance of the universe from whose “condensation, rarefaction and change in its dispositions (πυκνουμένου καὶ μανουμένου καὶ μεταβάλλοντος τοῖς πάθεσι) the form of other things comes into being” (DK 64 A 5) and, on the other, ascribed intelligence to air (DK 64 B 3, 4 and 5). Thus, air, according to Diogenes, “has intelligence” (τὴν νόησιν ἔχον), by air “all men are steered and all things are controlled” (πάντας καὶ κυβερνᾶσθαι καὶ πάντων κρατεῖν), air “has reached everywhere, disposed all things and is in everything” (ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀφῖχθαι καὶ πάντα διτιθέναι καὶ ἐν παντὶ ἐνεῖναι) and, consequently, air is “god” (θεός, DK 64 B 5). This deification of air is also confirmed by Augustinus who relates that Diogenes characterized air as “partaking in the divine reason” (“compos divinae rationis”, DK 64 A 8). So far, Diogenes has merely summarized the views of Anaximenes and Anaxagoras: air is god and its divinity manifests itself in the fact that it is eternal, omniscient, omnipresent and all-governing. However, the philosopher stressed also that the divine intelligence governs everything *for the best*. Diogenes made it clear that “without intelligence” (ἄνευ νοήσιος) nothing would “have measures” (μέτρα ἔχειν): there would be no harmony between winter, summer, night, day, rains, winds and fair weather (DK 64 B 3). Hence, for Diogenes it does not suffice to say that the principle which organizes the universe is the source of life. The principle must be endowed with intelligence, for otherwise it would not be able to bring order to the universe and administer it properly. Diogenes posits thereby a *teleological* interpretation of the universe: all natural processes are directed toward a definite end, since the universe has been designed by the divine Intelligence in accordance with an ultimate purpose. The purposefulness of nature is reflected in the harmony between the four seasons, day-cycles and meteorological phenomena.

If the all-underlying principle was air for Anaximenes and Mind for Anaxagoras, then both intuitions coalesced in Diogenes, who identified the

²⁴ Cf. BARNES 1982: 319.

principle with Zeus. The testimony quoted above has it that Diogenes identified Zeus with air “because Zeus knows everything” (ἐπειδὴ πᾶν εἰδέναι τὸν Δία, DK 64 A 8). The identification was probably due to the parallel between omniscience and omnipresence that the philosopher drew. While the philosophical foundations of this allegorical interpretation are now quite clear, its important ramifications need to be pointed out. First of all, Diogenes is clearly a representative of this stream of philosophical thought that was responsible for the flourishing of allegorical interpretation in the fifth century BC. Consequently, those scholars who accused him of lack of originality failed, thereby, to notice his contribution to the development of ancient allegorism. Secondly, and I have already stressed it with regard to Metrodorus, allegorical interpretation had important cultural consequences, since it challenged conventional religion and its underlying world picture. If Zeus was assumed to be air personified because of his sagacity and ubiquity, then attributing divinity to air implied a repudiation of various traditional beliefs.

In this context, Aristophanes’ caricature of Diogenes’ cosmology deserves mentioning. It is common knowledge that it is Diogenes of Apollonia whose views Socrates represents in the *Clouds*²⁵. Thus, Socrates says that he has mingled his “rarefied intelligence (τὴν φροντίδα λεπτήν) with air of like kind” (τὸν ὁμοιον ἄερα, *Nub.* 229 f.)²⁶, he prays to the “unlimited Air” (ἄμετρητ’ Ἀήρ), which keeps the earth “suspended above” (μετέωρον) and to the “shining Aether” (λαμπρὸς τ’ Αἰθήρ, 264 f.), he denies the existence of Zeus (367: οὐδ’ ἐστὶ Ζεύς) and replaces him with the “aethereal whirlwind” (αἰθέριος δῖνος, 380). Evidently, Aristophanes mocks here at the philosophers who substitute air and/or aether for the venerable gods of the ancestral tradition and castigates the scientific erosion of religion that he finds in the Presocratic thinkers. Aristophanes’ criticism seems to justify the appraisal that Diogenes of Apollonia, similarly to Metrodorus, read Anaxagoras into Homer so as to substitute the philosopher’s rational account of the universe for the naïve views of the early poets. Like Metrodorus, Diogenes was a rationalist whose allegoresis was scientific rather than apologetic: the thinker aimed to rationalize the then picture of the world by expurgating any anthropomorphic and supernatural elements from it. Consequently, Diogenes, as Metrodorus, must have ultimately participated in the gradual transformation of *mythos* into *logos*.

²⁵ Cf. e.g. BUFFIÈRE 1956: 91; KIRK, RAVEN, SCHOFIELD 1985: 450 and STRUCK 2004: 41. I follow VANDER WAERDT 1994 who, in my opinion, has convincingly argued that the Aristophanic Socrates should in general be seen as an adherent of the views held by Diogenes of Apollonia. Still, for a critical assessment of this position, see BETEGH 2004: 307, 321–324 and 377.

²⁶ Translation of these verses by KIRK, RAVEN, SCHOFIELD 1985: 450.

3. CONCLUSIONS

Where does that leave us with the two most important fifth-century allegorists that have been the subject of the present paper? The cases of Metrodorus and Diogenes clearly show that the philosophical explanation of the world and the allegorical interpretation of Homer went hand in hand in the fifth century BC. Given the bloom of philosophy in the times of Metrodorus and Diogenes, it comes as no surprise that these allegorists read the achievements of the new science into the old mythical narratives. Moreover, since both exegetes were disciples of Anaxagoras, it was natural for them to assume Homer to have prefigured and allegorically expressed various physical conceptions of their teacher. While their allegorical interpretations were supposed to discover purely natural causes symbolically presented under mythological guise, Metrodorus and Diogenes contributed to the process of rationalizing the then account of the world: as the development of philosophy ran parallel with the development of allegorism, anthropomorphic, animistic and supernatural components were consistently eliminated from the then vision of the universe. This progressing rationalization of the then world picture was a joint achievement of both philosophers *and* allegorists.

The parallel development of philosophy and allegoresis in the fifth century BC cannot be accidental. As both Metrodorus and Diogenes were inspired by Anaxagoras, his philosophical legacy is clearly present in their work: they both sought to rationalize the then picture of the world by reinterpreting it with the aid of Anaxagoras' science. They both read into Homer such physical issues as the genesis, structure and composition of the universe. With the situation being as it is, the works of Metrodorus and Diogenes show that the development of allegorism in ancient Greece was inextricably linked to the quest for scientific truths in Homer. While in the long run it is hard to ascertain to what extent they were inclined to seriously think that the naïve mythology offered by the early poets concealed profound and deliberately disguised scientific knowledge, they definitely expected mythology to become cosmology and they definitely transformed conventional religion into physics.

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THE GARRISONS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT IN THE GREEK CITIES OF ASIA MINOR*

By

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The freedom of the Greek cities of Asia Minor (on its coast and nearby islands) under Alexander the Great is the question that have provoked the sharp polemics in scholarship¹. In the present essay, I am not going to discuss such a complicated question in detail and try to answer it as a whole; I intend to turn to only one relevant issue. Since the status of a free and/or autonomous polis, at least in Late Classical and Hellenistic epochs, was frequently (if not normally) inclusive of, in addition, freedom from a foreign garrison², my aim is to clear up whether the Greek cities of Asia Minor, liberated from Persian rule or dependence in the course of Alexander's campaign, became ἀφρούρητοι (ungarrisoned) or not. At the same time, I am interested not only in the legal aspect: it is obvious to me that a foreign garrison's presence, whatever reasons it was called forth, violated freedom of a polis *de facto*, even if not *de iure*³. My hope is that this study will contribute, to a certain degree, to our comprehension of the scope of the freedom of the Greek poleis of Asia Minor in the age of Alexander.

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¹ The detailed survey of scholarship on the question, see MARINOVICH 1993: 155–166; NAWOTKA 2003: 16 f.; and especially KHOLOD 2006; also see still valuable, too brief though, survey in SEIBERT 1972: 85–90.

² For the Greek conception of a free and/or autonomous polis in the epochs, see e.g. TARN 1948: II 203–207; MAGIE 1950: I 56 f., II 828 f., n. 13; see also BILLOWS 1990: 194–197; HANSEN 1995; NAWOTKA 2003: 18 f.

³ See e.g. CHANIOTIS 2005: 88–93, on usual problems for Hellenistic cities, including Greek poleis, caused by foreign garrisons in them.

It is known from our sources that Alexander garrisoned some Greek cities of Asia Minor (on its coast and nearby islands).

As to the Greek poleis on the coast of Asia Minor, the Macedonian garrisons, according to the data we have, were placed in Halicarnassus (the evidence for 334–332: Arr. *Anab.* I 23, 6; II 5, 7; Curt. III 7, 4; cf. Diod. Sic. XVII 27, 6), Side (333: Arr. *Anab.* I 26, 5), Soli (333: Arr. *Anab.* I 26, 5; Curt. III 7, 2) and Ephesus (c. 324: Polyaeus *Strat.* VI 49)⁴. In addition, it is very likely (although we have not precise information about this) that a garrison was installed in Aspendus (333)⁵: since the city was not first, at request of its inhabitants, garrisoned by Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* I 26, 2 f.), it seems to be hardly probable that later, when Aspendus was punished because of its reneging on the agreement it had come to with the Macedonian king and of the city's attempt to resist (Arr. *Anab.* I 27, 3 f.), it escaped installation of a garrison⁶.

Besides, it cannot be excluded that a garrison was also placed in Priene (in its citadel of Teloneia) (334): perhaps this is attested by a reference to “the garrison” in the excerpt of Alexander's authentic edict to the Prienians (HEISSERER, p. 146⁷, l. 15: καὶ τῇμ φρουρ[ᾱ]ν ἐφ[- -]⁸). Nevertheless, in view of much damage of the inscription's end, not allowing to understand in what connection the garrison is mentioned here, another assumption is quite possible as well: a lost part of the document may have said not about a garrison's installation, but, on the contrary, about providing the immunity from its establishment in Priene. At any rate, I cannot agree with NAWOTKA (although his hypothesis is very interesting) who, having no doubt as regards the presence of a garrison in the city in 334, states that it had not to necessarily consist of Alexander's soldiers. Presumably, he writes, a garrison was formed from the Prienians themselves whose releasing from the *syntaxis* (ibid., ll. 13–15)⁹ may have presupposed fielding by them

⁴ For the case of Ephesus, see below.

⁵ Regardless of what degree of Greekness of the listed cities was to the age of Alexander (with the exception of Ephesus certainly remaining a Greek polis), there is nothing in our sources, indicating that the Macedonian king considered the cities as non-Greek and so treated them differently from those communities of Asia Minor which were undoubtedly counted among the Greek poleis at that time. See BOSWORTH 1988: 254. But cf. HORNBLOWER 1982: 78–105, 121; SCHEER 2003: 226–231. Also cf., in general, HANSEN, NIELSEN 2004: 1115 f., 1214–1217, 1220.

⁶ So too e.g. BOSWORTH 1980: 168; 1988: 255; GREEN 1991: 208; HAMMOND 1994: 86; CARLEDGE 2004: 121.

⁷ HEISSERER 1980. Some other editions of the inscription: HICKS, HILL 1901: no. 155; *OGIS* 1; *I. Priene* 1; TOD 1946–1948: no. 185; SHERWIN-WHITE 1985: 80 f.; RHODES, OSBORNE 2007: no. 86 B.

⁸ As SHERWIN-WHITE (1985) has convincingly argued, the surviving inscription is not Alexander's authentic edict but its excerpt published by the Prienians in the temple of Athena Polias later, under Lysimachus. On the date of 334 for Alexander's authentic edict to Priene, see KHOLOD 2005; my arguments in favour of the date have been maintained by MILETA 2008: 36.

⁹ On the *syntaxis*, mentioned in the excerpt of Alexander's authentic edict to Priene, see most recently KHOLOD 2007; cf. NAWOTKA 2003: 26–30.

troops, a garrison in this case, as their contribution, instead of submitting the money-payment, to the Panhellenic war against Persia. Otherwise, according to NAWOTKA, it is difficult to understand why the Prienians later, when they have engraved the excerpt of Alexander's authentic edict, would have been interested in publicizing the fact of once having had a foreign garrison in their city¹⁰. My objections to the opinion are the following. On the one hand, there appears to be no need to doubt a Macedonian garrison's presence in Priene proceeding from a consideration that it would not be advantageous for its citizens to advertise such an event at the time of inscribing the excerpt of Alexander's edict: if the Macedonian king indeed wrote about *his* garrison in the authentic edict, the fact that there was some information here which would have motivated the Prienians to put it in the inscription or, at least, have not prevented from this step cannot be excluded. But even if one follows a mentioned consideration, denying, as a result, the presence of Alexander's garrison in Priene, needless to think that only the reference in the edict to the necessity for the Prienians to carry out garrison duties in their polis by themselves would have roused them later to reflect a corresponding point of the document in the inscription: it is obvious that they would not have been less interested in publicizing on stone the edict's point which would have referred to providing to Priene by the Macedonian king the immunity from his garrison's establishment. On the other hand, fielding by the Prienians their own troops on garrison service in Alexander's time seems also to be problematic because of the lack of evidence, with one exception – the case of Soli and Mallus (Arr. *Anab.* II 20, 2), of providing by the Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor troops to the army or ships to the fleet of the Macedonian king. Although it is very likely that Alexander could sometime, extremely rare, have called these cities to carry out certain military duties¹¹, it is hard to assume that he has demanded from Priene to do the same, and especially so as NAWOTKA supposes: there is no instance of forming by the Macedonian king his garrisons from the Greeks of Asia Minor, not to mention the installation of such garrisons in their own cities; nor do we know that Alexander acted in this way, i.e. placed garrison formed from one polis' inhabitants just in the polis, in connection with the other Greeks. It appears that Alexander never did so because such a measure simply could not give him reliable control of any city. One way or another, it is important to stress once again that the presence of Alexander's garrison in Priene is far from certain.

As to the Greek poleis of the islands of the eastern Aegean, the establishment of the Macedonian garrisons in them is attested for Mytilene on Lesbos (the evidence for 333: Arr. *Anab.* II 1, 4; cf. Diod. Sic. XVII 29, 2), Chios (332:

¹⁰ NAWOTKA 2003: 29. Cf. RHODES, OSBORNE 2007: no. 86 B, p. 432 (the sixteenth line's cautious restoration giving the similar sense).

¹¹ KHOLOD 2007: 69–72; cf. NAWOTKA 2003: 28 f.

Heisserer, p. 80¹², ll. 17–19; 331: Curt. IV 8, 12) and Rhodes (331: Curt. IV 8, 12; 323: Diod. Sic. XVIII 8, 1).

Thus it is clear that the evidence of Alexander's garrisons in the Greek cities of Asia Minor (on its coast and nearby islands) is extremely scanty. Nevertheless, even proceeding from this information, it seems quite possible to come to some conclusions concerning the issue under consideration in the present essay.

First of all, it is remarkable that, with the exception of Halicarnassus and Ephesus (the case of Priene is uncertain), there is no information about Alexander's garrisons in the Greek cities on the western coast of Asia Minor, i.e. in the majority of Greek cities here. Should one suppose, then, trying to explain such a fact, that our sources' data of these garrisons are simply lost? I think not: it is significant that from the same sources we know about the garrisons of the Macedonian king in a number of other places of western Asia Minor (e.g., Sardes: Arr. *Anab.* I 17, 7 f.; cf. Diod. Sic. XVII 21, 6; 64, 6; Plut. *Alex.* 16; Curt. III 12, 7)¹³ and, in addition, about his two garrisons in the not numerous Greek cities on its south coast (Side and Soli). It appears that the same doubt should be also related to the case of the island poleis of the eastern Aegean: that our knowledge of Alexander's garrisons here is limited to only three examples (Mytilene, Chios and Rhodes) is hardly accidental. Of course some loss of such evidence should not be denied. But, at the same time, there is no reason to absolutize this assumption: the general picture that our sources present concerning the establishment of Macedonian garrisons in the Greek poleis of Asia Minor is undoubtedly close to reality. At any rate, even if one recognizes certain loss of such information, it is surely impossible to claim, having no reason, that "Alexander garrisoned them often"¹⁴.

¹² This is the so called Alexander's First Letter to Chios. Some other editions of the inscription: MICHEL 1900: no. 33; HICKS, HILL 1901: no. 158; Ditt. *Syll.*³ 283; TOD 1946–1948: no. 192; RHODES, OSBORNE 2007: no. 84 A. In my opinion, the traditional dating of the First Letter to 332 (after the final liberation of Chios from the Persian control) is correct. HEISSERER's attempt to redate this document to 334 (1973, republished with some added remarks in HEISSERER 1980: 79–95), cannot be recognized – because of obvious weakness of his arguments – as convincing. For the critique of these arguments, see ROSEN 1982: 358 f.; MARINOVICH 1993: 185 f.; DMITRIEV 2004: 362–366; also see e.g. BOSWORTH 1980: 178, 268; 1988: 193; HAMMOND in: HAMMOND, WALBANK 1988: 73 f.; DEBORD 1999: 466 f.; FARAGUNA 2003: 114. However, the new date of Alexander's First Letter to Chios, suggested by HEISSERER, has been accepted by RHODES, OSBORNE 2007: no. 84, pp. 422 f., but they have offered no further argumentation in its favour; cf. SEG XXVI 1019 ("334?"); XXX 1071 ("334–332"); BAGNALL, DEROW 2004: no. 2 and AUSTIN 2006: no. 6 ("332?"); HANSEN, NIELSEN 2004: 1064 ("332/1"), 1067–1069 ("334–330"); PODDIGHE 2009: 111 ("c. 332?").

¹³ On these garrisons, see THOMAS 1974: 12–18, 16 (Tab.); in addition, see ENGELS 1978, pp. 146 f. (Tab. 4).

¹⁴ MARINOVICH 1993: 180. So too STONEMAN 1997: 28; FARAGUNA 2003: 113. Some scholars have suggested that Macedonian garrisons (besides those attested by our sources) were also placed in a number of other Greek cities of Asia Minor (on its coast and nearby islands). See e.g. THOMAS 1974: 15 and 16 (Tab.) (the cities of Lesbos, including Mytilene, and Cos, after 332), 13, 18 and 16

Next, it is rather interesting that all our information about the installation of Macedonian garrisons in the Greek cities of Asia Minor (on its coast and nearby islands) goes back to the time from the end of 334. In my opinion, this fact is easily explainable: since then Alexander faced the need to protect the cities here, including the Greek cities, against the Persian fleet and troops left in the Macedonian rear¹⁵. Certainly it does not follow from this that Alexander did not place his garrisons in the Greek poleis of Asia Minor before to protect the cities against possible attacks of the Persians: a garrison in Mytilene, which resisted to the Persian forces in 333 (Arr. *Anab.* II 1, 4; cf. Diod. Sic. XVII 29, 2), was installed in the city probably in 334, if not earlier; in addition, it cannot be excluded that a Macedonian garrison was placed then in Priene (see above). Nevertheless, it seems that Alexander garrisoned the Greek poleis of Asia Minor in 334 very rarely: when the Persian immediate threat seemed to have disappeared after the battle of the Granicus, it was surely inexpedient for the Macedonian king to exasperate the Greeks of Asia Minor without special necessity, widely installing garrisons in their cities, and, above all, to disperse in contingents his army. In order to control the region at that time, a few garrisons, installed in its most important strategic places, was enough. Needless to think, however, that from the end of 334, when the Persian threat reappeared in Asia Minor and near to it, Alexander began to install garrisons in all cities here, including the Greek cities, which were falling in his hands: in spite of likely more frequent, than earlier, use of the measure, he surely could not but take into account the small number of his army and therefore he was forced to limit himself to garrisoning only several places where the presence of his soldiers seemed to be especially important. At last, it is significant that after the beginning of 331 the mentions of Macedonian garrisons in the Greek poleis of Asia Minor disappear from our sources (the exceptions are Ephesus and Rhodes where the garrisons are testified for c. 324 and 323 respectively): indeed, the Aegean war was over to 331 and, as a result,

(Tab.) (Ephesus and Miletus? 334); HAMILTON 1974: 62 (Phaselis, 333); BOSWORTH 1980: 134 (Tralles and Magnesia on Maeander, 334), 136 (some cities of Ionia and Aeolis liberated by Alcimachus, 334), 140 (Miletus, 334) (cf. BOSWORTH 1988: 252–257); DEBORD 1999: 436, n. 88 (Tralles, 334); WORTHINGTON 2004, p. 81 (Miletus, 334). However, it should be pointed out that all the suggestions are absolutely unfounded: there is no evidence of these garrisons. For the case of Miletus, see a quite right remark of NAWOTKA 2010: 152 (“Garrison is absolutely unattested and there is no need to speculate whether it was stationed in Miletus or not”).

¹⁵ After Alexander captured Halicarnassus (with the exception of its two citadels) in late autumn 334, the Persians made Cos the base of their fleet and troops in the eastern Aegean and western Asia Minor. In the spring of 333 they began to conduct the counter-offensive operations here, and these areas remained the theatre of military activities to the second part of 332. On these operations, see especially RUZICKA 1988. Alexander should have taken into consideration the possibility of the Persian activities in the Macedonian rear already in captured Halicarnassus, in view of the strong enemy forces left in its citadels and at Cos.

Alexander had not the necessity any more to maintain his garrisons in these cities to protect them against the Persians.

It is known, however, that Alexander's garrisons still remained in a number of the Greek poleis of Asia Minor, liberated from Persian control in 332, for some time. But now there were other reasons for their presence here (as well as for their installation in 332): they had to prevent internal struggle, *stasis*, threatening the communities after returning there the pro-Macedonian exiles and to support the new democratic governments established in these cities. For instance, so was the situation at Chios where, after its liberation by the Macedonians in 332, a garrison was placed to avert the danger of disorder: "Until the Chians are reconciled to one another", Alexander claims in his First Letter to Chios, "there is to be a garrison among them from king Alexander, which is to be of sufficient strength; and the Chians are to support it"¹⁶ (Heisserer, p. 80, ll. 17–19: μέχρι ἂν διαλλαγῶσι Χῖοι, φυλακὴν εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς πα<ρ> Ἀλε[ξ]άνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅση ἂν ἰκανὴ ᾗ τρέφειν δὲ τάσῃς Χίους). However, a garrison's presence in Chios appears not to be long: probably it was removed at the beginning of 331¹⁷. This, in my opinion, can be deduced from the words of Curtius, according to whom the envoys from Chios and Rhodes, having come to Alexander in Egypt, made complaints of the garrisons and their wishes were met (Curt. IV 8, 12: "Rhodii et Chii de praesidio querebantur. Omnes ea, quae desiderare visi, impetraverunt"). In turn, it is remarkable that the Chian envoys are mentioned by Curtius in close connection with the Rhodian ones: hence we may conclude that a Macedonian garrison also have been earlier (certainly in 332 when the city have submitted to Alexander¹⁸: Arr. *Anab.* II 20, 2; Curt. IV 5, 9; cf. Iustin. XI 11, 1; Oros. III 16, 12; 17, 9) installed in Rhodes (and likely because of the same reason as in Chios) and was now removed by Alexander. If it was so, i.e. a Macedonian garrison was then removed from Rhodes, its absence here was temporary: Alexander reestablished a garrison here before 323 (Diod. Sic. XVIII 8, 1)¹⁹. Since there was no threat from external power to Rhodes after 331, a gar-

¹⁶ Transl. HEISSERER 1980: 81.

¹⁷ LENSCHAU 1940: 206; TOD 1946–1948: no. 192, p. 266; TARN 1948: II 215 f.; HAMILTON 1974: 78; BOSWORTH 1980: 268; HEISSERER 1980: 92; GEHRKE 1985: 49; MARINOVICH 1993: 237, n. 47; DEBORD 1999: 466 f. But see EHRENBURG 1938: 25; DMITRIEV 2004: 365, n. 95. Cf. BERVE 1926: I 247; ATKINSON 1980: 372 f.

¹⁸ For this, see HAUBEN 1977: 307.

¹⁹ According to Diodorus, a Macedonian garrison was expelled by the Rhodians after the death of Alexander in 323. TARN's (1948: II 215) attempt to deny the historicity of this statement must be adjudged a failure; see FRASER 1952: 200 f. At the same time, it should be noted that some scholars in view of Diodorus' indication of the presence of Alexander's garrison in Rhodes in 323 have interpreted the cited above words of Curtius differently: (i) the request of the Rhodian envoys regarding a garrison's removing was not fulfilled by Alexander (BERVE 1926: I 248; EHRENBURG 1938: 18; BOSWORTH 1980: 242; GEHRKE 1985: 140); (ii) it was fulfilled but partly: a garrison was reduced (VAN GELDER 1900: 99 f.; HILLER VON GEARTRINGEN 1931: 777); (iii) the request was fulfilled, nevertheless

risson's reestablishment in the polis can be explained only by intensification of internal tension here: perhaps this time a Macedonian garrison's installation in the city resulted from a corresponding request of the local democrats, fearing actions against their régime of the oligarchs, whose presence in Rhodes at the end of Alexander's reign is rather clearly attested in our sources²⁰. Ephesus, where Philoxenus, the official of Alexander, introduced a garrison c. 324 (Polyaenus *Strat.* VI 49), appears to be a similar case: probably a garrison's introduction in the city was also aimed at preventing the internal strife in it²¹.

Thus the examined material, it seems, allows me to say that Alexander garrisoned the Greek poleis of Asia Minor (on its coast and nearby islands) extremely rarely. Besides, it is obvious that these garrisons were not the occupation troops, intended only to hold the cities (and the neighbouring territories) under the Macedonian power²². Their presence in the Greek poleis of Asia Minor was caused, first of all, by the war, waged in the region and near to it, which naturally forced Alexander to protect the communities under his control and, at the same time, the local pro-Macedonian democracies against the Persians, and then, when the military operations in the eastern Aegean were over, by the necessity to establish in a number of the cities, liberated from the Persians, internal peace and order and to support the democrats who came to power in those cities. In

it concerned not a garrison's removing but the friction which may have arose between Alexander's soldiers and the Rhodians (HAUBEN 1977: 309 f.); (iv) Alexander fulfilled the request of the Rhodian envoys, however they asked him not of a garrison's removing but, on the contrary, of its strengthening (GORLOV 1990: 218). Cf. BERTHOLD 1980: 47; ATKINSON 1980: 372. In my opinion, it is hard to recognize all these interpretations as convincing: while one cannot agree with the first and forth of them because they directly contradict the words of Curtius, the second and third seem to be unnecessarily forced, taking into consideration a more simple possibility to reconcile the statements of Curtius and Diodorus by the assumption of a Macedonian garrison's reestablishment in Rhodes. So also e.g. HAMMOND in HAMMOND, WALBANK 1988: 75 (cf. HAMMOND 1994: 130; DEBORD 1999: 466 and n. 340). Nevertheless, see FRASER 1952: 201, who has held that "it is safer to keep an open mind on the relative value of Curtius and Diodorus in this particular matter".

²⁰ HAUBEN 1977: 310 f.; GORLOV 1990: 218 f.; cf. BERTHOLD 1980: 48 f.

²¹ So too Nawotka 2003: 32. Although a garrison was introduced in Ephesus not by Alexander but Philoxenus, it is difficult to imagine that Philoxenus did so against his king's will; therefore, Ephesus can well be considered together with the other Greek cities in Asia Minor garrisoned by Alexander (see above). For Philoxenus, this mysterious person of Alexander's reign, see, in particular, BERVE 1926: II 389–391; LEUZE 1935: 425–429; BADIAN 1966: 54–60; and recently TATAKI 1998: 452 f.; HECKEL 2006: 220.

²² As it certainly was in the Balkan Greece where after the battle of Chaeronea (338) the Macedonian garrisons permanently presented in Ambracia (Diod. Sic. XVII 3, 3), Thebes (Cadmea) (Diod. Sic. XVI 87, 3; XVII 3, 4; 8, 3 f. and 7; 12, 5; Arr. *Anab.* I 7, 1 and 9 f.; 8, 6; 9, 9; Plut. *Alex.* 11; *Dem.* 23; Paus. IX 1, 8; 6, 5; cf. Din. I 19), Corinth (Acrocorinth) (Polyb. XXXVIII 3[5], 3; Plut. *Arat.* 23; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 221F) and probably in Chalcis (Polyb. XXXVIII 3[5], 3; cf. Arr. *Anab.* II 2, 4). See KHOLOD 2003: 200–211; cf. GRIFFITH in: HAMMOND, GRIFFITH 1979: 611–613. Besides, at some time before 323 Alexander's garrison was installed in Sicyon (*IG* II² 448, I. 46; see GRIFFIN 1982: 76.

addition, it is significant that the presence of the Macedonian garrisons in the Greek poleis of Asia Minor was not long: Alexander withdrew them with the end of the Aegean war and with the stabilization of internal affairs in the cities. Consequently, after that these poleis become ἀφρούρητοι, i.e. no less free in this respect than overwhelming majority of the Greek cities of Asia Minor (on its coast and nearby islands) which, as far as our sources allow me to judge, were not garrisoned by the Macedonian king at all. At the same time, as the cases of Ephesus and Rhodes probably show, Alexander could later resort again to such a measure, establishing his garrisons in the cities. However, there is no reason to doubt that the Macedonian king did so only in rare instances and saw these garrisons as temporary measure introduced only long enough to stop internal tension in the Greek poleis of Asia Minor.

On the other hand, it should be taken into consideration that the presence of Alexander's garrisons in the Greek cities of Asia Minor, even if the garrisons were temporary, evidently restricted the communities' freedom, at least *de facto*: the case of Aspendus, petitioning it not to be garrisoned, as well as that of Chios and Rhodes, complaining about the garrisons, are significant. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the Macedonian king, in principle, could install or withdraw his garrisons where and when he wanted, a fact that clearly demonstrates how heavily the scope of the freedom of the Greek poleis of Asia Minor was dependent on Alexander's power.

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DE IOANNE MORISOTO, BELLI CICERONIANI ADVERSUS
ERASMUM MILITE*

Scripsit

ANTONIUS HAAKER

ABSTRACT: The goal of this article is to describe a previously little known episode of the famous Ciceronian controversy by collecting and analysing all passages in which the French humanist Jean Morisot (ca. 1510–before 1581) attacks Erasmus. As a conclusion it is possible to assert that Morisot's criticism was not primarily aimed at Erasmus' religious views, as it has been previously thought, but that Morisot should be ranked together with Estienne Dolet, Ortensio Lando and Julius Caesar Scaliger among the opponents of Erasmus in the Ciceronian quarrel.

