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PEACE, THE SYMPOSIUM AND THE POET

W. J. SLATER

Beazley,¹⁾ commenting on a Siana cup in Berlin, showing three dolphins in the tondo, made a brilliant but daring interpretation; the painter was portraying the inside of the cup as a round harbour. Another similar cup in the Villa Giulia was to confirm this view, but one of the three dolphins has arms and plays the flute. Greifenhagen²⁾ commented: probably the painter had in mind the dolphin's notorious love of music, and he compared Pindar fr. 140 b Snell, 13-17:

ἐρεθίζομαι πρὸς αὐτά[ν] / ἄλιου δελφῖνος ὑπόκρισιν,
τὸν μὲν ἀκύμονος ἐν πόντου πελάγει
αὐλῶν ἐκίνησ' ἐρατὸν μέλος.

But the most penetrating observation came from Erika Simon,³⁾ that the sea in which the musical dolphins play is a calm sea like Pindar's, and that the artist is representing the idea that calm is a prerequisite for the dolphin's song. I hope in the following pages to show that this is but one aspect of a theme that has a much wider significance.

The dolphin in Pindar sings in a waveless sea, and we can assume that dolphins were not observed to sing save in calm weather. It may seem to stretch the limits of analogy to compare here the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, showing the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs with Apollo as the central figure, but here is the interpretation of Bernard Ashmole:⁴⁾ "The scene is appropriate to the temple of Zeus in that Peirithoos was a grandson of Zeus; but its deeper significance lay in the presence of Apollo, the son of Zeus, patron of all the arts, and of all that makes life humane and decent. His presence ensures that civilized men shall prevail."

In these examples we have I suggest the expressions of a general idea, that civilized peace, represented by metaphorical calm, dolphins, Apollo, his representatives or any other culture hero, must triumph over disorder symbolized by turbulent waves, Centaurs, or any of the other *exempla* for disorderly behaviour such as Giants or Titans. The basic underlying idea is that peace is a precondition for civilization and culture. It was indeed an obvious thought that a city at war could not hold its festivals regularly, and Homer illustrates this on the shield of Achilles (*Iliad* 18. 490 ff.); the city at war is contrasted with the city at peace, distinguished by its festivity. Aristophanes repeatedly points to social festivity as one of the chief benefits of military peace.⁵⁾

But I should like to concentrate on another area where I believe that this idea was very much alive. The examples that I gave earlier have also in common a connection with symposia; the cups are drinking cups, whose message was read by the symposiast as he drained each draught, while the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs resulted from the notorious breakdown of order at a wedding celebration, becoming thereby the notorious *exemplum* for sympotic *hybris*. It was much easier for Greeks than for us to see in their symposia the same conflict of peaceful civilized behaviour with disorderly brawling that they deplored in their political life, or in more sanguine moments conceived as Hellenism versus Barbarism. Peace as they were only too well aware is a prerequisite for harmonious conviviality and its enemy is *hybris*. Greeks could see the dining room as a microcosm of the political world, as did Solon, 4.10 West: (οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἀδικοῦντες καὶ ὑβρίζοντες)

οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστανται κατέχειν κόρον οὐδὲ παρούσας
εὐφροσύνας κοσμεῖν δαιτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίῃ.

Solon moves naturally from the social unit of the polis to the more comprehensible unit of the assembled banqueters: one can extrapolate from the immediate environment to the larger and less appreciable world outside. Both function best in an atmosphere of concord; the word for this ideal is one of the

Hours, *Eunomia*, which we know to be a sympotic as well as a political slogan.⁶⁾ Plato in fact also plays on its musical sense.⁷⁾ The opposite of *Eunomia* is *Hybris*,⁸⁾ and this occurs in its most striking form in the drunken rioting of the symposium, for *hybris* is notoriously the effect of too much drinking.⁹⁾ Solon therefore can move easily from political *hybris* to the uncontrolled behaviour that ruined convivial harmony.

I believe that speculation by poets about the atmosphere of symposia gave such thoughts more precise definition. Greeks took some trouble to ensure that harmony could prevail in their gatherings. Even before the philosophers wrote their sympotic laws,¹⁰⁾ poets constructed a set of ideals to ensure that their own harmony and music would be appreciated in the proper circumstances. The Graces appear as *Euphrosyne*, *Thalia*, *Aglaiia*, the Hours as *Eunomia*, *Dike*, *Eirene*, all of them connected by poets to poetry; to these, abstracts like *Paidia* and *Hesychia*, *Sophrosyne* and *Euphrosyne*, were easily added. But theory constructed an opposition with *Hybris*, *Stasis*, *Polemos* and *Aphrosyne*.¹¹⁾ By the end of the fifth century, political prose was producing a new language with words like *Homonoia* and *Philanthropia* to express political nuances; this both replaced the poetic mythology, and separated the language of symposia from politics.¹²⁾ Since it was poets who first devised these ideals, it is not surprising that it is in connection with poetry, music, and festivity that they are first used, and reach their greatest influence in the high baroque period of choral lyric.

In the view of poets not only is war to be banned from symposia but even thoughts of war and warlike subjects that might inspire such thoughts.¹³⁾ Listeners are warned likewise about the effects of strong drink -- βιατὴν ἀμπέλου παῖδα -- that could lead to Scythian or centaurlike behaviour. They are reminded that Peace and the *Horae* are the enemies of *Hybris*, and that they are the prerequisites for song; the symposium will preferably sail on a calm sea.

To achieve this, the symposium is placed under the guidance of the Graces and Apollo, creator of good order.¹⁴⁾ Alcaeus

had composed a poem (fr. 307 L.-P.) in which Zeus sent Apollo to the Greeks to proclaim δίκη and θέμις. I suspect that Pindar is guilty of deriving his name from *Polemos* in *P.* 5.66:

(Ἀπόλλων) ... δίδωσί τε Μοῖσαν οἷς ἄν ἐθέληι,
ἀπόλεμον ἀγαγών / ἐς πραπίδας εὐνομίαν.

One began the symposium with three activities, pouring libations, singing a paean to Apollo, and praying to be able to do τὰ δίκαια.¹⁵⁾ Now the word σπονδαί in Greek also means peace, and though Theognis shows that this peace was principally made with the gods, he also shows that it gave the tone for what was to follow (759 ff.):

... αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων
760 ὀρθῶσαι γλῶσσαν καὶ νόον ἡμέτερον·
φόρμιγξ δ' αὖ φθέγγοιθ' ἱερὸν μέλος ἠδὲ καὶ αὐλός·
ἡμεῖς δὲ σπονδάς θεοῖσιν ἀρεσσάμενοι
πίνωμεν, χαρίεντα μετ' ἀλλήλοισι λέγοντες,
μηδὲν τὸν Μῆδων δειδιότες πόλεμον.

The mood desired was one dominated by *Charis*¹⁶⁾ and *Euphrosyne*, governed by *Dike*, the whole conditioned by *Eunomia* and opposed to violence.¹⁷⁾ This is precisely the mood that is sought and claimed by the composers of choral lyric, as Pindar, *N.* 9.48, shows:

ἠσυχία δὲ φιλεῖ μὲν συμπόσιον· νεοθαλῆς δ' αὖξεται
μαλθακαῖ νικαφορία σὺν αἰοιδᾷ·
θαρσαλέα δὲ παρὰ κρατῆρα φωνὰ γίνεται.

Or less obviously in *N.* 7.67, where the chorus announces its moral stance:

ἔν τε δαμόταις
ῥηματι δέρκομαι λαμπρόν, οὐχ ὑπερβαλῶν,
βίαια πάντ' ἐκ ποδὸς ἐρύσαις, ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς εὐφρων
ποτὶ χρόνος ἔρποι.

Now we may turn to two passages which only give good sense in the light of what has been said so far. Alcman's First Partheneion -- though it is not his first and partheneion is

an anachronistic term -- has its chorus of girls say (l. 90 f. P.): ἐξ Ἀγησιχόρ[ας] δὲ νεανίδες / [ὀρ]ήνας ἐρατᾶς ἐπέβαν. Puelma¹⁸⁾ suggested that *Eirene* here can only mean *Euphrosyne*; in fact *Eirene* is the precondition for *Euphrosyne*. But we can go much further, for though the myth which filled the first 34 lines is largely lost, we know that it told how the *Hybris* of the sons of Hippocoon was punished by Heracles; we also know that one of its maxims concerned the power of the *Charites*.¹⁹⁾ But its moral is also preserved (36-39):

ἔστι τις σιῶν τίσις (i.e., for *Hybris*)
ὁ δ' ὄλβιος, ὅστις εὐφρων
ἀμέραν διαπλέκει
ἄκλαυτος· ἐγὼν δ' αἰίδω...

These bare sentences contrast *Hybris* with *Euphrosyne*, and the sequence *Euphrosyne*-song implies that there was explicit or implicit in the myth a sequence *Hybris*-(lack of song), which would account for the introduction of the *malum exemplum* of Hippocoon's sons. This conclusion is borne out by the existence of a similar argument in several odes of Pindar. In *O.* 1, for example, Tantalus is deprived of *euphrosyne* (v. 58) for his *hybris* (= κόρος v. 56), while the good example Pelops is immortalized. Alcman's choruses begin with the *exemplum* of *Hybris*, in order that they may distance themselves from it. The moral stance of the chorus is firmly on the side of Apollo, the Graces and the *Horae*, because without them they could not sing; and if they praise, their praise must be just, favoured by *Dike*.²⁰⁾

Another ode by Pindar, *Pythian* 8, confirms I think the argument postulated so far. It begins in fact with a formal hymn to Peace²¹⁾ (I have adjusted the colometry to show this):

1 Φιλόφρον Ἕσυχία,
Δίκας / ὤ μεγαίστοπολι θύγατερ, /
βουλαῖν τε καὶ πολέμων / ἔχοισα κλαῖδας ὑπερτάτας / ...
6 τὸ γὰρ τὸ μαλθακὸν (festivity) ἔρξαι τε καὶ παθεῖν ὁμῶς /
ἐπίστασαι...

8 τὸ δ'... / 11 ... κράτει τιθεῖς / ὕβριν ἐν ἄντλι·
 τὰν οὐδὲ Πορφυρίων μάθεν / παρ' αἴσαν ἐξερεθίζων
 (κέρδος δὲ φίλτατον, / ἐκόντος εἴ τις ἐκ δόμων φέροι). /
 15 βία δὲ καὶ μεγάλαυχον ἔσφαλεν ἐν χρόνῳ. / Τυφῶς... /
 17 ... βασιλεὺς Γιγάντων·
 δμᾶθεν δὲ κεραυνῶι / τόξοισί τ' Ἀπόλλωνος· ὃς εὐμενεῖ νόωι /
 19 ξενάρκειον ἔδεικτο...

The *exemplum* for the ἀρεταί of the goddess tells how Apollo, her representative -- no other gods are named -- defeated the violence of the Giants, the symbols of *Hybris*.²²⁾ Prosperity bought at the cost of such violent *Hybris* is worthless.²³⁾ The success of the victor's city is different: the city is itself called δικάια, and the *Charites* (vv. 21-24) associate themselves with it. Once again the chorus endorses the values represented by Apollo and the Graces, and oppose themselves to *Hybris*. The ultimate proof of this interpretation -- though it no more than the text says -- is that, exactly as Alcman did, Pindar returns to a similar theme in vv. 67-71:

ἄναξ (Apollo), ἐκόντι δ' εὐχομαι νόωι (= 18 εὐμενεῖ νόωι) /
 κατὰ τιν' ἁρμονίαν βλέπειν / ἀμφ' ἕκαστον, ὅσα νέομαι. /
 κώμῳ μὲν ἄδυμελεῖ / Δίκα παρέστακε.

The chorus insists on their morally correct stance. There is therefore no need to see Peace, *Dike* or the Graces as anything but part of the conventional stance of the choral poet, when he talks of song as the reward for victory in conditions of peace and justice.²⁴⁾ The poet affirms that Apollo and Peace provide the correct medium for the praise, which is therefore ὄλβος σὺν θεῶι.

There is yet another parallel for this ode, for *Pythian* 1 begins with the praise of music, the lyre, σύνδικον (i.e., σὺν Δίκα) instrument of Apollo,²⁵⁾ which quells violence and creates peace. This is followed (13 ff.) again by the *exemplum* of the Giants' punishment, and in vv. 70-72 the poet comes to the political peace imposed by Hieron over the *hybris* of the Carthaginians; but the metaphors are musical (70 σύμφωνον ἐς ἡσυχίαν)

and the implication is that Hieron has himself created the precondition for his own praise.²⁶⁾

I hope that the similarity of these varied examples suggests that we have in all of them a common argument, derived from the political circumstances of archaic life, poeticized by sympotic bards, and utilized by choral lyric in particular to moralize about the circumstances of just praise.²⁷⁾

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NOTES

1) J. D. Beazley, *Development of Attic Black Figure*, Berkeley, 1951, p.52. His remarks are cited in full by M. Davies in *Athens comes of Age*, Princeton, 1978, p.72, in an important and well illustrated article on the idea of the symposium at sea. The present article is meant as a supplement to my own article in *HSCP* 80 (1976) 161-170, and was originally given as part of a talk at the Johns Hopkins in 1977.

2) A. Greifenhagen in: W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th ed., vol.3, no.2532. It was on display when I first saw it in 1976. Details of these and other vases may be found in Davies' article, which deals at length with dolphins.

3) E. Simon, *Die griechischen Vasen*, Munich, 1976, pl.XXIV with note. For calm sea as a prerequisite for song compare Ar.*Thesm.* 42, 67; Statius, *Silv.* 2.118; Pind.*O.* 1.98; P. 5.10; I. 7.38; Pa. 2.52.

4) B. Ashmole and N. Yalouris, *Olympia*, London, 1967, p.17. For Lapiths, Centaurs and Giants as enemies of sympotic culture see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Od.* 2. 12.5 For Apollo as representing *σωπρωσύνη* see F. Dirlmeier, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, Heidelberg, 1970, p.37.

5) The chief passages proving peace or the absence of war to be a prerequisite for song are: Theognis 885; Pind. P. 5.67; N. 9.48; Bacch. Pa. 4.61; 13.186 ff.; Alcman 41 P.; Eur. *Suppl.* 488; fr. 453 N. = 71 Austin; fr. 369 N. = 60 Austin (compare Theocrit. 16.96 ff., where the whole argument is important); Ar. *Pax* 975. The concept is also implied by Paus. 1. 14.5; Philemon Com. 71.10 K.; Eiresione-song p.214 Allen; Ar. *Aves* 731 and 1321; Eur. *Bacchae* 417; Alexis 161 K.; and in Pindar fr. 250 A *Thorybos* is the child of *Adikia*.

6) *CJ* 72 (1977) 200 and compare Bacch. 13.186, cited already by B. Keil, *EIPHNH*, *Ber. Sächs. Ges. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl. 68.4 (1916), p.38. I cannot see that *Hesychia* is a medical metaphor, with Vlastos, *CP* 41 (1946) 68-69.

7) E.g. *Rep.* 425 a.

8) Hom. *Od.* 17. 487; Pl. *Soph.* 216 b.

9) For *Hybris* as the result of drunkenness see Youtie *ZPE* 31 (1978) 168; Anacreon 33 G. = 11 P.; Demosth. 54 *passim*; Adesp. Com. 106-107.10 K.;

Panyassis 13.8 K.; Eubulus 94.7 K.; Hor. *Od.* 3. 19.16; Panyassis 14.6 K.; Philo in *Flaccum* 17, p.145.6 Cohn; Pratinas fr. 1.2 P.; there is more information in Fulvius Orsinus, *Appendix de Triclinio*, Amsterdam, 1674, pp.323 ff.

10) Pl. *Laws* 671 c; Theognis 467 ff. is a precursor; Athen. *Deipn.* 1.3; Bücheler, *Petronii Saturae* (8th ed., Berlin, 1963), pp.344 ff. I doubt that the Laws of Charondas were sung at symposia, Athen. 14. 619 b: compare K. Kircher, *Die sakrale Bedeutung des Weines im Altertum* (RGV IX.2, Giessen, 1910), pp.70 ff., esp. p.73 on the Iobacchic rules.

11) Peace and the *Horae* are opposed to *Hybris*: Hom. *Od.* 17. 487; Pind. *O.* 13.6; Plato *Soph.* 216 b; Hes. *Op.* 225-238 and 213 with West's note; Solon 4.10 W.; Pind. *P.* 11.55; Bacch. 15.56; Archilochus 177 W.; Pind. *P.* 8.1 ff. (compare *Anacreontea* 40); Eur. *Bacch.* 375 ff.; 790. The *Horae* are associated with the symposium from Hom. *Od.* 9.5 onwards: Dodds on Eur. *Bacch.* 389 needs correction accordingly. For the opposition between the two kinds of symposium, see already E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (1913), 5th ed., Darmstadt, 1971, p.163 n.1. The opposition $\sigma\omega\text{-}\phi\rho\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ / $\acute{\alpha}\phi\rho\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ at symposia is already to be found at Theognis 497 (compare the skolion 902 *PMG*). H. North, *Sophrosyne* (Ithaca, 1966) underplays, I believe, the impact of the symposium in the formulation of these terms, but has (p.23) good remarks on "the complex of ideas involving $\epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$, peace, piety and feasting." She rightly following Jebb compares Bacch. 13.183 and 15.55 (compare $\sigma\acute{\omega}\phi\rho\omega\nu \epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ at Bacch. 13.186 with Pindar *Pa.* 1.10) and she also (p.16) calls attention to " $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ as an antonym for *hybris* in both public and private life" (italics mine). At Pindar *O.* 2.52 the correct text is $\acute{\alpha}\phi\rho\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$, for which some later parallels can be found in P. Wendland, *Philo und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe* (Berlin, 1885), p.21 n.1.

12) For *Eunomia* see G. Grossmann, *Politische Schlagwörter aus der Zeit des peloponnesischen Krieges*, Zürich, 1950, pp.30 ff.

13) Theognis 493; Xenophanes 1.15 W.; Anacreon 2 W. = 56 G. and 33 G.; Stesichor. 33 P.; Phocylides 14 D.; Dionysius Chalcus 2 W.; Cratinus Min. 4 K.; *Anacreontea* 40.13; Hor. *Od.* 1. 17.23; 1. 27.1; compare Aristoph. *Pax* 1270; *Odyssey* 20. 392; Hes. *Op.* 723; Athenaeus 14. 627 e.

14) Van Groningen on Theognis 759; Pind. *O.* 14.11; Calame, *Les choeurs des jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* (Rome, 1977), I, pp.106 and 387; Philochorus 328 F. 172. For the invocation of Apollo in the Theognis-proem see Dirlmeier, *op. cit.* (above, note 4), p.40 n.51.

15) Xenophanes 1.13-16 W.; the god of whom they sing can only be Apollo (Plut. *Q. C.* 473 C), since this singing is normally referred to by $\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$: Xenophon *Symp.* 2.1 with Woldinga's note; Athenaeus 15. 692 f.; 14. 149 c. For Apollo and Graces see Williams on Callimachus 2.19 and E. Schwarzenberg, *Grazien*, Bonn, 1966, p.31, and for toasts, Schwarzenberg, p.56. S. Anastase, *Apollon dans Pindare*, Athens, 1973, pp.205 ff.

16) K. Bielohlawek, *W.S.* 58 (1940) 16 ff. For an interesting inscription (*SEG* IX, 63) connecting *Dike*, Muses, Hours and wine, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 4, pp.16 and 24. For winebags = $\sigma\pi\omicron\nu\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}$ = peace see Aristoph. *Ach.* 190 ff. In general, see G. F. Gianotti, *Per una poetica Pindarica*, Turin, 1975, pp.80 ff. on the role of *Charis* and *Charites*.

17) I do not know whether peace and strife are opposed on vases: a possible example is given by Trendall, *J.H.S.* 54 (1934) 175-79.

18) Puelma, *M.H.* 34 (1977) 21 n.50; he compares *Odyssey* 23. 52 well and the gnome earlier in the poem at 37 ff.; so too Calame, *op. cit.* (above, note 14), II, 118 f., "probablement." But neither demonstrates the convention or explains the myth, though Calame (II, 65 n.38) has a sensible note on *Euphrosyne* and *Hybris*. It makes no difference to my argument whether Alcman may have expanded his myth by a Gigantomachy, as some have argued: see F. Vian, *La guerre des géants* (Paris, 1952), 214. I shall be dealing at greater length with this theme in an article on *Nemean* 1.

19) Calame, *op. cit.*, II. 63, suggests: "only the Graces (can reach) the home of Zeus." Certainly the power of song is contrasted with human limitations. Heracles for Alcman seems to have been the cultural hero that he was for Pindar too.

20) Simonides fr. 137 *FMG* defined *Dike* as: telling the truth and giving what is due; the second element is the conventional *chreos* or *Sieglid* motif in choral lyric, and it is obvious on this definition why a poet would wish to claim *Dike* for himself. For *Dike* equated with Truth, see the passages quoted by M. Detienne, *Les maîtres de vérité*, Paris, 1967, esp. pp.33 ff. For "*Dike* defining encomiastic propriety" see E. Bundy, *Studia Pindarica*, 2 (Berkeley, 1962), p.61 n.69, and P. A. Bernardini, *Q.U.C.C.* 31 (1979) 79 ff.

21) Not only does the anaphora of the vocative show formalism (H. Meyer, *Hymnische Stilelemente*, diss. Köln, 1933, 64); the irregular relative of v.12 referring to the goddess invoked, though it puzzled Fränkel (*Dichtung u. Philosophie*, 2nd ed., Munich, 1962, p.568 n.3), belongs to the hymnal *Relativstil* described by Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (5th ed., Darmstadt, 1971), pp.168 ff.

22) No other early poet or artist gives this prominence to Apollo, and there is therefore strong suspicion that Pindar is responsible for the emphasis.

23) *Pythian* 8.13 f. and for the present of the Graces 21-24. The god-given wealth motif is the theme of Solon 13 W. and common in Pindar, though nowhere so prominent perhaps as in this poem (*C.J.* 72, 1977, 202 n.49).

24) The main interpretation of the hymn to Peace has been historical; e.g., G. Huxley, *Pindar's Vision of the Past*, Belfast, 1975, 25. There is not a shred of evidence to support this. A recent and more sensible view, e.g., E. Thummer, *Pindars Isthmische Gedichte* (Heidelberg, 1968, l. 73), sees rather in *Hesychia* the *μελιτώσσα εὐδία* of the victor after the storm of effort (*πόννοι*); this has a parallel at *Pa.* 2.34 and is good choral convention. But this concept is not exemplified by the following Gigantomachy and cannot therefore be intended, even though Thummer goes on to make good remarks that support the thesis argued here. The thematic connection of *Pythian* 1 with *Pythian* 8 was clearly seen by E. Fraenkel in some brilliant pages of his *Horace* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 280 ff., which supplement the brief remarks of Schadewaldt. I wish to add provisionally that Apolline *ἁρμονία* is also connected with sympotic ideals, compare *N.*1.21 and *A.P.* 7. 26.6, and that therefore the connection with *κῶμος* and *δίκη* here is not a coincidence. Perhaps *ἄ[ρ]μονί[α]ς* is to be read in Kaibel, *Epi.gr.Gr.* 490.2.

25) H. Fränkel, *op. cit.* (above, note 21), p.521 n.26; Hooker, *Philol.* 121 (1977) 300, proposes "which pleads their cause," but the truth had been seen by W. Schadewaldt, *Der Aufbau des pindarischen Epinikions* (Halle, 1928), p.79; compare p.30 on *Pythian* 8.

26) Carey in *Dionysiaca: Essays... presented to Sir Denys Page...*, Cambridge, 1978, is wrong to argue that the opening is no more than (p.25) "a stirring picture" until its function is "implicitly explained" in vv.50 ff. Rightly Schadewaldt, *op. cit.* (above, note 25), p.78, refers to "die ordnende und fügende Gewalt der Apollinischen Musik." Carey is also wrong to cite the myth of *Pythian* 11 as a parallel, as I hope to have shown in *ARKTOUROS: Hellenic Studies presented to Bernard Knox*, Berlin, 1979, pp.64 ff.

27) I have deliberately omitted mention of peace in Callinus fr. 1, but I agree in principle with the approach of G. Tedesci, *Ri. St. Cl.* 26 (1978) 203 ff.

VERITÀ E ACCORDO CONTRATTUALE (σύνθεσις)

IN PINDARO, fr. 205 Sn.-Maehl.

BRUNO GENTILI

Ἄρχα μεγάλας ἀρετᾶς,
 ὄνασσο' Ἀλάθεια, μὴ πταίσης ἐμὸν
 σύνθεσιν τραχεῖ ποτὶ ψεύδει

Il senso di questi versi, che Stobeo cita nella serie delle massime poetiche, potrebbe apparire alquanto generico. Il poeta - se, come è verisimile, è egli stesso la *persona loquens* - nel dubbio di non poter dire il vero, invoca la Verità, personificata al pari di una dea, perché gli eviti d'inciampare nella menzogna.¹⁾ Così appunto intende B. Snell che traduce: "Der Ursprung grosser Areta, Herrin Alatheia, lass nicht stolpern meine σύνθεσις über holprigen Trug".²⁾

Ma, in senso meno generico, l'enunciato pindarico può essere inteso come norma che impone al poeta il rispetto della verità³⁾ nel racconto delle vicende divine ed umane che costituiscono il tessuto narrativo del canto; una norma operativa del fare poetico dettata da una profonda esigenza di sincerità e di franchezza. Nel proemio della *Olimpica* 10 questa stessa esigenza è di nuovo espressa con l'analogica invocazione alla Verità, figlia di Zeus, oltre che alla Musa, perché attestino ch'egli non menti⁴⁾ promettendo il canto di lode ad Agesidamo; se n'è soltanto dimenticato, ora egli ha assolto il suo debito componendo il carne promesso.

Come è stato ormai dimostrato, *Alétheia* nel greco del V sec. a.C. è verità contrapposta alla menzogna,⁵⁾ rappresentazione fedele, nel pensiero e nella parola, di persona o cosa quale essa è; la sua funzione è di comunicare messaggi non falsi ed erronei, ma rispondenti alla realtà degli eventi. Tale è

l'idea di verità che emerge dall'enunciato dell'*Olimpica* 1,28 sgg.: i prodigi sono molti, ma talora anche le dicerie degli uomini, al di là del vero, c'ingannano, racconti adorni di menzogne variopinte.

Altrove, nella *Pitica* 3, indirizzata a Ierone malato, la conoscenza del vero (v.104) è il necessario presupposto per godere la felicità che gli dei concedono agli uomini. Una confortevole esortazione per il sovrano a sopportare con coraggio la sofferenza del suo male nella consapevolezza della grande porzione di felicità che gli è toccata in sorte come capo del suo popolo. La prosperità totale e completa è una meta inaccessibile (v.106). Anche Cadmo e Peleo, un tempo eroi felici, furono poi privati della felicità nella sorte dei loro figli. Questa è la 'via del vero' che Ierone deve percorrere per gioire del bene che gli è stato assegnato. Ed egli è in grado di percorrerla: uomo valente quale è, di un bene e due mali che gli dei elargiscono agli uomini saprà nascondere gli uni con buona grazia e fare mostra dell'altro.⁶⁾ La condizione esistenziale di sovrano potente e di malato sventurato è il volto a due facce della verità di cui Ierone deve prendere atto, una verità che nel suo duplice aspetto di male e di bene è comune a tutti i mortali.

La Verità, come il *dossier* biografico dell'eroe,⁷⁾ è, nell'ideologia di Pindaro, un'erma bifronte. Nel suo messaggio coesistono il bene e il male, il brutto e il bello, il giusto e l'ingiusto, il pio e l'empio. Essa rivela infallibilmente la valentia dell'uomo,⁸⁾ ma è anche testimone della sua non giusta e tracotante violenza.

Nella *Nemea* 5 per Pitea d'Egina il poeta afferma che non sempre giova *alla verità mostrare il suo volto*. Ed allora il consiglio più saggio è il silenzio (v.16 sg.). Quando la vicenda degli Eacidi lo avrebbe portato a narrare l'uccisione del fratellastro Foco da parte di Peleo e Telamone, con un'espressione che tradisce il disagio egli esclama (v.14 sgg.): "Ho pudore di narrare un fatto tanto grave, arrischiato in maniera non giusta" e omette il racconto di un episodio che avrebbe offeso l'uditorio egineta.

Come si vede, l'ammonimento che Pindaro rivolge a Ierone

di nascondere il male e mostrare solo il bello e il bene che si possiede, oltre che una regola di vita è anche una norma di professione artistica.

Tuttavia la Verità negativa ha anch'essa una sua funzione di esemplarità etica quando lo consentano l'occasione e le esigenze dell'uditorio. Nell'*Olimpica* 13 per Senofonte di Corinto la fine di Bellerofonte, che avrebbe dovuto concludere il racconto delle imprese dell'eroe corinzio, è taciuta. ⁹⁾ La convenienza pratica suggeriva di tralasciare un episodio che non sarebbe stato gradito all'uditorio. Bellefonte muore per aver aspirato alla vita immortale, per aver varcato i limiti imposti dagli dei. Ma nell'*Istmica* 7 (v.44 sgg.) per un atleta tebano, la fine dell'eroe corinzio sarà additata come la punizione esemplare per chi ha cercato una gloria temeraria, fuori del diritto sentiero.

Per esemplificare l'affermazione che il *nomos*, "re dei mortali e degli immortali giustifica la violenza", ¹⁰⁾ Pindaro enumera alcune imprese di Eracle, quali il ratto delle vacche di Gerione e l'episodio delle cavalle del re trace Diomede: due fatti di dichiarata violenza. All'aggressione dell'eroe resiste Diomede, spinto non dall'arrogante superbia, ma dalla sua *aretè* (v.15), poiché è meglio morire per difendere contro un predone i propri beni che essere un vile e un codardo (vv.15-17). A questo punto, il commento antico al testo (*Schol.* v.15) osserva giustamente che nel torto era Eracle, per aver sottratto le cavalle di Diomede. Analoga a quella di Diomede l'azione di Gerione: nel fr. 81 Sn.-Maehl., appartenente al ditirambo *La catabasi di Eracle o Cerbero*, composto per i Tebani, il poeta afferma di lodare anche Gerione, ma subito dopo aggiunge: "Ch'io taccia assolutamente ciò che non piace a Zeus". Egli vuol tacere un'azione che, anche se promossa come quella di Diomede dalla *aretè* e non dall'insolente superbia, non è tuttavia gradita agli dei, ovvero non opera secondo l'ordine conforme al volere divino. Dovremmo perciò ammettere una profonda frattura, un'insanabile incoerenza nell'etica di Pindaro, ¹¹⁾ che avrebbe, almeno in due casi, giustificata l'oltraggiosa arroganza con la norma divina, opponendo la valentia proterva ma giusta, perché operante nell'ordine

voluto dal dio, alla valentia non violenta ma ingiusta, perché non ispirata dall'impulso di un dio e quindi operante fuori dell'ordine giusto.

Se noi conoscessimo l'intero contesto del carne, la sua destinazione e le circostanze storiche che lo suggerirono, potremmo certo intendere meglio le ragioni di questa pretesa antinomia. E' chiaro comunque che sia l'aggressione di Eracle sia la pugnace difesa di Gerione e Diomede sono espressione di due diverse e distinte *aretai*: l'una l'*aretè* quella vera del perfetto valente che esercita la forza, la violenza e l'arditezza temeraria in conformità della sua natura divina¹²⁾ e per il quale la giusta misura è in rapporto alla misura della sua valentia, l'altra l'*aretè* negativa di chi fallisce il successo e deve soggiacere al più forte, al vero *agathós* in quanto opera fuori dell'ordine giusto imposto da Zeus. Ma questa valentia negativa o fallace è in sostanza quella stessa che nel momento oscuro spinse Bellerofonte oltre il giusto sentiero: è un'*aretè* che ha cercato l'occasione fuori del *kairós*, cioè fuori di quel breve particolare momento nel quale il dio porge all'uomo il suo aiuto.¹³⁾

Il valore esemplare dell'eroe pindarico è nel duplice rivelarsi delle sue qualità positive che lo avvicinano al dio e delle qualità negative che lo distanziano da lui. Le antinomie sono più apparenti che reali e la sentenza nell'*incipit* del carne, pur sembrando ambigua e incoerente con l'ideologia etico-politica del poeta,¹⁴⁾ può ben avere il valore di un serio ammonimento a non opporsi alla giusta violenza del più forte, dell'aristocratico che opera sotto il segno della volontà divina.

Resta ora il problema semantico del termine *σύνθεσις* che costituisce il punto nodale dell'interpretazione. E' difficile capire perché il Boeckh¹⁵⁾ gli abbia attribuito il senso inaudito di "fides", accolto poi dal Rumpel¹⁶⁾ e ora dallo Slater.¹⁷⁾ Più comprensibile, in rapporto al contesto, il senso di "parola",¹⁸⁾ "testimonianza",¹⁹⁾ o meglio di "composizione", se assumiamo *σύνθεσις* come equivalente dell'espressione *θέσις ἐπέων*, "composizione", "carne",²⁰⁾ che Pindaro introduce nell'*Ol.* 3,8. Un'ipotesi possibile, se proprio

Pindaro non ci documentasse una diversa accezione, quella di "accordo", "patto", come nella *Pyth.* 4,168, σύνθεσιν ταύταν ἐπαίνησαντες οἱ μὲν κρῖθεν (si tratta dell'accordo che Pelia e Giazone conclusero per l'impresa del vello d'oro): un'accezione che nella prosa del V sec. è espressa da parole appartenenti allo stesso campo lessicale dei derivati di τίθημι, quali σύνθετος, συνθήκη, σύνθημα.

Nella *Pyth.* 11,41²¹⁾ e nella *Nem.* 4,74²²⁾ συντίθημι è il termine che designa l'impegno con il committente per la celebrazione della vittoria agonale. L'accordo prevedeva un compenso che veniva pattuito tra il poeta e chi commissionava il carme, come accadde appunto per la vittoria di Pitea d'Egina, celebrata nella *Nemea* 5. In quella occasione Pindaro concordò con i parenti del vincitore la non modesta somma di tremila dracme.²³⁾

E' presumibile che i versi del frammento preso in esame s'inserissero in una situazione contestuale pressocché analoga a quella della *Pitica* 11 e della *Nemea* 4.²⁴⁾ Essi costituiscono non solo un'ulteriore testimonianza del riferimento all'accordo contrattuale, ma anche e soprattutto la più efficace formulazione di un'etica professionale che, secondo Pindaro, colloca al primo posto il rispetto assoluto della verità nel difficile rapporto di condizionamento reciproco tra poeta e committente. Il patto con il committente non deve consentire deroghe alla norma suprema del vero, che è la condizione della valentia umana ed eroica. Piuttosto che dire una verità non gradita, meglio seguire la via del silenzio che non della menzogna.

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NOTE

1) Πταίω e τραχύς evocano l'immagine dell'urtare o andare a sbattere in un sasso o in una ruvida pietra, cfr. L. S. J. *Gr.-Engl. Lexicon*, s.v. πταίω e *Ol.* 8,55 μὴ βαλέτω με λίθῳ τραχεῖ φθόνοσ.

2) Si veda da ultimo B. Snell, *Der Weg zum Denken und zur Wahrheit*, Göttingen 1978, p. 51 n. 14; Th. Cole, 'Archaic Truth', *Quad. Urb.* 38,

1981 (*sub prelo*).

3) A. M. Komornicka, 'Ἀλήθεια et Ψεῦδος chez Pindare', *Eos* 60, 1972, p. 236.

4) Vv.3-6: ὦ Μοῖσα ἄλλὰ σὺ καὶ θυγάτηρ / Ἀλάθεια Διός, ὀρθῶ
χερὶ / ἐρύκετον ψευδέων / ἐνιπὼν ἀλιτόξενον.

5) Snell, *op. cit.* p. 91 sgg.

6) Cfr. v.81 sgg. e il commento di R. W. B. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes*, Oxford 1962, p. 87 sg.

7) Si veda A. Brelich, *Gli eroi greci*, Roma 1958, pp. 231 sgg.; 255; B. Gentili, in *Storia e civiltà dei Greci* II 3, Milano 1979, p. 235.

8) Come nel v.1 del nostro frammento e in *Bacchyl.* fr. 14,2: ἀνδρῶν
δ' ἀρετῶν σοφία τε / παγκρατῆς τ' ἐλέγχει / ἀλάθεια.

9) V.91: διασωπάσομαι οἱ μόνον ἐγώ.

10) Fr. 169a Sn.-Maehl. La mia analisi si discosta dal tipo di problematica che informa la precedente vastissima bibliografia, per la quale si rinvia a L. Castagna, 'Pindaro fr. 169 Sn.³: interpretazione e proposta di datazione', *Stud.it.filol.class.* 43, 1971, pp. 173-198 e H. Lloyd-Jones, 'Pindar fr. 169', *Harv.Stud.Class.Philol.* 76, 1972, pp. 45-56. Spunti non privi di interesse, per il mio discorso, ho invece ravvisato nei saggi di M. Ostwald, 'Pindar, Nomos and Heracles', *Harv.Stud.Class.Philol.* 69, 1965, p. 109 sgg. e *Id.*, *Nomos and the Beginning of the Athenian Democracy*, Oxford 1969, p. 37 sgg.

11) U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Euripides, Herakles* II,² Berlin 1895, p. 97 n. 179.

12) Per Eracle, figlio di Zeus, si veda *Pyth.* 9,84 e *Nem.* 1; cfr. inoltre fr. 29,4 Sn.-Maehl.: τὸ πάντολμον σθένος Ἡρακλέος.

13) Sul valore di *καιρός* e la sua accezione semantica in Pindaro, si veda da ultimo E. Thummer, *Die Religiosität Pindars*, Innsbruck 1957, p. 104 sgg.

14) Cfr. ad es. V. Ehrenberg, *Die Rechtsidee im frühen Griechentum*, Leipzig 1921, p. 119 sg.

15) *Pindari opera* II 2, Leipzig 1821, p. 666.

16) *Lexicon Pindaricum*, s.v. σύνθ.

17) *Lexicon to Pindar*, s.v. σύνθ.

18) Komornicka, *art.cit.*

19) A. Ortega, 'Poesía y verdad en Pindaro', *Helmantica* 21, 1970, p. 357 n. 10.

20) Su questo e altri termini dell'uso arcaico pertinenti alla sfera del fare poetico, vedi B. Gentili, in *Studi in onore di Vittorio De Falco*, Napoli 1971, p. 57 sgg.

21) V.40 sgg.: Μοῖσα, τὸ δὲ τεόν, εἰ μισθοῖο συνέθευ παρέχειν φωνᾶν ὑπάργυρον.

22) V.74 sg.: κάρυξ ἐτοῖμος ἔβαν Οὐλυμπία... συνθέμενος.

23) Cfr. *Schol.Nem.* 5,1a (III, p. 89 Drachmann).

24) Cfr. C. Pavese, *Quad.Urb.* 2, 1966, p. 108.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE COMMENTARY ON EURIPIDES' PHOENISSAE
 IN THE MSS PARMA 154 AND MODENA, α. U.9.22

BJARNE SCHARTAU

In his monumental and fundamental work *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides* (Urbana, 1957) Alexander Turyn, among hundreds of other MSS, also examined the Codex Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Fondo Parmense 154. As a result of his analysis he was able to suggest that the highly interesting metrical commentary found in that MS might have something to do with the work of Demetrius Triclinius, and that it could indeed represent an earlier commentary than the one exhibited by Triclinius' final master-copy of the Euripidean triad (*Hecuba, Orestes, Phoenissae*) in the MS gr. 14 of the Biblioteca Angelica, Rome.

As far as the metrical commentary of Parma 154 and its *gemellus* Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α. U.9.22 (= gr. 93) goes, Dr. Ole L. Smith has made an exhaustive examination of it in his book *Studies in the Scholia on Aeschylus I: The Recensions of Demetrius Triclinius* (Leiden, 1975), 81ff.¹⁾

But the interesting features of the Parma and Modena MSS do not end with the purely metrical commentary. On the contrary, the exegetic scholia too are worthy of a much closer examination than has as yet been bestowed upon them. They will be seen to represent a *Mischkommentar* of a very peculiar nature.

Due to the pioneer work of Alexander Turyn, scholars have for the last twenty or more years been able to distinguish the recensions of Manuel Moschopulus, Demetrius Triclinius, and to some extent even a recension of Maximus Planudes, while the case of Thomas Magister in the capacity of editor

does not seem to have been settled by Turyn.

The Euripides-recension of Moschopulus in the shape of a full edition of the poetic text of the triad with scholia and interlinear comments and glosses can be found represented in some 90 extant MSS, though we do not seem to be in possession of the autograph of the Moschopulean recension.²⁾

As for Triclinius, his own final copy of his recension, in part written by himself, is - albeit without subscription - indisputably extant in the Angelicus gr. 14, which has been analysed comprehensively and conclusively by Turyn.

As far as Planudes is concerned, his activities on the plays are represented in the scholia and preliminary matter (*Vita Euripidis*, ὑποθέσεις) exhibited by the MS Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, II.F.9 (Turyn's Y)³⁾ which also has a number of Moschopulean scholia.

Finally, Turyn's original suggestion of not only one, but two recensions of the *poetic text* by Thomas Magister has since then been questioned by a number of scholars.⁴⁾ On the other hand, of course, there is not the slightest doubt that Thomas wrote an extensive *commentary* on the triadic plays, to be identified expressly by Triclinius' work in the Angelicus gr. 14, where he writes that all scholia with a capital initial are those of the Magister, while those with a cross prefix are by Moschopulus.

While Moschopulus' scholia will be seen to be exhibited by a great number of MSS, those of Thomas do not seem - apart from the Angelicus and its 'Triclinian' descendants⁵⁾ - to be found in a *complete* and 'pure' state in other MSS but the Cambridge, University Library, Nn.3.14 (Turyn's Z) of the early 14th century⁶⁾ and its *gemellus* British Museum, Arundel 540 (Turyn's Za) of c. 1440-50.⁷⁾

Many MSS of the Euripidean triad do indeed, more or less, represent a somewhat mixed scholia-material, but none of those as old as the Parma MS (on its date, see below) seem to be doing it *in the same degree* as that MS.

In what follows will be offered an edition of the exegetic commentary as exhibited by Parma 154 and Modena, α. U.9.22. For practical reasons (I am at present working on a full

edition of the *Phoenissae*-scholia in the recension of Thomas Magister, later to be followed up by the Thoman scholia on the *Hecuba* and the *Orestes*) the inquiry has been limited to encompass the third drama only of the triad.

It should be stressed that the examination of the material has been carried out exclusively with the help of microfilms of the MSS, a fact which is particularly to be regretted in the case of the Parma MS that has been filmed very unsatisfactorily.

The *Parma MS* is succinctly described by Dr. Smith in his Aeschylus-book (p. 82) and in his (later) edition of the metrical scholia.⁸⁾ He attempts a more precise dating of the MS than the laconic "14th century" in Martini's catalogue repeated by Turyn in his Euripides-book.

Unfortunately information on watermarks in the Parma MS does not seem to be very helpful. Dr. Smith does not quote any watermark(s) in his two publications where he deals with the Parma 154, though he has informed me privately that he is indeed in possession of a letter from the Biblioteca Palatina supplying information on the presence of a watermark with no correspondence in Briquet in the paper of the Parma Codex.

Smith however made the important observation already in his Aeschylus-book "... that the scribe of this MS is identical with that of the Paris Aristophanes *Par. gr.* 2821... and since *Par.* 2821 can be assigned to the middle of the 14th cent.... the same date should be given to our Parma MS." Later on Dr. Smith has convincingly demonstrated that the MSS Parma 154 and *Par. gr.* 2821 once made up a single codex.⁹⁾

On the same page(s) of the Aeschylus-book (82ff.) Dr. Smith gives his description of the *Modena MS*. According to the watermarks a date c. 1430-35 should be reasonable for this MS.¹⁰⁾ Since however the Modena MS represents a particular category of 'scholia only MSS' (it exhibits exegetic, prosodic, and metrical scholia written as continuous prose *without* the poetic text proper), this early date could perhaps be questioned, in as far as that very type of MS otherwise does not seem to make its appearance till the end of the 15th century.¹¹⁾ Now, since the publication of Dr. Smith's Aeschylus-book and his edition of the Parma-Modena metrical scholia to the Euripidean triad, Dr. Ernst Gamillscheg has suggested the identification of the scribe of the Modena MS with Andronicus Callistus,¹²⁾ a specimen of whose hand can be seen in Dr. Dieter Harlfinger's collection of 15th century Greek hands.¹³⁾ There is, however, considerable doubt about this identification,¹⁴⁾ and perhaps the most

that can be said is that the scribe of the Modena MS at any rate is identical to the hand published in Leporace-Mioni's catalogue.¹⁵⁾ Whether the identification of the Modena scribe with Callistus is accepted or the scribe should rather for the time being remain an *anonymus Mutinensis*, there can hardly be any doubt that this copyist should be placed in the *cerule* of cardinal Bessarion. As is common knowledge, Bessarion died in the year of 1472, and it is on the cards that the scribe will have executed the Modena MS prior to that date. In view of this and of the watermark-evidence one should, presumably, not argue for a date later than c. 1450-60, in which case the Modena MS could well prove to be one of, if not actually *the* oldest known MS(S) of the category of scholia only preceding e.g. the first printed edition of scholia to the Euripidean tragedies by Arsenius (1534).

At this point it should be stressed that the Parma MS is basically just an ordinary representative of the Euripidean triad in Manuel Moschopoulos' recension. Turyn's examination of the poetic text of the MS has, however, demonstrated that it exhibits quite a substantial portion of readings of the 'vetus'-tradition, as well as readings representative of the 'Byzantine Vulgate' of the texts. (The designation 'Byzantine Vulgate' should now, it seems, be considered a more suitable name of the recension(s) which were by Turyn classified as 'first and second Thoman recensions'). Thus it will be seen that the Parma 154, in spite of its basically Moschopulean character, is in fact even in the poetic text itself - as well as in the scholia and other 'aids to the reader' - a *mixed product*.

In the following edition we shall exclude entirely from our consideration two categories of scholia (and interlinear comments and glosses):

- 1) The purely metrical commentary which has already been dealt with exhaustively by Dr. Smith.
- 2) The Moschopulean 'standard' commentary.

Our concern will be just those scholia that are exhibited by the Modena and Parma MSS *in unison*. For it appears that the Modena scribe copied only the metrical and exegetic scholia which constitute the 'peculiar' section of the commentary exhibited by the Parma MS. Thus none of the Moschopulean 'standard' scholia are to be found in the Modena MS. One reason for this fact - apart from the possibility, of course, that the common *Vorlage* did not exhibit them, and that the Parma scribe copied them from elsewhere - might well be that they were already available in

one or more MS(S) accessible to the Modena copyist and his readers.

To be honest to truth, I have not checked the entire *Phoenissae*-section of the Parma MS down to the slightest interlinear gloss, to guarantee that every single piece of the Parma commentary not exhibited by the Modena MS is actually Moschopulean 'standard', i.e. the marginal scholia and interlinearia marked with a cross prefix by Triclinius in the Angelicus gr. 14. I have, however, made a fair number of *Stichproben* which have made it clear to me that I might with a sufficient degree of 'safety' confine my research to the scholia exhibited by the Modena MS. Besides, it ought to be stressed that the non-existence of a modern critical edition of Moschopulus' scholia to the Euripidean triad and the bad condition of the microfilm of the Angel. gr. 14 accessible to me, has made it almost impossible to carry out a complete collation of the 'aids to reader' in the MS Parma 154. For all that it should be pointed out that Wilhelm Dindorf's old and rather unreliable edition of the Euripides-scholia (Oxford, 1863)¹⁶⁾ is still of some use in identifying the Moschopulean scholia. Most of the scholia marked by Dindorf with the siglum 'Gr.' will in fact be seen to be identical with those marked with a cross prefix in Angel. gr. 14 as being Moschopulean.¹⁷⁾ Also Dindorf's siglum 'I.' (Arsenius' editio princeps of the scholia to Euripides, 1534) will in a large number of instances be found to represent Moschopulean (and even Planudean) commentary-work. (Unfortunately Dindorf's edition has not been accessible to me for the final revision of this article, though a few references based on older notes have been given below).

The scholia of Thomas Magister (or rather the *Thomano-Triclinian* scholia in view of Angel. gr. 14) are being quoted from the autograph copy of my forthcoming edition of these texts.

Finally, as we are facing a mixed tradition of scholia, even the standard edition of the *Scholia Vetera* by Schwartz (Berlin, 1887ff.)¹⁸⁾ has been consulted.

Before we proceed to the edition of the scholia, it should be mentioned that the *Argumentum Phoenissarum* (Ἐπόθεσις) exhibited by the Parma 154 but *not* by the Modena MS is the 'old' or rather the Moschopulean argumentum (cf. Schwartz, I, 242, 1-23) in a somewhat altered, if not actually 'distorted' version.¹⁹⁾ Following the final words... παρὰ τὴν δυστυχίαν ἐλέησας an addition is found which is not exhibited neither by the 'vetus' nor by the Moschopulean MSS: (*Parma 154, 73^v*)

Ἐπιγράφεται δὲ τὸ δράμα Φοίνισσαι διὰ τὸ τὸν ἐν τῷ δράματι χορὸν ἐκ γυναικῶν συνιστάναι Φοινισσῶν, αἵτινες ἀπὸ Φοινίκης τῆς καὶ Συρίας λεγομένης οὔσαι πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετέφκησαν, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρὰ τοῖς Δελφοῖς νεφ̄ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπηρετεῖν κατεστάθησαν:- (The punctuation is mine).

The Modena MS exhibits a total of 37 scholia to the *Phoenissae* all of which are to be found in the scholia-complex of the Parma MS. 13 out of these scholia should be considered as *Thomano-Triclinian*, and we shall print them separately below. The remaining 24 scholia have no Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. One of them should evidently be considered a 'vetus' scholion; 4 others are exhibited by the Planudeo-Moschopulean MS Naples, Bibl. Naz., II.F.9 (Y), if not actually *verbatim* at least almost so, and 3 further scholia have some correspondence with texts found in Dindorf's or Schwartz' editions.

SIGLA

P	Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Fondo Parmense, cod. 154
M	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, cod. α. U.9.22
Y	Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, II.F.9
Z	Cambridge, University Library, Nn. 3.14 (ff. 1-121)
Za	London, British Museum Library, Arundel 540
Zb	Vatican, Biblioteca Vaticana, gr. 51
T	Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, gr. 14
Ta	Vatican, Biblioteca Vaticana, Urbinas gr. 142

Scholia PM

46. Ἡ σφίγξ τερατῶδες τι ζῷον ἦν. σῶμα μὲν γὰρ κυνὸς ἔλεγον αὐτὴν ἔχειν, κεφαλὴν δὲ καὶ πρόσωπον κόρης, πτέρυγας δὲ ὄρνιθος, φωνὴν δὲ ἀνθρώπου. καθίσασα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ φυσικοῦ ὄρους πλησίον ὄντος θηβῶν ἀνιγμὰ τι ἐκάστω τῶν πολιτῶν προτείνουσα ἔλεγεν. ἦν δὲ τὸ ἀνιγμὰ τόδε "ἔστι δίπουν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τρίπουν, οὐ μίᾳ φωνῇ καὶ τετράπουν." ἐδήλου δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπου. τοῦτο μὴ δυναμένους τοὺς θηβαίους διαλύσασθαι ἀνήρει. τοῦ δὲ οἰδίποδος διαλυσαμένου, ῥίψασα ἑαυτὴν ἀνεΐλεν:-

Scholion Thomano-Triclinianum

Σφίγξ: ἱστοροῦσι δὲ ταύτην παρθένου μὲν ἔχειν πρόσωπον, χεῖρας δὲ καὶ πόδας λέοντος, καὶ στήθος, πτερὰ δὲ ὄρνιθος, λέγοντες δὲ καὶ θυγατέρα εἶναι τυφῶνος καὶ Ἐχίδνης, ἄλλοι δὲ χιμαίρας:-

5 δὲ καὶ om. Za non liquet Z

lemma Σφίγξ M

As will be seen, the Thomano-Triclinian scholion is much shorter than

that of PM. Cf. the latter with Schwartz, I, 255f. The verse quotation in the PM text is, of course, the opening of the 'riddle' in hexameters (Schwartz, I, 243, 20-21 and 256, 20-21):

ἔστι δίπουν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τετράπον, οὗ μία φωνή,
καὶ τρίπον... κτλ.

(Smith, *Scholía Metrica*,
60, col. a')

203. Ἀκροθίνια: κυρίως αὶ
τῶν καρπῶν ἀπαρχαί, παρὰ
τὸν θῖνα, ὃ ἐστὶ τὸν σωρὸν
τῆς ἄλωνος· καταχρηστικῶς
5 δὲ λέγονται καὶ αὶ ἀπαρχαί
τῆς λείας ἢ ἄλλων τινῶν
εἰδῶν ἀπαρχαί, ὡς ἐνταῦθα:-

From the Thomano-Triclinian
scholion we quote the fol-
lowing... διὰ τοῦτο φοί-
νισσαί εἰσὶν αἰχμαλώτιδες,
... ἃς καὶ "ἀκροθίνια"
Εὐριπίδης λέγει "Λοξίq".
glossema ἀκροθίνια] ἀπαρ-
χαί.

The PM-scholion is from κυρίως to λείας incl. almost *verbatim* the 'vetus' scholion (Schwartz, I, 277, 3-4).

(Smith, *Scholía Metrica*, *ibid.*,
col. c')

Scholion Thomano-Triclinianum

208-09. Ἐλάτη ἡ κώπη λέγε-
ται. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς
νηὸς παρείληπται. διὰ τού-
του δὲ καὶ ἄμα ἐμφαίνει, ὅτι
5 Ζεφύρου πνεύσαντος, ὅστις ἐκ
δυσμῶν πνέων ἀντιβαίνει τοῖς
ἀπὸ Ἀνατολῶν ἐπὶ τὰ Δυτικά
ἐρχομένοις, κώπαις χρησά-
μενοι οἱ ναῦται τὴν πορείαν
10 ἐποίησαντο. Ἰόνιον δὲ πόντον
φησὶν τὸν τῆς Βενετίας κόλπον:-

Ἐλάτα: κώπη ἀπὸ ἐλαίου
γενομένη· τοιαῦται γὰρ αἱ
κώπαι:-

lemma Ἐλάτα M 11 ἐνετίας M

For lines 4-7 cf. Schwartz, I, 278, 5-7. As will be seen, no Thomano-Triclinian correspondence.

(Smith, *Scholía Metrica*, 61 col. λδ': Smith, *Aeschylus*, plate
6 [P, 79^v; *Phoen.* 248-271])

248. Λέγεται καὶ ἡ Ἰνώ, τῆς Ἰνόος καὶ Ἰνουῦς· καὶ ἡ Ἰώ,
τῆς Ἰόος καὶ Ἰοῦς, ὡς ἐνταῦθα. ἡ δὲ ἱστορία τῆς Ἰοῦς
ποικίλη ἐστὶ, περὶ ἧς καὶ πλατύτερον διαλαμβάνεται ἐν τῷ
Αἰσχύλου Προμηθεΐ. ἐνταῦθα δὲ μέννεται ταύτης ὁ ποιητής,
5 ὅτι ὁ τοῦ Κάδμου πατὴρ Ἀγήνωρ, ὃς τῆς Φοινίκης βασιλεὺς
ἦν, ἐκ τοῦ γένους ταύτης κατάγεται:-

lemma Ἰοῦς M, qui sic inc. ἡ ἱστορία τῆς Ἰοῦς... κτλ.
No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Nothing in Schwartz.

Scholion Y

274. Ἐσχάροι ἐνθα τὸ πῦρ ἤπτετο. Ἐσχάροι ἐνθα τὸ πῦρ ἤπτετο.
ἤπτετο. βῶμιον δὲ τὸ περιέχον βῶμῶς δὲ τὸ περιέχον τὴν

τὴν ἐσχάραν οἰκοδόμημα. πλησίον δὲ τῶν πυλῶν τῆς πόλεως
 5 τῶν θηβῶν Ἀθηναῖς ἱερὸν ἕδρου-
 το, ἐν ᾧ οἱ καταφεύγοντες
 σωτηρίας ἐτύγχανον. ἐκαλεῖτο
 δὲ ἡ Ἀθηναῖα παρ' ἐκείνοις
 Ἀλικὴ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Φοινίκων
 10 γλῶσσαν:-

1-3 Ἐσχάραι... οἰκοδόμημα
 om. M, qui sic inc. Ἀλική·
 πλησίον τῶν πυλῶν... κτλ.
 5 τῶν θηβῶν om. P 9 Ἀλική
 an vol. Ὀγκα vel Ὀγκαῖα? cf.
 schol. Aesch. *Sept.* 486.

No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Cf. Schwartz, I, 286.

334. Στενάζων ἀράς τέκνοις: ἦγουν μετὰ στεναγμοῦ ἐπαρώ-
 μενος τοῖς τέκνοις ἦ, ὅπερ καὶ ἀκολουθότερον τοῖς ἄνω,
 στενάζων διὰ τὰς ἀράς, ἃς ἐπήγαγε τοῖς τέκνοις, τουτέστιν,
 ὅτι μετεμεληθεῖς διὰ τὰς ἀράς στενάζει:-

1 ἦγουν] ἦ P 2 ὅπερ καὶ ἀκολουθότερον] ὁ παρακολουθώτερον
 (vid.) M

No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Nothing in Schwartz.

420. Φασίην, ὅτι Ἄδραστος θεασάμενος Τυδέα μὲν ἡμφιεσμένον
 δορὰν συδός, Πολυνεΐκην δὲ λέοντος, ἐντεῦθεν συνέβαλε τὸν
 χρησμὸν τὸν λέγοντα καπρωλέοντι συζευξάει τὰς θυγατέρας· ὁ
 καὶ ἐποίησε Τυδεῖ μὲν δοῦς Διοπύλην, Πολυνεΐκει δὲ Ἀργεΐαν.
 5 καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ εἰσιν, ἄλλως μὲν ἱστορούμενα παρὰ
 τῶν παλαιῶν, ἄλλως δὲ παρὰ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν τοῖς δράμασι
 πλαττόμενα. ὡς καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πολυνεΐκου· οὐ φασιν
 αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Θήβας κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην, ἀλλὰ μένοντος
 ἐν Ἀργεῖ ὁ Τυδεὺς παρεγένετο πρεσβείας χάριν, καθὰ καὶ
 10 τῷ Ὀμήρῳ δοκεῖ [cf. Δ 386]:-

lemma Ἄδραστος εἶκασε M 8 τὸν om. M

No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Nothing in Schwartz.

(Smith, *Scholia Metrica*, 63, col. ια')

649. Βρόμιος ὁ Διόνυσος· ἦ ὅτι μετὰ τυμπάνων καὶ ἤχων ἐ-
 τέλουν αὐτοῦ τὰ μυστήρια αἱ βάκχαι, ἦ ὅτι βρόμφ καὶ ἤχῳ
 βροντῆς καὶ κεραυνοῦ βληθεῖσα ἡ Σεμέλη ἔγκυος οὔσα τοῦτον
 ἐξήμβλωσεν:-

lemma Βρόμιον M 2 αἱ βάκχαι om. M 3 ἔγκυος] ἔγγυος M

No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Cf. Schwartz, I, 316, 16-18
 (on v. 651).

733. Ἡ καὶ οὕτως· πέφρακται ὁ λαδς ἦγουν ἡ στρατιὰ κύκλω
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρμάτων, τουτέστιν ὅτι κατὰ τὴν νύκτα οὐχ ἀπλῶς

διάκειται τὸ στράτευμα, ὥστε ἀφύλακτον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἄρματα ἤγουν τὰς ἀμάξας κύκλω τοῦ στρατοπέδου περιβαλόντες ὡς τεῖχος ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ διάγουσιν:-

lemma Κάκειϊ πέφρακται M 1 ἢ καὶ οὕτως om. M
No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Nothing in Schwartz.

840. Ἔστι ῥῆμα θοάζω τὸ κάθημαι, ἐξ οὗ ὄνομα θόακος. κατὰ μὲν οὖν κρᾶσιν τοῦ θ καὶ α εἰς ᾧ μέγα γίνεται θῶκος· κατὰ στέρησιν δὲ τοῦ θ θᾶκος, ὡς ἐνταῦθα:-

lemma Θάκοισιν M
No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Nothing in Schwartz.

871. Τοῦτο λέγεται, ὅτι ἀπό- Cf. the Thomano-Triclinian
δειξις γέγονε ταῦτα τῆς τοῦ interlinear scholion:
λαΐου παρακοῆς. ὑπέδειξαν γὰρ Κάπίδειξις] τῆς τοῦ λαΐου
οἱ θεοὶ διὰ τούτου πᾶσιν, ὅτι παρακοῆς:-
5 τοιαῦτα πάσχουσιν ἅπαντες οἱ
θεοὶς ἀπειθοῦντες:-

lemma Κάπίδειξις M
Nothing in Schwartz.

921. Τὸ χαιρέτω, ἐπειδὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐρρέτω λαμβάνηται, ἔχει τινὰ πρὸς τὸ ἐρρέτω διαφοράν. τὸ γὰρ ἐρρέτω ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμο-
λογομένων κακῶν λέγομεν, οἷον ἐρρέτω φθόνος, ἐρρέτω φιλο-
νικία· τὸ δὲ χαιρέτω ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι δοκούντων κατ'
5 εὐφημισμὸν λέγεται, ὅτι μὴ χρῆ φανερώς δυσφημεῖν κατὰ τῶν
τοιούτων, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ χαιρέτω φιλία, χαιρέτω λόγος,
ἐπειδὴν ἀηδῶς τις ἔχη πρὸς ταῦτα:-

lemma Χαίρων M
No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Nothing in Schwartz.

960. Ἡ σιγῆ διὰ τρία ταῦτα γίνεται· ἢ διὰ φόβον ἢ διὰ πένθος ἢ διὰ θάμβος καὶ ἐκπληξιν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Κρέων θαμβηθεὶς σιωπᾷ:-

lemma Κρέον τί σιγᾶς M 2 ὁ om. M
No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Nothing in Schwartz.

1255. Τὰς ὀξύτητας τοῦ πυρός τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐμπύρων ἤγουν τῶν ὀλοκαυτωμάτων ἀναφερομένης, ἀφ' ὧν ἐσημειοῦντο οἱ μάντιες καὶ ἐσκόπουν τὰ μέλλοντα:-

Scholion habet Y lemma ἐμπύρους τ' ἀκμάς M 1 καὶ τὰς ὀξύ. Y
3 explicit καὶ ἐσκόπουν Y?
No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Cf. Schwartz, I, 379, 17-19.

1256. Τὸ νωμᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νέμω γίνεται παρὰ ποιηταῖς. γράφεται δὲ διὰ τοῦ ᾧ μεγάλου, ὡσπερ καὶ τὸ στρωφᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρέφω γινόμενον ὡς παρ' Ὀμήρῳ "Ἐκτωρ δ' ἀμφιπεριστρώφα καλλίτριχας ἵππους." [Θ 348]. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ
5 παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἔστιν εὐρεῖν:-

M sic inc. παράγεται δὲ τὸ νωμᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νέμω· καὶ ἔστι ποιητικόν· γράφεται δὲ... κτλ. 2 ᾧ om. P 5 τοῖς om. P
No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Nothing in Schwartz.

These two scholia and the Thomano-Triclinian scholion on 1256 (for which see below) are written in M as one continuous scholion introduced by the lemma to the scholion on 1255 (cf. above).

1258. Καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡσσωμένων: ἐνήλ- *Scholion Y*
λαξε τὸ σχῆμα. εἰ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ
σημαινόμενον ἀπεδίδου, κατὰ
γενικὴν ἂν τοῦτο προέφερεν. ὁ
5 δὲ ἀφείς ταύτην τὴν ἀπόδοσιν
"καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡσσωμένων" φησὶν
ἔχει σημεῖα:-
*Καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡσσωμένων: ἐν-
ἤλλαξε τὸ σχῆμα. εἰ γὰρ
τὸ σημεῖον ἀπεδίδου, κατὰ
γενικὴν ἂν καὶ τοῦτο προ-
έφερεν. ὁ δὲ ἀφείς ταύτην
τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, καὶ κατὰ τῶν
ἡττωμένων φησὶν ἔχειν δὲ
ἱαυτῷ δύνανται ἱψ, καὶ τῶν
ἡττωμένων ἔχει σημεῖον:-*

No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Nothing in Schwartz.

1264. Τὸ πάρος ἐπίρρημά ἐστι
παρὰ ποιηταῖς ἐν χρήσει, ἐ-
νίστε μὲν τοπικὸν ὡς ἐναυθα,
ένίστε δὲ χρονικόν. τὰ γὰρ
5 χρονικὰ καὶ τοπικὰ ἐπίρρηματα
οἰκειότητα ἔχει πρὸς ἄλληλα·
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ καταλλήλως
λέγονται, οἷον τὸ ἄνω καὶ
κάτω τοπικὰ ὄντα ἐπίρρηματα
10 καὶ ὡς χρονικὰ λαμβάνονται.
λέγομεν γὰρ "ἐν τοῖς ἄνω
χρόνοις" καὶ "ἐν τοῖς κάτω
χρόνοις". τὸ δὲ πάλιν χρο-
νικὸν ὄν ἐπίρρημα καὶ ὡς το-
15 πικὸν λαμβάνεται, ὅταν σημαί-
νῃ τὸ εἰς τοῦπίσω. ἀπὸ τοῦ
πάρος γίνεται παροίτερον καὶ
παροίτατον παρὰ ποιηταῖς:-
Scholion Y
Ἐπίρρημα τὸ πάρος παρὰ
ποιηταῖς ἐν χρήσει, ἐνί-
στε μὲν τοπικὸν ὡς ἐν-
ταυθα, ἐνίστε δὲ χρονικόν·
ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ παροίτερον
καὶ τὸ παροίτατον:-

lemma Δόμων πάρος M 2 τοῖς ποιηταῖς M
No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Nothing in Schwartz.

1347. Τὸ εἰδείης κανονίζεται καθ' ὁμοίως τοῦ τιθείης οὕτω·
εἰδείη, εἰδῶ, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ παράγεται ῥήμα εἰς μῖ· εἰδημι,
ὁ παρατατικὸς εἶδην, ἡ μετοχὴ ὁ εἰδείς τοῦ εἰδέεντος, ἃ
εἰσὶν ἅπαντα χρῆστα, καὶ τὸ εὐκτικὸν εἰδείην εἰδείης:-

lemma Είδειῆς καὶ M, qui sic inc. ὡπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ τιθῶ, τιθῶ, τίθημι, οὕτω καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶδέω, εἶθιμι· ὁ παρατα-
 τικῶς... κτλ.

No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Nothing in Schwartz.

1348. Μὴ ἀπόρει, πῶς ἄνωθεν μικρὸν ἐν τῷ βαρυποτιμοτάτας
 (1345) τῆς μὲ συλλαβῆς διὰ τοῦ ὄ μικροῦ γραφομένης ἐν-
 ταῦθα τὸ δυσποτιμώτερα διὰ τοῦ ὦ μεγάλου γράφεται. τῆς γὰρ
 πῶ συλλαβῆς κοινῆς οὔσης διὰ τὸ ἐπιφέρεισθαι δύο σύμφωνα,
 5 ἄν τὸ μὲν ἔν ἄφωνον τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἀμετάβολον, ἐν μὲν τῷ
 βαρυποτιμοτάτας μακρόν ἐστι τὸ πῶ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ μὲ διὰ
 τοῦ ὄ μικροῦ γράφεται· ἐν δὲ τῷ δυσποτιμώτερα βραχεῖα ἐστὶν
 ἢ πῶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ μῶ μέγα γράφεται:—

lemma Δυσποτιμώτερα M 3 δυσποτιμώτερα M 6 ἐστι] λαμβάνεται
 M 7 δυσποτιμώτερα M ἐστὶν] λαμβάνεται M 8 μῶ] μὲ M
 cf. γ: ... ἐπεὶ καὶ ἢ πρὸ αὐτοῦ συλλαβῆ δύναται μακρὰ εἶναι
 ἢ αὐτῇ καὶ βραχεῖα:—

No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Nothing in Schwartz.

1406. Τὸ ἀμφιβαίνειν οὐ πανταχοῦ τὸ σκέπειν καὶ βοηθεῖν
 δηλοῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καταλαμβάνειν ὡς τὸ "ἐπεὶ σε μάλα πό-
 νος ἀμφιβέβηκε" παρ' Ὀμήρῳ [Z 355], καὶ "ἥελιος μέσον
 οὐρανὸν ἀμφιβεβήκει" [Θ 68], καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ "πολὺν
 5 ταραγμὸν ἀμφιβάντ' εἶχον μάχης" ἦγουν ἀμφοτέρωθεν βάντες
 κατ' ἀλλήλων:—

lemma Ἀμφιβάντ' εἶχον M

No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Nothing in Schwartz.

1504. Οἰδίπους Οἰδίποδος κοινόν· Οἰδίπους Οἰδίπου ἀττικόν·
 Οἰδιπόδης δὲ ὡσαύτως ποιητικόν, καὶ κλίνεται Οἰδίπου, καὶ
 δωρικῶς Οἰδιπόδα, καὶ βοιωτικῶς Οἰδιπόδα· ἡ κλητικὴ κοι-
 νῶς μὲν Οἰδίπου, ἀττικῶς δὲ Οἰδίπους, ποιητικῶς δὲ Οἰδι-
 5 πόδη ὡς Πέρσης, Πέρσου, καὶ δωρικῶς Οἰδιπόδα:—

lemma Οἰδιπόδα M 2 ὡσαύτως] Οἰδίπου M καὶ κλίνεται
 Οἰδίπου om. M 5 ὡς Πέρσης, Πέρσου] ὡς Ἀτρείδης, ἡ κλη-
 τικὴ Ἀτρείδη M

No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Nothing in Schwartz. Cf.
 Dindorf, III, 357, 13-14.

