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STUDIA CLASSICA

ναυσὶ δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰὼν κεν εὖροις
ἐς Ὑπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυμαστὰν ὁδόν
(Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 29–30)

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Jürgen von Ungern-Sternberg

WAFFEN IM FESTLICHEN SAAL,
EINE GRIECHISCH-ITALISCHE SITTE*

Anne Lill zum 75. Geburtstag

I

Ein frohes Trinkgelage umringt von tödlichen Waffen an den Wänden?
Der Gedanke mag uns recht fremd erscheinen, bei den Griechen indes
begegnet uns diese Sitte von Anfang an.

Als Odysseus plant, sämtliche Freier der Penelope umzubringen, die so
lange im Megaron seines Hauses sich gütlich getan hatten, da bedenkt er
vor allem auch die in diesem Raum befindlichen Waffen (*Od.* XVI, 281–
298).¹ Gemeinsam mit seinem Sohn Telemachos entfernt er „die Helme
und die gebuckelten Schilde [...] und die gespitzten Lanzen“ (*Od.* XIX,
31–33).² Und in der Tat, nachdem Odysseus mit seinem Pfeil Antinoos als
ersten getötet hatte, sprangen die Freier „erregt im Haus von den Stühlen
auf und blickten nach allen Seiten um sich her auf die gutgebauten Wände.
Doch da war nirgend ein Schild noch eine wehrhafte Lanze zu ergreifen“
(*Od.* XXII, 21–25). Das Morden der Freier kann seinen Lauf nehmen, die
aber immerhin noch mit ihren Schwertern bewaffnet waren.

Weniger erfolgreich als Odysseus und Telemachos war der Lyder-
könig Kroisos mit der vorsorglichen Entfernung der Waffen. Ein Traum
hatte ihm prophezeit, er werde seinen Sohn Atys getroffen von einer
eisernen Lanzenspitze verlieren. Daraufhin hielt er diesen nicht nur vom
Kriege fern, sondern „ließ [...] Wurfspieße und Speere und alles derartige
Kriegswerkzeug aus den Männersälen entfernen und in die (inneren)
Gemächer schaffen, damit ihm nicht etwa eins von der Wand herunterfalle
auf seinen Sohn“ (*Hdt.* I, 34, 3).³ Freilich half diese Vorsichtsmaßnahme
nichts. Atys wurde auf der Jagd von einem Gastfreund mit dem Speer getötet.

* Für freundliche Hinweise danke ich Anton Bierl und Rolf Stucky. In kurzer
essayistischer Form habe ich das Thema bereits in Ungern-Sternberg 2015, 4–5
behandelt.

¹ Zum Problem dieser Verse: Heubeck–Hoekstra 1989, 278.

² Übers. Schadewaldt 1958.

³ Übers. Feix 2000.

Zu Waffen beim Symposion: Noch Alexander der Grosse wollte zunächst nach seinem Dolch greifen, als er seinen Freund Kleitos beim Gelage ermordete, allerdings vergeblich, weil dieser vorsichtshalber beiseitegeschafft worden war (Plut. *Alex.* 51, 5–6).⁴

Archäologisch ist in Azoria auf Kreta aus dem späteren 7. Jahrhundert ein *Communal Dining Building* nachgewiesen. „In diesen Banketthallen fanden sich neben Resten von Mahlzeiten und beachtlichen Mengen von Keramik auch Gegenstände aus Bronze, unter anderem Waffen“.⁵ Auch bildliche Darstellungen bezeugen mehrfach, dass bei einem Symposion die Wände mit Waffen geschmückt waren. Jean-Marie Dentzer verweist beispielshalber auf einen korinthischen Krater und bemerkt dazu: „Ils correspondent à une réalité concrète [...] Ces armes appartiennent aux banqueteurs comme un attribut qui les caractérise comme des guerriers“.⁶ Mehrfach unterstreicht er, dass es sich dabei um den Ausdruck einer aristokratischen Lebensauffassung der archaischen Epoche gehandelt habe, die später zurückgetreten sei.⁷ Als ein Heroenattribut erscheinen Waffen aber auch verschiedentlich noch auf hellenistischen Totenmahlreliefs.⁸

Ein Sänger bei einem Symposion, hinter dem an der Wand Waffen hängen, ist auch auf einem Becher des Brygos Malers im Cabinet des Médailles in Paris zu sehen. John D. Beazley, der darauf aufmerksam gemacht hat, verweist zudem auf weitere gleichartige Szenen auf griechischen Vasen.⁹ Er zitiert dazu die berühmten Verse, mit denen der Dichter Alkaios von Lesbos einen mit Waffen geschmückten Saal schildert (Frg. 140 V.):

μαρμαίρει δὲ μέγας δόμος χάλκῳι, παῖσα δ' ἱέρηι κεκόσμηται στέγα
λάμπραισιν κυνίαισι, καὶ τὰν λεῦκοι κατέπερθεν ἵππιοι λόφοι
νεύοισιν, κεφάλαισιν ἀνδρῶν ἀγάλματα· χάλκῳιαι δὲ πασσάλοις
κρύπτοισιν περικείμεναι λάμπραι κνάμιδες, ἔρκος ἰσχύρῳ βέλεος,
θόρρακές τε νέω λίνω κόιλαι τε καὶ ἄσπιδες βεβλήμεναι·
παρ δὲ Χαλκίδικαι σπάθαι, παρ δὲ ζώματα πόλλα καὶ κυπάσσιδες.

⁴ Eine ähnliche Szene schildert Livius (XXXIX, 42, 12): Cato Censorius warf dem L. Quinctius Flaminius vor, er habe als Konsul im Jahre 192 einen schutzfliehenden Boier beim Gelage mit seinem über ihm hängenden Schwert ermordet. Zu den Überlieferungsproblemen s. Briscoe 2008, 358–359.

⁵ Ulf-Kistler 2020, 49.

⁶ Dentzer 1982, 85–86 mit Taf. 19, Abb. 105; 489–490 zu Reliefs aus Paros, Thasos, Rhodos und Triest.

⁷ *Ibid.* 109. 437. 557.

⁸ Fabricius 1999, 60–63. 82. 122–123. 283.

⁹ Beazley 1953, 74–83, bes. 75 mit Anm. 7.

... funkelnd flammt ja das große Haus von Erz – ganz ist für Ares ausstaffiert der Bau mit hellblitzenden Helmen, von denen weiß aus der Höhe die Büsche aus Pferdehaar nicken: Köpfen von Männern Prunk und Zier! Erzgewirkt, machen die Haken der Wand unsichtbar – ringsherumgehängt – blanke Beinschienen: Schutz gegen starkes Ferngeschoß, – und Brustpanzer aus frischem Lein, und Hohlschilde, zu hohen Stapeln aufgehäuft; dabei Schwerter aus Chalkis auch, dabei Gürtel in Mengen und Schurze aus Lederwerk ...¹⁰

Die Menge der an den Wänden enggehängten und aufgestapelten Waffen lässt freilich, wie Joachim Latacz richtig bemerkt, eher an ein „Munitionsdepot“ oder an ein Zeughaus denken,¹¹ dies ist aber allein dem Bestreben des Alkaios geschuldet, den Kampfesmut seiner zum Symposium im Männersaal versammelten Hetairoi durch eine möglichst eindrucksvolle Häufung von Waffen anzustacheln. Diese werden daher auch von vornherein dem Kriegsgott Ares zugeordnet, also dargestellt als für eine bevorstehende kriegerische Auseinandersetzung bestimmt.

Erich Kistler vergleicht damit die Funde innerhalb eines archaischen Kultbezirks auf dem Çatallar Tepe bei Milet aus der Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. „Genauso wie das alkaische Club- und Festhaus war auch die *lesche* auf dem Çatallar Tepe nicht nur der sichere Aufbewahrungsort der Waffen einer schwerbewaffneten *hetairoi*-Gruppe, sondern zugleich auch ihr fest gebautes Lokal zum gemeinsamen Opfermahl und Weinumtrunk. Dies bezeugen zahlreiche Scherbenfunde von Bankettgeschirr, die auf dem Lehmestrich der *lesche* gemacht werden konnten“.¹²

Auch wenn Alkaios seine Gefährten gewiss auf eine gebrauchstüchtige Ausrüstung hinweisen will, so stellt sich doch die Frage nach der Herkunft der Waffen, die da im Bankettsaal zu sehen waren. Waren es neu angefertigte oder vielmehr Trophäen aus früheren Kämpfen, die der Besitzer teils selbst errungen, teils vielleicht auch schon ererbt hatte?

¹⁰ Übers. Latacz 1991.

¹¹ Latacz 1994, 378; mit diesem Argument wird auch zu Recht die These von Bonnano 1976, 1–11 zurückgewiesen, dass Alkaios einen mit Waffen geschmückten Tempel des Ares vor Augen stellen wollte. Dagegen spricht auch, dass der die Alkaiosverse zitierende Athenaios (XIV, 627 a–c) selbstverständlich davon ausgeht, dass es sich um das Haus des Dichters handele; vgl. auch Clay 2016, 204–216.

¹² Kistler 2020, 119–155, bes. 138 f. Wichtig auch der Hinweis auf die Frage in Alkaios Frg. 383, ob die Waffen des Gefolgsmanns des Pittakos, Dinnomenos, noch immer im Myrsileion hingen (S. 135).

Für letztere Annahme spricht bereits, dass sich die Forschung über den Grad der Modernität der geschilderten Waffen durchaus uneinig ist; es können auch etwas altertümliche darunter gewesen sein.¹³

II

Möglicherweise hilft da ein Blick auf den römischen Bereich weiter, in dem sich viel reichhaltigere Belege für eine derartige Zurschaustellung von Trophäen finden. Sie sind insbesondere von Elizabeth Rawson¹⁴ und danach von Michel Humm¹⁵ eindrucksvoll vorgeführt worden. Wir brauchen auf die Weihung erbeuteter Waffen in Tempeln und heiligen Bezirken hier nicht weiter einzugehen, wo sich ebenso wie im griechischen Bereich – man denke nur an die Funde in Olympia – zahllose Beispiele finden lassen, ebenso nicht auf die Denkmäler im öffentlichen Raum, wie sie in Rom seit dem 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr., wieder unter griechischem Einfluss, für siegreiche Feldherrn zunehmend üblich wurden.

Im Hinblick auf die Kunstwerke, mit denen M. Claudius Marcellus nach der Eroberung von Syrakus (211 v. Chr.) Rom verschönert hat, bemerkt Plutarch ganz allgemein zu dessen damaligem Aussehen (*Marc.* 21, 2):

Denn bis dahin besaß (die Stadt) weder noch wusste sie etwas von schönen und edlen Dingen [...] sondern angefüllt mit barbarischen Waffen und blutbefleckten Beutestücken, vollgestopft mit Trophäen und Erinnerungen an Triumphe, war sie kein heiterer, unschreckhafter Anblick.¹⁶

Dabei bezeugt Plinius der Ältere im Kontext all dessen, was früher an die Großen der römischen Geschichte und ihre Taten erinnert hatte, dass sich diese Trophäen insbesondere an den Häusern der Vornehmen befanden (*NH* XXXV, 7):

¹³ Vgl. den diesbezüglichen Forschungsüberblick bei Bonnano 1976, insbesondere die gründliche Untersuchung von Page 1955, 211–222. Page zweifelt aber nicht daran, dass die beschriebenen Waffen tatsächlich gebraucht werden konnten: „Here we observe a unique description of the dress and armour worn in the principal Aeolian city of Asia Minor, untouched by the reforms which had been established on the mainland a hundred years before“ (S. 211).

¹⁴ Rawson 1990, 158–173.

¹⁵ Humm 2009, 117–152.

¹⁶ Übers. Ziegler 1955.

Außerhalb und in der Nähe der Türen befanden sich andere Bilder ihres hohen Mutes, und dort waren die den Feinden abgenommenen Beutestücke angeheftet, die auch der Käufer nicht entfernen durfte, und so stellten die Häuser, auch nach dem Wechsel ihres Besitzers, für immer den Triumph zur Schau.¹⁷

Und ganz dem entsprechend weiß Sueton (*Nero* 38, 2) noch anlässlich des Brandes Roms unter Nero zu berichten:

Damals verbrannten außer einer unermesslichen Zahl von Wohnhäusern die Paläste der alten Feldherrn, die noch mit den feindlichen Spolien geschmückt waren, [...].¹⁸

Nach der Katastrophe von Cannae war im Jahre 216 eine derartige Spolie am Hause als Beweis für die Tapferkeit seines Bewohners ein Grund, diesen außerordentlicherweise zum Mitglied des Senats zu wählen (Liv. XXIII, 23, 6). Kein Wunder, dass manche so sehr auf solche Ausweise heldenhafter Taten begierig waren, dass sie sich sogar ‚mit fremden Federn‘ zu schmücken wagten. Jedenfalls sah sich M. Porcius Cato Censorius zu einer Rede veranlasst: *Ne spolia figerentur nisi de hoste capta* (Frg. 97 ORF⁴, ed. Henrica Malcovati).

Derartige Trophäen befanden sich aber nicht nur außen an den Häusern, sondern durchaus auch in deren Innerem. Polybios zählt unter den Auszeichnungen für besonders tapfere Soldaten auf (VI, 39, 10):

[...] und in ihren Häusern stellen sie die erbeuteten Rüstungen an einem Platz auf, an dem sie am meisten in die Augen fallen, als Beweis und Zeugnis ihrer Tapferkeit.

Wenn wir Valerius Maximus (III, 2, 24) glauben dürfen, der sich dafür auf M. Terentius Varro berufen kann, dann brachte es der frühromische Held L. Siccus Dentatus aus 120 Gefechten auf 36 von den Feinden erbeutete Spolien.

Erst recht dürften die Häuser der Feldherrn mit Waffen gefüllt gewesen sein. Der ältere Cato wusste wohl, warum er in einer weiteren Rede *Ut praeda in publicum referatur* sich gegen eine derartige Privatisierung wandte (Frg. 98 ORF⁴).¹⁹ So ließ der Magister equitum Q. Fabius

¹⁷ Übers. König 1978.

¹⁸ Übers. Stahr 1961; vgl. Liv. X, 7, 9.

¹⁹ Konkret handelt das einzige erhaltene Fragment nur von Götterbildern, die private Räume schmückten.

Maximus Rullianus im Jahre 325 nach dem Bericht des Historikers Fabius Pictor (Liv. VIII, 30, 9 = Fabius Pictor, Frg. 18 P. = 17 *FRH*) die von den Samniten erbeuteten Rüstungen in großer Zahl verbrennen, nur

damit der (ihm vorgesetzte) Diktator (L. Papirius Cursor) nicht seinen Ruhm erntete, seinen eigenen Namen auf die Spolien schrieb oder sie im Triumph mit sich führte.²⁰

Leider bleibt es unklar, wo sich die im Triumph des C. Flaminius über die Gallier im Jahre 223 aufgeführten Waffen befunden haben, mit denen nach der Niederlage bei Cannae immerhin 6000 Mann ausgerüstet werden konnten (Liv. XXIII, 14, 4).²¹ Sicher dagegen ist es, dass M. Fulvius Flaccus nach seinem Triumph über Ligurer, Vocontier und Salluvier im Jahre 123 die erbeuteten Rüstungen in größerer Menge zu sich nachhause hatte bringen lassen. Auf sie konnte er für die Ausrüstung seiner Anhänger im Jahre 121 für den letzten Verzweiflungskampf gegen die vom Konsul L. Opimius aufgegebenen Truppen zurückgreifen (Plut. *Caius Gracch.* 15, 1):

Bei Tagesanbruch rüttelten sie den Fulvius, der über dem Zechen eingeschlafen war, mit vieler Mühe wach, griffen dann nach den Waffen, die er einst als Konsul in siegreicher Schlacht von den Galliern erbeutet und an seinem Hause aufgehängt hatte, und rückten aus mit drohendem Geschrei, um den Aventin zu besetzen.²²

Weitere Belege für die Aufbewahrung von Beutewaffen in den Häusern fehlen,²³ so dass es bei der plausiblen Vermutung von Michel Humm bleiben muss : „C’est que cette pratique de l’exhibition des dépouilles à

²⁰ Übers. Beck–Walter 2001. Die für das Andenken seines Vorfahren zumindest recht ambivalente Geschichte hat Fabius Pictor schwerlich erfunden: Beck–Walter 2001, 120–122; Cornell 2013, 33–34.

²¹ Denselben Vorgang behandelt die Parallelstelle Liv. XXII, 57, 10, deren dramatisierende Darstellung: *arma, tela, alia parari iubent et vetera spolia hostium detrahunt templis porticibusque* („sie befehlen Waffen aller Art herzustellen und reißen alte feindliche Beutewaffen von Tempeln und Hallen“) kein Vertrauen verdient; vgl. zu weiteren Problemen der Stelle den Kommentar von Weissenborn–Müller 1883 zu XXIII, 14, 4.

²² Übers. W. Wuhrmann, in: Ziegler 1955.

²³ Bei der „großen Menge von Dolchen und Schwertern“, die der Konsul Cicero im Jahre 63 aus dem Hause des Catilinarier C. Cornelius Cethegus sicherstellen ließ (*In Cat.* 3, 8), dürfte es sich um neu angefertigte Waffen gehandelt haben. Cethegus verteidigte sich auch nur mit der Erklärung, „er sei stets ein Liebhaber guter Klingen gewesen“ (*In Cat.* 3, 10).

domicile, dans les endroits de passage ou les mieux en vue (aux portes de la maison, près de l'entrée, dans le vestibule, dans l'*atrium* ou au *tablinum*), était surtout caractéristique des membres de la *nobilitas* [...]“.²⁴

III

Die archäologische Forschung hat in den letzten Jahren gezeigt, dass die Symposien-Kultur seit dem 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr. unter griechischem wie auch phönikischem Einfluss in Mittelitalien – Etrurien, Latium, Campanien – weit verbreitet gewesen ist.²⁵ Ein Zeugnis dafür könnten auch die Cato zufolge in Rom in grauer Vorzeit gesungenen *Carmina convivalia* sein, wobei deren Bedeutung für die Überlieferung der Frühgeschichte Roms hier nicht zu erörtern ist.²⁶

Einige besonders eindrucksvolle bildliche Vergegenwärtigungen von Banketträumen verdanken wir aber etruskischen Gräbern seit dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. Insbesondere die *Tomba dei Rilievi* in Caere / Cerveteri ragt unter ihnen hervor. Nicht umsonst hat Jacques Heurgon mit ihrer Hilfe die Atmosphäre eines vornehmen etruskischen Hauses darzustellen versucht.²⁷ Der Hauptraum des Grabes wirkt geradezu wie eine Illustration zum Saal des Symposions im großen Gedicht des Alkaios: Man betritt einen festlichen Raum mit insgesamt 13 Klinen in den Nischen, jede mit Kopfkissen an einem Ende. Die Wände sind in stuckierter Form reich mit Waffen und anderen Gerätschaften bedeckt. Aber auch Fragmente von wirklichen Bronzewaffen haben sich in dem Grab gefunden.²⁸ Alkaios hätte in seinem solchen Rahmen – hier freilich bei einem Grabbankett – sogleich seine Stimme erheben können.

Man könnte sich in einem solchen Raum auch gut den bronzenen Brustpanzer vorstellen, der im Jahre 1986 als anonyme Leihgabe im J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu aufgetaucht ist. Seine Inschrift: *Q. Lutatio C. F. A. Manlio C. F. / Consolibus Faleris capto* nennt die beiden Konsuln des Jahres 241 v. Chr. und weist ihn damit als Beutestück aus dem faliskischen Falerii aus, das damals von diesen Konsuln erobert worden ist. Da der Panzer aber bereits im 4. Jh. gefertigt worden ist, ist er wohl – schon

²⁴ Humm 2009, 131.

²⁵ Rathje 1990, 279–288.

²⁶ Beck-Walter 2001, 219–220 zu Cato, Frg. 118 P = 113 *FRH*; Timpe 1988, 266–268; Zorzetti 1990, 289–307; Horsfall 1994, 50–75; Cornell 2013, 141–143.

²⁷ Heurgon 1971, 230–243.

²⁸ Blanck-Proietti 1986, 49; vgl. Steingräber 1985, 270–272 (mit Abb. 1–2); Steingräber 2006, 253–254.

als Beutestück? – in einem vornehmen Haus in Falerii zur Schau gestellt gewesen und dann, nach dem guten Erhaltungszustand zu schließen, mit der Inschrift versehen in das Grab seines neuen Besitzers gelangt.²⁹

Als weitere herausragende Beispiele neben der *Tomba dei Rilievi* von mit Waffen geschmückten Grabkammern sind insbesondere in Tarquinia die *Tomba Gaglioli*³⁰ zu nennen, in der besonders liebevoll auch die Nägel gemalt sind, an denen die Waffen aufgehängt wurden, und die *Tomba degli Scudi*.³¹

IV

Warum ein Aufsatz über ‚Waffen im festlichen Saal‘ zu einem Jubiläum in Friedenszeiten, verehrte, liebe Jubilarin? Zunächst, Sie haben selbst über das griechische Symposium und die innere Verwandtschaft seiner Ordnung mit der Ordnung der Polis, vor allem mit der des demokratischen Athens, instruktiv geschrieben.³² Hier aber noch wichtiger: Ihre wissenschaftliche Laufbahn hat in dunkleren Zeiten begonnen, jetzt sind sie freier, aber Wachsamkeit bleibt notwendig.

So sei nunmehr der zunächst weggelassene Schluss des Alkaios-Gedichts nachgetragen, nach dem Blick auf all die glänzenden Waffen zieht der Dichter die Konsequenz:

derer (sc. der Waffen) *nicht* zu gedenken: unmöglich, seit dieses Werk wir auf uns nahmen hier!

„Dieses Werk“, das meint den Kampf gegen einen Tyrannen. Der in Riga aufgewachsene Max Treu hat dazu kurz nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg und dem Ende der Nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft bemerkt: „Wem Alkaios aber trotz allem zu militant ist und wer daran Anstoß nimmt, dass in dem großen Saal, den er beschreibt, lauter Waffen und keine Musikinstrumente hängen, der möge nicht vergessen, dass die Dichtung uns auch hier ein getreues Bild jener, von uns durch zweieinhalb Jahrtausende getrennten Zeit gibt, da junge, in einem Bund auf Leben und Tod vereinigte Männer die einzigen waren, die gegen die Tyrannen sich erhoben [...]“.³³

²⁹ Flower 1998, 224–232.

³⁰ Steingraber 1985, 317 (mit Abb. 79–85).

³¹ *Ibid.* 349–351 (mit Abb. 145–149).

³² Lill 1999, 185–197.

³³ Treu 1963, 126.

Immerhin, Wolfgang Rösler³⁴ hat gegenüber Gregor Maurach³⁵ mit Recht betont, dass die in den Alkaïosversen angekündigte Auseinandersetzung nicht als *unmittelbar* drohend anzunehmen ist. Möge das jetzt – zumindest in unserer Weltgegend – lange so bleiben.

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³⁴ Rösler 1980, 148–158; vgl. Spelmann 2015, 353–360.

³⁵ Maurach 1968, 15–20; vgl. Clay 2013, 18–24.

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Meeting in dining-halls for a symposium was a widespread habit in ancient Greece and Italy. Especially remarkable was their frequent decoration with real weapons, which is not only described in some literary texts, but also testified by archeological findings. Outstanding is the *Tomba di Rilievi di Cerveteri* which looks like an illustration of a famous poem of Alcaeus.

Пирьы были распространеным обычаем в Древней Греции и Италии. Примечательная особенность пиршественных залов состояла в том, что они часто были украшены настоящим оружием: это не только описано в литературе, но и подтверждается археологическими находками. “Гробница раскрашенных рельефов” в Черветери выглядит как иллюстрация к знаменитому стихотворению Алкея.

Natalia Brykova

ON THE VALIDITY OF SOME ARGUMENTS
FOR CHORAL PERFORMANCE OF
STESICHORUS' POEMS

One of the most controversial issues regarding Stesichorus is the performance of his poems. Due to the lack of sufficient sources, it cannot be resolved definitively whether his works were written for choral or solo performance.¹ Stesichorus had been traditionally classified as a choral lyric poet, until M. West provided a well-argued defense of the thesis that he was a soloist accompanying himself on the cithara.² The point of view that prevails in recent works and seems the most probable is the intermediate interpretation: the poet could compose both for a singing and dancing chorus (perhaps accompanied by a cithara) and for a solo singer (perhaps accompanied by a silent dancing chorus).³ Arguments which are hard to refute can be adduced in defense of both hypotheses. However, not all the reasons repeatedly quoted in the Stesichorean compendia are equally compelling. In 1993 Ettore Cingano argued for choral performance in an article,⁴ which since then has often been referred to in overviews as an authoritative contribution in support of the choral theory.⁵ The aim of this paper is to reexamine the three arguments proposed by the Italian scholar.

¹ For a summary of the debate and a discussion, see Burnett 1988, 129–135; Willi 2008, 76–82; Curtis 2011, 23–36; Ercoles 2013, 494–499; 561–572.

² West 1971 (an extension of the suggestion precedingly made by Kleine 1828, 53 and Wilamowitz 1913, 238–239).

³ E.g., Russo 1999, 339; Ercoles 2013, 499; 566; Davies–Finglass 2014, 30–32.

⁴ Cingano 1993, 347–361.

⁵ E.g., Russo 1999, 339 n. 1; Power 2010, 235 n. 116; Ercoles 2012, 10 n. 41; Carruesco 2012, 141 n. 2; Ercoles 2013, 562 n. 989; 990; Cipolla 2014, 79 n. 105; Finglass–Kelly 2015, 12 (“works by <...> and particularly Ettore Cingano readvocate the case for choral performance, in our view persuasively”); Coward 2018, 54 n. 83 (“persuasive arguments for choral performance”).

I. Lexical Meaning of Words with the Root μέλπ-/μολπ-

Cingano argues that μολπή and cognate words used in Stesichorus' poetry prove that his poems were performed by a chorus. The poet applies such words in three extant fragments, each time referring to the gods – the patrons of his own art.⁶

Fr. 90 F. = 193 *PMGF* (*POxy* 2506 fr. 26 col. i. 9–10):

Δεῦρ' αὖτε θεὰ φιλόμολπε

Fr. 271 F. = 232 *PMGF* (Plut. *De E apud Delphos* 394 b):

<χορεύ>ματά τοι μάλιστα
παιγμοσύνας <τε> φιλεῖ μολπὰς τ' Ἀπόλλων,
κάδεα δὲ στοναχὰς τ' Αἰδῆας ἔλαχε.

1 <χορεύ>ματά Wilamowitz : †μαλά† codd. : ἀλλά Crusius 2 <τε> φιλεῖ
Blomfield : φιλεῖ codd. : φιλέει Schneidewin 3 κάδεα Welcker : κήδεα
codd. | δὲ Blomfield : τε codd.

Fr. 278 F. (Athen. 5. 180 e):

καλεῖ δὲ Στήσιχορος μὲν τὴν Μοῦσαν ἀρχεσίμολπον

Cingano uses the analysis of the lexical meaning of the words with the root μέλπ-/μολπ- as an argument for his point. He maintains that these terms are associated with the activity of choruses.⁷ Hence, the use of the words with this stem by Stesichorus demonstrates the participation of the chorus in the performance of his poems.⁸

It is quite undeniable that words with the root μέλπ-/μολπ- often refer to a choral song accompanied by a dance. In many obvious cases μέλπω/μέλπομαι and μολπή are applied to the description of a collective singing with a dance (such as in examples adduced by Cingano: Hom. *Il.* 1. 474;

⁶ Hereinafter Stesichorus' fragments are quoted from Finglass' edition: Davies–Finglass 2014.

⁷ Cingano 1993, 349: “Nei diversi passi omerici ed esiodei μέλπω/μολπή ricorrono nel contest di *performances* corali fondate sull'associazione di canto, musica e danza, e indicano ora un canto connesso con la danza, ora solo la danza, ora un canto corale differenziato dal canto solista dell'aedo”.

⁸ Cingano 1993, 349–353; Cingano 2003, 26–29; cited with consent in Russo 1999, 339 n. 1; Ercoles 2012, 12 n. 53; Ercoles 2013, 562 with n. 990; Davies–Finglass 2014, 31 with n. 174.

16. 182; 18. 572; *Hom. h. Ap.* 197, etc.). However, Cingano's argument contains a logical fallacy. It is insufficient to demonstrate that the words with the root *μελπ-/μολπ-* can refer to a chorus in order to consider them indisputable proof of choral performance. It should be shown that these words are inapplicable to solo singing that is not accompanied by dance. Meanwhile, a thorough examination shows that this is not the case.

The etymology of the words under consideration is not clear.⁹ Vocabularies do record the meanings indicated by Cingano, but not as the only possible ones. Thus, LSJ gives the following meanings: *μέλω* – (1) *poet. verb* celebrate with song and dance: Φοῖβον, Σπάρτην, (2) sing *intr.*, + acc.: βοάν, let sound: τὰς κιθάρας ἐνοπᾶν, play on: αὐλῷ; *μέλομαι* (med.) – (1) sing to the lyre or harp; dance and sing, as a chorus; let sound: στεναχάς; (2) sing of, celebrate: νόμους; *μολπή* – (1) dance or rhythmic movement with song; (2) (more freq.) song.¹⁰

I have analyzed 58 passages by Archaic authors (beginning from the Homeric epos and including Pindar and Aeschylus who are inclined to archaizing) that contain words with the root *μελπ-/μολπ-* based on the *TLG* data. Thirteen¹¹ of these are names (*Μελομένη*, *Εὐμολπος*) and epithets (*ἀρχεσίμολπος*, *φιλόμολπος*, *φιλησίμολπος*, *εὐμολπος*, *ἐρασίμολπος*), which provide no information about the way of performance. The phrase *κυσὶν/κυνῶν μέλπηθρα*, which occurs three times in the *Iliad* (13. 233; 17. 255; 18. 179), has no relation to music. In four cases¹² the meaning is unclear, as the text has been only partially preserved. In seven passages¹³ the mode of the performance cannot be identified with confidence from the context.

⁹ Frisk 1970, 204 s.v. *μέλω*, -ομαι.

¹⁰ Cf. Rocci 1943 s. vv.: *μέλω* – “*canto; canto danzando*, assol.; *canto; celebro, festeggio con canti e danze*, acc.”; *μολπή* – “*canto e danza*; freq. *canto*”. Chantraine 1968 s.vv.: *μέλω/μέλομαι* – “‘chanter et danser’ notamment dans un chœur ... mais peut signifier ‘chanter’ en général, notamment avec l’accompagnement de la cithare”; *μολπή* – “chant mêlé de danse”; “chant”. However, *Lfgre* is in accordance with Cingano: *μέλω* – ‘to perform song for choral dance (or rhythmical movements)’: (1) sing and dance; (2) of singers supplying music and song for choral dance (Beck 1993a, 115–116); *μολπή* – ‘song for accompaniment by choral dance (or rhythmical movement), dancing song’: (1) with mention of dancing, dancers, (2) otherwise (Beck 1993b, 253–254).

¹¹ Beside 3 cases in Stesichorus, these are: *Hom. h. Cer.* 154; 475; *Hes. Th.* 77; fr. 227. 1 Merkelbach–West (= Herodianus, π. μον. λέξ. 10, ii. 915. 22 Lentz); *Alcm. fr.* S1 Davies; *Pind. Ol.* 14. 14; 16; *Nem.* 7. 9; Hecataeus *FGrHist* 1 F 119. 8 (= *Strab.* 7. 7. 1); *Aesch. fr.* 168. 19 *TGF*.

¹² *Sappho fr.* 27. 5; 96. 5 V.; *Aesch. fr.* 451 u 5; 451 d 1 *TGF*.

¹³ *Hom. Od.* 21. 430; *Hom. h. Merc.* 452; *Lasus fr.* 1. 1 Privitera (= *Athen.* 14. 19. 624 e–f); *Pind. Ol.* 1. 102; 6. 97; 10. 84; *Nem.* 1. 20.

In nineteen cases the chorus clearly takes part in the performance, and in three of them it echoes the singing soloist or dances to his accompaniment (Hom. *Il.* 18. 572; 18. 606; *Hom. h. Ap.* 197). Only three passages (containing six words with the stem *μελπ-/μολπ-*) have obvious indications that the chorus is both singing and dancing (*Hom. h. Pan.* 19; 21; 24; Hes. *Th.* 66; 69; Pind. *Paian* fr. 52 f 17 S.-M.). In three cases, the chorus is definitely not dancing (Aesch. *Pers.* 389; *Sept.* 870; 1023),¹⁴ and in ten (containing twelve such words), there is no mention of a dance (Hom. *Il.* 1. 472; 474; 16. 182; Ps.-Hes. *Sc.* 206; Xenophan. fr. B 1. 12 D.-K.; Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 78; 3. 90; *Paian* fr. 52 b 96 S.-M.; *Dith.* fr. 75, 11 S.-M.; Aesch. *Ag.* 107; *Eum.* 1043=1047).

Besides, in three cases (Hom. *Il.* 13. 637 = *Od.* 23. 145; *Od.* 1. 152) the performer is irrelevant, since the passages deal with a desire for musical entertainment in general, but there is a clear contrast between the word *μολπή* and the words denoting dance (*ὄρχηθμός*, *ὄρχηστύς*). Thus, the author recognizes song and dance as different things, and *μολπή* indicates a song. It should be noted that in Stesichorus fr. 271 F. the reading <χορεύ>ματά also implies two different words for song (*μολπαί*) and dance.

The opposite cases in which the root *μελπ-/μολπ-* could indicate rhythmical movement without singing are dubious. In *Il.* 7. 241 the verb *μέλπεσθαι* may be interpreted as applied to solo dancing as a metaphor of battle, but the point of comparison is not certain (*οἶδα δ' ἐνὶ σταδίῃ δαίψ μελπεσθαι Ἄρηι*).¹⁵ Twice the word *μολπή* is somehow associated with gymnastic activities: in *Od.* 4. 19 (*μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες*) the two acrobats are performing at a feast (at the same time with a singer), and in *Od.* 6. 101 (*ἄρχετο μολπῆς*) Nausicaa is playing ball with her girl servants (and perhaps singing).

The predominance of cases associated with choral singing and dancing can be simply explained by the fact that ancient Greek music tended to syncretism – a combination of poetry, dance and song. Since such performances were customary, no wonder they were frequently mentioned by ancient authors; nevertheless, it does not mean that the vocabulary used to represent them was specific. Similarly, the English words 'song' and 'to sing' are quite applicable to both a chorus and a soloist.

I have defined solo singing in seven passages (containing eight words with the stem *μελπ-/μολπ-*). There are two cases in Homer's (*Od.* 4. 17

¹⁴ As already noted by Willi 2008, 79 n. 114: "μολπή kann sogar verwendet werden, ohne dass von Tänzen die Rede ist".

¹⁵ Cf. Rocci 1943, 1204 s.v. *μέλπω*: "cantare danzando in onore di Ares, i.e. combattere coraggiosamente".

and 13. 27): the bard is performing at a feast (ἐμέλπετο θεῖος ἀοιδός), while the banqueters are eating and neither singing nor dancing.¹⁶ In the Homeric hymn to Hermes Apollo receives the lyre as a gift, and Hermes proposes him to sing and play it (476 μέλπεο καὶ κιθάριζε, 478 εὐμόλπει). In the poem about the contest between Homer and Hesiod (Hes. fr. 357 = *Sch. Pind. Nem.* 2. 1 [iii. 31 Dr.]) μέλομεν refers to the solo singing of both contestants. In the prologue of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (17) ὕπνου ἀντίμολπον ἄκος 'song as a remedy for sleep' denotes the song of a guard who lies on the roof and tries to stay awake. In the same tragedy (1445), the expression μέλψασα γόον concerns the last words of Cassandra foreseeing her own death. This phrase cannot relate to dance and choral singing even in a metaphoric sense. In Simonides' poem (*AP* 7. 25. 9), Anacreon is represented as singing himself and playing the βάρβιτον, a stringed musical instrument which is not comfortable to dance with, so μολπή seems unlikely to be associated with dancing movements.

Such testimonies confirm that μέλομαι and μολπή can also refer to a soloist singing without being accompanied by dance. Hence, Cingano's argument that these words must be associated with choral singing and/or dancing is not convincing.

As regards the usage of the words under consideration in Stesichorus' poems, neither φιλεῖ μολπᾶς (fr. 271. 2 F.) nor θεὰ φιλόμολπε (fr. 9. 9 F.) taken alone allow us to characterize the mode of performance. The case of fr. 278 F. is more complicated and deserves special consideration. According to Athenaeus (5. 180 e), Stesichorus called the Muse ἀρχεσίμολπος ('the one who begins the μολπή'). In the poem *Eriphyle* (fr. 90 F.), the call Δεῦρ' αὐτε θεὰ φιλόμολπε must also refer to the Muse (the goddess who loves the μολπή).¹⁷ Hence, in both cases μολπή likely denotes the same thing. Cingano interprets the epithet ἀρχεσίμολπος by correlating it with the expression ἄρχεσθαι μολπῆς applied to Nausicaa in Homer's (*Od.* 6. 101: τῇσι δὲ Ναυσικάα λευκώλενος ἄρχετο μολπῆς). Relating Homer's passage to the lines of Stesichorus, he concludes that the Muse in this fragment was depicted as "beginning choral singing and dancing".¹⁸ Indeed, if one 'started' a song (ἐξάρχειν), there must have been those who 'joined in' (συνεπηχεῖν, ἀντιπαιανίζειν).¹⁹ However, this meaning of the verb is assigned to the singing of mortals (e.g., Plut. *Symp. probl.* 615 b;

¹⁶ In the first case (*Od.* 4. 17) the banqueters are at the same time entertained by two acrobats (κυβιστήρῃ), but the identity of the formula in both cases proves that their presence is irrelevant for the meaning of ἐμέλπετο.

¹⁷ See parallels in Davies–Finglass 2014, 331.

¹⁸ Cingano 1993, 350–351; Cingano 2003, 26–28.

¹⁹ Rutherford 2001, 43; 52.

Alcm. fr. 98 *PMG* = 129 Calame), whereas Stesichorus invokes the Muse, therefore it is possible that she 'begins' the song of the poet (gives him inspiration) so that he may continue singing himself. This interpretation implies that the epithet ἀρχεσίμολπος may also describe a solo performance.

II. A Fragment of Stesichorus' *Oresteia* as an Indication of its Performance Modality

The second piece of evidence in favour of choral performance, according to Cingano,²⁰ is a passage from Stesichorus' *Oresteia* (fr. 173 F. = fr. 212 *PMGF* = *Sch. Aristoph. Pax* 797 c, p. 125 Holwerda):

τοιάδε χρή Χαρίτων δαμόματα καλλικόμων
ὕμνεϊν Φρύγιον μέλος ἐξευρόντα<ς> ἄβρῶς
ἦρος ἐπερχομένου.

2 ἐξευρόντα<ς> Kleine : ἐξευρόντα σ' vel ἐξευρόντα μ' Page.

The emendation in the second line is required to avoid hiatus. Kleine's conjecture is preferable, since in the version suggested by Page the personal pronoun appears in an unnatural position.²¹

Cingano accepts the emendation ἐξευρόντας and concludes that the plural form indicates a singing chorus.²² Nevertheless, it is well known that traditionally both the chorus and the poet could alternately refer to themselves in singular and plural in poetry. Cingano himself proves it by numerous examples²³ without realizing that this argument can be used against his thesis rather than in support of it.²⁴

Furthermore, the meaning of the verb ἐξευρίσκω ('discover, invent') indicates the activity of the poet, and not of the chorus.²⁵ Numerous

²⁰ Cingano 1993, 353–356; Cingano 2003, 29–31.

²¹ Cingano 1993, 355 n. 34; Cingano 2003, 32; Davies–Finglass 2014, 496; but see Lloyd-Jones 1995, 420 who adduces as a parallel Soph. *Trach.* 393 (Τί χρή, γύναι, μολόντα μ' Ἡρακλεῖ λέγειν;).

²² Accepted by Willi 2008, 81.

²³ Cingano 1993, 356 n. 35; Cingano 2003, 31.

²⁴ Cf. Davies 1979, 893 s.: "I wish to register a warning against the drawing of any conclusions as to the poem's mode of performance from the appearance of singular or plural participle in this fragment's text"; Pucci 2017, 251–252.

²⁵ Lloyd-Jones 1995, 420: "surely the one who 'finds out' the melody is the poet"; Pucci 2017, 251: "l'atto del trovare è riferito sempre in maniera piuttosto chiara al poeta"; Ercoles 2013, 564–565.

parallels proving this can be cited: Alc. fr. 39 *PMG*; Pind. *Ol.* 1. 110; *Pyth.* 1. 60; fr. 122, 14 S.–M. etc.²⁶

The passage from the *Oresteia* contains the hapax δαμώματα, which the scholiasts explain as ‘songs meant to be sung in public’.²⁷ Indeed, the verb δαμωσόμεθα at the beginning of Pindar’s eighth Isthmian Ode conveys an intention to compose songs for the public (Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 8). Cingano concludes that the *Oresteia* was intended to be sung at some festival and therefore was composed for the chorus.²⁸ It is plausible that the word δαμώματα describes public performance, but this fact does not determine the character of singing: a soloist citharode as well as a chorus could sing for people while participating in the feasts and contests. Thus, δαμώματα does not indicate that the performance is obligatory choral.²⁹

Another proof of choral singing, according to Cingano, is the expression χρῆ ... ὕμνεϊν. He defines the meaning of the verb ὕμνεϊν as ‘to sing in chorus’, since it occurs in this sense in the Homeric hymns (*Hom. h. Ap.* 190, *Hom. h. Dian.* 19) and in Xenophanes (fr. 1. 13 D.–K.). However, there are cases where the verb is applied to the soloist’s singing, e.g. Hesiod’s *Theogony* 33:

ὥς ἔφασαν κοῦραι μεγάλου Διὸς ἀρτιέπειαι,
καί μοι σκῆπτρον ἔδον δάφνης ἐριθιλέος ὄζον 30
δρέψασαι, θηητόν· ἐνέπνεπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν
θέσπιν, ἵνα κλείοιμι τὰ τ’ ἐσσόμενα πρό τ’ ἐόντα,
καί μ’ ἐκέλονθ’ ὕμνεϊν μακάρων γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων,
σφαῖς δ’ αὐτὰς πρῶτον τε καὶ ὕστατον αἰὲν ἀείδειν.

Hesiod’s art has never been associated with choral lyrics, hence it is incorrect to claim that the verb ὕμνέω always refers to the chorus.

Thus, an examination of the fragment of Stesichorus’ *Oresteia* shows that it does not contain unambiguous indications of choral performance.³⁰

²⁶ See Ercoles 2013, 565; Davies–Finglass 2014, 496.

²⁷ *Sch. Aristoph. Pax* 798 (= Suda δ 53): δαμώματα· τὰ δημοσία ᾄδόμενα. Hesych. δ 212: δαμώματα· κοινώματα, δημοσιώματα.

²⁸ Cingano 1993, 354; Cingano 2003, 29, repeating Smith 1900, 266 (“hymns composed for public delivery by choruses”); Cingano is quoted with consent by Morgan 2012, 43; Davies–Finglass 2015, 29 n. 168.

²⁹ Willi 2008, 81 n. 124; Ercoles 2013, 565; Pucci 2017, 252.

³⁰ Cf. Lloyd-Jones 1995, 420: “Cingano makes much of fr. 212”. Cf. Ercoles 2012, 12: “il poeta si presenta insieme come compositore ed esecutore di canti pubblici per un contesto probabilmente festivo”; at the same time, Ercoles admits, although with caution, the participation of a chorus due to a mention of the Charites – which seems quite insufficient as an argument.

III. The Testimony of Timaeus

Discussing the genre and the modality of performance of Stesichorus' poems, Cingano regards a fragment of Timaeus (*FHG* I 224 = *FGrHist* 566 F 32) as a decisive testimony of choral singing.³¹ Preserved by Athenaeus and Polyaeus, it deals with the adventures of Damocles, the flatterer of Dionysius the tyrant.

Stesich. Tb5(a) Ercoles (Ath. 6. 250 b–c):

- ἔπειτα πρε-
- σβεύσας ποτὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων ἴως τὸν Διονύσιον, καὶ
 πάντων κομιζομένων ἐπὶ τριήρους κατηγορούμενος ὑπὸ
 τῶν ἄλλων ὅτι στασιάζοι κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν καὶ
 5 βλάπτοι τοῦ Διονυσίου τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις καὶ σφόδρα
 τοῦ Διονυσίου ὀργισθέντος ἔφησεν (sc. Δημοκλῆς) τὴν διαφορὰν γε-
 νέσθαι αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς συμπρέσβεις, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ
 δεῖπνον ἐκείνοι μὲν ἴτων Φρυγίου καὶ Στησιχόρου,
 ἔτι δὲ Πινδάρου παιάνων ἴτων ναυτῶν τινὰς ἀνείλε-
 10 φότες ἦδον, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν βουλομένων τοὺς ὑπὸ
 τοῦ Διονυσίου πεποιημένους διεπεραίνετο. καὶ τοῦτο
 σαφῆ τὸν ἔλεγχον παρέξειν ἐπηγγείλατο· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ
 αὐτοῦ κατηγοροῦς οὐδὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ᾠμάτων
 κατέχειν, αὐτὸς δ' ἔτοιμος εἶναι πάντας ἐφεξῆς ᾄδειν.

2 ὡς τὸν Διονύσιον A : del. Schweighäuser : ὡς τὸν Δίωνα Casaubon 8–9
 τὸν ... παιᾶνα A : τῶν (Dobree) ... παιάνων Kaibel : τοὺς ... παιᾶνας Erco-
 les 9 τῶν ναυτῶν A : τῶν αὐτῶν Schweighäuser : ἢ τῶν αὐτῶν Casaubon :
 {τῶν αὐτῶν} Dalechamps | τινες A : τινὰς Meineke : τινὰ Casaubon

Cf. Stesich. Tb5(b) Ercoles (Polyaen. *Strat.* 5. 46):

- Δημοκλῆς πρεσβεύσας κατηγορούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν
 <ἄλλων> πρεσβευτῶν, ὅτι μεγάλας τοῦ Διονυσίου πράξεις
 ἔβλαπεν, ὀργισθέντος τοῦ τυράννου ἑμοὶ πρὸς τού-
 5 τοις, ἔφη, ἔγχετο διαφορὰ, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον
 οὗτοι μὲν τοὺς Στησιχόρου καὶ Πινδάρου παιᾶνας
 ἦδον, ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ σοῦ πεποιημένους· καὶ συνῆσε
 τοὺς παιᾶνας αὐτοῦ. Διονύσιος ἡσθεὶς οὐκέτι ἠνέσχετο
 τῶν ἐγκλημάτων.

