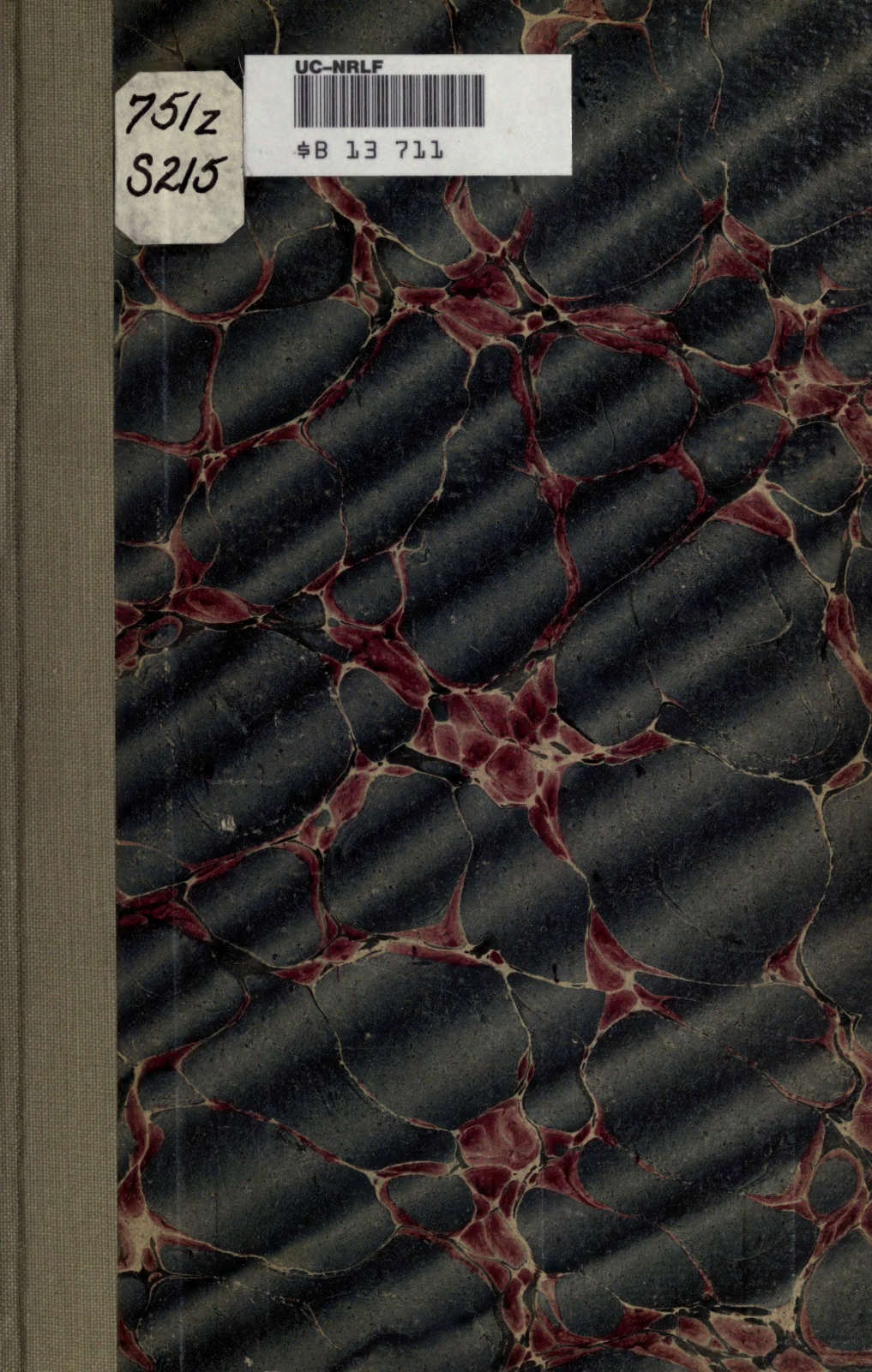


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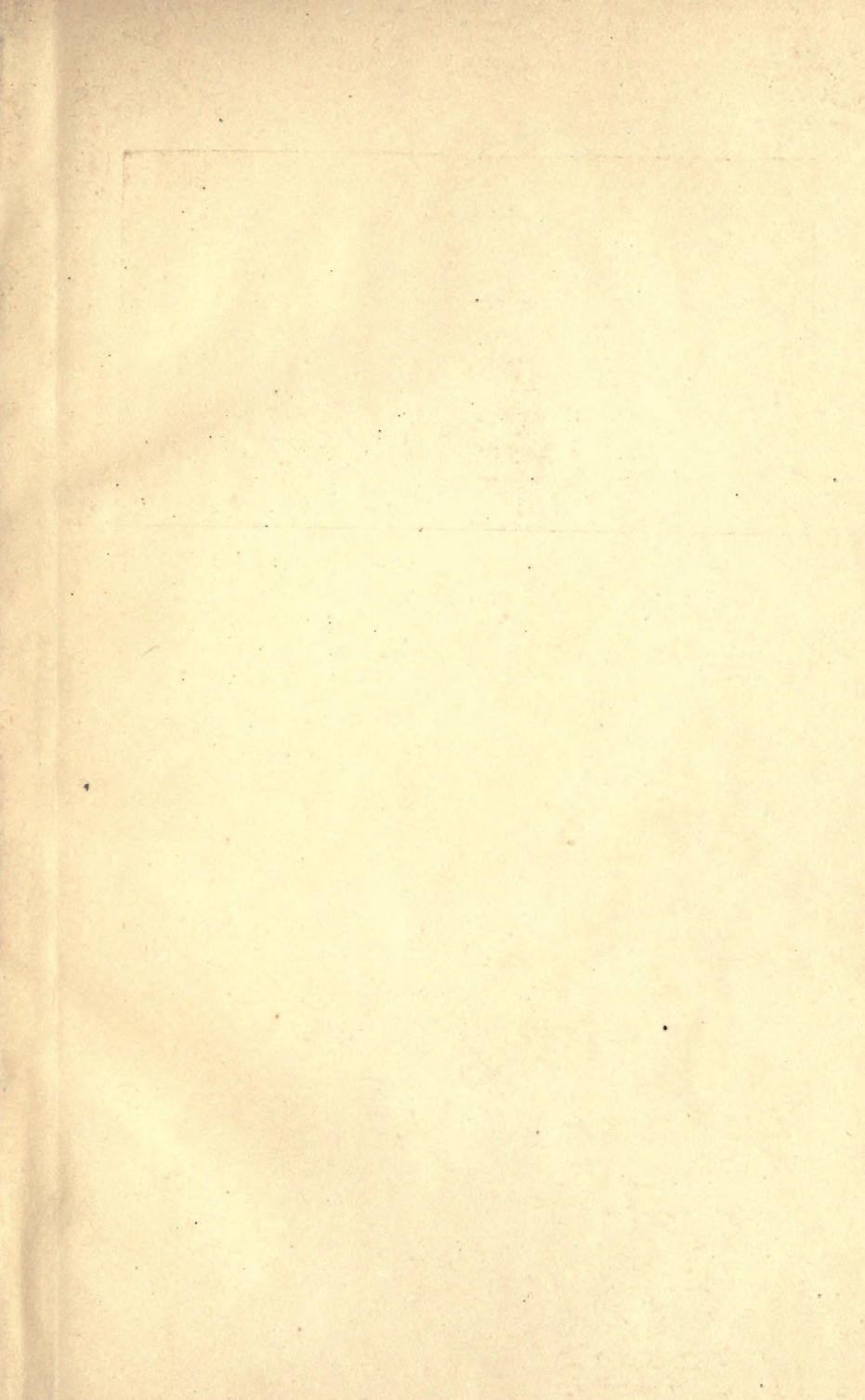
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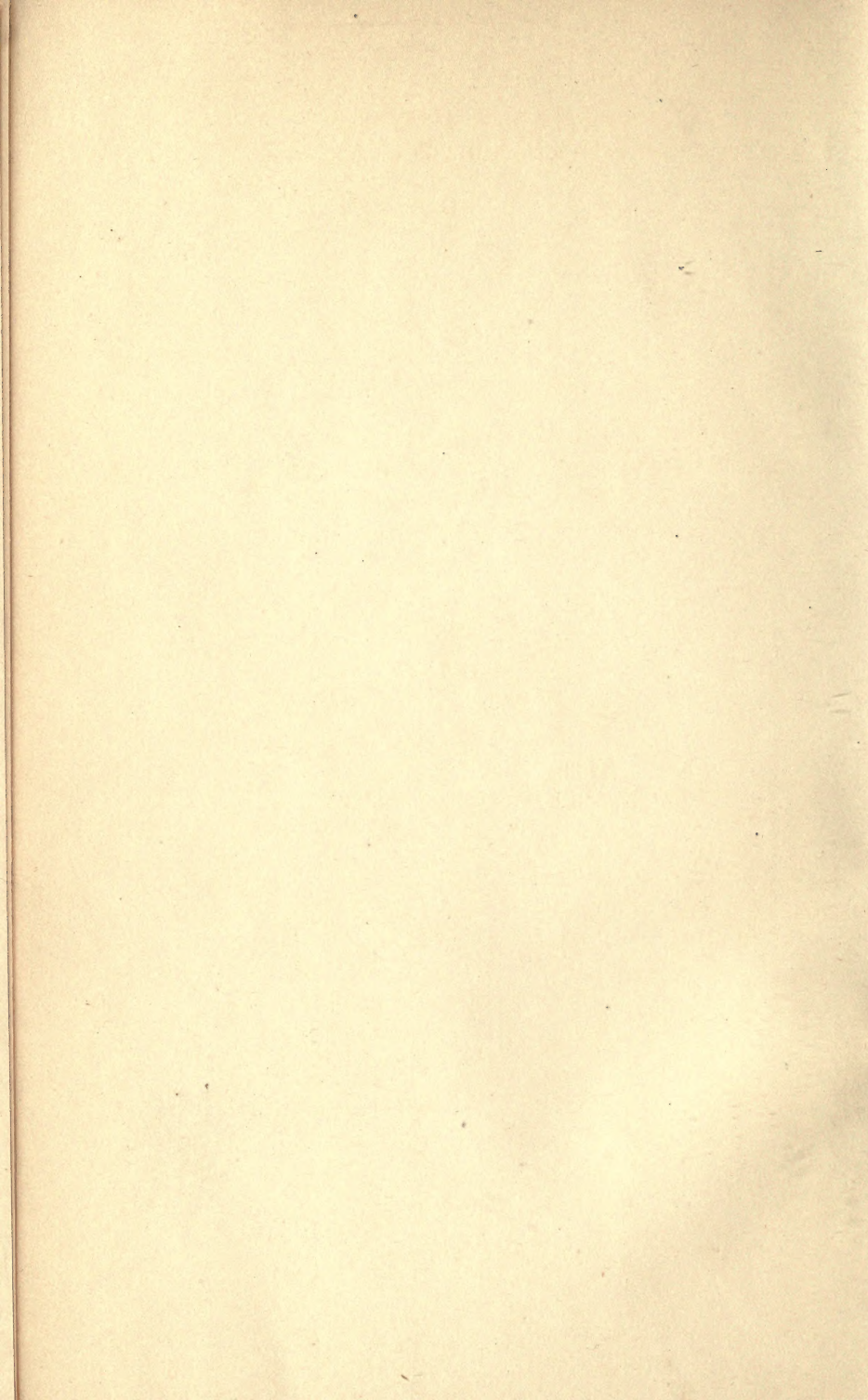
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THE CYNEGETICUS

DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

HENRY NEVILL SANDERS, M. A.



BALTIMORE
1903

The Lord Baltimore Press

THE FRIEDENWALD COMPANY

BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

Φαμί διδασκαλίαν Χείρωνος οἴσειν.

Pindar, Pyth. IV 102.

