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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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Radim Kočandrle

HEAVEN AS THE OUTERMOST PERIPHERY
OF THE EARTH IN ARCHAIC IONIAN
COSMOLOGIES*

In current interpretations, the Homeric conception of heaven is usually described as featuring a vault stretching over a flat earth surrounded by Okeanos. In this image, the heavenly vault is hemispherical and made of solid metal. This hemisphere of heaven encloses the universe from above and thus defines its upper limit, while the rest of the space of the universe is linked to the underworld. On the heavenly vault, we then usually find stars circulating around a celestial pole.¹

The conception of heaven and the entire universe within the epic tradition is closely linked to our understanding of the image of the world in archaic Ionian cosmologies, which belong to the oldest Presocratic conceptions known to us. In particular, one could ask whether, in these latter conceptions, the heaven similarly functioned as the upper limit of the universe with a particular composition and shape. Questions after the conception of heaven are directly relevant to the issue of boundaries and structure of the universe as such in archaic Ionian cosmologies.

In the following, we therefore focus on the conception of heaven one finds in the work of thinkers belonging to the Ionian – as opposed to Italian – school of philosophy, to use a distinction posited by Diogenes Laertius (1. 13). We will, for the moment, put aside any events in the universe and the meteorological background of the archaic Ionian conception and focus solely on heaven in the sense of the outermost periphery of the earth. We will try to argue that heaven was indeed thought to be a basic constituent of the universe, one that defined its upper limit. The universe was thus usually thought to be closed, stretching only between a flat earth and heaven. It will also be noted that the traditional image of heaven as a hemisphere need not be authentic.

* This article was written with the support of grant project GA CR 19-05575S. It is a revised version of previously published Czech article, Kočandrle 2020. The article was translated by Anna Pilátová.

¹ Cf. Couprie 2011, 3; 2015, 10; Furley 1987, 27; Hahn 2001, 169–178, 195–196; Heath 1913, 7; McKirahan 1994, 13.

The Conception of Heaven in the Epic Tradition

The term οὐρανός can take many meanings, including ‘heaven’ or ‘sky’ but also ‘vault or firmament of heaven’, eventually a ‘seat of the gods’.² It can thus refer to a number of spheres whose common denominator is designation of a location above earth’s surface. Given this polysemy, the particular meaning of this expression is usually determined by the context of use. In the Classical era, Aristotle distinguished among three meanings of the term οὐρανός (*Cael.* 278 b 8–21). First of all, it can refer to the sphere of fixed stars which defines the outer limit of the universe. Secondly, it can denote the sphere of the moon, the sun, and the planets. And finally, it can mean the entire ‘world’, i.e., the universe. As noted above, however, in the following we focus on its meaning in the sense of the outer limit or boundary of the universe. Before turning to archaic Ionian thinkers, however, we should first have a brief look at the image of heaven in the epic tradition.

Based on various locations in Homer’s work, Kirk, Raven, and Schofield draw a clear and unequivocal conclusion that in this conception, “[t]he sky is a solid hemisphere like a bowl ... It covers the round flat earth”.³ The area which stretches low over earth’s surface and includes the clouds is then denoted by the term ἀήρ, which is akin to fog and moisture, while the celestial heights, αἰθήρ, are linked to clarity, transparency, and fire (e.g., *Il.* 15. 686; 17. 649–650; 19. 379; *Od.* 5. 50). The description of heaven as a ‘solid hemisphere’ is based on Homer’s descriptions, especially those passages where he speaks of heaven of ‘bronze’ (χάλκεον οὐρανόν, *Il.* 17. 425)⁴ or ‘iron’ (σιδήρεον οὐρανόν, *Od.* 15. 329; 17. 565). Later, the lyricist Pindar likewise claims that ‘for the gods the bronze sky endures as a secure home forever’ (χάλκεος ... οὐρανός, *Nem.* 6. 3–4) and Theognis of Megara, too, also speaks of a heaven of bronze (οὐρανός ... χάλκεος, *El.* 1. 869–870). We can thus see that within this tradition, heaven is repeatedly linked to solid metals, mostly bronze but also iron. Interestingly, these metals also play an important role in descriptions of the underworld, where Homer situates the ‘iron gates and brazen threshold’ (σιδηρεῖαι τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός, *Il.* 8. 15),⁵ while Hesiod speaks of a bronze wall, bronze door, and a floor of bronze (*Theog.* 726, 732, 811). Kirk, Raven, and Schofield suggest that this link between heaven

² LSJ s.v. οὐρανός.

³ Cf. Kirk–Raven–Schofield 2007, 9.

⁴ Similarly πολύχαλκος in *Il.* 5. 504; *Od.* 3. 2.

⁵ Translation by Kirk–Raven–Schofield 2007. Unless stated otherwise, translations are adapted from Graham 2010.

and these two important metals accentuates both heaven's solidity and its bright shine, which could in turn indicate that heaven was thought to be both the firm upper limit of the universe and the source of its brightness. A heaven made of copper or bronze (*caelum aeneum*) is moreover attested even in the Biblical tradition (*DT* 28. 23).⁶

It remains to be seen whether such poetic language is to be interpreted literally. We shall see, however, that in later tradition heaven was indeed thought to be a firm substance. For instance, both Lactantius (*De op. Dei* 17. 6) and Arnobius (*Adv. nat.* 3. 17) mention in their lists a heaven of bronze or iron. The situation is different regarding its shape because that is not described explicitly, and the abovementioned 'hemisphere' is thus merely the result of interpretation.

When we look at Hesiod's account of the birth of heaven, we find that Ouranos, the Heaven, is the first offspring of the Earth: "Earth first of all bore starry Sky, equal to herself, to cover her on every side, so that she would be the ever immovable seat for the blessed gods" (*Theog.* 126–128).⁷ We can, meanwhile, suppose that the conception of heaven as the god Ouranos implies that heaven was not only thought to be a definite area but also a separate power and physical constituent of the universe. Ouranos was moreover supposed to be "equal" to Earth. It covered it "on every side": what is unclear, though, is whether it means it as if embraced or enveloped the Earth, reaching also under it, or merely covered it from above. In the latter case, Ouranos would only be found above the Earth. This is no trivial issue because it determines the very structure of the space of the universe. According to one reading, the Earth was located in free space made of Ouranos, which was all around it, while according to the other reading, Ouranos only covered it on top. From further description of the separation of the Heaven and the Earth, we can, however, conclude that it is the latter reading that is meant.

Subsequent separation of the Heaven and the Earth is a key event not only in the formation of the universe but also a confirmation of Hesiod's belief that the heaven is a concrete physical structure. To wit, the birth of Ouranos does not establish stratification of the entire world: that takes place only after separation of the Heaven and the Earth. The "covering" of the Earth by Ouranos originally had a sexual context because Ouranos is not only Earth's first offspring but also her husband, whereby the first offspring born of their union is Okeanos (*Theog.* 133). The Heaven

⁶ Cf. Kahn 1960, 140–145; Kirk–Raven–Schofield 2007, 9; Mansfeld–Runia 2009, 439–440 n. 258.

⁷ Translation by Most 2006.

and the Earth are thus in extremely close contact, severed only by their separation and Heaven's subsequent relocation above the Earth. This separation in effect creates a free space of the Universe, defined by the surface of the earth below and the heaven at its upper limit. Leaving aside the interpretation according to which this split took place with the birth of Chaos in the sense of a 'gap' between the Heaven and the Earth,⁸ the separation is explicitly linked to Ouranos' castration after which it can no longer unite with the Earth (*Theog.* 154–206). Atlas was then put in charge of holding the Heaven above the Earth, thus maintaining the main framework of the space of the universe (*Theog.* 517–520, 746–748). But while according to Hesiod, Atlas carries the Heaven on his head and shoulders, Homer speaks of pillars which Atlas was in charge of (*Od.* 1. 52–54). Aristotle mentions this ancient explanation of maintenance of the Heaven in its place and criticises it (*DC* 284 a 19–24).⁹

If the heaven is thought of as a god who is separate from the earth, one can assume it was not conceived of as merely a wide area above earth's surface but, like earth, considered a concrete part of the structure of the world with a particular physical shape. If, moreover, the earth was supposed to have its limits (e.g., *Hom. Il.* 8. 478–479), one could assume that the heaven, too, had its borders. Together with the earth, it thus formed a physical and spatially delimited constituent of the world. When Hesiod thus speaks of the "starry heaven", we could image the heaven as a limited area in which stars are located, since their mutual positions seem to be fixed. And if the earth represented the lower limit of the universe, the heaven may have been the thought of as the upper one. The heaven and the earth would have thus jointly represented two key areas in-between which there stretched the space of the world, which then also included the underworld.¹⁰

Accounts of the Heaven in the Texts of Archaic Ionian Thinkers

Moving now on to the conception of the heaven attested in the texts of archaic Ionian cosmologies, right at the outset we can note that while Aristotle later divided the entire universe to the sublunary and supralunary sphere – which were fundamentally different both with respect to their

⁸ Cf. Cornford 1965, 194–195.

⁹ Cf. Kahn 1960, 139 n. 1; Kirk–Raven–Schofield 2007, 45.

¹⁰ Cf. Kahn 1960, 138–139.

‘physical’ composition and in terms of what took place in them – archaic Ionian cosmologies viewed the entire universe as one continuum. The heaven was the location of not only all meteorological events but also heavenly bodies. Air filled the space above earth’s surface but also reached all the way to heavenly bodies, which were usually described as closely related to meteorological phenomena. Their formation was often explained in terms of ignition of evaporations of moisture (e.g., Aet. *Plac.* 2. 20. 3 = DK 21 A 40; Diog. Laert. 9. 9 = DK 22 A 1; Hippol. *Ref.* 1. 7. 4–5 = DK 13 A 7) and moisture played a role also in their movement, because they were supposed to follow it as their source of nourishment, therefore moving only above earth’s surface (Arist. *Meteor.* 354 b 33 = DK 22 A 11). When Aristotle ascribes the notion of movement of the sun only above the earth to “many of the ancient cosmologists” (*Meteor.* 354 a 28 = DK 13 A 14), we can suppose that what he has in mind is especially the archaic Ionian cosmological tradition, for which such close link between cosmology and meteorology was characteristic.¹¹

As noted above, however, in this study we leave aside of particular meteorological subjects linked to events in the heaven and the heavenly bodies. We focus on the heaven only in the sense of one of the basic components of the universe representing its outer limit.

a) *Thales*

Various sources contain reports regarding Thales’s conception of the earth but for his thoughts on the heaven as such, we have as good as no evidence. Still, in Aetius (*Plac.* 2. 12. 1 Mansfeld–Runia = DK 11 A 13 c) and in Pseudo-Galen’s epitome of Ps.-Plutarch’s *Placita* (*Hist. phil.* 55. 1–2 = TP 1 Th 397) as well as in an Arabic translation of Ps.-Plutarch (Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā, *Plac.* 2. 12), we find evidence of the term οὐρανός in Thales’s thought (Aet. *Plac.* 2. 12. 1 Mansfeld–Runia = DK 11 A 13 c):

Thales, Pythagoras and his followers (declare that) the sphere of the entire heaven has been divided into five circles, to which they give the name ‘zones’. Of these (the first) is called ‘the arctic and always appearing’, (the second) ‘the summer tropic’, (the third) ‘the equatorial’, (the fourth) ‘the winter tropic’, and (the last) ‘the antarctic and invisible’. In relation to the three middle (circles), the so-called zodiac (circle) has been placed diagonally, touching the three middle (circles). But the meridian cuts all of them at right angles from the arctic (regions) to its opposite.¹²

¹¹ Cf. Graham 2013, 78–84.

¹² Translation by Mansfeld–Runia 2009.

According to this testimony, heaven was imagined as an entire sphere. One can thus suppose that the term οὐρανός is used here in the sense of limit or border of the entire universe, which has the shape of a sphere. The passage describes five zones and their relation to the tilt of the zodiac and the meridian. The discovery of the tilt of the zodiac is then in subsequent text (*Plac.* 2. 12. 2 Mansfeld–Runia) ascribed to Pythagoras with a critical reference to Oenopides, to whom this discovery was ascribed by Eudemus of Rhodes (in Theon of Smyrna, *Expos.* 198. 14 Hiller = DK 41 A 7). Pythagoras, moreover, is said to have divided the earth in five zones (*Plac.* 3. 14. 1). Mansfeld and Runia point out, though, that the analogy between a division of the heaven in five circles and the earth in five zones became customary within the Platonic–Aristotelian cosmological model, which was based on the notion of spherical earth and spherical heaven/universe.¹³

The testimony quoted above should thus perhaps be viewed as an anachronism. Still, as we shall see below, while for the Pythagoreans we have other, independent sources according to which they believed the heaven, and thereby the entire universe, to be spherical, for Thales this is the one and only source.

In Thales's thought, however, a sphere also appears in connection with his conception of the shape of the earth (*Aet. Plac.* 3. 10. 1 = TP 1 Th 161). Unfortunately, this is supported only in Pseudo-Plutarch's version of Aetius and in later versions of Pseudo-Plutarch – Eusebius (*Praep. evan.* 15. 56. 1 = TP 1 Th 279), Pseudo-Galen (*Hist. phil.* 82. 1–3 = TP 1 Th 402), and in the Arabic translation (Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā, *Plac.* 3. 10. 1 = TP 1 Th 490). Nevertheless, according to this source, the earth should be located at the centre of the universe (*Plac.* 3. 11. 1 = DK 11 A 15). If we accepted these reports, it would mean that Thales proposed a form of the universe which is with certainty attested in the writings of Plato and especially Aristotle. Although O'Grady argued that Thales indeed proposed a spherical conception of earth, it seems that Couprie is right to claim that this ascription is erroneous. Already in antiquity, thinkers argued whether Thales left any treatise at all, whereby even Aristotle apparently supported his claims regarding Thales only on the basis of second-hand testimonies (Diog. Laert. 1. 23 = DK 11 A 1). It seems therefore that reports on Thales's cosmology are anachronistic because they depend on later interpretations.¹⁴

¹³ Cf. Mansfeld–Runia 2009, 449.

¹⁴ Cf. Couprie 2011, 65–67, 105; O'Grady 2002, 95–100.

Nevertheless, there is some further indirect evidence pointing to a spherical notion of the universe in Thales's thought: the passage in question includes the term ἡμισφαίριον, i.e., hemisphere. John Philoponus uses it in his commentary on Aristotle's *Categories* (*In Arist. cat. comm.* 118. 15–18. = TP 1 Th 434) at a point where he explains the distinction between knowledge and what is knowable using the example of explanation of full lunar eclipse that had been ascribed to Thales. This eclipse is supposed to take place during full moon, when the moon enters earth's shadow while the sun is located 'in the hemisphere under the earth' (ὕπὸ γῆν ἡμισφαίριῳ), so its light cannot shine on the moon.¹⁵ Michael Psellos later uses some of the same expressions to describe this phenomenon (*Op.* 51. 829–837 = TP 1 Th 515). Still, the former of the scholars lived in the sixth century and the latter in the eleventh.

This allegedly Thales's explanation of lunar eclipse also appears in Stobaeus's version of Aetius (*Plac.* 2. 29. 6 = *Dox.* 360). The whole train of thought is based on realisation that the moon is lit by the sun and although Aetius credits Thales with this discovery (*Plac.* 2. 28. 5 = DK 11 A 17 b), the ascription is tendentious and based probably on similarly problematic reports which ascribe to Thales an explanation of solar eclipse, which likewise assumes that the moon does not produce its own light. The overall nature of archaic Ionian cosmology clearly indicates that this ascription is an anachronism: it would make Thales the sole thinker within archaic Ionian philosophical tradition to realise that the moon merely reflects the light of the sun. We can thus conclude that for Thales, we have reliable evidence neither regarding his conception of the shape of the earth nor regarding his conception of heaven.¹⁶

b) Anaximander

For Anaximander, the other famous native of Miletus, the textual situation is better. With reference to him, we find the term οὐρανός in several texts that deal with the nature of the beginning (ἀρχή). These texts repeatedly refer about the origins of 'the heavens and the world-orders' (οὐρανοὺς καὶ κόσμους) from the boundless (τὸ ἄπειρον): e.g., Hippol. *Ref.* 1. 6. 1 = DK 12 A 11; Ps.-Plut. *Strom.* 2, In: Euseb. *Praep. evan.* 1. 8. 2 = DK 12 A 10; Simpl. *In Arist. Phys.* 24. 13 = DK 12 A 9. Such passages later gave rise to speculations as to whether Anaximander assumed infinite

¹⁵ Translation by McKirahan 1994.

¹⁶ Cf. Graham 2013, 51–55.

worlds in the sense of innumerable ones.¹⁷ Nevertheless, none of these sources tells us anything about Anaximander's thoughts on heaven: they all merely generally speak of its origins.¹⁸

Still, the term οὐρανός later also appears in Aetius, in a chapter on the nature of heaven (*Plac.* 2. 11. 3 Mansfeld–Runia = DK 12 A 17 a):

On the heaven (περὶ οὐρανοῦ), what is its substance. Anaximander (declares that the heaven consists) of a hot and a cold mixture.¹⁹

This wording is preserved in Stobaeus (*Ecl.* 1. 23. 1 = TP 2 Ar 147). Pseudo-Plutarch's version includes a reference to a "hot and cold mixture" but no reference to Anaximander. Achilles Tatius later erroneously links this pair of opposites with Aristotle (*Isag.* 35, 1–2 Maass).²⁰

As Mansfeld and Runia point out, the subject of the chapter is not quite clear and therefore neither is the actual meaning of the term οὐρανός. Still, one can assume that it does not denote the world as such because that was treated in preceding chapters and the term used to refer to it was κόσμος. What remains unclear is whether we should understand the term οὐρανός in the sense of the outer limit of the universe or as referring to the entire area of heaven. Later, when dealing with Anaximenes's thoughts on the subject, we shall see that since already in the introduction to this chapter there appears a formulation about the 'outer periphery', one can deduce that what is meant is heaven in the sense of the limit or border of the universe. This finds support in the following report on Empedocles, where a distinction is made between the heaven's outer limit and its contents (*Aet. Plac.* 2. 11. 2 Mansfeld–Runia = DK 31 A 51):²¹

Empedocles (declares that) the heaven (τὸν οὐρανὸν) is solid, consisting of air that has been compacted together by fire in crystalline fashion, (and) containing the fiery (element) and the airy (element) in each of the hemispheres.²²

Even so, it seems possible that the report on Anaximander – which immediately follows after this statement on Empedocles's thoughts – relates to heaven as such, because the two opposites, hot and cold, are

¹⁷ Cf. Kočandrle 2019a.

¹⁸ On the subject of development of the meaning of terms κόσμος and οὐρανός see Finkelberg 1998.

¹⁹ Translation by Mansfeld–Runia 2009.

²⁰ Cf. Mansfeld–Runia 2009, 437.

²¹ Cf. Mansfeld–Runia 2009, 440–441.

²² Translation by Mansfeld–Runia 2009.

listed as key components of the structure of the universe already during the first stage of its formation. This passage could thus speak about remnants from this earliest stage or describe the environment of the universe, which was after its formation filled with air that reached all the way to the fire of heavenly bodies to whose formation it had contributed. The subject of this passage thus need not have been the “composition” of the limits of heaven which enclosed the universe. And since other references to Anaximander’s cosmology do not use the term οὐρανός, we should focus on his concept of the universe in general and try to see whether that could aid our search for his conception of the heaven.

Anaximander’s cosmology differs significantly from the views of his contemporaries. He claims that in the course of cosmogony, ‘that which is generative’ (τὸ γόνιμον) separated the heat and the cold. It then produced around the air, which surrounds the earth, a fiery sphere that subsequently broke apart (Ps.-Plut. *Strom.* 2 = DK 12 A 10). Its remnants formed heavenly bodies in the shape of fiery circles surrounded by air/fog. Heavenly bodies we see in the heaven are just vents on the surface of these foggy circles which radiate the inner fire (e.g., Hippol. *Ref.* 1. 6. 4 = DK 12 A 11). Based on several passages to the effect that the earth is located “in the middle” or equally distant from everything, we can then suppose that according to Anaximander, the universe consists of circles of heavenly bodies at whose centre is the earth. The earth itself is then usually described as flat and shaped like a low cylinder (e.g., Arist. *DC* 295 b 10 = DK 12 A 26; Diog. Laert. 2. 1 = DK 12 A 1; Hippol. *Ref.* 1. 6. 3 = DK 12 A 11).

What is important, meanwhile, is the tilt of these circles, which is attested for the moon and the sun (Aet. *Plac.* 2. 25. 1 Mansfeld–Runia = DK 12 A 22). It seems to indicate that heavenly bodies passed also under the earth. Of key significance is also the sequence of heavenly bodies: Anaximander believed that closest to the earth were the stars, followed by the circle of the moon, while the circle of the sun was the furthest (Aet. *Plac.* 2. 15. 6 Mansfeld–Runia = DK 12 A 18; Hippol. *Ref.* 1. 6. 5 = DK 12 A 11). Still, if the stars were assumed to be the closest to the earth, it is clear that Anaximander cannot have thought the universe has a firm, solid edge on which they would have rested. However, when Leucippus later positioned the sun in a similar place, he assumed a membrane enclosing the entire universe (Aet. *Plac.* 2. 7. 2 = DK 67 A 22; Diog. Laert. 9. 32–33 = DK 67 A 1).

In surviving testimonies pertinent to Anaximander’s cosmology, we have no explicit evidence to the effect that he assumed a universe that has a border. The only somewhat relevant evidence comes from Aetius’s report quoted above based on which we could consider the possibility that

since heavenly bodies were thought to be circles of fire surrounded by air/fog, an eventual border of the universe could have a similar composition. Still, as noted above, given the brevity and poor preservation of the entire passage, we can just as well assume that this detail is based on a description of the basic elements of the universe in general. Heaven would have thus been conceived of as a free space with heavenly bodies without any border enclosing it all. It seems therefore that Anaximander did not posit any borders or limits of the universe. In fact, various scholars in this context note that his position was unique and differed from the original archaic conception of a single “starry heaven”.²³

Nonetheless, we shall see below that it would be erroneous to assume that Anaximander’s universe was ‘limitless’ or ‘open’, because such conclusion could well be due simply to lack of textual evidence. Some experts, such as Panchenko or Gregory, for instance believe that Anaximander’s universe was spherical.²⁴ These claims, however, have no support in textual evidence and although we do find the notion of a sphere already in his description of cosmogony, it was supposed to later break up (Ps.-Plut. *Strom.* 2 = DK 12 A 10). Along similar lines, an interpretation of the boundless as an endless space stretching around our structured world is also just a speculation.²⁵ Similarly unattested are suggestions that the universe was ovoid, spheroid, or barrel-shaped: these proposals merely draw on shapes of various phenomena described by Anaximander without any further evidence justifying this extrapolation.²⁶ West’s attempt to determine, based on so-called Anaximander’s numbers, the radius of the universe is similarly doomed to failure.²⁷

For the moment being, we can thus conclude that although we have no textual evidence in support of assumption that Anaximander believed the universe to have a border, we also have no evidence refuting it.

c) Anaximenes

Regarding Anaximenes, while the texts are not quite explicit, we have several clues to his conception of the heaven. The first hint to Anaximenes’ belief in heaven being a firm limit of the universe is found in the abovementioned Aetius’s chapter on the substance of heaven, which opens

²³ Cf. Cornford 1934, 10; Couprie 2011, 99.

²⁴ Cf. Gregory 2016, 91–92, 151, 225; Panchenko 1994/1995, 51; Rescher 1958, 724.

²⁵ Cf. Kahn 1960, 233; Graham 2006, 31.

²⁶ Cf. Furley 1987, 27–28.

²⁷ Cf. West 1971, 92.

with a characterisation of his position. As in the case of Anaximander, the Diels and Kranz edition quotes from a version contained in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 1. 23. 1 = TP 2 As 123 (*Aet. Plac.* 2. 11. 1 = DK 13 A 13):

Anaximenes and Parmenides say that the outer periphery of the earth is the heaven (τὴν περιφορὰν τὴν ἐξωτάτω τῆς γῆς εἶναι τὸν οὐρανόν).²⁸

We noted above that reference to the ‘outer periphery’ helps us understand the subject of the chapter in relation to heaven as the outer edge of the universe. Both Diels in his *Doxography Graeci* and the *Traditio Praesocratica* amend Pseudo-Plutarch’s version in this sense as well. Mansfeld and Runia’s edition in principle follows Stobaeus’s reading when reconstructing this chapter in Aetius, but in the case of Anaximenes, the authors adopt the Pseudo-Plutarch’s original, unamended version (*Aet. Plac.* 2. 11. 1 Mansfeld–Runia):

On the heaven, what is its substance. Anaximenes (declares that) the outermost periphery is earthy (γῆϊνῃ).²⁹

Moreover, Pseudo-Galen’s version accents directly the earth as the outermost periphery (*Hist. phil.* 54. 1 = TP 2 As 179). According to reconstruction adopted in Mansfeld and Runia’s edition, the chapter deals with views on the composition of heaven while progressing from the view that it is solid – this view being expressed by Anaximenes and his claim that it is earthy – all the way to Aristotle’s fifth element. Mansfeld and Runia in this context note that in late antiquity, especially these two extremes were the subject of various debates. Anaximander’s abovementioned mixture of the hot and the cold can be explained as a compromise view. In contrast to Pseudo-Plutarch’s reading, in Stobaeus we thus find a significant change of Anaximenes’s opinion regarding the location of heaven.³⁰

If heaven was thought to form the ‘outer periphery’, we could understand these testimonies to mean that, from the perspective of the earth, it represents not only the area of the sky but also the uppermost limit of the world, i.e., the universe. Pseudo-Plutarch then adds that its nature is earthy, but it is yet to be seen to what extent this claim should be taken literally. To wit, in texts reporting on Anaximenes’s views, we find references to

²⁸ Translation by Couprie 2008, 122.

²⁹ Translation by Mansfeld–Runia 2009.

³⁰ Cf. Mansfeld–Runia 2009, 434–446.

earth as a substance also in the case of so-called ‘earthy bodies’ or ‘earthy natures’ (Aet. *Plac.* 2. 13. 9 Mansfeld–Runia = DK 13 A 14; Hippol. *Ref.* 1. 7. 4–5 = DK 13 A 7), but, as we argued elsewhere, these are most likely anachronisms based on analogies with Anaxagoras’s views.³¹ We could, however, consider the option that felt may have played a similar role, i.e. serve as the foundation of a firm structure, because the motif of felting appears in the thoughts of Anaximenes in various contexts related to the constitution of a number of phenomena, including the formation of clouds or even the earth (Hippol. *Ref.* 1. 7. 3–6 = DK 13 A 7; Ps.-Plut. *Strom.* 3 = DK 13 A 6).

The supposition that Anaximenes believed in the existence of heaven in the sense of the upper limit of the universe may find support in fragments of his text which pertain to the stars. In particular, if stars maintain their mutual position without any change, the assumption of their placement on a shared plane would be quite natural. For Anaximenes, we have no concrete reports regarding the ordering of heavenly bodies, but one can suppose he believed that stars are the furthest from the earth. One can infer as much from Hippolytus’s claim that stars ‘do not heat us because of their great distance’ (*Ref.* 1. 7. 6 = DK 13 A 7).³²

Shared location of stars in heaven is then a supposition that finds direct support in Aetius’s text (*Plac.* 2. 14. 3–4 Mansfeld–Runia = DK 13 A 14):

On the shapes of the stars. Anaximenes (declares that they) have been affixed in the manner of studs to the crystalline (heaven) (κρυσταλλοειδεῖ). But some (ἔνιοι) (philosophers declare that they) are fiery leaves, like pictures.³³

It must, however, be taken into consideration that this full version of the passage is found only in Pseudo-Plutarch.³⁴ Stobaeus’s version of Aetius (*Ecl.* 1. 24. 1k = TP 2 As 124) omits the second sentence, which is however attested in Eusebius (*Praep. evang.* 15. 31. 2) and in Pseudo-Galen (*Hist. phil.* 56 a 2–3).³⁵ It deserves noting that both Eusebius and Pseudo-Galen depend on Pseudo-Plutarch and thus cannot serve as evidence for

³¹ Cf. Kočandrle 2019b, 113.

³² Cf. Dührsen 2013, 332; Heath 1913, 43. O’Brien (1968, 116–117) on the other hand suggests that Anaximenes, may have – like Anaximander – placed stars closer to the earth than either the moon or the sun is.

³³ Translation by Mansfeld–Runia 2009.

³⁴ Cf. *Dox.* 1879, 344. Edition TP (TP 2 As 37) omits the second sentence.

³⁵ Edition TP in the case of Eusebius and Pseudo-Galen also omits the second sentence (TP 2 As 89; TP 2 As 180).

what stood in Aetius. In fact, the whole text is highly problematic. It is, for instance, unclear who the ‘some’ philosophers ought to be. The pronoun might refer to authors who did not ascribe to Anaximenes a belief in fixed stars but in stars in the shape of fiery leaves, but it could just as well denote the entire group of thinkers who, unlike Anaximenes, did believe that stars are fiery leaves. Some scholars also argued that the phrase “like pictures” in fact belongs to the previous sentence and expresses constellations while the sentence “some (philosophers declare that they) are fiery leaves” might be merely an insertion pertaining to freely moving heavenly bodies.³⁶

Moreover, one can doubt the authenticity of the passage as a whole. For instance, while for Anaximenes, the motif of “crystalline” heaven has no other parallel, we do find it in the writings of Empedocles, who makes a distinction between planets and stars placed on a “crystalline” heaven (Aet. *Plac.* 2. 13. 11 = DK 31 A 54). Moreover, the term κρυσταλλοειδής is for Empedocles attested repeatedly, including the mention in Aetius’s chapter on the substance of heaven quoted above (Aet. *Plac.* 2. 11. 2 = DK 31 A 51; 2. 20. 13 = DK 31 A 56; Achill. Tat. *Isag.* 5 = DK 31 A 51; Diog. Laert. 8. 77 = DK 31 A 1; *Schol. in Bas. Magn.* 22 = DK 31 A 51).³⁷ One might therefore surmise that Anaximenes is mentioned here erroneously instead of Empedocles.³⁸

When reading Aetius’s chapter pertaining to the shape of stars as a whole, we can note that it presents various concepts one by one. Belief in spherical stars is ascribed to the Stoics, while Cleanthes was supposed to hold that they have a conical shape. The idea of stars shaped like three-dimensional studs was then according to Mansfeld and Runia, ascribed to Anaximenes. “Some thinkers”, who are in this version not listed by name, then allegedly thought that stars were akin to two-dimensional fiery leaves.³⁹

If, however, as proposed above, we suppose that Anaximenes was in this text named instead of Empedocles, we could place him in this last group of “some” thinkers.⁴⁰ This hypothesis finds indirect support in the fact that according to Aetius, he was supposed to liken even the sun to a leaf (*Plac.* 2. 22. 1 Mansfeld–Runia = DK 13 A 15 = DK 13 B 2 a). This emphasis on flatness of heavenly bodies is, moreover, attested also

³⁶ Cf. Bicknell 1969, 53–56; Graham 2013, 64 n. 78; id. 2010, 82–83; Heath 1913, 42; Hölscher 1953, 413–414; Schwabl 1966, 33–38; West 1971, 102; Wöhrle 1993, 27, 72.

³⁷ Lactantius (*De op. Dei* 17. 6 = DK 31 A 51) then analogically describes heaven as “frozen air”.

³⁸ Cf. Kirk–Raven–Schofield 2007, 155; Longrigg 1965, 249–251.

³⁹ Cf. Mansfeld–Runia 2009, 474–475.

⁴⁰ Cf. Kočandrlje 2019b, 114.

by Hippolytus, who explicitly claims that Anaximenes believed heavenly bodies to be ‘flat’ (*Ref.* 1. 7. 4 = DK 13 A 7). In fact, this stress on flatness and lightness of heavenly bodies is a characteristic feature of Anaximenes’s cosmology in general.

If we accept this reading, we lose one of the main pieces of textual support for the conjecture of a firm boundary of the heaven in Anaximenes’s thought. Nevertheless, it is also possible that the Milesian may have been listed here erroneously based on his use of another authentic term which evoked the notion of “crystalline” heaven and moreover, the conception of stars as fiery leaves and heaven in the sense of a firm border are mutually compatible.

Another indication which supports the claim that Anaximenes proposed a conception of firm, solid heaven is found in the following passage from Hippolytus, which deals with the movement of heavenly bodies in Anaximenes’s thought (*Ref.* 1. 7. 6 = DK 13 A 7):

He denies that the heavenly bodies move under the earth, as others suppose, but he says they turn around the earth like a felt cap (τὸ πιλίον) around our head.

It is this motif of “felt hat” that evokes the impression of heaven as a concrete structure. In this text, a hat is introduced to demonstrate how we should imagine the movement of stars and although it is a vivid image, it is not clear what kind of head covering we should imagine. Over time, various alternatives have been proposed. It could be, for instance, a hemispherical cap made of felt but also a hat with a broad rim and some scholars even proposed rather exotic alternatives, such as head coverings from wrapped cloth or a turban.⁴¹ We could even consider a conical hat such as is depicted in the red-figure painting kept in the Louvre.⁴²

Couprie believes that this motif originally came from Hippolytus, not Anaximenes,⁴³ but one could object that the material from which the head covering is supposed to be made is rather indicative. To wit, felt appears in Anaximenean fragments in a number of locations and one could thus view it as an indication of authenticity of the whole image (*Hippol. Ref.* 1. 7. 3–6 = DK 13 A 7; *Ps.-Plut. Strom.* 3 = DK 13 A 6).

⁴¹ Cf. Bicknell 1966, 17–18; Lloyd 1966, 318–319.

⁴² Man wearing the *pilos* (conical hat). MNE 1330, Louvre. Available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/file:man_pilos_louvre_mne1330.jpg (accessed on 5 May 2020).

⁴³ Cf. Couprie 2018, 124.

However, it quickly becomes clear that unless we know what kind of head covering we should imagine and how it was supposed to be placed on the figurative head, the whole example adds little to our understanding of Anaximenean thoughts. Various scholars proposed different interpretations, including a reading according to which the whole “hat” is tilted. The most natural reading seems to be one where a hemispherical cap is placed on the head straight, following its contours, along the lines proposed by Graham. The hat would then represent the hemisphere of the heaven on which would be affixed the stars. Still, Couprie had shown that this image, too, has a number of problematic consequences.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, we can see that although we have no texts that would clearly and explicitly ascribe to Anaximenes a belief in heavenly vault, we can still conclude that in his view, the heaven was an area whose outer limit formed the upper border of the entire universe.

d) *Xenophanes*

In surviving fragments of Xenophanes we find only two references to heaven which feature the term οὐρανός. The first is found in Aristotle (*Met.* 986 b 18 = DK 21 A 30):

Parmenides seems to deal with the one in definition, Melissus the one in matter; that is why the former says it is limited, the latter unlimited. But Xenophanes, who was the first to posit a unity (for Parmenides is supposed to have been his student) did not make anything clear, nor did he seem to touch on the nature of either of these things, but with a view to the whole heaven he says the one is god (ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέψας τὸ ἐν εἶναι φησι τὸν θεόν).

Aristotle's remark to the effect that Xenophanes “did not make anything clear” is rather eloquent. If already Aristotle thought that Xenophanes failed to explain his position, how could we hope to reconstruct them adequately so many centuries later? Aristotle's remark about “the whole heaven” and its direct link to a god is extraordinarily interesting but we find no parallel in the work of Xenophanes.

Nevertheless, Aristotle seems to use here the term οὐρανός in one of the abovementioned senses: to mean ‘the world’. This reading finds further support in the context of the whole phrase, τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν, it is also the most likely reading of the phrase in the commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias (*In Arist. Met.* 43. 10–44. 12 = TP 3 Xen 130),

⁴⁴ Cf. Couprie 2018, 102–103; Graham 2013, 65; McKirahan 1994, 57.

and Asclepius of Tralles (*In Arist. Met.* 6. 2; 41. 17–42. 4 = TP 3 Xen 253) clearly interprets it in this sense as well.⁴⁵

Still, while we have extremely little other evidence regarding Xenophanes's views on the world or the heaven, several sources inform us about his conception of the god mentioned in the quotation above: e.g., Clem. of Alex. *Strom.* 5. 109 = DK 21 B 23; Hippol. *Ref.* 1. 14. 2 = DK 21 A 33; Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* 9. 144 = DK 21 B 24; Simpl. *In Arist. Phys.* 22. 22 = DK 21 A 31 (DK 21 B 25, DK 21 B 26). Although the conception as a whole is not clear, it is evident that this god was supposed to differ substantively from common human preconceptions and Aristotle moreover seems to indicate that Xenophanes posited a direct analogy between the conception of god and the world.

World represents a unity, while the One is said to be a god. At the same time, god was supposed to be an expression of the all-embracing One which was described as bounded and spherical (e.g., Simpl. *In Arist. Phys.* 22. 22 = DK 21 A 31; Theod. *Graec. affect. cur.* 4. 5 = DK 21 A 36). The round shape was also one of god's epithets (e.g., Cic. *Ac. pr.* 2. 118 = DK 21 A 34; Hippol. *Ref.* 1. 14. 2 = DK 21 A 33). If god is thus an expression of unity that is at the same time identical to all there is, we could interpret such claims as meaning that what Xenophanes means by god is the world and its shape is spherical.

Still, it is highly problematic to try and argue for any concrete conclusions regarding the shape of the world which Xenophanes posited, among other things because testimonies regarding his thoughts are contaminated by later, Eleatic arguments. One can thus assume that the abovementioned spherical shape is actually influenced by or reflects a description of Parmenides's One. After all, even Asclepius claims that Aristotle ascribes the link between the world and god to Xenophanes by mistake.⁴⁶

The term οὐρανός, this time fully in the sense of 'heaven', then also appears in Hippolytus, who, however, uses it just casually when describing the earth (*Ref.* 1. 14. 3 = DK 21 A 33):

The sun comes to be every day from tiny flares gathered together, the earth is boundless and surrounded neither by air nor by heaven, and there are numberless suns and moons and everything is from earth.

Pseudo-Plutarch does not mention heaven but similarly claims that Xenophanes believed that "the earth is boundless and not surrounded everywhere by air" (*Strom.* 4 = DK 21 A 32). Mourelatos interprets

⁴⁵ Cf. Kirk–Raven–Schofield 2007, 172.

⁴⁶ Cf. Graham 2010, 131.

the various statements on the boundlessness of the earth as emphasis on its extent regarding depth and breadth, while Couprie believes that, according to Xenophanes, the earth was not literally boundless but merely “unfathomable” as to its size.⁴⁷ As noted elsewhere, we could interpret the existing sources in the sense that Xenophanes did not view the earth as a body within the space of the universe but rather as the lower limit of the world, from which the heaven stretched upwards.⁴⁸

Still, we might also consider the option that Xenophanes believed the universe to be both final and spherical. Its lower hemisphere would be filled with earth, while the upper one would consist of heaven, as proposed by Couprie. Such hemispherical heaven would thus be only part of the entire sphere of the universe, a sphere which represents unity. It is, however, likely that this image is indeed influenced by later, Eleatic interpretations, and one can moreover suppose that within this context, the only texts which are authentic are those which speak of Xenophanes’s belief in the boundlessness of the earth (Achill. Tat. *Isag.* 4, P. 34,11 Maass = DK 21 B 28). In any case, we can see that Xenophanes is the first of the ancient thinkers mentioned here in whose thought we can find a reference to a concrete shape.⁴⁹

e) Heraclitus

When investigating the thoughts of Heraclites of Ephesus, we quickly note that his texts contain almost no concrete references to heaven and similarly, he also said nothing about the earth (Diog. Laert. 9. 11 = DK 22 A 1). Heraclitus is, however, mentioned in Aetius’s chapter on the substance of heaven which we dealt with above. In particular, it is claimed there that (*Plac.* 2. 11. 4 Mansfeld–Runia = DK 22 A 10):

Parmenides, Heraclitus, Strato and Zeno (declare that the heaven is) fiery.⁵⁰

This is Stobaeus’s version of Aetius because Pseudo-Plutarch omits this passage. Still, although the fiery nature should probably be ascribed to heaven as the upper limit of the universe, it is also possible – similarly to Anaximander’s case – that this is merely a description of the area of heaven. In that case, it would be its upper part, because Heraclitus made a distinction between zones of heaven along similar lines as we find in the

⁴⁷ Cf. Couprie 2018, 159–160; Mourelatos 2008, 138.

⁴⁸ Cf. Kočandrle 2018, 479–480; 2019b, 110–111.

⁴⁹ Cf. Couprie 2018, 160–161, image 8.6.

⁵⁰ Translation by Mansfeld–Runia 2009.

works of epic poets. In particular, the difference between the brightness of the sun and the moon is explained by supposition that the sun moves in cleaner air, while the moon moves in a muddier or murkier one (Aet. *Plac.* 2. 28. 7. Mansfeld–Runia = DK 22 A 12; Diog. Laert. 9. 9–10 = DK 22 A 1; Hippol. *Ref.* 1. 4. 3 = DK 22 A 12). If, however, Diogenes explicitly claims (9. 9 = DK 22 A 1) that Heraclitus presented no account of ‘the nature of the surrounding’, we have a good reason to assume that he did not speak of the heaven in any more detail.

The Conception of the Universe and Heaven

Heaven is an exclusive, usually unreachable area, so high it eventually disappears from our view. As such, it was for many generations inaccessible to human experience. This is also what various authors, including Philo of Alexandria (*De somn.* 1. 21), Lactantius (*De op. Dei* 17. 6), or Gregory of Nissa (*C. Eunom.* 1. 435), note about it, adding that its nature is in principle unknowable.⁵¹

It is therefore not surprising that the texts introduced above give us few clues to the conception of heaven in archaic Ionian cosmologies. After all, we have meagre evidence regarding the conception of earth during this era as well. Yet although one could claim that even the very notion of heaven as a concrete part of the universe is uncertain, heaven was already in the epic tradition expressed by a concrete figure: the god Ouranos. And although as an area above earth’s surface, it may have in the sense of the sky represented merely a wide open space, we saw that, to the contrary, it represented the ‘outermost periphery’. This has momentous implications: if heaven had no border and did not form the outer limit of the universe, it would have been an infinite universe. This could be contrasted with what Furley calls a ‘closed world’, and in fact, archaic Ionian cosmologies did assume such ‘closed world’. After all, as Furley notes, even during the classical era, the typical view was that of a finite, closed type of world, and not of a boundless universe.⁵²

Being the outer limit, heaven had to be composed of something. While in Anaximander’s thought it is characterised as a mixture of the hot and the cold, in Anaximenean fragments we encounter references to its “earthy” nature and “crystalline” heaven, which we, however, analysed as mistaken and belonging most likely to Empedocles. According to Heraclitus, on the

⁵¹ Cf. Mansfeld–Runia 2009, 438–442.

⁵² Cf. Furley 1987, 2, 136; 1989, 2.

other hand, heaven was supposed to be “fiery”. Unless these are merely descriptions of the contents of the entire area of heaven, what we see here is a new emphasis on the physical, concrete nature of heaven as the border of the world, which was in the epic tradition said to be composed of bronze or iron.

One could expect that heaven, being a physical, spatial constituent of the universe that defines its outer limit, also has a particular shape. We noted above that current interpretations of heaven during the Archaic Era usually conclude that in the epic tradition, the heavenly vault was supposed to be hemispherical. This shape is also often encountered in reconstructions of Anaximenes’s universe.

On the other hand, already Kahn noted that the relatively widespread notion of heaven as a hemisphere rests on extremely meagre textual evidence. Neither of the terms *καμάρα* and *ἀψίς*, which could describe such a vault, are attested in Homer’s writings in this sense.⁵³ We also learn little about the shape of heaven from a comparison with the ‘ground plan’ of the earth, because its often assumed circular shape (corresponding to the lower edge of the hemisphere of heaven) is, within archaic Ionian cosmologies, attested only in the thoughts of Anaximander (Hippol. *Ref.* 1. 6. 3 = DK 12 A 11; Ps.-Plut. *Strom.* 2 = DK 12 A 10).⁵⁴

Kahn in this context correctly points out that in Greece, roofs tend to be flat or pitched. If heaven were thought of as a “roof of the world”, it would have been most likely visualised as flat, but although this conjecture might seem supported by the fact that heaven was often considered the seat of the gods (Hes. *Theog.* 373), which could evoke a firm, flat shape, the gods were believed to live on the top of Mount Olympus. However, even passages where gods in their chariots ride between lands and the starry heaven could evoke an image of heaven as a plane parallel to the earth (Hom. *Il.* 5. 770; 8. 46). The idea of a vertical stratification of the world finds further support in Hesiod’s passage which mentions the fall of a bronze anvil from the heaven to the earth, where it seems clear that the various areas of the world were arranged in a symmetric way (*Theog.* 720–725). Fehling, too, was quite convinced that during the Archaic Era, heaven was believed to be flat, though unfortunately he did not support his claim with the necessary arguments.⁵⁵

Given the extreme paucity of evidence for Greek conceptions of heaven during the Archaic Era, it might help to take a brief look at other traditions

⁵³ Cf. LSJ s.v. *ἀψίς*; *καμάρα*.

⁵⁴ Cf. Kahn 1960, 138 n. 2, 3.

⁵⁵ Cf. Fehling 1985, 206–208, 215; Kahn 1960, 138–139 n. 2, 3.

where heaven was visualised. For instance, the Egyptian hieroglyphs for 'heaven' are similarly ambivalent because we find both a curved sign (perhaps for a hemisphere) and a flat one,⁵⁶ which could indicate that even in Egypt, the conception of heaven was not quite clear. We also have various depictions of Nut, the goddess of the heaven, who is usually depicted as arching over the earth, supporting herself on hands and feet. In other depictions, however, she is held up by her father Shu, the god of air and wind who thus played the same role as Atlas. In both cases, though, the shape of the heaven is determined by the arching body of Nut. Although we must take into account that Egyptian paintings do not use three-dimensionality, it can be argued that the body of Nut does not represent a three-dimensional hemisphere. If we were to take it literally, we could suppose that her body as such represents a flat plane, eventually a rectangular plane slightly curved to form in profile a sort of compressed arch. The dimensions of this plane are so enormous that it covers the entire surface of the earth. We could speculate whether in the imagination of Greek poets the heaven could not likewise have a shape analogical with the shape of the body of Ouranos. In that case, it would not be a hemisphere but a flat plane or a plane slightly curved to form of a compressed arch reflecting the god's body.⁵⁷

There is another source which seems to run counter the idea of heaven as a hemisphere: a depiction of the world attested in the work of Cosmas Indicopleustes from the sixth century CE. This much later source shows the earth as flat and rectangular. The area above earth surface, and thereby also the universe, is enclosed from the top by heaven in the shape of barrel vault, arched so deep it encompasses almost one half of a cylinder (*Top. chrét.* 2. 34; 4. 12).

One could also take into consideration the geographically distant Chinese conception of *gai tian*, the 'celestial cover', described mainly in treatise *Zhou bi suan jing* from the time of the Chan dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE). In this conception, the earth and heaven are visualised as two parallel and separate planes which do not touch each other. The flat earth is square and immobile. Heaven is similarly flat but circular and turning at a constant speed. Heavenly bodies are then carried by the movement of heaven and their movement naturally never takes them under the earth. And while Panchenko speculated that this Chinese conception may have had Greek roots, what is important here is that it constitutes possible support for a hypothesis that heaven was, in archaic times, viewed as flat.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Cf. Couprie 2011, 5, im. 1. 3.

⁵⁷ Cf. Couprie 2011, 8–9, im. 1. 7, 1. 9; Kahn 1960, 139.

⁵⁸ Cf. Cullen 1996, 1, 50, 60–61 n. 63, 174; Forke 1907, 261–262, 265–266; Panchenko 2015, 412–426; id. 2002, 251.

In the case of the Greek conception, the idea of heaven as a flat plane could find indirect support in the apparent two-dimensionality we find in descriptions of heavenly bodies, especially in the work of Anaximenes, who states that they are – like the earth – flat (Hippol. *Ref.* 1. 7. 4–5 = DK 13 A 7). The sun is then likened to a leaf, while stars are described as small leaves (Aet. *Plac.* 2. 14. 3–4 Mansfeld–Runia = DK 13 A 14; 2. 22. 1 Mansfeld–Runia = DK 13 A 15 = DK 13 B 2 a). Once we take into consideration also the meteorological nature of heavenly bodies, which were supposed to move only above the earth, it seems possible (and we argued for this elsewhere) that during the Archaic Era, the earth was not yet viewed as a body in the space of the universe but rather as the lower dimension and ultimately the lower boundary of the entire universe. In that case, if heaven represented the other key part of the universe, it would have been the opposite one, which could not have been too distant from the earth because the meteorological nature of this kind of cosmology seems to point to rather small dimensions of the universe. The entire space of the universe would have thus stretched between a flat earth and a heaven that was either flat or shaped like a compressed arch. If the earth was viewed as flat or concave, heaven may have had an analogical shape. The subject of limits of these finite areas of the universe need not have been considered in any detail at all.⁵⁹

The shape of the heaven is closely connected with the shape of the universe as such but, unfortunately, we have no explicit sources for this subject in archaic Ionian cosmologies either. Aetius dedicated a brief chapter to the shape of the world (κόσμος) and in addition to the spherical conception (which he ascribes to the Stoics) he also, albeit anonymously, mentions a conical and ovoid shape (*Plac.* 2. 2. 1–3 Mansfeld–Runia). The idea of a conical shape – somewhat reminiscent of a hemisphere – appeared in the case of a conical hat from the red-figure painting we encountered above. A cone would moreover correspond with the organisation of universe during the Archaic Era outlined above, where the earth would function as a base capped by the cone of the heaven. But this red-figure painting comes from the fourth century BCE.

Even so, we could consider the possibility that in archaic Ionian cosmologies, the heaven, and with it the entire universe, was believed to be spherical, as was the case during the classical era. Couprie, for instance, assumes a spherical universe surrounding a flat earth already for Anaximenes and Bicknell earlier proposed a similar notion. Both use in their arguments contemporary notions regarding the movement of

⁵⁹ Cf. Kočandrle 2017, 275–278; 2018, 479–480; 2019b, 110–111.

heavenly bodies, which from the position of observers on earth seem to set under the horizon. Stars would thus be placed on a heavenly sphere which surrounds the earth, whereby the pole and celestial axis, around which heavenly bodies turn, would be tilted with respect to the surface of this flat earth. For Homer, however, Couprie accepts that he thought the heaven to be hemispherical although the movement of stars represents an analogical problem.⁶⁰

Graham, on the other hand, viewed the movement of heavenly bodies only above the earth as one of the typical motifs of cosmologies of the sixth century BCE.⁶¹ In fact, some surviving texts explicitly reject the idea of movement of heavenly bodies under the earth (e.g., Aet. *Plac.* 2. 16. 5 Mansfeld–Runia = DK 13 A 14; Hippol. *Ref.* 1. 7. 6 = DK 13 A 7) and even the tilt of the pole is mentioned only after the time of Parmenides. One can, moreover, suppose that archaic Ionian cosmologies built on the vision of the world of the epic tradition, whose culmination they in fact represent. In general, one can suppose that these cosmologies evolved within a linear conception of the universe, which Furley contrasts with a centrifocal universe characterised by a centre to which all movements are related.⁶²

Even so, there is one Ionian thinker of the Archaic Era in whose case we could argue that he championed a spherical conception of the universe. It is Anaximander, who is in many ways an exception within the Ionian tradition. In his thought, we probably indeed encounter the notion of movement of heavenly bodies under the earth. Moreover, in his philosophy, heavenly bodies are objects with a concrete structure and not just ignited clouds, such as Xenophanes had proposed. His reference to the opposite side of the earth seems to aim in the same direction and thus contribute to the image of earth as a cosmic body located in the free space of the universe (Hippol. *Ref.* 1. 6. 3 = DK 12 A 11). And although we have no reports regarding some boundaries of this universe, we saw that some scholars, when analysing Anaximander's thoughts, work with the notion of a sphere which encloses it. Stars, however, being located closest to the earth, cannot have been placed on this sphere. Still, although a sphere would probably be the best shape to contain the entire structure of Anaximander's universe, there is no textual support showing that Anaximander actually entertained this thought. Even so, we should view his universe as closed: it is an assumption he most likely shared with

⁶⁰ Cf. Bicknell 1969, 77; Couprie 2011, 10–11; 2018, 126 im. 7. 14, 320.