2 <ἄλλων> πρεσβευτῶν Melber : <συμ>πρεσβευτῶν Casaubon 3–4
 τούτους F : τούτοις M 6 ἦδον edd. : εἶδον F | συνῆσε vel συνῆδε Korais :
 συνῆψε F

³¹ Quoted with consent in Ercoles 2013, 524.

Cingano interprets this fragment as compelling evidence of the choral performance of Stesichorus' paeans in Sicily, the poet's homeland, in the first half of the 4th century BC. In particular, he notes that the ambassadors invited sailors in order to reproduce the authentic way of singing Stesichorus' poems in chorus.³² Nevertheless, this interpretation may be questioned. Let us try to clarify the details of the scene described by Timaeus.

It is clear that the paeans were intended for a male chorus, and there were several people involved in singing in the fragment. However, the text of Athenaeus needs emendation: the words τὸν ... παῖνα are in the singular, as if the same paean were attributed to Phrynichus, Stesichorus and Pindar.³³ Furthermore, we have no other evidence that Phrynichus and Stesichorus composed paeans. Presumably, Timaeus spoke only of a paean (or paeans) of Pindar,³⁴ who is known to have written them. Remarkably, Pindar's name stands apart: it is added to the other two in a specific way – with ἐτι δὲ instead of καὶ. I would suggest an emendation applying τὰ instead of τὸν: τὰ Φρυνίχου καὶ Στησιχόρου, ἐτι δὲ Πινδάρου παῖνα(ς). Consequently, the ambassadors sang some pieces by Phrynichus and Stesichorus, and besides a paean or paeans by Pindar. According to this interpretation, Athenaeus' passage cannot serve as evidence that Stesichorus was an author of paeans and composed choral songs. Although I admit the clear mention of "Stesichorus' and Pindar's paeans" in Polyaeus' version, there is no proof that he possessed Timaeus' original text.³⁵ It is possible that we are dealing with an emendation of the same corruption which is notable in Athenaeus.

Moreover, singing after dinner can hardly be considered as an authentic performance of the poems by Stesichorus,³⁶ Phrynichus and Pindar. It seems that the participants of a symposium could choose any song to sing in chorus (or to respond with a cry to a soloist), even one originally associated with monodic lyrics. A scene in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (1354–1372) confirms this suggestion: Strepsiades asks his son to sing something from Simonides, and then from Aeschylus, whereas Phidippides begins to quote Euripides' *Aeolus*. Thus, it is quite possible that monodic poems could be sung at a symposium in chorus, although

³² Cingano 1993, 358–360; Cingano 2003, 26.

³³ Ercoles 2013, 523.

³⁴ Willi 2008, 79 n. 119.

³⁵ At least, his version has been heavily epitomated (Ercoles 2013, 523 with n. 883).

³⁶ As already noted by Willi 2008, 79 with n. 117.

they were not originally intended for it, just like choral songs could be reproduced by a solo singer like Phidippides.

Furthermore, Timaeus' fragment does not show the contribution of each member to the singing at table. It does not exclude that the ambassadors sang one after another and that the sailors were engaged only in performing Pindar's paeans.

In spite of the doubts indicated above, it cannot be ruled out that the whole episode in Timaeus did indeed deal with the singing of paeans only. Their performance is attested at a feast, both at the beginning and at the end.³⁷ Moreover, the "fault" of the ambassadors implied by Damocles would look still greater, if they addressed exactly the lyric genre Dionysius worked in, but did not choose Dionysius' poems. At the end of the passage Athenaeus mentions the same genre again: Damocles asked the tyrant to let him learn his most recent paean to Asclepius.

However, even if we admit that Stesichorus composed paeans and Timaeus was aware of it, it does not yet follow that the extant fragments of Stesichorus' narrative poems formed part of paeans. This genre is associated with deliverance from danger (war, pestilence, natural disaster, etc.). The song is aimed at either averting evil, or celebrating its repulsion, or prolonging good fortune.³⁸ The main formal feature of the genre is the exclamation ἦ παῖάν (or similar).³⁹ Obviously, according to these criteria, none of the known fragments by Stesichorus can be classified as paeans: there is neither refrain nor details concerning the purpose and circumstances of the performance. Moreover, there is evidence (Ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1134 E and *POxy* 2368 col. I, 9–20) that a narrative heroic plot in a song was considered as an indication that it was *not* a paean. This excludes all of Stesichorus' narrative poems from consideration.

Thus, firstly, it is doubtful that the paeans in Timaeus' were attributed to Stesichorus. Secondly, amateurish singing after dinner does not reflect the mode of the performance that was originally implied by the poet. Thirdly, the impact of the ambassadors and sailors on the performance is not as clear as Cingano puts it. Finally, even if Stesichorus' paeans did exist, it is difficult to identify them with the preserved fragments of his poems.⁴⁰

³⁷ Rutherford 2001, 50.

³⁸ Rutherford 2001, 6–7.

³⁹ Rutherford 2001, 18–23.

⁴⁰ Lloyd-Jones 1995, 420: "C. tries to extract too much from Timaeus' vague statement about the singing of paeans in the time of the young Dionysius (in Athenaeus 6.250B)".

Conclusion

The absence of reliable testimonies of Stesichorus' poems does not allow explicating the mode of their performance. There are arguments in favour of both the choral and solo versions. To compromise, Stesichorus could work in both genres. However, this assumption does not obviate the need for a balanced assessment of the data. None of the observations made by Cingano prove that the preserved fragments of Stesichorus' songs belong to the choral lyrics.

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The paper examines three arguments by E. Cingano (Cingano 1993) in favour of the hypothesis that the works of Stesichorus were intended for choral performance. First, the words φιλόμολε, μολπὰς and ἀρχεσίμολπον are analyzed (Stes. fr. 90; 271; 278 F.). According to Cingano, the words with the root μελπ-/μολπ- refer to a choral song accompanied by a dance. Hence, the use of words with this stem by Stesichorus demonstrates the participation of the chorus in the performance of his poems. However, there are testimonies that confirm that μέλπομαι and μολπή can also refer to a soloist singing without being accompanied by dance. Second, the fragment from Stesichorus' *Oresteia* (fr. 172 F.) is examined. According to Cingano, it contains indications of a choral performance. However, the participle ἐξευρόντα<ς>, though the emendation of the singular form into the plural must be accepted, does not denote a choral performance of the *Oresteia*. The hapax δαμώματα describes the public performance of the poem, but it does not mean that the chorus was involved in the performance, since a soloist citharode could also sing for people at feasts and in contests. Neither is the verb ὑμνεῖν an unambiguous indication of choral singing (cf. Hes. *Th.* 33). Third, the passage of Timaeus

(*FGrHist* 566 F 32. 6–13) is parsed. It refers to “the paeans of Stesichorus, Phrynichus and Pindarus” which several people sung after dinner. However, the text is not sound, and it cannot be excluded that the paeans were attributed only to the last of the mentioned poets, Pindarus. Furthermore, singing after dinner can hardly be considered as an authentic performance of the poems by Stesichorus. Moreover, the participants of a symposium could sing one after another instead of as a chorus. Finally, even if Stesichorus’ paeans did exist, it is difficult to identify them with the preserved fragments of his poems. Thus, none of the observations made by Cingano prove that the extant fragments of Stesichorus’ songs belong to the choral lyrics.

В статье взвешиваются три аргумента Э. Чингано (Cingano 1993) в пользу гипотезы о том, что произведения Стесихора были предназначены для хорового исполнения. Во-первых, анализируются слова *φιλόμελλε*, *μολλάς* и *ἀρχεσίμολλον* (Stes. fr. 90; 271; 278 F.). Согласно точке зрения Чингано, слова с корнем *μελλ-/μολл-* означают хоровое пение с танцем, так что их употребление у Стесихора показывает, что поэт писал для хора. Однако есть примеры, где такая лексика указывает на сольное пение, причем без танца. Во-вторых, рассматривается фрагмент из *Орестеи* Стесихора (fr. 172 F.), который, по мнению Чингано, содержит указания на исполнение хором. Однако причастие *ἐξευρόντα<ς>*, хотя исправление единственного числа на множественное нужно принимать, не свидетельствует о хоровом исполнении *Орестеи*. Гапакс *δαμόματα* говорит о публичном исполнении поэмы, но отсюда не следует участие в представлении хора, поскольку и кифареды-солисты выступали публично на празднествах. Наконец, глагол *ὀμνεῖν* также не является однозначным указанием на хоровое пение (ср. Hes. *Th.* 33). В-третьих, разбирается пассаж Тимея (*FGrHist* 566 F 32, 6–13), где речь идет о “пеанах Стесихора, Фриниха и Пиндара”, которые несколько человек поют после обеда. Однако текст испорчен, и нельзя исключить, что пеаны приписывались только последнему из упомянутых поэтов – Пиндару. Далее, пение сотрапезников после обеда необязательно отражает аутентичное исполнение поэм Стесихора. Кроме того, петь могли по очереди, а не хором. Наконец, даже если допустить, что Стесихор действительно писал пеаны для хора, отсюда не следует, что дошедшие до нас фрагменты поэм восходят именно к пеанам. Таким образом, ни одно из соображений, приводимых Чингано, не доказывает, что лирику Стесихора надо считать хоровой, а не сольной.

Gauthier Liberman

PETITS RIENS SOPHOCLEÉENS : *ANTIGONE* I
(V. 1–6, 7–8, 26–30, 71–74, 124–125, 148–153)

Aujourd’hui l’*Antigone* – possible, comme nous verrons, second élément d’une trilogie tragique et, comme plus tard l’*Œdipe Roi*, composante d’une tétralogie dramatique qui ne valut à son auteur que la seconde place – recèle encore un grand nombre de difficultés textuelles et non seulement exégétiques ou herméneutiques. Ce fait résulte en partie des conditions de transmission défavorables du texte, que la plume alerte de Wilamowitz¹ présentait ainsi : « die Überlieferung der sieben erhaltenen Dramen geht auf ein einziges Exemplar, das sich aus dem späten Altertum erhalten hatte, zurück, in dem sehr wenige Varianten waren, ein Zeichen nicht für die Festigkeit des Textes, sondern für die Armut der Überlieferung ». Cette vision d’un manuscrit-source (Wilamowitz ne dit pas « archétype ») de l’Antiquité tardive, même pourvu de plus de variantes que ne l’envisageait Wilamowitz, n’est pas incontestable,² mais nul ne peut sérieusement

¹ Wilamowitz 1971, 348 (publication de 1912). Précisons qu’il n’a jamais pensé que le Laurentianus 32, 9 fût la source unique des manuscrits de Sophocle. Le papyrus de l’*Eurypyle* (fin du second siècle de notre ère) lui semble confirmer l’idée que le texte de Sophocle était beaucoup plus fluctuant que notre tradition ne nous le donne à croire. « Cet échantillon, remarque-t-il avec la brièveté énigmatique qu’il n’affectionne que trop, réduit à l’absurde (‘führt ad absurdum’) le culte moderne du texte transmis ». Autrement dit, si je comprends bien, la mise à découvert des fonds antiques instables, ondoyants et divers d’un texte qui, en surface, apparaît fixe fait voler en éclat la croyance dans la valeur authentique de cette uniformité.

² Voir par exemple Irigoin 1954, 511 : « La tradition de Sophocle ne serait donc pas fermée, comme si elle descendait toute d’un archétype en minuscule [Irigoin discute une opinion professée par Alexander Turyn dans une célèbre monographie de 1952 sur la tradition manuscrite des tragédies de Sophocle] ; elle serait ouverte et remonterait à des archétypes de famille antiques (deux ou plus de deux, suivant la valeur qu’on attribuera à la classe parisienne et à certains *deteriores*) ; l’archétype de la tradition serait lui-même encore plus ancien ». Je ne sais si en remontant aussi haut on peut encore parler d’archétype ; il vaut peut-être mieux parler de « recensio » ou de « paléotype » (voir, sur ce dernier terme, Liberman 2017, 173–174 ; on y découvrira la raison pour laquelle Wilamowitz ne parle pas d’« archétype »). Évoquant « at OT 943–944 a clumsy repair of a lacuna (...) already incorporated in the archetype of our

mettre en doute le nombre et la gravité des difficultés textuelles et le fait que, pour y remédier, il faut sortir de la « tradition ». À une lecture attentive et exigeante du texte grec la philologie classique de la fin du siècle précédent offre, en l'édition oxonienne de Lloyd-Jones et Wilson,³ une base solide et un très suggestif point de départ critique, renforcés par le commentaire cantabrigien de Griffith,⁴ l'un des meilleurs titres, à mon avis, de la collection à la fois pédagogique et scientifique à laquelle il appartient.⁵ Mais les études classiques n'ont pas pourvu ce chef d'œuvre de l'art dramatique et, si je puis dire, ce miroir où le monde occidental, dans son retour intellectuel et philosophique⁶ sur lui-même, ne cesse de se

manuscripts, probably in the tenth century », West 1977, 266 croit à l'existence d'un archétype : « D(awe) confesses nowhere belief in such an archetype, but its existence seems presupposed by the 'verblüffende Einheitlichkeit' of the tradition, remarked upon by Wilamowitz, *Einleitung in die griechische Tragödie* (Berlin, 1921 [publication de 1889 !]), p. 204, and in the reviewer's opinion, not significantly damaged by increased knowledge of the manuscripts ». West paraît attribuer l'idée d'un archétype du X^e s. à Wilamowitz, qui, dans l'*Einleitung*, parle d'une « recensio », certainement antique ; dans le texte de 1912 cité précédemment, il a en vue un « Exemplar (...) aus dem späten Altertum ». Zuntz 1965, 262 formule des objections sérieuses contre l'assignation au X^e s. de l'archétype, dont il avance la date (IX^e s.).

³ Lloyd-Jones–Wilson 1992, désormais simplement « Lloyd-Jones–Wilson ». Voir aussi leurs deux volumes de notes, Lloyd-Jones–Wilson 1990 et 1997.

⁴ Griffith 1999, désormais simplement « Griffith ».

⁵ L'impression de 2016 est la 18^{ème} ! Ses qualités et ses défauts apparaîtront au cours de l'étude présente. Son texte, dans l'ensemble plus conservateur que celui de l'édition d'Oxford, est loin de toujours marquer un progrès. Le commentaire le plus important est encore celui de Jebb 1900 (désormais « Jebb » tout court). Si fin lettré soit-il, si grande que soit sa familiarité avec la littérature attique (voir là-dessus les pages spirituelles de Dawe 2007, 167–175), Jebb n'est pas le « Textkritiker », le grammairien et l'exégète sûrs que beaucoup croient reconnaître en lui et nous verrons que Griffith lui accorde, à ses dépens, une confiance exagérée. La liste des commentaires de l'*Antigone* dressée par Lloyd-Jones–Wilson 1990, 7 omet Wex 1829 et 1831. Cette édition de l'*Antigone*, peut-être la plus ambitieuse jamais publiée et censée accomplir pour cette tragédie ce que Reisig avait voulu faire pour l'*Œdipe à Colone*, aurait eu plus d'importance si son auteur (1801–1865), devenu un brillant « Textkritiker », l'avait préparée à un stade plus avancé de sa carrière philologique. Il est néanmoins l'un des seuls à comprendre un passage célèbre derechef mal entendu aujourd'hui (voir ci-dessous la remarque sur le v. 125).

⁶ Je m'étonne que, si Griffith évoque Hegel, il laisse entièrement de côté Heidegger, à qui l'on doit (cf. Heidegger 1993, 63–152 [cours du semestre d'été de 1942, publication « princeps » de 1984]) une réflexion très profonde sur la pièce et le personnage éponyme, et même l'exégèse détaillée du grec de certains passages. Quoique ces analyses ne soient pas toutes philologiquement incontestables et qu'on puisse objecter que certaines importent plus à l'étude de la philosophie de Heidegger qu'à l'étude de Sophocle, aucun commentaire n'a le droit de les ignorer complètement.

découvrir, d'un commentaire commensuré à l'importance de l'*Antigone* et du niveau d'érudition, de solidité et de profondeur philologiques et littéraires du commentaire d'Eduard Fraenkel⁷ à l'*Agamemnon* d'Eschyle. Il y a là une lacune considérable et gênante.⁸ L'évolution des sciences de l'Antiquité amène d'ailleurs à douter qu'un tel travail puisse être accompli dans le temps présent. Il est peut-être trop tard – ou, espérons-le, trop tôt. L'espoir de Lloyd-Jones–Wilson⁹ « that in another generation further advances will justify the preparation of a third OCT of Sophocles » sera-t-il exaucé ? Puissent les observations suivantes parvenir à donner une idée des problèmes critiques et exégétiques qui demeurent et sont loin de ne mettre en jeu que des détails « micro-philologiques » sans lien avec le contenu, le sens et les enjeux essentiels de cette tragédie. Sauf indication contraire, le texte grec pris pour point de départ de ma réflexion est celui de Griffith et les données critiques jointes à ce texte sont tirées de l'édition d'Oxford.¹⁰ Le texte des scholies à l'*Antigone* est celui de l'édition de Xenis 2021.

En effet, qu'on le veuille ou non, le lien qui désormais unit l'*Antigone* de Sophocle à la philosophie de Heidegger n'est pas moins indissoluble que celui qui, depuis longtemps, l'unit à celle de Hegel. Qui osera soutenir que l'analyse par Heidegger du rapport (nié par Wilamowitz 1923, 345–346) entre le chant universellement célèbre *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ κοῦδὲν ἀνθρώπου δεινότερον πέλει* κτλ. et l'action dramatique ainsi que le personnage d'Antigone n'intéresse que les spécialistes du philosophe ?

⁷ Fraenkel 1950. Nous verrons que le rapprochement de l'*Agamemnon* éclaire plus d'un passage de l'*Antigone* – et vice versa : cf. *Ant.* 1328–1329, καὶ φυσῶν ὅξεϊαν ἐκβάλλει ῥοήν | λευκῇ παρειᾷ φοινίου σταλάγματος et *Ag.* 1389–1390, κάκφυσιδων ὅξεϊαν αἵματος †σφαγῆν† (faute due au v. 1599 ; ῥοήν Nauck) | βάλλει μ' ἐρεμνῇ ψακάδι φοινίας δρόσου.

⁸ La colométrie et les analyses des parties lyriques doivent progresser, souvent, à mon avis, dans la direction qu'indique Willink 2010, 347–381 (ses analyses rejoignent parfois, à son insu, celles de Lachmann 1819, que je mentionne ; le jeune et génial Lachmann avait assimilé les enseignements de Hermann et de Boeckh). Griffith accorde à la métrique lyrique une attention particulière, très méritoire dans un ouvrage non exclusivement scientifique, mais ses analyses ne sont pas exemptes d'erreurs caractérisées ou d'in vraisemblances. Ni Lloyd-Jones–Wilson ni Griffith ne recourant au décalage à droite (« eisthesis ») pour distinguer les colons des vers, il s'ensuit une ambiguïté fâcheuse. Cela vaut aussi pour les anapestes, qui (Lachmann 1819, 26–31 le savait et M. L. West fut naguère obligé de le rappeler) se mesurent non par monomètre, dimètre, trimètre, mais par « système », l'« ekthesis » étant utile pour indiquer le début de chaque système (comparer la disposition des 526–530 plus bas et chez les éditeurs critiqués).

⁹ Lloyd-Jones–Wilson 1997, 146.

¹⁰ Je n'ai pas disposé de l'inédit « thesaurus coniecturarum Sophoclearum » amstellodamien dû à L. van Passen et il se peut, malgré mes enquêtes, que quelques suggestions présentées ici aient été anticipées à mon insu. J'aurai du moins, dans ce

Av. Ὡ κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα,
 ἄρ' οἷσθ' ὅ τι Ζεὺς τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίου κακῶν
 †όποιον† οὐχὶ νῶν ἔτι ζώσαιν τελεῖ;
 οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὔτ' †ἄτης ἄτερ†
 οὔτ' αἰσχροὺς οὔτ' ἄτιμόν ἐσθ', ὅποιον οὐ 5
 τῶν σῶν τε κάμῶν οὐκ ὅπωπ' ἐγὼ κακῶν.

Je ne reproduis ici intégralement ni le texte de Griffith, qui admet ὅποιον et lit *ἀτήριον, création non moins ingénieuse qu'incertaine de Brunck 1788, ni celui de Lloyd-Jones–Wilson, qui mettent ἄτης ἄτερ entre croix et substituent à ὅποιον l'artificiel ᾧ, ποῖον¹¹ en ajoutant un tiret horizontal après κακῶν. Les deux leçons « inter cruces » ne sont défendues qu'en recourant à des artifices exégétiques,¹² le plus irritant étant peut-être celui qui veut que, avec ἄτης ἄτερ, Sophocle se soit lui-même – dans les premiers vers de la tragédie ! – empêtré dans le jeu de négations qu'il met en œuvre.¹³ Plus séduisante paraît l'idée¹⁴ que οὔτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὔτ' ἄτης ἄτερ serait, comme οἷ τ' ὄντες οἷ τ' ἀπόντες aux v. 1108–1109, ἵτ' ἵτ' ὁπάονες, | οἷ τ' ὄντες οἷ τ' ἀπόντες, une « expression polaire » dont le

cas, le mérite de les avoir pour ainsi dire remises en selle et peut-être justifiées ou corroborées. Je défends ici et là des corrections anciennes indûment négligées avec des arguments nouveaux. Il m'arrive aussi de justifier le texte transmis ; le cas du vers 1216, où les commentateurs les plus récents errent autant que vit juste le Colonel Mure en 1839, est si singulier que je le signale ici. Ces « petits riens » font suite à Liberman 2020b et 2021b.

¹¹ « *Reads like a conjecture* », commente West 1991, 300 ; « horrific », selon Dawe 2007, 354. Il est aisé de constater que ᾧ en poésie grecque ou « a(h) » dans la latine forme les béquilles de corrections faibles.

¹² Schwab 2006 défend ὅποιον en s'inscrivant dans les pas de L. Campbell, dont il cite avec approbation un propos que j'abrège : « The interpreter of Sophocles must think more of the sequence of ideas than of the apparent grammatical connexion of the words ». Schwab ne voit pas que le problème posé par ὅποιον est inséparable de celui posé par τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίου κακῶν, qui lui échappe. La « konjekturlose Erklärung » des vers 4–6 que propose Schwab 2010 consiste à forcer le grec de façon à obtenir « denn weder ein Verhängniselement noch eine Schändlichkeit oder Entehrung *ohne* reales Verhängnis (= *nicht eingebunden* in einen Übelverband) gibt es ». La séquence « *ohne* reales Verhängnis (= *nicht eingebunden* in einen Übelverband) » correspond à οὔτ' ἄτης ἄτερ. Voilà qui équivaut pratiquement à une démonstration par l'absurde de l'impossibilité d'expliquer le passage sans recourir à la conjecture.

¹³ Ainsi Bellermand 1913, 147–152, avec des illustrations nombreuses mais d'une pertinence non incontestable (voir Liberman 2020a, 235). Franz Wolfgang Ullrich lui-même, hélas, tablait sur une superfétation censément idiomatique de la négation aux termes de laquelle οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὔτ' ἄτης ἄτερ équivaldrait à οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὔτε μετ' ἄτης (Ullrich 1853, 58–64).

¹⁴ Austin 2006, 111–113.

second membre a pour fonction de mettre le premier en relief. Toutefois, dans le passage qui nous intéresse, l'expression polaire, qui forme normalement une « locutio bimembris » close et indépendante, s'insère dans un ensemble plus large, οὐτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὐτ' ἄτης ἄτερ οὐτ' αἰσχροῦ οὐτ' ἄτιμον, dont elle brise la cohérence. Mauro 2018 défend ses deux conjectures ὁμοῖον¹⁵ et οὐς' ἄτης ἄτερ. Il traduit ainsi le texte corrigé par ses soins : « do you know which of the ills [springing from Oedipus] / [of Oedipus' sons]¹⁶ Zeus will fail to present to us twain *alike* during our lives ? » ; « for nothing is there sorrowful, *however harmless I may be*,¹⁷ nor is there anything base, or fraught with shame, but I have seen it in thy woes and mine ». Les modifications du « ductus litterarum » sont peut-être minimales, mais elles produisent un galimatias bien pire que le texte transmis. On a là une illustration extrême de la maxime housmanienne « conjectures which stick close to the MSS are neat if true, but if not true they are not even neat ». Mauro ne mentionne ni ne discute les suggestions de Willink *ἄμπαυλαν = ἀνάπαυλαν¹⁸ et ἄμπνοϊαν = ἀναπνοήν,¹⁹ deux formes dont l'attribution à Sophocle est exclue d'office, et οὐδὲν γὰρ οὖν ἀλγεινὸν οὐδ' ἄτης ἄτερ | οὐδ' αἰσχροῦ οὐτ' ἄτιμόν ἐσθ'²⁰ κτλ. Du moins, si les deux formes que j'ai critiquées étaient acceptables, les corrections de Willink produiraient une phraséologie plus acceptable et un sens plus satisfaisant que les deux conjectures de Mauro. Mais il est à mon avis inutile d'introduire le peu séduisant οὖν et les deux οὐδέ voulus par Willink. Si je ne m'abuse, ἄτης ἄτερ résulte d'une « erreur polaire » qui a substitué ἄτερ à un mot contraire. Ce mot ne peut guère être qu'un adjectif ou un participe tel que γέμον (Hermann),²¹ conjecture

¹⁵ G. Krüger (1874) et J. B. Bury (1901) avaient anticipé Mauro, comme il le signale. La grécité de ὁμοῖον pour dire « il n'est pas de malheur que Zeus ne parachèvera pour toi et moi dans une mesure égale ('in equal measure') » me paraît extrêmement douteuse.

¹⁶ Le syntagme τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδῖπου est censé être un génitif dépendant de κακῶν. Mauro conjecture aussi τοῖν (Étéocle et Polynice).

¹⁷ « Although I am not harming ». Cette proposition me paraît incongrue. Mais οὐς' ἄτης ἄτερ ne devrait-il pas plutôt signifier « échappant au dommage » ? Il est vrai que ce ne serait plus incongru mais absurde.

¹⁸ Willink 2010, 315. Austin 2006, 109 m'apprend que Willink a ici deux prédécesseurs, S. Mekler (1879) et D. S. Margoliouth (1883).

¹⁹ Willink 2010, 806.

²⁰ Willink 2010, 307. Hermann 1830, 15 avait proposé trois οὐδέ. Dawe 1996 admet οὐδ' ἄτης ἄτερ, met un point après ce syntagme, supprime le vers suivant et note « genuinum uersum expulisse uidetur ». Tout cela est extrêmement improbable.

²¹ Hermann 1830, 13, « nolens » plutôt que « uolens ». Comparer 584–585, οἷς γὰρ ἂν σεισθῇ θεόθεν δόμος, ἄτας οὐδὲν ἐλλείπει γενεᾶς ἐπὶ πληθος ἔρπον ; *Aiax* 307, πληρὴς ἄτης ὡς διοπτρεύει στέγος.

que Lloyd-Jones–Wilson mettent à juste titre en exergue. Le problème que pose ὅποιον est plus difficile mais, à la différence de l'autre « crux », il n'y a peut-être qu'un seul mot susceptible de convenir. Je tiens ὅποιον pour une faute par anticipation de ὅποιον v. 5. À cette faute s'en ajoute une autre, qui affecte le syntagme τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίου κακῶν. Je crois en effet avec M. L. Earle et Mauro lui-même²² qu'il faut disjoindre τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίου de κακῶν. Aussi, j'emprunte à Earle²³ le datif τοῖς ἀπ' Οἰδίου, que je fais dépendre de l'adjectif ὁπαδόν : ἄρ' οἴσθ' ὃ τι Ζεὺς τοῖς ἀπ' Οἰδίου κακῶν | ὁπαδόν οὐχὶ νῶν ἔτι ζώσαιν τελεῖ, « y-a-t-il, à ta connaissance, un malheur (τι κακῶν, « aliquid malorum ») attaché aux pas des enfants d'Édipe (τοῖς ἀπ' Οἰδίου) que Zeus ne parachèvera pas pour nous deux, les survivantes ? ». Pour un « uerbum sequendi » employé à propos de maux qui « s'attachent aux pas » de l'homme, voir *Iliade* 9, 511–512, ταί γε Δία Κρονίωνα κιοῦσαι | τῷ ἄτην ἄμ' ἔπεσθαι, ἵνα βλαφθεῖς ἀποτίσῃ ; Pindare, *Pyth.* 2, 74–75, οὐδ' ἀπάταισι θυμὸν τέρεται ἐνδοθεν, | οἷα ψιθύρων παλάμαις ἔπετ' αἰεὶ βροτῷ (contreposer Eschyle, *Ag.* 854, νίκη δ', ἐπεῖπερ ἔσπετ', ἐμπέδως μένοι). Le mot ὁπαδός²⁴ est au sens de « compagnon » dans *Trach.* 1264 et de « poursuivante, chasseresse » dans *Oed. Col.* 1092–1093, κασιγνήταν (Artémis) πυκνοστίκτων ὁπαδόν | ὠκυπόδων ἐλάφον. On connaît l'expression sibylline de Pindare, *Pyth.* 4, 287, θεράπων δέ οἱ (le « kairos »), οὐ δράστας ὁπαδεῖ. Socrate (Platon, *Phileb.* 63 e) présente à Protagoras comme formant la suite de la déesse « Vertu » les plaisirs συμπάσης ἀρετῆς ὁπόσαι καθάπερ θεοῦ ὁπαδοὶ γιγνόμεναι αὐτῇ συνακολουθοῦσι πάντῃ. Dans un passage poétique et difficile de l'*Agamemnon* (426), la vision onirique (ὄψις), si l'on en croit la plupart des éditeurs et commentateurs, « accompagne de ses ailes les voies du sommeil », πτεροῖς ὁπαδοῦς ὕπνου κελεύθοις, οὐ ὁπαδοῦς (Dobree) corrige ὁπαδοῖς.²⁵

²² La réhabilitation de l'idée de Earle est à mes yeux un point très positif de son étude.

²³ Earle 1912, 66.

²⁴ Voir Fraenkel 1950, II, 222. Sur ὁπηδεῖν, voir Porzig 1942, 108.

²⁵ Cope-Sandys 1877, 56 n. 1 entendent par πτεροῖς ὁπαδοῖς ὕπνου κελεύθοις, « avec ses ailes compagnes des voies du sommeil ». Fraenkel 1950, II, 221–223 est le seul à rejeter la correction de Dobree, il considère avec perspicacité le très problématique κελεύθοις comme l'adaptation d'une glose insérée (ἀκολουθοῖς) de ὁπαδοῖς et suggère πτεροῖς ὁπαδοῖς ὕπνου <πελώσα>, « qui s'approchera sur les ailes, compagnes du sommeil ». Mais Devereux 1976, 137 critique à bon droit l'idée que les ailes sont les compagnes du sommeil. Medda (II, 268) veut que Denniston–Page 1957, 108 « réfutent efficacement » la correction de Fraenkel, mais Denniston et Page ne critiquent que les objections formulées par Fraenkel contre ὁπαδοῦς, et l'objection qui vise le tour « accompagner les voies » mérite considération. Le latin dit

Av. καὶ νῦν τί τοῦτ' αὖ φασι πανδήμῳ πόλει
κήρυγμα θεῖναι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἄρτίως; 8

Griffith retient encore la possibilité que l'énigmatique στρατηγὸν signifie « commandant en chef », bien qu'au terme d'un long examen des données fournies par la pièce Ehrenberg²⁶ ait conclu que Créon n'avait jamais exercé de commandement militaire. Ce qui est sûr, c'est qu'Antigone, qui parle de « tyrannie » (v. 506) dans un propos d'allure générale, certes, mais visant le régime de Thèbes et Créon,²⁷ évite sciemment et significativement de conférer à Créon le titre de « roi » qui lui revient. Kaibel²⁸ a raison, me semble-t-il, sur ce point. Mais cela ne suffit pas à expliquer le recours au mot στρατηγός.²⁹ Ehrenberg suggère qu'en l'utilisant Sophocle a voulu renvoyer le spectateur à Périclès. Je ne sais pas si cela est juste, mais je constate, avec Ehrenberg lui-même³⁰, cette coïncidence : l'un des stratèges de 441–440 s'appelle Créon³¹ ! Est-ce ce qui suggéra à Sophocle, stratège

« uiam sequi » mais « uiam comitari » serait manifestement absurde ; κελεύθῳ ὁπαδεῖν n'est pas moins contestable, contreposé à τῷ στίβῳ τῶν ἵππων ἔπεςθε, Xénophon, *Anab.* 7, 3, 43 (cité par Devereux, dont je ne discute pas l'impossible « restitution » du passage d'Eschyle). Selon Medda, « l'immagine delle 'vie del sonno' è rara ma comprensibile » : où trouve-t-on cette image pour laquelle Fraenkel se plaignait de ne pas connaître d'équivalent exact ? Voici un texte qui offre du moins un sens et une tournure satisfaisants : πτεροῖς ὁπαδοῦσ' ὕπνου <πυκνοῖσι(v)>, « accompagnant les ailes au battement rapide du sommeil ». Fraenkel objecte à ὁπαδοῦσα qu'il faut un futur. Pour l'usage du présent, en l'occurrence modifié par μεθύστερον, à la place du futur, Denniston-Page renvoient à Wackernagel 1926, 158, mais il n'y est question que du notoire emploi au sens du passé d'un présent modifié par un adverbe du type de πάρος. Voir plutôt Brugmann 1916, 741–742.

²⁶ Ehrenberg 1954, 105–116, 153, 173–177.

²⁷ Selon Muff 1877, 98–99, il convient d'attribuer, avec Gustav Wolff, au coryphée les v. 506–507, dont l'apparat de Lloyd-Jones–Wilson attribue l'athétèse à August Jacob (Jacob 1849, 79 s'étonne de lire ces propos dans la bouche d'Antigone ; Schneidewin propose l'athétèse dans la révision de Schneidewin 1852 datée de 1854).

²⁸ Kaibel 1897, 11 (cité avec désapprobation par Ehrenberg 1954, 106).

²⁹ « As far as I am aware, écrit de Ste-Croix 2004, 225, there is no evidence of its being used before the Hellenistic period in any other sense than commander of an army or an expedition, except in special circumstances in Crete ». Voir là-contre Wilamowitz 1880, 63, critiqué par Hauvette 1885, 9, avec qui de Ste-Croix est d'accord.

³⁰ Ehrenberg 1954, 80 (table des stratèges) et 81 n. 2 : « What a joke of coincidence that one of the generals of 441/0 is called–Creon ! ». Il n'y revient pas dans ses enquêtes sur la « stratégie » de Créon.

³¹ Κρέων Σκαμβωνίδης (PA 8785 = PAA 585030), connu grâce à Androtion 324 F 38. L'anthroponyme n'est pas fréquent dans l'Attique : Kirchner 1901, 591–592 comptait cinq Créon ; Osborne–Byrne 1994, 273 n'en connaissent que trois de plus.

la même année et donc collègue de Créon, de faire donner à Créon par Antigone, qui ne veut pas appeler « roi » le roi, le titre de « stratège » ? On jugera peu sérieux ce « clin d'œil » ou cette plaisanterie dans une tragédie, mais il ne faut pas prêter aux Anciens la sévérité austère dans laquelle nous Modernes drapons et enfermons les auteurs classiques, surtout quand ce sont des poètes tragiques qu'on se plaît à imaginer écrivant « sub specie aeternitatis ». Cette conception est un préjugé qui ne tient compte ni des origines présumées de la tragédie³² ni des faits.³³ Dût sa pièce en souffrir, Sophocle aurait, selon Bergk,³⁴ voulu rendre hommage à son ami Hérodote en insérant dans l'*Antigone* les vers 904 et suivants, qui ont paru à tant de lecteurs, dont Goethe,³⁵ jurer avec le reste de la tragédie. Sophocle se moque peut-être de la lenteur du train de Périclès dans *Oed. Col.* 307.³⁶ Eschyle ne s'amuse-t-il pas à faire un acrostiche aux vers 40–43 des *Euménides* ?³⁷ Si mon hypothèse est juste, nous disposons d'un élément nouveau pour dater la première représentation de l'*Antigone*. Elle serait postérieure à l'élection de Sophocle et de Créon comme stratèges (441). Un passage célèbre de l'argument de l'*Antigone* attribué à Aristophane de Byzance pose, il est vrai, l'antériorité de la représentation par rapport à l'élection : φασὶ δὲ τὸν Σοφοκλέα ἤξιῶσθαι τῆς ἐν Σάμῳ στρατηγίας, εὐδοκιμήσαντα ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῆς Ἀντιγόνης (*DID C 10* Snell–Kannicht). Mais l'anecdote n'est pas au dessus du soupçon.³⁸ La phrase

³² Voir, pour l'analyse d'un connaisseur non moins profond qu'insurpassé, Wilamowitz 1971, 371–381 (publication de 1912) et chez Wilamowitz fils 1917, 314 ; état des lieux chez Scullion 2005.

³³ Voir, sur certains éléments comiques ou humoristiques dans la tragédie, Wilamowitz 1971, 373–374 ; Seidensticker 1982 en général et 76–88 en particulier sur Sophocle ; Radt 2002, 282.

³⁴ Bergk 1884, 407–408. Le mémoire de Nieberding 1875 relatif à l'influence d'Hérodote sur Sophocle demeure intéressant. Il défend l'authenticité du passage que je vais évoquer.

³⁵ Après avoir, dans une conversation avec J. P. Eckermann du 28 mars 1827, qualifié de « dialektisches Calcül » le raisonnement prêté à Antigone sur l'irremplaçabilité d'un frère (en l'occurrence mort), il déclare ceci : « Ich möchte sehr gern, daß ein guter Philolog uns bewiese, die Stelle sei unecht ». Jacob 1821, 363–368 avait déjà exposé ses doutes (voir plus bas n. 47).

³⁶ Voir Liberman 2020b, 32. Si Seyffert 1865, 19 a raison de lire σπουδῇ βραδύς dans *Ant.* 231, voilà qui illustre à partir de Sophocle lui-même la correction βραδύς | σπεύδει dans *Oed. Col.* 306–307.

³⁷ Voir Liberman 2020a, 313.

³⁸ Le passage est authentiquement aristophanien selon Schneidewin 1853, 12 ; c'est l'ajout d'un grammairien postérieur exploitant les « didascalies » aristotéliennes d'après Achelis 1914–1916, 131. Selon Ehrenberg 1954, 136, l'anecdote ne permet pas de dater l'élection et la première représentation de 441. En effet, l'élection

finale, λέλεκται δὲ τὸ δῶμα τοῦτο τριακοστὸν δεῦτερον (*Test.* W 159a Radt), fait, elle, indubitablement partie de l'argument primitif. Sophocle, dont la carrière dramaturgique s'étend de 470 (*DID* D 3 Snell–Kannicht) ou 468 (*DID* C 3a Snell–Kannicht) à 406 et embrasse peut-être trente tétralogies,³⁹ aurait représenté au plus tôt en 441 sa huitième tétralogie, ce

(anesthèrion, dit Ehrenberg, renvoyant implicitement à Aristote [?], *Athenaion Politeia* 44, 4, où l'on verra l'excellente note de Sandys 1893, 165–166) précède la représentation (élapheboliôn). Wilamowitz 1893, 298 et Ehrenberg remarquent que la Chronique Parienne date de 441 la première victoire « tragique » d'Euripide (première place). Or l'anecdote paraît (à tort peut-être, comme nous verrons) supposer l'obtention de la première place par Sophocle grâce à l'*Antigone* – rappelons, car on l'oublie (voir Liberman 2021a, 693), que c'est par une tétralogie que Sophocle triomphe, même si les composantes n'en sont pas liées par le sujet et que le jury ait jugé chaque drame (cf. Bergk 1884, 362) avant de formuler un avis sur la tétralogie. L'*Antigone* fut donc, selon Ehrenberg, qui croit à la valeur chronologique (« post hoc », non « propter hoc ») de l'anecdote, représentée en 442. Mais l'anecdote sur laquelle Ehrenberg se fonde n'a de sens que si l'élection suit la représentation de la même année ; sinon, la seule chose que pourrait corroborer cette anecdote – et Wilamowitz 1880, 58–59 s'en sert à cette fin –, c'est la postériorité de l'élection des stratèges par rapport aux Grandes Dionysies, postériorité que contredit ou (car il n'est pas sûr que ce qui vaut pour l'époque d'Aristote vaille aussi pour celle de Sophocle) paraît contredire le témoignage d'Aristote. Rhodes 1993, 537 prend l'anecdote pour argent comptant en oubliant que c'est Euripide qui obtint la première place en 441. Selon Wilamowitz 1880, l'élection des stratèges a lieu au mois de mounichion : voir, dans ce sens, le plaidoyer énergique de Beloch 1884, 265–274 et Hauvette 1885, 38, qui, faisant fond sur *IG* II³ 1, 1276 (188–187 av. J.-C.), suppose, avant la publication de l'*Athenaion Politeia* !, un retour à une date traditionnelle de l'élection qui aurait été abandonnée. Wilamowitz 1893, 298 maintient implicitement sa théorie contre l'*Athenaion Politeia*, et, à lire de Ste-Croix 1972, 320, peut-être avec raison. Si cependant le témoignage d'Aristote (?) vaut pour l'époque où Sophocle fut élu, l'anecdote que nous discutons perd toute valeur. Plus récemment, s'agissant de la représentation, certains (voir Cairns 2016, 2–3) remontent jusqu'en 450, d'autres descendent jusqu'en 438, année où l'on sait que Sophocle triompha.

³⁹ Ce chiffre résulte de la comparaison des données de la *Vie de Sophocle* et de la notice de la *Souda* relative à Sophocle (*Test.* A 1 et 2 Radt), l'une comptant, d'après Aristophane de Byzance (fr. 385 Slater), 130 pièces dont 17 ou, selon une variante, 7, sont réputées apocryphes, et l'autre attribuant à Sophocle 123 pièces. C'est le même renseignement : 123 pièces authentiques et sept « supposées ». Radt 2002, 267 recense 122 titres connus (dont 115 pièces perdues) et (p. 280) table sur une trentaine de drames satyriques. Si l'on ajoute l'*Eurypyle* (fr. 206–222 Radt), qu'il n'y a aucune raison de ne pas attribuer à Sophocle (cf. Wilamowitz 1971, 351), on retrouve le chiffre de 123. L'ajustement par défaut (120) applique la divisibilité du total par quatre, autrement dit la répartition en tétralogies, sans nier l'existence de pièces surnuméraires. Il est très difficile de faire la part des pièces de Sophocle éventuellement représentées aux Lénéennes ; on croit généralement (voir plus bas n. 43) que Sophocle triompha aux Lénéennes six fois, ce qui suppose au moins douze pièces représentées à ce festival,

qui fait approximativement un rythme de composition d'une tétralogie par olympiade (huit olympiades 78–85, 468–437, si la carrière du dramaturge commence en 468 ; neuf olympiades 77–85, 472–437 si la carrière débute en 470). La plus grande fécondité de la seconde partie de la carrière (22 tétralogies pour au moins huit olympiades, 86–93, 436–405) s'expliquerait en partie par le plus grand loisir du dramaturge. Mais l'ordinal (τριακοστὸν δεύτερον) est partiellement faux, car l'*Antigone* ne saurait être la dernière pièce (drame satyrique !) d'une tétralogie. Bergk⁴⁰ suppose brillamment qu'il faut entendre et lire δεύτερος <ῆν>. Cependant la notice sous-jacente à l'argument que nous possédons ne comprenait peut-être pas de verbe exprimé, d'où la confusion d'un copiste ; comparer la notice (*DID C 7*

qui procède par dialogie (Snell–Kannicht 1985, 7). Bergk 1884, 68 dit que des pièces représentées aux Dionysies Urbaines pouvaient être reprises aux Lénéennes (l'inverse est impossible). Le catalogue édité d'après les mss. MV par Wilamowitz 1914a, 7–8 compte 73 drames d'Eschyle, soit dix-huit tétralogies et une pièce surnuméraire ; « numeris fabularum (...) confidere non licet, nedum quaternas semper ab Aeschilo doctas esse fabulas credamus ; cf. Aetnas ». L'érudition alexandrine avait dénombré 92 drames euripidéens, autrement dit vingt-trois tétralogies (Wilamowitz 1875, 145 et 172 ; 1907, 39–40). Des deux grands tragiques susceptibles d'avoir concouru aux Lénéennes, ouvertes à la tragédie depuis 432 ou peut-être 440 (Snell–Kannicht 1985, 7 et 341), Sophocle l'aurait, retient-on, effectivement fait (Müller 1999, 249–252 le nie). Wilamowitz 1907, 40 envisage la participation d'Euripide aux Lénéennes et pense que plus de pièces de lui se sont perdues que ne le reconnaissaient les Alexandrins.

⁴⁰ Bergk 1884, 67 et 415. « Sie haben sich, écrit à propos de cette notice et d'une autre, Wilamowitz 1907, 150, bisher jeder Deutung entzogen » (cf. les tentatives ratées de Wilamowitz 1875, 143 ; Zuntz 1965, 251). Ces mots, publiés en 1889, n'étaient pas, même à l'époque, exacts. L'autre notice est celle de l'argument de l'*Alceste* qui en fait le drame n° 17, τὸ δρᾶμα ἐποιήθη ιζ', donc la première tragédie de la cinquième tétralogie d'Euripide. Or on sait par le même argument que l'*Alceste* était précédé par le *Téléphe*, les *Crétoises*, l'*Alcméon à Psophis* et se trouvait donc être le dernier élément d'une tétralogie et tenir lieu du drame satyrique. Une tradition ancienne, que l'argument atteste, met en relief la dimension « satyrique » de la pièce (voir Parker 2007, xx–xxiv). Il faut donc corriger ιζ' en ις', « n° 16 » (voir Bergk 1884, 493–501). Éditeurs, dont J. Diggle (« OCT »), et commentateurs, dont Achelis 1914–1916, 130–131 et Parker 2007, 48, ne paraissent connaître que le numéro d'ordre fautif ; pourtant l'auteur de la correction certaine n'est autre que Welcker 1839, 450. Bien qu'accepté par Wilamowitz 1875, 133, le verbe ἐποιήθη est suspect, car il suggère que le numéro d'ordre renvoie à la chronologie non de la représentation (ἐδιδάχθη) mais de la rédaction des pièces ; il y avait peut-être simplement τὸ δρᾶμα ις' (cf. l'argument des *Oiseaux* d'Aristophane, ἔστι δὲ λε'). Wilamowitz défend le douteux ἐλέεκται (δεδιδάκται Usener et Bergk) dans l'argument de l'*Antigone* ἐλέεκται δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα τοῦτο τριακοστὸν δεύτερον ; le mot signifie, croit-il, « in catalogis recensetur ». C'est abusivement qu'il allègue une notice prétendument due à un Andronicos (*Proleg. de com.* XXIII Koster, forgerie de Constantin Palaiokappa) οὐ οὔτινος τὰ δράματα τάδε λέγονται (« dicuntur ») précède l'énumération des comédies du poète Platon.

