

Antichistica 31
Filologia e letteratura 4

e-ISSN 2610-9352
ISSN 2610-8836

ΦΑΙΔΙΜΟΣ ΕΚΤΩΡ

Studi in onore
di Willy Cingano
per il suo 70° compleanno

a cura di
Enrico Emanuele Prodi e Stefano Vecchiato



Edizioni
Ca' Foscari

ΦΑΙΔΙΜΟΣ ΕΚΤΩΡ

Antichistica
Filologia e letteratura

Collana diretta da
Lucio Milano

31 | 4



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Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici

Università Ca' Foscari Venezia

Palazzo Malcanton Marcorà

Dorsoduro 3484/D

30123 Venezia

Antichistica | Filologia e letteratura

e-ISSN 2610-9352

ISSN 2610-8836

URL <http://edizionicafoscari.unive.it/edizioni/collane/antichistica/>



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Edizioni Ca' Foscari - Digital Publishing

2021

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Scientific certification of the works published by Edizioni Ca' Foscari - Digital Publishing: the essays here collected underwent the evaluation of subject-matter experts under the responsibility of the Scientific Direction of the series. The evaluations were conducted in adherence to the scientific and editorial criteria established by Edizioni Ca' Foscari.

Edizioni Ca' Foscari - Digital Publishing | Fondazione Università Ca' Foscari
Dorsoduro 3246, 30123 Venezia | <http://edizionicafoscari.unive.it/> | ecf@unive.it

1a edizione dicembre 2021

ISBN 978-88-6969-548-3 [ebook]

ISBN 978-88-6969-549-0 [print]

Stampato per conto di Edizioni Ca' Foscari - Digital Publishing, Venezia
nel mese di dicembre 2021 da Skillpress, Fossalza di Portogruaro, Venezia
Printed in Italy

ΦΑΙΔΙΜΟΣ ΕΚΤΩΡ. Studi in onore di Willy Cingano per il suo 70° compleanno / Enrico Emanuele Prodi e Stefano Vecchiato (a cura di) — 1. ed. — Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari – Digital Publishing, 2021. — 612 pp.; 16 cm. — (Antichistica; 31, 4). — ISBN 978-88-6969-549-0.

URL <https://edizionicafoscari.unive.it/it/edizioni/libri/978-88-6969-549-0/>

DOI <http://doi.org/10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3>

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Studi in onore di Willy Cingano per il suo 70° compleanno

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Abstract

The volume collects thirty-six essays honouring Ettore ('Willy') Cingano, Professor of Greek Language and Literature at Ca' Foscari University of Venice. Current and former colleagues, students, and friends have contributed new studies on various aspects of Classical antiquity to celebrate his seventieth birthday. The work consists of seven main sections, mirroring and complementing Willy's research interests. We start with the subjects to which Willy has contributed the most during his career, early Greek hexameter poetry (chapters 2-6: Calame, Coward, Currie, Meliaddò, Sider) and lyric, broadly intended (chapters 7-15: Spelman, Cannatà Fera, Le Meur, Prodi, Tosi, Vecchiato, Hadjimichael, D'Alessio and Prauscello, de Kreij). Next come tragedy (Lomiento, Dorati), Hellenistic and later Greek poetry (Perale, Hunter, Bowie, Franceschini), historiographical and other Greek prose (Andolfi, De Vido, Gostoli, Cohen-Skalli, Kaczko), Latin poetry (Barchiesi, Garani, Mastandrea, Mondin), and finally linguistics and the history of scholarship, ancient and modern (Benuzzi, Cassio, Giangiulio, Guidorizzi, Tribulato). The volume is bookended by a collection of translations from medieval and modern Greek poetry (Carpinato) and a reflection on the dynamic aspect of the sublime (Schiesaro).

Keywords Greek Literature. Latin Literature. Prose. Poetry. Papyrology.

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ΦΑΙΔΙΜΟΣ ΕΚΤΩΡ

Studi in onore di Willy Cingano per il suo 70° compleanno
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Prefazione

Enrico Emanuele Prodi

University of Oxford, UK

Stefano Vecchiato

Ricercatore indipendente

Il presente volume raccoglie 36 studi di letteratura e filologia greca e latina (e neogreca) offerti da colleghi, amici, ed ex-allievi, a Ettore (o meglio, Willy, il suo adorato soprannome) Cingano, in occasione del suo settantesimo compleanno. L'affetto per Willy è testimoniato una volta di più dalle numerose ed entusiastiche aderenze al progetto che i curatori hanno voluto allestire, segno tangibile di quante relazioni durature e veramente significative, dal punto di vista sia scientifico sia umano, 'Willyboy' sia riuscito a costruire nel corso della sua lunga carriera.

Laureatosi nel 1978 all'Università di Milano sotto la guida di Dario Del Corno, e successivamente specializzatosi all'Institute of Classical Studies della University of London (1979-81) e all'Università di Amburgo come Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter (1981-82), con un maestro del pari di Winfried Bühler (del quale, come raccontava a un seminario del 2018, conserva ancora gelosamente degli appunti inediti, vergati con un inchiostro blu in una grafia minuta ma perfettamente leggibile, su alcuni testi bizantini), Cingano ha iniziato la sua vita accademica come Ricercatore presso il Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità dell'Università degli Studi di Urbino dal 1983 al 1995, guidato da Bruno Gentili.

E proprio l'influsso di Gentili si coniugò perfettamente ai connotati interessi di ricerca di Cingano: la lirica corale arcaica e tardo-arcaica. Agli anni urbinati e al fervore legato alle scoperte papiracee stesicoree degli anni Settanta si collocano infatti i primi, rilevanti

contributi scientifici, quali ad esempio l'articolo «Quante testimonianze sulle palinodie di Stesicoro?». *QUCC*, 12, 1982, 21-33, la nota (scritta a quattro mani proprio con Gentili) «Sul 'nuovo' verso della prima *Palinodia* di Stesicoro». *ZPE*, 57, 1984, 37-40, e l'imponente riesame sulla tradizione indiretta di Ibico e di Stesicoro e sulla classificazione delle loro opere («L'opera di Ibico e di Stesicoro nella classificazione degli antichi e dei moderni». *AION*, 12, 1990, 189-224).

Ma, assieme a Stesicoro, il primo, vero, grande amore di Cingano è stato un poeta tanto importante quanto difficile: Pindaro. Dopo una lunga serie di recensioni e articoli di natura interpretativa e critica verso l'esegesi puramente formale degli epinici teorizzata da Elroy L. Bundy e la sua scuola (primo fra tutti Richard Hamilton), lo studio di quello che fu probabilmente il più grande lirico corale della grecità antica culminò nel monumentale commento alle *Pitiche* 1 e 2, per i tipi della Fondazione Lorenzo Valla all'interno del volume co-edito da Bruno Gentili, Paola Angeli Bernardini e Pietro Giannini (Milano, 1995). Tali commenti rappresentano tutt'ora un contributo fondamentale e un punto di riferimento per tutti gli studenti e studiosi interessati alle due importanti odi pitiche e alla lirica e poetica pindarica più in generale.

Alla lirica corale, Cingano affianca sin dai suoi primi studi un'indagine costante e continua per le tradizioni mitografiche e per l'epica (che della lirica costituiscono serbatoio inesauribile di risorse per temi e motivi), in particolare in frammenti. È stato, nel panorama italiano, sicuramente un apripista, soprattutto per quanto riguarda il ciclo epico, in particolar modo tebano: tuttora indispensabile, in questo senso, il contributo su una discussa espressione utilizzata da Erodoto (5.67.1), Ὀμήρεια ἔπεα, da lui interpretata, contrariamente alla *communis opinio*, come un riferimento al ciclo tebano e non all'*Iliade*, con importanti conseguenze sull'interpretazione della politica culturale operata da Clistene di Sicione nel tentativo di sottrarre la *polis* dall'egemonia di Argo in età arcaica («Clistene di Sicione, Erodoto e i poemi del Ciclo tebano». *QUCC*, 20, 1985, 31-40).

Tra i numerosi ulteriori contributi, impossibile non ricordare le ricerche di Cingano sul *corpus* esiodeo: oltre all'ormai canonico capitolo «The Hesiodic Corpus» apparso nel *Brill's Companion to Hesiod* nel 2009, deve essere menzionata la ricerca sul cosiddetto 'Catalogo dei pretendenti di Elena' («A Catalogue within a Catalogue: Helen's Suitors in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (FF 196-204 M-W)»), una lunga sezione del quinto libro del *Catalogo* pseudo-esiideo, pubblicata nel volume curato da Richard Hunter *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women. Constructions and Re-constructions* (Cambridge, 2005, 118-52). Si tratta di un contributo così originale e per certi versi rivoluzionario non solo da imporsi come riferimento standard per quella delicata sezione del *Catalogo* e più in generale per la poesia esiodea per gli studi successivi, ma anche da essere definito niente meno che

da Martin L. West (CR, 56, 2006, 275) come «[t]he outstanding chapter» del tomo edito da Hunter, assieme al capitolo scritto da Giovan Battista D'Alessio (uno dei contributori al presente volume).

All'incessante attività di studio e ricerca, Cingano ha coniugato perfettamente l'attività d'insegnamento e di dinamica partecipazione alla vita accademica dell'Ateneo presso cui presta servizio da dopo la conclusione dell'esperienza urbinata (1995): l'Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia, dove ha ricoperto anche l'incarico di Prorettore alla Ricerca dal 2009 al 2013. Fermamente convinto che il dialogo e il confronto tra persone e culture diverse siano elementi imprescindibili della ricerca scientifica e della vita umana in generale – come la sua formazione cosmopolita attesta –, Cingano è stato il fondatore, assieme a Lucio Milano, dell'*Advanced Seminar in Humanities on Literature and Culture in the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece, Rome, and the Near East* presso la Venice International University dell'Isola di San Servolo (VE), un seminario che dal 2004 accoglie giovani studiosi da tutto il mondo, interessati agli studi classici e vicino-orientali, nella convinzione che l'amalgamarsi di queste due discipline sia un aspetto fondamentale per comprendere due culture solo apparentemente così diverse.

L'attenzione meticolosa agli studenti e alle loro inclinazioni, e il tentativo di fornire loro tutti gli strumenti possibili per districarsi non solo negli studi, ma anche, più concretamente, nelle spesso complicate dinamiche del mondo accademico, costituiscono un'altra cifra distintiva della personalità del nostro festeggiato. Capace di intrattenersi per ore con un giovane studente della triennale, se seriamente appassionato alla materia, era ed è fonte continua di aiuti e suggerimenti, sovente supportati dalla sua memoria davvero sovrumana: tutti i contributori a questo volume, e non solo, l'hanno sentito almeno una volta citare a memoria numeri di versi di un determinato passo poetico con successiva declamazione del corrispondente testo greco, o richiamare in maniera del tutto estemporanea il più oscuro frammento epico secondo la numerazione – in contemporanea – delle edizioni di Bernabé, Davies, e West.

Un esempio concreto, capitato realmente a uno dei due curatori di questo volume: a ricevimento nel suo studio, Cingano, mentre ascoltava, sommerso dietro i numerosi libri, fascicoli, e fogli che occupavano la sua scrivania (sempre caotica all'inverosimile), le preoccupazioni di quell'(allora) giovane studente riguardo a un dettaglio sulla figura di Eracle presente in un frammento dell'evanescente Pisandro di Camiro, se ne uscì improvvisamente, e con completa nonchalance (manco si stesse parlando del tempo): «Ah, per quello lei dovrebbe consultare Heyne, *Ad Apollodori Bibliothecam Observationes*, Gottingae 1803» citando subito dopo numero di pagina e di nota a piè di pagina *a memoria*. Incredulo, lo studente, uscito dal ricevimento, corse subito all'adiacente Biblioteca di Area Umanistica cafoscari-

na per consultare e controllare il tomo di Heyne. Non poté fare altro che arrendersi: numero di pagina, di nota a piè di pagina, pertinenza del riferimento... era tutto corretto!

Nel corso degli anni e della carriera di Cingano, moltissimi studenti e studiosi hanno beneficiato tanto della sua dottrina quanto della sua gioviale generosità. Le cene nella bella casa sul Rio de la Fornace dopo convegni e seminari hanno ormai acquisito uno status proverbiale, se non leggendario: nutrite dai migliori cicchetti di Venezia (conclusione suffragata da numerose ricerche sul campo) e talvolta punteggiate da un'Aldina estratta con grande nonchalance dalla sua biblioteca, se non una fugace visita all'*adyton* stesso, sono un'occasione di convivialità per i colleghi, anche in visita da atenei lontani, e anche di stimolante networking per studenti e dottorandi, italiani o stranieri che siano. Anche nelle sue tradizionali visite estive a Oxford e Londra ha sempre mostrato lo stesso amichevole interesse nei confronti di vecchi amici e nuovi contatti, alcuni dei quali poi divenuti colleghi cafoscarini grazie alla sua encomiabile apertura alle collaborazioni internazionali e ai progetti europei - come ben sa uno dei curatori del presente volume.

L'ampiezza stessa del volume testimonia l'entità della stima e dell'amicizia nei confronti di Cingano. Il volume sarebbe stato ancora più ampio se la crisi della ricerca causata dalla pandemia (e le crisi meno cospicue che pervadono la vita universitaria anche in tempi meno drammatici) non avessero imposto una rinuncia a molti che avevano espresso l'intenzione di partecipare. Pur senza fare i loro nomi, vogliamo riconoscerne la buona volontà nei confronti di questo progetto e, soprattutto, di Willy. I contributi qui raccolti coprono un'ampia varietà di temi e di aree disciplinari: dalla storia degli studi alla ricezione antica e moderna della cultura classica, dalla poesia latina alla storia politica e del pensiero, dalla poesia ellenistica alla prosa imperiale, dalla linguistica alla metrica, e soprattutto le due aree su cui si sono concentrate le sue ricerche, l'epica e la lirica arcaiche. Speriamo con affetto che questa celebrazione dei suoi primi settant'anni gli sia gradita.

Desideriamo infine ringraziare di cuore tutti i contributori a questo progetto - anche per l'accortezza con cui hanno condotto le proprie ricerche per i rispettivi articoli, al fine di conservare l'effetto sorpresa' -, Lucio Milano per l'amichevole assistenza e per aver accolto il volume nella presente Serie, tutto lo staff di Edizioni Ca' Foscari per aver reso agevole il delicato processo di composizione editoriale, e soprattutto Caterina Carpinato, prima forza motrice per la genesi di questa *Festschrift*.

In limine

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Ogni epoca ha la sua guerra di Troia

Poesie neogreche, per Ettore

Caterina Carpinato

Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia

Abstract A personal anthology of modern Greek poems (from *Digenis Akritis* to Dimitris Dimitriadis' *Trojans* 2015), in Italian translation, with essential bio-bibliographical notes; a short story of the re-use of Homer in modern Greek context.

Keywords Reception of Homer in Modern Greek literature. Translation. Modern Greek poetry. *Digenis*. *Loukanis*. *Solomòs*. *Palamàs*. *Kavafis*. *Seferis*. *Elytis*. *Patrikios*. *Dimitriadis*.

Sommario 1 *Digenis Akritis*, E, vv. 703-722. – 2 Nikolaos Loukanis, *La caduta di Troia* (Venezia 1526). – 3 Dionisios Solomòs, *L'ombra di Omero* (1822?). – 4 Kostis Palamàs, *Rapsodia* (1904). – 5 K.P. Kavafis, *Viaggio notturno di Priamo* (1893). – 6 Ghiorgos Seferis, *Astianatte* (1935). – 7 Ghiorgos Seferis, *Su un verso straniero* (1931). – 8 Odiseas Elitis, *Greca la lingua che mi diedero*. – 9 Titos Patrikios (1928), *Il canto delle sirene* (1993). – 10 Dimitris Dimitriadis, *Troiani* (2015).

Ἡ Μαρία Νεφέλη λέει:

...
"Ὅσο ὑπάρχουνε Ἰλχαιοὶ θὰ ὑπάρχει μία
ὠραία Ἐλένη
καὶ ἄς εἶναι ἄλλοῦ τὸ χέρι ἄλλοῦ ὁ λαίμος.
Κάθε καιρὸς κι ὁ Τρωικὸς του πόλεμος.
Maria Nefeli dice:

...
Finché esistono gli Achei esisterà una bella Elena
e sia pure altrove la mano e altrove il collo.
Ogni epoca ha la sua guerra di Troia.
(Odiseas Elitis, *Maria Nefeli*, 7, 1978)



Edizioni
Ca' Foscari

Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

Peer review | Open access

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/001

1 Digenis Akritis, E, vv. 703-22

L'amore genera il bacio, e il bacio il desiderio

Ὁ ἔρωξ τίκτει τὸ φιλὶν καὶ τὸ φιλὶν τὸν πόθον,¹²
 ὁ πόθος δίδει μέριμνας, ἔννοιᾶς τε καὶ φροντίδας,
 κατατολμὰ καὶ κίνδυνον καὶ χωρισμὸν γονέων,
 θάλασσαν ἀντιμάχεται, τὸ πῦρ οὐ διαλογίξει
 καὶ τίποτε οὐ λογίζεται ὁ ποθῶν διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην·
 ἐγκρεμοὺς οὐ λογίζεται, τοὺς ποταμοὺς οὐδὲ ὄλως,
 τὰς ἀγρυπνίας ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ τὰς κλεισοῦρας κάμπους.
 Καὶ ὅσοι βασανίζεσθε δι' ἀγάπην κορασίου,
 ἀκούσατε διὰ γραφῆς τῶν <θαυμαστῶν> Ἑλλήνων
 πόσα καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπομείνασιν βάσανα διὰ τὸν πόθον.
 Βλέπετε, οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες, τοὺς ἄριστος ἐκείνους,
 τοὺς Ἑλληνας, τοὺς θαυμαστοὺς καὶ ὀνομαστοὺς στρατιῶτας,
 <καὶ> ὅλα ὅσα ἐγίνοντα διὰ ἐκείνην τὴν Ἑλένην,
 ὅτε ἕκατεπολέμησαν ἅπασαν τὴν Ἀσίαν,
 καὶ πάντες ἐδοξάσθησαν διὰ περισσὴν ἀνδρείαν,
 καὶ ἄλιν εἰς ἐρωτικά ἄλλος τις οὐχ ὑπέστη.
 Καὶ οὐ λέγομεν καυχίσματα ἢ πλάσματα καὶ μύθους,
 ἃ Ὅμηρος ἐψεύσατο καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων.
 Ταῦτα γὰρ μύθοι <οὐ> λέγονται, καυχίσματα οὐ λαλοῦνται,
 ἀλλ' ἀληθεύουν ἐκ παντός, μηδεὶς οὖν ἀπιστήση
 ὡς λέγω τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ Ἀκρίτη.

L'amore genera il bacio e il bacio il desiderio,
 il desiderio procura pensieri, ansie e preoccupazioni,
 fa affrontare pericoli, allontanamenti dai genitori,
 combatte contro il mare, non teme il fuoco,
 chi è preso dalla passione d'amore non tiene in conto null'altro,
 non si preoccupa dei precipizi, né dei fiumi,
 considera l'insonnia riposo e i greti campi aperti.
 Tutti voi che subite sofferenze a causa dell'amore,
 avete appreso tramite gli scritti dei <meravigliosi> greci,
 quanti tormenti hanno patito anche loro a causa della passione.
 Vedete, o lettori, quegli uomini straordinari,
 i greci meravigliosi e famosi guerrieri,

1 L'espressione si deve a Elitis 1978, in italiano si può leggere l'intera sezione dedicata alla *Guerra di Troia*, in Elitis 2011, 184-9.

Presento qui sono un'antologia personale di rivisitazioni omeriche effettuate da autori di lingua greca, dall'anonimo *Dighenis* (cod.E) del *Dighenis Akritis*, fino a un passo di Dimitris Dimitriadis (1944). Note e indicazioni bio-bibliografiche riportano solo dati di riferimento essenziali. La scelta e le traduzioni sono di chi scrive.

2 Alexiou 1995, 119; Rizzo Nervo 1996, 94-5; Jeffreys 1998, 292-3.

quante e quali cose subirono per quell'Elena,
 quanto combatteremo per tutta l'Asia,
 tutti furono famosi per il loro grande valore,
 e qualcuno per quello che ha subito per amore.
 Noi non raccontiamo storielle inventate, né miti,
 quelle che le narravano Omero e gli altri greci.
 Qui non si cantano storielle, né si raccontano miti,
 ma cose del tutto vere, per nulla inventate,
 io qui canto la vera storia del meraviglioso Akritis.

2 Nikolaos Loukanis, *La caduta di Troia* (Venezia 1526)

Achille innamorato (vv. 20-85)³

Βασιλεὺς Πρίαμος τότε ὅπου ἔμελε νὰ γένη
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν του τὴν Τροίαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως
 ἐβουλεύθη μίαν ἀπάτην μὲ τοὺς γέροντας τοὺς ἄλλους.
 Εἶχε μίαν θυγατέρα τὴν ἔλεγαν Πολυξένη
 εἰς τὰ κάλλη ὠραιότατην, κι ἔνδυσε κι ἐστόλισέ τὴν
 κι ἔπεμπέ τὴν εἰς τὰ τείχη κι ὠριζέ τὴν καὶ ἐτραγώδιε 25
 ἵνα Ἀχιλλεὺς τὴν ἴδῃ καὶ τὴν ἀγαπήσῃ πλεῖστα
 ταπεινώσῃ τὴν καρδίαν του νὰ μὴ μάχεται τὴν πόλιν.
 Κι οὕτως ἔρχετον ἡ κόρη καθημέρα εἰς τὰ τείχη
 κι ἐτραγώδει ὡς ἂν τὰ ἠδόνῃ κι ἔλαμπε τὸ πρόσωπόν της
 ὡς αὐγερινὸς ἀστέρας. Ἀχιλλεὺς ἰδὼν μὲν ταύτην 30
 τὴν ἀγάπησε περίσσια, τῆς γὰρ γυναικὸς τὸ κάλλος
 ἔναι ὡς ἂν πτερωτὸν βέλος καὶ τιτρώσκει τὰς καρδίας
 τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ πλουσίων ἕως καὶ τῶν ἀνδριωμένων.
 Κι εἰς ἐκεῖνο μὲν τὸ μέρος ὅπου ἔστεκεν ἡ κόρη.
 Ἀχιλλεὺς τότε συχνάξει καὶ τὴν κόρη βλέπει ἀπάνω 35
 καὶ ἀναστενάξει συχνάκις, κεκαυμένος τῆς ἀγάπης
 πρὸς αὐτὴν λέγει τοιαῦτα·
 «Εἶδα καὶ τὴν Σπάρτην πόλιν, κι εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἦλθον
 ποὺ εἰσὶ πολλὰι γυναῖκες, εὐμορφες κι ὠραιόταται
 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ποτὲ οὐκ εἶδον τέτοιον πρόσωπον καὶ στήθη 40
 οὐδὲ τέτοια εὐμορφίαν ὡς εἶν' εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν κόρην.
 Βλέπων ταύτην κοπιάζω καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οὐκ ἔχουν
 χορτασμὸν αὐτὴν νὰ βλέπουν. ὦ καλότυχος ὁ ἄνδρας
 ὅπου ἐσένα θέλει ἐπάρει καὶ γυναῖκα νὰ σὲ ποίσει.
 Οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν ἐπεθύμουν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπάνω 45
 νὰ ἦμουν θεὸς καὶ ἅγιος ἂν αὐτὴν τὴν κόρην εἶχα

³ Loukanis 1526. Sul passo in questione Carpinato 1999, 501-5.

διὰ ἴδιαν γυναῖκα ἄνεμος νὰ ἐγενόμουν
 νὰ πνεύσα αὐτοῦ ἀπάνω καὶ τὰ χεῖλη σου νὰ φίλουν
 ἢ νὰ γένομουν καὶ ρόδον καὶ νὰ μ' ἔριπτε ὁ διαβάτης
 εἰς τὰ τρυφερά σου στήθη. Ὡμοὶ φόβον μέγα ἔχω 50
 ἐὰν πάρωμεν τὴν πόλιν μὴ σ' ἀρπάξει τὶς στρατιώτης
 καὶ γυναῖκα του σὲ ποίσει. Νὰ οἶδα εἰς τὸ ποῖον μέρος
 κατοικεῖς, κόρη τῆς Τροίας, νὰ ἴρχομουν εὐθύς σὲ σένα
 ὅταν λάβωμεν τὴν πόλιν καὶ νὰ σ' ἔφερον στὰς νῆας
 διὰ ἴδιαν γυναῖκα. Ἀλλά, τί ὁ νοῦς μου λέγει; 55
 Τὸ κακὸν τῆς κόρης ταύτης ἐγὼ ἐπεθυμῶ νὰ ποίσω
 νὰ τῆς καύσω τὴν πατρίδα, νὰ φονεύσω τὸν πατέρα,
 καὶ αὐτὴν δούλην νὰ τὴν ποίσω, ὁ θεὸς νὰ μὴν τὸ δώσει
 παρὸ ἐγὼ τοῦ νὰ πράξω τὸ οὐ θέλει αὐτὴ ἢ κόρη
 μᾶλλον δὲ θέλω νὰ ὑπάγω εἰς τὰς νῆας νὰ καθίσω 60
 καὶ τὴν λύρα νὰ σημαίνω νὰ μὴ εἰπῆ αὐτὴ ἢ κόρη
 ὅτι ἐγὼ ἤμουν ἢ αἰτία νὰ παρθεῖ αὐτὴ ἢ πόλις.
 Ἀλλὰ τί ἐσυλλογίσθην, τί θέλουν εἰπῆ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι
 μάλιστα οἱ ἀνδρειομένοι, ὅταν μ' ἴδουν νὰ καθίζω
 εἰς τὰς νῆας ὡς γυναῖκα κ' ἂν τ' ἀκούσει κ' ὁ πατὴρ μου 65
 ὁ Πηλεὺς πολλὰς κατάρας εἰς ἐμένα θέλει δώσει,
 ὅτι οὐ πολεμῶ ἀνδρείως ὡσπερ καὶ προτοῦ ἐποίκα.
 Τί δὲ ἂν κάθημαι στὰς νῆας αὐτοὶ οἱ ἔλοιποὶ Ἀργεῖοι
 μέσα σέβουν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ δουλώσουν τὰς γυναῖκας
 καὶ αὐτὴν τινὰς νὰ λάβῃ, τὸ ὁποῖον, ἂν συνέβῃ 70
 εὐθύς θέλω ἀποθάνῃ, ἀλλὰ κάλλιον μου ἐφάνη,
 νὰ ἴθω καὶ ἐγὼ μὲ τούτους τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνδρειομένους
 νὰ γυρίζω αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη ὅτι πολεμῶ νὰ δείχνω
 καὶ νὰ σταματίζω ὀμπρὸς τῆς καὶ ἀχόρτατος νὰ μένω
 βλέποντας αὐτὴν τὴν κόρη. Ἔρωσ Ἔρωσ, ὁποῦ στάζεις 75
 εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου πόθον, διατὶ μὲ λυπᾶς τόσον;
 κ' ἀνάπτεις τὴν καρδίαν μου καὶ τὴν δύναμιν μου ἐπήρως
 καὶ νὰ πολεμῶ δὲν θέλω, ἀλλ' ὁ νοῦς μου ὅλος ἐδῶ ναι
 εἰς τὴν εὐμορφὴν τὴν κόρη. Τώρα εἶδα τὴν ἀγάπην
 τὸ τί δύναται νὰ ποίση, ὡς καὶ τὰ θηρία δαμάζει 80
 καὶ τοὺς δυνατοὺς τοὺς ἀνδρας κάμνει τοὺς ταπεινοτέρους
 πλέον παρ' αὐτὰ τ' ἄρνια. Ὡ νὰ μὴν εἶχα ποτὲ ἔλθει
 μὲ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς τὴν Τροίαν, τόσος πόνος στὴν καρδίαν
 οὐκ ἐσέβῃ διὰ σένα». Ἀχιλλεὺς ἔλεγεν οὕτως
 ἀπὸ κάτω εἰς τὰ τείχη, κεκαυμένος τῆς ἀγάπης. 85

Allora il re Priamo, quando si accorse di ciò che stava per accadere nella sua città di Troia per mano di Achille, insieme con gli altri anziani ordì un inganno. Aveva una figlia bellissima, chiamata Polissena: la vestì, l'adornò e la spedì sulle mura ordinandole di cantare affinché Achille, vedendola, se ne innamorasse perdutamente, umiliasse il suo cuore e non combattesse contro la città.

Così la fanciulla si recava ogni giorno sulle mura e cantava come un usignolo, ed il suo volto splendeva come la stella del mattino. Achille, vedendola, se ne innamorò moltissimo, infatti la bellezza della donna è come un dardo alato che divora i cuori dei potenti e dei ricchi, persino dei valorosi. Allora Achille si recava sempre nei pressi per vedere la fanciulla e sospirava spesso, ardente d'amore. Le rivolgeva tali parole: «Ho visto la città di Sparta, sono stato finanche a Lacedemone, dove vi sono molte bellissime donne, ma non ho mai visto un volto ed un petto siffatti, né una bellezza simile a questa fanciulla. Guardandola mi tormento e i miei occhi non si saziano nell'osservarla. Oh! felice quell'uomo che ti avrà in moglie! Io non desidererei di essere in cielo, né di essere un dio o un santo se avessi per me tale fanciulla. Per questa donna vorrei essere vento, soffiare e baciarti le labbra, oppure vorrei essere rosa in modo che un viandante mi possa gettare sul tuo tenero seno. Ahimè mi assale un gran timore: se conquisterò la città qualche soldato potrebbe farti sua. Devo sapere dove abiti, fanciulla di Troia, per venire subito da te quando prenderemo la città e portarti sulle navi. Ma cosa dice la mia ragione? Io desidero il male di questa fanciulla, desidero bruciarle la patria, ucciderle il padre, renderla schiava... Dio non mi faccia compiere ciò che questa fanciulla non vuole. Piuttosto voglio salire sulle navi e, seduto, suonare la lira, in modo che lei non possa attribuire a me la colpa della caduta della città. Ma cosa sto dicendo? Cosa diranno gli Argivi, i valorosi Argivi, quando mi vedranno seduto sulle navi come una donna? E cosa dirà mio padre? Peleo mi manderà molte maledizioni perché non combatto più, con valore, come prima. Ma se rimango sulle navi, gli altri Argivi entreranno in città e renderanno schiave le donne. Qualcuno si impossesserà anche di lei. Se dovesse succedere ciò, vorrei morire subito. Mi sembra meglio, dunque, andare anch'io insieme a questi valorosi, intorno a queste mura, e far mostra di combattere per poi fermarmi davanti a lei e rimanere insaziato guardandola. Eros, Eros, perché stilli nei miei occhi la passione, perché mi affliggi così? Perché infiammi il mio cuore e mi togli la forza? E non voglio più combattere e la mia mente è tutta rivolta alla bella ragazza. Adesso ho conosciuto l'amore, e so cosa è in grado di fare: doma anche le fiere e rende gli uomini valorosi più umili degli agnelli. Ah! Se non fossi mai venuto insieme agli altri a Troia, tanto dolore nel mio cuore non vi sarebbe stato per causa tua!

Così parlava Achille sotto le mura, ardente d'amore ogni giorno davanti a lei.

3 Dionisios Solomòs, *L'ombra di Omero (1822?)*⁴

Ἡ σκιά του Ὀμήρου

Ἔλαμπε ἀχνὰ τὸ φεγγαράκι — εἰρήνη
ὄλην, ὄλη τῆ φύση ἀκίνητούσε,
καὶ μέσα ἀπὸ τὴν ἔρημη τὴν κλίνη
τ' ἀηδόνη τὰ παράπονα ἀρχινούσε·
τριγύρω γύρω ἢ νυχτικὴ γαλήνη
τὴ γλυκύτατη κλάψα ἠχολογούσε·
ἀπάντεχα βαθὺς ὕπνος με πιάνει,
κι' ὀμπροστά μου ἕνας γέροντας μου ἐφάνη.
Στὸ ἀκρογιάλι ἀναπαύσονται ὁ γέρος
στὰ παλαιὰ τα ρούχα τα σχισμένα
γλυκὰ γλυκὰ τὸ φύσημα τοῦ ἀέρος
τ' ἀριά μαλλιά του ἐσκόρπαιε τ' ἀσπρισμένα,
κι' αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ πολὺαστρον τοῦ αἰθέρος
τὰ μάτια ἐστριφογύριζε σβησμένα·
ἀγάλι ἀγάλι ἀσηκώθη ἀπὸ χάμου,
καὶ ὡσὰν νὰ ἔχε τό φῶς του ἦλθε κοντὰ μου.

Splendeva debolmente la luna - pace
assoluta - immobile tutta la natura,
e nel giaciglio deserto
l'usignolo iniziava i suoi lamenti;
intorno la serenità notturna
faceva riecheggiare il dolcissimo il pianto.
Inaspettatamente un sonno profondo mi assalì,
e mi apparve innanzi un vecchio.

Si riposava su una spiaggia,
tra sue vecchie e lacere vesti
soffiava dolcemente il vento
che gli scompigliava i capelli radi, bianchi;
e all'etere pieno di stelle
volgeva gli occhi spenti;
piano piano si alzò da terra,
e - come guidato dalla luce - venne accanto a me.

⁴ [1822?] 1993, 58. Solomòs aveva forse letto la poesia di M. de La. Mothe-Fenelon, *L'ombre de Homere*, nell'opera di Melchiorre Cesarotti, *L'Iliade o la Morte di Ettore. Poema omerico, ridotto in verso*, italiano, pubblicata per la prima volta nel 1787 a Padova e più volte ristampata fra la fine del XVIII e la prima metà del XIX secolo. Sul componimento si veda da ultimo Paschalis 2021, 25-6.

4 Kostis Palamàs, *Rapsodia* (1904)⁵

Ὅμηρε θεῖε, τῶν καιρῶν χαρὰ καὶ δόξα!
 Στὴν κρυάδα τοῦ σκολείου καὶ στοῦ θρανίου
 τὴ γύμνια ὅταν μπροστά μου σ' ἀπιθώσαν τοῦ δασκάλου
 τ' ἄχαρα χέρια, ὦ μεγαλόχαρο βιβλίο,
 σέ καρτερούσα μάθημα, κι ἐσὺ ἦρθες θάμα.
 Κι ἄνοιξε μέσα μου οὐρανός πλατύς καθάριος
 καὶ πέλαγον ζαφεῖρι σμαραγδοσπαρμένο,
 καὶ τὸ θρανίό σά 'να ἴγινε παλατιοῦ θρόνος,
 καὶ κόσμος τὸ σκολεῖο κι ὁ δάσκαλος προφήτης.
 Διάβασμ' αὐτὸ δέν ἦταν, νόημα δέν ἦταν,
 ὄραμα ἦταν κι ἀκουσμα ἦταν χωρὶς ταίρι.—
 Στὴ σπηλιά τὴ μεγάλη, πού τὴν τριγυρίζει
 δάσος βαθύ ἀπὸ λεύκες κι ἀπὸ κυπαρίσσια,
 στὴ σπηλιά τὴ μεγάλη, πού μοσκομυρίζει
 καὶ πού ζεστοκοπιέται ἀπ' τὴ φωτιά τοῦ κέδρου,
 ἢ Καλυψὴ ἢ λαμπρόμαλλη πιά δέν ὑφαίνει
 μέ τὴ χρυσὴ σαῖτα, πιά δέν τραγουδάει
 καλόφωνα· τὰ χέρια ὑψώνοντας ἢ νύφη
 τ' ἀνάθεμα σκορπίζει καρδιοφλογισμένο
 πρὸς τοὺς ζηλόφτονους θεούς: «'Ω λατρεμένο
 θνητοὶ ἀπὸ τίς θεές πού σας μοιράσαν
 τὴν ἀμβροσία στὸν Ὀλυμπο τῆς ἀγκαλιάς τους,
 ἀπ' τοὺς ζηλόφτονους θεούς, ὦ συντριμμένοι
 θνητοὶ...». Καὶ τὸ θεϊκό τ' ἀνάθεμα μαραίνει
 τὰ δροσερά τὰ σέλινα καὶ τὰ γιοφύλια,
 καὶ πάει, καὶ σὰ θεόργιστο χαλάζει καίει
 στὰ καρπερά κλήματ' ἀπάνου τὰ σταφύλια.
 Μόνο τὸν ξακουστὸ τὸν ἥρωα ἀπ' τὸ Θιάκι,
 που διαβατάρης τ' ἄναψε, δὲν τὸν ταράζει
 τὸ καρδιοφλογισμένο ἀνάθεμα τῆς νύφης.
 Ὁ ναυαγὸς ὁ θαλασσόδαρτος ἀπόξω
 κάθετα ἀσάλευτα σαν πάντα κι ἀγναντεύει
 καὶ τὴν πατρίδα του θυμάται, κι ὄλο κλαίει
 πρὸς τὸ γιολὸ καὶ πρὸς τὰ τρίσβαθα πελάγη.
 Κι ὁ ἄσπρος γλάρος πού με ὀρμὴ συχνοβουτάει
 στὴν ἄρμη τὰ φτερά γυρεύοντας τὰ ψάρια,
 καὶ τὸ γεράκι πού κουρνιάζει μες στὸ δάσος,
 κρατάν καὶ ἀντιβογκάν τοῦ δυνατοῦ τὸ κλάμα...
 — Ὡ τὸ πρωτοφανέρωτο τῆς φαντασίας

⁵ La poesia di K. Palamàs, pubblicata per la prima volta nella raccolta *Ἡ Ἀσάλευτη Ζωή* (La Vita Immobile), del 1904 (e inserita in K. Palamàs *Ἄπαντα*, Γ'. Μπίρης-Γκοβόσσης, [1963], 64), è stata già pubblicata da Carpinato 2015, 233-5.

ὄραμα, ὦ τὸ ξεσκέπασμα τοῦ ὠραίου ἔμπρός μου!
 Καὶ νὰ ἡ μελαχρινή καὶ ἡ φτωχοπούλα ἡ χώρα
 στὸ ὀλόλευκο νησί τῆς νύφης ἀλλασμένη,
 καὶ νὰ ἡ παιδούλα ἡ ταπεινή καὶ ἡ ψαρπούλα
 σαν Καλυψώ λαμπρόμαλλη ἔρωτοκαμένη!
 Καὶ νὰ ἡ καρδιά μου μέσα ταξεδεύτρα χίλιων
 τόπων, διψώντας μία πατρίδα, τὴν ἀγάπη!
 Καὶ νὰ ἀπὸ τότε καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἀράδα ἀράδα
 δίχορδη λύρα τὴν πανάρχαιαν ἀρμονία
 ἀντιλαλώντας, ἢ τ' ἀνάθεμα ἢ τὸ κλᾶμα...
 Χαρά καὶ δόξα τῶν καιρῶν, "Ὀμηρε θεῖε!

Omero divino, gioia e gloria dei secoli!
 Nel freddo della scuola e sul banco spoglio,
 quando dinnanzi a me ti posero le mani sgradevoli
 del maestro, oh libro meraviglioso,
 ti aspettavo come una lezione e tu arrivasti come un miracolo.
 E si aprì dentro di me uno squarcio di cielo limpido,
 e di mare azzurro zaffiro costellato di smeraldi,
 e il banco divenne un trono reale,
 e la scuola il mondo intero e il maestro un profeta.
 Questo non era leggere, non era ragionare,
 ma visione e suono senza eguali.

Nella grande grotta circondata
 da selve fitte di pioppi e cipressi,
 nella grande grotta profumata di muschio,
 scaldata dal legno odoroso del cedro,
 Calipso dai capelli lucenti non tesse
 più con la spoletta d'oro, non canta più
 con la voce soave; la ragazza con le mani al cielo,
 con il cuore spezzato sparge al vento la maledizione
 verso gli dèi invidiosi: "O mortali amati
 dalle dee che vi hanno servito
 l'ambrosia dell'Olimpo tra le loro braccia,
 oh, mortali destinati a essere dissolti...".
 E la maledizione divina fa appassire
 le piante fresche e le violette profumate
 e come grandine indemoniata brucia
 nei ricchi pergolati l'uva già matura.
 La lancinante maledizione della ninfa
 non turba quel famoso eroe di Itaca,
 quel viaggiatore che le ha bruciato il cuore.
 Il naufrago, sbattuto dal mare,
 sta seduto immobile come sempre e guarda lontano
 e ricorda la sua patria e piange di continuo

davanti al mare e ai flutti tumultuosi e profondi.
Il gabbiano bianco, che si tuffa a precipizio
cercando pesci, e il falco che stride nel bosco
ripetono gemendo il pianto di quell'uomo forte...
Oh, primigenia visione
della mia fantasia, oh esplosione del bello dinnanzi a me!
Ed ecco che la terra da scura e miserevole
si muta nell'isola candida della ninfa
ed ecco la povera figlia del pescatore
che arde d'amore come Calipso dai capelli lucenti!
E il mio cuore girovago tra mille paesi
assetato d'amore e di patria,
ecco che sin da allora la mia anima lentamente riecheggia
sulla lira a due corde l'antichissima armonia
o il verdetto funesto o il pianto.
Gioia e gloria nei secoli, Omero divino!

5 **K.P. Kavafis, *Viaggio notturno di Priamo*⁶ (1893)**

Ἄλγος ἐν τῇ Ἰλίῳ κι οἰμωγῇ.
Ἦ γῆ
τῆς Τροίας ἐν ἀπελπισμῷ πικρῶ καὶ δέει
τὸν μέγαν Ἑκτορα τὸν Πριαμίδην κλαίει.
Ὁ θρήνος βοερός, βαρὺς ἤχεϊ.
Ψυχὴ
δὲν μένει ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ μη πενθούσα,
τοῦ Ἑκτορος τὴν μνήμην ἀμελοῦσα.
Ἄλλ' εἶναι μάταιος, ἀνωφελῆς
πολύς
θρήνος ἐν πόλει ταλαιπωρημένη·
ἢ δυσμενῆς κωφεύει εἰμαρμένη.
Τ' ἀνωφελῆ ὁ Πρίαμος μισῶν,
χρυσὸν
ἐξάγει ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ· προσθέτει
λέβητας, τάπητας, καὶ χλαίνας κ' ἔτι
χιτῶνας, τρίποδας, πέπλων σωρὸν
λαμπρόν,
καὶ ὅ,τι ἄλλο πρόσφορον εἰκάζει,
κ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος του τὰ στοιβάζει.
Θέλει μὲ λύτρα, ἀπὸ τὸν τρομερὸν
ἐχθρόν,

6 Altre recenti traduzioni in Kavafis 2019 e in Kavafis 2021, 834-7.

τοῦ τέκνου του τὸ σῶμα ν' ἀνακτῆσι,
καὶ μὲ σεπτὴν κηδεῖαν νὰ τιμήσι.
Φεύγει ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τῇ σιγηλῇ.

Λαλεῖ

ὀλίγα. Μόνην σκέψιν τώρα ἔχει
ταχύ, ταχύ τὸ ἄρμα του νὰ τρέχη.
Ἐκτείνεται ὁ δρόμος ζοφερός.

Οἶκτρῶς

ὁ ἄνεμος ὀδύρεται κι' οἰμῶζει.
Κόραξ ἀπαίσιος μακρόθεν κρώζει.
Ἐδῶ, κυνὸς ἀκούετ' ὑλακὴ·

ἐκεῖ,

ὡς ψίθυρος λαγῶς περνᾷ ταχύπους.
ἽΟ βασιλεὺς κεντᾷ, κεντᾷ τοὺς ἵππους.
Τῆς πεδιάδος ἐξυπνοῦν σκιαὶ

λαιαί,

καὶ ἀποροῦν πρὸς τί ἐν τόσῃ βία
πετᾷ ὁ Δαρδανίδης πρὸς τὰ πλοῖα
Ἄργείων φονικῶν, καὶ Ἄχαιῶν
σκαίων.

Ἄλλὰ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὰ δὲν τὰ προσέχει·
φθάνει τὸ ἄρμα του ταχύ, ταχύ νὰ τρέχη.

Dolore a Ilio e pianto.

La terra

di Troia piange con amara disperazione e angoscia
il grande figlio di Priamo, Ettore.

Il lamento funebre riecheggia profondo.

Non c'è un'anima

a Troia che non sia a lutto,
che non coltivi la memoria di Ettore.

Ma è vano, inutile

il grande

lamento nella città tormentata;
la sorte nemica è sorda.

Priamo, disprezzando l'inutile

oro,

lo estrae dalle sue riserve; e aggiunge
vasi, tappeti e vesti pregiate,

e chitoni, tripodi, e uno splendido insieme

di peploi,

e qualsiasi altra cosa possa sembrargli adatta,

e stiva tutto sul carro.

Vuole - con questo riscatto - dal tremendo
nemico
ottenere il corpo del figlio,
per onorarlo con un funerale solenne.

Parte nel silenzio della notte.
Parla
poco. Un solo pensiero:
che il carro vada veloce, veloce.

Davanti si profila una strada oscura.
Pietosamente
il vento geme e si lamenta.
Un orrendo corvo gracchia in lontananza.

Qui si sente l'ululato di un cane,
lì
come un soffio, una lepre piè veloce scappa via.
Il re sprona, sprona i cavalli.
Ombre oscure della pianura
si ergono
e si chiedono dubbiose perché con tanta fretta
il figlio di Dardano corra verso le navi

degli Argivi assassini, degli Achei
malvagi.

Ma il re non se ne cura,
gli basta che il carro vada veloce, veloce.

6 **Ghiorgos Seferis, *Astianatte* (1935)⁷**

Τώρα που θὰ φύγεις πάρε μαζί σου και τὸ παιδί
που εἶδε τὸ φῶς κάτω ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνο τὸ πλατάνι
μια μέρα που ἀντηχοῦσαν σάλπιγγες κι ἔλαμπαν ὄπλα
καὶ τ' ἄλογα ἰδρωμένα σκύβανε ν' ἀγγίξουν
τὴν πράσινη ἐπιφάνεια τοῦ νεροῦ
στὴ γούρνα μὲ τὰ ὑγρά τους τὰ ρουθούνια.

⁷ Tradotta anche da Pontani (1971, 30).

Οί ἑλίές μὲ τὶς ρυτίδες τῶν γονιῶν μας
τὰ βράχια μὲ τὴ γνώση τῶν γονιῶν μας
καὶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μας ζωντανὸ στὸ χῶμα
ἦτανε μια γερὴ χαρὰ μια πλούσια τάξη
γιά τὶς ψυχές ποὺ γνώριζαν τὴν προσευχή τους.

Τώρα ποὺ θὰ φύγεις, τώρα ποὺ ἡ μέρα τῆς πληρωμῆς
χαράζει, τώρα ποὺ κανεὶς δὲν ξέρει
ποιόν θὰ σκοτώσει καὶ πῶς θὰ τελειώσει,
πάρε μαζί σου τὸ παιδί ποὺ εἶδε τὸ φῶς
κάτω ἀπ' τὰ φύλλα ἐκείνου τοῦ πλατάνου
καὶ μάθε τοῦ νὰ μελετᾷ τὰ δέντρα.

Adesso che andrai via, prendi con te il bambino
che ha visto la luce sotto quel platano,
il giorno in cui riecheggiavano le trombe di guerra e brillavano
le armi,
e i cavalli sudati si chinavano per sfiorare
la superficie verde dell'acqua
nel solco, con le narici.

Le olive con le rughe dei nostri genitori,
le rocce con la sapienza dei nostri genitori,
e il sangue vivo di nostro fratello sul terreno
erano una gioia salda un ordine rigoglioso
per le anime che conoscevano le loro preghiere.

Adesso che te ne andrai, adesso che il giorno del riscatto
traccia un'incisione, adesso che nessuno sa
chi ucciderà e chi morirà,
prendi con te il bambino che ha visto la luce
sotto le foglie del platano
e insegnagli a studiare gli alberi.

7 Ghiorgos Seferis, *Su un verso straniero* (1931)⁸

Joachim Du Bellay (1522-1560), *Heureux qui, comme Ulysse, a fait un beau voyage*

Πάνω σ' έναν ξένο στίχο

Στήν Έλλη, Χριστούγεννα 1931

Εύτυχισμένος που έκανε τὸ ταξίδι τοῦ Ὀδυσσεά.
Εύτυχισμένος ἂν στὸ ξεκίνημα, ἔνωθε γερὴ τὴν ἄρμα-
τωσιὰ μιᾶς ἀγάπης, ἀπλωμένη μέσα στὸ κορμί του,
σὰν τὶς φλέβες ὅπου βουίζει τὸ αἷμα.

Μιᾶς ἀγάπης μὲ ἀκατέλυτο ρυθμὸ, ἀκατανίκητης σὰν τὴ
μουσικὴ καὶ παντοτινῆς
γιατὶ γεννήθηκε ὅταν γεννηθήκαμε καὶ σὰν πεθαίνουμε,
ἂν πεθαίνει, δὲν τὸ ξέρουμε οὔτε ἐμεῖς οὔτε ἄλλος
κανεῖς.

Παρακαλῶ τὸ θεὸ νὰ μὲ συντρέξει νὰ πῶ, σὲ μιὰ στιγμή
μεγάλης εὐδαιμονίας, ποιά εἶναι αὐτὴ ἡ ἀγάπη-
κάθομαι κάποτε τριγυρισμένος ἀπὸ τὴν Ξενιτιά, κι ἀκούω
τὸ μακρινὸ βούισμά της, σὰν τὸν ἀχὸ τῆς θάλασσας
ποῦ ἔσμιξε μὲ τὸ ἀνεξήγητο δρολάπι.

Καὶ παρουσιάζεται μπροστά μου, πάλι καὶ πάλι, τὸ φάν-
τασμα τοῦ Ὀδυσσεά, μὲ μάτια κοκκινισμένα ἀπὸ τοῦ
κυμάτου τὴν ἀρμύρα
κι ἀπὸ τὸ μεστωμένο πόθο νὰ Ξαναδεῖ τὸν καπνὸ ποῦ
βγαίνει ἀπὸ τὴ ζεστασιὰ τοῦ σπιτιοῦ του καὶ τὸ σκυλί
του ποῦ γέρασε προσμένοντας στὴ θύρα.

Στέκεται μεγάλος, ψιθυρίζοντας ἀνάμεσα στ' ἀσπρισμένα
του γένια, λόγια τῆς γλώσσας μας, ὅπως τὴ μιλοῦσαν
πρὶν τρεῖς χιλιάδες χρόνια.

Ἄπλώνει μιὰ παλάμη ροζιασμένη ἀπὸ τὰ σκοινιά καὶ τὸ
δοιάκι, μὲ δέρμα δουλεμένο ἀπὸ τὸ ξεροβόρι ἀπὸ τὴν
κάσα κι ἀπὸ τὰ χιόνια.

Θᾶ ἄλεγεσ πὼς θέλει νὰ διώξει τὸν ὑπεράνθρωπο Κύκλωπα
ποῦ βλέπει μ' ἓνα μάτι, τὶς Σειρῆνες ποῦ σὰν τὶς ἀ-
κούσεις ξεχνᾶς, τὴ Σκύλλα καὶ τὴ Χάρυβδη ἀπ' ἀνά-
μεσό μας

⁸ Tradotta anche da Pontani (1971, 48-9), e riproposta in Crocetti, Pontani 2010, 603-7.

τόσα περίπλοκα τέρατα, πού δὲν μᾶς ἀφήνουν νὰ στοχα-
στοῦμε πῶς ἦταν κι αὐτὸς ἕνας ἄνθρωπος πού πᾶ-
λεψε μέσα στὸν κόσμο, μὲ τὴν ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα.

Εἶναι ὁ μεγάλος Ὀδυσσεύς· ἐκεῖνος πού εἶπε νὰ γίνεи τὸ
ξύλινο ἄλογο καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ κερδίσανε τὴν Τροία.
Φαντάζομαι πῶς ἔρχεται νὰ μ' ἀρμηνέψει πῶς νὰ φτιάξω
κι ἐγὼ ἕνα ξύλινο ἄλογο γιὰ νὰ κερδίσω
τὴ δική μου Τροία.

Γιατί μιᾶ ταπεινὰ καὶ μὲ γαλήνη, χωρὶς προσπάθεια,
λὲς μὲ γνωρίζει σὰν πατέρας
εἶτε σὰν κάτι γέρους θαλασσινοῦς, πού ἀκουμπισμένοι στὰ
δίχτυα τους, τὴν ὥρα πού χειμώνιαζε καὶ θυμω-
νε ὁ ἀγέρας,
μοῦ λέγανε, στὰ παιδικὰ μου χρόνια, τὸ τραγοῦδι τοῦ
Ἑρωτόκριτου, μὲ τὰ δάκρυα στὰ μάτια·
τότες πού τρόμαζα μέσα στὸν ὕπνο μου ἀκούγοντας τὴν
ἀντίδικη μοῖρα τῆς Ἀρετῆς νὰ κατεβαίνει τὰ μαρ-
μαρένια σκαλοπάτια.

Μοῦ λείει τὸ δύσκολο πόνο νὰ νιώθεις τὰ πανιὰ τοῦ кара-
βιοῦ σου φουσκωμένα ἀπὸ τὴ θύμηση καὶ τὴν ψυχὴ
σου νὰ γίνεται τιμόνι.
Καὶ νᾶ 'σαι μόνος, σκοτεινὸς μέσα στὴ νύχτα καὶ ἀκυβέρ-
νητος σὰν τ' ἄχερο στ' ἁλώνι.

Τὴν πίκρα νὰ βλέπεις τοὺς συντρόφους σου καταποντι-
σμένους μέσα στὰ στοιχεῖα, σκορπισμένους: ἕναν-ἕναν.
Καὶ πόσο παράξενα ἀντρειεύεσαι μιλώντας μὲ τοὺς πεθα-
μένους, ὅταν δὲ φτάνουν πιά οἱ ζωντανοὶ πού
σοῦ ἀπομέναν.
Μιᾶ... βλέπω ἀκόμη τὰ χέρια του πού ξέραν νὰ δοκιμά-
σουν ἂν ἦταν καλὰ σκαλισμένη στὴν πλώ-
ρη ἡ γοργόνα
νὰ μοῦ χαρίζουν τὴν ἀκύμαντη γαλάζια θάλασσα μέσα
στὴν καρδιὰ τοῦ χειμῶνα.

Felice chi ha fatto il viaggio di Odisseo.
Felice se alla partenza ha sentito la corazza
di un amore stesa sul suo corpo,
come vene ove romba il sangue.
Di un amore dal ritmo indissolubile, inamovibile come
la musica ed eterno
perché è nato quando siamo nati e quando moriremo,
se muore, non lo sapremo né noi né nessun
altro.

Prego Dio che mi sostenga nel dire, in un momento di grande felicità, quale sia quest'amore; sto seduto a volte, circondato da terre straniere, e ne ascolto il lontano ronzio, come il fragore del mare quando scoppia una tempesta inspiegabile. E si presenta davanti a me, ancora e ancora, il fantasma di Odisseo, con gli occhi arrossati dal salso dell'onda, pieno del desiderio di rivedere il fumo che esce dal calore della sua casa e il cane che è invecchiato aspettando sulla porta. Sta ritto in piedi, sussurrando tra la sua barba canuta, parole della nostra lingua, come era parlata prima di tremila anni. Tende una mano arrossata dalle scotte e dal remo, con la pelle corrosa dall'aridità dell'arsura e dal gelo. Diresti che vuole scacciare l'inumano Ciclope che guarda con un occhio le Sirene -quando le ascolti dimentichi-, e Scilla e Cariddi tra di noi; quanti mostri complicati, che non ci lasciano pensare che anche questo era un uomo, che lottava nel mondo, con tutta l'anima e il corpo. È il grande Odisseo, quello che ordinò che si costruisse il cavallo di legno, e poi gli Achei conquistarono Troia. Immagino che venga ad istruirmi per fare anch'io un cavallo di legno e conquistare la mia Troia. Perché parla in maniera sommessa e calma, senza sforzo, diresti che mi conosce come un padre o come certi vecchi uomini di mare, che stanno accoccolati sulle loro reti, adesso che si è fatto inverno e il vento impazza, mi cantavano, nei miei anni infantili, la canzone di Erotòkritos, con le lacrime agli occhi; allora avevo paura nel sonno ascoltando l'ingiusto destino di Areti che scendeva gradini di marmo. Mi dice del difficile dolore nel sentire le vele della tua nave rigonfie dal ricordo e dell'anima che diventa timone. E di quando sei solo, nel buio della notte, e ingovernabile come la paglia nell'aia. L'amarezza nel vedere i tuoi compagni annegati,

smembrati, uno ad
uno;
E di quanto strano sia diventare adulti parlando con i morti,
quando non ti bastano più i vivi che ti sono
rimasti.
Parla... vedo ancora le tue mani che sapevano giudicare
se la Gorgona fosse ben scolpita sulla
prora,
che sapevano donarmi il mare azzurro e senza onde
nel cuore dell'inverno.

8 **Odiseas Elitis, *Greca la lingua che mi diedero*⁹**

Τὴ γλῶσσα μου ἔδωσαν ἑλληνικὴ
Τὴ γλῶσσα μου ἔδωσαν ἑλληνικὴ
τὸ σπῆτι φτωχικὸ στὶς ἀμμουδιὲς τοῦ Ὀμήρου...
Μονάχη ἔγνοια ἢ γλῶσσα μου στὶς ἀμμουδιὲς τοῦ Ὀμήρου...
Ἐκεῖ σπάρτοι καὶ πέρκες
ἀνεμόδαρτα ρήματα
ρεύματα πράσινα μὲς στὰ γαλάζια
ὅσα εἶδα στὰ σπλάχνα μου ν' ἀνάβουνε
σφουγγάρια, μέδουσες
μὲ τὰ πρῶτα λόγια τῶν Σειρήνων
ὄστρακα ρόδινα μὲ τὰ πρῶτα μαῦρα ρίγη...
Μονάχη ἔγνοια ἢ γλῶσσα μου, μὲ τὰ πρῶτα μαῦρα ρίγη...
Ἐκεῖ ρόδια, κυδῶνια
θεοὶ μελαχροinoί, θεῖοι κ' ἐξάδελφοι
τὸ λάδι ἀδειάζοντας μὲς στὰ πελώρια κιούπια.
Καὶ πνοὲς ἀπὸ τὴ ρεμματιὰ εὐωδιάζοντας
λυγαριὰ καὶ σχῖνο
σπάρτο καὶ πιπερόριζα
μὲ τὰ πρῶτα πιπίσματα τῶν σπίνων
ψαλμῳδιὲς γλυκὲς μὲ τὰ πρῶτα-πρῶτα Δόξα Σοί...
Μονάχη ἔγνοια ἢ γλῶσσα μου, μὲ τὰ πρῶτα-πρῶτα Δόξα Σοί!..
Ἐκεῖ δάφνες καὶ βάγια
θυμιατὸ καὶ λιβάνισμα
τὶς πάλες εὐλογώντας καὶ τὰ καριοφίλια
στὸ χῶμα τὸ στρωμένο μὲ τ' ἀμπελομάντιλα,
κνῖσες, τσουγκρίσματα
καὶ Χριστὸς Ἀνέστη
μὲ τὰ πρῶτα συμπάρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων!

⁹ Elitis 1959. Altre traduzioni italiane sono quella di F.M. Pontani riprodotta in Crocetti, Pontani 2010, 766-7; e quella di Elitis 2011, 88-9.

Ἀγάπες μυστικὲς μὲ τὰ πρῶτα λόγια τοῦ Ὑμνου...
Μονάχη ἔγνοια ἢ γλῶσσα μου, μὲ τὰ πρῶτα λόγια τοῦ Ὑμνου.

Greca la lingua che mi diedero,
povera la casa sulle spiagge di Omero...
La mia unica preoccupazione la lingua sulle spiagge di
Omero.
Lì saraghi e persici
verbi battuti dal vento
correnti verdi fra l'azzurro
quanti ne vidi emergere
tra le mie viscere
spugne e meduse
con le prime parole delle Sirene
conchiglie rosa con i primi brividi neri...
La mia unica preoccupazione la lingua, con i primi brividi
neri...
Lì melograni, cotogni
divinità brune, zii e cugini
l'olio che si svuotava nelle grandi coppe.
aliti profumati dalle correnti,
vimini e lentischi
ginestra e zenzero
con i primi cinguettii dei fringuelli
dolci salmodie del Gloria Patri.
La mia unica preoccupazione la lingua con il primo-primo Gloria
Patri,
lì allori e palme
con il turibolo e l'incenso
le benedizioni e i garofani
sul terreno coperto di foglie di vite
l'odore di carni arrostate, i brindisi,
Cristo è risorto,
con i primi spari dei Greci!
Amori segreti con le prime parole dell'Inno.
L'unica mia preoccupazione la lingua, con le prime parole
dell'Inno.

9 Titos Patrikios (1928), *Il canto delle sirene* (1993)¹⁰

Ο Οδυσσέας, κοντά στα άλλα, ήταν και φιλόμουσος, ένας παθιασμένος της όπερας. Δεν άφηνε φεστιβάλ για φεστιβάλ. Στο καράβι είχε τα τελειότερα στερεοφωνικά συστήματα, όμως κράταγε πάντα ένα προπολεμικό φορητό γραμμόφωνο, δίχως χωνί. Του άρεσε ν' ακούει εκείνους τους χιλιοπαιγμένους, γρατζουνισμένους δίσκους των 78 στροφών, κυρίως κάποιους όπου τραγουδούσε ο Καρούζο. Ήξερε πως η προπολεμική εποχή δεν ήταν καλύτερη, αλλά τη νοσταλγούσε. Μ' αυτούς τους δίσκους μπορούσε να γυρνάει πίσω, να μένει για λίγο μόνος, δίχως τη βαβούρα του πληρώματος. Οι ναύτες του, που λάτρευαν τα ρεμπέτικα, είχαν μπαφιάσει. Στο καράβι δεν τους επέτρεπε ούτε μια κασέτα να βάλουν. Και γινότανε θηρίο, όταν στα λιμάνια ξενυχτάγανε σε κανένα ελληνικό μπουζουξιδικό. Ήθελε να τους μιήσει στο μελόδραμα. Όπου υπήρχε Όπερα τους πήγαινε με το ζόρι. Μα τώρα επιτέλους επιστρέφανε. Ξαφνικά κατάλαβαν πως το καράβι είχε αλλάξει πορεία, γύρναγε προς τα πίσω, κατευθυνότανε ξανά για τα Στενά. Ο Οδυσσέας τούς πήγαινε ν' ακούσουν για εκατοστή φορά τις Σειρήνες. Τότε πια αγανάκτησαν. Τον έδεσαν στο κατάρτι, άνοιξαν τα megάφωνα με τα τραγούδια τους στη διαπασών, και βάλανε πλήρη για τον τόπο τους.

Odiseo, tra le altre cose, era un musicologo, appassionato di opera. Non mancava a nessun festival. Gli piaceva ascoltare e riascoltare mille volte quei dischi graffiati a 78 giri, soprattutto quelli in cui cantava Caruso. Sapeva che l'epoca dell'anteguerra non era la migliore, eppure ne aveva una gran nostalgia. Con quei dischi poteva tornare indietro, rimanere solo per un po', distrarsi dalla confusione fastidiosa dei compagni.

I suoi compagni amavano il *rebetiko*, erano dei fans sfegatati. Ma lui non consentiva loro, sulla nave, di mettere nemmeno una cassetta di quella musica. E si imbestialiva quando, nei porti, quelli facevano l'alba nei locali dove suonano i bouzouki. Avrebbe voluto iniziarli al melodramma, all'opera lirica. In tutte le città portuali dove aveva trovato un teatro lirico ce li aveva condotti a forza. Ma adesso finalmente erano sulla via del ritorno. Improvvisamente capirono che la nave cambiava rotta, tornava indietro, si dirigeva di nuovo verso lo Stretto. Odisseo li conduce ad ascoltare le Sirene per la centesima volta. Allora si infuriarono. Lo legarono all'albero, accesero i megafoni con le loro canzoni al diapason, e raddrizzarono la rotta verso casa.

¹⁰ I testi composti dopo la riforma ortografica del 1982 sono riprodotti con il sistema monotono. Patrikios 2000. https://www.greek-language.gr/digitalResources/ancient_greek/anthology/mythology/browse.html?text_id=375.

10 Dimitris Dimitriadis, *Troiani* (2015)¹¹

Τρώας
(αποσπάσμα)

ΠΡΙΑΜΟΣ

Έφτασα στην λύπη
αντέχεις τους ανθρώπους
όταν τους λυπάσαι.
Τότε μόνο τους αντέχεις.
Μέχρι να φτάσεις στην λύπη
οι άνθρωποι
δεν είναι για λύπη

Είμαι ο Πρίαμος
Η Τρώας έπεσε
Κι όλοι εμείς μαζί της

Δεν θα πω ονόματα
Ούτε εκείνων που σφάχτηκαν
ούτε εκείνων που έσφαξαν.
Όλοι
χαμένοι
τέκομαι εδώ
Όρθιος αλλά νεκρός.
Δεν χρειάζεται
να κατεβώ στον Άδη.
Δεν χρειάζεται
να περάσω στον Κάτω Κόσμο
Ο Κάτω Κόσμος
είναι εδώ
Εδώ πάνω
είναι ο Κάτω Κόσμος.
Εδώ είναι
το βασίλειο του θανάτου.
Όλοι οι σφαγμένοι
γύρω μου
μέσα στα χαλάσματα
στα καμένα παλάτια
στους συλημένους ναούς
στους σπασμένους βωμούς

Troiani
(frammento)

Priamo

Ho raggiunto la pena.
Sopporti gli uomini
quando provi pietà di loro.
Solo allora li sopporti.
Quando raggiungi la pena
gli uomini
non sono fatti per far pena.

Sono Priamo
Troia è caduta
e noi con lei

Non farò nomi,
né di quelli che sono stati trucidati
né di chi ha trucidato.
Tutti
persi
Sto qui in piedi
ma morto.
Non è necessario
scendere nell'Adè.
Non è necessario
scendere nel mondo sotterraneo.
Il mondo sotterraneo
è qui.
Qui su
è il mondo sotterraneo.
Qui è
il regno della morte.
Tutti scannati
intorno a me
tra le rovine
tra i palazzi distrutti
tra i templi saccheggiati
tra gli altari oltraggiati.

¹¹ Dimitriadis 2015. https://www.greek-language.gr/digitalResources/ancient_greek/anthology/mythology/browse.html?text_id=106.

Εδώ είναι
 ο Άδης
 Κι εγώ
 μέσα σ' αυτόν
 Ο πόλεμος
 δεν τελειώνει ποτέ
 Με το τέλος του
 τελειώνουν όλα
 Αυτός
 δεν τελειώνει ποτέ
 Έζησα
 το τέλος όλων
 Και στο τέλος
 είναι η λύπη
 Λύπη
 για το τέλος του πολέμου
 Αυτήν αισθάνομαι τώρα
 μετά το τέλος
 Σας μιλώ
 όπως μιλάει μόνον ένας νεκρός
 Χωρίς φραγμούς
 υπονοούμενα
 χωρίς υπεκφυγές
 ωραιοποιήσεις
 Αισθάνομαι λύπη
 για το τέλος του πολέμου
 Ναι αυτήν αισθάνομαι
 Και σας την λέω
 Χωρίς να ντρέπομαι

Είμαι
 ένας νεκρός γέρος
 Τον σκότωσε ο πόλεμος
 και λυπάται που ο πόλεμος
 τελείωσε
 Μόνο γι' αυτό
 λυπάται
 Το λέω
 χωρίς να ντρέπομαι
 Και για τους ανθρώπους
 λυπάμαι
 Τώρα ναι
 τους λυπάμαι
 Τώρα που ο πόλεμος
 δεν λυπήθηκε
 κανέναν
 Όσο ζούσαν όχι
 Όσο ζούσαν
 καμία λύπη
 για τους ανθρώπους

Qui è
 l'Adè
 e io ci sono
 in mezzo.
 La guerra
 non finisce mai.
 Con la sua fine
 finisce tutto.
 Non
 finisce mai.
 Ho vissuto
 la fine di tutto.
 E alla fine
 c'è la pietà.
 Pietà
 per la fine della guerra.
 Ecco cosa sento adesso
 dopo la fine.
 Vi parlo
 come parla solo un morto
 Senza reticenze
 sottintesi
 sotterfugi
 abbellimenti.
 Provo pietà
 per la fine della guerra.
 Sì, la provo
 e ve lo dico
 senza vergognarmene.

Sono
 un vecchio morto,
 ucciso dalla guerra
 che prova pena per la fine
 della guerra.
 Solo di questo
 provo pena
 senza vergogna
 E provo pietà
 per gli uomini
 Sì, adesso provo
 pietà di loro
 Adesso che la guerra
 non ha avuto pietà
 di nessuno.
 Finché erano vivi no
 Finché erano vivi
 nessuna pena
 per gli uomini.

<p>Έπρεπε να μην λυπηθεί κανέναν ο πόλεμος για να τους λυπηθώ Και τώρα με την λύπη για το τέλος του πολέμου λύπη και για τους ανθρώπους Μόνον τώρα Τώρα που δεν υπάρχει κανείς</p>	<p>La guerra non doveva aver pietà di nessuno. E adesso mi fanno pena. Adesso con la pena per la fine della guerra provo pena anche per gli uomini.</p>
<p>Δεν πολέμησα Δεν βρέθηκα μέσα στην μάχη</p>	<p>Solo adesso. Adesso che non c'è più nessuno.</p>
<p>Μόνο καθισμένος στον θρόνο ή ανεβασμένος στις πιο ψηλές επάξεις για να καθοδηγώ να εποπτεύω να διοικώ από μακριά όμως κι από ψηλά Έζησα τον πόλεμο από μακριά κι από ψηλά</p>	<p>Non ho combattuto. Non mi sono trovato nel mezzo della battaglia. Solo seduto sul trono o sollevato sui bastioni più alti per guidare valutare e ordinare. Da lontano, però, e dall'alto. Ho vissuto la guerra da lontano e dall'alto.</p>
<p>Αλλά ο πόλεμος με ξέκανε κι εμένα Δεν ξέκανε όμως την λύπη Έτσι τελειώνει ο πόλεμος Με λύπη ότι τελείωσε.</p>	<p>Ma la guerra ha annullato anche me. Ma non ha annientato la pena. Così finisce la guerra con la pena perché è finita.</p>
<p>Γι' αυτό δεν τελειώνει ποτέ Ο πόλεμος ποτέ δεν ξεκάνει τον πόλεμο Παίρνει ότι παίρνει και ξαναρχίζει για να ξαναπάρει [...]</p>	<p>Per questo non finisce mai. La guerra non annienta mai la guerra. Prende quello che prende ricomincia, e riprende...</p>

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Poesia esametrica arcaica

Retour sur l'hymne homérique comme proème : la pragmatique de l'hymne 6 à Aphrodite

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Abstract For the necessary anthropological return to 'native' categories, Thucydides (3.104) helps us for our modern understanding of the Homeric hymns. These poems in epic diction are *prooimia* to musical competitions. They are composed for a ritual recitation on the occasion of different cultic festivals in different cities. With the example of the second Homeric hymn consecrated to Aphrodite in our modern corpus, the study tends to show the different enunciative procedures aiming at such a ritual function, such a pragmatics through an astonishing portrait of the goddess of erotic desire. The procedure opens the possibility of re-performances of the hymnic poems in other ritual circumstances, in other cultic spaces.

Keywords Homeric hymn. Aphrodite. Enunciation. Pragmatics. Reperformance. Ritual.

Sommaire 1 Introduction. – 2 L'hymne homérique à Apollon comme proème entre récit et discours. – 3 Tournures énonciatives et pragmatique dans le second Hymne homérique à Aphrodite.

1 Introduction

Autant pour les poèmes appartenant au grand genre abusivement dénommé « lyrique » que pour les tragédies attiques, on s'est interrogé récemment sur les possibilités de la « re-performance » de ces différentes formes poétiques grecques.¹ Du point de vue de poèmes qui nous sont parvenus sous forme de textes, la question se pose de déterminer si les conditions d'une performance nouvelle, différée,

¹ Voir notamment les études réunies récemment par Hunter, Uhlig 2017; en particulier pour Stésichore et Pindare (repris au symposium), voir Cingano 2003, 41-3, et pour les *Épinicies* de Pindare, voir l'étude de Currie 2004.



Edizioni
Ca' Foscari

Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

Peer review | Open access

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/002

sont inscrites dans le texte lui-même, en particulier du point de vue énonciatif. On admet en général qu'entre formes du *je/nous* et du *tu/vous*, formes verbales performatives renvoyant à un acte de parole et références déictiques à l'« ici » et au « maintenant », les procédures de l'énonciation énoncée sont de l'ordre de la *demonstratio ad oculos*.² C'est dire qu'elles renvoient au temps et à l'espace, à l'*hic et nunc* de la performance chantée et musicale du poème. C'est dire que ces différents indices d'ordre énonciatif renvoient à la pragmatique du texte envisagé comme poème chanté. Mais, précisément du point de vue énonciatif et du point de vue pragmatique, qu'en est-il des hymnes homériques ?

De ce double point de vue le second hymne homérique dédié Aphrodite (le sixième dans notre corpus des trente-trois *Hymnes homériques*) offre un cas de figure privilégié. Mais entre les différentes formes de poésie pratique appartenant au grand genre du *mélôs* et les tragédies attiques de l'Athènes classique, qu'est-ce qu'un hymne homérique ?

Bref retour, une fois encore, aux notions indigènes.

2 L'hymne homérique à Apollon comme proème entre récit et discours

C'est en effet Thucydide (3.104) qui, à l'occasion de sa mention de la purification de Délos pour conjurer la peste qui a dévasté Athènes en 426/5, cite précisément des vers essentiels du long *Hymne homérique à Apollon* (vv. 146-150):

Mais quand, Phoibos, en ton cœur tu te réjouis le plus de Délos,
c'est lorsque les Ioniens à la longue tunique se rassemblent,
avec leurs enfants et leurs épouses, sur l'esplanade de ton temple.
Là, ils te charment en te célébrant par le pugilat,
par la danse, par le chant dont ils organisent les joutes
(ἀγῶνα).

Rappelons brièvement que cet hymne homérique de plus de cinq cents vers est composé de deux volets racontant l'un l'arrivée du dieu à Délos, l'autre son installation à Delphes. Sans entrer dans le détail d'une question largement controversée,³ on remarquera que la

² Est implicitement reprise ici, de manière purement opératoire, la distinction tracée par Benveniste 1966, 237-50, 258-66, sur l'« appareil formel de l'énonciation », voir 1974, 79-88 ; voir aussi les compléments proposés, en particulier pour les formes poétiques grecques, dans Calame 2005, 13-26.

³ La question de l'unité de l'*Hymne homérique à Apollon* a été reprise récemment par Chappell 2011, qui, assurément à raison, plaide pour l'autonomie respective des deux parties conduisant à Délos d'une part, à Delphes de l'autre.

partie délienne offre la structure tripartite caractéristique de toute forme hymnique en Grèce. Par une analyse comparative, les historiens de la religion grecque en ont défini la structure commune, articulée dans les trois moments dénommés de manière conventionnelle *invocatio*, *narratio* et *preces* :⁴ invocation de la divinité par sa nomination, en général assortie de qualifications culturelles ou poétiques énoncées en asyndète ;⁵ description narrative de l'une des qualités du dieu dans des énoncés volontiers introduits par un « relatif hymnique » ; formulation de la demande adressée présentement au dieu par référence à la qualification évoquée et en échange de l'offrande que représente le chant qui est exécuté à son intention.

Comme c'est le cas à une exception près pour les trente-trois hymnes homériques à nous être parvenus, l'hymne à Apollon en diction homérique est introduit par un vers non pas d'invocation, mais d'évocation, et cela sur le mode performatif : « Je vais rappeler, et ma mémoire ne faillira pas, Apollon l'archer » (μνήσομαι... Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο, v. 1). Puis, dès le deuxième vers, la partie narrative et descriptive est introduite par le relatif hymnique attendu ; on assiste successivement à l'arrivée du dieu sur l'Olympe dans la demeure de son père Zeus, à la quête de sa future mère Létô pour un lieu où accoucher, à la naissance du petit Apollon à Délos où le dieu adulte revient pour assister aux chants choraux des Ioniens dans la scène citée par Thucydide. Enfin, sans offrir de prière explicite, le poème délien s'achève, comme de nombreux autres hymnes homériques, par l'expression sur le mode performatif de l'intention de la part du *je* poétique de poursuivre sa célébration chantée d'Apollon « qu'a engendré Létô aux belles boucles » (v. 178).⁶

Or on remarquera d'abord que la scène narrative délienne dont l'historien athénien cite quelques vers est introduite par une invocation directe à Apollon ; et cela sous la forme rituelle, sinon culturelle d'une accumulation de qualifications en asyndète : αὐτὸς δ'ἀργυρότοξε, ἄναξ Ἑκατηβόλ' Ἀπόλλων, « toi à l'arc d'argent, seigneur qui lance ses traits au loin, Apollon » (v. 140). Énoncé au vocatif, sur le mode du discours, cet hexamètre à tournure rituelle semble confirmer l'hypothèse de la valeur invocatoire et par conséquent de la force pragmatique de la dénomination et de la qualification hymniques d'une divinité. De plus, du point de vue énonciatif, la narration du retour du dieu à Délos (vv. 140-178) est initiée au passé pour

⁴ Sur les différentes variantes proposées par les critiques modernes quant à cette structure tripartite de la prière hymnique je suis revenu dans l'étude de 2005, précieusement consacrée aux *Hymnes homériques* (avec de nombreuses références bibliographiques) ; on pourra y ajouter les considérations de Furley, Bremer 2001, 50-64.

⁵ Sur le pouvoir de la nomination des dieux dans les formes hymniques, voir les références que j'ai données dans mon étude de 2014.

⁶ Exemples et signification de ce passage à un autre chant dans Calame 2005, 60-3.

se dérouler ensuite au présent. Par ailleurs, grammaticalement, Apollon en est l'acteur à la deuxième personne ; c'est ainsi que le dieu est l'objet d'une seconde adresse en tant que Phoibos (v. 146). La position énonciative de l'interlocuteur dans laquelle le dieu est placé implique sa présence, *hic et nunc*.⁷

On ajoutera que l'évocation des exercices gymniques, des danses et des chants par lesquels les Ioniens et les Ioniennes célèbrent et réjouissent le dieu provoque une intervention énonciative indirecte de la part du narrateur. Par un *il* générique, le rhapsode s'adresse de manière oblique à son public pour l'associer, par des formes du potentiel, à son propre sentiment : on dirait que les Ioniens assemblés sont des immortels et on pourrait éprouver à ce spectacle le même sentiment de charme que celui qui envahit le dieu lui-même. Le verbe *τέρπειν*, « charmer », scande ce récit en *tu*, puis en *on* (vv. 146, 150 et 153). Enfin, dans un passage objet de nombreux commentaires, le narrateur évoque les chants qu'exécute (au présent) le chœur des Déliades, les jeunes filles au service du dieu « qui frappe au loin » : chantant Apollon, Artémis et leur mère Létô, puis les hommes et les femmes du temps des héros, elles « enchantent » (θέλγουσι, v. 161) les générations des mortels tout en provoquant implicitement la présence du dieu.⁸

Et de fait, le récit débouche sur le souhait de bienveillance adressé à l'optatif à Apollon désormais associé à Artémis (v. 165), et sur une invitation aux jeunes Déliades à « se réjouir » (χαίρετε, à l'impératif ; v. 166), comme la divinité y est volontiers invitée au terme d'un hymne homérique, dans le contrat de *do ut des* qui en général le conclut.⁹ Cette double adresse, indirecte à Apollon et Artémis puis directe aux Déliades, conduit à la *sphragis*, à la procédure de signature complexe qui conclut la partie délienne de l'hymne homérique avec la déclaration performative de poursuivre la célébration chantée d'Apollon l'archer sous la forme rituelle que l'on a dite (vv. 177-178).¹⁰

Or à l'exception du dernier, ces vers (165-172) sont également cités par Thucydide qui, tout en les attribuant à « Homère », les dit extraits d'un « proème d'Apollon ». C'est en effet par ce terme de προοίμιον que l'on désigne volontiers dans l'Antiquité des hymnes homériques qui sont destinés à introduire la récitation de chants rhapsodiques à

⁷ Quant aux tournures énonciatives permettant d'activer la présence de l'interlocuteur en particulier dans l'*Hymne homérique à Apollon*, voir l'étude de Hunzinger 2012, 52-8 (avec de nombreuses références bibliographiques).

⁸ Les chants choraux des Déliades font l'objet en particulier de l'étude de Peponi 2009.

⁹ Cf. Calame 2005, 56-60, et 2012, ainsi que Furley, Bremer 2001, 1: 60-3, pour les hymnes en général.

¹⁰ Sur la *sphragis* on se référera en particulier à Nagy 2009, 205-10, et quant à la réciprocité que ces vers dessinent entre le chant des Déliades (comme Muses de Délos) et celui d'« Homère », voir son ouvrage de 2013, 235-40.

l'occasion de concours musicaux tel celui qui marquait la célébration cultuelle des Grandes Panathénées pour Athéna Pallas à Athènes.¹¹ Comme l'y invite la tournure énonciative de la narration hymnique avec ses adresses directes à Apollon, acteur en *tu* de l'action narrative, l'historiographe athénien suit en quelque sorte le mouvement énonciatif de la narration conduisant d'une action unique dans le passé à un acte rituel qui se répète dans le présent. En effet l'historien ne manque pas d'établir une relation forte entre ce rassemblement d'autrefois (ποτε, παλαιά) au temps d'Homère, et la célébration musicale actuelle (νῦν) ; cela à l'exemple d'Éphèse puisque les circonstances avaient contraint les Athéniens à suspendre la célébration des Déliades. Et Thucydide d'ajouter que cette célébration cultuelle s'inscrivait dans la tradition respectée à Athènes et dans les îles de la mer Égée d'envoyer à Délos des groupes choraux et des offrandes sacrificielles.¹²

3 Tournures énonciatives et pragmatique dans le second Hymne homérique à Aphrodite

Or à répondre explicitement à cette définition pragmatique de l'hymne homérique comme proème poétique visant à appeler, par sa performance musicale même, la présence et la bienveillance du dieu quant au déroulement d'un concours musical s'insérant dans le culte qui lui est rendu *hic et nunc*, notre corpus moderne des *Hymnes homériques* n'offre à vrai dire qu'une seule composition.

Il s'agit du second hymne homérique adressé à Aphrodite (le sixième dans notre corpus). Certes, la déesse au début du poème n'est évoquée que par des qualifications qui nous apparaissent comme poétiques. Laède dit son intention de chanter (αἶσομαι, forme du futur performatif au v. 2) « la respectable, la belle Aphrodite à la couronne d'or » (χρυσοστέφανον, v. 1), dans une série de qualifications en asyndète. Suit une partie descriptive et narrative d'une vingtaine de vers qui est introduite très régulièrement par un relatif hymnique. Ces vers en diction homérique racontent comment à Chypre les Heures habillèrent et parèrent d'atours érotiques la jeune déesse Aphrodite avant qu'elle ne quitte l'île qui l'a accueillie pour l'Olympe. Enfin la prière conclusive qualifie à nouveau la déesse de manière poétique : ni ελικοβλέφαρος, « aux yeux mobiles », ni γλυκυμείλιχος, « douce comme le miel » (v. 19) ne sont des qualificatifs qui seraient réservés à la seule Aphrodite ! Néanmoins énonçant rituellement ces deux épithètes en

¹¹ Les hymnes homériques comme proèmes : Calame 2005, 44-7.

¹² Dans un chapitre où elle analyse les différentes mentions poétiques des danses chorales des Déliades, Kowalzig 2007, 56-128, montre les enjeux politiques et économiques de la célébration par Ioniens et Athéniens de la grande fête des Déliades pour Apollon.

asyndète comme au premier vers, ces vers de conclusion sont introduits par la traditionnelle invite au dieu à se réjouir (χαῖρε): et dans le contrat rituel de *do ut des* qui en général conclut un hymne, ces vers prient la déesse d'intervenir « dans ce concours-ci » (ἐν ἀγῶνι τῶιδε, vv. 19-20), ici et maintenant. La dénomination du concours poétique auquel est destiné cet hymne en diction homérique adressé à Aphrodite est donc la même que dans la scène musicale décrite dans *l'Hymne homérique à Apollon*. De plus, dans ce geste de deixis verbale décidé, le *je* poétique demande à la déesse de lui accorder la victoire en entonnant son propre chant (ἔμην δ'ἔντυνον ἀοιδήν, v. 21) !¹³

Malheureusement, comme c'est souvent le cas dans les procédures poétiques de deixis verbale, aucune figuration n'est donnée aux paramètres de *l'hic et nunc* ; en l'occurrence les circonstances spatiales et temporelles de l'exécution chantée de l'hymne homérique ne sont pas désignées. Certes, du point de vue géographique, on peut relever que la partie descriptivo-narrative de l'hymne est centrée sur l'accueil à Chypre de la très jeune déesse. À peine née de l'écume de la mer, Aphrodite est reçue par les Heures qui la parent des atours suscitant le désir érotique pour l'introduire choralement auprès des immortels ; ceux-ci ne vont pas manquer de désirer avoir pour épouse celle qui devient la Cythérée (v. 19). Mais dans le retour à *l'hic et nunc* assumé par le *je* poétique par la forme du futur performatif μνήσομαι (« je vais célébrer » au v. 21) qui est en écho annulaire avec la forme ἄισομαι du début (« je vais chanter » au v. 2), on ne trouve dans ce vers aucune allusion à Chypre comme lieu éventuel de la joute musicale et par conséquent de la performance chantée et dansée de l'hymne homérique lui-même.

En ce qui concerne les hymnes homériques, cette absence de la désignation exacte du lieu de la performance ritualisée du poème laisse néanmoins ouverte la possibilité de la 'reperformance'. Cette reprise du chant en performance musicale et rituelle n'a donc rien d'un 'textual event'...

13 Dans l'étude de 2012, 72-5, j'ai tenté de montrer le rapport de réciprocité musicale que, dans les hymnes homériques, le *je* poétique établit souvent avec la divinité par la tournure énonciative conclusive du chant.

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A Hesiodic *Heldendämmerung*: Some Textual Problems and Reconstructions

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Abstract This chapter examines the ending of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (204.94-180 M.-W. = 155.94-180 Most = 110.94-180 Hirschberger). Based on fresh collations of the papyri, it proposes a hypothetical reconstruction of a papyrus roll of the fifth and final book of the poem, as well as several readings and suggestions.

Keywords Hesiodic Catalogue of Women. Papyrology. Eschatology. Early Greek hexameter poetry. Hesiod.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 A Reconstruction of a Book Five Roll. – 3 Textual Notes on Hes. 204.94-180 M.-W.

1 Introduction

Towards the end of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, Helen bears Hermione, and Zeus suddenly decrees the end of the Heroic Age.¹ Zeus devises ‘wondrous deeds’ (204.96 M.-W., cf. also [Hes.] Sc. 34), which apparently involves the destruction of a great number of the

¹ Hes. 204.94-180 M.-W. = 155.94-180 Most = 110.94-180 Hirschberger. Studies on Hes. 204 M.-W.: Schubart, Wilamowitz 1907, 31-44; Merkelbach 1958, 48-55; West 1961, 130-6; Stiewe 1963; Beck 1980; Heilinger 1983; West 1985, 119-20; Koenen 1994, 26-34; Clay 2003, 169-73; Cingano 2005, 2009; Most 2008; González 2010; Ziogas 2013, 20-7; Ormand 2014, 202-16; Clarke 2020, 139-43. My thanks to Dr Marius Gernhardt for his hospitality and assistance in examining *P.Berol.* 9739 and *P.Berol.* 10560. Digital images of both papyri are available at <https://berlpap.smb.museum/?lang=en>.



human race (204.98-9). The aim is to separate mortals and immortals and to prevent further intercourse (in all forms) between them. Humans will be limited to e.g. sacrifice, *theoxenia*, cult-songs etc. The *Catalogue* offers a narrative to its readers and audiences why humans no longer interact with gods in the way that they do in myth. Unfortunately, the key part of this tantalizing text (204 M.-W.) is lacunose. This chapter explores the way that this separation is described and explained in the *Catalogue* in comparison with other Greek poetry, philosophy, and mythography. It examines Hes. 204.94-181 M.-W., in particular the episode's place within the *Catalogue*, and how this ending explores the relevance and scope of Zeus's supremacy in the evolution of divine and human history, a central theme of early Greek hexameter poetry. Based on a re-examination of the papyrus, I offer some readings and a reconstruction of a hypothetical Book Five roll that integrates *P.Berol.* 9739 (196-200 M.-W.) and *P.Berol.* 10560 (= Hes. 204 M.-W.).

2 A Reconstruction of a Book Five Roll

M.-W. placed the catalogue of Helen's suitors in the fifth and final book of the *Catalogue of Women*.² The placement of this episode makes sense for ending the poem given the topic and its importance in mythological and historical time. There are two papyri in the Berlin collection that preserve extended passages from this book: *P.Berol.* 9739 (= Hes. 196-200 M.-W.) and *P.Berol.* 10560 (= 204 M.-W.). These two papyri record the list of Helen's suitors, the oath of Tyndareus, Helen's marriage to Menelaus and the birth of their daughter Hermione, followed by an abrupt transition to the destruction of the heroes until the text trails off. Other fragments assigned to Book Five are Hes. 202 M.-W. = 156 Most, a testimonium (*ap.* ΣΤ Hom. *Il.* 19.240 Erbse) recording that Lycomedes was from Crete. His name may have been in the lacunose section of 204.63-77 M.-W. as Idomeneus, the king of Crete, is the preceding suitor (204.56 ff.).³ Hes. 203 M.-W. = 249 Most = *25 Hirschberger is about the descendants of Amythaeon, the fa-

² Tsagalis 2009, 170 fn. 177 notes "it is clear that with this section, the *CW* reaches its *telos*, i.e. both its end and its purposes"; cf. also Ziogas 2013, 20-1 and Ormand 2014, 182-3. See Hes. T1 Most and Antimachus 103 Matthews on the existence of a fifth book with Traversa 1952. The *Catalogue of Women* was divided into five books and was several thousand lines long. Schwartz 1960, 618-21 suggests 6,000/7,000 lines and West 1978, 78 with fn. 2 suggests 3,000 lines.

³ Given the size of the lacuna it is likely that Lycomedes was not the only figure mentioned, and another suitor, e.g. Tlepolemus of Rhodes, was in the lacuna, see the apparatus at 204.65 M.-W. and West 1985, 117-18; or there was a reference to Odysseus' suggestion of an oath to Tyndareus, see Cingano 2009, 127.

ther of the seers Bias and Melampous, as the first among the Greeks with prophetic skill, but this fragment may not come from this part of the *Catalogue* or is from the *Megale Ehoiai* or elsewhere.⁴

The two Berlin papyri remain the most important extant witnesses. *P.Berol.* 9739 (196-200 M.-W.) consists of five columns, but only the upper parts are preserved (col. i = 10 lines, col. ii = 11, col. iii = 11, col. iv = 11, col. v = 11).⁵ The number of lines per column cannot currently be proven, but it is possible to calculate the likely lines per column.⁶ Col. i (= 196 M.-W.) seems to start with the beginning of the competition for the hand of Helen and the succeeding columns list several of Helen's suitors. West has stated that *P.Berol.* 9739 col. i.1 (= 196.1 M.-W.) is the very beginning of Book 5.⁷ While it is very likely that col. i comes from the beginning of the episode and of a catalogue entry, it is by no means certain that it is from the very beginning of the Book Five.⁸ Ettore Cingano has rightly raised objections to this assumption as to start so abruptly such an important catalogue and episode seems out of place, and some sort of preamble or invocation to the Muses would be expected.⁹ Therefore it is likely that at least one column preceded *P.Berol.* 9739 col. i (= 196 M.-W.) in order to set the stage for the Catalogue of Helen's suitors and probably the ending of the poem as a whole.¹⁰ I refer to this preceding column as *P.Berol.* 9739 'col. 0' [tables 1, 3]. The narrative of *P.Berol.* 9739 was continued in *P.Berol.* 10560 which contains the end of the catalogue of Helen's suitors. *P.Berol.* 10560 col. 1.1-col. ii.8 (204.41-ca. 93 M.-W.) concludes the narrative of *P.Berol.* 9739 (= Hes. 196-200 M.-W.) and probably of *P.Oxy.* 2491 fr. 2 (= Hes. 201 M.-W.). The

⁴ Hirschberger 2004, 484 also proposes the *Precepts of Chiron*. Rzach includes this fragment among his *incertae sedis* (his fr. 205). Some of the descendants of Melampous were apparently set out in Book 2 (136 M.-W.) following his marriage to a daughter of Proitos.

⁵ See table 3. *P.Oxy.* 2491 fr. 2 (= 201 M.-W.) could contain lines from the missing lower parts of the columns of *P.Berol.* 9739, but it cannot be assigned to any particular column. *P.Oxy.* 2491 fr. 1 = Hes. 198.6-16 M.-W. overlaps with *P.Berol.* 9739 col. iii.6-11, which adds 5 more lines to the passage. *P.Oxy.* 2492 (= Hes. 200.1-5 M.-W.), lines 2-5 overlaps with *P.Berol.* 9739 col. v.2-5, and *P.Oxy.* 2492.1 contains a part of the missing *P.Berol.* 9739 col. v.1.

⁶ See Johnson 2004, 10-13.

⁷ West 1985, 115.

⁸ West makes this assumption because (a) Wilamowitz 1900, 841 had thought that the 196.1-3 M.-W. was probably a reference to the first suitor followed by a description of Helen herself (196.4-8 M.-W.), which is the most detailed extant description of her in the extant fragments of the *Catalogue*, and so suits the beginning of a catalogue; and (b) 196.1-2 M.-W. is the beginning of a catalogue entry, and (c) a likely join between *P.Berol.* 10560 col. o.8(?) = 204.3 M.-W. (] [.] κ [.] ζ) and *P.Berol.* 9739 col. v.9 = F199.9 (γυ]γαῖκός), which I discuss further below.

⁹ Cingano 2009, 122. Heilinger 1983, 21 likewise objected.

¹⁰ I discuss the implications of this construction further below.

rest of the papyrus then describes the results of the union of Helen and Menelaus (*P.Berol.* 10560 col. ii.9ff. (= 204.94ff. M.-W.). The gap between *P.Berol.* 9739 col. v.11 (= 200.11 M.-W.) and *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i.1 (= 204.41 M.-W.) is likely not very large as the episode of the suitors of Helen concludes at *P.Berol.* 10560 col. ii.8 (= 204.93 M.-W.).

Table 1 A reconstruction of *P.Berol.* 9739 (24/25 lines per column)

‘col. 0’	col. i	col. ii	col. iii	col. iv	col. v
Beginning of Book 5(?)	196 M.-W.	197 M.-W.	198 M.-W.	199 M.-W.	200 M.-W.

P.Berol. 10560 (= 204 M.-W.) consists of four extant columns, the last three are more or less complete (col. i is 45 lines, col. ii is 47 lines, and col. iii is 47 lines).¹¹ The preceding fourth column survives only as traces in the upper part of the left margin of col. i and these traces are nearly all the final letters of the lines. Schubart-Wilamowitz 1907 referred to this column as ‘col. 0’, which I also use here. M.-W. also have ‘col. 0’ as 240.1-40 M.-W. at 40 lines long and *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i.1 as 240.41 M.-W.. While they print *desunt versus fere* 25 for the lower part of ‘col. 0’, their 240.1 M.-W. starts at what would be ‘col. o.3’ or ‘col.0.4’ on the papyrus itself, which means that the currently used numbering of this fragment needs to be renumbered in a future edition. *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i consists of two fragments with no clear join between them: as a result there would seem to be a lacuna starting at *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i.25 (= 204.65 M.-W.), although there are traces of letters for the next two lines. Schubart, Wilamowitz 1907, 33 and Merkelbach 1958, 50 posit a lacuna of 6 lines starting at col. i.25 which gives them a column of 47 lines, whereas M.-W. do not seem to indicate a lacuna but the line-numbering, following West 1961, 131, rightly indicates there is a lacuna of no more than four lines and column of 45 lines. While the extant columns of *P.Berol.* 10560 are of the same measured length, col. i has fewer lines than cols ii-iii.¹² By aligning the last line of the fragment of the lower half of col. i with the last lines of cols ii-iii, the length of col. i is 45 lines.

Most importantly, *P.Berol.* 10560 col. ii contains a stichometric beta at col. ii.9 (= 204.94 M.-W.) indicating line 200 of the roll/book;

¹¹ Schubart, Wilamowitz 1907 and M.-W. have three columns of 47 lines. West 1961, 131 rightly has col. i at 45 lines. The Berlin website has col. i (41 lines), col. ii (29 lines), and col. iii (42 lines) which seems to be based on the number of legible lines. At the bottom of col. iii there is a possible trace of another line, but it is unclear as some of the top layers have been stripped away, therefore col. iii may be 47 or 48 lines long, but I would incline towards 47 lines. Another papyrus overlaps with *P.Berol.* 10560: *P.Oxy.* 2504 = Hes. 204.128-30 M.-W. = *P.Berol.* 10560 col. ii.43-5.

¹² West 1961, 131.

therefore *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i.1 is line 147 of the roll/book.¹³ The implication of this stichometric sign is that 146 lines preceded *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i.1. Based on this number of preceding lines and on the lines per column of this papyrus, it is likely that three columns preceded *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i, one column of 48 lines and two of 49 lines ($48 + 49 + 49 = 146$).¹⁴ It cannot be determined which one of these three preceding columns was 48 lines long and which two were 49 lines. I refer to these columns as 'col. -2', 'col. -1', and 'col. 0'. Therefore I propose that if *P.Berol.* 10560 was a roll of Book Five of the *Catalogue*, then this copy of the poem was at least 6 columns long at 45-49 lines per column. In the 146 lines preceding *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i.1; *P.Berol.* 9739 (+ *P.Oxy.* 2491 fr. 1) and *P.Oxy.* 2491 fr. 2 (= 201 M.-W.) preserves 63 of those lines. The text and columns of *P.Berol.* 9739 can be mapped onto a hypothetical papyrus book roll based on the dimensions of *P.Berol.* 10560 and the size of the gap between the end of *P.Berol.* 9739 col. v (= 200 M.-W.) and *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i.1 (= 204.41 M.-W.) can be calculated. Reconstructions have been made on the complete size and column length of *P.Berol.* 9739. For example, West proposed that:

33 lines is the maximum possible, because at least four of these columns and eleven lines of a fifth (F 200.2-<12>) must precede F204.41 = line 147 of the book. It follows that the column-length was just about 33 lines, and that the five preserved columns were the first five of the book.

F 196 = Book 5.1-11
F 197 = Book 5.34-42
F 198 = Book 5.67-82

13 Schwartz 1960, 416 first proposed that the beta corresponded to line 200 of the papyrus, and West 1985, 115 further suggested that the beta referred to line 200 of Book 5. Heilinger 1983, 26-34 placed the long fragment on Helen's suitors in Book 1. Schubart, Wilamowitz 1907, 41 and Traversa 1952, 3 fn. 3 had understood that the beta as a marker for the beginning of the second book of the *Catalogue*, which seems very unlikely due to the surviving papyri of the poem containing episodes from those books.

14 There are papyri of epic poetry of the same or a similar length of lines per column: *P.Oxy.* 2091 (*Hes. Op.*) is 42-3 lines per column; *P.Oxy.* 2639 (*Hes. Theog.*) is 49 lines; *P.Oxy.* 2641 (*Hes. Theog.*) is 47 lines; *P.Oxy.* 2695 (Ap. Rh. Book 1) is 45 or 51(?) lines; *P.Oxy.* 3323 (*Il.* 15-16) is 50 lines; *P.Berol. inv.* 21109* (*Il.* 11) is 49.3 lines; *P.Schub.* 1 (*Od.* 11) is 44 lines; *P.Harr.* 1.36 + *P.Lit.Lond.* 251 (*Il.* 12) is 45.4 lines. Johnson 2014, 57 notes that the more columns that survive, the greater the variation in lines per column increases and Schubart 1921, 62 notes there can be a variation of 2.5-4 lines in lines per column, although his dataset was much smaller than examples that are available today. For papyri of epic poetry with a variance of 4 lines or more in the lines per column, cf. *P.Oxy.* 445 (*Il.* 6) which has 43-47 lines per column; *P.Tebt.* 3.899 (*Il.* 6) has 36-41 lines; *PSI* 12.1274 (*Il.* 10) has 30-36 lines; *P.Heid.Lit.* 2 + *P.Hib.* 1.22 + *P.Grenf.* 2.4 (*Il.* 21) is 27-33 lines; *P.Lit.Lond.* 27 (*Il.* 23, 24) is 38-42 lines; *P.Tebt.* 3.697 (*Od.* 4.5) may be 36-42? lines; *P.Berol.* 21107 (*Hes. Op.*) is 38-42 lines.

F 199 = Book 5.99-110

F 200 = Book 5.132-42

F 199.9 is therefore line 108, and this tallies almost exactly with the stichometry of F 204, by which, if just 25 verses are missing between 204.15 and what we numbered as 204.41 (but we said 'desunt versus fere 25', 204.3 comes out as line 109.¹⁵

As noted above, it is not so clear cut that 196 M.-W. is the very beginning of Book Five, as although there are five extant columns, it is very likely that at least one column preceded it (my 'col.0'). West's reconstruction of four columns of 33 lines (4 × 33) and eleven lines of the fifth indicates the gap between *P.Berol.* 9739 col. v and *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i is not very small. West's proposal equals 143 lines, which is shorter than West's previously noted missing 146 lines above.¹⁶ However, as *P.Berol.* 9739 likely consisted of at least six columns, such calculations produce a higher number, 176 lines if the number of lines per column is kept [(5 × 33) + 11]. This is too large for the gap: therefore, it is likely that *P.Berol.* 9739 had columns with fewer lines per column. I would propose that *P.Berol.* 9739 had six columns of 24/25 lines with four columns of 24 lines and two columns of 25 lines (146/146 = 24.333) [table 3].¹⁷ As with *P.Berol.* 10560, how many lines per column each column had cannot currently be ascertained.

If then *P.Berol.* 9739 'col. o', was the opening of Book 5 and the columns are 24/25 lines per column, one can integrate *P.Berol.* 9739 into the 146 lines that preceded *P.Berol.* 10560. In the hypothetical Book 5 roll based on the size of *P.Berol.* 10560 at 45-49 lines per column, broadly speaking two columns of *P.Berol.* 9739 would fit into one column of *P.Berol.* 10560 [tables 2, 4].

Table 2 A reconstruction of a Book Five roll based on the dimensions of *P.Berol.* 10560 with *P.Berol.* 9739 integrated into the preceding columns

'col. -2'	'col. -1'	'col. 0'	col. i	col. ii	col. iii
<i>P.Berol.</i> 9739 'col. 0'	197 M.-W.	199 M.-W.	204.41-85	204.86-132	204.133-180
196 M.-W.	198 M.-W.	200 M.-W.	M.-W.	M.-W.	M.-W.
197 M.-W.?	199 M.-W.	204.1-40 M.-W.	202 M.-W.?		

¹⁵ West 1985, 116. Hirschberger and Most print these numbers in their editions (*P.Berol.* 9739, col. i = 34 lines, col. ii = 35 lines, col. iii = 33 lines, col. iv = 33 lines) without comment. Wolfgang Müller in West 1985, 116 suggests the number of lines per column could be higher; I argue it could be lower (see below).

¹⁶ West 1985, 116 says that 204.41 M.-W. is line 147 of the book, and so the missing gap is 146 lines.

¹⁷ Cf. *P.Oxy.* 223 + *P.Köln* 5.210 (*Il.* 5), *P.Oxy.* 1815 (*Il.* 1), *P.Oxy.* 2226 (*Call. Hymn* 6) for papyri of hexameter poetry at 25/26 lines per column.

Based on these parameters [table 4], 196 M.-W. would start at *P.Berol.* 10560 col. -2 lines 25/26 due to the likely *P.Berol.* 9739 'col. 0' preceding it; 197 M.-W. would start at *P.Berol.* 10560 col. -2.49 or col. -1.1; 198 M.-W. would start at *P.Berol.* 10560 col. -1.24/25; 199 M.-W. would start at *P.Berol.* 10560 col. -1.48/49; and 200 M.-W. would start at *P.Berol.* 10560 col. o.23/24.¹⁸ The last two columns of *P.Berol.* 9739 likely would overlap with *P.Berol.* 10560 'col.0'.¹⁹ Crönert proposed an overlap between $\text{[] } \kappa \text{[] } \zeta$ (*P.Berol.* 10560 col. o.8(?) = 204.3 M.-W.) and $\gamma \upsilon \nu \alpha \iota \kappa \acute{o} \varsigma$, the final word of *P.Berol.* 9739 col. iv.9 = 199.9 M.-W..²⁰ The latter line is an abnormally long (likely 40 letters) and so juts out into the intercolumnial space, which makes such a join probable.²¹ The hand of *P.Berol.* 10560 likewise writes long lines into the intercolumnial space, e.g. *P.Berol.* 10560 col. ii.31-2, 37, 39, 42-3, 46-47. If *P.Berol.* 9739 col. iv.9 (= F199.9) = *P.Berol.* 10560 col. o.8(?) (= 204.3 M.-W.), then 199.1 M.-W. would begin on the last line of the previous column (*P.Berol.* 10560 col. -1.48/49).

In sum, if the reconstruction of a Book Five roll based on the dimensions of *P.Berol.* 10560 is correct and the stichometric is recording the line-number for a roll of Book Five, then the gap between the end of *P.Berol.* 9739 col. v.24/5 and the beginning of *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i.1 would be two or three lines. As West 1961 noted long ago 204 M.-W. needs to be renumbered and the numeration of M.-W. and Schubart, Wilamowitz needs to be replaced, for example, 204.41 M.-W. = *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i.1 would in fact be 204.47/8? M.-W. have *P.Berol.* 10560 col. o at 40 lines long, however this numbering is based on starting their line one from the first extant letters at *P.Berol.* 10560 col. o.6, and so the line-numbering of M.-W. should be adjusted by around 6 lines. Based on these figures and the reconstructions presented, it is very likely then we have most of the opening, if not a majority, of Book 5 preserved in these two rolls.

¹⁸ Hes. 196 M.-W. = *P.Berol.* 10560 col. -2.25/26-35/36 = [Hes.] *Cat.* 5.25/26-35/36; 197 M.-W. = *P.Berol.* 10560 col. -2.49/col. -1.1-col. -1.8/9 = [Hes.] *Cat.* 5.49/50-58/59; 198 M.-W. = *P.Berol.* 10560 col. -1.24/25-39/40 = [Hes.] *Cat.* 5.73/4-89/90; 199 M.-W. = *P.Berol.* 10560 col. -1.48/49-col.0.9/10 = [Hes.] *Cat.* 5.98/99-109/10; 200 M.-W. = *P.Berol.* 10560 col. o.23/24-33/4 = [Hes.] *Cat.* 5.122/23-133/4. See table 4.

¹⁹ West 1985, 115.

²⁰ Crönert 1907, 610. West 1985, 115 remarks that "this identification does not fall far short of being certain". The other traces of *P.Berol.* 10560 'col. o' are too paltry to offer any support.

²¹ Johnson 2004, 12 states that a rough average of the letters per line of a papyrus of Homer and Hesiod are at letters per line where adscript is written, 35.5 where it is not.

3 Textual Notes on Hes. 204.94-180 M.-W.

204.94-123 The birth of Hermione, who is the offspring of a mortal man and a direct descendant of Zeus, triggers strife and discord among all the gods. Zeus then announces the destruction of a large portion of the human race and to put an end to the generation of further heroes/ἡμίθεοι, a *Heldendämmerung*. In lines 102-103, as Schwartz 1960, 43 first noted, Zeus' purpose is to separate mortals and immortals, and he will put an end to the age of social and sexual intercourse between gods and mortal women. For a similar binary division of history of gods and mortals, see Catullus (64.397-408) with Pontani 2000. Zeus' decision will provoke further discord among the gods (e.g. *Iliad* and *Odyssey*). Zeus establishes pain upon pains (105) for both immortals and mortals and a number of humans will be slain in war and sent to the Underworld (118-19, π]ολλὰς Ἀῖδη κεφαλὰς ἀπὸ χαλκὸν ἰάψ[ει]ν | ἀν]δρῶν ἡρώων ἐν δηϊοτήτι πεσόντων· 'and] the bronze was going to send to Hades many heads of men, heroes falling in battle-strife', cf. also Aesch. *Ag.* 1465-1466; Eur. *Hec.* 21-22, *Hel.* 51-22; Soph. *El.* 1127). According to the *Cypria* (F1 PEG, cf. Eur. *Or.* 1639-1642, *Hel.* 36-41; [Apollod.] *Epit.* 3.1) and Hesiod's *Works and Days* (159-173) Zeus and the other gods devised the Trojan War to put an end to the heroes. Line 104-119 may be in accord with this tradition which may summarize the war. Cf. Hes. 141.15-31 M.-W. = 90.15-31 Most, which hints at Sarpedon's fate at Troy, and Hes. 169, 177-179 M.-W. = 118, 121-122 Most (with West 1985, 94-7, 114-24) on the descent of the Trojans from Electra, daughter of Atlas, possibly as a precursor to the Trojan War. The separation of immortals and mortals is described in a similar way to the *Works and Days* describing the resettlement of the heroes to the Islands of the Blest (*Op.* 156-173). West 1978, 193 notes that lines 99-103 (πολλὸν ἄϊστοῦσαι σπεῦδε, πρ[ό]φασιν μὲν ὀλέσθαι | ψυχὰς ἡμιθέω[v.....] ...]. [...]οισι βροτοῖσι | τέκνα θεῶν μι[...]. [...]ο. [ὀφ]θαλμοῖσιν ὀρῶντα | ἀλλ' οἱ μ[ε]ν μάκ[α]ρες κ[.....]ν ὥς τὸ πάρος περ | χωρὶς ἀπ' ἀν[θ]ρώπων [βίοτον κα]ῖ ἤθε' ἑχῶσιν) are almost similar to *Op.* 167 (δίχ' ἀνθρώπων βίοτον καὶ ἤθε' ὀπάσσας) and it is likely a reference by the *Catalogue* poet to the *Works and Days*, and not the other way around. However, this does not necessarily mean that the *Catalogue* poet described the same exact outcome for the heroes as Hesiod did, the poet may have just used similar sounding language to convey the importance of the events being narrated. See Coward 2016, 23-38 on the forms of interaction in Greek poetry in a song-performance culture.

Different sources stress continuity or a sudden break between heroes and later humanity, likewise different texts provide divergent afterlives for the heroes. Here, however, explanation is given as to why Zeus has a plan to separate the demigods from mortals and how

he intends to keep the gods from continuing to produce demigods.²² No extant Greek text explicitly explains why the gods stopped having relations with mortal women, but there is an understanding in Greco-Roman chronography and mythology that there was a time when gods and mortals interacted and a present time when that no longer occurs.²³ Ephorus (*BNJ* 70 T8) distinguished between mythical time and historical time and began his account of the latter with the return of the Heraclidae (*BNJ* 70 T10); and for Varro (fr. 3 *Fracaro*) the first Olympiad marked the end of ‘mythical’ times and the beginning of ‘historical’ time.²⁴ The end of the heroes became the beginning of the historical age leading to Greek settlements all over the Mediterranean (e.g. Lycoph. *Alex.*; [Apollod.] *Epit.* 6.15-16; cf. also Verg. *Ecl.* 4.34-36 for a warning of a cyclical re-run of the mythical age). Simonides in a *thrēnos* (523 *PMG* = 245 *Poltera*) remarks τοῦδε γὰρ οἱ πρότερόν ποτ’ ἐπέλοντο, | θεῶν δ’ ἔξ ἀνάκτων ἐγένονθ’ υἷες ἡμίθεοι, | ἄπονον οὐδ’ ἄφθιτον οὐδ’ ἀκίνδυνον βίον | ἐς γῆρας ἐξίκοντο τελέσαντες†. (for not even those who lived in the elder days demi-gods, sons born from the gods, our lords arrived at old age having completed a life without toil, decline and danger). When the heroes of the *Iliad* talk about the past they typically speak of a former generation, superior to the present (e.g. the Lapiths (*Il.* 1.250-252, 260-272); the Argive Seven against Thebes (*Il.* 4.405); and Heracles (*Il.* 5.636-637), see Most 1997, 121-2. In early Greek hexameter poetry, there are several accounts of the afterlives of the heroes. In the Homeric epics, the demigods, including Heracles (*Il.* 18.117-119), die just like other mortals, see Griffin 1977, 1980. In Hesiod’s *Works and Days* (162-172), some of or all the heroes (the meaning of the Greek is the object of discussion) go to the Islands of the Blest.²⁵ In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, Zeus makes Aphrodite intensely desire Anchises because of her incessant boasting about the gods’ affairs

22 See Ormand 2014, 202-16. In the *Catalogue*, the will of Zeus is unclear to humans (10a.97; 43a.52, 75-8; 303 M.-W.).

23 Culler 2015, 351 notes that “Poets who made that world [i.e. a world before the flight of the gods], poets who gave the Greeks their gods. Society is always confronted with the problem of how matter is endowed with spirit or meaning, and poetry is one of several forces that at once makes this happen and explicates it”.

24 On Ephorus’ methodological innovations (among which were the introduction of book-divisions and, in consequence of a re-negotiated set of boundaries between mythical time and historical time, see Schepens 1977, 95-118 and Clarke 2008, 96-109. In Varro’s scheme ‘mythical’ time, beginning with Ogygus and his flood, is so called because *multa in eo fabulosa referuntur* and ‘historical’ because *multa in eo fabulosa referuntur*; see Cole 2004, 419-22; Piras 2017, 13-15.

25 See West 1978, 191-4; Currie 2012; Scodel 2021. In the *Works and Days*, Hesiod avoids making Zeus responsible for destroying the heroes; whereas the silver generation is put away by Zeus; the Bronze destroy themselves, and Zeus will destroy the race of Iron. Zeus does not destroy the race of Gold.

with mortals (48-52) so that she will no longer mock the other gods. Some scholars have understood that the *Hymn* explains the end of the heroic age as the gods have been embarrassed about their numerous affairs.²⁶ The *Hymn* however makes no reference to the end of the heroic age, and Zeus seeks only to end Aphrodite's boasting, not the gods' sexual relations with mortals.²⁷ Both the *Homeric Hymns to Demeter* and *Aphrodite* focus on how Zeus's control of female deities establishes his cosmic order, as Zeus determines the extent to which Demeter and Persephone can play the roles of eternal mother and daughter, and curbs Aphrodite's (sexual) power, see Allan 2006.

94 ἦ τέκεν Ἑρμιόνην καλλίσφυρ[ο]ν ἐν μεγάροισιν. Stiewe 1963, 12-14, following a suggestion of Merkelbach, believes that this line is an interpolation and replaces it with another line (<ἦ Πάριδι ξὺν ἔφευγε κακὸν Τρώεσσι φέρουσα>), containing a reference to the true 'unforeseen' cause of the Trojan war, i.e. Paris' rape of Helen. Stiewe however is trying to syncretise the *Catalogue of Women* to the more substantial Trojan Cycle. It is just as possible that the *Catalogue* can allude or hint at the forthcoming Trojan War without narrating it, drawing on the knowledge of the audience or reader to fill in the gaps accordingly, much like how the *Iliad* alludes or hints at the forthcoming sack of Troy without narrating it. Reinach inserts Hes. 175 M.-W. = 248 Most = *9 Hirschberger (ἦ τέκεθ' Ἑρμιόνην δουρικλειτῶι Μενελάωι· | ὀπλότατον δ' ἔτεκεν Νικόστρατον ὄζον Ἄρηος) as the first line is very similar to 204.94 M.-W., which Merkelbach rightly dismissed. ὀπλότατον suggests Nikostratos (and Hermione) were from the end of several listed offspring and 175 M.-W. may well come from another Hesiodic poem (*Megalai Ehoiai*?), which easily provided an occasion for interpolation and variation of a formulaic line. See Hirschberger 2004, 59-62 for examples where the *Catalogue* poet uses words, phrases and whole lines found in the main Hesiodic poems.

95-107 Interpretations of these lines have been hindered by attempts to forge orthodoxy from heterodoxy by forcing a cohesive narrative across the Hesiodic corpus e.g. West 1961; Stiewe 1963; Koenen 1994; Clay 2005. As Parsons notes of trends in scholarship (2002, 49): "All intellectual advance, clearly, consists in making patterns; and though as human beings we know that experience is tangled and complex, we seek as scholars for simple schemata." The *Theogony* (535-564, cf. Heraclit. *Alleg.* 41) has the separation of humans and mortals at Mekone (cf. also Callim. 119 Harder, Σ Pind. *Nem.* 9.123 Drachmann). While indeed humans and gods are to be separated, it is not indicated in the extant papyrus if the separation is at

26 See van der Ben 1986, 31-2; Clay 1989, 132-3; Olson 2012, 28-9. Faulkner 2008, 14-18 is more doubtful. Richardson 2010 is silent.

27 Scodel 2021, 180.

a particular place. The *Works and Days* has the Myth of Ages with periodic destructions, see Currie 2012, Scodel 2021. In the *Works and Days*, one human species is replaced by another, and in Ovid, the original human race, followed a flood, is replaced by the ancestors of the current one following a flood (cf. Pind. *Pae.* 9.17-21; *Orph.* 320 F PEG). West 1985, 56 rightly observed that the narrative of the *Catalogue* does not know about the Myth of Ages, or rather it does not utilise such a scheme. For comparative studies of the ‘destruction motif’ from the wider Indo-European and Indo-Iranian traditions see Mayer 1996, Koenen 1994, and Hirschberger 2004, 414-20.

95-98 πάντες δὲ θεοὶ δίχα θυμὸν ἔθεντο | ἔξ ἔριδος· δὴ γὰρ τότε μῆδετο
θέσκελα ἔργα | Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, †<νεῖκος> κατ’ ἀπείρονα γαῖαν |
τυρβάξαι† (And all the gods were at variance in strife; for truly he
was devising, wondrous deeds, high-thundering Zeus, in order to stir
up <quarrel> on the boundless earth). The papyrus transmits τογε
(96), which Schubart, Wilamowitz 1907, 34 believed was a spelling
error and corrected to τότε, however González 2010, 395 suggested
to keep the transmitted text as τό γε to emphasise that strife is the
outcome of Zeus’ plan (‘for indeed *this* he was devising’). González
2010, 395 fn. 72 supplies examples of τό γε (Hom. *Il.* 1.120, 3.308
(~ *Od.* 14.119), 5.827 (~ 14.342), 5.853 (~ 11.238), 6.167 (= 6.417, ~
14.191, 15.212, *Od.* 21.126), 7.281, 17.408, 22.301, 23.332, 24.52; *Od.*
1.370, 16.302, 17.401). However, are there examples of δὴ γὰρ and
γε together and what are the functions of these particles in isolation
and paired together? δὴ γὰρ...γε usually has a negative with it (ex-
cept Soph. *Ant.* 46 and *OC* 110), see Denniston 1954, 243-4. Instanc-
es of δὴ γὰρ are largely found in Homer, along with three instances
in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (76, 148, 159), once in Hesiod (*Op.*
417) and here in the *Catalogue*. Most instances of δὴ γὰρ in Homer
present insight into the feelings of a character or personal viewpoints
(Hom. *Il.* 13.516-518, 17.546, 625; *Od.* 10.160 (Odysseus as narrator),
13.30, 18.154) with one exception (*Il.* 24.351); see Bonifazi, Drum-
men, de Kreij 2016, II.3 §62 and II.4 §19. The use of δὴ as an intensi-
fier is mainly limited to direct speech, see Bonifazi, Drummen, de
Kreij 2016, II.3.3.2-3.3.3. Here δὴ γὰρ likewise introduces the think-
ing of Zeus. Examples of δὴ γὰρ τότε are very few (Hom. *Il.* 16.810
(an Aristarchan reading of the vulgate ποτε, see Σ Hom. *Il.* 16.810a
Erbse); Hes. *Op.* 417; Callim. *Hymn* 3.201), and there is one example
of δὴ γὰρ...γε in epic (Hom. *Il.* 18.153) as part of an unparalleled for-
mulaic phrase. Generally, δὴ will occur with a temporal marker (i.e.
τότε, the exceptions being Hom. *Il.* 12.331-333; *Od.* 5.276), and to a far
lesser extent act as an intensifier (Bonifazi, Drummen, and de Kreij
2016, II.3.§1). Therefore, while González’ reversion to the transmit-
ted text (δὴ γὰρ τό γε) is attractive, the emended δὴ γὰρ τότε seems
more likely based on examples of the combination of proposed par-
ticles and their functions.

In their apparatus, M.-W. emended τυρβάξας to τυρβάξει as they think that μεῖξει is an intrusive gloss of τυρβάξει that replaced the object of τυρβάξει, which they suggest was something like πόλεμον (cf. *Cypria* 1.5 PEG/GEF; cf. also Soph. 838 TrGF¹) or γενεάς. Koenen 1994, 28 further suggested <νεῖκος> or the less likely and Iliadic <μῆνιν>, though without parallels. Of the proposed supplements, I, like González, favour <νεῖκος> as it suits the discord of the gods at this moment in the narrative, but it also can mean ‘fight’ which are about to come (see 118-119). Cf. Hom. *Il.* 13.122 = 15.400 (δὴ γὰρ μέγα νεῖκος ὄρωρεν, ‘for a great fight has arisen’) where Poseidon (disguised as Calchas) and Patroclus rally the Greeks and Euryplous respectively against the onslaught of Hector at the battle of the ships.

98-100 ἦδη δὲ γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων | πολλὸν ἀϊστώσαι σπεῦδε, πρ[ό]φασιν μὲν ὀλέσθαι | ψυχὰς ἡμιθέω[ν.....] [...] [. . .] ἰοῖσι βροτοῖσι (for he was already eager to annihilate most of the race of speech-endowed human beings, to avowedly destroy the lives of the semi-gods... to/from xxx mortals). Elsewhere in the *Catalogue*, Zeus comes to kill Salmoneus (30.15 M.-W.) and Asclepius (51.2 M.-W.); cf. also 54a+57.4-7 M.-W. where Zeus wants to cast Apollo down from Olympus to Tartarus. That Zeus is the overseer of all things is a widespread motif, e.g. Hom. *Od.* 13.213-214, 17.485-488; Hes. *Op.* 267-269; Archil. 177 IEG; Alc. 200.10-11 Voigt; Sol. 13.17 IEG; Bacchyl. 15.51; Aesch. *Eum.* 1045; Soph. *El.* 175; Ar. *Ach.* 435; *Adesp.* F482 TrGF². Several proposals have been made, mostly based on parallel accounts in epic poetry, about the scale and purpose of Zeus’ intentions here: (i) Stiewe 1963 and Koenen 1994 understand that πρ[ό]φασιν is purely rhetorical and that Zeus only purportedly wants to destroy the heroes and instead relocate them to a better life per Hes. *Op.* 167-173 (cf. also Clarke 2020, 138-43), although there is no surviving reference to such an event here; (ii) Thalmann 1984 states that Zeus plans to destroy the demigod race (cf. Hes. *Op.* 180 and the destruction of the Silver generation); (iii) Cerutti 1998, 146-54 argues that Zeus wants to destroy the heroes as a pretext (πρ[ό]φασιν) of relieving the burden on the earth (per the *Cypria* and wider IE tradition); (iv) Allen 1932, following Rzach’s construction (τῶν δὲ πρ[ό]φασιν for σπεῦδε, πρ[ό]φασιν), interprets that Zeus provokes the Trojan War in order to relieve the earth of its burden, and for this reason the demigods must be destroyed; and (v) Hirschberger 2004, 417 surmises that the turmoil caused by Zeus leads to the death of many people and thus provide an opportunity for the death of the heroes in armed conflicts (vv. 100, 118-119). There is probably no ‘overpopulation motif’ here; but West 1997, 481 notes that if πολλόν (204.99 M.-W.) means ‘multitudinous’ this may indicate that Zeus thought the world had become overpopulated. The interpretation of these verses essentially depends on how one understands the meaning of πρ[ό]φασιν μὲν ὀλέσθαι (‘a pretext to destroy’ or ‘to purportedly destroy’?) and whether πολλόν

(204.99 M.-W., cf. Hom. *Il.* 19.262, 302) is an attribute of γένος (98) meaning ‘the abundant race’ or adverbial with ἀϊστῶσαι (99) meaning ‘to decimate’ or ‘to annihilate most’.

The beginning of the *Catalogue* (1 M.-W.) presents a more general closeness between gods and mortals at an earlier time, but no extant part of the poem explains why Zeus chose to make this change.²⁸ As González 2010, 382 notes ‘the destruction of the demigods is a pretext; only, that it is not Zeus’s ultimate purpose.’ Zeus does not announce his ultimate purpose, but he does announce the end of the heroes, hence πρ[ό]φασιν here can be understood in the context of an intended action rather than a pretext. Furthermore, whichever way the function of πολλὸν is, Zeus does not destroy *all* of humanity in the *Catalogue* and will not destroy *all* the heroes, rather a sizeable number will be annihilated, and some will survive repurposed (see 120-124). Cf. [Aesch.] *PV* 232-233 (ἀϊστῶσας γένος τὸ πᾶν) where Zeus planned to destroy one whole iteration of humanity and replace it with another, cf. also [Aesch.] *PV* 152, 232, 668; *Pl. Prt.* 321a. In Homer, the active ἀϊστῶ is used in the sense of ‘make someone disappear’ [literally ‘invisible’] or ‘destroy’ and suggest a violent act: see *LfrgE ad loc.* The destruction of ψυχᾶς ἡμιθέω[ν] here does not mean their complete destruction, for as the wider mythographical tradition attests (e.g. the *Odyssey*, *Nostoi*, Lycophron’s *Alexandra*, the *Aeneid*) a number of ‘heroes’ survive. On the continuity of humanity after the ending of the mighty Trojan saga appears also at Hom. *Il.* 6.146-149, 12.10-35, 20.300-308 and Verg. *Aen.* 3.97-98 with Heyworth, Morwood 2017, 112-13.

While there is a line of thought of a tripartite division of gods, heroes, and ‘ordinary’ humans in ancient thinking (Pind. *Ol.* 2.2; Xen. *Symp.* 8.28.2; Antiph. 1.27; Isocr. *Evag.* 39; Antiphan. 204 *PCG*²; Theophr. 708 *FHS&G*; Plaut. *Aul.* 371-87); it is not the only tradition. Here there seems to be a division between humans and gods and a separation of human and divine realms, see González 2010. γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων (98) is clearly a reference to humans, and used in the context of the (potential) destruction of mankind here and elsewhere (Hes. *Op.* 109, 143, 180; *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 310). See Currie 2012, 41-2 for further examples. ψυχᾶς ἡμιθέω[ν] (100), in poetry, ἡμιθεοί can be applied to the generation before the well-known mythological heroes (e.g. Callin. 1.19 *IEG*, presumably Simon. 11.18 *IEG* with Clay 2001, 523 *PMG* = 245 *Poltera*) or, more specifically, to the warriors before the Trojan War (e.g. Alc. 42.13 Voigt; our passage here; Bacchyl. 13.155, Fr. 20b.31? Maehler; Eur. *IA* 172-173), the Seven against Thebes (Bacchyl. 9.10, 11.62), heroes during funerary games (Ibyc. S176 *PMGF*), the Argonauts (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.12, 184, 211, cf. also Ak-

²⁸ Scodel 2021, 180.

ous. 30 *EGM*) and less significant individual heroes, like one of the Hippocoontids (Alcm. 1.7 *PMGF*). There are also heroines known as *Hemithea* (Hecat. 1 F139 *BNJ*; 533 F11 *BNJ*; Diod. Sic. 5.62.1-63.3). In these examples from early Greek poetry, there is no thematization that ἡμίθεος is the actual offspring of a god and a mortal, and the meaning ‘intermediate category between gods and mortals’ is not found until Isocrates (3.42, 9.39, though cf. Pind. *Ol.* 2.2). These observations support Verdenius’ suggestion (1985, 99) that originally ἡμίθεος does not so much mean literally ‘semi-divine’, which does not apply to many of the Homeric warriors, but rather ‘almost divine’. In this light, we can read ψυχὰς ἡμιθέω[ν] as referring to a group of humans who are direct offspring of the gods and a couple of times removed, cf. Callin. 1.12-13 *IEG*; Simon. 523 *PMG* = 245 *Poltera*; Pind. *Ol.* 2.28-34, *Pyth.* 4.58. Likewise ἀνδρῶν ἠρώων (119) refers to human beings who fall in war, cf. Hom. *Il.* 12.10-23 (with Scodel 1982, 2021); Hes. *Op.* 159-160, the war-dead at Thebes and Troy are seen as ἡμίθεοι. ἦρως nowhere comes even close to any hint of religious significance or the cult of the dead in early Greek poetry rather it is a label used to indicate the hero’s outstanding qualities and status as much as their birth, see Bremmer 2006, 17-18 with fnn. 25-31.

It is also unclear in the scholarship whether the τέκνα θεῶν (101) and μάκ[α]ρες (102) who are to be kept apart far from mortals are the demigods or the gods (102-3). Gods: Thalmann 1984, 105-7, Cerutti 1998, 166-7, Clay 2005, González 2010; demigods: West 1985, 120, Koenen 1994, 29 fn. 67, 40. See Hirschberger 2004, 418-19. I favour the latter, per Clay 2005 and González 2010, that μάκ[α]ρες are the gods based on the use of the word in early Greek hexameter poetry, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 33, 101, 128, 881; *Op.* 136, 139, 718, 730; [Hes.] *Sc.* 79, 247, 328, 476; 14.6, 25.31, 30.24, 176.4, 211.7, 280.17, 309.1, and 10a.6 M.-W.; Hom. *Od.* 10.299; Hes. *Op.* 106; *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 303; *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 315; *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 92.195; *Hymn. Hom.* 12.4, 29.8; Antimach. 131.2 Matthews. τέκνα θεῶν (101), was understood as referring to the heroes because of synonymous phrases such as Hom. *Il.* 16.449 (υἱέες ἀθανάτων) but the phrase itself (τέκνα θεῶν) only appears elsewhere is used for Libyan Nymphs/goddesses, who are also Ἠρωῖσσαι, in a Hellenistic epigram (Nicaen. 1.3 *HE*). Here, τέκνα θεῶν refers to the gods since they separated from]οἰσι βροτοῖσιν (100) and χωρὶς ἀπ’ ἀν[θ]ρώπων (103), and will no longer be able to interact with humans as they had before (ὥς τὸ πάρος περ (102) cf. Hom. *Od.* 2.305, 10.240, 13.358, 20.167; Hes. *Op.* 104; *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 345; Antimach. 189 dub. Matthews).

100 ψυχὰς ἡμιθέω[ν].....]οἰσι βροτοῖσιν (Hirschberger; Most). M.-W. and Stiewe 1963 do not print the final nu of βροτοῖσιν, even though it is present in the papyrus. Wilamowitz proposed two supplements for the end of the lacuna, either μὴ ἐπιχθονί]οἰσι βροτοῖσι or ἵνα μὴ δειλ]οἰσι βροτοῖσι. The former was inspired by Hom. *Od.* 8.479,

Il. 1.266, 272; ‘Hom’ *Epig.* 10.3 Markwald and the latter by Hom. *Il.* 22.31, 76, 24.525; *Od.* 11.19, 12.341, 15.408; Hes. *Op.* 686; Thgn. 837; *Orac. Sib.* III.631, 662, 759, V.103, 429. Crönert 1907, 611 preferred the former, while Stiewe 1963, 3 followed the latter with the re-collated ἴνα μὴ δ]εῖ[λο]ῖσι. Stiewe notes that]εῖ[is shadowy, however, I could see traces of letters in the same space, and traces of the omicron are clear as well. The lacuna between Stiewe’s]εῖ[and]οῖσι is however at least two or three letters, which makes δειλ]οῖσι less probable. This collation also makes Kretschmer’s θνητ]οῖσι, West’s μὴ ὁμοῦ θνητ]οῖσι and González’ ἴνα μὴ θνητ]οῖσι less likely. The line reads to me then as ψυχὰς ἡμιθέω[ν.....] ..[...]. ἰ[...]οῖσι βροτοῖσιν. Based on these traces, the sorrowful]ῶι[ζυρ]οῖσι βροτοῖσιν may be a potential candidate (cf. Hom. *Il.* 13.569; *Od.* 4.197) given the context of the passage about the destruction of a number of humans.

102 κ[αὶ ἐς ὕστερο]ν Rzach, cf. Hes. *Op.* 351 *et* Stiewe (*fort.* κ[ἄς ἐς ὕστερο]ν); κ[αὶ κάρτερ]οι (*sic susp.* Koenen (cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.806) *vel* κ[αὶ ὁμόφρον]ες. Merkelbach 1958 remarks that supplement is too long for gap, but scribe may have written κ[εῖς ὕστερο]ν. González 2010 follows with κ[ἄς ὕστερο]ν, although he notes this would be unparallelled instance of crasis.

104-119 These lines are patchy and mostly consist of the second half of lines, but what survives suggests how Zeus will establish the division between gods and humans. The reference to men embarking on ships (109-110) may indicate a clear sign of evil times as they depart for war (Troy?). See Stiewe 1963 for a reconstruction of lines 107-116 with a very Trojan context. Cf. Hes. 141.15-31 M.-W. = 90.15-31 Most which may hint at Sarpedon’s fate at Troy, and Simon. 11.9-14 *IEG*, which briefly summaries the end of the Trojan War by alluding to the death of Achilles, the fall and sack of Troy, and the returns of the heroes, likewise has a strong epic flavour.

120-123 The problem here is who is the agent of the active verbs. Schubart-Wilamowitz 1907, 42 proposed Apollo, which Merkelbach 1958 rejected. Although see Archil. [dub.] 298 *IEG* = Eur. 1110 *TrGF*^{5.2} where Zeus is omnipotent including in *manteia*, which is usually associated with Apollo. Clay 2005, 32-3 suggests Kalkhas, whom Marg (1984): 518 also names, and she also puts forward Agamemnon, which Stiewe 1963, 11-12 had also proposed Most remains sceptical and González prefers ‘X’. Simply put πατρὸς ἐριθενέος (123, cf. *APHex* I.3.3 = 938.3 *SH*; Hom. *Il.* 19.355) referring to Zeus is used by both gods and mortals. Homeric poetry prominently features the impenetrability of Zeus’s ultimate purposes (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 8.143), see Griffin 1980, 169-70 and Marg 1984, 517. Lyric poetry also has this motif: Mimn. 2.4-5 *IEG*, Semon. 1.3-5 *IEG*, and Simon. 20.9 *IEG*; Thgn. 141-142, 1075-1078. In the *Catalogue*, the will of Zeus is unclear to humans (10a.97; 43a.52, 75-78; 303 M.-W.).

124 ff. describes some sort of radical change in the seasons followed by a lengthy digression or analogy on the life cycle of snakes. The change is partly the introduction of the seasons, but also of diseases and their cures. In the Hellenistic era, it was common for educated Greeks to believe that in the distant past there had been civilisations that had been wiped out by reoccurring cataclysms. See e.g. the myths of Deucalion and Phaethon. Cf. Pl. *Ti.* 22b-23c; *Criti.* 104d-e, 109d-e; *Leg.* 677a and Arist. *Meteor.* 352a-3a; *Metaph.* 1074b with Guthrie 1957, 25-6, 63-9. The early Stoics believed in periodic destructions brought about by universal conflagrations, see Mansfeld 1979. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, eternal spring does not usually prevail in the heroic age, but in the first of the ages, the golden one (Ov. *Met.* 1.107-108 with West 1997, 315 with fn. 109 for parallels from Jewish apocalyptic writings and Kubusch 1986 on the myth of the golden age in classical antiquity), and the seasons are introduced in the silver age (Ov. *Met.* 1.116-120). The language of these lines appropriately become oracular, as indicated by a shift from narration in the past tense to the timelessness of the present tense.

124-128 πολλα δ' ἀπὸ γλωθρῶν δενδρέων ἀμύοντα χαμᾶζε | χεῦετο καλὰ πέτηλα, ῥέεσκε δὲ καρπὸς ἔραζε | πινύειντος Βορέαο περιζαμενὲς Διὸς αἴσιη, | λῆσκειν δὲ θάλασσα, τρῶμ[ε]σκε δὲ πάντ' ἀπὸ τοῖο, | τρύχεςκειν δὲ μένος βρότερον, μινύθεσκε δὲ καρπός (Many stately trees bowing down to the ground shed their beautiful leaves, and the fruit fell to earth as Boreas blew violently by Zeus' dispensation and the sea [swelled?], and everything trembled from it and it consumed mortal strength, and the fruit was diminished in the spring season). Cf. Hom. *Il.* 16.384-393. West 1961, 133 remarked that this is "the finest passage of poetry yet known from the *Catalogues*." For similar descriptions of the effect of the wind, see Theophr. *De sign.* 29; Arat. *Phaen.* 909-912; Cic. *Div.* 1.13; Verg. *G.* 1.356-359. Verses 124-126 describe the fall of the leaves (Hes. 333 M.-W. = 283 Most = F*31 Hirschberger refers to autumn as the 'leaf-shedding month'), probably the first autumn ever. The motif is used in poetry as a parable for the withering away of generations and human races (Hom. *Il.* 6.145-149, 21.463-466; Mimn. 2.1-4 *IEG*; Musaios B5 D-K, cf. also Bacchyl. 5.63-67; Ar. *Av.* 685-689; *APHex* I.45 fn. 3).

127 οἴ[δ]εσκεν ('swelled'). Schubart had read ε[ρ]ρ[ε]σκεν, which led to the following conjectures: εἴ[δ]εσκεν *vel* ἔρ[ρ]εσκεν (Schubart in Schubart, Wilamowitz 1907, 36; κλύ[δ]εσκεν Wilamowitz in Schubart, Wilamowitz 1907, 36); ἔκ[δ]εσκεν Ludwich 1907, 489; and ροί[δ]εσκεν Schmidt 1908, 289 fn. 2. Crönert 1907, 612, on examining the papyrus himself, correctly saw the acute accent, and proposed Ι[τ]εσκεν. West 1961, 132 and M.-W. print λῆσκειν, neither of which provide satisfactory candidates (e.g. εἴ[λ]εσκεν, π[έ]λεσκεν, τ[έ]λεσκεν, and τύπτεσκεν) that suit the context of a tempest. M.-W. in their apparatus state that they would expect Wilamowitz's κλύ[δ]εσκεν (cf. Hom. *Od.* 9.484,

Il. 23.61) or their own $\theta\upsilon\lambda\iota\epsilon\sigma\kappa\epsilon\nu$, an unattested form of $\theta\upsilon\omega/\theta\upsilon\iota\omicron\omega$, but inspired, it seems, by Hes. *Theog.* 109 (καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ πόντος ἀπείριτος οἶδματι θυίων), cf. also Hes. *Theog.* 131; Hom. *Il.* 21.234 (a swollen river), 23.230 (wind-swept sea); Hsch. θ 846 and 846x Cunningham. Beck (1980) proposed the likewise unattested form οἶδεσκεν (cf. Arat. *Phaen.* 909 (οἰδαίνουσα θάλασσα)) which Hirschberger and Most print as οἶδεσκεν. This remains the most likely candidate, cf. also Semon. 7.39 *IEG*; Verg. *G.* 1.356-357; Ov. *Met.* 1.35-36; Opp. *Hal.* 1.450; *Orac. Sib.* 1.316, 8.274; Quint. Smyrn. 14.249-251; Nonn. *Dion.* 4.189, 39.179, 383; *APHex* I.1.35-36, 3.15 = 938.15 *SH*; *P.Vindob. gr.* 1 col. ii.2-4 = *P. Wessley* fr. 3 col. ii.2-4 with Neugebauer (1962).

129-153(?) ὄρηι ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε γ' ἄτριχος, οὔρεσι τίκει... ἔρχεται. The cycle of the new seasons is exemplified by the life cycle of the snake. (Morel 1926 argues for a lioness instead of a snake.) Cf. *APHex* I.13.12-16 where the poet perhaps describes the behaviour of vipers during their winter hibernation (technically a brumation), when they stay hidden in their dens. In spring, when warm weather (16) comes back, snakes emerge from hibernation and mate (17). Cf. also Hes. *Op.* 524-525, 571-573, where riddling metonymies for animals (an octopus and snail respectively) are used in connection with the indication of the season and are followed by a digression on the lifestyle of the animals concerned, which can be compared to the present one. The sense of these lines is difficult to piece together as only the openings of the lines are preserved. Here, the snake ('the hairless one' ἄτριχος) in the spring gives birth to three children in the third year (128-130). Before this, presumably, the snake had avoided contact with humans (132-133), then in the winter (χειμῶνος δ' ἐπιόντος) it hides underground (134). Meanwhile Zeus (136) throws some missiles perhaps at a terrible snake with a tawny back (δαινὸς ὄφης κατὰ νότα δα[φοιν-, 137, cf. Ap. Rhod. 4.1505-1506; Orph. *Arg.* 928; Hom. *Il.* 2.308) and destroy it, although its ψυχή survives. As West 1961 recognised the snake sheds its skin (139-140, cf. Arist. *HA* 8.17.600b.23-26). The snake, by restoring and recreating itself, begins its life anew. Cf. Verg. *G.* 1.129-130 where the extinction of the serpent and pacification of the wolf signal the return to the Golden Age. In the spring (of the third year(?)) the snake re-emerges, when something (perhaps the warming sun) gives pleasure to men (145). The imagery here seems to signify a transition towards a better time and a simile for Zeus' actions where the 'death' and rebirth of the serpent is an analogy to the fate of the heroic race and for the transition of the seasons (see *APHex* I.45.3.9-23 with a swan). It seems that Zeus, who set out to destroy mankind, becomes their saviour too.

153-165 The subject of these lines appears to be fatal illnesses and their cures (ἦπια (153), πότμο[(155), ἰᾶσθαι[(156), νούσων[(158)). They perhaps spoke of the introduction of diseases which had not yet

existed in this mythical time of the *Catalogue* as part of the change of the human condition to its current state.

154 Παιήφω[ι]: I favour this reading, cautiously suggested in the apparatus of M.-W. I do so, instead of the printed γαίη φσ[, on palaeographical grounds as the scribe writes gamma and alpha with the horizontal of the gamma written above the alpha (cf. 204.130, 147 M.-W.), but here it is not. The traces instead suggest pi and alpha as the scribe writes e.g. παῖδ' (204.89 M.-W.). Furthermore, the context of the surrounding lines, incipits though they may be, suggests a god of healing (e.g. ἰᾶσθαί[(156), νούσων (158)) would be required. Σ Hom. *Od.* 4.231a Pontani says that Paeon the god was a separate entity from Apollo and quotes two lines attributed to Hesiod (307.2 M.-W. = 257.2 Most) as evidence. Cf. also Hom. *Il.* 5.401, 899 with Σ *ad loc.*; *Od.* 4.231; Sol. 13.57 *IEG*; Ap. Rhod. 4.1508-1512; Nic. *Ther.* 439, 686; Nonn. *Dion.* 40.407 for Paeon as a separate deity from Apollo. This passage may be about the fatal bite of the snake (cf. also Ap. Rhod. 4.1511) and the introduction of knowledge of cures for their venom and other illnesses.

160 τηλεθο[ω-. Most's translation in both editions of 'far from' is at odds with the printed Greek. The translation could be a confusion of τηλέχθων ('far away'), τηλόθεν ('far from'), or τηλόθι ('afar'); or τηλεθο[was meant to be printed. If one word, it is very probably a present participle form of τηλεθάω, a lengthened form of θάλλω, which is usually used to describe the growth of trees or plants (Hom. *Il.* 6.148, 17.55; *Od.* 7.114, 11.590; *Hymn. Hom.* 7.41; *IG XII*⁵ 739.91 (a supplement)), but it can be used metaphorically for thriving offspring (Hom. *Il.* 22.423), or of luxuriant hair (Hom. *Il.* 23.142), or of cities (Emp. 112.7 D-K). Only participle forms are attested in pre-Imperial Greek poetry (except Theocr. 20.6 *HE* = *Anth. Pal.* 9.437.6), see Lightfoot 2014, 444 for examples from Imperial Greek epic. Here then, with the limited context in mind, one may speculate the line may have referred to the cultivation of plants or roots for medicine to cure diseases (cf. 156, 158) or it is a reference to the flourishing of humans after the *Heldendämmerung*.

163 ἐπλη[.].[ι. M.-W. print thus, although I can read ἐπλη[.].υ[as Crönert 1907, 612 did. If it is one word, likely a verb, then it could be a form of πλημῦρέω ('rise like the flood-tide', 'to be full or in flood', 'be redundant'), hence, Crönert's ἐπλη[μ]υ[ρε ('was flooded'), cf. Hom. *Od.* 9.486; Archil. 43.3 *IEG* (playfully used there). Cf. also οἴῳ ἔδεσκεν δὲ θάλασσα (Hes. 204.127 M.-W.) above. A form of πληθύω ('fill', 'swell', 'increase') is less likely as it does not occur in extant epic. If the traces are from two words, then πλήθω ('to be full') is a candidate, hence West 1961, 135 proposed τρίς τοί[ἄνεισ' ἐπὶ γῆν, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον οὐκέτι γαίη] ἔπλη[θ'] ὑ[στερον αὐτίς (three times it sheds on the ground, and on the fourth it no longer filled the ground again as before) referring to the snake shedding its skin. This form of the verb is attested

in later works (Quint. Smyrn. 14.270; Tzetz. *Carm. Il.* §3.102 Leone), but the verb appears as a present participle in earlier poetry (Hom. *Il.* 5.87, 11.492 21.218; [Hes.] *Sc.* 478; ‘Simon.’ 24.7 Sider = 45.7 *FGE*). **165** φύλον[: West 1961, 135 suggests φύλον [ἐς ἀθανάτων (to the tribe of the immortals), which is inspired from Hes. *Op.* 199 (ἀθανάτων μετὰ φύλον) where Aidōs and Nemesis leave human beings to their sufferings and ascend to Olympus (cf. also Thgn. 1135-1150; Arat. *Phaen.* 134 (γένος ἀνδρῶν); Ov. *Met.* 1.149-50). Another Hesiodic parallel is Hes. *Theog.* 202 (θεῶν τ’ ἐς φύλον) where Aphrodite joins the gods after her birth, cf. also Quint. Smyrn. 7.91. West 1966, 224 notes that ‘φύλον/φύλα of the gods’ is used almost entirely in the context of someone going to join the company of the gods (Hes. *Op.* 199; Hom. *Il.* 15.54, 161 = 177; Hom. *Hymn Dem.* 322, 443, 461; *Hymn. Hom. Aphr.* 129 (with Olson 2012, 206); I add Hes. 85+117.1 M.-W. (with Danbeck 2013, 19); Hes. 103.10, 16 Hirschberger = 162.10, 16 Most = *APHex* I.188.10, 16; and possibly *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 36). If then a reference to the gods, who may be joining them? Paion, Zeus, or another god? Another possibility is that φύλον is a reference to the human race. While φύλον [γυναικῶν (cf. Hes. 1.1 M.-W. (= *Theog.* 1021), 195.3 M.-W.; [Hes.] *Sc.* 3; Hom. *Il.* 9.130, 272) is tempting; φύλον [ἀνδρῶν (Hom. *Od.* 14.68; Hes. 73.3-4 M.-W.; cf. *Cypria* 1.1-2 *GEF*) or φύλον [(κατα) θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων (cf. Hom. *Hymn Aphr.* 3; Hom. *Hymn Herm.* 578, cf. also Hom. *Il.* 5.440-541 where φύλον refers to both the gods and to humans) is more likely. There is also the synonymous phrase γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων meaning ‘mankind’, used in the context of their destruction as seen above (see 98). If a reference to humans then, the line may have referred to the effect of the *Heldendämmerung*.

175 εἴν[. Schmidt 1908, 289 thought this line was a reference to the Calchas’ interpretation of the omen of the snake devouring nine sparrow cubs together with their mother (Hom. *Il.* 2.300-330; *Cypria* Argum. §6 *GEF*). Hence his εἴν[εα. This seems to me unlikely, or rather the primacy of the Homeric poems is clouding the interpretation.

176-178 ζώε[σκ-... | νοσφ[ι-... | κηρ[... West 1961, 135-6 pointed to an overlap with Hes. *Op.* 90-92 (Πρὶν μὲν γὰρ ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χθονὶ φύλ’ ἀνθρώπων | νόσφιν ἄτερ τε κακῶν καὶ ἄτερ χαλεποῖο πόνου | νούσων τ’ ἀργαλέων, αἶ τ’ ἀνδράσι κήρας ἔδωκαν). The Hesiodic parallel is about the human condition before the opening of Pandora’s jar, where humans were free of disease and all evils, cf. also Hes. *Theog.* 590-592. As with 95-107 above, this may be a case of intertexts, rather than allusions.

Appendix

Key



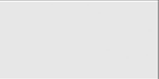

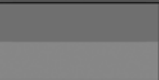




	<i>P. Berol.</i> 10560 (45-9 lines per column)	204 M-W
	<i>P. Berol.</i> 9739 (24-25 lines per column)	196-200 M-W
	<i>P. Oxy.</i> 2491 fr. 1	198.7-16 M-W
	<i>P. Oxy.</i> 2492	200.2-5 M-W
	<i>P. Oxy.</i> 2504	204.128-30 M-W
	<i>P. Oxy.</i> 2491 fr. 2	201 M-W
	<i>P. Berol.</i> 10560: col. ends at one line or the other	
	<i>P. Berol.</i> 9739: col. ends at one line or the other	
	Overlaps between papyri	

Table 3 *P.Berol.* 9739 reconstruction at 24/25 lines per column

col. 0	col. i	col. ii	col. iii	col. iv	col. v
1	196 M-W	197 M-W	198 M-W	199 M-W	200 M-W
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9		9			
10					
11	11		11	11	11
12					
13					
14					
15					
16			16		
17					
18					
19					
20					
21					
22					
23					
24					

Table 4 *P.Berol.* 10560 reconstruction at 45-49 lines per column

col. -2	col. -1	col. 0	col. i	col. ii	col. iii
1			204.41 M-W	192	239
2			148	193	240
3			149	194	241
4			150	195	242
5			151	196	243
6			152	197	244
7			153	198	245
8			154	199	246
9			155	$\beta = 200$	247
10			156	201	248
11			157	202	249
12			158	203	250
13			159	204	251
14			160	205	252
15			161	206	253
16			162	207	254
17			163	208	255
18			164	209	256
19			165	210	257
20			166	211	258
21			167	212	259
22			168	213	260
23		200 M-W	169	214	261
24	198 M-W		170	215	262
196 M-W			171	216	263
			172	217	264
27			173	218	265
28			174	219	266
29			175	220	267
30			176	221	268
31			177	222	269
32			178	223	270
33		11	179	224	271
34	11		180	225	272
35			181	226	273
			182	227	274
37			183	228	275
38			184	229	276
39			185	230	277
40			186	231	278

41			187	232	279
42			188	233	280
43			189		281
44			190		282
45			191		283
46				237	284
47				238	285
48	199 M-W				
197 M-W					

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Abbreviations

APHex = Perale, M. (2020). *Adespota Papyracea Hexametra Graeca (APHex I). Hexameters of Unknown or Uncertain Authorship from Graeco-Roman Egypt*. Berlin; New York.

BNJ = Worthington, I. (ed.). *Brill's New Jacoby*. <https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-jacoby>.

D-K = Diels, H. (1951-52). *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*⁶. 3 vols. Rev. W. Kranz. Berlin.

EGM = Fowler, R. (2000-13). *Early Greek Mythography*. 2 vols. Oxford.

FGE = Page, D. (1981). *Further Greek Epigrams*. Revised and prepared for publication by R. Dawe and J. Diggle. Cambridge.

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HE = Gow, A.S.F.; Page, D. (1965). *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams*. 2 vols. Cambridge.

IEG = West, M. (1989-92). *Iambi et Elegi ante Alexandrum cantati*. 2nd ed. Oxford.

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae* (1873-). Berlin [Roman numerals indicate the volume; index figures the edition, Arabic numerals the number of the inscription. Thus IG II3 558 is inscription no. 558 in the third edition of volume II.]

LfrgE = *Lexikon der frühgriechischen Epos* (1955-2010). Göttingen.

M.-W. = Merkelbach, R.; West, M. (1967). *Fragmenta Hesiodica*. Oxford.

PCG = Kassel, R.; Austin, C. (1983-98). *Poetae comici Graeci*. 8 vols. Berlin; New York.

PEG = Bernabé, A. (1996-2007). *Poetae Epici Graeci: Testimonia et Fragmenta* (2 parts, part 2 in three fasc.). Leipzig (Pars I) and Munich (Pars II).

PMG = Page, D. (1962). *Poetae melici Graeci*. Oxford.

PMGF = Davies, M. (1991). *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. 1. Oxford.

SH = Lloyd-Jones, H.; Parsons, P. (1983). *Supplementum Hellenisticum*. Berlin. Texte und Kommentare 11.

TrGF = *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*. I: *Didascaliae Tragicae, Catalogi Tragicorum et Tragoediarum, Testimonia et Fragmenta Tragicorum Minorum*. Snell, B. (ed.). Göttingen 1971¹, 1986²; II: *Fragmenta Adespota*. Kannicht, R.; Snell, B. (eds). Göttingen, 1981; III: *Aeschylus*. Radt, S. (ed.), 1977; IV: *Sophocles*. Radt, S. (ed.) 1985¹, 1999²; V: *Euripides*. Kannicht, R. (ed.), 2 parts, 2004. Papyri are cited according to the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets*. <http://papyri.info/docs/checklist>.

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Typhoeus and Etna in Hesiod, Pindar, and (Pseudo-)Aeschylus

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Abstract This paper discusses the suspected reading τᾱιδνῆς in Hes. *Theog.* 860 and proposes the emendation οὐρεος ἐν βήσσης, <ε>ἰν Αἴτνη παιπαλοέσση. The interpretative consequences of thus introducing into the text a reference to Mount Etna are then explored. The immediately following passage, ll. 861-867, is reinterpreted in the light of a preceding reference to the Sicilian volcano. Not only Hesiod, but also Homer is argued to have knowledge of volcanism. Hesiod's simple, unelaborated reference to Typhoeus' defeat at Mount Etna implies that the association of Typhoeus with Mount Etna was made by Greeks before Hesiod; it can plausibly be connected to Greek colonising or proto-colonising activity in the eighth century BCE. The Typhonomachy would be only one of several mythological episodes in early Greek hexameter poetry to be localised in the West. Finally, the arguable presence of the Typhoeus-Etna link in Hesiod's *Theogony* significantly increases the likelihood that the closely related descriptions of Typhoeus in passages of Pindar (from *Pyth.* 1, *Pyth.* 8, *Ol.* 4, and *frr.* 92-3 Maehler) and the (Pseudo-)Aeschylean *Prometheus Bound* do not depend on each other, but on a lost early hexameter account of the Typhonomachy (perhaps, but not necessarily, the Cyclical *Titanomachy*) that had attained canonical status by the fifth century BCE. Thus also one popular argument for a late dating of the *Prometheus Bound*, and for its non-Aeschylean authorship, would need to be discarded.

Keywords Hesiod. Typhonomachy. Mount Etna. Volcanism. Sicily. The Greek West. Pindar. Prometheus Bound.

Summary 1 Hes. *Theog.* 860: A Textual Crux. – 2 Immediate Interpretative Consequences. – 3 Wider Interpretative Consequences.



Edizioni
Ca' Foscari

Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

Peer review | Open access

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/004

1 Hes. *Theog.* 860: A Textual Crux

Hesiod's 'Typhonomachy' (*Theog.* 820-880) contains a textual crux at the point where the narrative evidently intended to localise Typhoeus' incineration by Zeus's thunderbolt, line 860:

οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησιν ταῖδνῆς παιπαλοέσσης

in the glens of the mountain, † [...] rugged.¹

The verse as transmitted in the direct tradition (including already the second-century CE papyrus *PSI* 1086 = Π¹² West) presents an impossible congruence, for αἰδνῆς and παιπαλοέσσης are feminine adjectives, while οὔρεος is a neuter noun. Two remedies have been tried.

(i) For the genitive singulars αἰδνῆς and παιπαλοέσσης, read dative plurals, agreeing with βήσσησιν:

οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησιν αἰδνῆς παιπαλοέσσης

in the concealed, rugged glens of a/the mountain.

This reading is presupposed in the scholia, who offer the glosses ἀφανέσι, 'out of sight', and τραχείαις, 'rugged', both dative plural, evidently for αἰδνῆς and παιπαλοέσσης respectively.² It is approved by many modern editors and scholars.³ But it is not an ideal solution. The adjective αἰδνός, 'unseen, concealed', is not otherwise found in early Greek epos; its first attestation in hexameter poetry is Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 1.389.⁴ Moreover, the two adjectives qualifying βήσσησιν weakly furnish vague descriptive details,⁵ when a specific geographical localisation is expected. It would be more natural for the adjective

1 The obelus is due to West 1966, 143. For a defence of the authenticity of *Theog.* 820-80, see Schwabl 1966, 106-23; West 1966, 381-3 (differently, e.g. Solmsen 1982, 11-12; Ballabriga 1990, 23, 28-9). I have normalised the name of Zeus's adversary as 'Typhoeus' (rather than 'Typhon', 'Typhaon', 'Typhos'). It is a great pleasure to dedicate this paper to Willy Cingano, in recognition both of his scholarship (not least, of course, on Hesiod and Pindar) and of his friendship for many years. I am indebted to Jurek Danielewicz for many helpful comments and references.

2 Schol. *Th.* 860, in di Gregorio 1975, 108.

3 e.g. Mazon 1947, 62; Vasta 2004, 58; Most 2006, 72 = 2018, 70 (whose text reads οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησιν αἰδνῆς παιπαλοέσσης, but the translation indicates that οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησιν αἰδνῆς παιπαλοέσσης is meant: cf. Debiasi 2008, 80 fn. 19); Stamatorpoulou 2017, 61-3; Ricciardelli 2018, 80; etc. (see Debiasi 2008, 81 fn. 20 for further references).

4 Philipp 1955.

5 Debiasi 2008, 81.

παιπαλόεις to qualify a named mountain, rather than the common noun βῆσσαι.⁶

(ii) For the adjective τᾶιδνῆς, we may read a feminine noun in the genitive case, in apposition to οὔρεος, specifying the name of the mountain with παιπαλοέσσης in agreement. The reading αιτνης for ἄιδνῆς is attested (though not unequivocally) in the indirect tradition, in two manuscripts of Tzetzes' commentary on Lycoph. *Alex.* 688. Thus, some earlier editors (Flach; Rzach)⁷ read:

οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησιν Ἀίτνης παιπαλοέσσης

in the glens of the mountain, rugged Etna.

This reading found some support,⁸ and was recently championed by Debiasi.⁹ Its chief difficulty lies in the diaeresis Ἀίτνης, which is otherwise unattested.¹⁰ Lane Fox, following Wilamowitz, proposed reading Ἀἰδνῆς (or perhaps rather Αἰδνης, paroxytone?), seeing Ἀἰδνή (Αἰδνη) as Hesiod's "own attempt to render 'Aitna'", sc. Αἴτνη.¹¹ This is a fanciful way of finding a reference to Etna and it would leave the diaeresis unaccounted for. (Note that the native form putatively encountered by Hesiod or other early Greeks would not have had a diaeresis if Αἴτνη is correctly etymologised as a Sicel name presenting the same Proto-Indo-European root **h₂eid^h-*, 'burn', as is found in Greek αἶθω).¹² West supposed a reference to an otherwise unknown mountain Aīdna that was not to be identified with Etna, preferring a location in the Lydian-Mysian-Phrygian *Katakekaumene*.¹³ But so casual a reference by Hesiod to an obscure and unfamiliar mountain seems unlikely.

A specific geographical localisation is desirable, and there is much in favour of seeing not merely an indirect or distorted reference to

⁶ Compare West 1966, 393.

⁷ Flach 1878, 30; Rzach 1902, 106; cf. 1912, 1192.1-31.

⁸ Christ 1888, 355-8; *LSJ* s.v. "παιπαλόεις"; Spoerri 1955, 390.36-37; Dräger 1997, 20, with references in fn. 91.

⁹ Debiasi 2000, 232 fn. 24; 2008, 79-94.

¹⁰ See West 1966, 393.

¹¹ Lane Fox 2008, 366; Wilamowitz 1921, 194 fn. 2; cf. 1922, 225 "Die Typhonepisode der hesiodischen Theogonie [...] [nennt] den Berg Ἀἰδνή [...], also auf eine unklare Kunde des sikelischen Namens [...] hin"; [1931] 1955: i.261. Ballabriga 1990, 22 proposed that we may see in Ἀἰδνή "une sorte de projection mythique de l'Etna/Aitnè". See further Debiasi 2008, 86 fn. 45.

¹² Simkin 2012, 173. For Greek αἶθω, cf. Beekes 2010, i.37.

¹³ West 1988, 70-1, cf. 1966, 383; Marg 1970, 73, 281.

Etna, but also some form of the name Αἴτνη.¹⁴ The cumulative force of the following points is considerable.

1. The epithet παιπαλόεσσα is borne by Etna at ‘Hesiod’ fr. 150.25 M.-W.: [Αἴτν]ην παιπαλόεσσαν. Although the reading is an editorial supplement, it seems to be secured by Eratosthenes’ statement (in Strabo 1.2.14 C23) that Hesiod mentioned Etna and Ortygia; the following line of the papyrus (fr. 150.26 M.-W.) reads [Ο]ρτυγίην.¹⁵ The epithet παιπαλόεσσα is found with various mountainous islands in early Greek epic; it is clearly suitable for Etna.¹⁶
2. Later-attested mythological tradition locates Typhoeus at Etna: notably, Pind. *Pyth.* 1.20, *Ol.* 4.6-7, fr. 92.1-2 M., (Pseudo-)Aesch. *PV* 365. Of course, this is not the only tradition: the *Iliad* situated Typhoeus ‘among the Arimoι’ (or ‘in Arima’; *Il.* 2.783), a tradition known also to the *Theogony* (304-306); and the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield* seems to presuppose a tradition attaching Typhoeus to a Boeotian mountain named ‘Typhaonion’ (*Sc.* 32).¹⁷ We do not know that the link between Typhoeus and Etna goes back as far as (or further than) Hesiod.¹⁸ But in the absence of arguments to the contrary,¹⁹ it is reasonable to prefer one of the attested specific geographical localisations of Typhoeus to an unattested one, or to no specific geographical localisation at all.
3. αἰτνης is an attested variant in the indirect tradition (Tzetzes on Lycoph. *Alex.* 688).
4. αἰδνης is very close to αἰτνης, both palaeographically and acoustically; a corruption would be very easy to explain.²⁰

There is, then, much to be said for reading οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησιν Ἀίτνης παιπαλόεσσης. The remaining awkwardness is the diaeresis in Αἴτνης.²¹ Comparable prosodic awkwardnesses are tolerable, and if Αἴτνης were the reading of the paradosis, we could simply reconcile ourselves to the prosody by instancing, say, πᾶϊς alongside παῖς,

¹⁴ Differently, e.g. Mazon 1947, 62 fn. 2; Lewis 2020, 155 fn. 53 (a derivative and inaccurate discussion).

¹⁵ Debiasi 2008, 77-9.

¹⁶ Debiasi 2008, 83-4.

¹⁷ See further below for other localisations.

¹⁸ Cf. West 1966, 393.

¹⁹ One argument to the contrary concerns the relative dates of the composition of Hesiod’s *Theogony* and the Greek colonisation of Sicily; see below.

²⁰ See further below.

²¹ Compare the dilemma of Wilamowitz 1921, 194 fn. 2: *quippe Aetnam respici probabile, Αἴτνης ex αἰδνης facere et temerarium est et formam procreat inauditam.*

or Ἀΐδης alongside Ἄιδης.²² Yet it remains problematic to accept an unexampled prosody in an insecurely attested word.

The situation is such as to warrant small-scale textual intervention. The regular prosody of Αἴτνη can be purchased at the acceptable price of a small departure from the paradosis on the following route of emendation.

(iii) For τὰιδνῆς παιπαλοέσσης, read Αἴτνη παιπαλοέσση, and insert ἐν (or an equivalent form) to make a second prepositional phrase in apposition to οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησιν. We may take our pick of the following emendations, all yielding the meaning, ‘in the glens of the mountain, in rugged Etna’:

- οὔρεος ἐν βήσσης,²³ <ε>ἰν Αἴτνη παιπαλοέσση
- οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησιν, <έν> Αἴτνη παιπαλοέσση
- οὔρεος ἐν βήσσης, Αἴτνη <ένι> παιπαλοέσση.

Such doubled prepositional phrases are common in early hexameter poetry: Hes. *Theog.* 971 νεῖῶ ἐνι τριπόλῳ, Κρήτης ἐν πίοιι δῆμῳ, *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 26-7 κранаῖ ἐνὶ νήσῳ, | Δῆλῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ, and *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 280 ἐν καλῇ βήσση, Κηφισίδος ἐγγύθι λίμνης (this last with ἐν [...]) βήσση in the first colon).²⁴ In particular, we should compare the sentential structure of *Theog.* 859-861 with *Theog.* 969-972:

- 1 φλόξ δὲ κεραυνωθέντος ἀπέσσυτο τοῖο ἄνακτος
 - 2 οὔρεος ἐν βήσσης, εἰν Αἴτνη παιπαλοέσση,
 - 3 πληγέντος, κτλ.,
- (*Theog.* 859-61)

- 1 Δημήτηρ μὲν Πλοῦτον ἐγείνατο διὰ θεάων,
 - 1a Ἰασίῳ ἥρωι μιγεῖσ' ἐρατῇ φιλότῃ
 - 2 νεῖῶ ἐνι τριπόλῳ, Κρήτης ἐν πίοιι δῆμῳ,
 - 3 ἐσθλόν, κτλ.
- (*Theog.* 969-72).

These sentences are parallel in structure in the following respects. **1** (859, 969) is a syntactically and metrically complete main clause.

²² Debiasi 2008, 87-8.

²³ In early Greek epos, οὔρεος ἐν βήσσης (e.g. Hes. *Op.* 510) and οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησιν (e.g. Hes. *Theog.* 865) are used indifferently.