⁶¹ Cf. Graham 2013, 79–80.

⁶² Cf. Furley 1987, 24–25, 53–54; Panchenko 2015, 415–416.

other thinkers of his era. It is well possible that available textual evidence describes only the functional organisation of the ‘core’ of his universe.

In this context, we should perhaps pay attention to his concept of ‘surrounding’ (περιέχειν), which features within Anaximander’s work in his descriptions of constitution of heavenly bodies, meteorological phenomena, and even living beings (Aet. *Plac.* 3. 3. 1 = DK 12 A 23; 5. 19. 4 = DK 12 A 30; Hippol. *Ref.* 1. 6. 4 = DK 12 A 11; Ps.-Plut. *Strom.* 2 = DK 12 A 10). It is clearly connected to the constitution of objects which are formed in this way. Even so, the boundary of the universe seems to be a lost piece of this entire puzzle.

As we noted elsewhere, one can suppose that the spherical conception of heaven is linked to the development of cosmologies between the sixth and fifth century BCE.⁶³ At this time, we find thinkers whom Diogenes Laertius places into the ‘Italian’ school of philosophy (1. 13), and they entertain the notion of heaven, and analogically also the earth having the shape of a full sphere. It is first of all the Pythagoreans, who claim (Diog. Laert. 8. 25 = DK 58 B 1 a):

[a universe] is spherical, with the earth at its centre, the earth itself too being spherical and inhabited round about,⁶⁴

but also Parmenides, about whom it is claimed (Diog. Laert. 9. 21 = DK 28 A 1):

He was the first to say the earth was spherical and situated in the middle.

The spherical shape of the earth is, meanwhile, connected with the shape of the surrounding heaven and thereby also of the universe. When Aetius describes how Parmenides argued for earth’s immobility in the universe, he mentions its symmetric position: it was supposed to be equidistant from everything (*Plac.* 3. 15. 7 = DK 28 A 44). This argument often appears in connection with Anaximander, to whom it was ascribed by Aristotle (*Caelo* 295 b 10 = DK 12 A 26). It also appears multiple times in Plato’s writings, whereby Plato shows that its validity depends on identical – identically spherical – shape of the earth and the surrounding heaven/universe (*Phd.* 108 e – 109 a; *Tim.* 62 d – 63 a). It is interesting to note that in the *Phaedo*, Socrates claims that he learned of this conception from ‘someone’ – without specifying that person (*Phd.* 108 c). Still, it may have been Parmenides. Another indication that Parmenides believed

⁶³ Cf. Kočandrlje 2018, 467–481; id. 2019b, 111–113, 115–116.

⁶⁴ Translation by Hicks 1980.

the heaven/universe to be spherical may be found in a literal reading of his poem, where Being is likened to a ball (Simpl. *In Arist. Phys.* 146. 15 = DK 28 B 8, 42–49). And while the identity of the real Being will remain the subject of debates, one could speculate that it may have denoted heaven/universe. Such reading moreover finds support in Simplicius, who in his commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* mentions that, according to Eudemos, Parmenides's Being was indeed interpreted in a cosmological sense as 'heaven' (οὐρανός, *In Arist. Phys.* 133. 21–29; 142. 28–143. 8 = Eudemos, Fr. 44, 45 Wehrli = Coxon 2009, Eudemos, test. 37, 38).⁶⁵

Concerning the spherical earth, Panchenko formulated another argument in support of this notion in Parmenides. Strabo (*Geogr.* I. 94 = DK 28 A 44 a), with reference to Posidonius, ascribes the origin of the concept of division of the earth to Parmenides, while Aetius claims that 'Parmenides was the first to locate inhabitable parts of the earth on each side of the two tropical zones' (*Plac.* III. 11. 4 = DK 28 A 44 a).⁶⁶ Panchenko argues that the source of Parmenides' awareness of the southern inhabited zone may have been the reports of circumnavigation of Libya (i.e., Africa) by Phoenicians who, according to Herodotus, had "the sun on their right hand" (*Hist.* IV. 42–43). Panchenko believes that awareness of such reports "made Parmenides formulate his great theory of a spherical earth".⁶⁷ Although it can be argued that the conception of a spherical earth was based rather on metaphysical reasons, the empirical nature of this argument does not contradict what we know about Parmenides' cosmology.

Parmenides and the Pythagoreans represent the two directions of thought which had the greatest influence on Plato. The spherical conception of heaven we encounter in the writings of Plato and Aristotle could therefore represent merely a culmination of this tradition. It would then be rather natural that in the *Timaeus*, the demiurge forms a spherical world (*Tim.* 33 b–c). Although Aristotle subsequently argues in favour of a spherical shape of not only the earth but also the heaven/universe mainly on the basis of his physics and his theory of proper places, we could speculate to what extent his basic convictions were influenced by the abovementioned directions of thought.

Based on our conclusions, we should consider the possibility that the conception of heaven as a hemisphere, often used in interpreting the archaic image of the world, is just an anachronism. One could speculate that it might be based on a conception of spherical heaven, which was

⁶⁵ Cf. Fehling 1985, 226–227; Furley 1987, 53–57; Graham 2013, 90–91, 96, 106–107 n. 44; Hladký 2018, 33 n. 62.

⁶⁶ Translation by Panchenko 2008, 189.

⁶⁷ Cf. Panchenko 2008, 192.

dominant since the beginning of the classical era. Scholars may have taken the spherical conception as their starting point and – erroneously – apply its elements to thinking of the Archaic Era. In that case, at least from their perspective, heaven would have represented just upper half of the entire sphere of heaven.

Conclusion

We have seen that surviving texts do not allow for sufficiently detailed and well-founded reconstruction of the conception of heaven in archaic Ionian cosmologies. Nevertheless, one can suppose that, much like earth, the heaven was considered a concrete part of the world with a particular composition. Given the meteorological nature of archaic Ionian cosmologies, where heavenly bodies were assumed to move only above the earth, one can hypothesise that the universe as a whole was thought to be closed and its space usually thought to stretch between a flat earth and heaven. Heaven was thus not only the area above the surface of the earth but also the upper limit of the universe. The commonly accepted notion of heaven as a hemisphere stretching above a flat earth, ascribed especially to the epic tradition, is not supported by textual evidence. On the contrary, it is possible that heaven was thought to be flat or shaped like a compressed arch. We do not have sufficient evidence to support a claim that the spherical conception of heaven was entertained either by Anaximander, who seems to have assumed space around the entire earth, or by Xenophanes. The notion of spherical heaven provably appears in cosmologies belonging to the so-called Italian school of philosophy, where it is usually connected with a spherical earth. This is also where Aristotle drew inspiration for his conception, where heaven is presented not only as the area where heavenly bodies are located but also as the limit of the universe, which ends with the sphere of the fixed stars.

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List of Abbreviations

DK – see Diels–Kranz 1951/1952
Dox. – see Diels 1879
TP 1 – see Wöhrle 2014
TP 2 – see Wöhrle 2012
TP 3 – see Strobel–Wöhrle 2018

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The conception of heaven in archaic Ionian cosmologies, which belong to the earliest Presocratic conceptions of the world, is due to meagre textual evidence hard to reconstruct. Current scholars, meanwhile, tend to agree that in the previous epic tradition, heaven was believed to form a firm hemisphere located above a flat earth. Although such interpretations are based on indirect evidence, one can suppose that during the Archaic Era, heaven was considered to be a concrete constituent of the universe with a particular composition. In the case of archaic Ionian cosmologies, one can assume – based on their meteorological nature and the assumption of movement of heavenly bodies only above the earth – that the space of the universe stretched only between a flat earth and the heaven. The entire universe was thus viewed as closed, with the heaven forming its upper limit. Still, the heaven need not have been imagined as hemispherical: it could have been thought flat or merely curved. To wit, one can argue that the hemispherical shape of heaven, which often features in current interpretations, anachronistically draws on later conceptions belonging to the Italian school of philosophy, where the universe and therefore also the heaven was believed to form a sphere.

Понимание неба в архаических космологиях Ионии представляет одну из древнейших досократических концепций, которая не была достаточно текстуально обоснована. Современные исследователи полагают, что предшествующая эпическая традиция рассматривала небо как неподвижное полушарие, расположенное над плоской Землей. Несмотря на то, что подобные интерпретации основаны на непрямом текстовом обосновании, можно полагать, что небеса в архаические времена действительно представляли составную часть строения Вселенной. В отношении архаических ионийских космологий, основанных на наблюдении метеорологических явлений и орбит небесных тел только над Землей, можно предположить, что пространство Вселенной в их понимании простиралось только между поверхностью Земли и небом. Поэтому вся Вселенная считалась закрытой, а небо составляло ее верхний край. Тогда небо не обязательно должно быть полусферой – наоборот, оно может быть плоским или только изогнутым. Можно полагать, что полусферическая форма неба, распространенная в современных интерпретациях, анахронистически основана на концепциях, которые принадлежат итальянской ветви философии, где Вселенная и, следовательно, небо рассматриваются как сферические.

Christian Laes

MOST SUBVERSIVE SUFFERING:
PAIN AND THE REVERSAL OF ROLES
IN GRAECO-ROMAN ANTIQUITY*

1. Introduction:
On Anachronism and How/Why to Avoid it

Franz Cumont (1868–1947) was an honourable man. At the age of seventy, 14 January 1940, he wrote a letter to his dear friend Mikhail Rostovtzeff in which he expressed, next to his worries about the threatening climate of war, his concerns about a presentation he was about to deliver at the Belgian Institute in Rome. Since he would treat a sarcophagus from Mysia with explicit erotic scenes, he had given “un sarcophage érotique” as a title. In agreement with the director of the institute, the program instead mentioned “un sarcophage hédonique”, in order to avoid the unwanted presence of “une multitude de pornographes” in search for sensation.¹

The reader of the present contribution might ask whether similar motives are behind the choice of title of this article. Are subversive suffering, pain and reversal of roles not closely connected with sado-masochism? And would the use of this specific term not have been more accurate, or at least more appealing to a wider audience? Do I, by avoiding any such term in the title, somehow relate to Cumont’s fear of attracting sensationalist attention? I have to admit that I partly do so for two reasons. I am well aware of the “greatest sin of the historian”, namely anachronism. Also, I am quite reluctant in getting involved in present-day discussion on “identity”: I see no need for Antiquity to act as a reference point in order to justify, say, a sadomasochist identity or subculture, if any.

* This is a reworked version of my paper at the workshop “Subversive Suffering: Pain and Patient Identity”, held at the University of Liverpool (June 28, 2019). I owe many thanks to Daniel King (University of Exeter) and to Georgia Petridou (University of Liverpool) for organising a wonderful day full of stimulating academic exchange. Many thanks go to Robert Garland (Colgate University) for reading a first version of this article, commenting on it and improving the language.

¹ The anecdote is mentioned by Bonnet 2000, 80.

In all, it is quintessential to realise that the modern understanding of sadomasochism is based on a presumption of psychoanalytic principles. In order to make any claims about the existence of sadomasochism in Antiquity it is not enough to point to the fact that some ancient writers apparently took pleasure in the giving and receiving of pain, but rather that there were individuals who sought out pain for its component of sexual pleasure. To quote the Austro-German psychiatrist Richard Freiherr von Krafft-Ebbing (1840–1902) in his foundational work on what he classified as sexual pathology:²

It is not difficult to show that masochism is something essentially different from flagellation, and more comprehensive. For the masochist the principal thing is subjection to the woman; the punishment is only the expression of this relation – the most intense effect of it he can bring upon himself.

For sure, sadomasochism assumes a set of historical conditions that were not there in Antiquity: the question about the existence of it in the ancient world (or indeed in the world before psycho-analysis) may thus be dismissed as anachronistic at best, or maybe even irrelevant at large.

On the other hand, historians studying sexuality in periods before the nineteenth century have every now and then raised the possibility of writing a history of sadomasochism that compasses many centuries. In these overviews, Antiquity is only given sparse attention.³ Surveys by mediaevalists only mention sadomasochism in rare and exceptional instances: powerplay in Chaucer's *Wife of Bath* or the infamous sadist serial killer Gilles de Rais⁴ – to these examples, one may add Giosèfo who, in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, trashes his wife until "he had left never a bone or other part of her person whole", but tells his friend Melisso to "deem that what I shall do is but done in sport".⁵ For the Greek and Roman world, it appears that there is a whole tradition of scholars who have claimed to "find" sadism and/or masochism: ranging from Vorberg (note the Latin title *Ars erotica veterum* of his book, which was written in German), over specialised studies on the ancient sexual vocabulary up to current

² Krafft-Ebing 1965, 93.

³ Bullough 1976a and b; 1994. Largier 2007 is an important book but, besides the Lupercalia, hardly mentions Antiquity. Peakman 2013, 209–230 has a substantial chapter on sadomasochism, but again Antiquity is left without notice.

⁴ Rusthon 2011 explicitly uses the terms sadism and masochism for these cases, be it in a nuanced way.

⁵ Boccaccio, *Decameron* 9. 9 (transl. J. M. Rigg).

overviews and handbooks of sexuality in Antiquity.⁶ In these studies, sadism is much more present than masochism though.⁷ Sadomasochism as such is hardly dealt with.⁸ Without explicitly stating it, most of these scholars presumably acknowledge an element of “nature” in the study of sexuality in the past. If one accepts that a certain degree of physical pain and personal degradation can stimulate sexual pleasure with individuals nowadays, it is safe to assume that such was also the case in the past. Such a stance does not mean turning to programmed determinism. “During the last two decades (...) biologists and anthropologists have developed collaborative models in which nature and culture act in tandem”. Culture exerts influence upon nature, but at the same there is a strong element of re-integrating nature into the history of sexuality as a causative factor.⁹

Instead of looking for “somasochists in the past” – an effort as fruitless as the quest for “famous gays in history” – this paper asks whether Graeco-Roman culture bears any traces of voluntary indulging in pain and punishment as a form of sexual game. In order to answer this question, the context of slavery and the use of violence in education/sexuality needs to be acknowledged first. After this, I look for traces in ceremonies, iconography, passages with ancient authors, love poetry, and role playing by children. While I am reluctant to apply the term sadomasochism to Antiquity, I am convinced that a careful inquiry into pain and domination/reversal of roles reveals vital features of ancient society.

2. A Violent World

It would require more than one section of an article to fully elaborate the degree of violence that marked many interpersonal relations in the ancient world. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge the mere fact, since it is revealing how people possibly coped with pain and suffering.

⁶ Vorberg 1928, 177–180. Quite remarkably, but in line with psychiatric classifications of his time, the author not only includes under this heading the cruel behaviour of emperors and automutilation by priests of Cybele, but also necrophilia, foot fetishism, gerontophilia, and ... “gleichgeschlechtlichen Liebespaaren”. Studies on vocabulary: Adams 1982. See also the entries and the indices of Younger 2004 (violence [sadism] on p. 203, but no specific entry ‘masochism’); Johnson–Ryan 2005; Skinner 2005.

⁷ Masochism has mostly been studied from a literary angle. See Rabinowitz 2000; Formisano 2017. For the *Priapeia*-poems, scholars have pointed to the objects of Priapus’ lust seeking out the punishment. See Richlin 1983.

⁸ Most explicitly, with references to Krafft-Ebing, by Thüry 2001.

⁹ Quote from M. B. Skinner, in an unpublished key-note “Ancient Sexuality at a New Crossroads: Beyond Binarism” (2015). See also Harper 2013 for a convincing plea for integrating nature in the study of ancient sexuality.

Most scholars agree that life in Antiquity was “violence-ridden to an extent that it is hardly tolerable for contemporary western individuals”.¹⁰ In scattered remarks and use of vocabulary, ancient writers themselves show an awareness of a distinction between institutional violence (*potestas*) and personal violence (*violentia*), also reflected in the Greek terms δύναμις and ὄβρις. Though they mostly discuss bodily violence, there also was an awareness of the psychological impact of violence.¹¹

First, one has to consider the psychological effects of watching or witnessing corporal punishment, executions, or sensational spectacles of death – even cock fighting was an initiation into a bloody fighting culture.¹² More than one scholar has used the term sadism to suggest the erotic stimulus of brutality, as displayed, for instance, in Roman amphitheater games.¹³

Second, families were often depicted as hotbeds of intense internal tensions, where conflicts were dealt with in a brutal way. Wife beating presumably was common. There was no idea of “domestic violence” in law, “Violence was (...) endemic in Greek society, and violence within the *oikos* was a component of the same violence that displayed itself in public situations”.¹⁴ This is not to say that most households were living in unhappy conditions, as there also is a strong tradition that points to a sentimental ideal of married life.¹⁵ But despite these indications that give reason for optimism, evidence of the opposite is plenty, ranging from Classical Greece up to late Antiquity.¹⁶

¹⁰ Laes 2005, 80. See the collection of chapters in Pimentel–Rodrigues 2018.

¹¹ For general overviews on violence in Antiquity, see Zimmermann 2009 and 2013; Schmitz 2017. For the psychological impact, the term ὄβρις is of great relevance, since it also describes the intent of a person to commit violence, even when there was minimal physical violence committed.

¹² Laes 2005, 76 for references and literature, including Wistrand 1992 and Kyle 1998. For a number of fragments on people indulging in public executions, see Catull. 108; Cic. *Verr.* 5. 65; Ov. *Ib.* 165; Ps.-Quint. *Decl.* 247. 18 and 274. 7; Juv. *Sat.* 10. 66–67; Cass. Dio 58. 11. 5. A remarkable passage in Pl. *Resp.* 439 e – 440 a where a man feels both aversion and curiosity when looking at the corpses of the executed. On public executions in Classical Greece, see Hunter 1992. Rawson 2003, 378–381 devotes some consideration on the possible effect on children’s psyche.

¹³ Skinner 2005, 208–210 on “butchery for fun”, using terms as “wild orgies of sadism” or “ritual of empowerment”. The latter also with Barton 1993, 35 – in a book that draws heavily on psycho-analytic insights.

¹⁴ Llewellyn-Jones 2011, 256.

¹⁵ Dixon 1993.

¹⁶ Damet 2012; Carucci 2018; Shaw 1987; Dossey 2008.

Third, village life as testified in papyri often seems brutal – a same degree of violence can be detected in depictions of rural life.¹⁷

Fourth, for schools and education from the Greek period up to late Antiquity, both in discourse and practice, the principle that being taught also implied suffering and beating, was never fundamentally doubted.¹⁸

Last but not least, the use of brutal force and torture against slaves was never questioned.¹⁹ Such slave punishments even became a stock motif in theatre plays. Mark Golden has explored what he called “the unfunnier aspects of Athenian comedy, the gestures and jokes which threaten brutal punishment for slaves”. He rightfully remarked how “to laugh at the maltreatment of slaves is to follow social norms (which are to apply to all slaves) despite personal inclinations”.²⁰ The same counts for Latin comedy, as Parker observed: “Even the casual reader of Plautus must be impressed by the frequency and preponderance of jokes about the torture of slaves, the more so as this is a feature found very seldom in Greek New Comedy or in Terence”.²¹ It is striking though that the punishments are never administered. The humour is much more about possibilities: people laugh about what they fear. Also, there was the idea that the audience was exerting some power over the actors, who were of lower status themselves: a “ritual of empowerment” as Barton has called it.²² None of these comedies, however, depicts “the world upside down” in the sense that a character would enjoy the beating, let alone a social inferior administering the beating on another who is most willing to accept it.

¹⁷ Laes 2005, 77; Skinner 2005, 279–280 (referring to Apuleius’, obviously coloured, depiction of rural life).

¹⁸ Christes 2003; Laes 2005; De Bruyn 1999.

¹⁹ Detailed descriptions of cruelties against slaves include Harrill 2003; Bradley 2017; Timmer 2017. A “classic” text includes a comparison (!) about life and the possibility of suicide: “Yonder I see instruments of torture, not indeed of a single kind, but differently contrived by different peoples; some hang their victims with head toward the ground, some impale their private parts, others stretch out their arms on a fork-shaped gibbet; I see cords, I see scourges, and for each separate limb and each joint there is a separate engine of torture! But I see also Death. There, too, are bloodthirsty enemies and proud fellow-countrymen; but yonder, too, I see Death. Slavery is no hardship when, if a man wearies of the yoke, by a single step he may pass to freedom. O Life, by the favour of Death I hold thee dear!” (Sen. *Marc.* 20. 3; tr. Basore 1932).

²⁰ Golden 1988.

²¹ Parker 2001, 133. See also Mayer i Olivé 2018.

²² Skinner 2005, 210 and Barton 1993.

3. The Crucial Problem of “Identification”

Writing a sociocultural history of sadomasochism in Antiquity implies trying to enter into the mental schemes, thoughts, and emotions of people from the past. Here, one faces an eternal challenge and problem. Are we not often reading things into the sources, although we cannot possibly know whether the writer/audience perceived it the way we do? With due caution, Johnson and Ryan under the heading sadomasochism quote a fragment by Hipponax, which they entitle “A Sound Thrashing”. It is a piece full of unusual graphic and violent detail, possibly from a scapegoat ceremony or a ritual for the cure of impotence. The fragmentary lines 2–4 read as “Into the arse ... / and [---] my balls [---] / she flogged me with a branch of fig as if I were a sacrifice” (Hipp. fr. 92 West). Johnson and Ryan’s remarks are worth quoting in full: “while Hipponax does not indicate that either party receives sexual gratification from the exercise, it is worth considering why the poet chose to write such a confronting poem. Was it simply to shock? Was it to record an ancient ritual (inexplicable to modern readers)? Or, does it reflect a private fantasy of the author?”²³ There are indeed parallels with a description in Petronius, where the hero of the novel is subjected to a bizarre and painful ritual to cure his impotence (*Sat.* 138). Also here titillation has been suggested, but we are unsure whether this was the author’s intention or the reaction of his audience.²⁴ For other passages, Johnson and Ryan are less cautious in their interpretation. A brutal threat in a letter as “if you were to grant us the opportunity to bugger you (πυγίζειν), well will it go when no longer we will thrash you” (*P. Oxy.* 3070) is understood as an indication that the acts usually performed on the addressee were sadomasochistic in nature.²⁵

The same problem is strongly present in the interpretation of iconographical evidence. Some scenes of (symbolic) whipping and flagellation have been described as having an erotic undertone. But was this the artist’s intention? Or the expected common reaction? Though such interpretation cannot ever be excluded, the strongly negative social connotation of the punishment of flagellation in a society where status and citizenship so much mattered is a matter to take fully into account.²⁶ Also, the strong link

²³ Johnson–Ryan 2005, 169–170.

²⁴ Johnson–Ryan 2005, 158–159. For both the Hipponax and the Petronius passage Henderson 1991, 22–23 has suggested “sexual sadism”.

²⁵ Johnson–Ryan 2005, 108.

²⁶ Social inferior status of those whipped in Greek society: Mactoux 2009. On *verberatio* as not meant for Roman citizens, see Rodríguez Ennes 2013. The Etruscan frescoes of the so-called Tomba della Fustigazione near Tarquinia (Italy)

between whipping and initiation/fertility rites implies that such images probably were looked at from a different level, rather than just finding them sexually enticing.²⁷

All this presents us with an important caveat: the challenge of looking for traces of what writers and artisans from Antiquity themselves somewhat playfully described or depicted as indulging in subversive suffering.

4. In Search for Traces in Words and Literature

4.1. *Enjoying Sexual Aggression?*

Both the Greek παίζειν and the Latin *ludere* also mean sexual play: activities of both sexes in sexual behaviour, possibly viewed as mutually pleasurable.²⁸ A now lost graffito from a wall in Herculaneum refers to a form of playful violence (*CIL* 4. 10694):²⁹

Longinus IV Idu[s Iu]lias / Iualias accepit vim hila(re?) / Sturnus
am(ator?)

Longinus. Four days before the Ides of July, he received physical force cheerfully. Starling his lover (?)...

The interpretation of this graffito is far from unproblematic. *Accipit vim* does not necessarily imply beating. It may be slang for ‘to get screwed’ (cf. Ov. *Met.* 1. 679: *vim passa est Phoebe*), in which case the text pretends

have not seldom been interpreted as erotically enticing. See Steingraber 2006, 66–69; Jones 1982, 114.

²⁷ (Auto)flagellation of young and fertility was part of a tradition in Crete and Sparta that can be traced back to Mycenaean times: Lebessi 1991; Bonnechère 1993 (on Xen. *Lac.* 2. 9 and Paus. 3. 16. 9–10). Flogging seems to have been part already of a fertility rite in honour of Heracles (see Ar. *Ran.* 499–501); Elderkin 1936. Purification and self-flagellation were part of the Lupercalia festivals in February: Foucher 1976. They lasted up to Christian times and were recuperated by the Christians: Green 1931. The flogging of a young woman on the fresco of the Villa dei Misteri in Pompeii is commonly interpreted as an initiation rite to marriage. See Toynbee 1929. On the fertility rite of the Nonae Caprotinae, involving whipping of fertile women, see Porte 1973. A third century CE sarcophagus with a whipping scene probably depicts initiation into a mystery cult: Gütschow 1932.

²⁸ Παίζειν as ‘playing amorously’ in Xen. *Symp.* 9. 2 and LXX *Gen.* 26. 8 (about Jacob and Rebecca). *Ludere* as sexual play in Sen. *Contr.* 1. 2. 22 (*vicinis tamen locis ludunt*; on men taking pleasure in the bride’s anus during the first wedding night) or Petr. *Sat.* 11. 2 (*invenit me cum fratre ludentem*). See Adams 1982, 162–163.

²⁹ See also <http://ancientgraffiti.org/Graffiti/graffito/AGP-EDR154434>.

that Sturnus enjoyed the passive role of being penetrated.³⁰ It is of course impossible to find out how “cheerfully” Longinus accepted the violence of his lover Sturnus, or whether he would have appreciated the publicity of a wall graffito.³¹ The situation reminds somehow of the boy-lover teacher Eumolpus who approached his pupil at night, curious whether he would “accept the offence”. The boy did not appear to be reluctant to submit (Petr. *Sat.* 140. 11: *accessi temptaturus an pateretur iniuriam. Nec se reiciebat a blanditiis doctissimus puer* – note the term *blanditiis*).

As regards pleasure and violence, the following fragment by Ovid has often been quoted (*Ars am.* 1. 673–680):

Vim licet appelles: grata est vis ista puellis:
 Quod iuvat, invitae saepe dedisse volunt.
 Quaecumque est veneris subita violata rapina,
 gaudet, et improbitas muneris instar habet.
 At quae cum posset cogi, non tacta recessit,
 ut simulet vultu gaudia, tristis erit.
 Vim passa est Phoebe: vis est allata sorori;
 et gratus raptae raptor uterque fuit.

You may use force; women like you to use it; they often wish to give unwillingly what they like to give. She whom a sudden assault has taken by storm is pleased, and counts the audacity as a compliment. But she who, when she might have been compelled, departs untouched, though her looks feign joy, will yet be sad. Phoebe suffered violence, violence was used against her sister: each ravisher found favour with the ravished.³²

Ovid’s point seems to be that women like to be raped, which is not entirely the same as saying that women take a pleasure in being physically harmed.³³

The fragment fits in a whole tradition that regards the sexual act as intrinsically violent, and no poet has elaborated more on this than Lucretius. About a lover’s ardour he says that “often they set their teeth in the lips / and crush mouth on mouth, because the pleasure is not unmixed /

³⁰ Richlin 1993 is a thorough study on the possible subculture of “passive” men.

³¹ Adams 1982, 198 seems inclined to a rather benign interpretation: “Such descriptions are nevertheless euphemistic, since they do not specify the nature of the violence or the corruption. The weakening of the euphemism into means of expressing an act containing no real hostility can be seen at *CIL* IV 10694”.

³² Transl. Mozley–Goold 1929.

³³ For a recent study about this idea, offensive to our sensibilities, and how to deal with it in a classroom discussion, see Wesselmann 2020.

and there are secret stings which urge them to hurt that very thing, / whatever it may be, from which those germs of frenzy grow”.³⁴ Clinging greedily together the lovers’ “limbs slacken and melt under the power of delight”.³⁵ Mutual love is celebrated in the following immortal verses “Do you not see also, when mutual pleasure has enchained a pair, / how they are often tormented?”³⁶

While some commentators have pointed to sadistic aggression as the dominant element of Lucretius’ attack on love, others have commended his valorisation of female sexual response and shared pleasure.³⁷ Be this as it may be, these passages never point to willful role play, in which one party takes the leading role and the other the submissive one. When the delight in suffering is explicitly stated, it is invariably the dominant male party speaking, and from a contemporary point of view one can seriously doubt the pleasure of the receiving party, whether a woman or a boy.³⁸

4.2. *A Specific Feature of Roman Elegy*

A lot has been written on Roman elegy, in which the *persona* seems to take delight in a reversal of the roles.³⁹ Being caught by Cynthia, who is depicted as a *dura puella*, Propertius has to suffer the hardships of his *militia amoris*. Pain is part and parcel of his experience (Prop. 1. 38: *heu referet quanto verba dolore mea*). As a true *domina*, Cynthia takes a very masculine role: she is allowed to have other boyfriends, but forces her

³⁴ Lucr. 4. 1080–1084: *et dentes inlidunt saepe labellis / osculaque adfligunt, quia non est pura voluptas / et stimuli subsunt qui instigant laedere id ipsum, / quodcumque est, rabies unde illaec germina surgunt*. The translations of Lucretius are those by Rouse 1924. For erotic biting, see Plut. *Demetr.* 27. 3 (Demetrius’ carrying the bites of Lamia on his neck); Plut. *Pomp.* 2. 2 (Pompey’s courtesane Flora bearing the marks of his teeth); Mart. 11. 70. 3–4.

³⁵ Lucr. 4. 1114: *membra voluptatis dum vi labefacta liquescunt*.

³⁶ Lucr. 4. 1201–1202: *nonne vides etiam quos mutua saepe voluptas / vinxit, ut in vinclis communibus excrucientur?*

³⁷ Skinner 2005, 233. See also Ov. *Ars am.* 2. 683–684 with an explicit valuation of the importance of mutual sexual gratification.

³⁸ In all such statements are not very different from a quote like “surely he wants it. His bottom is used to it, and he needs his daily share” (*SB* 5. 7655 – a mother recommending a regular beating for her son). See Laes 2005, 79. See Levin-Richardson 2019 for shocking reports on present-day child brothels, where it is expressed that the young prostitute enjoys the submissive treatment. For an excellent portrayal of the male-dominant and politically most incorrect discourse on sexuality in ancient Rome, see Toner 2016, 79–106.

³⁹ On role inversion in Roman elegy, see Lyne 1979; Murgatroyd 1981; McCarthy 1998; Eyben – Laes – Van Houdt 2003, 115–118.

lover to beg for mercy when he is caught with prostitutes at a party. In the same way, Tibullus also represents himself as submissive to his *dura puella* called Delia. Both poets inscribe themselves in the tradition of the elegy, which from Alexandrine times was viewed as a soft, emasculated and weak genre (*mollis* and *levis* are adjectives often used). At the same time, these writers play with the concept of Roman manliness. In the end, Propertius ranks himself higher on the poetical scale than his contemporary Ponticus, who composed epic poems. Indeed, his passion and enduring of love's hardships will grant him eternal fame (Prop. 1. 7. 26: *ardoris nostri magne poeta iaces* – “you lie here, as great poet of our passion”). While in most interpretations the playfulness or the social inversion in the elegiac poems has been emphasised, very few scholars have been willing to accept an autobiographic reading, regarding Propertius or Tibullus as clinical masochists.⁴⁰ While it is true that the elegists complain of the pain they experience in love, they do not claim to derive pleasure from that pain.⁴¹ It should also be stressed that such role reversals do not exclusively belong to the field of elegy, and that one should be wary not to label “lighter” statements as masochist.⁴²

Socio-cultural historians would like to know whether the feelings and sentiments as expressed in Roman elegy also found resonance with a broader audience, or even borrowed elements from a common discourse on love and erotics. Contrary to what is often believed, such evidence exists in the form of small inscribed objects spread over the provinces: pocket mirrors, *fibulae*, finger rings, hanging jewelry with gemstones, writing pens, spinning wheels, tablespoons, clay vessels, and glass vessels.⁴³ Such gifts every now and then refer to reciprocal gratification (*AE* 1911. 224: *veni da do vita* – “Come give life, I give you life”); to overwhelming aggression (*AE* 2009. 989: *[O]pstipe(!) si amas* – “When you love me, I will completely overwhelm you”); to burning love (Thüry 2004, 58: *us(sis)ti* – “you have set me on fire”); a blade with an obvious innuendo

⁴⁰ Such interpretation is the focus of Rabinowitz 2000. Veyne 1983 is a classic that stresses strongly the entertaining aspect of Roman elegy.

⁴¹ Frederick 1997.

⁴² An Elvis Presley song from 1957 has the following lines: *I just wanna be your teddy bear / Put a chain around my neck / and lead me anywhere. Oh let me be, your teddy bear*. In the Greek tradition, one finds Anac. 22. 15–16: καὶ σάνδαλον γενοίμην, μόνον πόσιν πάτει μέ (“I wish I were a sandal and that you only trod on me”) or Philostr. *Ep.* 37: ὃ ἄδετοι πόδες, ὃ κάλλος ἐλεύθερον, ὃ τρισευδαίμων ἐγὼ καὶ μακάριος, ἐὰν πατῇ με (“Oh feet untethered! Oh beauty released! Oh a thousand times happy and jubilant me, if she were to tread on me”). For a catalogue of what is labeled as masochism with Philostratus, see Gallé Cejudo 2018.

⁴³ All the following examples are quoted, illustrated and explained by Thüry 2004.

(CIL 13. 10024. 58 a: *Si da/s do* – “if you do it to me, I will be thoroughly with you too”);⁴⁴ and even an explicit allusion to the elegiac *servitium amoris* on a spin whorl (ILTG 524: *Ave domina / siti{i}o* – “Hail, mistress, I am thirsty”). These objects and their messages from all over the empire beg the question as to whether the elegiac poets invented a language of love and erotics that spread out over the Latin-speaking provinces, or whether they picked up and integrated a vocabulary that already was widespread.⁴⁵

In all, it would be a gross overstatement to say that the use of violence is excessively praised or viewed as agreeable to both parties in the elegiac tradition. “To beat your girl” (*verberare puellam*) indeed is a motif with Ovid, Tibullus and Propertius, but in general the act is viewed as outrageous to a beloved one, unworthy of a Roman, and even a sort of blasphemous action.⁴⁶ It is true that Ovid added an element of comical addition to the subject of feminine violence, but this should rather be compared with scratches, rage at women’s hair, body and clothes as one encounters in modern cinematography. “In spite of the seriousness of the actions, (...) situations are characterized by a level of comedy that erases every sentiment of indignation that one could feel for the outrage suffered by women”.⁴⁷

5. Pleasure and Reversal of Roles in Iconography

5.1. *The Greek Dossier of Sandal Spanking*

Sandal-spanking seems to have been a particular feature of punishment in domestic situations, among parents of both sexes, as depicted on Greek vases. The album by Beck lists thirteen cases, the majority of which come from Athens in the late sixth or the fifth century BCE, with some examples from Italy (Etruscan or Puglian).⁴⁸ Again, it is a matter of interpretation of whether one would like to interpret these scenes as erotic. One wonders what is behind a depiction on a hydria in which a naked boy who has just been punished shows five sandal marks on his body, while an apparently naked young woman is kneeling before a bare-chested reclining young

⁴⁴ Adams 1982, 20–22 on knives as phallic symbols.

⁴⁵ A question often overlooked, but highlighted in works as Pichin 1902 and Strohm 1983.

⁴⁶ Key texts are Tib. 1. 10. 51–68; Prop. 2. 5. 17–30; Ov. *Ars* 2. 169–176; Prop. 4. 5. 27–32. For analysis of the motif, see Dimundo 2018.

⁴⁷ Comical addition in Ov. *Am.* 1. 7, on which see Dimundo 2018, 125–134 (quote on p. 134).

⁴⁸ Beck 1975, 44–46, with plates 50–53.

man.⁴⁹ There were obvious different layers to the iconography, as sandals were connoted with sexual readiness, while also barefootedness was sometimes linked with the corruption of youth.⁵⁰ In Athens, Aphrodite with the sandal was worshipped as a goddess of marriage and fertility. Various depictions of the goddess raising the sandal in order to hit have the same meaning as fertility rites involving flagellation.⁵¹

A pelike by Euphronios (Villa Giulia 12109) has attracted particular attention. It depicts a seated youth raising a sandal to a boy with a semi-erection. Could this image refer to shared sadomasochism?⁵² Others have suggested that the boy was a slave, caught during the sexual act, and therefore due to be punished.⁵³ We may indeed imagine how these depictions were understood differently, according to viewers – while the audience would perceive the different layers depending on their personal taste and sentiments.⁵⁴

5.2. *The Roman Depictions of (Armed) Dominant Women*

For Roman evidence from the province, we should turn our attention to the so-called Rhône-medals, vases with applied molded scenes. Dating from the second to the third century CE, the picture on the medals are quite unique, not only because of their depicting quite extraordinary erotic scenes, but also because of the accompanying text, which functions as in comics. Although the medals have been properly brought together, an updated scholarly edition is lacking.⁵⁵ The following table gives an overview of what is available and relevant for the present chapter.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 530. See Beck 1975, pl. 53 n. 274. See also Mitchell 2009, 203–205.

⁵⁰ Younger 2004, 172. See also Kilmer 1993, 108–110 and 121–124 and the comprehensive chapter by Levine 2005, 55–72. Surprisingly little is said on the erotics of footwear in the recent volume by Pickup–Waite 2019.

⁵¹ Deonna 1936.

⁵² Glazebrook 2014, 165. The interpretation of shared sadomasochism with Shapiro 2000, 29.

⁵³ Lear–Cantarella 2008, 121–123 with images.

⁵⁴ As different scholars indeed tend to see different layers too. See Sparkes 1977, 309: “Ch. VI deals with punishments, and one wonders if perhaps erotic stimulation might not play a major part in some scenes”.

⁵⁵ Willeumier–Audin 1952. In the table, I will use *W–A* as an abbreviation for this volume.

⁵⁶ This table is based on the findings listed by Thüry 2001; Thüry 2008, 295–302. In the last column, * indicate that the reader can find the image via Manfred Clauss Epigraphik Datenbank (<http://www.manfredclauss.de/>), while ** means that Thüry 2001 offers an image.

Table: “Sadomasochism” based on the examples in Thüry 2001

	Main edition	Province/ place	Text	Translation	Image
1	<i>CIL</i> 12. 5687, 38; <i>CAG</i> 84. 3, p. 285	Gallia Narbonensis/ Orange	Vides / quam be/ne cha/las	You see how good you are in bed.	**
2	Eros p. 298	Gallia Narbonensis/ Arles	[R]umpes me.	Transpierce me!	* / **
3	<i>W-A</i> 69; <i>CAG</i> 84. 3, p. 285	Gallia Narbonensis/ Orange	Ita valea(m) / deceat me.	May I stay healthy in this way. It fits me.	**
4	<i>W-A</i> 68; <i>CAG</i> 69. 1, p. 356	Gallia Narbonensis/ Sainte-Colombe	Ita valea(m) deceat me	May I stay healthy in this way. It fits me.	
5	<i>CIL</i> 12. 5687. 34	Gallia Narbonensis/ Sainte-Colombe	Ita valea(m) deceat me	May I stay healthy in this way. It fits me.	
6	<i>W-A</i> 70; <i>CIL</i> 12. 5687. 28	Gallia Narbonensis/ Sainte-Colombe	Orte vene / est	Right away. It is good.	
7	<i>W-A</i> 74; <i>CAG</i> 69. 2, p. 819; <i>AE</i> 1982. 712. 13	Lugdunensis/ Lyon	[Orte] scutu[s est]	Really! It is a shield.	**
8	<i>CIL</i> 12. 5687. 37; <i>CAG</i> 84. 3, p. 285	Gallia Narbonensis/ Orange	Vicisti / domi/na. // D[a mer-?]/ ce[dem?]	You have won, mistress. // Give me money (?)	
9	<i>CAG</i> 84. 3, p. 286	Gallia Narbonensis/ Orange	Tu sola nica	You alone, win!	
10	<i>W-A</i> 71; <i>CAG</i> 69. 1, p. 356	Gallia Narbonensis/ Sainte-Colombe	Tu sola nica	You alone, win!	
11	<i>CAG</i> 69. 2, p. 818	Lugdunensis/ Lyon	Tu sola nica	You alone, win!	
12	<i>CIL</i> 13. 10013. 30	Germania Inferior/ Xanten	Tu sola nica	You alone, win!	**

The Rhône-medals indeed show examples of reversal of sexual roles in different forms, but it remains to be seen in how far physical pain seems to be involved (as Thüry rather swiftly turns to the use of the term sadomasochism).

First, there are some instances of “dominating” women, taking the lead in sexual play. On medal no. 1 it is suggested that the naked woman sitting in the top position is speaking. She apparently encourages a (less experienced?) man, and makes compliments about his sexual performance (no. 1, fig. 1 a).⁵⁷ One observes a same position in no. 2, where a woman encourages her partner to do the job properly and thoroughly.⁵⁸ On four other medals, one of which has a different text, the woman sits in the top position, facing her male partner with her back (nos. 3–6). She is holding a mirror in the right hand. From the open mouth, it is clear that this time the words of the man are echoed, who is at the same time emptying the content of a rhyton vase. It looks as if he is hoping for his sexual vigour to continue, and he is apparently pleased by the image of himself in the mirror.⁵⁹

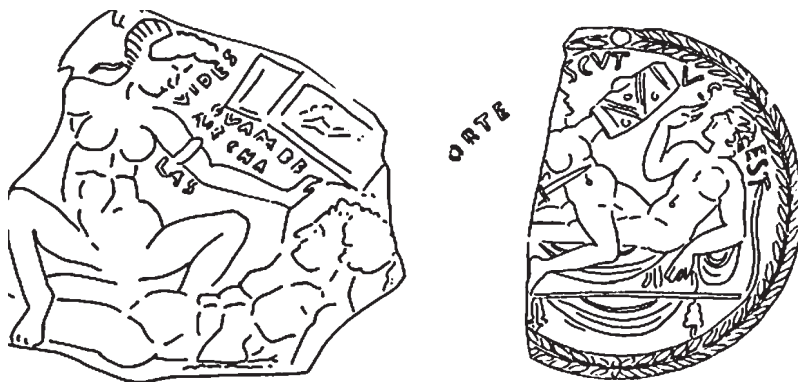


Fig. 1 a–b (left to right): table no. 1 and no. 7

Second, even more dominance and exertion of power is suggested when the woman is wearing arms. In no. 7 (fig. 1 b), a naked woman is sitting on the top, while holding a shield on her left arm, and a sword in her right hand.

⁵⁷ Thüry 2001, 573. On *c(h)alare*, see Adams 1982, 172–173. As the Greek χαλάω, it refers to ‘relax’, ‘set down’, ‘slacken’. With the female partner speaking, there might be another reversal of the roles, since *calare* also means ‘to open the vagina’ (*OLD* s.v.²). See Adkin 2011 referring to Ps.-Probus *Nom. gramm.* 4. 215. 20 (Keil).

⁵⁸ Thüry 2001, 571–572, interpreting the future indicative *rumpes* as a mode which comes close to the imperative. Adams 1982, 150–151 on (*dis*)*rumpere* as a metaphor of bursting.

⁵⁹ Thüry 2001, 572.

In what looks like a playful parrying gesture, her reclining male partner is raising his right. The arms possibly suggest a female gladiator or fighter.⁶⁰ As the shield acts as a symbol for protection, the combination with the obviously phallic sword gives the whole setting a humorous air of reversal of roles. Also the male resistance and submission needs to be understood in this way.⁶¹ Another erotic medal from Orange, now lost and with no drawing surviving, reportedly pictured a woman sitting on top with a sword in her right hand (no. 8). The dialogue between the two partners mentions the handing over of money and might thus refer to a scene in a brothel.⁶² Erotic scenes with women holding weapons are common on lamps. A popular scene (fig. 2) shows a reclining male, his right hand under the cushion and his left hand on his flank. His partner is sitting on him, while holding a curved dagger with her right hand and a small rectangular shield with her left hand. She thereby shows the features of a Thracian gladiator's equipment.



Fig. 2: woman holding arms on an erotic lamp,
Chrzanovski–Djaoui 2018, 155

Copies of such lamps were found in Northern Iberian and Rhine Valley regions. Originating from Italy, they were mostly produced by Gallic workshops, and found all over the Rhône valley and in the South of

⁶⁰ *Scutus* exists as a variant for *scutum* with Turpil. *com.* 40 Ribbeck³ (= Non. Marc. 226 Müller). Taillardat 1998 dismisses this possibility, and prefers to translate as “Quick! It has been reached!” (*scutus* as the participle *secutus* with passive meaning), pointing to the metaphor of sports and charioteering. Taillardat fails to take into account the clear depiction of a shield.

⁶¹ Thüry 2001, 573–574. Adams 1982, 21–22 on the sword as a sexual symbol. Thüry also suggests that a shield could be a symbol for female genitals, but he fails to give evidence for this, and it is hard to see how it could. Adams does not mention the shield as a sexual symbol.

⁶² Thüry 2001, 574.

France.⁶³ Weapons were indeed a popular metaphor for sexual play, and a fascination with female gladiators was part of the Roman mental sphere.⁶⁴

Finally, a set of four medals (no. 9–12) have a somewhat similar iconography as no. 3–6, with the woman “riding” in top position, facing her partner with her back and holding a mirror in her right hand. The man holds a crown in his right hand and a palm in his left, both symbols of victory in sports and circus games. In combination with the Greek word *nica*, these items symbolise the erotic victory of the lady: the metaphor of riding and circus charioteering is eminently present.⁶⁵

In all, it is difficult to assess how such images and depictions impacted on their viewers. In fact, nos. 7–12 would be unique instances of the receiving party acknowledging pleasure or gratification in submission. Maybe these images only aroused laughter: they may have comically confirmed fears and obsessions. But perhaps they also prompted their Roman viewers to question the one-sided, typically male-oriented model of penetrating and being penetrated and to explore other less conventional forms of sexuality that gave both partners an active role and promised mutual satisfaction. Whether such exploration went beyond the vicissitudes of viewing and imagination, we may never know with certainty.⁶⁶

6. Role Play and Children

There are psychological mechanisms that come close to sadism or masochism in role playing, when one role is forcefully imposed by one person on another. In the case of children and young people, this is already highlighted by Herodotus in an anecdote about the so-called Game of the King, by which one young person assigned (unpleasant) tasks to a peer. Herodotus’ story is about the later Persian king Cyrus the Great, who as a boy was thought to be the son of a cowherd. When ten-year-old Cyrus

⁶³ Chrzanowski–Djaoui 2018, 155.

⁶⁴ Adams 1982, 19–22 on weaponry as sexual metaphor, noting that “Words for weapons lent themselves readily to risqué jokes” (p. 19). On female gladiators and erotic fascination, see Mañas 2011; Laes 2019b.

⁶⁵ Thüry 2001, 574–575. See also Thüry 2017 on no. 12. For the “riding” woman, Taillardat 1998, 91 has pointed to Arist. *Lys.* 677–678: ἱππικώτατον γάρ ἐστι χρῆμα κάποχον γυνή, / κοῦκ ἂν ἀπολίσθοι τρέχοντος (“For everyone knows how talented they all are in the saddle, having long practised how to straddle. No matter how they’re jogged there up and down, they’re never thrown”). Adams 1982, 165–166 has extensively collected the evidence on the sexual metaphor of riding.

⁶⁶ Eyben – Laes – Van Houdt 2003, 124 and Clarke 1998, 279. For the topic of women’s active roles, see Levin-Richardson – Kamen 2015.

was assigned the role of king in the aforementioned roleplaying game, he had one of his peers, a son of a Median aristocrat, whipped because he did not obey the king's orders. This boy's father went to court, together with his unfortunate son to complain about the mistreatment, which was still apparent on the boy's shoulders. To Herodotus, the story is not about the abuse of power and possible psychological pleasure taken in it, but the foreshadowing of Cyrus as a real leader, revealing his true royal nature (Hdt. 1. 114–115). Surely, the anecdote does not suggest that sexual pleasure was involved, but the mechanism cannot be ruled out.

The foretelling character of role playing and the Game of the King possibly resonate in an anecdote in Tacitus, where seventeen-year-old Nero during the Saturnalia festivities imposes the unpleasant task of singing in public to his thirteen-year-old, shy rival Britannicus. The boy got away with it by reciting a song hinting at his expulsion from his father's house and throne, and thereby invoked the pity of the bystanders (Tac. *Ann.* 13. 15). In an almost contemporary text, Plutarch offers a remarkable account of an incident at a birthday party, with children of different ages and families gathering together. A role playing game of playing judge resulted in an attractive boy being locked up into a separate chamber. Had he not been helped by young Cato, who understood what was going on, the game would have resulted in sexual molestation (Plut. *Cat. Mi.* 2. 5–6). According to his biographer in the *Historia Augusta*, young Septimius Severus indulged in playing the judge before he went to school. Though it is not said so explicitly, his standing with the rods and axes before him, again suggests an element of domination and violence involved (*SHA Sev.* 1. 4).

All these stories obviously have to be read and understood in their literary context and they should not be taken at face value. With due methodological caution, they can serve as examples to study bullying in the past – in the same way, they make readers consider the possibility of mechanisms of domination and subversion of roles, and some individuals taking pleasure in this.⁶⁷

7. Conclusion

This article has dealt with descriptions or depictions of domination and reversal of sexual roles in Graeco-Roman Antiquity. This was a time long

⁶⁷ For an analysis of these stories within the context of bullying, see Laes 2019a, 37–41.

before the terms ‘sadism’ and ‘masochism’ were coined. The former has its origin in Marquis de Sade (1740–1814), while the latter is named after Leopold von Sacher-Masoch (1836–1895). Both authors wrote novels about their sexual fantasies. Both terms were introduced into medical terminology and a wider audience by the German psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902) in his foundational *Neue Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der Psychopathia sexualis* from 1890, quoted at the beginning of this essay.

This study has demonstrated how deliberate actions of inflicting or receiving pain for pleasure are only rarely mentioned in ancient art and literature. In scattered literary fragments, one finds references to joy and pleasure in inflicting pain, but the voice of the receiving party is hardly ever heard. Roman elegy with themes as *servitium amoris*, *militia amoris* and *dura puella* seems to come closest to psychological masochism, though the pleasure in receiving pain is not explicitly acknowledged, while in elegies the use of physical violence towards one’s lover is either frowned upon or described in a slightly humorous way. Depictions of ritual flagellation and Greek vases with the motif of spanking may arouse the suspicion of subversive pleasure in suffering with the spectators, though many different interpretations of this particular iconography have been suggested. Some motifs on Roman ceramic from the western provinces explicitly play with themes as dominant and/or armed women, with some men reportedly acknowledging their taking pleasure in being dominated, but the element of pain is not strongly present on these ceramics. From the point of view of a present-day psychologist, the role play described in some ancient accounts points to dominance and taking pleasure in submitting to one’s peers, though this is not an interpretation the ancient writers themselves would share.