Snell–Kannicht) relative à la dernière tétralogie d'Eschyle : ἐδιδάχθη τὸ δρᾶμα ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Φιλοκλέους ὀλυμπιάδι π' (la tradition porte à peu près κ', corrigé par Meursius) ἔτει β'. πρῶτος Αἰσχύλος Ἀγαμέμνονι, Χοηφόροις, Εὐμενίστι, Πρωτεῖ σατυρικῶι. Si Bergk a raison, Sophocle, avec la tétralogie contenant l'*Antigone*, n'a pas triomphé, comme a paru l'impliquer l'anecdote,⁴¹ mais il a remporté la seconde place.⁴² Ce serait l'une des douze fois, sur les trente tétralogies que je suppose, où Sophocle ne triompha pas aux Dionysies Urbaines : une inscription de l'année 278 av. J.-C. (*DID* A 3 a, 15 Snell–Kannicht) nous rapporte qu'il y triompha dix-huit fois,⁴³ et la *Vie de Sophocle* (*DID* C 5 Snell–Kannicht = *Sophocle Test.* A 1 p. 33, 33–34 Radt) qu'il ne fut jamais troisième. L'*Antigone*, qui forme dans la culture occidentale le volet d'un triptyque,⁴⁴ aurait été à l'origine le second élément d'une trilogie tragique dont les deux autres sont notoirement inconnus.⁴⁵ Voici ce qui résulterait, en outre, de

⁴¹ Bergk 1884, 415 (approuvé par West 1990, 66) fait valoir contre ce préjugé Aristophane, *Nub.* 529 et la scholie ancienne y relative (Δαιταλῆς Test. vi p. 123, 9–10 Kassel–Austin), ἄριστ' ἤκουσάτην· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡδουκίμῃσαν· οὐ γὰρ τότε ἐνίκησε, δεύτερος δὲ ἐκρίθη ἐν τῷ δράματι.

⁴² Les doutes de Wilamowitz 1893, 298 n. 14, « wenn er überhaupt mit ihr gesiegt hat », étaient justifiés.

⁴³ Müller 1999, 249–252 explique par les victoires posthumes la différence des chiffres transmis, 18 et 24. Il écarte comme faute de transmission 20, chiffre de la *Vie de Sophocle*, corrigé par Bergk 1886, 472 en 24 : Νίκας δὲ ἔλαβεν κ<δ>', ὥς φησι Καρύστιος (Carystios de Pergame), πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δευτερεῖα, τρίτα δὲ οὐδέποτε. Bergk lui-même et bien d'autres (dont Pickard-Cambridge 1996, 56 n. 156) justifient la différence des chiffres en distinguant victoires remportées aux Dionysies Urbaines et victoires aux Lénéennes. En faveur de Bergk et contre Müller on peut faire valoir que le chiffre six s'explique bien s'il s'agit de trois dilogies (Lénéennes) et qu'avant 386 (*DID* A 1, 201–203 Snell–Kannicht) on ne redonnait pas, en principe, de pièces déjà jouées, à l'exception officielle des productions d'Eschyle (*Vie d'Eschyle*, *TEST* A 1, 48–49 Radt). Les pièces remaniées sont considérées comme nouvelles (voir Bergk 1884, 68).

⁴⁴ Selon Müller 1999, 215–248, les éléments du triptyque, *OT*, *OC*, *Ant.*, « arrangés » par Sophocle le Jeune, furent représentés sous forme de trilogie en 401. Sophocle le Jeune est censé (*DID* C 23 Snell–Kannicht) avoir donné l'*Œdipe à Colone* de son grand-père en 401. Le petit-fils est supposé ne pas avoir donné de tragédie (personnelle) avant 396 (*DID* D 2, p. 51 Snell–Kannicht).

⁴⁵ Bergk suggère très dubitativement que les *Épigones* étaient la dernière tragédie. Si l'on veut rester dans le cycle thébain, il n'y a pas beaucoup de possibilités (cf. Welcker 1839, 60 ; Radt 2002, 270). Mais c'est à tort que Griffith 1999, 21 n. 65 affirme qu'en dehors des trois tragédies conservées appartenant au cycle thébain « the list of titles of S.'s plays does not contain any other 'Theban' dramas ». Si l'*Antigone* appartient à une tétralogie qui valut à son auteur non la première mais la seconde place, on ne peut plus se fonder sur le fait que « *OT* did not win first prize » (formulation fautive de Griffith) pour affirmer que l'*Œdipe roi* n'appartenait pas à la même tétralogie que l'*Antigone*.

la correction de Bergk. Euripide ayant triomphé en 441, Sophocle a pu obtenir cette année la seconde place et être élu dans la foulée, si, comme le suppose l'anecdote, l'élection des stratèges suivait les Grandes Dionysies. Mais, contrairement au rapport de postériorité posé par l'anecdote et conformément à la date de l'élection des stratèges (antheisthion) indiquée par l'*Athenaion Politeia* (44, 4), Sophocle a pu se faire élire avant la représentation de l'*Antigone* au mois d'élapheboliôn 441. Il aurait alors eu – telle est mon hypothèse – l'idée de conférer au roi Créon le titre de stratège, par allusion au stratège Créon élu en même temps que lui.

Av. τὸν δ' ἀθλίως θανόντα Πολυνείκους νέκυν
 ἀστοῖσι φασιν ἐκκεκηρῦχθαι τὸ μῆ⁴⁶
 τάφῳ καλύψαι μηδὲ κωκῦσαί τινα,
 ἔἴν δ' ἄκλαυτον, ἄταφον, οἰωνοῖς γλυκύν
 θησαυρὸν εἰσορῶσι πρὸς χάριν βορᾶς. 30

27 φασιν] φησιν IR || 29 ἄκλαυτον L^{ac}KR : -αυστον cett. | ἄταφον
 ἄκλαυστον IZf : recto ordine K et cett.

À lire Jebb ou Griffith, on ne se rend pas compte des difficultés du v. 30 tel que les mss. de la pièce le présentent. On ne dispose, pour chercher la vérité, que d'un faisceau d'indices modestes, mais non nuls. Le tour πρὸς χάριν est bien sophocléen, mais, selon Nauck 1886, c'est le seul passage où il est suivi d'un génitif, car, dans *Phil.* 1155–1156, νῦν καλὸν ἀντίφονον κορέσαι στόμα πρὸς χάριν ἐμᾶς <γε> σαρκὸς αἰόλας, le génitif dépend de κορέσαι.⁴⁷ Mais si, dans le vers de l'*Antigone*, on rapporte

Cette appartenance à deux tétralogies différentes reste néanmoins, si l'hypothèse de Bergk est juste et que Sophocle se soit vu préférer Euripide comme vainqueur en 441, certaine, car, l'année où la tétralogie contenant l'*Edipe roi* fut représentée, la première place échut à Philoclès (cf. Philoclès I, 24 T 3 Snell–Kannicht).

⁴⁶ Bien que la négation soit en principe proclitique, la barytonèse communément adoptée est ici particulièrement fautive, car « die kraft der negation wird durch die aufhebung der proklisis gewaltig gesteigert » (Wilamowitz 1896, 243 à Eschyle, *Choeph.* 1005). D'une manière générale, la barytonèse des oxytons pratiquée par la majorité des éditeurs (non M. L. West ; Wilamowitz 1914a, XXXIII = 1914b, 249 savait ce qu'il fallait faire mais a préféré se conformer à l'habitude) est anormale à la fin d'un vers, exception faite des prépositions dont le régime est rejeté au vers suivant et dont la barytonèse marque en réalité le caractère proclitique et atone (voir Liberman 2021b à *Oed. rex* 1085, p. 119 n. 70).

⁴⁷ Nauck paraît oublier le v. 908, τίνοος νόμου δὴ ταῦτα πρὸς χάριν λέγω;, sur le rapprochement duquel Brunck 1788 fonde son explication de πρὸς χάριν βορᾶς « uescendi gratia ». Mais Lehrs 1902, 213–214 (originellement publié en 1862), suivi par Jebb, enlève notoirement à *Antigone* et à Sophocle les vers 904–920. Jacob

βορᾶς à θησαυρὸν, la locution πρὸς χάριν reste gauchement en l'air. Le scholiaste explique πρὸς τέρψιν τροφῆς, ce qui a paru (à tort sans doute,⁴⁸ mais peu importe, car le sens gagne au changement) supposer χαρὰν plutôt que χάριν. Si πρὸς χαρὰν βορᾶς, correction de Heimreich prétendument inspirée par la scholie,⁴⁹ est juste, la faiblesse de la leçon εἰσορῶσι n'en est que plus manifeste,⁵⁰ car εἰσορῶσι πρὸς χαρὰν n'est pas satisfaisant. Nauck a, de surcroît, raison d'opposer à εἰσορῶσι que « die Raubvögel sich nicht mit dem Ansehen der Leichen begnügen ». La correction anonyme εἰσορμῶσι,⁵¹ que Brunck 1788 avait adoptée et que l'on retrouve facilement par soi-même, pourrait remédier aux défauts évoqués. On aurait οἰωνοῖς γλυκὺν θησαυρὸν εἰσορμῶσι πρὸς χαρὰν βορᾶς, où βορᾶς peut dépendre à la fois de θησαυρὸν et de

1821, 363–368 soupçonnait déjà le passage qui commence au v. 895 sans être sûr de la délimitation exacte de l'interpolation ; Jacob 1849, 17–23 la circonscrit aux v. 905–913. Le « terminus post quem » de l'ajout présumé serait fourni par Aristote (*Rhet.* 1417 a, p. 190 Kassel), qui mentionne Sophocle et cite les v. 911–912. Müller 1999, 244–247 voit la main du petit-fils Sophocle le Jeune (Iophon, le fils, selon Blaydes 1899, 191) dans les vers 904 et suivants, introduits en vue d'une hypothétique nouvelle représentation de la pièce dans la « trilogie thébaine » donnée en 401. Le retrait des v. 904–920 ruine la computation de Lachmann 1822, 47, qui attribue 196 = 28 × 7 vers à Antigone et Eurydice (« partes secundae », selon lui ; le rôle d'Antigone revenait au protagoniste selon Sommerbrodt 1876, 69). Malgré Lloyd-Jones–Wilson, la variante πρὸς χάριν λόγων (*Trach.* 179) ne doit pas être préférée à πρὸς χαρὰν λόγων (j'y reviendrai). Sophocle emploie χάριν seul avec le génitif (Ellendt 1872, 780 B – 781 A).

⁴⁸ Voir Xenis 2021, 46.

⁴⁹ Heimreich 1884, 9. Dawe 1979 retrouve et adopte la conjecture – palinodie de Dawe 1996 et 2007, 355, qui indique que Blaydes 1859 est le premier à avoir publié cette correction et en rapproche Euripide, *Herc.* 385, χαρμοναῖσιν ἀνδροβρῶσι. Lloyd-Jones–Wilson 1990, 116 désapprouvent la correction et entendent par πρὸς χάριν βορᾶς « for the pleasure of their eating ». Ahrens 1860, 495 comprend pareillement et illustre au moyen de notre passage Eschyle, *Ag.* 287, πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος πρὸς ἡδονήν, « damit sie an dem feuerscheine ihre lust hätten ». Le substantif χάριν, ainsi entendu, paraît ne pas être le mot juste. Ahrens, 532 fait pourtant très bien la différence entre χάρις et χαρά.

⁵⁰ Seyffert 1865, qui lit πρὸς χάριν, conteste cette appréciation : « is (θησαυρός) enim inueniendo adquiritur, ad inueniendum autem oculorum obtutu opus est ; uerte cum in id oculos coicient pabuli gratia ». Mais « pabuli gratia » suppose que les oiseaux ont déjà trouvé le θησαυρός et εἰσορῶσι ne donne pas l'idée pertinente.

⁵¹ Mentionnée par Jebb, approuvée par Dawe 2007, 354 en dernier lieu. Voir 133, νίκην ὀρμῶντ' ἀλαλάζει ; *Trach.* 1088–1089, δαίνονται γὰρ αὖ πάλιν, | ἤνθηκεν, ἐξώρμηκεν. Le moyen au sens de « ruere » est assez fréquent chez Sophocle. Dawe se demande « whether the birds swoop on to the χάριν βορᾶς, or whether they swoop *ad lib.* on to the delightful treasure of food » et pense que *Phil.* 1156 « strongly supports the latter ».

χαρὰν. Rapprocher *Trach.* 178–179, ἐπεὶ καταστεφῇ | στεῖχονθ' ὁρῶ τιν' ἄνδρα πρὸς χαρὰν (v. l. χάριν !)⁵² λόγων. Selon Lloyd-Jones–Wilson, Heimreich a peut-être raison de penser que la glose du Laurentianus ἔρμαιον, εὖρημα (sans lemme apparent) indique que le scholiaste lisait ἔρμαιον. Il est vrai que εὖρημα est une explication de ἔρμαιον, non de θησαυρόν. Il faudrait donc comprendre ἔρμαιον· εὖρημα.⁵³ On voit les substantifs θησαυρός et ἔρμαιον souvent rapprochés à partir de Lucien⁵⁴ et il ne serait pas surprenant qu'ils aient été variantes dans le vers de Sophocle. Le substantif ἔρμαιον apparaît dans la littérature grecque chez Sophocle, *Ant.* 397.⁵⁵ Sa définition et son origine alléguée (Pausanias *Attic.* E 69) montrent une adéquation surprenante au contexte de notre passage : ἔρμαιον· τὸ ἀπροσδόκητον κέρδος,⁵⁶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς τιθεμένων ἀπαρχῶν, ἃς οἱ ὁδοιπόροι κατεσθίουσιν. Il y aurait peut-être entre ἔρμαιον et εἰσορμῶσι un jeu étymologique.⁵⁷ On obtiendrait donc οἰωνοῖς | γλυκὺν ἔρμαιον εἰσορμῶσι πρὸς χαρὰν βορᾶς, « douce bonne fortune pour les oiseaux qui s'y précipitent en vue d'un jouissif repas » : il est difficile de nier qu'un tel vers soit digne de Sophocle. Évoquons l'imitation possible du passage de Sophocle chez Euripide (?), *Phoen.* 1634, ἐὰν δ' ἄκλαντον, ἄταφον, οἰωνοῖς βοράν. Elle suggère à Löschhorn et à Fraenkel⁵⁸ que le vers 29 de Sophocle était originellement ainsi libellé et qu'un interpolateur a substitué γλυκὺν à βοράν et ajouté le

⁵² Voir Blaydes 1871 (« to announce some welcome news, with welcome news ») ; Easterling 1982 (« with a view to joy in his words ») et Davies 1991, 96–97 (« coming garlanded in view of his pleasant tidings », mais Davies n'écarte pas totalement χάριν). « This supports the conjecture εἰσορμῶσι πρὸς χαρὰν βορᾶς (...), in which I was long anticipated by Mr. Blaydes » (Earle 1912, 27).

⁵³ Xenis 2021, 45 suggère (θησαυρόν) : <γρ> ἔρμαιον, εὖρημα.

⁵⁴ *Aduersus indoctum et libros multos ementem* 1, πιστεύεις τοῖς ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ἔρμαιον εἰ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιψευδομένων τοῖς βιβλίοις καὶ θησαυρὸς ἔτοιμος τοῖς καπῆλοις αὐτῶν.

⁵⁵ Liberman 2020b, 40–41 suggère de substituer ce mot au redondant εὐπιπνον dans *Oed. Col.* 711.

⁵⁶ Voir Wilamowitz 1931, 166.

⁵⁷ Comparer *Iliade* 24, 679–680 ; Euripide fr. 223, 96 Kannicht (c'est Hermès qui parle). Pour Kuhn 1848, 131 (dans sa célèbre dérivation de « Hermès » à partir de « Sârameyas ») ; Welcker 1857, 342–344 et Müller 1869, 271–272, le lien entre « Hermès » (« an unanalysable Pre-Greek name », prononce Beekes 2010) et ὁρμή est authentiquement étymologique. Certains éléments de la « démonstration » de Welcker suggèrent du moins dans la conscience linguistique des Grecs l'idée d'un lien, naturel pour un dieu messager et conducteur, entre le théonyme et ses dérivés et les mots de la famille de ὁρμή.

⁵⁸ Löschhorn 1919, 737 ; Fraenkel 1964, 407–408. Ce dernier tient le passage d'Euripide pour « supposé ».

vers 30 tel que les mss. le présentent (« Binneninterpolation », rappellent Lloyd-Jones–Wilson). Nauck⁵⁹ part du vers 29 tel qu’il est transmis, ἔαν δ’ ἄκλαντον, ἄταφον, οἰωνοῖς γλυκύν, et imagine que le v. 30 a été ajouté pour rendre intelligible le brachylogique γλυκύν, dont il rapproche *Iliade* 11, 161–162, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ γαίῃ | κείατο, γύπεσσι πολλὸν φίλτεροι ἢ ἄλόχοισιν. Ce rapprochement n’est toutefois pas convaincant : οἰωνοῖς γλυκύν est une improbable brachylogie, à laquelle on peut opposer οἰωνοῖς ἔλωρ dans *Aiax* 829–830, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἐχθρῶν του κατοπτευθεὶς πάρος | ῥιφθῶ κυσὶν πρόβλητος οἰωνοῖς θ’ ἔλωρ.⁶⁰ Tout bien considéré, je crois l’hypothèse de plusieurs corruptions verbales plus plausible que celle d’une interpolation soit à la mode de Nauck soit à celle de Löschhorn / Fraenkel. Authentique, le vers forme alors un des avatars les plus intéressants⁶¹ de la tradition inaugurée par les célèbres vers de l’*Iliade* 1, 4–5, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια τεύχε κύνεσσιν | οἰωνοῖσι τε πᾶσι, où nous avons, pour πᾶσι, la variante zénodotéenne δαῖτα, dont on rapproche Eschyle, *Suppl.* 800, ὄρνισι δεῖπνον οὐκ ἀναίνομαι πέλειν.⁶² Fraenkel, qui, à très juste titre, incrimine la « fade und unklare Redseligkeit » de γλυκύν θησαυρὸν εἰσορῶσι πρὸς χάριν βορᾶς, s’étonne de ce que Créon, dans sa proclamation ferme et lapidaire, se préoccupe de peindre l’appétit des oiseaux, mais Antigone ne reproduit pas « uerbatim » les propos de Créon et l’évocation, sans doute destinée à ébranler Ismène, n’appartient pas moins que la remarque τὸν ἀθλίως θανόντα (26) à Antigone.

Av. κείνον δ' ἐγὼ
θάψω. καλόν μοι τοῦτο ποιούσῃ θανεῖν.
φίλη μετ' αὐτοῦ κείσομαι, φίλου μέτα,
ὅσια πανουργήσας·

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« The repetitions of μετά serves to bring out the reciprocity of love more strongly » (Jebb). Je ne suis pas du tout convaincu par cette justification de μετ' αὐτοῦ... φίλου μέτα, répétition d'une gaucherie suspecte (opposer *Phil.* 1375, φίλου μετ' ἀνδρὸς τοῦδε τῆσδ' ἐκπλεῖν χθονός). Le polyptote

⁵⁹ Nauck 1886, 157.

⁶⁰ Voir Finglass 2011, 382.

⁶¹ Je discuterai le v. 698.

⁶² West 2001, 173 écarte δαῖτα que Schwartz 1908, 7–8 défend avec conviction et habileté. Les variantes πᾶσι et δαῖτα recouvrent-elles un substantif disparu de la famille de πᾶσσομαι, πᾶς(σ)αθαι (cf. *Ant.* 202), latin *pābulum* (voir Pott 1867, 221 ; Bechtel 1914, 273–274) : πᾶς-μα « pâture », différent de πᾶσμα > πᾶσσω ? Comparer Sénèque, *Thyest.* 750–751, *auibus epulandos licet | ferisque triste pabulum saevis trahat* ; Timothée, *PMG* 791, 137–138 (= *Pers.* 149–150 Wil.), ἐνθα κείσομαι οἰκτρὸς ὀρνίθων ἔθνεσιν ὠμοβρῶσι θοινά.

idiomatique⁶³ φίλου φίλη me semblerait réduire un peu cette maladresse, mais la répétition de φίλη déplaît. La locution μετ' αὐτοῦ est peut-être une faute par anticipation de φίλου μέτα. Je suggère φίλη θανοῦσα κείσομαι φίλου μέτα. Sophocle affectionne la figure consistant à reprendre un verbe (ici un infinitif, θανεῖν) sous la forme d'un participe (θανοῦσα)⁶⁴ : voir *Oed. Col.* 1202–1203, οὐδ' αὐτὸν⁶⁵ μὲν εὖ | πάσχειν, παθόντα δ' οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι τίνειν et, avec les parallèles cités dans ma discussion⁶⁶ du délicat passage suivant, *Oed. rex* 59–61, εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι, | νοσεῖτε πάντες καὶ νοσοῦντες ὡς ἐγὼ | οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῶν ὅστις ἐξ ἴσου νοσεῖ.

τοῖος ἀμφὶ νῶτ' ἐτάθη
πάταγος Ἄρεος ἀντιπάλῳ δυσχεῖρωμα δράκοντι. 125

125 ἀντιπάλῳ] ἀντιπάλου L^{sl} a^{sl} : ἀντίπαλον Willink 2010, 350 n. 12 | δράκοντι] δράκοντος V a^{sl}.

Fin de l'antistrophe du premier couple strophe / antistrophe de la « parodos », qui est un chant de victoire « dionysiaque ».⁶⁷ Le chœur célèbre la victoire du dragon thébain sur l'aigle argien.⁶⁸ Jebb et Lloyd-Jones–Wilson lisent ἀντιπάλῳ δυσχεῖρωμα δράκοντος, « a thing hard to vanquish for him who was struggling against the (Theban) dragon » (Jebb).⁶⁹

⁶³ Voir Bruhn 1899, 130–131 § 223. I.

⁶⁴ Et inversement : voir *El.* 357, σὺ δ' ἡμῖν ἢ μισοῦσα μισεῖς μὲν λόγῳ, avec le commentaire de Kaibel 1896, 98 aux v. 171–172, αἰεὶ μὲν γὰρ ποθεῖ, | ποθῶν δ' οὐκ ἀξιοῖ φανῆναι. Voir aussi Bruhn 1899, 126–127 § 218. II ; 136 § 230, et, sur cette figure en grec et en latin, Reisig 1888, 755–756.

⁶⁵ On peut rapprocher *Ant.* 437–439, τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ κακῶν πεφευγέναι | ἥδιον, ἐς κακὸν δὲ τοὺς φίλους ἄγειν | ἀλγεινόν. Il y a entre αὐτὸν et τοὺς φίλους un contraste explicite qui manque dans le passage de l'*Œdipe à Colone* : d'où la correction que propose Liberman 2020b, p. 178.

⁶⁶ Voir Liberman 2021b, 100.

⁶⁷ Voir Muff 1877, 94.

⁶⁸ Voir là-dessus l'étude peu connue de Welcker 1829, 201–208 (non reprise dans ses *Kleine Schriften*) avec les remarques de Wex 1831, 94–98. L'aigle argien délogé avant d'avoir pu se gorgier de sang thébain rappelle par contraste, chez Eschyle, *Ag.* 827–828, le lion argien qui saute au dessus des murs troyens et se repaît de sang royal. Ce n'est pas, nous le verrons, la seule réminiscence sophocléenne de l'*Agamemnon*.

⁶⁹ Lloyd-Jones–Wilson 1990, 120 acceptent δυσχεῖρωμα et minimisent la difficulté du mot, que Housman 1972, 1097 considère comme une formation dont la barbarie est encore aggravée par le sens qu'on lui attribue. Il n'existe pas (Housman a raison sur ce point) et il ne saurait exister de verbe *δυσχειρώω au sens de « vaincre avec difficulté » ; si, remarque Housman, l'on admettait un tel verbe, il devrait signifier « rendre maladroit » (non « subdued by rough handling », Willink 2010, 350). Le

Griffith lit ἀντιπάλου δυσχείρωμα δράκοντος, « a hard-won victory of <his> snake antagonist ». Willink⁷⁰ critique « hard-won victory », qu'il juge « unlikely in itself » et « not following well in apposition to τοῖος... ἐτάθη πάταγος Ἄρεος ». D'après Willink, « the πάταγος Ἄρεος, putting the 'eagle' to flight, is (a manifestation of) rough subduing (by, at the hands) of the opposing serpent ». Le sens paraît peu satisfaisant. Tous ces érudits rejettent le datif ἀντιπάλω... δράκοντι, que je crois pourtant corroboré par le dernier vers de la strophe, φυγάδα πρόδρομον ὀξυτόρω⁷¹ κινήσασα χαλινῷ (108). « Quid denique, dit en effet élégamment Ritschl,⁷² conuenientius in tragicorum consuetudinem quam concinnus lusus syllabarum ille, quo pariles in parilibus locis sonos strophæ et antistrophæ recipiunt ? ». La « Klangresponson » compte d'autant plus qu'elle unit la fin de la strophe et celle de l'antistrophe. Ces érudits qui rejettent ἀντιπάλω... δράκοντι introduisent tous après πάταγος Ἄρεος une virgule qui rend ἀντιπάλω δράκοντι pratiquement inintelligible et la vraie construction

néologisme, pourvu du sens qui convient, peut néanmoins s'expliquer par l'analogie suivante, qui dispense de supposer *δυσχειρώω : χειρωτός χείρωμα (« conquête », cf. Eschyle, *Ag.* 1326, δούλης θανούσης, εὐμαροῦς χειρώματος, avec Fraenkel 1950, III, 618–620) : δυσχείρωτος (« difficile à soumettre », chez Hérodote !) *δυσχείρωμα « chose difficile à vaincre », l'équivalent de δυσμαρὲς χείρωμα en raccourci. C'est une « Augenblicksbildung » peu orthodoxe, mais Sophocle paraît traiter librement un mot de la même famille. Il appelle l'olivier φύτευμ' ἀχείρωτον (*Oed. Col.* 698), « non planté de main d'homme ». À cette variante, pour laquelle on peut faire valoir le témoignage de Pollux, Ritschl 1876, 407–408 préfère à tort la leçon du Laurentianus *ἀχείρητον, censé signifier « coloni manum non passum », au motif que ἀχείρωτος signifie normalement « insoumis », sens effectivement non pertinent dans le contexte (mais Barrett 2007, 333 n. 27 admet le sens de « unconquered »). Sophocle eût été fondé à s'autoriser de τυμβοχόα χειρώματα ([Eschyle], *Sept.* 1022 avec Wackernagel 1953, 300), si le sens est bien « the piling up of earth on the grave with the hand » (Fraenkel). Toutefois Barrett 2007, 333–335 défend une interprétation radicalement différente, « slaves to heap a mound ». De toute façon, le vers 1022 des *Sept* appartient à une interpolation réputée supposer la connaissance de l'*Antigone* de Sophocle !

⁷⁰ Willink 2010, 350.

⁷¹ Noter les variantes ὀξυτέρω et ὀξυπόρω (défendu par Willink 2010, 349–350). Welcker 1829, 201–202 illustre ὀξυτόρω. Les vers 108 et 125 sont chacun un vers proprement dit, formé d'un dicolon (dimètre choriambique et phérecrati en synaphie prosodique). La colométrie de Lloyd-Jones–Wilson et de Griffith masque ce fait reconnu de Lachmann 1819, 185 et de Willink 2010, 348. Les curieux remarqueront, dans l'analyse de la strophe / antistrophe, d'autres accords (justifiés) entre Willink et Lachmann.

⁷² Ritschl 1876, 398 (à propos d'un chœur de l'*Edipe à Colone*). Voir les répertoires et les discussions de Jacob 1866 et, plus récemment, Kraus 1957, 28–29. Le phénomène, déjà relevé par Buttmann 1822, 144–145 et utilisé par lui en vue de l'établissement de la colométrie et du texte d'un couple strophe / antistrophe, ne semble pas encore avoir retenu toute l'attention qu'il mérite.

imperceptible : ἀντιπάλῳ δράκοντι dépend non de δυσχείρωμα mais de ἐτάθῃ, à titre, comme le remarque le scholiaste, de complément d'agent,⁷³ « si considérable fut le fracas des armes qui s'intensifia au dos de l'aigle du fait de son adversaire le serpent (litt. 'qui fut tendu au dos de l'aigle par son adversaire le serpent') en un effort insoutenable ». Wex 1829, suivi par Wunder 1846 et Blaydes 1859, avait compris le passage et corrigé la ponctuation calamiteuse. Les leçons substituant le génitif au datif sont des corrections résultant d'un contresens de construction. On considère en général, à en croire les traductions et paraphrases,⁷⁴ δυσχείρωμα comme une apposition à πάταγος, mais il s'agit plutôt d'une « Satzapposition » au nominatif ou à l'accusatif.⁷⁵ Comparer *Aiax* 1206–1210, κείμαι δ' ἀμέριμνος οὕτως, | αἰεὶ πυκινᾷς δρόσοις, τεγγόμενος κόμας, | λυγρᾷς μνήματα Τροίας.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἃ μεγαλόνυμος ἦλθε Νίκα
τᾷ πολυαρμάτῳ ἀντιχαρεῖσα Θήβα,
ἐκ μὲν δὴ πολέμων
τῶν νῦν θέσθαι λησμοσύναν,
θεῶν δὲ ναοὺς χοροῖς
παννύχοις πάντας ἐπέλθωμεν (...)

150

151 θέσθαι RSVt : θέσθε **laz** | λησμοσύναν R : -ην cett. || 153 (152)
παννύχοις] παννυχίοις **z**.

⁷³ Bonitz 1857, 32 écarte le datif de l'agent parce que δυσχείρωμα est encadré par ἀντιπάλῳ δράκοντι. Ce motif est futile. « *Datiuus possessiuus* or perhaps *incomodi* » suggère Kamerbeek 1978, 57, après avoir déclaré maladroit le datif de l'agent au vu de la place des mots ! La première explication est la moins plausible.

⁷⁴ Pour l'apposition δυσχείρωμα (« duplex nominatiuus »), Wunder renvoie à Matthiae 1835, 974–975 § 433 n. 3. Voir Delbrück 1900, 186 et 198 (« Apposition mit prädikativem Nachdruck » ; il cite *Il.* 15, 394, φάρμακ' ἀκέσματ' ἔπασσε μελαινάων ὀδυνάων).

⁷⁵ Voir Bruhn 1899, 7–8 § 11 ; Wilamowitz 1909, 228–229 ; Schwyzer 1983, 118–119 et 1950, 617 ; Barrett 1974, 307–308 ; Hofmann–Szantyr 1972, 430 (pose un lien, improbable et condamné par le parallèle grec, entre la « Satzapposition » à l'accusatif et l'accusatif exclamatif latin ; la comparaison avec le grec fait aussi défaut chez Pinkster 2015, 1070–1074) ; Moorhouse 1982, 22 et 45–46 (ne semble pas s'aviser de l'incompatibilité entre la théorie de Wilamowitz, selon qui la « Satzapposition » à l'accusatif est en fait un accusatif qualificatif, et celle de Schwyzer, d'après qui le nominatif est primitif et l'accusatif, dû à l'ambiguïté des formes neutres, est secondaire). C'est à tort que Bonitz 1857, 33 écarte d'emblée « der in der Apposition so oft vorkommende Accusativ des Erfolges oder der Wirkung » (C. F. Neue). Si les critères de Kühner–Gerth 1898, 284 et de Cooper–Krüger 1998, 923 57.10.10 distinguant les emplois du nominatif et de l'accusatif sont justes, on a ici un accusatif – bien que, remarquent Cooper–Krüger, « scarcely any two scholars would agree about which passages belong under B and which under C ».

Antistrophe du second couple strophe / antistrophe de la « parodos ». La variante θέσθε (151), que Lloyd-Jones–Wilson adoptent, paraît amender la syntaxe mais (1) on attend le symétrique de ἐπέλωμεν (153)⁷⁶ ; (2) θέσθε trouble la responsion et altère sinon le mètre, comme le pensait Brunck 1788,⁷⁷ du moins l’effet rythmique recherché.⁷⁸ Nauck substitue χρῆ à τῶν, ce qui offre un cadre syntaxique et un sens satisfaisants à l’infinitif θέσθαι et élimine le nuisible τῶν (car νῦν doit évidemment modifier χρῆ θέσθαι et ἐπέλωμεν, comme chez Alcée et Horace, νῦν χρῆ μεθύσθην, « nunc est bibendum »). Une difficulté demeure : il serait bon de joindre πολέμων à λησμοσύναν, ce qui implique l’élimination de ἐκ ; Seidler⁷⁹ cite avec à-propos *Od.* 24, 484–485, ἡμεῖς δ’ αὖ παίδων τε κασιγνήτων τε φόνοιο | ἔκλυσιν θέωμεν. Une solution digne, ce semble, de considération consisterait à lire τῶν μὲν δὴ πολέμων χρῆ νῦν θέσθαι λησμοσύναν.⁸⁰ Pour l’inclusion de μὲν δὴ entre l’article et le substantif, voir 162 τὰ μὲν δὴ πόλεος ; *Phil.* 1308, τὰ μὲν δὴ τόξ’ ἔχεις. La conjecture ingénieuse de Brown⁸¹ ἀκμὰ δὴ πολέμων τῶν νῦν θέσθαι λησμοσύναν présente l’inconvénient de supprimer l’heureux μὲν et de garder τῶν νῦν, qui me paraît faire intrinsèquement difficulté, malgré les efforts exégétiques de ceux pour qui τῶν νῦν doit et peut signifier « les combats qui viennent de se terminer ».⁸²

À suivre.

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⁷⁶ L’infinitif jussif ne saurait ici équivaloir qu’à une seconde personne, alors qu’on attend l’équivalent d’une première personne. Jebb et Griffith l’entendent ainsi. « But, ose ajouter Griffith, this is rare ». Jebb renvoie son lecteur à *Oed. Col.* 481 et à sa note : il s’y agit d’équivalents d’une seconde personne. « Im Griechischen (...) ist der Gebrauch im Sinne der erste Person verschwunden » (Delbrück 1897, 454).

⁷⁷ Mais Willink 2010, 315 réhabilite l’analyse dactylique de Brunck tout en acceptant l’interprétation éolo-choriambique.

⁷⁸ Le colon (ou vers) τῶν νῦν θέσθαι λησμοσύναν est une forme connue de dimètre choriambique (voir Itsumi 1982 ; Willink 2010, 351), que précède non un dimètre choriambique acéphale (Griffith) mais un « dodrans B » (Dale 1981 ; Willink 2010, 351). Le trochée θέσθε, théoriquement possible, abîme le martèlement expressif de la série de longues : l’évocation des choses pénibles à oublier contraste avec le rythme jubilatoire du péan. Le colon avec lequel le nôtre est en responsion est ῥιπαῖς ἐχθίστων ανέμων (noter l’écho -θίστ- / -θέσθ-).

⁷⁹ *Ap.* Hermann 1830.

⁸⁰ Gleditsch 1883, 99 et 246 m’a devancé.

⁸¹ Brown 1991, 320. Vantée par Willink 2010, 352.

⁸² Ils veulent aussi que ἐν νυκτὶ τῇ νῦν (16) signifie « last night », explication combattue par Bradshaw 1962, 203 pour des raisons que nous exposerons.

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This is the first of five sets of text-critical, exegetical and sometimes metrical remarks on *Antigone*. These **Sophocleuncula* are not only minute philological notes but they involve broader issues having a bearing on the interpretation and meaning of the drama as a whole (in this set we discuss the date of the composition and of the first performance of the tragedy, its place within the relevant trilogy and the idea that the relevant tetralogy came out second and not first in the dramatic contest). These remarks were composed with a view to drawing attention to a number of forgotten or unseen difficulties and to trying to address a number of seen but unsolved problems more efficaciously. The text and meaning of not a few other passages from other works of Sophocles or of other writers (e.g. Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*) are also dealt with.

Статья представляет собой первую из пяти последовательных публикаций, содержащих замечания о критике текста, экзегетических и метрических сложностях в *Антигоне* Софокла. **Sophocleuncula* посвящены не только частным филологическим проблемам, но и более общим вопросам, значимым для интерпретации драмы в целом. Так, в первом разделе рассматривается датировка создания и первой постановки *Антигоны* и ее место в соответствующей трилогии и высказывается предположение, что эта трилогия заняла на состязаниях второе, а не первое место. Заметки призваны привлечь внимание к ряду забытых или упущенных из виду сложностей и предложить более действенные решения осознаваемых, но нерешенных проблем. К анализу привлекается также немало пассажей из других произведений Софокла и других авторов (например, из *Агамемнона* Эсхила).

Nina Almazova

ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR AND GLAUCUS
OF RHEGIUM AS SOURCES OF PSEUDO-
PLUTARCH'S TREATISE *DE MUSICA*
III–IV

To the memory of Andrew Barker

I have argued in *Hyperboreus* 27: 2 (2021) 266–290 that the main sources of the first part of Ps.-Plutarchus' *Περὶ μουσικῆς* (ch. 3–10) are both Heraclides of Pontus and Alexander Polyhistor and that in ch. 5 and 7 the compiler quotes Glaucus of Rhegium from Alexander's (and not Heraclides') text. Defending my point of view requires facing two more problems. Firstly, I have to demonstrate that Ps.-Plutarch knew Glaucus indirectly¹ rather than first hand. Secondly, I must address two quotations from Glaucus not yet considered (ch. 10) and try to establish whether their source was Heraclides or Alexander.

III

There is no clear solution to the first question, since the information at our disposal is insufficient. Of most significance is the use of the indefinite pronoun, as the compiler introduces the book of Glaucus for the first time: ἐν συγγράμματι **τινι** τῷ² Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν τε καὶ

¹ Contrary to Volkmann 1856, XII, this is the opinion of Westphal 1865, 69; Weil–Reinach 1900, XI–XII; Jacoby 1941, 100 n. 1; Gostoli 2011, 39; Pöhlmann 2011, 16; 24; Barker 2014, 36–40. All these scholars believe that the quotations from Glaucus found their way into the book of Ps.-Plutarch through Heraclides. It has been hypothesized (Presta 1965, 84; Barker 2009, 279) that, since the data of Glaucus were used by Heraclides and by Aristoteles (in *Περὶ ποιητῶν*), his treatise was eventually supplanted by these popular works. However, it was still known at least in the 2nd cent. BC: he was cited by Apollodorus, *FGrHist* 244 F 32 (see Gostoli 2015, 129; ead. 2020, 141).

² As observed by Wyttenbach 1800 (see the apparatus by Ziegler–Pohlenz 1959, 4 ad loc.), τινι together with τῷ is suspect. Perhaps τινι duplicated the original τῷ: see Weil–Reinach 1900, 20–21 § 47.

μουσικῶν (1132 E). This looks like a referral to a book he has never held in his hands. I also think important that the phrase ἐζηλωκέναι δὲ τὸν Τέρπανδρον Ὀμήρου μὲν τὰ ἔπη, Ὀρφέως δὲ τὰ μέλη (1132 F), which I consider a quotation from Glaucus, is governed by Ἀλέξανδρος ... ἔφη: it would have made no sense to quote Glaucus second hand if the compiler possessed his book.

Aside from that, one can only draw conclusions by examining Ps.-Plutarch's abilities as a compiler and analyzing the ways in which he worked with his sources. This author traditionally has a bad name among modern scholars, and an appreciation recently attempted by A. Barker led to the same results: he is considered an unoriginal and unintelligent writer, who is only capable of copying his sources mechanically, rather than re-considering them and reorganizing them into content.³ Nevertheless, let us pose again the question which is of primary importance for this paper: is Ps.-Plutarch capable of taking a critical and analytical approach to his predecessors?

The principle of composition is one and the same in ch. 3 to 10, regardless of their possible sources. It is based on lists of artists famous in a certain field in a certain period: legendary poets-musicians up to the Trojan war; the first authors of poetic nomes (citharodic and aulodic); the founders of auletics; citharodes who followed Terpander; and representatives of the "second phase of musical organization". Thus the "historical" section of the treatise is mainly a catalogue of *πρῶτοι εὑρεταί*.⁴ That is how the author twice (at the beginning and at the end of Lysias' speech) formulates his scope.⁵ Most likely, this was not Ps.-Plutarch's own choice – he accepted this principle from his sources. Cataloging inventors is typical of Greek historians of art and science.⁶ In fact, we find elements of such lists in Heraclides (ch. 3), in Polyhistor (ch. 5), and in Glaucus.

³ E.g. Weil-Reinach 1900, IV–V; XXIII; Henderson 1957, 379; Ziegler-Pohlenz 1959, XI ("compiler stultissimus"); Rosenmeyer 1968, 222 ("a mine of ill-considered and jumbled information"); Barker 2014, 29; 103–104; Lucarini 2020, 71 ("keine ausgeprägte Denkfähigkeit"); Gostoli 2020, 142.

⁴ As noted e.g. by Kleingünther 1933, 138–139; Lanata 1963, 273–274; Gostoli 2011, 36.

⁵ 1131 E: *τίς πρῶτος ἐχρήσατο μουσικῇ, ἀναμνήσατε τοὺς ἐταίρους, καὶ τί εὔρε πρὸς αὐξήσιν ταύτης ὁ χρόνος, καὶ τίνες γεγόνασιν εὐδόκιμοι τῶν τὴν μουσικὴν ἐπιστήμην μεταχειρισσαμένων*; 1135 D: *εἰρηκῶς κατὰ δύναμιν περὶ τε τῆς πρώτης μουσικῆς καὶ τῶν πρῶτον εὐρόντων αὐτήν, καὶ ὑπὸ τίνων κατὰ χρόνους ταῖς προσεξευρέσεσιν ἠῤῥηται*.

⁶ See e.g. Kleingünther 1933, 135–143; Zhmud 2006, 23–44; Barker 2014, 42.

From time to time, alternative versions are adduced in the treatise; sometimes they are left without comments,⁷ while in other cases the variant thought to be true is indicated.⁸

Besides, the author alternates between chronicling the inventors and reasoning on certain problems: on epic metre of the first nomes; on nomes as musical laws; on corruption of music in the time of Phrynis and Timotheus; on the part played by Lesbian citharodes in Sparta; on elegy as a musical genre; on the genres in which the poets of the second phase of musical organization composed.

Now, can we think that the author of *Περὶ μουσικῆς* fulfils his own research work, namely, (1) compares different versions and (2) selects facts that support his argument in favour of the postulates that were dear to him?

By happy chance we have an example which allows us to review the way Ps.-Plutarch worked with his sources. In ch. 5 (1133 A) we read:

γεγονέναι δὲ καὶ Πολύμνηστον ποιητὴν, Μέλητος τοῦ Κολοφωνίου υἱόν,
ὃν [Πολύμνηστόν] *** τε καὶ Πολυμνήστην νόμους ποιῆσαι. περὶ δὲ
Κλονᾶ ὅτι τὸν Ἀπόθετον νόμον καὶ Σχοινίωνα πεποιηκῶς εἶη μνημο-
νεύουσιν οἱ ἀναγεγραφότες.

This phrase is perplexing, since the existence of Polymnestus of Colophon has been already stated above (ch. 3, 1132 C), and which is more, not two, but seven or eight aulodic nomes ascribed to the first inventors have been enumerated (ch. 4, 1132 D):

Οἱ δὲ νόμοι οἱ κατὰ τούτους, ἀγαθὲ Ὀνησίκρατες, αὐλωδικοὶ ἦσαν·
Ἀπόθετος, Ἑλεγχοί, Κωμάρχιος, Σχοινίων, Κηπίων τε καὶ † Δεῖος καὶ
Τριμερής· ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ καὶ τὰ Πολυμνήστεια καλούμενα ἐξευρέθη.

If one takes the words of Ps.-Plutarch literally, the following understanding suggests itself: in the time of Clonas and Polymnestus (indicated by κατὰ τούτους in 1132 D) there were seven nomes just mentioned (it is not yet clear whether some of them were composed by Clonas and

⁷ 1132 A: Clonas comes from Tegea, according to the Arcadians, or from Thebes, according to the Boeotians. *Ibid.*: there is a version that Ardalos of Troezen – rather than Clonas – was the first aulode. 1133 B: it is said that Philammon from Delphi invented some of the citharodic nomes ascribed to Terpander. 1134 A–B: some people ascribe the Tripartite nome to Sacadas, while the Sicyonian chronicle ascribes it to Clonas.

⁸ 1133 C–D: those who think Hipponax contemporary to Terpander are wrong. Cf. the discussion on the genre of Xenodamus in ch. 9, 1134 C–D.

the other by Polymnestus, or both authors created all the seven types), whereas the so-called Polymnestian nomes do not really belong to Polymnestus, for they were composed later. In this case, below in ch. 5 a definition is offered (with a reference to οἱ ἀναγεγραφότες): it turns out that Clonas was the author of two nomes out of seven, Ἀπόθετος and Σχοινίων. The reader concludes that the remaining five were by Polymnestus. However, of Polymnestus it had just been said that his nomes bore his name (that much is clear in spite of text corruption)! Besides, the question of who composed the Polymnestian nomes, if not Polymnestus himself, remains without answer in the treatise. Lucarini postulates an alternative version here, which disputes the data of ch. 4.⁹

Yet we cannot believe for long that the impact of Clonas was limited to two nomes, since at the end of ch. 8 (1134 B) we face a new affirmation:

ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀναγραφῇ τῇ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν Κλονᾶς εὐρετῆς ἀναγράφεται τοῦ Τριμεροῦς νόμου.

It now becomes clear that in all three cases we deal with the list of seven aulodic nomes which Heraclides found in the Sicyonian chronicle, where the authorship of Clonas was indicated for all of them. In ch. 8 the new reference to this list comes in a polemical context: someone ascribed νόμος Τριμερῆς to Sacadas, rather than to Clonas. Ps.-Plutarch does not comment on which attribution of the Tripartite nome must be right.

The true meaning of addressing the nomes Ἀπόθετος and Σχοινίων in ch. 5 becomes evident if one compares it with two parallel passages in Pollux.

Poll. 4. 65: σφάλλονται δὲ οἱ καὶ Ἀπόθετον προστιθέντες αὐτῷ (sc. Τερπάνδρῳ) καὶ Σχοινίωνα· οὗτοι γὰρ αὐλητικοί.¹⁰

Poll. 4. 79: καὶ Κλονᾶ δὲ νόμοι αὐλητικοὶ Ἀπόθετός τε καὶ Σχοινίων.

It is stated that Pollux used Heraclides (though probably at second hand),¹¹ so the unique matching information on Ἀπόθετος and Σχοινίων in two Roman era authors surely originated in his work. From Pollux it

⁹ Lucarini 2020, 76.

¹⁰ Pollux does not use the word αὐλωδικός, but replaces it by αὐλητικός in a broad sense “dealing with aulos-playing” (Almazova 2008, 22).