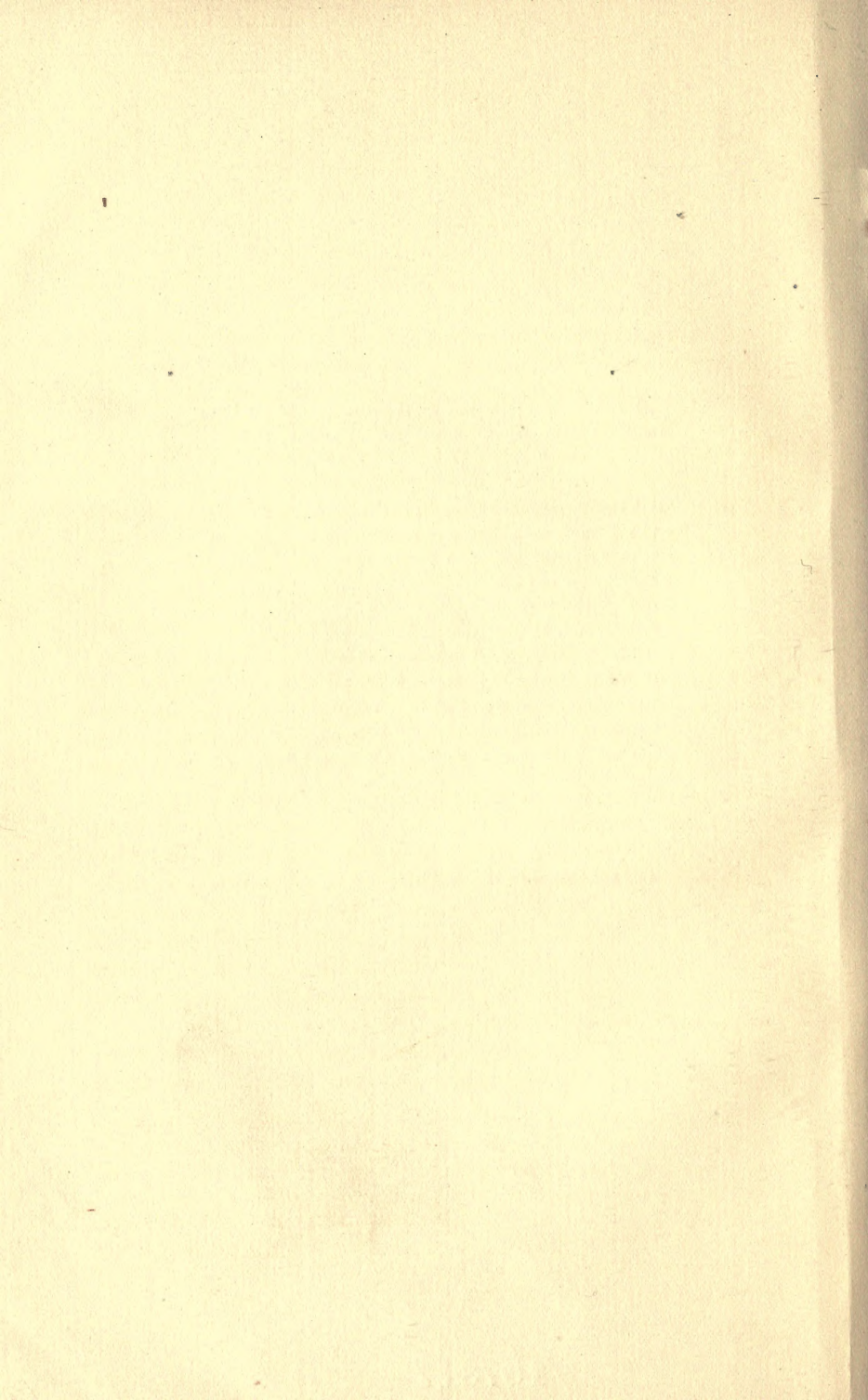
Vieillard! tels m'ont parlé ces pasteurs des humains
Nourris de ton esprit, élevés par tes mains . . .

Leconte de Lisle, Khirôn.

Alle suche dysport as voydith ydilnesse
Yt syttyth euery gentilman to knowe;
For myrthe annexed is to gentilnesse.
Qwerfore among alle oper, as y trowe,
To know the craft of hontyng and to blowe,
As thys book shall witenesse, is one the beste;
For it is holsum, plesaunt, and honest.—
And for to sette yonge hunterys in the way,
To venery y caste me fyrst to go,
Of wheche .IIII. bestis be, that is to say
The hare, the herte, þe wulfhe, the wylde boor also;
Of venery for sothe þer be no moe.
And so it shewith here in portretewre,
Where euery best is set in hys figure.

Twici.

(Eng. version from Cottonian MS. B, XII Vesp.)





THE CYNEGETICUS.

In the earlier years of modern scholarship the critical treatment of the *Cynegeticus* was confined to attack upon its genuineness as a work of Xenophon and resulted in athetesis in whole or in part. More recently the work has been subjected to investigation both from the point of view of philosophic content and from that of stylistic detail. The two latter phases of criticism, thoroughly worked out as they have been by modern scientific method, have been altogether inconclusive as to the authorship and the date of the treatise. Towards the solution of these difficulties, I propose to apply a fourth line of investigation, if possibly I may weave the results arrived at by my predecessors to a logical conclusion, by trying to determine more nearly the date of publication from literary allusion and the locality from topographical consideration. In pursuance of this object I originally prepared a somewhat lengthy dissertation dealing with the ethos of the *Cynegeticus* in the form of a detailed commentary, at the same time devoting much space to the articles of scholars relating to the subject, and finally briefly indicating my own conclusions. This dissertation was accepted by the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins University in February of 1903, and should have been published forthwith, but considerations arose which suggested the advisability of putting much of the matter in the form of a text book,¹ and in consequence I have ventured to reconstruct the dissertation so as to deal exclusively with the problem of authorship.

The plan of the *Cynegeticus* divides naturally into three parts:—a proem I 1–17 lauding venery at the time when Greek

¹This point must be emphasised, as the Board of Studies of the Johns Hopkins University would hardly have accepted the dissertation in its present form as adequate, nor would the writer have had the hardihood to offer the same. On the other hand, in the edition proposed there may be much to offend scholars who are not sportsmen, even as the *Cynegeticus* has proved offensive being tentative in Greek Literature—on the border land between a treatise and an epideictic effusion, holding a place as precarious as the social prestige of a fancier.

Chivalry sat at the feet of Cheiron the Centaur; a hunter's manual I 18–XI 4; an epilogue XII 1–XIII 18 enforcing the value of training in sport as conducive to soundness of mind and body, and to capacity in military and political conduct, and further attacking certain teachers of the school of ἡδονή.

In the last quarter of a century or so the upholders of athetesis have been represented by Seymour, Lincke, Rosenstiel, Norden (as regards the proem), and Richards (mentioned in this connection rather for his attitude towards Xenophon's works generally). With the exception of Norden, these writers incline to accept the work as Xenophon's with athetesis of later accretions.¹

Seymour² for instance regards, with a few minor omissions, as the work of Xenophon I 18–II 8, VI 7–16, VI 23–VII 4, VII 6 and 7, VII 9–IX 7, IX 11, 12, 17, 18, X 1–3, 19–23, XII 1–17. He thus gets rid of certain touches of naturalistic humour, over-interpretation of observation or quaint traditions of hunters' lore, and their formulary concomitants of curious syntax, all of which he regards as late, but which may be equally well supported as survivals of antiquity or anticipations of later idiom. One must remember that the sphere of the book, the sphere of venery, has ever been a curious mixture of low relief and high rhetoric, of antiquated terms and neological colloquialism.

K. Lincke³ condemns the authorities that catalogued Xenophon's works in the Alexandrian Library among other things for retaining the *Cynegeticus* in the edition "which forms the foundation of all our MSS. without exception, with the spurious introduction and conclusion." Incidentally the form of the Aeneas legend points to the proem as having been written before the IIIrd century.⁴ A note on geography, a numerical calculation, a detail of mythology at once reveals to him an interpolation. "The genuine preface (I 18) precludes the possibility of the work being that of a νεανίσκος." Later Lincke⁵ received a further incentive to discuss the *Cynegeticus* from Rosen-

¹J. J. Hartman refuses to accept the work as Xenophon's, regarding it as inconceivable that a sportsman should be responsible for it. See page 12, note 1.

²Seymour, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* 1878, p. 69 ff.

³K. Lincke, *Hermes* XVII. 1882. p. 279 f. Compare A. J. P. III. 199 footnote.

⁴Cf. F. Rühl, *Zeitschrift für die Oesterreichischen Gymnasien* XXXI. 411 ff.

⁵K. Lincke, *Jahrb. f. Cl. Phil.* CLIII. pp. 209–217.

stiel's Sondershausen Program. The author of *Cyn. I 1-17* and *XII*, says Lincke, is still a schoolboy at his exercises. The hunting treatise *I 18-XII 9* may be regarded as a unity. Special emphasis is laid upon the appendix *XII 10 ff.* which is a polemic against interested rivalry—in the book trade. The sons of Xenophon as pupils of a second Cheiron shared in the production of the *Cynegeticus* or at least in the introduction and conclusion. He contends that the hunting treatise and the remarks on the existing Persian Polity were written by a single author who had not studied much beyond the *Cyropaedeia*.¹ "There are two personalities, two individualities dissimilar in understanding and disposition as they are in language, whom we here see in faithful singleness of heart busying themselves with copying Xenophontean conceptions and showing peculiar activity in the dissemination of Xenophontean writings. The one writes for love of his subject; the other, some not ingenuous Athenian teacher and literary man, from personal interest seeks morally to annihilate his co-rivals for the favour of the wealthy, and in his passionate eagerness has made the modest author of the *Anabasis* and *Cyropaedeia* a publisher of an impudent advertisement for his own writings."

Rosenstiel,² comparing the *Cynegeticus* with kindred writings of Xenophon, had concluded that in the former Xenophon comes forward as an instructor to young people; that young people require the matter in hand to be objectively impressed on them, while a manner of subjective suggestion is more in keeping with the maturity of the readers appealed to in the *Hipparchus* and *de re equestri*. The use of the *infin.-imperat.* is held by Rosenstiel to point to such effort for objectivity. He remarks that the *Cynegeticus* was not intended for publication, or a large circulation, the sketchy character of many passages being in evidence. He is inclined to see an interpolator's hand where the author of the treatise on the Sublime might see agreeable variation—e. g. the change from singular to plural. He concludes that Xenophon's audience was composed of his sons and their companions, in connection with which he says: *Darum kann ich mir wohl denken, dass X., selbst ein zweiter Cheiron (Cyn. I 2), das, was in Einleitung und Schluss zur Empfehlung und zum Preise der*

¹ Cf. K. Lincke, *Philologus* 1901. p. 564 f.

² F. Rosenstiel, *Ueber die eigenartige Darstellungsform in Xenophons Cynegeticus*, Program Sondershausen, 1891.

Jagd enthalten ist, in ähnlicher Weise seinen jugendlichen Zuhörern, um ihren Eifer zu wecken, mündlich entwickelt und dabei auch seine tiefe Abneigung gegen die damaligen Sophisten, die Lehrer einer falschen Bildung, ungeniert ausgesprochen hat, und dass dies etwa von einem seiner Söhne der Jagdanleitung hinzugefügt worden ist; für diese selbst aber was die schriftliche Aufzeichnung geboten. The date of composition he sets at 384–383. The main part of the work contains no naive tone, no *fervor iuvenilis*, and introduction and conclusion and certain other passages are to be set down to an interpolator.

Norden¹ treats of the proemium of the *Cynegeticus* in that division of the *Kunstprosa* which he entitles “Von Hadrian bis zum Ende des Kaiserzeit,” a position that has not failed to draw comment from the critics. His whole treatment depends upon Radermacher’s article then recently published, to the conclusions of which he subscribes except for the date of the proem. This he assigns to the *Zweite Sophistik*. He quotes *Cyn. I 3* and adds: this affected modesty is however precisely one of the most prominent and offensive properties of the style of the *Zweite Sophistik*. “Dass in solchem Stil ausschliesslich Vertreter der sog. *Zweiten Sophistik* geschrieben haben, kann ich mit grösster Bestimmtheit versichern.” This is decided enough, yet the *Zweite Sophistik* is a phase of style not a period, and one may read the entire book without being able to decide what limits in time Norden sets to the *Zweite Sophistik*. Philostratus² writes: *περὶ δὲ Αἰσχίνου τοῦ Ἀτρομήτου, ὃν φαμεν τῆς δευτέρας σοφιστικῆς ἀρξαι* Yet Norden writes: Radermacher urteilt (p. 36) vor dem III Jh. v. Chr. dürfte das Proömium schwerlich entstanden sein; er denkt also wohl an die ältere asianische Schule und zieht daher Hegesias zum Vergleich heran. Es lässt sich aber aus dem Stil beweisen, dass das Proömium ein Product der *Zweiten Sophistik* ist. As a matter of fact if one reads Norden’s description of this ältere asianische Schule he will think Radermacher has good grounds for his conviction. But Norden’s criticism of Radermacher is apparently not merely a correction of the term “asianisch.” He would relegate the proemium to the time when the chase excited an interest such as we find in Arrian and Pollux. Surely however if that is the case it is remarkable that Arrian accepts the Proem as Xenophon’s. He would hardly have done

¹E. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, Leipzig 1898.