On further consideration, the absence of sadomasochism in Antiquity deserves further notice. The somewhat controversial Hite-report has dealt with the connection between an authoritarian-patriarchal education, beating and sadomasochism in contemporary American society.⁶⁸ In the wake of new social history, Lawrence Stone provided interesting evidence of sexual fantasies in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century diaries that are explicitly connected with the memory of corporal punishment in childhood.⁶⁹ All major historical surveys on the theme (see n. 3) mention Christianity with its emphasis on suffering and affliction as a possible starting point referring, for instance, to Jerome’s dream of his

⁶⁸ Hite 1994, 77–81.

⁶⁹ Stone 1977, 439–441.

flagellation in *Epist.* 12.⁷⁰ Yet such mentions are a far cry from the explicit acknowledgment of sexual joy and pleasure taken in such acts.

To our contemporary tastes and sensibilities, ancient society was a violent society, as were many civilisations of the past. Yet this begs the question as to why there wasn't any explicit emphasis on subversive suffering as erotic play until the very late eighteenth century. The historian of mentalities Turner has explained how culture and mentality in Western-Europe became increasingly sensitive to pain from the Industrial Revolution on. Anaesthesia, the aspirin and morphine are nineteenth century developments. Public opinion increasingly condemned violent action against animals (the debate on vivisection), prisoners, women and children.⁷¹ Turner also pointed out some remarkable changes in everyday life. Technological progress increased the craving for life's conveniences. The Industrial Revolution caused many people to break through the rather isolated existence of permanently living in one's own village at the countryside. They went to live in big cities and communities, got to know other people, which caused their sense of empathy to increase. The civilisation process as described by Norbert Elias continued: people learn to control themselves (and thus are expected to behave less violent towards others), whereas their concentrating on self-control accounts for the greater focus on their own pains and discomforts.⁷² Obviously the point is not that people from the past put up stoically with the severest pains and remained indifferent towards the sufferings of their fellow-men:⁷³ it is rather the sensitivity towards pain that significantly increased in the last two centuries of the western world.

⁷⁰ Quite unsurprisingly, psychohistorians have studied how children were taught that love and pain, submission and physical power relations go together. Some have used this evidence to explain the authoritarian image of God as held up by Gregory the Great: Munteer 1988.

⁷¹ Also other theories have advanced a turning-point in nineteenth century Western views. The Expanding Circle by the cultural philosopher and champion of animal rights P. Singer is socio-biologically inspired. He considers the ethical ability as a *modus operandi* of the human mind. Initially people observe their own well-being, but gradually extend it to members of the tribe, neighbouring people and eventually to the whole of the world population (The Declaration of Human Rights). Singer also wants to extend this expanding circle of sympathy and empathy towards animals. See Singer 1981.

⁷² Turner 1980; Elias 1939.

⁷³ A controversial thesis adhered to by the Dutch metabletician Van den Bergh, but convincingly refuted by de Moulin, in an inspiring article with testimonies on medicine and pain of patients throughout the centuries, from Greek antiquity up to the nineteenth century. On the experiencing of pain in Antiquity, see Zurhake 2020.

From a biological point of view, one can indeed presume a certain element of domination and submission for sexual life in Antiquity, as well as some people's readiness to acknowledge this in a playful way. However, pain was too much a reality of daily life for it to become a true and outspoken theme in defining one's or other's sexual appetites or practices. The rather casual approach towards pain and suffering is a feature Antiquity shared with almost all societies from the past, with the exception of the western world from the early nineteenth century on. Only in such new conditions of life, the concept of sadomasochism gradually emerged, first classified as pathology or paraphilia in the medical records, and only very recently subject of a movement striving for recognition of its identity. All this is a far cry from Antiquity, where we only discover rare playful allusions to subversive suffering – almost invariably from the side of the dominator, and almost never from the receiving party.

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This paper asks whether Graeco-Roman culture bears any traces of voluntary indulging in pain and punishment as a form of sexual game. In order to answer such a question, the context of slavery and the use of violence in education needs to be acknowledged first. After this, I look for traces in ceremonies, iconography, love poetry, and role playing by children. More than a century ago, scholars had already tried to identify sado-masochism in Antiquity. Though such is surely an anachronistic approach, a careful inquiry of pain and reversal of roles reveals vital features of ancient society.

В статье ставится вопрос, есть ли в греко-римской культуре следы удовольствия от боли и наказания как разновидности сексуальной игры. С этой целью автор в первую очередь обращается к рассмотрению рабства и телесных наказаний в образовании, затем пытается найти следы проявления "садомазохизма" в ритуалах, иконографии, любовной поэзии и детских ролевых играх. Попытка выявить садомазохизм в античности уже была предпринята учеными более ста лет тому назад. Этому подходу, несомненно, присущ анахронизм, однако внимательное исследование боли и обмена ролями позволяет выявить сущностные черты античного общества.

Jens Holzhausen

KLEINIGKEITEN IM *KYKLOPS* DES EURIPIDES

Im Jahre 1973 beklagte Rudolf Kassel, dass „mit der Kritik und Exegese des einzig vollständig erhaltenen Satyrdramas sich das zwanzigste Jahrhundert auffallend wenig Mühe gegeben“ habe.¹ Für das einundzwanzigste Jahrhundert gilt das nicht: Im Jahre 2020 sind gleich zwei Kommentare erschienen;² sie sind, besonders der überaus gründliche und sehr abgewogene Kommentar von Seidensticker, die unentbehrliche Grundlage für alle zukünftige Arbeit am *Kyklops* und so denn auch für die folgenden Überlegungen zu einigen Textstellen, an denen ich hier eine abweichende Interpretation vorschlagen möchte.

182 Xo. τὴν προδότιν, ἣ τοὺς θυλάκους τοὺς ποικίλους
183 περὶ τοῖν σκελοῖν ἰδοῦσα καὶ τὸν χρύσειον
184 κλών φοροῦντα περὶ μέσον τὸν αὐχένα
185 ἐξεπτόθη ...

Die Satyrn (d.h. der Chorführer) fragen Odysseus, wie man mit der „Verräterin“ Helena nach dem Trojanischen Krieg umgegangen sei. Die Frage bleibt unbeantwortet, weil Silen, kaum haben die Satyrn ihre Frage gestellt, mit der Ware erscheint, die er für den Maron-Wein eintauschen will. Was sollte Odysseus auch erwidern auf die sexualisierte Vorstellung der Satyrn, alle Griechen hätten sie „durchgebumst“ (so Seidenstickers Übersetzung von διεκροτήσατε in Vers 180).³ In dem Relativsatz, der Helena beschreibt, fällt zuerst die lange AcP-Konstruktion auf, bei der der Subjekts-Akkusativ *nicht* genannt wird; man sollte also nicht vorschnell „er“

¹ Kassel 1973, 99, vgl. Ussher 1971, 166: „In fact, (the Cyclops) has largely been neglected“.

² Es handelt sich um Seidensticker 2020 und Hunter–Lämmle 2020. Ich diskutiere die Vor- und Nachteile anderer Konjekturen und Deutungen nur selten und verweise in der Regel nicht auf frühere Kommentare, die ich aber dankbar und mit Gewinn benutzt habe.

³ Für die Interpretation scheint mir nicht unwichtig, dass die Frage unbeantwortet bleibt.

oder „Paris“ ergänzen.⁴ Denn es steht nur da, dass Helena sehr erschüttert oder erregt wurde, als „sie die bunten Pumphosen um die Schenkel und das goldene Halsband sah“ und erst danach, so spät im Satze, folgt das Partizip: „sie sah *einen*, der all diese Dinge trug“.⁵ Die Vokabel κλωός weist auf die Pointe, da es ein Halsband bezeichnet, das man normalerweise für Gefangene oder Hunde benutzt.⁶ Hier wird nun deutlich, dass es nicht Paris als individuelle Person ist, die Helena anspricht, sondern vielmehr seine „Accessoires“: einerseits seine für griechischen Geschmack verweichlichte Kleidung und zur Schau getragener Reichtum (Gold) und andererseits das Halsband, das für Hunde (oder Gefangene) charakteristisch ist. Dies sagt weniger etwas über Helena selbst und ihre möglichen sexuellen Vorlieben⁷ aus als über die Satyrn, die sich Helenas Ehebruch auf diese Weise erklären wollen. Wenn sie dann anschließend Menelaos als „Männchen“ (ἀνθρώπιον, 185) titulieren, geht das in dieselbe Richtung. Auch ihren ersten Mann, mag er noch so „ein Guter“ (λῶστος) gewesen sein,⁸ halten die Satyrn für ein ähnliches „Männchen“ wie Paris (sonst hätte er ja auch Helenas Ehebruch verhindert!). Aber für „echte“ Männer interessiert sich Helena in der Sicht des Chorführers eben nicht, nur für Männlein, die reich sind, weibische Kleidung tragen und sich wie ein Hündchen herumführen lassen.⁹

⁴ Vgl. Hunter-Lämmle 2020, 137: „...when she saw <him> wearing the decorates sacks ... and the golden collar...“

⁵ Die Objekte τοὺς θυλάκους / κλωὸν gehören nicht entweder zu ἰδοῦσα oder zu φοροῦντα, sondern zu beiden: Folgt man dem Satz, ist klar, dass der Hörer die Objekte mit Artikel, Attribut und Ortsangabe zuerst auf ἰδοῦσα bezieht, dann aber im Fortgang des Satzes realisiert, dass sie zugleich zu φοροῦντα gehören; die Person kommt erst durch dieses Partizip ins Blickfeld; zuerst sieht Helena nur die Hosen und das Halsband, dann erst den Mann!

⁶ Das Halsband bildet einen Kreis, dessen Mitte der Hals darstellt (184 περὶ μέσον τὸν αὐχένα, μέσος prädikativ: das Halsband macht den Hals zu etwas in der Mitte); κλωός für Hunde s. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 897, Xen. *Hell.* II, 4, 41, Plut. *Sol.* 24; für Gefangene s. Xen. *Hell.* III, 3, 11.

⁷ Vollkommen zu Recht lehnt Seidensticker auch eine Anspielung auf den Hodensack oder Phallus (Hals) ab.

⁸ Zur ironischen Bedeutung von λῶστος vgl. Eur. fr. 832 εἰ δ' εὐσεβῆς ὢν τοῖσι δυσσεβεστάτοις / εἰς ταῦτ' ἐπρασσον, πῶς τὰδ' ἂν καλῶς ἔχοι; / ἢ Ζεὺς ὁ λῶστος μηδὲν ἔνδικον φρονεῖ; Vgl. auch Plat. *Gorg.* 467 b ὃ λῶστε Πῶλε, Aesop. *Fab.* 223 und in diesem Sinne m.E. auch Soph. *Ph.* 1171.

⁹ Die beste Parallele steht in den *Bakchen*, wo Pentheus den Fremden (= Dionysos) als verweichlicht beschreibt und genau darin dessen Erfolg bei den Frauen sieht (453–459): „Nun, Fremder, schön bist du, jedenfalls für Frauen, und deswegen bist du nach Theben gekommen. Dein Haar – es kennt keinen Ringkampf – fällt an den Wangen lang hinab voller Liebreiz. Hell ist dein Teint, weil du voller Sorgfalt den Sonnenschein meidest, und den Schatten suchst, wenn du die Freuden der Liebe mit deiner Schönheit erjagst“.

222 Ky. ἔα· τίς ὄχλον τόνδ' ὁρῶ πρὸς αὐλίοις;

Der Vers, den der Kyklop spricht, als er endlich – nach 19 Versen – Odysseus und die Gefährten entdeckt hat,¹⁰ dürfte wohl bei den literarisch Gebildeten im Publikum einiges Schmunzeln hervorgerufen haben. Denn Euripides hatte einen sehr ähnlichen Vers in seiner *Andromeda* von 412 v. Chr. verwendet: ἔα· τίς ὄχθον τόνδ' ὁρῶ περίρρυτον; (fr. 125, 1) und Aristophanes hatte ihn im Jahre 411 v. Chr. in seinen *Thesmophoriazousen* parodiert (1105): ἔα· τίς ὄχθον τόνδ' ὁρῶ καὶ παρθένον; Dabei scheint mir die Frage sekundär, wie viele Personen im Publikum die Anspielung verstanden haben;¹¹ einer wird sie verstanden haben, nämlich Aristophanes, und vielleicht genügte das dem Euripides. Nur stellt sich die Frage, welche Botschaft er seinem Kollegen damit mitteilen wollte. Parrys Antwort lautet: “Euripides was answering Aristophanes’ mockery by mocking himself”.¹² Seidenstickers Zweifel sind berechtigt.¹³ Wenn ein Dichter an prominenter Stelle einen nachgeäfften Vers in ähnlicher Form wiederholt, scheint mir nur eine Botschaft möglich: „Lieber Aristophanes, mein Vers war gut, ich wiederhole ihn“. Sollte dies zutreffen, dann wäre die Datierung des *Kyklops* tatsächlich für die Jahre 410 oder 408 v. Chr. gesichert.¹⁴

¹⁰ Die Tatsache, dass Polyphem Odysseus und die Gefährten nicht sofort entdeckt, beweist m.E., dass diese sich irgendwie versteckt haben; leider können wir das Bühnenbild nicht rekonstruieren; wahrscheinlich ist, dass sie sich in der Nähe der m.E. lebenden Schafe (keine Attrappen) mit den zusammengebundenen Beinen (sie können auf der Bühne keinen Unsinn machen!) befunden haben, die Silen aus der Höhle gebracht hat.

¹¹ Gegen die Behauptung von Battezzato 1995, 134 f. es handle sich um eine geläufige Formulierung, die nicht weiter aufgefallen sei, ist festzustellen, dass sich die Reihenfolge: Ausruf ἔα, Fragepronomen, zweisilbiges Nomen, Demonstrativ-Pronomen und Verb ὁρῶ *allein* an den drei oben genannten Stellen findet; ähnlich nur in *Hec.* 733: ἔα· τίς ἄνδρα τόνδ' ἐπὶ σκηναῖς ὁρῶ; (ὁρῶ nicht an fünfter Stelle), anders auch *El.* 341: ἔα· τίνας τοῦσδ' ἐν πύλαις ὁρῶ ξένους; In *Hipp.* 905, *Andr.* 896, *Suppl.* 92, *HF* 525, *Or.* 1573 findet sich das Schema: ἔα, τί χρήμα; ... ὁρῶ; (ohne Demonstrativpronomen), vgl. fr. 636. Aristophanes parodierte also einen bestimmten Vers (*Androm.* fr. 125) und Euripides hat den parodierten Vers in gleicher Form wiederholt, wobei er nur ὄχλον gegen ὄχθον austauschte: Der gleiche Anlaut wird doch wohl kaum Zufall sein!

¹² Parry 1971, 319 f.

¹³ Seidensticker 2020, 48: „Und warum hätte Euripides sich über sich selbst lustig machen sollen, nur weil Aristophanes einen Vers von ihm zitiert hätte?“

¹⁴ Nach der Müllerschen Regel haben die Tragiker nur alle zwei Jahre Stücke aufgeführt (*Orest* im Jahre 408 v. Chr. ist gesichert). Es scheint auch so, dass zumindest in diesem Fall Euripides und Sophokles das Duell gegeneinander gemieden haben (Sophokles führte *Philoktet* im Jahre 409 v. Chr. auf).

224/225 Κν. ὁρῶ ...

226

γέροντά τε

227

πληγαῖς πρόσωπον φαλακρὸν ἐξοδηκότα.

 πρόσωπον : μέτωπον Diggle nach Tyrwhitt

Das Problem der Stelle liegt in der Verbindung von „kahlköpfig“ und „Gesicht“, da ein Schädel, aber kein Gesicht kahlköpfig zu sein pflegt. Ob dieses Problem mit der Konjekture μέτωπον „Stirn“ wesentlich verbessert wird, sei dahingestellt (diese ist von Natur aus „kahl“); der Doppelsinn des in den Hss. überlieferten Wortes πρόσωπον „Maske“ sollte aber nicht verloren gehen, zumal wenn man davon überzeugt ist, dass Silen nach Vers 197 f. bei der Ankunft des Polyphem in die Höhle flieht (was er dem Odysseus vergeblich empfohlen hat) und kurz vor der hier behandelten Stelle wieder mit neuer Maske herauskommt, die eben ein rotes, zerschundenes und geschwollenes Gesicht zeigt. Verständlich wird der überlieferte Text, wenn man den *accusativus Graecus* auf die zugrundeliegende Genitiv-Konstruktion zurückführt: „das Gesicht des Alten (ist geschwollen)“. Dazu tritt dann das Adjektiv: πρόσωπον φαλακρὸν γέροντος „das glatzköpfige Gesicht des Alten“; dies meint natürlich mit typischer Enallage: „das Gesicht des glatzköpfigen Alten“.¹⁵ Es wäre also zu übersetzen: „Ich sehe ... einen kahlköpfigen Alten, durch Schläge am Gesicht ganz aufgeschwollen“.¹⁶

Dieses Aussehen des Gesichts kann m.E. weder von *einem* Becher Wein herrühren (ein Silen ist ein dionysisches Geschöpf, der auch nach gewisser Abstinenz trinkfest bleibt) noch von der Anstrengung beim Heraustragen der Tauschwaren (188 ff.), auch wenn er es ohne Diener tun musste, wie ich annehme.¹⁷ Denn bei einem nur erröteten Gesicht kommt man ja nicht auf die Idee, dass einer Schläge erhalten habe, wie es Polyphem tut.¹⁸ Es bleibt also nichts anderes übrig, als anzunehmen, dass der Silen sich selbst in der Höhle (s.o.) so übel zugerichtet hat, dass es sogar dem Kyklopen auffällt. Daran wird deutlich, in welcher Gefahr sich der Silen – nicht ohne Grund – sieht: Seine Aussage, dass ihm der

¹⁵ Zur Enallage s. KG II 1, 263, weitere (noch kühnere) Beispiele im *Kyklops* s. unten; eine Parallele, auch den Kopf betreffend, in *Or.* 225 κάρα πινῶδες βοστρύχων „Kopf mit dreckigen Locken“, vgl. Bers 1974, 65 ff.

¹⁶ Auffällig ist, dass er von „einem Alten“ (γέροντα ohne Artikel) spricht; Silen ist so entstellt, dass er ihn kaum als Silen wiedererkennt.

¹⁷ Siehe dazu meine Miszelle: „Die Diener in Euripides, *Kyklops* 83“ (erscheint im *Hermes*).

¹⁸ Geradezu absurd und auch allgemein abgelehnt ist der Gedanke von Seaford, der Silen onaniere in der Höhle, und habe deswegen einen roten Kopf.

Kyklop egal sei und er die Herden aller Kyklopen für einen einzigen Becher Wein hergeben würde (163–174), erweist sich nun bei Ankunft seines „Herrn“ als reichlich übertrieben. Um sich nicht „vom leukadischen Felsen“ stürzen zu müssen (V. 166), muss ihm also schnellstens etwas einfallen. Und als euripideischer „Held“ liegt der Ausweg, sich als Opfer zu präsentieren, auf der Hand.¹⁹ Und auch wenn der Kyklop ihm kein Wort glaubt,²⁰ so hat die Strategie Erfolg: Der Silen bleibt verschont.

231 Ky. οὐκ ἦσαν ὄντα θεόν με καὶ θεῶν ἅπο;

Der Vers sollte nicht als einfacher Beleg dafür genutzt werden, dass Polyphem sich für einen Gott hält. Blickt man auf seine große atheistische Rede, wird klar, dass für Polyphem der „Reichtum“ Gott ist (316), der Magen der größte aller Daimones (335), und „täglich tüchtig zu trinken und zu essen und sich um gar nichts Sorgen zu machen“ für die Vernünftigen „Zeus“ sei (336–338). So sollen Odysseus und die Gefährten ihm und seinem Magen zum Vorteil in die Höhle kommen, um ihm, dem Höhlengott, dort als Mahl zu dienen (345): ἀλλ’ ἔρπειτ’ εἴσω τῷ κατ’ αὐλίον θεῷ.²¹ Wie in 335 ist sein Magen der „Höhlengott“!²² Wer so ironisch spricht, für den dürften Gott (oder die Götter) als eine herausgehobene Seinsform, die ihm gar überlegen sein könnte, nicht existieren, und er dürfte in diesem Sinne wenig daran interessiert sein, selbst ein Gott zu sein. Und welche Bedeutung die Tatsache, dass er Poseidons Sohn ist, für ihn hat, wird deutlich, als er die Klippen, auf denen sein Vater thront, verwünscht (χαίρειν κελεύω, 319). Wenn er also fragt, ob die Angekommenen nicht wussten, dass er ein Gott sei und von Göttern abstamme, hat das einzig und allein den Sinn, einen Vorwand zu liefern, ihren angeblichen Diebstahl aufs härteste bestrafen zu können,

¹⁹ Zum für Euripides zentralen Motiv „Täter“ und „Opfer“ s. Holzhausen 2003, 169 ff.

²⁰ Für die ganze Lügengeschichte hat der Kyklop ein einziges Wort übrig (241): ἄλῃθες; Als die Satyrn widersprechen, erklärt er aber, dass er dem Silen mehr vertraue; die Wahrheit ist ihm egal, aber er akzeptiert Silens Geschichte, weil sie seinen kannibalischen Gelüsten entgegenkommt.

²¹ Der überlieferte Dativ ist als *dat. commodi* zu halten (s. Ussher 1978, 105, allerdings auf εὐωχεῖτε bezogen), s. KG II 2, 418: „So nicht selten bei den Verben des Kommens und Gehens, wenn es sich ... um ein Kommen für oder wider das Interesse jemandes handelt“. Vgl. Soph. *Ant.* 233 f. τέλος γε μέντοι δεῦρ’ ἐνίκησεν μολεῖν / σοί.

²² Zur Magenhöhle s. Eur. *Ph.* 1411 τὰ κοῖλα γαστρὸς εὐλαβοῦμενος, vgl. Hes. fr. 58,13 ἐν γαστέρι κοίλῃ (Gebärmutter), Aesch. *Sept.* 1035 f. κοιλογαστορες λύκοι, in medizinischen Texten z.B. Oribasius *Coll. med.* XXV, 1, 29 κοιλία δ’ ἡ γαστήρ, Sch. *Aristoph. Eq.* 160 κοιλίας· Ὅμηρος διὰ παντὸς γαστέρας καλεῖ, οὐ κοιλίας.

da sie sich ja dann am Besitz eines Gottes vergangen und ein Sakrileg begangen hätten. Dabei übertreibt er sogar; denn der Sohn eines Gottes ist normalerweise selbst kein Gott! All dies charakterisiert die Haltung des zutiefst Irreligiösen: Da es höhere Wesen für ihn nicht gibt, ist die Selbstaussage, Gott zu sein, nicht ernst zu nehmen, sondern Ausdruck von Provokation oder Zynismus: Polyphem wird als „Gott“ die Übeltäter, die ihn bestohlen haben, besonders hart und schrecklich bestrafen.

235 Σι. κατὰ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν μέσον
τὰ σπλάγχχ' ἔφασκον ἐξαμήσεσθαι βίᾳ

Silen beschuldigt Odysseus und die Gefährten, sie hätten vorgehabt, dem Kyklopen die Eingeweide herauszureißen. Beide neuen Kommentare folgen den Handschriften (abgesehen von der notwendigen Änderung κἀτα in κατὰ) und verweisen auf zwei Parallelen in *El.* 910 und [*Rh.*] 420, wo jeweils κατ' ὄμμα σόν im Text steht. Insgesamt hat Euripides κατ' ὄμμα oder ὄμματα fünfmal im erhaltenen Werk benutzt. In allen Fällen geht es darum, dass eine Person A zu einer anderen Person B spricht oder ihr gegenübertritt, wobei letztere (B) dann diese Person (A), die handelt (das Subjekt), anblickt oder anblicken kann (also nicht vor ihr verborgen ist). Dies ist besonders deutlich in *Andr.* 1064: κρυπτός καταστάς ἢ κατ' ὄμμ' ἐλθὼν μάχη; Peleus fragt, ob Orestes (A, das Subjekt von καταστάς und μάχη) Neoptolemos (B) aus einem Hinterhalt (verborgen) oder im Kampfe Mann gegen Mann töten wollte, d.h. dass Neoptolemos (B) den angreifenden Orest (A) sehen und ihm ins Angesicht schauen könne.²³ Ähnlich deutlich ist *Ba.* 469: πότερα δὲ νύκτωρ σ' ἢ κατ' ὄμμ' ἠνάγκασεν; Pentheus fragt, ob der Gott (A) den Fremden (B) nachts (im Traum) oder (bei Tag) von Angesicht zu Angesicht zu seinen Weihen gezwungen habe, d.h. dass der Fremde (B) den Gott (A) dabei ansehen konnte.²⁴ Das Gegenüber des Subjekts (A) ist also immer die Person (B), für die das Anschauen möglich oder nötig ist. Überträgt man das auf unsere

²³ Die Phrase wird dann *Andr.* 1116 wiederholt: Neoptolemos betet in Delphi zum Gott, wobei ihn alle sehen können (κατ' ὄμμα στάς), die Angreifer um Orest kommen aus dem Hinterhalt.

²⁴ Die übrigen Stellen ergeben das gleiche Bild. *El.* 910: Elektra spricht zum toten Aigisth, und er kann sich nicht mehr abwenden, sondern muss ihr dabei in die Augen schauen; von den beiden unechten Stellen [*Rh.*] 370 und 421 ist besonders die letztere deutlich: Hektor kritisiert Rhesus von Angesicht zu Angesicht, d.h. Rhesus kann seinem Kritiker in die Augen schauen. Die einzige Sophokles-Stelle *Ant.* 760 entspricht dem Befund: Kreon will, dass Antigone vor den Augen ihres Verlobten stirbt, so dass er ihr dabei in die Augen schauen muss (κατ' ὄμματα); vgl. auch Aristoph. *Ran.* 626.

Stelle, dann wäre der Sinn, dass Odysseus und seine Gefährten (A), die Polyphem angeblich die Gedärme herausschneiden („herausmähen“) wollen, es so tun, dass Polyphem (B) ihnen, *den Griechen* (A), dabei ins Angesicht blicken kann oder muss. Das dürfte keinesfalls gemeint sein.²⁵ Der angenommene Sinn, dass Polyphem seiner *eigenen* Ausweidung zuschauen müsse, wird also von den Parallelen nicht gedeckt.

Insofern dürfte tatsächlich die Phrase κατὰ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν μέσον fehlerhaft sein,²⁶ wie viele frühere Interpreten gemeint haben.²⁷ Scaligers Konjektur κατὰ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν μέσον ist hervorragend und dürfte den intendierten Sinn genau treffen: Mitten am Nabel würden, so die Unterstellung des Silen, die Griechen den Polyphem ausweiden wollen.²⁸

241 Κν. οὐκ οὖν κοπίδας ὡς τάχιστ' ἰὼν
242 θήξει μαχαίρας ...;

Polyphem schreitet sofort zur Tat, die Griechen zu verspeisen: Silen soll die Messer wetzen und das Feuer entfachen. Wenig problematisch scheint mir, dass der Silen gar nicht daran denkt, dem Befehl nachzukommen – nachdem der Kyklop seine dreisten Lügen (aus Eigeninteresse) akzeptiert hat, kann der Silen, aus der unmittelbaren Gefahr gerettet, wieder in seine normale „Satyr-Existenz“ zurückfallen und die bedeutet, grundsätzlich nicht das zu tun, was ihm gesagt wird. Hier ein „totes Motiv“ zu sehen, scheint mir also nicht angemessen.²⁹ Schwieriger ist die Kombination der beiden Substantive κοπίδας und μαχαίρας nebeneinander. Anstelle der Lösung, κοπίδας zum Adjektiv zu erklären,

²⁵ Die Idee von Gargiulo, dass die Griechen die Gedärme durch das Auge herausschneiden würden, die Hunter-Lämmle 2020, 148 präferieren, scheint mir eine physiologische Unmöglichkeit und absurd; wie sollte das „Abmähen“ durch das Auge passieren? Man sollte die lügnerische Phantasie des Silen nicht übertreiben, letztlich ist er ja darauf angewiesen, dass Polyphem ihm irgendwie glaubt.

²⁶ Gegen die Überlieferung spricht auch die prädikative Stellung von μέσον, es sei denn man folgt mit Seidensticker 2020, 138 Wilamowitz' Erklärung (dort zitiert): „Substantiv und Adjektiv sind zu einem Begriff verwachsen; daher tritt der Artikel vor das Substantiv“.

²⁷ Die Phrase καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν μέσον findet sich 60 Verse früher (174); sollte der Abschreiber sie an dieser Stelle noch im Kopf gehabt haben?

²⁸ Vgl. *Ion* 5 f. ... ἵν' ὀμφαλὸν μέσον καθίζων Φοῖβος ὕμνωιδεῖ βροτοῖς und *Ion* 223 ἄρ' ὄντως μέσον ὀμφαλὸν γὰρ Φοίβου κατέχει δόμος;

²⁹ So Seidensticker 2020, 161. In ähnlicher Weise haben die Satyrn keineswegs alles für Polyphem nach seiner Rückkehr von der Jagd vorbereitet, wie sie frech behaupten (214–219). Das zeigt sich daran, dass Polyphem dann alles alleine machen muss (388–391); auch hier also liegt kein Widerspruch oder euripideisches „Nickerchen“ vor!

möchte ich eher vorschlagen, *μαχαίρας* für einen Genitiv zu halten, der von *κοπίδας* abhängt. Die Verbindung würde dann ausdrücken, dass das Schlachtmesser scharfe Kanten hat, die die Aufgabe des *κόπτειν*, des Zerschlagens oder Zerhauens ausführen. Bedenkt man, dass *κοπίς* auch den Stachel eines Skorpions bezeichnen kann (s. LSJ s. v. I 2), so könnte man das auf die „Stacheln“, d.h. Schneidekanten des Schlachtmessers übertragen.³⁰ Und die sind es ja streng genommen auch, die vom Messerschärfer geschärft werden, so dass sie spitz wie Stacheln sind.

243 Κυ. ὥς σφαγέντες αὐτίκα
244 πλήσουσι νηδὺν τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπ' ἄνθρακος
245 θερμὴν διδόντες δαῖτα τῷ κρεανόμῳ

διδόντες : ἔδοντος L

Der Kyklop vollzieht sein kannibalisches Mahl wie ein reguläres griechisches Opfermahl (*σφάττειν*), also nicht wie bei Homer als rohes Mahl: Ein Teil des Fleisches wird gebraten, der Hauptteil gekocht: Die Eingeweide wurden auf Spießen über dem Feuer gebraten und sofort verzehrt. Darauf spielt die Stelle inhaltlich an. Allerdings war man der Auffassung, die Überlieferung ändern zu müssen. Versteht man allerdings die Konjekturen wörtlich, bedeutet sie, dass die Toten ihr Fleisch von den Kohlen dem „Fleischzerteiler“, also Polyphem selbst, „geben“. Sollten die Geschlachteten seinen Magen füllen, indem sie sich selbst „servieren“? Die Überlieferung meidet solch ein groteskes Bild: Hier „isst“ (*ἔδοντος*) Polyphem das Fleisch direkt vom Holzkohlen-Grill. Da Possessivpronomina den Genitiv der Personalpronomina vertreten, kann sich Genitiv *ἔδοντος* auf ein aus *ἐμὴν* abzuleitendes *ἐμοῦ* beziehen:³¹ „Denn geschlachtet werden sie sofort mir meinen Magen füllen, der ich von den Kohlen das warme Mahl esse“. Bleibt das Problem des Dativs *τῷ κρεανόμῳ*. Dieses Wort auf Polyphem zu beziehen, scheint mir insofern problematisch, als Polyphem ja gerade das Fleisch nicht verteilt, sondern nur selber isst. Insofern dürfte mit dem Fleischverteiler das Messer gemeint sein, auf das er die Eingeweide spießt und mit dem er sie über die Kohlen hält und schließlich isst (*dativus instrumentalis*). Bei Polyphems „Opfermahl“ gibt es niemanden, der als Fleischverteiler (*κρεάνομος*) das

³⁰ Vgl. immerhin Soph. fr. 894, wo der Zorn eines Alten mit einem weichen Messer verglichen wird: *μαλθακῇ κοπίς ... ἐν τάχει δ' ἀμβλύνεται*. Stumpf wird eigentlich nur die Schneidekante.

³¹ KG II 1, 282, vgl. Soph. *Tr.* 775 τὸ σὸν μόνης δώρημα, *OC* 344 τὰ μὰ δυστήνου κακὰ, Eur. *Hel.* 686 f. (nach Dale) δι' ἐμὴν κατεδήσατο δύσγαμον αἰσχύναν.

Fleisch unter den Teilnehmenden verteilt, sondern nur ein Messer, dass die Fleischstücke allein für den einen einzigen Esser zerteilt.³² Besser könnte man die Perversion eines griechischen Opfers, das eine Gemeinschaft der Opfernden konstituieren sollte, nicht deutlich machen.

268 Σι. ἢ κακῶς οὔτοι κακοὶ
269 οἱ παῖδες ἀπόλινθ', οὓς μάλιστ' ἐγὼ φιλῶ.

Es ist schon ein eklatanter Widerspruch, seine „elenden Kinder“ oder „meine Kinder, die Elenden“³³ zu verwünschen, um dann zu betonen, dass man sie am meisten liebe. Nur steht das m.E. auch nicht im Text. Man sollte κακοὶ prädikativ auffassen: „Andernfalls (wenn ich lüge), mögen diese (meine) Kinder hier in elender Weise elend (als elende) zugrunde gehen, welche ich am meisten liebe“. Natürlich ist die Häufung der beiden prädikativen Bestimmungen (Adverb und Prädikativum) übertrieben, aber nicht ohne Parallelen.³⁴ So verflucht in Menanders *Dyskolos* 441 Knemon seine Nachbarn: κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπόλοισθε. Oder in Aesops Fabel 164 verflucht ein Schaf alle Wölfe: κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπόλοισθε πάντες οἱ λύκοι, ὅτι μηδὲν παθόντες ὑφ' ἡμῶν κακὸν πολεμεῖτε ἡμᾶς. Besonders instruktiv ist die Inschrift auf dem Grabstein des Timon, des berühmtesten Menschenfeindes im 5. Jh. v. Chr.:³⁵

ἐνθάδ' ἀπορρήξας ψυχὴν βαρυδαίμονα κείμαι.
τοῦνομα δ' οὐ πεύσεσθε, κακοὶ δὲ κακῶς ἀπόλοισθε.

Hier liege ich, nachdem ich meine unglückliche Seele losgeworden bin; meinen Namen werdet ihr nicht erfahren, mögt ihr als elende elendig zugrunde gehen.

Fast hat man den Eindruck, als ob Silen den Grabspruch zitiere! In seinen Worten fällt die merkwürdige Stellung κακῶς οὔτοι κακοὶ auf. Es klingt, als wenn die Verfluchung κακῶς οὔτοι οἱ παῖδες ἀπόλιντο ihm noch nicht genügte, so dass er noch ein κακοὶ anhängt. Diese Tautologie

³² Vgl. Ussher 1978, 85: „... but perhaps take κρεανόμος = κοπίς (he will eat the human gobbets from his knife)“.

³³ Vgl. Hunter-Lämmle 2020, 155: „May these wretched sons of mine ...“

³⁴ Vgl. Aristipp bei DL II, 76, 4 κακοὶ κακῶς δ' ἀπόλιντο οἱ κίναδοι, οἵτινες καλὸν ἡμῖν ἄλειμμα διαβάλλουσιν. Luc. *Icaromenippus* 33, 9 f. ἐς νέωτα οὖν ἀρχομένου ἥρος κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπολοῦνται τῷ σμερδαλέῳ κεραυνῷ und *Dial. mort.* V, 2, 8 κακοὶ κακῶς ἀποθανόντες.

³⁵ Überliefert bei Plut. *Antonius* 70, 7. Die Verbindung κακοὶ κακῶς noch zweimal bei Plutarch: *Brutus* 33, 6 und *De sera num. vind.* 552 F.

dient der Charakteristik des Silen, der es in einem Schwur zuvor mit sieben angerufenen Göttern ebenfalls heftig übertrieben hat. Statt sich selbst zu verfluchen, wenn er gelogen haben sollte, müssen seine geliebten Kinder herhalten – da er aber davon überzeugt ist, mit seinem Meineid bei Polyphem durchzukommen, ist er sich auch sicher, dass seine Kinder nicht in elender Weise elendig umkommen werden.

- 304 Oδ. ἄλῃς δὲ Πριάμου γαῖ' ἐχρήρωσ' Ἑλλάδα
 305 πολλῶν νεκρῶν πιούσα δοριπετῇ φόνον
 306 ἀλόχους τ' ἀνάνδρους γραῦς τ' ἄπαιδας ὤλεσεν
 307 πολιοῦς τε πατέρας.

Der Sinn der Stelle ist klar: Der Krieg um Troja hat Griechenland entvölkert („zur Witwe gemacht“): Trojas Erde hat das Blut vieler toter Soldaten, die durch eine Lanze fielen, getrunken. Schon hier liegt eine Enallage vor: φόνον δοριπετῇ νεκρῶν für φόνον δοριπετῶν νεκρῶν.³⁶ Aber dem redegewandten Odysseus genügt dies nicht, er fügt gleich zwei weitere, sehr kühne Wendungen an. Denn folgt man der Grundbedeutung von ὀλλύναι, ergeben die folgenden Verse keinen Sinn: „Troja hat die Ehefrauen und Eltern vernichtet“, es sei denn man fasst das Verb in übertragenem Sinne: „unglücklich gemacht, ihr Lebensglück zerstört“, wofür es bei Euripides keine Belege gibt.³⁷ Wen hat der Krieg im eigentlichen Sinne vernichtet und des Lebens beraubt? Natürlich die Ehemänner und Söhne selbst! ἀνάνδρους ἀλόχους „Ehefrauen von Nicht-Männern“³⁸ sollte also als Wortbild aufgefasst werden, bei dem die Negation dem Sinn nach verschoben werden muss: „Männer von

³⁶ Enallagai im *Kyklops* in 58 f. (Chor) βλαχαὶ ἀμερόκοιτοι τεκέων „das Blöken der Jungtiere, die am Tage schlafen“ und 380 (Od.) πάχος εὐτρεφέστατον σαρκός „die Dicke des sehr wohlgenährten Fleisches“ (bedenkt man, dass die Worte πάχος/παχύς in der Tragödie fehlen, sollte man tolerant gegenüber dem homerischen Wort εὐτρεφής sein (*Od.* IX, 435; XIV, 530), dass noch bei Plat. *Leg.* 835 d belegt ist (L bietet ἐντρεφέστατον).

³⁷ Euripides benutzt die Verbform ὤλεσεν an 20 Stellen stets in *konkretem* Sinne: s. besonders *Hel.* 384 f. τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέμας ὤλεσεν ὤλεσε πέργαμα Δαρδανίας ὀλομένους τ' Ἀχαιοὺς oder *Or.* 743 ποῦ 'στὶν ἡ πλείστους Ἀχαιῶν ὤλεσεν γυνή μία; auch *Hel.* 674 ist nicht als Ausnahme zu werten, weil die Schein-Helena an die Stelle der wahren Helena trat und deren Existenz damit „vernichtete“. Im *Kyklops* bezeichnen die Satyrn die Blendung mit dem Verb (s. Anm. 82), in konkretem Sinne 611 f. πυρὶ γὰρ τάχα φωσφόρους ὀλεῖ κόρας, vgl. 665 (Ky.) ὀλώλαμεν. Stets ist eine physische/körperliche Zerstörung gemeint.

³⁸ Wörtlich: „nicht-bemannte Ehefrauen“ meint: „Frauen, die keine Männer mehr haben“; der Krieg hat aber nicht die Frauen getötet, sondern die Männer, so dass deren Frauen nun keine Männer mehr haben.

Nicht-Ehefrauen“. Der Krieg vernichtete die Ehemänner, so dass die Ehefrauen durch die Vernichtung ihrer Männer keine Ehefrauen mehr waren; und er tötete die Söhne, so dass die alten Mütter und grauhaarigen Väter durch die Vernichtung der Söhne nicht mehr Mütter und Väter waren (ἄπαιδας γράῦς καὶ πολιοῦς πατέρας).

Eine Parallele für eine solche Negationsvertauschung gibt es im Stück selbst:

348 Οδ. νῦν δ' ἐς ἀνδρὸς ἀνοσίῳ
349 γνώμην κατέσχον ἀλίμενόν τε καρδίαν

γνώμην L ὠμὴν Reiske

Erneut zeigt sich Odysseus als Meister kühner Konstruktionen. In seinem Gebet an Athene fleht er um ihre Hilfe, nachdem er den Kämpfen um Troja und den Gefahren des Meeres entronnen ist: „Nun bin ich gelandet in einem Denken und Herzen, das ohne Hafen ist“. Landen kann man aber nur in einem Hafen: Auch hier muss also die Negation verschoben werden: ἀλίμενόν γνώμην καὶ καρδίαν meint „einen Hafen von Nicht-Verstand und Nicht-Herzen“ (ἀλίμενος steht ἀπὸ κοινοῦ): „Gelandet bin ich im Hafen des gottlosen Mannes, der weder Verstand noch Herz besitzt“.³⁹

432 Οδ. ἀλλ' ἀσθενὴς γὰρ κάποκερδαίνων ποτοῦ
433 ὥσπερ πρὸς ἰξῶ τῇ κύλικι λελημμένος
434 πτέρυγας ἀλύει·

Odysseus verlässt, nachdem seine beiden Gefährten gefressen wurden, die Höhle und gibt draußen einen Bericht der hinterszenischen Ereignisse. Er fragt dann die Satyrn, ob sie gerettet werden wollen und betont, dass ihr Vater Silen der Rettung zugestimmt habe (ἦνεσεν 431). Diese Frage erstaunt – denn was wollten die Satyrn wohl lieber? –, aber noch merkwürdiger ist, dass Silen und die Gefährten nicht wie Odysseus auch die Höhle verlassen haben, um sich in Sicherheit zu bringen. Für den Silen gibt der Held aber wenigstens eine Begründung: Silen sei zu schwach (ἀσθενής) und in solcher Erregung (ἀλύει), dass er das Naheliegende nicht

³⁹ Damit ergibt sich auch, dass die Konjekturen überflüssig sind. γνώμην καὶ καρδίαν ist eine ungewöhnliche Umsetzung des homerischen κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν, erst wieder bei Philostrat, *Vit. soph.* I, 525, 13 ἐς πῆδησιν ἄγει τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τὴν γνώμην.

tun könne. Dieser Zustand wird nun in einem Bild erklärt: Er klebe in seiner Gier nach Wein am Becher wie ein Vogel an einer Leimrute, könne die Höhle also nicht verlassen. Was bedeutet aber in diesem Kontext ἀποκερδαίνων ποτοῦ? Das Verb ist vorchristlich sehr selten beleg.⁴⁰ Bedeutet es: „Er hat Gewinn von dem Getränk?“ Sollte ihm der Kyklop, vom Maron-Wein etwas abgegeben haben? Das ist kaum vorstellbar. Das Verb ist also in einem conativen Sinn zu verstehen: „Er versucht (vergeblich), von dem Getränk etwas abzubekommen“.⁴¹ Er versucht, etwas von dem Wein (ἀπὸ τοῦ ποτοῦ) zu gewinnen (κερδαίνειν), aber es gelingt ihm nicht. So entbehrt er den Wein und giert deshalb danach; er hängt gleichsam am Becher des Polyphem, will mittrinken und kann es nicht. Dieser Zustand der Frustration bringt ihn völlig durcheinander, entkräftet ihn. Seine Verzweiflung wird wie bei einem festklebenden Vogel am Flattern der Flügel sichtbar; πτέρυγας gehört zum Verb ἄλῳει. Die Verbindung eines Körperteils als Objekt bei einem intransitiven Verb der Bewegung ist „typisch euripideisch“.⁴² Fixiert auf das, was im Moment unerreichbar für ihn ist, „klebt“ er in der Höhle fest. Warum allerdings die Gefährten das Naheliegende nicht tun und die Höhle des Kyklopen wie Odysseus verlassen, bleibt offen.

439 Xo. ὥς διὰ μακροῦ γε †τὸν σίφωνα τὸν φίλον
440 χηρεύομεν τόνδ' οὐκ ἔχομεν καταφαγεῖν.†

⁴⁰ Neben Eur. nur zwei Belege bei Andokides *De myst.* 134, 9 βραχεία ἀπεκερδαίνομεν οἱ μετασχόντες und Hipp. *De glandulis* 6, 4 ὅ τι ἂν ἀποκερδάνωσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀχετῶν, τοῦτο ἔλκουσι πρὸς σφέας.

⁴¹ Ähnlich Seidenstickers Übersetzung: „...ist erpicht, am Trank sich zu erfreuen“. Wenn Seidensticker allerdings einen „Erregungszustand der Begeisterung“ sieht (S. 222), scheint er anzunehmen, dass Silen Erfolg hat.

⁴² Vgl. Mastronarde 1994, 578 zu *Ph.* 1536 f.: „ἀλαίνων ... πόδα is typically Euripidean“ mit weiteren Belegen; er verweist auf Porson: „the acc. is probably an external object of the part of the body affected by the action, not an internal acc.“. In den antiken Lexika werden ἄλῳ mit ἀλαίνω und ἀλάω/ἀλάομαι verbunden; zu ἄλῳ und ἀλάω/ἀλάομαι s. *Eytmol. magn.* 56, 43 ἔστιν οὖν ἄλῳ, ἀφ' οὗ ἄλῳ und *Sch. Hom. Il.* XXIV, 12 ἄλῳν καταστένων ἄλῳμενος, zu ἀλάω/ἀλάομαι und ἀλαίνω s. *Eytm. genuin.* 392,1 ἀλαίνω· τὸ πλανῶμαι· παρὰ τὸ ἄλῳ ἄλῳ, παράγωγον ἀλαίνω. Zu ἄλῳ als Verb der Bewegung s. LSJ s. v. I 4 „to be restless“ und II „wander“, vgl. *Il.* XXIV, 12 δινεύεσκ' ἄλῳν παρὰ θῖν' ἄλῳς (die innere Bewegung äußert sich in der äußeren) und Eur. *Or.* 277 f. ἄλῳ ... ποῖ ποῖ ποθ' ἡλάμεσθα δεμνίων ἄπο; Die Flügel in heftiger Erregung zu bewegen, bedeutet bei Vögeln, mit den Flügeln zu flattern. Zweifel an Kovacs' Übersetzung: „flapping his wings in vain“ sind also unbegründet.

Wenn Diggle zu einer Euripides-Stelle schreibt: „despero“, dann sollte man es vielleicht aufgeben, etwas zu ihr sagen zu wollen; auf der anderen Seite ist der Ansporn natürlich umso größer. Die Verse sind metrisch und grammatisch fehlerhaft, auch ihr genauer Inhalt ist unsicher. Der generelle Sinn ist klar: Die Satyrn wollen gerettet werden, um endlich vor dem Kyklopen fliehen zu können. Nun folgt, mit ὡς eingeleitet, ihre Begründung: Sie sind Witwer, (sie haben etwas verloren und entbehren es).⁴³ Der überlieferte Text spricht von einem σίφων (Siphon). Was ist damit gemeint?⁴⁴ Nichts weiter als ein Röhrchen (auch gebogen), mit dem man aus einem größeren Gefäß Wein (oder anderes) in ein kleineres abzapfen kann.⁴⁵ Wenn moderne Interpreten das Wort „Röhrchen“ hören, denken sie natürlich sofort an das männliche Geschlechtsteil. Sollten die Satyrn in Bezug auf ihren Penis Witwer sein?⁴⁶ Man müsste dann so verstehen: „Was meinen Penis angeht, sind wir Witwer, weil (potentielle) Partnerinnen nicht da sind“. Aber Belege für einen solchen Gebrauch von χηρεύειν fehlen:⁴⁷ Witwe/Witwer ist man nicht, weil mögliche Partner/Partnerinnen fehlen, sondern weil der

⁴³ Eur. benutzt das Wort (5 weitere Belege, s.u.) *stets* in eigentlichem Sinne für das Entbehren des Ehepartners (Belege s.o.); zu χηρόω in *Cycl.* 304 s. Seidensticker 2020, 179: „Hellas erscheint so als Frau, die wie die vielen Griechinnen, deren Männer gefallen sind, ohne Mann ist“. Auch in Soph. *OT* 479 besteht die Pionte darin, dass Laios' Mörder in die Einsamkeit flieht und sich deshalb auch von seiner Frau trennt und somit freiwilliger „Witwer“ ist. Zu Aesch. fr. 47 a, 828 s. Anm. 47.

⁴⁴ In vorchristlicher Zeit gibt es in der erhaltenen Literatur wenige Belege: Zuerst bei Hipponax in einem Frg. (6. Jh v.Chr.) (s. Anm. 50), bei Aeneas Tacticus (4. Jh. v.Chr.) 18, 10 f. (für eine geschmiedete Rinne [Halbröhre], die einen Bolzenheber ersetzen soll), vgl. Strabo V, 3, 8 für normale Röhren im röm. Haushalt. Bei Medizinern s. z.B. Dioscorides (1. Jh. n. Chr.) *De mat. med.* V, 107, 3: verdampfter Schwefel wird durch ein Rohr ins Ohr geleitet: καὶ δυσηκοίαν ὑποθυμώμενον διὰ σίφωνος, vgl. V, 77, 3 und V, 105, 2.

⁴⁵ Bei Heron Alex. *Pneumatika*, Buch I finden sich ausführliche Beschreibungen solcher „Weinheber“ und wie sie funktionieren (evtl. nach Straton von Lampsakos, s. fr. 64). Er nennt den Siphon ein Röhrchen (prooem. S. 18, 2 f. Schmidt σίφωνα ... χαλκοῦν, τουτέστι σωλῆνα λεπτόν).

⁴⁶ Man kann wohl in Bezug auf sein Ehebett Witwer sein (*Alc.* 1089), aber m.E. kaum in Bezug auf seinen Penis. LSJ s.v. II schlägt eine sehr seltene transitive Bedeutung vor; im Hinblick auf die eine Parallele beim Redner Aphthonios (*Rhet. Gr.* 10, S. 45, 4 Rabe) käme folgender Unsinn heraus: „Wir machen unseren Penis (durch unseren Tod) zum Witwer“. Aber auch die Interpretation: „Wir machen unseren Penis zum Witwer, indem wir ihm seine Partnerinnen entziehen“ gibt keinen Sinn.

⁴⁷ Aesch. fr. 47 a, 828 ist kein Beleg: Danae war, ausgesetzt in einer Kiste, lange Zeit Witwe (χήρα), weil ihr „Ehemann“ Zeus weg und somit für sie gleichsam gestorben war.

eine/die eine gestorben ist (zur stets konkreten Bedeutung bei Euripides s.o. Anm. 43). Und was den Siphon als Penis betrifft, betont Kovacs zu Recht: „... the word had never previously been used with this reference (and we have no other instance)“.⁴⁸ Nicht einmal ein Blick in die Komödie hilft: Dort findet sich ein einziger (!) Beleg allein für das Verb und ohne jeden obszönen Nebensinn (*Thesm.* 557, über die Untaten von Frauen): ὥς στλεγγίδας λαβοῦσαι ἔπειτα σιφωνίζομεν τὸν σῖτον. „Mit einem Striegel stibitzen (,saugen‘) wir dann Getreide (aus einem Gefäß)“ Aristophanes verbindet hier das Ansaugen von Wein mit dem Herausfischen von Getreide.⁴⁹ Das bedeutet, der Siphon ist das (aktive) Werkzeug, das den Wein oder mit dessen Hilfe man den Wein heraussaugt.⁵⁰ Diese aktive Rolle, die zum männlichen Geschlechtsteil nicht passt, ist völlig evident in einem Epigramm von Meleager (2./1. Jh. v. Chr.), der Mücken als unverschämte „Siphone“ bezeichnet, die den Menschen Blut aussaugen (*AP* V, 151): ἀναιδέες αἵματος ἀνδρῶν / σίφωνες.⁵¹ Die Satyrn vermissen also nicht ihren Penis, sondern das Gerät, mit dem sie den Wein aus einem Gefäß in ihren Becher fließen lassen können. Der Weinheber steht also als Synekdoche für den Wein insgesamt (Unterbegriff für den Oberbegriff), von dem sie getrennt sind.

