

HYPERBOREUS

STUDIA CLASSICA

ναυσὶ δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰὼν κεν εὖροις
ἐς Ἵπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυμαστὰν ὁδόν

(Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 29–30)

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PETROPOLI

Vol. 25 2019 Fasc. 2

BIBLIOTHECA CLASSICA PETROPOLITANA
VERLAG C.H. BECK MÜNCHEN

HYPERBOREUS: Классическая филология и история

Выходит два раза в год

Редакция: Н. А. Алмазова, С. К. Егорова,
Д. В. Кейер (отв. ред. выпуска)

Редакционный совет: Михаэль фон Альбрехт, А. Л. Верлинский,
А. К. Гаврилов, Пэт Истерлинг, Карло Лукарини,
Д. В. Панченко

Адрес редакции и издателя: 197198, С.-Петербург, ул. Красного Курсанта, д. 6/9
Bibliotheca Classica Petropolitana (HYPERBOREUS)
Факс: (812) 274-3395, (812) 235-4267
E-mail: hyperbicl@gmail.com
bibliotheca-classica.org/hyperboreus

По вопросам подписки обращаться по адресу редакции.

HYPERBOREUS: Studia Classica

HYPERBOREUS wurde im Jahre 1994 durch die Bibliotheca Classica Petropolitana gegründet.

Der Vertrieb außerhalb Rußlands erfolgt durch den Verlag C. H. Beck (Oskar Beck), Wilhelmstr. 9, D-80801 München, Postfachadresse: Postfach 400340, D-80703 München.

Die Zeitschrift erscheint ab 1996 in zwei Halbjahresschriften. Abonnementpreis jährlich ab Vol. 2 € 34,90 (in diesem Betrag sind € 2,28 Mehrwertsteuer enthalten), für das Einzelheft € 19,50 (Mehrwertsteueranteil € 1,28), jeweils zuzüglich Vertriebsgebühren; die Kündigungsfrist des Abonnements beträgt sechs Wochen zum Jahresende. Preis für Vol. 1, 1994/5, auf Anfrage bei dem Verlag C. H. Beck.

Herausgeber: Nina Almazova, Sofia Egorova, Denis Keyer (verantw.)

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Alle für die Redaktion bestimmten Manuskripte und Einsendungen sind zu richten an:
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197198 St. Petersburg, Russia
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Die Publikationssprachen im HYPERBOREUS sind Russisch, Englisch, Französisch, Deutsch, Italienisch und Lateinisch; den Beiträgen wird jeweils eine Zusammenfassung auf Englisch und Russisch hinzugefügt.

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AMICI COLLEGAE DISCIPVLI



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ZUR ENTSTEHUNG DER GRIECHISCHEN CHORLYRIK*

Es wird oft behauptet, dass der Ursprung der griechischen Chorlyrik in einer Zeit, die der endgültigen Fixierung des epischen Hexameters vorausgeht, zu verorten sei.¹ Da es nun feststeht, dass der homerische Hexameter spätestens um die Mitte des 8. Jh. v. Chr. seine endgültige Form erhielt,² müsste man besagter Theorie zu Folge zu dem Schluss kommen, dass die Chorlyrik (oder mindestens etliche Elemente derselben) aus einer noch älteren Zeit stamme. Da die uns erhaltenen Chorlyriker (Alkman, Stesichorus, Pindar, Bakchylides) dorisch schreiben, hat man vermutet, dass diese literarische Gattung im Peloponnes gepflegt worden sei. Dieser Annahme gemäß hätte die Chorlyrik (oder einige ähnlich anmutende literarischen Formen) schon vor Alkman (dem ältesten uns erhaltenen Chorlyriker) über etliche Jahrhunderte im Peloponnes eine Blütezeit erfahren.

Die Sprache der Chorlyrik und das Epos

Diese Theorie basiert vor allem auf metrischen Grundlagen, auf die wir später noch eingehen werden. Zunächst möchte ich die Frage stellen, ob es nicht zu erwarten wäre, dass die Chorlyrik, wenn sie wirklich eine so hohe Altertümlichkeit beanspruchen kann, auch ein entsprechend alt anmutendes sprachliches Erbgut vorweist. Eine unumstrittene Tatsache ist, dass das Epos in einer altertümlicheren Sprachform verfaßt ist als die

* Ich bedanke mich bei Herrn Kollegen A. Auf der Heyde für die sprachliche Unterstützung. Mein Dank gilt ebenso Herrn Dr. L. Benelli (Köln). Den Impuls, diese Untersuchung zu unternehmen, verdanke ich meinem pisanischem Lehrer, Prof. G. B. Conte.

¹ Vgl. z.B. Bethe 1914, 23; Grinbaum 1968; Pavese 1972; West 1973a, 183 ff.; Gallavotti 1977, 16 ff.; Gentili-Giannini 1977; Gallavotti 1979; Trümpy 1986; Gentili – Angeli Bernardini – Cingano – Giannini 1995 1995, 512; Comotti 2000, IV.

² Die Inschrift der Dipylon-Kanne (ca. 740 v. Chr.) „is a hexameter whose language and vocabulary sound almost perfectly Homeric“ (Cassio 2002, 105).

übrige uns erhaltene Literatur. Doch zeigt auch die Sprache der Chorlyrik derlei archaische Charakterzüge auf?

Für die ionischen Dichter, deren ἔπη in die *Ilias* und in die *Odysee* eingegliedert worden sind, war das Vau bekanntlich ein toter Laut; Es haftete nur in vielgebrauchten epischen Wörtern und Wendungen.³ Für den Böoter Pindar lag die Sache anders, denn das Digamma wird in Böötia (mindestens im Anlaut) bis gegen 200 v. Ch. zäh festgehalten.⁴ Wollen wir auch annehmen, dass Pindar dem Gebrauch der dorischen Dialekte des Peloponnes folgte, dann wäre eine weite Verbreitung des Digamma ebenso zu erwarten.⁵ Mit anderen Worten: das frühzeitige Verschwinden des Vau ist ein Merkmal des Ionischen, während andere Dialekte (darunter Böötisch und Lakonisch) es noch Jahrhunderte lang beibehalten haben. Wie verhält sich Pindar? Es scheint, dass der Gebrauch der ionischen Dichtung für ihn maßgebend war. Das Schwanken zwischen digammierter und nicht digammierter Form, das zahlreiche Wörter im Epos aufzeigen, ist auch bei Pindar zu beobachten: Sogar Wörter, die sowohl im Böötischen als auch im Lakonischen die digammierte Form ständig aufweisen, werden von Pindar ohne anlautendes Vau oft angewendet.⁶ Etliche Wörter, die ursprünglich mit Vau anlauteten, zeigen bei Homer keine Spur dieses Lauts mehr (z.B. ὀρθός, ὄρτυξ, ὄχος),⁷ wobei auch bei Pindar keine Wirkung des Digamma nachweisbar ist.⁸ Es ist fernerhin aufschlussreich zu beobachten, dass ὀρθός im 6. Jh. im Lakonischen mit Vau anlautete.⁹

Angesichts der angeführten Beobachtungen müssen wir Heimers Behauptung beipflichten: „Pindarum digammi usum magis ex epicae poeseos imitatione quam ex dialectis suae ipsius aetatis assumpsisse“.¹⁰

Was das Vau angeht, verhält sich Bakchylides nicht anders als Pindar.¹¹ Man könnte vermuten, dass seine keische Herkunft Anlass zu Unterschieden gegeben hätte,¹² das ist aber nicht der Fall. Genauso wie bei Pindar zeigen bei Bakchylides nur die Wörter, die schon im

³ Meister 1921, 201; Chantraine 1988, 116 ff.

⁴ Thumb–Scherer 1959, 29.

⁵ Thumb–Kieckers 1932, 84.

⁶ Ohne Digamma: ἀναξ (*P.* 4, 45; *N.* 4, 42 usw.); ἑκατι / ἑκόν (*P.* 4, 181; *N.* 8, 47 usw.); εἰπεῖν / ἔπος (*O.* 1, 52; *O.* 13, 25 usw.); ἔργον (*N.* 1, 26; *N.* 8, 49); ἔτειος (*I.* 4, 68); ἴσος (*O.* 4, 25). Die ausführlichste Analyse bei Heimer 1883–1884, 1–89.

⁷ Chantraine 1988, 125.

⁸ S. für die genannten Wörter *O.* 6, 24; 90; 93; *O.* 10, 4; *P.* 3, 96; *N.* 1, 2.

⁹ Schwyzer 1923, 4.

¹⁰ Heimer 1883–1884, 4; in derselben Richtung Peter 1866, 21; Meister 1921, 199.

¹¹ Schöne 1899, 194 ff.

¹² Anders als in Böötien und Lakonien, war das Digamma zu den Zeiten des Bakchylides auf den Kykladen geschwunden, vgl. Thumb–Scherer 1959, 261.

Epos teilweise digammiert sind, ein anlautendes Vau, das allerdings oft vernachlässigt wird.¹³

Ich habe mich auf das Digamma konzentriert, weil es ein adäquates Orientierungsmerkmal für die Bestimmung der Verhältnisse der literarischen Dialekte bietet.¹⁴ Auch die sogenannten *correptiones epicae* scheint Pindar nach homerischem Muster anzuwenden.¹⁵ Auch die Kontraktionen (die bekanntlich eine nachmykenische Entwicklung darstellen¹⁶) zeigen einen ebenso starken Einfluß der Epik auf die Sprache der Chorlyrik. Zum Beispiel kontrahieren bei Pindar alle Verba vocalia auf -άω mit Ausnahme von ναίετáω, was zweifelsohne auf den epischen Gebrauch zurückzuführen ist.¹⁷

Natürlich kann ich hier keine systematische Untersuchung der chorlyrischen Sprache unternehmen, aber die Sachlage liegt klar auf der Hand. Was Pindars Sprache angeht, ist Peters Zusammenfassung nach wie vor stichhaltig:¹⁸ „Epica dialectus fundamentum quasi linguae Pindaricae est; nam quemadmodum poesis lyrica universa paullatim ex epica enata est, ita etiam dialectus inde originem trahit, id quod ex multis indiciis [...] intelligi potest“.

Die Verfechter einer Kontinuität zwischen der vorhomerischen Tradition und der Chorlyrik haben sich auf einige bei Homer nicht befindlichen Wörter berufen, die sowohl auf den mykenischen Tontafeln anzutreffen sind als auch bei Pindar.¹⁹ Es handelt sich um βουβότας / *qo(u)-qo-ta* (N. 4, 52, I. 6, 32; KN L 480b, PY Ea 270 usw.), Έννοσιδάς / *E-ne-si-da-o-ne* (P. 4, 33, 173 usw.; M 719, 2), έπέτας / *e-qe-ta* (P. 5, 4; PY An 654), λαγέτας / *ra-wa-ke-ta* (P. 4, 107; PY Er 312), νάιος (P. 6, 4; PY Jn 829, 3). έπέτας ist aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach eine Neubildung Pindars, der auch andere *nomina agentis* auf -τας neugebildet hat,²⁰ und das Gleiche kann auch für νάιος („ad fanum pertinens“) angenommen werden.²¹

¹³ Vgl. die folgenden nicht digammierten Formen: ἄναξ (3, 76); ἄστν (3, 43); εἰπεῖν (17, 47); ἔργον (9, 82); ἔτος (11, 59).

¹⁴ Vgl. z.B. Dover 1964, 193.

¹⁵ Heimer 1883–1884, 8 ff. Es ist hervorzuheben, dass die *correptiones epicae* am meisten in den Daktylopitriten auftreten: Heimer 1883–1884, 10.

¹⁶ Lejeune 1972, 258.

¹⁷ Peter 1866, 61.

¹⁸ Peter 1866, 4; Nöthiger 1971, 133–134. Ahrens' Behauptung (1843, 410), der Dialekt von Delphi habe Pindar beeinflusst, ist heutzutage nicht mehr haltbar.

¹⁹ Vgl. besonders Trümper 1986.

²⁰ Vgl. ἔχέτας (fr. 304), κραγέτας (N. 3, 82): Fraenkel 1910, 164 ff.; Hajnal 1998, 41–42. In P. 5, 4 tritt έπέτας als Adjektiv zu πλοῦτος auf, der mykenische *e-qe-ta* befiehlt hingegen ein Kontingent von Soldaten. Man beobachtet, dass πλοῦτος έπέτας eine Parallele bei Solon (6, 3 W.: ὅταν πολὺς ὄλβος ἔπηται) findet.

²¹ Vgl. Ruijgh 1989, 88.

Was die anderen Wörter angeht, ist es wohl möglich, dass Pindar sie aus einer alten poetischen Tradition geschöpft hat (βουβάτας und λαγέτας gewiß nicht aus dem Epos, wie das Metrum zeigt!), aber nichts hindert uns daran, diese Tradition mit der äolischen Lyrik gleichzusetzen. Wir werden sehen (unten S. 235), dass die Chorlyrik die Tradition der lesbischen Lyrik fortgesetzt hat, und solche Archaismen könnten von dorthier eingedrungen sein. In jedem Fall reichen die erwähnten Wörter keineswegs aus, um zu beweisen, dass eine alte, sonst verschwundene, vorhexametrische Lyrik in der Chorlyrik fortlebt.

Andere Wörter zeigen deutlich, dass der Gebrauch der Chorlyriker dem archaischen und klassischen Griechisch näher steht als dem Mykenischen. Das Wort δάμαρ / *da-ma* begegnet uns sowohl bei Homer als auch auf den Tontafeln aus Pylos, aber mit unterschiedlicher Bedeutung: Im Mykenischen „möchte man den *da-ma* als einen nicht unmittelbar von Palast abhängigen, einzig in die Struktur des *da-mos* bzw. der Gemeinde eingebetteten Landnutzer bezeichnen“,²² dagegen bedeutet δάμαρ im Epos (und in der nachfolgenden Gräzität) „die Ehegattin“. Zwar ist die Entwicklung dieser Bedeutungsschiebung diskussionswürdig, allerdings steht fest, dass die Chorlyriker das Wort in derselben Bedeutung anwenden wie Homer (*N.* 4, 57; *N.* 7, 28). Ähnliches kann man für das Wort βασιλεύς behaupten: Auf den Tontafeln aus Pylos bezeichnet *qa-si-re-u* den Vorsteher einer Arbeitseinheit, der den Rang des homerischen und späteren βασιλεύς keineswegs besitzt.²³ Auch hier wenden die Chorlyriker das Wort im homerischen Sinn an,²⁴ während sich von der mykenischen Bedeutung des Wortes keine Spur findet.

Es gibt eine Reihe von lyrischen Ausdrücken, für die eine direkte Anknüpfung an die indogermanische Dichtung vermutet worden ist. Mittlerweile befinden wir uns in einer glücklichen Lage, was die Prüfung der Stichhaltigkeit solcher Hypothesen anbelangt, denn die kürzlich erschienene Dissertation von L. Massetti legt alles Wesentliche klar und deutlich dar. Im Folgenden werde ich für die lyrischen Stellen, deren indogermanischen Ursprung Massetti anhand außergriechischer Parallelen nachzuweisen versucht hat, eine innergriechische Herkunft vorschlagen.²⁵ Vorab möchte ich daraufhin hinweisen, dass die Zurückführung eines Ausdrucks auf das indogermanische Erbgut nur dann erlaubt ist, wenn er in

²² Hajnal 1998, 54, worauf meine Diskussion basiert.

²³ Hajnal 1998, 26.

²⁴ Auch wenn sie sich auf die heroische Zeit beziehen (z. B. *O.* 13, 67).

²⁵ Die epischen Stellen, die ich anführe, stehen zum Teil schon bei Massetti. Ich habe die Übersetzungen der nicht-griechischen Texte aus Massettis Dissertation übernommen. Vgl. auch Wüst 1968.

seiner Sprache isoliert auftritt: Wenn z.B. einem pindarischen Ausdruck nur die Veden eine Parallele bieten, dann ist die direkte Zurückführung auf die indogermanische Dichtersprache berechtigt. Wenn hingegen für denselben Ausdruck von Pindar unabhängige Parallelen aus der griechischen Literatur angeführt werden können, dann dürfen wir keine direkte Beziehung zwischen Pindar und der indogermanischen Dichtersprache annehmen. Auch wenn ein Ausdruck der Chorlyrik in nicht indogermanischen Literaturen belegt ist, ist ein direkter Einfluss der indogermanischen Dichtersprache auf die Chorlyrik schwerlich beweisbar.²⁶

ἄδακρυς (*O.* 2, 66) $\approx$ *RV* X, 18, 7 c–d („Ohne Tränen“), vgl. jedoch ἄδάκρυτος (*A* 415). ἀεθλοφόρος (*O.* 7, 7) $\approx$ *RV* I, 60, 5 c („ein Rennpferd, das den Siegerpreis davonträgt“), vgl. jedoch ἀεθλοφόρος (*X* 22). (πῶλον) ἀελλοδράμαν (*Bacch.* 5, 39) $\approx$ *RV* I, 181, 2 a–b („windschnelle ... Rennpferde“), vgl. jedoch ἵπποισιν ἀελλοπόδεσσιν (*Hymn. Ven.* 217). ἀθάνατον κλέος (*Bacch.* 13, 65) $\approx$ *RV* VI, 48, 12 b („die unsterblichen Ruhm spenden wird“, vgl. jedoch ἄφθιτον / ἄσβεστον κλέος (*I* 413; *Hes. fr.* 70, 5)). ἀκαμαντοπόδων ἵππων (*O.* 3, 3–4) $\approx$ *RV* VI, 21, 12 c–d („mit den unermüdlichen ... Fahrrossen“), der Ausdruck konnte aber polygenetisch entstehen, wie ein spätgriechischer Text nahelegt, *Blemyomach.* 79 (ἀκάματοι ἵπποι). ἀκερσεκόμα Φοῖβω (*P.* 3, 14) $\approx$ *RV* I, 114, 1 („Rudra, mit aufgewundenem Haar“), vgl. jedoch Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης (*Y* 39). ἀναξιμόλπου Οὐρανίας (*Bacch.* 6, 10–11) $\approx$ *RV* VI, 24, 1 d („König der Lieder“): Ich glaube vielmehr, dass der Ausdruck als eine Neubildung des Bakchylides anzusehen ist.²⁷ ἀνδροφόνος (*P.* 4, 252) $\approx$ *RV* IV, 3, 6 d („dem männertötenden Rudra“), vgl. jedoch *A* 242. αἰοιδᾶν πατήρ (*P.* 4, 176) $\approx$ *RV* IX, 76, 4 („der Vater der frommen Gedanken“), aber die metaphorische Anwendung des Wortes πατήρ ist auch in Texten, die nichts mit der indogermanischen Dichtungstradition zu tun haben, belegt (vgl. *Plat. Symp.* 177 d πατήρ τοῦ λόγου und *Braswell* 1988, 257). ἀρετὰν εὐρόντα (*O.* 7, 89) $\approx$ *RV* III, 31, 5 c („Sie fanden jeden Weg des rta“), aber ἀρετή bedeutet bei Pindar „Ruhm“. ἀρτιεπής (*O.* 6, 61) $\approx$ *RV* I, 190, 2 a („ihm streben rechtzeitig die Reden zu“), vgl. jedoch *X* 281. αὔξης οὐρον ὕμνων (*P.* 4, 3) $\approx$ *RV* I, 116, 1 b („Loblieder lasse ich aufsteigen wie der Wind die Regenwolken“), aber Metaphern aus dem Bereich des Seelebens sind auch in ägyptischer Literatur auffindbar.²⁸

²⁶ Vgl. zu diesen Fragen *Campanile* 1977; *Costa* 1998.

²⁷ *Maehler* 1997, 131. Im allgemeinen habe ich den Eindruck, dass *Massetis* Hypothesen demselben Einwand, den *Ruijgh* 1989, 88, gegen *Trümper* 1986 erhoben hat, oft ausgesetzt sind: „Elle ne tient pas suffisamment compte de la créativité lexicale du langage artificiel poétique“.

²⁸ Vgl. *Nünlist* 1998, 265 ff.

βαθύμητα (*N.* 3, 53) $\approx$ *RV* VIII, 8, 2 d („Seher von tiefer Einsicht“), vgl. jedoch βαθύβουλος (Aesch. *Per.* 142), βαθύφρων (Pind. *N.* 7, 1; Solon 33, 1). γλῶσσα ποιμαίνειν ἐθέλει (*O.* 11, 9) $\approx$ *RV* III, 38, 9 c–d („whose tongue is a herdsman“), vgl. jedoch Nünlist,²⁹ der *Y* 249 (ἐπέων δὲ πολὺς νομὸς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα) und Hes. *Op.* 403 (ἐπέων νομός) anführt, mit der zusätzlichen Beobachtung (141): „Landwirtschafts-Metaphorik ist in einer agrarischen Gesellschaft wie der frühgriechischen nichts Außergewöhnliches“. ἐρισφάραγος (Bacch. 5, 20) $\approx$ *RV* X 68, 1 („dumpfdonnernd“), vgl. jedoch *Hymn. Mer.* 187. δύσφημος (*N.* 8, 37) $\approx$ *Y* 11, 1–2 („übeln Ruf mögest du bekommen“), vgl. jedoch δυσφημία (Soph. fr. 178 R.). ἐγεῖραι δόξαν (*P.* 9, 104–105) $\approx$ *RV* VIII, 9, 17 („wecke großen Ruhm zur Freude“), aber Nünlist³⁰ führt akkadische Parallelen an. ἐγγχεικέραυος (*O.* 13, 77) / κεραυνεγγής (Bacch. 8, 26) $\approx$ *RV* I, 168, 5 a („speerblitzenden Marutas“), aber es kann sich um eine Neubildung der griechischen Dichter handeln.³¹ ἔδειξαν ἀρετάν (*I.* 8, 47–48) $\approx$ *Y* 43, 10 a („So zeige mir das *asa*“), aber der Ausdruck kann polygenetisch entstanden sein. ἐλελίχθων (*P.* 2, 4) $\approx$ *RV* IV, 22, 4 a–b („Alle Dämme und die vielen Ströme, Himmel und Erde zitterten vor dem Recken bei seiner Geburt“), aber der Ausdruck kann polygenetisch entstanden sein. ἐπέων πύλας ἐξευρεῖν (Bacch. fr. 5) $\approx$ *RV* IX, 10, 6 („Die Dichter der Vorzeit öffneten das Tor der Gedanken“), vgl. jedoch πύλαι ὕμνων (Pind. *O.* 6, 27), τοῦ πολέμου πύλαι (Plut. *Caes.* 33, 1) und Nünlist,³² der *Parm.* 28 B 1–5 anführt. ἐρατώνυμος (Bacch. 17, 31) / χαριτώνυμος (Bacch. 2, 2) $\approx$ *KUB* 24, 8 iii + *KUB* 36, 60 iii 8 („Und gab ihm den süßen Namen Schlecht“), aber zusammengesetzte Adjektive auf -ώνυμος sind zahlreich, vgl. δεξιτώνυμος (Aesch. *Supp.* 607), εὐώνυμος (Hes. *Th.* 409). εὐάρματος (*P.* 2, 5) $\approx$ *RV* I, 22, 2 („Die die besten guten Wagen habenden Wagenführer sind“), vgl. jedoch ἀρισθάρματος (*P.* 5, 30), ῥιμφάρματος (Pind. *O.* 3, 37; Soph. *OC* 1063) und ἄρμα εὐξοόν, εὐποίητον, εὐτροχόν. εὐθεῖα κέλευθος ἀρετὰν ἔλεῖν (*P.* fr. 108 a 2 S.–M.) $\approx$ *RV* I, 46, 11 a–b („Der Weg des *rta* ist direkt“), vgl. jedoch einen vielleicht vergleichbaren Ausdruck bei Eur. *Phoen.* 469 (ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφυ). εὐποίητος (Bacch. 5, 177) $\approx$ *Yt* 5, 101 g–h („ein wohlgebautes Haus“), vgl. jedoch *E* 466. εὐίπων (*O.* 3, 39) $\approx$ *RV* VII, 68, 1 a–b („mit schönen Rossen“), vgl. jedoch *Hymn. Ap.* 210. εὐπεπλοῖ τε κοῦραι (Bacch. 11, 42) $\approx$ *RV* I, 124, 7 c („schöngekleidet wie ein verlangendes Weib“), vgl. jedoch Ἀχαιάδων εὐπέπλων (*E* 424). εὐρυναίχμης (*P.* fr. 173) $\approx$ *Yt* 15, 48 c–d („derjenige,

²⁹ Nünlist 1998, 135 ff.

³⁰ Nünlist 1998, 295.

³¹ Braswell 1988, 278–279; Maehler 1997, 141.

³² Nünlist 1998, 260.

der einen breiten Speer hat“), aber mit εὐρύ- zusammengesetzte Adjektive kommen zahlreich vor, und εὐρυαίχμης ist wahrscheinlich als Pindars Neubildung anzusehen. ζεῦξαι μέλος (*N.* 1, 7) ≈ *RV* I, 186, 7 a–b („als Rosse angeschirrte Gedichte“): Für das Bild des „poetologischen Wagens“ vgl. jedoch Nünlist,³³ der Choer. Sam. 2, 4–5 Ber., Emped. 31 B 3, 3–5 und Parmen. 28 B 5 anführt. θρασκευάρδιος (*Bacch.* 13, 106) ≈ *RV* I, 54, 4 a–b („mit kühnem Sinn“), vgl. jedoch K 41. ιοχέαιρα (*P.* 2, 9) ≈ *RV* X, 103, 2 c–d („der den Pfeil in der Hand hat“), vgl. jedoch E 53. ἵππους ἰσανέμους (*Bacch.* 20, 9) ≈ *RV* I, 181, 2 („Rosse ... windschnellen himmlischen Rennpferde“), vgl. jedoch ἵπποισιν ἀελλοπόδεσσιν (*Hymn. Ven.* 217). κέλευθον ὕμνων (*P. fr.* 191) ≈ *RV* IX, 91, 5 a–b („Mache du wie vormals der neuesten wohlgesetzten Rede die Pfade bereit“), aber für das „poetologische Weg-Bild“ vgl. Nünlist,³⁴ der Empedocl. 31 B 17, 26, id. 31 B 24 anführt. κλέος εὐρέσθαι (*P.* 3, 111) ≈ *RV* IV, 26, 5 d („und der Adler hat sich dabei Ruhm gefunden“), aber der Ausdruck kann polygenetisch entstanden sein. κλέος ὑπέρτατον / ὑψηλόν (*Bacch.* 17, 79–80; *P.* 3, 111) ≈ *RV* I, 91, 18 d („erwirb dir im Himmel höchsten Ruhm“), vgl. jedoch M 437 (κῦδος ὑπέρτατον). κλυτόμαντις (*P. fr.* 52) ≈ *RV* X, 47, 3 („famous seers“), aber dass die Hellseher Ruhm genießen, ist ein geläufiger Gedanke, vgl. Apoll. Rh. 3, 932. κῦδος ἀγήραον (*P.* 2, 52) ≈ *RV* I, 126, 2 d („er seinen nicht alternden Ruhm ausdehnt“), aber es könnte sich um eine Mischung von Begriffen wie κλέος ἄφθιτον und χάρις ἀγήρως (*Eur. Supp.* 1178) handeln. λαοσσόος (*P.* 12, 24) ≈ *RV* I, 37, 12 a–b („habt ihr die Menschen erschüttert“), vgl. jedoch N 128. λεύκιππος (*O.* 6, 95) ≈ *RV* VII, 77, 3 a–b („das schöne weiße Ross“), vgl. jedoch λευκόθριξ ἵππος (*Call. Hymn.* 6, 120). λευκώλενος (*P.* 3, 98) ≈ *Hav.* 161, 5 („der weißarmigen Frau“), vgl. jedoch Θ 484 etc. μέγα κλέος (*O.* 8, 10) ≈ *RV* I, 43, 7, vgl. jedoch Z 446. μελίγλωσσος (*Bacch.* 3, 97) ≈ *RV* III, 57, 5 a–b („der honigzüngigen Nachtigall“), vgl. jedoch A 249 (ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή), μηλίγηρς (*μ* 187).³⁵ Μοισαγέτας Ἀπόλλων (*P. fr.* 94 c) ≈ *RV* I, 190, 1 („den Brhaspati ... den Leiter der Gesänge“), aber Μοισαγέτας ist ein kultisches Epitheton (vgl. Paus. 1, 2, 5). νίσοντ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους αἰοδαί (*O.* 3, 10) ≈ *RV* I, 186, 7 c–d („our songs approach him“), vgl. was ich zu κέλευθον ὕμνων beobachtet habe. νέον ὕμνον (*I.* 5, 63) ≈ *RV* I, 12, 11 a–b („mit dem neuesten Gesangeslied“), aber der Ausdruck kann polygenetisch entstanden sein. ὀλκάδ' ὕμνων (*Bacch.* 16, 1–4) ≈ *RV* I,

³³ Nünlist 1998, 255 ff.

³⁴ Nünlist 1998, 228 ff.

³⁵ Auch die semitischen Literaturen bieten Parallelen, vgl. Nünlist 1998, 300.

46, 7 a–b („das Schiff unserer Gedanken“), aber für diese Metapher vgl. Nünlist,³⁶ der ägyptische Parallelen anführt. ὅπα προχεόντων (*P.* 10, 56) $\approx$ *RV* II, 27, 1 a–b („Lobrede ergieße ich“), aber die Metapher des poetischen Fließens kommt auch in semitischen Literaturen vor.³⁷ ὀρσίαλος (*Bacch.* 16, 19) $\approx$ *RV* X, 123, 2 a („treibt der Vena die Wellen empor“), aber Bakchylides und Pindar haben zahlreiche neue ὀρσι-Adjektive gebildet,³⁸ und das Bild von Poseidon, der das Meer erschüttert, begegnet auch anderswo (*Hymn. Nept.* (22) 1–2: Ποσειδάωνα ... γαίης κινητήρα καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης). ὀρσινεφής (*N.* 5, 35) $\approx$ *RV* I, 116, 1 b („Loblieder lasse ich aufsteigen wie der Wind die Regenwolken aufsteigen lässt“), aber vgl. was ich zu ὀρσίαλος beobachtet habe, und vgl. auch νεφεληγερέτα Δ 30. παμφάρμακος (*P.* 4, 233) $\approx$ *RV* X, 60, 12 („diese meine Hand ist allheilend“), aber Braswell³⁹ vermutet einen epischen Ursprung. ποικίλον ὕμνον (*O.* 6, 87) $\approx$ *RV* VII, 18, 2 c („ornament hymns“) vgl. jedoch Nünlist.⁴⁰ πολυώνυμος (*P.* 1, 17) $\approx$ *RV* VIII, 93, 17 („o you of many names“), vgl. jedoch *Hymn. Ap.* 82. τερψιπέης (*Bacch.* 13, 230) $\approx$ *MBh* XII, 279, 1 c–d („mit deiner Rede, Großvater, ... kann ich mich nicht füllen“), vgl. jedoch θ 91 (τέρποντ' ἐπέεσσιν). ὕμνιν τόδε φέρων μέλος ἔρχομαι (*P.* 2, 3–4) $\approx$ *RV* I, 57, 1 a–b („dem starken trage ich ein Gedicht vor“), aber der Ausdruck kann polygenetisch entstanden sein. ὑψίκερος (*Bacch.* 16, 22) $\approx$ *RV* V, 59, 3 a–b („ist euer höchstes Horn prächtig anzuschauen“), vgl. jedoch κ 158. φαεννᾶς ὀπός (*P.* 4, 283) $\approx$ *RV* I, 173, 1ab („we chant this chant that is growing strong, bringing the sun“), aber Vergleiche zwischen dem Licht und dem Gesang kommen auch in hebräischen Texten vor (*Ps.* 119, 105).⁴¹ φερεκυδής (*Bacch.* 1, 127) $\approx$ *RV* I, 102, 2 d („Seinen Ruhm tragen die sieben Flüsse“), aber Bakchylides' Text ist unsicher. χρυσόκερος (*O.* 3, 29) $\approx$ *RV* I, 163, 9 a–b („mit goldenen Hörnern“), aber vielleicht die goldenen Hörner stammen aus der Sage.⁴² χρυσόπηχυς (scil. Ἡώς, *Bacch.* 5, 40) $\approx$ *RV* VII, 34, 4 („mit goldenem Arme“), vgl. jedoch vielleicht Ἡώς ροδόπηχυς (*Hymn.* 31, 6) und Ἡώς χρυσόθρονος (*ψ* 243). χρυσόπεζα (*P.* fr. 51 f b) $\approx$ *Yt* 15, 57 a–g („mit goldenem Schuhzeug war sie angetan“), aber die Pindarstelle ist zu fragmentarisch. χρυσόπεπλος (*I.* 6, 75) $\approx$ *Yt* 15, 57 k („der das goldene Gewand trägt“), vgl. jedoch

³⁶ Nünlist 1998, 265 ff.

³⁷ Vgl. Nünlist 1998, 178 ff.

³⁸ Maehler 1997, 162.

³⁹ Braswell 1988, 321.

⁴⁰ Nünlist 1998, 118.

⁴¹ Vgl. Nünlist 1998, 162.

⁴² Vgl. Gentili–Catenacci–Lomiento–Giannini 2013, 427–428.

vielleicht ἐλκεσίπεπλος (Z 442) und χρυσοστέφανος (Hes. *Th.* 17), χρυσοπέδιλος (λ 604), χρυσόθρονος (A 611). ὦμηστᾶ λένοντι (Bacch. 13, 46) ≈ *RV* X, 87, 7 d („die aassfressenden ... Geier“), vgl. jedoch Λ 453–454 (οἰωνοί / ὦμησταί).

Diesen spärlichen und zweifelhaften Belegen, die einen Einfluss der vorepischen Tradition auf die Chorlyriker beweisen sollten,⁴³ stelle ich eine Reihe von pindarischen Junktoren, die ganz offensichtlich aus dem Epos entstanden sind, gegenüber:⁴⁴

ἀγοραὶ βουλαφόροι (*O.* 12, 5), vgl. ι 112; ἰθομένα δᾶς (fr. 79 b), vgl. α 428; αἰθόμενον πῦρ (*O.* 1, 1), vgl. Π 293; ἄνδρα πελώριον (*O.* 7, 15), vgl. ι 187; ἄνθος ἥβας (*P.* 4, 158), vgl. N 484; ἄρμα θεόν (*O.* 1, 110; *O.* 8, 49), vgl. P 458; ἀσφαλὲς αἰὲν ἔδος (*N.* 6, 3), vgl. ζ 42; βέλος ὠκύ (*O.* 2, 83), vgl. E 112; γήραι λιπαρῶ (*N.* 7, 99), vgl. λ 136; γλυκὺς ἴμερος (*O.* 3, 33), vgl. Γ 446; δνοφερᾶς νυκτός (fr. 130), vgl. ν 269; δυσμενέων ἀνδρῶν στίχας (*N.* 9, 38), vgl. Γ 196, δ 246; ἐγχος χάλκεον (*O.* 1, 76), vgl. Γ 317; ἔντεα χάλκεα (*O.* 4, 20), vgl. Σ 130–131; θοὰ ναῦς (*O.* 6, 101; *O.* 12, 3; *P.* 5, 87; *N.* 7, 28; fr. 221, 5 S.–M.), vgl. Ξ 410; κεδνοὶ τοκῆες (*I.* 1, 5), vgl. P 28; κλέος ἐσθλόν (*P.* 4, 174), vgl. E 3; κλέος εὐρύ (*O.* 10, 95), vgl. α 344; κοῖλαι νᾶες (*O.* 6, 10), vgl. Φ 32; μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμόσσαι (*O.* 6, 20), vgl. κ 299; ξεστὸν δίφρον (*P.* 2, 10), vgl. Ω 322; μέγα κῦδος ἔδωκε (*P.* 2, 89 b), vgl. Θ 176, 216; μελαίνας νυκτός (fr. 142), vgl. Θ 486; ὀδὸν ἀγήμενεῦσαι (*O.* 6, 25), vgl. ζ 261; ὀξείας αὐτᾶς (*N.* 9, 35), vgl. O 312; ὀρέων σκιοέντων (*P.* 9, 34), vgl. A 157; πετραέσσας Πυθῶνος (*O.* 6, 48), vgl. B 519; πολιᾶς ἁλός (*O.* 1, 71; *P.* 2, 68; *I.* 4, 56), vgl. μ 180; πτερόεις οἰστός (*O.* 9, 11), vgl. E 171; πυκναὶ βουλαί (*I.* 7, 8), vgl. B 55; ὑπὸ κεῦθεσι γαίης (*N.* 10, 56), vgl. X 482; φαεννᾶς υἱὸν Ἀόος (*N.* 6, 52), vgl. δ 188; φάσανον τινάσσω (*N.* 1, 52b), vgl. X 311; φίλον ἦτορ (*O.* 1, 4), vgl. Γ 31 etc.; χάλκεος Ἄρης (*O.* 10, 15; *I.* 4, 15), vgl. E 704; χάλκεος οὐρανός (*P.* 10, 27; *N.* 6, 4), vgl. P 425; χρυσόθρονος Ἥρα (*N.* 1, 37), vgl. A 611; πολόεντα κεραυνόν (*N.* 10, 71), vgl. ψ 330; ὠκυπόρων ναῶν (*P.* 1, 74), vgl. K 308.

Wie Schultz in einer noch lesenswerten Arbeit dargelegt hat,⁴⁵ stammen fast alle pindarische Adjektive nachweislich aus dem Epos, und

⁴³ Eine Bestätigung der hier verteidigten Auffassung kommt aus dem berühmten Buch zur indogermanischen Dichtersprache, das vor mehr als fünfzig Jahren R. Schmitt (1967) veröffentlicht hat. Ein Blick auf Schmitt'sche Sammlung genügt, um zu konstatieren, dass fast alle lyrische Stellen, für die eine Parallele aus anderen indogermanischen Kulturen angeführt werden kann, eine noch engere Parallele im griechischen Epos finden.

⁴⁴ Vgl. besonders Schultz 1905.

⁴⁵ Schultz 1905.

auch für diejenigen, die keine Parallelen im uns erhaltenen Epos finden, kann ein epischer Ursprung mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit angenommen werden. Auch die Epitheta, die häufig sprachliche Altertümlichkeiten aufweisen, enthalten bei den Chorlyrikern keine Archaismen.⁴⁶

Damit will ich nicht bestreiten, dass die Chorlyrik als einziges griechisches Zeugnis an manchen Stellen diverse Züge der indogermanischen Dichtersprache vorweist. Doch habe ich den Eindruck, dass es sich um ganz sporadische Erscheinungen handelt. Die Vermutung, es handle sich um eine ununterbrochene Tradition von der indogermanischen Zeit bis zur griechischen Chorlyrik, wird dadurch keineswegs berechtigt, zumal eine Vermittlung der lesbyschen Lyrik oder des verlorenen Epos nie ausgeschlossen werden kann.⁴⁷

Die Entstehung des Hexameters und die Lyrik

Ein weiterer Beweis für die Altertümlichkeit der Chorlyrik wurde aus der Metrik hergeleitet. Ein großer Teil der auf uns gekommenen Lyrik ist bekanntlich in Daktyloepitriten verfasst, und viele Philologen glauben, dass solche Metren, genauso wie die anderen daktylischen Versmaße, die in der Lyrik vorkommen, in einer Phase der griechischen Verskunst, die der endgültigen Fixierung des Hexameters vorangeht, ihre Wurzeln haben.⁴⁸ Trifft diese Hypothese zu, so sind die Daktyloepitriten als zum Hexameter parallel entwickelte Verse anzusehen. Die Daktyloepitriten bestehen aus Daktylen, Trochäen und Iamben. Hier lasse ich die Trochäen und die Iamben beiseite, weil sie nichts Brauchbares für unsere Untersuchung enthalten, und konzentriere mich auf die Daktylen. Am meisten treten folgende daktylische Formen in den Daktyloepitriten auf: – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – (*hem m*), – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – × (*hem f*), × – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – × (*enhop*), × – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – (*pros*). Die augenscheinliche Ähnlichkeit zwischen diesen Sequenzen und der Hälfte eines Hexameters haben viele Philologen zu der Vermutung veranlasst, dass der Hexameter aus der Verbindung zweier solcher Sequenzen entstanden sei: Die meisten Philologen haben

⁴⁶ Meyer 1913 zeigt, wie stark Alkman und Bakchylides unter dem Einfluss des Epos stehen; Pindar ist ein bisschen freier.

⁴⁷ Watkins' beeindruckende Behauptung 2002, 319: „Yet Pindar is in many ways the most Indo-European of Greek poets“ bezieht sich auf Pindars literarische Gattung („praise poetry“), kaum auf seine sprachlichen Züge.

⁴⁸ Vgl. z.B. Bergk 1854; Usener 1887; Gentili–Giannini 1977; West 1973a, 188; Gallavotti 1977, 16 ff.; Fantuzzi 1984, 54 ff.; Gostoli 2011, 33. Vgl. auch Macía Aparicio 1992.

angenommen, dass der Hexameter aus der Kopplung eines *hem m* mit einem *enhop* entstanden sei.⁴⁹

Trotz aller Unterschiede haben alle diese Theorien ein gemeinsames Element, indem sie den Hexameter aus zwei reinen daktylischen Sequenzen (– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪) entstehen lassen. Ich nehme an, dass jeder Versuch, der Vorgeschichte der griechischen Verse auf den Grund zu gehen, unseren Kenntnissen der indogermanischen Metrik gerecht werden sollte. Dieser Anforderung ist erst Meillet nachgekommen, dem wir die grundlegende Feststellung verdanken, dass unter den griechischen Versmaßen die sogenannten äolischen Metren eine besondere Altertümlichkeit beanspruchen können:⁵⁰ Die vergleichende Betrachtung von vedischer und griechischer Metrik (die die Grundlage jedes Versuches, die indogermanische Metrik wiederzugewinnen, darstellt) lehrt uns das. In den Veden tritt eine Erscheinung öfters auf, der im Rahmen unserer Fragestellung eine entscheidende Rolle gebührt (hierbei sei daran erinnert, dass die vedische Metrik isosyllabisch ist):⁵¹ × × × × ∪ – ∪ – (vedischer Achtsilber). Zwei Ähnlichkeiten zwischen diesem Meter und den äolischen drängen sich sofort auf: (1) der Isosyllabismus, auf den die übrigen griechischen Verse verzichtet haben; (2) die Freiheit der ersten *elementa*. Vergleicht man den vedischen Achtsilber mit dem Glykoneus (einem der verbreitesten äolischen Verse), so bemerkt man, dass sie sich nur am dritten und vierten *elementum* unterscheiden. Ein weiterer äolischer Vers, der sogenannte *wilamowitzianus* (× × × × – ∪ ∪ –), zeigt weitere augenfällige Ähnlichkeiten mit den vedischen auf. Aus all dem kann man mit Zuversicht zu dem Schluss gelangen, dass die äolischen Versmaße unter den griechischen den indogermanischen am nächsten stehen.⁵²

Da die älteste griechische Literatur in Hexametern verfasst ist, sind von vornherein diejenigen Theorien vorzuziehen, die einen Zusammenhang zwischen dem Hexameter und den äolischen Versmaßen erkennen und erklären. Trifft das zu, so muss man annehmen, dass der Hexameter aus der Verbindung zweier kleinerer Verse entstanden ist: Wir erschließen das daraus, dass die oben erwähnten äolischen Versmaße Achtsilber sind, während die homerischen Verse 15 / 17 Silben im Durchschnitt umfassen, und die Tatsache, dass der Hexameter doppelt so viele Silben enthält wie die

⁴⁹ So schon der Urheber dieser Frage, der große Th. Bergk (1854); ihm sind mit unwesentlichen Differenzierungen u.a. Usener 1887, West 1973a, Gentili-Giannini 1977 gefolgt.

⁵⁰ Meillet 1923.

⁵¹ Eine synthetische und klare Darstellung bei Macdonell 1916, 436 ff.

⁵² Diese Tatsache ist heute allgemein anerkannt und bedarf keiner eingehenden Erläuterung.

Achtsilber, spricht für die Entstehung des Letzteren aus dem Ersten.⁵³ Eine sehr plausible Entwicklungshypothese ist von Berg vorgelegt worden.⁵⁴ Nach Bergs Auffassung wurde am Anfang der ererbte Achtsilber mit seiner katalektischen Variante verbunden ($\times \times \times \times \cup - \cup - \times \times \times \times \cup -$): Das ist *per se ipsum* sehr plausibel, denn die Koppelung eines akatalektischen Verses mit seiner katalektischen Variante ist nicht ungewöhnlich.⁵⁵ Dann hätte eine quantitative Festlegung der *ancipitia* stattgefunden, die die zweite Hälfte des Verses zu einem *pher* gemacht hätte ($\times \times - \cup \cup -$). Auch dieser Schritt ist leicht nachvollziehbar, weil derlei Festlegungen in der Richtung vom Ende auf den Anfang des Verses hin nachweislich auftreten können.⁵⁶ Seit Wilamowitz steht fest, dass zwischen einer ganzen Reihe von Achtsilbern (*glyc*, *wil*) ein Zusammenhang besteht:⁵⁷ „Die Ratio der empfundenen Zusammengehörigkeit dieser 8-Silber liegt offenbar einerseits in dem gemeinsamen choriambischen Nukleus, der in der Mitte, am Anfang oder am Ende stehen kann, und andererseits in der Gleichwertigkeit von $-\cup\cup-$ und $\cup-\cup-$ “.⁵⁸ Da die Verwandtschaft bzw. die Äquivalenz dieser Achtsilber das altertümlichste Gepräge erkennen lässt, sind wir berechtigt anzunehmen, dass die erste Hälfte unseres Urhexameters manchmal die Form $\times \times \times \times - \cup \cup -$ annahm, und dass eine Entwicklung von $\times \times \times \times - \cup \cup - \times \times - \cup \cup -$ zum homerischen Hexameter somit leicht zu verstehen ist. Berg hat versucht, jeden Schritt dieser von ihm angenommenen Wendung von jener primitiven Form bis zu dem uns vertrauten Hexameter, zu erklären. Es wäre überflüssig, Bergs Argumente an dieser Stelle noch einmal zu wiederholen.⁵⁹ Ich beschränke mich auf wenige Beobachtungen. Bergs Hypothese wird nicht nur der Silbenanzahl des Hexameters gerecht, sondern mindestens auch dreien weiteren Tatsachen. (1) Das pherekrateische Ende des Hexameters ($-\cup\cup--$) wird auf diese Weise am besten erklärt. (2) Es ist eine bekannte Tatsache, dass die Anzahl von Spondeen in den ersten beiden Füßen höher ist als in den folgenden: Nehmen wir an, dass das Eindringen der Daktylen ausgehend vom Ende des Verses bis hin zum Anfang verläuft, dann ist

⁵³ Man erinnere sich, dass die äolischen Versmaße älter sind als die hexametrischen, wie Meillet (1923) ein für allemal bewiesen hat.

⁵⁴ Berg 1978; ihm sind Hajnal 2003 und Tichy 2010, 6 ff. u. a. gefolgt. Vgl. auch Magnelli 1995–1996.

⁵⁵ Man denke z. B. an den *Priapeus* (*glyk* + *pher*) oder an den *Eupolideus* ($o o - x - \cup \cup - | o o - x - \cup \times$).

⁵⁶ Berg 1978, 27 ff.

⁵⁷ Wilamowitz 1921, 210–244 (als eigenständiger Artikel schon 1902 erschienen); Tichy 2010, 7 ff.

⁵⁸ Berg 1978, 23–24.

⁵⁹ Vgl. dazu Tichy 2010, 1–16.

es kaum verwunderlich, dass erste Füße ihre zweisilbige Form für eine längere Zeit beibehalten haben. (3) Die sogenannten στίχοι ἀκέφαλοι, die mit einer Kürze anfangen, spiegeln einen altertümlichen Zustand wider, wie die uns geläufige *basis Aeolica* der äolischen Verse.⁶⁰

Berg ist nicht der erste, der den Hexameter auf die äolischen Versmaße zurückführt: Schon Nagy⁶¹ hatte ihn als einen expandierten Pherekrateus interpretiert, und auch früher hatte es nicht an ähnlichen Versuchen gemangelt. Solchen Hypothesen stehen diejenigen entgegen, welche die ursprünglichen Hemistichien, aus denen der Hexameter entstand, auf eine ursprünglich daktylische Form zurückführen. Die Verteidiger dieser Ansicht berufen sich sowohl auf die augenscheinliche Ähnlichkeit zwischen Versen wie dem Enhoplios, dem Hemiepes usw. und dem Hexameter als auch auf die Cäsuren des Letzteren: Der Umstand, dass die häufigsten Cäsuren (πενθεμιμερής bzw. κατὰ τὸν τρίτον τροχαῖον) im dritten Fuß fallen und die Versteile, die solchen Einschnitten vorangehen bzw. folgen, einem *hem m / hem f* bzw. *enhop* entsprechen, wird von diesen Philologen als Bestätigung ihrer These angesehen. Dagegen sind gewichtige Bedenken anzumelden. Jede Hypothese, die, um die Entstehung des Hexameters zu erklären, eine Cäsur in den Mittelpunkt rücken lässt, setzt sich dem unüberwindlichen Einwand aus, dass der Hexameter vier wichtige Einschnitte hat,⁶² von denen keiner ein besonderes Recht beanspruchen kann, als Verknüpfungspunkt zweier ursprünglich unabhängiger Verse zu gelten.⁶³ Ebenso unmöglich ist es, die genetischen Prozesse des Hexameters mit bestimmten Formeln in Zusammenhang zu bringen, weil altertümlich aussehende Formeln die verschiedensten metrischen Positionen einnehmen.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Zu den Besonderheiten erster Füße, die durch die erwähnte genetische Hypothese erklärt werden können, vgl. Nagy 1974, 55; Durante 1976, 63–64.

⁶¹ Nagy 1974.

⁶² Neben den schon erwähnten Cäsuren die ἐφθήμερής und die bukolische Diäresis.

⁶³ Man hat behauptet, dass im dritten Fuß einige Unregelmäßigkeit auftreten, die auf die ursprüngliche Trennung der Kola zurückzuführen seien (z.B. West 1973a, 188; Gentili–Giannini 1977, 38). Dagegen hat Witte (1972, 83 ff.) mit Recht geltend gemacht, dass derlei Erscheinungen auch vor der bukolischen Diärese vorkommen.

⁶⁴ Vgl. Magnelli 1995–1996. Gentili's Behauptung (1977, 28): „L'esametro appare un verso risultante dall'associazione di quelle stesse figure metriche nelle quali si strutturano le formule evidenziate dal Parry“ ist bedenklich. Es ist allerdings wahr, dass die alten Formeln am Ende des Hexameters am häufigsten auftreten (Durante 1971, 123). Diese Tatsache würde vermuten lassen, dass die Fixierung der Formeln im Hexameter nach der endgültigen metrischen Fixierung des Letzteren erfolgt ist. Allem Anschein nach die homerischen Formeln in nachmykenischer Zeit entstanden sind, vgl. Gallavotti 1969.

Manche Philologe glauben, dass die Kola, aus denen sie den Hexameter entstehen lassen (*hem*, *enhop* usw.), auf einigen archaischen Inschriften, die keinen epischen Einfluss aufzeigen, auftreten: Nach diesen Gelehrten würden die erwähnten Inschriften, genauso wie die Daktyloepitriten der Chorlyrik, diejenigen alten Versen gebrauchen, aus deren Verschmelzung der Hexameter entstanden ist. M.W. wurde dieser Weg erst von Usener eingeschlagen, welchem einige gefolgt sind.⁶⁵ Da die ausführlichste Verteidigung dieser Ansicht von Gallavotti stammt, werde ich einige metrische Analysen dieses Gelehrten einer Prüfung unterziehen. Zunächst gebe ich Gallavottis Text und die entsprechenden metrischen Interpretationen wieder:⁶⁶

80 Hansen, Attica, ca. 475–450: χαίρετε οἱ παριόντες· ἐγὼ δὲ |
Ἀντιστάτης | ὕδς Ἀτάρβου κεῖμαι τεῖδε θανών, | πατρίδα γῆν προλιπών |
Ἀντιστάτης Ἀθηναῖος *alcm^, ia, hem m, reiz^, hem m, 2 ia*

144 Schwyzer, Syracusae/Delphi, post 480: Ἰάρων ὁ Δεινομένεος | καὶ
τοὶ Συρακόσιοι | τῷ Δι Τυρρανᾷ ᾗτὸ Κύμας *2 pros, enhopl*

87 Hansen, Attica, ca. 431–421: Φρυγῶν δς ἄριστος ἐγείνατ' | ἐν
εὐρυχόροις Ἀθήναις | Μάννης Ὀρύμαιος, | οὗ μνήμα τόδ' ἐστὶ καλόν, |
καὶ μὰ Δι' οὐκ εἶδον ἐμὰ τοῦ ἀμείνω ὑλοτόμον | ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ
ἀπέθανεν. *2 enhopl, reiz, pros, cho dim, 2 pros*

394 Hansen, Sybaris, ca. 600–550: δῶ Κλέομροτος | ὁ Δεξίλαφος ἀνέθηκ'
| Ὀλυνπία νικάσας | ῥίσο(μ) μᾶκος τε καὶ πάχος τε, | τᾷθάναι ἀρέθλων |
εὐξάμενος δεκάταν *hyrd, pros, 2 enhop, reiz, hem m*

IG XIV 865, Cumae, saec. VII: Ταταίης εἰμὶ λήκυθος | ὅς δ' ἄν με κλέψηι
| τυφλὸς ἔσται *2 ia, reiz, tr*

Gallavotti bemerkt, dass die von ihm angenommenen Versmaße ihre engste Parallele in den Daktyloepitriten der Chorlyrik finden, und interpretiert sie als metrische Kola. Nun habe ich den Eindruck gewonnen, dass eine sorgfältige Gegenüberstellung von Metren der Chorlyrik und der angeführten Inschriften Gallavottis These eindeutig widerlegen. Der vermeintliche *hem m* ὕδς Ἀτάρβου κεῖ- hat eine Kontraktion, während

⁶⁵ Usener 1887; Gentili–Giannini 1977; Gallavotti 1979. *Contra* Allen 1885–1888, Zaicev 2006 [А. И. Зайцев, “Формирование древнегреческого гексаметра”, in: А. Н. Зайцев, *Исследования по древнегреческой и индоевропейской поэзии*], 137.

⁶⁶ Mit | bezeichne ich das Kolon-Versende, wie es von Gallavotti gesetzt wird. Die angeführten Texte befinden sich auf den Seiten 23, 14, 21, 108, 86 des Buches von Gallavotti.

die *hem* der Daktyloepitriten fast immer unkontrahiert bleiben. *Reiz* wie -μαί τεῖδε θανών, Μάννης Ὀρύμαιοις sind den Daktyloepitriten der Chorlyrik, die die Form $\times - \cup - -$ gern anwendet, fremd. Auch *pros* mit monosyllabischer Senkung wie καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι oder mit Auflösung der letzten Hebung (-θαέν) werden von Chorlyrikern vermieden. Auch ein *cho dim* inmitten einer Reihe von Daktyloepitriten würde überraschen. Man fragt sich, warum den Steindichtern, die nicht selten gute Hexameter und Pentameter zu schreiben vermochten, keine anständige Reihe von Daktyloepitriten zu schreiben gelungen sein soll. Dazu kommt ein weiterer Aspekt: Selbst wenn die angeführten Steinepigramme wirkliche Daktyloepitriten enthalten würden, so würde daraus keineswegs folgen, dass eine besonders alte Tradition dieser Dichtung dahintersteckt. Da kein vermeintliches daktyloepitritisches Steingedicht über das 6. Jh. v. Chr. hinaufreicht, könnte man auch annehmen, dass die Chorlyrik diese Dichtungen beeinflusst hat. Wie dem auch sei, steht fest, dass Useners, Gianninis und Gallavottis Versuch, in einigen Steingedichten Spuren einer vorhexametrischen Verskunst nachzuweisen, gescheitert ist.

Ein Überblick über die daktylischen Formen der Lyrik kann hier behilflich sein. Der älteste Dichter, dessen Metrik wir erfassen können, Archilochos, benutzt *hex*, 4 *da*⁶⁷, *hem m*, 4 *da*, *enhop*. Wer an die Entstehung des Hexameters aus *hem m* + *enhop* glaubt, kann sich auf das Vorhandensein dieser Kola berufen, aber Archilochos benutzt auch 4 *da* (fr. 188 W.: οὐκέθ' ὁμῶς θάλλεις ἀπαλὸν χρῶα), das die Ansicht derjenigen, die den Hexameter aus 4 *da* + *adon* entstehen lassen,⁶⁷ unterstützten mag. Dasselbe gilt von den Daktyloepitriten, die meiner Meinung nach eine Parallelentwicklung zu Archilochos' sogenannten Asynarteten darstellen:⁶⁸ Auch dort tritt neben *hem*, *enhop*, *pros* die Sequenz 4 *da* auf, obwohl in katalektischer Form (Pind. *P.* 4, 6: καρποφόρου Λιβύας, ἱεράν).