LIBELLI PARTITIO

Controversiae, quae inter Ioannem Morisotum et Desiderium Erasmum fuit, historiam atque causas expositorum ita progrediar ut, posteaquam colloquia scholastica Morisoti et eorum cum Erasmianis similitudines descripserim, paucis verbis exponam quae sententiae antea propositae sint a viris doctis ad explicandam miram illam et vehementem Erasmi vituperationem, quam Morisotus in initio suorum colloquiorum esse voluit; tum id quod ipse de tota re sentio aperiam omnibus Morisoti locis, qui sunt adversus Erasmum, diligenter collectis et examinatis; postremo opiniones aliorum interpretum cum mea commissas perpendam.

* Continet haec symbola materiem acroasis, quae Wratislaviae die 19 Maii a. 2010 in consessu Societatis Philologiae Polonorum habita est. Debitas gratias agimus Professori Iacobo PIGOŃ Universitatis Wratislaviensis, quod nobis ut in his commentariis oratio publici iuris fieret proposuit nosque impulit ut significationem Morisoti epigrammatum penitus anquireremus. Gratiam quoque habemus viro controversiarum de studio Ciceronis imitandi uni peritissimo, Professori Terentio TUNBERG Universitatis Kentuckianae, qui non solum nobis perhumaniter sua consilia impertiverit, verum etiam nobiscum communicaverit, antequam typis exprimeretur, novissimam suam de hoc argumento commentationem, orationem dico, quam Ratisbonae in conventu Academiae Latinitati Fovendae habuit.

VITA IOANNIS MORISOTI PAUCIS DESCRIPTA

Quoniam vero Morisotus paucis notus est, haud inutile erit, priusquam ad ipsum libelli argumentum accedam, pauca de eius vita et scriptis praefari¹.

Is Dolae, in ea Galliae parte, quae liber Comitatus vocatur (vulgo *la Franche-Comté*), saeculo sexto decimo floruit. Quanquam nihil certi habemus de annis, quibus vixit, coniectura assequi possumus eum lucem vidisse anno circiter 1510; anno autem 1580 vel paulo antea ad plures abiisse. Est, ut videtur, e gente Divionensi Morisota ortus, quae tam re publica administranda quam litteris colendis nobilitata est. Affinitate attingit verbi causa Claudium Bartholomaeum Morisotum Divionensem, virum libris editis saeculo septimo decimo satis celebrem qui, ut alia multa taceam, aliquot fabulas Romanenses Latine composuit atque Fastorum libros, quos Ovidius inchoatos reliquit, suis versibus supplevit. Sed, ut iam ad eum redeamus, cuius vitam paucis contexere nobis proposuimus, Ioannes Morisotus in academia Dolana medicinae studuit. Nec tamen industriam suam intra artis Hippocraticae cancellos continuit, verum pro suo singulari discendi studio mathematicam, philosophiam, theologiam, ne plura, omnes fere doctrinas et artes suae aetatis attigit atque multa et varia opera conscripsit qua oratione soluta, qua versu, tam Latine quam Graece. In his dialogos de re medica, dialecto Ionica; Graecos commentarios in Galenum et Aristotelem; Latine traegediam de Didone, carmen epicum de S. Antonio, libros de arithmetica, aliquot orationes, alia permulta. Titulos singulorum librorum longum est percensere. Sunt enim numero plus quinquaginta. Quorum tantum septem, quia typis expressa sunt, ad nos pervenerunt. Posteaquam studia ad finem adduxit, matrimonii foedere cum Claudia de Marenche coniunctus medicinam facere coepit ut sibi victum pararet, neque umquam, ut videtur, vel alio habitatum concessit vel vitae institutum mutavit. Scimus tamen eum per aliquod tempus quasdam scholas de litteris Graecis atque Latinis in ludo Dolano habuisse.

¹ De Ioannis Morisoti vita et scriptis egerunt cum alii, tum A. BÖMER in commentatione *Aus dem Kampfe gegen die Colloquia Familiaria des Erasmus: Die Dialoge des Johannes Morisotus* nuncupata et edita in commentariis periodicis q.i. Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, vol. IX 1911, pp. 1–73 atque C. WEISS in notitia quae inserta est in tomo XXX Ludovici Gabrielis Michaud *Biographiae Universalis* Lutetiae Parisiorum anno 1821 divulgato, pp. 179–181. Qui, cum nonnulla ignoraverint, quaedam etiam minus recte scripserint, animus est alias de hoc argumento plenius et correctius commentari. Interea lectores monere velim ne mirentur, quod tempus mortis Morisoti anno circiter 1580 statuo, de quo vulgo dicitur nihil post annum 1551 memoriae traditum esse, vel quod eum ludi Dolani magistrum facio, qui medicinae professor in academia Dolana fuisse perhibetur.

DE COLLOQUIIS SCHOLASTICIS

Ad tempora autem, quibus Morisotus magister ludi Dolani erat, pertinere videntur eius colloquiorum libri quattuor². Sunt colloquia scholastica Latina, id est dialogi conscripti quo facilius alumni de rebus cottidianis Latine sermocinarentur. Scimus moris fuisse ut in plerisque omnibus illius aetatis ludis litterariis paene nulla alia lingua nisi Latina pueris uti liceret. Nec satis erat lingua Latina loqui, id perite facere necesse erat, hoc est sermone uti ab omni vitio remoto atque etiam, si fieri posset, eleganti et copioso. Quam ob rem doctores discipulis dialogos proponere solebant ad quorum imitationem sermones cottidianos conformarent. Faciliores fabulis Terentianis Plautinisve sunt atque puerili imitationi aptiores. Nam ad vitam adulescentuli vel pueri saeculi sexti decimi propius accedunt; sunt numeris soluti; carent vocibus quibusdam obsoletis, quas apud veteres comicos invenimus, sed vocabula prorsus necessaria ad res cottidiani usus denotandas suppeditant, quae apud antiquos vel rarius occurrunt vel omnino desunt. Ad haec morales praeceptiones necnon doctrinae Christianae elementa continent ut puerorum animi non solum linguae Latinae scientia, sed etiam bonis moribus et Christiana pietate imbuantur.

Talia sunt colloquia scholastica. Permulta scripta sunt³ nec tantummodo ab ignobilibus magistellis, verum etiam a viris doctrinae laude illustrissimis veluti Ludovico Vive vel Desiderio Erasmo.

QUAM SIMILIA SINT MORISOTI ET ERASMI COLLOQUIA

Morisotus autem, si quis alius, colloquia scripsit Erasmicorum consimilia. Neque id dicimus, quia Morisotus plagium litterarium commiserit vel serviliter scriptorem Batavum secutus sit. Ita enim nobis videtur Erasmus imitatus ut vere

² I. Morisoti *Colloquiorum libri quatuor*, Basileae [1550]. Cum extremam manum operi imponerem, casu factum est ut discerem exemplaris bibliothecae Monacensis imagines in rete omnium gentium ad communem utilitatem positas esse. Quas inspicere sis in pagina: <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0001/bsb00015987/image_1>. Id te ignorare nolui, cum colloquia Morisoti satis raro in bibliothecis reperiri scirem.

³ De colloquiis scholasticis Latinis renascentium litterarum aetate compositis imprimis consulendi L. MASSEBIEAU in libro q.i. *Les colloques scolaires du seizième siècle et leurs auteurs (1480–1570)* Lutetiae Parisiorum 1878 edito et A. BÖMER in libro q.i. *Die lateinischen Schülergespräche der Humanisten. Auszüge mit Einleitungen, Anmerkungen und Namen- und Sachregister*, 2 voll., Berolini 1897–1899. Praeterea, ne singulos recentiores enumerem, P. MACARDLE optimum librum colloquiis familiaribus Schottenii dicavit: *Confabulations. Cologne Life and Humanism in Hermann Schotten's Confabulations tironum litterariorum (Cologne, 1525)*, Mancunii 2007. In quo libro auctor non solum de Schottenio agit, sed etiam multa inspergit de aliis colloquiorum familiarium scriptoribus. Ibi qui plura scire cupiunt plerasque commentationes invenient de huius generis dialogis post BÖMERI opus conscriptas. Haec de Latinis colloquiis. De Graecis vero nihildum scriptum. Quam lacunam supplere olim conatus sum in commentatione magistrali, quam retractatam atque e Latino in Gallicum conversam mox publicae luci committam hoc praefixo titulo: *Parler le grec ancien à la Renaissance: les colloques scolaires grecs*.

suus in colloquiorum libris existeret. Ubique tamen Erasmi imitationis vestigia reperias. Ut de proverbiiis taceam (nam, quod Morisotus adagia ab Erasmo collecta suis scriptis inseruit, id commune est Morisoto cum propemodum omnibus eius aequalibus), multa genera loquendi ab Erasmo in suis colloquiis familiaribus usurpata⁴, multa quoque personarum nomina Morisotus in suum opus transtulit atque simili artificio personis nomina affixit significantia, velut cum appellavit *Patrophilum* pium filium, *Misoponum* discipulum improbum, *Philomusum* alumnum litterarum studiosissimum, et ita porro. Sed, quod maius est atque citius sentiri potest legendo quam verbis describi, genera eadem dialogorum in utroque opere legas⁵; similes sententias; similes praeceptiones morales; similes sales ubique aspersos.

Etenim plerique colloquiorum scholasticorum auctores intra scholae parietes dialogorum suorum argumenta continentes induxerunt alumnos praeceptoresve

⁴ Pauca vestigia imitationis verborum Erasmi in Morisoti colloquiis obvia habeto: Morisotus, lib. cit. in annot. 2, p. 63 scripsit: "Aut parum prospiciunt oculi, aut Gregorium video, adolescentem haud incommodum". Erasmus (colloquia cito e volumine hoc: *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami recognita atque adnotatione critica instructa illustrata. Ordinis primi tomus tertius*, Amstelodami 1972) initio colloquii q.i. "De captandis beneficiis", p. 150: "Aut parum prospiciunt oculi, aut Coclitem veterem compotorem meum video". P. 63 Morisotus: "Greg. Salvete vini gurgites. Blas. Salve tu quoque placentarum helluo". Erasmus autem in formulis salutandi initio colloquiorum positus, p. 126: "Salve vini pernicies. Resp. Salve et tu gurges helluoque placentarum!" Morisotus, p. 111: "Philippus: At non impune contemnes Rhamnusiam. Hippocharmes: Quid mihi somnias metus Atticos? Dolae es, non Athenis". Erasmus, p. 127 inter easdem salutandi formulas: "Χαῖρε. Resp. Memento te Basileae esse, non Athenis". Itidem Morisoti locus paginae 112 "Salve senex annos nate triginta" reducit in mentem Erasmianam salutationem "Salve anicula annos nata quindecim", quam legas p. 126. Quemadmodum Morisotus p. 206 dicit "Fabulam fabula pensabo"; ita Erasmus in colloquio q.i. "ἰχθυοφαγία", p. 525 "Sed age fabulam fabula pensabo" et in colloquio q.i. "Alcumista", p. 429 "Quum vacabit et audiam lubens, et fabulam fabula pensabo". Scriptum est a Morisoto p. 220 colloquiorum: "Sic vulgo luditur alea; sic crapulae, symphoniacis, iocis et scortis indulgetur"; ab Erasmo autem in colloquio q.i. "Puerpera", p. 457: "Vulgo peccant, vulgo luditur alea, vulgo commeatur ad fornices, vulgo fraudatur, potatur, insanitur". Morisotus scribit p. 250: "Pereant fumo qui fumis urbium delectantur"; Erasmum imitatus, qui in initio colloquii cui titulus "Convivium religiosum", p. 231 scripserat: "demiror esse qui fumosis urbibus delectentur". Haec sunt pauca, quae non ita recens ab Erasmi lectione, dum Morisotum evolvebam, vestigia imitationis Erasmianae deprehendi, plura, opinor, inventurus, si diligenter utrumque opus contulissem.

⁵ Duo exempla afferam. Apud Morisotum, lib. cit. in annot. 2, pp. 97–107 invenias colloquium "narrationes" inscriptum in quo tres veteres congerrones primum post longissimum tempus sermonem habent, quo invicem narrant quid fecerint ex quo convenere. Simili narrandi artificio usus erat Erasmus in dialogo quem "Γερωντολογία" inscripsit, lib. cit. in annot. 4, p. 375–388. Alibi, in colloquio Morisotiano, q.i. "contentio de authoribus inutilis", p. 180–182 persona Sophroniae, feminae doctae, quae plus sapit quam vir, quicum loquitur, gemella quaedam est Magdaliae decantatissimi illius colloquii "Abbatis et eruditae". Eadem quippe ratione Gallus auctor adhibet παράδοξον personam ad sententiam suam legentibus proponendam, mulierem doctam, quae virum redarguat. Neque dissimiliter utraque femina erudita in extremo dialogo vaticinatur. Sic enim Morisoti Sophronia, p. 182: "Est pol futurum ut mulieres arrepta toga, de bonis litteris inter se commententur studeantque tales evadere quales vos agnoscitis Budaeum et Erasmum fuisse". Magdalia Erasmi hariolata erat his verbis, p. 407: "Quod nisi caveritis vos, res eo tandem evadet ut nos praesideamus in scholis theologicis, ut concionemur in templis. Occupabimus mitras vestras".

loquentes de rebus scholaribus. Quorum colloquia ferme sunt de instrumento scholastico, de lusibus (siquidem alumni Latine loqui tenebantur etiam dum lusitabant), de optima ratione studiorum, de missione a magistro impetranda, de aliis scholae rebus. Ad haec auctores plerumque austeris praeceptis abundant de deo colendo, de parentibus observandis deque oboedientia magistris praestanda.

Hoc vero commune est Erasmo cum Morisoto, hoc eorum proprium, primum quod non solum de scholaribus, sed de omnibus rebus, quae in vita usu venire solent, verba faciunt, tum, quod in eorum colloquiis homines omnium ordinum: monachi, sacerdotes, cerdones, milites, alii, tam mares quam feminae, tam pueri quam senes partes agunt; dein, quod iidem nequaquam tristes paedagogi sunt. Immo vero sunt scriptores saepe salsi, qui ioca, qui facetias⁶ narrare non dubitant, quorum dialogi suavi iocosoque dicendi genere conscripti Lucianum quiddam⁷ spirant. Qui etiam cum quid de bonis moribus praecipiant, dum in vitia cleri, in pravos milites, in sacerdotes beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum captatores invehuntur, id iucunde faciunt et secundum poëtae praeceptum conantur “miscere utile dulci”.

Quibus de causis Erasmi et Morisoti colloquia digna esse existimo, quae hodie quoque legantur et id etiam a viris factis, non solum a pueris, neque tantummodo ad id ut Latine loquendi facultatem sibi parent, sed ut iucunde illorum temporum historiam melius noscant. Quippe, ex iis quaedam non solum de ludis litterariis, verum etiam generatim et universe de vita ac moribus aetatis renaissance litterarum addiscimus atque, quo haud scio an nihil in litteris maius sit, iis oblectamur.

DE MIRA ERASMI REPREHENSIONE, QUAE IN INITIO MORISOTI COLLOQUIORUM POSITA EST

Sed ob hanc ipsam utriusque operis similitudinem nonnulli recentiores critici praefationem Morisoti legentes magnopere mirati sunt⁸. Sic enim ille in epistola ad filium Constantinum, quam colloquiis praefixit:

⁶ Apud utrumque invenias cum fabellas dialogis admixtas, tum colloquium integrum facetiis dictum: apud Erasmum (lib. cit. in annot. 4, pp. 438–449) “Convivium fabulosum” inscribitur; apud Morisotum (lib. cit. in annot. 2, pp. 205–211) “Fabulae”. Utrobique sodales facete dicta invicem narrant.

⁷ Quantum Erasmus Lucianum in colloquiorum familiarium opere expresserit fuse ostendit M. KEEP in libro q.i. *Die Colloquia Familiaria des Erasmus und Lucian*, Halis Saxonum 1927. Luciani similitudinem quamvis Morisotus in praefatione ad colloquia Erasmo exprobrat, ipse, lib. cit. in annot. 2, p. 206 in dialogo cui nomen “Fabulae” indidit, “Lucianicas historiolas” ait se esse narraturum.

⁸ Cfr. P.G. BIETENHOLZ censuram in libro inscripto *Basle and France in the Sixteenth Century: The Basle Humanists and Printers* Genavae 1971 edito, p. 240 sq. (quaedam verba ipse obliquis litteris distinxi): “Of all representatives of Dole among the Basle authors, the least known is the most interesting, especially with respect to the progress of French Erasmianism. Jean Morisot, born

Cum sis unicus, inquit fol. α 2, nec malae spei, suavissime Constantine, non iniuria videor voluisse in tuam gratiam repuerascere ut Latinae linguae puritati a teneris, quod aiunt, unguiculis assuesceres ac velut cum lacte morum sanctimoniam ebiberes. Erasmus idem tentarat in suo Erasmio⁹, nec infoeliciter, mea quidem sententia, si docendi potius quam ulciscendi studio colloquia conscripsisset; verum sic Lucianum plerumque expressit ut gentilium aliquem, non Christianum audire videaris. Nam, ut caetera taceam, quale est illud *Quis Deus, aut casus Deo foelicio nos coniunxit?*¹⁰ Certe opus est non vulgari iudicio in formandis puerorum ingeniis.

Mirum sane videtur Morisotum tam acerbe de Erasmo loqui in praefatione ad colloquia Erasmicorum simillima. Nonne hoc est protervis verbis eum incessere, cui progressus in litteris acceptos referre debebat? Et quomodo, si Erasmica colloquia impia sint, Morisotiana eorum similia impietatis notam effugiant?

Antequam id quod sentio de hac praefatione aperiam, breviter perstringam quae sententiae adhuc propositae sint a viris doctis ad eam declarandam.

QUID LUCIANUS FEBVRE DE HOC LOCO SENSERIT

Duas sententias viri docti proposuerunt ut rationem praefationis redderent. Prior est Luciani FEBVRE, historici clari atque conditoris una cum Marco BLOCH illius Gallicae scholae Annalium, quae dicitur; altera Aloisii BÖMER, olim praefecti bibliothecae Wratislaviensis, viri de colloquiis scholasticis investigandis optime meriti.

Lucianus FEBVRE in egregio libello¹¹, quem scripsit de Gilberto Cognato Sequano eo, qui diu famulus Erasmi fuit, descriptis Erasmicorum, velut rerum

at Dole and a physician there until his death some time after 1551, was not given to letter writing, nor was he inclined to subject himself to the exigencies of a public career. But he was an esteemed friend of Lullus and Cousin, and to judge from the few opuscula that were published among the many that he wrote, his was the most original mind of the whole circle of native Comtois humanists. [...] Oporinus [...] issued the most noteworthy of his books, a collection of *Colloquia* [...]. In this work Morisot makes no effort to hide his dependence upon Erasmus. Many of his dialogues are frank imitations of some of the best known colloquies of the latter. The message too is an often much simplified repetition of the typically Erasmian concerns: analogous figures are introduced by both authors to express abhorrence of national pride, war and soldiers, of a father sacrificing his daughter to a rich syphilitic, or of vice-addicted and lazy priests. [...] By contrast [...] repeated touches of immorality defy the decorum carefully observed by Erasmus: there is, for instance, the husband who has to enter a church to discover his wife's adultery with a priest; there is a frank report of the highly natural contacts between adolescent boys and girls. In view of such concessions to sensual reality, combined with his general dependence upon Erasmus, it is indeed remarkable that in his preface Morisot should dare to criticize the Erasmian Colloquies for their paganizing Lucianism and their tendency to sacrifice the pedagogical end to personal vindictiveness".

⁹ Scimus Erasmus dicavisse colloquia parvulo Erasmio, typographi Basiliensis Frobenii filio.

¹⁰ Sunt haec verba desumpta ex Erasmi colloquio q.i. "Γερωντολογία", lib. cit. in annot. 4, p. 375.

¹¹ L. FEBVRE *Un secrétaire d'Erasmus, Gilbert Cousin et la réforme en Franche-Comté*, in commentariis periodicis q.i. Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire du Protestantisme, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1907, pp. 97-179. Morisoti colloquia attingit p. 113.

divinarum novatorum, persecutionibus, quae in Libero Comitatu acciderunt, asseverat Morisotum in limine colloquiorum suorum sugillavisse Erasmus ut, si quidam catholici extremae factionis sibi dicam haereseos scriberent, quod nimis Erasmice sentiret scriberetve, latebram paratam haberet, id est respondere posset tantum abesse ut Erasmi assecla esset ut contra ea Batavum haereticum statim in praefatione libri sui fortiter aggressus esset. Haec ingeniose FEBVRE, ut solebat omnia.

ALOISII BÖMER OPINIO

Nunc ad Aloisium BÖMER venio. Is in longa commentatione, quam de Ioanne Morisoto conscripsit, aliam opinionem tuetur. Iam ineunte anno 1536 Franciscani impetraverant ut Erasmi colloquia Dolae prohiberentur¹² atque eo res mox pervenerat ut iam nullum Erasmi scriptum Dolae legi liceret.

Putabat igitur BÖMER Morisotum, hominem scilicet non minus fanaticum quam hi Franciscani fuerunt, eorum vestigia persecutum pugnasse adversus Erasmus atque haec colloquia confecisse, quae impio Batavi scriptoris operi, si posset, substitueret¹³.

QUAE SIT SENTENTIA HIC PROPOSITA

Haec Bömer. Quid ipse sentiam e titulo, quem huic symbolae indidi, haud difficile est coniectare. Equidem odium Morisoti erga Erasmus maxima ex parte

¹² Basileae die 17. Maii 1536 scribebat Erasmus amico Vesontino Francisco Bonvaloto “se de mirari Dolae tantum posse duos Franciscanos. Colloquia et vendi et excudi Lutetiae, et Dola exulare. Qui dicerent in illis aliquid esse haereticum, sive docti essent, sive indocti, eos mentiri” (videatur *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi denuo recognitum et auctum per P.S. Allen* [...], Oxonii 1906–1958. Locum quem attuli legas t. XI, in ep. numero 3122, p. 326). Adde huc Gilberti Cognati testimonium, quod in litteris eodem anno ad Amerbachium missis reperitur. Cognati verba, ab Herminjard citata, haec sunt: “Quid actum sit Dolae ac Vesontii de libris novis – novos interpretantur L<utheri>, M<e-lanchtonis>, E<rasmi> [...] – iam istuc, ni fallor, pertulit rumor” (videsis librum c.t. *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française recueillie et publiée avec d’autres lettres relatives à la Réforme et des notes historiques et biographiques par A.-L. Herminjard*, ed. altera, T. IV, Genavae, Basileae, Lugduni, Lutetiae 1878, p. 174).

¹³ Vide BÖMER, lib. cit. in annot. 1, imprimis p. 1 et p. 15 sq. Ceterum, ne quid dissimulem, BÖMER, qui Morisotum esse Ciceronianum viderat, scripsit forsitan caecum hunc Ciceronis amorem in principio quidem Morisotum irritavisse contra Erasmus. “Blinde Cicero-Verehrung”, inquit p. 4, “wird es auch wohl gewesen sein, was ihn zuerst zur Gegnerschaft des so freimütige Kritik an dem vergötterten Römer übenden Erasmus gereizt hat”. Putat tamen longe maiorem extitisse causam odii erga Erasmus, nempe Morisoti superstitionem, qua eum vel hos duos monachos, de quibus diximus, adaequare credit: “Morisotus aber”, ait p. 16, “war ebenso engherzig wie jene Mönche. Mit einer im Buche vorkommenden Redensart wie ‘Quis Deus aut casus Deo felicius nos coniunxit?’ hat es Erasmus so gründlich bei ihm verdorben, daß er sich zu der Behauptung versteigt, man glaube bei seinen Dialogen oft einen Heiden von dem Schlage Lucians und nicht einen Christen vor sich zu haben”, etc.

ad bellum Ciceronianum referendum esse arbitror, id est ad eam controversiam, quae facta est saeculo sexto decimo de Ciceronis imitatione. Quam controversiam, priusquam ad ipsius Ioannis Morisoti sententiam accedam, non abs re videtur summatim attingere.

BELLI CICERONIANI ADUMBRATIO

Erasmus¹⁴ iam anno 1526 in lepidissimo dialogo, qui inscribitur “Echo” quemque colloquiis familiaribus inseruit (lib. cit. in annot. 4, pp. 555–558), diligentem Tullianae dictionis affectationem obiter taxaverat. Duobus post annis iustum librum *Ciceronianus* inscriptum uni huic argumento dicavit. In quo libro viros doctos, qui adamussim Ciceronem imitabantur et sese Ciceronianos vocitabant, multo sale defricat.

Longum est singula Erasmi argumenta et iocos enumerare. Unum dumtaxat, quod ad rem maxime pertinet, referam: stultum esse ostendit in omnibus imitari velle Ciceronem spretis reliquis linguae Latinae auctoribus quod Tullius quoque vitia habeat, stultum autem sit vitia imitari. Melius Erasmo videtur optima quaeque e variis auctoribus decerpere ut ipse melior fias scriptor atque proprium dicendi genus tibi efficias, nulli alteri simile. Hoc ut demonstret Erasmus, vitiosos Ciceronis locos adducit, velut soloecum hoc “commorans Athenis [...] erat animus ad te scribere” vel illud “O fortunatam, natam me consule, Romam!”¹⁵. Quem versiculum “velut Echus imaginem ludicram referentem” ut ineptum et prorsus infelicem iam deridebat antiquitas. Num etiam haec Ciceronis imitanda sunt? Num hos errores quoque Ciceronianae eloquentiae candidatus exprimere debet?

¹⁴ Rem ab ovo, ut aiunt, non exordiar. Plenior, licet non errorum expertem, historiam belli Ciceroniani exhibent C. LENIENT in commentariolo *De Ciceroniano bello apud recentiores* Parisiis a. 1855 et R. SABBADINI in libro cui titulum fecit *Storia del ciceronianismo e di altre questioni letterarie nell'età della rinascenza* Augustae Taurinorum edito a. 1885. Praeterea, ut silentio transeam recentiores fontium eius controversiae editiones, quae peritiles introductiones atque commentarios continent quasque infra citabo, de eodem argumento videndi M. FUMAROLI in libro q. i. *L'Âge de l'éloquence. Rhétorique et “res literaria” de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique*, Genavae 1980 et T. TUNBERG in commentationibus inscriptis *Ciceronian Latin: Longolius and others*, in commentariis periodicis q.i. *Humanistica Lovaniensia* XLVI 1997, pp. 13–61 atque *De Marco Antonio Mureto, oratore et Gallo et Romano*, item in commentariis periodicis q.i. *Humanistica Lovaniensia* L 2001, pp. 303–327. Adde huc novissimum eiusdem opusculum quod *Erasmi dialogum “Ciceronianum” relegamus!* inscriptum mox prodibit in libro, cui index *Ad fines imperii Romani Anno bismillesimo cladis Varianae: Acta Conventus Academiae Latinitati Fovendae XII Ratisbonensis, 15.–19. Sept. 2009*, in serie librorum c.t. *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, Lovanii 2011, pp. 241–258. In quibus commentationibus plura opera recentiora eiusdem argumenti laudata invenias.

¹⁵ Videatur *Desiderio Erasmo da Rotterdam, Il Ciceroniano o dello stilo migliore. Testo latino critico, traduzione italiana, prefazione, introduzione e note a cura di Angiolo Gambaro*, Brixiae 1965, p. 74 et p. 80.

Libro in lucem emisso dici vix potest quanto odio fuerit Erasmus. Apud duas potissimum gentes viri docti indignati sunt, in Italia et in Gallia. Quod quidam Itali offensi sunt, id nemo mirabitur. Hos potissimum petebat Erasmus, hi Ciceronem imitari maxime studebant. Apud Gallos autem Ciceronianorum natio minor erat, sed praeter expectationem maligna Gulielmi Budaei censura, quam Erasmus extremo dialogo inseruerat¹⁶, multorum Gallorum animos exulceraverat. Accedebat quod multi Itali vitam in Gallia agentes oleum camino addebant. Adeo ut res ad ipsum regem Franciscum relata sit.

Ii, qui historiam huius controversiae litteris mandavere, Carolus LENIENT et Remigius SABBADINI (libb. cit. in annot. 14) aliquot viros eruditos numeraverunt, qui in Gallia Erasmum confutare conati essent: Iulium Camillum, Iulium Caesarem Scaligerum, Italos quidem, sed qui tum lares in Galliam transtulerant, atque Stephanum Doletum Aurelium.

RECENSENTUR OMNES LOCI MORISOTIANI ADVERSUS ERASMUM SCRIPTI

Meo quidem iudicio his annumerari poterat Ioannes Morisotus. Nunc dispiciamus atque recenseamus omnes locos scriptorum Morisotianorum (quae quidem ad nos pervenerunt) in quibus Erasmum oppugnat. Tales locos in tribus operibus reperias: In Ciceronis *Paradoxis* a Morisoto recognitis et Graece redditis, in libro de parechemate, in colloquiorum libris.

IN CICERONIS PARADOXIS A MORISOTO EDITIS ET GRAECE VERSIS

In editione Ciceronis *Paradoxorum* anno 1546 parata primos locos Morisoti adversus Erasmum scriptos reperio. Statim in limine operis, in epistola Graeca praefatoria ad ξύμπαντας τοὺς νέους τοὺς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν λόγων ὀρεγομένους¹⁷: Οὕτω δέ τοι, inquit p. 6, ἡγῆμαι πλέον ὑμῖν ξυνοίσειν, ὧς νέοι ἄριστοι, ἢ εἴπερ ἂν ἐπισημῆναιμι τὸν ματελλίωνα βρέτας λέγεσθαι δούλου τοῦ οὐροδοχοφόρου, id est, “sic me plus vobis profuturum esse duxi,

¹⁶ Lib. cit. in annot. 15, p. 230. Ubi vide varias lectiones. In versiculo 3315 pro “Apuleium” “Budaeum” primum scripserat Erasmus atque inter Gallos Badium magno Budaeo odiose praetulerat. Id quod postea coactus est mutare.