1504. Πρόπαν: τὸ πᾶν βραχὺ ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα. εἶοικε δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 πρόπαντα γίνεσθαι κατὰ ἀφαίρεσιν τῆς τᾶ συλλαβῆς· ἐν γὰρ
 τῷ πρόπαντα μακρᾶς οὔσης θέσει τῆς πᾶν συλλαβῆς καὶ τῆς
 τᾶ ἀφαιρεθείσης, καταλείπεται ἢ πᾶν βραχεῖα· ὡς ἔχει ἐν τῷ
 5 "ὦ Αἶαν, ὦ Δέον", καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις:—

3 καὶ om. M

No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Nothing in Schwartz.

1533. Ἀπὸ τοῦ Οἰδίπους Οἰδιπόδου ποιητικῶς, ἡ κλητικὴ ὦ
 Οἰδιπόδα, καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ δᾶ βραχὺ. αἱ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ἧς

εὐθειῶν εἰς ἃ λήγουσαι κλητικαὶ βραχὺ ἔχουσιν αὐτό· οἶον, προφήτης, προφήτου, ᾧ προφήτα. καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα δηλονότι
 5 ὅτι τινὲς τῶν τοιοῦτων κλητικῶν καὶ προπαροξύνονται, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν συνέβαινε(ν), εἰ μὴ βραχὺ ἦν τὸ ᾧ· ὡς τὸ ᾧ δέεποτα, καὶ ἔτι μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ ἐκθλιψιν ὑπομένειν· ὡς ἐν τῷ "Θερσίτ' ἀκριτόμυθε" [B 246]. τὰ γὰρ μακρὰ τῶν φωνηέντων οὐκ ἐκθλίβονται:—

lemma Οἰδίποδα M P sic inc. Οἰδίπους, τοῦ Οἰδίου· ἡ κλητικὴ... κτλ.

No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Cf. Schwartz, I, 402, I: Dindorf, III, 375, 18.

1707. Κολωνός ὑψηλός τις τόπος ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἔνθα ἦν ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἦν τὰ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἵπποστάσια, ὡς ὁ μῦθος:—

lemma Κολωνός M

No Thomano-Triclinian correspondence. Cf. Schwartz, I, 411, 9-11.

The Thomano-Triclinian scholia

3. Τέσσαράς φασιν οἱ μῦθοι τοὺς ἵππους εἶναι Ἥλιου οὕτω καλουμένους, Χρόνον, Αἰθῶ, Ἀστραπὴν, Βροντήν. ἄλλοι δὲ
 5 δύο· Λάμποντα καὶ Φαέθοντα:—

Τέσσαρές εἰσιν οἱ Ἥλιου ἵπποι οὕτω καλούμενοι, Χρόνος, Αἰθῶ, Ἀστραπή, Βροντή. ἄλλοι δὲ φασιν ὡς δύο· Λάμπων καὶ Φαέθων:—

lemma Θοαῖς ἵπποισιν M

τέσσαρες δὲ ττα οἱ om. ττα
 5 Φααίθων Zza

Obviously the Thomano-Triclinian scholion in a form slightly deviating from the 'pure' text printed in the right column (so too in all the following instances). No exact correspondence in Schwartz, I, 246.

5. Ἀκτινα δυστυχῆ λέγει οὐδὲν ἑαυτῆς, ἀλλὰ διότι ἡ αὐτῆ ἐγένετο ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἡ αἰτία τῆς δυστυχίας αὐτῆς. Ἀγῆνωρ
 5 γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ Κάδμου, τῆς θυγατρὸς Εὐρώπης ὑπὸ Διὸς ἀρπαγείσης καὶ εἰς Κρήτην ἀπαχθείσης ἀγνοοῦντος τοῦ πατρὸς, ἀπέστειλεν ὁ πατὴρ Κάδμον τὸν
 10 υἱὸν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἀναζήτησιν τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ, ὅς κητην ἀπαχλιπῶν φοινίκην ἐξῆλθε. καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μαντεῖον ἐζήτηε μαθεῖν
 15 τὸ ποιητέον. ἐδόθη οὖν αὐτῷ χρησμός, ὅπως λάβη δάμαλιν, καὶ πορευῆται ὀπίσω αὐτῆς, καὶ ὅπου κλιθεῖη ἂν ἡ δάμαλις

Κάδμος: Ἀγῆνωρος θυγάτηρ Εὐρώπη, ἣν λαβὼν Ζεὺς εἰς Κρήτην ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς ἤγαγεν. ὁ δὲ περιήρχετο ζητῶν καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ Κάδμον, Βάσσον, Κίλικα, Φινέα ἀπέστειλε ψηλαφήσαντας μαθεῖν. Κάδμος οὖν τὸν χρησμὸν λαβὼν εἰς τὸ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐτάχθη δάμαλιν λαβεῖν καὶ ἀπερχόμενον ἐκλαύνειν ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ ὅπου κλιθεῖη ἡ δάμαλις πεσοῦσα, κτίσαι πόλιν. κτίζει οὖν ἠθάβας, καὶ τὸν δράκοντα ἀναιρεῖ σπείρας τοὺς δόδοντας αὐτοῦ, ἐξ ὧν ἀνεφύησαν οἱ γίγαντες, οἵτινες αὐθ-

20 πεσοῦσα, ἐκεῖ κτίση πόλιν.
κτίζει οὖν τὰς θήβας, ἐ-
κεισε τῆς δαμάλεως πεσοῦσης
κατὰ τὸν χρησμόν, καὶ τὸν ἐ-
κεισε δράκοντα ἀναιρεῖ. σπα-
ρέντων δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ὁδόν-
25 των αὐτοῦ ἐκφῦναι τοὺς γίγαν-
τὰς φησιν ἐξ αὐτῶν:-

ἡμερον ἔνοπλοι ἀναφανέντες
καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμον
συνάραντες αὐθήμερον καὶ
παρῆλθον:-

6 βάσον T 11 καὶ om. Zzα
18-22 οἷτινες αὐθήμερον...
παρῆλθον:- om. ZbTTα

lemma Κάδμος M 1-4 Ἄκτινα
δυστυχή... αὐτῆς om. M 5 γάρ
om. M 26 φασιν (vid.) M

Again, albeit less directly, the Thomano-Triclinian, or rather the *Triclinian* scholion, since both ZbTTα and PM end with 'the giants being born', excluding the last relative clause exhibited by Zzα. No exact correspondence in Schwartz, I, 246, 5-9.

24. Λέπας: ἦγουν ἔξοχὴν καὶ
ἀκρωτήριον, ἐν ᾧ ἡ Ἥρα ἐ-
τιμᾶτο. ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ ναὸς ἦν
Ἥρας, ὃ καὶ καλεῖ λειμῶνα
5 Ἥρας· πάντας γὰρ τοὺς ἀλσώ-
δεις τόπους θεοῖς ἀφιέρουν
καὶ τεμένη θεῶν ἐκάλουν Ἑλ-
ληνες:-

Λέπας: ἀκρωτήριον· ἐν τούτῳ
γὰρ ναὸς Ἥρας ἦν, ὃ καὶ
καλεῖ λειμῶνα Ἥρας. πάντας
γὰρ τοὺς ἀλσώδεις τόπους
θεοῖς ἀφιέρουν καὶ τεμένη
θεῶν ἐκάλουν Ἑλληνες. τὸ
ἀκρωτήριον, ἐν ᾧ ἡ Ἥρα
ἐτιμᾶτο:-

1 Λέπας ἦτοι ἔξοχὴν... κτλ. P

6 τὸ om. Zzα 8 ἐτιμᾶτο ZbTTα
ἐιομᾶτο (vid.) Zα Z non li-
quet

Again, obviously, a somewhat distorted form of the Thomano-Triclinian scholion. No correspondence in Schwartz, I, 250, 19-25.

25. Οὐ γὰρ ἤθελεν ὁ Λάϊος
αὐτοχειρὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀποκτεῖναι,
φυσικῆ κατεχόμενος συμπαθεία,
καθὰ πατῆρ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ-
5 θετον ἐποίησεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος,
ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ θηρίων ἀναιρεθείη:-

Δίδωσι: οὐκ ἤθελε γὰρ αὐτὸς
ἀποκτεῖναι, φυσικῆ κατεχό-
μενος συμπαθεία, ἅτε πατῆρ·
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰς τὸ ὄρος
ἔρριψεν αὐτό, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ
θηρίων ἀναιρεθείη:-

lemma Ἐκθεῖναι βρέφος M

5 αὐτὸ om. ZbTTα

The Thomano-Triclinian scholion slightly distorted. No correspond-
ence in Schwartz, I, 250-252.

(Smith, *Scholía Metrica*, 61,
col. ις')

222. Κασταλία πηγὴ ἐν τῇ Πυ-
θίᾳ, ἐν ἣ ἐλούοντο αἱ ἱερό-
δουλοι παρθένοι, αἱ μέλλου-
σαι θεοπρόπια φθέγγεσθαι παρὰ
5 τοῦ τρίποδος, ἐκεῖ καθαιρό-
μεναι πρότερον. ἐμυθεύοντο δέ,
ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς Κασταλίας

Ἐτι δὲ Κασταλίας: Κασταλία
πηγὴ ἐν Πυθίᾳ, παρ' ἧς ἐ-
λούοντο αἱ ἱερόδουλοι παρ-
θένοι, αἵτινες ἐμελλον θεο-
πρόπιον ἦτοι μάντευμα ᾄδειν
παρὰ τοῦ τρίποδος. μυθεύον-
ται δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὸ τῆς

- ὕδωρ λάλον ἦν, πλαττόμενοι
 τοῦτο, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ λαλεῖν
 10 ἐκεῖνο - ἀδύνατον γὰρ -
 ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιεῖν τοὺς
 ἄλλους μαντικούς καὶ λέγειν
 δυναμένους τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 ἀγνοούμενα καὶ διασαφεῖν.
 15 τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ νοεῖν χρῆ καὶ
 περὶ τῆς ἐν Δωδώνῃ δρυός:-

Κασταλίας ὕδωρ λάλον ἦν,
 πλασάμενοι τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 λαλεῖν ἐκεῖνο - ἀδύνατον γὰρ-
 ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιεῖν τοὺς
 ἄλλους μαντικούς καὶ λέγειν
 δυναμένους τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 ἀγνοούμενα καὶ διασαφεῖν. τὸ
 αὐτὸ δὲ νοεῖ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν
 Δωδώνῃ δρυός:-

lemma Κασταλίας M

2 παρ'] ἀφ' T scholion om. Zb

The Thomano-Triclinian scholion with very few deviations. Cf. Schwartz, I, 280, 22-26 (in *Phoen.* 224).

572. Τρόπαια: εἰώθεσαν οἱ παλαιοί, ἐπειδὴν ἐνίκων τοὺς
 ἀντιπάλους, ἀνιστᾶν τεῖχη, γράφοντες ἐνταῦθα τὴν κατὰ τοῦ-
 των νίκην, ἀείμνηστον ἐντεῦθεν καθιστάντες τὴν σφῶν αὐτῶν
 ἀρετὴν· ἄπερ ἐκάλουσαν τρόπαια, ὡς δεικνύοντα τὴν τῶν ἐναν-
 5 τίων τροπήν. ἔμελλεν οὖν καὶ Πολυνεΐκης, εἴπερ ἐνίκησεν
 Ἐτεοκλέα τοῦτο ποιήσιν, ἐπιγράψιν τε τὴν κατὰ τῆς πό-
 λεως πόρθσιν· ὃ ἐπειδὴ πλείω μέμψιν εἶχεν αὐτῷ ἢ φιλοτι-
 μίαν, ἀποτρέπει ἢ μήτηρ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν συμβολῆς. οὐ
 μόνον δὲ τοῦτο ἐποίουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τῶν πολεμίων
 10 σκυλεύοντες τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνετίθουν, ὡς αἰτίοις τῆς νίκης,
 ἐπιγράφοντες εἰς αὐτάς, ἃ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τροπαίοις:-

scholion om. Zb lemma om. TP 1 PM sic inc. "Ἔθος εἶχον οἱ παλαιοί, ὡς ἠνίκα τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἀντιπάλους ἐνίκων, ἀνιστᾶν... κτλ. 2 ἐνταῦθα] ἐν αὐτοῖς PM κατὰ τοῦτων] κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων PM 5 ὃ Πολυνεΐκης PM 6 τοῦτο ποιήσιν] ποιήσιν οὕτω PM ἐπιγράψιν] ἐπιγράψιν PM 8 τῆς... συμβολῆς om. PM 10 σκυλεύσαντες M 11 εἰς αὐτάς] αὐταῖς PM No correspondence in Schwartz, I, 308, 12-15.

834. Ἀποροῦσί τινες, πῶς
 τυφλὸς ὢν ὁ Τειρεσίᾳς ἠδύνατο
 καταλαβεῖν τὰς τῶν ὀρνί-
 θων πτήσεις· καὶ λύεται οὕτως,
 5 ὅτι ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ ἔμπειρος
 οὔσα ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ τοιῶσδε ἢ
 τοιῶσδε πέτεσθαι τοὺς ὄρνις·
 ἐκ τούτου οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἐμαν-
 τεύετο. φασὶν οὖν ὅτι μετὰ
 10 τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ μάντις
 ἀρίστη γέγονε ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐ-
 τοῦ:-

Ἀποροῦσί τινες, πῶς τυφλὸς
 ὢν ὁ Τειρεσίᾳς ἠδύνατο κατα-
 λαμβάνειν τὰς τῶν ὀρνίθων
 πτήσεις· καὶ φαμεν, ὡς ἡ θυ-
 γάτηρ αὐτοῦ ἔμπειρος οὔσα
 ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ τοιῶσδε καὶ τοι-
 ῶσδε πέτεσθαι τοὺς ὄρνις·
 ἐκ τούτου οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἐμαν-
 τεύετο. φασὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὸν
 θάνατον αὐτοῦ μάντιν ἀρίστην
 γενέσθαι τὴν θυγατέρα:-

lemma Ἐργοῦ πάροιθεν M

8 τοῦτου] τούτων (vid.) M

The Thomano-Triclinian scholion to the lemma 839 οἰωνίσματ' ὀρνίθων μαθῶν. Cf. Schwartz, I, 341, 21-24.

1108. Τοῦτον τὸν κάπρον
 ἐπήγαγέ ποτε τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς
 ἢ Ἄρτεμις, ὥστε λυμαί-
 νεσθαι τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν,
 5 ὀργιζομένη Οἰνεῖ τῷ τούτων
 ἄρχοντι θύσαντι τοῖς ἄλλοις
 θεοῖς καὶ οὐ τῇ Ἄρτέμιδι.
 ἀπέκτεινε δὲ τοῦτον τὸν
 κάπρον ὁ Μελέαγρος ἔχων καὶ
 10 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα Ἀταλάνην
 συνεργόν. οὗτος ὁ κάπρος ἐ-
 λέγετο καὶ Καλυδώνιος· Καλυ-
 δῶν δὲ ὄρος Αἰτωλίας:-

Κάπρον: ὃν ἐπήγαγεν Αἰτωλοῖς
 ποτε Ἄρτεμις λυμαίνεσθαι
 τὴν σφῶν χώραν ὀργιζομένη Οἰ-
 νεῖ θύσαντι τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς
 καὶ οὐ τῇ Ἄρτέμιδι. ἀπέκτει-
 νε δὲ τὸν κάπρον τοῦτον ὁ
 Μελέαγρος:

lemma Κάπρον M 10 Ἀταλάνην
 an vol. Ἄλθαίαν? 13 post
 Αἰτωλίας add. καὶ πόλις M

A somewhat augmented version, it seems, of the Thomano-Triclinian
 scholion. Nothing in Schwartz.

1185. Ἰεῖονος: οὗτος ὁ Ἰεῖων ὁμοδίαιτος ὦν τῷ Διὶ ἐφω-
 ράθη τῆς Ἥρας ἐρῶν. θέλων οὖν ὁ Ζεὺς γυνῶναι τὸν ἔρωτα νε-
 φέλην παρεικάζει τῇ Ἥρᾳ, εἰς ἣν ὀρμήσας ὁ Ἰεῖων δῆλον
 ἐποίησε τῷ Διὶ τὸν ἔρωτα, ὅς ὀργισθεῖς, δῆσας αὐτὸν ἐν
 5 ταχυτάτῳ τροχῷ, ἀφῆκεν ἐν ἀέρι περικλύζεσθαι καὶ δίκην
 οὕτω τίνειν τῆς ἀκολάστου γνώμης βοῶντα ὡς· "χρὴ τοὺς εὐ-
 εργέτας τιμᾶν." ἐκ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὴν νεφέλην τοῦ Ἰεῖονος
 μίξεως γέγονεν ὁ Ἰπποκένταυρος, κεφαλὴν μὲν στήθος καὶ
 χεῖρας ἀνθρώπου ἔχων, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα ἵππου, ὃν τις ἰδὼν
 10 τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτως ἀτοπώτατον θέαμα εἶπεν· ἄνθρωπος ἀποπέρ-
 δεται ἵππον, καὶ ἵππος ἀπερεύγεται ἄνθρωπον:-

scholion om. ZaZb lemma om. TP lemma ὦς κύκλωμ' Ἰεῖονος M
 2-3 νεφέλην] νεφέλη (i.e. νεφέλη) PM 3 τῇ Ἥρᾳ] τὴν Ἥραν PM
 3 ὁ om. T 4 τῷ om. TPM 5 περικλύζεσθαι] περιελίττεσθαι PM
 8-9 στήθος καὶ χεῖρας ἀνθρώπου ἔχων] καὶ στήθος ἀνθρώπου
 ἔχων καὶ χεῖρας PM 9-10 ὃν τις ἰδὼν... θέαμα εἶπεν] περι
 οὗ φησὶ τις τῶν σοφῶν ὅτι PM 11 καὶ ἵππος] ἵππος δ' T
 ἄνθρωπον] ἄνδρα T
 Cf. Schwartz, I, 375, 11-20

1256. Ὑγρότητ' ἐναντίαν: σφάζοντες οἱ μάντις πρόβατον,
 ὁπότε τινὰ δλεθρον ἢ νίκην τῶν αὐτῶν στρατευμάτων ἐβούλοντο
 σημειώσασθαι τέμνοντες τοῦτο, τὸν μὲν μηρὸν εἰλοῦντες πι-
 μελῆ ἐπὶ πῦρ ἐπετίθουν. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐξήφθη τὸ πῦρ, νικᾶν ἐ-
 5 λεγον, μὴ τούτου δὲ γενομένου, νικᾶσθαι. οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κύστιν μεστὴν οὔρου ἐν τῷ στόματι ἐρίψ δεσ-
 μοῦντες ἐπετίθουν τῷ πυρὶ καὶ ἐπετήρουν, πῶς ραγίσει καὶ
 ποῦ ἀκόντισει τὸ οὔρον. καὶ εἰ μὲν εἰς αὐτοῦς, νικητὰς ἐ-
 αυτοὺς ἐκάλουν· εἰ δ' εἰς τοὺς ἐναντίους, καταβολὴν ἑαυτῶν
 10 ἐμαντεύοντο. τὴν οὖν ἀκόντισιν τοῦ οὔρου ἐναντίαν ὑγρότητα
 λέγει. ἐπετήρουν δὲ ἀπλῶς καὶ τὸ ἄκρον μόνου τοῦ πυρός, τὴν
 μὲν ἔξαψιν τούτου νίκην, τὴν δ' εἰς τούναντίον ὀρμὴν ἀπώ-
 λειαν καὶ φθορὰν σφῶν αὐτῶν λογιζόμενοι. τὸ δὲ "ἐνώμων"

κατὰ συνεκδοχὴν εἰς τὰ τρία λάμβανε· εἷς τε τὸ "ἀκμάς",
15 καὶ εἰς τὸ "ῥήξεις", καὶ εἰς τὸ "ἄκραν":-

Scholion om. Zb lemma om. TPM M sic inc. ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ὅτε
τινὰ ὄλεθρον ἢ νίκην τῶν ἰδίων στρατευμάτων ἐβούλοντο
σημειώσασθαι Ἑλληνες, σφάζοντες πρόβατον καὶ τοῦτο τέμ-
νοντες, τὸν μὲν μηρὸν... κτλ. P sic inc. Ὅποτε τινὰ
ὄλεθρον ἢ νίκην τῶν ἰδίων στρατευμάτων... κτλ. ut M
3 εἰλοῦντες] περιειλοῦντες T 4 ἐπὶ πῦρ ἐπετίθουν] εἰς
πῦρ ἐνετίθουν PM 8 τὸ οὔρον] τὸ ὕδωρ οὔρον PM 11 ἀπλῶς
om. PM μόνου om. TPM 11 τοῦ πυρός] αὐτοῦ τοῦ πυρός PM
11-12 τὴν μὲν] καὶ τὴν μὲν PM 12 ἕξαψιν τούτου] τούτου ἕξ-
αψιν PM post νίκην hab. ἐστοχάζοντο PM τούναντίον] τὸ
ἐναντίον PM 13 λογιζόμενοι] ἐλογίζοντο PM
Cf. Schwartz, I, 379, 23-24.

1377. Πρὶν εὐρεθῆναι τὴν σάλ-
πιγγα πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους, λαμ-
πάσιν ἐχρῶντο σημείοις τοῦ
κατάρχεσθαι τῆς μάχης, ἃς ἔ-
5 φερον δύο ἱερεῖς Ἄρεος ἐξ
ἐκατέρου μέρους, οὓς καὶ μό-
νους ἀθώους ἐν μάχαις εἶων·
ᾧθεν καὶ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν
ἄρδην ἀπολλυμένων λεγομένη·
10 "οὐδὲ πυρφόρος ἐσώθη."
ὕστερον δὲ τῶν Τυρσηνῶν τὴν
σάλπιγγα ἐφευρόντων - διὸ
καὶ Τυρσηνικὴ ὀνομάζεται ἡ
σάλπιγξ - ἀντὶ λαμπάδων τῇ
15 σάλπιγγι ἐχρῶντο. ἔοικε δὲ
ὡς ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς Ἐτεοκλέ-
ους ὅτι καὶ ἀμφοτέροις ἐ-
χρῶντο· δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ
πρόσθεν εἰρημένου τῷ ποιητῇ.
20 "παῖδαν δὲ καὶ σάλπιγγες ἐ-
κελάδουν":- (1102).

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφείθη: πρὶν εὐρε-
θῆναι τὴν σάλπιγγα πρὸς τοὺς
πολέμους, λαμπάσιν ἐχρῶντο
σημεῖω τοῦ κατάρχεσθαι τῆς
μάχης, ἃς ἔφερον δύο ἱερεῖς
Ἄρεος ἐξ ἐκατέρων ὄντες
τῶν στρατευμάτων, οὓς καὶ
μόνους ἀθώους ἐν μάχαις εἶ-
ων· ᾧθεν καὶ παροιμία ἐπὶ
τῶν ἄρδην ἀπολλυμένων λε-
γομένη· "οὐδὲ πυρφόρος ἐ-
σώθη". ὕστερον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
Ἰταλικούς πολέμους Τυρση-
νοὶ τὴν σάλπιγγα εὔρον,
ᾧθεν καὶ Τυρσηνικὴ σάλπιγξ
κέκληται:-

9 ἡ παροιμία T

lemma Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφείθη πυρσός M
17 ὅτι om. P

The Thomano-Triclinian scholion with a small addition. Cf. further
Dindorf, III, 349, 11-350,2; Schwartz, I, 388, 22-389,5.

1390. Ἐν γὰρ τῷ πεδίῳ ἐν ᾧ
ἐμονομάχουν, κειμένου λίθου
καὶ τὸν Ἐτεοκλῆν ἐμποδίζον-
τος, ἐπειράθη ὁ Ἐτεοκλῆς
5 διὰ τοῦ ποδὸς κινῆσαι αὐτόν·
ᾧθεν καὶ ἐπιλαθόμενος ἐξήγα-
γεν ἐκ τῆς ἀσπίδος τὸν πόδα·
ὃν ἰδὼν Πολυνεΐκης εὐθύς ἔ-
τρωσεν:-

Ἐτεοκλῆς: ἐν γὰρ τῷ πεδίῳ,
ἐν ᾧ ἐμονομάχουν, πεφυκός
πέτρου καὶ ἐμποδίζοντος
Ἐτεοκλέα, τοῦτον βουλόμε-
νος ἐμβαλεῖν ἐπειράτο διὰ
τοῦ ποδὸς κινῶν· ᾧθεν καὶ
λαθῶν ἐξήγαγε τῆς ἀσπίδος
τὸν πόδα, ὃν ἰδὼν εὐθύς Πο-
λυνεΐκης ἔτρωσεν:-

lemma Μεταφαίρων· ἦγουν

μετακινῶν M 4 ὁ om. P

The Thomano-Triclinian scholion. Cf. Dindorf, III, 352,18 + *ibid.* 14-17. Nothing in Schwartz, I, 390, 22-25.

1407-08. Θετταλικὸν σόφισμα
ἢ ὁ ποιεῖν ἐξ ἔθους ἔχουσι
θετταλοὶ ἐν πολέμοις· ἢ
ἐπειδὴ πανουργοὶ εἰσιν οἱ
5 θετταλοὶ. ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν
ἀπλῶς, ὅτι πανουργίαν ἐ-
ποίησε ὁ Ἐτεοκλῆς, "θεσ-
σαλὸν" εἴρηκε "σόφισμα".
ἦγουν μηχανὴν ἦγαγε τῇ
10 μάχῃ, ἣν ἂν θετταλὸς ἐπε-
νόησε(ν), ἀφ' οὗ παροιμία
τὸ "θετταλικὸν σόφισμα":-

Τὸ θεσσαλὸν εἰσήγαγε σόφισμα:
τὸ θετταλὸν σόφισμα ἢ ἀντὶ
τοῦ ὁ ποιοῦσιν οἱ θετταλοὶ
πρὸς πόλεμον· ἢ ἐπειδὴ καὶ
οἱ θετταλοὶ πανουργοὶ. ἦν δὲ
καί, ὁ Ἐτεοκλῆς ἐποίησε πρὸς
Πολυδείκην, πανουργία καὶ οἴ-
ονεὶ θετταλικὸν σόφισμα:-

lemma om. T 6 ἐποίησε Ἐτεο-
κλῆς T

lemma Τὸ θεσσαλὸν M 9-12
cf. schol. Y: ἦγουν εἰς μάχην
εἰσήγαγε τῇ μάχῃ (sic), ἣν
ἂν θετταλὸς ἐπενόησεν, ἀφ'
ῶν παροιμία τὸ θετταλικὸν
σόφισμα: ...

The PM scholion seems to be related to the Thomano-Triclinian as well as to the Y scholion. Cf. Also Dindorf, III, 357, 14-17; Schwartz, I, 392,2-393,15.

*

The above presentation of the 'peculiar' exegetic scholia to Euripides' *Phoenissae* exhibited by the *gemelli* - the mid-14th century Parma 154 and the mid-15th century Modena, α. U.9.22 - in a sense confronts us with an almost unique situation as far as the Byzantine scholia to Euripides are concerned.

As stated in the introductory remarks of the present article, the *Mischkommentar* of the Parma 154 (Moschopulean 'standard', some Thomano-Triclinian, and a fair number of comments that are neither Moschopulean, nor Thoman, nor 'vetera' according to Schwartz' edition - though 3 or 4 of them may be Planudean) seems to be unparalleled in the entire 14th century tradition of the Euripidean triad. Triclinius' work in the Angel. gr. 14 does *not* offer a strict parallel, in as far as his recension comprises only the Moschopulean and the Thoman exegetic scholia and his own metrical commentary. The Parma 'edition' is indeed far more heterogeneous in nature.

If Dr. Smith is right in assigning the metrical Parma-Modena commentary to Demetrius Triclinius, i.e. a younger

Triclinius than the experienced metrician represented in the Angel. gr. 14 (Euripides) and the Naples, Bibl. Naz., II.F.31 (Aeschylus), would the fact that a number of Thomano-Triclinian scholia in a form somewhat deviating from the one exhibited by the Angel. gr. 14 (T) and the Cambridge, U.L., Nn. 3.14 (Z) is actually to be found *in connection with* the metrica be an argument in favour of the 'proto-Thomano-Triclinian' nature of these exegetica in the Parma-Modena complex?

Tempting as this hypothesis may be, I am most inclined to reject it. Indeed, the very occurrence of a *limited* number of Thomano-Triclinian *along with* a greater number of 'peculiar' scholia points to the conclusion that the Thomano-Triclinian scholia of the Parma-Modena complex are rather to be considered 'distorted' or 'corrupted' versions of the 'pure' Thomano-Triclinian exegetica of T and Z.

Now, would it perhaps be possible to suppose that the scribe of the Parma 154 himself used several *Vorlagen*, or at least that his *Vorlage* did so?

Or, to put the matter differently: was the scribe of the Modena MS or his *Vorlage* selective in his choice omitting the Moschopulean 'standard' scholia (which would be readily at hand in other MSS), or did the *common source* of the Parma and Modena MSS not exhibit the Moschopuleana which the Parma copyist then took from his Moschopulean 'standard' *Vorlage* that supplied the majority of his exegetic scholia and interlinear comments and glosses?

Be that as it may: the presence of an extensive metrical commentary, some Thomano-Triclinian scholia, a large number of Moschopulean *and* a fair amount of other, obviously Byzantine, scholia in the Parma 154, inevitably leads us in the direction of a scholarly environment that was connected with, or formed part of, the *cerole* of Palaeologan scholars to which belonged Maximus Planudes, Manuel Moschopulus, Thomas Magister and Demetrius Triclinius.

The existence of both the Parma and the Modena MSS representing, presumably, the activities of all of those famous names but in a somewhat 'degenerated' shape could maybe show us a glimpse of the activities of *other* grammarians than those

notable four.

Needless to say, there must have been, at Constantinople as well as in Thessalonica, scores of other men taking a scholarly interest in the works of the ancient playwrights. And the work of one or more such people making his/their own 'edition' of the triad using rather freely the scholia of the celebrated philologists, could be represented in the mixed scholia of the Parma-Modena complex.

I do not shrink from the hypothesis of the existence of 'anons." among the scholars of the Palaeologan era, and would find it advisable to label the 'peculiar' Parma-Modena exegetica 'scholia anonyma in Euripidem' in analogy with the title of Dr. Smith's edition of the *metrica*.

Much work remains to be done on the exegetic scholia, not only of the Parma-Modena complex, but of a number of other Euripidean MSS of the 14th and 15th centuries.

The present article does not claim to solve the riddle of the Parma-Modena exegetica. On the contrary: its edition of a representative section of these texts should be considered a modest attempt to further the study of these interesting Byzantine scholia.

The aim of this article is not to answer, but rather to put questions. Whether the next step in the direction of the full elucidation of the problems raised by the existence of the Parma-Modena MSS will be taken by me or by someone among my readers, is left to the future to decide.

The above *presentation* of part of the evidence is offered as a small tribute to the great master of the study of the Byzantine manuscript tradition of the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides - Alexander Turyn.

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NOTES

1) That the metrical commentary exhibited by the Parma and Modena MSS represents an earlier version of Triclinius' metrical scholia found in their final shape in the Angel. gr. 14, has been questioned in rather

strong terms by Professor Holger Friis Johansen (University of Århus). See *Museum Tusulanum* 36-39 (Copenhagen, 1979), 166-169 (in Danish). In the prolegomena to his edition of the Parma-Modena metrical scholia *Scholiametrica anonyma in Euripidis Hecubam, Orestem, Phoenissas*. Edited with Prolegomena, Critical Apparatus, Appendix, and Index by Ole Langwitz Smith (Copenhagen, 1977), Dr. Smith concludes rather cautiously: "We know nothing about metrical scholia on any scale on Euripides before Triclinius, and his work as it is preserved in *Angel. gr.* 14 and to a much lesser extent in *Laur.* 32,2 seems to have no relation to what is found in the present commentaries. Still I think that he may be regarded as the author, but I admit that the reasons I have given in my *Studies* are not cogent proofs, but *verisimilia*." (xxv). In his review of Smith's edition (BZ, 73, 1980, Heft 1, 44-45) J. Irigoin seems to be rather positive as to the possibility of identifying the author of the 'anonymous metrica' with the young Triclinius.

2) Main representatives of the Moschopulean recension: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 3.25 (X); ibidem, Barocci 120 (Xa); Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, conv. soppr. 71 (Xb) - all of them 14th century.

3) Other characteristic MSS of this category: Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, conv. soppr. 98 (Yf); Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, II.F.37 (Yn) - both of them 14th century, and Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Gr. 469 (Yv) written A.D. 1413.

4) Cf. e.g. R.D. Dawe, *The Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Aeschylus* (Cambridge, 1964), 21, and Smith, *Aeschylus*, 132-33. - The MS *Vat. gr.* 51 (Turyn's Zb) should certainly not - as by Turyn - be considered a (main) representative of a 'second Thoman recension' of the poetic text and the scholia. See Smith, *Aeschylus*, 81 (note 56), and Kjeld Matthiessen, *Studien zur Textüberlieferung der Hekabe des Euripides* (Heidelberg, 1974), 51, 95-101. Furthermore this MS is, especially in the *Phoenissae*-section, very defective in omitting a large number of the scholia. It is quoted in a few cases in that part of the present article that deals with the Thomano-Triclinian scholia. In one very characteristic instance (schol. Thomano-Triclin. in *Phoen.* 5) it will be seen to follow Triclinius' own T and its apograph Ta against Zza.

5) Turyn, *Euripides*, 188-202.

6) On this MS see especially Smith, *Aeschylus*, 225-228 (note 109); Turyn, *Euripides*, 44ff. et al. (and his Plate III); Matthiessen, *Studien*, 23, 35f., 50, 95-100, 101, 117-124.

7) On this MS see Turyn, *Euripides*, 99f.; Matthiessen, *Studien*, 22, 50f., 95-100, 101, 119f., Smith, *Aeschylus*, 23 (note 50). The information on watermarks quoted in Matthiessen, *Studien*, 50 differs somewhat from the information supplied to me by Mr. T. S. Pattie of the British Museum, Department of Manuscripts (letter of 27th October 1972). There is however agreement on at least Briquet 3668 [c. 1450] and 12414 [c. 1440-48], and this should suffice to sustain a date c. 1440-50 with the usual margin of +/- 10-15 years. - The dates in brackets have been supplied by me.

8) Smith, *Scholiametrica anonyma*, ix-x with references to Martini and Turyn.

9) Smith, *ibid.*, xii, and the same author's note in *Mnemosyne*, Ser. iv, 27, 1975, 414f.

10) Smith, *ibid.*, xiii, with reference to Koster, *Scholiametrica in Aristot-*

phanem, i,3,2,lxi f. - J. Irigoin in his review of Smith's edition (cf. above n. 1) apparently accepts a date c. 1430 for the Modena MS based exclusively on the watermark-evidence.

11) Smith, *ibid.*, xiii (note 17). - A celebrated representative of the 'scholia only'-category is the Triclinian MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, *Barocci 74*, early 16th century (Turyn, *Euripides*, 197).

12) Ernst Gamillscheg, *Supplementum Mutinense, Scrittura e civiltà 2*, 1978, 239-240. - On Callistus cf. A. Diller, *Three Greek Scribes Working for Bessarion: Trivizias, Callistus, Hermonymus, Italia medioevale e umanistica 10*, 1967, 403ff.

13) Dieter Harlfinger, *Specimina griechischer Kopisten der Renaissance. I Griechen des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1974), 25-26 with plates. Harlfinger's plate 45 shows the only known subscription by Callistus in the *Vat. gr. 1314*, 15^v (12th March A.D. 1449).

14) Neither I, nor Dr. Jørgen Raasted, nor Dr. Smith can accept the identification of the Modena scribe with Andronicus Callistus. Dr. Smith is preparing an article on the problem of this identification.

15) *Cento codici bessarionei. Catalogo di mostra a cura di T. Gasparini Leporace ed E. Mioni* (Venice, 1968), 8-9 with plate 3; Smith, *Aeschylus*, plate 8. Cf. also Gamillscheg, *op. cit.*, plate 2.

16) *Scholia Graeca in Euripidis tragoedias*, edidit W. Dindorf (Oxford, 1863), 4 vols. The *Phoenissae*-scholia are to be found in the third.

17) The origin of the siglum 'Gr.' is to be found in Dindorf's use of the Wolfenbüttel MS gr. 15 (Gudianus): 'Gr.' designates the comments written by the main scribe of the MS (who wrote the poetic text, marginal scholia and interlinearia), while 'Gu' stands for scholia and interlinearia written by a second scribe; the majority of these comments will indeed be found to be the Thomano-Triclinian scholia. - On the Gudianus gr. 15 see *Griechische Handschriften und Aldinen. Eine Ausstellung anlässlich der XV. Tagung der Mommsen-Gesellschaft in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel* (Wolfenbüttel, 1978), 42-45, esp. 44 on 'A' (Gr.) and 'B' (Gu). The description is due to Dr. Dieter Harlfinger in collaboration with Johanna Harlfinger and Joseph A. M. Sonderkamp.

18) *Scholia in Euripidem*, collegit recensuit edidit E. Schwartz (Berlin, 1887-91), 2 vols. The *Phoenissae*-scholia are to be found in the first.

19) The *incipit* of this text can be found in B. Schartau, *Observations on the Activities of the Byzantine Grammarians of the Palaeologian Era II.* (Odense, 1973), 87.

INUTILIS SIBI, PERNICIOSUS PATRIAE:
A PLATONIC ARGUMENT AGAINST SOPHISTIC RHETORIC¹⁾

HELEN F. NORTH

Critics of style in antiquity liked to say that if Zeus spoke Greek, he would talk like Plato.²⁾ They might have added that if Plato had spoken Latin when he talked about rhetoric, he would have said *Odi et amo* - I hate and I love. Both sides of this hate-love relationship had far-reaching consequences. One of them is the immensely long and influential after-life of Plato's charges against sophistic rhetoric. The repetition and amplification of his arguments constitute a dominant feature of the warfare between philosophy and rhetoric that erupted intermittently from the early fourth century B.C. to the end of antiquity, and indeed to modern times. Plato's invective, as is well known, is based on grounds both moral and technical. Much attention has been paid to the ramifications of the arguments tending to prove that rhetoric is not an art (*technê*),³⁾ by far the most telling charge, since if there was no art there could be no systematic instruction, hence no lucrative profession for the sophists. Among his other charges the most enduring, because it expressed a fundamental reaction widespread among the Greeks long before Plato and long after him, was the assertion that rhetoric was either useless or positively dangerous both to the state and to the rhetor himself.⁴⁾ I should like to examine this argument as it was employed at several different periods, partly in order to trace its development, partly to discover how far it reflected a reality in Greek and Roman life.⁵⁾

ANTI-RHETORICAL ARGUMENTS BEFORE PLATO

Our story begins in the last third of the fifth century,

when hostility to the sophists and their teaching formed a familiar theme in Greek literature. Fear of the subversive power of eloquence - "Wretched Persuasion, irresistible child of *Atê*" Aeschylus calls her in the *Agamemnon* (385-386) - was of course nothing new; many instances of such concern could be cited from archaic and classical times.⁶⁾ But it was the sophists' systematic approach to the teaching of eloquence and, even more, the disconcerting consequences in Athenian political life that brought apprehension to a new level of intensity. As a result, writers of the late fifth century often record a view of rhetoric foreshadowing in broad outline Plato's polemic.

That rhetoric is harmful to society is a frequent theme in Old Comedy, which normally identifies the rhetor with the demagogue. At times it forms part of the more general complaint of the older generation against the younger, the traditionalists against the innovators. In the *Acharnians*, for example, the old men of the Chorus describe with bitter resentment the way they are humiliated by the upstart young orators. A young man, acting as prosecutor, belabors an old man with rounded phrases, sets word-traps for him, and "tearing, troubling, confusing old Tithonus," deprives him of the money he has saved to buy himself a coffin, money that must now be spent to pay a fine (690-692).

Here it is a specific segment of the *polis* that feels threatened by the consequences of sophistic teaching. Elsewhere Aristophanes implies that the entire city is endangered, either because the young men are being corrupted through a kind of education that rejects the traditional values, or because the sophistic orators deceive the juries and the assembly by their ability to make the worse argument appear better (the Old Comedy version of the sophistic claim to make the weaker stronger),⁷⁾ or (more generally) by their superior cleverness (*deinotês*). The *Clouds* and the *Frogs* provide examples of all these charges, as when the *Dikaios Logos* in the *Clouds* pronounces the city mad for breeding the *Adikos Logos* to inflict outrage on the youngsters (925-926) and tells Pheidippides that if he studies with the sophists he will be taught to

consider everything base fair and fair base and will also be filled with unnatural lust (1020-1021). That sophistic rhetoric or demagoguery and homosexuality go together is a common imputation.⁸⁾ In the *Knights* the strongest proof that the Sausage-seller can outdo Cleon as a demagogue is his homosexual record (1242-1262). In the *Frogs* Euripides is blamed for instilling in the young men both forms of vice: he teaches them to chatter and babble, thus emptying the palaestras and turning the babblers into sexual perverts (1069-1071).

Characters in Euripidean tragedy frequently express fears aroused by a combination of unscrupulous ambition and cleverness in speaking (often described as *deinotês* or being *deinos legein*), and the concern is adapted to a surprising variety of mythical situations.⁹⁾ One comment must stand for all: Medea's description of the man who combines injustice with cleverness of speech (being *sophos legein*), and, boasting that he will cover up his unjust deed with his tongue, stops at nothing (*Medea* 580-583). Often there is also a reference to the clever speaker's ability to charm an audience. In the *Hippolytus* Phaedra says that cities and households are destroyed by excessively fair speeches (*kaloî lian logoi*), and she deplores the consequences of saying what pleases the ear (486-489). Her phrase, *terpna legein* (to say what is pleasant) corresponds to the word *charizesthai* (to charm, gratify), common in denunciations of sophistic rhetoric by Plato and his followers, and usually associated with the concept of rhetoric as a form of flattery (*kolakeia*).¹⁰⁾ Already in Old Comedy this charge was lodged even against the most distinguished of the sophists, as in the *Kolakes* of Eupolis, which portrayed Protogoras as toadying to the rich man, Callias.¹¹⁾

Still another kind of threat to the state emanating from rhetoric is mentioned by Thucydides. A famous passage in the Mytilene debate represents Cleon as complaining that Athenian fondness for speeches constitutes a danger, together with ill-timed pity and compassion (3.40.2-3). In this instance the danger is that through their enjoyment of debate, as if the assembly were a theatre, the Athenians will become too

unstable to maintain a consistent policy.¹²⁾ The comic poets in like manner made fun of the changeableness of the Athenian *demos*, a topic easily combined with attacks on unscrupulous rhetors who manipulate the mob for their own advantage.¹³⁾

Old Comedy also hints now and then that the practice of oratory is inconvenient or even dangerous to the orator himself. The fatigue and harassment suffered by the lawyer (the subject of a vivid passage in the *Theaetetus* of Plato) are already mentioned in the *Clouds*, when the Just Argument contrasts the enviable condition of the young athlete with the sorry state of the pupil of the sophists: babbling in the agora coarse jests and dragged along for the sake of a hair-splitting-pettifogging-barefaced-knavish-boring affair (1003-1004). Actual danger to the rhetor when he has won power for a time and then is ousted is a theme in the *Knights*, where it is suggested that the people he has deluded are in fact aware of his knavery and are just waiting for the right moment to turn on him. The Chorus reproaches old Demos for being gullible and easily misled by fawning speakers, but he replies that he voluntarily plays the fool and deliberately fattens thieving politicians until the time comes to destroy them (1115-1130).¹⁴⁾ The danger that threatens the demagogue - a fall from power when the fickle citizens desert him - was one that fifth-century politics had made familiar to the Athenians. Ostracism or exile had befallen Hipparchus, Aristides, Cimon, Themistocles, Ephialtes, Thucydides son of Melesias, and Hyperbolus (first ostracized, later murdered), while Miltiades, the hero of Marathon, had died in chains.¹⁵⁾ Actual execution was far less common, but by the time of Demosthenes, who died by his own hand, and Hypereides, who was in fact executed, the danger of death as a consequence of oratorical eminence - a necessary condition of political power - became a reality.

A different kind of disadvantage to the speaker, inherent in his very mastery of rhetoric, was the likelihood that polished oratory would so prejudice the listener that he would react against the orator, and thus, the more eloquent the speaker was, the more likely he would be to lose his case.

In the rhetorical treatises of the fourth century warnings about this danger begin to appear, as when Aristotle advises the concealment of artifice, comparing it to mixing drinks (*Rhet.* 1404b18-21), but already in the fifth century the disclaimer of *deinotês* is so common in the Proem of actual and fictitious speeches as to prove that speakers were systematically attempting to compensate for the possible disadvantage of appearing too eloquent.¹⁶⁾

THE PLATONIC OPPOSITION

All the anti-rhetorical charges take on a new coherence when Plato works them into a pattern of accusations that intertwine the immorality and the inartistic nature of sophistic rhetoric. According to Plato, an art must be useful (*Gorg.* 501B).¹⁷⁾ Discussion of the fundamental issue, "Is rhetoric useful?" (*chreiôdês, utilis*) enabled its enemies to conclude that it was not just devoid of usefulness but positively dangerous (*epiblabês, perniciosâ*). The kind of deception ascribed to the rhetors by the comic poets, which from the first included deception in the realm of values, making the base seem fair and vice versa, chimed perfectly with Plato's view of what was essentially harmful to the individual and society, an issue that was for him always a matter of values.

The *Apology* foreshadows the *Gorgias*. Socrates' claim that he alone benefits the citizens, because he urges them to care for *phronêsis, alêtheia*, and the *psychê*, rather than *chrêmata, doxa*, and *timê* (29D-E, 36C), and that his life of questioning and refuting, in obedience to the command of Apollo, is the greatest good that ever came to Athens (30A) implies that the actual statesmen instill false values and do harm, rather than good, to the citizens.

The charge is made explicit in the *Gorgias*, where Socrates maintains that four of the greatest statesmen of the fifth century, Cimon, Miltiades, Themistocles, and Pericles, far from benefiting the citizens in any real sense, left them worse than they found them (502D ff, 515C ff). Pericles, Plato's major target, made the Athenians lazy, cowardly,

talkative, and greedy (515E). One proof is that the statesmen themselves were ultimately rejected - ostracized, exiled, fined, even sentenced to death.

In this dialogue the nature of power is the crucial issue. The most profound attraction of rhetoric in every period of political liberty has been its promise of power; that is what *aretê politikê* really meant. The rhetors represented by Gorgias' pupil Polus have as their goal power and as their ideal the tyrant, whose power seems unlimited. But according to Socrates what the successful rhetor or tyrant achieves is not power at all, because he does not know what is truly in his best interest. When, in the myth of the Last Judgment, the consequences of political success are revealed *sub specie aeternitatis*, the incurable sinners - those doomed to eternal punishment - prove to be those who enjoyed the greatest power in life, tyrants, kings, and the like (525D). Moreover, even in their days of glory the rhetors are the reverse of powerful. They are in fact slaves, because they depend for success on the favor of those they purport to govern. They are mere flatterers (*kolakes*), at the mercy of the *dêmos*, exactly like the demagogue in the *Knights* of Aristophanes.

The unhappy consequences for the rhetor of the practice of rhetoric become part of Plato's contrast between the two ways of life, the active and the contemplative. Hence the *Gorgias* presents much evidence of the ultimate uselessness or even danger of being a rhetor (here equivalent to *politikos*, statesman); the greater the success, the greater the danger. An equally sharp contrast between philosopher and rhetor, this time the dicanic orator, occurs in the *Theaetetus*, where the basis of the contrast is the presence or absence of leisure (*scholê*). The courtroom lawyer is depicted in terms that amplify the brief description in the *Clouds*, referred to above. Socrates says that those who have been rolling around (*kalindoumenoî*) in the courts since their youth seem, when compared to philosophers, like slaves compared to free men. In contrast to the philosophers, with their infinite leisure, the lawyers are always in a hurry, driven by the water-clock, forbidden to deviate from the affidavit, arguing always about a fellow-

slave, whose life is often at stake.¹⁸) As a result, Socrates says, they become nervous, high-strung, knowing how to fawn upon their master with words and flatter him (*charisasthai*) with deeds, but small and not upright in their souls. The slavery they have suffered from youth deprives them of growth, straightforwardness, and freedom, compelling them to do crooked things by imposing on them great risks and fears, while their souls are tender. Unable to bear these burdens with justice and truth, they turn to deceit and reciprocal wrong-doing. Thus they become bent and cramped, so that they go from youth to manhood with nothing healthy in their minds, while yet supposing themselves to have become clever and wise (172D-173B).

As Plato shaped it, what we may, for the sake of brevity, christen the *periculum-topos* consisted of two principal charges: (1) sophistic rhetoric endangers society because it fosters false values and enables them to prevail, and (2) it endangers the orator himself because it instills these values in his soul. It also requires him to spend his time in ignoble, tedious activities, and it exposes him to the danger of exile and death, but for Plato the most serious danger is to the soul of the rhetor, not to his life, property, or political survival. In Roman times, as we shall see, the emphasis changed.

Already in Plato's lifetime his arguments against sophistic rhetoric as immoral and inartistic were being repeated with embellishments. An early example is the lost *Gryllus* of Aristotle, a dialogue somehow related to the profusion of encomia in honor of Xenophon's son, who was killed in battle in 362. The *Gryllus*, which attacked the claim of rhetoric to be a *technê*, was evidently not itself an encomium, since it criticized the myriad writers of these eulogies for fawning on Xenophon (again the word *charisomenoi*). Diogenes Laertius, to whom we owe this information, adds that one such eulogy was composed by Isocrates (II.55). It is well known that when Aristotle began to teach rhetoric in the Academy, probably around 360, he proclaimed his intent with a parody of a line spoken by Odysseus in the *Philoctetes* of Euripides: It is

disgraceful to be silent and let the barbarians speak. For the word "barbarians" Aristotle substituted the name Isocrates, thus, according to Philodemus, exposing himself to dreadful retribution and ill-will, whether from the students of Isocrates or some other sophists.¹⁹⁾ Cephisodorus, one of Isocrates' pupils, wrote four books *Against Aristotle*, and Isocrates himself in the *Antidosis* (composed around 352) responded to various attacks, not only on rhetoric, but also on himself, from whatever source. One passage, which insists on the benefits conferred on the state by those leaders who were most practiced in rhetoric (231), sounds like a reply to Plato's attack on the four statesmen in the *Gorgias* and has even been thought to have inspired the *Defence of the Four* by the sophist Aelius Aristides five hundred years later.²⁰⁾

In the mid-fourth century B.C. the rivalry between philosophy and rhetoric was beyond question a live issue. The very success of Isocrates' school was what inspired the Academy to take up the teaching of rhetoric in the first place, and Aristotle's afternoon lectures on the subject were revolutionary in their consequences. Some famous orators (Lycurgus, Hypereides) were said to have studied with both Plato and Isocrates, but others adhered to one school or the other, and rivalry must have been keen, although we have no reason to believe that the relation of the leaders themselves - Plato and Isocrates - was acrimonious.

Despite the tremendous success of Isocrates' school in his lifetime, the struggle for supremacy was won by the philosophers. In the next two centuries all major advances, even in rhetoric, were made by the philosophical schools, the Peripatetic in particular, although the Academy and the Stoa also had some impact.²¹⁾ Thus for a time the arguments against rhetoric were superfluous, and we hear few echoes of the Platonic invective. But in the second century B.C. the rivalry again became acute, with the appearance of a bold challenge to the primacy of the philosophers. Hermagoras of Temnos (ca. 150 B.C.) now emerged as the first spokesman for rhetoric since Isocrates himself who could offer a sufficiently comprehensive system to attract wide notice, and among his

innovations was practice in debating *theses*, general questions not limited to specific individuals or circumstances, but broadly philosophical in nature. This aspect of Hermagoras' teaching attracted mature students, rather than mere school-boys. Some philosophers evidently became alarmed, partly because the debate on abstract questions had hitherto been their province, partly because some of the students attracted were Romans. By the mid-second century there had become apparent in the Roman world a tremendous hunger for Greek higher education, as voracious as the contemporary taste for Greek sculpture, and the desire to dominate this great new market inspired a renewal of the warfare between philosophy and rhetoric. It was as if the philosophical schools with one voice had echoed Aristotle and proclaimed, "It is disgraceful to be silent and let the barbarians learn to speak from the rhetoricians."

No doubt this was the time at which philosophers fostered the myth that Demosthenes was the student of Plato, as Pericles of Anaxagoras, a myth conveying the strong implication that even the professional orator might better seek instruction from the Academy than from the rhetoricians.²²⁾ But for most of their ammunition the philosophers turned to Plato himself, and the charges first elaborated in the *Gorgias*, *Phaedrus*, and *Theaetetus* were dusted off and put to work again with embellishments suitable to the various schools and the particular circumstances of the second-century Graeco-Roman world. By far the most telling charge was still that rhetoric was not a *technê*, and many new reasons were found for denying it this status,²³⁾ but the lack of utility or the positive harmfulness of rhetoric to the state and to the practitioner evidently continued to be regarded as an effective argument. It is time to consider the reasons for the revival of the *periculum-topos*, some new forms that it took, and the sources (whether schools or individual philosophers) probably responsible for them.

THE *PERICULUM-TOPOS* IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

The argument was attractive to philosophers because of the nature of the appeal that rhetoric made to the Romans. They too were interested in its practical utility, its power to enhance their effectiveness in political and forensic affairs. Despite the vast differences between fifth-century Athens and second-century Rome, the lure of what the sophists called *aretê politikê* was equally potent for ambitious men in both cities. Those who had leisure and means would pay high prices for an art of persuasion that would give them leadership in the state and with it the power to advance the interests of themselves and their friends.²⁴⁾ If they could be convinced that what the rhetoricians had to offer was ineffective, while the philosophers were better able to help them realize their ambitions, they might turn away from such popular teachers of rhetoric, consulted in Rome, Athens, or Rhodes, as Menedemus and the two Apollonii, and instead patronize Academics like Charmadas or Peripatetics like Diodorus, whom Crassus and Antonius are described (in *de Oratore*) as having heard (late in the second century) deride and belittle rhetoric and rhetoricians.²⁵⁾ Although the polemic reported in *de Oratore* revolved around the charge that rhetoric is not an art and there is no reference to the *periculum-topos*, this line of argument must also have been current, if we may judge by the counter-arguments marshalled by Cicero and Quintilian.²⁶⁾ Some, at least, of the enemies of rhetoric must have considered it worthwhile to try to convince the Romans that both they and their country were endangered by the unrestrained practice of oratory, and that philosophy could teach them to nullify the danger by dosing *eloquentia* with *sapientia*. Whether this type of argument ever had any practical effect on hard-headed Romans, or whether it was simply a debating point that enabled rival schools to score off one another is difficult to judge, but there is no doubt that the Platonic invective about the harm done to the state and the statesman by sophistic rhetoric was developed with a wealth of new detail in the polemic reflected by our sources in Roman times.

To be sure, opposition to rhetoric at Rome did not spring exclusively or even primarily from the philosophers, any more than it had in Greece. Roman conservatism was enough to account for the outraged reaction to the visit of the three Greek ambassadors in 155 B.C., when Carneades in particular shocked the Senate by speaking on successive days for and against the value of justice in the state. All three legates were philosophers, but as George Kennedy observes of Carneades, the Romans probably considered them at least as much rhetoricians as philosophers. All three were esteemed as speakers, and their visit remained a landmark in the history of the reception of Greek rhetoric at Rome.²⁷⁾

The conflict between the generations also affected the Roman attitude towards rhetoric, to judge by a passage from a play by Naeivius,²⁸⁾ which suggests that the Roman stage, like the Attic, early became familiar with references to the danger of oratory, especially as practiced by the young. The question is asked: *Cedo qui vestram rem publicam tantam amisistis tam cito?* (Pray tell, how did you so quickly destroy so great a commonwealth?). Cicero, who quotes the line in *de Senectute* (6.60), says that there were various replies, but *hoc in primis: Proveniebant oratores novi, stulti, adulescentuli* (There sprang up new orators, stupid, mere striplings). The quotation is appropriate to Cicero's defence of old age; what he emphasizes is not so much the danger of oratory as the danger inherent in young orators. But in his rhetorical works he often refers to the widespread belief that Rome had suffered great harm from ambitious, unprincipled speakers, their age not specified. His earliest treatise, *de Inventione*, opens with a defence of rhetoric against just this charge. The defence consists of a condemnation of both *eloquentia sine sapientia* and *sapientia sine eloquentia*. The orator who neglects the study of moral philosophy is *inutilis sibi, perniciosus patriae*, whereas one who arms himself with eloquence in order to defend the state is *et suis et publicis rationibus utilissimus atque amicissimus* (1.1.1)-most helpful and friendly to his own and to the public interest. From eloquence many advantages accrue to the state, provided only that *sapientia*, the *moderatrix omnium rerum*, be at

hand (1.4.5).²⁹)

Cicero is one of our principal sources for the revival and expansion in Rome of the Platonic invective against sophistic rhetoric. The others are his contemporary, the Epicurean Philodemus, in the fragments of his *de Rhetorica*, Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, written towards the end of the first century after Christ, Tacitus in the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* a few years later, and Sextus Empiricus, the Academic philosopher of the second century in his treatise *Against the Rhetoricians*.

A succinct example of how the argument accusing rhetoric of being dangerous to the state had developed by the end of the first century of the Empire is supplied by Quintilian, who devotes Book II, chapter 16 of the *Institutio* to the question *An utilis rhetorice*. (Chapter 17 asks whether it is an art.) Quoting the foes of rhetoric, he says, "It is eloquence (they claim) that saves the guilty from punishment, that sometimes, by its trickery, causes the innocent to be condemned, that leads deliberation in the wrong direction, that arouses not only seditions and popular uprisings, but even wars that cannot be expiated, that, finally, achieves its maximum power when it enables error to prevail over truth. The comic poets charge even Socrates with teaching how to make the worse case seem better, and Plato maintains against Tisias and Gorgias that they made like promises. To them are added examples among the Greeks and Romans, and they list those who by employing their pernicious eloquence not only against individuals but even against states threw into confusion and overturned organized society. For this reason rhetoric was expelled from Sparta, and at Athens also, where the speaker was forbidden to appeal to the emotions, the power of oratory was, so to speak, pruned back (2.16.1-5)."

The antecedents of most of these charges can be found in Old Comedy, Plato, and Aristotle, and if more survived of Hellenistic literature we might detect still closer analogies, but in the present state of our sources one item stands out as a genuine novelty: the allegation that Sparta expelled the rhetors, a charge to which we may turn our attention before considering the Roman development of the *periculum-topos* as a whole.

THE EXPULSION-*TOPOS*

The expulsion of the rhetors has the air of being a historical fact, like the Athenian law against emotional appeals. But in the latter case we know that Quintilian has extended to the whole of Attic oratory a rule that Aristotle says applied to pleading before the Areopagus (*Rhet.* 1354a), and we should perhaps be equally skeptical about the expulsion of the orators, although Quintilian is not alone in mentioning this alleged event. Of our other major sources Sextus Empiricus says that both Sparta and Crete expelled the orators or refused them entry, while Philodemus surprisingly pairs Sparta and Rome as states that get along without rhetoric and elsewhere maintains that Athens expelled and executed the rhetors³⁰⁾ (perhaps a conflation of the expulsion-*topos* with the argument from the *Gorgias* that the Four Statesmen corrupted the Athenians, the proof being their fall from power, which in two cases involved exile of some kind).

What looks like a milder form of the expulsion-*topos* is the assertion that there is no tradition of oratory in certain cities; Sparta, Argos, Corinth, and Thebes are mentioned by Cicero, who makes an exception for Epaminondas in the case of Thebes. This version of the *topos*, which is also used by Tacitus, is normally put in the form of a question, "Who ever heard of an orator from...?"³¹⁾ When such a question is asked, there is usually also a reference to Athens, sometimes Rhodes, as the place where oratory flourished. Cicero's allusion to the absence of oratory in Sparta and the other cities serves to emphasize by contrast the achievement of Athens and Rhodes; there is no reference to the *periculum-topos*. But Tacitus uses the lack of orators in Sparta and Crete (to which he adds Macedon and Persia) as proof that well-ordered states do not tolerate rhetoric.

The expulsion-*topos* proper (characterized in Greek by the verb *ekballein*) seems originally to have referred only to Sparta and Crete. Sextus ascribes the argument to Critolaus the Peripatetic, but says that it was also used by Cleitomachus and Charmadas of the Academy (both pupils of Carneades, who is therefore sometimes suggested as its author).³²⁾ In both

Sextus and Philodemus the expulsion-*topos* constitutes one of the proofs that rhetoric is not an art. In Sextus it takes the form of a syllogism: cities do not expel arts that are useful (*biôphēleis*). But Crete and Sparta barred the orators. Therefore rhetoric is not an art.³³⁾ The criterion of usefulness shows how the *topos* could be attracted to the issue with which Quintilian connects it (*An utilis rhetorice*), which in turn develops into the *periculum-topos*.³⁴⁾

To go behind Critolaus and Carneades and find an earlier source for the expulsion-*topos* has so far proved unrewarding. Both fit the period (mid-second century) when embellishments of the Platonic arguments were being sought, and both were at once competent speakers themselves and enemies of the professional rhetors. Yet it is not difficult to suggest some of the passages that might have inspired them. The general theme of rhetoric as a danger to the state goes back, as we have seen, to Plato and beyond. But Plato does not, in the *Gorgias* or elsewhere, make the point that any state has expelled the rhetors as a class. He does, in *Republic* 398A-B, require that poets be expelled from the ideal state if they do not meet its rigorous moral standards, and there is a similar passage in the *Laws* 817A. But Plato's language in the *Republic* is comparatively mild: *apopempein* (send away), not *ekballein*. The terminology of the second-century expulsion-*topos* is, however, anticipated in the *Gorgias*, in the passage comparing rhetoricians to athletic trainers. Gorgias says that it is not right to attack, hate, and expel (*ekballein*) from the cities the trainers and teachers of those who misuse athletic skills. No more is it right, if someone becomes *rhêtorikos* and through this capacity and art does wrong, to hate and expel from the cities the one who taught him.³⁵⁾ What has happened in the mid-second century is that Carneades, Critolaus, and their followers have asserted as an actual, historical event, occurring in specified states, what Gorgias offered as a hypothetical example of what should not be done anywhere.

Plato also, beyond doubt, inspired the choice of Sparta and Crete as the states that expelled the rhetors, although

he himself never makes this claim. His frequent allusions to them as exemplars of stable government canonized them for the later tradition.³⁶⁾ The very fact that the two men who, in the *Laws*, accompany the Athenian stranger on his long walk across the island, discussing the foundation of the new city, are from Sparta and Crete demonstrates Plato's regard for these states as the two most faithful repositories of the conservative Dorian ethos.

Undoubtedly also the Spartan reputation for taciturnity - the very concept of what it meant to be laconic - made it inevitable that Sparta figure in the expulsion-*topos*.³⁷⁾ There is a passage in the *Protagoras* that may well have affected this development. Socrates, with transparent irony, says that the Spartans and the Cretans have cultivated philosophy more seriously and longer than anyone else. Spartan *sophia* does not, however, show itself in fluent discourse, but in pithy sayings, like those of the Seven Wise Men, of whom Chilon of Sparta was one. Socrates refers to *brachylogia tis Lakonikê* (343B), and Sextus Empiricus tells two anecdotes about the Spartan preference for brevity, one a story that contrasts a laconic envoy with long-winded Athenian ambassadors, the other a dramatic account of how the Spartans refused an appeal couched in a long speech, but yielded when it was presented with appropriate terseness (22-23).

In Sextus it was a Cretan lawgiver, evidently Thaletas, who first forbade those who prided themselves on their oratory to land on the island. Then Lycurgus of Sparta, an admirer of Thaletas,³⁸⁾ enacted the same legislation for his own country. Long afterward a young man who had studied rhetoric abroad was punished by the Ephors upon his return home, because he practiced deceptive speeches in order to mislead Sparta (21). Plutarch, who says that Lycurgus denied entrance to merchants, sophists, seers, and vagabonds, records the expulsion by the Ephors of a certain Cephisophon for offering to speak all day on any subject.³⁹⁾

Philodemus does not mention Sparta or Crete in the fragments of Book V, whose subject is the utility of rhetoric, although he does observe that cities left by the rhetoricians

would be better off than those to which they went, while in his treatment of the *topos* of rhetoric as a danger to the rhetorician he mentions that many orators have been banished or executed.⁴⁰⁾ But in other books, especially those dealing with the issue of rhetoric as a *technê*, Philodemus alludes to some form of the expulsion-*topos* at least four times, saying, for example, that some states, such as Sparta, have expelled the rhetors, along with the perfumers and dyers, although they welcome genuine *technai*, and that the Romans and the Spartans manage their states without rhetoric.⁴¹⁾

Tacitus elaborates the expulsion-*topos* with an adroit adaptation to the circumstances in which he writes. The last speech of Maternus in the *Dialogus* associates great oratory with tumult in the state and as part of the proof that *eloquentia* is the *alumna licentiae* (which fools call liberty) asks what orator has ever been heard of from Sparta or Crete. No more did Macedon, Persia, or any other state *certo imperio contenta* produce a tradition of eloquence. By contrast, orators flourished in Rhodes and Athens, both of them states in which *omnia omnes poterant* - all power belonged to everyone - and it was in the time of civil strife that eloquence bloomed in Rome (40.3-4). As has often been observed,⁴²⁾ Tacitus here contradicts Cicero's statement that eloquence is the companion of peace, the ally of leisure, and the nursling of a settled society (*Brutus* 45), emphasizing his disagreement by echoing Cicero's vocabulary. From Cicero Tacitus may also have taken his reference to Athens and Rhodes, for in the *Brutus* 52 Cicero links the Rhodian and Attic orators stylistically, but the Macedonians and Persians probably owe their presence in Tacitus ultimately to *Gorgias* 470D-471D, where Polus considers Archelaus, King of Macedon, and the Great King exemplars of happiness, while Socrates withholds agreement because he does not know the condition of their *paideia* and *dikaïosynê*.

Leaving the expulsion-*topos* and returning to the broader subject of *periculum*, we find that Sextus Empiricus is our most detailed and reliable informant about the reasons developed after Plato to support his charge that rhetoric threatens the state. (Much evidence is also embedded in the fragments of

Philodemus' *de Rhetorica*, but the condition of the text often makes it difficult to interpret.) Sextus says that among barbarians, who have little or no rhetoric, laws are stable, whereas in Athens they change from day to day. This type of accusation goes back ultimately to Cleon's speech in the Mytilene debate, charging the Athenians with instability and expressing his own preference for *amathia meta sôphrosynês* (ignorance combined with discipline) over *dexiotês meta akolasias* (cleverness accompanied by lack of restraint).⁴³⁾ In the course of time the *amathia* recommended by Cleon has been carried to the extreme of barbarism. A line from Plato Comicus about the impossibility of recognizing Athens if one has been away for three months, because the laws have changed in one's absence, has now been attached to our *topos* (35).⁴⁴⁾

Sextus further maintains that the rhetoricians' practice of teaching their students how to argue according to either the wording of the law or the intent, depending on which approach is more advantageous, shows that their aim is actually subversion of the laws (36-37). Platonic inspiration is particularly evident in two other charges: orators are like jugglers (*ψηφοπαῖκται*), blinding the judges as if by sleight of hand (39), and the demagogue is like a dealer in drugs, because he teaches evil to most people by saying what gives them pleasure (the *charizesthai*-argument again, 42).⁴⁵⁾ Doubtless recalling Plato's famous equation in *Gorgias* 465D7, Sextus uses a different, but related comparison: the demagogue is to the statesman as the drug-dealer is to the physician (41). These arguments are all ascribed to the Academics (43, cf. 20).