Weitere Erscheinungen daktylischen Ursprungs innerhalb der Lyrik sind wahrscheinlich die Anapäste. Dass Daktylen und Anapäste aus einem *longum* und einem *biceps* bestehen, was sie von den übrigen griechischen Versmaßen unterscheidet, führt berechtigterweise zu der Vermutung einer engen Verwandtschaft beider Metren. Der sogenannte Paroemiakos ($\cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup - -$), der sich vom Enhoplios kaum unterscheidet, wird in der klassischen Tragödie als Klausel für ana-

⁶⁷ Wie z. B. Witte 1972, 83 ff.

⁶⁸ Manche lassen hingegen die Daktyloepitriten aus den archilochischen Versmaßen entstehen. Ich werde dieses Thema an anderer Stelle behandeln.

pästische Reihen angewendet, was ohne Zweifel auf sein klingelndes Ende (– –) zurückzuführen ist. Manche schreiben eine besondere Altertümlichkeit dem Paroemiakos zu, und berufen sich dabei auf den Umstand, dass die Sprichwörter in diesem Vers verfasst wurden.⁶⁹ Aber wenn man Bergs These zustimmt, dann ist der Paroemiakos nichts Anderes als ein Teil des Hexameters, der mit dem genetischen Vorgang, der zum Hexameter geführt hat, nichts zu tun hat. All das hat weitreichende Folgerungen für die Geschichte der griechischen Lyrik: Die berühmten spartanischen ἐμβατήρια, von denen uns ein Stück erhalten ist (*PMG* 856), sind in Paroemiaken verfasst. Wir besitzen überhaupt keinen Anhaltspunkt für ihre Datierung, aber wenn man davon ausgeht, dass das Metron, in dem sie geschrieben sind, aus dem Hexameter entstanden ist, und dabei bedenkt, dass sich sämtliche Versmaße, die auf den Hexameter zurückzuführen sind, im Osten entwickelt haben, und von dort aus im 8. Jh. von äolischen Sängern auf dem Peloponnes eingeführt worden sind (vgl. unten S. 233 ff.), dann führt das zu dem unumgänglichen Schluss, dass vor dem 8. Jh. keine anapästischen ἐμβατήρια existierten.

Meiner Ansicht nach sind die daktylischen Reihen, die in der Lyrik vorkommen, nichts Anderes als Teile des Hexameters, die von einem gewissen Punkt an als selbständige Kola bzw. Verse angewandt worden sind. Gibt es irgendwelche Parallelen für eine derartige Zerstückelung längerer Verse? Ein ähnliches Verfahren ist in mittelalterlicher Dichtung belegbar, wo der Octonarius aus der Zerstückelung des lateinischen trochaischen Octonarius entstanden ist.⁷⁰

Besonders hervorheben möchte ich die weitreichenden Konsequenzen, die Bergs Entstehungstheorie des Hexameters für die ganze griechische Literaturgeschichte hat: Nehmen wir einmal an, dass der Hexameter aus den sogenannten äolischen Versen entstanden ist, dann folgt daraus notwendigerweise, dass sich die daktylischen Reihen erst innerhalb des Hexameters entwickelt haben. Daraus wiederum kann man schliessen, dass die daktylischen Versmaße der Lyrik aus der Zerstückelung des Hexameters entstanden sind. Wenn auch einzelne Punkte von Berg Rekonstruktion angezweifelt werden dürfen, müssen wir daran festhalten, dass die daktylischen Reihen aus dem Hexameter entstanden sind, und nicht umgekehrt. Trifft das zu, dann gelangen wir unausweichlich zu der Schlussfolgerung, dass sämtliche daktylische Erscheinungen der Lyrik (darunter die Daktyloepitriten) aus dem Epos entstanden sind.

⁶⁹ So Bergk, vgl. Fantuzzi 1984, 36–37.

⁷⁰ D'Ovidio 1932, 224 ff.; Beltrami 2011, 196.

Herakleides Pontikos über die Geschichte der Kitharodie

Die These, dass die daktylischen Erscheinungen der Lyrik auf den Hexameter zurückzuführen sind, kann durch eine weitere Beobachtung untermauert werden. Der pseudoplutarchische Traktat *Περὶ μουσικῆς* hat uns ein Bruchstück aus einer Schrift des Herakleides Pontikos überliefert (Plut. *De mus.* 3, 1131 F ff. = Heracl. Pont. fr. 157 Wehrli):

Ἡρακλείδης δ' ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν ἐν μουσικῇ <εὐδοκιμησάντων> τὴν κιθαρωδικὴν ποίησιν πρῶτόν φησιν Ἀμφίονα ἐπινοῆσαι τὸν Διὸς καὶ Ἀντιόπης, τοῦ πατρὸς δηλονότι διδάξαντος αὐτόν. πιστοῦται δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τῆς ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀποκειμένης, δι' ἧς τὰς τε ἱερείας τὰς ἐν Ἄργει καὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς καὶ τοὺς μουσικοὺς ὀνομάζει. [...] γεγονέναι δὲ καὶ Δημόδοκον Κερκυραῖον παλαιὸν μουσικόν, ὃν πεποιηκέναι Ἰλίου τε πόρθησιν καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἡφαίστου γάμον· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Φῆμιον Ἰθακήσιον νόστον τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας μετ' Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀνακομισθέντων ποιῆσαι. οὐ λελυμένην δ' εἶναι τῶν προειρημένων τὴν τῶν ποιημάτων λέξιν καὶ μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ <τῇ> Σησιχόρου τε καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων μελοποιῶν, οἱ ποιοῦντες ἔπη τούτοις μέλη περιτίθεσαν· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Τέρπανδρον ἔφη κιθαρωδικῶν ποιητὴν ὄντα νόμων, κατὰ νόμον ἕκαστον τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῖς Ὀμήρου μέλη περιτιθέντα ᾄδειν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν. [...] ὁμοίως δὲ Τερπάνδρῳ Κλονᾶν, τὸν πρῶτον συστησάμενον τοὺς αὐλωδικοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ προσόδια, ἐλεγείων τε καὶ ἑπῶν ποιητὴν γεγονέναι, καὶ Πολύμνηστον τὸν Κολοφώνιον τὸν μετὰ τοῦτον γενόμενον τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι ποιήμασιν.

Die Gedankenfolge dieser Stelle ist nur mühsam erfassbar. Nach einer Reihe mythischer Persönlichkeiten, erwähnt Herakleides den Stesichoros und die ἀρχαῖοι μελοποιοί, und sagt, dass ihre λέξις weder λελυμένη noch ἄμετρος war. Der Grund, weswegen Stesichoros zitiert wird, liegt auf der Hand: Während keine Zeile von Demodokos oder Phemios zur Verfügung stand, um die Metrik solcher Dichter zu erfahren, waren Stesichoros' Werke dem Herakleides noch zugänglich, und der Peripatetiker (bzw. seine Quelle) benutzt sie, um die Metrik der älteren Dichter zu erschließen. Dann folgen Terpanchos, Klonas und Polymnestos: Hat (die Quelle des) Herakleides ihre Gedichte gekannt? Diese Frage ist schwierig zu beantworten, aber die verbindliche Aussage κατὰ νόμον ἕκαστον und die Erwähnung von Elegien und ἔπη wären unverständlich und verantwortungslos, wären Terpanchos und Klonas für (die Quelle des) Herakleides leere Namen gewesen.⁷¹ Aus unserer Stelle geht m.E. hervor, dass (die Quelle des) Herakleides Auskunft über die Metren der erwähnten Dichter irgendwie erhalten hatte.

⁷¹ Zum Polymnestos' Nachleben vgl. Almazova *sub prelis*.

Aber was bedeutet, dass die λέξις dieser Dichter nicht λελυμένη καὶ μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσα war? Wie kann ein Dichter überhaupt ἄνευ μέτρον schreiben? Wenn man λελυμένη καὶ μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσα als „Prosa“ versteht, bleibt die Stelle rätselhaft. Ich glaube, dass sich Herakleides mit μέτρα auf reguläre Metren, wie den Hexameter, Distichon und die Daktyloepitriten bezieht, denen er diejenigen Metren gegenüberstellt, welche eine kompliziertere Gestaltung aufweisen (wie z.B. Pindars äolische Metren).⁷² Auch bei anderen Schriftstellern bedeutet μέτρον ein reguläres Metrum, dem die Vielfältigkeit der ἀδόμενα μέλη gegenübergestellt wird.⁷³ Eine Bestätigung dieser Interpretation kommt aus dem Folgenden, wo man liest (1132 D–E):

ὅτι δ' οἱ κιθαρωδικοὶ νόμοι οἱ πάλαι ἐξ ἐπῶν συνίσταντο, Τιμόθεος ἐδήλωσε· τοὺς γοῦν πρώτους νόμους ἐν ἔπεσι διαμιγνύων διθυραμβικὴν λέξιν ἦδεν, ὅπως μὴ εὐθὺς φανῇ παρανομῶν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν μουσικὴν.

Offenbar wird damit gemeint, dass Timotheos, der als Verderber der alten Musik bekanntlich galt, vielfältige Versmaße in den kitharodischen Nomos eingeführt hat, und diese Feststellung setzt voraus, dass bis dahin der kitharodische Nomos nur die alten daktylischen bzw. daktyloepitritischen Formen benutzt hatte.⁷⁴ Aus all dem folgt, dass (die Quelle des) Herakleides

⁷² Jeder wird mir beipflichten, dass Hexameter und Distichon ein „reguläres“ Gepräge aufweisen; problematischer sind offensichtlich die Daktyloepitriten. Aber wenn wir davon ausgehen, dass wir ein zuverlässiges Gesamtbild der stesichorischen Metrik besitzen (vgl. in dieser Richtung Haslam 1974, 56–57, dem ich zustimme), dann kommen wir unausweichlich zu dem Schluss, dass Herakleides (bzw. seine Quelle), als er von nicht λελυμένη καὶ μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσα λέξις sprach, eben die stesichorischen Daktyloepitriten von Augen hatte, die mehrere Daktylen enthalten als diejenigen der späteren Dichter.

⁷³ Vgl. [Dem.] *Epit.* 1391 (τοὺς ἐμμέτρος [ita mss. : ἐν μέτροις Sykutris coll. Isocr. 9, 11, fort. recte] καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀδομένων ποιητάς), LSJ ἔμμετρος III. Gostoli (1990, XXXIV; 2011, 33) interpretiert λελυμένη λέξις καὶ μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσα in Ps.-Plutarch als „astrophisch“: Auf diese Weise würde Herakleides meinen, dass die homerischen Aöden dieselbe strophische Struktur verwendeten, die wir bei Stesichoros finden. Gostoli beruft sich auf Hephaest. 64, 24 – 65, 1–2 C.: ἀπολελυμένα δέ, ἃ εἰκὴ γέγραπται καὶ ἄνευ μέτρον ὀρισμένου, οἳ οἱ εἰσιν οἱ νόμοι οἱ κιθαρωδικοὶ Τιμοθέου. Freilich bedeutet hier ἀπολελυμένα „astrophisch“, aber das wird durch den Kontext unzweideutig nahegelegt. (ἀπο)λελυμένος bedeutet grundsätzlich „frei, unverbunden“, und nur der Kontext verdeutlicht die jeweilige Bedeutung des Wortes. Gegen Gostolis Erklärung kann der Satz ὁμοίως δὲ Τερπάνδρῳ Κλονᾷ ... ποιήμασιν geltend gemacht werden, weil der Parallelismus zwischen Klonas und Terpanchos darin besteht, dass beide daktylische Versmaße anwandten, was mit den Strophen nicht das Geringste zu tun hat.

⁷⁴ Das ist wahrscheinlich eine Übertreibung, die nur im Rahmen der erbitterten Polemik gegen die neue Musik verständlich ist.

Stesichoros als Nachfolger des Terpandros einstuft, indem er dieselbe metrisch-musikalische Tradition fortsetzte. Neben Terpandros erwähnt Herakleides Klonas, τὸν πρῶτον συστησάμενον τοὺς αὐλωδικοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ προσόδια, als ἐλεγείων τε καὶ ἐπῶν ποιητήν. Was die metrische Form der Prosodia betrifft, bestätigt die Angaben des Herakleides ein Fragment, das Pausanias (4, 33, 2) dem Eumelos zuschreibt (*PMG* 696): τῷ γὰρ Ἴθωμάται καταθύμιος ἔπλετο Μοῖσα / ἅ καθαρὰ καὶ ἐλεύθερα σάμβαλ' ἔχοισα (Dindorf: ἔχουσα mss.). Es wurde die Vermutung ausgesprochen, dass es sich um zwei Hexameter handelt, aber für den zweiten Vers lässt sich dies nicht mit Sicherheit bestimmen.⁷⁵ Für unsere Fragestellung bleibt jedenfalls von Belang, dass es sich um eine daktylische Form handelt.

Die Absichte (der Quelle) des Herakleides ist nunmehr klar: Die ältesten Vertreter der kitharodischen Tradition haben nur daktylische Versmaße (Hexameter, Daktyloepitriten, elegische Distichen) verwendet. Terpandros und Stesichoros werden als Nachfolger des Phemios, des Demodokos und anderer mythischen Kitharoden dargestellt. Dem Phemios und dem Demodokos werden diejenigen Gedichte zugeschrieben, die sie in der *Odyssea* singen (Νόστος τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας μετ' Ἀγαμέμνονος, Ἰλίου πόρθησις, Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἥφαιστου γάμος). Daraus können wir deutlich erschließen, dass (die Quelle des) Herakleides beide homerische Aöden für hexametrische Dichter hielt.⁷⁶ Für (die Quelle des) Herakleides sind offensichtlich die Versmaße des Terpandros und des Stesichoros eine Entwicklung des Hexameters.⁷⁷

Terpandros war für die alten der erste historisch greifbare Kitharod, und alle sahen in ihm den Anfang der kitharodischen Tradition. Darin stimmen alle überein,⁷⁸ und das hat offensichtlich etwas mit dem Umstand zu tun, dass Terpandros die lesbische Verskunst nach Sparta eingeführt hat. Ob es mit der Tatsache, dass die Chronik der spartanischen Karneen

⁷⁵ Vgl. Pavese 1987. Tausend 2012 hält dieses Prosodion für eine Fälschung aus dem 4. Jh. v. Chr.

⁷⁶ Zu den homerischen Aöden vgl. Diehl 1940, 98 ff.

⁷⁷ Wie Gostoli 2011, 33, schreibt: „Nella prospettiva di Eraclide la poesia di Stesicoro, ad un tempo epica e lirica, lungi dall'essere considerata una sorta di anomalia o comunque di esperienza innovativa, era inserita in una tradizione antichissima risalente al canto aedico“. Gentili–Giannini 1977, 34 ff., die den historischen Wert des Zeugnisses des Herakleides anerkannt haben, scheinen nicht wahrzunehmen, dass es ihrer Rekonstruktion, nach welcher der Hexameter aus den Kola der Daktyloepitriten entstanden sein soll, widerspricht.

⁷⁸ Vgl. Pindaros (fr. 125 S.–M. = T 45 G.), Timotheos, *Pers.* 235 ff. (T 46 G.), Hellanikos von Lesbos (*FrGrHist* 4 F 85 = Terpandros T 1 Gostoli; vgl. dazu Franklin 2010–2011, 734 ff.), Glaukos von Rhegion (Ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1132 E = T 3 G.), Herakleides Pontikos (Ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1132 C = fr. 157 Wehrli = T 27 G.), Alexander Polyhistor (Ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1132 F = *FrGrHist* 273 F 77 = T. 7 G.).

aufgezeichnet und früh veröffentlicht war, in Zusammenhang gebracht werden muss,⁷⁹ weiß ich nicht, aber ich kann mir schwerlich vorstellen, dass Pindaros (Fr. 125 S.–M = Terp. T 45 G.) auf einer Quelle solcher Art beruht.⁸⁰ Wir wissen auch nicht, was Terpanndros in Sparta vorgefunden hat, insofern darf man davon ausgehen, dass die Überlieferung, die keine Vorgänger des Terpanndros kennt, vereinfacht hat.⁸¹ Nichtsdestoweniger halte ich es für gesichert, dass das Auftreten des Terpanndros in Sparta einen entscheidenden Punkt in der Geschichte der griechischen Dichtung darstellte. Neben Herakleides kennen wir weitere Gewährsmänner, die dem Terpanndros eine entscheidende Rolle zuweisen. Glaukos von Rhegion, der im 5. Jh. v. Chr. gelebt hat, und der erste uns greifbare griechische Literaturhistoriker ist,⁸² scheint nur einen einzigen Kitharoden unter den Vorgängern des Terpanndros zu kennen: Orpheus. Dasselbe gilt auch für Timotheos und Alexander Polyhistor (vgl. Anm. 78). Ein lakonischer Schriftsteller der alexandrinischen Zeit, Sosibios, erzählt, dass die Spartaner, um einen Sieg über die Argiver, der im 6. Jh. stattgefunden hatte, zu feiern, *Θαλητᾶ καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος ᾠσματα καὶ τοὺς Διονυσιοδότου τοῦ Λάκωνος παιᾶνας* sangen (Athen. 678 BC = *FrGrHist* 595 F 4),⁸³ woraus wir erschließen, dass Thaletas' und Alkmans Gesänge im Sparta des 6. Jh. als klassisch galten.⁸⁴ Bei Plutarch (*Lyc.* 28, 10) lesen wir, dass zu Epaminondas' Zeit *τοὺς ἀλίσκομένους εἴλωτας κελυομένους ᾄδειν τὰ Τερπάνδρου καὶ*

⁷⁹ Wie es Wilamowitz 1903, 88 tut.

⁸⁰ Immerhin muss man Wilamowitz 1903, 88 beipflichten, dass es merkwürdig ist, dass unsere Überlieferung selbst die lesbischen Kitharoden nur in Sparta tätig kennt. Angesichts dieser Quellenlage fragt man sich welche Rolle die Wiedereinführung der Schrift in Griechenland (8 Jh.) gespielt hat. Ein jüngst erschienener Sammelband (Yunis 2003) hat einen vielversprechenden Titel, dem der Inhalt leider nicht ebenbürtig entspricht.

⁸¹ Im *Marmor Parium* (*FrGrHist* 239, 34) lesen wir: *Τέρπανδρος [...]* καὶ τὴν ἔμπροσθεν μουσικὴν μετέστησεν, was zur Vermutung veranlasst, dass schon vor Terpanndros in Sparta die Musik gepflegt wurde (vgl. Wilamowitz 1903, 88, Anm. 1; Lasserre 1954, 22).

⁸² Über Glaukos vgl. zuletzt Gostoli 2015.

⁸³ Zu dieser Stelle vgl. Bölte 1929, 130 ff.; Franchi 2012. Über Dionysodotos wissen wir so gut wie nichts. Dasselbe gilt für den Spondon der Plutarchstelle, die wir in Kürze zitieren werden.

⁸⁴ Man bemerke, dass Alkman von Plutarch *ὁ Λακωνικὸς ποιητής* genannt wird (*Lyc.* 21). Vgl. auch Eupolis fr. 148, 1–2 K.–A. *τὰ Στησιχόρου τε καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος Σιμωνίδου τε / ἀρχαῖον ἀεῖδεν*. Im Altertum kursierte eine Tradition, wonach *Ἀλκμᾶν πρῶτος εἰσήγαγε τὸ μὴ ἐξαμέτροις μελῳδεῖν* (Suid. α 1289 Adler): Diese Nachricht besitzt einen großen Wert, weil sie bestätigt, was wir beobachten können, nämlich dass Alkman der erste Lyriker ist, bei dem lange nicht-daktylische Gedichte vorkommen.

Ἀλκμῆνος καὶ Σπένδοντος τοῦ Λάκωνος παραιτεῖσθαι. Angesichts dieser Zeugnisse liegt der Schluss nahe, dass der älteste ihrer Dichter, von dem die Spartaner eine dauernde Erinnerung bewahrt hatten, Terpandros war.

Zur Ursprung der „äolischen“ Chorlyrik

Bislang habe ich den Ursprung der Daktyloepitriten behandelt, die bekanntlich nur die Hälfte der auf uns gekommenen Chorlyrik darstellen. Die andere Hälfte bilden die sogenannten äolischen Metren (ich lasse die metra ex iambis orta beiseite): Woher kommen diese Versmaße und in welcher Beziehung stehen sie zu den Daktyloepitriten? Der lesbische Ursprung, von dem wir im Falle der Daktyloepitriten ausgegangen sind, macht es von vornherein wahrscheinlich, dass auch die äolischen Versmaße von Lesbos herüberkamen.⁸⁵ Ich beschränke mich auf einige Beispiele aus Pindaros und Bakchylides. Der metrische Charakterzug ihrer äolischen Gedichte ist die Verbindung der alten Kola (*glyc, pher, wil*) mit Iamben, Kretikern und Daktylen, was gleichfalls charakteristisch für Sappho und Alkaios ist. Hier lasse ich eine Reihe von Erscheinungen folgen, die sowohl bei den Lesbischern als auch bei den Chorlyrikern vorkommen:⁸⁶

<i>cr glyc</i>	<i>O. 14</i>	Sa. 96, Sa. 98 V.
<i>cr tel</i>	<i>P. 7, N. 3</i>	Sa. 155, strophes Sapphicae tertius versus
<i>glyc bac (= phal)</i>	<i>O. 9, P. 8, Bacch. 18</i>	Sa. 230
<i>glyc ia</i>	<i>P. 5, P. 6, I. 7, Bacch. 20a</i>	Alc. 355
<i>ia glyc</i>	<i>P. 2, P. 6</i>	Sa. 102, Alc. 70, Alc. 117 b
<i>ia hag</i>	<i>I. 7</i>	Sa. 137 (?), Alc. 375, Alc. 384
<i>ia tel</i>	<i>P. 10, Bacch. 2</i>	Sa. 138 (?), strophes Alcaicae vv. I–II
<i>pher ia</i>	<i>P. 2</i>	Sa. 111
<i>tel bac</i>	<i>O. 14, N. 2, N. 4, I. 7</i>	inc. auct. 18
<i>tel ia</i>	<i>N. 3, I. 7, Bacch. 18</i>	Sa. 138 (?), Alc. 303A a, Alc. 319
<i>gl^{cho}</i>	<i>O. 5</i>	Alc. 5, Alc. 130
<i>gl^{da}</i>	<i>N. 6</i>	Sa. 130
<i>pher^{2da}</i>	<i>O. 1</i>	Sa. 115, 136

⁸⁵ Der Name αἰολικὰ μέτρα ist für unsere Frage belanglos, denn diese alte Bezeichnung ist bar jeglicher genealogischen Gelehrsamkeit.

⁸⁶ Am Anfang stehen die *versus compositi*, dann folgen die *versus amplificati*. Ich gebe nur die Nummer der betroffenen Gedichte an; Die metrischen Analysen bei Voigt und Snell–Maehler.

Diese Übereinstimmungen und die Tatsache, dass im achten und siebten Jh. eine Reihe von Lesbischen Künstlern bei den spartanischen Festspielen (wo allem Anschein nach die Chorlyrik entstanden ist)⁸⁷ eine dominierende Rolle ausübten (vgl. Ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1133 C–D), berechtigt uns zu der Schlussfolgerung, dass auch die äolischen Versmaße aus dem Osten kamen. Allerdings ist ein direkter Einfluss der sapphischen bzw. alkaischen Metrik auf die Chorlyriker wenig wahrscheinlich, weil die mehr charakteristischen Züge der sapphischen bzw. alkaischen Strophe bei den Chorlyrikern keine maßgebliche Rolle spielen.⁸⁸

Der lesbische Ursprung der spartanischen Dichtkunst kann von einer weiteren Seite her bestätigt werden. Mittlerweile hat einer der besten lebenden Kenner der griechischen Dialekte, A. C. Cassio, einer Diskussion, die sich jahrzehntelang hinschleppte, ein Ende gesetzt.⁸⁹ Die Chorlyriker lassen das Partizipium Femininum auf -οισα enden, was weder dem Äolisch-Ionischen des Epos (wo man -ουσα findet) noch dem Dorischen (was -ωσα bietet) entspricht. Woher stammt diese Form? Lange Zeit hatte man vermutet, diese Partizipien wären eine archaische Form des Dorischen, von wo sie in die Sprache der Chorlyrik eingedrungen wären. Träfe dies zu, so würden diese Partizipien den zahlreichen Dorismen der Chorlyrik angehören. Allerdings hat Cassio jetzt endgültig dargelegt, dass diese Partizipien auf den „asiatischen“ Äolismus zurückzuführen sind. Dieser Äolismus ist jünger als der homerische und hat sich in Sapphos und Alkaios' Sprache niedergeschlagen. Der Nachweis, dass die Chorlyrik von diesem jüngeren Äolismus beeinflusst worden ist, hat weitgreifende Konsequenzen für die Geschichte der griechischen Lyrik, weil dadurch Terpandros' Tätigkeit in Sparta bestätigt wird. Die Ankunft orientalischer Künstler in Sparta hat die dorische Welt, die bis dahin nur eine oberflächige Kenntnis der äolisch-ionischen Literatur hatte, mit Epos und anderen literarischen

⁸⁷ In ihrer vorzüglichen Stesichoros-Ausgabe sind vielleicht Finglass–Davies zu vorsichtig, wenn sie schreiben (2014, 45), dass „consensus over the origin of literary Doric is even less likely [nämlich als über den Ursprung der epischen Sprache] to emerge“: Ich sehe keine andere Möglichkeit als Sparta und den Peloponnes. Es ist aufschlussreich, dass eine dorische Region, die auf ihre alte literarische Tradition stolz sein konnte, Kreta, keine eigene „lyrische Sprache“ besitzt: vgl. Pages Beobachtungen zum Hybreas' Gesang (Page 1965). Vgl. auch Tedeschi 1991.

⁸⁸ *cr hag* (= *hend Sapph*) habe ich in Pindaros' vollständigen Gedichten nirgendwo gefunden; *ia tel* (= *hend Alc*) tritt bei den Chorlyrikern verhältnismäßig selten auf. Die inneren Erweiterungen spielen bei den Chorlyrikern eine bescheidenere Rolle als bei den Lesbiern; Das Gegenteil gilt für die *wilamowitziani*.

⁸⁹ Cassio 2005; Vgl. auch Hinge 2006, 43 ff. und Verdier 1972, 37 ff.

Gattungen vertraut gemacht.⁹⁰ Nach dem *Περὶ μουσικῆς* hat sich diese neue literarische Blüte auf dem gesamten Peloponnes verbreitet;⁹¹ sie hat auch den Westen erreicht, was man vor allem an Stesichoros' und Ibykos' Lyrik sehen kann. Diese Dichter schreiben dorisch, nur weil sie an eine literarische Gattung anknüpfen, die im Peloponnes gepflegt worden war. Auf Sizilien gab es gewiss keine Chorlyrik, wie auch das Nichtvorhandensein von lyrischen Versmaßen bei Epicharmos zeigt. Weder Stesichoros noch Ibykos stammen aus dorischsprachigen Kolonien und ihr Verhältnis zum Dialekt der Chorlyrik ist ähnlich geartet wie das Pindars.⁹² Es ist keinesfalls verwunderlich, dass uns der Einfluss der dorischen Kunst in nichtdorischen westlichen Gebieten begegnet: ich kann dafür eine Parallele aus der Kunstgeschichte anführen, wo nichtdorische Kolonien unter einem starken Einfluss der lakonischen Kunst stehen.⁹³

Schlussfolgerung

Aus dem Gesagten ergibt sich ein kohärentes Gesamtbild: Die aus indogermanischer Zeit ererbte Metrik wurde in Ionien und in der asiatischen Äolis gepflegt, wobei der ererbte Achtsilber einseits in leicht gewandelten Formen als Basis für die äolische Lyrik diente, andererseits erfuhr dieser auch eine radikale Umgestaltung und Erweiterung, woraus der Hexameter des Epos entstanden ist. Die Chorlyrik hat beide Traditionszweige, den ersten in den äolischen, den zweiten in den daktyloepitritischen Gedichten, fortgesetzt. Bislang habe ich die iambo-trochäischen Versmaße ausser Betracht gelassen; Es ist allerdings höchstwahrscheinlich, dass sie aus der indogermanischen Dichtung direkt stammen.⁹⁴ Ihre endgültige Form haben auch die iambo-trochäischen Versmaße im Osten erhalten.

⁹⁰ Vor dem Auftreten des äolisch-ionischen Epos gab es im kontinentalen Griechenland kein Epos, vgl. unten und schon Wilamowitz 1884, 269; Meister 1921, 229; Schmid–Staehlin I 158: „Vielleicht habe zuerst die musikalischen Bearbeitung des Homertextes von Terpanthos den Homer den Lakoniern vertraut gemacht. Nach Sizilien, und zwar nach Syrakus, soll der Rhapsode Kynaithos aus Chios [...] in der 69. Olympiade (504–501 v. Ch.) den Homer gebracht haben“. *Contra* Janni 1965–1970.

⁹¹ Schon Page 1936 hatte die peloponnesische Elegie erforscht; vgl. Nobili 2011; aber man muß immer vor Augen halten, dass auch die Elegie aus dem Osten gekommen ist, vgl. Dover 1964 und Wilamowitz 1921, 101, Anm. 2 („nach Sparta kommt die Elegie im siebenten Jahrhundert“).

⁹² Vgl. zuletzt Finglass–Davies 2014, 40 ff.

⁹³ Vgl. Prost 2018, 169 ff. Doch ein Aufenthalt des Stesichoros in Sparta ist mehr als zweifelhaft, vgl. Finglass–Davies 2014, 27 ff.

⁹⁴ Meillet 1923, 48 ff.

Aus dem Gesagten bekommt man den Eindruck, als seien alle griechischen Versmaße aus dem Osten gekommen wären. Allerdings ist es von vornherein unwahrscheinlich, dass bis ins achte Jh. hinein im Mutterlande keine Dichtung geblüht hat. Vielleicht sind auf uns einige Gedichte gekommen, die mit den gekünstelten Versmaßen, die im 7. Jh. aus dem Osten kamen, nichts zu tun haben. Bekanntlich bewahrt die kultische Dichtung alte Charakterzüge; angesichts dieses Umstandes ist es nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass der Paeon eines gewissen Aristonoos, der im dritten Jh. v. Chr. gelebt hat, eine archaisierende metrische Gestaltung hat. Es handelt sich um Strophen von vier Versen, deren letzter stets ein *pher* ist, während die vorhergehenden sowohl als *glyc* als auch als *wil* erscheinen können. Wenn man daran denkt, dass die erwähnten Verse unter den griechischen die ältesten sind, und dass die vedischen Strophen eben aus 3 bzw. 4 Versen bestehen,⁹⁵ so ist man berechtigt zu schließen, dass Aristonoos' Paeon eine metrisch hocharchaische Prägung aufweist. Das Gleiche kann von einigen Gedichten Corinnas (*PMG* 654 II, 13 ff.) behauptet werden.

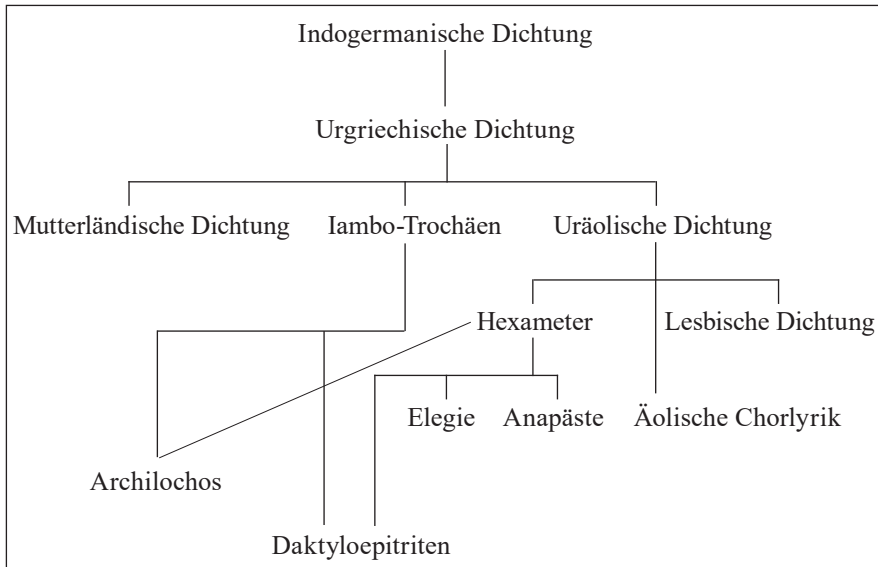
Es ist eine ansprechende Vermutung, diese schlichten metrischen Erscheinungen als von den Verfeinerungen, die die äolisch-ionische Verskunst eingeführt hat, unabhängig zu betrachten („Metrik des Mutterlandes“).⁹⁶ Ich bin nicht imstande, einen positiven Beweis zu erbringen, dass dieser Versbau in der archaischen Periode im kontinentalen Griechenland gepflegt wurde: Freilich stammen unsere Dokumente aus einer späteren Zeit, aber alles spricht dafür, dass sie eine alte aus indogermanischer Zeit ererbte Metrik widerspiegeln. Ist das Gesagte zutreffend, so steht nichts im Wege anzunehmen, dass fast sämtliche griechischen Metren der historischen Zeit letzten Endes aus den Versmaßen, die sich in Äolis und Ionien entwickelt hatten, herrühren. Man könnte ein Stemma skizzieren:⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Macdonell 1916, 438 ff.

⁹⁶ So Wilamowitz 1921, 240 ff.

⁹⁷ Dieses Stemma weicht von demjenigen, das West 1973, 184 entworfen hat, entschieden ab, weil ich keinen Grund sehe, eine Zwischenstufe anzusetzen, aus der die dorisch-peloponnesische und die ionische Tradition (aber nicht die äolische) entstanden wären. West identifiziert die besagte Zwischenstufe mit der süd griechischen Tradition, welche er der nord griechischen (d.h. äolischen) gegenüberstellt. Während ich der von Porzig 1954 und Risch 1955 entworfenen Einteilung der Dialekte in nord- und süd griechische beipflichte, halte ich es für unmöglich, eine südliche und eine nördliche Dichtung zu unterscheiden. Nach Wests Auffassung wäre das Merkmal der südlichen Dichtung die massive Anwendung der Daktylen, die das ionische Epos genauso wie die Chorlyrik kennzeichnet, und der englische Gelehrte führt dieses Überwiegen der daktylischen Versmaße auf eine kontinentalische Phase

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 N. Almazova, "Artistic Heritage of Polymnestus of Colophon", *Mnemosyne, sub prelis*.
 P. Beltrami, *La metrica italiana* (Bologna ⁵2011).

der griechischen Dichtung, die der ionischen Migration vorausgegangen wäre, zurück. Diese Rekonstruktion setzt notwendigerweise voraus, dass der epische Hexameter aus den daktylischen Kola, die wir bei den Chorlyriken antreffen, entstanden ist, und sie muss unbedingt aufgegeben werden, insofern man sich für eine andere Entstehungstheorie entscheidet. Gegen eine alte daktylische Dichtung im Mutterlande hatte sich schon Wilamowitz 1921, 98 mit vollem Recht ausgedrückt.

* Erst nachträglich sehe ich E. Meusels Buch *Pindarus Indogermanicus* (Berlin 2020).

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The aim of this paper is to show that the Greek choral lyric is not a direct descendant of the Indo-European poetry. Whereas the language of poets like Pindar or Bacchylides is clearly strongly influenced by epic tradition, there is no means to show that substantial features of their poetry go back to the Indo-European stage. One of the most common metres used by choral poets are the dactylo-epitrites: basing myself on Berg's theory about the origin of the hexameter, I show that the dactylo-epitrites derive their dactyls from the hexametric tradition. I also show that the Aeolic metres used by choral poets have a common origin with those used by Sappho and Alcaeus, but that the two traditions developed independently. A passage of Heraclides of Pontus shows that this scholar knew a tradition, according to which the oldest Greek poetry was hexametric. In my view, this assumption is to some extent right, as many metric forms (dactylo-epitrites, Archilochus' asynarteta, anapaests, elegy) derive from hexameter (attempts to show that extant inscriptions contain traces of pre-hexametric tradition are in my view misguided). Only aeolics and iambotrochaics seem to be independent from the hexametric tradition.

Автор стремится показать, что традиция греческой хоровой лирики не восходит непосредственно к индоевропейской поэзии. Хотя воздействие эпоса на язык таких поэтов, как Пиндар и Вакхилид, очевидно, не удастся доказать, что основополагающие черты их поэзии восходят к индоевропейскому периоду. Дактило-эпитриты – один из самых распространенных размеров хоровой лирики. Основываясь на теории Берга о происхождении гексаметра, автор доказывает, что дактили в дактило-эпитритах происходят из гексаметрической традиции. Доказывается также, что эолийские размеры имеют общее происхождение у авторов хоровой лирики и у Сапфо и Алкея, хотя эти две традиции развивались независимо. Пассаж Гераклида Понтийского демонстрирует знакомство этого ученого с традицией, согласно которой древнейшая греческая поэзия была гексаметрической. Это до известной степени справедливо, так как многие метрические формы (дактило-эпитриты, Архилоховы асинартеты, анапесты, элегия) происходят от гексаметра (попытки доказать, что в дошедших до нас надписях содержатся следы догексаметрической традиции, представляются необоснованными). Только эолийские метры и ямботрохеи, по-видимому, были независимы от гексаметра.

AIAS UND ATHEN: ZUR GESCHICHTE EINER POLEMIK*

Im Schiffskatalog der *Ilias* werden dem Fürsten von Salamis folgende zwei Verse zugeteilt (2, 557–558):

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαῖδεκα νῆας,
στῆσε δ' ἄγων ἴν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες.

Aias führte von Salamis zwölf Schiffe, und nachdem er sie hingeführt hatte, stellte er sie dort auf, wo die Phalangen der Athener standen.

Den zweiten Vers, *Il.* 2, 558, erklärten die antiken Gelehrten für unecht zunächst schon deswegen, weil die Äußerung, Aias habe seine Truppen dort gestellt, wo die Athener standen, von den sonstigen Angaben über die Position der beiden Heere abweicht. Strabon (9, 1, 10 [394]) weist auf die frühere Kritik zurück, wobei er die Homer-Zitate anführt, die beweisen, dass Aias und seine Salaminier weder im Schiffslager noch in der Feldformation den Athenern benachbart waren (*Il.* 13, 681: Nebeneinander befinden sich die Schiffe des Protesilaos und des Aias; 4, 327–331: Der athenische Anführer Menestheus steht neben Odysseus; 4, 273 und 230: Die beiden Aias stehen neben Idomeneus). Ein noch gewichtigeres Argument war, dass sich in dem Vers, welcher den Salaminier als Bundesgenosse der Athener darstellte, die außerpolitische Tendenz von Athen deutlich widerspiegelte. Somit wurde die Fälschungsmotivation durchschaubar. Gewöhnlich machte man Solon dafür verantwortlich, welcher sich auch in seiner eigenen Poesie für die Eroberung von Salamis einsetzte (Plut. *Sol.* 8, 1–3, vgl. *Sol.* F 2 G.–Pr. = 1–3 West). So πολλοί bei Plutarch (*Sol.* 10, 1–3): Solon soll zwei *Ilias*-Verse, d. i. 2, 557 und 558, den er „eingeschoben“ (ἐμβalόντα) hatte, vor den spartanischen Schiedsrichtern deklamiert haben. Diogenes Laertios (1, 48) verweist auf ἔνιοι, die berichten, Solon hätte den fraglichen Vers in den Schiffskatalog

* Seinem verehrten Lehrer und Kollege Herrn A. L. Verlinsky will der Verf. diese Skizze zum Geburtstag schenken und seinen Dank für die äußerst lehrreiche gemeinsame Homer-Lektüre äußern.

„hineingeschrieben“ (ἐγγράψαι). Strabon informiert a.a.O., dass der Einschub „von einigen Peisistratos, von anderen aber Solon“ zugeschrieben wurde. Die κριτικοί, denen Strabon die darauffolgenden Beispiele entnimmt, dürfen die alexandrinischen Philologen gewesen sein: Laut *Schol.* b zu *Il.* 2, 558 wurde der Vers von Aristarch obeliert, wobei Zenodot Verse 553–555, die das Menestheus-Elogium enthalten, ebenfalls für verdächtig erklärte. Doch letztendlich scheint die Kritik auf die megarischen Historiker des späten 4. / frühen 3 Jhs. Dieuchidas und Hereas zurückzugehen.¹ Über sie wird anderswo berichtet, dass in ihren Geschichtswerken (beide haben Μεγαρικά geschrieben) sowohl Peisistratos als auch Solon für die politisch bedingten Manipulationen mit den Dichtertexten angeklagt wurde (Hereas: *Plut. Sol.* 10 und *Thes.* 20 = *FGrHist* 486 F 1; 4; weniger relevant scheint die Angabe über Dieuchidas bei *Diog. Laert.* 1, 57 = *FGrHist* 485 F 6). Einem der beiden gehörten wohl auch die von Strabon am Ende des Abschnitts angegebenen „parodierenden Gegenverse“ an, welche die Megarer etwa als Antwort auf die athenische Fälschung gedichtet haben sollten: οἱ δὲ Μεγαρεῖς ἀντιπαρῳδῆσαι οὕτως· Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν νέας ἐκ τε Πολίχνης / ἐκ τ' Αἰγειρούσσης Νισαίης τε Τριπόδων τε. Nach diesem Gedicht zu urteilen strebten die Megarer zu zeigen, dass ihr Land zum Königreich des Aias gehörte. In dem Schiffskatalog wird keine Ortschaft der Megaris erwähnt. Hereas wie möglicherweise auch Dieuchidas meinte wohl, dass die Athener die Erwähnungen aus Homer wegradiert hatten.² Dass die Authentizität der Aias-Verse heftig debattiert wurden, beweist die (etwa in der Schaffenszeit des Dieuchidas entstandene) Parodie des Matron (F 95–97 = *Athen.* 134 D: παῖς δέ τις ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν τρισκαίδεκα νήσας / λίμνης ἐξ ἱερῆς, μάλα πίονας· ἃς ὁ μάγειρος / θῆκε φέρων, ἴν' Ἀθηναίων κατέκειντο φάλαγγες). Auch Aristoteles äußerte sich darüber: Die Art und Weise, wie er in *Rhetorik* 1, 15 das Beispiel heranzieht, deutet klar darauf hin, dass er sich der Debatte bewusst war. Die „klaren Urteile“ (κρίσεις φανεραί) der alten Dichter können, behauptet er, als Zeugnisse in Streitfällen verwendet werden, οἷον Ἀθηναῖοι Ὀμήρω

¹ Darauf hat als erster F. Jacoby in seinem Kommentar zu den einschlägigen Fragmenten sowie in einer *RE*-Artikel hingewiesen: Jacoby 1912, 621, vgl. auch Schwartz 1905, 480. Ihm folgt man mehr oder weniger einstimmig, s. Higbie 1997, 281–282; Heitsch 2001, 81; 135 und Müller 2009, 27 mit Anm. 47.

² Die Möglichkeit wird von E. Visser (1997, 453) abgelehnt allein schon deswegen, weil „auch andere Gebiete Griechenlands im Schiffskatalog fehlen...“, „...Wahrscheinlicher ist, dass Megara und sein Hafen Nisaia aus Gründen des Mythos nicht mit aufgenommen sind; denn Megara ist unter panhellenischen Gesichtspunkten gewissermaßen mythologisches Niemandland“. Man merke, dass kein Ort der Megaris auch sonst in den Epen Homers genannt ist.

μάρτυρι ἐχρήσαντο περὶ Σαλαμῖνος (1375 b 26–29). Aristoteles glaubte demnach an das Schiedsgericht in Sparta; weder jedoch erkennt er die Authentizität der Verse an noch bestreitet er sie. Es ist denkbar, dass letzteres in Athen wohl keine ungefährlichen Konsequenzen mit sich gezogen hätte; darüber hinaus hatte er keinen objektiven Grund, sich mit den Megarern in dieser Debatte zu einigen.

Das ist bislang unser ganzer Testimonienbefund. Bevor es versucht wird, ihn zu erweitern, muss die moderne Kritik ergänzend zusammengefasst und somit zugleich das Anliegen dieser Skizze berechtigt werden. Ganz natürlich plädiert die Mehrheit auch heute für die Athetese. Zu den oben angeführten Gründen, die von den modernen Forschern durchaus anerkannt werden, kommt die Unangemessenheit des Begriffs *φάλαγξ*, welcher, wie von E. Visser formuliert, „hier offenbar zu einem falschen Zeitpunkt in Hinsicht auf die imaginierte Erzählsituation gebraucht wird“.³ Dies darf dadurch ergänzt werden, dass die Schiffe unmöglich neben den Kampfformationen vertäut (zu ἐστάναι = ὀρμεῖν vgl. Ar. *Poet.* XXI, 1457 b 10–11) werden könnten.⁴ Manchmal sind die Falsifikate äußerst professionell angefertigt; doch ist das hier offenbar nicht der Fall. (Dies schließt wohl so gut wie ganz aus, dass der Fälscher Solon selbst gewesen war.)

Andererseits wird das angebliche Motiv glaubhafter, bedenkt man, dass die Teilnahme an dem trojanischen Krieg von den Athenern als Argument gegen die Mytilener im alten Streit um Sigeion benützt wurde (Hdt. 5, 94). Nach derselben Quelle (7, 161) sollten die athenischen Gesandten in Syrakus auf die rühmende Partie über Athen im Schiffskatalog verwiesen haben. Mit Rücksicht darauf spricht Carolyn Higbie bei ihrer Betrachtung der Aias-Verse sehr treffend von *usable past*.⁵ Die bildende Kunst beweist, dass die Bundesgenossenschaft mit Aias im Kampf um Troja ein Teil der athenischen Propaganda zur Zeit der Perserkriege gewesen war. In der Abfahrt-Szene auf der berühmten Kodros-Schale von Bologna, sind Aias und Menestheus zusammen dargestellt.⁶ Auf der athenischen Akropolis stand die eherne Statue des trojanischen Pferdes, aus welchem

³ Visser 1997, 452. Nach Visser ist die „improvisierende Genese“ für B 558 nicht denkbar. Übrigens scheint Ἀθηναίων durch die Stellung zwischen Trithemimeres und Hepthemimeres absichtlich markiert zu sein.

⁴ Visser 1997, 452 zeigt, dass *φάλαγξ* bei Homer immer „die gerüstete, kampfbereite Truppe“ bedeutet und somit nicht als Synonym für ‘Kämpfer’ betrachtet sein darf.

⁵ Higbie 1997, 278.

⁶ Hierzu: Sourvinou-Inwood 1900, 148–149 und Wolff 1874, 55, mit weiteren Hinweisen.

Menestheus, Teukros und die Söhne des Theseus herausbeugten (Paus. 1, 23, 10). Kein Wunder, dass ein freilich allzu streitsüchtiger Grammatiker Daphidas aus Telmessos behauptete, die Athener hätten überhaupt nicht nach Troja gezogen (Suda s. v. Δαφίδα).

Womöglich sind die Ungereimtheiten durch die außerordentliche, ja recht überraschende Kürze des Aias-Abschnitts verursacht. R. Hope Simpson und J. F. Lazenby, die zu den wenigen Verfechtern der Attribution gehören, haben wohl Recht, wenn sie auf diese Spärlichkeit des Ausdrucks hinweisend Folgendes behaupten: „if the desire to link Salamis to Athens had been the motive for the alleged ‘interpolation’, the interpolator could surely have made a better job of it“.⁷ Warum, also, hatte der Fälscher über den Helden wie Aias nichts mehr zu sagen, als dass dieser neben den Athenern stand?

Als Lösung bietet sich an, den Aias-Abschnitt als Ergänzung der ihm unmittelbar vorausgeschickten athenischen Partie zu betrachten. Anscheinend haben diejenigen Kritiker Recht, die das ganze athenische Teil des Schiffskatalogs, d. i. Verse 546–556 bzw. 546–558, für nachhome-risch halten.⁸ Diese Verse stellen ein schönes Preisgedicht über die Stadt Athen dar. Ein derartiges Panegyrikon ist im Katalog einmalig und durch die *Ilias*-Erzählung wenig, wenn überhaupt, motiviert. Es enthält außerdem einen Hinweis auf die Zeit des Erzählers (Verehrung der Göttin Athena in ihrer Stadt, 2, 550–551: ἐνθα δέ μιν τάύροισι καὶ ἀρνείοις ἱλάονται / κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν), welcher eine Parallele in dem ebenfalls verdächtigen Passus *Od.* 8, 73–80 findet.⁹ Bei den rühmenden Erwähnungen der zeitgenössischen Kultstätten und Ortschaften, in und von welchen die rhapsodischen Agone veranstaltet wurden (zu vergleichen ist außer Pl. *Ion* 530 a–b das pseudohesiodeische Fragment 357 M.–W.: ἐν Δήλῳ τότε πρῶτον ἐγὼ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἀοιδοὶ κτλ.), wie gerade in dem erwähnten Passus der *Odyssee* oder in den als später Einschub angesehenen *Ilias*-Versen 9, 404–405, wo die delphische Schatzkammer zum Vergleich gezogen wird,¹⁰ liegt ein Verdacht nahe, dass die entsprechenden Verse von den Rhapsoden gedichtet worden sein könnten. Mit derartigen schmeichelnden Fälschungen begehrten Vortragenden die Sympathie ihrer Richter zu gewinnen. Das Lob an die Athener im Schiffskatalog wird recht grotesk, wenn über Menestheus gesagt wird, er sei der beste gewesen in der Kunst „Rosse und Schildträger im Kampf zu ordnen“ (553–554: τῷ δ’ οὐ πῶ τις

⁷ Hope Simpson–Lazenby 1970, 60.

⁸ Das Misstrauen Zenodots hat kein geringerer als Jakob Burkhardt geteilt, s. Burkhard 2014 [1902], 496 Anm. 38.

⁹ Dazu ausführlich: Pozdnev 2016, 891–899.

¹⁰ Vgl. Lorimer 1950, 450.

ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένετ' ἀνὴρ / κοσμήσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας). Danach räumt der Dichter ein: „Allein Nestor konnte mit ihm wetteifern, der aber auch vor ihm geboren war“ (555: Νέστωρ οἷος ἔριζεν· ὁ γὰρ προγενέστερος ἦεν). Das Publikum wird nun wirklich geglaubt haben, ein athenischer Fürst sei als Strategie tüchtiger als Agamemnon gewesen. Doch nicht allein die Eigenschaften ihres Königs seien derart hervorragend. Aias der Telamonier, ein zweitgrößter Held der Achäer, stehe ihnen im Kampf bei. Das Aias-Segment, kurz und prägnant wie es ist, wurde folglich von dem Verfasser der athenischen Partie des Katalogs als eine eindrucksvolle Klausel dieser Partie beigegeben.

Die Skeptiker fragen, ferner, wie sich die widerspruchsvolle Aias-Einordnung im *Beta* überhaupt durchsetzen konnte, und warum die Ursprungsversion von niemandem erwähnt wird.¹¹ Es lässt sich vermuten, dass derartige Fälschungen eher anerkannt worden sein könnten, wenn der Schiffskatalog als ein isoliertes Vortragstück im Umlauf war. Berücksichtigt man, dass er eine Einleitung in Form der neunzeiligen Musen-Anrede hat (Vv. 484–492; die Formel ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι findet sich noch dreimal, gefolgt von ὅς τις πρῶτος: 11, 218–219; 14, 508–509 und ὅπως δὴ πρῶτον: 16, 112–113, d.i. immer am Anfang einer archetypischen narrativen Einheit: „jetzt werde ich erzählen, wer der erste war...“), so drängt sich der Schluss auf, dass die Heeresbeschreibung als ein in sich geschlossener Darstellungsstoff unter den Rhapsoden galt und als solcher Einschüben zugunsten der Ortschaften, in welchen er aufgeführt wurde, breite Angriffsfläche bot. Eben darum, weil das Textstück einzeln vorgetragen wurde, entstand für den Fälscher kein großer Schaden dadurch, dass die strittige Aussage über die Truppen aus Salamis „allem widerspricht, was sonst in der *Ilias* über deren Position gesagt wurde“.¹² Wie bspw. anhand der *Patroklie* bewiesen sein kann, durften die Anknüpfungsverweise, durch welche die Rezitationskünstler ihre Vortragsepisoden in den homerischen Kontext einzuflechten suchten, ziemlich willkürlich sein.¹³ In der frühesten Phase der Textvermittlung

¹¹ Vgl. Heitsch 2001, 80–81: „Sollen wir annehmen, die um 600 unter attischem Einfluss vollzogene endgültige Fixierung des Großepos habe alles andere, das schon schriftlich existierte, also die originale Fassung des Schiffskatalogs sofort und spurlos verdrängt? Oder hat es den Schiffskatalog etwa vorher in schriftlicher Form noch gar nicht gegeben?“ Higbie 1997, 286 glaubt an den von Strabo zitierten Ersatz-Versen etwa einen ursprünglichen Homer-Text erkannt zu haben. Doch die megarische Version stellte, wie gesagt, eine Antwort auf die angeblich verfälschte athenische dar und kann unmöglich für Original gehalten werden.

¹² Heitsch 2001, 52.

¹³ An dem Gebet des Achilles an Zeus Dodonaios, *Il.* 16, 220–249, bes. an der falschen Analepse in Vv. 236–237 wird dies ersichtlich; dazu: Pozdnev 2017, 12.

verfügte das Publikum über keine genaue Textkenntnis.¹⁴ Schon daher war das Risiko für den Vorleser gering, dass ein Zuhörer oder gar ein Richter ihm einen fehlerhaften Verweis zum Vorwurf machen könnte.

Es gibt gute Gründe zu glauben, dass die allgemeingültige schriftliche Fixierung des Homer-Texts in der Form, der über Alexandrien und Byzanz bis auf uns gekommen ist, in Athen unter Peisistratiden stattgefunden hat. In absoluter Mehrheit der Fälle lässt sich der Homertext über diese erste 'Ausgabe' Homers nicht weiterverfolgen.¹⁵ Selbstverständlich wurde bei der Vorbereitung des einheitlichen Texts, welche wohl in erster Linie für die Schiedsrichter der rhapsodischen Agone während der Panathenäen hergestellt wurde,¹⁶ nach der ursprünglichen Version der Aias-Partie, welche sie auch sein mochte, nicht gesucht. Wahrscheinlich existierte sie auch damals weder in der mündlichen noch in der schriftlichen Überlieferung mehr. Denn, wie aus dem Weiteren ersichtlich wird, wurde diese Version bereits in der rhapsodischen Phase der Homerüberlieferung durch die athenfreundliche Variante völlig verdrängt.

Ein kleines Problem bleibt unaufgeräumt. Die antike Kritik an Authentizität greift auf eine kaum verlässliche und relativ späte Quelle d. i. auf die *Megarika* des Dieuchidas bzw. des Hereas zurück. Frühere Zeugnisse liegen nicht vor. Allerdings muss der Aias-Abschnitt in die reich vertretene Klasse von Fälsfikaten fallen, die politische Interessen betreffen. Die Fälschungen dieser Art können nicht von der Öffentlichkeit unbemerkt bleiben; in der Regel werden sie besonders heftig diskutiert.¹⁷ Um die Fälschungstheorie zu stärken, wäre dann wünschenswert, ja geradezu

¹⁴ Die Nachricht Herodots „kann sich sehr wohl auf rein mündlichen Vortrag beziehen“: Dihle 1970, 96. Vgl. die etwas schroff formulierte Meinung von Higbie 1997, 289–290: “for the first couple of centuries after the Greeks developed an alphabet literacy was not important for preserving epics like the expedition against Troy since oral performances, in festivals across Greece, preserved and presented the story“. Für den Anfang des 6. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts scheint es tatsächlich der Fall zu sein.

¹⁵ So u. a. Davison 1955, 21; Müller 2009, 26.

¹⁶ Selbstverständlich kann hier dem überlieferungsreichen Fragenkomplex über die athenische Rezension des Homer-Textes unmöglich nachgegangen werden. Es sei nur bemerkt, dass die angeblich von Hipparchos geforderten „aufgreifenden“ Rezitationen der Homer-Gedichte während der großen Panathenäen (so Ps.-Pl. *Hipp.* 228 b 7 – c 1, was durchaus glaubhafter ist, als der Bericht von Diogenes Laertios [1, 57], der womöglich auf Mutmaßungen des Dieuchidas bauend diese Neuerung Solon zuschreibt) die Aufgabe der Rhapsoden sehr erschwert und, wie bei Wettkämpfen üblich, zu Täuschungshandlungen d. i. in diesem Fall den improvisierten Einschüben in den überlieferten Text geführt haben muss. Dies muss die Herstellung des einheitlichen Textes in allgemeingültiger Fassung zutage befördert haben, welcher den Richtern als Vergleichsmuster dienen würde.