Diese Trennung wird im Bild einer Verwitwung beschrieben (s. Anm. 43): Der Wein ist für die Satyrn „gestorben“, seitdem sie dem Kyklopen dienen müssen.⁵² Das Verb *χηρεύειν* (*χηρόω*) und das Adjektiv *χηρός* beziehen sich in der Regel auf Frauen (Eur. *Andr.* 348, *Tr.* 380, *Soph. Ai.* 653),⁵³ können aber auch Männer meinen (Eur. *Alc.* 861, 1089,

⁴⁸ Kovacs 1994, 156; er schlägt vor: ὥς διὰ μακροῦ γε τὸν φίλον θηρεύομεν σίφωνα τόνδε.

⁴⁹ Vgl. Sommerstein 1994, 191: „siphon off is metaphorical: the grain is stealthily scooped out of the storage-vessel ... with the curved strigil, as wine may be stealthily drawn off from its jar with a siphon“.

⁵⁰ So auch der erste Beleg bei Hipponax (mit *dat. instr.*) fr. 56: σίφωνι λεπτῷ τοῦπιθιμα τετρήνας.

⁵¹ Dem entspricht auch die Nachricht bei Hesychius s. v. σίφων, dass das Wort ein Schimpfwort war: „Sauger“, ein gieriger Schmarotzer, der alle/alles aussaugt (ῥυπαρὸς ἀνθρώπος καὶ λίχνος). Dass die Satyrn damit Dionysos meinen, wie Kovacs 1994, 156 vorschlägt, halte ich für ausgeschlossen.

⁵² Dass ihr Penis ihnen gestorben sei, ist dagegen vollkommen absurd.

⁵³ Bei Homer nur auf Frauen bezogen (*Il.* II, 289; VI, 408; XXII, 484 u.ö.); deshalb ist die Stelle aus der Beschreibung der Kyklopen-Insel besonders interessant (*Od.* IX, 124): ἀλλ’ ἢ γ’ ἄσπαρτος καὶ ἀνήροτος ἥματα πάντα ἀνδρῶν χηρεύει. Wie die Insel „verwitwet“ ist, so dass dort keine Menschen leben, so entbehren die Satyrn den Wein.

Soph. *OT* 479 [s. Anm. 42]).⁵⁴ Die Vorstellung einer Liebesbeziehung zwischen Wein und Satyrn ist im Stück auch an anderen Stellen präsent: Bakchios ist ihr Freund (73: φίλος, 81: σᾶς χωρὶς φιλίας, 435: τὸν ἀρχαῖον φίλον Διόνυσον ἀνάλαβε), Bromios ist ersehnt (620 f. ποθεινός), Silen küsst den Wein (172) und fühlt sich von ihm geküsst (553) und behauptet sogar, der Wein sehne sich nach ihm, weil er so schön sei (μὸς φησ' ἐρᾶν ὄντος καλοῦ, 555).⁵⁵ Die Frage, ob es sich um eine hetero- oder homosexuelle Beziehung handelt, ist dabei eher nebensächlich, es geht eher um ihre erotische Qualität an sich.

Wie ist nun der Text herzustellen? χηρεύω steht in der Regel mit Genitiv und insofern empfiehlt es sich auch, mit diesem Kasus hier zu rechnen:⁵⁶

ὥς διὰ μακροῦ γε τοῦδε σίφωνος φίλου (χηρεύομεν)
 – ◡ ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ◡ – – – ◡ –

Der Rest von Vers 440 bleibt schwierig. Zuerst muss der überlieferte Infinitiv καταφαγεῖν, der in diesem Kontext ohne jeden Sinn ist, in καταφυγεῖν geändert werden. Das Verb ἔχομεν ist unverbunden; am ehesten wird man „οὐκ ἔχομεν καταφυγεῖν“ für eine erklärende Glosse halten für ein möglicherweise im Text vorliegendes Zeugma: χηρεύομεν καταφυγῆς. Der Gedanke einer verlorenen Zuflucht, wenn man „Witwer“ ist, liegt inhaltlich nahe; Menander spricht es positiv aus (*Sententiae* 260): εἰσὶν καταφυγὴ πᾶσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ φίλοι.⁵⁷ Und auch der Wein kann Zufluchtsort sein!⁵⁸ Da nun in allen Versen, in denen bei Euripides

⁵⁴ Vgl. auch den einzigen Beleg aus der Komödie (Aristoph. *Pax* 1013) über einen Mann: ὀλόμαν, ὀλόμαν ἀποκηρωθεὶς τᾶς ἐν τεύτλοισι λοχευόμενας.

⁵⁵ Zum Thema s. Seidensticker 2020, 137, der auch auf Theokrit und die Vasenbilder verweist.

⁵⁶ τοῦδε bezieht sich inhaltlich zurück auf 435 f.: τὸν ἀρχαῖον φίλον Διόνυσον ἀνάλαβε (φίλος wird wiederholt). Zur Wortfolge vgl. Eur. *Alc.* 43 Θα. καὶ νοσφεῖς με τοῦδε δευτέρου νεκροῦ; *Med.* 1382 ... ἀντὶ τοῦδε δυσσεβοῦς φόνου. Der Akkusativ ist eventuell als Objekt von ἔχομεν in den Text geraten.

⁵⁷ Besonders deutlich auch bei Philo Alex. *Spec. leg.* I, 310 ὀρφανῶν δὲ καὶ χηρῶν, ἐπειδὴ κηδεμόνας ἀφήρηνται, οἱ μὲν γονεῖς, αἱ δὲ ἄνδρας, καταφυγὴ δ' οὐδεμία τοῖς οὕτως ἐρήμοις ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπολείπεται.

⁵⁸ Sprachliche Parallelen sind spät; der Gedanke findet sich in Eur. *Ba.* 280–283: „(Wein) befreit die unglücklichen Sterblichen von Kummer und Leid, wenn sie genug von dem Rebensaft getrunken haben, und er schenkt den Schlaf des Vergessens nach des Tages Plagen, und kein anderes Mittel gegen Drangsal und Not gibt es“. Wein als καταφυγὴ s. Liban. I, 11, 6 καταφυγεῖν εἰς οἶνον, Joh. Chrys. *Ad pop. Ant.* IL, 19, 28 Τιμοθέῳ γράφων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰνοποσίας καταφυγεῖν θεραπείαν.

καταφυγή etc. vorkommt, das Wort immer in der Mitte des Verses steht,⁵⁹ ist das auch hier anzunehmen. Das Versende kann natürlich nur exempli gratia eingesetzt werden:⁶⁰

439 ὥς διὰ μακροῦ γε τοῦδε σίφωνος φίλου

440 χηρεύομεν καὶ καταφυγῆς <σωτηρίου>.

Denn seit langer langer Zeit wird schon von diesem unseren Freund, dem Weinheber, verlassen und entbehren einer Zuflucht, <die uns Rettung schafft>.

Eine letzte Frage bleibt: Warum reden die Satyrn vom Weinheber, nicht einfach vom Wein, oder von Bakchios etc.? Zuerst war dem antiken Zuschauer das Gerät natürlich so vertraut, dass er nicht so stutzte wie ein moderner Leser. Andererseits wirkt es lächerlich (und soll auch so wirken), wenn auf die Frage, ob man aus Drangsal und Sklaverei gerettet werden wolle, antwortet: „Ja, denn wir wollen endlich unseren Weinheber wieder haben!“, oder angepasst an unsere Kultur: „Ja, denn unser Freund, der Korkenzieher, ist gestorben, und wir sind nun Witwer und unsere Zuflucht ist dahin!“ Zu keinem Moment können die Satyrn den Ernst der Lage erfassen, sind albern und kindisch in einer Weise, die bereits die textkritische Arbeit vor große Herausforderungen stellt.

469 Χο. ἔστ' οὖν, ὅπως ἂν ὥσπερ ἐκ σπονδῆς θεοῦ

470 καὶ γὰρ λαβοίμην τοῦ τυφλοῦντος ὄμματα

471 δαλοῦ; φόνου γὰρ τοῦδε κοινωνεῖν θέλω.

469 ὥσπερ ἐκ σπονδῆς : ὥσπερ εἰ σπονδῆς Reiske 471 φόνου :
πόνου Nauck

⁵⁹ *Cycl.* 197 οὐ δεινόν· εἰσὶ καταφυγαὶ πολλαὶ πέτρας, 295 Γεραίσι τοῖ τε καταφυγαί· τά θ' Ἑλλάδος, vgl. *Suppl.* 267, *Or.* 448, 567, 724.

⁶⁰ Zum Motiv der Rettung s. 427 σὲ σῶσαι κἄμ', ἐὰν βούλῃ, θέλω und 435 σὺ δέ (νεανίας γὰρ εἶ) σώθητι μετ' ἐμοῦ, vgl. 479 und 482. Das zweieindige Adj. σωτήριος 9x bei Eur., vgl. *Med.* 482 ἀνέσχον σοι φάος σωτήριον. *Ion* 484 δορί τε γαῖ πατρίαι φέρει σωτήριον ἀλκάν. Vgl. auch Aesch. *Suppl.* 407 φροντίδος σωτηρίου.

Zur Wortverbindung vgl. *Or.* 724 οὗτος γὰρ ἦν μοι καταφυγὴ σωτηρίας. Vgl. Antiphon IV, 1 ἀπορῶ εἰς ἣντινα ἄλλην σωτηρίαν χρή με καταφυγεῖν und Is. *Or.* VIII, 105 ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καταφυγόντες δι' ἡμῶν τῆς σωτηρίας ἔτυχον.

Die Satyrn sind begeistert von Odysseus' Vorschlag, Polyphem zu blenden. So stellen sie die Frage, ob sie unter Umständen⁶¹ das Holzscheit auch anfassen und an der „Ermordung“, wie sie wieder einmal voller Übertreibung sagen, teilnehmen dürfen.⁶² Nach Reiskes Konjektur, der viele folgen (u.a. Diggle, Kovacs, O'Sullivan-Collard, Hunter-Lämmle), vergleichen die Satyrn dabei das Anfassen des Scheites mit dem Anfassen einer Libation (d.h. des betreffenden Gefäßes): „Könnte ich das Holzscheit ... anfassen, wie wenn ich eine Trankspende anfasse?“. Abgesehen von den sprachlichen Schwierigkeiten⁶³ kann dieser Vergleich wohl kaum einleuchten: Es wäre eher ein Rätselspruch für die Zuschauer, die herausfinden müssten, worin der Vergleichspunkt zwischen dem Anfassen einer Trankspende und dem eines Holzscheites wohl liegen mag. In Reiskes Alternativvorschlag ὥσπερ ἐν σπονδαῖς würden die Satyrn auf den sogenannten χέρνυψ-Ritus anspielen, bei dem ein Holzscheit (δαλός) in Weihwasser getaucht wurde und mit ihm dann der Altar, das Opfertier und die Anwesenden besprengt wurden.⁶⁴ Nur gehört dieser Ritus zur Opferhandlung,⁶⁵ nicht zu den Trankspenden und

⁶¹ Zum seltenen (nicht negierten) ἔστιν οὖν ὅπως ἂν + Opt. vgl. Demosth. *De falsa leg.* 165 ἔστιν οὖν ὅπως ἂν μᾶλλον ἀνθρωποὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου πράττοντες ἐξελεγχθεῖεν, Timocr. 64 ἔστιν οὖν ὅπως ἂν ἐναντιώτερά τις δύο θεῶν τοῦ δεδέσθαι, [Plato] *Alcib.* 106 d ἔστιν οὖν ὅπως ἂν ποτε ἔμαθές τι ἢ ἐξηῆρες ...; In Tragödie und Komödie nur einmal negativ: Aristoph. *Av.* 628 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν ἐγὼ ποθ' ἐκὼν τῆς σῆς γνώμης ἔτ' ἀφείμην.

⁶² Zu den Argumenten, φόνου zu halten, s. Seidensticker 2020, 234. Übertreibung ist eine wesentliche Charaktereigenschaft der Satyrn (s. 180, 213, 217, 219), s. auch 444 Κύκλωπ' ὀλωλότα, 474 τοῦ κακῶς ὀλουμένου. Zu φόνου κοινωνεῖν vgl. *Andr.* 915; *El.* 1048; *Or.* 1591.

⁶³ Einzig Dio Chrys. XXXIV, 34 σπονδῆς θιγγάνειν kommt als Parallele in Frage, was hier allerdings „an einer Trankspende nippen“ bedeutet (was wohl möglich war). Soph. *Ph.* 8 f. ist ein Zeugma: οὔτε λοιβῆς οὔτε θυμάτων προσθιγεῖν. Xen. *Hell.* IV, 1, 30 und VI, 4, 24 σπονδὰς λαβεῖν meint das vertragliche Versprechen, das jemand erhält. Eur. *Ion* 1187 ff. ἐν χεροῖν ἔχοντι δὲ [σπονδὰς μετ' ἄλλων παιδὶ τῷ πεφηνότι] wäre eine mögliche Parallele „Trankspenden in der Hand halten“; allerdings ist wohl 1188 mit Paley zu athetieren: τῷ πεφηνότι stammt aus *Ion* 978, μετ' ἄλλων ist überflüssig; zu ἔχοντι ist φιάλην aus 1182 zu ergänzen.

⁶⁴ Immerhin wird hier der Beobachtung Rechnung getragen, dass Euripides an den 18 Stellen, wo er das Wort σπονδή benutzt, immer Plural, nur an unserer Stelle den Sg. setzt, s. Anm. 76.

⁶⁵ So ist Seaford der Meinung, die Satyrn wollten das „Eintauchen“ des Scheites in das Auge (das „Opfer“) mit dem Eintauchen eines Scheites ins Weihwasser parallelisieren. Das scheitert m.E. schon daran, dass Euripides sonst das Besprengen und die eigentliche Opferhandlung (die Tötung) deutlich unterscheidet (im *Kyklops* würden Eintauchen und φόνος zusammenfallen), besonders deutlich in *IT* 621–624: Ὅρ. αὐτὴ ξίφει θύουσα θῆλυς ἄρσενας; Ἰφ. οὐκ, ἀλλὰ χαίτην ἄμφι σὴν χερνύομαι.

könnte schwerlich als σπονδή bezeichnet werden,⁶⁶ wobei wohl auch kaum mehrere das Scheit angefasst haben.⁶⁷

Den überlieferten Text hält Ussher, dem Seidensticker und Zerhoch⁶⁸ folgen. Sie verbinden die Libation mit dem ersten „Symposion“ in der Höhle (411–426), wobei ὥσπερ nur bedeute: „gleichsam, sozusagen“, ohne dass ein Vergleich ausgedrückt sei: „Könnte ich, gleichsam/sozusagen nach der Weinspende (= dem Betrunknenmachen von Polyphem) das Holzscheit ... anfassen?“ Leider findet sich für diesen Gebrauch von ὥσπερ (s. LSJ II) weder bei Euripides noch sonst eine Parallele, da bei dieser Subjunktion immer ein Vergleich mitgedacht ist (der zwischen einer Weinspende und dem Anfassen eines Scheites fehlt).

Soph. *El.* 277 steht ὥσπερ mit Partizip (s. KG II 97, 3): „als ob (wie wenn) sie sich noch lustig machen wollte“. Das Problem liegt darin, dass Vergleichssätze oft sehr verkürzt sind, so dass der immer zugrunde liegende Vergleich gleichsam unsichtbar wird: Aristoph. *Nub.* 1276 τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ὥσπερ σεσεῖσθαι μοι δοκεῖς. „Es scheint mir, dass dein Gehirn so erschüttert ist, wie es nach einem Erdbeben erschüttert wäre“. ⇒ „Dein Gehirn scheint mir gleichsam vom Erdbeben erschüttert“. *Thesm.* 869 ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ αἰκάλλει τι καρδίαν ἐμήν. „Etwas umschmeichelt mein Herz, wie ein Hund einen umwedelt“ (nach Eur. *Andr.* 630) ⇒ „Etwas sozusagen umwedelt mein Herz“, *Pax* 234 f. καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἡσθόμην καὶ τὸς θυείας φθέγμα πολεμιστηρίας. „Denn auch ich selber (wie Hermes) bin wie einer, der den Klang des Mörsers des Kriegsgottes wahrgenommen hat“. ⇒ „Ich habe den Mörser gleichsam wahrgenommen“.

Op. ὁ δὲ σφαγεὺς τίς ...; Ἰφ. ἔσω δόμων τῶνδ’ εἰσὶν οἷς μέλει τάδε. Die Phrase ὥσπερ ἐκ σπονδῆς θεοῦ, die zu seiner Deutung nicht passt, hält er im übrigen für unheilbar verderbt.

⁶⁶ Eur. *HF* 928 f. μέλλων δὲ δαλὸν χειρὶ δεξιᾷ φέρειν, / ἐς χέρνιβ’ ὡς βάψειεν, Aristoph. *Pax* 959 φέρε δὴ, τὸ δαλίον τόδ’ ἐμβάψω λαβών. Erst bei Plutarch wird dieses Besprengen mit dem Verb κατασπένδω (*Vita Alex.* 50, 4 τρία τῶν κατεσπεισμένων προβάτων, *Def. or.* 437 A οἱ γὰρ ἱερεῖς καὶ ὅσοι θύειν φασὶ τὸ ἱερεῖον καὶ κατασπένδειν u.ö.) und dem Substantiv κατάσπεισις bezeichnet (*ebd.* 435 B u.ö.): αἱ δὲ τῶν ἱερείων κατασπείσεις, ein Nomen, das nur Plutarch benutzt und mit barbarischen Riten (in Spanien) verbindet (*Vit. Sert.* 14): καὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἐκεῖ βαρβάρων κατάσπεισιν ὀνομαζόντων. Für Euripides, der in *IT* und *IA* den χέρνιψ-Ritus 14x erwähnt, gibt es keinen Hinweis, dass er diesen als σπονδή/σπονδαί bezeichnen könnte (s. *IT* 58 βαλεῖν, 1190 νῖψαι); vgl. auch fr. 752 h 30 ὕδωρ / χέρνιβα θεοῖσιν ... ὡς χεαίμεθα und Or. 1602 θιγγάνειν.

⁶⁷ Anders Biehl 1986, 171: „Wie nach vollzogener Opferspende für den Gott (die Opferdiener ... einen glühenden Pfahl vom Altar nehmen)“. Man sieht, der eigentliche Vergleichspunkt ist nicht ausgedrückt und bei Biehl in Klammern ergänzt. Wo ist belegt, dass das Besprengen nach der vollzogenen Opferspende stattfindet?

⁶⁸ Zerhoch 2020.

Solche Kurzformen auch in Prosa: Thuc. IV, 73, 2 αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἄκονιτι τὴν νίκην δικαίως ἂν τίθεσθαι, hier ist dem Sprichwort zufolge ein Partizip κρατοῦσιν (oder νικῶσιν) zu ergänzen: „wie wenn sie ohne Staub (= ohne Kampf) gesiegt hätten“, s. Arsenius *Par.* 15, 19 α τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἄκονιτι κρατεῖν (für die Wortverbindung gibt es viele Belege, s. z.B. Xen. *Ages.* 6, 3 τοὺς ἄκονιτι ἢ τοὺς διὰ μάχης νικῶντας). – Besonders verkürzt ist der Vergleich bei Xen. *Cyr.* IV, 1, 13 Καὶ ὁ Κυαζάρης ἅμα μὲν, ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι ἦρχον τοῦ λόγου, ὥσπερ ὑπεφθόνει· ἅμα δ' ἴσως καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει αὐτῷ μὴ πάλιν κινδυνεύειν. „Und Kyaxares reagierte zugleich wie einer, der heimlich Neid empfindet, weil andere den Vorschlag als erste gemacht hatten, zugleich schien es ihm gut, nicht erneut eine Gefahr auf sich zu nehmen“.

Von der problematischen Auffassung von ὥσπερ abgesehen,⁶⁹ enthält diese Lösung weitere Schwierigkeiten: Normalerweise leitet eine Trankspende ein Symposion ein, hier würde es das gesamte Besäufnis meinen.⁷⁰ Auch der Hinweis auf die *Odyssee* hilft insofern nicht weiter, als Euripides in seiner Beschreibung des Trinkens in der Höhle (411–426) das Motiv der Trankspende gerade nicht benutzt.⁷¹ Und was den Genitiv θεοῦ angeht, schlägt Zerhoch vor, diesen entweder als *subjectivus* auf Dionysos = Wein oder als *objectivus* auf Polyphem zu beziehen (in beiden Fällen würde man wohl einen Artikel

⁶⁹ „Gleichsam, sozusagen“ lässt sich hier nicht in einem Vergleichssatz verwandeln: „Ich möchte das Holzscheit anfassen, wie ich ihn nach dem Betrunkenmachen von Polyphem anfassen würde“ ergibt keinen Sinn.

⁷⁰ Ussher 1978, 127 sieht selbst das Problem und trennt die Libation von dem darauf (nach der Blendung) folgenden „Fest“ der Freiheit der Satyrn: „For the satyrs, of course, wish to introduce their quip (Polyphemos' heavy draughts as a 'libation'), and moreover see his incapacity as a prelude to their later 'feast' of freedom and revenge“. Nach Ussher ist Polyphem das „Opfertier“, über dem die Libation ausgegossen wird; hier würde also die Libation der „Opferung“ vorausgehen, und nicht wie z.B. in *Il.* XI, 775 (worauf er verweist) gleichzeitig geschehen: „the libation is thought of as *preceding*, not as *coincident* with burning“ (kursiv von Ussher).

Vgl. O'Sullivan–Collard 2013, 189 (die sich für Reiskes Konjektur entscheiden): „Reading with the ms ὥσπερ ἐκ: 'as if it were after a libation to the god', the Cyclops may be envisaged as a sacrificial victim, over whom (or into whom) a libation has been poured with the wine given him by Odysseus“.

⁷¹ Zerhoch 2020, 50 verweist auf Hom. *Od.* IX, 349 σοὶ δ' αὖ λοιβὴν φέρον (Odysseus bringt Polyphem wie einem Gott eine Trankspende dar, damit er ihn verschont). Und im Prolog der *Ritter* wird zwar ein Spaß damit getrieben, dass man die ungemischte Spende für Agathos Daimon einfach selbst trinkt (ἄκρατον ἐγκάναζόν μοι πολὺν σπονδῆν, 105 f.), damit wird aber noch lange nicht ein ganzes Besäufnis zur σπονδή.

erwarten).⁷² Immerhin nennen die Satyrn an keiner anderen Stelle Polyphem einen Gott⁷³ und die vorhandene Parallele aus dem *Ion* (s.u.) legt ein subjektives Verständnis nicht nahe. Alles dies spricht also dafür, zu einem Vergleich zurückzukehren und eine einfachere Lösung zu suchen, die der Zuschauer unmittelbar verstehen konnte.

Beginnen wir mit σπονδὴ θεοῦ. Für diese Phrase ist glücklicherweise eine direkte Parallele im *Ion* erhalten (1192): *Ion* gießt wegen einer blasphemischen Äußerung eines Dieners den für einen Gott bestimmten Inhalt seines Gefäßes auf den Boden (τὰς δὲ πρὶν σπονδὰς θεοῦ δίδωσι γαίᾳ).⁷⁴ Nach Athenaios 692 F kommen mehrere Götter für eine Libation in Frage:⁷⁵ Der Bote im *Ion* und die Satyrn lassen dies offen und sprechen einfach von einer „Trankspende für (irgend)einen Gott“. Nun nehmen die Satyrn einen Vergleich vor (in ausführlicher Fassung): „Können auch wir das (glühende) Holzscheit anfassen, so wie (wir ein Holzscheit) nach/aufgrund einer Libation für einen Gott (anfassen können)?“⁷⁶ Auf welche Gegebenheit spielen sie damit an? Wo kann man ein feuriges Scheit nach/aufgrund einer Trankspende anfassen?⁷⁷ Für den antiken Rezipienten war dies offensichtlich: Bei den meisten Opfern wurden Trankspenden über das gebratene Fleisch gegossen⁷⁸ und am Ende des

⁷² Das handelnde Subjekt würde sich übrigens vom Subjekt des gesamten Satzes unterscheiden: „Können wir, die Satyrn, nachdem Odysseus gleichsam die Spende des Gottes oder für den Gott dargebracht hat, das Scheit anfassen?“ Auch das scheint mir recht kompliziert.

⁷³ Meist nennen sie ihn einfach „Kyklop“ (356, 366, 378, 655, 664, 669, 675), weitere Anreden: δεσπότης (250), ἀνοσιώτατος (378), ἀνόσιον κάρᾳ (438), σκαιὸς ἀπῳδός (490), ἀπαίδευτος (493), ξενοδαιτύμων (610), μόνοψ παῖς γῆς (648), θῆρ ξενοδαίτης (658). „Gott“ passt schlecht in diese Reihe! Zum Kyklopen als Gott s.o. zu V. 231.

⁷⁴ Vgl. *Ion* 1202 ἄνοσος ἦν λοιβὴ θεοῦ. σπονδαί und λοιβή meinen also konkret die ausgegossene Spende.

⁷⁵ Er nennt Agathos Daimon, Zeus Soter, Hygieia; im *Ion* ist wohl an Apollon zu denken; der Plural in *Ion* 1192 weist evtl. auf mehrere (geplante) Spenden (s. *Ion* 1032) oder bezieht sich darauf, dass *Ion* allen Anwesenden befiehlt, es ihm nachzutun.

⁷⁶ Der nur hier vorkommende Singular bedeutet, dass der Akt des Ausgießens gemeint ist, nicht konkret die ausgegossenen Flüssigkeiten wie sonst immer, s. *Alc.* 1016, *Ion* 1032, *Hel.* 1667 f. (wahrscheinlich nicht von Eur.), *Or.* 1688, *Ba.* 45. σπονδαί bedeutet bei Eur. auch oft einfach „Vertrag“ (*Med.* 898, *Hel.* 1235, *Ph.* 97=143, 365, 600, *IA* 60 δι’ ἐμπύρων σπονδὰς καταθεῖναι).

⁷⁷ Das Eintauchen eines δαλός in Weihwasser (χέρνῃς) kann man nicht als σπονδὴ bezeichnen, dies kommt also auch bei meiner Deutung nicht in Frage: Eintauchen (βάπτειν s. Anm. 65) und Ausgießen sind niemals dasselbe.

⁷⁸ Anstelle von vielen Belegen s. nur Aristoph. *Pax* 1102; die entsprechenden Vasenbilder sind bei van Straaten 1995, 115 ff. gesammelt; s. auch Zerhoch 2020, 63 f.

Opfers die Reste mit einer Trankspende abgelöscht: „Zum Abschluss gießt man Wein in die Flammen des Altars, die die Reste verzehren“.⁷⁹ So konnten anschließend die „gelöschten“ Holzscheite angefasst und vom Altar weggeräumt werden.⁸⁰ Genau dies scheint der Bezugspunkt des Vergleiches: Wie nach einer abschließenden Libation auf dem Altar können die Satyrn ein Scheit anfassen.⁸¹ Damit soll die Blendung nicht als eine Opferhandlung dargestellt werden, auch wenn der Vergleich ein rituelles Geschehen betrifft.⁸² Es geht vielmehr um die Sorge der feigen Satyrn, sich beim Anfassen eines feurigen Scheites möglicherweise die Finger zu verbrennen, was nach der abschließenden Libation aber eben nicht passieren kann. Trotzdem werden die Satyrn ungeachtet ihres hier gezeigten Enthusiasmus später keineswegs bei der Blendung mithelfen und sich mit lächerlichen Ausreden drücken.

593 Οδ. δαλός δ' ἔσωθεν αὐλίων †ῶθεϊ† καπνόν
594 παρευτρέπισταί ...

Nachdem der Kyklop mit dem von ihm begehrten Silen in der Höhle verschwunden ist, versucht Odysseus erneut, die Satyrn zu motivieren, bei der Blendung zu helfen. Dabei betont er, dass das Holzscheit im Feuer schon gehärtet sei und zur Blendung bereit liege. Der Inhalt der Verse ist also klar, nicht aber ihre Grammatik: Die beiden Verben sind unverbunden und die Verbindung καπνὸν ῶθεϊν unmöglich. Zwei kleinere Änderungen bleiben nahe am überlieferten Text: ῶθεϊ ist in ῶθεϊν zu verwandeln als finaler Infinitiv zum Hauptverb „ist gut vorbereitet“ und

⁷⁹ Burkert 2011, 115.

⁸⁰ Naturgemäß sind diese „Aufräumarbeiten“ in den Quellen kaum dokumentiert; nur ist offensichtlich, dass der Altar von den Resten „gereinigt“ werden musste. Auch bei uns bleibt bei der Beschreibung eines Grillabends das anschließende Putzen unerwähnt!

⁸¹ Man muss natürlich noch etwas warten, bis man das gelöschte Scheit anfassen kann; das hängt dann davon ab, wieviel Flüssigkeit man vorher über ihn gegossen hat.

⁸² Anders Zerhoch 2020: Er sieht in der Verbindung von Libation und Anfassen des δαλός (≈ Opferspieß) eine Anspielung auf eine Opferhandlung. Nur liegen m.E. zwischen dem Braten von Fleischstücken an Spießen und dem Blenden durch einen „Spieß“ Welten. Das kannibalische Mahl des Polyphem wird als Opfer stilisiert (s. oben zu 243 ff., vgl. 302 f., 393), die Blendung wird von den Satyrn als Ausräucherung eines Wespennests (475) oder als Hochzeit beschrieben (514–518); aber ich sehe im Stück keine weiteren Hinweise auf eine Opferhandlung; die für die Blendung benutzen Verben weisen nicht auf ein Opfer (459 ἐκτίκειν, 463 συναυαίνειν, 486 διακναίνειν, 611 ὀλλύναι, 648 ὑράπτειν, 655/659 τύφειν), bleibt nur πυροῦν (594, 608); es gibt auch kaum ein Opfertier, das wie Polyphem überlebt! Und Euripides unterscheidet die Holzarten: Spieße aus Christdorn (394), Scheit aus Olive (455).

aus καπνόν ist das aktive Partizip καπνῶν herzustellen: „Das Holzscheit aber ist drinnen in der Höhe gut vorbereitet, ihn (ins Auge) zu stoßen, wobei er raucht“. Das Verb ὠθεῖν kommt im Stück dreimal in diesem Sinne vor, ohne weitere Bestimmung auch in V. 657: ἰὼ ἰὼ· γενναιότατ' ὠθεῖτε σπεύδετ', ἐκκαίετε τὰν ὀφρὺν ...⁸³ Das Problem der Lösung liegt darin, dass Euripides zwar dreimal das Verb καπνῶω im Passiv benutzt,⁸⁴ es aber in der griechischen Literatur nur in *Anthologia Graeca* IX, 226 aktiv belegt ist (über den Imker):

ὁ δὲ βλιστηρίδι χειρὶ
καπνώσας βαίην κύμμι λίπη μερίδα

Mit seiner Hand, die Honig erntet, lässt er, nachdem er Rauch gemacht hat, euch (Bienen) einen kleinen Teil übrig.

Warum sollte also Euripides nicht auch an unserer Stelle die höchst seltene aktive Form benutzt haben?⁸⁵ Wie der Imker kann auch ein Scheit Rauch produzieren: Er zeigt damit an, dass er fertig zum Einsatz ist.

616 Xo. ἀλλ' ἴτω Μάρων, πρᾶσσέτω,
617 μαινομένου ἔξελέτω βλέφαρον
618 Κύκλωπος, ὡς πῖη κακῶς.

So liest Diggle nach Hermann, die meisten Editoren folgen ihm; die Handschrift L dagegen überliefert: μαινόμενος ἐξελέτω βλέφαρον. Ist Maron, der Wein, oder der Kyklop rasend? Zuerst gilt es, Euripides' Gebrauch der Aphärese der Vorsilbe ἐξ- zu betrachten: Sie ist belegt nach μή (*Cycl.* 627, *Ion* 367, *Hel.* 885, *Suppl.* 1228, *Or.* 272), nach ἐγώ (*IT* 955, *Ba.* 729, *Hypsipyle* fr. 757, 891=60), nach ἡ (fr. 472 e, 34), nach ἦ (*Med.* 1312) und nach ᾧ (*Ion* 1398), nie nach einer flektierten Form.⁸⁶ Inhaltliches kommt hinzu. Der Wein soll Polyphem einschläfern (kurz zuvor hatte

⁸³ Vgl. 485 f.: τίς ... Κύκλωπος ἔσω βλεφάρων ὥσας λαμπρὰν ὄψιν διακναίσει; und 636 ἡμεῖς μὲν ἔσμεν μακροτέρω πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἐστῶτες ὠθεῖν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τὸ πῦρ.

⁸⁴ *Suppl.* 497 οὐ τᾶρ' ἔτ' ὀρθῶς Καπανέως κεραύνιον δέμας καπνοῦται, *Tr.* 8 (Troja) ἦ νῦν καπνοῦται καὶ πρὸς Ἀργείου δορὸς ὄλωλε πορθηθεῖς und *Tr.* 586 Ἀν. πόλεος Ἐκ. ᾧ καπνοῦται. Vgl. Pind. *Pyth.* 5, 84 καπνωθεῖσαν πάτραν.

⁸⁵ Zumindest würde ihre Seltenheit gut die Verschreibung in καπνόν erklären. Zu διεπυρώσαμεν (694) z.B. bemerken Hunter-Lämmle 2020, 245: „This is the only occurrence of this compound before Hellenistic prose“.

⁸⁶ Gleiches gilt von Sophokles: 10x nach μή (*Ai.* 586, 742, *Tr.* 727, 1235, 978, *El.* 398, 1208, *Ph.* 467, *OC* 1266, 1378), 3x nach ἦ (*Ant.* 535, *OT* 230, 1162), 2x nach ἡ (*Ant.* 384, 558); einzige Ausnahme *OT* 970 εἴη ἔξ ἐμοῦ.

Odysseus Hypnos angerufen).⁸⁷ Er wird hier als Gott verstanden, der die Attribute seines Urhebers Dionysos übernimmt (*Il.* VI, 132 über Lykurg: ὅς ποτε μαινομένοιο Διωνύσοιο τιθήνας σεῦε κατ' ἡγάθεον Νυσήϊον).⁸⁸ Und wie die anderen Anhängerinnen des Gottes, die Bakchen, in dionysischem Wahnsinn ihre Gegner töten,⁸⁹ so soll hier der Gott „Wein“ das Werk der Rache und Strafe unterstützen, bei dem Odysseus die Tat vollbringt. Er soll nicht kommen, um Polyphem betrunken zu machen; dies ist bereits geschehen!⁹⁰ Er soll auch bei der eigentlichen Rachetat zugegen sein und Odysseus helfen. Wahnsinn ist bei Euripides eine Eigenschaft des Rächenden, nicht des Opfers.⁹¹ Die Blendung als Akt äußerster Gewalt verlangt vom Täter eine besondere Seelenverfassung; ein Gott, der seinen Wahnsinn teilt, unterstützt ihn bei der Tat, indem er das Opfer betrunken und wehrlos macht. Polyphem dagegen wird den „Wahnsinn“ der Rache erdulden müssen: Das Trinken wird für ihn böse Folgen haben (κακῶς πίνειν), weil der Wein als dionysisches Geschöpf auf Seiten seiner Gegner steht, die an ihm Vergeltung üben werden.⁹²

632 Xo. οὐκουν σὺ τάξεις, οὔστινας πρώτους χρῶν
633 καυτὸν μοχλὸν λαβόντας ἐκκαίειν τὸ φῶς
634 Κύκλωπος, ὡς ἂν τῆς τύχης κοινώμεθα;

Diese Verse spricht nach Auffassung aller Editoren der Chorführer. Das würde bedeuten, dass der Chorführer Odysseus bittet, zu bestimmen, wer an welcher Stelle das Holzscheit anfassen soll oder darf, und einen Vers später der gesamte übrige Chor (in wohl drei Teilgruppen) genau davor mit lächerlichen Ausreden zurückweicht (die einen stehen zu weit abseits, die anderen können plötzlich nicht mehr laufen, wieder andere haben ebenfalls einen Krampf im Bein und sind außerdem von Staub und

⁸⁷ Vgl. *Cycl.* 168: ὡς ὅς γε πίνων μὴ γέγηθε μαίνεται. Wahnsinnig ist nicht der Trinker, sondern der, der am Wein keine Freude hat. *Cycl.* 164 ist textkritisch umstritten, statt μαινοίμην ist evtl. μαιοίμην zu lesen.

⁸⁸ So auch bei Plat. *Leg.* 773 c–d: Der Staat soll wie der Trank aus einem Mischkrug ausgewogen sein: Aus dem μαινόμενος οἶνος und dem anderen Gott, dem nüchternen „Wasser“, entsteht ein ἀγαθὸν καὶ μέτριον πῶμα.

⁸⁹ Nach Eur. *Ba.* 130 sind auch die Satyrn selbst „rasend“.

⁹⁰ Vgl. Seidensticker 2020, 283: „Da der Kyklop ... ja schon vom Wein bezungen ist (591), ist die Aufforderung, Maron solle kommen und ans Werk gehen, nicht ganz logisch“.

⁹¹ Vgl. *Cycl.* 465 Xo. ἰοὺ ἰοὺ· γέγηθα μαινώμεσθα τοῖς εὐρήμασιν. Die Satyrn rasen vor Freude über die Erfindung der Rachetat. Zum Motiv des Wahnsinns im Kontext der Rache s. Holzhausen 2003, 209 ff. (auf S. 218 wird unsere Stelle noch in Diggles Textfassung zitiert). Vgl. auch Soph. *Ant.* 134 f. über Kapaneus, der das dem Polyneikes angetane Unrecht rächen will: ὅς τότε μαινομένα ζῶν ὀρμᾷ βακχεύων ἐπέπνει.

⁹² Zur Metrik s. Meriani 1996, 67–72: ἀλλ' ἴτω Μάρων (hypod) πρασσέτω, μαινώμενος (cr cho) || ἐξελέτω βλέφαρον (hem) Κύκλωπος, ὡς πῆη κακῶς (2 ia).

Rauch geblendet).⁹³ Ein solcher Dissens zwischen Chorführer und Chor dürfte singulär und nicht überzeugend sein. Wieder kann eine szenische Rekonstruktion weiterhelfen: Nachdem sich Odysseus in der Höhle vergewissert hat, dass nun endlich zur Tat geschritten werden kann, kommt er heraus, ermahnt die Satyrn, die offenbar laut und ausgelassen gesungen haben, keinen Mucks mehr von sich zu geben und fordert sie auf, nun in die Höhle zu kommen und mit anzupacken (630 f.). Genau in diesem Augenblick der Tat passiert das zu Erwartende: Die Satyrn weichen zurück und machen keinerlei Anstalten, Odysseus' Aufforderung zu folgen. In ihrer Mimik und Gestik wird deutlich, dass plötzlich, als es ernst wird, von ihrer vorherigen Begeisterung gar nichts mehr zu spüren ist. Odysseus bemerkt dies und reagiert auf dieses zuerst nur im szenischen Spiel (zwischen 631 und 632) deutlich werdende Zurückweichen. Als freundliche Frage formuliert, macht er ihnen daraufhin das Angebot, dass sie selbst bestimmen dürfen, wer als erster in die Höhle gehen und vorne am Holzscheid anfassen soll – so wie sie ja selbst über diese Frage schon nachgedacht hatten (V. 483 f.). Damit will er sie überreden, eigenbestimmt ans Werk zu gehen und die vermeintlich Mutigen motivieren, voranzugehen. Dann könnten Odysseus und die Satyrn, so verspricht er ihnen, gemeinschaftlich ihr Ziel erreichen und gemeinschaftlich am glücklichen Erfolg teilhaben (ὥς ἂν τῆς τύχης κοινώμεθα, 634). Vergeblich! Keiner der Satyrn, auch nicht der Chorführer, ist bereit mitzutun – so dass Odysseus nach ihren nun verbal vorgetragenen Ausflüchten (635–641) nur schwer enttäuscht konstatieren kann: „Diese Leute sind schlechte/böse Männer und in keiner Weise bereit, bei der Blendung mitzuhelfen“.⁹⁴

673 Ku. Οὐτίς με τυφλοῖ βλέφαρον. Xo. οὐκ ἄρ' εἰ τυφλός.

674 Ku. †ὥς δὴ σύ†. Xo. καὶ πῶς σ' οὐτίς ἂν θεῖη τυφλόν;

675 Ku. σκώπτεις.

Trotz vielfacher Bemühungen ist immer noch nicht verstanden, was Polyphem in 674 repliziert. Der letzte Versuch stammt von Eckermann, der alle bisherigen Konjekturen und Interpretationen umsichtig zusammengestellt hat.⁹⁵ Er versteht ὥς δὴ σύ (sc. τυφλός εἰ) „Thus, indeed you

⁹³ Chor α: 635 f., Chor β: 637, Chor γ: 638 f. und 640 f. Ich denke, dass der Chor sich nach 632 bereits in drei Vierergruppen sortiert und jeweils einer der Gruppe spricht. Zu der Annahme von 12 Choreuten s. meinen Aufsatz: „Die Diener in Euripides, *Kyklops* 83“ (erscheint im *Hermes*).

⁹⁴ V. 642: οἶδε ist Subjekt, ἄνδρες πονηροί und σύμμαχοι Prädikat (οὐδὲν acc. adv.). Man sollte das Wort πονηροί nicht abschwächen. Odysseus ist wirklich ärgerlich und enttäuscht. Und so reagieren die Satyrn genau auf dieses Adjektiv (643–645): „Ist das Schlechtigkeit/Bösartigkeit, wenn man seine eigene Haut zu retten versucht?“

⁹⁵ Eckerman 2017, 181–183.

(are blind)“, wobei „blind“ metaphorisch zu verstehen sei. „The *koryphaios* is not literally blind, but his statements suggest (from Polyphemos' perspective) that he does not understand, what Polyphemos is saying (i. e. he is mentally blind)“.⁹⁶ Er rechnet dabei mit einer Ellipse bei ὥς: „...to supply the participle λέγων vel sim.“ Nur ist der demonstrative Gebrauch von ὥς bei Euripides auf die Phrase ὥς γενέσθω beschränkt (*Hec.* 888, *Tr.* 726, *IT* 609). Man wird also ὥς akzentuieren und mit einem elliptischen Vergleichssatz rechnen:

Xo. οὐκ ἄρ' εἶ τυφλός.

Ky. (οὐκ εἰμὶ τυφλός) ὥς δὴ σὺ (οὐ τυφλός εἶ).

Chor: „Du bist also nicht blind“.

Kyklop: „Stimmt! Wie du!“ Oder etwas ausführlicher: „Stimmt, (ich bin genauso wenig blind,) wie du (nicht blind bist)“.

Das ist natürlich sarkastische Ironie.⁹⁷ Und für jeden leicht verständlich, der die Ironie erkennt.⁹⁸ Ins Positive gewendet: „Tatsächlich, mir geht es genauso gut wie Dir/Euch – das kann man ja deutlich sehen!“ Oder kürzer: „Stimmt, bei mir ist wie bei Dir/Euch alles in bester Ordnung!“ Und indem der Chorführer diese Ironie geflissentlich überhört, kann er dann sinnvoll fortsetzen: „(Wenn du also genauso wenig blind bist wie wir,) wie ist es dann möglich, dass niemand dich blind gemacht hat?“ Damit reicht es dem Kyklopen allerdings, und er beendet das Geplänkel: „Du machst dich nur über mich lustig“ (σκώπτεις 675). Erstaunlich ist die Schlagfertigkeit des Polyphem in dieser Situation; sie ist aber zumindest auch an einer anderen Stelle beim Kyklopen zu bemerken.⁹⁹ Und eines sollte deutlich sein: Einen Geblendeten in dieser Weise zu verspotten und dann Blinde-Kuh mit ihm zu spielen, wobei er sich dann

⁹⁶ *Ebd.* 181; Eckermann überlegt auch, ob nicht eher mit Negation zu verstehen sei: „(sc. although speaking) thus, indeed you are not blind“ (183), entscheidet sich aber dagegen.

⁹⁷ Zum ironischen Ton von ὥς δὴ s. Denniston 1966, 229; *ebd.* „Grammatically, the main clause has to be supplied from the preceding words...“, zur Ellipse des Verbs im Komparativsatz verweist er auf Plat. *Resp.* 337 c; Euripides benutzt ὥς δὴ sonst nur mit Partizip; eine seltene Parallele bei Soph. *OC* 809 Κρ. χωρὶς τό τ' εἰπεῖν πολλὰ καὶ τὸ καίρια. Οἱ. ὥς δὴ σὺ βραχέα, ταῦτα δ' ἐν καιρῷ λέγεις. Kr. „Vieles zu sagen und Richtiges zu sagen, ist nicht dasselbe“. Oi. „(Tatsächlich ist es nicht dasselbe), genau so, wie du das gerade kurz und richtig sagst“. Natürlich auch ironisch, weil Kreon nach Oidipus ja seiner eigenen Behauptung gerade selbst widersprochen hat.

⁹⁸ Diggle 1971, 49 hatte gegen die Auffassung einer Ellipse eingewandt, man könne sie nicht verstehen.

⁹⁹ Seidensticker 2020, 255 nennt V. 533 „eine schlagfertige Antwort“.

auch noch den Kopf stößt, dürfte wohl eher dem Kyklopen als den Satyrn Sympathie einbringen.

694 Οδ. κακῶς γὰρ ἂν Τροίαν γε διεπυρρῶσάμην
695 εἰ μή σ' ἐταίρων φόνον ἐτιμωρησάμην.

Diese Lesung der Hs. L hat Seidensticker gegen die beiden von Diggle übernommenen Konjekturen καλῶς (Dobree) und διεπυρρῶσαμεν (Fix) verteidigt.¹⁰⁰ Der Singular scheint mir angesichts der Verse 200, 347 und 352, wo Odysseus den Sieg über Troja stets in der ersten Person Singular für sich reklamiert, angemessen und allein wegen des Reims vorzuziehen. Anders steht es um das Adverb. Es liegt ein irrealer Gedankengang vor, bei dem das Adverb das eigentliche Gewicht der Aussage trägt: „Es wäre tatsächlich eine Schande, wenn ich Troja zerstört hätte, aber die Ermordung der Gefährten nicht gerächt hätte“. Für solche irrealen Überlegungen gibt es bei Euripides zwei Parallelen, beide in der *Medea*: καλῶς γ' ἂν οὖν δέξαιντό μ' οἴκοις, ὧν πατέρα κατέκτανον (504) *Medea*: „Sie hätten es sicherlich schön gefunden, mich in ihren Haus aufzunehmen, wo ich ihre Väter getötet habe“, und (wohl als Replik) καλῶς γ' ἂν, οἶμαι, τῷδ' ὑπρέτεις λόγῳ, εἴ σοι γάμον κατεῖπον (588) *Jason*: „Du hättest es sicherlich schön gefunden, wie ich meine, meinen Plan zu unterstützen, wenn ich dir von einer (neuen) Ehe erzählt hätte“.¹⁰¹ Hier wird deutlich, dass in derartigen irrealen Aussagen nur die ironische Variante mit καλῶς (und γε) belegt ist:¹⁰² „Es wäre wirklich schön“ oder prägnanter: „Ich wäre wirklich ein großer Held, wenn ich Troja zerstört hätte, aber die Ermordung der Gefährten nicht gerächt hätte“. Man sollte also der Konjektur folgen.¹⁰³

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¹⁰⁰ Seidensticker 2020, 302 (allerdings muss es διεπυρρῶσάμην und nicht διεπυρρῶσαμεν heißen).

¹⁰¹ Mastronarde 2002, 268 verweist auf die ironische Kraft von γε, das sich auch hier findet.

¹⁰² Auch bei Sophokles findet sich eine Parallele: *Ant.* 739 καλῶς ἐρήμης γ' ἂν σὺ γῆς ἄρχοις μόνος „Das wäre tatsächlich (γε) eine schöne Sache, wenn du allein über ein leeres Land herrschen könntest“. Einen analogen Gedankengang mit κακῶς kann ich nicht finden. Vgl. auch Eur. *Or.* 1602 εἴ γοῦν θίγοις ἂν χερνίβων ...

¹⁰³ *Heracl.* 171 f. (ohne γε) ist keine Parallele (pace Hunter-Lämmle 2020, 245): κακῶς γὰρ Ἀργεῖοισιν οἷδ' ὠπλισμένοις / μάχονται ἂν ἡβήσαντες „Die Herakliden dürften wohl als Erwachsene gegen bewaffnete Argiver schlecht kämpfen“, es ist nicht gemeint: „Es dürfte eine Schande sein, wenn sie ... gegen Argiver kämpfen“.

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The essay is concerned with certain passages of Euripides' *Cyclops*. In lines 182–185 the satyrs picture Helen as a woman who lets herself be seduced by a Paris who is everything but a real man. Line 222 is to be seen as a response to Aristophanes'

mockery. In 226–227 there is no need to modify the text of ms. L. Line 231 is not to be taken as evidence that the Cyclops sees himself as a god. In 235 κατὰ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν μέσον is to be read after Scaliger. In 241–242 the expression κοπίδας μαχαίρας is to be understood as a genitive connection. In 245 ms. L's ἔδοντος is to be accepted. In 268 κακοί is to be interpreted as predicative. In 306–307, ἀλόχους τ' ἀνάνδρους γραῦς τ' ἄπαιδας ... πολιοῦς τε πατέρας, and in 349, γνώμην ... ἀλίμενόν τε καρδίαν, one has to recognise a daring image in which the negation is reversed. The image of Silenus trapped like a flapping bird hanging on a lime-twig (432–434) only carries meaning if ἀποκερδαίνω is interpreted as having a conative sense. For the corrupt lines 439 f. a new reading is proposed, according to which the satyrs view the wine as a lost spouse. For the difficult and much-discussed passage 469–471 a simple solution is sought: for the blinding of Polyphemos the satyrs want to touch the burning log, as, when making a burnt offering, one might touch the remaining logs of a fire after having quenched the flames with wine. In the corrupt line 593 the conjecture ὠθεῖν καπνῶν (*part. praes. act.*) is suggested. In 617 the transmitted μαινόμενος is to be retained. Lines 632–634 are to be assigned to Odysseus. Line 674 is not corrupt: it contains the quick-witted reply of Polyphemos to the satyrs' inane question: "You are not blind then?" In 694 Dobree's conjecture καλῶς for the transmitted κακῶς is to be accepted.