Sextus also explores the other branch of the *topos*, that rhetoric either is not useful to the orator himself, or is actively harmful to him. His demonstration that it is *epi-blabês* (harmful) recalls the passage in the *Theaetetus* about the *dikanikos* rhetor, since most of the disadvantages result from the practice of forensic oratory, although the first of these, waste of time (*kalindeisthai en agorais*, rolling around in the assemblies, 27), applies to deliberative oratory as well. Other unpleasant consequences of the oratorical profession are

consorting with evil characters, engaging in vicious practices, making enemies, being a cheat and a wizard, and enduring weariness and exhaustion while listening constantly to the tears and lamentations of those in trouble. In this recital we recognize as echoes of Plato the lack of leisure, the corruption of the orator's own character, and various key words, such as *gôês* (wizard, 28) and the verb *kalindeisthai*, a variant of *kulindoumenoi* in the *Theaetetus* 172C. A very similar list of nuisances comprises the reasons offered by Maternus in Tacitus' *Dialogus* for giving up oratory in favor of writing poetry.⁴⁶⁾

Philodemus in Book V is more interested in the danger of rhetoric to its practitioner than in the peril it offers to the state, although at the close of Book IV he notices that rhetoric is based on deceit and does harm.⁴⁷⁾ He too compares rhetors to magicians, able to bring down the moon, but to no good purpose.⁴⁸⁾ Throughout much of Book V he contrasts the rhetor with the philosopher, always, of course, to the philosopher's advantage. The rhetor, for example, incurs the enmity of powerful rulers, whereas the philosopher gains the friendship of public men by helping them out of their troubles.⁴⁹⁾

From Philodemus we also learn that the traditional disclaimer of *deinotês* has developed into an elaborate argument about the uselessness of rhetoric: more men are acquitted because they lack rhetoric than because they know it. Stammering is more persuasive than eloquence, because jurors are so fearful of being deceived. By no type of speech is the juror persuaded so effectively as by the brave, just, and temperate actions of the uneducated - a remarkable testimony to the power of persuasion through ethos.⁵⁰⁾ A further amplification of this general *topos* holds that the rewards of eloquence do not compensate for its costs, since in order to seem *epieikês* (modest, reasonable, the ideal quality sought in ethical persuasion), the orator must pretend to be inexpert or risk antagonizing the jury. But if he does so, he forfeits some of the power that rhetoric confers and at the same time loses his integrity, the real cause of success.⁵¹⁾

Philodemus further records the argument that many rhetors have been banished or executed, yet only two or three (he names Themistocles, Alcibiades, and Callistratus) have spoken brilliantly.⁵²⁾ Rhetors who try to restrain the people from satisfying their desires are fined and killed.⁵³⁾ Moreover, the mob tends to envy (*phthonei*) those it has honored when it thinks they do not give enough in return.⁵⁴⁾ That rhetors succeed only so long as they please the people obviously derives from the *topos* of *kolakeia* in the *Gorgias*, which in turn has roots in Old Comedy, but it may be that the topic of *phthonos* had a special appeal to Epicureans. We find it also in Lucretius, who describes *invidia* as the thunderbolt that hurls *e summo... in Tartara taetra* those who have struggled to reach the heights of office.⁵⁵⁾

Philodemus often presents arguments that, while Epicurean in spirit and language, have a distinctly Platonic ring. He says, for example, that it is better to learn from philosophy to care for oneself, than from rhetoric to care for the multitude. This view corresponds to Epicurus' rejection of both rhetoric and politics in favor of cultivating tranquillity, but the line of thought recalls Alcibiades' confession of failure in the *Symposium* and the argument of the *First Alcibiades*.⁵⁶⁾ Furthermore, the Epicureans, perhaps more than any of the other post-Platonic schools, took to heart Plato's contrast between the leisure enjoyed by the philosopher and the futile activity of the rhetor. They may not have valued *scholê* more than did the other schools, but their special *telos* - *ataraxia, tranquillitas* - gave them the strongest possible reason for avoiding rhetoric, which could not do other than destroy the possibility of achieving the *summum bonum*. Diogenes of Oenoanda describes the rhetorical profession as full of excitement and confusion (*tarachê*) over the ability to persuade. Yet control lies with others, not the orator; hence it is pointless to pursue such an activity.⁵⁷⁾ The peculiarity of the sect to which Philodemus belonged was that it approved of one branch of rhetoric, the epideictic, but only because it had nothing to do with the perils and excitements of political and forensic oratory. Even this *genus causarum* had been rejected

by Epicurus, according to the *Vita*, which says that the wise man will not engage in panegyric.⁵⁸⁾

RELATION OF THE *PERICULUM-TOPOS* TO REALITY IN ROME

Quintilian in the passage from *Institutio* II.16 already quoted refers to the formation of lists of Greeks and Romans who by their eloquence overthrew organized society. The Roman list included such stock examples as the Gracchi and the two *seditiosi*, L. Appuleius Saturninus and C. Servilius Glaucia, both members of the popular party.⁵⁹⁾ This list evidently originates, not with the philosophers, but with the political conservatives whose views Cicero normally reflects. In the introduction to *de Inventione* he for once admits the Gracchi to the company of those in whom *virtus*, *auctoritas*, and *eloquentia* are combined (1.4.5), but in his later works he denounces them as prime examples of unprincipled though eloquent men who endanger the republic. Thus Scaevola in *de Oratore*, when he comments that more harm than good has come to Rome *per homines eloquentissimos*, contrasts the father of the Gracchi, by no means eloquent, yet often a source of salvation to the state, with his two sons, both *diserti* (a word denoting less approval on Cicero's part than *eloquens*), who, however, *rem publicam dissipaverunt* (wasted the property of the commonwealth, 1.38-40). In the *Brutus* Cicero admits that each of the sons was *summus orator*, but says that they both failed to match, in *mens ad rem publicam*, their *ingenium ad bene dicendum* (103). After the Gracchi the most eloquent of the *seditiosi* was Saturninus, while the most wicked man in human history was Glaucia, whom Cicero compares to Hyperbolus, branded for his *improbitas* by the writers of Old Comedy (224). That these four were part of a standard list employed by the enemies of rhetoric is clear from their reappearance in the *Institutio*, when Quintilian tries to refute the *periculum-topos* by extending to generals, magistrates, physicians, and philosophers the charge that they sometimes endanger the state. The Gracchi, Saturninus, and Glaucia, he says, were magistrates, as well as orators (2.16.4).

There was in fact a wealth of native material at hand for

anyone, whether philosopher or political reactionary, who wished to apply the *periculum-topos* to the history of Rome. Moreover, the expulsion-*topos* had become a reality there as well. In 161 B.C., alarmed by we do not know what threats of Greek influence, the Senate passed a decree bidding the praetor Pomponius see to it that there be no rhetors in Rome (*Romae ne essent*).⁶⁰⁾ Unfortunately for the philosophers, the decree applied to them too, and whenever in later times it was used to prove that rhetoric was not an art (because arts are not expelled from cities), the argument could be turned against philosophy. Still further evidence of official hostility might have been seen in the edict of the censors, Crassus and Ahenobarbus, in 92 B.C., against the Latin rhetors, who were accused of maintaining a *ludus impudentiae*.⁶¹⁾ To what extent this edict may lurk behind later allusions to Roman rejection of rhetoric is hard to determine, yet it too offered only qualified support to the position of the philosophical schools, since it was directed, not at all rhetorical teaching, but only at the Latin rhetors. What is certain is that the *topos* of danger to the orator found a predestined home in Roman society.

The history of the Republic is littered with the corpses of statesmen who, like all Romans engaged in political life, had necessarily to engage in oratory as well and came to a violent end, for which their eloquence could, in the context of anti-rhetorical polemic, be made to seem responsible. In *de Oratore* Cicero comments on the death of four of the speakers in that dialogue, Antonius, Sulpicius, Catulus, and Strabo, all of whom perished in the civil wars between Marius and Sulla (3.3.9-11). In the *Brutus* the list of orators *crudelissime interfecti* is appalling. In *de Republica* Cicero names many Romans who suffered from the fickleness of the people (in addition to two of Plato's four, Miltiades and Themistocles), and he says that certain grateful admirers have added his own name to the list of those exiled by the *levitas* and *crudelitas* of the people (1.3.5-6). It obviously gratified Cicero to convert political disaster into a source of self-esteem in this fashion, for he uses the same device in *de*

Legibus, associating himself, by reason of his exile, with the *clarissimi viri* ostracized by Athens, that *ingrata civitas* (3.11.26). It is ironic that not exile but death catapulted him into prominence in the *periculum-topos*, side by side with Demosthenes, with whom he is paired in the famous passage in Juvenal 10.118 (*eloquio sed uterque perit orator*) and in popular philosophy and *declamatio* as well.⁶²⁾

While Cicero clearly finds it necessary to refute the charge that oratory endangers the state, a charge that he counters both by praising the *logos* as the source of civilization and by insisting that what he means by eloquence is always united with *sapientia*,⁶³⁾ he appears to accept as one of the unavoidable risks of public life the possibility of danger to the orator, and he never refers to the expulsion-*topos* except in its milder form of listing states in which oratory is unknown. This is the form in which Tacitus too employs the topic.

Like Cicero in *de Oratore*, but unlike Philodemus, Quintilian, and Sextus Empiricus, Tacitus in the *Dialogus* is concerned with something more than simply rehearsing the charges leveled against rhetoric and the refutations devised by the rhetors. Both dialogues adapt the venerable *topoi* to complex literary forms and purposes. In the case of Tacitus they are related to his inquiry into the reasons for the decline of eloquence, a problem much discussed in the first century of our era.⁶⁴⁾ Through Maternus, Tacitus suggests that the decline results from Rome's changed political situation, but instead of deploring the loss of liberty after the death of the Republic, he praises the new regime in which decisions are made, not by the *imperiti et multi*, but by the *sapientissimus et unus* (41.4). Under the conditions that now obtain, eloquence is as needless as *inter sanos medicus*.

Before arriving at this conclusion, Tacitus employs elements of the *periculum-topos* in both speeches assigned to Maternus. The first recreates in the context of Roman society the picture of the orator's life as one of constant harassment and fatigue that we have met in Old Comedy, the *Theaetetus*, and Philodemus, but substitutes poetry for philosophy as the

preferred activity. Explaining why he has given up oratory for poetry (as Tacitus himself at the time of writing was giving up oratory for history), Maternus expresses his determination to detach himself *a forensi labore* and proclaims his dislike for the hordes of *delatores* whom the orator must endure each day. He so delights in woods, groves, and solitude that he counts it among the principal rewards of poetry that it is not composed *in strepitu* or with clients sitting on one's doorstep or amid the ragged garments and lamentations of the accused. Rather, the mind of the poet *secedit in loca pura*, where the origins and innermost shrines of eloquence are to be found (12.1-2). It soon develops that Maternus is contrasting the *securus et quietus Virgilius secessum* (13.1), not just with the traditional picture of the life of the rhetor, totally lacking in *scholê*, but with the contemporary life of the *delatores*, the notorious and powerful informers who prosecuted men of wealth and position, sometimes with a view to blackmail, sometimes in order to curry favor with the emperor.

Winterbottom, in his analysis of the oratorical style associated with *delatio*, suggests that Quintilian's insistence on the moral function of the orator - *vir bonus dicendi peritus* - originated in his revulsion from the vicious conduct of the great *delatores*, one of whom, M. Aquilius Regulus, was actually called a *vir natus dicendi imperitus*.⁶⁵ Beyond any doubt, the *periculum invidiosae-rogae* found its most apt illustration in the *delatores*. Tacitus in the *Annales* (1.74) says of Suillius Rufus that those who followed his example created *periculum aliis ac posterum sibi*. Of the whole group Quintilian says that they converted the power of speech *ad hominum perniciem* (2.20.2). No wonder then that Maternus, as he abandons oratory, attacks its contemporary mode as *lucrosa* and *sanguinans* and says that it is born *ex velle moribus* (12.2). By contrast, the Golden Age was lacking in orators and accusations, but rich in poets (12.3). Here Tacitus adapts a philosophical commonplace going back to Aristotle, who in the *Protrepticus* commented on the absence of the moral virtues both in the life of the gods and in the Isles of the Blessed, where they were obviously unnecessary. Cicero in the *Hortensius* had

expanded the *topos* by adding eloquence to the list of virtues for which there would have been no need in a sinless society.⁶⁶⁾ Now Tacitus, going a step further, extends the felicity of the legendary bards who lived in the Golden Age to their successors in historical times - Homer and the tragic poets, Virgil, Ovid, Varius, all of whom equal or surpass in fame the greatest orators. He contrasts with the peaceful, carefree life of the poets the *certamina et pericula* endured by Vibius Crispus and Eprius Marcellus, *delatores* whom Aper in a preceding speech (8) had praised as famous, rich and powerful.

Just as Aper plays the role assigned to Polus in the *Gorgias*, so Maternus now draws a Socratic contrast between two ways of life, no longer those of the philosopher and the rhetor, but those of the poet and the *delator*, picturing with a wealth of detail the *inquieta et anxia oratorum vita*. The *delatores* are both fearful and feared, subject to daily demands and to the wrath of those they serve, unable to appear *satis servi* to their masters or *satis liberi* to anyone else. In fact, they are no more powerful than freedmen (*liberti*, 13.4). Here is the Roman counterpart of Plato's equation of the rhetor or tyrant with the slave, a theme from the *Gorgias* embedded in an adaptation of the passage from the *Theaetetus* about the absence of *scholê* in the life of the advocate.⁶⁷⁾ Although it would be far-fetched to hear in Maternus's concluding prayer (that when he dies the statue on his grave may be, not *maestus et atrox, sed hilaris et coronatus*, 13.6) an echo of Socrates' promise of *eudaimonia* both here and hereafter for those who have chosen the life he recommends (*Gorg.* 527C), the importance attached to the choice of lives and the warning that the life chosen must not be that of the rhetor undoubtedly owe much to the Platonic tradition.

The other branches of our *topos* (danger to the state, rephrased as the incompatibility of rhetoric with a well-ordered society, and danger to the orator) appear in the second speech of Maternus, the last in the *Dialogus*. Here Tacitus pronounces final judgment on the causes of the decline of eloquence. He connects great oratory with political

turmoil, non-existent under the present regime, and (perhaps not without irony) converts into a blessing the conditions that have pacified eloquence itself, like everything else, since the days of Augustus (38.2). It is here too that he takes issue with Cicero's praise of oratory in *Brutus* 45 as *pacis... comes otique socia et iam bene constitutae civitatis quasi alumna quaedam*, maintaining, on the contrary, that notable eloquence is an *alumna licentiae... comes seditionum*, which does not occur in *bene constitutis civitatibus* (40.2).⁶⁸⁾

Immediately after this unfavorable assessment of the role of oratory in the state, Tacitus introduces his variation on the expulsion-*topos*, which represents Sparta and Crete, Macedonia and Persia, not indeed as having expelled the orators, but as lacking them because of their *severissima disciplina et severissimae leges*. The existence of many orators in Rhodes and Athens is explained by the political dominance of the mob (the *imperiti*). On the same terms it is easy to account for the more vigorous oratory (*valentiores eloquentiam*) that existed in Republican Rome, when it was rent by civil war and all kinds of dissension. Tacitus has already explained that great subjects foster great oratory (37.4-5). It was not the speeches prosecuting his guardians that brought Demosthenes his fame, nor did the defence of Quinctius and Archias make Cicero great. *Catilina et Milo et Verres et Antonius hanc illi famam circumdederunt* (37.6).⁶⁹⁾ Now Tacitus undercuts the oratory of the Republic by comparing it to the weeds that spring from an unploughed field. His conclusion is a sentence that with characteristic brevity and balance combines the two essential parts of the *periculum-topos* - danger to the state, danger to the orator - emphasizing each through the most authoritative *exemplum* traditional in its category. *Sed nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit, ut pateretur et leges, nec bene famam eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit* (But the eloquence of the Gracchi was not of such value to the state that it could also endure their legislation, nor did Cicero, with the death that he suffered, pay a fair price for the fame of his oratory).

The *periculum-topos* did not perish with Tacitus, nor indeed

with the end of antiquity. It continued to be used in a variety of ways, often routine and dully repetitive, but sometimes adapted to changing conditions and artistic aims. Renewed emphasis on the moral dangers incurred by the orator himself is evident in Christian authors such as St. Augustine, who adopted an essentially Platonic view of the immorality of artifice and deception.⁷⁰⁾ The classical antecedents of the *topos* became unmistakable when Renaissance humanism made the original sources generally available, so that, for example, the funeral eulogy of a Renaissance Pope could praise him in terms derived from *de Inventione* for combining wisdom with eloquence and thus avoiding the dangers implicit in either quality by itself, or Erasmus, in his influential schoolbook *de Copia Verborum ac Rerum*, could offer as a model of induction combined with example the familiar warning about the excessive price paid by Demosthenes and Cicero for their oratorical triumphs.⁷¹⁾ Of course, every period or country in which political conditions have allowed oratory a share in guiding the course of events has produced enemies of rhetoric who fulminate against the art of making the worse appear the better reason. In our own time the enormously increased influence conferred by television on all the arts of persuasion (commercial even more than political) has given to the old problem entirely new dimensions. Yet the connoisseur of eloquence, in a year of presidential campaigning, must more than ever mourn the absence of orators, in whatever context, who have any need to feign a lack of *deinotês*.

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NOTES

1) Earlier versions of this paper were read at the Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington, D.C., and the Society for the Humanities, Cornell University. I am grateful for helpful criticism on both occasions.

2) Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Dem.* 23, Plutarch, *Cic.* 24, Cicero, *Brut.* 121.

3) See especially Harry M. Hubbell, *The Rhetorica of Philodemus: Translation and Commentary* (New Haven, 1920) 364-382, and consult Helen F. North, *Paradosis: Studies in Memory of Edwin A. Quain* (New York, 1976) 11-29.

4) In Greek (especially Attic) usage of the classical period *rhêtôr* usually refers to someone engaged in political life, which normally required public speaking, and is virtually synonymous with *politikos*. In Hellenistic and Roman times it often refers to a teacher of rhetoric. The Latin equivalent of the first meaning is *orator*; one who teaches rhetoric or *declamatio* is a *rhetor* or sometimes a *sophistes* (Juvenal 7.167).

5) Lack of space precludes a discussion of the broader implications of the anti-rhetorical invective, which is but one instance of a category concerned with the abuse of fundamental "culture-gifts" (in this case speech, the *logos*) on which man's very nature and civilization depend. Ramifications of this type of argument, whether concerned with the abuse of a gift conferred on all mankind (e.g., fire, wine) or of one given to a specific individual (e.g., the winged horse) lent themselves to several *topoi* of popular philosophy, including those associated with primitivism and with the "Think mortal thoughts/*Méden agan* complex of ideas.

6) Consult P. W., s.v. *Peithô* (Voigt).

7) Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1402a30ff, Plato, *Phaedr.* 267A-B, Aristophanes, *Clouds* 882-885, 1020-1021, 1038-1040. For a detailed study of Aristophanes' attacks on rhetoric, consult Charles T. Murphy, *HSCP* 49 (1938) 69-113.

8) The imputation is shared with almost every other object of the comic poet's ridicule. Consult K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), especially 141-153.

9) Consult E. R. Dodds on Euripides, *Bacch.* 266-271.

10) Plato, *Theaetetus* 173A; cf. *Gorg.* 462C, 501B,D, 502E, and consult Werner Jaeger, *Paideia* III, tr. Gilbert Highet (New York, 1944) 320 on the *Gryllus* and *Rhetoric* of Aristotle.

11) See Aristotle, *Pol.* 1313b40.

12) 3.38.4. With Cleon's *μετὰ καινότητος μὲν λόγου ἀπατᾶσθαι ἄριστοι* (3.38.5) cf. Aristophanes, *Knights* 1115-1120 and see Neil's edition of the *Knights*, *ad loc.*

13) E.g., Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 632. Consult Murphy, *art cit.* (above, note 7).

14) With *Knights* 1139-1140 Neil *ad loc.* compares Livy 6.17.2: *saginare plebem populares suos ut iugulentur*.

15) On the hazards of fifth-century politics consult W. Robert Connor, *The New Politicians of Fifth-Century Athens* (Princeton, 1971) 1979. Even in normal circumstances rhetors were always vulnerable to prosecution under the law concerning *eisangeleia*, which permitted the impeachment of any rhetor who took bribes to speak contrary to the interests of the *demos*. Hypereides, discussing the limitation of this section of the law to rhetors, refers to the honors and profits attached to speaking and the concomitant risks (4.8-9, 27, 29, 30-31).

16) See, for example, Lysias 12.3 and 19.2, Euripides, *Hipp.* 986-987, with Barrett *ad loc.*, and Plato, *Apol.* 17A-B. Advice on this subject

becomes stereotyped in the handbooks, especially in the doctrine of the Proem. See Cicero, *de Inv.* 1.182.25 and cf. *Or.* 145 (*prudētia hominibus grata est, lingua suspecta*) and *de Or.* 2.4 and 153, and Quintilian 2.17.6 on Antonius, *dissimulator artis*.

17) The Stoics made this requirement part of their definition of a *technê*, and it soon became a commonplace. Cf. Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Rhetoricians* 10, 43.

18) *περὶ ψυχῆς ὁ δρόμος*, 173A. We note the ironic echo of Achilles' pursuit of Hector, *Il.* 22.161.

19) Consult Ingemar Düring, *Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition* (Göteborg, 1957) 300-301.

20) See André Boulanger, *Aelius Aristides* (Paris, 1923) 234.

21) Cicero, *de Or.* 1.43, 3.65-68, Quintilian 3.1.15, 12.2.23. Consult George Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece* (Princeton, 1963) 272-301 and Kroll, P. W. Supp. VII, 1080-1083.

22) See Douglas on *Brutus* 121 for the ancient sources, among whom Plutarch, *Dem.* 5, attributes the story to Hermippus in the third century B.C.

23) For a comprehensive list see Quintilian 2.17 and consult Cicero, *de Or.* 1.90-91 on the reported view of the Academic Charmadas: *nullam artem dicendi esse*.

24) On the financial rewards of teaching rhetoric or writing handbooks see Plato, *Phaedr.* 266C and *Rhet. ad Her.* 1.1.1.

25) Crassus, 1.45-46, Antonius 1.83-93.

26) Cicero, *de Inv.* 1.2-3, *de Or.* 1.30-34 (both passages praise the *logos* in the manner of Isocrates, *Nic.* 5-9, *Antid.* 253-257); Quintilian 2.16.7-10.

27) Consult George Kennedy, *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World* (Princeton, 1972) 53-54 on the embassy of 155 B.C.

28) Perhaps the *Lupus*, a *fabula praetexta* dealing with Romulus and Remus.

29) Cf. also *de Or.* 1.34 and 3.76.

30) Sextus 20-21, Philodemus II 65 frg. ii Sudhaus, cf. I p. 14, frg. v, 359 col. LXX.

31) Cicero, *Brut.* 50, Tacitus, *Dial.* 40.3, Velleius Paterculus 1.17-18.

32) Sextus 20; on Carneades see Kroll, P. W. Supp. VII, 1083ff, and cf. Cicero, *de Or.* 1.45 for the views of his pupils.

33) Sextus 24-25; cf. Philodemus I. 16, frg. ix.

34) 2.16.4.

35) 456D-457C. Isocrates' use of the same illustration (*Antid.* 252) may have reinforced the *topos*, but his terminology is not the same. He refers to the killing, not the expulsion of the athletes.

36) Glenn R. Morrow, *Plato's Cretan City* (Princeton, 1960) 32-39. See also George Huxley, "Crete in Aristotle's Politics," *GRBS* 12 (1971) 505-515.

37) Cicero, *Brut.* 50, commenting on the absence of orators in Sparta,

refers to Spartan *brevitas*, going back to Menelaus in *Il.* 3.213-214.

38) See Pausanias 1.14.4 and Plutarch, *Lyc.* 4 for the tradition about Thaletas of Gortyn and his influence at Sparta in the seventh century.

39) *Aphth. Lac.* 226D, on the ξενηλασία (exile) of undesirables; *Inst. Lac.* 239C, on Cephisophon. The reason for his expulsion (that the good speaker, *mythêtês*, should keep his speech equal to his subject-matter) implies, however, that not all orators were expelled. Cf. *Aphth. Lac.* 208C.

40) II. 146, frg. iii; II. 147-148, frg. iv.

41) I. 16, frg. ix; I. 14, frg. v; cf. II. 65, frg. ii.

42) See, e.g., Gudeman on *Dial.* 40.2.

43) Thucydides 3.37.3.

44) Edmonds, *Fragments of Attic Comedy*, frg. 220.

45) On Plato's use of derogatory comparisons in his attacks on rhetoric, see North, *art cit.*, note 2 above.

46) See below, p. 264. Juvenal adapts the theme to the unprofitable life of the impecunious lawyer and the boring life of the teacher of *declamatio* in *Sat.* 7.106-149, 150-177.

47) I. 223, frg. xlii a.

48) II. 157, frg. xvii.

49) II. 133, frg. iv. This may be, not an Epicurean commonplace, but a reflection of the relations between Philodemus and his patron Piso.

50) II. 136, frg. vi.

51) II. 139-140, frg. xi.

52) II. 147-148, frg. iv.

53) II. 151-152, frg. viii.

54) II. 154, frg. xii.

55) V. 1125-1126. Lucretius' warning is not directed specifically at rhetors, but applies to all who seek wealth and power. In its most general application this theme appears as early as the *Ion* of Euripides 597 λυπρὰ γὰρ τὰ κρεῖσσονα.

56) *Symp.* 216A, *Alc.* I, 127E ff.

57) Frg. LVII. 1-11 ed. Chilton. See also Lucretius III. 995-1002 on Sisyphus as a type of futile ambition for *imperium inane*.

58) οὐ πανηγυριεῖν δέ, 120a Bailey.

59) For a slightly different list of slain orators see *ad Her.* 4.22.31 and consult Douglas on *Brut.* 224.

60) Suetonius, *de Gram. et Rhet.* 25.

61) On the affair of the Latin rhetors, consult Kennedy (above, note 27) 90-91.

62) See Seneca, *de Remed. Fort.* 12.44 and Ps-Quintilian, *Decl.* 268 on the question whether an orator, a doctor, or a philosopher is *civitati utilissimus*.

- 63) E.g., *de Inv.* 1.2-3, *de Or.* 1.30-34.
- 64) Consult Harry Caplan, *Of Eloquence* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1970) 160-195.
- 65) Michael Winterbottom, "Quintilian and the Vir Bonus," *JRS* 54 (1964) 90-97, cites Pliny, *Ep.* IV.7, 5, on Regulus.
- 66) Consult Gudeman and Michel *ad loc.*, and see Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1178B 7-23 and *Frg.* 58 Rose, and Cicero, *Hortensius*, *frg.* 92 Ruch, from Augustine, *de Trin.* 14.9.12: *quod opus esset eloquentia, cum iudicia nulla fierent, aut ipsis etiam virtutibus.* For like sentiments see *Dial.* 41.3 on the *civitas in qua nemo peccaret*, Quintilian 2.17.28 (if all judges were philosophers, there would be no need for rhetoric) and Antisthenes, *Frg.* 125 Mullach (If you intend a boy to live with gods, teach him philosophy, if with men, rhetoric). It is, of course, the ultimate admission of the imperfect nature of rhetoric to ally it exclusively with the imperfect state of society.
- 67) Some of the parallels between the *Dialogus* and the *Gorgias* are noted by Franz Egerman, *Hermes* 70 (1935) 424-430.
- 68) Consult R. Dienel, *WS* 37 (1915) 239-271 for adaptations of Cicero in the *Dialogus*; the influence of *de Republica* is traced by Erich Koestermann, *Hermes* 65 (1930) 396-421.
- 69) Cf. 36.1: *magna eloquentia, sicut flamma, materia alitur.*
- 70) See *de Doct. Christ.* 4.5.7 on the obligations of Christian preachers, as *sapientiae filii et ministri.* Cf. John Milton, *P.L.* II. 113-114 on Belial's power to make the worse appear the better reason, and *P.R.* IV. 353-364 (Christ's rejection of the oratory of Greece and Rome).
- 71) Consult John M. McManamon, S.J., "The Ideal Renaissance Pope: Formal Oratory from the Papal Court," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 14 (1976) 9-70 on the eulogy of Pius II by Domenico de' Domenichi in 1464. For Erasmus, see *de Copia* II, *de Imagine.*

MYSTICISM AND APOCALYPTIC IN EZEKIEL'S EXAGOGÉ*)

HOWARD JACOBSON

As part of his attempt to demonstrate the widespread existence of a mystical Judaism in antiquity, Erwin Goodenough turned his attention to Moses' dream in Ezekiel's *Exagoge*.

Here is the text, followed by Goodenough's remarks:

- ΜΩΣΗΣ 68 ἔ<δο>ξ' ὄρους κατ' ἄκρα Σιν<αί>ου θρόνον
 μέγαν τιν' εἶναι μέχρι 'ς οὐρανοῦ πτύχας,
 ἐν τῷ καθῆσθαι φῶτα γενναῖόν τινα
 διάδημ' ἔχοντα καὶ μέγα σκήπτρον χερί
 72 εὐνώνυμῳ μάλιστα. δεξιᾷ δέ μοι
 ἔνευσε, κἀγὼ πρόσθεν ἐστάθην θρόνου.
 σκήπτρον δέ μοι πάρδωκε καὶ εἰς θρόνον μέγαν
 εἶπεν καθῆσθαι· βασιλικὸν δ' ἔδωκέ μοι
 76 διάδημα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ θρόνων χωρίζεται.
 ἐγὼ δ' ἐσεῖδον γῆν ἅπασαν ἔγκυκλον
 καὶ ἔνερθε γαίας καὶ ἐξῦπερθεν οὐρανοῦ,
 καὶ μοί τι πλῆθος ἀστέρων πρός γούνατα
 80 ἔπιπτ', ἐγὼ δὲ πάντας ἠριθμησάμην,
 κάμου παρήγεν ὡς παρεμβολὴ βροτῶν.
 εἶτ' ἐμφοβηθεῖς ἔξανίσταμ' ἐξ ὕπνου.
- ΠΑΓΟΥΧΑ ὦ ξένε, καλὸν σοι τοῦτ' ἐσήμηνε<ν> θεός·
 84 ζῶπν δ', ὅταν σοι ταῦτα συμβαί<ν>ῃ ποτέ.
 ἄρα γε μέγαν τιν' ἔξαναστήσεις θρόνον
 καὶ αὐτὸς βραβεύσεις καὶ καθηγῆση βροτῶν;
 τὸ δ' εἰσθεᾶσθαι γῆν ὄλην τ' οἴκουμένην
 88 καὶ τὰ ὑπένερθε καὶ ὑπὲρ οὐρανὸν θεοῦ·
 ὄψει τὰ τ' ὄντα τὰ τε πρό τοῦ τὰ θ' ὕστερον.

The throne... is exactly the divine throne we have met in the Orphic fragment. We have not left the Orphic atmosphere at all... As he counted (the stars) he awoke. Here is unmistakably the divine kingship of Moses set forth, a kingship not only over men but over the entire cosmos. He is in the place of God!... The conception of God has come directly from Orphic sources, and the idea is, as Cerfaux has pointed out, the astral mystery of Egypt. Moses' nature is taken up to associate itself with the nature of the stars.¹⁾

Here then is a picture of a "mystic Moses" which splendidly supports Goodenough's general theory. Unfortunately,

Goodenough's description is not consistent with Ezekiel's text. His starting point is an Orphic hymn in which *inter alia* God is described as sitting on a throne of gold on high with his feet resting upon the earth.²⁾ The solitary similarity between the two texts is the presence of "God" sitting on a throne on high, a picture thoroughly familiar from the Bible. Neither the golden character of the throne nor even the notion of God using the earth as a footstool (cf. *Isa.* 66:1) is present in Ezekiel. Indeed, the latter's description of God on his throne is as straightforwardly simple as could be. As for Moses' kingship over the entire cosmos, the astral mystery and Moses' association with the nature of the stars, all this is quite foreign to the tone and tenor of the text. On the matter of the "kingship of the cosmos" Goodenough is patently reading Philo into Ezekiel (cf. *Moses* 1.155ff). That Moses beholds the cosmos does not mean he is made master of it.³⁾ Indeed, Raguel's interpretation of the dream makes not the slightest allusion to such a possibility. Further, Ezekiel distinctly limits the obeisance to a τὸ πλῆθος ἀστέρων, which does not seem equivalent to "all the stars" nor does he mention the sun and moon. In what sense Moses is associated with the nature of the stars is hard to see, as is the presence of the astral mystery. Is this Orphic and astral or is it a recollection of Joseph's dream wherein stars prostrate themselves before the youth (*Gen.* 37:9)? It is in general worth noting that most of the Biblical narrative retold in Ezekiel is also present in Philo, but all the mysticism of the Philonic accounts is lacking in the *Exagoge*.

Indeed, if one compares Ezekiel's dream to other dreams in Jewish literature of the second commonwealth and also to "ascension" scenes (for Moses' vision here belongs to that genre too),⁴⁾ we may come to conclusions quite different from Goodenough's.

We begin with *I Enoch* 13.7ff.⁵⁾ Enoch falls asleep and a dream-vision comes to him. In it the stars, clouds and other celestial phenomena carry him heavenward where he beholds splendid and marvelous things: a wall of crystal, tongues of

fire, a crystal house, Cherubim, a house of fire. At this point in the narrative (14.18) the relevance to Ezekiel becomes clearer. I quote verses 18-25.⁶⁾

And I looked and saw therein a lofty throne; its appearance was as hoarfrost, its circuit was as a shining sun and the voices of cherubim. And from underneath the great throne came streams of flaming fire so that it was impossible to look thereon. And the Great Glory sat thereon and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and was whiter than any snow. None of the angels could enter and behold the face of the Honoured and Glorious One and no flesh could behold Him. A flaming fire was round about Him, and a great fire stood before Him, and none of those who were around Him could draw nigh Him: ten thousand times ten thousand were before Him, but He stood in no need of counsel. And the holiness of the holy ones, who were nigh to Him, did not leave by night nor depart from Him. And until then I had had a veil on my face, and I was trembling: then the Lord called me with His own mouth and spake to me: "Come hither, Enoch, and hear My holy word." And he made me rise up and approach the door: but I turned my face downwards.

Here is the lofty throne with God upon it, here too the invitation to the mortal being to approach the divinity. Yet, the atmosphere, the tone, the very conception is totally different. In *Enoch* we are in a world of thoroughly supernatural phenomena replete with the panoply of mysticism. There is nothing in the description that has a counterpart in the earthly sphere, nothing that is susceptible of recognition by the human mind. In contrast, Ezekiel's account is almost all replica of the earthly scene. Even the one exception, Moses' vision of the cosmos, does not greatly differ from a description of the view from a mountain-top. Its stark simplicity and its closeness to reality can also be appreciated by a comparison with later parts of *Enoch's* visions. Thus, at 33.2-4, Enoch too sees and counts the stars. But how different is the account:

I saw the ends of the earth whereon the heaven rests, and the portals of the heaven were open. And I saw how the stars of the heaven come forth, and I counted the portals out of which they proceed, and wrote down all their outlets; of each individual star by itself, according to their number, their names, their connexions, their positions, their times and their months, as the holy angel Uriel who was with me showed me. He showed all things to me and wrote them down for me: also their names he wrote for me, and their laws and their companies.

Even this is but a pale reflection of the depiction of the heavenly luminaries at chapters 72-82, a spectacularly

elaborate recounting of Enoch's visions of the sun, the moon, the wind, the stars, etc., with a lengthy description of the stars at 82.10ff. So too the vision of chapter 71, another translation of Enoch to heaven, is replete with sons of God, flakes of fire, faces like snow, revelations of all the secrets, crystal structures, Seraphim, Cherubim, Ophanim, throne of glory, millions of angels, the Head of Days and the Son of Man.

Lastly, Enoch's dream at chapter 85 where, like Moses, he sees stars falling from the heaven. These prove to be the fallen angels.⁷⁾ In Moses' dream the stars, though in a sense personified, are never anything but stars. If this is of any import, then it may suggest that Ezekiel's account, rather than representing the astral mystery, is polemic against the deification or angelization of the stars. And if any generalization at this point is in order in light of the comparison with *I Enoch*, it is the following: Ezekiel's version of the ascension-type vision is a demythologization of the Enoch-type. Many of the elements are held in common, but in Ezekiel they are, so to speak, naturalized. What makes his treatment significant and noteworthy, however, is not merely that it is in principle so different from *I Enoch*, but that the conceptions present in *Enoch* were common and widespread, even if not always set forth in so extreme a fashion as in *Enoch*. The culmination, of course, comes later, in such works like *Midrash Ketappuah* where Moses himself turns into fire on his ascent⁸⁾ and *3 Enoch* and other works of the developed Merkabah mysticism. But Enochian elements are not that unusual even earlier. Thus, descriptions of heavenly ascents in *Pesiqta Rabbati* 20 and *Apoc. Abr.* 15ff depict the translation in terms of thrones of fire, angelologies and the like.⁹⁾

On the other hand, there are accounts which are closer to Ezekiel. A passage in the *Testament of Levi*, while more extravagant than Ezekiel in some respects, is even barer in others. Thus, Levi (2.5ff; 5.1ff) falls asleep and sees himself on a high mountain (precisely as in the *Exagoge*). The heavens open and he enters, which takes the ascension beyond the point Ezekiel is willing to go, at least in such explicit terms. Later, Levi beholds God on his throne of glory and God speaks

to him.¹⁰⁾ At *Gen. Rab.* 44.12 we are told no more than that God elevated Abraham above the heavens, showed him the stars below and asked him to attempt to count them (similarly *LAB* 18.5). What is of special importance here is that we have a conflict that centers around differing attitudes to certain Biblical texts. Visions or descriptions of God are common in the Bible, ranging from the sparsest delineation to highly elaborate ones. Notable among the latter are the visions of Isaiah, Ezekiel and Daniel. In these, which portray God on his throne accompanied by all manner of heavenly beings, fire, etc. (*Isa.* 6; *Ezek.* 1; *Dan.* 7), lie the seeds of the Enoch-type vision and of the Merkabah mysticism. On the other hand there are simple assertions like that of Amos (9:1), "I saw the Lord standing by the altar and He said". Or the slightly more elaborate one at *I Kings* 22:19, "I saw the Lord seated on His throne, with all the host of heaven in attendance." One wonders whether *I Kings* 19:11ff is a rejection of the elaborate descriptions of God's presence. Straightforward allusions to God on His throne also occur (e.g., *Ps.* 47:9). I think it fair to say that, whereas *I Enoch* took the path of the prophet Ezekiel which was leading toward Merkabah mysticism, the tragedian Ezekiel rejected it in favor of the attitude which de-emphasized the mystical and apocalyptic aspects of the vision of God, which, so to speak, allowed it purely anthropomorphic expression and would not go further, ἰδεῖν γὰρ θεῶν τὴν ἐμὴν ἀμήχανον as Ezekiel later writes (101).¹¹⁾

It is probable that the heavenly ascension theme in Jewish literature has its roots and beginnings in the Biblical account of the revelation on Sinai, whether or not this event is strictly speaking an ascension. For though the text simply tells of Moses' climbing of Mount Sinai and his receiving there of the Law from God, there are enough vague suggestions in the narrative that probably well served later writers in their establishment of this theme. Moses, Aaron and the elders are said to see God and some sort of splendid vision under God's feet (*Exod.* 24:9). After Moses ascends the mountain, it is covered by a cloud. Six days later God's glory settles on the mountain-top and Moses enters the cloud. The vision of God, the ascent, the entry into the cloud with God's presence are all the seeds of the later heavenly ascension motif.¹²⁾ But for Ezekiel this episode (*Exod.* 24:9-18) is not merely the parent of the genre but the direct impetus

for his own work. Totally different though the substance may be, we can scarcely doubt that in describing an ascent by Moses on a mountain culminating in a confrontation with God Ezekiel was directly influenced by the Biblical episode.¹³⁾

We possess a number of texts which recount a heavenly ascension by Moses, for instance, *Pesiqta Rabbati* 20, *Genesis Rabbati* pp. 136-7 (Albeck), *Ma'yan Hokhmah* (Jellinek 1.58-61), *2 Baruch* 59.3, *3 Enoch*, the Samaritan *Death of Moses*, *Petirat Mosheh* (*Yerushalayim shel Ma'alah*: Jellinek 6. xxii-xxiii). Other sources imply such an ascension, including Philo *QE* 2.44, the title of the work *Assumption of Moses* and perhaps Josephus at *AJ* 3.137.¹⁴⁾ Some treat Moses' ascension at the time of the giving of the Law, others the ascension granted him before his death. What is crucial is that all speak of a real ascension, not a visionary one. None reports his ascension as a dream. Had he wanted, Ezekiel too could have easily represented the ascension as real by simply changing a few words at the beginning and end of Moses' account and having him describe the event as an actual occurrence.

In other words, Ezekiel deliberately chose to portray the "ascension" as an imaginary event. How strongly he felt the importance of this may be illustrated by one fact. As far as I know, nowhere else in ancient Jewish literature is Moses said to have had a significant dream. In the Bible, in Rabbinic literature and in apocryphal texts such dreams are commonplace. Joseph, the patriarchs, Daniel, Nebukhadnezzar, Miriam (*LAB* 9.10) and many others dream. But never Moses. The reason is not hard to find: "If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known to him in a vision and will speak to him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so. He is faithful in all my house. With him I will speak mouth to mouth, openly, and not in dark speeches; and the similitude of the Lord he will behold" (*Numbers* 12:6-8). In spite of this explicit declaration in the Bible, Ezekiel felt compelled to turn Moses' ascension into a dream. Is this not then a conscious rejection on Ezekiel's part of the legend that Moses actually ascended to heaven, beheld God, perhaps

sat on the heavenly throne, etc.? We know that later on some Rabbis had the same qualms. R. Akiva was unwilling to grant that the divine cloud had descended on and covered Moses, lest it lend a superhuman aura to Moses' being.¹⁵⁾ Josephus' account of Moses' death appears to express the same sort of fear with regard to legends of ascension surrounding Moses' death.¹⁶⁾

There was a midrashic theme that (on his ascension) God revealed to Moses **מה למעלה מה למטה מה לפניו מה לאחור**

מה למטה מה לפניו מה לאחור (a striking echo of Moses' dream and Raguel's interpretation)¹⁷⁾ or, as *3 Enoch* puts it,

ברזי עליונים וברזי תחתונים (48c4) and **בינה עליונים** (48d8), or elsewhere **כל מה שבמעלה ושבמטה גליתי לו**.¹⁸⁾ All this

revelation and knowledge is now made no more than the substance of a dream. Another midrashic passage appears, like Ezekiel, to be aware of the tradition that Moses received this special revelation from God, but also rejects it. *Exodus Rabbah* 3.1 says that had Moses not turned his head away God might have taught him **מה למעלה ומה למטה ומה שהיה ומה**¹⁹⁾

שעתיד להיות. How Ezekiel further incorporates, yet modifies, the traditional material is fascinating. For the other texts distinguish between the mystical knowledge of "above and below" and that of "past and future." Ezekiel, by virtue of the symbolic nature of the dream, can have Moses see (in the dream) what is above and what is below and then have it interpreted temporally, as knowledge of past and future,²⁰⁾ thus granting Moses the gift of prophecy but denying him knowledge of the divine mysteries of the universe.²¹⁾

One more point in this regard. Commentators routinely understand the dream to portray Moses' presentation before God on His divine throne.²²⁾ Precisely because this is widely assumed, one welcomes Gutman's reservations and indeed his rejection of this view (43-5).²³⁾ He points out that the being on the throne is called $\phi\omega\varsigma$ (70), a word which indisputably means "man," not "God" (though it is used sometimes of "heroes"). Consequently, Gutman argues that the man should be identified as Enoch who, as Gutman shows, was at times in Jewish tradition portrayed as God's agent who leads Moses to heaven.²⁴⁾ Well taken as this is, one still has reservations. Most important, had Ezekiel wanted his audience to under-

stand that this figure was Enoch-Metatron, he would have said so - or at least in some way made it clearer than it is. One can rest assured that no audience would have recognized Enoch in this scene without being so informed. Further, when Gutman not merely rejects the possibility that God is meant here, but also refuses to admit the presence of a "divine being" he seems to go too far. Nor need he. For Enoch-Metatron himself is virtually a divine sort of being. The setting of the dream with mountain-top reaching into the heavens, the vision of above and below, the presence of the stars doing obeisance - all this renders it hard to believe that that audience would not have taken this as a divine setting, if not necessarily an epiphany.

In addition, it is common tradition, both in Greek and Jewish texts, that a divine personage appears in human form, especially in dreams and visions.²⁵⁾ Here in particular one suspects that the significance and force of the dream and its interpretation may depend on the divine nature of the figure on the throne. Thus, on the one hand divine, on the other $\phi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$. Ezekiel meant this figure to be divine, yet represents him as a man because he was deliberately rejecting the traditions which granted Moses physical contact with God, which allowed God to be seen and described in His "divine" form. Once again Ezekiel takes the bare anthropomorphic route. What Ezekiel describes is simply a $\phi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, yet this $\phi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ is in some sense divine, most probably a surrogate for the Deity Himself.

Mysticism has also been detected in a second scene of the *Exagoge*, that of the burning bush. At verse 99 God reveals to Moses the divine nature of the speaker, $\delta\ \delta' \ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \ \beta\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon \ \sigma\omicron\iota \ \theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\epsilon\iota \ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$. Kuiper²⁶⁾ has argued that $\theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ here is the specialized and significant term that is familiar from Philo, namely the notion of a personification or hypostatization of God, an intermediary between God and the world.²⁷⁾ Wieneke rejected this view,²⁸⁾ but it has been taken up with a vengeance by recent scholars, most notably by Goodenough in his attempt to establish Ezekiel as a forerunner of Philo.²⁹⁾ Moses "met the Divine Logos." "The fire in the bush is the Divine Logos shining out upon him." In Goodenough's footsteps, Meeks goes so far as to use Ezekiel's account to support his interpretation that Philo's Moses *sees* the Logos of God at the bush, believing this confirmed by Ezekiel's $\theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$.³⁰⁾

Probably the single most cogent argument on behalf of the Goodenough view is that of Kuiper's, that the Biblical narrative on which Ezekiel is based reports ὄφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς ἐκ τοῦ βάλτου (*Exod.* 3:2). Thus, when Ezekiel writes ὁ δ' ἐκ βάλτου σοι θεῖος ἐκλάμπει λόγος it appears that he is merely substituting one designation for another, but each is meant to represent some kind of intermediary between man and God who represents God. Thus, as Goodenough would write, the Divine Logos. But I think this point not so cogent as it appears on first glance. Ezekiel may have wanted to avoid the revelation of an ἄγγελος because of the potential problem it might have raised for the pagans in the audience and for the difficulty it would have created in the staging, since, as angels are routinely visible in Scripture, he would have felt compelled to represent this being on stage (this is not a problem at verse 159). Further, Ezekiel may have eliminated the angel here because he did not want to become entangled in the apparent contradiction in the Biblical text, for no sooner does the Bible tell us that an angel appeared to Moses from the bush (3:2) than it reports that God Himself spoke to Moses from the bush (3:4). By ignoring the angel Ezekiel avoided getting involved in some such apparent internal contradiction. Further, there are compelling - if not decisive - considerations which suggest that the evidence is entirely too flimsy to justify jumping to so serious and significant a conclusion as Goodenough's.

In the first place, we must remember that there is no reason to believe that the phrase θεῖος λόγος (or λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ) existed *with the Philonic sense* some 100 years or more before Philo. The case for such a conclusion rests solely on this sentence in Ezekiel.³¹⁾ On the other hand, the phrase θεῖος λόγος readily lends itself to other meanings. Even in Philo it occurs with other senses. Thus, he writes that the road which is the true philosophy is called θεοῦ ῥῆμα καὶ λόγος (*Post. Cain.* 102); also, that when *Genesis* 26:5 describes Abraham as heeding the instructions of God this is θεῖος λόγος enjoining us what to do and what not to do (*Migr. Abr.* 130). At *Somn.* 1.190 ὁ θεῖος λόγος seems virtually to mean

"the text of scripture." Thus, not even for Philo himself does θεῖος λόγος have a solitary and restricted meaning. Moreover, while θεῖος λόγος does not occur in either the Septuagint or the New Testament, the phrase λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ occasionally is found. In the latter it is the revelation or the message of God, as at *John* 10:35. The Septuagint uses λόγος θεοῦ interchangeably with λόγος κυρίου, φωνή κυρίου and especially ῥῆμα κυρίου as translation of "the word (דבר) of God."³²⁾ The fact is that λόγος is used in classical Greek of "divine utterance."³³⁾ In post-Biblical Hebrew texts דבר and דיבור become key words for God's prophecy and revelation and have nought to do with Stoic, Neoplatonic or Philonic Logos,³⁴⁾ no more than do the terms מימרא and שכינה of God. When Targum Neofiti translates *Exod.* 3:4 with קרא ליה דה' ממריה דה' this is the routine Targumic paraphrase-translation for "God." There is then nothing unnatural in assuming that Ezekiel's θεῖος λόγος means plainly and directly "the word of God."

Indeed, Philo's own narrative of the bush-scene does not refer to any "Philonic" θεῖος λόγος,³⁵⁾ though it is plausible that such may be alluded to. He describes the appearance of a μορφή τις... περικαλλεστάτη in the midst of the flame, a θεοειδέστατον ἄγαλμα and observes that one might suppose this to have been εἰκὼν τοῦ ὄντος (*Moses* 1.66). He is content to leave it as an ἄγγελος. Since, however, he does refer to the presence as εἰκὼν τοῦ ὄντος we must note that at *Fuga* 100 he states that λόγος θεῖος is εἰκὼν ὑπάρχων θεοῦ (cf. too *Spec. Leg.* 1.81). So Philo may indeed have held in mind the possibility that the divine being who appeared in the bush was the θεῖος λόγος, though he does not explicitly say so. Yet, even this is not certain for Philo and much less so for Ezekiel. More than once Philo states or implies that the θεῖος λόγος is not susceptible of material representation or perception. Thus, he explains (*Fuga* 100) that the θεῖος λόγος is not portrayed in the sanctuary (εἰς ὄρατὴν οὐκ ἦλθεν ἰδέαν) because it is not similar to sense-objects. At *Quis Heres* 119 the θεῖος λόγος is said to be ἀόρατος.³⁶⁾ This would seem hard to reconcile with a μορφή τις... περικαλλεστάτη... ἄγαλμα.³⁷⁾ But the difficulty

of such a view is compounded in Ezekiel, for while Philo ignores the Biblical element here of Moses' looking upon God, Ezekiel emphasizes it to a point far beyond the text of the scriptural narrative, an emphasis that is built around contrast:

ὁ δ' ἐκ βάτου σοι θεῖος ἐκλάμπει λόγος.
 θάρσησον, ὦ παῖ, καὶ λόγων ἄκου' ἐμῶν·
 ἰδεῖν γὰρ ὄψιν τὴν ἐμὴν ἀμήχανον
 θνητὸν γεγῶτα, τῶν λόγων δ' ἔξεστί σοι
 ἐμῶν ἀκούειν, τῶν ἕκατ' ἐλήλυθα. (99-103)

First, he makes it crystal-clear that it is God and no surrogate, no intermediary, who is speaking here. Then he stresses that Moses may only hear words, but may not see. Moses is permitted audition, but not sight. That is to say, whatever we take ἐκλάμπει λόγος to signify, it is not productive of an act of sight - nothing divine is being seen here. Moses is granted only hearing. What then should we make of ἐκλάμπει? For Goodenough and those who share his opinion, the notion of a "shining forth" suits their image of a Philonic mysticism here.³⁸⁾ Wieneke's brief remarks and parallels on this point may in themselves suffice to alleviate all doubts and remove all questions. He accurately observes that (ἐκ)λάμπω is used in standard Greek writers of sound as well as of sight, and notes passages in Sophocles, Polybius and the following phrase in Aeschylus (*PV* 21), φωνὴν... ὄψει.³⁹⁾ Thus, ἐκλάμπει λόγος in the sense, "the voice-speech-word rings out" is in no way bizarre or defective Greek. ἐκλάμπει λόγος is then a more vivid and graphic version of what Josephus expresses by φωνὴν τοῦ πυρός ἀφέντος (*AJ* 2.267).⁴⁰⁾ The verb ἐκλάμπει, as Gutman has noted (50), is also suitable because of the context of the burning bush.⁴¹⁾ It is worth adding that this scene is filled with λόγος / λέγειν words referring to speech (100, 102, 104, 109, 113, 114, 117, 120).

More remains to be said. As far as I know, there is no example (not even in Philo) of a -λάμπω verb coupled with the Divine Logos. In a passage which seems to be referring to the episode of the burning bush Philo writes (*Migr. Abr.* 76):

τὸ ἀληθείας φέγγος ἤρξατο ὁ θεὸς ἐνα-
στράπτειν αὐτῷ διὰ τῶν ἐπιστήμης καὶ
σοφίας αὐτῆς ἀθανάτων λόγων

which may suggest that God sent forth in a flash the λόγοι which he spoke to Moses at the bush, a view consonant with Philo's sense of the words of God as concrete and physical manifestations.⁴²⁾ Thus, even though the sense would be peculiar to Philo and his philosophy, we might have to say that even for him the words of God, but not the Divine Logos, would flash out to Moses. If however one assumes, on the basis of *Her.* 203-5 (cf. *Sirach* 24:4), that the guide in the cloud-pillar (*Moses* 1.166) is indeed the Logos, then ἐκλάμπουσα φέγγος suggests a Logos at once invisible yet capable of radiating light.

What is of particular interest in the *Exagoge* passage is the association of a verb of primarily visual significance with the voice or speech of God in an event intimately tied to the Exodus. For this connection or motif is found both in Philo and in Rabbinic tradition. Its foundation, to be sure, is the Bible itself. We read that at the revelation at Sinai וְכָל הָעָם רָאוּ אֶת אֱלֹהִים (Exod. 20:18). The Septuagint translates, ἐώρα τὴν φωνήν. This peculiarity of expression is seized upon by both the Rabbis and Philo for significant explication. One Midrash reads:⁴³⁾

בְּנוֹהַג שֶׁבְּעוֹלָם אֵי אִפְשָׁר לִרְאוֹת אֶת
הַקּוֹל אֲבָל כֵּן... רָאוּ אֶת הַקּוֹלוֹת.

In more sophisticated fashion Philo observes on three occasions the import of this phrase, e.g., at *Moses* 2.213:⁴⁴⁾ ἐθέσπισεν... ὁ θεὸς διὰ φωνῆς - τὸ παραδοξότατον - ὁρατῆς ἢ... ὀφθαλμοῦς ὧτων ἐπήγειρε μᾶλλον. It seems not unreasonable to assume that the oddity of expression in the Biblical text produced a widespread and well known interpretation along the lines indicated in Philo and the Midrash which would have been familiar to the Jewish educated. If so, we can argue that Ezekiel made deliberate use of an acceptable, if a bit unusual, Greek idiom because he saw that it corresponded to traditional Jewish exegesis.⁴⁵⁾

In sum, one cannot finally exclude the possibility that Ezekiel may be describing a kind of Philonic invisible Logos that radiates light. But on balance it seems a quite

unnecessary hypothesis and one feels justified in rejecting this view.⁴⁶⁾

In the Bible God calls out to Moses, declaring that the spot is holy and announcing Himself as the God of the patriarchs. At which point Moses turns away so as not to look at God (*Exod.* 3:5-6). Ezekiel has much elaborated this simple account: God tells Moses to heed his words, for he may not see God, but only hear his speech (100-103).⁴⁷⁾ One senses here Ezekiel addressing his pagan audience who might have wondered why the divinity does not step forward in full splendour and speak, as sometimes happens in Greek drama. To be sure, there are places in Greek drama where the gods are described as unseen, e.g., Athena at Soph. *Ajax* 14ff is ἀποπτος, but this simply means that Odysseus at the moment cannot see her.⁴⁸⁾ Ion is fearful of seeing the goddess at what is evidently (in his mind) an improper time, but in fact she does appear (*Ion* 1549-52). Perhaps most striking is *Hippolytus* 84-6 where Hippolytus declares:

μόνῳ γάρ ἐστι τοῦτ' ἐμοὶ γέρας βροτῶν·
σοὶ καὶ ξύνειμι καὶ λόγοις ἀμείβομαι,
κλύων μὲν αὐδήν, ὄμμα δ' οὐχ ὄρων τὸ σόν.

Whatever this means, it surely does not carry with it a notion of the invisibility of deity; witness the appearance of Aphrodite in the prologue. This is not, however, to deny that some sort of concept of invisibility of deity was held by certain sophisticated or mystically oriented Greeks. Consider the Orphic fragment cited earlier (Kern no. 245) and perhaps the analogy used by Socrates at Xen. *Mem.* 4.3.13-14.

Ezekiel has introduced here Scriptural material not found in the immediately relevant Biblical episode. He is relying on *Exod.* 33:18ff where Moses asks to see God's glory and the latter responds, Οὐ δυνήσῃ ἰδεῖν μου τὸ πρόσωπον· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἴδῃ ἄνθρωπος τὸ πρόσωπόν μου καὶ ζήσεται. This clearly corresponds to verses 101-2 of the *Exagoge*. We should also observe, though I am unsure as to what, if any, inferences ought to be made, that Philo, in an interesting allegorical interpretation of the bush-scene at *Fuga* 161ff, jumps directly from Moses' desire to approach the bush and God's rejection of this possibility to the answer that God gives Moses in the

passage at *Exod.* 33, the precise line of development that we meet in Ezekiel. We must become briefly involved here in the question of the "seeability" of God in Jewish tradition. It is well known that ultimately the Jewish view of an unseeable and inimitable God became familiar - indeed notorious - to non-Jews. Tacitus' scorn on this count is a prime example (*Hist.* 5). But to trace the development - if development there be - of this concept is difficult. The Bible itself is filled with passages that render the question vexed: From a passage like that in *Exod.* 33, which - let it be noted - does not say that God is unseeable but that no man can see him and live, to numerous passages wherein in one degree or another it seems that someone does in fact see God. For instance, in the commission episode at *Isa.* 6:1ff the prophet says that he has seen God. At *Exod.* 24:10 a group of Israelites is said to see God.

In other places the non-perceptibility of God seems impaired or logically impossible due to the graphic and physical description of Him, e.g., *Isa.* 29:2ff, 63:1ff, *Psa.* 18:9ff. Indeed, this is a tendency that does not entirely disappear. It is found occasionally in Midrashic literature, as in the tradition that Isaac, on the altar and about to be sacrificed, looked up and saw God.⁴⁹⁾ But when Goodenough asserts that the invisibility of God is a concept of the New Testament, but not of "normative Judaism" before that time, he is on rather shaky ground.⁵⁰⁾ It is true, as Goodenough states, that the notion that a direct vision of God is fatal is not the same thing as God's being *ἀόρατος* (as at *Col.* 1:15, *I Tim.* 1:17, *Heb.* 11:27), but then neither is *ἀόρατος* inexorably the equivalent of "invisible."

"Unseen" and "invisible" are not necessarily one and the same. When Josephus calls the sanctuary (*BJ* 1.152) and a town (*BJ* 3.160) *ἀόρατος*, he only means that (up to a particular moment) each had not been seen. In Aristobulos' Jewish-Orphic text (Kern no. 247) God is not seen but it is hard to determine whether this is because he cannot be or simply is not. It is interesting to note that the original Orphic text declares that God is wrapped in a cloud and so not seen, while the Jewish version says that man is in a cloud and so does not see Him. But the section

concludes by saying that no man could see God εἰ μὴ μουνογενῆς τις ἀπορρῶξ φύλου ἄνωθεν Χαλδαίων, which in fact seems a reference to Abraham (Moses?).⁵¹⁾

When the Septuagint revises the Hebrew original so as to remove a direct vision of God (as at *Exod.* 24:10), it is not possible to ascertain whether this was done to avoid a vision of God without ensuing death or rather to avoid a vision of God as being impossible. When pseudepigraphic works occasionally make reference to the "unseen God", we are too often unable to determine exactly what this means in a given text, when the text dates from and what chance there is of Christian interpolation. Thus, *Test. Abr.* A 16 mentions ὁ ἀόρατος πατήρ and ὁ ἀόρατος θεός and *Or. Sib.* 3.9ff calls God ἀόρατος ὁρῶμενος αὐτὸς ἅπαντα... τίς γὰρ θνητὸς ἔδωκεν κατιδεῖν δύναται θεὸν ὄσσοις, (note too the very similar text at *fg.* 1.8ff). The same phrase occurs in Rabbinic writings; רואה ולא נראה.⁵²⁾ On the other hand, *Test. Zeb.* 9.8 records that at the end of time ὄψεσθε αὐτὸν [i.e. God] ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ.

The combination of the conceptual ambiguity of these texts and the virtual absence of Hebrew and Aramaic Rabbinic texts which can unquestionably be dated to the pre-Christian era leads us inevitably to Philo who is famous for his repeated use of a Hebrew etymology which takes *ישראל* to mean "seeing God", whether based on *איש ראה אל*⁵³⁾ or on something else.⁵⁴⁾ Israel is, as Philo often puts it, the people that sees God.⁵⁵⁾ Now for Philo, as he makes abundantly clear, Israel's seeing God has nothing to do with material, visual perception, but is rather a kind of intellectual and spiritual apprehension of God.⁵⁶⁾ God is not such that he can be visually, physically comprehended. From the brief lines in Ezekiel, it seems that he may represent fundamentally the same opinion as Philo, if not on so subtle and sophisticated a level, that God is not susceptible of visual cognition.⁵⁷⁾ It is ἀμήχανον. This is the very term that Philo uses on two occasions when treating the idea of "seeing God," once indeed in the context of the revelation at the burning bush: ἐπιδεικνυμένου ἑαυτὸν τοῖς γλιχομένοις ἰδεῖν, οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν - ἀμήχανον γάρ, ἐπεὶ καὶ Μωυσεῖ ἀπέστρεψε τὸ πρόσωπον· εὐλαβεῖτο

γὰρ κατεμβλέψαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ -, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνεχώρει γεννητὴν φύσιν τῇ ἀπερινοήτῳ δυνάμει προσβαλεῖν. (*Fuga* 141. Cf. *Praem. et Poen.* 44.) It may then be that this passage in the *Exagoge* represents our earliest extant evidence for the Jewish doctrine of the "invisibility" of God.⁵⁸⁾

APPENDIX: MOSES' THRONE

In an interesting article Holladay has recently suggested that the seemingly disconnected facets of the dream and interpretation, namely the royal character of the throne as against the prophetic aspect can be reconciled by realizing that the throne is not the kingly throne, but the mantic one.⁵⁹⁾ For this reason the total emphasis of dream and interpretation is on the future role of Moses as seer. Ezekiel deliberately draws Moses in the guise of Apollo so that "Moses replaces Apollo as the spokesman for God; accordingly, the whole of mankind is to seek the divine will not from the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, but from the law of God given to Moses at Sinai." (452) Attractive as this is, it is not likely and the arguments brought in its support are sometimes flawed. Holladay writes, "The dominant image of Raguel's interpretation (lines 20-26) is Moses the prophet" (448). This is false. Only two lines here are relevant, 89 and 86, the former of which clearly speaks of the mantic art, while the latter has nothing to do with it.

Holladay offers fuzzy objections, arguing from the absence of βασιλεύειν terminology and the "somewhat surprising formulation καὶ αὐτὸς βραβεύσεις καὶ καθιγήσῃ βροτῶν;" (449). But nothing is surprising here. Both βραβεύω and καθιγέομαι are perfectly apt terms for the leader (ruler) of a people. βραβεύς can be a military leader (as at Aesch. *Persae* 302) or a "judge, arbitrator" or "one who sees that rules, resolutions and verdicts are carried out,"⁶⁰⁾ a routine function in antiquity of rulers.⁶¹⁾ In the *Exagoge* itself Raguel is described explicitly as ruler and judge (62-4). καθιγέομαι too is a perfectly suitable word for a ruler, but may have particular relevance to Moses who will "lead" his people out of Egypt. Thus, Raguel's interpretation of the dream is equally divided between Moses the leader and Moses the seer. Further, Holladay skirts the difficulty involved in μέγαν τιν' ἔξαναστήσεις θρόνον. While it may be possible for a man to set up his own royal power (throne), it seems much less likely for someone to

set up his own mantic status. As Holladay himself notes, it is Zeus who sets Apollo on his mantic throne.

Even more problematic is the identification Holladay makes between the Apolline mantic throne and the μέγας θρόνος here. First, there is no "mantic throne," but rather the mere tripod upon which the Pythia sat. Θρόνος in a mantic context and connected to Apollo would readily be understood as the mantic tripod, but without the context it is doubtful whether it could be so recognized. Further, how the Apolline tripod could be described as a μέγας <θρόνος> seems hard to fathom. In general, the Greeks would not have associated a throne with Apollo, but with Zeus. This is not to deny that Apollo could be given a throne (cf. Paus. 3.18.9ff), but since Holladay's argument is based on the spectator's act of association, we must admit that the audience would have been quite unlikely to see the throne as a reflection of Apollo and the mantic art.

Of equal difficulty for Holladay's thesis is the transmission of crown (βασιλικόν, no less) and sceptre in Moses' dream. This suits a king much more readily than a seer and is what Thucydides calls ἡ τοῦ σκήπτρου παράδοσις (1.9).⁶² Why then is Raguel's interpretation so skimpy on the "royal" side and perhaps more heavily weighted in the mantic area, when the opposite seems true in the dream itself? The answer is patent. The royal aspect of the dream is straightforward and simple and requires no elaborate interpretation. The mantic aspect is not so clearcut and demands more detailed attention.

Two final points on the broad implications that Holladay sees here. First, the identification of Moses with Apollo (or the replacement of the latter by the former). Ezekiel would have had no inclination to make such an identification nor would he have felt it useful or suitable vis-à-vis his pagan audience. Moses is a human being and no more. This is true both in the Bible and in the *Ἐξαγωγή*. Apollo is, of course, a god. Thus, besides Ezekiel's own feelings on the matter, his audience would probably have neither understood nor appreciated such an "identification." Finally, when Holladay speaks of Ezekiel's replacing the Delphic pronouncements with the law given at Sinai, let us remember that all evidence suggests that the *Ἐξαγωγή* did not include the revelation at Sinai nor could he have expected the pagan audience to make a mental leap from the mere mention of Sinai (if such there even is, which is doubtful) to the giving of the law at Sinai without some explicit indication of such in the play. Let us also remember that in the scene of the burning bush

(at Sinai in the Bible. Ezekiel mentions no name in our fragments) Ezekiel *leaves out* God's prophecy that the Israelites on leaving Egypt would come to that place to worship (*Exod.* 3:12). It is true, as Holladay has well noted, that the language of Moses' seerhood at 89 ὄψει τὰ τ' ὄντα τὰ τε πρὸ τοῦ τὰ θ' ὕστερον is that of the Greek mantic,⁶³ but this is merely one additional example of how freely Ezekiel floats between the Jewish and Greek traditions, for while the idiom is indeed Greek, the conception involved is, as illustrated above, solidly in the Jewish tradition.

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NOTES

*) The following abbreviations are used: Gutman = Y. Gutman, *The Beginnings of Jewish-Hellenistic Literature* vol. 2 (Jerusalem 1963; Hebrew). Jellinek = A. Jellinek, *Bet HaMidrasch* (repr. Jerusalem 1967³). LAB = *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (Ps-Philo). Wieneke = J. Wieneke, *Ezechielis Judaei poetae Alexandrini fabulae quae inscribitur Exagoge Fragmenta* (Diss. Münster 1931).

1) E. R. Goodenough, *By Light Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism* (New Haven 1935) 290. In all this he is elaborating the briefer exposition of L. Cerfaux who speaks of Moses' initiation into the astral mysteries and his participation in the power and knowledge of God. The dream, in Cerfaux' view, is nothing but the theophany of the burning bush in a different guise. See *Recueil Lucien Cerfaux* vol. 1 (Gembloux 1954) 85-88 (originally published at *Museon* 37 (1924) 54-8). Even earlier F. Momigliano, *Nuova Rassegna* 1 (1893) 313 had seen the influence of "filosofia cabalistica" here. The Cerfaux-Goodenough view has followers. J. A. Sanders, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan* IV (Oxford 1965) 62, writes of the scene in the *Exagoge*, "the Orphic god appears to Moses in a dream." This is repeated uncritically from Sanders by R. Meyer in *Josephus-Studien*, ed. O. Betz (Göttingen 1974) 296. A.-M. Denis, *Introduction aux Pseudépigraphes Grecs d'Ancien Testament* (Leiden 1970) 274 has Moses receiving "la science même de Dieu, principalement celle des astres," a sort of initiation into the astral liturgy. It is hard to see how one can get this, either directly or indirectly, from Ezekiel's text. Astral and mystical elements are much more readily seen in *Joseph and Asenath*. See H. C. Kee, *SBL 1976 Seminar Papers* (Missoula 1976) 184-6. For Philo's account of Moses' initiation into the great mysteries, see *LÀ* 3.100ff. It bears little or no similarity to the description in Ezekiel.

2) See Kern fragments 245 and 247.

3) No more than Scipio's wonderful vision of the stars and cosmos makes him master of the universe (*Cic. Rep.* 6.16-17). It is worth contrasting the pale and bare vision of Moses with the grand and elaborate

one of Scipio.

4) For a discussion of heavenly ascents in Jewish mystical texts, see M. Smith, "Observations on Hekhalot Rabbati," in *Biblical and Other Studies* (ed. A. Altman), Cambridge, Mass. 1963, 142-60.

5) Qumran texts are evidence that much of *I Enoch*, including ascents to heaven, goes back to the third century B.C. See J. T. Milik, *Books of Enoch* (Oxford 1976) and M. E. Stone, *CBQ* 40 (1978) 479-92.

6) The translation is that of R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford 1893). There are some small differences in the translation of M. A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (Oxford 1978).

7) On falling stars in dreams, see A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (Phila. 1956 = *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* n.s. vol. 46, pt. 3, 177-373) 283.

8) *Midrash Ketappuah ba'atse haya'ar* in S.A. Wertheimer, *Batei Midrashot* (Jerusalem 1968²) 1.277, sect. 2.

9) Cf. 2 *Enoch* 20.3ff. *Apoc. Abr.* 18ff has some striking similarities, including the mountain, throne, panorama of great expanses, the stars, the vision of past and future. But for all the similarities in points of detail, the complexity and elaborateness of the lengthy description in *Apoc. Abr.* make it quite distinct from Ezekiel's dream.

10) W. A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King* (Leiden 1967 = *NT Supp.* v. 14) notices parallels to the dream's content in *Daniel*, *Test. Levi* and 2 *Enoch* (148) but does not remark the even more significant differences (not to mention the differences between the *Enoch*, *Daniel* and *Test. Levi* passages themselves).

11) If Ezekiel's account of Moses' dream is consciously anti-apocalyptic, this would lend support to a date from the second half of the second century B.C. since it was only the middle of that century that saw the beginning of the flowering of apocalyptic literature.

12) Compare how Philo exploits this scene for his own mystical purposes (*Moses* 1.158-9; *Post* 14).

13) The "non-mystical" character of Ezekiel's description may be appreciated by contrasting it to Philo's observation that Moses' ascent at *Exod.* 24 is his divinization (*QE* 2.40).