²Vit. Soph. I, 18, 507.

so had the author been within a generation or so of his time, for he must have made some mark as the precursor of the New Style¹.

On the other hand what Norden has to say of the early Asiatics is more to the point here. "In their moods of soft, empty pathos they broke up periods into short mincing sentences; every sentence had a strongly rhythmical cadence, clauses with ditrochee $\zeta\upsilon\zeta\bar{\upsilon}$ being an especial favourite and $\zeta\upsilon\zeta\bar{\upsilon}$, a form much affected later." He adds that Asianism linked itself to old Sophistic Kunstprosa; further, "in their moments of bombast they displayed a bacchantic, dithyrambic prose with the watchword of Caprice as Law Supreme."

In a series of articles that dwelt with the minor works of Xenophon, H. Richards² has endeavoured to establish the authenticity or spuriousness of sundry of the writings of Xenophon from an exhaustive analysis of the diction. In the case of the *Cynegeticus* he says: "The facts of language that tell against a Xn. authorship are negative rather than positive." He takes Cyn. I–XI to be genuine work of Xenophon. In XII and XIII various things point to Xenophon as the author and there is nothing that points the other way. "The preface is dithyrambic in tone and poetic in expression (cp. *Cl. Rev.* 1899, p. 347, col. 2), but there is nothing in the vocabulary that is inconsistent with Xenophontine authorship." In *Cl. Rev.* 1899 p. 383 he makes some critical notes on the *Cynegeticus* which may prove useful to anyone editing the text but which do not concern us at present.³

The foregoing writers are representative of the school of partial athetesis. Their methods have naturally points of contact with the other lines of investigation we are now about to consider, but for practical purposes the distinction is warranted by their several conclusions. So far the manner of our author has been considered; the contents of the work and the style of composition, granting that after Gorgias matters of style in Greek Literature are thoroughly artificial, intentional and therefore capable of statistical analysis, afford opportunity for a more material,

¹ Compare Norden, p. 407 f. Gratius' *Carmen Venaticum* shows an acquaintance with the *Cynegeticus*, yet it would be straining a point to see an allusion to our proem in the opening address to Diana.

² *Classical Review* 1898, pp. 285, 383. 1899, pp. 198, 342.

³ A similar remark applies to the article of van Herwerden, *Mnemosyne* N. S. XXIII, 1895.

more scientifically tangible, investigation. The application of comparative philosophy to the matter of the *Cynegeticus* is found in the writings of Kaibel, Dümmler and Joël¹.

G. Kaibel² begins by insisting on the versatility of Xenophon, the diversity of the subjects on which he writes, and his adaptiveness to their sphere, his close connection with contemporary literature and his susceptibility to external suggestion. While admitting that the substance and the form of the treatise (in entirety) are surprising, conforming but little to the picture one has of Xenophon's manner of thought and expression, he denies the probability of a careless interpolator on the grounds of the harmony between the material and the linguistic mould in which it is cast. That it is the product of a youthful Xenophon is improbable from the words *παραινῶ τοῖς νέοις*, and also the poor facilities for experience in hunting afforded by Attica possessed by enemies³.

The *Cynegeticus* is primarily an encomium on the chase; not a technical treatise like the *περὶ ἵππικῆς*, but rather analogous to the *Οἰκονομικός*, which is interpreted as an encomium on agriculture. It is also a defence of the chase against the attacks of its opponents, and it is out of "this defence, the conclusion and perhaps the most noteworthy part of the book, that there is evolved an independent attack to which the chase but serves as an accommodating bridge." The objection to the devotees of the chase is really that the hardy hunters are a menace to *ἡδονή*. The contrast set up between *ἡδονή* and *πόνος* would alone suffice to reveal Aristippus as the opponent engaged. To Xenophon the *θέλειν πορεύειν* is the way to virtue, the proof of which, neither very clear nor very deep, goes hand in hand with the Prodicus chapter directed against Aristippus in *Memorabilia* II 1.

Turning to the introduction Kaibel finds that the colourless sketching of the heroes no less than the lack of variety of invention, hints at want of practice on the author's part, but the tone and impress of the whole section does not to his mind fall far short of Isocrates' manner, e. g. in *Panath.* 72. The position of Cheiron with his twenty-one pupils is an advance on that

¹ It is a matter for regret that Gomperz or some Philosopher conversant with the Hippocratean Corpus has not treated the *Cyn.* comparatively.

² *Hermes* XXV 1890, p. 581 f.

³ A point more than once insisted on by Mahaffy, himself no mean sportsman.

accorded him by Homer, where he is *δικαιοτάτος Κενταύρων*, or on his presentation as the huntsman, as plastic art of the VIth century represented him. The aim of Cheironian education is Virtue, the medium of education Toil and Work. Here, too, Xenophon is limited by an influence from without. Antisthenes' Herakles¹ shows a surprising similarity to the introduction to the *Cynegeticus*; in it Antisthenes wished to demonstrate the theme *τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν* is the *τέλος*, making use also of the theme *ὅτι ὁ πόνος ἀγαθόν*. The theme was worked out in his Great Herakles. By not borrowing mechanically for his catalogue of heroic pupils Xenophon protests against Antisthenes' interpretation of the Homeric *δικαιοτάτος Κενταύρων*. Xenophon has no place for Herakles the Hero of Cynic Doctrine; he would not have put him among the pupils of Cheiron even if the legend had already admitted him in that circle. Kaibel touches on the possibility of Antisthenes' having introduced a *Φρόνησις* in person; this would lend poignancy to the ironical thrust in Plato *Phaedr.* 250 d, and Xenophon's intent in maintaining that 'Αρετή² become human would be like the Loved One before whose eyes the Lover is bashful about doing or saying anything ugly, would be to fight Aristippus with Antisthenes' weapons, at the same time not sparing criticism of his fellow scholar.

This being so, Kaibel continues, the work was not written by Xenophon in his early days, nor in the Vth century at all. The attack on the sophists in chap. XIII is directed against the sophists of the Gorgianic school and, combined with them, certain philosophers, the false in contrast to the true philosophers. Isocrates *περὶ ἀντιδόσεως* is similar. The *μάταια* censured by Xenophon (*Cyn.* XIII 2) may well be identical with the *μάταιοι λόγοι* of Isocrates XV. 269. To obtain a wordy commentary on the few sentences of Xenophon one has but to write out the half of the *Antidosis* oration.

After the attack on the Hedonists and sophists, Xenophon compares hunters and *τοὺς ἐπὶ πλεονεξίας εἰκῆ ἰόντας*, the politicians who turn their public activity to their own advantage. The fact that a strained transition from the sophists to these people who are ruined by their influence is considered sufficient, points to Isocrates XV 274 being already in the author's mind. Isocrates in a similar train of thought comes quite naturally to the same sentiments. Kaibel then compares the method of treatment

¹ Dümmler, *Akademika*, p. 192.

² *Cyn.* XII 19, 20.

adopted by Xenophon and Isocrates, and concludes: "This correspondence of thoughts which are as simple and natural in Isocrates as in Xenophon they are forced and artificially introduced, I can only interpret in one way, that Xenophon was under the influence of the Antidosis speech and in consequence could not have written the *Cynegeticus* before 353 B. C."

The genuine relations between Xenophon and Isocrates are now touched upon. The warning of Isocrates in XV not to treat him as a second Socrates could not fail to attract Xenophon's attention. The intellectual kinship, the bent towards philosophy as they understood it, the respect for ἀρετή and πόνος, certain national political views held in common must bring the two men together, and Isocrates would hardly have written a memorial oration on Gryllus after the battle of Mantinea if the father of the young hero were indifferent to him. Xenophon in his later writings takes over isolated expressions of a general nature from Isocrates with little alteration; the Agesilaus and the Evagoras show points of connection. So Πόροι shows the influence of *περὶ εἰρήνης*.¹

Dümmler² agrees with Kaibel that the *Cynegeticus* is a genuine work of Xenophon, but takes exception to his finding of an opposition to Antisthenes on his part. The most important work however that has recently appeared treating the *Cynegeticus* from the Philosophic side is that of Joël,³ whose second volume

¹ In this connection one might with propriety quote the conclusion of J. J. Hartman in his brief chapter on the *Cynegeticus* (*Analecta Xenophontea nova*, 1889, ch. XV, p. 351). Non Xenophon libri auctor est sed Ἴσοκράτιδεός τις quidam qui arroganter et rixantis in modum loqui a magistro suo didicit. An improbable videtur eiusmodi puerum in Isocratis alicuius sinu educatum venationis fuisse peritum? Sed peritum re vera eum fuisse quis unquam demonstrabit? Venatoresne? At pauci illi sunt inter philologos This criticism is doubtless legitimate from the European point of view where such sport is conventional, and is in the attitude of Plato who regarded riding to hounds alone as worthy of a gentleman. But in the less conventional hunting of our backwoods, where 'any old dog' will do for deer running *provided he follows the standard laid down in the Cynegeticus*, we get many points of contact with the sport depicted by our rebellious author, and just as quaintly humorous stories of the ways of the animals, just as unintelligible directions for the making of traps accompanied by obvious directions for their setting.

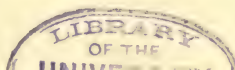
² F. Dümmler, *Philol.* L 1891 p. 288.

³ *Der echte und der Xenophontische Sokrates von Karl Joël*, Berlin 1898, vol. II Berlin 1901.

is dedicated to the memory of Dümmler. His theory is that without an understanding of Antisthenes we fail to understand Plato's opponent and Xenophon's original. The use Joël makes of the Cynegeticus in his endeavour to elucidate Cynic doctrine may be surmised from the fact that in his first volume he refers over forty times to that treatise for support to his argument, while in his second volume more than 260 references may be counted, extending to every chapter in the book, although naturally the first and the two concluding chapters occupy his attention most. He considers the Cynegeticus as we have it the work of one man, and that man Xenophon. Critics, he allows, have doubted the authenticity of the Cynegeticus and especially that of the two concluding chapters, utterly blind to the fact that in the entire Xenophontean corpus there is almost no passage so personally characteristic, "so subjectiv grundlegend, so confessionsmässig," as chapters XII and XIII of the Cynegeticus (I p. 68).¹ In I 418 Joël touches on the attitude towards Palamedes in Cyn. I 11, and in Mem. IV 2, 33 ff. In the former Xenophon is recognized as being more independent, in the latter as dependent on Cynic sources. In I 511, 512, 530, Joël treats of *ἐπιμέλεια*, *ἄσκησις*, *πόνος*, drawing attention (p. 512) to the worship of Heroic Chivalry in Antisthenes, which is interesting in view of Cyn. I.

On Antisthenes Joël (vol. II p. 53) remarks: To the champion of *ἰσχύς* and *ἀρετὴ τῶν ἔργων*, haunted perhaps by the hunting instincts of his mother's country as by a romantic dream, it was not hard to recommend the chase not merely on hygienic and gymnastic grounds, but also precisely as a training towards *ἐγκράτεια* and *καρτερία*. The Cynic (p. 57) led from *παιδεία* to *ἀρχή* through *ἐγκράτεια*, the Cynic Cyropaedia from hunting to *κρατεῖν* through the same medium; similar are the tenets of the frame in which the Cynegeticus is set, where Xenophon professes the *ἐνθυμήματα* of the Cynic *φιλόσοφοι* although later viewing them more critically, and enthusiastically follows the Herakles of Antisthenes in praise of the *παιδεία* of Cheiron, of *πόνος*, even as in the discrimination between *φίλοι* and *ἀντίπαλοι* (*ἐχθροί* Cyn. XII f.