¹⁷ M. Tul. Ciceronis *Paradoxa*, recognita simul et Graece versa ab Ioanne Morisoto medico nuncque primum in lucem edita. Accesserunt quoque annotationes eiusdem Ioan. Morisoti, quibus et recognitionis ratio exponitur et loci aliquot difficiliores explicantur, Basileae 1547. Graeca interpretatio una cum praefationibus, sed sine duobus Morisoti epigrammatis, iterum excusa est saeculo undevicesimo: M. Tullii Ciceronis *Paradoxa Graece versa et explicata ab Ioanne Morisoto, accedunt variae lectiones duorum codicum Guelferbytanorum*. Edidit Guilelmus Ferd. Wensch, Halis Saxonum 1840. Halensis editionis paginarum numeros indicavi, quippe cum Basiliensis paginae numerorum notis carerent.

optimi iuvenes, quam si matellionem dici statuam servi, qui matellam porrigit, indicavissem”.

Quid sibi volunt haec verba? aut quis est ille qui ματελλίωνα exponit βρέτας δούλου τοῦ οὐροδοχοφόρου? Si quid iudico, Erasmus est. Nam, is quoque *Paradoxa* Ciceronis edidit atque commentariis illustravit et ad paradoxon V, in quo reperitur rara vox *matellionis*, explicuerat matellionem esse “signum repraesentans servum porrigentem matulam”. Atqui, ut apparet ex loco Varronis, satis turpiter lapsus est. Quem lapsum carpit Morisotus, qui in annotatione ad paradoxon V (§ 38)¹⁸ loco Varroniano allato demonstrat matellionem nullo modo esse servi statuam, verum matulam sive scaphium.

Ad hoc in annotatione critica semper ansam quaerit ut in Erasmus invehatur, velut ad paradoxon I, ubi opponit Erasmus, Ciceronis osorem, Gulielmo Budaeo seque mirari ait locum Ciceronis, ubi vocula abundaret, Erasmus suo more non reprehendisse, qui omnia vel levissima Tullii vitia colligeret atque acerbioribus verbis exagigaret¹⁹. Simili modo ad paradoxon VI, ubi, posteaquam parvum Ciceronis naevum notavit, Morisotus observat Erasmus leve hoc mendum, si animadvertisset, sine dubio diligentissime relaturum fuisse in suo *Ciceroniano*. Exin magnos viros aliquando labi docet loco callide allato, ubi Rodolphus ab Agricola, quem maximi faciebat Erasmus, in similem errorem incidit²⁰.

Interpretamentum Graecum sequuntur bina epigrammata in *Levem*, qui M. Tullii Ciceronis principis oratorum maiestatem ausus erat elevare:

¹⁸ Sic Morisotus ad paragraphum 38. paradoxo V, lib. cit. in annot. 17, p. 40: “Matellionem Corinthium: ‘Arbitror, inquit Erasmus, dici signum repraesentans servum porrigentem matulam’. Miror hominem tantae lectionis non meminisse quod M. Varro de matellione scripserit, ‘Matellio, inquit libro primo [immo, lib. V] de Lingua Latina, a matula dictus, et dictus, posteaquam longius a figura matula discessit’. Set, ut opinor, deceptus est nescio qua vocum similitudine. Nam cum videret mulionem servum mulos curantem atque agentem significare, etiam matellionem existimavit servum esse matulam porrigentem, cuius signum ex aere Corinthio conflatum esset”.

¹⁹ Ad paragraphum 14. paradoxo I, lib. cit. in annot. 17, p. 33: “Ut nihil inter te atque inter quadripedem aliquid putes interesse: Locus hic ab Erasmo non fuit animadversus, cum is tamen vel minima Ciceronis vitia persequatur. Quanquam, an omnia, quae reprehendit, vitio vertenda sint, ipse viderit. Certe Budaeus cum alia multa in commentariis linguae Graecae, tum id egregie praestitit ut Ciceronem indefessa oculorum contentione Graecorum omnium monumenta perspexisse atque insignes loquendi formulas in usum Latini sermonis transtulisse docuerit”, etc.

²⁰ Erasmus, qui puer Daventriae Rodolphum ab Agricola viderat, eum magni aestimabat et saepe laudat, ut in *Adagiorum chiliadibus* (videsis *Opera omnia emendatiora et auctiora [...]*, t. II, Lugduni Batavorum 1703, *Ad.* I 4, 39); in *Ciceroniano* (lib. cit. in annot. 15, p. 244 et 246); passim in epistolis (lib. cit. in annot. 11, ep. 23, t. I, p. 106; ep. 480, t. II, p. 365; ep. 1237, t. IV, p. 589; alibi). Morisoti locus ad paragraphum 46. Paradoxo VI, lib. cit. in annot. 17, p. 42 sic incipit: “Quis hunc non putet confiteri sibi quaesito opus non esse?: Pro: Quis te non putet confiteri tibi quaesito opus esse? Soloecismus est, quem neque deprehendit Erasmus, neque quisquam alius, quod sciam. Est enim verisimile, si hunc observasset Erasmus, quod ab eo fuisset diligenter adnotatus, quando etiam minutiora quaedam reprehendit. Quanquam in *Ciceroniano* Ciceronem in soloecismos scripsit incidisse”, etc.

In Levem Ioannis Morisoti Epigramma

Te, Levis, argute Paradoxa refellere iactas,
 Et sophiae rides eloquiiue patrem.
 Indocti, fateor, laudant, mirantur, adorant
 Tam futes nugas, scriptaque putidula.
 At docti tua furta vident; nam si omnia Marco
 Reddideris, Marco tu nihil obiicies.

In eundem

Si cui tam mala mens, tamque sit invida,
 Ut sacram Iliadem dentibus impetat,
 Divinumve Platonem,
 Vel Demosthenis inclyti
 Vim illam atque ingenium; num stabilem sibi
 Famam constituet? non mage quam suos
 Si de sede magistros
 Expellat scutica furens,
 Cur ambis igitur per facinus novum
 Immortale decus? Gloria Tullii
 Non cedit rabiei,
 Ut quondam caput ensibus.

Quis est Levis in quem haec scripta sunt? An Erasmus? Non arbitror. Epigrammata addita esse a Morisoto crediderim *Paradoxis* iam Graece redditus et prelo paratis, postquam rescivit Marcum Antonium Maioragium *Antiparadoxa*²¹ confecisse, quibus Ciceronis *Paradoxa* refutaret. Non me clam est Amerbachium paulo ante eiusdem argumenti opus composuisse, sed, si unus homo, non plures Ciceromastiges intellegendi sint, Maioragium potius sub Levis persona latere dixerim. Maioragius enim cum clarus Ciceronianae dictionis aemulator omnia debere Marco Tullio videretur, quem etiam defenderat adversus Caelium Calcagninum, tum homo *levis* sive inconstans in suum dicendi magistrum in-vectus erat²². Utcumque res est, ea carmina non esse silentio praetereunda duxi,

²¹ *Antiparadoxa sive suburbanarum quaestionum libri VI in quibus omnia M.T. Ciceronis paradoxa refelluntur*, Lugduni 1546. De Maioragio autem si plura scire cupis, videas eius vitam satis fuse a KOHLIO descriptam in volumine q.i. *Deliciae epistolicae sive epistolarum argumenti non minus raritate quam orationis cultu atque elegantia insignium fasciculus Maioragii, Graevii, Bartholini, Schefferi, aliorumque [...] complexus. Edidit et de vita scriptisque Maioragii praefatus est Ioan. Petr. Kohlius. Accedit Ioan. Erhardi Kappii, Prof. Lips. ad editorem epistola*, Lipsiae 1732.

²² Hominem purum putum Ciceronianum fuisse vel inde elucet, quod, cum Antonius Maria partim de nomine patris, partim in honorem Virginis Mariae appellatus esset, sibi elegit nomen Marci Antonii, magis videlicet Romanum (cfr. librum q.i. Marci Antonii Maioragii *Orationes et praefationes una cum dialogo de eloquentia olim a Ioan. Petro Ayroldo Marcellino, Venetiis in lucem prolatae; nunc vero, mendis infinitis exentis, ad iuventutis utilitatem denuo editae, studio et opera M. Danielis Caesaris Ositiensis*, Lipsiae 1593, in oratione X, pp. 197–257.). De controversia autem,

quod ex iis quoque Morisotum strenuum Ciceronis propugnatorem fuisse colligi posse viderem.

Itaque, si a grammatico errore, quem notavit in epistola Graeca, recesseris, omnes hi loci ad controversiam de studio Ciceronem imitandi spectant. Sed haec hactenus de *Paradoxis*, ad librum de parechemate propero.

LIBELLUS DE PARECHEMATE

Hic liber anno 1547 compositus et una cum colloquiis anno 1550 in publicum emissus totus est defensio famosi versiculi Ciceroniani: “O fortunatam, natam me consule Romam”. Hunc versiculum cum iam Quintilianus (*Inst.* XI 1, 24) et Iuvenalis (10, 122) ut ineptum reprehendissent, maxime usurpabat Erasmus ut Ciceronem, non omnibus numeris absolutum auctorem, immo pessimum poëtam fuisse demonstraret.

Morisotus, ut Ciceronem bonum fuisse poëtam demonstraret, venustissimos versus ax aliis eius carminibus afferre poterat. Minime id facit. Versum omnium consensu pessimum defendendum suscipit. Praeter expectationem probare nititur eum esse pulcherrimum: fuisse scilicet illam reduplicationem soni *natam* figuram veteribus acceptissimam, quae a nomine Ἠχοῦς Graecis vocaretur παρήχημα. Id quod auctoritate multorum scriptorum tam Graecorum quam Romanorum corroborat.

Praeterea hanc reduplicationem callide assimilat lusibus Echoicis, qui magno in pretio illis temporibus erant atque nitebantur auctoritate Gaudarae, antiquissimi, ut tum putabatur, poëtae Graeci. Qui in Anthologia Graeca (*Anth. Plan.* X 4) Pana quasi cum Echo colloquentem induxit:

Ἀχῶ, φίλα, μοι συγκαταίνεσόν τι. – Τί;
 Ἐρῶ κορίσκα, ἃδ' ἐμ' οὐ φιλεῖ. – Φιλεῖ.
 Πρᾶξαι δ' ὁ καιρὸς καιρὸν οὐ φέρει. – Φέρει.
 Τὺ τοίνυν αὐτᾷ λέξον ὡς ἐρῶ. – Ἐρῶ.
 Καὶ πίστιν αὐτᾷ κερμάτων τὺ δός. – Τὺ δός.
 Ἀχῶ, τί λοιπόν; ἢ πόθου τυχεῖν; – Τυχεῖν.

Quod Grotius eleganti carmine interpretatus est:

Echo docebis mene quae volo? – Volo.
 Amare me, sed non amari me fama? – Ama.
 Fruine tempus ut queam dabit? – Dabit.
 Fer verba amoris signa quem feram? – Feram.
 Fidem sed auri te rogo duis. – Duis.

quae Maioragio intercessit cum Calcagnino, videatur KOHLIUS, lib. cit. in annot. 21, pp. 38 sq. et 55–61.

Echo, quid ultra restat? an frui? – Frui²³.

Ibi versus sunt ita compositi ut ultimae syllabae iteratae quasdam quasi nymphae Echus responsitationes effingant²⁴. Hoc poëma echoicum Angelus Politianus, postquam suis *Miscellaneis*²⁵ inseruerat addita Latina interpretatione atque alibi carmine Italico expresserat (*Rime* XXXVI), multis eiusdem generis lusibus originem dederat. Tam linguis recentioribus quam Latina atque Graeca innumerabiles poëtae Echo fecerunt sibi respondentem. In his ipse Morisotus, qui in libro amatorio ad suam Claudiam Echoicum poëmation lusit sic incipiens:

E<c>ho, responde, qualis mea Claudia? – Dia²⁶.

Callide igitur (forsitan callidius quam rectius) illud *fortunatam natam* ab omnibus derisum schemati assimilat, quod tum maximo in pretio erat, atque Ciceronem quasi participem lusu Echoicorum facit illis temporibus, quibus Graeca nympa toto Helicone aequalium poëtarum vocibus recantabat. Notat quoque Erasmus, qui, quam figuram vitio vertisset Ciceroni, hac ipse usus esset cum alibi, tum in quodam carmine ad Ioannem Sapidum (lib. cit. in annot. 2, p. 278).

COLLOQUIORUM LOCI, QUI SUNT ADVERSUS ERASMUM

Denique in colloquiorum libris praeter praefationem supra allatam, duos locos reperiatis ubi Erasmus lacerat. Prior est maxime conspicuus. In primo enim colloquio, quod est de ratione studii (ibid., p. 10):

Nam – ait – quod Erasmus factitat, ut nova quaedam atque inusitata, ac proinde non usurpanda in hoc autore [in Cicerone] observet, nec imitandum,

²³ Videatur *Anthologiae Graecae cum versione Latina Hugonis Grotii editae ab Hieronymo de Bosch tomus secundus* Ultraieci editus a. 1797, p. 403.

²⁴ De hoc scriptionis genere antiquis temporibus et litterarum renascentium aetate exculto legere est verbi causa Martini SCHOOCKII dissertationem insertam libro q.i. *Lusus imaginis iocosae sive Echus a variis poëtis, variis linguis et numeris exculti ex bibliotheca Theodori Dousae I. f. Accessit M. Schoockii dissertatio de natura soni et Echus*, Ultraieci a. 1638 vulgato (ante omnia inspiciendum caput XIII).

²⁵ Angeli Politiani *Operum tomus primus, epistolarum libros XII ac miscellaneorum centuriam I complectens* Lugduni 1539, p. 551 sq. Haec miscellaneorum centuria primum edita est anno 1489. Tum demum hoc poëmatum genus magno studio a poëtis coli coeptum est, licet exemplum similis artificii reperiatur in carmine quodam Gallico saeculi XIII, ut docet E. COLBY in opusculo quod inscripsit *The Echo-Device in Literature* Novi Eboraci a. 1920 edito, p. 15.

²⁶ Ioannis Morisoti *Liber amatorius ad Claudiam Maranchianam* (Lugduni 1558), p. 54. Unicuique, quod sciam, huius libri exemplum Londini servatur in bibliotheca Britannica (BL, 1002.c.29). Ceterum Echoica poëmata aetate renascentium litterarum scripta usque ad satietatem legere potes in pisso volumine, quod dudum laudavimus in annotatione numero 24.

nec ferendum esse duco, non quod Cicero non innovarit pleraque, ut est apud Plutarchum; set quod linguae Latinae miseratus inopiam, Graecanicam gazam in Latium comportarit.

Alter locus est in colloquio “Contentio de authoribus inutilis” inscripto (ibid., pp. 180–182), quo ostendere voluit Morisotus satius esse dotes magnorum virorum imitari quam vitia carpere. Ibi partes agit Lerochaes quidam, maximus Budaei admirator qui cum Philonico, Erasmi assecla disceptare solet. Dum hic variis modis de Budaeo detrahare conatur, quod in eo dicendi facilitas defuerit vel quaedam prave interpretatus sit, ille clamat (locus legitur ibid., p. 181)

dictionem Erasmi humilem, nec conferendam esse cum gravitate Budaica; illum praeterea vertendis Graecis authorum mentem saepe non tenuisse, et fere tractasse aliena inventa, ac fuisse in quibusdam etiam frigidulum; in iocis vero et salibus tam occupatum ut plerunque videatur caruisse iudicio, maluisseque, quod vulgo dicitur, amicum perdere quam verbum²⁷; adhaec sic mutasse sententiam, ut chamaeleontem ferunt colores; nec sine periculo legi posse²⁸.

Morisotus igitur in eo ipso dialogo quem composuit ut demonstraret eos tempus contere qui semper magnos viros lacerarent, in Erasmus debacchatur. Nam, quanquam haec Morisotus posuit in ore futilis hominis, quem nullo modo ut exemplum ad imitandum legentibus proponit²⁹, facile tamen intellegas ea esse maligne ab auctore dialogi inserta. Qui cum vix Budaei menda attigerit, hanc occasionem in Erasmus dicendi amittere noluit. Sed satis de colloquiis diximus.

Nunc percursis omnibus Morisotianis locis, qui contra Erasmus scripti sunt, melius intellegimus praefationem ad colloquia. Etenim, si missum faciamus proximum locum colloquii c.i. “Contentio de authoribus inutilis”, quo universa Erasmi vitia promiscue perstringuntur, inveniemus unum e reliquis locis ad vocabulum *matellionis* perperam ab Erasmo expositum pertinere; unum de paganitate, ut ita dixerim, Erasmi esse, praefationem; ceteros locos: integrum librum de parechemate; duos locos in annotationibus criticis ad *Paradoxa*; unum in primo colloquio, haec omnia eo spectare ut Tullius adversus Erasmi calumnias vindicaretur. Praeterea duo epigrammata *Paradoxorum* Graecae interpretationi suffixa, cum adversus Ciceronis obtrectatorem sint facta, Ioannem Morisorum strenuum Arpinatis defensorem fuisse confirmant.

²⁷ Hoc adagio usus est Quintilianus (*Inst.* VI 3, 28). Cfr. quoque Senecam (*Controv.* II 4, 23).

²⁸ De proverbio *chamaeleonte mutabilior*, adeas Erasmi *Chiliades*, lib. cit. in annot. 20, *Ad.* III 4, 1.

²⁹ Lerochaes (id est, si ad nominis vim respicias, ὃς λήροις χαίρει, is qui nugis delectatur) nebulo est quem mulier Sophronia redarguit.

ALIORUM INTERPRETUM OPINIONES PERPENDUNTUR

Iam postulat libelli ordo ut ad Lucianum FEBVRE et Aloisium BÖMER revertamur: si ita est, ut FEBVRE vult; si idcirco Morisotus in colloquiorum limine impietatis Erasmus arguit ut censorum criminationes praeverteret atque se prorsus alienum esse a periculosis, ut quibusdam videbantur, Erasmi sententiis demonstraret; cur paulo antea, in editione *Paradoxorum* obliquis dictis iisdemque Graecis vel inter annotationes criticas paene occultis Erasmus vellicaverit? Nam, cum neque Graece reddendis Ciceronis *Paradoxis*, neque variis lectionibus diiudicandis quicquam contra fidem vel auctoritatem Ecclesiae Romanae proferre posset, nulla defensione opus erat. Si autem Erasmi contemptum ostentare vellet, longe id clarius facere poterat.

Haec si reputemus, Luciani FEBVRE opinionem, licet fortasse aliquid veri contineat, non sufficere videmus ut odium, quo Morisotus Erasmus persequitur, planum fiat.

BÖMER vero, ut supra diximus, volebat Morisotum unum esse de fanaticis catholicis qui bellum Erasmo indixissent quod multa adversus Ecclesiam Romanam et mores cleri temere esset locutus.

Atqui, si ipse catholicus fanaticus est, cur toties res subturpiculas colloquiis inseruit? cur sacerdotes dissolutis moribus et verbi causa rem habentes in templo cum mulieribus depingit (ibid., p. 161)? cur alibi monachos scortari significat (ibid., p. 180)? cur nimium cultum reliquiarum prae vera pietate contemnit (ibid., p. 141)? Ne pluribus, cur tanquam alter Erasmus scribit? Hoc ego non solus assevero, sed etiam theologi Sorbonici, viri in fidei catholicae rebus longe me BÖMEROVE peritiores. Quorum auctoritate anno 1556 cautum est ut colloquia Morisoti in indicem librorum prohibitorum referrentur³⁰.

Quid quod omnibus, quae quidem ad nos pervenerunt, Morisoti operibus excussis tot locos repperimus in quibus Erasmus traduceret quod studium adamus-sim Ciceronem imitandi irridere ausus esset, in quibus impietatis eum insimularet, solummodo unum. Neque Morisotus sententiam mutavisse putandus est, qui in ipsis colloquiis, post illam in Erasmi gentilitatem praefationem, cuius locum in initio huius commentationis attulimus, in primo statim dialogo eundem Erasmus oppugnet, quod insolentiam verborum quorundam in Cicerone reprehenderit.

Denique, quod paganum Erasmus vocat in colloquiorum praefatione, inde non continuo sequitur ut sit catholicus fanaticus. In controversia litteraria argumenta undecumque sumere non cunctabatur. Sic agebant illi reipublicae litterariae gladiatores. Omnibus armis utebantur ad adversarium prosternendum.

Ita egisse scimus alios Ciceronianos, qui in eadem arena versati sunt. Nam tam Scaliger quam Doletus in libris, quos pro imitatione Ciceroniana adversus

³⁰ Cfr. I.-M. DE BUJANDA et al. *Index des livres interdits: Index de l'université de Paris 1544, 1545, 1547, 1549, 1551, 1556*, Genavae 1984.

Erasmum scripserunt, probro ei verterunt, quod statum religionis Christianae novis opinionibus conturbasset³¹. Atqui neuter catholicus extremae factionis fuit. Scaligeri opiniones ad Lutheranam doctrinam vergebant. Adeo ut anno 1538 haereseos accusatus sit³². Doletus autem ut atheus in area Malbertina combustus est. Argumentum labefactatae religionis arripuerunt homines in rhetorica assidue exercitati ut adversarium in invidiam raperent.

Quid? Videmus etiam Doletum in suis commentariis linguae Latinae non minus acriter reprehendere Erasmi errores quam Morisotum in Ciceronis *Paradoxis* a se editis. Num quis dicet simultatem, quae Doletum intercessit cum Erasmo, originem ducere ab hisce grammaticis mendis? Minime, sed, quoniam de imitatione Ciceroniana dissentiebat, ob eam causam, quibuscumque poterat modis, invidiam Erasmo conflare conabatur.

Quibus de causis crimen impietatis forsitan nihil aliud sit nisi unum ex argumentis a Morisoto adversus scriptorem Batavum inventis. Quicquid id est, hoc certe e praecedentibus colligi posse existimo Morisotum non fuisse catholicum ὀρθόδοξότατον et dissensionem de rebus divinis, si qua extitit inter duos homines, non principem locum in hac controversia obtinuisse.

OBIECTIONUM QUARUNDAM PROLEPSIS

Dicit aliquis vestigia Erasmianae imitationis, quae inesse scriptis Morisoti supra observavimus, adeoque ipsum finem eius colloquiorum, qui est ut adulescentes Latine sermocinari discant, sententiae in hoc libello propositae omnino repugnare. Neque enim tale quid scripsisset Morisotus, si unus e Ciceronianis fuisset. Qui homines a colloquiis extemporalibus prorsus abstinebant, neque ullum alium auctorem ad formandam orationem legebant, nisi numen suum, M. Tullium Ciceronem, nedum Erasmum imitarentur. Haec si quis cogitet, eum reputare velim saeculo sexto decimo medio extra Italiae fines paucissimos Ciceronianos tam morosos fuisse ut, ne quas barbariei sordes sua oratio inde traheret, sese ex tempore loquendi consuetudini committere nollent; nec plures hanc rigidam legem sibi imposuisse ut, si quod vocabulum genusve loquendi apud Tullium vel apud unum alterumve scriptorem ei aetate supparem se legere non meminissent, id statim reformidarent et, ut aiunt, cane peius et angue vitarent; verum multos, immo plerosque eorum ita Ciceronis dictionem imitari consuesse ut et expedite Latine

³¹ Cf. Jules-César Scaliger *Oratio pro M. Tullio Cicerone contra Des. Erasmum* (1531). *Adversus Des. Erasmi Ciceronianum oratio secunda* (1537). *Textes présentés, établis, traduits et annotés par Michel Magnien. Préface de Jacques Chomarat*, Genavae, 1999, p. 46 sq. et p. 273 atque *L'Erasmianus sive Ciceronianus d'Étienne Dolet* (1535). *Introduction – fac-similé de l'édition originale du De imitatione Ciceroniana – commentaires et appendices*, Genavae, 1974, pp. 35–41 Doletiani dialogi.

³² Videsis L. FEBVRE *Le problème de l'incroyance au XVI^e siècle. La religion de Rabelais*. (Luettiae Parisiorum, 1968), p. 80 sq.

loquerentur et e multis aliis auctoribus vocabula petere non dubitarent, id est non unice, sed praecipue Ciceronem sectarentur³³. Testis esto Nicolaus Beraldus, Ciceronianus quidem, sed qui adeo in flumen sermonum extemporalium sese proicere non dubitaret ut luculentissimum dialogum composuerit *quo rationes quaedam explicantur, quibus dicendi ex tempore facultas parari potest*, hoc est, quo legentes, ut e titulo clare intellegitur, non modo sermones miscere, verum *dicere* sive colloquia verborum et sententiarum luminibus distincta vel etiam, si deo placet, iustas orationes secundum rhetorum praecepta formatas imparati Latine habere assidua exercitatione discerent³⁴. Tantum abest ut Latine loqui recusaret! Testis esto is, quo neminem felicius Ciceronianum scribendi genus expressisse constat, Marcus Antonius Muretus, quem et expeditissime Latine loqui solitum, et etiam ex Apuleio, Lactantio, Cassiodoro aliisque posterioribus scriptoribus voces et loquendi genera aliquando mutuari accepimus³⁵. Testes denique sunt alii Ciceroniani transalpini, qui, ut Ioannes Sturmius, Maturinus Corderius, Ioannes Pontanus colloquia ad provehendam in scholis Latine loquendi consuetudinem conscripserunt³⁶.

³³ Vide imprimis claram Terentii TUNBERG commentationem a me in annot. 14 citatam: *Ciceronian Latin: Longolius and others*.

³⁴ Nicolai Beraldi Aurelii *Dialogus, quo rationes quaedam explicantur, quibus dicendi ex tempore facultas parari potest; deque ipsa dicendi ex tempore facultate, ad reverendissimum Cardinalem Oddonem Castellionensem, tituli divorum Sergii, Bacchi, Apuleii, virum utriusque linguae peritissimum* Lugduni 1534. Cuius opusculi notitiam debeo magistro meo Terentio TUNBERG qui id ante aliquot annos, cum in universitate studiorum Kentuckiana magistrandus erudirer, in scholis interpretandum suscepit. In initio dialogi Beraldus Ciceronianos extremae factionis oppugnat.

³⁵ Cfr. locos Muretinus tum alios, cum caput I libri XV *Variarum Lectionum* (M.A. Mureti *Opera omnia ex mss. aucta et emendata cum brevi adnotatione Davidis Ruhnkenii studiose ab se recognita, emendata, aucta selectisque aliorum et suis adnotationibus instructa accurate edidit Carolus Henricus Frotscher*, T. III, Lipsiae 1841, p. 326–333). Ubi Gallus scriptor Italos suae aetatis a superstitione unius Ciceronis imitatione, qua Latine ex tempore loqui et de omnibus rebus agere impediabantur, avertere molitur atque sese ex aetatis imperatoriae scriptoribus verba libenter depromere proficitur. Ceterum id Muretum sincere dixisse quidam grammatici in dubium vocaverunt, credo, quia ipsi aliter de auctoribus imitandis sentiebant atque praestantissimi oratoris auctoritatem ad suam factionem trahere cupiebant. Contra eorum opinionem Terentius TUNBERG demonstravit Muretum reapse a multis auctoribus voces sumpsisse. Videsis opus eius *De Marco Antonio Mureto, oratore et Gallo et Romano* in annot. 14 laudatum. Promptam autem et expeditam ex tempore loquendi facultatem in Mureto fuisse corroborant Scaligerana Vassani: “Mureto nullus fuit post Ciceronem qui expeditius loqueretur et scriberet Romane” (*Scaligerana Thuana, Perroniana, Pithoeana et Colomesiana ou remarques historiques, critiques, morales et littéraires de Jos. Scaliger, J. Aug. de Thou, le cardinal du Perron, Fr. Pithou, et P. Colomiés. Avec des notes de plusieurs savans*. T. II, Amstelodami 1740, p. 466).

³⁶ Ioannis Sturmi *Neanisci* [...] Argentorati 1565 (principem cuiusque operis editionem indico, non locupletissimam); Iacobi Pontani *Progymnasmatum Latinitatis sive dialogorum* [...] tria volumina Ingolstadii vulgata 1589–1594; Maturini Corderii *Colloquiorum scholasticorum libri IIII, ad pueros paulatim in sermone Latino exercendos* [...] Genavae editi 1563. Haec *Colloquia* Corderiana, sicut et *Progymnasmata* Pontaniana, saepissime typis expressa sunt.

Nihil igitur mirum Morisotum, quamvis esset Ciceronianus, et alios quam Ciceronem auctores stilo expressisse, et colloquia extemporalia coluisse atque ut idem facerent adolescentes exhortatum esse. Quin immo ipse vituperare solebat Ciceronianorum quorundam Italogum insaniam, qui angusta unius Ciceronis imitandi superstitione omnino illigarentur³⁷, neque adeo caecutiebat quin egregias Erasmi dotes cerneret. Quas imitari pro virili parte studebat, quippe qui expedire putaret magnorum virorum virtutes exprimere, vitia ignorare³⁸.

CONCLUSIO

His omnibus de causis arbitror Ioannem Morisotum, moderatum Ciceronianum, in Erasmus ob id potissimum invectum esse quod nationem Ciceronianorum ab eo irrideri atque Tullii sui auctoritatem elevari aegre tulerat. Eius dissensionis historia particula est parum nota illius controversiae, quam viri docti de Ciceronis imitatione renascentium litterarum aetate agitarunt.

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³⁷ In colloquio q.i. “Narrationes”, Crispinus quidam referens quae in Italia viderit tria dogmata ibi vigere statuit, quae aequae insana existimat. Ex quibus unum est Pyrrhoneorum; alterum eorum qui nihil nisi vulgari lingua scribant; tertium eorum qui nihil ferant nisi omnino Ciceronianum. “Hinc”, inquit, “non audent Iesum Christum nominare. Si quid de mathematicis, de agricultura, de arte medica, de iurisprudencia, de theologia dicendum sit, cuius vestigium non visatur in Cicerone, etiam si illud apprime norint; tamen hanc sibi partem eruditionis perire malunt quam a dogmate deficere” (lib. cit. in annot. 2, p. 99).

³⁸ Hanc sententiam defendit in colloquio q.i. “Contentio de authoribus inutilis”, lib. cit. in annot. 2, pp. 180–182.

DIE TRAGÖDIE *PENTESILEA* DES POLNISCHEN HUMANISTEN
SZYMON SZYMONOWIC IM VERGLEICH
ZU DEN *POSTHOMERICA* DES QUINTUS VON SMYRNA

Von

THOMAS GÄRTNER

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG: Eine wenig beachtete humanistische Tragödie, nämlich die *Pentesilea* (1618) des polnischen Dichters Simon Simonides (Szymon Szymonowic, 1558–1629), wird mit ihrem stofflichen Vorbild, dem ersten Buch der *PosthomERICA* des Quintus von Smyrna, verglichen. Damit ergibt sich ein Einblick in die frühe Wirkungsgeschichte der *PosthomERICA*. Zugleich wird gezeigt, welche Folgen die Umsetzung epischer Erzählung in dramatische Handlung für die dichterische Gestaltung hat und wie sich das Bild der weiblichen Kämpferin im Vergleich zu der Vorlage, die bereits frauenkritische Züge trägt, weiter verschlechtert.