14) See too Targ. Jerus. *ad Deut.* 30:12; Targ. Jon. *ad Deut.* 34:5; Targum *ad Ps.* 68:19, *Deut. Rab.* 11:4; *Koh. Rab.* 9:2; *Yalkut ad Koh.* 9:11 (sect. 989); *Mekhilta Bahodesh* 4 (*ad* 19:20), p. 217, seems to be polemic against Moses' ascension. Meeks (supra n. 10) 301 suggests that *John* 3:13 also is. On Targ. Jon. *ad Deut.* 34:5 see Meeks 191-2. See 192-5 for further examples in Rabbinic literature of Moses' ascension and coronation; also pp. 205-9.

15) *ARN*, vers. A, ch. 1. See J. Goldin in *Mordecai M. Kaplan Jubilee Volume*, ed. M. Davis (NY 1953) 279.

16) *AJ* 4.326. Note especially γέγραφε δ' αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις τεθνεῶτα, δείσας μὴ δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν ἀναχωρῆσαι τολμῆσιν εἰπεῖν.

17) *Yalkut ad Numbers* 12:7 (sect. 739). Cf. Bab. Tal. Hagigah 11b with reference to the Merkabah.

18) *Siphre Zuta (ad Numbers* 12:6).

19) I do not know whether *Wisdom* 7:18 is in any way related to this theme.

20) M. Gaster, *The Asatir* (London 1927) 303 remarks that in the Samaritan story of the death of Moses (*Ibid.* 319) the description of Moses lifted up and beholding "the whole world, as it were, under his feet, is strongly reminiscent of the wonderful vision of the Hellenist poet Ezekiel." In truth, it is not and may shed more light by its contrast to Ezekiel. I note with puzzlement that J. D. Purvis (in *Studies in the Testament of Moses*, ed. G. W. E. Nickelsburg, Jr (Cambridge Mass. 1973) 98 n. 10) makes the same observation as Gaster when speaking of the episode in *Memar Marqah*. But as he himself notes, indeed with reference to Gaster's edition of the "Death of Moses", the latter is basically an abridgement of *Memar Marqah* 5.2-3. Yet, he gives no indication he is merely repeating Gaster's old view.

21) One might object that since in the *Exagoge* Moses is at this point of the play not yet God's prophet, there could not be a direct encounter between him and God, certainly not a genuine ascension with the revelation of the mysteries of the universe. But Ezekiel could have deferred the ascension and revelation till later in the play and thereby given Moses a real ascension, while presenting here a mere omen to forecast Moses' later role as king and seer. That he did not do so but rather cast it all as a dream suggests he had an ulterior motive.

22) Thus, B. Snell, *Szenen aus griechischen Dramen* (Berlin 1971) 179 writes, "ein edler Mann (d.h. Gott)." Meeks (supra n. 10) 148, "Can be no other than God himself."

23) Cf. too M. Hadas, *Hellenistic Culture* (New York 1959) 99, "a royal personage."

24) But Gutman's association of Enoch with Mount Sinai on the basis of *Jub.* 4:25-6 is not admissable.

25) This goes back to the three "men" (angels) who appear to Abraham in *Genesis* 18. The following passages in pseudepigraphic texts refer to divine agents as men, *2 Enoch* 1, *Joseph and Asenath* 14.4ff, *Apoc. Abr.* 10.

26) K. Kuiper, *Mnemosyne* n.s. 28 (1900) 251 and at much greater length *RSA* 8 (1904) 79-87.

27) Cf. D. A. Schlatter, *Geschichte Israels von Alexander dem Grossen bis Hadrian* (Stuttgart 1925³) 215, who argued that Ezekiel's θεῶς λόγος was a reflection of popular Stoic beliefs.

28) G. B. Girardi, *Di un Drama Greco-Giudaico nell'Età Alessandrina* (Venice 1902) 11 had already argued against the view that the phrase proved that Ezekiel was either Christian or from the Christian era. He concluded that λόγος here meant "speech."

29) Supra n. 1, 290f.

30) Supra n. 10, 156f.

31) There is no reason to believe that λόγος θεῶς in the Orphic text 245K and in its Aristobulean version 247K means anything other than "the word of God." At any rate, the difficulties in dating these texts and sorting out the layers of interpolation are enormous. For a thorough discussion of these problems, see N. Walter, *Der Thoraausleger Aristobulos* (Berlin 1964) 202-261. Goodenough's treatment of these texts in *By Light Light* totally ignores all the critical questions of dating, strata of interpolation, etc. Walter seems not to know either Goodenough's

discussion or Gutman's lengthy study of Aristobulos in his *Beginnings* vol. I (Jerusalem 1958) 186-220. The text at Eus. *PE* 667a-668b may provide evidence that Aristobulos identified Wisdom/Light with the Logos, but it is not sufficiently clear.

32) On ῥῆμα, see E. Repo, *Der Begriff 'Rhema'* (2 parts, Helsinki 1951 and 1954).

33) E.g., Pindar *P.* 4.59, Plato *Phaedr.* 275b.

34) See S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (New York 1942) 165-7.

35) The matter is of course further complicated by the question of the audience for whom Philo intended this work.

36) In the phrase εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας at *Orph.* 245 Kern εἰς... βλέψας is to be taken, I imagine, in the sense "attend to" "have regard for." λόγος θεῖος presumably means simply "word of God."

37) One must however remember that Philo was capable of describing the Logos in material terms. Thus, it has spatial extension at *Plant.* 9. At *Cher.* 30 λόγος is hot and fiery (cf. νοῦς at *Fuga* 134). Thus, we should be wary of demanding from Philo strict consistency of language here.

38) He might perhaps have cited *Quis Heres* 264, φῶς τὸ θεῖον ἐπιλάμπη. But cf. *TGF*², adesp. fg. 500, Δίκας δ' ἐξέλαμψε θεῖον φάος.

39) Cf. too Aeschylus' κτύπον δέδορκα (*Sept.* 103). On the use of such sound/sight "mixed metaphors" in Greek poetry, see W. B. Stanford, *Greek Metaphor* (Oxford 1936) 47-59.

40) More simply at *Acts* 7:31 ἐγένετο φωνὴ κυρίου and at Artapanus (*PE* 9.434c) φωνὴ θεία εἶπε.

41) Cf. Aristobulos (*PE* 13.664).

42) *LAB* 37.3, speaking of the bush episode, writes: *veritas illuminabat Moysen per sententiam.*

43) *Mekhilta deRashbi*, p. 154 (Epstein).

44) See too *Decal.* 46-7, *Migr. Abr.* 47.

45) Gutman's association (49-50) of Ezekiel's θεῖος λόγος with the hypostasized Wisdom (σοφία) of *Wisdom of Solomon* seems to lack all foundation. The "parallels" that he brings with reference to the Logos, the plague and the conflict between Jewish and Egyptian wisdom simply have nothing to do with the bush-scene in the *Exagoge*. Nor do they seem to be relevant to anything else in the play.

46) It is instructive to observe that A. F. Dähne, *Geschichtliche Darstellung der jüdisch-alexandrinischen Religions-Philosophie* vol. 2 (Halle 1834), has a brief discussion of Ezekiel's religious thought (200, n. 157) which clearly indicates that it never occurred to him - nor would he have tolerated the view - that Ezekiel was here delving into the Philonic mysteries of the Logos.

47) For auditory divine revelations one may compare *Apoc. Abr.* chapters 8 and 9.

48) But contrast the view of O. Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus* (Oxford 1977) 116, n. 1. See too W. M. Calder III, *CP* 60 (1965) 114-116.

49) *Deut. Rabbah* 11.3; *Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer* 32; cf. *Midrash Hagadol ad Gen.* 35:9.

50) *Op. cit.* (supra n. 1) 339.

51) Is this related to the statement at Philo *Quis Heres* 78?

52) *Midrash Hagadol ad Gen.* 1:7.

53) The only Rabbinic text I know that offers such an etymology is *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah* ch. 27, pp. 138-9 (Friedmann).

54) See E. Sachsse, *ZAW* 34 (1914) 1-15, especially 2-3; Goodenough (supra n. 1) 310, 329; and more recently, J. Z. Smith in *Religions in Antiquity* ed. J. Neusner (Leiden 1968) 265-68, with notes and J. Cohen-Yashar, *Tarbiz* 34 (1965) 342 and 40 (1971) 285-92.

55) E.g., *Leg. All.* 3.38, 172, 186; *Legat. Gai.* 4.

56) See e.g., *Conf. Ling.* 92; *Mut. Nom.* 2ff; *Fraem. et Poen.* 44; *QE* 2.37. Cf. Aristobulos *loc. cit.* 11ff.

57) Though one wonders how far to press $\theta\nu\eta\tau\acute{o}\nu\ \gamma\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha$ as a qualification of this.

58) See too J. Daniélou, *Gospel Message and Hellenistic Culture* (London 1973) 325-26 who treats $\acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ of God in Jewish and Christian texts, within the context of his discussion of the significant influence of Hellenistic Judaism on the development of the theology of God's transcendence. It is of course possible that no general theological implications should be drawn from this text and that Ezekiel is merely rationalizing his unwillingness to present God on stage.

59) C. R. Holladay in *SBL 1976 Seminar Papers* (Missoula 1976) 447-52.

60) D. L. Page *ad Euripides Medea* 274.

61) Witness the parallelism at *Ps.* 2:10. Cf. *Sirach* 10:1. We recall Absalom's tactics and their implications at *2 Sam* 15:2-6.

62) Holladay (448, bottom) seems aware of the difficulty but somehow completely skirts it.

63) E.g., *Iliad* 1.70; *Verg. Georg.* 4.392-3. Note the interesting adaptation of the motif to an Epicurean context by Metrodorus (fg. 37 Koerte) and to a Christian context by Clement (*Strom.* 6.61.2).

CICERO'S STYLE FOR RELATING MEMORABLE SAYINGS

H. C. GOTOFF

In an analysis of Cicero's *Pro Archia* ¹⁾ I noted a similarity of construction in the following three periods and described it as an anecdotal style:

atque is [Alexander] tamen, cum in Sigeo ad Achillis tumulum astitisset, "O fortunate," inquit, "adulescens, qui tuae virtutis Homerum praeconem inveneris". (x.24)

Themistoclem illum, summum Athenis virum, dixisse aiunt, cum ex eo quaereretur quod acroama aut cuius vocem libentissime audiret: eius, a quo sua virtus optime praedicaretur.²⁾ (ix.20)

quem [Sullam] nos in contione vidimus, cum ei libellum malus poeta de populo subiecisset, quod epigramma in eum fecisset tantum modo alternis versibus longiusculis, statim ex eis rebus, quae tum vendebat, iubere ei praemium tribui, sed ea condicione, ne quid postea scriberet. (x.25)

Further study has shown that the label "anecdotal" is inadequate, because too broad. The many hundreds of anecdotes in the corpus of Cicero cannot usefully be reduced to a structural formula, however flexible. The similarities in the syntax and movement of the above passages are, nevertheless, remarkable and reflect a practice frequently repeated, with variation, by Cicero.

The passages just quoted have in common the narration of a situation culminating with a memorable saying. It is clear that the ancients considered it both educational and entertaining to record the well-turned phrases of people whose occasional remarks reflect an improving attitude or exemplify, in their pith and elegance, a point in question. The history of the apophthegm has been thoroughly researched by Wilhelm Gemoll,³⁾ who demonstrates, *inter alia*, the attraction of the subgenre in many cultures throughout Western and Near Eastern history. He does not, however, treat it specifically as a

literary figure,⁴⁾ though he once mentions that the "classic" form of the apophthegm is ἐρωτηθεὶς εἶπε. Such a statement is far too limited. In many instances, an *obiter dictum* is cited simply with the attribution of its author, though such a presentation is not the concern of this paper. The formula which Gemoll refers to as classic, a straightforward repartee of question and answer, or thrust and parry, is indeed popular. But frequently the narrator seems to feel that a more detailed description of the circumstances is essential to convey the full pith of the dictum. This further embellishment of the context is found both with simple dicta, as in the Alexander and Sulla anecdotes above, and with responses to the questions or comments of others. We are now in the area of fully articulated anecdotes, or vignettes, capped by memorable sayings.

Cicero's usual formula for presenting such vignettes is a construction that begins with the identification of the speaker who produces the bon mot and ends with his dictum. Between these two elements is bracketed all the circumstantial information necessary for understanding the occasion and appositeness of the remark. This technique of bracketing makes the construction invariably periodic; the effect of limiting the description of the context to the space between the two elements is to create by hyperbaton a period that is circular, concise, and often highly intricate.⁵⁾ While the form that Cicero prefers seems an obvious choice - Cicero has a way of making his most complex constructions appear obvious - we might keep in mind alternatives that could appear equally appropriate. When the author of the *ad Herennium*, our earliest Roman authority on rhetoric, addressed himself to the style of anecdotes, he recommended the plain style of simple sentences in paratactic relationship.⁶⁾ Similarly, an informal *eiromene* style suits the telling of a vignette, allowing for the subordination of minor circumstances while avoiding the artificiality of periodic structure.⁷⁾ Again, even if periodic construction is chosen for the subordination of the incidental circumstances necessary for the context of the dictum, a more fully interwoven structure might offer a more leisurely,

better balanced distribution of the material. If the Ciceronian formula can be expressed by S C D (S = speaker, C = circumstance(s), D = dictum), there might still be occasion for a C¹ S C² D, or C¹ C² S D structure that would also have the effect of suspending the dictum to the end of the period.⁸⁾ Yet, from the *pro Archia*, the *Tusculan Disputations*, the *de Senectute* and a random check of other works, there emerges only one unquestionable example of C¹ S C² D:

tamen huic [Ulixi] leviter gementi illi ipsi qui ferunt
 saucium personae gravitatem intuentes non dubitant dicere:
 "tu quoque Ulixes, quamquam graviter
 cernimus ictum, nimis paene animo es
 molli, qui consuetus in armis
 aevum agere." (Tusc. II 49)

The introduction of a relative clause and a participial phrase creates a significant hyperbaton and may have persuaded Cicero to exclude the dative participial phrase from the bracket between subject and dictum. Examination of other, similar constructions, however, suggests that Cicero would find it little more awkward to include three circumstantial elements than two.⁹⁾

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Before presenting and discussing some examples of the Ciceronian formula, a word may be said about the history of the form. Unfortunately, the largest collections and repositories of apophthegms post-date Cicero, e.g. [Plutarch] *Regum et Imperatorum Apophthegmata*, *Apophthegmata Laconica*,¹⁰⁾ and Diogenes Laertius and, in Latin, Valerius Maximus. Some such collections existed in Cicero's day, but they have perished.¹¹⁾ As a result, while we are certain that the recording of apophthegms was popular before Cicero, our knowledge of the form(s) they took is seriously limited. It is also to be remarked that the incorporation of such anecdotes in a Ciceronian narrative may create stylistic demands unimportant in the listing of discreet quotations.¹²⁾

An early example of an apophthegm set in an anecdote appears at Thuc. iv., 40, 2:

ἀπιστοῦντές τε μὴ εἶναι τοὺς παραδόντας τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν ὁμοίους, καὶ τινος ἐρομένου ποτὲ ὕστερον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμάχων δι' ἀχθηδόνα ἕνα τῶν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου αἰχμαλώτων εἰ οἱ τεθνεῶτες αὐτῶν καλοὶ κάγαθοί, ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ πολλοῦ ἂν ἄξιον εἶναι τὸν ἄτρακτον, λέγων τὸν οἰστὸν, εἰ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς διεγίγνωσκε (δήλωσιν ποιούμενος ὅτι ὁ ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς τε λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι διεφθείρετο).

From the genitive absolute to the second conditional clause, the anecdote is told in a self-sufficient periodic construction including a good amount of circumstantial detail. It is also in the form of repartee. The explanatory phrase at the end can also be paralleled in Cicero.¹³⁾ Whereas, however, it is Cicero's practice to begin the anecdote with the speaker, Thucydides, in his own special way, forces the reader to extract the subject from the anacolouthon with which he begins.

In *Mem.* III 13, 1, Xenophon relates a number of anecdotes about Socrates, only one of which uses the formula under discussion:

ὀργιζομένου δέ ποτέ τινος ὅτι προσειπὼν τινα χαίρειν οὐκ ἀντιπροσερρήθη, Γελοῖον, ἔφη, τὸ εἶ μὲν τὸ σῶμα κάκιον ἔχοντι ἀπήνησάς τῳ, μὴ ἂν ὀργίζεσθαι, ὅτι δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀγροικότερως διακειμένῳ περιέτυχες, τοῦτό σε λυπεῖν.

The omission of the speaker in the body of the period is explained by Xenophon's prefatory remark that the apophthegms belong to Socrates. This accounts for the frequent recurrence of the same phenomenon in [Plutarch], where a number of apophthegms are often listed under the same author. For whatever reason it comes about, however, the difference is felt; the period, rather than being made circular by the bracketing of the speaker and dictum, is bipartite, of an interlocutory type. In Cicero, the anecdote is typically integrated into the larger context; and in cases where the speaker is already identified in an earlier sentence, the anecdote is usually contained in a semi-independent relative clause.¹⁴⁾ The other apophthegms attributed to Socrates by Xenophon are narrated in a more discursive form, with no attempt at periodicity or concision.

In *Hellenica* II, 3, 56, Xenophon tells two stories about Theramenes illustrative of his ability to maintain his wit in adversity. The second, which is also found in Cicero, will be dealt with below; the first is as follows:

οἱ δ' ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μάλα μεγάλην τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα οἷα ἔπασχε. λέγεται δὲ ἔν ῥῆμα καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ. ὡς εἶπεν Σάτυρος ὅτι οἰμῶξοιτο εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν, ἐπήρετο, "Ἄν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρ', ἔφη, οἰμῶξομαι;

Cicero would more likely have cast the anecdote in a single, concise period, e.g.: Theramenes, when they were dragging him shouting..., responded to Satyrus, (who was) threatening..., "and if I do shut up...."

Two anecdotes that turn on memorable sayings are found at the beginning of Plato's *Republic*. One of them is also reported by Herodotus. Though I reserve discussion until later in the paper (p. 307) because

Cicero narrates both stories, it may be said that Plato uses the S C D structure for one anecdote, two independent sentences for the other. Herodotus employs his distinctive, non-periodic style. Thus, though in the following section I present a number of variations, the basic form from which they derive is not just discernible but far from inevitable.¹⁵⁾

*

In its simplest form, with one subordinate element separating the speaker from his words, the Ciceronian construction appears at *Tusc.* V. 117:

Theodorus Lysimacho mortem munitanti, "Magnum vero",
inquit, "effecisti, si cantharidis vim consecutus es."

This is followed immediately (118) by another illustration of an unemotional attitude towards death. Here, the construction becomes more complex, as the circumstantial element that creates hyperbaton itself governs another subordinate element, thus extending the gap:

Paulus Persi deprecanti ne in triumpho duceretur, "Id
tua in potestate est".

In both cases the preference for a participial phrase over a clause with a finite verb increases concision.¹⁶⁾ The absence of a verb introducing the quotation is without parallel in Cicero, so far as I know.¹⁷⁾

One further level of intricacy is added in the following anecdote, in which the clause dependent on the participle in turn governs a second clause:

at vero Diogenes liberius, ut Cynicus, Alexandro roganti
ut diceret siquid opus esset, "Nunc quidem paululum",
inquit, "a sole". (*Tusc.* V. 92)

In the next example, a touch of elegance is added by bracketing a relative clause dependent on the construction complementary to the participle, thus creating a significant hyperbaton:

an Lacedaemonii, Philippo munitante per litteras se omnia
quae conarentur prohibitorium, quaesiverunt num se esset
iam mori prohibiturus. (*Tusc.* V. 42)¹⁸⁾

The suspension of *prohibiturum* allows Cicero to balance the complex participial construction and the complex predicate by polyptoton. The inclusion of the prepositional phrase *per litteras*, an added bit of narrative detail (like *ut Cynicus*, above) that is not, strictly speaking, necessary to the anecdote, contributes to the texture of this style: though structurally tight and concise, the form allows for a fullness of detail and circumstances. While indirect statement is syntactically better integrated into the period, it is not clear that the direct articulation is any more

emphatic.¹⁹⁾

Often, a full *cum* clause replaces the participial phrase:

bene Sophocles, cum ex eo quidam iam affecto aetate
quaereret utereturne rebus veneriis, "Di meliora;"
inquit, "libenter vero istinc sicut ab domino agresti
ac furioso perfugi". (De Sen. 47)²⁰⁾

Though in this case the phrase *affecto aetate* would have made a dative participial phrase awkward, the general effect of the *cum* clause is a more leisurely statement.

e quibus [Lacedaemoniis] unus, cum Perses hostis in
colloquio dixisset glorians, "solem prae iaculorum
multitudine et sagittarum non videbitis", "In umbra
igitur," inquit, "pugnabimus." (Tusc. I. 101)

This may be compared with the anecdote concerning Q. Fabius Maximus:

cum quidem me audiente Salinatori, qui amisso oppido
fuerat in arce, glorianti atque ita dicenti, "Mea
opera, Fabi, Tarentum recepisti", "Certe," inquit
ridens, "nam nisi amisisses, numquam recepissem."
(de Sen. 11)

In a story so fully detailed, the compendious participial phrase is obviously preferred. The speaker, and subject of *inquit*, had been identified in the governing clause.²¹⁾

A narrative variation on this anecdotal style is to relate the story in indirect discourse, after a verb like *ferunt*:

Asclepiadem ferunt, non ignobilem Eretricum philosophum,
cum quidam quaereret, quid ei caecitas attulisset,
respondisse, puero ut uno esset comitator. (Tusc. V. 113)

Socraten ferunt, cum usque ad vesperum contentius am-
bularet quaesitumque esset ex eo quare id faceret,
respondisse se, quo melius cenaret, obsonare ambulando
famem. (Tusc. V. 97)

Timotheum, clarum hominem Athenis et principem civi-
tatis, ferunt, cum cenavisset apud Platonem eoque
convivio admodum delectatus esset vidissetque eum
postridie, dixisse, "Vestrae quidem cenae non solum
in praesentia, sed etiam postero die iucundae sunt."
(Tusc. V. 100)

ut Themistocles fertur Seriphio cuidam in iurgio respondisse,
cum ille dixisset eum non sua sed patriae gloria
splendorem assecutum, "Nec hercule," inquit, "si ego
Seriphius essem, nec tu si Atheniensis clarus umquam
fuisses". (de Sen. 8)

This anecdote, for which there are Greek antecedents, will be further discussed below. The construction, *ut fertur respondisse*, "... inquit, which seems unexceptionable, is very rare.

The overall effect of the pattern here noticed is of

concision and swift movement. The anecdote is often part of a sustained argument or its climax. Frequently, the presentation of the anecdote is attached to what precedes by use of the semi-independent relative. The effect is a close, tight connection to the previous sentence, a smooth flow, and a sense that the anecdote offers easily adduced and obviously cogent support for the point at hand.

[Gorgias] qui, cum ex eo quaereretur cur tam diu vellet esse in vita, "Nihil habeo", inquit, "quod accusem senectutem". (*de Sen.* 13)

[Anaxagoras] qui cum Lampsaci moreretur, quaerentibus amicis velletne Clazomenas in patriam, si quid accidisset, auferri, "Nihil necesse est;" inquit, "undique enim ad inferos tantundem viae est". (*Tusc.* I. 104)

[Archytas] qui cum vilico factus est iratior, "Quo te modo", inquit, "accepissem, nisi iratus essem". (*Tusc.* IV. 78)

[Lacaena] quae, cum filium in proelium misisset et interfectum audisset, "Idcirco", inquit, "genueram, ut esset qui pro patria mortem non dubitaret occumbere". (*Tusc.* I. 102)

[Anaxagoras] quem ferunt, nuntiata morte filii, dixisse, "Sciebam me genuisse mortalem". (*Tusc.* III. 30)

[Lacon] qui, cum Rhodius Diagoras Olympionices nobilis uno die duo suos filios victores Olympiae vidisset, accessit ad senem et gratulatus, "Morere Diagora;" inquit, "non enim in caelum ascensurus es". (*Tusc.* I. 111)²²⁾

[Lacon] qui, glorianti cuidam mercatori quod multas navis in omnem oram maritimam demisisset, "Non sane optabilis quidem ista", inquit, "rudentibus apta fortuna". (*Tusc.* V. 40)²³⁾

The same anecdote is told by [Plutarch], *Apophth. Lac.* 234; the wealthy man is named. It will be noted that, though [Plutarch] tells this, and most other anecdotes, in a periodic sentence, an interlocutory construction (Speaker A: Speaker B) is preferred to Cicero's formula:

πρὸς δὲ τὸν μακαρίζοντα Λάμπιν τὸν Αἰγινήτην
διότι ἐδόκει πλουσιώτατος εἶναι ναυκλήρια πολλὰ
ἔχων, Λάκων εἶπεν, Οὐ προσέχω εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἐκ
σχοινίων ἀπηρημένῃ.

The final variation of the formula to be presented is in some ways the most major in that it seems to work against the goal of concision in relating such anecdotes. There are four examples of anecdotes featuring memorable sayings which, though conforming to the structural pattern of S C D, introduce a second verb into the main predicate.

[Lacon] qui, cum Rhodius Diagoras Olympionices nobilis uno die duo suos filios victores Olympiae vidisset, accessit ad senem et gratulatus, "Morere Diagora;" inquit, "non enim in caelum ascensurus es". (*Tusc.* I. 111)

Except as an example of the comparatively rare usage of a compound predicate in this formula, the passage is unexceptionable. Cicero might have gotten around the first verb in a number of ways (not least of all by merely omitting it), but its presence does not detract from the movement of the story, and perhaps enhances it.

noctu ambulabat in publico Themistocles quod somnum capere non posset quaerentibusque respondebat Miltiadis tropaeis se a somno suscitari. (*Tusc.* IV. 44)

The construction of this anecdote separates it substantially from the pattern under discussion. Cicero might easily have written: *Themistocles quaerentibus quare noctu ambularet in publico nec somnum capere posset respondebat...* It may be enough to say that there is no reason why he should adhere monolithically to his own formula, as indeed he does not. The story of Socrates' nocturnal perambulations might suggest a different articulation, one within the pattern.²⁴⁾ But there the emphasis is different; and neither that structure nor the one I suggested adequately brings out the point of the anecdote. Cicero is at *Tusc.* IV. 43ff. discussing the drives (*libidines, cupiditates*) that spur men to excellence of achievement. Themistocles imagined his dreams for the glory of Athens to be endangered by the complaisance symbolized by the monuments to Marathon. The frustration stimulates his insomnia as surely as the inquiry triggers his remark, and more pointedly. This was imperfectly understood by Kühner: *negari non potest haec verba [quod]... posset aptiorem locum post v. respondebat occupatura esse.*²⁵⁾ [Theramenes]

qui cum coniectus in carcerem triginta iussu tyrannorum venenum ut sitiens obduxisset, reliquum sic e poculo eiecit ut id resonaret; quo sonitu reddito adridens, "Propino," inquit, "hoc pulchro Critiae". (*Tusc.* I. 96)

The story is told by Xenophon (*Hell.* ii. 3. 56), not necessarily Cicero's model:

καὶ ἐπεὶ γε ἀποθνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον ἔπιε, τὸ λειπόμενον ἔφασαν ἀποκοιταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν αὐτόν, Κριτία τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ.

By his use of the word *propino*, Cicero has given the impression that he does not understand the ritual alluded to, or that he confuses the two distinct practices, both associated with drinking parties.²⁶⁾ His articulation of the anecdote clearly indicates that he understands the game of

cottabus, which depends on the sound produced by the wine as it is dashed against a metal basin. Cicero makes no attempt to restrict the anecdote to a single period, partly, perhaps, because he felt that the Greek practice needed detailed description. On the other hand, not only is Cicero's account fuller and more vivid than the Greek (*ut sitiens obduxisset*),²⁷ it is more dramatic. Though the imperfect subjunctive in the consecutive clause leaves it ambiguous whether the result was intended or actual, *quo sonitu reddito adridens* shows that Theramenes was reminded of the game by the sound. Thus Cicero records a sequence and an irony that was not in Xenophon, at least; and that requires the fuller construction.

It is clear that no formula for syntactic structure will outweigh considerations of context and emphasis in determining articulation.

ut Theophrastus interitum deplorans Callisthenis sodalis
sui rebus Alexandri prosperis angitur itaque dixit Cal-
listhenem incidisse in hominem summa potentia summaque
fortuna, sed ignarum quemadmodum rebus secundis uti con-
veniret. (Tusc. III. 21)

The point at issue is that *res secundae* may occasion *dolor* no less than *res adversae*; the circumstance that occasions the dictum is Theophrastus' complex and paradoxical feeling. Though both propositions might have been subordinated to the dictum, emphasis demands that his conventional grief at the misfortune of his friend be subordinated to his more surprising distress at the good fortune of Alexander. Yet, this is not a case where the dictum caps or underlines what leads up to it. The dictum itself is highly rhetorical: the close parallelism of the two descriptive ablatives is subordinated to the expansion of the third member. The dictum is not, however, a restatement in epigrammatical form of the paradox of which Cicero is speaking.

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Once the structure of the anecdote is established, the dictum itself can be expressed in a variety of forms. Most common, perhaps, is a terse, epigrammatic, elegant expression that just misses the ability to stand on its own without reference to context. Such sayings, of general or universal application, come under the heading of maxims and will be mentioned later.

As the anecdote of Themistocles and the Seriphian indicates, the dictum, so long as it is elegantly expressed, need not be terse. So:

Cyrenaenum Theodorum...nonne miramur? cui cum Lysimachus
rex crucem minaretur, "Istis, quaeso", inquit, "horribilia

minutare purpuratis tuis; Theodori quidem nihil interest humine an sublime putescat". (*Tusc.* I. 102)

The antithesis is disposed over two sentences in asyndeton; *istis* and *Theodori* are the lead words of their respective sentences; each sentence ends with a favored cadence (double cretic// cretic+trochee).

From the depths of his agony, Dionysius of Heraclea manages an elegant, perhaps characteristic syllogistic response after a formulaic introduction to the anecdote:

quem cum Cleanthes condiscipulus rogaret quaenam ratio eum de sententia deduxisset, respondit, "Quia si cum tantum operae philosophiae dedissem, dolorem tamen ferre non possem, satis esset argumenti malum esse dolorem. plurimos tamen annos in philosophia consumpsi nec ferre possum: malum est igitur dolor". (*Tusc.* II. 60)

Within the formulaic construction, Socrates manages to be informal and colloquial:

cum enim de immortalitate animorum disputavisset et iam moriendi tempus urgeret, rogatus a Critone quemadmodum sepeliri vellet, "Multam vero", inquit, "operam, amici, frustra consumpsi; Critoni enim nostro non persuasi me hinc avolaturum nec mei quicquam relicturum. verum tamen, Crito, si me adsequi potueris aut sicubi nactus eris, ut tibi videbitur, sepelito. sed mihi crede, nemo me vestrum, cum hinc excessero, consequetur". (*Tusc.* I. 103)

In the same passage, Cicero relates two other anecdotes revealing the attitudes of individuals on the disposition of the body after death. The Anaxagoras story is told in the classic form:

praeclare Anaxagoras, qui cum Lampsaci moreretur, quarentibus amicis velletne Clazomenas in patriam, si quid accidisset, auferri, "Nihil necesse est;" inquit, "undique enim ad inferos tantundem viae est".

The polish and concision of the formula would not, apparently, do to convey the acid personality of Diogenes, whose story immediately follows the Socrates anecdote and contrasts with its gentleness. The structure is entirely different:

durior Diogenes, et is quidem eadem sentiens, sed ut Cynicus asperius: proici se iussit inhumatum. tum amici: "Volucribusne et feris?" "Minime vero," inquit, "sed bacillum propter me quo abigam ponitote". "Qui poteris?", illi, "non enim senties". "quid igitur mihi ferarum laniatus oberit non sentienti?"²⁸

The colloquial, paratactic exchange fully brings out the impatience and contempt of Diogenes for his solicitous friends.

De Senectute 25 provides another example of an anecdote ending in a

handsome antithesis, this time from the unlikely mouth of a farmer:

nec vero dubitat agricola, quamvis sit senex, quarenti cui serat respondere, "Dis immortalibus, qui me non accipere modo haec a maioribus voluerunt, sed etiam posteris prodere".

The sentiment is found in the *Synephebi* of Caecilius Statius, as cited by Cicero both in this context, *de Sen.* 24, and at *Tusc.* I. 31. In neither place - and this is true in general for citations from literature as opposed to bon mots - does Cicero use the anecdotal formula or give circumstantial detail. When, however, the subject of an anecdote quotes an author as part of the vignette, Cicero generally uses the classic S C D formula:

tamen is [Appius Claudius], cum sententia senatus inclinaret ad pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque faciendum, non dubitavit dicere illa quae versibus persecutus est Ennius:

quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant
antehac, dementes sese flexere viai? (*de Sen.* 16)

tum Cleanthem, cum pede terram percussisset, versum ex Epigonis ferunt dixisse:

audisne haec, Amphiaræ, sub terram abdite?
(*Tusc.* II. 60)

The bon mot of Cyrus on the point of death is told at *de Senectute* 30 in the circular formula, though it is not quite clear whether the circumstances describe the situation or the source (*Cyropaedia* 8. 7, 6) or both:

Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo sermone quem moriens habuit, cum admodum senex esset, negat se umquam sensisse senectutem suam imbecilliolem factam quam adolescentia fuisset.

When the citation, whether prose or poetry, is not incorporated into a vignette, its introduction does not typically resemble the formula for introducing apophthegms, e.g., the translation of the *Apology* (*Tusc.* I. 97-99); of Xen. *Oecon.* 4, 20-25 (*de Sen.* 59); or the mention of Africanus quoting Xenophon at *Tusc.* II. 62.

At *Tusc.* III. 29-30 Cicero argues that mortality is a foregone conclusion and one that should cause neither shock nor excessive disappointment. He first cites some lines of an earlier Latin poet (Ennius *Telem.* sc. 312) with the words: *Ex hoc et illa iure laudantur*. Next, he quotes some lines of Euripides, in his own translation; and finally, a brief anecdote about Anaxagoras (see p. 300). It is remarkable that in section 58 of the same book Cicero can refer back to these three passages in abbreviated form. This time the apophthegm of Anaxagoras is given without

context:

atque hoc idem et Telemo ille declarat, "ego cum genui...", et Theseus, "futuras mecum commentabar miserias" et Anaxagoras, "sciebam me genuisse mortalem".

*

As a further insight into Cicero as a stylist - the purpose and justification for a study such as this one - we are fortunate to have a single apophthegm related in three different works. While it may in general be said that Cicero's articulation of the apophthegm itself is dictated by stylistic concern for brevity, variety, point, and the like, content and intention may, on the other hand, have a great deal to do with the wording of the dictum.

At *De Oratore* II, 299, Themistocles' paradoxical dictum is cited as a surprising reflection on its author's prodigious powers of memory but should not dissuade others from trying to improve theirs:

[Themistocles] ad quem quidam doctus homo atque in primis eruditus accessisse dicitur eique artem memoriae, quae tum primum proferebatur, pollicitus esse se traditurum; cum ille quaesisset quidnam illa ars efficere posset, dixisse illum doctorem ut omnia meminisset; et ei Themistoclem respondisse gratius sibi illum esse facturum si se oblivisci quae vellet quam si meminisse docuisset.

At *Acad.* II. 1. 2, Lucullus' memory is compared, to advantage, with that of Themistocles:

qui quidem etiam pollicenti cuidam se artem ei memoriae quae tum proferebatur traditurum respondisse dicitur oblivisci se malle discere.

At *De Fin.* II. 32. 104, the subject is not memory but the grief and the ability to endure it:

Themistocles quidem, cum ei Simonides an alius artem memoriae polliceretur, "oblivionis", inquit, "mallem; nam meminere etiam quae nolo; oblivisci non possum quae volo."

The first story is special in several respects. It does not cap or even support a philosophical argument, but rather presents an attitude towards the achievement of an ideal which, while interesting and comprehensible in itself, should *not* be used as a guide by the aspiring student. Antonius adduces the story as an equally invalid parallel to Crassus' contention that certain kinds of caution and circumspection in an orator are a vice, rather than a virtue. The place of the anecdote in the economy of Antonius' argument is different from that of the stories under discussion, all of which punctuate their arguments. The structure

of the anecdote is neither concise nor periodic; a fuller dialogue form permits Themistocles to set Simonides up for his devastating snub.

The *laus Luculli* incorporates the Themistocles anecdote as a brief, epigrammatic characterization of the man with whom Lucullus is being compared. The form is S C D. The third anecdote is fraught with almost tragic irony, suggesting, in a discussion about tolerating grief, the disadvantages of a superior memory. The antithesis is neither amusing nor elegant, but poignant. Therefore, though this is the one instance where Simonides is named, the circumstantial detail is most limited and the balanced antithesis is given full weight after the stark genitive, *oblivionis*.

*

While Cicero's clear intention is to relate anecdotes that turn on clever or improving dicta in a single structural breath, the form of which may be analysed as S C D, it would be absurd to believe that a stylist would handcuff himself to a formula. The following structures reject the formula altogether:

Curio ad focum sedenti magnum auri pondus Samnites
cum attulissent, repudiati sunt; non enim aurum
habere praeclarum sibi videri dixit, sed eis qui
haberent aurum imperari. (*de Sen.* 55)

Here again, the circumstances do not culminate in the apophthegm. Rather, the dictum, like the main verb and the initially placed dative phrase, illustrates the *hominis contentia vel temporum disciplina*.

animus advertit Gracchus in contione Pisonem stan-
tem; quaerit audiente populo Romano, qui sibi
constet, cum ea lege frumentum petat, quam dissua-
serit. "Nolim," inquit, "mea bona, Gracchi, tibi
viritim dividere libeat, sed, si facias, partem
petam." (*Tusc.* III. 48)

This and the following examples do not fall into the category of anecdotes culminating with dicta, bon mots, or apophthegms, but merely of stories containing *oratio recta*:

Xenocrates, cum legati ab Alexandro quinquaginta
ei talenta attulissent, quae erat pecunia tempo-
ribus illis, Athenis praesertim, maxima, abduxit
legatos ad cenam in Academiam; iis apposuit tantum,
quod satis esset, nullo apparatu. cum postridie
rogarent eum, cui numerari iuberet, "Quid? vos hes-
terna", inquit, "cenacula non intellexistis me
pecunia non egere?" (*Tusc.* V. 91)

On the other hand, in some cases where the whole anecdote could not be restricted to a single period, the end of the story, with a dictum, is

constructed in the S C D form:

tum Lysandrum intuentem purpuram eius et nitorem corporis ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis dixisse, "Rite vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuae fortuna coniuncta est".

(*de Sen.* 59)

tum senex dicitur eam fabulam quam in manibus habebat et proxime scripserat, Oedipum Coloneum, recitasse iudicibus quaesisseque num illud carmen desipientis videretur.

(*de Sen.* 22)

*

The formula Cicero favors for relating anecdotes culminating in apophthegms has, I hope, been established. Before expanding on suggestions already offered on the place and function of such anecdotes in Cicero, I shall compare Cicero's preferred construction to the treatment of two of the same stories by Classical Greek authors. Cephalus, at the opening of Plato's *Republic*, defends his attitudes by referring to responses of Sophocles and Themistocles to analogous circumstances:

Σοφοκλεῖ ποτε τῷ ποιητῇ παρεγενόμενην ἐρωτωμένῳ ὑπὸ τίνος, Πῶς, ἔφη, ὦ Σοφόκλεις, ἔχεις πρὸς τάφροδίσια; ἔτι οἷός τε εἶ γυναικί συγγίγνεσθαι; καὶ ὃς, Εὐφήμει, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνθρωπε· ἀσμενέστατα μέντοι αὐτὸ ἀπέφυγον, ὥσπερ λυττῶντά τινα καὶ ἄγριον δεσπότην ἀποδράς.

ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους εὔχει, ὃς τῷ Σερίφιῳ λοιδορουμένῳ καὶ λέγοντι ὅτι οὐ δι' αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πόλιν εὐδοκιμοῖ, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐτ' ἂν αὐτὸς Σερίφιος ὦν ὀνομαστὸς ἐγένετο, οὐτ' ἐκεῖνος Ἀθηναῖος. (*Rep.* 329b-330a)

Cicero's Cato cites each of these instances, though at different places:

bene Sophocles cum ex eo quidam iam affecto aetate quaereret utereturne rebus veneriis, "Di meliora," inquit, "libenter vero istinc sicut ab domino agresti ac furioso profugi".

(*de Sen.* 47)

ut Themistocles fertur Seriphio cuidam in iurgio respondisse cum ille dixisset eum non sua sed patriae gloria splendorem assecutum, "Nec hercule", inquit, "si ego Seriphus essem, nec tu si Atheniensis clarus umquam fuisses".

(*de Sen.* 8)

In both cases, Cicero employs the structural formula of including the anecdote in a period of the form S C D. Plato uses the same structure for his Themistocles story, though relegated to a relative clause (see above, p. 300). He disposes the repartee of the Sophocles anecdote over two periods, the question being asked in the first, the answer given in the second. It is worthy of note, and study, that Cicero insists on

independence of syntactic structure from his Greek source. Though in any particular instance he may not have had the original text before him, the cumulative evidence for independence, found, say, in the passages adduced for a different reason by A. Weische, *Ciceros Nachahmung der attischen Redner* (Heidelberg 1972), is unmistakable. Whatever the intrinsic difference between Greek and Roman uses of the active participle, Cicero's replacement of the more compendious construction with *cum* clauses in the above examples should not be attributed to that difference alone.

It is significant that Cicero alters the balance of the Themistocles story to emphasize *clarus unquam fuisses*, whereas Plato stresses the balance of homelands. Herodotus (VIII 125) tells virtually the same anecdote, with the same emphasis as Plato:

ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνου ἀπίκετο εἰς τὰς
 Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος, τῶν
 ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἑὼν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ
 τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθόνῳ καταμαργέων
 ἐνεῖκεε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα
 ἄπιξιν προφέρων, ὡς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχει τὰ
 γέρεα τὰ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἑαυτὸν.
 ὁ δὲ, ἐπεῖτε οὐκ ἐπαύετο λέγων ταῦτα ὁ Τιμό-
 δημος, εἶπε, Οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἑὼν
 Βελβινίτης ἐτιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὐτ'
 ἂν σύ, ὦνθρωπε, ἑὼν Ἀθηναῖος.

It is clear from this passage that the tight, concise period in which Cicero typically relates this kind of anecdote was by no means inevitable.

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I suggested earlier that the anecdote culminating with a memorable saying was gradually elevated, in the course of rhetorical history, practically to the level of a figure of thought - a mode of presentation, or line of argument. Reference to such a figure is found first in Quintilian (quoted below), though significantly, the earlier *artes rhetoricae* certainly acknowledge antecedents. Aristotle²⁹⁾ has much to say both about the example and the maxim; but he limits the *exemplum* to narration of deeds. The author of the *ad Herennium* is virtually unique in extending its content to *dicta* as well as *facta* that can reinforce an argument.³⁰⁾ The maxim, on the other hand, is limited to utterances of universal application, whether attributed to a particular source or not. There is no question of supplying a context. Later rhetorical writers would specifically exclude sayings with a particular attribution from the figure of maxim.³¹⁾ The anecdote or vignette

that sketches a particular situation that gave rise to an apt, amusing, epigrammatic response finds no mention in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, the *ad Herennium*, or Cicero's *Rhetorica*. Nor is it a figure exploited by the Attic orators or, in the main, by Cicero in his speeches. The three, grouped instances in the *Pro Archia* is another indication of the unique quality of that singular performance.

That such anecdotal bon mots are ancient is clear from the examples in Herodotus, Plato, Xenophon, and even Thucydides. Their primary function in literary authors appears to have been in the area of character delineation. On a non-literary level, Spartans seem to have had the reputation of being able to express homely truths tersely or epigrammatically, extracting from the immediate circumstances practical wisdom, ironically articulated. Thus the reference in Aristotle to Laconic Apophthegms, the numerous anecdotal apophthegms attributed to Spartans by Cicero, and the extensive collections made by [Plutarch]. The very homeliness and informality of such vignettes explains their omission in the early writers who composed their *artes* at least ostensibly as practical guides for professional public speakers. So at *de Oratore* III. 203, where a distinction is made between *contio* and *sermo*, the qualification *orationis* (v.l. *in oratione*) is insisted upon (cf. *ibid.* III 177).

It has been plausibly conjectured, though proof is impossible, that this kind of story adduced in support of an argument would have come into its own in the diatribes of the Cynics preaching popular philosophy to a broad and unsophisticated audience.³²⁾ Without insisting on a technical identification of the anecdotal apophthegms with a still too little known literary subgenre, we may assume the appropriateness of such incidental and occasional appeals to the authority of common sense in practical situations to a level of discourse at once low-key, informal, and simply sensible. The frequency of the figure in *de Senectute* and more especially in the *Tusculans* says something about the history of the philosophical dialogue as a literary form.

It should be recalled that the only appearances of this

kind of vignette in Plato's *Republic* are in the characterization of Cephalus. They are employed in aid of *ethopoeia*, not as serious points in major philosophical arguments. Plato deliberately refrains from so using this kind of story in the development of his points. Besides the two stories quoted above, I have found no other anecdotes featuring bon mots in the *Republic*, *Phaedo*, *Crito*, *Apology*, or *Symposium*. Conversely, in Cicero such stories rise to the level of figures in the rhetoric of philosophy. They appear at random in the philosophical treatises (nor are they entirely absent from the speeches and letters); they are also found in significant clusters, by their numbers and diversity adding the weight of history and authority to philosophical arguments. For example, beginning at *Tusc.* I. 96:

96 - Theramenes drinking poison	bon mot
97-99 - <i>Apology</i> quoted	
100 - Spartan on death penalty	bon mot
101 - Simonides' epigram	
101 - Leonidas' exhortation	
Spartan to boastful Persian	bon mot
102 - Spartan woman on son's death	bon mot
Theodorus on burial	bon mot
103 - Socrates in <i>Crito</i>	ref. and bon mot
104 - Diogenes on burial	bon mot
Anaxagoras on burial	bon mot

There follows a series of poetic citations in illustration of arguments, not in the form of anecdotes.

Another cluster begins at *Tusc.* V. 97, where Cicero is presenting a formal argument in favor of the *vita tenuis*. He begins by telling four stories, each of which makes the point that enough is as good as a feast:

Darius in fuga cum aquam turbidam et cadaveribus inquinatam bibisset, negavit umquam se bibisse iucundius. numquam videlicet sitiens biberat; nec esuriens Ptolemaeus ederat. cui cum peragranti Aegyptum comitibus non consecutis cibarius in casa panis datus esset, nihil visum est illo pane iucundius. Socraten ferunt cum usque ad vesperum contentius ambularet quaesitumque esset ex eo quare id faceret, respondisse se, quo melius cenaret, obsonare ambulando famem. (98) quid? victum Lacedaemoniorum in philitiis nonne videmus? ubi cum tyrannus cenavisset Dionysius, negavit se iure illo nigro, quod cenae caput erat, delectatum. tum is qui illa coxerat: "Minime mirum; condimenta enim defuerunt". "Quae tandem?" inquit ille. "Labor in venatu, sudor, cursus ad Eurotam, fames, sitis. his enim rebus Lacedaemoniorum epulae condiuntur."

The first anecdote illustrates the structural formula at its simplest articulation: S C D. Concise though the period is, it nevertheless contains a vivid and effective participial phrase, *cadaveribus inquinatam*. The second story is introduced by a transitional element that picks up *unquam* and balances *sitiens biberat//esuriens ...ederat*. It insists, that is to say, on the closest connection between the first and second story. (There is, in fact, a remarkable lack of sentence connectives right down through the Socrates story.) The second anecdote does not, properly speaking, fall into the same class as those here under discussion. There is no actual dictum; though it exhibits a circular periodic structure, and in its final cadence (double cretic) it echoes the previous story, as well as by its final word. The Socrates story fits the pattern for anecdotes culminating in apophthegms, though in texture it differs from the story about Darius. Cicero shifts into the *oratio obliqua* and uses a *cum* clause with two verbs. The structure slows down the narrative (cf., e.g., *Socrates quaerenti cuidam quare usque ad vesperum contentius ambularet respondit...*) and perhaps improves the sequence (though *Socrates, qui... ambularet, quaerenti cuidam quare id faceret respondit* is a more logical presentation), but the reason for the change in structure is primarily variation. Comparatively, there is more detail in shorter compass in the Ptolemy story (*peragranti Aegyptum, comitibus non consecutis, in casa*). In sharp distinction, the fourth anecdote, with its lively introduction, makes no attempt at periodicity or concision, though there are examples of more extensive quotations and exchanges developed from the pattern of a circular, S C D period. Again, although reasons for the structural roughness may be sought in the identity of the speaker of the present context, the vast majority of the Spartan stories are periodic, the bon mots laconic.

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That the figure under discussion, or something like it, emerges in the rhetorical treatises of the First Century A.D. and beyond cannot be attributed exclusively to the growing respectability of such stories in discourse.³³⁾ The purpose and proposed audience of the later *artes rhetoricae* are also substantially altered. Quintilian directs his attention to the entire educational system, not to practical oratorical training; the section in which he describes a figure closely related to ours is part of the description of the duties of the

grammarian in *Inst. Or.* I. ix. 3ff:

sententiae quoque et chriae et aetiologiae subiectis dictorum rationibus apud grammaticos scribantur, quia initium ex lectione ducunt: quorum omnium similis est ratio, forma diversa, quia sententia universalis est vox, aetiologia personis continentur. chriarum plura genera traduntur: unum simile sententiae, quod est positum in voce simplici ("dixit ille" aut "dicere solebat"); alterum quod est in respondendo ("interrogatus ille" vel "cum hoc ei dictum esset, respondit"); tertium huic non dissimile ("cum quis dixisset aliquid" vel "fecisset"). etiam in ipsorum factis esse chrian putant, ut "Crates, cum indoctum puerum vidisset, paedagogum eius percussit", et aliud paene par ei, quod tamen eodem nomine appellare non audent, sed dicunt *χρηιῶδες*, ut "Milo, quem vitulum adsueverat ferre, taurum ferebat". In his omnibus et declinatio per eosdem ducitur casus et tam factorum quam dictorum ratio est.

Some of the real and unresolved problems attendant on this passage may, I hope, be skirted as unimportant for our purposes.³⁴⁾ Obviously, the second and third kinds of *chria* mentioned by Quintilian do not quite correspond to the anecdotes that have been adduced from Cicero. They appear to be restricted to repartee, whereas in Cicero circumstances as well as comments occasion the responses. This might be covered by the fourth class (reluctantly accepted by Quintilian), though his example is of non-verbal stimuli producing a non-verbal response. The first articulation is not necessarily to be dismissed as productive of a maxim, rather than a vignette. For example, at *De Natura Deorum* III. 33:

Diogenes quidem Cynicus dicere solebat Harpalum, qui temporibus illis praedo felix habebatur, contra deos testimonium dicere quod in illa fortuna tam diu viveret.

What Cicero writes may be found in the description Quintilian offers, but Quintilian's purpose is not to describe a literary figure of oratory or philosophical discourse. His *chria* is a schoolboy exercise - an exercise, moreover, already ensconced in the educational process. So it appears in the *progymnasmata* of Theon, Hermogenes, Aphthonius, and, more or less, in the later Latin rhetoricians. As to the exercise involved in the treatment of the *chria*, two kinds of activity are mentioned. One is to take the piece of practical wisdom or wit and render it in a variety of figures of thought;³⁵⁾

the other is to express the statement in all its declensional forms.³⁶⁾

Theon, especially, says more about the *chria* as a literary form. Its essential characteristics are the following:³⁷⁾ terseness, attribution to an individual, cleverness, and particular relevance. He further distinguishes the *chria* from the maxim: the *chria* is always assigned to a speaker, the maxim never; the *chria* has a particular reference, the maxim universal; the *chria* may consist of an action or a saying, the maxim only of a saying; the maxim must have some moral value, the *chria* need only be pleasing, charming, or clever.³⁸⁾

Though he does go on to talk about schoolboy exercises deriving from the *chria*, Theon seems here certainly to be describing a figure of thought. As he leaves it, the *chria* is not necessarily an anecdote, though there are anecdotal *chriae*. So many such *chriae* are found, in fact, in later literature, that the author of a study on the Greek *chria* felt the need to add this further qualification: Der betreffende, belehrende, bündige Ausspruch erfolgt stets mit einem, wenn auch so kurz angedeuteten Spezialfall verknüpft, sei es, dass der letztere durch eine den Sprecher gerichtete Frage, durch ein Ereignis, an welchem er sehend und handelnd teilnimmt, oder durch sonst etwas geschaffen wird.³⁹⁾

It is doubtful whether a modern scholar has the right to add, unhistorically, such a qualification to an ancient definition. Yet, other scholars dealing with the *chria* as a literary figure, rather than a rhetorical exercise, seem merely to assume that it takes the form of an anecdote.⁴⁰⁾

Since unlike these other scholars, I am concerned exclusively with the structural presentation of the figure of thought, I am content with the lack of historicity for a classification, so long as a pattern of syntactic construction establishes the phenomenon. The existence of such an intricate periodic pattern - Speaker Circumstance(s) Dictum; its frequency; and its tone seem beyond question.

NOTES

- 1) *Cicero's Elegant Style* (Illinois 1979), p. 181 with refs.
- 2) I find no important distinction between stories told in *oratio recta* and *obliqua*.
- 3) *Das Apophthegma, literarhistorische Studien* (Vienna 1924).
- 4) Discussion of the partial identification of this kind of vignette with the *chria* closes this paper.
- 5) See the discussion of the articulation of periods in Nägelsbach, *Lateinische Stilistik* (Darmstadt 1963), pp. 626-648; W. R. Johnson, *Luxuriance and Economy: Cicero and the Alien Style* (California 1971), pp. 8-20; and my *Cicero's Elegant Style*, pp. 214-218.
- 6) *ad Herennium* IV, x, 14 and xi, 16.
- 7) The *eiromene* style is essentially complex, but without the interweaving of dependent clauses to provide anticipation and resolution. See Hdt. VIII, 125, quoted below.
- 8) Also possible in repartee is a C S D formulation. The author of the *Laconica Apophthegmata* will often begin with a genitive absolute, then give the speaker and his response.
- 9) For dicta that are quotations appositely cited, see below p. 304.
- 10) Aristotle, *Rhet.* II, 21, 8, refers to *Laconica apophthegmata*. The number of attributions of bon mots to Spartans in Cicero also suggests a previous collection.
- 11) See Gemoll, p. 34ff.; G. A. Gerhard, *Phoinix von Kolophon* (Leipzig 1909), p. 248ff. Neither author necessarily distinguishes dicta incorporated in anecdotes from sayings recorded without context - a distinction important for this paper. There is every reason to assume that the former kind did exist in some quantity and not just in private archives and personal memorabilia.
- 12) Again, for the tone of this kind of presentation, see below p. 297. It should be noted that between sayings so general and well-known that context would be superfluous (maxims) and remarks that would be meaningless, were the circumstances that occasioned them withheld, lies a middle ground where the amount of detail offered becomes a question as much of style as of exposition.
- 13) The explanation is apparently an important ingredient of the *chria*, see Quint. I. ix, 4, quoted below. I do not consider it integral to the structural form under discussion.
- 14) See *Cicero's Elegant Style*, p. 239 and refs., for continuative or semi-dependent relative clause, also discussed below, p. 300.
- 15) Even Cicero is not invariably wedded to the form; see below, p. 306.
- 16) See *Cicero's Elegant Style*, p. 235 under participle. In general, the frequency of the construction in Latin is not to be compared with Greek. Its use in these anecdotes is perhaps a reflection of the pace and informality of their narration.
- 17) I do not, of course, refer to verbal exchanges paratactically narrated like Diogenes and his friends at *Tusc.* I. 104 or Dionysius and

the Spartan cook at *Tusc.* V. 97, both quoted below. Outside of such stichomythic exchanges, where the verb of saying is omitted occasionally, the tendency in Latin, if any, is toward redundancy. See Kroll, *Glotta* 5 (1915), 359f.; Kieckers, *Glotta* 10 (1920), 200ff. I resist the temptation, however, to supply <inquit> after *tua*.

18) I read Bentley's emendation for *minitanti*.

19) See n. 2.

20) Plato's version of the anecdote is quoted below, p. 307.

21) For *glorianti*, alone, governing a causal clause, see below on *Tusc.* V. 40. This is the only instance of the anecdote relegated to a circumstantial clause rather than a semi-independent relative (see n. 14). It is quite distinct from the *cum* clauses found in the anecdotes at *Tusc.* I. 102, II. 60, V. 113; *de Sen.* 8 and 13, all cited and discussed below.

22) For the use of two verbs in the predicate, see below, p. 301 f.

23) To these may be added *de Sen.* 27 on Milo of Croton and *Tusc.* V. 112 on Antipater of Cyrene.

24) *Tusc.* V. 97, quoted above, p. 299.

25) *Ciceronis Tusculanarum Disputationum Libri Quinque* (Hannover 1874), *ad. loc.*

26) *ibid.*

27) *ibid.*

28) See *de Sen.* 55 (Curius), *Tusc.* III. 48 (Gracchus and Piso); V. 91 (Xenocrates), all quoted below, for other anecdotes in non-periodic constructions.

29) Aristotle, *Rhet.* II, 20-21; *ad Her.* IV, xlix, 62 (*exemplum*) xvii 24 (*sententia*).

30) *ad Her.* IV. xlix. 62.

31) So Theon, *progymasmata* V, 96 Sp., 202; and see below.

32) In general on the *chria*, see P. Lejay, *Oeuvres d'Horace, Satires* (Paris 1911), pp. xvii-xxii; F. H. Colson "Quintilian I. 9 and the 'Chria' in Ancient Education" *CR* 1921, pp. 150-154 and *M. Fabii Quintiliani Inst. Orat. Liber I* (Cambridge 1924), pp. 117-121. See, too, Gerhard *op. cit.* (n. 11, above), pp. 248ff.; A. S. F. Gow, *Machon* (Cambridge 1956), pp. 12ff.; K. von Fritz *RE Suppl.* VI, 87-89; and, with a different distinction, R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog* (Leipzig 1895), I. p. 369f. and n. 2. See, too, H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (Munich 1960), I. pp. 536-540.

33) The *artes rhetoricae* in which the *chria* is treated are all designed for the instruction of a younger student at a more general level of education. So the *progymasmata* of Theon, Hermogenes, and Aphthonius (ed. L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci* [Leipzig 1854]), v. II; Priscian, *De Praeexercit. Rhet.* (ed. C. Halm, *Rhetores Latini Minores* [Leipzig 1863]).

34) See Colson (n. 32, above).

35) This exercise is recommended by Theon (97 Sp., 203), Hermogenes (6f. Sp., 22-23), Aphthonius (23 Sp., 63-64), and Quintilian. The author of *ad Her.* gives an example of it under *expositio* at IV. xlii. 54-xliv. 58. H. Caplan in his Loeb *ad Her.*, reflects the confusion when he refers both to the exercise and the theme to be restated as "chria" (nn. pp. 365,

371).

36) Theon (100f. Sp. 210) recommends this exercise as well, as does Diomedes (Keil, *Gram. Lat.* [Leipzig 1857]), I. 310. Quint., in the passage quoted, seems to be referring to this exercise, though *eosdem* is troublesome. H. E. Butler's Loeb translation, "All these instances are couched in the same grammatical form", with the note, "The sense is not clear; it appears to refer to the stereotyped form in which the chria was couched", has no basis in the Latin.

37) Theon, 96 Sp., 201.

38) Theon, 96 Sp., 202.

39) G. von Wartensleben, *Die Begriffe der griechischen Chreia* (Heidelberg 1901), p. 4.

40) So Gow and Gerhard (cited n. 33, above). Gerhard (p. 251, n. 4) gives an example of a maxim being turned into a chria by the addition of particular circumstances: "aus der gnomischen Bias' - ὑποθήκη... ἐφόδιον ἀπὸ νεότητος εἰς γῆρας ἀναλαμβάνει σοφίαν ist bei Basileios... eine Chreia geworden: ὁ μὲν οὖν βίας τῷ υἱεῖ πρὸς Αἴγυπτίους ἀπαίροντι καὶ πυνθανομένῳ, τί ἂν ποιῶν αὐτῷ μάλιστα κεχαρισμένα πράττοι, Ἐφόδιον, ἔφη, πρὸς γῆρας κτησάμενος (τὴν ἀρετὴν δὴ τὸ ἐφόδιον λέγων). I have found no such example in Cicero, where the content of the saying is taken for granted.

ÄSOP UND MENIPP ALS HOFNARREN

BRUNO SNELL

Bei Velázquez spielen antike Motive im allgemeinen keine grosse Rolle, - desto erstaunter ist man, im Prado zwei grosse Bilder von ihm zu finden, von denen das eine Aesop, das andere den Kyniker Menipp darstellen soll; an den im gleichen Saal hängenden Gemälden sieht man sofort, dass diese Porträts nicht zu den feierlichen Repräsentationen, den Herrschern hoch zu Ross und den Prinzessinnen mit weiten Reifröcken gehören, sondern zu dem Dutzend Hofnarren, die der Künstler offenbar mit besonderer Freude gemalt hat.

Diese 'Buffonen' hatten am spanischen Hof Redefreiheit: Sie waren die Einzigen, die dem Herrscher die Wahrheit sagen durften, und Velázquez macht es deutlich, dass sie es offenbar sowohl aus Torheit wie besonders auch aus Schlaueit tun konnten. Ich frage hier nicht, wie Velázquez die beiden Griechen in diesen Rollen kennengelernt hat, - schon das Altertum hat das vorbereitet. Aesop erzählte hintergründige Tierfabeln bei Kroisos und an den Höfen von Babylon und Aegypten. Menipp war Kyniker, ein 'Hündischer'; Diogenes soll diesen Namen so begründet haben: "Wer gibt, dem wedele ich; wer nicht gibt, den belle ich an; und die Bösen beisse ich" (Diog. Laert. 6,60). Ihn selbst nannte man σπουδαιογέλοιοσ, 'Ernstlächerlich'.

Unmittelbar einleuchtend wird im Prado, wie Velázquez in seinen Narrenbildern einer anderen malerischen Tendenz folgt als in den 'ernsten' Werken, den höfischen, pathetischen. Diese schliessen sich an die Italiener an, zumal die Venezianer. Die Narren aber malt er wie Breughel oder Ostade ihre Bauern dargestellt haben.

OVIDIANUM QUINTUM:
 DAS DILUVIUM BEI OVID UND NONNOS

HANS HERTER

In der neueren Literatur zu den Metamorphosen ist die Quellenkunde in einigem Misskredit, nachdem sie früher das Interesse nahezu beherrscht hatte. Insofern darf man darin einen berechtigten Verzicht erblicken, als man sich einst oft genug begnügt hatte, irgend einen meist hellenistischen Dichter als Vorbild des Römers in den einzelnen Verwandlungsgeschichten auszumachen, und damit Gefahr lief, Ovids Verdienst an seinen Gestaltungen gar zu sehr zu schmälern. Mittlerweile ist man sich wohlbewusst, dass man ihn nicht einfach mit irgend einem Autor sozusagen gleichsetzen und aus seinem Wort diesen wiedergewinnen kann, sofern er sich wirklich einmal an eine einzige Vorlage gehalten haben sollte. Jede Ovidpartie hat ihre eigenen Verhältnisse und verlangt ihre eigene Untersuchung; dazu gehört es aber, dass man jeweils die ganze sonstige Tradition ernstlich ins Auge fasst, ganz besonders Nonnos, dessen Dionysiaka gewisse Berührungen mit den Metamorphosen aufweisen. Sobald man aber dies lange Zeit gern beiseitegeschobene phänomenale Werk heranzieht, wird das Bild gleich farbiger, auch wenn nicht mehr beabsichtigt oder auch erreichbar ist als ein kritischer Vergleich der künstlerischen Intentionen des einen und des andern Dichters. Hat man freilich eine Quellenuntersuchung zu veranstalten, so wird es unerlässlich, sich mit einer Vorfrage auseinanderzusetzen.

Hatte man früher durchweg, zuletzt ganz systematisch Luigi Castiglioni¹⁾, bei Konkordanzen der beiden unterstellt, dass sie von einer gemeinsamen Quelle abhängen, so hat neuerdings Julius Braune²⁾ die Situation mit einem Schlage verändert, indem er behauptete, Nonnos habe in solchen Fällen Ovid direkt benutzt. Es ist erstaunlich, wie diese revolutionierende These

alsbald breite Zustimmung gefunden hat, wohl weil sie eine so einfache Situation schuf oder zu schaffen schien, und so sprachen sich nicht nur Rezensenten dafür aus³⁾, sonder auch Forscher wie Rudolf Keydell⁴⁾ und Gennaro D'Ippolito⁵⁾, die Braunes Auswahlokumentation ergänzten, auch sie freilich, ohne Vollständigkeit zu erstreben. Im neuesten Nonnosbuche wird diese These denn als das "insgesamt bedeutendste Ergebnis der Quellenforschung" akklamiert⁶⁾, so dass das Problem überhaupt keine Rolle mehr spielen zu sollen scheint. Und doch hat es bedeutsame Gegenstimmen gegeben, auch mit eingehenderen Untersuchungen⁷⁾, und ein Gelehrter wie J. Bayet war zwar prinzipiell bereit, Braune beizupflichten, empfand aber seine Beweisführung als noch keineswegs ausreichend⁸⁾. Bei allen Verdiensten seiner Untersuchung wurde aber auch D'Ippolito in diesem besonderen Punkte durchaus nicht allseitige Anerkennung zuteil⁹⁾, und so glimmt auch bei manchen seiner Anhänger eine gewisse Enttäuschung über die Einzelnachweise.

Am meisten Aufmerksamkeit hat bis heute das Verdikt von Paul Maas auf sich gezogen¹⁰⁾, weil es sich einfach an die allgemeine Regel hielt, dass griechische Dichter grundsätzlich an den lateinischen vorbeigehen. Dem konnte man natürlich entgegen, dass in der Spätzeit das Latein in der östlichen Reichshälfte nicht so unbekannt war, wie man einst glaubte, und was Nonnos angeht, so spricht sein Respekt vor Rom und seine Begeisterung für Berytos, den Sitz der Rechtsschule, sicherlich dafür, dass er die staatlichen Verhältnisse seiner Zeit nicht einfach ignoriert hat. Aber das Problem liegt gar nicht sosehr darin, ob er Latein genug verstand, einen römischen Poeten in extenso zu lesen, sondern das ist die Frage, ob er es auch wirklich getan hat, ob er diese Mühe nötig befand, wo er doch genug Autoren seiner eigenen Sprache zur Verfügung hatte, zumal wenn er, wie man früher wenigstens glaubte, von der Singularität der hellenischen Kultur durchdrungen war¹¹⁾. Zu meinem Bedauern kann ich die Annahme nicht so absurd finden wie D'Ippolito¹²⁾, dass ein gelehrter Kopf im 4. Jahrh. - war er auch ein Chalkenteros wie Nonnos - lateinische Autoren beiseite gelassen hätte, die sogar die Schulbuben traktieren mussten. Es ist eben etwas Anderes, wenn jemand dies oder jenes lateinische Epigramm imitierte¹³⁾, als wenn der Verfasser eines Riesenwerkes wie der

Dionysiaka Ovids Dichtungen so im Kopfe gehabt haben soll, dass er nicht nur bestimmte Sagen ihnen nachgestaltete, sondern Verse und Motive auch in andern Zusammenhängen verwandte, und das, wo er, wie D'Ippolito meint, auch Heroiden und Ars Amatoria gekannt haben müsste. Vorsichtige Beurteiler¹⁴⁾ haben das Problem für ungelöst wenn nicht unlösbar erklärt, aber auch die Anhänger Braunes, ja er selber, haben eigentlich mehr, als ihrer These guttat, eingeräumt, indem sie den Rückgriff auf griechische Quellen selbst da, wo Ovid führend gewesen sein sollte, nicht ausschlossen. Sind also beide Eventualitäten offen, so ist mit allgemeinen Erwägungen nicht weiterzukommen: man muss hic et nunc auf jeden speziellen Fall eingehen. Braune hat vier Sagen als Exempel genommen, und andere haben andere Sagen berührt; aber es geschah doch leicht, wenn auch nicht immer, dass man nur auf einzelne Uebereinstimmungen im Wortlaut oder im Motiv den Finger legte¹⁵⁾; allein derlei war ja längst bekannt und wurde doch nach alter Weise erklärt - warum nun also anders?

Es käme auf Stellen an, wo Nonnos spezifisch ovidische Pointen brächte, solche also, die in der griechischen Tradition nicht nachweisbar sind und somit nur bei Ovid zu holen waren. Inzwischen ist durch die Ausführungen von Cl. Zintzen¹⁶⁾ endgültig entschieden, dass Quintus von Smyrna nicht direkt von Vergil abhängt, sondern in Quellengemeinschaft mit ihm steht¹⁷⁾; auch in diesem vielbehandelten Fall ist es so, dass bei dem Spätling Motive auftauchen, die er bei Vergil gar nicht finden konnte. Wenn also Nonnos mit ausserovidischer Tradition zusammentrifft, wie ich für die Phaethonpartie bemerkt habe¹⁸⁾, ist es mindestens unnötig, ausser den griechischen Quellen noch die römische zu bemühen. Auch für die Legende von Dionysos und den Piraten glaube ich das aufgezeigt zu haben¹⁹⁾, und möchte jetzt das Gleiche für die Schilderung des Diluviums tun²⁰⁾, obwohl wir eigentlich weiter ausgreifen müssten, als es auf beschränktem Raume möglich ist. Der kritische Vergleich der beiden Autoren wird auch die künstlerischen Intentionen des einen wie des anderen in helleres Licht stellen. So sollen diese Zeilen einen bescheidenen Beitrag zu einem unbefangenen Verständnis Ovids leisten und werden hoffentlich einem Meister philologischer Techne im besten Sinne des Wortes willkommen sein.