²⁴ Cf. also Hes. *Theog.* 290 βουσι παρ' εἰλιπόδεσσι, περιρρύτῳ εἰν Ἐρυθείῃ, 294 σταθμῶ ἐν ἠερόεντι, πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὀκεανοῖο, 483-484 ἀντρῶ ἐν ἠλιβάτῳ, ζαθείς ὑπὸ κεῦθει γαίης, | Αἰγαίῳ ἐν ὄρει πεπυκασμένῳ ὕληντι, 499 Πυθοῖ ἐν ἠγαθῇ, γυάλοις ὕπο Παρνησσοῖο, 'Hes.' fr. 59.3 M.-W. Δωτίῳ ἐν πεδίῳ, πολυβότρουος ἀντ' Ἀμύροιο. Cf. *Il.* 2.461, 2.549, 2.783a (verse attested in Strabo 13.4.6 C626), 3.244, 5.397, 8.385, 20.385; *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 269; *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 100.

2 is a self-contained verse with two appositional prepositional phrases (860 ἐν... <εἰν>... ~ 971 ἔνι... ἐν...), of which the first offers a generic localisation (860 οὔρεος ἐν βήσσης ~ 971 νεῖϕ ἔνι τριπόλῳ), the second a specific one (860 <εἰν> Αἴτνη παιπαλοέσση ~ 971 Κρήτης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ). **3**, in adding enjambment, picks up the syntax of the opening clause with an oblique-case participle or an adjective agreeing with a head noun in **1** (859-861 ἄνακτος [...] πληγέντος ~ 969-972 Πλοῦτον [...] ἔσθλόν). The proposed emendation would thus be fully conformable to Hesiodic style.

All three postulated corruptions are easy to account for palaeographically. On (A), either etacism or a simple copying error would explain the change of βήσσης εἰν into βήσσησιν, especially under the influence of οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησιν in line 865. On (B) and (C), simple omission of ἐν or ἔνι is envisaged. Following any of these postulated corruptions (which would have to antedate the second century CE, on the evidence of *PSI* 1086 = Π¹² West), αἴτνη παιπαλοέσση could readily have been altered into an appositional genitive αἴτνης παιπαλοέσσης (as attested in two manuscripts of Tzetzes' commentary on Lycophron) once the disappearance of εἰν / ἐν / ἔνι left the dative unmotivated, the dative ending -ηι, with iota adscript, being easily misread as the genitive ending -ης; the unmetrical βήσσησιν αἴτνης may subsequently have been corrected into βήσσησιν αἰδνῆς or αἰδνῆς. The attestation of both αἰδνῆς παιπαλοέσσης and αἰδνῆς παιπαλοέσσης implies alternative attempts to interpret the syntax of the line.

Option (A) appears the most satisfactory reading of *Theog.* 860. With the smallest palaeographical concessions, it meets the key desiderata of effecting a reference to Etna and employing a form of Αἴτνη without unparalleled diaeresis, and it introduces a doubled prepositional phrase ἐν... εἰν... that is idiomatic for early Greek epos and is in keeping with Hesiod's style. Accordingly, we should consider emending the text at *Theog.* 860 to read:

οὔρεος ἐν βήσσης, εἰν Αἴτνη παιπαλοέσση

in the glens of the mountain, in rugged Etna.

2 Immediate Interpretative Consequences

A reference to Etna in 860 requires us to look afresh at the immediately following lines, 861-867.

...
πληγέντος, πολλή δὲ πελώρη καίετο γαῖα
αὐτμῆ θεσπεσίῃ, καὶ ἐτήκετο κασσίτερος ὡς
τέχνη ὑπ' αἰζηῶν ὑπὸ τ' εὐτρήτου χοάνοιο
θαλφθεῖς, ἢ ἐ σίδηρος, ὃ περ κρατερώτατός ἐστιν,
οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησι δαμαζόμενος πυρὶ κηλέῳ 865
τήκεται ἐν χθονὶ δῖῃ ὑφ' Ἡφαίστου παλάμησιν·
ὡς ἄρα τήκετο γαῖα σέλαι πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο.

... as he was struck; and the huge earth was being burned in
abundance
by the wondrous heat and was being melted, like tin
heated by means of the craft of men and by the well-perforated
furnace
or as iron, which is strongest,
being mastered by the burning fire in the glens of the mountain,
is melted in the divine ground by the hands of Hephaistos:
so was the land being melted by the blaze of the burning fire.

Some have found this passage – and Hesiod’s Typhonomachy as a whole – evocative of volcanic activity.²⁵ Others have argued that these lines are incompatible with a reference to a volcano. There is, first, the objection that if Typhoeus is relegated to Tartarus (868), he cannot be conceived as being situated under Etna in 860.²⁶ The objection is weak: we get the same combination of Tartarus and Etna with Typhoeus in Pindar’s *Pyth.* 1, where Typhoeus ‘lies in Tartarus’ (15), but is still situated beneath Etna and Cyme (18-19).²⁷

A second objection is that Typhoeus is situated *on* the mountain (860), whereas an allusion to Typhoeus’ confinement in the volcano

25 Stamatopoulou 2017, 55: “abounds in volcanic imagery”, 61: “imagery dominated by fire that can be interpreted as volcanic”; cf. Ballabriga 1990, 22; Debiasi 2004, 106, 2008, 93. See also the references given below (Paley 1883, 261; Morgan 2015, 316; Pietro Bembo in Williams 2017, 29).

26 Marg 1970, 281; Colabella 2016, 20; Williams 2017, 29; cf. Severyns 1928, 171; West 1966, 393; Stamatopoulou 2017, 55.

27 Ballabriga 1990, 22; Debiasi 2004, 106; 2008, 92 and fn. 71. Williams 2017, 29 argues that Pindar signals adherence to Hesiodic tradition with the reference to ‘he who lies in dread Tartarus’ (*Pyth.* 1.15; cf. Hes. *Theog.* 868), but pointedly departs from it by then placing him under ‘snow-covered Aetna’ (*Pyth.* 1.20); in fact, in both details Pindar may be indebted to Hesiod or other early epic: see further below on the question of Pindar’s innovation.

Etna would require him to be situated *under* it.²⁸ However, the development of the ideas of the narrative in the ensuing simile suggests that Hesiod is indeed thinking of Typhoeus as being *inside* the mountain: note in particular 866 ἐν χθονὶ δίῃ.

It is not a serious objection either that Hesiod's narrative makes Typhoeus an *aition* for winds (869-880), rather than a volcano.²⁹ Atmospheric winds, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions were all closely connected in ancient Greek thought.³⁰ Notably, the famously volcanic Aeolian islands (see Thuc. 3.88.1-3; Verg. *Aen.* 8.416, 454) are named after the mythical keeper of the winds.

West commented: "Hesiod seems not to be thinking of a volcano, but a bare, scorched region".³¹ But Hesiod may very well have been thinking of a volcano. *Theog.* 861-7, describing the melting of the earth at the time of Typhoeus' defeat, suggest an *aition* for molten rock (lava).³² The interpretation of the metalworking simile, 862-866, is vexed. The meaning of χόανος in particular is unclear (as is the reading of 863).³³ It is evidently etymologically connected to χέω, 'pour', which generates many cognates in χόαν- and χών-. Suggested meanings are: '(s)melting furnace', 'crucible', 'funnel', or 'tuyere'.³⁴ If χόανος here conveys either a furnace with holes for bellows or a tuyere,³⁵ working in conjunction with bellows,³⁶ then the image could

²⁸ West 1966, 393.

²⁹ Cf. Stamatopoulou 2017, 55 "Typhos is confined in Tartarus [...], leaving behind him only a legacy of destructive winds".

³⁰ Sigurdsson 1999, 35: "The association of winds and volcanoes was to become a fundamental aspect of Greek ideas regarding volcanic activity"; Hine 2002, 72-4; Glauthier 2018, 257-60. Cf. e.g. Strabo 13.4.11 C628. See further below on winds and volcanoes.

³¹ West 1966, 393, preferring to see a reference to the *Katakekaumene* (cf. Xanthus of Lydia *BNJ* 765 F13).

³² Paley 1883, 261: "[sc. at *Theog.* 861] the burning of the wood is meant, and the melting of the earth (into lava) is described as consequent on it, just as below [sc. at *Theog.* 862-866] the fire of the charcoal furnace and the melting of the tin or iron are adduced in comparison". Morgan 2015, 316: "Hesiod's account of the melting of iron in mountain glens by the arts of Hephaistos could easily be (mis)read as an account of volcanic activity and could thus suggest the eruption of Aitna that Pindar narrates". Cf. already the humanist Pietro Bembo, *De Aetna* 39 (Williams 2017, 29).

³³ Peppmüller's emendation ἐν ἐυτρήτοις χόανοισι, 'in well-perforated furnaces', is accepted by Rzach 1902, West 1966, and Most 2006; in which case, Emped. fr. 96.1 D-K ἐν εὐτύκτοις (v.l. εὐστέρνοις) χόανοισι would be a reworking of the Hesiodic line (Sider 1984, 15-16).

³⁴ Sider 1984, 20; Edwards 1991, 209-10; Nordheider 2010, 1226.42 'Tiegel, Schmelzofen?', cf. Forbes 1967, 18 and fn. 90. Key occurrences are: *Il.* 18.470; Emp. fr. 96.1 D-K, with Simplicius on Arist. *De anima* 410a1 'χόανα' [...] ἐν οἷς ἡ τῶν μυχνυμένων γίνεταί κρᾶσις, ἀγγεῖα.

³⁵ Edwards 1991, 210.

³⁶ For ancient furnaces, see Forbes 1950, 122-33 (esp. 127, citing Hes. *Theog.* 864); and 113-19 on the production of blast-air. Marg 1970, 281 "Das Eisenerz wird in Schmelz-

aptly suggest the workings of a volcano.³⁷ Strabo mentions three craters in the volcanic *Katakekaumene* which he says were given the name ‘Bellows’, φῦσαι (13.4.11). Likewise, the Roman poets speak of Etna’s ‘furnaces’ (*fornaces*: Lucr. 6.681; Verg. *G.* 1.472; Ov. *Met.* 15.340; [Verg.] *Aetna* 1, 37).

Ἡφαίστου (866) has variously been understood metonymically.³⁸ Ἡφαιστος in the *Iliad* is a metonymy for ‘fire’ (*Il.* 2.426), but can hardly be so here, for that would create a superfluity with fire being mentioned in the preceding line (865 πυρί). West avoided a reference to Hephaistos by translating ὑφ’ Ἡφαίστου παλάμησιν as ‘by Hephaestus’ craft’, i.e. by the craft of metal-working.³⁹ West saw a reference to the practice of smelting of iron ore in the ground, a practice for which he cites parallels from various ‘primitive peoples’.⁴⁰ These parallels are too remote. There are more immediate parallels, linguistic and mythological, from ancient Greece, which point in a quite different direction.

First, the linguistic parallels. In Hesiod and other early hexameter poetry, the phrase ‘the hands of Hephaistos’ intends a reference to the personalised smith-god, Hephaistos, and ‘hands’ are meant literally. We may note: Hes. *Theog.* 578-580 ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ στεφάνην χρυσεῖν κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε, | τὴν αὐτὸς ποίησε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυῆεις | ἀσκήσας παλάμησι, χαριζόμενος Διὶ πατρί; [Sc.] 219 τὼς γάρ μιν παλάμαις τεῦξεν κλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυῆεις, 319-320 Ἡφαιστος ποίησε σάκος μέγα τε στιβαρόν τε, | ἄρσάμενος παλάμησι. Compare also ‘Hesiod’ fr. dub. 343.2-3 M.-W. Ἡφαιστον [...] | ἐκ πάντων παλάμησι κεκασμένον Οὐραניῶνων (where, however, παλάμησι could be taken as ‘hands’ or ‘craft’; compare *Theog.* 929, where the line recurs with τέχνησι for παλάμησι, and note that †τέχνησι appears to have intruded in fr. 343.2 as a gloss on παλάμησι in the following line).⁴¹

Second, the mythological parallels. The image of Hephaistos working metal in the earth evokes mythological traditions abundantly

elzöfen [cf. ἐν [...] χόανοισι] ausgeschmolzen, die gutverteilte Löcher [cf. ἐντρήτοις] für den Zutritt der eingeblasenen Luft und Austritt der Flammen haben”.

37 Hine 2002, 69, on the ancient theory “that volcanoes are like great furnaces, where flammable materials are ignited often by the force of wind”. Cf. Sigurdsson 1999, 5: “Anaxagoras proposed that eruptions were caused by great winds stored inside the earth. When these winds were forced through narrow passages or emerged from openings in the Earth’s crust, the friction between the compressed air and the surrounding rocks generated great heat, leading to the melting of the rocks and the formation of magma. To anyone who has observed an explosive volcanic eruption, this is a perfectly logical idea”, cf. 36. Cf. Lucr. 6.680-93; Ov. *Met.* 15.346-9.

38 Mader 1987, 950.41-4 tentatively considers seeing a reference to volcanic fire or to smiths subservient to Hephaistos.

39 West 1988, 28.

40 West 1966, 395; 1988, 71.

41 See further Beck 2000, 939.6-23.

attested from the fifth century BCE onwards, according to which Hephaistos smithied in a forge in a volcanic mountain, typically Etna or one of the Aeolian Islands off Sicily. The earliest references are these.⁴² First, Thuc. 3.88.3 νομίζουσι δὲ οἱ ἐκείνη ἄνθρωποι ἐν τῇ Ἴερᾷ ὡς ὁ Ἥφαιστος χαλκεύει, ὅτι τὴν νύκτα φαίνεται πῦρ ἀναδιδοῦσα πολὺ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καπνὸν ('the people of that region consider that Hephaistos smithies in Hiera [sc. Roman Vulcania, modern Volcano], because it is conspicuous at night for sending up much fire and smoke during the day').⁴³ Second, (Pseudo-)Aesch. *PV* 366-369:

καὶ νῦν ἀχρεῖον καὶ παράορον δέμας
κεῖται στενωποῦ πλησίον θαλασσίῳ
ἰπούμενος ρίζαισιν Αἰτναίαις ὕπο. 365
κορυφαῖς δ' ἐν ἄκραις ἤμενος μυδροκτυπεῖ
Ἥφαιστος, ἔνθεν ἐκραγήσονται ποτε
ποταμοὶ πυρὸς δάπτοντες ἀγρίαις γνάθοις
τῆς καλλικάρπου Σικελίας λευροῦς γύας.

And now he [Typhoeus] lies, a useless and witless body, near the strait of the sea, being squeezed beneath the fundament of Etna. Hephaistos strikes his anvil sitting in the uppermost summits, from where at some time rivers of fire will break out, devouring the smooth fields of fertile Sicily with savage jaws.

Such traditions are of course vestigial in our noun 'volcano' (< *Vulcanus*). It is impossible to say how far back they go, but there is no reason *a priori* to deny them to Hes. *Theog.* 865-866. Possibly there was a pre-Greek legend which already pointed in the same direction, perhaps in connection with Adranos, who was identified with Hephaistos and was 'probably an indigenous god of fire with war-like attributes, or a personification of Etna, where his cult was centred'.⁴⁴

It is reasonable to wonder to what extent, if any, the Homeric epics link Hephaistos' smithying with volcanism.⁴⁵ Both poems depict Hephaistos smithying in his home on Olympos (*Il.* 18.369-383; *Od.* 8.268, 273-277), necessarily divorced, therefore, from any connection with volcanism on the earth. But the *Iliad* also has Hephaistos recall a nine-year period in which he smithied under the sea, in the

⁴² Notable later references include: Callim. *Hymn* 3.46-50 (Lipare), *Hymn* 4.141-6 (Etna); Verg. *Aen.* 8.416-25, *G.* 4.170-5 (Vulcania); [Verg.] *Aetna* 29-32 (Etna).

⁴³ For ἐν τῇ Ἴερᾷ placed before the ὡς-clause, see Classen 1897, 180.

⁴⁴ Leighton 1999, 268. For the identification of Adranos with Hephaistos, see Wernicke 1894; Canciani 1981.

⁴⁵ Note Hennig 1939, 241 "Homer kennt noch keine Beziehung des Hephaistos zu den Vulkanen".

company of the Okeanid Eurynome and Thetis (18.400-405). Especially interesting for us are verses 402-403:

[sc. χάλκευον δαίδαλα πολλά]
 ἐν σπηϊ γλαφυρῶ· περὶ δὲ ῥόος Ὠκεανοῖο
 ἀφρῶ μορμύρων ῥέεν ἄσπετος

[sc. I [Hephaistos] smithied many ingenious things]
 in a hollow cave; and all around the current of Okeanos
 boiling with froth flowed unspeakably.

Although the commentators do not say so,⁴⁶ this would be an apt evocation of a submarine volcano.⁴⁷ We may compare Strabo's description of submarine volcanism at the island of Prochyta (5.4.9 C247-248): ἀναφυσμάτων πυρὸς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ θερμῶν ὑδάτων ('spoutings-up of fire, sea, and hot waters'), and τὰς φλόγας ἀναφυσᾶσθαι καὶ τὰ ὕδατα, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ νησιδῶν ἐχούσας ζέον ὕδωρ ('the flames and the waters, and sometimes even small islands with boiling water, spout up'). However, if Homer is thinking of the effects of a submarine volcano, then he is conspicuously not at pains to localise it.⁴⁸ Homeric epic also knows Lemnos (perhaps a volcanic island) as one of Hephaistos' favourite haunts, but unlike later authors Homer does not indicate that Lemnos was a site of Hephaistos' forge (or of one of his forges).⁴⁹ It may be that we are seeing here an example of Homer's 'Panhellenisation' (we should rather say: 'Olympianisation') of local religious practices.⁵⁰

Another Homeric passage that is relevant for the link, not between Hephaistos and volcanism, but between Typhoeus and volcanism, is *Il.* 2.780-785, especially lines 782-783 ὅτε τ' ἀμφὶ Τυφωεῖ γαῖαν ἰμάσση | εἰν Ἄριμοις ('whenever [Zeus] lashes the land around Typhoeus, among the Arimoi'). This links Zeus's defeat of Typhoeus aetiologically with some ongoing meteorological and/or geological phenomenon located 'among the Arimoi', whether that phenomenon is lightning, earthquake, volcanic eruption, or some combination of

⁴⁶ Edwards 1991, 194; Coray 2016, 167-8; Rutherford 2019, 180.

⁴⁷ With this use of μορμύρω, cf. *Il.* 5.599, 21.325, esp. *Od.* 12.238 (ἀναμορμύρω).

⁴⁸ Schein 2013, 8 sees a reference to Lemnos. However, this story of Hephaistos' fall is distinct from that given by Hephaistos at *Il.* 1.590-4, which is explicitly located at Lemnos. See e.g. Gantz 1993, i: 74-5.

⁴⁹ Cf. Hainsworth on *Od.* 8.283. On the status of Lemnos as a volcanic island, see Forsyth 1984; cf. Burkert 1970, 5-6 = 2000, 232-4. For Hephaistos' forge on Lemnos, see Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.55; for other references, see Malten 1912, 316.37-43.

⁵⁰ Rhode 1925, i: 39-40.

these.⁵¹ At least by the time of Xanthus of Lydia in the fifth century BCE (*BNJ* 765 F13a-b), these ‘Arimoi’ were being situated in, among other locations, the (once) volcanic so-called ‘burnt-up country’ (*Katatakaumene*), which Strabo (12.8.18-19 C579, 13.4.11 C628) depicts as susceptible to earthquakes, lightning, hurricanes, and volcanic eruptions. Many volcanic eruptions are accompanied by volcanic lightning.⁵² Neither the emphasis on winds (see above) nor that on lightning in the Hesiodic and Homeric descriptions respectively of Typhoeus are at all incompatible with an evocation of volcanism.⁵³ On the contrary, the combination of volcanic eruption and volcanic lightning can very aptly suggest the image of ‘Zeus’ ‘lashing’ the land around ‘Typhoeus’ in a targeted, seemingly retaliatory, fashion.⁵⁴ In short, the Homeric epics may have been conscious of a link both between Hephaistos’ smithying and volcanism and between Typhoeus’ blasting by Zeus and volcanism, though these links cannot be said to emerge with any great clarity.

The case for seeing a reference to Etna in the *Theogony* passage is thus strengthened by the immediately following lines, 861-67; the simile which seems to describe Hephaistos smithying in an underground setting is crucial. This extraordinary simile, however, calls for further comment. It is a very organic simile. It starts out as an ‘extended short simile’ (862-864).⁵⁵ The first, simple comparison, κασσίτερος ὦς (862), gets extended by the enjambed participial phrase θαλφθείς (864), with two preceding ὑπό-clauses (863) depending on it. But it then develops into a ‘multiple-term simile’ (864-866), with the addition of the disjunctive clause ἢ ἔ σίδηρος, ὃ περ κρατερώτατός ἐστιν (864).⁵⁶ There is anacoluthon in 865-866.⁵⁷ The indicative verb τίκεται (867) suits a ‘long simile,’ as if it had been introduced not by κασσίτερος ὦς [...] θαλφθείς [...] ἢ ἔ σίδηρος, ὃ περ

51 See esp. Jones 2003, 79 “Zeus hit [Typhoeus] with a thunderbolt and buried him deep in the earth, where he causes earthquakes - the point of this image”; cf. West 1966, 380; Willcock 1978, 212; Brügger; Stoevesandt; Visser 2003, 254, with references. Cf. schol. *D II*. 2.782.

52 For a modern scientific perspective on volcanic lightning, see McNutt, Williams 2010; McNutt, Thomas 2015. For an ancient perspective, Sen. *QNat*. 2.30.1 *quidam, inter quos Asclepiodotus est, iudicant sic quorundam quoque corporum concursu tonitrum et fulmina excuti posse. Aetna aliquando multo igne abundavit, ingentem uim harenae urentis effudit, inuolutus est dies puluere, populosque subita nox terruit. aiunt tunc plurima fuisse fulmina et tonitrua quae concursu aridorum corporum facta sunt, non nubium, quas uerisimile est in tanto feruore aeris nullas fuisse*. Cf. West 1969, 7.

53 Pace Hine 2002, 58-9, cited below.

54 Compare Greene 1992, 62-3.

55 Edwards 1991, 25-6: the criterion of the ‘short simile’ is that there is no (indicative) verb expressed.

56 For ‘multiple-term’ similes, Edwards 1991, 37.

57 Compare West 1966, 394.

κρατερώτατός ἐστιν, but by the usual formula for long similes, *ὥς δ' ὅτε [...] σίδηρος [...] τήκεται.⁵⁸ It is important to notice how this second comparison builds on the first. Men smelting tin in a crucible (first vehicle) made an apt comparison to the earth around Typhoeus (first vehicle) made an apt comparison to the earth around Typhoeus being melted by Zeus's thunderbolts (tenor), this comparison relating, as one would expect, to the time of the Typhonomachy narrative. However, Hephaistos smithying underground (second vehicle) implies an aetiology for *ongoing* volcanism, and thus relates to the time of the narrator and narratee rather than that of the narrative. In other words, the second comparison suggests a proleptic aspect to the narrative of the Typhonomachy: Typhoeus' incineration on Etna by Zeus's thunderbolt will result in volcanic activity in Etna lasting into the present. (It follows that the defeated Typhoeus is not *just* an *aition* for the winds: 869.) Tenor and vehicle are unusually closely related through this second comparison: not merely analogically, but causally or aetiologically. It is important to note, too, that Typhoeus' imprisonment under Etna following the battle with Zeus is linked with Hephaistos' smithying in Etna also in (Pseudo-)Aesch. *PV* 366-369 (quoted in full above). That (Pseudo-)Aeschylean passage is thus clearly a reception of the Hesiodic passage or something very like it (see below), a reception which confirms both the presence already in Hesiod of the link between the Typhonomachy and volcanism at Etna and the dependence of (Pseudo-)Aeschylus on the Hesiodic account, or a very close relative of it (see further below). This, therefore, is a remarkable simile.⁵⁹ We may note, finally, that similes with deities as their vehicles are themselves a relative rarity in extant early hexameter poetry.⁶⁰

3 Wider Interpretative Consequences

The case for seeing a reference to Etna in 860-867 is strong enough for it to be worth exploring some of the wider interpretative consequences, of which there are several.

58 Edwards 1991, 26: the criterion of the 'long simile' is that there is at least one (indicative) verb expressed.

59 See also Hamilton 1989, 28. For a different analysis of the simile than that offered here, see Rood 2007.

60 See e.g. *Il.* 2.780-785 (Zeus lashing Typhoeus among the Arimoi: see above); 13.298-305 (Ares and Phobos going from Thrace into battle with the Ephyri or Phlegyae); 16.384-392 (Zeus visiting destruction on evil-doers); *Od.* 6.102-108 (Artemis hunting boar or deer on the mountains of Taygetos or Erymanthos with the nymphs); 18.193-194 (Aphrodite beautifying herself before going to the dancing-place of the Charites). See Edwards 1991, 37 fn. 45. On the absence of Zeus (but not other gods) from the tenor of similes in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, see further Ready 2012.

One concerns the Greeks' awareness of volcanoes. According to one authoritative view, Greece at the time of Homer and Hesiod had no knowledge of volcanoes.⁶¹ It is clear that the adjudication of this question depends on the interpretation of just a couple of controversial epic passages.⁶² We have seen reason to think that Homer and Hesiod reflect a reasonably developed knowledge of volcanism, perhaps extending to the observation (whether first- or second-hand) of submarine volcanism and volcanic lightning.

Another implication concerns the Greeks' knowledge specifically of Etna as an active volcano. The preceding discussion presupposes that Etna was known as an active volcano prior to *Theog.* 860-867. Thucydides (3.116.2) records an opinion (λέγεται)⁶³ that there was only one (major?) eruption of Etna in the period from the 730s BCE (the first Greek colonisation of Sicily) to 475 BCE.⁶⁴ This suited Thucydides, who was interested in the idea that 'portents' (volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, tidal waves, eclipses, plagues) occurred with increased frequency during the Peloponnesian War, the eruption of 425 BCE being only the third.⁶⁵ But it would be erroneous to suppose that Etna was *wholly inactive* for a period of more than 250 years:⁶⁶ whether or not there were any large-scale eruptions in the

61 Hine 2002, 58-9. Cf. Wilamowitz 1922, 225 fn. 2.

62 Further to the passages considered here, the Cyclops episode of *Odyssey* book 9 is fancifully read as an allegory of an eruption of Mt Etna by Scarth 1989. Likewise, Greene 1992, 46-72 sees the Titanomachy and the Typhonmachy of Hesiod's *Theogony* as allegories of, respectively, eruptions on Thera (Santorini) of ca. 1470 BCE and of Etna in '735 BCE' (on the dating of this eruption of Etna, see further below). Cf. Henning 1939, 241 "die Schilderungen Hesiods von der Titanomachie und vom Kampf zwischen Zeus und Typhoeus sind offensichtlich durch Ätna-Ausbrüche inspiriert worden".

63 See Westlake 1977, esp. 357-8.

64 On the Thucydidean passage, see Debiasi 2000 (who, however, is mistaken in his assumption that the dates recorded in ancient sources have found scientific corroboration: see the following footnotes below).

65 See especially Thuc. 1.23.3, cf. 3.87.4, 3.89.4-5. Hornblower 1991, 317. Compare Hdt. 6.27.1.

66 Note Chester, Duncan, Guest, and Morgan 1985, 2: "To a greater or lesser extent it is in an almost continual state of activity"; Sigurdsson 1999, 39: "Rarely dormant, [Etna] has been almost continuously active for over the 2500-year period that historical records cover [...] About twenty eruptions of Etna were known in antiquity"; Flintoff 1986, 90: "The fact is, as anyone who takes the trouble to read the newspaper (or, better still, is acquainted with the area) knows, that whilst Etna has only a comparatively few really major eruptions, it is a very active volcano whose milder eruptions, so far from being rare, are almost indeed continuous"; Scarth 1989, 89: "It produces relatively few violently explosive eruptions, which always come from the central crater. Instead, its typical, oft-repeated eruptions are moderately or weakly explosive emissions from vents arranged on fissures that radiate from the summit". For dates of eruptions of Etna, see Chester et al. 1985, 96-116, esp. 96; Scarth, Tanguy 2001, 229-31 (list compiled from historical written documents, except for ca. 1100 BCE and ca. 3300 BCE); Siebert, Simkin; Kimberly 2010, 52-5 (eruptions dated by scientific dating techniques, mainly radiocarbon, before the first millennium BCE, and by historical eruption reports thereafter).

later eighth or early seventh centuries BCE,⁶⁷ Greeks must have been keenly aware of Etna as an active volcano from at least the earliest colonisation of Sicily.

A third issue is the question of how early Greek mythological and poetic traditions began to associate Typhoeus with Etna. Greeks had colonised volcanic Pithecussae (Ischia) by ca. 759 BCE, and at some point began to associate Typhoeus with that region. The earliest extant source to do so is 'Pherecydes', presumably Pherecydes of Athens of the fifth century BCE, rather than Pherecydes of Syros of the sixth.⁶⁸ From the 730s BCE, Greeks were colonising the east coast of Sicily, including Naxos (ca. 734 BCE) and Katane (ca. 728 BCE), both sites that are dominated by Etna's towering presence.⁶⁹ The smoking mountain can hardly have failed to pique the colonists', and proto-colonists', immediate interest.⁷⁰ They may have found it already the subject of indigenous Sikel legend, perhaps involving Adranos.⁷¹ The story of the Zeus-Typhoeus conflict is ultimately of Near Eastern origin, which pre-Homeric and pre-Hesiodic hexameter tradition had situated 'among the Arimoi (?)', perhaps in Cilicia-Syria.⁷² Acquaintance with the volcanic geography, and perhaps the indigenous mythology, of the eastern coast of Sicily and the coast of Campania may have encouraged new, creative, localisations of the story. (In due course, there were to be lots of other creative localisations of the

67 Despite Debiasi 2000, 230-1 (similarly, Greene 1992, 56-8, with 168 fnn. 10-14), the eruption dates of 735 BCE ('uncertain') and 695 (±2) BCE given by Siebert; Simkin; Kimberly 2010, 52 appear not to be scientifically derived (not being prefaced by any of the letter-codes detailed on pp. 20-4), but to derive from 'historical eruption reports' (cf. p. 24). In this case, 'historical eruption reports' presumably means, precisely, a reading of Thuc. 3.116.2 and Hes. *Theog.* 859-867, the latter taken as reflecting an eruption of Etna. Scarth and Tanguy 2001, 231 indicate only *one* putative eruption in '? 695 BCE' (presumably, their dating of either Hes. *Theog.* or of the 'pious brothers') intervening between the scientifically-identified eruption of ca. 1100 BCE and the eruption of 479-475 BCE, known from the Marmor Parium (*BNJ* 239.A52) and Thucydides (3.116.2). Similarly, Chester, Duncan, Guest, and Morgan 1985, 96 and 118-19 (fig. 3.18); for their use of 'patchy' historical accounts, see p. 91. The identification (by Chester, Duncan, Guest, and Morgan 1985, 96) of an eruption of ca. 693 BCE with the eruption presupposed in the popular story of the 'pious brothers' (οἱ εὐσεβεῖς), Amphinomos and Anapias (in Lycurg. *Leoc.* 95-6; cf. Strabo 6.2.3 C269; Paus. 10.28.4-5; *et alia*; see Arnold-Biucchi 1981 for the numismatic evidence) is fanciful.

68 Pherec. '*Theogony*' fr. 54 Fowler, *apud* schol. Ap. Rhod. 2.1209-1215a; see Dolcetti 2004, 21; Fowler 2013, 715 and fn. 23; cf. Hine 2002, 71. Prof. R.L. Fowler points out to me (personal communication) that Pherecydes of Syros is not cited in the scholia to Apollonius, but Pherecydes of Athens repeatedly. Later sources: Lycoph. *Alex.* 688-690; Strabo 5.4.9 C248 (referring to 'the myth' that Typhoeus lies beneath the island of Prochyta, off Pithekoussai); Verg. *Aen.* 9.715-16. Hornblower 2015, 286.

69 Colonisation of Sicily: Thuc. 6.3.1-3.

70 Cf. Dräger 1997, 21 with fn. 96.

71 For Adranos, see above.

72 See Currie 2016, 203.

Zeus-Typhoeus conflict, for instance, in Lake Serbonis by ‘Mt Kasi-os’ in Egypt, Hdt. 3.5.3; the task of synthesising all the various competing localisations would fall to later poets and mythographers.)⁷³ Even if we suppose that this development must postdate the colonisation activities of the 730s BCE, and discount voyages of reconnaissance and Greek trading interests in Sicily in the pre- or proto-colonial period,⁷⁴ that would still leave sufficient time for the tradition to be taken up in the *Theogony* of ca. 700 BCE. The story of Kronos vomiting up the stone that was substituted for Zeus and its being placed at Delphi (*Theog.* 498-500) is in origin a Near Eastern story most familiar to us in its Hurrian-Hittite version (the Kumarbi myth) that may not have been attached to Delphi before the later eighth century BCE (when Delphi began to acquire national or ‘Panhellenic’ standing), likewise then only decades at most before the likely composition of the *Theogony*.⁷⁵ Needless to say, these scenarios have implications for the speed at which new traditions could spread across the Greek world and could be taken up in a supra-regional epic poetry, such as Hesiod’s.⁷⁶

We are embroiled now in the question of the interest taken by early Greek epic in what we think of as the Greek West. The casualness of Hesiod’s localisation of Zeus’s defeat of Typhoeus on Etna implies dependence on an existing tradition.⁷⁷ That inference becomes inescapable if we accept that Hesiod himself never went to Sicily (compare *Op.* 650-651). This would not be the only place where Hesiodic epic would draw on epic traditions with Western localisations.⁷⁸ The *Theogony* (1011-1016) draws on a tradition that set Odysseus’ wanderings in Western Greece, naming one of his sons with Kirke as

⁷³ Fowler 2013, 29. For this synthesising process, compare Currie 2016, 244-5.

⁷⁴ Dräger 1997, 18 “die Gründung von Kolonien [...] [muß] nicht schon erfolgt sein; Erkundungsfahrten werden vorhergegangen sein”. Cf. Heubeck 1992, 383; Crielaard 1995, 231-2; Leighton 1999, 223-5.

⁷⁵ Morgan 1990, 127, 147, 203-4. Compare Griffin 1995, 124, commenting on *Il.* 9.405; Dickie 1995, 37. Contrast West 1966, 28-9 (despite p. 41: Delphi “did not rise to any national importance before c. 750”). Note that other sites than Delphi laid claim to the ‘Zeus-stone’: Arcadian Methydriion: Paus. 8.36.3; Boeotian Chaironeia: Paus. 9.41.6 (for Delphi’s claim, see Paus. 10.24.6).

⁷⁶ In general on the spread of news in the Greek world, see Lewis 1996. Dräger 1997, 17-19 indicates possible avenues for the “Ausbreitung von Nachrichten”, emphasising Boeotian Hesiod’s links with Euboean Chalcis (cf. *Op.* 650-655), and the role of Chalcis and Euboea in colonising the West; compare already Christ 1888, 357-8. Cf. Lane Fox 2008, *passim*, esp. 182-4, 314-15.

⁷⁷ Tsagalis 2013, 21 fn. 11: “In my view, the various idiosyncrasies of the Hesiodic version [sc. of the Typhonomachy, *Theog.* 820-880] testify to the fact that it presupposes a fuller version from which it has been adapted”.

⁷⁸ See, on *Theog.* 1011-1016 and ‘Hes.’ fr. 150.25-26 M.-W.; Braccisi 1993, 13-14.

'Latinos' and having him rule the 'Tyrsenoi' (Etruscans).⁷⁹ Congruently, the *Catalogue* (fr. 150.25-26 M.-W.) takes for granted the localisation of the Laestrygonians in Sicily.⁸⁰ Regardless of questions of authenticity,⁸¹ there is no obvious reason why such traditions should not go back to the later 8th century BCE.⁸² Although the *Odyssey* does not situate Odysseus' wanderings in the West,⁸³ it shows a notable familiarity with the West, making reference to 'Sikeloi' (20.383), an old woman from Sicily (her name is perhaps 'Sikele')⁸⁴ who cares for Laertes (24.211, 366, 389), and apparently to the Italian cities Temese (1.184) and Alybas (24.304; note 307 ἀπὸ Σικανίης).⁸⁵

Finally, the argument has indirect implications for the debate about the authenticity of the *Prometheus Bound*. One strand of that debate concerns the relationship between the descriptions of Typhoeus at Etna in (Pseudo-?)Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* and in various poems of Pindar: *Pyth.* 1 and 8, *Ol.* 4, and fr. 92 M.⁸⁶ The problem concerns how to account for the similarities in the following passages.

- *Pyth.* 1.15-20 ὅς τ' ἐν αἰνᾷ Ταρτάρῳ κείται, θεῶν πολέμιος, | Τυφῶς ἑκατοντακάρανος· τόν ποτε | Κιλίκιον θρέψεν πολυώνυμον ἄντρον· νῦν γε μάν | ταί θ' ὑπὲρ Κύμας ἀλιερκέες ὄχθαι | Σικελία τ' αὐτοῦ πιέζει στέρνα λαχνάεντα· κίων δ' οὐρανία συνέχει, | νιφόεσσ' Αἴτνα.
- *Pyth.* 8.15-18 βία δὲ καὶ μέγαλαυχον ἔσφαλεν ἐν χρόνῳ. | Τυφῶς Κίλιξ ἑκατόγκρανος οὐ νιν ἄλυξεν, | οὐδὲ μὰν βασιλεὺς Γιγάντων· δμᾶθεν δὲ κεραυνῶ | τόξοισί τ' Ἀπόλλωνος.
- *Ol.* 4.6-7 ἀλλὰ Κρόνου παῖ, ὃς Αἴτναν ἔχεις | ἵππον ἀνεμόεσσαν ἑκατογκεφάλα Τυφῶνος ὄβριμου.
- Pind. fr. 92.1-2 M. κείνῳ μὲν Αἴτνα δεσμὸς ὑπερβίαλος | ἀμφίκειται. Pind. fr. 93.1-3 M. ἀλλ' οἷος ἄπλατον κερᾶίττε θεῶν | Τυφῶνα

⁷⁹ With Hesiod's knowledge of 'Tyrsenoi', compare, in the 7th century BCE, Alcman's knowledge of 'Enetoi' (fr. 1.51 *PMGF*), perhaps the *Veneti* from the northern Adriatic, roughly modern Veneto: so, recently, Budelmann 2018, 73-4; differently, Calame 1983, 328.

⁸⁰ Cf. Thuc. 6.2.1 See Hirschberger 2004, 326.

⁸¹ In support of the authenticity of the end of the *Theogony*, see Edwards 1971, 198-9.

⁸² Braccesi 1993, 13-14; Dräger 1997, 13-23; Malkin 1998, 182-3; Cingano 2004: xxi-xxii; Debiasi 2008, 49. Differently, dating the Latinos and Etruscans passage of *Theogony* to the 6th century BCE: West 1966, 398, 436; Lane Fox 2008, 183.

⁸³ Heubeck 1989, 4-5, 52; Saïd 2011, 158-62; Currie 2020, 32-9.

⁸⁴ For 'Sikele' as the woman's name, see Poccetti 2012, 51, cf. 53; Currie 2020, 29-31 (*pace* Cerri 2007, 24 fn. 32).

⁸⁵ See Currie 2020, 9-28; Dräger 1997, 16; cf. Phillips 1953, 54; Crielaard 1995, 231-3; Antonaccio 2011; West 2014, 38.

⁸⁶ The importance attached to this strand of the debate will depend on one's confidence in the statistical-stylistic approach (see, sceptically, e.g. Flintoff 1983, 5; Lloyd-Jones 2003, 54).

πεντηκοντοκέφαλον (Τυφῶν' ἑκατοντακάρανον: Hermann, followed by Turyn)⁸⁷ ἀνάγκη Ζεὺς πατήρ | ἐν Ἀρίμοις ποτέ. Pind. fr. 92 and 93 M., both quoted by Strabo, may or may not be from the same poem.⁸⁸

- (Ps.?)Aesch. *PV* 351-354 τὸν γηγενῆ τε Κιλικίων οἰκίτορα | ἄντρων ἰδῶν ὄικτιρα, δάιον τέρας, | ἑκατογκάρανον πρὸς βίαν χειρούμενον, | Τυφῶνα θοῦρον, 364-365 κείται στενωποῦ πλησίον θαλασσίῳ | ἰπούμενος ρίζαισιν Αἰτναίαις ὑπο. Note also P. 1.21-22 ἀπλάτου πυρὸς [...] παγαί, 22 ποταμοί ~ [Ps.?]Aesch. *PV* 368 ποταμοί πυρός, 371 ἀπλάτου [...] πυρπνόου ζάλης.⁸⁹

Scholars are agreed that either (1) there is direct dependence between these passages, or (2) the passages are indirectly connected, each depending on a lost common source.⁹⁰

Option (1) has led scholars to advocate various rigid models of specific allusion: that *Pythian* 8 (ca. 450/446 BCE) alludes to *Pythian* 1 (ca. 474/470 BCE);⁹¹ *Olympian* 4 (ca. 452 BCE?)⁹² alludes to *Pythian* 1;⁹³ and Pseudo-Aeschylus *Prometheus Bound* alludes to *Pythian* 1 and *Olympian* 4 – this last entailing the inauthenticity of the *Prometheus Bound*, on the grounds that *Olympian* 4 postdates Aeschylus' death in 456/5 BCE.⁹⁴ It is also possible to posit influence, in one direction or the other, between *Pythian* 1 and the *Prometheus Bound*, and to see each of these as also being dependent on Hesiod's *Theogony*.⁹⁵ Such tight nexuses of intertextuality are possible, but vulnerable in each of their assumptions. It is not obvious, for instance, why (Pseudo-)Aeschylus would allude to (or imitate) separate Pindaric odes, including the relatively insignificant *Olympian* 4; or why Pindar in all of *Olympi-*

⁸⁷ Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 825 ἑκατὸν κεφαλαί (of Typhoeus), cf. 311-312 Κέρβερον [...] | πεντηκοντακέφαλον. Nowhere else is Typhoeus depicted as having 50 heads: Gerber 1987, 15.

⁸⁸ Wilamowitz 1922, 225 fn. 1.

⁸⁹ Griffith 1978, 135 fn. 98, 136 fn. 100; Debiasi 2008, 90-1; Stamatopoulou 2017, 146-7.

⁹⁰ For the two options, cf. Griffith 1977, 9; 1978, 118; Bees 1993, 18; Cingano 1995, 13; Watkins 1995, 455; Debiasi 2004, 105.

⁹¹ Krischer 1985, followed by followed by Robbins 1997, 276; Morrison 2007, 116-17; 2010, 250-1. Cf. Burnett 2005, 227-8.

⁹² On the date of *Ol.* 4, see Gerber 1987, 7-8; Lomiento 2013, 99-101 (differently, Barrett 2007).

⁹³ Morrison 2007, 110; Nicholson 2011.

⁹⁴ Griffith 1978, 118-20; Garner 1990, 228 fn. 37; West 1990, 65; Lefèvre 2003, 148-9; cf. Morrison 2007, 110 with fn. 125; Nicholson 2011: esp. 95 fn. 8; Stamatopoulou 2017, 56 and fn. 15, cf. 146-7; Glauthier 2018, 263-6.

⁹⁵ Debiasi 2008, 89-91, with references in 91-2 fn. 70. For influence of Hes. *Theog.* on *PV*, see also Flintoff 1986, 90-1.

an 4, fr. 92 S-M, and *Pythian* 8 should want to allude to *Pythian* 1. In general, it is easier to feel happy about arguments for intertextuality between works whose chronological relationships are known than it is about arguments for the relative chronology of works based on their assumed intertextual relationships.

Option (2) has also had its advocates, notably von Mess in 1901.⁹⁶ According to Griffith, “the biggest objection to [von] Mess’ theory of close imitation of a particular poem by both Pindar and Aeschylus is that it requires us to believe that a post-Hesiodic epic described in detail an eruption of Aetna, and linked it with Typhos”.⁹⁷ But we have seen reason to believe that already Hesiod’s *Theogony* (presumably with epic precedent) evoked in detail Etna’s volcanism and linked it with Typhoeus. The inference that Hesiod was here drawing on earlier hexameter tradition makes it much easier to imagine that a post-Hesiodic epic (one ‘canonical’ enough to serve as a hypotext for both Pindar, in several poems, and for [Pseudo-?]Aeschylus in the *Prometheus Bound*) also described in detail an eruption of Aetna and linked it with Typhoeus. On the basis of our knowledge it is easiest to suppose that that hexameter poem was the Cyclical *Titanomachy* usually attributed to Eumelus.⁹⁸ However, there can have been more than one such early epic treatments.⁹⁹

On this view, certain specific words or phrases common to Pindar, (Pseudo-)Aeschylus, and Hesiod can be taken to derive from the epic account(s). This goes for some form of the adjective Κιλίκιος/Κίλιξ, probably referring to Typhoeus’ cave (Pind. *Pyth.* 1.17, 8.16; [Ps.?-]Aesch. *PV* 351; cf. [Ps.?-]Hes. fr. dub. 388 M.-W.); some form of the adjective ἑκατοντακάρηνος referring to Typhoeus (cf. Hes. *Theog.* 825; *Pyth.* 1.16, 8.16, *Ol.* 4.7, perhaps Pind. fr. 93.2 M.; [Ps.?-]Aesch. *PV* 353); some form of the noun ἴπος, ‘weight’, or the cognate verb ἰπῶω, ‘to press’, conveying Typhoeus’ imprisonment (*Ol.* 4.7; [Ps.?-]Aesch. *PV* 354); and mention of Αἴρνη as the place where Typhoeus was defeated and/or confined (Hes. *Theog.* 860; Pind. *Pyth.* 1.20, *Ol.* 4.6; [Ps.?-]Aesch. *PV* 354). There may have been a separate epic tradition that

⁹⁶ Von Mess 1901; Schroeder 1922, 6-7; Burton 1962, 98; Fraenkel 1994, 7. Cf. Debiassi 2008, 89 and fn. 61.

⁹⁷ Griffith 1978, 119. Griffith’s argument is hailed by Stamatopoulou 2017, 56 fn. 16 as “a thorough refutation of von Mess’ arguments” (similarly, Glauthier 2018, 263 fn. 34; Lewis 2020, 151 fn. 45); the following discussion aims to show that it is nothing of the sort.

⁹⁸ On the question of attribution, see D’Alessio 2015, 203-4 fn. 19; an attribution to Hesiod emerges from Nic. *Ther.* 8-12 = ‘Hes.’ fr. spur. 367 M.-W. (Cazzaniga 1975). On the question of the presence of the Typhonomachy in the *Titanomachy*, see Severyns 1928, 171; Debiassi 2004, 104-7, 2008, 89 fn. 61; Tsagalis 2013 (qualified: Tsagalis 2017, 81-2); D’Alessio 2015, 209 fn. 48. See also Currie 2021, 295-6, 324.

⁹⁹ For the Typhonomachy in a Pseudo-Hesiodic poem (cf. ‘Hes.’ fr. dub. 388 M.-W.), see von Mess 1901, 173-4.

identified 'the Arimoi' as the locality where the defeated Typhoeus rested (*Il.* 2.783; Hes. *Theog.* 304, 306; Pind. fr. 93.3 M.: see above).

On this scenario, the *Theogony* presupposes hexameter poetry on the Typhonomachy that had already attained some degree of textual fixity. Similarly, the *Theogony* must be taken to presuppose hexameter poetry that was possessed of a degree of textual fixity on the rape of Persephone (*Theog.* 912-14: cf. *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 1-3), on the love-affair of Aphrodite and Anchises (*Theog.* 1008-1010: cf. *Il.* 2.820-821, *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 54), featuring a Catalogue of Nereids (*Theog.* 243-264: cf. *Il.* 18.39-49), and, perhaps, on Prometheus' deception of Zeus (*Theog.* 535-616: cf. *Op.* 47-89).¹⁰⁰ A canonical post-Hesiodic hexameter treatment of the Typhonomachy (perhaps the Cyclical *Titanomachy*) would, on this scenario, have shared several words and phrases with the earlier hexameter treatment(s); and Pindar and Aeschylus will each have engaged with the canonical poem. For neither the epinician nor the tragic poet is this assumption especially difficult. In general, Pindar's verbal debts to epic are clear.¹⁰¹ Also clear is tragedy's capacity to redeploy phraseology from epic.¹⁰² Thus, *pace* Lloyd-Jones, it does not seem easier to suppose that one of (Pseudo-)Aeschylus or Pindar depended on the other than that each depended on a common epic source.¹⁰³ Tragedy's intertextuality with epic is a well-documented phenomenon, and interaction specifically of *Prometheus Bound* with Hesiod's *Theogony* and the Cyclical *Titanomachy* is very likely.¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, tragic intertextuality with epinician in general is a much murkier phenomenon.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, epi-

100 Rape of Persephone, love affair of Anchises and Aphrodite: Currie 2016, 80, 84-5, 153 and fn. 36, 156-7, 158. Nereids: Edwards 1991, 149; Nieto Hernández 2011. Prometheus narratives: Heitsch 1963, 7-8, 9-10 (differently, Blümer 2001, i: 11-12; ii: 135 and fn. 201, cf. ii: 85).

101 See Sotiriou 1998: *passim*. Note esp. *Nem.* 10.61-3 and *Cypria* fr. 15 Bernabé; *Ol.* 6.17 and *Thebais* fr. 8 Bernabé; *Isthm.* 6.37 and 'Hes.' *Megalai Ehoiai* fr. 250 M.-W.; *Pyth.* 3.27-29 and 'Hes.' *Cat.* fr. 60.1-3 M.-W. Cf. also Bacchyl. 13.151-153 and *Il.* 15.715. Currie 2021, 292-8. *Pace* Griffith 1978, 136 fn. 102: "It is also surely true that Pindar is not elsewhere observed to follow an epic predecessor with such slavish closeness as is suggested here?"

102 See e.g. Goldhill 1997, 129-30; Rutherford 2012, 47; Davidson 2012, 247-8. Two particularly striking examples are, first, *Soph. Aj.* 1164-5 and *Il.* 24.797 (Easterling 1988, 96-7; cf. 1984, 1-8) and, second, *Eur. Hel.* 36-37, 39-40 and *Cypria* fr. 1.1-7 Bernabé (Kannicht 1969, ii: 29).

103 The quotation is from Lloyd-Jones 2003, 55. Contrast e.g. Fraenkel 1994, 7.

104 E.g. Herington 1985, 128-9; Stamatopoulou 2017, 122-50, with 150 fn. 72.

105 See e.g. Irigoin 1952, 11-12; Bagordo 2003, 234-5. Swift 2010, 104-72 and Carey 2012 explore tragic allusions to the genre of epinician, to its distinctive topoi, its favoured dactylo-epitrite metre, and its favoured diction; but not specific allusion - intertextuality - of the kind in which we are interested. Sfyroeras 2018 argues for intertextuality between the first and third *stasima* of *Soph. OC* and *Pind. Ol.* 3 and 2 respectively; the argument is unconvincing. *Soph. Ant.* 100 ἀκρις ἄελίου surely does al-

nician's intertextuality with Homeric, Hesiodic, and Cyclical epic is relatively easy to demonstrate, while intertextuality between one epinician and another epinician or between epinician and tragedy are more doubtful propositions.¹⁰⁶

Finally, this has implications for the scope of Pindaric invention. What in all this should we lay at Pindar's door? In the introduction to his commentary on *Pythian* 1, Cingano wrote:

Pindaro è il primo autore a collocare il sepolcro di Tifone nell'Occidente Greco [...], collegando tra loro due aree - l'Etna (la Sicilia) e Cuma (negli altri autori sostituita da Pithecussa) - che nelle fonti posteriori si escludono reciprocamente quale sede del mostro. È possibile che le due tradizioni esistessero, separate, già in epoca arcaica, ma il collegamento di Tifone con entrambe le aree è molto probabilmente opera di Pindaro. Il poeta ha 'costruito' una versione del mito appropriata al committente e all'occasione unificando due tradizioni che rinviano all'area siculo-campana, recente teatro delle imprese di Ierone: la fondazione di Etna e la vittoria sugli Etruschi a Cuma.¹⁰⁷

lude specifically to Pind. *Pae.* 9.1 ἀκτίς ἀελίου (both the opening words of a choral song by Thebans); this specific allusion is extremely well motivated, but does not involve an epinician. (Ps.-)Aesch. *PV* 768, 921-925 has also been argued to depend on Pind. *Isthm.* 8.33-35 (Farnell 1930-32, i: 287-8; ii: 379-80; Köhnken 1975, 33-4 fn. 19; Bagordo 2003, 199-201); but see the sober remarks of Carey 1981, 195-6; further, Burnett 2005, 114-15; Rutherford 2015, 455-6.

106 On epinician's extensive intertextuality with epic and on the absence of convincing evidence of intertextuality between epinicians, see Currie 2021 (*pace* e.g. Morrison 2007). On epinician's supposed intertextuality with tragedy, specifically the relationship between Pind. *Pyth.* 11 and Aeschylus' *Oresteia* see Finglass 2007, 11-16. Kurke 2013 (after Herington 1984 and others) maintains that *P.11* alludes to tragedy, and in particular to the *Oresteia*. The grounds, however, are weak. The alternative motivations mooted for Klytaimestra's killing of Agamemnon at *Pyth.* 11.24-25 find their closest parallels in later fifth-century historiography (e.g. Hdt. 1.86.2; Currie 2018, 309-10 with fn. 66). There is no need to posit tragic influence here on Pindar (*pace* Herington 1984, 140-1, 144-5; Kurke 2013, 113-14, 124-5), any more than on Herodotus. Even if this doubtful instance of epinician intertextuality with tragedy were granted, it would remain a splendidly isolated case (*pace* Kurke 2013, 146-9). Pfeijffer 1999, 51-5 argues that Bacch. 16 (a dithyramb) is intertextual with Soph. *Trach.*; the argument is questionable, and seen by its author (p. 55) as an isolated case.

107 Cingano 1995, 14: "Pindar is the first author to situate the resting-place of Typhon in the Greek West [...], connecting with each other two areas - Etna (Sicily) and Cyme (in the other authors, replaced with Pithecussae) - which in the subsequent sources exclude one another as the location of the monster. It is possible that the two traditions existed, as distinct traditions, already in the archaic period; but the connection of Typhon with both areas is very probably Pindar's doing. The poet has 'constructed' a version of the myth appropriate to the patron and to the occasion, uniting two traditions which relate to the Sicel-Campanian area, recent theatre of Hieron's achievements: the foundation of Aitna and the victory over the Etruscans at Cyme".

According to Cingano, Pindar may not have invented either the tradition that Typhoeus was buried under Etna or the tradition that he was buried under Ischia, but he may very well have been responsible for the combination of the two traditions.¹⁰⁸ The fundamental correctness of this position is borne out by my argument. But I believe we can be more definite about the first claim. Pindar did not invent the tradition that Typhoeus was buried under Etna; the tradition did indeed exist – in hexameter poetry – in the archaic period. As regards the tradition of Typhoeus’ burial at Pithecussae: this was known to Pherecydes of Athens (fr. 54 Fowler), presumably also from archaic poetic tradition.¹⁰⁹ Cingano’s second claim – that the linking of the Etnan and Cuman traditions is very probably Pindar’s doing – also seems highly plausible. The casualness with which Pindar connects Etna and Cyme as abodes for Typhoeus need not imply that others made the connection before Pindar.¹¹⁰ Rather, the coincidence of volcanic activity at both Etna (Thuc. 3.116.2; cf. *BNJ* 239.A52) and Cyme (Strabo 5.4.9 C247-8) in the 470s BCE would have offered Pindar both sufficient motivation and a very topical justification for making the link. It should be pointed out that Cingano’s statement that ‘Pindar is the first [sc. extant] authority to situate the burial of Typhoeus in the Greek West’ has given rise to frequent misunderstandings.¹¹¹ Basing themselves on this statement,¹¹² scholars have written, for instance, “Pindar may well have been the first to locate Typhon in the Greek west” (Morgan) or “Pindar, in *Pythian* 1, was the first poet to locate Typhos under Etna” (Nicholson).¹¹³ Such statements go beyond the evidence. They will be flatly contradicted by the evidence, if we allow the evidence to include Hesiod’s *Theog.* 860, emended to read some form of Αἴτνη.¹¹⁴

The question of Pindar’s invention has also entered into the discussion of the authenticity of the *Prometheus Bound*, or rather into the argument about the likelihood of the existence of a common epic source for the Pindaric poems and the *Prometheus Bound*. Against the likelihood of a common epic source, Griffith has objected: “It would seem to be too great a coincidence that Pindar, when he came to tell a story

108 Cf. Hine 2002, 71-2.

109 See above; here too I am indebted to Prof. Fowler.

110 So Hine 2002, 72.

111 Cingano’s position is correctly interpreted by Bonanno 2010, 159, 160; Stamatopoulou 2017, 55 fn. 13.

112 Often, however, misattributed as “Gentili 1995, 14”, rather than ‘Cingano 1995, 14’, e.g. by Bonanno 2010, 160 fn. 105; Morgan 2015, 317 fn. 23; Lewis 2020, 151 fn. 45.

113 Morgan 2015, 317; Nicholson 2011, 95. Cf. Williams 2017, 29; Lewis 2020, 151-2.

114 Christ 1888, 358 had already concluded that, in connecting Typhoeus with Aetna, Pindar and (Pseudo-)Aeschylus “keine neue [sic] Gedanke in die Poesie einführten, sondern nur den Fußstapfen des alten Dichters Hesiods folgten”.

immediately after the 479/5 eruption of Aetna, found a ready-made epic version".¹¹⁵ Yet such coincidences do occur, and when they did, it would be the mark of a good poet to take advantage of them. The placement of the Argonauts' sojourn on Lemnos on the return leg of Argonauts' journey in *Pythian* 4 (not, as in Apollonius, on the outward voyage) so obviously suited Pindar's poetic purposes that it seemed to scholars to be obviously Pindar's innovation.¹¹⁶ Yet iconographical evidence (an Etruscan vase of the later seventh century BCE) suggests that this may have been a mythical variant long predating Pindar.¹¹⁷ In general, it is clear that poets embrace existing stories as well as inventing them, and an ancient Greek poet's ability to exploit coincidences could be at least as important as his capacity for pure invention.

Abbreviations

HE = Finkelberg, M. (ed.) (2011). *Homer Encyclopedia*, vols i-iii. Malden (MA).
LfrgE = Snell, B. et al. (Hrsgg) (1955-2010). *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, Vols i-xxv. Göttingen.
LIMC = *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (1981-2009), vols i-viii. Zurich; Munich.
LSJ = Liddel, H.G.; Scott, R.; Jones, H.S.; Mackenzie, R. (eds) (1940). *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. Oxford.
RE = Wissowa, G. et al. (eds) (1894-1980). *Paulys Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vols i-xxiv. Stuttgart.

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115 Griffith 1978, 119.

116 Braswell 1988, 347-8; see Dräger 1993, 246-7 fn. 293 for further references.

117 Giannini 1995, 107 fn. 1, 497-8, after Rizzo, Martelli 1993, esp. 35-40; cf. Smith 1999, 199. For the Etruscan vase in question, see also Schmidt 1992, 388 (no. 1), 395-6.

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Note a frammenti esiodei

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Abstract This paper deals with *P.Oxy.* 2500 and 2501, two Hesiodic papyrus fragments usually ascribed to the *Catalogue of Women*. New readings and supplements are provided, along with a new edition of fr. 253 M.-W.

Keywords Hesiod. Catalogue of Women. Melampous. Epic. Papyrology.

Nel 1962 E. Lobel pubblicò due papiri ossirinchi (*P.Oxy.* 2500 e 2501), nei quali ravvisava la narrazione di episodi mitici connessi con la saga di Melampo. Sebbene in un primo momento assegnato dall'*editor princeps* dubitativamente alla *Melampodia*,¹ nel *P.Oxy.* 2500 Merkelbach e West, seguiti dagli editori successivi, hanno voluto riconoscere una sezione del *Catalogo delle Donne*, da riferire alla stirpe degli Eolidi (fr. 64 M.-W./32 Hirsch.):

] ησαπογ[
]κίδα καλλιγ[ύναικα

Ho incontrato per la prima volta Willy Cingano durante un convegno urbinato del 2002; fu lui a cercare me, allora dottorando, perché incuriosito dal fatto che mi fossi imbattuto in un nuovo frammento esiodeo (pubblicato poi su *ZPE* 145, 2003, 1-5). In ricordo di quel primo contatto, cordiale e scherzoso come è proprio dello stile del celebrato, mi piace dedicargli queste brevi note, forse meno stuzzicanti, ma segno di affetto e di comunanza di interessi mai venuti meno.

¹ Cf. Lobel 1962, 72 e 74. Importanti elementi contro l'attribuzione alla *Melampodia* in West 1963, 753 e nota 1.



Edizioni
Ca' Foscari

Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

Peer review | Open access

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/005

ἐ]πίκλῃσιν κ[αλε
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 τὸν δ' αὖθ' Ἑρμάωνι μιγείσ' ἔρατῆι] φιλ[ό]τητι
 Αὐτόλυκον τίκτεν Κυλληνίωι Ἄρ]γεῖ[φ]όντ[η]

Questa sequenza frammentaria di versi, che tramanda parte della sezione su Filonide, figlia di Deione e Diomede, è nota grazie al papiro ossirinchiato e alla citazione di un verso contenuta nel Περὶ κλίσεως τῶν εἰς ὧν βαρυτόνων (p. 21) di Teodosio, che a sua volta dipende da Erodiano. Il contenuto è intuibile grazie a Ferecide (fr. 120 Fowler = 154 Dolcetti, tradito da *schol. Od.* 19.432) che, a proposito dei figli di Autolico menzionati in Omero, racconta di Filonide, la quale si era unita nello stesso tempo con Hermes e Apollo. Col primo aveva concepito Autolico, ladro abilissimo, col secondo Filammone, inventore dei cori di fanciulle: Φιλωνίς ἢ Δηϊόνος θυγάτηρ οἰκοῦσα τὸν Παρνασσὸν Ἑρμῆ ἐν ταύτῳ παρελέχθη καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι· εἶχε γὰρ τὸ κάλλος ἐράσιμον ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ζηλοτυποῦντας κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ θελῆσαι μίσησθαι. εἶτα ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος γίνεται Φιλάμμων, ἀνὴρ σοφιστής, ὃς καὶ πρῶτος ἔδωκε χοροὺς συστήσασθαι παρθένων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ Αὐτόλυκος, ὃς οἰκῶν τὸν Παρνασσὸν πλείστα κλέπτων ἐθησαύριζεν. εἶχε γὰρ ταύτην τὴν τέχνην παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς, ὥστε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὅτε κλέπτοι τι λανθάνειν, καὶ τὰ θρέμματα τῆς λείας ἀλλοιοῦν εἰς ὃ θέλοι μορφῆς, ὥστε πλείστης αὐτὸν δεσπότην γενέσθαι λείας. ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Φερεκύδει. Il contesto geografico, che permette di collocare il passo esiodeo nella Focide, è ribadito da [Apoll.] 1.86, Δηϊῶν δὲ βασιλεύων τῆς Φωκίδος Διομήδην τὴν Ξούθου γαμεῖ, che consente di optare con maggiore probabilità per l'integrazione al v. 2 di Φω]κίδα, piuttosto che Χαλ]κίδα, entrambe proposte da Lobel nell'*editio princeps*,² a cui si accompagnerebbero καλλιγύναικα ο καλλιπ[άρη]ον a seconda che si tratti della regione

² Χαλκίδα si basava su Ath. 609e Ἡσίοδος δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Μελαμποδίας (fr. 277 M.-W.) τὴν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ Χαλκίδα καλλιγύναικα εἶπεν.

	] [ ]μεγασθ[ενε-	
]ν[	]αγ [έ]πήρατογ [είδος ἔχουσαν	
] []	καὶ Κ]οίρανον υἱέας ἔσθλους	
]θ[	]ια καὶ Ἄντιφάτηγ [
]Μανῆ[ώ . . . ] [ ]	]ην Προνόην τεκ[	5
] . . ρα[	]Θε[ο]κλύμενος γε []	
]ευχ[	]η[. . .]ν Πολύιδος ἀμ[ύμων	
]η[	] [ . . ] ὑπ' Ἴλιο[ν] ἠνεμόε[σσαν	
	Ἄ]γαμέμνονι καὶ Μ[ε]νελάωι	
	]ς καλλισφύρου Ἄρ[γ]ειώνης	10
	] . . ρα Περικλυμένωι	
] [ . . ]	]τα θεῶν ἄπο μῆδ[ε]α εἰδῶς	
	Ἄ]γαμέμνο[ν .] καὶ Μ[ε]νελα-	
	]σιγ ἄμ' ἔ[σ]πετο θει[
] [ . . ]	] [κ]ούρηγ κ . . . ουκ[	15
	] . . Ὀϊκ[λ]ῆα μεγάθυμ[ον	
]ε [ ]	]οσειδάωνι ἄνακτι	
]υ [ ]	]πολέων ἠγήτορ[α λαῶν	
]ας[	] . . ι φίλον μακάρ[ε]σσι θεοῖς	

Al v. 13, Ἄ]γαμέμνο[ν .] καὶ Μ[ε]νελα-, lo spazio in lacuna prima di καὶ è insufficiente per α, per cui l'unica possibilità sarà scrivere Ἄ]γαμέμνο[νι] καὶ Μ[ε]νελάωι, come al v. 9. Al v. 15, dopo [κ]ούρηγ si distingue abbastanza chiaramente κλυ[τ]ου; questa lettura è sufficientemente certa da portare a escludere l'appartenenza della traccia finale a κ[], che sarebbe peraltro metricamente impossibile. Le uniche alternative praticabili sono η e ι. Se si identifica la fanciulla con Zeussippe, moglie di Antifate, figlio di Melampo, sembrerebbe inevitabile integrare [κ]ούρηγ κλυ[τ]οῦ Ἴ[π]ποκόωντος.⁸ Sebbene altri supplementi appaiono improbabili (così ad esempio Ἡ[λ]εκτρύωνος), perché non si adattano al contesto, bisogna postulare che lo scriba abbia omesso il *trema* sullo iota iniziale, regolarmente segnato altrove. Il v. 16 viene stampato nella forma] . . Ὀϊκ[λ]ῆα μεγάθυμ[ον da Lobel in poi, ma è scomparso dalle edizioni successive un elemento segnalato nell'*editio princeps*. Lobel evidenziava che l'*omicron* era tagliato per segnalarne la cancellazione; però, di fronte all'impossibilità di inserire Ileo/Oileo all'interno della stirpe di Melampo, suggerì l'economica correzione Ὀϊκ[λ]ῆα, universalmente accettata. Dati materiali spingono però a mettere in discussione lo stato attuale del testo. Che lo scriba abbia cancellato l'*omicron* risulta sicuro a un controllo autoptico, inoltre nella traccia immediatamente preceden-

⁸ Tale supplemento sembra presupposto dalla traduzione di Arrighetti 1998 «la figlia dell'illustre Ippocoonte, Zeuxippe, dopo averla sposata, generò Oicleo coraggioso». Il testo stampato a fronte corrisponde però a quello di Merkelbach e West.

te si può riconoscere con ampio margine di sicurezza un ε. Accettando Ὀϊκλήα si avrebbe uno iato molto forte con ciò che precede, assolutamente senza paralleli in tutta la produzione epica. Diverso sarebbe il caso se si conservasse Ἰλήα, la cui forma alternativa Ὀϊλ- è dovuta a un differente trattamento del digamma con cui originariamente il nome iniziava. Ὀϊλεὺς è forma omerica, laddove in Esiodo è attestato Ἰλεύς (fr. 235 M.-W.).⁹ La menzione del padre di Aiace locrese all'interno di questo frammento sarebbe ingiustificata, ma i dati testuali richiederebbero maggiore attenzione di quanto non sia stata loro prestata fino a questo momento. Mi sia concesso avanzare un'ipotesi di lavoro. Ecle, padre di Anfiarao e nipote di Melampo, è menzionato come Ὀϊκλήος nel fr. 25.35 e il patronimico Ὀϊκλείδαιος è presente nel fr. 197.6, entrambi unanimemente assegnati al *Catalogo delle Donne*; mi chiedo se l'eventuale derivazione di *P.Oxy.* 2501 dalle *Grandi Ee* non possa giustificare un nome alternativo per questo personaggio.¹⁰

Comunque stiano le cose, il nome Ἰλεύς è messo in connessione dal poeta con l'aggettivo ἴλαος e il toponimo Ἰλιος nel fr. 235 M.-W., di cui offro, come appendice a questo lavoro, una nuova edizione, che permetta di comprendere l'effettivo apporto dei vari testimoni:

Fonti: Et. Gen. (AB) Ἰλεύς ὁ Αἴαντος πατήρ ἐτυμολογεῖται ὡς φησιν Ἡσίοδος οἶον· Ἰλέα τὸν ῥ' ἐφίλησεν - ὅτε τεῖχος, ὁ δὲ Ἡρωδιανὸς [Ἡρωδ() B] ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν [om. B], ὡς περ λέγεται Βριαρέως [λε() ὅτι ὡς περ λε() τὸ Βριαρέως B] Ὀβριαρέως, οὕτω [οὕτως A] καὶ τοῦτο διχῶς λέγει Ὀϊλεὺς καὶ Ἰλεύς. **Et. Gud.** Σελ(εύκου). Ἰλεύς ὁ Αἴαντος πατήρ. ἐτυμολογεῖται ὑφ' Ἡσιόδου· Ἰλέα τὸν ῥ' ἐφίλησεν - καὶ Ἀπόλλων. ταῦτα παρατίθεται ἐν Δ Σιμωνίδ(ου). **Ecl. e Bar. 50** (ff. 306v-307r) Ἰλεύς Αἴαντος πατήρ ἠτυμολόγεται ὑφ' Ἡσιόδου (sic) ἴδεια τὸν ῥ' ἐφίλησεν - καὶ Ἀπόλλων. **Et. M. (M)** Ἰλεύς ὁ Αἴαντος πατήρ ἠτυμολόγηται ὑφ' Ἡσιόδου· Ἰλέα τὸν ῥ' ἐφίλησεν - ἐρατῆ φιλότητι. Ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδοτος διχῶς λέγει, ὡς περ Βριαρέως καὶ Ὀβριαρέως. **Tzetz. in Il. 418.12-419.5 Pap.** Οἶμαι, ὦ Ποσειδώνιε, ὡς οὐδὲ ἀνέγνως Ἡσίοδον οὐδ' ὅπῃ περὶ Ἰλέως φησί· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὸν ἄνδρα οὕτως ἀναίτιως ἠτιῶ, κατὰ Ἰωνικὴν ἀφαίρεσιν εἰπόντα Ἰλέα τὸν Ὀϊλέα, ὡς καὶ τὸ ἡβαιὸν ἄλλοι βαιόν, καὶ τὸν ἄσταχυν στάχυν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. Καίτοι γε καὶ εἴπερ μὴ ἦν διαλέκτου, ἠτυμολόγει δὲ καὶ τούτων ὡς περ διή καὶ ποιεῖ, ἔδει σε πείθεσθαι· φησί γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ ἠρωϊκῇ γεναλογίᾳ ταυτί· Ἰλέα, τὸν ῥ' ἐφίλησεν - καὶ Ἀπόλλων. **Tzetz. in Lyc. 393 Scheer** ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Τροίας οἰκοδομήσει «ἤματι τῷ - καὶ Ἀπόλλων» μυθικῶς. **Eustath. in Il. 6.403** Τοιοῦτος δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος ἐν τε ἄλλοις καὶ ἐν οἷς τὴν Πανδώραν ἐτυμολογεῖ, καὶ ἐνθα δὲ τὴν φιλομειδῆ καὶ τὴν Κυθέρειαν, τὸ μὲν ὅτι Κυθήροις προσεπέλασε, τὸ δ' ὅτι μηδέων ἐξεφράσθη, ὃ ἐστὶν αἰδοίων

⁹ Su questa forma si veda West 2008, 31-2.

¹⁰ Per la presenza nelle *Grandi Ee* di versioni mitiche alternative a quelle presenti nel *Catalogo*, D'Alessio 2005, 179-88.

τῶν τοῦ Κρόνου, καὶ ὅπου δὲ τὸν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ὀϊλέα τετρασυλλάβως καλούμενον Ἰλέα τρισυλλάβως αὐτὸς λέγειν ἐθέλων φησὶν οὕτως αὐτὸν κληθῆναι, οὐνεκα νύμφην - ἐρατῇ φιλότητι. Ὅθεν ἔστι συνιδεῖν ὅτι κατὰ πλεονασμὸν τοῦ ο ἐκ τοῦ Ἰλεύς γέγονεν ὁ Ὀϊλεύς, ὁμοίως τῷ κέλλω ὁκέλλω, κλῶ κλάζω ὁκλάζω, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῷ Βριάρεως Ὀβριάρεως, ὡς τεχνογραφεῖ Ἡρφδιανός. καὶ οὕτω μὲν Ἡσίοδος.

Ἰλέα τὸν ῥ' ἐφίλησεν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων,
καὶ οἱ τοῦτ' ὀνομήν' ὄνομ' ἔμμεναι, οὐνεκα νύμφην 2
εὐράμενος Ἰλεων μίχθη ἐρατῇ φιλότητι.
ἤματι τῷ ὅτε τείχος εὐδμήτοιο πόληος 4
ὑψηλὸν ποίησε Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀπόλλων.

1 ἴδεα Ecl. υἱὸς s.l. add. EtGud **2-5** om. EtGen (B) **2** οἱ: τοι Ecl. μιν Tzetz. ἰν (ἰν) Leutsch ὀνομήν' ὄνομ' EtGen EtGud Tzetz. (L) ὄνομ' ὀνομήν' Tzetz (C) ον() EtM ὄνομ' om. Ecl. ἔμμεναι om. EtM **3** εὐρόμενος Fischer fort. recte ἴλεον EtGen (et Sittl) μίχθη Eustath. μίγη Tzetz. ὠχθη EtGen ὄχθη EtGud Ecl. ἴλεων ὦ EtM ἐρανῆ Tzetz. ἐρατεινῆ Ecl. EtGud **4-5** om. EtM εὐδμήτοιο πόληος - καὶ Ἀπόλλων om. EtGen (A) **4** τὸ supra τῷ add. EtGud

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Pyrwias Leading the Dance

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Abstract A study of a Corinthian *aryballos* on which is painted a line of hexameter verse that complements its images of an *aulos* player and a boy leading a small company of dancers.

Keywords Pyrwias. Inscribed Greek verse. Corinthian vases. Dancers. Text and image.

In 1954 an utterly charming,¹ largely undamaged, ceramic vessel was discovered by American excavators in Corinth, in a tile fill just below the temple of Apollo [figs 1-2].²

Its shape is of the type nowadays uniformly described as an *aryballos*, although the vessel itself, as we shall see, seems to call itself an *olpe*.³ *Aryballos* finds (I shall continue to use this name) are quite common in Corinth and elsewhere, and this particular subtype may have originated there (it is in fact called “Corinthian” by art histo-

An *amuse-voûç* for Willy. Thanks are due to William Furley, Regina Höschele, Antonis Kotsonas, Joel Lidov, David Petrain, Andrej Petrovic, and Alan Shapiro for help of various sorts.

1 “Delizioso”, Guarducci 1959-60, 281.

2 On the excavation, see Roebuck 1955, especially 151-2.

3 “Aryballos” seems to be pre-Greek (Beekees 2010, s.v. “ἀρύβαλλος”), and is glossed as *lekythos* (Hsch. s.v. “ἀρβυλίδα· λήκυθον· λάκωνες”) and as *kotyle* (Hsch. s.v. “ἀρβύσασσον· κοτύλη ἢ φλάσκων” [= late Latin *flascō*]); also Hsch. s.v. “ἀρύβαλλοι· μαρσύππια”, ‘pouch’, since in origin it was a small leathern draw-string purse, as in Stesichorus fr. 165 Finglass. See further Gulletta 1992, 272-7. This is not the only vase to refer to its own shape/name; cf. Lazzarini 1973-74.





Figure 1 Corinth C-1954-1 = CEG 452 = Amyx/Wachter COR 17 = Guarducci 1967, 1: 175-6 = Lorber 39 = SEG XIV, 303. Roebuck 1955, *Hesperia* 24(2). American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations. <https://www.corinth-museum.gr/en/collection-item/aryballos-with-a-unique-dance-scene/>

Figure 2 A flattened reconstruction of the Pyrwias aryballos. Roebuck 1955, *Hesperia* 24(2). Artist: Piet de Jong. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations. <http://corinth.ascsa.net/id/corinth/image/color%20183?q=references%3A%22Corinth%3AObject%3AC%201954%201%22&t=&v=icons&sort=rating%20desc%2C%20sort%20asc&s=4>

rians; cf. Richter, Milne 1935, 16), although it was also widely exported and found elsewhere in the Greek world.⁴ *Aryballoi* range in height from ca. 4 to ca. 18 cm; ours is 4.4 cm high. It has been dated to the middle Corinthian period, although its decade has not been agreed upon by the experts.⁵ Our *aryballos* attracted immediate attention not only because of its lively dance scene, but also because of its ad-hoc inscriptions, seemingly (but not without some dispute) both a personal name and a complete hexameter line describing both the painted scene and the vase as a whole. A review of the function of the vase⁶ and the nature of the words and scene depicted will lead to a few new observations (and one wild guess).⁷

Inscription

(1) ΠΟΛΥΤΕΡΠΟΣ

(2) ΠΥΡΡΗΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΧΟΡΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ· ΑΥΤΟ ΔΕ ΦΟΙ ΟΛΠΑ.⁸

Apparatus criticus

(1) Πολύτερπος (nomen proprium) Guarducci (1959-60) 282 plerique πολυτερπός (adj.) Roebucks fort. πολυτερπως

(2) ΑΥΤΟ: αὐτῶ (= Attice αὐτοῦ) plerique αὐτῶ<ι> (= αὐτῶ) Roebucks αὐτῶ (adv.) Boegehold ΔΕ ΦΟΙ: δ' ἔφο Boegehold ΟΛΠΑ: <μ>ολπά Boegehold Raubitschek (1973)

⁴ What moderns call the Corinthian *aryballos* Theocritus may have called the Doric *olpe*; see below. Athenaeus' description of *aryballos* fits the modern usage: ΑΡΥΒΑΛΛΟΣ· ποτήριον κάτωθεν εὐρύτερον, ἄνω δὲ συνηγμένον, ὡς τὰ συσπαστὰ βαλάντια, ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ διὰ τὴν ὁμοίωσιν ἀρυβάλλουσι τινὲς καλοῦσιν. Ἀριστοφάνης Ἰππεῦσι (1094)· “κατασπένδειν κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀρυβάλλῳ ἀμβροσίαν” (783e). See also Moeris s.v. “ἀρυβάλλον· ἔστι δὲ ποτηρίου εἶδος στενόστομον”.

⁵ It has been dated 590-580 or a little later, according to the Roebucks (1955, 580-75), *omnibus assentientibus*. For the periodisation of Corinthian vases, see Benson 1953.

⁶ Beyond the usual function of *aryballoi* of this size, designed to contain enough olive oil for one trip to the gymnasium. A leather thong was passed between handle and body to allow the vessel to hang from the athlete's wrist. A ceramic plug (almost always lost) would have kept the oil from spilling. Both the thong and the oil being poured are to be seen in a gymnasium scene on Berlin no. F 2180 = Beazley archive no. 2000063. <https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/XDB/ASP/browse.asp?tableName=qryData&newwindow=&BrowseSession=1&companyPage=Contacts&newwindowsearchclosefrombro> use=. On this vase, see Aulenti et al. 1990, 53-9.

⁷ This is not the place to discuss the broad issue of vase inscriptions; cf. e.g. Snodgrass 2000, 22-34; Wachter 2016; Yatromanolakis 2016. A data base of all vase inscriptions may be found at <https://www.avi.unibas.ch/DB/searchform.html>.

⁸ Underlined letters are written retrograde.

Text

- (1) Πολύτερπος
(2) Πυρφίας προχορευόμενος· αὐτοῦ δέ φοι ὄλπα.

1 Commentary

(1) Πολύτερπος: This word, separated by the body of the aulete from the other words and dancers, has been reasonably taken by almost all to be his proper name,⁹ whether Polyterpos adopted it himself as an appropriate *redender Name*¹⁰ or, as Boegehold (1965, 259) suggests, because it would be unsurprising at a time when sons often followed a father's trade if a boy born to a musician were given an appropriate name at birth.¹¹ In any case, Euterpe was the Muse most closely associated with the aulos; cf. e.g. schol. in Eur. *Rhes.* 346 (= Herod. Att. fr. 159 Wehrle) Εὐτέρπη, ἣ τὴν κατ' αὐλοῦ εὔρεν εὐέπειαν, Philostr. *v.Ap.* 5.21 εἰ δὴ ταῦτα πάντα παρέχεις, θαρρῶν αὐλεῖ, ὦ Κάνε, μετὰ σοῦ γὰρ ἡ Εὐτέρπη ἔσται, Simon. 947 *PMG* = F 254 Poltera ἐπεὶ περ ἤρξατο | τερπνοτάτων μελέων ὁ καλλιβόας πολύχορδος | αὐλός.

Less likely is the adverb πολυτέρπως, or rather πολυτερπῶς, since the only adjective built on this stem in literary texts is πολυτερπής, which, however, is not found until Anon. *Anth. Pal.* 9.504.6 ὕμνους ἀθανάτων Ἐρατῶ πολυτερπέας εὔρε, an epigram that seems to be post-Philip, i.e. post 100 BCE;¹² *Orac. Sib.* 8.489 ὁδομαῖς ἀνθῶν πολυτερπέσιν; and *Orphic Hymn* F 243.9 Bernabé (cited by Porphyry) Ἔρωσ πολυτερπής, all three in hexameters. As Wachter (2001, 45) ably documents, since there are parallels for the same stem to appear in two declensions, there can be no objection to a Polyterpos and Polyterpes.¹³ Auletes accompany jumpers on other vases as well.¹⁴ The question remains as to why the painter/commissioner named Pol-

⁹ The Roebucks saw it as a simple adjective, followed by Gallavotti 1976, who takes its reference to be not the scene in whole or part, but the vase itself, adducing comparanda, e.g. Φιλτῶς ἡμι τὰς καλὰς ἀ κύλις ἀ ποικίλα (*IG* 12.1.719).

¹⁰ The best comparandum is Stesichorus, né Teisias (Suda s.v. "Στησιγόρος"), but note also Plato, né Aristocles (Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.258), and Theophrastus, né Tyrtamus (Strabo 13.2.4); cf. Thompson 2007 and Corsten 2019.

¹¹ See Guarducci 1959-60, 282-3, who offers some examples.

¹² That is, it does not occur in runs of epigrams clearly belonging to either Meleager or Philip's two early anthologies.

¹³ David Petrain (personal communication) wondered whether ΠΟΛΥΤΕΡΠΟΣ could represent the genitive Πολυτερπους - i.e. (the image) of Polyterpes - but, although there are parallels for this use of a genitive label elsewhere, I can find none on a Corinthian vase.

¹⁴ Basel Antikenmuseum, Käppel 425 = Boutron-Oliver, *Douris* 51 (and plate 36); and Boston MFA 1973.88, on which see below. See also Bundrick 2005, 74-80.

yperpos on a vase celebrating Pyrwias' victory. Perhaps his local fame as aulete lent luster to any *agon* he accompanied.

(2) Corinthian vase inscriptions (for which see Lorber 1979; Arena 1967) tend to be simple; if not mere names, then the shortest of dedicatory formulas: X^{nom} ἀνέθηκε Y^{dat}. Although Corinthian *aryballoi* are more likely to show writing than those of any city other than Athens,¹⁵ the only one of comparable length is IG 14.865 = Lorber 9 (675-650) Ταταίης ἐμὶ λέγουθος. ἡὸς δ' ἄν με κλέφσει θυφλὸς ἔσται.¹⁶

Metrics The string of letters remaining was almost certainly intended as a hexameter, although this has been either contested or, if accepted as an epic line, damned as a poor example (“subliterary”). “Poor” is too harsh, however; our composer may not have been Homer, but nothing in this line cannot be found in epic. (i) The Line shape is SDDSD, a relatively rare one in Homer, where it occurs only 5.23% of the time. (ii) A word as long as προχορευόμενος is conducive to a hephthememiral caesura, as here. (iii) A continuant (μ, ν, λ, ρ, σ, ϕ) in hexameters may be prolonged (‘doubled’ or, more properly, ‘geminated’), usually in the princeps,¹⁷ in order to lengthen metrically the preceding syllable;¹⁸ here the final sigma of προχορευόμενος.¹⁹ (iv) Usually the continuant begins a word; here, however, it ends one, as at *Il.* 1.85 θεοπρόπιον ὄ τι οἴσθα; *Thgn.* 2 ἀρχόμενος οὐδ', 1232 ὤλετο μὲν | Ἴλιου ἀκρόπολις. (v) The iota of Πυρφίας is naturally short, but proper names containing the pattern — υ — are often modified to fit

¹⁵ See Osborne, Pappas 2007, 141.

¹⁶ For the formulaic syntax of which, see Cingano 2018, 31-6. The inscription falls just short of being iambic: “I can’t scan it, and I doubt if Tataie believed herself to be writing verse”, Beazley 1927-28, 187 fn. 4.

¹⁷ Exceptions are *Il.* 5.158 = 21.368 = 22.91 πολλὰ λισσομεν-, *Il.* 24.755 πολλὰ ῥυστάζεσκεν, *Od.* 13.438 = 17.198 = 18.109 πυκνὰ ῥωγαλέην. If we were to allow this at *Parm.* 8.36 οὐδὲν γὰρ <ἦ τι οἴσθα> ἔστιν ἢ ἔσται, the commonly accepted insertion would not be necessary. It should not have been proposed in any case, since ἦ (<*ἦFἔ) experiences corruption only six times in Homer; cf. van Leeuwen 1918, 86-7, so that <ἦ> would merely be a conjecture that replaces one statistical oddity for another that is already in the manuscripts.

¹⁸ This is easy enough in itself, but is often helped by historical reasons (e.g. initial υ- <*σν-) that allowed the practice to be extended more generally. Even so, there are limits; cf. Monro 1882, 275-8. This doubling between words is occasionally noted in the papyri (e.g. ἐνὶ μεγάρους), but is printed as such in modern editions only when internal (e.g. ἔλλαβε = ἔλαβε). The modern notation of a macron above the doubled consonant, as employed by Snell in his Teubner Pindar, has its uses. It is, however, a common error to think that the preceding vowel has been lengthened; cf. e.g. Hartel 1873, 7 “die Längung kurzer vocalisch auslautender Silben vor den Liquididen λ μ ν ρ”. One should, for example, rather follow the indications of the papyri to think (and say) ἐνὶ μεγάρους and μέγα ἄφριάχοντες, where one supplies a missing digamma and then doubles it!

¹⁹ It is probably just a coincidence that the geminate sigma, by being the first not to be written retrograde, partakes of two words at once; i.e. the syllabic breaks are -εῦ ο με νος σαυ του δε.

a hexameter.²⁰ Compare in particular the Corinthian inscriptions IG IV 358 = CEG 132 (7th c.) || Δφένιᾶ τόδε [σαῦμα], IG 9.1.867 = CEG 143 (Corcyra, a Corinthian colony) || ηυίου Τλασίᾳφῶ Μενεκράτεος, IG 4.211 = CEG 356 (5th c., init.) || Σίμιδον μ' ἀνέθ<ε>κε, Simon. 32a.1 FGE = Ep. 60 Sider || Ἰφίων τόδ' ἔγραψε Κορίνθιος. For additional inscriptional examples, see Allen 1885-86, 75, as well as *Il.* 1.258, 2.419, *Od.* 14.159, Hes. *Theog.* 454, and Pind. *Pyth.* 1.71 and *Nem.* 9.28. In sum, for all its statistical oddities, the line is unmistakably an acceptable hexameter, and should not be damned with the label irregular, as the Roebucks and Guarducci do.²¹ As a one-off very likely composed by someone other than a professional bard, it, like its illustration, has its own charm. It is, moreover, the only verse on a Corinthian vase, although Lorber 105-106 lists some individual names that appear in their epic rather than Corinthian form.

Πυρρίας προχορευόμενος: Rather than being a nominal sentence with an understood ἐστί (“Pyrrhias is leading the dance”), which is rare where the predicate is a participle,²² these two words should be read simply as a syntax-free label, “Pyrrhias leading the dance”, which serves as a title, such as for an object in a museum or the title of a written work (*viz* this very chapter); or, more pertinently, on Greek objects, e.g. an *aryballos* with Ἀσωποδώρου ἡλήγυθος (Athens 15375; ARV² 447.274, 1653).²³ On our *aryballos*, however, it has been incorporated into the meter; so, implicitly, Raubitschek (1968, 22), “Pyrrhias vortanzend”.²⁴ Compare the near contemporary IG I³ 1261 = CEG 24 (Attica, ca. 540) σῆμα Φρασικλείας· κόρη κεκλήσομαι αἰί, where a nominal sentence with an understood first-person εἰμί would be quite rare.²⁵ Exceptions that prove the rule are Pl. *Lach.* 180a ἐπαινῶ τε

²⁰ Cf. Wachter 2001, § 222.

²¹ Annibaldis, Vox 1977 would like to impose a verse scheme that incorporates πολυτερπῶς: “prosodic stesicoreo” (— — — — —) + 2 anapests + reizianum, but this seems to credit our poet with more skill than he would be likely to have.

²² For the construction (noun +) εἰμί (vel sim.) + (non-perfect) participle, cf. Soph. *Ai.* 588 μὴ ἐμὲ προδοῦς γένη, Thuc. 1.38, Pl. *Leg.* 895d, D. 19.36, K-G 1.39-40.

²³ Cf. too Protagoras’ οἱ Καταβάλλοντες, Aristophanes’ Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι and Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι.

²⁴ Boegehold 1965, 260, citing Whatmough, rev. of Hofmann, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, 59 (1964, 111-12), labels these words a nominative absolute (assent. Annibaldis, Vox 1977, 187), but the following δέ speaks against this.

²⁵ Svenbro’s translation (1998, 23) is nonsense: “Moi, séma de Phrasikleia, m’appellerai toujours fille” (in Lloyd’s translation, “I, Phrasikleia’s séma, shall always be called girl”, 17). Schefold’s is worse: “Sieh Phrasikleias Mai! Fur immer heisst sie nun Kore” (1973, 138). Understanding the first two words as a label is facilitated by their being set off by themselves on one line:

ΣΕΜΑ ΦΡΑΣΙΚΛΕΙΑΣ	σῆμα Φρασικλείας.
ΚΟΡΕ ΚΕΚΛΗΣΟΜΑΙ	κόρη κεκλήσομαι

ὑμῶν τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ κοινωνεῖν ἔτοιμος [sc. εἶμι], οἶμαι δέ..., where the ellipsis is mitigated by its being surrounded by first-person verbs; *CEG* 315 (Attic, ca. 470) ἐγὼ Χάρις Ἀντιφάνους παῖς; and (iii) Simon. 83.1 *FGE* = *Ep.* 50 Sider θηρῶν μὲν κάρτιστος ἐγώ. In both our vase and the Phrasikleia stone, a metrical label continues with a clause that refers to the subject in a different case, nominative to genitive with Pyrwias, genitive to nominative with Phrasikleia. Occasionally a label of this sort incorporates the author rather than the subject; note in particular Anon. 173 *FGE* (= Ath. 11.19) γραμμαὶ Παρρασίοιο, τέχνα Μυός. ἐμμι δὲ ἔργον | Ἰλίου αἰπεινᾶς, ἄν ἔλον Αἰακίδαι, “Drawing by Parrhasius, execution by Mys. I am a work (showing)...”.²⁶ Perhaps the neatest parallel is *SEG* 41.385 (7th c.) Πύρρο ὄλπ<α>.²⁷

Πυρφίης: A local Doric form of the more familiar Πυρρίας/-ίης, appearing elsewhere in this form on another Corinthian *aryballos* (600-575), a symposium scene on which is painted (at least) [Π]υρφίης. It is tempting to imagine that this is an ancestor of our Pyrwias; cf. also *IG* 4.496 (Mycenae, 6th c.) ἐπ’ Ἀντία καὶ Πυρφία, “in the priesthoods/ magistracies of Antias and Pyrwias”.

προχορευόμενος: Choruses very often had leaders; cf. Pind. *Parth.* fr. 94c ὁ Μοισαγέτας με καλεῖ χορευῶσαι | [Α]πόλλων (where Apollo is not present and “me” stands for each chorister); *Hom. Hymn Artem.* 13.18 ἔξάρχουσα χορούς; Callim. *Del.* 313 χοροῦ δ’ ἠγγήσατο Θησεύς.²⁸ In these and doubtless often elsewhere, the leader was visually distinct and would or could perform steps that distinguished him or her from the others, although perhaps not regularly so much as between a modern prima ballerina and the corps du ballet. Here Pyrwias seems younger (and shorter) than the six choristers in his train and is clearly performing his own steps; see further below.²⁹ The

ΑΙΕΙ, ΑΝΤΙ ΓΑΜΟ	αἰεὶ, | ἀντὶ γάμου
ΠΑΡΑ ΘΕΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ	παρὰ θεῶν τοῦτο
ΛΑΧΟΣ’ ΟΝΟΜΑ.	λαχοῦσ’ ὄνομα.

Contrast *CEG* 72 (Attica, ca. 500-480) σῆμα τόδ’ εἶμι Κρίτο Τελέφο Ἀφι[δναί]ο.

²⁶ Date unsure; see Page, *ad loc.* Cf. also the prose titles of Elean inscriptions: φράτρα τοῖρ Φαλείοις; e.g. *IO* 9 (ca. 500-450) φράτρα τοῖρ Φαλείοις καὶ τοῖς Ἑρραίοις, “Treaty between the Eleans and the Heraeans”; cf. Nachmansohn 1941, 5.

²⁷ See Burzachechi 1973-74, 75.

²⁸ And note Aelius Aristides *Plato* 45.10 Jebb κορυφαῖος χοροῦ, ναυτῶν κυβερνήτης, στρατιωτῶν στρατηγός, δήμου ρήτωρ ἠγγείται.

²⁹ That the six are in fact dancing seems clear to all – “a dancing chorus” in the first sentence of the Roebucks’ *editio princeps* –, but Snodgrass 2006, 402, who says that Pyrwias’ “companions stand in a taut, attentive pose which strongly suggests that they are waiting for their turn to come”. But if this were the case, why paint them in the first place? Their bent legs suggest rather that they are dancing far less vigorously than Pyrwias, or perhaps (so, e.g. Guarducci) just beginning to join in; cf. the similar group

verb that describes his leading, however, is quite rare, appearing elsewhere before the third-century CE only once: Eur. *Phoen.* 790b κῶμον ἀναυλότατον προχορεύεις.³⁰ The force of the middle is probably like that of the *Agamemnon*'s watchman saying αὐτός τ' ἔγωγε φροῖμιον χορεύσομαι (31); i.e. he will dance for himself (a point emphasised by αὐτός). Similarly, Pyrwias, with his eye on the prize, is leading the chorus more for his own purpose than for the chorus as a whole; i.e. an indirect reflexive middle.³¹

αὐτοῦ δέ φοι: The last word is not found elsewhere on a Corinthian inscription, but does appear twice on a contemporary bronze tablet found in the nearby (ca. 50 km) Argive Heraion, *IG* 4.506. (Corruption of φοι is unexceptional; cf. *Il.* 1.118 ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ). With sufficient parallels on Corinthian vessels for O representing the long vowel later written as the spurious diphthong OY, there is no reason to follow the Roebucks' reading the vase as αὐτῶ<ι>; cf. Lorber (1979, 36), who cites Μαλέρο and ἠερακλέος, as well as inscriptions such as Φορίνθο.³² This syntagma is a striking juxtaposition of genitive and dative, each referring to the same person, which elsewhere is found more spread out: *Il.* 14.25-26 λάκε δέ σφι περὶ χροῖ χαλκὸς ἀπειρήσ | νυσομομένων ξίφεσιν τε καὶ ἔγχεσιν, 16.531 οἱ ὦκ' ἤκουσε μέγας θεὸς εὐξαμένοιο, *Od.* 16.155-157, 14.527 οἱ βίπτου περικήδετο νόσφιν ἐόντος, *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 37 τόφρα οἱ ἐλπίς ἔθελγε μέγαν νόον ἀχθυμένης περ, with Richardson's note; Theoc. 2.83-84 ὧς μοι πυρὶ θυμὸς ἰάφθη | δειλαίας. See Wackernagel (1924, 77), who also discusses the dative alone to denote possession.

Taking φοι as a dative, however, is a distinctly minority opinion, for most follow Latte (1956), who, adducing Schwyzer, Debrunner 1950, 189-90, argued that it is rather a genitive (= οὔ, here intensified by αὐτό), but the supposed parallels for this are far better taken as straightforward datives; e.g. ἡμῖν + (ethical) dative at Pind.

of dancers arranged 2 × 3 on Basel Antikenmuseum BS 415: <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/XDB/ASP/recordDetails.asp?id=1451C241-DD83-4763-AFB6-786C657896FA&noResults=&recordCount=&databaseID=&search=>. It should also be clear from this that the boy depicted is Pyrwias, upon which obvious inference Smith (2016, 148) oddly casts doubt, along with some other notions not followed by others, such as the leap representing not the dance itself but Pyrwias' leap for joy on hearing that he has won; or that the verse that can only exist on the vase is somehow being produced by the aulete.

30 Where the schol. *ad loc.* would nullify the force of the prefix: προχορεύεις: ἡ προπλεονάζει.

31 Only Schneidewin of *Agamemnon* commentators has noticed this: "Auf seine Hand (medium) will er vor der offiziellen χορῶν κατάστασηις vor lauter Lust tanzen". Cf. Allan 2003, 112, "The subject is affected in that s/he derives benefit from the action performed"; Wachter 2001, 46.

32 It is not to be printed as αὐτο<ῦ>, as some do (e.g. Threatte 1965), which suggests that a letter is missing. Either keep it as αὐτό or rewrite as though Attic: αὐτοῦ.

Ol. 2.14 and *Eur. Ba.* 336 are in fact examples of partitive appositives (as noted by Dodds ad *Eur. loc.*); and although at *Hdt.* 1.82.8 τῶν οἱ συλλοχιτέων διθαρμένων, 3.15.3 ἀπέλαβε τήν οἱ ὁ πατήρ εἶχε ἀρχήν, and 3.153.1 τῶν οἱ σιτφόρων ἡμιόνων μία ἔτεκε, οἱ clearly has a distinct possessive sense, it would not have been understood by a late fifth-century audience as anything other than a dative. Chantraine's (1953, 71-2) explanation is better: "datifs comportant une valeur 'possessive' [...] Cette syntaxe a entraîné des tours où le génitif est *apparement* [emphasis added] en apposition au datif".

ὄλπα: This term (*olpe*) is used nowadays to describe "a slender oenochoe with a sagging belly", even though "the distinction is not borne out in the ancient writings" (Folsom 1967, 164), although one can imagine such a shape being dipped in a *krater* for the purpose of pouring wine for symposiasts, as is consistent with *Ion fr.* 10 *TrGF* ἐκ ζαθέων πιθακνῶν ἀφύσαντες ὄλπαις | οἶνον ὑπερφίαλον κελαρύζετε. On the other hand, clearly something other than an oenochoe is mentioned by *Achaeus fr.* 19 *TrGF* λιθάργυρος {δ'} | ὄλπη παρηωρεῖτο χρίματος πλέα. Even more suggestive of the athlete's oil container is *Theoc.* 2.156, where *Simaetha's* boyfriend visited her house so frequently that he used to leave his *olpe* there, the equivalent of the modern toothbrush: καὶ παρ' ἐμὴν ἐτίθει τὰν Δωρίδα πολλακίς ὄλπαν, where "Doric *olpe*" might well refer to the "Corinthian *aryballos*".³³ The upshot is that, although this is the only vase to do so, there is no reason to doubt that our vase is identifying itself as an *olpe*.

2 Interpretation

The vase is most reasonably taken to celebrate *Pyrwias'* victory in the dance portrayed, commissioned either by his parents or by the authorities who oversaw the competition; that is, as either an unofficial or official prize. The obvious parallel is the inscription of the *Dipylon* vase (ca. 740 BCE), which was also a prize vessel with an ad-hoc hexameter referring to the dancer, albeit without an accompanying illustration: ἥος νῦν ὄρχεσθῶν πάντων ἀταλότατα παίζει (vel -εἶ), | τὸ τόδε.³⁴ An *aryballos* is normally designed for use, but the *Roebucks* may be right to see it as a dedication, as they detect no signs of wear

³³ The *lekythos* too could have this function; cf. Sider 1992, especially 363 fn. 9, where I quote Evelyn Harrison 1989: "one man's *aryballos* is another's *lekythion* or *olpe*"; Krause 1854 ap. Wegener 1946, 1: "Was die *Lekythos* bei den Athenern, das war die *ὄλπη*, ὄλπα, ὄλπις bei den Dorern, ein Ölfaschchen, welches die *Erheben* bei sich trugen, wenn sie die gymnastischen Übungsplätze besuchten"; Beazley 1927-28, 187.

³⁴ See Powell 1988, 66-7, who makes a good case for this vase also celebrating "an athletic contest in the form of an acrobatic dance".

(it might, though, have been treated gently) other than that which it suffered from burial (which might have obscured such signs). Its find-spot below Apollo's temple also favors its having been a dedication (so, e.g. Bookidis, Stroud 2004, 413), although this does not absolutely preclude its having been used as well. I myself like the idea of Pyrwias carrying and proudly showing it off to his friends.

As for the dance portrayed, one can go only so far on the way to certainty when presented with only a static view.³⁵ Nonetheless it seems relatively safe to say that the dance portrayed qualifies as an instance of the ἀναπάλη, which is described by Ath. 14.631b ἔοικεν δὲ ἡ γυμνοπαιδικῇ³⁶ τῇ καλουμένῃ ἀναπάλη παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς. γυμνοὶ γὰρ ὀρχοῦνται οἱ παῖδες πάντες, ἐρρυθμοὺς φορὰς τινὰς ἀποτελοῦντες καὶ σχήματά τινα τῶν χειρῶν κατὰ τὸ ἀνάπαλον, ὥστ' ἐμφαίνειν θεωρήματά τινα τῆς παλαιστρας καὶ τοῦ παγκρατίου, κινουῦντες ἐρρυθμῶς τοὺς πόδας (the gymnopedic dance resembles the one the ancients used to call *anapale*, in which all the boys dance naked, accomplishing some kind of rhythmic movement with gestures of the hands like those seen in wrestling, so that with rhythmic movements of their legs they put on a show akin to what is seen in wrestling and the pankration).³⁷ Another name that has been put forth may be nothing more than a synonym for essentially the same dance, namely the βίβασις, defined by Poll. *Onom.* 4.102 as follows: καὶ βίβασις δέ τι ἦν εἶδος Λακωνικῆς ὀρχήσεως, ἣς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα προυτίθετο οὐ τοῖς παισὶ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς κόραις· ἔδει δ' ἄλλεσθαι καὶ ψαύειν τοῖς ποσὶ πρὸς τὰς πυγὰς, καὶ ἠριθμεῖτο τὰ πηδήματα (the *bibasis* was a kind of Laconic dance, for which prizes were offered, not only for boys but for girls as well. It called for leaping [cf. ἀναπάλη] and touching one's buttocks with the feet; the leaps were counted).³⁸ Note the Spartan Lampito's excited exclamation at Ar. *Lys.* 81-82 μάλα γ', οἶῶ, ναὶ τὼ σιῶ· | γυμνάδομαί γα καὶ ποτὶ πυγὰν ἄλλομαι. Annibaldi and Vox (1977, 183-4, however, may be going too far to see a reference to this sort of dance in *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 514-516, where we read of Ἀπόλλων ... κιθαρίζων καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς: the image of

³⁵ For the difficulties of inferring movement from a static painting, see, e.g. Smith 2016, 146.

³⁶ Cf. Ath. 14.630c τῆς λυρικῆς ποιήσεως τρεῖς· πυρρίχη γυμνοπαιδικὴ ὑπορχηματικὴ. Neoptolemus' leap in the air at Eur. *Andr.* 1139 τὸ Τροϊκὸν πήδημα πηδήσας ποδοῖν, may be a feature of pyrrhic dancing; see Borthwick 1967; Simon 1978. And on jumps in athletics, see Jüthner 1968, 2, ch. B "Sprung", 159-225.

³⁷ For archaic examples of what he calls "akrobatische Einzeltänze", see Wegner 1968, 65-8.

³⁸ Pollux continues with ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ μιᾶς ἦν ἐπίγραμμα· "χίλια †ποκα† βίβαντι, πλεῖστα δὴ τῶν πήποκα", "jumping a thousand times, the most ever". Cf. Gal. *San. Tu.* 6.145 K τὰ τοιαῦτα γυμνάσια σφοδρά, σκάψαι καὶ δισκεῦσαι [καὶ κινήσαι] καὶ πηδήσαι συνεχῶς ἄνευ τοῦ διαναπαύεσθαι.



Figure 3 Boston MFA 01.8020. Onesimos, ca. 500-490 BCE. A boy practicing leaps with the aid of a friend.
<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/153699/drinking-cup-kylix-depicting-pentathletes?ctx=352d0e8c-e4d6-42d5-a59b-74bc547e5a2a&idx=0>

anybody, let alone Apollo, leaping high while playing the kithara is an unseemly one.

That our scene would qualify for an *anapale* (whatever else an ancient might have called it) is shown by its closest parallel on a vase in Boston showing a scene of youths practicing various gymnastic activities [fig. 3].

An even closer parallel to our vase, also in Boston, shows two boys doing a leaping dance to the tune of an *aulos* (an image closely repeated on the other side) [fig. 4].³⁹

Pyrwias, however, does not act alone. The $\pi\rho\omicron$ - and the image suggest that his movements are somehow synchronised with the different ones of the chorus.

At this point, I would like to make an admittedly tentative suggestion, based on the acrobat scene in figure 3, where a trainer is holding up his staff. Since this would not be necessary to guide the boy once in the air, it may be intended to indicate the height he is to attain. And since, furthermore, many Greek dances regularly called

³⁹ On the Boston vase, cf. Robertson 1977.

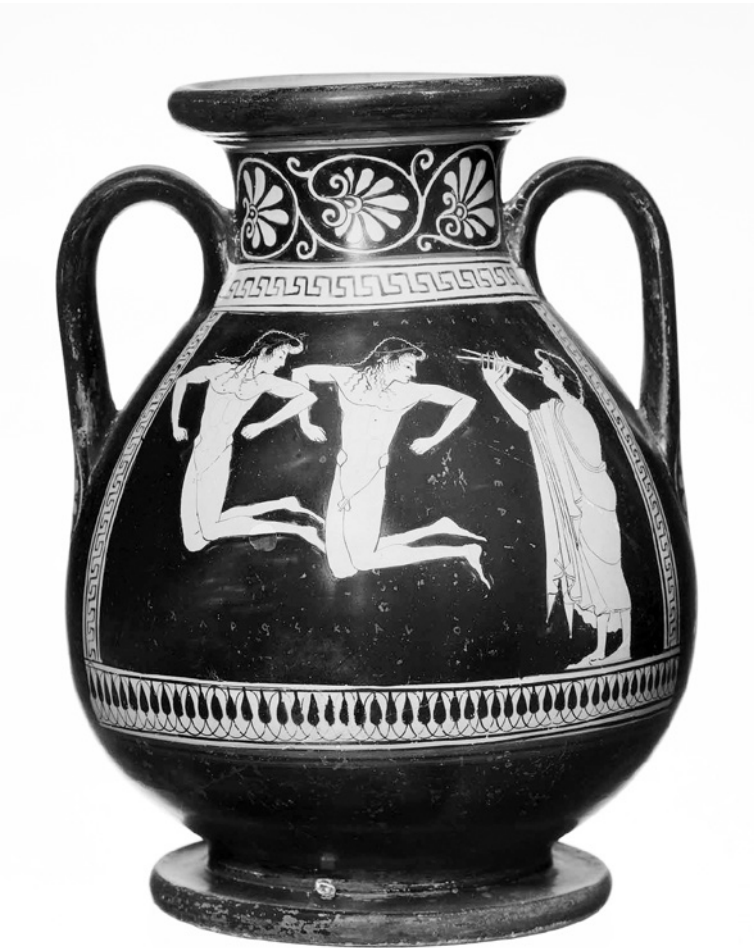


Figure 4 Boston MFA 1973.88, ca. 520-515 BCE. Circle of Euthymides. Boys dancing and jumping to the *aulos*. <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/153847/twohanded-storage-jar-pelike-depicting-young-athletes-ju?ctx=ecf9af27-ba61-4840-a8f6-86671c3dc344&idx=14>

for the wearing or carrying of various objects,⁴⁰ I find it tempting to imagine that there was a rope held up for Pyrwias to dance/leap over, a rope that is here indicated by the sinuous line of hexameter. That is, he is comparable to the two acrobats and dancers described at *Il.* 18.602-606:

ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ θρέξασκον ἐπὶ στίχας ἀλλήλοισι.
πολλὸς δ' ἰμερόεντα χορὸν περιστάθ' ὄμιλος
τερπόμενοι· δοιῶ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτούς
μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνεον κατὰ μέσσοις. 605

If the idea of the hexameter as jump-rope is too much to swallow, we can at least subscribe to Smith's elegant observation:

The inscription frames all of the figures in the scene and follows the pattern of their composition and movement. Indeed, rather than physically marking off the dancers one from another, or simply isolating the winner, the letters and words draw attention to the action and enhance the circumstances. (2016, 148)⁴¹

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⁴⁰ For example, *Hom. Hymn Artem.* 13.16-18 ἔνθα κατακρεμάσασα παλίντονα τόξα καὶ ἰοῦς | ἠγείται χαρίεντα περὶ χροῖ κόσμον ἔχουσα, | ἐξάρχουσα χορούς; Lawler 1964, 107-9.

⁴¹ It was only after this chapter was with the editors that I came across Deborah Steiner's description of the relationship between Pyrwias and the letters, far more elegant than Smith's and mine 2018, 183-6.

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Theognis' Unoriginal Didactic Failure

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Abstract Section 1 argues that Theognis embodies a robust conception of literary authorship and that his authorial unoriginality is inextricable from his moral authority. Section 2 interprets Theognis' failure to instruct Cynrus as integral to his didactic message and as part of a strategy whereby the poet's relationship to his addressee prefigures his relationship to larger audiences. An appendix provides a statistical analysis of the citation history of the *Theognidea* and argues that at some point after the classical period an original collection was supplanted by something like the strange text that we read today.

Keywords Theognis. Authorship. Didactic poetry. Elegy. Textual history.

Summary 1 The Poetics of Unoriginality. – 2 The Poetics of Failure.

Μούσαι καὶ Χάριτες, κοῦραι Διός, αἵ ποτε Κάδμου
ἐς γάμον ἔλθοῦσαι καλὸν ἀείσατ' ἔπος,
“ὅττι καλὸν φίλον ἐστί, τὸ δ' οὐ καλὸν οὐ φίλον ἐστί”·
τοῦτ' ἔπος ἀθανάτων ἦλθε διὰ στομάτων.

O Muses and Charites, you daughters of Zeus, who came once to Cadmus' wedding and sang a beautiful saying: 'what is beautiful is dear, what is not beautiful is not dear'. That saying went through your immortal mouths.

These lines (15-18), wherever they come from, sit appropriately near the start of what we call the *Theognidea*.¹ Here, as elsewhere in early

1 I offer a paper about unoriginal didactic failure in tribute to an original scholar who has successfully taught so many so much. Translations of the *Theognidea* are based up-



Greek poetry, a divine performance provides an inset programmatic parallel for a framing whole.² The rest of the collection proceeds under the sign of the goddess' song.

Within a collection usually grounded in a more or less featureless here-and-now of enunciation, these lines hark back to one particular occasion long ago, the wedding of Cadmus and Harmonia, a moment of paradigmatic happiness (Pind. *Pyth.* 3.88-95) from a time when mortals mingled with and wed deities ([Hes.] fr. 1.6-7 M-W), long before the more recent moral and social decline lamented later in the collection (e.g. Thgn. 39-52, 183-192). The brevity with which this ancient episode is evoked at once depends upon and calls attention to its traditionality.

'What is beautiful is dear, what is not beautiful is not dear'. Even if we did not, as we do, have independent evidence that this was in fact a traditional saying, it would still carry an air of the proverbial.³ The Muses and the Charites once sang what we have already heard, or feel that we have already heard. If one now hears in their ancient song the origin of a contemporary commonplace, then every human iteration of that saying becomes a quotation of the divine.

'What is beautiful is dear, what is not beautiful is not dear'. The Muses guarantee the truth of these words, the Charites their beauty.⁴ The saying is itself beautiful (καλόν, 16) and so is, or should be, dear to us. van Groningen (1966, 17) writes that this piece "n'a pas grande valeur artistique" ('has no great artistic power'), but it cultivates a certain plain-spoken aesthetic. The goddesses' vocabulary is simple, as is their syntax, and this simplicity bespeaks truth.⁵ The Muses and Charities do not trade in riddles and paradoxes; divine didactic is here familiar and straightforward, even self-evident. 'What is beautiful is always dear' (ὅτι καλὸν φίλον αἰεὶ, 881 = 901) repeats the chorus of Euripides' *Bacchae*, perhaps echoing our passage, in an archaising song that recalls Theognidean themes and espouses

on Gerber 1999. Textual references follow West 1989-92 unless noted, and references to the *testimonia* follow Selle 2008a. I refer to divisions of the text as 'pieces'. I am not committed to the authenticity of these lines. For the history of the text see the Appendix below. I treat as the work of Theognis those pieces which either address Cyrnus/Polypaides or are quoted as Theognis' work by classical authors; other verse numbers from the collection are printed in italics. Much of what I have to say would be compatible with other approaches to the collection.

2 Spelman 2020. Friedländer 1913, 575 describes line 17 as "was man am ehesten als 'Motto' bezeichnen könnte"; cf. Pohlenz 1932, 414 ("Vorbild und Leitstern"); Biellohla-wek 1940, 30-1; Nagy 1985, 28.

3 'And perhaps, according to the ancient saying, the beautiful is dear' (καὶ κινδυνεύει κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν παροιμίαν τὸ καλὸν φίλον εἶναι, Pl. *Lysis* 216c). Cf. Colesanti 2011, 51. For proverbiality see Morson 2011, 165 *et passim*.

4 Cf. Race 1990, 124.

5 Aesch. fr. 176 *TrGF*: ἀπλᾶ γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἔπη; Eur. *Phoen.* 469: ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφν.

a self-consciously traditional and ostensibly uncontroversial ethic.⁶

One might expect that, in this proemial setting, the Muses and Charites will be invoked and then duly imprecated. But this is not quite what we get. The syntax of line 15 echoes the ritualised language of prayer and thus all but guarantees that *Μοῦσαι καὶ Χάριτες* (15) are vocatives and not, as has been suggested, nominatives.⁷ The speaker addresses the goddesses of song, but he does not then ask them to provide him with song; instead, more strangely, he sings their words back to them. Scholars have hypothesised ways in which these lines could have belonged to larger rhetorical structures that are now lost, but the quatrain has its own epigrammatic completeness, as the transmission of our text presumes.⁸ The Muses and Charites standardly form choruses, but their words do not here sound like an excerpt from a choral song. Their saying neatly fills up a hexameter, but it does not sound like an epic extract.⁹ The goddesses utter two complementary statements which together assert, as the logicians say, a material equivalence: all and only those things which are beautiful are dear. In just one line the Muses and Charites offer a brief but complete guide to life.

And yet it is not clear precisely how one is supposed to use that guide. The goddesses equate two words of wide semantic range, as a glance at *LSJ*⁹ confirms. There was, and is, much disagreement about what is *kalon* and what is, or ought to be, *philon* (cf. Pl. *Euthphr.* 7b-d). Theognis himself instructs about such topics. The Platonic scholia assert that the saying 'the beautiful is dear' is applied 'to those who choose what is advantageous' (*παροίμια ἐπὶ τῶν τὸ συμφέρον αἰρουμένων*, Σ Pl. *Lysis* 216c; cf. Apostolius 16.87). This might be the sense intended in our passage, but why would someone ever knowingly choose something that was not, in some sense, advantageous?

The Muses and Charites' song represents a pure, absolutised didactic poetry, but latent in their words are some paradoxes of that genre. One might suppose that ethical didactic poetry tells us the truth and thereby helps us to do better at life. But this assumes that we don't already know the truth, and much early Greek didactic poetry, Theognis included, re-presents the familiar and traditional.¹⁰ Why

⁶ τῶν νόμων (Eur. *Bacch.* 891); νόμιμον (895); ἐν βροτοῖς (878 = 898), 'in the judgement of [all] men'. Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 877-881 = 897-901 with Thgn. 337-40.

⁷ Cf. Norden 1913, 168-76; see further Friedländer 1969, 277-8; Jacoby 1961, 360-2; Kroll 1936, 32-3; Hasler 1959, 17-18; van Groningen 1966, 16.

⁸ ἔπος (16, 18) rings the quotation and marks it as a complete expression: cf. Lardinois 1997, 214 fn. 5.

⁹ "Probably from Hesiod" writes Dodds (1960, 187), picking up on the air of quotationality and reviving an old theory but positing a form of quotation unparalleled in the collection (cf. Simon. 19 *IEG*²).

¹⁰ Carey (1999, 29): "didacticism in Greek poetry is not necessarily to be understood [...] as the presentation of new knowledge; it is more often to be found in the (re)pres-

should one get commonplaces from poetry in particular? If didactic poetry does tell us the truth, how are we to know that it is the truth? And why should we assume that hearing the truth will help us to do better at life? This essay suggests that Theognis' poetry was interested in such questions.

1 The Poetics of Unoriginality

In a much-cited contribution, Ford (1985, 84-5) argues against the interpretation of Theognis' 'Seal' "as a proclamation of authorship". Here I focus not on Theognis' much-discussed 'Seal'¹¹ but instead further explore his distinctive rhetoric of authorship.

Ford (1985, 83) writes that Theognis does not embody "a modern concept of the author as the 'original writer'". It is not clear why he is supposed to lack this "modern" concept. If Theognis is thought to lack a sense of originality because he is an oral poet, then we face problems of comparative evidence: oral poets can have a sense of ownership and originality.¹² In any event, it is not clear in precisely what sense Theognis was an oral poet. Ford (1985, 83) writes that "in the archaic period [...] poetry was circulated freely in oral performances rather than in books".¹³ This dichotomy apparently implies that there were no books circulating in the archaic period, but that hypothesis makes it harder to explain why so much archaic poetry, including Theognis', has been transmitted in books.¹⁴

If instead Theognis is thought to lack a sense of originality because he is an early Greek poet, then we face problems of direct evidence: Alcman has some idea of novelty.¹⁵ It is not clear that Alcman's poetry was "traditional and shared to such a degree as to make a modern concept of the author as the 'original writer' irrelevant" (Ford 1985, 83). Theognis' date is notoriously uncertain, but we are not justified in shrouding him in a cloud of mysticising antiquity.¹⁶

entation of shared values".

¹¹ See Condello 2009-10 and Prodi, forthcoming.

¹² Finnegan 1977, 201-6; cf. Niles 1999, 173-93.

¹³ The dichotomy between 'free' oral performances *versus* books would seem to imply that when books existed there also existed mechanisms to ensure their authenticity (Woodbury 1991, 31-2; Edmunds 1997, 33). All ancient texts were susceptible to forgery: cf. Selle 2008b with bibliography.

¹⁴ Compare and contrast Ford (2003, 20-1); Ford *apud* Hubbard 2007, 205 fn. 31. Contrast Spelman 2018a, 167-9; 2019; forthcoming.

¹⁵ νεόχμ' ἔδειξαν (4 fr. 1.6 *PMGF*); μέλος [...] νεοχμόν (14); φέπη τάδε καὶ μέλος Ἀλκμάν | ἐύρε (fr. 39).

¹⁶ The early date of West (1974, 66-71) has not fared well, and with reason: Friis Johansen 1993; Lane Fox 2000, 37-40; van Wees 2000, 52 fn. 2; Hubbard 2007, 195-7; Selle

Rather than supposing that a certain “modern” concept of authorship was for some reason unavailable to Theognis, we might instead try to understand his rhetoric of authorship on its own terms. Ford (1985, 83) contrasts “a modern concept of the author as the ‘original writer’” with “an oral tradition” (84) in which utterances derive from the Muses, “the voices of tradition” (84). Theognis has a relationship with the Muses, but he does not claim to derive the content of his poetry from the divine. One might reasonably ask the immortal Muses for precise information about the distant past, but it would be stranger to ask them for tips on how an elite adult male should live.¹⁷ Theognis instead advertises the mortal sources of his traditional wisdom (27-28):

σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ εὖ φρονέων ὑποθήσομαι, οἷά περ αὐτὸς
Κύρνῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν ἔμαθον.

With kind thoughts I shall give you the very sort of advice that I myself, Cyrnus, learned from noble men when I was still a child.

This passage explicitly disclaims unique ownership of content: Theognis hands down to the young Cyrnus what had been handed down to him when he was young. And he is not the sole source of such time-honoured wisdom in the present (31-38):

κακοῖσι δὲ μὴ προσομίλει
ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔχεο·
καὶ μετὰ τοῖσιν πῖνε καὶ ἔσθιε, καὶ μετὰ τοῖσιν
ἵζε, καὶ ἀνδανε τοῖς, ὧν μεγάλη δύναμις.
ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἅπ' ἐσθλά μαθήσεται· ἦν δὲ κακοῖσι
συμμίσγηις, ἀπολεῖς καὶ τὸν ἐόντα νόον.
ταῦτα μαθὼν ἀγαθοῖσιν ὀμίλει, καὶ ποτε φήσεις
εὖ συμβουλευεῖν τοῖσι φίλοισιν ἐμέ.

Do not seek the company of base men, but ever cleave to the noble. Drink and eat with them, sit with them, and please those with great power. For from noble men you will learn noble things, but if you mingle with base men, you will lose even what sense you already have. Having learned this, mingle with noble men, and someday you will say that I advise my friends well.

Cyrnus learns that his learning must extend beyond Theognis (μαθήσεται, 35; μαθῶν, 37): he is encouraged to mingle with other no-

2008a, 21-7, 229-46; Allan 2019, 163.

17 Pohlenz 1932, 414: “ein Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι wäre für [Theognis] völlig undenkbar”.

ble men who teach the same sort of things which the noble Theognis teaches. The poet disclaims a monopoly on wisdom to instead figure himself as one node in an ostensibly harmonious network. Authorial unoriginality is inextricable from moral authority.

Why should an ethical didactic poem want to emphasise a strong claim to originality of content? With the debatable exception of mystics and trained philosophers, a pretention to unique moral expertise might be inherently implausible.¹⁸ Theognis instead presents himself in the humbler and more credible guise of one noble man among other noble men.

The wisdom of Theognis' poems does not make them distinctive, but something does. Others now teach at symposia the same sort of traditional lessons that Theognis teaches – and there is no reason to suppose that their teaching is in verse (31-38) – but future symposia will, Theognis claims, perpetuate his poetry in particular and so make it traditional in a different sense (239-243). This is because his poetry is better than other poetry (οὐδέ τις ἀλλάξει κάκιον τοῦσθλοῦ παρεόντος, 21, pointedly mixing the ethical and the aesthetic). 'All those who care about song, even including men to come' (πᾶσι δ' ὅσοισι μέμηλε καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν ἀοιδή, 251)¹⁹ will care about Theognis' song because it is good. His works are the 'gifts of the Muses' (Μουσάων δῶρα, 250), but they are also, simultaneously and more emphatically, his gifts to Cyrnus (σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα, 237); he is to be respected as its author, by Cyrnus and by others. Ford (1985, 85) writes that the "pride that allows an artist to identify a unique aesthetic object as his creation is not very different from authorship" and that "Theognis is clearly proud" of his poetry. The concept of unique quality is hard to disentangle from the concept of unique originality, and it is unclear what is to be gained by doing so in this particular case.²⁰

Rather than understanding Theognis as embodying a primitive stage in the evolution of "modern" authorship, we might instead understand his poetics of unoriginality as raising some enduring questions about his genre, not least among them: why should we learn from poetry what we can learn from other sources and through other means? What is special about literary instruction as such?

¹⁸ On moral expertise, see e.g. Hills 2019, who reasonably asks "can there be moral experts?" (470). Cf. Roochnik 1996, 89-177 on Plato.

¹⁹ See Spelman 2018a, 77 fn. 38 for the grammar and Spelman 2018b, 159-60 for the early link between quality and canonicity.

²⁰ Selle 2008a, 312: "die Unterscheidung von Eigentum und Verfasserschaft bringt jedoch keinen Erkenntnisgewinn"; cf. Friis Johansen 1991, 14 fn. 21.

2 The Poetics of Failure

σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα, σὺν οἷσ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον
πωτήσῃ κατὰ γῆν πᾶσαν ἀειρόμενος
ῥηϊδίως· θοίνῃς δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι παρέσσηι
ἐν πάσαις, πολλῶν κείμενος ἐν στόμασιν,
καὶ σε σὺν αὐλίσκοισι λιγυφθόγγοις νέοι ἄνδρες
εὐκόσμως ἐρατοὶ καλά τε καὶ λιγέα
ἄισονται. καὶ ὅταν δνοφερῆς ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης
βῆις πολυκωκύτους εἰς Ἄϊδαο δόμους,
οὐδέποτε· οὐδὲ θανῶν ἀπολεῖς κλέος, ἀλλὰ μελήσεις
ἄφθιτον ἀνθρώποις αἰὲν ἔχων ὄνομα
Κύρνε, καθ' Ἑλλάδα γῆν στρωφόμενος ἠδ' ἀνὰ νήσους
ἰχθυόεντα περῶν πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον,
οὐχ ἵππων νώτοισιν ἐφήμενος, ἀλλὰ σε πέμψει
ἄγλαα Μουσῶων δῶρα ἰοστεφάνων·
πᾶσι δ' ὅσοισι μέμλε καὶ ἔσσομένοισιν αἰοδιή
ἔσσηι ὁμῶς, ὄφρ' ἂν γῆ τε καὶ ἥλιος·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὀλίγησ παρα σεῦ οὐ τυγχάνω αἰδοῦς,
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ μικρὸν παῖδα λόγοις μ' ἀπαταῖς.

To you I have given wings with which you will fly over the boundless sea and the entire earth, soaring easily. You will be present at all banquets and feasts, reclining in the mouths of many, and with clear-sounding little *auloi* attractive young men will sing of you in fine and clear and orderly fashion. And whenever you go beneath the dark hollows of the earth, into Hades' home full of wailing, never, even after you have died, will you lose your fame, but you with your unwithering name will be a concern to mankind, Cyrnus, as you roam throughout the Greek land and among the islands, crossing over the fish-filled, fruitless sea, not riding on the backs of horses, but it is the splendid gifts of the violet-wreathed Muses that send you on your way. For all those who care about song, even including men to come, you will be alike the subject of song, as long as earth and sun exist. And yet I do not meet with even slight respect from you, but you deceive me with your words, as if I were a small child.

Scholars have long hypothesised that these lines (237-254) rounded out Theognis' original collection with an epilogue, and one can understand why.²¹ We do not have good comparative evidence for what

²¹ So, recently, Rösler 2006; see Selle 2008a, 180-3 for discussion and bibliography. The authenticity of these lines is now generally accepted among those concerned with authenticity (e.g. Friis Johansen 1996, 18-21).

an early collection arranged by its author might have looked like, but the best parallels for the aorist ἔδωκα (237) come from the ends of Pindaric odes.²² Theognis, like Pindar, looks back to his work as a completed affair and simultaneously looks forward to its reception.

This passage juxtaposes absolute triumph in the future with abject failure in the present. Theognis will achieve an enduring reception spanning the Greek world, but he has manifestly failed to teach his singular addressee in the here-and-now. The poet counsels Cynos that he could hand down to his sons no finer treasure than that sense of respect which attends on noble men (οὐδένα θησαυρὸν παιδῶν καταθήσει ἀμείνω | αἰδοῦς, ἢ τ' ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι Κύρν' ἔπεται, 409-10 ≈ 1161-1162). Cynos disrespects the noble man who teaches him this and much else (ὀλίγης παρὰ σεῦ οὐ τυγχάνω αἰδοῦς, 253).²³ Deception, Theognis says, is the hallmark of base men (ἀλλήλους δ' ἀπατῶσιν, 59 ≈ 1113; δόλους ἀπάτας τε πολυπλοκίας τ' ἐρίλησαν, 67); one whose words do not reveal his mind is a bad friend – indeed, he is better as an enemy (ὅς δὲ μῆτι γλώσσησι δίχ' ἔχει νόον, οὗτος ἑταῖρος | δειλὸς [West; δεινὸς MSS] Κύρν'· ἐχθρὸς βέλτερος ἢ φίλος ὢν, 91-92). Cynos reciprocates such advice about deceitful words by deceiving his friend with words (λόγοις μ' ἀπατᾶις, 254).

Theognis warns Cynos that it is hard, and painful, to recognise a deceitful friend (τοῦτο θεὸς κιβδηλότατον ποίησε βροτοῖσιν, | καὶ γυνῶναι πάντων τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον, 123-124; cf. 117-118). His experience of Cynos confirms this lesson (cf. πρὶν πειρηθείης, 126). As it is hard to recognise a deceitful friend, Theognis teaches, so it is easier to deceive one's friend (ἐχθρὸν μὲν χαλεπὸν καὶ δυσμενῆ ἔξαπατῆσαι | Κύρνε· φίλον δὲ φίλωι ράιδιον ἔξαπατᾶν, 1219-1220; cf. 1027-1028, 1037-1038). This is what Cynos tries to do to him. Theognis gives his young friend truthful words such as he received when he was a child (παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν, 28). Cynos responds by tricking his mature mentor with lying words as if he were a child (ὥσπερ μικρὸν παῖδα, 254). Theognis' lessons about positive reciprocity among noble friends fall, it seems, on deaf ears (101-112). His gloomy meditations on the rarity of virtue (335-336, 1027-1028) and the scarcity of true friends (75-76, 79-82) turn out all too true. Perhaps Cynos has consorted with base men and absorbed their teachings (35-36). Perhaps he has forgotten Theognis' lessons (cf. *Il.* 9.252-259) or failed to take them to heart (cf. Simon. 19 *IEG*²). Maybe he was never all that convinced to begin with.

From Hesiod onwards, the addressees of didactic poetry make for a remarkably passive lot, apparently content to absorb the monologues

²² Spelman 2018a, 63 fn. 2. Bakker 2016, 203-4 discusses the “monumental aorist” and argues for other epigrammatic echoes in this Theognidean passage.

²³ This line unmistakably evokes the *erastes-eromenos* relationship: see 1263-1266 with Vetta 1980, 67-9; cf. Griffith 1983, 43-4; Lear 2011, 381-2.

of authoritative speakers and conventionally unpermitted to break their docile silence.²⁴ Cynrus conforms to type. He is constantly exhorted to do things in the future, but he almost never acts of his own accord in the present.²⁵ Cynrus has enjoyed good things (κάσθλοῖσιν ἔχαιρες, 355) and passively received bad things (ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἔλαβες κακόν, 357). At 655 he has apparently likewise suffered something bad (παθόντι κακῶς). Elsewhere he has similarly come into some unspecified disaster with Theognis (ἐς πολυάρητον κακόν ἤκομεν, 819), and together they will nip in the bud some incipient bane (κακοῦ καταπαύσομεν ἀρχήν, 1133). Cynrus occasionally copes with vague problems, but in the extant verses addressed to him only in 253-254 is he said to *do* something actively of his own volition.²⁶ Cynrus' sole action, in other words, is to disrespect his teacher in contravention of his teachings. Everyone makes mistakes (109-110, 323-328, 407-408), but Cynrus' mistake is anathema to the ethic into which Theognis tries to initiate him. This must have a programmatic dimension.²⁷

Cynrus' deceit provides an isolated and hence all the less encouraging empirical check on Theognis' didactic credentials. So far from charting his addressee's progress from ignorance to enlightenment, the poet spotlights Cynrus' failure as a student and thereby his own failure as a teacher. If Theognis cannot successfully instruct his addressee, then why should one expect that his words will be any more effective with those countless similar but anonymous youths who will echo his instructions into eternity as they perpetuate Cynrus' fame (241-243)? Whereas Pindar depicts his addressees as learning from older poetry and thus hints at how later audiences might similarly benefit from his work,²⁸ Theognis instead depicts his address-

24 Elsewhere an adult addressee talks back (577-578): “ῥήιον ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ θεΐναι κακόν ἢ κακοῦ ἐσθλόν.” | - μή με διδασκ' οὔτοι τηλικός εἰμι μαθεῖν.

25 Bakker 2017, 105: “there is not much personal interaction with the addressee”.

26 Cynrus is warned that *hybris* will destroy ‘you all’ as it has destroyed great cities (1103-1104), but he need not have personally committed *hybris*. ἀπολεῖ (1104) could be a potential future. ὕμμ’ (1104) looks like a true plural (cf. 40 ≈ 1081, 541-542, 603-604). Lines 1101-1102 = 1278a-b address someone who has been instructed to abandon the speaker's friendship. West makes this person Cynrus by printing 539-40 as continuous with 1101-1102 (cf. West 1974, 163). Young makes this person Cynrus by printing 1103-1104 as continuous with 1101-1102. The former approach produces less than convincing sense; the latter posits dubious anacoluthon (cf. van Groningen 1966, 405; Selle 2008a, 154-5). Either would support the argument advanced here (cf. Thgn. 35-36).

27 Pohlenz 1932, 425 merits extended quotation: “hätten dann nicht die mißgunstigen Mitbürger, die er v. 24-6 abweist, mit Recht sagen können: ‘Da sieht man, was es mit Theognis’ σοφία auf sich hat. Er gibt seinem Kyrnos schöne Lebensregeln, mahnt ihn vor allem zu πίστις und αἰδώς, warnt ihn vor den Menschen, die δόλους τ’ ἀπάτας τε üben, und nun zieht er selbst das Fazit, daß seine Mahnungen sich den geringsten Erfolg gehabt haben, daß Kyrnos ihn wie einen dummen Jungen betrügt?’. For Pohlenz, this shows that “das Gedicht bezeichnet einen Abschnitt, keinen Abschluß”.

28 Spelman 2018a, 90-101.

ee as failing to learn from his own poetry and thereby casts doubt on its future utility.

It might be tempting to interpret Theognis' didactic failure as a sort of Ovidian self-deconstruction of authority, but I would prefer to read somewhat differently. Failure is among Theognis' central themes. As the experiences attributed to Cynrus are overwhelmingly negative, so too his teacher features almost exclusively as a loser. Theognis testifies to the value of a good wife (1225-1226), but this is a bright spot on a bleak canvas. He does not understand his fellow Megarians and cannot please them (24, 1184a-b ≈ 367-368). His city is on the verge of political disaster (39-52, 219, 235-236, 541-542, 833-836, 1081-1082b), and, unlike Solon, he is not in a position to do much about it. Base men infiltrate Megara, and their fortunes rise as the fortunes of noble men decline (53-68, 1109-1114). The purity of noble lineages is irreversibly compromised (183-92). Theognis expatiates on the value of wealth (173-178, 179-180, 181-182; cf. 155-158), but others now hold his lands, perhaps because of some disastrous sailing, presumably for trade (1197-1202). He advises Cynrus to please the powerful (34), but he himself is often powerless. He prays to Artemis to rescue him from an evil fate (κακὰς δ' ἀπὸ κήρας ἄλλακε, 13). He harps on the value, and rarity, of steadfast, trustworthy friends (31-38, 61-68, 69-72, 75-76, 77-78, 79-82, 91-92, 101-112, 119-128, 299-300), but his own friends betray him (οἱ μὲ φίλοι προύδωκαν, 813).²⁹ Even Cynrus deceives him (253-254). In short, 'everything here has gone to hell in a handbasket' (πάντα τὰδ' ἐν κοράκεσσι καὶ ἐν φθόρωι, 833).

The further one moves away from taking Theognis' poetry as straightforwardly faithful reportage of bitter firsthand experience, and the more seriously one takes his hopes for widespread and enduring reception (19-23, 237-252), the more problematic, and the more interesting, becomes this pervasive emphasis on failure. Why play to win by playing the loser?

The actual reception history of Theognis' poetry is, I think, one of success followed by failure. It is a story of failure in that his work was eventually supplanted by something like the strange text which we read today (see Appendix), but it is a story of success in that his work first achieved considerable renown. Antisthenes composed a treatise entitled *On Theognis*, and Xenophon might have written on the same topic.³⁰ Advising the Cyprian Nicocles, Isocrates puts Theognis on a par with Phocylides and Hesiod as 'those whom they say have been the best advisors for human life' (τούτους φασὶ μὲν ἀρίστους

²⁹ Donlan 1985, 224: "a striking feature of the passages on friendship is their consistently negative quality".

³⁰ See e.g. Prince 2015, 138-9.

γεγενῆσθαι συμβούλους τῷ βίῳ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, 2.43). Theognis was prominent enough as a teacher of common sense to attract attention from those purporting to teach something beyond common sense (Pl. *Men.* 95c-6a; Xen. *Symp.* 2.4-7; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1179b.4-10). One might reasonably suppose that Theognis' poetry of elite frustration found an especially sympathetic home among embattled elites under Athenian democracy,³¹ but the documented traces of his reception do not suggest that it was an exclusively Athenian affair. We need to explain why Theognis' poetics of failure succeeded so well.

On one level, Theognis' personal failures are integral to his authorial project. Bleak experience confirms bleak wisdom. Theognis prepares the young Cynrus for an adult life in which wisdom and virtue are of paramount importance (895-896, 1171-1176) and yet insufficient for practical success (129-130, 133-142, 149-150, 159-160, 161-164, 233-234, 1111-1112). This is the world which the mature Theognis inhabits. Hesiod, by contrast, exhorts Perses to start on a path to virtue which, however difficult, promises to lead eventually to a secure, prosperous position (*Op.* 298-316). Theognis' moralising is not so morally simplistic. The wisest didactic poetry might have to teach that wisdom is often not enough.

As Theognis' personal failures are integral to his poetic project, so too his failure to instruct Cynrus forms a paradoxical part of his didactic message. He elsewhere reflects on the difficulties of teaching (429-438):

φῦσαι καὶ θρέψαι ῥᾶιον βροτὸν ἢ φρένας ἐσθλὰς
ἐνθέμεν· οὐδεὶς πω τοῦτό γ' ἐπεφράσατο,
ὧς τις σώφρον' ἔθηκε τὸν ἄφρονα κακὸν κακοῦ ἐσθλόν.
εἰ δ' Ἀσκληπιάδαις τοῦτό γ' ἔδωκε θεός,
ἰᾶσθαι κακότητα καὶ ἀτηρὰς φρένας ἀνδρῶν,
πολλοὺς ἂν μισθοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἔφερον.
εἰ δ' ἦν ποιητόν τε καὶ ἔνθετον ἀνδρὶ νόημα,
οὔ ποτ' ἂν ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς ἔγεντο κακός,
πειθόμενος μῦθοισι σαόφροσιν· ἀλλὰ διδάσκων
οὔποτε ποιήσει τὸν κακὸν ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν.

It is easier to beget and raise a mortal than to put good sense in him. No one has yet devised this, at any rate: the means whereby one makes the fool a wise man and a noble man out of a base man. If the divine had granted this to the Asclepiads, to cure men's baseness and muddled wits, they would be earning many high fees. And if good sense could be produced and placed inside a man, there would never be a base son of a noble father, since he

31 See especially Lane Fox 2000, 45-51.

would heed wise words. But you will never make the base man noble by teaching him.

Plato's Socrates (*Men.* 95c-96a) quotes from this passage and lines 31-35 in order to demonstrate, much to the surprise of his interlocutor,³² that Theognis, the reputedly sagacious teacher of virtue, in fact contradicts himself about whether virtue is teachable. But these lines assert the impossibility of teaching the unteachable, not the impossibility of teaching anyone.³³ Instruction may be by itself insufficient for wisdom, but Theognis' instructions presume that Cynrus already has some sense to build upon (cf. τὸν ἔόντα νόον, 36) and a noble nature receptive to truth. Thus Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* 1179b), interpreting more faithfully and/or earnestly than his teacher, quotes from this passage to show that words are not in themselves sufficient (αὐτάρκεις, 4): discourse can set noble youths on a noble path, but it is useless in most cases (τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς ἀδυνατεῖν πρὸς καλοκαγαθίαν προτρέψασθαι, 10).

Plato belongs to a distinguished line of thinkers who referred to Theognis' reflections on the processes and limitations of teaching virtue;³⁴ Theognis' poetry was itself already much interested in such issues. It might be impossible to instruct the base, but it is not easy to instruct the noble, as Theognis' failure to teach Cynrus shows. The truest didactic poetry might have to teach that didactic poetry will fail more often than it succeeds.

Theognis' failure to instruct Cynrus is integral to his didactic message, but it is also part of a larger strategy whereby the poet's relationship to his singular addressee prefigures his relationship to others. As Theognis tries to teach and seduce Cynrus, so he tries to teach and, in a different sense, seduce wider audiences.³⁵ The poet promises Cynrus that 'someday you will say that I counsel my friends well' (καί ποτε φήσεις | εὖ συμβουλεύειν τοῖσι φίλοισιν ἐμέ, 37-38; cf. 99-100 = 1164c-d, 755-756). His words are formally addressed only to a singular *eromenos*, but the pointed plural 'my friends' (τοῖσι φίλοισιν, 38) programmatically winks at others who are invited to join a widening circle of friendship extending outwards from its paradigmatic

³² Ἐν ποίοις ἔπεισιν; (95d.4) with Bluck (1961, 392): "Meno is probably somewhat shocked at the idea that Theognis might be inconsistent in this matter".

³³ So, rightly, e.g. Woodbury 1951, 50-1; van Groningen 1966, 174.

³⁴ Xen. *Symp.* 2.4-7; *Mem.* 1.2.20-2; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1170a.11-13, 1172a.12-13; cf. Ar. *Av.* 1362-1363.

³⁵ On the parallel configurations of lover-beloved-audience and teacher-student-audience in erotic and didactic poetry see, respectively, Culler 2015, 197-211 and Konstan 1993, 11-12, who observes that Cynrus is both student and beloved.

ic epicenter, 'my friend Cyrnus' (φίλε Κύρνε, 181, 539).³⁶ As later audiences echo Theognis' relationship to Cyrnus, so the social setting of their relationship is reproduced in reception: Theognis addresses Cyrnus in a symposium (33-38), and endless symposia will perpetuate his words (239-250).³⁷

Pindar similarly scripts a future reception which extends outwards from the inscribed moment of performance to encompass an ever widening audience notionally united by their appreciation of his poetry and its values. And yet Pindar and Theognis work very differently. Reading or re-performing Pindar's victory odes, one joins an unending chorus of the noble and the refined who soar above petty egoism (i.e. φθόνος) to perpetuate the sublime praise of elite champions whose triumph manifests inherited excellence, the propitious design of destiny, and the beneficent favour of the gods; in reading and re-performing Theognis, one befriends an elite loser and joins his sad symposium.

Pindar echoes present happiness into the future; Theognis speaks from a bleak present and envisions a better future, both in the short term and in the long term. The poet projects Cyrnus' praise of his teaching into an indefinite future: 'someday you will say (καί ποτε φήσεις, 37) that I counsel my friends well'; for the present, he can only prepare his young *eromenos* for a mature life which he has not yet experienced firsthand (cf. e.g. γνώσει, 'you will recognise', 65; εὔρήσεις, 'you will find', 79). Now Cyrnus might be corrupted by base men (ἦν δὲ κακοῖσιν | συμμίσηγης, ἀπολεῖς καὶ τὸν ἔοντα νόον, 35-36; cf. 101-102, 305-308) and so led into disaster. Only the lessons of later life can provide an independent criterion for him to judge the truth of Theognis' lessons; only an adult Cyrnus can someday fulfil his teacher's injunction to 'become a witness to my truthfulness' (μάρτυς ἐγὼ, σὺ δ' ἔμοι γίνου ἀληθοσύνης, 1226)³⁸ in his advice about marriage and in his advice about much else. The young Cyrnus might now fail to respect his teacher (253-254), but Theognis promises that a grownup Cyrnus someday will live out his teachings, discover their value for himself, and confirm that the poet does indeed advise his friends well.

Theognis similarly depicts present failure but envisions subsequent success in his relationship to wider audiences. As Cyrnus' praise is projected into an imagined future (καί ποτε φήσεις, 37), so too is the praise of mankind most generally (22-24):

³⁶ Cf. Semonides 1 *IEG*², which moves from a singular addressee (ὦ παῖ, 1) to pointed plurals (εἰ δ' ἔμοι πιθοῖατο, | οὐκ ἂν κακῶν ἐρώμιεν, 22-23).

³⁷ Spelman 2018a, 77, 82-4.

³⁸ The syntax is strange, but probably Cyrnus is enjoined to marry a good wife, as Theognis has done: cf. Hudson-Williams 1910, 245; van Groningen 1966, 441; West 1974, 165; Allan 2019, 179.

ὧδε δὲ πᾶς τις ἔρεϊ: “Θεύγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη
τοῦ Μεγαρέως· πάντας δὲ κατ’ ἀνθρώπους ὀνομαστός”.
ἀστοῖσιν δ’ οὐπω πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν δύναμαι.

... thus everyone will say: ‘these are the verses of Theognis of Megara; his name is famous throughout all mankind.’ But I am not yet able to please all my fellow townsmen.³⁹

Theognis’ failure to satisfy ‘all’ Megarians is contrasted with his friendly instruction to the singular Cyrnus (σοὶ δ’ ἐγὼ εἶ φρονέων ὑποθήσομαι, 27). Intimate teaching among elite friends is thus set apart from the less congenial public realm. And yet Theognis envisions that someday *each and every person* will praise his work (πᾶς τις ἔρεϊ, 22), and this must include all Megarians.⁴⁰ Theognis does not yet (οὐπω, 24) please his fellow citizens, but someday, against all odds, he will find favour with the locals and with everybody else besides. He now retreats from the city into the haven of private instruction, but he simultaneously imagines a nearly unimaginable future in which his poetry is triumphant in the end.

Theognis depicts localised present failure and implicates audiences in greater future success. Everyone who says ‘everyone will say: “these are the verses of Theognis of Megara; his name is famous throughout all mankind”’ (22-23) thereby nudges hyperbole a bit further in the direction of truth. Whereas Pindar often invites his audiences to perpetuate a static story of unending success, Theognis invites his audiences to advance a redemptive narrative arc from failure toward success. The documented success of his poetry in the early Greek world would suggest that his poetics of unoriginal failure was not a complete failure after all.

³⁹ For the text and translation offered here see Friis Johansen 1991, 16-19; Condello 2009-10, 92-5; Spelman 2018a, 122 fn. 115.

⁴⁰ Compare and contrast Nagy 1985, 30-1, 35.

Appendix: Textual History

The textual history of the *Theognidea* is so interesting that it risks crowding out other topics of discussion, but many literary interpretations must presume at least some basic theory of textual history. My essay supposes that an early collection of Theognis' poetry was eventually supplanted by something like that strange text which we read today. The Theognidean *testimonia*, assembled by Selle (2008a, 394-423), provide evidence for this hypothesis. "Our testimony for Theognis are relatively abundant" (Young 1964, 386); they ought to be able to tell us something.

I divide our corpus into four categories, which, as scholars have long seen, are not randomly distributed throughout the text: Category I comprises pieces addressed to Cynrus/Polypaides; Category II comprises pieces which, in more or less different versions, were also known in antiquity as the work of poets other than Theognis;⁴¹ Category III comprises pieces formally addressed to any mortal besides Cynrus;⁴² Category IV comprises everything else.

Addresses to Cynrus often serve no obvious function beyond signaling Theognidean authorship (cf. 246-247); 'Cynrus-poems' thus have a good *prima facie* claim to belong in a collection of Theognis' poetry - no matter what we think of his 'Seal'.⁴³ It seems unlikely that somebody seeking to pass his verse off as Theognis' would produce lines which are, like those in Category III, addressed to somebody else. Pieces in Category II likewise have a weak *prima facie* claim to belong in a collection of Theognidean poetry insofar as they did in fact belong elsewhere.

Using West's text and its divisions between pieces, our corpus breaks down thus:⁴⁴

⁴¹ I include in Category II 467-496 and 667-682 (= Evenus fr. *8ab IEG²): cf. Hudson-Williams 1910, 34-5; Friis Johansen 1993, 15-16; Bowie 1997, 66; 2012, 123-4; Capra 2016, 88; differently Colesanti 2011, 102-7. These lines, addressed to a certain Simonides, would otherwise belong in Category III.

⁴² φίλε (99); θυμέ (213); ὄνθρωπι' (453); Ὀνομάκριτε (503); Κλεάριστε (511); ἄνθρωπι' (595); Χαίρων (691, a debatable case); θυμέ (695); φίλ' ἑταῖρε (753); Σκύθα (829); φίλε θυμέ (878); Δημόκλεις (923); Ἀκάδημε (993); ἀνθρώποις (1007); θυμέ (1029); Τιμαγόρα (1059); φίλε θυμέ (1070a); Δημόναξ (1085); φίλε (1138); φίλε (1164c); Ἀργυρι (1212).

⁴³ Friis Johansen (1996, 10): "in a Cynrus-poem the burden of proof rests with those who deny its Theognidean authorship, while in a non-Cynrus poem it is the other way around" (cf. e.g. Jacoby 1961, 428). Fain (2006) and Bakker (2017) revise the theory that Theognis' 'Seal' is the address to Cynrus; see further Condello 2009-10, 96-103.

⁴⁴ Including doublets and verses indirectly transmitted but excluding 'Book Two'. These 168 verses, transmitted in one manuscript, have a very different textual history: so, most recently, Bowie 2012, 132-44; Selle 2013, 471-2. Nobody in antiquity ever attributes to Theognis any verses from 'Book Two', and this is itself a good reason to think that 'Book Two' did not circulate as the work of a major author from an early date: Hudson-Williams 1910, 56; Jacoby 1961, 435; Woodbury 1951, 6; Selle 2008a, 101-2; Bowie

Category	Lines	Percentage of corpus
I	288	22.78
II	88	6.96
III	134	10.60
IV	754	59.65

From Plato to Stobaeus, verses are ascribed to Theognis 117 times.⁴⁵ A null hypothesis would posit a random distribution of ascriptions with each category claiming a share of ascriptions proportionate to its share of the corpus. In 58 ascriptions to Theognis, Stobaeus, who is often thought to have quoted from a collection like ours,⁴⁶ gives something close to what the null hypothesis predicts:

Category	Number of ascriptions	Percentage of ascriptions
I	13	22.41
II	5	8.62
III	5	8.62
IV	35	60.34

The 90 total ascriptions from Athenaeus to Stobaeus likewise yield something like what the null hypothesis predicts:

Category	Number of ascriptions	Percentage of ascriptions
I	26	28.89
II	7	7.78
III	6	6.67
IV	51	56.67

While later ascriptions are more or less randomly distributed, early ascriptions are not. Before Athenaeus, verses are attributed to Theognis 27 times:

2012, 136. 'Book Two' contains 4 lines in Category I (1353-1356), 12 lines in Category II (1253-1254 = Solon 23 *IEG*²; 1341-1350 = Evenus *8c *IEG*², addressed to a certain Simonides), and 88 lines in Category III (chiefly the ὦ παῖ poems).

⁴⁵ I ignore cases which do not bear on named authorship (e.g. ὁ ποιητὴς ὅς ἔφη, Pl. *Lys.* 212e = T4, quoting Thgn. 1253-1254 = Solon 23 *IEG*²). "Wir können ernsthaft nur mit namentlichen Zitaten arbeiten" (Jacoby 1961, 451).

⁴⁶ E.g. Selle 2008a, 90-3; Bowie 2010, 602-6; compare and contrast Ferreri 2011, 293-337.

Category	Number of ascriptions	Percentage of ascriptions
I	13	48.15
II	0	0
III	0	0
IV	14	51.85

If we depart from West's edition and follow others in regarding lines 31-38 as contiguous with the address to Cynrus in line 28, as I think that we should,⁴⁷ then the early preference for ascribing to Theognis verses from Category I becomes still stronger: 17 of 27 attributions (62.96 %).

Other considerations point in the same direction. Up to Athenaeus, verses in Category II are attributed to an author 14 times; they are always ascribed to someone other than Theognis. From Athenaeus to Stobaeus, verses in Category II are ascribed to an author another 16 times: 7 times to Theognis and 9 times to somebody else. At least during this later period, as we know from other evidence, (versions of) verses in Category II circulated both as the work of Theognis and as the work of others.⁴⁸ The very different pattern of early ascriptions suggests that this had not always been the case.

Over time the pieces from Category IV ascribed to Theognis more frequently conform less well with the moralising didactic poetics of the 'Cynrus-poems' and with the early *testimonia* which agree in casting Theognis as a moralising didactic poet. Nobody attributes to Theognis clearly suspect verses from Category IV before such time as we know that an anthology like ours was in circulation (see below).⁴⁹

Before Athenaeus, nobody attributes to Theognis verses from Category III; Athenaeus (T73), like Stobaeus after him (T122), attributes to Theognis verses from a piece addressed to a certain Simonides which Aristotle (T9, 16) knew as the work of Evenus and which sounds unlike the 'Cynrus-poems' (467-496 = Evenus fr. *8a IEG²).

⁴⁷ Carrière 1948b, 3; van Groningen 1966, 25-6; Steffen 1968, 12-23; Young 1971, 3-4; Gerber 1999, 178; Friis Johansen 1991, 31-7; Hubbard 2007, 207-10; Selle 2008a, 315-6; Faraone 2008, 57-9.

⁴⁸ Clement of Alexandria (T83) contrasts two versions of the same verse, attributing one to Solon and the other to Theognis. Stobaeus cites the same verses twice, once as Solon and once as Theognis (T121, 129).

⁴⁹ For 31-38, ascribed to Theognis by Plato (T3), Xenophon (T6), Aristotle (T12), and Musonius (T37), see above. 429-438, ascribed to Theognis by Plato (T3) and Aristotle (T14), have clear connections with 31-38. 11-14, ascribed to Theognis by Aristotle (T19), refer to Megarian cult. 605-606, ascribed to Theognis by Teles (T32), sound like 1171-1176. 215-216, ascribed to Theognis three times by Plutarch (T47, 50, 51), are a complicated case (cf. 1071-1072). 509-510, ascribed to Theognis by Galen (T58) and Artemiodorus (T64), are sympotic but broadly didactic. 773-788, ascribed to Theognis by Harpocration (T59), are very probably too late to be Theognis'.

Before Athenaeus, nobody attributes to Theognis verses addressing any mortal besides Cynrus; Athenaeus (T71), like Eustathius after him (T158), attributes to Theognis verses from a piece which addresses a certain Academus and which sounds nothing like the 'Cynrus-poems' (993-1002).

These considerations together support the hypothesis that early authors knew a different collection of Theognis' poetry, in which verses in Category I featured more prominently and in which pieces from Categories II and III did not feature.⁵⁰ Modern scholars have pursued various 'unitarian' approaches to our *Theognidea*,⁵¹ but it seems improbable that a text like ours circulated from an early date. The various oddities of our corpus have often been explained with reference to the oral dynamics of early Greek sympotic culture, but the ascription of something like our *Theognidea* to Theognis was probably the work of a relatively late age.⁵² Nothing in our collection obviously postdates the fifth century, but this does not entail that everything in our collection was transmitted under Theognis' name from early on.

There is no good reason to suppose that the text of Theognis circulating in the classical period was any more or less inauthentic or unstable than the various other texts of older poetry which were also then in circulation. But it remains unclear just what that classical collection of Theognis' poetry looked like.⁵³ Nor do we know precisely what happened to it and when.⁵⁴ By treating as Theognis' work only 'Cynrus-poems' and pieces ascribed to Theognis by classical authors, we are unlikely to refer to all or only genuine extant pieces or to all of Theognis' poetry.⁵⁵ And yet such an approach, limited as it is, nonetheless offers some hope for gaining a better sense of what Theognis' poetry was like.

50 Other discussions of the *testimonia* have, significantly, tended toward 'analytical' conclusions broadly similar to those adopted here: cf. Jacoby 1961, 439-55; Carrière 1948a, 56-94; Peretti 1953; West 1974, 55-9; Bowie 1997, 65-6; 2012; Selle 2008a, 43-4, 74-5.

51 See, most recently, Colesanti 2011; cf. Selle 2014 and Condello 2015.

52 Lear 2011, 378 frames the issue as a debate between "oralists" and "anthologists", but both sides should be happy to invoke both orality and anthologies as explanatory mechanisms. I would regard as implausible any textual history which did not invoke writing *and* orality *and* symposia *and* anthologies.

53 Cf. West 1974, 40-2.

54 All published papyri so far reveal a text like ours, and these "require at least an organisation and compositional date of the first century AD for copying and dissemination" (Brusuelas 2016, 48).

55 429-38, known to Plato and Aristotle as Theognis' poetry, contain no address to Cynrus in ten lines. Stobaeus quotes six verses addressed to Cynrus which are not transmitted in the manuscripts (1221-1226). Κύρνε is a variant reading at 156, 213. θυμέ, φίλους κατὰ πάντας ἐπίστρεφε ποικίλον ἦθος (Thgn. 213) ≈ Κύρνε, φίλους κατὰ πάντας ἐπίστρεφε ποικίλον ἦθος (1071).

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Fasce e prodigi. Pindaro e l'inno omerico a Hermes

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Abstract In the first Nemean ode, Pindar narrates the trial of Heracles who, as a newborn baby, kills the snakes sent to him by Hera; and baby Hermes is the protagonist of various trials described in the Homeric hymn dedicated to the god. This paper highlights the analogies between the two narrations, arguing that Pindar hints at the story in the hymn. Therefore, this research also contributes to establish the controversial chronology of Homer's composition, which would precede the epinician's composition date, that is, the third decade of the fifth century.

Keywords Heracles. Pindar. Hermes. Homeric Hymns.

Pindaro racconta nella prima *Nemea* l'«antico» mito di Eracle che, neonato, strangola i serpenti mandati contro di lui da Era.¹ La narrazione inizia con la nascita:

ἐπεὶ σπλάγχων ὑπο ματέρος αὐτίκα θαιτὰν ἐς αἴγλαν παῖς Διός
ὠδῖνα φεύγων διδύμῳ σὺν κασιγνήτῳ μόλεν,
ὥς οὐ λαθὼν χρυσόθρονον
ἼΗραν κροκωτὸν σπάργανον ἐγκατέβη.

appena il figlio di Zeus venne dal grembo materno alla luce mirabile, lasciando col fratello gemello le doglie, senza sfuggire a Era dall'aureo trono entrò nelle fasce di croco. (vv. 35-38)

¹ Come ἀρχαῖος λόγος la narrazione è introdotta dal poeta a v. 34.



Il momento del parto non diverge molto nella narrazione di un'altra nascita semidivina, quella di Iamo figlio di Apollo e Evadne (Ol. 6.43-44 ἦλθεν δ' ὑπὸ σπλάγχων ὑπ' ὠδίνεσσ' ἐραταῖς Ἴαμος | ἐς φάος αὐτίκα, «Dalle viscere subito venne con amabili doglie alla luce»),² e anche da quella di Apollo e Artemide, nati da Zeus e Latona (Pae. XII 52m Maehler = G1 Rutherford, 12-16 ἀνὶκ' ἀγανόφρων | Κοίου θυγάτηρ λύετο τερπνᾶς | ὠδίνος· ἔλαψαν δ' ἀλείου δέμας ὄπωρς | ἀγλαὸν ἐς φάος ἰόντες δίδυμοι | παῖδες, «[Zeus era in attesa] che la mite figlia di Ceo si sciogliesse dalle gioiose doglie; brillarono come sole i due gemelli venendo alla splendida luce»).

Come i verbi ἦλθεν nell'*Olimpica* e ἰόντες nel *Peana*, nella *Nemea* troviamo l'intransitivo μόλεν. Si tratta di un elemento tradizionale: nell'inno omerico ad Apollo, il dio ἐκ δ' ἔθορε³ πρὸ φόως (119 balzò fuori alla luce); in quel caso, l'evento è seguito da una scena di sapore quotidiano, le dee lavano il neonato e lo fasciano (120-122 ἐνθα σὲ ἦε Φοῖβε θεαὶ λόον ὕδατι καλῶ | ἀγνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς, σπάρξαν δ' ἐν φάρει λευκῶ | λεπτῶ νηγατέω).⁴

Il particolare realistico delle fasce si trova anche nel nostro epinicio, ma l'esito è singolare data la presenza di un altro verbo all'attivo, ἐγκατέβα, per cui è il neonato a «entrare nelle fasce». Tale peculiarità è eliminata nella parafrasi dello scolio 58b alla *Nemea*, dove la frase è volta al passivo: εἰς κροκοβαφῆς⁵ ὕφασμα ἐνετέθη σπαργανωθεῖς, «fu posto in fasce color del croco» (un verbo passivo è utilizzato dallo stesso Pindaro, quando ricorda il giorno della propria nascita durante le festività pitiche nei termini πρῶτον εὐνάσθην ἀγαπατὸς ὑπὸ σπαργάνοις; fr. 193 Maehler). E in età moderna Fennell annotava che l'uso «recalls the passive sense often given to ἐκπίπτειν, ἀποθανεῖν», per cui consigliava «Render simply 'had been laid in'». ⁶ Nei verbi ci-

² Traduzione di Gentili 2013. Anche in questo caso entrano in scena due serpenti, che hanno però la funzione di nutrire il piccolo (45-47).

³ Con questo verbo sono descritte nascite divine anche in *Hom. Hymn Merc.* 20; Callim. *Hymn* 4.255 (e probabilmente fr. 50.123 Mass.); così ancora in Philostr., *Im-ag.* 1.14.2, dove Schönberger 1968, *ad loc.*, commenta che «ἐκθρόσκειν bezeichnet die Energie des göttlichen Kindes»; trattandosi della descrizione di un quadro relativo alla nascita di Dioniso, è però del tutto particolare questo balzo dal grembo di Semele, che moriva colpita dal fulmine.

⁴ Ma quelle fasce non dovevano trattenere a lungo il piccolo: si sciogliono tutti i legami una volta che si è saziato di nettare e ambrosia (127-129 Αὐτὰρ ἔπει δὴ Φοῖβε κατέβρωσ ἄμβροτον εἶδαρ, | οὐ σέ γ' ἔπειτ' ἴσχον χρύσειοι στρόφοι ἀσπαίροντα, | οὐδ' ἔτι δεσμά σ' ἔρυκε, λύοντο δὲ πείρατα πάντα).

⁵ Interessante questo aggettivo composto che, noto in poesia da Aesch. *Ag.* 1121, ritorna nella letteratura scolastica (e nella traduzione ovidiana di Massimo Planude: *Met.* 3.91 e 3.655).

⁶ Fennell 1899, *ad loc.*; similmente Bury 1890: «was placed and swathed in»; Werner 1967: «man ihn tat in Safranwindeln». Così nel lessico di Slater 1969: «come down into i. e. be laid in» (si trovava semplicemente «ingredior» in Rumpel 1883). E proprio un verbo passivo congetturava dubitativamente Bornemann 1892, 278 (εἰσεβάρη).

tati, però, diversamente da ἐγκαταβαίνω,⁷ al valore passivo si arriva con maggiore naturalezza, trattandosi di azioni indipendenti dalla volontà del soggetto (‘essere scacciati, uccisi’, ad opera di qualcuno o qualcosa). Nel prosodio pindarico dove era narrato lo stesso mito, inoltre, l’azione speculare del piccolo Eracle che «getta via le fasce» prima di entrare in azione contro i serpenti mandati da Era è seguita dalla considerazione «mostrò la sua natura»: *Pae. XX Maehler = S1 Ruth., 11-12] χειρὶ μελέων ἄπο ποικίλον | σπά]ργανον ἔριψεν ἕαν τ’ ἔφανεν φγάν.⁸

Il verbo ἐγκατέβα, in riferimento a un neonato che ‘entra nelle fasce’ invece di esservi posto, sembra anticipare dunque l’eccezionalità della situazione; così Schmitz, il quale cita a contrasto il verbo κατατίθημι che, nell’epillio di Teocrito nel quale il poeta ellenistico riprende il mito pindarico con la tecnica consueta di *imitatio cum variatione*,⁹ indica il normale gesto di ‘deporre’ i neonati da parte di Alcmene¹⁰ (in quel caso, l’anomalia sta nella culla, costituita da uno scudo:¹¹ 24.1-4 Ἡρακλέα δεκάμηνον ἔόντα ποχ’ Ἄμιθεῖτις | Ἀλκμήνα καὶ νυκτὶ νεώτερον Ἴφικλῆα, | ἀμφοτέρους λούσασα καὶ ἐμπλήσασα γάλακτος, | χαλκείαν κατέθηκεν ἐς ἀσπίδα).

La suggestione di «supernatural precocity» era avvertita già da Paley, ma la smentiva Fennell in base alla considerazione che «the effect of the subsequent miracle would be impaired by such a preliminary display of power».¹² Un’altra obiezione si potrebbe aggiungere, che l’evento insolito passa inosservato: Alcmene e le ancelle che la assistevano sembrano non accorgersi di nulla, a suscitare stupore sarà solo l’uccisione dei serpenti. Ma sappiamo bene come la narrazione pindarica sia selettiva e poco lineare: all’interno della stessa triade, ad esempio, veniamo a sapere che messaggeri erano stati inviati ad Anfitrione perché lo informassero di ciò che accadeva ai piccoli solo quando dall’esito della lotta il loro messaggio

⁷ Ricorrente soprattutto nella letteratura medica; al suo posto, Bergk 1878 sospettava ἔσκατέβα (composto attestato già in Hom. *Od.* 24.222).

⁸ Una nuova edizione critica del prosodio, con introduzione e commento, si deve ora a Prodi 2020; per questi due versi, più precisa nell’indicazione delle lettere incerte.

⁹ Ricchissima la bibliografia in proposito, da Perrotta 1923, sino a Cusset 1999, 355-62; Porro 2000; Fantuzzi, Hunter 2002, 275-86, 344-6 ≈ 2004, 201-10, 255-66; Morrison 2007, 223-9; Köhnken 2015; Kampakoglou 2019, 182-211.

¹⁰ Schmitz 1970, 6. Anche Philostr. *Imag.* 1.26.2, presenta una situazione di ‘normalità’, nell’*imago* dedicata alla nascita di Hermes (sono le Ore che σπαργάνοις αὐτὸν ἀμπύσχοισιν).

¹¹ Schmitz 1970, 4. Opportunamente lo studioso fa rientrare la «Spannung Form-Inhalt» di Teocrito (insieme con l’inno omerico a Hermes), all’interno di «Humoristische Darstellung», mentre pone Pindaro, insieme con il lamento di Danae simonideo, nella categoria «Verfremdung des Alltags», lontana da intenzioni umoristiche (ancora avvertite invece tra gli altri da Newman, Newman 1982, 209-21).