¹⁷ Für lehrreiche Beispiele s. Speyer 1971; Doll 2011; Oels 2014.

entscheidend, die Spuren wenn nicht der Originalvariante so doch zumindest der Echtheitsdiskussion über die Bundesgenossenschaft von Aias und Athenern in der möglichst zeitnahen Überlieferung, aufzudecken.

Ein paar solche Indizien lassen sich tatsächlich finden. Eine implizite Anspielung auf die Einschub-Geschichte bietet der sikyonische Exkurs im 5. Buch Herodots dar (5, 66–67):

Μετὰ δὲ τετραφύλους ἑόντας Ἀθηναίους δεκαφύλους ἐποίησε, τῶν Ἴωνος παίδων Γελέοντος καὶ Αἰγικόροος καὶ Ἀργάδεω καὶ Ὀπλητος ἀπαλλάξας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας, ἐξευρὼν δὲ ἐτέρων ἥρώων ἐπωνυμίας ἐπιχωρίων, παρέξ Αἴαντος· τοῦτον δέ, ἅτε ἀστυγείτονα καὶ σύμμαχον, ξεῖνον ἑόντα προσέθετο. Ταῦτα δέ, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἐμμέετο ὁ Κλεισθένης οὗτος τὸν ἐωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα Κλεισθένεα τὸν Σικυῶνος τύραννον. Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείοισι πολέμησας τοῦτο μὲν ῥαψωδοῦς ἔπαυσε ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἐπέων εἵνεκα, ὅτι Ἀργεῖοί τε καὶ Ἀργος τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑμνέεται·

Danach teilte er [d. i. Kleisthenes] die Athener anstatt der bisherigen vier in zehn Phylen ein, wobei er die Benennungen nach Ions Söhnen Geleon, Aigikores, Argiades und Hoples abschaffte und dafür andere einführte. Er benannte sie nämlich nach den einheimischen Helden, außer Aias. Diesen fügte er, freilich als einen Nachbar und Bundesgenossen, aber dennoch als einen Fremden, hinzu. Ich glaube, hierin ahmte dieser Kleisthenes seinen Großvater mütterlicherseits, Kleisthenes, den Tyrannen von Sikyon, nach. Kleisthenes hatte zwar, als er sich mit den Argivern überworfen hatte, erstens, den Rhapsoden untersagt, in Sikyon ihre Wettkämpfe zu veranstalten und zwar wegen der homerischen Epen, da in diesen Argiver und Argos überall ausgiebig besungen werden.

Daran angeschlossen wird eine ausführliche Erzählung über die „Vertreibung“ des Adrastos aus Sikyon.¹⁸ Nach diesem Bericht wendet sich Herodot der Umbenennung der sikyonischen Phylen zu, welche den eigentlichen Anlass zur Abweichung gegeben hat; die Geschichte von der Neubenennung mit verächtlichen Namen nimmt ein weiteres Kapitel ein; erst danach kommt der Erzähler zum Hauptstrang zurück, und da er wohl auch selbst das Gefühl hatte, dass die Exkurse bei all ihrer Länge zu gepresst und ablenkend wirken könnten (vgl. 5, 67, 19: τοῦτο δεῖ ἀπηγγέσθαι), wiederholt er seine anfängliche Vermutung (ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀθηναῖος Κλεισθένης κτλ.). Die Substitution des Aias-Abschnitts im Schiffskatalog stünde mit den Machenschaften des sikyonischen Kleisthenes bezüglich des Adrastos-Kults bestmöglich in Einklang. Doch

¹⁸ Hierzu sowie zum Verhältnis des Kleisthenes zu Delphi: De Libero 1996, 201–203.

dieses Sujet passte in den ohnehin übermäßig ausgedehnten Exkurs nicht mehr ein. Außer dem poetologischen Grund muss berücksichtigt werden, dass Herodot die Bundesgenossenschaft mit Aias, bei welcher es, wie gesagt, im kimonischen Athen um die Staatspropaganda ging, wohl nicht als umstritten darstellen wollte.¹⁹ Man bedenke, dass die Zugehörigkeit der Insel Salamis zum athenischen Staat während der Reformierung des Letzten durch Kleisthenes immer noch eines Beweises bedarf und mithilfe der Heranziehung von Aias, wie im zitierten Text steht, bei der Benennung der Phylen endgültig fixiert wurde. Die Aussonderung von Aias als ξείνων und der nachfolgende Homerveto-Bericht ließen den Lesern allerdings eine Möglichkeit zur Ergänzung dessen, was der Historiker nicht *expressis verbis* äußern wollte. Beachtlich ist, dass er Aias nicht bloß als Nachbar der Athener, sondern auch in lapidarer Weise als ihren Bundesgenossen gekennzeichnet und dieses Charakteristikum als konzessive Angabe gestaltet hat.²⁰ Allein dies regt schon zum Nachdenken an. Durch die darauffolgende Erwähnung der Rhapsoden im politischen Kontext wird die Anspielung, wenn sie denn vorliegt, ganz gewiss.

Das zweite Zeugnis enthält ein noch viel früherer, wahrscheinlich gegen Mitte des 6. Jhs.²¹ entstandener Text, nämlich der pseudohesiodeische²² Frauenkatalog. Ihrem Autor zufolge versprach der Salaminier Aias als er um Helena warb, eine riesige Menge an Vieh, die er sich von den Bewohnern

¹⁹ Dazu: Kleinknecht 1940, 255–258. Über den athenischen Kleisthenes, der ja zu seiner Zeit in Athen als Einführer der Demokratie galt (Pohlenz 1961, 37), geschweige denn über Solon, würde der Historiker kein beleidigendes Wort aussprechen.

²⁰ Vgl. Hornblower 2013, 198: „the point is that Ajax was associated with the neighbouring island of Salamis, an Athenian cleruchy or military settlement of Athenians; in the Homeric Catalogue of ships they [d.i. die Salaminier] are ranged with suspicious explicitness next to the Athenians (a result of early Athenian tampering with the text?)... Hdt. is brief and enigmatic here; the full importance of the present narrative ‘seed’, especially the description of Ajax as an ally of the Athenians, will become clear at 8. 64, where the Salaminian connection is spelled out: before the battle of Salamis and after an earthquake, the Athenians called on Ajax and Telamon from Salamis, and sent a ship to fetch Aiakos and the other Aiakidai from Aigina“. Das zuletzt beschriebene Verfahren beweist, dass der Zweifel an der Bundesgenossenschaft von Aias und den Athenern zur Zeit der Perserkriege immer noch bestand. Diese Bundesgenossenschaft konnte vielleicht durch nichts außer den erwähnten Homerversen bewiesen werden.

²¹ Die von West 1985, 127–128 und 132 (für *terminus ante quem* ca. 600 v. Chr.) argumentierte Datierung ist allgemein anerkannt; man polemisiert nur darüber, ob der frühere Kern tatsächlich existierte, m.a. W. ob die Kernfassung an den erhaltenen Fragmenten erkennbar ist.

²² Für die *opinio communis* bezüglich der Autorschaft s. Ormand 2014, 3–5. Dräger 1997, 1–26 (wie vor ihm Rzach 1912, 1193) vertritt die Meinung, wenigstens der Kern des Katalogs sei auf Hesiod zurückzuführen. Die Aias-Partie, wie gleich gezeigt wird, kann allerdings schwerlich von Hesiod selbst gedichtet worden sein.

der ganzen saronischen Küste südlich der Attika, aber auch der Asine auf der südlichen Küste der Argolis beschaffen würde. Diese Verse wurden schon von Wilamowitz, der sie auf dem Berliner-Papyrus 10560 entdeckt und ediert hat, als erstem, vollkommen zu Recht mit dem Aias-Passus des Schiffskatalogs in Verbindung gesetzt,²³ Hes. F 204, 44–51 M.–W.:

Αἶας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἀμώμητος πολεμιστῆς
 μνᾶτο· δίδου δ' ἄρα ἔδνα εἰκότα, θαυματὰ ἔργα·
 οἳ γὰρ ἔχον Τροίζηνα καὶ ἀγχίαλον Ἐπίδauρον
 νῆσόν τ' Αἴγινα Μάσητά τε κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν
 καὶ Μέγαρα σκίοεντα καὶ ὄφρυόεντα Κόρινθον,
 Ἑρμιόνην Ἀσίνην τε παρὲς ἅλα ναιεταώσας,
 τῶν ἔφατ' εἰλίποδάς τε βόας καὶ ἴφια μῆλα
 συνελάσας δώσειν· ἐκέκαστο γὰρ ἔγχει μακροῷ.

Und Aias von Salamis, der tadellose Krieger, warb um sie. Und er bat passende Geschenke an, die wundervollen Taten. Denn von allen Söhnen der Achäer, die Troizen und das dem Meer benachbarte Epidauros und die Insel Ägina und Mases und die schattige Megara und das stirnrunzelnde Korinth, die an der Küste liegenden Hermione und Asine bewohnen, von all diesen also versprach er die schleppfüssigen Ochsen und die starken Schafe zusammenzuführen und ihr zu schenken. Denn er tat sich als Krieger mit dem langen Speer hervor.

In *Il.* 2, 559–568 wird Diomedes, dem Herr von Argos, samt seinen Untertanen Sthenelos und Euryalos Ägina, Epidauros, Troizen, Hermione sowie natürlich auch Asine zugewiesen.²⁴ Korinth gehöre laut derselben

²³ Wilamowitz-Moellendorff–Schubart 1907, 38.

²⁴ Vgl. bes. 559–563: οἳ δ' ἄργός τ' εἶχον Τίρυνθάν τε τειχιόεσσαν / Ἑρμιόνην Ἀσίνην τε βαθὺν κατὰ κόλπον ἐχοῦσας *eqs.* Dass Asine und Hermione „sich am tief ins Land hineinragenden Golf befindend“ dargestellt sind (V. 560), bedeutet trotz Finkelberg (1988, 34 mit Verweis auf Kirk 1985, 209) nicht, dass der Dichter des Schiffskatalogs an dieser Stelle geographisch falsch liegt. Freilich kann παρὲς ἅλα ναιεταώσας als Korrektion gelesen werden. Der Golf von Hermione ist in der Tat sowohl von dem Saronischen als auch von dem Argivischen durch Gebirgszungen abgetrennt. Morphologisch und politisch gehört Hermione aber trotzdem in die Südargolis. Im großen Maßstab zeichnend wählt der Dichter nun zwei Extrempunkte auf dieser südlichen Küste (Nauplion konnte er nicht wählen, denn dort herrschte Palamedes, dessen Gestalt für die nachhomerischen Troja-Epen sehr von Belang war), um den ganzen Küstenbereich zu bezeichnen, über den Argos seine Vormacht ausübte (vgl. Visser 1997, 462). Genau dasselbe meint der Autor des *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* (Alkidamas?), indem er erzählt, wie Homer zu den Argivern kam und, um sie anzuschmeicheln, ihnen den Diomedes-Abschnitt aus dem Schiffskatalog vorlas: *Cert.* 287–301. In 289–293 wird nach dem entsprechenden Verweis *Il.* 2, 559–

Quelle keinem anderen als Agamemnon (V. 570). Der Autor der zitierten Verse hat die an den Aias-Abschnitt unmittelbar anknüpfenden Passagen des Schiffskatalogs modifiziert und in sein Gedicht eingebaut. Bei diesem Verfahren musste er einen geographischen Fehler begehen, indem er Asine neben den Territorien auf dem Saronischen Golf lokalisierte. Um Megara anzuschließen, benützte er das homerische Klischee *κατὰ / ἀνὰ μέγαρον σκίοεντα* („im schattigen Saal“: *Il.* 9, 463; *Od.* 1, 365 usw., insgesamt 7 Mal). Freilich variiert er die Epitheta und weist kein geringes Talent zur kombinatorischen Versifikation auf. Das bedeutet aber bei weitem noch nicht, dass er unabhängig schafft.²⁵ Das mehr oder weniger anspruchslose Zusammenkleben der homerischen und hesiodeischen Versteile deutet m. E. unmissverständlich auf die Rhapsoden-Dichtung hin. Dass der Frauenkatalog als die von einem oder mehreren hesiodeischen Rhapsoden stammende Fälschung qualifiziert werden darf, folgt überdies aus der Tatsache, dass die Autorschaft Hesiods in der Antike nie bezweifelt wurde. Allem Anschein nach wurde das Gedicht als Theogonie-Ergänzung nicht nur vorgelesen, sondern auch gedichtet.

Nun spricht Aias des Frauenkatalogs (genauer gesagt, des Freierkatalogs, denn durchaus kann dieser von einem selbständigen Autor gedichtet worden sein) seine Absicht aus, im Falle des Erfolgs bei seinem Werben die benachbarten Herrscher zu überfallen und ihr Vieh zu rauben.²⁶ Die

563 wörtlich zitiert. Bei der Zitation hat der Autor aber anstatt οἱ τ' ἔχον Αἴγιναν die Version des Frauenkatalogs νῆσόν τ' Αἴγιναν verwendet. Dass die beiden Varianten als homerisch im Umlauf waren, sagt explizit Strabon 8, 6, 16. Finkelberg (1988, 34–35, mit Verweis auf Allen 1909, 84) meint, νῆσόν τ' Αἴγιναν sei „an authentic epic formula“ und verweist auf νῆσός τ' Αἴγιναν in dem delischen Apollo-Hymn (V. 31), wohin es aber wahrscheinlich aus der einschlägigen Fassung des Schiffskatalogs übernommen wurde. Ein prosaischer Ausdruck wie „und die Insel Ägina“, der sich überdies weder bei Homer noch in Hesiod sonst finden lässt, kann jedoch unmöglich als episches Klischee gedeutet werden.

²⁵ So die Meinung von Finkelberg 1988, 35: „...Hes. fr. 204, 44–51 is a genuine traditional version independent of *Ilias* 2, 557–70“. Vgl. aber *ebd.*, 33: „The points of coincidence between the two versions are so obvious that we may say with certainty that they are mutually related“. Die Verbindung zwischen beiden Versionen bestehe dann Finkelberg zufolge allein darin, dass beide aus dem gemeinsamen Gut von *oral poetry* schöpfen.

²⁶ „So mochten die Helden in der *Kleinen Ilias* einander gegenüberstehen, sehr anders als in der *Ilias* und bei Pindar“ –, erklärt Wilamowitz (Wilamowitz-Moellendorff-Schubart 1907, 38). Gemeint ist sicherlich der Waffenstreit, die Vorgeschichte der sophokleischen Aias-Tragödie (vgl. in der *Odysee* 11, 543–567; in der *Kleinen Ilias* und in der *Aithiopis* wurde das Sujet ausführlich behandelt). Bei Pindar (*I.* 3/4, 50–59) wird das homerische Aias-Bild dem nachhomerischen gegenübergestellt, und die Rhapsoden implizit dafür gepriesen, dass sie diese ursprüngliche Gestalt übermitteln.

Stelle wurde missverstanden von T. W. Allen, indem er dem Autor eine Anerkennung der hervorragenden Rolle zuschrieb, die Megara als Teil des Reiches von Aias im trojanischen Mythenkreis spielen sollte: „he [d. i. Ps.-Hesiod] has given the Megarians what they in vain sought from Homer, an heroic existence under the banner of Ajax“.²⁷ Dies wurde von W. Leaf zu Recht kritisiert.²⁸ Aias sei ein tüchtiger Krieger; das zum Schluss gesagte kausative ἐκέκαστο γὰρ ἔγχεϊ μακρῷ erkläre, worauf er sein Versprechen gründe. „Are we to say that the sheriff of Nottingham existed heroically ‘under the banner’ of Robin Hood?“ –, fragt Leaf mit wohl begründeter Ironie. Das ausschlaggebende Argument allerdings liegt im Sinn des von Homer adaptierten Verbs συνελαύνω: Die von Leaf angegebenen Parallelstellen *Il.* 1, 154: οὐ γὰρ πόποτ’ ἐμὰς βοῦς ἤλασαν οὐδὲ μὲν ἵππους und 11, 677: ληίδα δ’ ἐκ πεδίου συνελάσσαμεν ἤλιθα πολλήν lassen keinen Zweifel übrig, dass συνελάσας nichts anderes als einen räuberischen Kriegszug bedeuten kann. Ohne dieses Argument zu paralysieren, sprach Margalit Finkelberg wiederholt die Meinung aus, dass es sich bei der „hesiodeischen Version“ im Gegensatz zur homerischen um ein „salaminisches Reich“ handeln soll. Aias sei dargestellt „as exercising authority over the lands that in Homer are ascribed to such a prominent leader as Diomedes and even to Agamemnon himself“.²⁹ Dem darf mit den Wörtern von Leaf erwidert werden: Muss man denn glauben, dass Robin Hood über den Sheriff von Nottingham „Regierungsgewalt ausübte“?

Aus Homer schaffend aber auch Homer ergänzend³⁰ listet der Dichter des Freierkatalogs pedantisch (daher νῆσόν τ’ Αἴγιναν, vgl. Strb. 8, 6, 16) die Gebiete um Salamis auf, erwähnt allerdings keinen nördlich der Megara liegenden Ort. Das mutet merkwürdig an. Warum will Aias sein angriffslustiges Versprechen auf die ihm ganz nah, viel näher als die Isthmus-Städte, Ägina oder Argolis liegende Attika nicht verbreiten? „Offenbar, weil er eigentlich bereits dazu gehörte“. So die Antwort von Wilamowitz.³¹ Eine ausgewogenere Formulierung von Leaf scheint eher

²⁷ Allen 1909, 83–84.

²⁸ Leaf 1910, 179–180; vgl. Meier 1976, 184–185.

²⁹ Finkelberg 1988, 32, Anm. 6; dasselbe: Higbie 1997, 285.

³⁰ So mit Recht Meier 1976, 185–186.

³¹ Wilamowitz-Moellendorff–Schubart 1907, 38. West 132–133, Anm. 21 erwidert darauf, Aias würde seinen Reichtum augmentieren „by loot from those places round Saronic Gulf with no suitors attached to them“, während Athen von Menestheus „and perhaps one or two others“ (diese Ergänzung bleibt ohne Begründung) vertreten wird. Dabei bezieht West keine Stellung bezüglich der augenscheinlichen Verbindung der Aias-Partie mit den Versen des Schiffskatalogs, die unmittelbar nach den Aias-Versen folgen und den Machtbereich von Argos beschreiben. Unmöglich konnte der Dichter davon ausgehen, dass sein Publikum diese Beziehung nicht merken würde.

zutreffen: „In fact, the only conclusion which we can draw from this fragment as to Aias’ political position is that he was on particularly friendly terms with Attica. This is entirely consonant with the Homeric Catalogue, B 558“.³²

Die prägnante Verschwiegenheit wird durch die Gestalt des athenischen Freiers Menestheus unterstützt. Er besitzt viele Schätze (F 200, Vv. 4–8 werden diese beschrieben) und wiegt sich in der Hoffnung, alle übrigen Prätendenten hinsichtlich der Pracht der Geschenke zu übertreffen: Vv. 8–9, *πλεῖστα πορόντ’ κτλ.* schaffen den Eindruck, dass er keinem der Freier nachsteht. Zwar bietet Menelaos die noch reicheren Geschenke an, doch wohl nur zu dem Zwecke, um den Hauptstrang der Sage invariant zu halten. Das Portrait des athenischen Helden ist hier demnach nicht minder schmeichelhaft als im Schiffskatalog.

Bei Modifikation des ‘homerischen’ Erzählstoffs scheint also der Dichter des Freierkatalogs an die uns bekannte pro-athenische Fassung des Schiffskatalogs anzulehnen. Zu seiner Zeit ließ sich wohl nur aus dieser Fassung über die Bundesgenossenschaft von Aias und Athen schließen. Anscheinend will der Dichter die fragliche Version als ‘Hesiod’ untermauern. So konnte er der Sympathie der athenischen Richter sicher sein, denn die Vermutung drängt sich auf, dass auch er während eines Wettbewerbs auf einem attischen Fest sein Gedicht vortrug. Sein Text darf somit als bewusste Reaktion auf den seines Vorgängers gelesen werden. Der Vergleich der Aias-Einträge in beiden Katalogen zeigt also deutlich, dass die angeblich verfälschte Angabe Homers über die Bundesgenossenschaft des salaminischen Helden mit Athen von der mit Dichtung vertrauten Öffentlichkeit seit der Blütezeit der homerischen Rhapsoden bereits diskutiert wurden.

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Daraus folgt: Auch bei diesem „Hesiod“ gehören die genannten Gebiete Argos, er hat sie aber nicht Diomedes, sondern den anderen, nicht so ansehnlichen Freiern zugeschrieben. Die Tatsache, dass Aias gleichfalls Korinth anzugreifen verspricht, ist durch seine von Wilamowitz bemerkte in der Waffenstreitgeschichte klar zutage kommende rebellische Einstellung zu erklären, die ihn zum Begleiter Achills in der Unterwelt macht (*Od.* 11, 469; 24, 17). Agamemnon als ‘Mitfreier’ brauche er nicht zu respektieren; ja selbst ihn könne er angreifen, nicht aber die Athener, denn mit denen sei er im Bunde: So musste der Abschnitt von dem zeitgenössischen Publikum wahrgenommen werden.

³² Leaf 1910, 180.

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- G. Wolff (Hg.), *Sophokles. Aias. Für den Schulgebrauch erklärt* (Leipzig ³1874).

Il. 2, 558 is considered by most scholars, ancient and modern, to be a politically motivated Athenian forgery. The verse informs that the Salaminian Ajax landed his ships “where the Athenian phalanxes stood”. This is different from what is told about the position of both contingents and their leaders elsewhere in the *Iliad*. E. Visser points out the preposterousness of the term “phalanx” in the narrative. Besides, the phrase is catachrestic since it is hardly possible to land ships near the attack formations. Such mistakes are likely to be forced by the conciseness of expression, and it is this unexpected brevity of the Ajax segment in the Catalogue of Ships that is stressed by R. Hope Simpson und J. F. Lazenby who defend it against athetesis. Indeed, the interpolator moved by desire to link Salamis to Athens “could have made a better job of it”. Yet, if seen as a mere supplement to the Athenian part of the Catalogue, the Ajax entry becomes significant in its briefness: not only are the Athenians very pious and their leader Menestheus superior to all chieftains except Nestor, but no lesser hero than Telamonian Ajax sides with them in camp and field. Considering the hyperbolized compliments, the accent put on the worship of Athena in her temple on the Acropolis and the focus on the narrator’s time (vv. 551–552), we should agree with those who believe the Athenian segment to be an insertion made by Homeric rhapsodes for the benefit of Athens. The sceptics ask: if the alleged distortion of the Homeric original was that obvious, why there seems to have been no polemics on it before the late Classical period? For the earliest objections known so far are that of the patriotic-minded Megarian historians Dieuchidas and Hereas. However, it is possible to reveal traces of doubt in still earlier sources, i.e. in Book 5 of Herodotus’ *Histories* (c. 67, the account of the two Cleisthenes of Sicyon and Athens) and in the Hesiodic Fragment 204, vv. 44–51 M.–W. (the ‘sub-list’ of Helen’s suitors in the Catalogue of Women). Herodotus mentions the Athenian “ally” Ajax whose name Cleisthenes used while renaming the Attic tribes; there follows the story how another Cleisthenes prohibited the rhapsodic competitions in Sikyon. Ps.-Hesiod attempts to redraw the political landscape of Homeric Greece and to portray its kings in a way corresponding to the Athenian version of the Catalogue of Ships. This questionable version is never cited nor explicitly mentioned, both sources being pro-Athenian. Nonetheless the apologetic tendency is apparent, especially in the second case, thus proving that the forged version of the Catalogue was criticized already in the early period of its existence in rhapsodic performance.

Стих 558 второй песни *Илиады* большинство ученых признает подложными. О местоположении кораблей Саламинского Аякса “там, где стояли фаланги афинян”, исконный *Список кораблей* умалчивал – в этом современная филология повторяет античную, указывая на расхождение Каталога с тем, что известно о месте Аяксова войска из других песен *Илиады*. Причина фальсификации ясна древним, как и новым: стих ‘Гомера’ оправдывал политические притязания Афин. Э. Виссер обращает внимание на преждевременность в нарративе “фаланг”. Еще заметнее катахреза: “причалил корабли возле фаланг”. Вероятно, ошибки в компоновке вынуждены краткостью сообщения. Немногочисленные сторонники атрибуции отмечают что фальсификатор должен был сказать об Аяксе подробнее. Довод можно парировать, заподозрив весь афинский сегмент Каталога. Гиперболизированные похвалы Менесфею, рассказ о почитании Афины в ее храме на Акрополе и указание на время рассказа (II, 551–552) свидетельствуют о правоте ученых, признававших афинскую часть рапсодической интерполяции. Стихи об Аяксе послужили эффектной концовкой афинской элогии. Остается единственное возражение: древнейшую литературную фальсификацию трудно счесть надежно засвидетельствованной. Дискуссию открыли патриотически настроенные мегарские историки IV–III в. Диевхид и Герейя; более ранних источников не обнаружено. Однако они существуют. О том, что критика стиха об Аяксе, как и всех позднейших затрагивающих политические интересы фальсификаций, не заставила себя долго ждать, свидетельствуют сикионский экскурс Геродота (5, 67) и ‘подкаталог’ женихов Елены в Псевдо-Гесиодовом *Списке женщин* (F 204, 44–51 M.–W.). Геродот упоминает “союзника” афинян Аякса, рассказывая о переименования аттических фил Клисфеном; тут же повествуется об изгнании рапсодов, с которого Клисфен Сикионский начал идеологическую войну против Аргоса. Автор “Каталога женихов” стремится закрепить возникшую в результате фальсификации про-афинскую политическую расстановку, перекраивая карту и своеобразно характеризуя властителей микенской Греции. Оба источника симпатизируют Афинам и потому не говорят о спорном гомеровском свидетельстве открыто. Однако апологетическая тенденция без труда вычитывается из обоих текстов, подтверждающих, таким образом, что спор о подлинности II, II, 558 возник вскоре после того, как “Список кораблей” прозвучал с афинской сцены в новой версии.

LEAD LETTER FROM THE EXCAVATIONS OF AREA ‘O-WESTERN’ AT THE BEREZAN SETTLEMENT IN 2017

In 2017, during the excavations of an ancient Greek settlement-site on the island of Berezan at the mouth of the Dnieper and Bug estuary, the expedition of the State Hermitage found a letter on a twice folded lead plate.¹ For the correct dating of the letter it is important to determine the proper date of Storage Pit no. 266, in which it was found. This pit was investigated in the northern part of the Sector ‘O-Western’. This sector, located in the north-eastern part of the modern Berezan Island, currently is the largest of the Archaic city: the total territory excavated by Russian and Ukrainian archaeologists since the early 1960s to date is more than 7000 sq. m (Fig. 1, nos. 8, 9, 10 on the plan).²

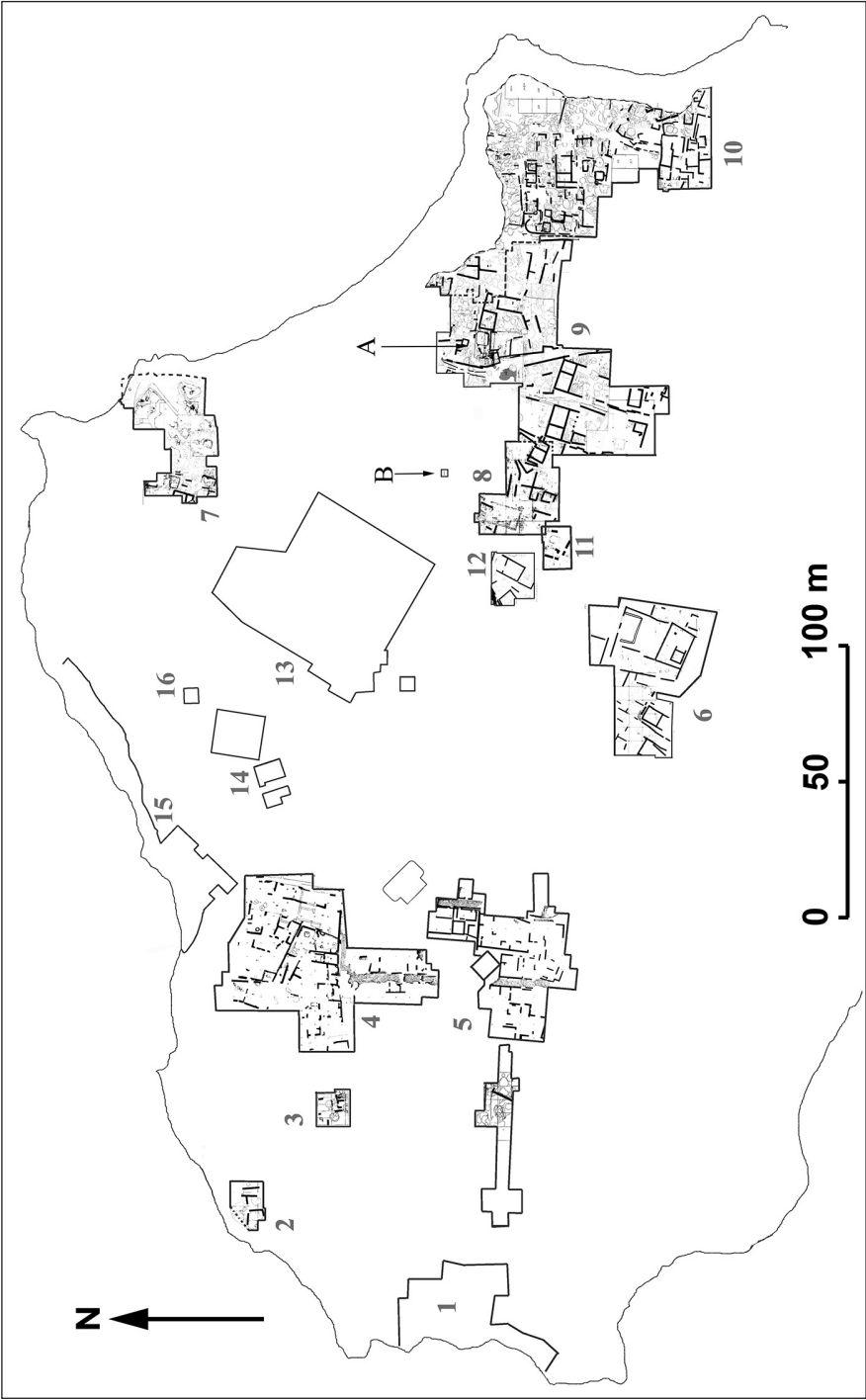
The ongoing excavations of the State Hermitage in the Sector ‘O-Western’ in the last decades has resulted in the discovery of the residential quarters of the city of the second half of the 6th – first half of the 5th centuries BC (period II), as well as of a remarkable complex of two Late Archaic civil buildings. This included at least two buildings of similar size and layout, both houses were constructed in the late 6th – early 5th century BC (phase II-B) and had existed up to approximately the second quarter of the 5th century BC.³ Numerous structures of the earliest, Ist period of the Berezan settlement’s occupation (dugouts and storage pits), dated to the late 7th – first half of the 6th century BC were also investigated within the same area.⁴

¹ Field number БЭ 2017.57/364. At present, it is kept in the Mykolaiv Regional Museum of Local Studies ‘Old Navy Quarters’ (city of Mykolaiv, Ukraine). The authors are sincerely grateful to A. V. Verlinsky for his valuable comments and also to M. Dana, D. Dana and S. Minon, who made many important points in the discussion of this letter on December 11, 2018, at the seminar “Dialectologie et linguistique du grec ancien” at the École Pratique des Hautes Études/ANHIMA.

² The place where the lead letter was found is marked by the letter “A”.

³ About the main results of the investigations of the Sector ‘O-Western’ see: Chistov 2005, 287–291; 2015a, 106–110; 2015b, 403–413; 2019, 97–106; Chistov–Krutilov 2014, 209–230.

⁴ Chistov 2017 [Д. Е. Чистов, “Землянки архаической Березани”], 127–144.



← Fig. 1. Northern part of the Berezan settlement with the main excavation trenches. Numbers of the sectors on the plan: 1 – Necropolis; 2 – Sector “S-1” (Northern-1); 3 – Sector “S-2” (Northern-2); 4 – Sector “North-western A”; 5 – Sector “North-western B”; 6 – Sector “T”; 7 – Sector “G”; 8 – Sector “R-1v” (Eastern); 9 – Sector “O”-Western; 10 – Sector “O”-Eastern; 11 – Sector “R-1” (Western); 12 – Sector “G.Sh.”; 13 – Sector “A1”; 14 – Sectors “C4-6”; 15 – Sector “B8”; 16 – Sector “Zh”. Locations pointed by the arrows: A – location of pit no. 266 (excavated in 2017), Sector “O-Western”; B – exploratory pit no. III (excavated in 1982)

Bell-shaped storage pit no. 266 is a quite typical structure for the Archaic Berezan settlement: it had a narrow mouth with the walls strongly flaring toward a flat bottom. With a measured depth of 1.75 m it had a diameter of 0.83 m at the level of the mouth and 1.90–2.0 m – at the bottom. This pit was located fairly close to the external south-western corner of the semi-basement premise no. 29. However, the masonry of this structure, belonging to the residential house of the third quarter of the 6th century BC, did not cut through the filling of pit no. 266 (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Sector “O-Western”, area of investigations of 2017.
View from the West

The fragmentary preservation of the construction remains of the second half of the 6th century BC in this part of the excavation sector makes it very difficult to determine the boundaries of individual housing plots as well as to reveal their internal layout. Apparently, the house, to which premise no. 29 belonged, was adjacent to the meridionally oriented urban street from the west, and from the south, it adjoined residential house no. 3.⁵ Since the stone and mudbrick buildings in this area were constructed taking in account the character of the terrain, to the north of the previously investigated premises of house no. 3, the soil was cut in antiquity to form a low terrace up to 0.5 m high. To the north of the latter, semi-basement premises nos. 28, 29 and the remains of premise no. 27 were investigated: to the south of the latter there was, probably, the courtyard of the house. All these structures belonged to a single stratigraphic phase: in the filling of the structures, as well as over the territory of the courtyard, layers of destruction in the fire were revealed.

Traces of massive destructions of the earliest stone and mudbrick houses of stratigraphic phase II-A, which happened approximately in the last quarter or the late 6th century BC had been uncovered earlier almost everywhere over this area.⁶

However, the question arises whether pit no. 266 was synchronous to the phase II-A houses or preceded them? The stratigraphic context gives us no unambiguous answer to this question. None of the investigated structures of this phase overlays or cuts its strata. The pit itself was dug into the ground from the level of the buried soil, however, the surface level of premise 29, apparently, almost coincided with this level. On the other hand, pit no. 266 cuts through some other storage pits (no. 264, 258) as well as dugout no. 72: all of these objects are datable to the Ist period (late 7th – first half of the 6th century BC), and preceded the multi-chamber houses, to one of which premise no. 29 belonged. Thus, a narrower dating of this structure is possible only based on the assemblage of finds from its filling.

464 ceramic fragments were found in pit no. 266, 86.21% came from transport amphorae. Finds of other groups are represented by only 64 fragments, 40 of which belong to East Greek pottery. Ionian cups are the most frequent of the tableware. A large fragment of a 'rosette bowl' (Fig. 3.2), due to the peculiarities of its form (massive walls with a rim slightly bent inside) and ornamentation (which contains no vertical

⁵ Chistov 2016, 15–20.

⁶ Chistov et al. 2012 [Д. Е. Чистов, В. Ю. Зуев, Ю. И. Ильина, А. К. Каспаров, Н. Ю. Новоселова, "Исследования на острове Березань в 2005–2009 гг."], 41–42, 122–123.

strokes) can be referred to early samples of bowls of this type dated to the end of the 7th – first quarter of the 6th century BC.⁷ An almost complete Ionian cup with an everted rim (“Knickrandschale”) with a graffito “A” on the outer side also belongs to the early type (5.3B or A-2) (Fig. 3.1). This vessel has thick walls and a low foot. The lip and upper body of the cup, at the level of the handles, bears a banded decoration. The lower part of the bowl and the foot are black-glossed. The entire internal surface is also covered with the gloss and has a narrow reserved band in the upper part of the lip. The cup under consideration belongs to a type which was produced for a rather long time; one of its variants dates back to 640/630–600/590 BC.⁸ Early cups of this kind are often found on Berezan, but usually they are represented by small fragments.⁹ Our vessel has some analogies among the cups found on Samos in the sanctuary of Hera.¹⁰ These parallels are considered to have been products of Southern Ionia, but the vessel from pit no. 266 is different from the finds from Samos in the black shiny gloss and the presence of white inclusions in the clay which does not allow us to attribute it as a product of the same region.

Thus, the assemblage from pit no. 266 contains cups of two types dated to the late 7th – the first quarter of the 6th century BC: one of them is represented by a large fragment, while the second is almost complete, so that it is impossible to suppose an occasional association of these finds. However, some small fragments of Ionian pottery from the same assemblage (the rim of a plate, the bottoms of rosette bowls with ray ornament in a reserved circle at the centre (Fig. 3.3–4) are dated rather broadly to within the first half of the 6th century BC, and they also occur in Berezan structures of phase II-A dating from after the middle of that century.

A sherd of an amphora of the “Fikellura” style with a lotus painting (Fig. 3.6) can be considered as the latest find among the assemblage of East Greek pottery from the pit. Since this fragment is very small, it is possible only to state that the shape of the lotus corresponds to the ornamental pattern of the earliest examples of ceramics in this style, including amphorae of the Altenburg painter.¹¹ It is datable to the late second or third quarter of the 6th century BC. Nevertheless, an occasional late admixture to the fill of the pit cannot be here excluded. The absence

⁷ Пыина 2016 [Ю. И. Ильина, “Ранние килики на Березани”], 224, Pl. 5.1–4.

⁸ Schlotzauer 2001, 94–97, 296.

⁹ Bujskikh 2016 [А. В. Буйских, “Ионийские килики из Борисфена”], 31 Fig. 1.1–7.

¹⁰ Schlotzauer 2001, 502, Cat. 106, Pl. 20; 503, Cat. 108, Pl. 20, 112.

¹¹ Schaus 1986, 267, Fig. 5.15, 19.

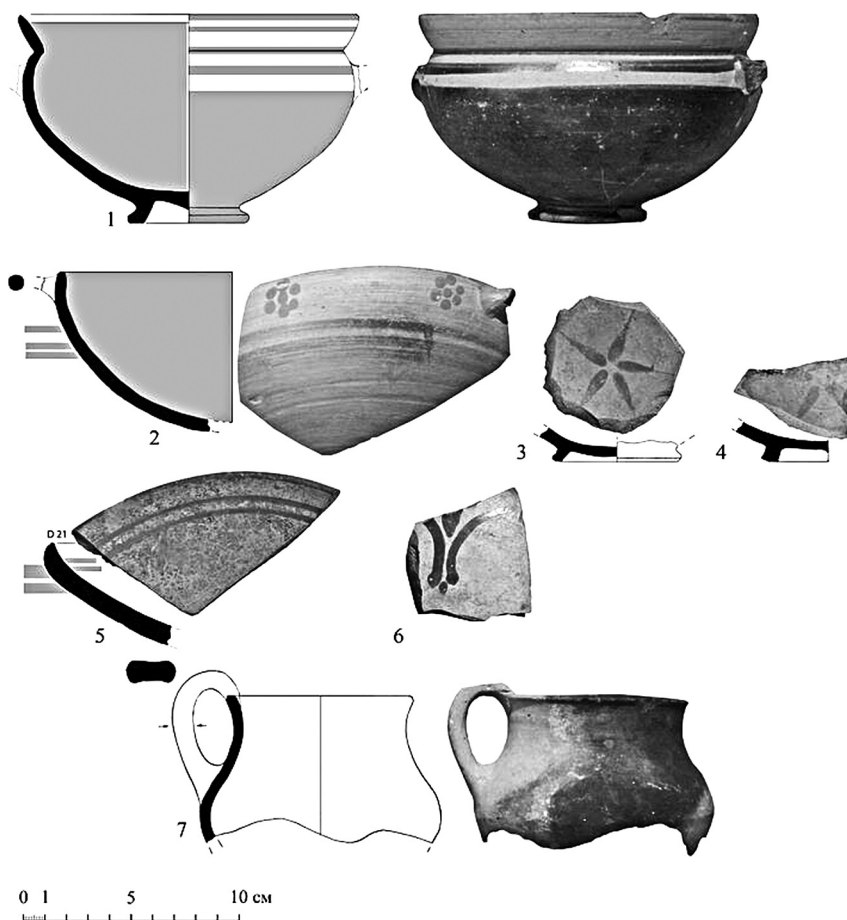


Fig. 3. Pottery from the filling of Storage Pit no. 266: 1 – Ionian cup (field number БЭ 2017 57/181); 2 – fragment of the “rosette bowl” rim (field number БЭ 2017 57/129); 3–4 – fragments of the “rosette bowls”; 5 – fragment of an Ionian plate; 6 – fragment of a Fikellura style vessel; 7 – Ionian chytra (field number БЭ 2017 57/130)

of fragments of Attic black figure pottery is indicative of an earlier date, because the numbers of Attic tableware, quite rare in the storage pits and dugouts of the 1st period, sharply increase in contexts on Berezan from the third quarter of the 6th century BC.

Finds of kitchenware from pit no. 266 are not essentially helpful for its dating. The handmade pottery is few; the wheelmade imported cooking ware is represented by pots – *chytrai* (Fig. 3.7). Samples of similar forms

of archaic imported cooking vessels are well known on Berezan, and can be dated to within the 6th century BC.¹²

Among the fragments of transporting amphorae (Fig. 4), the Klazomenian amphorae and those of the “Klazomenian circle”, Milesian, Samian, Lesbian red and grey wares can be identified. Profiled parts of the amphorae represent the assortment of types common for the 1st half of the 6th century BC; some fragments (such as a massive Klazomenian rim, Fig. 4.2) definitely dates back to the early 6th century BC.

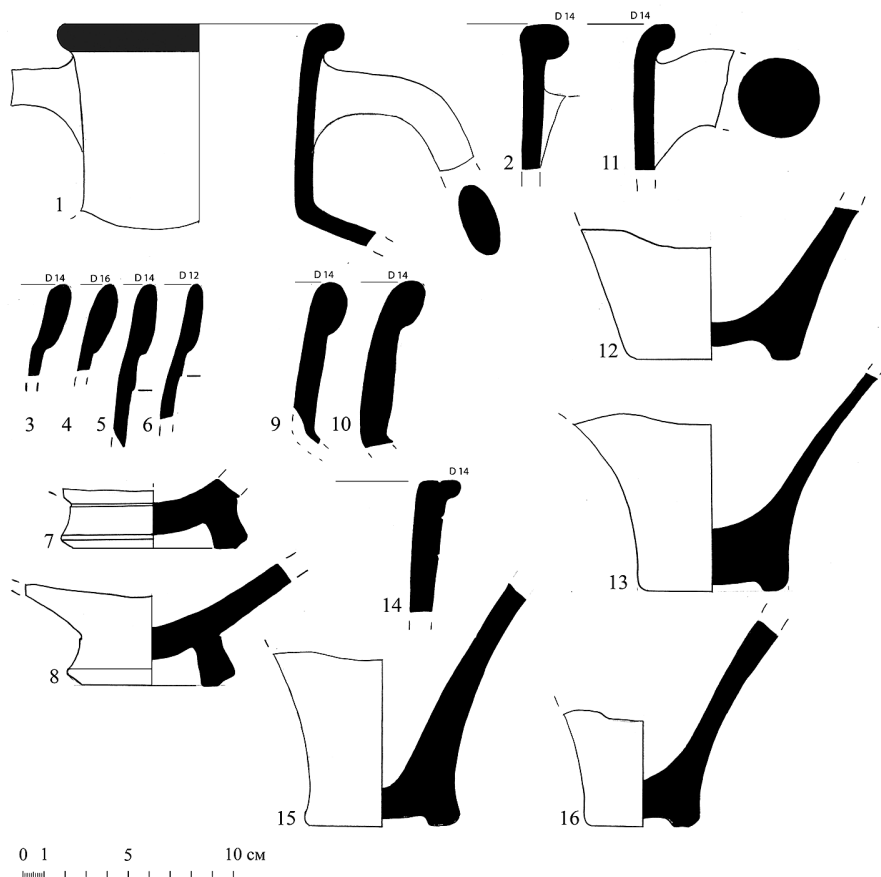


Fig. 4. Transporting amphorae fragments from storage pit no. 266:
1–2 – Klazomenai; 3–8 – Miletos; 9–10 – Samos; 11–13 – Lesbian grey
amphorae; 14–16 – Lesbian red amphorae

¹² Chistov–Iljina–Shcherbakova 2015 [Д. Е. Чистов, Ю. И. Ильина, О. Е. Щербакова, “Кухонное оборудование и кухонная керамика архаического Березанского поселения”, *Клио*], 18–19.

It is also indicative that ceramics from pit no. 266 do not include fragments of the so-called ‘Protohasian’ amphorae – transporting containers of an unknown, probably North Ionian, production center, which are characteristic chronological markers for the Berezan layers from the mid-6th century BC.¹³

Thus, the combination of finds from the filling of Storage Pit no. 266 is the most convincing evidence for its belonging to the earliest, 1st period of the Berezan settlement’s occupation, which preceded its rapid urbanization in the 3rd quarter of the 6th century BC.

The letter under consideration was found folded two times (Fig. 5).¹⁴ Dimensions of the plate: 5.8 × 4.1 cm, the height of the letters 2–3 mm, the width 1.5–2 mm, the interval between the letters is 1.0–1.5 mm.

The inscription is drawn on a narrow specially cut plate. As it is well discernible even from the photo, its upper and lower edges are specially smoothed. The plate contains eight lines of an inscription executed in the boustrophedon style, interpunction is absent. None of the lines of the inscription is completely preserved. The left edge of the plate is completely broken off, on the right one the lower right corner is preserved. Probably, this is the end of the letter. However, since the 8th and last line is completely preserved, it can be concluded that, in the broken off right part of the plate, in lines 1–7 approximately 2–3 letters were lost in each line. The end of the 6th, 7th and 8th lines is higher than the beginning of these lines, but it is difficult to say why.

On the reverse side of the plate there are no evident traces of the continuation of the text or its addressee. The unclear dashes on the reverse of the plate are traces of the signs deeply impressed during their scratching.

The *alpha* of the letter of 2017 has an inclined oblique cross-bar, the *epsilon* has oblique hastae, the *gamma* is with a raised horizontal hasta, the *eta* is inclined to the right, the *omicron* and *omega* are fairly large within the dimensions of the line; there is a characteristic pointed *rho*; the *sigma* is in a zigzag form; and the *upsilon* is in the form of the Latin letter “V”.

The closest parallel of this letter is represented by the Berezan letter of 1982 (field number АБ-82/146) found not far from the findspot of the letter under consideration. It also was written in the Ionian dialect and has the same palaeographic features as the letter under publication, and

¹³ Chistov 2018 [Д. Е. Чистов, “Импорт товаров в амфорной таре на Березанское поселение в VI–V вв. до н. э. (по материалам раскопок участка ‘О-Западный’ в 2004–2016 гг.)”], 22.

¹⁴ The letter was read by N. Pavlichenko from a photograph.

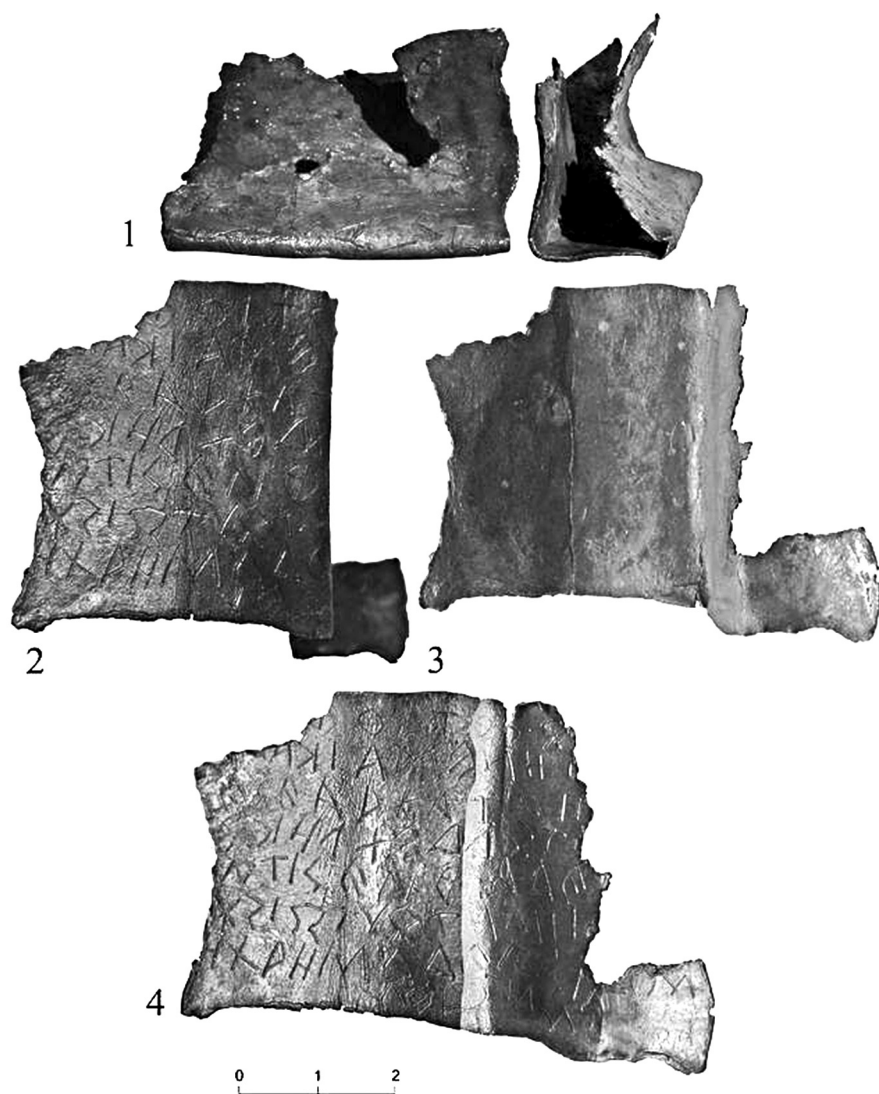


Fig. 5. Lead letter from Storage Pit no. 266 (2017):
 1 – the letter after the field conservation; 2, 3 – the letter in the condition prior to conservation; 4 – photomontage of the front side of the letter

also was scratched in boustrophedon style. The lead letter of 1982 was found in the lower layer of the filling of Storage Pit no. 2, in exploratory trench no. III during excavations of S. N. Mazarati. This small trench was situated to the north-west from the modern “O-Western” sector:¹⁵ the distance between the latter and pit no. 266, where the letter was found, is only 48 meters. As this trench had very small dimensions (6.25 square meters), no structures surrounding the storage pit have been disclosed within the borders of the trench. So, it is difficult to propose a date of this find only on the basis of the stratigraphy. Yu. G. Vinogradov, who published this letter sixteen years afterward,¹⁶ dated the pit itself and the letter from it to a period not later than the third quarter of the 6th century BC. The finds of East Greek pottery presented in S. N. Mazarati’s field report¹⁷ suggest rather a date around the second quarter of the 6th century BC. These finds include the rim of a North Ionian oinochoe with an ‘eye’ depiction,¹⁸ part of the neck of a North Ionian painted table amphora (NiA I), which belongs to a type widely known among the materials of Berezan and Olbia,¹⁹ and rims of early-type Lesbian red clay storage amphorae. Thus, the lead letters of 1982 and 2017 not only were found in a single part of the ancient settlement relatively close to each other, but are also very closely associated through their archaeological context. Their palaeographic features do not run contrary to their dating through the associated material.

The following reading of the Berezan letter of 2017 can be proposed (Fig. 6, 7):

1 [--] φόρτος ὠ[νη]-	→
2 [θε]ίη NEMAIKA[--]	←
3 [--πρ]ὸ[ς] ἔαρ καταπ[λέο]-	→
4 [μεν e. g.]. τῶν δὲ χρηιῶ[--]	←
5 [--]ν τις ἐνθάδε[2-3]	→
6 [--] μὴ τῶντῶι σχ[ήματι ? --]	←
7 [--]Η. χρῆμα δ’ ἐπίστ[ῆλο]-	→
8 ν ὅ τι ἀνάγοιεν.	←

¹⁵ Fig. 1, pointed by the arrow with letter “B” on the plan.

¹⁶ Vinogradov 1998, 154–157, Fig. 1.

¹⁷ Mazarati 1982 [С. Н. Мазарати, “Отчет об исследованиях Березанского поселения в 1982 г.”], Pl. 28.

¹⁸ Walter-Karydi 1973, 77–78, Pl. 106–107; Cook–Dupont 1998, 55, Fig. 53, 55, 8.20

¹⁹ Kerschner 2006, 136–138; Posamentir–Solovyov 2006, 119–120; Bujskikh 2013, 45, Fig. 3.29–44; Chistov et. al. 2012, 31, Fig. 30–31, 44.

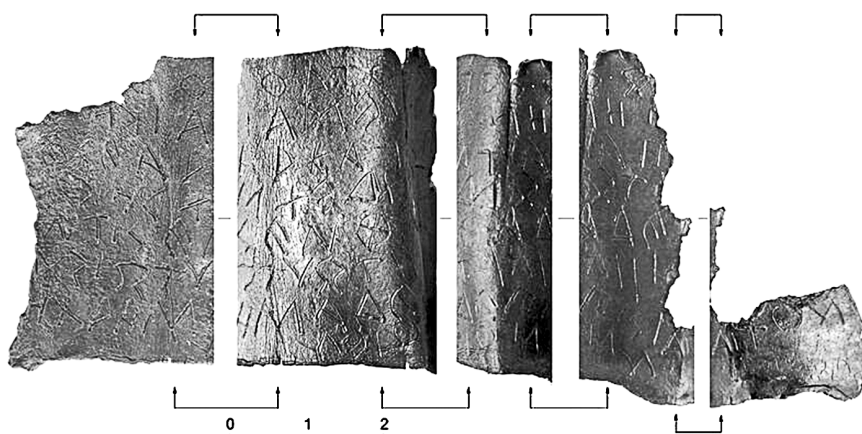


Fig. 6. Photos of the front side of the lead tablet of the letter at places of the folds. Alignment points are marked by arrows

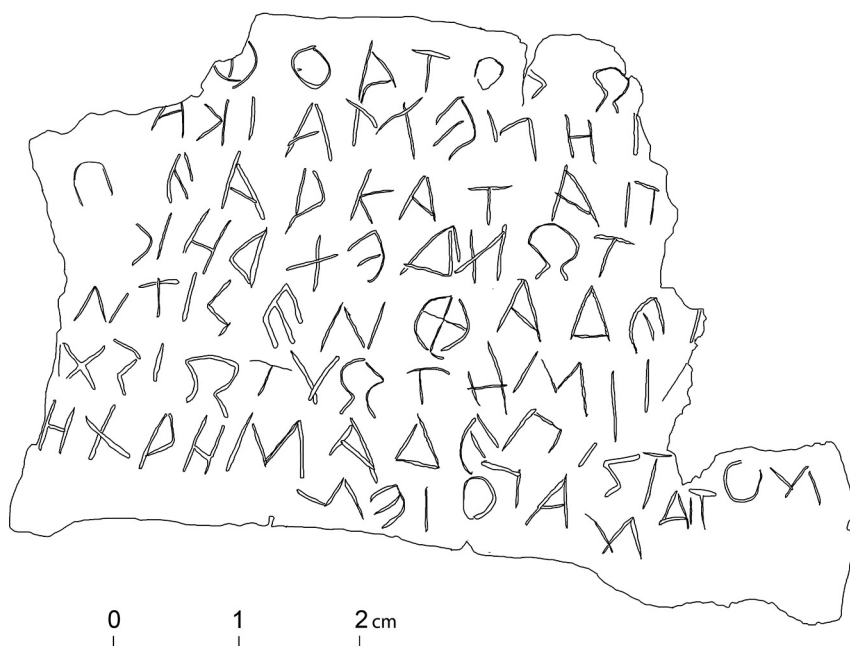


Fig. 7. Drawing of the front side of the letter from Storage Pit no. 266 (2017)

Line 1–2. Unfortunately we do not know what the length of a single line was on this plate. That is why the question about the genre of the inscription arises – i.e. whether our plate is a letter or just some record on trade transactions, written with a purpose unclear to us. In the case it is a letter, it may be supposed that the greeting formula was ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι ἐπιστέλλει like in the letter of Achillodoros²⁰ or παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος vel τὸν δεῖνα, with which, in the opinion of Yu. G. Vinogradov, the Berezan letter of 1982 began.²¹

In the first word of the letter under publication, M. Dana justly proposed to see a form of the noun φόρτος.²² According to the evidence by Pollux, the terms φόρτος and φορτία, along with ἀγώγιμα and some other words designated a ship's cargo.²³ The term φόρτος meant, for example, a ship's cargo in *Odyssey* (*Od.* 8. 163, 14. 296). Herodotos employs the words φόρτος and φορτία in his tale about Egyptian and Assyrian goods which the Phoenicians brought by sea to Argos (*Hdt.* 1. 1).