¹One might quote Th. Gomperz, Griechische Denker II p. 96: Ein Fachmann war Xenophon in sportlichen Dingen, als Jäger und Reiter, und die drei Schriftchen, welche er diesen seinen Lieblingsthemen widmete (das "Jagd" und das "Reitbuch" und das Buch "Vom Reiteroberst"), gehören in der That zu dem Besten, das aus seiner Feder geflossen ist.



Diog. Laert. Diogenes VI 11 f. 105), a differentiation which is best understood by comparison with dogs.

Joël (II 67) considers that it shows the utterly hypnotic influence of the Cynic that the sport-loving Xenophon does not squarely declare hunting to be an end in itself, but defends his passionate devotion to the chase on paedagogic grounds. In keeping with the theory of Mem. III 4, 12 is the remarkable refutation in the Cynegeticus of the objection that huntsmen neglect τὰ οἰκεία; but, runs the answer, the οἰκεία and the πολιτικά (κοινὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων!) are identical as interests, and the identity of the economic and martial calling had already been developed by Antisthenes in the case of the κύων who is at once watchdog and hound (II 70, 71).

On p. 105 we have citations to show that πόνος is the all-dominating motive in the Cynegeticus, the treatise dependent on the Herakles of Antisthenes; Cyn. XII¹ is wrongly athetised owing to misconception of Cynic education and Xenophon's nature. One might almost infer (from p. 110 ff.) that the Cynegeticus had for its motive φιλοπονία, the Cyropaedia and Oeconomus ἐπιμέλεια. On p. 302 he touches on the Antisthenic Herakles being devoted to the praise of πόνος and the struggle against Cyrenaic ἡδονή (cp. p. 501 anm.). This supports Kaibel's view of the Cynegeticus. In tracing² the connection between Xenophon's Cynegeticus and Antisthenes' Herakles he maintains that the epilogue of the former is without connection except as interpreted through the latter. He also alludes to the figure of Arete incarnate.

In view of the last section of Cyn. XIII where women also are partakers of the gift of the chase, it is worthy of note that the "Antisthenic Protagoras" preached to women also, and that Antisthenes moreover said (Diog. Laert. VI 12): ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ, and ἡ γυναικεία φύσις οὐδὲν χείρων τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐσα τυγχάνει. The Antisthenic theories on the value of good stock are treated on p. 360. The author of the Cynegeticus insisted on purity in the breed of hounds, and the dog afforded a simile ready at hand to the Cynic. Even Diogenes used to take his pupils out hunting (Diog. Laert. VI 31).

The language of the Antiphon fragment in Iamblichus is worth studying (pp. 674, 690). The occurrence of ἀν-privative,

¹ For the value of πόνος and Cyn. XII see Joël pp. 378, 382.

² P. 297.

of compounds in *ει-* and *φιλο-* and of substantives in *-μα* is noticeable also in the *Cynegeticus*. Joël would have the Antiphon fragment to be the work of Antisthenes and draws attention to its correspondence with passages in *Cyn.* XII, XIII.

On *Mem.* III 11 Joël remarks: “. . . und nun wird die Hasenjagd in einer Weise als Vorbild gepriesen und genau beschrieben, dass man die Freude und die helfende Hand des Autors des *Cynegeticus* und des praktischen Waidmanns Xenophon spürt . . . Der Jagdhund für Freunde: das ist der Gegenstand dieses Capitels, wie der Wächterhund gegen Feinde der gegenstand von *Mem.* II, 9, und das sind ja die zwei Seiten des Kynischen Ideals.”

Associated as he has been with Usener in the editing of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and himself the editor of Demetrius, *De Elocutione*, Radermacher is a fitting representative of the Stylistic criticism of the *Cynegeticus*. His article¹ shows all the acumen of one intimate with the Greek Rhetoricians and modern methods of statistic. Whether this combination is ultimately capable of producing a scientific criterion one may not yet determine. Dionysius himself in deciding the genuineness of a Lysian writing leaves final decision to an undefined aestheticism.

To Radermacher the defenders of the genuineness of the *Cynegeticus* are apparently in a numerical majority, only some regard the book on linguistic grounds as a youthful writing of Xenophon, while to others inherent features point to the author being a mature man. Already cited as Xenophon's by Plutarch (*Mor.* 1096 c), no one in antiquity seems to have expressed doubt of the genuineness of the book. The testimony of Tryphon (*Athenaeus* 400 a), and the fact of the treatise being included in the corpus of Xenophon's works in the Alexandrian Library is recalled. Since Valckenaer's time the grounds of all considerations have been essentially based on linguistic and stylistic phenomena, while the practical objections have been mostly of an indefinite and general kind.

Leaving aside the Proemium for later consideration, Radermacher commences with an analysis of the sentence construction. The author is representative of the *λέξις ειρομένη*. Parataxis is preferred as against Hypotaxis; so much so that the balance of the clauses often results in ambiguity. Partiality for parenthetical accretions is manifested in the striving after tabulation of

¹ L. Radermacher, *Rhein. Mus.* LI, 1896, p. 596; LII, 1897, p. 13.

ideas. His participial constructions are a token of the stylistic trend of the author. Xenophon's manner is contrasted, especially in the technical treatises. Again in the *Cynegeticus* parallelism of the members of a sentence lead of necessity to Homoioteleuta that could hardly be avoided. They are not to be recognized as a definite striving after Gorgianic art. A Parisosis that really strikes the ear occurs only in XII 13.

With the author of the *Cynegeticus* Antithesis with Chiasmic arrangement of words forms almost a mannerism; a noticeable peculiarity is his predilection for *Asyndeta* and *Appositional* construction; similarly an impression of alertness and pregnancy is conveyed by the Infinitive for the Imperative; a seeking for brevity is also betrayed by his σχήματα ἀπὸ κοινού. In chapter V a remarkable vacillation between the generic singular and plural is noticed by Rosenstiel; the occurrence of such phenomena throughout the book precludes the theory of interpolation; rather are we to think of a negligent or unpractised stylist. Xenophon's use of figures is contrasted. Anaphora, common in Xenophon, occurs twice in the *Cynegeticus*. Chiasm is rare in Xenophon, whose use of *Asyndeton* is also moderate. His expansiveness does not lead one to expect elliptical expressions. He has made as rich use of tropes as of figures.¹

The *Cynegeticus* is poor in connectives, but Radermacher does not insist on this point as Roquette² finds the same criticism true of the commencement of the *Hellenica*, and on that ground assigns both to Xenophon's youth.

The plea³ of the *Cynegeticus* being an encomium and therefore showing a differentiation in style is according to Radermacher not well taken. He holds that the unity of the style which is characteristic enough excludes the idea of a revision of a genuine work of Xenophon—it could only be a case of complete reconstruction. The arrangement of the book is not strikingly bad; it is not improved by the excision of minor portions. There are two probabilities: either the book originated in a time when Xenophon wrote in a style differing from that of the rest of his writings, or it is spurious.

In the former case the development must have been marvellous. The treatise shows numerous, often signal divergencies from

¹Schacht, *De Xen. studiis rhetoricis*, Diss. Berl. 1889.

²Roquette, *De Xen. vita*, 1884. He holds that the *Cyn.* was written at Athens before 401—prob. in 402 (p. 52).

³Kalbel's.

Xenophon's usage. Radermacher investigates concisely the use of words in the *Cynegeticus*. He notices a striking mixture of poetic and vulgar words which one could hardly ascribe to Xenophon; some of these recur in un-Attic prose. The number of compound words is also noticeable. A comparison is instituted with Xenophon's writings. The Infinitive-imperative is common in medical treatises of the time, but not in Xenophon; the use of the accusative of terminus ad quem, of transitive verbs as intransitive, occasionally the use of prepositions calls for comment.¹ While in Syntax generally the *Cynegeticus* shows no important deviations from the language of the IVth century, the usage of words is often vulgar and to be met with in the *κοινή*, and on the whole there is enough material to warrant an athetesis of the work. The manner of expression seems in many instances borrowed from the language of the people; some syntactical peculiarities may be derived from the same source. It differs distinctly from the language and style of Xenophon.

After thus treating of the *Grammatica*, Radermacher introduces other criteria for the genuineness or spuriousness of the book. Greece proper today contains no bears. Brehm (*Thierleben* II p. 215) to the contrary. Heuzey denies their presence in the vicinity of Olympus and Hirschfeld in Arcadia. They must be admitted to exist in the Balkans. Aristotle's information as to bears refers to the Balkans and Asia Minor. To the author of *Cyn.* XI 1, they were *ἐν ξέναις χώραις*. In the vicinity where the hunting treatise originated² there were no bears. That vicinity was on the coast. The author knew islands where there was excellent hare hunting, probably the Cyclades. There is nothing against Attica as the home of the author. The law against *νυκτρεπυταί* (XII 6) is certainly fictitious, although Plato (*νόμοι* 824a) contains a similar allusion, and Isocrates (*Areop.* 148e) recognises that in ancient Athens hunting played an important part in the education of the young.

The author's personality is defined more precisely than his home. He is proud of being *ιδιώτης* and has a poor opinion of *πολιτικοί*. yet considers it the highest duty for the citizen to be of use to his country. Work alone leads to Virtue, hence the value of hunting. The pleasure-seeker is neither wise nor useful.

¹ But cp. Dionysius Hal. *Ep.* II ad Ammaeum 7, and generally for marks of Thuc., i. e. early, prose style.

² That is of course the treatise in its present form.

The author knows his shortcomings as a writer. He pays tribute to the ideals of the philosophers but attacks the sophists fiercely. While an ἀνὴρ ἐρωτικός he is a pious man. He has a touch of superstition as has every true Waidmann. He is not a particularly prominent man. He knows not the aristocratic riding to hounds which alone was recommended by Plato. Xenophon on the other hand was a noted horseman, and his Cyrus hunts hares and lions on horseback. While allowing the value of the chase as an education, Xenophon does not see the foundation of all ἀρετή in hare hunting. About the year 400 the theme of hunting was more exploited than we generally recognise. The education of the young was also prominently discussed at this time. In Rep. 535 d¹ Dümmler has good grounds for seeing a reference to, a stricture on, Antisthenes, with whom πόνος alone led to ἀρετή, and who wrote a Herakles in which Cheiron played an important part. There is no necessity to see a reference to Xenophon also. In Cyn. XII 10 (λέγουσι δέ τινες ὡς οὐ χρὴ ἐρᾶν κυνηγεσίῳ) Aristippus in all probability is meant, as Kaibel conjectures. The chase afforded a common topic among those interested in education.

From certain other considerations Radermacher is enabled to date the treatise more exactly. In chap. XIII γνώμη is synonymous with νόημα and ἐνθύμημα, is opposed to ὄνομα. γνώμη as opposed to ὄνομα is impossible after Aristotle or perhaps even after Isocrates (Arist. Rhet. 1394 a). The particular use of the word γνώμη speaks for the antiquity of chap. XIII; antiquity is also demanded by the context. The author has more in mind than a description of the apparatus for hunting. Not being an encomium the Cynegeticus does not stop at the XIIth chapter. The point at issue is the education of the young. In maintaining the thesis that ἀρετή is the object of education, that the path to ἀρετή is through πόνος, and that therefore hunting is an especially excellent means of education, he must necessarily protest against his opponents. The contrast between hunters and πολιτικοί leads to a recommendation of hunting as an education.

Containing as it does detailed instructions for the practice of the chase, and insisting on the importance of the chase for moral

¹ πρῶτον μὲν εἶπον φιλοπονία οὐ χωλὸν δεῖ εἶναι τὸν ἀπόμμενον, τὰ μὲν ἡμίσεια φιλόπονον τὰ δὲ ἡμίσεια ἀπονον· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο, ὅταν τις φιλογυμναστῆς μὲν καὶ φιλόθηρος ἢ καὶ πάντα τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος φιλοπονῆ, φιλομαθῆς δὲ μὴ μηδὲ φιλήκοος μηδὲ ζητητικὸς ἀλλ' ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις μισοπονῆ.

and athletic education, the treatise constitutes a whole, and (chap. II to chap. XIII) is to be assigned to one author. It is unlikely that Xenophon as a young man of at most twenty-eight years could write the treatise, nor could one still be νέος when he dictates with such confidence to those who are no longer boys but young men. Xenophon's polemic is never wounding. If the attacks on the sophists are due to iuvenilis ardor Xenophon must have been a very unpleasant young man.