¹² Paley *ap.* Fennell 1899, *ad loc.*

risulta capovolto (vv. 58-59 παλίγλωσσον δέ οἱ ἀθάνατοι | ἀγγέλων ῥῆσιν θέσαν).¹³

Un elemento nuovo è introdotto da una concisa annotazione del commento di Braswell alla *Nemea*: egli definisce corretta la spiegazione dello scolio con il passivo («rightly explains the process: ἐνετέθη σπαργανωθείς»), ma aggiunge:¹⁴ «Pindar's choice of verb may well have been suggested by *h. Merc.* 237 σπάργαν' ἔσω κατέδυσε θυήεντ'». ¹⁵

Poiché la cronologia dei due componimenti non è scontata, conviene accennare brevemente al problema. L'epinicio celebra Cromio siracusano/etneo, cui è dedicata anche la *Nemea* nona, di poco successiva al 476, e la prima non è lontana da tale data.¹⁶ L'inno, il più recente tra quelli maggiori, è collocato prevalentemente nel sesto secolo, ma non manca chi lo abbassa al quinto, e persino all'età ellenistica.¹⁷ Non ci sono dunque elementi sicuri per dire in che direzione vada il rapporto intertestuale, ma un aiuto può venire dal contesto.

Nell'inno l'espressione di v. 237 σπάργαν' ἔσω κατέδυσε θυήεντ' (sprofondava nelle fasce), è relativa a Hermes che, pur essendo nato da poco, ha già inventato la lira dal guscio di una tartaruga e rubato le vacche di Apollo; quando si accorge dell'arrivo del fratello infuriato il piccolo, che era rientrato nella sua culla,¹⁸ tenta così di nascondersi (ma invano: 243 γνῶ δ' οὐδ' ἠγνοίησε).

Il verbo κατέδυσε ha dunque qui una funzione ben precisa. E già ai vv. 150-151 dell'inno, dopo il furto delle vacche, Hermes era rientrato nella culla «avvolgendosi le fasce intorno alle spalle» (ἔσσυμένως δ' ἄρα λίκνον ἐπώχετο κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς· | σπάργανον ἀμφ' ὤμοις εἰλυμένος),¹⁹ «ma non sfuggì alla dea sua madre, pur essendo un dio»

¹³ In proposito, Cannatà Fera 2007, 86-9.

¹⁴ Braswell 1992, *ad loc.*

¹⁵ Schmitz 1970, 3 e nota 18, osservava come sia questo l'unico passo, nell'inno, in cui le fasce sono accompagnate da un aggettivo (in Pindaro, oltre κροκωτὸν di *Nem.* 1.38, vedi ποικίλον di **Pae.* XX Maehler = S1 Ruth., 12). Se ne sarebbe ricordato Filostrato, dicendo che le Ore le cospargono dei fiori più belli, perché Hermes non abbia fasce insignificanti (*Imag.* 1.26.2 ἐπιπάττουσαι τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἀνθέων, ὡς μὴ ἀσήμων τύχη τῶν σπαργάνων).

¹⁶ Per il 469 propende Braswell 1992, 25-7; per qualche anno prima Cannatà Fera 2010, 145-9; Cannatà Fera 2020, 14-18.

¹⁷ Al quinto West 2003, 12-14, rifacendosi a Görgemanns 1976, 113-28; similmente Thomas 2020, 22-3 (450 circa); per l'età ellenistica Schenck zu Schweinsberg 2017. Si mantiene nell'ambito del sesto secolo Vergados 2013, 130-47 (cf. Faulkner 2011, 12-13). Tra fine sesto e inizio quinto lo colloca Nobili 2011, *passim*.

¹⁸ Non sarà casuale che l'andirivieni di Hermes dalle fasce ritorni con lo stesso verbo in Philostr.: *Imag.* 1.26.2 ὁ ὑπεκδύς τῶν σπαργάνων ἤδη βαδίζει καὶ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου κάτεισι (curioso che in 2.3.2 anche i piccoli dei centauri τῶν σπαργάνων ὑπεκδέυται). Dopo l'impresa, il neonato ὑποδύεται τὰ σπάργανα (1.26.3).

¹⁹ Il motivo ha nell'inno un rilievo tale che a v. 301 il dio è apostrofato con l'epiteto umoristico σπαργανιώτα (*hapax*).

(154 μητέρα δ' οὐκ ἄρ' ἔληθε θεῶν θεός). Nel caso di Eracle, è la sua nascita che «non sfugge a Era» (37-38 οὐ λαθῶν χρυσόθρονον | Ἥραν). L'interesse della dea verso la nascita di Eracle è noto già da Hom. *Il.* 19.95-124: Zeus si vanta che il bambino della sua stirpe che sarebbe nato quel giorno avrebbe regnato sulle genti vicine; Era trattiene perciò il parto di Alcmena e anticipa quello di Euristeo figlio di Stenelo, della stirpe di Perseo, desiderando che fosse lui, e non Eracle, a regnare. Di Era non si parla, ma forse la si presuppone, nel *De natura animalium* di Eliano, che mostra Alcmena in difficoltà al momento del parto; la aiuta una donnola,²⁰ e Eracle, quando finalmente viene fuori, è già in grado di gattonare (12.5 Θηβαῖοι δὲ σέβουσι Ἕλληνας ὄντες ὡς ἀκούω γαλῆν, καὶ λέγουσι γε Ἡρακλέους αὐτὴν γενέσθαι τροφόν, ἢ τροφὸν μὲν οὐδαμῶς, καθημένης δὲ ἐπ' ὠδίσι τῆς Ἀλκμήνης καὶ τεκεῖν οὐ δυναμένης, τήνδε παραδραμεῖν καὶ τοὺς τῶν ὠδίνων λῦσαι δεσμούς, καὶ προελθεῖν τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ ἔρπειν²¹ ἤδη). Questo particolare mi sembra da non trascurare quando si attribuisce valore passivo all' ἐγκατέβη pindarico.

È molto probabile dunque che Pindaro nella prima *Nemea* alluda alla situazione di Hermes. L'ipotesi è sostenuta da altri elementi di questo inno che ritroviamo altrove nel poeta lirico. Quando Apollo, colpito dal suono della cetra, chiede a Hermes che l'aveva inventata informazioni sulla nuova arte musicale, si sente rispondere dal piccolo che gliela avrebbe insegnata, malgrado sapesse che lui, dio degli oracoli,²² conosceva ogni cosa (467 σὺ δὲ φρεσὶ πάντ' εὔοῖδας). Analogamente in *Pyth.* 9.30-65, quando Apollo, ammirato del vigore e del coraggio con cui una fanciulla, Cirene, affrontava un leone, desideroso di unirsi a lei chiede notizie sul suo conto a Chirone, il centauro profetizza gli esiti di quella unione spingendolo a compierla, premette però di sapere come non fossero sincere le sue parole, da parte di un dio a conoscenza dell'esito e delle vie di ogni cosa (44-45 κύριον ὃς πάντων τέλος | οἶσθα καὶ πάσας κελεύθους). Questo confronto si trova in Vergados, *ad loc.*, il quale tra i *loci similes* dell'inno ricorda in apparato anche altri luoghi pindarici: per v. 65 (εὐώδεος ἐκ μεγάροιο) *Ol.* 7.32 εὐώδεος ἐξ ἀδύτου, per v. 96 (πεδί' ἀνθεμόντα) fr. 107a 4 Maehler ἀνὰ Δώτιον ἀνθεμόεν πεδίον, per v. 109 (δάφνης ἀγλαδὸν ὄζον) fr. 94b 7-8 ὄρπακ' ἀγλαδὸν δάφνας. Ai vv. 35-50 della prima *Nemea* lo studioso fa invece solo un veloce riferimento, nel commento alla formula di v. 101 Διὸς ἄλκιμος νίος (assente però dalla *Nemea*).²³

20 Per la connessione della donnola con il parto, Bettini 2018, 3-45, e *passim*.

21 Il verbo è riferito a bambini già in Aesch. *Sept.* 17.

22 Da quando, «ancora tra le braccia della madre», aveva ucciso il drago delfico (secondo Eur. *IT* 1250-1257): anche questo, dunque, un caso di precocità per un fanciullo divino.

23 Per Eracle è utilizzata in *Ol.* 10.44-45 (come già in Hes. fr. 43a 61 Merk.-West ecc.).

E credo si possa aggiungere qualcos'altro. Nel frammento di un *threnos* pindarico, la descrizione della vita beata nel *locus amoenus* dell'aldilà comprende l'odore che si diffonde dai sacrifici: fr. 58.8-9 Cannatà Fera ὄδμᾶ δ' ἐρατὸν κατὰ χώρον κίδναται | αἰεὶ θύματα μειγνύντων πυρὶ τηλεφανεῖ | παντοῖα θεῶν ἐπὶ βωμοῖς. Nell'inno troviamo da una parte la *iunctura* del sostantivo con il verbo di v. 8 in riferimento all'epifania divina (231-232 ὄδμῆ δ' ἱμερόεσσα δι' οὖρεος ἠγαθέοιο | κίδνατο),²⁴ dall'altra l'odore proveniente dalle carni del sacrificio (130-132 ἔνθ' ὀσίης κρεάων ἠράσσατο κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς· | ὄδμῆ γάρ μιν ἔτειρε καὶ ἀθάνατόν περ ἔοντα | ἠδεῖ').

Anche ἀμφὶ βουσὶν πῶς χολῶθεις di *Nem.* 10.60 («adirato per i buoi» è Ida, che ferisce Castore nel corso della lotta tra Afaretidi e Dioscuri)²⁵ ricorda il v. 236 dell'inno χῳόμενον περὶ βουσὶν: «adirato» per il furto delle vacche è Apollo (va detto però che una espressione simile ricorre in Hes. [Sc.] 12 χῳσάμενος περὶ βουσί: di Eracle che, «adirato per i buoi», aveva ucciso Elettrione).

E un altro elemento indicativo dal punto di vista cronologico credo sia σύμφωνος, detto delle corde del nuovo strumento musicale nell'inno (v. 51),²⁶ Pindaro, in *Pyth.* 1.70, riferisce l'aggettivo a quella tranquillità che il poeta, nella sua preghiera a Zeus, augura che il destinatario Ierone possa assicurare al popolo da lui guidato (δαμόν γεραίρων τράποι σύμφωνον ἐς ἡσυχίαν). È naturale pensare che l'uso metaforico sia più recente di quello concreto. Diversamente in *Ol.* 8.42, Πέργαμος ἀμφὶ τεαῖς, ἦρωσ, χερὸς ἐργασίαις ἀλίσκεται, dove assume valore concreto quel sostantivo astratto ἐργασίη, per la prima volta attestato a v. 486 dell'inno, nel quale sono numerosi i nomi con questa terminazione.²⁷

Nell'introduzione all'inno dell'edizione Allen, nel paragrafo dedicato all'influenza del componimento, si affermava che esso «made little or no impression on later literature».²⁸ Studi recenti hanno dimostrato il contrario. Ai numerosi casi messi in luce da Cecilia Nobili e da Athanassios Vergados²⁹ converrà aggiungere il nome di Pinda-

²⁴ Con riferimento all'epifania divina si trova tuttavia anche in *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 277-278 ὄδμῆ δ' ἱμερόεσσα θυθέντων ἀπὸ πέπλων | σκίδνατο, dove il verbo, con una differenza minima, ricorre nella stessa posizione in *enjambement*.

²⁵ Ma una versione alternativa presentava donne al posto dei buoi (Cannatà Fera 2020, *ad loc.*).

²⁶ Il confronto in Thomas 2020, 5.

²⁷ Thomas 2020, 5.

²⁸ Allen, Halliday, Sikes 1936, 277. E di «impression of neglect» (LXXXIX) essi parlavano per l'intera raccolta, alla cui ricezione dal I sec. a.C. in poi è dedicato il volume di Faulkner, Vergados, Schwab 2016.

²⁹ Nobili 2011, 209-24 (è un capitolo dedicato alla fortuna letteraria dell'inno nell'Atene del quinto secolo); Vergados 2013, 110-24, dove tuttavia alcuni casi sono discutibili; non ritengo significativo ad esempio l'epigramma di Marco Argentario, in *Anth.*

ro. E la funzionalità con cui nell'inno si presenta il particolare dello «sprofondare nelle fasce», a differenza che in Pindaro, parla a favore di una anteriorità rispetto all'epinicio: deve essere nel giusto dunque chi pensa al sesto secolo, o al più tardi ai primi decenni del quinto.

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Pal. 5.127, nel quale la corrispondenza di v. 5 μητέρα δ' οὐκ ἔλαθεν con il v. 154 dell'inno (μητέρα δ' οὐκ ἄρ' ἔληθε) sarebbe significativa se ci fosse qualche altro elemento (troppo comune è infatti l'espressione, che a inizio di esametro con οὐκ ἔλαθεν preceduto da un dattilo era già in Hom. *Il.* 14.1: Νέστορα δ'); ma l'unione segreta dei due amanti dell'epigramma, che «non sfugge alla madre», non trova rispondenza nell'unione di Maia e Zeus dell'inno (che invece rimane segreta: v. 9); a «non sfuggire alla madre», come abbiamo visto, è ivi l'andirivieni del neonato dalla culla. Né sembra possa sostenere l'accostamento Ἐρμῆς κοινός del verso finale, con cui la madre commenta l'amplesso della figlia una volta scopertolo: si tratta infatti, come lo stesso Vergados chiarisce, di espressione proverbiale indicante qualcosa trovata da più persone.

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Apollon Pythien chez Pindare

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Abstract Despite Pindar's known close ties to the site of Delphi and its god, it is surprising to find only nine occurrences of the adjective Πύθιος in all of Pindar's preserved work, and only one of the phrase Πύθιος Ἀπόλλων – in the *Olympian odes* moreover, and not in the *Pythian*, as one could have expected. This observation leads me to examine each of the uses of Πύθιος in Pindar, then to survey the other epithets with which the poet qualifies Apollo, before examining the situation of Olympian Zeus, Nemean Zeus and Isthmian Poseidon. I end with a quick review of Πύθιος in Bacchylides' poems, in an attempt to determine more precisely Pindar's possible originality regarding Pythian Apollo.

Keywords Pindar. Pythian Apollo. Epithets. Epiclèses. Poetry and religion.

Sommaire 1 Introduction. – 2 Πύθιος Ἀπόλλων, *Ol.* 14.11. – 3 Les autres occurrences de Πύθιος chez Pindare. – 4 Autres qualifications d'Apollon chez Pindare. – 5 Qu'en est-il de Zeus Olympien, de Zeus Néméen et de Poséidon Isthmien ? – 6 Πύθιος | Πυθαιεύς chez Bacchylide. – 7 Conclusion.

1 Introduction

Les liens étroits associant Pindare à l'Apollon de Delphes sont bien connus, notamment par la tradition biographique du poète :¹ celui-ci était censé recevoir une part des sacrifices faits en l'honneur d'Apollon Pythien et la *Vie* d'Eustathe évoque même, entre le poète et le dieu, une commensalité justifiée par l'affection d'Apollon pour Pindare. Une part importante de sa création poétique était par ailleurs consacrée

¹ *Vie ambrosienne* (ll. 28-33 Westermann), *Vie d'Eustathe* (27.2-3 Kambylis), *Vie de Thomas Magister* (ll. 12-13, 15-19 Westermann).



aux vainqueurs des jeux Pythiques. On s'attend donc légitimement à rencontrer Apollon Pythien dans une grande partie de l'œuvre du poète thébain. Anastase Stéfos affirme ainsi, dans l'ouvrage qu'il consacre à *Apollon dans Pindare*, que « l'adjectif Πύθιος se trouve souvent joint au nom d'Apollon ».² Une consultation du lexique de Slater³ à l'article Πύθιος, ne révèle que neuf occurrences du terme (six emplois purement adjectivaux et trois emplois substantivés). Plus surprenant encore, dans toute l'œuvre conservée de Pindare, on ne trouve qu'une seule occurrence du syntagme Πύθιος' Απόλλων, et celui-ci n'est ni dans les *Pythiques* ni même dans les *Péans*, genre traditionnellement consacré à Apollon ! En outre, sur les huit autres occurrences de Πύθιος, certaines font visiblement référence à Pythô, la cité de Delphes, et non à Apollon Pythien. Ce sont ces passages que je me propose d'analyser ici, afin d'étudier chacun des emplois de l'adjectif Πύθιος chez Pindare : je commencerai par l'unique Πύθιος' Απόλλων, puis présenterai les quatre autres occurrences de l'adjectif qui désignent sans doute Apollon, avant d'examiner les quatre passages où l'adjectif Πύθιος renvoie non pas au dieu, mais au lieu, Pythô. Étant donné le nombre relativement faible d'occurrences de cette épiclèse, je m'intéresserai également aux autres épithètes d'Apollon chez Pindare, et évoquerai rapidement les cas de Zeus Olympien ou Néméen et de Poséidon Isthmien. Enfin je terminerai par un rapide examen de Πύθιος dans les poèmes de Bacchylide, pour essayer de déterminer avec plus de précision l'éventuelle originalité de Pindare concernant Apollon Pythien.

2 Πύθιος' Απόλλων, Ol. 14.11

L'unique occurrence de Πύθιος' Απόλλων chez Pindare se trouve dans le *Quatorzième Olympique* (v. 11) :

Καφισίων ὑδάτων
λαχοῖσαι αἶτε ναίετε καλλίπωλον ἔδραν,
ὧ λιπαρᾶς αἰοίδιμοι βασίλειαι
Χάριτες Ἐρχομενοῦ, παλαιγόνων Μινυᾶν ἐπίσκοποι,
κλυτ', ἐπεὶ εὐχομαι· σὺν γὰρ ὑμῖν τά <τε> τερπνὰ καὶ 5
τὰ γλυκὲ' ἄνεται πάντα βροτοῖς,
εἰ σοφός, εἰ καλός, εἴ τις ἀγλαὸς ἀνὴρ.
Οὐδὲ γὰρ θεοὶ σεμνᾶν Χαρίτων ἄτερ
κοιρανέοντι χοροῦς
οὔτε δαῖτας· ἀλλὰ πάντων ταμίαι
ἔργων ἐν οὐρανῷ, χρυσότοξον θέμεναι πάρα 10

² Stéfos 1975, 234.

³ Slater 1969.

Πύθιον Ἀπόλλωνα θρόνου,
αἰέναν εἴβοντι πατρὸς Ὀλυμπίοιο τιμάν.

Vous, à qui sont échues les eaux du Céphise et qui habitez une contrée aux beaux chevaux, Grâces, souveraines dignes d'être chantées, de la brillante Orchomène, gardiennes des anciens Minyens, écoutez ma prière ; car c'est avec votre aide que s'accomplissent toutes les joies et tous les plaisirs des mortels, le talent, la beauté, la gloire.

Et les dieux mêmes, sans les augustes Grâces, ne peuvent tenir ni chœurs ni festins. Dispensatrices de tout dans le ciel, siégeant sur des trônes auprès d'Apollon Pythien à l'arc d'or, elles vénèrent l'éternelle majesté du père olympien.⁴ (1-12)

Il apparaît clairement qu'Apollon Pythien n'est pas central dans ce texte, mais mentionné uniquement comme parèdre des Grâces. La *Quatorzième Olympique* célèbre la victoire du jeune Asophichos d'Orchomène au stade des garçons (peut-être en 488). Orchomène, située sur le lac Copaïs, était sans doute la principale cité béotienne avant d'être éclipsée par Thèbes. Cité des Minyens à l'époque mycénienne, sa richesse était proverbiale. Orchomène abritait d'autre part un culte des Grâces, très ancien et célèbre. Toute l'ode est une invocation aux trois sœurs, Aglaé, Euphrosyne et Thalie. On les voit ici associées à Apollon comme le sont souvent les Muses : χρυσότοξον θέμεναι πάρα | Πύθιον Ἀπόλλωνα θρόνου (vv. 10-11). Les Grâces représentent chez Pindare à la fois la gloire de la victoire et la gloire et la grâce de l'épénicie qui illustre cette victoire. À ce titre, elles personnifient l'esprit, la source et la fonction même de la poésie, et il n'est donc pas étonnant de les voir associées à Apollon, le dieu de l'inspiration poétique. Jacqueline Duchemin leur consacre un chapitre dans son ouvrage *Pindare, poète et prophète*, intitulé : « Charis et Charites : la joie créatrice ».⁵ Elle y montre que les Charites sont, comme les Muses, étroitement associées à la création poétique : « Le rôle des Charites semble être surtout pour Pindare d'embellir, en le parant d'ornements brillants, le chant dont les Muses, messagères de l'omniscience divine, font connaître la matière au poète » (p. 60). Dans la *Huitième Isthmique*, Pindare appelle ainsi l'ode triomphale Χαρίτων ἄωτον (fleur des Grâces) (v. 16). Et le chœur de la *Sixième Pythique* développe la métaphore de la poésie en tant que labour d'un champ que détiendraient les Grâces :⁶

⁴ Les textes de Pindare sont cités d'après l'édition de Snell ; Maehler 1987-89, ceux de Bacchylide d'après celle de Maehler 2003. Toutes les traductions sont personnelles.

⁵ Duchemin 1955, 54-94.

⁶ On retrouve cette même métaphore et ces mêmes détentrices du domaine dans la *Neuvième Olympique* : ἐξάειρετον Χαρίτων νέμομαι κάπον (je cultive le jardin choisi des

ἄρουραν [...] Χαρίτων
ἀναπολίζομεν, ὀμφαλὸν ἐριβρόμου
χθονὸς ἐς νάϊον προκοιχόμενοι·

c'est le champ des Grâces
que nous labourons, tandis que du nombril de la terre aux
sourds grondements,
du temple, nous nous approchons.
(vv. 2-4)

Le temple 'nombril de la terre' fait référence au temple d'Apollon Pythien. Ce texte associe ainsi également, bien que de manière moins directe, les Grâces et Apollon Pythien. La *Quatorzième Olympique* constituant une sorte d'hymne aux Grâces, la mention d'Apollon n'y a rien d'étonnant. En revanche, la présence du dieu de Delphes, de l'Apollon Pythien, est plus surprenante. Si la victoire célébrée était une victoire pythique, on pourrait supposer qu'elle est attribuée, au moins en partie, à la faveur conjointe des Grâces⁷ et d'Apollon Pythien. Mais il s'agit ici d'une victoire à Olympie et le lien explicite entre ces divinités, de même que la présence d'Apollon Pythien dans un tel contexte, ne semblent pas trouver de justification immédiate. D'autre part, on ne peut qu'être frappé par le fait que la seule mention d'Apollon Pythien chez Pindare ne se trouve pas dans la recueils des *Pythiques*. On pourrait en déduire que le poète n'éprouve pas le besoin de préciser l'épiclèse du dieu dans les odes placées sous le patronage de celui-ci (en tant que dieu principal des Jeux Pythiques), mais qu'il le fait au contraire dans les autres recueils. Or, ce n'est pas le cas ailleurs que dans ce passage de la *Quatorzième Olympique*. On peut prendre l'exemple révélateur de la fin de la *Septième Isthmique*, où le poète souhaite au thébain Strepsiade une victoire pythique en ces termes :

Ἄμμι δ', ὧ χρυσέα κόμη θάλλων, πόρε, Λοξία,
τεῶσιν ἀμίλλαισιν
εὐανθέα καὶ Πυθόϊ στέφανον.

Et à nous, Dieu à la luxuriante chevelure d'or, Loxias, accorde,
en tes jeux,
à Pythô aussi, une couronne fleurie.
(vv. 49-51)

Grâces) (v. 27).

⁷ Cf. *Nem.* 5.53-54 : ἀνθέων ποιάεντα φέρε στεφανώματα σὺν Ξανθαῖς Χαρίσσιν ([Thémistios] a porté des couronnes verdoyantes de fleurs avec l'aide des blondes Grâces).

Il faut donc chercher une autre justification de cet unique emploi de Πύθιος Ἀπόλλων. Le *De Musica* (1136 A)⁸ du Pseudo-Plutarque rapporte qu'à Délos la statue archaïque d'Apollon portait sur sa main tendue le groupe des trois Grâces : καὶ ἡ ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος αὐτοῦ ἀφίδρυσις ἔχει ἐν μὲν τῇ δεξιᾷ τόξον, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ Χάριτας, τῶν τῆς μουσικῆς ὀργάνων ἐκάστην τι ἔχουσαν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ λύραν κρατεῖ, ἡ δ' αὐλούς, ἡ δ' ἐν μέσῳ προκειμένην ἔχει τῷ στόματι κύριγγα· (La statue du dieu à Délos porte dans la main droite un arc et dans la gauche, les Grâces, chacune tenant un instrument de musique : l'une a une lyre, une autre des *auloi* et celle du milieu tient une syrinx près de sa bouche). Une scholie⁹ au passage des *Olympiques* qui nous intéresse mentionne d'autre part une statue d'Apollon à Delphes dans une situation de proximité similaire avec les Grâces : παρὰ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνί φησι καθέζεσθαι τὰς Χάριτας διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκειότητα. ἐν γοῦν Δελφοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς εἰσὶν ἰδρυμένοι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος (il dit que les Grâces sont assises auprès d'Apollon du fait de leur affinité avec le dieu. Ainsi à Delphes, elles sont installées à la droite d'Apollon). Mais cette affirmation a été mise en doute¹⁰ du fait qu'aucune autre source ne témoigne de l'existence d'une telle œuvre dans la statuaria delphique. En revanche le texte de la *Quatorzième Olympique* semble décrire un tableau figé, voire un groupe sculpté : χρυσότοξον θέμεναι πάρα, | Πύθιον Ἀπόλλωνα θρόνου (siégeant sur des trônes auprès d'Apollon Pythien à l'arc d'or). Il faut également noter qu'Apollon y est non seulement *Pythien*, mais porteur de l'arc d'or. On retrouve ainsi, associés au dieu, à la fois l'arc et les Grâces, comme c'est le cas dans la statue de Délos décrite par Plutarque.¹¹ Ces éléments permettent d'émettre l'hypothèse qu'il y avait peut-être à Delphes une statue comparable à celle de Délos, et que c'est précisément à cette œuvre d'art que la *Quatorzième Olympique* fait allusion. Peut-être est-ce même la raison pour laquelle Pindare précise que l'Apollon dont il parle est 'Pythien', alors qu'il ne le fait nulle part ailleurs en parlant du dieu de Delphes : cet Apollon *Pythien* ferait ainsi référence à la statue cultuelle du dieu à Delphes, - proche, mais différée, de celle de l'Apollon Délien.

Le texte de la *Quatorzième Olympique* est donc le seul dans lequel Pindare mentionne explicitement « Apollon Pythien » en associant le nom du dieu à son épiclèse. Si l'on peut se demander pourquoi il ne le

⁸ D'après Pausanias (9.35.3) cette statue était l'œuvre des sculpteurs Angelion et Tectaios, qui vécutent au milieu du VI^e siècle. Cf. Paus. 9.35.5 ; Callimaque, fr. 114 Pfeiffer. Voir Pfeiffer 1952 ; Prost 1999, 37-60 ; D'Alessio 2009, 136-7.

⁹ Cf. aussi schol. *Ol.* 14.8b : αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ Χάριτες τιμῶνται παρὰ τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, « les Grâces elles-mêmes sont honorées près du temple d'Apollon ».

¹⁰ Gildersleeve 1885, 238 ; Farnell 1961, 103.

¹¹ En revanche il n'est pas fait mention des instruments de musique dans les mains des Grâces.

fait pas ailleurs, la raison pour laquelle il le fait dans ce texte n'est pas non plus parfaitement claire. L'association explicite d'Apollon Pythien aux Grâces, divinités qui règnent sur tout ce poème, est visiblement la seule raison d'être de la présence du dieu de Delphes dans cette ode. Le lien entre ces divinités peut peut-être trouver une justification dans une association des Grâces à Apollon Pythien dans la statuaire, – si vraiment la statue que mentionne le scholiaste a existé.

3 Les autres occurrences de Πύθιος chez Pindare

Outre cet unique passage mentionnant 'Apollon Pythien', on trouve dans les poèmes conservés de Pindare, deux occurrences de l'adjectif Πύθιος substantivé et renvoyant sans ambiguïté au grand dieu de Delphes. La première se situe dans la *Troisième Néméenne* (v. 70), qui célèbre l'exploit au pancrace d'Aristocleidès d'Égine :

ὄς τάνδε νᾶσον εὐκλέϊ προσέθηκε λόγῳ
καὶ σεμνὸν ἀγλααῖσι μερίμναις
Πυθίου Θεάριον. [...]

qui a uni cette île au dire glorieux
et aux illustres ambitions
l'auguste Théarion du Pythien.
(vv. 68-70)

Le terme rare Θεάριον n'est pas parfaitement clair et demande à être élucidé. Cette forme dorienne (pour θεωρίον) se rattache à θεωρός, « personne envoyée pour consulter un oracle, pour assister à une fête religieuse ».¹² Les théores sont des ambassadeurs envoyés par une cité vers Delphes et le sanctuaire d'Apollon, pour consulter l'oracle ou pour assister aux Jeux en représentant leur cité¹³ ; Mantinée, Trézène, Thasos ou Égine avaient un tel personnel permanent de délégués religieux. Le terme Θεάριον est également à rapprocher de l'adjectif Θεάριος, épithète dorienne d'Apollon en tant que dieu des oracles¹⁴ ou protecteur des théores delphiques.¹⁵ Pausanias (2.31.6) atteste l'existence d'un culte d'Apollon Théarios à Trézène : τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Θεαρίου κατασκευάσαι μὲν Πιπθέα ἔφρασαν, ἔστι δὲ ὧν οἶδα παλαιότατον (on raconte que c'est Pitthée qui a fait construire le sanctuaire d'Apollon Théarios ; et c'est, de ceux que je

¹² Chantraine 1999, s.v. « θεωρός », 433.

¹³ Farnell 1961, 260 ; Pfeijffer 1999, 218.

¹⁴ Cf. IG IV 748.16 (Trézène, IV^e siècle av. J.C.), Paus. 2.31.6.

¹⁵ Farnell 1961, 260.

connais, le plus ancien). On peut hésiter sur l'interprétation du mot Θεάριον dans l'ode de Pindare et se demander s'il s'agit d'un « collègue des théores »¹⁶ ou d'un « sanctuaire où résident les théores ».¹⁷ Cette hésitation est peut-être due à une amphibologie analogue à celle qui réside dans le terme moderne 'club' : celui-ci peut avoir le double sens d' 'association' et de 'lieu abritant cette association', on peut ainsi 'appartenir à un club' et 'aller au club'. Mais, selon les scholies, c'est le sens de 'construction' qu'il faut privilégier dans la *Troisième Néméenne* :

- scholie au v. 122 (a) : ἔστιν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν, ἐν ᾧ οἱ θεωροὶ διητῶντο [...]. οἱ δὲ, ὅτι ἐν τοῦ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ οἶκος ἐστὶ καλούμενος Θεάριον διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οἱ καλοῦνται θεωροί, ἐνταῦθα δειπᾶσθαι (Il y a à Égine un sanctuaire d'Apollon Pythien, dans lequel résidaient les théores [...]. Selon d'autres, dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon Pythien il y a un local appelé Théarion du fait que les magistrats, qu'on appelle théores, résident là).
- scholie au v. 122 (b) : Πυθίου Θεάριον : τόπος ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δημόσιος, ἔνθα τὰ κυμπόσια εἴρηται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν θεωρῶν τῶν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα πεμπομένων (Théarion du Pythien : lieu public à Égine, où se tenaient les banquetts. On l'appelle ainsi du nom des théores envoyés à Apollon).

Il se peut néanmoins que les scholiastes n'aient eu d'autre source d'information que ce texte, comme le souligne Farnell.¹⁸ Mais la structure même de la phrase pindarique, par le parallélisme que crée le chiasme entre l'île (τάνδε νᾶσον) et le *Théarion* (σεμνὸν | Πυθίου Θεάριον), suggère plutôt un sens spatial pour ce dernier. L'allusion au *Théarion* ainsi que l'adjectif σεμνόν placent par ailleurs ces vers dans un contexte cultuel qui ne laisse pas de doute possible sur le référent de l'adjectif substantivé Πυθίου, c'est bien d'Apollon Pythien qu'il est question. Il est vraisemblable, comme le notent les commentateurs, qu'Aristocleidès faisait partie du collège des théores éginètes, et qu'il était donc particulièrement lié au dieu.

Le troisième texte se situe dans le *Péan IX*, poème célèbre dès l'Antiquité pour son évocation d'une éclipse de soleil (peut-être celle de 463). Il porte le titre : Θηβαίοις εἰς Ἴσμήνιον (pour les Thébains,

¹⁶ C'est ainsi qu'interprètent le mot Puech 1923 ; Slater 1969 ; Race 1997 ; Pfeijffer 1999, 218.

¹⁷ Cf. Bury 1890, 59. En dépit de sa traduction, Puech indique dans sa notice à la *Troisième Néméenne* (p. 37) : « La quatrième triade [...] mentionne un sanctuaire d'Apollon Pythien, à Égine, le *Théarion*, et l'on a pu penser avec quelque vraisemblance que la fête en l'honneur d'Aristocleidès y est célébrée ». Cf. *LSJ* (éd. 1940) s.v. « (τό) θεάριον » ; Chantaine 1999 : « θεάριον 'lieu de réunion des théores' à Égine (Pi, N. 3, 70) ».

¹⁸ Farnell 1932, 260.

à l’Isménion), indiquant ainsi qu’il a été commandité par les Thébains pour être exécuté au sanctuaire de l’Isménion. Le phénomène de l’éclipse occupe la première triade du péan, puis Pindare fournit des précisions sur les conditions de production du poème (ἐκράνθην ὑπὸ δαιμονίῳ τινί, le poète a été ‘missionné par quelque [signe ?] divin’, 34) et son lieu d’exécution, λέχει πέλας ἀμβροσίῳ Μελίας (près de la couche immortelle de Mélia) (35), avant de se tourner vers le dieu qu’il implore :

Λιτανεύω, ἐκαβόλε,
Μοισαίαις ἀν[α]τιθεῖς τέχνα[ι]εῖ
χρηστήριον.[.] ο [..(.)]ι
ἐν ᾧ Τήνερον εὐρυβίαν θεμίτων ~ -- ant. 2
ἐξαίρετον προφάταν ἔτεκ[εν] λέχει
κόρα μγείτ’ Ὀκεανοῦ Μελία κέο, Πύθι[ε].

Je t’implore, Toi qui frappes au loin,
en consacrant aux arts des Muses
ton oracle...
où le puissant Ténéros, ant. 2
interprète choisi de tes décrets fut mis au monde par
la fille d’Océan, Mélia, qui, sur ta couche, s’était unie à toi,
Pythien.

(vv. 38-43)

On trouve, au v. 38, la première invocation à Apollon du poème, par l’intermédiaire de deux adjectifs substantivés : ἐκαβόλε (qui lance ses flèches au loin), puis Πύθιε (dont ce texte constitue la seconde et dernière occurrence pindarique de la forme substantivée). Pindare retarde souvent l’introduction du dieu lui-même dans ses poèmes religieux.¹⁹ Contrairement à Πύθιος, ἐκαβόλος n’est pas une épithète culturelle, mais uniquement une épithète littéraire,²⁰ traditionnelle depuis Homère (sous la forme ionienne ἐκηβόλος, cf. *Il.* 1.14 etc.). Puis, avec le terme χρηστήριον (v. 40), le poète prépare le récit qui va occuper la seconde antistrophe : ce récit est centré sur le héros et divin Ténéros (θεμίτων... | ἐξαίρετον προφάταν, vv. 41-42), figure locale de la légende béotienne, fils de l’Océanide Mélia et d’Apollon *Pythien*, et prophète de l’Isménion. L’Isménion était un sanctuaire oraculaire en l’honneur d’Apollon Isménios, à Thèbes. Pindare l’évoque également dans la *Onzième Pythique* : ‘Filles de Cadmos, [...] venez auprès de Mélia, au trésor inaccessible des trépieds d’or, dans le sanctuaire que

19 Cf. Furley, Bremer 2001, 2: 152 ; Rutherford 2001, 167-8.

20 Cf. Knoepfler 1994, 373-7.

Loxias honora plus que tous et qu'il nomma Isménion... (vv. 3-6).²¹ Le scholiaste précise au sujet de l'Isménion : ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ Τηνέρου ἱερὸν ἐστὶ χρηστήριον (où se trouve l'oracle sacré de Ténéros). Méliá y avait mis au monde, des œuvres d'Apollon, deux enfants, Ténéros et Isménos (qui donna son nom à la rivière thébaine).²²

Une nouvelle fois, si l'on comprend bien le rôle que joue Apollon ici, sa désignation comme Pythien est beaucoup plus étonnante, dans un contexte clairement thébain. Il est possible qu'Apollon soit appelé *Pythien* en tant que dieu de la mantique par excellence : c'est ce que laisse penser le texte par la présentation de Ténéros comme devin et la présence de termes évoquant l'art divinatoire (χρηστήριον 40, προφάταν 42). Mais cette épiclese est aussi la plus ancienne épithète connue d'Apollon à Thèbes (datant du début du VII^e siècle), où le culte du dieu a probablement reçu une forte influence delphique à l'origine.²³

Les deux passages suivants comportent chacun une occurrence de Πύθιος derrière laquelle on peut hésiter à identifier Apollon Pythien ou Pythô. La première occurrence se trouve dans la *Quatrième Pythique*, composée à l'occasion de la victoire pythique d'Arcésilas de Cyrène à la course des chars en 462. Pindare y développe le mythe de la fondation de Cyrène, lié à celui des Argonautes, car l'un des compagnons de Jason, Euphamos, est à l'origine de la lignée royale de Cyrène. Son descendant à la dix-septième génération, Battos, venu consulté l'oracle de Delphes pour tenter de remédier à son bégaïement, reçoit de la Pythie l'injonction d'aller en Lybie, fonder Cyrène. La parole de la Pythie vient en réalité raviver une prédiction plus ancienne de Médée aux Argonautes (vv. 13-56). Le passage qui nous intéresse se situe à la fin de cette prophétie :

Νῦν γε μὲν ἄλλοδαπᾶν κριτὸν εὐρήσει γυναικῶν
ἐν λέχεσιν γένος, οἳ κεν τάνδε σὺν τιμᾷ θεῶν
νάσων ἐλθόντες τέκωνται
φῶτα κελαινεφρών πεδίων
δεσπότην· τὸν μὲν πολυχρύσῳ ποτ' ἐν δώματι
Φοῖβος ἀμνάσει θέμισσιν
Πύθιον ναὸν καταβάντα χρόνῳ ant. 3
ὑστέρῳ, νάεσσι πολεῖς ἀγαγὲν Νεί-
λοιο πρὸς πῖον τέμενος Κρονίδα.

²¹ ἴτε [...] | ματρὶ παρ Μελίαν χρυσέων ἐς ἄδυτον τριπόδων | ἠθσαυρόν, ὃν περιᾶλλ' ἐτίμασε Λοξίας, | Ἰσμήνιον δ' ὀνύμαξεν...

²² Paus. 9.10.6 : Ἀπόλλωνι δὲ παῖδας ἐκ Μελίας γενέσθαι λέγουσι Τήνερρον καὶ Ἰσμηνόν· Τηνέρον μὲν Ἀπόλλωνι μαντικὴν δίδωσι, τοῦ δὲ Ἰσμηνοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχεν ὁ ποταμός. « On raconte qu'Apollon eut de Méliá des enfants, Ténéros et Isménos. À Ténéros, Apollon fit don de l'art divinatoire ; tandis que d'Isménos le fleuve tira son nom ».

²³ Cf. Schachter 1967, 10 ; 1981, 1 : 80, 87.

Et maintenant il trouvera dans le lit de femmes étrangères une
descendance choisie, qui, avec la faveur des dieux,
ira sur cette île et engendrera
un homme, destiné à devenir le maître de plaines aux sombres
nuées.

Et lui, un jour, dans sa demeure riche en or,
Phoibos lui rappellera par ses oracles
quand, il sera descendu dans le temple Pythien, plus tard, ant. 3
de conduire sur des navires de nombreux hommes
vers le gras sanctuaire du Cronide sur le Nil.
(vv. 50-56)

Le Πύθιον ναόν où doit se rendre Battos, également désigné comme πολυχρύσῳ [...] δώματι de Phoibos, ne pose pas de problème d'identification. Mais on peut hésiter à y reconnaître précisément le 'temple de Pythô', c'est-à-dire de Delphes ou le 'temple d'Apollon Pythien'. Le contexte immédiat suggère plutôt la seconde possibilité, puisque les deux dénominations du temple encadrent la mention de Φοῖβος (v. 54), qui semble présenté comme le maître du temple. La place des mots tend à renforcer cette interprétation, puisqu'au mot Φοῖβος, placé à l'initiale du dernier vers de la troisième strophe, répond Πύθιον ναόν, qui occupe l'initiale du premier vers de l'antistrophe.

Mais pour se déterminer avec plus de certitude, il peut être utile d'examiner les usages pindariques de ναός, pour voir comment le poète caractérise d'habitude un temple : est-ce par sa localisation spatiale ou par le dieu auquel il est consacré ? Outre le passage qui nous occupe, on dénombre sept autres occurrences de ναός chez Pindare, dont cinq désignent le temple d'Apollon à Delphes (quatre se trouvant dans les *Pythiques*) :

- *Pyth.* 3.27-28 : ἐν δ' ἄρα μηλοδόκῳ Πυθῶνι τόσσαίς ἄϊεν ναοῦ βασιλεύς | Λοξίας (il se trouva qu'à Pythô receveuse de brebis, le souverain du temple, Loxias, l'apprit). Le temple n'est pas déterminé, mais il est le complément du nom βασιλεύς, auquel est apposé Λοξίας : un rapport explicite est donc présent entre le temple et son dieu. La précision 'à Pythô' (ἐν... Πυθῶνι) n'est qu'une précision géographique dans la phrase.
- *Pyth.* 6.4 : ὄμφαλὸν ἐριβρόμου | χθονὸς ἐκ ναίου προσοιχόμενοι (nous dirigeant vers le temple, nombril de la terre aux sourds grondements). Malgré l'absence de détermination qui puisse nous permettre de trancher, l'apposition ὄμφαλὸν ἐριβρόμου χθονὸς penche cependant pour une caractérisation spatiale.
- *Pyth.* 8.61-63 : τὸ δ', Ἐκαταβόλε, πάνδοκον | ναὸν εὐκλέα διανέμων | Πυθῶνος ἐν γυάλοις (Toi, Qui frapes au loin, et qui règnes sur l'illustre temple hospitalier à tous, dans les vallons de Pythô). Le dieu et la cité sont ici explicitement présents, mais la relation du temple au dieu est plus directe dans la syntaxe,

la précision spatiale (Πυθῶνος ἐν γυάλοις) ne venant qu'ajouter un élément circonstanciel non essentiel à la phrase.

- *Pae.* 8.63 : ναόν est le seul mot conservé de la phrase. Il est possible que le terme désigne le temple d'Apollon à Delphes, parce que le titre du péan précise ΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ, et qu'il est question d'Apollon dans le poème. Mais on ne peut rien dire d'autre de ce passage.
- Les trois autres occurrences du mot ναός chez Pindare rattachent clairement le temple au dieu dont il abrite le culte :
- *Ol.* 13.21 : θεῶν ναοῖσιν (les temples des dieux).
- *Isthm.* 4.54 : ναὸν Ποσειδάωνος (le temple de Poseidon).
- *Parth.* 2.47 : ναὸν Ἰτωνίας (le temple d'Athéna Itonia).

Il apparaît, à l'issue de cet examen, que Pindare tend davantage à rattacher un temple au dieu auquel il est consacré qu'au lieu où il se trouve. Le Πύθιον ναὸν de la *Quatrième Pythique* peut donc vraisemblablement se comprendre comme le 'temple d'Apollon Pythien'.

La dernière occurrence de Πύθιος qui semble également renvoyer à Apollon Pythien se situe dans la *Septième Isthmique*. Composée en l'honneur du thébain Strepsiade, vainqueur au pancrace à l'Isthme, cette ode dresse un catalogue des gloires thébaines sur le mode interrogatif, le poète se demandant quel épisode mythique a le plus réjouï Thèbes :

ἦ Δωρίδ' ἀποικίαν οὔνεκεν ὀρθῶ
ἔστασας ἐπὶ σφυρῶ
Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔλον δ' Ἀμύκλας
Αἰγεῖδαι σέθεν ἔκγονοι, μαντεύμασι Πυθίοις ;

ou est-ce parce que tu plaças droit
sur ses talons la colonie dorienne
des Lacédémoniens, et que ceux qui prirent Amycles
furent les Égides, tes descendants, suivant les oracles pythiens ?
(vv. 12-15)

S'agit-il des oracles d'Apollon Pythien ou des oracles de Pythô ? Pour pouvoir trancher, il convient à nouveau d'examiner tous les emplois de μάντευμα chez Pindare. On en dénombre cinq, trois dans les *Pythiques* et un dans les *Péans* :

- *Pyth.* 4.73 : le passage évoque Pélias, qui règne sur Iolcos en Thessalie après avoir usurpé le pouvoir, ravi à son demi-frère Æson, père de Jason :

ἦλθε δέ οἱ κρυόεν πικινῶ μάντευμα θυμῶ,
πὰρ μέσον ὀμφαλὸν εὐδένδροιο ῥήθ' ἐν ματέρω

τὸν μονοκρήπιδα πάντων
ἐν φυλακᾷ χεθέμεν μεγάλην

était venue dans son cœur prudent une prédiction glaciale,
proférée près du nombril, centre de notre mère bien boisée,
de se garder grandement de toutes les façons
de l'homme chaussé d'une seule sandale.
(vv. 73-75)

La prédiction n'est pas placée directement dans la bouche d'Apollon, mais le poète précise qu'elle a été prononcée près de l'*omphalos*, qui marque l'emplacement du temple du dieu (cf. *Pyth.* 6.3-4).²⁴ Le texte suggère ainsi une association de la prédiction à la fois avec le lieu et le dieu ; l'ambiguïté demeure.

- *Pyth.* 5.60-62 : La *Cinquième Pythique*, qui célèbre la même victoire d'Arcésilas de Cyrène que la *Quatrième*, évoque également la fondation de Cyrène et mentionne à cette occasion l'épisode de la rencontre de Battos avec des lions à son arrivée en Libye. Contrairement à la tradition rapportée par Pausanias (10.15.7) selon laquelle le héros, pris de frayeur, est subitement guéri de son bégaiement, les lions fuient dans la version pindarique :

ὁ δ' ἀρχαγέτας ἔδωκ' Ἀπόλλων
θῆρας αἰνῶ φόβῳ,
ὄφρα μὴ ταμίᾳ Κυρά-
νας ἀτελής γένοιτο μαντεύμασιν.

Apollon le fondateur livra
les fauves à l'horrible frayeur
afin que pour l'intendant de Cyrène (*Battos*)
il ne fût pas vain dans ses oracles.

Apollon est à la fois sujet de la phrase et celui de qui émane l'oracle. D'autre part, la place des mots Ἀπόλλων et μαντεύμασιν à la finale du premier et du dernier vers de la phrase les font se répondre et les associe. L'oracle est ici nettement présenté comme celui d'Apollon.

- *Pyth.* 8.56-60 : La *Huitième Pythique* célèbre la victoire de l'égypte Aristoménès à l'épreuve de lutte, à Pythô et évoque la rencontre du poète avec le devin Alcméon, fils d'Amphiaraos :

²⁴ Radt 1958, 118-20, à propos du *Pae.* 6.17, insiste sur le fait que le mot ὀμφαλός réfère spécifiquement au temple d'Apollon dans toutes ses occurrences chez Pindare (*Pyth.* 4.74, 6.3-4, 8.59, 11.9-10 ; *Nem.* 7.33-34 ; *Pae.* 6.17, 6.120).

χαίρων δὲ καὶ αὐτός
Ἄλκμᾶνα στεφάνοις βάλλω, ῥαίνω δὲ καὶ ὕμνῳ,
γείτων ὅτι μοι καὶ κτεάνων φύλαξ ἑμῶν
ὑπάντασεν ἰόντι γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν παρ' αἰοίδιμον,
μαντευμάτων τ' ἐφάσατο συγγόνοις τέχναϊς.

Et moi-même avec joie
je lance des couronnes à Alcéméon et l'abreuve de mon hymne
car en voisin et gardien de mes biens
il est venu à ma rencontre alors que j'allais auprès du nombril de
la terre digne d'être chanté
et a usé de l'art des oracles hérité de ses ancêtres.

On peut déduire de ce passage qu'Alcéméon devait avoir un sanctuaire à Thèbes (ou près de Thèbes), dans lequel Pindare avait déposé quelque chose pour le mettre en sûreté. La rencontre entre le devin et le poète se fait sur le chemin entre Thèbes et Delphes, où se rend Pindare pour assister aux Jeux qui couronneront Aristoménès. Cette rencontre, épiphanie merveilleuse ou apparition en songe, donne lieu à une prédiction et est vraisemblablement interprétée par Pindare comme annonciatrice de la victoire du jeune athlète. La précision du lieu de la rencontre n'est pas anodine : Pindare se rend γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν παρ' αἰοίδιμον (auprès du nombril de la terre digne d'être chanté) (v. 59). On a déjà vu dans d'autres textes que cette expression renvoie toujours chez Pindare au temple d'Apollon Pythien. Elle rapproche donc d'une certaine façon le prophète Alcéméon du dieu de la mantique par excellence, donnant davantage de poids encore à sa prédiction. Elle permet aussi, avec l'épithète αἰοίδιμον, l'association de la poésie et de la prophétie, comme le fait la rencontre même de Pindare et d'Alcéméon. Enfin, si les oracles ne sont pas spécifiquement définis, ils sont articulés aux « arts hérités des ancêtres » (μαντευμάτων τ' ἐφάσατο συγγόνοις τέχναϊς)²⁵ et la phrase a pour sujet Alcéméon. Les oracles sont donc bien rattachés au prophète qui les énonce.

25 La construction peut se comprendre de diverses façons : « il a usé de l'art des oracles hérité de ses ancêtres » (construction de ἐφάπτομαι + dat., la plus généralement admise), ou « il a usé des prophéties grâce à son art ancestral » (ἐφάπτομαι + gén.) ; cf. Pfeijffer 1952, 549.

- *Pae.* 7.1-5 :

Μαντευμάτ[ω]ν τε θεσπεσίων δοτῆρα
καὶ τελεσσιε[πιῆ]
θεοῦ ἄδυτον [...]. ἄγλαάν τ' ἐς αὐλάν
᾿Ωκεανοῖο []υ Μελίας
Ἀπόλλωνί γ' [].

[Je viens vers ?] le dispensateur d'oracles divins
et le véridique
sanctuaire du dieu [...] et la résidence illustre
de l'Océanide Mélia [...]
pour Apollon [...]

Les oracles sont ici définis comme θεσπεσίων (divins), et rattachés à un δοτῆρα (dispensateur) dont le reste conservé du *Péan* nous laisse penser qu'il s'agit du devin Ténéros (cité v. 13).²⁶

Ainsi, l'analyse des emplois pindariques de μάντευμα montre que, soit les oracles ne sont pas qualifiés, soit ils sont associés au prophète qui les énonce ou au dieu qui les inspire, mais jamais directement au lieu où ils sont prononcés. En revenant sur le passage de la *Septième Isthmique*, il semble qu'on puisse en conclure que l'expression μαντεύμασι Πυθίοις (v. 15) signifie bien 'oracles du Pythien' et non 'oracles de Delphes'.

Les quatre dernières occurrences de l'adjectif Πύθιος renvoient en revanche toutes à Pythô, et en particulier aux Jeux Pythiques.

- *Nem.* 7.34-35 : Pindare évoque la mort de Néoptolème :

ἐν Πυθίοισι δὲ δαπέδοισι
κεῖται Πριάμου πόλιν Νεοπτόλεμος ἐπεὶ πρᾶθεν

dans le sol pythien
gît Néoptolème, après avoir dévasté la ville de Priam.

Les trois autres passages font clairement référence aux Jeux Pythiques :

- *Pyth.* 3.72-76 : Cette ode n'est pas une réelle épinicie mais plutôt une épître à Hiéron, gravement malade. Pindare y rappelle les victoires passées du tyran de Syracuse.

²⁶ Cf. Rutherford 2001, 340.

Τῷ μὲν διδύμας χάριτας
εἶ κατέβαν ὑγίειαν ἄγων χρυσεάν
κῶμόν τ' ἀέθλων Πυθίων αἴγλαν στεφάνοις,
τοῦς ἀριστεύων Φερένικος ἔλεν Κίρρα ποτέ,
ἀστέρος οὐρανόυ
φαμί τηλαυγέστερον κείνῳ φάος
ἔξικόμαν κε βαθύν πόντον περάσσαις.

Si j'avais abordé en apportant un double bienfait, la santé dorée, et le chant triomphal, parure des couronnes que jadis, à Cirrha, dans les concours Pythiques, remporta le victorieux Phérénicos, je lui serais apparu, je l'affirme, comme une lumière plus radieuse qu'un astre du ciel, après avoir traversé la mer profonde.

- *Pyth.* 10.22-26 : Cette ode loue la victoire du jeune thessalien Hippocléas à la double course des garçons (διδυμοδρομῶ). Son père, Phricias avait lui-même été deux fois couronné aux Jeux Pythiques :

εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ὕμνη-
τὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ γίνεται σοφοῖς,
ὃς ἂν χερσὶν ἢ ποδῶν ἀρετᾶ κρατήσῃς
τὰ μέγιστ' ἀέθλων ἔλη τόλμα τε καὶ σθένει,
καὶ ζῶων ἔτι νεαρόν
κατ' αἴσαν υἱὸν ἴδη τυχόντα στεφάνων Πυθίων.

ant. 2

Heureux et digne d'être chanté par les poètes est l'homme qui, l'emportant par l'excellence de ses bras ou de ses jambes, a gagné dans les concours, par son courage et sa force, la plus haute récompense, et, vivant encore, a pu voir son jeune fils obtenir justement les couronnes pythiques.

ant. 2

- *Nem.* 2.9 : Ἴσθμιάδων δρέπεσθαι κάλλιστον ἄωτον ἐν Πυθίοισι τε νικᾶν (cueillir le plus beau prix à la fête Isthmique et remporter la victoire aux jeux pythiques). L'adjectif Πύθιος est employé ici en fonction de substantif, au neutre pluriel, dans le sens de 'Jeux Pythiques'.

Au terme de cet examen, on ne peut qu'être frappé par la faible présence d'Apollon Pythien' dans le texte de Pindare, puisque seules les trois premières occurrences considérées font, sans aucune ambiguïté possible, référence au dieu et que le nom d'Apollon n'apparaît qu'une seule fois accompagné de son épiclese. Pour quelle raison Pindare, dont on connaît les liens étroits avec le sanctuaire delphique,²⁷ et

²⁷ Cf. Rutherford 2001, 178-82.

dans les vers duquel Apollon est, après Zeus, le dieu le plus présent, mentionne-t-il si peu l'épiclèse de l'Apollon de Delphes ? Est-ce parce que, dans les *Pythiques* en particulier, l'identité du dieu est absolument évidente et que le poète n'éprouve pas le besoin de la préciser ? Cela pourrait expliquer que la seule mention de Πύθιος Ἀπόλλων ne se trouve pas dans ce recueil. Mais comment comprendre le fait que le dieu de Delphes n'est pas non plus désigné comme 'Apollon Pythien' dans le reste du corpus, à l'exception près du passage de la *Quatorzième Olympique* ? On pourrait avancer l'hypothèse que Pindare a fait le choix de ne pas donner d'épithète à Apollon. Mais il n'en est rien : le dieu est au contraire riche en qualificatifs divers dans les odes du poète thébain.

4 Autres qualifications d'Apollon chez Pindare

Apollon est qualifié par de nombreuses épithètes dans le texte de Pindare, dont certaines sont spécifiques à Apollon :

- ἐκαβόλος (qui lance au loin, ou qui tire de loin, ou encore qui tire à son gré, qui atteint son but)²⁸ (3 occurrences : *Pyth.* 9.38 ; *Pae.* 6.79, 111) ;
- ἐκάεργος (qui repousse au loin [avec ses flèches], ou qui frappe au loin) (1 occurrence : *Pyth.* 9.28)
- εὐρυφαρέτρας (au large carquois) (3 occurrences : *Pyth.* 9.26 ; *Pae.* 6.111 ; fr. 148) ;
- Μοισαγέτας (conducteur des Muses) (1 occurrence : fr. 94c.1) ;
- χρυσοκόμας (aux cheveux d'or) (3 occurrences : *Pae.* 5.41 ; subst. *Ol.* 6.41, 7.32) ;
- χρυσοχαῖτα (à la chevelure d'or) (1 occurrence : *Pyth.* 2.16) ;
- χρυσότοξος (à l'arc d'or) (1 occurrence : *Ol.* 14.10).

D'autres sont au contraire communes à d'autres dieux ou héros :

- ἐκαταβόλος (qui lance ses traits au loin) (3 occurrences : *Ol.* 9.5 ; *Pyth.* 8.61, fr. 2.2) ;
- εὐρυσθενής (puissant au loin) (1 occurrence : *Isthm.* 2.18).

Le dieu est aussi fréquemment désigné par des adjectifs substantivés :

- ἄναξ (seigneur), désignation non spécifique à Apollon (4 occurrences : *Pyth.* 8.67, 9.44 ; *Pae.* 16.2 ; fr. 140a.63) ;
- Φοῖβος (le Brillant) (9 occurrences : *Ol.* 6.49, 9.33 ; *Pyth.* 1.39, 3.14, 4.54, 5.104, 9.40 ; *Nem.* 9.9 ; *Isthm.* 1.7) ;
- Λοξίας (l'Oblique) (5 occurrences : *Pyth.* 3.28, 11.5 ; *Isthm.* 7.49 ; *Pae.* 6.60 ; *Parth.* 2.3).

²⁸ Cf. Chantraine 1999, s.v. « ἐκηβόλος », qui penche pour la seconde interprétation, rattachant le mot à ἐκών, plutôt qu'à ἐκάς selon l'étymologie adoptée par les Anciens.

Toutes ces épithètes sont purement poétiques et n’ont pas de réalité culturelle. Ainsi, comme le souligne Anne Jacquemin, dans l’article « Panthéon et épicleses delphiques »,²⁹ l’épithète *Hekatebolos* qui se trouve pourtant sur des dédicaces métriques à Delphes « ne figure pas dans la liste des [cinquante-six] épicleses d’Apollon citées par Pausanias », liste assez représentative. Elle précise par ailleurs que, même « l’appellation Φοῖβος qu’on trouve dans le poème dédicatoire du groupe offert par le Thessalien Daochos, mais aussi dans l’un des poèmes qui furent gravés au IV^e siècle sur l’un des monuments offerts par les Liparéens, n’est rien d’autre qu’un équivalent poétique d’Apollon », et que Loxias est également « une épithète régulièrement associée par les poètes au seigneur de Delphes, mais qui n’a aucune valeur culturelle ».³⁰

On peut alors se demander ce qu’il en est, dans le texte de Pindare, des autres épicleses du dieu, inscrites dans le culte :

- Ἀρχαγέτας (fondateur de cité, de colonie) (2 occurrences : *Pyth.* 5.60 ; fr. 140a.58). Selon Farnell, cette épiclesse est communément utilisée quand le dieu a inspiré une expédition colonisatrice, comme c’est le cas pour Cyrène dans la V^e *Pythique*.³¹
- Δάλιος (de Délos) (6 ou 7 occurrences : *Pyth.* 9.10, Δάλιον Ξεῖνον, mais il s’agit peut-être ici d’une simple épithète géographique, « l’hôte venu de Délos » ; *Pae.* 5, vv. 1, 19, 37, 43 : Ἰήϊε Δάλι’ Ἄπολλον ; et peut-être *Pae.* 5.17 :]Δαλ[, et *P.Oxy.* 841. fr. 47 :]Δαλιο[).
- Δηρινός (Dérénos), épithète d’Apollon à Abdère selon une scholie à Lycoph. *Alex.* 440 (1 occurrence : *Pae.* 2.5 : Δηρινὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πάρ).
- Καρνείος (Carnéen), épithète d’Apollon (à Sparte et) à Cyrène chez Pindare (1 occurrence : *Pyth.* 5.80).
- Λύκιος (Lycien) (1 occurrence : *Pyth.* 1.39 : Λύκιε καὶ Δάλιοι’ ἀνάσσων Φοῖβε...). Bien que l’*Iliade* associe Apollon à la Lycie, on sait qu’Apollon n’est pas un nom de dieu lycien.³² En revanche des liens très anciens unissent Délos et la Lycie, et la côte d’Asie Mineure compte de nombreux oracles.
- Παιάν (Péan, Guérisseur) (6 occurrences : *Pyth.* 4.270³³ ; *Pae.* 2.35, 71, 107 : ἰῆ ἰὲ Παιάν, ἰῆ ἰέ, refrain du péan ; 4.31 : ἰῆ ἰή, ὦ ἰὲ Πα[ιάν.] ; 6.182).

²⁹ Belayche et al. 2005, 247.

³⁰ Belayche et al. 2005, 244.

³¹ Farnell 1961, 177.

³² Burkert 1985, 144 et note 14 à p. 405.

³³ L’épithète est particulièrement appropriée au contexte qui présente Arcésilas comme « médecin ». Cf. Kirkwood 1982, 198.

Plusieurs épiclèses cultuelles d'Apollon (six) se rencontrent ainsi dans le corpus pindarique, mais en nombre moins important que les épithètes poétiques (douze). Le poète thébain n'emploie chacune de ces épiclèses que peu fréquemment, contrairement à la plupart des épithètes poétiques. Et toutes³⁴ se trouvent dans les *Pythiques* ou les *Péans*, les deux recueils plus spécifiquement dédiés à Apollon ou liés au dieu. Il semble donc que le traitement de Πύθιος ne soit pas foncièrement différent de celui des autres épithètes relevant du culte, pour ce qui est du nombre d'occurrences ; Πύθιος constitue même la plus fréquente. En revanche, l'originalité des emplois de Πύθιος réside dans le fait qu'on ne le trouve pas uniquement dans les *Pythiques* et dans les *Péans*, mais également disséminé dans les trois autres livres d'épigrammes.

5 Qu'en est-il de Zeus Olympien, de Zeus Néméen et de Poséidon Isthmien ?

Le corpus conservé de Pindare ne fournit que trois occurrences de 'Zeus Olympien' (*Isthm.* 2.27, 6.8 ; *Pae.* 6.1), dont aucune ne figure dans les *Olympiques* ! On trouve un seul 'Zeus Néméen', dans une *Néméenne* (*Nem.* 2.4) et un unique 'Poséidon Isthmien', mais dans une *Olympique* (*Ol.* 13.4-5) ! Les autres dieux patrons des grands Jeux ne sont donc pas mieux traités qu'Apollon Pythien dans le corpus pindarique.

6 Πύθιος | Πυθαιεύς chez Bacchylide

On peut se demander ce qu'il en est d'Apollon Pythien chez Bacchylide, contemporain et rival de Pindare, qui s'est illustré dans les mêmes genres poétiques que lui. On ne trouve que deux occurrences de Πύθιος | Πυθαιεύς dans le corpus conservé de ce poète. Bacchylide emploie l'adjectif Πύθιος dans l'un de ses dithyrambes (fr. 16.10) composé pour être exécuté à Delphes :

.....]δ' ἴκη παιόνων
ἄνθεα πεδοιχνεῖν,
Πύθι' Ἄπολλον,
τόσα χοροὶ Δελφῶν
κὼν κελάδησαν παρ' ἀγακλέα ναόν

tu viens, des péans
chercher les fleurs,

34 À l'exception du fragment 140a dont l'origine est incertaine.

Apollon Pythien,
autant que les chœurs des Delphiens
en font retentir près de ton très glorieux temple.
(vv. 8-12)

Le poète invoque ici le dieu en l'appelant par son nom, Apollon, qu'il qualifie de 'Pythien'. Le contexte delphique justifie pleinement cette apostrophe.

La seconde occurrence se rencontre dans un fragment de péan (fr. 4.52), dans un passage évoquant le devin Mélampous :

μάντι]ς ἐξ Ἄργεος Μελάμ[πτου
ἠλ]θ' Ἄμυθαονίδα
[βωμόν τε Πυθα<ι>εῖ κτίσε[- ∪ ∪ -
καὶ] τέμενος ζάθεον

Le devin] Mélampous d'Argos
arriva, le fils d'Amymthaon, et fonda pour le Pythien un autel,
et un sanctuaire sacré...
(vv. 50-53)

Le contexte religieux ne laisse aucun doute : l'adjectif substantivé Πυθαίει désigne ici le dieu de Delphes.

Apollon Pythien n'apparaît donc pas plus fréquemment dans l'œuvre conservée de Bacchylide que dans celle de Pindare.

7 Conclusion

En conclusion de cette étude, il apparaît que l'épiclèse Πύθιος est peu représentée chez Pindare, mais qu'elle l'est relativement davantage que la plupart des autres épithètes cultuelles qualifiant Apollon. Par ailleurs, alors que celles-ci se limitent aux *Péans* et aux *Pythiques*, Πύθιος se rencontre également dans les trois autres recueils d'épigrammes. Apollon reçoit en revanche un grand nombre d'épithètes de type poétique, empruntées à la tradition homérique ou hésiodique (par exemple, ἑκατηβόλος : *Il.* 1.370 etc. ; χρυσοκόμη : *Hes. Theog.* 947, mais qualifiant Dionysos ; Φοῖβος : *Il.* 1.43 etc.). Comparé aux autres dieux patrons des grands Jeux, 'Apollon Pythien' est relativement mieux représenté. L'œuvre conservée de Bacchylide ne comporte pas davantage de mentions de l'épiclèse Πύθιος. On peut sans doute déduire de toutes ces remarques que, malgré la réputation de grande piété de Pindare, la poésie et le culte connaissent des règles différentes, règles qui obéissent également à leur propre tradition : il peut être pertinent de relever que ni Homère ni Hésiode n'emploient l'adjectif Πύθιος.

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Notes on *P.Oxy. XXXII 2636* (Commentary to Pindar?)

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Abstract This paper re-examines an anonymous commentary to two anonymous lyric texts (possibly by Pindar) preserved by *P.Oxy. XXXII 2636*. It offers a fresh critical text and apparatus, followed by exegetical notes on several passages. Parallels from Pindaric praise poetry allow a richer reconstruction of the original contents.

Keywords Papyrology. Oxyrhynchus. Commentary. Lyric Poetry. Pindar. Ibycus.

P.Oxy. XXXII 2636 is a single fragment of a commentary (*hypomnema*) on two pieces of ‘choral’ lyric.¹ Immediately overshadowed by its larger, more attention-grabbing neighbour *P.Oxy. XXXII 2637* (probably a commentary to Ibycus, *PMGF S220-257*)² and excluded from all lyric corpora to date, it has enjoyed relatively limited scholarly attention. After its publication by Edgar Lobel it has been the topic of a few sentences in Bruno Snell’s review of the *editio princeps*, a short

This chapter’s first public appearance was in June 2014 in Warsaw, at the conference *Fragments, Holes, and Wholes: Reconstructing the Ancient World in Theory and Practice*, where Willy also spoke. I am honoured to be able to offer it to him on this occasion. I have benefitted from comments and criticisms by various friends and colleagues: Lidia Di Giuseppe, Massimo Giuseppetti, Claudio Meliaddò, Stefano Vecchiato, and especially Marco Perale, who was the respondent in Warsaw, and Henry Spelman, who carefully read a draft of this paper.

1 MP³ 1949.2, *LDAB* 4819, *TM* 63610. *Ed. pr.* Lobel 1967; image in pl. XIII and at <http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/>. I have inspected the original in Oxford’s Sackler Library.

2 So identified by Page 1970, 93-4; further arguments Barron 1984, 17, 19-21. Treu 1968-69 had argued for Simonides.



Edizioni
Ca' Foscari

Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

Peer review | Open access

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/010

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notice by Fritz Uebel, a re-edition and commentary by Giuseppe Ucciardello, and Federico Condello's review of the volume containing Ucciardello's chapter.³ Even cursory mentions are few and far between.⁴ Although Lobel's terse notes and Ucciardello's thorough re-assessment have laid a solid foundation, there is space overhead to build a better understanding of certain parts which have remained obscure. Such is the aim of the present paper. To this end, after a brief introduction I give my own critical text of the papyrus, based on my inspection of the original, followed by notes on selected passages, complementing earlier discussions.

The papyrus has been dated on palaeographical grounds to the second (Lobel) or more probably first century AD (Ucciardello).⁵ Two columns of text are partly visible on the front; the back is stained but not written. Like many papyrus commentaries, and perhaps more than most, it is clearly a working copy, not a professionally made book. The script is small, irregular, and cramped: the space between two consecutive baselines (to the extent that one can even speak of a baseline) is in the region of 4 mm, and the intercolumn (which is similarly uneven) measures 1 cm at its widest. Several letters are cursorily formed, especially in the lower part of col. ii, where the writing is obviously faster. There are a few abbreviations (i.3, 10; ii.11, 14, 22) and a shorthand / = ἐκρί (i.20, ii.26). Lemmata are indented into the margin by the width of about one letter (ii.4-5, 9, 16) and spaces of one to three letter-widths deputise for punctuation.⁶ The width of col. ii can be estimated from the nearly certain supplements at ii.9 and 13, but this is no more than a rough guide to line length, as the very uneven right edge of col. i shows.

In the lower part of col. ii the copyist left several sizeable blank spaces: at lines 20, 21 (seemingly a whole line), 24, 27 (perhaps a whole line), and 28. Furthermore, lines 23 and 24 are spaced further apart than the others – but not enough that an additional line could be written between them. Lobel hypothesised “that the copyist's exemplar was in some way defective and that the gaps were left to be filled in when an opportunity offered”;⁷ Ucciardello, that the spaces were left deliberately to allow for subsequent additions.⁸ A third, perhaps better option is that the copyist may have curtailed some lem-

³ Snell 1968, 121; Uebel 1976, 232-3; Ucciardello 2001; Condello 2002, 395-7.

⁴ Cannatà Fera 2003, 196 fn. 20; Henry 2005, 114; Ucciardello 2005, 22 and fn. 4; Ucciardello 2007, 9 fn. 43.

⁵ Lobel 1967, 133; Ucciardello 2011, 89-91. For an in-depth analysis of the palaeography of the fragment see Ucciardello 2001, 88-92.

⁶ Blank spaces in papyrus commentaries: Del Fabbro 1979, 89.

⁷ Lobel 1967, 137.

⁸ Ucciardello 2001, 91-2 fn. 25.

mata for the sake of speed, only writing as much as was necessary to make them recognisable, and failed to fill them in later. What is omitted at line 20 seems to be the first part of a lemma, given ἔως,⁹ and the other blanks seem too short to accommodate the kind of extended explanation favoured by our commentator.

Col. ii clearly contains the end of the commentary to one poem, marked by a rudimentary *koronis*, and, after an empty space, the beginning of another. It seems likely, although it cannot be proved, that the commentary in the upper part of col. ii is the continuation of that in col. i; how much text is missing between them cannot be estimated. That the object of the commentary in both cases is a poetic text, and more specifically the kind of poetry that we have come to call 'choral lyric', is at once apparent from their diction and tallies with what can be gleaned of their content: respectively praise poetry (let us call it Poem A) and a hymn of some sort (Poem B).¹⁰ The opening of Poem B, describing an epiphany of a god – probably Apollo – may have been a model for that of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*.¹¹

The author of two poems remains unknown. Lobel identified in the quoted extracts several elements that suggest Pindar; Ucciardello has argued for Ibycus.¹² The limited length of this article precludes an extended discussion, but there is a great deal here that sounds just like Pindar, and very little that does not, even accounting for how much less Ibycus we have than Pindar. On the other hand, there exist two problems: the name of the honorand of Poem A, Pigres, which is Karian not Greek (although it is also attested in Greece, however sparsely),¹³ and the juxtaposition of a poem praising a man with a cult song (but there is a Pindaric *comparandum*, *P.Oxy. IV 659: Partheneia*, fr. 94a-b Maehler).¹⁴ If I may state my opinion without argument for the time being, I find the case for Pindar to be fairly strong, and perhaps strengthened by some of the interpretations presented in the coming pages. If this were Ibycus, his role in the emergence of the

9 Lobel 1967, 137 suggests that ἔως τοῦ Ἴστρου may be geographical ("as far as the Istros") rather than textual ("[from X] until Ἴστρου"). Yet ἔως certainly has the textual sense at ii.9-10, and the alternative creates more problems than it solves.

10 Lobel 1967, 133; see also Ucciardello 2001, 94-102.

11 See already Lobel 1967, 136; Ucciardello 2001, 99.

12 Lobel 1967, 133; Ucciardello 2001, 102-14; see also Condello 2002, 396-7 (*non liquet*; suggesting Simonides as a provocation, 400 fn. 8).

13 Ucciardello 2001, 105-6.

14 It may not be without relevance that nocturnal rites involving Apollo, rare as they are, tend to be associated with choruses of women: cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 11.1-10 (fictional, and its relation to Theban cult and to the ode's own performance is debated: see Finglass 2007, 27-32, *contra* Bernardini in Gentili et al. 1995, 296; Sevieri 1997), Eur. *Hel.* 1469-1477 (a corrupt passage, but there is a clear reference to κόμοις Ἰακίνθου νύχιον ἐκ εὐφροσύνας in which Helen participates; see Kannicht 1969, 1: 383-4). See D'Alessio 2000, 253-4, 259, who compellingly makes a similar argument for Pind. fr. *333 Maehler.

commonplaces of Greek praise poetry would become much more pronounced than has yet been recognised.

In my text, following common practice, I use **bold** to mark out quotations of the poetic text. Distinguishing lemma and comment is a speculative endeavour, one made more challenging by the scantiness of the surviving text and by the scribe's erratic use of blank spaces, which he deploys to separate *kommata* within the commentary (e.g. ii.12, 14) no less than to separate the commentary from the poet's text. Moreover, the commentator often repeats excerpts from the poetic texts within his comments (e.g. ii.9-15), so not every item in bold is, strictly speaking, a lemma. Textual choices, other than the most obvious, that are not attributed to a named scholar in the apparatus belong to the *editor princeps*.¹⁵

col. i

margo

	διέστα]λται μὲν πρὸς τὸ..[διέστ]αλται δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ε...[] διὰ δὲ τοῦ μέρου(ς) τ...[] ηςαα ᾗ δὲ τὸν Πίγηρητα...] ν ἐποίησα καταα. 5 ο] ὑ ψευδῶς αὐτὸν ἐγκ[ω-] ξιον φέροι κεν· ο..[] ψε]υδῶς τὰς ἀρετὰς α[ύ-] ητο εἰς αὐτὸν α[.,] ν] ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις αὐτοῦ 10] ων καὶ οὐκ εὐτυχίης.] εκε· τοῦτο ἅμα μὲν] ι λέγει, ἅμα δ' εἰς τοὺς δια] ουμένου τοῦ Πίγηρητος] , ς κκαπτον · του 15] οισ αὐτὸν τὸν Πί-] π]ᾶσαν ὁδὸν · καὶ] . [.,] εὐφραينو.[] οι τοῖς ἄνθεσι.[] ης, τουτ(έστι) τοῖς ὕμν[οις 20] ης γλυκυφω[ν-] λ' ἐγκωμια[] ...[...
μια- τοῦ γρητα	

¹⁵ In the commentary to Poem B in col. ii my line-numbers match Lobel's not Ucdiardello's, who calculates a space of two lines rather than one between the two texts.

1 τὸ Ucciardello || 3 τη dub. Lobel : ταιν[ι- Ucciardello: “una forma di tema ἀιν-”
Condello : τὸν possis || 4 προσφω]γησας Snell : ἐπαι]νησας Perale || 5 κατατ[,
κατὰ ττ[dub. Ucciardello : ση-, στ- malim || 6 ο]ὺ ψευδῶς Lobel :] ἄψευδῶς dub.
Ucciardello || 7 θεῖον e.g. Ucciardello | οὔτο(ς), οὔτ(ω) possis || 8 (οὐ) ψε]υδῶς
dub. Lobel : ἀψε]υδῶς dub. Ucciardello || 8-9 α]ὐ]τοῦ Perale || 9 αὐτὸν Ucciardello :
“εἰς αἰσχρὸν apparently intended” perperam Lobel || 10 αὐτοῦ dispexi :
αὐτο Lobel : αὐτό Ucciardello || 11 κακοδαίμ]ων vel πολυπήμ]ων Condello || 12
ἔσκε Snell : “εἴπ]εσκε, φάν]εσκε simm. vel]εσ κε possis” Ucciardello | “incertum
utrum ἄμα ἢ ἀμᾶ scribendum” Ucciardello || 13]ωι possis | δια-τ]βάλλοντα
e.g. || 14 ἐπαι]γουμένου Meliadò || 15 Δ]ιός dub. Lobel | “σκαπτον is multifar-
iously ambiguous: σκάπτον, σκάπτόν, σκάπτόν as well as σκάπτον” Lobel |
τοῦ[ττο suppleverim, praeunte Ucciardello || 17 π]ᾶσαν ὁδόν dub. Ucciardello :
]ακ ἄν’ ὁδόν possis || 18 εὐφραινον[Ucciardello || 21 Πίγ]ρησ dub. Lobel :
μελιγα]θής Snell, obl. Ucciardello : ἄδυε]πήσ Condello | γλυκύφω]νος Snell ||
22]ταξε[Ucciardello

col. ii

margo

. [.] κεκρατ[
.. [.] τ. ω[.] ελα [.] ..] με. []
δ[ιὰ] τοῦ τελευταίου συνίστησιν τ[
οὔ παραμνήσκειται λέγων **αλκ** [
[π]έμπω χάριν· οὔτος γὰρ εἰς ὃν τείν[ει] [.] [5
προν λόγον > **οὔτως τυχόντα δα**[
. [.]] **ιραν ἐταίρωι λάιας δατεῖς**[θ-

πολλὰ μὲν δὴ cὺν χοροῖς. ὦραι δὲ cὺν ἐσπερίαι
ἕως τοῦ **ἀπύων**· οὐκ ἂν λέγοι νῦν τ[ὸ **κλάγ-** 10
ξεν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπισπάστρου οἶον []
ἐσφόφης[ε]ν ἢ θύρα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ δ[]
ἰσοδυνα[με]ῖν τὸ **κλάγξεν** τῶι κλά[γξαι ἐποίη-
σε καθ’ ὃ[ν] τρό[πον] ὑπακούσασμεν ἂν τ[]
τοσ· **ᾠ[ρα]ι** γὰρ **cὺν ἐσπερίαι** ἐσφόφ[ησε(v)] 15
χειμῶ[νι φρίσσο]ντι βλαβεῖς· πάλιν το[]
ουτ[]] νοητέον τὸ **φρίσσο**[ντι ἰσοδυνα-
μεῖν τῶι φρί]σσειν ποιοῦντι· καὶ []
Πίγ]δαρος καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ π[]
] ἕως τοῦ **Ἰστρου** [20
] []
] , c Ἄρτεμιδ() φωνήν. []
] , . σ καλεῖ Ἰστρου στ . . []
] , . δα [] δια . . μο. []
] , . . αι οὐ κατὰ τὸ κύρ]ιον 25
] ις σκῆπτρον. []

] αδιοϰ
]. [

...

1 “de κρατέω vel κεράννυμι cogitaveris e.g”. Ucciardello :]κε κρατ[,] κε κρατ[possis || **3** δ[ιὰ] dispexi | τοῦ Ucciardello || **4** οὔ̃ dispexi : ϰι Ucciardello | ἀλλκ[Ucciardello : Ἀλλκ[μάνναϰ νιῶδι Di Giuseppe : Ἀλλκ[αῖδαι Vecchiato : ἀλλκ[ιμ- Perale || **5** “ὄν τειν[ο]ν[τ-, τείν[ε]ι [, ὄντιν[α] (ει pro ι exaratum?)” Ucciardello || **6** πον vel τὸν ut vid. | utrum υ (edd.) an > ambiguum || **7** χ[ρή] possis |] μοῖραν dub. Lobel, obl. Ucciardello | δατεῖϰ[θαι dub. Ucciardello || **12** δ[οκεῖ γάρ Lobel : δ[ῆλον γάρ possis, vel δ[ῆλόν / (= ἔστιν) || **13** κλά[γξαι Lobel : κλά[ζειν possis || **14-15** τ[ινος κρούσαν]τοϰ Lobel : an τ[ούτου εἰσιόν]τοϰ, ἐλθόν]τοϰ ? || **15** fin. ἡ θύρα Ucciardello : τὴν θύραν, ὁ θεός, sim. malim || **17** οὐ τὸ [ρίγοῦντ] ι e.g. Ucciardello | fin. supplevi || **17-18** “a comment of the tenor τὸ φρίσσοντι δύναται ἀντὶ τοῦ φρίσσειν ποιούντι” Lobel : vel ἰσοδυνα|μεῖ τῶι Ucciardello : -μεῖν malim || **19** π[οιηταῖ] vel π[ολλοί] Lobel || **22** Ἀρτέμιδ(οϰ) Ucciardello || **23** οὔ̃τ]ωϰ Vecchiato | ϰτῶμ[α(-) Condello : ϰτῆρα[Meliàdò || **24** διὰ κῶμου]ϰ e.g. Ucciardello : βῶμοῦ]ϰ possis || **25** κύρ[ιον] Condello

1 Poem A: Praising Pigres

Poem A is concerned with an individual called Pigres (i.4, 13, probably 16-17, quite possibly also 21). We must be dealing with a praise poem, an inference strengthened by ἐγκωμίῳιϰ at i.10 and a likely part of ἐγκωμιάζω at i.6-7. ἐπαι]νήςϰαϰ (Perale) is a possibility at i.4 and ἐπαι]νοῦμένου (Meliàdò) is attractive at i.14. As Ucciardello remarks, τὰϰ ἀρετάϰ (i.8) is also telling.¹⁶ The passage glossed in col. i (the length of which is unknown: commentators did not pore over every sentence, and this papyrus may not preserve the complete text of the commentary) must have included some self-reference on the part of the *persona loquens*. The smoking gun is the first person ἐποίηϰα at i.5, which must come from a paraphrase of the text; ὕμν[οιϰ (i.20) and γλυκυφω]ν- (i.21) are also suggestive. The interplay of first and third person at i.4-6 suggests that the poet was talking about this Pigres without addressing him, at least in this part of the poem. This allows (but does not require) him to be the subject of the third-person verbs quoted at i.7, 12.

i.1-2 The identical ending and the similar context suggest a repeated occurrence of the same form at the beginning of these two lines. The first half of the verb is missing, but there is little doubt that Lo-

¹⁶ Ucciardello 2001, 94-5.

bel was right to guess διέσταλται.¹⁷ διατέλλω it is, then. In a context such as ours, the verb can have one of two meanings: ‘distinguish’ or ‘punctuate’. Lobel argued for the first: “In the sense of ‘punctuate’ διατέλλειν and equivalent words and phrases are construed with an assortment of prepositions, ἐπί, ἐν, εἰς, κατά, μετά, μέχρι, or with none at all, but not, that I have observed, with πρός”.¹⁸ The very variety of prepositions speaks against the assumption that πρός is just the one that cannot be so used, but there is a weightier argument: as far as I can tell, the sense ‘punctuate’ is never expressed by the perfect tense. In a grammatical context, διέσταλται is a technical term for a distinction in sense. Condello is right that the occurrence in two consecutive lines may rather suggest diverging opinions on how to punctuate the passage,¹⁹ but while *differentiae uerborum* commonly consist of pairs, triplets are attested too (Ammon. *Diff.* 3, 92, 113 (+) Nickau; cf. schol. *Il.* 24.229a Erbse).

The commentator, then, may be pointing out that the sense of a certain word in the text is different from another and also from a third (with the usual τό introducing the quotation). It may be a clarification of the meaning of one word or phrase, forestalling a misunderstanding based on ambiguity (e.g. schol. *Il.* 1.214a1, 2.605, 5.479b (+) Erbse) or flawed synonymy (e.g. schol. *Il.* 2.819 *ap. P.Oxy.* VIII 1086, 115), but equally it could be a non-obvious difference in meaning between the several words used by the poet, implicitly forestalling a charge of redundancy against him (e.g. Ammon. *Diff.* 451 Nickau (on Thuc. 1.44.1); schol. *Il.* 4.540, 8.340b, 13.288a (+) Erbse; schol. Aeschin. 3.311a Dilts).²⁰

i.4-7 The speaker discusses his own role in praising Pigres.²¹ ἐποίησα – a verb not hitherto attested in ‘choral’ lyric – must be the commentator’s paraphrase of a different expression used by the poet. Lobel suggests ἔθηκα, comparing schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.10a-b, 8.21 Drachmann;²² at least one alternative comes to mind that has a similar range of meanings and is sometimes glossed with the same verb, viz. ἔτευξα (cf. schol. *Od.* 1.277c1 Pontani; schol. Aesch. *Sept.* 835b

17 Lobel 1967, 135. Condello 2002, 395 remarks that “non sarebbe da escludere nemmeno l’antonimo συνέσταλται”, without specifying what sense of the verb would suit our context.

18 Lobel 1967, 135.

19 Condello 2002, 395.

20 So Ucciardello 2001, 92, who marks ε... [as a lemma.

21 Condello 2002, 396-7 cautions that the person praised need not be Pigres. He is right to the extent that the identification is not certain: the occurrences of ἐπαινέω with reference to Pigres at i.4, 14 are conjectural, and indeed they stem from the assumption that he is the *laudandus*. Still, the repeated occurrence of the name – and of no other discernible name – in a patently encomiastic context makes such a supposition attractive.

22 Lobel 1967, 135.

Smith; schol. Soph. *Phil.* 1189 Papageorgius; etc.). Ucciardello suggests that the referent is poetic composition, citing Pind. *Ol.* 3.8 ἐπέων τε θέειν with schol. 14a Drachmann τὴν ποίησιν ἐπέων θέειν εἶπεν,²³ but the verb may just as well be used in the sense ‘make’ ‘cause to be’, as in the two examples cited by Lobel, with Pigres as the object and an accusative in ἴν as its predicative complement. Nor can we be certain of a word-for-word correspondence between text and paraphrase: scholia often gloss one verb with a periphrasis involving a form of ποιέω (e.g. schol. *Od.* 4.582a Pontani στήσα ~ σταθῆναι ἐποίησα; schol. *Ar. Eq.* 774 Jones ἀπέδειξα ~ φανερά ἐποίησα; schol. Pind. *Ol.* 1.139c ἀγάλλων ~ ποιῶν ἀγάλλεσθαι, 7.15 ἰλάσκομαι ~ ἰλαροὺς ποιῶ; and ii.13-14, 17-18 in this very papyrus).

The poet could be claiming that, by praising (ἐπαιγῆσας i.4) Pigres, he has made him - famous, honoured, enviable...? - with his song, and in the same breath denying that he has praised him untruthfully. Pindar time and again asserts the truthfulness of his praise (*Ol.* 2.92, 6.89-90, *Nem.* 7.63, etc.) and the assertion occasionally takes a negative formulation (*Ol.* 4.17-18 οὐ ψεύδει τέγξω λόγον, 13.50-52 γαρύων [...] οὐ ψεύσομ', *Nem.* 1.18 οὐ ψεύδει βαλῶν, etc.); the same is true of Bacchylides (8.20-21, 9.85, 11.26-27, etc.).²⁴ ἐγκ[ω- at the end of i.6 must be a reference to praise poetry; the adverb ψευδῶς suggests the verb rather than the noun. We are probably still with the commentator as he paraphrases the passage: the adjective ἐγκώμιον in a generic sense first occurs in Pindar (*Hes. Op.* 344, from κώμη rather than κῶμος, is irrelevant), but the verb ἐγκωμιάζω is not recorded before Herodotus (5.5.5) and it is an unlikely candidate for a lyric passage. The truthfulness of praise, however expressed, is also the topic of i.8. What the relation is between that passage and this one is uncertain; ἴ. εἶον φέροι κεν must belong to the poet's words, but it may have been a quotation (cf. ii.4-5, 7, 13, 15) rather than a new lemma.

i.5 If I am right that the line ends here, the rules of syllabification require that the letter following c be a vowel, and the traces suggest a short upright: η, ι? The phrase κατὰ σημασίαν (‘semantically’) occurs often in the grammarians, but I am not sure of its relevance to this passage.

i.7 Of the first letter, a trace at the bottom left and one at the top right, suggesting c but compatible with much else too. The next letter had a rounded shape. What might the anonymous subject ‘carry’? Something ‘divine’, θεῖον (Ucciardello), perhaps related to the poet's song (cf. the Homeric formula θεῖος ἀοιδός and the ‘divine dancing-place’ of *Od.* 8.264)? The ‘prize of honour’, πρεῖςβεῖον (*Il.*

²³ Ucciardello 2001, 95 fn. 29.

²⁴ As so often, the repertory of motifs in Pavese 1997 is invaluable.

8.289 $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\eta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$, cf. Hsch. π 3247 Hansen, schol. *Il.* 8.289 Erbse, etc.), or conversely ‘the last prize’, $\lambda\omicron\iota\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ (*Il.* 23.785 $\lambda\omicron\iota\iota\sigma\theta\eta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ ἔκφερ’ ἄεθλον), evidently in a negative formulation? Pindar often uses the active of $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$ in this way, see Slater s.v. The ‘last prize’ would resonate with the negativity of i.8 $\psi\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma$ and i.11 $\omicron\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\tau\chi\eta\sigma$ (see also i.10 n., i.12-14 n.). After the quotation, the traces suggest $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron(c)$ or $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega$ with the last letter in suspension, cf. ii.11 $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron(\tilde{\upsilon})$.

i.10 I believe I can see a trace of a raised υ above the \omicron , cf. ii.11. Given $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$, it seems that we are dealing with something being said ‘with reference to his songs of praise’, or even ‘against’ them (*LSJ*⁹ s.v. B.I.1.c), rather than ‘in’ them, which would call for $\epsilon\nu$. The genitive $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}$ can just as easily be objective (praise of Pigres) as subjective (the poet’s praise).

i.12-14 “(The poet) says this to ... and at the same time towards the ...” The correlation ἅμα μὲν ... ἅμα δέ ... is well attested in prose since the fifth century (Hdt. 4.75, 8.113 (+); Thuc. 2.20.4, 3.115.4 (+); Antiph. 1.16; etc.).²⁵ The commentator’s use of $\epsilon\iota\sigma$ in place of a second dative may suggest that the $\delta\iota\alpha$ -, unlike $\lambda\omicron\iota$ -, were an intended target of the poet’s statement without being directly addressed. The idea of *parlare a suocera perché nuora intenda* (to use an Italian idiom) crops up occasionally in the Pindar scholia: there is the bizarre case of schol. *Pyth.* 1.1a Drachmann, which takes the allocution to the “golden lyre” as a reminder to Hieron of the remuneration he had promised the poet; in schol. *Nem.* 4.60b Drachmann the poet is said to be taking a dig at Simonides while addressing himself ($\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu\epsilon\iota\sigma\text{ C}\mu\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\nu$, cf. ii.3-5 n.).

Who are the $\delta\iota\alpha$? One possibility, given the content of the preceding lines, is $\delta\iota\alpha\lbracket\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\omicron\tau\alpha\sigma$, ‘slanderers’. The commentator may have inferred from the poet’s ostensible self-defence (i.6, 8) that his truthfulness had been called into question. Similarly, the scholia disentangle the string of maxims about slander, deceit, flattery, and straight talk at Pind. *Pyth.* 2.73-88 by proffering an autobiographical interpretation involving Pindar having been slandered before his patron Hieron because of his closeness to a rival dynasty and therefore exculpating himself (schol. 132b, 142c, g Drachmann; cf. 132c-f, which detect a disparaging allusion to Bacchylides at vv. 72-73).²⁶ Otherwise, as Claudio Melià suggests to me, the slanderers may have targeted Pigres, whom the poet defends. (In a praise poem the difference between these two things need not be very clear-cut.)

i.17 If Ucciardello’s $\pi\acute{\iota}\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\nu\omicron\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$ hits the mark, we are reminded of the trope whereby countless roads, and/or roads everywhere, are

²⁵ Condello 2002, 396; Ucciardello 2001, 95-6, had spoken of “un lemma finora sfuggito all’identificazione”.

²⁶ See Bitto 2012, 69-70.

open to the poet's praise (Pind. *Nem.* 6.45-46 πλατεῖαι παντόθεν λογιόειν ἐντὶ πρόσοδοι to praise Aegina, *Isthm.* 4.1-3 ἔστι μοι [...] μυρία παντᾶι κέλευθος [...] ὑμετέρας ἀρετὰς ὕμνωι διώκειν, 6.22-23 μυρία δ' ἔργων καλῶν τέμανθ' ἐκατόμπεδοι ἐν σχερῶι κέλευθοι from the Nile's springs to the Hyperboreans; Bacchyl. 5.31-33 καὶ ἔμοι μυρία πάντα κέλευθος | ὑμετέραν ἀρετάν | ὑμνεῖν).²⁷ Perhaps closest to our passage is *Pae.* 4.6 κατὰ πάσαν ὁδόν, in a fragmentary but clearly metapoetic context;²⁸ cf. *Nem.* 5.2-3, where the song is told to travel ἐπὶ πάσας ὁλκάδος ἔν τ' ἀκάτωι.

i.18-20 In the Pindar scholia *τουτέστι* often introduces, not an immediate explanation of the text, but a further elucidation of something already explained, when the commentator first paraphrases the poet's words on a literal level and then explains the referent of an image, or the like: e.g. *Ol.* 1.20i Drachmann "ἀώτῳι" δὲ τῆς ὠιδῆς ἄνθει, *τουτέστιν* ἐν ταῖς ὠιδαῖς, 2.107 "κατὰ γᾶς" ὑπὸ γῆς, *τουτέστι* καθ' Ἄιδου, 8.28a-b ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ ἀκκεῖται ἡ Θέμις ἡ τοῦ Ξενίου Διὸς πάρεδρος· *τουτέστι* φιλόξενοί εἰσιν, etc. The article *τοῖς* also suggests locating ἄνθει in the commentator's paraphrase, whether or not the same form was also used by the poet; the commentator then goes on to note that these 'flowers' stand for songs, ὕμνοις. The image is of a very common sort: beside *Ol.* 1.15 μουσικᾶς ἐν ἀώτῳι just quoted, see *Ol.* 6.105 ἐμῶν [...] ὕμνων [...] εὐτερπέες ἄνθος, 9.48-49 ἄνθεα [...] ὕμνων | νεωτέρων, *Pyth.* 10.53 ἐγκωμίων [...] ἄωτος ὕμνων (+); Bacchyl. 15.8-9 παρηόνων | ἄνθεα, fr. 4.63 Maehler μελιγλώσσων ἀοιδᾶν ἄνθεα.

ii.3-5 "At the end he introduces [...] whom he mentions in passing by saying 'I send *charis* (to?) Alk...' (αλκ[- - | π]έμπω χάριν): for he is the one to whom (the poet) alludes". For *τείνω* εἰς + accusative used in this sense cf. schol. Pind. *Ol.* 2.173f, 8.30c, 13.32b Drachmann, etc.; with a person as the target of the allusion, schol. *Nem.* 3.143, 4.60b, 11.55 Drachmann, etc. I have not found other examples of *διὰ τοῦ τελευταίου* with the adjective used substantively (τῶν ἐπῶν, Gal. *Comp. med.* XIII p. 273 Kühn; *κτίχου*, Origen. in *Ps.* 150.3-5 II p. 363 Pitra), but what else can it mean?

The third letter of the quotation at ii.4 is likely to be κ, which suggests one of the several man's names that begins with Alk- (Peralé; the masculine gender is guaranteed by οὔτος in the next line). Yet there is no certainty that αλκ[represents our man's actual name, especially because *τείνω* εἰς normally denotes an oblique allusion, not an explicit mention. One could think of Ἀλκ[αῖδα (Vecchiato) or indeed of Ἀλκ[μῆνας υἱῶι (Di Giuseppe), which would about fill the remaining space to the right. (If that line of thought is correct, it may become relevant that τὸ[ν Ἡρακλῆ would fill the end of ii.3.) But the

²⁷ See Pavese 1997, 280.

²⁸ See Sitzler 1911, 699.

reference need not have been to a hero: an ordinary human being could have been the son of somebody called Alk[; he may have been qualified as ἄλκιμος (Perale); or his own name may have been ennobled with periphrastic ἄλκᾶ, a variation on the Homeric βία (cf. Pind. *Nem.* 3.38 χαλκότοξον Ἀμαζόνων [...] ἄλκᾶν, *Isthm.* 4.35b Αἴαντος ἄλκᾶν φοίνιον, cf. *Pae.* 21.9 ἄλκᾶν Ἀχελώϊου) – a remarkable but perhaps not impossible way to refer to a contemporary mortal.

In any case, it seems that towards the end of the poem the poet introduced a further character with a passing reference. This practice is most readily associated with the praise of an athlete's trainer at the end of an epinician (Pind. *Nem.* 4, 5, 6; *Isthm.* 4, 5), but there are other, perhaps more relevant examples: Pind. *Pyth.* 10.69-72 (the *laudandus'* brothers), *Nem.* 5.41-54 (two relatives of the *laudandus* as well as his trainer), *Isthm.* 6.66-75 (father), Bacchyl. 13.221-231 (father), and perhaps Pind. *Pyth.* 11.59-64 (Iolaos and the Dioscuri, with an intriguing emphasis on being ὑμνητόν).

ii.6 The first letter of the line resembles π more than it does τ. The reading πϞ, however, leaves what seems to be a small speck of ink unaccounted for on the right. If that is illusory and πϞ stands, it raises the prospect of τὸν λοιπὸν λόγον “the rest of his discourse”, with τείνω used transitively. The collocation τείνω τὸν λόγον is uncommon (normally it is the λόγος, if not the author or some such, that τείνει, intransitively, in some direction), but cf. Pl. *Phd.* 63a (εἰς ἐε); schol. Thom. Pind. *Ol.* 5.48-57 Abel (πρὸς τὸν Δία).

After λόγον, all editors read υ: wrong, clearly, but not deleted by the scribe. Yet it does not look quite like his other υs, and one wonders whether it might be something different. It looks like a *diple* (>), which however is a marginal sign. A first-century BC *hypomnema* to Book 2 of the *Iliad*, P.Oxy. VIII 1086, incorporates the *diple* in the commentary to introduce some lemmata, whose explanation then begins τὸ σημεῖον (οἱ ἢ διπλῆ) ὅτι (27, 54, 97, 114; lost in lacuna at 82, 107, perhaps 11).²⁹ We cannot be sure on internal grounds whether οὔτως κτλ. are prose or the beginning of the poetic quotation that takes up the next line, but there is certainly no explanation after it, which excludes a lemma. The verse may rather have been a quotation made to support the commentator's earlier point (see ii.7 n.), but in that case the *diple* is problematic. A series of marginal *diploi* is used to mark lemmata in a second-century AD *hypomnema* to the *Theaetetus*, P.Berol. inv. 9782, and (doubled) the Stesichorean quotation in P.Oxy. XVII 2102 of the *Phaedrus*, col. ii.21-25 (243a-b: PMGF 102 = fr. 91a Finglass), also from the second century AD; the sign would go on to become a mark of scriptural quotations in manuscripts with Chris-

²⁹ Hunt 1911, 78; see also Lundon 1997, 20-2. Compare the *obeloi* prefixed to vv. 791-3, 795 at col. ii.61-63, followed by ἀθετεῖ τούτους Ἀρίσταρχος ὅτι κτλ.

tian content.³⁰ Yet our scribe uses indentation, not a *diple*, to mark lemmata; the seemingly non-lemmatic quotation at ii.4-5 is likewise indented, not introduced by a *diple*; and the sign in our papyrus is not marginal anyway. I still suspect that we are dealing with a *diple* marking the beginning of the quotation, rather than with a stray υ, but my case falls short of proof.

ii.7 In such close proximity to ἐταίρωι and to a part of δατέομαι – probably the present infinitive δατεῖς[θαί (Ucciardello) – the likeliest articulation is λαῖαc ‘booty’, cf. Pind. *Ol.* 10.44 λαῖαν (Ahrens’ correction for the mss’ λαίαν). Given the Doric form, these words must be a poetic quotation. Since no explanation follows, it was probably quoted by the commentator in support of the point made in the preceding section. “On the basis of the certain letters I should have guessed μοῖραν ἐταίρωι λάιαc δατεῖς[θ-, but λα would have been written with an inordinately elongated α and I do not think the present appearance of the ink could have resulted from μο however damaged” (Lobel); “[μο]ῖραν vestigiis non convenit” (Ucciardello).³¹ I would not put inordinate elongation past our scribe, and perhaps μο can be made out after all (for the diminutive ο cf. for instance the two at i.7). At any rate I am unable to propose a better reading: the traces allow [βλ]άβιαc, but how to construe it?

If Lobel reads rightly, the poet may have introduced a further character at the end of the poem (see ii.3-5 *n.*) by paralleling the situation where a companion who shared in a heroic deed receives a share of the booty afterwards: similarly, perhaps, this character may have deserved a share of the poet’s praise, or of his gratitude (the two likeliest sense of ii.5 χάριν in this context: Slater s.v. 1.b.I, c.II). Henry Spelman reminds me of a parallel passage in Pind. *Ol.* 10.16-19:

πύκταc
δ’ ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδι νικῶν Ἴλαι φερέτω χάριν
Ἀγησιδάμοc, ὡc Ἀχιλεῖ Πάτροκλοc.

I observe that the traces of the first letter and the width of the lacuna to follow are compatible (though no more than that) with χ[ρή], and that the resulting construction could easily be made to cohere with οὔτωc τυχόντα in the previous line, perhaps to be taken in the sense “one who has attained such good fortune” (Slater s.v. “τυγχάνω” b).

³⁰ See McGurk 1961, esp. 3-5 (but most of the papyrological *diplai* he cites are not really *diplai* but *diplai obelismenai*, a different sign with a different function); Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*², 14-15 and fn. 76.

³¹ Lobel 1967, 136; Ucciardello 2001, 94.

2 Poem B: The God at the Door

Poem B, which opened with a (?self-)reference to choruses (i.9), describes in seemingly vivid detail the epiphany of a god (ii.12): probably Apollo, given the references to the Istros (ii.20, 23) and to Artemis (ii.22).³² His arrival has caused the door-latch to make a noise (ii.10-15), which is perhaps what alerts the *persona loquens* to his presence. The occasion might have been the god's return from the land of the Hyperboreans, as suggested by the wintry cold (ii.16-19) and, again, by the northerly river Istros.³³ A divine epiphany manifested by a supernatural intervention on a door (most frequently its spontaneous opening) is well attested in Greek literature.³⁴ A particularly close parallel is the celebrated 'mimetic' opening of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*,³⁵ even though the details are (predictably) hard to match with precision:

Οἶον ὁ τῶπόλλωνος ἐεείατο δάφνινος ὄρπηξ,
οἷα δ' ὄλον τὸ μέλαθρον· ἐκάς ἐκάς ὅστις ἀλιτρος.
καὶ δὴ πού τὰ θύρετρα καλῶι ποδι Φοῖβος ἀράσσει·
οὐχ ὀράσαι; ἐπένευεν ὁ Δῆλιος ἠδὺ τι φοῖνιξ
ἔξαπίνης, ὁ δὲ κύκνος ἐν ἡέρι καλὸν αἰίδει. 5
αὐτοῖ νῦν κατοχῆς ἀνακλίναςθε πυλάων,
αὐταὶ δὲ κληῖδες· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς οὐκέτι μακρὴν·
οἱ δὲ νέοι μολπήν τε καὶ ἐς χορὸν ἐντύναςθε.

"There survives no earlier example of such a mimetic presentation of an epiphany ritual", claimed Frederick Williams.³⁶ Yet Poem B is just such an example, and indeed, on the evidence of the small amount of text that survives, it may well have been Callimachus' model.

ii.10-14 "Here (the poet) is not saying ... κλάγξεν of the ἐπίσπαστρον itself, as (if one said) 'the door made a noise', but of the god. (One must understand) that 'sounded' (κλάγξεν) is equivalent to 'caused to sound'. In other words: the subject of κλάγξεν is not the ἐπίσπαστρον but the god, and the verb is used transitively in a causative sense. If the pericope indicated at ii.9-10 comprised a single sentence, it may follow that it was also the god who 'called' (ii.10 ἀπύων). ἐπί in the

³² Lobel 1967, 133.

³³ Snell 1968, after Lobel 1967, 137; a fuller discussion in Ucciardello 2001, 100-2.

³⁴ Weinreich 1929, 207-98; McKay 1967.

³⁵ Lobel 1967, 136; Ucciardello 2001, 99. On the opening of *Ap.* see Pasquali 1913, 148, 150-1, 153; Weinreich 1929, 229-36; Friedländer 1931, 35-6; and the commentary by Williams 1978, 15-23. On *Ap.* as "mimetische Gedicht" see also Albert 1988, 66-72; on the broader question of Callimachean hymnic mimesis, Harder 1992; on the *persona loquens* in *Ap.*, Petrovic 2012.

³⁶ Williams 1978, 15.

sense ‘referring to’ is common currency in the scholiastic jargon, as is the ‘irrational’ ἄν + optative (which we probably also find at ii.14, see *n.*).³⁷ Transitive κλάζω is attested both in lyric (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.23 ἔκλαγξε βροντάν, fr. 169a.34 Maehler πικρο[τά]τῶν κλάγεν ἄγγε[λία] γ; Bacchyl. 18.3-4 ἔκλαγε χαλκοκώδων | κάλπιδε πολέμητῶν αἰοιδάν) and elsewhere (one example for all: Aesch. *Ag.* 48 κλάζοντες Ἄρη), but in all those cases the accusative is more an internal object of the verb than a separate thing which the subject causes to resound.

It seems unlikely that so prosaic a word as ἐπίσπαστρον – a metal ring affixed to the door which doubled as knocker and handle³⁸ – was used in a cult song; its synonym ῥόπτρον may be a better candidate, occurring as it does in Euripides (*Ion* 1612; also *Hipp.* 1172, in a different sense). In either case, a neuter noun may have facilitated the confusion between object and subject which the commentator apparently seeks to forestall. In so doing the commentator cites as a parallel a set phrase from New Comedy, ἐψόφη[ε]ν ἡ θύρα, whose several permutations are used when a character perceives another character’s impending entrance from the creak of the stage building’s door.³⁹ Perplexing though it was to previous editors, this parallel is remarkably suitable in terms of narrative context, of construction (since the verb can be either used intransitively, with the door as subject, or transitively, with the door as object), and of meaning, since ψόφος occurs as a gloss for κλαγγή elsewhere (*Apion Gloss. Hom.* D316, p. 243 Ludwig κλαγγή· ψόφος. ἢ φωνὴ ἄχημος).

ii.14-15 The supplementation of these lines hinges on three uncertainties: (i) the meaning of ὑπακούω, (ii) the supplementation of τ[- - -]τος, and (iii) the construction of the latter relative to the former. For (i) we have three options: (a) ‘infer’, ‘supply’ something unstated (the ordinary sense of the verb in scholia and similar texts); (b) ‘listen’, ‘heed’; or, more specifically, (c) ‘answer’ the door (*LSJ*⁹ s.v. II.1). (b) seems out of place. Between the other two, Lobel inclined for (c): “Though I cannot follow the logic, the likeliest guess based on what remains seems to be καθ’ ὃν τρόπον ὑπακούοιμεν ἄν τινος κρούσαντος, ‘as we should answer the door when someone knocked’, or something not very far from this. Taking ὑπακούσαι- in the sense most commonly found in commentaries, ‘understand, supply (the sense)’, I can make no progress”. The problem is precisely “the logic”, or rather its absence: what has his reconstruction to do with the

³⁷ Dickey 2007, 116 (confusion in the use of moods and of ἄν), 118 (ἐπί).

³⁸ Lobel 1967, 136.

³⁹ Ucciardello 2001, 100 and fn. 52. On the correct interpretation of this comic trope (where the verb is normally present or perfect, never aorist, and more frequently transitive than intransitive) see Bader 1971; further reflections on its significance in Melandri 2007.

sense of what precedes? So we may have to go back to the ordinary scholiastic meaning after all.

Lobel correctly intuited (ii) that]τοϰ is the end of a participle, of which τ[is the subject, and (iii) that together they make a genitive absolute. But, with ‘scholiastic’ ὑπακούω, the conditional construction he envisages is out of the question; ἄν + optative will have to be of the ‘irrational’ kind already at ii.10 (see *n.*). ‘Scholiastic’ ὑπακούω takes the accusative of the word to be inferred, often with τό by way of inverted commas, so here too the phrase beckons to be taken as a quotation of sorts: “as we would supply ‘when ...’/‘because...’”. So who is doing what? Lobel’s τ[ινος is possible, but so is τ[οῦ θεοῦ or (better) τ[ούτου, referring to “the god” mentioned at ii.12. As for the action, Lobel surmises that the subject could be knocking; but if one hears the knock of a knocker, it is not a noteworthy inference that someone must be knocking. Rather, the parallel with the comic situation of ἐψόφη[ε]ν ἡ θύρα (see ii.10-14 *n.*) may suggest that the inference being made is that of the god’s arrival (ἐλθόν]τοϰ?) or perhaps entrance (εἰσιόν]τοϰ?). Yet at least some ancient readers thought that those comic passages indicated an intentional knocking to warn passers-by of one’s impending exit from the stage building,⁴⁰ and this may be the interpretation that our commentator had in mind.

ii.15 The commentator does not argue it explicitly, at least in the text as transmitted by this fragment, but his paraphrase makes clear that he understands the poet’s δέ as equivalent to γάρ. The concept of ὁ δε ἀντὶ τοῦ γάρ is widespread among ancient grammarians:⁴¹ schol. *Il.* 1.123-124, 200, 2.122b (+) Erbse; schol. Hes. *Theog.* 713a Di Gregorio; schol. Pind. *Ol.* 2.106a, 4.34b-c, 6.4b-c (+) Drachmann; etc. The omission of the explanation may be a further hint that our papyrus is only a selection from a longer work (see already the prosaic ἐπίπαστρον at ii.10-14 *n.*). It seems, then, that the god’s auditory epiphany was construed as the grounds for something: perhaps for the speaker’s realisation of the god’s arrival, or for the need to celebrate “much, with choruses” with which the poem opened (i.9), cf. Pind. fr. 94b.1-3 Maehler:

⊃ ♂ - ∪ ∪]χρυσοπ[επλ ♂ - ∪ ∪ -
...]δωμ[...]λέχητ[...]μῆ [- ∪ ∪ ·
ἦκε]ι γὰρ ὁ [Λοξ]ίας,

and especially Call. *Ap.* 1-16, as already mentioned. But we do not know how selective our commentator and our scribe were, so the distance from the quoted *incipit* may have been considerable.⁴²

⁴⁰ Evidence in Bader 1971, 37 and fn. 4.

⁴¹ And not only: see Denniston, *GP*² s.v. “δέ” I.C.1.i.

⁴² So Condello 2002, 396, *contra* Ucciardello 2001, 99.

ii.16-19 Again (πάλιν) an example of the same usage as we found in κλάγξεν.⁴³ Now it is φρίσσω's turn to be used to mean 'cause to shiver'; Lobel aptly parallels schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.144 Drachmann "φρίσσονταc ὄμβρουc" οὐκ αὐτοὺc φρίσσονταc, ἀλλὰ φρίσσειν ποιοῦνταc.⁴⁴ For the reconstruction of the poetic quotation, I am less sceptical than he about his own suggestion χειμῶ[νι φρίσσο]γτι βλαβείc. As he admits, φρίσσο]γτι is unavoidable, and the letters would not have to be very squeezed together for the entire supplement to fit in the lacuna. Our scribe's hand is hardly a regular one, and some letters can vary significantly in width, ν being one of them. Causative φρίσσω is a Pindaric hobby-horse: beside *Pyth.* 4.81 φρίσσονταc ὄμβρουc there is fr. 94b.17-18 χειμῶνοc cθένει | φρίσσων βορέαc and perhaps *Nem.* 10.74 μιν [...] ἄcθματι φρίσσονταc πνοάc.⁴⁵ If this is Apollo returning from the land of the Hyperboreans, as the context suggests, he will *not* have been "harmed by the winter that makes one shiver";⁴⁶ the negative was irrelevant to the commentator's point, and therefore omitted. Presumably the construction ascribed to "Pindar and also other poets" (or "many others") is the transitive use of a normally intransitive verb, rather than of φρίσσω specifically.⁴⁷

ii.23 Ucciardello suggests διὰ κῶμου]c, which is attractive. Alternatively, διὰ βῶμο]c: our increasingly rushed scribe had already used the very similar cursive β at ii.16, and altars would not be out of place in a devotional song.

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⁴³ Lobel 1967, 137; Ucciardello 2001, 100.

⁴⁴ Lobel 1967, 136-7.

⁴⁵ Lobel 1967, 137; Henry 2005, 114 (but in *Nem.* 10 πνοάc could also be accusative of respect).

⁴⁶ For the dative of the agent with a passive participle see Hummel 1993, 130.

⁴⁷ Ucciardello 2001, 100. Differently Lobel 1967, 137.

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Osservazioni in margine a Pind. *Pyth.* 3.34-37

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Abstract In Pind. *Pyth.* 3.34-37 ἔτερος does not mean ‘bad’ but has its usual oppositional sense. A parallel with Solon frames these two authors in the same aristocratic tradition.

Keywords Greek Literature. Pindar. Solon. Callimachus. Greek Poetry.

Sommario 1 Il valore di ἔτερος. – 2 Poca favilla gran fiamma seconda.

Nei vv. 34-37 della terza *Pitica* Pindaro rievoca il mito della sventurata Coronide: Apollo, arrabbiato perché ella, incinta di lui, si è unita con un mortale, invia a punirla la sorella Artemide, parimenti irata, e δαίμων δ’ ἔτερος | ἐς κακὸν τρέψαις ἑδαμάσσατό νιν, καὶ γειτόνων πολλοὶ ἐπαῦρον, ἀμᾶ | δ’ ἔφθαρεν· πολλὰν δ’ {έν} ὄρει πῦρ ἐξ ἑνός | σπέρματος ἐνθορόν ἀΐστωσεν ὕλαν. In questo contributo mi soffermerò su un paio di elementi marginali, ma, a mio avviso, di un certo interesse.

1 Il valore di ἔτερος

L’espressione δαίμων δ’ ἔτερος è indubbiamente problematica, e i traduttori di solito intendono ‘un demone crudele’ o ‘un demone ostile’: Merello (1933, 55), ad es., rendeva «là l’invase il genio che l’aveva spinta a ’l male»; Werner (1967, 131) «ein Fluchgeist, der, ihr feind, sie zu Bösem antrieb, bewältigte sie»; Race (1997, 249) «an adverse fortune turned her to ruin and overcame her»; Ferrari (2008, 101)



Edizioni
Ca' Foscari

Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

Peer review | Open access

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/011

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«un demone ostile la trasse in rovina e la fiaccò». ¹ Anche Gentili (in Gentili et al. 1995, 93) si adegua a questa *vulgata* e traduce «un demone avverso», ma, giustamente, esprime le sue perplessità su questa interpretazione e (p. 413) avanza l'ipotesi alternativa che si alluda a un destino diverso da quello di altre donne che erano incorse in una situazione simile ma non erano state punite. Radicalmente differente era la traduzione di Puech (1922, 55), che con «son destin changea» restituiva a ἕτερος il valore oppositivo che gli è proprio; sulle sue tracce va Suárez de la Torre (1988, 163): «cambió su hado».

In realtà, l'esegesi ora generalmente accolta deriva dagli scolii *ad loc.* (ΒΔΕΦΓΘ), che così chiosano: δαίμων δ' ἕτερος ὁ κακοποιός, ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἀγαθόν || ὁ δὲ κακοποιὸς δαίμων εἰς τὴν τῆς μοιχείας κακουργίαν τρέψας τὴν Κορωνίδα, καὶ ἀναιρεθῆναι αὐτὴν παρεσκεύασε. Καλλιμαχὸς φησιν· «οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' οὗς ἔσχεν ὠτερος δαίμων». Stando a questo antico commentatore, il demone avverso sarebbe dunque quello che ha fatto sì che Coronide peccasse con l'adulterio per poi poterla rovinare, ed emerge quindi il *topos* del *Quos Deus perdere vult dementat prius*, che, almeno concettualmente, appartiene all'ambito culturale greco. ² Nel passo di Callimaco (fr. 191.62-63 Pf.) richiamato dallo scoliasta, invece, si parla dei dettami di Pitagora, a proposito dei quali οἱ δ' ἄρ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν, | οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' οὗς εἶχεν οὔτερος δαίμων. In effetti, il testo, trådito da Diod. Sic. 10.6.4, reca οἱ τὰδ' οὐδ', Niebuhr, seguito da Pfeiffer, corresse in οἱ δ' ἄρ' οὐχ: evidentemente, per questi studiosi quelli che disobbediscono ai precetti sarebbero coloro che sono posseduti dall'altro δαίμων, di-

1 Non comprendo la resa di Mandruzzato 1980, 128: «mutò la sua potenza, | le fu maligna, e la spense».

2 Tale adagio iniziò ad essere in auge (come rilevò Chabert 1918, 141-63) nell'Inghilterra del XVIII secolo e non è attestato nei classici; a mio avviso, costituisce la traduzione di un frammento adespoto tragico greco (455 Sn.-K.), tramandato come aberrante dall'apologeta cristiano Atenagora (*Leg.* 26.2), secondo cui ὅταν ὁ δαίμων ἀνδρὶ πορσύνῃ κακά, τὸν νοῦν ἔβλαψε πρῶτον. Simili concetti, inoltre, si ritrovano nell'*Antigone* di Sofocle (vv. 622 ss.), nell'oratore Licurgo (*Leoc.* 92), e nella *Niobe* di Eschilo (fr. 154.15-16 R.: θεὸς μὲν αἰτίαν φύει β[ροτοῖς, ὅταν κακῶσαι δῶμα παμπήδη[ν θέλῃ]). Questo ultimo luogo fu molto famoso nell'antichità: fu aspramente contestato da Platone (*Resp.* 380a), come simbolo della tendenza umana ad addossare la colpa di tutti i mali umani sulle spalle degli dei (cf. anche Plut. *Quomodo adul.* 17b; *Comm. not.* 165c), venne poi esplicitamente citato da Menandro (*Aspis*, 412-413) e registrato da gnomologi e paremiografi (cf. Stob. 3.3.27; Arsen. 8.89k); la massima ha destato meraviglia negli studiosi che hanno letto Eschilo in chiave precristiana (ad es. Schadewaldt, Körte, Nillson); gli studi antropologici hanno invece evidenziato come nella mentalità greca arcaica l'uomo si trovi in balia della divinità (si vedano ad es. Dodds 1959, 54; Lloyd-Jones 1971, 87; Gantz 1981, 18-32). Simili situazioni sono più rare in altre culture: nel mondo latino cf. Vell. Pat. 2.118.4, Publ. Syr. S 29 (dove tale comportamento è però attribuito alla Fortuna); in quello giudaico-cristiano destò cocenti polemiche tra i sostenitori del libero arbitrio dell'uomo (come Origene) e quelli della predestinazione (come gli gnostici). In un passo dell'*Esodo* (7.3), inoltre, Dio proclama che indurrà il cuore del Faraone, per mostrare i suoi potenti segni. Per ulteriori particolari e riprese moderne rinvio a Tosi 2017a; 1973.

verso rispetto a quello pitagorico e in questo senso a lui contrario. Lloyd-Jones (1967, 125-7), seguito da West (1971, 85, 330-1), propose οἰταλοί δ' ὑπήκουσαν 'gli Itali ubbidirono' e poi opportunamente precisò (1974, 5) che non intendeva far dire a Callimaco che i Pitagorici erano posseduti da un δαίμων malvagio, ma che l'espressione marcava la diversità dal sentire comune e la bizzarria del loro comportamento (ἕτερος, quindi, varrebbe quindi 'diverso', assumendo la normale funzione oppositiva). D'Alessio (1996, 586), accogliendo la correzione di Lloyd-Jones, afferma che l'espressione οὔτερος δαίμων equivale alla nostra 'mala sorte',³ citando a conforto il passo pindarico ed *Ecale*, fr. 51 Hollis. In questo ultimo luogo Naeke emendò l'ἔκ με Κολωνάων τις ὀμέστιον ἤγαγε δήμου | τῶν ἐτέρων, trådito dai codici del testimone (schol. **HQ** ξ 199) in ἔκ με Κολωνάων τις ὀμέστιον ἤγαγε δαίμων | τῶν ἐτέρων: tra chi accoglie la correzione, supportata peraltro da probanti paralleli,⁴ figurano Maas, che legò δαίμων ad ἐτέρων intendendo 'un demone fra quelli malvagi', sempre sulla scorta dello scolio pindarico, Barigazzi (1958, 458), secondo cui si sta parlando delle infelici nozze della protagonista, e infine Hollis, il quale afferma che il verso con δήμου non è né callimacheo, né greco; di contro, Pfeiffer pubblicava δήμου e, dopo una serrata analisi, concludeva (1949, 276) che la soluzione migliore fosse quella di Schneidewin, che qui *Ecale* fosse portata via come ταμίη da un uomo di Colono. È dunque evidente che qui la presenza del δαίμων, pur avvalorata da pregnanti *loci similes*, non può dirsi sicura, ed è tutt'altro che sicuro il suo eventuale legame con ἐτέρων, né tanto meno lo è il valore di ἐτέρων.

Alla luce di questa disamina, mi sembra che nel luogo dei *Giambi* callimachei la valenza sia quella più consona ad ἕτερος, cioè che marchi la differenza (o dei Pitagorici nei confronti degli altri, o degli altri nei confronti dei Pitagorici), e che, d'altra parte, sia ben difficile trarre indicazioni sicure dal moncone dell'*Ecale*; lascia soprattutto consistenti dubbi un'operazione in cui si interpreta il frammento dell'*Ecale* alla luce di quello dei *Giambi*, e nel contempo per il significato di quest'ultimo si richiama a conferma quello dell'*Ecale*. Ulteriori perplessità sorgono poi dal fatto che si tende ad attribuire all'interpretazione dello scolio la validità di prova definitiva, quando sono ben noti i limiti metodologici dell'esegesi antica, e in particolare per quanto riguarda un'annotazione chiaramente ispirata all'immediato contesto.

3 Questa specifica interpretazione ritorna anche nel luogo pindarico, come si è visto, nella traduzione di Race.

4 Il δαίμων che conduce si trova ad es. in Hom. *Od.* 7.248; 14.386; Callim. *Hymn* 5.80-81 (qui in particolare in un cammino funesto); Triphiod. 420, dove si specifica che si tratta di un δαίμων δυσώνυμος.

Farnell (1932, 140), dal canto suo, rilevava che il significato decisamente negativo di ἕτερος non è «uncommon» in opposizione ad ἀγαθός (ma ciò mi sembra francamente lapalissiano), mentre è raro quando l'aggettivo è usato assolutamente e citava come *locus similis* più appropriato Aesch. *Ag.* 151 σπευδομένα θυσίαν ἑτέραν, ἄνομόν τιν', ἄδαιτον. In questo passo, però, si tratta del sacrificio di Ifigenia e l'aggettivo non ne marca la malvagità, bensì o indica un secondo sacrificio rispetto al precedente *omen* delle aquile⁵ oppure – come ribadiscono ed evidenziano i successivi ἄνομον e ἄδαιτον – sottolinea la difformità rispetto al normale rito, in altri termini l'idea della sacralità infranta, che costituisce uno dei *Leitmotive* dell'opera.⁶ Slater (1969, 203), d'altro canto, cita a conforto della valenza «bad» (sarebbe una forma eufemistica) *Nem.* 8.3 τὸν μὲν ἀμέροις ἀνάγκας χερσὶ βασιτάζεις, ἕτερον δ' ἑτέροις, dove però l'aggettivo ha la consueta valenza oppositiva e la connotazione negativa non è dovuta a nessun eufemismo, bensì al contrasto polare con ἀμέροις.

In definitiva, dunque, credo che non esistano sufficienti supporti a sostegno dell'esegesi scoliastica, tanto più che, a quanto risulta, non sono attestati usi tanto anomali di ἕτερος in Pindaro, che l'impiego comunemente – come nel citato luogo delle *Nemee* – per marcare un'opposizione, la quale normalmente è ben deducibile dal contesto. La spiegazione dello scolio, con ogni probabilità, deriva autoschediasticamente dal successivo ἐς κακὸν τρέψαις: è altresì vero che l'antico commentatore richiama a conferma il luogo callimacheo, ma anche in esso la valenza di 'avverso' è un portato dell'opposizione binaria che è fondamentale in ἕτερος. Questa, a mio avviso, deve essere colta anche nel nostro passo, nel quale l'aggettivo qualifica un termine dal campo semantico molto ampio come δαίμων: se esso va inteso come 'sorte, destino' non si tratterà di una banale 'mala sorte'; d'altro canto l'ipotesi di Gentili è suggestiva ed ingegnosa, ma non deducibile da ciò che precede, dove non ci sono allusioni ad altre mitiche figure femminili. A questo punto, la soluzione più economica sarà quella di tornare alla traduzione di Puech, intendendo che si tratti di un destino diverso da quello precedente, in cui Coronide era addirittura l'amante di un dio. Alternativamente, si può sospettare che δαίμων valga semplicemente 'essere divino' e che la *iunctura* alluda a chi effettivamente compie la strage, Artemide, δαίμων δ' ἕτερος rispetto ad Apollo, che costituisce il soggetto della frase precedente (prima di un inciso sul luogo dove abitava Coronide): in effetti, co-

⁵ Così intende Medda 2017, 110-11, che giustamente ritiene poco probabile la spiegazione alternativa, pur avanzata da vari autorevoli studiosi, secondo cui si alluderebbe all'antica violenza subita dai figli di Tieste.

⁶ È questo un tema ben messo in luce in particolare da Zeitlin 1965, 463-508 e 1966, 645-53; per questo specifico passo si veda anche Easterling 1988, 101.

me rileva Angeli Bernardini (1983, 71), rientra pienamente nei compiti di Artemide infliggere la morte in tali circostanze e non si può non notare che il nostro δαίμων δ' ἕτερος è colui che ἐδαμάσσατο νιν.⁷

2 Poca favilla gran fiamma seconda

È molto probabile che abbiamo qui a che fare con la visione mitica di una pestilenza, la cui ragione è identificata nella colpa di una sola persona, Coronide; da essa, poi, il male si propaga a molti altri, secondo un ben noto schema religioso, lo stesso che, tra l'altro, costituisce il punto di partenza dell'*Iliade*, l'elemento che scatena l'indagine nell'*Edipo re* e la motivazione del rituale del φαρμακός. Pindaro sottolinea questo fatto inserendo – come è sua abitudine, senza particelle ad indicare il paragone – l'immagine del grande incendio provocato da una piccola scintilla. Essa è funzionale, se non a giustificare, almeno a rendere plausibile il racconto mitico: anche in natura fenomeni grandi sono spesso provocati da un singolo elemento, con una sproporzione tra l'apparente poca rilevanza del momento iniziale e la grandiosità degli effetti. I singoli termini conferiscono a questa immagine una forte espressività e icasticità: l'origine dell'incendio non è né una scintilla, né un tizzone, ma significativamente uno σπέρμα,⁸ particolarmente icastica è la figura del fuoco che balza sul monte (ἐνθρόνον),⁹ e l'assoluto annientamento della selva è magnificamente reso da αἴστωσεν. Il sorgere nascosto e in qualche misura sorprendente del grande incendio da una minuscola scintilla doveva essere già tradizionale, o, perlomeno, lo divenne proprio a partire dal V sec.:¹⁰ non sarà, tuttavia, a mio avviso, inutile soffermarsi su un'attestazione precedente del *topos*.

Con termini più banali si era espresso Solone, nel fr. 1.14-15 G.-P. [= 13 W.] ἀρχῆς δ' ἐξ ὀλίγης γίγνεται ὥστε πυρός,¹¹ per affermare che l'ingiusta ricchezza può aumentare progressivamente partendo

⁷ Mi sembra inoltre probabile un gioco fonico paronomastico tra δαίμων ed ἐδαμάσσατο.

⁸ Un parallelo è costituito da *Ol.* 7.48 καὶ τοὶ γὰρ αἰθοίσας ἔχοντες σπέρμ' ἀνέβαν φλογός οὐ. In realtà l'uso è già omerico: cf. *Od.* 5.490 σπέρμα πυρὸς σφῶων.

⁹ Giustamente Gentili (in Gentili et al. 1995, 414) sottolinea il valore intransitivo e contesta il richiamo, operato da Fowler 1986, 21-46, a passi eschilei dove il verbo è sì collegato al seme, ma ha funzione transitiva (significa 'emettere, spargere il seme', cf. *Eum.* 660 e fr. 15 R.).

¹⁰ Di momenti di questo *topos* mi sono già variamente occupato: cf. Tosi 2017a, 1010 nonché Tosi 2017b, 115-49 e Tosi 2019, 1071-81.

¹¹ Stob. 3.9.23, testimone del frammento, offre ἀρχὴ δ' ἐξ ὀλίγου: l'emendamento è di M.L. West, che richiama [Hes.] fr. 53a, 61 M.-W. ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὀλίγης Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱὸς ἔπραθεν ἡμερόεντα πόλιν, dove manca il fuoco ma si ha comunque una immensa distruzione che trae origine ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὀλίγης.

da poco, come fa il fuoco, ma poi finisce per estinguersi. Non siamo qui di fronte alla colpa di uno solo che porta ad un'ampia distruzione, bensì a una crescita sconsiderata di ciò che all'origine era in misera quantità, una crescita che è in realtà il preludio dell'autodistruzione. In questo luogo soloniano, la ricchezza non giusta è quella non data dagli dei, ma ὄν δ' ἄνδρες τιμῶσιν ὑφ' ὕβριος, οὐ κατὰ κόσμον | ἔρχεται, ἀλλ' ἀδίκους ἔργμασι πειθόμενος | οὐκ ἐθέλων ἔπεται (vv. 11-13): essa è dunque innanzi tutto caratterizzata dalla ὕβρις, che, precisata da οὐ κατὰ κόσμον, è, come spiega acutamente Noussia (2001, 196), «la componente antisociale che rende ingiusta la sopravvalutazione della ricchezza ed è insita in essa». È quello della ὕβρις uno dei temi più fertili che legano Solone alla produzione lirica successiva¹² e non può non venire alla memoria un'altra famosa massima di questo autore (fr. 8.3-4 G.-P.): τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν πολὺς ὄλβος ἔπεται | ἀνθρώποις ὀπίσσοις μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ἦ.

Tutto questo sembrerebbe molto lontano dal luogo pindarico (anche se pure quella di Coronide, che non rispetta il frutto della sua unione con Apollo ma si abbandona a un altro amore, è una colpa di ὕβρις), ma, forse, sarà opportuno inquadrare la ripresa del *topos* della nascita dell'incendio in un sottile legame che unisce Solone alla terza *Pitica*. In essa, infatti, una settantina di versi dopo la storia di Coronide, compare il tema dell'ingiusta ricchezza, in termini non dissimili da quelli soloniani: ὄλβος {δ'} οὐκ ἐς μακρὸν ἀνδρῶν ἔρχεται | ὅς πολὺς εὖτ' ἂν ἐπιβρίσαις ἔπεται (vv. 105-106: nei versi precedenti si dice che il mortale deve accontentarsi di gioire dei beni che gli hanno dato gli dei). Sarà opportuno dunque tirare i fili della rete intertestuale che collega il luogo soloniano alla terza *Pitica*: innanzi tutto si ha in entrambi il precetto tradizionale (già ad es. esposto in Hes. *Op.* 320) secondo cui la ricchezza giusta è solo quella che viene dagli dei,¹³ poi in ambedue l'ingigantirsi della ricchezza prelude alla sua fine, ed infine si notano alcune somiglianze testuali (ἔρχεται, ἔπεται: questo secondo verbo ritorna anche in Sol. fr. 8,4). A tutto ciò andrà aggiunta la ripresa, nella terza *Pitica*, del motivo della piccola scintilla da cui nasce il grande fuoco, lo stesso che innerva il passo di Solone. Questa serie di collegamenti andrà tenuta presente, non tanto per tentare di instaurare dirette riprese testuali (nei confronti delle quali nutro un sano scetticismo, soprattutto quando si tratta di motivi topici appartenenti alla morale tradizionale), ma perché dietro il riuso capillare degli stessi temi, e forse la memoria di passi

¹² Un'attenta analisi di tale connessione è da ultimo quella di Figueira 2015. Istruttivo per la valenza del luogo soloniano, è anche Fisher 1992, 69.

¹³ Su questo elemento poneva l'accento già Masaracchia 1958, 208. Non può non risultare lampante la contrapposizione fra questa aristocratica morale tradizionale e quella dei nuovi arricchiti, il cui motto era χρήματα χρήματ' ἀνὴρ, cf. Alc. fr. 360.3 V. e lo stesso Pindaro (*Isthm.* 2.11). Per la fortuna successiva di questo motto cf. Tosi 2017a, 2344.

ideologicamente molto connotati, sta una certa comunanza di visione esistenziale e politica. Anche se la ripresa della stessa immagine metaforica nell'ode in cui viene enunciato lo stesso principio etico potrebbe essere una semplice coincidenza, non si può negare che costituisca un pur lieve tassello nel mosaico che pone Pindaro nel solco della tradizionale ideologia aristocratica, che ha in Solone un famoso ed esemplare esponente.

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ΦΑΙΔΙΜΟΣ ΕΚΤΩΡ

Studi in onore di Willy Cingano per il suo 70° compleanno

a cura di Enrico Emanuele Prodi e Stefano Vecchiato

Pind. fr. 321 Sn.-Maehl. delendum

Stefano Vecchiato

Independent researcher

Abstract Thanks to a re-edition of the main lexicographical source that transmits Pindar, fr. 321 Sn.-Maehl., i.e. *Etym. Gen.* AB s.v. δαῦλος, which offers the reading τετείχισται instead of the vulgate τετείχεται, this paper cautiously argues for a full deletion of that fragment from the corpus of the Pindaric fragments, and suggests, as already surmised by various scholars, that the correct reference be to Pind. *Pyth.* 6.9 or *Isthm.* 5.44, both of which present the form τετείχισται. Therefore, if this suggestion is accepted, the ‘former’ Pindaric fragment numbered as 321 should be added as a further *testimonium* for one or both of these lines from the aforementioned Pindaric odes.

Keywords Pindar. Etymologica. Lexicography. Fragmentary poetry. Critical editions.

Collocato tra i *fragmenta incertorum librorum* nell’edizione a tutt’oggi di riferimento dei frammenti pindarici a cura di H. Maehler *post* B. Snell,¹ il fr. 321 Sn.-Maehl. consiste di una singola parola, τετείχεται, ossia un ind. perfetto medio-passivo alla terza persona sg. di τειχέω – unica occorrenza pervenuta, stando al *Lexicon* pindarico redatto da W.J. Slater,² di questo verbo nel *corpus* pindarico. Le fonti principali per questo frammento sono *Etym. Magn.* 249.49 ss. δαυλος [*lege* δαῦλος]³. ὁ δασύς· παρὰ τὸ δάσος γίνεται ῥῆμα δασῶ, ὡς τεῖχος, τειχῶ· ἀφ’ οὗ φησι Πίνδαρος τετείχεται, ed *Etym. Sym.* δ 57 Baldi (non ricordata da Snell e Maehler) δαῦλος· ὁ δασύς· παρὰ τὸ δάσος γίνεται δασῶ ῥῆμα ὡς τεῖχος τειχῶ· ἀφ’ οὗ Πίνδαρος “τετείχεται”; da

1 Cf. Maehler 1989, 166.

2 Cf. Slater 1969, 492.

3 Sulla corretta accentazione properispomene dell’aggettivo cf. Radt 1982.



Edizioni
Ca' Foscari

Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

Peer review | Open access

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/012

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quest'ultima deriva anche l'omonima glossa in 'Zon.' *Lex.* 466 Tittmann, ove la forma τετείχηται compare identica.⁴

Ora, lo stesso Tittmann, nel commentare la glossa dello Ps.-Zonara e il frammento pindarico ivi presente, osservava: «[f]orte sic [sc. τετείχηται] legit noster [sc. 'Zonaras'] pro τετείχισται, quod exstat Pyth. VI, 9. Isthm. V, 56 [= I. 5.44]». ⁵ La nota di Tittmann venne ricopiata integralmente da A. Boeckh in calce al frammento in questione collocato nella sezione ἐξ ἀδήλων εἰδῶν della sua edizione pindarica (fr. 284),⁶ e, di fatto, viene ricordata anche da Snell e Maehler, che a testo fanno seguire a τετείχηται la notazione «(?)», mentre in apparato scrivono: « = τετείχισται Pyth. 6, 5 [lege 9]; Isthm. 5, 44 ?». ⁷

In effetti, lo scambio, in onciale, tra la sequenza ισ e la lettera η è assai frequente,⁸ e solo questo basterebbe a ritenere estremamente plausibile l'ipotesi di Tittmann. Un ulteriore appoggio può provenire da una glossa sinora inedita nella sua interezza⁹ dell'*Etymologicum Genuinum*, fonte principale della costellazione lessicografica (*Etym. Sym.*, *Etym. Magn.*, 'Zon.') che tramanda il fr. 321 Sn.-Maehl., e che qui si riporta a seguito di un'ispezione autoptica dei due mss. principali, **A** (= Vat. gr. 1818, sec. X ex.) e **B** (= Laur. S. Marci 304, sec. X ex.):¹⁰

Etym. Gen. **AB**

δαῦλος· ὁ δασύς· παρὰ τὸ δάσος γίνεται δασῶ ῥῆμα ὡς τεῖχος τειχῶ· ἄφ' οὗ Πίνδαρος· "τετείχισται"· καὶ κατὰ παραγωγὴν δασαύω, ὡς χρῶ χραύω καὶ ψῶ ψαύω, εἶτα κατὰ συγκοπὴν δαύω, ὁ μέλλων δαύσω·

⁴ Sulla dipendenza del *Lexicon* dello ps.-Zonara dall'*Etym. Sym.* ed *Etym. Gen.* e sulle sue fonti in generale cf. Alpers 1972. Sulla priorità cronologica dell'*Etym. Sym.* rispetto all'*Etym. Magn.* (redatti entrambi nel XII sec.) e sulla dipendenza del secondo dal primo cf. Berger 1972, xvii-xxv.

⁵ Tittmann 1808, 466 nota 81; cf. anche Gaisford 1848, 720, *ad Etym. Magn.* 249.50, che accettava la congettura di Tittmann.

⁶ Cf. Boeckh 1821, 684.

⁷ Maehler 1989, 166. Cf. anche il punto di domanda apposto dopo il lemma τειχῆω da Slater 1969, 492, che pure menziona la congettura di Tittmann.

⁸ Cf. e.g. Gaisford 1848, 720, *ad Etym. Magn.* 249.50, dove cita un passo della *Commentatio Palaeographica* di Bast.

⁹ È stata edita parzialmente già da Calame 1970, 22 (= *Etym. Gen.* 45 Calame), che sfruttava parimenti l'apporto di **A** per la lezione che pare da accogliere a testo (τετείχισται, cf. *infra*), pur non traendone conclusioni in riferimento al fr. 321 Sn.-Maehl. Stranamente, il contributo di Calame è sfuggito a Snell e Maehler.

¹⁰ Sui mss. del *Gen.* cf. ora Baldi 2013, xxvi-xxvii) con ulteriore bibl. Sul *Gen.*, completato probabilmente alla metà del IX sec. (discussione e.g. in Alpers 1991), come fonte principale e imprescindibile degli Etimologici bizantini redatti in epoca successiva, tra i quali soprattutto *Etym. Sym.* ed *Etym. Magn.*, cf. e.g. Reitzenstein 1897, 1 ss.; Cellierini 1988, 68.

καὶ ὡς παύσω γίνεται παῦλος, οὕτως δαύσω δαῦλος ὁ δασύς, ὡς παρ' Αἰσχύλωι (fr. 27 Radt): “δαῦλος ὑπήνη καὶ γενειάδος πυθμῆν”.

2 τετείχιστε **A**: τετείχεται **B** || 4-5 ὡς παρ'-πυθμῆν om. **B**

Come si può evincere dall'apparato, laddove **B** presenta ancora la lezione τετείχεται,¹¹ **A** offre invece τετείχιστε, da leggersi ovviamente come τετείχισται (il grafema αι era, com'è noto, pronunciato [e] in greco bizantino).

Da questo dato si può desumere che:

- i. l'ipotesi di Tittmann pare confermata dalla tradizione manoscritta degli Etimologici, specificamente dal ms. **A** del *Genuinum*;
- ii. l'*exemplum* pindarico offerto dagli Etimologici per τειχῶ (= τειχέω), verbo percepito come sinonimo e interscambiabile con il suffissale τειχίζω,¹² qui citato in questa forma evidentemente solo in virtù dell'analogia con la precedente 'coppia' δάσος/δασῶ funzionale alla spiegazione della formazione dell'agg. δαῦλος a lemma, era con ogni probabilità τετείχισται, perfetto medio-passivo da τειχίζω che occorre in Pind. *Pyth.* 6.9 ἐτοῖμος ὕμνων θησαυρὸς ἐν πολυχρύσῳι | Ἄπολλωνία τετείχισται νάπαι e *Isthm.* 5.44 τετείχισται δὲ πάλαι | πύργος ὑψηλαῖς ἀρεταῖς ἀναβαίνειν; a uno di questi due *loci* (o ad entrambi) andrà riferita la glossa presente, come ulteriore testimonianza di (parte di) uno o entrambi i versi.¹³

Se è vero il punto (ii), allora il fr. 321 Sn.-Maehl. non ha più motivo di esistere e andrà eliminato da una futura edizione dei frammenti di Pindaro.

¹¹ Da ciò si spiega probabilmente la presenza del verbo in questa forma anche nella glossa dell'*Etym. Sym.*, in quanto quest'ultimo presenta di solito concordanza con **B** di *Etym. Gen.* quand'esso diverge da **A**: cf. Baldi 2013, xxvii-xxviii.

¹² Cf. *LSJ* s.v. “τειχέω” (attestato nella letteratura greca solo in Erodoto e mai alla diatesi media o passiva; Erodoto tuttavia usa anche τειχίζω col medesimo significato: cf. Powell 1938, s.vv. “τειχέω” e “τειχίζω”), la ‘coppia’ τείχος/τειχίζω citata da *Etym. Gen.* α 120 L.-L. (ex Hdn. περί παθῶν fr. 252.3/2.256 Lentz) e da [Hdn.] *Part.* p. 133 Boissonade, e le considerazioni sulla sinonimia di verbi in -ίζω derivati dai corradicali in -έω di Eust. *Il.* 5.872 (2.219.10-12 van der Valk): ὅτι ὡσπερ προκαλῶ προκαλίζω, καναχῶ καναχίζω, στοναχῶ στοναχίζω, μηρυκῶ μηρυκίζω, μοχθῶ μοχθίζω παρὰ Θεοκρίτῳ [cf. *Id.* 1.38; 7.48], οὕτω πολλαγοῦ καὶ νεμεσῶ νεμεσίζω (con van der Valk 1976, 219 *ad loc.*); cf. inoltre ancora Eust. *Il.* 19.172 (4.308.7-9 van der Valk): τὸ δὲ ὄπλεσθαι πρωτότυπὸν ἐστὶ τοῦ ὀπλίζεσθαι, ὡς καὶ τὸ ἔτειχεον τὸν ἰσθμὸν παρὰ Ἡροδότῳ [cf. *Hdt.* 9.8] πρωτοτυπία τοῦ τειχίζειν ἐστίν (passo, quest'ultimo, segnalato da S. Valente, che sentitamente ringrazio).

¹³ Così in effetti già Gentili 1995, 190, che riporta le voci di *Etym. Magn.* e di *Etym. Gen.* (come edita da Calame 1970, 22) nel pre-apparato *ad P.* 6.9 come testimonianze di τετείχισται in quel verso, ma non menziona le implicazioni legate al fr. 321 Sn.-Maehl.

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Bacchylides Playing Tragic

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Abstract This paper focuses on features in Bacchylides' poetry that have been mainly associated with the tragic genre: human error, the ignorance of tragic characters, the audience's privileged knowledge at a tragic and lyric performance and its activation, tragic irony, and the audience's participation in the completion of mythological narratives. As evidence of Bacchylides' tragic aura I analyse the figures of Deianeira and Heracles in Odes 5 and 16 in connection with the story in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*; the resemblance of the structure of Ode 18 with encounters with the tragic chorus and how it creates internal and external audiences; questions of closures and narratives endings.

Keywords Tragedy. Lyric poetry. Human error. Audience. Knowledge. Narrative. Tragic irony.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Character Representation and Human Ignorance. – 3 Levels of Knowledge and Audience Participation. – 4 Conclusions.

1 Introduction

In his commentary on Sophocles' *Trachiniae* J.C. Kamerbeek emphasises the tragicity of Deianeira's depiction in Bacchylides' Ode 16 when he comments that "what strikes the reader most in these lines [Bacchyl. 16.23-35] is the fact that Deianeira's fate is interpreted *more tragico*; the intricacies by which the web of D.'s destiny is woven are represented in the same manner as in *Trach.* 841-850",¹ the second strophe of the play's third stasimon. Kamerbeek

It is a pleasure to offer this chapter in honour of Willy Cingano as a small token of thanks for his kindness over the years. I thank Rosa Andújar, Michael Carroll, and Thomas Coward for reading earlier versions of this chapter.



Edizioni
Ca' Foscari

Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

Peer review | Open access

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/013

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goes on to comment on how Bacchylides must have been composing for an audience that was aware not only of the myth of Heracles and Deianeira but also of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, and finally concludes that Bacchylides' allusive treatment of the saga of Heracles and Deianeira and the similarity with the specific passage from the *Trachiniae* suggests that Bacchylides borrowed his subject-matter from Sophocles.²

Ode 16 of Bacchylides has indeed been much discussed in connection with the *Trachiniae*. Scholars have drawn attention to the common mythical theme and to the parallels in the depiction of Heracles and Deianeira mainly in an attempt to date both Ode 16 and Sophocles' play and to draw conclusions on the influence between the two poets.³ Kamerbeek's brief comment on the tragic interpretation of Deianeira's fate in Bacchylides' Ode 16 goes one step further from the simple enumeration of similarities between Sophocles and Bacchylides, and his insistence on the connection between these lines of the *Trachiniae* and Bacchyl. 16.23-35 is instructive. His evaluation *mos tragicus* is obviously used to describe the tone in the specific passage as well as the portrayal of Deianeira in Bacchylides' poem, subtly proposing that features that were further and fully developed in Greek tragedy can also be detected in Bacchylides. The phrase therefore imbues the passage in Ode 16 with traits that were perhaps not expected to be found in a lyric poem, and as a result Kamerbeek sees the aura of tragedy influencing Bacchylides' Ode 16.⁴ Nonetheless, the portrayal of Deianeira by Bacchylides in stylistic and ethical terms that are predominantly associated with the tragic genre creates more questions than it answers. One wonders what the characteristics of the tragicity of Deianeira's portrayal in Bacchylides might be and what features would allow us to characterise some of Bacchylides' narratives or characters as tragic.

In this chapter I explore the nature of 'the tragic' in the poetry of Bacchylides with the aim of demonstrating that 'the tragic' was a feature present in poetry other than tragedy.⁵ Bacchylides is a good case-study for this undertaking not least because of the pre-existing scholarly discussion on the connection between Sophocles' *Trachiniae*

1 Kamerbeek 1959, 6.

2 Kamerbeek 1959, 7.

3 Generally on the connection between Bacchylides' Ode 16 and Sophocles' *Trachiniae* see, among others, Kenyon 1897, 148-51; Jebb 1906, ad Bacchyl. 16; Snell 1940, 182; Kamerbeek 1959, 4-7; Schwinge 1962, 128-33; March 1987, 62-6; Maehler 1997, ad Bacchyl. 16; Pfeijffer 1999, 51-5; Riemer 2000; Maehler 2004, ad Bacchyl. 16.

4 See Burnett 1985, 123-8 for an analysis of the sense of tragedy in Bacchyl. 16.

5 Rutherford (1982 and 2012, 326-9) demonstrates that a number of key-themes and narrative techniques in Greek tragedy were already present in the Homeric poems.

and his Ode 16 but also, if not predominantly, because of the noticeable dramatic qualities in his poems; his characters are involved in dialogic conversations, and this inevitably associates his poetry with staged tragic drama.⁶

My starting point is the tragic portrayal of Deianeira in Bacchylides' Ode 16 in association with Kamerbeek's *mos tragicus* in order to detect the features that make a character tragic.⁷ Deianeira's depiction in Ode 16 is further coupled in the discussion with the figure of Heracles in Bacchylides' fifth epinician, as both Deianeira and Heracles bear typical hallmarks of tragic characterisation and representation. One of the main features that evidently characterises tragic portrayals of characters is their active role in fulfilling their destiny and also their incapability of knowing the (self-)destructive consequences of their actions. As the analysis demonstrates, Bacchylides plays with ignorance and knowledge, and some of his poems create a gulf between the ignorance of the characters and the knowledge of the audience, a gulf similar to the one created on the tragic stage. His narratives generate various levels of knowledge, and an important factor in the analysis is the way in which the role of his audience is comparable to that of the audience of tragedy, a comparability that is built on the attendees' active participation in the narrative both emotionally and intellectually.⁸ Their shared emotional and intellectual participation in understanding certain narrative situations, I argue, allows us to appreciate further the two genres.

6 On character speech in Bacchylides' mythological exempla, Fearn 2012, 325-31.

7 Kamerbeek 1959, 5-7; cf. Schwinge 1962, 132 "er, der Lyriker, die Erzählung unter einen tragischen Sicht wählte, in der gerade Sophokles das Ganze sah", who goes on to argue that the manner in which the destruction is depicted in Bacchylides is typically Sophoclean.

8 Bacchylides is obviously not the only lyric poet whose poems bear resemblances with tragedy. Stesichorus' kinship with tragedy has been much discussed both in thematic and technical terms, on which see recently Finglass 2018 with further bibliography; Sappho, as it appears, employs dramatic irony in her fr. 44 V and plays with the audience's knowledge by celebrating the known-to-be-doomed wedding of Hector and Andromache; and Pindar, has been argued, engages with Aeschylus' *Oresteia* in his *Pythian* 11, on which see Kurke 2013.

2 Character Representation and Human Ignorance

I cite below the two passages that become crucial for Kamerbeek's argument: ⁹

Bacchyl. 16.23-35

τότ' ἄμαχος δαίμων
Δαϊανείρα πολύδακρυν ὕφανε

—
μῆτιν ἐπίφρον' ἐπεὶ 25
πύθετ' ἀγγελίαν ταλαπενθέα,
Ἴολαν ὅτι λευκώλενον
Διὸς υἱὸς ἀταρβομάχας
ἄλοχον λιπαρὸν[ν] ποτὶ δόμον πέμ[π]οι.
ἄ δύσμορος, ἄ τάλ[αι]ν', οἷον ἐμήσατ[ο]. 30
φθόνος εὐρυβίας νιν ἀπώλεσεν,
δνόφεόν τε κάλυμμα τῶν
ὑστερον ἐρχομένων,
ὅτ' ἐπὶ ροδόεντι Λυκόρμα
δέξατο Νέσσου πάρα δαιμόνιον τέρ[ας]. 35

At that moment the irresistible *daemon* wove for Deianeira a tear-filled shrewd plan, when she found out the sorrowful news that Zeus' battle-fearless son would send to his bright house white-armed Iole as his wife. Ah, ill-fated, miserable woman, how did you devise such a plan! Mighty envy ruined her, and with the murky veil that conceals the future, at that moment when at the rosy Lycormas she received from Nessus the marvellous sign.

Soph. *Trach.* 841-850

ὧν ἄδ' ἄ τλάμων ἄοκνος
μεγάλαν προσορῶσα δόμοισι
βλάβαν νέων αἴσσου-
σαν γάμων τὰ μὲν αὐτὰ
προσέβαλεν, τὰ δ' ἀπ' ἀλλόθρου
γνώμας μολόντ' ὀλεθρίαῖσι συναλλαγαῖς 845
ἧ που ὀλοὰ στένει,
ἧ που ἀδινῶν χλωρὰν
τέγγει δακρῶν ἄχναν.

⁹ The text of Bacchylides is that of Maehler 2003 and of Sophocles that of Lloyd-Jones, Wilson 1990. The translations are those of Campbell 1992 and Lloyd-Jones 1994, with some of my own modifications

ἄ δ' ἔρχομένα μοῖρα προφαίνει δολίαν
καὶ μέγαν ἄταν.

Of these matters the poor woman had no apprehension, when she saw the great disaster of the new marriage advancing upon the house; she herself carried out the deed, but part came from a stranger's counsel at a fatal meeting; she groans despairingly, she sheds a tender dew of thick tears. And the approaching fate fore-shadows a treacherous and great disaster.

Deianeira exits in silence after Hyllus' speech, where Hyllus narrates the last moments of Heracles and blames his mother for his death, and in the third stasimon the chorus reminds us of old prophecies, of Nessus and his deceitful act towards Deianeira, of the deathly effects of Hydra's poison, of Oechalia and the new bride of Heracles, and finally of Aphrodite's agency in the course of events. The second strophe, cited above, focuses on Deianeira, and depicts her as the sole responsible agent for the impending catastrophe; *she* performed the deed. Implicit in lines 843-845, however, is the suggestion that she is not meant to be blamed exclusively for the impending destruction. Her actions were also triggered by external factors (τὰ δέ), and these are clearly uttered in Bacchylides' passage rather than in the excerpt from Sophocles. The phrase οἶον ἐμήσατο (Bacchyl. 16.30) in Bacchylides implies that Deianeira was exclusively responsible for devising the destructive plan, but the *daemon* is presented in Ode 16 as playing a significant role in the weaving of the plan she herself will put to action. The poem ends abruptly in line 35, and turns our attention to those actions of Deianeira that were disastrous; *she* accepted the blood of Nessus (δέξατο). By positioning δέξατο at the beginning of the verse the emphasis falls on her own part in the poisoning of the garment, and the poem concludes by calling attention to her own role in the deed. Although she is still painted as a woman unaware of the fatal consequences of her behaviour, the narrative oscillates between her role in the act and the role of Nessus. The very last line of Ode 16 indeed foregrounds the moral agent of Heracles' death - Nessus - but it similarly suggests that Deianeira is also, if not mainly, to be blamed; she could have chosen otherwise.¹⁰

The two passages in Bacchylides and Sophocles focus on similar points: Deianeira's role in the act; what she heard that might have led her to her destructive decisions (γνώμας ~ ἀγγελίαν); the tears

¹⁰ *Contra* Maehler 1997, ad 30, who concludes that the verb δέξατο does not show any action taken by Deianeira, but a passive reaction; on the other hand Carawan (2000, 190) points out that Bacchylides' Deianeira acted in ignorance when she received the cloak, a conclusion that can only be drawn from the authorial exclamation in Bacchyl. 16.30.

she will shed as a result of her actions (τέγγει δακρύων ἄχραν ~ πολύδακρυν); and her ignorance, which is highlighted by her characterisation as an unfortunate woman (τλάμων ~ δύσμορος). Peter Riemer comments on how Bacchylides borrows vocabulary from Sophocles to characterise Deianeira.¹¹ The two adjectives – δύσμορος and τάλαν (Bacchyl. 16.30) – characterise both male and female characters in Sophocles, and are often used self-reflectively by the characters themselves. Beyond the visible tragic language the exclamation in Ode 16 becomes all the more significant, as it is one of the few cases where Bacchylides' persona is revealed behind the chorus' voice.¹² Similarly to the restrained Homeric narrative manner, Bacchylides does not tend to disclose his authorial persona in his poems. Arguably, it is a predominantly Homeric tendency to avoid evaluative language or expressions of judgements on the course of the action and on the behaviour of characters. In Homer evaluative language and judgements are restricted in direct speech in the same way that Bacchylides moralises through *gnōmai* in his poems and avoids revealing his authorial persona.¹³ In both Homer and Bacchylides the presence of evaluative statements may be detected in the narrative through apostrophes or exclamations, and these instances can be seen as effective devices in infusing the narrative with pathos and in raising the audience's sympathy towards the characters.¹⁴ Although the aim in both authors may indeed be the same – articulating the tragedy of human ignorance – it is only Bacchylides who employs tragic language. In none of the Homeric apostrophes are the characters portrayed in emotional and linguistic terms that emphasise their vulnerability and their pitiful state, and in no case does their portrayal arouse our sympathy. Homer tends to tone down the emotional flavour by mainly using the adjective νήπιος.¹⁵ His aim is to present un-

11 Riemer 2000, 176-7.

12 The other cases are: Bacchyl. 13.156-60 (exclamation), Bacchyl. 13.190 (apostrophe) and Bacchyl. 5.176-9, Bacchyl. 10.51-2 (two cases of extempore composition). On the distinction between persona and voice in Bacchylides, Hadjimichael 2012.

13 On evaluative language in direct speech in Homer, Griffin 1986, 36-41.

14 Griffin 1976, 162. On apostrophes in Homer, see Richardson 1990, 170-4 with fnn. 5-6 at 237-8 for examples in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

15 See Griffin 1986, 40. One should note, though, that the adjectives δύσμορος and τάλαν are found in the Homeric epics, more often in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*, and they usually characterise Odysseus. They are also exclusively found in direct speech: τάλαν – *Od.* 18.327 and *Od.* 19.68 Melantho addresses the disguised Odysseus; δύσμορος/δυσάμμορος – *Od.* 1.49-50 Athena talking to Poseidon and calling Odysseus Ὀδυσῆι δυσμόρφ; *Od.* 7.269-270 Odysseus characterises himself (μοι δυσμόρφ) while conversing with Arete; *Od.* 16.138-139 Eumaeus in conversation with Telemachus, where the adjective is used for Laertes (Λαέρτη δυσμόρφ); *Od.* 20.194 Philoetius addressing the disguised Odysseus; *Od.* 24.289-290 Laertes conversing with the disguised Odysseus and using the epithet for his son (σὸν ξεῖνον δύστηνον, ἐμὸν παῖδ', εἶ

favourably a character's deluded behaviour and only in retrospect to hint at its potential negative outcome.¹⁶

Bacchylides' characterisation of Deianeira as *δύσμορος* and *τάλαν* (Bacchyl. 16.30) reveals her tragicity and sums up Kamerbeek's *mors tragicus*: Deianeira commits an error without being in a position to foresee the destructive consequences of her behaviour. Although, as mentioned above, the divine is presented as playing a role in the change of fortune, the poem states emphatically Deianeira's erring involvement in her own suffering. In all probability therefore Kamerbeek's *mors tragicus* refers specifically to how Deianeira is unaware of the fatal consequences of her actions. The phrase could also implicitly carry a broader meaning and denote the vicissitudes of human life and "the gulf between human deliberation and divine foreknowledge",¹⁷ both of which are features present at the core of the tragic genre. These same features can be detected throughout the poem's mythological narrative; Ode 16 reflects the spirit that tragedy employs on stage, especially with regards to the manner in which human responsibility, divine predetermination, and also knowledge and ignorance are dramatised on the tragic stage.¹⁸

Heracles, who is implicitly presented as the victim of Deianeira's error in Ode 16, is himself exceptionally portrayed *more tragico* in Bacchylides' Ode 5. The main mythological paradigm in Ode 5 portrays the encounter between Heracles and Meleager and concerns specifically the death of Meleager that was brought upon him by his mother. Bacchylides, however, chooses to end the narrative by introducing a new figure – Deianeira.

Bacchyl. 5.165-175

ἤρά τις ἐν μεγάροις
Οἴνηος ἀρηϊφίλου
ἔστιν ἀδμήτα θυγάτρων,
σὸι φῦαν ἄλιγκία;

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ποτ' ἔην γε, δύσμορον); *Od.* 24.311 Odysseus disguised as a beggar in conversation with Laertes and calling himself *δύσμορος*; *Il.* 19.315 Achilles addressing the dead Patroclus σὺ, δυσάμμορε; *Il.* 22.60 Priam calls himself *δύσμορος* in his appeal to Hector not to take on Achilles; *Il.* 22.428 in Priam's lament for Hector calling Hecuba *δυσάμμορος*; *Il.* 22.481 in Andromache's lament the epithet is used for herself; *Il.* 22.485 and *Il.* 22.727 Andromache laments for Hector and uses the epithet to characterise both herself and Hector (πάϊς, ὃν τέκομεν σὺ τ' ἐγὼ τε δυσάμμοροι).

¹⁶ Griffin 1986, 40.

¹⁷ Rutherford 1982, 146.

¹⁸ Cf. Burnett 1985, 116 who argues that the tragic potential in Bacchylides' poetry resides in the way he plays with ignorance and knowledge.

τάν κεν λιπαρὰν <ἐ>θέλων θείμαν ἄκοιτιν.”
 τὸν δὲ μενεππολέμου 170
 ψυχὰ προσέφα Μελεά-
 γρου· “λίπον χλωραύχενα
 ἐν δώμασι Δαϊάνειραν,
 νῆϊν ἔτι χρυσέας
 Κύπριδος θελξιμβρότου.” 175

Is there in the palace of Oeneus, who is dear to Ares, an unmarried daughter, like you in her stature? I would willingly take her as my radiant wife”. The soul of Meleager that was steadfast at war addressed him, “I left at home slim-necked Deianeira, still ignorant of golden Aphrodite, who enchants mortals”.

The name of Deianeira is delayed and underscored by alliteration, and its position at the end of the verse, coupled with the abrupt ending of the myth, turn her into the centre of attention.¹⁹ On the surface the lines are transparent; the sister of Meleager who is named Deianeira is unmarried at her father’s house. When they are interpreted within the context of the entire poem, however, the connotations become ominous; cross-references within the myth suggest that Deianeira may be as destructive as the other female figures.²⁰ Yet, Deianeira is characterised as ignorant (νῆϊν), a characterisation that encompasses the essence of the entire mythical narrative, and her ignorance of the gifts of Aphrodite is coupled with Heracles’ failure to know that his request to marry Meleager’s sister will be fatal. By emphasising the limits of human knowledge the poem foregrounds the responsibility that humans bear for their sufferings: in Meleager’s case his killing of his uncles (Bacchyl. 5.132), albeit accidental, led to the burning of the log that symbolised his life (Bacchyl. 5.129-144); in the case of Deianeira her erroneous decisions will prove themselves disastrous when she finally becomes aware of Aphrodite; in the case of Heracles his request to marry Meleager’s sister will eventually bring destruction upon himself. Obviously, the moral of the myth is that a mortal cannot achieve complete happiness mainly because of divine interference (Bacchyl. 5.53-55), but Heracles’ request reveals that humans bear the responsibility for their own suffering, too.

If taken together, both Odes 5 and 16 mirror Sophocles’ *Trachiniae*, and this mirroring goes beyond thematic links and similarities in the

¹⁹ On the metatext of the myth marked by the name Deianeira, Goldhill 1983, 77-8; on the deliberate suspense in the word-order in these lines, Lefkowitz 1969, 86-7.

²⁰ On the connection between beasts, the female, and death, Burnett 1985, 142-4; on cross-references in the myth and the intense presence of the elements of darkness and destruction, Brannan 1972, 239-42 and 270-7; on the imagery of the poem, Stern 1967.

portrayal of characters. Their affinity is also reflected structurally, as the two poems recall the structure of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*. In both poems, especially in Ode 5, the narrative draws our attention away from Heracles and directs it towards Deianeira, and the inclusion of her name opens up a new story, related to the story of Heracles but simultaneously distinct from it. Equally relevant to this slow zoom-in on Deianeira's figure in Ode 5 is her portrayal in Ode 16. We know already that her actions will affect Heracles' fate and that the two stories in the two poems are indeed interconnected. Yet, the narrative keeps Heracles and Deianeira apart. The tale in which Deianeira will be involved begins at the closure of the myth on Heracles and Meleager in Ode 5, and the weaving of her plan in Ode 16 is portrayed as distant from Heracles not only in narrative terms but also geographically and temporally. Her pitiful representation in line 30 of Ode 16 ultimately has the same effect with the closing of the mythical narrative in Ode 5; our gaze and attention are once more directed towards Deianeira. Bacchylides follows Sophocles in this technique. The *Trachiniae* is almost intentionally composed in such a way so that the first part is dominated by Deianeira and the second by Heracles. It is also staged in such a way so that Deianeira and Heracles never encounter each other on stage. We may experience the outcome of Deianeira's decision in the second part of the play, where Heracles is physically present on stage, and Heracles may also be constantly mentioned and brought to mind while Deianeira is preparing the cloak for him in the first part of the play, but the two are never presented physically together on stage. Similarly, Heracles and Deianeira are kept apart in both poems of Bacchylides. Their stories never meet, but both narratives imply that they coexist and will thus affect each other.²¹

3 Levels of Knowledge and Audience Participation

The dramatisation of human ignorance on the tragic stage becomes more striking when contrasted with the knowledge the audience possesses, and this dynamic is also at play in Bacchylides' Ode 16. In an attempt to decode the nature of the dramatic and the tragic in Ode 16 Ilja Pfeijffer focuses on tragic irony.²² Tragic irony for Pfeijffer is the gulf between the information the audience is given through the narrative of the poem and the information the characters possess.²³ Undeni-

²¹ On the structural division in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, see Kitzinger 2012 with further bibliography.

²² Pfeijffer 1999, 53.

²³ Pfeijffer 1999, 53; Rutherford (2012, 324) employs the term 'irony of situation' in order to signify how the ignorance of the characters is exploited to elicit *pathos* while the

ably, Ode 16 dramatises both the ignorance and the mortal blindness of Deianeira.²⁴ I would question, however, the definition of tragic irony as offered by Pfeijffer. The distance between audience and characters activates the privileged knowledge of the audience with regards to the course of the story, while at the same time this equation works in reverse: the audience enjoys privileged knowledge mainly because of their remove and distance from both the characters and the events narrated in the poem.²⁵ Beyond doubt, this gulf between the two levels of knowledge endows Ode 16 with dramatic irony, but it is difficult to see how the allusiveness that runs through the poem offers the audience any information the characters may lack. It rather asks the audience to activate independently the knowledge that they already possess and that is relevant to the story. This independent activation does not deprive them of their privileged position of possessing this knowledge nor does it make the dramatisation of human limitation less effective. It shows, though, that Bacchylides' audience is expected to be as active as the audience of a tragic drama in order to recall previously acquired knowledge and to interpret hints in the course of the narrative. It is merely in their capability to recognise and to explicate these cues that their superior knowledge is activated.