The closest Black Sea parallel, it seems, is τὸ φορτηγεσίο from the Berezan letter of Achillodoros. The meaning of this word remains arguable: Yu. G. Vinogradov believed that it implied a freedman busy with transportation of cargoes, i.e. an active agent, while in the LSJ it is a noun of the neuter gender designating “the business of carrying merchandise or equipment for it”. Dubois believed that it is ‘*cargaison*’ of a merchant ship.²⁴

In either case, φόρτος, equally as its derivatives φορτηγέω and τὸ φορτηγεσίο, belong to the vocabulary employed in the description of transportation of cargoes by ships (cf. *Hdt.* 2. 96). The letter under consideration is thus one where the matter is concerned with transactions on purchase and sale of ships and their cargoes. Examples of letters of this type are those from Emporion, Pech Maho and Torone.²⁵ This fact allowed M. Dana to suppose that Ω scratched after ΦΟΡΤΟΣ is the first letter of some form of the verb ὠνέομαι. In this case ΦΟΡΤΟΣ must be a form of *nominativus singularis* or *accusativus pluralis*.

²⁰ Vinogradov 1971 [Ю. Г. Виноградов, “Древнейшее греческое письмо с острова Березань”, *ВДИ*], 75. Cf. ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι in the letter of Apatourios to Leanax (Dana 2004, 6).

²¹ Vinogradov 1998, 155, see also Ceccarelli 2013, 336 no. 2.

²² This reading was proposed at the seminar “Dialectologie et linguistique du grec ancien” at the École Pratique des Hautes Études/ANHIMA on December 11, 2018.

²³ Poll. 1. 99: Τὰ δὲ ἐντιθέμενα ταῖς ναυσὶ φόρτος, φορτία, ἀγώγιμα, ῥῶπος, γόμος, παρενθήκαι, see also Poll. 7. 8.

²⁴ Vinogradov 1971, 87–94; *SEG* 26. 845; Dubois 1996, 52; see also Ceccarelli 2013, 336 no. 1.

²⁵ Ceccarelli 2013, 346 no. 23, 350 no. 33, *SEG* 38. 1036, 48. 1038.

However, φόρτος in the meaning of ‘cargo’, as it seems, was employed only in singular (cf. e.g. Hdt. 1. 1. 10, 194; Hom. *Od.* 8. 163, 14. 296). In this case, after ὠνέομαι, the form of a passive participle is possible,²⁶ or a personal verbal form, e.g. that of *optativus aoristi* with the end of the word transferred to the 2nd line – ὠ[νη/θε]ῖν. In this case, in every line, we would have to reconstruct two letters rather than three as in the 8th line. Then the letters NEMAI must be probably understood as the *infinitivus aoristi activi* from νέμω – “the cargo was bought in order to divide / distribute (it)”, but this variant of reconstruction yields no satisfactory sense. The letters KA might be the beginning of the conjunction καί.

Line 3. Before the distinctly readable letters EAP in the beginning of the line there is a place for one letter, while on the left, near the very edge of the plate, parts of a letter of a rounded form are preserved. Since inside this circle there are no traces of vertical or oblique hastae, this letter, most probably, is *omicron*. In this case it seems possible to reconstruct here [πρ]ὸ[ς] ἔαρ, i.e. “in the beginning of the spring” or “with the approaching spring”.²⁷ After EAP, letters KATAΠ follow which, considering that in the 1st line some transported by sea freight (“goods” or “cargos”) are mentioned, can be interpreted as the beginning of some form of the verb καταπλέω. If we suppose here the form of the 1st or 2nd person *pluralis*, then the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th line can look as KATAΠ[ΛΕΩ]/[MEN] or KATAΠ[ΛΕΕ]/[TE] – “with the coming of the spring we (e.g.) shall sail...”.²⁸

Line 4. In the beginning of the line there were possibly two or three letters of the ending of the preceding word, and after them was ΤΩΝ with a carelessly drawn *nu*. The last letter in the line is not completely preserved. Most likely it was a *sigma*. This line thus can be reconstructed as [μεν/τε] τῶν δὲ χρήσι[ουσι e.g.] – “the things that they will need...”.²⁹

Line 5. While ἐνθάδε (‘here’) is read fairly reliably, the first four letters can be treated as [--]ν τις, i.e. the last letter of conjunction, for example ἐπειδάν or ὅταν and an indefinite pronoun.³⁰

²⁶ Cf. ἀριθμὸς βοῶν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ὠνηθέντων in the accounts of the amphiktyons of the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos (377/6–373/2 BC, *IG* II² 1635^{35, 36}).

²⁷ ...τοῦ χειμῶνος τελευτῶντος ἤδη καὶ πρὸς ἔαρ... (Thuc. 5. 39. 3), as well as Thuc. 5. 56. 5; 81. 2; Xen. *Cyneg.* 7. 1. 2.

²⁸ Cf. ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἑλλεσπόντου (Hdt. 8. 109. 23).

²⁹ Cf. Τοῦτον ὃν δοκέω τὸν ἄνδρα ποιήσιν τῶν ἂν χρηζόμεν (Hdt. 5. 3).

³⁰ This interpretation of [--]ν was proposed by A. L. Verlinsky. Otherwise it may be supposed that these letters belong to a single word proposing here such words as [μά]ντις or personal names – [Κλεόμα]ντις, [Λεο]ντίς etc, but in the Black Sea littoral similar names so far have not been recorded – see *LGPV* IV s.v.

Line 6. The oblique bar drawn at the beginning of the line is, most probably, a chance scratch. The following two vertical dashes with no traces of other lines between and over them can *inter alia* present numerical signs.³¹ After them we can see, probably, conjunction or simply a negation μή followed by the *dativus singularis* τῶντῶι with crasis of the article and the pronoun. After the next two letters, Σ and Χ, a vertical bar is discernible which may be the hasta of an *eta* or, less probably, an *iota*. Here it is possible to restore, for example, the form from the noun σχῆμα, i.e. μή τῶντῶι σχ[ήματι] ‘not in the same manner / in order that not in the same manner’.³²

Line 7–8. Since the end of the last lines of the lead letter is, for reasons unknown to us, higher than their beginning, the letters Ν, Ο, Τ, Ι and Α in the right corner of the lead plate proved to be between the 7th and 8th lines, which fact makes their interpretation rather difficult. Most probably, these letters are the beginning of the 8th line.

At the beginning of the 7th line, after *eta* the word χρῆμα is distinguishable. The plural tense χρήματα often is found in Black Sea inscriptions in the meaning of ‘money’ or ‘goods’. As the closest example, the letter of Apatourios to Leanax may be cited, where some goods were confiscated by Herakleides, son of Eotheris.³³ At the same time, according to the statement of Pollux (9. 87), among the Ionians, the singular χρῆμα has the same meaning as χρήματα.

As an example, we may adduce the well known place in the 3rd book of Herodotos (Hdt. 3. 38), where it is narrated that King Darius asked Hellenes, for how much money they would agree to eat their late parents. Another example of a similar meaning of the form of singular number from χρῆμα can be found in the letter, or rather a memorandum, from Pech Maho, the author of which tells that he “paid the money, the 2 1/2 hektai” or, according to another interpretation, “completed the sum of two octania and a half” (ἀπέδωκα τὸ χρῆμα τρίτον [ἡμ]ιοκτάνι[ο]ν).³⁴

The letters ΔΕΠΠΣΤ following χρῆμα are explainable in the following ways: 1. δὲ and the word derivative from the stem πιστ-; 2. δ’ ἐπιστ[ατέω]/ν,

³¹ Cf. the receipt of delivery from Coreyra which says that the carriers broke four tiles – κατέφραξαν ||| πλίνθους (ca. 475–450 BC, *SEG* 48. 604).

³² Cf. Ὅστις... ἐτέρῃ ὁδῷ καὶ ἐτέρῳ σχήματι ἐπιχειρεῖ ζητέειν (Hp. *VM.* 2. 5); τούτῳ δὴ κατόκουν τῷ σχήματι (Pl. *Criti.* 112 d).

³³ Dana 2004, 6, 13 – τὰ χρήματα σισύλῃμαι ὑπ’ Ἡρακλείδew τὸ Ε[ὐ]θήριος. Cf., also ΧΡΗΜΑΤ from a fragmentary lead letter of the mid-5th century BC found in Olbia in 2010 (Mitina 2017 [B. B. Митина, “Письмо, найденное в Ольвии в 2010 году”, *Hyperboreus*], 257, 262).

³⁴ Chadwick 2012, 161, 165; Somolinos 1996, 78.

supposing here the *genitivus pluralis* from ἐπιστάται – a term designating the heads of some college of magistrates, with hyphenation of the final *nu* to the next line; 3. δ' ἐπίστ[ελο]ν, i.e. the form of *imperativis aoristi activi* of the 2nd person singular from the verb ἐπιστέλλω, also with hyphenation of the final *nu* to the next line. Taking into consideration that our letter tells about some trade or economic activities, the last variant seems the most probable one.

The verb ἐπιστέλλω has previously been recorded in lead letters. It is found at the beginning of the letter of Achillodoros from the island of Berezan of the second half of the 6th century BC.³⁵ In a letter from Emporion from the turn of the 6th and 5th century BC, this verb is employed, similarly as in our letter, not in the beginning but the end of the letter, in the end of the list of instructions of the trader to his agent – κάπιστελάτω ὁκόσο ἄν [--].³⁶

In this case we see in the last line an object clause depending from ἐπίστ[ελο]ν – ὅ τι ἀνάγοιεν, which is an attribute for χρῆμα. The last two lines then should read: [--] H. χρῆμα δ' ἐπίστ[ελο]ν ὅ τι ἀνάγοιεν i.e. – “in the case they would bring money (whatever money they would bring) inform me”.

Thus our letter can be translated as follows:

... the cargo was bought ... with the coming of the spring we (e.g.) shall sail. The things that they will need ... someone here ... not in the same manner / in order that not in the same manner... in the case they would bring money (whatever money they would bring), inform me.

Despite the poor state of preservation of the letter under discussion, it may be concluded that it probably belongs to letters with an economic content, in particular to a correspondence between a merchant who conducted large-scale exporting operations on Berezan and his counter-agent. This letter bears evidence on the lively trade connections of Berezan settlement in as early as the first half of the 6th century BC, i.e. in the period preceding to the stone house building on the site.

Trade in this early period could have been mostly seasonal: the text of the letter mentions preparations for sailing with the onset of spring.

³⁵ Vinogradov 1971, 75. Concerning the Northern Black Sea region see also for the other examples of the Classic and Hellenistic period – Hermonassa, 2nd half of the 5th century BC (Pavlichenko–Kashaev 2012, 230), Patraeus, last quarter of the 5th century BC (Pavlichenko–Zavoykina 2018, 41), Nikonion, 1st half of the 4th century BC (Dana–Brujako–Sekerskaja 2018, 115).

³⁶ Ceccarelli 2013, 346.

Apparently, the letter refers to trade expeditions over long distances. There is reason to believe that Borysthene was the main centre of transit trade with the barbarian world from the second half of the 7th century BC. Through the Berezan settlement, Milesian ceramics at the stage of the earliest contacts were delivered and appears on the settled and funerary sites of the Right-Bank Forest-Steppe, Central Dnieper, as well as in the eastern Crimea, and possibly in the lower reaches of the Kuban.³⁷ The published letter may be directly related to similar trade relations of the first half of the 6th century BC.

Moreover, together with the recent discovery of the graffito on an Ionian rosette bowl with the dedication to Hermes from another pit,³⁸ which is also dated before the middle of 6th century BC, this finding is another important argument for Greek ethnicity of a large part of inhabitants of the early Berezan settlement.³⁹

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³⁷ Bujskikh 2018, 225–227.

³⁸ Chistov 2019, 102, Fig. 6.2.

³⁹ N. Pavlichenko conducted this investigation according to the program 0184-2019-0005 of Fundamental Scientific Investigations of the State Academies of Sciences (FNI GAN): “Culture of states of the Classical period in the Northern Black Sea region. Subcultures of the ruling elite and common people”.

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In 2017, during excavations of an ancient Greek settlement-site on the island of Berezan in the mouth of the Dnieper and Bug estuary, the expedition of the State Hermitage found a letter on a twice folded lead plate. This letter, on the plate broken on left and right, contains eight lines scratched in boustrophedon style. It was discovered in the fill of a household pit located ca 50 m from the place where,

in 1982, a fragmentary lead letter also of the 2nd quarter of the 6th century BC was found. Both the archaeological context (e.g. Attic pottery and ‘proto-Thasian’ amphorae were absent in the pit) and the palaeographic peculiarities of the inscription allow us to date the find under consideration to the 1st half or even the 2nd quarter of the 6th century BC. This is the early pit-dwelling period in the occupation of the Berezan settlement. Despite the poor state of preservation of the letter here published, it may be concluded that it probably belongs to letters of an economic contents, in particular, to a correspondence between a merchant who conducted large-scale exporting operations on the Berezan and his counteragent.

В 2017 г. во время раскопок античного поселения на острове Березань в устье Днепро-Бугского лимана экспедицией Государственного Эрмитажа было найдено письмо на дважды сложенной свинцовой пластинке. Письмо на обломанной слева и справа пластинке содержит 8 строк, процарапанных в стиле бустрофедон. Оно было обнаружено в заполнении хозяйственной ямы, расположенной примерно в 50 м от места, где в 1982 г. было найдено фрагментированное свинцовое письмо 2-й четв. VI в. до н.э. И археологический контекст (например, в яме отсутствовала аттическая керамика и “протофасосские” амфоры), и палеографические особенности надписи позволяют датировать находку 2017 г. 1-й пол. или даже 2-й четв. VI в. до н.э. Это время раннего, земляночного периода в жизни Березанского поселения. Несмотря на фрагментарную сохранность письма, можно заключить, что оно относится к категории деловых писем и представляет собой послание от торговца, доставлявшего на Березань по морю грузы, к его контрагенту.

SPRECHERBEZEICHNUNGEN IM *KYKLOPS* DES EURIPIDES

I. Allgemeine Einleitung

Der *Kyklops* gehört zu den Stücken, die wir dem glücklichen Zufall verdanken, dass sich neben der Schulauswahl von zehn Dramen¹ ein kleiner Teil einer alphabetischen Gesamtausgabe erhalten hat, der sich nur in einem einzigen Stück (*Hekabe*) mit der Auswahl überschneidet. Der Text der neun Stücke, und damit auch des *Kyklops*, beruht auf einer einzigen Handschrift, dem Codex Laurentianus 32,2 mit der Sigle L, der am Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts in einem Scriptorium in Thessaloniki geschrieben worden ist,² und einer ebenfalls aus dem 14. Jahrhundert stammenden Abschrift von L mit der Sigle P (Palatinus gr. 287).³ L wurde nach der Abschrift aus der Vorlage A von dem bedeutenden Philologen Demetrios Triklinios (ca. 1280–1340) mehrfach korrigiert.⁴ Während die erste Korrektur dazu diente, Fehler des Schreibers zu verbessern, betätigte sich Triklinios, nach einer gewissen zeitlichen Pause, in zwei weiteren Korrekturgängen als Konjekturekritiker (vor allem bei den

¹ *Alkestis*, *Medea*, *Hippolytos*, *Andromache*, *Hekabe*, *Troerinnen*, *Phönissen*, *Orestes*, *Bakchen* und der unechte *Rhesos*; im Unterschied zur Schulauswahl haben die alphabetischen Stücke keine Scholien. Es handelt sich um fünf Stücke, deren Titel mit Epsilon oder Eta (*Hekabe*, *Helena*, *Elektra*, *Herakles* und *Herakliden*) und fünf, die mit Iota oder Kappa anlauten (*Ion*, *Hiketiden*, *Iphigenie in Tauris*, *Iphigenie in Aulis* und *Kyklops*).

² L enthält alle Stücke außer den *Troerinnen* und einem Teil der *Bakchen* (1–755). Die Sammelhandschrift enthält außerdem die Dramen des Sophokles (außer dem *Ödipus auf Kolonos*), Hesiods *Erga* und die sogenannte byzantinische Trias des Aischylos (*Perser*, *Sieben* und *Prometheus*).

³ In P fehlen durch den Verlust eines Blattes die Verse 244–351. – Seit einigen Jahren ist ein Oxyrhynchus Papyrus (Nr. 4545) bekannt, der unterschiedlich große (meist sehr kleine) Teile der Verse 455–496 bietet; s. Günther 2001, 16–18. Es handelt sich um den größeren unteren Teil von zwei Spalten.

⁴ Die Korrekturen können größtenteils an Hand der verschiedenen Farbe der Tinte unterschieden werden.

Chorliedern).⁵ P ist nach der ersten der drei Korrekturen aus L kopiert und hat deswegen nur in den Fällen Wert für die Konstitution des Textes, an denen die Handschrift Lesarten von L bewahrt, wo Triklinios bei seinen beiden späteren Korrekturgängen eingegriffen hat.

Die Sprecherbezeichnungen bzw. Sprecherwechsel, die entweder durch den Namen des Sprechers (meistens abgekürzt) oder durch eine Paragraphos angezeigt werden,⁶ sind weitgehend vollständig und in L und allen späteren Abschriften so gut wie identisch. Nur vereinzelt haben Triklinios oder der Schreiber von P bzw. die Schreiber der späteren Abschriften eine in L fehlende Sprecherbezeichnung hinzugefügt.⁷ Wie bei allen dramatischen Texten sind die handschriftlichen Sprecherbezeichnungen auch im Falle des *Kyklops* unzuverlässig.⁸

II. Eindeutige Fälle

An einer Reihe von Stellen ist die Notwendigkeit einer Korrektur der Überlieferung evident und die Heilung des Fehlers unstrittig.

Das gilt z.B. für 175, 177 und 179, die in den Handschriften Silenos zugewiesen sind, aber sicher vom Chor (so Tyrwhitt) gesprochen werden. Es kann kein Zweifel daran bestehen, dass der Alte, als Odysseus ihn auffordert, den versprochenen Proviant aus der Höhle zu holen (162), nach dem zustimmenden „das werde ich tun“ (163a) und der begeisterten Begründung seiner Bereitschaft (163b–174) in die Höhle geht und es die Satyrn sind, die die Gelegenheit nutzen, Odysseus danach zu fragen,

⁵ Cf. Zuntz 1965, 194. – P ist nach der ersten der drei Korrekturen aus L kopiert und hat deswegen nur in den Fällen Wert für die Konstitution des Textes, an denen die Handschrift Lesarten von L bewahrt, wo Triklinios bei seinen beiden späteren Korrekturgängen eingegriffen hat.

⁶ So bietet L z.B. bei Wechsel des Sprechers innerhalb eines Verses in der Regel nicht den Namen des Gesprächspartners, sondern eine Paragraphos.

⁷ So hat Triklinios z.B. in Vers 1 die in L fehlende Personenbezeichnung *σκληνος* hinzusetzt und P bietet in 154 nach *αὐτῆς*; die in L fehlende Sprecherbezeichnung *σκλη*. Ansonsten beschränken sich die Änderungen auf die Ersetzung von Abkürzungen eines Namens durch Paragraphos bzw. die umgekehrte Ersetzung einer Paragraphos durch die Abkürzung eines Namens; zu Triklinios' Aufteilung des Chors in Halbhöre s. u. zu 483–518.

⁸ Stoessl hat im Anschluss an seine Studien zu den Sprecherbezeichnungen in Euripides' *Elektra* (1956, 47–92) und *Herakliden* (1956, 225–234) sowie in Menanders *Dyskolos* (1960) in einem Aufsatz aus dem Jahr 1984 die Auffassung vertreten, dass L nur in 638 eine falsche Sprecherbezeichnung bietet und die handschriftliche Überlieferung auch an Stellen verteidigt, an denen sie offensichtlich nicht korrekt ist.

was die Griechen nach der Eroberung Trojas mit Helena gemacht hätten (175 ff.).⁹ In 188 kehrt Silenos mit Lämmern und Käse zurück (wahrscheinlich helfen ihm die Prospoloi, die in der Parodos die Satyrn dabei unterstützt haben, die Herde zurück zur Höhle zu treiben) und unterbricht mit seinem ἰδοῦ das Gespräch zwischen den Satyrn und Odysseus.

Ebenso klar ist, dass der Sprecher von 203 und in der kurzen Stichomythie 212–219, wie Tyrwhitt als erster konstatiert hat, nicht Silenos sein kann, den Polyphem ja, wie sein überraschter Ausruf ἔα! zeigt, überhaupt erst in 222 entdeckt, offenbar, weil der Alte, als der Kyklop von der Jagd zurückkehrt, sich zusammen mit Odysseus in den Hintergrund zurückgezogen hat.¹⁰

Schließlich gibt es noch zwei weitere Stellen, an denen die überlieferte Sprecherbezeichnung offensichtlich falsch ist: In 589 fehlt die Sprecherbezeichnung Silenos.¹¹ Es ist aber völlig unmöglich, dass der Kyklop den Vers spricht,¹² und in 638a ist es eindeutig, dass nicht Odysseus, sondern der erste Halbchor sich der Entschuldigung des zweiten Halbchors anschließt.

III. Strittige Stellen

Neben diesen eindeutigen Fällen gibt es aber auch eine Reihe von Stellen, an denen sich Editoren und Interpreten nicht darüber einig sind, wer der Sprecher eines Verses ist:

193–194: Die Handschriften geben beide Verse Odysseus.¹³ Hermann hat 193 dem Chor zugewiesen (s. auch Paley), aber die meisten

⁹ Stoessl (1984, 9 f.) steht alleine mit der Ansicht, dass Silenos nach 174 nicht abgeht, sondern nur „den sich drinnen befindlichen πρόσπολοι ein entsprechendes Zeichen machte“, die Sachen herauszutragen. Diese Erklärung scheitert schon daran, dass die Diener, die den Handel zwischen Silenos und Odysseus ja nicht verfolgt haben, auf ein bloßes Zeichen gar nicht wissen können, was sie tun sollen.

¹⁰ Auch hier versucht Stoessl (1984, 9 f.) die Überlieferung gegen Tyrwhitts Emendation der fehlerhaften Überlieferung zu verteidigen.

¹¹ Nur der Codex Parisinus Graecus 2887 vom Anfang des 16. Jh. bietet die richtige Sprecherbezeichnung Σι.

¹² Stoessl, 1984, 15: „Die Änderung der Sprecherverteilung gegenüber den Handschriften hat zwar viel für sich, ist aber auch hier nicht zwingend“.

¹³ Nur Stoessl (1984, 9) konstatiert, dass Triklinios die ursprüngliche Zuweisung von 193 an den Chor geändert und den Vers Odysseus gegeben hat. Er vermutet, dass die falsche Zuweisung durch die Pluralform τί δράσομεν; verursacht worden ist. In den Ausgaben ist Triklinios' Eingriff in L nicht notiert. Die Zuweisung des Verses an den Chor wird allgemein Hermann zugeschrieben.

Editoren und Kommentatoren sind entweder den Handschriften gefolgt (z.B. Ammendola und de Falco; s. auch Seaford, Paduano und O'Sullivan-Collard, die es für möglich oder wahrscheinlich halten, dass Odysseus der Sprecher ist) oder haben sich Ludwig Dindorf angeschlossen und lassen Silenos, der gerade zur Eile drängt, als ersten realisieren, dass Polyphem von der Jagd zurückkehrt (so z.B. Nauck, Ussher, Diggle, Napolitano und Kovacs).

Aus der Entscheidung, 193 Silenos zu geben, folgt, dass in 194 das überlieferte γὰρ geändert werden muss, weil Odysseus' Reaktion auf Silenos' erschrockenen Ausruf mit einem begründenden γὰρ wenig Sinn macht.¹⁴ Die Vertreter dieser Lösung haben deswegen Hartungs Konjektur τᾶρ akzeptiert. Die beiden Versuche, eine Änderung des überlieferten Textes durch eine andere Zuweisung an die beiden Gesprächspartner zu vermeiden, vermögen nicht zu überzeugen. So hat Paganelli vorgeschlagen,¹⁵ die erste Hälfte von 193 und 194 an Silenos zu geben und die zweite Hälfte an Odysseus; Duchemin will Odysseus erst 194b (ab ὃ γέρον) sprechen lassen. Bei Paganellis Arrangement wäre Silenos' Reaktion auf Odysseus' Frage: „Was sollen wir tun?“ ganz unpassend; und bei Duchemins Vorschlag wäre es ebenso wenig passend, dass Silenos seinem entsetzten Aufschrei οἴμοι und der Frage „Was sollen wir tun?“ noch die Begründung „denn wir sind verloren“ hinzufügt.

Es würde zwar zweifellos gut zu der Gestalt des Silenos passen, dass er zunächst beim Tauschhandel damit prahlt, dass ihm sein Herr völlig egal sei (163), und nun, als der Kyklop unerwartet erscheint, in panische Furcht gerät,¹⁶ aber der entsetzte Aufschrei könnte genauso gut von Odysseus kommen. Hermanns Argument, dass Odysseus Polyphem nicht erkennen könne, weil er ihn noch nie gesehen habe, ist nicht zwingend. Die Erklärungen, die ihm Silenos über die Bewohner Siziliens gegeben hat (117–128), und die Information, dass der Herr der Höhle auf der Jagd

¹⁴ Ussher glaubt, γὰρ – mit einem Komma (statt Semikolon) nach γέρον – halten zu können, auch wenn Silenos 193 spricht. Er verweist als Parallele auf Eur. *Ba.* 477 (τὸν θεὸν ὄραν γὰρ φηίς σαφῶς, ποῖός τις ἦν) und spricht mit Verweis auf Denniston 1954, 168–173, von einer antizipatorischen Verwendung des γὰρ. Die Parallele ist aber m.E. nicht überzeugend, weil der ποῖ-Satz anders als in *Ba.* 477 hier nicht an das Prädikat des vorangehenden Satzes anschließt. „Wir sind verloren, Greis, wohin wir fliehen müssen“ macht keinen Sinn. Denniston führt den Kyklopsvers denn auch unter den Beispielen für antizipatorisches γὰρ nicht auf. Paduano hält das γὰρ ohne eine Begründung.

¹⁵ Paganelli 1984, 57–59.

¹⁶ Die Verbindung von Angereiztheit und Feigheit ist ein topischer Charakterzug der Satyrn und ihres alten Vaters.

ist (129–130), sind auch dann eine ausreichende Vorbereitung, wenn Polyphem nicht, wie nach 130 wahrscheinlich, mit Hunden auftritt; und die Warnung, dass die Kyklopen Menschenfresser sind (125–126), erklärt hinreichend Odysseus' Entsetzen, als er den Kyklopen herankommen sieht. Auch der Plural: „was sollen wir tun?“ spricht eher für Odysseus (der damit seine Männer einschließt) als für Silenos.

261: Die überlieferte kausale Partikel γὰρ macht nach Silenos' entrüsteter Frage (ἐγώ;) keinen Sinn. Dennistons Vorschlag,¹⁷ das Problem dadurch zu lösen, dass man die Verfluchungsformel κακῶς ἐξόλοιο Odysseus gibt, ist attraktiv. „All difficulties are removed, and life given to the line, by making Odysseus' speech start at κακῶς. ‚Yes, damn you if I'm lying‘ (γὰρ having its normal confirmatory force)“. Man wird jedoch Seaford recht geben müssen, wenn er sagt, dass die Wendung besser in den Mund des Papposilenos passt (so auch Ussher), der sie gleich darauf noch einmal verwendet (268 f.), und dass zudem der Witz des Verses verloren ginge: „In fact the joke is that he (sc. Odysseus) neatly turns Sil.'s mendacious indignation into a compelling declaration of his veracity“.¹⁸

521: Nimmt man den Satz als *eine* Frage, wie das Murray und andere tun, müsste τίς die Bedeutung von ποῖος haben: „als was für ein Gott gilt er?“ Das aber ist nicht möglich. In diesem Fall müsste man mit Hermann τις θεὸς schreiben: „Gilt er als irgendein Gott?“ (Ussher verweist als Parallele auf Hom. *Od.* 9, 142: καὶ τις θεὸς ἡγεμόνευε). – Diggle hat sich m. E. zu Recht für Naucks Strukturierung des überlieferten Textes als zwei Fragen entschieden: ὁ Βάκχιος δὲ τίς; θεὸς νομίζεται; – Wieseler¹⁹ wollte den zweiten Teil des Verses Odysseus geben: *Pol.* ὁ Βάκχιος δὲ τίς; *Od.* θεὸς νομίζεται / μέγιστος Damit wäre das Problem beseitigt, dass Polyphem überraschend fragt, ob der Wein, von dem Odysseus spricht und den er Bakchios nennt (519–520), ein Gott sei.²⁰ Allerdings müsste man in Kauf nehmen, dass dann die strenge Stichomythie unterbrochen wird. Die beiden von Seaford als Parallelen für einzelne Antilabai in euripideischen Tragödien angeführten Stellen sind nicht wirklich parallel:

¹⁷ Denniston 1930, 214–215.

¹⁸ Diggle hat sich als Korrektur des γὰρ für Heath's γ' ἄρ' entschieden; Seaford zieht – mit Verweis auf Lowe 1973, 34–64 – wohl zu Recht γ' ἄρ' vor. Das falsche γὰρ könnte durch Fehldeutung eines γαρ beim Kopieren einer akzentlosen Handschrift entstanden sein.

¹⁹ Wieseler 1879, 11.

²⁰ Ussher sieht eine gewisse Vorbereitung darin, dass Odysseus den Wein, als er Polyphem in der Höhle den ersten Becher reicht, als „göttliches Getränk“ und „Dionysos' flüssigen Glanz“ bezeichnet hat (415).

Helena 1514 ist nicht Teil einer strengen Stichomythie; *Bakchen* 189 ist der Beginn einer strengen Stichomythie.

541: Der Vers wird in den Handschriften Polyphem zugewiesen, und die meisten Herausgeber und Kommentatoren haben die Überlieferung akzeptiert. Da 540 eine Frage ist, die sich an ihn richtet, scheint es natürlich, dass er darauf in 541 reagiert. Diggle hat sich jedoch Mancini²¹ angeschlossen, der vorgeschlagen hat, den Vers Odysseus zu geben, und Seaford hält diese Zuweisung, der sich auch Kovacs und O’Sullivan–Collard angeschlossen haben, sogar für sicher („surely spoken by Odysseus“). Sein Argument ist jedoch nicht zwingend. Es ist richtig, dass die den Vers einleitende Partikelkombination (καὶ μὴν) Zustimmung ausdrückt; s. Denniston: „In dialogue, expressing, directly or by implication, agreement or consent, or a generally favorable reaction to the words of the previous speaker“.²² Das aber muss keineswegs, wie Seaford annimmt, heißen, dass Polyphem, wenn er der Sprecher dieses Verses ist, schon hier *völlig* entschlossen ist, Silenos’ Rat zu folgen. Er kann mit diesen Worten auch lediglich einräumen, dass nicht nur die Vorstellung, den schönen Wein alleine trinken zu können, sondern auch der ideale Ort verlockend ist: Silenos merkt, dass Polyphem nachzugeben bereit ist, fügt, ihn unterbrechend (oder fortsetzend), ein weiteres Argument hinzu (542) und fordert ihn dann auf, die idealen Bedingungen zu nutzen (543). Daraufhin signalisiert Polyphem seine Zustimmung zu dem Plan, das in der Höhle begonnene Gelage gleich vor der Höhle fortzusetzen, indem er der Aufforderung folgt und sich auf dem Boden lagert (544).

Dass Polyphem der Sprecher des Verses ist, ergibt sich im übrigen meines Erachtens schon aus der Tatsache, dass stichomythische Dreigespräche bei Euripides, wie auch bei den beiden anderen Tragikern, äußerst selten sind. In der Regel handelt es sich, wenn drei Personen an einer Szene beteiligt sind, um sukzessive Zwiegespräche. Der Grund dafür könnte sein, dass es im Maskentheater für den Zuschauer schwierig ist, zu realisieren, wer von mehreren nebeneinander stehenden Personen spricht. Der Wechsel zu einem neuen Gesprächspartner wird deswegen in der Regel sprachlich klar signalisiert. So auch hier: 539, 548, 551²³ und 566. In Vers 541 fehlt ein solches Hinweis dagegen. Paduano hält daher zu Recht an der Überlieferung fest, für die sich auch Napolitano²⁴ ausspricht.

²¹ Mancini 1899, 448.

²² Denniston 1954, 353.

²³ Wenn Odysseus 551 spricht (s.u.), ist der Wechsel zu einem neuen Gesprächspartner auch in 553 (οὐτος, τί ὁραῖς;) klar angezeigt.

²⁴ Napolitano 2003, 142.

551: Lenting hat vorgeschlagen, diesen Vers, der von L Odysseus zugewiesen wird, Silenus zu geben, und viele sind ihm gefolgt (zuletzt z.B. Ussher, Diggle, Seaford, Paduano und Kovacs).²⁵ Es ist nicht einfach zu entscheiden, ob der Vers Odysseus' sarkastische Reaktion²⁶ auf das von Polyphem versprochene Geschenk ist²⁷ oder ein witziger Kommentar, mit dem Silenos, wie schon in 313–315, einer Entscheidung seines Herrn applaudiert. Für Silenos spricht, dass ein Witz in diese lustigste Szene des Stücks besser zu passen scheint als Sarkasmus und vor allem, dass nur so der Text eine explizite Erklärung dafür bietet, wieso sich Polyphem mitten im Gespräch mit Odysseus Silenos zuwendet und merkt, was dieser tut. Gegen Silenos spricht, wie mehrfach festgestellt worden ist, dass dieser, um möglichst viel trinken zu können, alles vermeiden muss, was Polyphems Aufmerksamkeit auf ihn lenken könnte; und O'Sullivan–Collard fügen diesem Argument noch hinzu, dass sie sich nicht vorstellen können, dass Silenos eine Handlung des Kyklopen begrüßt, die seine Chancen ruinieren würde, die Insel endlich zu verlassen. Seafords Begründung für seine Entscheidung („Silenos is unable to resist the quip“) ist eine denkbare Erklärung für Silenos' Verhalten, aber zu subjektiv, um zwingend zu sein, und dasselbe gilt für sein zweites Argument („Odysseus is unlikely to refer to himself as τῷ ξένῳ [dem Gastfreund]“). Für Odysseus spricht, dass man eine Reaktion auf Polyphems Ankündigung, ihn als letzten zu fressen, erwartet und dass es durchaus Sinn machen würde, wenn er noch einmal – wie in seiner großen Rede (299–303 und 310–312) – betont, dass Polyphems Ankündigung gegen die Regeln der Gastfreundschaft verstößt. Pro und Contra halten sich also die Waage, und da auch die handschriftliche Zuweisung an Odysseus, wegen der notorischen Unzuverlässigkeit von Personenzuweisungen, keine Entscheidung zu bringen vermag (L gibt auch noch 553 an Odysseus!), muss die Frage letztlich offen bleiben.

678: In L fehlt vor diesem Vers, wie auch vor dem folgenden, die Angabe des Sprechers. Es kann jedoch kein Zweifel daran bestehen, dass nicht weiter der Kyklop spricht, sondern die Satyrn auf seine Klage darüber, dass der Fremde ihn mit Hilfe des Weins überwältigt habe, mit einer allgemeinen Wahrheit aus dem Schatz ihrer reichen Erfahrung

²⁵ Andere haben an der Überlieferung festgehalten: Nauck, Duchemin, Stoessl, und zuletzt Paganelli und Napolitano.

²⁶ S. Denniston 1954, 128.

²⁷ So z.B. Gargiulo 1996, Anm. 16.

reagieren.²⁸ – Seaford erwägt die Möglichkeit, dass Odysseus den Vers spricht: „If spoken by Od., this motivates the urgency (sc. „bei den Göttern!“) of Pol.’s question“. Gegen diese Zuweisung spricht jedoch, dass Odysseus so nur einmal in das Gespräch zwischen Polyphem und dem Chor eingreifen und dann wieder für geraume Zeit (bis 689b) ‚verstummen‘ würde. Das aber widerspricht der Dialogtechnik der griechischen Tragiker (s.o. zu 541). Vor allem kann Odysseus an dieser Stelle, an der die Flucht noch nicht abgeschlossen ist, auf keinen Fall Polyphem auf sich aufmerksam machen!

IV. Aufteilung des Chors

1. In den Chorliedern

Bei den Chorliedern (41–81, 356–374, 483–518, 608–623, 656–662) bieten die Handschriften durchweg die Bezeichnung Chor (χορος Σατυρων bzw. χο), und es gibt im Text keinen sicheren Hinweis darauf, dass nicht alle fünf Chorlieder vom gesamten Chor gesungen und getanzt worden sind. In drei Fällen ist gleichwohl angenommen worden, dass Euripides den Chor in Halbchöre aufgeteilt hat bzw. ein Teil eines Lieds von einem einzelnen Satyrn gesungen worden ist:

– In 483–518 hat Triklinios sowohl für das einleitende anapästische Rezitativ (483–494) als auch für das lyrische Duett zwischen dem Chor und dem Kyklopen (495–518) eine Aufteilung des Chors in Halbchöre angenommen, indem er bei 488 Ημυχόριον B hinzusetzte (d.h. implizit 483–486 einem Halbchor A gab) und die beiden vom Chor gesungenen Strophen (495–502 bzw. 511–518) mit den Personenbezeichnungen ἡμυχ A bzw. ἡμυχ B versah. Er könnte dazu durch den Zuruf: „Ruhig! Ruhig!“ in 488 veranlasst worden sein und die Aufteilung dann auf das folgende Lied übertragen haben. Seaford hat allerdings zu Recht darauf hingewiesen, dass die Aufforderung, still zu sein, nicht beweist, dass hier ein Teil des Chores den anderen Teil anspricht. Der Chor kann sich mit den Befehl auch selber anreden.

– Im 1. Epeisodion (356–374) hat Scaliger Strophe (356–360) und Antistrophe Halbchören zugeteilt.²⁹ Vielleicht hat ihn die überraschende Differenz zwischen der Aufforderung, das Mahl zu beginnen in der

²⁸ Nach Diggles Apparat ist Reiske 1754, 221 (dort zu 674) für die korrekte Zuweisung von 678 an den Chor verantwortlich; Paganelli notiert dagegen, dass schon die *correctores* des Codex Parisinus Graecus 2887 den Vers dem Chor gegeben haben.

²⁹ Die Information ist Paganellis Apparat entnommen.

Strophe, und der scharfen Verurteilung des Mahls in der Antistrophe dazu veranlasst.³⁰ Es gibt aber keinen Grund zu der Annahme, dass der Chor etwa unterschiedlicher Meinung über das kannibalische Mahl sein könnte.

– Denkbar ist dagegen, dass die Verse 49–54, in denen der Chor den störrischen Widder auffordert, zur Höhle zu laufen, wie Wilamowitz vorgeschlagen hat, von einem einzelnen Satyr gesprochen werden, der hinter dem sich entfernenden Widder hinterherläuft.³¹

2. Im Dialog

624–655: Mit dem Vers 624 kommt Odysseus – nach letzten Vorbereitungen für die Blendung – aus der Höhle, um die Satyrn, die ihre Hilfe zugesagt haben, zu holen. Auf seine Aufforderung, still zu sein, antwortet zunächst in 629 der Chorführer. Er ist es sicher auch, der Odysseus auffordert, die Aufstellung der Helfer vorzunehmen: 632–634 passen nicht zu den in 635–641 folgenden Ausreden, die offensichtlich von verschiedenen Gruppen von Satyrn vorgebracht werden. Ob diese unisono sprechen oder von einem Sprecher repräsentiert werden, können wir nicht sagen. Auch die Frage, um wie viele Gruppen es sich handelt, ist nicht mit letzter Sicherheit zu beantworten.³²

Murrays Unterscheidung von vier Gruppen scheitert daran, dass die Verse 640–641 zwar eine vierte Entschuldigung bieten, aber offenbar als Antwort auf Odysseus' spöttische Frage formuliert sind. Mit καὶ ...γ' schieben die Kritisierten eine weitere Erklärung, warum sie leider nicht helfen können, nach („und zudem können wir auch nicht richtig sehen!“).

Die allermeisten Editoren und Kommentatoren gehen wohl zu Recht von zwei Halbchören aus (zuletzt Diggle, Seafood, Paganelli, Napolitano, Paduano, O'Sullivan–Collard und Kovacs). Die Verse 638–639 könnten

³⁰ Es überrascht, dass die Satyrn, die sich, als ihr Vater Odysseus des Diebstahls bezichtigt, auf seine Seite gestellt und den Kyklopen gebeten haben, den Fremden kein Unrecht anzutun (270–272), zu Beginn des Lieds den Kyklopen auffordern, das Mahl zu beginnen. Usshers Hypothese, dass dieser Teil des Lieds gesungen wurde, während Polyphem dabei war, Odysseus nach seinem kurzen Monolog in die Höhle zu treiben (so auch O'Sullivan–Collard), könnte den leichten Widerspruch vielleicht erklären. Allerdings ist es wenig wahrscheinlich, dass Polyphem noch auf der Bühne ist, während Odysseus sein Gebet spricht, und es gibt keinerlei Hinweis im Text, dass Polyphem nach seinem Abgang in die Höhle noch einmal zurückkehrt, um den zurückgebliebenen Odysseus zu holen, wie Seafood mit Blick auf eine Oxfordener Aufführung im Jahre 1976 erwägt.

³¹ Wilamowitz 1921, 223.

³² L bietet in 635 χο., aber in 637 ἤμυχ. B, in 638a das sicher falsche οδ. (s. o. S. 280) und in 638b–639 ebenso χο. wie in 640–641 (Diggle : χο. Tr¹ et fort. L).

zwar auch einer dritten Gruppe gehören, die nach den beiden ersten Entschuldigungen (635–636: „wir sind zu weit weg“ bzw. 637: „wir können plötzlich nicht mehr recht laufen“) eine weitere vorbringt („wir haben uns irgendwie eine Zerrung zugezogen“); und O’Sullivan–Collard haben sicher nicht unrecht mit ihrer Erklärung: „Conceivably, several speakers would add to the comedy of the scene, so that the excuses seem to emerge randomly from a group of satyrs desperate to avoid any dangerous activity“. Auf der anderen Seite spricht die Wiederholung von ἐστῶτες in 639 (nach 635) dafür, dass die erste Gruppe (635–636), als die zweite erklärt, sie könne nicht laufen (637), diese Entschuldigung aufgreift, weil sie so eine gute Begründung für ihre Erklärung nachschieben kann, dass sie zu weit weg von der Höhle steht.³³ – Die letzten beiden Äußerungen des Chors in der kurzen Szene (643–648 und 654–655) werden dann wieder vom Chorführer gesprochen, der sich und die anderen Satyrn gegen Odysseus’ Vorwurf der Feigheit verteidigt und verspricht, die Blendung mit einem Zauberlied des Orpheus zu unterstützen.

669–688: Mit Vers 669 beginnt das Spiel der Satyrn mit dem geblendeten Polyphem. Zunächst stellen sie sich dumm und fragen, was denn geschehen sei (669–678). Dann dirigieren sie den Blinden auf seine Fragen, wo die Griechen denn seien, hin und her (natürlich immer in die falsche Richtung), bis Odysseus und seine Männer alle die Höhle verlassen haben (in 688). Die dem Chor zugeschriebenen Verse werden wahrscheinlich vom Chorführer gesprochen. Es ist aber auch denkbar, dass Euripides hier den Chor in Einzelstimmen aufgelöst hat. Dafür könnte sprechen, dass es sich um genau 15 Äußerungen handelt, d. h. jeder der 15 Choreuten einmal zu Wort käme.³⁴ Als Parallele könnte man an die Szene im aischyäischen *Agamemnon* erinnern, in der jeder der zwölf Choreuten seine Meinung zu der Frage äußert, was angesichts der Todesschreie aus dem Palast zu tun sei (1348–1371). Sicher ist die Aufteilung des Chors in Einzelstimmen im *Kyklops* nicht so deutlich wie im *Agamemnon*; aber man kann sich sehr gut eine Inszenierung der Szene vorstellen, in der die Satyrn vor Polyphem herumhüpfen und einzeln ihre Fragen, Kommentare und Anweisungen äußern.

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³³ Cf. Ussher und Seaford.

³⁴ D. Sansone (2016, 233–254) hat jüngst die *communis opinio*, dass Sophokles den Chor von 12 auf 15 Choreuten erweitert hat, in Frage gestellt. Ich gehe gleichwohl weiter davon aus, dass der Chor in Tragödie und Satyrspiel in der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jh. 15 Mitglieder hatte.

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- N. Wecklein, R. Prinz (Hgg.), *Euripidis fabulae* I 8 (Leipzig 1898).
- U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechische Verskunst* (Berlin 1921).
- G. Zuntz, *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (London 1965).

The designation of speakers in the manuscripts of dramatic texts – either by abbreviated names or by a paragraphos is notoriously unreliable. The paper discusses the cases in Euripides’ *Cyclops*, where the assignment of a line resp. of lines to a certain *dramatis persona* is controversial, and looks at potential divisions of the chorus.

Хорошо известно, что распределение реплик между персонажами в рукописях драматических текстов – будь то с помощью параграфа или сокращенного указания имен – ненадежно. В статье рассматриваются пассажи из *Циклопа* Еврипида, в которых одну или несколько строк можно приписать разным действующим лицам, а также те, в которых возможно разделение хора.

ETYMOLOGY IN PLATO'S *SOPHIST*

I start with a passage from Plato's great dialogue on philosophical logic, the *Sophist*. The unnamed Visitor from Elea is interrogating young Theaetetus, in search of an agreed definition of 'sophist'. On a comparatively benign, indeed almost Socratic, portrayal of the sophist's role, a sophist is some kind of specialist in κάθαρσις or 'purging' – specifically, the purging of false beliefs, and especially of the conceit that one knows what one in fact does not know. Making a case for this analysis of the sophist requires dividing and subdividing the skill of purging, until the specifically sophistic kind is reached. And that for its part requires, among its preliminary steps, distinguishing moral from intellectual badness, since purging must always be the removal of something bad, but it is only what is intellectually bad that sophistry might aspire to purge. The following points are agreed:

- The kinds of badness that may need to be purged divide into those of the body and those of the soul (227 c 7 – d 1).
- The soul's badness itself further divides into two kinds: (a) soul's counterpart to bodily sickness, and (b) soul's counterpart to bodily ugliness (227 d 13 – 228 a 2).
- Of these, (a) psychic sickness is στάσις, an internal disorder of the soul's components; (b) psychic ugliness is ἀμετρία, 'disproportion' or 'lack of measure' (228 a 4 – b 10).

This last distinction is a difficult one to grasp, but the Visitor makes some effort to clarify it. (a) Psychic sickness turns out to be πονηρία – wickedness, or moral badness. (b) Psychic ugliness will differ from psychic sickness in being not another kind of sickness, but a specifically intellectual failing, ignorance. Here is how the Visitor starts to clarify the distinction (228 b 2–10):

ΞΕ. Τί δέ; ἐν ψυχῇ δόξας ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ θυμὸν ἡδοναῖς καὶ λόγον λύπαις καὶ πάντα ἀλλήλοις ταῦτα τῶν φλαύρων ἐχόντων οὐκ ἡσθήμεθα διαφερόμενα;

ΘΕΑΙ. Καὶ σφόδρα γε.

ΞΕ. Συγγενῇ γε μὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης σύμπαντα γέγονεν.

ΘΕΑΙ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΞΕ. Στάσιν ἄρα καὶ νόσον τῆς ψυχῆς πονηρίαν λέγοντες ὀρθῶς ἐροῦμεν.

ΘΕΑΙ. Ὅρθότατα μὲν οὖν.

V: Next, inside the soul of people in a defective condition haven't we noticed the clash of opinions with appetites, of anger with pleasures, of reason with pains, and of all of these things with each other?

T: Very much so.

V: And the whole lot of these must of necessity belong to a single kind?

T: Of course.

V: So if we call wickedness the disorder and sickness of the soul, we will be speaking correctly?

T: Yes, entirely correctly.

Down to here, the Visitor has simply been reminding Plato's readers of a thesis thoroughly familiar to them, especially from *Republic* book 4, that all forms of moral badness consist in disorder among the various drives making up the soul, drives whose natural and healthy state would be one of mutual harmony. But he now adds to that familiar thesis about moral badness a quite distinct characterization of intellectual badness. Here is his opening move (228 c 1–6):

ΞΕ. Τί δ'; ὅς' <ἀν> κινήσεως μετασχόντα καὶ σκοπόν τινα θέμενα πειρώμενα τούτου τυγχάνειν καθ' ἑκάστην ὁρμὴν παράφορα αὐτοῦ γίγνεται καὶ ἀποτυγχάνει, πότερον αὐτὰ φήσομεν ὑπὸ συμμετρίας τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλα ἢ τοῦναντίον ὑπὸ ἀμετρίας αὐτὰ πάσχειν;

ΘΕΑΙ. Δῆλον ὡς ὑπὸ ἀμετρίας.

V: Next, whatever things partake in motion, and set up some target which they are trying to hit, but every time they strive to do so overshoot it [παράφορα αὐτοῦ γίγνεται, 228 c 3] and miss, are we going to say that the result is produced by proportionality with each other, or on the contrary by disproportion?

T: By disproportion, obviously.

The description of this disproportion is worded so as not to focus narrowly on mental processes. In fact the subject expression, 'whatever things partake in motion' most obviously calls to mind ballistic sports, especially archery. When an arrow misses its target, the archer's failing does not lie in the sort of internal disorder that the Visitor would equate with sickness. Instead, it lies primarily in a lack of measured co-ordination or proportion between the various protagonists: the archer's arms, the bow, the arrow and the target.

Once readers have grasped this generic point about the causes of kinetic failures, they are ready to apply it to the mental kinetics specific to the learning process. The next exchange runs as follows (228 c 7–8):

ΞΕ. Ἐλλὰ μὴν ψυχὴν γε ἴσμεν ἄκουσαν πᾶσαν πᾶν ἀγνοοῦσαν.

ΘΕΑΙ. Σφόδρα γε.

V: Now, we know that whatever ignorance any soul has, it has unwillingly.

T: Very much so.

This thesis, that all ignorance is involuntary, is recognizably Platonic.¹ Although its role in the present argument is somewhat opaque, the Visitor's point seems to be that, since no soul wants to be ignorant, it follows that *every* soul is aiming for knowledge. Thus all ignorance will consist in, or result from, a failed effort to know, and none from inertia. And the ensuing analysis of ignorance will be universally applicable (228 c 10 – e 5):

ΞΕ. Τό γε μὴν ἀγνοεῖν ἐστὶν ἐπ' ἀλήθειαν ὀρμωμένης ψυχῆς, παραφόρου συνέσεως γιγνομένης, οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν παραφροσύνη.

ΘΕΑΙ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΞΕ. Ψυχὴν ἄρα ἀνόητον αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἄμετρον θετέον.

ΘΕΑΙ. Ὅμοιον.

ΞΕ. Ὅστις δὴ δύο ταῦτα, ὡς φαίνεται, κακῶν ἐν αὐτῇ γένη, τὸ μὲν πονηρία καλούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν, νόσος αὐτῆς σαφέστατα ὄν.

ΘΕΑΙ. Ναί.

ΞΕ. Τὸ δὲ γε ἄγνοιαν μὲν καλοῦσι, κακίαν δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν ψυχῇ μόνον γιγνόμενον οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ὁμολογεῖν.

ΘΕΑΙ. Κομιδὴ συγχωρητέον, ὃ νυνδὴ λέξαντος ἡμφεγνόησά σου, τὸ δύο εἶναι γένη κακίας ἐν ψυχῇ, καὶ δειλίαν μὲν καὶ ἀκολασίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν σύμπαντα ἡγητέον νόσον ἐν ἡμῖν, τὸ δὲ τῆς πολλῆς καὶ παντοδαπῆς ἀγνοίας πάθος αἰσχος θετέον.

V: And ignorance, when a soul striving towards truth travels beyond understanding [παραφόρου συνέσεως γιγνομένης, 228 d 1], is nothing other than delirium [παραφροσύνη, d 2].

T: Absolutely.

V: Then a soul that lacks understanding must be reckoned ugly and unbalanced.

T: It seems so.

V: So there are evidently these two kinds of badness in it, one of which is what ordinary people call wickedness, because its being a sickness of the soul is quite obvious.

¹ The same motif recurs barely a page later, 230 a 5.

T: Yes.

V: And the other one they call ignorance, but because it occurs only inside the soul they are unwilling to agree that it is a kind of badness.

T: I have to agree entirely on a point which I doubted when you said it earlier, that there are two kinds of badness in the soul, and that cowardice, intemperance and injustice are jointly to be considered a sickness inside us, while suffering from a great deal of wide-ranging ignorance is to be reckoned ugliness.

As Theaetetus' words here confirm, the argument we have witnessed so far has been aimed at an improved understanding of the distinction between moral and intellectual badness, so that the further divisions that will follow can concentrate on the purging of the latter, specifically intellectual, kind of badness. According to the Visitor, intellectual vice's existence is not widely acknowledged. His proffered explanation is that, being entirely contained within the soul, it does not manifest itself behaviorally in the way that moral vices do. Plato's deeper reason would no doubt be that this intellectual vice is one that all ordinary people suffer from, making it seem to them to be the norm rather than some kind of failure.

To support his contention that we are here dealing with a distinct class of badness, the Visitor offers just one item of evidence. He appeals to the term *παράφροσύνη*, 'delirium' or 'derangement'. Its etymology reveals the imbalance to which it refers to be a specifically intellectual one. For the Visitor represents *παράφροσύνη* as a contraction of *παράφορα συνέσεως*, 'travelling beyond understanding': *παρα-φορα συν-ε-σεως* = *παράφροσύνη*. The etymology indicates that at least one disorder of the soul, delirium, consists in an intellectual mistake, that of aiming for the truth (as everyone does) but, in one's haste, overshooting it and missing. That is what ignorance really is: not a mere absence of knowledge, but lack of the proper controls when seeking it.

I shall refer to this as a 'Cratylean' etymology. In Plato's *Cratylus* it is a ubiquitous feature of the huge series of etymologies proposed by Socrates that a word's underlying meaning is excavated, not by listing its superficially obvious components, but by detecting below these a more condensed, complex and profound message. For example, at *Cratylus* 411 d *φρόνησις*, 'wisdom', is not analysed into its obvious components, the verb stem *φρονε-* and the regular termination *-σις*, which would jointly mean something like 'thoughtfulness'. Instead (or perhaps additionally) it is decoded as concealing the description *φορᾶς καὶ ῥοῦ νόησις*, 'conceiving motion and flow'. This is taken by Socrates to have been encoded in it by the ancient name-makers as a way of conveying their own conviction that reality should be understood, in Heraclitean style, as constituted all the way down by change, motion or flux. Likewise here in the *Sophist*,

παραφροσύνη is not decomposed into the obvious παρα + φρονε- + σύνη, meaning roughly ‘beyond-thinking-ness’: that is, going beyond the proper limits of rational thought. Instead, in the style of the *Cratylus*, the word’s first three syllables are re-analysed as παρα-φορ-, ‘travel beyond’, and -σύνη, its termination, as abbreviating a further word, σύνεσις, ‘understanding’.

It is not surprising that this linguistic manoeuvre has, although occasionally noticed in passing, drawn very little comment from Platonic scholars. After all, the *Sophist* is a serious work on philosophical logic, whereas the *Cratylus* has for the last two centuries been read as a text designed by Plato to ridicule the fanciful etymological practices that these examples illustrate so well. For my part, especially in my 2003 book *Plato’s Cratylus*, I have fought to resist any such reading of the latter dialogue. In Plato’s eyes, I believe, each word really does encode a covert meaning in the way the *Cratylus* etymologies depict. Expert decoding by etymological methods can teach us why this or that word has achieved currency in the language, thanks to the skills of the νομοθέτης or ‘custom setter’ who originally devised it and succeeded in putting it into circulation. The reason why each word to a lesser or greater extent *feels* right for naming its particular object is that it was designed to encode just such a description of that object, whether or not today’s ordinary users of the language are capable of seeing how it accomplishes this.²

At the opening of the *Cratylus* (385 a 6 – b 1)³ Hermogenes protested that the words ἄνθρωπος (‘man’) and ἵππος (‘horse’) could just as well be interchanged, and if they were anyone would happily call a horse ἄνθρωπος. Socrates implicitly disagrees (399 b 6 – c 6). The reason the word ἄνθρωπος succeeded, against all its potential competitors, in becoming the name of the species man is that the human species is the only one to combine sense-perception with rationality. Hence man is quite properly described as ‘reviewing what he has seen’, ἀναθρῶν ἃ ὅπωπε, condensed into the three syllables ἄν/θρῶ/πος. Only an expert in the domain that was known as ‘correctness of names’, ὀρθότης ὀνομάτων, could have told us why this word feels so right. But once we have heard Socrates’ decoding, we are meant to appreciate immediately why, contrary to Hermogenes’ contention, ἄνθρωπος could never have achieved currency as a name for the species horse, or indeed for anything else but human beings.