В статье разбирается несколько пассажей из "Циклопа" Еврипида. В стк. 182–185 сатиры видят в Елене женщину, позволившую соблазнить себя Парису, который далек от образа настоящего мужчины. Стк. 222 надо понимать как ответ на насмешку Аристофана. В стк. 226–227 не нужно менять текст рукописи L. Стк. 231 не доказывает, что циклоп считает себя богом. В стк. 235 предлагается конъектура κατὰ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν μέσον. В стк. 241–242 κοπίδας μαχαίρας надо понимать как генетив. В стк. 245 нужно следовать чтению рукописи L (ἔδοντος). В стк. 268 номинатив κακοί употреблен предикативно. В стк. 306 (ἀλόχους τ' ἀνάνδρους γραῦς τ' ἄπαιδας ... πολιοῦς τε πατέρας) и 349 (γνώμην ... ἀλίμενόν τε καρδίαν γνώμην) следует учитывать смелую конструкцию, в которой отрицание по смыслу относится не к тому слову, с которым сочетается. Образ Силена, который бьется, как птичка, попавшаяся в клеевую ловушку (стк. 432–434), имеет смысл только в том случае, если у глагола ἀποκερδαίνω конативное значение. Для испорченных стк. 439–440 предлагается новое чтение, согласно которому вино для сатиров – как утраченная супруга. Для сложного и часто обсуждавшегося пассажа 469–471 предлагается простое решение: при ослеплении Полифема сатиры хотят коснуться тлеющего полена, точно так же как при жертвоприношении, после того как огонь залит вином, можно коснуться обгоревших дров. В испорченном пассаже в стк. 593 предлагается конъектура ὠθεῖν καπνῶν (*part. praes. act.*). В стк. 617 нужно сохранить рукописное чтение μαινόμενος. Стк. 632–634 приписывает Одиссей. Стк. 674 не нуждается в правке – она содержит находчивый ответ Полифема на глупый вопрос сатира: "Так ты не слепой?" В стк. 694 нужно следовать конъектуре Добре καλῶς вместо рукописного κακῶς.

Nina Almazova

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

I–II

To the memory of Andrew Barker

The treatise *On Music* preserved in Plutarch's corpus is unique in containing a section dedicated to the history of music (the speech of Lysias, chapters 3–12). The present paper will focus on the sources of this particular section.¹ In chapters 11 and 12 the author takes his information from Aristoxenus.² In the preceding section the sources he names are: *Collection of Musical Achievements* (or *Celebrities*) by Heraclides of Pontus (fourth century BC);³ *On Ancient Poets and Musicians* by Glaucus of Rhegium (late fifth to early fourth century BC);⁴ the Sicynonian

¹ The treatise *De musica* is cited from the edition of Ziegler (Ziegler–Pohlenz 2nd 1959). Beside traditional references to the pages of Stephanus edition (numbers 1131–1147 with Latin letters added) and the chapters of Wytttenbach 1800, 625–689 I adduce the numbers of pages and lines in Ziegler whenever a precise reference to definite phrases and words is required.

² In ch. 11 Aristoxenus is referred to by name. On ch. 12, see Weil–Reinach 1900, 53; Visconti 1999, 135–139; Meriani 2003, 77–79.

³ 1131 F: ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν ἐν μουσικῇ – sc. <ἐύρημάτων> (Lasserre), <ἐδόδοκιμησάντων> (Weil–Reinach), <διαλαμψάντων> (Bergk, Wehrli); Ercoles 2013, 555 n. 972 considers the transmitted title as complete. A hypothesis has been proposed that the *Συναγωγή* was not a separate work, but formed part of Heraclides' book *Περὶ μουσικῆς*: Voß 1896, 76–77; Weil–Reinach 1900, VI; Wehrli 1969, 112–113; Gostoli 2020, 135. On Heraclides' lifetime see Voß 1896, 8–19; Wehrli 1968, 675–677. In 361 BC he was not too young to substitute Plato in the Academy, as his teacher left for Sicily (Suid. η 461 s.v. Ἡρακλείδης = Heracl. fr. 2 Wehrli), and in 339 BC not too old to take part in the elections of the leader of the Academy (Philodem. *Hist. Acad.*, *PHerc.* 1021 col. VI. 41 – VII. 10 = Heracl. fr. 9 Wehrli). Having lost the elections, he departed to Heraclea and had probably lived there for some decades (cf. Plut. *Alex.* 26. 1–7; id. *De Is. et Os.* 361 E–F = Heracl. fr. 140; 139 Wehrli): Gottschalk 1980, 4–5; Mejer 2009, 27–29. Therefore, his writings can be dated to ca. 360–310.

⁴ 1132 E: Γλαῦκος ὁ ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐν συγγράμματι τινι τῷ *Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν τε καὶ μουσικῶν*. See Hiller 1886, 400–401; Huxley 1968, 47; Lanata 1963, 270–271; 274; Gostoli 2015, 127–128 on the title and Hiller 1886, 398–399;

chronicle⁵ quoted by Heraclides; the so-called “harmonians”; some poets; and *Collection of Information about Phrygia* by Alexander Polyhistor (first century BC).⁶ According to the *communis opinio*,⁷ the main source of Ps.-Plutarch for this part was Heraclides, to whom he owes almost all the other references. Alexander Polyhistor is the only evident exception: Heraclides could not have quoted him, as he lived much later.⁸ Neither could Alexander transmit the data of Heraclides to Ps.-Plutarch, since most facts concerned in *Περὶ μουσικῆς* would be out of place in a book about Phrygia.

Alexander (just like Heraclides) is named only once in the treatise of Ps.-Plutarch, and only several lines in ch. 5 are attributed to him by most modern scholars.⁹ However, an assumption that the compiler once thought it worth troubling to address a complementary book – that of Polyhistor – only to write out a couple of phrases,¹⁰ and never unrolled it again, seems unlikely.¹¹ My hypothesis is that Ps.-Plutarch rested *pari passu* upon two books (not counting Aristoxenus) while composing his

Weil–Reinach 1900, XI; Jacoby 1912, 1418; Lanata 1963, 270; Presta 1965, 88; Huxley 1968, 47; Gostoli 2015, 125–126 on the date.

⁵ 1132A: ἐκ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τῆς ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀποκειμένης (*FGrHist* 550 F 1); 1134 B: ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀναγραφῇ τῇ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν (*FGrHist* 550 F 2), most probably an epigraphical document. See Weil–Reinach 1900, IX–XI; Franklin 2010–2011, 756–759; Barker 2014, 32–33; 49–51.

⁶ 1132 E ἐν τῇ *Συναγωγῇ τῶν περὶ Φρυγίας*. See Schwarz 1894, 1449; Jacoby 1943, 248–250 (*FGrHist* 273) on the date.

⁷ Rose 1863, 545; Westphal 1865, 69–72; Voß 1896, 76–77; 81; Weil–Reinach 1900, VIII–IX; XI–XIII; Kleingünther 1933, 139; Ziegler 1951, 815; Wehrli 1969, 112; D’Alfonso 1980, 137 n. 2; Gostoli 1990, 98; Barker 2009, 278–281; D’Ippolito 2011, 211; Gostoli 2011, 38; Pöhlmann 2011, 16; Ercoles 2013, 556; Barker 2014, 29–37. For a recent attempt to refute it see Lucarini 2020. As will be clear from what follows, I do not find it convincing in every respect.

⁸ No other authority named by Ps.-Plutarch postdates the third century BC: the latest are Anticlides (late 4th cent.) and Ister (3rd cent.) in ch. 14, 1136 A and Dionysius Iambus (3rd cent.) in ch. 15, 1136 C. Weil and Reinach assume that the compiler knew Ister and Dionysius at first hand, whereas Anticlides was cited by Ister (Weil–Reinach 1900, XX; 57). Unlike Alexander, they are quoted for referring each time to a single fact, not mentioned or discussed otherwise in the treatise.

⁹ See below n. 31, and n. 33 and 69 for exceptions.

¹⁰ The oddity is still greater if one shares the impression of Pöhlmann 2011, 16 that the compiler quotes Polyhistor “only for an irrelevant detail”.

¹¹ Weil–Reinach 1900, XXIII note that Ps.-Plutarch uses a small account of readily available sources, and Barker 2009, 279 observes that he tends to make extensive use of them (e.g. he uses Aristoxenus continuously throughout long passages in ch. 17–21 and 31–36). See n. 8 above for two exceptions.

first section: that of Heraclides and of Alexander. Addressing the latter source was likely due to the fact that the former provided no information on the history of instrumental aulos¹² music.¹³

I

The only blatant and irrevocable inner contradiction in the “historical” section of the treatise is exactly between the data of these two sources. It is the question of who was the first citharode. Indeed, there are other cases in *Περὶ μουσικῆς* where mutually exclusive versions are adduced,¹⁴ but each time they are provided with a reference to somebody’s opinion and leave no doubt that a debated point is touched upon consciously. As regards the discrepancy concerning the first citharode, Ps.-Plutarch in no way marked it, apparently because it slipped his attention. The alternative version is mentioned in passing, as something already known. Let us start with addressing this contradiction.

In ch. 3 (1131 F – 1132 C) the author adduces the information provided by Heraclides, who in his turn refers to the Sicyonian chronicle.¹⁵ According to this version, the inventor of citharody was Amphion, who had been taught by his father Zeus. The musicians of his time (κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν

¹² Solo cithara-playing did not attract Ps.-Plutarch’s notice at all, probably because it was much less widespread than aulos-playing (see e.g. Barker 2014, 20).

¹³ Of course, we cannot be sure, given that the musical treatise of Heraclides has not survived. However, this is a very plausible hypothesis, see Barker 2014, 37–38. Judging by the use Ps.-Plutarch made of Heraclides, A. Barker concludes that the Pontic scholar, being a Platonist, paid little attention to purely instrumental music, even although – unlike me – he believes that all the passages concerning aulos-playing were transmitted by Heraclides.

¹⁴ (1) The inventor of citharodic nomes was Terpander (ch. 3, 4) / Philammon (ch. 5); (2) the inventor of aulodic nomes was Clonas (ch. 3, 4) / Ardalos (ch. 5); (3) the author of the Tripartite nome was Clonas (ch. 4, 8) / Sacadas (ch. 8); (4) Polymnestus composed aulodic nomes (ch. 3, 4, 10) / Orthian nomes (ch. 9, 10); (5) Clonas was a native of Tegea / Thebes (ch. 5); (6) Hipponax was a contemporary of Terpander / lived later than he (ch. 6); (7) the Many-headed nome was created by the elder Olympus / the younger Olympus / Crates (ch. 7); (8) the Chariot nome was composed by Olympus / Mysian auletes (ch. 7); (9) the Phrygian aulete was named Marsyas / Masses (ch. 7); (10) the dactylic rhythm was borrowed from Olympus / from the Orthian nome (ch. 7); (11) Xenodamus composed paeans / hyporchemes (ch. 9); (12) Thaletas composed paeans / something else (ch. 9, 10); (13) Xenocritus composed paeans / dithyrambs (ch. 9, 10).

¹⁵ The text has a form of indirect speech: *acc. cum inf.* governed by λέγει p. 3, 9; ἔφη p. 3, 26; λέγει p. 4, 3.

ἡλικίαν, 1132 B) were Linus of Euboea (threnody), Anthes of Boeotia (hymns), Pierus of Pieria (poems about the Muses), and Philammon of Delphi (on the wandering of Leto). It is not clear if Thamyras the Thracian, the best singer of his time (πάντων τῶν τότε), was their contemporary.¹⁶ Next come Demodocus and Phemius, characters of Homer, that is, contemporaries of the Trojan war. There follows Heraclides' argument that ancient poets used "epic" and not "free" measure. One example adduced is Terpander, the inventor of citharodic nomes, who came after Homer (whose poems he set to music). Next, we have the authors of aulodic nomes: Clonas, his younger contemporary (ὁ ὀλίγω ὕστερον Τερπάνδρου γενόμενος, 1133 A), and Polymnestus, a representative of the next generation (τὸν μετὰ τοῦτον γενόμενον, 1132 C).

Ps.-Plutarch tells us explicitly that Heraclides borrowed the claim that Amphion was the first citharode from the Sicyonian chronicle (1131 F – 1132 A, p. 3, 2–7). Besides, he indicates that Heraclides based his list of poets and musicians on this inscription (1132 A: δι' ἧς ... τοὺς ποιητὰς καὶ τοὺς μουσικοὺς ὀνομάζει). Since it is known that the list of Clonas' nomes (1132 D) is also taken from the Sicyonian chronicle (see 1134 B, cf. 1133 A), other names of musicians in this list (in ch. 3) are most probably derived from the same document.

We are not aware as to whether the list of musicians from the Sicyonian chronicle leading up to Polymnestus has been handed down to us in full. In particular, it is not known whether Clonas was indeed the first composer of aulos music (be it auletic or aulodic pieces), or his predecessors were simply omitted – either by Heraclides or Ps.-Plutarch. It has been claimed¹⁷ that for Heraclides and his source, the history of music started with the stringed instruments. This is quite possible, but one should remember that this has never been explicitly stated. Perhaps Heraclides – who was not interested in instrumental music – simply did not care to establish the chronological correspondence between the inventions of aulos-playing and citharody.

There is also no guarantee that the Sicyonian list of citharodes up until Terpander is reproduced completely. Strictly speaking, we are not sure

¹⁶ It looks more probable that Thamyras belongs to a later age. In Paus. 4. 33. 3 and 10. 7. 2 he is called the son of Philammon. Lasserre 1954, 154 underlines that Thamyras was not a son of some deity, but an adversary of the gods. Barker 2009, 288 assumes that he formed the same group with Demodocus and Phemius, since, like them, he was also mentioned in Homeric poems (*Il.* 2. 594–600), and besides, he could hardly have been the greatest singer of his time, living in the same era as Amphion or Linus.

¹⁷ Barker 2014, 21; 23; 24; 35; Wilson 2009, 54.

that all the musicians named in this list can even be called citharodes.¹⁸ A clear definition of melic poets according to the accompanying instruments can first be traced in the passage dedicated to the regulation of the nomes – the citharodic by Terpander and the aulodic by Clonas, and it disappears again in ch. 9–10. In fact, lament, the genre of Linus, is rather associated with the aulos in historical times.¹⁹ Hymns could be performed with both stringed and wind accompaniment²⁰ and involve choral performance,²¹ whereas the term κιθαρωδία implied solo singing.²² For the same reason the organization of choruses ascribed to Philammon also has nothing to do with the art of citharody. Finally, the very wording of Ps.-Plutarch contradicts the notion that we are dealing only with the history of citharody: how can the idea of Amphion as the first citharode be compatible with the stated existence of musicians who worked κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν? Presumably, the inventions of Amphion's contemporaries dealt with other fields of music. Only from Thamyras onwards does it become clear that it is the citharodes that are being listed.

Anyway, Orpheus is missing from this list – which is noteworthy for two reasons. Firstly, Orpheus appears suddenly in the treatise *On Music* beginning from ch. 5, without considering the discrepant information adduced above. Secondly, there is a fragment of Heraclides (fr. 159 Wehrli = *Sch. Eur. Rhes.* 346)²³ where Orpheus is called the son of Calliope (the inventress of epic poetry) and the greatest of citharodes.²⁴

That Orpheus is not listed among the citharodes has made some scholars suspect that the author of the Sicyonian chronicle excluded him intentionally – but this cannot be proven. There are many cultural heroes in the realm of music, so it would be quite natural to omit some of

¹⁸ As is often supposed, e.g. Bartol 1998, 302 n. 9; Gostoli 2011, 32; ead. 2015, 130; ead. 2020, 140. Barker 2009, 286 distinguishes in this passage the invention of at least three different genres – citharody, lament and hymn. Cf. the cautious approach of Ercoles 2013, 556.

¹⁹ Reiner 1938, 67–69.

²⁰ Furley–Bremer 2001, I, 34–35.

²¹ Furley–Bremer 2001, I, 20–28.

²² See Power 2010, 401–403 on the opposition of choral and citharodic performance; Ercoles 2013, 496–497.

²³ φησὶ δέ (sc. Heraclides): ‘ἐβδόμη δὲ Καλλιόπη ποιήσιν εὖρεν ἐπῶν (εὖρε πάντων codd.) καὶ συνοικήσασα Οἰάγρῳ γεννᾷ Ὀρφέα τὸν πάντων μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ κιθαρωδικῇ τέχνῃ γενόμενον...’. This contradiction was first noticed by Lucarini 2020, 83.

²⁴ In the same fragment Calliope is the seventh Muse, and Euterpe, who invented aulos music, is the eighth, but the order of enumeration need not correspond to chronological order of inventions, *pace* Lucarini 2020, 83, and does not allow the claim that Heraclides thought stringed instruments to appear earlier than wind ones.

them when listing inventors. An accusation of Hellenic chauvinism²⁵ is unfounded, given that the author did not exclude Thamyras the Thracian. It is more probable that identifying Amphion as the first citharode stemmed from Sicyonian patriotism,²⁶ but one cannot prove that the composer of the inscription knew the version that assigned this part to Orpheus²⁷ and consciously contradicted it.

One cannot rule out that, while Heraclides might have begun his *Συναγωγή* with an affirmation such as: “According to the inscription preserved in Sicyon, Amphion was the founder of citharody” (hence πιστοῦται in 1132 A), he might later have refuted these data. Possibly, this latter refutation might have been lost due to incompetence on behalf of the compiler. On the other hand, one cannot be sure that Heraclides’ (or any other author’s) views always remained consistent.

Finally, it is not impossible that Orpheus did feature in the Sicyonian chronicle somewhere after the list of poets contemporary to Amphion. Ancient dating of mythological characters often varies widely: while the *Suida* places Orpheus eleven generations earlier than the fall of Troy,²⁸ his participation in the expedition of the Argonauts allowed the chronographers to place him in the generation immediately preceding the Trojan war.²⁹ The same *Suida* claims that Orpheus was a pupil of Linus, which would put him in the second generation of citharodes according to the Sicyonian version; whereas in Ps.-Apollod. 1. 14 Orpheus and Linus are brothers, sons of Oeager.

Be that as it may, the information we find in ch. 5 (which starts with the reference to Alexander Polyhistor) is incompatible³⁰ with that of the

²⁵ Weil–Reinach 1900, 10 § 24; 21 § 49. Barker 2014, 38; 41 addresses this incrimination to Heraclides himself, mainly based on his fragment (Athen. 14. 624 C = Heraclid. fr. 163 Wehrli), where the harmonies of barbaric origin are deprived of the very right to be called harmonies. It should be noted that the text of *De musica* does not confirm this charge: Thamyras draws no objections, and I believe that Hyagnis, Marsyas and Olympus miss Heraclides’ attention as instrumentalists and not as Phrygians.

²⁶ Jacoby 1955, 477; Lanata 1963, 283. Antiope, the mother of Zethus and Amphion, fled to Sicyon from Thebes and married the local king Epopeus (Ps.-Apollod. 3. 42).

²⁷ Here are other cases of ascribing musical inventions to Orpheus: sung poetry – Tatian. *Or. ad Graecos* 1. 1; cithara – Plin. *NH* 7. 204 (*Amphion, ut alii, Orpheus, ut alii, Linus*); Nicomach. *Excerpta* 1 (Orpheus was taught by Hermes and became the teacher of both Linus and Amphion); a certain string of the cithara – Diodor. 3. 59. 6.

²⁸ *Suida* ο 654 s.v. Ὀρφεύς: γέγονε δὲ πρὸ ἰα’ γενεῶν τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, καὶ φασὶ μαθητὴν γενέσθαι αὐτὸν Λίνου.

²⁹ See Ziegler 1939, 1207–1215 (ch. III, “Antike zeitliche Ansätze des Orpheus”).

³⁰ Franklin 2010–2011, 743; Barker 2014, 21; 23–24; Lucarini 2020, 75.

Sicyonian inscription: not only is Orpheus mentioned for the first time, but it is explicitly reported that there were no citharodes before him. Let us reflect on the source of this information.

- p. 4, 24 καὶ
τοῖς χρόνοις δὲ σφόδρα παλαιός ἐστι (sc. Terpander)· πρεσβύτερον γοῦν
αὐτὸν Ἀρχιλόχου ἀποφαίνει Γλαῦκος ὁ ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐν
συγγράμματι τινὶ περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν τε καὶ
p. 5, 1 μουσικῶν· φησὶ γάρ αὐτὸν δευτέρον γε-
νέσθαι μετὰ τοὺς πρώτους ποιήσαντας αὐλωδῖαν.
5. Ἀλέξανδρος δ' ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν περὶ Φρυγίας
κρούματα Ὀλυμπον ἔφη πρῶτον εἰς
5 τοὺς Ἑλληνας κομίσαι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἰδαίους Δακτύ- 1132 F
λους· Ὑάγνιν δὲ πρῶτον αὐλῆσαι, εἴτα τὸν τούτου υἱὸν
Μαρσύαν, εἴτ' Ὀλυμπον· ἐξηλωκέναι δὲ τὸν Τέρπανδρον
Ὀμήρου μὲν τὰ ἔπη, Ὀρφέως δὲ τὰ μέλη. ὁ δ' Ὀρφεὺς
οὐδένα φαίνεται μεμνημένος· οὐδεὶς γάρ πω γεγένητο,
10 εἰ μὴ οἱ τῶν αὐλωδικῶν ποιηταί· τούτοις δὲ κατ' οὐθὲν
τὸ Ὀρφικὸν ἔργον ἔοικε. | Κλονᾶς δ' ὁ τῶν αὐλωδικῶν 1133 A
νόμων ποιητής, ὁ ὀλίγω ὕστερον Τερπάνδρου γενόμενος,
ὥς μὲν Ἀρκάδες λέγουσι, Τεγεάτης ἦν, ὥς δὲ Βοιωτοί,
Θηβαῖος. μετὰ δὲ Τέρπανδρον καὶ Κλονᾶν Ἀρχιλόχος
15 παραδίδοται γενέσθαι.

A question arises, where the quotation from Alexander Polyhistor ends. Most scholars following R. Westphal³¹ trace it only up to εἴτ' Ὀλυμπον (p. 5, 7), on the grounds that a discussion of Terpander, Homer and Orpheus would be out of place in a work dedicated to Phrygia. Meanwhile, judging by way the speech is formed (*acc. cum inf.*), the quotation must go as far as to the words ἐξηλωκέναι δὲ τὸν Τέρπανδρον Ὀμήρου μὲν τὰ ἔπη, Ὀρφέως δὲ τὰ μέλη, which depend on ἔφη.³² On the other hand, the subsequent,

³¹ Westphal 1865, 67–69; Weil–Reinach 1900, 6–8 § 22–24; 21 § 48; Lasserre 1954, 155; Lanata 1963, 270–272; Barker 1984, 210 n. 33; Franklin 2010–2011, 743; Pöhlmann 2011, 16 n. 3; 25 n. 2; Gostoli 2015, 131; ead. 2020, 140. Voß 1896, 81 ends the quotation even earlier, at p. 5, 6 (Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους).

³² Those who think the contents of these lines incompatible with the *Phrygian Collection* of Polyhistor try to explain *acc. cum inf.* by either textual corruption or the compiler's inaccuracy. The most popular solution is that of Westphal 1865, 68 who considered the phrase Ἀλέξανδρος ... εἴτ' Ὀλυμπον (p. 5, 3–7) as a parenthesis (for his argument, see below p. 275). Hiller 1886, 404 claimed that the *acc. cum inf.* appeared by mistake of the compiler, who read ἐξήλωκε etc. in his source, but erroneously ascribed this statement to Polyhistor quoted immediately above (this made him conclude that Ps.-Plutarch used an intermediate source of the Imperial

grammatically independent phrase (p. 5, 8–11) is clearly linked to the previous one, as they share the same subject – the succession of citharodes. Moreover, it is the end of the argument over Orpheus which explains how a reference to instrumental aulos music found its way into this section (dealing with the composers of citharody and aulody), as well as why the citharodes featured in a passage dedicated to the Phrygian auletes: the author claims that Orpheus (who served as a model to Terpander) was not influenced by the composers who created music for wind instruments, in spite of living later than them. One can imagine that it is precisely the reference to Terpander that made the compiler insert this quotation here, in the section about the inventors of sung nomes, before proceeding from Terpander to Clonas and Polymnestus. Therefore, I conclude that the quotation from Alexander Polyhistor ends with *τούτοις δὲ κατ’ οὐθὲν τὸ Ὀρφικὸν ἔργον ἔοικε* (p. 5, 11).³³

C. M. Lucarini thinks that the quotation from *Συναγωγή τῶν περὶ Φρυγίας* seeks to refute the immediately preceding thesis of Glaucus: Alexander argued that Orpheus lived and worked in a period between the first aulodes and Terpander, whereas Glaucus believed that Terpander belonged to the generation that followed the first aulodes. This is what leads him to think that the quotation from Alexander goes up to *ἔοικε* (p. 5, 11).³⁴

However, it is clear from other references to Glaucus in the treatise that he acknowledged the activity of Orpheus and placed him before Terpander in the list of citharodes.

Ch. 7, 1133 E–F, p. 7, 10–16: “The fact that the Chariot nome was the invention of Olympus may be learned from Glaucus’ book about the ancient poets, which also informs us that Stesichorus of Himera took as his model not Orpheus or Terpander or Archilochus or Thaletas, but Olympus, since Stesichorus used the Chariot nome and the dactylic species of rhythm, which some people say is derived from the Orthian nome”.

period). Weil–Reinach 1900, 21 § 48 supposed that a later addition made by Plutarch himself was misplaced by a scribe. Barker 2009, 279 n. 17 thought the quotation from Alexander was an intruded marginal gloss aimed at explaining who were *τοὺς πρώτους ποιήσαντας αὐλῳδίαν*. To my mind, two circumstances make this unlikely: a scrupulous reference to Polyhistor indicating not only the author, but also the title of his book, and the repetition of the same data in ch. 7, where Ps.-Plutarch does not refer to Alexander.

³³ The quotation from Polyhistor is traced up to *ἔοικε* (p. 5, 11) by Jacoby *FrGrHist* 273 F 77 (who admits the possibility that the material of Alexander is used also below in ch. 5, p. 5, 11–15: Jacoby 1912, 1417, cf. id. 1943, 287) and Lucarini 2020, 75.

³⁴ Lucarini 2020, 75.

Ch. 10, 1134 D–E, p. 9, 4–11: “Glaucus says that Thaletas lived later than Archilochus, and that he imitated Archilochus’ songs, though extending them to a greater length; and he says that Thaletas incorporated paeonic and cretic rhythms in his compositions. These, he claims, had not been used by Archilochus, nor indeed by Orpheus or Terpander: it is from the auletics of Olympus that Thaletas is said to have developed them, and thus to have acquired his reputation as an excellent composer”.³⁵

As has been repeatedly noted, Glaucus ascribed an important part in the history of music to the Phrygian aulete Olympus and even claimed that he influenced sung poetry (namely Thaletas and Stesichorus).³⁶ Besides, it is evident that Glaucus placed the poets and musicians in chronological order, paid special attention to the influence of the earlier authors on those who came later, and based his conclusions on empirical analysis of their works.³⁷ As we see, the sequence Orpheus – Terpander – Archilochus – Thaletas, as deduced by Glaucus, occurs twice in *Περὶ μουσικῆς*. It is obvious that in 1133 F they are named in chronological order (Glaucus claims that Terpander is older than Archilochus in 1132 E, and that Archilochus is older than Thaletas in 1134 D). Thus, Glaucus could not deny Orpheus’ existence claiming that Terpander immediately followed Hyagnis, Marsyas and Olympus.

Of course, one could assume that Glaucus believed Orpheus and Olympus to be contemporaries, while placing Terpander in the next generation (although even in this case it would be more natural to compare Terpander with Orpheus than with Olympus). Yet one more consideration arises: the argument dealing with Orpheus in ch. 5 (p. 5, 7–11, a part of the quotation from Alexander, as was argued above) is itself almost certainly taken from Glaucus.³⁸ It perfectly matches the train of thought of the Rhegian scholar as seen in 1133 E–F and 1134 D–E – that is, the same problem of succession is being resolved concerning the same characters, and the conclusion is made that Terpander imitated Orpheus, who in

³⁵ Translation: Barker 1984, 212–213; 215, with minor changes. The Greek text will be analyzed in part IV (forthcoming in *Hyperboreus* 28: 1).

³⁶ Weil–Reinach 1900, XII; Huxley 1968, 50; Ercoles 2009, 161; 167; Barker 2014, 35.

³⁷ Hiller 1886, 406; 411; Weil–Reinach 1900, XII; Jacoby 1912, 1419–1429; Lanata 1963, 272; Presta 1965, 90–92; Barker 2007, 85–86; id. 2009, 283–284; id. 2014, 34–35; Franklin 2010–2011, 743.

³⁸ Westphal 1865, 67–68; accepted almost unanimously, e.g. by Hiller 1886, 403; Lanata 1963, 271–272; Huxley 1968, 49; Barker 1984, 210 n. 33; Franklin 2010–2011, 743; Gostoli 2015, 131.

his turn was free of any influence, particularly (an aspect Glaucus was especially interested in) from the influence of Olympus and the preceding auletes. Moreover, the conclusion that Orpheus owed nothing to wind music is made in a way typical of Glaucus: it is based on the comparison of the works attributed to him (τὸ Ὀρφικὸν ἔργον) with the alleged heritage of the Phrygian auletes.

Westphal supposed that Ps.-Plutarch, after inserting the statement of Alexander as a parenthesis, returned without warning to Glaucus' quotation making ἐξηλωκέναι δὲ τὸν Τέρπανδρον etc. governed by φησὶ γὰρ (p. 5, 1).³⁹ In this case the quotation from Polyhistor sought to explain that οἱ πρῶτοι ποιήσαντες αὐλωδίαν (p. 5, 2) were Hyagnis, Marsyas and Olympus (and the Idaean Dactyls⁴⁰). The same musicians are implied by οἱ τῶν αὐλωδικῶν ποιηταί (p. 5, 10). Since they are described as instrumentalists, Westphal proposed changing αὐλωδίαν to αὐλητικὴν and αὐλωδικῶν to αὐλητικῶν. However, at least two problems remain.

Firstly, the proposal of Westphal still leaves us with two mutually exclusive historical constructions, both attributed to Glaucus: with and without Orpheus between the first auletes and Terpander. This contradiction would be removed if one could understand δεύτερον μετὰ τοὺς πρῶτους ποιήσαντας αὐλωδίαν (or αὐλητικὴν) as indicating the *second* generation *after* Olympus, whereas Orpheus belonged to the *first* generation *after* him.⁴¹ Yet this seems impossible.⁴² One proof thereof is an analogous expression μετὰ ταύτην δευτέρα in 1131 D, where the Music is certainly the next, and not the third, discipline concerned with sound after the Grammar. I shall return to this problem in a little while.

Secondly, it remains unclear as to why whichever artist Glaucus is implying must be explained through a quotation from Polyhistor. The comparison with Orphic production surely concerns the Phrygian auletes, which means that Glaucus could not but mention them beforehand. Therefore, it makes more sense to take the construction Ἀλέξανδρος ... ἔφη ... ἐξηλωκέναι δὲ τὸν Τέρπανδρον etc. in its proper sense and to accept that the statement of Glaucus was adduced by Polyhistor.

³⁹ Westphal 1865, 68–69.

⁴⁰ Clem. *Strom.* 1. 15. 73 also quotes a point of view which makes the Idaean Dactyls wise men from Phrygia responsible for the invention of several musical rhythms.

⁴¹ Westphal 1865, 72.

⁴² Hiller 1886, 408. His own solution (*ibid.*, 408; 425, accepted by Jacoby 1912, 1418) is that the compiler made a mistake in his reckoning and erroneously believed that Glaucus' words concerned Terpander (who was called δεύτερος), rather than Orpheus.

Even if one imagines that Alexander had sufficient musical education (of which there is no evidence), he could hardly have made a comparison between τὸ Ὀρφικὸν ἔργον and Phrygian aulos-music himself: numerous examples of conjectural or erroneous arguments of ancient commentators⁴³ make it clear that the ancient nomes, which were still performed in the fifth and the fourth centuries,⁴⁴ were completely lost by the first century BC. No doubt a classical source was cited in *Συναγωγή τῶν περὶ Φρυγίας* on this point, and to all appearance this was *On Ancient Poets and Musicians* by Glaucus of Rhegium. Due to his attention to the role of the Phrygian Olympus in the history of Greek music, it was most suitable for Alexander to include this into his *Collection of Information about Phrygia*. One might even assume that Polyhistor did in fact mention Glaucus in this passage, but his name did not find its way into the treatise *On Music*, because the compiler retreated in the face of a stylistic difficulty – a necessity to provide, after two successive references to Glaucus and Alexander, an additional indication that Alexander, in his turn, quoted Glaucus. Otherwise, perhaps Polyhistor cited Glaucus' work extensively and for this reason did not make still another reference to him in the passage copied by Ps.-Plutarch.⁴⁵

If this is true, it follows that Glaucus placed Orpheus after Olympus (and certainly before Terpander) and thought that the Thracian citharode had the opportunity to borrow from the Phrygian aulete, who was his predecessor, but did not. In this case we need to rethink the correlation between this thesis of Glaucus and the one that is quoted in the end of ch. 4 (φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν δεύτερον γενέσθαι μετὰ τοὺς πρώτους ποιήσαντας ἀλφιδίαν).

It is now important to specify who is implied by τοὺς πρώτους ποιήσαντας ἀλφιδίαν (p. 5, 2). It should be emphasized that Ps.-Plutarch (unlike some other authors of the Roman time), following his sources, is consistent in distinguishing between αὔλησις (instrumental wind music) and ἀλφιδία (singing to the aulos accompaniment). The mythical Phrygian musicians Hyagnis, Marsyas and Olympus are depicted in *Περὶ μουσικῆς*

⁴³ In particular see on the nomes of Olympus: Many-headed (1133 D) – *Schol. Eur. Or.* 1384; *Phot. Lex.* α 2835 Theodoridis; *Etym. magn.* p. 145. 25–47 Gaisford; Hesych. α 7302 Latte; Eustath. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* IV 640 van der Valk; *Suid.* α 3967; Chariot (1133 E) – *Schol. Pind. Pyth.* 12, 39 a, vol. II p. 268. 8–15 Dr.

⁴⁴ E. g. the music ascribed to Olympus was well known to Aristophanes (*Equ.* 9–10) and Glaucus (Ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 7, 1133 F), Plato (*Symp.* 215 c) and Aristoxenus (Ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 11, 1134 F – 1135 C).

⁴⁵ I owe this explanation to Prof. A. Verlinsky.

exclusively as auletes.⁴⁶ Aulodes and the inventors of aulodic nomes that feature in the treatise are Clonas and Polymnestus (and Ardalos as an alternative version, 1133 A).⁴⁷ This did not go unnoticed by those editors⁴⁸ that accepted the conjecture αὐλητικὴν in place of αὐλωδίαν, wishing it to be a reference to the legendary Phrygian musicians.⁴⁹

Only one case contradicts Ps.-Plutarch's common word usage:⁵⁰ in Alexander Polyhistor's quotation, Hyagnis, Marsyas and Olympus are identified in the manuscripts as οἱ τῶν αὐλωδικῶν ποιηταί (p. 5, 10). No wonder Westphal proposed the conjecture αὐλητικῶν; however, it does not remove all difficulties. Besides a semantic error,⁵¹ the manuscript text is suspect for the use of the adjective αὐλωδικῶν as a substantive, which is attested neither in the treatise *On Music* nor in any other ancient text. The word αὐλητική can mean αὐλητικὴ τέχνη, but not in plural, and besides, nowhere else does Ps.-Plutarch use it as a substantive.⁵² Hence

⁴⁶ 1132 F: Ὑαγνιν δὲ πρῶτον αὐλῆσαι; 1133 D: Ὀλυμπον, αὐλητὴν ὄντα τῶν ἐκ Φρυγίας, ποιῆσαι νόμον αὐλητικὸν...; *ibid.*: οὗτος γὰρ (sc. Olympus) παιδικὰ γενόμενος Μαρσύου καὶ τὴν αὐλῆσιν μαθὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ; 1133 E: εἶναι δ' αὐτὸν (sc. Marsyam) Ὑάγνιδος υἱόν, τοῦ πρώτου εὐρόντος τὴν αὐλητικὴν τέχνην; 1134 E (a quotation from Glaucus): ἐκ τῆς Ὀλύμπου αὐλήσεως. Cf. 1132 E: Olympus brought instrumental music (κρούματα, see Huchzermeyer 1931, 5–6; Thiemer 1979, 70–72; Barker 1984, 109–110 n. 30) to Greece.

⁴⁷ 1132 C: Κλονᾶν, τὸν πρῶτον συστήσασθαι τοὺς αὐλωδικοὺς νόμους; 1132 D: Οἱ δὲ νόμοι οἱ κατὰ τοὺτους ... αὐλωδικοὶ ἦσαν; 1133 A: Κλονᾶς δ' ὁ τῶν αὐλωδικῶν νόμων ποιητής; *ibid.*: Ἀρδαλον ... πρότερον Κλονᾶ τὴν αὐλωδικὴν συστήσασθαι μοῦσαν; 1134 D: Καὶ Πολύμνηστος δ' αὐλωδικοὺς νόμους ἐποίησεν.

⁴⁸ Westphal 1865; Weil–Reinach 1900.

⁴⁹ However, Ps.-Plutarch (and Glaucus in the passages quoted by him) does use not the substantivated αὐλητική, but αὐλητικὴ τέχνη (1133 E) or αὐλησις (1134 E). – The conjecture κιθαρωδίαν (Bury) implies a reference either to Orpheus, according to Polyhistor's version (which does not suit the plural τοὺς πρώτους ποιήσαντας, since in Polyhistor Orpheus had no predecessors among the citharodes), or the sequence from Amphion up to Demodocus and Phemius, according to Heraclides (which makes the reference too vague: it is not clear how to define the bounds between τοὺς πρώτους and the rest of citharodes, if the Homeric singers belong to the category of πρῶτοι, and Terpander does not join it).

⁵⁰ The manuscript reading αὐλωδικούς in ch. 7, 1133 D, p. 6, 21 is an evident scribal mistake, and its correction to αὐλητικούς by Volkmann 1856 has never created any doubt.

⁵¹ The admission (Guhrauer 1880, 692, accepted by Hiller 1886, 407) that αὐλωδική meant all archaic aulos music for Glaucus and Heraclides, since singing to the aulos has essentially disappeared and been replaced by solo aulos-playing in their time, is certainly unfounded (for evidence on αὐλωδία in the classical period see Almazova 2008, 11–12; 14).

⁵² See above n. 49.

the attempts to change ἀλφδικῶν to ἀλητικῶν νόμων (Bergk) and to ἀλφδιῶν (Voß). Meanwhile, we clearly have a mechanical mistake here: the scribe's eye slipped to the line below where Clonas is called ὁ τῶν ἀλφδικῶν νόμων ποιητής (p. 5, 11–12). I would tentatively propose the changing οἱ τῶν ἀλφδικῶν ποιηταί in line 10 to οἱ ἀληταί or οἱ πρῶτοι ἀληταί (such an expression as οἱ τῆς ἀλήσεως ποιηταί would provide still more similarity to the next line, but it has no parallels). After removing this mistake, the use of the terms 'aulete', 'aulode' and their derivatives becomes quite consistent in Ps.-Plutarch's treatise, so "the first creators of ἀλφδία" (p. 5, 2) cannot refer to the Phrygian auletes.

Let us also take into account that by the end of ch. 4, Lysias, who delivers the first speech, has only listed the composers of ἀλφδία to his audience – he has not yet introduced the founders of αὔλησις. Meanwhile the reference to τοὺς πρῶτους ποιήσαντας ἀλφδιαν, without indicating definite names, should rather point to characters that have already been mentioned. (I admit that this argument is of secondary value, since Ps.-Plutarch is notoriously capable of logical inaccuracy.)

One might admit⁵³ that the first authors of aulodic nomes (Clonas and Polymnestus) need not be the inventors of aulody in its entirety, so there may be some mythical predecessors who are being implied by Glaucus. An analogy with the art of singing to the cithara (Amphion being the first citharode, and Terpander the first author of citharodic nomes) makes this theoretically possible, but in this case one has to rely on evidence other than Ps.-Plutarch. E. Hiller thinks of Hyagnis and Marsyas as aulodes (based on scholia to Aeschylus⁵⁴), adds Ardalus (1133 A) to the mythical generation (since he is called the son of Hephaestus and the inventor of aulos in Pausanias⁵⁵) and separates them from Olympus, who is definitely an aulete. On the contrary, A. Gostoli proposes Olympus as the likely candidate, based upon *Suid.* ο 219 s.v. Ὀλυμπος, the only testimony of twenty four in Gentili–Prato (fr. 1) to ascribe poetry to him. However, hypothetical first aulodes are never named in *De musica* – Hyagnis, Marsyas and Olympus are surely instrumentalists in Ps.-Plutarch.⁵⁶

⁵³ Hiller 1886, 406–408; Bergk 1914, 4; Huchzermeyer 1931, 4; Gostoli 1990, 74; Almazova 2008, 19 n. 85.

⁵⁴ *Sch. Aesch. Pers.* 940: τὸν δὲ Μαριανδυνὸν αὐξῆσαι μάλιστα τὴν θρηνητικὴν ἀλφδιαν, καὶ διδάξαι Ὑαγνιν τὸν Μαρσύου πατέρα.

⁵⁵ Paus. 2. 31. 3: οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἱερὸν Μουσῶν ἐστί, ποιῆσαι δὲ ἔλεγον αὐτὸ Ἄρδαλον παῖδα Ἥφαιστου· καὶ αὐλὸν τε εὐρεῖν νομίζουσι τὸν Ἄρδαλον τοῦτον... The only mention of Ardalus in Ps.-Plutarchus originated not in Glaucus: see below n. 65.

⁵⁶ See above n. 46.

It is therefore natural to think that τοὺς πρώτους ποιήσαντας αὐλωδίας refer to Clonas and Polymnestus. However, Glaucus could hardly prove the antiquity of Terpander by placing him after these musicians. It is true that neither aulode is called by name in quotations supplied with a direct reference to Glaucus. Still the compiler twice – and relatively near the passage under review (in ch. 4 and 5) – reproduces the point of view⁵⁷ that Clonas is younger than Terpander.⁵⁸ If the chronological calculations of Glaucus contradicted this view, even Ps.-Plutarch could hardly adduce them here without any comments.

The solution of the problem is to refer αὐτὸν in the expression αὐτὸν δεύτερον γενέσθαι (p. 5, 1) not to Terpander, but to Archilochus who had just been mentioned previously.⁵⁹ The confusion is caused by the inaccurate wording of Ps.-Plutarch: he failed to take into account that the previous αὐτὸν (πρεσβύτερον γοῦν αὐτὸν Ἀρχιλόχου, p. 4, 26) referred to Terpander and did not adduce the complete chronological calculation. The train of thought indistinctly recounted by the compiler can be reconstructed as follows: “Terpander is a very ancient poet; at least (γοῦν), he is older than Archilochus,⁶⁰ which is clear from Glaucus, who argues that Archilochus belongs to the generation after the first aulodes, [and Terpander is older than these aulodes]”. This interpretation is backed up by the passage that follows the quotation from Alexander (ch. 5, 1133 A, p. 5, 14–15): μετὰ δὲ Τέρπανδρον καὶ Κλονᾶν Ἀρχίλοχος παραδίδοται γενέσθαι. Apparently, in both cases we have the exposition of the same statement of Glaucus.⁶¹

If understood in this way (and I see no other way of understanding), the quotation from ch. 4 helps to make several conclusions about Glaucus’ work and its use by the later authors. Firstly, it follows that Glaucus referred to Clonas. This means that the name of Clonas cannot prove that we are dealing with the information of the Sicyonian chronicle, nor

⁵⁷ This is undoubtedly the view of Heraclides, since it is adduced in ch. 4 concerning the list of nomes taken from the Sicyonian chronicle.

⁵⁸ 1132 D: οἱ δὲ τῆς κιθαρωδίας νόμοι πρότερον <οὐ> πολλῷ χρόνῳ τῶν αὐλωδικῶν κατεστάθησαν ἐπὶ Τέρπανδρου; 1133 A: Κλονᾶς ... ὁ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον Τέρπανδρου γενόμενος.

⁵⁹ Thus tentatively Gostoli 1990, 74; ead. 2015, 130 n. 4.

⁶⁰ Polemics concerning the chronological correlation of Terpander and Archilochus dates back to the fourth and even the fifth century: Hellanicus considered Terpander a contemporary of Midas, whereas Phaenias of Eresus argued that Archilochus and Leschus were older than Terpander (Athen. 14. 635 E; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1. 21. 131).

⁶¹ The reason for adducing it twice is probably that the first time the compiler was dealing with Terpander, and the second time with Clonas.

of Heraclides who followed it (*pace* Lucarini⁶²). The same conclusion suggests itself for Polymnestus, but in this case more caution is required: it was indicated above that Polymnestus was younger than Clonas (1132 C: τὸν μετὰ τοῦτον γενόμενον, cf. 1132 D: ὕστερῳ δὲ χρόνῳ καὶ τὰ Πολυμνήστεια καλούμενα ἐξευρέθη), that is, strictly speaking, he ought to be a contemporary and not a predecessor of Archilochus. Perhaps the words τοὺς πρώτους ποιήσαντας αὐλωδία in Ps.-Plutarch is a periphrastic indication of Clonas alone.⁶³ It should be noted that according to ch. 5 Archilochus lived “after Terpander and Clonas” and not “after Clonas and Polymnestus”.

Secondly, I do not reject the common conception that for Glaucus, the history of music began with wind and not stringed instruments,⁶⁴ but this concept must rest upon the information garnered in ch. 5, rather than ch. 4. Meanwhile, in ch. 5, the claim that only auletes existed before Orpheus makes no explicit reference to the Rhegian scholar. Therefore, as we ascribe this point of view to Glaucus, we deal not with an attested fact, but with a result of reconstruction.

Thirdly, as was already noted, the juxtaposition of Glaucus’ fragment from ch. 4 with the phrase μετὰ δὲ Τέρπανδρον καὶ Κλονᾶν Ἀρχιλόχος παραδίδεται γενέσθαι (ch. 5, 1133 A) allows us to identify the latter as one more, latent quotation from Glaucus.⁶⁵ It is from his work that the placing of poets before and after Archilochus is borrowed: this poet forms part of his “sequence of citharodes”, and all the other cases of dating poets in relation to Archilochus in the treatise (ch. 4, 1132 E and ch. 10, 1134 D–E) are adduced with references to Glaucus.⁶⁶

Finally, information concerning Clonas, a native of Peloponnesus, compared to Polymnestus of Colophon and Archilochus of Paros, would hardly be appropriate in a treatise of Alexander Polyhistor dedicated to Phrygia (if only they lacked Phrygian influence in Glaucus’ eyes). Whereas references to Glaucus in 1133 F and 1134 D–E are concerned

⁶² Lucarini 2020, 76.

⁶³ Cf. the definition οἱ περὶ + *acc.* in 1134 C.

⁶⁴ E.g. Lanata 1963, 272–273; Presta 1965, 91; Power 2010, 238; Ercoles 2013, 547; 552; Gostoli 2020, 140.

⁶⁵ Some scholars (Westphal 1865, 71; Franklin 2010–2011, 743) trace the quotation from Glaucus without interruption until παραδίδεται γενέσθαι (p. 5, 15). Still it cannot be proven that the argument on the native land of Clonas also originated in Glaucus. The passage on Ardalus (p. 5, 15–17) marks the end of the quotation: it is provided with the reference to ἄλλοι δὲ τινες τῶν συγγραφέων, whereas the preceding παραδίδεται must refer to Glaucus.

⁶⁶ Lasserre 1954, 156 supposed that Archilochus was chosen as the starting point because he could be plausibly dated as a contemporary of Gyges.

with the influence of Olympus and thus could, in theory, belong to Alexander's book, the quotation on Archilochus and the first aulodes (1132 E, cf. 1133 A) must have been adduced by someone else. I share the accepted view that it was Heraclides, to whom the whole ch. 4 and the ch. 5 beginning from 1133 A (i.e. the whole chapter but the quotation from Alexander) must be traced. Now, if the assumption that Alexander exposed Glaucus' point of view concerning the models of Orpheus and Terpander is true, it follows that his book on ancient poets was used by both direct sources of Ps.-Plutarch.

A parallel between Terpander and Homer is stated by Heraclides in ch. 3 (1132 C), so addressing the same subject seems to prove that chapters 4 (1132 D–E) and 6 (1134 C) also derive from Heraclides.⁶⁷ My analysis leads us to the conclusion that Glaucus also considered Terpander an imitator of Homer (p. 5, 7–8). The reason for this accordance might be that the Pontic scholar knew the work of the Rhegian, but it seems more likely that the similarity of Terpander's verse to the epic poetry of Homer was evident to everyone, such that Heraclides noticed it himself, without having to refer to Glaucus.

II

The next passage dealing with the history of instrumental music is in ch. 7–8 (1133 D – 1134 A). The way of representing the *nomes* changes radically: whereas ch. 4 contained simple lists of names, with only the authors indicated in addition, here the *nomes* are enumerated one by one, and with comments (although here too, the main emphasis is on debated authorship). I believe⁶⁸ that Ps.-Plutarch felt it necessary to adduce a list of auletic *nomes* in his treatise, analogous to that of the citharodic and aulodic *nomes*, but he did not find such a list in his sources and so tried to form it himself, extracting the names of the *nomes* from books on other matters.

The authorship of Polyhistor⁶⁹ is denoted by the close affinity of subject. Here, in a section dedicated to instrumental music, the discussion

⁶⁷ Wilamowitz 1903, 89; Barker 1984, 211 n. 42; Gostoli 1990, 20; 97–98 (T32); 22 (T34); Ercoles 2008, 130 n. 11; Barker 2009, 100; Power 2010, 241.

⁶⁸ Almazova 2016, 26–28.

⁶⁹ Weil–Reinach 1900, VI n. 1 and Jacoby 1904, 52; id. 1943, 287 (*FGrHist* 273 F 77 Komm.) attribute to Alexander Polyhistor 1133 E, p. 7, 7–10 (τὸν δὲ Μαρσύαν – αὐλητικὴν τέχνην). Voß 1896, 81 adds to these lines p. 6, 26 – 7, 2 (οὗτος γὰρ – τῶν θεῶν). Wilamowitz 1994, 286 n. 2 also traced the data of ch. 7 (not specified) back to Polyhistor.

turns again to the auletes Hyagnis, Marsyas and Olympus, and the same information is reproduced as was borrowed from Alexander in ch. 5: Hyagnis is the *πρῶτος εὐρετής* of auletics, Marsyas is his son (p. 7, 9–10), while Olympus is the first to introduce the art of aulos-playing to the Greeks (p. 6, 27 – 7, 1). One auletic nome is named in ch. 8 as well, but since no “Phrygian trace” can be noted there and the musicians under review come from other regions, I think that the extract from Polyhistor is limited to ch. 7.⁷⁰ Ps.-Plutarch found only two auletic nomes in his book – naturally those ascribed to Olympus, that is, the Many-headed and the Chariot nomes.

It is hardly possible to state what information of Polyhistor’s is founded in the work of Glaucus. One can only cautiously assume that Glaucus did not limit himself to discussing Olympus and postulated, as he was wont to, a certain succession of Phrygian musicians, since the plural is used when speaking of auletes who preceded Orpheus (p. 5, 10). The achievements of the three legendary Phrygians get confused in the catalogues of discoveries⁷¹ – hence the later chroniclers felt the need to systematize the correspondence between them postulating ‘father–son’ or ‘teacher–pupil’ relations. F. Jacoby thought that in the system accepted by Glaucus there was no Hyagnis, and though his own argument is not satisfactory,⁷² this is possible, for the idea of Olympus as the pupil of Marsyas is safely attested in the classical period,⁷³ while Hyagnis is far

⁷⁰ I think it possible that evidence from the end of ch. 6 and the beginning of ch. 8 sat together in Heraclides. Both passages mention Hipponax, perhaps both times in a chronological context: his reference to Mimnermus could prove that he lived later. Once adduced, this quotation led Heraclides to argue that elegiac poetry was sung to the aulos accompaniment in ancient times, and thus the poets who composed it ought to master this instrument. Such a subject would account for dealing with auletics in Heraclides’ book: instrumental music only interested him in connection with poetry. Ps.-Plutarch, in his turn, took his cue from a mention of the Fig nome to insert a list of auletic nomes.