The dramatisation of human error contributes essentially to the creation of this very gap between audience and characters and between knowledge and ignorance. Unlike Ode 16, where previously acquired knowledge is triggered and activated by narrative cues, the audience of Ode 5 is forced to develop new knowledge. By naming Deianeira at the very end of the mythical narrative without elaborating on her figure Ode 5 asks the audience to relate independently two myths which are not usually associated, to make the appropriate connections between Heracles and Deianeira, and also to narrate silently the tragic end of their love. Only with presupposed knowledge and recognition of the hidden mythical intertexts would the ending gain force, as only under these conditions would the narrative be successful. The name of Deianeira would be suggestive of a larger story known to at least the majority of Bacchylides' audience. Just like Ode 16, the narrative of Ode 5 manipulates the audience's privileged knowledge, a procedure which suggests that this very question at the end of the myth has the potential of operating on two levels: the internal level of the narrative itself and the external level of the audience. The swift break-off of the myth and the return to the ode's occasion also marks this division and distance. The myth concludes

audience anticipates the true situation. See also Rutherford 2012, 324-5 for a description of the hierarchy of knowledge in tragedy and a distinction of levels of knowledge.

24 See especially Platter 1994.

25 Carey 1999, 26.

with a surprising reference to Deianeira, and this reference potentially launches a new story for the historical audience.²⁶

All these characteristics are admittedly features that can also be detected in the Homeric epics.²⁷ Unquestionably, audiences at a Homeric performance would have known the story of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in advance, and this advance knowledge would have created the kind of irony that has been predominantly identified as one of the indispensable features of tragedy. Nevertheless, the dynamics created at performance between audience and narrative story are not the same in epic and tragedy, and the difference is centred on immediacy, as that is created by the performative conditions. The tragic plot progresses and is enacted on stage by actors who embody and are turned into the characters, whereas in epic an external voice, which at times assumes the role of the characters, directs the audience. Homer's persona might be absent from his epic poems, but Homer the narrator is present as a voice within and through his story. It is the narrator's voice that drives the course of the narrative, and this voice often comments on the action, on the characters' behaviour, and on their feelings. The narrative voice inevitably guides the audience on how to perceive the plot, and compels them to share the narrator's view. It also affects their so-called superior status. While it confirms the audience's knowledge and their distance from the ignorant characters, it reminds them that they do not recall this knowledge independently; they may possess it in advance, but it is brought to mind through the narrator's remarks.

In the case of both tragedy and Bacchylides the absence of a narrator who would comment on the action and would thus direct the audience gives the spectators freedom of judgment. It also requires them to activate their pre-existing knowledge independently. As Richard Rutherford points out, the audience's "awareness of events offstage is restricted to what is stated or implied by the actors".²⁸ The actors usually do not dwell on their error and do not hint at their misconception or ignorance, and as a result the irony is not identified nor is it emphasised within the narrative. It is rather exposed through narrative hints, meaningful ambiguities, and developments in the plot, which the audience would have to identify and decode independently.

The game between levels of knowledge is literally dramatised in Bacchylides' Ode 18 whose narrative operates on two different levels and also addresses two different audiences. The story focuses on a young hero, whose identity is never revealed but whose deeds are

26 On the tragic irony which is created at the end of the mythological narrative, Renakos 2000, 104-5.

27 See Lowe 1996, 523-5 and 530-1.

28 Rutherford 2012, 324-5.

described in detail in the poem. The characters cannot identify this hero, and the narrative plays with their ignorance. The information given in the poem is interpreted differently within and outside the poetic narrative; although the interlocutors in the poem obviously cannot identify the hero, the Athenian audience would in all probability have been in a position to recognise the youth as Theseus.²⁹ Bacchylides requests once more the participation of his audience, but in this case he employs a more efficient technique to dramatise the audience's distance from the mythological narrative of the ode. To this contributes the form of the poem.

The peculiar dramatic structure of the poem has been well commented upon, especially in connection with questions of performance.³⁰ Its dialogic form and the distribution of parts of the narrative to the chorus, which is presumably divided in two semi-choruses or has a leading figure, inevitably bring to mind the tragic chorus and its role in tragedy.³¹ Additionally, the role of the chorus in the poetic narrative of Ode 18 contributes to this assimilation. As the interlocutor the chorus is simultaneously the first audience of Aegeus, and like the tragic chorus this internal audience has no presupposed knowledge, and receives and interprets Aegeus' information unfiltered. The definition of tragic irony as given by Pfeijffer can be applied solely in this case. The information the audience acquires through the narrative of the poem is certainly different from that which the characters acquire. This is of course not because the information *per se* is different; it is rather the interpretation of this information that differs. Each audience – internal (chorus) and external/historical (audience) – interprets it differently, since their understanding and interpretation are affected by and based on other relevant information they might possess.³² In this case, dramatic irony in

29 The mythological tradition surrounding Theseus and his deeds was well known in fifth-century Athens. Shapiro (1989, 144-5) argues that a *Theseid* was probably composed in the period 510-490 BC and narrated chronologically part of Theseus' career. A number of Attic vases, among the earliest of which are E36 at the British Museum (ca. 510 BC) and 91456 in Florence (ca. 470 BC), show that the heroic deeds that Theseus performed in his journey from Troizen to Athens were popular in this period. See also the discussion in Maehler 1997, 216-19 and Shapiro 1994, 111-17 with figs 76-80.

30 Jebb (1906, 233-4) claims that the ode is an exchange between the *koryphaios* and Aegeus, whereas Burnett (1985, 117) assumes that the dialogue was between a single dancer and the chorus; Fearn (2007, 207 fn. 153) argues that the *koryphaios* at the performance holds the role of Aegeus.

31 Then again, Kirkwood (1966, 109-10) argues that Ode 17 is the poem that illustrates Bacchylides' ability to compose a dithyramb in a dramatic structure mainly because of the combination of rapid narrative, descriptive force, and dramatic dialogue.

32 Goldhill (2009, 46) points out that the device of putting an audience on stage distances the audience "from a direct emotional absorption as it enables it to see itself watching". His comment is made with reference to Sophocles' technique of dramatising an audience on stage and of providing "a mirror to the audience of its own process-

Ode 18 has the exact same effect as the irony achieved on the tragic stage. The knowledge the attending audience possesses, a kind of knowledge they have obtained in advance and outside the poetic narrative, places them in a position superior to the audience that exists solely within the poetic narrative.

The active participation of the external audience reinforces the illusion created at performance in both Bacchylides and tragic plays. The medium of performance, the assignment of roles to actors and to the chorus, and the immediacy achieved through dialogic conversations create the illusion of a temporality which gradually unfolds in the temporal and spatial conditions of the historical audience, in spite of it being grounded in the mythological past. While this may be true, the world created in the mythological narratives of Bacchylides and in the tragic plays is also presented at a space removed from the world of the audience. This distance is mainly achieved not solely through the audience's awareness that these stories do not belong to their historical present but also, if not mainly, through their superiority which is centred on the spectators' pre-existing knowledge of the events and on their ability to apply this knowledge to any gaps at the performance.

Subtle distinctions of the notions of 'knowledge' and 'narrative information' lurk behind the above discussion, and they are essential for understanding the concept of dramatic irony in the poems discussed.³³ To be sure, tragic irony is centred on a distinction between the characters and the audience which is ultimately generated by the privileged knowledge of the audience in contrast to the characters' ignorance or lack of understanding. Surely this is created by the narrative itself, but it is often achieved in varied ways. Knowledge can be offered to the audience, as in Ode 18, but still interpreted differently by the audience, as the interpretation would be based on their privileged knowledge which exists outside the narrative. It can also be activating, as in Ode 16, where narrative hints activate a different kind of information which relies exclusively on privileged knowledge and which exists outside and beyond the poetic narrative. In both of these poems the audience relies on the narrative story for the details it receives, but their superior knowledge is still required for its full understanding. On the contrary, in Ode 5 knowledge is activated independently mainly because it should be developed only partially in association with the main mythological account of the poem.

es of reaction". This conclusion could equally apply to Bacchylides' Ode 18 and to poems such as Ode 5 where Bacchylides includes internal audiences within his mythological narrative (e.g. Heracles to Meleager's story).

33 On the question of knowledge and the levels and types of irony that can be identified in tragedy, Rutherford 2012, 323-6.

Bacchylides' audience should connect the dots of often unrelated stories, and they should bring to mind information that is missing from the narrated story, or they should interpret the given information in a way that requires them to bring in details unassisted.³⁴ It is vital that they become actively involved within the interpretative process in order for the poetic narrative to be effective.³⁵

The question of what is stated in Bacchylides' poems and how it is interpreted in performance is also relevant to questions of closures and narrative endings.³⁶ I have so far analysed how the spectators are asked to contribute to the completion of the mythological narrative only after its end. That is at least the case with the secondary myth about Heracles and Deianeira in Ode 5 and with both Odes 16 and 18. The tragic ending of the relationship between Heracles and Deianeira is meant to be narrated as the narrative conclusion of Odes 5 and 16, but that should be done beyond the end of the mythological narrative and only mentally by the audience. In the same way the recognition of the hero approaching Athens in Ode 18 and of the importance of his future role in the definition of Athenian identity exist outside the narrative and are details that the audience needs to apply independently for the completion of the story. Both Odes 16 and 18 could be seen as the introductory exposition to the events that are expected to follow. They exclusively build up the atmosphere without, however, fulfilling the expectations their narrative creates. The reversal of the fate of Deianeira and Heracles, the ending of their stories, and the recognition of Theseus never take place in the course of the narrative. Ode 16, for example, whose narrative centres on questions of error, limitation, and ignorance, describes events and actions that would have as a result the death of Heracles and the suffering of Deianeira. The tragic end is left unspoken, however; it only takes place in the mind of the spectators, and solely if they possess the background knowledge to build on the poem's narrative and

34 I thank Michael Carroll for pointing out the categories of knowledge in Bacchylides' poems.

35 This type of audience-response is similar to the intellectual involvement and response of a tragic audience, especially in those cases where the spectators at a tragic performance often need to make sense of a number of things for themselves. See Lada 1996, who argues that Greek tragedy implies both an emotional and an intellectual audience response.

36 Endings and closures do not need to be identical. I take 'closure' to mean the conclusion of a literary work, and I follow Roberts 1988, 177 who defines closure as "the sense of conclusiveness or finality at the end of a work of literature". I take 'ending' to refer to the conclusion of a narrative story. In certain poems the ending of the story coincides with the closure of the poem, e.g. Bacchylides' Ode 16. The essential point in understanding and distinguishing ending and closure is the difference between 'closed' and 'open', be that a poem's closure or a narrative's ending. On closures and endings, see Fowler 1989 and 1997, and in Greek lyric in particular, Rutherford 1997.

on the given information. Similarly, the principal myth in Ode 5 on the tragic fate of Meleager leads climactically to the poem's secondary myth, but the fatal relationship between Heracles and Deianeira is equally left unspoken. Once again, it is meant to be developed by the audience and beyond the narrative ending.

Ode 18 is a special case. The exchange between Aegeus and the Athenians functions like a tragic prologue; Aegeus fills in the chorus with details that would have been essential both for the understanding of the plot and for the climactic moment that comes with the hero's recognition.³⁷ The tragic prologue often has a programmatic or authoritative function in the sense that it sets the scene for the tragic action and provides information necessary for its progression. At the same time, it draws the audience's attention to the characters, to the background story, and to the chain of events that will be developed in the plot.³⁸ Ode 18 could potentially function as a tragic prologue precisely because of its narrative game with knowledge and audiences. The information that Aegeus offers to the chorus looks back to the past while it also looks forward to the arrival of the young man that is not fulfilled within the narrative.

As performance is generally a process of interpretation,³⁹ Bacchylides' Ode 18 encapsulates the role of the audience as interpreters. In this case specifically the closure of the poem does not mark the end of the narrative story; the question 'who is the figure that approaches Athens?' remains unanswered, and the end is presented in tension with the feeling of continuation.⁴⁰ While in tragedy knowledge of the myth could qualify as closure or could reinforce a certain ending,⁴¹ this subtle allusion at the end of Ode 18 opens up a narrative that lies beyond the poem's closure. This of course is far more evident in the case of Ode 5; the aperture of its mythological narrative carries an element of surprise, as the ending evokes a secondary story for which the audience has not been prepared by the narrative. The need to recall another set of information should not be

37 Maehler (2004, 193) associates this poem with the prologue of *OT*. He also sees a resemblance with Aeschylus' *Ag.* 82-103, where the Argive elders ask Clytemnestra to inform them about the news she has received, and enquire about the reason behind the sacrifices she makes. The passage, however, is short and while the chorus poses a number of questions, Clytemnestra is not yet on stage. It is only later in the course of the episode that the chorus is offered the opportunity to question her in person.

38 E.g. Dunn 1992, 6 and 11; Segal 1992; Roberts 2005, 137.

39 Cf. Goldhill 1986, 284.

40 See Fowler 1989, 81 on this point who also identifies five senses of closure (Fowler 1989, 78-9). Relevant to the above discussion are the second and third senses of closure: "The process by which the reader of a work comes to see the end as satisfyingly final" and "the degree to which the questions posed in the work are answered, tensions released, conflicts resolved".

41 Roberts 2005, 145.

interpreted as an ending that disrupts the audience's expectations. Bacchylides might have invented the meeting of Meleager and Heracles, and thus the story possibly has no ending of which the audience should be aware.⁴² Its conclusion, however, gestures towards a traditional and well-known story; Heracles' question signals towards a familiar tale that would be narrated at a future beyond the ending of the mythical narrative. Under these circumstances the audience is expected firstly to recognise and secondly to interpret the narrative cue in order to recall the evoked story.

4 Conclusions

The aim of this chapter was to discuss the tragic aura of Bacchylides' poetry, and in the limited space offered here I focused on the erroneous judgement of humans as one of the main characteristics that turns them into tragic characters, on the games the dramatic action and Bacchylides' narratives play with the gap between ignorance and knowledge, and on the active intellectual participation of the audience in filling in narrative gaps and in completing unfinished stories. The latter has been analysed in particular in connection to the open-endedness of some of Bacchylides' mythological narratives, including his Ode 18. As the discussion has shown, subtle narrative hints require the engagement of Bacchylides' audience in a manner similar to the audience of tragedy; emotionally but most importantly intellectually.⁴³ Their privileged knowledge, which distances them from the ignorant characters in the poem, as well as their emotional and intellectual involvement in a number of Bacchylidean narratives bring them closer to the audience of tragedy. Odes 5 and 16 in particular narrate human decisions and actions that eventually prove to be (self-)destructive, and encapsulate ideas that form the core of Greek tragic drama.

Undeniably, questions related to the fragility of human existence, ignorance and vulnerability, over-determination and divine foreknowledge are relevant to a great amount of Greek literature,

42 Bacchylides' Ode 5 and Pindar's fr. 249a Snell-Maehler seem to be the first attestations of the encounter between Heracles and Meleager in the Underworld. Homer does not mention Meleager when Odysseus meets Heracles in Hades (*Od.* 11.601-627), whereas fr. 280 Merkelbach of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* includes a meeting between Meleager and Theseus in the Underworld. According to the Iliadic scholia (schol. *Il.* 21.194 Erbse), Pindar has Meleager suggesting to Heracles to marry his sister Deianeira, and the story apparently ends with a description of the contest between Heracles and the river Acheloo (cf. Soph. *Trach.* 507-530). See the discussion in Cairns 2010, 84-6.

43 On *pathos* in Bacchylides' narratives and on the emotional participation of his audience, Carey 1999, 22-9.

starting perhaps with Homer, while issues concerning free will, predetermination of human fate, ignorance and foreknowledge are particularly typical of Greek archaic thought.⁴⁴ The tragic genre, however, seems to build its plot precisely on the question of human responsibility, while the point at issue becomes the moral and factual chain of causation. Tragedy is indeed motivated by the doing and suffering of human beings, and the dramatic plot centres consistently on questions of (free) agency and human suffering. As a genre it has therefore been explicitly associated with questions of responsibility, and human action and suffering have been seen as its defining features. Consequently, we inevitably interpret Bacchylides through this tragic lens. Nevertheless, the portrayal of Deianeira and Heracles in his two poems suggests that these issues that tragedy elaborated are also present in lyric poetry.

Plausibly, Bacchylides' vision of the world, particularly of the mythical world, was first and foremost tragic, and his skilful employment of techniques and features, which were further developed in Greek drama, could at the very least be interpreted as a literary experiment.⁴⁵ Their incorporation in the genre of the epinician and of the dithyramb could denote that these characteristics were not exclusively traits of the tragic genre, but were rather features of the Greek vision of the world. At the very least, Bacchylides' games with tragedy and 'the tragic' are signs of how modern definitions of literary conventions that are framed within strict generic terms may not be as neat and clear-cut as scholarship would like them to be.

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ΦΑΙΔΙΜΟΣ ΕΚΤΩΡ

Studi in onore di Willy Cingano per il suo 70° compleanno

a cura di Enrico Emanuele Prodi e Stefano Vecchiato

A Boeotian Poem in *PSI X 1174*: Some Considerations

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Abstract Since Coppola's 1931 proecdosis of *PSI 1174* = *PMG 690* (*Boeot. inc. auct.*), scholars have almost exclusively focused on the *Orestas* poem transmitted at ll. 8-13, neglecting the more lacunose seven lines at the beginning of the papyrus fragment. This contribution provides a new transcription based on autopsy of the whole papyrus and offers a new detailed study of the remains of the first poem (ll. 1-7). Among the various possible scenarios that can be envisaged, the hypothesis of a poem on Iphigenia's sacrifice in Aulis deserves serious consideration.

Keywords *PSI X 1174*. Boeotian dialect. Lyric poetry. Corinna. Iphigenia.

Summary 1 *PSI 1174*: Editorial History and Authorship. – 2 *PSI 1174*: Dating, Transcription and Palaeographical Apparatus. – 3 *PSI 1174*: Layout and Metre. – 4 Narrative Technique and Clausal Device. – 5 *PSI 1174*: The Text of ll. 1-7. – 6 *PSI 1174*: Subject Matter and Performance.



Edizioni
Ca' Foscari

Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

Peer review | Open access

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/014

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1 **PSI 1174: Editorial History and Authorship**

PSI 1174 (Bibl. Med. Laur. inv. 18111= TM 59470)¹ is a small papyrus scrap (6.6 cm wide and 10.1 cm high) written on the perfibral face only. It is broken on all sides and preserves the remains of 12 lines, fragmentary both to the right and to the left, separated between lines 7 and 9 by an indented title, Ὀρέκτας, in line 8. The lower margin is preserved for 3.4 cm. Lines 1-7 and 9-13 belong to the end and the beginning of two poems written in Boeotian dialect. The papyrus was bought on the antiquarian market by Evaristo Breccia in March 1930 from the Coptic dealer Mankarius, based in Medinet el-Fayûm, and immediately sent to Medea Norsa in Florence.² Goffredo Coppola published a proecdosis in the appendix of his 1931 book on Pindar.³ In 1932 followed the *editio princeps* by M. Norsa and G. Vitelli (henceforth N-V) in the tenth volume of the *Papiri della Società Italiana*.⁴

Coppola, who offered only a diplomatic transcription of the first poem in a footnote,⁵ unhesitatingly ascribed both texts to Corinna: the attribution is not secured by external data, but it is strongly suggested by language, style and content. Twenty years later Lobel questioned Corinna's authorship on the basis of some orthographical divergences from the norms generally followed in *P.Berol.* 13284 (= PMG 654), a feature shared by the new bunch of *Boeotica* preserved by *P.Oxy.* 2371-2374, whose attribution to Corinna Lobel also doubted.⁶ Lobel's scepticism was accepted by Page in his *Poetae Melici Graeci* (where PSI 1774 = PMG 690 is relegated among the *Boeotica incerti auctoris*) but was effectively countered in detail by West 1970: minor orthographical differences in dialectal matters carry little evi-

It is a pleasure to dedicate to Willy Cingano the printed version of this paper, first presented in 2016 at Ca' Foscari, Venice / Venice International University under his auspices. Our sincerest thanks to G. Ucciardello and A.C. Cassio for commenting on an advanced draft of the paper, and to T. Spinedi for making us aware, at proof stage, of the existence of her 2018 unpublished doctoral dissertation on Corinna, available online since April 2021. While both Authors contributed equally to this paper and the responsibility of the contents lies with both, for practical purposes §§ 1-4 are to be attributed to G.B. D'Alessio and §§ 5-6 to L. Prauscello.

1 A digital image is available here: <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;10;1174>.

2 Cf. Morelli, Pintaudi 1983, 398-9, 446-57, 498, 501, 523, 607 (on Mankarius) and 468, 471-2, 476 (on this papyrus); Canfora 2005, 26-7.

3 Coppola 1931, 231-42.

4 Norsa, Vitelli 1932, 140-1.

5 Coppola 1931, 231 fn. 1.

6 Lobel 1956, 60 with a list of the "anomalies" (esp. the genitive in -υο = -οιο and interlinear hiatus); Lobel regarded Corinna's authorship of PSI 1174 as "untenable". The ascription to Corinna was accepted by N-V, Bowra 1936; Körte 1939; Page 1942, 378 (the *Orestas*) and Page 1953, 27-8 (both texts).

dential value since they are external features of the paradosis.⁷ While Corinna's authorship for *PSI 1174* cannot be proved beyond doubt, the fact that the Alexandrian grammatical tradition consistently cites only one author, Corinna, for instances of Boeotian literary dialect, strongly supports West's view of the inherent unlikelihood that in first centuries CE readers of Hermopolis and Oxyrhynchus "had any Boeotian poetry to read other than Corinna". For the present purpose we shall thus consider Corinna's authorship of *PSI 1174* as a likely, if by no means certain, working hypothesis.

The intermittent attention that *PSI 1174* has attracted so far has been directed almost exclusively toward the second of the two poems preserved, the *Orestas*, and especially toward two of its most remarkable aspects: the relevance of its title to the landscape of Boeotian mythology in general and of Theban myth and cult in particular;⁸ and the interpretative reconstruction of its first lines, that seem to provide a description of the context of its own performance.⁹ The remains of the preceding poem have instead been almost entirely neglected, with the exception of some brief notes in the apparatus of Ernst Diehl's 1936 *Anthologia Lyrica*.¹⁰ Our contribution is based on a new inspection in Florence of the original papyrus, that, to the best of our knowledge, has not been the object of a first-hand collation after the work of Coppola and Norsa and Vitelli in the early 1930s.

2 *PSI 1174*: Dating, Transcription and Palaeographical Apparatus

First, some bibliographical data. *PSI 1174* is written in a not too elegant and somewhat uneven upright hand, mostly bilinear (φ and ψ , being taller than the other letters, break bilinearism; so also, but less frequently, the apex of δ). Most upright are drawn as straight verticals (only the descender of π is occasionally slightly curved); α is always

⁷ West 1970, 278-9; in favour of the attribution of Page's *Boeotica incerti auctoris* to Corinna, see also Palumbo Stracca 1993, 407-9 (esp. with reference to *PSI 1174*), Cingano 2017, 45-7 (on *P.Oxy. 2732 = PMG 692*) and more generally Vessella 2012, 816 and Rodríguez Piedrabuena 2015. Torres i Ribé et alii 2005 include *PSI 1174* in their edition of Corinna (29-30 on our papyrus; text at 80-1).

⁸ Pindar's *Pyth.* 11 and *Nem.* 11.33-38 (Orestes, together with the Spartan Pisander, leading the multi-ethnic expedition known as the Aeolian migration) also reflect a tradition linking Orestes to Boeotia and more specifically to Thebes. On Orestes and the Aeolian migration, see Angeli Bernardini 1997 with previous bibliography and Fowler 2013, 597-602; cf. also Hornblower 2015, 474-6 (on Lycoph. 1374-1377) on the traditions about Orestes and his descendants colonizing the north-western part of Asia Minor.

⁹ On the *Orestas*: Bowra 1936, 130-2; West 1970, 283; Palumbo Stracca 1993, 407-9; Finglass 2008, 32-4.

¹⁰ Page's 1953 edition relies heavily on that of Diehl.

angular and μ is drawn in four strokes. Round letters are oblong and rather narrow, creating a modular contrast; ω is drawn with its middle part reaching as high as the notional upper line; the middle bar of ϵ occasionally slants upward, touching the extremity of the arc. Many letters display marked serifs at the bottom of their first upright; τ at the left-hand margin of the horizontals; υ and ψ at the start of the first stroke. The descending oblique of κ starts not from the vertical but from the middle of the rising oblique. The rising oblique of μ meets the descender at two thirds of its height. The title at line 8 is provided apparently by the same hand, but in a smaller module (note the very small initial \omicron , hanging from the upper line, a feature typical of more ancient Ptolemaic hands). Coppola dated the papyrus doubtfully to the 2nd century CE, without arguments. Norsa and Vitelli opted rather for the 1st century CE.¹¹ Its general appearance, however, would suggest to us a somewhat earlier date, in the 1st century BCE, without ruling out the first decades of the following century: compare, above all, *P.Fay. 7 (Odyssey 6 = Brit.Lib., inv. 817 = P.Lond.Lit. 31)*, which displays most of its features,¹² and the more squarish, but still somewhat comparable hand of *P.Oxy. 4099* (= Cavallo, Maehler 2008, no. 71, dated to the end of 1st BCE/beginning of 1st CE).¹³ If we are correct in suggesting this new dating (1st BCE/first decades of the 1st CE), *PSI 1174* would be to-date the earliest extant papyrus of Boeotian poetry.¹⁴

11 Crisci in Cavallo et al. 1998, 96 (but cf. already Crisci 1996, 45). Crisci compares the Corinna papyrus to other papyri he dates to the 1st century BCE or the turn of the 1st CE (*P.Lond.Lit.* 134, the London Hyperides, and *P.Oxy.* 2545, a less close match than those quoted above), but confirms the 1st CE date.

12 Roberts 1956, 9 and Plate 9b finds features in *P.Fay. 7* suggesting that it “may antedate the Roman conquest of Egypt”, and we concur with his judgment. Cf. Cavallo, Maehler 2008, no. 68. Cavallo 2008, 68 dates *P.Fay. 7* “fine I a.C. se non già I d.C.”. Another Homeric papyrus with somewhat similar features is *P.Med.* inv. C.N.R. 68.2 (*Odyssey* 22), published by Daris, who compares its hand to that of several pieces dated between the end of the 1st BCE and the first half of the 1st CE, including the Corinna papyrus (Daris 1967, 95 and fn. 1; we are grateful to G. Ucciardello for pointing this out to our attention).

13 For documentary hands with some (though more vaguely) similar features, cf. e.g. *BGU* IV1054 and 1053 recto (both 13 BCE), and *P.Oxy.* 2979 (4 BCE), less squarish, with rounded alphas, and various cursive traits; *O.Ber.* 2 (33 CE) provides an interesting comparison from several other points of view.

14 The handwriting of *P.Oxy.* 2373 = *PMG* 693 *Boeot. inc. auct.* (Johnson’s scribe A2: cf. Johnson 2004, 17-18) is now securely dated to the end of the 2nd/beginning of the 3rd century CE (Vitelli mistakenly dated *PSI* 1090, written by the same copyist, to the 1st BCE): see Colomo 2008, 14 with fn. 66. In his analysis of poem-titles in the papyri of Simonides, Pindar and Bacchylides Prodi 2020, 463 suggests that in lyric oeuvres “inset titles” (as opposed to marginal titles) are “a later fashion, emerging between the first and the second century CE and becoming prevalent only with the ‘severe style’ that straddles the second and the third”. The inset title *Orestas* of *PSI* 1774 would thus be an exception (cf. possibly also *P.Oxy.* 659, Pindar’s *Partheneia*, with D’Alessio 1991,

Sparse lectional signs are provided, possibly by a later hand, but in an undistinguishable ink. These include a sign similar to a *diastole* at line 3, and an angular rough breathing and an acute accent at line 10; another problematic sign appears at line 6. The only punctuation signs are some ἄνω στιγμαί, apparently added at a second stage, at lines 4, 11 and 12. Elision, as far as we can see, is unmarked (certainly so at ll. 7, 11 and 13; on ll. 4-5 see below § 5). The lines of the second poem, at the bottom of the column, are slightly more densely packed than those of the previous poem, which may also explain the smaller module of the title.

Even if in this contribution we shall focus only on the first poem,¹⁵ we give here a new diplomatic transcription of the whole of PSI 1174 followed by a palaeographical apparatus

] ιδου . (.) [
]αυτοφονει [
] . καρδιη'σφαδδ . [
]κτονιν·κρουσεδε [
] . δεδωκεδωρε . [	5
]υπυρικηνονειδα . [τ [
]παντεσεπωκουπορω [
ορεστας	
]αμνωκιανωλιπωσαπ [
]ιαρφονφαοσελανασπασα [	10
]ω·ωρηδεσδιοσαμβροτυ [
] . φεαροενανθεσι·γεγα [
] . υνχοροσανεπταπουλο [

1] . bottom of upright with little serif protruding to the right, and, 2 mm to the right, a descending diagonal meeting at roughly mid-height an upright with a leftward pointing serif at its bottom: ν (Coppola, N-V) or η (Diehl): normally ν's diagonal meets the upright at its bottom, but 13] υν provides a very good match; η's cross-bar is often inclined downward and meets the upright at the right place; the serif at the bottom of the second upright is slightly anomalous on both interpretations, but it is frequent in other uprights. ιδου only the lower parts are preserved, but shape and dimensions do not seem to allow really viable alternatives; of ν (Diehl), only the lower part remains: it is narrow (but there are several similar ones) and its first upright starting with a curve rather than with a serif would be slightly anomalous, but it seems compatible, and there are no other plausible alternatives (contrast the markedly different spac-

107-8 and his further work-in-progress on this papyrus). Prodi himself, however, recognised the limited statistical value of such a small sample.

15 We shall discuss the *Orestas* poem in a different venue.

ing of λ₁ at l. 9; the reading λ proposed by Spinedi 2018, 123, who articulates the whole sequence as δ'ό λ₁π . [is therefore unlikely). If we accept this, the two following feet of uprights (the first serifed, the second slightly curved to the right) will most probably belong either to a π or to ιτ (for the right-facing hook at its base cf. the τ at l. 13 and – most probably – l. 6 too): there might be also part of the horizontal on disturbed fibres to the right, but this would work with either alternative; . [uncertain traces on damaged fibres, either the lower arc of a somehow flattened roundish letter (ο more likely than c or ε) or a rising diagonal with a marked seriph at the bottom, that is, α (cf. the α of καρδ at l. 3 and that of επτα at l. 13 2]α: λ also possible (N-V); ι[: an upright: no visible traces of high horizontal, or of cross-bar (but, however unlikely it is, it cannot be ruled out since the papyrus breaks immediately to the right) 3] . the foot of an upright; κ is practically certain; between καρδιη and the next word a right arc has been inserted *supra lineam*; . [left upper arc: its shape could seem too wide and open for an ο (but cf. αμβρο at l. 11), more like an ε, but there is no trace of cross-bar (the only case of ε with a cross-bar not touching the arc is 12 ανθεσι but, even there, there is a smaller gap than the one required here and the surface is partly damaged) 4]κ bottom part of descending oblique and tiny remains of the upper part of ascending oblique: shape and distance from the following letter make κ very likely: N-V consider (as their first option) also c, and, as less likely, α or λ, but all of these would be incompatible with the (admittedly tiny) remains of the ascending oblique; there is no reason to doubt the following τ (with Diehl): the start of the horizontal is actually visible; ε[left part of round letter, perhaps thickening toward its middle (thus possibly suggesting ε, but ο not ruled out) 5] . traces suggesting a descending oblique, possibly preceded by an upright, but they are on misplaced fibres, and could well be misleading; κ: traces of upright and two diagonals: there is also some ink not accounted for at their junction, but the fibres are disturbed here; δ: top of triangular letter with the rising oblique joining the descending one well below its top, which suggests very clearly δ (note that the fibres show that this portion of the papyrus should be slightly rotated clockwise to be aligned with the rest of the text); Spinedi 2018, 126 reads this as a χ but the shape, the inclination and the height of the trace are not compatible with the start of the descending diagonal of χ as preserved at l. 13); the following letter is far too narrow for ω (all editors), and must have been an ο; . [a thick dot, slightly higher than mid-height, fairly close to the preceding letter, and 1 mm to its right on the line a dot possibly belonging to the foot of an upright (arguably too high to be part of an interlinear sign pertaining to line 6): reading these traces as belonging to ι would be problematic, as the first trait is too low for its top, and the second too far to its right; the first objection would apply to υ too (but cf. 11 αμβροτϋ[]; c could be a possible interpretation, taking into account that sigma (just as ο and ε) is often drawn with an angular shape in its left part, and can reach even slightly further than the bottom line (as e.g. at l. 10 σελανασ); π would be a theoretical alternative, but linguistically intractable 6]υ (V-N) rather than ι (Coppola), as traces of the diagonal joining the vertical are visible; ρι: of ι visible only the upper end of the vertical and part of the finishing stroke to the left level with

the bottom line; to the right of ι, always at bottom line, possibly foot as if of a descending oblique (but fibres are disturbed): it could be a sign marking the deletion of iota but we would expect to find its continuation higher and to the left above the letters ει there is a trait looking like the flattened half side of a δ, far too squeezed and angular to be a rough breathing; the last letter is pretty clearly τ and should probably not be under-dotted 7]. base of an upright thickened toward right in a small serif, and traces on two twisted fibres: the intermediate one seems to be a continuation of the upright while the upper one seems to be a horizontal: V-N read c or β, but the traces seem to be more compatible with Diehl's π; επωκ: the π is fairly well preserved (top of first upright; horizontal ending with the thickening from which the second upright starts); of κ only top and foot of upright and bottom of descending oblique: both letters are practically certain; the last preserved letter is represented by the central part of a left arc, compatible with c (V-N) 9]. start of a horizontal high on the line, compatible with π or τ (N-V) 10]., remains of a vertical; the rough breathing (very much squarish) is placed between ι and α, while the acute accent between ρ and ο (of which only the upper part is preserved); note that the first α of πααα is so narrow as to show no cross-bar; N-V write: "Dopo πααα, prima della lacuna, non c'è traccia di altra lettera". In the current state of the papyrus, though, as well as in that of the photograph reproduced along with the edition of N-V, the papyrus breaks immediately to the right, so there is no way to confirm that this was the end of the line 11]. the first letter is almost certainly ω (Diehl), even if only its right half is preserved: ο (Coppola) would be very anomalous, since the letter is open at the top; if it were a ν the second upright would be outward curved, and there are no parallels for this; the following letter too is probably ω, even if its second half is anomalously closed at its top: cο as an alternative (N-V) would be still more problematic, as its first half is clearly an all-round shape, open only at its top, and the supposed ο would be in full contact with it; at the end of the line the horizontal line *supra lineam*, probably a macron, starts already above the τ; note that the trace with the foot of υ seems to be farther to the left than we would expect 12]. middle part of upright (looks too straight for a right arc); ανθεει: θ looks corrected from ε; after ανθεει a high dot (N-V), not the same sign as in line 3 (Diehl) 13]. υυ: of the first letter we can see the bottom and the left-hand part of a round letter open to the right, compatible with c or ε (but there is no trace of a cross-bar), not with ξ (Coppola: no comparisons are available); Diehl and West read it as δ, in which case we would have the horizontal and the final part of the descending oblique, drawn as a concave curve by this hand; a further dot of ink, higher and to the right probably belongs still to this letter as it looks to be too low to be already part of a following υ (the only possibility, if the preceding letter was δ); of the υ the lower part of the base is visible, starting with a thicker dot: the letter may look a bit squeezed (and we considered ι as an alternative), but traces on disturbed fibres above it seem to belong to its upper 'chalice', so, on the whole,]çυ, rather than]çι or]ϕυ.

3 PSI 1174: Layout and Metre

Apart from the very lacunose state of the first lines (on which see below), one of the main difficulties in reconstructing the text of our papyrus lies in determining the original width of the column and thus the metre, as both side-margins are missing. If we assume that our papyrus was regularly arranged into κῶλα (see below), a potential clue could be provided by comparing the position of the title at l. 8 (inset by at least 4-5 letters) with other lyric papyri with inset titles. In these cases, the indentation of the titles ranges from 2 to 9 letters, but titles are usually longer and *cola* arguably shorter than in our case (with the exception of PSI 1181 = Bacchyl. fr. *dubia* 60 and 61 M: on which see below).¹⁶ If, on the other hand, we consider the possibility that PSI 1174 had no colometrical layout, which would be very unusual, if not unique for a lyric papyrus of the late 1st BCE, the comparative evidence suggests that even so we should probably not expect that the title was indented more than about 10 letters. A Ptolemaic comparison with an inset title accompanying lyric poetry not divided into κῶλα is provided by the anthology of *P.Berol.* inv. 9771 (3rd century BCE) where the parodos of Euripides' *Phaethon* is disposed in irregular lines of 35-40 letters (oscillating between a minimum of 31 and a maximum of 43)¹⁷ and is preceded by a title with an indentation of ca. 10 letters. Also a comparison with the position of intracolumnar titles in non-lyric Ptolemaic papyri, such as the Posidippus papyrus (*P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309, where the title are followed by hexameters, line i.e. up to 17-syllable long) and the indication of the chorus-section between acts III and IV of Menander's *Sikyonioidi* in *P.Sorb.* inv. 2272+72 (where the title is followed by iambic trimeters, 12/13 syllables, and the preceding lines are trochaic tetrameters, 15 syllables) shows that even in these cases titles were usually placed much closer to the left-hand margin, with an indentation ranging from 7 to 12 letters, than to the end of the first following line (ranging from 13 to 19 letters).¹⁸

In the case of PSI 1174 the difficulty of determining the column's width is further compounded by the fact that there are two cases of interlinear hiatus (l. 6 πυριεκηον; l. 11]ω·ωρη): in the former case

¹⁶ See the survey by Prodi 2016 with the relevant data (for an occasional central position of the inset title cf. Prodi 2016, 1151, 1155 and 1172). PSI 1174 (which arguably provides the earliest occurrence) is not included in Prodi's study.

¹⁷ For the layout of *P.Berol.* inv. 9771 and other lyric Ptolemaic papyri, see D'Alessio 2016, 438-40.

¹⁸ The only case in the Posidippus roll in which the title is almost centred is that at col. xiv line 29, where the title starts at the level of the twelfth letter of the following line and ends around 14 letters before the end of that line. In all the other cases (six) the title is considerably closer to the left margin.

it could be either a colometrical or a scribal mistake;¹⁹ in the latter one can again posit either a colometrical slip (West 1970, 279, according to whom the punctuation after the first ω suggests *verse-end*) or *correptio in hiatu*. While false or corrupted colometry may be on the cards,²⁰ in both cases an alternative explanation is equally available and one should not assume a priori colometrical mistakes or, more radically, lack of a colometrical layout when alternative explanations can be found.

If we start from the hypothesis (1) that nothing is missing at the beginning of line 7]ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΕΠΩΚΟΥΠΟΡΩΣ[, alignment with the other lines would imply either (a) just a single letter missing at line 6, and no letter missing at lines 9-10 (with the edge being placed, very unusually, slightly further to the right, compared to what happens in the preceding lines), or (b) just a very slim letter missing at lines 9-10 (with the left-hand margin moving further toward the left: Maas' law).²¹ It is immediately evident that hypothesis (1a) cannot work; as for (1b), no satisfactory solution along this line has been found so far. This, along with the assumption that the indentation of the title *Corinna papyrus* might have been of up to 10 letters, would allow (2) the possibility that at least one syllable is missing before the first letter of line 7. As outlined above, attempts at finding convincing supplements of a single, slim letter at the beginning of the first two lines of the poem have proved so far elusive, and we have no reason to suppose that the left-hand margin in the *Orestas* was in εἴθεσις in comparison with the preceding poem. It seems therefore safer to go for (2) and assume that at least one syllable (2/3 letters, but, theoretically, up to 5/6?) is missing at the beginning of line 7. If this is so, the κῶλα of our papyrus would have been at least about 11/12-syllable long. This is more than the average length of the κῶλα (about 10 syllables) usually found in colometric lyric papyri, including those of Corinna, but there are a handful of comparable cases, such as the Lille Stesichorus (dactylo-epitrites), Pind. *Nem.* 11 (dactylo-epitrites), and Simonides fr. 4 and 12 Poltera = *PMG* 519 fr. 79 and 92 (*Epinicians*).²² In these cases, we can suppose that different poems (or group of poems) might have been arranged according to different

19 Cf. above palaeographical description of l. 6. See West 1970, 279 with various suggestions of correction (π<ο>υρ ἔκλον, π<ο>υρὶ κῆον, π<ο>υρὶ κῆον) and below §5.

20 See West 1970, 283 for the *Orestas* poem.

21 As West 1970, 283 supposed: cf. his supplement ἄ]αυ μέν at l. 9 and π[αγὰ|c] ἰαρόν at ll. 9-10 (an articulation which goes against scribal practice).

22 See D'Alessio 2017, 241-2 and 2020, 165 for comparative data on the length of the κῶλα in the ancient papyri and in the medieval mss. of Pindar's epinicians, to be supplemented taking into account the two Simonidean passages mentioned above. In *Corinna* in *PMG* 654 (a) we have cola of 8 syllables followed by a clausula of 10 syllables; in *PMG* 654 (b) we find again cola of 8 syllables followed by a clausula of 7 syllables.

colometrical criteria. Unlikely as it seems at this later date, anyway, we cannot entirely rule out the possibility that the text of these poems had no colometric lay-out at all. All this, together with the very uncertain state of ll. 1-5 makes extremely haphazard to try to reconstruct a possible colometry out of the few words preserved. At any rate, line 7 shows a clear dactylic (prosodiac?) sequence, and a similar double-short rhythm can be detected at lines 2 and, perhaps, in the first half of line 6 (if we get rid of the augment, see below). A single-short rhythm appears in lines 3 and 4 and in the second half of 6, but we cannot go further than this in our analysis.

4 Narrative Technique and Closural Device

The first seven lines, however, fragmentary as they are, do preserve some elements that allow reasonably informed conjectures on their possible content. Before reviewing line by line our poem, let us first point out an obvious though interesting feature in terms of narrative technique. Quite independently from individual supplements, before the title *Orestas* we have a poem *ending in mid narrative*, probably with a mythic narrative (in or out of direct speech), cf. l. 7 Ἰπέραντες ἐπ' ὠκουπόρωσ [. That is, we do not have a framing device bringing the audience back to the immediate context of the song or the present occasion of the performance. This is not a very frequent closural type but one attested in a small group of extant lyric poems of the classical era (mainly epinicians and dithyrombs, but there is also the well-known precedent of Sappho 44.33-36 V and the 'old age' poem as transmitted by the new Cologne papyrus (58.11-22 V), where it ends with the Tithonus *exemplum*).²³ Most (but not all) of these instances have already been discussed in detail by Rutherford and Bernsdorff:²⁴ for Pindar one can think of *Ol.* 4 (ending with the direct speech of the Argonaut Erginus at ll. 24-27), *Nem.* 1 (ll. 61-72: the prophecy of Tiresias in indirect speech), and probably the end of *Pae.* 4 (= fr. 52d M = D4 Rutherford) if Euxantius is speaking.²⁵ This closural device seems to have been particularly loved by Bacchylides too: we find it in Bacchylides' *Odes* 15 ('Antenoridai') and 16 ('Heracles'), both dithyrombs. Ode 15 ends with Menelaus' direct speech (ll. 50-63) and 16 terminates in full narrative slant with a reference to the δαιμόνιον τέρασ, the portent of Nessus' drug. To Rutherford's examples one can add what is possibly an even closer parallel to our

²³ On the 'open' closure of Sappho 58 as in *P.Cologne*, see Bernsdorff 2005. Lardinois 2009 and Edmunds 2009 are unduly sceptical in this regard.

²⁴ Rutherford 1997, 53-5; Bernsdorff 2005 (especially for the Latin examples).

²⁵ Rutherford 2001, 288 with fn. 26.

papyrus: PSI 1181 (= TM 67233), variously ascribed to either Simonides or Bacchylides.²⁶ Just as in our papyrus also PSI 1181 shows the co-presence, in the same column, of a poem (= Bacchyl. fr. *dub.* 60 M) ending with a mythical narrative (out of direct speech) and the beginning of a second poem (= Bacchyl. fr. *dub.* 61 M) that opens, as usual, with a description of its performative context (cf. the *incipit* of the *Orestas* in our papyrus). PSI 1181 preserves the beginning of a poem entitled *Leucippides* (probably a dithyramb) opening with a clear reference to the *hic et nunc* of the performance, describing a group of female performers “setting up a beautiful chorus of new songs for violet-eyed Cypris” (Ἰοδερκέϊ τελλόμεναι | Κύπριδι νεοκέλαδον | εἰδυεῖδα χορόν): the performers of the song, female and male, may have here re-enacted their mythical models (the twin-sisters Leucippides and the Dioscourai). As in the *Orestas* papyrus, this ritual frame is preceded in the column by the ending of a poem in mid-narrative (even if in PSI 1181 we must acknowledge the presence of the ritual refrain ‘iē iē’ at l. 37 which would have brought the audience back to the present cultic performance). It is difficult to recover a consistent plot but it is clear that in this first poem (Bacchyl. fr. *dub.* 60 M) we have a group of women who, after sailing away from Troy as refugees (ll. 24-25 ἐπ[ε]ὶ πολυ[δεν]δρέ[ω]ν ἀκτῶν | κύμα πό[ρευς] ἀπ’ Ἰλίου), have at last reached, by the help of a god or hero, a place where they can be relatively safe. The poem ends with a sequence of (women’s?) cries (ll. 29-30: ἐ[πασσ]ύτεραι δ’ ἰα[χαί] | οὐρανὸν ἴξοι [] and we are told that also the mouth of the men did not remain silent (ll. 33-35 οὐδ’ ἀνδρῶν | [...] [τόμα] | ἄναδον ἦν). What does this tell us about the narrative technique employed in PSI 1174? Coppola, with great insight, saw in the *Orestas* papyrus “a unique instance [...] of a bridge between pre-Homeric lyric and epic-lyric narratives of the types of Bacchylides’ dithyrambs”.²⁷ He also went on to define Corinna’s narrative technique as “Stesichorean” (with a particular attention to Stesichorus’ *Oresteia*). Though inexact in other ways, Coppola did hit on something remarkable. We know in fact from the *Suda* (κ 2087 Adler) that Corinna composed also *lyric nomoi* (νόμοις λυρικοῦς), probably a kind of loose definition for just what we have in PSI 1174: mythical narratives with a lyric slant.²⁸ PSI 1774 thus provides us with the only extant example of closure in the Boeotian lyr-

²⁶ See D'Alessio 2013, 126-7 and the overview by Ucciardello 2020, 38-9. Bacchylidean authorship seems the most likely option: see recently Hadjimichael 2014.

²⁷ Coppola 1931, 241: “Corinna è perciò l’unico esempio [...] di un ponte tra la lirica pre-omerica e i componimenti epico-lirici del tipo dei ditirambi bacchilidei”.

²⁸ Cf. West 1970, 282 fn. 3: “‘Lyric nomos’ (*Suda*) means no more than lyric narrative poems”. On the modalities of performance (monodic and choral) attested for the *nomos* in ancient sources, see D'Alessio 2013, 117 with previous literature.

ic corpus.²⁹ Previous scholars have focused, among other things, on the *incipit* of *P.Oxy.* 2370 fr. 1 = *PMG* 655 to settle, without success, the debated issue of Corinna's date.³⁰ The end of the first poem preserved by *PSI* 1174 shows, at the very least, that its closure is perfectly at home, in terms of narrative technique, within the world of Greek classical choral lyric.

5 *PSI* 1174: The Text of ll. 1-7

Let us now go back in details to *PSI* 1174 lines 1-7. Though the text is very fragmentary, among the preserved words there are nevertheless some key terms that, as we shall see, significantly restrict the range of possible candidates for its subject, especially if we bear in mind the preference of Boeotian vernacular poetry for mythical narratives with a distinctly Boeotian ring.

l. 1]ιδov[(·),]: the first letter after the lacuna is likely to be either ν or η ; after $\iota\delta\omicron\nu$ we have two options: (i) $\pi\omicron$ [or $\pi\alpha$ [or alternatively (ii) $\tau\alpha$ [($\tau\omicron$ [is to be ruled out because \omicron would be too squashed against the preceding τ). The former (i) would entail reading ν at the beginning of the lacuna if we are to have an intelligible sequence at all,³¹ that is,] $\nu\iota\delta\omicron\nu\pi\omicron$ [. This could be segmented either as (a)] $\nu\iota\delta\omicron\nu\pi\cdot$ [or as (b)] $\nu\iota\delta\omicron\nu\pi\cdot$ [. In both cases it must be born in mind that the iota in $\iota\delta\omicron\nu$, if long, could be the Boeotian spelling for Attic $\epsilon\iota$. In the case of (a), the most immediate interpretation is to take $\iota\delta\omicron\nu$ as either a form of the unaugmented indicative aorist of $\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$ (first person singular or third person plural: $\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu$) or as the Boeotian spelling ($\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu$) for the augmented form of the same verb, that is, Att. $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu$. Lack of initial digamma, however, would be problematic: cf. *P.Oxy.* 2370 (= *PMG* 655) fr. 1. 21 = *PMG* 655 $\phi\iota\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$.³² The same problem resurfaces

29 The end of the 'contest of Helikon and Kithaeron' (*P.Berol.* 13284 = *PMG* 654 coll. i-ii) is too poorly preserved: the only inference that can be drawn is that it probably ended with an aetiological element (cf. the marginal scholion at col. ii. 2 $\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\eta}\zeta\epsilon\epsilon\theta\alpha$).

30 West 1970, 283-4 (following Lobel 1956, 61) and 1990, 553-4 suggested that *PMG* 655 fr. 1 was designed by the author herself to be the introductory poem (to be read, not sung) of her collection, a practice not attested for an archaic or classical author. For a different view, see Davies 1988, 186-7 and Palumbo Stracca 1993, 404-7.

31] $\nu\iota\delta\omicron\nu\pi\cdot$ [would not do, especially if we take into account that Boeot. η = Att. α .

32 Initial digamma is usually consistently recorded in our papyri in Boeotian dialect: in *P.Berol.* 13284 the only sure exception is at col. iv.16 $\epsilon\delta\nu$ [: see Page 1953, 47 and West 1970, 287. West 1970, 287 suggested a possible omission of initial digamma also for *P.Oxy.* 2730 (= *PMG* 655) fr. 2.2 (] $\eta\epsilon\phi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\sigma\iota\mu$ [). For word internal digamma, probably a graphic archaism, at *P.Oxy.* 2373 (= *PMG* 693) fr. 5.8 $\alpha\phi\upsilon\delta\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$, see Lobel 1956, 60 ("a piece of ancentry"); for *PMG* 655 fr. 4.3 $\tau'\epsilon\phi\iota\delta\omicron\nu$, a form apparently with a word-internal hiatus, but that could be also reinterpreted as a scribal wrong segmentation of an original $\tau\epsilon\phi\iota\delta\omicron\nu$, see Vessella 2016, 8-10.

with (b) if we assume a compound of ὀράω (e.g. συνοράω or ἐνοράω); with (b) another articulation, possible but very unlikely, would be the rare adverbial form αἰφνιδόν ('suddenly', spelled ἠφνιδόν in Boeotian) attested by Pseudo-Herodian, *Partitiones* p. 38 l. 11 Boissonade πλὴν τοῦ αἰφνης· αἰφνιδόν· αἰφνιδιον, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ἐξαίφνης).³³

The difficulties highlighted for the reading (i), that is,]νιδοντ[(especially in the (a) variant: lack of digamma) might seem to favour the reading (ii), palaeographically equally possible, that is,]_ιδοντῶ[. This sequence, if we have to avoid once again an aoristic formation of ὀράω without digamma (see above), almost unavoidably entails an articulation including a form of the verb δονέω, attested for Corinna in *PMG* 675 (e) πελέκεσσι δονῖτη (δονεῖται mss). Possible articulations are (a) δονῖτ' ἀ[, that is, the Boeotian unaugmented middle-passive imperfect for Att. (ἐ)δονεῖτο;³⁴ (b) δόνι τα[(unaugmented active imperfect for Att. (ἐ)δόνει; (c) δονῖ τα[(present indicative for Att. δονεῖ).³⁵ The sequence of past tenses in the following lines (κρούψε at l. 4, ἔδωκε or δῶκε at l. 5, ἔκηρον at l. 6), if we assume that at l. 1 we are already within a narrative section, seems to exclude (c)³⁶ and to favour either (a) δονῖτ' or (b) δόνι. The semantic field covered by δονέω (of unknown etymology) seems to be primarily that of 'setting into motion', 'shaking/agitating';³⁷ in Homer it is used twice with reference to the agency of winds (*Il.* 12.157 ἄνεμος ζαῖς νέφεα κκιδόντα δονήσας, 17.55 τὸ δέ τε πνοιαὶ δονέουσι | παντοίων ἀνέμων; cf. also *Bacchyl.* 5.68 οἶά τε φύλλ' ἄνεμος [...] δονεῖ and *Theoc.* 24.90 ἀνέμῳ δεδονημένον αὔρον ἄχερδον) and once of a gadfly chasing cows (*Od.* 22.300 τὰς μὲν τ' αἰόλος οἶτρος ἐφορμηθεὶς ἐδόνησεν) but it can be extended to any motion (e.g. of chariots at *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 279; of waves in *Pind. Nem.* 6.56) and, metaphorically, emotion (e.g. of love in *Sapph.* 130 V, cares in *Bacchyl.* 1.179 and fear as in [*Hes.*] *Sc.* 257). Given that the association of δονέω with winds is already Homeric and at l. 7 we have a reference to the sea (ἐπ' ὠκουπόρωσ[), it is tempting to connect the possible forms of δονέω at l. 1 with either

³³ The *TLG E* records only one literary occurrence of the form in the 12th century author Georgius Scylitzes, *Can. in sanctos Dem. et Greg.* 2. p. 490 l. 23 Pétridès. Other words as e.g. Κ]νιδον or λυχ]νιδόν seem unlikely.

³⁴ For unmarked elision without *scriptio plena* in our papyrus see § 2 above.

³⁵ The middle-passive present δονεῖται is excluded because the Boeotian form would have been δονῖτη.

³⁶ An alternative would be to consider the present δονῖ as part of a simile.

³⁷ Cf. *Lfgre* s.v. "δονέω", where Theresa Führer rightly questions the acoustic 'meaning' of 'murmur', 'buzz' recorded by both *LSJ* and *DEG* s.v. Scepticism in this regard is expressed most recently also by Thomas 2020, 460 at *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 563b. For δονέω with reference to song and musical instruments in *Pind. Nem.* 7.81 (πολύφρατον θρόνον ὕμνον δόνει) and *Pyth.* 10.38-39 (παντὰ δὲ χοροὶ παρθένων | λυρᾶν τε βοαὶ καναχαὶ τ' αὐλῶν δονέονται), see Cannatà Fera 2020, 471.

sea-waves (supplementing e.g. κλούδω]νι for Att. κλύδω]νι at the beginning of the line) or hostile winds/weather (e.g. χιμῶ]νι for Att. χειμῶ]νι). Another possibility worth considering would be also]ῆι (= Att. αἰεῖ; cf. *PMG* 654(a) col. i. 9 and *Boeot. inc. auct. PMG* 692 fr. 1.2) δονῖτ(or δόνι): something (winds?) whirling incessantly.

l. 2]αυτοφονεῖ[: most probably a form of αὐτοφονεύς, e.g. αὐτοφονεῖ[α, -oc = Att. αὐτοφονῆ[α, -oc³⁸ or of the (unattested but morphologically unobjectionable) αὐτοφονέω rather than an elided form of the well-attested adjective αὐτοφόνος (a possibility already considered by Diehl). αὐτοφονεύς is attested only once in Hesychius as a gloss of ἀτεπίβουλος “plotting against himself” (Hsch. α 8379 Latte-Cunningham), but nominal and verbal compounds in -φονεύς/-φονέω are well attested from Homer onwards (e.g. πατροφονεύς and βουφονέω etc.) and the form is perfectly plausible in terms of word-formation. αὐτοφόνος (and related words: e.g. αὐτοφονία, αὐτοφόντης, αὐτοφόνευτος, αὐτοφονευτής etc.) can refer either to murdering one’s own kin (the majority meaning in the earliest occurrences of the word), or (but less frequently) to an act of suicide.³⁹ The alternative reading considered by both V-N and Diehl, λυτο is much less satisfactory: we would have to assume either another spelling mistake on the part of the copyist (Boeot. λ<ο>ῦτο = Att. λῦτο, since in Boeotian phonetic /u/, long or short, is spelt as ου: cf. ll. 4 κρουψε, 7 ὠκουπ- and 14 -πουλον; πυρι at l. 5 is the exception)⁴⁰ or to accept an optative form (Boeot.]λυτο = Att.]λοιτο: πῆ]λοιτο? ὄ]λοιτο? θῆ]λοιτο?), that would sit awkwardly within an otherwise apparently straightforward narrative context.

l. 3] . καρδιη'cφαδδ[: the right arc *supra lineam* between η and c resembles in shape and function that of a diastole;⁴¹ its function

38 Whether or not the scribe of *PSI* 1174 would have noted intervocalic digamma (αὐτοφονεῖ[ρα, -roc) as the copyist of *P.Oxy.* 2373 fr. 5.8 (an antiquarian choice: epigraphy shows that word-internal Ϝ was dropped in Boeotian inscriptions before the end of the 5th BCE) is an unanswerable question.

39 Cf. *DEG* and *LSJ* s.v. On the meaning of αὐτοφόνος in early and classical Greek literature, see Fraenkel 1950, 494-5 (on Aesch. *Ag.* 1091 ff.) with previous bibliography. Frankel rightly observes that in Aeschylus αὐτοφόνος is attested only in the sense of ‘killer of his own kin’ (*Ag.* 1091; *Sept.* 859 and *Supp.* 65). All the earliest occurrences of this word presuppose the meaning of ‘murderer of one’s own blood’: cf. also Ar. *Thesm.* 850. A possible early exception is the Iliadic anthroponym Αὐτοφόνος (4.395), on which see Williger 1928, 5 fn. 1 (“der Tod selbst”, discarding the meaning “mit eigener Hand mordend” since “das gibt doch keinen Sinn”); differently Kanavou 2015, 147 (“killer by his own hand”), following von Kamptz 1982, 71 (“mit eigener Hand tötend”).

40 This word is problematic also in another respect: the hiatus with the following ἔκηνον: see above § 4.

41 On the function of the diastole (separating both syllables and words) in Greek papyri and mss, see Scappaticcio 2009, 371-2, and Cribiore 1996, 85. Dorandi *NP*, s.v. *Punctuation* § 8 distinguishes between “apostrophe”, used “between syllables within a single word, esp. in compound words (*P.Oxy.* 2458), or between consonants, esp. in dou-

may have been that of disambiguating word division (καρδίη cφαδδ- rather than καρδίηc φαδδ-⁴² so already Diehl). Boeot. καρδίη (= Att. καρδία) could be either dative singular or nominative plural. Since the reading cφαδδε[is marginally more satisfactory palaeographically than cφαδδo[, καρδίη as dative singular seems a slightly likelier option, though it cannot be ruled out that with cφαδδo[, a new sentence started and a nominative plural καρδίη was syntactically linked to what preceded. The accumulation of past tenses in the ensuing lines (ll. 4-6) within what looks like a narrative section would suggest taking cφαδδε[as an unaugmented imperfect (cφάδδε = Att. cφάζε).⁴³ What is however clear is that we have here some kind of slaughtering, possibly in the context of a (perverted? Cf. the mention of the murdering of one's kin or of suicide at l. 2) ritual sacrifice.⁴⁴

l. 4]κτονιν· κρουψεδε[; Diehl preferred reading γονιν after the lacuna⁴⁵ but printed κτονιν; in fact, there is no reason to doubt the soundness of κτονιν (as already suggested by N-V). Diehl himself recognised that the beginning of l. 4 admitted many possible supplements but eventually opted in favour of ἀρχιτε]κτονῖν (Att. -νεῖν: 'to build' > 'to contrive'), positing an allusion to the construction of the Wooden Horse within a narrative connected with the Trojan war (cf. Corinna PMG 675 (a) δώρατος ὄστ' ἐπ' ἵππῳ).⁴⁶ Diehl's supplement is indeed idiosyncratic yet it represents to date the only interpretative attempt to make a sense of the poem as a whole.⁴⁷ A compound verb

ble *mutae* or double *liquidae* (*P.Bodmer* 2; *P.Oxy.* 1016)" and "diastole" used "to separate individual words from each other (*P.Oxy.* 852)". For a diastole high in the line separating words, not only syllables, see the examples quoted by Fournet 2020, 150 with fnn. 27 and 28.

42 The Greek grammatical pathological tradition (e.g. Philoxenus, Heraclides, Herodian, Orion etc.) recognises the existence of a verb φάζω 'to say' (otherwise unattested) derived from φῶ. Eust. *Il.* 887.12 (= III, p. 339 l. 13 van der Valk) fantasises about φάζω = φονεύσαι. It is very doubtful, though, that our scribe may have had this tradition in mind.

43 Boeotian orthography (εἰ = Att. η) rules out a present tense.

44 On the marked semantics of cφάζω (and related words), if compared with θύειν, often in a context of sacrificial violence, see Henrichs 2000, 180-8 and Casabona 1966, 155-67 (esp. 160).

45 Diehl 1936, 201: "mihi ne de τ quidem constat, lego γονιν".

46 Diehl 1936, 201: "potes multa: αὐτο-, πηδο-, πατρο-κτονῖν, παιδογογεῖν al. sed ne [ἀρχιτε]κτονῖν quidem abhorret. Cf. Ar. *Pax* 305 fr. 195 (e Daedalo) et Ditt. *Syll.*³ 1185 (Tanagrae) κατασκευάτη τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν πόλι βωλενομένως πεδὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων καὶ τῷ ἀρχιτέκτονος, Eur. *Tro.* 14 δούρειος ἵππος κρυπτῶν ἀμπίτχων δόρυ."

47 Diehl 1936, 201: "loquitur C. de sacrificio quodam, de aedificando sive occidendo, occultando, donando, igne cremando, de navibus conscendendis: si [ἀρχιτε]κτονῖν verum est, argumentum fragmenti spectat ad ἵππον δουράτεον". For a criticism of Diehl's supplement ἀρχιτε]κτονῖν, see Körte 1939. Diehl's hypothesis (a Trojan Horse narrative) seems unlikely on several grounds: (i) the linguistic register of the supplement ἀρχιτε]κτονῖν looks suspicious in a lyric poem (see already Körte: in the poetry of the classical and Hellenistic period is attested with certainty only 3 times, all in comedy:

in -κτονεῖν (= Boeot. -ῖν) would not be out of place (e.g. αὐτοκτονεῖν, μητροκτονεῖν, πατροκτονεῖν, ξιφοκτονεῖν, ξενοκτονεῖν, παιδοκτονεῖν to mention only a few), yet a sequence at ll. 4-7 of 3rd person singular indicative aorist forms is on the whole more appealing. One could think of segmenting, e.g.]κτο νιν, a sequence that would give us the possibility of supplementing a 3rd person singular indicative past ending of a verb with velar stem, followed by the enclitic accusative of the 3rd personal pronoun ('him/'her'). On possible supplements, depending on the context envisaged, see below § 6.

1. 5] δεδωκεδωρε. [: all the other editors of the papyrus read δωρε, seeing in this line a reference to a gift exchange⁴⁸ but between the remnants of δ and ρ there is clearly not enough space for ω. The correct reading is therefore δωρε (for a discussion of Spinedi's alternative reading, cf. above § 2). The new reading entails that δ is likely to be the elided particle δ(ε), since it is difficult to imagine suitable words in δωρε-. Theoretically one could think of δόρε (but the dual of δόρυ would be puzzling, and the form, though unobjectionable, is not actually ever attested; for the dual form δοῦρε see Wackernagel 1916, 172); or δόρεος, a rare form of the genitive attested only once in Herodian (Lentz *GG* III,2, 768, ll. 28-29 εἴρηται καὶ δορός καὶ δουρός καὶ δούρατος καὶ δόρατος καὶ δόρεος);⁴⁹ or even of an alternative (and unattested) form of the adj. δούρειος; yet all of them are on the whole quite unlikely. As for δ' ὄρε. [, several supplements are possible, including, e.g. (i) the dative plural of ὄρος (ὄρεσι or epic ὄρεσσι); (ii) various nouns and adjectives compounded in ὄρεσ-; (iii) a form of ὄρυσσι (e.g. the aorist infinitive ὄρεσθαι); (iv) taking into account the title of the next poem, a form of Ὀρέστας would also be an intriguing option.⁵⁰

Reading the previous word as δέδωκε (perfect) would be a problematic articulation, as it would imply a 'presentive' anchoring of the speech, at odds with the other narrative tenses. If we choose to read ἔδωκε, it follows that] δ after the lacuna should be articulated as an elided]αδ(α) or]αδ(ε);⁵¹ if instead we have the unaugmented form of the aorist, we have the sequence]αδε δῶκε. In both cases, if one

twice in Aristophanes [fr. 201 K-A and *Pax* 305] and once in Sospater fr. 1.16 K-A); (ii) the mention of a kin-murder or suicide at l. 2 (]αυτοφονει[) would remain without an immediate reference; (iii) the new reading at l. 5 (] δεδωκεδωρε.]) rules out the 'giving gift' motif (ἔδωκε δῶρ' as printed by Diehl).

48 Diehl 1936, 201 printed ἔδωκε δῶρ' quoting in apparatus *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 442 δῶρον ἔδωκεν.

49 A dative plural δόρεσσι is never attested, only the Ionic form δούρεσσι.

50 A form of ὄρομαι 'to keep watch' seems less likely since only the compound ἐπόρομαι is attested (always with ἐπί in tmesis: cf. *LSI* s.v.).

51 As observed above, our papyrus does not note elision. One would however expect a punctuation sign here if with δῶκε δ' or ἔδωκε δ' we have the beginning of a new sentence.

chooses to supplement τ]άδε, the neuter cannot be the object of δῶκε or ἔδωκε, since after the aorist of δίδωμι we have the postpositive δ(έ).

l. 6]γπυριεκηον: even if the general sense can be divined (we are probably dealing with either a burnt sacrifice or a funeral pyre, given the mention of a form of αὐτοφονεύς at l. 2), the *Wortlaut* remains obscure. πυρι must be a scribal mistake for a form of π<ο>ῦρ but the hiatus following this word poses an unresolved problem. As observed in the palaeographical apparatus above, to the right of the iota the fibres are disturbed but there are traces of what looks like the foot of a descending oblique. One would be tempted to interpret them as the base of a diagonal marking the deletion of the iota: the scribe would have written πυρι εκηον and then struck through the iota. The original text would thus have been ποῦρ ἔκηον; yet there is no projection of the oblique further up to the left as one would expect. Alternatively, as suggested to us by A. Cassio, one could read ἐμπύρι (elided form of the neuter plural ἐμπύρια) ἔκηον (cf. Call. *Lav. Pall.* 107 ἔμπυρα καυσεῖ). This is not impossible but unlikely: (i) we would have expected the assimilated spelling ἐ]μπι- and not ἐ]νπι-; the adj. ἐμπύριος is attested only later and with the meaning of 'belonging to the empyrean', different from that of ἔμπυρος (burnt offering): in Hesych. ε 2518 Cunningham (ἐμπυρία· ὄρκος ὁ δημόσιος. καὶ μαντεία, παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς) ἔμπυρία would seem to be nominative singular. If the hiatus is due to textual corruption, various solutions can be proposed (the first three already suggested by West): π<ο>ῦρ ἔκηον ([they] lit the fire),⁵² π<ο>υρὶ κῆον ([they] burnt with the fire/on the pyre),⁵³ π<ο>υρὶ Φέ κῆον ([they] burnt him/her with the fire/on the pyre), π<ο>ύρ' ἔκηον ([they] lit fires).⁵⁴ Alternatively, though overall less likely, the hiatus may indicate that something went wrong in the colometrical articulation (either a mistake of the scribe of *PSI* 1174 or a mistake already present in the antigraph).⁵⁵

52 In this case the hiatus might have been due to the scribe's wrong insertion of the syllabic augment in an original unaugmented κῆον.

53 Cf. *Il.* 24.38 ἐν πυρὶ κήαιεν (of Hector's prospective funeral by his people).

54 καίω + πυρά (neuter plural) is already well attested in Homer, cf. *LSJ* s.v. τὰ πυρά. In this case the hiatus could have been the result of the confusion, on the part of the copyist, of the sign of elision or of the deletion mark above alpha with an iota. The case of Pind. *Parth.* fr. 94b l. 77 Μ δψωντέα in *P.Oxy.* 659 may provide an example for the genesis of the mistake: the vowel in hiatus (epsilon) was apparently deleted with a sign above it which looks as an iota: a scribe copying such a text could very naturally have substituted the epsilon with the iota.

55 Unless one opts (unconvincingly, in our view) for allowing intralinear hiatus in Greek lyric as a matter of fact: see e.g. Gentili, Lomiento 2008, 43-4 with fnn. 2-4 (with previous bibliography) for choral lyric and most recently Neri 2020 on hiatus in Lesbian lyric (all the cases examined, though, are from the indirect tradition, which is notoriously unreliable in such cases).

εἶδα[.]τ[The supralinear sign above the iota remains inexplicable. εἶδ was interpreted by Diehl as epic ἦδ(ε). At line end ατ[, αρτ[, αλτ[possible (not enough space for ακτ, αντ, αστ?).

l. 7]ΠΑΝΤΕΣΕΠΩΚΟΥΠΟΡΩΣ[: the last line of the poem clearly implies a setting by the sea: the adjective ὠκύπορος refers, in the vast majority of its occurrences and invariably so in Homer, to ships (cf. *LfgreE* s.v.), hence Diehl's supplements νᾶαc + a verb of movement, e.g. ἴσαν, ἔβαν, ἴκοντο, ἔδραμον. In Pindar we find it twice, once with reference to ships (*Pyth.* 1.74) and once with reference to winds and waves (*Pyth.* 4.194),⁵⁶ as it does in Aeschylus (Aesch. *Ag.* 1557 ἀντιάααα πρὸς ὠκύπορον πόρθμευμ' ἀχέων).

6 *PSI 1174*: Subject Matter and Performance

What can we make of all this? We have seen that the lack of a closural frame indicates that we have a poem ending with a mythical narrative section. The most important clues on the possible content of our poem are provided by l. 7 (a very likely seaside setting) and by ll. 2-3. At l. 2 there is a high likelihood that we have a word related to αὐτοφον- and in the following line the presence of a form of σφάζω points to a ritual form of slaughtering. We have also observed that words related to αὐτοφον-, since their earliest attestations, and with only few and late exceptions, indicate in the very first place the murdering of one's own kin, or (less frequently) an act of suicide.⁵⁷ As for σφάζω, violent forms of ritual slaughtering are predominantly linked, especially in the earliest texts, to sacrificial killing, including narratives of mythical human sacrifices. These two elements point very strongly toward a reconstruction of these lines as narrating either a suicidal act, represented in terms suggesting a sacrifice, or the ritual or quasi-ritual killing of a member of one's own family. Narratives of this kind are not rare in Greek mythology, but in the case of Corinna or, which does not make any significant difference, in the case of Boeotian 'vernacular' lyric (if one doubts the ascription to Corinna) the focus, at least at a first stage, can plausibly be restricted to things Boeotian. In fact, with the only seeming exception of the second poem preserved in *PSI 1174*, the *Orestas*,⁵⁸ there is no example

⁵⁶ See Braswell 1998, 278-9: on the proleptic use of the adj. ὠκύπορος referring to both κυμάτων ῥιπᾶc and ἀνέμουc.

⁵⁷ See above § 5.

⁵⁸ The exception might be in fact only partial: ancient evidence is split unequally between a tradition (i) having Orestes leading personally the Aeolian migration (Pind. *Nem.* 11.34 and Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F 32 = Σ Pind. *Nem.* 11.43b p. 189 Drachm.); (ii) another claiming that Orestes started the enterprise (Strabo 13.1.3 ἄρξαι τοῦ στόλου) but died in Arcadia and the actual expedition was led by Orestes' descendants; and (iii)

of mythical narrative in the extant fragments of the Boeotian lyric corpus that does not involve somehow regional themes.⁵⁹

There are several potential candidates in Boeotian mythology that fit the bill of a kin-murder or suicide linked to sacrificial violence. Among the tales attributed by our sources to Corinna perhaps the most promising is that (i) of the so-called Coronides, that is, Orion's daughters Metioche and Menippe, who committed suicide by slitting their throat open with a weaving shuttle⁶⁰ in order to save their country from a plague, in the first book of the *ἑροῖα* (PMG 656 = Ant. Lib. *Met.* 25; cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.685-699 where the setting is Thebes)⁶¹ and who were venerated at Orchomenos.⁶² The detail of a funeral pyre (cf. *PSI* 1174 l. 6: *ἵπυριεκρον*) is not present in Antoninus Liberalis' version but is briefly referred to by Ovid at *Met.* 13.686 ... *exequiae tumulique ignesque rogique* and 696 ... *cremari*. Antoninus mentions instead the catasterism of the Coronides: interestingly for us, this posthumous compensation for the sacrifice of the two virgins takes the form of an act of 'occultation/hiding' by divine agency (Ant. Lib. *Met.* 25.4 *Φερσεφόνη δὲ καὶ Ἄιδης οἰκτεῖραντες τὰ μὲν σώματα τῶν παρθένων ἠφάνισαν*) that might find an equivalent in the elusive *κρούψε* (l. 4) of our papyrus fragment. On the other hand, where the Coronides fall short of a possible match with *PSI* 1174 is the lack of a seaside setting, strongly suggested in our text by

a third strand stating that Orestes made it to Lesbos but died before founding it (*Σ vet.* Lycoph. 1374c Leone ... ἤλθεν εἰς Λέσβον· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ταχὺ ἀποθανὼν πόλιν κτίσαι οὐκ ἠδυνήθη κτλ.): see Fowler *EGM* II, 598-9. Cf. also above n. 8. It is however worth remembering that no ancient extant source seems to firmly collocate Orestes' activity as such in Boeotia, if we except the fleeting mention of Orestes passing through Thebes at Pind. *Nem.* 11.34 and the fact that according to Strabo 9.2.3 the forces gathered by Orestes from all over Greece camped at Aulis (εἴτ' ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἧδη τοῦ Αἰολικοῦ στόλου παρεσκευασμένου περὶ Ἀύλιδα τῆς Βοιωτίας), which would be interesting in consideration of the possible link to Aulis we envisage for the first poem.

59 This is not meant in any way to undermine the creative ways in which Corinna's treatment of myths negotiates the tension between local (Boeotian) and supra-local traditions. Much has been profitably done in this respect (cf. e.g. Collins 2006; Vergados 2012; Kousolini 2016; McPhee 2018); it is only to emphasise that even when Corinna engages with panhellenic traditions her point of departure is usually a local one.

60 Ant. Lib. *Met.* 25.3 *ἐπάταξαν ἑαυτὰς τῇ κερκίδι παρὰ τὴν κλεῖδα καὶ ἀνέρρηξαν τὴν φαγῆν*.

61 On the Ovidian version of this piece of Boeotian lore, see Schachter 1990, 104 and 105.

62 The locality (Orchomenos) is not entirely unproblematic since Orion is usually linked to eastern, not western Boeotia: see Schachter *CoB* II, 117 with fn. 3, where Schachter himself however recognises that there is another Orchomenian legend with links to Hyria (eastern Boeotia) in Paus. 9.37.5 (Trophonius and Agamedes building a 'treasury' for Hyrieus). For the Boeotian cult-type of a pair of maidens who kill themselves to avert evil (e.g. the Leuctrides at Leuctra and the Antipoinides at Thebes), see Schachter 1972, 19-20 and Larson 1995, 102-3 on the pattern, in myth and cult, of "sacrificial sisters" in Attica and Boeotia.

the adjective ὠκύπορος at l. 7. Another possible, though less plausible, candidate within Corinna's transmitted corpus is (ii) the tale of the Minyades (*PMG* 665 = *Ant. Lib. Met.* 10; cf. *Ov. Met.* 4.1-42 and 389-415): punished by Dionysus for neglecting his cult, the ill-fated daughters of Minyas are taken by a supernatural terror and one of them, Leucippe, sacrifices to Dionysus her own child by tearing him apart in a frenzy (*PMG* 665).⁶³ We have here sacrificial slaughtering and kin-murder but again no setting by the sea. Internecine slaughtering within family members and suicides figure of course prominently also (iii) in the Theban saga of the Labdacids, covered, for example, in Corinna's *PMG* 659 (ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θήβης) and 672 (Oedipus killing the Sphinx and the Teucmesian fox) as well as in the Boeotian *adespota* *PMG* 692 (the names of Melanippus, Tydeus and Mecisteus clearly show that we are dealing with a narrative linked to the *Seven against Thebes* and hence to *PMG* 659).⁶⁴ Yet also in this case it is difficult to imagine a setting by the sea. Another Boeotian myth of intrafamilial murder(s) and suicide is (iv) that of Athamas and Ino and their sons Learchos and Melicertes: the setting is again in western Boeotia or Thessaly; in the Thessalian version (where Athamas is from Halos, not from Orchomenos) Ino and Melicertes' leap into the sea (the Pagasean Gulf) could provide a possible though very slender link to a seaside scene.⁶⁵ Of the hypotheses (i)-(v) the most encouraging is probably (i) but, as we have already seen, the story of the Coronides too does leave at least one detail unexplained (the reference to ships/sea at l. 7 of *PSI* 1174).

If we broaden our horizon to the Trojan saga, there are at least two cases that come to mind but only one of them fits the bill from all points of view (a narrative of a suicide or of a ritual killing of a relative in the vicinity of a fleet, or, at least, of the sea) and offers a local 'anchoring'. The first is the story of the suicide of Ajax. It would not be impossible to find potential parallels for some of the fragmentary details of our poem: for example, the description of the suicide in term of a sacrifice (*Soph. Aj.* 815 ὁ μὲν σφαγεύς said of the sword, 841 ἐμὲ ἰ αὐτοσφαγῆ πίπτοντα, 898 Αἴας ὄδ' ἡμῖν ἀρτίως νεοσφαγῆς), and the theme of the 'hidden' sword (*Aj.* 658 κρύψω τόδ' ἔγχος τοῦμόν, 899 κρυφαίῳ σφαγάνῳ) are notoriously important in Sophocles' *Ajax*. It would be however odd, but perhaps not entirely beyond the realm of the possible, to find elements that have a structural role in the elaborate dramatic construction of the play accumulated in a much short-

⁶³ Schachter *CoB* II, 143.

⁶⁴ See Cingano 2017, 46-7 on *P.Oxy.* 2372.

⁶⁵ Furthermore the reference to sacrificial killing would fit Phrixus' death plotted by Ino (but again in this case the setting would be firmly in Thessaly and not in Boeotia) but not Learchus' one, mistakenly killed by an arrow by Athamas while hunting.

er lyric rendition of the episode. The final focus on a group of people going to the ships (or the sea) would also not be altogether obvious in the context (an allusion to his burial at the Rhoeteion promontory?).⁶⁶ More crucially, to the best of our knowledge there is no clear Boeotian link for the Ajax myth. Of course, we should not rule out a priori the possibility that (Corinna's) Boeotian vernacular lyric poetry may have ventured on narrative territories without epichoric links: this might be the case of the *Orestas*, whose link to a Theban ritual is explicit in the fragmentary 'proem', but for which no entirely convincing Boeotian mythical background has been identified.⁶⁷ All in all, the difficulties outlined above somehow weaken the Ajax hypothesis.

Our second alternative provides a much more satisfactory background from this point of view too (the presence of a local, Boeotian feature). In fact, most of the elements that can be reconstructed from the fragmentary lines of the first poem of *PSI 1174* would fall into place if we suppose that their narrative theme was that of the sacrifice of Iphigenia in Aulis.⁶⁸ The context would easily account for: (1) the murder of a relative (l. 2]αυτοφονει[); (2) the use of *φράζω* to denote a perverted sacrificial killing (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 11.36 Ἰφιγένεια ἐπ'Εὐρίπῳ φραχθεῖσα, Aesch. *Ag.* 209 μαινῶν παρθενοφάγοισιν ρείθροισ πατρώους χέρας πέλας βωμοῦ, and very often in later authors); (3) the possible articulation ἔδεικτό (*vel* δέ]κτο) νιν at l. 4 and the following κρούψε at l. 5 might correspond to Artemis' acceptance of the sacrifice (as in the interpolated exodus of Eur. *IA* 1596 ἡδέως τε τοῦτ' ἐδέξατο, and, from a different perspective, 1572 δέξαι τὸ θῦμα τόδ' ὃ γέ σοι δωρούμεθα; cf. also Nonn. *Dion.* 13.106-107 ἦχι θεὰ βαρῦμηνις ὀρεσσαύλω παρὰ βωμῶ | δέκτο θυηπολίην ψευδήμονος Ἰφιγενείης), followed by the goddess' concealing of Iphigenia, as, for example, in *IT* 27-30 (ἐλθοῦσα δ' Αὐλίδ' ἡτάλαιν' ὑπὲρ πυρᾶς | μεταρσία ληφθεῖς' ἐκαινόμην ξίφει. | ἀλλ' ἐξέκλεψεν ἔλαφον ἀντιδοῦσά μου | Ἄρτεμις Ἀχαιοῖς). This passage would provide also a possible parallel for the mention of ritual burning at line 6] γπυρικηρον, where the reference could be to the performance of the sacrifice of the victim substituted to Iphigenia. The hypothesis that the sacrifice of Iphigenia herself was described is compatible with the versions attested in Pindar, Aeschylus and Sophocles,⁶⁹ but the use of *κρύπτω* strongly suggests that in this version (if we follow this interpretative avenue) Iphigenia disappeared. More generally,

66 Cf. *Little Iliad*, arg. 1 GEF West.

67 Orestes' involvement in the Aeolian colonisation (see above) is likely to have played a role, but we have to keep in mind that our sources privilege the connection of Orestes' descendants, not the hero himself, with Boeotia.

68 Spinedi 2018, 124-6 also supports this scenario.

69 For a survey of the different versions, see Aretz 1999.

a parallel for Artemis's act of concealment finds a typological parallel in the way in which myths of substitution and metamorphosis often focus on the disappearance of the female individuals involved, as much as on the substitution itself. Iphigenia is described as τὴν ἄφαντον εἶδος ἡλλοιωμένην in Lycoph. *Alex.* 195, and Antoninus Liberalis in his *Metamorphoses* frequently uses in such contexts forms of ἀφανίζω.⁷⁰ The whole sequence of PSI 1174 lines 3-7 with this reconstruction can be compared to that of Ov. *Met.* 12.29-38: Artemis is first moved by the situation (32 *victa dea est*), then conceals Iphigenia (32 *nubemque oculis obiecit*) and, placated by the substitute sacrifice (35 *lenita caede*), finally abandons her anger. As a result (37) *accipiunt ventos a tergo mille carinae*. Even more interestingly, some crucial details of the sequence that emerges from this papyrus find parallels in the interpolated exodus of Euripides' *IA*: first Iphigenia disappears (1585 τὴν παρθένον δ' οὐκ οἶδεν οὐ γῆρ εἰκέδν), then Artemis accepts the substitute offering, and grants favourable wind (1596: see above), and Calchas invites everybody to go to their ships (1598-1599: πρὸς ταῦτα πᾶς τις θάρρος αἶρε ναυβάτης | χώρει τε πρὸς ναῦν, for which cf. line 7 of the papyrus πάντες ἐπ' ὠκυπόρωσ). At this point in *IA* the substitute victim is entirely burnt on the altar (1601-1602 ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαν | κατηνθρακώθη θυμ' ἐν Ἡφαιστοῦ φλογί), a most remarkable feature, that closely recalls the content of line 6 in the papyrus.⁷¹ As Stockert notes in his commentary *ad loc.*, the holocaust is a typical feature of sacrifice to "chthonian" deities, to which the winds could be assimilated. We have to keep in mind, though, that the sacrifice here is in fact still dedicated to Artemis, not to the winds. This may lend support to the idea that the sanctuary of Artemis at Aulis, where it has been variously supposed that Iphigenia too was honoured, either as a prehistoric goddess taken over in time by Artemis herself or in a kind of joint dual cult (as possibly at Megara, where she was thought to have died too, and were Iphigenia had a *heroon* obviously connected to the temple of Artemis)⁷² may have in-

⁷⁰ Cf. Pease 1942, 9 (on Iphigenia and similar cases, but without reference to the passages in Ovid and in the exodus of the *IA* quoted below) and Papatomopoulos 1968, 72 fn. 21 (on 1.5) on ἀφανισμός in Antoninus Liberalis; the verb ἀφανίζω is applied to Iphigenia in Arist. *Poet.* 1455b 3-4 ἀφανισθείσης ἀδήλωσ τοῖς θύσασιν.

⁷¹ The singularity of the detail, and the possible closeness to the situation in our papyrus should make one cautious in attributing wholesale content and form of the exodus of *IA* to a very late period. Within the general consensus about the late date of the exodus, line 1602 is considered as probably reflecting a much earlier version of the text, and as going back conceivably already to the early 4th century BCE: see Stockert 1992, 1: 83-7, and in particular 86 on this line.

⁷² Paus. 1.43.1. A sanctuary of Artemis-Iphigenia is attested also at Hermione by Pausanias (2.35.2); at Aigeira Pausanias mentions the presence of a statue thought to be of Iphigenia in a temple dedicated to Artemis (7.36.5). These sources are discarded as 'late' by Ekroth 2003, 74 fn. 73, following Hollingshead 1985, 428-9. It is however

volved “chthonian” elements.⁷³ Be this as it may, our interpretation, works also without assuming that Iphigenia was the recipient of a local cult: her story might well have been narrated within the context of a local festival (e.g. but not necessarily, for Artemis).

In this perspective, also the traces of PSI 1174 l. 1 might possibly turn out to point in the same direction. We have already seen above in § 5 that]ιδογιτϚ seems the less problematic reading of the remaining traces, and that the reference to the sea at l. 7 (ἐπ’ὠκουπόρωϚ) makes tempting to connect the possible forms of δονέω concealed in the line with either sea-waves (e.g. κλούδω]γι δονῖτ’ ρ[) or hostile winds/weather (e.g. χιμῶ]γι δονῖτ’ ρ[) or]ῆῖ δονῖτ’ (or δόνι τϚ[). The possibility that l. 1 contained a description of the effect of adverse winds shaking the coast and preventing the Achaean army to sail to Troy is an attractive proposition.⁷⁴ Lines 5-6 remain elusive and any supplement must be considered only as one possibility among many. However, if we pursue the Iphigenia hypothesis, also for these lines some interesting interpretative avenues offer themselves. We have already seen that at l. 5 the old reading δῶρ’ εἰ [must be abandoned, the only reasonable alternative being δορεϚ[. We have also seen that the less unlikely syntactical articulation of the first preserved part of the line requires that an aorist form of δίδωμι (ἔδωκε or δῶκε) be followed by the elided connective δ(έ).⁷⁵ If, as we have so far suggested, the subject of both κρούψε and ἔδωκε or δῶκε is Artemis concealing Iphigenia and offering instead a substitute animal sacrifice, one could think of supplementing ἔδωκε or δῶκε δ’ ὄρεϚ[ίτροφον vel

worth remembering that in [Hes. fr. 23a.17-26 M-W Agamemnon’s daughter (called Iphimede) is rescued by Artemis and transformed into Ἄρτεμις Εἰνοδίη and that in Stesichorus’ *Oresteia* (fr. 178 Finglass) Iphigenia was turned into Hecate by Artemis, see Finglass, Davies 2014, 5023.

73 See Schachter *CoB* I, 94-8, who leaves open the possibility of a cult of Iphigenia at Aulis, chthonic or not chthonic (similarly also Bonnechere 1994, 26 and 106 fn. 97 against the scepticism of Hollingshead 1985). For a sceptical stance, denying the existence of a cult of Iphigenia not only at Aulis but also at Brauron and Halai Araphenides, mainly on the absence of archaeological evidence in this sense, see Hollingshead 1985, followed by Ekroth 2003, esp. 67 fnn. 39, 69-74, 93-4. Cf. also Larson 1995, 104-6.

74 For contrary winds preventing the Greeks from sailing at Aulis, see *Cypria*, p. 41 ll. 44-45 PEG (Bernabé) = p. 74 GEF West μηνίσαα δὲ ἡ θεὸς ἐπέσχεεν αὐτοῦς τοῦ πλοῦ χειμῶνας ἐπιπέμπουσα, Aesch. *Ag.* 148-149 μὴ τινὰς ἀντιπνέουσας Δαναοῖς χρονίῃσιν ἔχενῆδας ἀπλοίας τεύξῃ, and 192-193 πνοαὶ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος μολοῦσαι, | κακόχολοι νησιδέες δύσορμοι. On the semantic range covered by ἀπλοία (‘absence of winds’ but also denoting winds hostile to sailing), see Stockert 1992, 2: 199-200 on *IA* 88, and Stockert 1992, 1: 57-8 for a discussion of the archaic and classical sources; for later sources cf. also Aretz 1999, 47-8 fn. 126. Absence of wind is instead mentioned in connection to the Trojan expedition in Soph. *El.* 564; Eur. *IT* 15 δεινὴ δ’ἀπλοία (Madvig: -ῆς -ᾶς L) πνευμάσων τ’οῦ τυγχάνων (the passage is debated: see Kyriakou 2006, 56-7); *IA* 9-11, 88, 352 and 1596-1597.

75 See above § 5 for the unlikelihood that δορεϚ[may conceal an inflected form of δόρυ.

ὄρεσιβάτειν φεῖρα (= Att. ὄρεσιβάτην θῆρα) *vel sim.*⁷⁶ Alternatively, one could see here (i) a reference to Artemis granting fair sailing to the Achaean fleet (cf. Eur. *IA* 1596-1597 καὶ πλοῦν οὔριον | δίδωσιν ἡμῖν Ἰλίου τ' ἐπιδρομάς): e.g. ἔδωκε οὐ δῶκε δ' ὄρεσιβ[θη εὐανεμίαν].⁷⁷ It remains however also the possibility (ii) that δ' ὄρεσιβ[may conceal a reference, however obscure to us, to Orestes (i.e. integrating δ' Ὀρέσιβ[τ-), whose presence as a baby at Aulis is attested in Euripides' *IA*.⁷⁸ Finally, within the Iphigenia's hypothesis, one should also consider among the various possible supplements at the end of l. 6 a form of Ἄρτεμις (Ἄ[ρ]τ[-].⁷⁹

The possibility that lines 1-7 of *PSI* 1174 dealt with the sacrifice of Iphigenia would be attractive also on different grounds. Not only would this panhellenic myth provide a clear Boeotian link: its background would, more particularly, fit exactly within the political sphere of Corinna's own hometown, Aulis being in practical terms located on the coast between Tanagra's harbours.⁸⁰ The temple of Artemis at Aulis must certainly have been an important focal point for the cultic life of the local community, and even if there is no unambiguous evidence of a local cult of the goddess that involved also Iphigenia, this looks *per se* as a reasonable assumption. Analogy with the two Euripidean *Iphigenia* dramas, as well as with the cult at Brauron, would suggest that songs for Artemis and Iphigenia at Aulis might have played an important part in the festivals of Tanagran *parthenoi*.⁸¹ If we did not have papyrological evidence suggesting that the remains of one such song might indeed have been preserved, one might have conjectured the likelihood of its existence as a matter of analogy.

⁷⁶ We thought also about the possibility of integrating at the beginning of l. 5 κει/μ] ἄδ'(α) ('young deer' already in Hom. *Il.* 10.361, cf. also Call. *Lav. Pall.* 112 and 163 and Lycoph. *Alex.* 190 ποτ' ἐν σφαγαίσι κεμάς with reference to Iphigenia's sacrifice and Nonn. *Dion.* 13.108-109 καὶ κεμάς οὐρεσίφοιτος ἀμεμφεὶ καίετο πυρσῶ, | ἄρταμένης νόθον εἶδος ἀληθέος Ἰφιγενείης) or δορκ[κ]ἄδ(α), both in verbal synapheia: in both cases the accusative κεμάδα or δορκάδα would be governed by a participial verbal form, now lost, in the previous line (e.g. l. 4 κρούσε δ' ἐπιθίτα = Att. ἐπιθίετα *vel* ἐπιταμβώσα = Att. ἐπιταμβώσα).

⁷⁷ For ὄρνυμι said of the stirring of winds and other atmospheric phenomena, see *LSJ* s.v. 3.

⁷⁸ For this tradition, see cf. also Lesky 1939, 971-2.

⁷⁹ If we accept the Iphigenia interpretation, the concluding line of the poem, that is l. 7 ἴπ[άντες ἐπ' ὠκουπόρωσι], would potentially trigger a poignant intertextual dialogue with Aesch. *Ag.* 1555-1559, where Clytaemestra envisages Iphigenia welcoming her murdered father in the underworld (ἀλλ' Ἰφιγένειά νιν ἀπασιόω | θυγάτηρ, ὡς χρῆι, | πατέρ' ἀντιάσασα πρὸς ὠκύπορον | πρόθμευμ' ἀχέων | περὶ χεῖρε βαλοῦσα φιλήσει).

⁸⁰ In the fourth century BCE and in Hellenistic and Roman times the territory of Tanagra included Aulis (Nicocrates *FGrHist* 376 F 1; Strabo 9.2.8): see Schachter 2016, 97.

⁸¹ For narrative/cyclic choral songs performed by female choruses in honour of Artemis, see D'Alessio 2013, 124-5.

There is a further papyrus of Boeotian vernacular lyric mentioning the Euripus (*PMG Boeot. inc. auct.* 693 fr. 1): it is too fragmentary to allow any reasonable conjecture on its content, but some elements point to the possibility of its belonging to an early portion of a poem (if we accept that line 19 included a plural imperative followed by δέυρο; of course, the column might represent parts of two different poems; there is an intriguing pattern of alternating sequences of long and short lines, but no obvious clues for responsion seem to emerge, at least at first sight). The occurrence of the adjective εὐάνεμος in its first preserved line is intriguing (Ἰενευανεμῖ). This is by no means a common conventional epithet,⁸² and the possibility that it might have been used to indicate a place by the Euripus (admittedly mentioned only at line 14 Ἰδεπευριπιῦο) potentially evokes *e contrario* one of the most famous (indeed, probably *the* most famous) mythical event that took place there.

A further potential implication of the Iphigenia hypothesis has to do with the arrangement of the poem(s) within the papyrus roll. It would be methodologically incautious, of course, to draw wide-ranging conclusions from a single case in which we have a sequence of two poems (a single one in this papyrus, that is: a further one is provided by the sequence of *The Contest of Kithairon and Helikon* and *Asopides* in the Berlin papyrus, *PMG* 654), but it would hardly seem coincidental that a poem on Iphigenia may have been immediately followed by one on Orestes. The criterion of thematic affinity (even, perhaps, of chronological and/or alphabetical order of mythical content) could then have been at least one of the guiding principles for the arrangement of this particular collection (or section).⁸³ If the reconstruction offered here for *PSI* 1174 ll. 1-7 is correct, this poem might provide, even in its very fragmentary state, another epichoric version of a panhellenic myth, embedded in the work of a poet and a genre strongly oriented toward performances of groups of young girls, and thus potentially offering a precious glimpse on an (alternative?) perspective on the figure of Iphigenia.

82 εὐήνεμος is attested only four times in the classical period: Soph. fr. 371.2-3 R εὐάνεμου | λίμνας (lyr.), *Aj.* 197 ὀρμάται ἐν εὐάνεμοις βάσσαις, Eur. *Andr.* 749 λιμένας [...] εἰς εὐήνεμους, fr. 316.2 Κ πόντου χεῦμ' εὐήνεμον; then two further times in the Hellenistic period: Theoc. 28.5 πλόον εὐάνεμον and Heracl. perieg. (4th/3rd BCE) *Descr. Graeciae* fr. 1.21.3.

83 Aulis was also the background of the only tenuous link between Orestes and Boeotia: according to Strabo 9.2.3 it was at Aulis that the Aeolians, guided by the descendants of Orestes, gathered before moving toward the colonization of Eastern Aeolis (with a clear parallelism with the previous gatherings at Aulis under the command of his father). The fact, however, that the *Orestas* was clearly a poem composed for performance in Thebes should make us cautious in exaggerating the importance of this connection.

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The Pocket Pindar

The Antinoupolis Codex and Pindar's Readership in Graeco-Roman Egypt

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Abstract The parchment codex published as *P.Ant.* II 76 and III 212 contains remains of Pindar's *Olympians* 5 and 6 along with scanty traces of marginal notes. Further conservation and study allows us to now roughly reconstruct the format of the original manuscript, and new imaging techniques have revealed better readings of the marginalia. In this speculative article, I explore the Pindar codex's form, content, and the particular context of Antinoupolis. In the process, I touch upon the question of Pindar's popularity in Roman Egypt, book production in Antinoupolis, and the form and function of the early codex. Taking all available evidence into account, I propose that we might have a pocket codex of Pindar's complete works – perhaps intended for casual reading.

Keywords Pindar. Antinoupolis. Codex. Papyrology. Ancient readership.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 The Fragments. – 3 Pindar in Graeco-Roman Egypt. – 4 Pindar in the Codex. – 5 The codex in Antinoupolis. – 6 A Pocket Pindar?

1 Introduction

P.Ant. II 76 + III 212 are small fragments of a parchment codex containing Pindar's 5th and 6th *Olympian Odes*. Damaged and tiny though they may be, these pieces of a manuscript unearthed in Antinoupolis deserve thorough study. Considering it in its historical and bibliographical context, I attempt a reconstruction of the codex using all available internal and external evidence.



Edizioni
Ca' Foscari

Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

Peer review | Open access

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/015

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I first present a new edition of the fragments with significant improvements in the readings of the marginalia. After this follows a survey of Pindar manuscripts in Egypt, with particular attention for the six extant codices of his work. The next section contains a study of the papyrological finds in Antinoupolis, examining the high relative quantity of parchment codices and codices in general. In the final section, all the evidence is brought together to argue that the Antinoupolis codex may have contained a complete edition of Pindar. The article ends with the open question of Pindar's readership in Egypt.

2 The Fragments

The two fragments are contiguous pages of a parchment codex containing at least Pindar's *Olympians* 5 and 6 (*edd. pr.* Barns 1960 and Barns 1967). With only minimal deviations, the codex has the colometry that we know from the ancient and Mediaeval tradition,¹ which allows us to calculate the missing lines with reasonable certainty. In addition to the text in a dark ink, the codex contains multiple neatly written marginal notes, apparently by the first hand, but in a hard-to-read lighter ink. The main text is in a small upright rounded hand, which I would assign to the 3rd century [figs 1-2].²

Based on the measurement of the recto of *P.Ant.* 76 (bottom of first line of writing to bottom of 10th line of writing is ca. 3.7 cm), and the knowledge that the original column had 28 lines, we can establish column height at ca. 11.5 cm. Since the largest fragment of *P.Ant.* 76 conserves the line beginnings on both sides, we can measure the written space of the page (measuring from left margin on recto to left margin on verso) at ca. 12 cm. The inner side margin is preserved in

This piece brings together multiple issues I have been thinking about within the context of a project made possible by a Veni grant from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO), project number 275-30-038. In an early stage I presented my ideas at a Pindar symposium at the Radboud University Nijmegen, and I thank the student audience as well as Bruno Currie, David Driscoll, Hans Hansen, and André Lardinois for their comments. Thanks are due to Daniela Colomo for sharing her thoughts and for conserving and re-arranging the fragments, to the Egypt Exploration Society for access to the fragments, and to Andrew Lui for assistance with the optical microscopy at Begbroke Science Park.

¹ Cf. Tessier 1995, 41-2.

² So Barns 1960; Ucciardello 2012, 109 prefers a slightly later date, citing *P.Ant.* I 28 and *P.Lond.Lit.* 192. Cavallo 2008, 101 assigns both of these papyri to the late 3rd century, however. In addition, we can point to *P.Oxy.* 412 (225-275 CE) and even *P.Fayum* 21 (134 CE) as good dated parallels for the hand, and the context clearly shows that parchment codices were present in Antinoupolis in the 3rd century (see below). From Antinoupolis, we may compare *P.Ant.* II 85 (papyrus codex of Ps.-Plut.; cf. Ricciardetto 2017, 216-19), assigned to the 3rd century CE, and *P.Ant.* III 121 (parchment codex with poetic (magical?) text), assigned to the 3rd or 4th century.

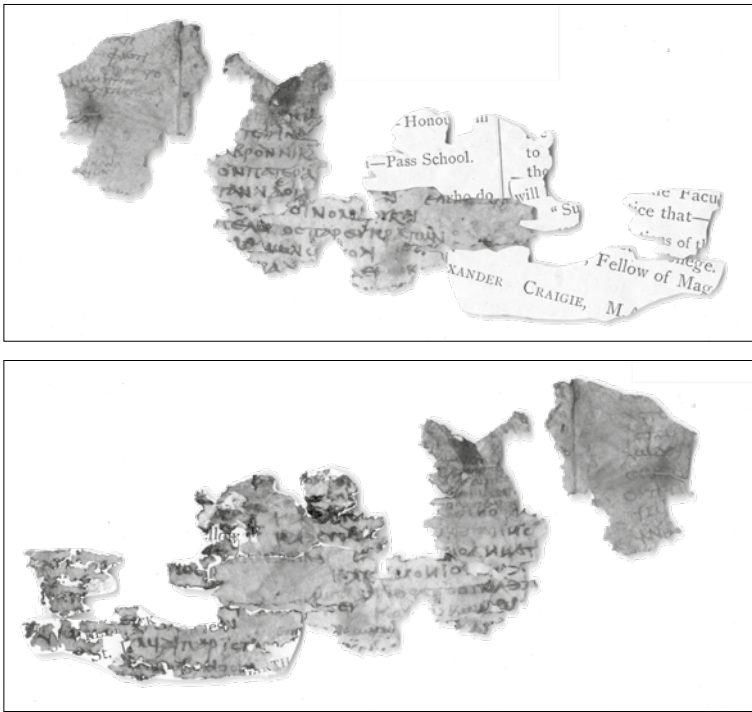


Figura 1-2 P.Ant. II 76 + III 212 sides one and two. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society and the University of Oxford Imaging Papyri Project

P.Ant. 212, at 1 cm; assuming the same on the outer margin, width of the folium will have been ca. 14 cm. Although we cannot establish the top and bottom margins, they will have been at least equal to the side margins, giving dimensions of a roughly square folium ca. 14 × 14 cm, or perhaps, following Turner's dictum (1977, 31) that in parchment codices a 'favourite proportion is 6:7' of width to height, ca. 14 × 16.5 cm. The format of the codex would thereby most likely put it in group X of Turner's typology (1977, 28-9).

The poetic text is written in single columns, with ample space left for marginal notes. Despite the deplorable state of the fragments, it is clear that a significant part of the unwritten portion of the page was filled in with notes. These are apparently in the same hand as the main text, but not in the same ink.³ For the sake of completeness, I

³ Analysis of the ink with a scanning electron microscope appears to show a difference between the two, with the ink of the marginalia yielding a much higher concentra-

present a fresh edition of the fragments, along with a brief commentary on the marginal traces.

P.Ant. II 76r

	ὕπὸ [βουθυαίαις ἀέθλων τε πεμ-		
	παμέρο[ις ἀμίλλαις		
	ἰ]πποικ[ήμι[όνοις τε]μ[ο]να[μ]υκί-		
	τε τιν δε [κύδος		
5	ἄβρὸν νικα[σας ἀ]νέθηκε καὶ		
	ὄν πατέρ' Ἄκ[ρων] ἐκάρυξε καὶ		
	τὰν νάτοικ[ον ἔδρ]αν.	ἐπεὶ [
	κων δ' Οἰνομάου καὶ	[
	Πέλοπος παρ' εὐηράτων	[
10	ς]ταθμῶν ὧ πολι-	. . [
	άοχ]ε Παλλά[ς] αἰεί-	κ [
	δει μὲν ἄλλος ἀ]γν[όν	[
	τὸ τεὸν ποταμόν τε Ὡανον ἐγ-]		

P.Ant. II 76v

	Κρόνιον τε ναίων λόφον		
	τιμῶν τ' Ἄλφεδὸν] [
	εὐρὺ ρέοντα Ἰδαῖ-]	[] [
	ὄν τε σεμνὸν ἄντρον]	[] , ω . α γ η . [
5	ἰκέτας σέθεν ἔρχομαι Λυδίοις]	[] , α . . τ ο [
	ἀπύων ἐν αὐλοῖς]	[] δ . . α π . [
	αἰτήσων πόλιν ε]ύα-	[] ν α σ .	
	νορίαισι τάνδε κλυταῖ]ς	[] , π . . τ η . ρ . [
	δαῖδά[λλειν σέ τ']	[] [
10	Ὀλυμπιό[νικε]** Ποσι-] [
	δανίο[ισιν ἴ]πποις	[] [
	ἐπιτ[ερόμενον] φέρειν γῆρας· εὖ-	[] [
	θυμ[ο]ν ἐς τελευτᾶν	ἐπ[...]	[
	υἰῶν Ψαύμιδι*** παρίσταμέ[νω]ν ὑγί-	. σ ζ ω μ α . [
15	εντα δ' εἶ] τις ὄλβον [
] [. . . . [. [

* The line ends of ll. 3, 5, 6, and 7 can only be read from the verso (quite clearly), because the recto is covered by the attached Oxford Gazette (cf. Barns 1960, 634). There is no trace of further marginalia on the recto visible on the verso, but the parchment is quite damaged and dirty here.

** The word appears to be in ekthesis by one letter.

*** L. Ψαῦμι.

tion of iron. This is consistent with the reddish brown colour of the ink.

Commentary

Recto

- 7 ἐπεὶ [: Only the tops and bottoms of the dotted letters are extant. A possible reading is ἐπεὶ ἡ Καμά[ρινα]... The scholia *ad loc.* explain that νέοικον ἔδραν refers to Kamarina (νέοικον ἔδραν εἶπε τὴν Καμάριναν ὁ Πίνδαρος), which had been newly settled by Psaumis.
- 10 [: These traces are right underneath the final letters of εὐηράτων and the note is likely connected to it. Only two sets of visible traces are certainly not ink showing through from the verso: the first from the top and bottom of an ascending diagonal, not obviously matching any letter, the second is a set of exiguous traces at the top and bottom of the line.
- 11 κ [: This note may explain the reference to Athena, perhaps along the lines of the scholion *Ol.* 5.22 πολιόχε: Καμαριναίων θεὸς ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ διὰ πλείστης τιμῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐσα ἡ θεός. καὶ Ἀθήναιον ἐπίσημον ἐν Καμαρίνῃ. εἰς τοῦτο δὲ εἰώθει ὁ κῶμος ἄγεσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ νίκη καὶ ὁ ὕμνος ἄδεσθαι.

Verso

The position of the comment(s) in the top right of the page is remarkable. Although the parchment is damaged here, no trace of marginalia remains in the middle of the page, which would mean the comment is placed far removed from the poetic text at the right margin of the page. One possibility is that the comment does not refer to the text to its left, but is actually a note pertaining to the text on the following page. It may be that the note started to the left of the title of *Ol.* 6, and the title itself may even have been in the margin. Titles in Pindar take the form of the name of the dedicatee and the athletic event in which he was victorious. Any further contextual information such as the occasion or date would then naturally have followed underneath it.

- 3] . ω . αγη [: Ἀγησι[ι]- would fit the traces. Hagesias of Syracuse is the victor celebrated in *Ol.* 6; see notes above.
- 4] . α . . τῶ [: traces in this line are exceedingly hard to read.
- 5] δ̄ . . απ̄ [: ἀπ[η]ν[η]- would match the traces (the trace after π is the foot of an upright). Both Psaumis, the dedicatee of *Ol.* 5, and Hagesias were victorious in the mule car race.

- 6 At first glance there appears to be writing on this line, but after filtering out the ink showing through from the recto, I have identified no certain traces on the verso.
- 7] π., τη, ρ. [: Reading the letter before ρ is hampered by the thick grave accent showing through from the recto.
- 14 ἐπ[.], c: The comment starts over the μ of παρῖς ταμένων. Just before the c a letter from the recto appears so clearly as to make the reading of the verso impossible.
ζωμα [: This is written exactly over ὕγι-, and likely referred to this word.

P.Ant. III 212r

- [.]*
- κεῖν[ος ἀνὴρ ἐπικύρσαις ἀφθόνων
ἀτῶ[ν ἐν ἡμερταῖς ἀοιδαῖς
ἴτω γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ πεδι-
5 λωι δαιμόνιον πόδ' ἔχων
Σωστράτου υἱός ἀκίνδυνοι δ' ἀρεταί
οὔτε παρ' ἀνδράσιν οὔτ' ἐν ναυσὶ κοίλαις
τίμι[αι πολλοὶ δὲ μέ-
μναγ[ται καλὸν εἴ τι ποναθῆ].
10 .]. [

P.Ant. III 212v

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| ὦ Φίντις, ἀλλὰ ζεῦξον ἧ-]** | κλητικῆ |
| δημοι χθένος ἡμιόνων,] |] Φίντι |
| ῥά τάχος, ὄφρα κελεύθῃ τ' ἐν καθαρῶ] | τῆ ὀρθῆ ἑχρήσατο |
| βράσομεν ὄκχον, ἴκωμαί τε πρὸς ἀνδρῶν] |] ἀντὶ τῆς |
| 5 καὶ γένος· κείναι γὰρ ἐξ] |] κλητικῆς |
| ἀλλὰν ὀδὸν ἀγεμονεῦσαι] |] |
| ταύταν ἐπίστανται, στεφάνους ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι] |] |
| ἐπεὶ δέξαντο· χρῆ τοίνυν πύλας] |] εἰν ἀνα |
| ῥυμῶν ἀναπιτνάμεν αὐταῖς:] |] αρμας |
| 10 πρὸς Πιτάναν δὲ παρ' Εὐρώτα πόρον] |]· γη. [|

* I have added this unwritten line so that the line numbering on recto and verso matches. The gap between the lines starting κείνος and -δη μοι is exactly 28 lines, and in this arrangement the extant word ending -αν (verso) of an otherwise lost marginalium does indeed line up correctly with πεδι- (recto).

** Since none of the poetic text is extant, the alignment of comment to text is approximate, but see the preceding footnote.

Commentary

Verso

- 1-5 Reconstruction Barns, on the basis of sch. *Ol.* 6.37a τῆ δὲ κλητικῆ οὐκ ἐχρήσατο ἀλλὰ τῆ εὐθείᾳ.
- 2 Φίντι: the accent is written on the papyrus.
- 4]αν: Although larger than the surrounding comment, colometry and page lay-out practically guarantee that this is a further gloss or comment; the letters are too far to the right to form part of the main text. It could be a one-word gloss, but there is also enough space for a longer comment; cf. sch. *Ol.* 6.39 τῆ ὀδῶ δὲ τῆ καθαρᾶ, τῆ μὴ ἐχούση ἐπίληψιν ἢ ψεῦδος, ἀλλὰ ἀλήθειαν.
- 8]ξιν ανα: Both this line and the following may have stood roughly at the height of the verse ending αὐταῖς. This allows us to read a reference to ἀναπιτνάμεν, perhaps a longer note including a gloss of the obscure verb (cf. sch. rec. *Ol.* 6.37-45 ἦγουν ἀνοίγειν, ἀναπετᾶν). The note may have gone on to specify the mules in order to explain what the Pindaric metaphor refers to.
- 9]αρμας: the second trace could also be ο; the final trace may just be the tail of the α, or it may be c.
- 11] . γη] : the first trace is the right-hand arc of a rounded letter or a slightly rounded π, apparently followed by a high dot. If the putative high dot is rather part of the following letter, we should read λ instead of γ. The final letter before lacuna is more likely ν than μ.

3 Pindar in Graeco-Roman Egypt

Quotations and references in literary works can illustrate the impact of Pindar's works throughout the Hellenistic and Roman period, but Egypt is the only part of the Roman Empire for which we have extant witnesses to his texts. Papyrological finds dating from the 1st century BCE to the 6th century CE attest to the lyric poet's continued popularity in Graeco-Roman Egypt. The majority of finds are from Oxyrhynchus, which should not surprise us since Oxyrhynchus eclipses all other finding places of literary papyri in Egypt. This fact may be linked to the practicalities of the archaeological expeditions, the vicissitudes of conservation in different places in Egypt, but also to the literary culture of Oxyrhynchus. Further finds in Hermopolis, Antinoupolis, and Busiris show that his readership extended beyond the cultural hub of Oxyrhynchus.

The total number of published textual witnesses is around 45, depending on how we decide on a few uncertainly attributed texts.⁴ The available sources tell us that Pindar's works were gathered in 17 rolls, divided by genre.⁵ The popularity of the *Epinicia* in antiquity is clear from the numbers: of the 45 papyri commonly attributed to Pindar, 22 contain *Epinicia*. In other words, 4 rolls out of 17 represent almost half of all the papyrological witnesses. Adding the 7 copies of the *Paeans*, 5 rolls out of 17 account for two-thirds of the evidence.⁶ From the positive evidence, we can cautiously hypothesise that the *Paeans* and *Epinicia* were more popular than some of the other genres – the three rolls of *Partheneia*, for example, are only represented by one certain papyrological witness.⁷ This observation is corroborated, at least for the *Epinicia*, by the fact that 3 out of 4 extant commentaries to Pindar's texts concern parts of the *Epinicia*.⁸

Irigoien established the dogma that the *Epinicia* were the only works in circulation after the 2nd century CE,⁹ and despite new finds of papyri,¹⁰ his picture of a top-down selection of literature under the Antonine emperors is still commonly accepted.¹¹ The data from Egypt outlined above should urge us to be more cautious than simply assuming a narrative of decline. Besides the accident of the find, we need to keep two issues in mind when evaluating this data. The first is that many of these papyri consist of large sets of fragments, and the only ones that can be positively identified as belonging to a certain genre are those that overlap with quotations in literature or with other published papyri that have been otherwise identified. Since the *Epinicia* are extant, they are also the ones most easily identified, even when only a tiny fragment is uncovered. The second is-

⁴ Especially PSI 145 and 146 are only doubtfully attributed, fr. *dubia* 334 and 335 in Snell, Maehler.

⁵ Versions of the list are extant in the *Suda*, the Mediaeval manuscripts of Pindar, and the biography on *P.Oxy.* 2438; see for an overview of the evidence De Kreij 2019.

⁶ Thanks are due to Enrico Prodi for consulting on the current *communis opinio* about the genres to which the different Pindar papyri have been assigned.

⁷ *P.Oxy.* 659.

⁸ *P.Oxy.* 2451 (*Isthmians*), *P.Oxy.* 2536 (*Pythians*), *P.Oxy.* 5201 (*Olympian* 1); the exception is *P.Oxy.* 2449, which contains a lemma from *P.Oxy.* 2448, now identified as *Prosodia*.

⁹ Irigoien 1952, 93-100.

¹⁰ *P.Oxy.* 2442+5039, 2448, and 3822 carry other genres (*Paeans*, *Hymns*, and *Prosodia*) into the 3rd century CE.

¹¹ See Willcock 1995, 28 and Race 1997, 1: 35, "In the 3rd century AD the other books began to drop out of circulation and only the four books of epinicia continued to be read. About this time they were transferred from papyrus rolls to codices, apparently in the order of the founding of the games: Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean. At some point the last two books were interchanged and some of the final pages of the Isthmian odes were lost".

sue is that the find of remains of one roll positively proves that there was a reader of Pindar, but it does not prove that the other rolls were not also there at some point. We do not know how common it was to own only one roll of Pindar's works, a selection, or his entire *oeuvre*.

There are two cases where multiple genres were found together in the same handwriting, which suggests that multiple rolls were discarded in the same place. It concerns *P.Oxy.* 841 (*Hymns* and *Paeans*) and *P.Oxy.* 2442 + *P.Oxy.* 5039 (*Hymns*, *Paeans*, *Prosodia*, and *Pythian Odes*). Such finds suggest the possibility that (some of) the genres not uncovered could also have formed part of the owner's collection. This may be the case all the more with the codices that concern us in particular in this article; they are discussed individually in the following section.

4 Pindar in the Codex

Before we further consider who read Pindar in Egypt, we must return to our codex. The Antinoupolis codex is one of at least six surviving Pindaric codices from Egypt.¹² It is in itself remarkable that so many codices containing Pindar's poetry have surfaced, since not much lyric poetry appears to have been transferred from rolls to codex.¹³ Of all five, only fragments of individual leaves are extant, so our hopes of establishing how much they may have contained rest on tentative reconstruction. In the following, I describe the physical make-up of the codices as far as it can be established.

The Antinoupolis codex had 28 lines per column, and one column per page, a distribution of the text paralleled in the 4th-century papyrus codex *P.Oxy.* 5038 (*Ol.* 10).¹⁴ The page lay-out of our codex was a peculiar one, however, with an extraordinary amount of space intentionally left blank and promptly filled with glosses and comments. However, since the notes in the Pindar codex are in the first hand, we may assume that the page lay-out was conceived as a whole, including space for the marginalia. We may productively compare the Callimachus codex *P.Oxy.* 2258 (6th century), whose "margins together are equivalent to half of the width of the page" (Wilson 1967,

¹² The other five are: *PSI* 147 (2nd century, papyrus), *PL* inv. III 310c, published in Pintaudi and Cannatà Fera 1997 (4th century, papyrus), *P.Oxy.* 5038 (4th century, papyrus), *P.Oxy.* 1614 (5th century, papyrus), and *MPER* I 23 (6th century, papyrus); *PSI* 145 is also a codex (2nd century, papyrus) but see the doubts about attribution mentioned in fn. 12.

¹³ Beyond Pindar, of the lyric canon only Sappho certainly made it into the codex (*P.Berol.* inv. 5006 and 9722, parchment codices from the 6th or 7th centuries CE); the Hellenistic lyric poets Callimachus and Theocritus are well represented among codex finds.

¹⁴ Although it is a generally larger codex: ca. 18 × 26 (w. × h.); see Maehler 2010, 67.

249). For the sake of completeness it is worth noting that the metrical cola of *Ol.* 5 and 6 are generally short, so lines would have been somewhat longer in other pieces (e.g. *Ol.* 11 and *Nem.* 11), yielding a different page lay-out.

Based on the number of lines per page and the number of lines in the book of *Olympian Odes*, we can reconstruct that the *Olympians* would have occupied around 56 pages in these two codices.¹⁵ The complete *Epinicia* would have taken up around 6,178 lines, assuming around 618 lines are missing at the end of the *Isthmians*, which amounts to around 220 pages.¹⁶ We do not know the length of the lost books of Pindar,¹⁷ but we can assume an average of between 1,000 and 1,500 lines, based on the *Epinicia* and our general knowledge of ancient bookrolls. As a rough guide, we may regard the *Epinicia* as around 4/17 of the complete Pindar.

PSI 147 is one leaf of a late 2nd-century papyrus codex in a regular rounded hand with ample margins, containing fragments of the *Paeans*. It has much taller pages than the Antinoupolis codex and *P.Oxy.* 5038, with around 44 lines per page. In this lay-out, the *Epinicia* would take up around 140 pages. Roberts and Skeat speculated whether these fragments came from a "complete Pindar" (1983, 72). If the *Epinicia* are indeed representative of the rest of Pindar's work in terms of quantity, the entire corpus in this format would have fit in around 596 pages.

PL inv. III 310c, a papyrus kept in the Laurenziana in Florence, is a fragment of a late 4th-century codex with 34 lines per page.¹⁸ The hand is rather irregular, and the codex does not give the impression of having been a fine copy. The first editors ask (themselves?) in a footnote whether the codex had all of Pindar (Pintaudi and Cannatà Fera 1997, 197 fn. 2), and if that were the case it would have contained around 772 pages.

P.Oxy. 1614 is a single sheet from a late 5th-century papyrus codex in a somewhat irregular, cramped hand containing parts of the *Olympians*. The codex had around 52 lines per page, and it contained decorated titles in the text, rather than in the margins. This makes 1590 lines for the *Olympians*,¹⁹ which would have fit in around 31 pag-

¹⁵ In its ancient colometry, the *Olympians* span 1562 verses. We should keep a margin of error, of course, for possible titles (as in *P.Oxy.* 1614 col. i, l. 22), mistakes, etc.

¹⁶ The number of extant lines of the *Epinicia* is 1562 + 1983 + 1273 + 742 = 5560. D'Alessio 2012, 28 estimates that around 10 per cent of the *Epinicia* are missing, around 618 lines, which would yield a hypothetical total of 1360 lines for the *Isthmians*, and 6178 for the *Epinicia*.

¹⁷ For the *Paeans*, the stichometric sign in *P.Oxy.* 841 informs us that it contained at least 1,350 verses; cf. Rutherford 2001, 140.

¹⁸ Published in Pintaudi, Cannatà Fera 1997, LDAB 3739; cf. Ucciardello 2012, 109.

¹⁹ 1,562 lines + 14 titles × 2 lines (title plus decoration) = 1,590.

es; the *Epinicia* would have taken up a minimum of around 119. The make-up of the quire that this sheet belonged to practically guarantees that the codex contained more than just the *Olympians*, so it is likely to have had at least the *Epinicia*.²⁰ A complete edition of Pindar would have taken up just over 500 pages.

MPER I 23 (*P.Vindob.* G 29817), finally, is the top corner of the page of a 6th-century papyrus codex containing marginal comments to the first *Pythian*. It was clearly a large-format codex (Gerstinger 1932, 146), but since only the upper and right margin of the recto, upper and left margin of the verso are extant, without any remains of the poetic text, the number of lines per column cannot be calculated with certainty.

Most of these are examples of codices from a period when the bookroll was still preferred for pagan literature.²¹ Still, there are parallels in literature as well as the papyrological record. Libanius (*Or.* 1.148) speaks of his handy single codex of Thucydides, which allowed him to forego the use of slaves if he wanted to carry the work with him (cf. Roberts 1954, 195). Remarkably, a 3rd-century papyrus codex that somehow found its way into collections across Europe is reconstructed by Bülow-Jacobsen (1982, 77) as having contained the complete Thucydides in around 427 pages.²² We may also compare *P.Ryl.* III 549, a 3rd-century papyrus codex containing Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, a work of 7 or 8 bookrolls, in around 300 pages (Roberts 1938, 198).

The size of papyrus codices appears generally to have been limited, which might mean that the papyrus codices of Pindar did not contain the complete corpus – except perhaps *P.Oxy.* 1614. However, the same limitation did not apply to parchment codices (Turner 1977, 82–83).²³ In fact, the possibility of gathering large corpora in one volume

20 Fol. 1r starts with *Ol.* 1.171, so there are 170 lines lost before it. At 52 lines per page, this means that at least two outer leaves are missing. After *Ol.* 2.72, 407 lines and 4 titles are missing, which equates to around 8 pages on 2 leaves. This means the first quire was a quinio (cf. Turner 1977, 63), or a senio if the codex had a fly leaf before the start of the *Olympians*. In any case, the remainder of the quire (4 or 6 pages) would not have sufficed to cover the rest of the *Olympians* (788 lines and 7 titles, around 16 pages), which entails it must have been a multi-quire codex. It is unlikely to have only had another small quire for the remainder of the *Olympians*. An example of a multi-quire codex containing quinionones is the Theocritus codex found in Antinoupolis, cf. Hunt, Johnson 1930, 20.

21 Cf. the numbers given by Bülow-Jacobsen 2009, 24.

22 The publication numbers are *P.Gen.* 2, *P.Ryl.* III 548, *P.Oxy.* 3450, and *P.Köln* VII 304. Another Thucydides codex (parchment) with two columns to the page is *P.Ant.* I 25, now dated to the 4th century; cf. Turner 1977, 36.

23 A selection of early Coptic multi-quire parchment codices (dated between the 4th and 7th centuries) listed in Szirmai 1999, 16 (table 2.1) has between 15 and 32 quires, where known. Since most quires contained 4 leaves (= 16 pages) or more, this translates to codices containing 240 pages and up.

may have been one of the reasons of the format's success, and parchment was the material of choice for such codices (Roberts, Skeat 1983, 48). Roberts and Skeat refer to a Coptic Manichean parchment codex of at least 638 pages, and of course there are the 4th-century bibles: the *Vaticanus* had 1,600 pages and the *Sinaiticus* contained 1,460.²⁴ The parchment codex was not limited to Christian literature either, as we know the 35 bookrolls' worth of legal discourse by Ulpian (*Ad Edictum*) were re-edited in three codices, equivalent to 14, 11, and 7 rolls (Wieacker 1960, 125-9).

Parallel to the Thucydides codex mentioned above, larger literary works or corpora were also gathered into parchment books. Two papyrus codices of the *Odyssey* have surfaced whose page numbers show that they contained the entire *Odyssey* in just over 400 pages.²⁵ Even more impressive is the 4th-century parchment codex of Virgil, called the *Vaticanus*, which had his entire *oeuvre* in 880 pages.²⁶ It is clear that the new possibilities offered by the codex ensured its success and were being exploited thoroughly by the 3rd and 4th centuries CE. Moreover, it has so far gone unnoticed that this appears to have been especially true in the young foundation of Antinoupolis.

5 The Codex in Antinoupolis

P.Ant. II 76 and III 212 were found in Johnson's 1913-14 excavation of the rubbish heaps at Antinoupolis, modern El-Sheikh Ibada. Although his report does not explicitly mention the discovery of either fragment, the one find spot rich in Roman material was mound G, on the south-east side of the site, excavated in January and February of 1914 (Johnson 1914, 178-80).²⁷

Especially for the Roman period, which for Antinoupolis amounts to the 2nd-4th centuries CE, Johnson's harvest was a lot less rich than Grenfell and Hunt's in Oxyrhynchus. Including later finds from the site, I know of only around 84²⁸ literary texts that have been assigned

²⁴ The *Vaticanus* is in the Vatican library as Vat. gr. 1209 and the *Sinaiticus* in the British Library as Add. MS 43725.

²⁵ *P.Ryl.* I 53 (3rd-4th century) and *P.Amh.* II 23 (3rd-4th century); cf. Turner 1977, 83-4.

²⁶ Cod. Vat. lat. 3225 (*CLA* I 11) dated to the 4th century CE or to around 400.

²⁷ He does note finding the parchment roll of Xenophon (assigned 2nd or 3rd century CE) - discussed below - in *N*, a mound otherwise yielding much later material. One possible explanation is that the Xenophon text was a rarity preserved for multiple centuries before being discarded in late antiquity.

²⁸ This dataset for the 2nd-4th centuries CE was compiled by hand, consisting of the literary papyri from *P.Ant.* I, II, and III, plus the following 9 papyri published elsewhere: *PSI* XIII 1306 (though note the later date [5th or 6th century] proposed by Pres-

to the 2nd to 4th century.²⁹ In relative terms, this is still a high number: of all the published papyri from Antinoupolis, around 37.5 % are literary, whereas for entire Egypt only 15 % of published finds are classed as literary.³⁰ Fournet comments that the high relative number of literary finds might have to do with the priority that literary papyri receive in order of publication. However, at least for the Oxford collection, Barns claimed that he published the final Greek papyri in volume III of the *Antinoopolis Papyri* (Barns 1967, v), and only very fragmentary unpublished material from the Roman period remains in the Papyrology Rooms in the Sackler library.

There are more peculiarities in the early findings from Antinoupolis. Menci notes the apparent popularity of parchment in comparison to other places in Egypt, arguing that the parchment codex was the most prestigious book form in Antinoupolis (Menci 1998, 52).³¹ In her data, which cover all the papyri found at Antinoupolis, she points out the prevalence of texts of the orators ("and some few others of the greats") among the parchment codices. As for the period that concerns us here, the 2nd to 4th centuries CE, what stands out is that the parchment codex appears to have been reserved for fine copies of literary or biblical texts. Out of 27 parchment codices from that period (almost a third of the 84 literary texts assigned to the period), only 2 are exceptions, one is a legal text, and another is written in a more informal hand.³² In order to understand the interest of that number, compare the fact that in the same period only 31 parchment codices from Oxyrhynchus are listed in the LDAB. Moreover, 16 of these are biblical or otherwise theological texts, versus 7 out of 27 at Antinoupolis. Considering the quantity of 2nd to 4th-century papyri from Oxyrhynchus, in relative terms the number of parch-

sura 2017), LDAB 113249 (Minutoli in Pintaudi 2008, 111-15), LDAB 113251 (Nachtergaele and Pintaudi in Pintaudi 2008, 122-8), LDAB 2677 (Körte 1908), LDAB 6066 (Zalateo et al. 1940, 12-14), LDAB 6103 (Zalateo et al. 1940, 7), LDAB 642454 (Del Corso, Pintaudi 2015), LDAB 754092 (Minutoli in Pintaudi 2017, 527-34), LDAB 754097 (Del Corso, Pintaudi in Pintaudi 2017, 553-6).

29 The number is not beyond doubt for two reasons: 1) despite my best efforts, I may have missed relevant published papyri from Antinoupolis; 2) palaeographic dating is a subjective exercise: a number of manuscripts assigned to the 4th century may well be 5th-century in origin.

30 The data is from Fournet 2009, 117; Nocchi Macedo 2016 accidentally presents an even starker contrast (59.8% against 15%), because he confuses the number for the Antinoupolite papyri in the Florentine collection with the number of Antinoupolite papyri *tout court*.

31 "Il codice pergameneo ad Antinoe sembra essere un 'contenitore' di prestigio, destinato quasi esclusivamente ai testi di oratori [...] e di pochi altri 'grandi': e questi sono anche, tra i codici antinoiti, quelli di maggior pregio dal punto di vista paleografico".

32 I 22 (Latin legal text executed in a 'small and elegant hand') and Minutoli in Pintaudi 2017, 527-34 (*Iliad* in a somewhat quickly written bookhand).

ment codices found at Antinoupolis is orders of magnitude greater than that found in Oxyrhynchus.

An even larger statistical anomaly is the absolute preference for the codex over the roll, from the earliest finds onward. Again for the 2nd to 4th centuries, only 12 out of 84 literary manuscripts are rolls, divided as follows chronologically:

Table 1 Roll vs. codex in Antinoupolis (literary)³³

Date	Kind	Number
2nd century	roll	1
	codex	2
2nd-3rd	roll	4
	codex	7
3rd	roll	5
	codex	21
3rd-4th	roll	1
	codex	9
4th	roll	1
	codex	33

Table 2 Roll vs. codex in Egypt (literary)³⁴

Date	Kind	Number
2nd century	roll	1790
	codex	73
3rd	roll	1104
	codex	321
4th	roll	155
	codex	587

One way to explain this anomaly is to attribute it to the accident of the find. Johnson notes that the deeper strata containing texts from the Roman period had mostly “coagulated into a hard and concrete-like mass” (1914, 180), except in mound *G*. This mound is likely to have been the source for most of the Roman material. Nonetheless, since the mound yielded material spanning 5 centuries, and Johnson never speaks of finding a collection in *G*, whereas he does speak of

33 The 11 Christian texts in the Antinoupolis dataset are all codices, as expected, but even considering only the pagan literary texts, there is a clear preference for the codex.

34 Source: *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* (<https://www.trismegistos.org/ld-ab/index.php>).

uncovering a “small Byzantine library” (1914, 175) in mound *M*, there is no reason to assume this statistical anomaly can be attributed to the accident of finding the refuse from one eccentric book owner in the polis. In fact, Johnson describes the mound as follows: “It seemed that several early houses had here thrown out adjacent conical heaps and a later age had filled in their interstices till one mound resulted, so that in the same trench 2nd century and 5th century [*sic*] material came out side by side” (1914, 179). Finally, although among the more recent finds early manuscripts have been few, they still bear out the relative quantities of Johnson’s initial excavations.

Since it has not heretofore been noticed, there has been no attempt to explain the high number of codices, and in particular parchment codices among the Antinoupolis texts. A further particularity is *P.Ant. I 26*, the only parchment *roll* of a pagan text (Xenophon) ever to have surfaced in Egypt. Roberts (1950, 61) and Bingen (1962, 335) consider the possibility that the roll was imported from the Near East, based on its peculiar format and the handwriting.³⁵ Nocchi Macedo has rightly pointed to a number of parallels of the hand on papyri from Egypt, but does allow that the parchment roll would have been regarded as unusual in Egypt, and may well have been imported (Nocchi Macedo 2018, 329). One other possible explanation for both the parchment roll and the high number of parchment codices in Antinoupolis is that in the settlement process someone or a group of people migrated to the new city from the Near East, bringing with them not only their own books, but their own book production practices.³⁶ Since there is no evidence for such a demographic peculiarity, however, this will have to remain speculation.

³⁵ Cf. more recently Crisci 1996, 149. The other parchment rolls of Greek texts found in Egypt are all from a Christian context, and the one further pagan example is a glossary to the *Iliad* found in Doura, Syria (*P.Dura* 3); for the rarely discussed format of the parchment roll, see Nocchi Macedo 2018.

³⁶ The settlement of Antinoupolis is documented, in Egyptian hieroglyphs, on the ‘Antinoos Obelisk’. The only indication there is that people moved “from the villages” to the new polis, and that they were enticed with land grants, cf. Grimm, Kessler, Meyer 1994, 63.

6 A Pocket Pindar?

Speaking of speculation, it would surely be foolish to attempt to reconstruct the entire Antinoupolis codex of Pindar from such tiny fragments, were it not for one further piece of evidence. In the first volume of the *Antinoopolis Papyri*, Roberts published a parchment *sillybos*, a title tag, with the words Πίνδαρος ὅλος on it (*P.Ant.* I 21). The 'complete Pindar' – as it should apparently be translated – would have comprised 17 rolls, and it is hard to see why a tag with that text would be attached to each individual roll of a complete set (cf. Caroli 2007, 204). Roberts therefore first considers the possibility that “in the transition period between roll and codex, the *sillybos* was attached to the latter as well as to the former,” but later concludes that “in the absence of evidence for such a practice [...] this is improbable” (1950, 47). Caroli likewise believes it did not belong to a codex, and is more convinced by Maehler's theory (2003, 251) that it may have been attached to a *capsa*, a book case containing the whole set. Caroli (2007, 203-4) adduces the single parallel of a stone case found in Alexandria with the inscription Διοσκουρίδης γ' τόμοι, containing the works of the pharmacologist Dioscurides Pedanius (1st century CE).

There are a number of peculiarities about the Pindar tag: (1) the tag is parchment, not papyrus, (2) the name is written in the nominative rather than the genitive (just as on the stone *capsa*), and (3) the text proceeds vertically on the tag, rather than horizontally, unparallelled according to Caroli. The fact that the tag is made of parchment does not mean it would have been unlikely to be attached to a papyrus roll, as a reference in Cicero demonstrates.³⁷ In fact, two parchment *sillyboi* are extant with clear remains of papyrus on them.³⁸ These tags were positioned such that one end of the tag was glued with the back of the written side onto the roll, so that the written part stuck out. A close examination of the Pindar title tag shows no remains of papyrus, but rather traces of something else, and these are on the written side rather than on the back [fig. 3]. It is definitely not papyrus, and under the microscope the material looks like it might be darker parchment or leather, perhaps stuck to the tag as it came detached from the object it was attached to.

Despite the fact that a decent number of early codices have been found with parts of the bindings intact, Boudalis points out that we have yet to find out where the titles of the work(s) contained in the

³⁷ Cic. to Atticus 4.4a, *membranulam ex qua indices fiunt*; cf. Caroli 2007, 28-30.

³⁸ Caroli P 11 (*P.Oxy.* 2396, 2nd century CE) and Caroli P 15 (*P.Oxy.* 1091, 2nd century CE).

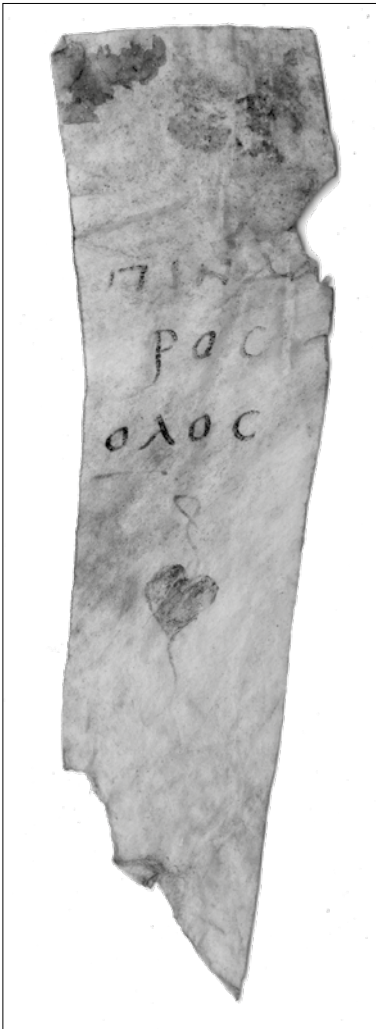


Figure 3 P.Ant. 121. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society and the University of Oxford Imaging Papyri Project

codex were displayed.³⁹ Since the title tag differs significantly from all others with regard to its physical make-up as well as its writing, we might seriously consider it was attached not to a roll, but to a codex, perhaps glued to the inside of the back of the binding, so that its written part stuck out below. Part of the reason for all of this spec-

³⁹ Personal communication, 23 January 2019; for thorough study of early codex bindings, see Szirmai 1999 and Boudalis 2018.

ulation is the question of the likelihood of finding *both* a codex containing a significant part of Pindar's poetry *and* a full set of Pindar's corpus on papyrus rolls in a dataset as small as that of Antinoupolis' literary papyri dated 2nd to 4th century CE. It is more economical to assume that they are connected, especially since their dating, based on handwriting alone, may be within the same range. The hand on the tag may even be a more regular and neat variant of the hand of the Pindar text,⁴⁰ although this is impossible to establish based on so few letters. Whether the same scribe wrote both the tag and the text or not, the hands look contemporary and may well have been part of the same work.

What would it mean if the tag reading *The Complete Pindar* belonged to our codex fragments? The reconstruction presented above shows that the a complete edition of the 17 books may have amounted to around 935 pages in the lay-out of our codex. This is a very high number for a parchment codex, though not unparalleled.⁴¹ The parchment pages of the codex were obviously very thin, as the writing on the verso can now be clearly seen through the parchment on the recto. The complete codex may have been a rather handy - if thick - little manuscript, not entirely unlike the larger of our Loeb volumes.⁴²

Libanius praises his Thucydides codex for the ease of transport and use. Roberts assumes - without clear reason - that Libanius' codex of Thucydides was "in all probability, more of a *de luxe* edition than the more utilitarian third-century⁴³ codices from Egypt. These now existed to satisfy the desire for collected and handy editions, particularly of the bulky prose authors" (Roberts 1954, 195). Roberts' statement remains a little impressionist, since it is not entirely clear which texts he has in mind when he speaks of the "utilitarian codices", but the term suits our Pindar codex. With its small format, practical lay-out, and somewhat irregular hand, we can imagine it as a "collected and handy edition" for a pragmatic reader - but who could this reader have been? The text with ample comments would have been ideal for a student, but this need not be the only possibility.

⁴⁰ Especially the shape of ρ and λ are very similar, but one may note the different shape of π and the forward slant of the writing on the tag compared to the generally upright script of the text.

⁴¹ We may refer again to the Vatican Vergil (Vat. lat. 3225) which gathered the poet's entire corpus in 880 pages of which the written space measured 16 × 16 cm (*CLA I* 11), compared to 12 × 12 for the Pindar codex. Alternatively, it is possible that by this time the four books of *Epinicia* were regarded as the complete Pindar, which would have amounted to a codex of just over 220 pages.

⁴² Loeb pages measure 10.3 × 16.3 cm; the pages of the Pindar codex were definitely a bit wider, but might have had a similar height.

⁴³ Note that some of the codices Roberts dated to the 3rd century are now commonly regarded as 4th-century books.

There is some talk of a 'reading middle class' in Greco-Roman Egypt, but it is hard to establish what such a group of casual readers may or may not have read.⁴⁴ In his article on the *lettore commune*, Cavallo introduced us to the 'casual reader' in Roman Egypt: someone of relatively humble means and partial education for whom literature was not a professional endeavour (2007, 558).⁴⁵ Cavallo sees an emergence of this class of readers in the early centuries of our era, as education becomes available to more people, and this is reflected in the popularity of mythography, paradoxography, and the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. Most popular, however, were paraphrases of epic, epitomised history, and biography, and of course all kinds of erotic literature (Cavallo 2007, 566). The novel's narrative form and interest in romance and adventure will all have suited a wide range of readers.

Cavallo firmly excludes tragedy and similar 'high poetry' from this amateur's reading materials (2007, 570),⁴⁶ but there is no *a priori* reason to maintain this belief. As substantiation for his claim, Cavallo refers to the story of Demetrius ripping a roll of Euripides' *Bacchae* from someone's hands in order to save it from further torturing by the reader's incompetence.⁴⁷ However, the anecdote reported in Lucian's diatribe against the pretentious book collector is about someone unschooled (ἀπαιδευτος), not the class Cavallo has in mind. A better source is Strabo, who speaks of how the reader who is πεπαιδευμένος μετρίως, "mediamente istruito" in Cavallo's translation, can take the μῦθοι (if not much else) from poetry (2007, 567-8).

Strabo does not specify what poetry he has in mind, focussing mainly on Homer in the remainder of the passage, but considering the topics he touches upon (e.g. Heracles and Theseus) he may well have been thinking of tragedy and lyric, too. Considering that the casual reader would have received at least basic training in reading and writing, we can be confident that s/he will have encountered at least some poetry. Homer was the starting point for every student (Criore 1996, e.g. 46 and 49),⁴⁸ and in spite of Cavallo's insistence we must allow that tragedies like the *Phoenician Women* were read

⁴⁴ See Lamedica 1985, 75 on the readership of the short biographies in *P.Oxy.* 1800: "non [...] un'élite intellettuale in grado di apprezzare il serio lavoro di erudizione, ma una classe media desiderosa di apprendere, senza un eccessivo impegno, notizie su individui noti da sempre".

⁴⁵ "Da individuare, piuttosto, è dunque chi legge letteratura *soltanto* (e non *anche*) al di fuori di qualsiasi obbligo o impegno sociale o intellettuale".

⁴⁶ "La tragedia era lettura riservata ai dotti". He refers to Morgan 2003, but her conclusion that tragedy was read only by a "smallish group of the highly literate" is not borne out by the evidence, as Criore 1996 and 2001 had already shown.

⁴⁷ Luc. *Ind.* 19.

⁴⁸ On page 49: "Homer as educator *par excellence*".

widely (Cribiore 1996, 48).⁴⁹ Cribiore (2001) has convincingly demonstrated the central position of Euripides' tragedy in all levels of education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. Once the technical skills of reading had been mastered, and after a first poetic encounter with Homer and Euripides, the reader would surely have been in a position to tackle other poetic texts, provided they were accompanied by the necessary comments. Del Corso raises the possibility that we have two such copies meant for casual readers in the Lille Callimachus (*P.Lille* inv. 82, 76 + 79, 78b, 78a) and the integral text of Nicanor's *Theriaca* with extensive notes in *P.Oxy.* 2221. He believes such texts may have been intended for readers without specialist knowledge of philology and grammar, but interested in reading obscure poets (Del Corso 2010, 93-4). He rightly notes that these texts may well have been used in a school context, but that they do not of themselves show any signs of scholarship, and appear rather to have been accessible to any reader, "un lettore di qualsiasi genere".⁵⁰ There is no reason not to extend this casual reader's interests to include Pindar.

As a final piece of information, consider the physical appearance of the Pindar papyri. The majority of manuscripts found in Egypt appear to have been fine copies, professionally produced. A good example is *P.Tebt.* 684, written in a neat biblical majuscule, with ample space between lines of verse and wide margins.⁵¹ The readership for such texts is hard to establish, but these *éditions de luxe* are likely to have been expensive commissions, as scribes were paid according to the quality of their writing.⁵² Although the owner's socio-economic status does not rule out the possibility that s/he was a casual reader of the poet, they do not provide positive evidence of such a readership either.

Received wisdom holds that Pindar was not accessible to the average reader; as Ucciardello has it: "The absence of Pindar [among literary texts on the verso of documents] is unsurprising, since this difficult author could have been accessible only to a well-accomplished readership" (2012, 115). Ucciardello's corpus are the *Epinicia*, but it should be pointed out that *P.Oxy.* 841, containing *Hymns* and *Paeans*, was written on the back of 2nd-century documents. We do well to heed Ucciardello's words, and his observation is a relevant piece

⁴⁹ "Of his plays the *Phoenissae* was the most read, since teachers' choices of authors mirrored the tastes of the general public".

⁵⁰ Socrates, the tax collector from Karanis, may also have been a leisure reader, although he certainly belonged to the socio-economic elite. Finds from his house show that besides Homer he owned some plays of Menander, a version of the *Acta Alexandrinorum*, and even a roll of Callimachus' *Aitia*; see Van Minnen 1998, 132-3 and Rowlandson, Harker 2004, 97-8.

⁵¹ Orsini 2005, 129 dates the papyrus to the second half of the 3rd century CE.

⁵² As specified in the *Edictum Diocletiani de pretiis rerum venalium*, col. vii 39-41 (301 CE); cf. Johnson 2010, 21 and Caroli 2012, 24-39.

of the puzzle. However, the papyri also bear out Pindar's popularity – the 45 manuscripts of Pindar from Egypt stand out within the relatively obscure genre of lyric poetry. Even more important is the presence of informal copies of the poet's work.⁵³ These copies were not written in the quick, impatient hands of scholars, which of course also look different from luxury copies, but do not expand the readership beyond the (intellectual) elite. Rather, I am referring to a number of manuscripts penned by slowly-written, inelegant, large hands. Slow writing speed and large characters are both typical signs of an unpracticed hand (Cribiore 1996, 104-5). These informal copies were likely copied by the same people who intended to read them (Ucciardello 2012, 117), and such limited scribal competence strongly suggests a reader who was not a scholar or other literary professional.

Where does all of this speculation leave us? Based on the evidence from literary and papyrological parallels, the Pindar codex may have contained all of his works – or a selection by that time regarded as his complete *oeuvre*. Considering the archaeological context of Antinoupolis, it is more likely that the title tag belonged to the codex than to a separate (set of) manuscript(s) of Pindar. The small format of the codex and its relatively informal writing suggest it was a workaday copy of the text, rather than a luxury edition. The competence of the hand is such that it may yet have belonged to a scholar or student, but we cannot exclude that it belonged to a member of an elusive 'middle class' of leisure readers. Despite the deeply-entrenched belief to the contrary, our fragmentary evidence leaves open the possibility of non-professionals reading Pindar's lyric poetry for fun. If a well-to-do citizen of Antinoupolis wished to do so, *this* is the book he would have owned.

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⁵³ Especially *P.Oxy.* 659, 1614, and 2622, *PSI* 1277, *PL* inv. III 310c, and *P.Berol.* inv. 17047; cf. Ucciardello 2012, 115-17, although he also includes *P.Oxy.* 2092, which I would not judge to be informal.

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Tragedia

Aesch. *Eum.* vv. 490-565: studio sull'*epiploke* e sulle variazioni metrico-ritmiche

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Abstract The examination of the second stasimon of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, with attention to the phenomenon of the *epiploke* and of the rhythmic variation in each of the four antistrophic pairs, allows us to formulate interesting reflections on the expressive value of the metric-rhythmic variations in the lyrical intonation.

Keywords Aeschylus. *Eumenides*. Second stasimon. Metric-rhythmic variation. *Epiploke*.

Sommario 1 Premessa. – 2 Testo e interpretazione dei metri. – 3 Conclusioni.

1 Premessa

Il secondo stasimo delle *Eumenidi* (vv. 490-565) è intonato dalle dee nel momento che immediatamente precede la celebrazione del processo a Oreste, quando Atena, chiamata dalle stesse Erinni a esprimersi sui fatti occorsi all'eroe, figlio di Agamennone, si assenta per scegliere i migliori tra i cittadini, affinché prendano la retta decisione.

Nella prima coppia strofica (vv. 490-498 = 499-507), le Erinni manifestano grande preoccupazione per i rivolgimenti in corso, giacché l'istituzione del nuovo tribunale che giudicherà i delitti di sangue può scalzare, di fatto, l'antico ruolo delle dee figlie della Notte, il cui compito fu, da sempre, quello di «scacciare gli assassini dalle case»



Edizioni
Ca' Foscari

Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

Peer review | Open access

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/016

(v. 421).¹ Nell'angosciosa attesa del processo le dee prefigurano, impaurite, un mondo in cui nessuna vendetta si abbatterebbe sui misfatti, e per ogni delitto ci sarebbe via libera: invano si cercherebbe rimedio alle sventure. Dopo questa iniziale espressione di sgomento, le Erinni assumono un tono più decisamente minaccioso nella seconda coppia strofica (vv. 508-516 = 517-525): se tale dovrà essere l'ultima decisione, mai più nessuno dovrà invocare la loro vendetta (vv. 508-510), e la conseguenza sarà catastrofica perché, in assenza della loro funzione punitrice, nessuno più avrà rispetto della Giustizia (vv. 522-525). Nella terza coppia strofica (vv. 526-537 = 538-549) le Erinni si soffermano, con un tenore discorsivo ora certamente improntato alla riflessione e alla parenesi, sull'ideale condizione di chi vive nella moderazione, sempre cara agli dei (vv. 529-530), che rispetta, né disonora mai, l'altare di Giustizia (vv. 538-540) e che conserva un atteggiamento riverente verso i propri genitori e verso gli ospiti (vv. 545-548). Nell'ultima coppia strofica ritorna il tono ammonitore: solo ai giusti sarà dato vivere nella prosperità (vv. 550-552), ma tutti gli altri, al di fuori da ordine e giustizia, rovineranno annientati da affanni irrimediabili, suscitando il riso degli dei (vv. 554-560).²

Di questo canto intendo esaminare la struttura metrico-ritmica alla luce della colometria trasmessa dai manoscritti, soffermandomi in particolare sulla presenza di variazioni metriche e di metabole ritmiche.³ Le prime sono riconducibili alla cosiddetta dagli antichi ἐπιπλοκή, 'intreccio', che denota il passaggio, nell'ambito dello stesso canto, da una forma metrica all'altra secondo un meccanismo di ἀφαίρεισις, di πρόσθεσις o di μετάθεσις per cui, ad esempio, da una serie giambica si passa, κατὰ πρόσθεσιν,⁴ a una serie trocaica (— — — — ... > — — — — ...), o da una serie dattilica si passa, κατ'ἀφαίρεισιν,⁵ a una serie anapestica (— — — — ... > — — — — ...) o, ancora, da una serie giambica o trocaica si passa, κατὰ μετάθεσιν,⁶ a una serie coriambica (— — — — ... > — — — — ... o — — — — ... > — — — — ...).⁷ Diversamente dalle tipologie appena indicate, un passaggio - nell'ambito della medesima strofe - da misure di ritmo giambico a misure di ritmo dattilico comporta una variazione più accentuata, che attiene non solo al livello metrico, ma anche a quello ritmico giacché, nell'esempio appena suggerito

1 Ove non diversamente specificato, le traduzioni sono dell'Autore.

2 Su questo motivo rinvio a Lomiento (in corso di stampa).

3 Mi interrogavo proprio su questo aspetto in un lavoro del 2008 (Lomiento 2008a, 221-2). Tento qui una prima, parziale indagine in quella direzione.

4 Heph. fr. 2, p. 77, 4 ss. Consbruch.

5 Schol. ad Heph. p. 150, 27 ss. Consbruch.

6 Heph. fr. 2, p. 77, 7-13 Consbruch.

7 Una raccolta delle fonti sull'*epiploke* in Palumbo Stracca 1979, 89-103; Lomiento 2004; Gentili, Lomiento 2003, 5 e 40, s.v. «*epiploke*».

to, dal ritmo doppio del giambo con rapporto ritmico 1:2 tra battere e levare il movimento passa al ritmo pari del dattilo, con rapporto ritmico 2:2 tra battere e levare.⁸ Il termine che descrive tale mutamento è quello di μεταβολή ritmica.⁹ Si tratta, sia nel caso dell'*epiroke* che in quello della *metabola* ritmica, di forme della variazione, un fenomeno per eccellenza tipico del linguaggio musicale, che conferisce al canto dinamismo ed espressività, e che merita, per questo, d'essere studiato sia, in generale, in rapporto all'*usus* eschileo come testimoniato nella *paradosis* delle tragedie superstiti sia, in particolare, prestando attenzione alla loro eventuale funzione estetica e/o semantica nel complessivo contesto musicale.

Riporto qui il testo dello stasimo, con l'assetto colometrico conforme alla tradizione medievale, l'apparato critico, l'apparato colometrico, e l'interpretazione delle sequenze metriche.¹⁰ Di seguito, il commento – nella direzione che ho sopra esposto – delle singole copie strofiche, e un paragrafo di considerazioni conclusive.

8 I generi ritmici del piede sono già ben distinti da Damone, nel V sec. a.C. (37 B 9 D-K. = Pl. *Resp.* 399 E ss.); cf. anche Aristox. *Rhythm.* 18, 16 ss. Pearson; Aristid. Quint. *De mus.* 33.29 ss. Winnington-Ingram. Le specifiche proprietà ritmiche dei *prototypa* sono illustrate da Aristid. Quint. *De mus.* 35-38 Winnington-Ingram. Cf. anche Lomiento 2008a, 221-2.

9 Sulla nozione tecnico-musicale di μεταβολή cf. lo *Schol. ad Ar. Ach.* 204 a13 ἔστι μεταβολικὸν τὸ μέλος, ἐκ δύο διαάδων μονοστροφικῶν; 1190 a1 διπλῆ καὶ μέλος μεταβολικόν; Aristox. *Harm.* 47.17-48.2 Da Rios Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν μελωδομένων ἔστι τὰ μὲν ἅπλᾶ τὰ δὲ μεταβόλα, περὶ μεταβολῆς ἂν εἴη λεκτέον, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸ τί ποτ' ἔστιν ἡ μεταβολὴ καὶ πῶς γιγνόμενον - λέγω δ' οἷον πάθους τινὸς συμβαίνοντος ἐν τῇ τῆς μελωδίας τάξει -, ἔπειτα πόσαι εἰσὶν αἱ πᾶσαι μεταβόλαι καὶ κατὰ πόσα διαστήματα; Aristox. fr. 127.3 (= Plut. *Ne suaviter quidem vivi posse sec. Epicuri decreta* XIII 1095e) ἐν δὲ συμποσίῳ Θεοφράστου περὶ συμφωνιῶν διαλεγόμενου καὶ Ἀριστοξένου περὶ μεταβολῶν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ Ὀμήρου; Aristid. Quint. *De mus.* 1.11.1 Μεταβολὴ δὲ ἔστιν ἀλλοίωσις τοῦ ὑποκειμένου συστήματος καὶ τοῦ τῆς φωνῆς χαρακτήρος· εἰ γὰρ ἐκάστῳ συστήματι καὶ ποιὸς τις ἔπακολουθεῖ τῆς φωνῆς τύπος, δῆλον ὡς ἅμα ταῖς ἁρμονίαις καὶ τὸ τοῦ μέλους εἶδος ἀλλοιωθήσεται; sulla nozione specifica di *metabola* ritmica cf. Aristid. Quint. *De mus.* 1.13.37 Μέρη δὲ ῥυθμικῆς πέντε· διαλαμβάνομεν γὰρ περὶ πρῶτων χρόνων, περὶ γενῶν ποδικῶν, περὶ ἀγωγῆς ῥυθμικῆς, περὶ μεταβολῶν, περὶ ῥυθμοποιίας; 1.19.6 Μεταβολὴ δὲ ἔστι ῥυθμικὴ ῥυθμῶν ἀλλοίωσις ἢ ἀγωγῆς. Cf. Gentili, Lomiento 2003, 43.

10 I codici utilizzati sono qui di seguito elencati. M: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, cod. 32, 9, X sec.; T: Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, cod. II F. 31, sec. XIV in.; F: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, cod. 31, 8, sec. XIV; G: Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, cod. gr. 616, sec. XV; E: Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, cod. 233, sec. XV; Me: Parigi, Biblioteca Nazionale, Antico Fondo greco 2886, XVI sec. in., cf. Turyn 1967, 21. È stata consultata anche l'edizione Aldina (1518). Le principali edizioni utilizzate e i commenti, sono elencati in ordine cronologico: Turnebus 1552; Canter 1580; D'Arnaud 1728; de Pauw 1745; Heath 1762; Schütz 1794; Αἰ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου Τραγωδία ἐπιτά 1795; Hermann 1799; Elmsley 1813; Lachmann 1819; Schwenck 1821; Schütz 1830; Dindorf 1832; Müller 1833; Wieseler 1839; Dindorf 1841; Hermann 1852; Weil 1861; Dindorf 1869; Campbell 1898; Murray 1955; Rose 1958; Thomson 1966; Sommerstein 1989; West 1998. Il lavoro che qui si presenta rientra nel progetto della nuova edizione critica delle *Eumenidi* patrocinata dall'Accademia del Lincei, dove ho la responsabilità del testo critico e della Nota al testo, in collaborazione con Daria Francobandiera (Università di Lille) e Carles Garriga (Universitat de Barcelona), ai quali spettano l'Introduzione generale (C. Garriga) e la traduzione con commento (D. Francobandiera).

2 Testo e interpretazione dei metri

Str/ant a, vv. 490-498 = 499-507

<p>{Xo.} νῦν καταστροφαὶ νέων θεσμίων, εἰ κρατή- ³σει δίκαι καὶ βλάβαι τοῦδε μητροκτόνου. πάντας ἤδη τόδ' ἔργον ⁶εὐχερεῖαι συναρμόσει βροτούς. πολλὰ δ' ἔτυμα παιδότρωτα πάθεα προσμένει τοκεῦ- ⁹σιν μεταῦθις ἐν χρόνῳ.</p>	<p>στρ. α 491</p>
<p>οὔτε γὰρ βροτοσκόπων ἀντ. α μαινάδων τῶνδ' ἔφερ- ³πει κότος τις ἐργμάτων. πάντ' ἐφήσω μόρον. πεύσεται δ' ἄλλος ἄλλο- ⁶θεν, προφρονῶν τὰ τῶν πέλας κακά, λῆξιν ὑπόδοσιν τε μόχθων, ἄκεά τ' οὐ βέβαια τλά- ⁹μων {δέ τις} μάταν παρηγορεῖ.</p>	<p>495</p> <p>500</p> <p>505</p>

[MMeTFGE] 492 <τε> καὶ suppl. metri causa Heath, p. 129, probb. edd., sine necessitate // 495 εὐχερεῖαι Turnebus, p. 165: εὐχερεῖαι MMe: εὐχαρίαι TFGE // 505 ὑπόδοσιν MMe: ὑπόδυσιν TG, acc. West: ὑπόδησιν FE // 506 ἄκεά τ' Schütz 1794, 94, Schütz 1830, 23: ἄκετ' MMe: ἄκεστ' vel ἄκεστα TFGE // 507 δέ τις ex-runx. metri causa Schwenk, p. 27, τις iam Glasg. p. 287 e Pauwii Heathique sententia, τις ex margine tamquam glossema irrepsisse coniecit Heath, p. 130, ad τλάμων fortasse relatum

490-491 (c. 1-2) νῦν—θεσμίων| TFGE // 491-492 (c. 2-3) εἰ—βλάβαι| TFGE // 497-498 (c. 8-9) πάθεα—τοκεῦσιν| TFGE // 503 (c. 5) scripsi, coll. stroph.: ἄλλοθεν| codd. // 504 (c. 6) scripsi, coll. stroph.: προφρονῶν—κακά| codd. // 505-506 (c. 7-8) λῆξιν—ἄκεα (ἄκεστα) | T metri causa, ad hiatus vitandum // 506 (c. 8) βέβαιαι| FGE // 506-507 (c. 8-9) τλάμων—παρηγορεῖ|FGE / οὐ—τλάμων δέ| T // 507 (c. 9) τις—παρηγορεῖ| T

—υ—υ—υ—	cr ia vel 2tr _λ (lecyth)
—υ—υ—υ—	cr cr
³ —υ—υ—υ—	cr cr ~ cr ia
~	
—υ—υ—υ—	
—υ—υ—υ—	cr cr
—υ—υ—υ—	cr tr ¹¹
⁶ —υ—υ—υ—υ—υ— [≠]	cr cr ia
—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—	2tr
—υ—υ—υ—υ—	cr ia vel 2tr _λ (lecyth)
⁹ —υ—υ—υ—|||	cr ia vel 2tr _λ (lecyth) ¹²

Nella prima coppia strofica, il tessuto ritmico è uniformemente riconducibile al genere doppio. I cretici sono verisimilmente da intendere come pseudo-cretici, protratti alla misura esasema nell'esecuzione del canto.¹³ Rimane incerto, in assenza di indizi relativi all'effettiva esecuzione musicale, se si tratti di misure di schema giambico (L—) oppure trocaico (—J), le uniche indicazioni potendosi ricavare dall'immediato contesto. Si devono intendere come giambici certamente i *cola* 3, dove ai due 'cretici' della strofa corrisponde la misura *cr ia* nell'antistrofe, e 6 (*cr cr ia*), e come trocaici certamente i *cola* 5 e 7. Di tutti gli altri è difficile identificare l'effettiva natura metrica, e non resta che osservare, di questa strofa, la possibile oscillazione da giambi a trochei, e da trochei a giambi.

Nelle restanti tragedie di Eschilo, la clausola —υ—υ—υ—, che può descriversi come *cr ia* oppure anche come 2tr_λ (o *lecyth*), ha valore giambico con ogni probabilità in *Sept.* 839 = 847, dove chiude una serie di dimetri giambici pieni, come pure in *Supp.* vv. 1067 = 1073 e in *Cho.* vv. 31 = 41, dove conclude strofe in giambi lirici. Suole essere interpretata come giambica anche in *Cho.* 68 = 73 in penultima posizione, seguita da un verso giambico d'incerta interpretazione,¹⁴ in *Cho.* vv. 393 = 417, dove questo stesso *colon* chiude una strofe in giambi e coriambi, e ancora in *Cho.* vv. 593 = 602, al termine di una strofe che viene letta come interamente giambica, con l'inserzione di una breve sezione di due *cola* di ritmo dattilo-anapestico (c. 7-8).¹⁵ La medesima sequenza, d'altra parte, è di solito interpretata come

¹¹ Cf. *Eum.* vv. 324 = 337 e Lomiento 2018a, 114 nota 9.

¹² Al v. 507 è da espungere δέ τις, con Schwenk 1821, adn. *ad loc.* o, alternativamente, μάταν, per ragioni metriche.

¹³ Su questa possibilità di resa ritmica della *lexis* cretica, cf. Gentili, Lomiento 1995, 61-75, con bibliografia; per un approfondimento sulla tragedia di Eschilo, cf. Lomiento 2008c, 35-57; Rocconi 2008, 288-9. In generale cf. Gentili, Lomiento 2003, 221-3, 229.

¹⁴ Cf. Galvani 2015, 46-8.

¹⁵ Cf. Galvani 2015, 101.

trocaica in *Ag.* 160-167 = 168-175, dove chiude la serie uniforme di *cola* di identico schema $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$, aperta dal *colon* $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ e intercalata da *cola* dattilici (c. 6-7), e ancora in *Ag.* 176-183 = 184-191, 975-987 = 988-1000, 1001-1017 = 1018-1034, dove funge da clausola a una serie uniforme di *cola* affini o identici.¹⁶

Nelle *Eumenidi*, la sequenza $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ chiude i vv. 321-327 = 334-340 e i vv. 328-333 = 341-346, ed è di solito intesa come giambica, e ancora i vv. 508-516 = 517-525 (si veda *infra*); essa conclude, inoltre, i vv. 916-926 = 938-948 dove, nel contesto generale del canto, è, di nuovo, interpretata come giambica, e i vv. 996-1002 = 1014-1020, dove è considerata ora giambica, ora trocaica, nell'ambito di un'articolazione complessiva che consiste di una serie uniforme di *cola* di identico schema $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$, aperti da un prassilleo II ($\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$).¹⁷

La presenza, in questo stasimo, di un *colon* potenzialmente ambivalente, il cui ritmo poteva essere realizzato nella *performance* come giambico oppure come trocaico e che, di fatto, gli studiosi interpretano ora come misura giambica, ora come misura trocaica, risponde bene all'andamento altalenante del canto tra la cadenza ascendente del giambo e la cadenza discendente del trocheo, alla ricerca di equilibrio per così dire, verso un moto più uniforme. È un andamento coerente anche con il livello semantico di questa coppia strofica, nella quale le Erinni esprimono preoccupazione e angoscia per l'esito possibile del processo, incerte se sarà ancora loro il compito della vendetta e della punizione dei delitti di sangue o se invece sarà la giustizia degli uomini ad avere il sopravvento.¹⁸ È notevole, a questo riguardo, che la medesima epiploce trocaico-giambica, a quanto pare operante in questi versi delle *Eumenidi*, anche negli altri canti di Eschilo nei quali ricorre, si sovrapponga, sul piano degli enunciati, all'espressione di un piccolo emotivo e patetico: nei *Persiani* (vv. 1054-1059 = 1060-1065, *ia lyr* e un docmio, con clausola trocaica) accompagna un lamento funebre, nei *Sette contro Tebe* (351-356 = 363-368, *ia lyr tr ia lyr*; 832-839 = 840-847, *tr ia*) la descrizione accurata di una mattanza sul campo di battaglia.¹⁹

¹⁶ In quest'ultimo caso, la serie è interrotta da tre *cola* dattilici immediatamente precedenti la chiusa.

¹⁷ L'interpretazione giambica da ultimo in Lomiento 2018a, 19-49; l'interpretazione trocaica in Sommerstein 1989; West 1998. Sulle sequenze giambiche in clausola strofica nei *cantica* di Eschilo cf. Lomiento 2010, 73 nota 8. Sull'ambiguità metrica del *colon* di schema $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ si soffermava già Pretagostini 1972, 257-73 = 2011, 1-15.

¹⁸ Sullo stato di agitazione delle Erinni in questa coppia strofica cf. quanto osservato da Sommerstein 1989, 171: «The Chorus warn all and sundry of the horrific consequences that will result from Orestes' acquittal. Murder, especially of parents, will become commonplace, and the victims will beg in vain for the Erynues to aid or avenge them».

¹⁹ Diverso il caso di *Cho.* 75-83, dove il pianto di chi deplora il proprio infelice destino di schiavitù è espresso dai *cola ia tr* al v. 78 e *ia tr ia* al v. 81: è evidente che qui la mescolanza di giambi e trochei è interna al *colon*, e non costituisce, propriamente, un'epiploce.