¹¹ This is proved by setting forth Heraclides’ ideas on ἀρμονία (Athen. 14. 624 D = Heraclid. fr. 163 Wehrli) in Poll. 4. 65 (Rohde 1870, 69–70; Weil–Reinach 1900, VII–VIII; Wehrli 1969, 116).

becomes clear that the *Συναγωγή* of the Pontic scholar contained polemics against those who erroneously ascribed these two nomes to Terpander.

As for the work of Heraclides, this proves that he juxtaposed alternative versions from various sources (which is exactly what the genre of *συναγωγή* implies¹²) and, when possible, upheld the variant he believed to be true. In particular, this case clearly shows that Heraclides considered the testimony of the Sicyonian inscription authoritative enough to be used as an argument in his discussion.

As for Ps.-Plutarch, this analysis proves that he mechanically copied out information on the characters mentioned, did not mind repetitions arising in his summary and paid no attention to the fact that removing polemical context would deprive his reader of the possibility of following Heraclides' thought, or that his wording could be misleading. Clumsy usage of pronouns must be especially noted: unhelpfully putting *κατὰ τούτους* at the beginning (1132 D), he failed to make clear that some of the aulodic nomes – that of Clonas – belonged to the first generation, and the other – that of Polymnestus – to the second.

Observations concerning the structure of various parts of *Περὶ μουσικῆς* can be added. Some sections are conspicuous for their lack of order in expounding evidence: the author skips from one musician to another and repeatedly comes back to those already mentioned, instead of describing them one after another.¹³ The structure of ch. 4–5 – one of the most unskillful sections (1132 E – 1133 B) – can serve as an example:¹⁴

Terpander [1]

Archilochus [1] (confronted with Terpander and Clonas)

Olympus [1]

Idaeon Dactyls

Hyagnis

Marsyas

Olympus [2]

Terpander [2]

¹² See Barker 2014, 31–32; Gostoli 2020, 135.

¹³ The attempt of Westphal 1865, 69 to trace a strict order in the chapters on the nomes of Terpander, Clonas and Polymnestus is unconvincing – it is impossible to distinguish his sections by contents: (1) Die Componisten der Nomoi (p. 3, 26–4, 8); (2) Die einzelnen Nomoi (p. 4, 9–22); (3) Persönlichkeit und Zeitalter der Componisten (p. 4, 22–5, 19); (4) Nachträgliches (p. 5, 10–25). E.g., the demonstration that the first nomic composers used epic metre is present both in the first and the second section, and the names of the nomes and chronological data occur in the fourth section instead of the second and the third respectively. See also Hiller 1886, 422–423.

¹⁴ Italics indicate the names which I think taken from the book of Polyhistor.

Orpheus

Clonas [1]

Archilochus [2] (confronted with Terpander and Clonas)

Clonas [2] (confronted with Ardalus)

Polymnestus [1]

Clonas [3]

Polymnestus [2]

Terpander [3] (confronted with Philammon)

It appears that the compiler simply wrote out his information as he came across it, made no attempt to organize it and did not even notice the repetitions.

The same is the structure of ch. 7, notwithstanding the fact that here the names of the *nomes* feature as ‘rubricators’:

Olympus the elder [1]*Olympus the younger* [1]*Olympus the elder* [2] (confronted with Marsyas)*Crates**Olympus the younger* [2]*Olympus the elder* [3]*Marsyas* (confronted with Hyagnis)*Olympus* (the elder?) [4]

It is in the same style of incoherent rough drafts that the end of ch. 6 (following the discussion of the *nomes*), ch. 8 and ch. 9–10 (the part following the list of genres) is composed; the only difference is that the author does not return to the same character several times.

Since in ch. 5 and 7 evidence of different sources is represented in the same disarray, it seems obvious that the compiler is to blame. The books he addressed must have contained a more detailed and connective exposition.¹⁵ Ps.-Plutarch produces a most unskillful summarizing with numerous gaps. One reason why the examined sections are distinguished by particular confusion can be postulated: this must have happened each time as the compiler did not follow the train of thought of just one author, but rather chose his material selectively, or else had to interpret different points of view. In ch. 7, I believe that Ps.-Plutarch tried to switch the order from ‘by musicians’ to ‘by *nomes*’. As for the information on Terpander, Clonas and Polymnestus (ch. 4–5), one can imagine that Heraclides, whose book the compiler used, alternated extractions on a certain subject

¹⁵ Westphal 1865, 69.

from various and sometimes contradicting sources, among which we know the Sicyonian chronicle, Glaucus and the poets – Pindar and Alcman. Any reappraisal of this information in *Περὶ μουσικῆς* in order to create an integral picture out of it is out of the question. As was repeatedly noted, Ps.-Plutarch makes no conclusions, he is only capable of “copy-and-pasting”.¹⁶ Moreover, his unsuitable abridgement of his sources’ considerations and inappropriate wording cause misunderstanding: it is enough to recollect the incomprehensible expression φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν δεύτερον γενέσθαι μετὰ τοὺς πρώτους ποιήσαντας αὐλωδίαν (1132 E, p. 5, 1–2) analyzed in part I.¹⁷

Thereafter, each time we see that a quotation (e.g. from Glaucus) is logically inserted into the argument, we should remember that Ps.-Plutarch simply was not capable of this.

IV

Now let us analyze the structure of the section containing two last references to the Rhegian scholar.

Glaucus is identified four times in *Περὶ μουσικῆς* (ch. 4, 1132 E; ch. 7, 1133 F; ch. 10, 1134 D and E), and two more quotations can be postulated¹⁸ in ch. 5 (1132 F and 1133 A).¹⁹ According to the conclusions made above, he was referred to by both Heraclides and Alexander: probably Glaucus’ work on ancient poets and musicians made such a valuable contribution to the history of arts that later writers on the same subject could not do without it. It seems that quotations concerning Olympus’ impact are taken from the book of Alexander (1132 F and 1133 F), whereas Heraclides had no grounds to adduce them, for he displayed no interest in instrumental aulos music. Now, two more fragments remain (ch. 10, 1134 D–E, p. 9, 4–11 and 15–16): in the first, Glaucus postulates the influence of Archilochus and Olympus on Thaletas (and places Thaletas after Archilochus), and in the second, he affirms that Thaletas is older than Xenocritus. So, we have to control whether these references can be integrated into the general scheme: is it possible to assume that the fragment of Glaucus about Olympus in ch. 10 is taken from Polyhistor, like the other quotations on

¹⁶ Weil–Reinach 1900, IV–V; Barker 2014, 29; 37; Gostoli 2015, 130.

¹⁷ Almazova 2021b, 276–279.

¹⁸ See Almazova 2021b, 274–275; 279.

¹⁹ Attempts have been made to ascribe still more material to Glaucus, but these suggestions, at best, cannot be verified: Zieliński 1885, 303 – ch. 28 (which is in fact from Aristoxenus, see Meriani 2003, 77–79); Franklin 2010–2011, 744 – ch. 6; 759–760 – the reference to Terpander’s Pythian victories in ch. 4, p. 4, 24.

the same subject? Of course, the need to conclude that Glaucus' statement of Olympus' influence in ch. 7 (on Stesichorus) is taken from Alexander, and an identical statement in ch. 10 (on Thaletas) is not, would inevitably make my reconstruction less probable.

No doubt, the entirety of the information adduced in ch. 9–10 could not belong to a composition dedicated to Phrygia: the birthplaces of musicians mentioned there are Crete, Cythera, Locri, Colophon and Argos, and the region of their activity is Peloponnesus (Lacedaemon, Arcadia and Argos). However, we must see whether only the quotation from Glaucus could be borrowed from Polyhistor.

In ch. 9 yet another group of musicians is listed²⁰ – this time those who took part in the “second phase of musical organization”.²¹ The following section (ch. 9–10, p. 8, 18 – 9, 16) is dedicated to the debate over what the genres were in which they composed. Ps.-Plutarch – as usually – causes confusion. At first, he cites the thesis of one party, not considering it necessary to warn that this is not the universally accepted point of view: Thaletas, Xenodamus and Xenocritus composed paeans; Polymnestus, “the so-called Orthians” (τῶν Ὀρθίων καλουμένων: this statement puzzles the reader, since above, 1132 C and 1133 A, Polymnestus was represented as the author of aulodic nomes and processional hymns); and Sacadas, elegies. Immediately below, four points of this claim (all but that on Sacadas) are called in question, not all together, but one by one, yet in a different order (Xenodamus – Polymnestus – Thaletas – Xenocritus). A natural, it would seem, attempt to link the discussion about generic attributes of paeon in three poets²² and to separate it from the examination of the Orthian nome is never made.

The idea that Polymnestus has something to do with the Orthian nome is ascribed to the “harmonians” (1134 D, p. 8, 28 – 9, 2):

²⁰ Two of them have been mentioned above: Polymnestus in ch. 3–5 and 8, Sacadas in ch. 8.

²¹ Contrary to a popular view (e.g. Westphal 1863, 298; Weil–Reinach 1900, III; Riemann 1923, 68; Fileni 1987, 13; 16–17; Ercoles 2009, 157; 161; 167; Power 2010, 238; Ercoles 2013, 24; 380–381; 499; Barker 2014, 24; Gostoli 2015, 126; ead. 2020, 137; 138; Lucarini 2020, 72 and others), the modifier of place ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ (p. 8, 10) in fact refers only to the first phase of musical organization – that of Terpander – for the musicians named below were active not only in Sparta, but at least also in Arcadia and Argos.

²² Monotony with which Ps.-Plutarch introduces first the data on Thaletas (καὶ περὶ Θαλήτα δὲ ... εἰ παιάνων γεγένηται ποιητὴς ἀμφισβητεῖται), then on Xenocritus (περὶ δὲ Ξενοκρίτου ... ἀμφισβητεῖται εἰ παιάνων ποιητὴς γέγονεν), makes one suppose that he repeats twice the phrase which featured only once and integrated examination of several poets at once in his source.

Καὶ Πολύμνηστος δ' αὐλωδικοὺς νόμους ἐποίη-
 σεν· εἰ δὲ τῷ Ὀρθίῳ νόμῳ <ἐν> τῇ μελοποιίᾳ κέχρηται,
 καθάπερ οἱ ἁρμονικοὶ φασιν, οὐκ ἔχομεν [δ'] ἀκριβῶς
 εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ εἰρήκασιν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τι περὶ τούτου.

εἰ Petavius : ἐν codd. | ἐν add. Volkmann (ἐν δὲ τῷ Ὀρθίῳ νόμῳ τῇ
 <ἐναρμονίῳ> μελοποιίᾳ Westphal) | δ' del. Volkmann

Perhaps the same harmonians declared the compositions of the authors representing the “second phase” to be paeans, but we do not know for sure.

Three (rather than two) parties can be traced in the discussion: the author in whose work Ps.-Plutarch found this argument was not the first to object to the definition of genres proposed at the beginning. While he may have added something new to the discussion, he certainly reproduced the doubts and counter-evidence of other critics as well. Thus Pratinas, who thought Xenodamus’ works to be hyporchemes, is identified as a critic of the paeon theory, and he is clearly one of many (ἄλλοι ... καθάπερ Πρατίνας, p. 8, 20–22); the author agrees and supports this view by observations on Pindar (p. 8, 25–27). A “two-layered” reference to reported speech, which argues that Xenocritus composed dithyrambs, is also significant: φασιν ... τινας διθυράμβους καλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὰς ὑποθέσεις (p. 9, 14–15). Apparently, various interpreters did not simply propose definitions of genres independently of each other, but engaged in polemics with one another, and the source of Ps.-Plutarch summarized and reconsidered this polemics, while also adding new arguments. As I believe, such activity is beyond the capacity of Ps.-Plutarch.

The most likely candidate to have been his source is Heraclides. General considerations are in favour of him: his genre of συναγωγή presupposed bringing together various evidence²³ (the συναγωγή by Polyhistor does not fit our case, for most information in this section has nothing to do with Phrygia). Besides, Heraclides is known²⁴ for his disposition to back up his arguments with references to the poets (e.g. to Pindar and Alcman in ch. 5, 1133 B, cf. ch. 9, 1134 D). To my mind, the most important proof is provided by the assertion: Καὶ Πολύμνηστος δ' αὐλωδικοὺς νόμους ἐποίησεν (ch. 10, p. 8, 28–29), which echoes “Heraclidean” ch. 3–5 and

²³ Certain differences of approach compared with the preceding chapters (e.g., the problem of genres was never considered above; elegy is a metre of Clonas and Polymnestus in ch. 3, but a genre of Sacadas in ch. 9), can be plausibly explained by assuming that it was Heraclides himself (rather than Ps.-Plutarch) who changed his source when reviewing a new period.

²⁴ Barker 2014, 33–34.

most probably goes back to the Sicyonian chronicle. There is an analogous reference to the Sicyonian inscription in ch. 8 (which contains common characters with ch. 9–10 – Sacadas and Polymnestus, and thus probably forms the same section with the following chapters): concerning the Tripartite nome the authorship of Sacadas is contested by the authorship of Clonas, which has been stated above by Heraclides.

It is often assumed that Glaucus took part in the discussion on genres²⁵ and opposed the statements adduced at the beginning, but this is not evident from the text. There seem to be three possible ways of interpreting the quotation(s): (1) Glaucus himself gave his view on genres; (2) someone else (Heraclides?) aptly adopted his discourse dedicated to other matters as an argument; (3) his data are irrelevant to the discussion and are adduced (by Ps.-Plutarch?) for no apparent reason.

- p. 9, 2 καὶ
περὶ Θαλήτα δὲ τοῦ Κρητὸς εἰ παιάνων γεγένηται ποι-
ητῆς ἀμφισβητεῖται. Γλαῦκος γὰρ μετ'
5 Ἀρχιλόχον φάσκων γεγενῆσθαι Θαλήταν, μεμιμῆσθαι μὲν
αὐτόν φησι τὰ Ἀρχιλόχου μέλη, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ μακρότερον
ἐκτεῖναι, καὶ Παίωνα καὶ Κρητικὸν ῥυθμὸν εἰς τὴν μελο- 1134E
ποιίαν ἐνθεῖναι· οἷς Ἀρχιλόχον μὴ κεχρησθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδ'
Ὀρφέα οὐδὲ Τέρπανδρον· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Ὀλύμπου αὐλήσεως
10 Θαλήταν φασὶν ἐξειργάσθαι ταῦτα καὶ δόξαι ποιητὴν
ἀγαθὸν γεγονέναι.

6 τὰ : τοῦ ΑγNI : τὰ τοῦ Pet. 7 Παίωνα Ritschl : μάρωνα codd. : < τὸν ἐπιβατόν> Παίωνα Westph. 10 φασὶν : φησὶν dub. W.–R.²⁶

Judging from the way that the reference to Glaucus is introduced (γάρ should be explanatory²⁷), his words must refute the theory that Thaletas composed paeans. However, no genre is explicitly disclaimed or ascribed to the Cretan poet in the quotation, so one has to guess in what way the data of Glaucus are relevant to the discussion.²⁸

²⁵ Weil–Reinach 1900, 37; Privitera 1957, 100; Fileni 1987, 22; Barker 2009, 296–297; Gostoli 2011, 39.

²⁶ φασὶν, if correct, must either refer to Glaucus himself (due to the compiler's awkwardness) or imply that Glaucus on this point relied on the words of others rather than on personal analysis.

²⁷ See Denniston 1954, 60: “γάρ gives the motive for saying that which has just been said: I say this because...”.

²⁸ Cf. Hiller 1886, 414 n. 9: “Dieses wenig passende γάρ dient nur dazu, um an die Bemerkung περὶ Θαλήτα δὲ τοῦ Κρητὸς εἰ παιάνων γεγένηται ποιητῆς ἀμφισβητεῖται einiges speciellere über Thaletas anzuknüpfen”.

Anyway, there are reasons to doubt that Glaucus was expressing his opinion on all the musicians under review in this section. He is first referred to concerning Thaletas, i.e. after discussing the genres of Xenodamus and Polymnestus. Xenodamus is never mentioned in his fragments at all, and on Xenocritus we only have a chronological calculation placing him after Thaletas (p. 9, 15–16).²⁹

The case of Polymnestus looks more promising, since a fragment of Glaucus cited in ch. 7 (1133 E–F) also mentions the Orthian nome:

- p. 7, 10 ὅτι δ' ἐστὶν Ὀλύμπου ὁ Ἀρμάτειος νό-
 mos, ἐκ τῆς Γλαύκου συγγραφῆς τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχαίων 1133 F
 ποιητῶν μάθοι ἂν τις, καὶ ἔτι γνοίῃ ὅτι
 Στησίχορος ὁ Ἱμεραῖος οὐτ' Ὀρφέα οὔτε Τέρπανδρον
 οὐτ' Ἀρχίλοχον οὔτε Θαλήταν ἐμμήσατο, ἀλλ' Ὀλυμπον,
 15 χρησάμενος τῷ Ἀρματείῳ νόμῳ καὶ τῷ κατὰ δάκτυλον
 εἶδει, ὃ τινες ἐξ Ὀρθίου νόμου φασὶν εἶναι.

In ch. 10 the reference to the Orthian nome does not belong to the quotation from Glaucus, but his quotation which follows immediately below evidently bears a close similarity to the one adduced in ch. 7. They both deal with the same characters – not only Olympus, but also the sequence Orpheus – Terpander – Archilochus – Thaletas. Moreover, in both cases Glaucus singles out remarkable rhythmical elements, which offer evidence on the poets' mutual influences: he claims that Stesichorus (ch. 7) and Thaletas (ch. 10) borrowed certain rhythms from Olympus. Thus, it is almost certain that these two fragments from Glaucus belonged together in his treatise. Since in ch. 10 his analysis is inserted into a discussion on paeans, one could imagine that detecting such rhythmical peculiarities was applicable for judging not only the influences, but also the genres. These observations make it possible to assume that the passage on Polymnestus (1134 D, p. 8, 28 – 9, 2) also formed part of the same discussion: in ch. 10 it was Glaucus who opposed the harmonians concerning Polymnestus, and in ch. 7 his opponents who claimed that Stesichorus borrowed the dactylic rhythm from the Orthian nome were the same harmonians.³⁰

²⁹ Barker 2009, 280; 297 attributes the argument that Xenocritus composed dithyrambs rather than paeans (p. 9, 13–15) to Glaucus on the only grounds that it is placed between two quotations from him. He notes himself that this argument requires no musical analysis and is supplied with a reference to still other people's claim – in other words, demonstrates nothing typical of Glaucus. To my mind, the position between two references to Glaucus actually suggests that the intermediate text does not belong to him.

³⁰ Weil–Reinach 1900, XIII with n. 2; Almazova 2021a, 362–365.

However, this cannot be taken for granted. Firstly, in ch. 7 – just as in ch. 10 – the discussion in which Glaucus participated evidently concerned the sources of borrowings, but there are no signs that any party raised a problem of genre definition: Glaucus’ opponents seem not to argue that Stesichorus composed Orthian nomes, proving this by his use of a rhythm typical to them (a claim “this rhythm in Stesichorus’ works is borrowed from the Orthian nome” implies that there were no Orthian nomes among Stesichorus’ works).

Secondly, not only is there no proof that the addressing of the Orthian nome in ch. 10 has anything to do with Glaucus, but the argument reveals a purely Heraclidean approach: the affirmation that Polymnestus composed aulodic nomes refers to the data of ch. 4 and 5 (Sicyonian chronicle?), and the tendency to rely on the statements of οἱ ἀρχαῖοι, rather than empirical analysis, is typical of Heraclides, and not Glaucus. Remarkably, it is only on this point (of four) that we find no explicit refutation of the postulated genre definition (no “ἀμφισβητεῖται”, which could have been referring to Glaucus) – only moderate doubt of the harmonians’ claim,³¹ which could have occurred to Heraclides independently of any predecessors, while comparing their information with that of the Sicyonian chronicle.

Therefore, if our conclusions are to be based on what can actually be read in the text, rather than on speculation, it is safer to assume that (1) among the musicians discussed in ch. 9–10 Glaucus’ argument concerned only the works of Thaletas, and (2) the Rhegian scholar was not himself interested in the problem of genre definition and did not take part in the polemics on paeans. If the author who summarized and developed this polemics (Heraclides) adduced Glaucus’ data as helpful for the discussion, then we must try to restore his train of thought.

The context (as formulated by Ps.-Plutarch) must imply that the peculiarities indicated by Glaucus contradict the possibility of including Thaletas’ works among paeans. One might suppose that the argument against paeans consisted in using cretics (– ∪ –) and paeons (that is, apparently, resolved cretics – ∪ ∪ and ∪ ∪ ∪ –). Indeed, there is evidence that cretic rhythms were typical of hyporchemes (the genre alternative to paeans which is assumed above for Xenodamus, 1134 C).³²

³¹ This can signify that the “use of the Orthian nome” and the composing of aulodic nomes is not incompatible.

³² Anon. Ambros. *De re metrica* p. 225 l. 29 Studemund = Keil 1848, 7 l. 18–22: Ἀμφίμακρος ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τῆς θέσεως, ὥς ἔχων ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν τὰς μακράς. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καλεῖται καὶ Κρητικός, ὥς τῶν Κρητῶν ἐπινοησάντων τὸ εἶδος τοῦ τοιοῦτου ῥυθμοῦ, οἷς καὶ ὑπόρχημα ἀναφέρεται· φιλεῖ δὲ τὰ ὑπορχήματα τούτῳ τῷ ποδὶ καταμετρεῖσθαι. Choeroboscus (*Schol. in Heph. B* 218, 14 and 303, 20 Consbruch) calls the 4th paeon (∪ ∪ ∪ –) ὑπορχηματικός καὶ κρητικός.

This is corroborated by surviving fragments of hyporchemes (Bacch. fr. 15–16 Snell), whereas there are no cretics or paeons κατὰ μέτρον in existing examples of paeans of the classical time.³³

However, there are reasons to doubt this. To begin with, even if the connection of paeans with the dancing five-beat rhythm was not deeply rooted,³⁴ it still looks improbable that the use of cretics and paeons would be *excluded* for paeans. Fragments at our disposal reveal too much rhythmical variety³⁵ to consider the metre as one of the generic features of a paean. The very etymology of the metrical term παίων³⁶ could not but suggest a relationship with paeans. Perhaps it is exactly this etymological tie between a paeon (= cretic) and a paean that provoked speculation about the Cretan origin of paeans and its mythological justification.³⁷ It appears from Ephorus' evidence that Thaletas applied the "Cretan rhythms" to paeans and other songs.³⁸ Limenius, a poet of the Hellenistic times, used cretics κατὰ μέτρον in his paean of 128/7 BC.³⁹

Still more importantly, Heraclides would hardly have needed a reference to Glaucus' authority in order simply to prove the occurrence of cretics or paeons in Thaletas' compositions. Any competent reader or listener could easily realize them without assistance. Glaucus' significant discovery could only be the statement of Thaletas' borrowings from Archilochus and from Olympus. In this case, depending on details that are not known to us, the argument might be e.g. as follows:

³³ Rutherford 2001, 78.

³⁴ Rutherford 2001, 79 considers a possibility (first admitted by Deubner 1919, 395–396; 406) that cretics and paeons were typical of the more ancient form of a paean, perhaps related only to Crete or Delphi. This form might have been echoed/imitated in Hellenistic Delphic paeans (see below n. 39).

³⁵ Rutherford 2001, 78–79: Pindar uses mostly aeolic rhythms with iambic and dactylic insertions and dactyls; there are also dactylo-epitrites and paroemiacs. As for cretic, paeon and bacchius, they are not more numerous than in Pindar's epinicia. Similarly, paeans of later times mostly demonstrate dactylo-epitrites, dactyls and ionics.

³⁶ On etymology s. Christ 1879, 384–385; Deubner 1919, 395. The rhythmical term is first attested in Aristot. *Rhet.* 1409 a 2–21, in the form παϊάν; later the form παίων prevails (with the variant παίων reconstructed in the passage of Ps.-Plutarch: the accent fluctuates, s. LSJ s.v. παϊάν III).

³⁷ Furley–Bremer 2001, I, 91.

³⁸ Ephor. *FGrHist* 70 F 149 = Strab. 10. 4. 16: τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς Κρητικοῖς χρῆσθαι ... οὓς Θάλητα ἀνευρεῖν, ᾧ καὶ τοὺς παιᾶνας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐπιχωρίους ᾠδὰς ἀνατιθέασι.

³⁹ Pöhlmann–West 2001 (= *DAGM*), no. 21; Furley–Bremer 2001, II, 92–94. Analogous is the rhythm of *DAGM* no. 20 (Furley–Bremer 2001, II, 85–86), which is probably also a paean, although the definition of genre is not preserved in its title.

a) *Archilochus composed paeans, but Thaletas diverged from his model, introducing the rhythms not typical of paeans, or of citharody more generally, which he borrowed from Olympus' aulos music.* (This is implausible, since we never hear that paeans were ascribed to Archilochus,⁴⁰ and – as argued above – it is hard to assume that someone thought paeans and cretics quite inappropriate for paeans.)

b) *Although Thaletas used rhythms suitable for paeans, this is not enough – in fact his work is the same as Archilochus' songs, which are not paeans,⁴¹ and furthermore, cretics and paeons occur not only in paeans, but even in the aulos music of Olympus.*

Unfortunately, faced with a lack of evidence (concerning both attributes of paeans compared with other genres and the artistic heritage of Olympus, Archilochus and Thaletas) we are not in a position to establish either what kind of solution to the genre problem one might receive from Glaucus' argument, or whether it was apt for such a solution. Perhaps the extent of our exegetical problems is best explained if we suppose that the quotation from Glaucus did not form an organic part of the original discussion. Remarkably, in the case of Thaletas (the only one of four) we are not even told which alternative genre was ascribed to him. At any rate, Heraclides must have said explicitly that it was up to debate as to whether Thaletas composed paeans, since the compiler could hardly have claimed this on his own part. Yet, whatever use could be made of analyzing elements borrowed by Thaletas, at least additional information that he borrowed his rhythms from no one but Olympus and the borrowing did him good still seems completely irrelevant for any judgments of his genre. On the other hand, this data would perfectly match Polyhistor's book on Phrygia, and the close affinity of Glaucus' passages cited in ch. 7 and ch. 10 makes one assume that Ps.-Plutarch found them quoted together – most probably in Alexander's treatise.

Thus, I believe that in 1134 D–E the compiler interrupted the exposition of Heraclides to insert one more extract from the book of Polyhistor. In doing so he reacted mechanically to the name of Thaletas – just like he did at the beginning of ch. 5, as he came across the name of Terpander and wrote out a passage on Phrygian auletes which was alien to the rest of the section. Perhaps Heraclides did say something on the appropriateness

⁴⁰ The fragment Athen. 5. 180 C = Archiloch. fr. 121 W. (αὐτὸς ἐξάρχων πρὸς αὐλὸν Λέσβιον παιήονα) is by no means a valid proof that this poet had ever composed paeans – one is not even sure that he speaks of himself.

⁴¹ This way of reconstruction is proposed by Barker 2009, 296: the songs of Archilochus “had nothing in common with the solemn or celebratory paean, and were in fact best known for their delight in ribaldry and abuse”.

of Thaletas' cretics to paeans (or hyporchemes), which reminded Ps.-Plutarch of what he read in Polyhistor (who quoted Glaucus) on a similar matter. Thus, he acted in his usual way and inserted information he found on Thaletas without caring if it was relevant for the current discussion. It seems that his clumsy insertion supplanted Heraclides' words and deprived the readers of the possibility to learn what the argument was against defining Thaletas' work as paeans.

A. Barker⁴² drew attention to what he thought was an incongruity in Heraclides' approach. On Polymnestus, Ps.-Plutarch's source hesitated to accept the harmonians' claim because οἱ ἀρχαῖοι said nothing about this issue. This implies that (a) the harmonians based their opinion not on literary evidence, but on something else (presumably on listening and analyzing the music), and (b) the author who summarized the discussion considered conclusions reached by their methods insufficient if they were not supported by archaic written texts. Now, as for Thaletas, Glaucus must have used much the same methods as the harmonians; however, no doubt is expressed on his account. Barker, who believes that all the quotations from Glaucus in Ps.-Plutarch come from the work of Heraclides,⁴³ wonders why he found the Rhegian scholar trustworthy on this point and supposes that he had some additional reasons unknown to us. This incongruity disappears if we assume that Glaucus' argument on Thaletas was never considered in Heraclides' book.

As for the last quotation from Glaucus (1134 E, p. 9, 15–16), it only deals with the relevant dating of Thaletas and Xenocritus and so could occur in either Heraclides or Alexander. Still its proximity to the previous quotation, the comparison to Thaletas (who must have featured in the book on Phrygia due to his supposed dependence on Olympus) and the lack of connection with the argument on genres make me believe that it was taken from the same source as 1133 E–F and 1134 D–E – that is, from Polyhistor. In this case Xenocritus was perhaps yet another musician to whom Glaucus ascribed some borrowings from Olympus. Once again, the compiler mechanically inserted an additional note (irrelevant to the current discussion) concerning a person just mentioned.

To sum up, I ascribe to Alexander Polyhistor the following passages in Ps.-Plutarch: ch. 5, p. 5, 3–11; ch. 7, p. 6, 21 – 7, 18; ch. 10, p. 9, 4–11 and 15–16. In describing Phrygian influence on Greek music Alexander was much obliged to Glaucus of Rhegium, so it was he who transmitted to Ps.-Plutarch all Glaucus' considerations dealing with Olympus. Heraclides,

⁴² Barker 2009, 296–297.

⁴³ Barker 2009, 279–280.

in his turn, was also acquainted with Glaucus' famous work and used it at least for chronological matters. I suppose that in ch. 4, p. 4, 25 – 5, 2 = ch. 5, p. 5, 14–15 Ps.-Plutarch borrowed Glaucus' calculations from Heraclides.⁴⁴

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⁴⁴ I am grateful to those of my students who helped me to understand the problems an inexperienced person like Ps.-Plutarch can face when summarizing scholarly works.

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Further arguments are adduced in support of the thesis (see *Hyperboreus* 27: 2 [2021] 266–290) that Ps.-Plutarch extensively used the “Collection of Information about Phrygia” by Alexander Polyhistor for his history of music in *De mus.* ch. 3–10, and it is in Polyhistor’s work that he found all the quotations from Glaucus of Rhegium concerning the impact of Olympus.

The acquaintance of Ps.-Plutarch with the work of Glaucus at first hand is dismissed on the following grounds: (a) the way of introducing his quotations such as using the indefinite pronoun *τινι* (p. 4, 27 Ziegler 1959) and making Glaucus’ statement governed by Ἀλέξανδρος ... ἔφη (p. 5, 3–4), and (b) Ps.-Plutarch’s total inability to insert extant data logically into the argument (as seen throughout the first section of his treatise), whereas some references to Glaucus do form an organic part of the discussion.

Glaucus’ statement of Olympus’ influence on Thaletas in ch. 10 is so similar to that of his influence on Stesichorus in ch. 7 that they must have belonged together in the original work and were probably adduced together in Ps.-Plutarch’s source. Although on the whole the matters discussed in ch. 9–10 are unlikely to have been taken from a treatise about Phrygia, Glaucus’ quotations concerning Thaletas and Xenocritus seem to make no contribution to the current discussion on genres. Thus, the compiler might simply have been inspired by coming across the same names, leading him to insert the information from Alexander’s work mechanically (the same was the case with the reference to Terpander that prompted a rather irrelevant insertion of Polyhistor’s data in ch. 5).

Автор приводит новые аргументы в защиту предположения (см. *Hyperboreus* 27: 2 [2021] 266–290), что Псевдо-Плутарх в разделе своего трактата, посвященном истории музыки (*De mus.* гл. 3–10), активно использовал “Свод данных о Фригии” Александра Полигистора и именно оттуда почерпнул все фрагменты Главка из Регия, посвященные влиянию Олимпа.

Непосредственное знакомство Псевдо-Плутарха с книгой Главка отрицается на следующих основаниях: (а) форма введения цитат – употребление местоимения *τινι* (p. 4, 27 Ziegler 1959) и оформление цитаты из Главка как косвенной речи, зависящей от Ἀλέξανδρος ... ἔφη (p. 5, 3–4); (б) неспособность самого Псевдо-Плутарха (которую он многократно демонстрирует в начальном разделе трактата) развивать аргументацию своих источников, подкрепляя ее уместными цитатами из других авторов, между тем как некоторые – но не все – ссылки на Главка органично встроены в ход рассуждения.

Тезисы Главка о влиянии Олимпа на Фалета (гл. 10) и на Стесихора (гл. 7) настолько схожи между собой, что, скорее всего, они относились к одному пассажиру в его труде и, возможно, были приведены вместе в источнике Псевдо-Плутарха. В целом материал гл. 9–10 едва ли может восходить к трактату о Фригии. Но цитаты из Главка, посвященные Фалету и Ксенокриту, как кажется, не имеют отношения к дискуссии о жанрах, которая излагается в этих главах. Очевидно, встретив в книге Александра те же имена музыкантов, что у Гераклида, компилятор механически включил данные Главка о них в свой текст (таким же образом сведения из Полигистора о Терпандре, не связанные с темой рассуждений Гераклида, появились в гл. 5).

Arina Starikova

THE STATUS OF IDUMEA
IN EARLY HELLENISM
(Diod. 19. 95. 2; 19. 98. 1)

Describing the Dead Sea, Diodorus situated it in the Nabataean country (Diod. 2. 48. 6) and in Idumea (Diod. 19. 98. 1):

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Δημήτριος λαβὼν ὁμήρους καὶ τὰς ὁμολογηθείσας δωρεὰς ἀνέζευξεν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας· διατείνας δὲ σταδίους τριακοσίους κατεστρατοπέδευσε πλησίον τῆς Ἀσφαλτίτιδος λίμνης, ἥς τὴν φύσιν οὐκ ἄξιον παραδραμεῖν ἀνεπισήμαντον. κεῖται γὰρ κατὰ μέσσην τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, τῷ μὲν μήκει παρεκτείνουσα σταδίους μάλιστά που πεντακοσίους, τῷ δὲ πλάτει περὶ ἐξήκοντα. τὸ δ' ὕδωρ ἔχει διάπικρον καὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν δυσῶδες, ὥστε μήτ' ἰχθὺν δύνασθαι τρέφειν μήτ' ἄλλο τῶν καθ' ὕδατος εἰωθότων ζῴων εἶναι.

Demetrius received hostages and the gifts that had been agreed upon and departed from the rock. After marching for three hundred stades, he camped near the Asphalt Lake [i.e., the Dead Sea], the nature of which ought not to be passed over without remark. It lies along the middle of the satrapy of Idumea, extending in length about five hundred stades and in width about sixty. Its water is very bitter and of exceedingly foul odor, so that it cannot support fish or any of the other animals that commonly live in water.¹

In this passage, Diodorus called Idumea a satrapy (κατὰ μέσσην τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας); however, just before, he had denoted Idumea as an eparchy (Diod. 19. 95. 2):

...διανύσαντες δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἐπαρχίας ἐν ἡμέραις τρισὶ καὶ νυξὶ ταῖς ἴσαις σταδίους δισχιλίους καὶ διακοσίους...

...covering the twenty-two hundred stades from the eparchy of Idumea in three days and the same number of nights...²

¹ Transl. R. M. Geer (Loeb edition), slightly modified (Geer 1954, 99–101).

² Transl. R. M. Geer, slightly modified: in Geer “district of Idumaea” (Geer 1954, 91).

R. M. Geer remarked only the mistake in Idumea's length and did not comment on the difference in the status of Idumea.³ Referring to H. Bengtson, F. Bizière said that instead of ἐπαρχία, the text should have had ὑπαρχία,⁴ an administrative unit smaller than ἐπαρχία, and, in addition, that Bengtson supposed that the use of the term satrapy testifies to two different sources, one of which is earlier than the other. Besides, in Diod. 19. 98. 1 there is the word τῆς Ἰδουμαίας only in the manuscript F (Laurentianus 70, 12, saec. XV); it is absent in the earlier manuscript R (Parisinus gr. 1665, saec. XI).⁵ From this, H. Bengtson concluded that τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας was a gloss of the manuscript F.⁶ As M. Stern assumed in the edition of ancient texts on Jews and Judaism, the designation of Idumea as an eparchy could go back to Hieronymus of Cardia, one of Diodorus' sources, and Diodorus himself called Idumea a satrapy, a later Seleucid term.⁷ In a similar publication of ancient texts about Jews, T. Reinach understood the term "satrapy of Idumea" in the broad sense of Idumea proper, Judea, Moab, and Perea.⁸ In addition, Diodorus is the only ancient author who pointed to the status of Idumea *expressis verbis*, and his testimony is contradictory. There are also no

³ Geer 1954, 91; 99.

⁴ Bizière 2002, 166 (Collection Budé edition): "Bengtson <...> pense que le term officiel devrait être ὑπαρχία, c.-à-d. la subdivision d'une satrapie". However, this is a misunderstanding because H. Bengtson remarked that in Diod. 19. 95. 2, ἐπαρχία was not used as an official term. He did not propose to correct the reading ἐπαρχία to ὑπαρχία (Bengtson 1944, 35–36).

⁵ Bizière 2002, 133.

⁶ "Il considère, d'autre part, que, si l'on trouve τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας en 19, 98, 1, il faut plutôt y voir une glose de F que l'indice de l'existence de deux sources, dont l'une serait très postérieure, l'Idumée n'étant devenue une satrapie qu'en 198 a.C." (Bizière 2002, 166). "...die Charakteristik Idumäas als Satrapie ist nämlich höchstwahrscheinlich nichts als eine später in den Diodortext gedrungene Glosse; lassen doch die Handschriften R und X, m.E. mit Recht, τῆς Ἰδουμαίας hinter τὴν σατραπείαν überhaupt fort; denn mit der bei Diodor erscheinenden Satrapie kann doch wohl nur das übrigens c. 94, 1 genannte Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη als Ganzes gemeint sein, nicht die Landschaft Idumäa" (Bengtson 1944, 35–36).

⁷ "But how are we to account for the fact that Diodorus, after having called Idumaea an eparchy, calls it a satrapy? It may be that the explanation lies in Diodorus' indifference to exact administrative nomenclature. Still, much is to be said for Tarn's view, that the term in 95:2 derives directly from Hieronymus, while here [19. 98. 1] we have Diodorus' own remark... In that case, Diodorus would reflect later Seleucid terminology" (Stern 1976, 178–179). M. Marciak retells Stern's opinion erroneously: "Stern suggested that the idea of Idumea as a satrapy may go back to Diodorus' source (Hieronymus of Cardia, who took part in the campaigns against Petra), while the status of Idumea as an eparchy may be Diodorus' own remark, which reflects the later Seleucid terminology" (Marciak 2018, 881).

⁸ Reinach 1895, 73.

mentions of Idumea in Greek inscriptions. In Latin authors, *Idumea* occurs in Pliny (5. 67; 5. 68; 6. 213), also in the form *Idume* in Lucan. 3. 216, Val. Flacc. 1. 12, Serv. *Comm. in Georg.* 3. 12, and as *Idyme* in Stat. *Silv.* 1. 6. 13; 3. 2. 138; 3. 3. 140; 5. 2. 139, in Sil. Ital. 3. 600, in the form *Idymaea* in Iuv. 8. 160; however, Latin authors (except Pliny) often used the toponym “Idumaea” instead of “Iudaea”.⁹

As we see, there are paleographic problems, the question of Diodorus’ source, and the diverse and unclear administrative division of the Seleucid Empire. Let’s begin with its administrative units and the history of Idumea (Edom).

According to Assyrian inscriptions, in the seventh and the sixth centuries BC, the Edomite kingdom was situated south of the Dead Sea.¹⁰ In 552 BC, it was abolished by Nabonidus. It is not known what status Edom had in the Persian period; there are two versions. On the one hand, it could be a part of Arabia and under the control of the Qedarite Arabs;¹¹ at the same time, according to another opinion, Edom was a district of the Achaemenid Empire.¹² However, Edom probably was not an administrative

⁹ Appelbaum 2009, 8–9; Marciak 2018, 897–903.

¹⁰ Levin 2007, 240–241. Flavius described the Idumean land so (*Ant. Iud.* 5. 81–82): κληρώσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ἡ μὲν Ἰουδα λαχοῦσα πᾶσαν αἰρεῖται τὴν καθύπερθεν Ἰδουμαίαν παρατείνουσιν μὲν ἄχρι τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, τὸ δ’ εὗρος ἕως τῆς Σοδομίτιδος λίμνης καθήκουσαν· ἐν δὲ τῷ κλήρῳ τούτῳ πόλεις ἦσαν Ἀσκάλων καὶ Γάζα. Σεμεωνὶς δέ, δευτέρα γὰρ ἦν, ἔλαχε τῆς Ἰδουμαίας τὴν Αἰγύπτῳ τε καὶ τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ πρόσρορον οὖσαν – “When, then, he had cast lots, that of Judah obtained for its lot the whole of upper Idumea, extending (in length) to Jerusalem and in breadth reaching down to the lake of Sodom [the Dead Sea]; within this allotment were the cities of Ascalon and Gaza. That of Simeon, being the second, obtained the portion of Idumea bordering on Egypt and Arabia” (transl. Thackeray–Marcus 1950, 39). Cf. Ptol. *Geogr.* 5. 16. 10: <Ἰδουμαίας>, ἥτις ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἀπὸ δύσεως τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ.

¹¹ Levin 2007, 244–246; 249–251.

¹² This version is based on Diodorus’ designation of Idumea as a satrapy and eparchy: “Idumea is still called both an eparchy and a satrapy by Diodorus (19. 95. 2 and 98. 1) in the Hellenistic era, suggesting that it was a former administrative district of the Persian Achaemenid Empire” (Graf 1997, 142). Similar Eph’al: “Though Diodorus deals with the beginning of the Hellenistic period, it is possible to assume from his words an identical administrative unit during the Achaemenid period, by what name we do not know” (Eph’al 1984, 199). Beliaev and Merpert said that the province of Idumea was included in the Persian administrative system (Beliaev–Merpert 2007 [Л. А. Беляев, Н. Я. Мерперт, *От библейских древностей к христианским*], 21; 59). A. Kindler also talked about the satrapy and the hyparchy in this passage of Diodorus’ (“Only Diodorus mentions Idumea as a satrapy or hyparchy during the reign of Antigonos I <...> It is also likely that the division of this area into districts in the Persian period was taken over in the division of the country into hyparchies under the Ptolemies” (Kindler 1974, 74–75).

unit in the Persian period, because neither stamps nor coins emitted by the province have been found.¹³ The population in Edom of the late Persian period was mixed: Arab, Idumean, West Semitic, Judahite, and Phoenician names have been found on ostraca.¹⁴ The Qedarite Arabs were replaced in their turn by the Nabataeans.¹⁵ The Edomites were perhaps partly assimilated by the Nabataeans:¹⁶ cf. the fragment of Hieronymus of Cardia, who placed the Dead Sea in the Nabataean land (*FGrHist* 154 F5, Diod. 2. 48. 6: ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ναβαταίων [...] λίμνη τε μεγάλη φέρουσα πολλὴν ἄσφαλτον); Strabo (16. 2. 34) even calls the Idumeans Nabataeans.¹⁷ The territory of the “so-called satrapy” of Idumea/Edom in the Persian and Hellenistic periods differed from the area of Late Iron Age Edom (see Fig. 1).¹⁸

Testimonies on Idumea from Hellenistic times are also meager. In 332 BC, Alexander the Great besieged Gaza and destroyed it (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 25–27); after his death in 323 BC, territory of Syria and Phoenicia (and perhaps Idumea) changed hands many times during the Syrian wars: Phoenicia and Coele-Syria were under the control of Ptolemy I (Diod. 18. 43; 19. 80. 3–4; 19. 84. 8; 19. 85. 4; 19. 93; App. *Syr.* 52; Paus. 1. 6. 4; Flav. *Ant. Iud.* 12. 1) and Antigonus Monophthalmus (Diod. 19. 94–95; App. *Syr.* 53; Paus. 1. 6. 5), who tried to stop the Nabataean asphalt trade with Egypt in 312 BC (it was entrusted to Hieronymus of Cardia: Diod. 19. 100. 1–3). At that time, according to Y. Levin, Idumea appeared as an administrative unit; he bases this only on Diodorus’ definition of

¹³ Levin 2020, 4.

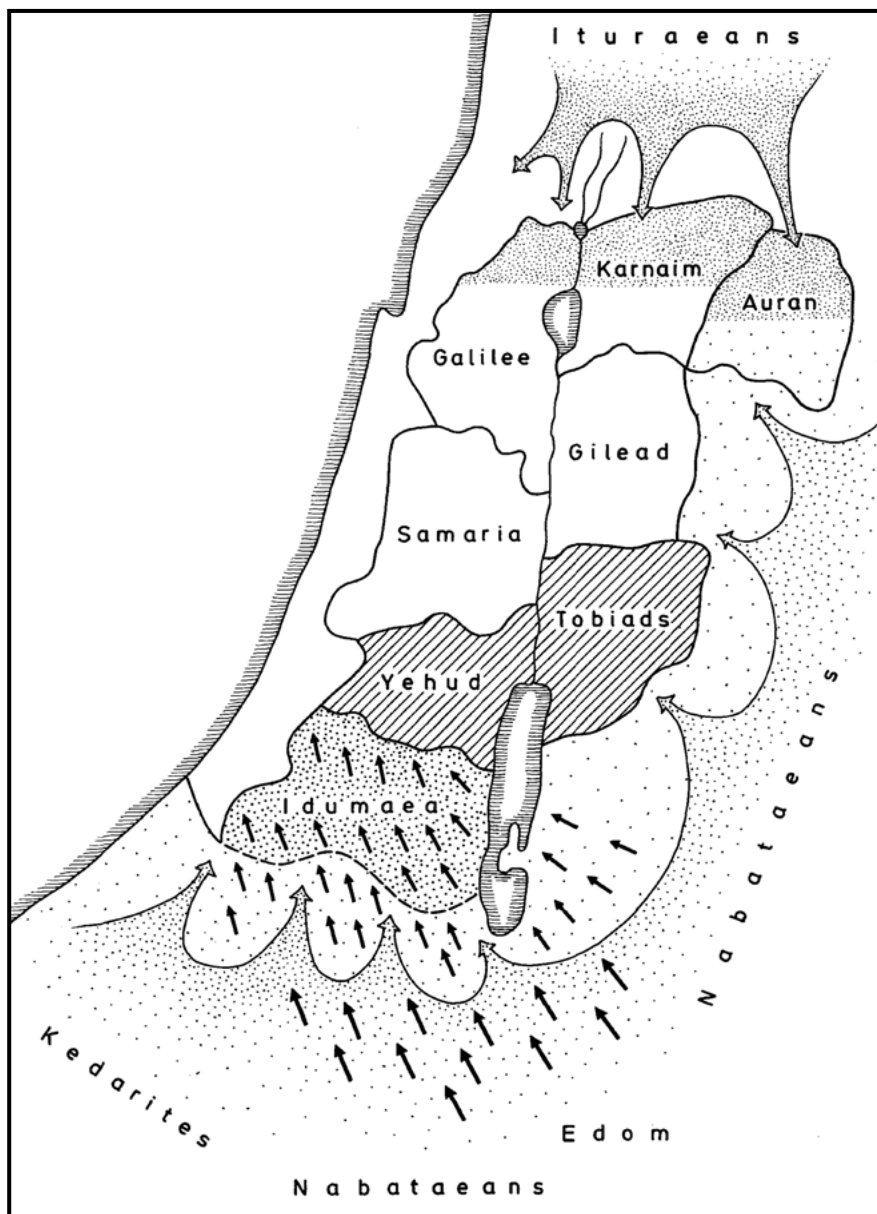
¹⁴ Kloner–Stern 2007, 141–143; Stern 2007, 212.