In the *Cynegeticus* φιλόσοφος and σοφιστής are sharply differentiated. Radermacher, proceeding from von Wilamowitz (*Aus Kydathen*, p. 215), concludes that Plato is responsible for the distinction, σοφιστής being the general term and φιλόσοφος and σοφιστής having a fundamental difference only to a narrow circle to which Xenophon did not belong. It is only in his latest production, *πόροι* (V 4), that Xenophon introduces φιλόσοφοι and σοφισταί side by side in mentioning various callings. That Xenophon should make the distinction in his earliest writings and neglect it in the *Anabasis*, *Cyropaedia*, *Symposium* and *Memorabilia* is subversive of all historical principles.

If Xenophon had actually composed the *Cynegeticus* as a young man, he would have the honour of having created the word σοφιστικός. Rather it is an invention of Plato which occurs in the *Gorgias* with other formations in -ικός, and is much used in Platonic writings as opposed to σοφός. One understands *Cyn. XIII 7* only by comparison with *Plato Soph. 268 b*. The writer of the *Cynegeticus* was under the actual influence of Platonic Doctrine. The *Hunting Treatise* cannot be a youthful production of Xenophon, and it stands formally in most decided contrast to his later writings. Radermacher therefore concludes that Xenophon is not its author.

Hipparch. I 1, Cyn. II 1; XII 1, Apol. VI; Cyn. XIII 2, Mem. II 7, 3; Cyn. XII 5, Cyrop. I 6, 37, bear on the whole too external a resemblance to draw conclusions from. Just as hazardous is it to build on references to Isocrates—the opinions are hardly original with Isocrates, and the formal similarity is unimportant. The attack on the sophists has only point for a period when there were still sophists in Plato's sense of the word. To the sophists of the *Hunting Treatise* cultivation in rhetoric is but secondary, they are primarily occupied with other scientific problems (*Cyn. XIII 2*). The treatise in its latter part as Kaibel notices is strongly influenced by Cynic Doctrine. He has

rendered direct reference to Antisthenes probable. Taking all in all we arrive at the first half of the IVth century. Theophrastus apparently knew the work (de plant. X 20. 4, Cyn. V 1-5; de plant. XI 5. 6, Cyn. VIII 1).

Having thus determined on the date and decided on the spuriousness of the Cynegeticus (II to XIII), Radermacher investigates the Proemium (I 1-17). Arrian knew the proem, Philostratus doubtless made use of it in Heroicus X. On grammatical and linguistic grounds there is nothing to force us to set its origin in a later time. The construction of the sentence is simple. Hiatus is not suppressed more than otherwise in the Cynegeticus. Instances occur of Asyndeton, Chiasmus, Anaphora, Paronomasia, Homoeoteleuta, of Antithesis, Zeugma, Parenthesis. Simplicity of expression, however, is decidedly sought after. The rest of the treatise is compared.

As regards the peculiarly rhythmical form: the ends of the cola are carefully constructed, the ditrochee, especially beloved by Asianic rhetoric, is conspicuous, 26 or 27 examples; Radermacher adds a table of feet employed. Aristotle only recommended rhythmical form for the beginning and end of the period; it was apparently only later rhetoricians that attempted to extend rhythmical forms throughout in colon and period. It is a peculiarity of Asianic style to employ rhythms conspicuously in prose. In this the Proemium is no exception. The order in which the heroes are introduced is due to a desire for rhythm. The form of the Aeneas legend is no criterion for age as the argumentum ex silentio is questionable. The account of Palamedes is opposed to that in Xenophon Mem. IV 2, 33. The proem of the Cynegeticus is nothing else than a masterpiece of rhetorical imposture like those demanded by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (de Dem. 1094). To ascribe it to the worthy that wrote the remaining chapters would be a blunder. Long before the appearance of Usener's Götternamen (p. 158) Radermacher had concluded that we have here a genuine piece of Asianic eloquence. This Epideixis can hardly have originated before the IIIrd century B. C. Its author had inserted *δὸν ἐπεμνήσθη* in XII 18. In short: die gespreizte Ausdrucksweise, die Kühnheit der Wortstellung, die auffallenden Kolenschlüsse, die Rhythmen, endlich die kecke Mythengestaltung—sollte das nicht Rhetorik und zwar eigenartige Rhetorik sein?

In reviewing the evidence offered in the foregoing articles, I am inclined to take the following view. While allowing that Rosenstiel is right in recognising the *Cynegeticus* as a scholastic treatise written for boys, I cannot accept as proved his idea that the circle for whom it was composed consisted of Xenophon's sons and their companions. Rather than with Lincke find in the author a schoolboy still at his exercises, I would consider him a man who understands boys and assumes their ethos. Moreover I think one is justified in regarding the *Cynegeticus* as we have it as the work of one man, who however compiled from practical and theoretic sources the various divisions of his book. There is nothing to prove that these sources were not written prior to Xenophon's activity as an author, while there is much to show that Xenophon in other writings is a plagiarist. It is not necessary to suppose that compiling a treatise somewhat of the order of a school program, albeit a program of a new school, must have left traces of its style in more mature work. On the other hand the department of ventry is likely to induce a sympathetic author to cast his work in a language and ethos suitable to the occasion; the occasion not being repeated the treatise remains an isolated instance of a potential department of literature. On no other occasion does Xenophon allude to hunting at sufficient length to warrant the introduction of a cynegetic mannerism that would necessarily appear grotesque in another environment. As antiquity decided that the work was Xenophon's we may not on the existing evidence assert positively the contrary unless we can also assert that Xenophon as a young man could not have brought himself to reproduce or recast the work of predecessors.

In the matter of date I am inclined to place the *Cynegeticus* in its entirety earlier than Radermacher would allow. It is not necessary to wait for the *Gorgias* to create the word σοφιστικός. Words in -ικός were a mannerism as early as 424 B. C. when Aristophanes in the *Equites* (1358 follg.) ridiculed the affectation. It is significant that this arch humorist suggests the remedy (1382) μή Δί' ἀλλ' ἀναγκάσω κυνηγετεῖν ἐγὼ τοὺτους ἅπαντας. So too the differentiation of Sophist and Philosopher may have been a transient phase of Xenophon's intellect. Men drift apart from the philosophy they ardently espouse as young men before worldliness makes them practical. The argument that later on Xenophon does not appear to have been in the inner Platonic circle, does not preclude him from once having imbibed influence

from a common source, and made a point of the distinction between the terms. To the practical man with "the dust of campaigns still on him" the distinction may not have appealed in the years of discretion. I doubt if such would appeal with sufficient force in the present day to convert a military writer of occasion, a contributor say to a popular magazine, into a purist or a pedant. Radermacher makes a point when he remarks that Chap. XIII is early because the use of *γνώμη* as opposed to *δύομα* is impossible after Aristotle, perhaps after Isocrates. On the other hand when considering Kaibel's views of the dependence of the *Cynegeticus* upon Isocrates we may not neglect the fact that Isocrates' method of maturing his own work and elaborating the thoughts of others makes him no sound criterion for a *terminus ante quem non*. Be it observed too that the attack on Hedone in the *Cynegeticus* leaves unnoticed the transcendental interpretation of Hedone in [Isocrates] *ad Demonicum*. On the modern method of arguing therefore the conclusion of the *Cynegeticus* was written before that *paraenesis*. Sandys appears to have good grounds for dating the *ad Demonicum* before the commencement of the IVth century. Both works readily lend themselves to the office of a school program. Both have a touch of Cynic influence, an almost necessary symptom in educational matters at the close of the Vth century. On the other hand the similarity between the motif of the *Cynegeticus* and that of Antisthenes' work may be due to the Northern origin of both, but this is to anticipate.

I hold there are some grounds for considering that one of the most considerable sources from which the writer of the *Cynegeticus* drew was a work on hunting or perhaps merely natural history written in the North, possibly in Thrace but more likely in Macedonia. When one thinks of Protagoras and Democritus one need not be surprised at educational movements coming from the North. We are prepared by Aristophanes in the *Nubes* (B. C. 423) to look for a new movement in education—nothing less than seminary methods applied to biological investigation. A passage in Aelian points to the North as the field of such investigation. We read (V. H. IV, 19) that Aristotle owed his opportunity for biological study to Philip of Macedon. Aristophanes has already assured us that the experimental science of the "Melian" Socrates was not a natural or congenial growth in Attica. Joël maintains that under the Socrates figure Aristoph-

anes ridiculed Antisthenes. Now Antisthenes' mother is said to have been a Thracian. In the popular parlance of the day that term might be translated "Biddy." Had the lady in question been any Northcountry woman the gibe would have been irresistible to an opponent. Joël further maintains that Antisthenes derived his impetus towards the introduction of athleticism into education from the hunting blood of his Northern forefathers. Such considerations confirmed my expectations of a Northern origin of the *Cynegeticus*, and I shall endeavour to support my hypothesis on internal evidence.

Meanwhile one more point requires some attention. Possibly because it can readily be detached from the rest of the book without materially injuring the contents thereof the proem has fallen a prey to the athetiser without much sympathy. Radermacher sees nothing in the linguistic to point to a date later than that of the rest of the manual. On rhythmical grounds however he feels justified in assigning a comparatively late date to its production. I would like to suggest that from one point of view it is eminently fitting as an introduction to the treatise, that is the point of view of an educationalist of the latter part of the Vth century. I have elsewhere—in a paper read before the Classical Club of Philadelphia—endeavoured to show that the Cheiron figure of education gave before the Socrates figure. On this supposition the proem of the *Cynegeticus* is only suitable when athleticism was a new movement in education, i. e. when the effects of the plague at Athens on the physique of the rising generation were alarming the educationalists of Attica. The dithyrambic effect of the prose is suited to the surroundings of the original treatise if such emanated from the North. The versification noticed may be unconsciously due to the theme, or it may be an art that did not conform to the Attic standard; why a piece of prose written elsewhere should so conform is not evident.

Interesting as it might be, one may not compare the Pseudo-Xenophontean *Resp. Ath.* with the *Cynegeticus* simply because both may be early prose. The former is written by a man of the world blasé as a London Oxonian and full of blague as any Athenian, while the *Cynegeticus* is written by a non-conformist, to whom recognition has not yet come. He does not yet own a hunter.

With these preliminary remarks I shall turn to the question of possible allusion to the *Cynegeticus* in Classical Greek, and to the internal evidence for an origin in the North.

* * * * *

Kaibel has already brought to notice the parallelism between *Cyn.* XIII and *Isocrates XV*, *περὶ ἀντιδόσεως*. He held that the former is unintelligible without the explanations in the latter. Radermacher can interpret *Cyn.* XIII 7 only by comparison with Plato, *Soph.* 268 b. We may not however decide that a Greek needed the periphrasis of *Isocrates* or the lucidity of Plato; as well might we conclude that *Aeschylus* and *Pindar* were unintelligible until *Protagoras* began syntax. *Isocrates* cannot be relied upon in establishing dates. His method of maturing his writings for long years before publication, his acknowledged tendency to repeat extracts from his former essays, his very position as teacher of epideictic commonplaces precludes us from giving unqualified admission to his evidence. We dare not allow moreover that a master of expression like *Isocrates* would be incapable of recasting an apophthegm, even a crude one, into a rounded period.

After all, where a work contains no specific allusions to matters of history the only satisfactory means of dating its production short of a definite statement of a contemporary authority is allusion to its contents. If considerations lead us to suppose with Radermacher that the *Cynegeticus* had already been published before the end of the first quarter of the IVth century, we cannot wait for *Plutarch* (*Mor.* 1096 c) to allude to *Cyn.* V 33 as written by *Xenophon*. On the other hand the *Cynegeticus* in its present form confessedly written for the young is not likely to be quoted by men of mature habit of mind unless the author thereof be already a man of reputation. When the author becomes famous or when his readers in turn become writers, we may look for allusion. We may expect the allusion to be faint; we shall not be disappointed. Besides this reminiscential literary illusion in the present case if the book had any scientific value we should expect to see statements quoted or combated in technical works unless the author has tempered his matter too successfully to the young brain he addresses.