Im folgenden wird eine wenig beachtete humanistische Tragödie, nämlich die *Pentesilea* (1618)¹ des polnischen Dichters Simon Simonides (Szymon Szymonowic, 1558–1629)², mit ihrem stofflichen Vorbild, dem ersten Buch der *PosthomERICA* des Quintus von Smyrna, verglichen. Damit ergibt sich ein interessanter Einblick in die frühe Wirkungsgeschichte der *PosthomERICA*, deren grundlegende Ausgabe von Lorenz Rhodemann (1604) zu diesem Zeitpunkt gerade erst seit 14 Jahren zugänglich war. Als Ergebnis des Vergleichs wird sich zeigen, daß der polnische Dichter gerade die sinistren und auch frauenkritischen Züge, welche die gesamte Schilderung von Penthesileas Auftritt im ersten *PosthomERICA*-Buch durchziehen und welche neuerdings in der ausführlichen Arbeit von Silvio BÄR zur Amazonomachie der *PosthomERICA*³ herausgestellt

¹ Benutzt wird die von Jan-Wilhelm BECK im Internet (http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultäten/phil_Fak_IV/Klass_Phil/Latein/index1.htm) zur Verfügung gestellte Ausgabe der Tragödie, die ihrerseits der Ausgabe von 1772 (Warschau) folgt.

² Mit der lateinischen Dichtung des Simon Simonides beschäftigt sich WINNICZUK 1962. Die Arbeit bleibt für die *Pentesilea* (neben der Simonides als weitere lateinische Tragödie wesentlich früher im Jahr 1587 den *Castus Ioseph* verfaßte) ziemlich unfruchtbar: Sie hebt nur hervor, „daß Simonides beim Verfassen des Dramas Penthesilea nicht Sophokles, wie man ihm riet, sondern Euripides zum Vorbild wählte“ (147) und bringt diese Tatsache mit dem wirklichkeitsgetreuen Menschenbild des Simonides in Verbindung. Zu Simon Simonides vgl. in neuerer Zeit auch IJSEWIJN 1990: 243.

³ BÄR 2009.

worden sind, erkannt und durch eine innovative Neuformation der motivischen Elemente seines griechischen Vorbilds geschickt forciert hat, wodurch sich im Resultat ein überaus problematisches Bild der Heldin Penthesilea ergibt.

Simon Simonides exponiert die Haltung der Amazone Penthesilea zunächst im ersten Akt⁴ im Gespräch mit einer Kameradin, dann im zweiten durch die Begegnung mit dem trojanischen (!) Boten Talthybius und dem König Priamus. Im dritten Akt wird Penthesilea beleuchtet aus der Sicht der Andromache, die in einem Gespräch mit der Amme des Astyanax vorgeführt wird, dann der Abgang einer trojanischen Frauenbittgesandtschaft nach dem Minervatempel dargestellt und ein Botenbericht an Aeneas über die Anfangserfolge der Amazone gegeben. Der vierte Akt hat die Auseinandersetzung zweier Mitglieder der Frauenbittgesandtschaft über die Frage, ob sie als Frauen wie Penthesilea am Kampf teilnehmen sollen, zum Gegenstand; schwer verwundete Soldaten kehren darauf nach Troja zurück und deuten in lyrischen Gesangspartien gegenüber dem Chor die Niederlage an, die im letzten Akt durch einen finalen Botenbericht an Aeneas Gewißheit wird. Der Chor gibt jeweils die Stimmung der trojanischen Bevölkerung wieder und ist formal am antistrophischen griechischen Prinzip orientiert.

Im Mittelpunkt der Tragödie des Simonides steht die Amazonomachie. Zum Zwecke der Auxesis dieses Themas überträgt er das Motiv, daß mit dem Tod Hektors gewissermaßen die Einäscherung Trojas vollzogen ist⁵ auf den Tod der Penthesilea; auf dieses Ereignis reagiert der Chor am Schluß des Stückes mit den Worten (1553 f.): „Flammeus iam vos vortex vorat,/ Iam ferrum in vobis dominatur“. In seinem ursprünglichen Kontext, nämlich der Situation nach Hektors Bestattung, wird das Motiv bewußt gemildert (298–302):

Qui murus huius urbis et sacra anchora
Et terror hostium vigeat unicus,
Is occidens tantos reliquit hic metus,
Ut nemo non perisse iam sese autumet
Troiamque speret funditus procumbere.

Jederman glaubt, er selbst sei bereits verloren und Troja stehe der totale Untergang bevor. Die letztmögliche Steigerung des Gedankens (Troja *ist* gewissermaßen bereits eingäschert) wird hier planvoll zurückgehalten und dem letzten Chorlied vorbehalten. Im Rahmen der Tragödie wird die Amazonomachie (anstelle von Hektors Tod in den *Posthomeric*) zum Inbegriff des trojanischen Untergangs.

Andererseits meidet Simonides auch keine direkten Anspielungen auf benachbarte Szenen der *Posthomeric*, etwa auf die im zweiten Buch folgende Aristie des Memnon, die in der Amazonomachie bei Quintus möglicherweise als

⁴ In der Akteinteilung folge ich der Ausgabe BECKS (vgl. Anm. 1).

⁵ PHI I 15–17: τῶν οἱ γε μνησθέντες ἀνὰ πτολίεθρον ἔμμνον/ ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὖ σφισι πένθος ἀνιρρὸν πεπότητο/ ὥς ἤδη στονόεντι καταιβομένης πυρὶ Τροίης.

Kontrastfolie für Penthesileas Verhalten dient⁶: Simonides schafft eine explizite Verbindung, indem er seinen Priamos Penthesilea um die Hintanstellung jeglicher Aktivität bis zur Ankunft weiterer Hilfstruppen des Memnon bitten läßt (365 ff.), eine Bitte, der Penthesilea in ihrem Tatendrang letztlich Folge zu leisten verweigert. Die Reaktion des Priamos hierauf⁷ wirkt in ihrem gedanklichen Anschluß geradezu vorwurfsvoll.

Die deutlichsten wörtlichen Anklänge an Quintus ergeben sich in zwei stimmungsausmalenden Chorliedern. Das hexametrisch gestaltete Bauerngleichnis am Ende des ersten Chorlieds (196–203)

Olim ceu terras quando ferventior annus
Urit, et arentes herbae coelestia poscunt
Dona imbris, precibusque Deos gemituque fatigant
Agricolae, si forte Iris longissima opaco
Protulit os roseum coelo nubesque coegit,
Indicium haut dubium pluviarum imbrisque futuri,
Illicet assurgunt animis laetamque capessunt
Spem corde et certae Cereris sibi munera spondent

wird auch bei Quintus zur Illustration der Volksstimmung verdeutlicht (*PH* I 62–72):

λαοὶ δ' ἀμφεγάννυντο καὶ ἀχνύμενοι τὸ πάροιθεν·
ὥς δ' ὁπότε ἄθρήσαντες ἀπ' οὐρεος ἀγροῖῳται
Ἴριν ἀνεγρομένην ἐξ εὐρυπόροιο θαλάσσης,
ὄμβρου ὅτ' ἰσχανόωσι θεοῦδέος, ὁππότε ἄλωαι
ἤδη ἀπαυαίνονται ἐελδόμεναι Διὸς ὕδωρ,
ὁψὲ δ' ὑπηχλύνθη μέγας οὐρανός, οἱ δ' ἐσιδόντες
ἐσθλὸν σῆμ' ἀνέμοιο καὶ ἕτοῦ ἐγγὺς ἐόντος
χαίρουσιν, τὸ πάροιθεν ἐπιστενάχοντες ἀρούραις·
ὥς ἄρα Τρώιοι νῆες, ὅτ' ἔδρακον ἔνδοθι πάτρης
δαινῆν Πενθεσίλειαν ἐπὶ πτόλεμον μεμαῖαν,
γῆθεον ...

wohingegen das Blindengleichnis (855–867)

Imago mi mentem retentat (= retemptat).
Si quis lumine laesus
Obscuretur palpebra
Sole carente
Longumque taedium in tenebris horridis
Omnis salutis
Evanida spe devoret,
Si forte vel Deorum

⁶ Vgl. BAR 2009: 293 f., der im Vergleich der Äußerungen Penthesileas und Memnons vor ihrem Kampf gegen die Griechen die vergleichsweise Bescheidenheit Memnons herausstellt.

⁷ 405–407: Postquam videntur haec tibi, voto tuo/ Utare; ego interim Deos precabor, ut/ Te sospitem laetamque restituant mihi, das Gebetsmotiv aus *PH* I 182 ff.

Benignitate aut opera manus
 Medentis aspectet iubar faustum poli,
 Quanquam non solida face
 Et mali parte haut minima relictā,
 Laetum tamen sese gerit vel hoc bono,

welches die Hoffnung nach den zwischenzeitlichen Erfolgen Penthesileas her-
 ausstellt, deutlich verschoben ist gegenüber dem Original, wo es sich auf Priamus'
 Stimmung nach Penthesileas Ankunft bezieht (*PH* I 76–85):

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ ἀλαοῖσιν ἐπ' ὄμμασι πολλὰ μογῆσας
 ἱμεῖρων ἰδέειν ἱερὸν φάος ἢ θανέεσθαι
 ἢ πόνῳ ἰητῆρος ἀμύμονος ἡθεοῖο
 ὄμματ' ἀπαχλύσαντος Ἰδὴ φάος ἠριγενείης,
 οὐ μὲν ὅσον τὸ πάροιθεν, ὅμως δ' ἄρα βαιὸν ἰάνθη
 πολλῆς ἐκ κακότητος, ἔχει δ' ἔτι πῆματος ἄλγος
 αἰνὸν ὑπὸ βλεφάροισι λελειμμένον· ὥς ἄρα δεινὴν
 νίος Λαομέδοντος ἐσέδρακε Πενθεσίλειαν·
 παῦρον μὲν γήθησε, τὸ δὲ πλεόν εισέτι παῖδων
 ἄχνυτ' ἀποκταμένων ...

Im zweiten Fall wird das episch-griechische Gleichnis in gräzisierende latei-
 nische Chorlyrik umgesetzt, im ersten wird das hexametrische Metrum (viel-
 leicht als Hommage an die Vorlage) beibehalten.

Im ersten Akt wird in einem Gespräch zwischen Penthesilea und einer
 Amazone die kriegerische Haltung der Heldin (von einem juristischen Grund ih-
 rer Aufnahme bei Priamos, vgl. die Vorgeschichte über Penthesileas Tötung ihrer
 Schwester *PH* I 21 ff., ist keine Rede) und ihrer Vermessenheit (sie möchte am
 liebsten sogleich in den Zweikampf gegen Achill ziehen, 39 f.) herausgestellt.

QS stellt natürlicherweise zunächst die freundliche Aufnahme und Bewirtung
 der Penthesilea durch Priamus und anschließend – abgesetzt durch einen neu-
 en Tagesanbruch (*PH* I 138 ff.) – die Bewaffnung und Kampfbeteiligung der
 Penthesilea dar. In der dazwischenliegenden Nacht wird Penthesilea von einem
 trügerischen Traum heimgesucht, der sie in Gestalt ihres Vaters Ares zum Kampf
 ermuntert (*PH* I 118 ff.).

Simonides dagegen beschränkt seine dramatische Darstellung nach klassi-
 scher Norm⁸ auf einen einzigen Tag, wobei es sich naturgemäß um denjenigen
 Kampftag handelt, an welchem Penthesilea umkommt. Die Folge dieser drama-
 tischen Ökonomie besteht darin, daß weder die Bewirtung noch der Traum im
 zeitlichen Rahmen des Dramas liegen können.

Die Bewirtung bei Priamus ragt jedoch in zweifacher Weise in das Drama des
 Simonides hinein. Zum einen verweist Andromache im Gespräch mit ihrer Amme

⁸ Vgl. Arist. *Poet.* 1449 b 12 f.: ἡ μὲν (*scil.* τραγωδία) ὅτι μάλιστα πειρᾶται ὑπὸ μίαν
 περίοδον ἡλίου εἶναι ἢ μικρὸν ἐξαλλάττειν. Vgl. SCHWINDT 1994.

auf einen prahlerischen Ausspruch der Penthesilea, den diese betrunken bei der Bewirtung am Vorabend getan habe; zum anderen fordert Penthesilea selbst, bevor sie gemäß ihrem eigenen Willen in den Kampf ausrückt, von Priamus eine Bewirtung nach ihrer Rückkehr; insofern jeder Leser des Dramas weiß, daß es zu dieser Bewirtung nicht mehr kommen wird, liegt hier eine dramatische Ironie vor. Von ihrem nächtlichen Traum berichtet Penthesilea selbst im Prologgespräch mit einer Amazone.

Beide Rekurse auf die Bewirtung der Penthesilea zeigen deren Hybris. Penthesileas Prahlerci (640–646)

Quin contigit mihi illius vanam vicem
Vel condolere vel prope miserescere,
Ad mensam heri dum regiam vino calens
Modo hosticis ignes minatur navibus,
Exerciti modo totius stragem et fugam
Ipsamque domitum hasta, cruentum Achillea
Loris trahendum tota circum Pergama

fußt auf *PH* I 93–97:

ἦ δ' ἄρ' ὑπέσχετο ἔργον ὃ οὐ ποτε θνητὸς ἐώλπει,
δηώσειν Ἀχιλῆα καὶ εὐρέα λαὸν ὀλέσσειν
Ἀργείων, νῆας δὲ πυρὸς καθύπερθε βαλέσθαι⁹,
νηπίη· οὐδέ τι ἤδη εὐμμελίην Ἀχιλῆα,
ὅσσον ὑπέρτατος ἦεν ἐνὶ φθισίνορι χάρμη.

Hinzutreten bei Simonides 1. das Penthesileas Äußerungen diskriminierende Element der Trunkenheit und 2. die über das allgemeine Bild der Vernichtung der Griechen hinausgehende Prahlerci, Achill um die Stadtmauern von Troja zu schleifen und somit den Tod Hektors unmittelbar symbolisch zu rächen (vgl. das entsprechende Gebet der Frauenbittgesandtschaft in 738 f.). Diese Symbolik erleichtert den prinzipiell ebenfalls sich aus Quintus (*PH* I 96 f.) ergebenden Übergang zur früheren Konfrontation zwischen Hektor und Achill im Munde der Andromache (647–650):

Tunc mi Hector ante oculos meos, sed lachrymae
Iam me obruunt, ille Hector, ille Patriae
Murusque columenque, ille fulmen hostium,
Quantus vigeat corde, quantus viribus, / ...

⁹ Hier wird man den schwierigen Text am ehesten in der Form νῆας δὲ πυρὸς καθύπερθε βαλέσθαι herstellen (die Schiffe als „Grabspende“ über den Scheiterhaufen Achills und der Griechen), eine Emendation, die freilich erst Theodor STRUVE im 19. Jahrhundert fand. BÄR 2009 z. St. (der freilich selbst den sonderbaren Ausdruck πυρὸς καθύπερθε βαλέσθαι als Hyperbel verteidigt) belegt die Junktur πυρὸς καθύπερθε βαλέσθαι durch die Parallelen *PH* III 684 und V 631.

Die bei QS beschriebene Prahlerei der Penthesilea beim Gelage wird bei Simonides als ein Referat der Andromache vom Vorabend wiedergegeben.

Auch in Penthesileas an Priamus gerichteter Forderung nach einer abendlichen Bewirtung¹⁰ liegt eine deutliche tragische Ironie, insbesondere in der Hervorhebung der Selbstverständlichkeit einer wohlbehaltenen Rückkehr und der Freudigkeit des Anlasses. Solche Ironie scheint bereits bei Quintus angelegt in *PH* I 88–90¹¹

καί οἱ δόρπον ἔτευξε πανείδατον, οἷον ἔδουσι
κυδάλιμοι βασιλῆες, ὅτ' ἔθνεα δηώσαντες
δαίνυντ' ἐν θαλίῃσιν ἀγαλλόμενοι περὶ νίκης¹².

Der Traum der Penthesilea ist bei QS nach dem Vorbild des zweiten Iliasbuchs ein reiner Trugtraum (*PH* I 126 f.: ὅππως μιν λεύσσουσα κακὸν Τρώεσσι γένηται/ οἷ τ' αὐτῇ, μεμαυῖα ποτὶ πτολέμοιο φάλαγγας), der Penthesilea in Gestalt ihres Vaters Ares zum Kampf ermuntert (*PH* I 130–133: καί μιν ἐποτρύνεσκε ποδάρκεος ἄντ' Ἀχιλῆος/ θαρσαλέως μάρνασθαι ἐναντίον. ἦ δ' αἰούσα/ γήθεεν ἐν φρεσὶ πάμπαν· οἴσατο γὰρ μέγα ἔργον/ ἐκτελέειν αὐτῆμαρ ἄνὰ μόθον ὀκρυόεντα); er wirkt dadurch verhängnisvoll, daß er von Penthesilea befolgt wird. Dagegen bei Simonides erhält der Traum neben diesen protreptischen Elementen auch Bedrohliches, nämlich eine für Penthesilea gefährliche Konfrontation (104–114):

Videre nam sum visa me in faciem leae
Mutari et irruere in greges promiscuos
Stragemque late fundere et serere fugam;
Tandem virorum congregi cum acri manu,
Qui se impetus contra meos ferro obvii
Ultrò offerebant et petebant vulnera.
Quidamque eorum proruens fidentior
Mucrone convolabat in pectus meum.
Me muniebat dextera Pater meus.
Nam coram adesse visus est Mavors mihi
Et me admonere et adiuvare aperta ope.

Die Verfehlung Penthesileas liegt in der geringschätzigen Haltung, die sie der Voraussagekraft solcher Träume entgegenbringt (115–125), also in deren Nicht-Befolgung:

At somniorum inanias frustra arripit,
Qui corde non pollet nec olim partam habet

¹⁰ 400–404: Dumque absumus, dum redimus ad te sospites,/ Mensa hospitalis praesto sit, ne nos fames/ Labore functas plus satis pertorqueat,/ Laetas et ipse laetus exceptas velis./ Sic spondet augurii optimi mens conscia.

¹¹ Vgl. BÄR 2009: 306: der Vergleich „als auktorialer Kommentar zu Priamos' bzw. Penthesileas Hybris“.

¹² Vgl. auch I 828 ff.: die Bewirtung der de facto erfolgreichen Griechen.

Labore gnavo eventuum peritiam.
 Damno ancipes mortalium solertias,
 Qui, luce quod quodque vigiles volvunt palam,
 Plerumque transmittunt supinis visibus
 Nec persequuntur mentis acrimoniis.
 Caligo sed quod noctis et fallax sopor
 Insomniorum protulit ludibriis,
 Id curiosa quaeritant indagine,
 Hoc vota temperant sua et vitae modum.

Trotz dieser rationalen Ablehnung der Aussagekraft von Träumen trägt dieser Traum wohl auch zu der ungewohnten Furcht bei, die Penthesilea zu Beginn des Prologs (4 ff.) empfindet. Hier ist der Traum zumindest auch teilweise inhaltliche Prophezeiung, bei Quintus besteht er ausschließlich aus irreführender Proteptik.

Aus dem Kommentar Andromaches über die Prahlerei Penthesileas (*PH* I 100–114) ist der ganze zweite Akt des Simonides herausentwickelt. Zu diesem Zweck wird die Reihenfolge der beiden deutlich abgesetzten Teile des Kommentars bei Quintus umgekehrt¹³: Hier geht Andromache zunächst auf die Prahlerei der Penthesilea ein (*PH* I 100–107) und wird dann über den Vergleich mit Hektor auf ihre eigene Situation geführt (*PH* I 108–114). Dagegen geht es bei Simonides zunächst ausschließlich um diese persönliche Situation, die Andromache im Gespräch mit ihrer Amme breit ausführt; Penthesilea wird dann erst durch einen Tröstungsversuch der Amme zum Gesprächsgegenstand; Andromache lehnt dieses Penthesilealob nicht grundsätzlich ab (617 ff.), sondern setzt sich argumentativ damit auseinander, wobei sie den oben angeführten trunkenen Ausspruch der Amazone gegen diese ins Feld führt. Bei Quintus wird also eine Andromache vorgeführt, die sich in ihr Unglücksgeschick vertieft, bei Simonides wird dagegen der Versuch unternommen, Andromache aus diesem Unglück herauszuführen. Ihr Vergleich der Penthesilea mit einer hilflosen Taube (658–662)

Iam te, misella, iam tuor, mollem velut
 Celsis columbam praeditam volatibus,
 Quam mox aperto consequutus aethere
 Acceptor acer tollit insultu fero
 Rostroque frangit unguibusque eviscerat

transformiert das unglückliche Vorzeichen auf das Gebet des Priamus (*PH* I 198–200: ἡ ῥα μέγ' εὐχόμενος. τῷ δ' αἰετὸς ὁξὺ κεκληγῶς/ ἤδη ἀποπνεύουσιν ἔχων ὀνύχεσσι πέλειαν/ ἐσσυμένως οἴμησεν ἀριστερὸς).

Das den Gang der Kampfszene unterbrechende, strukturell betont im Mittelpunkt des ersten *Posthomeric*-Buchs stehen „Weiberredenpaar“ (*PH*

¹³ Zur strukturellen Zweiteilung des Monologs vgl. Bär 326.

I 403 ff.)¹⁴ hat Simonides unmittelbar übernommen (praefiguriert wird diese Debatte bei ihm bereits durch die Auseinandersetzung der gegenüber Penthesilea skeptischen Andromache mit zwei von der Amazone begeisterten Frauen, nämlich der Amme und Aethra): Hierbei wird die zunächst für ein Eingreifen der Frauen in den Kampf sprechende Hippodameia ersetzt (vielleicht liegt eine einfache Namensverwechslung vor) durch eine Deidamia, die etwas deduktiver vorgeht als ihre griechische Vorläuferin (die entscheidende Schlußfolgerung steht innerhalb der Rede relativ später, 932 ff. vgl. *PH* I 412 ff.); zurückgehalten werden die Frauen schließlich durch das reife Alter der Theano (964 ff., vgl. *PH* I 475 ff.). Anders als bei Quintus, wo in der Theanorede die kriegerische Kompetenz der Penthesilea als Ergebnis ihrer langzeitigen Gewöhnung anerkannt wird (*PH* I 456 f.), wird bei Simonides der Wert solcher Praxis, wenn sie sich gegen die Natur richtet, zurückgewiesen (1033–1043):

... hanc si quis Scytham viraginem
 Praetendat et miretur, arbitrio meo,
 Ista studia neque huic convenire iudico,
 Vt cunque more patrio est exercita.
 Producit ut natura monstra, verum ea
 Perrara scaevique habita semper ominis,
 Res pariter est monstrosa, miles foemina.
 Communibus vita est peragrandia orbitis,
 Naturaque insequenda dux certissima;
 Artis que factitandus asuetae modus,
 Laus que aucupanda de labore congruo.

Dementsprechend wird der Sonderstatus der Penthesilea nicht durch ihre Tochterschaft des Ares aufgewertet (*PH* I 461: τὴν δὲ φάτις καὶ Ἄρης ἔμειν κρατεροῖο θυγάτρα), sondern als *monstrum* (1040) abgewertet. Die Position der Theano wird durch die unmittelbar nachfolgenden Auftritte schwer verwundeter Trojaner geradezu bestätigt, ganz im Sinne einer dramatischen Bestätigung von *PH* I 652 f.: καὶ νόος ἐξορόθυνε γυναικῶν ἔργα λιποῦσαν/ βήμεναι ἐς πόλεμον τὸν περ τρομέουσι καὶ ἄνδρες.

Die Abwertung der Penthesilea wird noch deutlicher in ihrem in Form eines Botenberichts wiedergegebenen letzten Kampf. In beiden Versionen wird Penthesilea der Reflexion, ob sie Achill Widerstand leisten soll (*PH* I 601 ff., vgl. Sim. 1421 ff.), durch Achills Angriff überhoben (auffällig der beiden Gestaltungen gemeinsame Verweis auf die göttliche Provenienz von Achills Waffen, 1447 f.: „Tanto arma Achillei valebant robore,/ Perfecta fida olim arte Lemnii senis“, vgl. *PH* I 550: τοῖ' ἔσαν Ἡφαίστοιο περίφρονος ἄμβροτα δῶρα); die Verwundung an der *papilla* (1457) ist in ihrer Symbolkraft naheliegend und wohl dem Tod der Camilla bei Verg. *Aen.* XI 803 nachgebildet. Doch wesentliche Elemente

¹⁴ Vgl. hierzu BÄR 2009: 92 ff., besonders die schematische Übersicht 100 f.

sind bei Simonides verschoben, vor allem ist die erotische Anziehungskraft der Penthesilea auf Achill (das Element, welches etwa in Kleists berühmtem Drama zentral ist) völlig beseitigt: Bemerkenswerterweise begegnet dieses Motiv ausschließlich in ironischer Brechung, nämlich im höhnischen Zuruf Achills an die Amazone (1438–1440):

„Heus, heus puella Pontica, heus: huc, huc ades!
Cupidus tui iuvenis vocat te; heus, huc ades,
Mavortii teli appetens, non Venerii“

(ohne solche Ironie ist die verbale Kontaktaufnahme Achills mit Penthesilea in *PH I* 575–591). Mit dieser Ironie vergleichbar ist letztlich der gleichfalls in höhnischer Weise auf eine Ehe bezugnehmende Anruf des Turnus an den vermeintlich fliehenden Aeneas, Verg. *Aen.* X 649 f.

„Quo fugis, Aenea? thalamos ne desere pactos;
Hac dabitur dextra tellus quaesita per undas“.

Durch diesen die eigentliche Kampfszene einleitenden ironischen Zuruf sichert Simonides geschickt ab, daß es zu erotischen Regungen seitens Achills im weiteren Verlauf der Szene (insbesondere nach dem Aufdecken ihrer Leiche, *PH I* 654 ff.; 718 ff.: Vergleich der Penthesilea mit Patroklos!) nicht kommen kann; die Ironie reflektiert zugleich auch die vorgängige Version der *Posthomeric*, von welcher Simonides bewußt abweicht.

Diese Distanzierung Achills von einer erotischen Sympathie mit Penthesilea zeigt sich vor allem in seiner postmortalen Belehrung an die Gefallene (1465–1469):

Delapsus ipse equo et parumper lumina
Faciemque contemplatus, „o Virgo misera,
Quae te mala“, inquit, „mens virorum in praelia
Coniecit? aptius fuisses incluta
Mater familias et domum auxisses tuam“.

Nach dieser Version hätte Penthesilea also ihr eigenes Haus hüten sollen, nicht etwa das Achills wie in *PH I* 671–674 (καὶ δ' Ἀχιλεὺς ἀλίσστον ἐὼν ἐνετείρετο θυμῷ, / οὐνεκά μιν κατέπεφνε καὶ οὐκ ἄγε δῖαν ἄκοιτιν/ Φθίην εἰς εὐπωλον, ἐπεὶ μέγεθος τε καὶ εἶδος/ ἔπλετ' ἀμώμητός τε καὶ ἀθανάτησιν ὁμοίη); der Achill des Simonides äußert sich also *nach* dem Anblick der Penthesilea gerade so distanziert wie der des Quintus *vor* ihrem Anblick (*PH I* 575 ff.; 644 ff.).

Hierzu stimmt auch, daß die Selbstverhüllung, welche der sterbenden Penthesilea nach antiken Vorbildern¹⁵ bei Quintus zugeschrieben wird (*PH I* 621–624

¹⁵ Besonders zu nennen sind als Parallelen für einen solchen Gestus eines Sterbenden Eur. *Hec.* 569 (der Tod Polyxenas) und Suet. *Div. Iul.* 82, 2 (der Tod Caesars).

... ἢ δ' ὥκα μίγη κονίη καὶ ὀλέθρῳ
 εὐσταλέως ἐριποῦσα κατ' οὐδὲος· οὐδέ οἱ αἰδῶς
 ἤσχυεν δέμας ἥν' τάθη δ' ἐπὶ νηδύα μακρῇ
 δουρὶ περιπαίρουσα, θοῶ δ' ἐπεκέκλιτο ἵππῳ),

bei Simonides auf ihren Bezwinger Achill übertragen wird (1461–1464):

Labentem Achilles a suis sumi in manus
 Situque quam decente deponi in solum
 Praecepit, omni parte tecta corporis,
 Ne virgineus honor pateret uspiam.

Anstelle der Keuschheit Penthesilea tritt also bei Simonides die willentliche Enthaltung Achills. Dieses Bemühen, Achill von aller Lüsternheit nach Penthesilea freizuhalten, zeigt sich auch in der sonderbaren Umbiegung der Thersitesepisode, die am Ende des Botenberichts noch faßbar wird: Bei Simonides konnte nicht einmal der Lästere Achill mit Recht ein sexuelles Verlangen nach Penthesilea nachsagen (bei Quintus macht die Tatsache, daß Thersites ja nach dem auktorialen Bericht letztlich recht hat, seinen anschließend geschilderten Untergang ein wenig bedenklich), sondern Thersites muß sich damit begnügen, dem Achill (der nicht einmal Penthesilea *spolia* beansprucht, 1518 ff.) vorzuwerfen, daß er aus allgemein humanen Erwägungen sich gegen das allgemeine Bestattungsverbot aussprach (1521–1533):

Neque id scio; tantummodo ex tentorio
 Vidi periratum exeuntem Achillea,
 Vultu feroci, flammeis obtutibus,
 Remurmurantem fervidas secum minas.
 Rumor ferebat, iurgio intentissimo
 Egisse, ne crudele quidquam in mortuos
 Decerneretur neve conscirent nefas,
 Quod iura abhorrerent Deum et mortalium;
 Eaque causa, contumelia excitum
 Tersitis, in malam eius impegisse tam
 Pugnum valens, ut dentium illico omnium
 Sputum faceret atque ante sessimonii
 Ora exanimis et vix hians procumberet.

Somit wird also die Position des Thersites gegenüber Achill im Vergleich zu Quintus erheblich verschlechtert: Bei Simonides kann er nur aus dem humanen Verhalten Achills evidentermaßen unbillige Rückschlüsse auf ein persönliches Verhältnis zu Penthesilea ziehen.