¹⁵ Levin 2020, 3.

¹⁶ Levin 2007, 244–245.

¹⁷ Strab. 16. 2. 34: Ναβαταῖοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι, κατὰ στάσιν δ' ἐκπεσόντες ἐκεῖθεν προσεχώρησαν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τῶν νομίμων τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις ἐκοινώνησαν – “The Idumaeans are Nabataeans, but owing to a sedition they were banished from there, joined the Judaeans, and shared the same customs with them” (transl. Jones 1954, 281).

¹⁸ Edom is the trans-Jordan land of the Edomites, and the Greek-Roman Idumaea “is generally located in the inland of southern Palestine. The region, according to the consensual view, is bordered by the Negebite desert on the south, Philistia on the west, Judah on the north, and the Dead Sea and the trans-Jordanian mountain ridge on the east” (Fantalkin–Tal 2012, 134–135). The Septuagint uses both terms, “Edom” and “Idumaea” (Levin 2020, 1). Flavius (*Ant. Iud.* 2. 1; 2. 3) used the term Ἀδωμος instead of Edom (Marciaik 2017, 172). On the broken continuity of the Edomite settlements during the Persian period, see Levin 2015, 188–189.



*Fig. 1. The Idumaeen and Arab penetration during the Persian period (6–4 centuries BC)*¹⁹

¹⁹ The map from Kasher 1988, 5.

Idumea as a satrapy and eparchy/hyparchy.²⁰ Then Idumea seems to come to Seleucus I (App. *Syr.* 55).²¹ Later, in 112/111–108/107, Idumea was taken over by John Hyrcanus, who converted its inhabitants to Judaism (Flav. *Ant. Iud.* 13. 257; *Bell. Iud.* 1. 63).²² In 63 BC, Idumea and Judea were conquered by Rome and became parts of the province of Syria under the Hasmoneans (Flav. *Ant. Iud.* 14. 4. 4; *Bell. Iud.* 1. 156).²³ After the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD, Idumea was included in Judea.²⁴

Some have assumed, based on Zenon papyri, that Idumea was a toparchy of Ptolemaic Egypt in the 3rd century.²⁵ The Ptolemaic tax collector Zenon traveled from Gaza to Maresha (Greek Marisa) and Adora (Adoreon) in 259 BC (see Fig. 2).²⁶

Y. Levin thinks that Idumea was first mentioned as an administrative unit in the Zenon papyri,²⁷ however, Idumea actually appears in *P. Cair. Zen.* I 59015 V without an administrative status. At the same time, Flavius mentions the toparchies of Samaria, Galilee, Perea (Flav. *Ant. Iud.* 13. 50), Jaffa (*Ant. Iud.* 13. 125), and Idumea (*Bell. Iud.* 3. 54–56);²⁸

²⁰ “The new order was in place: the Qedarites had been replaced by the Nabataeans, and the province of Idumea had been born” (Levin 2007, 252). In another paper, Levin calls Idumea a hyparchy: “When the Qedarites lost their control of the region, it was the ‘Idumean’ identity that prevailed – when the area was organized as a ‘hyparchy’ in the early Hellenistic period, the name that appears in multiple sources is Idumea” (Levin 2020, 18; see also Levin 2012, 37). Cf. Levin 2015, 192: “Antigonos, in reaction, mounted an expedition ‘from the *eparchia* of Idumea’ to the land of the ‘Arabs who are called Nabataeans’. Since the Qedarites had disappeared from the area, the southern hills and the Shephelah were now re-organized as an *eparchia* or *hyparchia*”. Similar Fantalkin and Tal: “...it is worthwhile to remember that the creation of the Idumean provincial district cannot be traced before the fourth century BCE” (Fantalkin–Tal 2012, 148; see also Kasher 1988, 6).

²¹ Cherikover 2010 [В. Чериковер, *Эллинистическая цивилизация и евреи*], 77–84.

²² Levin 2007, 244; Graf 1997, 142; Marciak 2017, 181.

²³ Levin 2015, 200; Hübner 1992, 3819.

²⁴ Hübner 1992, 3820.

²⁵ Bryce 2009, 329: “In C3 Idumaea was one of the toparchies (external administrative districts) of the Ptolemaic empire, and in 40 it became a toparchy of Herod the Great, whose father Antipater had been a prominent Idumaeon”; see also Graf 1997, 142.

²⁶ Levin 2015, 189; Cherikover 2010, 93–97. See the map of Zenon’s trip in Harrison 1994, 104.

²⁷ “The earliest reference to Idumea as an administrative unit can be found in the Zenon papyri from Cairo” (Levin 2015, 189; Levin 2012, 25).

²⁸ ...αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ μετ’ αὐτὴν διήρηνται τὰς τοπαρχίας. Γοφνὰ δευτέρα καὶ μετὰ ταύτην Ἀκραβετά, Θαμνὰ πρὸς ταύταις καὶ Λύδδα, Ἀμμασοῦς καὶ Πέλλη καὶ Ἰδουμαία καὶ Ἐνγαδδαὶ καὶ Ἡρώδειον καὶ Ἱεριχοῦς, μεθ’ ἃς Ἰάμνεια καὶ Ἰόπη τῶν

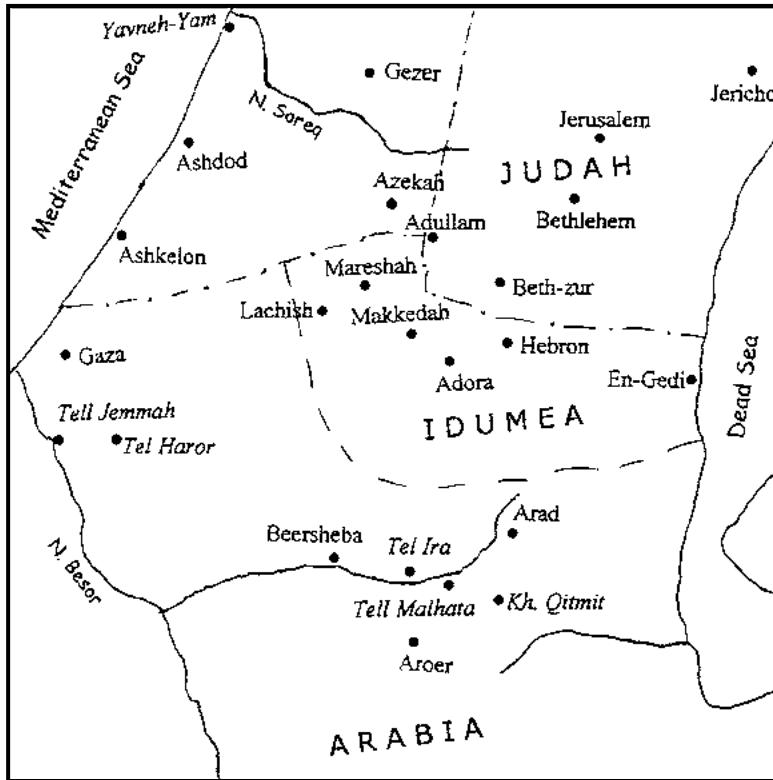


Fig. 2. Idumea in 312 BC²⁹

so, Idumea was a toparchy in the Roman period.³⁰ In post-Herodian times, Idumea was divided into two units: the upper, or greater Idumea (Flav. *Bell. Iud.* 4. 552; 4. 511) and the eastern Idumea, or the toparchy Ein-Gedi (Flav. *Bell. Iud.* 3. 55).³¹ However, Pliny (5. 14) omitted Idumea in the list of the toparchies of Judea; Flavius is assumed to describe the

περιοίκων ἀφηγούνται, καὶ τὰ ταύταις ἢ τε Γαμαλιτικὴ καὶ Γαυλανίτις Βαταναία τε καὶ Τραχωνίτις, αἱ καὶ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας εἰσὶ μοῖραι – “The others were divided into toparchies: Gophna was the second and after it Akrabatta, after them Thamna, and Lydda, and Emmaus, and Pella, and Idumea, and Engaddi, and Herodium, and Jericho; and after them came Jamnia and Joppa, as presiding over the neighboring people; and besides these there was the region of Gamala, and Gaulonitis, and Batanea, and Trachonitis, which are also parts of the kingdom of Agrippa” (transl. W. Whiston, 1830, slightly modified).

²⁹ The map from Levin 2007, 252.

³⁰ Hübner 1992, 3819.

³¹ Hübner 1992, 3819; Graf 1997, 142.

administrative division before 70 BC, and Pliny, on the contrary, after 70 BC.³² According to Z. Safrai, Idumea was not a regular toparchy, but consisted of several toparchies: Beth-Zur, Nezib, Hebron, Adoraim (Adoreon), Daroma, and perhaps something else.³³ The term *τοπαρχία* occurs very often in Flavius, also once in an excerpt from Diodorus (Exc. Escor. p. 11 F., p. VIII M. = Diod. 7. 14. 1), once in Strabo (17. 1. 3), in Maccabees I (Mach. 1. 11. 28), in Eusebius (*Demonstr. ev.* 8. prooem. 3; *Comm. in Isaiam* 1. 26; 1. 62; 1. 72; *De laud. Const.* 16. 2; 16. 3; *Comm. in psalm.* 23. 412), and in other Christian authors. In inscriptions, *τοπαρχία* is found only in Egypt (*OGIS* 654, *OGIS* 669, *SB* 14: 11938, 1).³⁴ On papyri, the term is also found very often.

As regards the administrative units, according to W. W. Tarn, the Seleucid Empire was divided into satrapies (the largest administrative units), which were divided into eparchies, and eparchies in turn into hyparchies. In time, the satrapies gave up the leading position to the eparchies. W. W. Tarn also speaks of the using of the term “eparchy” in later sources: “...the Alexander-historians know nothing about eparchies; they do very occasionally use an eparchy name, but that again is probably only the common case of late writers using the accustomed nomenclature of a later day”.³⁵ Hence, the satrapy in Diod. 19. 98. 1 could have been borrowed from Diodorus’ source, and the eparchy could have originated with Diodorus (as M. Marciak considers, see n. 7, M. Stern supposed conversely).

M. Marciak noted that Seleucid satrapies were large administrative units, which Idumea had never been; but the term “satrapy” could have been used not technically, but rather “metaphorically” or “colloquially”.³⁶ Thus, Posidonius mentioned four satrapies in Coele-Syria (*FGrHist* 87 F 65; Strab. 16. 2. 4):

οικείως δὲ τῇ τετραπόλει καὶ εἰς σατραπείας διήρητο τέτταρας ἢ Σελευκίς, ὥς φησι Ποσειδώνιος, εἰς ὅσας καὶ ἡ Κοίλη Συρία...

Appropriately to the Tetrapolis, Seleucis was also divided into four satrapies, as Poseidonius says, the same number into which Coele-Syria was divided...³⁷

³² Bourgel–Porat 2019, 195–196.

³³ Safrai 1981, 34; Bourgel–Porat 2019, 198.

³⁴ *OGIS* 654 is a Greek-Latin inscription, in which there is not an equivalent for the term *τοπαρχία* in the Latin part.

³⁵ Tarn 1938, 1–2.

³⁶ Marciak 2018, 881.

³⁷ Transl. H. L. Jones (Jones 1954, 241).

By “satrapies”, Posidonius means the smaller provinces, among them possibly Idumea.³⁸ L. R. Shehadeh assumed that the satrapal system was introduced and perhaps these satrapies were Phoenicia, Coele-Syria proper, Idumea, and an unknown province in the place of Palestine.³⁹ E. Bickerman, on the contrary, considered that Posidonius used the term “satrapy” by mistake instead of *meris*, a smaller administrative unit (μερίς).⁴⁰ M. Stern tried to reconcile both versions and named two Idumeas, Idumea proper as a *meris* and a larger area as a satrapy.⁴¹ J. Bourgel and R. Porat suppose that *meris* of Idumea was divided into two toparchies, Idumea and Ein-Gedi, which were added to the *meris* of Judea.⁴² Besides, satrapies were divided into different units in different parts; so, into hyparchies in Asia Minor, *merides* in Coele-Syria, and eparchies in Asia, which in turn included *topoi*, *nomoi*, and other units, depending on the region.⁴³

In the different periods, perhaps satrapies were administrative units of different status and size. The sources often confuse administrative units; thus, Suda equates satrapy with eparchy (σ 153: <Σατραπεία> ἐπαρχία). Appian reported about 72 satrapies under Seleucus I (*Syr.* 62: Σατραπείαι δὲ ἦσαν ὑπ’ αὐτῷ δύο καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· τοσαύτης ἐβασίλευε γῆς), since he confused satrapies and smaller units – apparently hyparchies.⁴⁴

³⁸ Similarly Stern: “It would not be too far-fetched to suppose that Idumaea was among the four satrapies alluded to by Posidonius” (Stern 1976, 179).

³⁹ Shehadeh 2011, 20.

⁴⁰ Bickerman, 1985, 200.

⁴¹ Stern 1976, 179: “Some difficulty is still attached to the statement that the Dead Sea was situated in the middle of the satrapy of Idumaea. We may explain it as an inaccuracy on the part of Diodorus, but it is equally possible that, according to the Seleucid division, the satrapy of Hellenistic Idumaea included the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, though we have no information to that effect from other sources. Thus, the satrapy of Idumaea was a much larger unit than the *meris* of Idumaea proper. This conjecture obviates the necessity for Bengtson’s suggestion [Bengtson 1944, 35–36] that we omit the words τῆς Ἰδουμαίας after κατὰ μέσσην τὴν σατραπείαν, in accordance with MSS R and X, where it is implied that the satrapy included the entire province of Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη, mentioned before in 94:1”.

⁴² Bourgel–Porat 2019, 197–198.

⁴³ Smirnov 2013 [C. B. Смирнов, *Государство Селевка I (политика, экономика, общество)*], 162–164.

⁴⁴ Tarn 1927, 111: “The thickly-peopled Northern Syria became four satrapies, with four later for southern Syria, probably Damascus and the Lebanon with Phoenicia, Samaria and Galilee with the coast, Transjordan, and Idumaea, the arrangement perhaps fluctuating; Judaea was a tributary priest-state under Seleucid suzerainty. Some 25–28 satrapies can be made out, including the farther east; Appian’s statement that there were 72 is a confusion with the hyparchies, for each satrapy for administrative purposes divided into several districts under hyparchs, subordinate to the general, which possibly represented the Persian chiliarchies”. See also Bengtson 1944, 19–20.

S. V. Smirnov supposes that it is impossible to ascertain the exact number of Seleucus' satrapies, because of differences in terms and changes of borders, and the 72 satrapies mentioned by Appian probably were the smaller territories that appeared later, under Antiochus III.⁴⁵

Besides, Idumea was governed by a *strategos* (Flav. *Bell. Iud.* 2. 566),⁴⁶ meaning that it was a smaller administrative unit than “normal” satrapy.⁴⁷

What is also focused on is a disposition of the Dead Sea in the middle of the satrapy of Idumea (Diod. 19. 98. 1). Y. Levin, like M. Stern, supposed that the term “satrapy” in this passage was a geographical reference, not an administrative unit.⁴⁸

In our opinion, the “satrapy” of Idumea was not an official, but a colloquial usage of the term: the territory of Idumea was not included in either the Persian or the Hellenistic list of satrapies. The designation of Idumea as a satrapy can go back to one of Diodorus' sources, but to Posidonius, not to Hieronymus of Cardia (as M. Stern and M. Marciak think). In Hieronymus' fragments, the term *σατραπεία* does not occur, and when describing the Dead Sea, Hieronymus located it in the Nabataean land. On the other hand, Posidonius, although he did not mention Idumea, reported on the satrapies in Coele-Syria, which must have been rather small, one of them being Idumea. Even if these administrative units were called *merides* or hyparchies officially, Posidonius' fragment preserves the term *σατραπεία* in relation to the territory adjacent to the Dead Sea. Besides, the description of the Dead Sea in Diodorus (19. 98–99), in the passage where the satrapy of Idumea is mentioned, goes back to Posidonius. The descriptions of the Dead Sea in Diodorus and in Posidonius (his fragment was preserved by Strabo, *FGrHist* 87 F 80 = Strab. 16. 2. 42) display many common traits, and they are in the same order (the length of the Dead Sea, the asphalt eruption, the comparison of asphalt to a hill/island, metals tarnishing because of fumes from the Dead Sea, the description of the process of asphalt extraction).⁴⁹

As for the second administrative unit mentioned by Diodorus in 19. 95, *ἐπαρχία*, this term occurs many times in Diodorus (4. 71. 2; 17. 65. 2; 19.

⁴⁵ Smirnov 2013, 160–161.

⁴⁶ Graf 1997, 142.

⁴⁷ Bikerman 1985, 188–189.

⁴⁸ Levin 2007, 244: “One should note that the second reference [19. 98. 1] is geographical, meant to elucidate the position of the ‘Asphaltic Lake’ (the Dead Sea), and cannot be taken as a positive evidence that the political unit of Idumea already existed at this time”; see also Levin 2012, 25; Levin 2015, 189; Levin 2020, 3.

⁴⁹ Starikova 2021, 305–306.

44. 4; 19. 95. 2; 22. 10. 6; 31. 19. 1; 33. 2. 1; 34/35. 2. 3; 34/35. 2. 31; 34/35. 25. 1; 36. 3. 2; 36. 3. 5; 37. 2. 6; 37. 3. 5; 37. 5. 1–2; 37. 8. 1; 37. 8. 3; 37. 10. 3; 37. 29. 2; 38/39. 8. 4; 40. 4. 1) and also in other authors (very often in Plutarch, Strabo, Flavius, in fragments of Posidonius, in Eusebius, Epiphanius, John Malalas, John Lydus, and in Constantine Porphyrogenitus; fewer in Dio Cassius, Polybius, Aelius Herodianus, and others). In inscriptions, ἐπαρχία also occurs often, and is meant to include the regions of Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Arabia (*SEG* 7: 327; 27: 1019; 30: 1711; 30: 1713; 35: 1586; *IGLSyr* 13, 1: 9417; 13, 1: 9418; 21, 2: 74; 21, 2: 119; 21, 2: 156; 21, 5.1: 2; 21, 5.1: 699).⁵⁰ The word is also found in the form ἐπαρχεία, for example, in a bilingual Greek-Nabataean inscription from Madaba, 125 AD,⁵¹ and in the Babatha archive from the Dead Sea region (*P. Babatha* 16 and 17).⁵² H. Bengtson suggested that ἐπαρχία in Diod. 19. 95. 2 and elsewhere is a Greek synonym for Latin *provincia*.⁵³

But the word ὑπαρχία occurs only in John of Damascus, in *Epistula ad Theophilum imperatorem de sanctis et venerandis imaginibus*.⁵⁴ In inscriptions, the word occurs twice, in *St. Pont.* III 66 (from Pontus) and in *BCH* 15 (1891) 556, 38 (from Phrygia). It is also used in the form ὑπαρχεία in two inscriptions from Media, in *IK Estremo Oriente* 454 and 455. The term does not occur on papyri.

⁵⁰ Nevertheless, M. Stern considered that this term did not occur in connection with any part of Hellenistic Palestine (Stern 1976, 179). Moreover, M. Marciak remarks that the term ἐπαρχία is not attested epigraphically (Marciak 2018, 882).

⁵¹ The inscription mentions the eparchy (HPRK) of Bosra: τὸ μνημα / ἐποίησεν ἔτους τρίτου ἐπαρχείας – BŠNT TLT LHPRK BŠR – “in the 3rd year of the eparchy of Bosra” (Milik 1958, 243–246).

⁵² Bukharin 2021 [*Вестник Санкт-Петербургского Университета. История*], 440.

⁵³ Bengtson 1944, 35: “So kann ἐπαρχία hier bei Strabo [Strab. 16. 2. 3] nichts anderes bedeuten als *provincia*, d.h. es ist als das griechische Äquivalent dieses römischen Terminus aufzufassen. Diese Feststellung legt jedenfalls die Vermutung nahe, dass auch die für die Elymaïs von Strabo bezeugten Bezirke, die ἐπαρχίαι, nicht mit ihrem offiziellen Namen, sondern nur im allgemeinen Sinne von ‘Bezirk’, ‘Provinz’ in dieser Weise bezeichnet worden sind. Nicht anders steht es bei Diodor mit dem Begriff ἐπαρχία. Auch dieser nennt eine Landschaft wie die Rhagiane eine ἐπαρχία von Medien; hier ist also mit ἐπαρχία gewiss die Unterabteilung einer Satrapie, wie ich glaube, eine μερίς, gemeint”. *Ibid.* 36: “...dass die Rhagiane und Idumäa zu den Zeiten des Antigonos Monophthalmos verwaltungstechnische Einheiten, und zwar Unterbezirke gebildet haben; ob für diese aber die Bezeichnung ‘ἐπαρχία’ die offizielle gewesen ist, erscheint mir jedenfalls sehr fraglich”.

⁵⁴ *Patrologia Graeca* 95. 368 Migne: Καὶ δὴ Λέοντος πατρικίου καὶ στρατηγοῦ τῆς τῶν Ανατολικῶν ὑπαρχίας...

As for paleographic problems, M. Marciak proposes to correct *ἐπαρχία* in Diod. 19. 95. 2 with *ὑπαρχία*. He points to the possible paleographic mistake.⁵⁵ In fact, this corruption could have happened because of itacism. Y. Levin, M. Hengel, and I. R. Tantlevsky also call Idumea a hyparchy.⁵⁶ However, it seems preferable to keep the reading *ἐπαρχία*, because this term is much more common, both in Diodorus and in inscriptions. If the designation of Idumea as *σατραπεία* goes back to Posidonius, the determination as a *ἐπαρχία* could belong to Diodorus himself. U. Hübner included Idumea in the Seleucid satrapy Syria-Phoenicia,⁵⁷ and it could be a part of satrapy in the status of an eparchy.

As regards the expression *κατὰ μέσῃν τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας*, in which Bengtson supposed a gloss, since the word *τῆς Ἰδουμαίας* does not appear in the earlier manuscript R, it seems possible to preserve this reading. Omitting the word *τῆς Ἰδουμαίας* could be a scribal mistake, because a scribe could doubt if Idumea was a satrapy. This reading is a *lectio difficilior*. As we have already noted, M. Stern also did not take up Bengtson's idea, because he believed that there were two Idumeas, a satrapy and a *meris* (n. 41). If the "satrapy of Idumea" is a colloquial use of term (as in Appian's 72 satrapies), it is not necessary to omit the word Idumea.

According to stemma, Laurentianus 70.12 (F), which mentions Idumea, goes back to the lost prototype Φ, to Marcianus Gr. 375 (M), and to Parisinus Gr. 1665 (R). M contains books 11–15, R books 16–20, and F books 11–20. As the manuscript R omits Idumea in Diod. 19. 98. 1, and the manuscript M does not have the book 19, the expression *κατὰ μέσῃν τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας* in F could go back to the prototype Φ.⁵⁸

In conclusion, Idumea was presumably an eparchy in early Hellenism, but it could be also called a satrapy colloquially. A toparchy, according to Flavius, was a later administrative status of Idumea. Two different designations of Idumea in Diodorus are caused by Posidonius' usage, to whom the

⁵⁵ Marciak 2018, 882: "It should also be noted that, in paleographical terms, the words *ὑπαρχία* and *ἐπαρχία* can be relatively easily confused".

⁵⁶ Levin 2007, 239; Hengel 1974, 21; Tantlevsky 2013 [И. Р. Тантлевский, *История Израиля и Иудеи до 70 г. н. э.*], 227.

⁵⁷ Hübner 1992, 3819.

⁵⁸ Chamoux–Bertrac 1993, 101–105, 121. "Les livres XVII–XX sont issus d'une source indépendante contenant les livres XVII–XX (nous appellerons Φ ce prototype perdu qui fait suite à P comme R fait suite à M) et ont été corrigés ensuite à l'aide de R. En bref, le *Laurentianus*, résultat d'un travail philologique tardif, n'est prototype, à proprement parler, que pour les livres XVII–XX, mais l'importance des variantes et des corrections qui se rencontrent dans les autres livres, où des sources extérieures ont pu être utilisées, interdisent de le négliger" (Chamoux–Bertrac 1993, 104–105).

term “satrapy” goes back, whereas the designation of Idumea as an eparchy belongs to Diodorus himself. It seems possible to keep the reading τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἐπαρχίας in Diod. 19. 95. 2 and not to change ἐπαρχία to ὑπαρχία, because the latter term is testified rather rarely in literary and epigraphic sources, unlike ἐπαρχία, and there are no arguments for considering Idumea to be a hyparchy. In the second passage, Diod. 19. 98. 1, it is also possible to preserve the reading of the MS Laurentianus 70.12 (F) κατὰ μέσῃν τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, because it could go back to the lost prototype Φ, and the term σατραπεία could refer to smaller administrative units.

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Diodorus mentions Idumea twice, but pointing to its different administrative-territorial statuses: an eparchy in 19. 95. 2 and a satrapy in 19. 98. 1. The paper shows that Diodorus borrowed the term *σατραπεία* from his source, perhaps from Posidonius (not Hieronymus of Cardia, as usually supposed), and the second term *ἐπαρχία* is Diodorus' own. This conclusion is based on the usage of the term *σατραπεία* by Posidonius and on the fact that a passage in which Idumea is mentioned is included in the account of the Dead Sea, which probably goes back to Posidonius. Besides, arguments are given for keeping the manuscript reading *ἐπαρχία* without changing to *ὕπαρχία* (Diod. 19. 95. 2) and for preserving the expression *τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας* (Diod. 19. 98. 1), in which H. Bengtson supposed a gloss. It is possible to preserve the manuscript reading in these two cases, because the words *ἐπαρχία* and *σατραπεία* were used not only as an indication of an official administrative unit, but also as a colloquial designation of a certain region. This explains Appian's testimony about 72 satrapies under Seleucus I, as well as many cases of the use of the word *ἐπαρχία* in the sense of "region" (not as a term of administrative unit). Such a usage of terms makes it difficult to ascertain the official status of Idumea. It can be clarified by the rare testimonies of other authors (thus, Flavius designates Idumea as a toparchy).

Диодор дважды упоминает Идумею, однако указывая разный административно-территориальный статус: епархия в 19. 95. 2 и сатрапия в 19. 98. 1. В статье показано, что один термин – "сатрапия" – Диодор взял из своего источника, по-видимому, Посидония (а не Иеронима Кардианского, как обычно предполагают), а второй – "епархия" – принадлежит самому Диодору. Такой вывод делается исходя из употребления Посидонием термина *σατραπεία* и из того, что пассаж, где упоминается Идумея, входит в рассказ о Мертвом море, который, вероятно, восходит к Посидонию. Кроме того, приводятся аргументы в пользу сохранения рукописного чтения *ἐπαρχία* без замены на *ὕπαρχία* (Diod. 19. 95. 2), а также за сохранение выражения *τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας* (Diod. 19. 98. 1), в котором Г. Бенгтсон видел глоссу. Сохранение рукописного чтения в этих двух случаях возможно благодаря хождению слов *ἐπαρχία* и *σατραπεία* не только как официальных административно-территориальных единиц, но и как разговорных обозначений некой области. Так, например, объясняется и свидетельство Аппиана о 72 сатрапиях при Селевке I, и многочисленные употребления слова *ἐπαρχία* в значении "область", а не как термин административно-территориального деления. Такое употребление терминов затрудняет определение официального статуса Идумеи, который могут прояснить редкие свидетельства других авторов (так, Иосиф Флавий называет Идумею топархией).

VENUS AND HER COMPANIONS
(HOR. *CARM.* 1. 30)

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recently, but before I do so, we need to understand whether his appearance is emphasized by the position, namely in the last verse of the Sapphic strophe with the particle *-que*. This is what commentators point to,⁴ citing two other similar cases that contain enumeration: *Carm.* 1. 12. 40 (... *Fabriciumque*) and *Carm.* 2. 6. 8: (... *militiaeque*). Meanwhile, none of these contain the required focus on this component in the enumeration: the reference to C. Fabricius bridges the gap to the next stanza,⁵ while Horace's military service (which is in fact difficult to explain⁶) in *Carm.* 2. 6 enters only in a paired construction: *sit modus... viarum militiaeque*. Although when reading the list of deities, one gets the feeling that Mercury, named last but not least, is more important than the others, there is nevertheless no evidence to support this idea – he simply closes the list of “the whole company”.

So, how is his appearance here explained? The first explanation is simple as pie: Ps.-Acro: “Per Mercurium vero quaestum vult accipi”, i.e., Horace wishes Glycera's enterprise prosperity – as she is “a demimondaine whose business is blooming”.⁷ This – it must be said – logical interpretation has two flaws: the mention of money as the primary motive for Glycera's favouring introduced what might be called “light irony”⁸ or even “superficial satire – out of harmony with the pictures in the poem”.⁹

A variant of the same understanding would be to relate Mercury (who is also a god of eloquence) as a substitute for Peitho, depicted in Aphrodite's entourage in some archaic groups in Greek art.¹⁰

Another argument against understanding Mercury as a personification of money is the question what the other characters in this situation actually symbolize. What do the nymphs mean in this case? Or how could Horace wish a girl “youth”? Rather, the words *parum comis sine te Iuventas* contain his advice to take advantage of its benefits.¹¹ If the characters named before Mercury are simply mythological personages, then one has to assume a kind of disconnect between them and the god of commerce, which gives a jocular flavour to the whole poem.

⁴ West 1995, 145; Oppermann 1972, 362; Quinn 1980, 181. Rüpke 1998, 442 notes a similar technique.

⁵ Nisbet–Hubbard 1978, 159, referring to Cic. *Cael.* 39: “traditionally he belongs to the group in the next stanza”.

⁶ See Egorova 2017, 71–73.

⁷ Nisbet–Hubbard 1970, 143; in a similar vein, Quinn 1980, 181.

⁸ Mayer 2012, 193.

⁹ West 1995, 144.

¹⁰ Among others, Kiessling–Heinze followed by Burck 1960, 170: “Merkurius hier wohl an die Stelle der Peitho getreten ist”. As an example of an Archaic relief see *LIMC* II s.v. Aphrodite, no. 1257.

¹¹ The main theme of *Carm.* 1. 25 and 1. 11 (according to Tarrant 2020, 48–52).

A very different group of interpretations takes us to the poems that also mention Mercury as a kind of a *sphragis* of Horace – first and foremost, referring to his well-known self-designation as a *Mercurialis vir* (*Carm.* 2. 17. 29–30). This explains well the final reference to the god who invented the lyre and is a patron of verbal expression – it is this aspect of deity that is meant by those who proposed this opinion, E. A. Schmidt¹² and J. Rüpke, whose article “Merkur am Ende: Horaz, Carmen 1, 30” builds a rather complex compositional construction on this detail: he highlights the sequence of three poems in the Book 1, namely 1. 10 – to Mercury, 1. 19 – to Venus (the poet also is in love with Glycera), and 1. 30 – where two lines are combined. Although I do not share this structural approach for a better understanding of the individual poems, I find his observation on the division of the strophe interesting:¹³ “5 Glieder sind verbunden durch 4 Kopulae – et ... que ... et ... que”. He sees “Gedankenvorschrift” in both cases of the particle *-que*; in my opinion, this alternation can also be interpreted as combining Graces with Nymphs in one group and Youth/Hebe and Mercury in another.

Another theory of this kind must not be missed: H. Dettmer states that Horace here represented Mercury in union “with the goddess of life and poetry” and so “bridged the gap between his antithetical roles in Odes 1. 24, as a guide to the dead, and in Odes 2. 7, as savior”.¹⁴

A third explanation – or rather rejection of it – is presented by G. Maurach, who admits that there are some things that “man sollte offen lassen”.¹⁵ However, before agreeing with him, let’s pay attention to one detail that Horace has left us with as almost the only clue – the untied belts of the Graces.

There is a close parallel to our situation – the Graces untie a knot (*nodum solvere*), *Carm.* 3. 21. 21–22:

te Liber et, si laeta aderit, Venus
segnesque nodum solvere Gratiae
...producent...

What is meant, however, is a matter for discussion.¹⁶ As the Graces are often depicted holding hands, N. Rudd¹⁷ follows the scholiasts

¹² Schmidt 1992, 47.

¹³ Rüpke 1998, 439.

¹⁴ Dettmer 1983, 28.

¹⁵ Maurach 2001, 186, and further: “Nur, wenn der Leser das Offene offen lässt, wird er die Feinheit der Zeilen genießen”.

¹⁶ Horace used the word *nodus* only twice (the other time referring to a coiffure, *Carm.* 2. 11. 24).

¹⁷ Nisbet–Rudd 2004, 254 as “NR”.

and understands *nodus* as their ring:¹⁸ they are reluctant (*segnes*) to separate their hands. D. West¹⁹ warns of a logical inconsistency in this understanding, as it rests on the obligatory presentation of the Graces naked – with *no* possible other nodes in their garments – which would contradict the influence of Pindar, esp. *Pyth.* 9. 2–3 (βαθυζώνοισιν... Χαρίτεσσι). But he is in no hurry to join the belt knot party, represented by Nisbet²⁰ and Schmidt,²¹ who adduced passages from Catullus²² and Martial²³ to their side.

Back to the Graces' belts, which are already untied in *Carm.* 1. 30. Although there is nothing more natural than imagining their fluttering garments (the swiftness of their motion arises from the verb *properent*), it is not the prevailing canon for depicting them: as in *Carm.* 4. 7. 5–6 (*Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet ducere nuda choros*; the same is suggested in another spring poem, *Carm.* 1. 4. 6–7), from the Hellenistic period on, the Graces were depicted completely naked. Already in antiquity, art historians (Paus. 9. 35. 6–7) noted a change in the way the Graces were pictured, although it is not known who first depicted them without clothes (whereas in the archaic period they generally wear warm dresses and cardigans²⁴). The most famous painting was by Apelles, made in the Odeion at Smyrna, and Pausanias lists his Graces in a list of the clothed ones. They may have been depicted with transparent and/or loose garments – we can read about this canon in the works of authors who lived later than Horace, including an allegorical interpretation of such attire (Sen. *De benef.* 1. 3. 2. 5):

et virgines solutaque ac perlucida veste ... in quibus nihil esse alligati
debet nec adstricti: solutis itaque tunicis utuntur; perlucidis autem, quia
beneficia conspici volunt.

It can be assumed that both of these canons have been transferred to Rome – the well-attested²⁵ one with the goddesses completely naked (Horace uses it in his spring scenes), and the one less known today

¹⁸ Cf. Cic. *Am.* 51 as bond of friendship.

¹⁹ West 1967, 147 n. 55.

²⁰ Nisbet–Rudd 2004, 245 as “RN”.

²¹ Schmidt 1992, 46.

²² Cat. 2b. 2–3: ... *aureolum fuisse malum, / quod zonam soluit diu ligatam*.

²³ Mart. 9. 101. 5: *peltatam Scythico discinxit Amazona nodo*.

²⁴ For examples, see *LIMC* III s.v. Charis nos. 6, 24; s.v. Horai no. 42.

²⁵ Most of the images in the *LIMC* III s.v. Charis, with the commentary by Harrison 1986, 200–203. Surviving Roman paintings present only the nude Graces, e.g., Napoli, Mus. Arch. Naz. 9236 (1st cent. AD).

(perhaps because it was more common in painting than in sculpture) with transparent and/or fluttering garments.

Now, knowing that I can no longer postpone my own solution, I will try to bring together the few and disparate arguments in favour of the assumption that in this poem Horace is describing some kind of (wall) painting in which all these characters were depicted.

To the general sense of visual representation noted by scholars earlier,²⁶ I would like to add another, namely compositional one: in listing the deities “given” by the existing image, Horace shows his skill and names “the whole company” in just four lines – and he manages to put Mercury in the last carriage at the last moment. If we compare this poem with others that list characters, each of them has “more space” for him or her, e.g. *Carm.* 1. 4. 5–8; 12. 19–46; 16. 5–21; 4. 8. 25–34, etc.

What else would suggest to the reader that it is about the visual arts? Perhaps the name of the heroine. While the lovers in the poems are conventional, Horace could name them anything he wished. The name “Glycera” may set off an association with Greek art: as C. Doyen pointed out, this was the name of the artist Pausias’²⁷ lover,²⁸ and Romans knew the portrait of her in a wreath²⁹ (Plin. 35. 125):

Pausias amavit in iuventa Glyceram municipem suam, inventricem coronarum, ... postremo pinxit et ipsam sedentem cum corona, huius tabulae exemplar, quod apographon vocant, L. Lucullus duobus talentis emit.

C. Doyen concludes that Glycera may have been a common example of “la maîtresse du peintre”, which can be confirmed by another reference to Glycera: *Carm.* 1. 19. 5–6, although this one refers to sculpture and not painting.³⁰

²⁶ Fraenkel 1968, 198 n. 70: “... the particular kōmos of immortals that *unfolds before our eyes* takes us away from the Rome of Caesar Augustus and *back to many representations in Greek paintings and relief* and to early Greek songs”. Schmidt 1992, 46: “... für den *bildhaften Aspekt* (wie die Grazien beim Tanze erscheinen)”. Syndikus 1972, 272: “er stellt uns ein einheitlich *schönes Bild* von Göttin... vor Augen”; he also names some multi-figured compositions in Casa dei Vettii and Casa di Marte e Venere.

²⁷ See Lippold 1949.

²⁸ See Rossbach 1910.

²⁹ She herself was no stranger to design, being the ancestor of floristry.

³⁰ In two other cases, however, Glycera is mentioned without any connection to the fine arts: in *Carm.* 1. 33. 2 (with *inmitis*) and in *Carm.* 3. 19. 28 at the very end of the poem without any details.

urit me Glycerae nitor,
splendentis Pario marmore purius.

A more general argument that it is possible to see a description of a work of art in Horace's lyrics is the numerous references to the hobby in many of his works:³¹ he speaks with irony about his habit of spending time "in art galleries", comparing himself to a slave gazing at a gladiator's poster (*Serm.* 2. 7. 95–96):

vel cum Pausiaca torpes, insane, tabella,
qui peccas minus atque ego...

In another case, he demonstrates the skill of looking at works from different distances and under different lighting conditions (*A. P.* 361–365):

Ut pictura poesis; erit quae, si propius stes,
te capiat magis, et quaedam, si longius abstes;
haec amat obscurum, volet haec sub luce videri,
iudicis argutum quae non formidat acumen;
haec placuit semel, haec deciens repetita placebit.

His dream is to give his friends original Greek art (*Carm.* 4. 8. 1–8):

Donarem pateras grataque commodus,
Censorine, meis aera sodalibus,
donarem tripodas, praemia fortium
Graiorum neque tu pessuma munerum
ferres, divite me scilicet atrium
quas aut Parrhasius protulit aut Scopas,
hic saxo, liquidis ille coloribus
sollers nunc hominem ponere, nunc deum.

(A more debatable matter relates to the transmission of pictorial subjects in Horace's poetry;³² for *Carm.* 2. 19. 21–24³³ and *Carm.* 3. 4. 42–68 there is the question of the impact of the Gigantomachy, as it was presented in the Siphnian Treasury and the Pergamon Altar.)

³¹ Calcano 1996, 124–126.

³² On this point, see Hardie 1993.

³³ For this poem, addressed to Bacchus, the images of lions may be of some help to resolve the textual problem: "Tu ... Rhoetum retorsisti leonis unguibus horribilique (mss; horribilisque Bochart | horribilemque Trendelenburg) mala" (v. 23–24).

In conclusion, let's try to guess what kind of piece of work was described. We can easily imagine a central figure of Venus, next to her Cupid, and a little further away (*et...*) Graces and Nymphs. As for the most debated figures, Youth and Mercury,³⁴ in my opinion we can present them to the sides of the central group (*et ...que*).

This arrangement of figures can be seen in the surviving work (I should point out that we see a different set of characters there, with the only companion Peitho) and, importantly, just the right period.³⁵ I mean the Cubiculum B from Villa Farnesina (on display in the Palazzo Massimo alle Terme): it is also of interest that, according to specialists, the paintings are replicas of Greek paintings from the Classical period,³⁶ i.e., the image of the Graces depicted by Horace may also have been painted according to an older canon.

One wall is decorated with a triptych consisting of a larger central panel and two smaller side panels. The other wall has a similar arrangement of images, but the side figures are depicted in the background of the wall.³⁷ Perhaps the figures of Youth/Hebe and Mercury were painted in the same way – with some difficulty,³⁸ they can be presented as paired characters: in the 1st century BC, the name *Iuventas* stood for Hebe (Cic. *De nat. deor.* 1. 112: *Ac poetae quidem nectar, ambrosiam epulas comparant et aut Iuventatem aut Ganymedem pocula ministrantem, tu autem, Epicure, quid facies?* Tusc. 1. 65: *non enim ambrosia deos aut nectare aut Iuventate pocula ministrante laetari arbitror*). As a gift-giver,³⁹ she could, in my opinion, balance out the messenger of the gods, Mercury, in the triptych described.

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³⁴ Hermes is rarely portrayed in the group, usually in the scene of the Judgement of Paris (e. g. Napoli Arch. 120033).

³⁵ The history of painting in the late 1st century BC is not so well known to us, and many surveys, e.g. Dorigo 1971, do not begin to cover the subject until the 1st cent. AD.

³⁶ Kousser 2010, 300–305 with the bibliography. Kousser notes the good preservation of the entire ensemble, which is often lacking in Pompeii.

³⁷ See photo: Kousser 2010, 304.

³⁸ So, for example, Hebe could be matched by her husband Hercules, and the pair of Youth/Flora and Hercules would then become widespread in New Age palaces and parks.

³⁹ “Schankmeisterin der Götter” (Rüpke 1998, 439).

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In *Carm.* 1. 30, Horace lists the companions of Venus, naming among them the usual characters for this context – Cupid, Graces, nymphs, as well as the personification of Youth and – which is very unusual – Mercury. Since antiquity, commentators have offered various explanations of his appearance here, and several

recent works have suggested correlating the scene of the appearance of the goddess and her suite with works of ancient art. In this vein, the author proposes that Horace was inspired not by an elongated composition with a procession of deities, but by the way the figures were arranged in wall paintings (for example, Villa Farnesina, Cubiculum B), in which two smaller side panels (in our case with one figure of Youth/Hebe and Mercury) were placed to the sides of the central multifigure group (Venus, Cupid, Graces, nymphs).

В оде 1, 30 Гораций перечисляет спутников Венеры, называя среди них как обычных для этого контекста персонажей – Купидона, Граций, нимф, так и персонификацию Юности и – что уже совсем необычно – Меркурия. Со времен античности комментаторы предлагали разные объяснения его появления, а в ряде недавних работ предлагалось соотнести сцену явления богини и ее свиты с произведениями античного изобразительного искусства. Следуя этому направлению в интерпретации, автор выдвигает предположение, что Горация вдохновила не вытянутая композиция с процессией божеств, а засвидетельствованный для времени написания стихотворения способ расположения изображений фигур в настенной живописи (например, Villa Farnesina, Cubiculum B), при котором по бокам от центральной многофигурной группы (Венера, Купидон, Грации, нимфы) располагались два боковых панно меньшего размера, в нашем случае – с фигурой Юности/Гебы и Меркурия.

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LIBERAL EDUCATION IN HARMONICS IN PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA*

Writing on ancient “higher” mathematical education is extremely tricky. Most of the time we are left with scanty evidence (if any at all), and more often than not the evidence we have does not allow for practical conclusions. We know quite a lot when it comes to the theory of what it meant to be an educated person in antiquity – the so called educational ideal (or rather, ideals, as there was not just one), – but we are often left to wonder how exactly this theory was put into practice. Mathematical writings, like those of Euclid and Archimedes, are first and foremost scientific treatises, so the practicalities of mathematical education (who studied what, when and to which purpose) are difficult to extract from them. Many other texts that we have are in essence metamathematical: they relate to a certain philosophical or cultural tradition that ascribes certain value to mathematics (the most famous example being Plato’s *Republic*). Archeological evidence is scanty and presents many problems, as extant mathematical exercises are quite often difficult to place purpose- and level-wise. More suitable to our goal are encyclopedic texts written for a wider audience to serve as introductions to the μαθήματα (i.e. Theon’s *Mathematics Useful for Reading Plato*),¹ and, last but not least, are the testimonies of those with first-hand experience in the area of “higher mathematical education”.

But first, the very notion of “higher” education in antiquity needs discussing. The term itself is anachronistic as ancient education was not anything like its modern counterpart. In the context of Greece and Rome, higher education, also known as post-school education, has traditionally been described as the education above the so-called primary and secondary stages, which normally included learning to read and write, playing the lyre, exercising in the palaestra and further instruction in language and

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¹ For a synthesis of the state of research see Bernard 2014, 38–41.

literature.² This scholastic curriculum was shown to be too simplistic: in reality, no uniform curriculum existed. Since education was not state-regulated nor standardized, we should not expect to see a uniform trajectory from primary to secondary and then to higher education throughout all the regions of Greco-Roman world and in all time periods (even if we limit ourselves to just one stratum of society).³ Still, for the lack of a better term, I shall call this stage of education “advanced” or “higher”; the term “liberal education” refers to a non-specialized education in *artes liberales* (or in the ἐγκύκλια, their Greek counterpart), obtained by freemen and meant to produce a well-rounded individual with some exposure to a more or less set number of subjects (usually, those subjects were grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy and harmonics).

This advanced stage of education first appeared when the Sophists started their teaching activities.⁴ Some of them included mathematical subjects into their curricula, like Hippias of Elis (*Prot.* 318 e) who taught all subjects of quadrivium (i.e. arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and harmonics) – a unity that not long before that had appeared among the Pythagoreans.⁵ Plato and Isocrates authored two first theories of education that included mathematical subjects as προπαιδεύματα to the ultimate study goal, i.e. dialectics in Plato (*Resp.* 521 c, 532 b–c) and rhetoric in Isocrates (*Ant.* 261–268).