² Cf. English ‘smarmy’. Whatever its historical origin, the reason it works is surely that it expands into something like ‘smug-charm-y’.

³ Cf. the reprise at 433 e, where the examples are ‘large’ and ‘small’.

That Plato really does think the discipline of etymological decoding has the explanatory potential displayed at length in the *Cratylus* is, it seems to me, strongly confirmed by the passage of the *Sophist* which I have been examining. There the deep etymology of παραφροσύνη, far from being invoked for satirical purposes, is the Visitor's sole proffered ground for a division, that between moral and intellectual vice, which plays a key role in his current attempt to demarcate the meaning of 'sophist'.

This observation may, however, appear to open up a new gap between the two dialogues. One salient conclusion drawn by Socrates in the *Cratylus* was that the study of things' names cannot reveal the nature of those things, but only, at best, what the original name-makers thought that nature to be. How then can the same linguistic method be relied on in the *Sophist* to teach us something about the true nature of vices?

In the *Cratylus*, Socrates' doubts about the reliability of the original name-makers are focused mainly on their poor construction of the moral vocabulary (411 a 1 – 420 e 3), in which they chose to concentrate on instability, ignoring the all-important underlying fixity of values. This negative judgement reflects Plato's conviction that ethics is an area of philosophy in which his and Socrates' predecessors had shown scant understanding. Socrates manifests no such doubts about, for example, their ancestors' highly skilful naming of sun and moon, presumably because astronomy was a domain concerned with change, not rest, and in which the Presocratics had already excelled.

The Visitor's proposed decoding of παραφροσύνη is Cratylean not merely in the sense that the word is revealed as condensing a different and richer informational content than appears on the surface, but also in the way that the revealed deeper meaning conveys a message specifically about motion. According to Socrates in the *Cratylus* the original name-makers believed in a Heraclitean world of radical flux, and encoded this belief into the Greek language, along with a cognitive vocabulary that associated successful understanding with always following the motion and flow wherever they might lead. That the new etymology, that of παραφροσύνη, belongs to the same family as those in the *Cratylus* seems overwhelmingly likely. But by a subtle difference between the two we are enabled to work out that the Visitor from Elea has marginally outperformed Socrates, tracing in the ancestral Greek vocabulary a more nuanced, and one might add Platonically more advanced, relationship between motion and truth than Socrates had found in it. In the *Cratylus* Socrates had already made some headway by showing how the existing cognitive vocabulary, despite its constant evocation of flux, does after all hint at a role for stability, for instance in the case of ἐπιστήμη (437 a 2–8), which he now thinks echoes not ἔπεσθαι 'to follow' but ἰστάναι, 'to stand'. However, in the

Sophist we will learn from the Visitor that stability is not really the chief mark of knowledge. For later in the dialogue (248 a – 249 d) he will be challenging certain people he calls ‘the Friends of the Forms’ (τοὺς τῶν εἰδῶν φίλους), who think that true being is characterized by total stability. These people are recognizable as preaching the radical dualism of stable Forms and unstable particulars that Plato himself seemed already to favour when writing the *Cratylus*. In criticizing the Friends of the Forms, the Visitor will insist that true being must include life, thought and soul, all of them subject to interaction and therefore to change.

By bearing in mind this ensuing refinement of Platonic principles, we are enabled to see that the Visitor’s new etymology, although unmistakably from the same family as those in the *Cratylus*, is that little bit better informed metaphysically. In his etymological decoding of παραφροσύνη, by treating the termination σύνη as if it were the beginning of σύνεσις, ‘understanding’, Plato is borrowing from the *Cratylus* (412 c 7–8), where δικαιοσύνη, ‘justice’, was analysed into δικαίου σύνεσις, ‘understanding of the just’. And this link in turn implicitly invokes the *Cratylus*’ decoding of σύνεσις itself (412 a 4 – b 1), according to which it is the noun cognate with συν-ιέναι, ‘to go with’, so that σύνεσις means keeping up with the flow. In the light of this we can loop back to the *Sophist* and appreciate even further the Visitor’s decoding of παραφροσύνη. Understanding, his analysis confirms, is itself a kind of motion, process or change. No doubt the name-makers invoked in the *Cratylus* had glimpsed this fact. But on further examination of their linguistic legacy it has become clear that understanding is above all a *measured* process of change. Ignorance – now identified with παραφροσύνη – does not consist in the opposite state, that of remaining mentally immobile. It consists in a failure to observe due measure in the learning process.

This same redefinition of ignorance as a failure to observe measure, we should note, also has an implied bearing on the methodology of definition by division introduced by the Visitor, because the need not to rush ahead when dividing, but to keep pace with the complex nature of the *definiendum*, is strategically at the centre of that method.

Even in other dialogues Plato will occasionally call on Cratylean-style etymologies to support a philosophical contention. A good example is in the *Laws* (714 a, cf. *Pol.* 297 a–b), where his conception of law, νόμος, is elaborated with help from the etymology νοῦ διανομή, ‘distribution of intelligence’. In his eyes, the better informed you are philosophically, the more chance you have of recognizing philosophical subtleties implied by others, the original name-makers included. This does not require the name-makers to have been infallible. But their intellectual achievement in inventing a language, and the further venerability conferred by their

sheer antiquity, makes them always worth consulting – as, thanks to etymological expertise, one can indeed learn to do.

I am not suggesting that Plato ever recanted his verdict in the *Cratylus* that studying things through their names is less satisfactory than studying the things themselves in their own right. But from this verdict it by no means follows, as many have too quickly inferred, that the former method, that of studying things through their names, is a thoroughly misconceived enterprise, of no heuristic value whatsoever. The *Sophist* confirms that Plato does not intend any such corollary.

The case I have discussed so far, that of παραφροσύνη, may on the other hand seem no more than marginal to the *Sophist*'s main enterprise, which is the definition of 'sophist', to be followed by that of 'statesman' in the ensuing dialogue and, apparently, that of 'philosopher' in a further dialogue which, if so, was never written. But there is a second Cratylean etymology in the *Sophist*, and this time it will take us much closer to the heart of Plato's enterprise.

The announced method of definition is that by division, or rather by repeated division and subdivision of a genus until the precise species sought has been marked off from all others. This leads to a series of seven competing definitions of 'sophist', of which so far we have focused just on the sixth. The final division, which analyses the sophist as the practitioner of a particular kind of imitation, is clearly the dialogue's major philosophical achievement. But that impressive climax does not entail that even this final division is philosophically a complete success. To see why, we must go back to the beginning.

To introduce his method of division, the Visitor offers a simple illustration of it. As he remarks (218 c–e), before undertaking a large and onerous task one should first sharpen one's skills on a smaller and easier example. Hence he suggests that, to prepare the ground for defining the sophist, they should first use the same method, that of division, to define angling (ἀσπαλιευτική). The angling example is chosen as something 'lowly' (φαῦλος), a choice of term which may remind us of a common methodological procedure in the Platonic search for definitions. A 'lowly' example will normally be a simple one, where the right definition will be not only quickly arrived at but also instantly recognized, because its object is already entirely familiar and understood. In the *Theaetetus* (the dramatic prequel to the *Sophist*) Socrates explained to the young Theaetetus what he expected of a successful definition of knowledge, and to help make his point he used the 'lowly' (147 a 1–2) example of mud, which can safely be defined as 'earth mixed with liquid' (147 c 3–6). A further example occurs in the *Laches*, where the definition of

‘speed’ serves Socrates as a simple model for the more demanding task of defining what courage is (192 a–b).

One reason why sophistry may prove harder to define than angling is that, as Socrates hints to the Visitor in their opening discussion (216 d 3 – 217 a 9), it can be quite hard to tell whether the people of the Visitor’s hometown Elea, at least back in the great days of Parmenides and Zeno, made a clear distinction between the terms ‘sophist’, ‘statesman’ and ‘philosopher’. He means, I think, that even the venerable Parmenides, philosopher and legislator though he was, can seem like a sophist as well.⁴ It could then prove a hard task to discover the essential nature of sophistry, beneath what may turn out to be a veneer of conflicting cultural accretions. A merit of angling, it seems, is that unlike sophistry it has a simple core-nature, not much obscured by diverse cultural viewpoints.

The division proceeds as follows. Expertise is divided into productive and acquisitive; acquisitive expertise into commercial and imposed; imposed acquisitive expertise into combat and hunting; hunting into that of the inanimate and that of animals; hunting of animals into that of terrestrial and that of aquatic animals; hunting of aquatic animals into that of winged and that of underwater kinds; and so on, until the specific expertise of catching fish by a hook drawn upwards from below is isolated.

⁴ At the dialogue’s opening Socrates was introduced to the unnamed visitor from Elea, described as ‘a companion of the circle of Parmenides and Zeno, and very much a philosopher’ (216 a 3–4). Socrates queries whether this visitor really is a philosopher, and not some higher being, but is reassured on the point. He then turns the spotlight onto the label ‘philosopher’, observing that philosophers can at times give the impression of being statesmen or sophists: he therefore wants to hear from the Visitor how the three terms – ‘sophist’, ‘statesman’ and ‘philosopher’ – were used back in his home town of Elea, by this past tense apparently meaning back in the days of Parmenides. Were the three treated as equivalents, or as corresponding to two, or even three, distinct kinds (216 c 8 – 217 a 9)? Parmenides had been a brilliant philosopher, as Socrates recalls from his youthful encounter with the great man (217 c), but had also differed markedly from Socrates in serving his city as a lawmaker (Parmenides P 20–22 L–M.). In addition, at least some of Parmenides’ philosophical arguments could easily incur the charge of sophistry, as they arguably do in the *Sophist* itself. For his follower Zeno, the celebrated author of paradoxes, this danger was of course even greater. Hence when in the opening scene Socrates asks how the Eleatics used the three terms ‘sophist’, ‘statesman’ and ‘philosopher’, I think he is genuinely puzzled as to whether or not they were operating with the same semantic distinctions as have been familiar to him in his own day at Athens. The fact that in the Visitor’s sixth division the sophist will sound almost indistinguishable from Socrates, at Athens a paradigmatic philosopher, confirms that the risks of intercultural confusion are severe, but at least the Visitor’s distinctions are subject to approval by Theaetetus, himself an Athenian.

There is no doubt that this is done in a partly jocular spirit, because in the following passage (221 c – 223 b) a pointedly analogous first attempt will be made to define sophistry as another kind of expertise in hunting, namely the hunting of young men. But at the same time an entirely serious point is made, one that implicitly addresses the old paradox raised in Plato's *Meno*: in a definitional inquiry, it was asked, even if you were to hit upon the right answer, how would you know that it *was* the right answer? The Visitor no doubt has that problem in mind as he sums up the final stages of his definition (221 b 6 – c 3):

ἀλιευτικῆς δὲ (sc. μέρος) πληκτικόν, πληκτικῆς δὲ ἀγκιστρευτικόν·
τούτου δὲ τὸ περὶ τὴν κάτωθεν ἄνω πληγὴν ἀνασπώμενην, ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς
πράξεως ἀφομοιωθὲν τοῦνομα, ἢ νῦν ἀσπαλιευτικὴ ζητηθεῖσα ἐπὶ κλην
γέγονεν.

Of fishing (ἀλιευτική) one part is strike-fishing (πληκτικόν); and of strike-fishing, hook-fishing (ἀγκιστρευτικόν); and of this, the part concerned with a strike drawn upwards from below (τὸ περὶ τὴν κάτωθεν ἄνω πληγὴν ἀνασπώμενην) – the name being derived by imitation of the actual action – is how 'angling' (ἀσπαλιευτική), the object of our present inquiry, has come to be called.

In short the very term for 'angling' announces its place in the complex taxonomy of skills, by decomposing into ἀ(νω)σπα-(ἀ)λιευτική, 'upward-draw fishing', condensed into ἀσπαλιευτική. One may suspect that the term is, here too, deliberately presented as closely echoing the sound pattern of the name assigned to its immediate genus, ἀγκιστρευτικόν, 'hook-fishing'. If so, the name as a whole presents angling as 'upward-draw hook-fishing'.

The Visitor and young Theaetetus seem to agree that this definition has been most successfully demonstrated (221 a 7 – b 2, c 4–5), and it is hard to doubt that in their eyes its confirmation lies to a considerable extent in the Cratylean etymology with which the series of divisions concluded. When you have been systematically through the divisions, you can see that they are correct, partly because in the light of them you now for the first time understand why it is that ἀσπαλιευτική feels like exactly the right word for angling.⁵

⁵ Despite a lack of confirmatory textual evidence, I think we must assume that ἀσπαλιευτική, or at least such cognates as ἀσπαλιευτής, was current by the mid 4th century, when the *Sophist* was written. True, the Visitor does freely invent a lot of terms in this dialogue's divisions, but at 218 e he and Theaetetus agree that ἀσπαλιευτής is already familiar.

To repeat, the angling definition is set up as exemplary of how the method of division should establish the target definition, that of sophistry, and Cratylean etymology, we have seen, plays a key role in the confirmatory phase of this process. By contrast none of the seven definitions of the slippery ‘sophist’ which now follow sets a similar seal – etymological or otherwise – on its own final division. Of course the divisions are formulated in full awareness of the obvious fact that ‘sophist’ is derived from σοφός, ‘wise’ (see 268 b 10 – c 4, and cf. 221 d 4), but that is common knowledge, assumed rather than exploited in the heuristic process. If σοφιστής were to be subjected to a more ambitious, Cratylean etymological analysis, that might require revisiting and reviewing the findings of *Cratylus* 412 b 1–8, where σοφία was hesitantly identified as an obscure Laconian coinage. There is no sign that Plato wishes to follow that path, or, if he does so wish, that he has found a means of doing so.

I end with the following thought. The difference between the successful ‘angling’ definition, with its concluding etymological seal, and the divisions subsequently attempted for sophistry, which lack any corresponding seal, constitutes a covert warning: for all their rich informativeness, none of these seven divisions should be treated as altogether conclusive. When, 47 Stephanus pages later, he ends the discussion without having adjudicated among the seven, the Visitor is heeding his own Cratylean redefinition of ignorance as παραφροσύνη, ‘rushing ahead of understanding’. If instead he had hastily endorsed any one of the divisions, even the last and most impressive of them, such impetuosity would have been enough to convict him of *real* παραφροσύνη.⁶

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⁶ For discussion of these etymological issues, my thanks to participants in the 2017–2018 Cambridge seminar on the *Sophist*; to an audience at Nice in September 2018; and to Alesia Preite, Myrto Hatzimichali, Gábor Betegh, Richard Hunter, and Ineke Sluiter. On the general nature of Platonic etymology I have learnt a lot over the years from conversations and exchanges with Alexander Verlinsky, to whom I take this opportunity to express my gratitude and friendship.

The etymological method displayed at considerable length in the *Cratylus* is widely assumed to be intended by Plato as an object of ridicule. In my 2003 monograph *Plato's Cratylus* I resisted this assumption. In the present paper I seek to strengthen my case by arguing that in Plato's major work on philosophical logic, the *Sophist*, the same method is re-employed twice, at 221 a–c and 228 b–e, for entirely serious purposes.

Принято считать, что этимологический метод, пространно описанный в *Кратиле*, служит Платону предметом насмешек. Автор уже оспаривал этот тезис в своей монографии о платоновском *Кратиле*. В настоящей статье приводятся дополнительные аргументы: в *Софисте* – труде, специально посвященном философской логике, – этот метод применяется дважды (в 221 а–с и 228 b–e) во вполне серьезных рассуждениях.

RECOGNITION BASED ON PARALOGISM (ARISTOT. *POET.* 1455 a 12–16)*

I. The Context: Classifying the Recognitions

In Chapter 16 of the *Poetics* Aristotle gives a classification of recognitions used in constructing the plots of tragedy and of epos, and enumerates εἶδη ἀναγνωρίσεως in ascending order of merit. Recognitions by means of signs (διὰ τῶν σημείων), i. e. remarkable objects such as necklaces or physical tokens such as moles and scars, are the least artistic. Next are cases where a character declares his own identity and provides proof in the form of circumstances contrived by the poet that do not logically follow from the plot, including tokens (αἱ πεποιημένα ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ). Thirdly, we have emotions revealed at some sight or story (ἢ διὰ μνήμης).

Next comes the recognition ‘by syllogism’ (1455 a 4–12). Since it might appear, at first glance, that the kind ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ is related or opposed to the kind ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ, to which this inquiry is dedicated, it must be discussed in more detail:

- τετάρτη δὲ ἡ ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ, οἷον ἐν Χοηφόροις,
5 ὅτι ὁμοίως τις ἐλήλυθεν, ὁμοίος δὲ οὐθεις ἀλλ’ ἡ Ὀρέστης,
οὗτος ἄρα ἐλήλυθεν. καὶ ἡ Πολυίδου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ περὶ τῆς
Ἰφιγενείας· εἰκὸς γὰρ ἔφη τὸν Ὀρέστην συλλογίσασθαι ὅτι
ἢ τ’ ἀδελφὴ ἐτύθη καὶ αὐτῷ συμβαίνει θύεσθαι. καὶ ἐν τῷ
Θεοδέκτου Τυδεΐ, ὅτι ἐλθὼν ὡς εὐρήσαν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτὸς ἀπόλ-
10 λυται. καὶ ἡ ἐν τοῖς Φινεΐδαις· ἰδοῦσαι γὰρ τὸν τόπον συν-
ελογίσαντο τὴν εἰμαρμένην ὅτι ἐν τούτῳ εἴμαρτο ἀποθανεῖν
αὐταῖς, καὶ γὰρ ἐξετέθησαν ἐνταῦθα.

* This work was supported by the Russian Science Foundation (project no. 18-18-00060). My thanks to Prof. Alexander Verlinsky and Michael Pozdnev for helpful discussion.

Only the first example comes from a surviving tragedy. The conclusion of Electra in the *Libation-Bearers* of Aeschylus is represented in the form of a syllogism: someone like herself has come; there is no one like her except Orestes; therefore the newcomer must be Orestes.

The following three examples deal with works unknown to us. Nevertheless it may be noticed that the characters' words are not examples of acceptable syllogisms.¹ As for Orestes of Polyidus, an odd inference "my sister has been sacrificed; *therefore* I am destined to be sacrificed too" would imply the premise "anyone whose sister is sacrificed will undergo the same fate", which is hardly good reasoning.² Yet the verb συλλογίσασθαι is applied to Orestes' inference. One might assume that the text is not sound in 1455 a 7: the example from the *Choephoroi* suggests that the reasoning suits those who recognize rather than those who are recognized, so one could expect Iphigenia to be subject of συλλογίσασθαι, and Orestes of a verb of saying. Yet an emendation would not remove the difficulties, considering that the same verb συνελογίσαντο is also applied to the unknown female characters who are recognized in the *Sons of Phineus* (1455 a 10–11). This latter plot is completely obscure, so it is impossible to say, whether they had any logical ground to identify the place of their exposition as the location of their approaching death. The case of Theodectus' *Tydeus* seems equally hopeless, since the utterance of the character "Instead of finding my son, I have to die myself" is not reducible to a syllogism in tripartite form.

Now, must we really extract characters' syllogisms from these examples? Harking back to the illustrations of other kinds, we must admit that *any* recognition requires an inference,³ such as:⁴ (1) "Odysseus had a scar on his leg; this man has a scar in exactly the same place; it follows that he is Odysseus" (Hom. *Od.* 19. 390–475); (2) "Orestes must remember how our home looked like; this man who declares himself Orestes remembers it; it follows that he is Orestes" (Eur. *IT* 808–827); (3) "a song about the events at Troy could deeply move a participant of those events; this man is deeply moved; it follows that he is Odysseus – the only hero who neither perished nor returned home" (Hom. *Od.* 8. 521–586).

¹ Valgimigli 1946, 121 n. 2.

² Susemihl 1871, 460; Pozdnev 2005, 451 n. 15.

³ Susemihl 1871, 460: "...ist ... überhaupt jede Art von Erkennung auch ein Schliessen". Cf. Cave 1988, 38: "can *sylogismos* not be derived from signs?"

⁴ Let us for the moment set aside the question as to whether the reasoning in these examples is correct from a logical point of view (we shall see below that this is not so, as was argued already in antiquity), and concentrate on its form as a syllogism.

It looks like no discovery could be possible without such reasoning.⁵ Consequently, a syllogism by the *recognizing* party cannot be a classifying attribute of a particular εἶδος ἀναγνώρισεως.

On the other hand, the thing that led to recognitions of the three previous types was something that a character *going to be recognized* had, did, or said. I conclude that in the fourth case as well the means of recognition was a συλλογισμός by those recognized,⁶ yet it was not a ‘syllogism’ in a technical sense – rather what they said was ‘putting together of observed facts’ (LSJ s.v. συλλογισμός II. 1).⁷ If any inference was drawn by the characters at all, it concerned the εἰμαρμένη. Thus Polyidus’ Orestes did not talk nonsense deducing his own mactation from that of his sister – he only reflected on the fatal similarity of their fates,⁸ which was indeed natural (εἰκός) in his case. Recognition ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ means almost the same as ‘by assertion, by utterance’. How a character is recognized is not hard to imagine: each time he reveals his identity by an assertion of some peculiar coincidence, for example with the fate of his relatives, so his companion deduces: “this man says he had suffered such-and-such unusual misfortunes; these events happened to X; consequently, this man is X”.

However, this conclusion does not work for the example from the *Libation-bearers*. Electra’s reasoning is clearly a logical syllogism, by which she recognizes (by σημεία⁹ and not by utterance) instead of being

⁵ This was noted already by the Renaissance scholars: Piccolomini 1575, 235; Riccoboni 1579, 380–383.

⁶ This was explicitly admitted also by Heath 1996, 75 n. 75; Pozdnev 2005, 450.

⁷ Cf. Bonitz 1870, 711 b 49–59: “συλλογισμός interdum latiore sensu usurpatur perinde ac συλλογίζεσθαι”, with examples from *Rhet.* 1. 11. 1371 b 9 and *Poet.* 1455 a 4; Susemihl 1871, 460: “nicht bloss ... den Schluss im eigentlichen Sinne ... sondern auch alle anderen Formen der Gedankenableitung, wie durch Analogie und Induction”; Gudeman 1934, 299: “Das συλλογίσασθαι bestand in einem Analogieschluß des Orestes”; Lucas 1968, 170: “in spite of ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that συλλογίζεσθαι bears the less specific sense of ‘reflect’, applying to O.’s meditations about his family’s misfortunes; he brought the two sacrifices together in his mind”.

⁸ Note τε ... καί (with no indication of cause-effect relationship) in 1455 a 8, cf. the summary of the same story in 1455 b 9–12: θύεσθαι μέλλων ἀνεγνώρισεν, εἶθ’ ὥς Εὐρυπιδῆς εἶθ’ ὥς Πολύιδος ἐποίησεν, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐκ ἄρα μόνον τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδει τυθῆναι, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἡ σωτηρία.

⁹ Hubbard 1972, 112 n. 3; Dupont-Roc – Lallot 1980, 274: “en effet, la reconnaissance d’Oreste dans le *Choéphores* – fruit d’un raisonnement qui se déploie à partir de signes matériels : traces de pas, mèches de cheveux – n’est pas très différente dans son principe de celle d’Ulysse qui devant les porchers utilise sa cicatrice comme preuve”; Cave 1988, 247; Pozdnev 2005, 450.

recognized.¹⁰ Thus this case runs contrary to the other three in every respect, as well as to Aristotle's approach to classifying previous kinds of recognition. Besides, the synopsis of the scene in the *Poetics* is strikingly imprecise (or at least overcompressed, as D. W. Lucas puts it). In Aeschylus, Electra's ἀναγνώρισις meant here (*Cho.* 166–211) is the discovery of Orestes' arrival rather than of his identity (which once again sets her case apart from all the other ἀναγνώρισεις in Chapter 16). Surprisingly, only the less satisfying of her arguments are referred to: Aristotle certainly understood that a shaky construction based on likeness of hair and footsteps falls far short of true reasoning (it must have been a famous and much discussed case,¹¹ given that Euripides made his Electra reject these arguments of Aeschylus' heroine, *El.* 508–546; cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 536).¹² At the same time, a valid syllogism which she does actually make and which should please any teacher of logic is never mentioned: no one but a loving relative could honour Agamemnon's tomb with a curl; there are no loving relatives but Orestes and herself; consequently, Orestes has come. When Electra eventually meets him (*Cho.* 212–234), she does not dare to believe that he is her brother, so Orestes must appeal to the 'second kind' of recognition, declaring his identity and demonstrating σημεῖα as proofs.

M. Pozdnev is forced to conclude that Electra, according to the *Poetics*, was recognized herself by her brother on the base of her syllogism. However, he is well aware of the implausibility of this solution:¹³ Orestes did not struggle to identify his sister among other libation-bearers, and even if he was unsure at the start (*Cho.* 16–17: καὶ γὰρ Ἥλέκτραν δοκῶ / στείχειν), Electra's subsequent words, such as calling Agamemnon her father (88 etc.) and praying for Orestes' home-coming (131–139), must have soon removed any doubts.

I would suggest a more drastic solution, namely deleting ἐν Χοηφόροις ... καὶ (1455 a 4–6). Of course an imprecise reporting of Aeschylus' scene is hardly a sufficient argument for an athetese: Aristotle himself was capable of such imprecision.¹⁴ Yet the incompatibility of this episode

¹⁰ The fact that in the first example the 'syllogism' is by the recognizing party, and in the others by the recognized one has been underlined already by Piccolomini 1575, 235; Castelvetro 1576, 360.

¹¹ Valgimigli 1946, 120; Dupont-Roc – Lallot 1980, 273.

¹² The inconclusiveness of Electra's reasoning was noted also by Denores 1588, 16.

¹³ Pozdnev 2005, 450–451 (with a remarkable *cri de coeur*: "We can hardly take this version seriously").

¹⁴ For example, the synopsis in 1455 a 2–4 (Odysseus listening to Demodocus) is just as imprecise: actually Alcinous did not recognize Odysseus by display of emotions, but asked the stranger to name himself (cf. Pozdnev 2005, 449 n. 9).

with other examples and with the argument in general, which I have tried to demonstrate, makes it likely that an interpolator was misled – just like modern scholars – by the word συλλογισμός, since it was used not in the technical sense to which he was accustomed. Therefore he added a famous example of discovery, which suited his own conception, but not that of the Stagirite. This incompatibility,¹⁵ as well as a particular meaning of συλλογισμός and συλλογίζεσθαι,¹⁶ has been repeatedly stated, but the hypnosis of the term ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ in an Aristotelian text, back-to-back with ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ, precluded scholars from accepting all the consequences of this statement.¹⁷

Returning to the relative value of εἶδη ἀναγνώρισεως in Chapter 16, the best type of recognition is the one which logically follows from a course of events (ἡ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων). However, before addressing this last one Aristotle focuses on the type ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ. It has been considered to be either a species in its own right or, more often, as a subspecies of the recognitions ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ (no. 4) or αἱ πεποιημέναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ (no. 2).¹⁸ To my mind, regardless of its possible interpretation, we may postulate that Aristotle did not consider it to be a separate species: recognition by utterance is the fourth type (1455 a 4), and at the same time the second-best following the recognition arising from a sequence of events (1455 a 20–21), therefore recognition by paralogism does not have its own number.

¹⁵ Bywater 1909, 236–237: “in other instances of ἀναγνώρισις ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ the discovery is made by the party who overhears the reflection of the other”; Valgimigli 1946, 121; Pozdnev 2005, 449–451, esp. n. 14.

¹⁶ See above n. 7.

¹⁷ See e.g. Pozdnev 2005, 449: “The following class (55 a 3–12) is called ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ, which implies *prima facie* that there is no place for guessing left (συλλογισμός **cannot be misleading** [my emphasis. – N. A.]: *SE* 164 a 23)”; *ibid.* 451 with n. 16.

¹⁸ A separate species: Cooper 1918, 253; 256; 258 (cf. the heading: “the fifth form”); Quijada 2005, 492. A subspecies of (4): Hermann 1802, 157; Vahlen 1911, 27; *id.* 1914, 56; Tkatsch 1932, 90; 93; Rostagni 1945, 94; Cave 1988, 38; Guastini 2010, 282. Lucas 1968, 171 considers either solution possible; yet on p. 228 (ad 1460 a 20) he identifies this kind of recognitions as “a subdivision of ἀναγνώρισις ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ”. A subspecies of (2): Crönert 1913, 1443; Tkatsch 1932, 93; Valgimigli 1946, 122.

II. *Poet.* 1455 a 12–16: the Text¹⁹

12 ἔστιν δέ τις καὶ συν-
 13 θετὴ ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ τοῦ θεάτρου, οἷον ἐν τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ τῷ
 14 ψευδαγγέλῳ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τόξον ἐντείνειν, ἄλλον δὲ
 14¹ μηδὲνα, πεποιημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ ὑπόθεσις,
 14² καὶ εἴ γε τὸ τόξον ἔφη γνῶσεσθαι ὃ οὐχ ἑωράκει·
 15 τὸ δὲ ὡς δι' ἐκείνου ἀναγνωριούντος διὰ τούτου ποιῆσαι
 16 παραλογισμός.

13 τοῦ θεάτρου ΠΒΣ : θατέρου Hermann : τοῦ θατέρου Bursian 14–14² ἐντείνειν ... τόξον B, similia in Σ : om. Π 14 τὸ τόξον ΠΒΣ : τῷ τόξον Merkelbach : τὸ<v> μὲν Tkatsch, de eodem cogitavit Cavallini | ἄλλον [δὲ] vel <ἐκείνον>, ἄλλον δὲ Sykutris : fort. <αὐτόν>, ἄλλον δὲ Kassel 14² post ὑπόθεσις lacunam suspicatus est et καὶ del. Pozdnev | εἴ γε B : fort. ἥ γε vel ἥδε Σ : ἐπεὶ γε Pozdnev | †τόξον†, fort. {τόξον} <λέκτρον> Merkelbach | γνῶσεσθαι ΠΣ : ἐντείνειν B | ἑωράκοι in B perperam legit et καὶ εἴ ... ἑωράκοι del. Hardy 15 δι' ΠΒ : δὴ Tyrwhitt | διὰ τούτου ΠΒ : δὴ τοῦτο Sykutris | ποιῆσαι ΠΒΣ : ἐποίησε Pr2038, Ald (Ducas 1508), R : ποιῆσθαι Vahlen 16 παραλογισμός ΒΣ : παραλογισμόν Π

Of the four main sources of the *Poetics*, the words ἐντείνειν ... τόξον in lines 14–14² are preserved only in B (Codex Riccardianus 46); the Arabic version confirms that they belong here, but punctuates differently and shows that the Greek text used for the Syrian translation (Σ) was evidently misunderstood and perhaps already corrupt.²⁰ In Π (coincidence of A – Codex Parisinus 1741 – with the Latin translation by Wilhelm Moerbeke) a mistake occurred by parablepsy: the scribe's eye slipped from τὸ τόξον in line 14 to τὸ τόξον in line 14². This lacuna served as the main argument for D. S. Margoliouth, who proved the independence of B in 1911.²¹ Earlier editions and commentaries did not pay proper attention

¹⁹ The text cited here is the same in Kassel 1965 and Tarán–Gutas 2012; *apparatus criticus* is extended.

²⁰ The Arabic translation (“The reason is that the stretching of the bow, he claimed that it is impossible [for] another man; the poet said that. Also, the report that has come about that, he reported in it the affair with the bow in order to recognize what he did not see”) allows reconstructing of the following Greek text: Τὸ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τόξον ἐντείνειν, ἄλλον δὲ μηδὲνα, πεποιημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ. Καὶ ἡ ὑπόθεσις καὶ ἥ γε (or ἥδε?), τὸ τόξον ἔφη (ἴνα?) γνῶσεσθαι ὃ οὐχ ἑωράκει (Tarán–Gutas 2012, 396 ad loc.).

²¹ Margoliouth 1911, 83–84; see Kassel 1965, vi–ix.

to this codex and dealt with the lacunary text, which makes them of little help for analyzing the train of thought in the passage under review. In fact, commentators prior to 1911 considered the passage corrupt and incomprehensible,²² and even those who are aware of the lines missing in Π are seldom less skeptical.²³ Undeniably, information we now possess still falls short of enabling us to understand every detail. Still I believe there is good chance that the text as published by R. Kassel and L. Tarán – D. Gutas is what Aristotle actually wrote, and a convincing interpretation of his example can be proposed.

“Odysseus the False Messenger” is likely a tragedy,²⁴ otherwise unknown. We may suppose that the eponymous character represented himself as another person, and that his recognition had to do with a bow.²⁵

²² As is eloquently expressed by Twining 1812, 192–193: “I confess myself totally unable, from the short, perplexed, and probably *corrupt* words of the text, to make out. The reader may see, however, a great variety of different conjectures in the commentators; and I believe when he has read them all, he will find himself just where he was. For my part, I leave this bow of Ulysses to be bent by stronger arms than mine: ‘ὁ φίλοι, οὐ μὲν ἐγὼ τανύω, λαβέτω δὲ καὶ ἄλλος’”.

²³ Kassel 1965, 26: “obscura”. Lucas 1968, 171: “Almost everything here is obscure”; 172: “No clear meaning can be attached to the corrupt lines in which A. explains his example, and in the absence of other information it is idle to attempt to reconstruct the plot”. Halliwell 1995, 87 n. c: “the following clauses are irredeemably dark” (cf. id. 1987, 67: “the sense and reference of this passage are entirely unclear”).

²⁴ Odysseus was often chosen to be the protagonist of tragedies, see *TrGF* for Ὀδυσσεὺς Ἀκανθοπλήξ (fr. 453–461) and Ὀδυσσεὺς Μαινόμενος (fr. 462–467) by Sophocles, Ὀδυσσεὺς by Apollodorus (64 T 1), Sophocles II (62 T 8) and Chaeremon (71 F 13). Less plausibly, the reference could be to a section of an epic poem other than the *Odyssey* (Smith 1924, 166). Howald 1921, 1003, Gudeman 1934, 300 and Else 1957, 625 thought of a satyr play, but extracting examples from this genre has no parallels in the *Poetics*.

²⁵ According to Tyrwhitt 1806, 161–162, the title suggests that some person posed as Odysseus or as his messenger (and intended to prove his alleged identity by recognizing Odysseus’ bow), but Ὀδυσσεὺς ὁ ψευδάγγελος can only mean that the message was false, not that the messenger was an impostor assuming the identity of Odysseus (which would demand something like Ψευδοδυσσεύς, as noted already by Twining 1812, 192), and still less that he neither was nor pretended to be Odysseus. Thus reconstructions of the plot presupposing a “false Odysseus” (such as Hermann 1802, 157–158; Ritter 1839, 201–202; Howald 1921, 1003; Gudeman 1934, 301) are to be rejected *a priori*. That Odysseus was the object of false tidings (Castelvetto 1576, 363 “Ulisse di cui sono recate false novelle”, considered also by Vettori 1573, 162) is possible on the assumption that he was the messenger at the same time. Lucas 1968, 172, Janko 1987, 116 and Heath 1996, 75 n. 77 conjecture that Odysseus brought a report of his own death. Yet the possibility of recognizing him seems to have been discussed in advance (note the future ἀναγνωριούντος).

There is little doubt that the famous bow of Odysseus (*Od.* 19. 572 sqq.; 21. 1 sqq.) is implied, which the suitors tried in vain to draw. Thus the plot dealt with Odysseus' home-coming.²⁶

Παραλογισμός in Aristotle is (a) false reasoning, and (b) provocation of false reasoning, misleading by fallacious argument.²⁷ Aristotle seems especially taken with one particular kind of paralogism – the only kind mentioned and explained elsewhere in the *Poetics* (1460 a 20–25, on which see part III below) – that is, deducing a cause from its consequent (*fallacia consequentis*). Several examples of it are adduced in *Sophistical Refutations* (5. 167 b 1–12) and in the *Rhetoric* (2. 19. 1392 b 16; 2. 24. 1401 b 20). For example, while it is true that when it has rained, the ground is wet, it is a paralogism to inverse this statement and argue that if the ground is wet, it has rained, since the ground can also be wet for another reason, say, because someone spilt water on it (*Soph. el.* 5, 167 b 6–8). It is important to emphasize that a conclusion by paralogism may occasionally be – and often is – true, as examples in *Soph. el.* 167 b 1–12 and *Rhet.* 2. 19, 1392 b 15–33 show.²⁸ In practical life approximate reasoning frequently leads to a true discovery (*Rhet.* 2, 19, 1392 b 31–32: ἔστι δὲ τούτων ἀπάντων τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὰ δ' ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οὕτως ἔχοντα). In modern legal procedure the presence of a motive and an opportunity to commit a crime (εἰ ἐδύνατο καὶ ἐβούλετο, πέπραχε, 1392 b 19) does not prove that the charged person is guilty, but remains a reasonable ground for suspicion.

Commentators often suppose that the paralogism implied here are unreasonable expectations of either the spectators or the characters of the tragedy concerning what will provide the recognition. See, for example, R. Janko:²⁹ “Apparently the playwright led the audience to expect that Odysseus would reveal his identity by stringing the great bow that nobody else could bend (as seen in *Odyssey* XXI), but in fact Odysseus did so as a result of claiming that he would be able to recognize the bow. How exactly this worked is not clear”. J. A. Smith³⁰ (who kept the obsolete

²⁶ Smith 1924, 166: “seeing the use to which in the *Odyssey* the bow is put on the occasion of his return, it would have been tasteless in another poet to have invented a different but similar case of it upon another occasion”.

²⁷ See Bonitz 1870, 565 s.v.; Bywater 1909, 318 ad 1460 a 20. Παραλογίζεσθαι means (a) draw a false inference; (b) deceive or beguile by fallacy (+ *acc. personae*), and, in a passive sense, be so deceived or beguiled: Bonitz 1870, 565 s.v.; Bywater 1909, 319 on 1460 a 25.

²⁸ See Pozdnev 2005, 448.

²⁹ Janko 1987, 116; similarly Dupont-Roc – Lallot 1980, 275.

³⁰ Smith 1924, 167.

text variant³¹ and so considered the recognition of the bow and not its bending): “Someone who suspected that ‘the messenger’ was other than he seemed – i. e. was possibly Odysseus himself – devised what he thought would be a decisive test, which was accepted by ‘the messenger’, but was by his skill turned into a refutation of the suspicion, and so his incognito was preserved”. A similar story is suggested by R. Merkelbach (who calls the tragedy “Odysseus Promises the Impossible”³² and tentatively changes τόξον to λέκτρον in line 14²): according to his reconstruction, the hero was challenged by Penelope to prove that he was Odysseus by identifying his nuptial bed among three beds that would be brought out to him. Yet the hero did not want to reveal himself prematurely and, instead of saying “This is impossible”, cunningly promised to recognize one of the beds – which he had actually never seen.

Proceeding to particular exegetical problems of the passage, ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ τοῦ θεάτρον means that the false inference has to be drawn by the audience. Yet in the previous discussion of recognitions the reasoning of the public was not the factor, since the public knows in advance who is who and therefore makes no discoveries.³³ This led G. Hermann and C. Bursian³⁴ to the emendation θατέρον, in order to focus on the false inferences of the characters involved in recognition. Smith³⁵ tried to claim there was no difference: “The misleading here is not that of the audience by the poet, but that of one of the *dramatis personae* by another (τοῦ θατέρον). But though this should not escape notice, it is not important. Here as elsewhere in the *Poetics* it is assumed that the audience follows the processes of thought of the personages, and is misled (temporarily) where one of them is misled”. However, this is a strained interpretation: surely the audience of Greek drama need not share the characters’ fallacies.

It appears impossible for συνθετὴ ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ to mean ‘composed of a paralogism’,³⁶ since, firstly, the meaning ‘based on, resulting from’

³¹ Smith 1924, 167–168: “I am quite convinced by Mr. Garrod [in a paper read by him to the Oxford Philological Society] that neither the Arabic version nor the Riccardianus has any weight or supplies any help: both are negligible witnesses to the original text”.

³² Merkelbach 1969, 111: “Odysseus verspricht unmögliches”, with n. 4: “Man darf ψευδάγγελος wohl im Sinn von ψευδεπάγγελος verstehen”.

³³ Vahlen ³1895, 181; Lucas 1968, 171.

³⁴ Hermann 1802, 156–157; Bursian 1859, 756.

³⁵ Smith 1924, 165.

³⁶ Margoliouth 1911, 191: “There is another process compounded out of this and misleading the audience”. Tkatsch 1932, 93: “Es gibt auch eine Erkennung durch den Schluß (ή ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ 55 a 4), welche mit einem Fehlschluß einer anderen Person verbunden ist”. Albeggiani 1937, 44: “un riconoscimento combinato con un paralogismo”.

is supported by ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ (1455 a 4) and ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων (1455 a 16–17), and, secondly, ‘composed of’ would require two terms (συνθετή ἐξ A καὶ B).

Συνθετή (sc. ἀναγνώρισις) is for the most part interpreted as ‘compound, composite’. According to a popular view, the combination must be that of συλλογισμός and παραλογισμός.³⁷ Sometimes both are ascribed to the same person.³⁸ A reconstruction of this kind is suggested by Pozdnev (who is careful to take both *syllogism* and *paralogism* in their strict logical sense): as the hero, who allegedly had never been to Ithaca, said that he would know the bow, the other party concluded by paralogism that he would be able to bend it,³⁹ and hence by syllogism that he was Odysseus.⁴⁰ It was also supposed⁴¹ that the compound recognition arose from a true inference of one party and a false inference of another. J. Vahlen’s attempt at reconstructing the plot is as follows: Odysseus erroneously imagined that another character would recognize him by the bow. That was false reasoning, since the other had never seen the bow. However the false messenger took precautions and invented a story as to how he acquired Odysseus’ bow, but by doing so he betrayed to the other that the bow was that of Odysseus and provoked his actual recognition by true reasoning (συλλογισμός not meaning ‘syllogism’ as a technical term). It is now clear that this version is not acceptable, since the bending of the bow as a premise is not taken into account, and besides Vahlen proposed an impossible understanding of τόξον ἔφη γνώσεσθαι implying that ἔφη and γνώσεσθαι had different subjects: “er meinte nämlich, es werde der Andere den Bogen erkennen, der dieser doch nie gesehen hatte”. Nevertheless one might generally speculate that a logical error of one party stimulated the correct conclusion of the other, even if such a sophisticated intrigue in a plot of a Greek tragedy seems unattested, and at all events it could hardly occur often enough to create a separate type. Yet I wonder

³⁷ This is considered as the only likely possibility by Lucas 1968, 171 (he does not specify, whether the inferences should be by the same or by different parties).

³⁸ Ritter 1839, 201: “haec agnitio ita composita est, ut spectatores in agnoscenda persona quadam primo errant, mox eadem quae sit cognoscant”; Tkatsch 1932, 92–93 (see p. 92: “...die zweite Person durch ihre richtige ὑπόθεσις den Bogen erkannte, nicht aber dadurch auch Odysseus selbst, der sich auf andere Weise zu erkennen gab, wodurch sich der Schluß des anderen von dem Bogen auf Odysseus als Fehlschluß erwies”); Gudeman 1934, 301 (who imagines a ‘false Odysseus’).

³⁹ This is however not a blameless paralogism, for, if inversed, the inference does not become true: one who is able to manage the bow need not be familiar with it in advance (as proved by the protagonist of the *Ramayana*).

⁴⁰ Pozdnev 2005, 456–457.

⁴¹ Hermann 1802, 157; Vahlen 1895, 181–182; id. 1911, 28.

how the recognition based on both a true and a false inference could be labeled 'ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ'.

R. Dupont-Roc and J. Lallot⁴² suggest that 'composite' recognition by false reasoning was provoked by a 'combination of words', i.e. an expression with double sense, which was wrongly interpreted (cf. a false inference *παρὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν*: *Soph. el.* 166 a 22 sqq.; 177 a 33 sqq.). Ingenious as it may be, to my mind, there is however too great a distance from *σύνθεσις* of words to calling a recognition *συνθετή*.

According to E. Howald and Janko,⁴³ combined recognition is a false inference from the combination of two premises. Howard supposed that the claim of an impostor that he would recognize the bow led the other party to conclude that he had already bent the bow in the past. Janko's attempt to reconstruct the plot of Ὀδυσσεὺς ψευδάγγελος (Odysseus is recognized not by stringing the bow, as the audience expected, but by promising to recognize it) can hardly serve as an illustration, since the misexpectation of the audience can in no way help to "yield the recognition".

For the most part these versions are culpable of mistakes in translation and/or imprecise correspondence to the hints at the plot of *Odysseus the False Messenger*. Some of these errors have been indicated above, while others may be clear from what follows. In general, I cannot side with any of these explanations, for I do not believe that *συλλογισμός* in Chapter 16 is a logical term meaning either 'syllogism' or 'true reasoning'. Therefore I feel inclined to accept another possibility: that *συνθετή* means 'fictitious', 'invented' by the poet.⁴⁴

Ὑπόθεσις in line 14¹ is for the most part interpreted as having its usual meaning 'premise'.⁴⁵ Its metonymic use for 'syllogism'⁴⁶ is implausible. Crönert seems to understand this term as 'contents', as he argues that the *ὑπόθεσις* was killing of the suitors.⁴⁷

⁴² Dupont-Roc – Lallot 1980, 275.

⁴³ Howald 1921, 1002–1003; Janko 1987, 115.

⁴⁴ Cooper 1918, 253: "fictitious – otherwise fallacious or false, or perhaps 'concocted'"; 258: "we need some term like 'fictitious' – one with no necessary connotation of what is morally wrongful"; Smith 1924, 165: "The point is not that what is said or told is necessarily a lie, but that it is untrue, baseless, not founded on fact" (with examples).

⁴⁵ Bonitz 1870, 796 b 41; 59–61.

⁴⁶ Tkatsch 1932, 92: "Hier bezeichnet ὑπόθεσις nicht allgemein nur eine Voraussetzung, Annahme, sondern nach Aristotelischem Sprachgebrauch im besonderen eine Annahme, welche bei einer indirekten (apagogischen) Beweisführung oder Schlussfolgerung (συλλογισμός ἐξ ὑποθέσεως) verwendet wird, und ist hier synonym mit συλλογισμός (55 a 4, 7, 10) gebraucht"; accepted by Gudeman 1934, 301. Contra Gallavotti 1968, 257 n. 18.

⁴⁷ Crönert 1913, 1443, cf. Bonitz 1870, 795 b 42.

In line 14², καὶ εἴ γε τὸ τόξον ἔφη γνῶσεσθαι ὃ οὐχ ἐωράκει, it goes without saying that the infinitive depending of ἔφη cannot have a modal meaning “he said he wanted to examine the bow”.⁴⁸ I also find it impossible to admit that ἔφη and γνῶσεσθαι can have different subjects.⁴⁹

Interpreting this subordinate clause in general proved extremely problematical. Sometimes εἴ was taken as approximating to ὅτι (the clause would then be explaining the essence of one more ὑπόθεσις).⁵⁰ A natural meaning seems to be concessive: “even if indeed”.⁵¹ However, Pozdnev⁵² argues that the combination καὶ εἴ γε cannot be understood as a single expression, since elsewhere in pre-Aristotelian literature καί always belongs to the apodosis. His own solution is to postulate a lacuna between ὑπόθεσις and τὸ τόξον, delete καί, and change εἴ γε into ἐπεὶ γε (with a temporal or temporal-causal meaning).

As regards ὥς δι’ ἐκείνου ἀναγνωριούντος, the verb ἀναγνωρίζω in the *Poetics* means both ‘recognize’ (1452 b 5 οἶον ἢ μὲν Ἰφιγένεια τῷ Ὀρέστῃ ἀνεγνωρίσθη ἐκ τῆς πέμψεως τῆς ἐπιστολῆς; 1454 b 27 ἀνεγνωρίσθη ὑπὸ τῆς τροφῆς) and ‘reveal, make oneself recognized’ (1454 b 31–32 οἶον

⁴⁸ Tkatsch 1932, 93: “erklärt, den Bogen erkennen zu wollen”. Gallavotti 1954, 132: “aveva detto sulla scena di volere conoscere quell’arco mai visto”; id. 1968, 258–260: “volere conoscere, fare esperienza, e quindi provare l’arco”; id. 1974, 59: “aveva affermato di non avere mai visto l’arco di Ulisse e di volerlo esaminare”.

⁴⁹ Vahlen 1911, 28 “er meinte nämlich, es werde der Andere den Bogen erkennen”.

⁵⁰ Crönert 1913, 1443: “Vom Dichter geschaffen ist es, daß nur Odysseus den Bogen spannen kann <...> und daß er den Bogen, den er nicht gesehen hat, herauszufinden vermeint”; Howald 1921, 1002; Tkatsch 1932, 93: “...und ein darauf gebauter Schluß ist es, wenn der andere (ἄτερος) erklärt...”; Sykutris 1937, 140: “...εἶναι ἐπινόημα τοῦ ποιητοῦ, καὶ συλλογισμὸς ἐπίσης τὸ ὅτι ἰσχυρίζετο...”; Dupont-Roc – Lallot 1980, 91: “...est une donnée forgée par le poète et une prémisse du raisonnement, et pareillement qu’Ulysse dise...”; Halliwell 1987, 49: “...is a premise contrived by the poet, as is his statement that...”; Heath 1996, 27: “the fact that he can bend the bow is contrived by the poet as a premise, as is his claim...”.

⁵¹ Rostagni 1945, 95; Valgimigli 1946, 122; Gallavotti 1968, 260–261: “con quella battuta (“τὸ τόξον, ὃ οὐκ εἶδον, γνῶσομαι”, “ὄψομαι ὃ οὐκ ἔγνων”) l’araldo aveva allontanato da sé l’attuabilità dell’ἀναγνώρισις e del παραλογισμός, di cui sta parlando Aristotele; di qui l’impiego della concessiva καὶ εἴγε”; id. 1974, 59; Halliwell 1995, 87; Guastini 2010, 81. – Gallavotti 1956, 132; 133 paradoxically converts “anche se” into “tanto più che”, implying that a Homeric motif (only Odysseus could bend a bow) by no means followed from the plot of the tragedy – *still more so*, since the hero said that he wanted at last to get to know the bow which he had not seen before (with an impossible translation of ἔφη γνῶσεσθαι, see above n. 48). – The combination καὶ εἴ γε is not recorded in Denniston 1954, but there is εἴ γε ‘even if’ (p. 126), καὶ εἴ ‘even if’, with an effect of climax (p. 301), and καὶ ... γε ‘also, even’ (p. 158).

⁵² Pozdnev 2005, 454–455.

Ὁρέστης ἐν τῇ Ἰφιγενείᾳ ἀνεγνώρισεν ὅτι Ὁρέστης; 1455 b 9 ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ ληφθεὶς θύεσθαι μέλλων ἀνεγνώρισεν).⁵³ I think the intransitive meaning is more plausible here,⁵⁴ for in this case we are dealing with the contextual omission of only the subject and not the object as well. As demonstrated by E. Cavallini,⁵⁵ ellipse of a subject is recurrent in the *Poetics* when the subject is a protagonist character easily supplied from the name of a tragedy just mentioned. She applies her observation to ἐντείνειν (therefore rejecting all emendations aimed at providing its subject), but I would extend it to ἔφη γνώσεσθαι, οὐχ ἑώρακει and ἀναγνωριῶντος, suggesting that in each case the subject is likely to be Odysseus.

Scholars felt it difficult to explain two indications of causes, δι' ἐκείνου and διὰ τούτου, close to each other in the same phrase. T. Tyrwhitt changed δι' to διῆ, thus making ἐκείνου the subject of ἀναγνωριῶντος: “that he will reveal his identity by means of it (sc. recognizing the bow)”.⁵⁶ I. Bywater accepted this conjecture, but implied τὸ τόξον as the object of ἀναγνωριῶντος, referred διὰ τούτου to ποιῆσαι and speculated that the false inference in the tragedy was due to misunderstanding γνώσεσθαι as ἀναγνωριεῖν: whereas the character said that he would ‘get to know’ the bow, which he had never seen, someone erroneously concluded that he would ‘recognize’ it.⁵⁷ In this instance ποιῆσαι is taken to mean ‘suppose’ or ‘assume’, but all the parallels Bywater manages to adduce (p. 238) are not from Aristotle.

On the contrary, J. Sykutris conjectured διῆ τοῦτο, making it the direct object of ἀναγνωριῶντος: “that the hero will recognize τοῦτο (the bow) δι' ἐκείνου (the premise that nobody else could string it)”.

⁵³ See Bonitz 1870, 43 b 53–56, Bywater 1909, 203–204 on 1454 b 5.

⁵⁴ The transitive meaning was defended by Bywater 1909; 47, 238; Sykutris 1937, 140; Gallavotti 1974, 159; Cavallini 1980–1982, 146 n. 7.

⁵⁵ Cavallini 1980–1982, 145–146.

⁵⁶ Tyrwhitt 1806, 161–162. He accepts the vulgata of his time (the text published already in the *Aldina* in 1508) at the end of the passage and reads: τὸ δὲ, ὡς δὴ ἐκείνου ἀναγνωριῶντος διὰ τούτου, ἐποίησε παραλογισμόν. – “Hoc vero (theatrum sc.) quasi revera se ipsum notum facturum esset per hoc (arcus sc. cognitionem) falsam fecit conclusionem”.

⁵⁷ See contra Cooper 1918, 258: Bywater was misled “by what is probably an accidental word-echo: γνώσεσθαι – ἀναγνωριῶντος. But here γνώσεσθαι is an indirect quotation of something uttered by a character in a poem of unknown authorship, while ἀναγνωριῶντος is a part of the technical language (cf. ἀναγνώρισις) of the *Poetics*”. Besides, what could the intention to “get to know the bow” actually mean? ‘See it’ or ‘try one’s strength with it’ would have required other verbs, such as ὁρᾶν or πεῖρᾶν; ‘know how to handle it’ (Pozdnev 2005, 454 n. 38) is rendered improbable by the future time, which would suggest an inappropriate meaning ‘learn how to handle it’.

According to C. Gallavotti, both pronouns imply the same act of bending the bow: διὰ τούτου ποιῆσαι (sc. ἀναγνώρισιν) refers to the recognition by the characters, and δι' ἐκείνου ἀναγνωριούντος, to the recognition (or rather its acceptance) by the spectators.⁵⁸

Another way of addressing the problem is understanding the pronouns as opposed to each other in the manner of *ille* and *hic*, e.g. “but the way he is expected to make himself known by the former means, but does so by the latter, is a [case of] false inference” (Janko).⁵⁹ However, this appears to be impossible Greek. I strongly doubt that a genitive absolute introduced with ὥς can have an adversative meaning (‘while, whereas’). In Kühner–Gerth *GG*³ II. 2, p. 93 only two cases are indicated: (α) subjective reason and (β) subjective opinion and utterance (with verbs of saying and thinking, analogous to an indirect discourse expressed by an objective clause with ὅτι or ὥς).⁶⁰ I also doubt that a *part. fut.* can occur in a *gen. abs.* in cases other than these two, and as an analog to an ὅτι-clause a *part. fut.* can hardly signify modality (‘expected to’).⁶¹ It should also be noted that Aristotle does not feel it always necessary to distinguish the first and the second mentioned with the help of demonstrative pronouns (cf. e.g. 1454 b 32–33: ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἐκεῖνος δὲ αὐτὸς λέγει; 1460 a 20–21: ὅταν τοῦδὶ ὄντος τοῦδὲ ᾗ; *Soph. el.* 167 b 2–3: ὅταν γὰρ τοῦδε ὄντος ἐξ ἀνάγκης τόδε ᾗ).⁶² Besides, ποιῆσαι meaning ‘make himself known’ (sc.

⁵⁸ Gallavotti 1956, 133: “ma risulta un paralogismo il fatto di fare avvenire il riconoscimento attraverso (la scena del arco) nella previsione che attraverso questo sarà manifesto (agli spettatori il vero Ulisse)”; id. 1968, 259–260: “il successivo διὰ τούτου riprende esattamente il δι' ἐκείνου (per mezzo del arco, o della prova dell'arco)”.

⁵⁹ Janko 1987, 22. Compare Valgimigli 1946, 122: “l'avere immaginato che Odisseo si faccia riconoscere mediante questo mezzo [del tenere l'arco], mentre avrebbe dovuto mediante l'altro [del riconoscimento dell'arco]”; Dupont-Roc – Lallot 1980, 91: “si, sous prétexte que l'exploit de l'arc doit permettre la reconnaissance, on la fait résulter d'un dire”; Halliwell 1995, 87: “to have him recognised by this means, when he was expected to cause recognition in the other way”; Pozdnev 2005, 457: “Although the poet could make him recognized by means of the former, he actually did it by means of the latter”; Guastini 2010, 83: “il fatto che si abbia il riconoscimento grazie a quello, benché lo si costruisca grazie a questo”.