In diametralem Gegensatz zu Quintus, wo der Penthesilea – wie allen übrigen Amazonen – von den Griechen freie Bestattung gewährt wird (*PH* I 782 ff.), was zu ihrer Beisetzung im Grab des alten trojanischen Königs Laomedon führt (*PH* I 801 ff.), wird bei Simonides von den Griechen ein ausdrückliches Bestattungsverbot ausgesprochen (1506 ff.), und die Amazonen werden

unbedeckt in einen Fluß geworfen (1510 ff.). An die Stelle der höchst ehrenvollen Beisetzung bei Quintus tritt bei Simonides eine schmähhche Beseitigung der Leichen, die gedanklich mit einem locker an das Drama angeknüpften mahnenden Totenepigramm auf Penthesilea abgeschlossen wird:

Mersa undis, superata armis, dum foemina sexum
 Contra contendo, foemina sic perii.
 Stultitiae exemplum muliebris, quod monet omnes,
 Metiri ut proprio se pede quisque velit.

Dementsprechend scheint hier Penthesilea, die bei Quintus anlässlich ihrer Bewirtung durch mit einer nach 20 Jahren zurückgekehrten Tochter verglichen wird (*PH* I 85–87: ἄγε δ' εἰς ἐὰ δῶματ' ἄνασσαν, / καὶ μιν προφρονέως τίεν ἔμπεδον, εὔτε θύγατρα / τηλόθε νοστήσασαν ἔεικοστῷ λυκάβαντι) und diesen Quasi-Status auch nach ihrem Tod beibehält (*PH* I 800 f.: Τρῶες δ' ὥς τε θύγατρα φίλην περικωκύσαντες / ἀχνύμενοι τάρχυσαν), diesen Status, den sie auch bei Simonides anlässlich ihrer Aufnahme erhielt (270–272 [Priamus spricht:] „O Virgo, cani isti mei et florens tua / Aetas videtur hoc mihi permittere, / Ut filiae te appellem amico nomine“, wobei der Gedanke einer Beanspruchung von Hektors Nachfolge durch Penthesilea näherliegen dürfte als bei Quintus, vgl. 339 ff.), am Schluß verspielt zu haben: Nach den Äußerungen des Boten (1342 ff.) und der verwundet heimkehrenden Soldaten (1140 ff.: „sub duce nihili / ...“; 1204 ff.) besteht kein Zweifel, daß Penthesilea an der Niederlage schuld war, und in seinem letzten Lied betet der Chor mit unübersehbarem Bezug auf die Amazonomachie um bessere Einsicht für seine Herrscher (1578 ff.), ein deutlicher Hieb auf Priamus, welcher der Amazone freie Hand ließ (vgl. dagegen in *PH* I 800 ff. die allgemeine Trauer des Volkes um Penthesilea). Aus einer epischen Heldin (die Penthesilea bei Quintus trotz aller sinistren Züge in der Darstellung ihres Tuns noch ist) wird bei Simonides eine gerechtermaßen von der allgemeinen Verachtung getroffene Schuldige an der trojanischen Niederlage.

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MARGINALIA ANTIPHONTEA

Scripsit

CAROLUS MARTINUS LUCARINI

Antiphontis, rhetoris Rhamnusii, orationes superstites universas superiori saeculo Th. THALHEIM¹, A. GERNET², M. GAGARIN³ critice ediderunt, melius atque locupletius Theodorus THALHEIM. Restant nihilominus nonnulli loci, qui aptam medelam adhuc desiderant.

(1) 1, 21 sq.: Σκέψασθε οὖν ὅσῳ δικαιότερα ὑμῶν δεήσομαι ἐγὼ ἢ ὁ ἀδελφός. Ἐγὼ μὲν γε τῷ τεθνεῶτι ὑμᾶς κελεύω καὶ τῷ ἡδικομένῳ τὸν αἶδιον χρόνον τιμωροὺς γενέσθαι· οὗτος δὲ τοῦ μὲν τεθνεῶτος πέρι οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς αἰτήσεται, ὅς ἄξιός καὶ ἐλέου καὶ βοηθείας καὶ τιμωρίας παρ' ὑμῶν τυχεῖν, ἀθέως καὶ ἀκλεῶς πρὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης ὑφ' ᾧ ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν τὸν βίον ἐκλιπών, [22] ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἀποκτεινάσης δεήσεται ἀθέμιτα καὶ ἀνόσια καὶ ἀτέλεστα καὶ ἀνήκουστα καὶ θεοῖς καὶ ὑμῖν, δεόμενος ὑμῶν <...> ἃ αὐτὴ ἐαυτὴν οὐκ ἔπεισε μὴ κακοτεχνῆσαι. Accusator accusat fratrem tamquam patris defuncti proditorem. Lacunam iam pridem agnoverunt viri docti, quam GESNER cum <πείθεσθαι> explebat, THALHEIM cum <μὴ τιμωρῆσαι>. JERNSEDT ita locum refinxit, δεόμενος αὐτῷ πειθομένους μὴ καταψηφίσασθαι ταύτης ἢ ἐαυτὴν οὐκ ἔπεισε, elegans sed longe petitum remedium adhibens! Vide ne simplicius fuerit δεόμενος ὑμῶν <συγγινῶναι> ἢ αὐτὴ ἐαυτὴν ("hoc scilicet vos precans, ut ignoscatis eis quae ipsa a se impetrare non potuit, quin machinaretur"), cfr. LSJ s.v. συγγινώσκω (cfr. etiam *Tetral.* III 1, 6: εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄκων ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἄνδρα, ἄξιός ἂν ἦν συγγινώμης τυχεῖν τινος; 5, 5). Fuerunt et qui codicum

¹ Antiphon, *Orationes et fragmenta*, post F. BLASS edidit Th. THALHEIM, Lipsiae 1914.

² Antiphon, *Discours*, texte établi et traduit par L. GERNET, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1923.

³ Antiphon, *The Speeches*, ed. by M. GAGARIN, Cambridge 1997. Editionem Hispanicam (Antifont de Ramnunt, *Discursos*, intr. text. rev. trad. i notes de J. REDONDO I SÁNCHEZ, 2 voll., Barcinone 2003–2004) non vidi.

lectionem defenderent, WILAMOWITZ⁴ scilicet et BARIGAZZI⁵: hic in verbis δεόμενος ὑμῶν ... κακοτεχνῆσαι de pietate, quae novercae defuerat quamque impudentissima mulier in iudiciis requirebat, agi credit, ille ἀθέμιτα ... ἀνήκουστα καὶ θεοῖς καὶ ὑμῖν cum δεόμενος, non cum δεήσεται coniungit (post δεήσεται interpungens). Neutra explicatio mihi arridet, cum ἄ vix pro rebus pie gestis accipi possint⁶ neque ea quae frater pro noverca precaturus erat eadem quae ipsa ἑαυτὴν οὐκ ἔπεισε μὴ κακοτεχνῆσαι esse possint.

(2) *Tetralog.* I 2, 9: Ὡς δὲ τόνδε τὸν κίνδυνον οὐκ ἀσφαλέστερον τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ἡγούμεν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πολλαπλάσιον, εἰ μὴ παρεφρόνουν, διδάξω. Ἀλοὺς μὲν γὰρ τὴν γραφὴν τῆς μὲν οὐσίας ἤδη ἐκστησόμενος, τοῦ δὲ σώματος καὶ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἀπεστερούμην, περιγενόμενος δὲ καὶ λειφθεὶς, καὶ ἔρανον παρὰ τῶν φίλων συλλέξας, οὐκ ἂν εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα κακὰ ἦλθον· ἐὰν δὲ νῦν καταληφθεὶς ἀποθάνω, ἀνόσια ὀνειδὴ τοῖς παισὶν ὑπολείψω, ἢ φυγῶν γέρων καὶ ἄπολις ὧν ἐπὶ ξενίας πτωχεύσω. Verba haec accusati sunt, qui, ut crimen diluat, contendit sibi omni modo nitendum fuisse, ne ille vir, de cuius caede agitur, occideretur: constabat enim ipsos inimicissimos esse neque, si alter opprimeretur, vitari poterat quominus inimicus superstes potissimum suspicionem moveret. Obiecerat accusator tutius reo esse hoc discrimen subire quam causam (γραφὴ) ab interfecto intentam defendere contenderatque reum ut illud iudicium fugeret facinus admisisse. Defendit accusatus sibi constitisse, si illa causa (γραφὴ) cecidisset, se bona certe amissurum fuisse (τῆς μὲν οὐσίας ἤδη ἐκστησόμενος), ceterum in discrimen exilii atque vitae venturum non fuisse (τοῦ δὲ σώματος καὶ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἀπεστερούμην): quae autem discrimina ipsi nunc incumberent. Si ita est, nescio quomodo verba ἐὰν δὲ νῦν καταληφθεὶς ... πτωχεύσω stare possint. Ita locum reddidit GERNET: “Et je le prouve: convaincu du chef de l’accusation, je savais que je serais dépouillé de ma fortune; mais je gardais la vie sauve et la cité; et gardant l’une et l’autre, je n’aurais eu qu’à recueillir un érane parmi mes amis pour ne pas tomber dans la dernière misère; au lieu que, si je suis condamné aujourd’hui, je périrai en léguant à mes fils le déshonneur et la souillure – à moins que je ne m’exile pour vieillir à l’étranger, mendiant et sans patrie”⁷. Lege mecum: ἐὰν δὲ νῦν καταληφθῇσ<ομαι, ἢ> ἀποθανῶ<ν> ἀνόσια ὀνειδὴ κ.τ.λ.

⁴ U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, *Die erste Rede des Antiphon*, Hermes XXII 1887, p. 206, adn. 2 (= *Kleine Schriften*, vol. III, Berolini 1969, p. 112, adn. 2).

⁵ A. BARIGAZZI, *Sopra due orazioni di Antifonte*, Athenaeum XLII 1954, p. 174 sq.

⁶ “Barigazzi defends the MS text, arguing that the defense will ask for pity, but it is hard to see how the Greek could yield this sense (or any sense)”, opponit GAGARIN.

⁷ Aliter vertit DECLEVA CAIZZI (*Antiphontis Tetralogiae*, edidit, transtulit et commentario instruxit F. DECLEVA CAIZZI, Baretii–Mediolani 1969): “ma se morirò convinto colpevole, lascerò ai miei figli un empio disonore, oppure esiliato, vecchio e senza patria mendicherò in terra straniera”.

(3) Ibid., I 3, 5 sq.: Οὐδὲ μὴν ἀπογενέσθαι ἢ παραγενέσθαι εἰκότερον αὐτόν ἐστιν· εἰ γὰρ ἀπεγένετο, τὸν μὲν κίνδυνον τὸν αὐτὸν ἔμελλε καὶ παρῶν κινδυνεύειν, πᾶς γὰρ αὐτῶν ληφθεὶς τοῦτον ἂν τὸν ἐπιβουλεύσαντα ἤλεγκεν ὄντα, τὸ δ' ἔργον ἦσσαν πράσσειν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὅστις τῶν παρόντων οὐκ ἂν ὀκνηρότερος εἰς τὴν πράξιν ἦν. [6] Ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἀλλὰ πολὺ μείζω τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς κίνδυνον ἢ τόνδε ἡγεῖτο εἶναι, διδάξω. Τὸ μὲν ἀλῶναι καὶ ἀποφυγεῖν ἀμφοτέρας τὰς διώξεις ἐν ἴσαις ἐλπίσι θῶμεν αὐτῷ εἶναι. Μὴ παραχθῆναι δὲ τὴν γραφὴν οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχε τούτου γε ζῶντος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐπέθετο αὐτῷ· εἰς δὲ τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα ἤξουν οὐκ ἤλπισε· λήσειν γὰρ ἐδόκει ἀποκτείνας αὐτόν. Verba actoris sunt: defenderat reus, si caedem nullo periculo perficere voluisset, sibi magis conduxisse sicarios inmittere, qui, dum ipse abest, eius inimicum opprimerent. Contradicit actor homicidae, qui neci non intersit, idem iudicium incumbere, cum sicarius quisque index existere possit, ceterum et periculum exoriri, ne caedes parum diligenter absolvatur. In verbis πᾶς γὰρ αὐτῶν ληφθεὶς τοῦτον ἂν τὸν ἐπιβουλεύσαντα ἤλεγκεν ὄντα mendum, opinor, delitescit, cum verbum αὐτῶν quibus referatur non video; sine dubio de sicariis agitur, sed eorum mentio desideratur. Lege mecum levi correctione **πᾶς γὰρ αὐ<θεν>τῶν ληφθεὶς**. Verbum αὐθέντης Antiphon adamabat: cfr. *Tetral.* II 3, 11; II 4, 4; II 4, 9; II 4, 10; 5, 11.

Aliud mendum, a viris doctis iam pridem prehensum, adhuc fortasse idoneam medelam desiderat, cum verba μὴ παραχθῆναι ... τούτου γε ζῶντος sana non videantur⁸, remedium autem a JERNSTEDTIO adhibitum (μὴ ὑπαχθῆναι δὲ τῇ γραφῇ οὐδεμίαν κ.τ.λ.) a libris penitus recedat. Lege: **μὴ παραχθῆναι δ' εἰς τὴν γραφὴν κ.τ.λ.** Cfr. 5, 8: εἰς τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα καθέστηκα; 5, 19: καθέστηκα εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα; 6, 11: χορηγὸς κατεστάθην εἰς Θαργήλια. Ceterum verbum γραφή plerumque accusationem significat; nonnumquam tamen pro ipso iudicio accipitur (cfr. γραφὴν εἰσερχέσθαι, γραφὴν εἰσιέναι apud LSJ s.v. γραφή III 2), uti in nostro loco, si bene ipse correxi.

(4) 5, 31: προσέχετε δὲ τὸν νοῦν αὐτῇ τῇ βασάνῳ, οἷα γεγένηται. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος, ᾧ ἴσως οὗτοι τοῦτο μὲν ἐλευθερίαν ὑπέσχοντο, τοῦτο δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἦν παύσασθαι κακούμενον αὐτόν, ἴσως ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν πεισθεὶς κατεψεύσατό μου. Accusatus fidem mancipii, quod in eum testimonium dixerat, infringere conatur. Quomodo editores verborum ordini tradito adqueverint, nescio; lege mecum ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος, ᾧ τοῦτο μὲν ἴσως οὗτοι ἐλευθερίαν ὑπέσχοντο, τοῦτο δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἦν παύσασθαι. Cfr. e.g. 5, 50; 5, 52; 5, 53; 5, 67; 5, 81; 5, 83.

⁸ GAGARIN adnotat: "The object of παράγω 'bring before (the court)' can be a defendant, a witness or (as here) a case (LSJ s.v. III.1.a)". Ceterum scito παράγεσθαι γραφή hoc tantum loco deprehendi.

(5) 5, 70: καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐδηλώθη τῷ τρόπῳ ἀπωλώλει τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀπελύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ ὑμετέρου προδεδομένος ἤδη τοῖς ἑνδεκά. Fuit sine dubio ἐδηλώθη <δ>τῳ τρόπῳ ἀπωλώλει τὰ χρήματα, ut vidit HIRSCHIG, cuius coniecturae recentiores editores ne mentionem quidem fecerunt! Huic coniecturae favent non solum 5, 66 et 5, 71 ab ipso HIRSCHIGIO allati, sed etiam 6, 20; 6, 23 et quae leguntur apud K.—G. I, p. 588, adn. 4.

(6) 5, 76: Πρὶν μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀπόστασιν τὴν τῶν Μυτιληναίων γενέσθαι, ἔργῳ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἐδείκνυε τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ πόλις ὅλη κακῶς ἐβουλεύσατο ἀποστᾶσα καὶ ἤμαρτε τῆς ὑμετέρας γνώμης, μετὰ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης ἠναγκάσθη συνεξαμαρτεῖν. Ita libri, quos secuti sunt editores, oscitanter scilicet. Verbum enim ὑμετέρας sine dubio corruptum est, cum ἀμαρτάνειν τινός significet aliquid non assequi, quod aliquis assequi conatus erat, unde fit ut aliquis ἀμαρτάνειν τοῦ consilii alicuius boni vel acuti possit, nullo modo alius cuiusque (ut ὑμετέρας), quod in propatulo ei erat poteratque sequi. DOBREE proposuit ἀσφαλεστέρας sive ἀμείνονος, LEO ὑγιεστέρας, de κακῶς ἐβουλεύσατο καὶ ἤμαρτεν ἀποστᾶσα τῆς ὑμετέρας γνώμης cogitavit BLASS, de συνετωτέρας ego.

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WHAT SHOULD ONE FEAR IN A GRAVE?
(PS.-APOLLODORUS III 3, 4)

By

MIKOŁAJ SZYMAŃSKI

Pseudo-Apollodorus relates the story of the seer Polyidus who, after having found the corpse of Minos' son Glaucus, was shut up in the dead boy's grave¹ by the king, who demanded his son alive, not dead. While lying there, he saw a snake creeping up to Glaucus' body. He killed the reptile, but after a while another snake appeared. Upon seeing the first one dead, it brought an herb in its mouth and revived its companion with it. Polyidus thereupon brought Glaucus to life by means of the same herb². Let us concentrate on the sentence describing Polyidus' reaction to the arrival of the first serpent. In the manuscripts, it has the following shape: τοῦτον βαλὼν λίθῳ ἀπέκτεινε, δείσας μὴ ἂν αὐτὸς τελευτήσῃ, εἰ τούτῳ [οἱ τοῦτο] συμπάθῃ.

The verb συμπάσχειν ('to meet the same fate') seems at first sight to provide an ideal description of what Polyidus feared in the grave even before the snake's visit: he was afraid that lying there together with the dead body he would soon himself become a cadaver. Such an understanding of the sentence can be seen in Tzetzes' version of the myth, which is probably based on the same text of Pseudo-Apollodorus as that appearing in our manuscripts. According to the Byzantine scholar, Polyidus – evidently unable to bear the prospect of a slow death – threw a stone at the serpent in order to enrage it and provoke it to bite him, but accidentally killed it³. Of course, this interpretation is hard to accept.

¹ To be precise, Pseudo-Apollodorus does not mention a grave. He says only that Polyidus was shut up with the body (ἀπεκλείσθη σὺν τῷ νεκρῷ). A sepulchre is mentioned by Hyg. *Fab.* 136 in his version of the myth. MUELLNER 1998: 12 suspects that Pseudo-Apollodorus was thinking about the storage room where the boy killed himself falling into a honey jar. The difference is not so important, for that room would have become the boy's virtual grave.

² Ps.-Apollod. III 3, 3–5. The myth was the subject of plays of the three great tragedians; see especially Soph. Μάντεις ἢ Πολύιδος, fr. 399 RADT: ὁ πρόσθεν ἐλθὼν ἦν ἀραϊὸς μοι νέκυς.

³ Tz. ad Lyc. 811 (quoted by RADT 1977: 339): ἰδὼν δὲ δράκοντα ἐπὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐρχόμενον, θέλων ἀγριῶσαι τὸν δράκοντα, ὅπως ἀναιρεθῇ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, βαλὼν τυχαίως ἀνεῖλεν αὐτόν.

The notion of provoking the serpent is absent from the text. Moreover, Tzetzes seems here to ascribe to the word αὐτός a peculiar meaning: ‘all by himself, with no help from outside’. Though the pronoun is used sometimes in a similar sense⁴, here such an interpretation would be far fetched.

Straining the meaning of συμπάσχειν, one could claim that it might refer to being bitten by the serpent: Polyidus sees that it is going to bite the corpse and fears that very soon he himself (now αὐτός fits better the context) will feel its bite.

These interpretations have a fundamental flaw in common. If we accept either of them, the snake’s approach to the dead body becomes needless from the point of view of the economy of the story. In Tzetzes’ version it is enough for the serpent just to enter the grave to become a possible instrument of suicide. In the other version, it would be much simpler if it attacked Polyidus.

These considerations – as well as the grammatical necessity to change the subjunctive after εἰ to an optative – probably led BEKKER to propose the excellent emendation of the last clause: εἴ τι τὸ σῶμα πάθοι.

This part of the sentence can be regarded as healed, but there are still some problems with the words preceding it. The first difficulty is of a grammatical nature. The particle ἄν seems out of place with μή and a subjunctive in an object clause after a verb of fearing, even if that clause is followed by a conditional one⁵. This problem was also noticed by BEKKER, who tried to solve it by changing ἄν into κἄν. The latter form, though originally a contraction of καὶ ἄν or καὶ ἔάν, in later Greek becomes just a particle meaning ‘even’⁶.

Nevertheless, the sense still seems strange. FRAZER translates the sentence with BEKKER’s emendations: “He threw a stone and killed it, fearing to be killed himself if any harm befell the body”⁷. This would mean that Polyidus was foreseeing some kind of regular supervision of the grave with inspection of Glaucus’ body. Moreover, in this version the seer becomes the guardian of the corpse, responsible for its state.

The horror of Polyidus’ situation, however, consists in something different. He is going to stay in the grave forever, unless he finds a way to bring Glaucus back to life. Such a happy event, by itself very improbable, would be made impossible if the body were harmed. It seems that the seer’s faint hopes are founded on the way the boy died: he drowned in a jar full of honey, and honey was used sometimes in the Greek world to preserve bodies⁸. Now the special condition

⁴ Cf. LSJ s.v., I 3: ‘by oneself or itself, alone’.

⁵ To be sure, sometimes μή is followed by an optative with ἄν or by a whole conditional sentence in optative. See SMYTH 1956: § 2232.

⁶ See LSJ s.v. κἄν I 3.

⁷ FRAZER 1913.

⁸ Cf. e.g. Xen. *HG* V 3, 19.

of the body is going to be lost due to the snake's bite. It would be quite natural if in such a moment Polyidus concentrated not on his own fate, no matter how miserable it seemed, but on the safety of Glaucus' body. So he does in Hyginus' version of the myth: "draco repente ad corpus pueri processit, quod Polyidus aestimans eum velle consumere, gladio repente percussit et occidit"⁹.

This is why the pronoun αὐτός seems here suspect. Let us notice that it appears in the manuscripts just after the particle ἄν, itself unacceptable from a grammatical perspective. Thus it becomes an attractive possibility to reduce two problems into one and to assume that ἄν αὐτός is the result of corruption of a word that stood in the original text. This word is, in my opinion, ἀνίατος. Though most often it pertains to incurable diseases, it can be also applied to people who cannot be cured¹⁰. A parallel to μὴ ἀνίατος τελευτήση can be found in a treatise by Galen: ἄχρις ἂν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀνίατος γενόμενος εἰς καχεξίαν τε τοῦ παντὸς σώματος ἀφίκηται τε καὶ πολλῷ χρόνῳ κακοπαθήσας ἀποθάνῃ¹¹. If we introduce ἀνίατος into the text and keep BEKKER's emendation εἴ τι τὸ σῶμα πάθοι, we shall obtain the following result: τοῦτον βαλὼν λίθῳ ἀπέκτεινε, δέισας μὴ ἀνίατος τελευτήση, εἴ τι τὸ σῶμα πάθοι – "hitting the serpent with a stone, he killed it, out of fear that Glaucus would die with no chance of being cured should his body suffer any harm". Here τὸ σῶμα is no longer the subject, but rather an accusative of respect. The change of the subject may seem awkward, but the previous sentence ended with a mention of the boy (εἶδε δράκοντα ἐπὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἰόντα).

One could raise here the objection that Glaucus is already dead, so it is too late to fear his death. Still, in the context of a possible healing, it is natural to assume that he is at least potentially alive. After all, the expression "incurably dead", though it appears almost 200 times on the Internet, is absurd both in English and in Greek.

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⁹ Hyg. *Fab.* 136, 6.

¹⁰ See LSJ s.v., 2.

¹¹ Gal. *De methodo medendi* 12, vol. X, p. 864 KÜHN.

ZUM *MOCIUM PANEM* ZU WERDEN...
KLEINE GEDANKEN ZU EINEM GROSSEN BUCH*

Von

KATARZYNA MARCINIAK

„Disce puer Latine, ego te faciam Mocium Panem“ – diese Worte kennen alle Polen, obwohl nicht alle Latein lernen, trotz der realen Vorteile, die in dieser Redewendung angesagt sind. *Mocium Panem* bezieht sich nämlich nicht auf Brotbacken: es ist ein makaronisches Versprechen. Einer Anekdote nach, wurde es im 16. Jahrhundert vom polnischen König Stefan Batory gemacht. Batory war zu Besuch in einer Schule der Stadt Zamość. Mit diesen Worten wandte er sich angeblich an einen der Schüler, um ihn zu ermuntern, Latein zu lernen: Der Junge werde in Zukunft, dank seiner Kenntnis des Lateinischen, einen Adelstitel erhalten¹.

Die Zeiten haben sich verändert, die Adelstitel sind ein Teil mehr oder weniger lebendiger Vergangenheit, aber die Vorteile, die aus dem *Studium Latinum* fließen, haben sich nicht erschöpft. Diese zählt Wilfried STROH, emeritierter Professor für Klassische Philologie an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, in seinem Buch *Latein ist tot, es lebe Latein! Kleine Geschichte einer grossen Sprache*, auf². Das im Jahr 2007 veröffentlichte Werk ist per sofort ein Bestseller auf dem deutschen Buchmarkt geworden und hat bereits mehrere Ausgaben erlebt. Das ist ein Phänomen, dass ein Buch, das dem Lateinischen gewidmet ist, einen derart grossen Erfolg erlangt hat, und dies im 21. Jahrhundert,

* Der vorliegende Beitrag ist mit der Unterstützung des Stipendiums für herausragende junge Wissenschaftler des polnischen Hochschulministeriums entstanden.

¹ Batory hat angeblich das Wort „Mościpanie“ verwendet, in Zamość oder sogar in Vilnius. Der Adressat war vermutlich Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, der künftige polnische Hauptmann und Feldherr, der aus einer bekannten Adelsfamilie abstammte. Später hat sich jedoch auch die Version mit „Mocium Panem“ verbreitet und Chodkiewicz wurde selten erwähnt, so dass das Dictum universale, noch stärkere Bedeutung gewann (Cf. Wincenty POL, *Pamiętnik do literatury polskiej XIX wieku*, Lwów 1866, S. 61).

² Wilfried STROH, *Latein ist tot, es lebe Latein! Kleine Geschichte einer grossen Sprache*, Berlin: List, 2007, 415 S.

in dem die Welt die Dämmerung der Idee eines Kanons bereits hinter sich hat, in dem die Kolonialreiche schon längst zerfallen sind und in dem jene Generationen, die in der Mittelmeertradition erzogenen worden sind, sich davon überzeugt haben, dass es noch andere, ebenso wertvolle Traditionen gibt. STROH ist sich dieses Wandels bewusst. Er ist sich auch dessen bewusst, dass der Erforscher der Antike heute den richtigen Schlüssel finden muss, um die Leser zu erreichen, die im *Studium Latinum* so viel Sinn wie in einem exotischen Hobby erblicken. Deshalb beginnt STROH sein Buch mit Bedacht. Schon in der Einleitung (*Introitus*) stellt er die Frage, die alle Zweifel, die wir an der Schwelle des neuen Millenniums haben, offenlegt: *Wozu Latein?*

Einen ähnlichen Titel trug eine Sammlung der Vorträge von Tadeusz Zieliński, einem eminenten Altphilologen des späten neunzehnten und frühen zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts, der – ganz wie STROH – auch ein „Cicerofanatiker“ (im besten Sinne des Wortes) war: *Wozu Homer? Die antike Welt und wir (Po co Homer? Świat antyczny a my)*³. Heute scheint es das einzige sinnvolle Vorgehen zu sein, solche Fragen zu stellen: Sie neigen die Forscher antiker Zivilisation demütig zu sein, aber auch sich mit der Wirklichkeit tapfer zu messen, um die Rolle und den richtigen Platz für die Vergangenheit in der Gegenwart zu entdecken.

STROH nimmt die Herausforderung der Gegenwart furchtlos an und nennt alle Vorteile, die das Studium des Lateinischen mit sich bringt. Neben dem sozialen Aufstieg, dessen Spuren in dem *bon mot* des Batory sichtbar sind, werden folgende Vorzüge genannt: Man versteht problemlos die Wissenschaftsterminologie, man lernt Fremdsprachen leicht und schnell, man fasst den Kern eines Gedankens schärfer, man zwingt sich dabei in besonderer Weise zum Denken⁴. Ja viel mehr! Es zeigt sich, dass man dank der Kenntnis des Lateinischen zum Millionär werden kann. STROH führt nämlich die Ansicht von Günther Jauch, dem Kult-Moderatoren der RTL-Station, an, der seit Jahren die Sendung *Wer wird Millionär?* führt⁵. Jauch hat einmal zugegeben, dass es die Kenntnis der lateinischen Sprache erlaubt, die Mehrheit der im Spiel gestellten Fragen richtig zu beantworten. Auch wenn ein Teilnehmer sich in der gegebenen Disziplin nicht gut auskennt, gibt ihm das Lateinische Hinweise zur Bedeutung der Begriffe, die in der Frage benutzt werden. Dies ist im Übrigen keine Eigenart der deutschen Ausgabe des Quiz. In Polen bezogen sich die Fragen der letzten Etappe oft gerade auf die Altertumswissenschaften, z. B. auf die Waffen der Artemis, auf die punischen Kriege, auf Ciceros Rede *Pro Archia poeta*... Heute würde König Batory seinem jungen Gesprächspartner also versprechen: „Disce puer Latine, ego te faciam Millionärem. Id est hominem divitiis abundantem“...

³ T. ZIELIŃSKI, *Po co Homer? Świat antyczny a my (Wozu Homer? Die antike Welt und wir)*, wybór i posłowie A. BIERNACKI, Kraków 1970.

⁴ STROH, *o.c.* (Anm. 2), S. 313.

⁵ Ibidem, S. 12.

Natürlich kann es geschehen, dass die lateinische Sprache – unter gewissen Umständen – „gefährlich“ wird. Im Jahr 2004 fand in meinem Institut eine Verhandlung statt, die von der englischen Ausgabe des Buches *Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe* (Latin: *Or the Empire of a Sign*) der französischen Forscherin Françoise Waquet inspiriert war⁶. Waquet hatte sich einer Methode bedient, die selten von den Altphilologen verwendet wird, und hatte ein Bild des Lateinischen in der Kultur von Europa und den Vereinigten Staaten geschaffen, das heftige Diskussionen in den Forschermilieus vieler Länder provoziert hat.