Str/ant b, vv. 508-516 = 517-525

μηδέ τις κικλησκέτω	στρ. β
Ξυμφορᾷ τετυμμένος,	
³ τοῦτ' ἔπος θροοῦμενος,	510
⁴ Ω Δίκα,	
⁵ ὦ θρόνοι τ' Ἐρινύων.'	
⁶ ταῦτά τις τάχ' ἄν πατήρ	
ἦ τεκοῦσα νεοπαθῆς	
οἶκτον οἰκτίσαιτ', ἔπει-	515
⁹ δὴ πίτνει δόμος δίκας.	
ἔσθ' ὅπου τὸ δεινὸν εὔ	ἀντ. β
καὶ φρενῶν ἐπίσκοπον	
³ δεῖ μένειν καθήμενον·	
Ξυμφέρει	520
σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ στένει.	
⁶ τίς δὲ μηδὲν τὲν φάει†	
καρδίαν τ' ἀνατρέφων†	
ἦ πόλις βροτὸς θ' ὁμοί-	
⁹ ως ἔτ' ἄν σέβῃ δίκαν;	525

[MMeTFGE] 511 ὦ Δίκα Pauw, p. 1056: ἰὼ Δίκα codd. // 512 ὦ θρόνοι Pauw, p. 1056: ἰὼ θρόνοι codd. / Ἐρινύων M^{pc}Me: Ἐριννύων M^cTFGE // 516 πίτνει Elmsley, p. 56 (ad Heracl. v. 77): πιτνεῖ codd. // 519 δεῖ μένειν Anonym. in exempl. Cantabr. Bibl. Univ. Adv. d.25.1 (cf. West, adn.) et Scaliger in exempl. ed. Vict., Lugd. Bat. Bibl. Univ. 756 D 21 (cf. West, adn.): δειμαίνει codd.: alii alia coniecerunt // 522 ἐν φάει codd.: ἐμφυεῖ Thomson, pp. 76-78: ἐν δέει vel ἐν φόβῳ Schütz 1830, 25, ἐν δέει acc. Rose, p. 265, fortasse recte // 523 καρδίαν codd.: καρδίαν <ἀν> fortasse recte Rose, p. 265: καρδίας Canter, p. 279, quod etiam Σ^m fortasse legebat λαμπρότητι, ὀρθότητι φρενῶν, acc. plerique edd. / ἀνατρέφων codd.: φόβῳ τρέφων Thomson, pp. 76-78: ἀνήρ τρέμων Murray (τρέμων iam Weil, p. 63): ἄγος τρέφων L. Campbell // 524 πόλις βροτὸς θ' codd.: βροτὸς πόλις θ' Rose, p. 265: πόλις βροτῶν Murray // 525 σέβῃ M supra lineam et rell. codd.: σέβει M in linea

519-520 (c. 3-4) coniung. TFGE // 521-522 (c. 5-6) coniung. E // 523-524 (c. 7-8) coniung. E // 525-526 (c. 9 cum c. 1 subseq. str.) coniung. E