An allusion to the *Cynegeticus* in *Theophrastus* would be highly satisfactory. Radermacher however questions: Ob unsere Schrift bereits dem *Theophrast* vorgelegen hat? Man vergleiche

de c. pl. 19, 20, 4 οὔτε γὰρ θέρους εὔσσμα (scil. τὰ ἴχνη) οὔτε χειμῶνος οὔτε ἦρος, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα τοῦ φθινοπώρου. χειμῶνος μὲν γὰρ ὑγρά, θέρους δ' αὖ ξηραίνοντα, διὸ καὶ μεσημβρίας χεῖριστα. τοῦ δ' ἦρος αἱ τῶν ἀνθέων¹ ὄσμαι παρενοχλοῦσι, τὸ δὲ μετώπων σύμμετρον ἔχει πρὸς ἅπαντα τὴν κράσιν mit Cyneg. 5, 1 χειμῶνος μὲν οὖν πρῶ οὐκ ὄζει αὐτῶν, dann 5, 2-4 über die verschiedenen Niederschläge, welche die Spur verwischen, weiter 5, 5 τὸ δὲ ἔαρ κεκραμένον τῇ ὥρᾳ καλῶς παρέχει τὰ ἴχνη λαμπρὰ πλὴν εἴ τι ἢ γῆ ἐξανθοῦσα βλάπτει τὰς κύνας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συμμιγνύουσα τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰς ὄσμάς.¹ λεπτὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσαφῆ τοῦ θέρους· διάπυρος γὰρ οὔσα ἢ γῆ ἀφανίζει τὸ θερμὸν ὃ ἔχουσιν· ἔστι γὰρ λεπτόν· τοῦ δὲ μετωπῶρον καθαρά· ὅσα γὰρ ἢ γῆ φέρει, τὰ μὲν ἡμερα συγκεκόμεσται, τὰ δὲ ἄγρια γῆρα διαλέλυται. Offenbar hat Theophrast den Inhalt der Stelle sehr genau wiedergegeben; nur vermisst man für sein διὸ καὶ μεσημβρίας χεῖριστα etwas Entsprechendes. Aber das steht unmittelbar vorher im Uebergang vom vierten zum fünften Kapitel: ἀγέσθωσαν δὲ θέρους μὲν μέχρι μεσημβρίας. So berühren sich auch Theophrast a. O. 19, 5, 6: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ ἴχνη τῶν λαγῶν εὐσημότερα ψεκασθέντα μαλακῶς ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν κυνηγίαν und Cyneg. 8, 1 ἰχνεύεσθαι δὲ τοὺς λαγῶς ὅταν νίψῃ ὁ θεὸς ὥστε ἠφανίσθαι τὴν γῆν· εἰ δ' ἐνέσται μελάγχμα, δυσζήτητος ἔσται. Ein sicheres Urtheil lässt sich freilich auch nicht hier gewinnen.

Ein sicheres Urtheil—unfortunately not. Yet candidly I must confess that it is the most tangible allusion to the Cyngeticus I can find in the literature of this period.

Besides the apparent cross-references in Xenophon and Isocrates already noticed by Kaibel—and we must remember in that case we have to deal with the amenities of fellow-demesmen—I venture to draw attention to the following passages: Cyn. IV 1 in connection with Simon and Xen. de re equestri, II 3 in connection with Plato, Rep. II 375, IX 12 and Hypereides, portions of IX and Eur. Bacchae, XI 3 and Demosthenes.

In Cyn. IV 1 in the enumeration of the points of a well-bred hound, we have the expression σκέλη πολὺ μείζω τὰ ὄπισθεν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ἐπίρρικνα. ἐπίρρικνος L. and S. translate “shrunk up,” “relatively lean” says Dakyns in his translation. To describe the effect one might suggest couchant expectant. We know the Greeks had an eye to form and often caught a pose where our eyes are too matter-of-fact. One has but to see a pointer handled to catch a judge's fancy, or for that matter any fast animal on the alert, to appreciate the appearance of the

¹ Notice that Aristotle (sens. 444 a 32) held that man alone enjoyed the faculty of smelling flowers.

shoulder being the highest point behind the neck, and this I take it is the significance of *ἐπίρρικνος*. With the author of the *Cynegeticus* the eye is a well-trained judge. Symmetry is a component part in the summing up of the ideal dog, IV 2 (as of the hare V 30), *ἀσύμμετροι* are the mongrels III 1 and 3, *μὴ ἀσύμμετρος*, shipshape, the arrangement of the nets in II 7. A similar appeal to the eye is, perhaps naturally, noticeable in the opening of Simon's treatise *περὶ εἰδούς καὶ ἐπιλογῆς ἵππων*,¹ the book on which Xenophon based his *De re equestri* . . . *δοκεῖ <δέ> μοι περὶ ἵππικῆς <ἐπισκεπτέον εἶναι> πρῶτον, <εἴ τις> ἐπιθυμῆι εἰδέναι καλῶς τοῦτο τὸ μάθημα. <πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρῆ> τὴν πατρίδα γινώσκειν, ὡς ἔστιν κατὰ γῆν τὴν Ἑλλάδα χώραν κρατίστη ἢ Θεσσαλία. τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τρία τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπιδέχεται· μέγα, μικρὸν, εὐμέγεθες, ἢ εἰ βούλει σύμμετρον, καὶ δῆλον ἐφ' οὗ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀρμόσει ἕκαστον. κράτιστον δὲ ἐν παντὶ ζῷον ἢ συμμετρία. χροῖα δὲ οὐκ ἔχω ἵππων ἀρετὴν ὀρίσαι. δοκεῖ δέ μοι ὁμῶς <χαιτή> ἥτις ὁμόχρους ἐστὶν αὐτῇ ἑαυτῇ ὅλη καὶ εὐθριξ μάλιστα ἀρίστη εἶναι ὡς ἐπὶ <τὸ> πολὺ, <ἔτι δέ> ἢ πορρωτάτω ὄνου καὶ ἡμίονου.* Symmetry then occupies a prominent place with Simon. The passage contains other more interesting points of contact with the *Cynegeticus*. In the first place the mention of the locality of the breed as a recommendation. In *Cyn. X 1* hounds are known as *Ἰνδικαί, Κρητικαί, Λοκρίδες, Λάκαιναι*, in III 3 they are differentiated as *Καστόρικοι* and *ἄλωπεκίδες*, pure-bred and mongrels. The author continues in X 1 *πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρῆ εἶναι τὰς κύνας ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γένους μὴ τὰς ἐπιτυχούσας ἵνα ἔτοιμα ᾖσι πολεμεῖν τῷ θηρίῳ.* Pierleoni² writes "*Ἰνδικαί . . . λοκρίδας secludam,*" oblivious to the obvious reference in Philostratus *Εἰκόνες, κή, Συνοθήραι*, "*γράφει δὲ Λοκρίδας Λακαίνας Ἰνδικὰς Κρητικὰς.*" Dakyns expresses himself as at a loss to understand *τούτου*. Diels suggests *τούτων τοῦ γένους*. They omit to notice that mongrels are referred to, III 4, as *ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν κυνῶν* (i. e. *ἄλωπεκίδων*—*διότι ἐκ κυνῶν τε καὶ ἄλωπεκίδων ἐγένοντο* III 1), the pure breed in III 11 in the phrase *οἷας δὲ δεῖ εἶναι τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους τὰ τε εἶδη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, φράσω.* Aristeides (*τέχ. ῥήτ. Sp. II 534, 27*, a testimonium omitted by Pierleoni) quotes the passage in X 1 as *τὰς κύνας ἐκάστου γένους*, which certainly is a correction that an editor of the *Cynegeticus* should not have failed to make whether in Classical, Roman or Modern times. But where are the Castorians? Where

¹ Eugenius Oder, *De Hippiatricorum codice Cantabrigiensi*, Rhein. Mus. LI 1896 p. 67, for the text. In this passage the corrections are those of Blass.

² Xenophontis *Cynegeticus* rec. Ginus Pierleoni, Berl. 1902.

are our *διττὰ γένη*? Where we left them in chapter III and where they lie buried until they receive a memorial tablet in the Anthology—a cenotaph indeed.¹ In spite of III 4, I am tempted to see in III 11 a local allusion edited out of recognition. The humour of the “two sorts of dogs” demands that the author of the passage should own the Castorian Kennels or be master of chase to the Castorian hunt. Must the Castor of III 1 be a god—may he not be a local genius—a dogman? Failing that may we look for Castoria on the ancient map? Indifferent to the prejudiced claim our author makes for his breed, Aristotle says all “Spartan hounds” went back to a fox cross—all showed a dip of the brush as we might say.

Be this as it may, dogs are classed by locality, and locality is a prime recommendation to Simon. But not colour. In the *de re eq.* Xenophon looks at a horse’s foot first—a criticism on Simon. He does not mention colour except once quite inappositely, I 17, *πολλῶ γὰρ πλείονες εὐχρόαστοι ἐξ αἰσχρῶν ἢ ἐκ τοιούτων αἰσχροὶ γίνονται*. The word has given trouble to editors. With the author of the *Cynegeticus* it is different. Compare the following, IV 6: *εὐτριχες δὲ, εἰάν ἔχωσι λεπτήν καὶ πυκνήν καὶ μαλακὴν τὴν τρίχα. τὰ δὲ χρώματα οὐ χρὴ εἶναι τῶν κυνῶν οὔτε πυρρὰ οὔτε μέλανα οὔτε λευκὰ παντελῶς· ἔστι γὰρ οὐ γενναῖος τοῦτο, ἀλλ’ ἀπλοῦν καὶ θηριῶδες. αἱ μὲν οὖν πυρραὶ ἔχουσαι ἔστωσαν λευκὴν τρίχα ἐπανθοῦσαν περὶ τὰ πρόσωπα* Be it further observed that Simon uses the Inf.-imv. in *εἶτα εὐποδα εἶναι*, albeit Oder adds “*certe δεῖ vel χρὴ supplendum*”; the imv. in *-σαν* occurs in a passage rejected by Blass—the sole case of a plural imv. in the fragment. When we remember the difference of subject and of audience² there is a curious similarity between the treatise of Simon and the Hunter’s Manual.

Plato makes many whimsical allusions to Cynism generally but in the following I think I detect an actual allusion to the wording in the *Cynegeticus*. Our author (II 3) requires of the Keeper (*ἀρκυωρός*) that he be *ελαφρός, ισχυρός, ψυχὴν δὲ ἰκανός*, in order that he may take pleasure in his work. He chooses Indian dogs for deer hunting because they are *ισχυραὶ, μεγάλαι, ποδώκεις, οὐκ ἄψυχοι*: adding *ἔχουσαι δὲ ταῦτα ἰκαναὶ γίνονται πονεῖν* (IX 1 cp. IV 2), I trace a reference to the former passage in Plato, *Rep.* II 375,

¹ Nicander of Colophon, Pollux V 40. *Anthol. Pal.* 6. 167.

² Cp. *Xen. de re eq.* II 1: *πολὸν δὲ κρεῖττον τοῦ πωλοδάμνην εἶναι τῷ μὲν νέφει εὐεξίας τε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἵππικῆς ἢ ἐπισταμένῳ ἤδη ἱππάζεσθαι μελετᾶν· τῷ δὲ πρεσβυτέρῳ τοῦ τε οἴκου καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀμφὶ πώλευσιν διατρίβειν.*

Οἷοι οὖν τι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, διαφέρειν φύσιν γενναίου σκύλακος εἰς φυλακὴν νεανίσκου εὐγενοῦς; Τὸ ποῖον λέγεις; Οἷον ὁ ξύν τί που δεῖ αὐτοῖν ἑκάτερον εἶναι πρὸς αἴσθησιν καὶ ἐλαφρὸν πρὸς τὸ αἰσθανόμενον διωκάθειν, καὶ ἰσχυρὸν αὖ, ἐὰν δέη ἐλόντα διαμάχεσθαι. We note however in Plato the absence of the Cynic test of man and dog which is a prominent feature in the *Cynegeticus*, viz. *φιλοπονία*. This quality is, however, not lost sight of in *Rep.* 535 d already quoted.