⁶⁰ See also Goodwin 1897, 365–366 § 917 and 918.

⁶¹ Kühner–Gerth *GG*³ II. 1, p. 185: “Rein temporal, eine zukünftige Handlung bezeichnend, erscheint es (sc. das Partizip des Futurs) nach den Verben der Wahrnehmung (§ 482), entsprechend einem Satze mit ὅτι, ὥς und dem Indikativ des Futurs”.

⁶² See Bonitz 1870, 227 a 21–22 s. v. ἐκεῖνος: “usurpatur etiam ἐκεῖνος ubi una modo est et proxima res, ad quam referatur”; id. 546 a 40–41 s. v. οὗτος: “pronomem οὗτος etiam ad ea quae sequuntur potest referri”.

ἀναγνώρισιν ποιῆσαι, as a substitution of the previous ἀναγνωριοῦντος) in the translation of Janko is clumsy, and to suggest an ellipse “to compose <that he was recognized> by the latter” is strained, given that the object of ποιῆσαι can be easily found. It seems most natural to understand ποιῆσαι as referring to the poet’s activity⁶³ and not to separate it from ὥς + *gen. abs.* (with a *part. fut.*), which in this case is equivalent to indirect discourse in an object-clause: “to compose that he will be recognized by it”. Δι’ ἐκείνου (sc. διὰ τοῦ τόξου or, still better, διὰ τοῦ τὸ τόξον ἐντείνειν) should come with ἀναγνωριοῦντος, and διὰ τούτου (probably referring to πεποιημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ) with the main clause τὸ ... ποιῆσαι παραλογισμός (sc. ἐστίν).

III. Παραλογισμός as a Poetic Means of Introducing the Improbable

Let us now address the only other occurrence of the notion παραλογισμός in the *Poetics* (Chapter 24, 1460 a 18–26). As a rule, commentaries to 1455 a 12–16 include a reference to this passage, which does not presuppose that explaining the former would actually rest upon the evidence of the latter.

δεδίδαχεν δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ψευδῇ λέγειν ὥς δεῖ. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο παραλογισμός. οἴονται γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅταν τοῦδι ὄντος τοδὶ ἢ ἢ γινομένου γίνηται, εἰ τὸ ὕστερον ἔστιν, καὶ τὸ πρότερον εἶναι ἢ γίνεσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ ἔστι ψεῦδος. διὸ δεῖ, ἂν τὸ πρῶτον ψεῦδος, ἄλλο δὲ τούτου ὄντος ἀνάγκη εἶναι ἢ γενέσθαι ἢ, προσθεῖναι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ τοῦτο εἰδέναι ἀληθὲς ὃν παραλογίζεται ἡμῶν ἢ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ὥς ὄν. παράδειγμα δὲ τούτου τὸ ἐκ τῶν Νίπτρων.

As we remember, if *B* regularly or necessarily follows from *A*, people are inclined to suppose that there was *A* whenever they see *B*, although this is bad reasoning, since *B* can also occur independently of *A*. According to Aristotle, Homer skillfully provokes this kind of paralogism: when he needs to make his audience believe in something impossible, he represents it as *A* and describes a convincing *B* as its consequence, so that anyone persuaded by *B* would suppose that *A* is also true.

⁶³ See Bonitz 1870, 609 a 31 ff.; the motivation in Cooper 1918, 258; Tkatsch 1932, 93; Gallavotti 1968, 260.

It is not obvious what lines from τὰ Νίπτρα are implied. According to the most popular version,⁶⁴ the reference is to the error committed by Penelope (*Od.* 19. 164–260): beguiled by Odysseus, she concludes that if the stranger could make a correct description of her husband's clothes and companions, it follows that his story of meeting Odysseus is true, whereas it is not. A person who met Odysseus (*A*) can describe him (*B*), but so can Odysseus himself, as can one who knew the details from hearsay (*B* not following from *A*), and besides, the circumstances could be different: the stranger might not be the host who entertained the king of Ithaca, but, say, a slave waiting at table.⁶⁵ However, this interpretation of the reference has been disputed. The name Νίπτρα (“Wash-scene”) must in this case be extended from the episode of feet-washing to the whole Book 19 of the *Odyssey*, but other cases in the *Poetics* show an exact correspondence between conventional names applied to the parts of Homeric epos and the contents of relevant episodes (including the same Νίπτρα in 1454 b 30).⁶⁶ Besides, since it was Odysseus and not Homer who provoked the paralogism, and it was committed by Penelope instead of the audience, it may be argued that this case does not illustrate Homer's ability to introduce poetic lie in the right way.⁶⁷

Otherwise, false reasoning in the *Wash-scene* could be that of Eurycleia:⁶⁸ her recognition of Odysseus by the scar (mentioned in *Poet.* 1454 b 26–30 as an illustration of διὰ τῶν σημείων type) happened to be true, but nevertheless ancient commentators reference a piece of work by Aristotle (likely *Homeric Questions*) that criticizes the logic of

⁶⁴ Most Renaissance and neoclassical commentators (see Cave 1988, 42); Vahlen 1914, 296; Hardy 1932, 87; Gudeman 1934, 294; 413; Albeggiani 1937, 67; Valgimigli 1946, 179 n. 1; Butcher 1951, 172 n. 1; Gudeman 1934, 413; Sycutris 1937, 224; Rostagni 1945, 151; Lucas 1968, 171–172; 229; Hubbard 1972, 126 n. 2; Dupont-Roc – Lallot 1980, 80 (with an erroneous reference to *Od.* 20 instead of 19); Hutton 1982, 109; Halliwell 1995, 123.

⁶⁵ Lucas 1968, 229; 172.

⁶⁶ See Pozdnev 2005, 448 with n. 5. Cf. the segmented subdivision of episodes in *Schol. Od.* hypothesis 1. 30–31: Τ. Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ Πηνελόπης ὁμιλία. Τὰ νίπτρα, ἢ ὁ ὑπὸ Εὐρυκλείας ἀναγνώρισις. Cf. examples of pre-Alexandrian names for parts of Homeric epos in Aelian. *VH* 13. 14.

⁶⁷ Lucas 1968, 228; 229; Pozdnev 2005, 448. Janko 1987, 143 parries this objection: “It is wrong to complain that Aristotle should have chosen an example in which the audience is misled; his point is that Homer showed other poets how to mislead”.

⁶⁸ Gallavotti 1968, 255–257, though on questionable grounds that the “Paralogism of Penelope” would be too detailed to serve as a good example (he reads <μ>ἢ προσθεῖναι in 1460 a 24, see p. 249–250); id. 1974, 198; Pozdnev 2005, 448–449; considered by Cave 1988, 42.

her inference. The argument runs that it is a false premise to assume that anyone who has a scar is Odysseus:⁶⁹

Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ, φασὶν, ἐπιλαμβάνεται τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἀναγνωρισμοῦ, λέγων ὡς ἄρα κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν τῷ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ πᾶς οὐλὴν ἔχων Ὀδυσσεύς ἐστιν. τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν οὐχ ἀπλῶς τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ συμβάλλεται τι καὶ τὸ ποιὸν τῆς, ὡς ἐρρέθη, ἀξιολόγου οὐλῆς σύν γε τοῖς ἄλλοις· καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὸν τῆς γραδὸς λόγον καὶ δέμας καὶ φωνὴν καὶ πόδας ὁ παρὼν ξένος ἐφίκει τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ.

Margoliouth suggested that the reference was to *Od.* 19. 361–362.⁷⁰ This example is adduced in *Rhet.* 3. 16. 1417 b 2–6, where orators are recommended to give as many trustworthy details as possible, in order to make their listeners believe in what they do not know by recognizing the truth of what they know. Homer says that Eurycleia put her hands to her face as she shed tears, and this detail adds cogency to his story. However, this version does not suit the context of Chapter 24 of the *Poetics*, which deals with introducing ἀδύνατα (things impossible in fact) and ἄλογα (things improbable to the reason), rather than with poetic fiction in general.⁷¹ Whereas the miraculous alteration of Odysseus' appearance, which led his own wife to believe that he was a Cretan stranger, is an ἀδύνατον, and the possibility of recognizing by a scar could seem an ἄλογον to Aristotle, there is of course nothing impossible or improbable in an old nurse crying.

A. Rostagni considered *Od.* 19. 572 sqq., implying the statement that no one but Odysseus could string the bow (the same as referred to in *Odysseus the False Messenger* in Chapter 16), yet in fact there is no such a statement in this passage, and this also does not exactly correspond to the reference “Wash-scene”. G. V. Else even thought of παράδειγμα δὲ

⁶⁹ Eustath. *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 19. 467, vol. II p. 213 cites Porphyrius, *Quaetionum Homericarum ad Odysseam pertinentium reliquiae*, *Od.* 19. 467, p. 126 f. Lucas 1968, 229 doubts that the criticism was made by Aristotle himself: “This ignores the fact that not all scars are the same or on the same part of the body. A. cannot have been guilty of such simplicity, and φασὶν suggests that the account is garbled. Other quotations from the *Homeric Problems* do not admit to any doubt as to what A. said. But probably A. did say something in that work criticizing the recognition, and the same point may be alluded to here”.

⁷⁰ Margoliouth 1911, 24–25.

⁷¹ See Butcher 1951, 171–172: “The fiction here intended is, as the context shows, not simply that fiction which is blended with fact in every poetic narrative of real events. The reference here is rather to those tales of a strange and marvelous character..., which are admitted into epic more freely than into dramatic poetry”.

τούτου τὸ ἐκ τῶν Νίπτρων as an interpolation, and F. Ritter athetized the whole passage διὸ δεῖ – τῶν Νίπτρων.⁷²

Asides from the *Wash-scene*, another example of Homer's use of paralogism may be the scene from the *Odyssey* (13. 116 sqq.) referred to at the end of Chapter 24 (1460 a 35–36 τὰ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ ἄλογα τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐκθεσιν): it is absurd that Odysseus did not wake up as the Phaeacians set him ashore on Ithaca, but the consequences and the reactions of the main character are depicted with such cogency that the audience accepts the impossible premise to be true.⁷³

However enigmatic the reference to τὰ Νίπτρα may be, the exposition of Homeric paralogism is fortunately clear enough. Of course it is not guaranteed that in both cases in the *Poetics* Aristotle addressed exactly the same kind of παραλογισμός, but this is at least probable and, to my mind, helps support a plausible interpretation. So I suggest that in Chapter 16 Aristotle not only implied the same false inference of the cause from the consequent, but also had in mind the same situation – the poet beguiling his audience in order to introduce a poetic lie. This is backed up by the manuscript reading τοῦ θεάτρου as well as by mentioning πεποιημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ and τὸ ποιῆσαι.

L. Cooper⁷⁴ proposed an interpretation of ἀναγνώρισις συνθετὴ ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ entirely based on the data of Chapter 24: a 'concocted' discovery is a mistaken one, that is, the case in which a character deceives others in Odysseus' manner and makes them believe in his lie by provoking an inference from a known *B* to an allegedly preceding *A*.⁷⁵ The main objection to this version is that in all other cases in the *Poetics* a discovery is a true one, that is, concerns the real state of affairs, so there is no reason to suggest that mistaken recognitions were also considered.⁷⁶ Besides, Cooper ignores the words missing in Π. It should also be taken into account that such a false inference in Greek theatre apparently would be made only by the characters and not by the audience.⁷⁷

⁷² Rostagni 1945, 151. Else 1957, 626. Ritter 1839, 260.

⁷³ Lucas 1968, 229.

⁷⁴ Cooper 1918, 258–261.

⁷⁵ One example is from *Gen.* 37: 31–33: the brothers show Joseph's coat, stained with blood, to their father, and he falsely concludes that Joseph is torn by a beast.

⁷⁶ Hardy 1952, 84 augmented illustrations of recognitions by paralogism as he bracketed the words καὶ εἴ γε τὸ τόξον ἔφη γνώσεσθαι ὃ οὐχ ἑώρακοι, considering them to be another example (probably added by Aristotle himself as an afterthought): an impostor pretending to be Odysseus would promise to recognize the bow and make a description of it without having seen it. This would certainly produce a mistaken recognition on behalf of the characters, of the type described by Cooper.

⁷⁷ Cooper tries to reject the difference by referring to "the illusion, which is shared by anyone who hears the story" (255).

The approach most close to the one I think true was aptly generalized by Lucas: “A<ristotle> may be saying that the audience is deceived into accepting a recognition between two characters which is based on a logical fallacy, just as the audience of the epic poet can be charmed into accepting an absurdity like the landing of Odysseus on Ithaca in his sleep”.⁷⁸

Several scholars have proceeded in this way. F. Albeggiani suggested that Odysseus, instead of being identified by bending the bow, was identified because he recognized his weapon; to be satisfied with such an ἀναγνώρισις was a paralogism on behalf of the spectators, because not everyone who can recognize a bow is its owner.⁷⁹ We may infer that in this case Aristotle will have mentioned Odysseus’ exclusive capacity of managing the bow as an alternative, perfect premise, which ought to be applied by the playwright instead.

Other interpreters, who attempt similar explanations, make the opposite evaluation of stringing the bow: they give no credit to such a premise and declare it a paralogism to believe that if a stranger proved able to bend the bow, he was Odysseus.⁸⁰ A logical mistake is ascribed not only to the audience, but also to the characters: they should have understood that not everyone who can strain the bow is necessarily Odysseus. J. Hardy underlined that the remark ἄλλον δὲ μηδένα was restricted to the characters’ milieu. Gallavotti supposed that the particular way of introducing the scene of recognition in *Odysseus the False Messenger* somehow added to its illogicality, making the syllogism a false one.

This way of addressing the problem might seem plausible, until we reconsider the examples of various types of recognition mentioned above. One cannot but notice that almost all the recognizing characters can equally be charged with *fallacia consequentis*. (1) As previously mentioned, not everyone who has a scar is Odysseus. (2) An impostor might learn the details of Iphigenia’s old home from hearsay or because he visited the palace in Argos; it is not correct to conclude that one who can name them is Orestes. (3) A person who cries listening to Demodocus’ song about the Wooden Horse need not necessarily be Odysseus. (4) Even a conclusion that one whose sister was sacrificed is Orestes is highly probable, but not inevitably correct. We could claim that in all these cases the spectators were involved in a paralogism,

⁷⁸ Lucas 1968, 171; however, he remained uncertain, whether to accept the reading θεάτρον or θατέρον.

⁷⁹ Albeggiani 1937, 44.

⁸⁰ Valgimigli 1946, 122; Hardy 1952, 84; Gallavotti 1968, 257; id. 1974, 158–159.

so far as they accepted recognitions not perfectly founded, since each time a guess concerning someone's identity proved correct in spite of invalid arguments.⁸¹ If so, what makes these examples different from an ἀναγνώρισις ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ?

IV. Recognition by Paralogism: an Interpretation

Apparently Aristotle does not insist that the recognition must result from undeniable evidence. Perhaps it would be desirable, if possible (cf. 1460 b 28–29: δεῖ γὰρ εἰ ἐνδέχεται ὅλως μηδαμῇ ἡμαρτηθῆναι), but the Stagirite is well aware that reasoning of common people in real life for the most part is not bulletproof, so the logical mistake of Eurycleia is, after all, a realistic psychological detail. Even if logically imperfect, an inference of the recognizing party is a probable guess which then leads to an attempt to find out whether it is true and thus to the actual recognition. The orators in court use to provoke false inferences in order to convince their audience (*Soph. el.* 167 b 8–12, cf. *Rhet.* 2. 24. 1401 b 23–24), so why not the poets?

It seems evident that neither the good nor the bad reasoning of the characters was a classifying factor. The classification of recognitions is based on the *means* – διαφέρουσι τῷ δι' ἐτέρων, or τῷ ἐξ ἐτέρων (paraphrasing the beginning of the *Poetics*, 1447 a 17): each discovery results from some particular feature or conduct of the recognized party. So in a recognition 'by paralogism' it is the means that must be special.

I believe the true solution was found for the first time by Rostagni in 1927, but slipped by almost unnoticed. For him the mark of the premise of recognition was its incredibility.⁸² It remains only to set aside the idea that the fourth kind of recognition, as well as its subspecies, was "by reasoning", and we come to my own proposal: recognition by paralogism is based not on a "logical fallacy" (*pace* Lucas), but on an "absurdity" (the

⁸¹ Pozdnev 2005, 448: "Here παραλογισμός is the operation of deducing the cause from the consequent <...>. It is, in fact, nothing more than guesswork, but in many cases it does succeed. Judging by similarity <...> one may occasionally, though not necessarily, reach the truth".

⁸² Rostagni 1945, 95: "che Odisseo solo e nessun altro al mondo sapesse tendere l'arco, era cosa incredibile: era un falso presupposto dato come vero dal poeta; ma poiché per quell mezzo Odisseo si fa *realmente* riconoscere, gli homini sono indotti ad ammettere come vero anche quell presupposto"; *ibid.*, 96: "Dunque il paralogismo consiste nel dar come vero il presupposto falso o incredibile, perchè com questo mezzo Odisseo (o chi altri) si farà *veramente* riconoscere"; *ibid.*, 151.

matter discussed in Chapter 24), i. e. something ἀδύνατον or ἄλογον, which, however, the audience will accept thanks to the poet's skilled deception.

As regards the previous examples, there is nothing supernatural in having a scar, or acquaintance with a king's palace in Argos, or being moved by a song, or even having one's sister sacrificed. Yet in the case of *Odysseus the False Messenger* we are dealing with an ἀδύνατον: in reality no bows exist that can be drawn only by one specific person (nor are there slippers which would fit only Cinderella). Nevertheless, the poet makes his Odysseus the only one capable of bending the bow and brings the audience to accept this false ὑπόθεσις as true.

The poetic lie concerns not the correctness or probability of the characters' argument, but the possibility of the premise. Once a marvelous circumstance is inserted into poetic reality as a ὑπόθεσις, the reasoning of the characters is correct and does not differ from a true syllogism:

- 1) no one but Odysseus can draw this bow;
- 2) there is a man who drew this bow;
- 3) it follows that he is Odysseus.

Yet the initial point of the reasoning is a thing impossible in the real world. Likewise, in the modern literary genre of fantasy it is conventional to build upon an ἀδύνατον, e. g. to introduce men with supernatural capacities or creatures taking possession of others' bodies, but once the "poetic lie" is accepted, consequent reactions, emotions and actions of the characters must be described as "realistically" as possible.

Πεποιημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ might be said of Homer as well as his successors who worked on the same myth.⁸³ However, Homer does not emphasize that Odysseus is the only mortal able to string the bow – he simply turns out to be stronger (or more skilled) than the suitors;⁸⁴ neither is shooting an arrow through twelve axes the only and decisive way of recognizing the king of Ithaca – he identifies himself to the suitors after the first shot (*Od.* 22. 22–41), and eventually Penelope finds it necessary to make a further test of identity (*Od.* 23. 177–230). Probably the tragedian was cruder than the epic poet⁸⁵ in asserting the exclusive, indeed supernatural link of the bow with his eponymous character.

⁸³ Gallavotti 1956, 132 n. 1 insisted that Homer and not the playwright was implied. As proved by Scott 1922, 330, ποιητής need not always mean 'Homer'.

⁸⁴ *Od.* 21, 91–94 (words of Antinous): μνηστήρεσσιν ἄεθλον ἄατον· οὐ γὰρ δῖω / ῥηϊδίως τόδε τόξον εὖξοον ἐντανύεσθαι. / οὐ γάρ τις μετὰ τοῖος ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖσδεσι παῖσιν, / οἷος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔσκεν.

⁸⁵ Cf. Crönert 1913, 1443–1444: "In Nebendingen aber scheint der Dichter stark von Homer abgewichen zu sein, was dann den Tadel des Aristoteles hervorrief"; Gallavotti 1974, 159.

Unlike Homer, the author of *Odysseus the False Messenger* seems to be guilty of even further awkwardness: that is, he made his character affirm that he would recognize the bow, although he had never seen it before (τὸ τόξον ἔφη γνῶσεσθαι ὃ οὐχ ἑώρακει).⁸⁶ If this character was Odysseus, and οὐχ ἑώρακει is true, it follows that Homer's story of acquisition of the bow as a gift from Iphitus (*Od.* 21. 13–41) was not taken into account in the tragedy. One could tentatively speculate that the miraculous bow somehow appeared in Ithaca during the king's absence, only to serve as a means of proving his excellence and hence identity (according to a prophecy? to the design of Athena?). Otherwise, perhaps Odysseus betrayed himself by this promise, since the ability to recognize the bow contradicted the story invented by him (οὐχ ἑώρακει was then a circumstance implied by his misinformation⁸⁷), but nevertheless he was not unmasked prematurely. The details will likely remain unclear to us, but anyway, I suppose that the playwright committed a mistake like those described in Chapter 17 (1455 a 22–29), and this mistake made stringing the bow by none other than Odysseus still less believable.⁸⁸ Yet even such clumsiness (καὶ εἰ γε must be concessive) did not prevent the playwright from suggesting, and probably the spectators from accepting, the existence of the magical bow as a premise (ὑπόθεσις).

In this case ἀναγνώρισις ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ is clearly a subspecies, but not – or rather not only – of the kind ἡ ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ. Apparently poetic lie could deal with such means as tokens, both noticed by chance (no. 1) and referred to in self-declaration (no. 2), and also with a statement of extraordinary circumstances (no. 4) – I only find it difficult to imagine an impossible display of feelings (no. 3). Recognition by bending the bow most probably belongs to those “contrived by the poet” (the words πεποιημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ in 1455 a 14¹ must refer to Aristotle's type 2 newly introduced in 1454 b 30–31).⁸⁹ It should be noted that, as Aristotle makes a short summary of the *Odyssey* in 1455 b 16–23, he does

⁸⁶ Cf. Merkelbach 1969, 112: “Wenn Odysseus tatsächlich daran erkannt wird, dass er den Bogen spannt, kann er unmöglich diesen selben Bogen noch nie gesehen haben”.

⁸⁷ According to Cooper 1918, 259, “which he had not seen” may imply “on this occasion”: e. g. Odysseus had not seen his nuptial bed since he returned to Ithaca, yet he was able to describe it to Penelope.

⁸⁸ Cf. Rostagni 1945, 95: “Qui Arist. si riferisce forse a qualche espressione del drama che aggravava l'incredibilità del presupposto”. Despite most attempts at reconstructing the plot, this scene may be not part of τὸ καθόλου, but an ἐπεισόδιον (see 1455 a 34 – b 23), like the example from Soph. *Ant.* 1226–1234 (1454 a 1–2).

⁸⁹ As suggested by Crönert 1913, 1443 and Gallavotti 1956, 132.

not include stringing the bow among substantial events, so this must be an ἐπεισόδιον that does not arise from the action itself. As for the fifth, and the best class, presumably it should preclude any imperfection, including ἄλογα;⁹⁰ that is why recognition ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ is mentioned before and not after it.

It is not ruled out that Aristotle called the recognition based on paralogue συνθετή because it was ‘combined’ with a paralogue of the audience, that is, with admitting an impossible matter.⁹¹ Yet I do not find it convincing that the miraculous nature of the premise could be regarded as something ‘put together’ with it. Rather this kind is called ‘fictitious’, i. e., based on a fictitious premise.

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⁹⁰ Pozdnev 2005, 449 n. 7.

⁹¹ Rostagni 1945, 94–95: “combinata con un falso ragionamento da parte degli spettatori” (although he meant only the fourth species, ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ). Crönert 1913, 1443 did assume that being ‘composite’ suggests such a combination: “Die zweite Art der Wiedererkennung, αἱ πεποιημένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ [1454 b 30], ist mit einer Irreführung der Zuschauer verbunden”, but for him false reasoning consisted in the mistaken expectation of the audience that the bow will serve for recognition, whereas in fact it was used for the killing of the suitors.

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- P. Vettori (Victorius), *Commentarii in primum librum Aristotelis De arte poetarum, positus ante singulas declarationes graecis vocibus auctoris, iisdem ad verbum latine expressis* (Florentiae ²1573).

Classification of recognitions in Chapter 16 of the *Poetics* cannot be based on true or false inferences of the recognizing characters, since reasoning of the same kind (often imperfect from the logical point of view, but still plausible) is required for any discovery in all the examples. Rather it is based on the means of recognition, which is some feature, conduct or saying of the recognized party. Recognition ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ, as all examples but the first one show, is founded on a statement (‘enumerating together’) of some unique fatal coincidence by a character going to be recognized, made within hearing of the other. The example from Aeschylus’ *Choephoroi* (*Poet.* 1455 a 4–6) contradicts the context and must be an interpolation. Recognition ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ τοῦ θεάτρου is not a separate type, but a subspecies marked by an impossible or improbable premise (such as the existence of a bow which nobody but Odysseus can bend), which the poet however makes his audience accept, provoking a false inference of the cause from the consequent, as described in 1460 a 18–26. In *Odysseus the False Messenger* this impossibility was probably made still less believable by a slip on behalf of the author who made his character say that he would recognize the bow which he had never seen. The epithet συνθετή may mean either ‘combined’ with a paralogism of the audience or ‘fictitious’, i.e., based on a fictitious premise.

Классификация узнаваний в главе 16 *Поэтики* не может быть основана на умозаклечениях узнающей стороны, будь то верных или ложных, поскольку для любого узнавания, во всех примерах, требуется один и тот же вид рассуждения (часто несовершенного с точки зрения логики, однако приводящего к вероятным выводам). Скорее в ее основе лежит то, по чему персонажа узнают: его отличительный признак, поведение или высказывание. При узнавании ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ, как показывают все примеры, кроме первого, узнающий персонаж слышит, как узнаваемый сопоставляет уникальные роковые события в своей судьбе. Пример из *Хозфор* Эсхила (*Poet.* 1455 а 4–6) не соответствует контексту и, очевидно, является интерполяцией. Узнавание ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ τοῦ θεάτρον – это не отдельная разновидность, а подвид, специфика которого – невозможная или невероятная предпосылка (как, например, существование лука, который никто, кроме Одиссея, не может натянуть). Тем не менее, поэт добивается того, чтобы аудитория ее приняла, провоцируя ложное умозаклечение о причине на основании следствия, как описано в 1460 а 18–26. В *Одиссее* – *ложном вестнике* промах автора, заставившего своего героя сказать, что он узнаёт лук, которого никогда не видел, по всей вероятности, усугублял неправдоподобие предпосылки. Эпитет узнавания συνθετή может означать либо ‘составное’ (соединенное с паралогизмом публики), либо – скорее – ‘вымышленное’ (основанное на небывалой предпосылке).

ON THE *CURIOSITY* OF PHILOCRATES (EP. *ARIST.* 1)

1. The *Letter of Aristeas* and its genre

The *Letter of Aristeas* raises many questions concerning its date,¹ authorship,² historical value,³ and audience.⁴ It is likely to have been written in Alexandria in 2 BC by a well-educated Jew, who presents himself as a Gentile courtier, who has taken part in the embassy to the High Priest Eleazar in order to fetch Jewish translators from Jerusalem. Addressing his brother Philocrates, he narrates the story of the translation of the Hebrew Pentateuch into Greek. The problem of the genre and the role of addressee of the *Letter* is also open for discussion. It should be mentioned that no one referred to it as ‘letter’ in antiquity.⁵ However, there is a superscription in the form “Aristeas to Philocrates” in manuscripts, and a 14th century manuscript Q contains some fragments of the text and uses the word ‘letter’ as the heading: ἐπιστολῆς Ἀριστέως πρὸς Φιλοκράτην ἑκφρασις.⁶ Although the editions of L. Mendelssohn, P. Wendland, H. Thackeray, H. Andrews, H. Meecham and R. Tramontano put the title *epistula* or *epistula ad fratrem Philocratem*,⁷ in 1951 M. Hadas took out the word ‘letter’ from the title of the book, claiming that the book was not a letter at all, considering that the

¹ For detailed discussion see Wright 2015, 21–30.

² See Wright 2015, 16–20.

³ See Wright 2015, 6–15.

⁴ For details see Tcherikover 1958, 59–85.

⁵ Joseph Flavius, retelling the most of the Letter in *Antiquitates Judaicae*, calls it τὸ Ἀρισταίου βιβλίον (*Ant. Jud.* 12. 100), Eusebius of Caesarea gives a title περὶ τῆς ἑρμηνείας τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νόμου (*Praep. Ev.* 9. 38), Epiphanius of Cyprus – σύνταγμα (*De mensuris et ponderibus* 9).

⁶ S. Honigman guesses these words misled the scribe, who eventually began to refer to it as a letter (Honigman 2003, 1).

⁷ Mendelssohn 1897, Wendland 1900, Thackeray 1902, Andrews 1913, Meecham 1935, Tramontano 1931.

addresses to Philocrates are formal.⁸ Despite the fact that his opinion had been more or less accepted by many scholars,⁹ recently T. Rajak,¹⁰ L. Doering¹¹ and L. Michael White¹² returned to this question. While Rajak and White conclude that the *Letter* is a sort of literary epistle, Doering, relying on the detailed analysis of the preface, considers the writing of Aristeas as a special type of a letter: “the technical epistolary treatise”.

2. What do we know about the addressee of the *Letter*?

Although Philocrates is addressed by name in many sections within the book (120, 171, 295–300), most of the information about Philocrates is to be extracted from the preface (1–8) and the epilogue (322). We do not know much about the addressee of the author, since he is not featured in other sources.¹³ In section 5 the author mentions the fact that Philocrates has recently come from an island¹⁴ (προσφάτως παραγεγεννημένον ἐκ τῆς νήσου πρὸς ἡμᾶς) and now is ready to hear the story he is going to tell him. In section 6 it is stressed, that the present work is not the first one transmitted to him by Aristeas (Ep. Arist. 6):¹⁵

⁸ Hadas 1951. According to Hadas it is a sort of διήγησις, which Theon, the rhetorician of the 2nd century CE, defines as λόγος ἐκθετικὸς πραγμάτων γεγονότων ἢ ὡς γεγονότων (“discourse expository of things that happened or might have happened”) (Hadas 1951, 57). Moreover, he concludes, that according to the terminology of grammarian Asclepiades of Myrlea, who divided such treatises into three groups based on their historical veracity, the διήγησις of Aristeas is a ‘πλάσμα’, which is “an imaginative treatment of history which should preserve historical verisimilitude and present a ‘poetical’ truth”, see Hadas 1951, 57–58.

⁹ E.g. see Pelletier 1962, 47; Murray 1967, 337 n. 1; Bartlett 1985, 11; Honigman 2003, 33; Gruen 2013, 2711.

¹⁰ Rajak 2009, 31.

¹¹ Doering 2012, 217–232.

¹² White 2018, 43–54.

¹³ Hadas observes that the name Philocrates is not rare and occurs in Zenon Papyri (Hadas 1951, 92); Wright also refers to various literary sources, in which the name is attested (Wright 2015, 105).

¹⁴ What island is meant is not clear. Wendland argued, it was Pharos, Hadas suggests Cyprus (see Hadas 1951, 94).

¹⁵ It is not clear, whether the author refers to his own work (Freudenthal 1875, 141) or to the work of Aristeas Exegete, of which we have the only third-hand citation in Eusebius (Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 9. 25). O. Murray (Murray 1967, 340–343) put forward a hypothesis about identity of two authors. For the discussion of the suggestion see Tramontano 1931, 43–46; Wright 2015, 17–18; White 2018, 205–206.

Καὶ πρότερον δὲ διεπεμψάμην σοι περὶ ὧν ἐνόμιζον ἀξιωμανημονεύτων εἶναι τὴν ἀναγραφὴν, ἣν μετελάβομεν παρὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν λογιωτάτην Αἴγυπτον λογιωτάτων ἀρχιερέων περὶ τοῦ γένους τῶν Ἰουδαίων.¹⁶

And previously I transmitted to you, concerning those things that I considered worthy of mentioning, a record, which we received from the most learned high priests throughout the most learned (land of) Egypt, concerning the race of the Judeans.¹⁷

In the epilogue, Aristeas promises to write another work (*Ep. Arist.* 322):

Πειράσομαι δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἀναγράφειν, ἵνα διαπορευόμενος αὐτὰ κομίζῃ τοῦ βουλήματος τὸ κάλλιστον ἔπαθλον.

And I will also attempt to write down the remainder of those things worth saying so that, by going through them, you might attend to the most excellent prize of your desire.

The author constantly underlines the curiosity of Philocrates, his piety, love of learning, interest for serious things and inclination to knowledge in general (*Ep. Arist.* 5; 7; 322):

5: Πέπεισμαι γάρ σε μᾶλλον ἔχοντα πρόσκλισιν πρὸς τὴν σεμνότητα καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων διάθεσιν τῶν κατὰ τὴν σεμνὴν νομοθεσίαν διεξαγόντων, περὶ ὧν προαιρούμεθα δηλοῦν, ἀσμένως σε ἀκούσεσθαι, προσφάτως παραγενημένον ἐκ τῆς νήσου πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ βουλόμενον συνακούειν ὅσα πρὸς ἐπισκευὴν ψυχῆς ὑπάρχει.

For I am convinced – since you, all the more, have a predilection toward matters most holy and toward the disposition of those people who conduct themselves according to the holy legislation, concerning which we propose to explain – that you will listen gladly, having recently come to us from the island, also desiring to hear whatever exists for the restoration of the soul.

7: Φιλομαθῶς γὰρ ἔχοντί σοι περὶ τῶν δυναμένων ὠφελεῖσαι διάνοιαν δέον ἐστὶ μεταδιδόναι, μάλιστα μὲν πᾶσι τοῖς ὁμοίοις, πολλῷ δὲ μᾶλλον σοὶ γνησίαν ἔχοντι τὴν αἴρεσιν, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὸ συγγενὲς ἀδελφῷ καθεστῶτι τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ὁρμῇ τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα ἡμῖν.

For to you, as one who has an eagerness to learn about matters that can aid understanding, it is necessary that I communicate, on the one hand, most especially with all who are like-minded, and on the other, even more so with you who possesses a genuine purpose, who has been established in character as a brother not just according to descent but also being the same as we are, with an eager desire for beauty.

¹⁶ The Greek text of the *Letter* is cited according to the edition of Hadas (Hadas 1951).

¹⁷ Here and below we quote the translation of Wright (Wright 2015, 99).

We do not know whether or not there is any historical figure behind the mask of Philocrates, but since the question of who Aristeeas' audience was is open for discussion, it seems important to clarify the character of the addressee, as he is portrayed in the *Letter*, even if he is in fact fictitious.

3. What can we learn about Philocrates from *Ep. Arist.* 1?

Since the first paragraph of the preface seems to contain key information about communication between the addresser and addressee and gives some background behind the writing, it is worth examining it in detail (*Ep. Arist.* 1):

Ἀξιολόγου δηγήσεως, ὃ Φιλόκρατες, περὶ τῆς γενηθείσης ἡμῖν ἐν-
τυχίας πρὸς Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα **συνεσταμένης**, διὰ
τὸ σὲ περὶ πολλοῦ πεποιῆσθαι παρ' ἑκαστα ἑὺπομιμνήσκων† συνα-
κοῦσαι περὶ ὧν ἀπεστάλημεν καὶ διὰ τί, πεπεῖραμαι σαφῶς ἐκθέσθαι
σοι, κατελιφῶς ἦν ἔχεις φιλομαθῇ διάθεσιν.

Having composed¹⁸ a noteworthy narrative, O Philocrates, about the meeting that we had with Eleazar, the high priest of the Judeans, since you place a high value, **as you constantly mention**, on hearing about the details and purpose of our deputation, I have attempted to expound it clearly for you, having realized the disposition you have to love learning.

There are two main problems in the text. The first one is connected with the understanding of the initial genitive absolute Ἀξιολόγου δηγήσεως <...> συνεσταμένης, the second one is the reading † ὑπομιμνήσκων†, which is evidently corrupt and must be corrected.

Many scholars note that the first phrase is difficult.¹⁹ M. Hadas interpreted ἀξιολόγου as a predicative with συνεσταμένης and translated it “as the account of our deputation is worth narrating”,²⁰ regarding συνεσταμένης as a copula.²¹ B. Wright takes ἀξιολόγου as an attribute with δηγήσεως guessing that ἀξιολόγου δηγήσεως refers to the present writing. He takes the participle as a middle voice, and assumes the verb means

¹⁸ Following the translation of B. Wright (Wright 2015, 99) we mark with bold those sections of translations, which are doubtful and need reconsideration.

¹⁹ Especially Zuntz 1972, 107; Doering 2012, 219.

²⁰ Cf. the translation of Pelletier: “étant donné tout l'intérêt que présente la relation de notre ambassade”.

²¹ So Hadas 1951, 93 (“as the account of our deputation is worth narrating”); Thackeray 1917, 1 (“As the story of our deputation is worth telling”); Raurell 2002, 63 (“relacio es digna”), and others.

‘to compose’ here.²² G. Zuntz, admitting the difficult syntax of the phrase, argued that it would have sounded absurd, if by ἀξιολόγου διηγήσεως συνεσταμένης the author had meant the present narration, which he was at the moment going to tell (πεπείραμαι σαφῶς ἐκθέσθαι). In his opinion, ἀξιολόγου διηγήσεως συνεσταμένης refers not to the present writing of Aristeeas, but to the narration that had already existed and that Philocrates perhaps had got acquainted with.²³ Pelletier²⁴ agreed with Zuntz. Doering²⁵ developed his argument further comparing the preface of the *Letter* and the preface of the *Luke’s Gospel*. Following Loveday Alexander’s analysis of the structure of the first sentence of Luke (ἐπειδὴ περ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων),²⁶ Doering concludes that the first phrase of the *Letter of Aristeeas*, like the first phrase of the *Gospel*, refers to the former tradition, which was typical for scientific prefaces in epistolary treatises.²⁷ It might seem strange that the author, introducing his own writing (πεπείραμαι ἐκθέσθαι), tries to endow with authority the writing of another person using the adjective ἀξιόλογος ‘worth narrating’. In 322 the adjective is applied to the future writing of his own (πειράσομαι δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἀναγράφειν), and in 6 Aristeeas, speaking of the record about the Jews that he has already transmitted to Philocrates, uses the word ἀξιομνημόνευτος. We could suggest that in the passage discussed ἀξιόλογος διήγησις is applied to his own work, particularly since in the epilogue he uses the word διήγησις with reference to the present writing (*Ep. Arist.* 322):

Συ δέ, καθὼς ἐπηγγειλάμην, ἀπέχεις τὴν διήγησιν.

And you have the narrative, just as I promised.

On the other hand, perhaps the adjectives ἀξιόλογος and ἀξιομνημόνευτος underline the importance of the topic rather than authorship of the narratives. Thus, Zuntz’s interpretation of the beginning of the sentence is not to be rejected. I will come back to the interpretation of the genitive after discussion of the second problem of the section, which deals with the phrase διὰ τὸ σὲ περὶ πολλοῦ πεποιῆσθαι παρ’ ἑκάστα ὑπομνηστικῶν συνακοῦσαι.

²² Wright 2015, 99.

²³ Zuntz 1972, 107–108.

²⁴ Pelletier 1962, 100 n. 1.

²⁵ Doering 2012, 219.

²⁶ Alexander 1986, 48–74.

²⁷ Raurell 2002, 64 argues that Luke’s prologue is directly influenced by the text of the *Letter*.

Many editors suppose that the text indicates the fact that Philocrates (σε) constantly reminded (παρ' ἑκαστα ὑπομνήσκων) Aristes he would be glad to hear (συνακοῦσαι) the story of his deputation to Eleazar.²⁸ Thackeray and Hadas²⁹ leave a *crux desperationis* here considering the reading ὑπομνήσκων attested in manuscripts to be definitely corrupt. Indeed, the participle in nominative breaks the syntax of the phrase, as there is an infinitive construction with a subject in accusative σε. If the participle relates to the subject σε, it should be in accusative. Several emendations have been proposed to solve the problem. L. Mendelssohn offered to read ὑπομνήσκοντα instead of ὑπομνήσκων.³⁰ H. Diels proposed to replace the form of participle by infinitive ὑπομνήσκειν. His conjecture, accepted in the edition of P. Wendland,³¹ complicates the structure of the phrase³² (“because you constantly remind that you put a great value to hear”), but at the same time keeps a similar interpretation.

Until the latter half of the 20th century, nobody had doubted that the phrase discussed should indicate that Philocrates, being φιλομαθής, constantly reminded Aristes that he put a great value on hearing the story. It was G. Zuntz who cast doubt on this interpretation. In 1958, he wrote a brief article³³ and offered another correction of the text that changed the whole sense of the passage. He supposed, first, that originally the text had a participle in genitive ὑπομνήσκοντος governed by συνακοῦσαι and, second, that ὑπομνήσκω had the same meaning as μνημονεύω (‘to recall’). In his opinion, the meaning of the sentence is the following: “as you particularly concerned (διὰ τὸ σὲ περὶ πολλοῦ πεποιθῆσθαι) to listen (συνακοῦσαι) by every chance (παρ' ἑκαστα), when I recall (ὑπομνήσκοντος), I have attempted (πεπείραμαι) to explain clearly (σαφῶς ἐκθέσθαι) the details and purpose of our deputation (περὶ ὧν ἀπεστάλημεν καὶ διὰ τί)”. It is noticeable that the subordinate clause περὶ ὧν ἀπεστάλημεν καὶ διὰ τί is governed not by συνακοῦσαι or ὑπομνήσκοντος, as one may guess, but by the following predicate σαφῶς ἐκθέσθαι πεπείραμαι. The emendation completely changes the syntax and the meaning. If we accept it, we get a new detail about relationship between addressor and his addressee before the *Letter* was written: it was not Philocrates who had constantly reminded

²⁸ Thackeray 1917, 1; Hadas 1951, 93; Wright 2015, 100; Raurell 2002, 63.

²⁹ Thackeray 1902, 519; Hadas 1951, 92.

³⁰ Mendelssohn, 1897, 1.

³¹ Wendland 1900, 1: ὑπομνήσκειν cj Diels (“quod omni occasione admonebas tua multum interesse comperire”).

³² Cf. the reasonable note of Zuntz, who claims that the structure is too complicated (Zuntz 1972, 108 n. 1: “Das ist selbst für Aristes zu viel”).

³³ Zuntz 1958, 240–246, later reprinted in Zuntz 1972.

addressor that he should tell him the story, but it was Aristetas himself who had told Philocrates his recollections of his deputation to Eleazar.

Zuntz's emendation has not been apprehended unanimously. In 1963 A. Pelletier accepted it in the critical edition, but evidently did not connect ὑπομνήσκοντος with Aristetas. As far as one can judge by his translation, Pelletier interprets the passage as follows: "As you put a great value on hearing (συνακοῦσαι) when somebody reminds (ὑπομνήσκοντος) of the details and purpose of our deputation...".³⁴ In contrast to Zuntz's suggestion, Pelletier relates the subordinate clause περὶ ὧν ἀπεστάλημεν καὶ διὰ τί το ὑπομνήσκοντος. In 2002 F. Raurell also accepted the reading ὑπομνήσκοντος in the text, nevertheless translated it "as you constantly remind me", as it were in the form of accusative ὑπομνήσκοντα.³⁵ B. Wright has misunderstood the idea of Zuntz too, claiming that the emendation ὑπομνήσκοντος should be interpreted as genitive absolute with the subject σου omitted, which means "as you, i.e. Philocrates, constantly mention".³⁶ Meanwhile the explanation of Zuntz himself does not leave any doubts: from his point of view, ὑπομνήσκοντος, being genitive absolute or genitive objective, is to be related to Aristetas, not to Philocrates. Indeed, it is nowhere stressed that Philocrates reminds Aristetas that he should tell him the story, but within the whole book Aristetas pretends to be the eye-witness who tells his own recollections to Philocrates. Thus, the interpretation of Zuntz has a reasonable advantage over the previous suggestions. Yet there are two difficulties we have to deal with, if we accept it. The first one is the unusual meaning of ὑπομνήσκω, the second one is the problem of the subject of the participle.

First of all, the verb ὑπομνήσκειν in active means 'to remind', 'to put in mind'.³⁷ Realizing the difficulties of semantics of the verb, Zuntz tried to find some occurrences, which prove that ὑπομνήσκω could be used as a synonym of μνημονεύω 'to remember', 'to recall' (Plut. *De coh. ira*, 466 a,³⁸ *De tuenda san.* 131 b; NT: 2 *Tim* 2:14, 3 *Joh.* 10. 1; *Clem. Cor.* 62. 2 et 3).

In the passage from Plutarch's *De tranquillitate animi* 466 a (if it is in fact the section which is referred to here), the verb ὑπομνήσκω,

³⁴ Pelletier 1962, 100–101: "comme tu attaches beaucoup de prix à entendre rappeler dans le détail l'occasion et l'objet de notre mission".

³⁵ Raurell 2002, 64.

³⁶ Wright 2015, 100: Pelletier follows Zuntz's emendation of ὑπομνήσκοντος, making the participle a genitive absolute, "as you constantly mention".

³⁷ LSJ s. v., 1. 2.

³⁸ Zuntz 1958, 108. The reference is evidently wrong, as Stephanus page 466 a belongs not to *De cohibenda ira*, but to *De tranquillitate animi*.

introducing the quotation of Menander, is likely to have its usual meaning ‘to remind’ (τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀφορισμένως ἓνα βίον ἄλυπον νομίζοντας, ὡς ἔνιοι τὸν τῶν γεωργῶν ἢ τὸν τῶν ἡιθέων ἢ τὸν τῶν βασιλέων, ἱκανῶς ὁ Μένανδρος ὑπομνήσκει λέγων). On the contrary, in the second example (Plut. *De tuenda sanitate* 131 b) ὑπομνήσκω obviously means ‘to mention’ or ‘to tell’ (ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἂν τις ὕστερον εὐκαίρως ὑπομνήσειε – “But this one may mention hereafter in its proper place”).

In 2 *Tim* 2:14 by ταῦτα ὑπομνήσκει apostle Paul persuades his addressee to remind the people of several faithful sayings (Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος) quoted above (*ibid.* 11–13). In 3 *Joh.* 10 the words of John being directed against Diotrophes, ὑπομνήσω is generally rendered as ‘I will remember’ or ‘I will call attention’ (Διὰ τοῦτο, ἐὰν ἔλθω, ὑπομνήσω αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα, ἃ ποιεῖ λόγοις πονηροῖς φλυαρῶν ἡμᾶς – “If I come, I will call attention to what he is doing, prating against us with malicious words”). Gaius, to whom John is going to come and to tell the truth about the arrogance of Diotrophes, is not supposed to have known the details. So in this case the verb ὑπομνήσκω is not likely to mean ‘to remind’ in its original sense (‘to tell something which has been known before’).

In the conclusive passage from the Clement’s epistle to Corinthians (1 *Clem. Cor.* 62. 2) the author underlines the erudition of those for whom he has written. So we can suppose that ὑπεμνήσαμεν indicates that ἄνδρες πιστοὶ καὶ ἐλλογιμότατοι could have known something about the topic (Καὶ ταῦτα τοσοῦτω ἥδιον ὑπεμνήσαμεν, ἐπειδὴ σαφῶς ἥδειμεν γράφειν ἡμᾶς ἀνδράσιν πιστοῖς καὶ ἐλλογιμωτάτοις καὶ ἐγκεκυφόσιν εἰς τὰ λόγια τῆς παιδείας τοῦ θεοῦ). Hence, it is better to interpret ὑπεμνήσαμεν as “we reminded”.

Thus, the examples which Zuntz referred to are not absolutely convincing. In Plut. 466 a and 3 *Joh.* 10 the verb means ‘to mention’ or ‘to make mention of’, in other examples it can be interpreted in its traditional meaning ‘to remind the thing that possibly has been known before’.

No doubt, we cannot claim that the meaning ‘to mention’³⁹ or even ‘to recollect’ for ὑπομνήσκω is not attested in classical Greek at all. Perhaps such is indeed the case in Lys. *In Agor.* 43, 6 (ἀνιῶμαι μὲν οὖν ὑπομνήσκων τὰς γεγενημένας συμφορὰς τῇ πόλει, “It saddens me **to recall** the calamities which had happened to the city”), but it is not necessary to postulate it in the passage discussed. It seems important that throughout the book and especially in the preface Aristetas underlines the curiosity of Philocrates, stating that he does not stop learning. Furthermore, in the second sentence Aristetas, speaking of φιλομαθὴς διάθεσις of

³⁹ LSJ s. v., 2. 3.

Philocrates, inserts in the text the line from Sophocles, containing the rare verb *προσμανθάνω*, which indicates the aspiration of the addressee for additional knowledge⁴⁰ (*Ep. Arist.* 1–2):

πεπείραμαι σαφῶς ἐκθέσθαι σοι, κατειληφῶς ἣν ἔχεις **φιλομαθῇ** διάθε-
σιν ὅπερ μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ,

προσμανθάνειν αἰεὶ τι καὶ **προσλαμβάνειν**,
ἥτοι κατὰ τὰς ἱστορίας, ἥ καὶ κατ’ αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα πεπειραμένῳ.

I have attempted to expound it clearly for you, having realized the disposition you have to love learning. For indeed it is the greatest thing for a person “always both to increase learning and to make progress”, whether through written accounts or through the actual reality that we experience.

Perhaps the author wants to imply that Philocrates, as well as a presumptive reader of the *Letter*, already knows something about his deputy to Eleazar and the story of translation. In this case there is no need to look for special examples, proving that *ὑπομνήσκω* has here unusual meaning ‘to recollect’. It seems much more plausible that Philocrates, who has already acquainted with the story, is glad to hear what Aristeas is going to remind him of. The verb *ὑπομνήσκω*, used here in its usual meaning (‘to tell what has been already known’), underlines his curiosity.

This interpretation also strengthens Zuntz’s understanding of the initial genitive absolute *ἀξιολόγου διηγήσεως συνεσταμένης*, which in his opinion implies that Philocrates, having a narration in his hands, could have got acquainted with the story before.

It is not surprising then, that the prefixed verb *συνακούω* is used here. In the 5th paragraph *συνακούειν* adjoining the precedent *ἀκούσεσθαι* might have a semantic nuance of additionality. Philocrates is glad to listen in general (*ἀσμένως σε ἀκούσεσθαι*) and he in particular wants to hear, whatever concerns the soul’s edification (*Ep. Arist.* 5):

Πέπεισμαι γάρ σε <...> ἀσμένως σε ἀκούσεσθαι, <...> προσφάτως
παραγεγεννημένον ἐκ τῆς νήσου πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ βουλόμενον συνακούειν
ὅσα πρὸς ἐπισκευὴν ψυχῆς ὑπάρχει.

For I am convinced that you will listen gladly, having recently come to us from the island, also desiring to hear whatever exists for the restoration of the soul.

⁴⁰ As commentators state, this iambic line is either contamination of two lines (fr. 779, 662) or a quotation of a lost work (Wright 2015, 103; Pelletier 1963, 101).

Thus we can suppose that in the first paragraph συνακοῦσαι in the phrase διὰ τὸ σὲ περὶ πολλοῦ πεποιῆσθαι παρ' ἑκάστα ὑπομιμνήσκοντος συνακοῦσαι also underlines the fact that it is not the present writing of Aristeeas which is meant by ἀξιολόγου διηγήσεως συνεσταμένης, but other sources that Philocrates has learned before. Aside from them, he is ready to listen to something else.

The last (but not least) problem to be discussed here is the possible subject of ὑπομιμνήσκοντος. The subject being omitted, one may only guess what Aristeeas could have meant. Wright and Raurell think that the omitted subject is σου,⁴¹ but if we suppose it was Philocrates, who reminds Aristeeas of his interest, there is no need for emendation ὑπομιμνήσκοντος in genitive as there is pronoun σε in accusative in the text. If the subject of ὑπομιμνήσκοντος is Aristeeas himself, who tells Philocrates the story, as Zuntz suggests, we would hardly expect omission of ἐμοῦ. Pelletier, accepting Zuntz's emendation in the text, did not connect ὑπομιμνήσκοντος with the author directly. His translation implies that Philocrates is ready to hear when *anybody* recalls or reminds of the details of the story.

Indeed, we have no subject in the text. The general tone of the preface seems to characterize Philocrates generally. Thus, we can suppose that the original reading was not ὑπομιμνήσκοντος with subject μου omitted, but the form in plural ὑπομιμνησκόντων. First, it would be easier for the form ὑπομιμνησκόντων rather than for the form ὑπομιμνήσκοντος to turn into the manuscript ὑπομιμνήσκων during textual transmission via contraction and, second, it would not accentuate whom Philocrates was ready to listen to. He places a high value (σὲ περὶ πολλοῦ πεποιῆσθαι) on every chance (παρ' ἑκάστα) to hear (συνακοῦσαι), when somebody reminds him (ὑπομιμνησκόντων) what he has learned from other sources. Perhaps the author wants to imply that by the time when he wrote the book, the Judeans of Alexandria, to whom the book was addressed, had already known about the history of Septuagint's appearance.

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⁴¹ See notes 35 and 36 above.

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The paper deals with a difficult phrase from the beginning of the prologue of the Letter of Aristeeas (Ep. Arist. 1), containing the information about Aristeeas' addressee Philocrates: διὰ τὸ σὲ περὶ πολλοῦ πεποιῆσθαι παρ' ἑκάστα ὑπομνησκωντ' συνακοῦσαι. The manuscript reading ὑπομνησκων is impossible and definitely corrupt. The emendations of Mendelssohn (ὑπομνησκοντα) and Diels (ὑπομνησκειν) imply that Philocrates constantly reminded Aristeeas he would be glad to hear the story. Many modern scholars (Wright, Raurell, White) follow this interpretation. According to Zuntz, who corrected ὑπομνησκων into ὑπομνησκοντος, the phrase indicates that Philocrates was ready to listen to Aristeeas, when he recalled what he had seen himself. We suggest that original reading was ὑπομνησκόντων and by underlining the curiosity and piety of Philocrates, the author wants to imply that his addressee is glad to listen when somebody reminds him what he already knows.

В статье рассматривается трудное место из начала пролога *Письма Аристеея* (Ep. Arist. 1), где содержатся сведения об адресате Аристеея Филократе: διὰ τὸ σὲ περὶ πολλοῦ πεποιῆσθαι παρ' ἑκάστα ὑπομνησκωντ' συνακοῦσαι. Рукописное чтение ὑπομνησκων безусловно невозможно и указывает на порчу текста. С точки зрения Мендельсона, который предлагал конъектуру ὑπομνησκοντα, и Дильса, предлагавшего ὑπομνησκειν, здесь говорится о том, что Филократ неоднократно напоминал Аристеею о необходимости написания *Письма*. Подобной интерпретации следует большинство современных издателей и комментаторов *Письма Аристеея* (Райт, Раурелл, Уайт). По мнению Цунтца, который предлагал исправить ὑπομνησκων на ὑπομνησκοντος, речь идет о том, что адресат готов слушать Аристеея, когда тот вспоминает о событиях, свидетелем которых он был сам. Мы предполагаем, что первоначальным чтением было не ὑπομνησκοντος, а ὑπομνησκόντων, и Аристеей, подчеркивая любознательность и благочестие Филократа, хочет сказать, что его адресат рад слушать, когда ему напоминают о том, что что он уже знает.

INSCRIPTION ON A ROMAN STYLUS FROM LONDON*

Was ich mich auch sonst erkühnt...

Goethe

During excavations of the site for Bloomberg's European Headquarters in 2010–2014 by archaeologists from the Museum of London Archaeology, an iron stylus with a remarkable inscription was discovered. Its full-fledged publication is yet being prepared by R. Tomlin,¹ but two brief accounts, with a preliminary interpretation of the text, have already appeared in print.² In summer 2019 the stylus was displayed in an exhibition “Last Supper in Pompeii” at the Ashmolean Museum and gained much attention on the internet. Reports of the find along with photos (mostly retouched) and Tomlin's text and translation were iterated in digital media³ and on Facebook.

The octagonal stylus, dated according to Tomlin to c. AD 62–70, is 132 mm long and 5 mm thick. Its four alternate facets are inscribed with letters ca 2 mm high. The inscription of curious content, almost certainly metrical, has survived in astonishingly good condition (almost all the words appear to be legible), which is indeed a gift of fortune to small epigraphy.