Während der Verhandlung, die unter dem Titel „Latein auf der Anklagebank“ geführt wurde⁷, konnte man viele ernste Vorwürfe hören, u. a., die Angeklagte (die *Lingua Latina*) sei undemokratisch und habe über Jahrhunderte hinweg allen jenen den gesellschaftlichen Aufstieg versperrt, die sich nicht erlauben konnten, sie zu erlernen (nicht alle hatten nämlich so viel Glück wie der Junge, an den sich der König Batory gewendet hat). Die Mehrheit der Vorwürfe – Professor Jerzy Axer als Richter war keinesfalls unparteiisch – wurde glücklicherweise abgewiesen⁸.

Man muss aber betonen, dass Waquet, deren Buch sehr wertvoll ist, weil es eine notwendige wissenschaftliche Gärung verursacht hat, den Wert der antiken Kultur an sich nicht in Frage stellt. Sie ist vielmehr der Meinung, dass das Lateinische heute eine Domäne der Spezialisten werden solle, gleich vielen exotischen Sprachen; die Mehrheit der Gesellschaft könne hingegen mit den Meisterwerken der Antike durch Übersetzungen vertraut werden.

Es ist schade, dass Professor STROH im Gerichtssaal im polnischen *Barbaricum* nicht anwesend war, weil die Geistesgemeinschaft, die während der Diskussion entstanden ist, eine Stimmung hervorbrachte, die auch der Atmosphäre seines Buches entspricht. Professor Juliusz Domański, der die Notwendigkeit des *Studium Latinum* in den Schulen verteidigte, bemerkte, dass die lateinische Sprache einzigartige Erlebnisse schafft, zu denen bereits die Jüngsten freien Zutritt haben sollten⁹. Auch Professor STROH betont den speziellen Charakter der Erlebnisse, die der Mensch dank dem Lateinischen erfährt. Und mehr dazu: Nachdem er mit eiserner akademischer Logik die Vorteile der Kenntnis dieser Sprache genannt hat, behauptet er furchtlos (um nicht zu sagen: mit *audacia*), dass sich die Erfolgskarriere des Lateinischen „mit blossen Nützlichkeitserwägungen“ nicht

⁶ F. WAQUET, *Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe: XVIe–XXe siècle*, Paris 1998 (Engl. Ausgabe: *Latin: Or the Empire of a Sign: from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, London–New York 2001).

⁷ Der Bericht (inkl. CD) in: *Łacina na lawie oskarżonych* (Latein auf der Anklagebank), Warszawa 2004.

⁸ Bei Gelegenheit schenkte man Aufmerksamkeit u. a. auf die Klagen eines jesuitischen Missionären, der jammerte, dass seit wann er den Indianern Latein beigebracht hatte, begannen diese sich empören und wollten nicht mehr sklavische Arbeiten ausführen (*Łacina na lawie oskarżonych*, S. 7, im Auftreten von Joanna PARTYKA, der Hauptanklägerin).

⁹ *Łacina na lawie oskarżonych*, S. 35.

erklären lässt¹⁰. STROH schreibt also nicht über den Nutzen, sondern über „den Zauber des Lateinischen“¹¹, über „eine fast unerklärliche Macht“¹², die infolge des „Erlebnisses lebendigster Meisterwerke“ erwacht – infolge der Kontakte mit den Meisterwerken der antiken Poesie und Prosa ohne Vermittlung der Übersetzer.

STROHS Buch zu lesen ist nicht nur aufgrund seines Erkenntniswerts und der übersichtlichen Struktur, dank deren sowohl die Forscher, als auch Leser ohne wissenschaftliche Vorbereitung aus der Lektüre mannigfaltige Nutzen ziehen können, eine grosse Freude¹³. Die Kraft des Buches liegt in der Passion des Verfassers. STROH verbirgt nicht, dass das Latein seine heiss geliebte Sprache ist. Das Internet-Portal *geo.de* hat ihn sogar – und ohne Übertreibung – *Latin Lover* genannt¹⁴. Tatsächlich beschreibt STROH das Lateinische so als erzähle er über eine Person von Fleisch und Blut, *cum amore et studio*. Auf den Seiten seines Buches schafft er eine faszinierende Biographie der Königin der Sprachen, *linguarum Regina*. Wenn wir durch die Seiten blättern, lernen wir die Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache seit ihrer Geburt kennen, oder wenigstens seit ihrer frühen Kindheit, weil die ersten Tage von STROHS Geliebter noch immer im Nebel des Geheimnisses verborgen sind.

Der Autor erzählt temperamentvoll von den ersten Denkmälern des Lateinischen, wie die berühmte *fibula Praenestina*, er bemerkt aber, dass sie eine gute Fälschung sein könnte. In den weiteren Kapiteln stellt STROH vor, wie sich die lateinische Sprache mit dem Aufstieg des *Imperium Romanum* verbreitete, und wie sie dann, nach dem Niedergang der antiken Welt – von der Kirche und den Barbaren übernommen wurde. STROH verfolgt insbesondere den Prozess der Wandlung des Lateinischen, das aus der Muttersprache der Römer in die Sprache der intellektuellen Eliten Europas umgestaltet wurde. Er zeigt seine Rolle in der Karolingischen Renaissance, und später in der „echten“ Renaissance, in der Reformationszeit und in der Aufklärung, bis in die Gegenwart. Der Autor vermeidet dabei schwierige Themen nicht, wie z. B. die privilegierte Stellung der Latinisten im Italien des Mussolini, der das *Studium Latinum* begünstigte, um die Kultur der Römer ideologisch zu benutzen: viele der Forscher waren sich anfangs nicht bewusst, dass sie an einem Kampf um die Seelen teilnahmen...

STROHS Buch ist auch für jene interessant, die sich mit Wissenschaftsgeschichte beschäftigen. Obwohl die klassische Philologie in Deutschland ein starkes philhellenischen Merkmal trägt, betont und verdeutlicht STROH die Schlüsselrolle des

¹⁰ STROH, *o.c.* (Anm. 2), S. 311.

¹¹ Ibidem, S. 15.

¹² Ibidem, S. 311.

¹³ Dazu helfen auch: ein Appendix mit der lateinischen Aussprache, eine Zeittafel, Literaturhinweise, Anmerkungen und zwei Register (von Personen und Sachen).

¹⁴ Cf. Arndt KREMER im Interview mit Wilfried STROH: *Latein – Totgesagte leben länger*, <http://www.geo.de/GEO/kultur/geschichte/58577.html> (Zugang: 10. Januar 2011).

Lateinischen für die deutsche Kultur als einer Vermittlerin zwischen der Welt der Griechen und den späteren Epochen.

In der Auswahl des Quellenmaterials für die Neuzeit bewegt sich STROH vor allem im deutschen Bereich. Er schreibt doch besonders für seine Mitbürger. Viel Platz widmet er z. B. dem neulateinischen Dichter Jacobus Balde, SJ, der im 17. Jahrhundert in Bayern tätig war. Eine solche Erschränkung der Perspektive ist jedoch kein Mangel. Schon in der Vorbemerkung erklärt STROH den Lesern seine Wahlkriterien und erwähnt auch, was besonders berührt, viele andere Nationen, die der lateinischen Gemeinschaft angehören:

Auch bei der Auswahl des Stoffs habe ich, von der Zeit der Renaissance an, mehr an Deutschland als an andere Länder gedacht. So mögen mir also Spanier, Franzosen, Engländer, ja auch Polen und Ungarn verzeihen, wenn die Lateinheroen ihrer Völker hier etwas weniger Berücksichtigung finden, wenn ich mehr von Luther als von Calvin, mehr von Hutten als von Muret, mehr von Balde als von Sarbiewski spreche: „Nicht alle können wir alles“, sagt Vergil¹⁵.

Die zahlreichen Beispiele, die STROH aus dem deutschsprachigen Kulturkreis wählt, ergänzen und illustrieren ausgezeichnet seine Darlegung. Sie sind zugleich eine wertvolle Informationsquelle für die Forscher aus anderen Regionen Europas, die mit der deutschen Geschichte nicht so gut vertraut sind. STROH betrachtet dabei die ganze Problematik mit solcher Leichtigkeit und Heiterkeit, dass sich alle Leser in den gegebenen Aspekten ohne grosse Schwierigkeiten orientieren werden.

STROHS Einstellung zum Thema beweist dabei die phänomenale Eigenart des Lateins. Die Sprache ist so elastisch, dass sie einerseits den europäischen Nationen fast wie eine Muttersprache dient, die sie an ihre kulturellen und politischen Bedürfnisse anpassen, wie der obenerwähnte Fall von Balde zeigt. Andererseits ist das Latein eine überzeitliche und übernationale Sprache der Literatur, die eine wirksame Kommunikation über die Grenzen hinweg erlaubt, was STROH am Beispiel zweier Autoren zeigt, die schon Petrarca als Augen seiner Sprache genannt hat – *gli occhi della lingua nostra*¹⁶ – *nostra*, also dieser italienischen, aber man kann hier gleichfalls fast jede andere Sprache unterstellen: die englische, deutsche, polnische... Petrarca und STROH meinen natürlich Cicero und Vergil. In seinem Buch bezeugt STROH, dass diese antiken Autoren – aber auch viele andere – im Bewusstsein oder im Unbewusstsein der Menschheit bis zum 21. Jahrhundert lebendig sind.

STROH zeigt dabei – und das ist ein weiterer grosser Vorteil seines Buches, der einen Blick auf das Latein aus neuer Perspektive ermöglicht –, dass das Lateinische nicht nur die Sprache der antiker Römer – „eines Volkes der

¹⁵ STROH, *o.c.* (Anm. 2), S. 9 f.

¹⁶ Petrarca, *Trionfo della Fama* 3, 21.

Urzeiten“ – ist, sondern dass es unseren Alltag formt: es ist ein Teil unserer Literatur, Erziehung, Wissenschaft. Seit Generationen bildet das Lateinische unsere Identität. Dazu herrscht dank der lateinischen Sprache eine Gerechtigkeit zwischen den Menschen, nicht nur weil es schon keine Muttersprachler mehr gibt, die Oberhand über andere Benutzer der Sprache gewinnen könnten, wie es mit dem Englischen passiert. Dank dem Lateinischen entsteht eine intellektuelle Gemeinschaft, die im Edelmut des Geistes verbunden ist.

Es ist ein Paradox, dass alle diese Phänomene dadurch verursacht und möglich sind, dass die lateinische Sprache tot ist. Mit bewunderungswerter Kühnheit und wider Erwarten versucht STROH nämlich nicht, das Lateinische als eine lebendige Sprache zu verteidigen. Ganz im Gegenteil. Schon im Titel des Buches stellt er eine These, die er in seiner ganzen Darlegung durchführen und beweisen wird. Latein sei tot, und dies sogar seit den Zeiten des Kaisers Augustus, als die Struktur der Sprache nach dem Entstehen der Meisterwerke von Vergil, Horaz und Ovid, aufgehört habe, sich auf bedeutsame Weise zu entwickeln, um sich später vor allem im Wortschatz zu bereichern. Im Tod aber fand die lateinische Sprache ihre Rettung – den Weg zur Unsterblichkeit: „Nur weil Latein gestorben ist, konnte es unsterblich werden“ – schreibt STROH¹⁷. Unabhängig von der Epoche, dank einer einzigartigen „Erstarrung“, schaffte es das Latein, die Menschheit über die Zeit und über Grenzen hinweg zu verbinden. In diesem Sinn wurde es „die erfolgreichste Sprache der Welt“. Im 14. Jahrhundert konnte also Petrarca an Cicero lateinische Briefe schreiben und erwarten, dass er – falls er eine Antwort bekäme – diese problemlos verstehen würde. Und im 21. Jahrhundert kann STROH erwarten, dass er sich – wenn ein Loch in der Raumzeit entstände oder eine Zeitreise möglich wäre – sowohl mit Cicero als auch mit Petrarca verständigen könnte. Und natürlich mit dem König Batory.

Warum aber bediente sich Batory im Gespräch mit dem Schüler von Zamość eines lateinisch-polnischen Makaronismus? Na ja... Der König, der aus Ungarn (bzw. Siebenbürgen) kam, um den Thron von Polen zu besteigen, sprach kein Polnisch. Er unterhielt sich also mit seinen neuen Untertanen in der Sprache, die für das polnische Adeltum die zweite Sprache war – auf Lateinisch. In der Republik Beider Nationen hatte die Sprache Ciceros einen speziellen Status¹⁸. Mehrere Jahrhunderte lang diente sie als Botschafterin der republikanischen Freiheiten.

Das Lateinische bewahrte seine hohe Stellung auch nach den Teilungen Polens, als das Land für zwölf Dekaden von der Weltkarte verschwand: Noch am 10. Dezember 1905, also dreizehn Jahre vor der Wiedergewinnung der nationalen

¹⁷ STROH, o.c. (Anm. 2), S. 313.

¹⁸ Cf. J. AXER, *Łacina jako drugi język narodu szlacheckiego w Rzeczypospolitej* (Latein als die zweite Sprache der Adelsnation in der Republik Beider Nationen), in: J. AXER (Hrsg.), *Łacina jako język elit* (Latein als die Sprache der Eliten), Warszawa 2004, S. 151–156.

Unabhängigkeit, hielt Henryk Sienkiewicz, als er den Nobelpreis – nicht nur für seinen „römischen“ Roman *Quo vadis*, sondern auch für die Bücher über verschiedene Ereignisse aus der polnischen Geschichte – bekam, die Vorlesung im Beisein der König der Schweden und der Nobel-Akademie eben in der lateinischen Sprache. Und später, als Polen sich hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang befand, begann das Lateinische die Funktion der äsopischen Sprache zu erfüllen: die Referenzen zur antiken Kultur dienten als Kommentare zu aktuellen politischen Erfahrungen. So geschah es z. B. im Fall von Kazimierz Kumaniecki, einem ausgezeichneten Altphilologen, der während des Zweiten Weltkriegs Soldat der Polnischen Heimatarmee (Armia Krajowa) war und später sah, wie viele ihrer Mitglieder durch die prosowjetischen Sicherheitsdienste verfolgt wurden. In dem Buch *Cicero und seine Zeitgenossen* (*Cycon i jego współcześni*)¹⁹ schaffte Kumaniecki ein durchdringendes Bild von einem Intellektuellen, der im System lebt, das peinliche Entscheidungen erzwingt. Die Antike ist eine tragische Maske der Gegenwart geworden.

Diese Funktion des klassischen Altertums verwendete auch Jacek Bocheński, einer der besten modernen Schriftsteller Polens. Die ersten zwei Teile seiner *Römischen Trilogie*²⁰ über das Leben ohne Freiheit, das Leben unter der Tyrannei, riefen eine scharfe Reaktion der kommunistischen Zensur hervor.

Infolge der geschichtlichen Erfahrungen, in denen das Lateinische eine wichtige Rolle spielte, schrien die polnischen Studenten im Jahr 1968 nicht wie ihre französischen Kollegen nach Régis Messac: „À bas le latin!“ Sie meinten auch nicht, wie junge Leute aus Italien: „Cicero is our enemy. Hegel is our god. Marx is our prophet“²¹. Latein ist aber nicht nur eine zweischneidige Waffe, die in Ost-Europa der Verteidigung gegen die Kommunisten, im Westen der „Unterdrückung“ der Jugend durch die Konservativen half. Ciceros Sprache dient auch als ein Schlüssel zum Verständnis der Unterschiede im Verhalten der Gesellschaften in verschiedenen Zeiten und Regionen Europas, und vielleicht auch ausserhalb. Wie Jerzy Axer in einer Art Einführung in die Schriftensammlung *Latein als die Sprache der Eliten* (*Łacina jako język elit*) festgestellt hat, bleibt die Bedeutung des Lateinischen in den europäischen Kulturen einer der vernachlässigten Bereiche, obwohl sie sehr wichtig für das Verständnis der Strukturen

¹⁹ K. KUMANIECKI, *Cycon i jego współcześni* (*Cicero und seine Zeitgenossen*), Warszawa 1959, ²1989 (auch in italienischer Übersetzung: *Cicerone e la crisi della repubblica romana*, Roma 1972).

²⁰ J. BOCHENSKI, *Boski Juliusz. Zapiski antykwariusza*, Warszawa 1961 (Deutsche Ausgabe: *Göttlicher Julius. Aufzeichnungen eines Antiquars*, übersetzt von W. TIEL, München 1961); J. BOCHENSKI, *Nazo poeta*, Warszawa 1969 (Deutsche Ausgabe: *Der Täter heisst Ovid*, übersetzt von P. LACHMANN, Wien 1975).

²¹ Cf. M.W. FISHWICK, *Cicero, Classicism, and Popular Culture*, New York 2007, S. 121.

von moderner Mentalität sind²². Das Buch von Stroh, der viele interessante Aspekte der deutschen Kultur eben aus einer solchen Perspektive berührt, ist ein ausgezeichnetes Beispiel, welch merkwürdige Effekte man erreichen kann, wenn die lateinische Sprache als Führerin gewählt wird – wenn wir ihr Leben nach dem Tod analysieren.

Damit uns das Latein führen kann, muss es – dies ist offensichtlich, man muss es jedoch laut sagen – bekannt sein. Das *Studium Latinum* ist aber keine leichte Aufgabe für die Lehrer. Für die Schüler ist es oft eine unvergessene Pein. Die Literatur bewahrt zahlreiche schmerzvolle Erinnerungen der Lehrlinge an den Lateinunterricht. Nur einige, wie der grosse polnische Dichter und Klassizist Zbigniew Herbert, der nach Jahren seinen grauenvollen Lehrer mit dem Spitznamen „Grzesio“ dankbar erinnert, haben Verständnis für den Schmerz, den die Latinisten den Schülern verursachen („qui bene amat, bene castigat“)²³. Die Mehrheit behält im Kopf, wie der Protagonist des berühmten Romans *Ferdynand* von Witold Gombrowicz, ein groteskes Bild eines „Lateinlehrerchens“, „diesem grauen Täubchen mit einem kleinen Stäubling auf der Nase“, der den Schülern einreden versucht, dass die Endung einer der Formen des *Futurum* der dritten Konjugation den Mensch bereichert:

Nauczyciel: [...] jeżeli ja mówię, że wzbogaca, to wzbogaca! Przecież ja mówię, że wzbogaca. Niech Galkiewicz zaufa mi! Zwykły umysł nie pojmie tych wielkich korzyści! Żeby pojąć, trzeba samemu po długoletnich studiach stać się zgoła niezwykłym umysłem! Chryste Panie, wszak w ciągu ubiegłego roku przerobiłszy siedemdziesiąt trzy wiersze z Cezara, w których to wierszach Cezar opisuje, jak ustawił swoje kohorty na wzgórku. Czyż te siedemdziesiąt trzy wiersze tudzież słówka nie objawiły Galkiewiczowi mistycznie wszystkich bogactw antycznego świata? Czyż nie nauczyły stylu, jasności myślenia, precyzji wyśłowienia i sztuki wojennej?

Galkiewicz: Niczego! Niczego! Żadnej sztuki²⁴.

Lehrer: [...] wenn ich sage, dass sie bereichert, heißt es, dass sie bereichert! Doch ich sage, dass sie bereichert! [Der Schüler] Galkiewicz soll mir vertrauen! Ein durchschnittlicher Geist kann diese grossen Vorteile nicht begreifen! Um sie zu begreifen, muss man selbst nach langjährigen Studien ein nicht durchschnittlicher Geist werden! O mein Gott, im vergangenen Jahr haben wir dreiundsiebzig Verse

²² Cf. J. AXER, *Sytuacja metodologiczna w badaniach nad źródłami łacińskojęzycznymi okresu nowożytnego* (Die methodologische Situation in der lateinischen Quellenforschung der Neuzeit), in: *Łacina jako język...* (Anm. 18), S. 25. Cf. auch die Hefte, die in Rahmen des Projekts *Łacina w Polsce i w Europie Środkowowschodniej* (Latein in Polen und Zentral- und Ost-Europa) in den Jahren 1993–2000 erschienen (Hrsg. J. AXER, Warszawa).

²³ Cf. Z. HERBERT, *Lekcja łaciny* (Lateinunterricht), in der Sammlung von seinen Essayen: *Labyrynt nad morzem* (Labyrinth am Meer), Warszawa 2000, s. 185, zum ersten Mal veröffentlicht (als Sammlungsvorschau) in: *Zeszyty Literackie* LXXII 2000.

²⁴ Cf. W. GOMBROWICZ, *Ferdynand*, Kapitel III: *Przylapanie i dalsze miętoszenie* (Ertappung und weitere Zerknitterung), Warszawa 1938 (S. 58 f., nach der Ausgabe 1987).

aus Caesar gemacht, in denen nun Caesar beschreibt, wie er seine Kohorten auf einem Hügelchen aufgestellt hat. Haben diese dreiundsiebzig Verse oder Worte nicht den ganzen Reichtum der antiken Welt auf mystischer Weise für Galkiewicz offenbar gemacht? Haben sie [ihn] nicht den Stil, die Klarheit des Denkens, die Präzision der Sprache und der Kriegskunst gelehrt?

Galkiewicz: Nichts! Nichts! Keine einzige Kunst²⁵.

Seit der Veröffentlichung von *Ferdydurke* sind zwar mehr als siebenzig Jahren vergangen, solche Geschichten aber wiederholen sich noch heute. Viele der Leser von STROHS Buch, die von seiner Darstellung des Themas begeistert sind, haben keine gute Erinnerungen an das Lateinstudium: einer meldet sich auf dem Internet-Portal amazon.de wie folgt:

Mein Lateinlehrer in der 3. Klasse Gymnasium (7. Klasse in Deutschland) war ein kleinwüchsiger Giftzwerg, der seine Komplexe an den Schülern ausliess, völlig irre Strafen verteilte, noch bevor man etwas getan hatte, etwa nur weil man lächelte etc. Der Teufel möge ihn peinigen!²⁶

STROH versteht diese „dunkle“ Seite des Lateinischen und verbindet nicht nur in seinem Buch, sondern auch in seiner Arbeit generell den Forscherenthusiasmus mit der Passion eines Didaktikers. Zu diesem Zweck entscheidet er sich, einen Schritt zu machen, der natürlich scheint, obgleich er für viele „Traditionalisten“ sehr schwer zu machen ist – er appelliert nämlich: *Loquamur Latine!*

STROH ruft dazu auf, Lateinisch zu sprechen und in der didaktischen Arbeit solche Materialien zu nutzen wie z. B. die zeitgenössische Literatur oder Musik. Und die Wahl ist wider alles Erwarten gross – Comics, Poesie, Übersetzungen solch berühmter Bücher wie *Das Parfum (Fragrantia. Historia homicidae)* von Patrick Süskind oder die Harry Potter-Serie (*Harrius Potter et philosophi lapis*, *Harrius Potter et camera secretorum*) von J.K. Rowling²⁷, die Musikstücke des tschechischen Komponisten Jan Novák, und sogar die lateinische Version des Liedes *Yellow Submarine (Lutea navis subaquatica)* von den Beatles...

Ist es aber möglich, durch lateinischen Rock'n'Roll und durch audiovisuelle Lehrmittel, die in Wirklichkeit nur ein Ersatz für den Kontakt mit dem Latein der grossen Meister der klassischen Periode bilden, die Schüler zu diesen Meistern

²⁵ Übers. von K.M.

²⁶ Cf. <http://www.amazon.de/product-reviews/3548608094> (Zugang: 10. Januar 2011). Es lohnt sich zu betonen, dass der Autor der Rezension, der als Amadeus auftritt, an STROHS Buch fünf von fünf Sternen gibt.

²⁷ P. SÜSKIND, *Fragrantia. Historia homicidae*, übersetzt von N. GROSS, Weissenhorn 2008; J.K. ROWLING, *Harrius Potter et philosophi lapis*, übersetzt von P. NEEDHAM, New York 2003; *Harrius Potter et camera secretorum*, übersetzt von P. NEEDHAM, New York 2006; dazu gibt es zu lesen: *Pinoculus Latinus (Pinocchio)*, *Regulus (Der kleine Prinz)*, *Rebilius Cruso (Robinson Crusoe)*, *Winnie Ille Pu (Winnie the Pooh)*, *Invidiosulus Nomine Grinchus (Grinch)*, *Cattus Petasatus (The Cat in the Hat)* von Dr. Seuss und viele andere. Vielleicht dank Professor Stroh werden wir in der Zukunft auch einen Film über Cicero sehen können, natürlich mit dem Forscher in der Hauptrolle.

heranzuführen? Ist es möglich, auf dieser Weise bewirken, dass sie Freude aus der Lektüre von Ciceros Reden und Vergils Poesie zu empfinden beginnen? Die Antwort scheint positiv zu sein. Zumindest haben solche Methoden bessere Aussichten auf Erfolg als eine schematische grammatische Zergliederung von Catulls Gedicht an Lesbia über die Küsse. Wie Stroh sachlich bemerkt, gibt es auf diesem Wege keinen Raum für die poetische Stimmung²⁸. Und die Anzahl der Stunden, die dem Lateinstudium in der Schule gewidmet sind, lässt sehr selten Zeit, zu den „durchgenommenen“ Werken zurückkehren, um sie erneut zu lesen. Wenn der Lehrer in den Schülern jedoch Begeisterung und Neugier erwacht, kann er verursachen, dass sie alleine weiter studieren möchten.

Die geschickte Methode von STROH ist auch in seinem Buch spürbar. Die Vorbemerkung, *Praefatio*, hat er auf Lateinisch geschrieben. Lateinische Wörter oder Phrasen finden sich in allen Kapiteltiteln. Durch den ganzen Text ziehen sich verschiedene Maximen, die STROH übersetzt und dadurch die Leser beiläufig lehrt, einer berühmten und klassischen Regel entsprechend: *docere, movere, delectare*. Sind die „Native-Speakers“ schon seit langem tot? Na und? Latein ist auch tot, aber es kommt mit sich selbst ganz gut in dem neuen Millennium zu-recht. STROH will für das Lateinische nur (so viel?) das, was für andere Sprachen natürlich ist – dass es zur Kommunikation benutzt wird. Und da er als seinen Meister Cicero gewählt hat – den grössten Stilisten aller Zeiten –, liest sich das Buch auf Deutsch auch ausgezeichnet. Der Stil ist hinreissend und rein. Die Protagonistin – fabelhaft. Also: *operae pretium est*. Es lohnt sich *Mocium Panem Valahfridum* durch die magische Welt des Lateinischen zu begleiten.

* * *

Jacek Bocheński hat in seinem Vortrag *Noster*, den er während des internationalen Kongresses der Polnischen Gesellschaft für Klassische Philologie gehalten hat²⁹, die Frage, die ihm einmal eine Frau gestellt hatte, angeführt: „Warum lernen wir nicht mehr Latein?“ Der Schriftsteller war zunächst sprachlos und überrascht, machte sich aber bald klar, dass wir es immer noch lernen. Aber wozu tun wir dies? Zu dieser Frage kehrt auch STROH am Ende seines Buches zurück: „Wozu Latein?“ Und nochmals wirft er alle rationalen Argumente ab, die es natürlich in grosser Menge gibt. Im Vergleich zum Erlebnis der Meisterwerke, das der Student auf einem gewissen Niveau zu fühlen beginnt, werden sie aber bedeutungslos. Auch Bocheński schreibt über den intimen Kontakt mit den latei-

²⁸ STROH, o.c. (Anm. 2), S. 305 f.

²⁹ J. BOCHEŃSKI, *Noster*, in: B. MILEWSKA-WAŻBIŃSKA, J. DOMAŃSKI (Hrsgg.), *Owidiusz – twórczość, recepcja, legenda (Ovid – Werk, Rezeption, Legende)*, Warszawa 2006, S. 17–23, Nachdruck in: J. BOCHEŃSKI, *Antyk po antyku (Antike nach der Antike)*, Warszawa 2010, S. 54–65.

nischen Autoren. *Noster* ist für ihn Ovid, doch sind Bocheńskis Worte genauso wahr in Bezug auf jeden anderen Dichter oder Prosaiker der Antike:

Żeby ich ocalić, jak zagrożony wyginieciem gatunek zwierząt, konieczna jest miłość. Nie wystarczy ich poznać, nie wystarczy opisać obojętnie, trzeba coś dla nich zrobić, trzeba się o nich zatroszczyć. Muszą nam być drodzy. Trzeba się nimi przejąć, trzeba wspólnie z nimi czuć, coś bezinteresownie przeżyć razem z nimi, trzeba ich kochać, a nie kocha się na zawołanie³⁰.

Um sie zu retten, wie eine bedrohte Gattung der Tiere, braucht man unbedingt Liebe. Es ist nicht genug sie kennenzulernen, es ist nicht genug sie neutral zu beschreiben, man muss etwas für sie tun, man muss sich um sie kümmern. Sie müssen uns teuer sein. Man muss sich Sorge um sie machen, man muss mit ihnen zusammen fühlen, etwas Uneigennütziges mit ihnen erleben, man muss sie lieben – aber niemand liebt wie gerufen³¹.

Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen (in den Sachen wie dieser ist es besser, nicht kategorisch zu sein), dass gerade das *Studium Latinum* solch' uneigennützige Liebe lehrt. Und eben die Gefühle erlaubten das Rezept für den Bestseller über eine so „unbestsellerische“ Thematik wie die Geschichte einer toten Sprache geschaffen zu haben. Dank seines Enthusiasmus antwortet STROH auf eine Sehnsucht, die es in uns allen gibt³². Unabhängig von guten oder schlechten (oder keinen) Erfahrungen mit dem Lateinstudium fühlt jeder Mensch, der in seinem Leben einen Kontakt mit der Mittelmeertradition hatte (und es ist schwierig, in der heutigen Welt einen solchen Kontakt nicht empfunden zu haben), dass ihm die lateinische Sprache etwas Nahes ist. Etwas, was *nostrum* ist und ingerdwo in den Venen umläuft. Man muss nur den richtigen Weg finden, um das Herz zu erreichen. Der Weg führt durch die Passion. Den Zauber. *Amor*. Da, wie Stroh in einem Interview mit Arndt Kremer gestanden hat³³: „Ohne Liebe ist alles nichts“.

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³⁰ Ibidem, S. 63 (Ausgabe 2010).

³¹ Übers. von K.M.

³² In Deutschland lernt Latein jeder dritte Gymnasiast (das sind ca. 800.000 Schüler!), cf. M. HÄGLER, *Salve, Professor Valahfridus! Latein ist tot – es lebe Latein!*, in: <http://www.spiegel.de> (Zugang 11. Januar 2011).