In this paper, I am going to attempt a description of liberal education in harmonics in the first century AD Alexandria according to the testimony of Philo Judaeus. Philo was not a professional mathematician, but his writing reveals his knowledge – be it not a profound one – of all four subjects of the quadrivium. Non-professional learners, like Philo, deserve our attention as their existence implies public interest in mathematical subjects and certain educational practices. As the bulk of the evidence deals with harmonics, I will focus on education in mathematical theory of music. I will address the following questions: what were the contents of liberal education in harmonics and what were the prerequisites (if there were any).

Despite the fact that μαθήματα made part of the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, there is little evidence to them being actually taught at a post-school level, which led some scholars to conclude that they were not studied at all before the time of Augustinus.⁶ It is true that, for the most part, Greek

² Marrou 1964, Clarke 1971, Bonner 1977.

³ Booth 1979, Kaster 1983, Cribiore 2001.

⁴ Kühnert 1961.

⁵ Huffman 2005, 64.

⁶ Hadot 2005.

and Roman education remained predominately literature-oriented. For the first few centuries after the Pythagoreans started teaching mathematics, we have little evidence of actual educational practice. It is in the first century BC that we see wider general public outside of the specialized fields to develop an interest in mathematical subjects. On Roman soil, seemingly out of nowhere appear Varro's *Disciplinae*, the very first encyclopedia and the first treatise to unite trivium and quadrivium under one cover.⁷ There is no doubt that Varro was following a Greek tradition and using Greek sources.⁸ Philo of Alexandria writes on ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία as someone who had first-hand experience of this education.⁹ Private education in mathematical subjects must have been one of few options that were available at the time. Philo's own education would have also been private, considering his family's social standing.¹⁰ Still, Philo is extremely critical of private teachers: some of them cannot explain the subject matter according to their student's capacity (*Post.* 141); others, having encountered a talented student, think themselves better teachers than they really are, and demand higher wages (*Congr.* 127). Philo asserts that a good teacher has to regard the capacity of his student, aim at moderation and bring forward what may improve him (*Post.* 141). But even having a good teacher is not enough, as knowledge is found "only after great labour and with difficulty" (*Som.* 1. 6)¹¹ and even "having received the doctrines and speculations of wisdom in at his ears from his instructor, <...the student> still is not able to hold it firmly and to embrace it all at once, until he has resolved over in his mind everything which he has heard by the continued exercise of his memory (and this exercise of memory is the cement which connects ideas), and then he impresses the image of it all firmly on his soul" (*Leg.* 4. 107). Still, not every memory is good, only the one exerted on good subjects (*Agr.* 133).

An alternative to live classes was apparently emerging around that time, i.e. there appeared science manuals directed at non-specialists wishing to educate themselves.¹² One might presume that they were free

⁷ On Varro's *Disciplinae* and its influence on tradition see Ritschl 1877, Dahlmann 1935, D'Alessandro 1997, Gasti 2017, Simon 1966.

⁸ Larionova 2020.

⁹ Mendelson 1982.

¹⁰ On Philo's family's position in society see Hadas-Lebel 2012, 27–31.

¹¹ Translations of Philo are adduced from Yonge 1993. I will further only reference those translations that were in some way modified.

¹² Traces of this tradition are found in Roman literature: following Greek tradition, Varro compiled first Roman encyclopedia that contained all subjects of trivium and quadrivium.

citizens, who were not wealthy enough to pay for private education or to send their children to schools of philosophy or rhetoric. So, when according to Philo was the best time for encyclical studies? In *De congressu eruditionis gratia*, Abraham starts the ἐγκύκλια at about seventeen years old: after childhood,¹³ one enters the age of youth (85), but only ten years later one comes to feel the desire for the instruction and is able to benefit from it (88), thus embarking on a long spiritual and educational journey towards “true life”. Ideal duration of the studies is said to be seven years, thus stretching from around seventeen to twenty-three (*Ebr.* 52). Still, these numbers have to be taken *cum grano salis*, as they are extremely unlikely to reflect even Philo’s own educational journey, not to mention common educational practices of his time (apart from the first stage of education, which did start at about seven years old).¹⁴ In Philo’s time, in such a great urban center as Alexandria, education definitely existed in a variety of different shapes and forms. Education that Philo himself obtained and education he describes in his writing would vastly differ from education of those who did not have the means for it.

Ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία is a problematic topic on its own: the term’s origin and definition, as well as the history and practices of ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία are all widely disputed.¹⁵ Some of the works tackle various aspects of παιδεία in Philo. F. H. Colson suggested that in Philo ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία “is no longer the preparation for philosophy, but an influence which tempers it and accommodates it to life <...> it creates law and custom as opposed to abstract reason and justice”.¹⁶ Walter H. Wagner recognizes different types of παιδεία and analyzes its various aspects, including religious ones.¹⁷ Alan Mendelson believes that according to Philo the ἐγκύκλια had inherent spiritual value and were beneficial on their own, not just as προπαιδεύματα to philosophy.¹⁸ Hent de Vries explores *philosophia ancilla theologiae* motif in Philo’s *De congressu*

¹³ The length of childhood is not stated anywhere in *Congr.*, but in *Quis her.* 294 this period lasts seven years. On educational stages in Philo see Mendelson 1982.

¹⁴ In Antiquity, educational stages were linked to a theory according to which every seventh year in a person’s life was of particular importance. According to Aristotle, the secondary education began at the age of fourteen and ended at the age of twenty-one (*Pol.* 1336 b sqq.). In Plato’s *Republic* higher education of the guardians was supposed to start at the age of twenty (*Resp.* 6. 573 b).

¹⁵ Jaeger 1934–1947, Koller 1955, Rechenauer 1994, Fuchs 1962, De Rijk 1965.

¹⁶ Colson 1917, 159.

¹⁷ Wagner 1997, 53–64.

¹⁸ Mendelson 1982, 64–68.

eruditionis gratia.¹⁹ As for harmonics as a part of the ἐγκύκλια, it remains a somewhat under-researched topic. Marrou's classic work contains only one page devoted to the study of harmonics (not just in Philo, mind you, but in general).²⁰ Certain aspects of music in Philo have been a subject of research. L. H. Feldman's article "Philo's Views on Music" is invaluable, as it brings together musical references scattered all across the Philonic corpus.²¹ In an important article, M. Alexandre attempted to evaluate Philo's scientific background, including his knowledge of harmonics.²² Everett Ferguson concentrates on the practical and philosophical aspects of music.²³

For a scholar, Philo's time is marked by a deplorable absence of musical sources: after *Elementa harmonica* and *Sectio canonis* at the end of the fourth century BC there is a gap stretching all the way to the new millennium. It is only at the turn of the first to the second century CE that we reencounter musical writings: *Mathematics Useful for Reading Plato* by Theon of Alexandria written in the second century CE²⁴ and *Enchiridion* by Nicomachus of roughly the same period. Other treatises, probably written sometime in the first century CE, survive in excerpts, e.g. *Pythagorean Elements of Music* by Ptolemais of Cyrene²⁵ make part of Porphyry's *Commentary on the Harmonics of Ptolemy* (third century CE). Notably, all known treatises from the first and second centuries CE are popular science manuals. Judging by the surviving introductions to these manuals, they were often designed with a specific audience in mind, e.g. those who have not had the opportunity to study mathematics and want to understand the works of Plato (v. intr. to Theon's *Mathematics Useful for Reading Plato*); noble women with no or little previous exposure to the subject (v. intr. to Nicomachus' *Enchiridion*).²⁶ Ptolemais' treatise, judging by surviving fragments, was written in a form of questions and answers and could have served as a school text, a teacher's aide or a self-study book.

¹⁹ De Vries 2009, 41.1 – 41.19.

²⁰ Marrou 1964, 272–273.

²¹ Feldman 1996.

²² Alexandre 1966.

²³ Ferguson 2003.

²⁴ Theon draws some of his musical material from the astrologer Thrasyllus who lived in the time of Tiberius, and from Adrastus, who was born towards the end of the first century CE.

²⁵ Her dates are uncertain and might lie between the third century BC and the first century CE. Barker places her "near to the end of this span" (Barker 1989, 230).

²⁶ For an overview of introductions to various mathematical texts, see Vitrac 2008.

Much like Plato,²⁷ Philo views μαθήματα, along with the subjects of trivium, as a stepping stone on the way to the ultimate goal, i.e. philosophy (*Congr.* 11), to the proper understanding of which these subjects were meant to contribute (*ib.* 79).²⁸ People “who are instructed have many more opportunities of prayer than those who are destitute of teachers, and those who are well initiated in encyclical accomplishments have more opportunities than those who are unmusical and illiterate, inasmuch as they from their childhood almost have been imbued with all the lessons of virtue, and temperance, and all kinds of excellence” (*Mut.* 229). Each mathematical subject has potential to turn the reader’s soul to virtue: certainty and freedom from deception derive from arithmetic and geometry, as they both deal with proportions and calculations (*Som.* 205), therefore geometry is meant to implant an admiration of justice (*Congr.* 16). In its turn, harmonics “will guide what was previously discordant to concord” (*Congr.* 16)²⁹ by healing “whatever in us is deficient in rhythm or in moderation, or in harmony, by giving us rhythm, and moderation, and harmony, by means of a polished system of music” (*Cher.* 105).

As beneficial as the study of these subjects was, Philo did not think it wise for students to become professional scientists and devote their

²⁷ According to Plato, the study of μαθήματα is “the study that would draw the soul away from the world of becoming to the world of being” (*Resp.* 521 d, tr. Shorey 1935, 147), i.e. it was meant to prepare the soul for the study of dialectics. The future guardians were to devote ten years to various mathematical subjects, including harmonics. Plato compared the scientists who occupied themselves with this science to astronomers, as “their method exactly corresponds to that of the astronomer; for the numbers they seek are those found in these heard concords, but they do not ascend to generalized problems and the consideration which numbers are inherently concordant and which not and why in each case” (531 c, tr. Shorey 1935, 193). In the ideal State, harmonics was to be taught after astronomy, for “like the eyes are framed for astronomy so the ears are framed for the movements of harmony; and these are in some sort kindred sciences, as the Pythagoreans affirm and we admit” (530 d, tr. Shorey 1935, 189). Cf. Archytas: “Indeed, concerning the speed of the stars and their risings and settings as well as concerning geometry and numbers and not least concerning music, they handed down to us a clear set of distinctions. For these sciences seem to be akin” (47 B 1 DK, tr. Huffman 2005, 105–106).

²⁸ The underlying motive for studying certain mathematical subjects should not be automatically equated with the teaching aims of those providing the education. It is a commonplace in literature that the μαθήματα were studied to facilitate the further understanding of philosophy and the like, but it may not have always been *taught* with this purpose in mind.

²⁹ Cf. 47 B 3 DK: according to Archytas, the invention of counting put an end to discord (στάσις) and increased concord (ὁμόνοια).

entire lives to them: Philo is disapproving both of people who grow old in geometry, harmonics, etc. (*Congr.* 77),³⁰ and of those who take up philosophy too early, skipping the encyclical subjects altogether, only to come back to them late and unwillingly and then failing to come back to philosophy (*Ebr.* 51). His beliefs are in line with the tradition: Isocrates advised young people to explore these subjects for some time and then move on to more useful and important ones (*Antid.* 266–268); Socrates was of opinion that subjects like geometry and astronomy “were enough to occupy a lifetime, to the complete exclusion of many other useful studies” (*Xen. Mem.* 4. 7. 3);³¹ an Academic Xenocrates famously said “to someone who had never learnt music, geometry, or astronomy, but nevertheless wished to attend his lectures: ‘Go your ways, for you offer philosophy nothing to lay hold of’” (*DL* 4. 10);³² an Academic Arcesilaus, who himself was a pupil of the mathematician Autolycus (*DL* 4. 29), the musician Xanthus, and the geometer Hipponicus (*ib.* 32), is said to be annoyed with people who take up their studies too late (*ib.* 36).

A rough description of an educational journey is contained in *Som.* 1. 205:

Nevertheless I admire the lover of wisdom for having studied the same art, collecting and thinking fit to weave together many things, though different, and proceeding from different sources, into the same web; for taking the first two elements from the grammatical knowledge imparted to children (ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς παιδικῆς γραμματικῆς), that is to say, reading and writing, and taking from the later education (ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς τελειοτέρας <sc. παιδικῆς>) the skill which is found among poets, and the comprehension of ancient history, and deriving certainty and freedom from deception from arithmetic and geometry, in which sciences there is need of proportions and calculations; and borrowing from music rhyme, and metre, and harmonies, and chromatics, and diatonics, and combined and disjoined melodies; and having derived from rhetoric invention, and language, and arrangement, and memory, and action; and from philosophy, whatever has been omitted in any of these separate branches, and all the other things of which human life consists, he has put together in one most admirably arranged work, combining great learning of one kind with great learning of another kind.³³

³⁰ Cf. Philo, *Post.* 139: “Nothing which is connected with mere professions is akin to virtue”.

³¹ Tr. Marchant 1923, 349.

³² Tr. Hicks 1925, 385.

³³ Tr. Yonge 1993 with modifications.

Education starts with children learning to read and write; after that comes analysis of poetic and historic texts, then quadrivium, and finally philosophy. This is not a fully comprehensive curriculum, as some of the subjects are omitted (i.e. astronomy), but all the stages are accounted for. I would suppose that the education described in *Som.* 1. 205 is roughly the education Philo himself received, but also the education that was more or less common in his circle.

Despite the fact that mathematics, in Philo's eyes, borrows definitions from philosophy (*Congr.* 146–147), he still holds it in high esteem, as it was created by the maker of the universe (*Som.* 1. 204), therefore he respects those who study various μαθήματα. Of mathematical subjects, harmonics is the one Philo seems to prefer. Musical passages in his writing are markedly Plato-Pythagorean: he perceives harmonics as a branch of mathematics, not as an independent discipline; as Pythagoreans, he is aware that pitch can be expressed in numbers and that intervals are to be described in number ratios; finally, his world view is also, in certain aspects, Plato-Pythagorean: to him, the study of harmonics is not the ultimate goal, it is a means to understand the cosmic harmony.³⁴ The frequency and ease with which Philo uses musical metaphors and comparisons is quite astounding and I do not mean to bring all of those together here,³⁵ as the focus of this paper is on education alone.

Musical education is described in a number of passages (*Congr.* 76; *Mos.* 1. 23; *Leg. all.* 3. 121; *Det.* 18; *Som.* 1. 205). Let us first consider an autobiographical account of Philo's own musical education in *Congr.* 76:

I was desirous also to form a similar connection with a third, and she was full of good rhythm, harmony, and melody, and was called music. And by her I became the parent of diatonic, and chromatic, and enharmonic,³⁶ and conjoined and separate melodies,³⁷ bound to the concords of the fourth, the fifth, and the octave.³⁸

After having studied grammar and geometry (*ib.* 74–75), Philo starts studying harmonics. The subject order is not to be taken too literally as all the other branches of encyclical education are completely absent from this account, so it was not meant to be exhaustive. Compare this

³⁴ On various approaches to harmonics see Raffa 2020.

³⁵ See Feldman 1996.

³⁶ Diatonic, chromatic and harmonic are three different forms of a tetrachord.

³⁷ When the last note of a tetrachord is also the first in the second tetrachord, then the melodies are conjoined. They are separated when there is an interval of one tone between them.

³⁸ Tr. Yonge 1993 with modifications.

with the education of Moses,³⁹ who studies harmonics after arithmetic and geometry, which is a more natural order, as the study of harmonics requires some prior mathematical knowledge (mainly, the knowledge of arithmetic). Along with harmonical theory, Moses learned to play musical instruments (*Mos.* 1. 23):

Accordingly he speedily learnt arithmetic, and geometry, and the whole science of rhythm and harmony and metre, and the whole of music, by means of the use of musical instruments and by lectures.⁴⁰

Apparently, Philo thought that musical education should include both scientific theory and musical practice, for “it is of no use to study music in an unmusical manner” (*Det.* 18).⁴¹ One would be incomplete without the other, as music, arithmology and astronomy are all closely tied together because of the universal harmony,⁴² as seen in *Op.* 126:

And the power of this number (sc. the number seven) does not exist only in the instances already mentioned, but it also pervades the most excellent of the sciences, the knowledge of grammar and music. For the lyre with seven strings, bearing a proportion to the assemblage of the seven planets, perfects its admirable harmonies, being almost the chief of all instruments, which are conversant about music.

An elementary program in harmonic theory is described in *Leg. all.* 3. 121, where grammar and music – “the most excellent of the sciences” – are put side by side for rhetorical purposes:

For what would be the advantage of my speaking to a boy distinctly and clearly, and telling him, when I show him the letter A, that it is G, or that the letter E is O? Or what would be the good of a μουσικός pointing out to a pupil who comes to him to learn the rudiments of his art that the enharmonic scale was the chromatic; or the chromatic, the diatonic; or that the highest string was the middle one; or that conjoined sounds were separated; or that the highest tone in the tetrachord scale was a super-numerary note?⁴³

³⁹ Education of Moses is indicative of what education Philo considered to be ideal.

⁴⁰ Tr. Yonge 1993 with modifications.

⁴¹ Cf. Theon, who thought that some understanding of music in instruments (ἐν ὀργάνοις) is useful as a preliminary (47. 6–8).

⁴² To Philo, the world itself is a “divine instrument” (*Virt.* 74). On arithmology in Philo see Arndt 1967, Berchman 2013, Moehring 1995, Robbins 1931.

⁴³ Tr. Yonge 1993 with modifications.

We see that Philo is not only well versed in musical terminology himself (which showcases a certain grasp of the subject⁴⁴) – he also clearly expects that his readers will be able to understand the meaning of these musical terms, as it is with their help that he builds a rhetorical argument, the second part of which should be as clear as the first one, in which he refers to the letters of the alphabet. Secondly, in this piece of evidence Philo refers to the real practice of teaching the basics of harmonics; it also follows from the context that private lessons with a μουσικός specializing in harmonics were not, in Philo's eyes, something out of the ordinary, as they could be put next to a reading lesson. Of course, they still were completely different: much more people could relate to being taught the letters, as opposed to the intricacies of different harmonic scales, but Philo was writing for an audience that could understand the analogy.

This passage, along with the previous ones, provides us with some of the major topics that were studied by non-specialists during harmonic classes. Those included: physical causation of sounds,⁴⁵ different notes, strings, intervals, concords, ratios,⁴⁶ division of the canon, and, on a more philosophical note, Platonic and Pythagorean ideas relating to cosmic harmony. A comparison to popular musical programs surviving in educational texts from a later period, e.g. Theon's *Mathematics Useful for Reading Plato* or Nicomachus' *Enchiridion*, shows that there were not any major adjustments made to these later programs.

⁴⁴ Still, he sometimes makes mistakes (see Creese 2012, 258–269).

⁴⁵ Explained by Philo elsewhere: “the breath being sent from the dominant part of us through the artery called the trachea, is formed in the mouth by the tongue, as by a kind of workman, and being borne outward, and mingled with its kindred air, and having struck it thus harmoniously, completes the mixture of the two powers; for that which sounds together by a combination of different noises is at first adapted to a divisible duad, having one sharp and one flat tone” (*Quod deus* 84).

⁴⁶ Ratios per se are not mentioned in the paragraphs in question, but Philo makes extensive use of them in his writing, e.g.: “<...> ten, which is the limit of the number of immensity, around which the numbers wheel and turn as around a goal. Moreover, the number four also comprehends the principles of the harmonious concords in music, that in fours, and in fifths, and the octave, and besides this the double octave from which sounds the most perfect system of harmony is produced. For the ratio of the sounds in fourths is epitritus (ἐπίτριτος); and in fifths hemiolius (ἡμιόλιος); and in the octave that ratio is twofold (διπλάσιος); and in the double octave it is increased fourfold (τετραπλάσιος), all which ratios the number four comprehends. At all events the first, or the epitritus, is the ratio of four to three; the second, or the hemiolius, is that of three to two; the twofold ratio is that of two to one, or four to two: and the fourfold ratio is that of four to one” (*Op.* 47–48, tr. Yonge 1993 with modifications).

Theon of Smyrna, <i>Mathematics Useful for Reading Plato</i>	Nicomachus, <i>Enchiridion</i>	Philo
2. 2 what is sound	238. 19 – 240. 25 the two forms of vocal sound	opposite sounds: <i>Plant.</i> 167 how sound is produced: <i>Quod deus</i> 83–85 sharp and flat sounds: <i>ib.</i> 23 ear mechanism: <i>Post.</i> 103
2. 3–5 what is interval and harmony, notes	241. 20 – 242. 20 notes, harmony 261 what is a note, an interval	intervals, notes, harmony: <i>Mut.</i> 87; <i>Quis her.</i> 15; <i>Conf.</i> , 55–56; <i>Leg. all.</i> 3. 121–122
2. 6 concords		<i>Op.</i> 48; <i>Congr.</i> 76
2. 7–8 tone and semitone	253 tone, semitone	tone: <i>Quod deus</i> 24–25; <i>Som.</i> 1, 28–29; <i>Op.</i> 96; <i>Leg. all.</i> 1. 5. 14
2. 9–11 genera of melodies: chromatic, diatonic, enharmonic	261–264 the progres- sion and division of notes according to the three genera	<i>Leg. all.</i> 3. 121–122; <i>Post.</i> 10; <i>Agr.</i> 137; <i>Congr.</i> 76; <i>Som.</i> 1. 205
2. 19–23 the ratio of proportion	249–252 harmonic proportion, ruling proportion	<i>Mos.</i> 115; <i>Op.</i> 48, 96; <i>Spec. leg.</i> 2. 200
2. 37–39 the tetraktys and the decad		<i>Op. passim</i>
2. 40–49 properties of the numbers contained in the decad		<i>Op. passim</i>

The table shows that (1) Philo was comfortable with all the main concepts and definitions in the field of mathematical harmonics, and knew how to use those creatively for various rhetorical purposes; (2) Philo definitely was taught Pythagorean harmonics and most certainly had some reference books on the subject at his disposal; (3) as is visible from the table, what he refers to most often are the main harmonic concepts and ratios combined with arithmological number properties; this does not suggest that Philo did not possess deeper knowledge of the

subject – none of his books were devoted to harmonics, so there simply was no need for subtleties.⁴⁷

Furthermore, a program like this one definitely required arithmetic and geometry as prerequisites, because viewing musical intervals as ratios implied knowing how to operate with intervals.⁴⁸ Students would be expected to have some experience in adding and subtracting intervals, which mathematically corresponds to multiplying and dividing, e.g. to add a fourth ($4/3$) to a fifth ($3/2$) one needs to multiply the ratios: $4/3 \times 3/2 = 2/1$ (i.e. an octave); the addition of equal intervals amounted to raising their ratio to the second power: for example, to add two tones ($9/8$) one needs to solve for $(9/8)^2 = 81/64$ (i.e. a ditone) and so forth. Just as arithmetic, the ancient study of harmonics most likely included some arithmology, which purported to explain, in the words of Plato, “which numbers are concordant and which are not and why it is so” (*Resp.* 531 c).⁴⁹ In Philo’s writing, harmonics goes hand in hand with arithmology (*Op.* 95–96):

The number seven consists of one and two and four, numbers which have two most harmonious ratios, the twofold and the fourfold ratio; the former of which affects the diapason harmony, while the fourfold ratio causes that of the double diapason. It also comprehends other divisions, existing in some kind of yoke-like combination. For it is divided first of all into the number one, and the number six; then into the two and the five; and last of all, into the three and the four. And the proportion of these numbers is a most musical one; for the number six bears to the number one a six-fold ratio, and the six-fold ratio causes the greatest possible difference between existing tones; the distance namely, by which the highest tone is separated from the lowest, as we shall show when we pass on from numbers to the discussion of harmony. Again, the ratio of four to two displays the greatest power in harmony, almost equal to that of the octave, as is most evidently shown in the rules of that art. And the ratio of four to three effects the first harmony, epitritus, which is the fourth.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ More advanced topics that are discussed in Theon and/or in Nicomachus, but are absent in Philo are the following: the diesis (*Exp.* 2. 12), the discovery of the numerical laws of consonances (*Exp.* 2. 12–13, *Ench.* 245. 20 – 248), addition and subtraction of consonances (*Exp.* 2. 13), the leimma (*Exp.* 2. 15–17), epogdoic remainder (*Ench.* 251), the superpartial or sesquipartial relationship (*Exp.* 2. 24), the epimer relationship (*Exp.* 2. 25), the multisuperpartial and polyepimer relationships (*Exp.* 2. 26–28), the foundation of relationships (*Exp.* 2. 29), the difference between the interval and the relationship (*Exp.* 2. 30–32), proportions between three numbers (*Exp.* 2. 33–34), the division of the canon (*Exp.* 2. 35–36), the mean (*Exp.* 2. 50–52, *Ench.* 249–252).

⁴⁸ Still, Theon of Smyrna places musical theory right after arithmetic.

⁴⁹ Tr. Shorey 1935, 193.

⁵⁰ Tr. Yonge 1993 with modifications.

Some acquaintance with geometry was also necessary, as notes were often thought of as points on a straight line, which itself represented an interval. The difference between the genera (diatonic, chromatic, enharmonic)⁵¹ was most probably demonstrated to students either directly on a monochord, or by drawing various lines on the abacus.⁵²

As shown above, a set curriculum in harmonics already existed and was implemented in the time of Philo. By his time, it had either already entered the contemporary popular science manuals or was in the process of doing so (as later we see this curriculum already implemented into popular manuals by Theon of Smyrna and Nicomachus).⁵³

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⁵¹ First introduced by Archytas (A 16, Huffman 2005).

⁵² This practice could be one of the major reasons why we have so little archeological evidence in mathematical education.

⁵³ The same curriculum survived to be taught both in the East and West: Guillaumin 2013, Acerbi 2020.

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This paper aims to analyze the passages of Philo of Alexandria on mathematical education in an attempt to reconstruct post-school mathematical education in the field of mathematical harmonics in the city of Alexandria in the first century CE. Present paper provides evidence that at that time some education in harmonics was received not only by professionals and scientists, but also by other free wealthy citizens. It is shown that the curriculum that became a part of later standard introductions to mathematical sciences, such as "Mathematics useful for reading Plato" by Theon of Smyrna and "Introduction to Harmonics" by Nicomachus of Gerasa, was already being practiced during Philo's time. The topics that formed the basis of this course were the following: the physical causes of sounds, notes, strings, intervals, concords, ratios, separation of the canon, as well as Platonic and Pythagorean ideas about cosmic harmony. To master such a program, some knowledge of arithmetic and geometry was required. Thus, it is shown that to the time of Philo the quadrivium had already developed as an educational unity, where the topics logically followed one another, and the study of each subsequent subject of the quadrivium required basic knowledge from the previous one.

В статье рассматривается распространение практики преподавания квадривиума в эпоху империи на материале сочинений Филона Александрийского (нач. I в. н. э.). Проведен анализ пассажей Филона о математическом образовании и предпринята попытка реконструкции послешкольного математического образования в сфере гармоник в Александрии. Было показано, что в то время гармонике обучались не только профессионалы и ученые-математики, но и другие свободные обеспеченные граждане. Во время Филона уже практиковался *curriculum*, отраженный в более поздних стандартных введениях в математические науки, таких как “Математика, полезная для чтения Платона” Теона Смирнского и “Введение в гармонику” Никомаха Герасского. Основу этого учебного курса составляло изучение следующих тем: физические причины возникновения звуков, ноты, струны, интервалы, консонансы, пропорции, деление канона, а также платонические и пифагорейские идеи о космической гармонии. Продемонстрировано, что для освоения подобной программы требовались некоторые знания арифметики и геометрии. Таким образом, ко времени Филона квадривиум уже оформился как некое образовательное единство, где темы логически следовали друг за другом, а изучение каждого следующего предмета квадривиума требовало базовых знаний из предыдущего.

Benedikt Krämer

„WENN DER STEUERMANN RUFT...“
(EPIKTET, *ENCHEIRIDION* 7)

Epiktets *Encheiridion* ist nicht dafür berüchtigt, seinen Interpreten hartnäckige exegetische Schwierigkeiten zu bereiten. Die eingängige Gedankenführung des für den praktischen Gebrauch aufbereiteten Meditationsbuches ist zwar durchaus voraussetzungsreich. Sie lässt sich bei Bedarf aber zumeist gut mithilfe von Parallelen bzw. Vorbildtexten aus den *Diatriben* oder anderen stoischen Texten erhellen.

Einen Sonderfall stellt in dieser Hinsicht das siebte Kapitel des *Encheiridion* dar.¹ Es enthält einen ausführlichen, partiell undurchsichtigen und in den überlieferten Schriften Epiktets in dieser Form nicht wiederkehrenden Vergleich. Die Deutungsprobleme des Vergleichs, der sich über das gesamte Kapitel erstreckt, dürfen auch unter Einbezug jüngerer Untersuchungen noch nicht als gelöst gelten.² Eine erneute Betrachtung kann dazu beitragen, einige Unklarheiten zu erhellen. Das siebte Kapitel lautet folgendermaßen:³

Καθάπερ ἐν πλῶ τοῦ πλοίου καθορμισθέντος εἰ ἐξέλθοις
ὕδρευσασθαι, ὁδοῦ μὲν πάρεργον καὶ κοχλίδιον ἀναλέξῃ καὶ
βολβάριον, τετάσθαι δὲ δεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον καὶ συνεχῶς
ἐπιστρέφεσθαι μὴ τι ὁ κυβερνήτης καλέσῃ, κἂν καλέσῃ, πάντα

¹ Vgl. zur Singularität des Inhaltes Seddon 2005, 56–57.

² Vgl. zu *Ench.* 7 neben der älteren Untersuchung von Kamlah 1954, 63–84 an erster Stelle die (meistenteils recht allgemein gehaltenen) Kommentare von Hadot 2000, 71–73 und Seddon 2005, 56–58 sowie die differenziertere Kommentierung von Brandt 2015, 91–99 (s. zu Brandts Kommentar allerdings auch Vollenweider in *BMCR* 2016.10.21, der auf die zu stark generalisierende Interpretation gerade des siebten Kapitels hinweist). Eine weitere Untersuchung des Kapitels haben P. und I. Hadot 2005, 427–449 vorgelegt, die neben einer eigenen Analyse vor allem die Kommentierung des Kapitels bei Simplikios in den Blick nehmen. Weitgehend auf Simplikios' Kommentierung beschränkt ist (verständlicherweise) die mit Simplikios' Epiktetrezeption befasste Arbeit Vogels 2013, 169–172. Vgl. zur belletristischen Rezeption von *Encheiridion* 7 Schmeller 2013, 6–7.

³ Die Zeilenzählung entspricht Boters *editio minor* (= Boter 2007).

- 5 ἐκεῖνα ἀφιέναι, ἵνα μὴ δεδεμένος ἐμβληθῆς ὡς τὰ πρόβατα, οὕτω
καὶ ἐν τῷ βίῳ, ἐὰν διδῶται ἀντὶ βολβαρίου καὶ κοχλιδίου γυναικά-
ριον καὶ παιδίον, οὐδὲν κωλύσει· ἐὰν δὲ ὁ κυβερνήτης καλέσῃ,
τρέχε ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον ἄφεις ἐκεῖνα ἅπαντα μηδὲ ἐπιστροφόμενος· ἐὰν
δὲ γέρων ᾖ, μηδὲ ἀπαλλαγῆς ποτε τοῦ πλοίου μακράν, μή ποτε
10 καλοῦντος ἐλλίπης.

Ebenso wie du auf einer Seefahrt, nachdem das Schiff geankert hat, wenn du ausgestiegen bist, um Wasser zu schöpfen, zwar nebenbei ein Muschelchen und ein Zwiebelchen⁴ aufsammeln wirst, deine Gedanken aber gespannt auf das Schiff richten und dich beständig danach ausrichten musst, ob nicht etwa der Steuermann ruft und du, wenn er dann ruft, alles liegen lassen musst, damit du nicht wie das Kleinvieh gefesselt auf Deck geworfen wirst – so wird im Leben, wenn dir anstelle eines Zwiebelchens und Muschelchens ein Frauchen und ein Kindchen gegeben werden, nichts dich hindern. Wenn aber der Steuermann ruft, so renne zum Schiff, lass all jenes liegen und wende dich nicht zu ihm hin. Wenn du aber ein alter Mann bist, entferne dich niemals weit vom Schiff, damit du, wenn einst der Steuermann ruft, nicht zurückbleibst.

Das Grundgerüst des Kapitels ist ein hypotaktisch formulierter Vergleich (1–7: καθάπερ ... οὕτω). Mit dem auf einer assoziationsreichen Bildebene angesiedelten komplexen Vergleichssatz korrespondiert ein wesentlich kürzerer auf der Sachebene angesiedelter Hauptsatz, der nur für einige Elemente des Vergleichs eine sachliche Entsprechung explizit macht. Anschließend springt Epiktet gedanklich weder auf die Bildebene (7: ἐάν...) und stellt eine neuerliche Überlegung an, für die dann keine sachlichen Entsprechungen mehr genannt werden.

Aus Epiktets erklärendem Satz erhellt (wenig überraschend), dass der Vergleich eine Aussage über das menschliche Leben (6: ἐν τῷ βίῳ) treffen möchte. Ferner werden als Entsprechungen für die bildlichen Vergleichselemente „Zwiebelchen“ und „Muschelchen“ auf der Sachebene Frau und Kind genannt,⁵ die nach epiktetischem Verständnis zu den nicht

⁴ Einen überzeugenden Interpretationsvorschlag zur präzisen botanischen Einordnung des „Zwiebelchens“ (βολβάριον) hat Döring 2018, 144 Anm. 17 unterbreitet. Es handelt sich demnach um eine am Strand wachsende, roh genießbare, süß schmeckende Tulpenzwiebel, wie sie Theophrast in *Hist. plant.* 7, 13, 8 beschreibt. Ein Verweis auf die kurze, flüchtige, mit einer solchen Zwiebel verbundenen Genusserfahrung passt optimal in den gedanklichen Duktus.

⁵ Es ist fraglich, ob Epiktets Ausgestaltung des Vergleichs weitere Übertragungen auf die Sachebene erlaubt. Brandt 2015, 93 erwägt, das mehrfach genannte Schiff als „geordneten Zusammenhang, hier den größtmöglichen Naturzusammenhang des Kosmos“, später noch als eine Art von Naturbewegung zu verstehen. Wie dies

in ‚unserer‘ Verfügungsgewalt stehenden, fremden Dingen (ἀλλότρια) zählen (*Ench.* 1, 5–12, 11. 14) – von ihnen sollte der Stoiker sich bei Bedarf ohne seelische Erschütterung trennen können.⁶ Weitgehend konsensfähig ist auch die Annahme, dass der Steuermann mit Gott bzw. dem göttlichen Prinzip identifiziert werden sollte.⁷ Die Grundstimmung, die der Vergleich transportiert, ist ein Gefühl von Flüchtigkeit und Fremdheit: Es ist evident, dass ein Reisender, der lediglich zur Erneuerung seiner Wasservorräte an Land geht, dort nicht lange verweilen kann und beim Landgang vernünftigerweise immer das ihm vertraute Schiff im Blick behalten wird, das ihn für eine begrenzte Zeit an seinen Aufenthaltsort gebracht hat, und ihn von dort wieder mitnehmen wird.

genau gemeint ist bzw. worauf der Passagier sein Denken in diesem Fall konkret ausrichten soll, wird nicht ganz klar. Simplikios unterscheidet in seinem Kommentar zum *Encheiridion* den Steuermann (= Gott) und das Schiff (= das Schicksal, μοῖρα / εἰμαρμένη) als die Instanz, die den Menschen in die Welt bringt (Simpl. *In Epict. Enchir.* S. 254, 30–32 Hadot). Allerdings sollten Gott und Schicksal nach stoischem Verständnis zusammenfallen (*SVF* I 175–176). Schiff und Gott sind demnach in Epiktets Vergleich nicht zu trennen, was auch aus der Tatsache ersichtlich wird, dass Epiktets Worten zufolge der Reisende seine Aufmerksamkeit gleichermaßen auf das Schiff und auf den Ruf des Steuermanns richten sollte (*Enchir.* 7, 3–4). Eine erkennbar platonisierende Überlegung ist Simplikios’ Deutung des (bei Epiktet gar nicht erwähnten) Meeres als Symbols für den ‚Fluss‘ des Werdens und somit für die materielle Welt (Simpl. *In Epict. Enchir.* S. 254, 27–30 Hadot).

⁶ Diminutive wie „Körperchen“ und „Besitzstückchen“ (beide z.B. in *Diss.* 1, 1, 10) sind bei Epiktet oftmals pejorativ gemeint. Der Gebrauch ist allerdings mehrdimensional und zielt neben einer korrekten gütertheoretischen Einordnung der diminuierten Entitäten vor allem auch darauf ab, die Haltung des Adressaten gegenüber den so bezeichneten Gegenständen zu korrigieren. Ob hier, wie Brandt 2015, 97 kommentiert, Frau und Kind durch den Vergleich mit Strandgut pejorativ „herabgesetzt“ werden, ist zweifelhaft. Zum einen sind aus stoischer Sicht andere Menschen als Teilhaber am göttlichen Logos nicht *per se* zu entwerten. Zum anderen ist die Ausbildung familiärer Strukturen naturgemäß. Sie wird von Epiktet keineswegs abgelehnt. Abzulehnen ist lediglich die Ansicht, Frau und Kind stünden in der eigenen Verfügungsgewalt und ihr Verlust sei für den Mann bzw. Vater ein Übel (*Enchir.* 3; *Diss.* 3, 2, 4; 3, 7, 25–26). Vgl. Newman 1989, 1504–1505 Anm. 64, Long 2002, 232. 248–249, Willms 2011, 148–149.

⁷ Vgl. Hadot 2000, 71; Seddon 2005, 57; Brandt 2015, 95. Kamlah 1954, 71–73 erwägt, den Steuermann mit dem Tod zu identifizieren (71) und gelangt dann zu der Ansicht, er bedeute sowohl Tod als auch Gott. Eine zu enge Assoziierung des Steuermanns mit dem Tod ist allerdings fernzuhalten, da er den Passagier Epiktets Vergleich zufolge nicht nur abholt, sondern auch an Land bringt. Es wäre allenfalls möglich, den Tod als eine Funktion Gottes zu verstehen. Doch wie sich zeigen wird, ist ebenfalls fraglich, ob der Vergleich in *Encheiridion* 7 bzw. die Aufforderung zur Abfahrt eindeutig auf diese Funktion festgelegt ist. Als theologisches Bild ist der Steuermann seit Platons *Politikos* (268 d – 274 e; bes. 272 e) etabliert.

Intrikate Probleme bereiten nun die Fragen, welche Bedeutung der Ruf des Steuermanns hat und ob er in den beiden von Epiktet geschilderten Situationen dasselbe bedeutet.

Die Interpretationsprobleme ergeben sich aus der Beobachtung, dass Epiktet zwei unterschiedliche Lebenssituationen beschreibt, auf die der Ruf des Steuermanns bei genauer Betrachtung unterschiedliche Auswirkungen hat. Anhand der zweiten Situationsbeschreibung wird deutlich, dass Epiktet in der ersten Situation wohl einen jüngeren Mann imaginiert. Denn im zweiten Vergleich wird der Reisende ausdrücklich als alter Mann (9: γέρων) vorgestellt. Dem jüngeren Mann wird die Möglichkeit eingeräumt, sich ein Stück vom Schiff zu entfernen. Wenn er den Ruf des Steuermanns hört, muss er sich eilends auf den Weg zum Schiff machen. Ansonsten droht ihm die Konsequenz, dass er wie ein gefesselt Schaf auf Deck geworfen wird (5). Man geht kaum fehl in der Annahme, dass Epiktet mithilfe dieses Tiervergleichs die nezessitierende Kraft des Schicksals verbildlichen möchte. Die Entscheidungsfreiheit des jungen Mannes bezieht sich nicht auf die Frage, ob er weiterreisen will, sondern wie er weiterreisen will: Er kann entweder freiwillig an Bord des Schiffes gehen, oder er wird gezwungen. Der Leser fühlt sich durch die Parallelisierung des unwilligen Menschen mit einem gefesselten Schaf an das berühmte Bild eines an den ‚Schicksalswagen‘ geketteten Hundes (*SVF* II 975)⁸ und an das einprägsame, unter anderem von Seneca aufgenommene Gebet des Kleanthes erinnert, das auf ähnliche Weise zwischen einer notwendigen entweder freiwilligen oder unfreiwilligen Gefolgschaft gegenüber dem Schicksals spricht.⁹

Der Umstand, dass der Schiffsreisende zum Wassers schöpfen (ὕδρευσα-σθαι) an Land geht, deutet darauf hin, dass der Aufenthalt an Land im ersten Vergleich als Zwischenstation einer Reise mit mehreren Etappen vorzustellen ist.¹⁰ Der Ruf des Steuermanns ist demnach das Signal zur Weiterfahrt, dem der ‚Passagier‘ entweder unter freiwilliger Zustimmung oder unter Zwang Folge leisten muss. Das Ablegen des Schiffes bedeutet demnach nicht, wie einige Interpreten annehmen, den Tod, sondern – epiktetisch gesprochen – eine Umsiedelung in veränderte Lebensumstände/Peristasen

⁸ Vgl. ebd. die prägnante Unterscheidung eines freiwilligen Zwangs, dem Schicksal zu folgen, und eines schlechthinnigen Zwangs, dies zu tun (ποιῶν καὶ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης ... πάντως ἀναγκασθήσεται).

⁹ Vgl. Brandt 2015, 96. Vgl. *SVF* I 527 zu Kleanthes (ἢν δέ γε μὴ θέλω, κακὸς γενόμενος, οὐδὲν ἤττον ἔσομαι) und Seneca (*ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt*).

¹⁰ Vgl. zum gängigen Motiv des Wasser-Schöpfens bei einer Reise mit mehreren Etappen z.B. Hom. *Od.* 10, 56; Eur. *Cycl.* 87–89; Lucian. *Ver. hist.* 2, 1.

(περιστάσεις).¹¹ Die knappe Bemerkung „es wird dich nichts hindern“ (οὐδὲν κωλύσει) zielt darauf ab, dass keine Veränderung, die seine familiären, mithin äußeren Umstände betrifft, die wahre Freiheit und das Glück des tugendhaften Menschen beschränken kann.¹²

Recht anders stellt sich die Situation dar, nachdem Epiktet von der Sachebene erneut auf die Vergleichsebene wechselt und diesmal seine Empfehlungen für die Situation des alten Mannes formuliert: Von Muscheln, Zwiebeln und Wassers schöpfen ist nun keine Rede mehr. Der Vergleich ist ganz auf die Beziehung des alten Mannes zum Schiff bzw. zum Steuermann fokussiert. Es ist offenbar damit zu rechnen, dass der Aufenthalt an Land nicht mehr lange dauert. Epiktet insistiert darauf, dass der alte Mann sich nicht weit vom Schiff entfernen möge. Denn die Gefahr bestehe, dass er auf den Ruf des Steuermanns hin „zurückbleibe“ (9–10: μή ποτε καλοῦντος ἐλλίπης). Wie ist diese Differenz in den Lebenssituationen des jungen und des alten Mannes einzuordnen? Formuliert Epiktet hier lediglich elliptisch, sodass man dazu angehalten ist, den Vergleich, mit Elementen aus der geschilderten Lebenssituation des jungen Mannes zu supplementieren, wie es in zwei der christlichen Paraphrasen des *Encheiridion* geschieht?¹³ Die Autoren der Paraphrasen greifen den zuvor geäußerten Gedanken der Fesselung auf und rechnen damit, dass der alte Mann ebenso wie sein jüngeres Pendant mit Zwang auf das Schiff befördert wird, wenn er nicht rechtzeitig auf den Ruf des Steuermanns reagiert. Allerdings ist dies ein spekulatives Supplement. Denn Epiktet sagt weder, dass der alte Mann dem Ruf des Steuermanns nicht folgen möchte, noch wird eine gewaltsame Mitnahme angedeutet. Nach Huttunens Ansicht wurde das Interpretament in den christlichen Paraphrasen integriert, da Epiktet mithilfe des neuerlichen Vergleichs eine Aufforderung zum rechtzeitigen Selbstmord formuliere – eine Anweisung, die aus christlicher Sicht nicht zu tolerieren ist. Der alte Mann sei als jemand zu denken, der über seine Zeit hinaus lebe. Nun ist es sicherlich zutreffend, dass die meisten Stoiker und auch Epiktet den Selbstmord nicht ablehnten und in manchen Situationen sogar für geboten hielten. Die Bildsprache des Vergleichs lässt aber vermuten,

¹¹ Ähnlich Brandt 2015, 97–98, die hier keine eindeutige Denotation für den Ruf des Steuermanns annimmt, sondern eine allgemeine Deutung vorschlägt, der zufolge „jedes Ereignis, das das Leben eines Menschen einschneidend verändert“, gemeint sei.

¹² Vgl. grundlegend zur Freiheit des Inneren und zur prinzipiellen Möglichkeit einer Hinderung des Äußeren Epikt. *Enchir.* 1, 4–12.

¹³ Der dort supplementierte Zusatz lautet: ... μή ποτε καλούμενος ἐλλίπης, καὶ δεδεμένος βληθῆς· ὁ γὰρ ἐκὼν μή ἐπόμενος ἄκων ἀνάγκη τοῦτο πείσεται („... damit du nicht auf den Ruf hin zurückbleibst. Denn wer nicht freiwillig folgt, wird dies unfreiwillig unter Zwang erleiden“). Vgl. Boter 1999, 373. 398.

dass hier nicht der verpasste Selbstmord thematisch ist:¹⁴ Der Ruf des Steuermanns verbildlicht ein singuläres Ereignis, von existenzieller Bedeutung; die drohende Abfahrt des Schiffs ist eine Gelegenheit, die, sobald sie einmal verpasst wurde, für immer verloren ist – die Entscheidung zum Selbstmord könnte dagegen, wenn sie einmal versäumt wurde, auch zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt noch getroffen werden.

Auf eine neue Fährte führt eine wichtige, aber nicht ausführlich entwickelte Beobachtung aus Brandts *Encheiridion*-Kommentar. Die Interpretin weist mit Recht darauf hin, dass die Bildebene von stoischen *termini technici* durchzogen sei.¹⁵ Dies ist neben der expliziten Aufschlüsselung von Bildelementen im οὐτω-Satz eine zweite Methode, die Epiktet in *Ench.* 7 verwendet, um interpretatorisch unklare Aspekte des Vergleichs begrifflich einzuholen. So heißt es im Rahmen der ersten Situationsschilderung, es sei für den jungen Mann während seines Landganges notwendig, die Gedanken gespannt auf das Schiff zu richten (3: τετάσθαι ... τὴν διάνοιαν) und sich in Erwartung eines Rufes beständig auf den Steuermann auszurichten (4: ἐπιστρέφεσθαι). Sicherlich nicht zufällig gebraucht Epiktet denselben Terminus auch bei der zweiten Situationsschilderung (8: ἐπιστρεφόμενος). Die systematische Relevanz beider Termini (ἐπιστρέφεσθαι und τείνεσθαι) ist außerordentlich hoch.¹⁶

¹⁴ In jedem Fall dürfte Huttunen zu weit zu gehen, wenn er von einer offensichtlichen Bezugnahme („obvious reference“) auf das Thema Selbstmord spricht (vgl. dens. 2009, 29–30 Anm. 31).