D'Ippolito 224 ff. ist auf die einschlägigen Partien eingegangen, hat aber die offene Flanke nicht decken können: er glaubt zwar an Benutzung Ovids durch Nonnos, aber auch an gemeinsame griechische Vorlagen. So nimmt er S. 61 f. auch Abhängigkeit des Panopolitaners von Peisandros an und erklärt diesen sogar für seine wenn auch nicht ausschliessliche Hauptquelle in diesem Bereiche. Bedenkt man nun, wie reichhaltig und ausführlich die *Θεογονία* des Mannes von Laranda gewesen sein müssen, sind wir unbehindert, dieser Vorlage beliebig viel zuzutrauen. Nur hat Peisandros natürlich nicht einfach aus eigenem geschaffen, und so werden wir auf diesem Umweg doch wieder auf frühere, besonders hellenistische Dichtung verwiesen, die man sich schwerlich zu weitschichtig vorstellen kann.

Sehen wir immerhin zu, wie sich in unserm Falle Peisandros als Quellenautor ausnehmen würde. Nonnos kennt 3,202 ff. drei Fluten²¹⁾, die ogygische, die deucalionische und die dardanische, ohne sich über ihre chronologische Einordnung Kopfzerbrechen zu machen²²⁾. Die Hauptschilderung erfolgt 6,206 ff., verknüpft mit dem Namen Deucalions. Zeus hat zur Strafe der Titanenmutter Gaia aus Zorn über die Ermordung des Zagreus²³⁾ die Welt mit seinen Blitzen in Brand gesetzt und sucht dann die Flammen mit der Flut zu löschen, nicht ohne damit des Guten wieder zu viel zu tun. Es ist also verlockend, die Erzählung des Nonnos aus Peisandros herzuleiten, dessen Darstellung uns aus einem Bruchstück des Malalas bekannt ist: R. Keydell hat es in seinem wichtigen Aufsatz zugänglich gemacht²⁴⁾. Dass hier statt der Titanen die Giganten erscheinen, ganz akkurat als Schlangenfüssler beschrieben und von Timotheos entsprechend allegorisiert, darf man wohl hingehen lassen, aber weniger leicht ist zu nehmen, dass die Frevler nicht alle zusammen durch Feuer oder Wasser vernichtet werden, sondern ebensowohl durch Versteinerung oder Erschiessung. Es hätte also einiger philologischer Methode bedurft, um aus diesen gleichberechtigten Eventualitäten eine Version herauszuholen, dass auf den Brand die Flut folgte. Erst recht hätte Nonnos nicht viel mit dem komplizierten Tatbestand anfangen können, der bei Ovid weiterhin vorliegt. Unmittelbar vor dem Diluvium hat bei ihm die Lycaongeschichte ihre Stelle, denn er hat sich die Tradition "einiger" zunutze gemacht, wonach die Frevler Lycaons bzw. seiner Söhne

Jupiter zu der Vernichtung der Menschen veranlassten²⁵⁾. Es fällt auf, dass Ovid sich damit zu seiner eigenen Darstellung in Widerspruch setzte, denn nach met. 1,220 f. war die Masse des Volkes (vulgus) ganz im Gegensatz zum Herrscherhaus dem Jupiter bei seinem Besuche voller Ehrfurcht begegnet. Der Kontrast zwischen den Frommen und den Unfrommen lag zu nahe, als dass er sich nicht auch hier dem Dichter aufgedrängt hätte; er stellt ihn ja auch in der Niobe- und der Pentheusgeschichte heraus, und eine ganz nahe Parallele bietet natürlich die Erzählung von Philemon und Baucis.

Aber er geriet auch unweigerlich in gewisse Schwierigkeiten, die mit der Sintflutsage bis in ihre ethnologischen Verästelungen hinein verknüpft gewesen sind. Eigentlich musste es ja so sein, dass alle Menschen verderbt waren, weil sie alle untergehen sollten²⁶⁾, bis auf die wenigen Auserwählten, die die Kontinuität zu wahren bestimmt waren. Zudem waren die Sagen von vornherein und gerade bei den Griechen lokal begrenzt²⁷⁾ und berücksichtigten nicht, ob anderwärts das gleiche Unheil hereinbrach. Es liess sich aber auch nicht ausschliessen, dass manche sich aus eigener Kraft dem Verderben entzogen, indem sie auf die Berge flüchteten. Einen solchen Zustand der Ueberlieferung haben wir in der apollodorischen Bibliothek 1,47²⁸⁾, wonach einige wenige sich auf diese Art in Sicherheit brachten und überhaupt nur die meisten Gegenden Griechenlands überschwenmt wurden, diejenigen nämlich, die ausserhalb des Isthmos und der Peloponnes lagen. Bei Platon²⁹⁾ aber ist die Flut wieder weltweit, und nur Aegypten bleibt verschont wie sonst auch die Bergbewohner. Zur alten Sage gehört nun aber auch die Erneuerung der Menschheit aus den von Deucalion und Pyrrha geworfenen Steinen³⁰⁾, und wenn man das akzeptierte, konnten einzelne Ueberlebende ausser den obligaten nur störend wirken. Ovid nutzt deshalb nicht aus, dass der Parnass vom Wasser frei bleibt³¹⁾, und auch Cerambus übersteht die Flut nur, weil er rechtzeitig Flügel bekommen hat (met. 7,354 ff.), die den Vögeln nach 1,307 f. allerdings auf die Dauer auch nichts nutzten. Traditionen, nach denen jemand von der Familie Lycaons übrig blieb wie Nyktimos, vernachlässigt Ovid wohlweislich, mutet dem Leser aber zu, dass die Tochter Callisto nach der Flut gesund und munter wieder in Erscheinung tritt. Aber darüber brauchen wir

uns in diesem Stadium nicht den Kopf zu zerbrechen; vorläufig lässt Ovid keinen Zweifel an dem völligen Ruin der Menschheit und verlangt, dass das als gerechtfertigt empfunden wird. Jedoch begnügt er sich nicht mit dieser einen Motivation des göttlichen Strafgerichts: in der Kontinuation der Weltgeschichte hatten sich vorher die Weltalter abgelöst; er liess es aber nicht bei der Dreizahl bewenden, die seit Arat 105 ff. im Schwange war, sondern schloss an das eherne noch das eiserne Geschlecht, das seit Hesiod Erga 174 ff. die gänzliche Verderbnis repräsentierte. So wäre die Sintflut klar motiviert gewesen, ohne dass es der Lycaonepisode bedurft hätte; aber auf sie zu verzichten, war dem Dichter der Verwandlungen nicht zuzumuten. Damit war es ihm aber immer noch nicht genug: auch den Gigantenkampf will er nicht missen, der für die Urzeit so charakteristisch war, und lässt daher innerhalb der eisernen Periode noch eine besondere Kategorie von Menschen aus der mit dem Blute der Aufrührer getränkten Erde entstehen. Dass Lycaon zu diesen Blutentsprossenen zählt, nimmt der Leser leicht an, weil er in Anschluss an sie von ihm hört; aber Ovid vermeidet es, sich deutlich zu erklären, um sich nicht mit der geltenden Genealogie des arkadischen Wolfsmannes in Widerspruch zu setzen. Die auffällige Art von Autochthonie mag auf eine hellenistische Quelle zurückgehen³²⁾, könnte aber auch von Ovid erfunden sein aufgrund mannigfacher Parallelen: denn die Giganten sollten selber aus dem Blute des Uranos entstanden sein und aus dem Blute der Titanen die Schlangen³³⁾. Auch die Theorie von der Herkunft der Lebewesen aus der mit Wasser durchfeuchteten Erde, die er selber vertrat, mag ihm als Analogie vorgeschwebt haben.

Dass Nonnos dieses verschlungene Geflecht aufgelöst und an Stelle der Giganten wieder die erstberechtigten Titanen gesetzt hätte, war wirklich nicht zu erwarten: wie ist es nun aber mit der Strafe des Brandes, die der Flut vorhergegangen sein soll? Bei Ovid steht Jupiter V. 253 ff. von seinem anfänglichen Entschlusse, die frevelnde Menschheit durch seine Blitze zu vertilgen, ab voll Besorgnis, er möchte mit der Erde den Himmel in Flammen setzen, eine Möglichkeit, die ihm durch den Gedanken an den vom Schicksal vorherbestimmten Weltbrand noch dringlicher vor Augen tritt. Ein Vorverweis auf den von Phaethon verschuldeten Brand³⁴⁾ ist damit schwerlich beabsichtigt und jedenfalls

nicht deutlich gemacht: nicht einmal nach Ovids eigener Darstellung, die den Unkreis dieser Katastrophe so weit wie möglich zieht, würde das damals eingetretene Unheil den Befürchtungen Jupiters entsprechen oder gar eine Erfüllung der fata bedeuten, und nur insofern besteht eine gewisse Parallelität, als der Göttervater später dem Treiben Phaethons erst dann ein Ende macht, als das Feuer von der Erde auf die regia caeli Überzugreifen droht³⁵⁾. Es ist also viel wahrscheinlicher, dass es dem Dichter um eine Anspielung auf die stoische Ekpyrosis zu tun ist, die ihm seit der Kosmogonie am Anfang des Werkes nahegelegen haben muss.

Ist das somit Ovids Einfall, so ist das Motiv der Alternative zwischen zwei Möglichkeiten der Bestrafung als solches nicht schlechthin sein Eigentum. Nun nennt Otis 100 dieses Motiv slightly ridiculous, doch meint er, die Majestät Jupiters sei bei dieser Gelegenheit doch noch gewahrt, wenn auch nur an der Oberfläche, und S. 349 hat er immerhin den Eindruck, Ovid habe sein Werk on an exalted note beginnen wollen. Auch E. Doblhofer findet die Alternative mit dem ganzen Concilium deorum humorvoll³⁶⁾, während C. Marchesi früher das Diluvium im Gesamt zu den grandiosen und echt epischen Szenen rechnen konnte³⁷⁾. Zu diesem Dissens einlässlich Stellung zu nehmen, muss ich mir für diesmal versagen, aber das spezielle Moment der Alternative verlangt schon jetzt Klärung. Zweifellos könnte ein Deorum concilium, selbst wenn das Schicksal der Menschheit davon abhängt, gerade in seiner aktuell politischen Verbrämung eine leichte Schlagseite zum Komischen haben, und Beispiele für direkte Parodie des Motivs sind seit Menipp und Lucilius leicht zu finden³⁸⁾, aber bei Homer und Hesiod Theog. 390 ff. (vgl. 639 ff.) hat die Götterversammlung doch noch den Ernst, den auch das Naive fordert, und am Schluss des platonischen Kritias gewinnt sie geradezu eine tragische Perspektive, wo es um die Vernichtung nicht nur der Atlantis, sondern auch des urathenischen Idealstaates geht. In den Metamorphosen finden wir nun eine aufschlussreiche Parallele in der Götterversammlung 9,241 ff., wo das Geschick des auf dem Scheiterhaufen brennenden Hercules zur Debatte steht³⁹⁾: die Olympier sind voller Sorge, aber dann rückt Jupiter auf einmal damit heraus, dass er alles im voraus bedacht und geregelt hat. Da zeigt sich also seine

Ueberlegenheit darin, dass er einen günstigen Ausgang Juno zum Trotz herbeiführt; im 1. Buche fertigt er die Bedenken der andern Götter mit der beruhigenden Versicherung ab, er werde dafür sorgen, dass auch nach der Vernichtung der jetzigen Menschen die Erde nicht ohne neue Bewohner bleiben werde. Es steht diesmal also die erlösende Fügung in weiter Ferne und das Unheil muss erst seinen Lauf nehmen. Ovid hatte nicht immer ein Bedürfnis nach Theodizee, aber hier führt er sie entschlossen durch, so dass man eigentlich keinen störenden Ton erwarten sollte. Wenn es allen Göttern um die Menschen leid tut - wie Il. 8,33 ff. um die Achaier -, so ist das rührende Moment bereits angelegt, das im folgenden sich fühlbar machen wird, und wenn sie sich fragen, wie die Erde von Tieren allein heimgesucht sich in Zukunft ausnehmen werde, so ist auch das ein Vorklang, der später vernehmlicher werden wird. Aber wenn sie besorgen, wer den Weihrauch auf ihre Altäre bringen werde, so erinnert das, wenn auch einigermaßen abgeschwächt, an die Furcht der Götter bei Aristophanes av. 1494 ff., sie könnten durch die Vögel von den Opfergaben abgeschnitten werden⁴⁰⁾. Aber dies eine Motiv ist bei weitem nicht stark genug, um alles andere nach sich zu ziehen und in Komik zu versenken, denn entfernt man die Pointe, so sind die Gedanken der Götter schierer Ernst. Wo sie nun aber dasteht, so sollte man nicht übersehen, dass sie Jupiter gar nicht trifft, sondern gerade seine Ueberlegenheit hervorhebt. Wie sich der Göttervater nach der Flut benehmen wird, braucht uns vorderhand nicht zu kümmern; seiner Majestät kann vorerst kein Eintrag geschehen durch das, was sich noch gar nicht ereignet hat.

Was nun die Alternative angeht, so steht auch dies Motiv nicht für sich allein und darf nicht ausschliesslich von Ovid her beurteilt werden. Nach Schol. AD Il. 1,5 will Zeus der Uebervölkerung Einhalt tun und zugleich die Gottlosigkeit bestrafen; aber nachdem er bereits den thebanischen Krieg mit Erfolg entfesselt hatte, entschliesst er sich auf Momos' Anraten zum troischen Krieg. Ob diese Erzählung auf die Kyprien zurückgeht, ist fraglich, da sie mit deren wörtlich erhaltenem Prooimion kaum zu vereinbaren ist⁴¹⁾. Aber das Motiv der Alternative ist auf jeden Fall alt, denn es ist, wie Doblhofer 75 gesehen hat, schon in der Aristophanesrede in Platons Symp.

190 C variiert worden. Auch hier kann Zeus mit den andern Göttern den Frevelmut der Menschen, der an Otos und Ephialtes denken lässt, nicht dulden, aber die Versammelten wissen nicht recht, wie sie die Uebeltäter vernichten und ob sie sie am besten mit dem Blitze erschlagen sollen. Wieder ist es Zeus, der die Aporie in ungeahnter Weise löst. Die Parallele zu Ovid geht so weit, dass der Ausfall der Ehren und Opfer, wie es hier noch etwas ungenierter heisst, die Auslöschung des Menschengeschlechts nicht ratsam erscheinen lässt: das ist die Meinung des gesamten Gremiums, Zeus eingeschlossen, während es bei Ovid nur ein Einwand der übrigen Götter ist. Wenn man nun bedenkt, dass in der Rede, die nicht umsonst gerade Aristophanes in den Mund gelegt ist, Tiefsinn und Scherz so verquickt sind, dass sich nichts daraus wegdenken lässt, kann man hingegen leicht absehen, wie wenig Ovids Version von dem einen Tupfen Ironie infiziert ist: für die kommende Darstellung ist damit ebenso wenig wie für die bisherige auch nur das Geringste präjudiziert.

Wie das Motiv der Alternative zu Ovid gelangt ist, müssen wir auf sich beruhen lassen. Aber noch immer steht für uns das Problem der Verbindung von Weltbrand und Sintflut an. Bei Apollodor 3,96 ff. finden wir die Ueberlieferung, dass Lycaons Söhne (ausser Nyktimos) von Zeus mit dem Blitz getötet wurden, ohne dass deshalb der Menschheit der Kataklysmos erspart blieb, aber das ist zu wenig durchsichtig, als dass wir für unsern Zweck etwas daraus machen könnten. Welche Verwüstungen Zeus' Donnerschläge auf der Erde anrichten konnten, erfahren wir aus Hesiods Theog. 689 ff., wo es um den Kampf gegen die Titanen geht. Mag das auch in der alten Titanomachie gestanden haben⁴²⁾, so könnte der Zusammenhang bei Nonnos auf die Vermutung führen, dass in orphischer Ueberlieferung, etwa in den von ihm überhaupt benutzten Ἱεροὶ Λόγοι, die Bestrafung der Titanen zu einem Kampfe grösseren Ausmasses ausgestaltet gewesen wäre, aber dass darauf die Sintflut gefolgt wäre, ist nicht zu dokumentieren⁴³⁾. Immerhin gibt es eine Hesiod zugeschriebene Version der Phaethonsage⁴⁴⁾, wonach Zeus den unseligen Himmelfahrer durch seinen Blitz zerschmettert und, um den dadurch wie auch den Leichtsinn des Knaben entstandenen Brand zu löschen, die Sintflut entfesselt. Diese Version hat in der Forschung Anstoss erregt⁴⁵⁾; Mayer erklärte sie für eine "elende" Konta-

mination, und J. Schwartz suchte in scharfsinniger und komplizierter Erörterung der vorher noch unbestritten gebliebenen Zuweisung des Hyginberichts im ganzen an Hesiod den Boden völlig zu entziehen, so dass in der Auswahl der Fragmente, die der Solmsenschen Hesiodausgabe beigegeben ist, das Fragment 311 arg zusammengeschmolzen ist. Aber ob nun elend oder nicht, hesiodeisch oder nicht, man hat die Rechnung ohne Nonnos gemacht, der im 6. Buch tatsächlich die Sintflut nicht als Straffaktion für die Menschheit, sondern als Notmassnahme des Zeus einführt. Die Uebereinstimmung mit dem Bericht ist im wesentlichen also vollkommen: man darf davon absehen, dass Nonnos die Brandkatastrophe nicht mit Phaethon zusammenbringt, sondern, offenbar in eigener Regie, in einen andern Zusammenhang stellt. Was bei Ovid eine Eventualität bleibt, ist bei "Hesiod" wie bei Nonnos Ereignis: es ist ausgeschlossen, dass der Spätling sich das aus Ovid herausgeklaut⁴⁶⁾ oder auch aus den eigenen Fingern gesogen hätte. Nicht unwahrscheinlich mag es sein, dass Ovid mit Jupiters Schwanken auf die hesiodeische Version reagiert hat⁴⁷⁾, wenn er sie auch sehr verdunkeln musste, da er Phaethon noch nicht ins Spiel bringen konnte; auch 2,309 ff. mag er an die vermiedene Kombination gedacht haben⁴⁸⁾. Ob das alexandrinische Gedicht, dem Ovid in seiner Phaethonpartie vornehmlich gefolgt ist, die "hesiodeische" Klitterung benutzte, soll hier nicht im Vorbeigehen entschieden werden; die Restitutionsmassnahmen Jupiters met. 2,406 ff. sind ganz unverdächtig und von einer Sintflut weit entfernt. Kurz, wir fassen bei Nonnos und sehr alteriert bei Ovid ältere griechische Tradition⁴⁹⁾, können aber schwerlich eine bestimmte Vorlage mit einer eindeutigen Handlungsführung erreichen, so scharf die Konturen im grossen sein mögen.

Gehen wir nun an die Beschreibung der Flut selber heran, so fällt zunächst ins Auge, dass sie bei Nonnos viel umfangreicher ist als in den Metamorphosen, die aber dafür auf den postdiluvialen Zustand abheben. Nun hat P. Grimal⁵⁰⁾ sich dahin ausgesprochen, dass Ovid hier ohne Ordnung einzelne Miniaturbilder nebeneinanderstelle, ohne dass ein überzeugendes Gesamtbild daraus entstünde, und R. Grahay⁵¹⁾ hat denselben Eindruck der Vielfältigkeit ohne Einheit, die ihn an Theater und Kino gemahnt; er betont besonders, dass der Dichter seinen Standpunkt bald

über bald unter Wasser nehme⁵²). Während Grimal darin einen Mangel Ovids und seiner Zeit erblickt, den er mit dem bekannten Landschaftsmosaik von Palestrina zu illustrieren sucht, ist Grahay darauf aus, darin wie in vielem andern Barockismus zu erkennen. Man wird daran erinnert, dass manche Beurteiler das gesamte Werk der Metamorphosen in diesem Lichte betrachten, wenn sie es für eine Serie von Epyllien ausgeben; so gesehen rückt es dann unter den Händen d'Ippolitos an die Dionysiaka des Nonnos heran, die Abel-Welmanns als eine starker Kohärenz entbehrende Kette von Erzähleinheiten (wie sie vorsichtiger statt des problematischen Ausdrucks Epyllion sagt) ansieht⁵³). Diesen Mangel an Einheitlichkeit müht sie sich nun als Charakteristikum der spätantiken Uebergangszeit darzutun, bis wir genau auf der letzten Seite zu unserer Ueberraschung erfahren, dass viele Merkmale, wenn auch in minder deutlicher Ausprägung, sich von der hellenistischen Literatur (z.b. Kallimachos) bis zu Nonnos verfolgen lassen, Merkmale, die am besten unter D'Ippolitos Begriff 'perdita della visione d'insieme' zu subsumieren seien. So reichen sich im Zeichen des Strukturalismus die Jahrhunderte einträchtig die Hand, Ovid ist gleich Nonnos und Nonnos gleich Ovid, und irrelevant bleibt, was sie selber von ihrem Werke dachten, dass der eine nämlich ein antikallimacheisches *carmen perpetuum* schaffen wollte und der andere ποικιλία auf sein Banner schrieb. Doch halten wir uns für heute an unser engeres Thema: wenn Ovid einzelne Züge hervorhebt und dabei mal über mal unter Wasser schaut, so lässt sich das nicht nur bei ihm und auch bei Nonnos beobachten, sondern ebenso bei Horaz *carm.* 1,2,5 ff. und Lykophron 80 ff.: wie hätte es ein Dichter anders machen sollen?⁵⁴) Einen Einfluss der *topia* der Maler, wie ihn Grimal annimmt, kann man mit einem einzigen Exemplum schon deshalb nicht demonstrieren, weil das Diluvium in vorchristlicher Kunst überhaupt nicht dargestellt worden ist⁵⁵).

Sehen wir etwas genauer zu, so stellt sich heraus, dass Ovid doch recht bedacht disponiert. Nachdem der Regen und dann die Ueberflutung durch die Wasserläufe eingesetzt haben und alsbald alles ein einziges Meer geworden ist⁵⁶), wird zunächst die Situation derer geschildert, die zu Schiff umherirrten, dann die Invasion der Seetiere, weiterhin die Notlage der Landtiere und endlich in vier abschliessenden Versen zusammen-

fassend die allgemeine Vernichtung; so gibt er zunächst in ausgewählten Zügen eine Vorstellung von der Verkehrung der gewohnten Verhältnisse und konstatiert dann das gänzliche Verderben aller auf Erden. Er vermeidet es aber, den grausigen Endzustand im einzelnen vor Augen zu stellen, recht im Gegensatz zu den christlichen Bildern, deren Phantasie sich neben der Rettung der Frommen in der Arche auf den Untergang der Bösen in den Fluten konzentriert. Man hat bedauert, dass Ovid kein Mitleid mit den Opfern äussert, und damit die wohlfeile Vermutung verbunden, Vergil würde es anders gemacht haben⁵⁷⁾. Aber wie in der Genesis verdienen die Bösewichter ja kein Mitleid, das den Eindruck der Strafhoheit Jupiters gestört hätte; Platon würde es schwerer gehabt haben, den Untergang der athenischen Idealbürger zugleich mit den übermütigen Leuten von Atlantis erträglich zu machen. Von Schadenfreude an verdientem Unglück lässt Ovid jedoch nichts spüren. So wollen wir seine Humanität vor dem üblichen Vorwurf der Grausamkeit bewahren: man erinnere sich, dass die andern Götter ihr Bedauern kundgegeben hatten (V. 246 ff.), und vergleiche die Parallele in der Geschichte von Philemon und Baucis; auch hier verliert der Erzähler kein Wort der Teilnahme am Geschick der Ertrunkenen, aber die beiden Alten erfasst eine Regung des Erbarmens (8,698).

Zieht man nun Nonnos heran, so hat man den Eindruck eines lässigen Durcheinanders, in dem das Los der Menschen zwischenhinein V. 279 ff. gar kein Extrem mehr bildet. Es hätte das allerdings auch nicht in der Stossrichtung der Erzählung gelegen, da die Katastrophe auf die Bestrafung der Erde und nicht der Menschheit abzielt. So ist denn das Ganze auch aufgelockert durch verschiedene Episoden, in denen alle möglichen Personen in pointierten Situationen unter den veränderten Bedingungen vorgeführt werden, Personen, die mit der Sage eigentlich nicht das Geringste zu tun hatten. Schliesslich tauchen V. 292 ff. und schon zwischendurch noch Nereiden auf, die auf Tritonen reiten, and ähnliche Wesen, die damals nichts anderes taten als gewöhnlich; hier wird dem Nonnos eine der Sage eigene Schwierigkeit ebensowenig bewusst wie fast allen andern, die sich gar nicht wundern, dass die Flut den Seetieren überhaupt keine Todesgefahr bringen konnte. Bei Nonnos scheint es überhaupt nicht so schrecklich zuzugehen, sondern es wirkt fast amüsant, dass alles

mal gründlich ausser Rand und Band gerät. Wenn das Wasser V.370 δούλωρον ist, so ist hier nicht etwa gemeint, dass es beschneit gewesen wäre, sondern das Wort ist nach Analogie von νεφετός gebraucht, womit Nonnos schlechthin ein Unwetter zu bezeichnen liebt, vor allem gerade die Sintflut⁵⁸⁾, aber auch andere Fluten, wäre es auch nur Jupiters Goldregen. An Getöse aller Art lässt er es nach seiner Weise auch nicht fehlen, während Ovid ein einziger Krach genügt (fragor V. 269).

Wäre Nonnos von Ovid abhängig, so hätte er sich erstaunlich wenig an ihn gekehrt. Es sind nur wenige Koinzidenzen, die D'Ippolito 225 ff. beibringt, und selbst da gibt es, wie der italienische Gelehrte nicht übersieht, noch insofern einen nicht unerheblichen Unterschied, als die Mitwirkung Neptuns bei Ovid V. 283 ff. schon vor der Flut akut wird und bei Nonnos V. 373 ff. (ebenso 13,536 ff.) erst hinterher. Aber dass überhaupt der Meergott beigezogen wird, ist allerdings ein Konsens der beiden Autoren, der auffallen muss, wenn man sich bewusst bleibt, dass es von Haus aus Jupiter allein ist, der die Flut entfesselt und dann auch wieder beendet. Auch bei Ovid verfolgt der entzürnte Himmelsherr seine ureigene Sache, und bei Nonnos ist es nicht anders: dass er das Geschehen erst in Gang setzen kann, nachdem die Sterne die geeignete Position eingenommen haben, ist spezifisch nonnianisch⁵⁹⁾ und für uns leicht abzustreifen. Neptun macht aber dem Regengott gar keine Konkurrenz, sondern bleibt in seinem eigenen Bereich⁶⁰⁾. Bei Nonnos fühlt er sich zunächst sogar so überflüssig, dass er verärgert seinen Dreizack hinwirft (V. 288 ff.), und erst zum Schluss tritt er mit seinem Instrument in Aktion, als es gilt, den Fluten durch Sprengung der Berge freien Ablauf zu ermöglichen. Auch bei Ovid hat er nur dafür zu sorgen, dass die Wasser über die Ufer treten, und sie später wieder zur Ordnung zu bringen (V. 330 f.). So ist es völlig normal, denn er ist von jeher sowohl in seiner griechischen wie in seiner römischen Vergangenheit auch Patron des Süßwassers gewesen; für Ueberschwemmungen ist er sogar besonders zuständig⁶¹⁾. Nun lässt aber aufhorchen, dass er bei Nonnos unter all den Stellen, wo er den Dreizack hätte ansetzen können, gerade den thessalischen "Felsen" spaltet, d.h. Ossa und Olympi voneinander trennt und so das Tempetal schafft⁶²⁾; durch Herodot 7,129 wissen wir bekanntlich, dass der Volksglaube

in diesem Phänomen das Werk Poseidons sah. Ja, das Ereignis ist auch in den Zusammenhang der Sintflut gesetzt worden, denn bei Apollodor 1,47⁶³⁾ erfahren wir, dass "damals" die Berge in Thessalien auseinandertraten. Gewiss wird man das bei dem Mythographen auf einen früheren Zeitpunkt verlegen, als es der ist, den Nonnos im Auge hat, aber diese Differenz lässt sich leicht erklären, denn er oder eher sein Autor hat eine andere Tradition damit verknüpft: er stellt sich vor, dass durch den Spalt zwischen den Bergen "mitten hindurch" die Fluten abliefen, und so lässt er überhaupt alle Wasser εἰς βυθίλους κευθμῶνας verströmen (V. 379, vgl. 13,537). Diese "tiefen Schlünde" (Th. v. Scheffer) sind aus der antiken Vorstellung zu erklären, wonach sich unter der ganzen Erde vielfache Hohlräume hinziehen, die eine Kommunikation der Gewässer wie ihrer Gottheiten erlauben. Wir wollen darauf jetzt nicht eingehen, denn für uns ist einstweilen nur dies wichtig, dass die Sagentradition sich längst darum gekümmert hatte, wohin das viele Wasser denn eigentlich verschwunden war⁶⁴⁾. In Athen gab es im Heiligtum des olympischen Zeus ein χάσμα, in das die Flut abgezogen sein sollte⁶⁵⁾, und auch in Hierapolis existierte ein χάσμα μέγα, das freilich nach Lukians Versicherung zu seiner Zeit viel zu klein war, als dass es seine Aufgabe hätte erfüllt haben können⁶⁶⁾.

Wir haben somit Nonnos' kurze Angaben aus griechischer Tradition verifiziert und uns dabei weit von Ovid entfernt, viel weiter, als dass er noch als Quelle in Betracht kommen könnte, so überraschend die eine flüchtige Übereinstimmung im Ausdruck sein mag. Wenden wir uns vollends der Götterszenerie zu, mit der Ovid Anfang und Ende der Flut ausgestaltet, so wird der Abstand noch grösser. War Zeus als ὑπέριος⁶⁷⁾ sich selbst genug, um die Erde in Wasser zu versenken und nachher wieder auftauchen zu lassen, und nahm er höchstens Neptuns Hilfe in Anspruch, so hat Ovid noch andere göttliche Wesen hinzugesetzt und Bilder geschaffen, die bei Nonnos nicht ihresgleichen haben. Offenbar bedurfte er hier der Inspiration durch eine griechische Quelle nicht mehr. Dass Okeanos bei Nonnos V. 224 f. Zeus bittet, die Flammen zu löschen, ist ein Residuum der Phaethongeschichte, das aus dem von G. Knaack wiedergewonnenen alexandrinischen Gedicht stammt, wie der Zusammenklang mit Philostr. imag. 1,11 beweist⁶⁸⁾. Ovid hat das Motiv 2,272 ff. in seinem ursprünglichen

Zusammenhänge, aber da war es Tellus, die Jupiter in ihrer Verzweiflung anrief; Nonnos konnte sie in diesem Falle nicht brauchen, da gerade sie es war, der nach seiner persönlichen Version die Strafaktion galt⁶⁹⁾; wo kein solcher Hinderungsgrund vorlag, hat sich derselbe Dichter ohne weiteres ihrer Intervention bedient (22,274 ff.).

Die Omnipotenz des Wettergottes erscheint bei Ovid dadurch kaum eingeschränkt, dass er sich der Zustimmung des Götterkonzils versichert hatte. Man kann zweifeln, ob das bereits in griechischer Tradition vorgebildet war, denn Ovid war soviel dem himmlischen Senat schuldig, während die platonische Aristophanesrede freieren Vorstellungen huldigte. Kann also der nonnianische Zeus den Regen wie vorher die Blitze aus eigener Kraft schicken, so bedient sich der ovidische der Hilfe des Notos, der als furchtbarer Dämon geschildert ist (V. 264 ff.). Nonnos bleibt beim Gewohnten: er führt keine Personifikation ein, und während Jupiter bei dem Römer die drei andern Winde zurückhält, lässt er die vier alle zusammen toben (6,286 f., auch 12,61), ohne der discordia fratrum zu gedenken, die Ovid 1,56 ff. so treffend hervorgehoben hatte⁷⁰⁾. Wir lesen eine Beschreibung des Notos, die von Wilkinson und Lee kritisiert worden ist; der letztere bemängelt, dass das Dunkel, das sein Antlitz bedeckt, den Betrachter eigentlich daran hindern müsste, die Details seiner Erscheinung zu erkennen, so wie Ovid sie schildert. Ob unter dem pechschwarzen Nebel das Bild des zerfliessenden und verschwimmenden Windgottes wirklich leidet oder ohne diese Finsternis viel zu wenig unheildrohend sein würde, mag unerörtert bleiben; Bömer hat zu V.265ff. jedenfalls mit Recht eingewandt, dass der Dichter grössere Freiheit genießt als der Maler. Die Phantasie des Lesers wird angeregt, sich den Dämon vorzustellen, auch wenn die Kunst nicht alles adäquat wiedergeben könnte. Aber ein neckischer Zufall will es, dass auf dem vielbesprochenen Relief der Marcussäule in Rom, das das berühmte Regenwunder vorführt⁷¹⁾, der nasse Gott so dargestellt ist, dass man mit Fug vermuten darf, unsere Ovidstelle habe den Bildhauer angeregt. Er ist ganz von Wasser umflossen, Haar und Bart triefen und die weitausgebreiteten Arme sehen tatsächlich so aus, als ob sie mit den Händen die Wolken auspressten, während die grossen tropfenden Flügel im Hintergrunde zerrinnen. Nebel und Dunkelheit konnten nicht ausgedrückt werden, und ob der Gesichtsausdruck des den Römern so hilfreichen Gottes schrecklich ist, darüber liest man in den Beschreibungen des Reliefs recht Verschiedenes; aber trotzdem ist die Kongenialität mit Ovid gar nicht zu verkennen.

Auch Neptun bleibt bei Ovid nicht so blass wie bei Nonnos. Als es gilt, den alten Zustand wiederherzustellen, beschwört der Lateiner eine Szene von ähnlicher Lebendigkeit wie die vergilische, wo der Gott mit seinem Quos ego die Naturkräfte zur Ordnung zwingt. Anders als bei Nonnos legt Neptun den Dreizack ruhig nieder, denn jetzt muss er besänftigend auf die Wasser wirken. Zudem ruft er Triton herbei, der mit seinem Horn zum Rückzug bläst: auch ihm tropft der Bart vor Nässe, und mit den Muscheln, mit denen sein Leib überwachsen ist, übertrifft Ovid alle Bilder, die ihn höchstensfalls mit Schuppen zeigen⁷²⁾. Mit dem dröhnenden Ton seines Horns hat aber die $\sigma\lambda\pi\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$ nichts zu tun, mit der Zeus bei Nonnos das Unwetter ankündigt (V. 231), denn damit bringt er Donnerschläge hervor wie öfters in den Dionysiaka⁷³⁾. Bei Hor. carm. 1,2,2 ff. darf man an Wintergewitter denken, und bei Ovid verursacht Notus einen fragor (V. 269), die Muschelhörner der Tritonen ($\kappa\acute{o}\chi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) aber werden bei Nonnos 274 selber ein Spiel der Winde. Am dürftigsten kommt bei ihm jedoch die Hauptperson, Deucalion, weg: ziemlich unmotiviert geistert er auf einmal, vom $\rho\acute{o}\omicron\varsigma$ $\eta\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\phi\omicron\upsilon\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (13,527) in die Höhe gehoben, auf seinem automatisch sich bewegenden Schiff dahin; man weiss nicht, von wannen er kommt und wohin er fährt, bis er zum guten Schluss seine Anwesenheit damit verrät, dass Häuser gebaut, Städte gegründet und Strassen angelegt werden.

Stellt man Ovids Motivik in den Zusammenhang der ganzen Tradition, so springen derart nahe Aehnlichkeiten ins Auge, dass der allgemeine Zusammenhang sich von selber herstellt, auch ohne dass spezielle Abhängigkeiten nachzuweisen wären. Man kann kaum versucht sein, die Motive bei ihm grundsätzlich anders anzusehen als in jeder beliebigen Quelle sonst. Wenn v. Albrecht das offenbar von manchem geteilte Empfinden äussert, die bunten Einzelheiten kontrastierten merkwürdig mit dem Hypsos⁷⁴⁾, so kann man Ovid nicht wohl allein damit lassen. Es scheint mir gar so übel nicht, an Hand der oben zitierten Arbeit von H. Hohl die Fülle von Einfällen zu beobachten, mit denen Künstler besonders im 16./17. Jahrhundert die Situation der Menschen bei der biblischen Sintflut illustriert haben; wie sich da jeder zu retten sucht, kann man nur dann lustig finden, wenn man der Genesis nicht mehr glaubt. Jemand, der in Ermangelung eines Nachens sein Fass besteigt, war sicher nicht komisch gemeint, solange man sich bewusst blieb, dass er bald entseelt dahintreiben wird. Nun hat Ovid eine grosse Wasserkatastrophe durchaus als Möglichkeit in Vergangenheit oder Zukunft ansehen können; mag er solches Unheil leichter genommen haben als Horaz oder gar sein Bewunderer Seneca, so ist doch unbegreiflich, wie E.J. Bernbeck⁷⁵⁾ in seiner Darstellung, die K. Zarzewski unvergleichlich nennt und A.M. Betten in einfühlsamen

Verständnis verfolgt⁷⁶⁾, von A bis Z eine von Grund auf unseriöse Groteske finden konnte. Vor allem geht es nicht an, wenn man ihm den Ernst abspricht, für Horaz daraus keine Konsequenz zu ziehen, der *carm.* 1,2 in der gleichen Tradition steht. Er beschwört den Princeps, das besorgte Volk nicht im Stich zu lassen, und charakterisiert die Lage mit den Schnee- und Hagelwetter, mit denen Jupiter die Stadt so schrecklich heimgesucht hat, dass man die Wiederkunft der Sintflut für Rom und die Menschheit befürchtete. Drei Züge sind es, mit denen er diese Aussicht ausmalt: Proteus führte sein Getier auf die hohen Berge, Fische verfangen sich in den Wipfeln der Ulmen, wo einst die Tauben nisteten, und angstvoll schwamm das Wild auf den weiten Wassern. Diese Züge haben bei Ovid alle ihre Äquivalente, und V. 296 ist mit der Nennung gerade der Ulmen so nahe bei Horaz, dass man in diesem besonderen Fall einmal die Benutzung der Vorlage durch den Jüngeren erschliessen müsste, wenn sie sich nicht von selber verstünde. Der gleiche Motivkomplex liegt auch bei Lykophron 79 ff. vor: es ist jedoch, wie K. Ziegler⁷⁷⁾ mit Recht urteilt, "ganz unwahrscheinlich", dass wir damit die gemeinsame Quelle hätten⁷⁸⁾; vielmehr öffnet sich der Blick auf eine uns grossenteils verlorene Tradition, die wir nicht nach dem einen Ovid abschätzen können. Auch Nonnos widmet eine Reihe von Versen (265 ff.) der Verwirrung in der Tierwelt, aber doch bei aller Ähnlichkeit mit Ovid in einer gewissen Hinsicht eigenständig. Denn während sich die Dichter sonst darauf beschränkten, das Vordringen der Seewesen und die Bedrohung der Landfauna zu kennzeichnen, teilt Ovid V. 304 mit, dass der Wolf unter den Schafen schwimmt. Auch Nonnos lässt Tiere zusammentreffen, die nicht miteinander vereinbar sind, aber es handelt sich bei ihm ausschliesslich um solche, die nur unter diesen abnormen Verhältnissen sich begegnen konnten⁷⁹⁾, nämlich Seelöwen mit Landlöwen, den Delphin mit dem Eber, den Kraken mit dem Hasen und reissende Bestien mit Fischen. Wolf und Schaf aber leben von jeher in demselben Ambiente, ohne je zu einer friedlichen Koexistenz zu kommen. Die Abnormität der Zustände ist hier somit so pointiert, dass nicht nur die äussere Situation geändert ist, sondern auch Lebensgesetze ungültig geworden sind, die sonst keine Ausnahme zulassen. Nonno hatte für dieses Motiv keinen Sinn, da er mehr auf das Phantastische aus war; aber dass er seine Pointen gerade aus Ovid entwickelt hätte, ist denkbar unwahrscheinlich. Er macht ja auch die Kumulation der Anomalie nicht mit, die Ovid V. 296 vornimmt, indem der an der Ulme hängende Fisch von einem schiffenden Menschen angetroffen wird.

Ovid wie Nonnos haben offenbar eine griechische Quelle geteilt, die selber ihr eigenes Gepräge gehabt haben muss. Wie

nun im Diluvium die alte Tierfeindschaft aufgehoben ist, so auch in den paradiesischen Zuständen der Urzeit⁸⁰⁾ und einiger-massen noch in gewissen Heiligtümern des Orients⁸¹⁾. Sonst aber bleibt das seit Il.22,262 ff. ein Ding der Unmöglichkeit und kann als sogenanntes Adynaton⁸²⁾ bis zu Archilochos⁸³⁾ zurückverfolgt werden, und zwar in der einfachen Form, dass Landtiere ihren Platz mit Delphinen tauschen; ebenso ist es bei Herodot 5,92 und ähnlich noch bei Rufin. Anth. Pal.5,18. An zwei dieser Stellen handelt es sich darum, dass das Udenkbare denkbar wird, nachdem etwas ganz Unerwartetes eingetreten ist, bei dem Parier eine Sonnenfinsternis in Konkurrenz mit einer Ueberraschung, die dem sprechenden Vater seine Tochter bereitet hat, und bei dem Epigrammatiker sein Uebergang von der Knaben- zur Frauenliebe; bei Herodot aber wird eine noch nicht erfolgte Eventualität, die Einsetzung von Tyrannen durch die Lakedaimonier in den Städten ihrer Bundesgenossen, für so ausgeschlossen erklärt wie die Ungeheuerlichkeiten einer Perversion selbstverständlicher Naturgegebenheiten. Es wäre ein Leichtes, die Alteration der Lebensbedingungen von Tieren mit und ohne das Tauschmotiv⁸⁴⁾ und überhaupt die Verwirrung von Land, Meer und Himmel, die das Diluvium herbeiführt⁸⁵⁾, an weiteren Adynata zu illustrieren, aber das mag für jetzt unterbleiben. Wo die Umkehrung der bestehenden Verhältnisse der Fauna ihren ursprünglichen Platz hat, wird man kaum fragen dürfen: soviel sieht man aber, dass das Sintflutmotiv eng mit dem Adynaton zusammengehört und dadurch auch mit der Fabel, in der das Tierfriedensmotiv zu Hause ist; ein magisch-religiöser Hintergrund ist deutlich zu spüren⁸⁶⁾. Der Zusammenhang liegt rudimentär auch bei Horaz vor, insofern das Volk fürchtet, dass nun nach den Unwetterkatastrophen sogar das Zeitalter der Pyrrha wiederkehren könne, aber es ist doch wie bei Archilochos die andere Sorge, die mit dem Naturgeschehen konkurriert, so freilich, dass die Hoffnung auf Augustus dominiert. Nach allem ist es also nicht gerade probabel, für Ovid eine Ausnahmestellung zu postulieren und dann auch Horaz in Mitleidenschaft zu ziehen. Bernbeck entschuldigt dessen angebliche spielerische Vorstellungen freilich als Ausdruck übermütiger Dankbarkeit und Lebenslust nach glücklich überstandener Gefahr und als Ausfluss freudiger Zuversicht auf Augustus; bei Ovid müsse das anders sein, denn sein Zusammenhang lasse eine andere Stimmung erwarten. Wer in aller Welt stellt dann den Zusammen-

hang eigentlich her, der Kritiker oder der Autor?

Wir können über solche Auslassungen leichten Fusses hinweggehen, aber die Sache ist auch für uns noch nicht ganz ausgestanden. Denn Horaz scheint ja epist. 2,3,30 glattweg zu verurteilen, was er sich früher erlaubt hatte. Aber dort geht es, soweit man sieht, um die Einheitlichkeit künstlerischer Vorstellung, die kein Uebermass an Variation gestattet und somit normalerweise gewahrt sein will; dagegen schafft die Flut abnorme Verhältnisse, für die keine Regel mehr gilt: der Dichter musste in diesem Fall also monstra beschwören, denn das Prodigiöse war in solchem Zusammenhang unentbehrlich. Man denke sich nun, Ovid hätte diese Motive in einer umfassenden Beschreibung totaler Umwälzung weggelassen; würde der aufmerksame Leser sie nicht haben vermissen müssen, besonders wenn sie ihm von Horaz her so oder ähnlich noch vor Augen standen? Hat Ovid sie also aufgenommen, so war er des Vorgängers auch eingedenk: falls man ihn also nicht ernst nimmt, kann man eigentlich nicht umhin zu folgern, dass er parodieren wollte, und wen dann sonst als eben Horaz! Damit wären wir denn mitten in dem heute so beliebten Trend, der sich einstellt, sobald man sich mit den wirklich witzigen Pointen und Geschichten der Metamorphosen nicht begnügt, sondern allerorten gleich Unernst des Dichters wittert⁸⁷⁾. Due 36 legt dies Verfahren mit einer geradezu entwaffnenden Offenheit bloss, indem er, ausgerechnet für unsern Fall, folgendermassen schliesst: wenn Ovid so ernst wäre wie Horaz, dann wäre er geschmacklos, das darf er aber nicht sein, also ist er nicht ernst. Es könnte schwerlich deutlicher werden, dass diese Interpretationsweise, zur Methode ausgewachsen, nur ein fortgesetztes ästhetisches Urteil von einer Subjektivität ist, die für niemand Verbindlichkeit hat.

Es lässt sich hören, wenn man mit v. Albrecht⁸⁸⁾ einen "Schwebezustand zwischen Ernst und Heiterkeit" in den Metamorphosen annimmt, aber neben den heiteren Stellen, die es ja zweifellos glücklicherweise in dem Werk gibt, haben so gut wie alle Kritiker auch solche Partien zugestanden, die absolut ernst sind⁸⁹⁾, seien es nur wenige seien es viele und gar mehr, als ihnen eigentlich recht sein könnte. So kommt es denn in praxi doch dahin, dass zwei Gruppen wie Feuer und Wasser sich scheiden und immer wieder ausgemacht werden muss, woran wir im einzelnen Fall denn sein sollen. Auch bei Galinsky liegt das eine und das andere meht nebeneinander als ineinander, obwohl er theoretisch Ovids Geschichten bitonal oder gar polytonal nennt und mit einem ciceronischen Ausdruck eine perpetua festivitas im ganzen Werk und so auch in der Diluviumpartie (S. 183 f.) ausgebreitet findet⁹⁰⁾. Aber hat das nicht schon längst viel netter Emile Ripert⁹¹⁾ gerade mit Bezug auf die Sintflut gesagt, Ovid mache es auch bei einem solchen Gegenstand immer noch möglich, geistreich zu sein, vor allem aber Maler und Meister des Zierats zu bleiben:

Ovide n'est pas très ému, on le sent, on le sait, on ne lui demande pas de l'être. Man kann niemand verschreiben, mit welchen Augen er persönlich die Metamorphosen lesen soll, aber darauf sollte man doch achten, wann und wie weit der Dichter selber einer leichteren Stimmung entgegenkommt. Vielleicht lohnt sich für uns noch ein schneller Blick auf Nonnos, den Cadoni 108 freddo e pesante di notazioni astronomiche schilt: aber bringt nicht gerade er die Situation ins Drollige und unterscheidet sich von Ovid in der Weise, dass jener nur solche Paradoxe inszeniert, die zum Thema gehören, dieser aber mythische Personen ins Diluvium versetzt, die eigentlich gar nichts damit zu tun haben? Pan sucht Echo, die fürchtet, statt seiner dem Poseidon in die Hand zu fallen, Alpheios trifft auf der Suche nach Galateia den Nil und stachelt Pyramus' Eifersucht auf Thisbe an! An sich entspricht es seiner Art, allerlei Sagen, die ihm gerade präsent sind, ohne Not andeutungsweise anzubringen, und was er nicht recht auszufüllen weiss, durch Nester von Anspielungen auf fremde Zusammenhänge bunt zu gestalten, sofern es ihm wirksam scheint. Die Sintflut musste ihn mit ihren unendlichen Möglichkeiten besonders reizen, aber glaubt man, Ovid hätte sich nicht auch gehen lassen können, statt seine Meisterschaft in der Zurückhaltung zu zeigen?

Ein warnendes Zeichen sollte es sein, das im Altertum niemand Ovids Schilderung für humoristisch gehalten hat. Jedenfalls kann man dafür nicht Seneca ins Feld führen⁹²⁾. In dem imposanten Abschnitt nat. quaest. 3, 27-30 findet der Philosoph die Schilderung des poeta ingeniosissimus durchaus einem Ereignis adäquat, das für den Stoiker eine fatale Realität war und keine Phantasie, mit der er ungebunden hätte spielen können. H. Levy⁹³⁾ hat die zwei Teile der Partie unterschieden, erst das Kapitel 27, das die Katastrophe im Präsens vorführt, und dann die naturwissenschaftliche Erklärung, die bald auch das eigentlich zu erwartende Futurum verwendet (ab 29, 4 ff. 30, 4 ff.). Merkwürdig ist aber, dass im ersten Teil das Präsens sich zeitweilig ins Präteritum wandelt. Seneca denkt also unwillkürlich an eine Flut der Vergangenheit, und tatsächlich zitiert er in beiden Teilen Ovid-verse, um die Gewalt des unentrinnbaren Verhältnisses anschaulich zu machen. Nur der eine V. 304 fordert 27, 13 f, seine Kritik heraus, weil es sich nicht gehöre, bei einem solchen Unheil vom Schicksal der Wölfe und Schafe zu reden: non est res satis sobria lascivire devorato orbe terrarum. Ausgesprochen oder nicht, Senecas Autorität hat dahin gewirkt, dass man sich seinen Tadel zueigen gemacht und mit dem einen Vers auch dessen Umgebung in dubioses Licht gebracht hat. So hat Galinsky 183 f. gefunden, dass die dignified description in den gewohnten Unernst abgleite; für Frécaut 12 f. 22 f. wird das Ganze zu Barock und Manierismus, wobei es schwer fällt, diese modernen Begriffe ad hoc zu definieren. Bernbeck sieht nur groteske Uebertreibungen.

Und doch hat Levy⁹⁴⁾ darauf hingewiesen, dass in dem inkriminierten Vers das Tierfriedensmotiv vorliegt; muss man denn nicht daran denken, zu welcher Würde es aufsteigen konnte? Wir kennen es aus so vielen ernsten, ja religiösen Zusammenhängen, dass man es bei Ovid nicht einfach lustig nehmen kann. Unter ganz aussergewöhnlichen Umständen ist aufgehoben, was sonst natürlich ist; ein Motiv, das einen Paradieszustand bezeichnete, durfte auch in einer äussersten Notsituation charakterisieren, dass das Unglaubliche eintrat. Nun meint Seneca 3,27,14 allerdings, Schwimmer wären von der Gewalt der Fluten gleich fortgerissen worden: aber dieser Einwurf scheint Fränkel 173,17 mit Recht pedantisch⁹⁵⁾, und vielleicht ist er auch Senecas eigener Darstellung nicht recht adäquat, die mehr auf ein allmähliches Ansteigen als einen plötzlichen Einbruch des Wassers herauskommt; soviel Zeit blieb jedenfalls, dass Deucalion und andere noch Fahrzeuge flottmachen konnten. Lassen wir der Sage wie der Dichtung ihre Unbekümmertheit und verweisen nur darauf, dass auch Lykophron schwimmende Menschen erwähnt; es ist eben verkehrt, Ovid jeweils isoliert zu sehen. So darf man denn auch als Folie notieren, dass das wirklich groteske und der Situation unangemessene erotische Moment, das Lykophron 85 nach Ausweis einiger bekannter Adynata der Tradition entnommen hat, von Ovid in weisem Verzicht übergegangen ist.

Seneca betrachtet die poetische Schilderung von der Sache her, wie sie sich ihm nun einmal darstellt⁹⁶⁾: das Tierfriedensmotiv ist für ihn nicht etwa komisch, sondern ungehörig und pueril. Ovids Art aber ist es bekanntlich, jeder Situation die Momente abzugewinnen, die sie hergibt⁹⁷⁾. Ungewöhnliche Umstände bringen Ungewöhnliches mit sich, und wo wäre eine geeigneterere Gelegenheit dafür als das Diluvium! E. Lefèvre hat die Bedeutung des Paradoxen für die römische Literatur der frühen Kaiserzeit und so auch für Ovid herausgestellt⁹⁸⁾, und in der Tat ist dieser Begriff dazu angetan, von der übertriebenen Suche nach Humor abzulenken und der oft so quälenden Frage die Relevanz zu nehmen, ob es Ovid ernst sei mit dem, was er uns sagt, oder nicht. Das Paradoxe kann erschütternd wirken und auch auf dem Wege zum Lustigen sein, aber es grenzt an literarische Metaphysik, allemal genau ausmachen zu wollen, wie es Ovid dabei zumute war. Auch darauf kommt es nicht an, ob er wirkliche Vorgänge zu schildern überzeugt war, so gern er sich kritisch gab, sondern es geht um die Einbildungskraft, mit der sein poetisches Ingenium jede Situation erlebte, auch wenn sie noch so unreal war.

So sehr nun die Ueberschwemmung diese Imagination erregen musste, vielleicht noch mehr wurde sie von dem beansprucht, was folgte, und das umso eher, als die ganze Geschichte erst damit ihre raison d'être im Zusammenhang

des ganzen Werkes gewann. Ueber die Verwüstung, der Deucalion und Pyrrha nun ausgesetzt waren, wird man nicht so leicht hinwegkommen, wenn man in dieser Partie nur Humor oder wie Ripert ein pittoreskes Tableau findet. Ovid bereitet die postdiluviale Szenerie zielbewusst vor: V. 287 ff. schildert er, wie die Kapellen der Häuser mit ihren Heiligtümern weggespült werden und was an Bauten doch stehen bleibt, überflutet wird. "Türme" (hohe Gebäude) verschwinden im Strudel; bei Lykophon stürzen auch diese zusammen, und Nonnos legt alles auf völlige Neugründung an, ohne sich darum zu kümmern, was etwa erhalten gewesen war. Ovid aber braucht den Tempel der Themis und lässt diesen also noch stehen, wenn auch in desolatem Zustand. Nach Seneca ist alles Bauwerk unterspült (3,27,6); das Gemälde, das er von dem Weltuntergang im Wasser entwirft, ist von den uns erhaltenen Schilderungen am intransigentesten und gestattet nur flüchtige Ausblicke auf einen Neuanfang, den doch auch das stoische Dogma forderte⁹⁹⁾.

Der Lauf der Ereignisse war dem Ovid im grossen vorgegeben mit dem Auftreten Deucalions und Pyrrhas, dem Orakelspruch, den sie erhalten, und der Erneuerung des Menschengeschlechts aus ihren Steinwürfen. Dies Wundermotiv stellte eine Metamorphose dar, wenn auch im gegenteiligen Sinne als die gewöhnlichen Apolithoseis. Man konnte das alles natürlich als bekannt voraussetzen. Nonnos führt den Deucalion also mit seiner automobilen Arche ein (6,366 ff., vgl. 12,62 f.), aber dass die Menschen neugeschaffen werden mussten, deutet er nur V. 386 an, indem er sie ἀρτίγονοι nennt. Schon vorher sagt er, dass der κόσμος ἄκοσμος geworden und die Serie der Menschengeschlechter samenlos vom allnährenden Aion aufgelöst worden wäre, wenn nicht Zeus für die Wiederherstellung der Ordnung gesorgt hätte. So ist denn von der Restitution der Gewässer durch den vom Allvater beauftragten Poseidon die Rede und dann gleich von der Gründung neuer Städte durch die wiedererstandenen Menschen; zum Schluss lacht die Natur, und mit den Winden zusammen durchrudern die Vögel die Luft. Zu Beginn des 7. Buches hören wir, wie Eros die natürliche Fortpflanzung zurückbringt; aber das Leben ist noch eine Drangsal, die sich erst wendet, als Zeus auf Zureden des Aion den Dionysos zeugt und damit die Gabe des Weins vorbereitet. Man kann wirklich nicht sagen, dass sich in diesem Abschnitt Spuren Ovids fänden, denn selbst über die Eindämmung der Wasser sagt der Grieche mehr als Ovid. Dieser erzählt dagegen, wie die Menschheit sich erneuert, ehe sie sich auf die alte Weise fortpflanzen kann, und nicht nur das, auch die Wiedererschaffung der Tierwelt berücksichtigt er¹⁰⁰⁾, und zwar so, dass er die Autogenese, die in der Kosmogonie ihren Stamplatz hat, auf den Moment nach der Sintflut überträgt. Das ist freilich nicht seine eigene Leistung, denn bei Diod. 1,10,4

wird die Ansicht von ΤΥΦΕΨ diskutiert, dass nach der Deucalionflut eine völlige Neugeburt aus dem Schosse der Erde erfolgt sei¹⁰¹⁾. Hätte Ovid gewollt, so würde auch er von baulicher Tätigkeit haben erzählen können, die seit alter Zeit zur Sage gehörte¹⁰²⁾; in dieser Funktion konnte er den Deucalion ja, wenn sonst nirgends, bei Apoll. Rhod. 3,1087 ff. (vgl. 4,266) finden.

Die Erzählung des Römers läuft überhaupt ganz anders als die des Nonnos. Die Wiederherstellung des rechten Verhältnisses von Land und Wasser mussten nach allem, was vorhergegangen war, natürlich beide bringen, aber Nonnos sagt nur im Irrealis, dass der Kosmos ἄκοσμος¹⁰³⁾ geworden wäre, wenn Zeus nicht die Ueberschwemmung beseitigt hätte, und dann kann er in der weiteren Ordnung der Welt fortfahren; so lässt er das Steinwunder weg, auf das es Ovid gerade angelegt hat. Für diesen ergibt sich damit die Gelegenheit, ja die Notwendigkeit, den Zwischenzustand nach der Beseitigung der Flut und vor dem Steinwunder ins Auge zu fassen. Einen Ansatz dazu bietet schon Vergil georg. 1,60 ff.¹⁰⁴⁾, aber Ovids Anliegen war es, die Psychologie der beiden Ueberlebenden auszugestalten. Otis 88.201 hat in diesem Abschnitt a world of crystal-clear theodicy gefunden und A. Menzione poeticissima religiosità¹⁰⁵⁾. Die Theodizee zeigt sich nun aber nicht mehr in der Strafgewalt des höchsten Gottes, sondern umgekehrt in der Belohnung der Frömmigkeit. Diese pietas, mit der das Urpaar seine Rettung verdient hatte, bewährt sich auch da, wo der problematische Orakelspruch es davon hätte abbringen können, das Notwendige zu tun. Dabei kommt freilich ein gewisser Unterschied zwischen den zweien zum Vorschein. Die Frau lehnt sich in ihrem spontanen Gefühl gleich dagegen auf, die Gebeine der grossen Mutter hinter sich zu werfen, aber der Spruch geht ihr doch nicht aus dem Sinn, so wenig wie dem Mann, der schliesslich die Lösung des Rätsels entdeckt. Dennoch sind sich beide der Sache nicht sicher und wagen den Versuch, der nun unanstössig ist, nur deshalb, weil er nicht mehr schaden kann¹⁰⁶⁾.

Noch angelegentlicher hat Ovid die Liebe der beiden geschildert, sicherlich mit eigenen Farben. Mechthild Freundt hat sie im Sinne ihrer ganzen Dissertation einfühlsam behandelt und dargelegt, wie innig das Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl des Paares zum Ausdruck gebracht ist¹⁰⁷⁾. Auch Boillat 81 ff. hebt die pietas in coniugem hervor, zieht sie aber gleich in die unvermeidliche Ironie hinab, indem er die Pointe interpoliert, dass Deucalion diese Pietät nur mangels Auswahlmöglichkeit empfinde. Der um Ovid sonst verdiente Autor kommt also darauf hinaus, dass die Anrede o femina sola superstes V. 351 insinuiere, Deucalion hätte es gerne mal mit einer andern probiert¹⁰⁸⁾, wenn nur eine dagewesen wäre. In Wirklichkeit kann kein Schatten auf die

gegenseitige Abhänglichkeit der Gatten fallen: es mag immerhin sein, dass jemand Deucalions Worte weinerlich findet - ein Eindruck, den Ovid bei seiner Vertiefung in Affekte vielleicht öfter erwecken könnte -, aber wenn es V. 325 f. heisst: Deucalion de tot milibus unus und Pyrrha de tot milibus una, so sollte man darin noch nicht einmal blosser Rhetorik spüren.

Die Vereinsamung der beiden ist dem Dichter zu einer wahren Vision geworden. Sie sind gerettet, aber was für ein Dasein konnten sie noch erwarten! Der Erdkreis war inanis (V. 348) oder vacuus, wie Ovid. am. 2,14,12 nach Vergils georg. 1,62 Vorgang sagt. Niemand war da, den sie hätten ansprechen können. Ovid hat davon abgesehen, in einem Zuge ein geschlossenes Bild der Verheerung zu entwerfen, die die Wasser hinterlassen haben, ein Bild, das vielleicht allzu bald dem Leser wieder entschwunden wäre, sondern er hat nur einzelne, aber bezeichnende Züge angedeutet und weit verteilt, so dass die verzweifelte Lage sich immer wieder in Erinnerung bringt. Ganz aufeinander angewiesen, können Deucalion und Pyrrha nicht einmal sicher sein, dass die Gefahr wirklich vorüber war, denn noch immer hängen Wolken am Himmel (V. 356 f.). Und welche Unwirtlichkeit der Heimat: der Cephisus fliesst zwar wieder, aber trübe (370), die Wipfel der Bäume sind kahl, und wo noch Laub ist, steckt es voll Schlamm¹⁰⁹⁾, der First des verlassenen Tempels der Orakelgöttin aber ist gelb von hässlichem Moos (373 f.). Bömer meint, in der kurzen Zeit zwischen dem Ende der Flut und dem Erscheinen Deucalions vor dem Heiligtum könne das Moos weder gewachsen noch, wenn gewachsen, durch Austrocknen unansehnlich geworden sein. Ich frage mich, ob es nicht vielmehr irgendwo losgerissen und dann dort angeschwemmt worden war. Uebrigens, so sehr es Ovid, wenn es ihm beliebt, auf Zeit und Ort ankommt, diesmal erfahren wir überhaupt nicht, wie lange die Flut schon her ist und wieviel Zeit und Kraft die beiden Uebriggebliebenen beim Abstieg vom Parnass nach Delphi verbraucht haben. Erst recht hören wir nichts von all dem Schrecklichen, was die einsamen Wanderer unterwegs erblickt haben müssen: der Künstler, der Ovid war, hat offenbar dem Grausigen keinen Raum gönnen wollen, das er doch, wie ihm nachgesagt wird, entweder liebte oder parodierte. So tun wir wohl besser, wenn wir die Verunzierung des Tempelfirsts nicht auf das Konto des Humors setzen; dass die Erzeltern sich andächtig Gewand und Haupt mit dem unreinen Cephisuswasser besprengen¹¹⁰⁾, kennzeichnet die nunmehrigen, nie dagewesenen Lebensumstände, deren Inkommodität man sicher so drückend empfinden soll, wie sie in Wirklichkeit gewesen sein müssten: nicht einmal die sakrale Handlung lässt sich mehr so vollziehen, wie es geboten wäre. Claudians Roma findet den Tiber per tecta vagum durchaus beklagenswert und hat nur ungern Pyrrhas saecula gespürt¹¹¹⁾; jeder-

mann, der auch nur die Ueberschwemmungen der sanften Mosel in den zwanziger Jahren mit angesehen hat, sei es das Hochwasser selbst sei es die Verwüstungen hinterher, wird Ovids Andeutungen von der desaströsen Erinnerung nicht zu trennen vermögen. Wenn man leichterhand einmal eine Vermutung äussern darf, so könnte Ovid sehr wohl eine der häufigen und oft ruinösen Tiberüberschwemmungen persönlich beobachtet haben¹¹²⁾. Es fehlt nur der Eindruck der Feuchtkühle, die eine vom Wasser verlassene Behausung noch lange ausströmt.

Wie das losgerissene Moos und die verschlammten Bäume es anschaulich machen, gibt es keine frische Vegetation mehr, aber auch keine Tierwelt, es besteht überhaupt für Menschen keine Existenzmöglichkeit. Die ökologische Ordnung ist zerstört, würde ein Moderner sagen: aber dieser Gesichtspunkt wird von Ovid nicht hervorgehoben, und es fehlt auch jeder Hinweis auf die Auflösung der Einheit der Natur, die nach neueren Deutungen ein Tragpfeiler der ganzen Metamorphosenauffassung des Dichters sein soll. Worauf es ihm ankommt, ist die völlige Verlassenheit zweier Menschen in einer verwüsteten Umgebung.

Unter allem, woran sie leiden, gibt es noch etwas, worin sich die verzweifelte Situation kennzeichnet: Deucalion empfindet, dass die trostlose Landschaft keinen Laut hervorbringt; *alta silentia* (349), das ist es, was über allem liegt. Nichts regt und bewegt sich, es sei denn der trübe dahinfließende Cephisus, und doch hätte auch dieser so schweigsam sein können wie der unheimliche Lethon der Libyer bei Lucan 9,355. Es herrscht gewiss nicht das produktive Schweigen, das der Bonner Kunsthistoriker Paul Clemen einst gelobt und geübt hat¹¹³⁾, aber auch nicht die Ruhe eines nächtlichen Waldes, die so beängstigend wirken kann, obwohl man bestimmt nicht allein ist und jederzeit etwa das Klopfen eines Spechts zu hören erwarten kann, es ist nicht einmal die Stummheit einer abgelegenen Gegend, in die vielleicht im nächsten Augenblick ein Ueberfall hineinfahren wird, - nein, es ist eine Stille, in der Einsamkeit zur Verlassenheit wird, es ist die Oede des Nichts und die Starre des Todes, die die Flut hinterlassen hat¹¹⁴⁾. Vielleicht darf man eine meisterliche Partie der Aeneis zum Vergleich heranziehen, wo Vergil die Flucht des Aeneas mit den Seinen aus dem brennenden Troja beschreibt¹¹⁵⁾. Fast sind sie gerettet, als plötzlich das Geräusch von Tritten ertönt; Anchises ruft entsetzt *propinquant*: er sieht flammende Schilde und blitzendes Erz, aber die Gefahr geht vorüber. Mittlerweile entdeckt Aeneas jedoch, dass ihm Creusa auf den ungewohnten Fluchtwegen nicht hat folgen können¹¹⁶⁾: da verliert er die Selbstbeherrschung und stürzt, sie zu suchen, in die Stadt zurück. Vergil schafft sich so die Möglichkeit,

die Verwüstung anschaulich zu machen, die die Kämpfe hinterlassen haben. Noch nie war Aeneas vor einem Feind in Furcht geraten, auch nicht, als Anchises die Nahenden ankündigte, aber jetzt ist er ganz in Schrecken versetzt und schaudert vor jedem Laut und jedem Luftzug. So heisst es denn *horror ubique animo, simul ipsa silentia terrent* (2,755). Es ist nicht zu sagen, ob Vergil je ein vergleichbares Erlebnis gehabt haben könnte; er hat jedenfalls die visionäre Kraft, sich in das Grausen inmitten völliger Zerstörung hineinzusetzen. Ganz kann er freilich den Eindruck des absoluten Schweigens nicht durchhalten; vom Prasseln des Feuers darf man absehen, aber Aeneas sieht nicht nur sein eigenes Haus und das des Priamus in Flammen, sondern erblickt auch die gefangenen jungen Trojaner und die Frauen, die auf der Burg samt der Beute gesammelt werden, ja, er erfüllt das Dunkel mit seinen eigenen Rufen, bis ihm endlich die in Cybeles Gefolge aufgenommene Gattin als Schatten erscheint und ihn veranlasst, zu den Gefährten zurückzukehren.

Ovid vermochte die Totenstille ganz unbedingt empfinden zu lassen; er hat das noch an einer andern Stelle getan, da nämlich, wo er von Junos Abstieg in die Unterwelt erzählt¹¹⁷). Bekanntlich variiert er dort Vergils Erzählung *Aen.* 7,323 ff.¹¹⁸), aber während die Himmelsgöttin hier traditions-gemäss zwar zur Erde herniederfährt, dann aber die von ihr benötigte *Allecto* ans Licht heraufbeordert, scheut sie sich bei Ovid gegen alle Regel nicht, selber das Totenreich zu betreten und *Tisiphone* drunten ihren Auftrag zu geben. So schafft sich der Dichter die Gelegenheit zu einer Beschreibung der Unterwelt, in der er sich mit Vergil (und nur mit diesem) misst, natürlich auch mit dem *Descensus des Aeneas*¹¹⁹). Nun heisst das Totenreich auch bei dem Vorgänger *loca nocte tacentia late* (6,265), und die *umbrae* sind *silentes* (6,264. 432) wie von eh und je, aber immerhin heult der lernäische Löwe erschrecklich (6,288) und bellt ewig der *Cerberus* (6, 401. 417), der *Phlegethon* rollt krachende Steinblöcke (6,551) und der *Acheron* rauscht dumpf (6,327); die Stimmen der Krieger sind allerdings dünn (6,492f.), aber die Kinder lassen sich vernehmen wie in der Oberwelt (6,426 f.), und im *Tartarus* dröhnen Schläge und Eisen zusammen mit dem Stöhnen der Bestraften (6,557 ff.), die *Furie* donnert (6,607), und es erschallt der mahnende Ruf des *Phlegyas* (6,619 f.), das Tor kreischt in den Angeln (6,573), überhaupt durchdringt Getöse das Reich der *Tisiphone* (6,561), während im *Elysium* die Bäume rauschen (6,704), der Gesang der Seligen erklingt (6,644ff.;657) und die Menge so lautstark ist wie gewohnt (6,753. 865). Man wird also nicht gerade sagen, dass Vergil die Todesstille wahre, und wollte man auf Homer zurückgehen, so würde man selbst in der *Nekyia* nicht unbedingte Konsequenz

feststellen können. Anders Ovid: er betont gleich von vornherein *est via declivis, funesta nubila taxo ducit ad infernas per muta silentia sedes*. Dies Schweigen, das mit leichtem Pleonasmus betont ist, wird vom Cerberus später bei Junos Eintritt durch ein dreimaliges Aufbellern unterbrochen (4,451), "im wesentlichen eine Konzession der Tradition gegenüber" (Bömer), sonst aber bleibt der Eindruck ungestört; der ganze Passus ist beherrscht vom Unheimlichen, mehr als vom Schrecklichen, das erst der Anblick der Furien bringt. Mit der Ueberlegung, dass die "Stadt" der Toten immer Platz genug hat für den nie abreissenden Strom der Neuankömmlinge, ist die Wesenlosigkeit der Schatten und ihres Reiches beklemmend bezeichnet¹²⁰). Man kann nicht verlangen, dass echter Glaube hinter dieser Schilderung steht: Ovid malt vielmehr mit unerbittlicher Phantasie die mythische Vorstellung bis an die Grenze des Nichts aus. Ihm genügen nur wenige Striche, und so könnte auch die nachdiluviale Welt durch weitere Einzelheiten kaum packender werden.