³³ O.c. (Anm. 14).

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THE PORTRAIT OF A HERETIC. PELAGIUS AND HIS IDEAS IN THE WORKS OF AUGUSTINE WRITTEN IN THE YEARS 415–418*

By

RAFAŁ TOCZKO

This doctoral thesis presents the effects of a thorough analysis of three polemical treatises, 11 letters and 20 sermons of Augustine written in the years 415–418 against Pelagius. The main outcome of these studies is to provide an answer to the question: why Pelagius, regarded by contemporaries as a saint, was judged and sentenced as a heretic. The thesis of this study is that it resulted from the literary activity of Augustine. As scholars almost universally agree that it was the theological argumentation of the bishop of Hippo that doomed Pelagius, it is suggested here that it was particularly a means of presenting Pelagius as a heretic and a morally corrupt, technically inferior rhetorician i.e. exegete, writer, teacher.

The first chapter should be considered as an attempt to establish the dispute in a firm historical context. Little do we know about Pelagius' life, his friends, patrons, enemies up to 410, but plenty of researchers write about it. He was a newcomer to Rome of the late 4th century, originating from Britain. The testimony of Marius Mercator from the late 420's first mentions Pelagius in Rome in the episcopate of Anasthasius (399–401), where he is presented as a young man who follows the instructions of some Rufinus of Syria, identified nowadays as Rufinus of Aquileia. It should be mentioned that we do not recognize him as the opponent of Jerome in the 380's, and presume that the date of his earliest works, that are without any doubt dated ca. 405, should be the clearest indication of his maturity.

* I present here a summary of my doctoral dissertation *Obraz Heretyka. Pelagiusz i jego poglądy w pismach Augustyna z lat 415–418*, written under supervision of Dr habil. Przemysław NEHRING at the Classical Philology Department of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń 2010. It was reviewed by Prof. Ewa WIPSYCKA and Prof. Marian SZARMACH.

He soon became an ascetical leader and a teacher of faith among the wealthy and potent families of old Roman families – now converting to Christianity – *gens Valeria* and *gens Anicia* among them. With them he fled from Rome before the Goths, and visited Sicily, North Africa on the way to Palestine.

The most surprising but crucial fact in the life of the British monk was that, being considered almost a saint in 411 – not only by his friends, but Augustine as well – as early as 415 he became harassed, presented as a heretic, and ultimately sentenced as one. He died as a heretic and encyclopedias present him as the head and inventor of the Pelagian heresy. This chapter was written to historically prove that the main source of this twist of fate was the literary effort on the part of Augustine. He received a helpful hand in the actions and writings of old monk and severe polemist, Jerome, and in a young, and not so shrewd, though enthusiastic presbyter, Orosius. We know that Pelagius was subjected to three judicial proceedings. In three cases he was found innocent of heresy, in 415 in Jerusalem and Diospolis by the eastern bishops, and in 417 in Rome, by Pope Zosimos (where he was not present). However, he was found guilty of heresy by two councils of African bishops in 416, by Pope Innocent in the same year, and in 418 once again by African bishops, by emperor Honorius and by Pope Zosimos. The last one was clearly forced by the course of events to change his earlier decision. All those judgments against Pelagius repeated the arguments brought to life by Augustine in his polemical treatises, of which *De natura et gratia* from 415 is the earliest. It may be proved beyond a shadow of a doubt by the careful reading of extant sources.

The status of Pelagius' works that were saved by the history and the interpretation of his theology, present in those books only that were familiar to Augustine, can be found in the second chapter. The authorship of many works ascribed to Pelagius is still the subject of discussion among scholars. One has to find some Archimedean point. The goal of this study was to establish the changing attitude of Augustine to Pelagius and the means by which the bishop of Hippo communicated it. If this chapter was to be of any value, our interpretation of Pelagius' theology had to be based only on those writings which Augustine also read and recognized as genuine works of his opponent. Only then could one have evaluated the presentation of this theology in the polemics of Augustine.

The main work of Pelagius, still extant, is *Expositiones in epistolas Paulinas*. The thorough research on the manuscript tradition shows that there are some incoherencies between the two manuscript families. One may presume, though it is only a hypothesis, that the original text went through a redaction during the life of Pelagius, though obviously we cannot trace his own hand in it. If it existed, this redaction was less 'Pelagian' and more 'Augustinian'. Only two other texts of Pelagius are extant, that is *Epistula ad Demetriadem* and *Libellus fidei*. The former is a paradigmatic exhortatory letter, written to a young lady of noble birth in order to persuade her that the life of a sacred virgin is the

best choice for the future. The latter provides us with valuable testimony that in 416/417 Pelagius tried to subject his wording to the demands of Augustine and the African bishops, though clearly he did not recognize himself as a heretic. In the works of Augustine one can also find fragments of other works of Pelagius, which are of lower value to us. The reason for it is that they are interwoven into the texture of polemics, and in such cases selection is already an interpretation.

The theology of Pelagius is clearly anti-Manichean, anti-Arian, and anti-Iovinian. That stands for the polemical part of his writings. But their main interest lies in the power of God as the Creator and Savior, who enabled the human nature to be blameless and to achieve the greatest of our goals, the Kingdom of Heaven. Pelagius did not see the validity of the doctrine of the original sin, because he did not recognize human nature as *natura vitiosa*. He was a teacher of ascetic life and wanted his listeners and readers to share the enthusiasm of being the children of God. And so – we read – the teacher of religious life should not even be sad, because sadness is a sin. He was a maximalist because – by showing the enormous potential of our nature and the eternal prize – he was known to have been able to persuade some people to live a godly life. But this radicalism is optimistic, and in the extant writings of Pelagius the author does not occur as a revolutionist or a severe and austere censor, as some have thought.

Our interpretation stresses many incoherencies of his theology to show that in the fields of thought of crucial importance for the so-called Pelagian controversy, Pelagius was ambivalent or even self-contradictory. Hermeneutically thinking this proves that he did not realize that anthropology had suddenly become the subject of orthodoxy. He felt free to discuss the power of human nature in the exhortatory context. The incoherencies of his teaching did not bother him, probably not more than they could have bothered Saint Paul. As a successful ascetic leader he saw that his theology was good enough for his addressees, and as a conscious attacker of previous heresies he must have been quite amazed to find out after 415 that he was seen as one.

Augustine's interpretation of Pelagius' theology was inadequate – as it is proved in the third chapter. Primarily, because the bishop of Hippo presented it as a system, which, in fact, it was not. The many incoherencies of his opponent's thought were only used to discredit Pelagius as a liar and bad writer. He presented a few theses of Pelagius that were not that author's genuine ideas emerging in his works, but merely implications drawn by Augustine himself. The two most important ones are the claims that Pelagius was against the grace of God and against the baptism of infants. To be true, the only part of the doctrine, later established as universal, that Pelagius was missing, was the theory of *tradux peccati*. But he was not the only one outside Africa to think so. And this kind of argument can be reversed, as he held the doctrine of *locus medius* – conceptually close to the later purgatory, a concept which Augustine did not only lack but contradicted in the famous *Sermo* 294.

The final chapter is the most important and innovative one, presenting rhetorical structure of Augustine's works against Pelagius. Copious though these "rhetorical" elements in the investigated texts are, they have not been respectively taken under consideration by scholars. We may find many (and diverging) interpretations of Pelagius' theology, but almost no one tells us that Augustine considered Pelagius not only a theologian, but primarily an opponent, and that their judges were not alumnae of theological seminars but rhetorically educated addressees. For all these reasons the bishop of Hippo portrayed the heretic in his flesh and bones, focusing on his many moral and intellectual flaws, that were just as powerful arguments in this strife as those purely theological, if not better.

In the examined writings of Augustine one may find a coherent and conventional picture of a heretic. Pelagius is presented as an ethically biased man, vane and problematic personality, that wants to establish his theology in place of the Christian one. His goals – according to Augustine – are merely negative, as he plans to diminish the Church, because he is a snake, a servant of the Evil. That is why the heretic found so many followers who worshipped him more than God, whom Augustine called *inimici gratiae*, which soon became their label, previous to 'Pelagianistas'. They are also presented as theological innovators, and not as some established *heretici redivivi*. The portrait is elaborate and its analysis can prove how good Augustine's rhetorical skills were. But there is more to it.

In the writings of Augustine Pelagius was also presented as a bad rhetorician, *vir malus dicendi imperitus*. As he was an exegete and a teacher of faith it was only natural that Augustine would present him as a false interpreter of God's plans. It is quite striking, however, how vast a part of his polemics is based on this technical discussion of the use of certain rhetorical assets like *argumentatio a similitudinibus*, *inductio*, *definitio*, etc. Of special importance are these parts in which Augustine proves that Pelagius does not understand the Bible because he is both unskillful (*dicendi imperitus*) and immoral (*malus*).

This study may be useful to many branches of humanities as it presents a cultural structure of polemics, the history of the Pelagian controversy and the literary means of presenting an opponent in a theological debate.

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ANTIGONE: A STUDY OF THE CHARACTER.
THE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED POLISH TRANSLATIONS
AND THEATRE STAGINGS

By

BARBARA BIBIK

Antigone, the title character of Sophocles' tragedy, is probably one of the most recognizable ancient heroines. This young, steadfast and stubborn girl acting out of respect for her dead brother Polineikes objects to the unlawful royal order of Creon which prohibits to bury his body. Out of this respect she decides to sacrifice her life. In general, we may say that Sophocles' *Antigone* is about the feelings and devotion of one young girl to her brother; about the offering of one's life in the name of values regarded as important, justified and valuable; about the faithfulness to oneself, to one's family and one's values and ideas. However, Antigone's own feelings reflect the universal, common and timeless matters or issues which are still valid and worth raising and seeking answers to them, namely the respect for another human being and his or her dignity, the importance of the natural bonds between the relatives, as well as the courage to take the active stand in the situation of threat to our lives, rights, dignity or values.

As some scholars remark, although the character of Antigone often arouses extreme emotions, we should avoid idealizing her as well as condemning her. First of all we should interpret the character of this heroine from the perspective of the ancient, not ours, value system she is faithful to, and this system consists of fame – κλέος, honour – τιμή and beautiful death – καλὸς θάνατος, as well as φιλία – reverence for the relatives, δίκη – justice and εὐσέβεια – respect for divine laws. In giving honour to those values Antigone seems very close to the Homeric heroes such as Achilles or Aias. In respect to those values too, we should interpret her consent to her death, her dignity to the very end of her life,

* This paper is a summary of my doctoral dissertation „Antygona – studium postaci. Analiza wybranych polskich tłumaczeń i inscenizacji teatralnych”, written under the supervision of Prof. Marian SZARMACH at the Department of Classics of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń 2008; reviewers: Grażyna GOLIK-SZARAWARSKA (Katowice), Sławomir WYSZOMIRSKI (Toruń).

but also her stubbornness, pride and roughness, often misunderstood or misinterpreted by the scholars or audience.

In Polish culture, Sophocles' *Antigone* is probably one of the best known ancient tragedies and definitely one that is the most frequently translated and performed on stage. There are fifteen Polish translations of this tragedy and over ninety stagings. The knowledge, although often very superficial and simplified, of *Antigone* is very common and it is probably because of the fact that since the nineteenth century it has been included in the obligatory school reading list in Poland. But in Polish culture, in the context of Polish history, especially that of the 19th and 20th centuries, *Antigone* became someone more than a mythological heroine. She became a paragon, a symbol giving the Polish people faith in human dignity. She was used as a model of an active attitude towards reality. She spoke in the name of all those people threatened to be deprived of their rights, dignity, feelings or values. And with her love and devotion, *Antigone* became a person very close and important to the Polish people, a person people could imitate or compare themselves with. In *Antigone*'s lot people could find a parallel to their lots and also to the lot of Poland itself.

That is why I decided to devote my dissertation to the analysis and interpretation of the character and image (or images) of *Antigone* in Polish culture that emerge from different, selected translations and theatre productions (which form a great part of the reception of Sophocles' *Antigone* in Poland), taking into consideration the wide social, political and cultural context of their origin. In my dissertation I also wanted to find answers to the following question: how the interpretation of this heroine was changing, depending on the circumstances and the times an interpreter lived in? I decided to take up such a subject at Prof. Alicja SZASTYŃSKA-SIEMION's suggestion that appeared in her article entitled „The Polish *Antigones*. The state of knowledge, the research postulates”¹, where she wrote that the history of *Antigone* is worth undertaking and studying, because this heroine seems to be very close to the Poles and it is worth asking who the Polish *Antigone* is. My dissertation tries to fulfil partially this postulate.

Sophocles' *Antigone* is one of the best known ancient tragedies as well as the most beautiful, as the ancients already affirmed saying: τὸ μὲν δρᾶμα τῶν καλλίστων Σοφοκλέους². For a long time this tragedy was also regarded as perfect. Hence, there is no wonder that the literature concerning this tragedy is extensive. Nonetheless, in the first chapter I tried to deal with the numerous problems this tragedy raises. I devoted this chapter to the analysis and interpretation of many aspects of this tragedy, such as religious, familial, moral, social, political or philosophical matters. I also presented the most common approaches

¹ A. SZASTYŃSKA-SIEMION, *Polskie Antygony – stan badań, postulaty badawcze*, Eos LXXXIV 1996, pp. 345–353.

² Aristophanes of Byzantium, *Argumenta Fabularum Aristophani tributa*, fr. 1 NAUCK.

to this tragedy, the amount of which (together with their diversity) clearly proves the complexity and multidimensionality of this tragedy. However, it was not my aim to clarify all the misinterpretations, misunderstandings or simplifications of this tragedy, but rather to point out the different levels this tragedy could be interpreted on and to suggest that there is no sense in limiting the interpretation and meanings of such a deep and complex tragedy only to one issue or matter. Such interpretations render this tragedy banal and trivial. And I am wholeheartedly convinced that Sophocles' *Antigone* is a masterpiece that was and still is important, interesting and inspiring both to the audience and scholars. It is a masterpiece whose message is relevant at every moment and the issues it raises are timeless. Probably because of those many problems this tragedy in its structure and contents raises, there is no wonder that so many interpretations appeared and continue to appear that differ among each other especially because of the different time, context, circumstances or reality they were or are written in. Very often it is this reality, history, language or culture of the interpreter that influence the most the reading of the tragedy, understanding of its meaning and its interpretation. Sophocles' *Antigone* was often read through the context of the social and political reality of different times, especially those times when a human being was forced to defend his or her identity, values and relatives. Therefore, I devoted the second chapter of my dissertation to the analysis of selected translations of *Antigone* into Polish and their interpretations of this tragedy, emphasizing the image of Antigone that emerges from them.

Out of the fifteen translations of Sophocles' *Antigone* into Polish I have chosen six that, in my opinion, are the most representative ones of Polish culture. These are the translations that make some important additions to the interpretation and comprehension of the image of Polish Antigone. As Stanisław Zabierowski³ rightly says, the beginning of the history of Polish Antigones is the translation by Kazimierz Morawski made in 1898, and especially the prologue to this translation written by the translator. In this prologue Morawski made the connections between the Greek Antigone, the history of Christianity and Polish literature. In this way he paved the way for other artists and translators who wanted to see Greek Antigone as Polish Antigone, as e.g. Stanisław Wyspiański, Juliusz Osterwa or Ludwik Hieronim Morstin. It were the influential ideas of Polish romanticism and messianism that caused to appear religiously tinged Polish translations representing Antigone nearly as a Christian martyr sacrificing her life to religious values, in defence of divine laws contrasted with human and political laws represented by Creon. Presented in this way, Antigone was to be an ideal paragon of virtue to imitate, especially in the times of partitions or wars in the 19th and 20th centuries.

³ S. ZABIEROWSKI, *Polskie Antygony*, Rocznik Komisji Historycznoliterackiej XV 1978, pp. 163–180.

It was not before the end of the World War II that other translations of this tragedy appeared free from such religious and messianic additions, but often adding others, connecting translations with the contemporary political or social matters. The translators of *Antigone* such as Stanisław Hebanowski, Antoni Libera and Janusz Szpotański or Helmut Kajzar tried to extract other, more universal, values of this tragedy and to free it from the historical allusions. That is why Hebanowski interprets Sophocles' *Antigone* as a text about the human clash with death, love and fate. Libera and Szpotański emphasize the problem of human wisdom and the text of Kajzar is a modern paraphrase of Sophocles' *Antigone*, being in great part dedicated to the problem of the respect to and the dignity of human body.

Every translation as well as every staging classifies this tragedy in some way, defines it, places it in some social, historical or political context, emphasizes its important meanings and prompts certain interpretation, often different from others. However, there are those characteristics of a translation or theatre production that allow us to analyse how the interpretation of this tragedy and its characters was changing throughout ages.

That is why in the third chapter I dealt with the reception of Sophocles' *Antigone* in Polish theatre in the 20th and at the beginning of the 21st century. Definitely, it is one of those Greek tragedies that are still present on the Polish stage. There are over ninety stagings in the whole 20th century and at the beginning of the 21st century, which means that it is the most often played Greek tragedy in Polish theatre. Of course, not every theatre production is worth attention, that is why I have chosen only five theatre productions that are, in my opinion, the most interesting ones. These are the stagings of Adam Hanuszkiewicz (1973), Andrzej Wajda (1984), Zbigniew Brzoza (1998), Bogusław Kierc (2005) and Andrzej Seweryn (2005). The directors of these productions tried to connect this Greek tragedy with modern history and some important events to show the timeless values and relevance of the Greek tragedy, regardless of time, place and culture the tragedy is performed in.

The stagings of Hanuszkiewicz and Wajda were especially important to the Polish public, because they were experienced as a political, engaged and emotional theatre deeply involved with the Polish history of the 1970's and 1980's. The Hanuszkiewicz's *Antigone* was performed in 1972 and, against the director's will, the public connected these performances with the demonstrations that took place in December 1970 at Gdańsk. It turned out that the offstage reality was one of the components to interpret and understand the spectacle. Apart from this Hanuszkiewicz was probably the first one who changed the traditional way of performing the Greek tragedies on Polish stage. He decided to introduce young people on stage with their emotionality, spontaneity, also dressed in a modern way. He resigned from staging a Greek tragedy that imitated the ancient theatre and ancient way of performing. The production of Sophocles' *Antigone*, made by

Wajda was performed in 1984 and necessarily it was interpreted with the reference to contemporary politics and events, especially to the martial law, although it was the result of deeper thoughts than the martial law in Poland only, and in this staging the director wanted to draw the public attention to many current events that took place at that time around the world, such as the political slaughters or the demonstrations in the defence of human rights, dignity and tradition⁴. But it was, once more, the offstage reality that was one of the main characters in the performance.

In the ensuing staging, Brzoza, the director of *Antigone* performed in Warsaw in 1998, decided to connect this Greek tragedy, again, with the current European history, namely with the Balkan war. Using the tragedy of Sophocles and the contemporary history, in this staging he presented the scenery of the present-day world which is torn by armed conflicts, destroyed, overcome by madness and insanity. By presenting the situation during and after the war, he emphasized that there is no difference between the war in ancient or modern times, because its consequences are the same for, mainly, ordinary people who suffer the greatest loss.

The last two theatre productions I dealt with in my dissertation are the spectacles both performed in 2005. The director of the first one was Kierc and his staging was in a great part the adaptation of the Kajzar's translation of Sophocles' tragedy. It was the first and, to the best of my knowledge, the only Polish production of *Antigone* performed by the puppet's theatre. The greatest emphasis in this staging, as well as in the Kajzar's translation, was laid on the dignity and respect for human body. The director of the second one was Seweryn and his production was realized not in the theatre but in the open air near Warsaw. Seweryn presented Greek Antigone as Slavic Antigone, but at the same time he emphasized that the change of place, circumstances or realities does not change the universal and timeless message and values of Sophocles' drama. The value of human wisdom, reverence for another human being and respect for gods presented in Sophocles' tragedy found their deep visualisation and reflection in Seweryn's staging.

There are many re-interpretations and re-vocations of the history of Antigone in Polish and European literature, culture or theatre, which proves the importance and relevance of this tragedy and the story of one brave girl who decided to defend at any cost the values she found important. The Polish history of Antigone shows that at some moments in history she became a person very close to and familiar to Polish society.

My aim in this dissertation was to reflect on how Antigone through different interpretations at different times functioned and is still functioning in Polish

⁴ Cf. M. KARPIŃSKI, *Teatr Andrzeja Wajdy*, Warszawa 1991, p. 137; E. UDALSKA, *Antygona*, in: A. KULIGOWSKA-KORZENIEWSKA, K. PACEK (eds.), *Teatralny świat Andrzeja Wajdy*, Kraków 2003, p. 113 f.

culture, who she is, how her behaviour and character are interpreted and understood, to what degree she differs from the Sophocles' heroine, and how she became a specific symbol in Polish culture. All those interpretations and re-vocations of the history of Antigone prove that at some time in the history she started living on her own, apart from the Sophocles' tragedy. Her behaviour and character as presented in the tragedy of the ancient playwright were often intentionally misinterpreted or changed in order to add to them some additional meanings that were important and relevant at a specific moment in history. While I devoted my dissertation to those transformations of the image of Antigone in Polish culture, it was not my aim, as I have already stressed, to explain all the misunderstandings or misinterpretations of this tragedy, especially because they often say some important things about the time and reality in which they came into being, as well as about people who put them forward. Many different, even wrong, interpretations are important to a further history of Sophocles' *Antigone*, because each of them tries to find the answer to the main issue of the tragedy, to present its main characters, but also is representative of the times when it was written and represents the ideas about this tragedy at the moment of the origin of an interpretation. That is why I did not want to point out the false interpretations but to point out the different possibilities and potentialities that are hidden in the tragedy of Sophocles and which are, in my opinion, more interesting and worth commenting on. The successive translations and stage representations show that Sophocles' *Antigone* is still a very inspiring and valuable work.

From many heroes and heroines of Greek tragedy Antigone appears, especially in the context of many re-interpretations, as a symbol of fight, revolt against unlawful and unjust orders, but also as a symbol of hope that there is something more than suffering, a symbol of the important and invariable values in the life of every human being which are worth defending and fighting for. Particularly at those times where politics deeply influenced people's lives, her character with all good and bad sides fascinated the public. Her active attitude towards reality, indicating that even when oppressed we cannot remain silent, was very close and familiar to the public in hard historical times when her character forced people to act and fight against the reality they did not accept. In some way Antigone became, as Marta Fik⁵ writes, almost "an archetype of the rebellious consciousness of the 20th century human being who does not consent to the triumph of evil".

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⁵ M. Fik, *Reżyser ma pomysły?*, in: M. Fik (ed.), *Przeciw konwencjom*, Warszawa 1994, p. 138: "archetypem buntowniczej świadomości człowieka XX wieku, niegodzącego się na triumf zła".

Efstratios SARISCHOULIS, *Schicksal, Götter und Handlungsfreiheit in den Epen Homers*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2008 (Palingenesia, Bd. 92), pp. 312, ISBN 978-3-515-09168-8, € 64.00.

Fate, destiny and freedom of human action in the Homeric epics have been discussed so thoroughly that, on hearing of a new book on the subject, the potential reader usually expects nothing more than recapitulation of previously presented opinions. In the case of SARISCHOULIS's [= S.] *Schicksal, Götter und Handlungsfreiheit in den Epen Homers*, however, this assumption proves to be unjustified, as the study, though including a comparison of the most important views on the matter, is not a mere compilation¹. The author succeeds in expressing his own point of view; and despite numerous points on which he agrees with his predecessors, his consistent reasoning and conclusions sound surprisingly fresh.

S.'s book consists of three main chapters. The first explains the author's position and methodology. The second, and the longest, provides an analysis of Greek terms related to fate and destiny, as well as a synthetic conclusion. The last chapter discusses motives of human and divine actions, and self-consciousness of active agents.

Several of S.'s introductory remarks are certainly worth mentioning. In the author's view, Homer does not believe in destiny, but he feels obliged to conform to the epic tradition which established main points of the story long before his time. His heroes, however, are not conscious of that limitation. Gods do not hinder their free will. Homeric craftsmanship creates a world where both people and deities make their own decisions. None of the heroes resembles a puppet.

S. states that before attempting any discussion of fate in the Homeric epics, one should ask whether the notion of fate known from classical literature exists in Homer's world at all. The author himself inclines to the view that we are too often influenced either by our own understanding of destiny or by the definition of that term accepted in the Greek culture of the classical period².

Homeric figures, human and divine, are self-aware individuals acting of their own free will. Of course, divine will may be treated as one of crucial factors in the world, and an equivalent for the poet's knowledge, but, as S. maintains, it does not restrict human freedom.

The analysis of Greek notions begins with a short introduction concerning the concept of destiny in Greek culture. Characteristically, it is the poet, the narrator, who gives the name of the deity responsible for an event, while human heroes talk merely about an indefinite *theos*. The very notion of fate in the Greek culture remains controversial. D.C. DIETRICH, quoted by the author, was the first researcher to sum up discussion on that matter from the 19th and 20th centuries³. Some scholars (NÄGELSBACH, LEHRS, WELCKER, JEBB) emphasize the power of destiny, which results in the image of gods and destiny acting in full harmony, while others (GRUPPE) tend to interpret *moira* as "world's order" generally accepted by deities. In the late 19th century, the notion *Moirai/Moirai* was assigned to the sphere of folk religion (BOHSE). S. takes up DIETRICH's task and continues

¹ It should be mentioned, however, that S.'s review of research on the subject since the late 19th century makes interesting reading as well.

² S. returns to this problem later (p. 274), admitting that the Greek terms usually translated as "destiny" or "fate" have been discussed for some time and that their anachronistic interpretation raises many doubts; cf. S. SCHEIN, *The Mortal Hero. An Introduction to Homer's Iliad*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1984.

³ B.C. DIETRICH, *Death, Fate, and the Gods: The Development of a Religious Idea in Greek Popular Belief and in Homer*, London 1965, pp. 179 ff.

with theses put forward by SCHADEWALDT (*moira* as a supreme power), ERBSE (*Lebensanteil des Einzelnen*), NILSSON (the sum of events in life attributed to an individual), GREENE (no contradiction between Zeus' will and the power of destiny), ADKINS (ethical approach encompassing the problem of human responsibility), as well as SCHMITT's methodological remarks. The author seems to be influenced mainly by the last five researchers, who stress the independence and free will of human and divine action⁴, but he sounds more consistent (which is understandable, as he concentrates on one particular topic, while they tend to analyze it among many other issues) and goes further in his conclusions. In the eight subsequent sections of the second chapter S. discusses derivatives of the stem **smer-*, the terms: *peprōtai*, *peprōmenos*, and the notions of *moira*, *moros*, *aisa*, *kēr* (*kēres*), *potmos*, and *oitos*.

None of important Homeric passages escapes S.'s scrupulous analysis and even if some of his statements provoke further discussion, no-one can accuse him of lack of philological precision. Doubts are inevitable, since it is impossible to exclude subjective elements from interpretation of a particular sentence or its context. Paradoxically, the only drawback of this part of the book is due to S.'s thoroughness: the reader's first impression may be that the author repeats the same argument over and over. Under closer scrutiny, however, it becomes clear that S.'s aim is to cover every angle of discussion. The chapter also includes an interesting section on the notion of the Homeric man (pp. 141–160), introduced by SNELL and later analyzed by LESKY, who proposed the concept of "double motivation" of human behaviour ("double" meaning both human and divine)⁵. S. disapproves of the term "Homeric man" used as *terminus technicus*; in his view, such an approach, quite popular in the 20th century, closes many paths of interpretation. Neither is he satisfied with LESKY's "double motivation", as the thesis fails to provide reliable tools to interpret the Homeric world.

In the third chapter, S. emphasizes once more that every event or misfortune in the Homeric epics may be explained rationally. The chain of events is set in motion by human or divine emotions and behaviour, and responsibility for consequences rests with human will. Homeric heroes are aware of the importance of their decisions and they do not avoid responsibility (e.g. Agamemnon deciding to keep Chryseis). The story develops according to the action–reaction scheme. Even the famous line: *Dios eteleieto boulē*, at the beginning of the *Iliad*, cannot be treated as an argument for the existence of some divine plan. S. shares KULLMAN's opinion that Zeus' will mentioned in the first lines of the *Iliad* refers to the consequences of Achilles' wrath and of Thetis' wish⁶.

Achilles' fate seems the most controversial, and that part of S.'s study may be regarded as the most questionable (or the least convincing; pp. 234 ff.)⁷. In the author's view, Achilles' choice of death and fame does not imply real knowledge of his future, but it simply results from logical thinking: those who take part in a brutal war are likely to die young (and to gain glory), while those who stay at home have more chances to live long. Achilles accepts his own mortality and chooses freely the course of life which he finds the most attractive.

S. perceives human will as the real factor behind all events in the Homeric epics. Such an interpretation makes Odysseus' cruel revenge more understandable. The rage Odysseus shows in the

⁴ Although S. does not specifically mention the ethical issue, it comes to mind as a proper point of reference; cf. A.W.H. ADKINS, *Merit and Responsibility*, Oxford 1960, H. LLOYD-JONES, *The Justice of Zeus*, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1971.

⁵ Cf. B. SNELL, *Die Entdeckung des Geistes. Studien zur Entstehung des europäischen Denkens bei den Griechen*, Hamburg 1946; A. LESKY, *Göttliche und menschliche Motivation in homerischen Epos*, Heidelberg 1961.

⁶ Cf. W. KULLMANN, *Das Wirken der Götter in der Ilias. Untersuchungen zur Frage der Entstehung des homerischen "Götterapparats"*, Berlin 1956.

⁷ S., unlike GRIFFIN, believes that Achilles has no distinct knowledge of his forthcoming death; rather, he seems fully aware of the danger implicit in the life of a warrior; cf. J. GRIFFIN, *Homer on Life and Death*, Oxford 1980, p. 163.

final confrontation with the suitors is not indiscriminate: he decides to spare the poet, who did not keep the suitors company of his own free will. Odysseus aims his vengeance carefully, killing only the men whose wrongdoing was deliberate. The famous passage of the *Odyssey* (I 33–43) where Zeus explains the role of gods in human actions, quoting the case of Aegisthus, is yet another proof of the freedom of human decisions: gods can only warn mortals against consequences of their behaviour, and if human life were fully predestined, why would they bother to warn anyone at all (pp. 256–263)⁸?

In S.'s interpretation, human free will and free choice constitute a principle of the Homeric epics. The fatalism so often attributed to the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* amounts in fact to the acceptance of the necessity of death, the only event in human life that cannot be avoided.