¹⁵ Vgl. Brandt 2015, 94–95.

¹⁶ Vgl. Hadot 1971; zur ἐπιστροφή bei Epiktet Aubin 1963, 59–66. Die Epistrophe ist in Epiktets Ethik mit Brandt 2015, 95 gesagt eine „Aufmerksamkeitsübung“. Sie zielt darauf ab, die Aufmerksamkeit des Lesers von den äußeren Umständen auf das eigene Selbst als den Ort wahrer Freiheit zu lenken. Sie bedeutet also erstens eine Introversion. Das zweite Moment der Epistrophe besteht sodann darin, das eigene Wollen in Einklang mit der Natur / Gott zu bringen. Vgl. *Diss.* 1, 4, 18: ἀποστὰς τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐπέστραπται τὴν αὐτοῦ, ταύτην ἐξεργάζεσθαι καὶ ἐκπονεῖν, ὥστε σύμφωνον ἀποτελέσαι τῇ φύσει. Bemerkenswert ist Epiktets in *Diss.* 2, 8, 3–5 geäußerte Ansicht, dass eine unaufmerksame (ἀνεπιστρέπτως) menschliche Lebensweise zum Verlust der Vernünftigkeit und Menschlichkeit (ἀπώλεσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον) und zu einer ‚Vertierung‘ führe. Vgl. für die zentrale Rolle einer auf Gott gerichteten Spannung (τόνος, τείνεσθαι) *Diss.* 3, 24, 112–114: „Sucht das Gute nicht im Äußeren, sucht in euch selbst. Wenn ihr das nicht tut, werdet ihr es nicht finden. Er (sc. Gott) schickt mich bald hierhin, bald dorthin, zeigt mich den Menschen als Armen, ohne Amt, als Kranken. Er schickt mich nach Gyara, führt mich ins Gefängnis. Nicht weil er mich hasst. Nicht doch. Wer hasst den besten seiner Diener? Nicht weil er mich vernachlässigt, er, der doch nicht einmal eines der geringsten Dinge vernachlässigt, sondern weil er mich trainiert und mich als Zeugen für die anderen verwendet. Überlege ich in einen solchen Dienst gestellt noch, wo ich bin oder mit wem oder was sie über mich sagen? Richte ich mich nicht ganz gespannt (ὅλος πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τέταμαι) auf Gott und seine Befehle und Vorschriften?“ Vgl. zum physikalischen Hintergrund von Aufmerksamkeitsübungen Hijmans 1959, 68–70.

Im Hintergrund der Überlegungen steht in diesem Fall die stoische Spannungslehre (Lehre des *τόνος*), die als disziplinübergreifendes Theorieelement sowohl in der Physik als auch in der Ethik eine wichtige Rolle spielt. Die Spannungslehre wird bereits in der alten Stoa entwickelt. Sie dient als Erklärungsmuster für die Frage, wie die Einheit und auch die qualitative Bestimmtheit der zahlreichen verschiedenen Körper begründet sei. Träger bzw. Produzent der unifizierenden und zugleich differenzierenden Spannung ist das Pneuma, das – vermöge einer in stoischer Terminologie „pneumatische Spannung“ (*πνευματικὸς τόνος*) genannten Kraft – sowohl den Kosmos insgesamt als auch dessen einzelne Bestandteile zusammenhält.¹⁷ Die interne Struktur der pneumatischen Spannung besteht wiederum aus zwei gegenläufigen Bewegungen. So berichtet etwa Nemesios von der stoischen Annahme einer „tonischen Bewegung bei den Körpern“ (*τονικὴν ... κίνησιν περὶ τὰ σώματα*): diese sei einerseits nach innen gerichtet und generiere Einheit und Substanz der Körper (*ἀποτελεστικὴν ... εἰς τὸ εἶσω ἐνώσεως καὶ οὐσίας*); andererseits strebe sie zur Konstituierung von Größe und qualitativer Bestimmtheit nach außen (*εἰς τὸ ἔξω μεγεθῶν καὶ ποιοτήτων ἀποτελεστικὴν*).¹⁸ Unterschiede der pneumatischen Spannung wirken nicht nur auf der Ebene der Spezies differenzbildend,¹⁹ sondern auch auf individueller Ebene sind die graduellen Unterschiede der pneumatischen Spannung ursächlich für die ethische Qualität der Seele.²⁰ Wie Epiktets Ausführungen zeigen, liegt es in der Hand des Menschen, die Spannung seines Seelenpneumas entweder durch die Ausrichtung auf Gott zu erhöhen, oder durch die eine anderwärtige Ausrichtung zu vermindern.²¹ Nach Ansicht des von Epiktet besonders geschätzten Chrysipp (*Diss.* 1, 4, 20–32) ist die Spannkraft des Seelenpneumas sogar entscheidend für die Frage, ob die Seele nach dem Tod weiterlebt.²² Nimmt man die terminologische Ausgestaltung

¹⁷ Vgl. *SVF* II 447–448. Siehe zur ontologischen Bestimmung des *πνευματικὸς τόνος* als Kraft (*δύναμις*) bzw. Bewegung (*κίνησις*) *SVF* 452.

¹⁸ Vgl. *SVF* II 451; ebenso *SVF* II 452.

¹⁹ Vgl. Forscher 2018, 118 und zum gesamten thematischen Komplex dens. 2018, 117–122.

²⁰ Vgl. Brandt 2015, 94–95.

²¹ Vgl. Brandt 2015, 94–95.

²² Vgl. *SVF* II 811 = Diog. Laert 7, 157. Der kurze Bericht spricht in diesem Zusammenhang von den Seelen der „Weisen“ (*σοφοί*) – also den Seelen mit besonders hoher pneumatischer Spannung – als Fortlebenden und setzt diese Theorie der Ansicht des Kleantes entgegen, wonach „alle Seelen“ den Tod überleben. Eine einheitliche stoische Position zur Frage nach dem Fortbestand der Seele existiert bekanntlich nicht. Die meisten Stoiker mit Ausnahme von Panaitios nahmen allerdings eine temporäre postmortale Existenz der Seele an. Vgl. *SVF* I 146;

und den Wortlaut des Vergleichs ernst, so ist es in der zweiten Situationsschilderung die persönliche Unsterblichkeit des Passagiers, die auf dem Spiel steht.

Ein solcher Gedanke, der stoischem Denken üblicherweise fremd bzw. kein zentrales Anliegen ist,²³ bewegt sich durchaus im Rahmen der epiktetischen Theologie und Psychagogik. Es kann zwar nicht Epiktets Intention gewesen sein, seinen Lesern Hoffnung auf ein wie auch immer geartete zeitlich unbegrenztes, ‚jenseitiges‘ Fortbestehen nach dem Tod zu machen. Die stoische monistisch-korporalistische Philosophie lässt keinen Raum für derartige Überzeugungen. Dem Fortbestehen ist spätestens mit dem Abschluss einer Weltperiode in der Ekpyrosis, über die hinaus nur „Zeus“ persistiert, ein Ende gesetzt (*Diss.* 3, 13, 4–8). Die epiktetische Theologie und Anthropologie bieten aber nichtsdestotrotz ein Fundament für die vorgeschlagene Deutung von *Encheiridion* 7 und für die Hoffnung auf ein diesseitiges postmortales Fortbestehen der Seele. Epiktet betrachtet den Tod einerseits sehr nüchtern als Zerfall eines aus verschiedenen Elementen (στοιχεῖα) konstituierten Kompositums in seine elementaren Bestandteile – alle Elemente kehren dabei in das ihnen Vertraute und Verwandte (εἰς τὰ φίλα καὶ συγγενῇ) zurück: Erde zu Erde, Wasser zu Wasser, Feuer zu Feuer, Pneuma zu Pneuma (*Diss.* 3, 13, 14–15). Allerdings bleibt es Epiktet im Rahmen seiner ‚orthodox‘-monistischen Anthropologie gleichfalls möglich, den Tod platonisierend und dualistisch anmutend als Trennung von Körper und Pneuma zu verstehen (*Diss.* 2, 1, 17: τὸ σωματίον δεῖ χωρισθῆναι τοῦ πνευματίου).²⁴ Epiktet denkt den

SVF II 809–822. Die Möglichkeit eines sempiternen Fortbestehens der Seele – in qualifizierter Form – ergibt sich auch aus der (ebenfalls nicht dem *consensus omnium Stoicorum* entsprechenden) Annahme einer unendlichen Wiederholung des immer gleichen Weltgeschehens – vgl. *SVF* II 596. 625. Vgl. zu den stoischen Überlegungen bezüglich Dauer und ‚Ort‘ des seelischen Fortlebens Hoven 1971, 44–85.

²³ Vgl. etwa die häufige Rede von den Stoikern als „Diesseitsmenschen“ bei Pohlenz 1992, 93. 199. 229 oder auch Dobbin 1998, 72: „There is no transcendence in either a metaphysical or personal sense ... For E[pictetus], fulfilment as a human being comes in the embodied state or not at all“.

²⁴ Vgl. in diesem Sinne (ein wenig überspitzend) Sedley 1993, 326: „the Stoics’ pneumatic soul is capable of very much the same discarnate survival as Plato had defended in the *Phaedo*“. Vgl. auch Jagu 1946, 87–96. Es besteht jedoch kein Grund zu der Annahme, Epiktet importiere substanzdualistische Elemente in seine Ontologie. Die Trennung von „Körper“, also den nichtpneumatischen Anteilen des menschlichen Körpers, und des ebenfalls körperlich verfassten Pneumas bleibt eine Trennung von zwei Körpern. Sie ist keine Trennung einer körperlichen und einer intelligiblen Substanz. Die platonische Definition des Todes als Trennung von Körper und Seele wird bereits vor Epiktet von den Stoikern rezipiert und dabei materialistisch umgebogen. Vgl. *SVF* I 137. 146; *SVF* II 790–792.

Körper in solchen Zusammenhängen gerne als Hülle oder Gewand der Seele (*Diss.* 1, 20, 17–18, 1, 25, 21). Mit dieser quasi-dualistischen Sicht auf Körper und Seele geht oftmals eine deutliche Wertminderung des Körpers und einer Aufwertung der Seele einher.²⁵

Zu den platonisch bzw. sokratisch gefärbten Elementen der epiktetischen Philosophie gehört auch das vielerorts erkennbare personale bzw. quasi-personale Gottesbild. Auch in diesem Punkt entfernt sich Epiktet nach Ansicht der meisten Interpreten, was den dogmatischen Gehalt angeht, wenn überhaupt nur äußerlich von der Theologie der alten Stoa.²⁶ Bemerkenswert sind allenfalls die Häufigkeit und Intensität, mit der Elemente einer persönlichen Religiosität, etwa die Konzeptualisierung der Logosgottheit als „Vater“ (*Diss.* 4, 1, 102) und „Zeus“ (1, 1, 10), in den Vordergrund treten.²⁷ Es lohnt sich, vor dem Hintergrund dieser Eigentümlichkeiten abschließend auf eine (mögliche) vieldiskutierte gedankliche Parallele für den Gedanken der Rückkehr zu Gott in den *Diatriben* hinzuweisen. Der Gedanke taucht in *Diss.* 1, 9 auf. Epiktet behandelt in diesem Lehrgespräch die Verwandtschaft (συγγένεια) des Menschen mit Gott und kommt bei diesem Anlass auch auf den aus dem Bewusstsein dieser Verwandtschaft resultierenden Wunsch nach einer Rückkehr zu Gott zu sprechen (*Diss.* 1, 9, 11: ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς). Der Körper wird in diesem Zusammenhang – wieder ganz sokratisch – als Fessel (δεσμός) des eigentlichen Selbst gedacht.²⁸ Epiktet weist seinen Gesprächspartner, der die Rückkehr zu Gott offenkundig

²⁵ Vgl. Long 2002, 158–159; Willms 2012, 550–551.

²⁶ Die Schwierigkeiten im Umgang mit der stoischen Theologie rühren, wie Algra 2007, 32–42 erörtert, zu einem nicht unwesentlichen Teil von bestimmten begrifflichen Vorannahmen über stoischen Pantheismus bzw. einer Entgegensetzung von personal geprägtem Theismus und apersonal angelegtem Pantheismus her. Als weltimmanentes, gleichwohl nicht mit der Welt identisches, sondern diese vernunftthaft gestaltendes Prinzip hat der stoische Logos *ab ovo* personale Züge. Vgl. in diesem Sinne z.B. auch Thom 2005, 22. 25–26: „Stoicism was, from the very beginning, not purely pantheistic, but in fact an amalgam of pantheism and theism“. Die stoische Theologie trägt demnach, was die Personalität Gottes betrifft, stets sowohl pantheistische als auch theistische Züge und kann bei verschiedenen Autoren oder aus verschiedenen Perspektiven, die ein einzelner Autor annimmt, zwischen pantheistischen und theistischen Sprechweisen oszillieren.

²⁷ Vgl. Long 2002, 143; Vollenweider 2013, 150–152; vgl. beispielhaft zur Differenz der Gottesbilder Epiktets und Marc Aurels auch Pohlenz 1992, 347–348: „Epiktets Religiosität, der überall die Gegenwart des persönlichen Gottes fühlt, ist ihm [sc. Marc Aurel] freilich fremd, und von Zeus, den dieser ständig im Munde führt, redet er selten. Er glaubt an die stoische Allgottheit“.

²⁸ Vgl. etwa Plat. *Phaedr.* 67 c–d, *Phaedr.* 250 c.

übereilen möchte, an, auf ein entsprechendes Zeichen Gottes (ὅταν ἐκεῖνος σημῆνῃ) und auf die Entbindung von seinem Posten zu warten (*Diss.* 1, 9, 11–17).²⁹ Wie auch immer der dogmatische Gehalt solcher auf die Möglichkeit einer persönlichen Beziehung zum göttlichen Logos hindeutenden Überlegungen einzuschätzen ist, fest steht, dass die gerade skizzierte Passage ebenso wie das Kapitel 7 des *Encheiridion* – und dies dürfte genau Epiktets Interesse entsprechen – psychagogisch äußerst wirksam sind.³⁰ Wer glaubt, auf ein klares und unmissverständliches Zeichen Gottes warten zu müssen, wird den von Epiktet abgelehnten, grundlosen Selbstmord nicht vollziehen. Ebenso wird, wer die in *Encheiridion* 7 gegenübergestellten Möglichkeiten vor Augen hat – zuletzt von Gott verlassen in der Fremde sterben einerseits, eine postmortale Gemeinschaft mit Gott andererseits –, umso stärker auf die Tugend und den Tonos seiner Seele hinwirken.

Die vorliegende Betrachtung hat eine Interpretation angeboten, die sich eng an den Wortlaut von Kapitel 7 des *Encheiridion* hält. Demnach beschreibt Epiktet in der Tat zwei verschiedene Lebenssituationen zweier Menschen (oder desselben Menschen in unterschiedlichen Lebensphasen). Im ersten Fall thematisiert Epiktet die schicksalsbedingte Veränderung der Peristasen, der man entweder freiwillig oder unter Zwang Folge leisten kann. Im zweiten Fall kündigt der Ruf des Steuermanns den bevorstehenden Tod an. Das verbindende Element der Lebensbeschreibungen ist die stoische Spannungslehre. Der tugendhafte Mensch richtet sich in allen Situationen und bei allen Entscheidungen auf Gott aus und erhöht so den Tonos seines seelischen Pneumas. Im zweiten Fall spricht Epiktet aus seiner eigenen persönlichen Religiosität heraus

²⁹ Dobbin 1998, 125–126 spricht sich in der kontroversen Frage, ob Epiktet das Konzept einer Rückkehr zu Gott affirmativ aufgreife, gegen die Ansicht Bonhöffers 1890, 35–36. 52–53. 65–66 aus, der die Überzeugungen Epiktets hier von denen seiner Gesprächspartner strenger unterscheiden möchte. Dagegen spricht allerdings, dass Epiktet, wie Dobbin 1998, 126 geltend macht, zuvor in *propria persona* ganz ähnliche Überzeugungen äußert (*Diss.* 1, 9, 11). Den in *Diss.* 1, 9, 12–17 artikulierten Vorbehalt gegenüber dem Selbstmord ohne ein klares Signal Gottes führt Dobbin 1998, 125 auf Platons *Phaidon* zurück (vgl. ebd. 62 b–c). Vgl. zur Stelle auch Hoven 1971, 135–137, der zur Lösung Bonhöffers tendiert, die Frage aber letztendlich offen lässt.

³⁰ Die inhaltliche Übereinstimmung von *Encheiridion* 7 und Epiktets eigener Religiosität ist kein Beweis, aber zumindest ein Indiz dafür, dass Epiktet selbst den Steuermannvergleich in einer der verlorenen Schriften aus den *Diatriben* entwickelt hat, wie I. und P. Hadot 2005, 427 meinen (natürlich ist auch nicht auszuschließen, dass Arrian die persönliche Religiosität seines Lehrers teilte und den Vergleich selbst entworfen hat).

psychagogisch wirksam die persönliche Religiosität des Lesers an. Wer den seelischen Tonos und die aufmerksame Ausrichtung auf Gott auch im fortgeschrittenen Alter bewahrt, wird den Tod – für eine gewisse Zeit – überdauern und eine Gemeinschaft mit Gott erleben.

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Epictetus'/Arrianus' *Encheiridion* is for the most part a lucid and readily understandable text. The precise meaning of c. 7 and its imagery, however, is still a matter of dispute. The present paper offers a reinterpretation of c. 7 which tries to link c. 7 to stoic physics and psychology on the one hand and Epictetus' personal religiosity and his psychagogic style of writing on the other hand.

“Энхиридион” Эпиктета/Арриана представляет собой, по большей части, ясный и легко понимаемый текст. Одно из немногих исключений – гл. 7 с ее трудной для интерпретации образностью, остающейся предметом дискуссий. Автор предлагает пересмотреть интерпретацию этой главы, связав ее как с физическими и психологическими взглядами стоиков, так и с особенностями религиозного мировоззрения Эпиктета и психагогической манеры его рассуждений.

Anna Trofimova, Natalia Pavlichenko

THE GRAVESTONE OF METRODOROS FROM THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE SOUTHERN SUBURB OF CHERSONESOS TAURICA*

In the course of excavating the Southern Suburb of Chersonesos Taurica in February 2022, an extremely interesting work of ancient sculpture and epigraphy was discovered – the gravestone of Metrodoros, son of Apollonides (fig. 1). This find is remarkable in many respects, above all because marble sculptures in a good state of preservation are not encountered frequently during archaeological explorations of Chersonesos and the other ancient city colonies of the Northern Black Sea Region. Besides that, it is the gravestone of a still quite young boy, while the overwhelming majority of known Chersonesean steles represent adolescent males, adults, and, most often, elderly people. The depiction of the deceased displays individualized features. Its style follows that of Roman portraiture customary in the metropolis. Finally, the epigraph on the stone has survived in its entirety, and a reading of it provides information not only about the dead youngster, but also sheds light on the technology used to make lapidary inscriptions in the Northern Black Sea region.

The gravestone takes the form of a slab containing a deep niche with an inscription below it. The central part with the relief and lettering has survived completely, together with a small fragment of the projecting lug that was used to mount the stone into its base. The upper part of the monument, probably made in the form of a pediment, has been lost, but on the upper edge of the slab there are two holes containing remnants of metal fastenings (fig. 2).¹ The architectural design (pediment, niche, and base) expresses in simplified form the idea of a funerary temple in which the deceased dwells forever. Inside the temple, within the deep niche, there is a high-relief depiction of the boy standing up, dressed in a chiton

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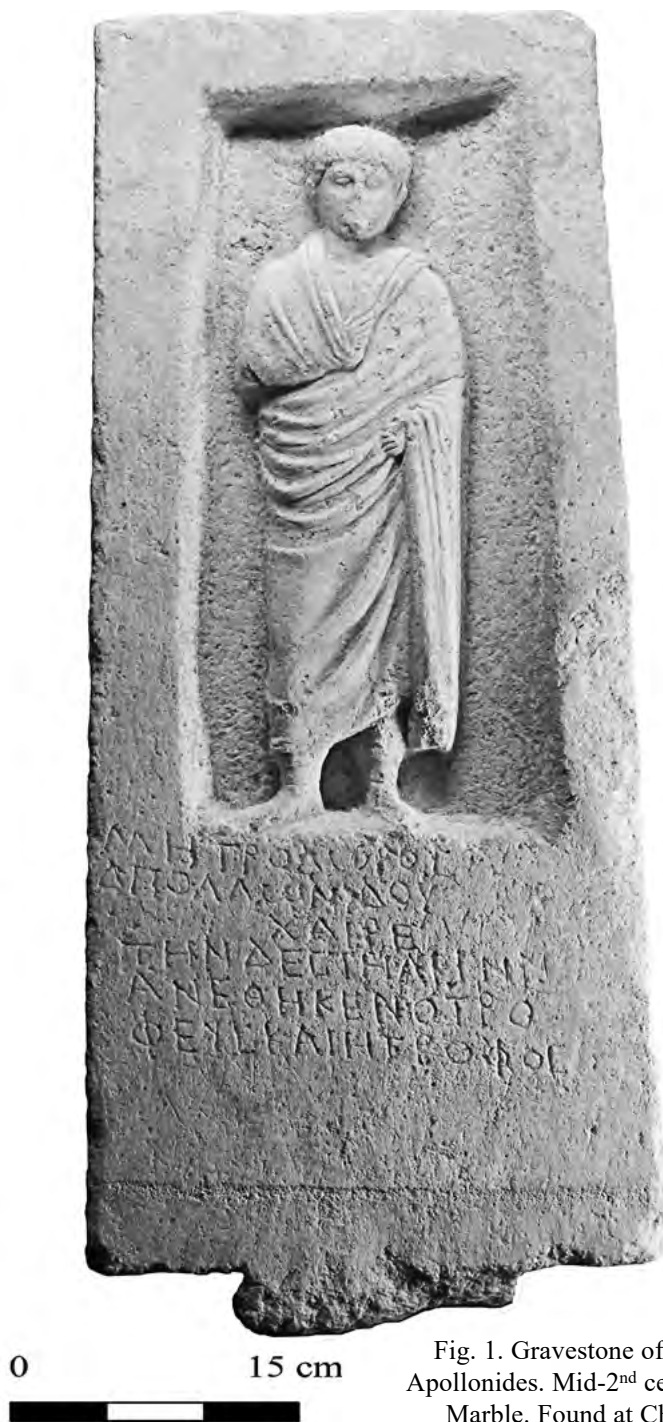


Fig. 1. Gravestone of Metrodoros, son of Apollonides. Mid-2nd century AD, local work. Marble. Found at Chersonesos in 2022

and himation, with soft boots on his feet. The figure is presented in an entirely frontal view, with the traditional pose that is sometimes termed the “Aeschines pose”: the left hand holding up the edge of the himation; the right arm bent at the elbow, held in front of the chest, wrapped in the himation, which descends in even folds.

Funerary steles of this sort, with a depiction of one or two standing figures entirely enveloped in a long himation, were in exceptionally wide use in the ancient cities on the northern, western, and southern shores of the Black Sea. Along with the funerary repast, this is undoubtedly the most common category in the repertoire of grave monuments. Following Margarete Bieber, researchers trace the sources of the composition back to the art of the 4th century BC, to a statue of the orator Aeschines. The same formula is repeated in the figure of a youth from Eretria.² In the Hellenistic era, the statuary motif was adapted for relief gravestones and became very popular in the Roman period, during the 1st century BC and the 1st and 2nd centuries AD.³

The basic elements of the depiction – the pose, composition, and clothing – are repeated, but the figures do differ in their details. The deceased’s right arm may be shown lowered, rather than across the chest. Sometimes the hand holds some attribute. Men will have a purse or a scroll. A scroll is also an attribute of youths and adolescents. Small children have a ball or a bird, and a dog might be sitting by their feet. Sometimes the fingers of the right hand or both hands are arranged in a ritual gesture, the thumb and next two fingers extended, the last two bent towards the palm. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, this was the way that people in various parts of the Mediterranean basin depicted the “hand of Sabazios” – a ritual gesture symbolizing salvation in the afterlife.⁴

The iconography of a standing draped figure is very familiar on Chersonesean gravestones. The earliest example of the type dates from the 1st century BC, the latest known from the mid-2nd century AD: the State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”, inv. nos 4550,⁵ 4552,⁶ 16109,⁷ 3669,⁸

² Bieber 1959, 359; for the Aeschines type see also Ridgway 1990, 226, pl. 109, Zanker 45–49, fig. 26; for the Youth from Eretria, see Ridgway 1990, 226.

³ See Pfuhl–Möbius 1977.

⁴ *Antichnaia skul’ptura Khersonesa* 1976 [Античная скульптура Херсонеса], 98, cat. no. 310; for gravestones with standing figure dressed in long himation in Chersonesos, see also pp. 395 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, cat. no. 304.

⁶ *Ibid.*, cat. no. 305.

⁷ *Ibid.*, cat. no. 306.

⁸ *Ibid.*, cat. no. 309.

and 15400.⁹ Characteristics of the pose and the way the drapery is treated put the relief of Metrodoros close to later works dating from the first half and middle of the 2nd century: State Hermitage, inv. no. X.1793.1 – the gravestone of Theagenes and Makaria,¹⁰ the State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”, inv. no. 3670 – the gravestone of Apollonides, son of Menandros.¹¹ In general, the presentation of this subject on Chersonesean steles follows the pattern customary for those found in Attica and Asia Minor, but with less diversity in the details.¹² In the case of the relief showing Metrodoros, for example, there is no depiction of attributes or symbolic gestures.

Considering the popularity of the motif of a standing figure dressed in a long himation, it is strange to note that it still has no single agreed interpretation in scholarly literature. Paul Zanker suggested that the himation (especially in combination with a scroll) is testimony to the intellectual pursuits of the deceased.¹³ It is, however, completely obvious that not only philosophers or orators were depicted in such attire. Another hypothesis, advanced by Grizelda McClelland, is that the long himation points to “education”, more specifically, that on the gravestones of youths it denotes “a student”.¹⁴ We would, however, add to these arguments the observation that men, women, and children of various ages were depicted in a cloak-like garment completely concealing the body, and so, in our opinion, such attire did not convey the occupation or profession, but rather the social status of the deceased. Roland Ralf Smith reached the same conclusion in a study of the portrait statues set up in the Greek cities of the eastern part of the Roman Empire. He deduces that in honorary sculpture, the aristocracy living in those places unambiguously preferred the himation to the toga, demonstrating their devotion to Greek tradition.¹⁵ The cloak completely covering the body is seen by Christopher Hallett as a garment that accords with the code of correct behaviour for a citizen.¹⁶ So, we should conclude that the long himation on relief gravestones is a kind of “social uniform” that, irrespective of age or gender, indicates that the deceased belonged to the society of some ancient polis, in the present case, to the city of Chersonesos.

⁹ *Ibid.*, cat. no. 310.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, cat. no. 313.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, cat. no. 314.

¹² E.g., Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 222, from Athens.

¹³ Zanker 1995, 83–89; Dillon 2006, 126.

¹⁴ McClelland 2013, 122; Grandjouan 1961, 54, pl. 8, no. 390.

¹⁵ Smith 1998, 64.

¹⁶ Hallett 1998, 82 n. 54

As Grizelda McClelland showed in her studies of the gravestones of children in Attica, the attributes given to the dead correspond to various stages in the process of growing up that held significance not only for the children themselves or their parents. These stages were marked by public events and city festivals. Analysing the iconography and written sources (Poll. *Onom.* 2. 4, Aristoph. Byz. fr. 90 Slater), she identifies three age categories: infant and toddler (1–3 years old), prepubescent (4–12) and youth and ephebe (13–20). Metrodoros of Chersonesos belonged to the third category that preceded a young man becoming a full member of society and acquiring the rights of a citizen. In Athens, when a youth reached the age of 18, he would be registered in the family *demos*. It has been suggested that gravestones of this type depict the actual act of the festive ceremony by which a young person entered into adult life, but transferred to a funerary context. In other words, the “coming of age” of a son who died before his time takes place not in the real world, but in the afterlife. The information from written sources about the public and religious rituals that male children underwent relate to Athens in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. There is, however, every reason to suppose that those rituals persisted into the Roman period as well, especially on the periphery where people followed the example of Athens. Although today there is a lack of data from written sources on customs of this sort among the Chersoneseans and on the significance of the status of the *κουρσεῖον*, the iconography of the gravestones does attest to the preservation of polis traditions in the society and families of Roman-era Chersonesos too.

In the Roman period, craftsmen used standard prefabricated “work-pieces” – half-finished monuments that already had reliefs – to produce gravestones, while the inscriptions and the heads were created for each individual case. For this purpose, separately prepared marble insets were sometimes placed in niches cut into limestone slabs. There are known instances in which the inscription and the image on a stone contradict one another, something that can apparently be put down to the workshop having only a certain “blank” available.¹⁷ In the relief of Metrodoros, the difference in style between the head and the figure is immediately striking. Evidently two craftsmen worked on the relief, one of whom prepared the slab and carved the figure in the niche, while the other sculpted the portrait head and possibly also made the inscription, as will be shown below. While the boy’s figure and the drapery of the clothing were worked in a highly schematic manner, the head stands out for its

¹⁷ McClelland 2013, 78.

three-dimensional treatment and the thorough modelling of the surface (fig. 3). The youngster has a rather elongated face with deep, well-worked eye sockets and rounded, childishly plump cheeks. The close-set eyes and protruding cheekbones invest the face with individuality. The coiffure is characteristic of Trajan's reign: the hair is separated into symmetrically even strands, while a neat fringe forms a semi-circular frame around the forehead. Such a hairstyle belongs to a type seen in what are termed the "early portraits" of Trajan (AD 100–115).¹⁸ Bearing in mind that a style prevailing in the metropolis would have spread to the art of the city-colonies with some lag in time, the relief can be dated to the second quarter or middle of the 2nd century AD.

Sculptural likenesses on funerary steles made in the style of Roman portraits are not unique. They are known on gravestones from other centres of the ancient world in Roman times.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the relatively large number of portraits on the reliefs destined to be set up on graves can be considered a distinctive feature of Chersonesos. Well-known examples include the steles of Aurelius Victor,²⁰ Theagenes and Makaria,²¹ as well as others.²² The Chersonesean sculptures precisely follow the trends of Roman portraiture in the treatment of the hair and facial features, while in Bosphoran reliefs a local style and "Bosphoran" type predominate.²³

This prompts the question: why did the Chersonesean craftsmen choose the Roman type of portrait, rather than a local or more generalized one? The style of a gravestone is a statement of this or that position. It is undoubtedly connected with the attitude of whoever commissions it. Among the various alternatives for grave monuments, the parents of the dead child selected those that most reflected their own values. It has been argued²⁴ that imitating imported Roman prototypes was a means with which members of the urban elite emphasized their loyalty to Rome. Such funerary reliefs were produced by local craftsmen, but under the influence of models from Asia Minor or the western shores of the Black Sea.²⁵

¹⁸ Fittschen–Zanker 1985, 39–84.

¹⁹ *IG* II² 6692; Conze 1922, no. 206; Mühsam 1952, 57, 85, 90, 96, 107, pl. 17 no. 4 (Late Antonine); Walters 1988, 47, 50, 64, pl. 21 (Trajanic); Mook 1998, no. 495 (Late Hadrianic or Antonine).

²⁰ *Antichnaia skul'ptura Khersonesa* 1976, cat. no. 393.

²¹ *Ibid.*, cat. no. 313.

²² *Ibid.*, cat. no. 314.

²³ See Kreuz 2012.

²⁴ Ivanova 1941 [А. П. Иванова, "Херсонесские надгробия с портретными изображениями", *Советская археология*], 120; Kadeev 1981 [В. Н. Кадеев, *Херсонес Таврический в первые века нашей эры*], 110, 136.

²⁵ Kadeev 1981, 179.



Fig. 2. The upper edge of the stone with sockets for metal fastenings



Fig. 3. Detail of the relief: the portrait head



Fig. 4. Detail of the relief: the arms, hands, and folds of the himation



Fig. 5. Detail of the relief: the lower part of the relief with the boots

We should note that this style was prevalent everywhere in the art of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, in all the ancient centres of the Mediterranean basin and the East that formed part of the Roman Empire, including the remotest regions,²⁶ becoming a parallel of sorts to Koine Greek. Above all, though, such steles were produced during the Roman period in Attica, Amisos, Sinope, Apollonia, and the cities of western and central Anatolia. It was a cosmopolitan style that cannot be regarded as typically Roman. In the Roman tradition, particular attention was paid to the head, but it is Greek forms that make up the basis of the iconography of the draped standing figure on the gravestone.

Judging by a number of features, such as the incorrect proportions of the arms and hands or the flattening of the drapery, the relief should be considered a fairly good piece of work by a local sculptor active in Chersonesos (figs. 4, 5). The material from which the gravestone was carved is coarse-grained marble. The dimensions of the slab are standard for smaller Chersonesean gravestones (height: 63.5 cm without the lug; width: 28.5 cm). Despite the thinness of the stone (7.0–7.5 cm), the sculptor did manage to cut into the marble to a considerable depth and to carve out the niche in such a way as to give the relief as much volume as possible while dealing with a stone of this size. The marble has been removed particularly deeply around the head, which stands out strongly from its background. Such techniques indicate that the craftsman had well-developed skills in working with marble. Evidently, although marble was an imported material for Chersonesos, the local sculptor who carved the boy's gravestone did not lack practice.

Examination of the surface of the relief produces a number of interesting observations. The boy's face and drapery show traces of the sculpture having been reworked. The contours of the eyes were gone over again intensively with a large tool. The boy's hair shows indications that a pointed chisel was used over the neat locks (fig. 3). Most probably, the additional work was occasioned by the need to improve the relief's appearance because it had suffered damage. In any case, the tool marks listed above date from a later time than when the relief depiction of the boy was created, as they were made on top of the original surface. The lines of the eyes have been drawn fairly crudely, even primitively, by a less-skilled hand. The hatching on the hair was done sloppily. Anyway, it is evident that people worked on the relief on at least two separate occasions.

²⁶ In the ancient cities of Cilicia, for example. See Laffi 2017, 145–180, fig. 9 no. 3, Museum of Alanya; Temür 2018, cat. 4, 5, 9, Sinop Museum.

A six-line inscription is carved beneath the relief (fig. 6). The height of the letters is 1.0–1.5 cm, *phi* – 2.3 cm, *theta* and *omicron* – 1.0–1.2 cm.

Μητρόδωρος
 Απολλωνίδου,
 χαῖρε.
 Τὴν δὲ στήλην<ν>
 ἀνέθηκεν ὁ τρο- 5
 φεὺς καὶ ἡ τροφός.

Metrodoros, (son) of Apollonides, farewell. The tutor and the wet nurse set up this stele.

The inscription is carelessly carved; near the left edge of the plate the lines are warped, the letters are positioned at different levels. The first two lines begin immediately near the edge of the plate and, moreover, their first letters are placed above the ends of the lines. Lines 4 and 5 begin with a slight indentation and with “curvatures” in the middle section of the lines; their beginnings are not level with each other. In στήλην in the end of the fourth line, the carver cut a second letter *nu* by error.

Many letters have short triangular thickenings at the ends of the hastae. The *alpha* is fairly wide, with a straight horizontal hasta; the end of the right lateral line of the *delta* is projected upwards beyond the intersection with the left line; the *epsilon* is rather narrow with horizontal bars of approximately equal length; the *theta* and *omicron* are of different sizes and smaller than the other letters of the line. The *kappa* has broadly extended oblique hastae; the *mu* is wide with the ends of the oblique hastae at the same level as the lateral ones; in most cases, the oblique hasta of the *nu* does not reach the lower end of the right vertical hasta; the edges of the horizontal hasta of the *pi* extend slightly beyond the vertical ones; the *sigma* has a rectangular form; the *ypsilon* is written in the form of a vertical stroke slightly inclining to the right, similarly to a Russian “Y”; the vertical hasta of the *phi* projects beyond the width of the line and is inclined to the left; and the *omega* is cursive.

Certain palaeographic features of the inscription have parallels in the monuments of the second half of the 1st century AD, e.g. in the proxeny decree of Cornelius Pudentus, which I. A. Makarov dates close to the third quarter of the 1st century AD,²⁷ with the right hastae of the *alpha*, *delta*, and *lambda* occasionally projecting beyond the intersection with the left hasta.

²⁷ IOSPE I² 356 (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.14.html>).



Fig. 6. The epitaph of Metrodoros son of Apollonides

In addition to these palaeographic features, there is the use of cursive forms of *epsilon*, *sigma*, and *omega* in the decree in honour of the citizen of Sinope Gaius Valerius [--] of AD 106–115.²⁸ These letters have the same form in the proxeny inscription of a Herakleian citizen Dia[--], son of Demetrios, AD 129/130, where, in addition, the *ypsilon* sometimes has a form resembling the Russian “Y”.²⁹ In the inscription on the pedestal of the statue of Ariston, son of Attinas, AD 138, there is a *mu* close to a cursive type, with the ends of slightly curved oblique hastae at the same level as the lateral ones.³⁰

The rectangular *sigma* appears on monuments dated to the period beginning from the middle to the second half of the 2nd century AD, e.g. in the proxeny of the Amastrian P. (Ser?)vilius,³¹ as well as in inscriptions of a private character dated to a wide range of the second half of the 2nd century to the first half of the 3rd century AD.³² In addition, the combination of rectangular *epsilon* and *sigma* with a cursive *omega*, where the letters have a more elongated form, can be found in a correspondence concerning the prostitution tax, which is usually dated to either 185/186 or to 222–235.³³

Generally, considering the carelessness of the carver and the private character of the inscription, the type of the epitaph of Metrodoros is datable to the second or third quarter of the 2nd century AD.

The second phrase of the epitaph may seem a trochaic tetrameter (with a prosodic mistake in the third foot), but this similarity to a poetic inscription is rather accidental.

Directly under the epitaph of Metrodoros, three lines of another inscription are discernible, carved in thin and rather shallow lines (fig. 7). Their text and the spacing of the words in the lines are absolutely identical to the last three lines of the main inscription (Τὴν δὲ στήλην / ἀνέθηκεν ὁ τρο/φεὺς καὶ ἡ τροφός). The height of the letters is 1.9–2.0 cm in the first line, 1.5 cm in the second and third lines. Considering that particular letters of this “lower” inscription are discernible also above (*mu* and *alpha* beneath it at the left edge of the relief at the level of the second and fourth lines and the *alpha* between the fourth and fifth lines of the

²⁸ SEG 48. 999 (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.19.html>).

²⁹ IOSPE I² 359 (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.22.html>).

³⁰ IOSPE I² 423 (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.160.html>).

³¹ IOSPE I² 381, Makarov 2006 [И. А. Макаров, “Новые надписи из Херсонеса Таврического”], 90 (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.17.html>).

³² Cf. e.g. <https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.363.html>; *НЭПХ I* [Э. И. Соломоник, *Новые эпиграфические памятники Херсонеса*], 19 (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.130.html>); IOSPE I² 445 (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.145.html>); IOSPE I² 446 (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.146.html>); IOSPE I² 457 (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.372.html>).

³³ IOSPE I² 404 (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.107.html>), SEG 57. 699.

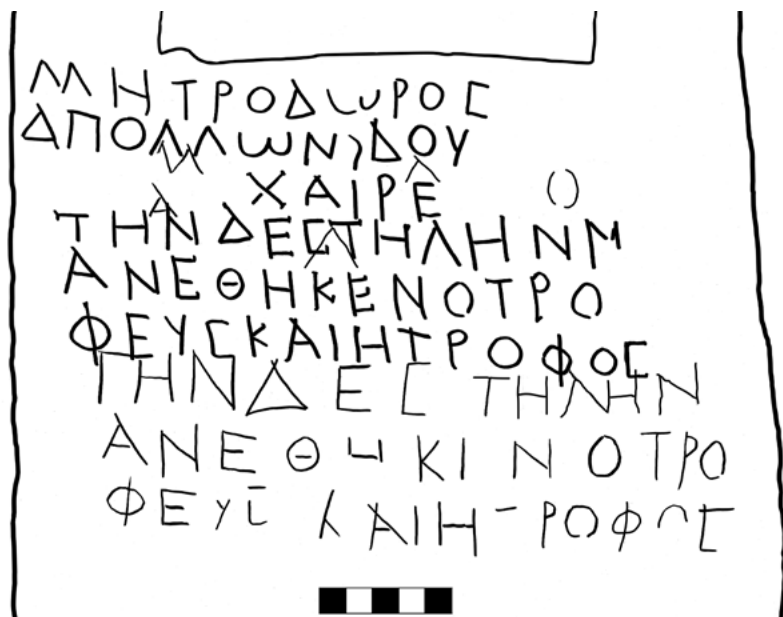


Fig. 7. The drawing of two inscriptions on the gravestone of Metrodoros son of Apollonides

main inscription), the name, the patronymic, and the word *χαῖρε* were positioned immediately under the relief and, moreover, the first letters of the name and patronymic were close to the left edge of the relief, while *XAIPE* was placed in the middle part of the line. In the last three lines of the “lower” inscription, the letters are distributed throughout the entire width of the plate with a slight indentation on the left and right.

The palaeographic features of the “lower” writing do not differ from those of the main inscription above them, but they were surely executed by the hand of an expert. Judging by the fact that the letters of the upper inscription overlap the “lower” one, it may be suggested that the text was designed by a professional carver (possibly one of the sculptors who cut the relief), and thus we see a so-called *ordinatio* – i.e. the primary layout of the plate intended for the grave stele.³⁴ In order to correctly position the inscription and to count the number of the letters in the lines, a small pointed chisel, coal, or paint were used to draw guidelines on the plate on which its text was carved. The letters of the final text were carved either directly over this marking or the latter was polished away from

³⁴ Mallon 1953, 145–160; Susini 1973, 9–12, 31–34; Grasby 2002, 152–156.

the surface of the block after finishing the execution of the inscription.³⁵ The guidelines were probably already traced during the preliminary preparation of the stone block at the sculptor's workshop where the relief was cut and the place for the inscription was prepared. This is suggested by the gravestones on which "blank" lines drawn with a thin chisel are preserved under the inscription.³⁶

In the Black Sea region, Greek steles with such guidelines are fairly numerous, but this may be the first finding of a preserved layout for the text of an inscription. It remains unclear why the carver of the epitaph of Metrodoros did not employ it.

Both the name and the patronymic of Metrodoros, son of Apollonides, belong to the group of theophoric names, and like the other derivatives from similar stems, have already been attested in Chersonesos. Μητρόδωρος is among the names rooted in the cult of the Mother of Gods Kybele. Although her cult was not an official one during any periods of the lifetime of Chersonesos, nevertheless the worship of this goddess is traceable until the 2nd to 3rd century AD.³⁷ The evidence of the worship of Kybele in Chersonesos includes the finds of the graffiti MAT, MA, and M from the mid-4th to the second half of the 3rd century BC,³⁸ Μάτ(ηρ) θ(εῶν) on the wall of the red-figure krater of the late 5th to early 4th century BC,³⁹ and terracottas with a representation of Kybele of various statuary types dated to the period from the end of the 5th century BC to the 3rd century AD. Among these, notable is the representation of an enthroned Kybele from the end of the 5th to the first half of the 4th century BC and a figure from the 3rd to 2nd century BC in a *corona muralis*.⁴⁰ The cult of this goddess took on special importance in the 3rd to 2nd centuries BC that was related to her role as the Soteira.

³⁵ See the examples of the preserved layout of a text in Edmondson 2015, 119 n. 27. On the primary layout of inscriptions see also Strabo 14. 1. 41.

³⁶ See e.g. Bosporan steles with reliefs: *CIRB-Album* 88 (Pantikapaion, first half of the 2nd century AD), 142, 528 (Pantikapaion, 1st century AD), 695 (Pantikapaion, 2nd century AD).

³⁷ Bondarenko 2003 [М. Е. Бондаренко, *Пантеон Херсонеса Таврического*], 103–105.

³⁸ Solomonik 1976 [Э. И. Соломоник, "Некоторые группы граффити из античного Херсонеса"], 128–131; Solomonik 1978a [*Граффити античного Херсонеса*], nos 883, 1170, 1172–1175, 1178–1197, 1199–1201; Solomonik 1984 [*Граффити с хоры Херсонеса*], nos 10, 129, 166, 209, 210, 238, 425.

³⁹ Solomonik 1976, 129 fig. 8.

⁴⁰ Shevchenko 2005 [А. В. Шевченко, "Культ Кибелы в античном Херсонесе", *Античная древность в средние века*] 14–18; Shevchenko 2016 [*Терракоты античного Херсонеса и его ближней сельской округи*], 22–27 nos. 37–67.

The Doric form of this name – Μαρδόωρος – is found in epitaphs of the 4th and the first half of the 3rd century BC.⁴¹ The activities of the astynomos Μαρδόωρος ὁ Λυσίππου are dated to the 220s BC.⁴² The form of Μητρόδωρος appears in the 1st century AD on the gravestone of the first archon Gazourios, son of Metrodoros,⁴³ and afterwards it is found beginning with the end of the 120s AD throughout the entire 2nd century AD.

The personal name Μητρόδωρος belonged to πρόδικος Μητρόδωρος Διοσκουρίδου, who is known from the decree in the honour of the Herakleian resident Dia[--] of 129/130 AD,⁴⁴ and to one of the magistrates from the list of “those who applied their seals” in the 2nd century AD.⁴⁵ From the same time, a fragmentary epitaph of the daughter of a certain Metrodoros is dated.⁴⁶

The names derived from the name of Apollo, who occupied an important place in the pantheon of Chersonesos, are found in Chersonesean inscriptions since the second half of the 4th century BC until the 2nd century AD.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Solomonik 1978b [Э. И. Соломоник, “Несколько новых надписей херсонесского музея”], 66 (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.272.html>), *SEG* 28. 635; Makarov–Samoylenko 2013 [И. А. Макаров, В. Г. Самойленко, “Эпиграфические находки из куртины 19 оборонительных сооружений Херсонеса Таврического”], 66, no. 2 (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.271.html>).

⁴² Kats 2007 [В. И. Кац, *Греческие керамические клейма эпохи классики и эллинизма (опыт комплексного изучения)*], 442.