Die Lautlosigkeit hoffnungsbarer Verlorenheit hat ein hellenistischer Autor auch in einer geographisch durchaus fassbaren Gegend angesiedelt. Apollonios Rhodios hat zwar den Hadeseingang am bithynischen Meer im Mariandynerland nicht zu einer Stätte des Todesschweigens gemacht (2,740), wohl aber die afrikanische Syrte¹²¹): da gibt es kein Landtier und keinen Vogel, geschweige denn ein menschliches Wesen, *εὐκήλαφ δὲ κατείχετο πάντα γαλήνῃ* (4,1249). Diese Episode der Argonautenfahrt ist so atemberaubend ausgefallen, dass man sich nicht ganz sicher fühlt, ob Ovid mit seinem Bilde von der aus den Fluten sich erhebenden Erde, wo zwei Menschen trostloser Einsamkeit ausgeliefert sind, vielleicht doch einen Vorgänger gehabt haben könnte. Aber man wird seine Konzeption jedenfalls für ihn typisch finden; im engeren Bereich der für uns überschaubaren Ueberlieferung von der Sintflut steht sie völlig für sich.

Ueberschaut man diese Ueberlieferung im ganzen, so zeigt, was wir an Zeugnissen haben, so viele Berührungen, dass die Gemeinsamkeit einer verbreiteten Tradition unverkennbar ist. Eine bestimmte hellenistische Vorlage jedoch auch nur im Umriss rekonstruieren zu wollen, wäre ein aussichtsloses Unterfangen; einen Vorgänger Ovids können wir nicht einmal namhaft machen. Selbst Vollgraff in seinem problematischen Buche 99 ff. hat darauf verzichtet, Nikander in diesem Falle entschieden in Anspruch zu nehmen wie sonst für grosse Teile der vier ersten Bücher¹²²). Lykophron hat zu wenige Verse der Sintflut gewidmet, als dass man annehmen könnte, Horaz oder Ovid oder auch

Nonnos hätten gerade ihn berücksichtigt. Wer jedoch wie Bernbeck die Schilderung der Metamorphosen allein von Horaz herleiten will, simplifiziert zum grösseren Lobe oder Schaden Ovids. Wo der Koinzidenzen mit griechischer Tradition gerade in Einzelheiten so viele sind, ist auch das mythologische Handbuch, das immer noch bemüht wird¹²³⁾, als Quelle Ovids völlig unzureichend; man bedenkt dabei auch zu wenig, dass es ja immer nur für irgend einen Traditionszweig oder bestenfalls mehrere Zweige steht, woraus es exzerpiert ist, und daher selber, dürftig wie es ist, keinen eigenen Stellenwert in der Sagenentwicklung haben kann. Was die apollodorische Bibliothek über die Sintflut berichtet, reicht nie und nimmer, um Ovids oder Nonnos' Erzählung zu decken. Auf die Rhetorenschule zu rekurrieren¹²⁴⁾, auf die diesmal sowieso nichts hindeutet, hiesse einen ähnlichen Umweg machen, denn wieder würde sich die Frage stellen, woher diese denn ihre Kenntnisse geholt hätte.

So beschränkt die uns erhaltenen Quellen im Falle des Diluiviums auch sind, soviel geben sie, wenn man sie nur genügend ausnutzt, immerhin aus, um von dem Motivreichtum einer langen Ueberlieferung zu überzeugen. Damit können wir aber auf die Frage, von der wir ausgegangen sind, eine allgemeinere Antwort geben. Früher hatte man Ovid und Nonnos von der griechischen Tradition jeden für sich abhängig gemacht; mittlerweile aber glaubt man lieber, dass mit der Annahme einer direkten Benutzung Ovids durch Nonnos die alte Erklärung erledigt sei. Nun stellen wir aber, wohin wir auch blicken, griechische Ueberlieferung fest, von der der Römer wie der Griechen abhängig ist, ohne dass sie sich gegenseitig tangieren. Das lässt sich einfach nicht leugnen und wird auch von niemand geleugnet. Freilich könnte man immer noch behaupten, dass Nonnos neben all seinen Griechen auch noch den Ovid gelesen und benutzt hätte. Wozu aber nur, wo es so viel gab, was ihm näher lag¹²⁵⁾! Wenn er trotzdem so weit ausgegriffen hätte, wäre der Umfang der Entlehnungen erstaunlich gering. Auf das Gros der Dyonisiaka gesehen, boten die Metamorphosen nur wenige Sagen, die sich genealogisch mit Dionysos verbinden liessen, und von diesen hat Nonnos in keiner einzigen ovidischen Faden wirklich abgesponnen; Motive, die an das vermeintliche Vorbild erinnern, finden sich viel eher auf ganz andere Sagen angewandt. Fast überall sind wahrhaft schlagende

Aehnlichkeiten nur sparsam und geringfügig; D'Ippolito hat das sehr wohl empfunden und sich daher der Auskunft bedient, Nonnos habe seine Abhängigkeit von Ovid absichtlich vertuscht¹²⁶); aber der Panopolitaner hat doch sicherlich geglaubt, Neues und Besseres bieten zu können, und so sieht man wirklich nicht ein, warum er nur mit Griechen, von Homer angefangen, und nicht mit Römern offen konkurriert haben sollte nach dem Motto νέοισι καὶ ἀρχαγόνοισιν ἐρίζων (25,27).

Vergleicht man vollends die einzelnen Passus miteinander, die sich überhaupt nebeneinanderstellen lassen, so sind sie selten relevant; die Koinzidenzen der Worte ergeben sich manches Mal einfach aus der Gleichheit der Sachen, und wo die Berührung doch näher ist, hat der eine für sich, was dem andern fehlt, und umgekehrt. Neue Papyrusfunde werden Nonnos schwerlich öfter in der Schuld Ovids zeigen, als es bisher den Anschein hat; im Gegensinne jedoch können sie geradezu blitzlichtartig wirken. Der Überraschendste Griff, den D'Ippolito getan hat¹²⁷), ist ihm mit dem "leichteren Blitz" (levius fulmen) geglückt, den Jupiter aus Rücksicht auf Semele met. 3,305 ff. verwendet und Nonnos 8,350 andeutungsweise und ganz unverkennbar in dem Rückverweis 10,305 erwähnt (στεροπήν ἐλάχεια). Aber selbst diese unleugbare Uebereinstimmung würde für unser Problem nur dann beweisend sein, wenn dies Motiv unbedingt nach Ehwalds Vermutung von Ovid erfunden sein müsste, was die nachdrückliche Art der Einführung nicht unbedingt wahrscheinlich macht. Der Sachverhalt klärt sich ebensogut unter Annahme eines gemeinsamen Vorbildes. Und wie steht es mit folgendem Fall? D'Ippolito 268 hat mit Früheren zu den Worten der Tellus 2,299 in chaos antiqum confundimur als Kontrafakt entgegengestellt, was Nonnos 38,344 den Phosphoros sagen lässt ἐς χάος ἄλλο γένοιτο, aber mittlerweile hat sich der Gedanke in der Kosmogonie Ox. Pap. 2816 wiedergefunden¹²⁸), wo der Weltschöpfer (Zeus?) Grenzen setzt, damit der Kosmos nicht durch Streit der Elemente ins Chaos zurückfalle: ἐς χάος αὔθει μ[ιγῶσ]ι καὶ ἐς ζ[όφ]ον ὄκα π[έσεισι]. Ob gerade dieses Poem die letzte Quelle sein könnte, brauchen wir jetzt nicht zu untersuchen; klar ist aber, dass wir Knaacks Phaethongedicht wieder einmal in sein Recht einzusetzen haben¹²⁹). Nonnos blieb es dabei unbenommen, mit der für ihn notwendigen Aenderung der sprechenden Person das Chaos

auf den Himmel zu beschränken und so seines eigentlichen Wesens als einer Konfusion der Elemente zu berauben. Auch ihm liessen seine griechischen Quellen noch genügend Bewegungsfreiheit, und für Ovids Originalität braucht man keine gar zu empfindliche Einbusse zu befürchten, zumal da Anzahl und Art der Berührungen mit Nonnos so bescheiden bleiben. Quellengemeinschaft ist die näherliegende und einfachere, ja oft unumgängliche Lösung unseres Problems. Wer Nonnos zum Schuldner Ovids macht, muss sich entgegenhalten lassen, was kein anderer als D'Ippolito 270,1 selber mit Recht gegen eine Hypothese Haidachers eingewandt hat: "Di una lettura platonica, mi sembra, Nonno avrebbe conservato, e volutamente, tracce ben maggiori"¹³⁰⁾. So aber muss man es geradezu unbegreiflich finden, dass Nonnos so viel und so Bemerkenswertes und Entwicklungsfähiges, was er bei Ovid antreffen konnte, nichtachtend beiseite geschoben haben sollte.

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ANMERKUNGEN

- 1) Besonders Studi intorno alle fonti e alla composizione delle Metamorfosi di Ovidio, Pisa 1906.
- 2) Nonnos und Ovid, Greifsw. 1935; dazu Maia 1, 1948, 176 ff.
- 3) F. Lenz, Phil. Woch. 1937, 96 ff. Burs. Jahresb. 264, 1939, 109 f. Vgl. auch schon P. Collart, Rev. ét. gr. 47, 1934, 267.
- 4) Gnom. 11, 1935, 597 ff. 38, 1966, 26 f. PW s.v. Nonnos 909. Früher umgekehrt (Ant. Class. 1, 1932, 193) und dann vorsichtig Burs. Jahresb. 272, 1941, 39.
- 5) Studi Nonniani, Palermo 1964 (s. besonders S.70 ff.). Zustimmung F. Vian, Rev. ét. gr. 77, 1964, 370 f. (vgl. Ausg. des Nonnos 1, 1976, XLVI f.). P. Grimal, Latomus 23, 1964, 576. H. Hunger, Anz. Alt. 18, 1965, 226 ff. R. Henry, Ant. Class. 34, 1965, 240 f. S. Viarre, Rev. ét. lat. 43, 1965, 625. P. Chantraine, Rev. Phil. 40, 1966, 150 f. Weiter für die These St. Bezdechi, Nonnos si Ovidiu, Sibiu 1941 (mir unzugänglich). V. Reichmann, Phil. Suppl. 34,3, 1943, 16. H. Haidacher, Quellen und Vorbilder der Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis, masch. Diss. Graz 1949, 4. 55 ff. usw. M. Riemschneider, Aus der byzantinistischen Arbeit der Deutschen Demokrat. Republik, hrsg. von J. Irmscher, 1, Berl., 1957, 56. 67. R. Kannicht, Gnom. 44, 1972, 12 (mit J. Diggle).
- 6) Barbara Abel-Wilmanns, Der Erzählaufbau der Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis, Frankf. a.M. 1977, 60. Dieses Buch sucht die Ergebnisse der bisherigen Nonnosforschung, die freilich oft von oben herab behandelt wird ("borniert"), zu systematisieren, plustert sie aber mit strukturalistischen Schemata, Definitionen und Termini so auf, dass überall da, wo der Gesamtbestand der Dionysiaka mit allen Differenzierungen vorgeführt werden müsste, nur mehr exemplarisch vorgegangen oder einfach auf zukünftige Forschung vertröstet wird.

- 7) G. Schott, *Hero und Leander bei Musaios und Ovid*, Diss. Köln 1957, 21 ff. (K. Kost, *Musaios, Hero und Leander*, Bonn 1971, 21 ff.)
- 8) Rev. *ét. lat.* 13, 1935, 401 f.; 'inconclusive' G.B.A. Fletcher, *Class. Rev.* 50, 1936, 239.
- 9) Enzo Cadoni, *Maia* 17, 1965, 105 ff. V. Rotolo, *Hellenika* 20, 1967, 210f.
- 10) *Byz. Ztschr.* 35, 1935, 385 ff.
- 11) Man darf auch darauf hinweisen, dass die Bildungsschicht, für die Nonnos schrieb, Ovid wohl nicht so genau kannte, um Anspielungen auf ihn zu goutieren - aber darüber denkt D'Ippolito anders (s. unten Anm. 126).
- 12) Vgl. Lenz 99.
- 13) Darüber hatte schon F.A. Wolf seinen Freund F. Jacobs aushorchen wollen (F.A. Wolf, *Ein Leben in Briefen*, hrsg. von S. Reiter, Stuttg. 1935, 2, 222, 3, 217. R. Pfeiffer, *Gnom.* 14, 1938, 406). Vgl. auch O. Weinreich, *Sitz.-Ber. Heid.* 1940/41, 1, 21 f. *Herm.* 77, 1942, 222,4.
- 14) So M. v. Albrecht, *Anz. Alt.* 25, 1972, 272, und in: *Das römische Epos*, hrsg. von E. Burck, Darmst. 1979, 131. Zurückhaltend auch J.C. Arens, *De godenschildering in Ovidius' Metamorphosen*, Diss. Nijm. 1946, 57. 68.
- 15) So wie D'Ippolito auch sein Kritiker Cadoni, der die fraglichen Motive, wenn sie nicht einfach topisch sind, auf griechische Tradition, besonders Tragiker, zurückführt. Das Urteil über die Relevanz der Übereinstimmungen ist nur zu leicht recht subjektiv.
- 16) Die Laokoonepisode bei Vergil, *Abh. Akad. Mainz* 1979, 10.
- 17) Es braucht nicht einmal dieselbe direkte Quelle zu sein. Für Vergil bleibt übrigens genug Eigenes übrig.
- 18) *Ovidiana*, hrsg. von N.I. Herescu, Par. 1958, 58,1 = *Kleine Schriften*, hrsg. von E. Vogt, Münch. 1975, 500,38.
- 19) *Archaïgnosia* 1, 1980 (dort weitere Lit., besonders Anm. 49. 50).
- 20) Die Belege besonders reichhaltig bei H. Usener, *Die Sintflutsagen*, Bonn 1899, 31 ff.; dazu *Rhein. Mus.* 56, 1901, 481 ff. (Kl. Schr. 4, 1913, 382 ff.); vgl. H.J. Mette, *Lustrum* 22, 1979, 80. 95 f. Selbstverständlich sind die Ovidkommentare jeweils heranzuziehen, besonders diejenigen von M. Haupt - O. Korn - E. Ehwald - M. v. Albrecht¹⁰ (Zür. 1966) und von F. Bömer (Heid. 1969 ff.), auch von A.G. Lee (Buch I, *Cambr.* 1953 u.ä.). Auf die sa-gengeschichtliche Problematik ist hier nicht einzugehen, und auch die Partie der Genesis kann nicht um ihretwillen behandelt werden; s. A. Hermann, *Reallex. Ant. Christ.*, s.v. Deukalion (1957). Ethnologische Parallelen in Fülle bei G. Gerland, *Der Mythos von der Sintflut*, Bonn 1912; vgl. auch E. Böklen, *Arch. Rel.* 6, 1903, 1 ff. 97 ff. Parallelen, wie sie F. Lämmli, *Vom Chaos zum Kosmos*, Basel 1962, 2, 67, 241, notiert, können allenfalls etwas für vorovidische Zusammenhänge ausgeben.
- 21) Dazu 12,59 ff. Ebenso Schol. *Plat. Tim.* 22 A; vgl. *Serv. Verg. buc.* 6,41. Eine vordardanische Flut *Diod.* 5,47,3 ff. Eine phrygische Flut *Nonn.* 13,522 ff. Kurze Erwähnung von Deucalion und Pyrrha *Nonn.* 15,297 ff.; dass die Eichen damals sprachen, war aus Ovid nicht zu erfahren. Der Sturm bei den Kapherides wird bei *Quint. Smyrn.* 14,602 ff. mit der Deucalionflut verglichen.
- 22) Reinhold Koehler, *Ueber die Dionysiaka des Nonnos*, Halle 1853, 14.
- 23) Diese Motivierung gehört natürlich dem Nonnos, der sie aber auch aus den orphischen *Ἱεροῦ Λόγου* haben kann (vgl. Kern, *Orphica* S.231, zu fr. 210. D'Ippolito 219. 222).

- 24) Herm. 70, 1935, 301 ff., s. S. 304 f. Zintzen 46 f.
- 25) Apollod. bibl. 3,99, vgl. Schol. Dan. Verg. buc. 6,41. Myth. Vat.I 189. Tzetz. Lykophr. 481; s. Guil. Vollgraff, De Ovidi mythopoeia, Diss. Berl. 1901, 22 f. Diese Tradition braucht nicht gerade durch ein Handbuch vermittelt zu sein (so auch Ehwald). Ueberschwemmungen als Strafmassnahmen des Zeus schon Il. 16,384 ff. im Gleichnis; ob diese singuläre Stelle auf Ovid gewirkt hat, ist nicht ersichtlich. Zur Vernichtung durch Blitz s.u.
- 26) Hes. frg.199 Rz. = 311 M.-W. (Hyg. fab. 152a2). Lukian d. Syr.12. Tim.3, wo im Munde des Menschenverächters das Positive geschmäleret wird, indem es nur ein $\mu\beta\upsilon\tau\lambda\omicron\nu\nu$ ist, das am Lykoreus landet und einen "Funken" des Menschengeschlechts bewahrt. Von der sündigen Menschheit schlechthin sprechen natürlich die Kirchenväter, z.B. Tert. ad nat.1,9,7. Lact. inst. 2,10,9.
- 27) Z.B. Chios nach Eph. frg.11 Jac. Auch dann waren die Ueberlieferungen oft mit Deucalions Namen verbunden, s. K. Tümpel, PW, s.v.
- 28) Danach Schol. Hom. Il. 1,126. Schol. Plat. Tim. 22 A. Dion. Hal. ant. 1,61,2. Nicht alle gingen unter auch nach Celsus S.47 Bader (bei Orig. c. Cels. 4,79) und nach Berossos frg. 4 c Jac.
- 29) Tim.22 C ff. u. sonst, s. meine Kleine Schriften 279 ff.
- 30) Hes. frg. 115 Rz. = 234 M.-W. Akus. frg.34 f. Jac. Pind. Ol.9,42ff. Epicharm. frg.122 K. Kallim. frg.496 Pf., ergänzt von J. Irigoin, Rev. ét. gr. 73, 1960, 439 ff., durch frg. 533.
- 31) Bei Lykophr.78 wurde selbst das gebirgige Samothrake überflutet. Den Berg Ararat sollte man bei Ovid V.294 endlich einmal draussen lassen (vgl. J. Van Ooteghem, Et. Class. 25, 1957, 444 ff.).
- 32) So Bömer 1, S.71. Vgl. Dracont. laud. Dei 2,343 ff., der weitgehend von Ovid abhängig ist. W. Vollgraff, Nikander und Ovid, 1, Gron. 1909,94 f., denkt an Nikander, weil dieser damit den Namen Αλμυρά habe erklären wollen. Vgl. u.Anm.122. Schol. Dan. Verg. buc.6,41 nach Ovid. Die Spuren dieser Vorstellung, die Ad. Krueger, Quaest. Orphicae, Diss. Hal. 1934, 42 ff., zusammenstellt, sind allzu unsicher.
- 33) Nikand. ther. 8 ff. mit Verweis auf Hesiod. Darstellung des 11. Jahrh. Gaz. arch. 1, 1875, Taf.18,2. H. Omont, Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibl. Nationale du 5^e au 14^e siècle, Par.1929, Taf.68,2.
- 34) Ehwald zu V.256 ff. K. Schnuchel, Ovidius qua arte Metamorphoseon libros composuerit, masch. Diss. Greifsw. 1922, 43. 148. Vgl. weiter C. Robert, Herm. 18, 1883, 440. M. Mayer, Herm. 20, 1885, 137. Bömer z.d.St. An die Ekpyrosis denken G. Lafaye, H. Breitenbach und Lee in ihren Ausgaben wie Frùthere, z.B. E.C.Chr. Bach (1831).
- 35) Bezeichnend 2,305 f. omnia fato interitura gravi.
- 36) Brooks Otis, Ovid as an epic poet,² Cambr. 1970. L.P. Wilkinson, Ovid recalled, Cambr. 1955, 195 f. E. Doblhofer, Phil. 104, 1960, 75, unter Berufung auf E.K. Rand, Ovid and His Influence, Lond. 1925, 59 f. Bömer zu 2,303 (vgl. P.H. Schrijvers, Mnem. 1973, 316). O.St. Due, Changing Forms, Kop. 1974, 32 f. V. Pöschl, Acta conventus omnium gentium Ovidianis studiis fovendis Tomis 1972 habiti, Bucar. 1976, 506 ff.
- 37) Storia della lett. latina 1⁸, Mil.-Mess. 1959, 557; Ähnlich L. Bieler, Gesch. d. röm. Lit. 2, Berl. 1961, 72. F.W. Lenz, Opuscula selecta, Amst. 1972, 684 f., legt Wert darauf, dass das Concilium gerade 99 Verse umfasst. R. Heinze, Ber. Ak. Leipz. 71, 1919, 11 f. (Vom Geist des Römertums², Darmst. 1960, 315 f.), gesteht der Götterversammlung alle Würde zu, aber nicht ohne Einschränkung.
- 38) Vgl. zu dem Motiv überhaupt R. Helm, Lucian und Menipp, Lpz./Berl.1906,

158 ff. O. Weinreich, *Senecas Apocolocyntosis*, Berl. 1923, 84 ff. G. Radke, *Gedenkschr. G. Rohde*, Tüb. 1961, 223 ff. Udo Frings, *Altsprachl. Unterricht* 23,2, 1980, 102 ff.

39) H. Herter in: *Kulturwissenschaften*, Festgabe W. Perpeet, Bonn 1980, 207 ff.

40) Dass Ovid die "Vögel" des Aristophanes gekannt habe, meint H. Bardon, *Latomus* 20, 1961, 487.

41) W. Kullmann, *Phil.* 99, 1955, 177 ff., dazu 100, 1956, 132 f. Die Quellen der Ilias, Wiesb. 1960, 6 ff., 370. Zum Vernichtungsmotiv, das für die Flutsagen konstitutiv ist, Kullmann, *Phil.* 99, 185 f. Auch nach Hes. frg. 204,96 ff. führt Zeus den troischen Krieg herbei, um die "Halbgötter" zu vernichten, natürlich die Heroen und nicht die semidei Ovids, wie Vollgraff, *Nik. u. Ov.* 1,97 ff., um Nikaders willen vermeint; s.M.L. West, *Class. Quart.* 55, 1961, 130 ff. Vgl. auch *Qu. Smyrn.* 4,59 f.

42) Zu dieser W. Kranz, *Studien zur ant. Lit. u. ihrem Fortwirken*, hrsg. von E. Vogt, Heid. 1967, 89 ff. R. Hampe, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 215, 1963, 125ff. Die hesiodische Titanomachie hat bei Nonnos (und bei Claudian) ihr Gegenstück in der Gigantomachie 48,1 ff., s. N. Martinelli, *Miscellanea G. Galbiati*, Mil. 1951, 2, 73 ff.

43) Bei Nonnos 23,284 ff. droht Okeanos zur Gegenwehr gegen den von Dionysos erregten Brand mit einer Flut, die selbst die Sterne erfassen soll. E. Wüst, *PW* 6A, 1502, bucht Nonnos 6,227 ff. einfach als Zeugen der alten Titanomachie.

44) Hes. frg. 199 Rz. = 311 M.-W.

45) Vgl. C. Robert, *Herm.* 18, 1883, 434 ff. M. Mayer, ebd. 20, 1885, 135 ff. G. Knaack, *Qu. Phaethontea*, Berl. 1886, 7 ff., dazu *Myth. Lex.*, s.v. Phaethon 2189 f. J. Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesiodeia*, Leid. 1960, 301 ff. Otis 91 f. D'Ippolito 253. 270 hält die Version nicht für hesiodisch, erkennt sie aber doch als Quelle des Nonnos an, den er als einziger berücksichtigt. Dagegen spricht Vollgraff, *Myth.* 60 f., auch den inkriminierten Satz (s.u. Anm.49) dem Hesiod zu.

46) So D'Ippolito 224 ff.

47) "Polemik" ist ein zu starker Ausdruck Roberts 440.

48) Mayer 137. M. Schanz, *D. Lit.-Ztg.* 7, 1886, 667. *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* 2,1³, 1911, 325. Knaack, *Myth. Lex.*, s.v. Phaethon 2188. Ewald zu 2,256ff. H. Kienle, *Ovidius qua ratione compendium mythologicum... adhibuerit*, Diss. Bas. 1903, 66. Schnuchel 148. Due 32.

49) Wenn der Grammatiker behauptet, Jupiter habe den Brand als Vorwand benutzt, um die Menschen mit der Flut bestrafen zu können, so mag das eine Vergrößerung des Berichterstatters sein (Interpolation nach Robert 453,3. Mayer 136, vgl. o. Anm.45). Der blosse Synchronismus der beiden Katastrophen (Robert 438. Mayer 138 ff.) zeugt nicht ohne weiteres für die Kombination: danach soll ja die Flut in Thessalien und der Brand in Aithiopien eingetreten sein (Knaack, *Quest.* 8 f.; *Myth. Lex.* a.O. 2189), s. Schol. *Plat. Tim.* 22 C. Georg. Synkell. 297,7 f. Kastor frg. 4 *F Gr Hist II B* S. 1140. *Thrasyll.* ebd. S. 1152 (vgl. zu *Marm. Par. ep.* 4 ebd. II *Komm.* S. 672). Hier. *chron.* 12b ed. Helm (Euseb. *Werke VII* 2, Leipzig. 1926, 17.79). In Platons Theorie, die Poseidonios in die Stoa einführte (E. Badstübner, *Beiträge zur Erklärung u. Kritik der philosoph. Schriften Senecas*, Progr. Hamb. 1901, 15 ff.), alternieren die Katastrophen bekanntlich; es ist also unmöglich, das nonnianische Motiv aus Platon *Tim.* 22 CD herzuleiten (so Haidacher 93 ff. 134. Keydell, *Gnom.* 38, 1966, 26. 27,7). Vgl. die Festschrift für E. Paratore Anm.76.

50) *Rev. ét. lat.* 16, 1938, 158 f.

51) *Atti del Convegno internat. Ovidiano Sulmona 1958* (Rom 1959) 1,91ff. Zum "Barockismus" Ovids W. Kraus, *Anz. Alt.* 16, 1963, 9 ff.

52) Um festzustellen, dass die Türme überflutet sind (V. 290), braucht man, glaube ich, nicht zu tauchen. Oder muss man unter Wasser sein, um die Frösche sub aqua quaken zu hören?

53) Auch Riemschneider 68 ff. insistiert auf der "assoziativen Verknüpfung" bei Nonnos in der Art einer "Perlenschnur". D'Ippolito hielt diese Erscheinung nicht für ein spätantikes Charakteristikum und verglich daher S. 56. 256 Ovid und Nonnos unbefangener.

54) Hätte er wie Seneca (s.u.) den allmählichen Fortschritt der Ueberschwemmung schildern sollen?

55) Genauere Darstellungen wie die der Cotton- und der Wiener Genesis zeigen den Untergang der Menschen, ja auch den fallenden Regen (K. Weitzmann, Spätantike u. frühchristl. Buchmalerei, Münch. 1977, 76. 120 f.). Sonstige Darstellungen H. Leclercq, Dict. d'arch. chrét., s.v. Arche 1,2, 2709 ff. Noé 12,1, 1397 ff. F. Schmidtke, RAC, s.v. Arche. Jos. Fink, Noe der Gerechte in der frühchristl. Kunst, Münster/Köln 1955. Hanna Hohl, Die Darstellung der Sintflut u. die Gestaltung des Elementaren, Diss. Tüb. 1967. R. Stichel, Die Namen Noes, seines Bruders u. seiner Frau, Abh.Gött. 3, 112, 1979. E.W. Bredt, Ovid: Der Götter Verwandlungen mit Radierungen u. Bildern neuerer Meister 1, Münch. o.J., 28 ff. Den Auszug der Tiere aus der Arche hat Oskar Laske in 12 Farblithographien (Schroll, Wien 1925) lustig dargestellt. Motivik s. Stith Thompson, Motif-Index 1, Cop.1955, A1010ff.

56) Die Vorstellung ist mit dem Sintflutmythos ganz von selber verbunden (vgl. Lämml 2, 75, 279). Omnia pontus erant, vgl. am. 3,10,38. her.13,22. Bömer zu 1,292.

57) J. Van Ooteghem, Et. Class. 25, 1957, 447. Aehnlich W.M. Wiersema, Hermeneus 23, 1952, 132 ff.

58) Hier allein sechsmal: V. 267. 282. 324. 326. 359. 377, dazu 8,260, vgl. 13,538; andere Stellen in W. Peeks Lexikon. An Wintergewitter ist nicht zu denken (wie anderswo, s. Keydell, Gedenkschr.G. Rohde, Tüb.1961, 105 ff.).

59) H. Bogner, Phil. 89, 1934, 328.

60) Ich kann V. Buchheit, Herm. 94, 1966, 105,5, also nicht folgen, wenn er wegen der Kooperation Neptuns Abhängigkeit des Nonnos von Ovid vermutet; dass dieser an Neptuns Rolle bei Actium gedacht haben könnte, steht auf einem andern Blatt.

61) E. Wust, PW, s.v. Poseidon 492.

62) Usener 42. Preller-Robert I 57. Myth. Lex., s.v. Poseidon 2834. PW, s.v. Poseidon 479. Johanna Schmidt, PW, s.v. Ossa. F. Stählin, PW, s.v. Tempe 473 f. Bömer zu 1,568.

63) Danach Schol. Hom. Il. 1,126. Schol. Plat. Tim.22 A, vgl.C. Die gewöhnliche Version von Pelion und Ossa met. 1,154 f. (dazu Bömer). Aeolus muss bei Vergil Aen.1,50 ff. und Quint. Smyrn. 14,466 ff. (aus gleicher Quelle) seinen Berg selber sprengen, um die Winde alle auf einmal loszulassen.

64) Lucrez 5,411 ff. findet sich mit dem Rückgang der Flut recht leicht ab. Καταποθῆναι Theodoret. quaest. in Gen. 52 (PG 80,156).

65) Paus. 1,18,7, s.L. Deubner, Attische Feste, Berl. 1932, 113. R. Philippson, Die griech. Landschaften 1,3, Frankf. 1952, 922. Die Überkühnen Kombinationen, mit denen W. Borgeaud, Mus. Helv. 4, 1947, 237 ff., darüber hinaus die Anthesterien und ihren Gott Dionysos mit der Deucalionflut verbinden will, dürfen hier ausser Betracht bleiben. Ob Ovid das χάσμα in Athen gesehen hat, spielt für uns keine Rolle; ob Nonnos die Stadt kannte, ist ungewiss.

66) Dea Syr.13. Ein Schlund auch in einer indianischen Sage Gerland 88.

67) Nonnos auch 12,59. 13,522 und öfter.

68) Natürlich kannte Nonnos, als er unsere Partie schrieb, schon das

berühmte Gedicht, das er im 38. Buche benutzen wollte. Gaias Bitten, von der Menschenlast erleichtert zu werden (s. ob.), könnten wohl nur noch von ferne eingewirkt haben (vgl. Kullmann 187).

69) Andere Gründe D'Ippolito 269.

70) Später tritt der aquilo in Funktion (V. 328). Die vier trist.1,2,25 ff. Nonn. 6,286 f.

71) C. Caprino-A.M. Colini-G. Gatti-M. Pallottino-P. Romanelli, La colonna di Marco Aurelio, Rom 1955, 88 f. Taf.12 u.B. Der Vergleich ist zuerst von E. Petersen (in: Die Marcussäule, Münch. 1896, 59) angedeutet worden, s. J. Guey, Rev. Phil. 74 (22), 1948, 58 f. G. Hamberg, Studies in Roman imperial art, Diss. Upps. 1945, 107. 153 f. Taf.31. Doch kann man den Regengott des Reliefs nicht mit Wagner, Myth. Lex., s.v. Notos 471, direkt mit Notos identifizieren. Guey 59,4 meint, Ovid (oder seine Quelle) habe ein Bildwerk vor Augen gehabt (vgl. Hamberg 153 f.). Ähnlich S. d'Elia, Ovidio, Nap. 1959, 301 f., der das grandiose "Barock" für raffinierte Technik, also "non poesia" erklärt. Zurückhaltender Wilkinson 157f. 432 ff. Anerkennend Fränkel 209,8 und A.M. Betten, Naturbilder in Ovids Metamorphosen, Diss. Erl. 1968, 21 ff. Lee sucht seinen eigenen "hyperkritischen" Einwand zu eliminieren.

72) PW, s.v. Triton 299 ff. Vgl.4,725 und schon Plat.rep.10,611D(Glaukos).

73) 2,365. 558. 6,231. 22,286. 43,379. Tryphiod.327. Bei Neptun u.a. bedeutet die $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\lambda\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$ Meerestosen (Nonn. 39,388. 43,289. 300). Trompetensignal H. Wölke, Untersuch. zur Batrachomyomachie, Meisenh. 1978, 151 f. Donner als Schicksalsruf Ed. Norden, Sitz.-Ber. Berl. 1934, 22 S.54 (677) ff. (Kl. Schriften 526 ff.). Wintergewitter s.o. Anm. 58.

74) Altspr. Unterr. 6,2, 1963, 59 = Wege d. Forsch. 92, 1968, 420. Vgl. auch Rand 60. Bach hatte nur ausschweifende Phantasie notiert.

75) Beobachtungen zur Darstellungsart in Ovids Metam., Münch. 1967, 106ff.

76) K. Zarnecki, Die Szenerieschilderungen in Ovids Metam., Diss. Bresl. 1925, 6 f. Betten 20 ff. 77) PW. s.v. Lykophron 2350f.

78) So noch Kiessling-Heinze. Ziegler übersieht freilich Nonnos und damit den hellenistischen Zwischenautor, dem Lykophron wahrscheinlich bekannt war. Usener 37 wollte Horaz und Lykophron von Alkaios abhängig machen, Ehwald legte den vier Autoren ein alexandrinisches Gedicht zugrunde.

79) Riemschneider 68 führt solche "paradoxen Verflechtungen" als charakteristisch für Nonnos an, aber die Anregung dazu war ihm doch durch die Tradition gegeben. 80) F. Levy, Phil.83, 1928,466. Bömer zu V.304.

81) B. Kötting, Mullus, Münster 1964, 212.

82) E. Dutoit, Le thème de l'Adynaton dans la poésie antique, Par. 1936.

83) Archil. frg.74 D. 114 Tard. 122 West. M. Marcovich, Rhein.Mus. 121, 1978, 101 f.

84) Vgl. bes. N. Pirrone, Athenaeum 2, 1914, 38 ff. A. de Cavazzani Sentieri, ebd. 7, 1919, 179 ff. H. Drexler, Maia 16, 1964, 186 ff. Menand. frg.720 (831). Kallim. frg.102,70 ff. Verg. buc.8,51. Ov. Ib. 44. Sen.epigr. 48 mit C. Pratos Nachweisen. Lucan. 1,72 ff. (A. Hudson-Williams, Class. Rev. 66, 1952, 68 f.). Dir. 4 ff. Mart. 10,100. Nemes. 1,75 ff. Claudian. 1,169 ff. 17,206 ff. 18,348 ff. Joh. Chrys. s. P.R. Coleman-Norton, Class. Phil. 27, 1932, 220. In Ravenna ist alles umgekehrt (Sidon. epist. 1,8,2).

85) Eur. frg.687. Verg. buc. 8,57. Aen. 12,204 f. Hor. epod. 5,79 f. 16,25 f. Sen. Med. 401 ff. Dir. 61. Claudian. 18,350 ff. In der $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\zeta$ herrscht natürlich Tierfrieden (Lukian dea Syr. 12).

86) Herter, Gnom. 15, 1939, 205 ff. G.O. Rowe, Am. Journ. Phil. 86, 1965, 387 ff. Magisches R. Heim, Neue Jahrb. Suppl. 19, 1893, 491 ff.

87) Nach Galinsky 207,47 spottet er, aber über Horazens Veto in der Ars.

88) Die Parenthese in Ovids Metamorph., Würzb. 1963, 151 ff. 219. Alt-spr. Unterr. 6,2, 1963, 47 ff. (WdF 92, 405 ff.). V. Pöschl, Atti del Convegno Internaz. Ovidiano Sulmona 1958 (Rom 1959), 302 f., spricht von einem beständigen Kontrast zwischen ingenuità und Ironie, zwischen commo-zione und sovrana serenità. Due 36 sagt: Ovid ist ernst, aber 'should not be taken quite seriously'.

89) Otis schärft das Gnom. 42, 1970, 135 ff. ein; charakteristisch auch W.S. Anderson, Am. Journ. Phil. 90, 1969, 354. Systematisch und doch vor-sichtig J.-M. Frécaut, L'esprit et l'humour chez Ovide, Grenoble 1972.

90) Cic. de or. 2,219.

91) Ovide, Par. 1921, 119 f. Vgl. v. Albrecht, Altspr. Unterr. 6,2, 1963, 58 f. 69 (WdF 92, 420 f. 433), der in seinem Aufsatz ebd. 47 (405) ff. den ciceronischen Ausdruck auch aufnimmt, aber zurückhaltender ist als die Neuesten (vgl. übrigens Gnom. 47, 1975, 741 ff.). G. Lafaye, Les Métamor-phoses d'Ovide et leurs modèles grecs, Par. 1904 (Hild. 1971), 80, 132, konnte die Sintflutschilderung noch ganz unbefangen als Höhepunkt des 1. Buches nehmen (ähnlich Freundt 67, s.u. Anm.107); an Umfang ragt sie aller-dings nicht besonders hervor, wie es der Fall zu sein pflegt, wenn eine Partie starken Ton erhalten soll. Sc. Mariotti, Belfagor 12, 1907, 627, findet den Weltbrand weniger gelungen als die Flut.

92) Vgl. Fränkel 173,17. Mariotti 627,37. 93) Phil. 83, 1928, 459ff.

94) Ebenso Van Ooteghem 446 f.

95) Fränkel nimmt nat im Sinne von vehit unda, wie auch Dracont. laud. Dei 2,386. Wenn er sich auf Ovids warmes Gefühl für alle lebenden Geschöpfe beruft, so fragt man sich freilich, ob es auch auf Wölfe und Löwen ausge-dehnt ist.

96) Als Sünderstrafe erscheint ihm die Flut nur nebenher (3,30,7 f.); in der Hauptsache ist sie ihm einfach naturgesetzlich (H. Strohm, Latinität und alte Kirche, Festschr. R. Hanslik, Wien 1977, 317 f.). Eine ge-wisse Unklarheit, ob die Flut total oder partiell zu denken ist, besteht n. qu. 3,28,7. 29,2. Deutlicher orbe submerso nat. qu. 3 praef.5. cons. Marc. 26,6. Vgl. Badstübner 16. H. Binder, Dio Chrysostomus und Posidonius, Diss. Tüb. 1905, 64,41. F.P. Waiblinger, Senecas Naturales Quaestiones, Münch. 1977, 44 ff. Natürlich knüpft Seneca an ältere Erörterungen an, von Dichtungen hat er nach Levy nur Ovid gekannt. G. Lieberg, Et. Class. 48, 1980, 18 f., zielt auf Gemeinsamkeit des Stoizismus zwischen Ovid und Se-neca. Zu ihrem Verhältnis überhaupt G. Mazzoli, Seneca e la poesia, Mil. 1970, 238 ff.

97) S. z.B. E.Hehrlein, Die pathetische Darstellung in Ovids Metamor-phen, masch. Diss. Heid. 1960, 47. Bömer zu 1,296.

98) Poetica 3, 1970, 59 ff. Betten 168,55.

99) Seneca sagt 3,30,7f., dass die gesamte Lebewelt neu erzeugt werden muss und so eine vorläufig noch nicht sündige Menschheit entsteht, wenn auch die Möglichkeit, dass die Vernichtung nicht ganz vollständig sein könnte, immer-hin 3,29,5 offen bleibt (K. Reinhardt, Kosmos u. Sympathie, Münch. 1926, 266 Anm.).

100) Das war nötig, da ja erst in semitisch beeinflusster Ueberlieferung auch die Tiere in die Arche aufgenommen waren (Lukian dea Syr. 12 f. Beros-sos frg. 4 Jac.). Vgl. Usener 46 ff. Von einer Erneuerung der Vegetation und auch der Reben berichtet Diod. 3,62,10.

101) Späthellenistisch nach Spoerri 206 ff.

- 102) Pind. Ol. 9,69. Deucalion als Städtegründer (P. Weizsäcker, *Myth. Lex.*, s.v. Deukalion. Usener, *Rhein. Mus.* 56, 1901, 484 (385) f. M. Boillat, *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide*, Bern/Frankf. 1976, 87) und Kultstifter (Plut. *mor.* 1125 D. Preller-Robert 1,86,1). Er figuriert in vielen Genealogien als Stammvater; mit solchen Traditionen würde ich aber vorsichtiger sein als W. Borgeaud, *Mus. Helv.* 4, 1947, 205 ff.
- 103) Die glänzende Formulierung ist nicht Erfindung des Nonnos, obschon er Aehnliches liebt (οἶμος ἄοιμος 17,42; δέῖπνον ἄδειπνον 17,51); sie findet sich auch Orac. Sib. 7,123 und in anderm Sinne bei *Antip. Anth. Pal.* 9,323,3.
- 104) W. Steidle, *Rhein. Mus.* 109, 1966, 143. Auch *buc.* 6,41 schliesst mit Deucalion und Pyrrha die Vorgeschichte ab. *Hyg. fab.* 153 nach Ovid; *Schol. Il.* 1,126 nach Apollodor; *Arnob.* 5,5 nach Ovid bzw. Vergil.
- 105) Ovidio: *Le Metamorfosi*, Tor. 1964, 197 ff. Vgl. Fränkel 76 ff.
- 106) E. Doblhofer, *Wien. Stud.* 81 (N.F. 2), 1968, 98 ff., glaubt, dass Ovid in *urbaner Form V.* 390 mit den Patronymika Epimethis und Promethides auf die Verschiedenheit der weiblichen und der männlichen Reaktion anspiele. Vgl. Haupt-Ehwald z.d. St. P.H. Schrijvers, *Mnem.* 1973, 316 f. Der Ritus ist nach sehr altertümlicher Vorstellung geschildert, wie W. Kranz, *Arch. Begriffsgesch.* 2,1, 1955, 23, bemerkt.
- 107) Das Rührende in den Metamorphosen, *Diss. Münster* 1973, 67 ff.
- 108) Die Ausschliesslichkeit der Liebe gilt Boillat trotzdem auch als elegisch (vgl. *Menzione* 106), doch wenn er *V.* 351 die Anrede o soror gegen Bömers Votum bis auf *Il.* 6,430 zurückführt, bleibt er im epischen Stil. Schliesslich geht er dem unautorisierten Eindruck nach, Deucalions Liebe sei stärker als diejenige Pyrrhas, und beruft sich dafür auf den problematischen Sapphobrief 167 ff., obwohl dort zu lesen steht, dass Deucalion durch den Sprung vom leukadischen Felsen seiner Liebe los und ledig wurde (H. Dörrie z.d. St. S.156. 159 f.). Uebrigens liegt hier keine authentische Sagenform vor, sondern Deucalions Nennung soll nur den Eindruck wecken, dass der Sprung seit Menschengedenken diese Eigenschaft hatte. Liste der Opfer des Felsens bei Ptol. *Chennos* 153 a 11 ff. (Tomberg 101 ff. 147 ff.).
- 109) *V.* 346 f. nicht ganz ausgeglichen.
- 110) v. Albrecht 59 (421). Doblhofer, *Phil.* 104, 1960, 75 f., hält selbst die Schilderung *V.* 324-329 für "urban".
- 111) 1 (Gild.), 41 ff. nach Horaz. 112) H. Philipp, *PW*, *Tiberis* 800ff.
- 113) *Lob der Stille*, *Düsseld.* 1936 u. öfter.
- 114) Bei H. Bardon, *Riv. cult. class. e medioev.* 1, 1959, 9 ff., finde ich nichts ganz Vergleichbares. Anders auch *agri vacui* und *solitudo* (J. Harmatta, *Acta Classica Univ. scient. Debrecen* 10/11, 1974/75, 101 ff.).
- 115) Er ist hier sehr selbständig (F. Vian, *Recherches sur les Post-homerica de Quintus de Smyrne*, Par. 1959, 57).
- 116) R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*², *Leipz./Berl.* 1908, 61 f., legt es sich so zurecht, dass Aeneas vom normalen Wege durch die entgegenkommen- den Feinde abgeschnitten wurde. 117) 4,432 ff., s. dazu Bömer.
- 118) Dazu 8,666 ff. Vgl. *Betten* 149 f. H. Cancik, *Altspr. Unterr.* 23,2, 1980, 55 f. N. Robertson, *Herm.* 108, 1980, 274 ff. Nach D'Ippolito 245 ff. ist Nonnos 31,30 ff. mit Junos Gang zu Persephone von Ovid (nicht anscheinend von Vergil) abhängig: ich bemerke nur, dass er dort die Beschreibung, um die es Ovid ging, und natürlich auch die oben herausgehobene Pointe prompt übergeht.

119) Vgl. met. 14,105 ff. Bömer zu met. 4,433. 5,191 f. Im allgemeinen vgl. O. Gruppe und F. Pfister, *Myth. Lex.*, s.v. Unterwelt 45 ff. Zu Bernbeck 11 ff. hat Bömer das Nötige gesagt. 'Ovidian persiflage' nach Otis, *Gnom.* 42, 1970, 136 f. *Muta silentia* auch 10,53 in der Orpheuspartie, über die in ernstem Verständnis H. Gugel, *Živa antika* 22, 1972, 39 ff., handelte.

120) Die alte Vorstellung vom Hadesgott als *πολύξενος* erreicht Ovids Vision ebensowenig wie das lateinische *ad plures abire*.

121) 4,1235 ff. Lit. s. Herter, *Burs. Jahresb.* 285, 1944/45, 397 ff.

122) Dagegen Castiglioni, *At. e Roma* 12, 1909, 347 ff. H. Magnus, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 29, 1909, 1236 ff. E. Bethe, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1911, 586 ff. M. Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* 2,1³, 1911, 323. G. Pasquali, *Stud. Ital.* 20, 1913, 101. W. Kroll, *PW*, s.v. Nikandros 11,255. 264 f. F. Lenz, *Burs. Jahresb.* 264, 1939, 109. W. Kraus, *PW*, s.v. Ovidius Naso 1939 f. Vgl. o. Anm. 32.

123) So von D'Ippolito 84 f. o.ö., Haidacher und auch Cadoni, selbst Lenz, *Phil. Woch.* 57, 1937, 96 f. 98,2; vgl. Castiglioni, *Studi* 335. *Archaiognosia* a.O. Was Tomberg 28 ff. als "mythologische Handbuch-Kultur der Kaiserzeit", vor allem im Gefolge von I. Cazzaniga, registriert, ist sehr verschiedenartig, und es würde einen beträchtlichen Zeitaufwand von Ovid verlangt haben, wenn er das alles hätte lesen sollen. Auch Ed. Norden, *Sitz.-Ber. Berl.* 1934, 22, 644 (21) f. 650 (27,2) [488 f. 495], rechnet lieber mit dem Handbuch als mit hellenistischen Gedichten, "an die niemand recht glaubt ausser ihren Entdeckern" (S. 656 (33) [50]); er dachte dabei aber wohl an ausgesprochene Rekonstruktionsversuche.

124) So D'Ippolito 130,1. 264, Haidacher und auch Rotolo.

125) Für Erigone wird Ovid nicht zu Hilfe gerufen, weil man da die Vielzahl griechischer Quellen nur zu gut kennt (D'Ippolito 152 ff.). Für Europa dagegen genügt Moschos als alleinige Quelle (ebd. 192 ff.). Die Fülle möglicher griechischer Quellen exemplifiziert eindrucksvoll I. Cazzaniga, *La saga di Itis* 2, Mil. 1951, 9 ff.; vgl. seinen Aufsatz *Miscellanea A. Rostagni*, *Tor.* 1963, 626 ff.

126) So S. 75. 176,4. 183. 207. 236,1. 245,2. 256. 261. Dagegen z.B. R. Henry, *Ant. Class.* 34, 1965, 241, und Rotolo a.O.

127) s. 238 f. (*Riv. Fil. N.S.* 40, 1962, 299 f.). Vgl. v.Albrecht, *Parthense* 185 f. Bömer zu 3,307.

128) W. Luppe, *Phil.* 120, 1976, 186 ff. Vgl. Bömer z.d. St. F. Lämmli, *Vom Chaos zum Kosmos*, Bas. 1962, 1,40. Vgl. Sen. Thy. 830 ff. Ps.-Sen. Oct. 391. Val. Flacc. 5,95.

129) Knaack, *Quaest.* 42. A. Rohde, *De Ovidi arte epica*, Berl. 1929, 23,28.

130) Uebrigens hat schon Heinze geurteilt, Quintus müsse, falls er Vergil benutzt hätte, sich viel entgegen gelassen haben.

OVID VS. APULEIUS

DAVID F. BRIGHT

In the course of his *Apologia*, Apuleius treats an astonishing number of subjects, radiating out from the central charge of using magic to win the affection of his wealthy wife. Ancillary to that charge is his composition of *versus amatorios*, in which he used pseudonyms for two boy favorites called Critias and Charinus. In dealing with this charge, Apuleius speaks of the traditional use of pseudonyms by poets in referring to their lovers (*Apol.* 10). The passage is frequently cited as a precious piece of evidence which helps us unlock the secret of the identity of various poets' mistresses, but there is less to it than meets the eye.

One identification has caused particular difficulties. Apuleius states that Tigidas wrote of his mistress Metella and gave her the pseudonym Perilla, but the statement is not supported by any other evidence, and is apparently contradicted by the only other source on the matter, Ovid (*Tr.* 2.433-38), with whom we may begin.

The exiled poet has been defending his *ars amatoria* on the grounds that erotic themes have been treated by other authors, both Greek and Latin, with impunity. In the portion of the catalog on Roman authors, Ovid speaks of Ennius and Lucretius as treating their special fields (423-6), and then says that other poets likewise sang of their own expertise:

427 sic sua lascivo cantata est saepe Catullo
 femina, cui falsum Lesbia nomen erat,
 nec contentus ea, multos vulgavit amores,
 430 in quibus ipse suum fassus adulterium est.
 par fuit exigui similisque licentia Calvi,
 detexit variis qui sua furta modis.

quid referam Ticideae, quid Memmi carmen, apud quos
rebus adest nomen nominibusque pudor?

435 Cinna quoque his comes est, Cinnaque procacior Anser,
et leve Cornufici parque Catonis opus,
et quorum libris, modo dissimulata Perillae¹⁾
nomine, nunc legitur dicta, Metelle, tuo.

It is immediately obvious that the passage as it stands in all our MSS does not suggest any connection between Ticides and Metella / Perilla, nor would any such association have been imagined had it not been for Apuleius, who responds as follows to the criticism of his having used pseudonyms:

eadem igitur opera accusent C. Catullum, quod Lesbiam
pro Clodia nominarit, et Ticidam similiter, quod quae
Metella erat Perillam scripserit, et Propertium, qui
Cynthiam dicat, Hostiam dissimulet, et Tibullum, quod
ei sit Plania in animo, Delia in versu.

Can these two accounts be reconciled as they stand? Perhaps the most fundamental problem is that Ovid would then be alluding to Ticides twice, and in contradictory ways: first in the company of Memmius as an example of an indiscreet writer, and then (after the poet turns to four other authors) in unspecified company and unnamed, as one who showed discretion by employing a pseudonym. This would be unexpected both because of the internal contradiction from the first reference to the second, and also because Ovid does not elsewhere in this catalog use the same author twice to make his points.²⁾

But the question is complicated by the uncertainties about the text and meaning of 434. The MSS report *rebus adest nomen nominibusque pudor*, and it is tolerably clear, from the point of the whole passage, that Ovid is referring to a bluntness in the description of activities. But is he saying, in the second hemistich, that the poets were discreet in naming the participants - i.e. used pseudonyms? In the face of ambiguity, various emendations have been proposed, of which two are significant. Bentley suggested *rebus abest nomen nominibusque pudor*, by which he meant that real names were not used 'rebus sive argumento, cum hic Perillam, alter Lesbiam, alter aliam quam falso inscriberent' - that is, *rebus* means both events

and participants.³⁾ This makes for awkward, if possible, Latin. Rottendorf's *rebus* abest omnis *nominibusque pudor* is ingenious and smooth, but unnecessary, for the received text may just as readily mean what Rottendorf intended. If *pudor* is taken in its negative sense of ignominy or source of disgrace, the same point is made. But which did Ovid intend?

The sequence of thought in the passage beginning at 427 helps us decide the meaning of 434. Catullus gave a *falsum nomen* to Lesbia, but openly discussed his own role in various affairs (427-30); Calvus was similarly indiscreet (no mention of pseudonyms) and described his own activities (431-2); and what of Tigidas and Memmius, who spell matters out bluntly - and bring disrepute on their names. The matter of names is important for Ovid in this passage, and 434 stands with 430 and 438 in emphasizing them. The shift from singular *nomen* to plural *nominibus* is also significant, albeit not very happy stylistically. It is precisely the shift in number which points to the change of referent: *nomen* is the equivalent of 'frankness' and *nominibus* refers to the participants (whether the poets or the poets and their mistresses together). It can be argued that *nomen* and *nominibus* must refer to the same notion (as Owen does, p. 235-6), but then the change of number is not accounted for, and is felt as awkward. *Nominibus* is used in the same sense as *nomina tanta* (442), "such distinguished persons".

It would seem then that Ovid is not saying that Tigidas and Memmius used pseudonyms for their mistresses, in which case the association with 437-8 must be regarded as improbable. Nevertheless, there is a long tradition of attempting to reconcile Ovid with Apuleius by linking 433-4 and 437-8.⁴⁾ I need not review here the arguments presented from N. Heinisius to S. G. Owen for or against transposition, for I believe that the internal contradiction between the indiscretion of Tigidas and Memmius and the discretion alluded to in 437-8 operates against the association.⁵⁾ I would note, however, that there are some strange implications if the two couplets are taken as a single statement. It would imply that both Tigidas and Memmius wrote of the same woman and used the same

pseudonym for her. This would be at variance with the normal practice of the poets, for they clearly chose a name which would not only match the number of syllables, or even the metrical value, of the mistress' name,⁶⁾ but also reflect their view of the woman herself and her relation to their poetic activity. Apuleius in choosing names drawn from the Platonic context was obviously suggesting the nature of his relationship to the boys identified as Critias and Charinus, and one may readily assume, for those instances where the writings do not survive in which a pseudonym occurred, that there was a definite association in the author's mind between the name he assigned to his lover and his view of that lover.⁷⁾

The picture is confused somewhat by the fact that Ovid and Apuleius are working with different sets of information. Ovid lists several poets, only a few of whom he associates with pseudonyms, but all of whom are linked to indiscretion; Apuleius focuses on pseudonyms, and treats indiscretion as a separate topic. I would simply note that in all examinable cases where an author uses a fictitious name for a lover, that name reflects a view of the lover peculiar to the author himself.⁸⁾ We are surely justified in suspecting that the same would be true for those poets whose work is no longer available but who are known to have used *nomina ficta*. It is then unlikely that two poets would use the same poetic name for one whom they successively (or even concurrently) loved, unless the woman herself had invented the *nom de guerre* for professional purposes - we may think of Volumnia, who took the name Cytheris; but when her third recorded lover, the poet Gallus, took to immortalizing her in verse, he called her Lycoris. And in such instances, questions of discretion and anonymity would be less likely to arise.

In any case, as to Memmius there is no evidence - outside the reworking of these very lines - that he wrote on Metella in any fashion. Pliny's reference (*Ep.* V. 3.5) to his numerous predecessors in erotic composition conveys no details and so the mention of Memmius there does nothing more than confirm Ovid's observation in principle.

This being the case, there is no help to be had from associating 433-4 and 437-8, and thus even Leo's conjecture that 435-6 were for some reason missing in Apuleius' copy of Ovid will not improve the situation.⁹⁾

It is useful at this point to note some structural features of the Roman catalog as a whole (421-470). Apart from the transitional couplet (421-2), the catalog falls into two main segments of 24 lines each. The first (423-446) treats a variety of poets, while the second gives the full-length portrait of Tibullus (447-464) and concluding comments on the brotherhood of elegists. Within the first segment, we may discern two series. Ovid starts (ignoring Ennius and Lucretius) with two couplets on Catullus (427-30), and then goes on to one couplet (Calvus 431-2), then a distich shared by two poets (Ticidas and Memmius 433-4) and eventually four authors in a single couplet (435-6). This first series of examples ends by dropping the identity of the authors entirely (437-8). It is roughly unified by its focus on the neoterics and allied poets. The second series turns on elegy (plus the related taste of the Milesian tales), preparing for the extended treatment of Tibullus which occupies the other half of the Roman catalog.

This pattern suggests that the rearrangement of the couplets is unwarranted. But the difficulty then shifts to 437-8: *et quorum* has been a focus of controversy, and if the pronoun does not refer to Ticidas and Memmius, to whom does it allude? Or, to put the question from a different angle, what poet does the present text conceal? Luck proposed that Metella herself was referred to as the poet, as contrasted with unspecified poets who wrote about her as Perilla.¹⁰⁾ My colleague Miroslav Marcovich has kindly shown me his treatment of this line, in which he would go further and eliminate further new poets by reading *quaeque horum libris* etc. This is an interesting approach, but I would note that his objection (that the text as transmitted provides the only instance of unnamed poets in the entire Roman catalog) is not quite accurate: the very next couplet similarly refers to Varro Atacinus only by his work and its contents without mentioning his name. And of course *horum* then requires Metella to have been sung by the authors listed in 435-6, for which there is not the least evidence. There is also no evidence

that Metella wrote poetry herself: it would, as Luck notes, not be surprising, but that is not sufficient reason to postulate it in the process of reinterpreting a vexed line.

The plural is, I believe, sound: this raises again the question of the identity of the poets, and the reason for their anonymity. Both of these questions may hinge on the identity of Metella / Perilla, and some progress can be made on this matter. Ovid mentions Lesbia, Perilla and Lycoris (but the last in order to say that it was not Gallus' poetry on her which led to his tragedy). Of these, he identifies only Perilla. The formation *nomine dicta, Metelle, tuo* points to associations with a famous Metellus. Merkel suggested that this Metella was the notorious wife of the younger Lentulus Spinther, with whom P. Dolabella was entangled. And from another angle, Shackleton Bailey has argued plausibly that the wife of Lentulus Spinther was the daughter of Metellus Celer - and of Clodia / Lesbia.¹¹⁾ This therefore means that Ovid has singled out for comment the most celebrated of the freewheeling ladies of poetry and her daughter: *matre pulchra filia pulchrior*.

If indeed Metella / Perilla is the daughter of Lesbia and Metellus Celer, one can see the interest in her activities, the probability of references to her in a variety of sources in her lifetime, and the need for discretion at that time. One can also understand the interest in recovering the real name behind Perilla after the need for discretion had faded following her death.¹²⁾ The contrast between *modo* and *nunc* will then consist in the restoration of Metella's real name where formerly the pseudonym had stood (as Bentley suggested). It is not likely that a fresh circle of poets would have taken to writing about Metella a generation after her death, with or without pseudonyms. The vagueness of *quorum* need not be seen as ominous: it is simply the generalizing effect at the end of the sequence noted earlier with more and more poets per couplet from 427 on.¹³⁾

The passage is therefore sound, and Ovid does not say that Tigidas and/or Memmius wrote about Metella, directly or otherwise. Indeed he distinguishes these poets from the authors of

poems referring to her. Apuleius is thus thrown on the defensive and we must choose between Ovid and Apuleius as reliable sources for matters touching erotic poetry in the first century B.C. Our choice is made somewhat easier by Apuleius' record in the matter of names elsewhere. Despite his enormous fund of knowledge on authors famous and obscure, there is reason to question the names given in this passage of the *Apologia*. I have argued elsewhere¹⁴⁾ that only the Lesbia / Clodia identification is secure - and for that, the poems themselves are almost enough to guarantee a positive identification.¹⁵⁾

The pursuit of Delia's original is a fruitless task. As I have tried to demonstrate,¹⁶⁾ the total evidence of Tibullus' poems shows that the figure of Delia is developed in and for the elegies themselves, not without a backdrop of actual experience but shaped in all essential aspects by the demands of the poetic world in which she moves. This includes the choice of her name. The old explanation of Delia as the Greek equivalent of a real woman named Plania (as δῆλος = *planus*) is untenable. We cannot now guess when the suggestion arose, and I am not claiming that Apuleius invented it, but it is an unlikely theory when assessed in light of Tibullus' practice.

Cynthia / Hostia is more complicated, as the identification is found not only here but also in a scholion to Juvenal 6.7: *Cynthia Propertii amica sumptuosa proprio nomine Hostia dicebatur...*¹⁷⁾ Despite this corroboration, there has long been a view that the name should be Roscia. The question is not settled by any means, but plausible arguments in favor of Roscia have been presented by Marx and Boucher on quite different grounds.¹⁸⁾ At any rate, it is not at all clear whence the scholiast obtained this information. The remark is not found in any of the standard collections of scholia on Juvenal.¹⁹⁾ One is lured to the idea that the scholiast may simply have obtained the report from this passage in Apuleius (he certainly did not glean it from the poems of Propertius).

Wiseman has attempted to trace Apuleius' source for this passage, and believes the trail leads back through Suetonius' *de scortis illustribus* to Santra and Hyginus.²⁰⁾ It is not altogether clear whether Metella would be a suitable candidate for inclusion in a book on *scorta*; and if she is not, the link with Suetonius and thence to Hyginus is weakened accordingly.

Moreover, if the identifications of the other mistresses are as shaky as they seem, they are unlikely to have derived from a contemporary source.

In fact, I believe that Apuleius is looking, at least in part, to Ovid as a model for ch. 9-10 of the *Apologia*. The general nature of such a defence for writing erotic verse was fairly standard; but the two passages have in common, beyond the general similarities, that they both present first authors who wrote erotic verse, then authors who used pseudonyms for their lovers, and then authors who lacked even this discretion. Moreover, both start their series with Anacreon (*Apol.* 9, Tr. 363) - in both instances called by his place of origin, *Teius*, rather than by name - and both refer to Sappho with the national epithet *Lesbia* (significant, perhaps, with Catullus showing up on both lists soon thereafter). Obviously Apuleius will have supplemented his list from his own very extensive knowledge or from other sources, but I think that the agreement of the two accounts, together with the fact that the identification of Perilla as Metella appears only in these two places, encourages us to think that Apuleius had one eye on Ovid.

And finally in assessing Apuleius' reliability, we may note that he has difficulties with names elsewhere in the *Apologia*. In ch. 66 we find another list, this time of orators: four of them are given the wrong *praenomen*, and one also has a false *nomen*.²¹⁾ On this passage, A. S. Owen has the following comment: "With reference to the general inaccuracy of this passage it may be pointed out that there was no special need for Apuleius to trouble about accuracy on details of this kind dealing with the history of the law-courts two centuries previously. There was little fear of his accuracy being checked in a provincial law-court."

The observation has some bearing on Apuleius' treatment of literary history as well. For even a casual reader must be struck by the flamboyant use of quite extraneous learning which parades through the pages of that speech. Butler remarks that Apuleius "plays with his accusers, mocking them from the heights of his superior learning."²²⁾ The comment

may be taken further. The very wealth of his casual references to every branch of learning and culture, as Vallette noted,²³⁾ means that many areas are being paraded beyond his actual control of the facts - but who in this provincial court will challenge him? It is clear enough that he is mocking his accusers; he seems even to enjoy implying the ignorance of the judge as well.²⁴⁾ It would seem on the surface that he would have more to gain by assuming that the judge and his *concilium* were men of refinement whose educated good judgment could be placed against the superstitious ignorance of his accusers, but the display of learning and lore gets the upper hand, and all falls as it were before the sophist's brandished erudition.

In the last analysis, it is impossible to say why Apuleius got the information on Tigidas in its present form, but his carelessness in handling other details suggests that he may simply have slipped here; or he may have drawn the detail from some intervening source which is quite lost to us. But either way, we are not encouraged to take his word ahead of Ovid's.²⁵⁾

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NOTES

1) *Perillae* is found only in Bern. 478. Most MSS read *per illos*. S. G. Owen at one time (ed. 1889) read *Perilla est*, which as he later admitted cannot be right (see his note in *Ovidi Tristium liber secundus* [Oxford 1924] p. 240), although it was accepted by Ehwald, Ellis *et al.*

2) There is one apparent exception. Aristides' *Milesian Tales* are mentioned in 413-4, and Sisenna's translation of the work in 443-4. But these are after all references to two different people (in separate parts of the catalog), the Greek author and his Roman translator; and *historiae turpis inseruisse iocos* may imply a further contribution by Sisenna beyond straight translation.

3) Bentley *ad* Hor. *C.* 2.12.13.

4) As an illustration of the confusion attending this question, one reader of an earlier version of this paper stated that the transposition of 433-4 to follow 436 was the only possible solution, while the other claimed that nobody has believed in the transposition since Owen discredited it in 1924!

- 5) One instance of the arguments: the juxtaposition of *apud quos... et quorum* has been a severe difficulty for some (such as Ehwald, *Fh* 54 [1895] 461) because of the apparent solecism; but Heinsius was quite untroubled by the effect.
- 6) Pseudacro *ad* Hor. *C.* 2.12.13 requires the same number of syllables; Bentley on the same passage requires a metrical equivalency, which is not always the case. See further J.-P. Boucher, *Études sur Propertius* (BEFAR sér. 1, fasc. 204: Paris 1965) 460 ff.
- 7) I have treated this question of pseudonyms and their relationship to the persona being developed: cf. *Haec mihi fingebam. Tibullus in his World* (Leiden 1978) 101-107.
- 8) This claim, obviously, can be made only where the poetry is extant, and in the case of Metella / Perilla we have no such material. Boucher conjectures that the name may be a complimentary gesture towards the family history of the Metelli: *Perillos* being a Macedonian form of *Perilaos* would be an allusion to Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus (Boucher 466 n.1 and additional bibliography there). Boucher properly dismisses the *jeu grammatical* of T. Frank, "Ticidas the Neoteric Poet" *CR* 34 (1920) 92, who explained the name by the substitution of $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ for $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$. Boucher's guess is hardly less stretched, however, and it is best to admit our ignorance here.
- 9) Fr. Leo, "Ueber einige Elegien Tibulls" *Phil. Unt.* 2 (1881) 20 n.7.
- 10) *P. Ovidius Naso, Tristia*. hsg. G. Luck (Heidelberg: C. Winter), Bd. II (1972) p. 144.
- 11) D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus*, vol. V (Cambridge 1966) pp. 412-13; cf. *ad Att.* XI.23 (SB 232) on Metella's liaison with Dolabella.
- 12) T. P. Wiseman, *Cinna the Poet and other Roman Essays* (Leicester 1974) 188-91, accepts the identification of Metella / Perilla as the daughter of Clodia / Lesbia, and reviews her career, identifying various characters standing in the shadows. He assumes (cf. Münzer, *RE* VI.A 846) that the poet in *Tr.* 2.433 was Ticida, and that he is the Caesarian L. Ticida (*Bell. Afr.* 44, 46) and that he wrote of Metella as Apuleius claims. Wiseman guesses at the anonymous writers in 437-8: perhaps Furius Bibaculus, L. Torquatus, Asinius Pollio or Q. Hortensius.
- 13) J. Micyllus suggested, as explanation for the anonymity, either respect for the poets involved or metrical problems (reported in *P. Ovidi Nasonis opera omnia ex rec. P. Burmanni* [Turin 1823] VI. p. 90). But Ovid certainly could have found any number of periphrases to identify them if he had wished; and how are these poets entitled to discretion when Metella herself has just been mentioned by name?
- 14) D. F. Bright (above n.7) 107-110.
- 15) See the very full assessment of the problem in G. Deroux, "L'identité de Lesbie" *ANRW* I.3 (Berlin 1973) 390-416.
- 16) *Op. cit.* esp. 99-123 (on mistresses in general) and 124-183 (On Delia).
- 17) First adduced by G. Barth, *adv. lib.* 56.3; quoted in Forcellini's *Onomasticon* s.v. 'Hostia.'
- 18) A. Marx, *De S. Properti vita et librorum ordine temporibusque* (Diss. Leipzig 1884) 47 f.; Boucher (above n.6) 460-62.