In *Cyn.* IX 12 we have an intricate description of the *ποδοστράβαι* used for deer, an intricacy not elucidated much by *Pollux* V 32 as far as their manufacture is concerned. *Harporation* s. v. *ποδοστράβαι* and the *Etym. M.* both couple the names of *Hypereides* and *Xenophon* as using the word. This has led *Reveillout* to reconstruct a passage in *Hypereides* V 18 as ἀλλὰ καὶ πέντε τάλαντα προσαφείλου με ὥσπερ ὑποχείριον ἐν ποδοστράβῃ εἰλημμένον, a reading virtually accepted by *Weil*, *Blass*, *Sandys* (*Cl. Rev.* 1895 p. 71 f.) and generally. The young rustic, plucked by the "wily Egyptian" and a courtesan is now in the toils of the law. The reference certainly gains point when the contrast is made between the helplessness of the victim and cumbrousness of the machine as described by our author. Although the simile was used by *Hypereides* also in his speech against *Autocles* (frg. 62), the argument for a reference to the *Cynegeticus* is somewhat weakened by frg. 34, where (in his speech against *Aristogeiton* made memorable by the words ἐπεσκότει μοι τὰ Μακεδόνων ὄπλα) we read σὺ δὲ ὦ Οὐλπιανέ εἰ τὴν γαλεάγραν ζητεῖς, ἔχεις.

If one reads *Cyn.* IX on the hunting of fawns and then turns to *Euripides* *Bacchae* 862 he will note many points in common, but will also note that *Euripides* (l. 870) considered that fawns were caught by means of nets. I have elsewhere (*Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve* p. 447) hinted that the presence of the ἀρκνωρός in *Cyn.* IX 6 would be sufficient to mislead a poet who, like his friend *Socrates*, was not a sportsman. In connection we may reflect that the *Bacchae* was written at the close of *Euripides'* life, for *Archelaus* and a not altogether congenial Macedonian audience, on a theme that was the mainspring of the Macedonian nationality, and that in the play, which has often been held to constitute a manner of recantation, he advises his audience to abjure rationalism and stick to their hunting.¹

¹ Compare 1252 εἶθε παῖς ἐμὸς εὐθροῦς εἴη, μητροῖς εἰκασθεῖς τρόποις . . . ἀλλὰ θειομαχεῖν μόνον οἷός τ' ἐκείνος and cf. *Tyrrell* *Introd.* p. XVII, *Mahaffy* *Euripides*, p. 85. One would expect the brother of *Cynegeirus* to use hunting metaphors correctly. In *Eum.* 112 I am inclined to take ἀρκνωμάτων, even

In XI 3, of big game, we read τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καταβαίοντα εἰς τὸ πεδίου τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποκλεισθέντα μετὰ ἵππων καὶ ὄπλων ἀλίσκεται, εἰς κίνδυνον καθιστάνατα τοὺς αἰρούοντας. Demosthenes, whose metaphors from hunting are usually confined to cases where the management of affairs has passed beyond Athenian control,¹ employs the metaphor of περιστοιχίζεσθαι in 6. 27 and in 6. 14 we read of Philip ἀλλ' ἐβιάσθη νῆ Δία (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστ' ὑπόλοιπον) καὶ παρὰ γνώμην, τῶν Θετταλῶν ἰππέων καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων ὀπλιτῶν ἐν μέσφ' ληφθεῖς, συνεχώρησε ταῦτα. The passage in Demosthenes—ἀλλὰ shows it is hypophoric—gains point if we suppose the reference is to the lion of the North coming down from his fastnesses and caught on the plains; it gains further point if there is a hidden menace to the captors as indicated in the Cyngeticus. To my mind ἰππέων καὶ ὀπλιτῶν ἐν μέσφ' ληφθεῖς is a classical prose translation of ἀποκλεισθέντα μετὰ ἵππων καὶ ὄπλων ἀλίσκεται.² As the big game is the subject of the sentence μετὰ cannot be translated precisely unless in the sense of ἐν μέσφ', that is in what we are led to consider its earliest significance.³

* * * * *

If the Cyngeticus appeared in Attica in its present form with or without the introductory chapter in the first quarter of the IVth century and the writer was already well on in years, where did he acquire his intimate knowledge of hare hunting and deer running? The falling off of the hare in Attica may be a comic

in spite of 145, as of the human net of beaters. The word ἐγκατιλλώψας implies a personified, sentient net at the side; the exasperated hunter does not notice the eye of the escaping deer but the adieu he waves with his tail. Sophocles is more to be trusted in this respect. Agamemnon sinned against Artemis, against Sport, because he shot an ἐλαφον that was at once στικτὸς καὶ κεράστης, and therefore probably a pet animal of the Persian variety. Compare Pindar Ol. 3. 29 where Gildersleeve comments: "Mythic does have mythic horns."

¹ Dem. 3. 3 τὰ πλείω τῶν πραγμάτων ἡμᾶς ἐκπέφνεναί cf. 14. 15, 18. 33. Cf. 4. 8 κατέπτηχε μέντοι πάντα, *ibid.* 9 κύκλω πανταχῆ μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς καὶ καθημένας περιστοιχίζεται. Harpocration s. v. περιστοιχίζεται refers to this passage and elucidates from Xen. Cyn. (VI 5 and 8).

² ὄπλα for ὀπλιται Soph. Ant. 115. (πολλῶν μετ' ὄπλων ξὺν θ' ἵπποκόμοις κορύθεοσι) and Thuc. ἵπποι for ἵππος = ἰππῆς is apparently not used by technical writers.

³ Cf. Monro Hom. Gram. §§ 193-6. Of course I recognise that while μέσος seems to be related to Sk. mādhyā, it is convenient to associate μετὰ (Indo-germ. Forsch. III 199) with L. peto. πεδά. I am inclined to think that with the two usages of μετὰ we have to do with homonyms.

jest,¹ but Attica possessed of enemies was no place for a sportsman. On the other hand there is a wealth of observation quaintly incorporated in the *Cynegeticus*, as true to life as the picture of poor Wat in Shakespeare.² Again where did he get his information on deer hunting, which is carried on by stalking or trapping but not by netting? Not from the Poets, Pindar with his horned doe, Sophocles with his *στικτὸς καὶ κεράστης*, Euripides with his netting of fawns; not from Attica, we may infer. There is little in the *Cynegeticus* to indicate topography, but that little is significant.

A qualification for the Keeper in *Cyn.* II 3 is that he speak Greek. This may refer to the selection of a slave, but the idea of a *νέος*—and to such the book is directed—taking out a slave who could not understand what he said is preposterous. The keeper is probably a habitant and speaks a dialect not recognized by the philologists of the time as Greek, a patois. The qualification points to the North.

In V 22 Hares are divided into two species—*δύο δὲ καὶ τὰ γένη ἐστὶν αὐτῶν*—elsewhere (III 1) it was said *τὰ δὲ γένη τῶν κυνῶν ἐστὶ διττά*—one larger, darker approaching the shade of ripening olives (*ἐπίπερκνοι*, cp. Pollux V 67, *ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο περκνήs ἐλαίας τὸ εἶδος, οὗτ' ὄμφακος ἔτι οὗτ' ἤδη μελαινομένηs*) with a comparatively large white blaze on the forehead, the variation in colour including the whole tail (*κύκλω περιποίκιλος*), eyes inclining to yellow (*ὑποχάροποι*) ears showing plenty of black. The other species is comprised of smaller hares, inclining to light brown (*ἐπιξανθοί*), with less white on the forehead, tail white at the side (*οὐρά* is used throughout), eyes inclining towards blue,³ less black about the ear. We are to infer that the big hares are most common in the highlands, the smaller on the islands—we are given reasons for this. There is perhaps another reason the author does not give, viz. that the highlands were nearer Central Europe, the islands in Southern Europe. Hares differ in these regions.⁴

¹ Of Nausicrates.

² See Paul Stapfer, *Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity*, trans. by E. Cary, p. 136. "The too caressing boar who killed Adonis with a kiss had not been seen out hunting as the hare had."

³ *ὑπόγλαυκος*; as in *ὑποχάροποι* and *χάροποι* III 3 one may suppose that it is the slight predominance of these pigments that determines the colour. I observe that the lion's eyes are yellow, the leopard's blue. According to Scholiast to Lycophron *χάρων* was the Macedonian for lion.

⁴ Possibly a slight clue to the locality of the hunting ground might be traced from the atmospheric conditions. From *Cyn.* VIII 1 we learn that

I have already referred to the possibility of the ἀρκυωρός, the keeper, the guide, speaking a patois (Cyn. II 3). Indications of this patois may perhaps underlie the name Πολύς and the technical term χαροπός.

Now in a footnote to his article¹ Radermacher calls attention to the presence of the colourless adjective Πολύς among the substantives suggested in Cyn. VIII 5 as suitable names for hounds. He proposes Ποδῆς a name for a hound recognised by C. I. G. 8139. I would rather see in the word an affinity to the root πέλ Sk. car, with the meaning "Ranger," and if the form offends change to Πολεύς. At the same time I would refer to Arist. Vesp. 1228 παραπολεῖ βοώμενος, which might be translated "You bark up the wrong tree."² It is worthy of note that in his list of proposed names the author of the Cynegeticus suggests none of dogs that are famous.

In Cyn. III 2 we find among the defects of hounds the word χαροποί which I would translate "Dudley faced," an objection that still holds good in the ring. Curiously enough if we are to credit the Schol. ad Lycophr. Alex., the Macedonian for lion was χάρων. Later the proper signification of the word fades and we get it used as synonymous with γλαυκός, but Aristotle whose accuracy in such subjects was due to Macedonia,³ does not fail to differentiate the terms in H. A. I. 10 and G. A. V 1, although in the latter passage he does not discuss the χαροποί among men. There seems to have been a superstition in the word, as it was confidently asserted that only a χαροπός horse could face a lion.⁴ Arrian (Cyn. IV 5) takes exception to the point made by our author, and holds that a χαροπός eye does not necessarily betoken

a north wind means continued frost, but a southerly wind a rise in temperature. In the vicinity of Plataea, according to Thucydides III 23, 5 an east or north wind (Dobrie however rejects ἡ βορέου) brings a thaw.

¹ P. 625.

² Once assume that such a form with such an interpretation may pass muster and we get an interesting phenomenon in the language of the brother of Cynegeiros. In the second part of the strophe of the Agamemnon commencing (717) ἔθρεψεν δὲ λέοντος Ἴνιν, figurative possibly of Menelaus' unsuspecting entertainment of Paris, we read: πολέα δ' ἔσχ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις | νεο-
τρόφον τέκνον δίκαν | φαιδρωπός (ὧς Weil) ποτὶ χεῖρα αἰί | νων τε (ὄντα Auratus)
γαστρὸς ἀνάγκαις. If πολέα may be an unusual word meaning Ranger, Plunderer, it might well be paraphrased σίνιν, which would account for the reading λέοντα σίνιν of the first line.

³ Aelian, V. H. IV 19.

⁴ Oppian, Cyn. IV 114 f.

an inferior dog. An examination of the passage however will show that Arrian considers pards, lions and lynxes to have similar eyes which vitiates his evidence. On the other-hand our author has a prejudice against this style of dog. Moreover we are surprised to find that he does not mention Molossian dogs which were a famous breed in antiquity, and valuable enough to be imported by Polycrates¹ into Samos. Now Oppian² tells us that the Molossians were *χαρποί*. I am inclined to fancy that the objection of our author was a local one.

I must reserve for another occasion the investigation of the sphere of the imperatives in *-σαν* which are a distinctive feature of the *Cynegeticus*. For the present I would merely hint at the occurrence of instances in Demosthenes and Hypereides closely following upon charges of undue Macedonian influence, and in inscriptions connected with bribery and corruption.

Finally in regard to the list of heroes mentioned in the Proem I would notice that the names are taken from the Almanac of Greek Chivalry whence the Macedonian nobles derived their names.³

* * * * *

To sum up my conclusions, then, there is evidence of allusion to the *Cynegeticus* in classical Greek Literature such as would warrant our dating the treatise early in the IVth century, and possibly in the Vth. A theory by which Xenophon as a young man compiled the *Cynegeticus* from other sources will satisfy the discrepancies between upholders of the work as Xenophon's and those who consider it spurious. Certain internal evidence points to a Macedonian origin for parts of the treatise.

¹ Athen. XII 540 d.

² Cyn. I 375.