⁷¹ Jacoby 1904, 50–51. E.g., inventor of the Phrygian harmony: Hyagnis – Aristoxen. fr. 78 Wehrli (apud Athen. 14. 624 B); Theophr. fr. 726 B app. FHS&G (apud Eustath. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* vol. III p. 907. 4–6 van der Valk); Marsyas – *Sch. Plat. Min.* 318 b; Clem. *Strom.* 1. 16. 76; all the three auletes – Anon. Bell. 28.

⁷² Jacoby 1904, 50. Jacoby thinks (with no sufficient grounds, see Almazova 2014, 536–537) that the Chariot nome, which Glaucus ascribes to Olympus, is the same as the nome of the Mother, which the Parian chronicle ascribes to Hyagnis.

⁷³ Cf. a painting by Polygnotus in the Lesche of the Cnidians in Delphi – see Paus. 10. 30. 9: ὑπὲρ τούτου (sc. Thamyræ) ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πέτρας καθεζόμενος Μαρσύας, καὶ Ὀλυμπος παρ’ αὐτὸν παιδὸς ἐστὶν ὠραίου καὶ αὐλεῖν διδασκομένου σχῆμα ἔχων. *Plat. Symp.* 215 c: ἃ γὰρ Ὀλυμπος ἡὔλει, Μαρσύου λέγω, τούτου διδάξαντος. The first clear representation of Olympus as a student of Marsyas in vase-painting is an

less rooted in tradition: he is first identified as a cultural hero (the inventor of the Phrygian harmony) by Aristoxenus and Theophrastus.⁷⁴

Besides, one gets the impression that Glaucus did not distinguish between two Olympi:⁷⁵ judging by quotations in *Περὶ μουσικῆς*, he never gave Olympus qualifying attributes such as “the first” “the elder”, “the one beloved by Marsyas” and so on. In particular, 1133 E is significant: the assertion that the Chariot nome was created by the first Olympus is adduced with a reference to an anonymous source (λέγεται), next come facts about Marsyas (who had nothing to do with this nome), and only after this does the author appeal to Glaucus’ authority in order to prove that this piece was composed by Olympus (ὅτι δ’ ἐστὶν Ὀλύμπου ὁ Ἀρμάτειος νόμος, ἐκ τῆς Γλαύκου συγγραφῆς ... μάθοι ἅν τις) – but not the fact that it was the elder Olympus.

In ch. 7 only one of the authors who distinguished between two Olympi – Pratinas – is referred to by name; other references are anonymous (λέγεται, φασιν). The synopsis in Ps.-Plutarch is not only disorderly – it contains an inner contradiction. The numbers I have inserted in square brackets point to different versions adduced in the treatise:

- p. 6, 21 [1] λέγεται γὰρ τὸν προειρημέ-
νον Ὀλυμπον, αὐλητὴν ὄντα τῶν ἐκ Φρυγίας, ποιῆσαι νό-
μον αὐλητικὸν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν καλούμενον Πολυκέ-
φαλον· [2] εἶναι δὲ τὸν Ὀλυμπον τοῦτόν φασιν ἓνα τῶν ἀπὸ
25 τοῦ πρώτου Ὀλύμπου τοῦ Μαρσίου <μαθητοῦ>, πεποιη-
κότος εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς νόμους· οὗτος γὰρ παιδικὰ γενό-
μενος Μαρσίου καὶ τὴν αὐλησιν μαθὼν παρ’ αὐτοῦ, τοὺς 1133 E
p. 7, 1 νόμους τοὺς ἁρμονικοὺς ἐξήνεγκεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα οἷς
<ἔτι καὶ> νῦν χρῶνται οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς τῶν θεῶν. [3] ἄλλοι
δὲ Κράτητος εἶναι φασὶ τὸν Πολυκέφαλον νόμον, γενομέ-
νου μαθητοῦ Ὀλύμπου· [4] ὁ δὲ Πρατίνας Ὀλύμ-
που φησὶν εἶναι τοῦ νεωτέρου τὸν νόμον τοῦτον.

Thus, the first opinion adduced [1] is that the “above-mentioned” Olympus was the author of the Many-headed nome. The aforementioned Olympus (in ch. 5) was the third aulete after Hyagnis and Marsyas, and therefore, undoubtedly the elder. The following claim [2] contradicts the one just made: “*this* (i.e. the aforementioned) Olympus is said to

Apulian calyx crater of the 4th cent. BC, see Herrmann 1975, Pl. 32, 3; 5 (according to Herrmann 1975, 89, Polygnotus’ *Nekyia* could be its prototype).

⁷⁴ Jacoby 1904, 52–53. See n. 71.

⁷⁵ Lucarini 2020, 79.

be one of the descendants of the first Olympus”, – and then, instead of concentrating on the newly introduced younger Olympus, all attention is focused on the elder man (although he did not compose the Many-headed nome, according to the version considered in that moment).⁷⁶ The third opinion [3] is that the Many-headed nome was an invention of Crates, a pupil of Olympus (it is not clear, of which one). Finally, a claim of Pratinas [4] that the younger Olympus was the author of this nome is added. The claim repeats what is already mentioned [2], but presents it as new information.

In order to remove the contradiction between [1] and [2], Lucarini⁷⁷ proposed athetizing προειρημένον (p. 6, 21–22). Yet this solution does not spare us all the difficulties: in this case, in [1], [2] and [4] the same author of the Many-headed nome, namely the younger Olympus, would be proposed. Meanwhile, the reference to Pratinas [4] seems to be refuting the attribution of the Many-headed nome to the elder Olympus – which means that the latter ought to be called its author somewhere above. Besides, referring to a nome by the first Olympus in [1] would suit the context better: in line with aulodic and citharodic nomes, Ps.-Plutarch is likely to have named first the works of the inventor of the genre.

In order to make the affirmation [2] opposed and not carrying on with [1] both by contents and formally, I propose to change εἶναι to ἔνιοι in the phrase (p. 6, 24) εἶναι δὲ τὸν Ὀλυμπόν τοῦτόν φασι (cf. references to ἔνιοι in 1133 D and 1141 B). This emendation only slightly improves the illogical and inconsistent composition of the passage on the Many-headed nome. An ideal solution would be to eliminate any mention of the younger Olympus from [2] altogether⁷⁸ – in this case explanations considering the elder Olympus (p. 6, 25 – 7, 2) would not seem an irrelevant digression, and a reference to Pratinas [4], a repetition. However, anyone acquainted with Ps.-Plutarch’s style is aware that such

⁷⁶ Wilamowitz 1994, 286 n. 2 (= 1931, 292 n. 1): “An der ersten Stelle [sc. ch. 7, p. 6, 25] muß S. 493, 22 Bern. Μαρσύου gestrichen werden, denn der erste Olympos, der Erfinder der νόμοι, ist παιδικά des Marsyas, der zweite ist Nachkomme des ersten und führt die κρούματα nur bei den Hellene ein, Kap. 5”. However, this is a mistake made through lack of attention: according to the text (ch. 5, p. 5, 4–5 and ch. 7, p. 6, 26 – 7, 2), it was the same first Olympus who delivered κρούματα to the Greeks.

⁷⁷ Lucarini 2020, 78 n. 22.

⁷⁸ E.g. one could suppose substantial corruption of the text, including a lacuna, and restore its contents as follows: some people claim that there was only one Olympus (ἕνα) and do not distinguish the second Olympus from the first (ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου). Westphal 1865, 6–7, followed by Weil–Reinach 1900, 30–31, placed εἶναι – νόμου (p. 6, 24–26) after τὸν νόμον τοῦτον (p. 7, 5).

shortcomings are typical of him,⁷⁹ so we have no grounds to get rid of them by means of textual criticism. Moreover, I admit that even the contradiction between [1] and [2] can result not from a scribe's mistake, but from that of the compiler himself, who did not verify which Olympus was mentioned above and just mechanically copied the word *προειρημένον* from Polyhistor.⁸⁰

The fact that Ps.-Plutarch lost his train of thought and adduced details about the elder Olympus that were inappropriate to a discussion of the Many-headed nome, and details about Marsyas that were irrelevant to the Chariot nome, proves that the nomes did not form the main subject matter of his source, but were mentioned in passing, whereas the focus was on the succession and interrelation of musicians.

Ps.-Plutarch's data shows that Alexander's book on Phrygia contained a section dedicated to the Phrygian music and its influence upon the Greek one. The author claimed the Phrygian origin of the art of aulos-playing. He communicated available evidence on the *πρῶτοι εὐρεταί* of auletics – Hyagnis, Marsyas and Olympus, including the 'father – son' and 'teacher – pupil' relations, which helped to restore their succession, and achievements ascribed to them (with alternative attributions of famous pieces).

Let us revise once more the reasons that allow considering Glaucus as the source of Polyhistor. In ch. 5 Alexander is mentioned by name and Glaucus can be recognized from the contents of the passage which is analogous to two quotations of his work (and it was the book of Alexander that contained this passage, as the grammatical structure of the phrase clearly shows). In contrast, in ch. 7, Polyhistor can be identified by the contents that correspond to the quotation in ch. 5, while Glaucus is named in a reference that forms an organic part of the discussion (his authority confirms the argumentation). Finally, since Glaucus traced the role of the Phrygian Olympus in the history of Greek music, his data fitted quite well with the subject of Alexander's treatise. To my mind, all this makes the assumption that Polyhistor used Glaucus quite probable.

⁷⁹ Cf., e.g., a digression on Marsyas in a report about the nome of Olympus: p. 7, 7–10; a repetition of the data from 1132 D in 1133 A, p. 5, 19–21: *περὶ δὲ Κλονᾶ ὅτι τὸν Ἀπόθετον νόμον καὶ Σχοινίωνα πεποιηκὼς εἶη μνημονεύουσιν οἱ ἀναγεγραφότες*.

⁸⁰ Cf. his notorious references to "present-day" music and musicians copied from his sources such as Heraclides and Aristoxenus: see Weil–Reinach 1900, V; D'Alfonso 1980, 137 n. 2; Ercoles 2009, 136. The most blatant case is 1138 A (Antigenides and Dorion are called *οἱ νῦν*, see Barker 1984, 226 n. 138 on their lifetime); cf. 1133 B (with the commentary of Barker 1984, 111 n. 42), 1133 E, 1135 B, 1135 D, 1136 B, 1137 F, 1138 B bis, 1140 D, 1140 E (see Barker 1984, 233 n. 174, 176); 1141 B, 1145 A.

An additional remark seems appropriate. In scholarly literature the notion of Glaucus' partiality to wind music has almost become *opinio communis*.⁸¹ However, if Ps.-Plutarch got his information from *Collection of Information about Phrygia*, this impression may be misleading. There is no doubt that Glaucus ascribed an important part in the history of music to the aulos, and there is certainly polemical ardor in his judgments, but the general picture may be distorted if Polyhistor intentionally selected quotations dealing with Olympus' influence. As we have seen, Glaucus relates without prejudice that the Phrygian tradition did not influence Orpheus (1132 F), and below (1134 D) he calls Archilochus Thaletas' model alongside with Olympus.

To be continued.

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⁸¹ Weil–Reinach 1900, XII supposed that he came from a family of auletes. Jacoby 1912, 1419; id. 1941, 100 n. 1 and Huxley 1968, 50 believed he was a professional aulete himself. Barker 2014, 44–45 assumed that Glaucus' polemics aimed at supporting those auletes who represented the "New Music". See also Lanata 1963, 276; Gostoli 2015, 132; ead. 2020, 140; 141; Lucarini 2020, 82.

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The role of Alexander Polyhistor as the source of Ps.-Plut. *De mus.* seems underestimated. The paper argues that in ch. 3–10 of his treatise the compiler regularly used Alexander to address the history of instrumental music (ignored by Heraclides of Pontus). Two mutually incompatible historical constructions, one identifying Amphion as the first citharode (ch. 3), and the other Orpheus (ch. 5),

betray two different sources, neither of which took the other into account. These are most probably Heraclides and Alexander. The latter, in his turn, based his description of Phrygian impact in Greek music on the data of Glaucus of Rhegium, and it is from his book that all Glaucus' quotations concerning the role of Olympus originate. A diffused assumption of Glaucus' partiality to wind music may be misleading, if Polyhistor intentionally chose data dealing with Olympus' influence for his "Collection of Information about Phrygia".

The first such quotation (ch. 5, p. 5, 7–11 Ziegler 1959) lacks the reference to Glaucus and must be attributed to him by its contents. The discrepancy between two phrases of Glaucus, one of which seemingly places Terpander immediately after the first inventors of aulos music, the other inserting Orpheus between them, is eliminated by (a) referring αὐτὸν δεύτερον γενέσθαι (p. 5, 1) to Archilochus instead of Terpander and (b) interpreting οἱ τῶν αὐλοδικῶν ποιηταί (p. 5, 10) as a scribe's mistake prompted by ὁ τῶν αὐλοδικῶν νόμων ποιητής immediately below (p. 5, 11–12).

The next passage taken from Polyhistor is ch. 7, as the shared subject with ch. 5 clearly shows. Its particularly chaotic composition may be due to the fact that the compiler tried to compose a list of auletic nomes, which were not organized in a list in any of his sources, but was distracted now and then by the topics discussed in the books he used. The incongruity consisting in a reference to "above-mentioned" Olympus as the second one – where he was really the first – may be removed by changing εἶναι to ἔνιοι in p. 6, 24. The reference to Glaucus confirms the argument and thus forms an organic part of Alexander's report on the Phrygian inventors of wind music. The mention of the instrumental Fig nome in ch. 8 lacks the "Phrygian trace" and was probably taken from Heraclides' discussion on the need for archaic elegiac poets to master aulos-playing.

At the same time, some of Glaucus' chronological calculations (such as p. 4, 25 – 5, 2 and 5, 14–15) could be cited by Heraclides as well. If so, his treatise on ancient poets and musicians remained an important reference book for a certain period.

Роль Александра Полигистора как источника трактата Псевдо-Плутарха "О музыке" представляется недооцененной. В статье доказывается, что в гл. 3–10 компилятор регулярно использует труд Александра "Свод знаний о Фригии", обращаясь к истории инструментальной музыки (которой не интересовался другой его источник – Гераклид Понтийский). Две взаимоисключающие исторические схемы, в одной из которых первым кифаредом был Амфион (гл. 3), а в другой – Орфей (гл. 5), указывают на два разных источника, не учитывавшие друг друга. По всей вероятности, это Гераклид и Александр. Последний, в свою очередь, говоря о фригийском влиянии на греческую музыку, заимствовал данные у Главка из Регия, так что именно в его книге Псевдо-Плутарх нашел все цитаты из Главка о роли Олимпа. Распространенное представление о том, что Главк преимущественно ценил музыку для авла, возможно, неверно, если Полигистор умышленно отбирал для своего "Свода знаний о Фригии" только сведения о влиянии Олимпа.

В первой такой цитате (гл. 5, р. 5, 7–11 Ziegler 1959) нет упоминания о Главке, так что она атрибутируется ему по содержанию. Для того чтобы снять противоречие между двумя фразами Главка, в одной из которых, на первый взгляд, Терпандр отнесен к следующему поколению после первооткрывателей музыки для авла, а в другой между ними и Терпандром вставлен Орфей, нужно (а) относить αὐτὸν δεῦτερον γενέσθαι (р. 5, 1) к Архилоху, а не к Терпандру, и (б) признать οἱ τῶν αὐλοφδικῶν ποιηταί (р. 5, 10) ошибкой переписчика, спровоцированной словами ὁ τῶν αὐλοφδικῶν νόμων ποιητής в следующей строке (р. 5, 11–12).

Следующий пассаж, заимствованный у Полигистора, – гл. 7, как ясно показывает общее с гл. 5 содержание. Особая беспорядочность композиции этой главы, видимо, связана с тем, что компилятор не нашел готового списка авлетических номов ни в одном из своих источников и предпринял попытку составить его самостоятельно, но постоянно сбивался на темы, которые обсуждались в использованных им книгах. В тексте говорится о “вышеупомянутом” Олимпе как о младшем, хотя выше упоминался старший, – чтобы снять это противоречие, предлагается заменить εἶναι на ἔνιοι (р. 6, 24). Ссылка на Главка служит для подкрепления аргументации и составляет неотъемлемую часть рассказа Александра о первооткрывателях духовой музыки. В сообщении об авлетическом смоковничном номе в гл. 8 отсутствует “фригийский след”, так что он был, вероятно, упомянут Гераклидом, рассуждавшим о том, что древние авторы элегической поэзии должны были уметь играть на авле.

В то же время, некоторые хронологические выкладки Главка (в частности, р. 4, 25 – 5, 2; р. 5, 14–15) мог приводить и Гераклид. Если так, трактат Главка о древних поэтах и музыкантах некоторое время оставался незамеченным “справочным изданием”.

Anastasiia Pavlova

REATTRIBUTING
HERACL. PONT. F 102 SCHÜTR.*

Heraclides of Pontus, whose prolificacy and scientific versatility have been well-known until the late antiquity, wrote several pieces on Homer, including two books of *Λύσεις Ὀμηρικαί* (*Solutions of Homeric Problems*) according to Diogenes Laertius (5. 88). The very name makes it clear that the work belonged to the well-known philological genre of resolving inconsistencies in the Homeric poems.¹ Five or six of the extant Heraclides' fragments are usually supposed to have their origin in *Λύσεις Ὀμηρικαί* (F 171–175 Wehrli = 99–104 Schütrumpf; Schütrumpf also adds fragment 103 to Wehrli's list), all of them are found in Homeric scholia and can be traced back to Porphyrius' *Ζητήματα Ὀμηρικά*.

In this paper, I would like to dwell on fragments F 101 and F 102 Schütrumpf cited below and challenge the way they are traditionally considered. Historically, F 101 and F 102 have been placed together because both discuss Telemachus' speech in the second book of the *Odyssey*; however, as other evidence suggests, the latter fragment can be reasonably attributed to a different work of Heraclides, as elaborated below.

F 101 is dedicated to the inconsistency of how much Penelope's suitors had there been.

F 101 Schütrumpf (= 173 Wehrli):²

ἐκατὸν δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ σχεδὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ὄντων μνηστήρων, ἀπὸ
τούτων δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰθάκης 'δυοκαίδεκα πάντες ἄριστοι' (*Od.* 16. 251)
ῥηθέντων, ζητεῖ Ἡρακλείδης, πῶς ὁ Τηλέμαχος κατασμικρύνει ἐν τῇ
δημηγορίᾳ, συστέλλων τὸ πλῆθος εἰς μόνους τοὺς Ἰθακησίους. τί γάρ
φησι;

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¹ On *Λύσεις* see comprehensive article by Gudeman 1927, especially Sp. 2511–2521; see also Pfeiffer 1968, 69–70; Heath 2002, 253.

² Here and onwards quoted after Schütrumpf 2008.

μητέρι μοι μνηστῆρες ἐπέχραον οὐκ ἐθελούση,
τῶν ἀνδρῶν φίλοι υἱες, οἳ ἐνθάδε γ' εἰσὶν ἄριστοι (*Od.* 2. 50–51).

τὸ γὰρ πολὺ φορτίον τῆς μνηστείας περιήρηκε συστείλας τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τοὺς ἐνθάδε, τοὺς ὄντας ἐλάχιστον μέρος τοῦ παντὸς πλήθους.

When it is stated that there are about one hundred and eighteen suitors and “twelve all of them noblest” are said to be from the Ithaca, Heraclides inquires why Telemachus in his speech to the assembly lessens the whole number and reduces it to the Ithacian suitors only. Because what does he say? “The suitors assaulted my mother who did not want it, / the own sons of the men, who are noblest here”. For he takes away a large part of the burden caused by this wooing, reducing the amount to those from Ithaca who make the smallest part of the whole number.³

Porphyrus solves this problem as follows: Telemachus talks to the Itacians, that is why he mentions their sons only; had he mentioned all the other suitors, it could have been a mere excuse for the Itacians’ sons because, representing the minority of all the suitors, they would have turned out to be not the only people who had done something reprehensible.⁴ Porphyrus does not mention whose explanation he cites, whether his own, or Heraclides’, or someone else’s. It cannot be proven, but, as Heraclides’ *Λύσεις Ὀμηρικαί* could have been written as a dialog,⁵ we can assume that it was Heraclides who proposed the solution as well as the statement of the problem.⁶ According to F. Wehrli, in the later epic tradition the quarrel happened exclusively between Odysseus and the Itacians, so there were no foreign suitors.⁷ The discrepancy in number of the suitors is a “classical” Homeric problem involving an inconsistency in the text.⁸

³ All translations are mine. – A. P.

⁴ Porphyrus, *Quaestiones Homericae ad Odysseam pertinentes* ad 2. 51 (Schraeder 1880, 26. 12 ff.).

⁵ Diogenes Laertius (5. 86) states that Heraclides wrote dialogues of great beauty and excellence and his type of dialogue was later appraised by Cicero (Gottschalk 1980, 9–11; Pavlova 2020, 49), however Diogenes’ testimony does not necessarily mean that all the treatises were written as dialogs.

⁶ A similar scenario can be observed in Antisthenes’ interpretations of Homer also cited in Porphyrus’ work. Both the statement of the problem and the solution are attributed to Antisthenes, so his original work is supposed to have been a dialog. See Prince 2015, 597.

⁷ Wehrli 1953, 122. Commentaries on the *Odyssey* also notice that foreign suitors are rarely mentioned in the poem (Heubeck–West–Hainsworth 1988, 133).

⁸ On Heraclides’ *Λύσεις* specifically see Wehrli 1968, 683; Podlecki 1968, 116–117; Gottschalk 1980, 137; Heath 2002, 255–263; Pavlova 2020.

The second fragment F 102 radically differs from the first one in terms of what exactly is being discussed.

F 102 Schütrumpf (= 174 Wehrli):

αἰτιᾶται ὁ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ τὸ τῆς Τηλεμάχου δημηγορίας ἀνοικονόμητον.
δέον γάρ, φησὶν, ἀξιοῦν καὶ ἱκετεύειν συνάρασθαι αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν τῶν
μνηστήρων τοῦ οἴκου ἀπαλλαγὴν, ὃ δὲ ἐπιπλήσσει λέγων

οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀνσχετὰ ἔργα τετεύχεται, οὐδ' ἔτι καλῶς
οἶκος ἐμὸς διόλωλε (*Od.* 2. 63–64).

καὶ τὸ ὅτι [εἰ] μὴ πάρεστιν ὁ πατήρ, ταῦτα πάσχειν, † ἐπανατεινόμενος †⁹

οὐ γὰρ ἔπ' ἀνὴρ
οἶος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔσκεν, ἀρὴν ἀπὸ οἴκου ἀμῦναι,
ἡμεῖς δ' οὐ νύ τι τοῖοι ἀμυνέμεν (*Od.* 2. 58–60).

καί, ἔτι πικροτέρου πρὸς τοὺς Ἰθακησίους ὄντος τοῦ λόγου, καὶ τὴν
ἀπειλὴν

ἄλλους τ' αἰδέσθητε, φησί, περικτίονας ἀνθρώπους,
θεῶν δ' ὑποδείσατε μῆνιν (*Od.* 2. 65–66).

Heraclides also censures Telemachus' unarranged speech to the assembly. For, Heraclides says, Telemachus should have asked and begged them to help him redeem his home from the suitors, but he attacks them saying “for things unendurable any longer have happened, and my house has been destroyed utterly and in an inglorious way”. He also censures that he (Telemachus) very prolixly says that he suffers it all because his father is absent “for there is no man, like Odysseus was, who could ward off the ruin from the house, and we are not such people, who could defend it”. And when the speech to Ithacians gets even more bitter, Heraclides censures also the threat “May you be ashamed, he says, before the other people who dwell around and may you fear the wreath of the gods”.

As already mentioned, scholars traditionally attribute F 102 to *Λύσεις Ὀμηρικαί*, like F. Wehrli who brings it in connection with the concepts

⁹ F. Wehrli enclosed the participle † ἐπανατεινόμενος † in cruces, Schütrumpf in his edition followed him. According to apparatus criticus in Schrader's edition, the alternative manuscript reading is the aorist participle of the same verb ἐπανατείνω. Its first meaning in LSJ is ‘to stretch out and hold up’, the second is ‘to brandish threateningly’. Applied to words and speech, a new meaning ‘to speak with prolixity’ later develops – LSJ takes Dionysius of Halicarnassus as an example (*Dion. Halic. Rh.* 8. 14: καὶ ἐπανατεινόμενος λόγους τινὰς θαυμαστοὺς ὡς ἐρῶν). While Heraclides' text is retold by Porphyrius and then rewritten by a scholiast, this word usage typical for later authors might be not that dubious.

of *καῖρός* and *πρέπον* in IV century BC rhetorics. Adding on that, M. Heath,¹⁰ who wrote on Heraclides and Porphyrius as well (especially on his rhetorical studies), further suggests that both Heraclides' fragments were taken from the same *Λύσεις Ὀμηρικαί*, but Porphyrius quoted Heraclides selectively in order to disagree with his point, to prove Telemachus a skillful orator and to dismiss Heraclides' explanation (I do not see any explanations in Heraclides, but Heath hypothesizes that, in the following non-surviving text, Heraclides goes on to say that Homer intentionally renders Telemachus' speech not perfect as any other young man's speech would be) – and indeed, right after the long quotation from Heraclides Porphyrius starts to elaborately praise the Telemachus' speech.¹¹

However, the style and content of F 102 are very much different to other Heraclides' fragments on Homeric problems: the fragment does not describe a Homeric problem nor provide a solution thereof and also includes no mention of any textual contradictions or improbabilities, but rather discusses the quality of Telemachus' speech. An extended commentary of this kind expands beyond the genre of solutions of Homeric problems, which normally did not contain any kind of in-depth philological criticism.¹² Here Heraclides takes Telemachus' speech as an example and argues about how the speech in the assembly should be held and what kind of mistakes the speaker had made in this particular case. It also should be noted that Heraclides, whether intentionally or not, changes

¹⁰ Heath, 2009, 260–261.

¹¹ Porphyrius, *Quaestiones Homericae ad Odysseam pertinentes* ad 2. 51 (Schrader 1880, 27. 14 – 29. 10): ἀγνοεῖ δὲ ὁ κατήγορος τὴν δύναμιν τῆς δημηγορίας. συμπλέκεται γὰρ βασιλικὸν φρόνημα δεήσει καὶ ἰκεσία. καὶ ἔστιν οὐχ ἀπλῶς ὁ λόγος ἀτυχοῦντος, ἵνα δέησις ἢ μόνη, ἀλλὰ βασιλέως ἀτυχοῦντός τε ἅμα καὶ ἀδικουμένου ὑφ' ὧν ἤκιστα ἐχρήν... διὰ πάντων γούν τούτων μικτὴν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ποικιλίαν πλήρη ποιήσας τὴν δημηγορίαν δεινοῦ ῥήτορος δυνάμει κεκρημένος φαίνεται. (“The accuser does not recognise the force of the speech. For in this case the truly kingly manner of thought is combined with entreaty and supplication. Moreover, it is not just a speech of someone unfortunate, in which there should have been just entreaty, but the speech of an unfortunate king who was injured by those, who by no means should have done it... Having made the speech mixed and varied by means of all these things, Telemachus thus appears to have performed the power of a skillful orator”.)

¹² The genre of *Λύσεις* is supposed to have its origin in the symposiac intellectual discussions and the custom of *ζητήματα προβάλλειν* (i. e. to interpret some difficulties in Homer's texts). It was amusing in the first instance, so the serious Alexandrian grammarians regarded it as a game (see Pfeiffer 1968, 70). Heraclides' solutions are also far from being taken seriously. H. Gottschalk finds them trivial and superficial and the impression left by them seems to him unfavourable, especially in comparison with Aristotle's solutions (Gottschalk 1980, 136).

the order of verses, probably to make the sequence somehow illogical: Telemachus first being aggressive, then loquaciously complaining and finally threatening. Heraclides' arguments are much more appropriate for a rhetorical treatise than for solutions of the Homeric problems. For this reason, this fragment should be reattributed to some other Heraclides' work, a rhetorical one.

Now, Diogenes Laertius' catalogue demonstrates that Heraclides was not very interested in rhetorics, though Diogenes mentions one rhetorical treatise *Περὶ τοῦ ῥητορεύειν ἢ Προταγόρας*. Unfortunately, not a single fragment could be attributed to this work for certain. F. Wehrli believes it was a dialog and predictably associates it with Plato's *Protagoras*.¹³ In this work, according to Wehrli, Heraclides most probably criticised sophists as teachers of rhetorics (although the verb ῥητορεύω may be associated both with public speaking and teaching rhetorics). Anyway, the title *Περὶ τοῦ ῥητορεύειν ἢ Προταγόρας* can somehow hint at the contents, because Protagoras' studies involved rhetorics and literary criticism. This makes the person of Protagoras important for my argument.

According to few extant fragments and testimonies of Protagoras as well as to Plato's dialog, it is known that Protagoras along with rhetorics touched on theory of language (he is sometimes told to have championed this research). He identified three types of nouns (DK 80 A 27) and four types of discourse: wish, question, answer and command (DK 80 A 1 = Diog. Laert. 9. 53–54) which correspond to verb moods in Greek. Some scholars (among them, D. Fehling and A. Rademaker) believe that Protagoras never had a fully fledged linguistic theory, but all his conclusions base on the critical analysis of Homer's and other poets' pieces.¹⁴ In Plato's dialogue, Protagoras states that being well-versed in poetry is a very important part of education (339 a). The extant critical notes by Protagoras refer to the usage of moods (i. e. the usage of the four types of speech he identified) and the connection between gender of nouns and flexions. The crucial notion of his linguistic theory was ὁρθόεπεια (see Plat. *Phaedr.* 267 c = DK 80 A 26) – the correctness, which includes both the correct derivation of word forms and factual correctness in poetry as well as other discourse forms. Here, I cannot help but refer to a *locus classicus* from the 19th chapter of Aristotle's *Poetics* (56 b 15–18):¹⁵

¹³ Wehrli 1953, 69; Wehrli 1968, 678, 45–49.

¹⁴ Rademaker 2013, 87–88; 95–106. In the footnotes 21 and 22 on pages 95–96 Rademaker puts long quotations from Fehling 1965, whose opinion on the development of Protagoras' linguistic studies from criticism he shares.

¹⁵ Quoted after Kassel 1965.

τί γὰρ ἂν τις ὑπολάβοι ἡμαρτῆσθαι ἃ Πρωταγόρας ἐπιτιμᾷ, ὅτι εὐχέσθαι οἰόμενος ἐπιτάττει εἰπὼν “μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά”; τὸ γὰρ κελεῦσαι, φησὶν, ποιεῖν τι ἢ μὴ ἐπιταξίς ἐστιν.

For who would assume that there is something wrong in the passage, which Protagoras censures because Homer when intended to say a prayer made a command “Muse, sing the wreath...”, for he (Protagoras) says that to order to do or not to do something is a command.

This testimony demonstrates that Protagoras not only identified the imperative mood but also regarded it inappropriate when talking to the Muse. The idea of appropriateness and inappropriateness of speech explained using Homeric poems brings the Protagoras’ testimony closer to the F 102 of Heraclides.

While Heraclides’ fragments 101 and 102 both deal with the Telemachus’ speech in the second book of the *Odyssey*, they differ greatly, as in F 102 Heraclides does not solve any inconsistencies in the Homer’s poem, but censures the speech from a rhetorical point of view. This makes it unlikely that both fragments belong to the same work, as it was previously supposed to be, suggesting that the fragment 102 would have rather been taken from a yet unknown rhetorical treatise. According to Diogenes Laertius, Heraclides’ works are known to include a single rhetorical work, a dialog called *Περὶ τοῦ ῥητορεύειν ἢ Πρωταγόρας*. It is also known and well-attested that Protagoras in his studies turned to the exegesis of poets, to rhetorics, to language issues etc. Moreover, there are testimonies that Protagoras distinguished different types of speech and illustrated it with verses of Homer, just as Heraclides did in the F 102. Based on this, I believe that this fragment was taken from *Περὶ τοῦ ῥητορεύειν ἢ Πρωταγόρας*, where Heraclides could have somehow parodied or imitated Protagoras’ style of criticism. When Porphyrius discussed the problem of the number of Penelope’s suitors and referred to Heraclides’ *Λύσεις Ὀμηρικαί* (F 101 Schütrumpf), he could have remembered that Heraclides had written on the Telemachus’ speech in his *Protagoras* and quoted it, which explains why both fragments ended up being nearby.

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The article aims at reattributing the fragment 102 (Schütrumpf) by Heraclides of Pontus, which was traditionally considered together with fragment 101, both being attributed to Heraclides’ *Λύσεις Ὀμηρικαί* (*Solutions of Homeric Problems*). Both fragments deal with Telemachus’ speech in the second book of the *Odyssey*, but while the first one (F 101) discusses an inconsistency in Homer’s poem, as required by the genre of λύσεις, the second (F 102) discusses the Telemachus’ speech from the rhetorical point of view, which seems to be much more appropriate for a rhetorical treatise. Heraclides’ catalogue includes only one rhetorical work *Περὶ τοῦ ῥητορεῦν ἢ Προταγόρας*, probably a dialogue. Although not a single fragment of this dialogue survives, testimonies of Protagoras’ studies in rhetorics and literary criticism suggest that the F 102 by Heraclides originates from *Περὶ τοῦ ῥητορεῦν ἢ Προταγόρας*.

В статье предпринята попытка переатрибуции фрагмента 102 (Schütrumpf) Гераклида Понтийского, который традиционно рассматривали вместе с фрагментом 101 и относили оба к одному и тому же сочинению Гераклида – “Решению гомеровских вопросов”. Оба фрагмента касаются речи Телемаха во второй книге “Одиссеи”, однако если первый из них (F 101 Schütr.) указывает, как того требует жанр λύσεις, на некое противоречие в тексте поэмы, то F 102 представляет собой критику речи Телемаха с точки зрения ее построения. Подобное рассуждение, как кажется, было бы скорее уместно в риторическом сочинении, а единственным таким сочинением у Гераклида был предположительно диалог “О витийстве, или Протагор”. Несмотря на то, что сохранилось только его название, свидетельства о риторических и литературно-критических занятиях Протагора позволяют предположить, что именно это сочинение Гераклида и стало источником фрагмента 102.

Arina Starikova

POSIDONIUS AS A POSSIBLE SOURCE OF
DIDORUS' DESCRIPTION OF THE DEAD SEA
(DIOD. 2. 48. 6–8; 19. 98–99)*

Diodorus refers twice to Arabia and particularly to the Dead Sea (which he calls Asphalt Lake) in Books 2 and 19. In the first passage, the features of the Dead Sea (which is unnamed) are mentioned as part of the general geographical description of Arabia (2. 48. 6–8). Diodorus notes that the lake is extremely salty and devoid of life and describes the peculiar phenomenon of the asphalt discharge: asphalt occasionally rises to the surface of the lake and is gathered by the local inhabitants. This description is repeated in Book 19, when Diodorus tells about the expedition of Antigonus Monophthalmus and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes against the Nabataeans in 312 BC (19. 98–99).¹ The second passage repeats the first almost verbatim: the differences are minor and mostly concern word order. In fact, the passage from Book 2 is not very well preserved, having numerous minor defects – but the texts are so close in their remaining parts that it could be restored with the help of Book 19.² This time, Diodorus focuses on asphalt extraction, adding a special passage on the process. Here, in the second description of the Dead Sea, Diodorus also calls it Asphalt Lake – ἡ Ἀσφαλτῖτις λίμνη. This paper examines the question of the designation of the Dead Sea in the second passage and tries to identify the sources behind Diodorus' description.

Diodorus often repeated passages in different parts of his treatise, and the passage about the Dead Sea is the longest cited fragment. As noted by B. Eck and P. Krumbholz, Diodorus iterated the descriptions of distant lands and nations and also mythological and historical excursus more often, with an eye to the comfort of the reader who looks through some chapters that he is interested in, but does not read the

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¹ Eck 2003, 183–184; Reinach 1895, 73.

² Eck 2003, 85.

entire composition.³ Krumbholz gives examples of other iterations: Diod. 3. 62–65 and 4. 2–5 (about Dionysus); 1. 8. 9 and 2. 38. 2 (origin of handicraft); 2. 16. 3 and 2. 35 (India); 2. 37. 3 and 18. 6. 2 (Alexander the Great in India); 1. 21. 2 and 4. 6. 3 (Osiris myth); and passages on the Nabataeans (19. 94. 6 and 19. 97. 4; 2. 48. 1 and 19. 94. 3).⁴ In such an extensive work as Diodorus' *Bibliotheca Historica*, repeating passages could really result from a desire to remind a reader of reported information or to give more details to those who glanced at the composition selectively.

The name ἡ Ἀσφαλτῖτις λίμνη (the Asphalt Lake) in the second passage of Diodorus (19. 98) seems to be the first mention of the distinct name of this lake. In earlier fragments by Greek historians, it has no name and is described indirectly, when needed (Hieronymus of Cardia, Xenophilus, and Posidonius, see below): the name Asphalt Lake is attested for the first time in Diodorus. After him, it became widely accepted in Greek tradition, for example by Josephus Flavius (*Bell. Iud.* 4. 8. 4; *Ant. Iud.* 1. 9), Galen (*De simpl. med. temp.* 11. 690), and Claudius Ptolemy (*Geogr.* 5. 16. 3 Nobbe).⁵ The name Dead Sea (Νεκρὰ θάλαττα / *Mare Mortuum*) appears later; when used, it is sometimes paired with the name Asphalt Lake (Ἀσφαλτῖτις λίμνη / *Asphaltitis* / *lacus Asphalti*), e.g. in Galen (*De simpl. med. temp.* 11. 690; 692), Julius Honorius (*Cosmogr. Excerpta eius sphaerae vel continentia* 2), Priscian of Lydia (*Sol.* 6. 573–574), and Bede the Venerable (*De loc. sanct.* 11) and appears in combinations of three or more names as well.⁶

It is not absolutely clear why the Dead Sea remains unnamed in Diodorus' first description in Book 2 and why the name Ἀσφαλτῖτις λίμνη appears in the second passage in Book 19. The first passage (Diod. 2. 48. 6–7) describes the lake's location and special features:

³ Eck 2003, 184; Krumbholz 1889, 286–289.

⁴ Krumbholz 1889, 291.

⁵ The name Ἀσφαλτῖτις λίμνη was also used by Aelius Herodianus (*De prosod.* 3. 1. 382), Basil the Great (*Homil. in hex.* 4. 4), Stephan of Byzantium (*Ethn.* 581), and Suda (α 4296). In Roman tradition, the name Asphaltites occurs in Vitruvius (8. 3. 8), Pliny the Elder (5. 72), and Solinus (35), and the form Asphaltitis is testified in Pseudo-Hegesippus (Ps.-Heges. *De excidio Hierosolymitanae urbis* 4. 18 = Ambros. Mediol. in PL 15. col. 1961). This name also was found in the anonymous treatise from the time of the Crusades, *De situ terre jerosolimitane et habitatoribus eius. De locis diversis*.

⁶ Euseb. *Onom.* 100; Isid. *Etym.* 13. 19. 3–4; Thietm. *Peregrinatio* 33–44; Faber. *Evagatorium* 159–160.

ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ναβαταίων [...] λίμνη τε μεγάλη φέρουσα πολλὴν ἄσφαλτον, ἐξ ἧς λαμβάνουσιν οὐκ ὀλίγας προσόδους. αὕτη δ' ἔχει τὸ μὲν μῆκος σταδίων ὡς πεντακοσίων, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ὡς ἐξήκοντα, τὸ δ' ὕδωρ δυσῶδες καὶ διάπικρον, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι μήτ' ἰχθὺν τρέφειν μήτ' ἄλλο τῶν καθ' ὕδατος εἰωθότων ζώων εἶναι.

There is also in the land of the Nabataeans [...] a large lake which produces asphalt in abundance, and from it they derive not a little revenue. It has a length of about five hundred stades and a width of about sixty, and its water is so ill-smelling and so very bitter that it cannot support fish or any of the other animals which commonly live in water.⁷

The second description (Diod. 19. 98. 1) also refers to the peculiarities of the lake, but begins with its name:

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Δημήτριος λαβὼν ὁμήρους καὶ τὰς ὁμολογηθείσας δωρεὰς ἀνέξευξεν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας⁸ διατείνας δὲ σταδίους τριακοσίους κατεστρατοπέδευσε πλησίον τῆς Ἀσφαλτίτιδος λίμνης, ἧς τὴν φύσιν οὐκ ἄξιον παραδραμεῖν ἀνεπισήμαντον. κεῖται γὰρ κατὰ μέσην τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας,⁹ τῇ μὲν μήκει παρεκτείνουσα σταδίους μάλιστά που πεντακοσίους, τῇ δὲ πλάτει περὶ ἐξήκοντα. τὸ δ' ὕδωρ ἔχει διάπικρον καὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν δυσῶδες, ὥστε μήτ' ἰχθὺν δύνασθαι τρέφειν μήτ' ἄλλο τῶν καθ' ὕδατος εἰωθότων ζώων 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 [namely 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.¹⁰

Probably there was no name ἡ Ἀσφαλτίτις λίμνη in Diodorus' source, because it is not found in the first description of the Dead Sea in Book 2. The repetition of the passage on asphalt eruption is due to the accent on Antigonos' expedition, which tried to seize the territories where asphalt

⁷ Transl. Oldfather 1967, 43–45.

⁸ It is probably Petra (Eck 2003, 184). For a more exact localization of the rock, see Marciak 2018, 879–880. F.-M. Abel identified this rock as Oumm el-Biyara (Abel 1937, 380–385).

⁹ The status of Idumea is disputable (Diodorus defines it as a satrapy in 19. 98 and as an eparchy in 19. 95), and it should be discussed specially on another occasion.

¹⁰ Transl. Geer 1983, 99–101, slightly modified.

was extracted. Diodorus could compose the description of the Dead Sea for Book 2 and then repeat it in Book 19, where it was relevant for the narrative, adding a passage on asphalt extraction and coining the name of the lake in accordance with its important feature.¹¹ If Diodorus transferred the description of the Dead Sea from Book 19 to Book 2, it is not clear why he preferred it to stay unnamed, irrespective of its prevalence.¹²

It cannot be ruled out that Diodorus gave the name Ἀσφαλτῖτις λίμνη to this lake himself. He is the earliest author attested to use this name. Nevertheless, the appearance of the name in Diodorus' second description of the Dead Sea seems quite natural. Almost all his account is devoted to asphalt and its eruption, extraction, and use. That is why Diodorus could call the sea Asphalt Lake, referring to the first description of the sea (2. 48. 6: ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ναβαταίων [...] λίμνη τε μεγάλη φέρουσα πολλὴν ἄσφαλτον). He did not aim at inventing a toponym, but recalled the previous passage with a definition that accurately characterized the sea (ἄσφαλτῖτις λίμνη i. e. φέρουσα πολλὴν ἄσφαλτον).¹³ This name *ad hoc* became common designation of the Dead Sea afterwards.¹⁴

¹¹ The name ἡ Ἀσφαλτῖτις λίμνη is not a loan translation from Arabic, Aramaic, or Hebrew (Barzanò 1988, 179). In Arabic sources, the Dead Sea was called Malodorous Lake (Ibn Khordadbeh, Abu'l-Fida, Ibn al-Faqih, etc.), Lake of Zohar (al-Biruni, Yaqut, al-Muqaddasi, etc.), Dead Sea (al-Idrisi, al-Biruni, al-Yaqubi, etc.), Lake of Lot (al-Dimashqi, Ibn Battuta); in Hebrew, Sea of Salt (*Gen.* 14:3; *Num.* 34:12; *Deut.* 3:17; *Jos.* 3:16), Sea of Valley (*Deut.* 3:17; *Deut.* 4:49; *2 Reg.* 14:25; *Jos.* 3:16), and Eastern Sea (*Joel.* 2:20; *Zach.* 14:8; *Ezech.* 47:18).

¹² S. E. Binder and B. Bar-Kochva consider that in Book 2 Diodorus cited a source (Hieronymus) not entirely, as in Book 19, and omitted many details here (Binder–Bar-Kochva 2016, 228). As we will show below, Diodorus seems to add some features from another source (Posidonius) in Book 19 rather than omitting them in Book 2.

¹³ It is noteworthy that the expression Ἀσφαλτῖτις λίμνη in Vitruvius is also a characteristic of the asphalt lake (near Babylon) and not an exact geographical name: *Babylone lacus amplissima magnitudine, qui λίμνη Ἀσφαλτῖτις appellatur, habet supra natans liquidum bitumen; quo bitumine et latere testaceo structum murum Samiramis circumdedit Babylonem. item Iope in Syria Arabiaque Nomadum lacus sunt immani magnitudine, qui emittunt bituminis maximas moles, quas diripiunt qui habitant circa* (8. 3. 8). Vitruvius does not mention the name of the Dead Sea, indicating only its location near Jaffa. The expression Ἀσφαλτῖτις λίμνη, later usually used to designate the Dead Sea, here (like in Diodorus) has not yet become an established toponym and designates the lake near Babylon (Stern 1976, 344; Callebat 1973, 99).

¹⁴ M. Marciak notes that the asphalt eruption led to the matching name, but does not affirm that the designation goes back to Diodorus: “The name obviously results from the fact that the Dead Sea was famous in ancient times as a reservoir of bitumen deposits” (Marciak 2018, 880). A. Barzanò supposed that the name could have been coined by Hieronymus of Cardia (Barzanò 1988, 179), but it is not preserved in his fragments.

The appearance of the name in Book 19 is connected with the question of Diodorus' sources and work methods. The earliest Greek description of the Dead Sea is contained in *Meteorologica* (Arist. *Met.* 2. 3. 359 a); the other early testimonies are fragmentary and belong to Hieronymus of Cardia (*FGrHist* 154 F 5 = Paradoxographus Florent. *De aquis mirabilibus* 33), Xenophilus (*FHG* IV, 530 = Antigon. Caryst. *Hist. mirab. collect.* 151), and Posidonius (*FGrHist* 87 F 70 = Strab. 16. 2. 42–44). Hieronymus is a generally accepted source for Diodorus' Books 18–20;¹⁵ some scholars, for example Jane Hornblower, even consider him the sole source for these books.¹⁶ Diodorus indeed mentioned Hieronymus by name and knew his writings.¹⁷ He reports that Antigonus put Hieronymus in charge of controlling the asphalt extraction (19. 100. 1–2):

...ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ κατασκέπασθαι τὴν λίμνην καὶ δοκεῖν εὐρηκέναι τινὰ τῇ βασιλείᾳ πρόσοδον ἐπαινέσας ἐπὶ μὲν ταύτης ἐπιμελητὴν ἔταξεν Ἱερώνυμον τὸν τὰς ἱστορίας συγγράψαντα, τούτῳ δὲ συνετέτακτο πλοῖα παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἄσφαλτον ἀναλαβόντα συνάγειν εἰς τινὰ τόπον.

...but he [Antigonus] praised him [Athenaeus] for examining the lake and apparently having found a source of revenue for the kingdom. In charge of this he placed Hieronymus, the writer of the history, and instructed him to prepare boats, collect all the asphalt, and bring it together in a certain place.¹⁸

¹⁵ F. Bisière's characterization exactly approaches Diodorus' sources: "Tout le monde pense que Diodore a utilisé Hiéronymos, mais avec des nuances. Il y a en gros trois tendances. Certains croient que Diodore a utilisé directement Hiéronymos [...] Certains de ces chercheurs admettent, pour quelques rares passages, l'existence de sources secondaires. Selon la deuxième tendance, Diodore aurait suivi une source plus tardive, qui utilisait beaucoup Hiéronymos, mais aussi d'autres historiens [...] Enfin R. Laqueur [Laqueur 1958, 258] croit à une utilisation directe et systématique de deux sources par Diodore" (Bizière 1974, 369–370). However, A. Meeus admits that "traditional Hieronyman dogma is much more problematic than most scholars assume" (Meeus 2012, 76).

¹⁶ Hornblower 1981, 47; Smith 1961, 283; Bar-Kochva 2010, 412; Takhtadzhian 2004 [C. A. Тахтаджян, "Набатеи в 'Библиотеке' Диодора (XIX, 94–100)"], 181. In discussion, S. A. Takhtadzhian agreed that Diodorus could have also used Posidonius, see below.

¹⁷ S. E. Binder and B. Bar-Kochva use Diodorus' mention of Hieronymus as one of the proofs that Hieronymus was his sole source of the Dead Sea passage (Binder–Bar-Kochva 2016, 227–228).

¹⁸ Transl. Geer 1983, 105. Cf. the testimony of Flavius on Hieronymus (Flav. *Ap.* 1. 213–214): Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ἔνιοι τῶν συγγραφέων τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ φόβου τινὸς ἢ δι' ἄλλας αἰτίας οὐχ ὑγιεῖς τὴν μνήμην παρέλιπον, τεκμήριον

Most scholars suggest that Diodorus did not use Hieronymus directly (as J. Hornblower supposed) and that he might have taken his description from an intermediate source,¹⁹ especially from Agatharchides of Cnidus (thus, R. H. Simpson, C. Bottin, and I. Sh. Shiffmann;²⁰ F. Bisière supposed him to be the direct source of Diodorus).²¹ However, Agatharchides' fragments about the Dead Sea are not preserved; and once again, we cannot be sure that Diodorus' text was based on Agatharchides' work, especially since Diodorus did know Hieronymus.

Nevertheless, Diodorus does not state specifically that Hieronymus was his source for the description. A fragment about the Dead Sea by Hieronymus was preserved in an anonymous paradoxographic treatise "On marvelous water", the *Paradoxographus Florentinus*, dated probably to the 2 century AD (*De aquis mirabilibus* 33 = *FGrHist* 154 F5):

Ἱερώνυμος ἰστόρησεν ἐν τῇ Ναβαταίων χώρα τῶν Ἀράβων εἶναι λίμνην πικράν· ἐν ἧ οὔτ' ἰχθύς, οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐνύδρων ζῶων γίνεσθαι· ἀσφάλτου δὲ πλίνθους ἐξ αὐτῆς αἶρεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων.²²

Hieronymus narrated that there was a salty lake in the Nabataean country of Arabs, where neither fish nor any other water animal lived, and that bricks of asphalt were gathered from its surface by the inhabitants.

The fragment of Hieronymus is very brief, but his characterization of the Dead Sea resembles Diodorus' description (see the table).

οἶμαι παρέξειν· Ἱερώνυμος γὰρ ὁ τὴν περὶ τῶν διαδόχων ἱστορίαν συγγεγραφὼς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν ἦν Ἑκαταίῳ χρόνον, φίλος δ' ὢν Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν Συρίαν ἐπετρόπευεν· ἀλλ' ὅμως Ἑκαταῖος μὲν καὶ βιβλίον ἔγραψεν περὶ ἡμῶν, Ἱερώνυμος δ' οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐμνημόνευσε καίτοι σχεδὸν ἐν τοῖς τόποις διατετριφώς· τοσοῦτον αἱ προαιρέσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων διήνεγκαν – "Now that some writers have omitted to mention our nation, not because they knew nothing of us, but because they envied us, or for some other unjustifiable reasons, I think I can demonstrate by particular instances; for Hieronymus, who wrote the History of [Alexander's] Successors, lived at the same time as Hecateus, and was a friend of king Antigonos, and governor of Syria. Now it is plain that Hecateus wrote an entire book concerning us, while Hieronymus never mentions us in his history, although he was bred up very near to the places where we live. Thus different from one another are the inclinations of men" (transl. Whiston 1802, 507, slightly modified).

¹⁹ L. I. Hau assumed that Hieronymus' account was the main source for Books 18–20, but it went back to Diodorus, probably through an intermediate source (Hau 2016, 166).