— — — — —	cr ia vel 2tr- (lecyth)
— — — — —	cr ia vel 2tr- (lecyth)
³ — — — — —	cr ia vel 2tr- (lecyth)
— — ||^H	cr
— — — — —	cr ia vel 2tr- (lecyth)
⁶ — — — — —	cr ia vel 2tr- (lecyth)
— — — — —	cr ia vel 2tr- (lecyth)

~~~~~ cr ia vel 2tr<sup>^</sup> (lecyth)  
<sup>9</sup>~~~~~ ||| cr ia vel 2tr<sup>^</sup> (lecyth)

La composizione metrica della seconda coppia strofica è del tutto uniforme, interpretabile, con l'unica eccezione del brevissimo *colon* 4, come serie κατὰ στίχον dello stesso *colon* ~~~~~ (cr ia o 2tr<sup>^</sup> = *lecyth*) che apre e conclude la prima coppia antistrofica. In questi versi la sequenza è interpretata dai più come trocaica, ovvero come dimetro trocaico catalettico o *lecizio*, sebbene – come è stato osservato – si tratti in genere di letture inevitabilmente soggettive, «largamente dipendenti dall'interpretazione generale» che ciascuno studioso dà del canto.<sup>20</sup> A prescindere dall'ambiguità che per noi questo *colon* conserva in assenza di esplicite indicazioni musicali, ciò che a mio avviso vale la pena evidenziare, e che appare significativo al confronto con la precedente coppia strofica è, da una parte, la sua evidente continuità ritmica con il verso che chiude la prima coppia: tale continuità fa da *pendant* musicale alla continuità e coerenza tematica tra le due coppie strofiche. D'altra parte, diversamente da quanto accade nella prima coppia, la seconda coppia è connotata da un'ininterrotta omogeneità delle misure, con la completa assenza di ἐπιπλοκαί o metabele ritmiche.<sup>21</sup> Il gioco di variazione epiplocistica da giambi a trochei, e da trochei a giambi che abbiamo interpretato come tensione verso un equilibrio metrico-musicale nella prima coppia strofica, sembra trovare qui compimento nella raggiunta unità del metro. Parimenti, sul piano narrativo, registriamo una diversa attitudine emotiva: l'inopinato caso di una *débâcle* prefigurato dalle Erinini come angosciante ipotesi nella prima coppia, è qui dato per certo, con tutte le catastrofiche conseguenze annunciate nell'*incipit* (v. 490).

**20** L'osservazione cui faccio riferimento è di Medda 2017, 73. Sulla funzione del *lecizio* nell'*Oresteia*, si vedano Scott 1984, 36-7, 125; Chiasson 1988, 1-21. Pur consapevole che «in some Greek dramatic texts a syncopated iambic dimeter is so difficult to distinguish from the lecythion that there is no definable difference in the metrical structure», Scott 1984, 36 interpreta decisamente come *lecizio* la sequenza ~~~~~ nel cosiddetto Inno a Zeus (vv. 160-183) dell'*Agamennone*, associando al metro trocaico il tema dell'ottimismo di Eschilo nei confronti della benevolenza di Zeus e del progresso dell'umanità, a fronte del metro giambico che esprimerebbe invece l'accecamento che conduce gli uomini al peccato ed esige punizione. Un medesimo atteggiamento in Chiasson, che tuttavia non associa il *lecizio* al tema dell'ottimismo ma sostiene che esso «typically accompany manifestations of threats of a conspicuously harsh divine justice characterized by violence, human suffering, and death» (1988, 1).

**21** Non spezzata dal cretico al terzo *colon* che rappresenta, in effetti, una variante più breve della misura ~~~~~.



### Str/ant c, vv. 526-537 = 538-549

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                         |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| <p>μήτ' ἀναρκτον βίον<br/>μήτε δεσποτούμενον<br/><sup>3</sup>αἰνέσης.<br/>παντὶ μέσῳ τὸ κράτος<br/>θεὸς ὤπασεν, ἄλλ'<br/><sup>6</sup>ἄλλα δ' ἐφορεύει.<br/>ξύμμετρον δ' ἔπος λέγω,<br/>δυσσεβίας μὲν ὕβρις<br/><sup>9</sup>τέκος ὡς ἐτύμως<br/>ἐκ δ' ὑγιείας φρενῶν<br/>ὁ πᾶσιν φίλος καὶ<br/><sup>12</sup>πολύευκτος ὄλβος.</p> | <p>στρ. γ<br/><br/>530<br/><br/>535</p> |
| <p>ἐς τὸ πᾶν δέ σοι λέγω,<br/>βωμὸν αἶδεσαι δίκας<br/><sup>3</sup>μηδέ νιν<br/>κέρδος ἰδῶν ἀθέω<br/>ποδι λάξ ἀτίσης,<br/><sup>6</sup>ποινα γὰρ ἐπέσται.<br/>κύριον μένει τέλος.<br/>πρὸς τάδε τις τοκέων<br/><sup>9</sup>σέβας εὖ προτίων<br/>καὶ ξενοτίμους ἐπι-<br/>στροφὰς δωμάτων αἰ-<br/><sup>12</sup>δόμενός τις ἔστω.</p> | <p>ἀντ. γ<br/><br/>540<br/><br/>545</p> |

[MMeTFGE] 526 ἀναρκτον MMe: ἀνάρκητον FGE: ἀνάρκετον T: ἀνάρχετον Wieseler, p. 112 // 527 δεσποτούμενον γ' T<sup>pc</sup> // 529 παντὶ τ' T: ἄπαντι cett. codd. // 530 ἄλλ' Arnaldus, p. 255 sg.: ἄλλα codd. // 533 δυσσεβίας T: δυσσεβείας cett. codd. // 536 πᾶσιν Heath, p. 131 metri causa: πᾶσι codd. / φίλος τε T // 538 δέ σοι codd.: τοι (δέ delete) Lachmann, p. 44, δέ τοι iam Asulanus, p. 90 // 542 ἀντίσης T: ἀντίσης FGE // 543 ἔπεται TFGGE // 547 ξενοτίμους γε T // 548 ἐπιστροφὰς δωμάτων Heath, p. 131: δωμάτων ἐπιστροφὰς codd. / δωμάτων Me, cf. Aldus δωματ' ἄν // 549 αἰδούμενος FGE  
527-528 (c. 2-3) coniung. TFGGE // 529-530 (c. 5-6) coniung. E // 534-535 (c. 9-10) coniung. E // 536 (c. 11) ὁ πᾶσι φίλος τε| T (cf. adn. ad v. 536) // 536-537 (c. 11-12) καὶ—ὄλβος| T / in una linea coniung. E spat. vac. in medio relicto // 539-540 (c. 2-3) coniung. TFGGE // 540-541 (c. 4-5) in una lin. coniung. E, sp. vac. in med. relicto // 542-543 (c. 6-7) in una lin. coniung. E, sp. vac. in med. relicto // 544-545 (c. 8-9) in una lin. coniung. E, sp. vac. in med. relicto // 547 scripsi, coll. str.: ξενοτίμους| MMeFG // 547-548 (c. 10-11) καὶ ξενοτίμους γε δω-| T (cf. adn. ad v. 547) / καὶ ἐπιστροφὰς| in una lin. coniung. E, sp. vac. in med. relicto // 548 (c. 11) -μάτων ἐπιστροφὰς| T / δωμάτων ἐπιστροφὰς| FG // 548-549 (c. 12 cum c. 1 subseq. str.) coniung. E

|                      |                                   |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| ~--~--               | cr cr (~ cr ia)                   |
| ~                    |                                   |
| ~--~--               |                                   |
| ~--~-- \|\| | cr ia                             |
| <sup>3</sup> ~--     | cr                                |
| ~--~--               | hem <sup>m</sup>                  |
| ~--~--               | an                                |
| <sup>6</sup> ~--~--  | an <sup>penth</sup>               |
| ~--~--               | cr ia                             |
| ~--~--               | hem <sup>m</sup>                  |
| <sup>9</sup> ~--~--  | an                                |
| ~--~--               | chor cr <sup>22</sup>             |
| ~--~--               | 2ba                               |
| <sup>12</sup>~--~-- \|\|\| | ia <sup>penth</sup> <sup>23</sup> |

La colometria documentata dai codici per la terza coppia strofica evidenzia ancora un ordito metrico-ritmico di tipo giambico: al livello teorico sarebbe anche possibile una lettura trocaica, come abbiamo già notato esaminando le strofe precedenti, ma nel caso specifico la lettura giambica appare, nel complesso, favorita dalle variazioni del coriambico e del baccheo nei c. 10-11 e dal pentemimere giambico in clausola, al c. 12. Una simile tessitura è indizio di una certa continuità musicale con le due precedenti coppie strofiche, ed è coerente con la generale continuità tematica del canto. Tanto più spicca la μεταβολή ritmica che introduce metri di ritmo dattilico in corrispondenza dei c. 4, 5, 6, 8 e 9. In un celebre canto delle *Rane* (vv. 1284-1295), Aristofane fa esibire Euripide in un saggio di lirica eschilea, e dalla produzione del grande drammaturgo seleziona proprio quel tipo di versificazione che avvicenda misure di ritmo pari (o dattilico) a misure di ritmo doppio (o giambico): si tratta di uno stile che tutte

**22** Il *colon chor cr* è documentato ancora in *Sept.* 301 = 318, dove precede un dimetro coriambico, ed è preceduto dal dimetro cretico; in *Supp.* 375 = 386, dove il *colon chor cr ba* funge da clausola. Il caso di *Choeph.* 956 è incerto; per esso rinvio a Galvani 2015, 151-4. È documentato anche in *Soph. OC* 242; 249 in sequenze che comportano, come nel nostro passo delle *Eumenidi*, metabole ritmiche da dattili a trochei; in *OT* 866 = 876 è la sequenza inversa *cr chor*. Cf. anche *Pers.* 1007 = 1013 ~--~--~--.

**23** Lo schema ~--~-- funge da clausola in *Supp.* 90 = 95, dove è preceduto da *ba cr*; in quella sede esso è probabilmente da interpretare come ionico (*Zion<sup>m</sup>...*), come pure in *Supp.* 353 = 364 dove, in modo analogo, chiude la strofe, cf. Lomiento 2008b, 70; è da intendersi forse come ionico anche in *Ag.* 204 = 217, in clausola di strofe e in *PV* 419 = 424 (in clausola di una strofe); è da interpretare, verisimilmente, come giambico, in *Supp.* 103-111, dove conclude una strofe in giambi lirici e coriambi, cf. anche *Pers.* 259 = 265 (dove funge da clausola a una strofe in ritmi doppi, giambo-trocaico-docmiaci); incerto il caso del *PV* 167 = 185, dove lo schema ~--~-- chiude una strofe di *cola* anapestici. In *Pers.* 662 = 670 e 951 = 963 il medesimo schema si trova tra una serie di misure ioniche; tra metri giambo-coriambici ricorre in *Sept.* 917 = 928; *Supp.* 657-658 = 668-669.

le tragedie superstiti di Eschilo possono effettivamente documentare: i *Persiani*, i *Sette contro Tebe*, le *Supplici*, l'*Agamennone*, le *Coefore*, le *Eumenidi*, il *Prometeo*.<sup>24</sup> Nei casi ora elencati, la metabola ritmica può, di volta in volta, svolgere una funzione di tipo meramente ornamentale, come sembra accadere nei *Persiani*, vv. 864-871 = 872-879, con un *colon* giambico che conclude una strofe interamente dattilica. Una funzione tematica della metabola ritmica è invece ravvisabile ancora nei *Persiani* (vv. 880-888 = 889-897; 974-987 = 988-1001) e nei *Sette contro Tebe* (vv. 874-879 = 880-887) dove i giambi e gli anapesti di lamento cooperano insieme a esprimere un lamento funebre; nelle *Supplici*, i metri dattilici che s'intrecciano con misure di ritmo giambico sostengono temi significativi e tra loro distinti: i metri di ritmo giambico sottolineano riferimenti all'attualità o anche la modalità espressiva della supplica, in quanto determinata da una penosa urgenza del momento; ai metri dattilici sono invece affidate la celebrazione del passato mitico, la celebrazione gioiosa della divinità, e riflessioni di carattere gnomico.<sup>25</sup> Una terza funzione della metabola ritmica è infine quella, documentata ampiamente nell'*Oresteia* e nel *Prometeo*, di evidenziare concetti prominenti espressi nel canto.

In contesti di misure giambiche, la metabola dattilica nell'*Agamennone* ha funzione di enfasi ai vv. 165/166 = 173/174, che accompagnano il tema della lode a Zeus; ai vv. 975-1000, dove i dattili subentrano nel momento in cui l'attenzione è spostata sulla tipologia del canto stesso, sia nella strofe, quando si dice che «un canto non richiesto, non pagato, fa profezia», che nell'antistrofe, dove il riferimento è fatto al «funebre canto senza lira delle Erinni». Anche nei vv. 1001-1034 il passaggio alle misure dattiliche segna momenti particolarmente significativi: una formulazione gnomica sul destino di chi segue una giusta rotta e tuttavia rovina incappando in uno scoglio nascosto (vv. 1003-1007) e il riferimento al dono da parte di Zeus (vv. 1014-1015) del raccolto abbondante che distrugge il flagello della fame; nei versi corrispondenti dell'antistrofe i dattili attirano l'attenzione sull'evozione del mito di Asclepio che fu punito da Zeus per avere provato a riportare in vita i defunti (vv. 1020-1024), e poi sullo stato di prostrazione del coro, sul suo essere senza speranza (vv. 1031-1032).<sup>26</sup>

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**24** *Persiani* (vv. 864-871 = 872-879; 880-888 = 889-897 [da, ia]; 974-987 = 988-1001 [an, ia, do]; *Sette contro Tebe* (874-879 = 880-887 [ia, an]); *Supplici* (40-8 = 49-57 [tr, da, chor]; 68-76 = 77-85 [da, chor, ia]; 86-90 = 91-95 [da, ia, claus. ∪∪-∪-]); 524-30 = 531-537 [ia, chor, da]; 538-546 = 547-555 [ia, da, chor]); *Agamennone* (104-121 = 122-139; 140-159 [da, ia]; 160-167 = 168-175 [ia, da]; 975-987 = 988-1000 [ia, da]; 1001-1017 = 1018-1034 [ia, an, da]); *Coefore* (585-593 = 594-602 [ia, da]); *Eumenidi* (956-967 = 976-987 [ia, an, da]; 996-1002 = 1014-1020 [da, tr vel ia]).

**25** Sulle *Supplici* si veda Lomiento 2008b; 2008c, 37-9.

**26** D'altra parte, in *Ag.* 104-159, laddove la misura dattilica, che è la prevalente in questi versi, enfatizza sul piano della musica il tema epico e la preghiera a Zeus, l'in-

Nelle *Coefore* il passaggio ai dattili in posizione preclausolare sembra avere la funzione di attirare l'attenzione sul verso che conchiude il canto, che è di ritmo giambico; nel *Prometeo*, infine, la funzione della metabola ritmica sottolinea musicalmente, ai vv. 160-167 = 178-185 la sezione conclusiva del canto, sia nella strofe che nell'antistrofe, con una formulazione significativa di sapore gnomico.

Nel nostro passo delle *Eumenidi*, in linea con quanto riscontrabile nelle occorrenze osservabili nell'*Orestea* e nel *Prometeo*, i cinque *cola* dattilici intercalati alle misure giambiche evidenziano concetti molto significativi.<sup>27</sup> In particolare, sottolineano le formulazioni gnomiche, contribuendo a connotare l'attitudine sapienziale di questa coppia a fronte delle precedenti due: il dio premia il giusto mezzo (vv. 529-531), l'empietà è madre di dismisura, ed è necessaria la moderatezza (vv. 533-534); non si deve 'prendere a calci' la Giustizia (vv. 541-543); è necessario essere riverenti verso i genitori (vv. 545-546). Similmente nell'*exodos*, ai vv. 956-987, il passaggio dai metri giambici alle misure dattiliche sottolinea musicalmente i punti salienti dell'enunciato, sia nella strofe che nell'antistrofe: il potere delle Moire (vv. 959-960; 961-965) e singoli aspetti cruciali dell'augurio formulato dalle dee, ormai divenute benigne (vv. 979-980; 981-985).

### Str/ant d, vv. 550-558 = 559-565

|                                               |        |
|-----------------------------------------------|--------|
| ἐκ τῶνδ' ἀνάγκας ἄτερ                         | στρ. δ |
| δίκαιος ὦν οὐκ ἄνολβος ἔσται·                 | 551    |
| <sup>3</sup> πανώλεθρος οὐποτ' ἂν γένοιτο.    |        |
| τὸν ἀντίτολμον δέ φαμι παρβάδαν               |        |
| τὰ πολλὰ παντόφυρτ' ἄνευ τινὸς δίκας          |        |
| <sup>6</sup> βιαίως ξὺν χρόνῳ καθήσειν        | 555    |
| λαῖφος, ὅταν λάβῃ πόνος                       |        |
| θραυομένας κεραίας.                           |        |
| καλεῖ δ' ἀκούοντας οὐ-                        | ἀντ. δ |
| δὲν <έν> μέσα δυσπαλεῖ τε δίνῃ·               |        |
| <sup>3</sup> γελαῖ δὲ δαίμων ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θερμῶ, | 560    |
| τὸν οὐποτ' ἀύχοῦντ' ἰδὼν ἀμηχάνοις            |        |
| δύαις λαπαδνὸν οὐδ' ὑπερθέοντ' ἄκραν·         |        |

introduzione di misure giambiche attira l'attenzione su versi particolarmente significativi del canto o funge da introduzione al *refrain* che chiude la strofe (vv. 108-109 = 126-127; 116 = 134; 120 = 138; 140-141; 147).

<sup>27</sup> Non sarà certo sfuggita l'*epiploke* dattilico-anapestica nella serie dei *cola* di ritmo dattilico, come valore aggiunto alla variazione musicale. Ma l'impatto della forte metabola ritmica resta dominante.

ῶδι' αἰῶνος δὲ τὸν πρὶν ὄλβον  
 ἔρματι προσβαλὼν δίκας  
 ὄλετ' ἄκλαυστος, αἴστος.

565

[MMeTFGE] 552 πανώλεθρος codd.: πανώλεθρος δ' metri causa Pauw, p. 1057, sed de geminat. litt. ζ cogitare possis // 553 παρβάδαν Weil, p. 65: παραιβάδαν MMe: περβάδαν TFG: παραιβάταν Turnebus, p. 166: παραβάταν Heath, p. 131: παρβάταν Hermann 1799, 33 // 554 τὰ πολλὰ codd.: ἄγοντα πολλὰ Müller 1833 metri causa / ἄνευ τινὸς T metri causa, fortasse recte: ἄνευ rell. codd. // 559 <έν> Heath, p. 131 / δυσπαλεῖ τε Turnebus, p. 166: δυσπαλεῖται MMeTFG: δυσπλανεῖται E // 560 θερμῶ T: θερμοεργῶ MMeT<sup>3</sup>FE: θυμοεργῶ G // 562 λαπαδόν Musgrave (marginalia in exemplari ed. Glasgu. 1746, Bibl. Britann. C.45.c.21-22): λέπαδνον codd. // 565 ἄκλαυτος Dindorf 1869, 93: ἄκλαυστος codd. / αἴστος Pauw, p. 1058: αἴστος codd.

υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-      ia cr  
 υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-      ia cr ia<sup>^</sup>  
 3 υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-      ia cr ia<sup>^</sup>  
 υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-      ia cr ia  
 υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-      3ia  
 6 υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-      ba cr ia<sup>^</sup>  
 υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-      cho ia  
 υ-υ-υ-υ- |||      2cho<sup>^</sup>

Nella quarta, e ultima coppia strofica del secondo stasimo, l'uniformità dei *cola*, interamente riconducibili al genere ritmico doppio, è dinamizzata nell'*explicit* da una variazione metrica che può rientrare nel tipo dell'*ἐπιπλοκή* κατὰ μετὰθεσίην. La medesima clausola coriambica che introduce una novità nell'uniforme tessuto giambico si registra in tutte le tragedie superstiti: nei *Persiani*, vv. 1007 = 1013, dove la sequenza υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ- (*cho cr ba*) chiude una strofe in giambi lirici; vv. 1045 = 1053 con il *colon* υ-υ-υ-υ- (*cho ba*) in chiusura di una strofe in giambi lirici; nei *Sette contro Tebe*, vv. 771 = 777 dove il *colon* υ-υ-υ-υ- (*cho ba*) chiude una strofe in giambi lirici; *Supplici*, vv. 112-122 = 123-133 dove il *colon* di schema υ-υ-υ-υ- è replicato due volte, dapprima in clausola della strofe in giambi lirici (116 = 127) e quindi, in chiusura d'efimnio, dopo un'ulteriore serie di giambi lirici (122 = 133); vv. 375 = 386 dove il *colon* υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ- (*cho cr ba*), quello stesso già visto in *Pers.* 1007-1013, chiude una serie di giambi lirici; vv. 562-564 = 571-573, dove i tre *cola* υ-υ-υ-υ-υ- (*cho ia*), υ-υ-υ-υ-υ- (*cho ia*), υ-υ-υ-υ-υ- (*cho ba*) concludono una serie di giambi lirici.<sup>28</sup> Nell'*Agamennone*, ai vv. 226-227 = 236-237, i c. 9-10, di sche-

<sup>28</sup> Variazioni coriambiche in sequenze di giambi lirici, ma non in clausola, sono ravvisabili in *Sept.* 734-741 = 742-749; *Supp.* 1062-1067 = 1068-1073 dove il terzo *colon*,

ma  $\sim\sim\sim\sim$  (*cho ba*)  $\sim\sim\sim\sim$  (*cho ba*), chiudono una strofe in giambi lirici e docmi; ai vv. 771-772 = 781-782 due *cola* di schema  $\sim\sim\sim\sim$  (*cho ba*) fanno da clausola a una strofe in giambi lirici; il medesimo schema  $\sim\sim\sim\sim$  (*cho ba*) chiude la strofe lirica in giambi nelle *Coefore*, vv. 460 = 465 e nelle *Eumenidi*, vv. 793 = 823, mentre nelle *Eumenidi*, vv. 388 = 396 la strofe in giambi lirici è chiusa da un trimetro coriambico di schema  $\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim$  (*cho ia ia*).<sup>29</sup> In tutti i casi ora ricordati, la variazione metrica, per cui lo schema del giambo è sostituito dallo schema coriambico, sembra avere una funzione di sottolineatura di singoli versi o anche, in qualche caso, di più ampie sezioni del testo semanticamente rilevanti. Sarà sufficiente, in questa sede, tra i casi su elencati evidenziare, a titolo di esempio, *Supp.* 116 = 127, dove l'aristofaneo di clausola pone l'accento, con la variazione metrica, su un *colon* significativo che nella strofa enfatizza la disperazione delle figlie di Danao, e nell'antistrofe l'angoscia che viene dall'incertezza del proprio destino, o ancora *Ag.* 226-227 = 236-237, dove ai *cola* coriambici è affidato il compito di sostenere, nella *strophe*, il culmine della decisione d'Agamennone, che sopportò di farsi sacrificatore della figlia, «come aiuto a una guerra che puniva il ratto di una donna, e rito preliminare alla partenza delle navi», e nell'*antistrophe* il momento cruciale del sacrificio di Ifigenia, posta sull'altare «come una capra», quando il re ingiunge ai ministri di «bloccare», imponendo un freno alla sua bocca, «il grido che avrebbe maledetto la casa». <sup>30</sup> Il passo delle *Eumenidi* che stiamo studiando, ai vv. 556-557 = 564-565, non fa eccezione. I due *cola* coriambici, entrambi in *enjambement* sintattico con il *colon* giambico che immediatamente precede, svolgono la funzione, osservabile in tutti gli altri casi elencati, di concentrare l'attenzione, con il mezzo musicale della *variatio* metrica, su enunciati cruciali, che evidenziano, sia nella strofa che nell'antistrofe le conseguenze di un comportamento ingiusto, per cui, infranto l'albero della vela, il malfattore, come una nave in difficoltà, sarà colto da affanno (strofe, vv. 556-557) e, avendo cozzato contro lo scoglio di giustizia, perirà, non visto, senza compianto (antistrofe, vv. 564-565).<sup>31</sup>

di schema  $\sim\sim\sim\sim$  chiude la breve sequenza (c. 1-2) di giambi lirici nell'apertura del canto; *Ag.* 192-204 = 205-217 i c. 9-11, di schema  $\sim\sim\sim\sim$ ,  $\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim$ ,  $\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim$ , danno struttura alla seconda metà di una strofe lirica la cui parte iniziale (c. 1-8) è articolata in giambi lirici.

<sup>29</sup> Sull'*aristofaneo* ( $\sim\sim\sim\sim$ ) in clausola strofica nei canti di Eschilo cf. Lomiento 2010, 73 e note 7-8.

<sup>30</sup> Traduzione di Medda 2017, 1: 259.

<sup>31</sup> Anche ai vv. 535 = 547 della terza coppia strofica del canto ora in esame il *colon* coriambico ( $\sim\sim\sim\sim$ ) attira l'attenzione, con la variazione metrica, sui versi conclusivi; resta che in quella coppia, come s'è detto, la variazione più macroscopica è data dalla metabola ritmica, da ritmi di tipo giambico a ritmi di tipo dattilico.

### 3 Conclusioni

Alla luce dei materiali sin qui presi in esame, e al termine di questo studio, è possibile formulare alcune riflessioni conclusive. Riguardo all'*ἐπιπλοκή* giambo-trocaica, che appartiene al tipo della *ἐπιπλοκή κατ' ἀφαίρεσιν*, ο *κατὰ πρόσθεσιν* secondo la definizione antica, i casi che, nella nostra condizione di lettori senza musica dei canti di Eschilo, appaiono certi sono pochi, mentre nella maggior parte delle occorrenze l'ambiguità del *colon* --~--~ divide la critica tra l'interpretazione giambica e l'interpretazione trocaica, senza che sia, allo stato attuale, possibile trovare un elemento decisivo in grado di orientare l'esegesi, ove si prescinda dal contesto stesso, non di rado ambiguo a sua volta. Nei casi in cui l'*epiploke* suddetta può apprezzarsi con evidenza, essa ricorre in contesti di picco emozionale e patetico.<sup>32</sup> Anche nelle *Eumenidi*, la prima coppia antistrofica comporta una forte dose di emotività, nell'incertezza, angosciante per le Erinni, circa l'esito del processo imminente. Tale preoccupazione sembra trasformarsi in convinzione certa nella seconda coppia antistrofica, dove le dèe si soffermano a illustrare le conseguenze dell'esito maggiormente temuto: l'articolazione metrica riceve qui un aspetto di completa uniformità, e il discorso delle Erinni un tono di minaccia.

Per quanto attiene alla funzione della *μεταβολή* ritmica da giambi a dattili, se ne possono individuare diverse possibili documentate dall'*usus* eschileo: la funzione che ho definito 'ornamentale', nella tragedia più antica; la funzione 'tematica', per cui le misure di ritmo dattilico veicolano temi distinti rispetto a quelli sostenuti dalle misure di ritmo giambico, come è ben visibile nel caso delle *Supplici*; infine la funzione, ampiamente presente nell'*Oresteia* e nel *Prometeo*, di sottolineatura (o 'messa in enfasi') di porzioni semanticamente rilevanti in un circoscritto contesto strofico. Quest'ultima funzione sembra svolta anche da quella specie di variazione metrica che abbiamo definito, coerentemente con la nomenclatura antica, *ἐπιπλοκή κατὰ μετάθεσιν*, dal giambo al coriambico. L'indagine effettuata sulle tragedie superstiti di Eschilo rivela che anche questo genere di *epiploke*, al pari della *metabola* ritmica, che apparentemente ha un più forte impatto in termini di percepibilità, svolge una funzione simile di messa in rilievo di parti (singoli versi, o brevi serie di versi) cruciali del canto.

Le emozioni hanno conseguenze espressive: come nel fraseggio verbale, così pure sul versante della musica. In questa direzione, e con diverso grado di efficacia, le tre tipologie di variazione metrico-ritmica svolgono tutte, attraverso la propria specifica azione dinami-

<sup>32</sup> Un caso comico di uso espressivo della *ἐπιπλοκή* giambico-trocaica è illustrato in Fileni 2018.

ca, una funzione estetica di volta in volta ben riconoscibile in rapporto ai rispettivi contesti musicali, che aggiunge intensità semantica ed espressività emotiva al testo verbale.

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# Fato e maledizione nell'*Antigone* di Sofocle

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**Abstract** The paper analyses the presence and function of curses in Sophocles' *Antigone*. In particular, it explores the interaction that the introduction of predetermined elements into the plot of the tragedy creates with the pre-existing fate. Scarcely relevant on the level of the actual development of events, the curse nevertheless plays a significant role on the semantic level.

**Keywords** Sophocles. *Antigone*. Curse. Tragedy. Narratology.

È merito di Ettore Cingano avere sottolineato con forza e illustrato la profonda innovazione che l'*Antigone* sofoclea opera rispetto alla tradizione precedente.<sup>1</sup> Le pagine che seguono intendono considerare all'interno di tale quadro la presenza della maledizione in questa tragedia.

In un momento cruciale del dramma *Antigone*, sul punto di essere condotta a morte, pronuncia alcune parole che, pur con qualche incertezza, suonano come una maledizione rivolta contro Creonte, responsabile della sua condanna (925-928). Maledizioni sono inoltre pronunciate o ricordate anche in altri momenti della tragedia (427-428; 867; 1304-1305).

Si tratta senza dubbio di un aspetto in sé notevole. Sia in quanto elemento centrale del sistema politico-religioso della città greca e punto di intersezione tra sfera pubblica e privata nella vita dei suoi

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1 Cingano 2003.



abitanti, sia perché costituisce di norma un elemento 'pesante' all'interno dell'universo di racconto di una tragedia, la maledizione ha ricevuto notevole attenzione da parte degli studiosi.<sup>2</sup>

Tra gli sviluppi relativamente più recenti nello studio della maledizione, merita particolare attenzione, nell'ottica di questo discorso, un filone di ricerca che, attingendo alla *Speech Act Theory*, legge la maledizione come atto linguistico dotato di un particolare valore illocutorio,<sup>3</sup> e sottolinea che essa utilizza quei verbi definiti *performatives* da J. Austin e *declarations* nella rielaborazione di J. Searle.<sup>4</sup>

Pur senza addentrarsi in una teoria complessa e in continua evoluzione, è oggi possibile affermare che la maledizione - nel modo in cui è concepita dagli antichi<sup>5</sup> - rientra in una classe di verbi o di atti linguistici che modificano le condizioni del mondo per il semplice fatto di essere utilizzati o compiuti. Di particolare importanza risulta l'accento che in questa prospettiva viene a porsi su quelle che Austin chiamava *felicity conditions*, le condizioni necessarie affinché un atto linguistico performativo abbia successo.<sup>6</sup> In quanto parola che modifica il mondo, la maledizione, se pronunciata nelle condizioni appropriate, si realizza inevitabilmente - o quanto meno se nei racconti accade quanto richiesto da una maledizione si deve intendere che ciò è accaduto in virtù della stessa.<sup>7</sup> Condizione essenziale perché una maledizione sia efficace è che chi la scaglia sia stato effettivamente leso nei suoi diritti, e attraverso il suo atto linguistico ristabilisca una *dike* violata.<sup>8</sup>

La parola di maledizione non è d'altro canto l'unico elemento che condiziona l'azione dei personaggi nello *storyworld* dell'*Antigone*;<sup>9</sup>

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**2** Sintetizzo qui quanto esposto più ampiamente in Dorati 2018, 103-14, cui rinvio per maggiori indicazioni bibliografiche. Sulla maledizione in generale mi limito qui a ricordare Ziebarth 1909; Speyer 1969; Parker 1983, 192-6; Giordano 1999; West 1999; Graf 2005; Eidinow 2007. Per la prospettiva adottata in questo lavoro sui problemi connessi alla presenza del fato nei racconti, rimando in generale a Dorati 2015.

**3** Cf. in part. Giordano 1999, in part. 13. Cf. anche Bowman 2007, 21.

**4** Cf. Loxley 2007, 50.

**5** Per le differenze tra maledizione nell'uso discorsivo proprio delle lingue e delle culture occidentali contemporanee e il suo valore nel contesto della stregoneria nel periodo di fine XVI-metà XVII sec., più vicino alla concezione greca della maledizione di quanto non sia il concetto moderno, cf. Culpeper, Semino 2000, 105-6.

**6** Cf. Austin 1962, 12-24.

**7** Cf. Giordano 1999, 13-6; Heuner 2006, 210-11; Bowman 2007, 21-3; Sewell-Rutter 2007, 58-9. Cf. anche West 1999, 33.

**8** Per il rapporto *dike*-maledizione cf. Speyer 1969, 1161; Aubriot-Sévin 1992, 355-74, in part. 359-62; Giordano 1999, 32-5; Sewell-Rutter 2007, 52-3.

**9** Sul concetto di *storyworld* («the world evoked by a narrative text or discourse; a global mental model of the situations and events being recounted»: Herman 2009, 193), che, non corrispondendo a quello di *fictional world*, si applica a qualunque narrazione, tanto finzionale quanto fattuale, cf. in generale Herman 2005.

vi è infatti operante anche il fato, della cui presenza la profezia di Tiresia (1064-1086) rappresenta una spia indubitabile. La scena del confronto tra Creonte e l'indovino svolge una vera e propria funzione di cerniera tra la prima parte della tragedia, nella quale poteva sembrare che l'azione umana si dispiegasse in un mondo totalmente libero da condizionamenti esterni, e la seconda, nella quale risulta chiaro che ci troviamo invece in un mondo nel quale non solo gli dèi sorvegliano quanto accade, ma anche che alcuni elementi sono predeterminati.<sup>10</sup> Emone - profetizza Tiresia - *deve* morire (1066-1067) e nella casa di Creonte uomini e donne *devono* levare i loro lamenti funebri (1079).

Prima di considerare più da vicino la presenza della maledizione nell'*Antigone*, è necessario chiarire alcune premesse.

L'introduzione di elementi predeterminati in un universo narrativo è *sempre* problematica, a causa delle pesanti limitazioni alla libertà d'azione dei personaggi che essa comporta: le azioni che porterebbero a esiti devianti rispetto a quanto ormai stabilito dal fato, e conseguentemente le decisioni e i pensieri che ad esse condurrebbero, devono essere bloccate a monte, o in alternativa vanificate a valle. D'altro canto, in un racconto l'azione, comunque intesa *in teoria*, non può essere *di fatto* rappresentata se non come se fosse frutto di libere scelte: ancor prima di essere riflesso di una *Weltanschauung* dei Greci, più o meno peculiare rispetto ad altri popoli,<sup>11</sup> la libertà d'azione dei *personaggi* è la preconditione di qualunque *racconto*. Quand'anche sul piano 'teologico' la visione del mondo sia quella di una totale predeterminazione, la libertà espulsa a livello di teoria deve essere in un modo o nell'altro reintrodotta di fatto nello *storyworld* - e dunque nel racconto, che è per definizione indissociabile dalle azioni e dalle soggiacenti intenzioni dei personaggi<sup>12</sup> - affinché questi ultimi possano agire. Il poeta che intenda trasmettere l'immagine di un mondo soggetto al fato deve sempre venire a patti con questa fondamentale limitazione del racconto e far passare l'idea della determinazione attraverso le maglie di un linguaggio della libera scelta, quand'anche questa sia presupposta come inesistente o fortemente limitata.<sup>13</sup>

Lungi dal rivelarci qualcosa sulla natura dello *storyworld* in cui essi agiscono, la libertà di fatto riscontrabile nell'azione dei personaggi - dell'*Antigone* come di qualunque altra tragedia - non è altro che l'elemento *nonostante* il quale può essere costruito un universo di racconto concepito come un mondo totalmente o parzialmente de-

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Riemer 1991, 7-9, 13.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Winnington-Ingram 1980, 154.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Ryan 2005, in part. 347.

<sup>13</sup> Per una trattazione più estesa rimando a Dorati 2015, 184-95 e 2016, 19-24.

terminato.<sup>14</sup> Consapevolmente o inconsapevolmente, come cedimento o come 'assenso',<sup>15</sup> le 'libere' scelte dei personaggi devono coincidere con quanto stabilito dal fato. Edipo, naturalmente, non *vuole* uccidere il padre e sposare la madre, ma 'liberamente', almeno in apparenza, *decide* di non tornare a Corinto e di muovere in direzione di Tebe, e *sceglie* di reagire alla provocazione di Laio invece di ignorarla e proseguire per la sua strada. Dove questo non accada spontaneamente - come nel *Filottete*, dove fino all'ultimo il protagonista si oppone ai dettami del fato e *non* sceglie, come dovrebbe, di andare a Troia - l'intervento esterno di una potenza superiore riporta l'azione sui giusti binari.

Presenza del fato e presenza di una volontà divina, che può spingersi fino all'intervento diretto nelle vicende umane, non possono essere fatte automaticamente coincidere, poiché esse operano in realtà per canali diversi. L'opposizione fondamentale non è tra mondo umano e mondo divino, ma tra un mondo nel quale operano solo forze antropomorfe - dotate quindi di volontà e intenzioni - sia umane che divine, e uno che, oltre a queste ultime, includa anche forze astratte e impersonali che predeterminano alcuni eventi.<sup>16</sup>

In un mondo libero e puramente umano, oppure dominato da potenze superiori rappresentate come agenti più forti dotati di volontà analoga a quella degli uomini ma di mezzi infinitamente superiori per realizzarla, i personaggi possono infatti liberamente *scegliere*, andando incontro alle conseguenze delle loro scelte. Un mondo di questo genere, popolato di uomini e dèi, si dispone in una gerarchia di agenti più forti e più deboli, dove i primi possono annientare i secondi, così come Dioniso annienta Penteo nelle *Baccanti* euripidee.

In un mondo invece nel quale sia operante il fato, e dunque alcuni eventi siano predeterminati, non è più solo questione di disparità di forze, ma di scelte che non possono essere compiute (non ci si può ad esempio suicidare, come tenta di fare Filottete, qualora il fato ci riservi ad altri eventi): alle azioni antropomorfe umane e divine si aggiungono così i 'blocchi' imposti da forze astratte e impersonali (giunto al bivio fatale, Edipo non 'può' *non* reagire alla

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**14** Per quanto problematica sul piano filosofico, a livello di racconto opera di fatto una distinzione tra parziale e totale determinazione - tra un mondo nel quale solo alcuni elementi, e uno in cui tutti gli eventi sono predeterminati - e la prima opzione è nettamente dominante. Se in un mondo totalmente determinato lo spazio per il libero volere degli agenti e il caso è per definizione inesistente, in un mondo parzialmente determinato restano spazi (probabilmente solo illusori, sul piano filosofico) per la *rappresentazione* di azioni libere e di eventi casuali - intendendo questi ultimi come elementi non chiaramente riconducibili a un agente antropomorfo.

**15** Cf. Mogyoródi 1996, 365-6.

**16** Per l'antropomorfismo cognitivo, cf. Dorati 2015, in part. 24-5, 45-9, 60-1, 71-2, 229-32, 245-6.

provocazione di Laio) e il racconto deve mettere in atto strategie atte a far coincidere l'azione umana con le linee già scritte nel libro del destino: l'impossibile suicidio di Filottete non è scongiurato da una barriera invisibile che impedisce all'eroe di gettarsi da una rupe, ma da un tempestivo intervento dei marinai, reso a sua volta possibile dalla scelta di manifestare ad alta voce il proposito suicida invece che tradurlo silenziosamente in atto.<sup>17</sup> Se abbinata a quella del fato, l'azione degli dèi è, come quella degli uomini, sottoposta a limitazioni: dove esiste il fato, gli agenti antropomorfici di statuto divino possono solo, in un modo o nell'altro, assecondarlo, trasformarsi in fedeli esecutori, o scomparire dalla scena. Come per gli uomini, i problemi sorgerebbero se gli dèi si mettessero di traverso e cercassero di imporre agli eventi una direzione diversa da quella prevista dal fato, ma essi, come mostrano ad esempio i poemi omerici, regolarmente 'cedono' prima che la situazione raggiunga un punto critico.<sup>18</sup>

In un simile quadro, l'introduzione di ulteriori elementi pre-determinati a causa di una maledizione non può non creare difficoltà, poiché fato e maledizione si pongono in un rapporto di potenziale conflitto o di necessaria sovrapposizione. Oltre a comportare profondi sconvolgimenti sul piano familiare e antropologico, una maledizione è infatti potenzialmente destabilizzante anche su quello narrativo. Accomunate *sul piano narrativo* dal loro carattere prolettico, profezia e maledizione differiscono profondamente rispetto al loro statuto ontologico all'interno dello *storyworld*: la profezia rivela che, nel momento in cui essa è pronunciata da una persona dotata di specifica autorità, alcuni eventi sono *già* (almeno parzialmente) determinati, mentre la maledizione vincola l'esito di alcuni eventi, *rendendoli* pertanto determinati con la forza di un atto linguistico performativo, e quindi può cambiare la condizione di un personaggio *a partire dal momento* in cui è pronunciata.

I problemi che si delineano sono intuibili. In un mondo totalmente determinato, nel quale tutto è già definito fin nei minimi dettagli, la maledizione non sarebbe altro che un 'atto dovuto', poiché, come qualunque altra azione - ad esempio la scelta di Edipo di *non* tornare a Corinto nell'*Edipo Re* - sarebbe parte di catene causali già interamente prefissate *ab ovo*. Se al contrario l'ipotesi ontologica è quella più comune della parziale determinazione la maledizione può indirizzarsi verso elementi liberi, oppure pre-determinati e rivelati come tali già da una profezia. In quest'ultimo caso la maledizione rischia di apparire ininfluente, in quanto riassorbita in un quadro

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Dorati 2015, 190-5; 2016, 43-5.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Dorati 2015, 51-82.

già di per sé fatale,<sup>19</sup> e compito del racconto sarà far 'dimenticare' al destinatario che la maledizione è in realtà (ontologicamente) vuota. Se, in alternativa, la maledizione si orienta verso elementi ancora liberi e non determinati all'interno di un quadro per altri aspetti già tracciato dal fato, il racconto deve assicurarsi che i personaggi si permettano solo maledizioni e azioni compatibili con quanto già scritto nel libro del destino: e poiché, una volta colpiti da maledizione, i personaggi non sono più liberi di compiere quelle scelte che - fino a un istante prima ancora disponibili - li sottrarrebbero a un destino ormai fissato, diviene necessario, come accade anche per gli oracoli, che la loro 'libera' scelta sia disattivata laddove essa porterebbe a esiti devianti.<sup>20</sup>

Un'ulteriore possibilità è che la maledizione sia tanto indeterminata da rendere incerto il suo effettivo contributo: in questo modo essa è presente in quanto atto in sé, ma di fatto non aggiunge nulla e resta dunque ininfluenza sul piano del *plot*, anche se può essere importante su quello semantico. Il primo caso è quello dell'*Edipo a Colono*, dove la profezia si inserisce negli stretti margini di manovra rimasti liberi, accordandosi con le linee predisposte dal fato, il secondo quello dell'*Antigone*.

Le conseguenze per l'analisi di un racconto che includa una maledizione sono notevoli anche per altri aspetti. Il carattere automatico della ἀρά esclude in primo luogo un elemento di potenziale instabilità all'interno di uno *storyworld* nel quale è stato introdotto un corso di eventi almeno in parte predeterminato, in quanto la sua realizzazione non dipende dalla volontà, dall'arbitrio o dal capriccio di una divinità.<sup>21</sup> Le potenze superiori non intervengono e le cose procedono da sé, oppure, se lo fanno, possono farlo solo in accordo con le linee predisposte dalla ἀρά. In questo modo è di per sé scongiurato un problema sempre potenzialmente presente all'interno di un rac-

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**19** Così ad es. Telemaco invoca gli dèi affinché i pretendenti siano annientati nel palazzo (Hom. *Od.* 1.380 = 2.145: δόμων ἔντοσθεν), ma il fato dei Proci è già determinato, come apprendiamo da Tiresia (*Od.* 11.119-120), che ne profetizza a Odisseo la morte nel palazzo (ἐνὶ μεγάροισι). Al di là del fatto che costituiscono una vera e propria maledizione, le parole di Telemaco, di molto posteriori al vaticinio di Tiresia, non *determinano* in alcun modo la rovina dei pretendenti, né ne precisano le condizioni (a differenza di quanto accade nella maledizione di Edipo nell'*Edipo a Colono*: cf. Dorati 2018), ma sono ininfluenti o devono essere a loro volta predeterminate dal fato (cf. Dorati 2015, 150 nota 3).

**20** Cf. Heuner 2006, 211.

**21** Cf. Aubriot-Sévin 1992, 353: «l'ἀρά n'est pas une requête confiée au bon vouloir de la divinité, c'est 'une force qui va'». Qualora intervengano, le Erinni in linea di principio costituiscono una forza impersonale interposta tra gli dèi e gli uomini; non sono una semplice personificazione della volontà degli dèi, e anzi disattivano quest'ultima, sostituendosi come forza meccanica. Nell'*Antigone* le Erinni, sebbene menzionate, non hanno - come accade anche nell'*Edipo a Colono* (cf. Dorati 2018, 107 nota 4, con bibliografia, e 110) - un ruolo specifico sul piano del *plot*: cf. *infra*.



conto 'fatale', almeno in forma latente, e cioè il fatto che gli dèi, in quanto personaggi cognitivamente antropomorfici, *potrebbero* anche 'non volere' quel che invece debbono volere, e tentare (naturalmente senza successo) di agire contro il fato.<sup>22</sup> Il carattere automatico della maledizione traccia limiti ben definiti a quel che può accadere nello *storyworld*: l'azione dei personaggi deve mantenersi all'interno di questo stretto margine di manovra, ed è compito del 'racconto' - in senso lato, intendendo come genere narrativo anche il teatro<sup>23</sup> - scongiurare le potenziali aporie che possono derivarne.

Come tento di mostrare in un altro lavoro,<sup>24</sup> nell'*Antigone* il fato gioca un ruolo nel complesso limitato: è presente, ma non costituisce il vero motore degli eventi. Come il mondo dell'*Aiace*, anche quello dell'*Antigone* resta un mondo essenzialmente umano, fatto di libere scelte e di contrasti antropomorfici, e la profezia di Tiresia si limita ad aggiungere spessore semantico alla tragedia - in particolare, contribuendo al rimpianto retrospettivo del 'troppo tardi!' - ma non serve a dimostrare concretamente, attraverso una particolare costruzione del *plot*, la presenza di un fato cui è impossibile sfuggire; è un universo narrativo che *potrebbe* presentare i tipici problemi della parziale determinazione, ma che di fatto non ne pone in primo piano nessuno, poiché in esso, diversamente da quanto accade nell'*Edipo Re* e nel *Filottete*, i personaggi non cercano di operare contro il fato, ma cooperano alla sua realizzazione e tutto quel che è necessario avviene puntualmente e senza intoppi.

Scopo di questo lavoro è esplorare, lungo una linea di ricerca iniziata in un precedente contributo,<sup>25</sup> i rapporti tra fato e maledizione, e il ruolo di quest'ultima, in un dramma in cui entrambi gli elementi risultano non 'forti', come nell'*Edipo a Colono*, ma 'deboli'.

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**22** Cf. Dorati 2015, in part. 116-17, 202-3.

**23** Cf. Dorati 2016, 18-22.

**24** Cf. Dorati 2020.

**25** Dorati 2018.

## Le maledizioni nell'*Antigone*

Sebbene il caratteristico termine ἄρα non vi compaia,<sup>26</sup> il passo più importante per il nostro tema è costituito dai vv. 925-928. Nel contesto del discorso finale di Antigone questi versi sfiorano punti che hanno profonde implicazioni per il senso del dramma nel suo complesso,<sup>27</sup> ma nell'ottica di questo discorso l'attenzione può essere senz'altro circoscritta al rapporto che intercorre tra quanto espresso in 927-928 e il reticolo degli eventi predeterminati successivamente rivelato dalla profezia di Tiresia.

Sul punto di essere condotta a morte, Antigone rivendica l'azione compiuta: se ha infranto l'editto di Creonte e la volontà della *polis*, dice la fanciulla, è stato solo per rendere al fratello defunto i dovuti onori funebri; per questa azione è ora costretta a scendere viva tra i morti. Di fronte al silenzio degli dèi e al loro apparente consenso a quanto sta accadendo – laddove essi in precedenza avevano chiaramente manifestato il proprio sdegno per la mancata sepoltura di Polinice attraverso i segni riferiti da Tiresia (998-1022) – Antigone si chiede se la sorte che deve subire sia giusta o ingiusta, e conseguentemente se la sua precedente azione in favore di Polinice sia stata pia o empia, e conclude (925-928):

ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν οὖν τάδ' ἐστὶν ἐν θεοῖς καλὰ,  
παθόντες ἂν ξυγγνοῖμεν ἡμαρτηκότες  
εἰ δ' οἶδ' ἄμαρτάνουσι, μὴ πλείω κακὰ  
πάθοιεν ἢ καὶ δρῶσιν ἐκδίκως ἐμέ.

E se questo è bello dinanzi agli dèi, soffrirei riconoscendo d'aver peccato: ma se i peccatori sono questa gente, possano soffrire mali non maggiori di quelli che a me fanno contro giustizia. (trad. Cantarella 1977, 321)

L'interpretazione dei primi due versi, e in particolare del v. 926, è per più aspetti problematica; in essi è tuttavia posta una premessa nel complesso chiara (se gli dèi approvano τάδε, vale a dire quanto sta accadendo ad Antigone), anche se la conseguenza risulta meno perspicua.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> È opportuno sottolineare che la presenza del sostantivo ἄρα, o del verbo ἄραομαι, che più comunemente corrispondono al nostro concetto di 'maledizione', non è necessaria né sufficiente per identificare tale atto. Essi possono infatti anche semplicemente indicare la 'preghiera', una 'richiesta' di carattere negativo o positivo, per gli altri o per sé stessi (cf. Speyer 1969, 1174; Aubriot-Sévin 1992, 205-401; Giordano 1999, 14-15; Burkert 2003, 176; Graf 2005, 248-9).

<sup>27</sup> Sul passo cf. in part. Cropp 1997, con ulteriori indicazioni bibliografiche.

<sup>28</sup> I punti più dibattuti sono rappresentati dal valore che deve essere attribuito all'ottativo ξυγγνοῖμεν e dalla costruzione sintattica dei participi παθόντες e ἡμαρτηκότες.

Altrettanto lineari, almeno nel loro significato immediato, appaiono i vv. 927-928, che costituiscono il punto di maggiore interesse per questo discorso, nei quali è posta una seconda protasi, apparentemente alternativa alla prima, con la relativa apodosi: se sono invece costoro (= Creonte,<sup>29</sup> come già intende lo scolio *ad loc.*) a sbagliare, aggiunge Antigone, possano soffrire 'non più' di quanto (= 'tanto quanto')<sup>30</sup> lei stessa soffre ingiustamente.

Premesso che, a dispetto delle antitesi e dei parallelismi che vi si possono notare,<sup>31</sup> i versi 925 e 927 non pongono in realtà un'alternativa rigorosa a quanto precede, ma presentano condizioni diverse e che non si escludono a vicenda,<sup>32</sup> l'aspetto più rilevante è che le due coppie di versi differiscono per il modo in cui si pongono nei confronti della realtà: nel primo caso si tratta di constatare quanto è avvenuto o sta avvenendo nella realtà e di trarne in un modo o nell'altro le dovute conseguenze; nel secondo, di modificarla con un atto linguistico, posto che sussistano le precondizioni necessarie.

Con questo, si entra con ogni verisimiglianza nello specifico terreno della maledizione. Le parole di Antigone ai vv. 927-928 non possono essere intese come una preghiera, poiché in una preghiera la realizzazione di un determinato desiderio è delegata agli dèi e dipende pertanto dal loro assenso.<sup>33</sup> Nell'*Antigone* tuttavia le divinità sono di fatto assenti, non solo nelle parole della ragazza ma più in generale dagli eventi, e anzi la loro assenza – nel senso di mancato intervento in quanto sta accadendo – è proprio il punto da cui muovono le sue considerazioni.<sup>34</sup> In direzione di una vera e propria maledizione condizionale, che non si limita ad esprimere un generico auspicio ma si rivolge direttamente alla realtà che cerca di modificare,<sup>35</sup> procedo-

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Cf. Rosivach 1989 e Cropp 1997, 140-3.

**29** Cf. Griffith 1999, 281, *ad* 925-928.

**30** L'espressione (sarcastica: Cropp 1997, 140) non deve essere intesa in senso letterale (Kamerbeek 1978, 181, *ad* 1076) e sottolinea che non è possibile richiedere una riparazione sproporzionata: Creonte dovrà soffrire 'mali altrettanto gravi, della stessa intensità', ma non necessariamente speculari o identici a quelli provocati.

**31** Cf. Rosivach 1989, 118; Cropp 1997, 140.

**32** Come sottolinea Jebb 1888, 166-7, *ad* 925-926, gli dèi potrebbero non impedire quanto sta accadendo, e Creonte potrebbe ugualmente essere nel torto. Gli dèi possono infatti non intervenire sia perché quanto accade è giusto, sia perché essi non necessariamente intervengono anche quando quel che accade è ingiusto. Cf. anche Griffith 1999, 281, *ad* 925-928. Di qui il dilemma di Antigone.

**33** Cf. Dorati 2018, 107.

**34** Nell'*Antigone* gli dèi sono ovviamente ricordati e presenti sullo sfondo, ma essi non intervengono *direttamente* nel *plot*, come fanno ad es. nel *Filottete* o nell'*Aiace*, e il loro ruolo effettivo nelle vicende è limitato – come nell'*Edipo Re* – all'invio di segnali che denunciano una situazione di crisi (vv. 999-1011) e mettono in moto una serie di eventi (nel nostro caso l'intervento di Tiresia). Cf. Sewell-Rutter 2007, 117-20.

**35** Cf. Giordano 1999, 17-25, in part. 22-3. Cf. anche Sewell-Rutter 2007, 53.

no anche l'uso dell'ottativo, che costituisce una delle forme più comuni nel linguaggio della maledizione, e il presupposto (espresso in forma ipotetica) di una violazione della *dike*, che rappresenta la pre-condizione necessaria perché una ἀρά risulti efficace.<sup>36</sup>

Questa maledizione viene tuttavia a collocarsi in un contesto nel quale agiscono anche altre forze. Tra queste – è opportuno sottolineare – non devono a mio avviso essere incluse la colpa ancestrale o la maledizione ereditaria che, secondo un'interpretazione che posa in particolare sul secondo stasimo della tragedia, sarebbero responsabili della rovina di Antigone.<sup>37</sup> La maledizione si colloca invece sen-

36 Cf. Giordano 1999, in part. 19-20, 31-5.

37 Cf. in part. Lloyd-Jones 1971, 115-17; cf. anche, più recentemente, Liapis 2013, 93-5. Non è possibile entrare nel dettaglio della complessa interpretazione di questo canto corale (per la quale in generale cf. ora Sewell-Rutter 2007, 70-1, 116-20; Gagné 2013, 362-76, con bibliografia precedente; cf. anche Cairns 2016, 68-9); pur citate dai personaggi e in generale associate alle vicende della famiglia dei Labdacidi che costituiscono lo sfondo del dramma, maledizione e colpa ancestrale sono senza dubbio parte integrante e ineliminabile dell'arredamento' dello *storyworld* e in quanto tali oggetto di ripetute allusioni (cf. Gagné 2013, 362-3), ma non costituiscono forze che effettivamente determinano l'azione nello specifico universo narrativo dell'*Antigone* (cf. Greene 1963, 145-6; West 1999, 40-1; Sewell-Rutter 2007, 114-20, in part. 115-16; Gagné 2013, 376). Né vi giocano un ruolo maggiore le Erinni (ricordate ai vv. 603 e 1075), che pure hanno indubbiamente un rapporto privilegiato con la maledizione (cf. West 1999, 32; cf. Speyer 1969, 1196; Aubriot-Sévin 1992, 351-2; Burkert 2003, 377. Per il ruolo delle Erinni nella tragedia in generale, cf. Sewell-Rutter 2007, 78-109; per le Erinni in Sofocle, cf. Winington-Ingram 1980, 205-16): per quanto possano essere rilevanti sul piano 'teologico', le Erinni sono in realtà prive di un ruolo specifico sul piano del *plot* (sul quale giustamente richiama l'attenzione Sewell-Rutter 2007, 78, 118-19). Il mondo di questo canto corale (e questo vale più in generale per le forze chiamate in causa da tutti i personaggi) è un mondo del resto nel quale le entità superiori chiamate in causa si moltiplicano e si accumulano (oltre alle Erinni, gli dèi inferi, Zeus, *ate*, ecc.); ne risulta un quadro tradizionale che mira più a trasmettere un forte senso di interferenza da parte di un livello superiore con la realtà umana che a chiarire i rapporti che sussistono tra tali forze nella specificità della tragedia per fornirne una chiave di lettura (cf. Dorati 2015, 41 e nota 4). Che questo canto corale non costituisca solo un elemento puramente esornativo intessuto di luoghi comuni, è fuori discussione (cf. Lloyd-Jones 1971, 115; Gagné 2013, 371). Il coro cerca con tutte le sue forze di dare un senso a quanto sta accadendo; nel far questo, tuttavia, esprime solo un'opinione, secondo la quale esiste una connessione tra il passato della famiglia e le sventure di Antigone (lo stesso dicasi di ἀραῖος, detto da Antigone al v. 867: cf. Cairns 2016, 68). Le opinioni del coro non sono necessariamente corrette (cf. Griffith 1999, 220, ad 582-625; Gagné 2013, 376; cf. Dorati 2015, 138-9), e non c'è alcuna ragione per vedere nelle parole del coro il significato profondo della tragedia e la spiegazione del suo sfondo 'teologico'. Come sottolinea Griffith 1999, 219, ad 582-625, il coro pone interrogativi ma non fornisce risposte. Fra tanti riferimenti «sparse and unspecific» alla saga dei Labdacidi – la quale, come ha ben mostrato Cingano 2003, non costituisce una realtà oggettiva a monte dei riferimenti che ad essa vengono fatti nei testi specifici, ma un insieme di elementi tradizionali che possono essere di volta in volta attivati o restare anestetizzati sullo sfondo – quel che è veramente presente è «the basic idea that Antigone's actions and their consequences fall into a pattern that is repeated in the history of her family» (Cairns 2016, 69); altro è tuttavia dire che una casata è soggetta a una ricorrente sfortuna, altro è affermare che esiste una forza che condiziona inesorabilmente le azioni, le scelte che stanno a monte, e ancor prima i pensieri dei personaggi. Si può concludere, con Gagné 2013, 376, che la colpa ancestra-

za dubbio in un mondo nel quale, come lo spettatore apprende da Tiresia pochi versi più tardi, è operante anche un fato che vincola il corso degli eventi. Si impongono pertanto, in linea con quanto visto sopra, due interrogativi: 1) la maledizione di Antigone è compatibile con la profezia di Tiresia? 2) quali degli eventi che hanno luogo nello *storyworld* del dramma possono essere ricondotti con certezza alla maledizione di Antigone, a riprova della sua efficacia?

Quanto alla prima domanda, un punto cruciale riguarda l'errore di Creonte menzionato al v. 927 (εἰ δ' οἶδ' ἀμαρτάνουσι).<sup>38</sup> A quale 'errore' di Creonte si fa riferimento in questi versi? Il termine potrebbe riferirsi tanto alla morte incombente di Antigone (data ormai per certa ma in realtà ancora evitabile), quanto alla sepoltura negata di Polinice (situazione già in atto, ma rimediabile). Nel primo caso - a mio avviso preferibile - la maledizione è senz'altro compatibile con i fatti successivi, sia se si considera il corso di eventi effettivamente accaduti (Creonte non si ravvede per tempo ed 'erra', Antigone muore e il re soffre 'tanto quanto' la ragazza), sia se si considera il corso di eventi alternativo e non attualizzatosi (Creonte si ravvede, non 'erra' e libera la fanciulla): nel primo caso abbiamo una chiara corrispondenza tra il (generico) contenuto della maledizione e gli eventi occorsi; nel secondo, la maledizione non si attiva, essendone venuta meno la precondizione,<sup>39</sup> ma non per questo costituisce, in quanto atto linguistico, un 'colpo a vuoto'.<sup>40</sup> Intendendo invece con ἀμαρτάνουσι un riferimento alla mancata sepoltura di Polinice, ci si troverebbe di fronte a un'aporia, in quanto la maledizione, pur essendone già soddisfatta la precondizione (Creonte ha violato la *dike*), potrebbe risultare inefficace, qualora Creonte, ascoltando il monito di Tiresia, si ravvedesse per tempo, restando pertanto, come atto linguistico, un 'colpo a vuoto'.

Il fatto che la maledizione sia compatibile con gli scenari (attualizzati e non) presenti all'interno dello *storyworld*, non significa tuttavia che essa sia anche efficace. È soprattutto il corso di eventi effet-

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le diviene «a powerful instrument of characterisation, not a narrative explanation or a theological key», e che il dramma resta in primo luogo «a play about Antigone's agency» (Sewell-Rutter 2007, 117, che tuttavia non assegna a mio avviso il giusto peso alla presenza di elementi predeterminati nello *storyworld* del dramma).

**38** Per l'importanza del verbo ἀμαρτάνειν in un dramma nel quale torto e ragione sono appassionatamente dibattuti (cf. Cairns 2016, 37-57), cf. Cairns 2016, 51, con ulteriore bibliografia (cf. anche 67-76 sull'importanza della contigua nozione di ἄτη, che, è bene sottolineare, non implica di per sé alcuna forma di predeterminazione).

**39** Anche nel caso in cui si identifichi l'errore di Creonte con la pronuncia della condanna, a prescindere dall'effettiva esecuzione, la maledizione non andrebbe a vuoto: Creonte avrebbe sì 'errato' condannando ingiustamente a morte Antigone, ma, restando in vita la fanciulla, soffrirebbe 'tanto quanto' Antigone, vale a dire nulla - a parte il temporaneo stato di angoscia.

**40** *Misfire*, nella terminologia di Austin 1962, in part. 16-18.

tivamente attualizzatosi a creare difficoltà. Creonte, infatti, soffre sì infine 'tanto quanto' Antigone, come richiesto da quest'ultima, ma non in virtù dell'errore da lei posto come preconditione, bensì per un'altra decisione sbagliata: l'errore *decisivo* e che chiude definitivamente il fato del re è dato da un evento che cade dopo l'uscita di scena di Antigone, e che la fanciulla non può naturalmente prevedere: il rifiuto del re di cogliere la *chance* di ravvedimento che gli è offerta attraverso l'esortazione di Tiresia (1023-1032). È difficile pensare che intento di Sofocle sia presentare un Creonte condannato *solo* in virtù della maledizione di Antigone, preesistente e congelata in attesa della sua ultima mossa, e che senza tale maledizione egli avrebbe potuto salvarsi anche dopo una risposta che al perseverare in un comportamento condannato aggiunge un grave atto di *hybris* (1040-1043);<sup>41</sup> piuttosto, dal momento che nulla nel testo autorizza a pensare che la maledizione si attui *costringendo* Creonte a compiere la scelta sbagliata, la maledizione di Antigone allunga di un ulteriore anello la catena degli eventi e costituisce un doppiante di quanto fisserà comunque il fato nel momento in cui il re non coglierà la *chance* offertagli da Tiresia.

Il contributo della maledizione di Antigone al corso degli eventi in 927-928 appare dunque nel migliore dei casi dubbio ed elusivo, e molto più verisimilmente nullo.<sup>42</sup> Il quadro è in sintonia sia con il fatto

<sup>41</sup> Sulla blasfemia di Creonte in questo e in altri passi, cf. Knox 1964, 108-9; Riemer 1991, 15; Cairns 2016, 35-6.

<sup>42</sup> Le altre maledizioni cui si fa riferimento nel testo dell'*Antigone* si collocano sulla stessa linea. In 853-6 il coro, mentre Antigone è ormai condotta a morte, avanza un'ipotesi: la fanciulla, afferma, sta scontando una colpa paterna. Antigone replica richiemandosi al *πότημος* della propria famiglia e all'incesto da cui lei stessa, 'maledetta' (867: ἄρσιος), è nata. Connesso con il verbo *πίπτω*, *πότημος* (che ricorre anche in 1296 e 1346) è un termine ambiguo, neutrale (Kamerbeek 1978, 50, *ad* 83), che può indicare tanto il fato in senso stretto quanto 'quel che accade', un 'destino' colloquiale e ontologicamente non impegnativo: cf. vv. 83, 881. Cf. Greene 1963, 402, *App. 4*: «'chance', or 'dom', never of good luck»; Chantraine 1968-80, 3, 906, s.v. «πίπτω», «ce qui tombe sur quelqu'un, destin»; Winnington-Ingram 1980, 151; Sarischoulis 2008, 116-21. Anche in questo caso il rinvio al possibile ruolo di una colpa ereditaria o maledizione ancestrale resta tuttavia solo sullo sfondo (cf. *supra*). Delle ἄρσι κακαί contro coloro che hanno vietato la sepoltura di Polinice, delle quali Antigone è attivamente artefice in 427-428, non è specificato il contenuto, grazie all'uso del discorso indiretto da parte della guardia: anche in questo caso è pertanto impossibile determinarne il reale contributo alla catastrofe finale, il che equivale a dire che esso nello *storyworld* del dramma è di fatto nullo, senza contare il fatto che se tali maledizioni fossero efficaci, il destino di Creonte risulterebbe chiuso al momento dello scontro con Tiresia, mentre esso è ancora aperto e si chiude per effetto del comportamento di Creonte. In quale rapporto queste terribili maledizioni iniziali stiano con la maledizione tenue e quasi impercettibile di 927-928, costituisce un ulteriore problema: dal momento che Antigone non era stata ancora condannata a essere chiusa viva in un sepolcro, il loro contenuto non può essere lo stesso; un contenuto diverso, per contro, riproporrebbe le medesime difficoltà, rischiando di creare una maledizione inefficace o che interferisce con il fato. Una volta di più l'indeterminatezza del contenuto risolve di fatto i problemi. In 1304-1305 è Euri-

che non è la morte di Antigone ma la mancata sepoltura di Polinice il vero nodo posto dal dramma,<sup>43</sup> sia con l'indeterminatezza dei termini nei quali è espressa la maledizione (Creonte, si dice, dovrà soffrire 'tanto quanto' soffre ingiustamente Antigone, ma non è specificato quale volto dovrà assumere la sua sofferenza): la ragazza non chiede che si verifichi un determinato, particolare evento, ma solo che a Creonte tocchi provare un livello di sofferenza pari al suo, quale che ne sia la causa. La maledizione resta senza un contenuto preciso sia perché sarebbe difficilmente concepibile che Antigone, pur non nominando mai il fidanzato Emone, giunga ad auspicarne la morte, sia perché in questo modo il contributo effettivo della maledizione resta non valutabile – e comunque, nella sua genericità, compatibile con le più specifiche sventure predette da Tiresia – e quindi il problema generato dal suo inserimento in un tessuto fatale resta nascosto.

Come sempre in rapporto alle aporie generate dalla presenza di elementi predeterminati all'interno del *plot*, anche questa indeterminatezza deve essere a mio avviso considerata non come un casuale incidente di percorso, ma come il frutto di una consapevole strategia, ed è ragionevole supporre che se Sofocle avesse voluto fare della maledizione di Antigone il vero cardine degli eventi, l'avrebbe presentata come tale con chiarezza.

Al pari del mancato colpo di spada di Emone (1220-1239), che permette a Creonte di rimanere in vita per provare il dolore e sentire i lamenti funebri, secondo quanto profetizzato da Tiresia (1078-1079), anche le maledizioni sono importanti sul piano semantico, in quanto esprimono efficacemente l'odio che Creonte ha saputo generare nelle persone che lo circondano, ma problematiche su quello del *plot*, e Sofocle ha posto attenzione a non oltrepassare i ristretti margini entro i quali esse sono compatibili con la profezia. Una maledizione attiva fin dal momento in cui è pronunciata distruggerebbe il significato di una scena fondamentale per l'economia dell'*Antigone* (il contrasto tra Creonte e Tiresia), poiché in tal caso l'indovino giungerebbe a giochi ormai chiusi per dare inutili ammonimenti al re. Una maledizione vaga e a effetto differito, ma subordinata al verificar-

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dice a scagliare terribili maledizioni contro Creonte (σοὶ κακὰς | πράξεις ἐφρμνήσασα τῷ παιδοκτόνῳ), ma anche in questo caso il loro contenuto non è specificato e pertanto non sappiamo se e in quale relazione esse entrino con il futuro profetizzato da Tiresia – in un futuro che in ogni caso cade al di là della conclusione del dramma – o se, come pare più probabile, si limitino implicitamente a duplicarlo, risultando pertanto ridondanti, o costituendo un semplice 'atto dovuto'; il che ancora una volta equivale in definitiva a dire che nello *storyworld* della tragedia le maledizioni di Euridice non svolgono una vera funzione a livello di *plot*. La maledizione ha ancora una volta solo un valore semantico. Non si può pertanto affermare, con Segal 1995, 126-7, che le maledizioni di Antigone in 427-428 e di Euridice in 1304-1305 siano collegate tra loro e si realizzino nel corso del dramma.

**43** Rinvio per questo a Dorati 2020.

si di una data preconditione, lascia che per un certo tempo gli eventi successivi possano ancora giocarsi in un campo libero, ma entra ugualmente in attrito con l'elemento predeterminato che da un certo momento in poi è inserito nel reticolo degli eventi.

Apparentemente consapevole delle difficoltà prodotte dal sovrapporsi a breve distanza (circa centocinquanta versi) di maledizione e profezia, Sofocle accumula contro Creonte materiale 'semantico' che colora di tinte sempre più fosche la sventura che sta per abbattersi sul re, ma sfuma i contorni della maledizione, in modo che non ne risulti troppo evidente l'interferenza con la profezia: un processo che si spiega meglio nel quadro della profonda rielaborazione sofoclea dei materiali tradizionali illustrato da Ettore Cingano. Nel concreto sviluppo del *plot* i problemi posti dalla maledizione restano invisibili perché la realizzazione di un fato specifico dopo lo scontro con Tiresia ingloba e rende superflua la maledizione generica scagliata da Antigone.

La differenza tra *Antigone* ed *Edipo a Colono* risulta sotto questo profilo evidente: le maledizioni, che nel dramma più recente sono centrali e, nei ristretti margini disponibili, aggiungono qualcosa al già fitto tessuto causale nel quale si inseriscono, restano marginali nel dramma più antico e non rappresentano forze effettivamente attive nel *plot*.

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## **Poesia ellenistica tarda**



# ***P.Vindob. G 26768a:* Non-Antimachean *Thebaid* (with Possible Associated Fragments from Other Collections)**

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**Abstract** In this chapter I take a fresh look at the hexameter *adespoton P.Vindobonensis* G. 26768a, arguing that the text does not cover the events preceding the race between Atalanta and Hippomenes, and that is not by Hesiod, as proposed by its editor. The name of Parthenopaeus, Atalanta's son, who participated in the War of the Seven against Thebes, should be supplied in l. 12. Lines 20 ff. deal with Atalanta's dream of her son's death. The chapter also discusses the relation of this poem with two other anonymous hexameter fragments from Oxyrhynchus, *P.Oxy.* 2519 and *P.Oxy.* 859, which seem to deal with Parthenopaeus' departure from Arcadia to Thebes.

**Keywords** Atalanta. Parthenopaeus. Epic. Hexameter. Adespota.

In the catalogue of epic adespota contained in my *Adespota Papyracea Hexametra Graeca (APHex, vol. 1)*, the reader finds six papyrus fragments either centring on or making tangential reference to the city of Thebes and/or the War of Thebes with Argus: *P.Berol.* inv. 5226 = *BKT V* 2, p. 147(a) = Heitsch, *GDRK XL*; *P.Berol.* inv. 17060 = *P.Schubart* 6 = Antimachus, fr. dub. 200 Matthews; *P.Hamb.* II 122 = [Hes.] *Cat. fr. inc. sed.* 37-38 Hirschberger; *P.Oxy.* VI 819 = Antimachus fr. dub. 151 Wyss = fr. dub. 189 Matthews; *P.Oxy.* XXX 2519 = Lloyd-Jones, Parsons, *SH* 912 = Antim. fr. dub. 198 Matthews; and *P.Vindob. G 26768a* = [Hes.] *Cat. fr.* 16 Traversa.



Edizioni  
Ca' Foscari

**Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4**

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

**Peer review | Open access**

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/018

At least three of these, *P.Vindobonensis* G. 26768a, *P.Oxy.* 859, and *P.Oxy.* 2519, appear to be connected in content, and gravitate around the same episode of the expedition of the Argives against Thebes, the conversation between Atalanta and Parthenopaeus and the subsequent departure of Parthenopaeus to join the Seven. Building on recent, important contributions on *P.Oxy.* 859 and 2519 by, respectively, C. Meliadó<sup>1</sup> and A. Silvestro,<sup>2</sup> this article will focus on *P.Vindobonensis* G 26768a, proposing a new interpretation based on a fresh examination of the papyrus, and assessing its possible connections on a narrative level with the two *P.Oxy.* fragments.

*P.Vindobonensis* G 26768a was published in 1939 by Hans Oellacher in the series *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* as MPER N.S. III 6,<sup>3</sup> as part of the Sammlung's major effort to publish their literary papyri. Oellacher offers a helpful palaeographical description of the hand, which he dates to the III century AD, but does not provide a full-scale commentary on the text, which is admittedly very scanty.

|                                |            |                |    |
|--------------------------------|------------|----------------|----|
| ]                              | ...        | [              |    |
| ]                              | ς          | Ἀρτεμι         |    |
| ἀπ]                            | ώλεσε      | λαὸν ἐγείρας   |    |
| ]                              | ν          | ἐμφύλιον ἀρχήν |    |
| ]                              | χρυσάμπυκα | Λητώ           | 5  |
| ]                              | ..         | Ἀταλάντη       |    |
| ]                              | ///        | αία            |    |
| ]                              | //         | ςτους          |    |
| ]                              | [          | ]              |    |
| (eine oder zwei Zeilen fehlen) |            |                |    |
| ἀτά]                           | λαντορς    | [?             |    |
| ]                              | χευς       | ]              | 10 |
| ]                              | ς          |                |    |
| πα]                            | ρθεν       | [ υ — υ        |    |
| πο]                            | λεμισταί   |                |    |
| ὠτρ]                           | υνε        | τελέσσαι       |    |
| τ]                             | ὸ δὲ       | Λητώ           | 15 |
| ]                              | α,         | τῆλε δ' ἐοῦσα  |    |
| μυχ]                           | οῖσι       | μελάθρου       |    |
| ]                              | εῖπε       | τελέσσαι       |    |
| ἐπιείκε]                       | λον        | ἠελίοιο        |    |
| ]                              | ἤ          | εελήνη         | 20 |

1 Meliadó 2018.

2 Silvestro 2016.

3 Oellacher 1939.

ἔ]νδυε χιτῶνα  
ὀ]νείρων  
]ωι

In his note on v. 6 Ἀταλάντη, however, he wrote:

Der sichere Name gibt einen Fingerzeig für die Einordnung des Papyrus. Wir werden auf die Kataloge des Hesiod geführt. Vielleicht werden die Vorgänge vor dem Wettlauf der Atalante mit Hippomenes geschildert, ihr Bemühen mit Hilfe der Artemis und der Leto zu siegen, also zwischen Frag. 21 Rzach [= 73 M.-W. = 47 M.] und den obegenannten Papyrus der Soc(ietà) It(aliana) 130 [= 75 M.-W. = 48 M.] einzuordnen sein (Körte).

Körte's inference was accepted by Augusto Traversa, who included the fragment in his edition of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* about a decade later.<sup>4</sup> Atalanta did feature in the *Catalogue of Women* as the daughter of Schoeneus and granddaughter of Athamas, son of Aeolus (fr. 72 M.-W. = 50+51 M.). The episode of the race of Atalanta and Hippomenes (fr. 75 M.-W. = 48 M.) was included at the beginning of book 2 as part of the genealogy of the Aeolids which started, presumably, at the end of book 1 and continued into book 2.<sup>5</sup>

However, two issues arise:<sup>6</sup> first, the involvement of Leto (5, 15) in the story, which -as far as I know- is not otherwise attested in myth; second, the mythical profile of Atalanta, which is incompatible with the Atalanta we know from Hesiod.<sup>7</sup> Atalanta the 'racer', daughter of the Boeotian king Schoeneus, is generally distinguished by ancient sources from the 'huntress', the daughter of Iasus, the son of king Lycurgus of Arcadia. Since in our papyrus Atalanta occurs in conjunction with Artemis (2), it looks likely that the character we are dealing with is the Arcadian huntress rather than the Boeotian racer. Of course, the two figures could have been conflated some time after Hesiod by a poet eager to have the two traditions reconciled, imagining e.g. Schoeneus emigrating to Arcadia before conceiving Atalanta or a footrace set among the Arcadian hills, a chief seat of Artemis' cult.<sup>8</sup> Such a 'syncretic' treatment of Atalanta is seen in Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis* 215-224, where the daughter of Iasus, the Arcadian, is listed among Artemis' nymphs and is introduced with an epithet,

<sup>4</sup> Traversa 1951, fr. 16.

<sup>5</sup> West 1985, 67. Alternatively, at the beginning of book 3: see D'Alessio 2005, part. 213-16.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. already Schwartz 1960, 363 fn. 3, for a brief reassessment of frs. 15-16 Traversa.

<sup>7</sup> On the two profiles, see Immerwahr 1885, 26-7.

<sup>8</sup> Jost 1985, 393-425.

ποδορρών, which directly recalls the ‘racer’, the daughter of Schoeneus. Similarly in Propertius 1.1, Melanion/Hippomenes falls in love with the Arcadian Atalanta, who is called *velocem*.<sup>9</sup>

There are elements in the papyrus which point, in fact, to a completely different narrative context, most likely a military one (cf. l. 13 πολεμισταί). In l. 3 ἀπ]ώλεσε λαὸν ἐγείρας, a commander is portrayed as either ‘laying waste’ to some territory or ‘losing’ – it would seem – his own life, dying as he leads his army. In l. 4, ἐμφύλιον ἀρχήν seems to refer to an intestine conflict, a desire for (?) ‘power within one family’. In Greek mythology, the fratricidal strife *par excellence* is, of course, the conflict between the Argives and Thebans culminating in the military expedition of the Seven against Thebes. The progeny of Atalanta is involved in the war; her son with Hippomenes (or Meleager, or Ares),<sup>10</sup> Parthenopaeus, was persuaded to join in the war by Adrastus,<sup>11</sup> and will later die fighting in it.<sup>12</sup> It has gone unnoticed that his name can be conveniently restored as a hexameter-end at l. 12. I would then argue that πα]ρθεν[ √ √ likely refers not to Atalanta, the hunting ‘maiden’, but to her son.

The most complete source of information on the relationship between Atalanta and Parthenopaeus, and the events leading to his death is Statius’ *Thebaid*. In book 9, Statius goes into detail about Atalanta’s premonition of her son’s demise in a dream. She suddenly wakes up and rushes to Thebes to avert Parthenopaeus’s death (570-575): *tristibus interea somnum turbata figuris | torva sagittiferi mater Tegeatis ephebi, | ... ibat ... | purgatura malum fluvio vivente soporem. | namque per attonitas curarum pondere noctes ...* (Meanwhile the stern Tegean mother of the archer youth, troubled in her sleep by gloomy visions, was on her way ... to purge her sinister slumber in the living stream. For in nights dismayed by weight of cares...) (transl. Shackleton Bailey). This very scene seems to me to be referenced in lines 20 ff. of our papyrus. Mention of dreams (23 ὄ]νειρων) and the moon (24 σελήνη), and the presence of the expression ἐ]νδυε χιτῶνα in 21, which in Homer is said of characters putting their tunics back on after sleep,<sup>13</sup> can hardly be coincidental.

<sup>9</sup> For examples of conflation in Ovid, see Ziogas 2013, 156-7. Apollodorus, the author of the *Bibliotheca*, also does not seem to be bothered by this distinction: see Scarpi *ad* 9.3.2.

<sup>10</sup> Escher-Bürkli 1896, 1891; Boardman 1984, 940.

<sup>11</sup> Diod. Sic. 4.65.4-5; but cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.8 εἰς Θήβας ἔπεισε (*scil.* Tydeus) τοὺς Ἀργείους στρατεύεσθαι.

<sup>12</sup> Paus. 9.18.6 = *Thebais* fr. 10 W. = Davies, *Theban Epics*, fr. 4; Eur. *Phoen.* 1159-61; Stat. *Theb.* 9.877-907.

<sup>13</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.42\* μαλακὸν δ’ ἔνδυε χιτῶνα | καλὸν νηγᾶτεον (Agamemnon after being visited by Dream/Nestor); *Il.* 10.21 ὀρθωθεὶς δ’ ἔνδυε περὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα (Agamemnon cannot sleep, puts on his tunic to go and see Nestor); 121 ὡς εἰπὼν ἔ. π. σ. χ.



In Statius, Atalanta's plea to Artemis/Diana, who is mentioned here in l. 2, triggers the goddess's intervention, resulting in Parthenopaeus's *aristeia*. But what about her mother Leto, whose name occurs twice in the papyrus at ll. 5 and 15? The answer may come from Statius, as Leto does appear in Atalanta's prayer there; in 9.631-635, Leto is mentioned as the prototype of all suffering mothers, with particular reference to her troubled pregnancy: *quod si vera sopor miserae praesagia mittit, | per te maternos, mitis Dictynna, labores | fraternumque decus, cunctis hunc fige sagittis | infelicem uterum; miserae sine funera matris | audiat ille prior!* (But if sleep sends me, alas, true présages, by your mother's labour, gentle Dictynna, [= Artemis, lady of mount Dictys in Crete], and you brother's glory [Apollo], pierce this luckless womb. Let him hear first of the death of his unhappy mother) (transl. by Shackleton Bailey).

It has been argued recently that the episode of Parthenopaeus' departure from Arcadia to Thebes may have been at the centre of two further hexameter adespota, both dated, as is the *P.Vindobonensis*, to the III century. Atalanta may be the narrating character in *P.Oxy. XXX 2519 fr. 1 = SH 912* communicating to Parthenopaeus the predictions made by Amphiarus of the Argive debacle at Thebes, to dissuade him from entering the conflict that will ultimately kill him:<sup>14</sup>

#### Fr. 1 col. ii 1-7 (supplements by Lobel)

οὐδέ (?) γὰρ Ἀμφιαρῆα . . [   
 εἰδότα θάκηριν (?) Δαναοικο . [   
 ἀλλ' ὅτε (?) κ[ε]ν διή ἀμωρο[ (?)   
 οὐ οἱ ἔτι δύναμίν γε τό[τε (?)   
 ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλωγ . [   
 ρπήζεται, εἴως κεν . [   
 τύνη δ' ἴχγε[ο (?)

In a second fragment from the same roll, we seem to have a snippet of Parthenopaeus' response to Atalanta (cf. col. i 4 ἀλύτῆν), followed by her resigned acceptance of the inevitable upcoming tragedy:

---

(Nestor, following his conversation with Agamemnon). In post-Homeric times, a χιτών could be worn by both men and women alike, see Gow *ad Theoc.* 15.21 (on Simaetha at 2.73); Markwald, *LfrgE*, s.v. "χιτών"; Stephens *ad Callim. Hymn* 3.11 (of Artemis); Bagordo on Ar. fr. 641 K.-A. γυναικείον ... χιτώνιον.

<sup>14</sup> Livrea 1985, 599.

Fr. 2 col. ii 4-8 (= *SH* 912 b; supplements by Silvestro, except l. 8 by Lobel)

ἀνέ]ρος ἔκφ[ατο μῦθον ...?]  
 “ ]ἔξ ἔμ[  
 .. ] [ ]υτ’ Ἄργε[οc ”  
 ο]ὕδ’ ἐν ἀτεμβ[όμενος μετέειπεν μάντις  
 “ἔρχεσθ’ ὅππῃ δ[ί] τοι νόος ἔπλετο”<sup>15</sup>

The third fragment associated with this theme is *P.Oxy.* VI 859, now at Liverpool Sidney Jones Library. In it, we read of an unnamed character – almost certainly Parthenopaeus –<sup>16</sup> ‘leaving the gates of Talaus’, king of Argus and father of Parthenopaeus, and ‘Mount Stymphalus’, in Arcadia, ‘where he resided’. His mother, Atalanta, appears to be checking on him (l. 6 μήτηρ θάλαμόνδ’ ἔμολε), unaware that her son is no longer sleeping (καταδράθοι) and has already left for Thebes. ὄνειρα in the final line may be a reference to her dream. Here are ll. 2-8 in Meliadò’s edition:

ὥς εἰπὼν ἀπέβ]η τε καὶ ἐς Ταλαοῖο θ[ύρετρα  
 χώρησε στ]ύμφηλον ἀποπρολι[πὼν νιφόνενα  
 ὡς ἐνὶ ναιετ]άσασκε. παροῖθε δέ οἱ πρ[οῦβιαινε  
 λαὸς ἐπαί]στων. ἀλαβώδεος ἐνδο[θι πύργου  
 τειρομέν]η μήτηρ θάλαμόνδ’ ἔμο[λ’ ὄφρ’ ἐν εἰδῆ  
 εἰ υ —<sup>17</sup> ἀμογ]ητὶ καταδράθοι ὥς τὸ [πάρος περ  
 ]αῖσι πελέσκετο ἔργου ὄγ[ειαρ

Whilst the Vienna, Oxford, and Liverpool texts appear to be connected on the level of content, it is difficult to say whether they belonged to the same work. Granted *P.Oxy.* 2519 is about Parthenopaeus and Atalanta, none of the three adespota would come from Antimachus’ *Thebaid*, where Parthenopaeus is said to be the son of Lysimache, wife of the king of Argus Talaus (fr. 17 Matthews), rather than Atalanta.<sup>18</sup> Narratively speaking, the fragments centre on the same epi-

<sup>15</sup> Silvestro 2016, 119: “ella, narrando in breve a guisa di *exemplum* le predizioni di Anfiarao riguardo la disfatta argiva a Tebe, dapprima cercherebbe di dissuadere il figlio Partenopeo dal recarsi in guerra per evitare la fine che l’indovino ha previsto per tutti i sette (fr. 1); e avendo constatato, poi, che il figlio non vuole saperne di restare in patria (i vv. 4-6 b potrebbero quindi riportare le parole di Partenopeo, che si appellerebbe forse all’onore e ai doveri propri di un guerriero), guardandolo montare sul suo carro, gli rivolgerebbe un discorso d’addio («*Fa’ pure come...*», fr. 2 col. ii b v. 8).”

<sup>16</sup> Meliadò 2018, 56.

<sup>17</sup> εἰ δὴ παῖς, which Meliadò and suggested independently, is probably too long for the space available.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Cingano 1989, 30 fn. 13: “Partenopeo è argivo, figlio di Talao, in Ecateo, *FGrHist* 1 F 32 (così pure Paus. 9,18,6 = Theb. fr.7 Allen, 6 Bernabé; Aristarco, *TrGF* 14 F 5; Filocle I, *TrGF* 24 F 3; Antimaco, fr. 17 Wyss), ma diventa arcade, figlio di Atalanta,

sode, and there appears to be no overlap in the treatment of the mythical events. The conversation between mother and son in the Oxford fragments may have preceded the dream described in the Vienna fragment,<sup>19</sup> with the Liverpool scrap illustrating the tragic moment in which the mother wakes up from the dream and realises Parthenopaeus has already left. In Stat. *Theb.* 9.570 ff., Atalanta's prayer to Artemis follows the dream, and by 9.670 ff. Parthenopaeus is already in the midst of the battle.

If it is not Antimachus, who then is the author of the *P.Vindobonensis* (and possibly the other two fragments)? Nurturing doubts that the Cyclic *Thebaid* was still available to read in third century Egypt is, I believe, legitimate.<sup>20</sup> If this is a postclassical *Thebaid*, the author could have been that Menelaus of Aegae known to have composed a *Thebaid* in 11 books (*SH* 551-553), or Antagoras of Rhodes, a contemporary of Callimachus (Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, p. 121), but neither is known to have survived on papyri. Nothing prevents us, of course, from thinking of a later *Thebaid*, one composed locally by an Egyptian author, whose name never reached us, and yet still in vogue – we presume – at the time the papyrus was copied.

A new edition of the Vienna fragment follows.

#### Perale, *APHex* 99 = *P.Vindob. G 26768 a*

· · · · ·  
 ] . [ . ] . [ . . . . .  
 ] Ἄρτεμι[—  
 ἀπ]ώλεσε λαὸν ἐγείρας  
 ] ν ἐμφύλιον ἀρχήν  
 ] χρυσάμπυκα Λητώ  
 ] ν Ἀταλάντη  
 ] ... αἶα  
 ] . [ . ] υς τους  
 ] . [ . ] . .  
 desunt versus unus vel duo  
 ] ... [

nei tragici ateniesi (Eschilo, *Sept.* 532sgg.; Sofocle, *Oed. Col.* 1320sgg.; Euripide, *Suppl.* 888sgg.) e nei mitografi, ad es. Ellanico, *FGrHist* 4 F 99 e Ps. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3,6,3, che attinge a fonti più tarde rispetto a quelle utilizzate nel primo libro"; see also Meliàdò 2018, 57 fn. 11.

**19** Unless ἐνδουε χιτῶνα in 21 refers to Parthenopaeus' last night at Stymphalus, rather than Atalanta's.

**20** Cf. the introduction in Perale (forthcoming). West 2015, 106-7, like Wilamowitz 1884, 328-80 and Severyns 1928, 75-81, believed that the poems of the Epic Cycle were no longer circulating after the first decades of the second century.

|                   |    |
|-------------------|----|
| ]ζαντος           |    |
| ]χευσε            |    |
| ].[. ]c           | 15 |
| πα]ρθενο [-υ      |    |
| πο]λεμισται       |    |
| ]... ε τελέσσαι   |    |
| ]το δε Λητώ       |    |
| ]α, τῆλε δ' ἔοῦσα | 20 |
| ]οιαι μελάθρου    |    |
| ]εῖπε τελέσσαι    |    |
| ]μον ἠελίοιο      |    |
| ]εῖε Cελήνη       |    |
| ] ἔγδυσε χιτῶνα   | 25 |
| ὄ]νειρων          |    |
| ] . ωι            |    |

Hesiodo dederunt Körte ap. Oellacher et Traversa, sed in Hesiodi catalogo Atalanta filia Schoenei (ffr. 72, 76.9 M.-W = 51, 48.12 M.) cursu celeberrima, hic lasii, virgo venatrix Arcadica ancillaque Dianae (2, cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 151; Callim. *Dian.* 215-220; Ov. *Am.* 1.7.13-14; Prop. 1.1.10) materque Parthenopaei (16?), qui ad Thebarum portas pugnavit. Thebaidi suffragantur etiam ll. 3-4 λαὸν ἐγείρας et ἐμφύλιον ἀρχήν, i.e. bellum intestinum ad Thebas capiendas necnon ll. 23ss., quae Atalantae somnium de morte Parthenopaei narrare videntur, vd. 24 Cελήνη et 26 ὄ]νειρων; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9.570-571 *tristibus interea somnum turbata figuris / torva sagittiferi mater Tegeatis ephebi, 575 per attonitas noctes, 622 quid trepidae noctes somnusque minantur?* quid Leto (5, 19) agat, omnino non intellegimus, nisi exemplum mulieris laborantis memoratum, cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9.631-634 *quod si uera sopor miserae praesagia mittit, | per te maternos ... labores | ... cunctis hunc fige sagittis | infelicem uterum.* poeta Antimachus non est. Parthenopaeus in Thebaide eius Argivus, non Arcadicus (fr. 17 M. = 17 W.) || **3** suppl. Oellacher || **4** κακ]ήν Cartlidge\* || **7** fort. ]ον δ' αἶα || **8** ἄ[π]ί]ψτους, ἄ]κ[ο]υ]ψτούς, -κλ[α]υ]ψτους possis || **13** scripsi: ἀτά]λαντος dub. Oellacher || **14** ἦν ἐλό]χευσε (cf. Callim. *Hymn* 4.326 ἦν ἐλοχεύσαο Λητώ) vel ἠνιό]χευσε possis (ἠνιό]χευεῖ iam Oellacher) || **16** Πα]ρθενοπ[αι- suppleverim: παρθέν[ο]c ἄδμηc Oellacher || **18** fort. ] εῖ]πε, cf. 22: ὠτρ]υσε Oellacher || **21** μυχ]οῖαι Oellacher: προθύρ]οιαι etiam possis, cf. Nonn. *P.* 5.4 ὑπ' αἰθούσῃαι μελάθρου. μέλαθρον = *domus*, vd. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.414 et C. Brügger, M. Stoevesandt, E. Visser *ad loc.* || **23** ἀνγᾶ]c ἐπιείκε]λον ἠελίοιο dub. Oellacher, sed λον non legitur: fort. (cυν]δρό]μον ἠελίοιο 'circumitum solis' (cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 163; D.P. 237\*; Nonn. *Dion.* 4.277) vel δό]μον ἠελίοιο i.e. ad orientem, cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 11.487, 521, 37.91 || **24** ἀντή]ε]ε possis, ita Man. 1[5 K.].50-51, cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 38.346\* Ἠριγένεια συναντήσε]ε Cελήνη: ] ἠε c. Oellacher || **25** ἔγδυσε χιτῶνα Hom. *Il.* 2.42\* et Nonn. *Dion.* 18.204\*, 20.101\*, semper post alicuius somnium. | υ ex o corr. || **26** suppl. Oellacher: βωτια]νειρων, κυδια]νειρων (Cartlidge\*) etiam possis.

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# Socrates in Love (Herodicus *Suppl. Hell.* 495)

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**Abstract** This paper considers two surviving extracts from a hexameter poem in which Socrates apparently narrated the story of his love for Alcibiades and Aspasia's role in the pursuit of the young man. The author of the poem was very likely Herodicus (second century BC), known for other anti-Platonic writings. The paper considers some of the linguistic and textual problems of the fragments, the probable structure of the poem as a whole, the debt of the work to Plato and Aeschines, and the importance of Socratic literature more generally to the development of erotodidactic themes in later poetry.

**Keywords** Aeschines. Alcibiades. Aspasia. Athenaeus. Erotodidaxis. Herodicus. Plato. Socrates. Xenophon.

Athenaeus preserves two extracts from a hexameter poem in which, to judge from what survives, Socrates narrated the story of his love for Alcibiades and Aspasia's role in it.<sup>1</sup>

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This essay is a poor return for the intellectual and social hospitality which Willy Cingano has offered to me over many years, but it is also a brief note of acknowledgement for the great debt our discipline owes to his tireless efforts in organising the *Advanced Seminar in the Humanities* in Venice.

**1** There are many uncertainties of text (I print the text of *Suppl. Hell.*, and it is not to be assumed that readings which are not discussed here are secure) and interpretation; cf. further below. A full apparatus is given by Broggiato 2014, 98 and Lloyd-Jones-Parsons in *Suppl. Hell.*, and most of the little modern bibliography is cited in Burzacchini 2017. The translation offered here is at best provisional.



Edizioni  
Ca' Foscari

**Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4**

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

**Peer review | Open access**

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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**DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/019**

Ἀσπασία μέντοι ἡ σοφὴ τοῦ Σωκράτους διδάσκαλος τῶν ῥητορικῶν λόγων ἐν τοῖς φερομένοις ὡς αὐτῆς ἔπεσιν, ἅπερ Ἡρόδικος ὁ Κρατήτειος παρέθετο, φησὶν οὕτως

Ἐσώκρατες, οὐκ ἔλαθές με πόθῳ δηχθεὶς φρένα τὴν σὴν 1  
παιδὸς Δεινομάχης καὶ Κλεινίου. ἀλλ' ὑπάκουσον,  
εἰ βούλει σοι ἔχειν εὖ παιδικά, μηδ' ἀπιθήσῃς  
ἀγγέλω, ἀλλὰ πιθοῦ, καὶ σοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἔσται.  
κὰ γὼ <ῶ>πως ἤκουσα, χαρᾶς ὑπο σῶμα λιπαίνω 5  
ιδρῶτι, βλεφάρων δὲ γόος πέσεν οὐκ ἀθελήτως.  
ἴστέλλου πλησάμενος θυμὸν Μούσης κατόχοιο,  
ἢ τόνδ' αἰρήσεις, ὡσὶν δ' ἐνίει ποθέουσιν·  
ἀμφοῖν γὰρ φιλίας ἢ δ' ἀρχῆ, τῆδε καθέξεις  
αὐτόν, προσβάλλων ἀκοαῖς ὀπτήρια θυμοῦ. 10

κυνηγεῖ οὖν ὁ καλὸς Σωκράτης ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλον ἔχων τὴν Μιλησίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸς θηρεύεται, ὡς ὁ Πλάτων ἔφη, λινιστατούμενος ὑπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου. καὶ μὴν οὐ διαλείπει γε κλαίων ὡς ἄν, οἶμαι, δυσημερῶν. ἰδοῦσα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν οἴῳ ἦν καταστήματι Ἀσπασία φησὶν·

τίπτε δεδάκρυσαι, φίλε Σώκρατες; ἢ σ' ἀνακινεῖ 11  
στέρνοις ἐνναίων σκηπτὸς πόθος ὄμμασι θραυσθεῖς  
παιδὸς ἀνικίτου; τὸν ἐγὼ τιθασόν σοι ὑπέστην  
ποιῆσαι...'

ὅτι δὲ ὄντως ἦρα τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου δῆλον ποιεῖ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Πρωταγόρᾳ, καίτοι μικρὸν ἀπολείποντος τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν. λέγει δ' οὕτως κτλ.

The wise Aspasia, Socrates' teacher in rhetoric [cf. Plato, *Menexenus* 235e8-10], speaks as follows in the verses which circulate as hers and which Herodicus the Cratatean (*Suppl. Hell.* 495) cited:

“Socrates, you did not manage to conceal from me that your heart is bitten with desire for the son of Deinomache and Kleinias. But listen, if you want to have your boyfriend well disposed, and do not disobey the messenger, but believe me, and things will go much better for you”.

When I heard this, for joy my body glistened with sweat, and tears fell from my eyes not against my will.

“Prepare yourself by filling your spirit with the Muse which possesses; with this you will capture him, and let her into his ears which are full of desire. This will be the beginning of friendship for both of you, and by her you will possess him, by offering his ears gifts for the revelation of his spirit”.



The fair Socrates is hunting [cf. *Pl. Prt.* 309a2-3, below] with the Milesian woman as his teacher in love; it is not that he himself is being pursued, as Plato claimed [cf. *Pl. Symp.* 217a-219d], net-hunted by Alcibiades. Indeed, he does not stop weeping just like, I imagine, someone down on his luck. When Aspasia saw what condition he was in she says:

“Why are you crying, dear Socrates? Does desire dwelling in your heart from the eyes of a boy who is not to be conquered rouse you?<sup>2</sup> I promised you that I would make him tame...”

In the *Protagoras* Plato makes plain that [Socrates] really was in love with Alcibiades, though Alcibiades was little short of thirty years old. His words are: [citation of *Prt.* 309a1-b2] (*Ath.* 5.219b-20a = Herodicus fr. 4 Düring, 12 Broggiato = *Suppl. Hell.* 495)

We know nothing else of the form or extent of the original poem; Ingemar Düring’s view that Athenaeus’ knowledge of Herodicus’ anti-Socratic and anti-Platonic treatise Πρὸς τὸν φιλοσοφικράτην was not direct, but limited to excerpts in an earlier miscellany has never seriously been challenged, though Düring’s poor view of Athenaeus’ technique in putting together these chapters has.<sup>3</sup> Düring held that Herodicus (late second century BC) was the ultimate source of this whole passage of Athenaeus, not just the citation of the verses, and we shall see some linguistic features of the prose which perhaps support this view. The explicit reference to Herodicus in 219c guarantees, if nothing else, that we do not, in any case, have an exact reproduction of his text.

It is usually (though not universally) held that Herodicus himself is very likely the author of the verses, despite the manner in which the deipnosophist Masurius, a very learned polymath (cf. *Ath.* 1.1c), introduces them. It is hard to see how anyone could claim (even jokingly) that the verses were by Aspasia, as long as vv. 5-6 (Socrates’ first-person statement) were included in the citation, unless we are to imagine (not perhaps completely impossible) a poem in which Aspasia ‘plays Plato’, i.e. writes a first-person account of a conversation in the past which is narrated by Socrates, but (unlike Plato) gives herself a prominent role in the narrated events. More prosaically, however, Athenaeus or an intermediate source may not have noticed (or reflected upon the consequences of) the presence of vv. 5-6 in the quotation. The natural interpretation of ἐν τοῖς φερομένοις ὡς αὐτῆς ἔπεισιν is ‘in the verses which circulate as hers’, an expression which allows

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**2** Translation and text quite uncertain.

**3** Düring 1941, 58-9, cf. Broggiato 2014, 49-51; Trapp 2000, 358-60 offers a helpful account of how difficult it is in these sections of Athenaeus to determine how he has used his sources.

Athenaeus and the learned Masurius to suggest their scholarly doubt on the matter; these verses were ‘cited’ (παρέθετο) by Herodicus, presumably to bolster his anti-Platonic case.<sup>4</sup> If Herodicus himself wrote them and claimed them to be by Aspasia, this would certainly not be the only case of citational fraud known from antiquity.<sup>5</sup> There is also the real possibility that vv. 1-10 were not originally in this sequence or that the preserved citation is lacunose; we might, for example, have expected a quasi-Homeric verse introducing Aspasia’s further speech in vv. 7-10. Moreover, the relationship between the two verse-citations, which are curiously close to each other in sense, allows for more than one explanation. But for the past tense in ὑπέστην (v. 13) and the order in which Athenaeus places the quotations, there might have been a temptation to position vv. 11-14 earlier in the exchanges between Socrates and Aspasia than vv. 1-10; without, however, knowledge of the extent of the poetic narrative (were there different ‘scenes’?), we are simply making guesses in the dark.

The text offers a significant number of linguistic and metrical oddities; even after due allowance for the normal processes of textual corruption, which often produce greater damage in verses preserved in anthologies and citations than in those with their own manuscript tradition, the remarkable style of the verses has never really been properly explained. The standard explanation, namely the incompetence of the poet (for Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, for example, the verses are “nugae insulsaе”, the work of a “poetunculus”, and for Düring “the metaphors are dull, overloaded and artificial”),<sup>6</sup> merely begs the question of the nature of the poem from which the verses come. For all we know, the composer sought a particular, perhaps characterising, effect through what indeed are, by any standards, some very unusual verbal usages. What follows are brief notes on features of some of the verses (not, of course, a proper commentary), before I turn to the nature of the fragment more generally.

**1** οὐκ ἔλαθές με κτλ. Although not strictly necessary, the implication of Aspasia’s words is probably that Socrates was trying to conceal his desire;<sup>7</sup> Aspasia sees through Socrates, as the Platonic Socrates claims to see through so many of his interlocutors. οὐκ ἔλαθες occurs in fact only twice in the Platonic corpus, once addressed to Socrates (*Resp.* 5.457e5) and once in Socrates’ reaction to Alcibiades’ speech in the *Symposium*. Socrates claims that he has understood the real purpose of Alcibiades’ speech, namely to cause a rift between

**4** Cf. *LSJ* s.v. “παρατίθημι” B5.

**5** Broggiato 2014, 51, 98-9, 103 asserts that Herodicus ‘attributed’ the verses to Aspasia; he very likely did so, but this is not in fact what Athenaeus’ Greek says.

**6** Düring 1941, 65.

**7** So rightly, e.g. Henry 1995, 65.

Socrates and Agathon so that Alcibiades should be the only object of Socrates' love, whereas Agathon should be loved only by Alcibiades and no one else:

ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔλαθες, ἀλλὰ τὸ σατυρικόν σου δράμα τοῦτο καὶ σιληνικὸν  
κατάδηλον ἐγένετο. (Pl. *Symp.* 222d3-4)

But I realised what you were up to, and this satyric, indeed silenic, drama has been laid bare.

Given the context in the *Symposium*, namely Socrates' alleged love for Alcibiades, we may suspect that Aspasia is here made to echo this passage of the *Symposium*, or that the composer was here influenced by the fact that this Platonic scene was clearly in his mind. The erotic situation implied by the verses is also familiar from erotic epigram. We think perhaps particularly of Callimachus' famous poem:

ἔλκος ἔχων ὁ ξεῖνος ἐλάνθανεν· ὡς ἀνηρόν  
πνεῦμα διὰ στηθέων (εἶδες;) ἀνηγάγετο,  
τὸ τρίτον ἡνίκ' ἔπινε, τὰ δὲ ῥόδα φυλλοβολεῦντα  
τῶνδρὸς ἀπὸ στεφάνων πάντ' ἐγένοντο χαμαί·  
ὥπτηται μέγα δὴ τι· μὰ δαίμονας οὐκ ἀπὸ ῥυσμοῦ  
εἰκάζω, φωρὸς δ' ἴχνια φῶρ ἔμαθον.  
(Callim. *Epigr.* 43 Pf.)<sup>8</sup>

The stranger is wounded and we did not notice. How distressed was the sigh he heaved through his chest - did you see? - when he drank the third toast, and the roses have dropped from the man's garlands and all lie on the floor. He has been burned very badly. By the gods, my diagnosis is no idle one - a thief myself, I have learned to recognize the tracks of a thief.

We might even speculate that the scene of Aspasia and Socrates, which Socrates here reports, was set, as is Callimachus' epigram, at a symposium, perhaps indeed at Aspasia's house. Such a speculation would fit comfortably with the general debt of the verses to Plato's *Symposium* (cf. further below).

2 παιδὸς Δεινομάχης καὶ Κλεινίου. Plato's *Alcibiades* begins with Socrates addressing Alcibiades as ὦ παῖ Κλεινίου and referring to himself as the brilliant politician's πρῶτος ἐραστής; at 105d2 of the same dialogue Alcibiades is addressed as ὦ φίλε παῖ Κλεινίου καὶ Δεινομάχης. The *Alcibiades* played an important role, alongside

<sup>8</sup> For other aspects of, and bibliography on, this poem cf. Hunter 2018, 124-5.

the *Symposium*, in Hellenistic imaginings of the relations between Socrates and Alcibiades.

3 εἰ βούλει σοι ἔχειν εὖ παιδικά. The meaning seems to be along the lines of the translation offered above, cf. Broggiato 2014, 98 “se vuoi che il tuo amore per lui vada a buon fine”; Burzacchini 2017, 550 “se vuoi che il tuo amasio ti sia compiacente”. In the Loeb edition of Athenaeus, Olson’s “if you want to be successful at seducing boys” seems both very hard to get from the Greek and contrary to the sense of the passage as a whole. At the opening of Plato’s *Protagoras*, immediately following the dialogue’s initial exchange which Masurius cites in Athenaeus straight after the ‘Herodican’ verses, Socrates replies to his friend’s teasing question about his relationship with Alcibiades:

Ἐταῖρος. Τί οὖν τὰ νῦν; ἢ παρ’ ἐκείνου φαίνη; καὶ πῶς πρόσ σε ὁ νεανίας διάκειται;  
Σωκράτης. Εὖ, ἔμοιγε ἔδοξεν, οὐχ ἤκιστα δὲ καὶ τῆ νῦν ἡμέρα· καὶ γὰρ πολλὰ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ εἶπε βοηθῶν ἐμοί, καὶ οὖν καὶ ἄρτι ἀπ’ ἐκείνου ἔρχομαι. (Pl. *Prt.* 309b3-7)

*Friend.* How do things stand now [with Alcibiades]? Is it from him you have come? How is the young man treating you?

*Socrates.* Very well, I think, and not least on this very day, for he said many things on my side which were helpful to me; and, yes, I am just now coming from being with him.

The opening of the *Protagoras* is certainly in the mind of Masurius/Athenaeus in quoting the Herodican verses, and we can hardly rule out that this was also an important Platonic intertext for the poet of Socrates’ distress.

4 ἀγγέλῳ is puzzling. Aspasia is presumably referring to herself, rather than to a character or an event lying outside the cited verses; Broggiato’s “non disobbedire alle mie parole” makes very good sense, but is not quite what the text says, and emendation to, e.g. τῷ λόγῳ or εὐνόῳ (with μοι understood) does not carry conviction. An adverb, ‘obstinately, proudly’ (e.g. σεμνῶς), or an abstract noun in the dative, ‘though pride, self-will’, would be welcome, but no convincing suggestion occurs. I mention here one further (remote) possibility which I have considered. In a famous passage at the beginning of the *Phaedo*, Socrates relates a repeated dream (ἐνύπνιον) which told him to ‘make *mousike* and work at it’;<sup>9</sup> Socrates decided ‘not to disobey (μὴ ἀπειθῆσαι) the dream’ (61a7),<sup>10</sup> which he interpreted as

9 There is, of course, more than one possible interpretation of μουσικὴν ποίει καὶ ἐργάζου.

10 Cf. also 61b1 πιθόμενον τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ.

an injunction to write poems. Perhaps, then, the motif of a dream ('a messenger') was transferred in the 'Herodican' poem to an earlier stage of Socrates' life.

**5** λιπαίνω is taken by *LSJ* as transitive, i.e. 'I cause my body to glisten with sweat', whereas there is an obvious temptation to understand it as intransitive, with σῶμα as the accusative of respect or of the 'part affected'; as far as possible, one would want to remove any sense of purposive agency from an outbreak of sweat, cf., e.g. Sappho fr. 31.13 Voigt (which the present passage evokes) and Theoc. 2.106-7 (Simaitha's 'Sapphic' attack at the appearance of Delphis). The only alleged example of the intransitive which *LSJ* cite is Plut. *Mor.* 1101a = Epicurus fr. 120 Usener, where however λιπαίνειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς (of crying), if correctly read, seems more likely to be a transitive use. Nevertheless, an intransitive use, even if unattested elsewhere, is hardly implausible; Düring compares the much more common use of στάζω, as at Soph. *Aj.* 9-10 κάρα | στάζων ἰδρῶτι. Kaibel cut the knot with λιπάνθη.

**6** γόος is another surprise. *LSJ* offer no example of the meaning 'tears' (of joy); Düring's claim that this is "elegiac usage in imitation of Homer" is not supported by any evidence.<sup>11</sup> Meineke suggested ῥόος.

**7** Μούσης κατόχοιο 'the Muse which possesses'; for discussion cf. below.

**8** The text of the second half of the verse must be considered very doubtful. The manuscript offers ωσιδεινρηποθοισιν. Cf. further below.

**10** ὀπτήρια θυμοῦ is another puzzling phrase. ὀπτήρια are gifts given to celebrate the 'sight' of someone new and important; the word is used for the gifts which a bridegroom offers to his bride at her unveiling and gifts offered to (or in thanks for) a new child (cf. Eur. *Ion* 1127, Callim. *Hymn* 3.74). Aspasia *might* then be saying that Socrates' 'music' will not just be the means of capturing Alcibiades, but also the gifts he offers in return for 'seeing Alcibiades' θυμός', i.e. finding Alcibiades willing to satisfy his desire. If something along these lines is correct (and the matter is very uncertain), then we might recall the way in which Alcibiades, in Plato's *Symposium*, explains his decision to offer Socrates sexual access in return for 'hearing everything [Socrates] knew' (217a4-5); Aspasia would here be suggesting an exchange along similar lines. However we understand the phrase, there is clearly a play here between 'hearing' and 'sight': Socrates' words, placed into Alcibiades' ἄκοαί, his 'hearings', are a way of 'seeing' Alcibiades' desire. Somewhere in the background here may lie what is, at least for us, the most famous 'paederastic' scene in Plato, namely the opening of the *Charmides*. There, Socrates responds to

<sup>11</sup> Düring 1941, 65.

the lavish praise of Charmides' physical beauty by saying that everything depends on the state of his ψυχή, and that rather than stripping him off to admire his body, they should first strip him and 'look at' (θεᾶσθαι) his soul, by – of course – holding philosophical conversation with him (154d-e). Aspasia here is perhaps not as high-minded as the ironical Socrates of Plato, but the analogy of the two situations is clear. It may in fact be worth noting the possibility of substituting ψυχῆς for θυμοῦ at the end of v. 10; the latter might have arisen from θυμόν in v. 7. Meineke's θελεκτήρια cuts another knot.

A quite different interpretation is suggested by Olson's translation "glimpses of your soul".<sup>12</sup> The thought presumably would be that the 'music' which Socrates offers Alcibiades' ears are gifts which allow the latter to 'see' Socrates' θυμός; this would be a rather freer extension of meaning for ὀπτήρια, but one which could hardly be deemed impossible within the style of these verses. In favour of such an interpretation might be Pl. *Symp.* 216e7-17a2, where Alcibiades tells the symposiasts that he once 'saw' the marvellous images inside Socrates, a sight which led him to the conclusion that he should 'do whatever Socrates asked'. A memory of that passage would be a very persuasive rhetoric from Aspasia: the Socrates of the poem, as opposed to Plato's Socrates, would very much welcome an Alcibiades who did anything he asked.

**11** τίπτε δεδάκρυσαι, φίλε Σώκρατες. The echo of *Iliad* 16.7 (Achilles to Patroclus), τίπτε δεδάκρυσαι, Πατρόκλεις κτλ., is perhaps the only such evocation of a specific Homeric text in the extant verses,<sup>13</sup> and is doubly appropriate in context. Achilles and Patroclus were the most famous, almost the original, paederastic couple, and as such are suitably evoked in this poem. Secondly, Achilles goes on to compare Patroclus to a little girl asking to be picked up and comforted by her mother. Aspasia here thus casts herself in the role of the mother who will comfort the crying girl; this well catches the 'power relationship' between Aspasia and Socrates and the ironically negative portrayal of Socrates in the poem.

**12** The text of this verse is very uncertain, though the sense, in its most general terms, is clear enough. It may be worth noting that there are a number of overlaps between the erotic imagery and language of this poem and Pindar's paederastic poem for Theoxenos (fr. 123 M), which is also cited twice by Athenaeus and twice by Plutarch, a pattern suggestive of its fame in antiquity:<sup>14</sup>

**12** That the θυμός is Socrates', not Alcibiades', is also the view of Burzacchini 1999, 182, though he understands ὀπτήρια in its nuptial sense.

**13** Düring 1941, 65 is quite misleading on the Homeric texture of the verses.

**14** The most obvious shared elements are πόθω, δηχθείς, and ἐνναίων, but note also σκηπτός alongside Pindar's ἄκτινας and ὄμμασι alongside πρὸς ὄσσων. Some of these

χρῆν μὲν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐρώ-  
των δρέπεσθαι, θυμέ, σὺν ἀλικίᾳ·  
τὰς δὲ Θεοξένου ἀκτῖνας πρὸς ὄσσω  
μαρμαρυζοίσας δρακεῖς  
ὄς μὴ πόθῳ κυμαίνεται, ἐξ ἀδάμαντος  
ἢ σιδάρου κεχάλκευται μέλαιναν καρδίαν 5  
ψυχρᾶ φλογί, πρὸς δ' Ἀφροδί-  
τας ἀτιμασθεῖς ἐλικογλεφάρου  
ἢ περὶ χρήμασι μοχθίζει βιαίως  
ἢ γυναικείῳ θράσει  
ψυχρὰντ' φορεῖται πᾶσαν ὁδὸν θεραπεύων.  
ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τὰς ἕκατι κηρὸς ὧς δαχθεῖς ἔλα 10  
ἱρᾶν μελισσᾶν τάκομαι, εὐτ' ἂν ἴδω  
παίδων νεόγυιον ἐς ἦβαν·  
ἐν δ' ἄρα καὶ Τενέδῳ  
Πειθὼ τ' ἔναιεν καὶ Χάρις  
υἴδον Ἀγησίλα.  
(Pind. fr. 123 M)

One should cull love, my heart, as appropriate during youth, but whoever has seen those rays flashing from Theoxenus' eyes and is not flooded with desire has a black heart forged from adamant or steel with a cold flame, and is dishonoured by bright-eyed Aphrodite, or toils compulsively for money, or with womanly courage is carried in service to an utterly cold path. But I, because of her, melt like the wax of holy bees bitten by the sun's heat, whenever I look upon the new-limbed youth of boys. So, after all, in Tenedos Persuasion and Grace dwell in the son of Hagesilas. (trans. Race 1997, 353-5)

An attempt to echo what appears to have been a 'classic' paederastic text may in fact account for some of the stylistic peculiarities of the hexameters.

**13** παιδὸς ἀνικῆτου is presumably still Alcibiades, rather than another ἐρώμενος.

The prose which separates the two verse quotations is also marked by some striking diction. ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλος occurs again at Ath. 13.567a as a term of abuse directed by the cynic Cynulcus against the grammarian Myrtilus; the latter is *περὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας δεινός*, knowledgeable, according to Cynulcus, only in matters of sex. Used in the present passage of Aspasia, the word seems rather more neutral, but it may be significant that this term could appear in a hexam-

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shared elements are of course commonplaces. The Pindaric fragment offers problems of both text and interpretation, but these do not affect the simple point being made here.

eter: might Aspasia have used this term of herself or Socrates of her in a verse which has not been transmitted to us? If the term is not found before Athenaeus (and/or Herodicus), however, the idea itself is, at least later, very familiar,<sup>15</sup> and Herodicus is here clearly drawing on a long pre-existing tradition. When Ovid proclaims himself *praeceptor Amoris* (*Ars am.* 1.17, repeated with a difference at *Tristia* 1.1.67) he means both ‘teacher in (matters of) love’ and ‘teacher of (the boy) Love’, but it is tempting to think that his phrase offers a wittily ambiguous ‘translation’ of the Greek compound noun. At the beginning of Callimachus’ ‘Acontius and Cydippe’ the poet declares that αὐτὸς Ἔρως ἐδίδαξεν Ἀκόντιον... | ... | τέχνην, ‘Eros himself taught Acontius the art [of catching Cydippe]’ (fr. 67.1-3 Pf.); the words gesture to the theme of erotodidaxis (and perhaps also to the term ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλος), here put to a new point, as ‘Eros himself’ is the teacher, and no mortal ‘expert’ or human τέχνη is required. Ovid may, therefore, have in mind, not merely the term ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλος, but specifically the opening of ‘Acontius and Cydippe’, a narrative whose importance for Roman love elegy has long been identified: whereas in Callimachus Eros himself is the teacher, Ovid goes one better and teaches Eros himself.

Herodicus’ verses (if indeed they are his) bear indirect witness to the very important role which Socratic literature seems to have played in the development of erotodidactic themes in Greek and Latin literature; it is perhaps no accident that ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλος first occurs in a Socratic context. Xenophon’s *Memorabilia* offer several suggestive exchanges about *philia*, one of the terms which Aspasia uses for the relationship with Alcibiades which Socrates desires (v. 9), but two in particular stand out. In 2.6 Socrates discusses with Critoboulos what qualities one should look for in a friend (φίλος) and how then might one set about acquiring as a friend someone who has been identified as suitable. The passage is marked by the language of ‘hunting’ (2.6.8, 28), including a contrast between the ‘hunting’ of animals and the ‘hunting’ of humans (2.6.9); when Socrates observes that ‘it is hard work to capture (ἐλεῖν) a friend against his will and difficult once you have bound him to keep him like a slave’ (2.6.9), we might hear echoes of Ovid’s didactic voice not too far away. When, then, Critoboulos subsequently begs Socrates διδάσκει τῶν φίλων τὰ θηρατικά (2.6.33), we are very close to an explicit acknowledgement that Socrates is here cast in the role of *philiadidaskalos*. The main lesson we learn in fact is that Socrates himself is an excellent match-

<sup>15</sup> At Aristaenetus 1.4.40 Mazal a character boasts of being an ἐρωτικός διδάσκαλος; the figure or situation itself is common enough in later Greek literature, cf., e.g. Wheeler 1910, 445-6; Jolowicz 2021, 131-2. Aristaenetus also has a female πορνοδιδάσκαλος who teaches πόρνοι how to extract the most money etc. (1.14).



maker and, if one wishes to acquire friends, the best thing to do will be to entrust yourself to him; his own teacher in this role seems to have been Aspasia (2.6.36, cf. further below). Socrates is ἐρωτικός, someone who is 'not without experience in the hunting of men' and therefore able to assist in the hunt for καλοὶ κάγαθοί (2.6.28-9), and he is also someone who privileges the effect of the enchanting spells of the Sirens over the violence of a Scylla (2.6.31); many of these themes are of course familiar from Plato's *Symposium*, and particularly from Alcibiades' speech. Socrates himself disavows knowledge of such magical effects (2.6.10-13), but the whole discussion might suggest otherwise.

If Socrates' conversation with Critoboulos is about 'friendship' between males and *eros* remains largely, though not exclusively, a flickering sub-text, Socrates' well known discussion with the hetaira Theodote on the subject of *philia* and *philoï* (*Mem.* 3.11), one with some striking similarities to the discussion with Critoboulos, is very explicitly heterosexual, and part of the pleasure of the text lies in our recognition of the ambivalence of *philia* and of the sexual nature of the exchange between Theodote and her *philoï*.<sup>16</sup> Here the hunting imagery, complete with talk of Theodote's 'nets', is much extended from the discussion with Critoboulos (3.11.6-9), and Socrates explains the necessary 'friend-catching' technique to Theodote with such apparent knowledge that she asks him to become her συνθηρατῆς τῶν φίλων (3.11.10-15); in this passage Socrates, who uses forms such as δεῖ with the infinitive and the optative as a polite imperative in explaining to Theodote what she 'should' do, is almost the forerunner no less of Plautus' Scapha (*Mostell.* 157-292) than of Ovid's didactic voice. One detail deserves special note. Socrates' talk of Theodote's 'nets' might be thought to point forward to λινωστατούμενος in the prose which divides the two verse citations from Herodicus. Although the image of love's nets goes back for us at least to Ibycus, *PMG* 287 (and cf. Meleager, *Anth. Pal.* 5.177.8 = *HE* 4197), this is (I think) the only example of this verb used in an erotic sense and the only example of the passive. The image, of course, is at one with the hunting image of the opening of the *Protagoras* (πόθεν, ὃ Σώκρατες, φαίνῃ; ἢ δῆλα δὴ ὅτι ἀπὸ κυνηγεσίου τοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου ὥραν; 309a1-2) which is here evoked and is about to be quoted (perhaps again from Herodicus); here too, then, we may wonder whether an image from the poem has been brought into the prose in Athenaeus' source.<sup>17</sup>

If these passages of the *Memorabilia* lead us to suspect that there was much more in Socratic literature which has also fed into the lat-

<sup>16</sup> There is a helpful discussion of *Mem.* 3.11 in Goldhill 1998.

<sup>17</sup> Although passive forms of λινωστατεῖν would not fit a hexameter, some active forms and forms of λινωστασία could be made to fit.

er erotodidactic tradition, another extant text which takes a central role in this development is, of course, Plato's *Symposium*. Two speeches take pride of place here. First, there is Diotima, introduced by Socrates as 'σοφὴ in matters of Eros and in many other things as well' (201d3, cf. σοφὴ of Aspasia in Ath. 5.219b above). Socrates narrates how Diotima was his 'teacher in love': ἐμὲ τὰ ἐρωτικά ἐδίδαξεν (201d5), ταῦτά τε οὖν πάντα ἐδίδασκέ με, ὅποτε περὶ τῶν ἐρωτικῶν λόγους ποιοῖτο (207a5-6); Socrates knew that, in order to be δεινός... τὰ ἐρωτικά (207c3), if not necessarily quite as Athenaeus' Myrtilus was, he needed 'teachers' (207c6). Diotima's lessons to the young Socrates in τὰ ἐρωτικά are probably far from anything in the Hellenistic portrayal of Socrates in love, but Diotima stands at the head of the tradition as a fully-fledged 'teacher of love'. Nevertheless, Socrates' teacher in the Hellenistic verses is not Diotima, but Aspasia, a much more appropriate teacher of τὰ ἐρωτικά, when the latter refers to carnal pursuit, because of the rich tradition of Aspasia as a hetaira who taught Socrates rhetoric (and much else besides, if, for example, Xen. *Mem.* 2.6.36 (above), is to be believed). An anti-Platonic agenda, moreover, is served much better by Aspasia than by Diotima. There is, however, a complementary explanation for Aspasia's role. The idea that Diotima in Plato's *Symposium* is, at some level, derived from Aspasia in Aeschines' dialogue named after her has often been floated in modern scholarship (aspects of the two figures often seem combined in later literature),<sup>18</sup> and this raises the possibility that the poem cited by (and perhaps composed by) Herodicus derives its principal inspiration from Aeschines' work, not from Plato's *Symposium*.<sup>19</sup> On this scenario, both the Hellenistic poem and Plato will have borrowed from Aeschines. More likely, perhaps, both Plato and Aeschines have been exploited in the satirical poem, whatever Plato's relationship to Aeschines.

The other crucial speech from Plato's *Symposium* in this regard is, of course, Alcibiades'. An apparent debt to Alcibiades' speech seems to run very deep in Athenaeus' text, both in the verses and in the surrounding prose. In Plato, Alcibiades describes Socrates' words in terms of the ecstatic effects of music; he is Marsyas but with simple, unaccompanied words, not with *auloi*. The effect of his words is a true corybantic possession – ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἐσμέν καὶ κατεχόμεσθα (215d5-6) – and tears flow spontaneously at Socrates' words, just as in the Herodican verses Socrates weeps at Aspasia's words:

ὅταν γὰρ ἀκούω, πολὺ μοι μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν κορυβαντιῶντων ἢ τε καρδία πηδᾷ καὶ δάκρυα ἐκχεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων τῶν τούτου, ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλους παμπόλλους τὰ αὐτὰ πάσχοντας. (Pl. *Symp.* 215e1-4)

<sup>18</sup> Cf., e.g. Halperin 1990, 122-4.

<sup>19</sup> So, e.g. Dittmar 1912, 37, 56-7; Ehlers 1966, 96-7.

When I hear them, much more than those taking part in Corybantic rites, my heart leaps and tears are made to flow by this man's words, and I see that very many others have this same experience.

This, then, is perhaps what Aspasia means by the Μούση κάτοχος, 'the possessing Muse', with which she encourages Socrates to capture Alcibiades, namely that power in his words which is so vividly described by Alcibiades in the *Symposium*, that μουσική which is philosophy. Socrates' threat to Alcibiades lies through the ears (τὰ ὦτα, 216a3, 7), and the repeated emphasis in the poem on Alcibiades' ears as the route to his heart (so to speak), vv. 8 (with the most likely reconstruction) and v. 10, may find its origin in this passage of the *Symposium*. The reference to a Μούση κάτοχος has alternatively been explained as a reference to Socrates' interests in poetry and music which are alleged in various ancient sources,<sup>20</sup> but this seems too far from the mainstream of Socratic tradition to be convincing. Finally, at *Symp.* 218a2-5 Alcibiades uses passive forms of δάκνειν three times to describe his condition: he is 'bitten' in his heart or soul by Socrates' words, as the Socrates of the Herodican verses is 'bitten' in his φρήν with desire; the usage is common enough, but it may be added to the cumulative (and of course unsurprising) case for a significant debt of the verses to Plato's *Symposium*.

The state in which this passage has reached us places very strict limits both upon how much we can intervene in the text and how much we can guess about the (presumably fuller) work from which it was taken. Nevertheless, certain features of it turn out not only to shed light on the less trodden byways of ancient Socratic literature, but also to help us see one important way at least in which Socratic literature seems to have influenced non-philosophical Greek and Latin prose and poetry from later ages. How conscious of that heritage, for example, Roman erotic poets or Greek erotic novelists were is another very hard question, but 'Herodicus' shows, I hope, that it is at least worth asking.

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**20** So Broggiato 2014, 102, citing Segoloni 2003. Gibson 2003, 14-15 seems to interpret Aspasia's instruction similarly.

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# Athenaeus and Hellenistic Epigram

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**Abstract** I explore the distribution of Athenaeus' citations of Hellenistic epigrams, in what sort of texts he found them, and whether he knew Meleager's *Garland*. Listing poems cited, I note as absent Asclepiades, Dioscorides, Leonidas, and Meleager. I suggest Athenaeus knew either single-author books or a collection of all or many of some poets' epigrams. Reviewing hypotheses about such a collection (probably of Poseidippus, Asclepiades and Hedylus), I propose that Athenaeus spotted Hedylus on encountering the three-author collection, then turned to single-author editions of two of these poets, Poseidippus and Hedylus, citing poems either that Meleager chanced not to select or that he knew not to be in his *Garland*.

**Keywords** Asclepiades. Athenaeus. Book. Callimachus. Collection. Epigram. *Garland*. Hedylus. Hellenistic. Poseidippus.

How should we explain the surprising distribution of Athenaeus' rather few quotations of Hellenistic epigrams? This is the corollary of a different but related question: in what sort of texts did Athenaeus find these epigrams, and did Athenaeus know the *Garland of Meleager*?

First, some facts. Athenaeus has 22 identifiable citations of Hellenistic epigrams. In order of frequency these are:

Eight of Hedylus

Five of Callimachus

Four of Poseidippus

Two of Nicaenetus

One each of Mnasalces, Phalaecus and Rhianus.



Edizioni  
Ca' Foscari

**Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4**

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

**Peer review | Open access**

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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**DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/020**

Most striking here is the preponderance of epigrams by Hedylus. Indeed at present we only know 12 poems of Hedylus totalling 67 lines (Gow-Page, *HE* 1825-1892), and of these 67 lines we know 49 from Athenaeus. Only four poems by Hedylus are found in the Palatine or Planudean anthologies, 18 lines in all: two witty and elegant six-line ἀναθηματικά, both also known to the Suda, presumably from Cephalas' anthology,<sup>1</sup> *HE* 1825-36 = *Anth. Pal.* 6.292 and 5.199; a four-line miniature *epinicion* for a wrestler (*HE* 1887-90 = *Anth. Pal.* 11.123); and a two-line sympotic squib claiming λυσιμελής gout as the child of λυσιμελής Bacchus and λυσιμελής Aphrodite (*HE* 1891-1892 = *Anth. Pal.* 11.414). None of the four anthology poems is known to Athenaeus, none of the eight poems cited by him appears in the anthologies.

The situation of Posidippus is not dissimilar. All four poems cited by Athenaeus are absent from the anthology: two eight-liners, a sepulchral epigram on the glutton Phromachus (121 AB, *HE* 3134-3141) and another on the *hetaira* Doricha who ensnared Sappho's brother Charaxus (122 AB, *HE* 3142-3149); a six-liner on the temple dedicated to Aphrodite Zephyritis by the Ptolemaic admiral Callicrates (119 AB, *HE* 3120-3125); and a four-liner on a statue of the Thasian glutton Theagenes (120 AB, *HE* 3126-3129). These four poems furnished only 26 of the 146 lines we knew before publication of the Milan Poseidippus papyrus, and of the remaining 120 we knew 96 from the anthologies (and 24 from other papyri). Athenaeus also mentions, but does not quote, an epigram of Posidippus on a woman called Aglaia who played the trumpet in the first great procession at Alexandria (143 AB = *Suppl. Hell.* 702); quotes a hexameter from his poem *Asopia* (145 AB = *Suppl. Hell.* 698); and claims that Doricha was often mentioned by Posidippus in his *Aethiopia* (146 AB = *Suppl. Hell.* 699).

I now turn to Athenaeus' five citations of Callimachus. His only poem quoted in full is an elaborate twelve-liner spoken by a shell (κόγχος) dedicated to Aphrodite Zephyritis by Arsinoe (*HE* 1109-1120): it too did not find its way into the anthologies. But there are also two quotations of a five-word phrase in different forms (*HE* 1337-1338), both in book 7.<sup>2</sup> There are also two citations which do overlap with our anthologised Callimachus: Athenaeus 15.669d quotes 'the Cyrenaean' for *HE* 1105-1106, lines 3-4 of Callimachus, Epigram 43 Pfeiffer (a poem we know complete from *Anth. Pal.* 12.134); and 10.436e quotes Callim. *Epigr.* 36 Pfeiffer (*HE* 1325-1326 = *Anth. Pal.* 7.454), but without naming the author.

The total of Hellenistic epigrams cited by Athenaeus is completed by a four-liner of Mnasalces satirising hedonistic philosophy cit-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cameron 1993, 277-82.

<sup>2</sup> ἱερὸς δέ τοι, ἱερὸς ὕκης at 7.284c; θεὸς δέ οἱ, ἱερὸς ὕκης at 7.327a.

ed at 4.163a, also quoted by Eustathius (*HE* 2667-2670); a four-line dedication of party garb to Dionysus by Phalaecus cited at 10.440d (*HE* 2935-2938); an eight-line intimation by Nicaenetus of a party in a shrine of Hera cited at 15.673b (*HE* 2703-2710); and six lines by Nicaenetus on Cratinus cited at 2 (epit.).39c (*HE* 2711-2716). This last poem also reached the Anthologies (*Anth. Pal.* 13.29) and its first two lines are found in the paroemiographer Zenobius (6.22). But the remaining 16 lines of these poets do not appear in the anthologies.

We should also take account of the dogs that did not bark in the night: Athenaeus has nothing from Asclepiades, nothing from Dioscorides, nothing from Leonidas – indeed nothing from Meleager himself – all poets whose oeuvre known to us furnishes many details that might well have caught Athenaeus' deipnosophistic eye.

The obvious, and perhaps the correct, explanation is that Athenaeus knew the poems that he did cite not from anthologies but from single-author editions. That is supported by his predominant mode of citation, ἐν (τοῖς) ἐπιγράμμασιν. That phrase is used by Athenaeus when citing the five-word phrase of Callimachus, and when citing Mnasalces, Phalaecus, and Nicaenetus (whom Athenaeus classes as ὁ ἐποποιός); it is also how he cites Hedylus, except on three occasions where a citation follows immediately upon one already attributed to (τὰ) ἐπιγράμματα, and how in most cases he cites Posidippus, though in citing 119 AB and 122 AB he does not, since in each case he refers to the poem as τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα. To me this mode of citation suggests that he knew either single-author volumes of each of these epigrammatists, or possibly a collection in which all or many epigrams of a small number of authors were assembled and were arranged by author. The former seems to me somewhat more probable given the absence from Athenaeus of some major figures – would not a collection of epigrams by Hedylus, Poseidippus and Callimachus also have included poems by Asclepiades and others?

Although such a collection seems to me the less probable explanation, one factor requires it at least to be considered, and that is the very attractive hypothesis that there was an early collection of Hellenistic epigrams precisely of Poseidippus, Asclepiades and Hedylus. It had already been noted by Sternbach that in several sequences in the *Palatine Anthology* poems of Poseidippus and Asclepiades are found adjacent to each other (5.185-186, 202-203, 209-210; 12.46-47; cf. *Anth. Plan.* 119-120),<sup>3</sup> and there are several others where alternative attributions to one or other of these poets are offered.<sup>4</sup> In 1893 Reitzenstein<sup>5</sup> noted that there were also places where poems of Poseidippus and Asclepiades

<sup>3</sup> Sternbach 1890.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gow, Page 1965, 2: 117.

<sup>5</sup> Reitzenstein 1893, 101 ff.

were separated by one of Meleager (5.181-187, 207-213; 12.75-89, 161-168). From these phenomena, and from the way that Meleager links Poseidippus, Asclepiades and Hedylus closely in his poem introducing his *Garland*,<sup>6</sup> Reitzenstein concluded that there was an early edition of these three epigrammatists in which poems were not attributed to author. He also wanted to identify this edition with the collection that is called *Σωρός* in a scholion on *Il.* 11.101:<sup>7</sup> that collection was one in which Aristarchus found a poem of Poseidippus called *Berisos* that he had not been able to find *ἐν τοῖς Ποσειδίππου ἐπιγράμμασιν*.<sup>8</sup> For Reitzenstein, then, there was a collection called *Σωρός* which assembled poems by all three epigrammatists. Evidence published later supported the hypothesis of such a collection: *P.Tebtunis* 3, of the first century BC, probably part of Meleager's *Garland*, in which it seems that a poem of Posidippus (117 AB) and one of Asclepiades (*HE* 1030-1034) were adjacent.

Although accepted and elaborated by some scholars,<sup>9</sup> however, the hypothesis cannot survive the objections brought against it by Gow and Cameron.<sup>10</sup> Cameron himself proposed a variation: Hedylus, the latest of the three poets, 'published a collection of the work of Asclepiades and Posidippus, the two other most distinguished epigrammatists of the age, adding for good measure a selection of his own work in the same vein'.<sup>11</sup> For Cameron this was a collection in which 'all epigrams would have been ascribed to their respective authors', but in the process of copying some such ascriptions disappeared: consequently double ascriptions in Meleager's anthology were the result of his collating either two copies of this collection (one with ascriptions preserved complete and one in which some had disappeared) or a copy of this collection with complete editions of the epigrams of the individual poets. Cameron was agnostic as to whether this collection was or was not the same as the *Σωρός*. More recently Gutzwiller argued convincingly that *Σωρός* was the title of one of several collections of epigrams of Poseidippus, but she agreed that the double ascriptions pointed to a mixed collection: that collection need not, however, be one that was put together by Hedylus.<sup>12</sup>

**6** *Anth. Pal.* 4.1.45-46 = *HE* 3970-3971: ἐν δὲ Ποσειδίππον τε καὶ Ἡδύλον, ἄγρι' ἀρούρης, | Σικελίδεω τ' ἀνέμοις ἄνθεα φυόμενα.

**7** Erbse 3, 144, 13 f.

**8** μὴ ἐμφέρεσθαι δὲ φησιν ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος νῦν ἐν τοῖς Ποσειδίππου ἐπιγράμμασι τὸν Βήρισον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Σωρῶ εὔρεϊν.

**9** E.g. Galli Calderini 1983; Wallace (W.; M.) 1941.

**10** Gow, Page 1965, 2: 117; Cameron 1993, 369-76.

**11** Cameron 1993, 374. For a collection of other poets' elegiac poetry to which the collector added some of his own cf. Euenus of Paros' part in creating an early instantiation of the *Theognidea* as hypothesised in Bowie 2012.

**12** Gutzwiller 1998, 156-7, 182. See also (briefly) Krevans 2007, 133-4.



Against this briefly sketched background we may put the question whether Athenaeus' quotation of Hedyllus and Poseidippus is to be explained by his drawing the poems that he quotes from a collection in which both poets, as well as Asclepiades, were represented.

The answer is almost certainly negative. First, if that were his source, why did he not pick out some of the poems of Asclepiades bearing on *symposia*? Second, our principal knowledge of that collection derives from the *Palatine Anthology*, itself drawing ultimately from Meleager's *Garland*: if Athenaeus had used it we would expect some overlap between epigrams that he quotes and epigrams preserved in the *Palatine Anthology*.

One hypothesis might, however, be worth considering: is Athenaeus' attention drawn to Hedyllus because he has encountered the three-author collection? On this quite different hypothesis Athenaeus made his choice of which epigrammatists to consult at least partly on the basis of his encounter with a three-author collection that could readily be seen to be one chiefly of sympotic and erotic poems: he then turned to single-author editions of two of these poets, Posidippus and Hedyllus.

This is an appropriate point to return to the oddity that none of the epigrams quoted by Athenaeus by these epigrammatists is found in the *Palatine Anthology*. That could just be chance: as the new Posidippus papyrus has reminded us, the selection of Hellenistic epigrams that made its way into the *Palatine Anthology* via the *Garland* of Meleager was only a fraction of what existed and must have been available in many libraries and 'all good bookshops'. We might support this interpretation by considering the lack of overlap between Anthology poems and poems quoted by other late second-century writers. None of the following poems is in the Anthologies:

- a. Callim. fr. 393a and b Pfeiffer = *HE* 1333-1336, quoted by Diog. Laert. 2.111 and Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.309.
- b. Callim. 6 Pfeiffer = *HE* 1293-1296, quoted by Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.48 (and earlier by Strabo 14.638).
- c. Callim. fr. 401 Pfeiffer = *HE* 1345-1348, quoted by Heph. 64.4 Consbruch (without attribution); line 1 is later quoted at 58.20 Consbruch, where it is attributed to Callimachus.<sup>13</sup>
- d. Anyte *HE* 700-703, quoted by Poll. 5.48.
- e. Theaetetus *HE* 3348-3351, quoted by Diog. Laert. 4.25.
- f. Theaetetus *HE* 3368-3371, quoted by Diog. Laert. 8.48.

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<sup>13</sup> His phraseology is τὸ Καλλιμάχειον τοῦτο ποιημάτων.

There are indeed exceptions, almost all of which are poems of Callimachus. Thus Callim. 1 Pfeiffer = *HE* 1277-1292 = *Anth. Pal.* 7.79 is quoted by Diog. Laert. 1.79. Callim. 23 Pfeiffer = *HE* 1273-1276 = *Anth. Pal.* 7.471 (and in *API B*), a poem very widely quoted in later antiquity, is first quoted by Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.48. Line 4 of Callim. 46 Pfeiffer = *HE* 1050 = *Anth. Pal.* 12.150.3 is quoted by Clem. Al. *Strom.* 687P. Lines 5-6 of Callim. 42 Pfeiffer = *HE* 1075-1080 = *Anth. Pal.* 12.118 are quoted by Plut. *De cohibenda ira* 5 = *Mor.* 455b without ascription to Callimachus, and all six lines were inscribed in the first century AD on the interior wall of a house on the Esquiline in Rome:<sup>14</sup> this was an eminently quotable poem, clearly well-known. Lines 1-3 of Callimachus 39 Pfeiffer = *HE* 1137-1142 = *Anth. Pal.* 13.25 are quoted by Heph. 55.15 Consbruch, and the first line of Callim. fr. 399 Pfeiffer = *HE* 1341-1342 = *Anth. Pal.* 13.9 is quoted by Heph. 19.1 Consbruch. The first words of Callim. 48 Pfeiffer = *HE* 1165-1170 = *Anth. Pal.* 6.310 are quoted by Apollonius Dyscolus 2.493.3 Usener Callim. 2 Pfeiffer = *HE* 1203-1208 = *Anth. Pal.* 7.80 is quoted by Diog. Laert. 9.17. Note too Longus' familiarity with Callimachus, a familiarity he presumably expected to be shared by some readers.<sup>15</sup>

The situation is quite different with Posidippus. Of the poems in the Anthologies only *HE* 3150-3153 = 65 AB appears elsewhere - it is quoted by Himer. *Or.* 48.14 and is preserved on a papyrus (*P.Freiburg* 4, of the first century BC): it is in *API* (A 119) but not in *Anth. Pal.* Posidippus *HE* 3180-3189 = AB 133 is found both in *Anth. Pal.* 9.359 and in Stob. 4.34.57.

Of Mnasalces' 18 poems in the Anthologies only one, *Anth. Pal.* 7.54 = *HE* 2671-2674, a well known poem on Hesiod that also appears in the *Vita Hesiodi* (p. 51 Wil.) and the ps-Aristotelian *peplos* (19.2), is also cited in two imperial Greek texts, Paus. 9.38.4, and the *Certamen* (14 Wil.).

On the basis of this brief conspectus we might decide that the lack of overlap between the selection quoted by Athenaeus and that preserved in the Anthologies is not very surprising. Six lines of Nicaenetus is as high an overlap as we are entitled to expect, two lines of Callimachus is rather low, but it is clear that Athenaeus, like most second-century authors, had a high regard for Callimachus and could find texts from which to quote him when he wanted to. The data for Mnasalces, Phalaecus and Rhianus are too scanty to support one hypothesis rather than another. The lack of overlap in the case of Posidippus can be attributed to his very voluminous oeuvre and its dispersal among three or perhaps even four different epigrammatic books.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Kaibel 1866, 3; *Epigr. Gr.* 1111.

<sup>15</sup> See Bowie 2019b.

<sup>16</sup> Gutzwiller l.c.

What, then, of Hedylyus? Perhaps Hedylyus should be explained in the same way. But there is no indication that he was as prolific as Poseidippus, and the contrast between the very few poems in the Anthologies and the eight in Athenaeus remains extremely striking. That Athenaeus must have worked from a book entitled Ἡδύλου ἐπιγράμματα is virtually certain. Either the early Hellenistic three-author collection had only a few of Hedylyus' epigrams, or for some reason Meleager did not take all he found in it, so the small number of Hedylyus poems in the Anthologies (viz. four) have a smaller chance of overlap than (e.g.) do the poems of Callimachus. But if the early Hellenistic three-author collection had indeed only a few of Hedylyus' epigrams, and if Athenaeus knows that anthology, then another possibility emerges: Athenaeus could see that Hedylyus might yield material of sympotic interest, pursued the book entitled Ἡδύλου ἐπιγράμματα to track down what he needed, then was careful not to have one of his dining characters use in their learned company a poem already easily accessible in a more popular text. Of course if this hypothesis might be entertained for Hedylyus, it should also be considered for Posidippus, even though the statistics there are less surprising. It would not have taken Athenaeus long to check whether his four Posidippus poems were in the three-author collection.

One might offer the alternative hypothesis that it was precisely in the *Garland* of Meleager that Athenaeus encountered poems of Hedylyus and Posidippus, and that he made his selection in such a way as to avoid overlap with that presumably relatively popular text. Against that hypothesis remains Athenaeus' greater interest in Hedylyus and Poseidippus than in any other epigram poet, and his total neglect of many other poets responsible for sympotic epigrams. There is also little evidence that the *Garland* of Meleager was indeed much read late in the second century AD: perhaps a reworking of Meleager HE 4277 = *Anth. Pal.* 5.215.6 by Longus at the end of Book 1 of *Daphnis and Chloe*, a reworking that may also bring in Asclepiades (?) HE 1000 = *Anth. Pal.* 5.161.5 as an intertext.<sup>17</sup> *Adhuc sub iudice lis est.*

17 See Bowie 2019a, 164.

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ΦΑΙΔΙΜΟΣ ΕΚΤΩΡ

Studi in onore di Willy Cingano per il suo 70° compleanno  
a cura di Enrico Emanuele Prodi e Stefano Vecchiato

# Δύνασαι πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐγεῖραι Cristianizzazione del lessico funerario e del linguaggio epico nella risurrezione di Lazzaro (Cometa, *Anth. Pal.* 15.40)

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**Abstract** This paper offers an analysis of the epigram composed by Cometas for the resurrection of Lazarus (*Anth. Pal.* 15.40) and its relationship with funerary and epic models, showing how the traditional language of grief and divinity is transformed by the Christian faith. The text contains many expressions that can be compared with epigrammatic language and variations of Homeric verses and formulae, particularly in the description of Christ, where *Usurpation* and *Kontrastimitation* can be identified.

**Keywords** Christian poetry. Byzantine poetry. Greek epigram. Funerary epigram. Homeric model.

**Sommario** 1 Introduzione. – 2 Gli inferi. – 3 Il corpo sepolto. – 4 La tomba e il lutto. – 5 La risurrezione. – 6 *Usurpation* e *Kontrastimitation*. – 7 Conclusioni.



Edizioni  
Ca' Foscari

**Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4**

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

**Peer review | Open access**

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/021

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## 1 Introduzione

L'epigramma di Cometa per la risurrezione di Lazzaro (*Anth. Pal.* 15.40), benché poco apprezzato a partire dai copisti sino ai moderni,<sup>1</sup> è stato oggetto negli ultimi decenni di studi che lo hanno ridefinito non tanto come un centone omerico, quanto come una parafrasi esametrica dell'episodio narrato nel capitolo 11 del Quarto Vangelo, indagandone le relazioni con il modello epico arcaico, gregoriano e nonniano - in particolare il parallelo libro XI della *Parafrasi* - e le caratteristiche metriche.<sup>2</sup>

Il presente contributo intende sondare la rivisitazione del lessico tradizionale del lutto e delle prerogative delle divinità in chiave cristiana verificando la presenza nel testo di due aspetti distinti: da una parte i punti di contatto con il linguaggio funerario dell'epica e dell'epigramma e le sue variazioni alla luce della risurrezione, dall'altra i procedimenti caratteristici della versificazione cristiana noti come *Usurpation* e *Kontrastimitation*. A tal fine si procederà a un confronto con il modello epico, già ampiamente riconosciuto dagli studiosi, e con le espressioni rintracciabili nella poesia tombale iscrizionale e letteraria.<sup>3</sup>

Di seguito riportiamo il testo con una proposta di traduzione,<sup>4</sup> evidenziando le parti che interessano ai fini della nostra analisi.

**1** Lemerle 1971, 166-7; Pontani 1981, 494; 1982, 249-52; Baldwin 1985; Cameron 1993, 308-9; Cortassa 1997, 225; Lauxtermann 2003, 109-10; Conca 2011, 337.

**2** Vedi specialmente Caprara 2000, 250-2 e Tissoni 2003, che hanno studiato in particolare i riferimenti a Omero, Gregorio Nazianzeno e Nonno; vedi inoltre Lauxtermann 2003, 101; D'Ambrosi 2006; Conca 2011; Agosti 2012, 382-3; Tissoni 2016, 697-8. Lauxtermann 2003 considera il testo uno sterile esercizio retorico (109-10) e precisa che gli antichi l'avrebbero definito non un epigramma, ma una «rhetorical metaphrasis» (143). Tissoni 2003 rivaluta il poeta per quanto concerne la conoscenza di Omero e dei poeti tardoantichi, pur rilevando le diffuse imperfezioni metriche (634), già evidenziate da altri, tra cui Pontani 1982, 252 e Cameron 1993, 309. Sulla valutazione di poeti considerati 'minori' cf. le considerazioni di Agosti 2006. Per le caratteristiche della parafrasi cf. Livrea 1989, 36-40. Sul tema della risurrezione di Lazzaro nella poesia cristiana vedi Marchetti 2013, specialmente 82-3, 99-103 sui componimenti dell'*Antologia Palatina* e la *Parafrasi* di Nonno.

**3** Sul reimpiego dell'epigramma tardoantico nella poesia epigrammatica bizantina cf. Lauxtermann 2003 e Tissoni 2003. Per una contestualizzazione storica e sul ruolo del cristianesimo a Bisanzio vedi anche Guran 2012.

**4** Per l'edizione di riferimento vedi Buffière 1970, 147-9. Al v. 6 accolgo l'interpretazione di Gallavotti 1984, 104, seguita anche da Caprara 2000, 247, che mantiene la lezione ἀλλὰ νέον del Palatino, attribuendo al discorso diretto di Cristo solo il v. 4. Cf. anche Conca 2011, 338.

- ‘Οπότε Παμμεδέοντος ἐκὺς πάϊς, ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν,  
**ὃς πᾶσι θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσει,**  
 ἀσπαλιεῦσιν ἔειπε μαθητῆσιν πιτυοῖσι·  
 «Λάζαρος ἄμι φίλος **φάος ἔλλειπεν ἡλιόιο**»  
**οὔποτε τόφρα κέκευθε τεθρήμερον ἄπλετος αἶα,**  
**ἀλλὰ νέον μὲν ἔκειτο μεμικῶς χεῖλαι σιγῆ**  
**σώμά τε πυθόμενος καὶ ὀστέα καὶ χροά καλόν,**  
**ψυχὴ δ’ ἐκ ῥεθῶν παταμένη αἰδόσθεσ καταῆλθεν,**  
**ἄρρητον δὲ φίλοισι γόναν καὶ πένθος ἔθηκεν,**  
 ἐκ πάντων δὲ μάλιστα Μάρθη Μαρίη τε ὁμαίμοις  
 αὐτοκασιγνήταις·  
 ψυχῆς γὰρ φιλέεσκον ἀδελφεόν, ὅστις ἔκειτο  
**μεσσόθι ἐν νεκάδεσσιν ἀκήριος, ἄψυχος αὐτῶς.**  
**τοῦ πότμον γούωσαι ὀδυρόμεναί τε ἐθρήνευ**  
**σήματος ἔκτοθι οὔσαι** καὶ ἐζόμεναι **περὶ τύμβω.**  
 ὄφρα μὲν ἡἷλιος τρίτον ἤνυσεν ἡμάρ ἐς αἶαν,  
 τόφρα δὲ κὰν νεκάδεσσιν ἐτήκετο Λάζαρος ἄπνου·  
 ἀλλ’ ὅτε δὴ τετράτῃ ῥοδοειδῆς ἤλυθεν Ἴδῶς,  
 καὶ τότε δὴ προσέειπε **θεοῖο πάϊς μεγάλοιο**  
 εὐπατρίδῃσι φίλοισι, οἱ παρ θεοῦ ἐκγεγᾶντοι,  
 οἱ πέρι μὲν βουλῆ μερόπων, πέρι δ’ ἦον ἀπάντων,  
 οὓς ἐκπαλῆ ἐφίλησ’ ὡσεὶ θεοῦ υἱάς ἐόντας,  
 ὦν καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης γλυκίων μέλιτος ῥέεν αὐδῆ  
 καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν εὐοικότα χεῖμερήσιον·  
 «ὦ φίλοι ἀγλαόθυμοι, ἐπεὶ θεὸς ἐστὶ σὺν ἄμμι,  
**κέκλυτέ μευ πάντες τε ὅσοι θεὸν ἔνδον ἔχετε,**  
**ὄφρ’ εἴπω, τὰ με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει·**  
 δεῦτ’ ἐς Βηθανίην, ὅθι **Λάζαρος ἔλλειπε θυμὸς,**  
 σπεύσομεν ὅττι τάχιστ’, ὄφρα **κλέος ἄφθιτον ἴσχω·**  
**ἀνστήσῃαι γὰρ ἔπειμι καὶ ἐξ’ Ἐρέβους** φίλον ἀμόνον». **τὸν δ’**  
 αὐτε προσέειπον εὐήνορες ἀγλαόθυμοι·  
 «Ἰομεν, ὡς ἐκέλευσας, ἀλίγκιε πατὴρ ἐσοῖο». **εἶπον·**  
 ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς ἔβαινε καὶ ἡγεμόνευε μαθηταῖς,  
 σπερχόμενοι δ’ εἶποντο μετ’ ἴχνια Παμμεδέοντος,  
 ἠύτε ἔθνα εἰσι μελισσῶν ἀδινῶν  
 πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς αἰεὶ νέον ἐρχομενάων·  
 ὡς εἶποντο ὀπισθε **θεοῦ μεγάλιοι** μαθηταί.  
 ἀλλ’ ὅτε δὴ ῥ’ ἰκάνοντο **πολυκλαύστω ἐπὶ τύμβω,**  
 καὶ τότε δὴ λίσσοντο κυλινδόμεναι παρὰ ποσσίν  
 Χριστὸν παμμεδέοντα κασιγνήταί τε ἔται τε·  
 «Γουνομέσθᾶ σ’, ἀναξ, ὃς **ὑπέρτατα δώματα ναίεις,**  
 Λάζαρον, ὃν φιλέεσκας· **ἐν ἔγκασιν ἤλυθεν Ἄιδου·**  
 εἰ γὰρ τῆδε ἔησθα, **ἄναξ νεκάδων Ἄιδωνεύς**  
 οὔποτ’ ἔτλη μείναι, ἐπεὶ ἡ **πολὺ φέρτατος ἦσθα·**  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἐθέλων **δύνασαι πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐγείραι**». **καὶ**  
 τότε δὴ **ὑψιστος** ἀμείβετο· «**Ποῦ ποτε κείταίς;**»  
 αἱ δ’ ἄρα ὀτραλέως ἀνὰ **ἠρίον** ἤλυθον ἄρδην·  
 δὴ τότ’ ἐπεὶ δεῖξαν θεῶν αὐτὸν **σῆμά τε Λυγρόν,**  
 εἶπεν ἄρ’· «Ὀρμηθέντες ἀείρατε **πῶμα τάφοιο.**»  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ἀνέωκτο **τάφος Λυγρὸς φθιμένοιο,**  
 καὶ τότε δὴ μὲν’ ἄυσε θεὸς μέγας ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνήρ·  
 «Λάζαρε, δεῦρ’ ἴθι, κλύθι ἔμειο καὶ ἔρχεο ἔξω». **ὡς**  
 οὖν **νεκρὸς ἄκουσε** θεοῦ Λόγου φήσαντος,  
 λυσιμελῆς ἀνέδου, πεπεδημένος, ἐμπνους, ὀδωδῶς,  
 τὸν καὶ ἰδόντες ὄμιλοι ἐθάμβεον ἐν κραδίησιν,  
 αὐτίκα δ’ **ὑψιμέδοντα** ἐκύδαινον θεὸν ἐσθλόν,  
 καὶ **κλέος ἄφθιτον** ἔοχε **πατὴρ μέγας** υἱὸς ἔηος.
- 1 Quando il buon Figlio del sommo Signore, guida degli uomini,  
**che regna su tutti i mortali e gli immortali,**  
 disse ai pescatori, discepoli saggi:  
 «Lazzaro, il nostro amico, **ha lasciato la luce del sole,**»  
 5 **la terra immensa non l’aveva ancora ricoperto da quattro giorni,**  
**ma da poco giaceva muto, le labbra chiuse nel silenzio,**  
**mentre imputrivano il corpo, le ossa e la bella pelle;**  
**l’anima, volata via dalle membra, scese all’Ade,**  
**causò agli amici gemito e dolore indicibili,**  
 10 tra tutti specialmente a Marta e Maria, le sorelle  
 dello stesso sangue.  
 Di cuore amavano infatti il fratello, che giaceva  
**tra i cadaveri, muto, così, senza più vita.**  
**Lamentando e piangendo il suo destino gemevano**  
 15 **stando fuori dal sepolcro** e sedendo **attorno alla tomba.**  
 Finché il sole completò il terzo giorno sulla terra,  
 mentre tra i cadaveri marciva Lazzaro, senza respiro.  
 Ma quando giunse la quarta rosea Aurora,  
 allora parlò il **Figlio del gran Dio**  
 20 ai nobili amici, che da Dio erano nati,  
 che per saggezza superavano i mortali, superavano tutti,  
 che immensamente amò, come fossero figli di Dio;  
 dalla loro lingua scorreva una voce più dolce del miele,  
 e parole simili a fiocchi di neve d’inverno:  
 25 «O amici dal nobile cuore, poiché Dio è con noi,  
**ascoltatemi tutti, quanti avete Dio nell’intimo,**  
**affinché io dica ciò che il cuore nel petto mi ordina.**  
 Su, a Betania, dove **la vita ha abbandonato Lazzaro,**  
 affrettiamoci al più presto, perché io ottenga **gloria imperitura:**  
 30 **io vado a risuscitare persino dall’Erbo** il mio amico». **Io**  
 Gli risposero a loro volta gli uomini dal nobile cuore:  
 «Andiamo, come hai ordinato, tu che sei simile al Padre tuo». **Così**  
 dissero; egli procedeva e guidava i discepoli.  
 Solleciti seguivano i passi del sommo Signore,  
 35 come uno sciame di api numerose  
 che escono senza sosta da un incavo nella roccia;  
 così i discepoli seguivano da dietro il **grande Dio.**  
 Ma quando furono giunti alla **tomba assai compianta,**  
 allora cadendo ai suoi piedi supplicavano  
 40 Cristo sommo Signore le sorelle e le parenti:  
 «T’imploriamo, Signore, tu che **abiti le supreme dimore,**  
 per Lazzaro, che amavi: **è andato nei recessi di Ade.**  
 Se fossi stato qui, **il signore dei morti Aidoneo**  
 non avrebbe mai osato resisterti, poiché **sei di molto il più forte.**  
 45 Ma anche ora, se vuoi, **puoi farlo risorgere.**  
 E allora **l’Altissimo** rispondeva: «**Dove mai giace?**». **Esse**  
 prontamente salirono al **sepolcro;**  
 allora, appena indicarono a Dio lui e il **sepolcro lugubre,**  
 disse: «Spingete e levate **la pietra che copre la tomba.**»  
 50 Quando fu aperta **la lugubre tomba del morto,**  
 allora gridò a gran voce il grande Dio e uomo:  
 «Lazzaro, vieni qui, ascoltami ed esci!».  
 Non appena il **morto udì** la Parola di Dio che parlava,  
 sciolto nelle membra si levò, legato da bende, dotato di respiro, ozzante.  
 Vedendolo, le folle si stupirono nel cuore,  
 55 e subito glorificavano il buon **Dio che regna nell’alto,**  
 e il **grande Padre** ebbe una **gloria imperitura** dal suo Figlio.

## 2 Gli inferi

Per indicare la dipartita di Lazzaro dal mondo terreno, il poeta impiega un lessico già omerico poi consacrato nel formulario tradizionale della poesia sepolcrale sin dal v. 4 ...φάος ἔλλιπεν ἠελίοιο: si vedano per es. *Od.* 11.93 ...λιπὼν φάος ἠελίοιο e *GVI* 1161.8 (Tracia, I-II d.C.) ...ἔλιπον φάος ἠελίοιο. La separazione dei due elementi nel sintagma φάος ἠελίοιο è tipica dell'epica tarda e in particolare di Quinto Smirneo.<sup>5</sup> Più insolito sembra l'uso del verbo λείπω nella parte conclusiva del v. 28 ...Λάζαρον ἔλιπε θυμός. Il modello omerico conosce tale costruzione, avente il θυμός come soggetto del verbo λείπω e il morante come oggetto all'accusativo (per es. *Il.* 16.410 ...πεσόντα δέ μιν λίπε θυμός),<sup>6</sup> ma la scelta di Cometa potrebbe anche alludere, variandolo, al più usuale formulario sepolcrale, in cui il defunto - al nominativo - 'lascia' la vita o le consuete metafore per indicarla (per es. *GVI* 1459.1, Atene, IV-III a.C. ἔλιπες βίον).

Il v. 8 ψυχή δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη αἰδόσδε κατήλθεν è stato riconosciuto come una ripresa di *Il.* 16.856 = 22.362 ψυχή δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη Ἄϊδος δὲ βεβήκε, il cui secondo emistichio risulta incrociato con *Il.* 7.330 = *Od.* 10.560, 11.65 ...ψυχαὶ δ' Ἄϊδος δὲ κατήλθον.<sup>7</sup> La clausola viene ripresa al v. 42 ...ἐν ἔγκασιν ἦλυθεν Ἄϊδου, esometro dal lessico alquanto elaborato. La scelta della rara forma ἔγκασιν potrebbe attingere a *Il.* 11.438 Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη μιχθήμεναι ἔγκασι φωτός per variare la più comune espressione 'andarsene nella dimora di Ade', ben nota al linguaggio epico (per es. *Il.* 23.322 ἦδ' ὥς εἰς Ἄϊδεω δόμον ἦλυθεν εὐρώεντα) e frequentatissima dagli epigrammi letterari ed epigrafici, anche con sostituzioni del termine δόμον come nel caso di Cometa (*GVI* 1021.4, Roma, I-II d.C. ἦλυθα τὴν φρικτὴν εἰς Ἄϊδαο πόλιν) o nella forma semplificata 'andarsene all'Ade', ἦλυθον εἰς Ἄϊδην, che ben si adatta agli emistichi del pentametro (*GVI* 991.4, Laconia, II-III d.C.).

La menzione del tradizionale Ade all'interno di un componimento d'ispirazione cristiana offre l'occasione per riflettere sull'impiego del lessico classico risemantizzato in un contesto completamente nuovo, ossia in un episodio evangelico.<sup>8</sup> Un procedimento simile si rintraccia al v. 43 ...ἄναξ νεκάδων Ἄϊδωνεύς, dove il pagano Aidoneo viene posto in stridente antitesi con Cristo e, in qualità di divini-

<sup>5</sup> Per es. Quint. Smyrn. 2.2, 2.478, 4.75.

<sup>6</sup> Già notato in Tissoni 2003, 632. Cf. anche Hom. *Il.* 4.470 ὧς τὸν μὲν λίπε θυμός..., 12.368 ecc. ...λίπε δ' ὀστέα θυμός (con variazioni) e alcuni passi di Quinto Smirneo, per es. 6.429, 8.95, 8.408.

<sup>7</sup> Gallavotti 1984, 104-5; Caprara 2000, 251. Per riprese e variazioni del verso omerico cf. *GVI* 1762.2 (Teo, I d.C.), 2040.5 (Pergamo, I-II d.C.); anon. *Anth. Pal.* 7.62.3; Gr. Naz. *Anth. Pal.* 8.131.2; *SGO* 11/05/01.2 (Ponto, data inc.).

<sup>8</sup> Cf., tra i vari contributi, Agosti 2009.



tà degli inferi, funge da antagonista - rigorosamente inferiore - del Dio dei vivi, che dagli inferi stessi fa risorgere gli uomini. Dal punto di vista formale, l'emistichio deriva da Hom. *Il.* 20.61 ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀΐδωνεύς (= Hom. *Hymn Cer.* 357), in cui si segnala la sostituzione di ἐνέρων con un termine più ricercato, attestato in *Il.* 5.886. Oltre al noto contrasto della definizione 'signore dei morti' con la corrispondente espressione formulare omerica 'signore di uomini' (*Il.* 1.172 ecc. ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων e sue varianti, quali *Il.* 5.268 ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγχισης, 5.311 ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Αἰνείας ecc.),<sup>9</sup> va sottolineata la sua ripresa in ambito epigrammatico (*GVI* 1410.1, Roma, II-III d.C. ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ δοίη σοι ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀΐδωνεύς).

### 3 Il corpo sepolto

Un primo paradossale rovesciamento del lessico sepolcrale convenzionale si rintraccia nel punto della narrazione in cui Cristo chiede dove si trovi il corpo dell'amico, v. 46 ...Ποῦ ποτε κεῖται;. Un orecchio allenato al linguaggio tradizionale percepisce immediatamente un forte contrasto con l'usuale ἐνθάδε κεῖται - fra l'altro frequente in clausola -, con il suo riferimento alla rassicurante certezza del luogo in cui il defunto è affidato alla terra, confermata dal deittico 'qui'. La domanda di Gesù non solo indica una reale volontà di informarsi, ma potrebbe anche anticipare il futuro del corpo di Lazzaro, che ben presto non si troverà più nel sepolcro.<sup>10</sup>

La descrizione della condizione del defunto nella sepoltura ai vv. 55s. intreccia modalità espressive e sintagmi desunti dall'epica arcaica, non solo omerica, e successiva, oltre che dal repertorio funerario.

Il v. 5 οὐποτε, τόφρα κέκευθε τεθρήμερον ἄπλετος αἶα contiene una variazione di Hes. *Theog.* 505 ...πελώρη Γαῖα κέκευθει, ripreso spesso dall'epigramma iscrizionale e letterario,<sup>11</sup> ottenuta sostituendo l'epiteto del modello con ἄπλετος, sporadico nella poesia esametrica prima di Nonno e che normalmente apre l'adonio finale; il riferimento precedente più diretto sembra Opp. *C.* 3.518 ...ὄσ' ἄπλετος ἔτραφεν αἶα.

Il verso successivo, ἀλλὰ νέον μὲν ἔκειτο μεμυκῶς χεῖλεα σιγῆ, rappresenta uno degli esempi più notevoli della giustapposizione del lin-

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Caprara 2000, 251.

<sup>10</sup> Il tema è già noto alla tradizione degli epigrammi per naufraghi pervenuti nell'*Antologia Palatina*, che spesso rimarcano il dramma dell'irreperibilità del cadavere disperso 'da qualche parte' nel mare: per es. Callim. *Anth. Pal.* 7.271 = Ep. 17 Pf.; Posidipp. 89 A-B; Honest. *Anth. Pal.* 7.274. Vedi Franceschini 2018b, 93-6.

<sup>11</sup> Per es. Simon. *Anth. Pal.* 7.301.1 Εὐκλέας αἶα κέκευθε, Λεωνίδα..., *GVI* 762.1 (Smirne?, I a.C.) τὸν πᾶσι θνητοῖσι προσηνέα γαῖα κέκευθεν, 567.1 (Argo, II d.C.) [κ]οῦφη [γ]αῖα κέκευθε τρι[α]κοστῶ λυκάβαντι, 519.2 (Roma, II d.C.) ἐπτα δὲ δίς μ' ἐτέων Δημήτριον αἶα κέκευθεν. Cf. anche Quint. Smyrn. 1.2 ecc.

guaggio antico e ‘moderno’. *L’incipit* è omerico (*Il.* 4.332, *hapax*),<sup>12</sup> come pure il participio e la sua posizione nell’esametro (*Il.* 21.237), ma l’intero secondo emistichio è ispirato a un’espressione cara a Gregorio di Nazianzo, che la impiega largamente negli epigrammi e nei *Carmi*: si veda *Anth. Pal.* 8.4.3 αἰᾶ, Βασιλίου δὲ μεμυκότα χεῖλεα σιγῆς con le diverse variazioni, che sembrano ispirare anche alcuni passi nonniani come *Dion.* 4.139 χεῖλεα σιγήσαιμι... o 19.2 κοῦρος ἀφωνήτω σφρηγίσσατο χεῖλεα σιγῆς.<sup>13</sup>

La descrizione del corpo di Lazzaro (v. 7 σῶμά τε πυθόμενος καὶ ὅστέα καὶ χροᾶ καλόν) prosegue con il riutilizzo del linguaggio epico fatto proprio anche dall’epigramma funerario. Il dettaglio delle ossa in putrefazione riprende un passo dell’*Odissea* (1.161 οὗ δὴ που λεύκ’ ὅστέα πύθεται ὄμβρω)<sup>14</sup> confluito anche in *Glauc. Anth. Pal.* 7.285.3-4 ...τὰ δ’ ὅστέα ποῦ ποτ’ ἐκείνου | πύθεται... La stessa osservazione può essere formulata per il nesso clausolare χροᾶ καλόν: si vedano *Il.* 5.354 (e altre occorrenze anche in differenti sedi del verso nell’epica arcaica e posteriore) e, per la poesia epigrafica, *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4797.5 (Attica, II d.C.) e *GVI* 1562.8 (Ceo, III d.C.) τηκομένη χροᾶ καλόν...; quest’ultimo componimento inserisce il nesso in un contesto di lutto, riferendolo però alla moglie viva dolente che si strugge per la scomparsa dello sposo.

Non meno ricercate sono le scelte lessicali nel seguito dell’immagine, al v. 13 μεσόθοι ἐν νεκάδεσσιν ἀκήριος, ἄψυχος αὐτως: epico e rarissimo è il termine νεκάδεσσιν (*Hom. Il.* 5.886, cf. anche *Callim.* fr. 567 Pf.); sempre Omero conosce ἀκήριος immediatamente prima della dieresi bucolica. Cometa varia il secondo emistichio di *Il.* 7.100 ἦμενοι αὐθι ἕκαστοι ἀκήριοι ἀκλεῆς αὐτως, sostituendo l’aggettivo ἀκλεῆς in modo tale da mantenere l’insistente allitterazione.<sup>15</sup> Anche per ἄψυχος va segnalata la ripresa in ambito epigrammatico, come in *GVI* 703.4 (Renea?, II-I a.C.) ἄψυχος κείμαι...<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Gallavotti 1984, 105.

<sup>13</sup> La corrispondenza è già notata da Pontani 1982, 251 e Tissoni 2003, 633. Cf. anche *Gr. Naz. Anth. Pal.* 8.137.1-2 ...μεμυκότα χεῖλεα σιγῆ | Ἀμφιλόχου..., 8.26.1-3 ...πῶς δὲ μέμυκεν | χεῖλεα..., e inoltre *Carm.* 2.1.38.49, 2.1.45.249, 2.1.183.1, 2.2.1.67; *Nonn. Dion.* 1.517 λεπταλέον φύσημα μεμυκῶτι χεῖλεϊ πέμπων e inoltre 4.150, 23.58, 33.231, 47.218. Una certa assonanza si ha anche con *Dion.* 45.7 ...μεμηνότι χεῖλεϊ φωνήν, le cui variazioni sono studiate in D’Ippolito 2003, 508. Cf. anche la prosa: *Gr. Nyss. In Metetium* 9.452.3-4.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. anche *Quint. Smyrn.* 10.274.

<sup>15</sup> Sul gusto di Cometa per questa figura retorica cf. Caprara 2000, 248, 256; Tissoni 2003, 632.

<sup>16</sup> La descrizione di Lazzaro defunto continua al v. 17, in cui si rilevano l’omerismo ἐτήκετο (*Od.* 19.204, 19.208; *eadem sede* cf. anche *Hes. Theog.* 862; *Nonn. Dion.* 10.414; anon. *Anth. Pal.* 9.362.22) e un aggettivo spesso usato nell’epigramma, ἄπνους (per es. *Leon. Anth. Pal.* 7.652.6; *Crinag. Anth. Pal.* 7.633.4; *Dioscor. Anth. Pal.* 7.229.1). Già Caprara 2000, 251 definisce ἄπνους e ἄπνους come non omerici.

#### 4 La tomba e il lutto

Un ruolo importante nel contesto funerario è svolto dal lessico del lutto, che trova nel modello epico le radici dei complessi sviluppi dell'epigramma. È già stato notato che l'intero v. 9 del componimento riprende *in toto*, con minimi adattamenti, *Il.* 17.37 = 24.741 ἀρητὸν δὲ τοκεῦσι γόον καὶ πένθος ἔθηκας; vale però la pena ricordare che questo stesso passo dà origine a un vasto repertorio espressivo della poesia tombale, a partire dall'applicazione al γόον e al πένθος di altri epiteti, sino all'associazione al sintagma del verbo λείπω e della menzione dei vivi dolenti in caso dativo - con una predilezione particolare per γονεῦσι, τοκεῦσι e φίλοισι -, nonché alla cristallizzazione e standardizzazione della clausola πένθος ἔθηκα.<sup>17</sup>

Tra gli altri sintagmi vanno evidenziati quelli presenti ai vv. 14-15 τοῦ πότμον γοῶσαι ὀδυρόμενά τε ἐθρήνευεν | σήματος ἔκτοθι οὔσαι καὶ ἐζόμενα περὶ τύμβῳ. L'epica conosce sia l'associazione dei verbi del v. 14 (*Od.* 4.800 εἶος Πηνελόπειαν ὀδυρομένην γοῶσαν) sia, soprattutto, l'applicazione ai medesimi verbi del πότμον (*Il.* 16.857 = 22.363 ὄν πότμον γοῶσα..., nella stessa sede metrica riutilizzata da Cometa), presente anche negli epitimbi (GVI 1540.4 Smirne, II a.C. ...σὸν ὀρφανίης πότμον ὀδυρόμενοι).<sup>18</sup> La clausola del v. 15 περὶ τύμβῳ<sup>19</sup> (attestata in varie sedi a partire da Theoc. 12.30) viene ampliata al v. 38 πολυκλαύστῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ associando al *tymbos* un aggettivo che già compare nella poesia arcaica (Archil. fr. 94.3 W.) ed è comune nella produzione esametrica posteriore a Omero, compresi i carmi sepolcrali iscrizionali, nei quali è applicato a vari sostantivi; ma il nesso con τύμβος a fine verso potrebbe provenire direttamente dal linguaggio epigrammatico e in particolare da *Anth. Pal.* 7.153.3, attribuito a Omero o a Cleobulo, e Meleag. 7.476.3, cui va aggiunto GVI 1477.3 (Fanagorea, I-II d.C.).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Proponiamo una breve selezione dei numerosi esempi possibili tratti dall'epigramma epigrafico: CEG 664.2 (Amorgo, IV a.C.) δακρυσέν δὲ πόλει πένθος ἔθηκε θανάων; IG II<sup>2</sup> 13093.2 (Attica, IV a.C.) ...ἐτάροι[σι] δὲ πένθος ἔθηκα; GVI 1540.2 (Smirne, II a.C.) κάλλιπες αἰακτὸν σοῖσι τοκεῦσι γόον; SEG 41.1041.4 (Lidia, II-I a.C.) αἰακτὸν δὲ γονεῦσι γόον καὶ πένθεα λείπων; AP 7.343.9 = GVI 796.9 λείψε φίλοις δὲ τοκεῦσι γόον καὶ πένθος ἄλαστον; per l'epigramma cristiano cf. SGO 16/31/93.D.22 (Frigia, IV d.C.) παρθενίην Χριστῷ γὰρ] ἐκδιού]σα πένθ[ος] ἄτλητον ἔθηκα; 14/02/04.3-4 (Licaonia, V-VI d.C.), ὅς πάτρην ἀκάχησε θανάων, πλίσσον δὲ τοκεῦσιν | λίπε γόον πολύδακρον, su cui vedi Franceschini 2015, 479-80.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Caprara 2000, 251.

<sup>19</sup> L'emistichio σήματος ἔκτοθι οὔσαι presenta una certa somiglianza fonica e strutturale con Gr. Naz. *Carm.* 2.1.17.77 ...τὰ Πνεύματος ἔκτοθι ῥίψας. Sulle espressioni con ἔκτοθι nella poesia tardoantica cf. Tissoni 2003, 632 e Franceschini 2014, 176.

<sup>20</sup> Vedi anche *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* 269 e, per lo stesso nesso al genitivo, Quint. Smyrn. 1.806 τύμβοιο πολυκλαύτοιο. Per questi riferimenti cf. Caprara 2000, 251.

Una menzione merita anche il v. 47 αἶ δ' ἄρα ὀτραλέως ἀνὰ ἥριον ἦλυθον ἄρδην. L'omerico e ricercato ἥριον<sup>21</sup> è spesso associato, nell'epigramma, al topico transitare del *viator*, cui l'iscrizione reale o fittizia chiede di arrestarsi per dedicarle la sua attenzione.<sup>22</sup> Nella descrizione di Cometa il moto delle sorelle che accompagnano Cristo alla tomba è invece intenzionale e sollecito, presago della straordinarietà dell'evento che sta per verificarsi.

L'epigramma è altresì costellato di ulteriori nessi rari ascrivibili all'ambito del lutto e della sepoltura, non solo omerici. Evidenziamo in questa sede i clausolari σῆμά τε λυγρόν (v. 48), che ricalca l'epico σήματα λυγρά (*Il.* 6.168, sempre in clausola), e πῶμα τάφοιο (v. 4), modellato su Hes. *Op.* 98 πῶμα πίθοιο (pure a fine verso). Al v. 50 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ἀνέωκτο τάφος λυγρὸς φθιμένοιο il nesso τάφος λυγρὸς sembra desunto da Lycoph. 1324, ma l'unione del participio φθιμένοιο e composti con uno dei numerosi termini indicanti la sepoltura è assai frequentata dall'epigramma e dall'epica tarda.<sup>23</sup>

## 5 La risurrezione

Tra i luoghi più significativi del componimento va annoverato il v. 30 ἀνστήσαι γὰρ ἔπειμι καὶ ἐξ Ἑρέβευς φίλον ἄμόν, nel quale sono incastonate forme ed espressioni epiche risemantizzate alla luce della nuova fede. Come già nota Tissoni (2003, 632), «la forma ἀνστήσαι è omerica (cf. e.g. *Il.* 1.305, 2.398), ma il senso è cristiano, 'resuscitare'».<sup>24</sup> Cometa inserisce nell'esametro un termine tecnico della risurrezione, desunto dal *Nuovo Testamento* (per es. Mc. 8.31, Lc. 18.33) e dalla tradizione cristiana. I sintagmi indicanti il risalire 'dagli inferi' sono impiegati specialmente in ambito mitologico o iniziatico e si pongono in netta antitesi con il moto consueto dei defunti, che - come accennato sopra - vanno 'negli inferi' (per es. εἰς Ἀΐδαο δόμους, εἰς Ἀΐδην ecc.); εἰς Ἑρέβος è attestato in Omero (*Od.* 11.564 ecc.) e

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Hom. *Il.* 23.126 e frequenti attestazioni nell'epigramma, per es. Asclep. *Anth. Pal.* 7.500.1, *GVI* 1349.1 (Corcira, I a.C.), 2039.7 (Mitilene, I-II d.C.); Gr. Naz. *Anth. Pal.* 8.26.3. Cf. Caprara 2000, 250.

<sup>22</sup> Per es. Erinn. *Anth. Pal.* 7.710.3 τοῖς ἐμὸν ἐρχομένοισι παρ' ἥριον εἴπατε χαίρειν, Asclep. *Anth. Pal.* 7.500.1 ὦ παρ' ἐμὸν στεῖχων κενὸν ἥριον, εἶπον, ὀδίτα, ripreso in *GVI* 1345.1 (Sime, II a.C.) ὦ παρ' ἐμὸν στεῖχων τοῦτ' ἥρι[ον εἶπ]ον ὀδίτα; *GVI* 2009.1 (Augusta Emerita, II d.C.) μήτηρ μοι Γαιήνα, παρ' ἥριον ὅστις ὀδεύει[ς]. Cf. anche il moto di discesa nella tomba in anon. *Anth. Pal.* 7.44.5 ἀλλ' ἔμολες Πελλαῖον ὑπ' ἥριον, ὡς ἂν ὀ λάτρης.

<sup>23</sup> Per es. Simon. *Anth. Pal.* 7.511.1 σῆμα καταφθιμένοιο; *GVI* 922.1 (Corcira, III a.C.) ἀποφθιμένοιο τάφοι; 1259.1-2 (Locride, II a.C.) καταφθιμένοιο... τύμβον; Antip. Sid. *Anth. Pal.* 7.426.1 φθιμένοιο... τάφον; *IG X 2,1* 565.1 (Macedonia, III d.C.) σῆμα καταφθιμένοιο; Quint. Smyrn. 9.48 στήλην... ἀποφθιμένοιο; Nonn. *Dion.* 19.87 φθιμένοιο... παρὰ τύμβω; 26.46 σῆμα νεοφθιμένοιο.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. anche Caprara 2000, 251.

negli epigrammi (per es. *CEG* 548.2, Attica, IV a.C.; *GVI* 1717.6, Sime, II a.C.; *SGO* 09/04/11.6, Prusa, VI d.C. = anon. *Anth. Pal.* 7.558.6). L'espressione ἐξ Ἑρέβευς è pure desunta dalla poesia arcaica, in particolare da *Il.* 8.368 ἐξ Ἑρέβευς ἄξοντα κύνα στυγεροῦ Ἄϊδαο (Eracle conduce Cerbero fuori dagli inferi) e *Hom. Hymn. Cer.* 409 ἐλθεῖν ἐξ Ἑρέβευς... (Persefone prospetta la sua uscita dall'Erebo).<sup>25</sup> Oltre ai vari generi letterari greci,<sup>26</sup> anche la produzione tombale letteraria ed epigrafica conosce la formula ἐξ Ἄϊδα con le sue variazioni, con cui si designa la forma d'immortalità accessibile agli uomini comuni, ossia la fama della loro virtù che consente ai defunti di risalire 'dagli inferi' per continuare a vivere nel mondo terreno tramite il ricordo. Tra gli esempi più notevoli menzioniamo *Simon. Anth. Pal.* 7.251.3-4 οὐδὲ τεθῆσθαι θανόντες, ἐπεὶ σφ' ἀρετὴ καθύπερθε | κυδαίνουσ' ἀνάγει δώματος ἐξ Ἄιδεω, che ispira testi come *GVI* 1513.1-2 (Creta, II a.C.) οὐδὲ θανῶν ἀρετᾶς ὄνυμ' ὤλεσας, ἀλλὰ σε φάμα | κυδαίνουσ' ἀνάγει δώματος ἐξ Ἄϊδα.<sup>27</sup> Se già nella classicità è quindi concepita la possibilità di un ritorno dal mondo dei morti, riservata però agli eroi e a pochi privilegiati o solo auspicata per mezzo della memoria, con il cristianesimo tale possibilità diviene una realtà garantita dalla potenza redentrice del Salvatore e rivolta a tutti gli uomini: Lazzaro è tra i primi a sperimentarla.

Sempre a proposito di risurrezione, più difficile ci è parso stabilire se vi sia un diretto riferimento al linguaggio poetico classico al v. 53 ὡς οὖν νεκρὸς ἄκουσε θεοῦ Λόγου φήσαντος. Se il nesso θεοῦ Λόγος o θεοῦ Λόγος nell'esametro è certamente desunto dal modello poetico di Gregorio di Nazianzo e l'immagine di Lazzaro risvegliato dalla voce di Cristo ha come punto di riferimento la *Parafrasi* nonniana,<sup>28</sup> la soluzione lessicale νεκρὸς ἄκουσε potrebbe essere direttamente legata alle fonti evangeliche e in particolare a *Io.* 5.25 ἔρχεται ὥρα καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ὅτε οἱ νεκροὶ ἀκούσουσιν τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀκούσαντες ζήσουσιν.

<sup>25</sup> Tra gli altri passi, cf. anche *Hom. Il.* 9.572, *Od.* 11.37, ecc. Cf. Caprara 2000, 250.

<sup>26</sup> Menzioniamo, a titolo esemplificativo, *Hom. Od.* 11.69; *Eur. Alc.* 462; *Ap. Rhod.* 2.609; *Nonn. Dion.* 34.333. La poesia tarda conosce anche altre espressioni, come ἐκ νεκῶν (*Gr. Naz. Carm.* 1.1.2.79; *Nonn. Par.* 6.158).

<sup>27</sup> Vedi per contrasto anche la ricostruzione di *SEG* 28.974, che prospetta l'impossibilità assoluta di risalire dagli inferi, neppure con l'intervento della divinità. In *GVI* 679.5 (*Panticapeo*, II-I a.C.) il riferimento sembra invece riguardare le preghiere rivolte a favore del figlio vivo dai genitori che si trovano negli inferi.

<sup>28</sup> Cf., rispettivamente, *Carm.* 1.1.4.76 (per es.) e *Nonn. Par.* 11.162-163 ...καὶ ἐν φθιμένοισιν ἀκούσας | ἐξ Ἄϊδος νόστησε φυγὰς νέκυς...

## 6 *Usurpation e Kontrastimitation*

La poesia greca d'ispirazione cristiana pratica sin dagli esordi i procedimenti noti come *Usurpation* e *Kontrastimitation*, con i quali il contesto del modello di un'espressione viene rovesciato ed epiteti, prerogative, immagini e motivi tipici delle divinità classiche, specialmente di Zeus, vengono attribuiti a Cristo e a Dio Padre: si tratta di espedienti impiegati per esprimere la coscienza che la produzione poetica cristiana è superiore a quella pagana, pur riprendendone esplicitamente il linguaggio, e che permeano anche l'intero testo di Cometa.<sup>29</sup>

Un primo caso si ha già nell'apertura del componimento, in cui il Figlio di Dio viene designato non solo unendo espressioni tipiche degli eroi omerici (ἔϋς πάϊς, ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν) a un termine di gusto squisitamente nonniano (Παρμεδέοντος), ma soprattutto con un verso interamente di competenza di Zeus: si vedano Hom. *Il.* 12.242 ὃς πᾶσι θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσει e, inoltre, 2.669 ἔκ Διός, ὅς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσει.<sup>30</sup> A nostro avviso, l'accostamento genererebbe nel fruitore un effetto sottilmente paradossale, in quanto il Cristo si troverebbe, secondo questa definizione, a regnare su divinità inesistenti per un cristiano, a meno che non si legga in ἀθανάτοισιν e in θεοῖσι un'implicita risemantizzazione del lessico, per la quale gli 'immortali' divengono le anime degli uomini redenti dalla morte nel suo regno.

Un secondo caso è contenuto nell'esordio del discorso pronunciato da Gesù ai discepoli: κέκλυτέ μευ πάντες τε ὅσοι θεὸν ἔνδον ἔχετε | ὄφρ' εἴπω, τὰ με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει (vv. 26-27). Il primo emistichio iniziale e il verso seguente riprendono integralmente l'invito formulare rivolto da Zeus agli dèi riuniti in assemblea in *Il.* 8.5 κέκλυτέ μευ πάντες τε θεοὶ πάσαι τε θέαιναι | ὄφρ' εἴπω τὰ με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει.<sup>31</sup> Il Figlio di Dio si appropria quindi di un linguaggio 'usurato' alla somma divinità olimpica, ma anche il seguito del verso non è privo d'interesse: i discepoli che sostituiscono gli dèi e le dee e che 'hanno Dio nel cuore' sono essi stessi, quasi divinizzati (si pensi in proposito al v. 22, che li definisce figli di Dio). Il modello formale dell'emistichio è stato riconosciuto in Gr. Naz. *Carm.* 1.2.2.161 ...Θεὸν δέ τε πλοῦτον ἔχετε.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Vedi in proposito gli studi di Agosti, in partic. 2009, 324-7; 2010, 344-50; 2011; Franceschini 2018a. Sull'impiego evangelizzatore della lingua di Omero in ambito cristiano cf. Agosti-Gonnelli 1995, 359-62; Agosti 2005, 21-3.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Pontani 1982, 251; Caprara 2000, 250; Tissoni 2003, 631. Caprara 2000, 256-60 evidenzia inoltre il debito nei confronti di Nonno.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Il.* 19.101, con una variazione nel verbo finale. Cf. Caprara 2000, 250.

<sup>32</sup> Tissoni 2003, 633, che confronta anche *Anth. Pal.* 1.121.5.

Nel seguito della narrazione, quando le sorelle di Lazzaro dichiarano che Cristo è ‘di molto il più forte’ se paragonato al signore dei morti e, verosimilmente, a tutti gli altri dèi (v. 44 ...ἐπεὶ ἡ πολὺν φέρτατος ἦσθα), il poeta riutilizza una formula omerica che in *Il.* 1.581 ...ὁ γὰρ πολὺν φέρτατός ἐστιν descrive ancora una volta il padre delle divinità.<sup>33</sup>

Altrettanto visibile è l’applicazione allo stesso Gesù di epiteti di Zeus. Il v. 37 ὡς εἶποντο ὄπισθε θεοῦ μέγαλοιο μαθηταί è confrontabile con versi quali *Il.* 21.198 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς δείδοικε Διὸς μέγαλοιο κεραυνόν, di cui riprende l’epiteto μέγαλοιο nella stessa sede metrica; entrambi i nessi (Διὸς μέγαλοιο e θεοῦ μέγαλοιο) sono seguiti dall’oggetto posseduto dalla divinità (rispettivamente κεραυνόν e μαθηταί). Ulteriori aggettivi tipici del padre degli dèi reperibili nell’epigramma sono impiegati da poeti successivi: è il caso di ὑψιστος (v. 46, cf. per es. Pind. *Nem.* 1.60) e ὑψιμέδοντα (v. 56, cf. per es. Ar. *Nub.* 563-564 ὑψιμέδοντα... Ζῆνα).<sup>34</sup>

Nella definizione del Cristo come θεοῖο πάρις μέγαλοιο (v. 19), che richiama sintagmi omerici come *Il.* 6.304 Διὸς κούρη μέγαλοιο (sempre nel secondo emistichio), il lettore coglie facilmente che, se il ‘grande Dio’ Padre ha preso il posto di Zeus, il figlio Gesù sostituisce Atena.

Prerogativa delle divinità classiche più in generale è anche l’abitare in dimore loro riservate: la relativa del v. 41 γουνοῦμεσθά σ’, ἄναξ, ὃς ὑπέρτατα δώματα ναίεις ricalca il linguaggio arcaico rintracciabile in particolare in Hes. *Op.* 8 Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, ὃς ὑπέρτατα δώματα ναίει, ma anche in clausole come *Od.* 24.304 ...κλυτὰ δώματα ναίω, di cui condivide l’applicazione di un epiteto ai δώματα.<sup>35</sup>

Più inconsueti suonano i passi in cui Gesù sembra preoccuparsi di ottenere per sé (v. 29) e soprattutto per il Padre (v. 57) una prerogativa ambita non tanto dalle divinità, quanto dagli eroi mortali dell’epica e dai comuni defunti sin dalle iscrizioni tombali più antiche per guadagnarsi una forma di immortalità, il κλέος ἄφθιτον (nel modello omerico, cf. *Il.* 9.413). Il concetto sembra rovesciato: la gloria viene conquistata come nell’immaginario classico con un’impresa inaudita e memorabile – la risurrezione di un morto, ben superiore alle gesta degli eroi antichi – ma da parte del Dio-Uomo (v. 51 θεὸς μέγας ἦδὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπος) per Dio Padre, che già gode dell’eternità.<sup>36</sup> Vi si può cogliere pertanto una completa rilettura e ricontestualizzazione del nesso

<sup>33</sup> Cf. anche *Il.* 2.769 ...ὁ γὰρ πολὺν φέρτατος ἦεν e – in una differente sede metrica – *Od.* 8.129 πολὺν φέρτατος ἦεν, riferiti questa volta ad Achille e a Elatreo.

<sup>34</sup> L’epiteto è ripetutamente attribuito a Dio già da Nonno: Caprara 2000, 257.

<sup>35</sup> Pontani 1982, 251.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. l’applicazione dell’epiteto ἄφθιτος alla divinità nella poesia cristiana e, precedentemente, classica: Franceschini 2018a, 67-8.

tradizionale, che passa a indicare non tanto il *kleos* eroico quanto la gloria tributata dagli uomini a Dio in seguito alle meraviglie operate per la loro redenzione.

Per conferirvi una maggiore evidenza, riserviamo alla conclusione un'osservazione riguardante l'espressione finale del v. 45, la supplica rivolta dalle sorelle a Gesù, che può far risorgere Lazzaro dai morti: ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἐθέλων δύνασαι πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐγείρει. Il modello primario è riconoscibile in un passo dell'*Iliade* in cui si descrive l'azione di Zeus di sospingere Ettore in battaglia, 13.58 ...Ὀλύμπιος αὐτὸς ἐγείρει. Cometa sembra 'sottrarre' al dio pagano l'ennesima prerogativa per attribuirlo al Cristo, servendosi come di consueto del lessico classico rivisitato per inserire nel carne un altro riferimento alla novità assoluta della risurrezione: il verbo ἐγείρω è notoriamente risemantizzato dalla tradizione cristiana, consacrata sin dai *Vangeli*, per indicare l'azione di 'risorgere' o 'risuscitare'. L'altra fonte d'ispirazione 'moderna' dell'autore bizantino è ancora una volta il passo parallelo della *Parafresi* nonniana e in particolare il v. 11.41 ὄφρα μιν ἐξ ὕπνου παλινδίνητον ἐγείρω, che contiene una corrispondenza in παλινδίνητον e lo stesso verbo in clausola,<sup>37</sup> al quale va aggiunto *Par.* 2.95-96 λύσατε τοῦτο μέλαθρον, ἐγὼ δέ μιν αὐτὸς ἐγείρω | ἡμασιν ἐν τρισσοσίω..., nel quale Cristo annuncia la propria risurrezione dopo tre giorni dalla distruzione del tempio del suo corpo.<sup>38</sup> È probabile però che vi sia anche un ulteriore sostrato espressivo, probabilmente praticato non solo dalla poesia cristiana 'alta', letteraria, ma anche da quella epigrafica, che potrebbe aver adottato come punto di partenza il modello omerico e formato un'espressione divenuta quasi standardizzata per indicare la risurrezione.<sup>39</sup> La supposizione deriva dal confronto con l'epigramma d'ispirazione cristiana *SGO* 16/31/97.30 (Frigia, data incerta) [καὶ γὰρ ἔδωκε μάκαρ κτίσσ<α>ς πάλιν αὐτὸς ἀ[νε]λθεῖν]. Qualora l'integrazione del verbo finale fosse corretta, il verso fonderebbe elementi della dizione epica classica - il pronome αὐτός e un verbo dalla medesima struttura metrica *eadem sede* - con novità moderne e cristiane già sperimentate da Nonno, ovvero l'avverbio πάλιν e un verbo tecnico della risurrezione.<sup>40</sup> Se lo si confron-

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Caprara 2000, 257.

<sup>38</sup> A loro volta i passi sono confrontabili con altri modelli omerici: *Il.* 5.413 ἐξ ὕπνου γόωσα φίλους οἰκῆας ἐγείρει; *Od.* 15.44 αὐτὰρ ὁ Νεστορίδην ἐξ ἠδέος ὕπνου ἔγειρε.

<sup>39</sup> Una certa somiglianza fonica si ha anche con le clausole *Hom. Od.* 14.365 πάλιν αὐτίς ἔβαινον; *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 78 ἔμπαλιν αὐτὸς ἔβαινε; *Nonn. Par.* 46.300 πάλιν αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων.

<sup>40</sup> L'uso di questo verbo per designare il ritorno dagli inferi è già noto ai classici e in particolare al teatro: vedi Franceschini 2018a, 82-3. Si veda un analogo uso di πάλιν, per contrasto, in un epigramma che pone in dubbio la possibilità della risurrezione: *SGO* 05/01/63 (Smirne, II d.C.) εἰ πάλιν ἔστι γενέσθαι, ὕπνος <σ> ἔχει οὐκ ἐπὶ δηρόν,] | εἰ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν πάλιν ἐλθεῖν, αἰώνιος ὕπνος].



ta con questa testimonianza epigrafica, anche nell'esametro di Cometa sembrano intrecciarsi il modello omerico primario – con lo stesso pronome e il verbo ἐγείρει – e un nuovo formulario cristiano, che inserisce πάλιν subito prima della dieresi bucolica e può sostituire l'omerico ἐγείρω con altri verbi metricamente equivalenti indicanti il concetto di 'ridestare' o 'rialzare' nel senso di 'risorgere' o 'risuscitare', '(far) ritornare alla vita'. Il procedimento sembrerebbe particolarmente significativo e riuscito nell'ottenimento di un forte scarto tra l'immagine classica della divinità che spinge l'eroe nel combattimento da dove potrebbe precipitare negli inferi e la nuova prerogativa di Cristo che, infinitamente più potente, dai medesimi inferi strappa invece gli uomini.

## 7 Conclusioni

Nei passi del testo presi in considerazione, il fruitore cristiano che ben conosce il modello omerico percepisce un continuo contrasto tra il linguaggio convenzionale atteso e le sue riletture e trasformazioni in senso cristiano operate dal poeta.<sup>41</sup> Queste ultime riguardano, come risulta dall'analisi, sia l'insistito trasferimento degli attributi delle divinità pagane a quella cristiana, che varia dal semplice epiteto alla più vasta immagine cui possono essere dedicati uno o più versi, sia la manipolazione del linguaggio funerario. Abbiamo mostrato come il lessico e i motivi del lutto – la descrizione del defunto, della tomba e della discesa agli inferi – vengano desunti principalmente dalla dizione e dall'immaginario omerici, ma non in modo esclusivo. Oltre ai numerosi rimandi alla poesia cristiana tarda e 'moderna' di Gregorio Nazianzeno e di Nonno, vanno rimarcati i luoghi del componimento che sembrano contenere riferimenti al repertorio formale dell'epigramma letterario ed epigrafico, con i quali l'autore rafforza il linguaggio relativo alla morte, ai suoi effetti e ai sentimenti da essa generati. In tal senso, la maggior parte del testo si mantiene aderente alla tradizione, rappresentando il lutto per Lazzaro con le parole e i temi ben noti ai classici, almeno fino all'incontro di Gesù con le due sorelle. Un anticipo del miracolo inaudito si individua già al termine del discorso rivolto ai discepoli, nell'omerico ἀνστήσαι risemantizzato e nell'espressione paradossale καὶ ἐξ Ἑρέβους. Nel seguito dell'epigramma i riferimenti alla risurrezione si fanno sempre più frequenti ed espliciti, in un crescendo d'intensità che va dalla dichiarazione della superiorità di Cristo su Aidoneo e del suo potere

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Agosti 2005, 30 «La sovrapposizione fra Omero e le Scritture produce risultati estetici forse ancor più sorprendenti, per i quali si è potuto parlare di straniamento, di accordo nel disaccordo», che riprende Averincev 1988.

sulla morte (δύνασαι πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐγεῖραι) all'ordine del Salvatore (Λάζαρε, δεῦρ' ἴθι, κλῦθι ἐμεῖο καὶ ἔρχεο ἔξω), sino al risveglio di Lazzaro nel momento in cui ode la sua voce (νεκρὸς ἄκουσε θεοῦ Λόγου φήσαντος) per poi uscire dal sepolcro.

Nei suoi versi permeati dalla dizione omerica, Cometa propone dunque al lettore un'interpretazione dell'antico alla luce della risurrezione: proprio questi luoghi in cui s'intrecciano il lessico classico degli dèi, della morte e del lutto e la novità dell'immaginario cristiano sono forse tra i più riusciti dell'epigramma.

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## **Prosa**



# A Forgotten Piece of the Theban Saga? Reassessing Hec. fr. 33 *EGM*

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**Abstract** This paper offers a fresh discussion of Hecataeus of Miletus' fr. 33 *EGM*, usually dismissed for its opaqueness. The reference to the seer Amphiaraus, who, according to Aelian, slept away his watch and nearly suffered the consequence of his negligence, is obscure, but has sometimes been interpreted as being a lost piece of the Theban saga. This reconstruction, however, is not the only one possible: as the story of the seer Evenius in Herodotus shows, this fragment might come from an account about Amphiaraus' initiation to the prophetic art.

**Keywords** Hecataeus of Miletus. Aelian. Amphiaraus. Theban saga. Evenius.

**Summary** 1 Introduction. – 2 Amphiaraus' Watch and its Mysterious Consequences. – 3 Amphiaraus, Hypsipyle, and Opheltes: A Modern Hypothesis. – 4 A Warrior and a Seer: A Fresh Interpretation. – 5 By Way of Conclusion.

## 1 Introduction

Hecataeus of Miletus (end of 6th/beginning of 5th cent. BCE) earned a reputation for his confrontational temperament in the landscape of myth-telling. This is precisely how he describes his literary mission in the opening of his *Genealogies* (fr. 1 *EGM*): Ἐκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται· τάδε γράφω, ὥς μοι δοκεῖ ἀληθέα εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοί τε καὶ γελοῖοι, ὥς ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, εἰσίν. (Hecataeus of Miletus thus announces: I write these things, as they seem to me to be true. That is because the stories of the Greeks are many and they



Edizioni  
Ca' Foscari

**Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4**

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

**Peer review | Open access**

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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**DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/022**

make me laugh, as they appear to me.)<sup>1</sup> However, despite this self-promotional move, he did not succeed in imposing his own truth and a staggering variety of myths kept on flourishing. Ironically, the extant evidence ascribed to him often shows unexpected treatments of the mythical subject as we know it: his accounts failed to exert the influence on the tradition he hoped for and do not appear to our readers' eyes as true, as he wished, but mostly as peculiar. For example, Deucalion's sons were Pronous, Orestheus, and Marathonius in fr. 13 EGM; Egypt had not even twenty children in fr. 19; Geryon's cattle were located in the north of Greece in fr. 26, and so forth. Herodotus' well-known animosity in proving him wrong, however, implicitly reveals that Hecataeus was hailed as an authority to be thus refuted.<sup>2</sup>

This paper investigates a fragment ascribed to Hecataeus, usually dismissed for its obscurity. The blatant difficulties in commenting on this text derive not only from its current textual shape, but also from the eccentricities of the story: nothing similar is attested anywhere else. The discussion is articulated as follows. The first paragraph provides the text with its translation, the second one reviews the only hypothesis that has been made so far to contextualise the story, and the last one discusses alternative interpretations that tie in better with the passage. This investigation will perhaps shed only flickering light on the passage, but, all in all, it raises salutary questions about the transmission of early Greek prose-writers in the Imperial age and, consequently, about the limits of our inquiry.

## 2 Amphiarus' Watch and its Mysterious Consequences

The source of the under-analysis passage is the Roman-born rhetorician Claudius Aelianus (end of the 2nd/beginning of the 3rd cent. AD), who became famous in Severan Rome for mastering and writing in Attic Greek. Among his outputs, one finds a miscellaneous work, *De natura animalium* (NA), which is the 'cover-text' for the under-analysis fragment.<sup>3</sup> Throughout this work, Aelian grants significant space to natural curiosities and wonders about Egypt and India; as a result, the reader probably does not find this text too distant from paradoxography proper (Cameron 2004, 158). As far as India is con-

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**1** For a thorough discussion of the fragment, see Andolfi 2018, 79-91 with further bibliography.

**2** On Hecataeus' role as Herodotus' predecessor much ink has been spilled, since some scholars believed the former's credit and prestige to be perhaps unearned: see West 1991; Armayor 2004; Condilo 2017, 242-8; Clarke 2018, 5-21, with reference to further modern literature on the subject.

**3** This most useful terminology is borrowed by Schepens 1997, where "cover-text" stands for "the authors who quote" earlier writers.



cerned, he devotes much space to the marvellous elephants, which, according to him, were especially suited to acting as watchers because they were sleepless.<sup>4</sup> With their tireless watch Aelian contrasts an episode involving a Greek character, the seer Amphiaraus, where the guard was not immune to sleep:

Ael. NA 13.22 (p. 326 1-9 García-Valdés; Llera Fueyo; Rodríguez-Noriega) unde *Supplementum Aristotelicum* 1.1 (2.128 p. 69.16 Lambros) = Hecataei Milesii frg. 33 EGM.

τέσσαρες δὲ καὶ εἴκοσι τῷ βασιλεῖ [sc. τῷ Ἰνδῶν] φρουροὶ παραμένουσιν ἐλέφαντες ἐκ διαδοχῆς, ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ φύλακες οἱ λοιποί, καὶ αὐτοῖς παιδεύμα τὴν φρουρὰν οὐ κατανυστάζειν· διδάσκονται γάρ τοι σοφία τινὶ Ἰνδικῇ καὶ τοῦτο. **καὶ λέγει μὲν Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος Ἀμφιάρων τὸν Οἰκλέους κατακοιμίαι τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ ὀλίγου παθεῖν ἧσα λέγειτ.** οὔτοι δὲ ἄρα ἄγρυπνοι καὶ ὕπνω μὴ ἠπτόμενοι, πιστότατοι τῶν ἐκεῖθι φυλάκων μετὰ γε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰσίν.

3. κατανυστάζειν Lambros (seq. Fowler) : κατανυστάζουσι codd. Ael.; κατανυστάξει Müller, <ἔχειν> φ. οὐ κατανυστάζουσι Hercher (seq. Jacoby) 5. κατακοιμίαι codd. Ael.: κατακοιμήσαι Ecloga 6. {ὀλίγου} Hercher; ὀλίγου παθεῖν ὅσα <τὸν Ῥῆσον Ὀμηρος> λέγει Weil; in ὀλίγου latere τὸν ἐλέφαντα, τὸν βασιλέα, vel regis nomen dubit. conl. Fowler 7. ὕπνω codd. Ael.: ὕπνου Reiske (seq. Fowler)

Twenty-four elephants guard over the (Indian) king one after the other, like all the other guards, and they are instructed not to sleep through their watch; for they have been taught also this by Indian wisdom. **And Hecataeus of Miletus says that Amphiaraus, Oicles' son, slept away his watch and nearly suffered what (he?) narates.** By contrast, those are wakeful and not overcome by sleep, and they are the most trustworthy among all the guards there, of course after men.<sup>5</sup>

The king of India can count on the prodigious skills of his elephants: those animals are capable of understanding human language, Aelian says, thanks to a mysterious gift of nature, so one elephant is taught to bow down before the King when he administers justice and to perform warlike motions. Moreover, twenty-four elephants act as the King's bodyguards after being instructed on how not to sleep through their watch. At this point one finds an elliptical reference to

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<sup>4</sup> For India as a land of marvels in the NA, see discussion in Smith 2014, 165-78.

<sup>5</sup> Text and apparatus are based on modern editions. Translations are by the Author.

Hecataeus and to Amphiarauus, which is not of easy contextualisation since the myth Aelian alludes to is unknown to us.<sup>6</sup>

To complicate matters more, the verb κατακοίμῃσαι could either be transitive ('to lull to sleep') or intransitive ('to sleep'), and scholars are often unsure which one to adopt.<sup>7</sup> However, as Aelian's consistent usage within the NA proves (1.15; 3.13), in this case κατακοίμῃσαι τὴν φυλακὴν cannot but mean 'to sleep through his watch':

... καὶ συνθλάσας αὐτὴν ἀπαλλάττεται, προτιμότερον τροφῆς καὶ πρεσβύτερον τὸ μὴ κατακοίμῃσαι τὴν φυλακὴν πεπειστυκῶς εἶναι. (NA 1.15)

... and when he [sc. the wrasse] has crushed it [sc. the fisherman's bait], he releases it, considering it more honourable and important than his meal not to sleep during his watch.

... τρεῖς δὲ ἢ τέσσαρες προφυλάττουσι τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ κατακοίμῃσαι τὴν φυλακὴν ἐστᾶσι μὲν ἀσκολιάζουσαι ... (NA 3.13)

... but three or four among the others are on guard; and in order to avoid to fall asleep during the watch they stand on one leg ...

This syntactic usage is attested in ancient Greek since Herodotus (9.93), again with φυλακὴν as the object, which is here an 'accusative of duration'/'cognate accusative' (Flower, Marincola 2002, 267). Should the object be something like τὰς φυλακάς, 'the watchmen', then the other meaning would be correct.<sup>8</sup>

The second half of the sentence is more problematic and Fowler in EGM I put it between *cruces*, even though in EGM II (410 fn. 40) he showed second thoughts. The sentence, as it stands, misses its point: what did Amphiarauus suffer? Possibly being killed or physi-

<sup>6</sup> In Greek myth, supernatural creatures could be gifted with resistance to sleep: see Argus Panoptes, Io's watcher, in Hes. fr. 294 M.-W. = 230 Most, whom Hera gave tireless strength and sleep could not fall upon its eyes. For mythical plots featuring Amphiarauus, see discussion in Bethe 1891, 43-75 and Berner 1945.

<sup>7</sup> Jacoby (*FGrHist*, I, 328): "schläfert A. die Wache ein oder verschläft er sie?"; Fowler, EGM I (app. *ad loc.*): "sed incertum quomodo irrepserit, et manifestum est non Amphiarauum sed custodes dormire; ergo pessum dedit ille custodiam aut regem". It is curious that, whereas modern lexica of Greek language (*LSJ*, *Brill's Greek Dictionary*) agree in quoting Aelian's passage under the meaning of 'lull to sleep', modern translations adopt the intransitive 'to sleep' (e.g. Scholfield 1959: "went to sleep during his watch"; Pownall *BNJ*: "slept away his watch"; Brodersen 2018: "die Wache verschlafte").

<sup>8</sup> E.g. in Ps.-Apollod. 1.9.23, where Medea sends the snake to sleep (τὸν φυλάσσοντα δράκοντα κατακοίμῃσασα τοῖς φαρμάκοις) or in Luc. *Nav.* 44 (κοιμίζειν τοὺς φύλακας), where the speaker wishes to put to sleep the watchmen to enter rooms without being seen.

cally injured, but also robbed of what he was looking after and punished for that. But what has Hecataeus said about that? Admittedly, the sentence lacks something. Despite the opinion of Aelian's latest editors, there are good grounds to believe that the text is here corrupted and that something has been lost in transmission. Especially significant is the awkward sequence of λέγει: reading the text as it is, one has 'Hecataeus says that Amphiarus nearly suffered what he says', which sounds more like a tautology than like a careless and incidental quote.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, it is highly likely that the text is not sound. Textual interventions that have been proposed are not satisfactory: deleting ὀλίγου, for instance, does not offer a better sense. A diagnostic emendation is that by Weil (1878), who writes ὀλίγου παθεῖν ὅσα <τὸν Ῥῆσον Ὀμηρος> λέγει, 'what Homer says that Rhesus (has suffered)'. The story of the Thracian king Rhesus, who was killed in his sleep by the Achaeans during the war at Troy (cf. Hom. *Il.* 10.427-563 and the homonymous Euripidean play), would fit nicely in this context, provided that Hecataeus actually described a failed attempt to murder Amphiarus while asleep. Weil's integration is especially attractive because it gives coherence to the sentence in an economic way and it irons out the problem of the two closely placed λέγει. But theoretically other options built on the same pattern ('those things that x said y has suffered') would stand. To be sure, without knowing what happened to Hecataeus' Amphiarus, it is hard to provide a not entirely speculative supplement.

After a first reading, one could find it difficult to appreciate the overarching coherence of the passage. Aelian firstly mentions the wakeful Indian elephants, secondly Hecataeus and his Amphiarus, in conclusion he goes back again to the elephants and defines them the most trustworthy watchers, but of course after human beings.<sup>10</sup> The piece about Amphiarus is therefore placed between the sentences about the elephants, in what one might call a 'quote sandwich'. At

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**9** If one analyses Aelian's *Zitierweise*, he does not refer to other works in such an elliptical way, unless his laconic manner implies that the reference was well-known to the audience: see NA 2.53, 7.11, and 16.21 with reference to Herodotus; NA 8.3 with regard to Xenophon, and NA 4.4 with regard to Homer. More similar to our case are other two passages. In NA 3.35 Aelian mentions the note emitted by the partridge and writes "what names these notes have, Theophrastus will tell", and in NA 5.13 "what the divine Plato says about the cicadas and their love for songs and music, this one may say about the choir of the bees". The former reference is not to a fully preserved work (fr. 355A FGH&S), while the latter is (*Phdr.* 230 c, 259 b). However, in these cases one has a fully formed allusion to something those writers said, whereas that to Hecataeus is pending and unfinished.

**10** By saying: πιστότατοι τῶν ἐκεῖθι φυλάκων μετὰ γε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰσίν, Aelian means that elephants are the most trustworthy watchers among those available there, but of course after men, since animals need to be instructed before performing any activity. Human beings are still the best watchers, but they can be assisted by immune-to-sleep elephants.

a closer look, one sees that Amphiaraus' story is linked to the first sentence by a *καί* and contrasted with the third one through a *δέ*: this means that the opposition between him and the elephants is effective with regard to keeping one's eyes open during a watch, a fact confirmed by the correct interpretation of *κατακομίσει* in its context.

Aelian did not usually engage with early prose texts, as a survey about the authors he cites shows.<sup>11</sup> On the contrary, in the *NA* one finds a good many quotations from drama, but without doubt the most quoted authorities are Homer, Herodotus, and, needless to say, Aristotle and his *Historia animalium*.<sup>12</sup> However, scholars have demonstrated that Aelian does not quote Aristotle first hand, but second, if not third. His sources are the epitome of the Aristotelian zoological works by Aristophanes of Byzantium, the ornithologist Alexander of Myndos, and possibly, as suggested by Wellmann (1916), Pamphilus of Alexandria, a grammarian follower of Aristarchus, whose work is hugely indebted to Didymus of Alexandria.<sup>13</sup> Didymus indeed was a major source for Roman mythographers, as outlined by Cameron (2004, 47-50). Consequently, even if Aelian was not particularly fond of mythographers, nevertheless his information about Hecataeus might come from Didymus (and more specifically from his *Strange History*), but it is at least fourth-hand.

### 3 Amphiaraus, Hypsipyle, and Opheltes: A Modern Hypothesis

As already said, modern scholars have agonized over the identification of the main plot to which this passage belongs.<sup>14</sup> Only one hypothesis has been formulated, as far as I am aware, by Hecataeus' latest commentator, Fowler (*EGM* II, 410-11) developing a hint provided by Gantz (1993, 512). Namely, Fowler suggests that the Hecataean

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<sup>11</sup> See the table in Prandi 2005, 56-62, which lists all historiographers (and mythographers) quoted by Aelian in the *NA*. Hecataeus is cited twice, here and in 9.23 about the Lernaean Hydra. In this latter passage, Aelian only mentions him without further information. No other references are to be found to Hecataeus' peers, but only to Herodotus. As far as other prose-writers of the archaic/classical age are concerned, Aelian frequently engages with the Presocratics (e.g. Democritus in 5.39, 6.60, 9.64, 12.16-20; Empedocles in 9.64, 12.7, 16.29; Pythagoras in 5.11, 9.10, 17.8).

<sup>12</sup> Scholfield 1959, 3, 441-5 provides a list of all quoted authors in the *NA*.

<sup>13</sup> This conclusion has been suggested by parallel passages (esp. with Athenaeus), in which Pamphilus is mentioned as a source. The most relevant items about Aelian's sources are Wellmann 1891a, 1891b, 1892, 1916, and Keydell 1937. Aelian and Athenaeus probably rely on a common source: see Rudolph 1894.

<sup>14</sup> The interpretation put forward by Parker 2008, 18, which implies that Amphiaraus was actually guarding the Indian king ("Amphiaraus was perhaps part of an aetiological myth about the foundation or civilising of India, inviting comparison with Heracles or Dionysus in that respect"), is groundless. The *comparandus* is endurance to sleep, regardless of whom is looked after.

episode might belong to the Seven's stop at Nemea on their way to Thebes.<sup>15</sup> Here, Amphiaraus asks Hypsipyle, the daughter of the Lemnian Thoas, seized by marauders and sold into slavery to the Nemean priest Lycurgus, to guide him to a spring: the Argives need fresh water to perform a sacrifice for the happy outcome of their expedition. When close to a well, Hypsipyle inadvertently leaves Opheltus, Lycurgus' son and her nursing baby, unattended. This incautious decision will bear dreadful consequences: while the baby is playing on the ground, he is seized and killed by a serpent and Hypsipyle thus confronts the baby's mother, who wants her to pay with her own life. At this point of the story, Amphiaraus decides to intervene in favour of the wet-nurse: with his speech the seer convinces Eurydice that her child's sad fate was an ominous sign for the expedition against Thebes and that funeral games in his honour should be celebrated (the Nemean Games). Opheltus is thus renamed Archemorus ('first to die'). This is how we know the story from the play *Hypsipyle* by Euripides, as reconstructed by scholars on the basis of the lines preserved in *P.Oxy.* VI 852.<sup>16</sup> Hypsipyle's involvement in this episode has often been hailed as Euripides' own invention, since earlier accounts on the origins of the Nemean Games apparently do not mention her as the child's wet-nurse (Simon. PMG 553; Pind. *Nem.* 8.51 and 10.28; Bacchyl. 9.10-17; Aesch. *TrGF* 149a).<sup>17</sup> However, the murder of the child, its interpretation as an omen, and the foundation of the games in his honour are recurring elements since the earliest literary accounts in our possession.<sup>18</sup>

Fowler found it attractive to imagine a different plot than what became the mainstream version of the story, where Amphiaraus plays the part of the negligent babysitter, who fell asleep instead of looking

**15** Amphiaraus is unanimously known as one of the Seven, but the same does not hold true for all his companions: for a complete overview of their names and identities see Cingano 2002.

**16** Other versions of the myth, with minor divergences, are in: Paus. 2.15.2-3; Ps.-Apollod. 3.6.4; Stat. *Theb.* 4.746-850 and 5.499-753; Hyg. *Fab.* 74. On the serpent see Ogden 2013, 54-8.

**17** Since Robert 1909 modern scholars agree on this point. The state of the art is well outlined by Cropp 2003, 133-5, who comes to the conclusion that Hypsipyle's involvement in the Nemean saga was prompted by Athens' interest in connecting places of religious and military importance like Nemea, Oropos, and Lemnos, whereas in the original myth a nurse or the mother of the child was involved. Aeschylus' *Hypsipyle* is sometimes linked to the *Nemea* by the same author (Séchan 1926, 341-2): should this be correct, it would prove wrong the assumption about Euripides. However, the majority of modern scholars find it more likely to place the Aeschylean *Hypsipyle* within the tetralogy dealing with the Argonauts (*Argo - Lemnioi - Cabeiroi*): see Gantz 2007, 65-7.

**18** According to Punzi 1910, even the involvement of Amphiaraus and of the Argive warriors does not belong to the primordial version of the Nemean episode, whose aim is to show how Hypsipyle is rescued by her sons.

after the infant.<sup>19</sup> This reconstruction has been prompted by some remarks offered by Gantz (1993, 511-12), who suggested that the quarrel between Amphiaraus and Lycurgus depicted on an Amyclaeen throne (550-500 BCE) and described by Pausanias (3.18.22) may have involved the child's father, angry at Amphiaraus who was defending the wet-nurse.<sup>20</sup> "If this is the Lycurgus of the *Hypsipyle*", continues Gantz, "he might well blame Amphiaraus for the tragedy and seek vengeance", but yet he is more inclined to believe that this has nothing to do with the Nemean stop because this Lycurgus is Pronax's son, thus the quarrel on the Throne "was somehow a part of the story of the Seven".<sup>21</sup> Gantz also suggests that the bad blood running between Amphiaraus and this Lycurgus might derive from the accident alluded to by Hecataeus. In saying this, however, he maintains that this episode is not linked to the Nemean one, whereas Fowler is the one who makes that step further and connects Hec. fr. 33, Opheltes' death in Nemea, and the scene on the Amyclaeen throne altogether.

Indeed, as intriguing as Fowler's suggestion is, it encounters some objections. For instance, in another passage of the NA (11.14) Aelian tells the story of an Indian elephant named Nicaia, which was instructed to look after her trainer's child. Were this actually the same

<sup>19</sup> In support of Fowler's speculation, one could have quoted Bacchyl. 9.12-15, where at l. 13 the papyrus reads ἀσαγέροντα, second-hand emended in ἀσαργείοντα. Since neither of them yields sense, modern editors usually print Neil's emendation ἄωτεύοντα, based on a Hesychian glossa (α 8996, ἄωτεύειν· ἀπανθίζεσθαι), and in agreement with other accounts where the infant is seized while picking flowers (Eur. *TrGF* 754). However, many commentators, including Maehler, believe the verb to mean 'to sleep' on the basis of few poetic passages from the archaic age (esp. the Homeric ὑπνον ἄωτειν: *Il.* 10.159). This piece of news would agree with Statius' *Thebaid* (5.501-504), where Opheltes plays with the grass, falls asleep on the patch, and is seized by the snake. Should this be the case, it may dovetail with Amphiaraus falling asleep together or after the child. Yet Cairns 1998 has efficaciously defended the first interpretation of ἄωτέω (cf. also Cairns 2010, 250-1). For a thorough overview of all literary sources dealing with Opheltes' death, see Pache 2004, 96-115 (and 115-33 for its presence in ancient art).

<sup>20</sup> The same scene is to be found on a shield-band in Olympia (575-550 BCE): see Brillante 1983, 43, 51.

<sup>21</sup> For Gantz it is unlikely that the Amyclaeen throne describes a fight related to the Nemean fact, since Pausanias (3.18.12) says that this Lycurgus is Pronax's son, while Ps.-Apollod. 1.9.14 says that Opheltes' father is Lycurgus, Pheres' son. Yet, for genealogical reasons, the king of Nemea cannot be the son of the Thessalian Pheres, but has to be the son of the Argive Pronax (Brillante 1983, 44-5). Ps.-Apollod. 1.9.13 acknowledges that Pronax is Adrastus' brother; what is more, Aelian (*VH* 4.5.9) and a Pindaric scholion (hyp. c Pind. *Nem.*) show a different version about the foundation of the Nemean Games: here they are established to celebrate Pronax (Talas' son). This information strengthens the case of Pronax's son being king at Nemea. However, *pace* Brillante (1983, 44, 45 fn. 7, 46) and Simon 1979, 32, this Lycurgus should be also the one featuring the Seven's expedition mentioned by Stesich. fr. 92 D.-F. Finally, it is worth recalling that, according to Menaichmus (*FGrHist* 131 F 10), Amphiaraus overthrew Pronax in Argos: this might be another reason to explain the bad blood running between the two (Bethe 1891, 50).

situation as that alluded to in fr. 33, where Amphiaraus was not a skilled babysitter as the Indian elephant, perhaps Aelian would have quoted Hecataeus' story here, for the parallel is more cogent. But the greatest hurdle to this hypothesis lies in connecting Hecataeus' fr. 33 with the scene of the throne and others depicting Amphiaraus' quarrel with Lycurgus.<sup>22</sup> Regardless of the specifics of such a fight, the sleepy φυλακή is better referable to other contexts (e.g. military scenes or religious watches). Having Amphiaraus as a negligent babysitter would mean to imagine a completely different Nemean plot, where the watch over the infant is long and can lead him to sleep, whereas the nurse leaves Opheltes alone nearby to the well for a very short time. What is more, there were no manifest and pending threats to the infant that would justify such a guard.<sup>23</sup> To put it succinctly: if the scene of the Amyclean throne actually portrays Lycurgus avenging Opheltes' death, his anger towards Amphiaraus is probably not caused by him being the infant's watcher, but by his involvement in the story – he distracts Hypsipyle from her duties.

#### 4 A Warrior and a Seer: A Fresh Interpretation

It is therefore crucial to survey which context(s) might have hosted this kind of narrative, in the light of Amphiaraus' reputation as a warrior and a seer (ἀμφοτέρων μάντιν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρὶ μάρνασθα: *Thebais* PEG F 10; Pind. *Ol.* 6.16-17; cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 568-569).

The first option that crosses one's mind is that of military services and nightly watches, which dovetails nicely with Amphiaraus' reputation as a warrior and with his alleged mistake. In the *Iliad's* tenth book, for instance, one sees both the Greeks and the Trojans testing their men's resistance to sleep at night and trying to enter the rival camp to kidnap prisoners and to catch important hints about the enemies' next moves (*Il.* 10.96-301). After Odysseus and Diomedes kidnap the Trojan spy Dolon, thanks to the prisoner's information they kill the Thracian king Rhesus while he is sleeping and steal his beautiful horses. Presumably, when Weil integrated the text so as to allude to Rhesus' death, he believed Amphiaraus' episode to take place

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**22** Not to be confused with the bad blood running between Amphiaraus and Tydaeus (cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 377-383) – Gantz admits that having Tydaeus would make interpretation easier, but Pausanias' words are incontrovertible.

**23** Of course, one can act as someone's guardian in dangerous situations: see, for example, Hdt. 1.41, where Adrastus the Phrygian looks after Croesus' son (φυλάκα παιδός) during a hunt, since a dream alarmed him. Aelian uses φυλακή for animals watching their offspring to keep them safe from predators (*NA* 1.16 and 12.14) or for a dog guarding his owner's corpse (*NA* 7.10).

within a military setting.<sup>24</sup> If Amphiarus' involvement in the expedition of the Seven is decidedly the most famous military event of his life, it is difficult to envisage when exactly to place his sleepy guard, for one has no information about a nightly episode which could match this one. Another good starting point could be Amphiarus' purported participation in the Argonaut's journey in search of the Golden Fleece, which Hecataeus treated in the *Genealogies'* first book (frr. 17-18).<sup>25</sup> The variety of adventures within the Argonautic saga would have easily accommodated such an episode, even if one struggles in venturing who or what exactly Amphiarus was supposed to watch at night.<sup>26</sup>

But Amphiarus was not only a warrior, but also a seer, and in Greek literature one finds a peculiar initiation into prophetic art, which involved a sleepy and negligent watch at night. This passage comes from Herodotus, an author whose debt to Hecataeus has been mentioned in the opening paragraph, and it is the most stringent parallel passage available. It is worth citing it in its entirety (Hdt. 9.93.1-3, p. 827 Wilson):

Ἔστι ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ ταύτη ἱρὰ Ἡλίου πρόβατα, τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκειται παρὰ \*\*\* ποταμὸν, ὃς ἐκ Λάκμονος ὄρεος ῥέει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης χώρας ἐς θάλασσαν παρ' Ὠρικὸν λιμένα, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀραιρημένοι ἄνδρες οἱ πλοῦτῳ τε καὶ γένεϊ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀστῶν, οὗτοι φυλάσσουσι ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστος· περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ διή ποιεῦνται Ἀπολλωνιῆται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινός· ἐν δὲ ἄντρῳ αὐλίζονται ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἑκάς. (2) Ἔνθα δὲ τότε ὁ Εὐήνιος οὗτος ἀραιρημένος ἐφύλασσε. καὶ κοτε αὐτοῦ κατακοιμίσαντος τὴν φυλακὴν παρελθόντες λύκοι ἐς τὸ ἄντρον διέφθειραν τῶν προβάτων ὡς ἐξήκοντα. Ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐπήισε, εἶχε σιγῇ καὶ ἔφραζε οὐδενί, ἐν νόφ ἔχων ἀντικαταστήσειν ἄλλα πριάμενος. (3) Καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθε τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιῆτας ταῦτα γινόμενα, ἀλλὰ κως ἐπύθοντο, ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον κατέκριναν, ὡς τὴν φυλακὴν κατακοιμίσαντα, τῆς ὄψιος στερηθῆναι.

In Apollonia there is a flock of sheep sacred to the Sun, which by day graze along the river flowing from Mount Lacmon through the region of Apollonia towards the sea by the harbour at Oricus, and which by night the most illustrious man of the city selected for wealth and nobility guard, each one for a year: for the Apollonians

<sup>24</sup> The most significant analogy between Amphiarus' and Rhesus' stories is their ultimate destiny after death, namely the gift of immortality and of prophetic art that they practice being concealed in under-earth chambers: see Ustinova 2009, 105; Liapis 2009, 283; Fries 2014, 468.

<sup>25</sup> Amphiarus was an Argonaut in Ps.-Apollod. 1.9.16.