Thoroughness and precision of his argument as well as true commitment noticeable behind the scholarly reasoning make S.'s book an interesting reading even for those who do not agree with his theses. For those reasons, *Schicksal, Götter und Handlungsfreiheit in den Epen Homers* may undoubtedly be regarded as a valuable contribution to the vast field of Homeric studies.

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⁸ For a commentary on Zeus' speech, cf. ADKINS, *o.c.* (n. 4); LLOYD-JONES, *o.c.* (n. 4); DIETRICH, *o.c.* (n. 3); LESKY, *o.c.* (n. 5); W.C. GREENE, *Moirai, Fate, Good and Evil in Greek Thought*, New York 1944.

Andrea ROTSTEIN, *The Idea of Iambos*, Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press, 2010, XVII, 388 pp., ISBN 9780199286270, hb., £ 79.00.

The key point of this book can be summed up in the claim that the invective as a defining feature of *iambos* is a question of reception, not of any essence of this literary genre. So we have a *zetema* centered on the dismissal of a generic connection between personal attack and *iamboi* in their mother context. This connection is – as ROTSTEIN (hereafter R.) asserts – a later invention made up by ancient scholars who began to solidify the abuse of an individual as one of the most representative characteristics of this genre.

I do not find it convincing. R. declares Aristotle guilty of linking the term *iambos* with vituperation or lampoons and assumes that he played an important role in shifting the significance of it from the metrical to the dominantly abusive content. R. argues against the historical validity of Aristotle's explanation of the origins of the term *iambos*. While her doubts (shared with many other scholars) concerning the Aristotelian linguistic derivation of *iambeios*, and by implication also of *iambos*, from *iambizein* are fully justifiable, her hypothesis (pp. 101 f.) of Aristotle projecting “backwards the exchange of abuse he could find in contemporary ritual, festive, komastic, and sympotic contexts” is less satisfactory. The ritual aischrology and personal insult, detected in the cult-background of *iambos*, and confirmed by the weight of the early evidence (e.g. associated with *Iambe*, the eponym of *iambos*) proves that as early as the initial stage of literary *iambos* invective and abuse constituted prominent features of the genre. Literary *iambos*, which developed under the influence of ritual conditions, underwent a transformation of the character and function of the invective – from cultic abuse between symmetrical parties to entertaining and paraenetically oriented abuse of targets in front of an audience.

The title of R.'s book, alluding to the famous phrase of Aristotle, *he iambike idea*, exposes – as R. declares on p. 105 – her main intent of suggesting that the ancient and modern ‘misinterpretations’ of the phrase place it within the pole of meaning that can be called the “abusive or invective category”. R. adopts Malcolm HEATH's interpretation of the *iambike idea* and refers it to the construction of plot. She does not go beyond HEATH's analysis of Aristotle's passages from the *Poetics*, which seems to me vulnerable on at least one point. The difference between *iamboi* and comedy which – as HEATH rightly argues – lies in using respectively the narrative and dramatic form of presenting plots, does *not* exclude the presence of *psogos* (abuse/attack) in both types of poetry. I am tempted to accept Keith SIDWELL's persuasive arguments about the nature of this difference (*From Old to Middle to New? Aristotle's "Poetics" and the History of Athenian Comedy*, in: D. HARVEY, J. WILKINS (eds.), *The Rivals of Aristophanes. Studies in Athenian Old Comedy*, London 2000, pp. 247–258, esp. 251–254); I would wish that R. had done justice to his conclusions regarding the question she is interested in.

It is also noticeable that R. incorrectly estimates the possibility of our understanding of the meaning of *iambikos* itself because – as she rightly points out (p. 105) – it does not occur in surviving Greek literature before Aristotle, as also is the case with the whole phrase *he iambike idea* since this expression employs the adjective instead of the standard use of an adnominal genitive to qualify the term *idea*. Both reservations are unimportant: examples of suffixal formations in *-ikos* are richly attested before Aristotle (e.g. in Plato's writings) and the intelligent reader may be expected to understand the meaning of such forms. On this matter it should be profitable to consult Adolf AMMAN's work (*-IKOS bei Platon. Ableitung und Bedeutung mit Materialsammlung*, Freiburg 1953) containing a useful collection of passages with adjectives in *-ikos*, and providing convincing arguments that the adjective with the suffix *-ikos* plus abstract noun combinations and the usage of an abstract noun with an adnominal genitive are always interchangeable.

There are some sections of the book which are more persuasive than R.'s setting out of the arguments for treating the invective as a historical judgment of the later theorists. The book makes a valuable contribution to the discussion of the general problems associated with the classification of early Greek poetry, defining the different types of poetry and the conceptualization of the genre itself (the real achievement of this study is Chapter 1 where R. opens our eyes to the profits a modern specialist in ancient literature can have from employing principles deriving from the cognitive sciences). R. also comes up with discussions, which are really satisfying in depth, of the individual texts, although some of her interpretative proposals are not new, being revised or enlarged versions of her essays published elsewhere (e.g. those devoted to the analysis of Archilochus, fr. 215 W. and *Poetics* 4). My expectations were also fulfilled while reading the section of the book where Hellenistic genre theories were discussed, especially as the contribution of some Pergamene scholars to the field of iambic poetics, as well as the Stoic and Epicurean paradigms, has not yet been the subject of serious scholarly attention. So R. fills in this void with judicious assessment of Hellenistic testimonia.

I was, however, rather disappointed in the examination provided in Part Four of the available evidence dealing with the performance of the *iambos*. Generally speaking, I find the results of R.'s debate convincing, especially as other scholars have exhaustively examined the problem and I reached the same conclusions myself in my book of 1993. R. does not, however, sufficiently indicate reasons for her reassessment of the problem and is more summarizing what has been done hitherto than rather innovative in her investigations.

On the whole, the bibliography is accurate. It has, however, some omissions, e.g. of the recent book on the *Margites* (Omero, *Margite*, introduzione, testimonianze, testo critico, traduzione e commento a cura di Antonietta GOSTOLI, Pisa–Roma 2007). The acquaintance with the results of GOSTOLI's studies, especially on the problem of the authorship of the *Margites*, would oblige R. to modify her interpretations at some points.

Finally, there is one constant irritation which invites comment, namely the omnipresence of cross-references incorporated into the main text. The incessant announcements of what will be done in the next or in one of subsequent sections or chapters, as well as the frequent recapitulations of what has just been done at times make the reading of the book unbearably annoying. Instead, one could wish that the material itself had been rather more systematically ordered, and not meta-textually commented on in so many places of the book.

In sum, none of the five parts of this book should remain unnoticed¹. The work merits the attention of all those who have an interest in genre theory (including all aspects of generic indeterminacy) and in reapplying the ancient categories to the extant textual material, but first of all in "iambic ambiguity". This book with its audacious hypotheses will certainly serve those readers well who are familiar with the complexity and nuances of modern scholarship on early *iambos*. A newcomer may be lead astray by it.

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¹ Let me list the titles of these parts with the aim of making potential readers acquainted with the arrangement of the material: Part One: *Greek Iambos (7th–4th Cent. BCE: Genre and Corpus*, pp. 3–67; Part Two: *Ways of Seeing*, pp. 61–147; Part Three: *Imbos and Iambeion: A Study of Terms in Context*, pp. 151–225; Part Four: *The Performance of Iambos*, pp. 229–278; Part Five: *Perceptions of Iambos*, pp. 281–246; *Final Remarks*, pp. 347–352.

Christian MAREK, *Geschichte Kleinasiens in der Antike*, unter Mitarbeit von Peter FREI, 2., durchgesehene Auflage, München: C.H. Beck, 2010, 941 pp., 24 maps, 114 pictures, € 44.00.

Nothing testifies more clearly to the importance and popularity of the topic than the second printing of the thick and scholarly book within a year. The newest and by far the most extensive synthesis of Asia Minor in antiquity is, for the most part, an *opus magnum* of the Zurich ancient history professor Christian MAREK (M.), with contribution of Peter FREI (F.), mostly in chapter four on late bronze age civilization. Their stated definition of Asia Minor (pp. 7, 19) is rather broad as a land corresponding more or less to modern Turkey. This certainly helps the modern, non classically educated reader to conceptualize Asia Minor but it goes beyond the usual definition of Asia Minor whose eastern border is roughly speaking the line from Trabzon in the north, along the northern section of the Euphrates before it bends in the direction of Mesopotamia, to the Iskenderun Bay in the south. This leaves outside of Asia Minor ca. 1/3 of Asiatic Turkey, including Turkish Armenia, Mesopotamia and Syria. In their narrative, however, M. and F. rarely go beyond the Euphrates. The upper chronological limit of the book is quite low, effectively ending at the end of the crisis of the third century. M. explains this approach by the changing nature of sources after the third c. AD: the disappearance of municipal coinage, sharp drop in inscriptions, proliferation of Christian writings (pp. 679–682). This is a conservative approach which disregards the continuation of ancient, largely urban society in the increasingly more Christian late Roman empire. On the other hand one can easily understand the need to mark a limit of the narrative in an already thick volume.

In the first chapter (“Einleitung: Anatolien zwischen Ost und West”) M. points out that the name Asia Minor is not attested before Claudius Ptolemaeus, Anatolia being even later, while the name Asia was in use already in the second half of the second millennium BC. Its original meaning, known from Hittite texts, was limited to an area in the west of Asia Minor. M. proclaims in the second chapter (“Die Erforschung Kleinasiens in der Neuzeit und Moderne”) the discovery of ancient cultures of Asia Minor a hallmark of modern scholarship (p. 39). The chapter begins with a both informative and entertaining account on early travellers through Asia Minor, first, from Egeria to Ibn Battuta pilgrims interested almost exclusively in monuments of their religion. Discovery and description of antiquities begins, M. shows, with journeys of European enterprising businessmen, the best known being Ciriaco Pizecolli of Ancona, and with visits of European diplomats, beginning in earnest with Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq of the mid-sixteenth c., who brought to light the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (pp. 42 f.). Himself an accomplished traveller and a leader of epigraphic surveys in Asia Minor, M. describes a bewildering array of organized research, archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic in Asia Minor from their beginning in the 18th c. (pp. 44–72).

In the third chapter (“Von der Prähistorie zur ältesten Schriftkultur”) M. shows Anatolia as a bridge area between the East and Europe, manifest among others in the Near Eastern origin of ancestors of all Central European cattle as proven by DNA research (p. 77). He further asserts Eastern Anatolian sites of Göbekli Tepe and Nevalı Çori as places where monuments of religious architecture predate those of Mesopotamia by millennia (pp. 77–81). For all recent research on Neolithic sites, the famous Çatal Höyük including, a number of questions are still unanswered, M. shows (pp. 87 f.), of the social structure in the seemingly uniform Neolithic society, of causes of war, of the role of trade in economy. Perhaps the biggest transformation of the early and middle bronze age in Asia Minor was the emergence of centralized, palace-centered entities, like those of Arslantepe, Beycesultan, Kültepe (pp. 89–94). Writing came to Anatolia with Assyrian colony Kaneš in Kültepe which produced over 20,000 tablets, most of which still remain unpublished (p. 96).

F. in chapter four (“Spätbronze- und Eisenzeit”) acknowledges chronological shortcomings of reconstructing Hittite political history. He concentrates instead on a lucid presentation of workings

of their state and society with its client kingdoms, feudal lords, elevated position of women, sarcastically compared to that of the twenty-first century in the similar pay disparity with male employees (p. 112). F. takes the majority view on Ahhiyawa as Greeks of the Mycenaean culture (pp. 127–129), remaining more skeptical about identifying Hittite Wilusa with Homeric Ilion or Troy (pp. 129–131). He tends to ascribe the causes of the collapse of the Hittite empire to internal troubles as much as to the invasion of the sea people (pp. 133 f.). Nevertheless he shows a radical brake with tradition in the centre of the Hittite empire from the 12th c. BC on while peoples of Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Cilicia and the Taurus Mountains region continued Hittite and Luvian idiom and culture until the last of the late Hittite principalities fell pray of Assyria in 708 BC (pp. 134–139). F. tentatively agrees with the hypothesis of the Balkan origin of the Phrygians but does not identify them with Muški of Assyrian sources (pp. 145–148). Although the destruction of Gordion can no longer be attributed to the Kimmerians, M. and F. show (pp. 148–152), the Phrygian empire ceased to exist around the time of their invasion. In his account of the Lydian kingdom M. juxtaposes Greek literary tradition, archaeological, Assyrian and Babylonian sources to question, among others, the conventional date of the fall of Croesus (547/6 BC) and to suggest that Sardis might fall to the Persians after Babylon, perhaps as late as 530 BC (p. 155). For all admiration elicited by Lydian power and luxury among Greeks, the greatest contribution of Lydia to the Western civilization was, M. shows (pp. 158 f.), the invention of minting coins, sometime in the second half of the 7th c. BC. Greeks of Asia Minor receive prominence in this chapter due to a comparative richness of sources. Although he learns little about the end of Mycenaean civilization settlements in Asia Minor or their survival except for Pamphylia, the reader will know that archaeology demonstrates that the post-Mycenaean colonization of the western coast of Asia Minor began in Aeolis with the earliest settlements attested in 10th c. BC Smyrna and Klazomenai (p. 160). M. places the Greeks of Asia Minor in the context of other peoples of the region, paying much attention to Hellenized female deities Artemis of Ephesus and Leto of Xanthus (pp. 167–169) or to the orientalizing cultural milieu in which the *Illias* and much of the earliest lyric Greek poetry were composed (pp. 174–176, 177–183). He rejects all the same the hypothesis of transmission of alphabetic scripture from Semitic to Greek via the Phrygian intermediary (pp. 176 f.).

Chapter five (“Der Westen des Perserreiches und die Welt der kleinasiatischen Griechen 547/6 bis 333 v. Chr.”) pictures a rational and comparatively benign rule of Great Kings in Asia Minor coupled with gradual inroads of Greek culture and language in the 4th c. BC rising to the position of the second official language of Anatolian satrapies alongside Aramaic (pp. 204 f.). Thanks to comparatively rich Greek literary, Iranian and Greek epigraphic, and mostly Anatolian numismatic and archaeological sources M. presents a complex picture of satrapies, Greek poleis and native principalities, most notably on examples of Lycia and Caria, two west Anatolian countries differing in their relations to the Achaemenid rule and both with increasingly more Hellenized dynasties in the 4th c. BC (pp. 208 f.). The longest lasting influence of the Achaemenid rule in Asia Minor can be detected, M. shows (p. 226), in the economic system of feudal, gift-based economy. In the realm of religion the imprint of the Persian presence in Asia Minor was also visible for centuries, with temples of originally Iranian deities and evidence of flow of Zarathushtrian ideas to Greek philosophy and religion (pp. 214 f.). Another interesting phenomenon of the late Achaemenid western Asia Minor was the gradual transformation of local settlements in polis-type cities (pp. 223 f.). M. tends to see much continuity between Achaemenid and Alexander’s rule in Asia Minor, pointing out, however, to a real breakthrough in Alexander’s recognition of Greek poleis with their land as entities separate from the royal territory and this was to last in the Hellenistic age too (pp. 228–230, 262–264).

Chapter six (“Monarchien, Vasallen und Städte zwischen Alexanderreich und Pax Romana (333 bis 31 v. Chr.)”) sketches the political history of Asia Minor from the endless wars of the age of the Successors to convulsions of the end of the Roman Republic without delving into unnecessary detail all too often putative. He dwells in some detail on the reign of Antiochus III, conspicuous both because of the greatest in Hellenistic times wealth of epigraphic evidence and because it marked a turning point in antiquity by dragging Rome into affairs of the Hellenistic world (pp. 280–290).

Contributing to the discussion of position of the polis in the Hellenistic age, M. stresses its importance to the kings as fortress, taxpayer, and supplier of human capital. He further shows continuation of fourth c. BC processes of assimilation of native communities into Greek urban patterns in the age of the Successors. The urban development of Asia Minor was then for the first time affected by royal power through planned and enforced synoecism and planting Graeco-Macedonian colonies largely populated by veterans of armies of the diadochoi (pp. 251–258). Later lesser rulers continued founding and repopulating cities, although, M. shows, on less favourable conditions, without the right to coin their money or to control their rural territory and having to cope with king's supervisors installed in them (pp. 295, 316–318). The degree of planned urbanization of the Greek type differed throughout Asia Minor, two dissimilar examples being neighbouring kingdoms of Pontus and Cappadocia (pp. 337–340). For all this development Hellenistic Asia Minor stayed for the most part non-urbanized, inhabited by bonded peasants living in villages of varying size and organization (pp. 261–263, 336). M. devotes much attention to the Attalid monarchy and to lesser powers of Asia Minor, among them to the Mithridateses of Pontus, the Iranian aristocrats active in the wars of the Successors and then slowly building their state on the Black Sea coast, sometimes associating themselves with Seleucid rulers (pp. 296–298). M.'s narrative successfully leads the reader through the complex array of alliances and petty conflicts of second c. BC Anatolia with Pergamon falling out of Rome's graces and with Bithynia prompted by Rome to play the role of counterbalancing the Attalids, much similar to that once played by the kings of Pergamon with respect to Antiochus III (pp. 288–303). M. attributes the impressive building programme and the cultural patronage of the Attalids to the search for recognition of the latecomer among Hellenistic dynasties as the promoter of Hellenism in Asia (pp. 303–310, 314). Inscriptions allow M. to draw a picture of continuity from the Seleucid to the Attalid to the Roman administration as well as to show the complexity of the bureaucratic machinery of the kingdom of Pergamon comparable to that of Ptolemaic Egypt (pp. 314–318, 325 f., 330–332). Thanks to honorific decrees for Greek cities' ambassadors to the Senate M. shows the shaping of the Roman rule in Asia Minor after the annexation of the Attalid kingdom and gives examples of the successful defence of rights of free poleis from encroaching of Roman officials. Many a reader will find it novel and interesting to learn that the rule of law could be and was successfully implemented by the Senate's decrees on prompting of Greek ambassadors (pp. 322–325). M. perceives the times of Mithridates VI as a momentous period for both organization of the Roman rule in Asia Minor and for the fate and orientation of Greek cities in Anatolia (pp. 338–370). He proceeds to the narrative of Mithridatic wars through the account of petty conflicts in Cappadocia and Bithynia (pp. 341–344), being much more sparse on the reasons for the broad support for Mithridates in Asia Minor and Greece. He accentuates the anti-Roman feelings in the province of Asia (pp. 346–348), not accounting plausibly for involvement of so many free cities on the side of Mithridates.

The largest portion of this book is devoted to early imperial times in Asia Minor, beginning with chapter seven "Imperium Romanum: die Provinzen von Augustus bis Aurelian" containing a concise account of Roman policy in the East until the crisis of the third century. M.'s particular interest seems to be in changing status of various areas of Asia Minor between their relative independence, their position as vassal states and finally annexation by Rome. He notices far slower rate of turning former semi-independent or client area into provinces in Asia Minor than in many western territories of the Roman empire and explains it by a relative convenience of indirect rule in urbanized Asia Minor (pp. 425 f.). Chapter eight "Kleinasien und imperiale Administration unter dem Prinzipat" leads the reader through the essentials of the imperial Roman rule in Asia Minor, known in amazing details thanks to innumerable epigraphic, numismatic and literary sources. Many a reader will be astonished to learn how many names of proconsuls of the early imperial *provincia Asia* are known to the scholarship (over 80%), even if no official building serving the governor has been securely identified, or how small was the Roman imperial administrative personnel in this province, by far the most populous in the Roman empire: less than a hundred at a time from governor to the last slave-clerk in his office (pp. 453–459).

The longest part of the book comprising almost 1/3 of it, chapter nine “Materielle, politisch-soziale und kulturelle Verfassung in der kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen”, covers the best documented issues of economy, social life and religion of imperial Asia Minor. For all enormous research done on Roman Asia Minor, M. shows how little is known about its population: it was certainly much lower than assumptions of Beloch and Broughton of up to 11.5–13.5 million (pp. 493 f.). City is the focal point of this chapter, both because of its role as the foundation of the Greek life and because of the sheer number of cities, estimated at 282 in the province of Asia alone and about 600 in all of Asia Minor (pp. 515 f.). M. notices, however, that large parts of Asia Minor stayed outside *chorai* of Greek cities and rural communities were a stable component of the overall social structure of this land (pp. 555–560). M. mostly disregards different statuses of poleis of Asia Minor (p. 516), devoting much more attention to their leagues and *koina* (pp. 517–525). He consents with those who believe that titles *asiarches* and *archiereus* of Asia refer to the same official (p. 521). M. argues that finances of poleis were in most cases sound and not over-dependent on the munificence of *euergetai*, whose position is over-represented in our sources because of their overwhelmingly honorific nature (pp. 535–542). M. discusses rivalry between cities and cultural Hellenization, contrasted with rather superficial Romanization of Asia Minor (pp. 561–592). In his account of *agones*, perhaps the most representative social and cultural phenomenon of early imperial antiquity, M. successfully argues for its universal character, appealing to Greeks and barbarians, to majority pagans and minority Christians alike (pp. 614–626). His overview of religions of Asia Minor in imperial times leads to the conclusion of the growing appeal of monotheistic beliefs in the third c. AD (pp. 647–649). The narrative ends with beginnings of Christianity in Asia until the edict of Milan, running briefly through the growth of the Church, its diversity, by the orthodox mainstream referred to as heresies, prosecution and cohabitation with the pagan majority.

While reporting enormous transformations of peoples and cultures in Asia Minor, the book gives also remarkable examples of tradition, long lasting customs and names echoing the forgone past, like the old Assyrian name of a colony Kaneš attested in Hellenistic times as Hanisa and in Ottoman documents as Kınış (n. 18 to p. 95), or Anatolian dug-outs known from Xenophon and Diodorus still to be seen in Turkey (p. 197 with pl. 31a). Such examples of the *longue durée* are most visible in religion in Asia Minor, as in the reflection of Hittite religious ideas in early Imperial Asia Minor (pp. 117 f., 645), or in the ecstatic cult of Artemis Perasia in Hierapolis-Kastabala whose priestesses danced on coals surviving in the similar dance of the dervishes of Konya (pp. 151, 633), or in the prehistoric cult of a goddess often referred to as (Magna) Mater pervasive in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor, to be adopted in Christianity in the guise of Holy Mary (pp. 150, 168, 629–631).

In addition to what has been said above, one should reflect on what *Geschichte Kleinasien in der Antike* is and what it is not. The book of M. and F. is a very competent and detailed but never boring or cluttered with erudition for erudition's sake monograph of a vast and complex area throughout most of antiquity. As every good book it has its particular strength in what has been the scholarly forte of its authors, principally of M. who wrote more than 90% of it. Correspondingly, M.'s account of complexities of political and constitutional history is exemplary: well informed, versed in all categories of sources, up to date on the very ample modern research, capable of making a clear distinction between facts and hypotheses, lucid in its narrative, with a dose of well measured sense of humour. Obviously Pontus, Bithynia and Caria, to which M. had devoted so much attention prior to publishing this book, feature here prominently but never out of proportion. Similarly, his usage of epigraphic sources in reconstructing historical events is exemplary. Himself a noted traveller through what used to constitute the ancient world, on many an occasion M. has been able to convey to his reader the importance of studying geography and climate in modern research of antiquity. Not all aspects, however, of history of Asia Minor in antiquity fair equally well in M.'s and F.'s book. Some phenomena of the Hellenistic and imperial age have received perhaps a little less attention than they deserve, e.g. euergetism, especially in its transition from royal benefactions to those of towering civic figures, *les grands évergètes* of Ph. Gauthier, or working

of Greek democracy in Hellenistic and Roman times and what goes with them, the long debated issue of the government of notables in late Hellenistic and Roman cities. The chapter on culture in Asia Minor in the Early empire (pp. 593–613) has been written overwhelmingly with the help of entries in *Der Neue Pauly*, rather than with the author's independent research, hence it does not go far beyond registering (some) authors and (some of) their works. What suffers in particular is the discussion of the intellectual contents of the second sophistic.

M. and F.'s book is appended with a bibliography: the 624 entries are principally books; only a small portion of papers quoted in endnotes are listed and this applies to papers authored by M. and F. too. Every reader will appreciate good indices: the general index and the index of sources. There are two very useful appendices as well: the first consisting of lists of kings (including Parthian Arsacids and Persian Sassanians), princes, satraps and Roman governors but not tyrants of Greek cities, and the second, the timeline of Asia Minor; both end in the beginning of the fourth c. AD. Indices, good bibliography, sensible endnotes and appendices will certainly contribute to promoting the usage of this books by scholars, students and interested public alike. For many it will rightfully be a reference book for Asia Minor. Very high scholarly standards, the most up-to-date knowledge and a very good narrative mark M. and F.'s book as the outstanding monograph of one of the most important areas of near eastern and classical antiquity.

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James KER, *The Deaths of Seneca*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 411 pp., ISBN 978-0-19-538703-2, hb., £ 45.00.

The death of Seneca was a very special event which, as time goes by, is still vital in literature and art. And no wonder. Its significance is caused both by the ambiguous character of Seneca's final exit (forced suicide) and his possibly comparably ambiguous image as a great stoic sage but also an active politician, the tutor and then advisor at the court of the infamous and cruel emperor Nero. Those two men were close, too close in the case of Lucius Annaeus Seneca, for him to keep his hands clean and his conscience pure. Although many of us, when asked about Seneca's death, will presumably come up with the image of the special glory of a dying old sage resisting an emperor's mad cruelty, such an opinion needs revision. Nevertheless his image being comparable maybe only with Socrates¹ has had a significant influence on next centuries till our times².

James KER (= K.) in his very solid work aimed very ambitiously at analysing the cultural significance of Seneca's death across time. Such a project requires very scrupulous investigations of various areas and disciplines such as art history, ancient historiography, Roman and Greek literature, etc. In my own opinion he is admirably competent in each of them. It also seems that here one should just mention the three-part division of his book in the aspect of the scene of Seneca's dying: (1) ancient historical narratives, (2) the literary projects of death in Seneca, (3) the tradition of reception of his death both in word and image.

The book begins with Chapter I, the historical background concerning Seneca's death in Tacitus, Suetonius and Cassius Dio. These three descriptions contain some details not found elsewhere. Each version establishes its own set of conditions and constraints on the interpretation of the sage's death. So we have a vivid description (Tacitus), an analytic catalogue (Suetonius) and finally a polemical anecdote (Dio). It is worth noting that the author tries to materialize Seneca's wife Pompeia Paulina, an ethereal rather than real personality to date.

Chapter II is partially still dedicated to consideration of Seneca's death as part of three stories: life and career, Senecan self-conscious writing and as an unquestionable element of the catalogue of executions and suicides in books XV and XVI of Tacitus' *Annals*. In this third case we may see Tacitus' favourite motifs from his repertoire of describing noble human death. Here, the dying Seneca is pictured as a subject of history and historiography, which treats his death as part of a literary career. Chapter III and the following ones are of special interest as an attempt at elucidating the dying Seneca in his own misgivings³ and philosophical considerations. K. investigates in detail Seneca's works, such as *Dialogi*, *Epigrammata* (Chapter III) and *Consolationes* (Chapter IV), showing us not only the connections between the historians' descriptions of the sage's death and his own writings, but even searching for a connection to Petronius' *Satiricon* 111.8 f.⁴ In my

¹ There were many heroic lives and deaths, but none were like Socrates'. He is so famous that he even deserves not only a serious elaboration like WILSON's book of 2007 and HERSHBELL's paper of 1990 but also a parody by W. ALLEN, *The Insanity Defense*, New York 2007. In the case of Seneca we should have in mind his request for *testamenti tabulae* (*Ann.* XV 63). That act seems to be the main difference between those two extreme situations. However, in Seneca's own opinion it may in fact have been Cato that was the best example of a noble suicide.

² Seneca is still alive although "he died too soon" as Petrarch noted in his letter XXIV 5, 26.

³ It might be interesting to compare Seneca's and Tacitus' ways of depicting the future. The latter author has been investigated in this aspect by J. PIŁOŃ, *Ze studiów nad technikami narracyjnymi Tacyta. Wypowiedzi proleptyczne*, Wrocław 2004.

⁴ It is an evident example of parody of Senecan rhetoric of consolatory therapy.

opinion the end of Chapter IV needs further investigation, as it makes for a somewhat controversial (but very inspiring) mixture of historical facts with literary creativity. I highly value especially Chapter V as an attempt at examining two separate theatrical modes in his philosophical prose and his tragedies and what dramatic role death serves in each. The reader may also learn about the possible influence of the theatricality of that death on Nero himself (Dio and Suetonius). The next chapter, about Seneca's considerations of his own death is also notable, e.g. because of its thorough investigation of the connection between ending correspondence with Lucilius and life.

Chapter VII is more obvious, because it contains a wide spectrum of images of the dying Seneca from the early Christianity until the 20th century. The fact is highly optimistic, although we may find among them also banal and imitative pictures. It seems to be another aspect of ambiguity surrounding the sage. The author is highly successful in examining how the tradition of the sage's death has changed and how that death was shaped in new ways for new audiences. We are really given an enormously wide spectrum of literary works and paintings concerning the scene of Seneca's death, always accompanied with intelligent and competent analyses. Chapter IX on Seneca's image in reception is a very useful supplement and extension of the topic, as it also presents several types of shaping Seneca's image (by Lipsius, Rubens, Reni, etc.). Chapter VIII, where the author discusses Seneca's opinions and thoughts concerning the act of suicide as a way to freedom, complete with his inconsistency on the subject, is of both philosophical and social nature. I wish there were in K.'s book the wider background of Romans' opinions on suicide⁵.

The very end of the book is an intelligent examination of where possibly Seneca's death could happen.

It is my personal conviction that the reviewed book on Seneca's death, as touching upon and exploring so many various aspects, is really valuable as a successful and deeply scholarly attempt at reviving his character and his literary and philosophical activity, and at doing so, paradoxically, from the perspective of the moment of his forced but also voluntary final exit. In K.'s view, Seneca has been so popular over the time that he has even become a banal symbol of popular culture. We may ask what he could offer in his entire philosophy to our modern and arrogant times. K.'s book has something to say to that question too: "It is our death's futurity, uncertainty, and singularity that leave the cultural history of death unfinished – indeed unbegun – until we ourselves are ceasing". A truly eminent and unforgettable work!

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⁵ Comparably to, though more concise than, E.P. GARRISON, *Attitudes toward Suicide in Ancient Greece*, TAPhA CXXI 1991, pp. 1–34.

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