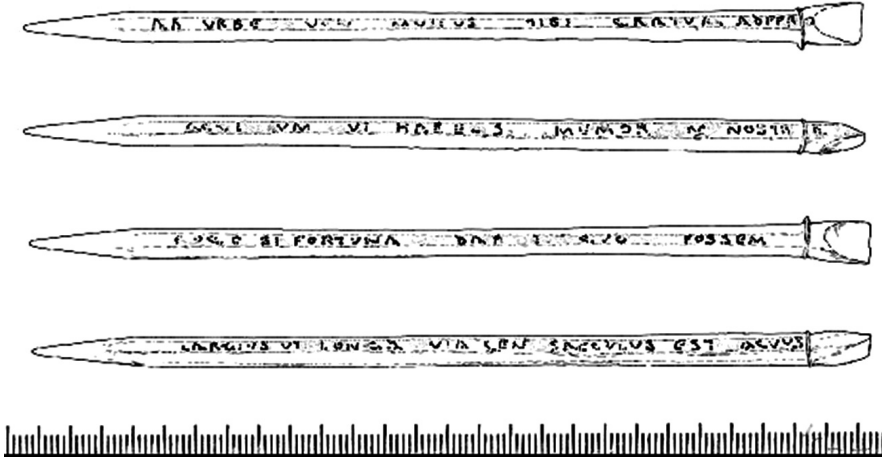
* I am grateful for discussions of my paper at the Department for Classical Philology, Saint-Petersburg University (23.09.2019, the Students' Academic Circle) and St. Petersburg Classical Gymnasium (23.11.2019, the Alumni Conference on the occasion of its 30th anniversary) and in particular to Vsevolod Zeltchenko for his valuable comments. I learned about the stylus from his Facebook page.

¹ R. Tomlin, *Roman London's First Voices...*, Museum of London Archaeology Monographs (forthcoming). His first volume of MoLA's report on the excavations (Tomlin 2016) gives an impressive publication of wooden waxed tablets; some of these left imprints of texts due to cutting of the styli through wax into the wood.

² Tomlin 2018a; Hilts 2019, 14–15 (I owe this reference to R. Tomlin himself).

³ Unretouched photo: <https://danq.me/2019/08/22/stylus-souvenir/> (reposted from: <https://www.livescience.com/66066-ancient-roman-pen-was-joke-souvenir.html>, where now a combination of unretouched and retouched photo in GIF animation is available [09.12.2019]). The stylus became an internet meme because of its comparison to the jokes of modern souvenir industry (“...and all I got was this lousy T-shirt” *et sim.*).

I reproduce below, with R. Tomlin's generous permission,⁴ his meticulous drawing, made with the help of enlarged photos and improved by examining the original under the microscope (see Fig.).



Stylus from London, repr. from: Tomlin 2018a, 6

The text is carefully inscribed in *litterae punctatae*.⁵ Since the letters are very small, only 2 mm high, their forms and proportions differ from those I have seen, mostly punched on wide plates (e. g., the middle hastas of *A* and *E* on the stylus consist of only one dot). Noteworthy are the ones resembling cursive letters: *D* with a long peak and *Q* with a small circle and a long tail.⁶

The craftsman kept to wide gaps between the words and even intervals between the letters within each word, which makes the inscription easy to restore. Notably, the gaps between the words tend to be smaller at the beginning of lines and grow sprawling afterwards, as if at first the maker were concerned not to run out of space, and then it relieved him to see that there was still enough room⁷ (in lines 1 and 2 he ended up punching the last letters on the *spatula*).

⁴ I am immensely grateful to the *editor princeps* for generously giving permission to publish his drawing prior to his own full publication about the find (n. 1). I offer my interpretation in anticipation of further fruitful discussion.

⁵ Hübner 1885, XXXVII; 322–326 *et saepius*.

⁶ For *D* cf. Hübner 1885, 323–324, no. 932, 934.

⁷ I owe this observation to Vsevolod Zeltchenko.

In line 3, too, large gaps did not allow the craftsman to accommodate *largius* in the same line, so that letters and gaps in line 4 are distinctly smaller than in lines 1–3. Had *largius* been placed in line 3, the letters would be almost evenly distributed between the four lines. The smallest gap between the words is the one between *largius* and *ut* in line 4: it approximately equals the width of a letter with intervals on both sides of it, and can perhaps be taken as a minimum possible gap between the words (in most cases gaps are larger and equal the width of several letters).

Tomlin's restoration and translation of the text runs as follows (he interprets the inscription as four lines of iambic senarii):⁸

ab urbe v[e]n[i] munus tibi gratum adf(e)ro
 acul[ea]t[um] ut habe[a]s memor[ia]m nostra(m)
 rogo si fortuna dar[e]t quo possem
 largius ut longa via ceu sacculus est (v)acuus

I have come from the city. I bring you a welcome gift with a sharp point that you may remember me. I ask, if fortune allowed, that I might be able [to give] as generously as the way is long [and] as my purse is empty.

Most of the restorations proposed by Tomlin seem legitimate to me, so does the general interpretation of this dedicatory inscription as implying an apology for the cheapness of the gift (as well as the analogy with Catull. 13. 8 *plenus sacculus est araneorum*). However, I have my doubts about the restoration of single letters and, more importantly, objections to metrical interpretation and the translation of the last two lines.

I shall start with remarks on single letters, though, since I can only judge by the drawing, in most cases it is mere thinking aloud – the trump cards are in the hands of those who have done the autopsy.

– Line 4, (v)acuus: I do not find it likely that the initial *V* was omitted in the original. Since there is enough space for it on the drawing, one can assume that it was present and subsequently lost; it seems reasonable to restore [v]acuus. Some middle letters of the inscription obviously left no traces; why not suggest the same for initial or last ones?

– Line 2, nostra(m): If the last *M* were omitted due to lack of space this would be surprising, given the rest has been punched very carefully.

⁸ Tomlin 2018a, 6.

Is it not possible that *M* was instead pressed into at the very end, but has not survived?⁹

– Line 3, *dar[e]t*: this seems likely to me, but I wish I could say with certainty that the third letter might not admit *B* (if so, *dab[i]t*).

– Line 2, *acul[ea]um*: it fits into the context perfectly, but I have a slight concern as to whether there is sufficient space for three letters. It appears to me that even the smallest *E*, *A* and *T* of the inscription can only be accommodated into the gap end-to-end, with the intervals between the letters considerably smaller than in *ACVL...VM* or in the rest of the inscription. One might consider *acul[e]um*, but in this case the intervals left and right of *E* would be, on the contrary, too large. It seems that the ‘spacing’ would be impeccable if two letters were to be restored. The only possibilities I can think of are *Acul[ei]um* (= *Aquileium*, ‘made in Aquileia’)¹⁰ and *acul[at]um* (< *acula*, diminutive of *acus*;¹¹ since, however, it would be a hapax derived from a very rarely attested form, I am reluctant to suggest it as a better option).

The crucial point for interpretation is the following:

– line 4, *ceu*: both the drawing and the photo convince me that the last letter is *N* much rather than *V*. The traces of the left hasta of *N* are clearly seen in the drawing and even the unretouched photo of low quality (see n. 3 above) makes at least one dot of it discernible. One might assume that it was punched by mistake (e.g., *E* in *adfero* in line 1, conversely, misses the dot that should stand for its lowest horizontal hasta); yet, even so, if the letter were interpreted as *V*, its right hasta would be almost vertical, which seems abnormal as compared to the other 17 *V* letters of the inscription.¹² Moreover, as I hope to show further, if we read *ceu*, the text will be problematic both metrically and semantically. Admittedly, if the letter is identified as *N*, its left hasta will be slightly slanted, while it is strictly vertical in *fortuna* and *longa*; but perhaps this is not a great obstacle.

⁹ *Memoria nostra* instead of *nostri* is remarkable, as it is typical of Medieval Latin. Cf., however, *CIL* 8. 9052. 6 *decentem memoriam meam*; Tac. *Ann.* 4. 38. 1 *...memoriae meae tribuent*; Scaev. *Dig.* 20 (*Dig.* 34. 1. 18. 5) *memoriam meam quotannis celebrent*. “*Memoriae suae*” in the dative appears to be more common (*CIL* VI 36058 *et saepius*; [Cic.] *Inv. in Sall.* 5 [genitive]; Tert. *De spect.* 10. 5; Fronton. *ad Ant.* 3. 5. 9; Donat. *Interpr. Verg.* 1. 1. 5–9).

¹⁰ In this case the gift would come from Aquileia instead of Rome. The adjective *Aquileius* is poetic (see *Th.l.l.* s.v.). For *Acul-* = *Aquil-* cf. *Aculeiensus* (*CIL* 3. 12925; *AE* 1953. 0093), Gk. Ἀκυλῆιος. For *munus* with a geographic epithet cf., e.g., Mart. 13. 9. 1 *accipe Niliacam, Pelusia munera, lentem*.

¹¹ The meaning of *aculatum* could be either the same as *aculeatum* or else ‘dot-punched with a sharp point’.

¹² *V* in *largius* might be an exception, but it has not survived in full.

The inscription is highly likely to be metric: (1) separate parts of it can be read as metric (line 1 is an impeccable iambic senarius, though the rest is more problematic); (2) it has some poetic diction (*fortuna daret*); (3) dedicatory inscriptions are generally much shorter and more formulaic; letters in prose also have strict forms of address;¹³ if one cared to punch such a long message, it must have been regarded as aesthetically valuable.

Is it possible to read the inscription as four iambic senarii? If so, its metric interpretation would seem to be as follows:

ab úrbe v[é]n[i] múnus tibi gratum ádf(e)ró |
acú[éat]um ut hábe[a]s mémor[iá]m nostrá(m) |
rogo sí fortúna dar[é]t quo póssem | lárgiús
ut lóna vía ceu sácculús est (v)ácuús.

This would imply harsh prosodic and metrical mistakes: short vowels in thesis (*acúleatum*, *sacculús*, *vácuus*) and spondee in the last foot (*nostram*).

Latin metric inscriptions, of course, often contain mistakes. A fleeting glance at iambic epigrams in Buecheler's *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* shows, however, that normally they have either more respectable or, on the contrary, much more dreadful meter and prosody than this (verses conglutinated from both hexameter and iambic senarius, wrong number of feet and so on). Spondee in the last foot is very rare. Short vowels in thesis do occur, but mostly in cases when they coincide with the spoken accent of the word.¹⁴ I have found no examples when metrical ictus would fall on the last open syllable with a short vowel (like *sacculús*).

¹³ For extant dedicatory inscriptions on styli see, e.g., Fugère 2000, 228–229. It is notable that some of them are difficult to interpret. The one from Rouffach (Haut-Rhin, France) is usually read *amori / ars mea / cum studio / procedet*. Whatever the exact meaning might be, I wonder if another sequence of facets might be intended: *ars mea / cum studio / procedet / amori*: this would give an incomplete hexameter (can *studio* <*dio*> be supplied?). Another from Cologne (*CIL* 13. 10027. 229) reads *hego / scribo / sinem / manum*. It is usually understood as *ego scribo sine manu*, with oddly blatant solecisms in *hego* and *sinem* and accusative instead of ablative in *manum*. I like the idea of Clermont-Ganneau 1918, 250–260 (risky as it might seem), who explains *H* in *hego* and *M* in *sinem* as ligatures (*H* = *ET*, *M* = *MI*) and reads as follows: *sine mi* (= *mihi*) / *manum / et ego / scribo* ('give me the hand and I [will] write'). Finally, the one from Frankfurt has been explained either as *Felix / felicior / scribe / dicta* ('O 'Fortunate', write dictations more fortunately', Riese 1889, 67) or as *dicta / felix / felicior / scribe* ('dictate fortunately, write more fortunately', Bücheler 1889, 119).

¹⁴ Cf., e.g., *CIL* IV. 5092 (= Bücheler, *CLE* 44): *Amoris ignes si sentires, mulio, / magi(s) properares, ut videres Venerem. / diligo puerum iuvenem venustum; rogo, / punge, iamus. / bibisti: iamus, prende lora et excute, / Pompeios defer, ubi dulcis est*

Though I cannot say with certainty that such an interpretation is impossible, it strikes me as very dubious. One would expect dedicatory verses that were dot-punched on a writing tool, probably with a help of a craftsman, to show more literacy than does graffiti on walls or funerary scribble of the poorly educated.

My strongest objections are, however, to the translation of lines 3–4. Whatever awkwardness there might be in the Latin phrasing, it cannot be taken to mean “I ask, if fortune allowed, that I might be able [to give]¹⁵ *as generously as* the way is long [*and*] *as my purse is empty*”.

Both *ut* and *ceu* are problematic. *Ut* is rendered as if it were dependent on the comparative (as *quam ut?*), but the comparative itself is turned into a gradus positivus (= ...*quo tam large possem, quam via est longa*). Further, *ceu* is taken as if it were *seu* or *aut* or even a copulative, like *atque*. Neither of these is legitimate, nor coherent.¹⁶

One might consider taking *ut* as causal,¹⁷ but even so, the following *ceu* (which is very likely to be *CEN*) lacks any explanation.

Ceu with indicative can only mean something like ‘as (in comparison)’, and if it were to give any sense at all, it would be ‘a long road is like an empty purse’. Yet, (1) this figure of speech would clearly be an impossible way of saying that ‘long roads make purses empty’; (2) I have found no examples when *ceu* would introduce a predicate (like *tamquam*).

My suggestion for restoring and interpreting the text proceeds from the fact that *si fortuna daret quo possem largius* is an almost complete hexameter, while *sacculus est vacuus* is very much like a hemiepes. One might therefore consider the possibility that *si fortuna...* introduces a new section of the text in the metrical form of an elegiac distich. A combination of iambic senarii with elegiac disticha is attested, e.g., in *CLE* 1545.

amor / meus es [- -?]. Here *ubi* and *Venerem* have short vowel in thesis due to their spoken accent and line 3 does not succumb to metrical interpretation at all.

¹⁵ Dimitrija Rašlijč (Belgrade) persuaded me against objecting to the ellipse of the verb by reference to *largiter posse* in Caes. *BG* 1. 18. 6.

¹⁶ A minor oddity is that the parenthesis contains a *modus irrealis* (*si fortuna daret*, ‘if fortune allowed’): one would expect ‘if fortune allows’ (*si fortuna dat / dabit / det*).

¹⁷ I owe this idea to Elena Zheltova. See *OLD* s.v. *ut* B.21; Hofmann–Szantyr 1972, 635 (§ 342 Zus. α), 647–648 (§ 352); Karakasis 2005, 56–57; Löfstedt 1907, 11–14. Causal *ut* is a feature of Early Latin. Apart from formulaic expressions like *ille, ut erat / ut fuit...* (with the same subject in the main and the subordinate clause) it is very rare in Classical Latin, and in Late Latin it is mostly construed with subjunctive.

The first line gives a metrically correct iambic senarius, and the second line can also be interpreted as a iambic senarius, if we extend it to *rogo*. In this case if one reads *acul[eat]um*, it must be interpreted as an anapest with a synizesis (*-ea-* monosyllabic¹⁸); *Acul[ei]um* would give anapest with normal prosody.¹⁹

The clause *ut habeas* must then be taken not as *ut finale/consecutivum* depending on *adfero*, but as *ut obiectivum* depending on *rogo*:

acul[ēat]um. ut hábe[a]s mémor[iá]m nostrá(m) | rogó.

...I ask you to remember me.

The first part of the poem thus consists of two iambic senarii with three asyndetically joined clauses with verbs at the end (...*veni*, ...*fero*...,²⁰ ...*rogo*). It is quite common in both Greek and Latin metric inscriptions for line endings not to correspond to verse endings.

In the following part it seems tempting to restore a hexameter by adding only one letter:

si fortuna dar[e]t quo possem | largius ut[i]!

There is enough room for the last [*i*] and the following gap before *longa* (it might have been erased, since in *veni* and *memoriam* the restoring of *-i-* is certain).²¹ As the following provides no apodosis, the conditional clause is to be taken as exclamatory (*si* introduces a wish like *utinam*):²² ‘If only Fortune would bestow upon me something that I could use more lavishly!’ This gives good meter, good Latin and good sense that corresponds to the second half of the pentameter (*sacculus est vacuus*).

¹⁸ Cf. in the last foot of the hexameter: Hor. *Sat.* 2. 2. 21 *ostrēā*; Ov. *Am.* 1. 8. 59 *aureā*; in the first foot: Verg. *Aen.* 1. 698, 7. 190 *aureā*; 10. 487 *una eādemque*. Cf. also *CIL* IV. 5092 (n. 14 above) *iamus* (= *eamus*). See Kühner–Holzweissig 1912, 147–149 (§ 30 aa, bβ, ca). I must admit that I have not found examples for monosyllabic *-ea-* in the middle syllable. It seems harsh, but possible that the preceding short open syllable remains unlengthened (*acūlēatum*): cf. Ter. *Heaut.* 1038, *Ad.* 275 *prohibeānt* (however, Gratwick 1999, 88 *prohibeant*). For unlengthened short vowels before the synizesis of *-i-* Kühner–Holzweissig 1912, 148 (aγ Anm. 1) cite Plaut. *Trin.* 200 *mendacilōqujus*; Lucil. 438 *domīnja*; Lucr. 2. 991 *ōrjundi*.

¹⁹ Meter would allow *acul[ei]um* as well, with three resolutions.

²⁰ The postposition of *acul[eat]um* makes *fero* an exception.

²¹ The phrase *largius uti* is attested in Sall. *Cat.* 16, 4 *Sullani milites, largius suo usi* and Macrob. *Sat.* 6. 4, 22 *sed hac licentia largius usi sunt veteres, parcius Maro*.

²² Cf. *OLD* s.v. 10; Hofmann–Szantyr 1972, 331 (§ 185 I Zus. α). Usually this kind of *si* is preceded by the exclamatory particle *o*, but sometimes goes without it.

Now one has to consider if the first half of the pentameter can be made out of the rest of line 4: *longa via CEN*. It seems that there is not enough space for a letter between *via* and *CEN* (possibly, with the exception of *I*, but even this seems unlikely). After *CEN*, however, there is enough space for any last letter with a following gap.

Longa via is likely to be the original text, as it fits into the context. It could be nominative, if the following word started with a long vowel and the last syllable in *via* were elided.²³ As this seems not to be the case, *longa via* must be ablative scanned monosyllabically with a synizesis (*vja*). This kind of synizesis is common in poetry,²⁴ though rare in two-syllable words.²⁵ Besides, it is attested in another metric inscription from Britain (also elegiac distich).²⁶

As for *CEN*, I can suggest two ways of restoring it. The most obvious one would be *cen[a]*: arranging a banquet, as well as travelling, is a typical source of financial problems. It may be objected that if a banquet was held to celebrate one's arrival (*cena adventicia* or *adventoria*), this was normally arranged at the expense of friends.²⁷ One has therefore to assume that it refers to some particular circumstances, of which the recipient may have been aware.²⁸

Due to synizesis and asyndeton in "*via, cena*" this pentameter looks much clumsier than the hexameter, yet it seems tolerable enough for a non-professional versifier.

²³ [*I*]*cen[i]* might be an intriguing option, if the gap after *via* were long enough.

²⁴ In common nouns: Enn. *Ann.* 425 *insidjantes*; 89 *avjum*; Verg. *Aen.* 6. 33 *omnja*; 2. 492, 7. 105, 12. 706 *arjete*; 2. 16, 5. 663, 8. 599, 11. 667 *abjete*; *G.* 1. 482 *fluvjorum*; 4. 243 *steljo*; *Aen.* 2. 442, 5. 589 *parjetibus*; Hor. *Epod.* 12. 7 *vjetis*; *Sat.* 1. 7. 30 *vindemjator*; *Carm.* 3. 4. 41 *consilj(um)*; 3. 6. 6 *principj(um)*. See Kühner–Holzweissig 1912, 148–149 (§ 30 *ay*, *by*, *cβ*).

²⁵ Enn. *Ann.* 212, 467 *prjus quam*; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* 2. 15. 8 *filius ut dicunt, quia est creatura dei*. Monosyllabic *vja* is attested in iambic senarii: Ter. *Heaut.* 101.

²⁶ *RIB* 1228 (= *CIL* 7. 998): *Somnio praemonitus miles hanc ponere iussit / aram quae Fabio nupta est Nymphis venerandis*. The verses are not easily intelligible; for a possible explanation see Tomlin 2018b, 208. The scansion of *milēs* may well imply lengthening of a short vowel in arsis rather than a prosodic mistake. Even for the same metric position (in the fourth foot) examples are abundant: e.g., Verg. *Aen.* 1. 478 *pulvīs*; 4. 222 *adloquitūr*; etc. See [Conington]–Nettleship 1898, 469–474 and other literature cited in Mynors 1990, 211 ad *G.* 3. 189 *invalidūs*.

²⁷ Plaut. *Bacch.* 94, 185–186, 536–537; Col. 12. 3. 4; Petr. *Sat.* 90. 5; Mart. 12 praef.; Suet. *Vit.* 13. 2.

²⁸ E.g., the donor might have arranged a *cena aditialis* on entering an office or treated his friends to dinner on some other occasion than arrival.

Another possibility would be *Cen[i]*, a vocative from *Cenius*.²⁹ In this case the pentameter is less awkward and contains a name of the addressee, which would be apt for a dedicatory epigram. Besides, *Ceni* would leave a longer and more accurate gap before *sacculus*. On the other hand, both the name and its monophthongised form is rare, and I admit to some hesitation in restoring it.

As a result I propose a new interpretation of the text that is based on restoring two additional letters and alternative punctuation. It consists of two iambic senarii and an elegiac distich:³⁰

ab urbe v[e]n[i]. munus tibi gratum adf(e)ro |
 acul[ea]t[um]. ut habe[a]s memor[ia]m nostra(m) | rogo.
 si fortuna dar[e]t quo possem | largius ut[i]!
 longa via cen[a?] sacculus est [v]acuus.

l. 2 Acul[ei]um?

l. 4 Ceni (< Cenius)?

I have come from the city. I bring you a welcome gift
 with a sharp point (?). I ask you to remember me.
 If only Fortune would give me something that I could use more lavishly!
 Due to long journey (and) the banquet (?), my purse is empty.

If my interpretation is correct, the author's versification was confident, but the tendency to stack established colloquial formulas into verse and resorting to synzesis (in *via* and, possibly, *acul[ea]t[um]*)³¹ betray the work of an amateur.

Whether the inscription implies that the donor came from Rome to Britain remains an open question: the addressee might have taken the gift with him on his way to Britain from another part of the Roman Empire.

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²⁹ See Šašel Kos 2018, 277 (on *Cenius* mentioned in *CIL* 3. 3985): “C(a)enius is a rare Latin *gentilicium*, attested a few times in Italy (three times in Tarquinia and once in Aquileia), twice in Gallia Narbonensis, once in Dalmatia and Sicilia, and three times in Pannonia”; for references, *ibid.* n. 57.

³⁰ Indecisive as it might seem, I prefer to add a question mark where I have doubts about the reading and translation.

³¹ Though classical poetry admits this poetic license (n. 24 above), it is still taken not frequently and is naturally avoided in short epigrams.

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I interpret the metric inscription on the stylus from the Bloomberg excavations in London (Tomlin 2018a, 5–6) as a polymetron that consists of two iambic senarii and an elegiac distich. In *acul[eat]um*, if this restoration is correct, *-ea-* must be scanned monosyllabically with synizesis. In lines 2–3 I punctuate before *ut* and after *rogo*, so that the *ut* clause depends on *rogo*.

In line 4 I restore *ut[i]*, which provides a hexameter: *si fortuna daret quo possem largius uti!* (*si* introduces a wish, like *utinam*). In the word that follows *via* the third letter must be identified as *N* (not as *V*); I suggest to restore either *cen[a]* (the ablative that is asyndetically coordinated with *via*) or *Cen[i]* (the vocative of *Cenius*). In either case *via* must be scanned monosyllabically with synizesis.

Стихотворная надпись на стилосе, обнаруженном при раскопках на месте штаб-квартиры “Блумберг” в Лондоне (Tomlin 2018a, 5–6), интерпретируется как полиметрическая, состоящая из двух ямбических сенариев и элегического дистиха. В слове *acul[ea]um*, если оно восстанавливается правильно, -ea- посредством синидзесы скандируется как один слог. В стк. 2–3 знак препинания следует ставить перед *ut* и после *gogo*; таким образом, придаточное с союзом *ut* зависит от *gogo*.

В стк. 4 предлагается восстанавливать *ut[i]*, что дает гекзаметр: *si fortuna daret quo possem largius uti!* (в этом случае восклицательный союз *si* вводит желание, как *utinam*). В слове, которое следует за *via*, третью букву следует читать как N, а не как V. Для него предлагается два возможных восстановления: *cen[a]* (аблатив, однородный с *via* и соединенный с ним бессоюзной связью) или *Cen[i]* (вокатив имени *Cenius*). В том и другом случае *via* скандируется как один слог посредством синидзесы.

A NEW LOOK AT DIOGENES OF OINOANDA, FR. 157 SMITH*

To mark Alexander Verlinsky's sixtieth birthday, I offer a re-edition of a small fragment of the largest-known Greek inscription – the one in which, probably in the reign of Hadrian, the philosopher Diogenes of Oinoanda presented to his fellow-citizens and the city's visitors the doctrines of Epicurus, which he calls “the medicines that bring salvation” (τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ... [φάρμα]κα).¹ My choice of Diogenes is fitting, because it was he who first brought Verlinsky and me into contact. That was in 1994, the year after Bibliotheca Classica Petropolitana (BCP) was founded, and the year in which the first issue of *Hyperboreus* appeared. Since then I have witnessed with the greatest admiration and pleasure his fine scholarly achievements, the expansion of BCP, and the valuable contribution made by *Hyperboreus* to knowledge of the classical world in Russia and throughout the world.²

The text I have chosen is part of Diogenes' treatise in defence of old age against charges that it is a bad thing. To avoid any misunderstanding, let me say that the choice of *Old Age* is unconnected with the age of the

* I warmly thank Jürgen Hammerstaedt for reading and commenting on a draft of this article.

Abbreviations

Fr. = Fragment(s) of Diogenes' inscription. The numbering is that of Smith 1993.

NF = New Fragment(s) of Diogenes' inscription.

YF = Yazı Felsefi (Philosophical Inscription). The YF numbers are the inventory-numbers of the fragments of Diogenes' inscription.

¹ Fr. 3 V 14 – VI 1. For the inscription being “a means of salvation”, cf. fr. 29 III + NF 207 I 9 (Hammerstaedt–Smith 2012, 11 = 2014, 185), fr. 116.6–8.

² Our epistolary (and then e-epistolary!) friendship was consolidated after I went to live, in 1995, on the remote island of Foula in Shetland, a location slightly more hyperborean than St Petersburg and home to a tiny community that, almost uniquely in the United Kingdom, celebrates major festivals, including Christmas, according to the Julian Calendar.

dedicatee, who is to be placed in the second, not the third, of the three age-groups distinguished by Diogenes in the preface to his *Ethics* – the young, those who are neither young nor old, and the old.³

The fragment came to light in 1969, when I was making my second visit to the ruins of Oinoanda, in the mountains of southwest Turkey, in search of Diogenes. I first published the text as NF (New Fragment) 4,⁴ and it is fr. 157 in my editions of the inscription.⁵

The subject of old age was one treated by many philosophical writers in antiquity, although only one work devoted exclusively to it survives intact. That work is Cicero's *De Senectute*. Diogenes of Oinoanda is the only Epicurean writer known to have produced a treatise on it. Naturally, his wholehearted commitment to Epicureanism permeates his treatment, but his arguments have much in common with those of other writers, especially Cicero and Iuncus, the latter being the author (of uncertain identity and date) of a dialogue in Greek that presents arguments against and for old age.

Despite the number of known fragments of *Old Age* having risen from 19 in 1968 to 71 today, the writing is the most lacunose of the three treatises included in Diogenes' inscription. A large part of the explanation for this is the way it was presented on the wall of the stoa which, ironically, Diogenes used for the display of his militantly anti-Stoic writings. Unlike his *Physics* and *Ethics*, each of which, presented in 14-line columns, occupied one horizontal course, *Old Age* was carved in 18-line columns that ran down three horizontal courses. This would not be a problem for us if the inscribed wall were intact, but in fact it was demolished in antiquity and its blocks were dispersed to be reused in new structures around the city, with the result that the pieces of *Old Age* that come to light never carry a complete column or columns and never give us more than eight lines, usually fewer. There are a few cases where texts on blocks in different courses can be joined up, but not many.

Another circumstance that limits the quantity of text yielded by each fragment of *Old Age* is the fact that the letters of the treatise (average ca. 2.9 cm.) are considerably larger than those of the *Physics* and *Ethics* (average ca. 1.8 cm.), the reason for the difference in letter-size being that, whereas the *Physics* and *Ethics* occupied, respectively,

³ NF 207 II–III. Greek text and English translation in Hammerstaedt–Smith 2012, 185–187; 2014, 183–185.

⁴ Smith 1970, 61–62 and pl. 16, fig. 27.

⁵ Smith 1993, 345–346 (text and critical apparatus), 422 (translation), 586 (notes); Smith 1996, 217–218 and pl. 59, fig. 197. The inventory-number is YF 029.

the second lowest and lowest courses of the inscription and were at or near eye-level, *Old Age* occupied the three topmost courses and was above eye-level.⁶

The three courses of *Old Age* are known as A, B, and C, A being the topmost one and C the lowest. Complete blocks are easily assigned to their proper courses by their differences in height and by the appearance of their upper and lower margins, if any.⁷ One distinctive feature of the C-blocks is a very tall lower margin, the lower part of which is occupied by a deeply-scored band, and this further limits the quantity of text yielded by them.⁸

Fr. 157 was in the middle course, B. It carries parts of two columns – the ends of seven lines of col. I and all but the ends of six lines in col. II. Above the first line (7) preserved of each column there is space for the lower parts of the letters of the preceding line, the upper part of which will have been carved near the bottom edge of the block(s) in the course (A) above. That line, broken off in col. I and obliterated in col. II, will have been the sixth in the 18-line column. As for the last line (13), the letters whose tops are partly preserved in col. I will have been completed at the top of the blocks in the course (C) below; likewise the letters of II 13, of which no traces survive. The C-block(s) below will have carried lines 14–18 of both columns, and it is important to realise that eleven lines are missing between I 13 and II 7.

I now present a cautious text, showing only what can be seen on the stone and those restorations that seem secure. I also present a photograph of the fragment (fig. 1) and reproduce the scale-drawing of it published in Smith 1996 (fig. 2). The preparation of the drawing, like the decipherment and restoration of the text, was based on autopsy of the stone and an epigraphic squeeze as well as on photographs. In presenting the revised text here, I have been able to make use also of a second squeeze which I made in November 1997.

⁶ The total number of inscribed courses was almost certainly seven.

⁷ Course-A blocks have no lower margin, B blocks no margin above or below, C blocks no upper margin above.

⁸ To demonstrate how little text a course-C block of *Old Age* can yield compared with a fragment of the *Physics* of similar size, one can point to fr. 9 V–VI (YF 072) and fr. 147.13–18 (YF 010). The former, which belongs to the *Physics* and measures 46×44.5 cm., carries nearly four times as many letters as the latter, the *Old Age* block, which, measuring 49×46 cm., is slightly taller and wider.

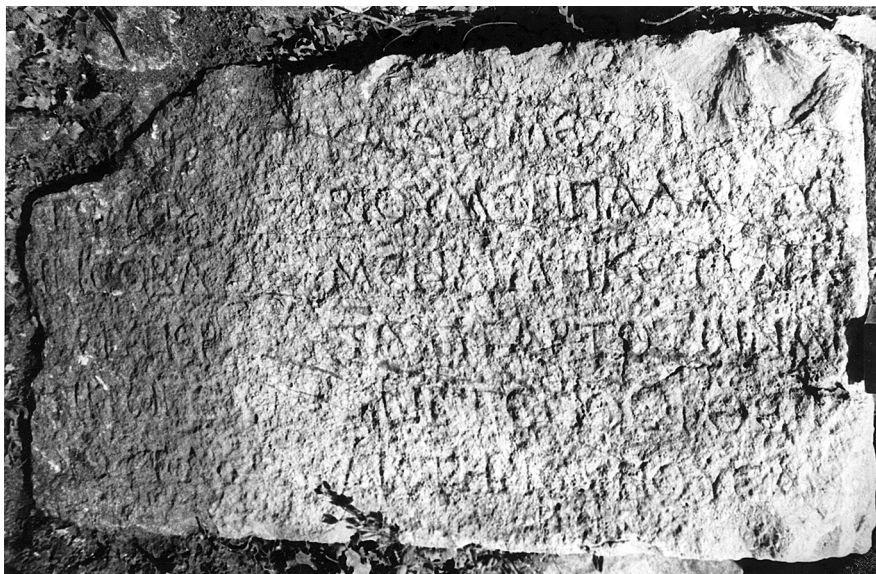


Fig. 1. Photograph of fr. 157.

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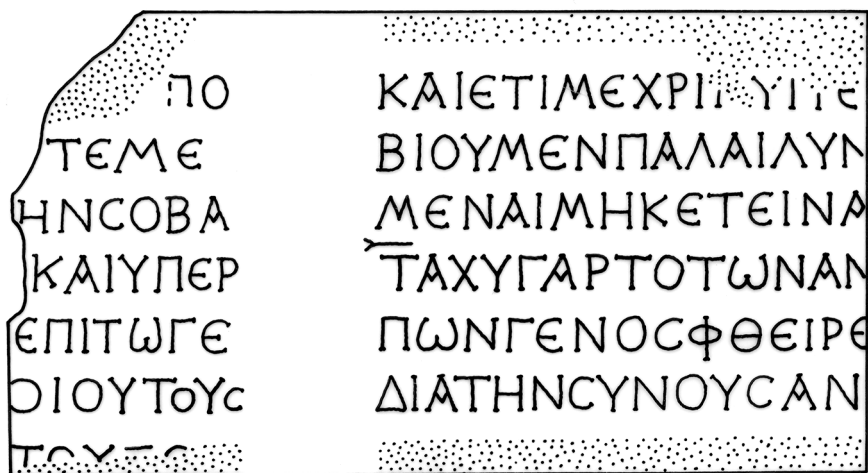


Fig. 2. Drawing (12:100) of fr. 157, as published in Smith 1996, 217.

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I 1–5, on block(s) above, missing; 6 broken off

7]πο-
]τε με-
]ην σοβα-
 10 [ρ - - - -]και ὑπερ-
] ἐπὶ τῷ γέ-
 [ροντι τ]οιούτους
] - - - -

14–18, on block(s) below, missing

II 1–5, on block(s) above, missing; 6 obliterated

7 καὶ ἔτι μέχρι γυν[
 βιοῦμεν πάλαι ἄν[
 μεναι μηκέτ' εἶνα[ι].
 —
 10 ταχὺ γὰρ τὸ τῶν ἀν[θρώ]-
 πων γένος φθείρε[ται]
 διὰ τὴν κυνοῦσαν - -

13–18, on block(s) below, missing

Not enough of col. I is preserved for one to be sure exactly what is going on. σοβα- in 9 must surely be the beginning of a form of σοβαρός or a word connected with it. In Epicurus *Sent. Vat.* 45, the adjective refers to possession of inner self-pride and self-confidence, as opposed to outward boastfulness. But a derogatory meaning, ‘arrogant’, ‘haughty’, is more common. In Philodemus, this is the case with σοβαρῶς (*Lib.* fr. 37. 5, Tab. IV. J. 2) and σοβαρότης (*Lib.* fr. 23. 3–4).⁹ In the case of Diogenes, ‘arrogance’ is, to my mind, supported by what follows: even if my suggestion of ὑπερ/[ηφανίαν] in the tentative reconstruction shown below is incorrect, the words “in the power of the old person [to ...] such people” make me think it most likely that Diogenes is pointing out how the elderly can respond to the undesirable (arrogant) behaviour of others, or perhaps avoid such behaviour themselves. The complaints of some old people that they are harshly treated by their relatives and acquaintances

⁹ The citations are of Olivieri 1914. The text is also given, with an English translation, in Konstan 1998. σοβαρότης is partly restored.

are mentioned and answered by Cephalus early in the first book of Plato's *Republic* (329 b–d), the answer being that their problem is not their old age, but their character: ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων πέρι καὶ τῶν γε πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους μία τις αἰτία ἐστὶν – οὐ τὸ γῆρας, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἀλλ' ὁ τρόπος τῶν ἀνθρώπων. This judgement is echoed in Cicero, *De Senectute* 65, with respect to charges that the old are bad-tempered, awkward, and mean: *sed haec morum vitia sunt, non senectutis*. In both passages it is suggested that old people whose behaviour is civilised and good-natured can avoid unpleasantness and discontent, and it is possible that Diogenes made essentially the same point, but in that case a significantly-different restoration of the text from the one below would be required. In this connection, one point to make is that τ]οιούτους (12) need not necessarily refer to people. It could have been followed by, for example, [τρόπους], 'manners', 'behaviour'. What is certain is that Diogenes would agree with Plato and Cicero that there is no need for the elderly to suffer discontent, and that, if they do suffer it, it is their fault.

In col. II 7–12, where all but the last letters of each line preserved, it is clear that the theme is the inevitability of death and the shortness of human life. Proximity to death is one of the complaints against old age refuted by other ancient writers who wrote in its defence, including Cicero (*Sen.* 66–67), Musonius (p. 92 Hense), Seneca (*Ep.* 12. 5–6), and Iuncus (Stobaeus p. 1050. 8–11 W.–H.).

In 1993 I wrote that “it is difficult to see how the content of col. I is linked to that of col. II” and suggested that there may well have been a change of subject.¹⁰ Clearly there has been some development in the argument, but the step from behaviour in old age to the inevitability and nearness of death is not a big one, and it is to be noted that Cicero proceeds directly from the one subject to the other (*Sen.* 65–66).

Although the broad theme of the preserved lines of col. II is clear, and there is no doubt at all about the text and meaning of 10–11, there has been much uncertainty about the restoration and exact meaning of 7–9. The endings of 7 and 8 are damaged or lost, and the first letters of 9 have caused puzzlement: μὲναι looks like the ending of a feminine plural participle, but, if so, to what does it refer?

I suggest the following restoration of the whole fragment, with a renewed warning that the proposals in col. I are very tentative – mostly *exempli gratia*.

¹⁰ Smith 1993, 586.

I

- 7 [εἴ τινες ἄ]πο-
 [δεικνύací πο]τε με-
 [τ' αὐτοῦ τ]ῇν κοβα-
 10 [ρότητά τε] καὶ ὑπερ-
 [ηφανίαν], ἐπὶ τῷ γέ-
 [ροντι τοὺς τ]οιοῦτους
 [ἔστιν ἐπὶ] πο[λ]ὺ π[α]-
 [ρορᾶν]

II

- [ὅταν θνήσκωμεν, αἱ ψυχαὶ ἡμῶν εὐθέως διαλύονται, εἰ]
 7 καὶ ἔτι μέχρι γυνε[ῖ]
 βιοῦμεν πάλαι, δυγ[ά]-
 μенаι μηκέτ' εἶνα[ι].
 —
 10 ταχὺ γὰρ τὸ τῶν ἀν[θρώ]-
 πων γένος φθείρε[ται]
 διὰ τὴν συνοῦσαν [φύ]-
 [σιν θνητὴν]

Translation

I [If ever some exhibit, in their dealings with him, haughtiness and arrogance, it is for the most part] in the power of the elderly person [to take no notice of] such people

II [When we die, our souls are dissolved instantly], even [if] we have still been living up to this moment for a long time, being able to exist no longer. For the generation of human beings quickly perishes on account of its inherent [mortal nature]

Notes

I

9–10. κοβα[ρότητα]. The word is not in LSJ, but is in Lampe and (see above) is also found, partly restored, in Philodemus.

11–13. Cf. Lucretius 5. 42: *quae loca vitandi plerumque est nostra potestas*, referring to places made dangerous to humans by the presence of wild animals.

II

6 (and what preceded). If δυγ[ά]μεναι is correctly read and restored in 7–8, as it surely is, it seems to me that ψυχαι is by far the most plausible

restoration here. εὐθέως is used of the destruction of souls in fr. 39 IV 6. διαλύω is frequently used of the dissolution of atomic compounds: see e.g. Epicurus, *Hdt.* 39, 41, 42, 65, 73; *Sent.* 2: ὁ θάνατος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· τὸ γὰρ διαλυθὲν ἀναισθητεῖ· τὸ δ' ἀναισθητοῦν οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Lucretius similarly uses *dissolvo*, including with reference to the dispersal of the soul at death (e.g. 3. 438, 455). The mind (*animus*) and the spirit (*anima*), the rational and irrational components of the soul, are parts of the body and cannot survive death.

7–8. However long we live, death is inevitable. As Lucretius puts it (3. 1090–1091):

proinde licet quot vis vivendo condere saecula
mors aeterna tamen nilo minus illa manebit.

Diogenes set up his inscription in his old age,¹¹ had health problems,¹² and was very conscious that he was near death,¹³ but he was not in the least afraid of it.¹⁴

One can be sure that somewhere in his *Old Age* he made the point that death comes not only to the old but to younger people as well. Why? For three reasons. First, it is a point made by others who wrote in defence of old age: see Cicero *Sen.* 67, Seneca *Ep.* 12. 6, and Iuncus p. 1030. 16–19 W.–H. Secondly, in the known passages of Diogenes' treatise it is pointed out that neither deficiencies of eyesight and hearing nor physical and mental health-problems are peculiar to old age,¹⁵ which means that saying the same about death would be completely in line with those arguments. Thirdly, early death, as well as being a matter of common observation and knowledge, had occurred in Diogenes' own family: like the Elder Cato in Cicero's *De Senectute*,¹⁶ he could have pointed to his experience of having been predeceased by a son. We know this from NF 215, a well-preserved block of his inscription discovered at Oinoanda

¹¹ Fr. 3 II 7–12; fr. 63 II 3–4; fr. 138 by implication; fr. 146 I + NF II 7–12 by implication.

¹² Fr. 117.4–11; fr. 121 II; fr. 122.

¹³ Fr. 3 II 7–12; fr. 117. 4–11.

¹⁴ Fr. 73 I; NF 130, for the full text of which see Hammerstaedt–Smith 2012, 103 = Hammerstaedt–Smith 2014, 163.

¹⁵ On deficiencies of vision and hearing, see fr. 145 + NF 133 in Hammerstaedt–Smith 2012, 31–33 = Hammerstaedt–Smith 2014, 205–207; on physical and mental health problems, see fr. 146 + NF 134. NF 134 was added to fr. 146 in 1997 and published in Smith 1998, 165.

¹⁶ *Sen.* 67–68. Cicero himself had been predeceased by a child, his beloved daughter, Tullia.

in October 2017. The fragment contains the title and opening column of a previously-unknown letter, purporting to have been written by a certain Archelaus to a certain Dion, giving the words Diogenes spoke after the funeral of his son.¹⁷

νυνεί (νυνί) (cf. fr. 6 III 1), a strengthened form of νῦν, here emphasises the moment. I earlier thought of reading γῶν ἐ[πι]/βιοῦμεν rather than γυνε[ῖ] / βιοῦμεν, but in this context the emphatic form of the adverb is very appropriate, and there is no compelling reason to prefer the compound verb, which is not very common and is not used by Diogenes elsewhere.

ἔτι ... βιοῦμεν: cf. NF 207 III 12–13, ὅσον ποτ' ἔτι βιώσονται, referring to those who are already old.

8–9. δυν[ά]/μεναι was first suggested by me in 1974,¹⁸ but I did not print it in Smith 1993 and 1996 because I could not see to what it could refer. For the probable answer, see above, on 6. With [αἰ ψυχαῖ] ... δυν[ά]μεναι μηκέτ' εἶνα[ι] cf. fr. 38. 3–6: καθ' ἑαυτήν ... [ἡ] ψυχὴ οὐτ' εἶναι δύνα[ται] ποτε. See also fr. 37 IV 2–6: [οὐδὲν γὰρ ὦ]φέλησε[ν εἰ ἡ ψυχὴ μηκέ]τι διαμέ[νει καὶ λύεται] ἢ τοῦ σώμ[ατος συνου]σία.

Jürgen Hammerstaedt, commenting on a draft of this article, prefers a different interpretation of 6–9, with a different restoration of the words missing at the beginning. He suggests:

[τοιαῦταί εἰσιν αἱ φύσεις ἡμῶν, εἰ]
καὶ ἔτι μέχρι γυνε[ῖ]
βιοῦμεν, πάλαι δυν[ά]-
μεναι μηκέτ' εἶναι.

[Our natures are like this], even [if] we survive up to now, having for a long time the potential not to exist anymore.

In clarification of his text and translation, he notes: “I meant that our φύσεις, even if we (both Diogenes and his readers) survive until the present, *could* have ceased to exist for a lot of reasons long time ago, almost at any time from our birth onwards”. The proposal is interesting, but I remain convinced that Diogenes is here asserting the inability of souls to survive and avoid death, no matter how long we have lived. My

¹⁷ See Hammerstaedt–Smith 2018, 59–66. Archelaus is made to claim that he obtained a copy of the speech from “some accurate shorthand-writers”, but both the attribution of the letter to Archelaus and the part allegedly played by the shorthand-copyists are to be regarded, in my opinion, as inventions of Diogenes, intended to vary and dramatise his presentation.

¹⁸ Smith 1974, 51 n.

interpretation involves taking πάλαι not, as Hammerstaedt does, with δυνάμεναι, but with βιοῦμεν, which I take to be a “continuative” present, “we have been living”. Such a present is common with expressions denoting past time, and particularly so with πάλαι: cf. e.g. Soph. *Aj.* 20: κείνον ... ἰχνεύω πάλαι, Plat. *Men.* 91a: οὗτος ... πάλαι λέγει πρὸς με, Epic. *Nat.* 25 in *PHerc.* 1191 -6 sup. 7: καθάπερ πάλαι θρυλῶ.¹⁹ In “our” passage of Diogenes the continuation is reinforced by ἔτι.

12. What is to be supplied after συνοῦσαν? Suggestions have included εὐτασιν and ἀσθένειαν. But a specific mention of “mortality” seems most likely. One possibility is θνητότητα, which I first suggested tentatively in 1970²⁰ (the word occurs in fr. 39 V 3 and 125 IV 4, and perhaps also in NF 129 II 14), but I slightly prefer φύσιν θνητήν, for which cf. Aelian *VH* 8. 11: οὐδὲν ἔτι θαυμάζομεν εἰ ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσις, θνητὴ οὖσα καὶ ἐφήμερος, φθείρεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζει, a close parallel: “We are in no way still surprised if the nature of human beings, being mortal and ephemeral, compels them to perish”. Another possibility might be something like διὰ τὴν συνοῦσαν [φύσιν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος], “on account of the cohabiting nature of the soul and the body”. Cf. fr. 37 IV 9–13: [ἡ] αἰτία ἡ ἐκ[χάτη τοῦ ζῆν] ἔστιν ἡ ψ[υχὴ συνοῦ]σα ἡ κεχ[ωρικμένη τοῦ σώ]ματος.

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¹⁹ Ed. Laursen 1997, 40.

²⁰ Smith 1970, 62.

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Fr. 157, discovered in 1969 and first published as NF (New Fragment) 4, is part of Diogenes of Oinoanda’s treatise on old age, the only known work on this subject by an Epicurean writer. Despite the increase in the number of known fragments of *Old Age* from 19 in 1968 to 71 today, the work is the most lacunose of the three treatises in Diogenes’ inscription, a major reason for this being the way each of its 18-line columns is split between three horizontal courses of stones, which means that, when one of the now-scattered blocks is recovered, it never contains more than eight lines and usually fewer.

The three courses of *Old Age*, the topmost ones of the inscription, are called A, B, and C. Fr. 157 is a B-block, and the text of its two columns was continued from a missing block or blocks in course A above, and continued on a missing block or blocks in course C below.

The preserved text of col. I is not abundant, consisting only of seven line-endings, but there was a likely mention of arrogant behaviour encountered or, possibly, displayed by old people. Diogenes would have agreed with Cephalus in Plato *Resp.* 329 b–d and with Cicero *Sen.* 65 that there is no need for the old to suffer discontent, and that, if they are discontented, that is their fault.

More of col. II is preserved, but the last letters of 7–8 are damaged or missing, and μέναι in 9 has hitherto caused much puzzlement. The editor reads δυν[ά]μεναι, referring to ψυχαί, which he restores before 7. He also considers what should be restored after διὰ τὴν συνοῦσαν in 12. His preferred suggestion is φύ/ειν θνητὴν, closely followed by θνη/τότητα. The themes of the passage are the inevitability of death, no matter how long we have lived, and the brevity of human life.

Фрагмент 157 трактата Диогена из Эноанды о старости – единственного известного эпикурейского сочинения на эту тему – найден в 1969 году и впервые опубликован как NF 4. Несмотря на то что число известных фрагментов возросло с 19 в 1968 году до 71 в наши дни, труд о старости содержит больше лакун, чем два других трактата в надписи Диогена. Это связано главным образом с тем, что каждая из трех его колонок по 18 строк располагалась на

трех горизонтальных каменных блоках. В результате всякий раз, как находят новую часть этих блоков, на ней никогда не обнаруживается более 8 строк, а чаще еще меньше.

Три верхних блока, содержащих *Ο старости*, обозначаются буквами Α, Β и Γ. Фр. 157 относится к блоку Β. В нем две колонки. Предыдущая часть текста была написана на одной или нескольких утраченных ныне частях блока Α, располагавшегося выше; следующая – на одной или нескольких утраченных частях блока Γ ниже.

Хотя от колонки Ι сохранилось немного – только семь окончаний строк, похоже, что там упоминалось о высокомерном поведении – либо по отношению к старикам, либо со стороны самих стариков. В таком случае Диоген согласен с платоновским Кефалом (*Resp.* 329 b–d) и с Цицероном (*Sen.* 65), что старики не обречены страдать от недовольства и что если они его испытывают, то они сами в этом виноваты.

Колонка ΙΙ сохранилась лучше, но последние буквы стк. 7–8 повреждены или отсутствуют, а в стк. 9 много затруднений вызывало μεναι. Автор предлагает восстановление δυ[ά]μεναι, относя его к ψυχαί, которое он восстанавливает перед стк. 7. Рассуждая о возможностях восстановления текста после διὰ τὴν συνοῦσαν в стк. 12, он останавливается на варианте φύ/σιν θνητῆν, за которым непосредственно следует θνη/τότητα. Пассаж посвящен краткости человеческой жизни и неотвратимости смерти.

“MOTIVATED SIGNS”: SOME REFLECTIONS ON PHONOSEMANTICS AND SUBMORPHEME THEORY IN THE CONTEXT OF DEMOCRITUS’ AND EPICURUS’ TRADITIONS

In the monograph “Ancient theories of the origin of language” Alexander Verlinsky¹ analyzed two fundamental traditions in the theory of language origin that are similar to one another in their “realistic and evolutionist nature”:² “The first one represented in the works by Diodorus, Vitruvius, and Lactantius, proceeds from the thesis about an arbitrary connection between a thing and a word and thus ... is close to ... the ideas of Democritus. The second one that reflects the ideas of Epicurus, on the contrary, puts forward a thesis about the necessary correlation between things and words...”³ Although the Epicurean tradition eventually goes back to the Democritus’ one,⁴ this discrepancy highlights Epicurus’ intention to justify as natural his own laws and principles of life as being opposed to extreme manifestations of modern civilization.⁵

Interestingly, it is from the ideas of Democritus that all modern linguistics evolved, since many centuries after Democritus, Ferdinand de Saussure put forward his thesis regarding the arbitrary (non-iconic) character of a language sign.

In comparison to Democritus, the Epicurean tradition has led merely to repeatedly reproduced “onomatopoeic” hypotheses about the origin of the language, which even forced the Société linguistique de Paris – for the lack of evidence in such hypotheses – to stop considering articles on this subject as early as in 1866. Modern linguistics addressed the problem of the origin of language only at the end of the twentieth century, when the accumulated knowledge both in linguistics itself and in related

¹ Verlinsky 2006 [А. Л. Верлинский, *Античные учения о возникновении языка*].

² Verlinsky 2006, 372.

³ Verlinsky 2006, 372–373.

⁴ Verlinsky 1997 [А.Л. Верлинский, “Возникновение речи в эпикурейской теории”], 83.

⁵ Verlinsky 2006, 375.

sciences triggered considering this problem in the framework of such areas as cognitive linguistics, neuro-linguistics, language acquisition, etc.⁶ The Epicurus' idea about the motivation of the words by properties of the denotata turned out to be resilient, encouraging linguists to look permanently for the traces of initial correlation between words and objects which in the course of historical development could become more complicated, but still discoverable within the framework of “sound symbolism” or “phonosemantics”.

The focus of phonosemantics is on the idea that sounds have inherent meanings. As R. E. Butler argues, this “small, but growing branch of linguistics lies at the opposite end of the spectrum from Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure’s Theory of Signs. This theory states that a word and the object to which it refers are arbitrarily related. This, de Saussure explained, is why languages have such variety in words referencing the same object. The work of de Saussure has informed much of linguistics research; however, recent studies in phonosemantics ... have begun to challenge the ‘arbitrariness of signs’”.⁷ It is possible to point out that the differences between phonosemantics and de Saussure’s Theory of Signs are similar to those between Democritus and Epicurus. In spite of the fact that de Saussure’s theory is the mainstream in modern linguistics, a number of works concerning iconicity in language, sound symbolism, and phonosemantics is actually quite large.⁸ It is worth stressing that in many of these studies, the idea of the arbitrariness of signs remains unchallenged. For example, a recent study in which a statistical computer analysis was used to test a non-random connection of form and content in 106 languages, proved that “approximate effect size (measured in bits) is quite small – despite some amount of systematicity between form and meaning, an arbitrary relationship and its resulting benefits dominate human language”.⁹

Indeed, it is the non-iconicity of the language sign and its ability to “break away” from the denotatum that makes human language a unique universal sign system. At the same time, it seems improbable for language to completely exclude the use of iconicity in those cases when it allows creating signs in as simple way as possible.

⁶ The overview of modern concepts on the origin of language see in Burlak 2011 [С. А. Бурлак, *Происхождение языка. Факты, исследования, гипотезы*].

⁷ Butler 2017, 2.

⁸ See *inter alia*: Hinton–Nichols–Ohala 1994; Magnus 2001; Voronin 2006 [С. В. Воронин, *Основы фоносемантики*], and the extensive bibliography in these volumes.

⁹ Pimentel–McCarthy–Blasi–Roark–Cotterel 2019, 1751.

The creating of ideophones (or onomatopoeia), for instance, is natural for language: if a certain denotatum itself is a sound form, and any linguistic signifier is also a sound form, then a complete separation of one sound form from another would be unmotivated.¹⁰

At the same time, we can point out that although animals of a certain species make the same sounds regardless of the geographical area of their habitat, each particular language uses its own phonology to express the respective animal sounds. For instance, the rooster cries differently in different languages, often preserving only a sequence of unvoiced velars, which in most phonological systems are the closest correlates of natural sounds resembling the glottal stop.

In human languages, reduplication is found to be used for expressing plurality of nouns, iterative action or intensity of attributes. However, the language is not “obliged” to use only iconic reduplication to express such values, and in many cases other (non-iconic) means are used for this.

It is also natural that languages tend to push “old” information (topic) to the beginning of the clause, while “new” information (focus) is normally brought closer to the end of the clause.

In this case, the linear character of language is iconic for the ordering of information blocks.

Nevertheless, languages have the opportunity to “get away” from such iconicity, if necessary.

Regarding the motivation of language signs, the work by Roman Jakobson is of special interest, and it is this author whose works on the topic are most widely represented in the volume on phonosemantics edited by S. V. Voronin.¹¹ Jakobson does not contrast the two trends under observation, but attempts to find the proper niches for both non-iconicity and motivation of sign: “It is not the presence or absence of similarity or contiguity between the signans and signatum, nor the purely ... habitual connection between both constituents that underlies the division of signs into icons, indexes, and symbols, but merely the predominance of one of these factors over the others”.¹²

Interestingly, Jakobson anticipated a statistical or probabilistic approach to the interpretation of the phenomena of sound symbolism: “If we ask somebody what is darker – /i/ or /u/ while considering, for example, phonological opposition of front/back vowels, some of the respondents

¹⁰ About state of the art, see Dingemanse 2012.

¹¹ Voronin 1990 [С. В. Воронин, *Фоносемантические идеи в зарубежном языкознании*].

¹² Jakobson 1965, 26.

may answer that this question seems senseless to them, but hardly anyone will say that /i/ is darker than /u/".¹³

Despite these observations, a significant part of the phenomena considered in the context of this branch of linguistics, including some of the Jacobson's studies, seems to belong to the Democritus' tradition rather than to the Epicurus' one.

Building on the assumption that human language is organized as a system of oppositions, we consider that language can semantize any formal opposition even without an explicit correlation between a sign and its denotatum, i.e. in the absence of motivation for the very form of signs in the world of denotata.

Such cases include the phenomenon of "clustering"¹⁴ or "phonesthemes",¹⁵ which represent some sound (not morpheme) combinations: "These are submorphemic and mostly unproductive affixal units, usually flagging a relatively small semantic domain. A classic example in English is /gl-/, a prefix for words relating to light or vision, e.g. glimmer, glisten, glitter, gleam, glow and glin".¹⁶ In this case, we are dealing with the motivation of the sign, but this is not the motivation associated with the denotatum, because we can hardly assume that the idea of "vision" is indeed contained in the sound combination /gl-/. We interpret such cases as rather intralingual motivation: it seems natural for a language to label both differences and similarities. Thus, if a certain basic concept related to "vision" has /gl-/, the language may use this element to mark a particular meaning, adjusting by analogy the words that pertain to the same semantic zone. The process of "analogical changes" is well-known in historical linguistics, which supports our argument.