<sup>26</sup> Less likely is the option of the Calydonian boar hunt (Paus. 8.45. 6; Ps.-Apollod. 1.8.2; Ov. *Met.* 8.317).



hold in high esteem such sheep in consequence of an oracle. The herd is penned up in a cave far from the city. So once this Evenius after being chosen was the guardian: and one night when he fell asleep during the watch, some wolves coming into the cave killed about sixty of the sheep. As soon as he woke up, he kept silence and did not tell anybody, planning to substitute them buying others. However, the fact did not escape the Apolloniaties' notice, but they were somehow informed, they arraigned him before a court and sentenced him to be deprived of eyesight for sleeping away his watch.

Herodotus goes on telling that the city of Apollonia was afflicted by a calamity: their flocks neither bore any young nor the land any crop. Oracles predicted that that happened as a consequence of the unjust blinding of Evenius, for the gods had sent the wolves and arranged the slaying of the sacred flock and were now avenging its unfairly blinded guardian. The Apolloniaties therefore needed to offer Evenius reparation for what they did and, quite predictably, after he got the two finest estates in Apollonia, the gods gave him the gift of prophecy. The same pattern of compensation is in the famous story of Tiresias, who lost his outer sight and was then gifted with second sight. However, in this latter case the seer-to-be is blinded by the gods because he saw something he was not allowed to see, whereas Evenius is blinded by the humans because they thought he did not see what he should have.<sup>27</sup>

This passage comes soon after the mention of Deiphonus, Evenius' son and a seer himself, who performed the sacrifice on behalf of the Greek army before the battle at Mycale: at this point Herodotus offers a digression explaining the origins of that mantic family based in Apollonia.<sup>28</sup> Given the evident parallel with what one reads about Amphiaraus' fault and its consequences, it might be tempting to infer that this story as well has to do with his acquisition of mantic skills.<sup>29</sup> This deduction is also consistent with what one knows about Amphiaraus' initiation to the art. Despite being a descendant of

<sup>27</sup> This point is made by Grottanelli 2003, 210, who offers a thorough reading of the passage in the light of male initiation rituals. Other useful analyses are by Griffiths 1999 and Vignolo Munson 2001, 70-3. For Evenius' and Tiresias' stories and the parallelism between them see Flower 2008, 37.

<sup>28</sup> On Deiphonus' actual paternity there were doubts, to which Herodotus alludes (9.95): claiming to be Evenius' descendant would have enhanced his credibility as a seer. See Flower 2008, 45 and Grottanelli 1994, 85-6 for an ingenious interpretation of Deiphonus' name, which would testify to his being Evenius' son (δηρῶ + φόνος, 'slay' and 'slaughter').

<sup>29</sup> Despite all modern commentators mention Hdt. 9.93.1 for the phrase κατακομίσει τὴν φυλακὴν and its intransitive employment, surprisingly no one has ever compared the two texts. Fowler (*EGM* II, 421), however, wonders whether the passage in Hecataeus has something to do with Amphiaraus' initiatory sleep in Paus. 2.13.7.

Melampus, the founder of the Argive seers' lineage, he acquired his skills when he was a grown-up. Pausanias (2.13.7) describes the circumstance whence Amphiaraus acquired his second sight: he slept in the so-called seers' house in Phlius, where he had his first vision. Before that time, people of Phlius say, he was an ordinary citizen and not a seer.

Pausanias' piece about Amphiaraus is in line with a standard foundation account about a line of diviners, which is usually called incubation.<sup>30</sup> For example, the famous narrative about Epimenides of Crete, "the prophet about the past" (Arist. *Rh.* 1418a21), and his fifty-seven-year long sleep (Diog. Laert. 1.109) presents both an incubation and the action of tending sheep. By contrast, Evenius' story in Herodotus falls short of the standard requirements to be labelled as an incubation story proper: his sleep is in the first instance an unfortunate accident. He did not have any vision or dream which initiated him to the mantic craft, but that was only an expedient, to which he did not oppose any resistance (indeed Evenius' name means 'docile'). In other cases, the divine gift is a fair return for an arguably unjust treatment: Archilochus in the Mnesiepes inscription (*SEG* 15.517 = T 4 Tarditi), for instance, is involved in a similar narrative. To be sure, the sleep originates the series of events ultimately leading to Evenius' new life as a seer and as the initiator of the prestigious mantic tradition in Illyria. Also the location in a cave, where the flock was penned up, recalls the setting of oracles in underground settings.<sup>31</sup>

Thus the Herodotean text about Evenius opens up the possibility that in Hecataeus Amphiaraus might have been involved in something similar at the very beginning of his career as a prophet. The mysterious object to guard therefore might be a cattle.<sup>32</sup> As far as Evenius' punishment and loss of eyesight are concerned, Amphiaraus might have run a similar risk (he *nearly* suffered). Of course, Amphiaraus could not have been blinded, since he was going to take part to the war at Thebes. As a consequence, he could have not received his prophetic gift as a compensation for an unjust treatment and Hecataeus says that he did not suffer. This is a substantial difference with Evenius' initiation: the parallelism works inasmuch as they sleep while guarding sheep. Perhaps, during his sleepy watch Amphiaraus

<sup>30</sup> For Greek incubation, see discussion in von Ehrenheim 2015 with further literature. Pausanias (1.34.4) believed Amphiaraus' oracle to be mainly a dream-oracle.

<sup>31</sup> See, for instance, Trophonius' oracle at Lebedea, in Boeotia, which Pausanias (9.39) thoroughly describes, or Amphiaraus' one in Oropus since Hdt. 8.134 (cf. also 1.46 and 52). On this subject, see Ustinova 2009, 89-109.

<sup>32</sup> This would come as no surprise, for Greek *manteis* have often something to do with a flock. For instance, Melampus had to steal Phylacus' cattle in order to win Pero's hand for his brother Bias. Similar stories are those of Odysseus and the Cattle of the Sun and of Heracles and Geryon's flock. Significantly enough, all of them are placed in the most remote regions of the world (Reggiani 2011, 128-9).

received his gift, as it is in Pausanias and as required by the incubation ritual, similarly to what happened to Epimenides of Crete. Then Amphiaraus may have escaped his punishment precisely because he became a seer and thus a venerable citizen.

## 5 By Way of Conclusion

As detailed in paragraph 3, referring the Hecataean episode to Seven's stop at Nemea is not a fully convincing option. Given the paucity of elements provided by Aelian, the textual corruption, and the cover text's overall level of trustworthiness, one can also, and legitimately, doubt that this piece has anything to do with Hecataeus in the first place. The parallel passage provided by Herodotus, a writer who was surely familiar with Hecataeus, has shown how sleepy watches can be linked to a seer's initiation to the mantic art. At the current state of our knowledge on the subject, this seems to be the most likely interpretation.

Yet it is difficult to say a final word and many doubts still affect this passage, and potentially a good many quotations of now lost prose texts. Is the expression κατακομίσαι τὴν φυλακὴν to ascribe to Hecataeus? Or are these Aelian's own words? Can someone go as far as to claim that this is a case of intertextuality between Hecataeus and Herodotus? Or should one detect Aelian's intervention behind this lexical parallel? Aelian was much more familiar with Herodotus than with Hecataeus, so this latter option cannot be ruled out. However, when he quotes Herodotus, he seems to handle carefully his text, for his quotations do not twist the contents and he sometimes also preserve the original words.<sup>33</sup>

Aelian's quote of Hecataeus is perhaps destined to remain opaque. As recalled in the opening paragraph, during the process of textual transmission from antiquity to us, Hecataeus' text has met an ironic fate. Whereas his aim was that of posing order among a bewildering variety of stories, he ended up providing later readers with eccentric mythical accounts. In the teeth of the literary agenda emerging from fr. 1, his stories are to later readers' eyes not truer than those of his peers: they are in some cases less well-known or they even faded into complete oblivion, as it is the case of fr. 33.

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**33** See the cases of the longest quotations, like NA 6.60 and Hdt. 1.216; NA 10.3 and Hdt. 3.103; NA 10.4 and Hdt 3.113; NA 17.36 and Hdt 7.125. Despite the opinion of Macan quoted by Scholfield 1959, xx fn. 1 ("the items in Aelian show little or no sign of Herodotean colouring and are plainly drawn from independent sources"), it is evident that Aelian quotes Herodotus but does not consistently cite him word-by-word. It is by all means possible that he quotes him via intermediary sources; nonetheless quotations look quite accurate.

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# Perieci di Cirene

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**Abstract** In this paper, I discuss the profile and social position of the *perioikoi* in archaic Cyrene. The analysis of the occurrences and the use of this term in the Herodotean work suggests that, in general, the definition of *perioikoi* describes territorial proximity and binding relationship. Then, I will dwell on the reform of Demonax and in particular on the first of the *moirai* where the *perioikoi* are associated with the ancient founders. I, therefore, reflect on the nature and implications of this relationship, with particular attention both to the social structure of the city and to the specificities of its agricultural production. So I propose that the *perioikoi* of Cyrene are those groups of Greeks of minor status settled in the territory and closely linked to the landed aristocracy.

**Keywords** Herodotus. Cyrene. Moirai. Perioikoi. Aristocracy.

**Sommario** 1 Introduzione. – 2 La riforma di Demonatte. – 3 Il lessico. – 4 Il corpo sociale di Cirene. – 5 Perieci e Terei. – 6 Il controllo della terra. – 7 I perieci.

## 1 Introduzione

Molto noto è il passo del IV libro in cui Erodoto descrive la riforma del corpo civico di Cirene da parte di Demonatte di Mantinea, chiamato nella colonia su consiglio della Pizia intorno alla metà del VI secolo:

καὶ οἱ Μαντινέες ἔδοσαν ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Δημῶναξ. Οὗτος ὢν ὠνήρ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην καὶ μαθὼν ἕκαστα τοῦτο μὲν τριφύλους ἐποίησέ σφεας, τῆδε διαθείς· Θηραίων μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῶν περιόικων μίαν μοῖραν ἐποίησε, ἄλλην δὲ Πελοποννησίων καὶ Κρητῶν, τρίτην δὲ νησιωτέων πάντων· τοῦτο δὲ,



Edizioni  
Ca' Foscari

**Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4**

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

**Peer review | Open access**

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/023

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τῷ βασιλεῖ Βάττω τεμένεα ἐξελών καὶ ἱερωσύνας, τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ πρῶτον εἶχον οἱ βασιλῆες ἐς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἔθηκε.<sup>1</sup>

Si tratta di un luogo classico nella riflessione sulle trasformazioni che investono la città dell'arcaismo maturo e sui dispositivi di cui essa si dota per interpretare e regolare il dinamismo politico e sociale: l'azione del saggio riformatore chiamato da lontano, la nuova articolazione del corpo civico, l'equilibrio tra elementi conservativi (nel caso di Cirene la regalità battiade) e spunti progressivi, l'uso dell'espressione ἐς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἔθηκε. Moltissimi, dunque, sono gli spunti condensati in queste poche righe che ci portano nel vivo della storia di Cirene, a noi nota in modo insolitamente dettagliato proprio grazie al lungo racconto dello storico. In questo contributo intendo soffermarmi su un aspetto specifico, ovvero sulla composizione della prima delle tre *moirai* istituite da Demonatte e in particolare sui perieci, sulla cui identità la critica discute da tempo.<sup>2</sup> Pur consapevole che non vi sono a oggi elementi decisivi a favore di nessuna delle proposte avanzate, ritengo che uno sguardo complessivo sia al testo erodoteo che alle dinamiche interne alla città possa comunque contribuire a meglio inquadrare questo tema.

## 2 La riforma di Demonatte

Le tre *moirai* sono definite da Demonatte sulla base della provenienza geografica: Terei, Peloponnesiaci e Cretesi, abitanti delle isole. La scelta di questo criterio di ripartizione del corpo civico è già di per sé un elemento del più grande interesse e rimanda al carattere intimamente processuale di quella che chiamiamo colonizzazione, che deve essere letta e interpretata anche nel suo farsi successivo al pun-

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A Willy Cingano con cui condivido gli studi su Cirene, il Becco di Mezzodì e, in anni recenti, un corridoio.

**1** Hdt. 4.161.2-3: «Quelli di Mantinea dettero un uomo che godeva moltissimo credito fra i cittadini e il cui nome era Demonatte. Costui, giunto a Cirene e appresa ogni cosa, li divise in tre tribù, distribuendoli nel modo seguente: formò una parte di Terei e perieci, un'altra di Peloponnesiaci e Cretesi, una terza di tutti gli abitanti delle isole; e inoltre, riservati per il re Batto zone sacre e sacerdoti, tutto ciò che prima era dei re lo mise in comune per il popolo», da leggere con il commento di Corcella 1993, *ad loc.*, che sintetizza tutte le questioni rilevanti con opportuni rimandi sia alle fonti antiche che alla bibliografia di riferimento. Per inquadrare la storia della città fino alla fine della monarchia battiade ancora fondamentale è lo studio di Chamoux 1953. Le altre frammentarie tradizioni (Aristotele, Ermippo, Diodoro) relative alla figura di Demonatte e alla sua azione in Cirenaica sono oggetto della serrata analisi di Cohen-Skalli 2014, che rimane comunque molto cauta sull'identificazione dei perieci.

**2** Le diverse opinioni in merito al profilo etnico e sociale di questi *perioikoi* erodotei sono ben sintetizzate da Struffolino 2016-17, 129-30.



tuale atto fondativo su cui tende invece a concentrarsi la tradizione antica.<sup>3</sup> Stando ad Erodoto, anche la storia di Cirene è infatti caratterizzata da un'intrinseca instabilità che segna già il momento che precede l'individuazione, la scelta e lo stanziamento nel sito definitivo, e poi l'assetto delle prime generazioni di coloni. Sono, anzi, proprio i progressivi arrivi di nuovi gruppi a disegnare quelle plurime superfici di tensione sia all'interno del corpo sociale sia nel rapporto con gli indigeni che costringono al ricorso al *katartister* di Mantinea secondo le indicazioni ricevute dalla Pizia. Se dunque l'enfasi sull'origine delle diverse componenti è del tutto comprensibile nel quadro complessivo della storia della città, suona ancora più problematica la menzione dei perieci, a meno che, come si è proposto,<sup>4</sup> anche per essi non si debba pensare a una condizione preesistente all'insediamento in Cirenaica. Si tratterebbe cioè di perieci di Tera partecipi della prima fase coloniale, o di perieci della Laconia presenti in Libia perché al seguito degli Spartani (inquadri peraltro in altra *moira*). Si comprende bene come su questa discussione pesi in modo più o meno esplicito il confronto interpretativo e storico con l'articolazione sociale di Sparta e con i perieci della Laconia, la cui natura è oggetto di una mai sopita discussione.<sup>5</sup> Questa analogia sembra acquisire plausibilità sulla base sia del permanere in entrambe le città (Sparta e Cirene) di una *politeia* a vertice regale, sia dei rapporti di filiazione più o meno diretta della *apoikia* da Sparta, come ribadito in più luoghi della tradizione antica: in questo caso, dunque, quello spartano sarebbe da considerare come rimando storicamente attivo su cui si sarebbe in qualche modo esemplata anche l'articolazione politica e sociale della città libica.

Anche in virtù di questo richiamo, in tutte le interpretazioni avanzate quella tra Terei e perieci è sempre considerata come relazione intrinsecamente funzionale, in cui questi ultimi sono considerati di volta in volta discendenti, come detto, da perieci di Tera o di Sparta, Greci residenti in comunità rurali periferiche, contadini dipendenti esclusi dal corpo civico o, di converso, indigeni in qualche modo assorbiti nella comunità. Tanta varietà mostra una intrinseca opacità che in mancanza di documentazione istituzionale coeva e contestuale difficilmente potrà essere superata: ciascuna ipotesi è in certa misura plausibile perché ciascuna si innesta su qualche frammento della storia di Cirene o su qualche troncone del suo corpo sociale, i cui contorni comples-

**3** L'aspetto processuale della 'colonizzazione' è messo in rilievo e discusso in maniera molto chiara da Lombardo 2009 e da Lombardo 2016, in part. 262-63; cf. anche De Vido 2019.

**4** Jeffery 1961 pensa, ad esempio, trattarsi di discendenti dei perieci di Tera.

**5** Per un utile quadro generale si vedano Shipley 2006 e Lupi 2017, 79-83. Perieci sono peraltro noti anche in molte altre realtà del mondo greco: per un regesto complesso ancora utilissimo Larsen 1937.

sivi rimangono però sfuggenti. Si aggiunga che, per quanto riusciamo a ricostruire, il tentativo di Demonatte rimase isolato e non seppe condurre né a una stabile concordia né alla pace sociale. Morto il re Batto, anzi, ricominciò per Cirene un aspro conflitto interno provocato da Arcesilao che pretendeva il ripristino delle prerogative regali. Delle tre *moirai* e dell'assetto voluto da Demonatte non si fa più menzione, e l'esito violento del ritorno a Cirene del *basileus* fa ritenere molto probabile la ricostituzione del quadro anteriore alla riforma.<sup>6</sup> Delle tre *moirai*, inoltre, non sembra rimanere traccia nemmeno all'indomani della caduta della monarchia alla metà del V secolo.

Eppure, il contenuto della riforma e soprattutto la composizione eccentrica del primo dei tre gruppi merita comunque un supplemento di attenzione, al di là dell'effettiva operatività istituzionale della divisione del corpo civico promossa da Demonatte. Riprendiamo il tema a partire dal testo storiografico e dagli usi lessicali di Erodoto, con un'attenzione costante anche per il contenuto memoriale e informativo della sua narrazione: solo a partire da uno sguardo da lontano potremo tornare al dettato della riforma così come riportato dallo storico, nell'ipotesi che anche le definizioni da lui utilizzate rispondano non solo alle logiche ricostruttive e analogiche interne all'inchiesta, ma anche a una rappresentazione plausibile della situazione cirenaica di età monarchica.

### 3 Il lessico

Per l'aspetto squisitamente lessicale, possiamo avvalerci dei risultati di uno studio recente di G.J. Basile, che muove dal condivisibile presupposto dell'opportunità di un'analisi preliminare dell'intero testo erodoteo per arrivare alla corretta valutazione di uno specifico uso all'interno di un determinato contesto.<sup>7</sup> Alla luce di un'ampia casistica e di un'analisi serrata dell'ampio comparto delle espressioni che in Erodoto indicano relazioni di prossimità spaziale tra comunità, popoli e città, Basile approda al regesto dettagliato di tutti i composti di *oikeo*, che indicano un campo linguistico omogeneo perché determinato da una comune origine etimologica, indicando «un mayor peso semántico al espacio (real o simbólico) que opera como punto de refe-

<sup>6</sup> Hdt. 4.164.1-2: Ὅ δὲ παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου κατήλθε ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην καὶ ἐπικρατήσας τῶν πρηγμάτων τοῦ μανθίου οὐκ ἐμέμνητο, ἀλλὰ δίκας τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας αἶτεε τῆς ἐωυτοῦ φυγῆς. Τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπαλλάσσοντο, τοὺς δὲ τινὰς χειρῶσάμενος ὁ Ἄρκεσίλειος ἐς Κύπρον ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ διαφθορῇ.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Basile 2014 che censisce l'uso di tutti i composti di *oikeo* in tutte le *Storie* di Erodoto con specifica attenzione per gli aspetti linguistici e concettuali. Naturalmente lo studio di riferimento per questi temi rimane quello di Casevitz 1985, in part. 111-211.

renza de la relación adverbial establecida con el segundo término».<sup>8</sup> Un posto di rilievo hanno proprio *perioikos*, *perioikeo* e *perioikis*, le cui occorrenze ricorrono in tutte le *Storie*: l'analisi dei contesti consente di escludere per *perioikos* quel colore tecnico in senso giuridico rilevabile solo nella letteratura posteriore, ma sovente erroneamente attribuito già ad Erodoto nella bibliografia moderna. Ciò nonostante, il termine conosce all'interno dell'opera un uso sostanzialmente coerente che risponde non a un contenuto formalmente riconoscibile o stabilito a livello istituzionale, ma piuttosto alla sensibilità descrittiva dello storico che con esso designa «algún tipo de proximidad de orden territorial o geográfico en relación con otra entidad, espacial o no, que oficia de centro o punto de referencia».<sup>9</sup> *Perioikos*, insomma, indica chi abita in uno spazio ritenuto periferico rispetto a qualcosa che è invece considerato centrale dal punto di vista territoriale o simbolico e che è ad esso vincolato da qualche tipo di legame.

Sono considerazioni molto importanti anche dal nostro punto di vista, e già di per sé consigliano di evitare sia un'analogia formale con la situazione spartana o terea, sia l'interpretazione immediatamente 'genetica' del ruolo dei perieci in terra cirenaica. Il loro ruolo e la loro funzione vanno cercati nel contesto storico in cui quella definizione acquista un concreto e riconoscibile senso spaziale.

Del resto, nelle occorrenze della seconda parte del IV libro si coglie una particolare insistenza sulle diverse modalità di stanziamento degli abitanti (Greci o indigeni) di questa regione. Tale attenzione è ben ravvisabile sia, come ovvio, nei complessi racconti di fondazione, dove l'individuazione o il riconoscimento del luogo fisico adatto all'*apoikia* rappresenta un tratto distintivo della tradizione memoriale elaborata nella comunità cirenaica,<sup>10</sup> sia nella lunga sezione che riguarda lo stanziamento nel territorio delle popolazioni libiche, dove la geografia è strettamente funzionale alla descrizione etnografica, scandita secondo una sorta di catalogazione in fasce geo-climatiche, che si accompagna all'individuazione di alcuni luoghi (la palude Tritonide, ad esempio) che fungono da discriminare tra diverse tipologie di *ethne*. In casi come questo la dimensione spaziale dell'indagine assume anche un alto valore metaforico, e mostra come le strategie narrative siano volte anche a disegnare o a determinare gerarchie di ordine politico, sociale e culturale, sulla base, ad esempio, dell'opposizione tra centro e margini o tra esercizio ed esclusione dal po-

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<sup>8</sup> Basile 2014, 78.

<sup>9</sup> Così Basile 2014, 71.

<sup>10</sup> Per questi temi, con una sottolineatura speciale del ruolo giocato dalla sanzione e dal sapere delfico così importante per la Cirene tardo arcaica e classica, non posso che rimandare ai fondamentali studi di Giangiulio 2001b; 2010a; 2010b; 2011.

tere.<sup>11</sup> Lo spazio è allora la superficie su cui si proietta la piramide sociale e in cui è possibile riconoscere concrete forme di dipendenza: così guardata, la descrizione geografica acquista pregnanza storica, e diventa mappa delle aree di stanziamento dei diversi gruppi umani ma anche dei rapporti di forza e delle trasformazioni che essi mettono in atto proprio a partire e in ragione degli spazi che essi abitano e condividono.

#### 4 Il corpo sociale di Cirene

Ma lo spazio svolge una funzione importante anche nella sezione più squisitamente storica del *logos* libico, compresa tra la fondazione e la drammatica crisi con cui si conclude il libro. Anche in questa parte, infatti, l'uso ripetuto di *oikeo* e dei suoi composti segnala l'attenzione di Erodoto per lo spessore sociale delle molte varianti dell'abitare sperimentate a Cirene: dopo la scelta del luogo, sancito dall'esortazione dei Libi (4.158.3: «Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐνθαῦτα ὑμῖν ἐπιτήδεον οἰκέειν· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρητα»), sotto i primi due re gli abitanti «rimasero lì quanti erano stati all'inizio al momento in cui fu inviata la colonia» (4.159.1: οἴκεον οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἐόντες τοσοῦτοι ὅσοι ἀρχὴν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἐστάλησαν). Con Batto, il terzo re, «un vaticinio della Pizia spinse tutti i Greci a mettersi in mare per abitare la Libia insieme agli abitanti di Cirene» (4.159.2: Ἕλληνας πάντας ὥρμησε χρῆσασα ἡ Πυθίη πλέειν συνοικήσοντας Κυρηναῖοισι Λιβύην), e all'arrivo di questa moltitudine i Libi perieci e il loro re cercarono aiuto nel re d'Egitto (4.159.4: οἱ περίοικοι Λίβυες καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἄδικράν). Con Arcesilao figlio di Batto si ebbe quindi la fondazione di Barce ad opera dei fratelli in disaccordo con lui (4.160.1: οὗτοι [...] οἴχοντο ἐς ἄλλον χώρον τῆς Λιβύης καὶ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν βαλόμενοι ἔκτισαν πόλιν ταύτην ἢ τότε καὶ νῦν Βάρκη καλεῖται);<sup>12</sup> la situazione peggiorò tanto da costringere i Cirenei sotto il regno del terzo Batto a ricorrere alla mediazione di Demonatte, ma, come visto, gli effetti della riforma non furono duraturi, visto che il successivo re pretese la restituzione dei privilegi e si accanì contro i nemici.<sup>13</sup> Alla stabile linearità della discendenza regale, dunque, fa eco una accentuata instabilità di un corpo civico che è sottoposto a continui smottamenti e a iterate ridefinizioni sia per la forte conflittualità interna determinata in parte dai nuovi arrivi (di cui sono manifesti indicatori la fondazione di Barce e l'allontanamento dei nemici di Arcesilao), sia per le

<sup>11</sup> Serghidou 2015, 97-8.

<sup>12</sup> Sul rapporto tra Cirene e le altre *poleis* della Cirenaica si veda Giangiulio 2010c.

<sup>13</sup> Hdt. 4.162.2: Ἀρκεσίλωος γὰρ ὁ Βάττου τε τοῦ Χωλοῦ καὶ Φερετίμης οὐκ ἔφη ἀνέξεσθαι κατὰ [τὰ] ὁ Μαντινεὺς Δημῶναξ ἔταξε, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτειε τὰ τῶν προγόνων γέρεα.

tensioni con le tribù locali, che in più di un'occasione prendono l'aspetto di veri e propri scontri militari. La storia di Cirene come raccontata da Erodoto è dunque la storia di una comunità mobile che nonostante la *politeia* monarchica non riesce a trovare né certezza civico-istituzionale né armonia sociale, e che è dunque molto diversa da quella Sparta che anche Erodoto contribuisce a rappresentare come solidissima, coesa e intimamente conservativa.

L'appropriazione e il controllo dello spazio sono un ingrediente essenziale nella definizione e nell'evoluzione del corpo sociale cirenaiico, tanto più variegato quanto numerose furono le occasioni di pressione o di scollamento sociale tra gli attori di volta in volta chiamati in causa.<sup>14</sup> primi 'coloni', nuovi arrivati, Greci che abitano in città, Greci che vivono nel territorio, insediamenti secondari, tribù libiche. È in tal senso particolarmente significativo il duplice riferimento a un *ges anadamos*, una prima volta indicato come opportunità offerta a tutti i Greci invitati a Cirene sotto Batto II;<sup>15</sup> e poi fatto balenare come possibilità da Arcesilao III a quanti lo sostenevano a Samo prima del rientro in patria.<sup>16</sup> Che questa promessa muova da soggetti diversi e che nel secondo caso sia agitata da un re che vuole riappropriarsi dei suoi privilegi è solo in apparenza un paradosso. Come è stato ben dimostrato, la redistribuzione della terra non è di per sé né necessariamente un provvedimento 'democratico', quanto un dispositivo che cerca di ripristinare la stabilità di una comunità quando minacciata da situazioni di conflitto reale o potenziale.<sup>17</sup> Per certi versi, la redistribuzione promessa dal re può suonare come corrispettivo in termini proprietari di quello che Demonatte aveva inutilmente tentato sul piano sociale e istituzionale: essa pretende anzi di rappresentare un elemento 'progressivo' rispetto all'assetto sancito dal riformatore che non riguardando la terra aveva mantenuto forti elementi di disegualianza tra le componenti del corpo civico anche in termini proprietari. Di qui l'efficacia dello slogan in bocca al *basileus*, che sposta il fuoco della sua azione politica dal piano formale e istituzionale, che aveva visto indebolirsi la monarchia, a quello proprietario, che invece gli consentiva di colpire direttamente i gruppi aristocratici avversi ai Battadi.<sup>18</sup>

**14** Questi aspetti sono sottolineati per tutti i contesti coloniali da Lombardo 2004 e, con riferimento a Cirene, da Giangiulio 2010c.

**15** Hdt. 4.159.2-3: 'Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου, Βάττου τοῦ Εὐδαίμονος καλεομένου, Ἕλληνας πάντας ὄρμησε χρήσασα ἢ Πυθίη πλέειν συνοικήσοντας Κυρηναίοισι Λιβύην· ἔπεκαλέοντο γὰρ οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῶ· ἔχρησε δὲ ὧδε ἔχοντα· «Ὅς δέ κεν ἔς Λιβύην πολυήρατον ὕστερον ἔλθῃ | γὰς ἀναδαιομένας, μετὰ οἱ ποκά φαμι μελήσειν».

**16** Hdt. 4.163.1: 'Ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔων ἐν Σάμῳ συνήγειρε πάντα ἄνδρα ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῶ.

**17** Così, persuasivamente, Cecchet 2009.

**18** Cecchet 2009, sottolineando come fossero i Terei ricchi (perché proprietari) gli intermediari avversari di Arcesilao, ritiene che la promessa da lui agitata avesse mera funzio-

La natura intrinsecamente 'antimonarchica' della riforma di Demonatte, dunque, non significa necessariamente un'intenzione egualitaria, peraltro forse ancora anacronistica in questa fase dell'arcaismo maturo: il bellissimo gesto del porre in mezzo, che più volte ricorre nelle *Storie* di Erodoto, va letto piuttosto in senso 'geometrico', in linea con la necessità di conferire adeguata formalizzazione a una gerarchia sociale che viene sancita, ma non scompagnata nei suoi fondamenti.<sup>19</sup> L'enfasi sull'elemento geografico e la posizione prima e isolata dei Terei potrebbero persino suggerire una sorta di gerarchia discendente tra le tre *moirai*, come se da modalità e protagonisti delle fasi iniziali potesse esser scaturito anche un criterio ordinatore nella piramide sociale.<sup>20</sup>

In ogni caso, l'elemento innovativo della riforma di Demonatte va individuato non solo nel tentativo di revoca dell'autocrazia monarchica, ma anche e soprattutto nell'intento di includere gruppi che erano rimasti di incerto statuto dal punto di vista sia civico istituzionale, sia proprietario,<sup>21</sup> e di conferire riconoscibilità alle più cospicue componenti del corpo sociale di Cirene che si erano aggiunte al primo gruppo di abitanti, ma che non erano state ancora compiutamente integrate nella pienezza della cittadinanza e nelle prerogative che essa assicurava.<sup>22</sup>

## 5 Perieci e Terei

Una volta ricondotti i perieci della riforma alla specificità del contesto cirenaico, si pone il problema della loro possibile identificazione con i *περίοικοι Λίβυες* ricordati a proposito della distribu-

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ne retorica; in ogni caso proprio la reazione del re dimostra come con la riforma la posizione dei Terei si fosse rafforzata (in questa direzione va ad esempio Mitchell 2000, 88).

**19** Per un inquadramento della riforma di Demonatte con una convincente proposta interpretativa cf. già Hölkeskamp 1993; il nesso tra proprietà fondiaria e assetto sociale nella Cirene arcaica è ben sottolineato anche da Jähne 1988.

**20** Non possiamo escludere che a Cirene vivessero anche gruppi più piccoli o singoli individui per cui comunque si sarà trovata una qualche sistemazione stabile in uno dei gruppi maggiori, al fine di contenere per quanto possibile quella strutturale debolezza che proprio la riforma doveva correggere.

**21** Può essere utile recuperare a questo proposito un'osservazione di Figueira 2005, 51-2 a proposito dell'uso del termine *moira* nelle tradizioni sulla assetto proprietario di Sparta: «*Moira* is not used to denote a Spartiate farm, but had an operative or procedural connotation [...] *moira* was then 'apportionment'»; quanto qui interessa è infatti proprio l'aspetto 'operativo' che sembra potersi applicare alla terra come al corpo civico, due dimensioni connesse e fortemente interrelate.

**22** Proprio questi due elementi sono ben sottolineati da Crisculo 2001, che, però, anche sulla base di Arist. *Pol.* 1319 b 19, prosegue in una direzione diversa da quella qui intrapresa, nel senso cioè di una sostanziale omogeneità tra l'azione di Demonatte e quella di Clistene ad Atene, con le tre *moirai* che vengono mescolate nelle tre tribù.

zione di terra promessa ai Greci e della conseguente reazione dei Libi: Συλλεχθέντος δὲ ὀμίλου πολλοῦ ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην περιταμόμενοι γῆν πολλὴν οἱ περίοικοι Λίβυες καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν τῷ οὐνόμα ἦν Ἄδικράν, οἷα τῆς τε χώρας στερισκόμενοι καὶ περιυβριζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων, πέμψαντες ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀπρίη τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῖ.<sup>23</sup> In questo passo περίοικοι ha un evidente valore topografico,<sup>24</sup> ma la differenza tra questa e la menzione nel passo relativo alla riforma non ritengo vada ascritta a una diversa concettualizzazione (da topografica a protoconcettuale)<sup>25</sup> dello stesso gruppo sociale o etnico quanto, più sostanzialmente, a una differenza dei soggetti cui il termine si riferisce. I primi sono indigeni comandati da un re che entrano in conflitto aperto con gli abitanti di Cirene, gli altri - a solo una generazione di distanza - possono invece far parte integrante della nuova organizzazione civica e condividere per questo quanto viene 'deposto nel centro' per la partecipazione comune. Per questa ragione, in considerazione cioè di questa integrazione collettiva nel corpo civico riformato, mi sembra assai più probabile si tratti non di Greci, ma di Libi.

Resta da chiarire, però, che rapporto essi intrattenessero con i Terei della prima *moira*: Θηραίων μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῶν περιόικων μίαν μοῖραν ἐποίησε. Il dettato non è ininfluente: la formulazione suggerisce l'intrinseca unità di due elementi che non possono essere separati, e che - tutti e due insieme - costituiscono invece una parte sola (μίαν μοῖραν ἐποίησε). L'elemento caratterizzante della *moira*, insomma, sta nell'unità del dittico, da interpretare non già come relazione banalmente parattatica, ma come prossimità spaziale in qualche modo vincolata da un legame se non da una vera e propria gerarchia: se così, solo l'inquadramento dei Terei può indirizzare alla corretta comprensione di ruolo e funzione dei perieci.

In essi vanno certamente riconosciuti i discendenti dai primi coloni, la cui primogenitura è da leggersi non soltanto come elemento tradizionale o culturale, ma anche quale fondamento di una prelazione sociale.<sup>26</sup> Tale privilegio ha un peso particolarmente rilevante in quelle situazioni, in cui, come a Cirene, i nuovi insediamenti erano sottoposti alla continua pressione di nuove compagini, cui ov-

**23** Hdt. 4.159.4.

**24** Come evidenziato da Basile 2014, 83 questo valore è del tutto in linea con altri luoghi delle *Storie*, in cui viene descritta la situazione (geografica e sociale) in cui si viene a trovare la popolazione locale in occasione di insediamenti coloniali.

**25** Così Basile 2014, 78: «Dicho de otro modo, períoikos, retomado de manera absoluta, dentro de un contexto que presupone un marco legislativo o jurídico, parece haber adquirido una dimensión (proto)-conceptual, en tanto término específico en una acepción de tipo jurídica, que trasciende el uso predominantemente topográfico hasta aquí registrado».

**26** Per l'eccellenza sociale dei primi coloni rimando a De Vido 2018.

viamente andava assicurata una porzione di territorio, più o meno grande o più o meno fertile. Il dato della provenienza dei gruppi che vanno a comporsi nelle *moirai* non è da leggere dunque solo in orizzontale, ovvero come mera indicazione geografica, ma anche come proiezione di una piramide sociale che viene continuamente ribadita e al cui apice stanno comunque i Terei,<sup>27</sup> che in tutta la storia della città si promuovono come gruppo sociale separato e privilegiato.<sup>28</sup>

Questa eccellenza sociale non poteva che concretizzarsi in termini di possesso terriero ed è dunque proprio lì che va cercato anche il senso della relazione con i perieci, che già nel loro nome indicano una funzione di per sé legata all'insediamento nel territorio. La critica ha già postulato un rapporto subordinato dei perieci, ma il quadro complessivo fin qui delineato consente, a mio parere, di delimitare meglio il terreno entro cui formulare ipotesi plausibili. Il carattere civico e formale della riforma e il suo incardinamento nella situazione creatasi in Cirenaica suggeriscono di escludere, come già detto, due diversi ordini di ipotesi, sia quelle che postulano che lo statuto periecio sia una qualche eredità o relitto di situazioni preesistenti nella madrepatria (a Tera o, persino, a Sparta), sia quelle che ritengono si tratti di indigeni che vengono inclusi a qualche titolo nel corpo civico. In queste ricostruzioni viene implicitamente enfatizzato il contesto coloniale con la specificità di dinamiche che si creano o per duplicazione con la madrepatria o per le interazioni con soggetti di origine non greca.

Vale la pena invece collocare la relazione tra Terei e perieci nelle dinamiche sociali proprie dell'arcaismo greco, solo per verificarne successivamente l'eventuale peculiarità in questo contesto. Giova ricorrere alla nozione di statuto, da intendersi come insieme di diritti e di obblighi che consentono di individuare e di definire gruppi non sul piano giuridico/formale, ma su quello di una consolidata e condivisa sanzione sociale;<sup>29</sup> tale nozione si sposa con un'idea di-

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**27** L'arrivo di nuovi coloni è un fattore di per sé di instabilità, soprattutto se essi sono di provenienza diversa rispetto a quella dei primi insediati: tuttavia, come emerge bene da uno studio di Moggi 2012 su un passo aristotelico (*Pol.* 5.1301 a 19-25), nella *stasis* la disomogeneità 'etnica' è un fattore superficiale rispetto a cause più strutturali che riguardano piuttosto gli aspetti politici ed economico-sociali. Anche nel caso di Cirene, dunque, il criterio di classificazione geografica può avere un effetto operativo solo nella misura in cui su di esso si innesta un effettivo assetto di ordine politico e sociale.

**28** Si veda naturalmente il cd. 'Giuramento dei Fondatori' (*SEG IX, 3*) con la sintesi di Boffa 2017. Come efficacemente dimostrato da Criscuolo 2001, il senso di questo documento con la particolare enfasi sui Terei meglio si comprende se letto insieme al Diagramma di Tolomeo sulla cittadinanza, di cui esso condivide contesto e finalità.

**29** Ho trovato molto utili su questo punto le considerazioni di Zurbach 2013 (in part. 984) che si pone su una linea di studi molto radicata, ma recentemente messa in discussione (cf. ad esempio Davies 2017) con considerazioni che meriterebbero però ulteriori approfondimenti soprattutto quando applicate all'arcaismo greco.



namica della società, dove il processo di articolazione sociale comporta l'esistenza di durature situazioni intermedie tra uno statuto e l'altro (tra liberi e schiavi; o tra cittadini e non cittadini; o tra proprietari e dipendenti), che pur non sempre facilmente leggibili costituiscono elementi essenziali di dinamismo e fluidità. Quantomeno per l'età arcaica, inoltre, lo statuto dei diversi gruppi sociali, ovvero l'insieme dei diritti e dei doveri che li definisce, è certamente da collegare alla proprietà e alla gestione della terra. La nozione di statuto mi pare sia particolarmente adatta anche per i nostri perieci, e anche se rimane difficile individuarne positivamente e dunque non solo per analogia origine, profilo e competenze funzionali, ritengo che i loro diritti e i loro obblighi siano da leggere all'interno di un quadro generale che contempla forme di incompiutezza civica che di per sé non precludono l'inserimento nel corpo civico.<sup>30</sup> La formulazione della prima *moira* può dunque acquistare spessore, ipotizzando che essa comprenda cittadini (Terei e perieci) di statuto diverso, legati però da un rapporto preesistente, ma così funzionale da rimanere intatto anche all'atto della riforma di Demonatte e, anzi, da essa fatto emergere nella sua necessità.

## 6 Il controllo della terra

Se i Terei sono i primi a essersi insediati, se essi godono di uno statuto privilegiato e se esso, come in ogni comunità arcaica, si concretizza nel possesso della terra, il ruolo dei perieci andrà dunque cercato nella funzione che essi hanno svolto nell'acquisizione e nel mantenimento di tale privilegio in termini sia di controllo del territorio sia di adeguato sfruttamento delle risorse che esso poteva garantire. Risposte più certe potrebbero venire solo da una conoscenza dettagliata dell'organizzazione del territorio in Cirenaica, la cui particolare morfologia consentiva, come sottolinea già Erodoto, non solo una produttività eccezionale in termini quantitativi, ma anche la precocità della maturazione dei cereali, che per questa ragione erano i primi a circolare sul mercato mediterraneo.<sup>31</sup> A ciò si aggiunga che, come noto, la Cirenaica era nota nell'antichità per il silfio, pianta spontanea che grazie alle particolari condizioni climatiche abbon-

<sup>30</sup> L'idea di una cittadinanza potenziale o incompiuta non piace a Bravo 1988 che rimane vicino a un modello generale di tipo spartano; utili spunti per provare a superare l'opposizione canonica e rigida tra cittadini e non cittadini vengono invece da Gallo 2004, 223-4.

<sup>31</sup> Questa ipotesi di Laronde 1996 i cui studi sono fondamentali per lo studio dell'organizzazione del territorio cirenaico con particolare riguardo per l'età ellenistica, ma con considerazioni generali che valgono anche per i secoli precedenti; cf. anche Laronde 1987, in part. 257-323.

dava sugli altipiani: le proprietà e gli usi in ambito culinario e nella farmacopea la resero molto ricercata e preziosa, e per questo probabilmente oggetto di monopolio, almeno nell'età regale.<sup>32</sup> Il silfio non impegnava in una vera e propria coltivazione, ma in procedure di raccolta che interessavano in momenti diversi dell'anno e con tecniche differenti tutte le parti della pianta (stelo, fiori, radice e soprattutto la linfa), sottoposte poi a conservazione e trasporto fino ai mercati litoranei. Anche nel caso di Cirene, dunque, è opportuno meglio articolare l'immagine tradizionale che sulla base delle fonti antiche ricostruisce il paesaggio agricolo delle città coloniali secondo uno schema astratto, che colloca un po' meccanicamente le terre migliori per quantità e qualità nelle aree più prossime al centro urbano, ipotizzando così che gli appezzamenti peggiori destinati ai nuovi arrivati fossero nelle aree periferiche. Questa immagine risponde a una ricostruzione teorica che rispecchia più le esigenze geometriche di un'utopia cittadina che la concretezza di realtà assai più complesse, in cui qualità e grandezza dei lotti non sono sempre né necessariamente funzione della vicinanza alla *polis*. Al contrario, le più recenti riflessioni sulla *chora* coloniale hanno mostrato con molta chiarezza come anche quella del paesaggio produttivo sia una costruzione progressiva, dove la scelta delle aree dove definire e mettere a coltura i *kleroi* deve tener conto di una serie di variabili, come la qualità del terreno in termini produttivi, la possibilità di integrare le coltivazioni di cereali (o di viti e di ulivi) con colture più specializzate o attività complementari, l'interazione con allevamento e forme (stagionali) di nomadismo, la presenza di una rete viaria, la prossimità ad approdi fluviali o portuali, la sicurezza e la difendibilità.<sup>33</sup> A queste esigenze devono rispondere anche gli appezzamenti più grandi e più fertili (quelli di proprietà dell'aristocrazia) che in Libia, date le condizioni di eccezionale fertilità, dovevano poter essere autonome rispetto alla città e contare sulla presenza nella *chora* di strutture più o meno stabili che assicurassero quantomeno stoccaggio e sicurezza dei raccolti. Tanto più che, soprattutto nelle aree più periferiche, potevano verificarsi situazioni di concorrenza con le attività pastorali e il passaggio di greggi consone al nomadismo delle tribù indigene. Potrebbero rispondere a queste molteplici esigenze quelle strutture quadrangolari in pietra individuate in alcune aree della *chora* di Cirene, che datate all'età ellenistica potrebbero comunque essere indizio di una più antica modalità di stanziamento rurale. Una testimo-

**32** Per il silfio cirenaico, riprodotto anche sulle monete della città, mi limito a rimandare ad Amigues 2004.

**33** Per una riflessione generale sul paesaggio coloniale sono fondamentali gli studi di Greco 2001 e Lombardo 2001, nonché, con la giusta valorizzazione dell'*eschatia* come elemento di complessità produttiva e sociale, Giangiulio 2001a.

nianza molto interessante viene di nuovo dal testo di Erodoto, lì dove è narrata la vendetta di Arcesilao sui nemici politici: 'Ἐτέρους δέ τινας τῶν Κυρηναίων ἐς πύργον μέγαν Ἀγλωμάχου καταφυγόντας ἰδιωτικὸν ὕλην περιήσας ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐνέπρησε.<sup>34</sup> Il fatto che si trattasse di una torre privata e il carattere stesso dell'incendio provocato intenzionalmente con cataste di legna fanno ritenere che si trattasse di una torre ben distinta dalle fortificazioni cittadine e ubicata piuttosto in una zona extraurbana. La dinamica complessiva di questo delicato momento politico consente di ipotizzare che il proprietario di questa torre appartenesse proprio a quella aristocrazia antimonarchica che aveva tratto vantaggio dalla riforma di Demonatte e che si opponeva al ripristino delle prerogative regali. È possibile che la torre dove egli si rifugia e muore insieme a molti altri fosse funzionale proprio alle attività produttive che si svolgevano nelle sue terre, e che altre simili insistessero sul territorio cirenaico, proprietà dell'*élite* della città.

## 7 I perieci

È proprio questa aristocrazia che ci consente, io credo, di meglio collocare la posizione e il ruolo dei perieci sia nella storia di Cirene, o quantomeno nel momento della riforma di Demonatte, sia nella ricostruzione che di questa riforma ci consegna lo storico. Le domande su qualità e matrice delle informazioni di Erodoto si inseriscono in una riflessione più generale sulle dinamiche che riguardano la costruzione della tradizione nonché sulla densità memoriale delle *Storie*, che ha trovato proprio nel caso di Cirene una magnifica palestra.<sup>35</sup> Nell'approfondimento sui vettori della tradizione che approda alla pagina erodotea, si sono giustamente colti i segnali non solo della stratificazione memoriale, ma anche del quadro culturale entro cui quella tradizione respira, si modella e continuamente si riassetta, anche in virtù di una sorta di osmosi legittimante con l'autorità delifica. La voce della comunità che filtra a noi attraverso Erodoto presuppone la caduta dei Battiadi e sottrae le memorie cirenaiche all'autorità regale riconsegnandole a una comunità forse ancora incerta dal punto di vista istituzionale, ma capace di una rapida ricomposizione. Il giusto superamento della ricerca meccanica delle fonti dello storico o della nozione di 'tradizione locale' non esime dal chiederci, però,

**34** Hdt. 4.164.2 con il commento di Corcella 1993, *ad loc.*; è proprio in ragione di questo passo, tra l'altro, che le strutture rurali individuate sul terreno sono definite *pyrgoi* nella letteratura archeologica.

**35** Mi riferisco ai molti lavori di M. Giangiulio su questo tema all'interno della più generale riflessione sulla 'Intentional History': cf. in particolare Giangiulio 2010a; 2010b; 2011.

quali potessero essere protagonisti, luoghi e occasioni della costruzione di questa rinnovata identità comunitaria, e soprattutto quale fosse lo sfondo sociale in cui essi si attivavano, diventando visibili all'occhio di Erodoto. Credo che un ruolo importante fosse ancora quello dei gruppi di aristocratici che almeno in parte si erano opposti ai Battiadi e che di alcuni snodi nella storia della città conservavano memoria puntuale e sicura competenza, soprattutto lì dove essa conservava intatto il proprio potenziale in termini di dinamica e strutturazione sociale. Sulla storia politica di Cirene, insomma, Erodoto sembra poter contare su un bagaglio di notizie che gli suonano affidabili, che sono certamente ben radicate nel contesto locale e che vanno ascritte alla porosità della superficie sociale sottoposta all'inchiesta dello storico. Non credo sia un caso, ad esempio, che solo a proposito di Cirene egli parli di *ges anadamos*, esperienza (fattuale o propagandata) che accompagnò molte altre esperienze politiche di età arcaica, ma che non emerge in alcun altro passaggio erodoteo sulla storia di altre comunità greche. Altrettanta competenza e specificità si coglie nel dettato della riforma di Demonatte, da ascrivere non all'invenzione erodotea, né a quei processi analogici che pure sostengono alcuni aspetti della sua opera, ma a una tradizione attenta a riportarne correttamente i dettagli, con particolare attenzione per composizione e criteri ordinatori della divisione del corpo civico. Nel contesto cirenaico con cui Erodoto viene a contatto, insomma, aveva probabilmente ancora un senso importante sottolineare la specificità della prima *moira* di Demonatte, che nella peculiarità del suo contenuto sociale e relazionale poteva indicare realtà ancora ben riconoscibili.

In mancanza di altra documentazione è certamente legittimo chiedersi se il termine *perioikos* utilizzato da Erodoto rispecchi una definizione nota a Cirene o se risponda piuttosto al suo personale uso linguistico; in questa sede, però, è più importante concludere sottolineando come con tale definizione, originale o meno che fosse, lo storico intende cogliere e descrivere una gamma di caratteristiche del tutto congruenti non solo con il suo lessico, ma anche con la realtà sociale che gli veniva descritta e che aveva negli aristocratici di origine terea un sicuro referente. La definizione di 'perieci' indica prossimità territoriale e relazione vincolante con un elemento riconosciuto centrale; nei perieci di Cirene possiamo forse riconoscere quei gruppi di Greci di statuto minore che, insediati nel territorio, sono strettamente legati alla aristocrazia terriera e proprio in virtù di questo vincolo vengono integrati nel corpo civico della città riformata.

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ΦΑΙΔΙΜΟΣ ΕΚΤΩΡ

Studi in onore di Willy Cingano per il suo 70° compleanno

a cura di Enrico Emanuele Prodi e Stefano Vecchiato

# Una storia della musica e della lirica greca dalle origini al IV secolo a.C. nel *De musica* attribuito a Plutarco

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**Abstract** Ps. Plutarch's *De musica* is an important source for reconstructing the history of ancient Greek music and lyric poetry. It is sharply divided into two parts: the first one is the history of music and lyric poetry, from their mythical origins to the 4th century BC; the second one is about the ethical and social function of musical education. The discussion of the first part is about the metrical and rhythmical structure of the pre-Homeric citharodic epic compared to verses of Stesichorus and Terpander; *kitharōidikoi* and *aulōidikoi nomoi*, Phrygian origin of *aulōidia*, musical schools in Sparta in relation to the definition of the poetic genre. Heraclides of Pontus provides the material for Chapters 3-12 (the main exception being Chapter 11, which is explicitly credited to Aristoxenus). He indicates the *Anagraphe en Sikyoni* as his source about Amphion and the origin of *kitharōidia*. But the history of *aulōidia* is attributed to a different writer, Glaucus of Rhegium, who lived in the fifth century and is the earliest musical historian.

**Keywords** Ps. Plutarch's *De musica*. Heraclides of Pontus. Glaucus of Rhegium. *Kitharōidia*. *Aulōidia*.

**Sommario** 1 Il dialogo simposiale. – 2 Occasione e personaggi del simposio narrato nel *De musica*. – 3 Struttura e temi. – 4 Il discorso di Lisia: una storia della musica e della poesia lirica dalle origini al IV secolo a.C.



Edizioni  
Ca' Foscari

**Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4**

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

**Peer review | Open access**

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/024

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## 1 Il dialogo simposiale

Il *De musica* appartiene al genere della letteratura simposiaca, che registra cioè le conversazioni che si sono tenute nei simposi. Un genere che ebbe grande fortuna nella letteratura greca e anche in quella latina: basterà ricordare il *Simposio* di Platone, il *Simposio* di Senofonte, le *Questioni conviviali* e il *Banchetto dei Sette Sapianti* di Plutarco, il *Simposio o i Lapiti* di Luciano, i *Deipnosofisti* di Ateneo, i *Saturnali* di Macrobio.<sup>1</sup>

Il simposio (*sympósion*) fu un'istituzione profondamente radicata nella cultura greca fin dall'età arcaica. Era il momento della consumazione rituale del vino, che generalmente avveniva dopo la condivisione del pasto serale (*deipnon*), da parte di gruppi legati da vincoli di amicizia, da ideali politici, da omogeneità culturale.<sup>2</sup> Luogo di fruizione della poesia monodica, il simposio divenne anche lo scenario privilegiato per tante discussioni colte relative alla filosofia, alla filologia, alla retorica, all'erudizione storica. Sappiamo, per es., che le occasioni conviviali furono importanti momenti di conversazione tra Socrate e i suoi allievi.<sup>3</sup> Aristotele attribuisce l'invenzione del dialogo filosofico scritto a un tale Alessameno di Stira o di Teo;<sup>4</sup> Diogene Laerzio a Zenone di Elea e a Protagora riconducendo a quest'ultimo l'avvio del τὸ Σωκρατικὸν εἶδος τῶν λόγων,<sup>5</sup> ma il genere letterario 'simposio' nasce quando Platone «fa entrare Socrate e Aristodemo nella sala di Agatone, all'indomani della vittoria lenaica dell'ospite. Come un autore di teatro, egli allinea grandi personaggi, ne costruisce i ruoli e li mette in tensione, fra discorso e ascolto. Non inventa il simposio intellettuale, che può essere antico almeno quanto i filosofi ionici, bensì la 'drammaturgia' del simposio intellettuale».<sup>6</sup> Negli stessi anni, tra 385 e 375 a.C., anche Senofonte decide di rappresentare Socrate a simposio, nel giorno in cui Callia festeggia il suo *eromenos* Autolico vincitore nel pancrazio. «Senofonte sembra così entrare in gara con Platone, quasi secondo lo schema agonale tipico dei concorsi tragici e comici».<sup>7</sup> Su questo modello si sviluppano le opere

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Affettuosi auguri a Willy Cingano, collega e amico di giovinezza, che vivamente mi esortò a intraprendere lo studio del *De musica*.

**1** Sulla storia del genere simposiaco, vedi Martin 1931; Dupont 1977; Relihan 1992.

**2** Molto vasta è la bibliografia a riguardo: tra gli altri si segnalano Vetta 1983; Lis-sarague 1987; Murray 1990; sulla pratica dei banchetti pubblici nella città Schmitt-Pantel 1992.

**3** Vedi Rossetti 1976.

**4** Arist. fr. 72 Rose.

**5** Diog. Laert. 3.48 = 29 A 14 D.-K.; 9.53 = 80 A 1 D.-K.

**6** Vetta 2000, 220.

**7** Vetta 2000, *loc. cit.*



simposiali di filosofi platonici, come Speusippo, e di filosofi peripatetici, come Aristotele e Aristosseno. Accanto alla forma costruita da Platone, in cui il simposio rappresenta il contesto ben connotato di una serie di discorsi contrapposti su un unico tema filosofico, nacque anche un'altra struttura narrativa, organizzata come un'enciclopedia discorsiva di cui il simposio è cornice. In una delle più ampie e famose opere della letteratura simposiaca, le *Questioni conviviali*, Plutarco mette in scena conversazioni colte, utilizzando la cornice simposiale senza tratteggiarla di necessità nei dettagli e talora passandola addirittura sotto silenzio. In ciascuno di questi simposi (dieci per ogni libro) è riunito, per una circostanza specifica a Roma o in Grecia, un gruppo di amici e di parenti, che discutono su una o più questioni inerenti a temi antiquari, eruditi, filosofici, etici, scientifici, ecc. Le conversazioni tra invitati assumono talora la forma di dissertazioni troppo erudite per poter essere considerate come una registrazione realistica di sequenze a 'botta e risposta'. Si dovranno piuttosto intendere come descrizioni fittizie o ricostruzioni a posteriori di conversazioni tenute in simposi più o meno reali. Ma l'opera di Plutarco testimonia nondimeno che, nel II secolo d.C., i simposi erano ancora il luogo di discussioni colte tra invitati eruditi e tra loro affiatati, dove la parola, ma anche il canto e la musica, circolano tra i invitati come le coppe di vino; dove «la *paideia* si condivide e si degusta all'interno di una cerchia di affinità affettive e intellettuali».<sup>8</sup>

Il dialogo simposiale *Deipnosofisti* di Ateneo da una parte si iscrive nella tradizione letteraria, raccontando la riunione dei sapienti a un amico che non vi aveva partecipato, secondo il modello del *Simposio* platonico; dall'altra presenta un elemento di originalità, mettendo al centro della trattazione il banchetto stesso e fornendo informazioni sui piatti, sugli oggetti e sui rituali della convivialità. Si tratta di un banchetto prolungato per parecchi giorni cui partecipano ben 29 invitati, tutti dotti in svariate discipline: giuristi, medici, filosofi, poeti, grammatici, riuniti a Roma nella casa del ricco patrono Larense. Il titolo *Deipnosofisti* mette l'accento sul tempo del pasto (*deîpnon*), piuttosto che sulla successiva consumazione del vino. Ma le conversazioni accompagnano e commentano sia la sfilata delle prelibate pietanze, sia la consumazione del vino e i giochi che tradizionalmente si tenevano durante il simposio. Il testo intrattiene un rapporto di corrispondenza con lo svolgersi del banchetto-simposio. Banchetto e simposio sono il centro nodale del dialogo di Ateneo e ne determinano anche la struttura; gli argomenti di discussione ven-

<sup>8</sup> Jacob 2001, xxii. Questo saggio, oltre ad essere un'introduzione ai *Deipnosofisti* di Ateneo, è una bella trattazione sull'arte della convivialità e sulla letteratura simposiale di età romana.

gono cioè fuori dalle conversazioni stesse dei convitati sul convito.<sup>9</sup> Numerosi e differenti, anche qui, i temi che vengono affrontati: letteratura, medicina, botanica, erudizione storica, lessicografia, musica, ecc. È stato proposto un suggestivo confronto tra il circolo culturale protetto da Larense e il Museo di Alessandria, una comunità intellettuale che prendeva i pasti in comune, dedicandosi agli studi e condividendo una ricca biblioteca. Nel testo di Ateneo l'erudizione alessandrina, le sue opere, i lessici sono ben presenti e la preoccupazione dei dotti raccolti intorno a Larense è la stessa degli eruditi alessandrini, cioè quella di consegnare alla memoria l'immenso patrimonio culturale e letterario della Grecia classica.<sup>10</sup>

Questa istanza a raccogliere e tramandare il patrimonio della cultura antica è ben presente anche nel *De musica*. Nel panorama dei dialoghi simposiali, esso rientra nel genere del dialogo raccontato, come il *Simposio* di Platone e le *Questioni conviviali* di Plutarco. In questo caso la voce narrante o *persona loquens* si presenta come l'autore stesso dell'opera, il quale sostiene di aver partecipato personalmente all'evento simposiale e di volerne fare il resoconto.

Il titolo tradizionale Περὶ μουσικῆς latinizzato dagli editori moderni in *De musica*, sintetizza l'argomento imposto dal simposiarca ai commensali: la 'musica' intesa alla maniera greca (e poi anche romana) di sinolo di parola, melodia e danza. Nell'elaborazione teorica dei filosofi (Platone, *Repubblica*; Aristotele, *Politica*, ecc.) e nella prassi educativa, essa fu sentita come lo strumento paideutico primario insieme allo studio dei migliori poeti. Questo aspetto viene trattato direttamente a partire dal cap. 32, benché in realtà l'idea pervada l'intero trattato. Ma ad esso la fama deriva dal fatto di essere una fonte preziosa per la conoscenza della musica e della lirica greca arcaica delle quali disegna una storia sintetica, ma densa, avvalendosi delle testimonianze di autori più antichi molto autorevoli, come Eraclide Pontico e Aristosseno.

## 2 Occasione e personaggi del simposio narrato nel *De musica*

Il simposio descritto nel *De musica* si svolge nel secondo giorno delle feste di Crono, cioè il 18 dicembre. Per celebrare la ricorrenza un nobile signore, di nome Onesicrate, invita a casa sua per il simposio un gruppo di amici accomunati dalla passione per la musica.<sup>11</sup> Un personaggio con questo nome si ritrova anche nelle *Quaestiones convivales* (5.678c) di Plutarco: è un medico di Cheronea che, per festeggiare il

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Jacob 2001, xv.

<sup>10</sup> Vedi le riflessioni di Jacob 2001, xxviii-xxxiii.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. cap. 2.1131c.

ritorno di Plutarco da Alessandria, organizza in suo onore un banchetto con un piccolo numero di convitati legati a lui da uno stretto rapporto di amicizia. È verisimile che l'autore del *De musica* si riferisca a quello stesso personaggio e che il banchetto descritto nel trattato sia ambientato nella sua casa di Cheronea.<sup>12</sup> Oltre a Onesicrate, intervengono nel dialogo solo due altri personaggi: un musicista di nome Lisia, di professione citarodo,<sup>13</sup> e un filosofo-teorico della musica di nome Soterico; ma sono presenti anche altri convitati cui Onesicrate fa riferimento con il nome di ἑταῖροι.<sup>14</sup>

### 3 Struttura e temi

Il *De musica* non è organizzato sotto forma di dialogo a voci molteplici. È costituito essenzialmente da due lunghi monologhi, quello di Lisia che occupa i capp. 3-13 e quello di Soterico che occupa i capp. 14-42, mai interrotti dagli altri convitati. Prima del discorso di Lisia e dopo quello di Soterico interviene Onesicrate, padrone di casa e simposiarca, rispettivamente per dare il via e per chiudere la discussione. Qua e là, negli snodi del simposio, interviene la voce narrante dell'autore con la funzione di collegare fra loro gli interventi dei tre protagonisti.

Nel Prologo l'autore elogia l'amore per la cultura di Onesicrate (che definisce ὁ ἐμὸς διδάσκαλος, 'il mio maestro') e sottolinea il valore fondante dell'educazione (παιδεία), intesa non solo come tecnica educativa del fanciullo ma, in senso generale e universale, come il risultato finale del tirocinio educativo nelle arti liberali, cioè come la cultura *tout court*, ritenuta essenza della felicità e fonte della saggezza (cap. 1.1131bc).

Compiute le cerimonie di rito, Onesicrate, come argomento da discutere durante il simposio, propone la musica, μουσική, l'arte delle Muse. È ritenuta di importanza primaria perché gli uomini solo attraverso di essa entrano in contatto con gli dei, per mezzo degli inni innalzati in loro onore. Onesicrate detta ai musicologi presenti (μουσικῆς θιασῶται) i punti salienti da trattare: πρώτοι εὐρεταί, i primi inventori; προσεξευρέσεις, le successive acquisizioni in campo musicale; μουσικὴ ἐπιστήμη, la scienza musicale; μουσικὴ παιδεία, l'educazione musicale (cap. 2.1131e). Questi temi saranno effettivamente trattati dai due esperti, seppure non sempre secondo l'ordine qui indicato, ma intersecati talora l'uno con l'altro.

<sup>12</sup> Vedi Gostoli 2018, 136.

<sup>13</sup> Che Lisia sia citarodo di professione, verrà specificato solo al cap. 43.1146d (p. 36, 28 Ziegler).

<sup>14</sup> Cap. 2.1131e.

Nel cap. 43 riprende la parola Onesicrate, che dopo aver lodato i discorsi di Lisia e di Soterico, si sofferma sull'utilità della musica nel simposio. Infine la voce narrante racconta i riti che chiudono il simposio (cap. 44).

#### 4 Il discorso di Lisia: una storia della musica e della poesia lirica dalle origini al IV secolo a.C.

Lisia affronta il primo dei temi proposti da Onesicrate, quello dei *πρῶτοι εὑρεταί*, 'i primi inventori'. Come prima cosa menziona quattro categorie di studiosi che prima di lui si sono occupati della storia della musica e della sua utilità in una città ben governata: la maggior parte dei filosofi platonici, i migliori tra gli eruditi peripatetici, i più insigni tra i grammatici e tra gli studiosi di armonia.<sup>15</sup> Con questo riferimento, si vuole certamente creare un link con i più illustri predecessori relativamente allo stesso tema di discussione, ma forse si intende anche anticipare le fonti della esposizione che seguirà.<sup>16</sup> In effetti la trattazione inizia riportando il contenuto della *Συναγωγὴ τῶν ἐν μουσικῇ ἐυδοκιμησάντων* di Eraclide Pontico, allievo di Platone e di Aristotele tra i più illustri.<sup>17</sup> Dai frammenti pervenuti, possiamo dedurre che fosse la storia della musica e della poesia lirica dalle origini al IV secolo a.C.<sup>18</sup> Come era usuale nelle ricostruzioni storiche, Eraclide prende inizio dall'origine divina dell'arte di cui vuole tracciare la storia. Racconta che Anfione imparò a suonare la cetra e a comporre un testo poetico destinato al canto citarodico sotto l'insegnamento del padre Zeus. L'invenzione della citarodia è dunque attribuita al famoso musicista tebano, figlio di Zeus e di Antiope. Secondo il mito, dopo essersi assicurati il possesso di Tebe, uccidendo il re Lico (già marito della loro madre Antiope), Anfione e suo fratello Zeto vollero fortificarla con le mura. Mentre Zeto trasportava le pietre sulla schiena, Anfione con il magico suono della sua lira riusciva a trascinare i massi, che da soli si disponevano a formare un muro perfetto.<sup>19</sup>

Nella ricostruzione di Eraclide due aspetti sono rilevanti: il fatto che la prima ad essere stata inventata sia la musica della cetra, e poi che il suo inventore sia Anfione, tebano, diversamente da quello che si dirà nel cap. 5, dove, sulla scorta di Glauco di Reggio, la più antica forma musicale è l'auletica e solo dopo di essa fu inventata la citaro-

<sup>15</sup> Cap. 3.1131ef.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Bartol 2013, 404-5.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. cap. 3.1131f (p. 3, 1).

<sup>18</sup> Vedi fr. 157-163 Wehrli; Gottschalk 1980, 133-7.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. cap. 3.1131f-1132a (p. 3, 2-5).

dia ad opera di Orfeo, di origine tracia.<sup>20</sup> Per Eraclide invece la citarodia non è solo la forma più antica, ma è anche la sola veramente ellenica. La fonte a sua volta espressamente citata da Eraclide Pontico è l'*Epigrafe di Sicione*, un'iscrizione ora perduta, che si pensa dovesse essere una lista di poeti e musicisti conservata in uno dei numerosi templi di Sicione.<sup>21</sup> Da essa Eraclide Pontico, dopo la menzione di Anfione, traeva una sequenza di poeti e di musicisti che non definirei 'mitici', ma piuttosto 'leggendari' (Lino, Tamiri, Filammone) specificando ora i generi poetici da essi coltivati (*threnoi* e inni) ora gli argomenti stessi delle loro composizioni (poemi sulle Muse, nascita di Apollo e di Artemide, guerra dei Titani contro gli Dei). Sorprenderà i lettori moderni (ma non avrà sorpreso gli antichi) che nell'elenco dei citarodi di età eroica siano compresi anche Demodoco e Femio, i due aedi personaggi dell'*Odissea*. Essi vengono interpretati come cantori realmente esistiti che avrebbero composto l'uno *La distruzione di Troia* e *Le nozze di Afrodite e di Efesto*, l'altro *Il ritorno da Troia dei compagni di Agamennone*. In effetti nell'*Odissea* sono i temi trattati da Demodoco durante le esibizioni nell'isola dei Feaci, rispettivamente alla corte di Alcinoo e sulla pubblica piazza; da Femio a Itaca, alla corte di Odisseo. La dizione e la struttura metrica di questi poemi vengono paragonate a quelle di Stesicoro e degli altri poeti arcaici che componevano versi epici rivestiti di melodie: οὐ λελυμένην δ' εἶναι τῶν προειρημένων τὴν τῶν ποιημάτων λέξιν καὶ μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσαν, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ <τὴν> Στησιχόρου τε καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων μελοποιῶν, οἱ ποιοῦντες ἔπη τούτοις μέλη περιετίθεισαν.<sup>22</sup>

È stato merito di Bruno Gentili aver compreso che la pagina di Eraclide Pontico, nel rapporto che istituisce tra *epos* antico e lirica epica stesicorea, ha valore di testimonianza storica sia sul piano dei contenuti eroici sia su quello della struttura e dei metri del canto. Eraclide afferma che le composizioni degli antichi citarodi non facevano uso di ritmi 'liberi', privi di 'misura regolare', ma di strutture strofiche identiche a quelle di Stesicoro. Lo deduce certamente dal fatto che nell'*Odissea* il canto di Demodoco è accompagnato da un coro danzante, un tipo di *performance* che presuppone l'articolazione strofica del canto.<sup>23</sup> In questa prospettiva Bruno Gentili ha anche preso in esame gli otto tipi di formula individuati da Milman Parry che stanno alla base del tessuto formulare dei poemi omerici. Gli schemi metrici nei quali si sono cristallizzate le antiche formule dell'*epos* sono gli stessi che troviamo nei frammenti lirici di Ste-

<sup>20</sup> Cf. cap. 5.1132f (p. 5, 9).

<sup>21</sup> Sull'*Epigrafe di Sicione* interessanti spunti di novità nel recente saggio di Barker 2014, 49-50.

<sup>22</sup> Cap. 3.1132bc.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Ps. Arist. *Probl.* 19.15.

sicoro e di Terpandro e anche nelle iscrizioni. Di qui l'ipotesi, avanzata da Gentili, che essi siano anteriori alla fissazione dell'esametro e che l'epica preomerica non fosse necessariamente esametrica, ma fosse costituita da una più libera associazione degli otto *patterns* lirici corrispondenti agli schemi metrici degli otto tipi formulari. Nel tempo essi si sarebbero poi strutturati in modo da dar luogo ad un esametro perfetto.<sup>24</sup> Accanto a Stesicoro, fa la sua prima apparizione Terpandro (*floruit* 676/675 a.C.) che nell'Antichità fu considerato l'iniziatore 'storico' della citarodia, sia per l'invenzione della lira a sette corde, in sostituzione dell'antico tetracordo, sia per l'introduzione di diverse forme liriche e musicali.<sup>25</sup> Nel racconto del *De musica* si configura come la figura più significativa nell'ambito della musica e della poesia lirica monodica. A lui viene ricondotta l'invenzione dei *nomoi* citarodici, cioè di sette motivi musicali da eseguire sulla cetra come accompagnamento al canto. L'invenzione dei sette *nomoi* aulodici (da eseguire sull'*aulós*, come accompagnamento al canto) era invece attribuita a Clonas.<sup>26</sup> Si trattava di una serie chiusa, un sistema di motivi musicali fruibili soprattutto nel campo degli inni rituali. Ognuno di essi era caratterizzato da una armonia determinata e da un ritmo prestabilito. Sul piano etimologico, la denominazione stessa di *nomos* era messa in rapporto proprio con questa fissità canonica.<sup>27</sup> Il singolo citarodo o l'aulodo di volta in volta sceglieva quello adatto all'occasione, cioè al tipo di inno che doveva intonare, incanalando in esso le parole del canto; poteva anche inserire elementi originali e personali, pur senza violare le caratteristiche melodiche, timbriche e idiomatiche caratteristiche di ciascun *nomos*.<sup>28</sup> Eraclide Pontico ci trasmette anche i loro titoli, dai quali possiamo dedurre le loro specificità ritmiche (per es. del *nomos Trocaico* di Terpandro) oppure la destinazione rituale (per es. del *nomos Elegoi* attribuito a Clonas). Come Stesicoro, anche Terpandro fu autore di epica lirica, mettendo in musica sia versi propri sia versi di Omero, secondo ciascun *nomos*, per cantarli negli agoni: κατὰ νόμον ἕκαστον τοῖς ἔπεισι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῖς Ὀμήρου μέλη περιτιθέντα ᾄδειν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν.

Sembra che il *De musica* voglia suggerire che questo tipo di citarodia assumesse il *nomos* come motivo base ricorrente nella narrazione scegliendo di volta in volta un *nomos* in particolare tra i sette che costituivano il sistema cui faceva riferimento Terpandro. Compose anche proemi citarodici in metri epici che servivano ad intro-

**24** Sull'interpretazione dell'intero passo di Eraclide e sulla formulazione dell'origine dell'esametro, vedi Gentili 1977.

**25** Per testimonianze antiche, frammenti e commento, vedi Gostoli 1990.

**26** Cap. 4.1132d.

**27** Cap. 6.1133b; vedi Gostoli 1990, xvi-xxviii.

**28** Barker 2014, 49.

durre l'esecuzione della poesia di Omero e degli altri poeti. Doveva trattarsi di composizioni del tutto analoghe agli *Inni omerici*, dai quali differivano per essere in metri *kat'enoplion*, piuttosto che in esametri dattilici.<sup>29</sup> Da quanto emerge finora dal racconto di Lisia, per Eraclide Pontico la tradizione più antica e nobile era dunque quella citarodica, la cui evoluzione, dopo i capp. 3 e 4, viene ripresa nel cap. 6. Fa qui la sua apparizione quello che è il *Leitmotiv* del trattato, cioè un giudizio negativo sull'evoluzione della musica a partire da Frinide (*floruit* metà del V secolo), anche lui appartenente alla scuola citarodica di Lesbo fondata da Terpandro. La storia della musica dalla metà del V secolo alla metà del IV secolo è la storia della sua degenerazione, ravvisata nell'allontanamento dalla semplicità e dalla nobiltà della musica antica. Nel cap. 6 il *De musica* apre anche uno squarcio sulla tradizione citarodica di Lesbo che si richiamava all'insegnamento di Terpandro; per la sua fama, questi era stato chiamato da Sparta a fondare l'agone citarodico delle Carnee, di cui era risultato primo vincitore.<sup>30</sup> Fino alla prima metà del VI secolo i suoi epigoni mantennero in quell'agone un predominio assoluto, ma tale supremazia venne meno con la morte di Periclito. Un indizio che la citarodia di Lesbo, pur ancora tanto vivace da produrre citarodi innovativi come Frinide, aveva perduto il prestigio esercitato nei tempi passati. È stato ipotizzato che queste notizie Eraclide Pontico le abbia tratte dai *Karneonikai* di Ellanico di Lesbo, dal momento che vi sono menzionati tre citarodi di Lesbo vincitori alle Carnee: Terpandro, Cepione e Periclito.<sup>31</sup>

Il contenuto del capitolo precedente (cap. 5) è veramente sorprendente e, di primo acchito, il lettore non può che rimanere disorientato. La struttura della narrazione è sintetica e di difficile comprensione. Inizia con un breve *excursus* relativo alla musica auletica e aulodica. La sua origine è collocata in Frigia, ad opera degli artisti mitici Hyagnis, Marsia e Olimpo. Olimpo dalla Frigia avrebbe poi portato la musica in Grecia. La fonte dichiarata di questi dati è la *Raccolta delle notizie sulla Frigia* di Alessandro Poliistore, citata dal *De musica* verosimilmente per spiegare a chi si riferisse Glauco di Reggio, con l'espressione '(Archiloco) visse dopo i primi compositori di aulodie', con cui si chiude il cap. 4. Alla citazione di Alessandro Poliistore sulla musica auletica e aulodica segue poi una nuova ricostruzione della musica che in parte ripropone argomenti già trattati nei capp. 3 e 4 (i *nomoi* di Clonas, la menzione di Polimnesto e delle sue opere), in parte contraddice quanto detto prima (la datazione di Clonas in rapporto a quella di Terpandro; l'invenzione della citarodia da parte di

29 Cf. cap. 4.1132d (p. 4, 18); cap. 6.1133c (p. 6, 8).

30 Vedi cap. 9.1134b (p. 8, 9-10).

31 Cf. West 1992, 330 nota 8; Franklin 2010-11, 743-8; Barker 2014, 48.

Orfeo, anziché di Anfione). Incoerenze che lasciano perplessi e che hanno portato alcuni editori a correggere il testo o a trasportarlo in altre parti del trattato. Ma, a ben vedere, esse si possono spiegare supponendo che il *De musica*, senza segnalarlo al lettore, riprenda qui la ricostruzione storica di Glauco di Reggio, interrotta poche righe sopra per citare il contenuto dell'opera di Alessandro Poliisto-re.<sup>32</sup> Nel discorso di Lisia fa dunque il suo ingresso Glauco di Reggio. Originario della Magna Grecia, autore della più antica storia della letteratura greca, forse auleta egli stesso, costituisce un'importante fonte anche per il *De musica*, diretta o mediata che sia attraverso Eraclide Pontico.<sup>33</sup> Nei capp. 4 e 5 vengono messe a confronto le loro diverse ricostruzioni della storia della musica: l'una focalizzata sulla citarodia, l'altra sull'aulodia.

L'interesse di Glauco per l'aulodia e per l'auletica emergerà anche dal cap. 7, nel quale Lisia continua la trattazione dei progressi dell'arte aulodica. Glauco poneva all'origine dell'arte musicale l'auletica/aulodia di Olimpo. È lui ad essere indicato da Glauco come la figura archetipica di tutta la musica greca: gli attribuisce l'introduzione in Grecia dei *nomoi* enarmonici usati ancora nel V-IV secolo nelle feste degli dei. Non possiamo pensare che Glauco fosse in possesso di testi così antichi già provvisti di notazioni musicali;<sup>34</sup> evidentemente alludeva a melodie tramandate oralmente. Venivano ricondotti a Olimpo il *nomos Policefalo* e il *nomos Harmateios*, aulettici, cioè eseguiti sull'*aulós* senza accompagnamento vocale.<sup>35</sup> Il cap. 8, in maniera molto succinta, offre il completamento del cap. 7, nel senso che continua la trattazione della musica dell'*aulós* praticata da poeti-musici famosi, come Polimnesto, Sacadas, Clonas, Mimnermo, rappresentati come compositori di elegie cantate con l'accompagnamento dell'*aulós* e come compositori di *nomoi* da eseguire con lo stesso strumento. Dal testo molto succinto del *De musica* sembra doversi dedurre che all'età della fonte, cioè di Eraclide Pontico, l'elegia non era più cantata.<sup>36</sup>

Studi recenti hanno evidenziato la centralità della poesia e della musica nella cultura spartana preclassica, sino a definirla «song culture» per eccellenza: «una cultura della *performance* musicale cantata, da una parte perché la vita sociale e civica degli Spartani è cadenzata dalle manifestazioni musicali in onore degli dei del *pantheon*

<sup>32</sup> Cf. cap. 5.1132ef. Invece, secondo Lasserre 1954, 101, queste contraddizioni si spiegherebbero con la sovrapposizione al piano originario, basato sulle invenzioni, di un altro piano tendente a raggruppare le singole invenzioni via via intorno al nome di diversi autori.

<sup>33</sup> Vedi Barker 2014, 36-7; Gostoli 2015.

<sup>34</sup> Vedi Pöhlmann 2011.

<sup>35</sup> Vedi cap. 7.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. cap. 8.1134a.



locale; dall'altra parte perché la formazione dei cittadini e delle loro spose avviene attraverso la partecipazione a gruppi corali che conferiscono alle arti delle Muse una funzione educativa di carattere iniziatico.<sup>37</sup> Licurgo, il legislatore di Sparta, attento all'educazione dei giovani, istituì per loro non solo gare ginniche, ma anche concorsi di canti corali. Dall'inizio del VII alla metà del VI secolo vi confluì un numero impressionante di poeti e musicisti da ogni parte della Grecia: Terpandro di Lesbo, Taleta di Gortina, Senodamo di Citera, Senocrito di Locri, Polimnesto di Colofone e Sacadas di Argo; e non possiamo dimenticare Tirteo, autore di *embateria* e di elegie parentetiche guerresche né Alcmane, autore dei parteni composti per celebrare la bellezza delle giovani dell'aristocrazia locale. Non è strano che vi nascessero due scuole musicali. Lo dichiara Ercalide Pontico, nei capp. 9 e 10 del *De musica*, che non presentano gli ardui problemi interpretativi dei capitoli precedenti. Eraclide racconta che la prima scuola (*katástasis*) fu promossa da Terpandro che, come abbiamo visto sopra, fondò in quell'occasione il famoso agone citarodico delle Carnee (676/675 a.C.); la seconda *katástasis* (II metà del VII secolo) fu promossa da artisti come Taleta, Polimnesto, Senocrito, Sacadas. Tenendo conto delle specialità coltivate da questi artisti, possiamo pensare che abbiano dato impulso all'aulodia e alla lirica corale.<sup>38</sup> La menzione della seconda *katástasis* offre al *De musica* l'occasione per una discussione sulla classificazione dei generi poetici, che evidentemente rispecchia un dibattito in corso all'epoca delle sue fonti, cioè nel V-IV secolo a.C.: la differenza non chiara e univoca tra peana e iporchema, tra peana e ditirambo. Un dibattito che ha molto interessato la critica moderna in quanto proietta la problematica della classificazione dei generi poetici anche prima di Platone, dal quale si è soliti farla partire, dal momento che tra i protagonisti del dibattito critico trasmesso dal *De musica* sembra esserci anche Glauco di Reggio. Le posizioni più rappresentative sono quella di Gigante, per il quale l'incertezza degli eruditi sul genere di appartenenza dei carmi è dovuta all'infrazione delle norme compositive mediante la mescolanza di elementi musicali diversi originariamente destinati ad altri generi,<sup>39</sup> e di Gentili, secondo cui fino al V secolo ogni carme si qualificava in base alla destinazione e al tipo di esecuzione vocale e strumentale. La fine del V secolo, attraverso lo sviluppo del commercio librario, segnò l'inizio della classificazione in base a criteri interni di tipo retorico. Di qui l'impossibilità di classificare coerentemente, con il trascorrere del tempo, i carmi dei poeti antichi.<sup>40</sup> Come scrive Andrew

<sup>37</sup> Calame 2018, 180. La traduzione italiana è mia.

<sup>38</sup> Vedi cap. 9.1134bc.

<sup>39</sup> Gigante 1977, 628.

<sup>40</sup> Gentili 1984, 49-50 = 2006, 65-6; Fileni 1987, 29.

Barker,<sup>41</sup> stupisce che in una ricostruzione della storia della poesia lirica (qual è il discorso di Lisia) manchi la trattazione sulla lirica corale, nonostante ci siano riferimenti a generi corali nei capp. 9, 10 e 12. Il solo cenno esplicito che viene fatto riguarda il *nomos trimelès* di Sacadas. Al tempo di Polimnesto e di Sacadas si usavano tre tonalità: la dorica, la frigia e la lidia; Sacadas inventò il *nomos trimelès* componendo una strofa in ciascuna delle tre tonalità e insegnando al coro a cantare la prima nel modo dorico, la seconda in quello frigio e la terza in quello lidio.<sup>42</sup>

Dopo aver discusso sulle origini della musica, citarodica e aulodica, sui *nomoi*, sui generi poetici, l'autore del *De musica* affronta la discussione sull'invenzione del genere enarmonico. Questa scala, severa e solenne, era ritenuta la più nobile di tutte. Aristosseno, che è la fonte di questa pagina, ne descrive il percorso inventivo da parte di Olimpo, rifacendosi all'opinione dei *mousikoí*. Questi esperti dicevano che Olimpo la usò, per la prima volta, nella composizione (o nel tipo di composizione) chiamata *spondeíon*, 'relativo alle libagioni', nel quale il genere enarmonico raggiunse la sua vetta di eccellenza.<sup>43</sup> Essi, ben presenti nella trattazione del *De musica*, erano musicisti contemporanei di Aristosseno, capaci di comporre e di eseguire musica. Erano in grado di valutare la musica di Olimpo perché essa veniva ancora apprezzata ed eseguita nel periodo classico in ambito rituale;<sup>44</sup> probabilmente era abbastanza simile all'originale perché testi e musica destinati ai riti in tutte le culture possono rimanere inalterati anche per secoli. Per questo motivo i *mousikoí* potevano ascoltarla ed avevano anche la competenza per giudicare i brani composti secondo tale genere, tanto che Aristosseno poteva fare riferimento a loro.<sup>45</sup>

Fino a questo punto il *De musica* non ha affrontato in maniera diretta lo studio dei ritmi. Ne ha parlato solo in rapporto al peone e al cretico introdotti in Grecia da Taleta.<sup>46</sup> All'inizio del cap. 12 preannuncia una trattazione dei ritmi, ma per la verità la discussione che segue è molto concisa e generica in rapporto all'importanza del tema. L'argomento sarà trattato in maniera più ampia nei capp. 28-30, ma al momento vengono citati cursoriamente i poeti rimasti famosi per aver introdotto nuovi generi e specie di ritmi (Terpandro, Taleta, Alcmane, Stesicoro) senza deviare dalla norma del bello. I 'nuovi

<sup>41</sup> Barker 2014, 21.

<sup>42</sup> Cap. 8.1134ab. Questa struttura sembra però anacronistica, se rapportata all' VII secolo a.C. secondo Barker 2014, 20.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. cap. 11.1135a (p. 10, 2); cap. 19.1137b (p. 15, 12).

<sup>44</sup> Cap. 7.1133e.

<sup>45</sup> Vedi la penetrante discussione su questa pagina del *De musica* e sul rapporto tra Aristosseno e i *mousikoí* in Barker 2014, 63-8.

<sup>46</sup> Cap. 10.1134de (p. 7).

musicisti' (Cresso, Timoteo, Filosseno), smaniosi di novità, perseguono il guadagno che giunge loro dal consenso del pubblico nei teatri. Anche nell'uso dei ritmi, il *De musica*, cioè la sua fonte che anche in questo capitolo potremmo individuare in Aristosseno,<sup>47</sup> vede dunque una degenerazione mano a mano che ci si allontana dalla semplicità e dalla severità della musica antica.<sup>48</sup>

Dichiarando concluso il compito che si era assunto (la trattazione delle prime invenzioni nel campo della musica), Lisia cede la parola a Soterico che definisce 'teorico della musica e intellettuale esperto in ogni branca del sapere' (ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία),<sup>49</sup> mentre per sé rivendica la competenza nell'arte applicata, coerente con la professione di citarodo, che verrà dichiarata più avanti.<sup>50</sup>

Di fatto, questi primi tredici capitoli del *De musica* lasciano intravedere un disegno storico della musica e della lirica greca tracciato dal peripatetico Eraclide Pontico mettendo in campo una messe cospicua di fonti letterarie, storiche ed epigrafiche di sicura autorevolezza come base della documentazione e dell'analisi critica relativa ai diversi autori e alle forme poetico-musicali oggetto della trattazione. Una significativa testimonianza del livello di erudizione e di ricerca scientifica cui era pervenuta la filologia peripatetica.

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**47** Vedi Pöhlmann 2011, 16.

**48** Vedi Gostoli 2019.

**49** Cap. 13.1135de (p. 11, 15-16).

**50** Cap. 43.1146d (p. 36, 18).

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# À l'arrivée de Molon : sur un calembour mécompris chez Strabon (14.2.13 C655)

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**Abstract** The joke that Apollonius Malakos addressed to his colleague Apollonius Molon in Strabo's *Geography* (14.2.13 C655) has been misinterpreted by the editors. It alludes to Homer's *Odyssey* 23.7: the texts of the manuscripts should thus be preserved.

**Keywords** Strabo. Apollonios Malakos. Ancient Rhetoric. Rhodes. Odyssey.

*Au Professeur Willy Cingano :  
oublier Diodore.*

À trois reprises au chapitre 2 du livre XIV de la *Géographie* de Strabon, il est question d'Apollonios Malakos et d'Apollonios Molon, deux orateurs venus d'Alabanda en Carie.<sup>1</sup> Apollonios Molon est introduit une première fois dans la géographie intellectuelle de Kaunos, au § 3 (C652), pour son discours intitulé (probablement) *Contre les Kauniens*. Vers la fin du chapitre 2, au § 26 (C661), les deux orateurs sont cités cette fois *ad locum* pour leur origine d'Alabanda ; mention y est

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Mes remerciements vont à Carlo Franco pour son aide précieuse.

**1** Sur Apollonios dit Malakos, voir en particulier Cafaro 2017a et sur Apollonios dit Molon, Goulet 1994 et Cafaro 2017b. Sur les deux orateurs, cf. Pepe 2017, 28-9 et Matijašić 2020, 22-3.



Edizioni  
Ca' Foscari

**Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4**

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

**Peer review | Open access**

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/025

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aussi faite du rhéteur Ménéklès, venu de la même cité. Ce dernier est connu pour avoir fondé une école à Rhodes et avoir adopté l'asiatisme, ce qui permet à l'auteur de faire le lien avec le § 13 (C655), qui constitue l'occurrence la plus intéressante, car elle contient dans la section sur les grands hommes de Rhodes, qui rayonne par sa culture, une anecdote plus développée au sujet de nos deux protagonistes, précisément disciples de Ménéklès. Les deux orateurs ont fait le voyage depuis la Carie pour venir suivre sur l'île son enseignement. Le passage, que l'on fait suivre d'une traduction, est édité par Stefan Radt de la façon suivante ; il faut selon lui exponctuer les trois derniers mots de la phrase :

Ποσειδώνιος δ' ἐπολιτεύσατο μὲν ἐν Ῥόδῳ καὶ ἐσοφίστευσεν, ἦν δ' Ἀπαμεὺς ἐκ τῆς Συρίας, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Μαλακὸς καὶ Μόλων· ἦσαν γὰρ Ἀλαβανδεῖς, Μενεκλέους μαθηταὶ τοῦ ῥήτορος (ἐπεδήμησε δὲ πρότερον Ἀπολλώνιος, ὃψὲ δ' ἦκεν ὁ Μόλων καὶ ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος ὄψὲ μολῶν [ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐλθῶν]).  
2 γὰρ codd. : δὲ Meineke || 4 ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐλθῶν ut glossema del. Radt

Poséidonios fit sa carrière de politique et d'enseignant à Rhodes, mais était toutefois d'Apamée en Syrie, de la même façon aussi qu'Apollonios dit Malakos et Molon venaient en réalité d'Alabanda et furent les disciples du rhéteur Ménéklès ; Apollonios vint résider à Rhodes le premier, alors que Molon arriva plus tard et Apollonios l'accueillit par les mots « estant tard venu » [*opse molôn*] [au lieu de lui dire « étant venu tard », <*opse*> *elthôn*].

L'exponctuation est justifiée dans le volume de commentaire de la façon suivante : pour le lecteur cultivé de Strabon, l'explication ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐλθῶν est superflue ; ces mots constituent donc pour Radt une glose marginale, insérée dans le texte à une date postérieure.<sup>2</sup> Les traducteurs et commentateurs des dernières années, N. Biffi et D.W. Roller, qui se sont appuyés sur le texte de Radt, en ont pris acte dans leurs traductions du livre XIV, et ne rendent pas ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐλθῶν.<sup>3</sup>

Il faut toutefois revenir au détail du bon mot d'Apollonios Malakos, sans oublier qu'il s'agit d'un rhéteur facétieux et qu'il s'adresse ici à Molon, spécialiste d'Homère. La plaisanterie qu'il fait à Molon au moment où celui-ci le rejoint à Rhodes – avec quelque retard puisque Malakos y réside lui-même déjà –, est en deux temps. Or seul le premier élément du calembour nous semble avoir été compris jusqu'ici des éditeurs. Ce premier point tient dans le déplacement de l'accent de *molon* : « <il est> tard, Molon » (ὄψὲ Μόλων) devient « arrivé tard »

<sup>2</sup> Radt 2005, *ad loc.* pour le texte, avec le commentaire Radt 2009, 78.

<sup>3</sup> Biffi 2009, *ad loc.* et commentaire à la p. 237 ; Roller 2014, *ad loc.*

(ὄψε μολών). A. Coray l'explicite très clairement, de la façon suivante : « C'est un calembour : si vous lisez, ὄψε Μόλων, avec l'accent sur la première syllabe du dernier mot, il signifie, *trop tard*, *Môlon* ; si vous mettez l'accent sur la dernière, ὄψε μολών, le nom propre devient participe, et veut dire *trop tard arrivé* ». <sup>4</sup> Ajoutons du reste que ce participe est épique, et certainement désuet autant à l'époque d'Apollonios, au II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., qu'à celle de Strabon : Apollonios emploie ici une langue d'un autre temps, que l'on tâche de rendre par une forme en ancien français, quoique ce calembour soit à peu de choses près intraduisible.

Mais venons-en au second élément. Aucun éditeur n'a observé que la fin de la phrase, exponctuée par Radt, donne le contexte et la solution de la plaisanterie. Car celle-ci s'inscrit en réalité dans un cadre bien précis : elle se fonde sur le vers de l'*Odyssee*, où la nourrice Euryclée invite Pénélope à se dépêcher de se préparer pour venir accueillir son époux ὄψε περ ἔλθών (23.7). Il s'agit pour le lecteur de Strabon d'un retour très célèbre et d'un vers évoquant un « retard » réellement long (autrement plus long que celui de Molon !), puisque vingt ans se sont écoulés depuis le départ d'Ulysse d'Ithaque. En outre, le bon mot d'Apollonios suggère que la vraie patrie de son collègue Molon est Rhodes, comme celle d'Ulysse Ithaque. La chute de la phrase, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔλθών, où il faut bien sûr entendre ἀντὶ τοῦ <ὄψε> ἔλθών, suivant ce vers de l'*Odyssee*, donne donc le contexte même du jeu de mot de Malakos : Apollonios offre une variation sur un vers de l'*Odyssee*, nous dit Strabon, pour se moquer de Molon. Le texte des manuscrits, exponctué par Radt, doit donc être conservé et il faut bien traduire la fin du paragraphe de la façon suivante : « Apollonios l'accueillit par les mots 'estant-tard-venu' [*opse molôn*], au lieu de lui dire 'étant venu tard' [*opse elthôn*] ».

Le calembour est particulièrement brillant puisque Malakos s'adresse à Molon, qui est lui-même spécialiste d'Homère, par un hyper-homérisme. Molon a décidément mis longtemps à arriver à Rhodes, comme Ulysse à Ithaque !

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<sup>4</sup> Coray 1816, 332 note 1.

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# Rewriting Homer: Dictys, Septimius and the (Re-)shaping of the Trojan War Material

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**Abstract** The present paper deals with variation in and (re-)use of ancient sources, chiefly epics, in the fictional chronicle of the Trojan War composed by ‘Dictys of Crete’ and its Latin adaptation, the *Ephemeris belli Troiani*, by a certain L. Septimius, both dating to the Roman Empire. I discuss how the authors of these texts used inconsistencies in the literary tradition and their own invention to characterise the heroes of the Trojan War in ways that ‘correct’ Homer and allow insertion of adventure and ‘romance’.

**Keywords** Trojan War. Romance. Homer. Dictys of Crete. Dares the Phrygian. Second Sophistic.

**Summary** 1 Troy Romances. – 2 Homeric ἐπανορθώσεις and Beyond. – 3 The Style of the “Troy Romances”. – 4 Dictys’ Narrative Strategies. – 5 Homer, Dictys, and the Epic Heroes.

## 1 Troy Romances

Three supposed memoirs of eyewitnesses to the Trojan War are known to have circulated in the ancient world.<sup>1</sup> The earliest, com-

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<sup>1</sup> The existence of other texts allegedly composed by participants in the Trojan War, notwithstanding some hints in ancient sources, is doubtful. A possible exception is the work of Sisyphus of Cos, described in Malalas’ *Chronicles*, 6th cent. CE, as a fellow of Teucer and author of a history of the Trojan War used by Homer in the composition of the *Iliad* (cf. Griffin 1907, 60-81; Jeffreys, Croke, Scott 1990, 177, 192; Merkle 1989, 17-18; Cameron 2004, 149-50).



Edizioni  
Ca' Foscari

**Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4**

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

**Peer review | Open access**

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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**DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/026**

posed in Greek in the 1st-2nd cent. CE by a certain “Dictys of Crete” – a (non-Homeric) companion of Idomeneus, the Cretan hero and king who appears in the *Iliad* – is preserved only on papyrus scraps.<sup>2</sup> Another is Septimius’ Latin version of Dictys’ Greek text known as the *Ephemeris belli Troiani*, or simply *Ephemeris*, which dates to the 3rd-4th cent. CE. The third, known as the *De excidio Troiae historia* or *Acta diurna belli Troiani*, dating to the 5th-6th cent. CE by “Dares the Phrygian” (a certain Dares is mentioned in the *Iliad* as the father of a minor Trojan character); allegedly, though, the *De excidio Troiae historia* was translated into Latin by the historian Cornelius Nepos, though it is in fact much later than the 1st cent. CE when Nepos lived.<sup>3</sup> My focus here is on the first two. The Greek chronicle that, for the sake of convenience, I refer to as the work of Dictys, has been reconstructed as having been composed of ten (or sometimes nine) books<sup>4</sup> that narrated the unfolding of the Trojan War from its origins through the fall of Troy and the returns (*nostoi*) of the Greek heroes. The plot was based on the Homeric and non-Homeric epics (in chronological sequence, the *Cypria*, *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Aethiopis*, *Little Iliad*, *Iliou Persis*, *Nostoi*, and *Telegony*) and for the

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**2** The papyri are P. Tebt. 268 = Pack<sup>2</sup> no. 338 (early 3rd cent. CE) containing Book 4.9-15; *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2539 (2nd-3rd cent. CE), containing Book 4.18; *P.Oxy.* 4943 (2nd cent. CE, perhaps first half; see Hatzilambrou 2009, 83) containing 2.29-30; and *P.Oxy.* 4944 (early 3rd cent. CE; Hatzilambrou, Obbink 2009, 89) containing 5.15-17. Cf. Ihm 1909; Eisenhut 1973, 64-9; 1969, 116-17; Merkle 1989, 113-18; Hatzilambrou, Obbink 2009; Ruta 2018. *P.Oxy.* 4944, 93-109 reads the σφραγίς of Dictys from Crete and the Latin *Ephemeris* (cf. *Ephem. Epist.; Prolog.; Ephem.* 5.17) provides the information about the author’s identity, as well; the choice of homeland has been interpreted as motivated by the proverbial status of Cretans as liars in the ancient world (Zanusso 2015, 13-16). The *terminus post quem* for the Greek *Ephemeris* is established by the mention of a date that corresponds to 66 CE in the prologue (though, of course, it is part of the *Beglaubigungsapparat*), and the *terminus ante quem* is ca. 150 CE, on the basis of the dating of the recently discovered *P.Oxy.* 4943, the allusion to Dictys in Lucian’s *Hist. conscrib.* 16, and stylistic analysis of the papyri of the *Ephemeris* cf. Hatzilambrou 2009, 80; Ruta 2018, 25-37, 41-2, with bibliography and previous discussions. See similarly Horsfall 2008-09, 43-4, 55-7 (after Ptolomaeus Chennus’ *Kaine Historia*, but before Philostratus’ *Heroicus*) and Zanusso 2015, 17-22 (who does not take into account *P.Oxy.* 4943 and argues that Lucian’s *Hist. conscrib.* 16 may have inspired Dictys).

**3** The Latin *Ephemeris* has been dated 3rd-4th cent. CE by (among others) Merkle 1989, 263-83; 1999, 162-3; Cameron 1980, 172-5 (arguing for the 3rd cent. CE); Eisenhut 1983, 26-8. Dares’ *Acta*, in 44 small chapters, which traces events from the causes of the conflict between the Greeks and Trojans to the end of the War, are dated by the majority of scholars around the 5th cent. CE (or 5th-6th cent. CE), cf. Merkle 1989, 263-83; Schetter 1987; Beschorner 1992, 254-63.

**4** On this issue, see Lapini 1997, who surveyed previous discussion and argued that the number 9 given by the Suda, θ’ in the usual Milesian system, was easily confused with the 10 given by the prefatory letter, ι’ in this system, resulting in a misunderstanding of as ι = Book 9 according to the Homeric-style numeration of books.

most part maintained the traditional order of events.<sup>5</sup> The first five of the six books of L. Septimius' *Ephemeris* take the story of the war from Helen's abduction to the sack of Troy, precisely as in the Greek original, while Book 6 summarises the various *nostoi*. Comparison of the corresponding passages indicates that, so far as the evidence goes, Septimius' version, though showing evidence of elaboration to improve the clarity and style of the Greek original (and, on more than one occasion, incorporating literary allusions), remains essentially faithful to the content of Dictys' text (e.g. Septimius appears to have added no additional stories or characters), the main difference being the condensation of events after the war in Book 6.<sup>6</sup>

In terms of *genre*, these works combine Homeric revisionism, pseudo-epigraphy, and historiography with novelistic literature and, as such, they are fairly typical of the vast literary production of the Graeco-Roman world at the time, which saw an enormous increase in creation of fiction, including rewriting or inventing the legendary past.<sup>7</sup> With regard to historiography, Dictys and Septimius alike deploy an array of strategies to frame their works as reliable records of the Trojan War, beginning with the framing as an eyewitness account and inclusion of rationalising events, offering alternative versions of scenes that appear in Homer (usually drawing on non-Homeric traditions) and shaping events in the manner of histories. This 'rewriting' of Homer also gave the authors scope to insert adventures, poetic allusions, and other literary devices with appeal to learned and not-so-learned audiences.

<sup>5</sup> *Ephem.* 1-2.28, from the causes of the war to Chryses' plea to Agamemnon, is based on the *Cypria*; *Ephem.* 2.28-4.1, from the Chryses episode to Hector's burial, is based on the *Iliad*; *Ephem.* 4.2-5, from the arrival of the Amazones and Memnon to the fall of Troy, is based on the *Aethiopsis*, *Ilias Parva*, and *Iliou Persis*; and *Ephem.* 6 is based on the *Nostoi*, *Odyssey*, and *Telegony*. On the changes in the chronological sequence, attributable to the presentation of the text as a war-chronicle, see below § 4; on the fictional and novelistic additions, see §§ 4 and 5.

<sup>6</sup> Again, though it is not clear that Septimius is a historical individual, I will for convenience use this name to refer to the author of the Latin *Ephemeris* when it is necessary to distinguish the Latin and Greek texts of Dictys.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. a number of works by Lucillius, Petronius, Apuleius, Lucian, Philostratus, Ptolomaeus Chennus, the abovementioned Dictys and Dares and others mentioned below in § 2, various "Greek novels", and the "Alexander romance". The immense bibliography on the subject includes Gabba 1981; Bowersock 1994 (who assigns to Nero's reign and specifically the authors of that period Lucillius, Petronius, Ptolomaeus Chennus, and Dictys, a crucial role in the evolution of fiction in the following century; cf. especially pp. 31-3); Gill, Wiseman 1993; Schmeling 1996; Cameron 2004, 89-163; Panayotakis, Zimmerman, Keulen 2003; Kim 2010. Ironically, both the *Ephemeris* and Dares' *Acta* came to be regarded as authentic over the centuries; thus, the Greek text of Dictys was used cited as a reliable source by several Byzantine chronographers, and both the Latin *Ephemeris* and *Acta* deeply influenced the Medieval reception of the Trojan myth (e.g. Benoît de St. Maure), cf. e.g. Merkle 1989, 21-4.

## 2 Homeric ἐπανορθώσεις and Beyond

From the 6th cent. BCE, several authors – historians such as Herodotus and Thucydides, authors of genealogies such as Hecataeus, and philosophers such as Theagenes and Xenophanes – sought to create a reliable reconstruction of the events of the Trojan War in explicit contrast with the imaginative accounts of the epic poets, above all Homer. Alternatives to the Homeric accounts of the war were already found in poetry (early on in Stesichorus' *Palinodia*) and rhetoric (e.g. Gorgias' *Enc. Hel.*). In Hellenistic times, alongside the 'serious' work of grammarians such as Zenodotus and Aristarchus, the Homeric material was also subject to creative rewriting. Examples include the works known as *Troika* composed by the grammarians Dionysus Scytobrachion (mid-3rd cent. BCE) and Hegesianax of Alexandria Troas (3rd-2nd cent. BCE, under the name of Cephalon of Gergis). These "Trojan histories" took the form of mythological narratives based on supposed epigraphical or literary documents.<sup>8</sup> In essence, over time, the Homeric ἐπανορθώσεις came to be perceived no longer as a theoretical problem but rather as a rhetorical and literary game. Thus the *Anthomeros* and *Kaine Historia* by Ptolemeus Chennus' (1st-2nd cent. CE)<sup>9</sup> contained, among other things, Homeric corrections, and they may have exerted considerable influence on later writers. The game was fashionable also during the Second Sophistic,<sup>10</sup> as indicated by the well-known *Troikos* of Dio Chrysostomus (*Or.* 11) and *Heroicus* of Philostratus (ca. mid-3rd cent. CE) and the (again ironic) Homeric revisionism in Lucian's *Somn.* 17. As has been seen, common strategies in the Homeric ἐπανορθώσεις include framing as ostensibly ancient and reliable sources, including literary ones, for example documents dating before the Homeric poems were composed (a strategy especially favoured in Ptolemeus Chennus' *Kaine Historia*),

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Jacoby *FGrH* 45 (559-60); *GH* 238-40, Kommentar 561-2; Grossardt 1998, 365-9.

<sup>9</sup> On Ptolemeus Chennus' work, see Chatzis 1914; Tomberg 1968, 54-62; Bowersock 1994, 24-37; Kim 2010, 18-21.

<sup>10</sup> However, both Dio's and Philostratus' works served not only as an intellectual exercise entertaining for an audience familiar with the Homeric poems but also to convey an ideological message. In Dio's speech, the reversal of the normal outcomes of the Trojan War (Hector kills Achilles, Troy does not fall, the Trojans make peace with the Greeks, etc.) possibly functioned as Roman propaganda, with the philo-Trojan attitude showing favour to the Romans as heirs of the Trojans according to the well-established tradition; further, the end of the Trojan war through a treaty between Trojans and Greeks may be meant to suggest a possible future harmonious blending of West and East under the Romans (Saïd 2000, 177-85; cf. Desideri 1978, 496-503). Likewise, the heroes' deeds and cults in Philostratus are consistent with the religious policy of the imperial family (in which worship of heroes played an important role) and with the construction of the cultural identity of Greek *élites* in the Roman Empire; cf. several papers in Berenson Maclean, Bradshaw Aitken 2004 and Berenson Maclean, Bradshaw Aitken 2001, lxxvi-lxxvii.

or as eyewitness accounts (in addition to Dictys from Crete and Dares the Phrygian, i.e. Greek and Trojan soldiers, e.g. Protesilaos in Philostratus' *Heroicus*).<sup>11</sup> This framing came with the *corollarium* that, in contrast with Homer and other archaic poets, who had not actually been present at Troy during the war, eyewitnesses could offer *historia verior*. The finding of lost-long documents, usually written in an ancient language, is a common *escamotage* in *pseudo-epigraphica* and forgeries, from the Pythagorean texts supposedly recovered from the grave of Numa to such recent examples as the world best-seller *The Name of the Rose* (1980) by Umberto Eco.<sup>12</sup>

Both devices, the finding of a long-lost document and the point of view as an eyewitness, are exploited in the *Ephemeris*, which is presented as the journal (ἔφημερίς, i.e. ὑπομνήματα, *commentarium*) of Dictys of Crete, the alleged official war-chronicler of Idomeneus, king of Crete, and of Meriones. Thus Dictys' chronicle, according to the prefatory letter and prologue that form the beginning of the Latin version,<sup>13</sup> was found in its author's grave in Cnossos in 66 CE and then sent to the emperor Nero, who had it transliterated from the 'Phoenician script' into the Greek one. Finally, Septimius supposedly obtained a copy of the Greek text and translated it into Latin. Dictys, then, as a member of the Greek expedition, is positioned to correct Homer's imaginative account by 'faithfully' recounting his experiences and those of other eyewitnesses during the Trojan War

**11** Philostratus' *Heroicus* is structured as a dialogue between a Phoenician merchant and a man who tends a vineyard around the tomb and sanctuary of the hero Protesilaos, who regularly appears at his own sanctuary. The conceit of the work is, then, that the vinedresser reports to the Phoenician the risen Protesilaos' account of the Trojan War; vd. e.g. Berenson Maclean, Bradshaw Aitken 2001, xxxvii-xvix and *passim*.

**12** Plut. *Num.* 22; Plin. *NH* 11.2.84-87 (cf. the tablet supposedly written by Heracles excavated from Alcmena's grave on Agesilaos' orders, Plut. *De Gen.* 5.577 E-F, 7.578 F-G, though the origin and scope of the legend are debated; cf. Parker 2010). As for fictional works, Antonius Diogenes prefaced *The Wonders Beyond Thule* (1st cent. CE) with a letter explaining that he was simply editing the adventures of certain Deinias inscribed on wooden tablets and found by one of Alexander the Great's soldiers at Tyre. The similar trope in the *Acta* involves a prefatory letter addressed to Sallust by Cornelius Nepos in which the latter claims to have translated the chronicle of Dares the Phrygian into Latin. Cf. also Philo of Byblos (2nd cent. CE), who claimed to have found and translated into Greek a Semitic history of the Phoenicians dating from before the Trojan War (cf. *FGH* III.C.790). On literary forgery of this sort in the ancient world, see e.g. Speyer 1971; Hansen 2003 (with discussion of devices typical of such works); cf. also Ni-Mheallaig 2008.

**13** Cf. *Ephem. prologus*; as for the relationship between the prologue and the prefatory letter in the Latin *Ephemeris*, most scholars agree that the former was part of Dictys' Greek original that was included in the Latin translation while the prefatory letter is a wholesale invention of Septimius; cf. Griffin 1908, 335; Merkle 1989, 91-113. Timpanaro 1987, 202-13, drew attention to some overlaps and contradictions between the prologue and the prefatory letter in the Latin *Ephemeris* and proposed that they point to two distinct ancient editions, one containing only the prologue and the other only the prefatory letter, that were combined during the transmission of the text.

and in its aftermath.<sup>14</sup> To begin with, Dictys offers the ‘real’ version of events such as Achilles’ quarrel with Agamemnon and Hector’s death, in which ‘real’ means different from Homer. This conceit is both Homeric revisionism and a device for the author to insert novelistic elements and literary allusions; thus Dictys combines a variety of sources, including tragedy and mythography, that would appeal to his readers (see §§ 4-5). Also, to support his claim of being an eye-witness, Dictys claims knowledge that someone who fought at Troy would possess, e.g. details of battle formations and strategies (military strategies were, moreover, also the subject of actual war chronicles and historiographical works in antiquity) and a catalogue of the Greek ships and troops reminiscent of the famous passage in *Iliad* 2. Incidentally, Dictys’ “Catalogue of Ships” appears early in the conflict (*Ephem.* 1.17), logically, as the Greeks are preparing their expedition against Troy, whereas the analogous Homeric passage occurs during the main narrative of the *Iliad* in the ninth year of the war.<sup>15</sup> The framing of the *Ephemeris* as an historiographical work also, again, is consistent with the rationalistic versions of the events and explanations for their causes that it presents. Thus, for example, the gods never intervene directly in the narrative, a sharp contrast with their roles in shaping the course of the war in the Homeric and Cyclic poems.

### 3 The Style of the “Troy Romances”

Finally, Dictys and Septimius appear to have carefully chosen the title, lexicon, and style of their texts in order to frame them as war chronicles. Thus Septimius refers to his work using the word *Annales* in the prologue and the term that serves as its title, *ephemeris*, in the dedicatory letter. The latter term presumably translates the Greek ἐφημερίς (as mentioned, ‘military record’, ‘diary’, ‘journal of a war’ and a synonym of ὑπομνήματα) used in the original; for though the relevant passages are not preserved among the papyri,

<sup>14</sup> It should be noted that Dictys’ text adds verisimilitude by presenting, when possible, a Crete-centric version of the story (e.g. Helen leaves with Paris while Menelaus is in Crete in Book 1; Orestes, Menelaus, Odysseus etc. visit Crete on *nostoi* in Book 6.2); cf. e.g. Venini 1981, 169. On the other hand, the role of the Cretan king, Idomeneus, is far from prominent.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 3.11-13; see e.g. Venini 1981, 166; owing to the pretension of writing a war-chronicle, Dictys also extends the time required to prepare the expedition, so that the main narrative of the *Iliad*, from Chryses’ visit to the Greek camp to Hector’s funeral, is presented as occurring, not during the tenth, but rather, and more plausibly, during ninth year of the siege and the tenth year after preparations for the expedition commenced; cf. Merkle 1989, 124 fn. 109.

some ancient sources indeed refer to Dictys' text in this way;<sup>16</sup> and the word elsewhere describes the kind of records kept by Alexander the Great's staff.<sup>17</sup> Consistent with this framing, both Dictys' and Septimius' texts feature elements typical of historiography, including a prologue, a statement of the author's historiographical methodology (cf. the Herodotean, Thucydidean, and Polybian principles of *αὐτοψία*, *ἀκοή*, and *ἐμπειρία*), and a *σφραγίς* (*P.Oxy.* 4944, 93-109; *Ephem.* 5.17).<sup>18</sup> Lastly, the simple prose style of these works seems consciously chosen to reflect what readers would expect in an *ἐφημερίς* or *commentarium*. Dictys' text, for example, shows a clear preference for parataxis, being composed largely of simple sentences linked by particles such as the connective *καί* and the adversatives *δέ* (and also *οὔτε... οὔτε / οὐδέ*), while subordinate clauses are rare and participial phrases often occur where a more literary account might employ subordinate clauses (e.g. genitive absolutes or circumstantial participles instead of temporal or causal secondary clauses). This unadorned style is typical of the simple later Greek *koine* prose, as is the use of the articular infinitive, also found in Dictys (*P.Oxy.* 4943, l. 5). Likewise, the present tense is frequent, including in the historical sense, as again is typical of the war chronicle *genre*, though aorist and imperfect forms are occasionally found. On the whole, then, the diction is plain and at times repetitive, with no particular effort having been made to avoid hiatus (see *P.Oxy.* 4943, ll. 3, 7, 9), though there is some evidence of refinement in, for example, the usually symmetrical word order.<sup>19</sup>

In sum, the style of Dictys' and Septimius' Trojan War accounts is consistent with both the (alleged) *genre* and the style of the historical period to which these texts belong. Each naturally displays certain idiosyncrasies. Dictys' fragments, for example, include significant Homeric *glossae*, in particular for the key terms *μῆνις*, *νόσος*, *νόστος* (in the *iunctura κακὸς νόστος*), and *λαός*, possibly meant as literary allusions to be identified by cultivated readers, alongside lexical items (e.g. *ἐμφοροῦμαι*, *ἡμερῶν διαγενομένων*) and usages typi-

**16** *FGH* 49 T1.1 ἔγραψεν Ἐφημερίδα (ἔστι δὲ τὰ μεθ' Ὀμηρον καταλογάδην ἐν βιβλίῳ <θ> Ἰλιακά) Τρωικοῦ διακόσμου.

**17** Cf. *Plut. Alex.* 23.4; 76.1; 77.1; *Arr. Anab.* 7.25 (quoting the βασιλεῖοι ἐφημερίδες, possibly redacted under the direction of the ἀρχιγραμματεὺς Eumenes of Cardias); *Ath.* 10.434b.

**18** Over time, the concepts of *αὐτοψία* and *ἀκοή* became common terms in historiography, even if in reference to an empty *topos*, the most significant example being Ctesias (cf. the irony in *Luc. Hist. conscrib.* 39); on the evolution of these concepts in Greek historiography cf. e.g. Nenci 1953.

**19** See Hatzilambrou 2009, 84-8 and Hatzilambrou, Obbink 2009, 90-1.

cal of Hellenistic prose and, again, *koine* Greek.<sup>20</sup> Septimius seems to have sought to elevate the stylistic level of Dictys' simple Greek prose, embellishing it with rhetorical features and allusions to Sallust (and, in a few instances, to Cicero), in this way as well shaping his *Ephemeris* as an historiographical work.<sup>21</sup>

#### 4 Dictys' Narrative Strategies

As mentioned, Dictys in many respects follows the chronological sequence of events as it is presented in the epics but also adopts some changes that, once more, support the illusion that his is a reliable historical record. Thus he provides alternative accounts of such key episodes as Achilles' wrath and his conflict with Agamemnon, the battle around the Greek ships, and Hector's death and the return of his body.<sup>22</sup> These versions usually combine various sources including, as well as the epics (including the Cycle), lyrics, Attic tragedy, mythographical works, Hellenistic literature, and various *scholia* and commentaries. The coexistence of versions of a myth or tale is, of course, a common feature of many literary genres; well-known examples include the story of Oedipus in tragedy, Stesichorus' poetry, and the Cyclic poems (e.g. regarding Jocasta/Epicasta's destiny, marriage, and various children or no children with Oedipus). Examples of Homeric revisionism closer in time to those found in Dictys include Dio's (*Or.* 11) depiction of Paris as the legitimate husband of Helen, Hector as the killer of Achilles, and the Trojan War as a conflict concluding with a peace treaty between the Trojans and Greeks brokered by Helen. Similarly, in Philostratus' *Heroicus*, Hephaestus has no opportunity to make a new armor for Achilles because Patroclus never wears the latter's armor into battle, and the ethnicity of the Memnon who kills Antilochus is Trojan rather than Ethiopian. These efforts to 'correct' Homer thus not only frame the *Ephemeris* as an authentic war chronicle but also, as mentioned, provide opportunities to insert new adventures, poetic allusions, and various literary devices that audiences of the time would appreciate. My particular

<sup>20</sup> See Hatzilambrou 2009, 84, 86-7; cf. also Hatzilambrou, Obbink 2009, 90-1 and recently Ruta 2018 (esp. 33-43) on the linguistic features of the papyri that preserve the fragments of Dictys and their consistency with the prose of the time.

<sup>21</sup> On Septimius' quotations and allusions to Sallust, see already Pratje 1874; Brünnert 1883; cf. Merkle 1989, 118-22.

<sup>22</sup> An exhaustive list of differences between Dictys and Homer in their descriptions of the events that transpired at Troy can be found e.g. in Venini 1981 and Timpanaro 1987. The same scenario is found in Dares' *Acta*, in which Achilles and Agamemnon do not quarrel, Hector is killed early in the war, and Aeneas betrays Troy to the Greeks (the latter's perfidy being an early and well-established strand of the epic tradition).



focus in the following discussion is on the characterisation of some of the heroes in the *Ephemeris* through the combination of various established traditions and the authors' invention, characterisation, which, I would argue, plays a key-role in the *Ephemeris*.<sup>23</sup>

For example, the 'love story' between Achilles and Priam's daughter Polyxena has been identified as a conspicuous innovation<sup>24</sup> (in any case, it is already found in Lycophron and, perhaps, appeared even earlier)<sup>25</sup> and in this part of the narrative, which extends from *Ephem.* 3.2 to 4.13, the hero behaves completely differently than he does in the *Iliad*. Thus, he does not hesitate to suggest withdrawing from battle (and is, as a consequence, suspected of treachery by the Greek army, 4.10, 13, 15) if the Trojans allow him to depart with Polyxena after he is smitten by her (3.2).<sup>26</sup> This motivation to kill Hector substitutes for his very different desire in the *Iliad* to avenge Patroclus;<sup>27</sup> also, while Achilles is depicted in both the *Ephemeris* and the *Iliad* as being torn by contrasting feelings, in the former, the tension is between his love for Polyxena and his sense of duty, while in the latter it is between duty and personal honour (particularly in *Il.* 1 and 9). Thus Merkle 1989, 200 observed that "Die Liebe zu Polyxena ist also Ausgangspunkt, Endpunkt und wesentliche Motivation für die Taten des Peliden". However, the love story episode is perhaps less of a plot device and more of an opportunity to create a striking contrast between the two texts, with the *Ephemeris* portraying Achilles in more than one occasion (also before the "Polyxena section") as an especially controversial and negative personality stripped (though not consistently) of much of the nobility of the Homeric Achilles. To this end, Dictys both picks up on a hint found in Homer (in particular at *Il.* 1.187-189, where Achilles is only restrained from killing Agamemnon by Athena) that the dominant hero can be dangerously

<sup>23</sup> The analysis draws on both the version attributed to Dictys and Septimius' Latin *Ephemeris*; this approach is both necessary given the fragmentary status of the Greek original and at the same time justifiable given the apparent faithfulness of Septimius' version to Dictys', notwithstanding the efforts to elevate the latter's prose discussed above (see § 2); certainty regarding the consistency between the two texts is, of course, impossible given the incompleteness of Dictys' text.

<sup>24</sup> See Lentano 2018 (see also Milazzo 1984, 6 and *passim*).

<sup>25</sup> The episode of Achilles' demand for the sacrifice of Polyxena in the *Iliou Persis* does not necessarily imply an erotic liaison between them; moreover, scholars tend to see this romantic element as Hellenistic or later, cf. Fantuzzi 2012, 14-15.

<sup>26</sup> However, after hearing the conditions that Hector imposes on such an outcome - which include either declaring publicly his betrayal of the Greeks or killing some of them - Achilles is enraged swears to kill him (3.3).

<sup>27</sup> Later, after Achilles has indeed killed Hector, Priam offers him Polyxena's hand in exchange for the restitution of the body, but Achilles dismisses the proposal (3.27), in what has been identified by Timpanaro 1987, 182 as one of the many *aprosdoketa* of the *Ephemeris*.

impulsive, but also invents for him contradictory and less-than-heroic motivations (i.e. love or lust).<sup>28</sup> Similarly, in the *Ephemeris* the hero is concerned about the sufferings of the soldiers during the plague (2.31) but nevertheless withdraws from the war shortly thereafter, leaving the Greek soldiers exposed to attacks by the Trojans (for which there is again a Homeric parallel).<sup>29</sup> Also, Achilles' withdrawal in the *Ephemeris* is motivated partly by Agamemnon's demand that he gives up Hippodamia (Dictys' name for Briseis) and partly, and even less justifiably, by Agamemnon's failure to invite him to a dinner attended by the other Greek champions (2.36),<sup>30</sup> a slight that induces him to attempt a treacherous attack on his fellow Greeks (2.37).<sup>31</sup> When Achilles re-joins the fight against the Trojans, he is motivated, not by the desire for revenge over the death Patroclus (who has not yet died; cf. 3.20), but by the entreaties of his friends and the realisation that the soldiers are not responsible for the situation (2.52). Thus, the considerable modification of Achilles' character in this manner, especially the emphasis on his unpredictability, served to both offer an alternative to the depiction of the hero in the *Iliad* (and Epic Cycle) and to add romance and adventure, aspects of the tale apparently considered desirable by Dictys' target audience.

An analogous principle is also at play, I suggest, in Dictys' construction of the opposition between the civilised Greeks and barbarous Trojans. Among the main themes in Dictys' chronicle, scholars have singled out the recurrent, though not entirely consistent, opposition of the Greeks, often called *nostris*, to the Trojans, often called *barbari*, in what is presented as a clash between a civilised society and, well, a 'barbaric' one. Thus, for example, the Greeks collectively during their councils (*Ephem.* 1 and 2) and their embassy seeking the return of Helen reach unanimous decisions (*consensu omnium*, 1.16) and try to find a peaceful resolution to Paris' offence and individual-

**28** The Achilles *qua* lover motif appears in the Epic Cycle (meeting with Helen in *Cypria*, love of Penthesilea in *Aithiopsis*); as a result of Dictys' changes to this version the hero is both more driven by love than in Homer/the Epic Cycle with respect to Polyxena and also less driven by love with respect to Penthesilea and Briseis/Hippodamia.

**29** As it is well-known, in *Iliad* Book 1 Achilles prompts to call the meeting at which Calchas reveals the cause of the plague, and then, at the same meeting, he announces his withdrawal from the conflict.

**30** The pettiness of Achilles regarding the dinner insult (as Timpanaro 1987, 179 comments, "la magnanima ira di Achille si è trasformata in bizza, in permalosità") is not unprecedented nor Dictys' invention, but traces back at least as far back as Aristotle (*Rhet.* 2.24), though, of course, Dictys' choice to deploy this motif was driven by his agenda to distance his narrative from other Trojan War narratives.

**31** Interestingly, whatever its cause, Achilles' absence is not responsible for as many Greek casualties in the *Ephemeris* as it is in the *Iliad*, and the Greeks even win some battles in his absence (*Ephem.* 2.41, 42, 46, for which there is, again, a precedent in the *Iliad*, cf. especially Book 13).

ly deliver effective and touching speeches, as do, e.g. Palamedes and Odysseus (1.6 and 2.22, respectively). Priam and/or his young sons, by contrast, disrespect their opponents by interrupting Palamedes' speech, twice break armed into the council of the Trojans and compel the Trojan elders not to return Helen to the Greeks, and are only prevented by Antenor from kidnapping and killing Greek envoys (1.6, 7, 11, 2.20-22). The characterisation of the two sides extends to their methods of warfare: the Greeks fight in proper battle formation and following the orders of their leaders, while the Trojans rush shouting onto the battlefield, lack discipline, and often attack treacherously. Thus, at one point, Pandarus, as he does in the *Iliad*, wounds Menelaus while the latter is engaged in a duel with Paris (*Ephem.* 2.40), and at another the Trojan *barbari* attack the Greeks during the winter truce (2.42; cf. e.g. 3.13, 17 and 4.5, but see at 3.15 Achilles attacks Hector performing *dolum...ex improviso*). As has been seen, this contrast, though largely maintained on a general level, is not entirely consistent across characters, situations, or points in the narrative. To begin with, the Greeks are depicted as responsible for earlier disreputable behaviour, such as the abductions of Europa, Medea, and Io (as Aeneas reminds them at *Ephem.* 2.20). More importantly, the assassination of Palamedes, who is a particular favorite of the soldiers, by Odysseus and Diomedes early on (2.15) foreshadows conflict and shameful conduct by them and other Greeks, who, as mentioned earlier, become gradually more prone to cruelty and treachery as Dictys' narrative proceeds (a negative behaviour notably well attested in the Epic Cycle). Thus, they storm Troy in defiance of a treaty (5.10) and during the ensuing sack of the city slaughter Trojans even as they for their lives at the altars of gods (5.12 and 5.13). Consistent with the overall trend in the behaviour of the Greeks, the individual heroes' despicable characteristics tend to become more prominent as the narrative proceeds. The somewhat paradoxical result of this trend (of which Achilles is the prime example) is that the civilised Greeks vs. barbaric Trojans construct evident in the first two books becomes less pronounced in the following four books. In fact, most of the heroes are presented ambiguously, with both positive and negative aspects, and the latter often prevailing.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, only a few characters remain consistently virtuous in Dictys' narrative, particularly Palamedes and, but for an episode, Ajax (see in detail below, § 5) on the Greek side and, on the Trojan side, Antenor and es-

**32** Of course this is not unparalleled and, as it is often the case with Dictys, builds upon an element already found in Homer; on the other hand in several cases the negative aspects of Dictys' heroes overshadow the positive ones, e.g. Agamemnon, who is accused, *inter alia*, of having plotted with Diomedes and Odysseus to kill Palamedes, thus fixing on the extreme negative aspects of the Homeric Agamemnon and, to some extent, Menelaus.

pecially Aeneas, who evolves from a relentless belligerent to an advocate of the Greeks' truce proposal.<sup>33</sup> But these are exceptions to the general rule; the behaviour of Dictys' heroes, including the Greek ones, as just observed, becomes largely negative by the end of the war. Passages in Homer and later texts may have inspired this representation of the Greeks and Trojans,<sup>34</sup> but Dictys-Septimius appears to have emphasised it in the service of a specific agenda, perhaps, as has been proposed, to reflect the author's pessimistic view of war;<sup>35</sup> alternatively, more compelling is Timpanaro's explanation that it reflects instead Dictys' taste for *aprosdoketa*<sup>36</sup> or, I suggest, the hypothesis that the character-portrayal is crucial to achieve distinctive features of Dictys' work, i.e. correction of Homer and insertion of adventure and 'romance'.

## 5 Homer, Dictys, and the Epic Heroes

In other words, Dictys' reuse and recombination of ancient sources and traditions, including alternatives to Homer, with wholesale invention and new ways of ordering the material in Homer and the Cyclic epics, served to characterise the heroes in distinctive ways, which in turn, I suggest, was a crucial means to the key achievement of the *Ephemeris*, namely Dictys' reworking, 'correction', and supplementing (with adventure and 'romance') of the Trojan War tradition.

**33** Nestor and Idomeneus acquit themselves nobly but play only minor roles (notwithstanding the relationship of Idomeneus and Dictys, the latter being a soldier of Idomeneus' army). Hector, while at one point makes the difficult decision to oppose returning Helen because he respects her status as a suppliant and indicates that he is ashamed of his brother Paris's crimes and ready to return the gold and goods stolen by him (2.25), he also, as noted above, attempts to compel Achilles to commit acts of treachery (in a way that seems utterly inconsistent with Hector's depiction in either the *Iliad* or the *Cypria*). Other characters are portrayed in a consistently negative light, such as Priam and his other sons (especially Paris), who are referred to in the *Ephemeris* as *reguli* ('petty kings').

**34** See e.g. *Ephem.* 2.38: "composite Graecis ac singulis per distributionem imperia ducum exsequentibus, contra sine modo atque ordine Barbaris ruentibus". Timpanaro 1987, 184 suggested that this passage was inspired by Homer (e.g. at *Il.* 3.1-19, where the Trojans advance calling out like birds vs. the Greeks proceeding in silence), the opposition of Greeks vs. barbarians in warfare is, of course, found also in Herodotus, cf. Merkle 1989, 142 fn. 114.

**35** Thought the (alleged) Cretan origin of Dictys may have determined a pro-Greek perspective, the Greeks' behaviour, as mentioned, deteriorates toward the end of the siege; an important factor to be considered is that in the late 1st BCE to 2nd cent. CE especially, from the Roman perspective traditionally, the Greeks are, of course, the 'bad guys' and the Trojans, as Rome's (and especially Caesar's) supposed ancestors, the 'good guys'.

**36** See, respectively, Merkle 1989, 241-2 (cf. also Merkle 2004, 137-8) and Timpanaro 1987, 181-3, and, subsequently, Merkle 1996, 570-1.

Following, though in different terms and in a different context (cf. also § 2), in the steps of earlier poets such as Stesichorus, the Greek tragedians, and Hellenistic authors, Dictys' narrative 'corrects' Homer by humanising Achilles and other major figures in the Trojan war, providing them with different motivations and at the same time introducing unexpected twists and turns in the familiar story and allusions to a range of literary traditions. It must be noted that the versions of the heroes presented in the *Ephemeris* may be not only less noble than those in the Homeric version, as in the case of Achilles, but also more noble or more relevant, as in the case of Ajax (already, of course, an important hero in the *Iliad*) and Palamedes (the latter, though completely absent from the Homeric poems, was an important figure already in the Cyclic version and in later traditions, cf. Stesichorus, Pindar, and tragedy).<sup>37</sup> This reinvention of the story is, then, a key strategy in the *Ephemeris*, and it suggests some interesting parallels with other re-imaginings of the Homeric narratives, such as Philostratus' aforementioned *Heroicus*, which also presents a flattering version of a Greek hero participating in the Trojan War based, again, on a combination of alternative sources including the Epic Cycle, Greek tragedy, and mythography and invention. Exploring the parallels between the two writers a bit further, each turns the spotlight on heroes who are marginal in or entirely missing from the Homeric narratives, not only Palamedes but also Protesilaus in the *Heroicus*, two heroes who are killed early in the war,<sup>38</sup> before the main story of the *Iliad* begins. Dictys' and Philostratus' inventions, then, capitalise on the fact that, in Homer, Protesilaus is barely mentioned and Palamedes, an important hero in many other traditions, is not mentioned at all. In the *Ephemeris*, that shares Philostratus' *Heroicus* interest in the hero,<sup>39</sup> Palamedes is chosen as

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**37** Palamedes' story, as narrated in non-Homeric sources, including the *Cypria*, Stesichorus (PMG 213), Pindar (fr. 260 S.M.), tragedy (Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides all composed a tragedy labelled *Palamedes*), and the well-known Gorgias' *Defence of Palamedes*, included invention of letters, seeking Helen's hand in marriage and unmasking Odysseus' feigned madness to prevent the latter from evading participation in the Trojan War; this latter act motivates Odysseus to plot Palamedes' death. Scholars have been debating whether the tradition about Palamedes in the Epic Cycle is late or whether there are other reasons for the omission of Palamedes from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, for example that he and Odysseus shared many traits, being therefore incompatible (or 'rivals') in the Homeric narrative and also the fact that the Homeric Odysseus is too virtuous to plot Palamedes' death; cf. e.g. Woodford 1994; Mestre 2018; on the relationship between the Epic Cycle and Homer see Burgess 2001, 132-43, with previous discussions.

**38** E.g. in Dictys' version at *Ephem.* 2.15 and 3.11, respectively.

**39** Philostratus makes him the favorite fellow hero of Protesilaus; on Palamedes see also Philostr. *VA* 4.14. In the *Heroicus* (43.11-14) it is even stated that Odysseus made it a condition of his confiding to Homer the true story of the Trojan war that Homer would suppress all mention of Palamedes. Palamedes seems to have been of much in-

a member of the delegation sent to Troy to demand the restitution of Helen, where he delivers an impressive speech (1.4-6); in the *Iliad*, by contrast, neither mention of the delegation (*Il.* 3.205-6; 11.139-40) includes him in it. Palamedes is also chosen to command part of the army (*Ephem.* 1.16, 19) alongside Achilles, Ajax, Idomeneus, and Odysseus; and he and Ajax alone consistently maintain the affection of the soldiers, who express a preference for Palamedes over Agamemnon as their commander (2.15). A second strategy that both Dictys and Philostratus employ is a running parallel between the dominant Iliadic figure of Achilles and another major hero, Ajax in the *Ephemeris* and Protesilaus in the *Heroicus*.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, it seems to me that Dictys uses a variety of narrative strategies to depict Ajax as the ‘best of the Achaeans’. The present article lacks the scope for a full account of this effort, but I draw attention in the first place to the fact that Ajax in the *Ephemeris* is associated with Achilles in friendship, kinship,<sup>41</sup> and especially in battle. For example, the two fight side-by-side (rather than Ajax being with Teucer, as in the *Iliad*) against Sarpedon (*Ephem.* 2.11), advance similar tactics on different parts of the battlefield, at one point dividing the entire army between them (2.3), distinguish themselves in fighting on the front lines, and rout their enemies.<sup>42</sup> Thus, by presenting Ajax as a parallel and/or an alternative to Achilles on the battlefield<sup>43</sup> as well as in other contexts, particularly in council and embassies,<sup>44</sup> Dictys makes Ajax an outstanding hero both in battle (as he was traditionally) and in other fields,

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terest to both Philostratus and Dictys, who share other similarities as regards the revision of the characteristics and actions of a few heroes of the Trojan war (see below as to Protesilaus and Ajax); a fact that begs the question, which however falls beyond the scope of this paper, of the relationship between Philostratus and Dictys as regards the rewriting of the events related to the Trojan War (and of the significance of Palamedes in general to the writers of the Second Sophistic).

<sup>40</sup> Philostratus, possibly drawing on Homeric hints and ancient sources (i.e. the *Cypria*; *Il.* 15.704-725; Apollod. *Epit.* 4.46, cf. also 3.31), makes Achilles and Protesilaus friends from the same hometown and depicts them generally and in specific passages as sharing similarities in their stories, military skills, deaths, cult status, and roles as ‘protectors of the Greeks’; Berenson Maclean, Bradshaw Aitkens 2001, lix aptly describe Philostratus’ aim here as “the elevation of Protesilaus’ heroic status through his close association with Achilles.”

<sup>41</sup> *Ephem.* 4.3; on such a tradition in literature and figurative arts see e.g. Apollod. *Myth.* 2.6.4. and *LIMC* s.v. “Aias”.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. also the matching expeditions by the two heroes in territories close to Troy narrated and then assessed collectively in *Ephem.* 2.17-19.

<sup>43</sup> This strategy even occasionally includes reduplicating actions of the latter, e.g. *Ephem.* 2.27, referring to what in the *Iliad* (20.90-92) are described as attacks on Aineias’ herds; cf. also Venini 1981, 171-2.

<sup>44</sup> Dictys’ inventions possibly draw on depictions of Achilles as a skilled orator (e.g. in the council of the Greeks in *Il.* 1 and in the embassy in *Il.* 9) and rare Homeric hints at such qualities in Ajax, in particular *Il.* 1.144-145, where he is described as an ἀρχὸς ἀνὴρ βουλευφόρος along with Odysseus, Idomeneus and, notably, Achilles.

such as rhetoric. Particularly noteworthy in this context is Dictys' purposeful recasting of Ajax's death so as to make him an (almost)<sup>45</sup> entirely honorable hero. Thus, in contrast with the traditional story that the hero kills himself because Odysseus rather than he is awarded the dead Achilles' armor, Dictys' Ajax is found dead in the midst of a dispute with Diomedes (who soon withdraws his own claim in favor of Ajax's) and Odysseus regarding which of them should receive the Palladion (which in this context takes the place of Achilles' armor) after the Greeks take Troy. Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Odysseus are all suspected of having had a hand in Ajax's death, which the Greek soldiers compare explicitly to that of Palamedes,<sup>46</sup> referring to both as beloved figures treacherously killed by, apparently, the same envious trio of Greek leaders (*Ephem.* 5.15). As the narration of these events concludes, Dictys in an aside ponders whether the war would have had a different outcome had Ajax died earlier, thereby casting him, rather than Achilles, as the *sine quo non* for the Greek victory.

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**45** At *Ephem.* 5.13 Ajax loses self-control and threatens to kill the Greeks who oppose awarding him the Palladion (Dictys attributes essentially every hero some flaw, even to Ajax, a fact that could be taken as a kind of realism, though, again, the Homeric heroes were not flawless themselves).

**46** In doing so, Dictys also emphasises the high morality of Ajax by paralleling the hero and his unfortunate destiny with that of the virtuous Palamedes.

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## **Poesia latina**



# A Night in Cyprus (Verg. *Aen.* 1.657-697)

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**Abstract** In a short and unprecedented episode of Book 1, the *Aeneid* has Venus swap Iulus and Cupid: the goddess transfers Iulus to Cyprus for one night only, and has Cupid impersonate Iulus at the court of Carthage. This paper examines the reasons why the model of Cleopatra and Caesarion is relevant to the episode, in particular via the political significance of the Cypriot location and the reference to Cleopatra's visual propaganda.

**Keywords** Roman epic and politics. Cleopatra. Caesarion. Augustus. Virgil. Body doubles. Cyprus. Venus. Aphrodite. Civil wars at Rome. Impersonation. Carthage and Alexandria in the *Aeneid*.

Paret Amor dictis carae genetricis, et alas  
exuit, et gressu gaudens incedit Iuli.  
at Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem  
inrigat, et fotum gremio dea tollit in altos  
Idaliae lucos, ubi mollis amaracus illum  
floribus et dulci adspirans complectitur umbra.  
(1.689-694)

It is a summer<sup>1</sup> night in Cyprus, and the sacred grove breathes aromatics: a suitable setting to celebrate my friend Willy Cingano. The alternative, no less beautiful (and musically resonant for a jazz aficionado like Willy), is a night in Tunisia: we are now in a palace in

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1 For the season cf. *Aen.* 1.756, where *aestas* is the last word of Book 1.



Carthage, a magnificent city of the past. In both settings, a beautiful boy is being pampered by a loving queen. In Carthage, we see Cupid, god of love, and Dido, queen of lovers; in Cyprus, Iulus, son of Aeneas, and Venus, goddess of love. But it all lasts only one night. What kind of world is this? We are reading the first book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, and in particular the moment when Venus hides Iulus in an Idalian grove and sends Cupid in his place. What we see is a bizarre example of Virgil's favourite pattern, the chiasmus, recently studied as *Virgil's Double Cross* by a great critic, David Quint (Quint 2018). This one-night chiasmus across the Mediterranean requires explanation. The two boys are not only supremely beautiful; they are identical.

As will become clear, this episode is intimately related to another duplication, namely one in the final sequence of the civil war at Rome, right before the victory of Octavian. The two sides were fighting over Caesar's legacy, dividing their loyalties between a love-child of Caesar, Caesarion, "Ptolemy and also Caesar, the god who loves his father and loves his mother", and a posthumously adopted son of Caesar, C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus. The importance of Caesarion in the conflict was greater than we sometimes remember: he was, unlike other family members who were saved for the triumph and a dynastic future, the one who was killed on the spot after the death of Antony and Cleopatra in Alexandria. The advice of the despicable Greek philosopher Areius, quoting the *Iliad* to Octavian, was 'there should be only one king' (Plut. *Ant.* 81.4): Caesarion was a dangerous, troubling duplicate for the new Caesar. Before the final conflict, Antony had publicly testified (Cass. Dio 50.3.1-5) that Caesarion was the true blood and heir of Caesar.

In his seminal reading of the imperial politics of the *Aeneid*, David Quint (1992, 28) explains that "when [...] Dido embraces Cupid who has been substituted for Ascanius, the scene suggests Cleopatra's love child Caesarion, whom she and Antony, at a ceremony in Alexandria in 34 B.C., attempted to pass off as Julius Caesar's heir".<sup>2</sup> Yet, as this paper will ask, what about Iulus in Cyprus? Are there any historical parallels to be drawn to the other half of the Virgilian chiasmus?

Cyprus is a node in the network of power in the *Aeneid*, and it connects both to Dido and Venus. Dido explains in her first speech to Aeneas in the poem (1.619-622) that her father Belus had established a Phoenician empire in Cyprus. Venus retires to her home at Paphos after her first appearance to Aeneas (1.415-417); she moves Iulus to Idalium in Cyprus, after considering the alternative of Cythera at 1.680; she shows again the intention of bringing him to Cyprus in

<sup>2</sup> The idea is developed at Quint 2018, 76 and 125: the entire book is based on ideas of duplication, exchange and mirroring, viewed as a rhetoric of the civil wars creating an emotional imprint on the *Aeneid*.

10.51-52 (cf. Juno in 10.86), and mentions the cult places at Amathus, Paphos and Idalia or Idalium, plus the alternative of Cythera. Her signature sanctuary in the Western Mediterranean, at Eryx in Sicily, is founded in this poem at 5.759 with explicit reference to Venus Idalia: Sicilian Venus, which is the archetype of Roman Venus, is actually transferred from Cyprus. The island is also well known as an interface for Greeks, Phoenicians, and Egyptians, and Venus in Cyprus can be seen as Aphrodite, Astarte, and Hathor or Isis.

As is also well known, Venus has a Homeric tradition in Cyprus. She regularly goes by Cytherea in the *Aeneid*, not Kypris as in Greek epic, but nevertheless there is a spatial connection with Cyprus. The idea of the goddess returning to her abode in Cyprus connects three divine encounters in the family of Anchises: the episodes involve Anchises himself in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, Aeneas in *Aen.* 1.415-417, and now Iulus: lover, son, grandson. This is the dynasty that the *Aeneid* offers to Augustus. The conclusion of the encounter with Aeneas is very specific:

Ipsa Paphum sublimis abit, sedesque reuisit  
laeta suas, ubi templum illi, centumque Sabaeo  
ture calent arae, sertisque recentibus halant.  
(1.415-417)

“She enacts...a Sapphoesque fantasy of a Near Eastern goddess of love” (Reed 2007, 194), and frankincense from Sheba is significant. The passage as a whole is an allusion to a moment in the *Odyssey* (8.362-363) and to one in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (58-59; Olson 2011; Barchiesi 1994, 116-17; Sainte-Beuve 1857, 274-85). Both are transgressive intertexts, linked to ideas of pleasure: adultery with Ares, accidental sex with Anchises. So in Virgil Venus chooses her love shack in Cyprus over her other birthplace in Cythera (the two locations that are most closely associated to her, because of her peculiar generation from sperm and sea-foam, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 198-199 “Kythereia because she happened upon Kythera and Kyprogenes because she was born in much-surgings Kypros”) to lodge her grandson for one night only. The passage from the Hymn is particularly erotic: while in the *Odyssey* the goddess seeks shelter in her favorite Paphos after the adultery and the scandal, the poet of the Hymn is visualising preparations for adultery:

When Aphrodite, lover of smiles, saw him,  
she fell in love with him. A terrible desire seized her in her  
*phrenes*.  
She went to Cyprus, entering her temple fragrant with  
incense





regalis inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum,  
cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet,  
occultum inspires ignem fallasque ueneno.  
(1.680-688)

In the end, as we saw at the beginning of this paper, Venus opts for Cyprus not Cythera:

Paret Amor dictis carae genetricis, et alas  
exuit, et gressu gaudens incedit Iuli.  
at Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem  
inrigat, et fotum gremio dea tollit in altos  
Idaliae lucos, ubi mollis amaracus illum  
floribus et dulci adspirans complectitur umbra.  
(1.689-694)

The herb *amaracus* belongs to the same botanical genus as *dictamnus*, the Cretan herb that heals Aeneas in *Aen.* 12.412, Venus being the agent of healing. But unlike *dictamnus*, *amaracus* has a hint of *amor*, and Catull. 61, a marriage poem, associates *amaracus*, Venus, and Idalium (61.6 and 14): Denis Feeney (2013, 78) points out that *amaracus* has a special resonance if we think of the common pun between *amor* and *amarus*, the bittersweet nature of desire. Mention of Aphrodite from Cypriot Idalium is also prominent in the Adonis song of Theocritus 15, a poem set in Alexandria and focusing on Ptolemaic celebrations of Adonis (cf. Theoc. 15.100-101: Golgoi, Idalion and – same association as in Virgil – Sicilian Eryx; for the link with Adonis cf. Prop. 2.13, 53). The *altos...lucos* in this context are not simply a revelation of the lush landscape on the hillside of Cyprus: a *lucus* is a normal expectation when approaching a temple of Venus, if we think for example of the evidence of the Venus shrine at Pompeii (cf. Carroll 2009). In a parallel situation, after the foundations of Segesta and the sanctuary of Venus Erycina in Sicily, we see a sacred grove (*lucus*) with a priest adjoining the grave of Anchises (*Aen.* 5.761-762).

Cyprus was, in the age between Caesar's victory at Pharsalus and Octavian's victory at Actium (48-31 BCE), a surprising example of a Roman conquest that had been returned to a foreign power. The restitution of Cyprus to the Ptolemies happened between 48 and 47 and was probably associated with Cleopatra and Caesarion (born in the early summer of 47), perhaps even perceived as the statement of a donation by Caesar to Cleopatra in the name of this new 'heir.' So, for young Virgil, and for all the Romans at the time, Cyprus was not just a Greek place: it was quintessentially Ptolemaic, and one of the few remainders of what had been a Ptolemaic Mediterranean empire: an empire that Antony had a plan to revive. Now Caesarion, if we look to Cyprus, is not just a 'love-child;' he is Eros himself, the son of Aphrodite.

There is evidence connecting Caesarion to Paphos and to Cyprus in Ptolemaic coinage;<sup>3</sup> Caesarion in this tradition can be seen as Eros and as Adonis, a beloved child and also a prospective teen lover.<sup>4</sup> Both divine figures have a place in Cyprus. Cleopatra as Aphrodite-Isis balances Caesarion as Eros-Horus-Adonis. Venus in Virgil creates a duplicitous Ptolemaic scenario: the fake Iulus appears as Cleopatra's son in Ptolemaic visual propaganda, real Iulus is being groomed as Caesarion.

Discussing the art of Cleopatra's empire, Kleiner (2005, 144-5) insists on the importance of Cypriot bronze coinage. Cleopatra suckles Caesarion, like Isis with her child. Protection and motherhood are crucial for this dynastic ideology: at Dendera in Egypt little Caesar is king next to Cleopatra, the Queen of Kings, and at Edfu the baby king is "a diminutive Caesarion... well protected by huge falcons at the temple's entrance" (Kleiner 2005, 85). Ptolemaic coins with Caesarion have been found by J.B. Connelly at Yeronisos near Paphos: she suggests the existence of a Ptolemaic cult place, connected to the cult of Aphrodite and to Cleopatra's dynastic celebrations (Connelly 2008, 86-8). Certainly, the location, a tiny island west of Paphos, never a place of regular settlement, makes one think of naval routes from Alexandria to Cyprus, and of rituals of royal cult. The protective iconography of Venus in Virgil, nesting Iulus in a bed of aromatic plants in a sanctuary, is a good match for the operations of Cleopatra's dynastic ideology.

Cleopatra issued coins in Cyprus, advertising Caesarion as her heir, and also his connection to Caesar [fig. 1]. It would be hard to find a more Venusian image for a ruler: Caesarion has a mother who is also Isis/Aphrodite, a father who belongs to the Roman lineage of Venus from Aeneas and Iulus, and is the new ruler at Paphos, the birthplace of the goddess Aphrodite. The swap between Iulus and Cupid in the *Aeneid* episode has a strange effect of doubling: in both places, at Carthage and Cyprus, we see a moment of dynastic propaganda, as if there is no escape from the Cleopatra mirage. This duplication brings back the tension of the civil wars: later on, Dido will famously complain that she has not given birth to a *paruulus Aeneas* (4.328-329), the mythical equivalent of 'little Caesar' Caesarion. For Cupid, Aeneas is nothing but a *falsus genitor* (cf. 1.716), more exactly a stepbrother (1.667 *frater... tuus... Aeneas*).<sup>5</sup> In the banquet at Carthage, Iulus/Eros is associated with royalty, with an emphasis that goes beyond the standards of the *Aeneid*: he is one *regius puer*

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3 See e.g. Havelock 1995, 219, and Kleiner and Connelly quoted below.

4 On incest, Ptolemaic propaganda, religious imagination in the *Aeneid* see the rich and suggestive essay by Hardie 2006.

5 On Ptolemaic style viewed as confusion of family roles note again Hardie 2006.



Figure 1 Bronze Coin of Cleopatra VII/Ptolemy XV, Paphos, 47-29 BC. 1951.116.420. Courtesy of The American Numismatics Association

(1.677-678), bringing *regia dona* to a *regina* (1.695-697) and exchanging hugs and kisses *regalis inter mensas* (1.686). When she welcomes him to her lap, Dido is styled a *regina...aurea*, 1.697-698 (the interpretation of Putnam 2018), an epithet that connects her to the Homeric *Venus aurea* of *Aen.* 10.16.<sup>6</sup>

- a. Cleopatra had a gilded statue in the Caesarian temple of Venus Genetrix at Rome (see Cass. Dio 51.22.3). The statue had a great impact: it is a possible guess that Cleopatra was supporting little Caesarion on her shoulder. In that case (Kleiner 2005, 137, cf. Curtius 1933) it is attractive to speculate that the cult statue of Venus herself had a matching iconography, with Cupid/Eros on a shoulder. A Pompeiian painting is also relevant to this discussion: it is from the triumphal age and, Susan Walker argues, “the infant Caesarion is represented [...] as Cupid to Cleopatra’s Venus” (Walker 2008, 42). But the image of Caesarion apparently suffered erasure and concealment in subsequent years, in the age of Octavian. One wonders if Caesarion himself was interpreted as Cupid, a fitting companion image for such a Queen of Hearts. Or perhaps he was explained away as Cupid by observers who were

<sup>6</sup> The physical connection of Dido and Cupid is reactivated in the connection of Dido and Ascanius at 4.82-85; on the passage see the comments of Ziogas 2010.

pro-Octavian and not so keen to associate themselves with the Egyptian competitor of their Roman leader. In any case, there is one further troubling suggestion of impersonation, right in the temple of Julian Venus. Before the identification of the Pompeian painting as “Cleopatra in the guise of Venus Genetrix” (Kleiner 2005, 154-5), one scholar had suggested the image represented (Leach 2004, 106-7) “an actress playing a queen”, a reasonable reaction to this play of substitutions. In the *Aeneid*, the plot of Venus backfires on Dido as Cleopatra. The night in Cyprus is suggestive of a road not taken in this game of thrones. The Venus-Iulus pipeline of power that the epic is working hard to construct could have been hijacked, and the alternative Alexandrian plot is still part of the ideological fabric of the *Aeneid*. The effect is highlighted in the crucial narrative hinge at 1.690-691, where the metamorphosis of Amor into the son of Aeneas is marked by the dynastic name Iulus,<sup>7</sup> while the son of Aeneas who is transported to Cyprus is mentioned as Ascanius. The disquieting aspect of the divine swap in *Aeneid* 1 is that, while Cupid (a Cupid without wings) is impersonating Iulus, Ascanius is impersonating, for one night only, Caesarion.

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<sup>7</sup> On the importance of the two names for the son of Aeneas and of their positioning in the narrative see Barchiesi 2016. I thank Michael Putnam for his friendly advice on this paper.

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# Ovid and the Ass (*Fast.* 1.391-440, 6.319-346)

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**Abstract** The focus of this paper is the double aetiology of the very first sacrifice of the ass in Ovid's *Fasti* 1 and 6. I explore Ovid's sources, in particular Hyginus' *Astronomica* and Eratosthenes' *Catasterismoi* and argue that the two Ovidian episodes look back to two Eratosthenic aetiological variants, both of which pertain to the catasterisation of the Asses. Regarding the significance of Priapus' episode in the sacrificial list of Book 1, the sacrifice of the ass is programmatic for Ovid's elegiac project: the donkey deserves to be sacrificed, since through its actions it undermines Priapus' elegiac love and so poses a serious threat to the generic identity of the work. In Book 6 the ass is endowed with a national dimension, which was already inherent in Hyginus' Eratosthenic version of the myth.

**Keywords** Priapus. Ass. Sacrifice. Hyginus' *Astronomica*. Eratosthenes' *Catasterismoi*. Programmatic.

As a coda to his explanation of the festival of the Agonalia (*Fast.* 1.317-456), Ovid gives a list of animals, so he can offer us a mythological explanation of how they were sacrificed for the very first time, a deed which brought the Golden Age to its end. Given the importance of the practice of sacrifice as integral part of the Augustan ideology, scholars have considered this passage to be a manifesto by Ovid against sacrifice with anti-Augustan undertones. There is also agreement that it looks back to the so-called Ovid's Pythagorean account in Book 15 of the *Metamorphoses*, in which the poet also expresses his repulsion at the sacrificial slaughter of animals and at carnivorousness



Edizioni  
Ca' Foscari

**Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4**

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

**Peer review | Open access**

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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**DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/027**

(*Met.* 15.75-142).<sup>1</sup> However, while in his epic poem, the corresponding list of animals is somewhat brief, including only four species (pig, goat, sheep and ox in *Met.* 15.111-142; cf. *Fast.* 1.349-352 about the pig, 1.353-360 about the goat, 1.363-380 about the cow and 1.381-382 about the sheep), in his elegiac poem Ovid both elaborates his discussion of these four animals and adds the horse (1.385-386), the hind (1.387-388), the dog (1.389-390), the ass (1.391-440) and finally the birds (1.441-456), thus significantly increasing their number.

When comparing these two accounts of sacrifice, scholars have discussed these additions and have also examined various alterations in the focus of the narrative. In particular, they have stressed the fact that, in contrast to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in which the responsibility for the sacrifice rests with men (*Met.* 15.127), in his *Fasti*, the gods, rather than simply being the passive recipients of sacrifice, actually instigate the very first slaughter of animals and rejoice in it (*Fast.* 1.349 *prima Ceres avidae gavisae est sanguine porcae* "the first to joy in blood of greedy sow was Ceres").<sup>2</sup> In other words, the gods appear on the elegiac stage, where they play an energetic role in the sacrificial process. Apart from these preliminary remarks, however, there has not been any systematic study of Ovid's sacrificial list in the *Fasti*.<sup>3</sup>

Here, in this paper, in order to shed some new light on Ovid's expanded account of sacrifice in the *Fasti*, I will focus upon the longest aetiological story in the list, the *first sacrifice of the ass*, which comes as a conclusion to the account of the attempted rape of the Nymph Lotis by Priapus, the guardian of the gardens whose rude wooden image was placed in gardens as a scarecrow to protect them against the ravages of birds and thieves. (*Fast.* 1.415 *at ruber, hortorum decus et tutela, Priapus* "But crimson Priapus, glory and guard

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I first met Professor Ettore Cingano in Venice in 2004, when he was co-organiser with Professor Lucio Milano of the very first *Advanced Seminar in the Humanities*, which took place for two consecutive years (2004-2005) at the Venice International University. This memorable intensive seminar, during which I had the unique opportunity of meeting eminent scholars as well as fellow graduate students from the most prestigious institutions around the world, was a personal landmark in the early years of my academic career. This paper is therefore dedicated to Professor Cingano with deep gratitude, sincere esteem and fond memories of San Servolo in snow and in blossom. Special thanks are due to my colleague, Sophia Papaioannou for her valuable comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

**1** Green 2008; Garani 2013. For preliminary remarks regarding sacrificial ritual in Roman poetry see Feeney 2004.

**2** Contrary to Ceres' bloodthirsty desire in *Fast.* 1 and hence the termination of the Golden Age period, in Ovid's account of Cerealia (*Fast.* 4.393-416) the Goddess appears to be reluctantly accepting animal sacrifice (cf. especially *Fast.* 4.407-408, 4.412-414).

**3** For some preliminary remarks on the list see Gladigow 1971. See also Bömer 1958, *ad loc.*



of gardens).<sup>4</sup> As the story goes, Pans, Satyrs, Silenus, Priapus and several Nymphs come as guests to a Bacchic festival that overflows with wine. Ovid offers a detailed description of the Nymphs: he presents us with a catalogue of their sexual attractions, their appearance and their gestures (1.405-410). He then turns to the reaction of the male viewers (1.411-418), which culminates with Priapus' nocturnal attack on Lotis (1.421-432). Still, thanks to the ill-timed braying of Silenus' donkey, Priapus is discovered and humiliated (1.433-440). As a punishment for braying at the wrong moment, the donkey is sacrificed by the inhabitants of Lampsacus, so as to propitiate Priapus.

Given the fact that the *Fasti* narrative is our only source for this story,<sup>5</sup> scholars have been particularly puzzled regarding both the place of this episode within Ovid's elegiac poem and its sources. As Green puts it, "What is Priapus doing within a Roman, nationalistic and religious poem?"<sup>6</sup> Green also notes that (along with Faunus' failed rape of Omphale and Priapus' foiled attempt on Vesta) "these are the only tales in all Augustan poetry which take a light-hearted look at the specific theme of sexual frustration".<sup>7</sup> Barchiesi also draws attention to potential "generic" unease caused by the inclusion of the satyrs in the poem.<sup>8</sup>

Priapus reappears in Book 6. This time the prospective victim of the would-be rapist is Vesta, the national Roman Goddess and ancient guarantor of Roman safety (*Fast.* 6.319-346).<sup>9</sup> Much ink has been spilled about the significance of this double aetiology of donkey sacrifice, the relationship between the two episodes and whether the second episode was written prior to the first one, which would then have been added to Book 1, when Ovid revised his work in exile.<sup>10</sup> In connection with all this, scholars have pointed out several differences between the two episodes.<sup>11</sup> In Book 6, despite the sacrifice of the ass in Lampsacus, which is the punishment for its braying

<sup>4</sup> Frazer 1929, 2, 170. For discussion of rape narratives in Ovid's *Fasti* see Murgatroyd 2005, 63-95; Hejduk 2011.

<sup>5</sup> *Ov. Met.* 9.340-362 in which Ovid briefly describes the attempted rape and the transformation of Lotis into a lotus tree. Cf. *Myth. Vat.* III.6.26 (ed. G.H. Bode, Celle 1834, *Script. rer. myth. Lat. tres*); cf. also *Myth. Vat.* I.126, II.179.

<sup>6</sup> Green 2004, 184.

<sup>7</sup> Green 2004, 181.

<sup>8</sup> Barchiesi 1997, 241-2.

<sup>9</sup> Littlewood 2006, 101-12. Garani 2017 and Γκαράνη 2018 with particular focus upon the role of Vesta in Book 6.

<sup>10</sup> Lefèvre 1975, 50 ff. believes that the episode is a revised version of the story based on the Priapus and Vesta episode. Cf. Fantham 1983, 201-9; Williams 1991, 196-200; Newlands 1995, 124-45; Frazel 2003, 76-84; Green 2004, 182-3.

<sup>11</sup> Newlands 1995, 125: "Book 6 provides a negative mirroring of the themes of Book 1"; and in particular 127-30; Williams 1991, 196-200; Littlewood 2006, 103-5.

ing at the wrong moment, Vesta honours donkeys with a necklace of loaves during the festival of Vestalia. This was held on 9 June in celebration of Vesta. During the festival, bakers and millers decorated their millstone with garlands and their donkeys with wreaths (*Fasti* 6.249-460).

To return to the Priapus and Lotis episode, scholars have also been particularly puzzled over Ovid's sources. Given the association of this episode with Bacchus, phallic display and the laughter that the failed, comic rapes arouses,<sup>12</sup> and even the pornographic elements involved in the episode,<sup>13</sup> scholars stress that Ovid's passage has generic associations with new comedy, mime and satyr plays. In fact, for Green Ovid's story is a "literary version of classic satyr drama" and adds that "Ovid structures his story as if it were a verse-equivalent of a mime show".<sup>14</sup> The passage suggests to Fantham - who quotes Herter - some now lost Alexandrian aetiological narrative poem.<sup>15</sup>

The focus of this paper is, however, the intriguing *presence of the ass* within the context of the history of sacrifice. Since sexual excitement and foolishness typify donkeys (Arist. [*Phgn.*] 808b 35, 811a 26)<sup>16</sup> and since therefore donkeys have been even used as a metaphor for the bestial human lust,<sup>17</sup> scholars have been puzzled by the fact that it is a donkey that hinders Priapus from his licentious behaviour. Scholars are also puzzled by the point that, in contrast to the guilt of the pig and the goat, which deserve their punishment, because of the destruction they have wrought (*Fast.* 1.361 *culpa sui nocuit, nocuit quoque culpa capellae* "The sow suffered for her crime, and the she-goat suffered, too, for hers"; see also 1.353, 359), the ass is sacrificed, although it is completely innocent and furthermore saves Lotis from being raped (*Fast.* 1.439 *morte dedit poenas auctor clamoris* "The author of the hubbub paid for it with his life").<sup>18</sup> From this point of view, the ass as a *guiltless victim* [my emphasis] is associated with

<sup>12</sup> Fantham 1983.

<sup>13</sup> Frazel 2003; Richlin 1992.

<sup>14</sup> Green 2004, 182 who quotes McKeown 1979; Wiseman 2002; Fantham 1983, 187 ff.; Barchiesi 1997, 238-51. Along the same lines, Littlewood 2006, 105 suggests that "The story of Vesta and Priapus arose from Ovid's desire for a narrative which would combine Vesta and the donkey depicted with her in the bakers' *lararium*, a cult drama for the Bakers' Guild".

<sup>15</sup> Fantham 1983, 202; Herter 1932, 88.

<sup>16</sup> Gildhus 2006, 234 also adds that "In the anonymous Latin physiognomic treatise that sums up the catalogue of faults of the ass, the animal is described as lazy (*iners*), dull (*frigidum*), unteachable (*indocile*), slow (*tardum*), insolent (*insolens*) and with an unpleasant voice (*vocis ingratae*) (119)".

<sup>17</sup> Green 2004, 200. Cf. *Priap.* 52.9 in which the lustful donkey (*salax asellus*) is used as an euphemism for human penis during intercourse.

<sup>18</sup> See also Green 2004, 184.

other such victims in Ovid's sacrificial list, in particular oxen and pigs, which are presented as man's dedicated victims (*Fast.* 1.362 *quid bos, quid placidae commeruistis oves?* "But the ox and you, ye peaceful sheep, what was your sin?"), and augural birds (*Fast.* 1.447). Pieper has argued that, in underlining the innocence of the victims, Ovid is implicitly criticising the legal system of the late Augustan period and the increasing arbitrariness of the emperor's judgments.<sup>19</sup> In other words, since Ovid induces us to sympathise with the innocent sacrificial victims, his poem therefore has political anti-Augustan political implications.<sup>20</sup> However, is this also the case with the donkey? Even if from Lotis' point of view the donkey's behaviour is irreproachable, is this also the case, if we view it from Priapus' perspective?

In order to answer this question, I will first reconsider Ovid's sources focusing in particular upon Hyginus' *Astronomica* and Eratosthenes' *Catasterismoi*, two intertexts the value of which regarding our comprehension of Ovid's *Fasti*, has been only recently explored by Robinson.<sup>21</sup> On the basis of the information to be extracted from these two intertexts, I will then discuss the significance of Priapus' episode within Ovid's sacrificial list, so as to demonstrate that the sacrifice of the ass is *programmatic* for Ovid's elegiac project: as it turns out, in fact the donkey *deserves* to be sacrificed, since through its actions it undermines Priapus' elegiac love and so poses a serious threat to the *generic identity* of the work. I will then turn briefly to the 'mirror' episode in Book 6, in which Vesta is the protagonist, in order to demonstrate further the differences between the two episodes and to underscore the shift in the role of the ass, which is now both *punished* and *honoured* for its deed; at the same time I will delve further into what is in my view the common source of the two episodes. Thus I hope to show that we should have no doubts that Ovid intended from the beginning to incorporate both these episodes within his aetiological scaffolding. More importantly, however, I also want to demonstrate that these episodes look back to two different versions of the myth, both of which the poet draws from the Eratosthenic tradition and accordingly absorbs into his elegiac poem.

<sup>19</sup> Pieper 2012.

<sup>20</sup> Regarding the implications of Ovid's questioning of augury see Green 2009, 163: "Ovid, then, sets out a new and disturbing type of augural system in Book 1 which is not directly confronted elsewhere in the poem: he does not deny that the birds may give true signs; he does not deny that some mortals may be able to interpret these signs correctly; but the crucial difference now is that the birds may be operating against divine wishes". See also Garani 2013 who argues that despite the fact that innocent cattle and sheep do not deserve to take part into animal sacrifice, and hence the poet's lamentation, bougonia turns out to be the necessary precondition for life; hence sacrifice is endowed with positive expectations.

<sup>21</sup> Robinson 2013.

According to the sources, Aphrodite gave birth to Priapus on the banks of the Hellespont at Lampsacus, subsequently disowning him because of his monstrosity (*schol.* ad Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.932 Wendel; *Scholia* on Pseudo-Nonnus 147.29 Brock). The inhabitants of Lampsacus worshipped Priapus above all other gods and sacrificed the ass in his honour (Paus. 9.301, Catull. fr. 2 Cornish = Terentianus Maurus 2755-2758, p. 406 Keil).<sup>22</sup> Yet, apart from Ovid's story of Priapus' attempted rapes, the braying of the donkey and its subsequent sacrifice, can we track down any other association of Priapus with the ass?

This is the moment to turn to *De Astronomica*, an elementary manual of astronomy of uncertain date usually divided by editors into four books, which may have been compiled by the Augustan librarian C. Iulius Hyginus.<sup>23</sup> In Hyginus' *Astronomica* Book 2, which is of interest for our present discussion, there is a series of catasterism myths, many of which are of Eratosthenic origin and many of which are explicitly ascribed to Eratosthenes, along with much extra material.<sup>24</sup> For the sake of the discussion that follows, we should note that Eratosthenes was a 3rd century BC Alexandrian poet-scholar and polymath. His *Catasterismi* consists of a prose catalogue of more than forty aetiological tales that expound the mythical origins of the constellations, the planets and of the Milky Way. Of particular significance in regard to Ovid's *Fasti*, which bears a close intertextual association with Aratus' *Phaenomena*, is the fact that Eratosthenes' text is usually found alongside Aratean material.<sup>25</sup> As Martin argues, the *Catasterismi* was meant to be an elementary astronomical and mythological companion to Aratus' *Phaenomena*.<sup>26</sup> It would be beyond the scope of the present study to explore the thorny Eratosthenic tradition, but as Robinson emphatically notes, what matters in the present case is the ancient perception which is "once again more important than actual truth".<sup>27</sup> And in fact, as he argues, Ovid's *Fasti* is a case study of the extended engagement of a literary work with an extant mythological handbook.

Bearing in mind such Eratosthenic implications, among other stories of Hyginus' Book 2, we read one in which Priapus and two asses figure as the protagonists (*Hyg. Poet. astr.* 2.23 Viré):

In eius deformationis parte sunt quidam qui Asini appellantur, a Libero in testa Cancri duabus stellis omnino figurati. Liber en-

<sup>22</sup> On Priapus' cult at Lampsacus and throughout the Hellespontic region see Herter 1932, 264-7. See also Parker 1988, 12.

<sup>23</sup> Robinson 2013, 448 with an overview of the scholarly debate.

<sup>24</sup> Martin 1956, 95-102.

<sup>25</sup> Robinson 2013, 446.

<sup>26</sup> Martin 1956, 37-126; Robinson 2013, 449.

<sup>27</sup> Robinson 2013, 447.

im ab Iunone furore obiecto, dicitur mente captus fugisse per Thesprotiam, cogitans ab Iovis Dodonaei oraculum pervenire, unde peteret responsum, quo facilius ad pristinum statum mentis perveniret. Sed cum venisset ad quandam paludem magnam, quam transire non posset, quibusdam asellis duobus obviam factis dicitur unum eorum deprehendisse et ita esse transvectus, ut omnino aquam non tetigerit. Itaque cum venisset ad templum Iovis Dodonaei, statim dicitur furore liberatus asellis gratiam retulisse et inter sidera eos collocasse. Nonnulli etiam dixerunt asino illi, quo fuerit vectus, vocem humanam dedisse. Itaque eum postea cum Priapo contendisse de natura et victum ab eo interfectum. Pro quo Liberum eius misertum in sideribus adnumerasse; et ut sciretur id pro deo, non homine timido, quia Iunonem fugerit, fecisse, supra Cancrum constituit, qui eius beneficio fuerat adfixus astris.

“In a certain part of this figure, there are the stars known as the Asses, which have been depicted by Dionysos on the shell of the Crab in the form of two stars in all. For Dionysus, after he was sent mad by Hera, is said to have fled through Thesprotia in a state of frenzy, with the intention of reaching the oracle of Zeus at Dodona to ask how he might recover his normal state of mind. On arriving at a huge swamp which he was unable to cross over, he encountered two asses, and catching one of them, he managed to get across without getting wet in the slightest degree. And so, when he reached the temple of Dodonian Zeus, he was immediately delivered from his madness, so the story goes, and he expressed his gratitude to the asses by placing them among the stars. According to some accounts, he granted a *human voice* to the ass that had carried him, and it later entered into a *contest with Priapos with regard to the size of its sexual organ, and was defeated and killed by him*. Taking pity on it for this, Dionysos placed it *among the stars*; and to make it known that he had done so as a god, rather than as a timorous man fleeing Hera, he placed *the Ass on the Crab*, which had been fixed in the heavens as a favour from that goddess. (transl. Hard 2015, 67)

In Hyginus’ account, Dionysus in a state of frenzy, inflicted on him by Hera. He is travelling to Dodona to consult Zeus’ oracle, in the hope of finding a means of recovery. On his way, he arrives at a swamp which he is unable to cross. He, then, however, comes across two asses, one of which carries him safely across the swamp. After Dionysus has been cured, he rewards the ass that carried him across with the possession of a human voice. This ass later quarrels with Priapus over which of them has the biggest penis. Priapus is defeated and so kills the ass. Out of pity for the slain ass, Dionysus installs him as one of the stars in the constellation of Crab. Notably, this myth, to which

Ovid very probably knew, involves Priapus and an ass, but more to the point it involves the pair in an *antagonistic relationship*. If we now look at Lactantius' testimony regarding the very same mythical material, we may glean an even more interesting piece of information regarding the Ovidian intertexts (Lactant. *Div. inst.* [*De falsa religione deorum*] 1.21.28-30):

Num ergo illud est verius, quod referunt ii, qui Φαινόμενα conscripserunt, cum de duabus Cancris stellis loquuntur, quas Graeci ὄνοις vocant? asellos fuisse, qui Liberum patrem transuexerint, cum annum transire non posset; quorum alteri hoc praemium dederit, ut humana voce loqueretur: itaque inter eum, Priapumque ortum esse certamen de obsceni magnitudine; Priapum victum et iratum, interemisse victorem. Hoc vero multo magis ineptum est; sed poetis licet quidquid velint: non excutio tam deforme mysterium, nec Priapum denudo, ne quid appareat risu dignum. Finxerunt haec sane poetae; sed necesse est alicuius maioris turpitudinis tegendae gratia ficta sint. Quae sit ergo quaeramus. At ea profecto manifesta est. Nam sicut Lunae taurus mactatur, quia similiter habet cornua, et "Placat equo Persis radiis Hyperiona cinctum, Ne detur celeri victima tarda Deo". Ita in hoc quia magnitudo membri virilis enormis est, non potuit ei monstro *aptior victima*<sup>28</sup> reperiri, quam quae ipsum, cui mactatur, posset imitari.

28. Then is there more truth in the story told by the **authors of *Phaenomena***, when in speaking of the two stars of the sign of the Crab which the Greeks call Donkeys they say they were the donkeys ridden by father Bacchus when he could not cross the river, and as a reward he gave one of them the power of human speech? And so a competition developed between him and Priapus over the size of their members, and Priapus lost, and killed the winner in his anger! 29. That is a much sillier story. Oh, but the poets can do what they like, they say. Well, I am not going to open up so ugly a mystery, nor strip Priapus naked, in case something worth a laugh shows up. Let's call it poetical fancy then. Yes, but contrived of a necessity, to cover up some greater nastiness. 30 So let's find out what it is. Oh, it's plain enough, surely. A bull is sacrificed to the Moon because it has horns like the moon, and (*Ov. Fast.* 1.385-86) "Hyperion girt with sunbeams is given a horse by Persis so that a speedy god is not offered a laggard victim". So, because a don-

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Ov. Fast.* 6.346 "*apta*" *canens "flammis indicis exta damus"* ("saying: 'We fitly give to the flames the innards of the tell-tale'"). Littlewood 2006, 111 remarks that "these words of the pentameter represent the formulaic expression of the Lampsacenes, who apparently did sacrifice donkeys to Priapus, uttered as they flung the ass's entrails onto the altar fires".

key has a sexual organ of enormous size, no fitter victim could be found for the prodigy Priamus than one which could mimic the god to whom it is sacrificed. (transl. Bowen, Garnsey 2003, 110-11)

Although in general terms Lactantius narrates the same version of the myth as the one we have just looked at in Hyginus, nevertheless Lactantius associates what precedes the myth in his text with Ovid's aetiological version of donkey's sacrifice. In this connection, while Lactantius underlines the ass's suitability as Priapus' victim, he quotes from Ovid's sacrificial list the example of the horse, which is sacrificed by the Persians in honour of the Sun as Hyperion, since a swift god deserves a swift animal (*Fast.* 1.385-386). This emphasis placed on the suitability of the donkey as a sacrificial victim, because of the enormous size of its sexual organ which is a key-element of the myth, may perhaps account for the fact that instead of referring to Priapus' reaping hook, which usually terrifies birds, Ovid weirdly refers to his *inquen* (*Fast.* 1.400), his traditionally huge phallus, thereby alluding to the initial mythological cause of the antagonism between him and the donkey, which Ovid had probably read in the mythological handbook that he had beside him.<sup>29</sup> Whatever the case may be, Lactantius strikingly associates the Priapus myth with the poets that wrote *Phaenomena*, i.e. Aratus, Germanicus, Cicero, all of which are inextricably linked in intertextual terms not only with Eratosthenes, but also with Ovid's *Fasti*.<sup>30</sup> In other words, it seems conceivable that, while Ovid is assembling his story of Priapus and Lotis, he responds to mythical material about Priapus' sacrifice of the ass that he had at his disposal, the gist of which is reflected in Lactantius' narration. We cannot tell whether this version of the myth bears Eratosthenic origin, as is certainly the case with the second myth, to which we will come back below.

Let us now look at another piece of evidence with regard to the mythical story involving Dionysus' donkeys and the contest with Priapus. In the scholia to Germanicus' *Aratea* we read (*Scholia Basileensis in Germanicum Arat.* 70.6-71.20 Breysig 1867; cf. *Scholia Stroziana* p. 129 Breysig):

...sunt in hoc signo in eius testa aliae stellae, quas asinos appellat. Graeci enim ὄνων dicunt. quos Liber astris intulit, quod cum a Iunone insania obiecta fugeret ad occasus, ut in Dodonaei Iovis templo responsa peteret, ut *Philiscus refert*, et magnis imbris

<sup>29</sup> Green 2004, 188.

<sup>30</sup> For Ovid's debt to Aratus' *Phaenomena* see Gee 2000. Note that Aratus refers to the presence of the sub-constellation of the Asses in the sky as a weather sign, but without any hint at the aetiological myths (*Phaen.* 894-904); cf. also Theophr. *Sign.* 23.

cum grandine ortis stagna, quae transiturus erat, inundata detinerent iter eius, asini ex contrario transeunt per aquas. ex his uno insidens et ipse transvectus est sine periculo insaniaque liberatus dicitur. uno itaque in his fecisse, ut voce humana loqueretur. qui cum sensum accipisset, post paucum tempus cum Priapo de membro naturali condendere coepit.

In this sign, in its shell there are other stars, called the donkeys, whereas the Greeks call them ὄνοι. Liber raised them to the stars when, driven insane by Juno, he had fled west to Dodona, to seek a response from the oracle in Jupiter's temple, as Philiscus reports, and when, on account of the great rainfall with hailstones, the marshes he was to cross were flooded and rendered impassable, donkeys came across the water from the other side. They say he got through safely, mounted on the back of one of these and was thus delivered from his madness. And he also made one of them able to speak in a human voice. And when it gained the capacity to think, it soon began to contend with Priapus on the subject of the male member. (transl. Kotlińska-Toma 2015, 69)

Although there are immense difficulties involved in interpreting Germanicus' scholia,<sup>31</sup> for the purposes of study we only need to note the very significant reference to a certain Philiscus. In the view of Kotlińska-Toma this late scholiastic testimony displays traces of a literary piece by the Hellenistic tragic poet, Philiscus of Corcyra, who was a member of the Pleiad, i.e. the group consisting of the seven most outstanding writers of tragedy and satyr plays associated with Alexandria. In fact, Kotlińska-Toma raises the highly interesting possibility that Philiscus was ridiculing a new-fangled cult.<sup>32</sup> She also adds that "this subject was also ideally suited to the plot of a satyr play".<sup>33</sup> It seems thus likely that in addition to Hyginus' version (whether its ultimate intertextual origin lies in Eratosthenes himself or simply Eratosthenic), the same myth may have been also used in a Hellenistic satyr play. This satyr play would then had been the ultimate intertextual predecessor of the now-lost Roman mime, which has so far been commonly considered Ovid's source for the Priapus and Lotis episode.

What, then, are the Ovidian implications of Priapus' sacrifice of the donkey in the first book of his aetiological poem? Green has drawn our attention to Priapus' *elegiac characteristics*, which echo the imagery of Ovid's earlier love poetry. Priapus pursues Lotis in the

**31** About the scholia to Germanicus see Zetzel 2018, 269-70. See also Dell'Éra 1979.

**32** For Philiscus or Philicus of Corcyra see Kotlińska-Toma 2015, 66-74.

**33** Kotlińska-Toma 2015, 73. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1924, 550 had classified it as the work of a lyric poet.



conventional manner of an elegiac lover who is chasing his beloved mistress (*Fast.* 1.415-418).<sup>34</sup> In the same fashion, Priapus' repulsive behaviour merely amuses Lotis and her fellow nymphs (*Fast.* 1.419-420, 437-8). In other words, Lotis is somehow presented as "co-conspirator", as a "willing victim", as Frazel puts it.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, according to Macrobius (*Sat.* 6.5.6), as early as the second century BC the comic poet Afranius Priapus was somehow *identified* with the ass, which may hint again at their antagonistic relationship and strengthen the hypothesis that Ovid ultimately drew on a satyr-play tradition: Afranium sequitur, qui in prologo ex persona Priapi ait:

nam quod vulgo praedicant  
aurito me parente natum, non ita est.

"he follows Afranius, who said in one of his prologues, speaking in the character of Priapus,  
As for the widely circulated claim that I was born from an *auritus* (eared) father, it's not true". (transl. Kaster 2011, 89)

In his earlier amatory poetry, Ovid himself had already made metaphorical use of the donkey, to describe the behaviour of the lover (*Am.* 2.7.15-16):<sup>36</sup>

adspice, ut *auritus* miserandae sortis *asellus*  
adsiduo domitus verbera lentus eat!

"Look at the long-eared, pitiable ass, how slowly he moves,  
broken by never-ending blows!" (transl. Showerman 1914, rev. Gould 1977, 403)

In his address to Corinna, in order to deny that he has had an affair with her maid, Cypassis, the poet points to the behaviour of the donkey, which goes even slower when it is constantly beaten. Thus he warns Corinna that her endless nagging will only result in him being indifferent in her verbal lashings.

Last but not most importantly, asses are present in Callimachus's *Aitia* (*Callim. Aet.* 1.29-32 Harder):<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Green 2004, 182.

<sup>35</sup> Frazel 2003, 93.

<sup>36</sup> Mills 1978. Cf. the use of donkey as a metaphor for human sexuality in Juv. 9.92; Petron. *Sat.* 24; Gell. 15.7.3.

<sup>37</sup> Harder 2012, 2: 71 underlines the fact that Callimachus uses animal metaphors in a context of literary criticism. Scholars also discuss Callimachus' allusion to Aesop's fable of the ass and the cicada (184 Perry), according to which the donkey asked the ci-

τῶι πιθόμη]ν· ἐνὶ τοῖς γὰρ ἀείδομεν οἱ λιγὺν ἦχον  
 τέτιγγος, θ]όρυβον δ' οὐκ ἐφίλησαν ὄνων.  
 θηρὶ μὲν οὐατόεντι πανεῖκελον ὀγκήσαιτο  
 ἄλλος, ἐγ]ῶ δ' εἶην οὐλ[α]χύς, ὁ πτερόεις,

I obeyed him; for we sing among those who love the clear sound  
 of the cicada, but not the noise of asses.  
 Let somebody else bray exactly like the long-eared animal,  
 let me be the small one, the winged one.  
 (text and transl. Harder 2012, 1: 119)

Callimachus opposes the clear voice of the cicada, which “stands for the clear, subtle sounds of the Callimachean poetry” to the braying of the unmusical ass, which stands for the “poetry characterized by bombastic noise”.<sup>38</sup> It is not clear whether Callimachus is referring only to the production of poetry or also to its reception and there may be deliberate ambiguity here. Nevertheless, asses in Callimachus possess vivid programmatic connotations, which Ovid may have carried over to his aetiological poem. Furthermore, in Callimachus’ fragments (fr. 186.9-10 and fr. 492 Pfeiffer) we also come across the sacrificial donkeys of Pindar’s Hyperboreans at whose braying Apollo laughs (*Pyth.* 10.36). As Acosta-Hughes and Scodel point out, “Callimachus’ Apollo, however, is not amused by their braying, but delighted by the sacrifice. For Callimachus then the ass is an exotic θύος”.<sup>39</sup>

I would therefore like to suggest that the Priapus’ episode should be read in *programmatic terms*. Given the fact that Ovid may implicitly allude to the old rivalry between Priapus and the ass that we read of in Hyginus, an antagonism that brought about the latter’s death and then its catasterisation, in the first book of the *Fasti* the donkey challenges Priapus’ elegiac role as a lover and thus the poem’s generic identity. As a consequence, by means of the sacrifice, Ovid’s Priapus strives to vindicate his elegiac voice.

If we accept the existence of this meta-poetic dimension to Priapus, we are prompted to consider his relationship with Janus and Janus’ programmatic connotations. To quote Green once again, “Janus’ ‘double form’, which is constantly brought to our attention, can be read as a complex stylistic manifesto. It anticipates the polyphony of the poem as a whole –for example, the fusion of the serious and the humorous,

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cadas what they ate that they could sing so well. The donkey tried to emulate them by living only on dew and starved to death. Scodel 2011, 370-1, 380-2.

<sup>38</sup> Harder 2012, 2: 70.

<sup>39</sup> Acosta-Hughes, Scodel 2004, 6. For the presence of donkeys in iambos, comedy and proverbs or in elegy in satirical quasi-iambi contexts see Acosta-Hughes, Scodel 2004, 6.

the panegyric and the subversive-and asks of the reader a ‘bifocal’ approach”.<sup>40</sup> Priapus’ intra-textual association with Janus is strengthened, if we call that, while Janus was identified at least by the Neo-Pythagorean Nigidius Figulus with Apollo (Macrob. *Sat.* 1.5-9), Priapus himself was also assimilated, at least in Lampsacus, to Apollo.<sup>41</sup>

In fact, this is not the only generic resonance that can be spotted within the context of the sacrificial list. Just briefly to draw an outline of the generic patchwork that Ovid pieces together, let us point to the fact that the sacrifice of the pig (*Fast.* 1.349-352) has been considered a “narrative of epic dimensions”.<sup>42</sup> By contrast, in his account of Bacchus’ sacrifice, the so-called “tragedy” of the goat (*Fast.* 1.353-360), Ovid structures his narration according to the stages of tragedy, but at the same time he toys with both tragedy and epigram.<sup>43</sup> Regarding Aristaeus’ epyllion of bougonia and the Ovidian narration of the regeneration of bees from the carcass of a bull (*Fast.* 1.363-380 about the cow), while Ovid does not describe a sacrifice, but rather a slaughter, he builds his account upon Empedoclean philosophical ideas and somehow sanctions the sacrificial process, by pointing to the fact that sacrifice, albeit atrocious in itself, is the necessary precondition for the attainment of peace.<sup>44</sup> Last but not least, in the Priapus and Lotis’ story under discussion here, Ovid assimilates elements from new comedy and satyr, whence the scholars’ characterisation of the episode as “the comedy of the ass”.<sup>45</sup> In other words, Ovid appears to be shaping his sacrificial narrative by injecting it with a variety of generic elements, so as to foreshadow his poetic strategy in the poem as a whole. The sacrifice of the donkey allows him to make a strong statement regarding his manipulation of *elegy*, namely that he was initially reluctant to abandon amatory elegiac themes in favour of aetiological ones.

The Ovidian allusion to the Eratosthenic mythological tradition, which possesses vivid programmatic connotations, becomes yet

<sup>40</sup> Green 2004, 71; see also 70: “Janus is also closely associated with the workings of the poem and its poet. At times, he seems to operate in a manner which recalls a poet composing poetry. [...] Janus’ behaviour encourages us view him as a personification of the poem itself. The most compelling example of this is when, at one point, Janus is said to be articulating himself in an elegiac couplet (162n.)”. See also Hardie 1991.

<sup>41</sup> Krappe 1947, 225 who refers to the cult of Ἀπόλλων Πριαπταῖος. See Ant. Lib. *Met.* 20 about Apollo and the sacrifice of the ass among the Hyperboreans.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. the use of the compound adjective *saetigeræ* in Ov. *Fast.* 1.352 with Green 2004, 168.

<sup>43</sup> Green 2004, 168 points to the hallmarks of a tragedy: “The initial reproach by a wiser being (353-4), prophetic words unheeded by the perpetrator of a crime (355-8), inevitable disastrous ending (359-360)”. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9.75 in which the vine speaks with Green 2004, 169.

<sup>44</sup> Garani 2013.

<sup>45</sup> Fantham 1983.

clearer, if we recall the fact that, while in Hyginus' story the catasterised donkeys form part of the constellation of the Crab, this constellation is the *very first* astronomical observation in the Ovidian poem. At the beginning of *Fast.* 1 Ovid makes a significant reference to the setting of the constellation of the Crab (*Fast.* 1.313-314), a reference which has been considered as a sign that Ovid is now beginning his aetiological project.<sup>46</sup> Taking for granted the intertextual allusion to Propertius' 4.1.150, Green points out that "the malign astronomical force which prevented Propertius from a sustained aetiological elegiac poem is absent at the start of his poem. [...] The potential poetic / generic significance of the Crab in *Fasti* is further evidenced by its reappearance at 6.727 as a visibly bright star (*Cancris signa rubescunt*): coming close to the end of the extant poem, its presence might be interpreted as a sign that Ovid's aetiological elegiac poem is no longer sustainable".<sup>47</sup> In other words, despite the sacrifice of the donkey, the setting of the Crab somehow heralds Priapus' defeat in his amatory quest and the official launching of the aetiological poetry.

Let us now briefly turn to the second Ovidian myth, in which Priapus makes an entrance once more on the elegiac stage, where he plays once again a leading, albeit revolting, role, in order to evaluate anew its significance within the poem and its intra-textual connection with the Priapus and Lotis story. Ovid himself characterises this episode as "a short story, but a very merry one" (*Fast.* 6.320 *multa fabula parva ioci*). In the context of Book 6, Priapus fails to rape Vesta rather than Lotis, which this time occurs without any kind of sexual provocation on Vesta's part.<sup>48</sup> Given the fact that Vesta is relative of the emperor, the donkey's deed in saving her has direct *political connotations*. And significantly, in contrast to the corresponding episode in Book 1, in this case the ass is both *punished* and *rewarded*. That is, whereas outside Rome it is sacrificed so as to propitiate Priapus, in Rome it is honoured and dedicated to the Goddess.

This is the moment to turn to the second part of Hyginus' account, which is explicitly attributed to Eratosthenes (*Astronomica* 2.23 Viré):

Dicitur etiam alia historia de Asellis. Ut ait Eratosthenes, quo tempore Iuppiter, bello gigantibus indicto, ad eos oppugnandos omnes deos convocasset, venisse Liberum patrem, Vulcanum, Satyros,

<sup>46</sup> Green 2004, 148-51: the constellation of the Crab sets during the night of the 2nd or 3rd January. Newlands 1995, 35-6 (quoting Barchiesi 1994 chapter 6), 126. Cf. also Gee 2000, 30-4 for objections. Cf. in *Ov. Fast.* 6.727 the Crab reappears as a visibly bright star

<sup>47</sup> Green 2004, 149.

<sup>48</sup> Green 2004, 190. Littlewood 2006, 109.

Silenos asellis vectos. Qui cum non longe ab hostibus abessent, dicuntur aselli pertimuisse, et ita pro se quisque magnum clamorem et inauditum gigantibus fecisse, ut omnes hostes eorum clamore in fugam se coniecerint et ita sint superati.

Another story is also recounted about the Asses. According to Eratosthenes, at the time when Zeus declared war on the Giants and summoned all the gods to attack them, Dionysus, Hephaistos, and the Satyrs and Seilenoi arrived mounted on asses; and on finding themselves at not great distance from the enemy, the asses, so the story goes, were overcome by panic and brayed very loudly one and all, letting out such a sound as the Giants had never heard, so that the enemy all took flight in response to their braying, and were thus defeated. (transl. Hard 2015, 67)

According also Eratosthenes, the asses on which Dionysus, Hephaestus and the Satyrs are mounted in the great battle of the gods against the Giants were the key to victory, because their *braying* frightens the enemy. In contrast to explicit sacrifice of the asses in Ovid, in Eratosthenes' account the donkeys, instead of being killed, are said to have been honoured. This is also the story that we read in Eratosthenes' Καταστερισμοί 11 (92-93 Robert, text by Pàmias).<sup>49</sup>

Καλοῦνται δὲ τινες αὐτῶν ἀστέρες Ὀνοί, οὓς Διόνυσος ἀνήγαγεν εἰς τὰ ἄστρα. Ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Φάτνη παράσημον· ἡ δὲ τούτων ἱστορία αὕτη· Ὅτε ἐπὶ Γίγαντας ἐστρατεύοντο οἱ θεοί, λέγεται Διόνυσον καὶ Ἥφαιστον καὶ Σατύρους ἐπὶ ὄνων πορεύεσθαι· οὐπω δὲ ἑωραμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν Γιγάντων πλησίον ὄντες ὠγκήθησαν οἱ ὄνοι, οἱ δὲ Γίγαντες ἀκούσαντες τὴν φωνὴν ἔφυγον· διὸ ἐτιμήθησαν ἐν τῷ Καρκίνῳ εἶναι ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς.

Some of the stars in this constellation are called the Asses [Asini]. These were placed among the stars by Dionysus. Their distinguishing sign is the Manger [Praesepium], and their story is the following. When the gods were attacking the Giants, it is said that Dionysus, Hephaestus, and the Satyrs rode [to battle] on asses. As they approached the Giants, who were not yet visible, the asses brayed, and the Giants, hearing the noise, fled. For this reason the asses were honored, being placed on the western side of the Crab. (transl. Condos 1997, 61)

<sup>49</sup> Greek text by Pàmias 2004a, 117-18. Cf. Pàmias, Zucker 2013 *Epitome* 34-35, *Fragmenta Vaticana* 36-37. For the difference between Eratosthenes' *Epitome* and *Fragmenta Vaticana* see Robinson 2013, 448 fn. 10.

In fact, this is not the only time that donkeys assume such a seminal role, one which regulates the course of political events, albeit mythological ones. In an episode recorded by Pausanias (10.18.4), the braying of an ass enables the Ambracians to escape ambush by the Molossians. Whatever the case may be, Pàmias claims that the version of the myth that we read in Eratosthenes' *Catasterismoi*, which assigns such an eminent role to humble donkeys, was possibly Eratosthenes' own fabrication and in Ptolemaic Alexandria already had specific political significance. This myth ridiculed Dionysus, who was closely associated with Alexander the Great, who defined himself as the new Dionysus. Furthermore, both Dionysus and Alexander the Great were associated with the Ptolemies, so that Eratosthenes was also undermining Ptolemaic power. As Pàmias remarks, "This bricolage of motifs turns the legendary exploits of Dionysus into a satirical and ironic episode, insofar as the god's triumphal and warlike aspects, intensively promoted by the Ptolemies, are overshadowed and neutralized by the donkeys".<sup>50</sup> Pàmias and Zucker also argue - similarly to what we have discussed above in connection with Philiscus - that Eratosthenes' original may well have been a *Hellenistic satyr play*.<sup>51</sup> In his turn, Ovid substitutes Vesta for Dionysus, but maintains the role of saviour assigned to the donkey, whose deed possesses political implications, so integrating Eratosthenes' myth into Roman national mythology. Still, if we recall the possible negative significance of Eratosthenes' mythological intertext to which Ovid may be alluding, according to which Dionysus' power was undermined by his association with the donkey, accordingly Vesta's eminent place within the Roman Pantheon as well as her close relationship with the emperor is ironically questioned.<sup>52</sup>

To conclude, Ovid's double aetiology for the very first sacrifice of an ass in both the first and the last book of his *Fasti* may very well look back to two Eratosthenic aetiological variants, pertaining to the catasterisation of the Asses. In the sacrificial list of animals of Book 1, Ovid presents Priapus as the elegiac lover who strives to claim his role within the poem and for this purpose kills the ass who hinders him from accomplishing his erotic objectives. Through this episode, the poet infuses the history of sacrifice with further programmatic connotations and completes what I have called above "generic patchwork" of the sacrificial list. In Book 6 the ass returns to the poem, as if descending from its constellation, although this time endowed with

<sup>50</sup> Pàmias 2004b, 196.

<sup>51</sup> Pàmias, Zucker 2013, 182-4.

<sup>52</sup> For the interplay between the two facets of the Goddess, i.e. the popular and the Augustan in association with her temple in the forum and the newly founded one on the Palatine hill see Garani 2017.

a new, national dimension, which was already inherent in Hyginus' second – certainly Eratosthenic – version of the myth. The ass now offers its service to the Goddess Vesta and her protégé, the emperor, which is why it receives special honours yearly during her festival, despite its sacrifice outside Rome. Yet its lascivious nature seems to challenge the emperor's power. Last but not least, it seems conceivable that Eratosthenes' ultimate intertextual targets were Hellenistic satyr plays, to which Ovid may had access either directly or through their Roman equivalents.

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# L'epitafio di Platone

## *Hic iacet ille Plato...*

### (CLE 1395 = ICVR II 442, nr. 152)

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**Abstract** Greeks and Latins in Byzantine Rome. This is a critical revision, with Italian translation and literary comment, of a 686/687 CE sepulchral epigram. This 38-line elegiac couplet poem has received too little attention by scholarship, considering that it involves useful historical, prosopographical, as well as archaeological notices.

**Keywords** Byzantine Rome. Platon curapalates. Pope John VII. Greek Popes. Carmina Latina Epigraphica 1395.

‘L'epitafio di Platone’ è intestazione ambigua, dunque fuorviante. Ma i materiali che seguono (anzi, già il sottotitolo) escludono subito qualsiasi misunderstanding sui nomi e svelano un innocuo tranello. Oggetto di queste nostre pagine non sarà l'orazione funebre che si pronuncia nel *Menesseno* in onore dei caduti ateniesi; neppure uno di quegli epicedi in versi che circolavano nelle scuole tardoantiche (e poi tra gli umanisti italiani) quale esercizio combinato di biografia e di oratoria.<sup>1</sup> Un omonimo, solo un omonimo del grande pensatore, vissuto oltre mille anni dopo, è al centro del discorso:<sup>2</sup> si tratta di un altissi-

**1** Si veda *Anth. Pal.* 7.108 (Plan. IIIa 28.4), trådito anche dalle *Vitae Platonis* di Diogene Laerzio e di Olimpiodoro il Giovane, oltre che nella versione latina di Niccolò Perotti, sotto il titolo di *Epitaphium Platonis e Graeco translatum*.

**2** Censito come «Platon 6279», in *PmbZ*, pp. 4-5; l'antroponimo era all'epoca molto diffuso: lo stesso volume della *Prosopographie* enumera un trentina di voci; da vedere pure Brown 1984, 69, 273 («Plato 2»).



mo funzionario operante negli *officia palatii urbis Romae*, scomparso alla fine dell'anno 686 – in tempi che una nozione comune stenta a localizzare nella fitta oscurità dei 'secoli bui'. Quasi ogni singola notizia sul conto del personaggio (e della nobile consorte, Blatta) proviene dalle epigrafi che seguono, dettate dopo la morte ravvicinata di entrambi i genitori dal figlio Giovanni, circa trentacinquenne; dati pur minimi, estraibili dalle linee della composizione poetica, contengono la sfida (più che l'invito) a tentare un avanzamento del racconto biografico grazie ad una serie di ipotesi non infondate – cioè basate sugli indizi offerti dal testo stesso.

Greco di origine,<sup>3</sup> nato nel 620, Platone avrà svolto dapprima i suoi compiti militari in un corpo d'*élite*, al servizio dei figli e successori di Eraclio, durante un periodo segnato da guerre senza fine, per mare e per terra: tra i più drammatici per la sopravvivenza dell'impero. È ipotizzabile che l'ufficiale abbia dovuto affrontare a partire dal 641 molti spostamenti di stanza<sup>4</sup> nel corso del lungo regno di Costante II; avrà seguito il giovane *basileus* nelle campagne per tentare la riconquista dell'Italia ai Longobardi e dell'Africa agli Arabi, dividendone il progetto ardimentoso di trasferire il centro del potere nella *pars Occidentis*; assieme a lui avrà visitato Roma, trovando modo (nell'estate del 663) di soggiornare entro l'antico *Palatium* di cui, alla fine della vita, avrebbe curato la manutenzione e i restauri. Nella maturità, per i tre lustri successivi all'assassinio del dinasta (avvenuto nel 668 a Siracusa), l'alto funzionario continuò a servirne i figli ed eredi, Costantino IV (668-683) e Giustiniano II. Proprio in quegli anni il Mediterraneo vedeva messo in forse il suo millenario destino di area di scambio tra merci e culture: era la fine del mondo antico, secondo la teoria di Pirenne. Nel ducato di Roma si accelerava intanto il processo di clericalizzazione della società: Platone era morto dentro un palazzo di cui egli era *curator* su comando del lontano autocrate di Costantinopoli, e suo figlio restò ad abitarvi con la madre, ma una volta eletto papa (705) trasformava la *domus* fondata sette secoli prima da Cesare Augusto in nuova sede dell'episcopio.<sup>5</sup> Questo lento *iter*, che gli archeologi hanno definito una «con-

**3** La nazionalità si apprende indirettamente dall'esordio della *Vita* riservata a suo figlio dal *Liber Pontificalis* (88): *Iohannes, natione Grecus, de patre Platone*.

**4** Che il futuro papa Giovanni VII sia nato a Rossano di Calabria, e precisamente nell'anno 650, è notizia diffusa da sempre, originata forse da motivi di prestigio municipale: ben verisimile, ancorché priva di fondamento storiografico certo.

**5** Per il valore 'simbolico' di tale gesto merita leggere l'intero capitolo *Palaces* in Ward-Perkins 1984, 157-78. A qualche mese dalla morte di Blatta, il 15 dicembre 687, proprio nell'antica sede dei Cesari era acclamato Papa dalla folla tumultuante Sergio I; ed è sotto questo pontefice (morto nel 701) che fu battuta dalla zecca di Roma la prima moneta d'argento recante il monogramma del vescovo, oltre all'immagine dell'imperatore (Falkenhausen 2018, 117). Possiamo qui annotare al margine: non risulta che sopravvivesse a Platone il titolo di *curopalates* in ciò che restava dell'impero in Italia,

quista del Palatino da parte della Chiesa»,<sup>6</sup> andava di pari passo sul piano politico e sociale con l'effettiva integrazione fra classe burocratico-militare e aristocratico-ecclesiastica, per un intreccio di ruoli che porterà a identificare *in toto* le funzioni e gli ambiti amministrativi civili e religiosi.<sup>7</sup>

Nell'insieme, le due lodi funebri in distici latini esibiscono struttura classicheggiante, fattura non irreprensibile<sup>8</sup> ma per certi riguardi onesta, forbita, signorile. In linea con gli atteggiamenti politico-culturali che Giovanni avrebbe assunto vent'anni dopo, quando divenne (VII di questo nome) uno dei cosiddetti 'papi greci' nella Roma bizantina.<sup>9</sup> Da molti particolari si evince che egli nutriva l'ambizione di scalare i sommi gradi del potere imitando i modi di quegli imperatori di Costantinopoli cui il padre era rimasto fedele per tutta l'esistenza. Nelle raffigurazioni artistiche come nelle tipologie epigrafiche da lui commissionate appare chiaro un desiderio programmatico di emulazione dei supremi poteri, ispirata a modelli promiscui di Oriente e Occidente, comunque in ossequio a regole di maestà e antica solennità.<sup>10</sup>

Questi versi, concepiti per essere esposti alla lettura in tempi e luoghi che neppure da lontano avvertivano i segni della cosiddetta 'rinascita carolingia', non ebbero alcuna circolazione a stampa in epoca moderna fino al 1805, poi furono ripubblicati in varie sedi e riprodotti in forme pressoché identiche, fino ad oggi;<sup>11</sup> ciononostante

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così come nel regno merovingio dopo Pipino sarebbe cessata la carica di *maior domus*; ma le condizioni erano molto diverse, e Giovanni spostò su altri binari la corsa della propria ascesa al potere. Meno di un secolo dopo, la notte di Natale dell'anno 800, un suo successore avrebbe elevato Carlo, il re dei Franchi, a *imperator Romanorum*. Il papa Leone III considerava infatti vacante il soglio di Bisanzio, dal momento che ad occuparlo era una donna - la basilissa Irene.

**6** Parole di Augenti 1999, 202. Esiste un'abbondante letteratura sulle sorti del colle Palatino in quei secoli: mi limito a richiamare i titoli migliori e più aggiornati: Augenti 1996; Pensabene 2015; Acampora 2020.

**7** Nordhagen 2000, 127; osservazioni stimolanti offre Davis 2015, 40, 42, 44.

**8** Di un «barbaro latino» parlava De Rossi 1865, 11: ma la quasi totalità delle scorrettezze stilistiche, sintattiche e grammaticali - e il padre dell'archeologia cristiana lo ammetteva silenziosamente, nel momento stesso in cui interveniva sul testo *more philologico* - saranno da imputare meno all'imperizia del redattore originario che alla sciatteria dei trascrittori o scribi umanistici.

**9** Fra il 705 e il 707; sulla biografia di Giovanni VII si vedano Berto 2000 e 2001, che raccoglie e discute tutti i dati - esclusi in partenza dagli scopi del presente saggio - relativi ai rapporti politici e religiosi con gli imperatori, i re e i duchi Longobardi.

**10** Cavallo 1988, 486, riporta le parole del *Liber Pontificalis* che in luoghi diversi definiscono in maniera contraddittoria lo stesso papa, di suo allegando un giudizio sintetico poco lusinghiero: «*eruditissimus et facundus eloquentia*, ma *humana fragilitate timidus*, figura di intellettuale svilito nella luce cristiana».

**11** Videro la luce per la prima volta a Roma, nel monumentale volume *I Papiri diplomatici, raccolti ed illustrati dall'abate Gaetano Marini*, edito dalla Stamperia della sacra Congregazione *de Propaganda Fide*; l'illustre archivista e bibliotecario della Vati-

l'assetto del testo implica sempre problemi tali per cui merita una revisione critica. Il nostro saggio di lettura, cursorio e sommario, non aspira a completezza: forse però servirà di stimolo a un riesame di idee manualistiche incallite, relative alle condizioni culturali dell'Italia bizantina sullo scorcio del VII secolo.

Le iscrizioni<sup>12</sup> si trovavano originariamente *in templo sanctae Anastasiae*. L'edificio era stato elevato (già da Costantino e sua sorellastra) in uno spazio tra i più venerandi per la sensibilità religiosa dei Quiriti: accanto alla grotta Lupercale, alla base del colle su cui il *conditor urbis* aveva preso gli auspici e tracciato il solco primigenio.<sup>13</sup> Si può annoverare fra le prime chiese titolari della città, ma assurde presto al rango di cappella (nel vero senso del termine) *palatina*: frequentata dagli imperatori della dinastia teodoside, dai membri della loro famiglia, dai funzionari del seguito. Sul principio del V secolo, quando validi motivi di sicurezza sembrarono proporre il trasferimento della corte da Milano a Roma, il *praefectus urbi* Longiniano<sup>14</sup> la dotò di un battistero che già nel 404 avrà potuto ricevere la visita di Onorio.<sup>15</sup> Tanto nei decenni anteriori che per i tempi successivi il sito fu adornato di sfarzosi mosaici cristiani.<sup>16</sup>