⁴³ *IOSPE* I² 471 (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.336-ru.html>). The name Γαζούριος Μητρόδωρου is found also in the epitaph of Gazourios and Daiskos, the sons of Metrodoros of the 2nd century AD (Kadeev 1985 [В. И. Кадеев, “Новый надгробный памятник II в. н. э. из Херсонеса”], 66 [*SEG* 35. 859], cf. <https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.337-ru.html>). Apparently, these inscriptions are concerned with a grandfather and his grandson. This second Gazourios is mentioned among “those who applied their seals” in the decree dating to the second half of the 2nd century AD (*НЭПХ* II [Э. И. Соломоник, *Новые эпиграфические памятники Херсонеса. Лapidарные надписи*], 112 [<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.90-ru.html>]). One of them – the grandfather or the grandson – appears in the dedication to the Parthenos by [--] son of Zethos on behalf of Gazourios, son of Metrodoros (*IOSPE* I² 412 [<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.117-ru.html>]). Cf. also *LGPN* IV s.v. Μητρόδωρος.

⁴⁴ *IOSPE* I² 359 (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.22.html>), see also <https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.85-ru.html>.

⁴⁵ *IOSPE* I² 389, p. 594 (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.87-ru.html>).

⁴⁶ *IOSPE* I² 458 (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.380-ru.html>).

⁴⁷ *LGPN* IV s.v. Among the theophoric names derived from *Apollo* (totally over 40 cases of the use of them are known), there have been encountered in Chersonesos Ἀπολλᾶς, Ἀπολλοδώρα, Ἀπολλόδωρος, Ἀπολλοφάνης, Ἀπολλωνία, Ἀπολλωνίδας, Ἀπολλωνίδης, Ἀπολλώνιος; the latter name is found more frequently than all the other ones put together.

The cult of Apollo appears evidently simultaneously with the foundation of the city. Judging by the presence of attributes of Apollo on coins beginning from the 4th century BC, including the monetary issue of 130–120 BC with the head of Apollo in a wreath and a tripod on the reverse, in the 4th to early 1st century BC, his cult had an official character.⁴⁸ The graffiti ΑΠ, ΑΠΟ, ΑΠΟΛ, ΑΑ, ΑΑΛΑ, and the like (some of these graffiti undoubtedly are abbreviations of theophoric names) bear evidence that Apollo was worshiped both separately from and together with Artemis and Latona.⁴⁹ The close connections of the Chersonesean polis with the largest pan-Hellenic centres of the worship of Apollo – Delos and Delphi – is confirmed by lapidary inscriptions of the Hellenistic epoch: on the donation of silver phials by Chersonesean residents to the Delian temple of Apollo⁵⁰ and on the decree granting the right of promanteia and proxenia to the ambassadors of Chersonesos.⁵¹ The latter decree states that two Chersonesean ambassadors donated 100 head of cattle to the Delphian sanctuary of Apollo and twelve head to Athena. On Delos, there was even a special feast, Χερσονήσια.⁵² Several Delian⁵³ and Delphian⁵⁴ inscriptions mentioning Chersonesites are dated to the 4th to 2nd centuries BC.

Afterwards, the worship of Apollo ceases to be a state cult, but finds of certain graffiti with his name suggest that this god continued to be worshipped even in the first centuries AD.⁵⁵

The vocative Ἀπολλωνίδα is recorded in Chersonesos in the 1st century AD on the gravestone of Apollonides, son of Menandros,⁵⁶ and the other examples (all in the form of the genitive – Ἀπολλωνίδου) are dated from the second half of the 1st century BC to the first half of the 2nd century AD.⁵⁷

⁴⁸ Shevchenko 1998 [А. В. Шевченко, “Культ Аполлона в Херсонесе”, *Археология*], 99–105; Bondarenko 2003, 75.

⁴⁹ Solomonik 1978a, nos. 86–106, 108, 206, 242–282, 288–294, 1695; Solomonik 1984, nos. 185, 454; Bondarenko 2003, 74.

⁵⁰ Delos, *IG* XI. 2. 164 B₆ (276 BC); *IG* XI. 2. 203 B₂₆ (269 BC); *ID* 313 A₇₄ (235/234 BC).

⁵¹ Delphi, *SIG*³ 604 (192 BC).

⁵² Delos, *ID* 328₉₋₁₂ (250–166 BC); 354₂₃ (218 BC); 366 A₁₃₁₋₁₃₂ (207 BC).

⁵³ Delos, *IG* XI. 4. 844 (early 2nd century BC).

⁵⁴ Delphi, *FD* III. 5. 4₉₋₁₀ (362–360 BC); *FD* III. 207₄ (252/251 BC); *SIG*³ 584₂₀ (195/194 BC).

⁵⁵ Bondarenko 2003, 77.

⁵⁶ *IOSPE* I² 464 (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.335-ru.html>).

⁵⁷ *ΗΕΠΧ* I 184 (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.333-ru.html>); *IOSPE* I² 359_{28, 31} (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.22.html>); *IOSPE* I² 357₂₅ (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.24-ru.html>); *ΗΕΠΧ* II 113 (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.85-ru.html>).

Χαῖρε or χαίρετε appeared on Chersonesean epitaphs at the end of the 3rd century BC and was used until the 3rd century AD.

An indication of who exactly installed the grave stele is encountered in prosaic epitaphs in those cases where the ordinary course of events was disturbed or if it was necessary to stress that the gravestone was mounted by a specific individual. There are two formulae for epitaphs of this kind: the inscription states that *a certain person built the monument to someone*, or, as in the case of the epitaph of Metrodoros, it is composed of two parts – firstly the name and patronymic of the deceased is communicated, sometimes with an indication of his or her years of life, and then the name is given of the specific individual who installed the stele.⁵⁸ In addition to different prefixed and non-prefixed derivatives from τίθημι,⁵⁹ forms of the verb ἵστημι were also used in Chersonesos to denote operations for installation of steles.⁶⁰

Ὁ τροφεύς can have the meaning of either a *tutor* in the role of a *mentor*, or a *tutor* who is bringing up a child as his *foster father*. The word is employed in the first variant, e.g., by Plutarch. Writing about the education of Alexander of Macedon, he notes that the latter was tutored by numerous τροφεῖς καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι, while Leonidas heading them was called τροφεὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ καθηγητής (Plut. *Alex.* 5; cf. also Soph. *Phil.* 343–344; Eur. *El.* 16). Krateros, son of Krateros, ἀρχίατρος of Antiochos VII Euergetes, was also such a tutor (τροφεύς) of the king's son Antiochos IX Philopator.⁶¹ In Black Sea inscriptions, the word ὁ τροφεύς may have been recorded only once, and exactly in this meaning in the honorary decree of [--], son of Mathianos, from Tanais of AD 93–123.⁶²

⁵⁸ The epitaph of the ναύκληρος Tertius Rufus informs us: τὴν δὲ στήλην ἐπεμψαν οἱ συγγενεῖς (CIRB 732, Pantikapaion, first half of the 3rd century AD).

⁵⁹ See e.g. the gravestone of the resident of Amastris Helis, son of Helis (IOSPE I² 542 [https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.417-ru.html]), Chersonesos, 2nd century AD: Ἦλις Ἡλίτα Ἀμαστριανὸς ἔθηκα τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀστοθήκην ἐμαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυνεὶ μου.

⁶⁰ Thus a woman of Amastris named Chresima ἀνέστησεν (τὴν στήλην) for her husband (Chersonesos, AD 108/9, IOSPE I² 543 [https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.416-ru.html]), while an inscription on the ossuary of M[--] Tyche informs us that her heirs and emancipated slaves *fecerunt*/[κατέστησα]ν it (Chersonesos, 2nd century AD, IOSPE I² 508 [https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.415-ru.html]). Cf. also a fragmentary gravestone of the second half of the 2nd century AD to the first half of the 3rd century AD: τὸν [τύμβον] ? ἀνέστησεν (Chersonesos, IOSPE I² 486 [https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3.377-ru.html]).

⁶¹ Delos, 129–117 BC, OGI 256, ID 1547; Nissen 2009, 107.

⁶² ἐ[πειδὴ ὁ δεῖνα] Μαθιανου γεννηθεὶς ὁ π[αῖς(?) γονέων] καὶ τροφέ[ων] – “since [--], son of Mathianos, being [a child ? created by the parents] and tutors” – Arsenyeva–Byotger–Vinogradov 1996 [Т. М. Арсеньева, Б. Бётгер, Ю. Г. Виноградов, “Новые исследования в Танаисе”], 69–71; SEG 45. 1023.

To designate a *tutor* who became a *foster father*, the term ὁ τροφεύς is employed, e.g., in “Phoenissae” by Euripides: the Corinthian king Polybos who brought up Oidipous is so designated.⁶³

Considering that in the epitaph of Metrodoros no names are specified either for ὁ τροφεύς or for ἡ τροφός, perhaps the meaning of a *mentor* or a *tutor* seems the more preferable of the two possible variants. If we were dealing with a *foster father* in the proper sense of this word, then we could expect the use of an expression, e.g., “ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δέϊνος καθ’ υἱοθεσίαν δὲ τοῦ δέϊνος”, with an indication of the name of the foster father or some other similar formula.

Thus, the gravestone of the adolescent Metrodoros, son of Apollonides, was set up by his household – the tutor and the wet nurse. It remains only to guess why this was not done by his parents or relatives. Possibly, an answer to this question would allow us to explain why the relief was remade and why the inscription was executed so carelessly and unprofessionally.

In conclusion, let us turn to the matter of the artefact’s archaeological context. The gravestone of Metrodoros was found 1.2 metres to the south-west of the external face of a defensive wall with buttresses from the late Hellenistic and Roman era in square 82/142 during the dismantling of the baulk at the level of the rock, on the territory of the necropolis of ancient Chersonesos. The excavations of this highly important part of the ancient city, begun in 2021, are presently being actively continued, yielding fresh finds every day. In the same sector in June 2022, the gravestone of Ariston, son of Ariston, was discovered. Its time of creation was close to that of the relief monument to Metrodoros, and the two gravestones are also similar in type: the deceased is depicted frontally, standing, and draped in a himation. The monument to Ariston is, however, far richer. It was sculpted with great mastery. The figure is placed in a naiskos and not simply an aedicule. The naiskos is framed by two pilasters with capitals and topped with a pediment, in the centre of which a round shield is set, while in the lower corner there is the figure of a female mourner. Ariston is entirely clothed in a long cloak and has sandals on his feet. He was undoubtedly an important and highly placed inhabitant of Chersonesos in the mid-2nd century AD.

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⁶³ Eur. *Phoen.* 44–45: παῖς πατέρα καίνει καὶ λαβὼν ὀχήματα Πολύβωι τροφεῖ δίδωσιν.

Abbreviations

НЭПХ I – Solomonik 1964

НЭПХ II – Solomonik 1973

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The paper is devoted to the publication of a newly found gravestone from the excavations of the Southern Suburb of Chersonesos Taurica. The funerary stele belongs to a known Chersonesean type: the deceased is depicted within an aedicule niche, frontally, completely wrapped in a long himation. The youth's head displays individual features. The style of the work echoes peculiarities of the Roman portraiture of Trajan's reign. The composition of the stele, the character of the drapery and the hairstyle make it possible to date the relief to ca. 125–150 AD. The gravestone was produced locally, in Chersonesos, with the portrait most probably being added to an already half-finished workpiece. The epigraph on the stone has survived in its entirety (the type is datable to ca. 125–175 AD), and a reading of it not only provides information about the dead youngster, Μητρόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίδου, but also sheds light on the technology used to make lapidary inscriptions in the Northern Black Sea region. Directly under the epitaph of Metrodoros, three lines of another inscription are discernible, carved in thin and rather shallow lines. Their text and the spacing of the words in the lines are absolutely identical to the last three lines of the main inscription; some letters of this “lower” inscription are discernible also above. It may be suggested that this is a so-called *ordinatio* – i.e. the primary layout of the plate intended for the grave stele.

Статья посвящена публикации нового надгробия из раскопок Южного пригорода Херсонеса Таврического. Погребальная стела относится к хорошо известному в Херсонесе типу: умерший изображается в нише-эдикуле фронтально стоящим, полностью облеченным в длинный гиматий. Голова юноши имеет индивидуальные черты; стиль исполнения повторяет особенности римского портрета периода правления Траяна. Композиция стелы, характер драпировок юноши и стиль волос позволяет датировать рельеф второй четвертью – серединой II в. Надгробие было изготовлено на месте, в Херсонесе, скорее всего, портрет был добавлен к шаблону-заготовке. На памятнике полностью сохранилась эпитафия (ее шрифт датируется 2-й – 3-й четвертью II в. н. э.), прочтение которой дает информацию не только об умершем подростке по имени Μητρόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίδου, но и проливает свет на технологию изготовления лапидарных надписей в Северном Причерноморье. Прямо под эпитафией Метродора можно видеть три строки другой надписи, вырезанной тонкими неглубокими линиями. Их текст и разбивка слов по строкам полностью идентичны последним трем строкам основной надписи, некоторые буквы этой “нижней” надписи различимы и выше. Можно предположить, что это так называемое *ordinatio* – то есть первоначальная разметка плиты, предназначенной для надгробной стелы.

Ksenia Koryuk

POLEMIC WITH THE EMPIRICAL SCHOOL
IN GALEN'S *EXHORTATION TO THE STUDY
OF MEDICINE*

When reading Galen's treatise *Exhortation to the Study of Medicine* (*Protrepticus*), one might expect to find the arguments for studying medicine, encouraging young men to prefer medical τέχνη to all other arts. However, one might be disappointed because only a half of the treatise has been preserved, in which Galen sets out general arguments about the classification of arts, opposes the followers of Hermes and Fortune, and finally criticizes professional athletes. The extant part ends with a statement that medicine is the finest art and Galen intends to prove that later. Yet we may only speculate about the content of his proof. The majority of scholars believe that the second part of the treatise had really existed and was lost after the author's death: in support of that V. Boudon-Millot presents convincing arguments from the later manuscript tradition.¹ Nevertheless, despite several attempts, the reconstruction of the lost part has not yet progressed significantly, so the researchers have focused on the preserved text, especially since there are a number of difficulties in it.

Questions Posed by the Title

One of the difficulties is connected with the title of the treatise. We have several sources for the title, such as the Syriac and the Arabic tradition, the Aldine edition (the earliest evidence of the text due to the loss of the Greek manuscript), the autobibliographic treatise "On my own books" (*De libr. propr.*) and some others. They all provide contradictory data, since according to them the work might have gone under the title

¹ Boudon 2000, 66–71. On the contrary, L. Perilli is not sure whether the "second part" actually existed (Perilli 2004, 83 n. 4). At the same time attempts have been made to find the missing part among the famous works of Galen (for example, *That the Capacities of the Soul Follow the Mixtures of the Body*, *Thrasybulus*, or *On whether Hygiene Belongs to Medicine or Gymnastics*), but none of the versions has yet been confirmed (Xenophontos 2018, 82 n. 6).

Exhortation to the study of medicine, or *Exhortation to the study of arts*, or *On the [treatise] by Menodotus to Severus Exhortation to the study of medicine / arts*, or *Galen's Paraphrase of Menodotus' Exhortation to the study of medicine / arts*. Such ambiguity leads to two lines of research: firstly, to discussion on whether Galen intended to encourage young men to study arts in general or only medicine; secondly, whether the treatise had anything to do with Menodotus, a physician who belonged to the Empirical school.²

Below I place a table with the main sources for the titles.

Protrepticus:

St Jerome (IV)	<i>Exhortatio medicinae</i> (was mentioned in <i>Adv. Iovin.</i> 2. 11)
Hunain ibn Ishaq, Hubaish ibn al-Hasan (IX)	<i>Exhortation to the study of medicine</i> (the translations are lost; the title was mentioned in Hunain's letter <i>Risala</i>)
Arabic manuscript (XII)	<i>Summary of Galen's Treatise on Exhortation to the Study of the Arts and Sciences</i>
Poliziano (1491)	<i>Ex fragmento</i> τοῦ Γαληνοῦ τοῦ ἱατροῦ παραφράστου τοῦ Μηνοδότου προτρεπτικῶν λόγων ἐπὶ τὰς τέχνας (P. wrote down the excerpts from the Greek manuscript now lost)
Aldine (1525)	Γαλήνου παραφράστου τοῦ Μηνοδότου προτρεπτικὸς λόγος ἐπὶ τὰς τέχνας

De libris propriis:

Hunain ibn Ishaq (IX)	<i>Treatise from the book of Menodotus on Exhortation to the study of medicine</i>
Manuscripts: Ambrosianus (XIV), Vlatadon (XV)	[εἰς τὸ Μηνοδότου Σεβήρω] προτρεπτικὸς ἐπ' ἱατρικὴν

The former difficulty concerning the “medicine / arts issue” can be explained by the dual theme of the *Exhortation*: first, Galen told the reader about the advantages of the study of arts and then presumably presented the proof of the superiority of medicine over all arts (as promised in the first part). At some point the treatise was divided and the second part

² Barigazzi 1991, 70–73; Boudon 2000, 35–38.

got lost, then the title was evidently rethought and renamed to match the content of the extant part.³ This version is supported by several sources: firstly, the *Exhortation* was mentioned by St Jerome (IV century) in his writings as “*Exhortatio medicinae*” (*Adv. Iovin.* 2. 11). Secondly, in the autobiographical treatise “On my own books” the *Exhortation* was entitled as [εἰς τὸ Μηνოდότου Σεβήρῳ] προτρεπτικὸς ἐπ’ ἰατρικὴν. Thirdly, in now lost Syrian and Arabic translations made by Hunain ibn Ishaq and his nephew Hubaish ibn al-Hasan (IX century) the treatise was entitled *Exhortation to the study of medicine*;⁴ and in the translation of the treatise “On my own books”, which Hunain translated into Syrian and Arabic, the *Exhortation* was indicated as *Treatise from the book of Menodotus on Exhortation to the study of medicine*.⁵ Only in the 12th century Arabic manuscript⁶ the title *Summary of Galen’s Treatise on Exhortation to the Study of the Arts and Sciences* appears; the anonymous author summarizes only the first part of the treatise. Hence it follows that by this time the second part had already been lost and the title was changed. In the Aldine edition (1525) the second part is also absent and the title says: Γαλήνου παραφράστου τοῦ Μηνოდότου προτρεπτικὸς λόγος ἐπὶ τὰς τέχνας. Earlier in 1491, Angelo Poliziano wrote down a similar title for the excerpts from the *Exhortation* (presumably he was in possession of the same manuscript that would be used by the publishers of the Aldine). Thereby, due to the presence of only half of the text, the following editions up to the 20th century continued to use a reference to the study of arts in the title of the *Exhortation*, while the latest editions have made adjustments and brought back the original title.⁷

The latter difficulty is more complex. There has been a long discussion on whether the title of the *Exhortation* originally included the reference to Menodotus and his writings to Severus or if it was a later interpolation.⁸ Unfortunately, the content of the surviving part does not shed light on this issue. We shall take another look at the titles listed before. St Jerome does not mention Menodotus. In the Syrian-Arabic tradition we see that Hunain ibn Ishaq (followed by his nephew) omits the name of Menodotus

³ There is no evidence that the *Exhortation* was divided into two works during Galen’s time. According to S. Xenophontos, the existence of two alternative titles shows that the text began to be perceived in later periods of its existence as two separate treatises intended for different audiences (Xenophontos 2018, 67).

⁴ Boudon 2000, 37.

⁵ Boudon 2000, 36.

⁶ Boudon 2000, 37–38.

⁷ Barigazzi 1991; Boudon 2000.

⁸ On this see Boudon 2000, 38–42; Perilli 2004, 81–89.

in the title,⁹ while in Hunain's translation of the treatise *On my own books* the *Exhortation* is listed as *Treatise from the book of Menodotus on Exhortation to the study of medicine*. There is no reference to Menodotus in the Arabic summary of the 12th century. The Greek manuscripts of the treatise *On my own books* (Ambrosianus, Vlatadon) have the reference to Menodotus. In the Aldine we see the title that suggests that the *Exhortation* was actually Galen's paraphrase of the work written by Menodotus. The publisher, apparently, was guided by the title indicated in the Greek manuscript and there was already a "paraphrase" in it.

All in all, firstly, the Syrian-Arabic tradition knew the name of Menodotus, secondly, his name was mentioned in the title in the Greek manuscript used by Poliziano and the publishers of Aldin. Therefore, either the name of Menodotus is a very early interpolation (a Byzantine scribal error?), or he was actually mentioned in the title and with a high probability in the lost part of the treatise. The latter option seems very tempting, since in this case we understand the reason why Galen placed the *Exhortation* in the list of writings against the empiricist physicians (*De libr. propr.* 19. 38. 19). The scholars admit that Menodotus was a well-known empiricist physician whom Galen mentioned many times in his writings.¹⁰ It is likely that in the *Exhortation* Galen referred to some of Menodotus's statements and challenged them. A. Barigazzi suggests that Menodotus of Nicomedia could have written a treatise that exhorted young men to practise medicine and Galen therefore developed the topic partly concurring, partly disagreeing with his predecessor.¹¹ V. Boudon-Millot admits that the *Exhortation* became the result of the polemics with the Empirical school (probably, over the issues of studying anatomy and physiology, since empiricists failed to recognise the importance of these disciplines for physicians); Galen could have planned his protreptic as a response to the writings of Menodotus¹² or as a response to a certain protreptic of

⁹ However, Hunain ibn Ishaq wrote in his letters *Risala* that he had found three treatises about empiricists: *On Medical Experience* (*De exper. med.*), *Exhortation* (*Protr.*), *An Outline of Empiricism* (*Subfig. emp.*). He described the *Exhortation* in this way: the book consists of one part; Galen rewrote the book of Menodotus; this is a wonderful, useful, brilliant book (Bergsträßer 1925, 37 n. 110).

¹⁰ Galen mentioned Menodotus in a number of texts: *De exper. med.*, *De fac. nat.*, *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.*, *De meth. med.*, *De cur. rat. per venae sect.*, *De comp. med. sec. loc.*, *De diaeta in morbis acutis sec. Hipp.*, *In Hipp. de artic. comm.* Galen also wrote eleven works with comments on the writings by Menodotus (*De libr. propr.* 19. 38. 14), but these texts have not survived.

¹¹ Barigazzi 1991, 72.

¹² Boudon-Millot 2007, 217–218.

Menodotus.¹³ This version is opposed by L. Perilli: he insists that on the basis of only circumstantial data and half of the text, one cannot draw an unambiguous conclusion about the connection between Galen, Menodotus and the content of the *Exhortation*. In order to explain the reference in the treatise *On my own books* Perilli cautiously supposes that Galen could have taken part in a debate on the relationship between art and medicine, and by writing *Exhortation* he criticised the arguments of the empiricists; however, Perilli admits that it is only one of many possible options.¹⁴

Therefore, any connection between Galen's *Exhortation* and his anti-empirical polemics remains doubtful. As we have seen, the only clue – the alleged name of Menodotus in the title of the treatise – does not confirm that this empiricist physician was even mentioned in the *Exhortation*. But perhaps there is another way to explain the connection between the *Exhortation* and the empiricists.

Athletic Trainers

In the second half of the preserved text (chapters 9–14) Galen exploits the conventional subject of the protreptic genre: an opposition of intellectual arts and activities that require physical labor; the latter is represented by the activities of athletes. Although the author often used invectives against athletes,¹⁵ the *Exhortation* became the quintessence of criticism of athletic activities.¹⁶ The use of the negative image of an athlete allowed the author not only to enrich the literary component of the treatise, but also to address the current socio-cultural phenomenon.¹⁷ Scolding professional athletes, Galen also criticizes those who train these athletes – trainers. As J. König has convincingly demonstrated, the lines of activity of a trainer and a doctor were connected institutionally and conceptually; it is not surprising that at some point they began to compete.¹⁸

By the Hellenistic period, two directions had already been developed: medicine and gymnastic dietetics.¹⁹ It is generally believed that

¹³ Boudon-Millot 2000, 41–42.

¹⁴ Perilli 2004, 81–89.

¹⁵ Galen also exploited the subject in *Thras.*, *De parv. pil.*, *Quod opt. med.*

¹⁶ Müller 1995, 307.

¹⁷ König 2005, 274; Xenophontos 2018, 77.

¹⁸ König 2005, 291.

¹⁹ There were two areas involved in maintaining health: medicine, which focused on treating disease, and the second area, which focused on disease prevention. For a long time there was no specific term for the second area; at various times it has been called γυμναστική, δίατα, διατητική, υγιεινά (Jüthner 1909, 48–50).

Erasistratus (active in the first half of the third century BC) was the first to name his treatise on dietetics “Hygiene” (Υγιεινά) and introduced a new term “hygienist” (ὕγιενός) to distinguish two areas of expertise unambiguously. While patients were treated by a doctor, a hygiene practitioner (i.e. hygienist) was involved in the prevention of the disease. The area of hygienist's expertise included knowledge (*Gal. Thras.* 5. 881–885): (1) what foods and drinks are useful for health; (2) what substrates are excreted from the body (sweat, urine, excrement, etc.); (3) what has an external effect on the body (place, air, etc.); (4) the impact of physical exercises and daily activities (wakefulness, sleep, water procedures, etc.).

Another interesting fact is that it is not until the Hellenistic period that the treatises on chronic diseases can be found.²⁰ Caelius Aurelianus in his treatise (*Tard. pass.* praef. 3 = fr. 50. 3 Tecusan) mentions Themison (active in the first century BC), the founder of Methodism, who was the first doctor to make a systematic review of the forms of treatment of chronic diseases; before him, doctors either mentioned individual diseases, or completely ignored them, or left them in the care of masseurs²¹ (*alii aliptarum officio transmittendas crediderunt*). Apparently, Themison was one of the first to try to incorporate chronic diseases into medical discourse, since they were generally neglected or left in the “wrong” hands.

Thus, doctors recognized gymnastic dietetics as an important preventive tool and introduced it into professional discourse, due to the attempt to distinguish the spheres of activity between themselves and representatives of the opposite direction.²² It can be seen that the sphere of hygiene included the study of physical exercise and its effect on the body. On the other hand, the evidence by Caelius Aurelianus shows that trainers might have been involved in treating chronic disease. It turns out that in the view of doctors, trainers were engaged in maintaining health, and not just physical training, thus taking over the duties of hygienists.

The interest of the Romans in the II–III centuries AD to physical well-being determined the content of the near-scientific disputes that were conducted by representatives of medical schools and sports complexes. Since there was no systemic organization of health care, representatives of different areas and schools fought over the opportunity to provide their service concerning τὸ ὑγιεινόν. Both physicians and employees of gymnasia and palaestrae tended to win over new students, so they used

²⁰ Nutton 2005, 35.

²¹ ἀλείπτης is one of the variants of the name of a trainer along with γυμναστής and παιδοτρίβης (Jüthner 1928, 18).

²² Jüthner 1909, 48–49.

various methods to popularize their work and to discredit their opponents. V. Boudon-Millot draws attention to a series of treatises written by Galen concerning education issues, in which he denounces charlatans and non-professionals who undertake to teach inexperienced young men contemptible professions (*Quod optimus medicus sit quoque philosophus, Ars Medica, De optimo docendi genere, Exhortatio ad medicinam*).²³ J. König also highlights the idea of the *Exhortation* being “a contribution to a coherent project, a sustained battle against all that is worst in human medicine”.²⁴

In the *Exhortation* Galen states the following: firstly, that a young man should not despise the practice of art relying on family, wealth and beauty (*Protr.* 1–8). Secondly, he indicates the main criterion by which one should distinguish art from non-art, namely, usefulness for life (*Protr.* 9. 4):

...ὅποσοις τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων οὐκ ἐστὶ τὸ τέλος βιωφελές, ταῦτ' οὐκ εἰσὶ τέχναι.

...any practice whose end is not beneficial to life is not an art.²⁵

Then, he warns to beware of frauds who might popularize their occupation as an art, but teach false art²⁶ as a result (*Protr.* 9. 1–3):

μή τις ὑμᾶς ἀπατεῶν καὶ γόης ἀνὴρ παρακρουσάμενός ποτε ματαιοτεχνίαν ἢ κακοτεχνίαν ἐκδιδάξῃται...

And you must guard against those charlatans and mountebanks who would deceive you by teaching “arts” which are useless or wicked.

From the following passage we realise that, for Galen, the main charlatans and multipliers of wicked art are athletic trainers (*Protr.* 9. 9–13):

τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἐπιτήδευμα μόνον ὑποπτεύω, μή ποτ' ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ ῥώμην σώματος ἐπαγγελλόμενον καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δόξαν ἐπαγόμενον, <καὶ μάλιστα> δημοσίᾳ παρὰ τοῖς πατράσι τετιμημένον ἡμερησίαις ἀργυρίου δόσεσι καὶ ὅλως ἴσα τοῖς ἀριστεῦσι τετι[μη]μένον, ἐξαπατήσῃ τινὰ τῶν νέων ὡς προκριθῆναι τινος τέχνης.

²³ Boudon-Millot 2007, 250–251.

²⁴ König 2005, 295; 300.

²⁵ The translations in this article are my own, unless stated otherwise.

²⁶ In Galen's works the term is applied either to the occupations of those who provide cosmetic services, i.e. create unnatural beauty (e.g., *Thras.* 5. 821, *De comp. med. sec. loc.* 12. 445), or in relation to the services of trainers of professional athletes (e.g., *Thras.* 5. 874; 879; 886; 893; 898).

The only one that worries me is athletics. Athletics holds out the promise of strength, brings with it popular fame, and is rewarded by our elders with financial payments – as if the athletes were some kind of public heroes. There is a danger that it may deceive some young men into supposing it an art.²⁷

Galen has concerns about trainers, because when they try to attract students, they misrepresent the profession of an athlete, promising strength, money and fame and keeping silent about the effects of training on the body, the potential for failure and the long-term consequences. His focus on this topic can be attributed to the popularity of athletics. The second century and the first half of the third century AD was the period of the great spread of Greek athletics among both spectators and participants: it is attested by a large number of inscriptions and agonistic motives on coins, in visual arts and literature.²⁸ Moreover, guilds for professional athletes were gradually formed: as a result of the sport democratization, the increase in the number of games, the development of training methods, many people were able to make a sports career.²⁹ Apparently, during Galen's time, trainers became so popular and influential in the service market that Galen had to engage in open disputes with them. The main complaints of the doctor to the trainers are formulated in the *Exhortation* and in the treatise *Thrasybulus, or On whether hygiene belongs to medicine or gymnastics*.

It should be noted that Galen uses two terms denoting a sports trainer: a paidotribe (παιδοτρίβης) and a gymnastic trainer (γυμναστής). The former was engaged in physical training of young men, directly working on a palaestra; the latter was also engaged in training, but also claimed knowledge of the theoretical basis (e.g. diet, regime) and wrote his manuals.³⁰

In the following examples Galen criticizes gymnastic trainers for misapplying the theoretical framework and causing harm to the health of his students. Firstly, he points out that trainers built a sports regime that had nothing to do with disease prevention and maintaining health. Their every action is contrary to the requirements of health (*Protr.* 11. 17):

οἱ δὲ τὰ γυμνάσια πέρα τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐκάστης ἡμέρας διαπονοῦσι τροφάς τε προσφέρονται σὺν ἀνάγκῃ, πολλάκις ἄχρι μέσων νυκτῶν ἐκτείνοντες τὴν ἐδωδὴν.

²⁷ Transl. Singer 1997, 43–44.

²⁸ See Newby 2005.

²⁹ Pleket 1973, 198.

³⁰ Jüthner 1909, 6.

These people (athletes) daily exceed the proper measure in exertions, and force themselves to eat; and they frequently carry on eating into the middle of the night.³¹

Making a pun (*Protr.* 11. 59: ὥς οὐδὲν ἄλλο γένος ἀθλιώτερόν ἐστι τῶν ἀθλητῶν), Galen states that there is no more pitiful kind of people regarding bodily health than athletes. He also gives emphasis to the fact that trainers make athletes' bodies shapeless and abnormal (*Protr.* 12. 5):

ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν πάνυ συμμέτρως ἔχοντας τῶν μελῶν οἱ γυμνασταὶ παραλαμβάνοντες, ὑπερπιάναντες δὲ καὶ διασάξαντες αἷματί τε καὶ σαρκὶν εἰς τοῦναντίον ἤγαγον. ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα παντάπασιν ἄμορφα καὶ δυσειδῆ κατέστησαν καὶ μάλιστα τῶν παγκράτιον ἢ πυγμῆν ἀσκησάντων.

Indeed, men have frequently started off with very well proportioned bodies, been taken by athletic trainers, fattened excessively and filled with blood and flesh, and ended up in quite the opposite state. Some have also had their faces quite distorted and disfigured, particularly the practitioners of all-in wrestling or of boxing.³²

Secondly, Galen speaks pejoratively about the treatises distributed by gymnastic trainers, which he calls τὰ θαυμαστὰ συγγράμματα (*Thras.* 5. 877. 11). In addition, he lists the themes that were developed in the works of trainers. It can be seen that they tried to work in the field of hygiene (*Thras.* 5. 894. 18 – 895. 3):

τινὲς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ γράφειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἢ περὶ τρίψεως ἢ εὐεξίας ἢ ὑγείας ἢ γυμνασίων, εἴτα προσάπτεσθαι τολμῶσι καὶ ἀντιλέγειν οἷς οὐδ' ὅλως ἔμαθον.

Some of them even attempt to write, on massage, good condition, health, or exercise, and even to take part in arguments in which they attack people of whose works they have no knowledge.

And finally, Galen constantly emphasizes the fact that trainers did not receive special education. Galen reports that former athletes became mentors overnight, moreover, he claims that the most unsuccessful of the athletes became trainers (*Thras.* 5. 894. 14):

³¹ Transl. Singer 1997, 47.

³² Transl. Singer 1997, 49.

ἀλλ' ὅμως οἱ τούτων ἀτυχέστατοι καὶ μηδεπώποτε νικήσαντες ἐξαίφνης
ἐαυτοὺς ὀνομάζουσι γυμναστάς.

Nevertheless, the most wretched and unsuccessful among them have no
hesitation in giving themselves the name of gymnastic trainers.

In one snippet Galen ridicules the self-taught gymnastic trainer who
called on the doctor to publicly show how to do a massage “according
to Hippocrates” and thus demonstrated his own ignorance (*Thras.* 5. 895.
4–11):

ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμᾶς ἀφικομένους ἤξιώσαν τινες τῶν παρόντων ἰατρῶν τε καὶ
φιλοσόφων ἅπαντα διελθεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον, εἴτ' ἐφαίνετο ἀπάντων
πρῶτος ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς Ἱπποκράτης ἀποφηνάμενος ἀριστα, παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ
μέσον ἐξαίφνης ὁ αὐτοδίδακτος ἐκεῖνος γυμναστής ἐκδύσας παιδάριον
ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς τρίβειν τε τοῦτο καὶ γυμνάζειν ἢ σιωπᾶν περὶ τρίψεως
καὶ γυμνασίων, εἴτ' ἐφεξῆς ἐβόα· ποῦ γὰρ Ἱπποκράτης εἰσῆλθεν εἰς
σκάμμα; ποῦ δ' εἰς παλαίστραν; ἴσως οὐδ' ἀναχέσθαι καλῶς ἠπίστατο.

As I arrived on the scene, some of the doctors and philosophers present
asked me to give a full exposition of this subject, in the course of which
it became clear that Hippocrates was the first to treat of these matters in
an accurate (in fact, in an outstanding) manner. At this point our self-
taught gymnastic trainer stepped forward, stripped a boy, and demanded
that we demonstrate our practice of massage and training on this boy, or
else keep silent on those subjects. And he was shouting: “Where did
Hippocrates go to jump, then? Where was his wrestling school? He prob-
ably never even knew how to rub oil on himself”.³³

According to Galen, gymnastic trainers taught gymnastics in name
only (hence the name γυμναστής), while Galen insists that they taught
the art of wrestling (καταβλητική) at best (*Thras.* 5. 893. 2). In fact,
trainers relied primarily on their own experience. For Galen surely it
was unacceptable. He considered real experts only those who had deeply
studied all the art concerning the body, including deep knowledge of
anatomy (*Thras.* 5. 879. 7):

Τούτους οὖν ἀποπέμψαντες – οὐ γὰρ κακοτεχνίας ἀλλὰ τέχνας ἤκομεν
ἐπισκεψόμενοι – τοὺς τῆς ὄντως γυμναστικῆς ἐπιστήμονας ἦδη καλῶ-
μεν, Ἱπποκράτην τε καὶ Διοκλέα καὶ Πραξαγόραν καὶ Φιλότιμον
Ἐρασίστρατον τε καὶ Ἡρόφιλον ὅσοι τ' ἄλλοι τὴν ὅλην περὶ τὸ σῶμα
τέχνην ἐξέμαθον.

³³ Transl. Singer 1997, 97.

Such people³⁴ may be dismissed. Our purpose from the outset was the investigation of arts, not of perverted arts. We should summon instead those who are proficient in true gymnastics – Hippocrates, Diocles, Praxagoras, Philotimos, Erasistratus, Herophilus, and all those who gained an understanding of the overall art concerning the body.³⁵

Summing up the discussion about the role of gymnastics, Galen formulated the following theses (*Thras.* 5. 886. 6): the art of health includes both therapy and hygiene; a part of hygiene is gymnastics; only a small part of gymnastics is associated with training in gymnasium. Thus, while gymnastics is an important part of maintaining health, it becomes a perverted art if not guided properly.

All in all, being engaged in the physical preparation of athletes, trainers did not make the health of the wards their priority. Gymnastic trainers did not acquire full training regarding the human body, various ailments and conditions and the reasons for their occurrence. In their work, they relied on their own experience, as well as the experience of their predecessors. But, apparently, trainers were not the only representatives of the healthcare community who adhered to such an approach.

The Empiricists

Reliance on experience, refusal of excessive theorization – these principles make one immediately think about the representatives of the Empirical school. The division into schools occurred approximately in the middle of the third century BC, when two main opposing parties had been formed: the empirical and the rational (or dogmatic) schools. According to Galen (*De sect. ad eos qui introd.* 4. 7), followers of these schools agreed on how to treat illnesses, but argued about how to find the right treatment: to use theoretical reasoning or to rely on experience.³⁶

The expertise of empiricists was achieved in the following ways: (1) a thorough study of the experience of the predecessors – what methods of treatment and what medications helped or did not help in certain cases (the presentation of such experience was given in “the inquiry”). (2) If the case was not described, then the doctor had to resort to the method “transition to the similar”. The ability to critically approach “the history”

³⁴ Trainers who teach the perverted arts.

³⁵ Transl. Singer 1997, 89.

³⁶ Walzer–Frede 1985, ix–x.

and make the right transition according to the principles of similarity distinguished a professional empiricist from a layman.³⁷

Listing the areas of medicine that the empirical school deals with, Galen indicated three main directions (he attributed this classification to the empirical doctor Theodus): semiotic (diagnosis, prognosis); therapeutic (surgery, dietetics, pharmacology); hygienic (Galen noted that some empiricists did not divide it; others included here the maintenance of a good body condition, prevention, recovery, gerontological part).³⁸

Consequently, the empiricist physicians were involved in discourse connected with health preservation, diet and exercise. But their “empirical” views on the problem could have drawn criticism from Galen.

The Empiricist Trainers

Empiricists were usually criticized by rationalists for observing and describing facts, but not explaining them. At the same time, ignorance of the reasons did not prevent empiricists from carrying out their activities. Galen for his part does not condemn the reliance on experience, but the reluctance of empiricists to integrate logical (theoretical) justifications in their practice (*De simpl. med. temp.* 11. 476. 14 – 477. 5):

διὰ τί μέντοι τὸ ἔλαιον ἴαμα κόπων ἐστὶν, οὐκ ἔτι οὔτε γυμναστῆς οὔτε παιδοτρίβης οὔτ' ἱατρὸς ἐμπειρικὸς ἐπίσταται. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὅτι μὴ γινώσκουσιν ἀφίστανται τῶν ἐναργῶς φαινομένων. οὐδὲ γὰρ διὰ τί λευκὸς μὲν ἐλλέβορος ἄνω καθαίρει, μέλας δὲ κάτω γινώσκοντες, οὐδὲ διὰ τί κνίκος μὲν φλέγματος ἀγωγὸν ἐστὶν, ἐπίθυμον δὲ μελάνων οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅμως χρῶνται τοῖς φαρμάκοις εἰς ἅπερ ἐδίδαξεν ἡ πεῖρα καὶ θεραπεύουσι τοὺς δεομένους καὶ πιστεύουσι τοῖς ἐναργῶς φαινομένοις καὶ καταγελῶσι τῶν τῷ λόγῳ τὰναντία κατασκευαζόντων.

Why oil is a cure for fatigue, neither a gymnast, nor a paidotribe, nor an empirical doctor understands at all. However, due to the fact that they do not know, they do not even think to abandon the obvious phenomena. After all, not understanding why white hellebore cleanses from above, and black from below; and not knowing why safflower causes inflammation, midwife dark discharge, nevertheless, they use medicines in <those diseases>, about which experience has taught, and treat those in need and trust visual manifestations and ridicule those who prove logically what is opposite to their experience.

³⁷ Walzer–Frede 1985, xxvi–xxvii.

³⁸ Walzer–Frede 1985, 28.

In this fragment Galen puts athletic trainers (a paidotribe and a gymnast) and an empirical doctor in one row. It seems that in Galen's view both a trainer and an empirical doctor practiced the same method of examination – empirical. Apparently, like empiricist doctors, trainers established cause-and-effect relationships by observing and assimilating data obtained experimentally, but did not pay attention to the logical justifications of the reasons.³⁹

According to Galen, anyone who possessed only an empirical approach without relying on theory had no right to give general hygiene recommendations and work in this direction outside of the palaestra. The trainer could make a mistake in choosing a treatment or diet, or a regime if he took on more functions than the area of his expertise allowed. Only well-trained doctors had sufficient scientific knowledge about the human body, so they could judge certain physical exercises and their health-improving effect, and only they had the right to give prescriptions concerning the health of the body.⁴⁰

Summarizing, it can be noted that Galen in a number of texts criticizes gymnastic trainers who “intrude” into the professional sphere of doctors. In doing so, he gives an analysis of their method. Apparently, Galen considers trainers to be adherents of the empirical direction, since both trainers and empiricists used the same attitudes in practice (orientation towards experience, rejection of theorization or deep study of anatomy and physiology). We believe that this is the trace of Galen's antiempirical polemics in the *Exhortation*. He chooses gymnastic trainers as illustrations to show readers how the empirical method can be misused in professional practice and what it leads to. Demonstrating the shortcomings of the empirical method, Galen implicitly condemns people who adhere only to this method and do not expand its capabilities through a logical approach.

Thus, there are reasons to believe that this polemical side sheds light on the title of the treatise *Exhortation* and its attribution to the group of works “On disagreements with empiricist physicians”.

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³⁹ Galen points out that athletes resort to means proven by experience (*De meth. med.* 10. 407; 490).

⁴⁰ Jüthner 1909, 49–50.

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Galen classifies his treatise "Exhortation" as a work against the empirical school (*De libr. propr.* 19. 38. 19). The extant part of the treatise, at first glance, does not contain a criticism of the empiricists. The mss of the list of Galen's works yield the view that the title of the treatise was actually "On the treatise by Menodotus to Severus Exhortation to the study of medicine", and some scholars believe that the second (now lost) part of the treatise could have contained a criticism of the teachings of the empiricist physician Menodotus and that this is the only way to explain the belonging of the treatise to the number of works against the empiricists. The other scholars doubt that polemics with Menodotus played any role in the treatise, and reject the alternative title. The character of Galen's polemics against the empiricists thus remains obscure. A closer look at the content of the surviving part allows us to detect Galen's argumentation against the empiricists at least partially. Almost half of the text is devoted to critical discourse on the harmful

effects of professional athletics and the work of trainers. In one of his works (*De simpl. med. temp.* 11. 476. 14 – 477. 5) Galen literally puts sports trainers and an empiricist physician on a par. In his view, both the trainer and the empiricist physician practiced the same method of examination. Therefore, there is reason to believe that Galen could have chosen trainers to illustrate how the empirical method can be misused in professional practice.

Гален классифицирует свой трактат “Протрептик” как сочинение против эмпирической школы (*De libr. propr.* 19, 38, 19). Дошедшая часть трактата, на первый взгляд, не содержит критики эмпириков. Рукопись *De libr. propr.* позволяет думать, что в названии трактата значилось “На сочинение Менодота Северу Побуждение к изучению медицины”, и некоторые ученые считают, что вторая (нынче утраченная) часть трактата могла содержать критику учения врача-эмпирика Менодота и что только так можно объяснить принадлежность трактата к числу сочинений против эмпириков. Другие ученые сомневаются, что полемика с Менодотом играла какую-либо роль в трактате, и отвергают альтернативное название. Таким образом, характер полемики Галена с эмпириками остается неясным. Более пристальный взгляд на содержание сохранившейся части позволит хотя бы частично обнаружить аргументацию Галена, направленную против эмпириков. Почти половина текста посвящена критическому рассуждению о вреде профессионального спорта и работы тренеров. В одной из своих работ (*De simpl. med. temp.* 11. 476. 14 – 477. 5) Гален буквально ставит в один ряд спортивных тренеров и врача-эмпирика. По его мнению, и тренер, и врач-эмпирик практиковали один и тот же метод исследования. Следовательно, есть основания полагать, что Гален мог выбрать тренеров, чтобы проиллюстрировать, как эмпирический метод может быть неправильно использован в профессиональной практике.

Keywords

ALMAZOVA

Ancient Greek music; Glaucus of Rhegium; Heracleides of Pontus; Pseudo-Plutarch

Гераклид Понтийский; Главк из Регия; древнегреческая музыка; Псевдо-Плутарх

EGOROVA

Carm. 1, 30; Graces; Horace; Roman wall paintings

Гораций; Грации; *Ода* 1, 30; римская настенная живопись

KORYUK

athletic trainers; empirical school; Galen; medicine in Roman empire; *Protrepticus*

Гален; медицина в Римской империи; *Протрептик*; профессиональный тренер атлетов; эмпирическая школа

KRÄMER

Epictetus; *Encheiridion*; pneumatic soul; stoic theology; tonus

пневматическая природа души; стоицизм; 'тонус' пневмы; *Энхиридион*; Эпиктет

LARIONOVA

ancient mathematical education; harmonics; Philo of Alexandria; quadrivium

античное математическое образование; гармоника; квадравиум; Филон Александрийский

LIBERMAN

Greek grammar and language; Greek meter; Greek tragedy; Sophocles textual criticism

греческая грамматика и язык; греческая метрика; греческая трагедия; критика текста; Софокл

STARIKOVA

eparchy; hyparchy; Idumea; satrapy; toparchy
гипархия; епархия; Идумея; сатрапия; топархия

TROFIMOVA, PAVLICHENKO

funerary reliefs; gravestone; Greek epitaphs; iconography of children on the grave stele; *ordinatio*; Roman Chersonesos; sculpture of Chersonesos
греческие эпитафии; иконография изображений детей на надгробных стелах; надгробие; надгробный рельеф; римский Херсонес; скульптура Херсонеса; *ordinatio*

VON UNGERN-STERNBERG

Cerveteri; decoration with weapons; symposium
симпосий; украшение оружием; Черветери

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