It is to be stressed that the idea of clustering or phonesthemes is as old as Plato's *Cratylus*. One can refer to the well-known Socrates' observation on the symbolism of Greek character *rho* whose immanent idea, in Socrates' opinion, is movement:

τὸ δὲ οὖν ῥῶ τὸ στοιχεῖον, ὥσπερ λέγω, καλὸν ἔδοξεν ὄργανον εἶναι τῆς κινήσεως τῷ τὰ ὀνόματα τιθεμένῳ πρὸς τὸ ἀφομοιοῦν τῇ φορᾷ, πολλαχοῦ γοῦν χρήται αὐτῷ εἰς αὐτήν· πρῶτον μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ "ῥεῖν" καὶ "ῥοῇ" διὰ τούτου τοῦ γράμματος τὴν φορὰν μιμεῖται, εἴτα ἐν τῷ "τρόμῳ", εἴτα ἐν τῷ "τρέχειν", ἔτι δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῖσδε ῥήμασιν οἷον

¹³ Jakobson 1975 [Р. О. Якобсон, "Лингвистика и поэтика", *Структурализм: "за" и "против"*], 223–224.

¹⁴ Magnus 2001.

¹⁵ Pimentel–McCarthy–Blasi–Roark–Cotterel 2019.

¹⁶ Pimentel–McCarthy–Blasi–Roark–Cotterel 2019, 1753.

“κρούειν”, “θραύειν”, “ἐρείκειν”, “θρύπτειν”, “κερματίζειν”, “ρύμβειν”, πάντα ταῦτα τὸ πολὺ ἀπεικάζει διὰ τοῦ ῥῶ. ἑώρα γὰρ οἶμαι τὴν γλῶτταν ἐν τούτῳ ἤκιστα μένουσαν, μάλιστα δὲ σειομένην· διὸ φαίνεται μοι τούτῳ πρὸς ταῦτα κατακεχρησθαι. (Plat. *Crat.* 426 d–e).

Well, the letter *rho*, as I was saying, appeared to be a fine instrument expressive of motion to the name-giver who wished to imitate rapidity, and he often applies it to motion. In the first place, in the words ῥεῖν (flow) and ῥοή (current) he imitates their rapidity by this letter, then in τρέμος (trembling) and in τρέχειν (run), and also in such words as κρούειν (strike), θραύειν (break), ἐρείκειν (rend), θρύπτειν (crush), κερματίζειν (crumble), ῥύμβειν (whirl), he expresses the action of them all chiefly by means of the letter *rho*; for he observed, I suppose, that the tongue is least at rest and most agitated in pronouncing this letter, and that is probably the reason why he employed it for these words (transl. by H. N. Fowler).

It seems of great importance that the correlation between a sound cluster and a meaning is not obligatory the same in different languages, since Socrates associates the sound combination /gl-/ in Greek with something glutinous, sweet or gluey, while in English this sound combination has quite a different semantic value of “vision”:

ἢ δὲ ὀλισθανούσης τῆς γλώττης ἀντιλαμβάνεται ἢ τοῦ γάμμα δύναμις, τὸ “γλίσχρον” ἀπεμιμήσατο καὶ “γλυκὺ” καὶ “γλοιῶδες” (Plat. *Crat.* 427 b).

Where the gliding of the tongue is stopped by the sound of gamma he reproduced the nature of γλίσχρον (glutinous), γλυκὺ (sweet), and γλοιῶδες (gluey) (transl. by H. N. Fowler).

There is another concept that can be treated as “intralingual” (or “intraparadigmatic”): this is the concept of submorpheme, or submorphemic neutralization which also dates back to R. Jakobson¹⁷ and was further elaborated in the work of K. Pozdniakov.

Pozdniakov has drawn a considerable distinction between the morphemic and submorphemic neutralizations.¹⁸ As regards the morphemic neutralization, there are many examples of this phenomenon in the world

¹⁷ Jakobson 1985 [Р. О. Якобсон, “Морфологические наблюдения над славянским склонением”, *Избранные работы*].

¹⁸ Pozdniakov 2003 [К. И. Поздняков, “Микроморфология или морфология парадигмы?”, *Язык и речевая деятельность*]; Pozdniakov 2009 [К. И. Поздняков, “О природе и функциях внеморфемных знаков”, *Вопросы языкознания*].

languages. Thus, in Swahili, the object case in the pronominal paradigm has the same form *wa* for the second and the third person plural pronouns. The German personal pronoun *sie* is used for the third person singular feminine, the third person plural and the second person plural honorific. The English personal pronoun *you* is used for both the second singular and the second plural. Such phenomena are often treated as homonymy or syncretism, but Pozdniakov considers them as morphemic neutralizations. It is worth stressing that the neutralization is not a destructive process which could eliminate meaningful differences between elements of a paradigm, nor is it an occasional realization of “the language economy principle”. On the contrary, a neutralization that reduces the opposition in a given semantic feature may, in turn, create another semantic feature, which can be very important for the language.

As for the submorphemic neutralization, the concept was first introduced by Jakobson who called this phenomenon “primeta” (*примета*, ‘mark’ in English) and applied it for the analysis of Russian declension. According to Jakobson, the dative, instrumental and prepositional cases in Russian adjectives are marked with a special semantic feature of “peripherality” that distinguishes them from all other cases. The formal marker of “peripherality” in the surface structure of adjectives can be seen in that all inflections in the dative, instrumental and prepositional cases (and only in these ones) in the singular forms of masculine gender have a common formal feature [m]: *-omy* [-omu] in the Dative, *-ym* [-ym] in the Instrumental, *-om* [-om] in the Prepositional.¹⁹ Thus, we are dealing with a sign: there is a meaning – “peripherality”, and there is a formal carrier of this meaning – [m], and there are no other ways to express the semantics of peripheral cases. Most intriguingly, the carrier of this value is formally (segmentally) smaller than a morpheme, which, therefore, loses its status of a “minimal linguistic sign”. These considerations open up an opportunity to introduce a new level of linguistic description, although the intra-paradigmatic “motivation”, or marking the semantics of peripherality with the nasal sonant is in a crucial contradiction with the traditional viewpoint that the meaning (semantics) cannot show up in the segments which are smaller than morphemes. For this new level K. Pozdniakov has coined a term “submorpheme”, with the process of neutralizing the semantic differences of the dative, instrumental, and prepositional cases under the common meaning of “peripherality” being called “submorpheme

¹⁹ The same feature can also be observed in the singular masculine forms of the numerals as well as of the demonstrative, possessive and anaphoric pronouns (but not in the noun declension or in the plural number).

neutralization”, a labial nasal sonant [m] being the formal carrier of this meaning.

This approach was applied by Pozdniakov to various languages and allowed him to conclude that submorphemic neutralization is used for “gluing” together the elements with a common component of meaning in the same way as morphemic neutralization does, but the former seems to be more convenient for language than the latter, since submorphemic neutralization allows to preserve the distinctions between the elements of a paradigm that cannot be preserved in case of morphemic neutralization. Pozdniakov points out the two important generalizations concerning these phenomena: first, elements of a certain paradigm may undergo both morphemic and submorphemic neutralization, while elements of other paradigms may keep their distinction without being affected by this process; second, the morpheme and submorpheme neutralizations tend to be in a complementary distribution.²⁰

Another important issue discussed by Pozdniakov is the relation of the submorphemic neutralization to the notion of iconicity of linguistic sign and sound symbolism. He believes that the submorphemic neutralization and iconicity have nothing in common. Indeed, the fact that [m] expresses the common meaning of “peripherality” for several cases in the singular adjectival paradigm of masculine gender has nothing to do with iconicity. This common feature is meaningful only in a certain linguistic paradigm and has no reference in reality. This can be proved by the fact that in another paradigm, [m] may have no meaning at all or absolutely different one.

The submorphemic level as an instrumental device for linguistic analysis was also supported by W. Dressler who presented Latin pronoun system as a sort of morpheme-submorpheme continuum.²¹ In Dressler’s opinion, “submorphemes can be classified as signs on signs, which can be operationalised as minimal meaningful elements within another sign”.²² The scholar contributes greatly to the theory of submorphemes, in particular, by distinguishing between inflectional submorphemes that have very precise meanings and phonaesthemes whose meaning is usually rather vague.²³

As regards Latin personal pronouns, Dressler ascribes a submorphemic status to the elements *no-/vo-* in the personal pronouns *nos/vos* and *nobis/vobis*, and also makes an important remark about the fundamental

²⁰ For more detail, see Pozdniakov 2009.

²¹ Dressler 2016, 55–65.

²² Dressler 2016, 59.

²³ Dressler 2016, 59.

difference between the first and second person pronouns, on the one hand, and the third person pronouns, on the other: the stems of the former begin with consonants (e.g., *me*, *te*, *nos*, *vos*), while the stems of the latter – with vowels (*illum*, *istum*, *hunc* etc.).²⁴

Building on these findings and drawing upon our own observations, we will demonstrate to what extent the submorphemic level is involved in the Latin paradigms of personal pronouns.

Indeed, the submorphemic neutralization of the first and second person pronouns both in the singular and in the plural marks the semantic feature “locutor +” (i. e. speech act participant + someone else) and occurs in various pronominal systems, for example, in French pronouns *nous* [nu] / *vous* [vu], *notre* [notr] / *votre* [votr], Russian pronouns *мы* [my] / *вы* [vy], *нас* [nas] / *вас* [vas], etc. We also observed a similar submorphemic neutralization in a number of pronominal paradigms in Latin, i. e., not only in *nos/vos* forms, but in the whole paradigm of personal pronouns in plural (*nostri/vostri*, *nostrum/vostrum*, *nobis/vobis*).

Another feature – “locutor only”, in our opinion, can be also expressed by means of the submorphemic neutralization, but in the Accusative and Ablative only: *me/te* (cf. Russian *меня* [menia] / *тебя* [tebia], French *moi/toi*, German *mir/dir*).

To sum up, the submorphemic level is an observable linguistic phenomenon that is effectively used to express such an important semantic opposition as “locutor vs. non-locutor”. Importantly, it is the submorphemic neutralization that allows to combine the speaker and the addressee and thus to contrast locutors and non-locutors in the languages which are lacking inclusive/exclusive opposition in the “overt” pronominal morphology.²⁵

It is worth noting that in two cases (the Genetive and the Dative), in addition to submorphemic neutralization of the first and second person pronouns, there is also submorphemic neutralization of the second and third persons (*tui/sui*, *tibi/sibi*) which marks the semantic feature “speaker

²⁴ Dressler 2016, 61. Zheltov 2008 [А. Ю. Желтов, *Языки нигер-конго: структурно-динамическая типология*], 135 points out a similar pattern for Russian pronouns in the nominative case: the syllable structure CV (*я*, *ты*, *мы*, *вы* [ja, ty, my, vy]) is a marker of the feature “locutor is included”, and VC (*он*, *она*, *они* [on, ona, oni]) – “locutor is excluded”.

²⁵ There are languages (e.g. some languages of the Niger-Congo family) that express the opposition “locutor vs. non-locutor” by means of the “overt” morphology, i.e. they have the opposition “inclusive pronoun vs. exclusive pronoun” in the overt morphology. The inclusive pronouns, in turn, are the first person plural pronouns that obligatorily “include” the second person singular pronoun in their semantics as well, while the exclusive pronouns do not have such semantics.

is excluded”, and it is with this means that the Latin language contrasts the addressee and non-locutors to the speaker. Importantly, this opposition can be expressed by no other means except for this one.

It is also possible to observe a certain submorphemic adjustment in the verbal inflections which are segmentally even much shorter than those of the pronouns: [m] in the inflections of the first person singular and plural (-*m* and -*mus*) creates the semantic feature “speaker is included”, [s] in the second person singular and plural (-*s* and -*tis*) – “addressee is included”, and [t] in the third person of both numbers (-*t* and -*nt*) – the semantic feature “non-locutor(s)”.

One can see that [-s] is found not only in the second person singular and plural inflections (-*s* and -*tis*), but also in the first person plural (-*mus*), that at first glance is in conflict with our assumption about [-s] as a marker of the feature “addressee is included”. In fact, it can be assumed that [-s] in the endings (-*mus*) and (-*tis*) creates the feature “addressee is not excluded”, which means that the ending (-*mus*) allows inclusive interpretation and, being the morphological correlate of the pronoun *nos*, indirectly indicates the possibility of inclusive use of the first person plural pronoun in Latin.

Comparing the meaning of the verb *vivamus* in *Petron.* 72. 3 to that in *Catull.* 5. 1, one can see two different meanings of the ending (-*mus*): when saying *vivamus*, Trimalchio addresses the whole company of his guests in which the speaker is included too, while in the Catullus’s *vivamus*, only Lesbia may be the addressee of the poet that implies “inclusive” interpretation of (-*mus*):

Immo iam coeperam etiam ego plorare, cum Trimalchio ‘ergo’ inquit ‘cum sciamus nos morituros esse, quare non vivamus?’ (Petron. 72. 3)

I had even begun to lift up my voice myself, when Trimalchio said, “Well, well, if we know we must die, why should we not live?” (transl. by M. Heseltine)

Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus... (Cat. 5. 1)

Let us live, my Lesbia, and let us love! (transl. by L. C. Smithers)

To sum up, the common element [-s] in the endings (-*mus*) and (-*tis*) creates the feature “addressee is not excluded”.

To conclude, the arbitrariness of signs as one of fundamental language properties which was discovered by ancient philosophers and confirmed by modern linguists, dominates indeed human language. Nevertheless, the linguistic signs of each particular language possess various techniques of

intralingual “motivation” based on the oppositional nature of the language system that seeks to mark both semantic differences and similarities. Therefore, although Democritus’ trend in linguistics is evidently greatly influential and productive, Epicurus’ interest in “the motivation” of language signs is not senseless: the search for such a motivation is still alive, although the most productive findings in this field seem to belong to the “intralingual motivation” rather than denotatum-oriented motivation.

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The article attempts to trace how the difference in approaches to the question of language origin in the Democritus' and Epicurus' traditions is reflected in modern linguistics. According to the monograph by Alexander Verlinsky (2006), Democritus insisted on the arbitrary connection between objects and words, while Epicurus insisted on a necessary correlation between them. At first glance, Democritus' tradition has ultimately won, being reflected in the ideas of Ferdinand de Saussure that remain of crucial importance for modern linguistics. If looking further, however, the research on motivation or iconicity of language sign is still quite alive, with a number of relevant studies. This paper argues that the majority of studies on the motivation of language signs still follow the Democritus' tradition rather than Epicurus' one. They tend to find the motivation based on purely intralingual data rather than in the “world of denotata”, the works by Roman Jakobson being of especial importance in this sense. Jakobson offered the idea of paradigmatically motivated signs that are segmentally smaller than morphemes, and this idea was further developed by Konstantin Pozdniakov and other linguists into the theory of submorphemic signs and submorphemic neutralizations. In support of this theory, this paper illustrates how the submorphemic level of the language can be used for the description of Latin personal pronouns.

В статье делается попытка проследить, каким образом различие в подходах к вопросу о происхождении языка в демокритовской и эпикурейской традициях отражается в современной лингвистике. Как указывает в своей монографии А. Л. Верлинский (2006), Демокрит настаивал на произвольной связи между предметами и словами, в то время как Эпикур — на необходимой

корреляции между ними. На первый взгляд, традиция Демокрита полностью победила, что нашло отражение в идеях Фердинанда де Соссюра, которые по-прежнему имеют решающее значение для современной лингвистики. В то же время интерес к исследованию мотивации и поиску иконичности языкового знака все еще актуален, что находит отражение в достаточно большом количестве работ по этой тематике. В данной статье приводятся аргументы в пользу того, что значительная часть исследований мотивации языковых знаков следует скорее традиции Демокрита, а не Эпикура. Их авторы склонны находить мотивацию, основанную на внутриязыковых данных, а не связанную с “миром денотатов”. В этом контексте особое значение имеют работы Р. О. Якобсона, предложившего идею парадигматически мотивированных знаков, которые сегментно меньше морфем. Эта идея получила дальнейшее развитие в трудах по теории субморфемных знаков и субморфемных нейтрализаций К. И. Позднякова и других лингвистов. Опираясь на эти идеи, авторы демонстрируют, как субморфемный уровень языка может использоваться для описания латинских личных местоимений.

NEO-HELLENIC POETRY IN RUSSIA:
ANTONIOS PALLADOKLIS (1747–1801)
AND GEORGIOS BALDANI (ABOUT 1760–1789)*

The tradition of versification in ancient Greek in Russia is not very rich.¹ This paper examines the work of two almost forgotten Greek poets who lived in Russia at the time of Empress Catherine II and completed laudatory and occasional odes in ancient Greek with Russian translations *en regard*.

Empress Catherine II had an ambitious plan, the so called Greek Project, to restore the Byzantine Empire with its metropolis in Constantinople.² After the Russian victories in the Turkish war (1768–1774),³ New Russia (Novorossia) was founded in the South regions around the Black Sea.⁴ Eugenios Boulgaris (1716–1806), a significant figure of the Greek Enlightenment, was invited by the Empress to the Russian court after he had translated into Greek (in 1770, from a French translation) her famous “Nakaz” [“Instruction”] of 1767, a document-recommendation of a new code of law for the Russian Empire.⁵ In 1775, Boulgaris became the first Archbishop of the newly created Eparchy of Novorossia. He believed that Catherine II would restore Hellenism in place of the Ottoman Empire, and he dedicated his translation of Virgil’s *Aeneid* into ancient Greek to her.⁶ It seems that at that time an increase

* This paper is a part of the project by Filippomaria Pontani and Stefan Weise “The Hellenizing Muse – An Anthology of Poetry in Ancient Greek from the Renaissance to the Present”. My thanks go to Alexander Verlinsky and Filippomaria Pontani for their corrections of my text and their suggestions.

¹ Ermolaeva 2018, 165–180.

² Zorin 2004 [А. Л. Зорин, *Кормя двуглавого орла... Литература и государственная идеология в России в последней трети XVIII века – первой трети XIX века*], 31–64.

³ Davies 2015.

⁴ Pryakhin 2008 [Ю. Д. Пряхин, *Греки в истории России XVIII–XIX веков*].

⁵ Batalden 1982; Gavrilov 2010 [А. К. Гаврилов, “Архиепископ Евгений Булгарис”, *О филологах и филологии*], 65–70.

⁶ Boulgaris 1786–1792.

in odes in honor of Catherine II and her favorites had reached almost epidemic proportions,⁷ among which ancient Greek odes with their Russian translations took their place.⁸

ANTONIOS PALLADOKLIS

(Ἀντώνιος Μιτυληναῖος ὁ Παλλαδοκλῆς, 1747–1801)

Antonios Palladoklis (Antonij and Anton Pavlovich Palladoklis in Russian), a native Greek born in Mytilene, became a Russian subject and had a distinguished career in Russia as a translator and diplomat.⁹ He studied first in Athens, then, from 1762, in the *Collegium Kijevoense Mohileanum* in Kiev, and from 1766, in the *Collegium Charcoviense*, the Slavo-Greco-Latin school in Kharkov (1721–1840). In 1768–1770, he was a teacher of ancient Greek and Latin at the Holy Trinity Orthodox Seminary near Moscow.¹⁰ In 1770, he was appointed as a translator of Greek, Latin, Turkish, Italian, and Romanian to the Collegium in Foreign Affairs in Saint Petersburg. In 1775–1779, he worked at the Russian embassy in Constantinople; then in 1783–1797, he served as a Russian consul in Dalmatia; in 1800, he was appointed General Consul of Russia in Ragusa. In 1771–1780, at the time of the victories of the Russians in the Russo-Turkish War, in Saint Petersburg he published six bilingual laudatory odes in ancient Greek and Russian, in various types of meter: hexameters, elegiac couplets, Sapphic stanzas, iambic dimeters and trimeters in honor of Catherine II (1771), Counts Alexei (1771) and Grigory Orlov (1771), Count Nikita Panin (1771), General Semen Naryshkin (1771), and the poem “To Kherson” (Εἰς Χερσῶνα, 1780).¹¹ The editions of the bilingual odes were decorated with miniatures and published at the expense of the author at a print run of 100 copies of each booklet. He completed two big epic historical poems in Russian: “Calliope” (1775, 73 pages) and

⁷ Kochetkova 2006 [Н. Д. Кочеткова, “Литературные посвящения в русских изданиях XVIII века (посвящения екатерининским вельможам)”, *XVIII век*], 96–124; Pozdnev 2018, 288–302.

⁸ Zorin 2004, 59–62.

⁹ Sazonova 1999 [Л. И. Сазонова, “Палладоклис Антон Павлович”, *Словарь русских писателей XVIII века*], 405–406; Arsh 2018 [Г. Л. Арш, “Греко-русский писатель и дипломат”, in: А. В. Соколовская, *1000 лет вместе: Ключевые моменты истории России и Греции*], 100–109; Minaoglou 2017 [Χ. Μηνάογλου, *Ιστορία του Ρωσικού κόμματος: Δώδεκα μελέτες για της απαρχές*], 125–126.

¹⁰ Smirnov 1867 [С. Смирнов, *История Троицкой Семинарии*], 503.

¹¹ Svodnyj katalog 1964 [*Сводный каталог русской книги гражданской печати XVIII века, 1725–1800*], II s. v. “Palladoklis”.

“Clio” (“Клиа”, 1781) on the Russo-Turkish war, the latter in the form of a dialogue between Ottoman [Osman] and the Muse of History Clio, with dedications in ancient Greek to Catherine II and to Prince Grigory Potemkin, philhellenic patrons of Greeks, accordingly. Catherine, in whom Greeks put hopes of freeing Greece from Muslim Turks, was compared with Alexander the Great, and portrayed as Themis and Pallas. The name of Palladoklis was either a felicitous real name or else a pseudonym chosen to glorify the Russian Pallas, Catherine II.

Στίχοι εἰς τὴν στολὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν
ἣν οὐκ ἀπηνήνατο ἀμφιέσασθαι
Ἡ μεγίστη Αὐτοκράτωρ (1771),
vss. 25–34

This poem of 34 lines with its Russian translation *en regard* (“Стихи на платье греческое, в кое Ея Величество соизволила одеваться в маскараде”) was dedicated to Empress Catherine II on the occasion when she put on a Greek dress, pretending it to be the garment of Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, at a masquerade. Following a long-standing Byzantine equivalence, the Turks are called “Persians”, and compared with them; accordingly, Catherine II is shown as a spirit descendant from Alexander the Great.¹²

...Μέγας δ' Ἀλέξανδρός τε Περσέων θρόνῳ 25
Πάλαι καθεσθείς, ΤΗΝ δ' ἰδὼν, τὰ φωνέει·
ΑΙΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΝ νῦν βλέπω
Φοροῦσαν εἶμα καὶ στολὴν Μητρὸς μέθεν...
ἽΩ ‘ναξ Πόλου, δός, κἀξίωσον δαρκέειν
ΑΙΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΑΝ καὶν Ἀλεξάνδρου στέφει, 30
Ὡσπερ φιλοῦσαν ἔκ τε κηρὸς ἡμέας,
Οὕτω τροπῆσαν Μουσταφᾶν ἀλαζόνα,
Ὡς ‘γὼ τρόπαιον κὰδ Δαρείου στησάμην,
Ἐμοί τε αἰχμῇ καὶ ψυχῇς κάλλει ἸΣΗΝ.

Crit.: 29 δαρκέειν *metri gratia* pro δρακεῖν | 31 κηρὸς correxi ; κῆρος ed.
32 τροπῆσαν vox nihili, an τροπήσασαν voluit?

Sim.: 29 ὦναξ πόλου: cf. Mich. Psell. poem. 85.1 West.

¹² Text: Palladoklis 1771a [ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΜΙΤΥΛΗΝΑΙΟΣ Ὁ ΠΑΛΛΑΔΟΚΛΗΣ, ΣΤΙΧΟΙ Εἰς τὴν Στολὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἣν οὐκ ἀπηνήνατο ἀμφιέσασθαι Ἡ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΗ Αὐτοκράτωρ, Ἐν Πετροπόλει].

Verses on the Hellenic garment
in which The Great Autocrator didn't reject to dress Herself
(1771), vss. 25–34

Alexander the Great, when he was sitting on the throne of Persians, having seen HER, once said: “Now, I see EKATERINE the GREAT wearing the garment and dress of my Mother... O Lord of Heaven, give <me> the honour of seeing EKATERINE also crowned as Alexander. Just as she loves us from her heart, so she has put to flight boastful Mustapha, just as I raised a trophy after defeating Darius: she is my equal in prowess and beauty of the soul”.

Ὡιδὴ τῷ Ἐκλαμπροτάτῳ Κόμητι
Ἀλεξίῳ Γρηγοριάδῃ τῷ ὉΡΛΩΒ (24.03.1771),
vss. 15–30

This poem on the defeat of the Turks at Chesme in 1770, of 350 verses in ancient Greek with its poetic translation into Russian (“Ода Его Сиятельству графу Алексею Григорьевичу Орлову”) and notes in ancient Greek and Russian, was dedicated to the victorious Count Alexei Orlov (1737–1807). Palladoklis addresses Greece as Μητηρ ποθητή and describes to her in colors how the Russian fleet has destroyed the Ottoman navy. Orlov is compared to Agamemnon who came from the North to seek revenge from the Agarenes (Muslims) for having deprived the Greeks of their freedom; the Turkish fleet was called the Hundred Headed Hydra, and Typhon eventually burns Troia. The edition was decorated with miniatures in particular with the image of Athena Pallas.¹³

...Μήτηρ ποθητή, λῆγε δάκρυ' ἐκχέειν,	15
Κ' ἐφ' ἀρπαγείῃ ἑλευθερίῃ ἀλγέειν·	
Ἴδου ἀπ' Ἀρκτου Ἀγαμέμνων ἵπταται	
Δυσμάς τε ἐλθὼν ἀρπαγῇ τιμωρέει·	
Ὡι δὲ ἔπονται ἄλκιμοι Μυρμιδόνες,	
Αἴας τ' Ἀχιλλεύς, τοῖς Ἀγαρηνοῖς στόνοι·	20
Ἴδούγε ἥρωες ἵπτατ' ὉΡΛΩΒ Ῥωσίης,	
ὉΡΛΩΒ ποθητὸς καὶ λίην ἡμῖν φίλος,	
Ὡπερ Ποσειδῶν δάφνινον πλέκει στέφος·	

¹³ Text: Palladoklis 1771b [ἈΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΜΙΤΥΛΗΝΑΙΟΣ Ὁ ΠΑΛΛΑΔΟΚΛΗΣ, Ὡιδὴ τῷ Ἐκλαμπροτάτῳ Κόμητι Ἀλεξίῳ Γρηγοριάδῃ τῷ ὉΡΛΩΒ, Ἐν Πετροπόλει].

Πτηνῶν δ' ἔφ' ἄλμης, μηχανῶν τοῦ Δαιδάλου
 Ἥφαιστοτεύκτων πτὰς ὅδε φλογοπνόνων, 25
 Τῇ μὲν Κεραυνόν, τῇ δὲ δὴ Ἴριν φέρει
 ΑΙΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΗΣ, προῖκ', ἈΝΑΣΣΗΣ, ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΣ,
 Ὅπως πατάξει τὸν στερήσανθ' ἡμέας
 Ἐλευθερίας, οἶκτον ἐμφάνη ἔτι
 Σοὶ τῇ παθούσῃ δεινὰ μακρῶ ἐν χρόνῳ... 30

Crit.: 18 ἀρπαγῇ correxi] ἄρπαγ' ἤ ed. || 20 Ἀχιλλεύς correxi] Ἀχιλλεύς ed. || 24 ἄλμης correxi] ἄλμης ed. || 25 Ἥφαιστοτεύκτων correxi] Ἥφαιστοτεύκτων ed.

Sim.: 25 Ἥφαιστοτεύκτων cf. *S. Ph.* 987; φλογοπνόνων hapax leg., ut vid.

The Ode to His Excellency Count Alexey Grigorijevich Orlov
 (24.03.1771), vss. 15–30

...Dear Mother, stop shedding tears / And suffering because Thy freedom was ravished. / Here, Agamemnon flies from the North/ And coming to the West leads a revenge for this loss, / Brave Myrmidons accompany him, / And Ajax, Achilles, sources of woe for the Agarenes. / Here flies Orlov, the hero of Russia, / Orlov who is desired and exceedingly beloved by us, / For whom Poseidon weaves a laurel wreath. / Flying above the sea on Daedalus' winged machines, / made by Hephaestus and breathing flames, / he brings the thunderbolt in one hand and Iris in another, / That is the gift of QUEEN EKATERINE THE SECOND, / so as to strike down he who deprived us of freedom, / To show compassion for You, who have suffered awful pains for a long time...

Ὡιδῇ τῷ Ἐκλαμπροτάτῳ Κόμητι
 Γρηγορίῳ Γρηγοριάδῃ τῷ ὍΡΛΩΒ (1771),
 vss. 109–120

Grigory Orlov (1734–1783) was a favorite of Catherine II, who together with his brothers prepared a palace coup in 1762 to overthrow Emperor Peter III in favour of Ekaterina Alexeyevna (born Princess Sophie of Anhalt-Zerbst). Whereupon, the Orlovs were elevated to Counts, then in 1772 Grigory rose to Prince. He was known to be a philhellenic patron of the Greeks. A Greek poem of 192 verses in Sapphic stanzas was edited together with a Russian poetic translation (“Ода Его Сиятельству графу Григорию Григорьевичу Орлову”) in iambic dimeter with *bababbabba* feminine and masculine rhyme. In the ode, Hellas, “famous Mother of heroes”, is shown as a poor and disconsolate woman who complains of

her miserable present, reminisces of her glorious past, and asks Orlov to be her patron and defend her from “evil Agarene dogs”. Orlov’s epithet *μεγάδοξος* (115) seems to have been coined by Palladoklis.¹⁴

...Ῥωσίη γὰρ κλῦσεν ἐμῶν ὀδυρμῶν,
 Ὅρφανοῖς’ ἀσπίς τελέθουσα αἰέν, 110
 Οἱ δι’ ἄλμης ἡδ’ ὀρέων πύλας νῦν
 Ἦκον ἄρ οἶκτων.

Χεῖρ’ ὀρέγνυσ’ ἐυμένεως ἔμοιγε,
 ὥπ’ ἐς οἰκτρὸν μευ ἐπιδὼν φιλόφρων
 Νῦν ὁ Κλεινὸς καὶ Μεγάδοξος ὍΡΛΩΒ 115
 Συμπαθέων μοι.

Οὔς κλίνει δ’ οὔτος στοναχῆς’ ἐμοῖο,
 Τοῦ φρενῶν ὀφθαλμὸς ἄρ’ ἔστ’ ἀϋπνῶν,
 Ὅφρ’ ἀταρτηρὰν μέο μοῖραν ἄρδην
 Ἐξολοθρεύση... 120

Crit.: 112 Ἦκον correxi] Ἦκον ed. || 113 ἐυμένεως correxi] ἐυμένεως ed.
 || 120 Ἐξολοθρεύση correxi] Ἐξολοθρεύση ed.
Sim.: 113 χεῖρας ὀρέγνυς cf. *Il*.1.351; 22.37 115 *μεγάδοξος* hapax leg.
 ut vid.

The Ode to His Excellence Count
 Grigory Grigoriyevich Orlov (1771),
 vss. 109–120

...Russia, ever being the shield for orphans, listened to my wailings which flying over sea and mountains have now reached gates of compassion./<Orlov> stretches a hand to me friendly, looking favourably at my pitiable face, Orlov, who is famous and widely known, now sympathises with me./He inclines his ear to my groaning, and the eye of his mind is sleepless so as to subvert utterly my baneful doom...

¹⁴ Text: Palladoklis 1771c [ἈΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΜΙΤΥΛΗΝΑΙΟΣ Ὁ ΠΑΛΛΑΔΟΚΛΗΣ, *Στιδὴ τῷ Ἐκλαμπροτάτῳ Κόμητι Γρηγορίῳ Γρηγοριάδῃ τῷ ὍΡΛΩΒ, Ἐν Πετροπόλει*].

Ἦδιῃ τῷ Ἐξοχωτάτῳ
 Συμεῶνι Κυριλλιάδῃ τῷ Ναρίσκη
 Τῷ κορυφαίῳ Στρατηγῷ,
 τῷ τῆς Μεγίστης Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀρχικυνηγῷ ...
 τῷ Φιλέλληνι καὶ Φιλοξένῳ
 (1771), vss. 1–8, 41–44

The poem is of 29 stanzas (116 lines) in Anacreontic dimeter. It was dedicated to nobleman Semen Naryshkin (1710–1775), a famous *bon vivant* who for a long time lived in Paris, moved in the circle of Diderot and Falconet, and later served as a Russian ambassador in Great Britain.¹⁵

Χαρίεσσα Μοῦσα ᾄσον, 1
 Τίς ἔγνω βίον περαιοῦν,
 Ὅφελος φέροντα πᾶσι;
 Τίς ἀδεῖ τε Δημιουργῷ;

Τίς Νέκταρος μεθέξει; 5
 Τίνα θρυλλέει ὁ αἰών;
 Τίς ἀνώτερός γε λήθης;
 Τίς ἄναξ πέλει ἑαυτοῦ;

<...>

Τοίου βίου Ναρίσκη 41
 Δείκνυσιν εἰκόν' ἡμῖν,
 Ποδὶ ἀτρεκεῖ τε βαίνων,
 Φύσεως νόμον γε πληρῶν.

The Ode to his Excellency Semen Kyrillovich Naryshkin
 the supreme General, the Leader of the Hunt of the Great Autocrator...
 to the Philhellene and a hospitable Man (1771), vss. 1–8, 41–44

Sing, graceful Muse of one, / Who knew how to lead a life / that brings
 advantage to all?/Who will please the Demiurge? / Who will take his
 share of the Nectar? / Who is the object of secular talk? / Who is above
 oblivion? / Who is the master of himself?...Naryshkin shows us / An
 example of such life, / Stepping with sure foot, / And fulfilling the law of
 nature.

¹⁵ Text: Palladoklis 1771d [ΩΙΔΗ ΤΩΙ ΕΞΟΧΩΤΑΤΩΙ ΣΥΜΕΩΝΙ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΙΑΔΗΙ ΤΩΙ ΝΑΡΙΣΚΗΝ Τῷ κορυφαίῳ Στρατηγῷ, τῷ τῆς ΜΕΓΙΣΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΚΥΝΗΓΩΙ ...τῷ Φιλέλληνι καὶ Φιλοξένῳ. Ἐν Πετροπόλει].

GEORGY BALDANI
(Γεώργιος Μπαλδάνη, about 1760–1789)

Georgy Baldani, a native Greek, studied in the Greek Gymnasium (the Corps of Foreign Co-religionists) in Saint Petersburg which was established by Catherine II in 1775.¹⁶ His amazing career as a poet seems to have started from his “Ode to Catherine II Great Autocratrix of all Russia, the real Patroness of Greeks” (1779) written when he was still a gymnasium pupil, “in Helleno-Greek”, as he himself proclaimed in the title of a separate edition in which his ode figures together with his Russian translation.¹⁷ In 1779, and 1781, he completed his Greek odes with Russian translations to the birth and the name-day of a grand duke Constantine Pavlovich, and in 1782 his ode in ancient Greek with Russian translation *en regard* to the birthday of Catherine II.¹⁸ His Russian version of the ode to the birth of Constantine Pavlovich (1779) is very similar (even completing the same number of lines – 80) to the ode dedicated to the same event by the famous Russian poet Vassily Petrov (1736–1799).¹⁹ In 1780, Baldani translated into ancient Greek the ode by Petrov to Prince Grigory Potemkin “Средь благ, которых очеси / Словеснаго творенья лестны...” (1778), following the triadic structure: strophe – antistrophe – epode. In 1781, he translated another laudatory ode by Petrov to Potemkin “В ином течет натура чине! / Или восторг пленит мой ум!...” (1777), completing it with the various meters that seem to imitate choral lyric.²⁰

Ὡδὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς Πανηγυρικοῖς, Πανευδαιμονεστάτοις,
Πανευθύμοις Γενεθλίοις Κονσταντίνου Παυλείδου
Μεγάλου Ἡγεμόνος Ῥωσσίης (1779), vss. 21–30

In Baldani’s poem of 80 lines in paroemiac (an an₁), the goddess Iris informs all the world that in Russia the second child of Paul was born. Paul is the future Emperor Paul I (1754–1801) and Mary is the future Empress

¹⁶ Kibalnik 1999 [С. А. Кибальник, “Балдани Георгий”, *Словарь русских писателей XVIII века*], 55. About the Greek Gymnasium see Pryakhin 2008 121–135.

¹⁷ Baldani 1779a [Ода ея Императорскому Величеству Государыне Екатерине II, Самодержице Всероссийской, истинной покровительнице греков, сочиненная на эллиногреческом языке, греческой гимназии учеником Георгием Балдани, а с онаго им же на российские стихи переложенная].

¹⁸ Kibalnik 1999, 55 writes by mistake that Baldani’s poetry was completed in Modern Greek.

¹⁹ Recently, on Vassily Petrov, a translator of the “Aeneid” into Russian, see in: Pozdnev 2018, 288–302.

²⁰ *Svodnyj catalog*... 1962, s. v. “Baldani”.

Maria Fyodorovna, born Duchess Sophia Dorothea Württemberg (1759–1828). Empress Catherine II gave her grandson, who was considered destined to become the future Emperor of Constantinople restored by the Russians, the name of Constantine.²¹

...Ῥώς, ἴσχεο καὶ μεῖο κλῦθι,	21
Ἄμαρ τόδε γηθοσυνόν σοι,	
Αὐδάν τε ἐμὰν χαρίεσσαν,	
Αἴη ἀπάσῃ φέρε πρόφρων.	
Νῦν Ῥωσσιῇ βρέφος ἄλλο	25
Φαιδρὸν Μαρίας τε καὶ Παύλου	
Λεύσσει, μεδέοντ' ἐρατεινὸν	
Ὑμιν γέρας αὔθι παρεῖχε	
Θεῖον, κλέος ᾧτινι φάνδην	
Ἦς Ῥωσσιῆς ὄφρ' ὀφέλλῃ...	30

Crit.: 23 Αὐδάν correxi] Ἀυδάν ed. || 24 Αἴη correxi] Ἄη ed. || 27 Λεύσσει ?] Λούσσει ed.

Sim.: 29 φάνδην] cf. ἐκφάνδην· φανερῶς (Hesych.).

The ode to the festive, all-blessed, all-delightful birth
of Constantine Pavlovich Great Leader of Russia
(1779), vss. 21–30

...Ros, hold your breath and listen to me, / this day is joyful for Thee. /
Bring willingly my pleasant voice / to all the Earth./ Now, Russia sees
another cheerful child of Mary and Paul, a lovely king: it has offered him
to you as a divine gift, for he will increase the glory of his Russia
manifestly for whoever...

In sum: An amazing phenomenon in 1770s poetry in Russia is the extraordinary concentration of odes in ancient Greek by native Greek, Russian subjects for Catherine II, Potemkin and others nobles edited in separated booklets decorated with elegant miniatures in ancient Greek style. It seems that these poems represent the earliest examples of secular poetry in ancient Greek in the Russian tradition. The poets could obtain skill in writing in various ancient meters through practice in rhetoric and versification at

²¹ Text: Baldani 1779b [ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΜΠΑΛΔΑΝΗ, *ᾠδὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς Πανηγυρικοῖς, Πανευδαιμονεστατοῖς, Πανευθύμοις ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΟΙΣ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΠΑΥΛΕΙΔΟΥ Μεγάλου Ἡγεμόνος Ῥωσσίης, Ἐν Πετροπόλει*].

gymnasium and the Slavo-Greco-Latin school; it is important that Greek was their native language. This phenomenon was a result of the historical situation and has never been repeated. In 19th century, the tradition of ancient Greek versification in Russia was connected rather with the German university tradition.²²

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- N. D. Kochetkova, “Literaturnyye posvyashcheniya v russkikh izdaniyakh XVIII veka (posvyashcheniya ekaterininskim velmozham)” [“Literary Dedications in

²² Ermolaeva 2018, 165–180.

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The article deals with the tradition of versification in ancient Greek in Russia. The author looks at the work of two almost forgotten native Greek, Russian subject poets, Antonios Palladoklis and Georgios Baldani, who completed laudatory and occasional odes in ancient Greek with Russian poetic translations *en regard* for Empress Catherine II, Potemkin, the Orlovs and other nobles. After the Russian victories in the Turkish war (1768–1774) Greeks hoped that Catherine II would free Greece from Muslim Turks and restore Hellenism. The author provides a small selection of their poetry in ancient Greek with English translations. An amazing feature of the poems is their metrical variety: hexameters, elegiac couplets, Sapphic stanzas, iambic and Anacreontic dimeters, paroemiac, etc.

Статья посвящена истории стихосложения на древнегреческом языке в России. Автор напоминает о поэтах Антонии Палладоклисе и Георгии Балдани, урожденных греках, ставших русскими подданными (о рано умершем Балдани мало известно), сочинявших оды в честь Екатерины II, Потемкина, Орловых, русских вельмож и членов царской семьи на древнегреческом языке с поэтическим русским переводом *en regard*. После побед русского флота в Русско-турецкой войне (1768–1774) греки надеялись на помощь Екатерины II в освобождении Греции от турок мусульман и восстановлении эллинизма. Автор предлагает небольшую подборку стихов на древнегреческом языке с переводом на английский. Обращает на себя внимание разнообразие древнегреческих метров в поэмах этого времени: гексаметр, элегический дистих, сапфическая строфа, ямбический и анакреонтический диметр, паремияк и другие метры.

A NOTE TO VLADIMIR BENEŠEVIČ (1874–1938)
PENNED BY ULRICH VON
WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF (1848–1931)

A short undated handwritten note, possibly a postcard, with the overleaf blank, extant among the correspondence of Vladimir Beneševič as part of an extensive body of his MSS. in St Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences under shelfmark call number 192.2.43.1r,¹ is yet another testimony to the far-reaching renown and acclaim of the scholar whose singular efforts for the cause of Byzantine studies in this country and impressive scholarly address book, which constituted the very essence of academic existence, were turned against him and foiled by the regime he would fall victim to.

The full text of the German original with a translation, some textual criticism which Wilamowitz' hand almost always requires, and an attempt at a commentary, largely through citing additional unpublished documents, are offered here.

Hochgeehrter Herr College,
dem Briefe und den Bitten meines verehrten Collegen Norden möchte
auch ich noch mein ganz persönliches Interesse an der Sache beson-
ders bekräftigen: es liegt so sehr in der Richtung, die ich der Verwendung
dieser Gelder geben möchte, daß möglichst viele Nationen auch bei dem
wissenschaftlichen Werke Hand anlegen; ich denke, das wird auf Wider-
hall allgemein stossen, und so hoffen wir für die Sinaihandschriften² bei
Ihnen keine Fehlbitte zu tun, da Sie allein den Zutritt haben.
In ausgezeichnete Hochachtung
ganz ergebenst
U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff³

¹ Conventionally in this country, here and after, SPbF ARAN. Fond 192, opis' 2, delo 43, list 1.

² Beneševič [*Описание греческих рукописей монастыря святой Екатерины на Синае*. Изд. Имп. Акад. наук, исполн. на завещ. ей еп. Порфирием средства, под ред. и с доп. В. Н. Бенешевича] 1911–1917. A catalogue of a part of these is to be found at 192.1.26.1–108; 192.3.51–54, 112–115, 182. The second volume, reserved for hagiographical MSS., was never published.

³ The transcription reproduced here belongs to Alexander Gavrillov who kindly prompted the author to put his two-decade-old work to good use; having examined

Dear colleague,
 alongside the letter of my honourable colleague Norden, I would also like herewith to especially affirm my profound personal involvement in this matter: it lies very much in the way in which I would like to see this amount of money spent, so that as many nations as possible could have a share in the scholarly work; I believe it will be met with general sympathy, so that we hope not to have entertained false hopes in asking you for Sinai manuscripts, since you alone have access.
 With utmost respect
 sincerely yours,
 U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff

Unmentioned in an overview of the correspondence of Benešević offered by Igor Medvedev,⁴ this uprooted note can and should be put in context, or else, on the face of things, “Sinaihandschriften” would have Wilamowitz and Norden asking for anything from collations or an augmented edition of the catalogue of Sinai MSS., to, in the light of Wilamowitz Stiftung mentioned, a critical text. It is by pure chance, with the absence of any other piece of correspondence directly pertaining to this episode, that the very letter of Eduard Norden mentioned (an easy clue as it is) survives among the papers of Benešević under shelfmark call number 192.2.133.1^r–3^r. The mechanical character of the request it contains might come as a disappointment, but should not be seen as belittling Benešević.

Norden seems to have written to Benešević before; the first letter dating to late 1910 reached his St Petersburg colleague only by word of mouth (possibly through Th. Zielinski, Benešević’ father-in-law) and prompted Benešević to initiate correspondence and offer assistance, hence the opening lines of gratitude:

Ihr Brief war mir eine große Freude. Ich weiß aber ganz genau, daß ich Ihnen damals schrieb: Ihr liebenswürdiges Anerbieten nehmen wir mit Dank an. Jener Brief muß also nie in Ihre Hände gelangt sein. Um so vervollter war es mir nun natürlich, daß ich nun doch noch in die Lage gekommen bin, Sie zu erreichen.⁵

The sparse collection of Norden and Wilamowitz correspondence, with Norden’s letters virtually all missing, offers a firmer dating for the entering into a correspondence, alongside a rather blunt assessment of

the MS. independently, the author reads *Zutritt* in the last line, against *Vortritt* of the transcription; an attempt at a defence is undertaken in the commentary.

⁴ Medvedev 1995 [И. П. Медведев (ed.), *Архивы русских византистов в Санкт-Петербурге*], 363–371.

⁵ 192.2.133.1^r.

the connection established and the expenses to be incurred (a letter of Wilamowitz of 28 December 1910):

Es ist ja sehr hübsch, wenn wir gleich noch an den Sinai kommen, und der erste Schritt: Excerpte der Katalogaufnahmen für Greg. Nyss. und von Basil. nicht mehr als was für diesen nötig ist (sonst würden schon die Mönchsregeln ersticken) wird sich ja für nicht viel Geld (Russe immer am liebsten honorirt) erreichen lassen. Dann wird Taxe nötig sein. Slawische Brüder (Zielinski eingeschlossen) sind immer mit grosser Höflichkeit und gleich als waren sie gentlemen zu behandeln; aber man darf nie vergessen, daß sie slawische Brüder sind.⁶

The “Russe” is, beyond all doubt, Benešević.

Norden’s letter we possess bears the date 15 July 1911, thus both setting a *terminus post quem* for the note of Wilamowitz and shedding more welcome light on the way in which Benešević was involved, albeit with the outcome undocumented. The first volume of the Catalogue of MSS. housed in the monastery of St Catherine on Mt Sinai was edited, augmented, and published by Benešević earlier in the same year⁷ and was already current in Germany, allowing Norden to have it skimmed for his purposes („Ich habe ihn in diesen Tagen durchsehen lassen“), which were the following: the editors (presumably Pasquali and Jäger, as it transpires from the letter of Wilamowitz to Norden of 10 March 1912)⁸ needed photographs of certain MSS. of Gregory of Nyssa, Eunomius and Basil the Great from Sinai, a notoriously inaccessible holder. Norden puts it in his letter to Benešević this way:

Für unsere Zwecke kommt daraus nur in Betracht: Nr. 513 (383): Τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου... ἐπιτάφιος εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Μελέτιον etc. Ἡῤῥησεν ἡμῖν τὸν ἀριθμὸν etc. Denn sowohl nr. 517 (2089) als nr. 516 sind zu jung, als daß sich lohnte, sie zu photographieren. Für Basilios (ἡξαήμερος κατ’ Εὐνομίου) sowie Eunomios (ἀπολογητικός) hat sich in den genannten Teile Ihres Katalogs nichts gefunden. Ich möchte noch bemerken, daß so junge Hss. wie die beiden genannten für uns überhaupt nicht in Betracht kommen.⁹

⁶ Calder III – Huss 1997, 75.

⁷ Benešević 1911.

⁸ Calder III – Huss 1997, 84–86.

⁹ 192.2.133.1^v–2^r. Similar sentiment in Wilamowitz’ letter of 10 March 1912: “die Rechnung ist bitter, aber wenn der Auftrag lautete, photographire was du findest, so kann man den Mann nicht schelten. Da wird wohl Pasquali oder vielmehr die moderne Torheit, jeden Pferdeapfel zu beriechen ob er nicht am Ende doch ein Borsdorfer ist die Schuld tragen. Das nennen die Modernen Akribie” (Calder III – Huss 1997, 86).

Wilamowitz' *Erinnerungen* (summing up the outcome) allow but a glimpse into the whole enterprise running alongside the sweeping Th. Mommsen's Kirchenväterkommission:

Daher bestimmte ich die Summe Geldes, die mir zum 60. Geburtstag geschenkt war,¹⁰ für Gregor von Nyssa, und mein Kollege und Freund Norden übernahm die Leitung. Es waren so viele Forschungen in den Bibliotheken und damals noch teure Photographien nötig, daß das Geld nur für den Druck von ganz wenigen Bänden gereicht hat. Zu meiner besonderen Freude ist einer von einem italienischen Gelehrten bearbeitet, denn die Spende kam auch aus dem Auslande.¹¹

Benešević, an avid and experienced photographer,¹² was to undertake his third expedition to Mt Sinai in the summer of 1911 (prior to that, in 1907 and 1908), also planning (prompted by his German colleagues?) to visit Cairo and the isle of Patmos (thwarted by his illness and an outbreak of cholera). The report he offered at the sitting of the Academy of Sciences on 19th October 1911 makes it quite clear that the obstacles on the way of any lay reader of the Monastery Library were indeed great: to quote from a leaflet reproduced, residence within the monastery was forbidden, with prospective readers having to provide food and bedding (usually a tent) for themselves, the Library was open for four hours a day only (divided between the morning and the afternoon, with the exact hours at discretion of the Council), it was forbidden to make any photographs or catalogues of MSS., no more than two books could be taken out at any one time, no visitor could study for longer than a month. Benešević, however, enjoyed what was in itself a valuable asset: hospitality in the walls of the Monastery, unlimited access to holdings and unspecified working hours, the ban on photography lifted (he reported having made around 3000 photographs on that outing alone).¹³ In the light of the request, it is all but certain that the immediate reason for Wilamowitz' and Norden's interest in the work of Benešević was the *access* he had to the most secluded MSS. collections, thus the reading "da Sie allein den Zutritt haben", which is supported by the instances of the shape of letters V (always having the shape of a printed letter) and Z (invariably going below the line) as they appear in the body of Wilamowitz' handwritten letters, as well as in this note itself, is more feasible palaeographically and aptly expresses the long and short of it.

¹⁰ With Russian scholars among its contributors. P. Nikitin papers (shelfmark 36) held in St Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

¹¹ Wilamowitz 1929, 305.

¹² See among his papers, 192.3.114.1–499; 115.1–271.

¹³ Benešević 1911, 1097–1104.



Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff,
Professor of Classics at Berlin University
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It is quite possible that a black-and-white photograph of Wilamowitz from the family album of Benešević, undated and bearing no dedication, set by the archivists between 1893 and 1912,¹⁴ shelfmark call number 192.3.200.13^v, 50, if received from the hands of the sitter himself, could have arrived together, or shortly after, the note (unless obtained indirectly through, for instance, Zielinski). Taken roughly at a time if not on the same occasion as the privately held photo in half profile listed by W. A. Schröder in his iconography of Wilamowitz under Nr. 18, a 55- to 60-year-old Wilamowitz,¹⁵ this earnest enface is virtually unknown.

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- V. Benešević (ed.), *Opisanie grecheskikh rukopisei monastyria svjatoi Jekateriny na Sinaje. T. 1–3* [A Catalogue of Greek MSS. Housed in the Monastery of St Catherine on Mt Sinai. Vol. 1–3] (St Petersburg 1911–1917).
- W. M. Calder III, B. Huss (eds.), *Sed serviendum officio–: the correspondence between Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Eduard Norden* (Berlin 1997).
- I. P. Medvedev (ed.), *Arkhivy russkykh vizantinistov v Sankt Peterburge* [Archives of the Russian Byzantinists in St Petersburg] (St Petersburg 1995).
- W. A. Schröder, “Wilamowitz-Bildnisse”, *Philologus* 151 (2007) 335–374.
- U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Erinnerungen 1848–1914* (Leipzig 1929).

A short undated note to Vladimir Benešević filed under 192.2.43.1^r and housed in St Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences is a postcard written by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and dispatched at some point in the course of the correspondence around what turns out to be a request for photographs of certain Sinai MSS. Further archival documents and published letters instrumental in setting the scene are cited to the result that the key to the correct understanding of the note offered for publication here lies in the *Zutritt* to the Sinai holdings Benešević enjoyed.

¹⁴ Bottom right corner bears numbers which might be the year 1898.

¹⁵ Schröder 2007, 349–350, 366.

Короткое рукописное письмо (открытка) без даты, хранящееся в СПбФ АРАН в фонде В. Н. Бенешевича (Ф. 192, оп. 2, д. 43, л. 1), отправлено У. фон Виламовицем-Мёллендорфом Бенешевичу в ходе переписки, целью которой, как выясняет автор этой заметки, стала просьба о фотографировании некоторых рукописей из собрания монастыря Св. Екатерины на Синае. Полезным для установления примерного времени написания и цели стало письмо Э. Нордена Бенешевичу (СПбФ АРАН, Ф. 192, оп. 2, д. 133, л. 1–3), выдержки из которого приводятся без перевода. Доступ к синайскому собранию явился основной причиной обращения немецких коллег к Бенешевичу, что позволяет с уверенностью читать *Zutritt* в последнем предложении письма Виламовица.

Keywords

ALMAZOVA

Aristotle, paralogism, *Poetics*, recognition

Аристотель, паралогизм, *Поэтика*, узнавание

DRUZHININA

Letter of Aristeas, *Septuagint*, textual criticism

критика текста, *Письмо Аристее*, *Септуагинта*

ERMOLAEVA

Neo-Hellenic poetry, Antonios Palladoklis, Georgios Baldani

Антоний Палладоклис, Георгий Балдани, неоэллинистическая поэзия

KEYER

inscription, Latin epigraphy, Roman Britain, stylus

латинская эпиграфика, надпись, Римская Британия, стилос

KOSTYLEVA

Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Vladimir Benešević, correspondence, Sinai MSS, textual criticism

В. Н. Бенешевич, У. фон Виламовиц-Мёллендорф, критика текста, переписка, синайские рукописи

LUCARINI

choral poetry, Greek lyric, Greek metre, hexameter

гексаметр, греческая лирика, греческая метрика, хоровая поэзия

PAVLICHENKO, CHISTOV

Greek epigraphy, lead letter, Berezan

Березань, греческая эпиграфика, свинцовое письмо

POZDNEV

Aias, Athens, Homer, *Iliad*, rhapsodes

Афины, Аякс, Гомер, *Илиада*, рапсоды

SEIDENSTICKER

division of the chorus, Euripides' *Cyclops*, speaker designation
распределение реплик, разделение хора, *Циклон* Еврипида

SEDLEY

Cratylus, etymology, flux, Plato, *Sophist*
Кратил, Платон, *Софист*, течение, этимология

SMITH

death, Diogenes of Oinoanda, Epicurean, inscription, old age
Диоген из Эноанды, надпись, смерть, старость, эпикуреец

ZHELTOV, ZHELTOVA

Epicurus' and Democritus' traditions, Latin personal pronouns, motivation of language sign, phonosemantics, sound symbolism, submorphemic neutralization
звуковой символизм, личные местоимения в латинском языке, мотивация языкового знака, субморфемная нейтрализация, традиции Эпикура и Демокрита, фоносемантика

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D. Schaps. “Piglets again”, *JHS* 116 (1996) 169–171.

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Научное издание

HYPERBOREUS:
Классическая филология и история
Vol. 25 2019 Fasc. 2

Ответственный редактор тома *Д. В. Кейер*
Компьютерная верстка *А. Б. Левкина*

Учредители журнала *А. К. Гаврилов, Д. В. Панченко*
Регистрационное свидетельство № 0111029 от 27 августа 1993 года

Подписано в печать 29.12.2019. Формат 70 × 100 1/16. Печать офсетная.
Усл. печ. л. 16,85. Тираж 250 экз. Заказ № 015.

Отпечатано в типографии издательско-полиграфической фирмы «Реноме»,
192007 Санкт-Петербург, наб. Обводного канала, д. 40.
Тел./факс (812) 766-05-66. E-mail: book@renomespbf.ru
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