19) On the sources and blind spots of the early scholiastic tradition of Juvenal see G. Townend, "The Earliest Scholiast on Juvenal" *CQ* 22 (1972) 376-87.

20) *Catullan Questions* (Leicester 1969) 50-52.

21) Cf. H. E. Butler & A. S. Owen, *Apulei Apologia* (Oxford 1914) pp. 26-7, 131: A. Albucius instead of T.; Cn. Norbanus instead of C.; C. Furius instead of L. Fufius; M. Aquilius instead of M'.

22) Op. cit. p. xvi.

23) P. Vallette, *L'Apologie d'Apulée* (Paris 1908) 171 ff.

24) The whole situation is summed up in Vallette's comment (p. 177): "Il n'est pas certain qu'il ait lu tous les ouvrages dont il parle, et il a presque l'air de se moquer du juge quand il lui dit avec une gravité de pince-sans-rire: pro tua eruditione, legisti profecto Aristotelis περὶ ζῴων γενέσεως... (36)."

25) I wish to record my thanks to the readers of earlier versions of this paper for many helpful criticisms and suggestions.

THE WEDDING HYMN OF ACTA THOMAE

MIROSLAV MARCOVICH

The puzzling, elusive Wedding Hymn of *Acta Thomae* 6-7 -- first published back in 1823 -- has not yet found a satisfactory interpretation and assessment.¹⁾ I assume that the lost original was written in East-Aramaic or Syriac: the Semitic *Doppeldreier* of the original -- a distichon with three beats in each line -- still seems to be detectable in the extant Greek version. This distichal meter was popular in Aramaic and Syriac poetry, notably in the *Psalms of Thomas*.²⁾ Compare, e.g., line 1 of our Hymn 'The Bride is the daughter of Light' with *Ps. Thomae* 1.1 'My Father, the joyful Light.'

If so then the 4:4 beat in couplet 27 of our Hymn alone speaks against the authenticity of the closing distichon. And Wilhelm Bousset was right in detecting Manichaeism in this couplet, notably in the Living Spirit,³⁾ as was Günther Bornkamm -- in seeing in this couplet a later Manichaean addition (Zusatz).⁴⁾ As a matter of fact, 27 ἐδόξασαν τὸν πατέρα is redundant in view of 23 καὶ δοξάσουσι τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων.

The translator of the Hymn into Greek uses sometimes two words to translate one single word of the original: 1 ἐνέστηκε καὶ ἔγκειται. 10 σημαίνουσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν. 18 τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὸ θέαμα. 23 ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει.

As is known, the extant Syriac version departs considerably from the original text -- due to its systematic *catholicizing* effort. It tries to remove every trace of Gnosticism. Accordingly, 'the Bride' (1) is replaced with 'my Church' (with far-reaching consequences).⁵⁾ The aeons are eliminated: 'the place of the blessed aeons' (10) is replaced with 'the place of life'; the thirty-two (7) are replaced with the twelve apostles and the seventy-two envoys (borrowed from Luke 10:1 and popular later among the Manichaeans;⁶⁾ in 15-17 the figures twice seven

and twelve are eliminated; finally, in 20 and 21, 'the great ones (grandees, princes)' and 'the eternal ones' -- i.e., the Gnostics -- are replaced with 'the just ones' and 'some.' In brief, the Syriac version must be used with extreme caution. But occasionally -- where there is no reason to suspect its catholicizing zeal -- it proves to be a helpful means in restoring the corrupt Greek text.

The Greek version of the Hymn is preserved in sixteen manuscripts. I retain Bonnet's MSS sigla (p.99). Here is its text as restored by me.

I. GREEK TEXT

- 1 Ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτὸς θυγάτηρ,
ἧ ἐνέστηκε καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων
- 2 τὸ γαῦρον, καὶ ἐπιτερπὲς ταύτης τὸ θέαμα,
φαιδρῶ κάλλει καταυγάζουσα.
- 3 ἧς τὰ ἐνδύματα ἔοικεν ἑαρινοῖς ἄνθεσιν,
ἀποφορὰ δὲ εὐωδίας ἔξ αὐτῶν διαδίδονται.
- 4 καὶ ἐν τῇ κορυφῇ <αὐτῆς> ἴδρυται ὁ βασιλεὺς,
τρέφων τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμβροσίᾳ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἰδρυμένους.
- 5 ἔγκειται δὲ ταύτης τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀλήθεια,
χαρὰν δὲ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῆς ἐμφαίνει.
- 6 ἧς τὸ στόμα ἀνέφικται καὶ προπόντως αὐτῆ·
< quoniam eo omnes laudes edit. >
- 7 τριάκοντα καὶ δύο εἰσὶν οἱ <έν> ταύτῃ ὑμνολογοῦντες,
< - - - - - >
- 8 ἧς ἡ γλῶττα παραπετάσματι ἔοικεν τῆς θύρας,
ὃ ἐκτινάσσεται τοῖς εἰσιούσιν.
- 9 ἧς ὁ αὐχὴν εἰς τύπον βαθμῶν ἔγκειται,
ὧν ὁ πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργησεν.
- 10 αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες σημαίνουσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν,
τὸν χῶρον τῶν εὐδαιμόνων αἰώνων κηρύσσοντες.
- 11 οἱ δὲ <δέκα> δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς
τάς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ἀνοίγνύουσιν.
- 12 ἧς ὁ παστὸς φωτεινός, ἀποφορὰν
ὀποβαλοσάμου καὶ παντὸς ἀρώματος διαπνέων,
- 13 ἀναδιδούς τε ὄσμην ἠδεῖαν σμύρνης τε
καὶ φύλλου, καὶ ἀνθέων παμπόλλων ἠδυσπνῶν.

- 14 ὑπέστρωνται δὲ ἐντὸς μυροσίνας,
αἱ δὲ κλισιάδες ἐν καλάμοις κεκόσμηται.
- 15 περιεστοιχισμένην δὲ αὐτὴν ἔχουσιν οἱ ταύτης
ᾧ δ' ἀριθμὸς ἑβδομος, οὗς αὐτὴ ἐξελέξατο·
(παρά)νυμφοι,
- 16 αἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνυμοί εἰσιν ἑπτὰ,
αἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς χορεύουσιν.
- 17 δώδεκα δὲ εἰσιν τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς
ὑπηρετοῦντες καὶ αὐτῇ ὑποκείμενοι,
- 18 τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὸ θέαμα εἰς τὸν νυμφίον ἔχοντες,^{*}
ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θεάματος αὐτοῦ φωτισθῶσιν.
- 19 καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα σὺν αὐτῷ ἔσονται
εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν χαρὰν τὴν αἰώνιον·
- 20 καὶ ἔσονται ἐν τῷ γάμῳ ἐκείνῳ,
ἐν ᾧ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες συναθροίζονται·
- 21 καὶ παραμενοῦσιν τῇ εὐωχίᾳ,
ἧς οἱ αἰώνιοι καταξιοῦνται·
- 22 καὶ ἐνδύσονται βασιλικά ἐνδύματα
καὶ ἀμφιάσονται στολᾶς λαμπράς·
- 23 καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσει ἔσονται ἀμρότεροι,
καὶ δοξάσουσι τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων.
- 24 οὗ τὸ φῶς τὸ γαῦρον ἐδέξαντο,
καὶ ἐφωτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ τοῦ δεσπότου αὐτῶν·
- 25 οὗ τὴν ἀμβροσίαν βρῶσιν ἐδέξαντο
μηδὲν ὄλων ἀπουσίαν ἔχουσαν,
- 26 ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου (αὐτοῦ),
τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν.
- 27 [ἐδόξασαν δὲ καὶ ὕμνησαν σὺν τῷ ζῶντι πνεύματι
τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς σοφίας.]

1 ἐνέστη et ἔνεστι codd. nonnulli 4 αὐτῆς addidi ex versione Syr. ὑπ' X et vers. Syr., coniec. Usener : ἐπ' codd. 6 "Da sie lauter Loblieder (mit ihm) spricht" ex vers. Syr. add. Bornkamm 7 ἐν ταύτῃ scripsi conlata vers. Syr. (in ea) : ταύτην codd. totum versum delet Macke, vix recte : XII apostoli filii et LXXII tonant in ea vers. Syr. 7b unum versum intercidesse vidit Lipsius : exspectes δοξάζοντες τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων conlato v.23b 9 ἔγκειται : sunt scalae arduae vers. Syr. 10 χῶρον coniec. Bonnet (locum vers. Syr.) : χορὸν codd. (cf. c.54, p.171.9, et c.57, p.174.6 χῶρον codd. : χορὸν P; et praesertim c.148, p.257.6 χωρῶν locus vers. Syr. : χορῶν codd. ; c.156, p.265.2 χωρῶν in regionem vers. Syr. : χορῶν

codd.) κηρύσσοντες codd. praeter A (cf. *Apocal.* 11:4) : κηρύσσοσαι A (ft. recte) 11 δέκα ex vers. Syr. add. suad. Bonnet ἀνοιγνύουσιν coniec. Hoffmann : ὑποδεικνύουσιν per dittographiam codd. (cf. 10a) 12 ὀποβαλοῦσιν Hoffmann : ἀπό βαλοῦσιν codd. 13b καὶ ἀνθέων παμπόλων ἡδυπνῶν post 14 ὑπέστρωνται δὲ ἐντὸς μυρσίνας codd., huc transtulit Hoffmann : 'aliquid intercidisse videtur velut στέμματα' Bonnet 14b κλειστάδες coniec. Thilo (*ianuae* vers. Syr.) : κλειστάδες codd. 15 παρανύμφιοι coniec. Thilo (πارانυμφοι coniec. Bonnet), *sponsi comites* ('groomsmen') vers. Syr. : νυμφιοι codd. 16b αὐ Thilo : οὐ codd. 26a αὐτοῦ addidi (cf. 25 οὐ) 27 delevi post G. Bornkamm, ut additamentum Manichaeorum

TRANSLATION

1. The Bride

- 1 The Bride is the daughter of Light:
the majestic effulgence of kings stands upon her;
- 2 delightful is the sight of her,
radiant with cheerful beauty.
- 3 Her garments are like spring flowers:
sweet fragrance spreads around from them.
- 4 On the crown of her head sits the King,
feeding with his ambrosia those who sit beneath him.
- 5 Truth rests upon her head,
(the movement of) her feet makes joy appear.
- 6 Her mouth is open, and it becomes her:
(for she utters with it all songs of praise.)
- 7 Thirty-two are they who sing praises (in) her,
(e.g., glorifying the Father of all.)
- 8 Her tongue is like a door-curtain (cf. *Hebrews* 6:19; 9:3; 10:20)
that is moved aside for those who enter in.
- 9 Her neck is shaped like the (lofty) steps
that the first Demiurge created.
- 10 Her both hands make signs,
proclaiming the place of the blessed aeons.
- 11 Her (ten) fingers
open the gates of the City.

2. Her Bridal Chamber

- 12 Her bridal chamber (cf. Mt. 9:15; 22:10) is full of light,
breathing a scent of balsam and every spice;
- 13 giving off a sweet fragrance of myrrh and silphium,
and of all kinds of sweet-smelling flowers.
- 14 Its floor is covered with myrtle twigs
and the portals are adorned with wands of reed.

3. Her Attendants

- 15 Her groomsmen keep her surrounded,
seven in number, whom she herself has chosen.
- 16 And her bridesmaids are seven,
who dance before her in chorus.
- 17 Twelve in number are those
who serve before her and are subject to her.

4. The Bridegroom and the Elect Ones

- 18 They have their gaze toward the Bridegroom (cf. Mt. 9:15; John 3:29)
so that by the sight of him they may be enlightened
(cf. John 1:7-9; *Hebrews* 6:4; 2 *Timothy* 1:10).
- 19 And they shall be with him forever
in that eternal bliss;
- 20 And they shall be present at that wedding (cf. Mt. 22:2)
at which the great ones are assembled (cf. Mk. 6:21;
Apocal. 6:15; 18:23);
- 21 And they shall attend the banquet (cf. *Apocal.* 19:9)
of which the eternal ones are deemed worthy (cf. Mt. 22:14).
- 22 And they shall put on royal robes (cf. Mt. 22:11-12)
and be arrayed in shining cloaks (cf. *Apocal.* 3:4-5; 3:18; 4:4;
6:11; 7:9; 7:13-14; 1 *Cor.* 15:53; 2 *Cor.* 5:3-4; 1 *Enoch* 62:15-16;
71:1; 108:12; 2 *Enoch* 22:8-10).
- 23 And all of them shall be in joy and exultation,
and they shall glorify the Father of all.
- 24 (For) his majestic Light they have received,
by the vision of their Lord they have been enlightened.
- 25 His ambrosial food they have received,
which is free of all decay;
- 26 Of <his> wine they have drunk,
which causes them neither thirst nor desire.
- 27 [And they glorified and praised along with the Living Spirit
the Father of truth and the Mother of wisdom.]

II. INTERPRETATION

1. *Structure.* The text of the Hymn, in the reconstruction offered above, easily falls into four parts: 11 + 3 + 3 + 9 couplets. The lion's share (couplets 1-11) belongs to the description of the Bride, i.e., of the *Lichtjungfrau* (1 τοῦ φωτός θυγάτηρ). She appears in the role of a mediator between the Heaven (in 11 she opens the gates of the heavenly City Jerusalem) and the pneumatics on earth: That is why her neck had been shaped by the first Demiurge (i.e., by the Father of all, cf. 7b and 23b) as "a lofty flight of steps" (9a), leading to that City. Consequently, Part I (1-11) anticipates Part IV (18-26): the redemption of the pneumatics (Gnostics), "the great and eternal ones" (20-21). It also anticipates the de-

scription of the Bridegroom (in 18-26) -- by indicating his place both at the wedding banquet and in the Pleroma: 4 "on the crown of her head sits the King." By ὁ βασιλεὺς the Bridegroom (Savior or Christ) must be meant (as already Thilo had suggested), and not "the Father" or "ein dominierender Stern" (as Lipsius 305 and Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, 69 n.1, respectively, thought). For the ambrosia of this King is nothing else but the ambrosia provided by Christ (in the closing couplets 24-26), i.e., eucharist. Compare *Acta Thomae* 25 (p.140.13 Bonnet) and 36 (p.154.2), where ἡ ἀμβροσιώδης πηγὴ of Jesus and ἡ ἀμβροσιώδης τροφή along with ὁ ποτὸς τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς ἀληθινῆς clearly refer to eucharist.

Part II (12-14) briefly describes the Bridal Chamber: such Bride, such her bride-chamber -- full of light, sweet fragrance, spring flowers, myrtle twigs, chastity and purity. Add to that that her bridesmaids are cheerfully dancing in chorus before her (16), just as she herself seems to be cheerfully moving her feet (in 5). Some of the wedding customs taken from the real life seem to be detectable in this *interpretatio Gnostica*. For example, the place of the bridegroom at the wedding banquet was really "above the bride" (as Bousset, *ZNW* 18 [1917] 21 f., had correctly pointed out): that is why the King sits "on the crown" of the Bride's head (4). It was the duty of the groomsmen to serve as the groom's guardians of the bride: that is why the seven groomsmen (i.e., planets) keep the Bride surrounded (in 15). Miss E.S. Driver had drawn attention to the similarity between the bride-chamber of our Hymn and the bride-chamber of the modern Mandaeans in Iraq: it is adorned with fresh flowers and myrtle, and tree-twigs of every kind.⁷⁾ The apotropaic decoration of the house entrance with myrtle twigs (dedicated to Aphrodite: Athenaeus XV, 676 ab) during a wedding ceremony was common enough in Greece (Plut. *Amatorius* 755 A; Stobaeus IV.22^a.24 [IV, p.506.19 Hense]).⁸⁾

Part III (15-17) resumes the spatial location of the Bride from 4: She is totally encompassed by her seven groomsmen (i.e., by the seven planets), being entertained by her seven bridesmaids (i.e., by the seven *archons* of those planets).⁹⁾ In addition, the twelve archons of the Zodiacal Circle serve before her (17).

Couplet 18 serves as a "bridge" between Parts III and IV: The attendants have their gaze and look fixed on the Bridegroom, who is probably seated above the Bride (cf. 4), in order to receive light from him and thus become "enlightened." The aeons are the ἀπαρχή of the ultimate redemption, a guaranty for the redemption of the pneumatics, who are to be understood under "the great and eternal ones" in 20-21. The nine couplets of Part IV (18-26), dealing with the Savior, serve as a counter-balance to the eleven couplets describing the Bride in Part I. The Savior is able to enlighten both the aeons and the pneumatics (18 and 24b) because he himself is Light as Son of the Light (Father of the all): in 24 Light is best explained as a synonym of Lord, referring to the Savior-Christ (cf. John 1:3 Ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον). Light is the essence of all three divine persons, the Father of all (1, 24a), the Bride (1, 12), and the Bridegroom (18, 24).

Couplets 19-23 are strongly liturgical (or macaristic) in character ("And they shall..."). They are explained by the closing couplets 24-26. The redemption of the pneumatics will be achieved through the following sacraments, mysteries and Gnostic enlightenment: the eucharist (25-26), the enlightenment through Christ (18 and 24), the acquisition of the "royal raiment" (22), and above all through a Marcosian sacrament (?) of the Bridal Chamber (20-21).

The elaborate structure of the Hymn is enhanced by placing the same key-word at different strategic points (including a kind of *Ringcomposition*). A few examples: 1 φῶς and τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τὸ γαῦρον, 12 φωτεινός, 18 ἵνα φωτισθῶσιν, 24 τὸ φῶς τὸ γαῦρον and ἐφωτίσθησαν serve as a thread linking the Father of all, Bride and Bridegroom. Moreover, 10 οἱ εὐδαίμονες αἰῶνες, 19 εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα and αἰώνιος lead to 21 οἱ αἰώνιοι, meaning the elect Gnostics as the partakers in that eternal bliss. Furthermore, 2 ἐπιτερπέες, 5 χαρά, 19 χαρά and 23 ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει, in addition to 16 χορεύουσιν, link the Bride with the pneumatics in the everlasting joy and exultation. Finally, 4 ἀμβροσία anticipates the eucharist of the closing lines (25-26), ἡ ἀμβροσία βρωσῖς, and the Father of all seems to be glorified both by the Bride (in 6b and 7b) and the pneumatics (in 23b; couplet 27 is a later Manichaean addition).

2. *Exit Bardesanes and the Manichaeans.* The opening word ἡ κόρη means both 'maiden' and 'bride.' (it means 'bride' at *Odyssey* 18.279; Theopompus Com.14 ap. Σ Aristoph. *Plut.*768). Since bridal chamber (12) and Bridegroom (18) are mentioned in our Hymn, the meaning 'bride' is the most natural. Then Klijn's commentary: "She [i.e., the daughter of Light] is never called bride" (p.177) must be wrong. Now, the key-problem of the Hymn seems to be to identify the Bride, since it may lead us to the very Gnostic system from which the Hymn originally had derived. Who is she: the Near-Eastern 'Maiden of Light' (παρθένος τοῦ φωτός), or the Jewish Sophia-Achamoth, or rather a combination of both?

A. Dieterich¹⁰⁾ brought our 'daughter of Light' in connection with the *Lichtjungfrau* of the *Pistis Sophia* (pp.126.14 ff.; 212.12 ff. ed.C. Schmidt³ *et passim*). She is accompanied by seven maidens (i.e., seven planets, pp.138.26; 188.16 ff.; 211.33; 212.25; 216.7) and by twelve διδάκονοι (i.e., twelve zodiacal signs, pp.9.3; 126.18; 138.27; 148.24), as is our Bride. Then W. Bousset enriched the picture in his classical opening chapters on "Die Sieben und die Μητήρ" of his *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (esp. pp.62 n.1 and 69).

Lipsius (305 and 309 f.), Preuschen (75 f.), and especially Bornkamm (*Mythos* 85 f.) brought Bardesanes (Bardaisān, A.D. 154-222) into the picture. But, in my opinion, the enigmatic text of Bardesanes' psalm ap. Ephraem the Syrian, *Psalms* 55.5 ed. Beck, is irrelevant to our Hymn. It reads: " 'When shall we see thy wedding feast, o youthful Spirit?' [asks the mother, the Holy Spirit, her daughter, either Earth or Water]. She [i.e., the youthful Spirit] is the daughter whom she [i.e., her mother, the Holy Spirit] set upon her knees and sang to sleep." To be sure, a "Bridal chamber of light" does appear in Bardesanes:¹¹⁾ It is the *Crossing-place* at which the departed souls had been hindered because of *the sin of Adam* ("because the sin of Adam hindered them") -- until the coming of the Savior Christ: "Therefore, everyone that keeps my word [says Jesus] death forever he shall not taste," -- that his soul is not hindered when it crosses at the Crossing-place, like the hindrance of old..." But, as H.J.W. Drijvers in his dissertation on Bardesanes had pointed out,¹²⁾ the idea is not

Gnostic: the souls are stopped at the Crossing-place not because of a primordial Gnostic "fall" of the soul, but because of Adam's original disobedience of God's command. In conclusion, Bardesanes cannot help us in assessing *the Hymn*. His influence, however, seems to be detectable in *Acta Thomae*, but that is a different matter: there is a strong possibility that our Hymn had been composed long before, and then inserted into the *Acts of Thomas* by its author (Bornkamm 86 f. seems to confuse the two issues).

As for the Manichaeans, expressions like this one: "Jesus Christ, receive me into Thy Bride-chambers of light" or "into Thy Aeons" do occur in Manichaean Psalms (e.g., pp.54.5; 63.3; 79.17-20; 80.18 and 20 f.; 81.13 f.; 117.29 f.; 150.18 ?; 197.5 Allberry), but the point is that the Manichaean sources cannot help us in explaining our Hymn *on chronological grounds*: they are much later than our Hymn (contra the approach of, e.g., Geo Widengren¹³).

3. *Enter the Valentinian Vogue.* With the *ιερός γάμος* between Sophia-Achamoth and Savior-Christ of the wide-spread Valentinianism we are on safer ground (as already Thilo and Lipsius had recognized). The *locus classicus* is Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* I.7.1: ...τὴν μὲν Ἀχαμῶθ τὴν Μητέρα αὐτῶν μεταστῆναι τοῦ τῆς Μεσότητος τόπου λέγουσι καὶ ἐντὸς Πληρώματος εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν νυμφίον αὐτῆς τὸν Σωτῆρα..., ἵνα συζυγία γένηται τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ τῆς Σοφίας τῆς Ἀχαμῶθ. Καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι "νυμφίον καὶ νύμφην" (cf. John 3:29), "νυμφῶνα" δὲ (cf. Mt. 22:10) τὸ πᾶν Πλήρωμα.¹⁴) (Cf. Hippolyt. *Elenchos* VI.34.4.) There can be little doubt about who the Bridegroom in our Hymn is: the Savior-Christ *is* the Light and Enlightener in 18 and 24 (cf. John 1:7-9), and certainly He is the giver of the holy eucharist (in 25-26). After all, the Father of all is *ἄγνωστος* and invisible, while the Savior-Christ is visible (24 "by the *vision* of their Lord they have been enlightened").

But the striking similarity between our Hymn, *Acta Thomae* and the Valentinianism is the *sacramental* character of the Bridal Chamber. It is expressed in the closing liturgical formulas of the Hymn -- no less than seven future-tenses ("And they shall...") in 19-23, capped with four explicatory aorists

in 24-26 ("For they have received..."). Doubtless, the redemption of the Aeons attending the sacrament of matrimony between Sophia and Christ serves as a guaranty for the future redemption of the pneumatics. This expectation is clearly expressed in *Acta Thomae* 12 s.f.: προσδοκῶντες (sc. ὑμεῖς) ἀπολήψεσθαι ἐκεῖνον τὸν γάμον τὸν ἀφθόρον καὶ ἀληθινόν, καὶ ἔσεσθε ἐν αὐτῷ παράνυμφοι συνεισερχόμενοι εἰς τὸν νυμφῶνα ἐκεῖνον τὸν τῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ φωτὸς πλήρη. Compare c.14 s.f. (of the same Act 1), where the heavenly wedding is preferred to "this marriage that passes away from before my eyes," and especially the elaborate speech of Mygdonia in c.124 (Act 10), contrasting her marriage to Karish (Charisius) with that to Christ:

... Εἶδες ἐκεῖνον τὸν παρελθόντα γάμον [ᾧδε καὶ μόνον delevi, om.U : habet P], ὁ δὲ γάμος οὗτος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μένει· ἡ κοινωνία ἐκεῖνη διαφθορᾶς ἦν, αὕτη δὲ ζωῆς αἰωνίου· οἱ παράνυμφοι ἐκεῖνοι ἄνδρες εἰσὶν καὶ γυναῖκες πρόσκαιροι, οἱ δὲ νῦν εἰς τέλος παραμένουσιν· ἐκεῖνος ὁ γάμος ἐπὶ γῆς ἴστησιν, (ὅπου θλίψις ἐστὶν ἀπαυστος, οὗτος δὲ ἐπὶ γεφύρας πυρὸς 15) ἴστησιν, explevi exempli gratia conlata versione Syriaca) φιλανθρωπίαν δροσίζων· ἐκεῖνος ὁ παστὸς λύεται πάλιν, οὗτος δὲ διὰ παντὸς μένει· ... σὺ (sc. Charisius) νυμφίος εἶ παριῶν καὶ λυόμενος, ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς νυμφίος ἐστὶν ἀληθινός, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα παραμένων ἀθάνατος (καὶ ἀφθαρτος·) ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἀνακαλυπτήριον χρήματα ἦν καὶ πέπλα παλαιούμενα (cf. *Psalms* 101:27; *Hebrews* 1:11), τοῦτο δὲ ζῶντες λόγοι μηδέποτε παρερχόμενοι.16)

The renunciation of the carnal, earthly (choic and psychic) perishable marriage in favor of the spiritual (pneumatic) everlasting wedding on heaven is one of the key-motifs in *Acta Thomae*, as Bornkamm (68-81) had well pointed out. First the king's daughter in the city of Sandarūk (Andrapolis) renounces her earthly marriage in Act 1 (cc.4-15); then -- and especially -- Mygdonia does the same in Acts 9 and 10 (cc. 88; 93; 98; 117, culminating in the παράθεσις of c.124 quoted above); next the queen Tertia (in Act 11, esp. c.135) and finally the king's son Vīzan (Vazan) and his wife Manashar (in Acts 12 and 13, esp. c.150) follow the trend. Most probably, this prevailing motif of the *Acta Thomae* -- the spiritual marriage to Jesus -- was the reason for the author to insert our Hymn in Act 1.

The sacramental character of couplets 19-23, referring to the pneumatics (20-21) and echoed in c.12 s.f., is best ex-

plained by the sacrament of the "Bridal Chamber" as practised by the Marcosians: "Εὐτρέπισσον σεαυτὴν ὡς νύμφη ἐκδεχομένη τὸν νυμφίον ἑαυτῆς, ἵνα ἔσῃ ὃ ἐγὼ καὶ ἐγὼ ὃ σύ. καθίδρυσσον ἐν τῷ νυμφῶνί σου τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ φωτός. λάβε παρ' ἐμοῦ τὸν νυμφίον καὶ χώρησον αὐτὸν καὶ χωρήθητι ἐν αὐτῷ." (Iren. I.13.3). Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν νυμφῶνα κατασκευάζουσι καὶ μυσταγωγίαν ἐπιτελοῦσι μετ' ἐπιρρήσεών τινων τοῖς τελουμένοις καὶ πνευματικὸν γάμον φάσκουσιν εἶναι τὸ ὑπ' αὐτῶν γινόμενον κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἄνω συζυγιῶν (I.21.3). The redemption of the pneumatics through the Bridal Chamber was well known to the Valentinians (as Iren. I.7.1; Clement, *Exc. ex Theodoto*: 63-65; 68; 79, and Heracleon Fr.12 Brooke attest). The sacrament of the Bridal Chamber (or the spiritual marriage for the consecrated ones) is prominent in the *Gospel of Philip* (Nag Hammadi II.3), Logia 61; 66; 67; 68; 73; 76; 79; 80; 82; 87; 95; 102; 124-127. In logion 76 (p.69.24 ff.) we even read that the Bridal Chamber is *the highest* among the sacraments. It also occurs in the *Exegesis on the Soul* (NH II.6), pp.132.13 ff.; 132.25 ff. Both Gnostic treatises are Valentinian in character.¹⁷⁾

In conclusion, the Valentinian background of our Wedding Hymn seems to be probable enough. If so then our Hymn must be dated in the second half of the second century A.D.

4. *Back to the Lichtjungfrau.* At the same time, there are differences of significance between the Hymn and the Valentinianism. Apparently, we are expected to envisage the Bride (Sophia) as restored in the Pleroma (Bridal Chamber). But it is disturbing to find the seven planets (and their seven archons) in her company, "keeping her surrounded" (15). In the Valentinian system they belong to the Hebdomad (our world), along with the twelve zodiacs. Moreover, it is unthinkable of the Valentinians to call the invisible Father "the first Demiurge" (as our poet seems to do in 9). In Valentinus the first Demiurge is the Savior: Πρῶτος μὲν οὖν δημιουργὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ γίνεται καθολικός (Clem. *Exc. ex Theod.*46.2; cf. Iren.I.5.2). (In addition, Bornkamm 83 had remarked that our Bridegroom does not show the characteristics of the Valentinian Σωτὴρ, nor is there in the Hymn any hint at the "fall" of Sophia.) On the other hand, the presence of the seven attendants (and twelve servants) with the *Lichtjungfrau* (e.g., in the *Pistis Sophia*) is established.

Hence I would assume that our poet is combining the Valentinian Sophia with the Near-Eastern Maiden of Light as a *Himmels-göttin*. Manichaeen *Kephalaia* p.24.18 f. Polotsky explicitly state: "Wisdom (Σοφία) is the Maiden (παρθένος) of Light," but, again, Manichaeen sources are posterior to our Hymn.

5. *Enter Jewish Wisdom Poetry*. But there is more to this Gnostic syncretism: our Bride shows some striking similarities with the Jewish Wisdom. Here are some of them.¹⁸⁾

1 ἀπαύγασμα : in *Sap. Sol.* 7:26 Sophia is called ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς αἰδίου; in 7:29 she is described as being fairer than the sun, and above all the constellations of the stars; being compared with light, she is found to be *before it* (φωτὶ κρινομένη εὐρίσκεται προτέρα). cf. Philo *De migrat. Abrahami* 40 σοφία... θεοῦ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον φέγγος, οὗ μύμημα καὶ εἰκὼν ἥλιος. Hence she is the enlightenment: Philo *De spec. legg.* III.6 φωτὶ τῷ σοφίας ἐναυγάζομαι. I.288 διανοίας δὲ φῶς ἐστὶ σοφία. *De congressu erudit. gratia* 47: Sophia is φῶς ψυχῆς.¹⁹⁾

1 κόρη: in *Sap. Sol.* 8:2 Sophia is compared to a beautiful bride; at 8:3 she lives with God (as a spouse?), συμβίωσιν θεοῦ ἔχουσα. In Philo *De Cherubim* 49 God is called husband of Wisdom (σοφίας ἀνὴρ).

3 ἀποφορὰ εὐωδίας : in *Sirach* 24:15 Wisdom gives a scent of perfumes as cinnamon and aspalathus (sweet balm), and as a choice myrrh, galbanum, onyx and stacte. Compare couplets 12-13 of our Hymn.

5 χαρά : in *Sap. Sol.* 8:16 Sophia is source of gladness and joy. Cf. *Sirach* 6:28. - ἀλήθεια : cf. *Proverbs* 8:7 ὅτι ἀλήθειαν μελετήσεν ὁ φάρυξ μου, / ἐβδελυγμένα δὲ ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ χεῖλη ψευδοῦ.

6 ἥς τὸ στόμα ἀνέφικται : in *Sirach* 24:2 Wisdom opens her mouth in the assembly of the Most High, and is honored in the presence of His (heavenly) hosts. Cf. *Prov.* 8:4 ff. - As for her place (cf. couplets 4, 9, 11), in *Sap. Sol.* 9:4 (= *Iren.* I.13.6) Sophia sits by the God on His throne; in *Sirach* 24:4 she dwells in the high places, her throne is in the pillar of cloud (i.e. in heaven).

15 οὗς αὐτὴ ἐξελέξατο : Sophia herself chooses her attendants (here, groomsmen): *Sap. Sol.* 6:16 ὅτι τοὺς ἀξίους αὐτῆς αὐτὴ περιέρχεται ζητοῦσα κτλ.; cf. *Proverbs* 9:1-6, where Sophia invites people to her feast.

6. *Three Problems.* (a) 22 *The shining royal raiment*. The elect ones (implying both the Aeons and the pneumatics), present at the heavenly Wedding Banquet, shall put on *two* kinds of raiment: first, royal robes (βασιλικὰ ἐνδύματα), and then

shining cloaks (togas or mantles, στολὰς λαμπράς). And that reminds us at once of the *Hymn of the Pearl* in the same *Acta Thomae* (cc. 108-113): its poet seems to be insisting on the fact that the royal garment of the King's son consists of two pieces: ἐσθής plus στολή: c.108 (p.220.3 and 8 Bonnet); 110 (p.222.1); 113 (p.224.9 f.). Notice that the poet of the *Wedding Hymn* does not call the raiment of the wedding-guests ἔνδυμα γάμου (from Mt. 22:11-12), as one would expect in view of the use of this phrase by the Gnostics -- by the Valentini-ans (ap. Clem. *Exc. ex Theod.* 61.8 τὰ πνευματικά... σφύζεται, "ἐνδύματα γάμων" τὰς ψυχὰς λαβόντα; 63.1) and by the Naassenes (ap. Hippolytus *Elenchos* V.8.44). Nor does he call it "robes that never grow old," πέπλα μὴ παλαιούμενα, as the author of *Acta Thomae* does (in c. 124 s.f., quoted above, inspired by Ps. 101:27 = *Hebrews* 1:11; hence in *Manichaean Psalms* 146.42 and 155.10 Allberry: "I have received my washed clothes (cf. *Gen.* 49:11; *Apocal.* 7:14; 22:14), my cloak (στολή) that grows not old").

Our poet calls it *royal* raiment, and that links him with the *Hymn of the Pearl*, where the name ἐσθῆς βασιλική is supported by the fact that the prince's raiment has the image of the "King of kings" (Parthian *šāhinšāh*) embroidered all over it (c. 112, p.223.19 f. καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ τῶν βασιλέων βασιλέως ὄλη δι' ὄλης; cf. c.110; p.222.19). In addition, the μεγαστᾶνες of our Hymn (20) may be paralleled by the μεγαστᾶνες, βασιλεῖς, οἱ ἐν τέλει, οἱ πρωτεύοντες and οἱ δυνάσται of the *Hymn of the Pearl*, c.109 (p.220.22); c.110 (p.221.16 ff.). Now, Geo Widengren has convincingly shown that the *Hymn of the Pearl* is best explained in the geographical, political and cultural background of the Parthian dynasty of the Arsacids (whose fall was in A.D. 226).²⁰ And I wonder whether the poet of the *Pearl Hymn* and the poet of the *Wedding Hymn* may not be one and the same person.

To the question about the nature and origin of the heavenly "royal garment" of the pneumatics in our Hymn I have no positive answer. However, if, on the one hand, *light* dominates the entire Hymn (Father of all, Bride and Bridegroom are all light; both the Aeons and the pneumatics receive light from them, 24), and if, on the other hand, the "glittering robe of splendor"

of the *Hymn of the Pearl* seems to be no other thing but the primordial *Lichtmantel der Seele*, then it is an educated guess to assume that the "royal robe" of our Hymn suggests the Gnostic ultimate return of the spirit to the everlasting realm of light. If so, then the Manichaeans have correctly understood the *Hymn of the Pearl*: compare the "raiment of light" in *Kephalaia* p.36.24 Polotsky; *Manichaean Psalms* 50.25; 81.9; 193.10 *et passim*; probably also in the *Psalms of Thomas* 2.32; 2.37 and 11.7.²¹⁾ Other possible parallels may be: "Kleider (ἔνδυμα) des Lichtes" in the *Pistis Sophia* p.227.5 and 11; 6.9 *et passim*; ἔνδυμα οὐράνιου of the Sethians (in Hippolyt. *El.* V.19.21); *Gospel of Philip* logion 24 (meaning obscure to me); the Ophites ap. *Iren.* I.30.9 (*Adam autem et Evam prius quidem habuisse levia et clara et velut spiritalia corpora, quemadmodum et plasmati sunt: venientes autem huc, demutasse in obscurius et pinguius et pigrius*).

-- The *Qumran Manuale disciplinae* col.4.7 f. "every everlasting blessing and eternal joy in life without end, a crown of glory and a garment of majesty in unending light." 1 *Enoch* 62:15-16 Garments of glory and life from the Lord of spirits for the righteous and elect ones risen from the earth; 71:1; 108:12 Those who love God's holy name will be clad in shining light... "and they shall be resplendent for times without number." 2 *Enoch* 22:8-10 The raiment of the blessed, composed of God's glory and light, "shining like the rays of the sun." 1 *Cor.* 15:53; 2 *Cor.* 5:3-4; *Apocal.* 3:4-5; 3:18; 4:4; 6:11; 7:9; 7:13-14; *Ascension of Isaiah* 4:16; 7:22; 8:14 (about the spiritual bodies of the blessed); *Isaiah* 61:10; *et alibi*.

(b) *The Thirty-two*. The text as transmitted reads: τριάνοντα καὶ δύο εἰσὶν οἱ ταύτην ὑμνολογοῦντες. Lipsius (306) had suggested that the thirty-two Valentinian Aeons are meant, praising the Father through the mouth of Sophia. Since then this interpretation had become the *communis opinio*. But, first of all, the Valentinian Pleroma consists of thirty -- not thirty-two -- Aeons: an Ogdoad, a Decad, and a Duodecad. This is supported by Luke 3:23: "That is why the Savior, they say, did nothing in public for *thirty* years, thus setting forth the mystery of these Aeons" (*Iren.* I.1.3; I.3.1). I think, Lipsius' number thirty-two is due to a misunderstanding of

the text of Hippolytus (*Elenchos* VI.31.3), which reads:

καὶ γίνονται τριάκοντα (οἱ) αἰῶνες μετὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος· τινὲς μὲν σὺν αὐτῶν ταύτῃ
εἶναι θέλουσι τὴν τριακοντάδα τῶν αἰώνων, τινὲς δὲ
συνυπάρχειν τῷ Πατρὶ Σιγῆν καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς καταριθ-
μεῖσθαι τοὺς αἰῶνας θέλουσιν.

All Hippolytus seems to be saying here is that one Valentinian school of thought counted thirty Aeons by including the pair Christ-Holy Spirit (but excluding Father-Bythos and Silence-Sige), while another Valentinian school counted Father and Silence as one pair of Aeons (but excluding the pair Christ-Holy Spirit, as an additional emanation outside the Pleroma): in both cases the total number of Aeons is thirty.

Back to the text of couplet 7: In couplet 6 we read that the Bride's *mouth* is open (because she utters all songs of praise, most probably of the Father). And in couplet 8 we learn that her *tongue* is like a door-curtain in a temple. Now, sandwiched between the Bride's *mouth* and *tongue* is our couplet 7: It must refer to something *in her mouth*. Certainly, she has not opened her mouth in order to *listen* the praises of the Thirty-two (*contra* the translation of Werner Foerster: "Her mouth is opened and (it is) becoming to her. There are thirty-two who sing her praise").²²⁾ Syriac version can help us in restoring the text; it reads: "The twelve apostles of the Son and the seventy-two *thunder forth in her*." 'In her' (*in ea*) means 'in her mouth.' Thus read <έν> ταύτῃ for ταύτην.

Now, Thilo (p.136) had suggested that thirty-two *teeth* are meant. But if our Bride is Sophia, then the later Jewish speculation of *Sefer Yezirah* ('Book of Creation') may be a closer parallel: The book opens with the statement that God created the world by means of thirty-two secret paths of *Wisdom*, consisting of the twenty-two elemental letters of the Hebrew alphabet plus ten *Sefirot beli mah*, total thirty-two.²³⁾ If so, then Sophia seems to be using all the sounds available in her mouth in order to praise the Father (cf. 6b, 7b), in the same way in which she uses all her ten fingers to open the gates of the heavenly Jerusalem (in couplet 11).

(c) 9 *Her neck is shaped like the lofty steps*. The comparison is puzzling and unparalleled. My guess is that the image should be brought in connection with the gates of the heavenly

City in 11: The vertebrae of Sophia's neck are envisaged as the steps of a lofty stone-stairway leading to that City. Lipsius (306 f.) referred to *Canticum* 4:4 'Your neck is like David's tower, girt with battlements' and to 7:4 'Your neck is like a tower of ivory.' A closer parallel seems to be in the later *Acta Philippi* (composed c. A.D. 400, referred to by Lipsius), c.138 (p.70.4 Bonnet), where the Savior's cross of light, reaching down to the Abyss, has the shape of a *ladder provided with steps* (καὶ ἦν ὁ σταυρὸς ἐν ὁμοιώματι κλίμακος ἐχούσης βαθμούς), so that the masses of people can be saved and see τὸ φῶς τοῦ θεοῦ. Bousset (*Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* 68) thought the neck's steps "sind nichts anderes als die etagenmässig übereinander gelagerten Himmelssphären."

7. *Conclusions*. Starting from the assumption that the extant Greek version of the Wedding Hymn still reflects the meter (the Semitic *Doppeldreier*) of the lost Syriac original, and using the extant Syriac version wherever it seemed reliable, I was able to offer a reconstruction of the corrupt Greek version of the Hymn. It shows an elaborate structure (of 11 + 3 + 3 + 9 couplets) and a skillful poet. As a matter of fact, our Hymn proves to be a gem of Gnostic poetry, comparable only to the Naassene Hymn in Hippolytus (*Elenchos* V.10.2).²⁴) (The *Hymn of the Pearl* belongs to a rather different literary genre -- a Hellenistic romance in verse, 105 couplets long.)

The popular Valentinian ἱερὸς γάμος between Sophia-Achamoth and Savior-Christ makes the core of our Hymn. The Marcosian sacrament of the Bridal Chamber seems to have been known to our poet, while the influence of Bardesanes (and of Manichaeism) is not detectable in the Hymn. The very theme of the heavenly "spiritual marriage" which dominates the entire *Acta Thomae* seems to have been the reason for its author to insert our Hymn in the *Acts of Thomas*.

At the same time, the Hymn shows some influence of the Near-Eastern Maiden of Light (such as present in, e.g. the *Pistis Sophia*) and it reveals a strong inspiration coming from the Jewish Wisdom poetry. Finally, if I am right in seeing some common motifs in our Hymn and in the *Hymn of the Pearl*, we may posit one and the same poet for both Hymns. In brief, our

Hymn is a classical example of the Gnostic syncretism. Most probably, it belongs to the Syrian Judeo-Christian Gnosticism and is slightly earlier than *Acta Thomae* (second half of the second century A.D.). The *Fortleben* of the Hymn is of interest, attesting to its importance. First, a Manichaean poet had added a clumsy couplet (27), trying to adapt the Hymn to the Manichaean creed. Then a Syriac redactor undertook major surgery and rewriting, in a futile effort to eliminate the Gnostic elements and convert the Hymn into Catholicism; of course, he had replaced the Manichaean closing couplet with the orthodox Trinitarian dogma.

But once restored to its original shape, the Wedding Hymn shines in its beauty, just as the Bride it so vividly describes -- $\varphi\alpha\iota\delta\rho\tilde{\omega}\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\zeta\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ (2).

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NOTES

1) The Greek version of *Acta Thomae* was first published by J.C. Thilo, *Acta S. Thomae Apostoli* (Lipsiae, 1823). Thilo's Commentary (p.121 ff.) is still valuable. The best Greek edition so far is that of M. Bonnet, in R.A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, II.2 (Leipzig, 1903), pp.99-288. - The Syriac version was published by W. Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (London-Edinburgh, 1871), I, p.171 ff. (Syriac text); II, p.146 ff. (English translation). A recent English translation of the Syriac version with a Commentary was provided by A.F.J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum, 5, Leiden, Brill, 1962).

Here is a select bibliography on the Wedding Hymn: K. Macke, 'Syrische Lieder gnostischen Ursprungs,' *Tübinger Theol. Quartalschrift* 56 (1874), 1-70. R.A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden* (Braunschweig, 1883), I, 301-311. G. Hoffmann, 'Zwei Hymnen der Thomasakten,' *Zeitschr. f. die neutestamentl. Wiss.* 4 (1903), 295-309. E. Preuschen, *Zwei gnostische Hymnen* (Giessen, 1904). Wilhelm Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (Forschungen zur Religion u. Lit. des Alten u. Neuen Testaments, 10, Göttingen, 1907), 68-70; Idem, 'Manichäisches in den Thomasakten,' *ZNTW* 18 (1917), 10 f. and 20-23. Especially Günther Bornkamm, *Mythos und Legende in den apokryphen Thomas-Akten* (FRLANT, N.F.31, Göttingen, 1933), 68-81; 82-89 and 103-106. Idem, in + Edgar Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 3., völlig neubearbeitete Auflage herausgegeben von Wilhelm Schneemelcher (Tübingen, Mohr, II, 1964), 297-372, esp. 302 f. = *New Testament Apocrypha*, English translation edited by R. McL. Wilson (Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, II, 1965), 425-531, esp. 432 f.

2) *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, Part II, edited by C.R.C. Allberry (Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection, Vol.II; Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1938), pp.203-227. - For a list of Aramaic and Syriac poems composed in the *Doppeldreier* see T. Sävje-Söderbergh, *Studies in the Coptic*

Manichaean Psalm-Book: Prosody and Mandaean Parallels (Uppsala, 1949), 88-90.

3) *ZNTW* 18 (1917), 10 f. 4) *Mythos und Legende*, 88.

5) Compare, e.g., Klijn's Commentary, pp.168-179.

6) Cf. *Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp.22.24; 140.38 f. Allberry; *Kephalaia* p.12.27 f. H.J. Polotsky (*Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin*, Band I, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1940); Augustine, *De haeresibus* c.46.

7) E.S. Driver, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran* (Oxford, 1937), 63, quoted by Geo Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism*, *Uppsala Universitetis Årsskrift* 1946:3, p.113.

8) Cf. J. Köchling, *De coronarum apud antiquos vi atque usu* (RGV XIV.2, Giessen, 1914), p.64 f.; R. Ganszyniec, in *RE* XI (1922), 1594.40 ff. (s.v. Kranz); K. Baus, 'Der Kranz in Antike u. Christentum,' *Theophaneia* II (Bonn, 1940), 61-71.

9) Cf. Origen *Contra Celsum* VI.31. Thilo 144; Bornkamm 83 n.1.

10) *Abraxas* (Leipzig, 1891), pp.101 ff.; 104 ff.

11) Ap. Ephraem the Syrian, *Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardesanes*, ed. C.W. Mitchell, vol.II (London, 1921), p.164.32-40 (Syriac text), p.LXXVII (English translation), completed by A.A. Bevan and F.C. Burkitt.

12) H.J.W. Drijvers, *Bardaisan of Edessa* (Assen, 1966), 155.

13) Especially in *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism* (above, note 7), pp.109-112.

14) A solid critical edition of Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* Book I has been provided recently by A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau, S.J., in *Sources Chrétiennes*, vol. 264 (Paris, 1979).

15) Compare the Činvat-bridge of the Iranian religion -- the way to heaven for the virtuous souls (Vd. 19.28-32): Geo Widengren, 'Iranische Religionsgeschichte,' *Nhmen* 1 (1954), 35 f., and n.99 on the *Toten-Brücke*.

16) Cf. Lipsius 303 f.; Bornkamm 77 f.

17) Also in Nag Hammadi VII.2 (2 *Log. Seth*), pp.57.13 ff.; 66.1-67.21. Cf. Karl Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*, II (Göttingen, 1961), pp.317 f.; 318 n.3. -- The Valentinian ἱεροῦ γάμος between Sophia and Christ may well have its source in the Ophitic system ap. Irenaeus I.30.12: *Et descendente Christum in hunc mundum induisse primum sororem suam Sophiam, et exultasse utrosque refrigerantes super invicem: et hoc esse "sponsum et sponsam"* (cf. John 3:29) *definiunt*. It is not difficult to see how different this account is from our Hymn: The union between Christ and Sophia in the Ophitic account forms part of Christ's descent (*in quem [i.e. Iesum] Christum perplexum Sophiae descendisse, et sic factum esse Iesum Christum*), not of their ultimate redemption in the Pleroma (Bridal Chamber), as in the Valentinian account and in our Hymn.

18) Many of the parallels between our Hymn and *Sap. Sol.* and *Sirach* have been pointed out by Klijn, in his Commentary, pp.170-178: I have enlarged the list within the allotted space.

19) Cf. also Philo *De sacrif. Abelis et Caini* 78, and H. Leisegang, in *RE* III A (1927), 1033.

20) In *Zeitschr. f. Religions- u. Geistesgeschichte* 4 (1952), 105-114. Cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* (Bonn, 1921), 70 ff.

The same idea in Th. Nöldeke, *Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 25 (1871), 676-679, and in F.C. Burkitt, *Urchristentum im Orient* (Tübingen, 1907), 152. Cf. Bornkamm, in Hennecke-Schneemelcher (above, note 1), II, 303-305 = English translation II, 433-437; Klijn (above, note 1), 273-281.

21) Cf. Alfred Adam, *Die Psalmen des Thomas und das Perlenlied als Zeugnisse vorchristlicher Gnosis* (Beihefte zur Zeitschr. f. d. neutestamentl. Wiss., 24; Berlin, 1959), 66 f.; Peter Nagel, *Die Thomaspsalmen des koptisch-manichäischen Psalmenbuches* (Quellen, N.F., 1; Evangelische Verlagsanstalt Berlin, 1980), 102; G. Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah and the Apostle of God*, *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift* 1945:5, pp.76 ff.

22) In Werner Foerster, *Gnosis: A Selection of Gnostic Texts* (Zürich, Artemis Verlag, 1969), English translation edited by R. McL. Wilson (Oxford University Press, 1972), I, p.345.

23) Cf. G. Scholem, in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 16 (1971), 783-786; W. Bousset (*Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, 69 n.1) was the first to refer to *Sefer Yezirah* (cf. also Klijn, 171). I am aware of the fact that the 'Book of Creation' is later than our Hymn (it may have been written somewhere between 3rd and 6th centuries A.D.), but its Pythagorean and other sources are much older. Cf. Franz Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (Stoicheia, 7; Leipzig, Teubner, 1922), 35 and 140. - Compare also the thirty-two hermeneutic rules of the Talmud.

24) On which see M. Marcovich, 'The Naassene Psalm in Hippolytus,' in B. Layton, Ed., *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, Vol.2: Sethian Gnosticism (Studies in the History of Religions, vol.41; Leiden, Brill, 1980), 770-778.

A D D E N D U M

To p.368 f. I am aware of the fact that some couplets seem to indicate four beats (instead of three) in the lost Syriac original, notably 13 and 15. But the difference may well be explained as expansion on the part of the Greek translator. So in 15, the Syriac original might well have read: 'Her groomsmen surround her, / seven of them, elected by her,' and in 13 *ὄσμῃ ἡδεῖα* 'sweet odor' may well mean the same as *εὐωδία* of couplet 3, while *παμπόλλων* in 13b could be an addition of the Greek translator. I trust that the Semitic *Doppeldreier* are visible enough in the rest of the couplets, with the exception of the spurious last couplet.

An abridged version of this paper was delivered as a public lecture on 21 April 1981, at the University of Iowa. It is a pleasant duty for me to express my gratitude to Professor Roger A. Hornsby for the kind invitation.

OLD BRETON IN BEDE*)

GERALD M. BROWNE

In his *Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux Breton* (Paris 1964), L. Fleuriot lists and attempts to explain some glosses in Old Breton found in a ninth-century manuscript (Paris, BN, N.A. 1616):

- 1) *bed hoc* dit..., sur les mots en italique dans "cum ergo dicis unum minimum inleua digitum". Cette glose se trouve au début d'un passage où les verbes du texte latin passent à la 2^e pers. de l'impératif. Il semble que le glossateur dit "sera (ou "est") ceci (hoc) pour toi"; c'est une remarque sur le texte; ex. plus bas, même folio, "oportunius", glosé "quam nunc". Les gloses bilingues sont des plus fréquentes. Voir *bed* "est" (ou "sera"), et dit "pour toi". [P. 80]
- 2) *oithosmol*..., sur "cartilagini", dans: "sed erect(um)? pollicem, cartilagini medii pectoris immittes". Obscur. *Oith-* serait-il un correspondant de l'irl. *uocht* "poitrine" (cf. "pectoris")? Dans ce cas, seul *-osmol* rendrait "cartilagini", mais "cartilagini" est aussi glosé *ledr̄* (voir à part). *Osmol* contient peut-être un élément *-os-* apparenté aux noms de l'"os"... [P. 276]
- 3) *ledr̄* (abrégé pour *ledr(in)?*...), gl. "cartilagini". *Ledr̄*... contient certainement un radical ayant le sens de "cuir", correspondant au gall. *lledr*, bret. moy. *lezzr*, mod. *ler* "cuir". Le cartilage est ici défini probablement par sa consistance analogue à celle du cuir. Le nom du "cuir" celt. **letro* de *(p)*letro*, aurait été emprunté en Germanique; cf. l'angl. *leather*.... Un dérivé **ledrin*, possible ici aurait signifié "de cuir"?; cf. *bledin*, *meinin* pour la terminaison. Le nom normal du "cartilage" en Brittonique est représenté par le gall. *migwrn* le bret. *migourn*. [P. 238]

I have recently had occasion, in a seminar I conducted on

palaeography and ecdotics,¹⁾ to examine the manuscript in question through photographs kindly provided by the Bibliothèque Nationale. The glosses quoted above come from an extract from Bede's treatise *De temporum ratione* (the extract is listed as No. 178 in the handlist of manuscripts provided by C. W. Jones in his recent critical edition: *Beda's Venerabilis Opera* 6.2 [Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 123 B, 1977] 251 f.; the text it contains runs from pp. 269.25 to 273.107 in Jones' edition).

Study of this text has convinced me that of the three entries listed above, Nos. 1 and 3 should be deleted from Fleuriot's *Dictionnaire* and No. 2 should be considerably altered. With the exception of *oith-* in No. 2, the words involved are Latin, not Old Breton.

Taking first the item listed in No. 1, we should note that the words *bed hoc dit* stand above the beginning of the extract: *cum ergo dicis unum...* (= p. 269.25 Jones). It is therefore reasonable to resolve them as *Bed(a) hoc di(ci)t*. For the abbreviation *dit* for *dicit* see e.g. A. Cappelli, *Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane*⁶ (Milan 1973) 102.

Nos. 2 and 3 both gloss *cartilagini* and should be treated together. Over *cartilagini*, which is divided between two lines, the scribe wrote *id est*²⁾ *oithosmol/ id est leār*; he then continued his gloss with *sic(ut) auricule & narium & costarum extremitates*, which he placed above the words immediately following *cartilagini*: *medii pectoris inmittes·x̄l·cum* (= p. 271.59-60). His comments invite comparison with a marginal gloss to *cartilagini* edited by Jones in the accompanying apparatus: *cartilago dicitur illud os molle quod in pectore fit*; cf. also Isidore, *Origines* 11.1.88 *cartilagine ossa mollia et sine medulla, quod genus auriculae et narium discrimen et costarum extremitates habent*. These passages suggest that the gloss in the Paris manuscript should read: *id est oith*, <*id est*> *os mol-/ {id est}le d(icitu)r*, *sic(ut) auricule & narium <discrimen> & costarum extremitates*. The scribe inadvertently added the second *id est* at the beginning of the line; he should have placed it before *os*. For the form of the gloss cf. that to *dextera* (p. 270.51): *id est dext(er)a dicit(ur) a dando*. For the abbreviation *ār* = *dicitur* see Cappelli 108. As for *oith*, the

only word in the gloss which is not Latin, Fleuriot is probably right in suggesting that it is "un correspondant de l'irl. *úacht* 'poitrine' (cf. 'pectoris')." ³⁾

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NOTES

* I am pleased to offer this article as a small token of the admiration I feel for Professor Turyn. Although it does not deal with things Greek, I hope that he will find its emphasis on diplomatics and methodology congenial.

1) I am grateful to the participants in the seminar, especially Miss Christine Shea, for their helpful comments and suggestions.

2) For *úacht* the scribe writes the common compendium *úcht*. (see Cappelli 166).

3) Some minor corrections should here be noted: for *úcht* quoted in No. 1 read *úcht* (i.e. *úcht*): see p. 269.25; and for *erect(um)?* cited in No. 2 the manuscript has *erecta*: cf. p. 271.59.

BYZANTIUM'S IMPACT ON THE WEST:
THE LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

HENRY AND RENÉE KAHANE

[1. Introduction. 2. Prelude: Rise and decline of Greek in Rome. 3. Proto-Byzantine borrowings. 4. The ports of entrance. 5. Contours of acculturation. 6. The criterion of content. 7. Linguistic adaptation. 8. Intermediary borrowing. 9. Epilogue.]

1. *INTRODUCTION.* The relations between Byzantium and the West represent a field which has so far been explored primarily by historians of diplomacy, religion, and art; yet the linguist, whether sociolinguist, lexicologist, or analyst of languages in contact, also has a stake in it. For him, the Byzantine impact on the West is on a par with that of the other great medieval superstrata, the Germanic and the Arabic, both of which have been treated copiously. The Eastern influence on the West, which has fared less well, is the topic of the present survey.

We shall try to reconstruct this influence in terms of words, Byzantine words borrowed by the Western languages on the colloquial level of speech, i.e., in living use at their time as far as we can judge. The underlying assumption is, of course, that the presence of a word indicates the presence of its referent, and the borrowing of a 'word' implies the borrowing of the 'thing'. In our presentation, the process of borrowing is broken down into its sundry features: the early stage, the locus and tempus of transmission, the fields covered by the acculturation, the criteria of Byzantinity, patterns of the linguistic adaptation of a loan word to the target language, and the often indirect way of a borrowed

lexeme through a mediary language. Each of these facets is illustrated by brief word histories, many of which are the result of our own studies.

We have devoted over four decades of research to this field, and we are drawing here essentially on our own publications, citing them for each example used in the course of the discussion. The following, beyond our individual word histories, are the more inclusive and summarizing studies, and they provide ample references to primary and secondary sources.

- ab* = Abendland und Byzanz: Sprache, in *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik*, P. Wirth, ed. (Amsterdam, 1970-76), I, 345-640 [a comprehensive and systematic view of the field, with numerous examples and their documentation; the main tool for the present discussion].
- eb* = Les éléments byzantins dans les langues romanes, *Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure*, XXIII (1966), 67-73 [a first sketch of the problems involved].
- cb* = Contributions by Byzantinologists to Romance Etymology, *Revue de Linguistique Romane*, XXVI (1962), 126-139 [a methodological attempt to update earlier derivations of Western Byzantinisms].
- rp* = The Role of the Papyri in Etymological Reconstruction, *Illinois Classical Studies*, III (1978), 207-220 [reconstruction of the history of various lexemes recorded in papyri, which are Egyptian Byzantinisms].
- vb* = On Venetian Byzantinisms, *Romance Philology*, XXVII:3 (1974), 356-367 [a review article on the informative discussion of Venetian Byzantinisms by M. Cortelazzo, *L'influsso linguistico greco a Venezia* (Bologna, 1970)].
- cc* = Cultural Criteria for Western Borrowings from Byzantine Greek, with Angelina Pietrangeli, in *Homenaje a Antonio Tovar* (Madrid, 1972), pp. 205-229 [the Byzantine content of words as the justification of their derivation from Byzantine Greek].
- lf* = *The Lingua Franca in the Levant: Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian and Greek Origin*, with Andreas Tietze (Urbana, Ill., 1958) [numerous Byzantine nautical terms in their Mediterranean

setting].

2. *PRELUDE: RISE AND DECLINE OF GREEK IN ROME.* Latin accepted Greek words from the sixth century B.C., first through Etruscan mediation and through the mediation of Southern Italy, from where Dorisms were adopted. The early borrowings referred to navigation, to the culture of the olive, and to religion. Two social layers were involved: the lower classes, which accepted everyday terms, and the Roman aristocracy, which cultivated the Greek language in its entirety as a status symbol, establishing, so to speak, a kind of Graeco-Latin Humanism. In the third century B.C., and thereafter, Greek was taught in Roman schools; the educated Roman knew how to write Greek. The *sermo urbanus*, i.e., colloquial standard Latin, was full of Hellenisms, as exemplified by Cicero's letters with their one thousand Grecisms. Greek enjoyed a high prestige at the Imperial Court: it was the language of courtship, of magic, of men of letters and orators; it was the language of the Oriental rites, the liturgical language of the Jews of Rome, and the language of Christianity in its early Roman period, up to the end of the second century.

After the Augustan period, however, Greek began to lose ground. It was a slow process. Greek was still taught in the schools of Rome and elsewhere in Italy and in the provinces. A knowledge of Greek was still taken for granted in certain professions in which Greek achievement had led the way: in philosophy, medicine, grammar, rhetoric, and mathematics. Up to the time of Marcus Aurelius (161-180), the majority of the educated read Greek, and Greek remained the language of the slaves of Oriental provenience. But the end came by the close of the sixth century. The final phase can be observed in two milieus: the ecclesiastic and the profane. In Christian parlance, after the middle of the second century, colloquial Latin replaced Greek with increasing intensity. In this process of the Latinization of the Graeco-Christian terminology, three main patterns evolved: (1) the Greek term was adopted as such, with slight adaptation to the Latin morphology (Grk. ἄγγελος *ángelos* 'angel' → Lat. *angelus*); (2) the Greek expression was replaced puristically (Grk. βαπτίζειν

baptizein 'to baptize' → Lat. *tingere*, lit., 'to wet, to bathe'); (3) the Latin expression was calqued after the Greek (Grk. πνεῦμα *pneûma* 'spirit' → Lat. *spiritus*). From the middle of the third century on, the majority of the Western Christians in Spain, Africa, Northern Italy, and Gaul, spoke Latin. In the fourth century, even in Rome, the liturgical language became Latin. On the profane level, there was a similar development: up to the fourth century, a knowledge of Greek was still a status symbol in the families of the old Roman aristocracy; but in the provinces, in Northern Italy, Gaul, England and Ireland, Latin Africa and Spain, Greek was no longer known. The causes of the breakdown of Greek were many: the Germanic invasions, the decline of the conservative classes of Hellenophiles, the old aristocracy and the intelligentsia; the severance of relations between East and West; the opposition of Christianity to Hellenism; the methods of Greek school instruction; and the flourishing of Latin letters. (ab 350-353)

3. *PROTO-BYZANTINE BORROWINGS*. But even earlier, from the fourth century on, with the establishment of the new Christian court at Constantinople in 330, a new culture developed in the East. While Greek as a living language receded in the West, the first traces of that new culture, the Byzantine, were discernible as borrowings in the last phase of Imperial Latinity. This stage of acculturation, the Proto-Byzantine stage, roughly covers the two centuries from the middle of the fourth to the middle of the sixth. The stimuli came, in this early period, from the highly civilized provinces, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Most of the terms borrowed were technical or professional. Two patterns of borrowings evolved: the learned borrowings, which showed almost no changes in form; and the so-called popular or semi-popular borrowings, which were adapted to colloquial Latin. The semantic fields represented were those of the Church, medicine, learning, and administration, and, for the popular elements, also navigation and daily life. The proto-Byzantinisms first appeared in the works of philosophers such as Macrobius and Boethius, of theologians such as Ambrosius, Jerome, and Augustine; and in legal collections such as the Codex Theodosianus and the

Codex Iustinianus. (ab 353-354)

(a) *The learned level.* The fields of Church and learning were jointly represented by πνεῦμα *pneûma*, originally, 'breath', then 'sentence spoken in one breath' (a term of rhetoric), then '*melody sung in one breath'; and in the West, *pneuma* became a term of ecclesiastic music, 'sequence of tones sung on one vowel' (6th c.), with the later variant *neuma* (9th c.) and Middle Fr. *neume*, Eng. *neume* 'medieval musical notation'. (ab 357)- The name of a mythical animal, the ἀνθόλοψ *anthólōps* (4th c.) was transferred through Lat. *antolops/antalops* to the West, where OFr. *antelop* appeared commonly in bestiaries; the shift from a fabulous creature to the zoological antelope occurred as late as the seventeenth century in England. (ab 357)- In medical terminology, καταμήνια *katamēnia* n.pl. 'menstruation' (derived from μήν *mēn* 'month') was taken up by Oribasius latinus (6th c.) as *cataminia* with Middle Fr. *catimini*; the *i* of the latter reflected the folketymological influence of *catir* 'to hide', which also accounted for the semantic shift of the French idiom *en catimini* 'in secret'. (ab 355)

(b) *The popular level.* Grk. κανονικός *kanonikós* 'churchsinger', derived from κανών *kanōn* 'psalmody', generalized in the West (6th c.) from churchsinger to common cleric, as in Fr. *chanoine* and Eng. *canon*. (ab 131-133; ab 358-359)- Grk. τάρταροῦχος *tartarou̇chos* 'pertaining to Tartarus, to Hell', Latinized as *tartarucus* (6th c.) and used in some such phrase as *(*bestia*) *tartaruca* 'demon of Hell', became Ital. *tartaruga*, a name transferred to the turtle, which lives in mud and was therefore considered a symbol of darkness and heresy; the influence of *tortus* 'twisted' produced finally Fr. *tortue* with Eng. *turtle*. (ab 360)- The red ink of the Byzantine emperors was called ἔγκαυστον *ēnkauston*; it was Latinized, first with shift of the Byzantine stress, as *encaustum*, the base of Ital. *inchiostrò*; then with preservation of the stress, as *ēncaustum*, the base of OFr. *enque* with Eng. *ink*, Fr. *encre*. (eb 72; ab 362)

(c) *The Gothic mediation.* The spread of the early Byzantine borrowings was closely tied to the mediary role of Gothic. Through the activity of the Gothic missionaries of Arianism, certain ecclesiastic terms wandered, in the fifth and sixth

centuries, from the Balkanic area to the Danube and the Rhine, coming finally into German. Thus, Grk. κυριακόν *kyriakón* 'house of God', shortened to κυρικόν *kyrikón*, yielded Goth. **kyrikō* with Ger. *Kirche*, contrasting with Graeco-Lat. *ecclesia*, the Romance lexeme; the Byzantine term was probably borrowed in the period of Constantine (4th c.), when church architecture had its great development. (ab 365)- Grk. πεντηκοστή *pentēkostē* 'fiftieth', i.e., the fiftieth day after Easter, gave Ger. *Pfingsten*, contrasting with Graeco-Lat. *pentecōste*, which survives in Romance. (ab 366)- The day of Ares, Grk. Ἄρεως ἡμέρα *Áreōs hēméra* 'Tuesday', still survives in Austrian dialects as *Ertag*, contrasting with the Latin calque, *Martis dies*, preserved in Romance, Fr. *mardi* etc. (ab 366)- The name of the day, Grk. σάββατον *sábbaton*, had a nasalized variant σάμβαθον *sámbathon*, recorded in a fourth-century papyrus, which is still alive in Roum. *sîmbătă*, SGer. *Samstag*, Fr. *samedi*. (ab 366; *rp* 212)

4. *THE PORTS OF ENTRANCE*. Byzantinisms proper spread west from about the sixth century on, more or less after the split of Latin into the Romance vernaculars. About two hundred of them accumulated, borrowed during the millennium of the Eastern Empire. We shall interpret them first according to the five stages of their entrance, i.e., in an interlocking analysis of distribution and chronology.

(a) *Ravenna*. In Ravenna the Byzantine influence lasted for about two centuries, from 540 to 751. The city fell to Justinian with his victory over the Goths in Italy. The colonial government, known as the Exarchate, comprised all of Italy not conquered by the Langobards, from Venetia to Calabria. Greek administrators, priests, soldiers, and businessmen settled in the city. There was also a Greek school. Numerous borrowings resulted in the area. (ab 440-442)

The most reliable criterion of mediation through Ravenna is the geographical distribution of the borrowing in question: if it pertains to the dialects spoken in the area that once comprised the Exarchate, the chances are that it entered Italy, precisely, in the Exarchate. The dialects involved are those of Romagna (including Ravenna itself), of Emilia (with such

towns as Bologna, Modena, Parma, Piacenza), and of the Marche. Examples: Byz. *χαλκόχυτρον **chalkóchytron* 'pail of copper' appears, with haplologic shortening, in Bologna, in Modena, and in Romagna as *calcēder*. (ab 391)- Grk. βρύλλον *brýllon* 'rush' (the plant) occurs in Parma as *bril*, in Bologna and Romagna as *brél*, and in Emilia in the metathetic derivative *berleto*. (ab 394)- Byz. πτωχός *ptōchós* 'beggar', in use since antiquity and the New Testament, was borrowed in the Exarchate as **pitocus*; it spread first in the Northern Italian dialects as *pitoco*; then standard Italian took it from the north as *pitocco*. (ab 403)

The thirty-three or so Byzantine words transmitted through Ravenna at this early stage of contacts reflect the milieu of the settler, a technology of everyday life. They refer to the orchard, the kitchen, domestic utensils, clothing, handicraft, commerce, and the Church. Two examples, probably Ravennatic: Byz. ἀγγούριον *angourion* 'cucumber' (6th c.) appears as *angúria* 'watermelon' in Northern Italy, then with agglutination of the article, as Ven. *langúria*, Emil. *langória*. The same Byzantinism reached the West also via the Slavic languages; so Ger. *Gurke*, Eng. *gherkin*. (ab 399)- Grk. βροντήσιον *brontēsion* 'pertaining to thunder', then in Byzantine Greek 'bronze', produced a regressive noun *βρόντιον **bróntion* 'bronze', and this yielded Ital. *bronzo* (7th-8th c.) with Fr. *bronze* and its German and English offshoots. (ab 380)

(b) *Venice*. In the early phase of its history, from the sixth century on, Venice with its lagoon was a province of the Byzantine Empire, first under the Exarchate, then, after the collapse of the latter in 751, as a Ducate, with increasing independence. In the ninth century, Venice separated itself de jure, but the cultural, commercial, and political ties with Byzantium remained alive: Byzantium exerted an intensive artistic influence on Venice; Venetian commercial representations existed in Byzantium and Byzantine ones in Venice, until the latter, in association with the Normans of Southern Italy, destroyed the Empire early in the thirteenth century.