³ Wilamowitz, *Introd. to Eur. Herc. Fur.*

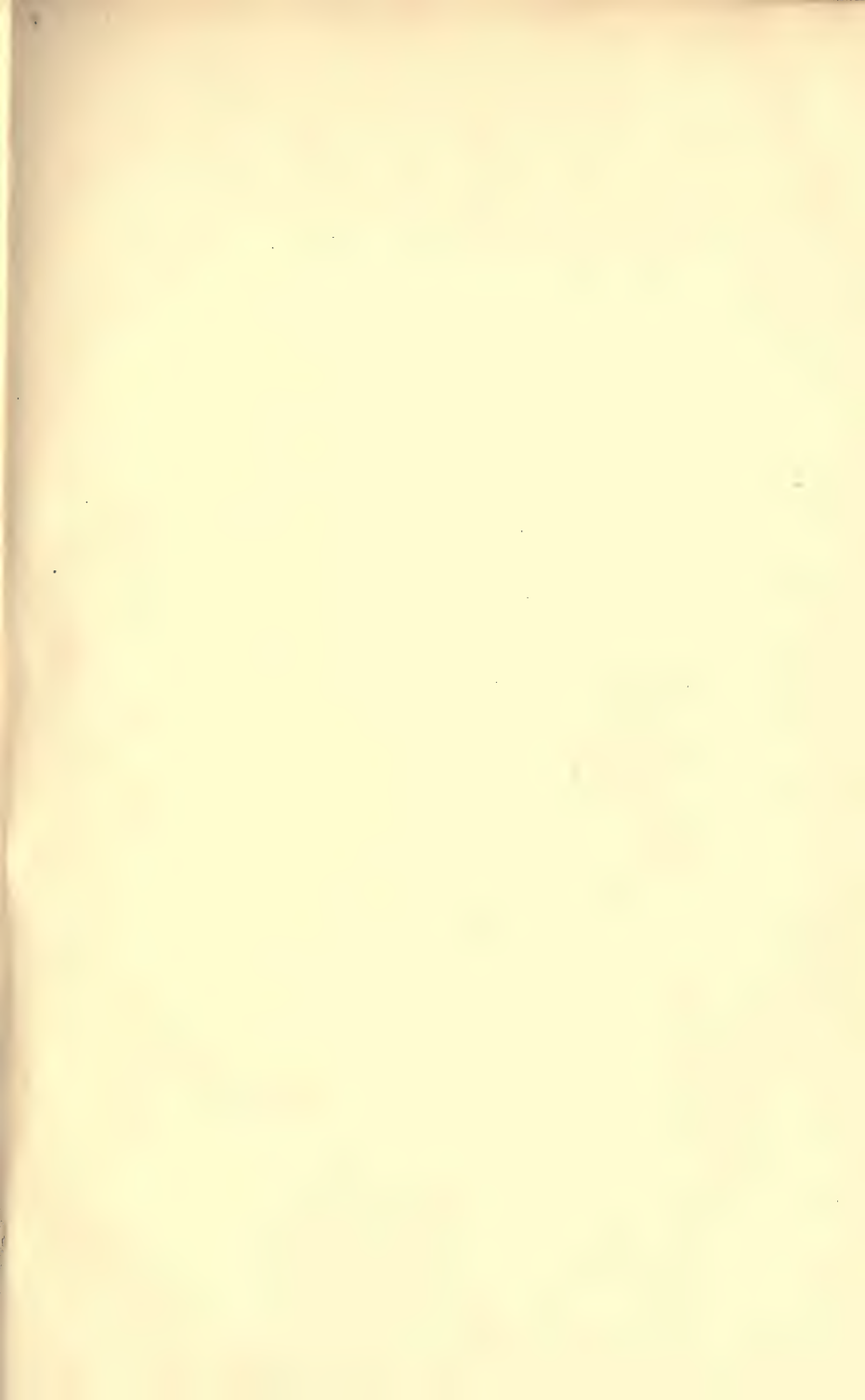


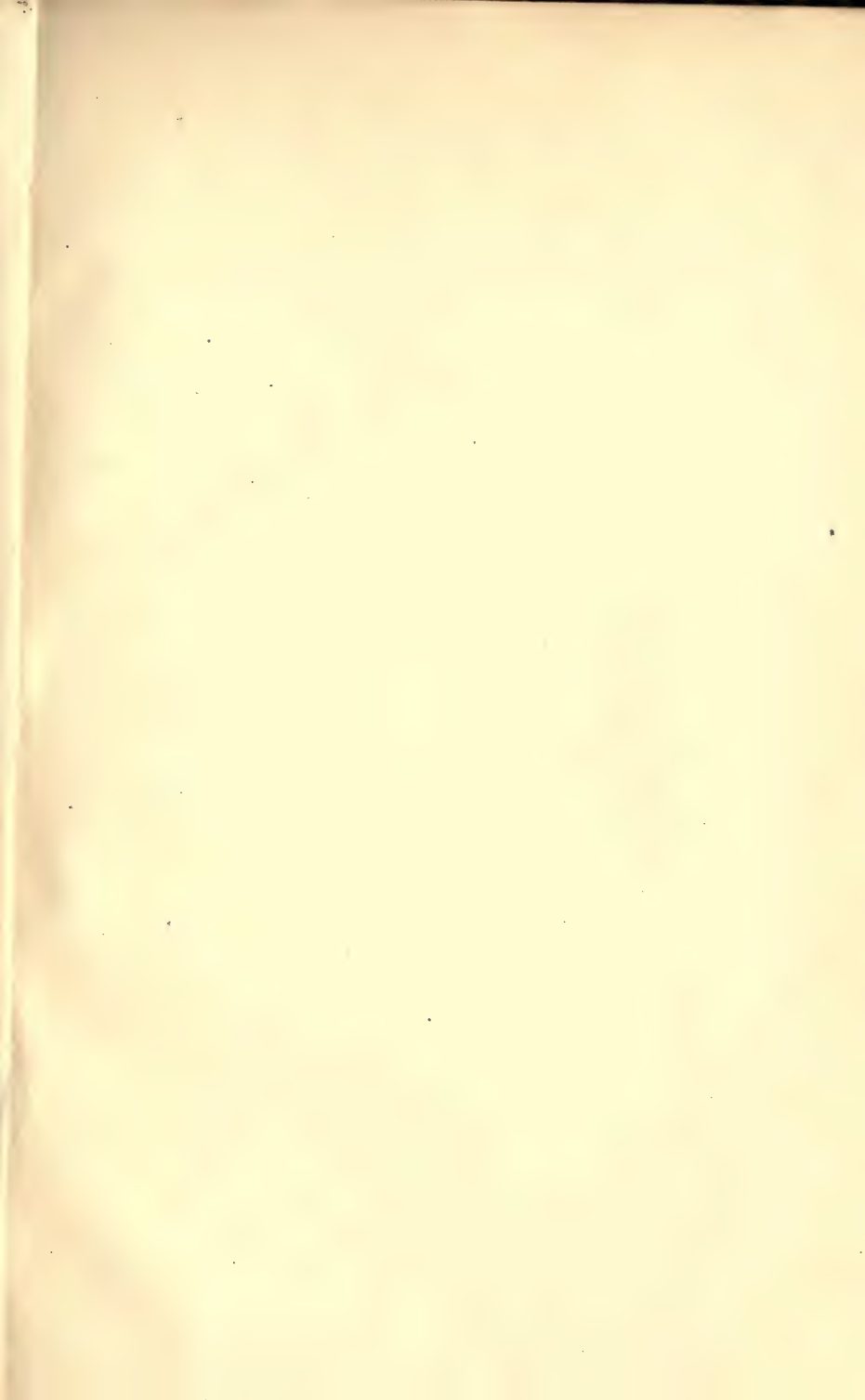
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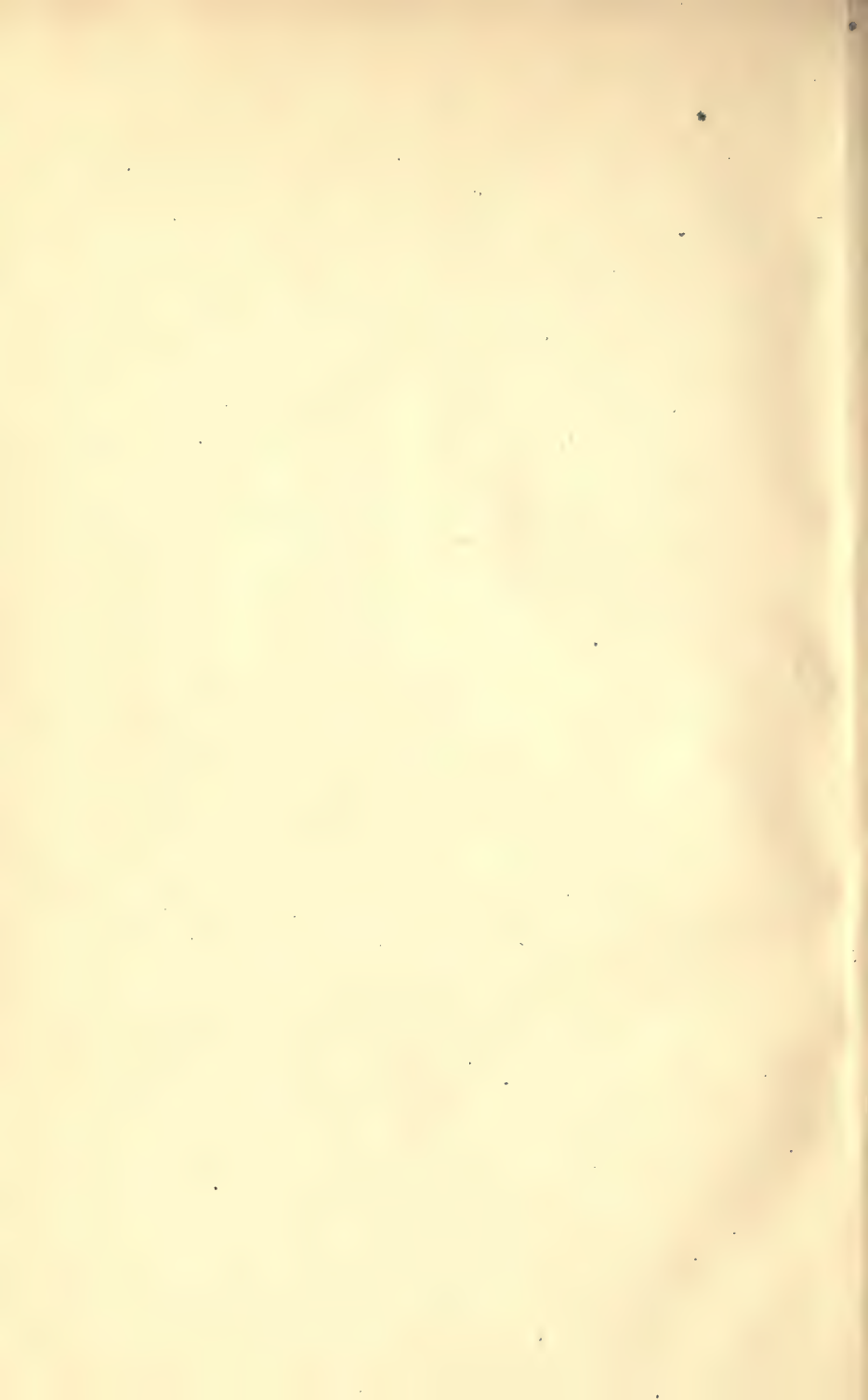
Henry Nevill Sanders was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, July 14th, 1869, the second son of William Rutherford Sanders M. D., Professor in the University of Edinburgh, whose life has been recorded in the Dictionary of National Biography. H. N. Sanders was educated at Fettes College, Edinburgh, and entered the University there, studying under Professors Tait and Crum Brown. Having, however, shortly afterwards moved to Canada, he entered the University of Trinity College, Toronto, where he was awarded the Prize for Latin Verse and the Burnside and Wellington Scholarships for Classics, and received the degree of B. A. in 1894, winning the Prince of Wales' Prize as Senior Classic. He then studied under Professors von Wilamowitz and Dziatzko in Goettingen, and in 1896 entered the Johns Hopkins University as a graduate student, studying Greek, Latin and Sanskrit under Professors Gildersleeve, Bloomfield, Warren, K. F. Smith and C. W. E. Miller. To these he is under a deep debt of gratitude not only for their assistance to him as a student but also for many good offices since recorded. In 1897 he was made Fellow in Greek at Johns Hopkins University, and in the following year after proceeding to the degree of M. A. at Trinity University, Toronto, he was appointed lecturer in Greek and Latin, later in Sanskrit also, at McGill University, Montreal, a position he held until 1902 when he was elected Associate Professor of Greek at Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania.











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