²⁰ Simpson 1959, 370; Bottin 1928, 1326; Shiffmann 2007 [И. Ш. Шифман, *Набатейское государство и его культура*], 8–9.

²¹ Bisière 1975, 166–167.

²² Öhler 1913, 44.

Hieronymus (<i>FGrHist</i> 154 F 5)	Diodorus 2. 48. 6–8	Diodorus 19. 98–99	Posidonius (<i>FGrHist</i> 87 F 70)
salty (πικράν)	2. 48. 6: situated in the Nabataean country (ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ναβαταίων)	19. 98: the Asphalt Lake (Ἀσφαλτίτιδος λίμνης)	(Strabo calls the Dead Sea Lake Sirbonis by mistake) ²³
situated in the Nabataean country (ἐν τῇ Ναβαταίων χώρᾳ)	2. 48. 6: asphalt (λίμνη τε μεγάλη φέρουσα πολλὴν ἄσφαλτον)	19. 98: Idumean satrapy (τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας)	
	2. 48. 7: length (500 × 60 stades)	19. 98: length (500 × 60 stades)	(Strabo 16. 2. 42): length 1000 stades (χιλίων σταδίων εἰρήκασί τινες τὸν κύκλον τῇ μέντοι παραλίᾳ παρεκτέταται μικρῷ τι πλέον τῶν διακοσίων σταδίων μήκος ἐπιλαμβάνουσα)
	2. 48. 7: very salty water and foul odor (διάπικρος, δυσῶδες)	19. 98: very salty water and foul odor (διάπικρον, δυσῶδες)	(42) extremely dense (literally “heavy”) water (βαρύτατον ἔχουσα ὕδωρ)
fish don’t live (οὐτ’ ἰχθυῖς, οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐνύδρων ζώων γίνεσθαι)	2. 48. 7: fish don’t live (μήτ’ ἰχθὺν δύνασθαι τρέφειν μήτ’ ἄλλο τῶν καθ’ ὕδατος εἰωθότων ζώων)	19. 98: fish don’t live (μήτ’ ἰχθὺν δύνασθαι τρέφειν μήτ’ ἄλλο τῶν καθ’ ὕδατος εἰωθότων ζώων εἶναι)	(42) so that swimming is not required (μὴ δεῖν κολύμβου)
asphalt	2. 48. 7: asphalt	19. 98: asphalt	(42) asphalt
	2. 48. 8: asphalt discharge compared to an island (οἶονεῖ τις νῆσος)	19. 98: asphalt discharge compared to an island (οἶονεῖ τις νῆσος)	(42) asphalt discharge compared to a hill (ἡ ἐπιφάνεια λόφου φαντασίαν παρέχει)

²³ Posidonius’ description, cited by Strabo, referred to the Dead Sea, but Strabo called it Sirbonis, the salt lake in Egypt (Radt 2009, 329–330), and probably combined the features of both lakes (Bar-Kochva 2010, 362 n. 15).

Hieronymus (FGrHist 154 F 5)	Diodorus 2. 48. 6–8	Diodorus 19. 98–99	Posidonius (FGrHist 87 F 70)
	2. 48. 8: silver, gold, and copper are tarnished (ἄργυρός τε καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ χαλκός)	19. 98: silver, gold, and copper are tarnished (ἄργυρός τε καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ χαλκός)	(42) silver, gold, and copper are tarnished (χαλκὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ πᾶν τὸ στιλπνὸν μέχρι καὶ χρυσοῦ)
	2. 48. 8: seismicity and underground fire (ὁ δὲ πλησίον τόπος ἔμπυρος ὢν καὶ δυσώδης)	19. 98: seismicity and underground fire (ὁ δὲ πλησίον τόπος ἔμπυρος ὢν καὶ δυσώδης)	
		19. 99. 1: inhabitants prepare for the extraction and make rafts of reed (οἱ περιιοκοῦντες ... παρασκευασάμενοι γὰρ δέσμας καλάμων)	(42) inhabitants prepare for the extraction and make the rafts of reed (οἱ περιιοκοῦντες ... παρασκευάζονται πρὸς τὴν μεταλλεῖαν αὐτοῦ, ποιησάμενοι σχεδίας καλαμίνας)
		19. 99. 2: asphalt is cut (ἀποκόπτοντες)	(42) asphalt is cut (τομῆς καὶ κοπῆς δεῖσθαι)
		19. 99. 2: nothing sinks (οὐ καταδύεται)	(42) swimming is not required (μηδὲ κολύμβου δεῖσθαι)
		19. 99. 3: dense and heavy water (βάρος)	(42) asphalt is cut (κόπτουσι)
			(16. 2. 44) seismicity and underground fire (ἔμπυρον τὴν χώραν εἶναι)

The similarity of expressions and Diodorus' mention of Hieronymus are, of course, a serious reason to admit Hieronymus as Diodorus' source. Both Hieronymus and Diodorus noted the location of the lake in the Nabataean land, its salinity, the asphalt eruption, and the absence of fish. However, these features are the best-known and can be found in almost every geographical description of the Dead Sea. Moreover, the general order of characteristics in Hieronymus is quite different from Diodorus' one, and some features, such as the extent of the lake, are missing in the fragment.

Diodorus' further description (19. 98 ≈ 2. 48. 7–8) contains more rare details that cannot go back to Hieronymus according to his fragment in *Paradoxographus Florentinus*:

ἐξ αὐτῆς δὲ μέσης ἐκφυσᾷ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀσφάλτου στερεᾶς μέγεθος ποτὲ μὲν μεῖζον ἢ τρίπλεθρον, ἔστι δ' ὅτ' οὐ πολὺ λειπόμενον πλέθρου· ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ συνήθως οἱ περιοικοῦντες βάρβαροι τὸ μὲν μεῖζον καλοῦσι ταῦρον, τὸ δὲ ἔλασσον μόσχον. ἐπιπλεύουσης δὲ τῆς ἀσφάλτου πελαγίας ὁ τόπος φαίνεται τοῖς ἐξ ἀποστήματος θεωροῦσιν οἰονεῖ τις νῆσος. τὴν δ' ἔκπτωσιν φανερὰν συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι πρὸ ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι· κύκλῳ γὰρ τῆς λίμνης ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους ὁσμὴ τῆς ἀσφάλτου προσπίπτει [μετὰ] πνεύματος μοχθηροῦ καὶ πᾶς ὁ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ χαλκὸς ἀποβάλλει τὴν ιδιότητα τοῦ χρώματος. ἀλλ' αὕτη μὲν ἀποκαθίσταται πάλιν, ἐπειδὴ ἀναφυσήθηναι συμβῇ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀσφαλτον· ὁ δὲ πλησίον τόπος ἔμπυρος ὣν καὶ δυσώδης ποιεῖ τὰ σώματα τῶν περιοικούντων ἐπίνοσα καὶ παντελῶς ὀλιγοχρόνια.

And from its centre each year it sends forth a mass of solid asphalt, sometimes more than three plethra in area, sometimes a little less than one plethrum. When this happens the barbarians who live near habitually call the larger mass a bull and the smaller one a calf. When the asphalt is floating on the sea, its surface seems to those who see it from a distance just like an island. It appears that the ejection of the asphalt is indicated twenty days in advance, for on every side about the sea for a distance of many stades the odour of the asphalt spreads with a noisome exhalation, and all the silver, gold, and bronze in the region lose their proper colours. These, however, are restored as soon as all the asphalt has been ejected; but the neighbouring region is very torrid and ill smelling, which makes the inhabitants sickly in body and exceedingly short-lived.²⁴

The text containing evident parallels in the greater amount of characteristics and having a similar plan of exposition is the description

²⁴ Transl. Geer 1983, 101.

of the Dead Sea in Strabo (16. 2. 42–44). It goes back to Posidonius' treatise *On the Ocean* (*Περὶ Ὠκεανοῦ*), as F. Jacoby (*FGrHist* 87 F 70), W. Theiler (F 60), and S. Radt admitted.²⁵

On the whole, Posidonius was one of the main sources of Diodorus' *Bibliotheca*.²⁶ So, Theiler considers him the source of Diodorus' chapters that follow the description of the Dead Sea (2. 49–53).²⁷ Another passage by Diodorus, on the Jews (Diod. 34–35. 1. 1–5), also goes back to Posidonius.²⁸ M. Stern does not accept the Posidonian provenience of Diodorus' information on the Dead Sea, referring to the standard view that Hieronymus was the main source for Diodorus' account of the history of Diadochi, viz. in Book 19.²⁹ Only T. Reinach assumed that Diodorus had borrowed the description of the Dead Sea (both 2. 48. 6–8 and 19. 98) from Posidonius.³⁰

Posidonius' description of the lake in Strabo (16. 2. 42 = *FGrHist* 87 F 70) is quite extensive and detailed:

...βαρύτεστατον ἔχουσα ὕδωρ, ὥστε μὴ δεῖν κολύμβου, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐμβάντα καὶ μέχρι ὀμφαλοῦ εὐθὺς ἐξαίρεσθαι· μεστὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἀσφάλτου· αὕτη δὲ ἀναφυσᾷται κατὰ καιροὺς ἀτάκτους ἐκ μέσου τοῦ βάθους μετὰ πομφολύγων ὡς ἂν ζέοντος ὕδατος· κυρτουμένη δ' ἡ ἐπιφάνεια λόφου φαντασίαν παρέχει· συναναφέρεται δὲ καὶ ἄσβολος πολλή, καπνώδης μὲν πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὄσιν ἄδηλος, ὅφ' ἧς κατιοῦται καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ πᾶν τὸ στιλπνὸν μέχρι καὶ χρυσοῦ· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κατιοῦσθαι τὰ σκευὴ γνωρίζουσιν οἱ περιιοκοῦντες ἀρχομένην τὴν ἀναβολὴν τοῦ ἀσφάλτου,

²⁵ Jacoby 1993, II A, 266–267; Theiler 1982, II, 67–68; Radt 2009, 330; Malitz 1983, 303. Jacoby, Theiler, and Radt attribute to Posidonius the whole account of the Dead Sea in Strabo (16. 2. 42–44), while L. Edelstein and I. G. Kidd (F 279) attribute only a part of it, 16. 2. 42–43 (Edelstein–Kidd 1972, 244). After his detailed analysis of Strabo's excursus on the Jewish state (16. 2. 35–37), Bar-Kochva maintains that Posidonius was Strabo's source for this excursus (Bar-Kochva 2010, 357–358, and esp. 389–391); he holds the view that in 16. 2. 44 Strabo combined information from Eratosthenes, Artemidorus, and Posidonius (see 362 n. 15, cf. 398 n. 129). We follow Jacoby and Theiler.

²⁶ Drews 1962, 384; Hornblower 1981, 27–28.

²⁷ Theiler 1982, I, 78–81; II, 76.

²⁸ Bloch 2002, 42–45; Berthelot 2003, 182–187.

²⁹ Stern 1976, 167–168; 174.

³⁰ “À l'époque de notre historien [Diodore], et probablement dès le temps de Posidonios qu'il copie, ils [Nabatéens] paraissent avoir absorbé entièrement les anciens Iduméens” (Reinach 1895, 71); “Cette répétition textuelle prouve que Diodore copie ici littéralement un auteur plus ancien, peut-être Posidonios, sans se rappeler qu'il l'a déjà mis à contribution” (Reinach 1895, 74). M. Rathmann also compared Diodorus' description with Strabo's (Rathmann 2016, 148; 259).

καὶ παρασκευάζονται πρὸς τὴν μεταλλείαν αὐτοῦ, ποιησάμενοι σχεδίας καλαμίνας. ἔστι δ' ἡ ἀσφαλτος γῆς βῶλος [...] ὥστε τομῆς καὶ κοπῆς δεῖσθαι· εἴτ' ἐπιπολάζουσα διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ὕδατος, καθ' ἣν ἔφαμεν μηδὲ κολύμβου δεῖσθαι, μηδὲ βαπτίζεσθαι τὸν ἐμβάντα ἀλλ' ἐξαίρεσθαι· προσπλεύσαντες δὲ ταῖς σχεδίαις κόπτουσι καὶ φέρονται τῆς ἀσφάλτου ὅσον ἕκαστος δύναται.

...and the water is exceedingly heavy, so that swimming is not required, but if anyone wades into it up to the waist, and attempts to move forward, he is immediately lifted out of the water. It abounds with asphalt, which rises, not however at any regular seasons, in bubbles, like boiling water, from the middle of the deepest part. The surface is convex, and presents the appearance of a hillock. Together with the asphalt, there ascends a great quantity of sooty vapour, not perceptible to the eye, which tarnishes copper, silver, and everything bright – even gold. The neighbouring people know by the tarnishing of their vessels that the asphalt is beginning to rise, and they prepare to collect it by means of rafts composed of reeds. The asphalt is a clod of earth, [...] that requires cutting or chopping (for use). It floats upon the water, which, as I have described, does not admit of diving or immersion, but lifts up the person who goes into it. Those who go on rafts for the asphalt cut it in pieces, and take away as much as they are able to carry.³¹

So, Posidonius' description and Diodorus' have a very similar list of features and a very similar order: they both mention the tarnishing of metals, but Diodorus reports it briefly. Posidonius writes χαλκὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ πᾶν τὸ στιλπνὸν μέχρι καὶ χρυσοῦ, and Diodorus writes ἄργυρός τε καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ χαλκός.³²

Posidonius also refers to the Dead Sea neighborhood (*FGrHist* 87 F 70 = Strab. 16. 2. 44):

Τοῦ δ' ἔμπυρον τὴν χώραν εἶναι καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήρια φέρουσι πολλὰ· καὶ γὰρ πέτρας τινὰς ἐπικεκαυμένας δεικνύουσι τραχείας περὶ Μοασάδα...

Many other proofs are produced to show that this country is full of fire. Near Moasada are to be seen rugged rocks, bearing the marks of fire...³³

³¹ Transl. Hamilton–Falconer 1857, 182, modified.

³² Although the tarnishing of metals is not testified in Hieronymus' fragment, Binder and Bar-Kochva note that Hieronymus mentioned this detail, because they consider him the sole source for the Dead Sea description (Binder–Bar-Kochva 2016, 228).

³³ Transl. Hamilton–Falconer 1857, 183.

Diodorus speaks about the underground fire word by word (ὁ δὲ πλησίον τόπος ἔμπυρος ὢν). The authors also describe asphalt extraction with very similar expressions:

Posidonius: οἱ περιουκοῦντες ... παρασκευάζονται πρὸς τὴν μεταλλείαν αὐτοῦ, ποιησάμενοι σχεδίας καλαμίνας

Diodorus (19. 99. 1): οἱ περιουκοῦντες ... παρασκευασάμενοι γὰρ δέσ-
μας καλάμων

In the next two points, Posidonius and Diodorus describe asphalt cutting and note that nothing sinks in the lake, though in different words. Diod. 19. 99. 2–3:

[...] ὅταν δὲ πλησίον γένωνται τῆς ἀσφάλτου, πελέκεις ἔχοντες ἐπιτη-
δῶσι καὶ καθάπερ μαλακῆς πέτρας ἀποκόπτοντες γεμίζουσι τὴν δέσμην,
εἴτα ἀποπλέουσιν εἰς τοῦπίσω. ἂν δέ τις αὐτῶν ἀποπέσῃ τῆς δέσμης
διαλυθείσης μὴ δυνάμενος νεῖν, οὐ καταδύεται καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις
ὑδασιν, ἀλλὰ ἐπινέχεται τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις ὁμοίως. φύσει γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ
ὕγρον παραδέχεται βάρος ὃ συμβαίνει μετέχειν αὐξήσεως ἢ πνεύματος...

...when they have come near the asphalt they jump upon it with axes
and, just as it were soft stone, they cut out pieces and load them on the
raft, after which they sail back. If the raft comes to pieces and one of
them who does not know how to swim falls off, he does not sink as he
would in other waters, but stays afloat as well as do those who know.
For this liquid by its nature supports heavy bodies that have the power
of growth or of breathing...³⁴

So, in Posidonius: τομῆς καὶ κοπῆς δεῖσθαι and κόπτουσι; and in Diodorus: ἀποκόπτοντες; then Posidonius: μηδὲ κολύμβου δεῖσθαι; and Diodorus: οὐ καταδύεται.

The extent of the Dead Sea coastline in Strabo and Diodorus is an important characteristic. Strabo gave two different dimensions, 1000 stades (according to his sources – εἰρήκασί τινας) and 200 stades (as he considers). T. Reinach supposed that the same extent of the lake in Diodorus' passage (500 stades in length) and Strabo's one (1000 stades around) proves a common source, namely Posidonius.³⁵ Strabo's remark

³⁴ Transl. Geer 1983, 103.

³⁵ "Il n'est pas douteux que l'une et l'autre [Diod. 2. 48. 6–8 and 19. 98] dérivent de Posidonios. Les 1000 stades de périmètre mentionnés par Strabon remontent également à la même source, puisque nous avons vu chez Diodore la longueur du lac évaluée à 500 stades et sa largeur à 60 seulement" (Reinach 1895, 108).

“τῇ μέντοι παραλίᾳ παρεκτέταται” could refer to Lake Sirbonis, a coastal lagoon of the Mediterranean Sea on the Sinai Peninsula. So, Strabo combined the Dead Sea and the Lake Sirbonis and their lengths.³⁶

However, some differences between Posidonius’ fragment and Diodorus’ should also be noted. Strabo could have transferred the passage about the seismicity and the underground fire to the end of his chapter because this phenomenon drew his attention more, and after the detailed description of the relief (which begins with the words “Τοῦ δ’ ἔμπυρον τὴν χώραν εἶναι καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήρια φέρουσι πολλά”), he cited Eratosthenes (Strab. 16. 2. 44; Eratosth. I B 17).³⁷ In addition, the preserved fragment of Posidonius does not mention the very high salinity and absence of fish in the Dead Sea. It may be assumed that these features, better known than others, had already been mentioned by Posidonius, but that Strabo missed them for some reason. Moreover, Strabo could somehow change the order of characteristics when copying out a text fragment from Posidonius. So, Strabo focused on the density of the water. He began his description of the Dead Sea with this characteristic and returned to it at the end of the chapter when remarking that it was not necessary to be able to swim in such water (μὴ δεῖν κολύμβου and μὴδὲ κολύμβου δεῖσθαι).

Another difference between Diodorus and Posidonius is the variation in their comparison of the discharged asphalt: the former author compared it to an island (οἰονεῖ τις νῆσος) and the latter to a hill (ἢ ἐπιφάνεια λόφου φαντασίαν παρέχει). Comparing the massive asphalt clod that appears on the lake surface to an island is more trivial than comparing it to a hill: it is plausible that Diodorus modified the *comparandum* of Posidonius’ comparison using a simpler and more expected image.

So, Diodorus, Hieronymus, and Posidonius in Strabo (especially Posidonius and Diodorus) followed quite a similar order in their descriptions of the Dead Sea and used similar expressions. Obviously, all of them are part of the geographical tradition of the Dead Sea. Comparing their descriptions suggests that both Hieronymus and Posidonius were direct sources of Diodorus’ description. Diodorus mentioned Hieronymus by name, and the main part of the description in Book 2 repeated in Book 19 goes back to Hieronymus. However, Posidonius has striking similarities with Diodorus, and it is probable that Diodorus used his illustration to expand his own description of the Dead Sea in Book 19 (and already in Book 2). To summarize, the description in Book 2 goes

³⁶ Strabo (16, 2, 32) gave also another length for Sirbonis Lake, 100 stades.

³⁷ On the origin of Lake Sirbonis, see also Eratosth. F I B 15; Strab. 1. 3. 4.

back to Hieronymus and Posidonius (Diod. 2. 48. 6–7 to Hieronymus and 2. 48. 8 to Posidonius). Book 19 contains the same text going back to both authors (Diod. 19. 98 before the comparison to an island), and in addition, the passage on asphalt extraction (Diod. 19. 98, beginning with the comparison to an island, and 19. 99). It is difficult to determine the source of this passage: we know that Hieronymus was entrusted to control the extraction of asphalt in the area and would certainly have described this process; however, no such passage has come down to us. Posidonius, who was born in Apamea, Syria and travelled a lot,³⁸ had the possibility to investigate the Dead Sea himself and describe it without basing his writing on Hieronymus. The absence of parallels between Hieronymus and Posidonius in Strabo may, with due reservation, be taken as a sign that Posidonius was independent of Hieronymus.³⁹ Moreover, Posidonius' description contains two rather rare details: the seismicity and the tarnishing of metals, which were not mentioned by Hieronymus.

This conclusion modifies the generally accepted idea that Hieronymus was the only source for Diodorus' description of the Dead Sea. It is likely that Diodorus used both Hieronymus and Posidonius, comparing them and reformulating the information, rather than copying the texts. This confirms C. H. Oldfather's remark on Diodorus' method: the earlier view that Diodorus copied a single author for many chapters is now rejected because "while Diodorus probably leaned very strongly upon a single author for one or another section, he used at the same time other writers as well".⁴⁰

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³⁸ Reinhardt 1953, 663: "...hat Poseidonios seine Forschungsfahrten und die Umstände seiner Beobachtungen in breiter, ja fast autobiographischer Weise vorge-tragen. In dem riesigen systematischen Werk muss manches sich wie ein Reisejournal – das er natürlich geführt hat – gelesen haben"; Reinhardt 1921, 4.

³⁹ However, Jacoby suggested that Posidonius might have used Hieronymus (Jacoby 1993, II C, 199).

⁴⁰ Oldfather 1946, 17.

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The name Asphalt Lake (ἡ Ἀσφαλτῖτις λίμνη) for the Dead Sea is first attested in Diodorus (Diod. 19. 98. 1), who describes the lake twice in almost identical passages (2. 48. 6–8 and 19. 98–99). It is remarkable that this name occurs in the second passage (19. 98–99) and at the same time the Dead Sea remains unnamed in the first description. The name Asphalt Lake is likely enough to have been coined by Diodorus himself and not borrowed by him from another source. Hieronymus of Cardia, the author of the *History of Diadochi*, whom Antigonus entrusted to control the asphalt extraction, is a generally accepted source for Books 18–20 of Diodorus' *Bibliotheca Historica* (19. 100). However, the description of the Dead Sea in 19. 98 could not go back only to Hieronymus (*FGrHist* 154 F 5). Rare details (such as metals tarnishing caused by the lake vapors and the seismicity of the Dead Sea region) and the common order of characteristics suggest that Diodorus received information about the Dead Sea also from Posidonius, the extract of whose *On the Ocean* on the Dead Sea was preserved by Strabo (16. 2. 42–44 = *FGrHist* 87 F 70). Diodorus could use two sources at the same time, supplementing Hieronymus' testimony, which was the basis of the first extract about the lake, with Posidonius' information, added to the description in the second passage.

Впервые название Асфальтовое озеро (ἡ Ἀσφαλτῖτις λίμνη) для обозначения Мертвого моря засвидетельствовано у Диодора (XIX, 98, 1), который описывал водоем дважды, в практически идентичных пассажах (II, 48, 6–8 и XIX, 98–99). Примечательно, что это наименование возникает во втором пассаже (XIX, 98–99), тогда как в первом описании Мертвое море никак не названо. Весьма вероятно, что название Асфальтовое озеро было дано

самим Диодором, а не заимствовано из источника. Общепринятым источником XVIII–XX книг *Исторической библиотеки* Диодора считается Иероним из Кардии, автор истории диадохов, которому Антигон поручил взять под контроль добычу асфальта из Мертвого моря (Diod. XIX, 100). Однако описание Мертвого моря, содержащееся в девятнадцатой книге (XIX, 98), не может, на наш взгляд, восходить лишь к Иерониму (*FGrHist* 154 F 5). Редкие детали (такие как помутнение металлов от испарений водоема и сейсмоактивность окрестностей Мертвого моря) и общая последовательность изложения позволяют предположить, что сведения о Мертвом море Диодор почерпнул также у Посидония, фрагмент из сочинения *Об океане* которого, посвященный Мертвому морю, сохранился у Страбона (XVI, 2, 42–44 = *FGrHist* 87 F 70). В статье показывается, как Диодор мог пользоваться одновременно двумя источниками, дополняя свидетельства Иеронима, которые легли в основу первого пассажа о Мертвом море, сведениями Посидония, которые были добавлены к описанию во втором пассаже.

Martin Rackow

ZUM TELOS DES PHILÄNENEXKURSES IN
SALL. *IUG.* 79

*Meiner Familie und meinen Lehrern
in tiefer Dankbarkeit*

Gerade heutzutage, da von Libyen als gescheitertem Staat gesprochen werden muss, dessen Grenzen sich zu verschieben drohen angesichts rivalisierender Kräfte in Tripolitanien und der Kyrenaika, scheint es nicht unangebracht, an die außerordentliche und bewundernswerte Tat zweier Karthager zu erinnern, wie sie bei Sallust im 79. Kapitel des *Bellum Iugurthinum* beschrieben ist.

Entgegen den bisher vertretenen wissenschaftlichen Meinungen besteht die primäre Funktion des sog. Philänenexkurses darin, durch eine Wiederaufnahme des zentralen Gedankens aus dem Proömium, wonach der Weg zum Ruhm über die *virtus* führe, den Boden zu bereiten für die Rede des Marius sechs Kapitel später. Während Sallust diesen in abstrakter Form ein aktives Eintreten für die *res publica* propagieren lässt, liefert die Schilderung des Verhaltens der Gebrüder Philänus hierfür ein konkretes Beispiel. Zum Beweis dieser These wird im Folgenden insbesondere die motivische Verknüpfung des Exkurses mit dem Proöm einerseits und mit der Marius-Rede andererseits aufgezeigt werden. Deutlich werden soll ferner, dass Kap. 79 zudem im Lichte der *variatio* gelesen werden muss und auch der Unterhaltung dient.

Die Frage, ob der Geschichte von den Philänen eine tatsächliche Begebenheit zugrunde liegt, ist bereits hinlänglich beantwortet worden.¹ „Ob Sallust seine Geschichte selbst geglaubt hat, steht dahin. [...] Historischen Wert hat sie so wenig wie die Anekdote von dem Ligurer cap. 93, 2“.² Hiermit ist ein wichtiger Punkt angesprochen: Die Geschichte von den Philänen ist nicht die einzige, der eine nicht zu übersehende Unglaublichkeit eignet. Die Schilderung der Eroberung einer Bergfeste in Kap. 92–94, die nur glückt, weil ein ligurischer Feinschmecker aus den Hilfskohorten anlässlich des Wasserholens auf Schnecken stößt und

¹ Vgl. nur Middendorf 1853, 6–11.

² Koestermann 1971, 280, zu 79, 8–9.

beim Einsammeln der Weichtiere doch noch einen erfolgsversprechenden Zugang zu der uneinnehmbar scheinenden Burg findet, sowie die Umstände, unter denen Jugurtha vom Komplott seines Untergebenen Bomilkar erfahren haben soll, Kap. 70–72, sind nur die augenfälligsten Fiktionen im „Jugurtha“. Und es ist schwer vorstellbar, dass Sallust den Geschichten Glauben schenkte. Viel näher liegt die Vermutung, der Autor habe die Erzählungen nach seinem Bedarf adaptiert, wenn nicht gar gänzlich selber ersonnen.³ Doch darf dies in der Tat dahingestellt bleiben, wenn es gilt, die Motive zu klären, die ihn veranlasst haben, uns die Philänen-Sage zu präsentieren. Denn dass diese kompositorischer Natur sind und nicht etwa dem Willen zu einer umfänglichen Geschichtsschreibung entspringen, ist unmittelbar dem Afrika-Exkurs zu entnehmen (19, 2): *Nam de Carthagine silere melius puto quam parum dicere, quoniam alio properare tempus monet.*

Wollte man Kap. 78–79 eine Zäsurwirkung zusprechen, so wäre zu klären, worauf sich eine solche Zäsur beziehen sollte.⁴

Tatsächlich wirkt aber jeder Versuch, den Exkurs als Grenze zweier Abschnitte einzuordnen, konstruiert. Es gibt gerade keinen inhaltlichen Bruch an dieser Stelle. Die Entscheidung, dass künftig Marius den Krieg zu führen hätte, war bereits vorher gefallen, Kap. 73 a.E. Die Übergabe des Kommandos über das Heer erfolgt hinwieder erst später, Kap. 86 a.E.

Es sollte daher von Zäsur nicht in dem Sinne gesprochen werden, dass dem Exkurs eine gliedernde Funktion beizumessen wäre. Einen Einschnitt

³ In Bezug auf die hier behandelte Geschichte ist gemutmaßt worden, diese beruhe auf einem griechischen Vorbild (Koestermann 1971, 281, zu 79, 10; vgl. auch Middendorf 1853, 3 Anm. 3 m. w. N. sowie Meltzer 1879, 188–189). Für diese Hypothese kann die griechische Genitivendung in dem in 19, 3 gebrauchten Ausdruck *Philaenon arae* angeführt werden.

⁴ Latte 1935, 34: „Nunmehr tritt Metellus dem Numider entgegen (43–79); dieses lange Stück ist zweigeteilt: mit 62 erreicht es durch die fast vollendete Unterwerfung Jugurthas einen scheinbaren Abschluß, während der wirkliche in der Weise Sallusts durch einen Exkurs (78/9 über die Syrten und die Philaeni) bezeichnet wird“; Scanlon 1987, 51–52: „The digression is also effective since it is located exactly midway between the beginning of Metellus’ campaign (43) and the end of Marius’ (114). In fact it divides Metellus’ achievements from Marius’“; Paul 1984, 198, zu 79, 1: „One function of this excursus is to mark the end of the campaign of 108“; Syme 1964, 145: „No warlike actions of Metellus are subsequently noted, only negotiations with Bocchus, conducted in the vicinity of Cirta (82 f.)[...] The passage about Lepcis therefore marks and represents the winter of 108 to 107“. Perrochat 1950, 179–180 will hingegen den Winter erst mit Kap. 82 einbrechen lassen.

stellen Kap. 78–79 lediglich im Sinne eines Zeitpunktes dar, in dem die Erzählung vom Krieg ruht.⁵

Der eine Grund für Kap. 79 ist mithin ein erzähltechnischer: Hinter dem Leser liegen nahezu 80 inhaltsschwere Kapitel, von denen ein wesentlicher Teil auf die Schilderung eines viele Monate währenden Hin und Hers im Rahmen der kriegerischen Auseinandersetzung zwischen dem römischen Staat und König Jugurtha entfällt. Die nun eingebettete Geschichte trägt dazu bei, den Spannungsbogen aufrechtzuerhalten und dem *Bellum Iugurthinum* gleichsam ein wenig Farbe zu geben.⁶

Der andere Grund ist ein inhaltlich-kompositioneller. „Denn die Schilderung von Leptis ergänzt den Afrikaexkurs“⁷ (Kap. 17–19), während die Philänensage dazu dient, durch Anknüpfung an das Proömium die Marius-Rede vorzubereiten. Letztere wiederum rekurriert auf die Geschichte und ihre Moral, indem zentrale Begriffe und Motive aufgenommen werden.

Dies ist von der Forschung bislang nicht konkret genug benannt worden. In der nach wie vor überschaubaren Literatur zu Kap. 78–79⁸ sind verschiedene Meinungen bezüglich der inhaltlichen Bedeutung des Exkurses für das *Bellum Iugurthinum* insgesamt vertreten worden, ohne dass eine davon als herrschend zu bezeichnen wäre. Nachdem lange Zeit vor allem darauf abgestellt worden war, dass sich in dem Martyrium der Philänen militärische Qualitäten und allgemein die *virtus* des Metellus spiegelten,⁹ neigt die jüngere Forschung dazu, *concordia* als impliziten

⁵ Büchner 1982, 144 spricht von einer „freischwebenden Losgelöstheit von der Geschichtserzählung, die den Exkurs zu einem Ruhepunkt, zu einer Pause, macht“. In diesem Sinne auch Perrochat 1943, 199–200: „La ou plutôt les digressions géographique et historique ou légendaire de 78 (la ville de Leptis et les Syrtes) et 79 (le dévouement des frères Philènes), qui s’enchâssent l’une dans l’autre, n’ont pas exactement la même valeur que les précédentes, mais se lient facilement au récit et reposent un instant le lecteur“.

⁶ Die Aufmerksamkeit des Lesers bedenkt zu Recht – wenn auch nicht in gänzlich nachvollziehbarer Weise – Büchner 1953, 50: „[M]itten in der höchsten Spannung wird der Leser unterbrochen und dadurch seine spannende Anteilnahme noch gesteigert“.

⁷ Vretska 1955, 70–71.

⁸ Bereits 2004 konstatierte Montgomery in seiner Doktorarbeit (Montgomery 2004, 169 Anm. 282): „Very little scholarship exists on the third digression“. Daran hat sich seither nicht sehr viel geändert.

⁹ Büchner 1982, 145: „Das heldenmütige Opfer der Brüder Philaeni stimmt zu der Erzählung von den Taten des Metellus“; Green 1991, 194: „The second digression is a bridge between the commands of Metellus and Marius; though there is dissension between the two men, Metellus does not sacrifice the success of Roman interests to his own injured feelings, and so exemplifies the spirit of the Philaeni“; Tiffou 1974, 470: „[...] Salluste met un point d’orgue aux exploits de Métellus“.

Schlüsselbegriff aus der Erzählung herauszulesen.¹⁰ Ein Bezug wird einerseits behauptet zu Jugurtha und seinen Halbbrüdern,¹¹ andererseits sowohl zu dem Verhältnis Metellus–Marius¹² als auch zu dem zwischen Marius und Sulla.¹³ Darauf aufbauend wird die Philänengeschichte meist metaphorisch dahingehend gedeutet, dass sie einen Alternativweg aufzeige, auf dem letztlich die Römische Republik vor der Krise hätte bewahrt werden können.

Sallusts *Petitum* in einer umfassenden Forderung nach *concordia* erblicken zu wollen, wird verständlich vor dem Hintergrund des Bürgerkriegs, auf den der Autor durchgängig reflektiert. Außerdem befindet sich der Exkurs inmitten der Kapitel, in denen der Antagonismus zwischen Metellus und Marius offenbar wird. Mit deren Uneinigkeit steht somit ein *argumentum e contrario* zur Verfügung. Bei der Interpretation eines Textes auch stets das Vorhergehende und Nachfolgende im Blick zu behalten, ist fachübergreifend ein systematischer Grundsatz, dessen Bedeutung nicht unterschätzt werden darf. Ausgangspunkt muss jedoch immer der auszulegende Text selbst sein. Lässt dieser für sich genommen eine bestimmte Deutung nicht zu, geht notwendig auch jedes diese Deutung stützende Argument fehl. So verhält es sich hier: Ausgangspunkt der Vertreter der „Concordia-Theorie“ ist regelmäßig die Brüdereigenschaft der Philaeni.¹⁴ In der Tat ist nicht unmittelbar einleuchtend, wieso auf Seiten der Karthager von zwei Personen, die zudem Brüder sind, berichtet

¹⁰ Vasta 2014, 210: „The Philaeni are, I think it is safe to claim, an *exemplum* of brotherly *concordia*, which highlights even more the *discordia* between those who should be like brothers“.

¹¹ Green 1991, 194: „The fable of the Philaeni reaches back to echo the thoughts of Micipsa on his deathbed. Discord between brothers and discord in the state weakens a state fatally; concord and peace and self-sacrifice strengthen a state and secure its boundaries“; vgl. auch Wiedemann 1993, 55.

¹² Wiedemann 1993, 55; Montgomery 2004, 194, der sogar so weit geht, der Exkurs sei „clearly a negative commentary on Metellus“; Vasta 2014, 249; Scanlon 1988, 164: „It is natural that Büchner, Tiffou, or any reader might see the deed of the Philaeni as a favorable reflection upon the *uirtus* of Metellus upon the first reading. But one need only reflect on that digression after having read the account which follows to realize that, in retrospect, the totally selfless *uirtus* of that pair in service of the state is meant to stand in direct contrast to the politically self-centred motivations of both Metellus and Marius“.

¹³ Wiedemann 1993, 55–56; Vasta 2014, 375; Montgomery 2004, 193–194.

¹⁴ Wiedemann 1993, 55: „The fact that the protagonists are brothers is an essential element of the story. To run a race, only one competitor is needed to represent each city. The fact that they are pairs of brothers places the story in a line of similar tales illustrating anxieties about the potential for rivalry between brothers“.

wird.¹⁵ Dies mag aber, wie im Grunde bereits bei Wiedemann angedeutet, schlicht daran liegen, dass diese Brüdereigenschaft generell ein beliebtes Element in der Mythologie darstellt. Auf uns gekommen sind im Übrigen mehrere Versionen der Philänensage.¹⁶ Und wenngleich es sich bei der des Sallust um die älteste unter diesen handelt, ist es durchaus denkbar, dass auch jener die Geschichte nicht selbst erfunden und an seiner Vorlage nur geringfügige Änderungen vorgenommen hat. Es lässt sich letztendlich über den Grund dafür, dass die Protagonisten der Sage Brüder sind, nur vage spekulieren. Dass Sallust den Umstand dieser Verwandtschaft allerdings besonders herausgestrichen hätte, ist nicht erkennbar. Des Weiteren kann die Geschichte der Philaeni schwerlich als schlüssiges Beispiel für einen Fall notwendiger Zusammenarbeit gesehen werden. Dafür fehlt es im *Bellum Iugurthinum* bereits an der genauen Schilderung der Bedingungen, die die Kyrener stellen. Auch wird kein Konflikt unter den Karthagern gelöst, etwa indem beide Brüder zunächst sich allein erbaten und am Ende festgestellt hätten, dass sie nur kumulativ die Voraussetzungen für einen Sieg ihres Volkes erbringen könnten. Die gesamte Situation in der Erzählung bleibt unbestimmt. Weder gibt es Diskussionen zwischen den beiden Philänen – etwa vor der Entscheidung über die Billigung des Vorschlags der Gegenseite – noch tritt überhaupt ein irgendwie geartetes Individualverhalten der Geschwister hervor. Mit anderen Worten: Es gibt bei den Brüdern keine Dissonanzen zu überwinden, kein Aufeinander-Zugehen, keinen Ausgleich. Der denkbare Einwand, hierdurch werde gerade die höchste Form der Eintracht dargestellt, vermag ebenso wenig zu überzeugen, denn auch dies müsste auf irgendeine Weise seinen Niederschlag im Text finden. Tatsächlich aber würde die Geschichte mit einem einzigen Philän genauso funktionieren. Schließlich eignete sich die erwähnte, im Zweifel durchgängig herrschende, doch nirgends merklich thematisierte Einmütigkeit auch nicht für eine Übertragung auf das jeweilige Verhältnis der Paare Metellus–Marius, Marius–Sulla oder auch Optimaten–Popularen,¹⁷ dem jeweils genügend Konfliktpotential

¹⁵ Anders als bei Wiedemann impliziert (s.o. Anm. 14), ist über die Anzahl der Läufer auf kyrenischer Seite bei Sallust nichts ausgesagt.

¹⁶ Die beiden anderen finden sich bei Valerius Maximus (V, 6, ext. 4) sowie bei Pomponius Mela (I, 33).

¹⁷ Vgl. aber Montgomery 2004, 194: „For the original audience the message is clear. Leaders must subordinate their own self interest, their own desire for glory and advancement to the good of the state. What had been lost and restored numerous times in the past could only be restored again when the *nobiles* and the *plebs*, the aristocracy and the new men, work together in preserving the boundaries that preserve the *concordia* of the *Res Publica*“.

innewohnt. Für eine Fabel jedenfalls, deren Moral lautet, „cooperation within the community would bring success“,¹⁸ ist die Erzählung in ihrer konkreten Gestalt schlichtweg ungeeignet.

Bezüglich der Verortung des Philänen-Exkurses im *Bellum Iugurthinum* insgesamt ist namentlich mit dem Parteienstreit zum Nachteil des Staates ein zentrales Thema diskutiert worden.¹⁹ Während Scanlon selbst lediglich die These aufstellt, die *virtus* der Jünglinge kontrastiere mit der „factiousness of the Roman leaders“,²⁰ im Übrigen aber Argumente für die von ihm behauptete enge Verknüpfung schuldig bleibt, wird von anderen in diesem Zusammenhang verschiedentlich der Beginn von Kap. 78 herangezogen,²¹ wo es im ersten Satz heißt, die Sidonier seien *ob discordias civilis* als Flüchtlinge nach Leptis gekommen. Hierauf wird jedoch in der erst im nächsten Kapitel folgenden Geschichte von den Philänen gar nicht Bezug genommen.²² Es soll nicht in Abrede gestellt werden, dass Sallust in 78, 1 den Exkurs nutzt, um das Motiv der Uneinigkeit innerhalb der Gesellschaft in Erinnerung zu rufen. Es trägt indes nicht als Argument, um der Concordia-Theorie zu hinreichender Plausibilität zu verhelfen.

Und doch wird in Kap. 79 durchaus der Bogen geschlagen zu der im Proömium vorbereiteten Gesellschaftskritik. Dort war dem Streben nach

¹⁸ Comber-Balmaceda 2009, 17–18 Anm. 14 sowie Balmaceda 2017, 72 Anm. 111 halten dies zumindest für vertretbar.

¹⁹ Scanlon 1987, 52: „In any case by its forceful contrast the superficially delightful *logos* of the Philaeni is closely tied to the major themes of the monograph: party strife among leaders to the detriment of the state“.

²⁰ *Ebd.*

²¹ Green 1991, 160: „[...] but there remains the theme of civil discord. The fact that the Philaeni are brothers, however, reminds us that divisions between brothers – civil discord, in fact – led the citizens of Lepcis Magna to leave Sidonia“; Vasta 2014, 209: „Indeed, the opening of the digression notes that Leptis was founded by Sidonians who left their home ‘on account of civil discord’ (*ob discordias ciuilis*, 78.1). Therefore, the reader has civil strife in mind“.

²² Von einer eingehenden Erörterung der Frage, ob die Kapitel 78 und 79 sich als zwei einzelne Exkurse darstellen, die unmittelbar aufeinanderfolgen, oder ob sie einen einzigen Exkurs bilden, wurde in dem vorliegenden Beitrag abgesehen. Relevanz könnte ihr allenfalls an genau dieser Stelle zukommen, doch die Frage kann auch hier dahinstehen: Folgte man der ersten Sichtweise, so wäre das in Rede stehende Argument von vornherein aus systematischen Gründen von geringem Gewicht. Selbst wenn man aber die Einheit der Kap. 78–79 annehmen wollte, bliebe es innerhalb des Exkurses jedenfalls bei einer logischen Trennung der Philänengeschichte von dem Exkurs im Übrigen.

politischen Ämtern um ihrer selbst willen das wahrhaftige Sich-Einsetzen für das Gemeinwesen gegenübergestellt worden.²³ Ausführlich wird diese Thematik später in der strahlenden Rede des Marius diskutiert (vgl. 85, 19–23). Die klagende Zustandsbeschreibung mündet in einen flammenden Appell an das römische Volk (85, 47–49):

[...] capessite rem publicam, [...] omnis bonos rei publicae subvenire decebat. etenim nemo ignavia immortalis factus est, neque quisquam parens liberis, uti aeterni forent, optavit, magis uti boni honestique vitam exigent.

In höchstem Maße im Sinne der zitierten Vorgaben aber handeln gerade die Karthager-Brüder aus der Geschichte (79, 9):

Philaeni condicione probata seque vitamque suam rei publicae condonare: ita vivi obruti.

Sallust liefert mit dem Exkurs im Vorfeld der Rede ein Paradebeispiel dessen, was er die Figur des Marius in Übereinstimmung mit den Gedanken aus der Einleitung nachdrücklich einfordern lässt.²⁴ Dadurch dass er die dahinterstehende Einstellung plastisch macht, stützt er seine These. Zusätzlich scheint Sallust, indem er sich des Marius als Sprachrohr bedient, Sympathie für diesen zu bekunden. Dieser Eindruck wird verstärkt, analysiert man die Charakterisierung des Marius durch den Autor.²⁵ Hierbei finden Vokabeln Verwendung, die in Kap. 79 widerklingen. So verweist das *egregium atque mirabile facinus* aus 79, 1 nicht nur zielgenau

²³ Vgl. hierzu Kap. 4.

²⁴ Wie bereits dargelegt, kamen Büchner 1982, 145 und Green 1991, 194 zwar zu der Einschätzung, der Exkurs sei auf Metellus bezogen, s.o. Anm. 9. Zuvor aber hatte Büchner 1953, 49 das Sich-Einfügen des Exkurses in das zu behandelnde Thema erkannt und Letzteres in diesem Fall mit „*virtus* des Metellus und Marius“ benannt. Ähnlich Green 1991, 161: „*Nunc ad rem redeo* (LXXIX.10). Now Sallust can turn to the final successes of Metellus and the election and speech of Marius, which mark the turning point of the war. Not only has the moral goal been set for them, [...]“. Und obwohl Green bereits das wegweisende Schlagwort erschlossen hatte, *ebd.* feststellend, „[...] *gloria via virtutis* is commemorated by the altars of the Philaeni. They were, in every sense, Φιλαίνοι [sic!], lovers of praise“, stellt dieser genauso wenig in der Konsequenz den Bezug zu Marius und seiner mit den Begriffen *virtus* und *gloria* gespickten Rede in den Vordergrund.

²⁵ Comber–Balmaceda 2009, 15: „With Gaius Marius, Sallust seems to achieve his peak in the complete exposition of his theory about *virtus*“; Balmaceda 2017, 66: „With the entrance of Gaius Marius on the scene, Sallust appears to have reached the summit of the exposition of his theory of *virtus*“.

auf die *egregia facinora* aus dem Proöm (2, 2), die dort als *inmortalia* ausgewiesen werden, sondern zusätzlich auf 63, 7 und damit indirekt auf Marius: *novos nemo tam clarus neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin indignus illo honore et quasi pollutus haberetur*.

Vor allem aber wird dieser als *tantummodo gloriae avidus* (63, 2) beschrieben. Diese Eigenschaft wiederum könnte man unschwer auch den zwei Karthagern attestieren. Die *honores*, die ihnen post mortem zuteilwurden, dürften sie vor der Entscheidung erhofft und in ihre Überlegungen miteinbezogen haben. Ihr Verhalten entspricht den Forderungen, die Sallust im ersten Kapitel formuliert hat. Die dort in Aussicht gestellte Folge scheint sich ebenfalls zu fügen (1, 5): *eo magnitudinis procederent, ubi pro mortalibus gloria aeterni fierent*. Überdies kann man den – als griechisch aufgefassten – Namen *Philaeni* mit „die Ruhmliebenden“ übersetzen.²⁶

Die gewissermaßen als Gegenbegriff fungierende *socordia* begegnet ebenfalls schon in den grundsätzlichen Ausführungen am Anfang (1, 4; 2, 4), später in Kap. 79 (79, 5) und schließlich in der großen Rede (85, 22), in der sich Marius durchweg als Verwirklichung des von ihm gezeichneten Ideals geriert.

Überhaupt sind die Anknüpfungspunkte in der Marius-Rede, lexikalisch wie inhaltlich, mannigfaltig.

Und so braucht es nicht viel Phantasie, um 85, 31–37 als Replik auf die Philänensage zu lesen: Während in Kap. 79 die unterlegenen *Graeci* mit Tricks (vgl. demgegenüber 85, 31: *illis artificio opus est*) und wohlfeilen Worten (vgl. 85, 31: *non sunt composita verba mea*; 85, 32: *neque litteras Graecas didici*) an ihrer Niederlage zu deuteln suchen (vgl. 85, 31: *ut turpia facta oratione tegant*), um zuhause nicht schlecht dazustehen, fügen sich die Philänen ohne Aufhebens in die veränderte Lage. Obwohl sie bereits tapfer die Mühen des Wettlaufs – lebensnah darf man davon ausgehen, dass über die gewöhnlichen Erschöpfungerscheinungen eines Langlaufs hinaus insbesondere Hitze (vgl. 85, 33: *aestatem iuxta pati*) und Durst zu beklagen waren (vgl. 85, 33:

²⁶ Middendorf 1853, 13 geht unter Verweis auf den Grammatiker C. Iulius Solinus davon aus, es handele sich bei φίλαινοι nicht um einen Eigennamen, sondern ein „aus φιλεῖν und αἶνος zusammengesetztes Appellativ“. Ob es wirklich ein griechisches Adjektiv φίλαινος gab, ist allerdings zweifelhaft. Im Thesaurus Linguae Graecae belegt ist lediglich der Name Φίλαινος, -ον. Nichtsdestoweniger wäre die Annahme, um den Namen sei „eine ätiologische Legende“ (Koestermann 1971, 281, zu Kap. 79, 10; vgl. auch Middendorf 1853, 13) gesponnen worden, auch dann plausibel, wenn dieser nicht griechisch, aber gräzisiert gewesen sein sollte (vgl. Koestermann 1971, 281, zu Kap. 79, 10.: „Name anscheinend berberisch“).

eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare) – auf sich genommen hatten, akzeptieren sie mutig (vgl. 85, 33: *nil metuere nisi turpem famam*) die Bedingung der Kyrener, um schließlich den Tod zu finden (vgl. 85, 33: *humi requiescere*).²⁷ Anders als die Philaeni, denen ob ihrer uneigennütigen Tat zuhause Ehren erwiesen werden, fordert die *nobilitas* laut Marius *honores*, und zwar *non ex merito, sed quasi debitos* (85, 37). Für seine Person indessen verweist Marius seinen Zuhörern gegenüber, die ihm *summam honorem* (85, 28) übertragen hätten, auf diverse Ehrenbezeugungen (vgl. 85, 29).

Der referierte enge Zusammenhang zwischen Proömium, Philänenexkurs und Marius-Rede soll nicht negieren, dass nach Sallusts Dafürhalten Marius die in ihn gesetzten Erwartungen letztlich nicht einlösen kann. Die diesem in hohem Maße attribuierte *virtus* feilt ihn nicht vor übersteigertem Ehrgeiz, zum Ausbruch des Bürgerkriegs trägt er bei.²⁸ Eine Differenzierung diesbezüglich erfolgt geradeheraus in der Charakterisierung in Kap. 63 und klingt an im offenen Ende des Textes (63, 6): [...] – *nam postea ambitione praeceps datus est* – [...].

Zusammenfassend bleibt festzuhalten: Nicht auf der Kooperation liegt der Fokus in der hier untersuchten Geschichte. Diese Auffassung fügt sich nur scheinbar gut in die Gesamtdeutung des Opus Sallusts. In Wirklichkeit überdehnt eine derartige Interpretation den Wortlaut des Exkurses, indem sie bestimmten Umständen ein unverhältnismäßig großes Gewicht beimisst. In erster Linie ist dies die Tatsache, dass es sich bei den Philaeni um ein Brüderpaar handelt. Beachtung verdient vielmehr, dass die bei Marius mitschwingende Vorwegnahme des *Dulce et decorum est* des Horaz für den Sallust-Leser geradewegs zurückdeutet auf die Selbstaufopferung der Brüder Philänus für den Staat. Sallust legt demnach in Kap. 79 besonderen Wert auf die Unterordnung des Individuums unter das Gemeinwesen. Entscheidend ist, und damit wird gestützt, wofür C. Marius ausweislich seiner Ansprache einstehen will, was jeder einzelne für die Gemeinschaft tut, und nicht, ob jemand tugendhafte Vorfahren hat. Die Philänensage exemplifiziert die im Proömium umrissene, von dem sallustianischen Marius ebenso wie von Sallust selbst geteilte Überzeugung, man gelange *ad gloriam virtutis via* (1, 3).²⁹

²⁷ Auffallend auch der Parallelismus zwischen 79, 9 – *Philaeni condicione probata seque vitamque suam rei publicae condonavere* – und 85, 36 – *haec atque alia talia maiores vestri faciundo seque remque publicam celebravere*.