The numerous borrowings reflecting the close ties refer in

particular to commerce and communications. (ab 442-446) Thus, in economic matters, the premium paid for the exchange of one currency for another was a profitable institution of Byzantine origin, introduced in the tenth century by Nicephorus II Phocas and known as ἀλλάγιον *allágion* 'change'. The Western base form, **allagium*, was Latinized in Venice to *lazius*, and developed popularly, with apheresis of initial *l*, to *azo*, which was then standardized to Ital. *aggio*, developing via Ital.-Fr. *ag(g)io* into an international term. (ab 376-377, 444; cc 215-216)- In the field of navigation, Byz. μανδράκιον *mandrákion* 'inner harbor' (6th c.) turned into Ven. *mandracio*, with Genoese *mandracio* and Ital. *mandracchio*. (ab 410, 445; lf 542-543)- In the ecclesiastic terminology, Late-Grk. διάκων *diákōn* 'assistant of the priest', then Byz. διάκος *diákos*, became Ven. **dzago/zago* with Bergamo, Brescia, Marche *zag(o)*. (ab 370, 445)

But Venice was not only a seapower with fleet stations and commercial interests in the eastern Mediterranean; it was also a city at the margin of the Balkanic area which lay within the Byzantine orbit. Dalmatia was under Byzantine domination from the end of the fifth century to about the year 1000; after that, the area and in particular its coasts came under Venice. With this, Dalmatia turned into a mediator of Byzantinisms to Venice. (ab 444-445) Examples: The Byzantines called the nomadic shepherd of Dalmatia *Μαυρόβλαχος **Mauróblachos* 'black Walach', and the Greek ethnicon was adapted in Dalmatia as *Moroulacus* (12th c.). This appellation was taken over by the Venetians, who generalized it into an abusive term, *morlaco* 'stupid, boorish'; the Spaniards borrowed the expression in the seventeenth century, apparently during their occupation of Northern Italy, and they still use it. (ab 402-403)- A Byzantine transport ship was known as 'the short-tailed', κονδοῦρα *kondouúra*; the word appeared in the medieval Dalmatian cities as *condura* and, with adaptation of its ending to the common suffix *-ola*, in Venice (not later than 1094) as *gòndula/gòndola*. (ab 413; cc 221-222; vb 360)

(c) *Southern Italy*. The South of Italy was, of course, traditional Hellenic territory, the so-called Magna Graecia,

where, in the speech of fishermen and farmers, remnants of the koine (the Greek counterpart of Vulgar Latin) had stayed alive since antiquity. But the reconquest of the area by Justinian in the sixth century initiated a new phase, the Byzantine superstratum. Officials, businessmen, and the clergy came with the Byzantine army. In the seventh century new settlers arrived, when, under the impact of the Islamic expansion, the Greek monks of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt were forced to flee to Calabria. In the eighth century, refugees driven from Constantinople by the iconoclastic movement increased the Greek contingent of displaced persons, and in a final wave during the tenth and eleventh centuries, when Islam conquered Sicily, Greeks from that island likewise settled in Calabria. In that period, with its more than two hundred monasteries, the Graeco-Christian civilization of Southern Italy reached its zenith. With the eleventh-century Norman hegemony in Southern Italy, the decline began, and Greek gave way to Romance.

Byzantine borrowings from Southern Italy (*ab* 446-448) refer essentially to three fields: the Church, farm life, and navigation. Examples: In the iconoclastic period, with the many religious refugees from Constantinople to Rome, Byz. ῥωμαῖος *rōmaîos* 'journeyer to Rome' was generalized to 'pilgrim', and the early tenth-century records of the new use point to Southern Italy as the area of the shift. (*ab* 370; *cc* 208)- Byz. μακαρόνεϊα *makarōneia* also is religious in its origin: it first meant 'dirge' (13th c.), then '*funeral meal', and finally 'dish offered at such a meal' (the Greek dialect of EThrace still preserves μακαρονιά *makarōniá* 'dish of rice eaten at a funeral meal'); the 'dish offered' turned into the base of *maccheroni*, whose earliest traces (11th c.), it seems, can be found in Southern Italy. (*ab* 129-131; *ab* 398-399)- An Anc. Greek verb, ὀρμίζω *hormizō* 'to moor', survived in Byzantium, as evidenced by a ninth-to-tenth century record and by the nominal derivative ὀρμισία *hormisia* 'landing'. The first Western trace was from Amalfi, in 1105, indicating Southern Italy as the prime area of the borrowing. The term then turned, via Northern Italy, into Ital. *ormeggiare*, Prov.

Catal. *ormejar*. (*ab* 421-422, 448; *vb* 361)

(d) *Francocracy*. The rule of the Westerners in the Eastern Mediterranean, labeled broadly *Oriens Latinus* and, with limitation to the Greek areas, called *Francocracy*, was a phase of the Crusades: with the Latin Empire of 1204-1261, the French came into possession of Morea (the medieval name of the Peloponnesus) and Cyprus, and the Venetians colonized the Greek islands and coasts. The impressions and reminiscences which the feudal lords and merchants brought home, in the form of foreign lexemes (*ab* 448-450), concerned the Church, commerce, society, warfare, and navigation. For example, the Crusaders associated the miserable condition of the Greek monasteries with their maladministration by the Byzantine lay aristocracy, the so-called *charisticary* system (10th-12th c.), and in the process, Grk. *χαριστία **charistia*, originally 'beneficium', turned for the foreign observer into a lexeme of negative value, as suggested by Ital. Prov. Span. *carestia* 'scarcity, want'. (*ab* 371-372; *cc* 210-211)- The name of the Aegean Sea, Αἰγαῖον Πέλαγος *Aigáion Pélagos*, taken over as *Egeopelagus*, was corrupted in Venetian to *Arcipelago*, the base form for the international *archipelago* and the shortened *archipel*. (*ab* 409)- The traditional appreciation of Greek wines was revived with the Crusades. One sweet wine which was produced in a town of the Peloponnesus, Μονεμβασία *Monembastia*, in popular parlance Μονοβασία *Monobastia* (9th c.), was therefore called in Greece μονοβασιά *monobasiá*, and in Venice *vinum Monavaxie*. But the Franks, following their custom, distorted the name of the town: Μονοβασία *Monobastia* [monovasia] became *Malvasia*, and the wine, accordingly, appeared in the thirteenth century in Venice as *vinum de Malvasia*. Wine and term conquered Europe: Fr. *malvoisie*, Anglo-Norm. *malvesy*, Eng. *malmsey*, and Ger. *Malvasier*. (*ab* 400-401; *cc* 218-219)

(e) *Lingua Franca*. Mediterranean terms, whatever their origins, radiated easily over the entire area, and the terminological *Lingua Franca*, the jargon of the seamen, preserved various Byzantine elements. (*ab* 450-451) Thus, Byz. φανάριον *phanáirion* 'light, lantern, lighthouse' spread with the thirteenth century in the Mediterranean; in Italy, *phanarium*,

through suffix change, turned into *fanale*, which then captured the West up to Portugal. (*ab* 422; *lf* 589-592)- The Greek phrase βαρεῖα συμβολή *baréia symbolē* 'heavy contribution to a common enterprise' became a term of sea law referring to the expenses caused by sea damage, which were incurred by the participants in a maritime venture. The phrase was shortened to either noun or adjective. In Byzantine times, the Rhodian sea law used the noun; the West, around 1200, borrowed the adjective in its elliptic use, and **varia/avaria* spread from Genoa to become an international term with Fr. *avarie*, Eng. *average*, and Ger. *Havarie*, its meaning restricted to just one aspect of the complex event, 'sea damage'. (*ab* 411-412)- Arab. *rizq*, an expression of military government, referred to the sustenance of the Arabic officials and soldiers in newly conquered Byzantine Egypt: they had to live on the land by taking what they could get. Byzantine Greek borrowed the word from Arabic, as ρουζικόν *rouzikón* (late 7th c., reflecting an Arabo-Persian variant) and as ριζικόν *rizikón*, and shifted its use from the soldier's right to requisition to his luck, good or bad, in finding maintenance, eventually generalizing it to 'chance, fate'. Then, with the twelfth century, Byz. ριζικόν *rizikón* expanded, as *risicum/riscum*, into a term of Mediterranean maritime law applied to the dangers of the sea, and through the Italian maritime republics it came into international use. Modern *risk* still preserves the two semantic roots of its past, the military and the nautical, the chance and the danger. (*ab* 378; *rp* 216-217)

5. *COUNTOURS OF ACCULTURATION*. From a total view, the Byzantine impact resembles the Arabic influence in Spain. The two, to be sure, were chronologically coextensive; Byzantium as well as Islam evolved as models for their neighbors in terms of technology, commerce, and gracious living. The Western Arabisms were more numerous than the Byzantinisms because the intensity of the symbiosis was different; the tie between Byzantium and the West was prevalently peripheral and maritime. This explains, obviously, the large share of terms of navigation among the Byzantine borrowings. In the field of religion, the Arabic contribution was minimal in relation to

the Greek; both Byzantium and the West were Christian civilizations.

We shall describe succinctly the various domains covered by the Byzantinisms and give for each two characteristic examples. (*ab* 424-426)

(a) *The Church*. The nineteen borrowings refer to the architecture and decoration of the church, to parts of the liturgy, the hierarchy of the clergy, pilgrims and heretics, monasticism, and humility. Thus, Anc. Grk. ναός *naós* 'temple' became in Christian parlance 'the place in the church where the laity gathers' (7th c.); it was taken over by Church Latin as *navis* (9th c.), with adaptation to quasi-homophonous *navis* 'ship', and in this way survived as OFr. *nef*, Eng. *nave*, and was translated into German as the *Schiff* of a church. (*ab* 367)- Grk. καθαρός *katharós* 'clean, pure', as a gnostic concept, became from the fourth century on the proud self-designation of certain sects. With the eleventh century, the Byzantine term was transmitted to the West, applied, above all, to the Neo-Manichean movements spreading by then. But their adversaries interpreted the label *Cathari* unfavorably: whether Latinized as *catharus* (12th c.) with its popular variant MHG *ketzer*, or Latinized as *gazarus* (13th c.) with its vernacular variant NItal. *gágaro*, it came to mean 'heretic'. (*ab* 371; *cc* 208-209)

(b) *Medicine*. The eight borrowings cover diverse subfields, medicinal plants, instruments, diseases, and veterinary medicine: Grk. κάημα *káēma* [káima] 'burning, cauterization' entered the medical Latin of the Iberian Peninsula as **caima*, with the Spanish verb *quemar* 'to cauterize', recorded in tenth-century glosses; Span. *quemar* Port. *queimar* broadened from a medical to a common term; they are today the general words for 'to burn'. (*ab* 373)- Grk. ἀμορφία *amorphía* 'ugliness' was applied in Byzantine Greek to the skin, 'disfiguration of the skin through lepra', and in the School of Salerno became the base of medieval Lat. *morphea* 'skin disease' (11th c.), which turned into OItal. *morfea*, OFr. *morfoies*, Middle Fr. *morphee*, Catal. Span. *morfea*, Port. *morfeia*. (*ab* 374; *cc* 213-214)

(c) *The arts*. Byzantium contributed one important concept of

painting and three names of musical instruments. Byz. λαμμα-
τίζω *lammattizō* 'to put shades into a painting', a technical
term of Byzantine art attested in the eighth century, appeared
in Latinized form as *matizare* in several medieval treatises of
the West, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century; collo-
quially it has been preserved only (we don't know why) in
Hispano-Romance as *matizar*, with the nominal derivative *matiz*
'shade, nuance'. (*ab* 374-375; *cc* 214-215)- AncGrk. τύμπανον
týmpanon 'drum', in Byzantine pronunciation [tímبانo], was pre-
served in OFr. **timbne*, then *timbre*, Ital. *timbro*, Eng. *timbre*
'quality of tone or speech'. (*ab* 375)

(d) *Commerce and law*. The nineteen borrowings refer to money,
measures, documentation, risk, agents, transportation, and
storage. The old Latin numismatic term *dēnarius* was borrowed
by Greek and iotacized to δηνάριον *dēnárion* [dináριο]; the
iotacized form was reborrowed by the West as *dinarius*, attested
on Merovingian coins; it survives in NItal. *dinaro*, Occitan
diniè, Catal. *diner*, Span. *dinero*, Port. *dinheiro*. (*ab* 375-376;
eb 71)- The legal expression ἀπόδειξις *apódeixis* [apódixis],
used as 'receipt' since proto-Byzantine times, was the base
of the insurance term, OSicil. *pódisa*, Prov. (*a*)*pódisa*, then,
with rendering of the Byzantine fricative δ by *l*, Ital.
pólizza, Fr. *police* with Eng. *policy*, Span. *póliza*. (*ab* 378)

(e) *Technology and handicraft*. Among the eleven borrowings
some refer to metals, minerals, and leather, some occur in
the terminologies of glassmaking, tanning, and manuscript
production. Thus, a variety of corundum, exported from Naxos
since Antiquity and used for grinding and polishing, was
called in Byzantine times σμιρίς *smirís* (stem σμιρίδ- *smirid-*)/
σμερί(ο)ν *smeri(o)n*. A derivative, *σμερίδιον **smeridion*,
spread widely via the Latinized base form *smertilium* (Venice,
13th c.): Ital. *smiriglio*, OFr. *esmeril* with Eng. *emery*, Ger.
Schmirgel. (*ab* 380; *vb* 360-361)- Byz. Ἰνδανικὸς/Ἰνδονικὸς
(σίδηρος) *indanikòs/indonikòs (sidēros)* (ca. 8th c.)/*Ἰνδανικόν
**indanikón* 'wootz steel', a blending of Grk. Ἰνδικὸς *indikòs*
'Indian' and Ossetic *āndon* 'steel', became Medieval Lat.
andanicum, with OVen. *andanico*, OFr. *ondanique/andaine*. (*ab* 380;
Theodoridis, *Byz. Z.* LXIV [1971], 61-64).

(f) *Clothing and textiles*. Here the Byzantine contribution was considerable, with seventeen terms: it covered elegant fashion, in particular that of the court, the silk industry, precious fabrics, the techniques of weaving, shades of colors, and decorations. Two examples of fabrics: The tenth-century Byzantine adjective δίασπρος *diaspros* 'twice white', i.e., with two shades of white resulting from the technique of damask weaving, survived in the West as *diasprum* 'damask', with such realizations as Ital. *diaspro*, OFr. *diaspre*, OSpan. *jaspre*, MHG *diasper* and Eng. *diaper*. (ab 385-386)- Byz. ἑξάμιτον *hexámiton* 'kind of textile', a derivative of ἑξάμιτος *hexámitos* 'with six threads', was transmitted via a Latinized base form *examitum*, recorded in Sicily (12th c.); it spread widely: Ital. *sciamito*, OFr. Prov. OCatal. *samit*, OSpan. *xámed*, Span. *jamete*, Eng. *samite*, MHG *samît* and Ger. *Samt*. (ab 384)

(g) *The house*. The nineteen Byzantinisms refer to technical devices, probably innovations which played a role in domestic life. They cover such areas as housebuilding, furniture, kitchen utensils and garden tools as well as fishing implements. Thus Lat. *trulla* 'ladle' was borrowed by Greek and generalized to τροῦλλα *trou̓lla* 'receptacle'; then 'receptacle' was applied metaphorically to the cupola and the new architectural term was reborrowed by the West, as indicated by *trulla* 'cupola' in Venice and Bari. Byz. τροῦλλα *trou̓lla* 'cupola', furthermore, developed the masculine offshoot τροῦλλος *trou̓llos*, which was likewise borrowed by Italian, as shown in an eighth-century record in the Liber Pontificalis; today *trullo* is still the name of the Apulian farmhouse with its characteristic conic roof. A third, metathetic variant, τουρλ-*tourl-*, spread as 'cupola, tower, spire of a church' in the Balkans and Northern Italy, e.g., Alb. *tuȓlë*, Serb.Croat. *turla*, Roum. *turlă*, OVen. and NItal. *turlo*. (ab 388; cc 222-223; rp 213-214)- Byz. ταπήτιον *tapēt̑ion* [tap̑iti] 'small carpet' was probably borrowed in the period of the Crusades: Medieval Lat. **tapitium*, the Western base form, was Romanicized as OFr. *tapit/tapis* with Eng. *tapis*, Prov. *tapit/tapis*, Catal. *tapit*, Span. Port. *tapis*. Western congeners with *e*, such as Ger. *Tapete*, go back to an older Graeco-Latin layer, *tapēt-*. (ab 389)

(h) *Land and nature*. The eleven borrowings either hint at features common in medieval farming society, or designate plants and animals. The case of Grk. βόθρυος *bóthyros* 'trench, pit' is typical. The term, used from Ancient to Modern Greek, was borrowed in Ravenna, with the tenth-century record *butinus*, and it expanded from that enclave of Byzantinicity, thus Perugia *butinale*. The isolated morpheme was then probably adapted to *botte* 'barrel, vault', with gemination of the dental, and *bottino* 'cesspool, cistern' spread to Tuscany and was accepted by the standard language. (ab 393)- Byzantium took παραγᾶς *papagâs* 'parrot' from the East, probably from Arabic, and with the Crusades transmitted it to the West. The Byzantinism entered Northern Italy as *papagâ*, and its Latinization, **papaganus*, is reflected in MHG *papegân*. The parrot is a natural for secondary associations: In French the ending was adapted to *gay* 'jay' or *gai* 'merry', which yielded OFr. *papegay/papin-gay* with Middle Eng. *popingay*, and Ger. *Papagei*, Prov. *papagai*, OSpan. *papagayo*. In Italian the ending was adapted to *gallo* 'rooster', which yielded Medieval Lat. *papagallus* and OItal. *papagallo*. (ab 395)

(i) *Food and cooking*. Some of the thirteen Byzantinisms were themselves of Oriental origin, so that Byzantium evolved, in this particular linguistic field, as a mediator between the Orient and the West. The borrowings refer to refined foods such as bakery goods and fish delicacies, to staple foods such as noodles and rice, to fruits and vegetables such as cucumbers and eggplants, as well as to sundry wines. Thus, ὀρύζιον *orýzion* [(o)rízi] 'rice', the name of the medicinal plant and, by the tenth century, of the food, appeared in the West, in the thirteenth century, as *risium* in Italy and *risi* in England. Ital. **risi* was perceived as a plural, and a new analogous singular, *riso*, was formed which became the base of OFr. *ris*, Middle Eng. *rys*, MHG *reys*. Rice has been cultivated in Northern and Central Italy since the fifteenth century. (ab 399)- In Byzantine Greek, roe was called ὠτόδριχον *ōtōdrichon* 'smoked (fish) egg' (11th c.), with a popular variant *(δ)βοτάριχον *(a)*botárichon*; the latter was borrowed as **butaricum*, first recorded as *butarigus* in Venice (14th c.), then in wide

distribution throughout the West: Ital. *bottarga*, Fr. *boutargue*, SFr. *boutargo*, Span. *botarga*, Port. *butargas*. (ab 397-398)

(j) *Social life*. The terms of Byzantine origin refer to dignities of the feudal hierarchy, the low strata of society, names of ethnic groups with pejorative connotations, superstition, and the fashion of the beard. Two examples from fourteen: The ethnicon Σκλάβος *Skλάβos* [sklávos] 'Slovene/Slav' changed, because of the loose political organization of the Slovenes and their ensuing servitude, into the appellative σκλάβος *sklávos* 'slave'; and this change from name to common noun took place, in all probability, during the ninth century and in the marginal areas of the Byzantine Empire, perhaps in the Balkanic region; with the Crusades, the Byzantine term became international: Ital. *schiauo*, OFr. *esclave*, MHG *sklave*, Middle Eng. *sclaue*, Span. *esclavo*. (ab 402; ce 228-229)- From Justinian to the end of the Empire, the sovereign, the imperial princes, and the ruling vassals were called δεσπότης *despótēs*, and the appellation was borrowed by the West, as *despotus*, OItal. *despòto*, OFr. *despot*. The title was applied, e.g., to Emperor Otto III (983-1002), who introduced the ceremonial of the Byzantine court to his own; it was frequently used for Western rulers in the period of Francocracy. (ab 401)

(k) *Warfare*. The Byzantinisms cover such subfields as military ranks, certain types of mercenaries, and innovations above all in the technology of ballistics. Two examples from ten: In Islamic Egypt (which, to be sure, succeeded and for some time linguistically overlapped with Byzantine Egypt) the title *amīr* designated a military commander and a government official. The Arabism was Byzantinized as ἀμίρ *amīr*, with the two suffix variants ἀμιράς *amírās* and ἀμιράτος *amírátos* (7th-8th c.), and these two variants were borrowed by the West in the ninth century; they were adapted to the vernaculars as indicated by OSpan. *amirate* 'official' and by OFr. *amirail* 'commander', which eventually evolved into the modern international *admiral*. The general, incidentally, shifted to the sea in the eleventh century in Sicily. (ab 405; rp 217)- Grk. πετρέλαιον *petrélaion*, the flammable liquid, a compound

of πέτρα *pétra* 'stone' and έλαιον *élaion* 'oil', was first mentioned in a pilgrim's guide of the eighth-to-ninth century; the term was Latinized with replacement of the second morpheme by the corresponding Lat. *oleum*; and *petroleum* appeared first in the thirteenth century, in an alchemistic prescription for the production of Greek fire. (*ab* 408)

(1) *Navigation*. The maritime terminology of the Mediterranean contains numerous Byzantinisms. The forty-five borrowings refer to the sea and its coasts, the harbor, the ship and its parts, navigation, and the crew. An eel-like fish, perceived as a sea serpent, appropriately gave its name γαλέα *galéa* to a small and quick ship, recorded in the tenth century; the Greek name of the vessel was taken over by the West as *galea*, Eng. *galley*, probably through the Normans in Southern Italy; in Catalan, which rejects hiatus, the *galea* became a *galera* (13th c.) and this variant spread widely: Span. *galera*, Fr. *galère*, Ital. *galera*, Ger. *Galere*. (*ab* 412; *cc* 219-220; *vb* 365-366)- A reinforcing timber was called, according to the second-century Greek lexicographer Pollux, φάλκη *phálkēs*; the term was borrowed by the West, and in the thirteenth century, *falca* became the name of an extra board which protected a boat from seawater; the noun produced a participial derivative, **infalcatus* 'provided with a *falca*' (perhaps patterned after Gr. έμφαλιωμένος *emphalkōménos*), thus, in Genoese *castellum infarcoatum*, OCatal. *nau enfalcada*, OVen. *barca falcata*; and a nominalized Southern Italian congener, **fargata*, led, with metathesis, to the widespread name of a vessel, *fregata*, a type of ship originally characterized by its protective high boards. (*ab* 416-417)

6. *THE CRITERION OF CONTENT*. To ascertain the Byzantine origin of a Western word, the traditional criteria of borrowing, singly or in combination, must be applied: phonology, meaning, geographical distribution, and the chronology of the documentation. A fifth criterion, cultural content, can sometimes be applied. In this procedure, the usual methodological sequence which begins with the word is reversed: moving from 'thing' to 'word' we find in the referent of a lexeme the clue to its provenience. The cultural references of Byzantinisms

involve, broadly speaking, historical events, technological innovations, or semantic changes originating in Byzantium. (*ab* 426-429; *cc* *passim*)

(a) *Historical events.* Various religious and political episodes or movements of Byzantine history were echoed in Western Byzantinisms. Παυλικιανοί *Paulikianoi*, the name of a seventh-to-eighth century gnostic sect, was borrowed by the West and easily lent itself, in its Byzantine pronunciation [pavlikjaní], to a secondary blending with *publicanus* 'tax-gatherer', an invective of New Testament tradition applied to people estranged from their religion. The Byzantine term was firmly attached to adherents of twelfth and thirteenth-century Western dualistic sects, who accordingly were called, in Latinized form, *publicani* and *populicani*, and in French, *popelicans*. (*ab* 371; *cc* 209-210)- Among the mercenaries serving in the Byzantine army, the Seljuk Turks played a preponderant role. They were called Τουρκόπουλοι *Tourkópouloi* 'men of Turkish descent'. These men, often converted to Christianity, seem to have come from mixed parentage, Turkish fathers and Greek mothers. The term was borrowed during the First Crusade; it occurred frequently, applied to bowmen and cavalry officers in the service of the Knights Templars and the Knights of St. John, thus OFr. *turcople/ trucople/ tricople/ tracople* and MHG *turkopel/ durkopel/ durehkoppel*. (*ab* 405; *cc* 211-212)

(b) *Technological innovations.* Some of the Byzantinisms explicitly mirrored truly Byzantine realia, features of its civilization which were imitated abroad. A term of medieval Greek town-planning was transmitted in the milieu of commerce: the streets in the business center were lined by arcades called ἔμβολοι *émboloi*, under which merchants, often of foreign provenience, established their shops. The Byzantine custom, together with its name, ἔμβολος *émbolos*, which occasionally encompassed the entire district, spread in the Mediterranean, with *embolus* reaching the West by the eleventh century; *emboli* in foreign cities, usually Constantinople, appear in Venitian, Pisan, and Genoese documentation, and actually existed in Amalfi and Genoa. (*ab* 380; *cc* 216-217)-

The silk industry, introduced around the middle of the sixth century from the Orient into the Byzantine Empire, was then transmitted from Byzantium to the West in the twelfth. The tenth-century Byzantine guildbook, Ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον *Eparchikōn biblion*, described how raw silk was treated by the καταρτάριοι *katartárioi* 'silk throwsters'. This agent noun derives from the verb καταρτίζω *katartízō* 'to prepare, to finish', which refers to the activity of these workers in twisting the raw silk as it issued from the cocoon, i.e., in finishing the unfinished. The raw silk, in other words, was perceived as the 'unfinished', *ἀκατάρτιον **akatártion*. The term was borrowed by the West in two variants: either the negative prefix ἀ- *a-* of Grk. *ἀκατάρτιον **akatártion* was transposed to the Italian negative prefix *s-*, giving Tuscan *scatarzo*; or the initial ἀ- *a-* dropped, resulting in Fr. *cadarce*, OCatal. *cadars*, OSpan. *cadarzo*. (*ab* 383; *cc* 217-218)

(c) *Semantic change*. Sometimes Byzantine *Kulturwörter* of non-Byzantine origin changed their meaning in Byzantium and were again exported with their new meanings, this time as Byzantinisms. Latin, Arabic, and Slavic lexemes were involved in this process. By the second century, AncGrk. κλίμαξ *klîmax* 'ladder, staircase, gangway' was replaced by synonymous Lat. *scala*. In nautical environment the Latinism was applied to the landings in the harbor of Byzantium; thus, the σκάλα *skála* became a typically Byzantine feature with ample records in a fifth-century guide to Nova Roma. The Constantinopolitan institution spread in the Empire, where σκάλα *skála*, half common noun, half toponym, designated landing places. From Byzantium the Italian maritime republics transmitted the term to the West, and Ital. *scala* led to Fr. *escale*, Catal. Span. Port. *escala*. (*ab* 410; *lf* 568-572; *cc* 224-225)- Grk. Σαρακηνός *Sarakēnós*, a word of Oriental provenience, was originally an ethnicon referring to the Arab who had come from the land east of the Jordan and from Southern Palestine. In Byzantine use it changed to a general designation of the Arab, and then from an ethnicon to a religious term, the Mohammedan: Σαρακηνός *Sarakēnós* contrasted with Χριστιανός *Christianós*. With such a polarity a third semantic layer developed, an invective,

'the Enemy', which survives in modern Greek folklore. In the West, to be sure, there existed the Latin congener, *Saracēnus*, but Byz. Σαρακηνός *Sarakēnós* [sarakinós], with its iotacistic pronunciation, acted as a superstratum upon the Latin variant, and the new pattern, *Saracīn-*, frequently displaying the negative value 'heathen, infidel', spread by about the tenth century and became popular with the Crusades: OItal. *saracino*, OFr. *sarrazin*, Middle Eng. *sarezin*, MHG *sarrazīn*, OCatal. *sarraçt*. (*ab* 402; *ce* 225-227)

7. *LINGUISTIC ADAPTATION*. In the process of borrowing, the Byzantinisms of course underwent various changes of a phonological or morphological nature. The phonological transfer from Greek to Italian (far and away the main route of transfer) was a smooth one, in view of the considerable similarity between the two phonological systems. (*ab* 430-434) In a broad statement as to the bridging of the most conspicuous differences, Byzantine fricatives (δ/γ/χ) turned into stops (*d/g/k*), and the Byzantine interdental fricative (θ) into a dental (*t*) or a sibilant (*s/z*). The morphological changes, on the other hand, were complex (*ab* 434-439) and the Western Byzantinisms offer, indeed, excellent material for the study of a specific phase of change-in-borrowing, lexemic adaptation. Foreign linguistic elements, in any language, are often weak through their lack of associability, and the target language tends to de-isolate them through transformation into familiar morphemes. Among the items under observation three patterns of such transformation evolve: blending with related Romance lexemes, folketyymology, and calques.

(a) *Blending*. A Byzantine engine for throwing stones was called a πετραρία *petraría*; the designation was borrowed, by the eighth century, as a technical term of warfare, and then hybridized with the regional Western congeners of its root morpheme, *petra* 'stone', yielding OLombardic *predaria*, OFr. *perriere* with Eng. *perrier*, OSpan. *pedrera*. (*ab* 407)- Byz. πλάτη *plátē*, derived from a root πλατ- *plat-* 'flat', designated a transport ship and a raft. The term was borrowed by the Italian maritime republics and adapted to the respective and related Romance forms of **plattus* 'flat': OVen. *piata*, Genoese

ciata, Ital. *piatta*, Middle Fr. *plat*. (ab 415; lf 348)

(b) *Folk-etymology*. Byz. περιγαμνηή *pergamēnē* [pergamin-], borrowed in the Carolingian period, yielded Medieval Lat. and Ital. *pergamina*, OFr. *pargamin*. Secondly the latter, under the influence of *parche* 'leather for binding books', changed to *parchemin*, with its English offshoot *parchment*. (ab 382)- In Greek, the soldier was called στρατιώτης *stratiōtēs*, an ancient term surviving in late Byzantium, where it specifically referred to the Imperial Guards; the word was borrowed as *stratiota* by early-fifteenth-century Venetian, to denote the Venetian mercenary serving in the Levant. The element *strat-* was influenced secondarily by Ven. *strada* 'street', thanks, apparently, to a perception of the mercenaries as being people who roamed the roads. The new military term, OVen. *stradioto*, spread over Europe: Ital. *stradiota/-otto*, Middle Fr. *estradiot*, Span. *estradiote*. (ab 405-406; ce 212)

(c) *Calques*. Translation of a foreign lexeme is a common way of borrowing. The name of a fourth-century tool of torture, τριπάσσαλον *tripássalon*, consisting of Grk. τρι- *tri-* 'three' and πάσσαλος *pássalos* 'stake', was borrowed, within the Christian terminology, through translation: Lat. *trepalium*, a compound of *tri-* 'three' and *palus* 'stake', appeared in 582 and became the base of Fr. *travail* and its numerous congeners, such as Eng. *travail*. (ab 439; ob 138-139)- In ecclesiastic Greek, the beginning of Lent, the time of fasting, was called ἀπόκρεως *apókrews*, which combined the negative particle ἀπο- *apo-*, the morpheme κρε- *kre-* 'meat', and a nominal ending. The Byzantinism was transposed into Latin as *carnelevare*, recorded in the tenth century; this consisted likewise of a negative element, *levare* 'to remove', and the morpheme *carne* 'meat'; with metathesis, it turned into *carnevale* and *carnival*. (ab 439; ob 126-129)- A piece of Byzantine weaponry, the quarrel for the crossbow, was called μυῖα *myíā* 'fly' (10th c.), the flying missile being compared to the insect. The Byzantine martial term was transposed into Ital. *moschetta*, lit. 'small fly', recorded in the fourteenth century; this spread widely from Italy, with a secondary transfer from the missile to the weapon, as in Eng. *musket*. (ab 439)

8. *INTERMEDIARY BORROWING.* In the successive phases of their spread, several Byzantinisms in the Western languages reflect a frequent pattern of acculturation: that one culture influences another not through immediate contact but through an intermediate stage. Either Byzantium mediated between a third culture and the West, or a third culture mediated between Byzantium and the West. (*ab* 451-455)

(a) *Byzantium mediating.* Lexemes of Latin, Iranian, and Arabic provenience spread within the current of Byzantinization. The case of a Latin *Rückwanderer* is illustrated by the legal term *cōdex*. In Latin it was a third-declension noun and survived as such regularly in Ital. *codice* and, through borrowing, in Grk. κώδιξ *kōdix*. Then, in Greek, the noun was adapted to the familiar second declension, and the new pattern κώδικον *kōdikon* appeared, as 'register of taxes', in Egyptian papyri of the seventh-to-eighth century, and in Michael Psellus (11th c.) Κώδικος *kōdikos* is found with reference to the *Codex Iustinianus*. The Byzantine Latinism was reborrowed as **codicus*, and this form spread widely in the Romance languages: OItal. *cōdico*, Catal. *còdic*, Span. Port. *código*, with, possibly, a short form, OFr. and Eng. *code*, Prov. Catal. *codi*. What looked like a second-declension deviation in Latin resulted from an intermediate Byzantine stage reflecting the impact of the *Codex Iustinianus*. (*ab* 377; *rp* 215)- The Latin term for a dignitary, *dux*, was borrowed by Greek as δοῦξ *doûx*, acc. δοῦκα *doûka* 'leader, general, governor', with a popular form, δοῦκας *doûkas* (9th c.); and this Byzantine neologism was re-borrowed by Italian as *duca*, recorded since the thirteenth century. (*ab* 401) Byzantium as the mediator of Imperial Roman culture presents a most interesting problem, still largely unexplored, for the historian of language; much of the Western terminology of administration, bureaucracy, and court ceremonial that seems Latin, may, in reality, represent a Latin filtered through Greek. An example: Western *corte* 'court of a prince', in use since Carolingian times and so far unexplained semantically, could well reflect a development undergone by Lat. *cors/corte(m)* in Byzantium. There κώρτη/κούρτη *kōrtē/kou̅rtē* added to its original meaning of 'enclosure,

yard' a new one, 'imperial tent and headquarters', probably following the model of indigenous Grk. αὐλή *aulē*, which had both meanings. This new Byzantine use, 'court of a prince', may have superimposed itself on its Latin congener in the West. (ab 510)

Byzantium accepted and transmitted Iranian elements. Iran. *tarkaš* 'quiver' was Byzantinized as ταρκάσιον *tarkásion*, and with the Crusades the latter spread west, as OFr. *tarcais* and MHG *tarkîs*; then, either through assimilation or through adaptation to synonymous OFr. *cuirve*, a *k*-variant superseded the *t*-variant: thus, Ital. *carcasso*, OFr. *carquais*, OCatal. *carcaix*, OSpan. *carcaix*. (ab 406)

The Byzantines were fond of fish roe, known as χαβιάριον *chabiáron* (ca. 850), an Iranian term (acc. to Szemerényi) consisting of *kapi-* 'fish' plus *āya* 'egg'; by the thirteenth century word and thing appeared in the West, as *cavial* and *caviar* (ab 398, 452; Greek origin, on the other hand, was recently suggested by D. J. Georgacas, *Ichthyological Terms for the Sturgeon*, Athens, 1978, 225-237).

The multi-faceted relationship between Byzantium and Islam was mirrored in considerable reciprocal borrowing, and in various instances Arabic terms reached the West through Byzantium. The Arabic settler in newly-conquered Byzantine Egypt was called *muhāğir* 'emigrant'; the honorific epithet, which originally had been applied to the early follower of the Prophet, was Hellenized as μαγαρίτης *mōagaritēs*/μαγαρίτης *magaritēs* and borrowed by the West. Two polar shades of meaning then evolved: on the one hand, OFr. *magaris* in medieval literature designated the 'Noble Heathen'; on the other hand, Byz. μαγαρίτης *magaritēs*, with its reflexes in Italy and France, was secondarily degraded to 'apostate, renegade'. (ab 370-371; cc 227-228; rp 215-216)- The linguistic field of *Nutzpflanzen*, useful plants, is exemplified by Arab. *bāđingān* 'egg-plant', which was taken over by Greek around the eleventh century as ματιζάνιον *matizánion* with the later variant μελιτζάνα *melintzána*; and this variant went west; Ital. *melanzana*, SFr. *merindzano*. (ab 400)

(b) *Byzantium mediated*. Byzantine words and things reached

the West within the current of Arabization. In the conquered provinces of the Byzantine Empire, Islam acquired a rich Greek heritage, a goodly part of which it transmitted to the West, particularly to Spain. A term of Graeco-Egyptian magic, κεραμίτης *keramītēs* 'magic stone, lodestone', was borrowed, not later than the ninth century, by Arabic as *qaramīt*; and the Arabism spread in two variants, one with r: OGenoese *caramia*, Prov. *caramida*; the other with l: Ital. *calamita*, Fr. *calamite*, Span. Port. *calamita*. As to its use, the referent shifted from the lodestone to the needle it magnetized, and, around 1200, from the needle to the compass. (*ab* 453-454; *rp* 210)- A wrap worn by monks and city dwellers was called περιβόλαιον *peribólaiōn*, with records in Egyptian papyri of the Byzantine period; the term was borrowed by Arabic as [fir(i)wīl], recorded in 1161 in Mozarabic, the Romance dialect spoken by Spaniards who lived under Islam. The Byzantino-Arabism survives in Span. *ferreruelo*, Port. *ferragoulo*, Ital. *ferraiuolo*. (*ab* 454; *rp* 212-213)

(c) *Secondary centers of radiation in Italy.* The transfer of Byzantinisms to the West must frequently have been a result of immediate communications, realized in such milieus as navigation, commerce, diplomacy, and travel, and in the complex movements of the Crusades. Yet within the West, the borrowing often proceeded in stages; certain Italian areas which were, on the one hand, what we call the Ports of Entrance for Byzantinisms, functioned, on the other hand, as mediaries between Byzantium and the great central cultures from Northern Italy to Provence and Catalonia, from France to England and Germany. The areas involved were Venice (*ab* 445-446) and Southern Italy (*ab* 447-448).

The role of Venice in the transmission of Byzantine economy is evidenced by the history of a coin, the Byzantine ὑπέρπυρον *hypérrpyron*, a golden solidus common in the eleventh century, later devaluated. The learned term lost its initial, and in this popular form, πέρπυρον *pérrpyron*, entered the West through Venice in the eleventh century as *perperum/perpera*, and was later transferred from Venetian to OItal. *pèrpero* and to OFr. *perpre*. Then in Southern France, a diminutive variant,

**perperola*, blended with Prov. *parpalhola* 'butterfly', an insect symbolizing worthlessness, and the coin was called in Provençal *parpalhola*, Middle Fr. *parpoillole*, Catal. *parpellola*. (ab 376; cc 215)- Features of the Byzantine bureaucracy spread through Venice: thus, *κατάστιχον* *katástichon* 'tax register of real estate' was taken over in Venice by the twelfth century as *catastico*, which in turn was Italianized as *catasto/catastro*; the latter variant spread: Fr. *catastre/cadastre*, with Eng. *cadastre* and Span. *catastro*. (ab 377)- Venice exported Greek merchandise, as shown by the history of the name of a wine. This story centered around one, or rather, two toponyms. The first was Ῥωμανία *Rōmanía*, the traditional designation of the Eastern Empire, and a Greek wine, mentioned in Venice in 1173, was accordingly known as *vinum de Romania*. But with the events of the Venetocracy, the geographical term *Romania* narrowed its reference to Morea, and from the fourteenth century on the Venetian oenonym *romania* designated a wine from the Peloponnesus. The Venetian label became international: Ital. *romania*, Middle Fr. *rommenie*, Eng. *rumney*, MHG *romanîe*. (ab 446; cc 219)

From the eleventh to the thirteenth century, the period of the Normans, the Hohenstaufen, and the House of Anjou, Southern Italy was in contact with both Byzantium and the great Western cultures, and it transmitted words and things from the former to the latter. The phonological transformation of a nautical term highlights this role: Byz. *πλώτης* *plōtēs* 'navigator', recorded in the seventh century, seems to have been borrowed in that area because the stem change from Grk. *πλωτ-* *plōt-* to Ital. *pilot-* reflects a typically Sicilian development: the intercalation of a vowel (a svarabhakti vowel); then Southern Italy transmitted *piloto* to Genoa (13th c.), the standard language, and the international terminology of navigation, e.g., Eng. *pilot*. (vb 366-367)- As to the export of textiles, there existed a cloth named **τριακοντάσημον* **triakontásēmon*, based on an adjective 'with thirty stripes or ornaments', with the more colloquial variant **τριαντάσημον* **triantásēmon*. In the eleventh century, Emperor Alexius I Comnenus sent an altar cloth, a *pallium triacontasimum*,

to the Abbot of Montecassino. Southern Italy seems to have mediated the colloquial variant to Germany: Heinrich von Veldeke, in the Eneid (c. 1180) mentioned a pillow of precious material, *trientasme*; and Wolfram von Eschenbach in the Parzival (beg. 13th c.) used *dr̄iantasmê* for nothing less than the tablecloth of the Round Table. (*ab* 386; *cc* 218)- A linguistic field in which the Byzantine expansion through Southern Italy was particularly strong was medicine. Western knowledge of Greek medicine was largely the effect of the famous School of Salerno, which flourished from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. Several of the Byzantine medical terms which reached the West remained in the popular language. (*ab* 448) Thus, AncGrk. ἐργαλεῖον *ergaleîon* 'tool', in the koine ἀργαλεῖον *argaleîon*, restricted its use in Byzantine Greek to 'medical tool for douches'; the plural ἀργαλεῖα *argaleîa* was borrowed by medicinal Latin with a first eleventh-century record in the School of Salerno, and *argalia* 'catheter', the new singular, spread: Ital. *algalia*, Fr. *algalie*, Catal. Span. *algalia*. (*ab* 373; *cc* 213; *rp* 212)

9. *EPILOGUE*. With the decline of the Empire, the prestige of Byzantium faded, and with the breakdown, its impact on the West withered away. The epilogue was the harbinger of a new era: the Byzantine teachers and scholars who, with their manuscripts, reached the West, played their weighty role in the Renaissance. They no longer represented a living present but rather a dead past. From then on, for five centuries, Hellas replaced Byzantium, and to the West, Hellas meant the lofty and beautiful world of Classical Antiquity.

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UNE ÉCRITURE D'IMITATION:
LE PALATINUS VATICANUS GRAECUS 186

JEAN IRIGOIN

Grâce aux beaux et précieux albums publiés par Alexander Turyn depuis 1964, l'étude des écritures grecques des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles a fait de grands progrès ces dernières années.¹⁾ L'un de ces progrès concerne les écritures archaïques ou traditionnelles,²⁾ dont la datation offre des difficultés particulièrement grandes: seul l'examen des manuscrits datés permet de reconnaître en toute certitude des détails typiques par lesquels le copiste s'écarte involontairement du modèle d'écriture plus ancien qu'il prétend reproduire. Dans ses recueils, Alexander Turyn fournit de bons spécimens de ces écritures qu'au premier coup d'oeil un paléographe averti daterait du XI^e siècle ou même de la fin du Xe siècle.

Il vaudrait la peine de s'interroger sur le but visé par un copiste qui pratique une écriture archaïsante ou traditionnelle. La valeur hiératique d'un type ancien, qui paraît mieux adapté aux textes sacrés que l'écriture de tous les jours,³⁾ est incontestable, comme le montre, d'une autre manière, la survie de la majuscule dans les livres liturgiques. Dans d'autres cas, il semble que le copiste subisse, consciemment ou non, l'influence de l'écriture de son modèle. Enfin, certains styles d'écriture se maintiennent, avec des déformations, dans des régions déterminées, tel le style de Reggio en Calabre et dans la Sicile orientale. En revanche, il ne semble pas que l'on ait attaché aux manuscrits anciens, avant la Renaissance, une importance telle que des copistes fussent amenés à faire des faux, dont l'ancienneté augmentât la valeur. La situation change à partir du moment où l'on commence

à importer des manuscrits grecs d'Orient en Italie. Un manuscrit d'Apollonios de Rhodes, daté tantôt du XI^e siècle, tantôt du XV^e, c'est-à-dire de part et d'autre de la période couverte par les recueils d'Alexander Turyn, nous offrira l'occasion d'examiner un cas remarquable.

Le *Palatinus Vaticanus graecus* 186 est un manuscrit de parchemin de format moyen (275 x 180 mm), comptant 106 folios; chaque page est réglée à 28 lignes. Le manuscrit contient les quatre chants des *Argonautiques*, sans scholies ni gloses; les éditeurs lui ont affecté le sigle V. Daté du XI^e siècle par H. Stevenson Senior dans son catalogue du fonds,⁴⁾ le *Palatinus* a longtemps passé pour un manuscrit aussi ancien que le *Laurentianus* 32,9, où les *Argonautiques* sont précédées des tragédies de Sophocle et d'Eschyle. Il suffit de renvoyer à l'inventaire des manuscrits des *Argonautiques*, publié en 1929 par H. Fränkel,⁵⁾ ou aux pages qu'A. Dain, qui préparait alors une édition d'Apollonios, a consacrées à la tradition de ce poème dans son livre sur *Les manuscrits*.⁶⁾ Toutefois, en 1961, dans son édition critique parue à la *Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*, H. Fränkel affirme que le texte du *Palatinus* a été copié au XV^e siècle sur le *Laurentianus*.⁷⁾ Trois ans plus tard, dans une introduction à l'édition critique, il apporte d'utiles précisions sur le changement de date: dès 1897, W. Weinberger avait mentionné une constatation de I. L. Heiberg, selon laquelle le *Palatinus* était une copie du *Laurentianus* exécutée à dessein avec une écriture ancienne en vue de donner au manuscrit l'apparence d'un plus grand âge et de lui procurer ainsi une plus grande valeur.⁸⁾

C'est par mon collègue et ami F. Vian que mon attention a été appelée sur le *Palatinus*. Avant de publier le premier tome de sa belle édition des *Argonautiques*, il m'avait consulté sur la datation de ce manuscrit en me remettant quelques reproductions photographiques auxquelles il avait joint, à titre de comparaison, celles des pages correspondantes du *Laurentianus* 32,9.

Après un examen rapide du *Palatinus*, l'ancienneté de l'écriture ne fait pas de doute. On se trouve en présence d'une minuscule dans laquelle les éléments empruntés à la majuscule

sont fort rares: quelques *kappas*, un *éta* ici et là, un *alpha* en fin de vers, pas de *lambda* ni de *nu*, aucun *béta*.⁹⁾ Bref, à s'en tenir à ce seul critère, un manuscrit qui ne peut pas être postérieur au milieu du Xe siècle.¹⁰⁾ En comparant, toujours sur ce critère, le *Palatinus* au *Laurentianus*, on ne peut que conclure à la stricte contemporanéité des deux écritures. D'allure assez différente, elles présentent exactement la même proportion de tracés majuscules. Il apparaît aussi que les lettres majuscules sont employées régulièrement aux mêmes places dans les deux manuscrits. Doit-on reconnaître là l'effet d'une tendance qui consisterait à introduire une lettre majuscule dans les mêmes séries graphiques pour éviter des confusions et faciliter la lecture?¹¹⁾ Faut-il attribuer cette similitude à la reproduction fidèle d'un modèle commun? Ou enfin considérer que le copiste du *Palatinus* s'est astreint à imiter avec le plus grand soin, jusque dans le plus petit détail, l'écriture du *Laurentianus*?

L'analyse de l'écriture des deux manuscrits, accompagnée d'un examen comparatif, fournit un moyen de répondre à ces questions. Il restera ensuite à voir si l'étude codicologique vient confirmer ou non les résultats de l'analyse paléographique.

A titre d'exemple, je prendrai dans chacun des deux manuscrits une page (reproduite aux planches I-III) qui offre la particularité - aléatoire en raison des différences de mise en pages - de commencer par le même vers. C'est le cas du folio 208^v du *Laurentianus* auquel correspond le folio 26^v du *Palatinus*. Le premier contient les vers 67 à 105 du chant II des *Argonautiques*, le second, les vers 67 à 94; pour les vers 95 à 105, je ferai appel au témoignage du folio 27^r.

L'allure générale de l'écriture du *Laurentianus* se caractérise par une forte inclinaison vers la droite, de l'ordre de 15° à 18° par rapport à la verticale, par une répartition en groupes graphiques souvent indépendante de la division en mots, par des variations dans le module de certaines lettres (notamment pour celles qui comportent des éléments circulaires), particularités qui impliquent un tracé rapide. Dans le *Palatinus*, l'écriture est verticale, avec une tendance à

incliner vers la droite certaines lettres (la première partie du *mu* par opposition à celle du *nu* [v.69: μένος], au point qu'on serait presque tenté de voir dans le *mu* la ligature de *lambda* avec *iota*) ou à varier l'inclinaison d'une même lettre (en particulier pour le *kappa* de type minuscule [v.70: κύμα (*sic*); v.73 κλύδωνος]). Si la répartition en groupes graphiques est pratiquement la même que dans le *Laurentianus*, l'espace qui sépare les mots semble plus régulier, sinon plus marqué. Enfin, les lettres comportant des éléments circulaires sont d'un module assez régulier pour qu'on soit tenté de déceler dans cette écriture une tendance qui se développera systématiquement dans la minuscule perlée (*Perlschrift*)¹² du XI^e siècle.

Toutefois, l'analyse de détail de l'écriture du *Palatinus*, qu'elle porte sur des lettres isolées ou sur des ligatures, fait apparaître des particularités troublantes aux yeux du paléographe familier avec les manuscrits du Xe siècle. Il suffira de regrouper ici quelques observations suffisantes pour la démonstration, en laissant au lecteur, spécialiste ou non, le soin d'en trouver d'autres:

a) *forme des lettres:*

- le *delta* a un arc supérieur ouvert, alors que l'arc tend à se refermer dans la minuscule ancienne (trois exemples au v.67);
- la première articulation de l'*éta* est souple au lieu d'être anguleuse, la seconde est anguleuse au lieu d'être souple (v. 67: ἠρτύναντο; au v.81, ἄηται pourrait être lu ἄκται [*sic*], par confusion entre *éta* et *kappa*);
- l'*éta* de type majuscule, rare, a la forme de la lettre N renversée (v.89);
- l'attaque de l'*epsilon* est le plus souvent dépourvue de crochet (*passim*);
- la "tête" du *xi* est arrondie et non anguleuse (v.70, 78, 79);
- le second élément du *chi*, celui qui descend de la gauche vers la droite, est nettement sinusoïdal (v.68, 69, etc.).

b) *ductus des lettres:*

- le *mu* est attaqué par le bas et décrit d'un seul trait, au lieu d'être attaqué par le haut et tracé en deux temps (v.67, 68, etc.);
- le *rho* est attaqué par le bas et sa partie circulaire est tracée

dans le sens rétrograde (celui des aiguilles d'une montre), au lieu d'être attaqué vers le haut de la partie circulaire, tracée dans le sens rétrograde avec un point de rebroussement qui assure le départ de la haste descendante (v.68, 69, etc.).



Figure 1

c) *particularités des ligatures*: la forme des ligatures est identique dans les deux manuscrits, mais le ductus est souvent fort différent, comme le montrent les exemples suivants:

- dans les ligatures comportant à l'initiale un *epsilon*, le trait oblique supérieur et la partie inférieure circulaire sont disjoints dans le *Laurentianus*, le trait oblique faisant corps avec le début de la lettre suivante, alors que, dans le *Palatinus*, ils sont en continuité, descendante (pour le groupe *epsilon* plus *pi*: v.67 et 69) ou ascendante (pour *epsilon* plus *sigma*: v.73 [bis], avec hésitation ou repentir du copiste la première fois);
- le double *lambda*, tracé d'un seul tenant dans le *Laurentianus* avec ligature à la partie inférieure du second *lambda*, s'oppose au même groupe du *Palatinus*, fait de deux *lambdas* accolés (v.69, 81 [bis], etc.).

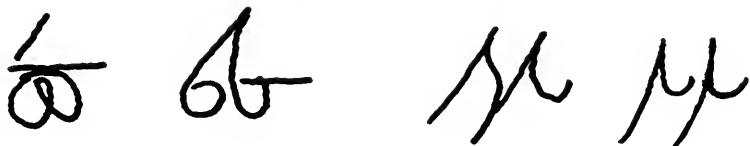


Figure 2

d) *formes et dimensions d'éléments de lettres*:

- les éléments circulaires sont de dimensions beaucoup plus régulières dans le *Palatinus* que dans le *Laurentianus*, comme on l'a déjà signalé;
- dans le *Palatinus*, les traits horizontaux, rectilignes en principe, tendent à s'infléchir à une extrémité, dans le *tau* notamment (*passim*), et sont même parfois ondulés, comme dans le *psi* (v.76);
- dans le même manuscrit, les hastes verticales basses (celles du

mu, du *nu*, du *rho*, du *phi*, du *psi*) sont presque toujours dépourvues de crochet à leur partie inférieure;

- le trait vertical qui constitue l'*iota* ne dépasse que rarement, et toujours avec discrétion, la ligne médiane inférieure¹³⁾ dans le *Palatinus*, où il tend à prendre la forme d'un arc de cercle, concave vers la droite, surtout quand il est isolé, en tête de vers (v.72 et 73).

e) accents et esprits:

- les accents aigus sont presque verticaux dans le *Palatinus*;
- les esprits sont anguleux dans les deux manuscrits.¹⁴⁾

Le lecteur qui a suivi le détail de cette analyse en se reportant aux fac-similés des planches I-III n'a pu manquer d'être frappé par l'identité apparente des deux écritures, qui s'étend jusqu'à la présence, déjà signalée, de lettres majuscules au même endroit dans les deux manuscrits (*éta* au v.89: $\delta\eta\rho\iota\delta\sigma\theta\omicron\nu$; *kappa* aux v.100, 102 et 103); la seule différence notable est l'emploi, en fin de vers, du groupe *oc* avec insertion de l'*omicron* dans un *sigma* lunaire, par le copiste du *Laurentianus*, alors que celui du *Palatinus* écrit normalement les deux lettres à la suite (v.98). Il est donc assuré que le copiste du *Palatinus* avait le *Laurentianus* sous les yeux et l'a transcrit avec une fidélité extrême. Mais, malgré tout le soin qu'il a pris - et qui explique que les deux manuscrits aient été longtemps considérés comme contemporains - le copiste du *Palatinus* se trahit parfois en adoptant un ductus qui est celui de son temps, aussi bien pour des lettres isolées, comme le *mu*, que pour des ligatures, dont le groupe *epsilon-sigma* fournit un bon exemple. A en juger par les pages que j'ai examinées, aucune des particularités de l'écriture du copiste n'est postérieure au XIIIe siècle;¹⁵⁾ c'est le cas, entre autres, du ductus de la ligature *epsilon-sigma*, bien attesté dans la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle. L'étude paléographique touche là à une de ses limites: on peut affirmer que le *Palatinus* n'est pas antérieur au XIIIe siècle, mais il est impossible de fixer un *terminus ante quem*. Pour y parvenir et pour resserrer ensuite la "fourchette", on doit faire appel à des données d'un autre ordre, celles que fournissent l'étude codicologique d'une part,

l'histoire des collections de manuscrits d'autre part.

Pour la description codicologique du *Palatinus*, que j'ai eu l'occasion d'examiner à la Bibliothèque Vaticane avec Mgr Paul Canart et le P. Julien Leroy, je dispose de notes que ce dernier a fort aimablement mises à ma disposition (lettre du 20 octobre 1980) et dont je citerai des extraits sous son nom.

Les points de piquûre, destinés à guider le tracé de la réglure, sont faits avec une pointe fine et disposés vers l'extérieur des marges supérieure, latérale et inférieure, pratique habituelle dans les manuscrits grecs depuis le IXe siècle.

La réglure est faite feuillet par feuillet, sur le côté poil, selon le système le plus fréquent dans les manuscrits byzantins (système 1 de J. Leroy).¹⁶⁾ Elle comporte deux paires de lignes verticales doubles, espacées de 5 mm, qui limitent à droite et à gauche les lignes rectrices, au nombre de 28, dont l'écart moyen est de 6,6 mm; les deux lignes rectrices supérieures et les deux lignes inférieures s'étendent dans les marges intérieure et extérieure, selon un type fort rare qui porte la cote P4 20D1 dans la codification proposée par J. Leroy.¹⁷⁾ La hauteur de la surface écrite est de 180 mm,¹⁸⁾ sa largeur de 110 mm.

Les cahiers sont au nombre de onze, neuf quinions (f.1-90) et deux quaternions (f.91-106). Les signatures sont placées à l'angle inférieur interne du verso du dernier folio du cahier. "Elles ne sont pas écrites en chiffres grecs, mais en lettres grecques,¹⁹⁾ tantôt majuscules et tantôt minuscules. On trouve ainsi α , β , Γ , δ , ϵ , ζ , H, I, K. Le dernier cahier n'a pas de signature" (J. Leroy).

Plusieurs des éléments de la description codicologique ne s'accordent pas avec une datation haute: le type de la réglure, fort rare; l'emploi régulier du quinion; les signatures par lettres et non par chiffres. Mais, avant même d'avoir observé ces éléments, un paléographe ne peut manquer de remarquer la qualité du parchemin utilisé pour la confection du *Palatinus*, très différent de celui des manuscrits du Xe siècle, tel le *Laurentianus*: c'est un "parchemin typique de

la Renaissance, avec peu de différence de couleur entre les côtés chair et les côtés poil, mais par contre les côtés chair sont très lisses, tandis que les côtés poil donnent au toucher une impression de velouté" (J. Leroy). A lui seul, l'emploi de ce type de parchemin exclut, pour un manuscrit grec, une date antérieure au XVe siècle ou aux dernières années du XIVe siècle.

Du coup, certains détails prennent toute leur signification. Pour écrire, le copiste utilise un instrument dont la pointe est étroite et raide, car le tracé est fin et régulier. La couleur de l'encre, un noir délavé ("elle est grise, je veux dire par là qu'elle est d'un noir très pâle sans aucune nuance brune" [J. Leroy]), est toute différente des bruns et des ocres plus ou moins rouges usuels dans les manuscrits des Xe et XIe siècles. Dans la mise en pages, on observe l'absence des gloses interlinéaires et des scholies marginales (dont la place avait peut-être été réservée, à en juger par l'ampleur de la marge latérale, qui dépasse 45 mm), l'absence aussi des *paragraphoi* et des initiales en saillie, deux procédés hors d'usage au temps de la copie, si, comme tout semble l'indiquer, elle se situe à la Renaissance.

L'étude codicologique confirme donc et précise les résultats de l'analyse paléographique: celle-ci excluait une date antérieure au XIIIe siècle, celle-là nous mène à l'époque de la Renaissance et en Italie, en raison de la qualité du parchemin.

Pour dater et localiser avec plus de précision la copie du *Palatinus*, il faut faire appel à l'histoire des collections de manuscrits grecs. Puisque, comme l'atteste la qualité du parchemin, le *Palatinus* a été confectionné en Italie, puisqu'il reproduit, jusqu'au moindre détail graphique, l'écriture du *Laurentianus*, sa transcription n'a pu être entreprise qu'après l'arrivée du *Laurentianus* en Italie. On dispose là d'un *terminus a quo* qui, par chance, est datable avec précision. Le *Laurentianus* a été acquis à Constantinople par Giovanni Aurispa, lors de son voyage de 1421-1423, pour le compte de l'humaniste florentin Niccolò Niccoli. Dès 1424, il se trouve à Florence, dans la collection de ce grand amateur de

livres.²⁰⁾ Voilà donc fixé le *terminus a quo*! Quant au *Palatinus*, il a fait partie de la collection d'un autre humaniste florentin, Giannozzo Manetti, avec une quarantaine de manuscrits grecs. Ami de Niccoli, Manetti a pu avoir communication du *Laurentianus* soit du vivant de son propriétaire, soit après sa mort puisqu'il était l'un des seize commissaires que Niccoli, par son testament du 22 janvier 1437, avait chargés de veiller sur le sort de ses manuscrits.²¹⁾ La copie du *Palatinus* se situe donc nécessairement dans le laps de temps qui sépare l'arrivée du *Laurentianus* à Florence - 1424 - et la mort de Manetti - 1459; on doit même réduire cette période de trente-cinq ans, car c'est à Naples, non à Florence, que Manetti passa les dernières années de sa vie.²²⁾

Le lieu et la date de la copie du *Palatinus* sont ainsi déterminés avec une grande précision. Il reste à identifier l'auteur de ce travail. C'est une entreprise vaine dans l'état de nos connaissances, faute de parallèles, faute aussi d'une mention dans les sources contemporaines. Mais les progrès de la codicologie grecque de la Renaissance peuvent laisser espérer, compte tenu des particularités de la régulation du manuscrit, qu'on parviendra à regrouper le *Palatinus* avec d'autres manuscrits proches de lui par leur préparation et leur mise en pages. Alors le problème de l'identification de la main se posera en d'autres termes.

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NOTES

1) A. Turyn, *Codices graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, 28). In Civitate Vaticana, 1964; Id., *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy*, Urbana-Chicago-London, 1972, 2 vol.; et le recueil, actuellement sous presse, des manuscrits datés des Îles Britanniques.

2) Il suffit de mentionner H. Hunger, *Archaisierende Minuskel und Gebrauchsschrift zur Blütezeit der Fettaugenmode*, dans *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Paris, 1977, pp. 283-290; L. Politis, *Quelques centres de copie monastiques*, *ibid.*, pp. 291-302; G. Prato, *Scritture librerie arcaizzanti delle prima età dei Paleologi e loro modelli*, dans

Scrittura e Civiltà 3, 1979, pp. 151-193 et pl.1-20B.

3) L'usage d'une écriture de type ancien est, selon les termes d'A. Martin, "un signe de respect et de vénération pour l'auteur que l'on transcrit" (Ch. Graux-A. Martin, *Fac-similés de manuscrits grecs d'Espagne*, Paris, 1891, p. 98).

4) H. Stevenson Senior, *Codices manuscripti Palatini graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, Romae, 1885, p. 95.

5) H. Fränkel, *Die Handschriften der Argonautica des Apollonios von Rhodos*, dans *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1929, pp. 164-190; pour lui, le *Palatinus* est un frère jumeau contemporain du *Laurentianus*, qu'il attribue aussi au XI^e siècle.

6) A. Dain, *Les manuscrits*, Paris, 1949, p. 170: "La première famille des *Argonautiques* [...] comprend deux manuscrits anciens des environs de l'an 1000, le *Laurentianus* LXXII-9 (*sic*) et le *Vaticanus Pal.gr.* 186". La même phrase, reproduite avec l'erreur de cote dans la nouvelle édition de 1964 (p. 185), a été corrigée par mes soins dans la troisième édition de 1975 (p. 185).

7) *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* recognovit... Hermann Fränkel, p. XII: "Insunt sola Argon.[...] descripta de Laurentiano saeculo decimo quinto".

8) H. Fränkel, *Einleitung zur kritischen Ausgabe der Argonautika des Apollonios*, dans *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Kl., III, 53, Göttingen, 1964, p. 59, où se trouve mentionné le renvoi à l'article de Weinberger.

9) Ces observations ne concernent que les pages que j'ai examinées en reproduction photographique.

10) C'est là la conclusion à laquelle parvient le regretté A. Diller pour la date du *Laurentianus* 32,9: "I think the codex must be attributed to the middle of the tenth century" (*The Age of Some Early Greek Classical Manuscripts*, dans *Serta Turyniana*, Urbana-Chicago-London, 1974, p. 522). - Sur l'introduction des lettres majuscules dans l'écriture minuscule, voir E. Follieri, *La reintroduzione di lettere semionciali nei piu antichi manoscritti greci in minuscola*, dans *Bullettino dell'Archivio paleografico italiano*, III^e s., 1, 1962, pp. 15-36.

11) Pour cette explication, voir J. Irigoïn, *Structure et évolution des écritures livresques de l'époque byzantine*, dans *Polychronion* (Festschrift für Franz Dölger), Heidelberg, 1966, pp. 253-265.

12) Ainsi dénommée et décrite par H. Hunger, *Die Perlschrift, eine Stilrichtung der griechischen Buchschrift des 11. Jahrhunderts*, dans *Studien zur griechischen Paläographie*, Wien 1954, pp. 22-32 et pl.III-X (reproduit dans H. Hunger, *Byzantinische Grundlagenforschung*, London, 1973, I).

13) Dans la minuscule grecque, écriture à quatre lignes, les deux lignes médianes sont tangentes au noyau des lettres.

14) Les esprits anguleux, normaux dans la minuscule la plus ancienne, font place, progressivement, aux esprits arrondis. Ils reparaissent, sporadiquement, dans des écritures archaïsantes ou d'esprit archaïsant, à la fin du XIII^e siècle. On sait l'usage qu'ont fait de ce critère, pour la datation relative des manuscrits de Démétrios Triclinios (premier tiers du XIV^e siècle), E. Fraenkel (*Aeschylus, Agamemnon*, vol. I, Oxford, 1950, p. 3 n. 3), A. Turyn (*The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, Urbana, 1957, pp. 26-29; *Dated Greek Manuscripts*

of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy, vol. I, Urbana-Chicago-London, 1972, pp. 124-125) et O. L. Smith (*Studies in the Scholia on Aeschylus*, I. *The recensions of Demetrius Triclinius*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1975, pp. 43-44).

15) L'êta de type majuscule, en forme de N renversé, est trop rare pour qu'on puisse en tirer argument en faveur d'une datation basse.

16) J. Leroy, *Quelques systèmes de réglure des manuscrits grecs*, dans *Studia codicologica* hrsg. von K. Treu (Texte und Untersuchungen, 124), Berlin, 1977, pp. 291-312, en particulier pp. 295-296.

17) J. Leroy, *Les types de réglure des manuscrits grecs*, Paris, 1977, p. XXII et 41-42.

18) Comme il arrive souvent dans les manuscrits byzantins, la hauteur de la surface écrite est égale à la largeur de la page.

19) Ces signatures faites de lettres et non de chiffres se rencontrent seulement dans des manuscrits grecs de la Renaissance; c'est le cas, entre autres, du *Vaticanus gr.* 217 (*Sextus Empiricus*), du XVIIe siècle.

20) Comme l'atteste la lettre, si souvent citée, d'Ambrogio Traversari, écrite à Florence "VIII.Kal.Jun.", soit le 25 mai <1424> (Traversari, *Epist.* VIII,8).

21) Voir en dernier lieu B. L. Ullman et Ph. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence* (Medioevo e Umanesimo, 10), Padova, 1972, pp. 8-9.

22) Le sort ultérieur des deux manuscrits mérite d'être rappelé brièvement. Le *Laurentianus*, avec le reste de la collection de Niccoli, a été déposé, par les commissaires désignés, à la bibliothèque du monastère dominicain de San Marco, grâce à la générosité de Côme de Médicis, qui assumait en particulier les frais de la construction de la bibliothèque. Sous Côme Ier, un peu avant 1571, le *Laurentianus* fit partie du lot de quelque soixante-dix manuscrits grecs, choisis parmi les plus précieux, qui furent transférés sans bruit de San Marco à la Laurentienne, c'est-à-dire à la bibliothèque propre des Médicis. Il n'en a pas bougé depuis lors. Sur toute cette histoire, voir l'ouvrage de B. L. Ullman et Ph. Stadter cité à la note précédente. - De son côté, le *Palatinus* a suivi le sort de la collection de Manetti. Après une période obscure au cours de laquelle la collection semble avoir été conservée telle quelle, elle a été achetée, vers le milieu du XVIIe siècle, par Ulrich Fugger, qui la légua en 1584, avec le reste de ses livres, à Frédéric IV, électeur palatin (voir P. Lehmann, *Eine Geschichte der alten Fuggerbibliotheken*, 2 vol., Tübingen, 1956-1960). Quand Maximilien de Bavière eut vaincu le successeur de Frédéric IV, il prit possession de sa bibliothèque et l'offrit au Souverain Pontife en 1624. Depuis ce dernier transfert, le manuscrit de Manetti se trouve conservé à la Bibliothèque Vaticane; il n'est pas de ceux qui, après un crochet par Paris, ont regagné Heidelberg en 1815.

μόνον σοι ἀποδάσει τὰ πάντα. καὶ δὲ σὺ κ' ἄρ
 χήρ' εἶσι· οἱ ἀρχόμενοι. ὁ δ' αἰζήτος ἔσθ' ἡ.
 κρατὶ παραλίμνῳ. ὁμοίαν δὲ ἀποπέλασ
 τινός μ'· ὁ δ' αἰζήτος ὁ παρθερόμηνος ἀπὸ καυ.
 καὶ τὸν αἰζήτου ἔσθ' ἡ. ὁ δ' αἰζήτος
 ῥήζ' ἔσθ'· ὁ δ' αἰζήτος δὴν ἡ γ' ἔσθ'· οἰδὴ αἰζήτος
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Planche I b : Laurentianus 32,9, f.208 verso (Apollonios de Rhodes, Argonautiques II, 67-105, continuation).



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