²⁸ Unhaltbar dagegen Scanlon 1987, 51, die Philänengeschichte solle u.a. einen Kontrast bilden zur *ambitio* des Marius.

²⁹ Vgl. zum nicht auf die Abkunft abstellenden Begriff der *virtus* bei Sallust z.B. Comber-Balmaceda 2009, 22 sowie Balmaceda 2017.

Ein Blick auf die Systematik und die Wortwahl bestätigt dies: Die Marius-Rede folgt bald auf die Philänengeschichte und greift deren Vokabular auf, sodass von einer Verklammerung gesprochen werden darf. Bei Vretska ist zu lesen, die Geschichte von den Philänen habe „durch die Ethisierung, die Sallust vorgenommen hat, die Aufgabe, den Leser mittelbar als *exemplum* anzusprechen“.³⁰ Dies trifft zu. Mittelbar allerdings aus dem Grund, dass Kap. 79 als Schablone dient, die gedanklich aufgelegt werden soll, wenn Marius wenige Kapitel darauf um die Aufrechterhaltung der Republik wirbt. Wem zur Zeit des Zweiten Triumvirats Sallusts Sympathien galten, muss Spekulation bleiben. Offensichtlich ist jedoch, dass er den Appell des Marius eingefügt hat in das wiederholt bemühte Dekadenzmodell, das ihm zur Klage auf das Sterben der Republik diene.³¹ Sallusts Sympathien für die Popularen sind offenkundig. Dass die *magna atque mirabilia* (63, 1), die Marius vom Opferschauer verkündet worden waren, einhergehen mit einer Verantwortung des Feldherrn für den Bürgerkrieg, hindert nicht die vorgelegte Lesart. Schließlich soll gerade nicht behauptet werden, in den Augen des Autors habe Marius die für sich reklamierten Prinzipien vollends beachtet. Selbst wenn man – etwa mit Pöschl 1940, Vretska 1955 und Syme 1964 – die negativen Schattierungen in der Charakterzeichnung des Marius wesentlich stärker betonen wollte, ja sogar der Meinung wäre, Marius habe „immer nur die eigene Person im Auge ohne Rücksicht auf das, was für den Staat selbst von Nutzen ist“,³² er demzufolge selbst nicht an seine Worte glaube, änderte dies nichts daran, dass der Inhalt seiner Rede ans Volk sich mit den zu Beginn des *Bellum Iugurthinum* geäußerten Gedanken deckt,³³ und somit auch nichts Grundlegendes an der Funktion des Exkurses.

Beginnend mit der Bezeichnung des zu erzählenden *facinus duorum Carthaginensium* als *egregium atque mirabile*, erinnert der sallustianische Exkurs in seiner Kuriosität und Prägnanz an die Novellen Herodots – „tales of the extraordinary are a regular feature of historiography from at least Herodotus onwards, often, as here, in a digression“.³⁴

³⁰ Vretska 1955, 71.

³¹ Zu weitgehend wiederum Vasta 2014, 211: „The Africans in general are an ‘Other’ to the Romans, and Carthage specifically is the anti-Rome, the great enemy, whose very existence was able to compel Rome to *uirtus*. In making the Philaeni the first entirely positive *exemplum* in his narratives, Sallust decries the utter failure of the Roman state“.

³² Koestermann 1971, 310, zu Kap. 85, 42–43.

³³ Dies räumt auch Koestermann 1971, 311, zu Kap. 85, 42–43 sinngemäß ein.

³⁴ Comber–Balmaceda 2009, 246, zu Kap. 79, 1.

Nun schreibt Sallust 400 Jahre später. Und sein Verständnis von Geschichtsschreibung muss eigenständig beurteilt werden.³⁵ Dennoch dürften auch hier die Versuche vergeblich sein, die Historizität der einen oder anderen Schilderung trotz ihrer teilweise ganz absonderlichen Unglaubhaftigkeit wahrscheinlich zu machen. Man wird davon ausgehen müssen, dass auch die Geschichte um die Philänen-Altäre in Kapitel 79 nicht auf einer glaubwürdigen Quelle beruht. Unverändert besteht aber das Bedürfnis des Lesers, unterhalten zu werden. Dieses befriedigt Sallust durch das gelegentliche Einstreuen kurzweiliger Episoden wie dieser. „Daß sie der Erbauung der Leser dienen soll, ist eindeutig“.³⁶ Exkurse wie der vorliegende sind hierzu ein probates Mittel, und der Autor steht dabei in der Tradition seiner Vorgänger. So geben doch gerade die mit Raffinesse eingeflochtenen märchenhaften Passagen dem *Bellum Iugurthinum* seine Würze. Ohne charmante Binnenerzählungen wie diese wäre wohl so mancher bei der Lektüre eingenickt wie Nabdalsa über dem Bittbrief des Bomilkar.

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³⁵ Zur literarischen Gattung bei Herodot, die nicht die wissenschaftliche Historiographie ist, vgl. Fehling 1971.

³⁶ Koestermann 1971, 280, zu Kap. 79, 8–9.

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The tale of the Philaeni brothers in Sall. *Iug.* 79 not only brings the description of the war to a halt, it also pleases the reader. Moreover, it is used by the author as a reflection point, when it comes to Marius appealing to his audience only six chapters after the digression. Marius' concept of *virtus* as well as that of Sallust himself as shown in the prooemium is illustrated by the heroic feat of the two Carthaginians who give their life for their people.

Рассказ о братьях Филенах (Sall. *Iug.* 79) нужен не только ради ретардации в повествовании о войне, но и ради удовольствия читателя. Более того, он подготавливает к восприятию речи Мария, которая расположена на шесть глав ниже. Подвиг двух карфагенян, отдавших жизнь за свой народ, иллюстрирует категорию *virtus* в понимании Мария, а судя по проэмию – и самого Саллюстия.

Carlo M. Lucarini

CONGETTURE ALLE *METAMORFOSI* DI APULEIO

Del testo delle *Metamorfosi* di Apuleio sono state pubblicate, a partire dalla fine dell'Ottocento, cinque importanti edizioni: le due teubneriane di van der Vliet¹ e Helm,² quella francese di Robertson–Vallette,³ quella paraviana di Giarratano–Frassinetti⁴ e, recentissimamente, quella oxoniense della Zimmerman.⁵ Utile repertorio di congetture è ancora l'edizione di Oudendorp.⁶ Come *Sprachgefühl* van der Vliet e Helm non hanno forse rivali (anche Robertson ha dato contributi notevoli in questo senso), ma tutte le edizioni menzionate hanno meriti notevoli e devono essere sempre consultate. Una nuova edizione è in preparazione a cura di L. Nicolini, che ha già pubblicato un commento parziale, una traduzione italiana e contributi su singoli passi.⁷ Propongo qui una serie di osservazioni derivate da una lettura dell'opera (il testo di partenza è quello della Zimmerman, con qualche lieve modifica).⁸

Met. I, 7, 9: “et statim miser, ut cum illa adquevi, ab unico congressu annosam ac pestilentem [c̄]ontraho; et ipsas etiam lacinias, quas boni latrones contendo mihi concesserant, in eam contuli”.

L'amico di Aristomene narra come una maga lo abbia legato a sé, togliendogli ciò che gli stessi briganti gli avevano lasciato. Il testo dei mss., anche dopo l'espunzione di *c(on)*,⁹ è inaccettabile, perché manca

¹ Van der Vliet 1897.

² Helm 1907.

³ Robertson–Vallette 1940–1945.

⁴ Giarratano–Frassinetti 1960.

⁵ Zimmerman 2012.

⁶ Oudendorp 1786.

⁷ Nicolini 2000; Nicolini 2005. Farò riferimenti anche alla traduzione di Helm 1956, Hanson 1989, Bontempelli 1973.

⁸ Quando cito congetture senza indicarne il luogo di pubblicazione, esso può essere dedotto dagli apparati delle edizioni appena citate.

⁹ È probabile che *c(on)* sia una duplicazione di quello che segue immediatamente (Novák, cfr. l'apparato di Helm *ad loc.*).

l'oggetto di *contraho*. La Magnaldi, seguita dal Keulen,¹⁰ ipotizza che il complemento oggetto sia la maga stessa, che, essendo stata appena nominata (*illa*), non necessiterebbe di ulteriore specificazione e cita 9, 14, 2 (*pessimam et ante cunctas mulieres longe deterrimam sortitus coniugam*). Tuttavia, non conosco usi di *contrahere* che supportino questa interpretazione. Helm integra <*cladem*> dopo *pestilentem*, Heinsius <*luem*>, van der Vliet con<*suetudinem*>, Oudendorp <*noxam*>. Sulla scia di Helm e Heinsius io integrerei *pestilentem* <*tabem*>, che può ben significare “consuetudine deplorabile, depravazione morale” (cfr. Luc. B. C. IV, 96; Tac. *Ann.* XI, 6, 2). Per *pestis* insieme a *tabes* cfr. Liv. XXV, 26, 11; Colum. VI, 5, 2; Mart. I, 78, 1.

I, 19, 1: quo facto et ipse aliquid indidem sumo, eumque avide essitantem aspiciens, aliquanto intentiore macie atque pallore buxio deficientem video.

Aristomene osserva il compagno che, mentre mangia, assume un aspetto che ne preannuncia la morte imminente. In F leggiamo *intentior* *acie*: la Zimmerman (così come la maggioranza degli editori) segue il Philomathes, che si limita a dividere meglio le parole, ma è probabile che il guasto sia più profondo. Con questo testo *intentior* si riferisce a *macies*, ma il costrutto non è attestato ed è poco perspicuo. La Zimmerman e Giarratano–Frassinetti citano le congetture *intentior*, *ex acie* (Hildebrand) e *intentior e macie* (Wiman), ma la congettura migliore è secondo me *intentior* <*acie*>, *macie atque* (Oudendorp, citato solo da Robertson): per *intenta acies* cfr. II, 22, 2; Sen. *Ep. mor.* 124, 5.

I, 23, 3–4: et sic “ego te – inquit – etiam de ista corporis speciosa habitudine deque hac virginali prorsus verecundia generosa stirpe proditum et recte conicerem. sed et meus Demeas eadem litteris pronuntiat”.

Milone si rivolge qui a Lucio, di cui elogia l'aspetto fisico e l'educazione. Crea problemi *et recte*; la Nicolini traduce: “avrei indovinato che discendi da una famiglia nobile: del resto così mi conferma nella lettera anche il mio buon Demea”. In questo modo mi pare che *recte* venga omesso. Il Keulen¹¹ intende *et* come *et quidem* (= “indeed, surely”), ma non vedo perché Milone dovrebbe fare questa sorta di autoconferma di quanto egli stesso ha detto, senza che si sia aggiunta nessuna prova in tal senso. Forse la verità è stata vista dal Damsté, che ipotizza che dopo

¹⁰ Magnaldi 2000, 50–52; Keulen 2007, 196–197.

¹¹ Keulen 2007, 410.

questo avverbio sia caduto un aggettivo; il filologo olandese integra <eruditum>. In effetti, un riferimento chiaro alla παιδεία di Lucio qui sarebbe assai opportuno, poiché anche altrove essa viene citata insieme alla nobiltà della nascita e dell'aspetto fisico (III, 15; X, 2; XI, 15). L'idea del Damsté è attraente ed è repressibile la Zimmerman, che non la cita nemmeno in apparato e non sembra percepire la gravità del problema. Si potrebbe integrare anche un aggettivo come <litteratum> (cfr. X, 2, 1 *probe litteratum*, in un contesto del tutto analogo al nostro); il problema è che Apuleio non usa mai *recte* per rafforzare un aggettivo. Una soluzione sicura non c'è, e forse la miglior cosa sarebbe porre *recte* fra *crucis*.

I, 26, 1: et ecce Photis ancilla: “rogat te – inquit – hospes”. at ego iam inde Milonis abstinentiae cognitor excusavi comiter, quod viae vexationem non cibo, sed somno censerem diluendam.

Lucio ha già sperimentato la parca mensa del suo ospite Milone e declina quindi l'invito a cena. Non capisco *iam inde*: questa espressione significa “ormai a partire da quel momento” (cfr. *Met.* II, 7, 2; V, 29, 2; VI, 29, 8;¹² *Apol.* 26, 4; 47, 3; 56, 2; *TLL* s. v. *inde* 1110, 8, 25), ma qui è evidente che il significato richiesto è “già da un pezzo”. Io credo si debba scrivere *iam pridem*, espressione usata spesso dal Nostro (c. g. X, 25, 9).

II, 4, 6: pone tergum deae saxum insurgit in speluncae modum, muscis et herbis et foliis et virgulis et sicubi pampinis et arbusculis alibi de lapide florentibus.

Lucio-asino descrive qui una grotta artificiale nell'atrio della casa di Birrena. “Hinten im Rücken der Göttin erhebt sich ein Fels nach Art einer Grotte mit Moos, Kraut, Blättern, Zweigen und an einer Stelle mit Weinranken, an anderer mit blühenden Bäumchen aus Stein” (Helm). Questa traduzione presuppone che *sicubi* ... *alibi* equivalga ad *alibi* ... *alibi*, cosa assai difficile, poiché *sicubi* significa “if at any place, if anywhere” (*OLD*) e, dato questo significato, non si può coordinare ad *alibi*. La van Mal-Maeder,¹³ nel tentativo di difendere il testo dei mss., ha cercato di mostrare che *sicubi* possa significare *alibi*, ma i passi da lei citati (Plin. *NH* IX, 164; Scrib. Larg. 164) dimostrano l'esatto contrario:

¹² Secondo il Keulen 2007, 454, questo passo costituirebbe un parallelo per l'uso di *iam inde* di I, 26 1: *ad lunae splendorem iam inde longius cognitos*. Tuttavia, mi sembra che *inde* abbia qui valore locale; cfr. anche l'originale greco (Ὅνος 24): καὶ πόρρωθεν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὴν σελήνην ἔγνωσαν. Anche negli altri passi che cito il senso locale è qua e là presente.

¹³ Van Mal-Maeder 2001, 105

Plinio oppone i canneti a tutti gli altri luoghi paludosi (*saepia in terreno parit aut inter harundines aut sicubi enata alga*), in Scribonio si oppone l'Africa al resto del mondo (*in Africa aut sicubi scorpiones sunt nocivi*). Anche in Apuleio il valore di *sicubi* è sempre questo (*Met.* IV, 1, 5; *De deo S.* 17, 2; 18, 5). È evidente che in tutti questi passi *sicubi* ha il significato dato dall'*OLD*. In *Met.* II, 4, 6 non resta quindi che correggere *sicubi* in *alicubi* (Helm) o, più prudentemente, mettere *sicubi* fra *cruces*.

II, 6, 1: at ego curiosus alioquin, ut primum artis magicae semper optatum nomen audivi, tantum a cautela Pamphiles afui ut etiam ultro gestirem tali magisterio me volens ampla cum mercede tradere et prorsus in ipsum barathrum saltu concito praecipitare.

Lucio, da sempre desideroso di venire a contatto con la magia tessalica, è finalmente vicino al suo scopo. Il significato del passo è ben reso dalla Nicolini: “ma io, che già ero curioso di mio, non appena sentii la parola ‘magia’ che da sempre mi attirava, fui così lontano dal guardarmi da Pamfile, che anzi non vedevo l’ora di consegnarmi spontaneamente e con gran piacere a una tal maestra, anche a patto di pagare un mucchio di soldi, e insomma di fare un bel salto e buttarmi a capofitto in quell’abisso”. Rispetto al testo trascritto, si osserva una lieve divergenza, poiché la Nicolini traduce “anche a patto di pagare”, ma tale sfumatura è assente dal testo latino. Io credo che la Nicolini abbia ben colto il significato del passo, ma, se è così, va rivalutata la congettura di van der Vliet, che propone di correggere *volens* in *vel*. Tuttavia, come hanno osservato lo Helm e la van Mal-Maeder,¹⁴ *volens* è tipico dello stile apuleiano e non va toccato: di conseguenza *gestirem* è usato assolutamente (“non stare nella pelle dal desiderio”)¹⁵ e *ultro* indica opposizione rispetto alla *cautela* suggerita di Birrena.¹⁶ Io suggerirei di integrare *volens* <vel> *ampla*. Per *vel* in contesto del tutto analogo cfr. Cic. *ad Att.* 13, 29, 2: *emamus vel magno*.

II, 11, 4: nam Milonis boni concinnaticiam mensulam rogatus accubueram, quam pote tutus ab uxoris eius aspectu, Byrrhenae monitorum memor, et perinde in eius faciem oculos meos ac si in Avernum lacum formidans deieceram.

¹⁴ Helm 1956, *ad loc.*; van Mal-Maeder 2001, 130.

¹⁵ Non è dunque legato a *tradere* ... *praecipitare*.

¹⁶ Per questo significato di *ultro* cfr. Forcellini s. v. II 5. L'emendamento di van der Vliet certo offrirebbe una costruzione più facile, poiché *gestirem* reggerebbe *tradere* e *ultro* significherebbe “di mia spontanea volontà”. La traduzione della Nicolini si accorda con il testo di van der Vliet.

Lucio cerca di sfuggire allo sguardo della moglie di Milone. *Deicere* indica evidentemente l'abbassare gli occhi e ha per oggetto *oculos meos* (il paragone fra ciò che si vuole evitare di vedere e l'Averno ha numerosi paralleli, cfr. van Mal-Maeder).¹⁷ Ma da cosa è retto *in eius faciem*? Forse bisogna integrare *formidans* <*derigere*> *deieceram*?

II, 13, 5: at ille, ubi primum consaviatus eum iuxtim se ut adsidat effecit, attonitus et repentinae visionis stupore et praesentis negotii quod gerebat oblitus infit ad eum.

Questo il testo dei mss., che presenta l'evidente difficoltà di lasciare *repentinae visionis stupore* senza legami con il contesto. Ha goduto di molta fortuna l'espunzione di *et* che segue *attonitus* (Lütjohann, difeso dalla van Mal-Maeder);¹⁸ da ultimo Giulia Ammannati (seguita dalla Zimmerman) ha espunto *attonitus et* e ha integrato *attonitus* dopo *stupore*. Entrambi gli emendamenti offrono un latino accettabile, ma si potrebbe pensare anche a un'altra soluzione: *attonitus et repentinae visionis stupore [et] praesentis negotii quod gerebat oblitus*. In questo modo *attonitus* verrebbe usato assolutamente, cfr. *TLL* s. v. 1155, 53 sgg.

II, 19, 5: “quod sciam, templis et lavacris et ceteris operibus longe cunctas civitates antecellimus, utensilium praeterea pollemus adfatim”.

Che Birrena possa dire che Ipata è superiore per i propri edifici pubblici a “tutte le città” è parso inverisimile al Rohde, che ha proposto *civitates* <*Thessaliae*> *antecellimus*. La van Mal-Maeder cerca di giustificare il testo trådito, suppone che nel probabile originale greco ci fosse un gioco con l'aggettivo ὑπατος e afferma che “pour Byrrhène, cette suprématie ne se limite pas à la seule Thessalie”.¹⁹ Tuttavia, quanto la stessa Birrena afferma immediatamente dopo (*omni denique provinciae voluptarii secessus sumus*) mi sembra smentire quanto afferma la studiosa elvetica e confermare la necessità, sentita dal Rohde, di una limitazione geografica. Anche il testo greco, in un passo simile al nostro, sembra andare in questa direzione (Ὅνος 46: πόλεως τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τῆς μεγίστης Θεσσαλονίκης). Io scriverei *cunctas* <*vicinas*> *civitates*.

II, 26, 6–7: vix effatum me statim familiares, omen nefarium exsecrati, raptis cuiusque modi telis insecuntur; pugnis ille malas offendere, scapulas alius cubitis impingere, palmis hic latera suffodere, calcibus insultare, capillos distrahere, vestem discindere.

¹⁷ Van Mal-Maeder 2001, 202.

¹⁸ Van Mal-Maeder 2001, 226.

¹⁹ Van Mal-Maeder 2001, 292.

Telifrone, dopo aver fatto la guardia al morto, ha la cattiva idea di congedarsi dalla moglie del defunto esortandola a non peritarsi a chiedere di nuovo il suo aiuto ogni volta che ci sarà un'occasione del genere (!). I familiari del defunto per questa *gaffe* lo percuotono; io non capisco perché Apuleio dovrebbe dire che essi si muniscono di armi (*tela*), quando poi per picchiare Telifrone non le usano. Forse *raptis cuiusque modi telis* è una glossa?

II, 27, 6: sic ille senior lamentabiles questus singulis instrepebat.

Singulis non ha molto senso, poiché il *senior* ha fatto un discorso rivolto a tutti, che coi *singuli* non ha nulla a che fare. Scioppius propone *singultim*, Helm <*supplicans*> *singulis*. Forse *singultiens*? Apuleio usa *singultio* anche a III, 10, 3.

III, 29, 2–3: cum denique iam luce clarissima vicum quempiam frequentem et nudinis celebrem praeteriremus, inter ipsas turbelas Graecorum <Romanorum> genuino sermone nomen augustum Caesaris invocare temptavi; et “o” quidem tantum disertum ac validum clamitavi, reliquum autem Caesaris nomen enuntiare non potui.

“Il faisait déjà grand jour et nous traversions un bourg populeux, dans lequel un marché avait attiré beaucoup de monde. Au beau milieu des groupes, composés tous de Grecs, je tentai d'invoquer, dans la propre langue des Romains, le nome auguste de César. Et j'arrivai bien à pousser un ô distinct et vigoureux; mais le reste, le nome de César, impossible de le prononcer” (Vallette–Robertson). Όνος 16: ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλάκις “ὦ Καῖσαρ” ἀναβοῆσαι ἐπεθύμουν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὠγκώμην, καὶ τὸ μὲν “ὦ” μέγιστον καὶ εὐφωνότατον ἐβόων, τὸ δὲ “Καῖσαρ” οὐκ ἐπεκολοῦθει. Io sospetto che *Caesaris nomen* sia una glossa aggiunta da qualcuno che voleva pedantemente chiarire ciò che Lucio-asino non era riuscito a pronunciare; si osservi anche la sgradevolezza di avere un neutro sostantivo (*reliquum*) con vicino un sostantivo (*nomen*) che ne è apposizione anziché sostantivo di riferimento.

IV, 4, 2–4: iam claudus et titubans, rivulum quendam serpentis leniter aquae propter insistens, subtilem occasionem feliciter nactus, cogitabam totum memet flexis scite cruribus primum abicere, certus atque obstinatus nullis verberibus ad ingrediendum exurgere, immo etiam paratus non fusti tantum, sed machaera perfossus occumbere.

Lucio-asino è sfinito dalla fatica e medita di mettersi a terra e di non proseguire più, nemmeno se i briganti useranno la violenza per farlo

ripartire. Il testo pone almeno due problemi. Non è chiaro cosa significhi *subtilem occasionem*; stando a *TLL* s.v. *occasio* 334, 4, l'espressione *subtilis occasio* si incontra (oltre che nel nostro passo) solo in *Codex Iust.* V, 27, 6: *sub qualibet astuta subtilique legum vel constitutionum occasione*: qui però il significato di *subtilis* è chiaro, poiché c'è un riferimento all'astuzia e alle sottigliezze con cui si aggira la legge. Nel passo apuleiano dovremmo pensare a un'enallage,²⁰ ma io non saprei indicare nulla di simile in Apuleio. Heinsius ha congetturato *labilem*; io suggerirei *utilem*, cfr. Sen. *De ira* I, 11, 5 (*in unam utilitatem et occasiones intentus*). L'originale greco contiene un'espressione comparabile (*Ὅπως* 19: τοῦτο ἐλπίσας μέγα μοι ὄφελος ἔσεσθαι).

IV, 17, 5: “sed et nos – inquam – ipsi parati sumus hic ibidem pro cavea ista excubare noctes, ut aestus et vexationis incommodo bestiae fatigatae et cibum tempestivum et potum solitum accuratius offeramus”.

Nel tentativo di ingannare Democare, i briganti gli offrono di porsi essi stessi a guardia dell'orsa che fingono di avergli portati quale dono di Nicanore. Io non capisco *noctes*: il brigante fa immediatamente riferimento al nutrimento dell'animale, che non ha nulla a che fare con la notte ed *excubare* sembra alludere alla guardia che viene fatta tanto di notte quanto di giorno. Forse *noctes* è una glossa penetrata nel testo? La ragione di tale intrusione potrebbe essere che l'assalto dei briganti alla casa di Democare avverrà di notte.

IV, 23, 1–3: nec mora cum latrones ultra <modum> anxii atque solliciti remeant, nullam quidem prorsus sarcinam vel omnino, licet vilem, laciniam ferentes, sed tantum gladiis <totis>, totis manibus, immo factionis suae cunctis viribus unicum virginem, filo liberalem et, ut matronatus eius indicabat, summam regionis, puellam mehercules et asino tali concupiscendam, maerentem et crines cum veste sua lace-rantem, advehebant.

I briganti hanno impiegato tutte le loro forze a disposizione per riportare non chissà quali tesori, ma una sola fanciulla. Hanno creato difficoltà gli ablativi *gladiis ... manibus ... viribus* che risultano *pendentes* e si è integrato <*munitam*> *unicam* (Robertson) ovvero si è corretto *unicam* in *munitam* (Cornelissen). La Nicolini cerca di difendere il testo tradito legando gli ablativi ad *advehebant*,²¹ ma a me pare che tali ablativi

²⁰ Cfr. Hijmans et alii 1977, 48, che, sulle orme di Hildebrand, interpretano “*subtilis* est occasio, quae callido se praebet et opportuna est”.

²¹ Nicolini 2000, 155.

si riferiscano a tutta l'azione dei briganti: il momento finale, quello del riportare Carite al loro covo (*advehebant*), non è certo il momento *clou* della loro azione. Io integrerei *viribus* <*usi*>, *unicam*. N. Almazova mi suggerisce *viribus* <*raptam*>, *unicam*.

IV, 24, 4–5: “et infelicis rapinae praeda et mancipium effecta, inque isto saxeo carcere serviliter clausa et omnibus deliciis quis innata atque innutrita sum privata, sub incerta salutis et carnificinae laniena inter tot ac tales latrones et horrendum gladiatorum populum vel fletum desinere vel omnino vivere potero?”

Carite è disperata e si chiede come potrà continuare a vivere. I commentatori sono d'accordo che il *gladiatorum populus* siano i banditi stessi,²² immediatamente prima chiamati *latrones* (a conferma cfr. IV, 26, 7 *gladiatorum impetus*). Anch'io credo che le cose stiano così; di conseguenza, propongo di espungere *et* dopo *latrones* e di intendere *horrendum gladiatorum populum* come apposizione di *latrones*.

IV, 32, 4: sed Psyche virgo vidua domi residens deflet desertam suam solitudinem aegra corporis, animi saucia et quamvis gentibus totis complacitam odit in se suam formonsitatem.

Non capisco bene le ultime parole del passo trascritto; “sie hasst an sich ihre Schönheit” (Helm). Io sospetto che *suam* non sia genuino (può darsi che si sia generato per assimilazione rispetto a quello precedente). Forse *in se saevam formonsitatem*?

V, 22, 7: ante lectuli pedes iacebat arcus et pharetra et sagittae, magni dei propitia tela.

Crea problemi *propitia*; il significato dovrebbe essere “gnädige” (Helm), ma sembra strano che le armi di Amore, dio capace di far soffrire i mortali come nessun altro e che sta per punire Psiche, vengano definite con tale aggettivo. Qualcuno ha proposto di scrivere *propria* (un *vir doctus* anonimo citato da Oudendorp). Considerando la facilità con cui si confondono *pro-* e *prae-*, io suggerisco *praepetia* (“veloci, alate”). Per *praepes* riferito alle armi cfr. *TLL* s. v. *praepes* 764, 49 sgg.

VI, 10, 6: “miseremini terrae omniparentis agiles alumnae, miseremini et Amoris uxori[s], puellae lepidae, periclitanti prompta velocitate succurrite”.

²² Cfr. Hijmans et alii 1977, 184; Nicolini 2000, 160–161.

Una formica si rivolge qui alle altre formiche, di cui implora l'aiuto. Già in F è stata per congettura erasa la *s* alla fine di *uxoris*. È una possibilità, ma ne esiste un'altra degna di essere meditata, conservare cioè *uxoris* e trasporre *et* prima di *puellae*. Un parallelo a questa ipotesi si trova al § 5: *miserta contubernalis magni dei*.

VI, 29, 8: sic nos diversa tendentes et in causa finali de proprietate soli, immo viae herciscundae contententes rapinis suis onusti coram deprehendunt ipsi latrones.

“E mentre noi in quel momento tendevamo in direzioni diverse in quella che pareva una causa sui confini – ma più che per la proprietà di un terreno, per la spartizione di una strada – ...”. Così traduce la Nicolini e la natura di similitudine della pericope *in causa ... contententes* è evidente. Forse bisogna integrare *et <ut> in causa?* Per l'espressione *ut in causa*, cfr. Cic. *De inv.* II, 43; Quint. V, 6, 5.

VII, 7, 1–2: nec tamen periculo levi temptati discessimus. simul namque primum sonum ianuae matrona percepit, procurrens in cubiculum clamoribus inquietis cuncta miscuit.

Crea gravi difficoltà *in cubiculum*, poiché il *cubiculum* è la camera da letto, mentre qui è evidente che la *matrona* esce dalla camera da letto per chiamare aiuto (“si precipitò fuori dalla stanza” traduce Bontempelli, in perfetto accordo con il contesto). Io scriverei *procurrens e cubiculo* (cfr. e. g. Caes. *Bell. civ.* I, 69, 1: *ex castris procurrebant*).

VII, 19, 5: iamque fomento tenui calescens et enutritus ignis surgebat in flammam et totum me funestus ardor invaserat, nec ullum pestis extremae suffugium, nec salutis aliquod apparet solacium et ustrina talis moras non sustinet et meliora consilia praevertitur.

“Und schon erhob sich das Feuer zur Flamme, das sich aus dem kleinen Zündstoff entwickelte und nährte, und die unheilvolle Hitze war schon ganz zu mir durchgedrungen: Und keine Zuflucht vor dem äußersten Verderben, keine Rettung versprechender Trost zeigt sich, und ein solcher Brand, der kein Zögern verträgt, macht auch bessere Entschlüsse unmöglich” (Helm). Il testo non pone particolari problemi fino a *meliora consilia*: in italiano si può ben dire “anche i migliori consigli” senza che vi sia un valore comparativo in *meliora*, ma in latino non credo sia possibile. Inoltre, questa interpretazione (che era già di Otto Plasberg)²³

²³ Cfr. Helm 1907, *ad loc.*

è difficile anche da un punto di vista sintattico; essa, infatti, diviene possibile solo se manteniamo *sustinens* dei mss. in luogo di *sustinet* (emendamento umanistico); se si accetta *sustinet* (come fanno la Nicolini e la Zimmerman) *et* coordina *sustinet* e *praevertitur*. I commentatori di Groninga affermano che *meliora* può equivalere a *bona*:²⁴ che il grado comparativo abbia talvolta il valore del grado positivo è vero, ma a me pare che qui occorra un aggettivo di significato quasi opposto rispetto a “buono, opportuno”; Lucio-asino vuol dire, mi pare, che avere il fuoco sul proprio dorso il fuoco che brucia non tollera *consilia* deboli e indecisi, non buoni e opportuni. Per questo *meliora* è stato corretto in *maturiora* (Oudendorp), *pleniora* (Kronenberg), *timidiora* (Helm): io credo che la via giusta sia quella di Helm, restaurare cioè un aggettivo che indichi *consilia* deboli e lenti. Io suggerirei *leniora* (cfr. Hor. *Carm.* III, 4, 41 *lene consilium*).

VII, 26, 4: *interim dum puerum illum parentes sui plangoribus fletibusque querebantur*.

Queror con il solo accusativo della cosa di cui si lamenta la perdita è strano (cfr. *OLD* s. v. *queror* 3). Ci aspetteremmo qualcosa come *querebantur* <*amissum*>; cfr. Verg. *Georg.* IV, 512 (*Philomela sub umbra amissos queritur fetus*).

VIII, 6, 6–7: *et ecce mariti cadaver accurrit labantique spiritu totam se super corpus effudit ac paenissime ibidem, quam devoverat, ei reddidit animam. Sed aegre manibus erepta suorum invita remansit in vita: funus vero toto feralem pompam prosequente populo deducitur ad sepulturam*.

Crea difficoltà *erepta*, poiché dovrebbe essere specificato a cosa Carite viene “portata via”. Damsté propone *mānibus erepta* <*mānibus*> *suorum*. È una congettura acuta, ma forse è più semplice correggere *erepta* in *erecta*: Carite viene cioè sollevata dal cadavere di Tlepolemo dalle mani dei suoi parenti che la circondano: per *erigere manibus* cfr. Verg. *Aen.* V, 487–488; Sen. *Troad.* 740; Val. Max. V, 6 (ext.).

VIII, 7, 5–6: *inedia denique misera et incuria squalida [scil. Charites] tenebris imis abscondita, iam cum luce transegerat. sed Thrasyllus instantia pervicaci partim per semet ipsum, partim per ceteros familiares ac necessarios, ipsos denique puellae parentes extorquet tandem, iam lurore et inlucie paene conlapsa membra lavacro, cibo denique cofoveret*.

²⁴ Hijmans et alii 1981, 209.

È strano che si dica che i *membra* cadono (*conlapsa*) a causa della mancanza di igiene. Se non si trovano paralleli per tale ellissi, forse bisogna pensare a integrare qualcosa come *inlue* <*horrida ac fame*> *paene conlapsa*.

VIII, 12, 3: “lumen certe non videbis, manu comitis indigebis; Chariten non tenebis, nuptias non frueris; nec mortis quiete recreaberis, nec vitae voluptate lactaberis, sed incertum simulacrum errabis inter Orcum et solem; et diu quaeres dexteram quae tuas expugnavit pupulas, quodque est in aerumnis miserrimum, nescies de quo queraris”.

Sono parole che Carite rivolge a Trasillo, che ella ha addormentato e che sta per accecare. È molto strano che ella dica che Trasillo non saprà chi accusare del proprio danno: Trasillo sa benissimo che la colpevole è Carite. Nel seguito Carite stessa sembra essere consapevole di questo (cfr. § 6: *vindictam recognosce, infortunium intellege*) e Trasillo capirà tutto senza difficoltà (VIII, 14, 4). Io sospetto che *quodque ... queraris* sia un’aggiunta di qualcuno che ha voluto patetizzare il passo; la Nicolini crede che la frase abbia sapore proverbiale²⁵ e, se ciò è vero, è un’ulteriore prova a favore dell’interpolazione.

VIII, 15, 7–8: denique ob iter illud qua nobis erat commeandum iacere semesa hominum corpora suisque visceribus nudatis ossibus cuncta candere, ac per hoc nos quoque summa cautione † via reddi† debere, idque vel in primis observitare, ut luce clara ac die iam provecto et sole florido vitantes undique latentes insidias [...] difficultates illas transabiremus.

Lucio-asino e il gruppo giungono in un villaggio, ove gli abitanti li avvertono sui rischi della strada che li attende. Il pezzo trascritto contiene proprio gli ammonimenti in questione: è evidente che *via reddi* è corrotto; U (un manoscritto dell’anno 1389) ha corretto *via*<*e*> *reddi*, accolto anche dalla Zimmerman, la quale cita a sostegno VII, 26, 3 (*poenae redderetur*). A me sembra si tratti però di uno pseudo-paralelo, poiché *reddi poenae* (a differenza di *reddi viae*) si spiega alla luce del significato, che *reddo* spesso assume, di “to pay, render (any other thing considered as a debt, obligation, compensation), to exact (a penalty)” (*OLD* s. v. *reddo* 9 a). Secondo me la strada giusta la ha indicata Beyte, che propone *viare die* (per *viare* cfr. VI, 26, 9; X, 5, 3). Tuttavia, *die* non va bene, perché l’argomento del viaggiare di giorno viene introdotto solo nella pericope

²⁵ Nicolini 2000, 309–310.

successiva. Io scriverei *viare inde debere*: da parte di chi parla è del tutto naturale dire *inde* in riferimento al tragitto successivo.

VIII, 20, 2: “*nepos namque meus et itineris huius suavis comes, dum forte passerem incantantem sepiculae consecratur arripere...*”.

L'ultima pericope è tradotta dalla Nicolini “mentre cercava di acchiappare un passerotto che cantava su una siepe”.²⁶ Il significato è senza dubbio questo, ma io non capisco il dativo *sepiculae*; gli altri casi in cui *incanto* è costruito con il dativo non sono comparabili (cfr. *TLL* s. v. *incanto* 847, 6 sgg.: Aug. in Ps. 57, 8: *Stephanus praedicabat veritatem et ... mentibus ... incantabat*). La presenza di *in-* farebbe pensare a un significato di stato in luogo, e in questo caso ci aspetteremmo l'ablativo *sepicula*.

VIII, 29, 2: *a quodam colono fictae vaticinationis mendacio pinguissimum deposcunt arietem, qui deam Syriam esurientem suo satiaret sacrificio*.

“In cambio di una profezia finta e inventata, si fanno dare da uno degli abitanti un montone grassissimo” (Nicolini). Credo si debba integrare *colono* <pro> *fictae*, cfr. Cic. *In Verr.* II, 1, 7 (*pretium pro sepultura liberum posceret*); Ov. *Rem.* 277; *Met.* XIII, 253; Mart. IX, 94, 5. N. Almazova mi suggerisce di intendere *mendacio* come ablativo strumentale, ma non credo si usi (*de*)*posco* con l'ablativo strumentale che indica il mezzo con cui si vuole ottenere qualcosa.

VIII, 31, 4: “*nam si quid in ultimo fortunae turbine resipiscis, expergite mi auscultate et advenam istum asinum remoto quodam loco deductum iugula, femusque eius ad similitudinem perditum detractum et accuratius in protrimentis sapidissime percoctum adpone domino cervini vicem*”.

A parlare è la moglie di un cuoco: quest'ultimo aveva lasciato che un cane mangiasse una coscia di cervo, che egli avrebbe dovuto cucinare per il proprio padrone ed è ora disperato perché teme la punizione. La moglie lo esorta quindi a portare in un luogo nascosto (*remoto quodam loco deductum*) Lucio-asino, ucciderlo e cucinarne la coscia in modo che assomigli a quella del cervo (*ad similitudinem perditum*). Crea gravi difficoltà *detractum*: mi pare evidente che questo participio debba essere congiunto

²⁶ Allo stesso modo intendono i commentatori di Groninga (Hijmans et alii 1985, 177): “was trying by chance to catch a little bird singing charmingly on a hedge”.

con *ad similitudinem perdit*, ma *detrahere* non ha un significato che si accordi al contesto. Evidente è anche l'imbarazzo dei traduttori ("e poi levagli una coscia – che sarà simile a quella che hai perso" Nicolini). Già Rohde ha percepito la difficoltà (sfuggita alla Zimmerman, che non segnala nulla in apparato) e ha suggerito *detruncatum*. Io suggerirei *redactum*, cfr. Iust. Dig. XXXIV, 2, 32, pr. 2 (*ad eandem similitudinem redigi possunt*).

IX, 1, 3: qua rerum deformi strage paterfamilias commotus, ut importunum atque lascivum me cuidam famulo curiose traditum certo aliquo loco clausum <iussit> cohiberi, ne rursum convivium placidum simili petulantia dissiparem.

Tutti ammettono che sia caduto un verbo iussivo, ma io credo vi sia un'altra corruzione: è strano che *curiose* venga riferito al momento in cui, probabilmente in tutta fretta, Lucio-asino viene consegnato al servo; io trasporrei *curiose* prima di *clausum*: cfr. IX, 17, 1 (*domi suae quam cautissime cohibebat*).

IX, 9, 3–5: et ecce nobis repente de tergo manipulus armati supercurrit equitis, aegreque cohibita equorum curruli rabie, Philebum ceterosque comites eius involant avidi, colloque constricto et sacrilegos impurosque compellentes interdum pugnis obverberant, nec non manicis etiam cunctos coartant, et identidem urgenti sermone comprimunt promerent potius aureum cantharum, promerent auctoramentum illud sui sceleris, quod simulatione sollemnium quae in operto factitaverant ab ipsis pulvinibus matris deum clanculo furati...

Un gruppo di cavalieri armati raggiunge il gruppo di sacerdoti e li arresta, poiché sono stati scoperti i loro furti. Crea difficoltà *identidem ... cantharum*, poiché *potius* indica un'opposizione rispetto a quanto precede, ma nel testo tradito tale opposizione non c'è. Helm suggerisce di integrare <lamentantes> dopo *sermone*; in alternativa si potrebbe integrare <remorantes>. In questo modo, *potius* si opporrebbe alle chiacchiere con cui i sacerdoti cercano di fermare i cavalieri. Un'altra soluzione è correggere *potius* in *ocius* (Beroaldus) ovvero *protinus* (Prescott). Tutte queste soluzioni sono possibili, mentre mi pare molto difficile conservare il testo dei mss. (come fa la Zimmerman).

IX, 17, 5: tunc obstinato vehementer anxius Myrmex nec usquam dominam suam progredi sinebat, et lanificio domestico inseparabilis adsidebat, ac tantum necessario vespertino lavacri progressu adfixus atque conglutinat, extremas manu prendens lacinias, mira sagacitate commissae provinciae fidem tuebatur.

“Mirmece allora, tremendamente preoccupato, proibiva testardamente alla sua padrona di andare in qualsiasi posto e, quando era in casa impegnata a filare la lana, le sedeva accanto senza mai staccarsi da lei e al momento dell’unica uscita indispensabile, quella del bagno la sera, le stava attaccato, anzi appiccicato addosso, prendendole con la mano un lembo del vestito: insomma teneva fede con incredibile accortezza all’incarico affidatogli”. Così traduce la Nicolini e il significato generale del passo è senza dubbio questo. Tuttavia, io non capisco la costruzione di *ac tantum ... conglutinator*. Accettando il testo trádito l’ablativo *necessario ... progressu* deve essere inteso come di tempo / concomitanza e legato a *adfixus atque conglutinator*, ma in questo modo non si intende *tantum*: il testo assume cioè un significato opposto a quello atteso, poiché si dice che Mirmece stava appiccicato alla donna solo nel momento del bagno serale. Il problema è stato ben compreso dal Leo, il quale integra *ac <permisso> tantum*. Questa congettura è, secondo me, l’unico tentativo riuscito di intendere il passo;²⁷ in alternativa, si potrebbe integrare *tantum <concesso> necessario*.

IX, 21, 7: hac opportuna fallacia vigorati iuvenis inductus, immo sublatus et ad credulitatem delapsus Barbarus.

La Nicolini traduce: “tratto in inganno da quest’astuta trovata dell’audace giovanotto e anzi addirittura sollevato”. Anch’io credo che il significato sia questo, ma crea difficoltà *sublatus*, che di solito significa “insuperbito” (cfr. *OLD* s. v. *tollo* e *sublatus*), mentre qui il significato atteso è quello di “sentirsi sollevato”, poiché Barbaro non ha più ragione di dubitare della fedeltà della moglie. La soluzione fu trovata, secondo me, dal van der Vliet, scrivere cioè *subl<ev>atus*. Questa congettura, nemmeno citata negli apparati delle edizioni successive, a me pare risolvere ogni problema.

IX, 25, 4: nec suadela mea, sed ipsius rei necessitate lenitus, quippe iam semivivum, illum in proximum deportat angiportum.

Per rendere il periodo più armonioso bisognerebbe integrare *quippe iam semivivum illum <intuens>, in proximum*.

²⁷ I commentatori di Groninga (Hijmans et alii 1995, 165) affermano che la congettura di Leo “seems to have been inspired by dissatisfaction with the ablative construction”; il problema non è la costruzione con l’ablativo in sé, ma il senso complessivo del passo, come il Leo aveva perfettamente capito.

IX, 30, 3: diem ferme circa mediam repente intra pistrinum mulier reatu miraue tristitie deformis apparuit, flebili centunculo semiamicta, nudis et intectis pedibus, lurore buxio macieque foedata, et discerptae comae semicanas sordentes inspersu cineris plerumque eius anteuentulae contegebant faciem.

Non capisco *reatu* (Wiman congettura *rea fletu*); la Nicolini (che accetta il testo trådito) traduce “con una faccia da condannata”, ma, poiché nel testo non c’è nessun riferimento a un’accusa contro la donna, se il senso fosse quello ipotizzato dalla Nicolini, avremmo qualcosa come *velut rea*. Se *reatus* non può indicare il rimorso della coscienza per il reato commesso, io sospetto che al posto di *reatu* si debba leggere qualcosa come *ploratu* ovvero *aestu* (per *aestus* insieme a *deformis* cfr. Sen. *De ira* II, 36, 2).

X, 12, 1: ad istum modum seniore adorante placuit, et itur confestim magna cum festinatione ad illud sepulchrum.

Il discorso del vecchio riceve la generale approvazione e la folla si dirige verso la tomba. A me pare che a *placuit* manchi il soggetto; cfr. VI, 31, 5 (*hunc igitur crastino iugulare placeat*); già van der Vliet ha proposto <experiri> *placuit* (<ut iretur> Beyte). Io suggerirei <audire> *placuit*. Per *audire* nel senso di “obbedire” cfr. TLL s. v. *audio* 1288, 26 sgg. Si potrebbe pensare anche a <auscultare>, ovvero <parere>. D. Keyer propone di legare *ad istum modum a placuit*, sicché quest’ultimo non avrebbe più bisogno di soggetto.

X, 14, 2–3: at ubi fiducia latendi plenior capta partes opimas quasque devorabam et iucundior eligens abligurribam dulcia, suspicio non exilis fratrum pupugit animos, et quamquam de me nihil etiam tum tale crederent, tamen quotidiani damni studiose vestigabant reum. illi vero postremo etiam mutuo sese rapinae turpissimae criminabantur, iamque curam diligentior et acrior custodelam et dinumerationem adhibebant partium. tandem denique rupta verecundia sic alter alterum compellat.

Lucio-asino mangia di nascosto i dolci dei due fratelli (uno pasticciare, l’altro cuocere), che vedono i dolci scomparire, ma non sanno spiegarsi cosa stia accadendo, poiché non possono immaginare che la colpa sia dell’asino. *Illi* crea difficoltà molto gravi: dal testo trådito si ricava che i due fratelli già si accusavano apertamente, ma questo è in contrasto con *tandem ... compellat*, dal quale si deduce che solo in quel momento l’accusa diviene esplicita; il periodo che inizia con *illi vero postremo* indica il passaggio da un momento di generico sospetto al sospetto reciproco, non a quello dell’accusa esplicita, che arriva solo più avanti. Inoltre, non si capisce

perché Apuleio dovesse inserire il pronome: il soggetto è lo stesso del periodo precedente né si vede alcuna ragione di enfasi. Il problema è stato ben compreso dal Leo, che ha proposto di correggere *illi* in *taciti*. Io suggerirei, al posto di *illi*, *silentio*; cfr. § 7: “*ne silentio procedens similtas Eteocleas nobis contentiones pariat*”.

X, 16, 3: quoad novitate spectaculi laetus dominus aedium duci me iussit, immo vero suis etiam ipse manibus ad triclinium perduxit, mensaque posita omne genus edulium solidorum et inlibata fercula iussit adponi.

Il *dominus* è talmente divertito dallo spettacolo dell’asino che mangia i dolci, che ordina che l’animale venga portato nella sala da pranzo. Nonostante le difese dell’Augello e della Zimmerman,²⁸ *dominus aedium* nel semplice senso di *dominus* non va (cfr. § 7 e X, 17, 1, ove si usa il semplice *dominus*). Beyte suggerisce <*intus*> *aedium duci*; io scriverei *dominus ad prandium duci me iussit*, dal momento che l’asino viene condotto alla mensa del *dominus*. Anche il testo greco suggerisce una soluzione del genere (Ὅνοϛ 47): τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κελεύει με εἶσω ἄγεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου συμπόσιον.

X, 33, 2: sic hercules et aliud sequens iudicium inter inclitos Achivorum duces celebratum, vel cum falsis insimulationibus eruditione doctrinaque praepollens Palamedes prodicionis damnatur, virtute Martia praepotenti praefertur Ulixes modicus Aiace maximus.

A testimonianza che fin dai tempi più antichi i tribunali hanno giudicato in modo non retto Lucio-asino cita i casi di Palamede e delle armi di Achille. Il giudizio sulle armi di Achille (*virtute ... maximus*) non è sintatticamente legato a quanto precede. Il Leo (seguito dal Robertson) espunge *vel*; io credo sarebbe meglio trasporlo e scrivere: *celebratum, [vel] cum falsis ins. e. d. p. P. p. d., <vel cum> virtute M. p.*

XI, 22, 5: solito constantius destinaveram iam velut debitum sacris obsequium flagitare.

Lucio è impaziente di essere iniziato ai misteri, ma il sacerdote lo prega di attendere che Iside dia chiare indicazioni in tal senso. A un certo punto ha un sogno che lo fa sperare di essere prossimo all’iniziazione e per questo motivo è più determinato del solito (*solito constantius*) ad avanzare la sua richiesta al sacerdote. Sembra troppo generico *sacris*: è evidente

²⁸ Cfr. Zimmerman 2000, 230–231.

che Lucio si riferisce al sogno che egli ha visto, cui bisogna dare ascolto (*debitum obsequium*); van der Vliet integra *sacris* <*imperiiis*>; io integrerei *sacris* <*somniis*>, cfr. XI, 30, 1 (*divini somnii suada maiestas*).²⁹*

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²⁹ I commentatori di Groninga (Keulen et alii 2015, 375–376) suppongono che *debitum* sottintenda *mihi*, poiché “it does not seem to make much sense here to highlight the fact that Lucius’ *obsequium* was *debitum* to the cult, since his acceptance of the Isiac faith is always described as enthusiastic”. In effetti, se si dà a *sacra* il significato generico di “culto, sacri riti”, il senso crea problemi; d’altra parte, staccare con i commentatori di Groninga *debitum* da *obsequium* è arduo. Con l’integrazione di van der Vliet (o mia) questi problemi scompaiono e il significato è che *l’obsequium* è ormai (*iam*) dovuto al sogno divino, il quale non lascia più dubbi circa la volontà di Iside.

* Ringrazio D. Keyer per alcune osservazioni.

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The aim of this paper is to cast new light on the textual constitution of some passages of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. Ca. 40 pieces are discussed and for the most part of them a new solution is proposed; in the other cases I argue for a solution already proposed, but not accepted by the editors.

Статья призвана пролить новый свет на отдельные места в *Метаморфозах* Апулея. Рассматривается около 40 пассажей, для большинства из них предлагается новое решение, в других случаях высказываются аргументы в поддержку эмендаций, уже предлагавшихся, но не принятых издателями.

Keywords

ALMAZOVA

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

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

HOLZHAUSEN

Cyclops; Euripides; satyr play; textual criticism

Еврипид; критика текста; сатирова драма; *Циклон*

KOČANDRLE

cosmology; earth; heaven; hemisphere; universe

Вселенная; Земля; космология; небо; полусфера

LAES

pain; reversal of roles; sexuality; sadomasochism; violence

боль; насилие; обмен ролями; садомазохизм; сексуальность

LUCARINI

Apuleius; Latin novel; textual criticism

Апулей; римский роман; критика текста

PAVLOVA

Greek literary criticism; Heraclides of Pontus; Homeric problems; rhetorics

Гераклид Понтийский; греческая литературная критика; гомеровские вопросы; риторика

RACKOW

Bellum Iugurthinum; Marius; Philaeni; Sallust; *virtus*

Марий; Саллюстий; Филены; *Югуртинская война*; *virtus*

STARIKOVA

Asphalt Lake; Dead Sea; Diodorus; Hieronymus of Cardia; Posidonius

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