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cana li definiva «tenerissimi epitaffj, che al lor sepolcro fece scolpire il figliuolo Giovanni ... e da lui medesimo ... probabilmente composti» (pp. 367-8). L'anonima recensione del libro uscita nella *Neue Leipziger Literaturzeitung* (fascicolo del 24 giugno 1807, pp. 1278-9) dava ampio rilievo agli inediti, riproducendone la forma quasi alla lettera. A partire dal 1859, ad assicurare loro una certa notorietà ha poi contribuito soprattutto il riferimento entro la fortunatissima *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter: vom fünften Jahrhundert bis zum sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (citiamo dalla prima traduzione italiana, Gregorovius 1872, 240 nota 1). L'epigrafe fu ristampata in seguito da Duchesne 1886, 386 nota 1; De Rossi 1888, 442-3; Buecheler 1897, 661-3; Diehl 1925, 49-50. Tra la bibliografia recente, di ambito per lo più archeologico, artistico e storico-figurativo, qualche utile acquisizione si ottiene da ultimo in Maskarinec 2018, 218-9 nota 61.

**12** Oggi perdute: prime informazioni in De Rossi 1888, 442; verso la fine del Quattrocento trascrisse i testi dalla pietra (e ne lasciò copia autoptica unica) il dotto umanista Pietro Sabino, per il quale esiste la voce di Giunta 2017; un'eccellente ricerca sulla tradizione manoscritta della sua silloge è stata svolta da González 2016.

**13** Mi appoggio alle idee e alle ipotesi espresse da Carandini 2008: senz'altro suggestive, affascinanti, e anche persuasive a giudizio di rinomati specialisti, ma da altre parti - in assenza di ulteriori conferme - puntigliosamente controbattute (cito per tutti: Cerrito 2016).

**14** In tale veste, Macrobio Longiniano curò anche importanti lavori di restauro delle mura Aureliane; secondo un'ipotesi già avanzata (Mastandrea 2010a; 2010b), il personaggio potrebbe identificarsi col padre del più celebre autore dei *Saturnali*, Macrobio Teodosio.

**15** Si può affermarlo (sia pure deducendolo dal silenzio di Claudiano) sulla base del fatto che più volte gli edifici civili e religiosi - esclusivamente 'pagani' - del colle più sacro di Roma sono richiamati alle orecchie dell'imperatore nel panegirico composto in occasione del suo *adventus* per la solenne assunzione del sesto consolato.

**16** Kalas 2018.

Ma occupiamoci ormai dell'elogio, che è preceduto da una didascalia in prosa, utile a offrire le coordinate per un inquadramento topografico e cronologico:

Plato u(ir) ill(ustris), cura palatii urbis Romae, vix(it) an(nis) pl(us) m(inus) LXVI; dep(ositus) m(ense) nou(embri) die VII, indict(ione) XV, imp(erante) d(omino) n(ostro) Iustiniano Aug(usto) anno II, p(ost) c(onsulatum) eius anno II.<sup>17</sup>

La parte in versi si apre con due distici nei quali il dedicante manifesta le sue intenzioni e rivela la propria identità:

Vltima funereo persoluens munia busto,  
quo pater illustris membra locanda dedit,  
adiecit titulos proles ueneranda Iohannes,  
ne tantus quouis esset honore minor.<sup>18</sup>

Il pezzo, aperto dalla topica formula che compare anche in testa a questo saggio, richiede alcuni interventi congetturali, necessari a sanare un certo numero di guasti<sup>19</sup> – abbastanza grossolani, ma rimasti intatti e come fossilizzati nella tradizione a stampa; il commento, teso ad agevolare l'esegesi quasi verso per verso, ne darà meglio conto; l'apparato intertestuale fornirà a sua volta un'idea dei libri e delle letture cui il versificatore poteva aver accesso, o si erano comunque depositati – per via diretta o indiretta – nel bagaglio della memoria.

**17** Da interpretare così: 'Platone, uomo di rango illustre, curopalate della città di Roma, visse all'incirca 66 anni, fu deposto il giorno 7 del mese di novembre, durante la quindicesima indizione, secondo anno d'impero del nostro signore Giustiniano, secondo anno dal suo consolato'.

**18** 'Sciogliendo fino all'ultimo gli obblighi dovuti al sepolcro funebre, in cui l'illustre padre diede alloggio alle sue membra, aggiunte le iscrizioni il nobile figlio Giovanni, perché non fosse di qualsivoglia onore deprivata sì gran persona'.

**19** Ne fornisco l'elenco. Accolgo anzitutto al v. 8 l'integrazione di De Rossi 1867, 11 nota 2; nell'esametro successivo, ipotizzando che *ergo* provenga da una svista del trascrittore, cerco di sistemare alla meglio l'assetto metrico-verbale, ritoccando per necessità anche l'originario *quos in quas*. Altri interventi ineludibili riguardano ai versi 18-19 *ut eri* (da *ueteri*: ma si noti la grafia *heriles* al v. 27) e l'espunzione di *et*. Quanto ad *exanimis* (grafia continua ripristinata da Sabino, dove il marmo portava inciso *ex animis*), aggiungerò per pura curiosità che negli esametri della *Christias, sive De passione Domini* del Cartusianus Anglus Robert Clarke (pretenzioso ma non fortunato tentativo di contro canto in diciassette libri al *Paradise Lost* di Milton: Brugis 1670, 260; ultima ristampa: Ingolstadii 1855, 253), al corpo del Figlio – già spirato, ma ancora appeso alla croce – Dio evita l'oltraggio del *crurifragium*, spaventando i carnefici: *nec ossa | exanimis nati violari passus, inanem | saevitiam genitor tacita vi pectora terrens | compressit*. Ancora, al v. 31 *iugalem* si lega sintatticamente a *tori*, dunque scrivo *illa iugalis | conseruare tori eqs*. Resta da ultimo l'emistichio *longo reflecta gradu* (v. 10), al cui difetto metrico non esiste forse rimedio.

Hic iacet ille Plato, qui multa per agmina lustrans 5  
 et maris undisoni per freta longa uolans  
 claruit, insignis regno gratusque minister,  
 <se> celebremque sua praestitit esse manu.  
 <Iam> post [ergo] multiplices quas prisca palatia Romae  
 praestiterant curas longo refecta gradu, 10  
 perguit ad aeterni diuina palatia regis  
 sumere cum meritis praemia firma dei.<sup>20</sup>

La stessa moglie di Platone, di nome Blatta, sarebbe morta solamente sei mesi più tardi, nell'aprile del 687; ce lo fa sapere con esattezza di particolari un'altra epigrafe, collocata sul fianco delle precedenti, anch'essa composta dal figlio della coppia e futuro vescovo di Roma:

Blatta ill(ustris) femina, piissima et incomparabilis. Vix(it) ann(is)  
 LX, dep(osita) m(ense) Aprili die XVII indictione prima imp(erante)  
 d(omino) n(ostro) Iustiniano Aug(usto) anno III p(ost) c(onsulatum)  
 eius anno III.<sup>21</sup>

Sul lato opposto, a coronamento dei messaggi, il marmo recava incise le due righe che seguono; sono poche, affettuose parole di commiato per entrambi i genitori, latrici di dati in sé minimi, eppure sufficienti ad accrescere le nostre conoscenze sulla carriera 'profana' di Giovanni, che a quel tempo fungeva da rettore del patrimonio imperiale della via Appia:

Matri piissimae ac incomparabili patri(ue) benigno | Iohannes filius rector Appiae lugubri pectore fecit.

Ed ecco ora la successiva parte dell'epigrafe metrica, la cui numerazione lasciamo proseguire in continuità di testo,<sup>22</sup> al v. 13:

Nuper in hoc tumulo genitoris membra locauit  
 insignis suboles, nunc uero mater adest.  
 Sed ueneranda parens, genitor cum carus obiret, 15  
 mulcebat natum cuncta pro patre gerens

**20** 'Qui giace quel Platone che, muovendosi tra numerosi eserciti di terra, veleggiando sulle lunghe rotte del mare fluttuante, ebbe fama di capo insigne e di apprezzato ministro; acquisì la celebrità con i suoi soli mezzi. Dopo aver concesso molteplici cure agli antichi Palazzi di Roma, finito il restauro dell'alta scalea, si dirige ai celesti palazzi del re eterno, onde percepire da Dio le più solide ricompense ai propri meriti.'

**21** 'Blatta, donna di rango illustre, senza eguali per devozione, visse sessant'anni; fu sepolta nel mese di aprile, il giorno 17, prima indizione, imperando il nostro signore Giustiniano Augusto per il terzo anno, a tre anni dal suo consolato.'

**22** Secondo la disposizione data per la prima volta dall'editore Buecheler 1897.



hortatu monitisque piis cultuq(ue) diurno,  
 hic ut eri curam disceret, illa patris.  
 Cesserat exanimis nati dolor, [et] unus utrisque  
 spiritus, unica mens, consona cuncta domus. 20  
 Inuida mors iterum priuat genitrice uenusta,  
 in qua spes geniti caelibis una fuit.  
 Vndique multiplices curae, lamenta dolorq(ue)  
 circumstant pauidum; quod sine matre pia  
 cernitur, ingratum est. Cari famuliq(ue) domusq(ue) 25  
 non reuocant animos tristitiamq(ue) domant.  
 Ipsa domi facies, curas qu(a)e sedat heriles,  
 maeroris fomitem congerit atq(ue) parit;  
 quod dum cuncta fugant larg(a)e solamina uitae,  
 indigesta manent, dum pia mater abest. 30  
 Illa pudicitiae natos dedit, illa iugalis  
 conseruare tori iura sacrata docet,  
 illa sacerdotes coluit fessosq(ue) refecit:  
 quicquid egens petiit, tribuit illa libens.  
 Et quia martyribus Chr(ist)i studiosa cohaesit, 35  
 Christigeri meruit martyris esse comes;  
 cumq(ue) beatorum thiasis iucunda precatur,  
 dirigat ut nati tempora corda uias.<sup>23</sup>

Cercheremo adesso di fornire dei sostegni utili alla migliore comprensione di un testo sinora alquanto trascurato. I vv. 1-4 costituiscono una specie di prologo, mediante il quale sono rese note le motivazioni dello scrivere. Si distinguono nella dizione elementi assai eterogenei, derivati in pari misura da fonti classiche e cristiane. Sembra guardare al repertorio lessicale dell'elegia erotica, non meno

**23** 'Da poco tempo l'insigne discendenza aveva sepolto le membra del genitore: è ora la volta della madre. Questa adorabile donna, svolgendo dopo la morte del caro marito ogni compito al suo posto, rassicurava il figlio con incoraggiamenti e pietosi consigli, sicché per quotidiana educazione egli apprendesse il mestiere del padrone di casa, lei quello del padre. Era cessato il dolore più crudo per il giovane: vivevano l'uno e l'altra in comunione di spirito e d'intenti, nella perfetta armonia della casa. La morte invidiosa ora si porta via la soave genitrice, in cui solo riponeva speranza il figlio celibe. Dappertutto molteplici affanni, cordoglio e lamenti lo assillano, lo atterriscono; di qualunque cosa la vista è insopportabile, in assenza della dolce madre. Neanche la famiglia e i cari domestici sanno riprendere coraggio, o tenere a freno la tristezza. L'aspetto stesso della sua residenza, che d'abitudine placava le ansie del padrone di casa, è stimolo e motivo di nuova pena: perché sfugge alla vita ogni ricchezza e gioia, tutto resta confuso, con la dipartita della madre amorevole. Ella affidò i figli in tutela a Pudicizia, ella dimostrò come serbare sacri i giuramenti della fedeltà coniugale, ella provvide ai sacerdoti e soccorse i deboli: ad ogni richiesta dei bisognosi, ella sopperì di buon grado. E poiché desiderava star sempre a contatto dei martiri di Cristo, meritò di accompagnarsi al martire Cristoforo; mentre ella festante intona salmi tra i cori dei beati, possa del figlio segnare le scelte opportune, i retti sentimenti, il percorso della vita.'

che dell'epigramma funerario,<sup>24</sup> l'andamento *persoluens munia busti* del verso iniziale: sul modello, ad esempio, di Tibullo, 1.3.29 *Vt mea uotiuas persoluens Delia noctes | ante sacras lino tecta fores sedeat* eqs., incrociato con uno schema di clausola che ritroviamo in Lucrezio, 8.471 *extremo sed abest a munere busti | infelix coniunx* (è Cornelia, moglie di Pompeo). *Pater illustris* (al v. 2) è apparentemente formulare, benché ce ne dia l'unica altra occorrenza Venanzio Fortunato (*Mart.* 2.376 *qui pater illustris Paulini gesta beabat*), mentre il nesso *membra locanda* risale per la morfologia ad Ovidio (*Am.* 1.5.2 *membra leuanda toro*; *Ib.* 516 *membra cremanda pyrae*), per il lessico allo pseudo-ilariano *carmen de Maccabaeis*, dove uno dei martiri (137) *in igne | intrepidus certa que fide sua membra locauit*. Allo stesso modello profano rimanda l'attacco *adiecit titulos* del v. 3 (*Ov. Am.* 2.13.25 *adiciam titulum 'Seruata Naso Corinna'*. | *Tu modo fac titulo muneribusque locum*) seguito da un epiteto *proles ueneranda* che guarda presumibilmente alla solennità dell'epos arcaico<sup>25</sup> benché altrove attestato solo in questo passo di Giovenco (4.786), riferito al figlio di Dio: *cernitur ecce suis proles ueneranda Tonantis*.<sup>26</sup> Al v. 4 costituisce un possibile antecedente fonico il pentametro ovidiano di *Pont.* 19.98 (Ero esprime i suoi timori a Leandro) *ne non sim tanti [ ... ] et uidear merces esse labore minor*. Il nesso preciso *honore minor* compare (in un'altra allocazione di verso) presso Claud. *Rapt.* 2.38 *nec membris nec honore minor potuitque uideri | Pallas*, nonché in un poeta 'vandalico' che gli si accoda, Florent. *Anth.* 21 *nec meritis nec honore minor, cui plurimus ardens | regnantis increuit amor*.

I cinque distici successivi (vv. 5-12) sviluppano l'elogio del ragguardevole personaggio, padre del poeta, cui il monumento era in origine dedicato. Per quanto restino frequenti i prelievi da modelli di genere elegiaco ed epigrammatico, l'eloquio si innalza spesso al livello dell'epos panegirico - dovendo illustrare gesta militari e meriti civili di un alto ufficiale dell'impero come Platone. Ma intanto

**24** Mi riferisco in particolare all'espressione (CLE 1348B, 1) *persoluo munera matri*; si tratta dell'epitafio inciso su una base di statua, composto da Probo (cos. 406) per la madre Anicia Faltonia Proba, su cui Mastandrea 2001, 577 nota 36.

**25** Così Cicerone, che abbina *proles* al suo sinonimo corradicale *suboles* nel giudizio di *Orat.* 3.38.153: *Inusitata sunt prisca fere ac vetustate ab usu quotidiani sermonis iam diu intermissa, quae sunt poetarum licentiae liberiora quam nostrae; sed tamen raro habet etiam in oratione poeticum aliquod verbum dignitatem. Neque enim illud fugerim dicere, ut Caelius 'qua tempestate Poenus in Italiam venit,' nec 'prolem' aut 'subolem' aut 'effari' aut 'nuncupare' aut ... alia multa, quibus loco positus grandior atque antiquior oratio saepe uideri solet.*

**26** Un centinaio di versi sopra, all'altezza di 4.672, il parafraste aveva scritto: *sed nunc descendat suboles ueneranda Tonantis*; il fatto che questo secondo emistichio ricorra quasi identico all'interno di un esercizio versificatorio databile agli anni successivi al 396, compiuto da un giovane allievo di sant'Agostino (Licent. *Carm.* 43 *perge uiam, qua te soboles praeclara Tonantis | perducit eqs.*), porta a congetturare l'esistenza di un modello epico comune - ovviamente profano, di molto anteriore al IV secolo.

l'iscrizione si apre con un *Hic iacet ille* che sembra calcato su Marziale, 7.40.1 (si tratta in particolare dell'epitafio di Claudio Etrusco, una figura di spicco nell'entourage di Domiziano): *Hic iacet ille senex Augusta notus in aula eqs*. La somiglianza potrebbe giudicarsi casuale, data l'inerzia della formula espressiva (CLE 1179,1; Eug. Tol. carm. 10, 7).<sup>27</sup> Per il solo *hic iacet*, ovviamente attestato innumerevoli volte nella documentazione epigrafica, sono ipotizzabili prototipi letterari arcaici, oggi perduti, che motivano esercizi di stile quali l'autoepitafio di Tibullo, 1.3.55: *Hic iacet immitti consumptus morte Tibullus*, | *Messallam terra dum sequiturque mari*; o le prove scolastiche sul cliché di Anth. 603: *Hic iacet Arpinas manibus tumulatus amici*, | *qui fuit orator summus et eximius*; forse a partire da monumenti letterari di alto prestigio, le cui fattezze sono rintracciabili pure nei territori dell'epica marziale (per esempio, in *Ilias Lat.* 481: *hic iacet exanimis fuso super arma cerebro*).<sup>28</sup> Peraltro, fermandoci ancora sul medesimo verso, la collocazione *ille* – *qui* denuncia una formularità collegata all'epigrafia funeraria (piuttosto frequente è la serie *hic est ille situs, qui*) e insieme all'elegia (Tib. 1.2.67; Lygd. 2.3; Ov. *Ars am.* 3.489; *Pont.* 3.147; 4.2.25).

A questo punto, la scrittura riceve un colpo d'ali che solleva e fa volare in alto il nome del defunto. Alle caratteristiche primarie del linguaggio poetico<sup>29</sup> deve riportarsi anzitutto l'anastrofe *multa per*, il cui modello formale più noto e ovvio sta nel carme di Catullo in morte del fratello (101.1): *et multa per aequora uectus*.<sup>30</sup> Ma Platone dovette compiere i suoi doveri di comandante tra gli eserciti terrestri prima che sulle flotte in mare; e l'espressione *per agmina* è un epicismo di segno forte, non attestato per noi prima di Virgilio (sono ben cinque le occorrenze nei libri 'iliadici' dell'*Eneide*) e più tardi diffuso per l'intero arco dell'età imperiale, da Manilio a Stazio e Silio, fino a Corippo (*Ioh.* 5.323, dove si nota la corrispondenza al secondo piede dello stesso pronome: *uictus at ille fugit pereunte per agmina parma*). Nel v. 6 concorrono poi a mantenere sublime il registro poetico da un lato l'aggettivo *undisonus*, composto sofisticato e odoroso di patina ar-

<sup>27</sup> Ma di una persistente circolazione a Roma dell'opera integra del massimo degli epigrammisti offre un indizio nel secolo precedente il diacono Aratore. Il riuso quasi certo di un luogo di Marziale nella parafrasi poetica degli *Acta Apostolorum* (che tra l'altro conferma una brillante emendazione a Epigr. 18.2) dimostra la sopravvivenza alla metà del VI secolo persino del raro *Liber de spectaculis*: Mastandrea 2015, 65-6.

<sup>28</sup> Casistica specifica e bibliografia in Mastandrea 2012, in particolare 236-7.

<sup>29</sup> Ogni ordine delle parole che deroghi a quello usuale è artificio cui ricorre sin dalle origini il versificatore in lingua latina – quasi sempre per necessità metrica: si veda Lunelli 2011 (a partire dalla voce «metro» dell'indice finale).

<sup>30</sup> Sui cui probabili antecedenti (e fortunata continuazione) si veda Mastandrea 2019. Aggiungerei che la pericope *qui multa* segue alla lettera (qualora ivi si accolga la variante faciliore) il testo di Prop. 2.34.91: *et modo formosa qui multa Lycoride Gallus | mortuus inferna uulnera lauit aqua*.

caica (sono meno di una decina le occorrenze della parola coriambica, fra Properzio, Stazio e Draconzio, per lo più in contesti epici;<sup>31</sup> il primo emistichio di Giovenco di 3.390 si apre con la stringa *en maris undisoni*); dall'altro, (*per*) *freta longa* è pericope pentasillabica molto apprezzata da Ovidio (*Pont.* 7.46; 10.146; *Fast.* 3.868; 5.660; in altra sede di verso: *Met.* 7.67; 8.142; senza preposizione: *Am.* 2.11.5).<sup>32</sup> Occorre aggiungere il parallelo (fortuito?) di *Met.* 11.749 *hos aliquis senior iunctim freta lata uolantes | spectat et ad finem seruos laudat amores*: dove è pure lecito sospettare un archetipo enniano, benché *freta lata* faccia la sua prima comparsa solo con Verg. *Aen.* 2.312.

La densità dei riscontri testuali esterni si riduce sensibilmente a partire dal v. 7: la sequela *claruit insignis* può reclamare un unico, preciso e inatteso antecedente, nella iscrizione del vescovo Magno, in carica a Milano durante gli ultimi tempi del regno ostrogoto (*CIL* 5(2), 621 nr. 10, v. 3):<sup>33</sup> *claruit insignis ditatus munere diui*. Il distico seguente, pur costellato da guasti testuali,<sup>34</sup> ci lascia osservare come al v. 9 il nesso *prisca palatia Romae* anticipi di poco il *diuina palatia regis* del v. 11: quasi una contrapposizione tra l'*ieri* (o ancora per poco, l'*oggi*) dell'Urbe dei Cesari e il *domani* della città di Dio. In questo snodo, alcune non ovvie scelte metrico-lessicali incrociano una veduta mistico-politica tutta protesa sul futuro. Il transito avviene mediante la rappresentazione linguistica di un'immagine davvero suggestiva: la scalea del palazzo imperiale (da poco restaurata, e proprio per le cure di Platone) costituisce pure il mezzo fisico per elevarsi dal mondo terreno alla vita eterna. Ma la volontà di sfruttare questa trovata ideologica comporta un prezzo da pagare in termini stilistici - se (come ritengo) il vizio di prosodia nell'emistichio *longo refecta gradu* (v. 10) è da accogliere come uno 'sbaglio d'autore', senza rapporti con il complessivo disordine testuale che affligge l'esametro precedente e deve invece attribuirsi all'inadeguatezza degli amanuensi.

Il distico finale sembra ormai estraniarsi a qualunque ansia terrena, poiché descrive l'anima dell'amato genitore nel trapasso dalla condizione mortale alla vita eterna; l'ascesa al cielo apre a Platone la prospettiva di godere in piena serenità i *praemia firma* dovutigli per i suoi meriti: a distribuirli erano un tempo gli Augusti, per conto dei quali egli custodiva la reggia sul Palatino; ora li concede il Re che

**31** Poche parola sulla particolare 'magniloquenza' introdotta in questo testo dagli aggettivi composti spende Sblendorio 2005, 120-1; per osservazioni di carattere generale serve un altro rinvio agli scritti raccolti da Lunelli 2011 (si risalga dall'indice: «composti»).

**32** Cugusi 2017, 110

**33** È consultabile in rete una tesi che contiene l'edizione commentata dell'epigramma: De Nisco 2012, 88-93.

**34** Quasi mai avvertiti da chi finora ha studiato questo pezzo.

abita lassù i *diuina palatia*. Anche in questa parte della composizione il poeta esibisce prelievi metrico-verbali diversi; *palatia Romae* si configura come una variante isolata del nesso *Romana palatia*: epichismo antico e solenne, per la prima volta attestato<sup>35</sup> nell'indirizzo di preghiera che Virgilio innalza agli dèi in favore del giovane Ottaviano in G. 1.499: *Di patrii, Indigetes et Romule Vestaque mater, | quae Tuscum Tiberim et Romana Palatia seruas eqs.*<sup>36</sup> Il restante dettato poetico è pure frutto di riuso: l'emistichio *diuina palatia regis* manipola il *celsa palatia regis* di Venanzio Fortunato (*Carm.* 7.14.7; 9.3.15; *Mart.* 2.464), ma servirà rammentare come *diuina palatia* sia attestata in Corippo (*Iust.* 1.135; 3.165), mentre la sola clausola compare nella poesia alta di età flavia.<sup>37</sup>

Lo schema del v. 11 si presenta parimenti come somma di tessere giustapposte: c'è anche in Venanzio Fortunato un dattilo iniziale *pergit ad*, in Paolino di Petricordia una coppia *aeterni - regis* dove si abbinano l'aggettivo interno dinanzi a semiquinaria e il sostantivo finale;<sup>38</sup> del pentametro che segue, il primo mezzo verso riproduce la sequenza ovidiana di *Tr.* 2.323 *denique cum meritis impleueris omnia, Caesar, | pars mihi de multis una canenda fuit*, mentre i vocaboli a cavallo della cesura centrale hanno da vantare l'illustre trascorso di *Fast.* 5.544 *Latona nitentibus astris | addidit et 'meriti praemia' dixit 'habe'*, oltre agli impieghi tipici dei prodotti di versificazione epigrafica, quali CLE 1037.4 *meritis praemia digna* e ICVR 2.4201 *meritis praemia pulchra*.

L'iscrizione in onore della madre Blatta è più estesa della precedente (13 distici contro 6); forse non altrettanto densa di reminiscenze

<sup>35</sup> Anche in questo caso, non sarebbe da escludere una preesistenza della giuntura: ma di certo non se ne conoscono altri esempi, eccetto un luogo di Corippo (*Iust.* 3.244) dove si avanza il paragone tra il palazzo imperiale (di Costantinopoli) e la grandiosità del cielo: *et credunt aliud Romana palatia caelum*.

<sup>36</sup> Nel breve contesto dei versi che seguono, Virgilio immagina che perfino l'Olimpo osservi con meraviglia le gesta del giovane Ottaviano (G. 1.503 *Iam pridem nobis caeli te regia, Caesar, | inuidet*).

<sup>37</sup> Forse mai potremo sapere se esistesse prima di quel che siamo in grado di verificare presso Valerio Flacco (2.246), Silio Italico (12.709) e Marziale (9.101.13). In tutti e tre i casi si intuiscono i segnali dell'anacronismo, ma le considerazioni a proposito del *tantique Palatia regni* nel primo contesto, avanzate con la consueta finezza da Hutchinson 2013, 171, tendono a sopravvalutare la presenza del toponimo in chiave di attualità allusiva a Domiziano; che «*Latii...fasti and Iliaci...lares show the historical process, the latter in the centre of Rome*» è sicuro; un po' meno (a mio parere) che «*Palatia evokes the present and the Flavian building up of the imperial complex*», in avvicendamento rispetto al *Capitolium* 'repubblicano'.

<sup>38</sup> Rispettivamente, *Carm.* 4.6.16 *qui tria lustra gerens in pontificatus honore | pergit ad antiquos plebe gemente patres e Orant. 12 sectantem aeterni semper uestigia regis*. In entrambi i casi si tratta di occorrenze singolari, presenti una sola volta nei nostri archivi.

letterarie, né così agile nello stile, però più commossa e affettuosa. I modelli principali restano quelli della poesia sepolcrale latina, epigrafica e letteraria, ma il v. 13 (anche per l'identità onomastica del dedicante) sembra calcato in particolare sul carme 4.23 di Venanzio, che offre i materiali per un incrocio del proprio esametro iniziale (*Condita sunt tumulo Iuliani membra sub isto*) e del v. 15 (*Extulit hunc tumulum genitoris honore Iohannes, | qui modo diuinis fungitur officiis*). Giovanni avoca per sé l'epiteto *insignis suboles*, nesso senza altre attestazioni dove l'aggettivo in capo di verso è un epicismo di vasto impiego nella versificazione di tema funerario,<sup>39</sup> mentre il sostantivo *suboles* attiene alla più schietta sfera sacrale e filiale.<sup>40</sup> Alla morte di Platone, *genitor cum carus obiret*, la madre si fa carico intanto di prenderne le veci - con lo scopo di alleviare il dolore del figlio celibe.<sup>41</sup> Ma a delineare lo schizzo di questo 'interno di famiglia' non è proprio la pennellata di un amatore naïf: ritengo che l'attributo *ueneranda parens*, scelto dal dotto Giovanni, sia un prelievo (leggermente alterato per effetto di parechesi) dalla stessa sede del verso virgiliano (G. 3.294) *nunc, ueneranda Pales, magno nunc ore sonandum*.<sup>42</sup> Pure difficile da stabilire è se esista un rapporto di complice imitazione, ovvero di semplice coincidenza, tra *cultuque diurno* di v. 17 e il dettato di Corippo, *Iust. 2.238 agricolae sua rura colunt, cultuque diurno | implorant fructus*; e altrettanto vale per la struttura del pentametro successivo: lo schema secondo il quale nelle due parti del verso si distinguono coppie assortite di denominazioni parentali rimonta almeno a Claudiano (*Carm. min. 17.22 Hic propior matri fit tamen, ille patri*), se non ad Ovidio (*Pont. 4.9.110 Hic auiae lateri proximus, ille patris*).

D'ora in avanti la tematica si fa più scontata, il vocabolario tecnico ripetitivo e dunque più prevedibile, il frasario meno sofisticato; non per ciò scarseggiano i prelievi dall'immenso serbatoio della versificazione antica: ci limiteremo a segnalare solo alcuni parallelismi sospettabili di effettive relazioni con altri testi. Nelle due coppie di

**39** Basti citare qui l'esempio di CLE 1561 *Insignis meritis clarusque per omnia miles* (a. 451). Quanto ai testi letterari, si trova spesso in Virgilio, Silio e altri, ma risale certamente all'indietro perché appare già parodiato al v. 583: *Insignis uaris cruribus et petilis*.

**40** Si avverte qualche eco di Giovenco, dove Maria (4.357) è *sublimis ueneranda Dei quod uenerit in te | caelestis suboles celso sub nomine Christi*.

**41** E forse anche unico - benché al verso 31 si parla di *nati* al plurale.

**42** Non sarebbe stato il primo. Come si è già acutamente osservato (Fichtner 1994, 27), ad un simile gioco di parole aveva fatto ricorso, molti secoli prima, Stazio nelle *Silvae* (1.1.76): *Salue, magnorum proles genitorque deorum, | auditum longe numen mihi: nunc mea felix, | nunc ueneranda palus, cum te prope nosse tuumque | immortale iubar uicina sede tueri | concessum*. Ma occorre anche segnalare la ricorrenza di *ueneranda parens* (in altra sede) presso Claudiano, *Prob. et Olybr: 177*; *Goth. 52*; per l'affinità di genere, *Epicedion Drusi 95 at miseranda parens suprema neque oscula legit*.

distici successivi, la clausola *unus utrisque* rinvia a Orazio e Ovidio,<sup>43</sup> *cuncta domus* ricorre in Seneca tragico e nella classicheggiante, a lui coeva *Laus Pisonis*,<sup>44</sup> *invida mors* è giuntura pressoché obbligatoria per i poeti del genere.<sup>45</sup> Al v. 23, *multiplices curae* è un nesso codificato da Catullo (64.250), sicché l'eroina *multiplices animo uolebat saucia curas*, così come la dittologia *curae - dolorque* ci riporta alla separazione tra le sofferenze patite rispettivamente dal *corpus* e dall'*animus*, espressa con arte da Lucrezio (3.459-61): *huc accedit uti uideamus, corpus ut ipsum | suscipere immanis morbos durumque dolorem, | sic animum curas acris luctumque metumque*.<sup>46</sup> Conviene soffermarsi brevemente sulla polisemia assunta in questa epigrafe metrica dal termine *cura* - le cui occorrenze divengono significative proprio in ragione dell'incarico di *curapalates*<sup>47</sup> ricoperto da Platone. Il valore 'de munere pubblico' del nome di base è univoco, nell'uso che se ne fa al v. 10; ma pur trascinando con sé dal verso precedente l'identico aggettivo composto, *cura* muta significato al v. 23, passando dal senso «i. q. ἐπιμέλεια, studium, labor, opera, industria, diligentia» (TLL IV, 1452.41) a sinonimo di «φροντίς, sollicitudo, angor animi, anxietas, aerumna» ecc. (TLL IV, 1469.65). A metà fra le due accezioni, entro il micro-spaccato di vita casalinga e nel clima tetro del v. 18, si pone il racconto confidenziale relativo al figlio e alla madre, dalla quale la scomparsa del *paterfamilias* esige ruoli domestici nuovi. L'equivoco contraddistingue pure l'ultima delle occorrenze della parola: dove le *curae heriles* del v. 27 sono al tempo stesso le concrete incombenze quotidiane che tengono occupato il capo della casa e le ansie legate al lutto per la morte del genitore.

Il quadro delineato riflette sentimenti di genuina, soggettiva sofferenza psicologica, sebbene la versificazione obbedisca alle solite tecniche combinatorie<sup>48</sup> - con qualche vezzo e virtuosismo in più; per esempio, il segmento *sine matre pia* rovescia il significato di un ti-

<sup>43</sup> Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.50; Ov. *Fast.* 1.293; forse anche ad una probabile ascendenza epica (extravirgiliana): *Ilias Lat.* 868 *Lucifer unde suis, unde Hesperus unus uterque | exoretur equis*.

<sup>44</sup> Sen. *Herc. O.* 221; *Laus Pis.* 133 *cuncta domus uaria cultorum personat arte* (col commento di Di Brazzano 2004, 275-6).

<sup>45</sup> Auson. *Parent.* 25.6; Ven. *Fort.* 4.5.1; *CLE* 1011.1; ecc.

<sup>46</sup> L'abbinamento in clausola *lamentum dolorque* sembra invece innovazione della versificazione ecclesiastica, comunemente attestato prima di Paolino di Nola (*Carm.* 19, 113) e Alcimo Avito (*Carm.* 5.302).

<sup>47</sup> Una *Formula Curae Palatii* è conservata da Cassiodoro (*Var.* 7.5).

<sup>48</sup> Ormai caratterizzato dal tipico uso dei poeti cristiani è al v. 29 l'adonio *solamin(a) uitae* (Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 18.234; Cypr. Gall. *Iud.* 143; Paul. Pell. *Euch.* 497; ecc.). Nello stesso esametro, il *cuncta fugant* che precede la cesura sembra echeggiare il *gaudia restituens tristia cuncta fugas* di Ven. *Fort. Carm.* 3.13.34 e il *pax pia corda regit, pax mala cuncta fugat* di Eug. Tol. *Carm.* 4.10.

pico stilema venanziano<sup>49</sup> al v. 24, così come, rispetto al forte *mater adest* iscritto sul finale del pentametro 14, un *mater abest* marca il v. 30 in senso contrario.<sup>50</sup> Un'attenzione retorica speciale si individua poi nel disegno della struttura del *carmen* sulla chiusa, scandita da due coppie di distichi (31-34 e 35-38): l'una tesa a lodare le virtù della madre *in vita* e l'altra la sua condizione *post mortem*. Campeggia dapprima la quadruplici anafora di *illa*, pronome reiterato a segnalare (nell'ordine) le doti di purezza femminile, fedeltà coniugale, pietà religiosa, carità verso i poveri. La dizione appare sostenuta dall'apporto del tradizionale vocabolario latino della dignità e della solennità; di certo 'classica' è la terminologia che ruota intorno al concetto atavico di *ius sacrum*,<sup>51</sup> laddove le macchine per leggere sono in grado di avvertirci che il *iugalis*<sup>52</sup> - *tori* dell'iscrizione ribalta, a distanza di quasi tre secoli, il senso di un luogo parallelo del *Contra Symmachum* di Prudenzio (1.160) *et furtius amor iuuenum et deprensas iugalis | corruptela tori*; riguardo poi al verbo *conseruare*, in testa di verso qui come in ogni altra occorrenza poetica precedente,<sup>53</sup> ben si adatta all'accezione che d'abitudine trova in *fidem* il più appropriato dei complementi (TLL IV, 420.72 ss.). Al v. 33, se sul piano puramente metrico-formale l'attacco *ill(a) sacerdot(es)* riproduce uno schema incipitario prediletto dai poeti cristiani,<sup>54</sup> con la clausola *fessosque refecit* il secondo emistichio dell'esametro esibisce una figura allitterante abbastanza rara, per cui sappiamo indicare un unico, parziale

49 Ven. Fort. *Carm.* 11.19.7 *nunc cum matre pia gaudens soror esto, precamur; app.* 3.39: *ut cum matre pia uobis haec cura perennis | possit in astrigero reddere digna throno*. Più avanti, al v. 30, torna la forma fissa *pia mater* al nominativo, che è molto più diffusa nella *koiné*, sin da Orazio (*Epist.* 1.18.26) e Ovidio (*saepius*).

50 Entrambi i metrismi sono presenti nella tradizione, sin da Ovidio: *Pont.* 9.43 e *Fast.* 4.259 (*abest*); *Met.* 4.692 (*adest*).

51 Il nesso *puccitiae - iura* è attestato in Properzio (4.5.28 *frange et damnosae iura puccitiae*), poi nei tardi contesti profani di Lussorio (*Anth.* 364.2) *cuncta puccitiae iura tenere cupis*, e di Ennodio (*Carm.* 1.4.72 *ne te [...] captium numen habere | iura puccitiae uel lex malesuada putetur*); invece *iura-tori* è giuntura esclusivamente ovidiana (*Am.* 3.6.82; *Pont.* 16.286; ancora, e soprattutto, 21.142 *si tibi coniugium uolui promittere nostrum, | exige polliciti debita iura tori*).

52 Qui per la prima volta corretto, laddove gli editori danno *iugalem*. Ho controllato a Venezia il testo sopra una delle copie migliori del manoscritto originale (a sua volta perduto) di Pietro Sabino: il *Marc. Lat.* X 195 (3453). Si tratta di un'ampia silloge di epigrafi cristiane, preceduta da un carne dedicatorio «Carolo christianissimo Francor. regi» (dunque composto prima del 1498), dove a c. 305r la penna dello scriba è sospettabile di incertezza nel tracciare la *m* di desinenza: il che ha prodotto una macchia d'inchiostro.

53 Sono tre in tutto: Lucrezio, 1.1043 e 2.709; Corippo, *Iust.* 3.218 *conseruare domum sanctumque intrare cubile*.

54 Prudenzio (c. *Symm.* 1.167): *Ille sacerdotem uiolat, contra illa marito | succumbit Phrygio*; dove *ille* è Marte, la *sacerdos* è Rea Silvia, mentre poi *illa* indica Venere amata da Anchise; Sedulio (c. *Pasch.* 1.84): *Ille sacerdotum fuerat tunc denique princeps | et princeps scelerum*; si parla di Caifa) a papa Simmaco (ICVR 2.4110.5-6 *Ille sacerdotem cupiens subducere morti | contigit optatam sub pietate necem*).



modello in Corippo (*Ioh.* 6.327 *uix ea uulgu inops: populos pater ipse dolentes | continuit fessosque bonus sermone refecit*); ed un eventuale epigono dovrà considerarsi il cosiddetto Anonymus Gemeticensis: parafrasi metrica duecentesca dei *dialogi* di Gregorio Magno, composta nel monastero dell'abbazia di Jumièges in Normandia, dove il protagonista del racconto (3.603) *alimenta | que tulerat tribuit fessosque refecit*. Infine, al v. 34 dà movimento un discreto chiasmo: strutturale, fonico e insieme concettuale (*egens petiit | tribuit - libens*).

I due distici conclusivi, come si diceva, sono rivolti ormai alla sepoltura del corpo e al viaggio dell'anima di Blatta. Avendo sviluppato tanta passione<sup>55</sup> verso le tombe dei santi in vita, quello che della donna rimane sulla terra meriterà di riposare accanto ai martiri di Cristo, promossa al rango di 'compagna' di San Cristoforo<sup>56</sup> - e in tal modo il versificatore istituisce un altro schema chiasmico (*martyribus Christi | Christigeri meruit martyr*) sommato agli effetti finali di sonoro parallelismo allitterante (*cohaesit | comes*).<sup>57</sup>

In più occasioni e in varie sedi, nell'ultimo ventennio, Peter Brown è apparso conquistato dai caratteri personali di «Lady Blatta»,<sup>58</sup> insistendo oltre misura per elevarne la figura a paradigma di virtù familiari cristiane: soprattutto determinata a intrecciare legami tanto stretti con la sfera dei santi, nei tempi del passaggio fra tarda antichità e medioevo. L'entusiasmo dello studioso è acceso, al punto di dolersi per la presunta sottostima riservata a questa eroina femminile dalla cerchia degli *Historians* - suoi colleghi di professione.

Indicherei un altro elemento, che forse colpisce di più un lettore ordinario, colto e curioso: le parole di speranza, l'augurio del figlio affinché la vita della madre abbia continuazione entro un paradiso musicale, festoso, popoloso: quasi 'terrestre'. Trovo densa di signi-

<sup>55</sup> Si sarebbe potuto dire 'zelo': ma *studiosa* è voce dell'elegia erotica di Ovidio (*Ars am.* 3.423, 663; *Tr.* 2.257); resa cristiana da Prud. *Perist.* 4.54 *Caesaraugusta studiosa Christo; Arator Parth.* 92 (*pontifices*) *Gallia quos multos dat studiosa bonos*.

<sup>56</sup> Questo leggendario santo militare e martire orientale, gigantesco e cinocefalo, conobbe larga fortuna anche in occidente, e proprio a partire dal VII secolo (Rossano 1989, 90); svolgeva funzioni (tra le altre) di intercessore nei pericoli e di traghettatore dei morti. La forma *Christiger* è da considerarsi unicismo - al punto che i redattori dell'*Onomasticon* del TLL (II 416.3) arrivavano a dubitare qui della identità con San Cristoforo.

<sup>57</sup> Per la correlazione a distanza delle parole finali dei due emistichi del pentametro 36, sarà da confrontare CLE 1413.10 *sacrarum meruit sumere iura comes*. Per il concetto e la terminologia della 'coesione', Diehl 1925 richiama a fondo pagina 50 il testo di Itala, *I Cor.* 6.17 *qui cohaeret Christo domino*.

<sup>58</sup> «A zealous lover of the saints» è definita *illustis femina* nella seconda prefazione della sua monografia da Brown 2015, xxxi; ma si vedano i reiterati precedenti di Brown 2000, 20; Brown 2002, 12-13; Brown 2003, 73. In tutte queste riprese l'autore, senza spiegarne il motivo, posticipa di un anno la morte di Blatta. Altrettanto ingiustificato, però forse non irrelato, è il fatto che si fornisca la stessa data (688) per la morte di Platone nel libro di Ward-Perkins 1984, 167.

ficato la sincretismo fra sodalizi bacchici e cori angelici, straordinariamente audace il panorama del cielo che ospita la matrona cristiana e la sua danza gioiosa nei *thias* (v. 37): dove un termine proprio dell'originaria religiosità dionisiaca<sup>59</sup> è adattato ai circoli degli spiriti beati cui Blatta ha ora accesso, nel mentre si prende l'attributo *iucunda* dal lessico tipico (e dalla 'morale mondana' relativa) di Lucrezio e degli elegiaci.<sup>60</sup> All'ultimo atto, parole diverse del repertorio letterario greco-latino<sup>61</sup> vengono così riusate per mandare in scena uno spettacolo paradisiaco, sul quale cala d'improvviso il sipario del ritegno - non senza aprire uno spiraglio ad ibridi ulteriori, a future sperimentazioni dell'immaginario. Se si vuol lasciare un po' libero il pensiero, nel pio Giovanni che fa poesia riverente al passato, complice di forme tradizionali e modi convenzionali pervasi da nuove sensibilità, sarà pure lecito scorgere un precursore di Dante: il visionario che seicento anni dopo, in possesso di tutt'altre doti intellettuali, avrebbe saputo dar voce a quella 'anima gemellare' della nostra cultura che Franco Ferrucci<sup>62</sup> chiamava «la doppia pianta dell'Occidente - la versione cristiana del giudaismo e del classicismo».

## Abbreviazioni

CLE = Buecheler, F. [1897] (1982). *Anthologia Latina*. Vol. II(2), *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*. Stutgardiae.

DBI = *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (1960-). Roma.

ICVR = De Rossi, G.B. (1888). *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, vol. II(1). Romae.

ILCV = Diehl, E. (1925). *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, vol. 1. Berolini.

**59** Del grecismo, pur già 'sconsacrato' dal suo uso e abuso nei secoli, non mostrano traccia i poeti latini cristiani (tale infatti non andrà considerato Sidonio Apollinare, che in *Carm.* 5.491 - entro il paganeggiante panegirico di Maioriano - allude alle orge tebane); e neppure quelli medievali, al di fuori di un'unica eccezione - giustificata peraltro dal valore negativo assunto dal termine nel contesto e dalla qualità morale del personaggio stesso cui è riferito nell'opera; parliamo della *Ylias* di Giuseppe Iscano 276: *At Paris obsequio noctis presentius audet | inpaciens differre deos, Veneremque secutus | primus ad inbelles thiasos et debile vulgus | armatum maturat iter, ludentia turbat | fana ferox.*

**60** Le occorrenze nella medesima sede metrica (e i relativi nessi più significativi) sono: *Lucr.* 2.3 (*iucunda uoluptas*, come in *Aetna* 249 e *Prop.* 1.10.3; trasformato in *iucunda uoluntas* da *Ven. Fort. Carm.* 3.24.9); 5.898; 6.977; *Ciris* 385; *Juv.* 4.81. Segnalo come Draconzio faccia enumerare a Giunone anche questo, fra molti altri epiteti della dea avversaria (*Romul.* 10.52: *lascia Venus, iucunda modesta | blanda potens mitis fecunda, uenustas amoris | pulchra uoluptatum genetrix et numen amoris*).

**61** Per l'abbinamento a distanza *tempor(a) - uia(s)*, i precedenti sono offerti da *Prop.* 3.16.18 *huic generi quouis tempore tuta uia est*; *Ov. Tr.* 1.11.2 (*littera est mihi sollicito tempore facta uiae*; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* 6.5.42 *narrantes longae | tempora tarda uiae*).

**62** Un fine studioso di letteratura italiana (1936-2010), della cui intelligenza si avverte più che mai il desiderio. Le frasi riportate fra virgolette provengono da Ferrucci 1999, 169.

PmbZ = *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit* (2001). Herausgegeben von der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; nach Vorarbeiten F. Winkelmanns erstellt von R.-J. Lilie et al., Bd. I(4). Berlin.

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# Un cavallo nell'Elisio (Auson. Epigr. 7 Green)

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**Abstract** Composed on imperial commission, the elegant verse epitaph for the race-horse Phosphorus is an outstanding example of Ausonius' poetic memory and a sophisticated essay of his technique of allusion. The three main models that innervate the text – two epigrams by Martial and a passage from Nemesianus' *Cynegetica* – are signalled through three distinct references or 'quotations' concentrated in the first line, which sums up the 'intertextual project' of the poem. The paper aims to describe this feature of the epigram in detail; the analysis is completed by a fresh attempt to correct the scribal error that affects the last line of the text in the unique manuscript.

**Keywords** Ausonius. Epitaphs of animals. Intertextuality. Late Latin epigrams. Poetic allusivity.

## Iussu Augusti equo admirabili

Phosphore, clamosi spatiosa per aequora circi  
septenas solitus uictor obire uias,  
improperanter agens primos a carcere cursus,  
fortis praegressis ut potereris equis  
(promptum et ueloces erat anticipare quadrigas: 5  
uictores etiam uincere laus potior),  
hunc titulum uani solacia sume sepulchri  
et gradere Elysios praepes ad alipedes.  
Pegasus hinc dexter currat tibi, laeuus Arion  
funalis, quartum det tibi Castor equum. 10



Edizioni  
Ca' Foscari

**Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4**

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

**Peer review | Open access**

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/030

1 Phosphore *Vinet 1580*: posp<sup>h</sup>ere **V**<sup>1</sup> prosp<sup>e</sup>e **V**<sup>2</sup> | spatiosa *Charpin 1558*: pauosa  
**V**<sup>1</sup> panosa **V**<sup>2</sup> pannosa *Vinet 1580* 2 septenas *Charpin 1558*: septena **V** 4  
fortis **V**: posthac *Gärtner 2006* 6 etiam **V**: sed iam *Gärtner 2006*, fortasse  
recte 9 currat tibi **V**: currant ibi *Saumaise 1629* 10 funalis *Vinet 1580*: fu-  
nise ad (ise in ras.) **V** funis eat *Gronovius, alii alia*.

### Per comando dell'Augusto, a un cavallo ammirevole.

Fosforo, tu che sull'ampia spianata del circo urlante  
solevi finire vincendo i tuoi sette giri di pista,  
il primo tratto dal via facendolo senza affrettarti  
per poi guadagnare, potente, i cavalli scattati in avanti  
(potevi pure precederle, quelle veloci quadrighe,  
ma era gloria anche più grande il vincerle già vincitrici):  
ricevi questo epitafio a conforto del vano sepolcro  
e raggiungi volando i destrieri dei Campi Elisi:  
alla tua destra corra Pegaso, Arione a sinistra  
di rinforzo; sia Castore a darti il quarto cavallo.

## 1

Conservato tra altri epigrammi funerari nella grande silloge ausonia-  
na del ms. Leiden, UB, Voss. Lat. F 111, a. 800 ca. (**V**),<sup>1</sup> l'epitafio per  
il cavallo Fosforo, che l'*inscriptio* - verosimilmente autentica - indica  
essere stato composto su commissione imperiale forse per una rea-  
le destinazione epigrafica,<sup>2</sup> rientra nella breve serie di epitafi equini  
pervenutici dall'antichità classica alla quale appartengono: sul ver-

**1** Per una descrizione del manoscritto cf. de Meyier 1973, 235-40; sul *corpus* auso-  
niano contenutovi: Schenkl 1883, xxxii-iv; Peiper 1886, xviii-xxviii. Il nostro *Epigr. 7*  
Green (= *Epit. 32* Schenkl, 33 Peiper) rientra in un gruppo di epigrammi funerari che i  
copisti di **V**, o di un manoscritto a monte di esso, hanno staccato dalla serie degli *Epi-*  
*grammata de diuersis rebus* spostandoli per ragioni di contiguità di genere in coda al  
*libellus* degli *Epitaphia heroum qui bello Troico interfuerunt*, cui sono del tutto estranei.  
Nelle edizioni, la ricollocazione tra gli epigrammi è avvenuta soltanto a partire da Gre-  
en 1991. Commenti al testo: Green 1991, 381-2; Kay 2001, 81-5; Dräger 2012, 669-71.

**2** Da comparare con il titolo *Ad fontem Danuuii iussu Valentiniani Aug.* preposto a *Epi-*  
*gr. 3 e 4*, due carmi celebrativi per le operazioni militari del 368-369 d.C. condotte da  
Valentiniano I e dal fratello Valente nei rispettivi settori dell'alto e del basso Danubio  
(cf. Green 1991, 379-80; Kay 2001, 73-9; Moroni 2015). La costanza della formula de-  
pone per l'autenticità di questa titolature e indica uno specifico *usus* autoriale, ma non  
è argomento sufficiente per identificare l'Augusto di *Epigr. 7* con Valentiniano I piutto-  
sto che con il figlio Graziano (cui Ausonio dedica *Prec. 1*, *Epigr. 4-6* e la silloge poetica  
testimoniata da *Praef. 1*) o, a rigore, con Teodosio I (cui Ausonio dedica la silloge poe-  
tica testimoniata da *Praef. 2*).

sante greco, Anite, *Anth. Pal.* 7.208 = Gow, Page *HE* 696-699; Mnasalce, *Anth. Pal.* 7.212 = Gow, Page *HE* 2643-2646; *IGUR* III 1214 = *Epigr. Gr.* 625 = *App. Anth.* II 492 Cougny = *GVI* 1844; su quello latino, *CLE* 218; *CLE* 1177, e il celebre carme comunemente attribuito ad Adriano per il corsiero da caccia Boristene, *CLE* 1522 = Courtney *FLP* Hadr. 4.<sup>3</sup> Insieme a quest'ultimo e a *IGUR* III 1214,<sup>4</sup> il nostro epigramma rientra altresì nella tradizione degli epitafi per cavalli imperiali inaugurata dal carme che, stando alla notizia di Plinio il Vecchio, Germanico avrebbe dettato per onorare la sepoltura di un cavallo di Augusto.<sup>5</sup>

L'epigramma, di 5 distici elegiaci, espresso interamente alla seconda persona come *Anrede* al cavallo defunto, si compone di una parte principale di 8 versi e di una 'coda' di 2. I vv. 1-8 costituiscono un unico periodo, che inizia con l'invocazione di Fosforo, cui si legano in forma appositiva il suo elogio di abituale vincitore nel circo (1-2) e la rievocazione delle sue speciali qualità agonistiche (3-6), e culmina nella doppia esortazione ad accogliere l'omaggio di questo *titulus* come conforto del *vanum sepulcrum* (7) e ad andarsi a unire ai mitici destrieri dell'Elisio (8): qui - è l'augurio espresso nella 'coda' - possa far parte di una nuova quadriga, avendo per compagni Pegaso, Ariadne e il cavallo procuratogli da Castore (9-10).

Confrontando l'epigramma di Ausonio con i tre superstiti epitafi latini per cavalli:

### **CLE 218**

D.M.  
Gaetula harena prosata,  
Gaetulo equino consita,  
cursando flabris compara,  
aetate abacta uirgini  
Speudusa Lethen incolis,<sup>6</sup>

5

<sup>3</sup> Sugli epitafi per animali nell'antichità classica lo studio di riferimento rimane Herrlinger 1930, con raccolta e commento dei testi; il nostro (nr. 38) è trattato alle pp. 39 e 104-5. Cf. inoltre, focalizzata sugli epitafi canini in ambito greco, Garulli 2014, e, per l'ambito latino, Stevanato 2016.

<sup>4</sup> Secondo l'interpretazione datane già da D'Ansse de Villosion 1801, 451-7: cf. Cougny 1890, 262; Buecheler 1907 (che ignora i predecessori); Herrlinger 1930, 43-4, nr. 45.

<sup>5</sup> Plin. *HN* 13.155 *fecit et Diuus Augustus equo tumulum, de quo Germanici Caesaris carmen est.*

<sup>6</sup> Su questo epitafio cf. Courtney 1995, 407 nr. 200; Stevanato 2016, 53.

**CLE 1177**

-----  
[cui non Thessala terra parem (?) Coporusque tuli[sse(n?)t],  
[nec T]usci saltus, pascua nec Sicula,  
[qui] uolucris ante ire uaga[s], qui flamina chori  
uincere suetus eras, hoc stabulas tumulo,<sup>7</sup>

**CLE 1522 = Courtney FLP Hadr. 4**

Borysthenes Alanus  
Caesareus ueredus,  
per aequor et paludes  
et tumulos Etruscos  
uolare qui solebat 5  
Pannonicos in apros,  
nec ullus insequentem  
dente aper albicanti  
ausus fuit nocere,  
ut solet euenire, 12  
uel extimam saliuā 10  
sparsit ab ore caudam: 11  
sed integer iuuenta,  
inuiolatus artus  
die sua peremptus 15  
hoc situs est in agro,<sup>8</sup>

si osserva in tutti lo stesso impianto formale, con una prima parte eulogistica che si snoda ininterrotta lungo un unico periodo ricordando l'eccezionale velocità dell'animale, e una frase conclusiva che lo colloca nella sua ultima dimora, fisica (*hoc stabulas tumulo, hoc situs est in agro*) o metaforica (*Lethen incolis*). Se, come sembra, esiste un *pattern* strutturale per questo tipo di iscrizioni poetiche, Ausonio mostra di conoscerlo, riproponendone lo schema nei primi sette versi (1-6: elogio di Fosforo, 7: menzione del *sepulchrum*); comuni agli esempi epigrafici sono inoltre l'assenza dell'elemento umano e la formula che esprime la costante eccellenza del corridore (2 *solitus uictor obire*, cf. CLE 1177.4 *uincere suetus eras*, 1522.5 *uolare qui*

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<sup>7</sup> L'integrazione del primo emistichio del v. 1 proposta *exempli gratia* da Buecheler rende con buona verosimiglianza il possibile andamento del testo; su questo epitafo si vedano Courtney 1995, 407-8 nr. 201; Masaro 2017, 383-7, nr. 98.

<sup>8</sup> Su questo epitafo dalla metrica assai ricercata (distici epodici composti da un dimestro giambico catalettico e da un aristofaneo) cf. Vinchesi 1988; Courtney 1993, 384-7.



*solebat*).<sup>9</sup> Diversa è invece la rappresentazione dell'animale defunto, cui Ausonio conferisce tratti più decisamente umanizzanti, descrivendolo in vita come dotato (al pari di taluni destrieri del mito e dell'epopea) di una volontà propria, di una propria strategia agonistica e perfino (vv. 5-6) di una propria etica sportiva,<sup>10</sup> e prestandogli in morte la sensibilità di un defunto umano, cui l'omaggio dell'iscrizione può recare un qualche conforto. Alla poesia epigrafica per gli individui si ispira il v. 7 *hunc titulum uani solacia sume sepulchri*, con il tipico attacco *hunc titulum*,<sup>11</sup> l'imperativo dedicatorio *sume*<sup>12</sup> e la sua associazione con *solacia*,<sup>13</sup> l'idea del *titulus* come 'consolazione' per chi lo pone o – come qui – per chi lo riceve,<sup>14</sup> il concetto della vanità della tomba,<sup>15</sup> rispetto alla quale la dedica offre una sorta di compenso.

**9** Cf. CLE 1176 (epitafio di una *catella*) 9-11 *Tu, dulcis Patrice, nostras attingere mentas | consueras, gremio poscere blanda cibos, | lambere tu calicem lingua rapiente solebas*; tipico altresì dell'epitafio 'professionale': CLE 249 (un mercante di grano) 9-10 *ire per illos | consuetus portus cura studio(ue) laboris, 411 (un mimo) [Lau]datus populo, solitus mandata referre, | [ad]jectus scaenae, parasitus Apollinis idem, | [quar]tarum in mimis saltantibus utilis actor*; CLEHisp 96 Cug. (un pancrazista) 2-3 *solitus assiduis durare membra palaestris, | arte quoque signi sui populo placuitque frequenter*.

**10** Herrlinger 1930, 105: «die Technik anfänglicher Zurückhaltung beim Lauf (V. 3 f.), durch die das Pferd stets den Sieg errang, ist ganz dem Tier selbst als Verdienst zugeschrieben, der *auriga* wird gar nicht genannt. Der Dichter verleiht also ... dem Tier menschliche Vernunft und Einsicht».

**11** Squisitamente iscrizionale, anche nelle varianti *hic titulus, hoc titulo*: cf. CLE 423.5; 603.6; 773.4; 988.3; 1141.24; 1208.1; 1280.1; 1302.5; 1313.6; 1485.2; 1534b.4; 1536.1; 1550a.1; 1578.4; 2007.1; 2026.1; 2130.2, ecc.

**12** Cf. CLE 868.5-6 *sume* (scil. Alcide) *libens simulacra tuis quae munera Cilo | aris urbanus dedicat ipse sacris*; ICUR II 4150.1-3 *Quamuis digna tuis non sint, pater, ista sepulchris | nec titulis egeat clarificata fides, | sume tamen laudes eqs.*; EDR nr. 159949, ll. 6-7 *sume et solliciti genitoris, filia, carmen* (<http://www.edr-edr.it>).

**13** Cf. CLE 1336.7-8 *Sume igitur lacrimas, quarum solacia sensus | nulla tui, sed nos quos nocuere iuuat*; 1357.1 *Sume soror carmen, sola[cia] trist(i)a fratris*.

**14** Cf. CLE 2099.19-20 *parua tibi coniunx magni solacia luctus | hunc tumuli titulum maesta Serena dicat*; CLEHisp 115 Cug. 10 *ponimus hunc titulum luctus solacia nostri*; *Deutsche Inschriften Online* 60 nr. 4.4 *Agri(p)ina soror tetolo solacia signat* (<http://www.inschriften.net/>). Il principio è esplicitato in CLE 1604.1-6 *Quae fuerunt praeteritae uitae testimonia, nunc declarantur hac scribura postrema. Haec sunt enim mortis solacia, ubi continetur nom[i]nis uel generis aeterna memoria*: cf. Lattimore 1962, 245.

**15** Cf. CLE 474.9-10 *triste munus posui dolore repletus, | munus inane quidem, 475.2-3 nobis inane sepulchrum | fecerunt* (scil. parentes), 524.2 *casso nunc tumulo dico, 532.2 ... no[m]en lapis uanus...*, 1135.5 *id sumus, ut cernis: titulo donamur inani*. Secondo Kay 2001, 84 *ad loc.* «the tomb is literally empty since the horse is going physically to heaven, and metaphorically empty in the sense that all consolation is hollow», ma la prima interpretazione, seguita anche da Dräger 2012, 670 *ad loc.*, oltre a essere in contrasto con le credenze escatologiche antiche, toglierebbe ragione ai *solacia* offerti dal *titulus* (non a caso Canal 1853, 250, che per primo ha inteso in questo modo, omette il dettaglio nella traduzione: «Qui vota hai tomba; chè all'Eliso eletta | schiera d'alati corridor t'aspetta»). Il senso è quello reso da Corpet 1842-43, 1: 219: «reçois ces vers pour te consoler de la vanité du sépulcre», ma la difficoltà a intendere *uani... sepulchri* ha indotto alcuni traduttori a presupporre un'ipallage e a trattare l'aggettivo come fosse riferito a *solacia*: Evelyn White 1919-21, 2: 161: «Take, then, this epitaph—poor consolation!—

A differenza degli altri epitafi equini pervenuti a noi, quello di Ausonio non termina con il traguardo della morte o del *sepulcrum*,<sup>16</sup> ma prosegue in direzione escatologica prospettando l'idea di un Elisio equino (v. 8) e aggiungendo nell'ultimo distico il 'ricamo' di una preziosa *imagerie* mitologica (9-10), che eroizza il cavallo terreno associandolo a tre destrieri immortali: una scena oltremondana ispirata a modelli squisitamente letterari, come l'epigramma di Aristodico, *Anth. Pal.* 7.189 = Gow, Page *HE* 772-775 per la morte di un grillo, il *carme* 3 di Catullo per il passero di Lesbia (vv. 11-12) e Ovidio *Am.* 2.6 per il pappagallo di Corinna (vv. 49-58), ma priva della leziosa ironia che caratterizza questi esempi.<sup>17</sup>

La raffinata orchestrazione e la particolarità della chiusa fanno rientrare l'epigramma per Fosforo nel tipo che Gerhard Herrlinger, nel suo studio sulla poesia funeraria per gli animali nell'antichità, definisce «das pointierte Epikedium», l'epicedio arguto. Esso, afferma lo studioso,

è interamente figlio dell'intelletto, e suo scopo è anche soltanto avvicinare l'intelletto del lettore. I modi di realizzazione dello stile arguto sono disparati. Per lo più la materia stessa è scelta o anche costruita nella prospettiva della singolarità o della particolarità. Una situazione singolare o sorprendente, l'insolita modalità di morte di un animale vengono abilmente congegnate e messe in forma di breve poesia, la cui efficacia risiede nella paradossalità. In altri epigrammi la sostanza in sé non è affatto interessante, ma è utilizzata in modo tale che all'esposizione dell'evento, che viene quanto meno riassunto con arte, si collega un pensiero sorprendente o una sentenza inattesa. Rientrano in questo novero anche gli epigrammi che nella battuta finale contengono un'allusione mitologica. Qui a esser degno di attenzione non è tanto l'elemento parodico, che pure indubbiamente è presente, quanto il fatto che il poeta, insieme alla propria dottrina, vuole innanzitutto mostrare mano felice nella scelta e nello svolgimento del paragone.<sup>18</sup>

for your tomb»; Pastorino 1978, 499: «accetta quest'epitaffio, vana consolazione della tomba»; Canali 2007, 33: «accetta questo epitaffio, vana consolazione del sepolcro».

**16** Solo apparente l'eccezione di *CLE* 218.5 *Speudusa Lethen incolis* (su cui cf. Stevanato 2016, 53), perché nell'epigrafia funeraria la menzione del Lete non allude a un destino oltremondano, ma è metonimia eufemizzante per l'insensibilità della morte: cf. *CLE* 1114.5 *cum mea Lethaeae ruperunt fila sorores*, 1187.4-5 *duceris ad Stygiam nunc miseranda ratem | inque tuo tristis uersatur pectore Lethen*; 1301.8 *Lethaeoque iaces condita sarcophago*; 1305.6-8 *Narrabam Lethen defunctorum[que quietem:] | nil mihi Lethaei profuit a[mnis aqua,] | durat et infixus noster dolor*; 1551c.3 *et prior at Lethen cum sit Pompti[l]la recepta*; 1567.5-6 *Oppi, ne metuas Lethen. Nam stultum est, tempore et omni | dum mortem metuas, amittere gaudia uitae* (cf. *Dist. Cat.* 2.3 *Linqe metum leti, nam stultum est tempore in omni eqs.*); 2180 *iam placide posita Lethes in morte quiesce*.

**17** Cf. Herrlinger 1930, 105.

**18** Herrlinger 1930, 92.

A questa definizione, in cui l'epitafio di Fosforo rientra chiaramente nell'ultima fattispecie, va aggiunto almeno nel nostro caso anche il piacere intellettuale che il poeta cerca di procurare al lettore mediante lo strumento dell'allusione e della conseguente agnizione letteraria. Sotto questo punto di vista, infatti, l'epigramma di Ausonio non è soltanto un elegante saggio di *Tiertotenklage*, ma anche un elaborato esercizio di memoria poetica, la cui particolare tecnica combinatoria merita di essere analizzata nei dettagli.

## 2

Il primo dato da mettere in luce è che il verso incipitario *Phosphore, clamosi spatiosa per aequora circi*, è interamente composto 'more centonario' con segmenti verbali attinti a tre diversi modelli poetici. Il vocativo *Phosphore* in posizione iniziale evoca l'apostrofe alla stella del mattino **Phosphore, redde diem: quid gaudia nostra moraris?** di Mart. 8.21.1, un epigramma celebrativo in cui Marziale esprime l'impazienza con cui Roma attende il giorno dell'*adventus* di Domiziano, reduce dalla campagna sarmatica del 92 d.C.<sup>19</sup> Da un altro incipit di Marziale, quello dell'epitafio dell'auriga Scorpo, 10.53.1 *Ille ego sum Scorpus, clamosi gloria Circi*, Ausonio trae il sintagma *clamosi... circi*, di cui riproduce anche la *Sperrung*, ma collocando l'aggettivo in una diversa posizione metrica.<sup>20</sup> La sede di *clamosi*, infatti, è regolata sull'*ordo uerborum* del verso di Nemesiano che fornisce il segmento *spatiosa per aequora*: si tratta di Cyn. 270 *quin et promissi spatiosa per aequora campi*, in un contesto in cui il poeta didascalico descrive i pregi dei cavalli di razza magrebina.<sup>21</sup>

Il secondo fatto da segnalare è che i testi da cui provengono le tessere verbali che compongono il v. 1 non esauriscono qui la loro presenza, ma ciascuno di essi esercita un'ulteriore azione modellizzante su alcuni dei versi successivi. Iniziamo dunque con il passo di Ne-

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Schöffel 2002, 222-32.

<sup>20</sup> Per la storia della *iunctura*, aggiungiamo gli esempi di Stat. *Silv.* 3.5.15-16 *nulla nec aut trepidi mulcent te proelia Circi | aut intrat sensus clamosi turba theatri*, che potrebbe aver dato l'idea a Marziale, e *Juv.* 9.144 *securum iubeant clamoso insistere circo*; data la posizione metrica, può invece dipendere da Ausonio *Coripp. Iust.* 2.326 *cunctaque clamosi tacuere sedilia circi*.

<sup>21</sup> Il primo a segnalare la reminiscenza di Nemesiano è Wagner 1907, 63-4; cf. Jakobi 2014, 154 *ad loc.* L'espressione *spatiosa per aequora* varia un *pattern* metrico-verbale che risale almeno a Verg. *G.* 1.206 *quam quibus in patriam uentosa per aequora uectis* e ricorre in Verg. *Aen.* 6.335; *Ov. Her.* 17.7; *Epiced. Drusi* 107; Val. Fl. 3.277 (*sinuosa*); *Iuven.* 1.689. La clausola *aequora circi*, risultante dalla giustapposizione di *Nemes. Cyn.* 269 + *Mart.* 10.53.1, ha un precedente in *Iuven.* *Praef.* 2.13-14 *et uertigo poli terras atque aequora circum | aethera sidereum iusso moderamine uoluet*.

mesiano, che elenca le doti di due tipi di cavalli nordafricani, «quello che ci manda la Mauretania [...] e quello che il Mazax brunito dal sole fa pascolare su piane desertiche» (Cyn. 259-262), entrambi docili ai comandi e potenti nella corsa (267-272):

Nam flecti facilis lasciuaque colla secutus  
paret in obsequium lentae moderamine uirgae:  
uerbera sunt praecepta fugae, sunt uerbera freni.  
*Quin et promissi spatiosa per aequora campi*  
cursibus acquirunt commoto sanguine uires  
*paulatimque auidos comites post terga relinquunt.*

È evidente che nell'epigramma di Ausonio la memoria di questo luogo non è circoscritta al segmento *spatiosa per aequora* del v. 1, ma opera anche nei vv. 3-4, essendovi un'inegabile analogia tra la progressiva velocità di Fosforo, che in pista partiva *improperanter* e poi con la sua potenza (*fortis*) riguadagnava gli avversari tagliando per primo il traguardo, e quella dei cavalli sahariani di Nemesiano, i quali, «una volta lanciati sull'ampie distese della pianura, | col mettersi in moto del sangue acquistano forza correndo | e a poco a poco si lasciano i compagni bramosi alle spalle».

Invece dell'epitafio che Scorpo pronuncia in prima persona in Mart. 10.53 il nostro carne non serba altra memoria che il richiamo di v. 1:

Ille ego sum Scorpus, *clamosi* gloria *Circi*,  
plausus, Roma, tui deliciaeque breues,  
inuida quem Lachesis raptum trieteride nona,  
dum numerat palmas, credidit esse senem.

Tuttavia l'epigramma di Marziale è la ripresa a poca distanza di un precedente epicedio dell'auriga, con il quale forma un breve ciclo unitario,<sup>22</sup> dove è evocata l'immagine di Scorpo che continua a correre anche nell'Aldilà (Mart. 10.50):

Frangat Idumaeas tristis Victoria palmas,  
plange, Fauor, saeua pectora nuda manu;  
mutet Honor cultus, et iniquis munera flammis  
mitte coronatas, Gloria maesta, comas.  
Heu facinus! prima fraudatus, Scorpe, iuuenta 5  
occidis et *nigros tam cito iungis equos.*  
Curribus illa tuis semper properata breuisque  
cur fuit et uitae tam prope meta tuae?

22 Su di esso cf. Ciappi 2001; Tafaro 2016.

Non sarà arduo credere che il destino escatologico attribuito da Marziale al celebre campione del circo, andato troppo presto ad aggiogare i neri cavalli (*nigros... equos*) dell'Oltretomba,<sup>23</sup> abbia ispirato ad Ausonio il destino simmetrico che egli augura al suo campione equino nei vv. 7-10 dell'epitafio: raggiungere nell'Eliso i destrieri del mito (*Elysios... alipedes*) ed essere il cavallo di punta di una formidabile quadriga guidata nientemeno che da Castore.

Resta l'epigramma per l'*adventus* di Domiziano (Mart. 8.21), che dei tre modelli evocati al v. 1 è il solo a beneficiare di una seconda ripresa letterale, studiamente collocata all'estremo opposto dell'epitafio, cioè nel secondo emistichio dell'ultimo verso. All'astro Lucifero, invocato con il suo nome greco, Marziale rimprovera l'indugio con cui esso tarda a lanciare nel cielo il cocchio del nuovo giorno che dovrebbe donare a Roma il ritorno e la luce dell'imperatore. Eppure, dice il poeta di Bilbilis ai vv. 5-6, per viaggiare più veloce la stella del mattino potrebbe staccare dalla costellazione dei Gemelli il cavallo Cillaro, ché lo stesso Castore glielo cederà volentieri:

**Phosphore**, redde diem: quid gaudia nostra moraris?

Caesare uenturo, Phosphore, redde diem.

Roma rogat. Placidi numquid te pigra Bootae

plaustra uehant, lento quod nimis axe uenis?

Ledaeo poteras abducere Cyllaron astro: 5

*ipse suo cedit nunc tibi Castor equo.*

Quid cupidum Titana tenes? iam Xanthus et Aethon

frena uolunt, uigilat Memnonis alma parens.

Tarda tamen nitidae non cedunt sidera luci,

et cupit Ausonium luna uidere ducem. 10

Iam, Caesar, uel nocte ueni: stent astra licebit,

non derit populo te ueniente dies.

Il fatto che i Dioscuri, benché resi immortali, secondo il mito trascorrono un giorno a turno nell'Ade consente ad Ausonio di trasferire il gesto di Castore dallo scenario celeste dell'epigramma di Marziale a quello infero del suo epitafio: nella chiusa augura dunque a Fo-

**23** Cf. Ciappi 2001, 599-600: «l'espressione ribadisce la nozione della prematura scomparsa di Scorpio mediante la ricercata immagine del giovane auriga che si affretta anzi tempo (*tam cito*) ad aggiogare i suoi cavalli nell'oltretomba, invece di continuare a farlo nel circo; *nigri equi* evoca, infatti, i destrieri di Plutone, che secondo una ben attestata tradizione sono neri, come nero è il carro del dio, il colore legato al mondo ctonio e alle divinità infernali [...]. Scorpio, dunque, adesso è l'auriga del regno infero e continua a fare nell'altro mondo ciò che faceva in questo! In tal maniera, fra l'altro, Marziale recupera un ulteriore motivo caro alla letteratura sepolcrale, ossia quello del defunto che dopo la morte prosegue nella sua nuova dimora infernale l'attività che aveva svolto in vita, tema [...] che è parte del ben più vasto e noto *tòpos* consolatorio dell'immortalità dell'anima».

sforo di continuare a galoppare nei Campi Elisi aggiogato insieme a Pegaso, ad Arione e al cavallo (non nominato, ma deducibile dal nome del suo fantino) assegnatogli da Castore: *quartum det tibi Castor equum*. Il messaggio eulogistico è che Fosforo nell'Aldilà sarà degno di formare una quadriga insieme ai tre mitici destrieri e che egli ne sarà il cavallo di punta: è infatti a partire da lui che verrà messa insieme la batteria, in quanto si dice che i primi due compagni *gli* correranno (*currat tibi*) rispettivamente a destra e a sinistra, e il quarto elemento *gli* sarà procurato da Castore (*det tibi*). Sul piano stilistico-retorico, dopo la menzione di Pegaso e di Arione, la soppressione del nome di Cillaro e la sua sostituzione con una frase che lo denota attraverso il nome dell'eroe cui è associato è un espediente di tipo enigmatizzante,<sup>24</sup> che apporta al piccolo catalogo di *Elysii alipedes* un prezioso tocco di *uariatio*. All'eleganza formale della soluzione si aggiunge quella del gioco intertestuale, che fa sì che l'epitafio che si è aperto con l'*incipit* di Mart. 8.21.1 si chiuda con la clausola di Mart. 8.21.6: in questo modo l'epigramma di Ausonio inizia e finisce rispettivamente con la prima e con le ultime parole della prima metà dell'epigramma di Marziale.

Il lettore cui il *Phosphore* iniziale abbia richiamato alla mente Mart. 8.21 (cosa tutt'altro che improbabile, data la singolarità dell'*incipit*), giunto alla fine del carme non stenta a riconoscere la seconda reminiscenza del medesimo modello e a cogliere questa ricercata modalità di circolarità allusiva. Insieme all'appagamento intellettuale della nuova agnizione, egli prova un certo senso di *aprozdoketon* (il che fa dell'epitafio un epigramma tecnicamente 'ben formato'), e insieme un moto di compiacimento nello scoprirsi all'altezza di questa strategia testuale che scommette sulla sua competenza letteraria. Si può dire lo stesso per gli altri due casi che si sono ipotizzati? Che alla sorte infera di Fosforo il medesimo lettore possa associare mentalmente quella dell'auriga Scorpo di Mart. 10.50 appare un po' meno ovvio, ma per un buon conoscitore di Marziale la *iunctura* di v. 1 *clamosi... Circi*, che rinvia all'*incipit* dell'epitafio di Scorpo in Mart. 10.53, potrebbe essere un richiamo allusivo abbastanza efficace per innescare il meccanismo agnitivo. Che possibilità ci sono però che dietro l'elogio di Fosforo ai vv. 3-4 si riconosca la descrizione dei cavalli magrebini di Nemesiano? E che probabilità c'è che al v. 1 la stessa espressione *spatiosa per aequora* sia riconoscibile al lettore come un prestito da Nemes. *Cyn.* 270, considerato il fatto che *-osa per aequora* è un cliché metrico-verbale virgiliano,<sup>25</sup> e che

<sup>24</sup> Il procedimento si avvicina a quella che Maurach 1990, 72-8 definisce «perifrasi affinante», con accurata esemplificazione (in part. 74, §72, per la sostituzione perifrastica di nomi propri).

<sup>25</sup> Vd. *supra*, i passi citati alla nota 21.

qui non può nemmeno soccorrere la particolare memorabilità della sede incipitaria?

La risposta ci viene dallo stesso Ausonio, il quale cita il v. 269 di Nemesiano nella *Gratiarum actio* del 379 d.C., il discorso pronunciato a Treviri dinanzi all'imperatore Graziano, di cui è stato precettore e poi alto funzionario, per ringraziarlo di avergli conferito l'onore del consolato ordinario.<sup>26</sup> Nel passaggio dell'orazione in cui celebra l'abilità equestre del giovane Augusto, l'ex *grammaticus* divenuto dignitario palatino dichiara che, vedendo l'imperatore durante i suoi esercizi ippici guidare il cavallo col solo frustino, senza usare le redini, ha finalmente compreso i versi dei poeti in cui si fa allusione a questa tecnica, e il cui senso prima gli sfuggiva (*Grat. act.* 65):<sup>27</sup>

Mirabamur poetam, qui *infrenos* dixerat *Numidas* [Verg. *Aen.* 4.41], et alterum, qui ita collegerat, ut diceret in equitando *uerbera et praecepta esse fugae et praecepta sistendi* [cf. Nemes. *Cyn.* 269]. *Obscurum hoc nobis legentibus erat. Intelleximus te uidentes, cum idem arcum intenderes et habenas remitteres aut equum segnius euntem uerbere concitares uel eodem uerbere intemperantiam coherceres.*

La pagina di Nemesiano, oltre a essere evidentemente cara alla memoria di Ausonio, è dunque abbastanza nota da poter essere citata con la stessa *nonchalance* con cui si cita un verso del IV libro dell'*Eneide*.<sup>28</sup> Si tratta presumibilmente di una lettura che Graziano per primo condivide con il suo maestro, e viene spontaneo pensare che, come nel caso della *Gratiarum actio*, anche nel caso dell'epigramma il primo destinatario dell'allusione sia proprio lui, tanto più se è lui (come ci sembra probabile) l'*Augustus* committente dell'epitafio per l'*equus admirabilis*. Tuttavia né nell'orazione né nell'epigramma si tratterà di un codice esclusivo tra maestro e allievo, ma di una competenza che Ausonio presuppone essere comune a un numero suffi-

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<sup>26</sup> Sull'orazione cf. Green 1991, 537-54 e, da ultimo, Balbo 2018, con bibliografia precedente.

<sup>27</sup> Wagner 1907, 62.

<sup>28</sup> Green 1991, 550 *ad loc.* annota: «they are cited anonymously as the genre requires», ma va osservato che nei casi in cui nei *Panegyrici* si cita anonimamente un poeta latino, si tratta di Ennio (*Pan. Lat.* 9.7.3 *Aedem Herculis Musarum in circo Flaminio Fuluius ille Nobilior ex pecunia censoria fecit non id modo secutus quod ipse litteris et summi poetae amicitia*; 11.16.3 *Etenim, quod ait ille Romani carminis primus auctor: 'a sole exoriente usque ad Maeotis paludes'* [Enn. *Var.* 21]) o di Virgilio (*Pan. Lat.* 11.14.2 *Itaque illud quod de uestro cecinit poeta Romanus loue 'Iouis omnia plena'* [Verg. *Ecl.* 3.60]; 12.12.3 *Magnus poeta, dum bellorum toto orbe surgentium discursum apparatusque describit 'et curuae', inquit, 'rigidum falces conflantur in ensem'* [Verg. *G.* 1.508]). Che Ausonio citi insieme «mettendo sullo stesso piano, anche se in un ordine cronologico che è forse gerarchico» (Balbo 2015, 17) Virgilio e Nemesiano, appare tanto più probante.

cientemente vasto di lettori.<sup>29</sup> Chi abbia questo tipo di familiarità con il testo del *Cynegeticon* può senz'altro riconoscere la reminiscenza di v. 1 e subito dopo, ricordandone il contesto originario, cogliere l'affinità del passo di Nemesiano con la descrizione delle doti di Fosforo che segue immediatamente dopo.

Al termine dell'analisi mette conto osservare che il mancato riconoscimento – in parte o *in toto* – di questo sapiente intreccio di reminiscenze non pregiudica in alcun modo l'intelligenza dell'epitafio, come mostra il fatto stesso che i commentatori abbiano sì registrato più o meno diligentemente gli elementi intertestuali di cui ci siamo occupati, ma senza trarne alcuna particolare conseguenza sul piano interpretativo. Di fatto, la sofisticata allusività messa in campo da Ausonio non è funzionale al *sensu* del testo, ma vi aggiunge, a beneficio degli intenditori, un livello di *sovrasensu* specificamente meta-testuale e metaletterario,<sup>30</sup> che non concerne l'oggetto dell'epitafio (il cavallo Fosforo), ma l'epitafio in sé quale prodotto poetico. Le tre reminiscenze che campeggiano nel v. 1, se da un lato realizzano formalmente l'esametro nel suo significato letterale indipendentemente dai contesti di provenienza, dall'altro fungono da 'segnali generici' dell'intero componimento, in quanto indicano per via allusiva, cioè proprio in ragione dei testi da cui sono prelevate e ai quali rinviano (sono dunque *referential allusions*),<sup>31</sup> il triplice statuto letterario del-

**29** Ausonio riecheggia più di una volta il *Cynegeticon* nei suoi versi: cf. Wagner 1907, 62-5; sul *Fortleben* tardoantico del poemetto vd. Jakobi 2014, 23 e le note di commento segnalate nell'indice «Namen und Sachen» (193-4) sotto la rubrica «Rezeption des Nem.».

**30** È ciò che Kaufmann 2017, 155 definisce come «allusions as optional part of the content», spiegando: «many [...] allusions in late Latin poetry are not essential to establish the content of the new passage. In other words, their recognition is not necessary for the understanding of a new passage [...], even though they still contribute to the content by adding another layer of meaning through their intertextuality»; seguono (155-9) esempi da Giovenco e dal *Centone* di Proba.

**31** Per la definizione di *referential allusion* cf. Pelttari 2014, 116 (corsivo aggiunto): «The allusions of classical Latin poetry recall an earlier text and construct their meaning through this hypotext. It is important that they work as references back to a different context. Scholars agree that classical poets directly engage, through allusion, the context of their hypotext»; la sua tesi è che questa modalità, tipica dell'allusività classica, non sia propria dell'allusività tardoantica, prevalentemente *nonreferential*: cf. Pelttari 2014, 116 («Because late antique allusions do not need to be read as referential, the referentiality (or not) of allusion will serve as a pivot between classical and late antique poetics») e 131-7. Purtroppo la diagnosi di 'non-referenzialità' è meno agevole di quella opposta, ed è tanto più soggetta ai limiti di competenza o di sensibilità del singolo lettore. Il primo esempio di *nonreferential allusion* proposto dallo studioso è Prudent. *Apoth.* 741-743 *Sed quid ego haec autem titubanti uoce retexo, | indignus qui sancta canam? Procede sepulcro, | Lazare; dic...*, che mutua le parole del fraudolento Sinone in Verg. *Aen.* 2.101-102 *Sed quid ego haec autem nequiquam ingrata reuoluo, | quidue moror?*; egli lo commenta così: «I can find no good reason to think that Prudentius is comparing himself to one of the most despised characters in the *Aeneid*. This allusion is as certain as can be, and it does not interact significantly with the original context



la poesia, che è un epigramma cortigiano come Mart. 8.21, l'epitafio di un campione del circo come Mart. 10.53 e l'elogio di un formidabile cavallo da corsa come Nemes. Cyn. 270-272. Non solo: mediante questo procedimento Ausonio esibisce anche, a chi sia in grado di riconoscerli, i principali modelli poetici che innervano e insieme nobilitano l'epitafio del cavallo Fosforo, segnalandoli fin da subito mediante i tre richiami allusivi concentrati nel verso iniziale, il quale ha in qualche modo il compito di dichiarare non soltanto il genere, ma anche il retroterra letterario dell'epigramma, ovvero, se vogliamo, il suo 'progetto intertestuale'. Nella vetrina dell'*incipit*, lo stesso intreccio delle tre reminiscenze è di per sé significativo, in quanto rappresenta, in un modo che potremmo definire 'iconico', la modellizzazione del testo quale si rivelerà nel corso della lettura per via di successivi riconoscimenti.

In questo modo, il lettore competente è ammesso (per piegarci a una metafora ormai trita) nel 'laboratorio' dell'epigramma, apprezzando l'abilità dell'autore nel riusare i testi della tradizione e l'ingegnosa originalità del risultato, ma godendo anche della propria adeguatezza e del fatto di appartenere a quell'orizzonte di *litterati* al quale il poeta ammicca. Nel contempo, l'ambiziosa mobilitazione di modelli impreziosisce viepiù l'elegante fattura del testo, compensa con lo spessore letterario la sua occasionalità di poesia di comando e la modestia dell'eventuale destinazione epigrafica,<sup>32</sup> nobilita l'umile materia (l'epitafio di un cavallo da corsa) elevandola all'altezza di un carme dettato *iussu Augusti*.

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of Vergil's poem. Instead, Prudentius's allusion is his own creative use of the earlier poet's words. He alludes, but not to Vergil's context» (Pelittari 2014, 132). A noi, al contrario, pare che il senso dell'allusione virgiliana sia perfettamente chiarito dalla frase *indignus qui sancta canam*, che esprime la postura autosvalutativa assunta dall'«io poetico» prudenziano (dove, appunto, l'assunzione della voce squalificata di Sinone) nel momento in cui sta per cedere la parola allo stesso Lazzaro come testimone dei miracoli di Cristo. Al di là del singolo caso, sui limiti di tale approccio e della categoria stessa di *nonreferential* («a rather misleading term»), cf. Kaufmann 2017, 152 e *passim*.

**32** L'inferiore statuto del compositore di epitafi rispetto ai poeti 'veri' emerge da un *locus modestiae* di Sidonio Apollinare, che equipara le proprie poesie ai versi luttuosi di un *epitaphista* se messe a confronto con quelle dell'amico Eronio, *Epist.* 1.9.7 *Merito enim conlata uestris mea carmina non heroicorum phaleris sed epitaphistarum neiis comparabuntur*.

Entro la trama dei modelli principali, Ausonio intesse un certo numero di fili minori, per lo più di carattere prettamente formale e apparentemente sprovvisti (ma talora solo apparentemente) di una significativa referenzialità allusiva. Per completezza d'indagine li passiamo rapidamente in rassegna.

Al v. 2 **septenas solitus uictor obire uias** la *iunctura* relativa ai sette giri di pista della gara ippica riprende nel puro senso letterale quella riferita ai sette rami del delta del Nilo in Prop. 3.22.15 *et qua septenas temperat unda uias*. Al v. 4 *fortis praegressis ut poteris equis* il participio insiste su un verbo che appare tipico di descrizioni poetiche di velocità animale, soprattutto equina,<sup>33</sup> mentre la forma del secondo emistichio ricalca quella di un pentametro ovidiano, *Fast.* 5.309-310 *Hippolyte infelix, uelles coluisse Dionen, | cum consternatis diripereris equis*. Per il v. 6 *uictores etiam uincere laus potior* si usa rinviare a *Ov. Am.* 2.9.6 *gloria pugnantes uincere maior erat*, ma per la formulazione cf. anche Prop. 3.11.16 *uicit uictorem candida forma uirum*; *Sen. Herc. O.* 753 *ille ille uictor uincitur maeret dolet*; *ps. Sen. Epigr.* 52a Breitenbach = *Anth. Lat.* 463 R, 461 ShB, 9 *uincere uictorem debes, defendere fratrem*; *Dist. Cat.* 2.10.2 *uictorem a uicto superari saepe uidemus*.

Un poco più complessa è la composizione del v. 3 *improperanter agens primos a carcere cursus*. Per quanto riguarda il primo emistichio, l'avverbio (un *hapax* di conio ausoniano) riprende nella collocazione *Verg. Aen.* 9.798 *uestigia Turnus | improperata refert et mens exaestuat ira*, ma è evidente come il segmento *improperānter agēns* riproduca l'assetto fonico-ritmico della celebre descrizione iconica del galoppo di *Aen.* 8.596 *quādripedānte putrēm sonitu quatit ungula campum*, con una bella tensione ossimorica tra il veloce ritmo dattilico del significante e il significato espresso. Il secondo emistichio è costruito a partire da *Ov. Am.* 3.6.95 *aut lutulentus agis brumali tempore cursus*, in cui si innesta una locuzione mutuata da *Sen. Apocol.* 25-30:

Qualis discutiens fugientia *Lucifer* astra  
aut qualis surgit redeuntibus *Hesperus* astris,  
qualis, cum primum tenebris *Aurora* solutis  
induxit rubicunda diem, *Sol* aspicit orbem

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Manil.* 5.232-233 *cernis ut ipsum etiam sidus [scil. Leonis] uenetur in astris; | praegressum quaerit Leporem comprehendere cursu*; *Sil.* 15.208-213 *praegreditur celeratque uias et corripit agmen | pernici rapidum cursu camposque fatigat. | Sic, ubi prosiluit Pisaeo carcere praeceps, | non solum ante alios, sed enim, mirabile dictu, | ante suos it uictor equus, currumque per auras | haud ulli durant uisus aequare uolantem*; *Stat. Theb.* 6.558-559 *alipedumque fugam praegressus equorum | ante Dymas, sed tunc aevo tardante secutus*.

lucidus et **primos a carcere** concitat axes:  
talis Caesar adest.

Essa però è collocata secondo la clausola di Verg. G. 3.103-104 *cum praecipiti certamine campum | corripuere, ruuntque effusi **carcere currus*** (cf. *Aen.* 5.144-145). Si noti come l'intertesto senecano, relativo all'epifania 'solare' di Nerone, risulti solidale sia con la descrizione di un cavallo che reca il nome della Stella del Mattino, sia con l'epigramma di Marziale (8.21) che offre, come si è visto, la principale cornice allusiva dell'epitafio.<sup>34</sup>

Al v. 8 *et gradere Elysios praepes ad alipedes* l'accostamento paronomastico dei due lessemi della velocità rientra nel gusto di Ausonio (i commentatori citano *Epist.* 19b.14 Green *fer hanc salutem praepes et uolucripes* [scil. *iambe*]), ma non sarà un caso che il solo altro contesto in cui occorrono insieme sia un passo di Stazio che introduce un catalogo di cavalli famosi, *Theb.* 6.296-299:

Primus sudor equis. Dic inclita, Phoebe, regentum  
nomina, dic ipsos; neque enim generosior umquam  
*alipedum* collata acies, ceu *praepete* cursu  
confligant densae uolucres.<sup>35</sup>

Anche il piccolo catalogo di cavalli che chiude l'epigramma (vv. 9-10), benché imperniato sulla ripresa di Mart. 8.21, muove da uno spunto staziano, perché l'associazione di Arione e di Cillaro riposa innanzitutto su un *locus* celebrativo delle *Siluae* in cui si immaginano i due destrieri guardare con timore il cavallo del monumento equestre di Domiziano eretto nel 91 d.C., *Silv.* 1.1.52-54:

Hunc et Adrasteus uisum extimuisset Arion,  
et pauet aspiciens Ledaeus ab aede propinqua  
*Cyllarus*.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Sul piano intertestuale, un'isotopia 'astrale' presentano anche la locuzione *currus agere* (detto di fiumi, ma soprattutto di corpi celesti: Manil. 4.863 *sed, qua mundus agit cursus, inclinet et ipse*; Sen. *Herc. F.* 928-929 *astra inoffensos agant | aeterna cursus, 1332-1333 astra transuersos agunt | obliqua cursus*; *Phaedr.* 676-677 *ac uersa retro sidera obliquos agant | retorta cursus*) e il nesso *primos... cursus*: cf. Manil. 2.12-15 *Hesiodus memorat diuos diuumque parentes | et chaos enixum terras orbemque sub illo | infantem et primos titubantia sidera **cursus** | Titanasque senes*.

<sup>35</sup> Nella rassegna che segue, il primo a essere trattato è Arione, la cavalcatura di Adrasto; seguono i cavalli di Anfiarao, generati dal seme di Cillaro.

<sup>36</sup> Staziana è anche la clausola di v. 9 *laeuus Arion*, ricalcata su quella di *Theb.* 6.501 *flauus Arion*.

Forse proprio a partire dal passo di Stazio, la valenza encomiastica assunta dalla mitica coppia equina nel quadro della celebrazione imperiale ne fa un topos panegiristico anche in ambito oratorio, dove lo si ritrova nel panegirico di Costantino del 310, *Pan. Lat.* 6.8.4-5:

Diceris etiam, imperator inuicte, ardorem illum te deposcentis exercitus fugere conatus equum calcaribus incitasse. Quod quidem, ut uerum audias, adulescentiae errore faciebas. Quis enim te *Cyllarus* aut *Arion* posset eripere quem sequebatur imperium?

Ausonio stesso riprende e arricchisce il motivo nella *Gratiarum actio*, per magnificare la velocità con cui Graziano ha viaggiato dal confine danubiano alla capitale belgica di Treviri per venire a onorare della sua presenza l'ex maestro nel giorno della deposizione della *trabea* (*Grat. act.* 81):

Quae enim umquam memoria transcursum tantae celeritatis uel in audacibus Graecorum fabulis commenta est? *Pegasus* uolucer actus a Lycia non ultra Ciliciam permeauit; *Cyllarus* atque *Arion* inter Argos Nemeamque senuerunt; *ipsi Castorum equi*, quod longissimum iter est, non nisi mutato uectore transcurrunt.<sup>37</sup>

Il confronto rafforza l'ipotesi che anche l'epitafio per Fosforo sia stato concepito per il giovane imperatore, e che anche in esso la menzione dei mitici destrieri chiamati a far da compagni al cavallo caro all'Augusto abbia un'implicita ma inconfondibile tonalità encomiastica, che i lettori contemporanei avranno immediatamente colto. Certamente essa non è sfuggita al poeta Claudiano, il quale mostra di avere in mente il distico di Ausonio allorché detta un epigramma per il dono di una pregiata bardatura equestre inviato dalla principessa Serena all'Augusto orientale, il fratello Arcadio - un pezzo cortigiano che, relegato dagli editori tra i *dubia* o tra gli *spuria*, è stato ora giustamente raccolto da Jean-Louis Charlet tra i *Carmina minora* autentici (48bis):<sup>38</sup>

Stamine resplendens et mira textilis arte  
balteus alipedis regia terga ligat,  
quem decus Eoo fratri pignusque propinqui  
sanguinis Hesperio misit ab orbe soror.  
Hoc latus adstringi uelox optaret **Arion**,  
hoc *proprium* uellet cingere **Castor equum**.

5

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Green 1991, 553 *ad loc.* Per la storia di questo motivo encomiastico, che culmina nel *Panegirico per il IV consolato di Onorio* di Claudiano (*Carm.* 8.554-564), vd. Döpp 1996 e Pavan 2007, 580-9.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Charlet 2018, 71 e nota 2, 182-3 nota 1.

4

Dal punto di vista testuale l'epigramma, tramandato dall'unico codice **V** e purgato degli errori più vistosi già dai primi editori cinquecenteschi, in tempi recenti è stato ripreso in esame soltanto da Thomas Gärtner, che ha proposto due distinte emendazioni.<sup>39</sup> L'una concerne l'aggettivo *fortis* in testa al v. 4, che lo studioso ha giudicato 'indibilmente debole' («unsäglich schwach») proponendo di sostituirlo con un avverbio che faccia da contrappunto a *primos a carcere cursus* del verso precedente: escluso *postea*, perché prosastico, poco usato in poesia e mai da Ausonio, il verso andrebbe corretto **posthac praegressis ut potereris equis**. Considerato il fatto che in realtà *postea* e *posthac* nella poesia dattilica antica risultano avere un numero quasi pari di occorrenze (rispettivamente 36 e 38),<sup>40</sup> a favore del secondo si potrebbe invocare quell'unico impiego che ne fa Ausonio in *Prof. 22.19 longinquis posthac Romae defunctus in oris*, ma la probabilità paleografica di una corruttela *posthac* (o anche *postea*) > *fortis* appare piuttosto bassa. Al di là di ciò, *fortis* in questo contesto sembra garantito da precedenti tematicamente affini come Enn. *Ann. 522-523 Sk.*:

Sicuti *fortis* equos, spatium qui saepe supremo  
uicit Olympia, nunc senio confectus quiescit,

Ov. *Ars am.* 3.595-596:

Tum bene *fortis* equus reserato carcere currit,  
cum, quos praetereat quosque sequatur, habet,

e da tutti gli altri casi in cui l'aggettivo compare come attributo 'formulare' del cavallo.<sup>41</sup>

Assai più accettabile la proposta di correggere *etiam* di v. 6 in *uictores sed iam uincere laus potior: sed* (posposto, come spesso in Ausonio) marcherebbe l'opposizione di *laus potior (erat)* al precedente *promptum laus*, e *uictores ... iam* sarebbero i cavalli piazzatisi in testa e ormai (apparentemente) «già vincitori», così come «già vincitore» della gara podistica era Niso prima di scivolare sul sangue dei tori sacrificali in Verg. *Aen.* 5.331-333:

<sup>39</sup> Gärtner 2006, 82.

<sup>40</sup> Dati provenienti dalla ricerca delle due forme in *Musisque Deoque. Un archivio digitale di poesia latina* (<http://mizar.unive.it/mqdq/public/>).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Cic. *Arat.* 54; Lucr. 3.8; 3.764; 4.987; Verg. *Aen.* 11.705-706; Prop. 3.3.40; Ov. *Rem. am.* 634; *Met.* 6.221-222; Sil. 7.6; Mart. 1.49.25.

Hic iuuenis iam uictor ouans uestigia presso  
haud tenuit titubata solo, sed pronus in ipso  
concidit immundoque fimo sacroque cruore.

Quanto alla genesi del minuto errore, il passaggio *sed iam* > *etiam* è reso doppiamente probabile dal precedente *victores*, che avrebbe fatto cadere *s-* per aplografia, e dal fatto che in **V**, e presumibilmente già nella tradizione alle sue spalle, *sed* è sistematicamente scritto *set*. Una ragione di cautela, invece, è il fatto che *etiam* dà di per sé un buon senso come avverbio elativo del comparativo *potior*: «sarebbe stato facile precedere quelle veloci quadrighe, (era) un vanto anche maggiore vincerle mentre stavano vincendo». <sup>42</sup> Ciò detto, si tratta di una correzione molto attraente, che potrebbe cogliere nel segno.

L'unico *locus* veramente problematico dell'epitafio rimane l'inizio del v. 10, dove **V** legge **funise** (*ise* in rasura) **ad quartum det tibi Castor equum**. Nonostante la *uox nihili*, il senso del distico è chiaro: nella composizione della quadriga Fosforo sarà il cavallo *iugalis* di sinistra, Pegaso il suo partner di destra, Arione correrà alla sua sinistra attaccato al carro non con il giogo ma per mezzo di una tirella - quello che in latino si chiama *funalis equus*, <sup>43</sup> in italiano *trapelo* e in inglese *trace horse* -, e così pure, ovviamente dalla parte opposta, il quarto elemento fornito da Cillaro. Sulla base di questa interpretazione il corrotto *funise ad* è stato emendato in vario modo: le correzioni più fortunate sono state quella di Gronovius (cit. in Tollius 1671, 213 nota 4) *laevus Arion* | **funis eat** ('Arione vada come fune di sinistra', dove *funis* sarebbe una metonimia per *funalis equus*), accolta a testo da Tollius (1671) e poi da Schenkl (1883), Peiper (1886) ed Evelyn-White (1919-21), e soprattutto quella di Vinet (1580) *currat tibi laevus Arion* | **funalis**, adottata da Floridus (1730), Bipontina (1785), Corpet (1842-43), Canal (1853) e da tutti gli editori più recenti. Nel tempo si sono poi accumulate altre congetture: Saumaise (1629, 899) propose *currat tibi laevus Arion*, | **funi** («id est, ad funem») **sed quartum det tibi Castor equum**; Unger (1849, 735) *currat tibi laevus Arion*; | **fune** ('con la fune') **is eat**; Schenkl (1883) *laevus Arion* | **fune eat ac quar-**

<sup>42</sup> Per quest'uso di *etiam* con il comparativo cf. *TLL* V(2), 948.69-949.38. Un'altra ragione di cautela può essere il fatto che in tutta la poesia latina il nesso *sed iam* non compare mai in un pentametro, con la sola eccezione di *Ov. Fast.* 5.282 *sed iam de uetito quisque parabat ope*.

<sup>43</sup> Peraltro scarsamente attestato: *Suet. Tib.* 6.3 *dehinc pubescens Actiaci triumpho currum Augusti comitatus est sinistrore funali equo, cum Marcellus Octaviae filius dextero ueheretur*; *Stat. Theb.* 6.462 *funalemque [fumantemque P] Thoen*; *Hyg. Fab.* 183.2 *Hi [i.e. Solis equi] funales sunt mares. Feminae iugariae*; cf. *Isid. Etym.* 18.35.1-2 *Quadrigarum uero currus duplici olim temone erant perpetuoque et qui omnibus equis iniceretur iugo. Primus Clisthenes Sicyonius tantum medios iugauit, eisque singulos ex utraque parte simplici uinculo adplicauit, quos Graeci σιερραφόρους, Latini funarios uocant, a genere uinculi, quo prius alligabantur.*

tum ecc.; Peiper (1886), più fantasioso, *laevus Arion* | **funem amet**; Nardo (1971, 536) *currat tibi laevus Arion* | **ad funis** ('alle funi', che i copisti avrebbero poi malamente invertito).<sup>44</sup> La necessità di conciliare la verosimiglianza paleografica con una cifra stilistica adeguata al tenore del testo inviterebbe a cercare una lezione meno imponentica di quelle fin qui elencate. Nel ricco lessico equestre del greco, il *trace horse* viene di volta in volta designato come παρήγορος (*scil.* ἵππος) ο, per via della fune (σειρά) con cui è attaccato, παράσειρος, σειραῖος, σειραφόρος.<sup>45</sup> Sarebbe azzardato pensare che sul modello di quest'ultima forma Ausonio avesse coniato il calco *funifer* come sinonimo poetico di *funalis*? Gli aggettivi in *-fer* di sua creazione, o quanto meno non attestati al di fuori delle sue opere, sono almeno due: *fletifer* 'piangente' per il tronco stillante resina dell'albero della mirra (*Cup.* 74 *gemmea fletiferi iaculatur sucina trunci*) e, proprio in contesto ippico, *flagrifer* 'che reca la frusta' per il celebre auriga di Achille (*Epist.* 8.10 *flagrifer* Ἀὐτομέδων).<sup>46</sup> Dunque, sul piano dell'*usus scribendi* una neoformazione come quella che proponiamo non farebbe difficoltà, e consentirebbe di emendare senza troppo sforzo il tràdito *funise ad* leggendo:

Pegasus hinc dexter currat tibi, laeuis Arion  
**funifer; at** quartum det tibi Castor equum.

Purtroppo, questa soluzione urta contro il *caueat* metodico che vieta di emendare un testo introducendovi un *hapax*, tanto più se a breve distanza da un altro (l'avverbio *improperanter* a v. 3), sicché, pur ritenendo l'ipotesi legittima nella sostanza, non possiamo far altro che archivarla come un puro esercizio di critica congetturale.

<sup>44</sup> Green 1991, 382 («Nardo's *funis ad* would be weak») ha frainteso la spiegazione dello studioso italiano.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Pollux 1.141.4-6 Bethe... ὧν [scil. ἵππων ἐπεξευγμένων] οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ ζυγῶ ζύγιοι, οἱ δ' ἑκατέρωθεν παρήγοροι καὶ παράσειροι καὶ σειραφόροι καὶ σειραῖοι, καὶ αἱ τούτων ἦνται σειραὶ καὶ παρηγορία.

<sup>46</sup> Sugli aggettivi composti in Ausonio vd. Di Lorenzo 1981, 73-81, in part. (per quelli in *-fer*) 76-7.

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## **Linguistica e storia degli studi**



# Il cerilo di Alcmane tra Aristofane, Antigono, Eufronio e Didimo

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**Abstract** A detailed analysis of the scholiastic material relating to *Ar. Av.* 299-300 shows not only that the entire scholium is ascribable to the grammarian Didymus, but also that the ancient interpretation of the Aristophanic line implied several reception dynamics: firstly, the influence played on Euphronius' dialectological exegesis by the allusion to Alcman's poem on the bird named *kērylos* in ll. 250-252 of the *Birds*; secondly, the reuse of zoological writings and, possibly, of Callimachus' *Aitia* in Didymus' explanation of the pun on the ornithonym *kērylos*.

**Keywords** Aristophanes. Didymus. Euphronius. Alcman. Callimachus. Aristophanic scholia. Alexandrian scholarship. Ancient reception. Ancient exegesis of comedy.

## 1 L'entrata in scena del Coro degli Uccelli e l'inattestato κειρύλος

*Ar. Av.* 297-300

Πε. ούτοσι πέρδιξ.

PI. Questo qui è una pernice!

Eu. ἐκεινοσὶ δὲ νῆ Δί' ἀτταγᾶς.

EU. E quello lì un francolino, per Zeus!

Πε. ούτοσι δὲ πηνέλοψ.

PI. Questo qui è un fischione.

Eu. ἐκεινηὶ δέ γ' ἀλκυών.

EU. Quella invece è un'alcione!

Πε. τίς γάρ ἐσθ' οὐπίσθεν αὐτῆς;

PI. E chi è quello dietro?

Επ. ὄστις ἐστί; κηρύλος.

UP. Chi è?! Un *kērylos*!



Edizioni  
Ca' Foscari

**Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4**

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

**Peer review | Open access**

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/031

|                               |                                                                      |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Πε. κειρύλος γάρ ἐστιν ὄρνις; | ΠΙ. E da quando in qua il <i>keirylos</i> è un uccello? <sup>1</sup> |
| Επ. οὐ γάρ ἐστι Σποργίλος;    | ΥΠ. E Sporgilo allora? Non è un uccello?                             |

La graduale entrata in scena del Coro degli *Uccelli* (vv. 268-304) è costellata di giochi di parole sui diversi ornitonimi e di riferimenti ὄνομαστί ad Ateniesi illustri.<sup>2</sup> Come spesso accade nel caso di attacchi diretti dei comici ai loro contemporanei, anche in questo passo molte delle allusioni a personaggi specifici restano inevitabilmente poco chiare. I vv. 299-300, in particolare, culminano nella domanda retorica οὐ γάρ ἐστι (scil. ὄρνις) Σποργίλος; («Sporgilo non è un uccello?»). Con ogni probabilità, il nome (o soprannome) Σποργίλος - indicante un noto Ateniese deriso anche da Platone comico (fr. 144 K.-A., cf. *infra*) - richiamava fonicamente un ornitonimo, come suggerito da Hesych. σ 1463 Η. σπέργουλος· ὄρνιθάριον ἄγριον.<sup>3</sup> La battuta è preparata dal gioco di parole immediatamente precedente, basato sull'assonanza tra il poetico κηρύλος (indicante il martin pescatore - *Alcedo atthis* - in alternativa al più comune ἀλκυών)<sup>4</sup> e la forma κειρύλος, non attestata al di fuori della produzione aristofanea e dei relativi scolii. L'esatto meccanismo comico è reso oscuro dalla tradizione manoscritta: Γ e Υ sono gli unici testimoni a offrire la lezione κειρύλος sia al v. 299 (qui Γ presenta, in realtà, κηρύλος, con il dittongo ει aggiunto *supra lineam*) sia al v. 300, mentre nei restanti mano-

**1** Si è optato per la traslitterazione dal momento che il gioco di parole dei vv. 299-300 sfrutta molteplici livelli comici (fraitendimento fonetico, paretimologia sul verbo κείρω, 'tosare' [cf. *infra*], riferimento implicito al mestiere di barbiere del *komodoumenos* Sporgilo [cf. *infra*]) e dunque qualsiasi tentativo di traduzione può valorizzare solo alcuni aspetti, sacrificandone altri. È possibile, ad esempio, rispettare il corretto significato dell'ornitonimo, veicolando l'idea di un fraintendimento, ma non sul piano fonetico («UP. Chi è?! Un martin pescatore! | ΠΙ. E da quando in qua un pescatore è un uccello? | ΥΠ. E Sporgilo il barbiere allora? Non è un uccello?»). Alternativamente, si può mantenere il gioco paretimologico scegliendo un altro ornitonimo («UP. Chi è?! Un barbogianni! | ΠΙ. E da quando in qua il barbiere Gianni è un uccello? | ΥΠ. Non è un uccello anche il barbiere Sporgilo?»). La traduzione dell'ornitonimo con il corrispondente italiano 'cerilo' costringe a soluzioni che rendono la battuta forse ancora più oscura (cf. e.g. Grilli 2006, 27: «UP. Ma è naturale: il cerilo. | ΠΙ. Perché, il cerilo è un uccello? | ΥΠ. Sicuro, come Sporgilo il cer...usico»; Mastromarco, Totaro 2006, 149: «UP. Chi c'è? Un cerilo. | ΠΙ. Perché, un... barbiere è un uccello? | ΥΠ. Non è Sporgilo un barbiere?»).

**2** Per una panoramica, cf. Kanavou 2011, 116-21.

**3** Cf. *GEW* 771-2; Chantraine 1977, 1040-1; Sommerstein 1987, 217; Dunbar 1995, 248; Arnott 2007, 257, 321, 326-7; *EDG* 1386; Kanavou 2011, 117.

**4** Cf. Rogers 1906, xlvihi; Arnott 2007, 139-40: «It appears [...] probable that the word *Kérylos* started life as an either poetic or dialectal variant for *Alkyōn*». Per una rassegna delle diverse opinioni antiche sull'ornitonimo κηρύλος in relazione all'alcione (il primo come indicante i maschi dell'alcione, oppure gli esemplari anziani, o come identificativo di una specie completamente distinta), cf. von Leutsch 1847, 21-30.

scritti la lezione unanime in entrambi i versi è κηρύλος.<sup>5</sup> La quasi totalità degli editori stampa la forma dittongata in entrambi i casi:<sup>6</sup> il testo qui offerto è invece quello di Boissonade (1826, 220, poi ripreso da Sommerstein 1987, 50 e Henderson 2000, 56-8), con κηρύλος al v. 299 e κειρύλος al v. 300 (di fatto il testo primario di Γ).<sup>7</sup> Entrambe le soluzioni rispettano il gioco di parole, ma la prima attribuisce la deformazione comica dell'ornitonimo già all'Urupa al v. 299 (presupponendo, quindi, che il pubblico riconoscesse immediatamente la parola base), mentre la seconda la presenta come il risultato di un fraintendimento da parte di Pisetero, al v. 300.<sup>8</sup> Indipendentemente dall'assetto testuale, il principale ostacolo alla comprensione del passo è rappresentato dall'*hapax* κειρύλος, un conio aristofaneo che era fonte di perplessità già per i commentatori antichi, come mostra il materiale scoliastico relativo ai vv. 299-300, basato sui commentari aristofanei di Eufronio e Didimo Calcentero.<sup>9</sup> Così come il testo aristofaneo, anche la rispettiva annotazione risente dell'oscillazione tra κηρύλος e κειρύλος nei testimoni manoscritti. Il presente contributo intende offrire un'analisi approfondita del contenuto dello scolio ad Av. 299s., con l'intenzione di chiarire la struttura dell'annotazione e mettere a fuoco dinamiche interpretative, fonti e potenziali influenze dei due *interpretamenta* antichi in essa conservati.

**5** Questa situazione testuale è attestata anche da Eust. *Il.* 1.558 (II p. 811.3-6 van der Valk) ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι κήρυλλοι κατὰ Παιουσανίαν (κ 30 Erbse) ἐν ἀλκυόσιν οἱ ἄρρενες, οἱ γηράσαντες, φησίν, ὑπὸ τῶν θηλειῶν βαστάζονται. κείται δὲ ὁ ῥηθεὶς κήρυλλος καὶ παρὰ τῷ Κωμικῷ, παροξυτόνως μέντοι καὶ δι' ἐνὸς λ ἐν τοῖς πλείοσι τῶν ἀντιγράφων. Secondo von Leutsch 1847, 31, questa informazione risalirebbe allo stesso lessico di Pausania e sarebbe dunque una testimonianza della *paradosis* aristofanea di età imperiale. L'attribuzione, però, è tutt'altro che sicura.

**6** Cf. e.g. Beck 1782, 31-3; Bekker 1829a, 309; Bothe 1829, 288; Meineke 1860, 15; Holden 1868, 326; Dindorf 1869, 87; Kock 1894, 96-7; van Leeuwen 1902, 54-5; Hall, Geldart 1906; Rogers 1906, 38; Dunbar 1995, 73; Wilson 2007, 360.

**7** Bergk 1872, 16 ignora la forma dittongata.

**8** Per l'assonanza come fonte di fraintendimenti e giochi di parole, cf. e.g. Ar. *Pax* 453-455 (Τρ. ἡμῖν δ' ἀγαθὰ γένοιτ'. ἰὴ παιῶν, ἰή. | Χο. ἄφελε τὸ παιεῖν, ἀλλ' «ἰή» μόνον λέγε. | Τρ. ἰὴ ἰὴ τοῖνυν, ἰὴ μόνον λέγω), 925-926 (Τρ. τῷ δαὶ δοκεῖ; βούλεισθε λαρινῶ βοῖ; | Χο. βοῖ; μηδαμῶς, ἵνα μὴ βοηθεῖν ποι δέη).

**9** I frammenti di Eufronio relativi alla commedia sono raccolti (insieme a quelli di Licofrone e Eratostene) in Strecker 1884. Cf. inoltre Blau 1883, 67-77; Rutherford 1905, 66, 426-9, 432; White 1914, xvii; Boudreaux 1919, 50-1, 76; Pfeiffer 1973, 260-1; Novembri 2010. Quanto a Didimo, fatta eccezione per i frammenti relativi a Pindaro (per cui cf. Braswell 2017, nonché Prodi 2014), l'edizione di riferimento è tuttora Schmidt 1854. Per uno studio completo e aggiornato su tutti gli aspetti dell'esegesi didimea, cf. Coward, Prodi 2020. Valutazioni del suo lavoro esegetico su Aristofane si trovano e.g. in Rutherford 1905, 432; White 1914, xxv-xxix, xxxvi-xlii; Boudreaux 1919, 91-137; Benuzzi 2020. Un'edizione aggiornata dei frammenti didimei relativi alla commedia verrà pubblicata all'interno del progetto *Supplementum Grammaticum Graecum*, edito da F. Montanari, F. Montana, L. Pagani (cf. Benuzzi, in preparazione).

## 2 Le opinioni dei grammatici antichi negli scolî

Questo il testo dello scolio secondo l'edizione di Holwerda (*schol. Ar. Av. 299a-aα-aβ*):<sup>10</sup>

**α)** ὅστις ἐστὶ κηρύλος **VF<sup>2</sup>**: <κηρύλον> Εὐφρόνιος (fr. 67 Strecker) φησι τοὺς Δωριεῖς λέγειν, «βάλε δὴ βάλε κηρύλος εἶην» (Alcm. fr. 26.2 Page, Davies = 90.2 Calame), τοὺς δὲ Ἄττικοὺς κείρυλον **VM<sub>9</sub>Γ<sup>2</sup>Lh** διὰ διφθόγγου γράφειν. **M<sub>9</sub>** φησι δὲ Δίδυμος (fr. 227 C.-Pr.) τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ὄνομα κείρυλος λέγεσθαι. **VF<sup>2</sup>Lh** Ἀντίγονος δέ (fr. 54A-B Dorandi, [Antig.] *Mir.* 23) φησι τοὺς ἄρσενας τῶν ἀλκυόνων κηρύλους λέγεσθαι· οὗς γηράσκοντας αἱ θήλειαι βασιτάζουσι τοῖς πτεροῖς· μήποτε παρὰ τὸ κείρειν ἐσημάτικεν (*scil.* ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης). **VM<sub>9</sub>Γ<sup>2</sup>Lh**

**α)** ὁ δὲ Σποργίλος ἦν κουρεύς. μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ Πλάτων ἐν Σοφισταῖς (fr. 144 K.-A.)· «τὸ Σποργίλου κουρεῖον, ἔχθιστον τέγος». **VM<sub>9</sub>Γ<sup>2</sup>** τοῦτο οὖν ἔστω σημεῖον τοῦ καὶ τὸν κηρύλον ἴσως παρὰ τὸ κείρειν ἡτυμολογηκέναι τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην. ἀντέθηκεν οὖν αὐτῷ κουρέα. **VF<sup>2</sup>**

**β)** ὅθεν καὶ ἀντέθηκεν αὐτῷ τὸν Σποργίλον, ὃς ἦν κουρεύς. οὗ μὲνηται καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Σοφισταῖς· «τὸ Σποργίλου κουρεῖον, ἔχθιστον τέλος». **Lh**

**α)** «chi è?! Il cerilo!»: Eufronio dice che i Dori pronunciano *kērylos* - «oh, fossi io un *kērylos*!» - mentre gli Attici scrivono *keirylos*, con il dittongo. Didimo dice che il nome naturale è *keirylos*. Antigono dice che i maschi delle alcioni si chiamano *kēryloi* e che quando invecchiano le femmine li portano con le proprie ali. Forse (Aristofane) ha coniato il nome a partire dal verbo *keirein* («tosare»).

<sup>10</sup> L'editore ripropone il testo stampato unanimemente da Bekker 1829b, 237; Dindorf 1838, 174; Dübner 1842, 217. L'accentazione della variante aristofanea dell'ornitotomino non è certa: tutti gli editori degli scolî la considerano proparossitona, mentre nelle edizioni degli *Uccelli* la parola è quasi sempre parossitona (in questo contributo si è preferita la seconda accentazione, ma nel presentare le varie occorrenze del termine si è rispettata la scelta di ciascun editore). Una versione fortemente epitomata dello scolio è conservata dalla prima mano del manoscritto Γ e parzialmente, in forma di glosse, da **M<sub>9</sub>** e **Lh** (*schol. Ar. Av. 299b* Holwerda ὅστις ἐστὶ κηρύλος: Γ ὁ ἄρσεν ἀλκυῶν **ΓLh** κηρύλος λέγεται. Γ ἐν δὲ ταῖς συνουσίαις ἀποθνήσκει. **M<sub>9</sub>Γ** ὁ δὲ Σποργίλος κουρεύς ἦν. **ΓLh** διαβάλλει δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς εὐτελεῖ. **M<sub>9</sub>ΓLh**).



**α)** Sporgilo era un barbiere. Lo menziona Platone nei *Sofisti*: «la sala da barba di Sporgilo, il peggiore dei posti». Questo dunque sia un indizio del fatto che forse Aristofane vedeva nel verbo *keirein* l'etimologia del nome *kērylos*. Perciò gli ha contrapposto un barbiere.

**β)** Per questo gli ha anche contrapposto Sporgilo, che era un barbiere. Lo menziona anche Platone nei *Sofisti*: «la sala da barba di Sporgilo, il peggiore dei posti».

Dallo scolio emerge che sia Eufronio, sia Didimo si erano occupati della grafia dell'ornitonimo in Av. 299-300. Il primo risolveva la questione in termini dialettologici, assegnando la forma κηρύλος al dorico e quella dittongata all'attico. Che l'osservazione di Eufronio fosse di natura diortotica (i.e. che il commentatore trovasse le due forme come varianti in diverse copie degli *Uccelli* e affermasse, nel suo *hypomnema*, l'appropriatezza di quella attica rispetto a quella dorica) non può essere escluso. È altrettanto plausibile, però, che il commentatore volesse semplicemente rendere ragione dell'*hapax* aristofaneo, la cui unicità emergeva chiaramente dal confronto con un testo canonico per il cerilo, cioè il componimento di Alcmane, come suggerisce la citazione *verbatim* dal fr. 26 Page, Davies (= 90 Calame) nello scolio. La centralità del parallelo di Alcmane per l'interpretazione del passo degli *Uccelli* si deve, con ogni probabilità, non solo all'erudizione di Eufronio: lo stesso Aristofane, pochi versi sopra (Av. 250-252 ὦν τ' ἐπὶ πόντιον οἶδμα θαλάσσης | φῦλα μετ' ἀλκυόνοσσι ποτῆται, | δεῦρ' ἴτε πειυσόμενοι τὰ νεώτερα), parafrasa il v. 3 del componimento dove il cerilo è descritto come l'uccello ὅς τ' ἐπὶ κύματος ἄνθος ἄμ' ἀλκυόνοσσι ποτῆται. La scelta del passo di Alcmane come parallelo nell'esegesi dei vv. 299-300 potrebbe dunque essere stata influenzata anche dalla presenza di questa precedente allusione, un'allusione che era chiaramente percepita dai lettori antichi, come dimostrato dall'anonimo *schol.* Ar. Av. 250b Holwerda:

ὦν τ' ἐπὶ πόντιον οἶδμα Γ: ὁ «τέ» περιπτός. **VM<sub>9</sub>ΓΓ<sup>2</sup>M** ἔστι δὲ παρὰ τὸ Ἄλκμανος «ὅς τ' ἐπὶ κύματος ἄνθος ἄμ' ἀλκυόνοσσι ποτᾶται» (fr. 26.3 Page, Davies = 90.3 Calame). διὸ καὶ δωρικῶς εἴρηται. **VM<sub>9</sub>ΓΓ<sup>2</sup>Lh** τὸ δὲ ἐξῆς· ὦν τε φῦλα ἐπὶ πόντιον οἶδμα θαλάσσης ἄμ' ἀλκυόνοσσι ποτᾶται. **VM<sub>9</sub>ΓΓ<sup>2</sup>M** ἢ δὲ ἀλκυῶν θαλάσσιόν ἐστιν ὄρνειον. καὶ ἱστορίαν δὲ τοιαύτην περὶ αὐτῆς φασιν, ὡς ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπωρνεώθη. **M<sub>9</sub>ΓΓ<sup>2</sup>Mlh** ἔστι δὲ ἡ Κήκυκος τοῦ Τραχινίων βασιλέως γυνή. οἱ ὄλβω μεγίστῳ ἐπαρθέντες εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦλθον φρυάγματος, ὡς ἀπαξιοῦν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὀνόμασι καλεῖσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν Δία, ἡ δὲ Ἥραν. καὶ ποτε ἐν θαλάσῃ αὐτοῦ πλέοντος ὁ Ζεὺς ὀργισθεὶς αὐτὸν τε διέφθειρε καὶ τὴν ναῦν. ἡ δὲ ἄγαν περιπαθῶς ὠδύρετο τὸν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θάνατον παρὰ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ· ἦν ἐλεήσας ὁ Ζεὺς ἀπωρνεώσε.

καὶ ἐκείνῳ δὲ εἰς ὄρνεον μετέβαλεν, ὃν κηρύλον καλοῦσιν.<sup>11</sup> M<sub>9</sub>Γ<sup>2</sup>MLh

«e di quanti sull'onda gonfia del mare...»: il *te* è superfluo. Il testo riecheggia il verso di Alcmane «che sul fiore dell'onda vola insieme alle alcioni». Perciò è detto in dorico. Il séguito è: «stirpi di quanti sull'onda gonfia del mare volano con le alcioni». L'alcione è un uccello marino. Su di essa raccontano questa storia, di come da forma umana fu trasformata in uccello. (Alcione) è la moglie di Ceice, re di Trachis. Questi, esaltati dalla propria grande felicità, giunsero a tal punto di insolenza da disdegnare di chiamarsi con i propri nomi. E l'uno chiamava se stesso «Zeus», l'altra «Era». Mentre il re una volta era in viaggio per mare, Zeus, preso dall'ira, distrusse lui e la sua nave. Lei, sulla spiaggia, piangeva la morte del marito con estrema sofferenza. Zeus, mosso a pietà nei suoi confronti, la trasformò in uccello. E trasformò anche lui nell'uccello che chiamano cerilo.

All'identificazione dell'ipotesto (ἔστι δὲ παρὰ τὸ Ἀλκμᾶνος κτλ.) e dell'alcione come uccello marino (ἢ δὲ ἀλκυῶν θαλάσσιόν ἐστιν ὄρνεον), fa séguito il racconto del mito di Ceice e Alcione,<sup>12</sup> fornito di un dettaglio altrimenti inattestato: la trasformazione di Ceice nell'uccello detto κηρύλος (cf. *infra*). Nel testo della commedia il cerilo compare esclusivamente ai vv. 299-300. La sua presenza nello scolio al v. 250 mostra che, agli occhi degli esegeti antichi, i due passi aristofanei andavano interpretati l'uno alla luce dell'altro. Non si può, peraltro, escludere che dietro l'osservazione διὸ καὶ δωρικῶς εἴρηται, relativa al vocalismo del verbo (ποτήται di contro all'attico ποτᾶται),<sup>13</sup> si celi nuovamente l'autorità di Eufronio, interessato a distinzioni dialettali anche nel suo commento ai vv. 299-300 (cf. *supra*).

### 3 L'esegesi di Didimo

Quanto all'interpretazione di Didimo, il fatto che questi identifichi una grafia κατὰ φύσιν implica che il grammatico distinguesse tra una forma 'naturale' e una 'non-naturale' dell'ornitonimo. A questa secon-

<sup>11</sup> Lo scolio prosegue con la spiegazione dell'espressione «i giorni dell'alcione», il cui *aition* rientra all'interno del mito sopra narrato. Una trattazione più articolata dell'argomento era offerta da Pausania nel suo lessico atticista (α 68 Erbse, citato in Eust. *Il.* 1.558 = II p. 810.21-6 van der Valk).

<sup>12</sup> Quanto all'interpretazione della figura di Ceice, la critica è divisa tra chi distingue il Ceice re di Trachis e amico di Eracle dal Ceice figlio di Eosforo/Fosforo e sposo di Alcione (cf. e.g. Roscher 1890-94, 1181-2), e chi considera invece i due racconti come parte di un'unica vicenda (cf. e.g. Bömer 1980, 344).

<sup>13</sup> Sull'accentazione della forma dorica, cf. Dunbar 1995, 221.

da forma probabilmente si riferiscono le due espressioni indicanti l'azione di 'coniare' o 'plasmare' un nuovo termine a partire dal verbo κείρειν ('tosare'), cioè παρά τὸ κείρειν ἐσχημάτικεν e παρά τὸ κείρειν ἡτυμολογηκέναι, il cui soggetto (implicito nel primo caso) è Aristofane. L'appartenenza di queste due osservazioni all'esegesi didimea è ulteriormente suggerita dalla presenza dell'avverbio μήποτε (e dell'equivalente ἴσως), frequente nelle citazioni del grammatico.<sup>14</sup> In altre parole, nel trattare dell'ornitonimo ai vv. 299-300 degli *Uccelli*, Didimo supponeva un'operazione di creazione verbale da parte di Aristofane, consistente nell'alterazione della forma 'secondo natura' sulla base del verbo κείρειν. Questa ricostruzione dell'esegesi didimea comporta alcune conseguenze.

La prima è di ordine ecdotico: il testo stampato da Holwerda e dagli editori precedenti (φησὶ δὲ Δίδυμος τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ὄνομα κειρύλος λέγεσθαι) non è sostenibile. Se infatti Didimo vedeva nel passo aristofaneo un esempio di creazione verbale da parte dell'autore a partire da un nome 'naturale', quest'ultimo non potrà che essere stato il ben attestato κηρύλος, scherzosamente modificato in κειρύλος sulla base del verbo κείρειν. Bisognerà dunque stampare, con White (1914, 72, ma cf. già von Leutsch 1847, 30-1), φησὶ δὲ Δίδυμος τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ὄνομα κηρύλος λέγεσθαι, con la grafia non dittongata (che è, peraltro, quella tradata da tutti i manoscritti in questa stringa dello scolio).<sup>15</sup> Viceversa, alla successiva occorrenza dell'ornitonimo al singolare, il dettato scoliastico τοῦτο οὖν ἔστω σημεῖον τοῦ [...] ἴσως παρά τὸ κείρειν ἡτυμολογηκέναι τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην suggerisce che la parola in questione sia il neologismo κειρύλος, che il commediografo derivava dal verbo κείρειν. L'unanime scelta degli editori per la forma non dittongata in questa sezione dello scolio riflette la situazione dei codici (sia V, sia Γ<sup>2</sup> presentano infatti κηρύλον), ma è comprensibile solo considerando questa parte dello scolio - con la precedente osservazione sul barbiere Sporgilo in Platone comico, ad essa logicamente connessa - come indipendente da Didimo. Il testo stampato da Holwerda e dai suoi predecessori implica infatti: (1) che il Calcentero, piuttosto assurdamente, ritenesse κειρύλος il nome 'naturale' dell'uccello e dunque la lezione autentica nel testo aristofaneo e (2)

**14** Cf. e.g. Ath. 2.70c-d (= Did. II 8.10 p. 242 Schmidt); Harp. π 99 K. (= Did. II 19.25 p. 316 Schmidt), *schol.* Pind. *Nem.* 10, 114a Drachmann (= Did. fr. 61 Braswell, II 5.53 p. 236 Schmidt). La presenza di μήποτε in materiali esegetici anonimi fu considerata prova certa di derivazione didimea dalla critica ottocentesca (cf. e.g. Schneider 1838, 112 nota 2; Schmidt 1854, 212; Schnee 1879, 37-8; Schauenburg 1881, 11-12; Lehrs 1882, 27; Meiners 1890, 10-14, ma anche Boudreaux 1919, 110-18). Cautela è stata giustamente raccomandata da Wilson 1984, 93 (cf. anche Montana 1996, 30 nota 64): l'avverbio può essere indizio di paternità didimea, ma non è in sé probante (cf. Montana 2004, 377; 2012, 210).

**15** Il dittongo ει è aggiunto *supra lineam* in Γ<sup>2</sup>. Tutti i codici presentano l'errata accentazione κήρυλος.

che un altro anonimo commentatore, pur leggendo κηρύλος nel verso degli *Uccelli*, ipotizzasse una paretimologia aristofanea da κείρειν sulla base della menzione del barbiere Sporgilo nel verso successivo. Similmente, White, pur riconoscendo a Didimo la capacità di identificare la forma base dell'ornitonimo in κηρύλος, riteneva che fosse questa forma a essere ricondotta a κείρειν nella seconda parte dello scolio, essendo κηρύλος, a suo parere, l'unica grafia possibile anche nel testo aristofaneo (κειρύλος sarebbe invece una corruzione della tradizione aristofanea).<sup>16</sup> Stampare, al contrario, τοῦτο οὖν ἔστω σημεῖον τοῦ καὶ τὸν κειρύλον ἴσως παρὰ τὸ κείρειν ἡτυμολογηκέναι τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην permette di riportare l'intera sequenza esegetica all'autorità di Didimo:<sup>17</sup> il grammatico, a partire dal testo aristofaneo a sua disposizione,<sup>18</sup>

1. segnalava la forma naturale dell'ornitonimo (φησὶ δὲ Δίδυμος τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ὄνομα κηρύλος λέγεσθαι),
2. citava il Περὶ ζῳῶν di Antigono di Caristo<sup>19</sup> per una generica descrizione del cerilo (Ἀντίγονος-πτεροῖς). Sebbene questa sia l'unica attestazione dell'uso di quest'opera da parte di Didimo, Antigono è citato anche da Esichio nella sua voce κειρύλος (κ 2013 L.): questa corrispondenza punta fortemente verso la derivazione della voce esichiana da Didimo per il tramite della Λέξις κωμική.<sup>20</sup>

**16** Cf. White 1914, 72: «The form κείρυλος is a pure fiction. To foist it into the text of Aristophanes is a mistake, since it is not the poet's practice to explain his puns». Se così fosse, la corruzione avrebbe dovuto originarsi molto presto nella tradizione di Aristofane, se già Eufronio (generalmente datato al III sec. a.C., cf. Novembri 2010) si trovava a dover distinguere le due forme.

**17** L'emendazione non sarebbe necessaria se si potesse presupporre per il verbo ἡτυμολογέω il significato di 'fare un gioco etimologico', 'giocare sull'etimologia'. Tuttavia le uniche due ulteriori occorrenze di ἡτυμολογέω in riferimento ad Aristofane negli scolii non descrivono impliciti giochi etimologici, ma derivazioni chiaramente esplicitate nel testo, cf. Ar. Av. 179-182 (Πε. οὐχ οὗτος οὖν δήπου ὅτιν ὀρνίθων πόλος; | Επ. πόλος; τίνα τρόπον; Πε. ὡσπερ <ἄν> εἴποι τις τόπος. | ὅτι δὲ πολεῖται τοῦτο καὶ διέρχεται ἅπαντα διὰ τούτου, καλεῖται νῦν πόλος) e *schol.* Ar. Av. 179a Holwerda (ὀρνίθων πόλος; τὸ μὲν τὴ παραφράζει τὸ προειρημένον <περὶ> τῶν ὀρνίθων, ὅτι ἐστὶ τόπος τις αὐτῶν ἐν ᾧ διατρίβουσι, τὸ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν σχηματισμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος παίζει, καὶ τόπος καὶ πόλος. ἐξῆς δὲ **VEG** ἡτυμολογεῖ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολεῖσθαι. **VEGM**), nonché Ar. Eq. 1257s. (Ἀγοράκριτος; | ἐν τάγορᾳ γὰρ κρινόμενος ἐβοσκόμην) e *schol.* Ar. Eq. 1258a Jones, Wilson (ἐν τάγορᾳ) ἡτυμολογεῖ τὸ ὄνομα. **EG**<sup>2</sup>).

**18** Non è possibile stabilire se Didimo leggesse κειρύλος in entrambi i versi, o κηρύλος al v. 299 e κειρύλος al v. 300.

**19** Sull'autore e sul suo rapporto con la Ἱστοριῶν παραδόξων συναγωγή a lui attribuita dal cod. Palat. gr. 398 (ff. 243v-261v), cf. Dorandi 1994; 1995a; 1995b; 1999, xi-xxxii; 2005, 121-4; Ronconi 2007, 33-75.

**20** Didimo fu autore di un'imponente raccolta lemmatizzata intitolata Λέξις κωμική, che condivideva, con ogni probabilità, gran parte del materiale esegetico dei commentari continui. L'opera ebbe grande influenza sulla lessicografia successiva: fu epitomata da Galeno (*De indol.* 23b-24b; Coker 2018) e fu utilizzata da Panfilo, da Diogeniano

3. ipotizzava un'alterazione di κηρύλος, finalizzata a un gioco di parole con il verbo κείρειν, 'tosare' (μήποτε παρὰ τὸ κείρειν ἐσχημάτικεν [scil. ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης]).
4. riferiva - sulla base del parallelo offerto dai *Sofisti* di Platone comico - che lo Sporgilo citato nel verso seguente era un barbiere (ὁ δὲ Σποργίλος-τέγος). Questa osservazione potrebbe essere indizio dell'utilizzo, da parte del Calcentero, di un'opera sui *komodoumenoi*, come ad esempio quella di Ammonio.<sup>21</sup>
5. sospettava che il mestiere di barbiere del *komodoumenos* fosse un ulteriore indizio a favore della presenza di un gioco di parole sul verbo κείρειν nel verso precedente (τοῦτο - κουρέα).

#### 4 κηρύλος come nome 'naturale'

Due aspetti di questo *interpretamentum* meritano ulteriore approfondimento: in primo luogo, la definizione didimea della forma non dittongata κηρύλος come τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ὄνομα. L'espressione - che riecheggia il naturalismo di Cratilo nell'omonimo dialogo di Platone<sup>22</sup> - ha il suo unico parallelo scolastico in *schol.* Ar. Rhod. 1.760-762d Wendel, dove il commentatore evidenzia come il poeta (nell'alludere alla scena dell'uccisione del gigante Tizio da parte di Apollo, giunto in soccorso della madre Latona) οὐ τῷ κυρίῳ ὀνόματι ἐχρήσατο, ἀλλὰ τῷ κατὰ φύσιν, «μητέρα» εἰπών, con κατὰ φύσιν ad indicare la parentela tra i due personaggi. Il semplice nesso κατὰ φύσιν, poi, è attestato in pochi casi nel lessico degli *scholia vetera* aristofanei<sup>23</sup> e solo in *schol.* Ar. *Vesp.* 201a Koster (κατὰ φύσιν δὲ ἦν μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν κτλ.) sembra veicolare l'idea di correttezza espressiva. Vista la scarsità di paralleli *ad verbum*, l'interpretazione del τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ὄνομα didimeo dovrà coinvolgere le possibili fonti del Calcentero.

Un primo tentativo di spiegazione si deve a von Leutsch (1847, 30-1), secondo il quale Didimo, con l'espressione κατὰ φύσιν, voleva

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e, attraverso quest'ultimo, da Esichio (*ep. Eul.* 1-9). Corrispondenze tra i frammenti didimei conservati negli *scholia in Aristophanem* e il lessico esichiano sono dunque da ricondurre a quest'opera e somiglianze tra scoli anonimi e lemmi di Esichio sono spesso considerate indice di derivazione dal Calcentero (cf. e.g. Schmidt 1854, 298-9; Schnee 1879, 46; Schauenburg 1881, 18-20; Novati 1882; Meiners 1890, 14-16; Boudreaux 1919, 103-4; Montana 1996, 30 nota 64).

<sup>21</sup> L'uso diretto di Ammonio da parte di Didimo è generalmente presupposto sulla base di *schol.* Ar. Av. 1297-1299 Holwerda. Su Ammonio, cf. Steinhausen 1901, 6-45; White 1914, xxi; Boudreaux 1919, 75-6; Nesselrath 1990, 74-6; Dunbar 1995, 36; Bagordo 1998, 50 e 74-6; Montana 2006; D'Alessandro 2018. Lo studio più completo sulla *komodoumenoi-Literatur* è tuttora Steinhausen 1910.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Pl. *Cra.* 386e-390e.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *schol.* Ar. *Ran.* 308e e *Plut.* 425da Chantry, dove l'espressione fa riferimento all'aspetto fisico di un personaggio sulla scena.

descrivere l'ornitonimo κηρύλος come derivante dal verso naturale dell'uccello. Von Leutsch riteneva, infatti, sulla base di Ath. 9.392f (καὶ ἡ σιαλὶς δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἂν εἴη, φησὶν ὁ Δίδυμος [fr. 32 C.-Pr.], ὠνομασμένη. σχεδὸν γὰρ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ὀρνέων ἀπὸ τῆς φωνῆς ἔχει τὴν ὀνομασίαν), che il Calcentero considerasse i nomi degli uccelli generalmente legati al loro rispettivo verso. Nella ricostruzione di von Leutsch, Didimo avrebbe seguito una versione del mito di Alcione e Ceice nella quale la specie di uccelli originata dalla metamorfosi dei protagonisti ha come verso κήυξ. Tuttavia, questo dettaglio è solamente attestato nella parafrasi degli *Ixeutica* di Oppiano attribuita a Dionigi, in un passaggio dedicato all'alcione ma privo di qualsiasi menzione del cerilo.<sup>24</sup> Va riconosciuto, a tutti gli effetti, che la digressione mitografica dell'anonimo scolio ad Av. 250 (cf. *supra*) si conclude con l'identificazione tra Ceice e il cerilo (καὶ ἐκείνον δὲ εἰς ὄρνεον μετέβαλεν [scil. ὁ Ζεύς], ὃν κηρύλον καλοῦσιν), ma, in assenza di riferimenti al verso dell'uccello, questo fatto può essere solo indizio di un collegamento, probabilmente autoschediastico, tra il mito e l'ornitonimo di Av. 299-300 nell'ambito dell'esegesi aristofanea. Peraltro, essendo non solo anonima, ma anche del tutto isolata, questa attestazione dell'identificazione tra Ceice e l'uccello menzionato da Aristofane si sottrae a qualunque tipo di datazione: l'utilizzo del mito di Ceice e Alcione come *aition* per l'ornitonimo κηρύλος<sup>25</sup> potrebbe in linea teorica risalire a Didimo, ma un'attribuzione al Calcentero sarebbe del tutto speculativa.<sup>26</sup> Ancor più speculativo appare, in quest'ottica, il tentativo di von Leutsch: anche ammesso che l'affermazione sull'origine onomatopeica degli ornitonimi (conservata da Ateneo, cf. *supra*) sia effettivamente didimea, mancano concreti indizi testuali per sostenere che il grammatico vedesse nel verso κήυξ l'etimologia di κηρύλος.

È possibile avanzare un'ipotesi alternativa: Didimo potrebbe aver ritenuto la grafia κηρύλος 'naturale' perché la trovava attestata in scritti zoologici (che dunque ne garantivano la correttezza). L'orni-

<sup>24</sup> Dionys. Av. 2.8.

<sup>25</sup> I pochi racconti completi del mito prevedono che Ceice mantenga lo stesso nome anche dopo la metamorfosi (cf. [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 1.52; Dionys. Av. 2.8) oppure che entrambi i coniugi siano trasformati in alcioni (cf. Ov. *Met.* 11.410-748; Hyg. *fab.* 65; Serv. *Verg. G.* 1.399). La metamorfosi era verosimilmente trattata anche da Esiodo nel Κήυκος γάμος (cf. fr. 263-269 M.-W.) e da Nicandro negli Ἐτεροιοῦμενα (probabile fonte di Ovidio, cf. Prob. *Verg. G.* 1.399 *dilectae Thetidi Alciones*] *varia est opinio harum volucrum originis. Itaque in altera sequitur Ovidius Nicandrum, in altera Theodorum*).

<sup>26</sup> Va forse tenuto in considerazione che nell'*Epitafio di Bione* (37 Gallavotti, un testo databile poco prima dell'età di Didimo, cf. e.g. Palumbo Stracca 2010, 122) i nomi Κηρύλος e Κήυξ indicano due figure ben distinte all'interno della sezione dedicata ai personaggi del mito trasformati in uccelli (vv. 37-49). Questo fatto potrebbe deporre a favore di una datazione più tarda dell'identificazione tra Ceice e il cerilo, ma potrebbe anche essere indizio di un dibattito mitografico ed erudito già in atto.

tonimo si ritrova infatti non solo nel Περὶ ζώων di Antigono di Caristo, ma anche nella *Historia Animalium* di Aristotele (593b περὶ δὲ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ ἀλκυῶν καὶ κήρυλος)<sup>27</sup> e nell'epitome delle opere zoologiche aristoteliche redatta da Aristofane di Bisanzio e conservata nella silloge di Costantino Porfirogenito<sup>28</sup> (*Exc. Const. De nat. An.* 1.23 Lambros τῶν δὲ πτερωτῶν ὀρνίθων ἃ μὲν ἔστιν εἶδη νυκτερινὰ ἃ δὲ ἡμερινά, καὶ ἃ μὲν θαλάσσια ἃ δὲ ποτάμια ἃ δὲ χερσαῖα. [...] θαλάσσια δὲ ἀλκυῶν, κήρυλος, αἶθουια, λάρος, χαραδριὸς, καταρράκτης, κέπφος, κίγκλος). Contatti tra interpretazione letteraria e testi scientifici sono largamente attestati nell'esegesi antica:<sup>29</sup> esemplare in questo senso è la trattazione dell'alcione e del cerilo nell'anonimo *schol. Theoc.* 7.57a-b Wendel, che presenta un vero e proprio *cluster* di fonti zoologiche, costituito da Antigono di Caristo, Alessandro di Mindo e lo stesso Aristotele.<sup>30</sup> Inoltre, il ricorso da parte di Didimo ad *auctoritates* scientifiche nella sua esegesi aristofanea si può presupporre almeno in un altro caso, quello dell'ornitonimo κερχνής in *Av.* 304, per il quale si riscontra un'analoga corrispondenza tra Aristotele, Aristofane di Bisanzio e il commentario agli *Uccelli* (cf. *schol. Ar. Av.* 304a-b Holwerda, *Arist. GA* 750a, *HA* 558b, 593b-594a, *Exc. Const. de nat. an.* 1.22 Lambros). L'espressione τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ὄνομα potrebbe quindi celare l'influenza di scritti zoologici sull'esegesi didimea.

## 5 L'ornitonimo κέρκις in Callimaco

Il secondo punto meritevole di attenzione è l'ipotesi di un gioco di parole tra κηρύλος e κείρειν, suffragata nell'*interpretamentum* dall'identificazione di Sporgilo come barbiere nei *Sofisti* di Platone comi-

**27** L'uccello era trattato anche dal peripatetico Clearco nell'opera *Sulle creature acquatiche* (fr. 101 Wehrli, *ap. Ath.* 8, 332e).

**28** Il titolo conservato dai manoscritti è Συλλογὴ τῆς περὶ ζώων ἱστορίας, χερσαίων πτηνῶν τε καὶ θαλαττίων, Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ καὶ αὐτοκράτορι φιλοπονηθεῖσα (cf. Zucker 2012, 2). L'opera si presenta come Ἀριστοφάνους τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ ζώων ἐπιτομή, ὑποτεθέντων ἐκάστῳ ζῳῳ καὶ τῶν Αἰλιανῶ καὶ Τιμοθέῳ καὶ ἑτέροις τισὶ περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρημένων (*Exc. Const. de nat. an.* pro. 4-6) e la critica è generalmente concorde nel considerare il materiale del primo e di parte del secondo libro della silloge come effettivamente derivante dall'epitome degli scritti zoologici di Aristotele compilata da Aristofane di Bisanzio (cf. Lambros 1885, v-xx; Berger 2012, 3-9; Zucker 2012; Hellmann 2015, 1248-51).

**29** Su questo argomento, cf. Hellmann 2015, 1245-51; Benuzzi, in corso di stampa.

**30** Ἀλκυῶν θυγάτηρ μὲν Αἰόλου καὶ Κανάκης, γυνὴ δὲ Κήυκος. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ φησιν ὁ Μύνδιος (fr. 23 Wellmann), ὅτι αὕτη θεῶν λέλογχε <...> Νηρηίδων <...> Λευκοθέαν, Π., Ἀφροδίτην. ἀλκυόνες οὖν ἐκλήθησαν παρὰ τὸ ἐν ἄλι κύειν. Ἀντίγονος (fr. 54A-B Dorandi, [Antig.] *Mir.* 23) φησιν, ὅταν γηράσωσιν αἱ ἀλκυόνες, κηρύλους καλεῖσθαι. Ἀριστοτέλης (*HA* 593b) δὲ διήρησεν ἀλκυόνα καὶ κηρύλον καὶ κορώνην. οἱ δὲ φασιν, ὅτι τὰ ἄρρενα τούτων κηρύλοι καλοῦνται ὅπερ ἀληθές ἐστι. Su Alessandro di Mindo, cf. Wellmann 1891 e Arnott 1987.

co. Una derivazione paretimologica dal verbo κείρειν si ritrova anche per un altro ornitonimo, κείρις<sup>31</sup> (equiparato all'alcione in Hdn. III/2, 532.3 Lentz κείρις ὄρνειον. ἰέραξ. οἱ δὲ ἀλκυόνα, cf. anche Hesych. κ 2011 C.). L'unica attestazione di questa etimologia è il racconto ovidiano del mito di Scilla, figlia di Niso, tramutata in uccello dopo aver tradito il padre, cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.147-148 *plumis in avem mutata vocatur | ciris et a tonso est hoc nomen adepta capillo*.<sup>32</sup> In assenza di ulteriori occorrenze greche dell'ornitonimo κείρις,<sup>33</sup> è impossibile identificare le possibili fonti di Ovidio. Un qualche ruolo, però, potrebbe aver giocato Callimaco, se è corretta l'integrazione Κ]εῖριν di Pfeiffer ai rr. 4 e 9 del fr. 113 degli *Aitia* (= fr. 63 Massimilla), generalmente accettata dalla critica successiva.<sup>34</sup> La probabile trattazione callimachea della metamorfosi di Scilla nell'uccello detto κείρις potrebbe effettivamente aver costituito un importante precedente per Ovidio: la possibilità di un collegamento tra i due passi risulta tanto più affascinante se si considera che una delle due occorrenze dell'accusativo Κ]εῖριν nel fr. 113 potrebbe, in teoria, celare una corruzione itacistica di un'originario κείρειν. Benché del tutto speculativa, questa ipotetica retrodatazione dell'*aition* dell'ornitonimo κείρις all'età di Callimaco<sup>35</sup> permetterebbe di considerare quest'ultimo come fonte non solo per Ovidio, ma anche per la paretimologia didimeia dell'aristofaneo κειρύλος dal verbo κείρειν: il Calcentero, conoscendo una preesistente identificazione - di cui resta traccia in Erodiano (cf. *supra*) - tra κείρις, ἀλκυών e κηρύλος (o istituendola egli stesso), potrebbe essere stato influenzato dall'etimologia del primo ornitonimo (e dunque non solo dalla presenza del barbiere Sporgilo) nel ricostruire il gioco di parole aristofaneo tra κηρύλος e κείρειν.

**31** Gli ornitonimi κείρις e κηρύλος sono accostati già da Lobeck 1843, 123. Anche Kakridis 1974, 74 evidenzia l'identità tra la paretimologia prospettata da Didimo per il termine κειρύλος e quella presupposta dalle fonti latine per la *ciris*, ma senza trarre ulteriori conclusioni.

**32** Il racconto completo occupa i vv. 17-151. Lo stesso mito doveva essere trattato da Partenio (*SH* 637, fr. 24 Lightfoot), è rapidamente richiamato in Verg. *G.* 1.404-409 ed è al centro della *Ciris* pseudo-virgiliana (per un panoramica sul complesso problema della paternità della *Ciris* e dei rapporti tra quest'opera e Ovidio, cf. e.g. Bömer 1977, 13-17).

**33** Fatta eccezione per la traduzione planudea delle stesse *Metamorfosi* di Ovidio (8.189-190 κείρις καλεῖται, κάκ τοῦ κεκαρμένου | πλοκάμου τούνομα τοῦτ' ἐπορίσατο).

**34** Cf. Massimilla 1996, 374-5; D'Alessio 1996, 544-5 nota 1; Harder 2012, 870-3.

**35** Cf. O'Hara 2017, 33, 263-4.



## 6 In conclusione

In conclusione, un'analisi accurata del materiale scoliastico relativo ad Av. 299-300 permette non solo di recuperare l'unità del ragionamento esegetico (con la seconda parte dello scolio interamente ascrivibile a Didimo), ma anche di evidenziare o ipotizzare numerosi percorsi di ricezione antica all'interno dell'esegesi aristofanea: in primo luogo, quella del componimento di Alcmane sul cerilo, il cui riuso da parte di Aristofane ai vv. 250-252 degli *Uccelli* influenza l'esegesi 'dialettologica' di Eufronio ai vv. 299-300; in secondo luogo, quella di scritti zoologici (Antigono e, forse, Aristotele e Aristofane di Bisanzio) e, possibilmente, di argomento mitologico (gli *Aitia* di Callimaco?) nell'interpretazione didimea.

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# Paris' μαχλοσύνη, a Mistranslated Aeschylean Fragment, and the Meanings of μάχλος (Hom. *Il.* 24.30; Aesch. fr. 325 Radt)

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**Abstract** An Aeschylean fragment (325 Radt) in which a grapevine is called μάχλος is twice quoted by Eustathius of Thessalonica, who explains μάχλος as meaning ῥεομένη 'flowing', in connection with lewdness (καταφέρεια) and specifically μαχλοσύνη 'feminine sexual arousal', hapax in Homer (*Il.* 24.30) but well attested afterwards. In modern times Aeschylean μάχλος has systematically been mistranslated, and the botanical background of ῥεομένη completely ignored. As a matter of fact, both the probable Indo-European etymology of μάχλος and Eustathius' explanation point to an original meaning 'wet', which soon became specialised as a sexual term for vaginal wetness linked to sexual arousal (cf. German *läufig*). This means that μαχλοσύνη was more specific and disturbing than our 'lasciviousness' and helps explain the ancient attempts at getting rid of it at *Iliad* 24.30.

**Keywords** Aeschylus. Ancient scholarship. μάχλος. Etymology. μαχλοσύνη. Sexual meaning. Homer. *Iliad*.

I am very glad to offer Willy Cingano, the author of many significant contributions to the understanding of archaic Greek poetry and culture, a discussion of a thorny semantic problem posed by both a Homeric noun and an Aeschylean adjective.



Edizioni  
Ca' Foscari

**Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4**

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

**Peer review | Open access**

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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**DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/027**



1). As I tried to show in a recent article, the 'improper' terms of 29-30 are highly significant, not just μαχλοσύνη, but also νείκεσσε and μέσσαυλον (Cassio 2019, 33-4).

At line 30 ἦ (= Ἀφροδίτη) οἶ (= Πάριδι) πόρε μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινήν posed remarkable problems to Aristarchus, who athetised the whole line: Eust. ad Hom. *Il.* 24.30 (= 4. 864.3-6 van der Valk) Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ διὰ τὴν τῆς μαχλοσύνης λέξιν ἀθετεῖ τὸν στίχον. νεωτέρων γὰρ ἡ λέξις καὶ Ἡσιόδειος, ἐκείνου πρώτου χρησαμένου αὐτῆ ἐπὶ τῶν Προίτου θυγατέρων. καὶ ἔτι μαχλοσύνη, φησί, κοινῶς ἐστὶν ἢ ἐν γυναιξὶ μανία, ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν δὲ οὐ τίθεται.

In short, Aristarchus said that the whole line 30 was not Homeric since οἱ νεώτεροι and Hesiod (in fact the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*)<sup>3</sup> were the first to use μαχλοσύνη which, in its turn, was a word used for *female* lust, and as a consequence inapplicable to men (Paris/Alexandros in this case). There is hardly any need to remind that μαχλοσύνη is based on μάχλος, which LSJ translate as "lewd, lustful, of women"; similar translations are found in other dictionaries, which perfectly accords with Aristarchus' explanation of μαχλοσύνη as ἡ ἐν γυναιξὶ μανία.

However, Aristarchus used some correct information in the wrong way.<sup>4</sup> It is true that μαχλοσύνη refers primarily to female lust,<sup>5</sup> is found in the 'Hesiodic' passage he mentions (in fact the *Catalogue of Women*, [Hes.] fr. 132 M.-W. = 47 Hirschberger εἶνεκα μαχλοσύνης στρυγερῆς τέρεν ὤλεσεν ἄνθος) and in the authentic Hesiod, *Op.* 586 μαχλόταται δὲ γυναῖκες. But μαχλοσύνη can be regarded as 'recent' and 'Hesiodic' only if we delete the Homeric line, so Aristarchus' reasoning is circular. Besides, in this same book at line 316 a special type of eagle is called μόρφνος,<sup>6</sup> a term completely isolated in Homer and then found for the first time in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles* (134) – a situation exactly parallel to that of line 30, so one would expect Aristarchus to have resented μόρφνος as he had resented μαχλοσύνη, but as far as we know line 316 was not deleted by Aristarchus or anybody else.

As to μαχλοσύνη used for female lust, Aristarchus seems to have forgotten – or ignored – that e.g. in Aesch. *Supp.* 635 ff. the god Ares is called μάχλος since he is an adulterer (the reference is to the story told in *Od.* 8) and consequently from the ancient Greek viewpoint,

<sup>3</sup> It is well known that Aristarchus went to any length to separate the language of Homer from that of the νεώτεροι (Hesiod being their earliest representative): Severyns 1928, 31-70.

<sup>4</sup> I have dealt in detail with this and other problems in Cassio 2019.

<sup>5</sup> On μαχλοσύνη in Homer and the reaction of ancient scholars to this word see especially Sonnino 2015, 7-9.

<sup>6</sup> Μόρφνον θηρητήρ', δν καὶ περκνὸν καλέουσιν.

a 'woman'; obviously the same applies to Paris.<sup>7</sup> Note that μάχλος is a two-ending adjective, so that the same grammatical forms are applicable to both women and men (μάχλος γυνή, μάχλος άνήρ).<sup>8</sup>

In any case μαχλοσύνη of line 30 was unpalatable to Aristarchus, and not only to Aristarchus. It is no accident that Aristophanes of Byzantium and various κατά πόλεις editions did not read ή οί πόρε μαχλοσύνην άλεγεινήν but ή οί κεχαρισμένα δώρ' όνόμηνε "[Aphrodite] who presented him with pleasant gifts".<sup>9</sup> This change was probably meant to bring this verse into line with the 'official' story (Aphrodite offering Paris Helen as a bride), but ή οί κεχαρισμένα δώρ' όνόμηνε also had the advantage of removing μαχλοσύνη; as Richardson 1993, 279 suggests, the removal may have been due to prudishness, which may also have been the 'hidden reason' behind the Aristarchean deletion of line 30.<sup>10</sup>

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Interestingly enough, ancient prudishness may not have been devoid of a *raison d'être*. I strongly suspect that there was an important reason, and one unexplored so far, which prompted the ancients to do away with 'recent' μαχλοσύνη in Homer: its embarrassing peculiar sexual meaning, which made this term more disturbing than our "licentiousness" or similar terms. For this reason it is appropriate to deal with the problems posed by μάχλος and the Aeschylean fragment 325 Radt in which a grapevine is called μάχλος. This fragment, transmitted in two passages of Eustathius, has not seriously been re-examined for a long time. It appears in Radt's edition as "μάχλον (άμπελον)" with άμπελον in brackets for no clear reason;<sup>11</sup> in the apparatus its meaning is not discussed, and we are only informed about the lost plays of Aeschylus to which the fragment had tentatively been attributed (*una ex Lycurgiae fabulis* according to Hermann 183, 19, specifically the *Edonoi* according to Hartung 1955, 50 and Deichgräber 1939, 255).<sup>12</sup>

**7** To the ancient Greeks adulterers and womanisers were 'women': *Cho.* 302 ff. τὸ μὴ πολίτας... δυοῖν γυναικοῖν [Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus] ὧδ' ὑπηκόους πέλειν; see also Sonnino 2015, fn. 31. See e.g. also Eustath. 1.645.1 ff. van der Valk ad *Il.* 3.242 ὁμολογεῖ... ἡ Ἐλένη αἰσχρὸν πρᾶγμα ποιῆσαι... τὸ εἰς Τροίαν ἀκολουθεῖσαι τῷ μοιχῷ Πάριδι.

**8** Many other Greek words are based on μαχλ- (see e.g. Chantraine 1968, 673 s.v. "μάχλος"); μαχλάς is especially frequent, e.g. Hesych. μ 429 μαχλάδα· πόρνην.

**9** *Sch. A ad 30* ή οί πόρε μαχλοσύνην άλεγεινήν: παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει καί τισι τῶν πολιτικῶν "ή οί κεχαρισμένα δώρ' όνόμηνε".

**10** Severyns 1928, 146. On Aristarchus' moralistic stance see Sonnino 2015, 9 fn. 39.

**11** Obviously, as noticed by Radt himself, μάχλον in the accusative is taken wholesale from Eustathius' sentence, and we have no idea of the grammatical case in which this word occurred in Aeschylus' text.

**12** As a matter of fact in Deichgräber 1939, 255 fn. 4 the Aeschylean fragment is quoted without any translation or explanation.



We know the Aeschylean fragment thanks to two different quotations in Eustathius' commentaries on Homer:

(a) Eust. 827.28 ff. = 3.138, 26-139.4 van der Valk has a digression devoted to the alleged tendence of βλασφημία, often found in comedy, to distort 'honest' meanings *in peius*: hence in his opinion (or his source's) 'positive' ἀρρενωπός, meaning 'manly', was turned by comedy into ἀρρενώψ 'androgynous' (τὸν ἐπαινετῶς ἀρρενωπὸν ἀρρενώπα<sup>13</sup> ἔφη [scil. ἡ κωμῳδία] παρονομήσασα ψογερωῶς. He goes on to say: οὕτω δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλου (fr. 325 Radt) μάχλον, φασίν, ἄμπελον εἰπόντος τὴν ῥεομένην, ἡ κωμῳδία μάχλον εἶπε τὸν ὑπὸ καταφερείας δίυγρον "in the same vein, Aeschylus having called μάχλος a grapevine that secretes liquid, comedy called μάχλος the person wet with lust". His interpretation of the data seems to be that Aeschylus had used for a grapevine the adjective μάχλος in the technical and 'innocent' meaning 'exuding liquid', which was then 'degraded' by comedy to become a sexual term.

Eustathius returns to the Aeschylean fragment and the sexual meaning of μάχλος in his commentary on *Od.* 8; the main components are the same, yet the scene has changed significantly: the person "wet with lust" has a name, namely Paris, and the relationship between his μαχλοσύνη and the Aeschylean fragment is reversed:

(b) Eust. 1597.32-33 μάχλος δὲ, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ κατὰ τὸν Πάριον μαχλοσύνη, ὁ δίυγρος ὑπὸ καταφερείας. ὅθεν, φασί, καὶ Αἰσχύλος τὴν ῥεομένην ἄμπελον μάχλον ἔφη: "μάχλος, whence Paris' μαχλοσύνη, is the one wet with lust; therefore they say that Aeschylus, too, called μάχλος the grapevine that secretes liquid". The basic material is virtually the same, yet in the commentary on *Od.* 8 the δίυγρος person is no longer anonymous, and the use of μάχλος in Aeschylus does not look as 'innocent' as in the commentary on *Iliad* 11 of the same Eustathius.

The mention of a "flowing grapevine" coupled with this embarrassing 'double interpretation' has caused disarray among many scholars, leading to improbable translations and interpretations. Nauck 1848, 165-7, who believed that (a) was based on Aristophanes' of Bizantium treatise *Περὶ βλασφημιῶν*,<sup>14</sup> translated the Aeschylean μάχλος ἄμπελος as *vitis...vegeta et quasi lasciviens (ut nos dixerimus der üppige Weinstock)*.<sup>15</sup> Nauck clearly altered the explanation involving wetness (ῥεομένην, δίυγρος) provided by Eustathius' sources, and managed to influence various entries in old and new lexica: μάχλος ἄμπελος appears s.v. "μάχλος" as "der üppig rankende"

<sup>13</sup> Cratin. fr. 417 K.-A. ἀρρενώπας prompted Nauck 1948, 166 to correct ἀρρενώπας here, but the transmitted ἀρρενώπα is likely to be right; an \*ἀρρενώψ is perfectly possible in view of ἐλίκωψ, παραβλώψ, see Schwyzer 1939, 425-6.

<sup>14</sup> Not included in Slater 1986.

<sup>15</sup> Nauck 1848, 167.

(Pape 1914, 2: 103). “*della vite, lussureggiante*” (Rocci 1939, 1187), “wanton, luxuriant ἄμπελος” (LSJ<sup>9</sup>, 1085), “luxuriant, of a grapevine” (Montanari 2015, 1288). The same goes for the commentaries on Aeschylus’ *Suppliant Women*, 636 κτίσαι μάχλον Ἄρη, where our fragment is duly quoted: Friis Johansen, Whittle 1980, 3: 14 translate “an over-luxuriant ἄμπελος” and Sommerstein 2019, 268 “a vine that is growing out of control”. But why on earth a vine growing out of control should be described as ῥεομένη, “flowing”?

The problem is that very few, if any, bothered to gather some information on what happens to real grapevines. As a matter of fact, the ancients knew well that, once grapevines are pruned or cut for whatever reason, they secrete sap in plenty. Athen. *Deipnosoph.* 11.465a “they enthused over water mixed with wine”: Θεόφραστος δ’ ἐν τῷ περὶ Μέθης (fr. 121 Wimmer) φησὶν ὅτι τοῦ Διονύσου τροφοὶ αἱ Νύμφαι κατ’ ἀλήθειαν. αἱ γὰρ ἄμπελοι πλεῖστον ὑγρὸν χέουσι τεμνόμεναι καὶ κατὰ φύσιν δακρύουσι (Theophrastus in his treatise *On Drunkenness* says that the Nymphs are in truth nurses of Dionysus. In fact the grapevines, once they are pruned, secrete a good deal of moisture and weep, as is natural to them to do).<sup>16</sup> In many passages of the botanical works of Theophrastus grapevines are ὑγραὶ and “weep”, e.g. *de causis plant.* 1.6.8 τὴν μὲν ἄμπελον προαποτέμνουσιν ἡμέραις τρισὶ πρότερον, ὅπως προαπορρυῆ τὸ δάκρυον (they cut the grapevine three days in advance, to make sure that the ‘tears’ have already flown down): note the verb (προαπο)ρρέω, a perfect match for Eustathius’ ἄμπελον τὴν ῥεομένην.

In spite of this, as we have seen, modern interpreters seem to have gone to any length in order to avoid the most obvious and natural translation of τὴν ῥεομένην ἄμπελον, “the grapevine that pours out sap” which perfectly matches the definition of Paris as “wet” (δίυγρος). Correct translations of τὴν ῥεομένην ἄμπελον are remarkably rare. Gottfried Hermann (1834, 19) provided both an accurate translation of the fragment and a rightly cautious general evaluation of its meaning in a lost context: *irriguam vitem si Aeschylus lascivam dixit, debuit id ex verbis quae adiecerat cognosci*. Other accurate translations are rare and apparently forgotten: Boisacq 1916, 616 and Bailly 1935, 1231 render μάχλον ἄμπελον with “qui épanche sa sève”. Friis Johansen, Whittle 1980, 3: 13 ff. were at a loss to explain δίυγρος, which they tentatively (and wrongly) translated as “fickle” with a question mark; they however hit the nail on the head when they realised that δίυγρος “attributes an unattested meaning to μάχλος”; unattested but probably primary, as we shall see.

<sup>16</sup> The mention of the Nymphs refers to the water used to dilute neat wine; see Timoth. fr. 780.5 Page ἀνέμισγε δ’ αἶμα Βακχίου νεορρύτοισι δακρύοις Νυμφῶν, Euenus 2.3 West χάρει κινράμενος δὲ τρισὶν Νύμφαισι τέταρτος.

The real reason for the frequent modern mistranslations of the Aeschylus fragment is twofold. On the one hand Theophrastus' ἄμπελοι ὑγρὸν χέουσαι were blithely ignored – or, more probably, never taken into consideration; on the other hand in both Eustathius' passages the wetness of a plant is immediately linked to sexual wetness, a notion especially embarrassing for nineteenth century scholars; Nauck's "üppiger Weinstock" set the tone for almost all the following translations of μάχλος ἄμπελος. As a matter of fact, "luxuriant grapevine" *vel similia* betray a strange conglomerate of ignorance, awareness and prudishness: ignorance of what happens to real grapevines once they are pruned, awareness of the 'disturbing' sexual implications of "wetness" abundantly made clear by Eustathius' δίνυγρος ὑπὸ καταφείας, and willingness to find a 'cover up' for an embarrassing sexual concept.

As Gottfried Hermann wisely said a long time ago,<sup>17</sup> the reason why Aeschylus used μάχλος for an *irriguam vitem*, a flowing grapevine, *debut... ex verbis quae adiecerat cognosci*, and unfortunately the *verba* in question are lost. That in Aeschylus' time μάχλος and ὑγρός were interchangeable, μάχλος being used for any type of wetness, seems very unlikely to me, although this is implied in Eustathius' (or more probably his source's) interpretation (a); the sexual meaning of the adjective was already deep-rooted in the language, yet it was clearly linked to the notion of a running liquid. The least improbable solution of the riddle is that μάχλος started its career in the mists of time with a general meaning "wet", but soon specialised as a sexual term for vaginal wetness linked to sexual arousal. Interestingly enough, M. Malzahn and M. Peters (2010, 267) suggested that the original meaning of the Greek μαχε/o- stem was "run", which soon developed an aggressive meaning and ended up as "fight" (μάχομαι); in their opinion the related adjective μάχλος originally meant 'running', soon developing a sexual meaning, and one "parallel to ModHD [modernes Hochdeutsch] *läufig* 'in heat' (also said of females only).

What conclusions can be drawn from this complex set of data and interpretations? A good deal will become clear if we assume that μάχλος started its career in the meaning "wet", "flowing", and soon specialised as a sexual term linked to female arousal; yet the primary meaning did not get lost. As a consequence, μαχλοσύνη must have sounded far more specific than such terms as English *lasciviousness*, French *luxure* or Italian *lussuria*. A long time ago Jacob Wackernagel devoted some illuminating pages (1916, 224 ff.) to epic poetry's refusal of 'low' sexual language: *Il.* 24.30 is an exception – in all likelihood a deliberate one – which ancient scholars strongly resented. Obviously, the μαχλοσύνη of male adulterers, Ares and Paris, was a

<sup>17</sup> Hermann 1834, 19, already quoted.

secondary development due to the abovementioned reasons (adulterers perceived as 'women'), but this, I believe, only enhanced the piquancy of the meaning.

The Aeschylean combination of the grapevine's natural secretion of sap and the witness typical of female sexuality had its *raison d'être* in the widespread notion that wine, for which grapevines bear the 'ultimate responsibility', is likely to increase sexual arousal: οίνου δὲ μηκέτ' ὄντος οὐκ ἔστιν Κύπρις (Eur. *Bacch.* 773). As Gottfried Hermann said long ago (see above), the reason why Aeschylus qualified as μάχλος an *irrigua vitis* would become clear to us only if we could know its lost context, but his idea that the fragment must have belonged to one of the plays of the lost *Lycurgia* should be taken into serious consideration.

As a matter of fact, towards the end of his discussion of the *Edonoi*, Hermann 1834, 18 brought attention to an Aeschylean fragment (448 Radt)<sup>18</sup> in which the Bacchantes are called χαλιμάδες, a term which combines the use of unmixed wine (χάλις) with sexual debauchery.<sup>19</sup> As noted by Eric Dodds in his commentary on Euripides' *Bacchae* (1960, xxxii), this "suggests that the allegations of immorality put by Euripides into Pentheus' mouth are traditional charges", and, although Hermann did not mention any specific character in the play, it is highly probable that the charges against the Bacchantes were levelled by Lycurgus, the king of the Edonoi.<sup>20</sup> Now, in a context in which Lycurgus charged the Bacchantes with intoxication and immoral behaviour, ἄμπελος alone could easily be vilified as the ultimate source of drunkenness and debauchery; even more so a μάχλος ἄμπελος (note the grammatically feminine noun!), with her more specific and disturbing quality linked to feminine sexual arousal. It is likely that the Aeschylean Lycurgus already exhibited some of the traits of the Euripidean Pentheus, "the dark puritan whose passion is compounded of horror and unconscious desire, and it is this which leads him to his ruin" (Dodds 1960, 97-8 *ad Bacch.* 222-223).

**18** Quoted by a scholion on Ap. Rhod. 1.473 Αἰσχύλος δὲ καὶ τὰς Βάκχας 'χαλιμάδας' φησὶ λέγεσθαι.

**19** LSJ<sup>9</sup> 1940 s.v. "χαλιμ-άς, ἄδος, ἡ": "a shameless woman, Hsch."; = πόρνη, Suid. (χαλιμα codd.); of the βάκχαι (χαλωμένες εἰς συνουσίαν), EM 805.9; also expld. as ἡ ὑπὸ μέθης χαλωμένη, Eust. 1471.3; χαλιμίας and χαλίδας (of the βάκχαι) are vv.ll. in A. Fr. 448 (ap. Sch. A. R 1. 473)".

**20** Lycurgus or Pentheus according to Dodds 1960, xxxii.

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# Forgotten Scholarship: Gustav Adolf Schöll, Herodotus, and Greek Oracular Poetry

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**Abstract** Schöll's thesis that there was a network of epic narratives with legendary and oracular contents written by chresmologues and prophets can no longer be supported. We should admit, instead, that the oracular stories about the local past that Schöll most acutely detected were in most cases handed down by work of mouth. Oral tradition – or, rather, 'semi-oral' – must be given pre-eminence over chresmological epic. Still, Schöll had insights of the greatest importance concerning the oracular tradition in Herodotus. Today, we can realise it far better than the philologists of his times and the great scholars of Herodotus who came after him have been able to do.

**Keywords** Herodotus. Delphic verse oracles. Oracular poetry. Local traditions.

Historical pronouncements of the Pythia were almost never in verse; [...] and nearly all attested verse oracles were invented after the fact for the sake of telling a good story.

(Gainsford 2015, 28)

Some ghosts are worth reviving. At times they are able to tell us about things that interest us very closely. These pages are dedicated with affection to Willy, as a souvenir of our far-gone conversations in Milan, when we happened to offer blood-libations to the ghosts.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Obviously enough, an allusion is made to Lloyd-Jones 1982.



Gustav Adolf Schöll - who was born in Brno in 1805 and died in Weimar in 1882<sup>2</sup> - is possibly still remembered for his connection with Karl Otfried Müller, whom he considered his mentor and who reciprocated him with a close friendship nourished by a profound scientific exchange.<sup>3</sup> Schöll participated in the planning of Müller's study expedition to Greece, accompanying and assisting him in his field research. After Müller's tragic death, Schöll - shocked by the event - went back to Germany and handed to Boeckh all the epigraphic notes and the facsimile of inscriptions that Müller had frantically drawn up. He subsequently elaborated and edited for publication the archaeological and historical-artistic notes and drawings left by his *maestro*, thus succeeding in an enterprise which others, such as Curtius for instance, had deemed hardly possible.<sup>4</sup>

The Schöll who is less known nowadays is the scholar of Attic tragedy; the fine translator of classics, from tragic authors to Pindar and Herodotus;<sup>5</sup> the poet and connoisseur of ancient and modern art; the refined scholar and subtle expert on German poets, especially Goethe and Schiller, and on Shakespeare and Cervantes.<sup>6</sup> Schöll was, indeed, a prominent intellectual figure in the civil and cultural life in Weimar between 1842 and the year of his death.<sup>7</sup> He was also a revered father, especially by the two sons - Rudolf (Weimar 1844-Munich 1893) and Fritz (Weimar 1850-Rottweil 1919) - who would become prominent classical philologists (the elder, especially) and who were both disciples in Göttingen of the great Hermann Sauppe. When Sauppe held the position of Director of the Gymnasium in Weimar (1845-56), he had also been a good friend of Gustav Schöll.

<sup>2</sup> Detailed information about Adolf Schöll's life and writings is provided in the obituary written by his son Fritz (Schöll 1882); of the highest interest is the perceptive biographical essay contributed by his son Rudolf to *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Schöll 1891). See also Pöthe 1995, 60-6; Ehringhaus 2012, 21-5. A genealogical tree of Schöll's family is in Ehringhaus, Kanz 2012, 249.

<sup>3</sup> On Müller and Schöll, see Schöll 1882, 66, 67 and fn. 5, 72-3 and fnn. 13-14, 74-7. On the study expedition to Greece, see also Döhl 1989, especially 52-5, 57-8, 60, 63, 66 on the role played by Schöll. Gehrke 1991 is also important. Schöll considered Müller his mentor ("mein Lehrer": *Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst*, no. 219, 12.9.1838, 1751), but as his son Fritz remarked, "er war nicht nur der Empfangende" (Schöll 1882, 67).

<sup>4</sup> For Curtius' doubts (letter to Schöll of 4.3.1841), see Schöll 1882, 67, and fn. 17. Müller's notes were published in Schöll 1843.

<sup>5</sup> As Sandys aptly remarked in his *History of Classical Scholarship* Schöll "translated Sophocles and Herodotus with the highest degree of literary skill" (Sandys 1908, 148). In a letter written before Schöll's arrival in Göttingen (6.7.1826) K.O. Müller wrote: "Ihre Leichtigkeit im Uebersetzen bewundere ich" (Schöll 1882, 66).

<sup>6</sup> Schöll 1882, 82-3, 85, 96 (Goethe), 79, 84-5, 96 (Schiller), 88 (Cervantes), 96 (Shakespeare); see also Jansohn 2001. A choice of literary essays by A. Schöll were edited by his sons Fritz and Rudolf posthumously (see Schöll 1884).

<sup>7</sup> Jansohn 2016, 118-25; on cultural life in Weimar, see Pöthe 1995 and Kater 2014, 68 ff.



Schöll as a scholar of Herodotus is, instead, almost completely forgotten. As early as the last decades of the nineteenth century, the contribution of Schöll to Herodotean studies was dismissed. In the *dissertatio philologica* “De oraculis ab Herodoto commemoratis quaestionum pars prior” printed in Bonn in 1871, Fr. Benedict dedicated the first seven pages to summarising and criticising Schöll’s theses.<sup>8</sup> Although this was always cited as a “refutation” of Schöll’s work – by Jacoby,<sup>9</sup> for instance – that discussion actually ended with an agreement on the fact that verse oracles must have been transmitted along with the narrative that gave an account of them, and not as isolated texts.<sup>10</sup> And this was certainly not a secondary aspect of Schöll’s reflection. Along with Benedict’s alleged rebuttal, other events contributed to the oblivion of Schöll as a scholar of Herodotus: especially Malten’s harsh criticism on Schöll’s interpretation of Herodotus’s account on Cyrene,<sup>11</sup> and Jacoby’s sharp distancing from Schöll’s general interpretation of the *Histories*.<sup>12</sup>

There are reasons today for a closer look at Schöll’s vision of Herodotus. These reasons pertain primarily to Schöll’s interest in the narrative dimension of the *Histories* and in the fundamental role played within this dimension by the predetermination of events. Let’s see more closely.

Schöll thought that the *Histories* were, in the first place, a masterpiece of world literature. Indeed, most of the scholar’s life was devoted to Herodotus’s work, as well as to the Greek tragedians, to Goethe, Schiller, Shakespeare and Cervantes. For Schöll, the comprehension of a great literary work could not forego its interpretation and, consequently, its translation. Schöll applied the same criterion to Pindar, for instance, as well as to the tragic authors, above all Sophocles.<sup>13</sup> The translation of Herodotus’s *Histories* absorbed the young philologist through the late twenties, and was published by Metzler in Stuttgart between 1828 and 1832, with an introduction – indeed not quite incisive – and short explanatory notes.<sup>14</sup> This early endeavour cannot be called immature, especially if we consider the style of Schöll’s translation into German. The scholar distanced himself from

<sup>8</sup> Benedict 1871, 1-7.

<sup>9</sup> Jacoby 1913, 406, 40-5.

<sup>10</sup> Benedict 1871, 7: “oracula numquam sola tradi potuisse, sed semper coniuncta cum narratione quadam neminem fugiet (cf. Wachsmuth, *hell. Alterthumsk.* II, 2 Beil. 3 I edit.)”.

<sup>11</sup> Malten 1911, 196-7.

<sup>12</sup> Jacoby 1913, 364-7.

<sup>13</sup> See Schöll 1882, 87-8 on Schöll’s Pindaric studies and translations, and 78-9, 88-9, 94-6 on his lifelong work on Sophocles.

<sup>14</sup> Schöll 1828-32. On Metzler publishing house, see Wittmann 1982.

the archaizing approach of Lange, who, a few years earlier, had resorted to the German used by Luther in the Bible for his own translation of the *Histories*.<sup>15</sup> Schöll's interest in Herodotus then had a revival in the early 1850s in Weimar. He reworked his translation, with the help of Rudolf Köhler, a young philologist from Weimar. He had been a pupil of Götting in Jena and had recently graduated with a dissertation on Nonnus of Panopolis; in later years, having become a librarian, he would be recognised as a well-learned scholar of folklore.<sup>16</sup> The new edition of the translation was published in 1855, once again by the Metzler publishing house, and was accompanied by a new – and much more significant – introduction.<sup>17</sup>

Schöll had undertaken to study Herodotus with great and renewed commitment in those years, aiming at an overall interpretation of his culture and intent as an author. Evidence of this lies in the fact that, between 1854 and 1855, he published in the “*Philologus*” of Schneidewin a series of specialised papers<sup>18</sup> that offered some relevant notions that were then re-elaborated in the introduction to the new edition of his translation. The most significant paper, entitled “*Herodots Entwicklung zu seinem Beruf*”,<sup>19</sup> presents a general interpretation of the *Histories*, which evidently had matured concomitantly with the reworking of their translation into German.

Some of the criticisms found in Herodotean studies of the following decades mistakenly suggest that Schöll's paper was a research on the poetic ‘sources’ of the *Histories*: far from it. Schöll discussed issues of the utmost importance: first, he claimed – indeed with little plausibility – that books 7-9 had been composed first, and in Samos, before Herodotus moved to Athens. Secondly, he ascribed to Panyassis a decisive influence on Herodotus' religiously laden vision of reality (for Jacoby this was, at least, an exaggeration).<sup>20</sup> Above all, though, he devoted more than half of the paper to the narrative role of the future and destiny in the *Histories*. In particular, he focused on the issue of the predetermination of the narrated events, which was provided – often in an obscure way – by omens, prodigies, premonitory dreams and oracles. What Schöll meant when he wrote about “*chresmologische Gedichte als Grundlagen von Erzählungen Herodots*” (p. 43) is not immediately clear. Only a close reading of his long and conceptually engaged argumentation may reveal his thoughts on the matter. As we will see next, Schöll's discussion was meant to en-

**15** On Lange's translation see Kipf 1999.

**16** On Köhler see König 2003, 972-3 and Knoche 2015.

**17** Schöll 1855a.

**18** Schöll 1854; 1855b; 1855c.

**19** Schöll 1855b.

**20** Jacoby 1913, 218-21.

gauge a much wider issue, of which the oracular poetic tradition was only a part.

Retracing Schöll's pages today clearly shows how they anticipated recent developments in research on oracles in Herodotus. From this point of view, Schöll's reflection has a very significant interest and importance. Surely, it is worth trying to prevent them from fading by lapse of time, to use the words of his Herodotus.

Right from the start, Schöll takes into account a broad picture, which goes far beyond the problem of the sources from which Herodotus would have drawn the texts of his verse oracles. Schöll immediately emphasises (Schöll 1855b, 39) that the Herodotean vision of reality is completely pervaded by omens and signs of destiny. This is why the *Histories* are full of warnings, portents, mysteriously symbolic events, ominous words and names, dreams and visions. Prophetic oracles – it is important to emphasise – are for Schöll an integral part of this complex apparatus of narrative tools that are functional to the prefiguration and predetermination of events within the narrative. Thus, Herodotus appears to him as a connoisseur of the divinatory arts which was perfectly inserted into the circles of those (priests, seers and chresmologues) who possessed and transmitted the mantic culture. It is remarkable that Schöll makes Herodotus a true *master of signs*, to quote the title of Hollmann's recent book.<sup>21</sup>

In this framework, it is clear why Schöll did not investigate single oracles or portents; rather, he focused on the narrations to which those omens provide an overall meaning. In particular, he dealt with three stories: that of Croesus, of Battus the founder of Cyrene, and of Cypselus, the first tyrant of Corinth; he was clearly aware that these were tales of a fabulous, legendary nature with moralising nuances, actual exemplary parables.<sup>22</sup> In all three stories, in which the oracles play a very fundamental role, dynasties of kings and tyrants whose end was predetermined are at stake. As regards the verse oracles Schöll believed that they were not composed by Herodotus, but belonged, instead, to the narrations that Herodotus knew and used. For example, Schöll insists on the oracular response to Battus 'for his voice' (*orac. ap. Hdt.* 4.155.3-4 = PW 39 = Fontenrose Q 47) which cannot fail to have originated within the narration, because it presupposes the legendary motif of Battus's stuttering which is characteristic of the Cyrenian version of the story. With extreme lucidity, Schöll does not refute the very important consequence that derives from this observation: that is to say, those narratives, that were constructed in a perspective of exaltation of Pythian Apollo, contain re-

<sup>21</sup> Holmann 2011.

<sup>22</sup> See Schöll 1855, 48 ("[die] Battos-legende"), 49 ("Geschichtsapologe"), 50 (Beispielgeschichten). Apolog was discussed by Hegel (*Lectures on Aesthetics*, vol. 2, I A2c).

sponses that were “invented” (47 *fin.*), i.e. they were never actually pronounced by the Pythia in Delphi. Those narratives are therefore “Orakel-anekdoten”, “Orakelapologe” (52.63). It is important to note that these terms anticipate the definition of “oracular tales” that has become commonplace only in recent years.<sup>23</sup>

More specifically, the oracular narratives to which Herodotus had recourse are, for Schöll, poetic compositions, “chresmologische Gedichte”. However, they are not conceived – as the designation suggests, and as indeed Schöll’s critics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries believed – as oracular *centos* where different responses in verse are simply juxtaposed or, at most, linked together by inventory-like stylistic features. Instead, Schöll thought that they were epic compositions, i.e. hexametric poetry of a narrative nature, which recounted ‘local Delphic stories’ marked by fable-like traits. Such stories would have originated after the events, but not much later, as in the case of the story of Cypselus, in which the first two oracles in Herodotus (*oracc. ap. Hdt.* 5.92β.2-3 = PW 6-7 = Fontenrose Q 59-60 “have at their basis the strong impression aroused by the tremendous upheaval that Cypselus accomplished” (49-50). Schöll points out that these narratives in verse – actually complex oracular stories on historical subjects–, drew from sagas (58-59), from gnomic poetry and sages’ wisdom tradition (62-63), as well as from the tradition of mantic poetry (50-51, 62-73). They were composed by the chresmologues, i.e. by individuals who in many cases remain unknown, although the Athenian Onomacritus may provide a concrete example. That the content of these poetic narratives is Delphic, argues Schöll, does not prevent us from thinking that they were composed by the chresmologues, because both the mythical prophets and oracular poets and the historically attested chresmologues were familiar with Delphic divination (62-63). The hypothesis that the chresmologues had limited themselves to inserting pre-existing oracular texts in the stories to which they gave a poetic guise, was inadmissible for Schöll for two crucial details. Namely, the fact that the oracles “belong” (52) to the narration, and the fact that they are mutually connected with the story in which they appear (46-49, 52, 61-62); so much so, that the story cannot have been added to the oracles – but neither the oracles could have been interpolated to the narration – neither by the chresmologues nor by Herodotus (!).

As a consequence of the argumentation provided so far, and specifically the demonstration that the verse oracles were composed together with the stories that accompanied them, as well as other detailed observation that undermine the idea of a Delphic archive of oracular responses (57-58), Schöll definitely excludes that the pres-

<sup>23</sup> See Juul 2010; Giangiulio 2014; Kindt 2016.

ence of verse oracles in Herodotus depended on the transcription of texts stored in Delphi, or elsewhere. As further evidence of his interpretation, Schöll acutely observes (62) that in several stories some of the oracles not only appear to be closely linked to one another in terms of text and content, but – although sometimes quoted in different sections of the narrative – are also linked together by the same narrative ‘thread’ (“durch *einem* erzählungsfaden”) intrinsic to the narration.<sup>24</sup> This allows him to maintain that the historian had access to narratives that had already been “elaborated and ordered” – which he himself reworked – as applications, so to speak, of a mantic knowledge that Herodotus understood and was able to use.

Especially in the tenth section of Schöll’s article, it is clear beyond doubt that the scholar reflects on the oracular tradition in an attempt to understand crucial aspects of the significance of the Herodotean work as a whole.<sup>25</sup> For Schöll the organisation and contents of the narrative – for instance, that related to the ‘war of Xerxes’ – are the outcome of the desire to present the events not as isolated episodes, but as constitutive parts of a wider whole, in which all the parts are connected to one another. In such concatenation of events, the past is conceived as a prelude to the present, and oracles and omens give events a horizon of meaning that only becomes clear in the present. But the symbolic connection between past and present, as well as the inevitability of the unfolding of events through the generations, truly appear only in, and through, narration (70). In this way, Schöll implicitly justifies his refusal to consider the oracular responses as ‘fragments’ that are independent from the narrative tradition. At the same time, he provides a fascinating explanation of the reason why Herodotus collected oracular stories and reworked them as part of the basis of his narration to compose the *Histories*.

Discussing the role of prognostic and divinatory knowledge in Herodotus’s worldview lies beyond these pages. There is no doubt, though, that the depth of Schöll’s reflection in this regard exceeds by far most of the nineteenth – and twentieth-century studies on oracles in Herodotus. It must be emphasised here, however, that the importance of Schöll’s contribution lies in having shown the need to discuss the Herodotean oracles in terms of oracular narrative tradition and adaptation of this tradition by Herodotus in the narration of his *Histories*.

There are more specific aspects in Schöll’s discussion of oracles that can only be understood and appreciated in recent years, in which research is distancing itself from the belief that the verse oracles cited by Herodotus were texts of Delphic origin, pre-existing the narra-

<sup>24</sup> Schöll 1855b, 62 (italics in the original).

<sup>25</sup> See Schöll 1855b, 68-76.

tive which gave an account of them. Recent research is indeed demonstrating that those oracles were composed contextually and within the oracular tales composed in various Greek local communities to make sense of their collective past.<sup>26</sup> Those oracular stories are often believed to have circulated as oral tales.<sup>27</sup> However, the role played in their creation by priests, seers and chresmologues – who more than others were familiar with oracular poetry, remains to be studied. Likewise, further investigation must be devoted to the possibility of the existence of ‘semi-oral’ oracular stories, in which oracles that had already been extrapolated from other stories and collected by the chresmologues were ‘recycled’.<sup>28</sup>

Schöll’s thesis that there was a network of epic narratives relating of the local past with legendary and oracular contents written by chresmologues and prophets can no longer be supported. The ‘oralist revolution’ has left its mark also on Greek archaic history. The oral tradition – or, rather, ‘semi-oral’ – must be given pre-eminence over Schöll’s chresmological epic.

It remains, however, that the scholar of classic and modern literature, who in Weimar passed from Herodotus to Sophocles and from Goethe to Shakespeare and Cervantes, had insights of the greatest importance concerning the oracular tradition in Herodotus. Today, we can realise it far better than his coeval philologists and the great scholars of Herodotus who came after him have been able to do.

Also in this case, we are forced to admit that it is the present that sheds light on the past. Herodotus might have agreed.

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<sup>26</sup> See Fontenrose 1983; Maurizio 1997; Giangiulio 2001; 2010a; 2010b; 2014; forthcoming; Lupi 2014; Luraghi 2014; Nafissi 2014.

<sup>27</sup> Maurizio 1997.

<sup>28</sup> In this regard, with reference to the Delphic oracles about the history of Cyrene mentioned by Herodotus, see Giangiulio 2001.

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# Solo una cantina buia? Alcune riflessioni sulla magia

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**Abstract** Like all major categories of culture, magic is an impossible phenomenon to define as a whole. It incorporates refined processes such as alchemy and theurgy, folklore, the countless manifestations of love magic, exoterism in its most diverse forms, and even the dark corner of voodoo magic. It should be considered a special language: its procedures respond to the fundamental rules of language, metaphorical axis and metonymic axis, according to Roman Jakobson's theory.

**Keywords** Magic. Anthropology. Linguistics. Folklore. Frazer.

All'inizio della *Tempesta*, Prospero enumera solennemente i poteri che ha acquisito attraverso i suoi libri magici:

Voi elfi dei colli, dei ruscelli, dei laghi immoti e dei boschi  
e voi che senza lasciare orme sulla sabbia  
inseguite il mare che si ritrae e gli sfuggite  
quando torna ad avanzare; voi gnomi  
che al chiaro di luna tracciate cerchi di erba amara,  
che le pecore non brucano, e voi che vi divertite  
a fare funghi a mezzanotte e che gioite  
al suono del solenne coprifuoco; con il vostro aiuto,  
benché siate ben deboli da soli, ho oscurato  
il sole meridiano, i venti riottosi ho scatenato,  
e una guerra ruggente ho suscitato  
tra il verde mare e la celeste volta; il crepitio tremendo  
del tuono ho acceso e ho squarciato la robusta quercia



Edizioni  
Ca' Foscari

**Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4**

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

**Peer review | Open access**

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/034

di Giove con la sua stessa saetta; ho scosso il promontorio  
 di roccia e dalle radici il pino e il cedro  
 ho strappato; le tombe al mio comando  
 i loro dormienti hanno destato e, spalancate,  
 li han fatti uscire per la mia arte potente.  
 Ma questa rozza magia qui abiuro, e dopo aver richiesto  
 una musica celeste, come sto facendo, al fine  
 di agire sui sensi di coloro ai quali  
 è rivolto questo aereo incanto, la mia bacchetta romperò,  
 profondamente nella terra la seppellirò,  
 e il mio libro in fondo al mare scaglierò  
 più giù di quanto sia mai sceso uno scandaglio.  
 Shakespeare, *La tempesta*, Atto I, Scena I (trad. di Arianna  
 Ghilardotti)

Non sono parole molto diverse, in fondo, da quelle con cui Empedocle, inatteso erede di Circe, si vanta di conoscere ‘tutti i filtri (φάρμακα) che esistono contro i mali e la vecchiaia’, e proclama al suo discepolo ‘saprai fermare la forza dei venti instancabili che infuriando con le loro folate sopra la terra annientano i raccolti, e nuovamente, quando vorrai, potrai ridestarli, e dalla pioggia nera produrrai per gli uomini il sereno, e dall’arsura estiva quando vorrai produrrai piogge ristoro degli alberi, e riporterai dall’Ade la forza di un uomo scomparso’.

Per lui la necromanzia era un aspetto della filosofia.<sup>1</sup> Sono due casi di maghi nobili e sapienti – come tanti altri nella letteratura e del folklore – ma dietro a loro s’intravedono legioni di fattucchiere e stregoni di tutt’altra natura, che rappresentano un aspetto inevitabile del cammino umano nella storia.

Sin dalle sue più remote origini, infatti, sin dai bisonti trafitti in effigie nelle grotte del paleolitico, perché lo fossero poi nella realtà dalle frecce dei cacciatori, l’umanità convive con un complesso di azioni e di parole che rientrano sotto la definizione complessiva di magia. Come tutte le grandi categorie della cultura, però, la magia è un fenomeno impossibile da definire nel suo insieme: essendo, come i fiumi infernali dell’Ade, un collettore in cui ribollono i fenomeni più disparati. La magia è ben lontana dal formare un sistema dotato di caratteristiche omogenee e confini precisi: la si potrebbe piuttosto paragonare a una cantina buia in cui stanno riposte e accatastate in mille angoli diversi le illusioni e le paure della specie umana, o anche a una *Wunderkammer* rigurgitante di oggetti disparati, da quelli preziosi alle paccottiglie, che è sorprendente trovare riuniti insieme (anche se c’è qualche forma di ordine in questo disordine).

<sup>1</sup> Diels, Kranz 1989, fr. 11. In generale, Kingsley 1997. Per la necromanzia, Johnston 1999.

In questa stanza si trova dunque di tutto: l'alto e il basso dello spirito, procedimenti intellettualmente raffinati, quali l'alchimia e la teurgia, le usanze folkloriche, le innumerevoli manifestazioni della magia d'amore, l'esoterismo nelle sue più diverse forme sino ad arrivare all'inquietante angolo buio della magia di tipo voodoo.<sup>2</sup> Il libro di Prospero e il calderone magico delle streghe del *Macbeth* vi sono ugualmente presenti. A condividere questo orizzonte stanno insieme figure che sembrerebbero tra loro incompatibili: filosofi come Plotino e stregoni analfabeti col loro armamentario di incantesimi e filtri.

Esiste però un presupposto di fondo che unisce tutte queste manifestazioni. Ogni azione magica, infatti, si basa su un'idea: che tutto, visibile e invisibile, sia connesso fittamente come una grande tela. Per il pensiero magico, l'universo e le forze che lo governano formano una sola entità che avvolge l'uomo in un cerchio di energie occulte, sulle quali possono intervenire solo alcuni esperti, in possesso di conoscenze e poteri segreti. Chi è capace di agire su una cellula di questo organismo può influenzarne un'altra, remota, come chi getta una pietra in un lago calmo vede le onde allontanarsi circolarmente dal punto di caduta e raggiungere punti lontani. La magia funge perciò da moltiplicatore di poteri; incrementa forze, crea nessi con l'invisibile, genera situazioni che alla comune attività umana sono precluse. Lo spirito magico è in grado di avvicinare ciò che è distante, rendere affine ciò che è estraneo e conciliare ciò che in apparenza diverge. Si è detto giustamente che se la mentalità scientifica pensa in termini di causa ed effetto, quella magica pensa in termini di simpatie e corrispondenze.<sup>3</sup>

Tutto è concatenato e in questo *continuum* l'uomo vive come un pesce galleggia immerso nell'acqua. Lo stregone però galleggia meglio, perché più di altri, per poteri naturali e conoscenze trasmesse, gli pare di percepire l'energia segreta che emana ovunque attorno a lui ed è convinto di riuscire a manipolarla - o quanto meno manipolarla chi fa appello ai suoi poteri.

Qualsiasi operazione magica attiva un processo di simpatia per cui chi compie una fattura accosta elementi diversi, tra cui vede l'occulto legame.

Il meccanismo fondamentale della metafora, la quale unisce concetti simili nell'immaginazione ma separati nella realtà e collegati tra loro in un solo enunciato secondo un rapporto d'interscambiabilità simbolica, funziona in tutti i casi in cui l'incantatore lavora su un oggetto che è la metafora magica del primo, come avviene nell'incantesimo che Catone il Censore (*Agr.* 160) riporta a proposito della cura delle fratture:

<sup>2</sup> Su questo punto, in generale, Faraone, Obbink 1997 e anche Guidorizzi 2015 (da cui ho preso una serie di elementi per questo articolo).

<sup>3</sup> Luck 1996.

se ci si è prodotti una frattura la si può guarire col seguente incantesimo (*cantione*). Prendi una canna verde lunga quattro o cinque piedi, dividila in due parti lungo il centro e due uomini le tengano vicine alle loro anche. Comincia a recitare: *motas vaeta daries dardaresastataries dissunapiter* e continua finché le due metà siano ricongiunte. Brandisci sopra un coltello. Quando le due parti sono state accostate e una tocca l'altra, allora afferra la canna con le mani e accostala a destra e a sinistra, applicala alla lussazione o alla frattura e guarirà. (trad. dell'Autore)

In questo incantesimo latino (mille volte testimoniato in varie forme nel folklore popolare) troviamo dispiegate le tappe di un procedimento tipicamente magico: le formule, *carmina*, fatte di parole desemantizzate (devono esprimere un valore magico e segreto, idiosincratico, e non un valore comunicativo, come il loro perfetto equivalente, l'*aoidé* greca), fungono da tramite per connettere l'azione compiuta unendola con l'orizzonte della parola; il coltello rappresenta la causa che ha spezzato l'arto e la canna che sta al posto della gamba rotta, ed è quindi la metafora magica della gamba.

La canna spezzata e poi riunita è una sequenza metaforica del processo di frattura e di guarigione; equivale all'enunciato 'come questa canna è rotta e poi ricomposta, così la gamba è stata rotta e si ricomporrà'. Il rito attualizza un evento passato e si proietta nel futuro della guarigione, e l'uso metaforico della canna sostiene tutto il procedimento.

Dovremmo però guardarci dall'attribuire questo meccanismo a una consapevole operazione mentale del mago. Un mago non è un poeta, non metaforizza volontariamente perché lo fa seguendo le associazioni mentali istintive e tradizionali della magia. C'è un'abissale differenza tra Saffo che (nel fr.1 Voigt) chiama in suo aiuto Afrodite perché sia sua 'alleata' (σύμμαχος) e costringa chi non ama ad amare 'pur contro voglia' (οὐκ ἐθέλων), e quell'innamorato anonimo che nel II secolo d.C pensa di evocare eros in forma di statuetta animata per mandarlo a incantare l'anima della persona amata, bussando a notte fonda alla sua porta, raccomandando all'idolo magico di condurla da lui.<sup>4</sup> Eppure, i due vogliono la stessa cosa: costringere ad amare.

L'associazione magica deve generare un'entità nuova, né metaforica né reale: e per chi compie il rito raccomandato da Catone, a un certo punto, la canna non è una semplice canna che 'sta al posto' della gamba, ma diventa un'entità differente. Qualcosa della canna è nella gamba e qualcosa della gamba sta nella canna: se tutto nel cosmo è percorso da una sotterranea energia, se la stessa corrente di vita passa in un vegetale, in una pietra e un uomo, allora un'azione magi-

<sup>4</sup> Collins 2008, 97-103.

ca ben compiuta, appoggiata da una formula, diventa, per così dire, uno *shaker* in cui gli ingredienti si amalgamano diventando uno solo.

In quanto linguaggio, anche se non comunicativo ma simbolico, la magia risponde ai principi fondamentali del linguaggio figurato.

Qualsiasi operazione magica attiva un processo di simpatia per cui chi compie una fattura accosta elementi diversi, di cui vede l'occulto legame.

La definizione classica di questo meccanismo risale a Frazer, seguito (o quanto meno tollerato) da generazioni di studiosi successivi. La magia omeopatica fondata sul principio di simpatia lavora su due procedimenti mentali distinti:<sup>5</sup>

se analizziamo i principi di pensiero su cui si basa la magia, troveremo probabilmente che essi si risolvono in due: primo, che il simile produce il simile o che l'effetto rassomiglia alla causa; secondo, che le cose che siano state una volta a contatto continuano ad agire una sull'altra a distanza una volta che il contatto fisico sia cessato. Il primo principio può chiamarsi legge di similarità, il secondo legge di contatto o contagio. Dal primo di questi principi il mago deduce di poter produrre qualsiasi oggetto semplicemente con l'imitarlo. Dal secondo a sua volta deduce che qualunque cosa egli faccia a un oggetto materiale influenzerà ugualmente la persona con cui l'oggetto è stato una volta in contatto, abbia o no fatto parte del suo corpo.

La definizione di Frazer risente della tendenza di questo grande studioso, e dei suoi contemporanei, ad abbracciare i fenomeni della cultura entro schemi esatti, come se l'infinito disordine dei comportamenti umani creasse a loro una sorta di vertigine e dovesse essere riportata a poche e inesorabili regole. In realtà, la magia per similarità e quella per contatto sovente compaiono associate all'interno dello stesso incantesimo, in modo da rafforzarsi reciprocamente: se uno stregone brucia la ciocca tratta dalla capigliatura di una persona da affattare, attiva un'azione fondata su procedimento misto, che combina similarità e contatto, seguendo il principio 'come brucia questa ciocca che faceva parte di quella persona (contatto) così bruci anche l'anima di quella persona (similarità)'.

Se si accetta questo presupposto, verrà da osservare che la magia così intesa costituisce nel suo insieme un sistema simbolico-linguistico, al quale possano applicare le leggi fondamentali del linguaggio che a suo tempo Roman Jakobson, in un saggio famoso, definì «polo della metafora e polo della metonimia».<sup>6</sup> Lungo queste due ordina-

<sup>5</sup> Frazer 1965, 1: 23.

<sup>6</sup> Jakobson 1972. Lo stesso Jakobson si riferisce alla teoria frazeriana della magia come ulteriore testimonianza di quanto i due poli, metaforico e metonimico, siano d'im-

te si possono infatti collocare anche i fenomeni della magia di contatto e di similarità.

Prospero considerava la magia come una metafora della realtà: di sicuro, il carattere metaforico della magia si rende evidente ogni volta che in un rituale una cosa 'sta al posto' dell'altra, ossia quando il mago utilizza il principio della similarità: un fantoccio di cera 'sta al posto' della persona da affattare, il rullo di un tamburo della pioggia 'sta al posto' del tuono e così via.

La similarità è appunto il meccanismo fondamentale della metafora, secondo la teoria che risale ad Aristotele e che da allora è rimasta fundamentalmente immutata; la metafora, per Aristotele (*Poet.* 1457b), altro non è che una traslazione di significato (*metaforà* appunto), per cui una parola 'prende il posto' di un'altra in un enunciato linguistico: «metafora è l'impiego di un nome estraneo all'oggetto trasferito da genere a specie o dalla specie al genere o da specie a specie o per analogia»<sup>7</sup> che viene quindi ad assumere un significato non pertinente, ma efficace nel nuovo contesto appunto per il suo straniamento. Perciò, per trasferimento, potremo dire che la vecchiaia è la sera della vita o la sera è la vecchiaia del giorno, oppure, dato che lo scudo sta ad Ares come la coppa a Dioniso, metaforizzando si potrà chiamare una coppa 'scudo di Dioniso' e uno scudo 'coppa di Ares'.

C'è un bel caso, in Eschilo (*Sept.* 39-52), in cui proprio il nucleo di questo stesso procedimento metaforico opera sia a livello di immaginazione magica sia a livello di azione scenica: all'inizio dei *Sette contro Tebe* i capi dell'esercito assediante pronunciano un giuramento intingendo le mani nel sangue di vittime sacrificate fatto colare in uno scudo rovesciato. Allora quel rosso sangue animale 'sta al posto' del sangue umano che sarà versato in battaglia, ne è dunque una metafora, e poiché i condottieri si radunano attorno allo scudo come i convitati stanno attorno a un cratere di vino, allora quel grande scudo rovesciato diventa davvero una 'coppa di Ares', che i guerrieri 'bevono' metaforicamente prima di entrare in battaglia con l'intento poi di 'bere il sangue' del nemico ucciso.

La seconda grande classe delle azioni magiche opera invece sulla base del principio di contiguità e si attiva ogni volta che il mago interviene su un oggetto che è stato in contatto con la persona da affattare o anche una piccola parte del suo corpo; unghie capelli, abiti sono i maggiori indiziati.

La magia di contatto opera dunque secondo il principio della 'parte per il tutto' (il che in retorica si definisce propriamente *sinedd-*

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portanza immensa nello studio di tutti i comportamenti simbolici. Dei sogni, anche: le cui sequenze sono fondate sulla similarità («identificazione», «simbolismo» di Freud) o sulla contiguità («spostamento» o «condensazione»).

<sup>7</sup> Per l'antica teoria sulla metafora cf. Guidorizzi, Beta 2000.

che) operando sul presupposto che, dati due elementi, un certo potere può trasmettersi all'elemento che ne è stato toccato.

Se io distruggo un ricciolo di una persona un tempo amata, anche lei sarà distrutta; se io lo lego, anche lei sarà legata al mio amore. Questo principio opera non solo tra agenti concreti, ma anche in presenza di astrazioni. Uno dei *symbola* pitagorici prescriveva che al mattino, alzandosi dal letto, si dovesse cancellare l'orma del corpo (Iambl. *Protr.* 29):<sup>8</sup> l'impronta delle membra conserva ancora qualcosa della persona che l'ha impressa, e può essere pericoloso esporre questa parte segreta di sé a qualcuno, che potrebbe compiere atti negativi su di essa.

Esiodo nelle *Opere e giorni* (specialmente nella parte più «magica» del poemetto, vale a dire quella in cui vengono date prescrizioni di vita quotidiana e in cui emerge tutta l'inquietudine della gente contadina verso le forze occulte che minacciano da ogni parte un essere umano) offre una serie di esempi di questa natura.

Perescrive, tra l'altro, di non bagnarsi nella stessa acqua in cui si è lavata una donna (*Op.* 753):<sup>9</sup> il poeta non ne spiega la ragione, ma di certo non si tratta di un principio d'igiene, altrimenti il divieto varrebbe anche per i maschi. La si potrebbe piuttosto definire una forma d'igiene magica. L'acqua serve non soltanto come elemento rituale, ma anche come barriera magica di separazione: attraverso il passaggio nell'acqua si rientra in una condizione di purezza dopo il contatto con una realtà nociva. Di conseguenza i Pitagorici evitavano il più possibile di entrare in contatto con l'acqua e si astenevano dai bagni (la cosiddetta *alousía*), il che veniva schernito dai comici che si facevano beffe del loro afrore: questo precetto era certamente dovuto al timore della contaminazione, nel presupposto che tutto ciò che è stato a contatto con una persona è esposto al rischio di incantesimi e fatture. La prescrizione viene fatta risalire allo stesso Pitagora, il quale raccomandava di non frequentare i bagni comuni perché non è certo se chi si lava insieme è privo di contaminazioni.<sup>10</sup>

**8** Anche il tradizionalista e antiquato Discorso Giusto di Aristofane raccomanda ai giovani di lisciare la sabbia dove si sono seduti durante la lezione di ginnastica», per non lasciare qualcosa di sé all'occhio dei corteggiatori (i quali potrebbero compiere una fattura d'amore, si può presumere: Guidorizzi 1996, 302). Sulla natura magica dell'orma cf. anche Bettini, 1992, 18-20.

**9** La spiegazione che si dà generalmente è che questo comporterebbe la perdita della mascolinità (West). È possibile che si tratti di un tabù legato ai flussi mestruali e al pericolo di essere contaminato dal sangue, cosa che in Grecia come altrove genera prescrizioni per donne che hanno partorito o sono durante le fasi mestruali. Oppure il divieto si riferisce al pericolo insito nel mescolare ciò che deve rimanere separato, confondendo ciò che deve appartenere a domini diversi: Lanata 1967, 52. La prescrizione esiodea è presente anche in *Lith.* 367: «evita il letto di una donna e i bagni comuni».

**10** Così Iambl. *VP* 83; Ael. *VH* 4.17. Sulla funzione dei bagni nell'antichità cf. Giournès 1962.

In questi casi, l'idea è che una parte equivale al tutto, e contiene qualcosa dell'energia vitale che sta nella persona; perciò operando su di questa si interverrà sulla persona nel suo complesso. Basta poco: un capello, un'unghia, appunto; oppure anche un'orma lasciata sul terreno, che ancora conserva una parte della persona. Quando Didone nell'*Eneide* convoca una strega numida perché la aiuti a strapparsi dal cuore l'amore per Enea, la fattucchiera fa accumulare su una pira gli oggetti che Enea ha lasciato nel talamo della sua amante: bruciatigli quelli, brucerà anche l'amore che l'uomo ha ispirato alla sventurata regina. Amore che però ha esso stesso una causa magica: quando Enea comparve alla corte di Didone con accanto il figlio Iulo, Venere inviò Amore ad affatturare il cuore della regina, inaridito da quando l'amatissimo Sicheo era stato assassinato.<sup>11</sup> Toccando Amore sotto le mentite spoglie di Iulo, il principio amoroso passa in lei e Didone non potrà opporsi alle fiamme del nuovo amore che la consumeranno.

Ma se i maghi che operavano nella realtà (come ci documentano innumerevoli papiri e tavolette) erano figure sinistre, è pur vero che esiste una faccia più alta della magia: e il mito ne rende testimonianza. La sovrana di ogni bella magia, la dea-maga per eccellenza, non è Ecate ma Afrodite. È lei che domina il mondo con l'operazione magica fondamentale: l'amore, che unisce i contrari, divide i simili e attira inesorabilmente due creature tra loro con legami misteriosi. In Omero, Afrodite possiede una cintura magica capace di ispirare la passione in ogni creatura che essa desideri assoggettare al suo dominio.

Esistono infinite testimonianze di persone che usarono filtri e incantesimi per ottenere l'amore di qualcuno, si rivolsero a stregoni, bucarono bamboline, infilarono tavolette amatorie nelle tombe di bambini morti, per ottenere un amore non dovuto: le tavolette magiche greche e greco-egizie lo documentano.

Davvero infinitamente lontano, però, è questo cupo mondo della magia sotterranea rispetto alla solarità che sprigiona dalla cintura magica di Afrodite, e dall'idea dell'amore come stregoneria luminosa dell'anima, di cui persino Platone era partecipe. Uno è il mondo torbido e terribile della magia voodoo, in cui una stessa pericolosa linea congiunge la fine disperata di un giovane *àoros*, morto senza conoscere l'amore, e il desiderio criminale di chi, per trarre a sé un cuore riluttante, evoca demoni e fantasmi maligni, anziché usare la magia creatrice della parola, che seduce le anime degli innamorati e, traendole a sé, meravigliosamente le libera.

Questo è detto, molto nobilmente, da Plotino, che come altri neoplatonici ammetteva come dato positivo la natura vivente dell'Universo. Per lui era consequenziale che le pratiche magiche facessero parte integrante del Tutto vivente e movimentassero le energie

<sup>11</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 1.656-722.



dell'invisibile, che attraversano il mondo in ogni sua fibra e attirano le anime verso l'alto:<sup>12</sup>

Come si può spiegare la magia (γοητεία)? Mediante la simpatia, perché è naturale che tra le cose affini regni l'accordo e tra le dissimili il contrasto, ma la varietà delle molteplici potenze contribuisce all'armonia dell'unico organismo vivente. Infatti, anche senza bisogno di magia, molte cose nascono come per magico incanto: la vera magia (μαγεία) nell'universo è l'amore e l'odio. È questo il primo mago, il primo stregone che gli uomini conoscono e nei loro reciproci rapporti si servono dei suoi filtri e dei suoi incantesimi. Dato che amare è insito nella natura, e quello che fa amare attira le cose reciprocamente, da ciò è nata l'arte di provocare l'amore con la magia, applicando per contatto materiali diversi a persone diverse, i quali materiali hanno il potere di attirare due persone una verso l'altra perché dentro contengono una materia amorosa nascosta. In questo modo uniscono un'anima con un'altra, come chi lega insieme piante separate. Usano anche immagini dotate di un potere che assumendo una certa posizione attirano silenziosamente influssi, perché sono un'entità che si trova all'interno di un tutto. Se infatti uno immaginasse un mago esterno all'universo, costui non avrebbe alcun potere di esercitare la sua arte magica con scongiuri e incantesimi.

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<sup>12</sup> Plotinus, *Enn.* 4.4.40.



ΦΑΙΔΙΜΟΣ ΕΚΤΩΡ

Studi in onore di Willy Cingano per il suo 70° compleanno

a cura di Enrico Emanuele Prodi e Stefano Vecchiato

# ἀφθόνητος αἶνος

## Su tre lemmi pindarici dell'*Antiatticista*

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**Abstract** Among other peculiarities, the 2nd-century CE Atticist lexicon that goes under the name of *Antiatticista* contains seven entries exemplified with references to Pindar (not an Attic author), a fact that sets it apart from other Atticist lexica of the same period. This paper tackles the verbal adjective ἀφθόνητος and the irregular comparatives ἀφθονέστερος and ἀρχαιέστερος in order to show that two criteria guided the inclusion of these Pindaric words into the lexicon. The first, and more superficial, criterion concerns the word-formation of verbal adjectives and comparatives, and their relation with other (often more regular or more frequent) forms. The second criterion concerns semantic change, and especially the use of certain words in post-Classical and Byzantine Greek vis-à-vis the Classical models. The consideration of both criteria allows a more fine-grained interpretation of the *Antiatticista*'s methodology and its recourse to a wide range of Classical authors to illustrate, and defend, developments of post-Classical Greek.

**Keywords** Antiatticist. Pindar. Lexicography. Verbal adjectives. Comparatives.

**Sommario** 1 Introduzione. – 2 L'aggettivo ἀφθόνητος nell'*Olimpica* 11 e nell'*Antiatticista*. – 2.1 Uno sguardo alle proprietà degli aggettivi verbali in -τος. – 2.2 Usi e interpretazioni di ἀφθόνητος tra l'*Antiatticista* e il greco bizantino. – 3 ἀφθονέστερος, ἀρχαιέστερος e il trattamento dei comparativi irregolari. – 4 Conclusioni

Quodsi ullis hominum laboribus hoc cognominis debetur, ut Herculani dicantur, eorum certe vel maxime deberi videtur, qui in restituendis antiquae veraeque literaturae monumentis elaborant.

(Erasmus da Rotterdam, *Adagia*, ASD III, 1.1.95-97)



Edizioni  
Ca' Foscari

**Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4**

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

**Peer review | Open access**

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

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DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/035

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## 1 Introduzione

Tra le sue altre peculiarità, il lessico dell'*Antiatticista* conserva sette lemmi con riferimento diretto a Pindaro che lo distinguono dai materiali presenti negli altri lessici atticisti della stessa epoca.<sup>1</sup> Questo contributo si sofferma sul lemma ἀφθόνητος e sui comparativi irregolari ἀφθονέστερος ed ἀρχαιέστερος per dimostrare come nell'includere questi tre lemmi pindarici nella sua selezione il compilatore dell'*Antiatticista* sia stato guidato sia dall'attenzione alle varianti morfologiche del lessico greco sia dal desiderio di illustrare certi usi semantici di età post-classica alla luce di esempi classici.

## 2 L'aggettivo ἀφθόνητος nell'*Olimpica* 11 e nell'*Antiatticista*

Il lemma *Antiatt.* α 50 Valente è dedicato all'aggettivo verbale ἀφθόνητος:

### Antiatt. α 50 Valente

ἀφθόνητος· Πίνδαρος Ὀλυμπιονίκαις (11.7; 13.25).

I *loci* pindarici che attestano questo termine sono due. Nel primo, *Ol.* 11.7, l'aggettivo è inserito alla fine della *Priamel* iniziale dell'ode (vv. 1-5), un elenco di cose utili agli uomini che si conclude con i canti che portano fama, di cui la stessa ode è un esempio:<sup>2</sup>

ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις ἀνέμων ὅτε πλείστα  
χρήσις· ἔστιν δ' οὐρανίων ὑδάτων,  
ὄμβριων παίδων νεφέλας·  
εἰ δὲ σὺν πόνῳ τις εὖ πράσσοι, μελιγάρυες ὕμνοι  
ὑστέρων ἀρχὰ λόγων

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Desidero ringraziare Caterina Carpinato, Federico Favi e Lucia Prauscello per il loro aiuto su diverse questioni. Questo contributo è parte del progetto *Purism in Antiquity: Theories of Language in Greek Atticist Lexica and Their Legacy* (PURA) che è stato finanziato dallo European Research Council (ERC) nell'ambito del programma dell'Unione Europea Horizon 2020 (Grant agreement nr. 865817).

**1** Oltre ai tre lemmi discussi in questa sede (ἀφθόνητος, ἀφθονέστερον e ἀρχαιέστερον), l'*Antiatticista* cita Pindaro anche in riferimento ai lemmi δωρῆσαι (δ 54 Valente), ἡσύχιμον (η 7 Valente), ἦτοι (η 21 Valente) e καυχᾶσθαι (κ 21 Valente): dei primi quattro intendo occuparmi in altra sede; per η 7, cf. Tribulato, in corso di stampa; per l'ultimo, cf. Tribulato 2021, 189-90.

**2** Per un'analisi dello sviluppo di questi motivi nell'ode, cf. Bundy 1986, 4-19; Race 2004.

τέλλεται καὶ πιστὸν ὄρκιον μεγάλας ἀρεταῖς·  
ἀφθόνητος δ' αἶνος Ὀλυμπιονίκαις  
οὗτος ἄγκειται.  
(Pind. *Ol.* 11.1-8)

Sin dall'età antica gli interpreti di questo passo pindarico si sono interrogati sull'esatta valenza da conferire ad ἀφθόνητος, attributo dell'αἶνος che spetta ai vincitori olimpici come il giovane Agesidamo di Locri Epizefirii, destinatario dell'ode.<sup>3</sup> È evidente che l'aggettivo rientra in quelle strategie messe in campo dal poeta per allontanare dai suoi *laudandi* lo φθόνος degli altri uomini, in particolare i concittadini: quello che Kurke (2013, 169) chiama «an epinikian commonplace».<sup>4</sup> Tuttavia, è oggetto di discussione se ad ἀφθόνητος vada conferito il significato passivo di 'non invidiato' che si riscontra in un altro *locus classicus*, Aesch. *Ag.* 939 (ὁ δ' ἀφθόνητός γ' οὐκ ἐπίζηλος πέλει: colui che non è invidiato non è ammirato),<sup>5</sup> o quello attivo-transitivo 'che non invidia' (riferito alla lode stessa, ovvero al poeta che la pronuncia).<sup>6</sup> Quest'ultima è l'accezione dell'aggettivo nell'altro *locus* pindarico, *Ol.* 13.25, dove ἀφθόνητος è attributo di Zeus:

ὑπατ' εὐρὺ ἀνάσσω  
Ὀλυμπίας, ἀφθόνητος ἔπεσσι  
γένοιο χρόνον ἅπαντα, Ζεῦ πάτερ,  
καὶ τόνδε λαὸν ἀβλαβῆ νέμων  
Ξενοφῶντος εὐθύνη δαίμονος οὔρον.  
(Pind. *Ol.* 13.24-28)

Il contesto chiarisce senz'ombra di dubbio che nell'*Olimpica* tredicesima ἀφθόνητος ha valore attivo-transitivo: Pindaro prega Zeus di non invidiare le sue parole di lode nei confronti dei Corinzi, cui appartie-

**3** Cf. la rassegna di opinioni in Race 2004, 72-5, cui rimando per riferimenti ad ulteriori studi non menzionati qui *infra*.

**4** Su questo aspetto della tecnica retorica pindarica, cf. Kurke 2013, 181; 191-4, che lo ritiene caratteristico delle odi per cittadini privati; Most 2003, 138, che approfondisce questa distinzione tra odi per cittadini privati e odi per tiranni mostrando come in queste ultime l'invidia sia il risultato di situazioni di turbolenza politica, che necessita mediazione; Morgan 2015, 203-4, che connette l'enfasi su φθόνος nelle odi tiranniche alla tendenza verso questo sentimento connaturata nei tiranni stessi. Per lo specifico motivo della lode senza φθόνος, cf. anche Vallozza 1989, 18-22; Morgan 2008, 23; 55; Kurke 2013, 90. Sulle varie valenze di φθόνος in Pindaro cf. Kurke 2013, 158; 186; 190-2 e gli studi generali di Vallozza 1989 e Bulman 1992: quest'ultima difende l'interpretazione di ἀφθόνητος αἶνος come un riferimento al fatto che l'invidia *degli dei* (dunque non dei concittadini di Agesidamo) non ha colpito i canti del poeta (cf. Bulman 1992, 30). Su φθόνος nella cultura greca in generale, cf. Sanders 2014 per l'età classica e Hinterberger 2013 per il periodo bizantino.

**5** Per alcuni tentativi di interpretazione passiva, cf. Slater 1969, 84; Kirkwood 1984, 177-8.

**6** Pindaro può rivolgere a se stesso l'invito a non invidiare: cf. Kurke 2013, 184.

ne l'olimpionico Senofonte, e dunque di non punire questi per la fama ottenuta con le sue vittorie. L'aggettivo è necessario per smorzare la possibile accusa che la lunga lista di vittorie di Senofonte, seguite da quelle ottenute dal padre Tessalo (vv. 30-46), pecchi di ὕβρις.<sup>7</sup>

Al contrario, il contesto dell'*Olimpica* undicesima rimane ambiguo. Oltre alle interpretazioni in senso passivo e attivo-transitivo, si potrebbe attribuire ad ἀφθόνητος anche un significato attivo-causativo: la lode 'non suscita invidia' in altri perché la grandezza dei vincitori olimpionici è straordinaria e irraggiungibile per natura; dunque in modo altrettanto naturale gli altri uomini non hanno la possibilità di provare invidia nei loro confronti.<sup>8</sup> Altre letture hanno poi inteso ἀφθόνητος come un sinonimo di ἄφθονος nel significato 'senza restrizioni, abbondante'.<sup>9</sup> Secondo quest'ultima linea interpretativa, ai vincitori olimpici come Agesidamo sarebbe dovuta una lode totale, che sgorga abbondante e senza restrizioni (morali e materiali).

Come dimostra la varietà di interpretazioni proposte, è obiettivamente arduo decidere se qui ἀφθόνητος significhi 'non invidiato', 'che non invidia' o persino 'abbondante' (sebbene quest'ultimo non abbia paralleli nell'uso dell'aggettivo). Non è di aiuto neanche il fatto che Ἀφθόνητος sia un nome proprio molto comune (sebbene non attestato prima del IV secolo a.C.):<sup>10</sup> dato per scontato che il suo significato sarà stato positivo, esso può intendersi variabilmente come 'colui che non prova invidia', 'colui che non suscita (il sentimento negativo) dell'invidia' o anche come 'il generoso'. Non è da escludersi che Pindaro abbia volutamente fatto ricorso all'espressione polisemica ἀφθόνητος δ' αἶνος<sup>11</sup> per far riflettere l'uditorio sulle diverse implicazioni dello φθόνος in diversi contesti sociali.<sup>12</sup>

In quanto segue discuterò brevemente della formazione degli aggettivi in -τος per offrire un quadro teorico di supporto all'ambigui-

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**7** Puech 1930, 149: «propice» (cf. già Boeckh 1821, 215: «poeta Iovem precatur, ut suis ille carminibus faveat»); Slater 1969, 84 «without envy», ma «unstinted» in *Ol.* 11.7. Nessun commento in Catenacci, Giannini, Lomiento 2013.

**8** Cf. Puech 1930, 135: «l'envie n'ose pas la leur contester»; Catenacci, Giannini, Lomiento 2013, 578: «lode scevra di invidia».

**9** Bundy 1986, 15, seguito con molti più argomenti da Race 2004, 73-4; Verdenius 1988, 89; Willcock 1995, 57; Pavese 1997, 146; 280; Most 2003, 136; cf. anche Vallozza 1989, 20-1. Questo è anche il significato di ἀφθονία dall'età medievale in poi: cf. *LME* s.v., dove è glossato con πλήθος.

**10** Ringrazio Lucia Prauscello per il suggerimento di considerare anche la sfera onomastica.

**11** Cf. Lehnus 1981, 182.

**12** Si vedano le diverse strategie interpretative degli scolii, e.g. *schol. vet. ad Ol.* 11.7b: καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὅτι ἀλλότριος τῶν διὰ φθόνον ἐπιβουλευόντων ὁ ὕμνος ἐστίν· εἰκόνα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀγαλμα καθέλοι ἂν τις διὰ φθόνον, ὕμνον δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀφανίσαιεν; *schol. rec. ad Ol.* 11.7 p. 371.15 Abel: ὄν οὐδεὶς δύναται φθονήσας ἐξαλείψαι; e p. 372.16-7 Abel: ἦγουν ἀπειρος τῶν κακῶν τοῦ φθόνου, τουτέστιν ἀκαταπόνητος ἢ ἀδιάβλητος ἀνάκειται.

ta semantica di ἀφθόνητος e per dimostrare che fu probabilmente la sua accezione attiva a decretarne l'ingresso nell'*Antiatticista*. Le motivazioni dell'interesse del lessico per ἀφθόνητος sono però più complesse della mera ricerca di usi marginali e richiedono un approccio che non consideri solo la lingua poetica, ma che anzi guardi alla storia del greco in tutte le fasi post-classiche, come discuterò nel prosieguo di questo contributo.

## 2.1 Uno sguardo alle proprietà degli aggettivi verbali in -τος

A livello linguistico, l'uso attivo di ἀφθόνητος non pone alcun problema.<sup>13</sup> Sebbene meno comune, l'accezione transitiva non è infrequente in greco (si pensi a casi come ἀνόητος 'che non capisce' e ἄκριτος 'che non giudica') ed è già attestata in età arcaica.<sup>14</sup> Questo è un riflesso della storia del morfo \*-to-, che in indoeuropeo non era destinato alle sole basi verbali (si veda l'esempio classico del latino *barbātus* 'provvisto di barba'),<sup>15</sup> e la cui integrazione nel sistema verbale avvenne gradualmente e non sempre compiutamente: se in alcune lingue (come il latino) gli aggettivi in -tos si sono trasformati in veri participi passivi, in altre l'assunzione di tutti i tratti verbali è stata bloccata. Tra queste ultime rientra il greco che, provvisto di un versatile sistema di formazioni participiali, non permette agli aggettivi in -τος (al contrario dei participi) di esprimere tratti quali il tempo e l'aspetto, mentre consente loro di assumere tratti nominali come la possibilità di creare avverbi e gradi di comparazione.<sup>16</sup>

Per queste ragioni gli aggettivi verbali in -τος mostrano una notevole varietà semantica, che spazia dall'espressione del passivo vero

**13** Né è di ostacolo che il verbo-base ἀφθονέω ricorre solo due volte in testi dell'esegesi biblica di IV e V secolo d.C., ovvero in Severiano di Gabala, *In mundi creationem*, omelia 4, *MPG* 56 (cf. *CPG2* 4194, p. 457, 15-17), καὶ [ἴνα] αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ θεία χάρις καὶ τὸ ὄργανον ἀνεμπόδιστον φυλάξῃ, καὶ τῶν νοημάτων τὴν χορηγίαν ἀφθονήσῃ (affinché la stessa grazia divina conservi libero l'organo [il riferimento è alla bocca, alla lingua e alla capacità di parlare, in commento a *Ephes.* 6.19] e supplisca in abbondanza copia di pensieri); Esichio di Gerusalemme, *Commentarius in Odas*, ode 5.18, p. 312 Jagić, οὐ πεσούμεθα: Ὅσοι τῇ δυναστείᾳ τῆς γῆς τῇ προσκαίρῳ ἀφθονοῦντες θεαρρήκασιν (*non periremo* [si riferisce a] quanti non hanno avuto timore di non invidiare il regno temporale della terra). Al di là del fatto che non si può escludere che ἀφθονέω fosse in uso già in epoca precedente, non mancano casi analoghi di aggettivi verbali cui non corrisponde un verbo-base (ad esempio ἀνόητος e \*\*ἀνοέω). Sui complessi meccanismi che regolano il rapporto derivativo reciproco di composti verbali e verbi denominativi in -έω rimando alle riflessioni di Grandi, Pompei 2012.

**14** Napoli 2000. Il *corpus* completo dei composti di età arcaica, suddivisi per categoria verbale, è fornito da Paliuri 2017, 88-125.

**15** Cf. Brugmann 1906, 402; Napoli 2000.

**16** Cf. Lazzeroni 2010, 261; Napoli 2017, 114. Per una rassegna delle opinioni in merito, cf. Paliuri 2017, 56-67.

e proprio all'attivo-intransitivo e infine all'attivo-transitivo.<sup>17</sup> In essa giocano anche un ruolo cruciale le proprietà semantiche dei verbi da cui gli aggettivi derivano, caratterizzati da diversi gradi di transitività e diversi tipi di intransitività (come nel caso dei verbi inaccusativi e inergativi).<sup>18</sup> Per quanto riguarda ἀφθόνητος, esso rientra in una nutrita categoria di composti verbali a doppia diatesi derivati da *verba affectuum*, la cui versatilità semantica sembra dipendere «dalla modalità secondo cui viene concettualizzata e presentata l'azione espressa dal verbo, per esempio per l'ira prevale la rappresentazione interna del sentimento, dal punto di vista del soggetto-Esperiente (per cui le forme sono attive), mentre per l'amore quella esterna, l'essere fatto oggetto di amore (e di conseguenza le forme sono passive)» (Paliuri 2017, 198).

L'analisi morfologica non permette dunque di risolvere in modo definitivo il problema della diatesi di ἀφθόνητος nell'*Olimpica* undicesima, ma mostra anche come l'accezione attiva sia tutt'altro che irregolare. L'ambiguità interpretativa del passo pindarico non deve però farci dimenticare che il lemma è entrato in un lessico atticista, con un riferimento a Pindaro anziché ad una autorità attica (come Eschilo). Questo può a mio parere far propendere per il fatto che – qualunque fosse il senso inteso da Pindaro in prima istanza – in età successiva ἀφθόνητος era interpretato come un aggettivo attivo, accezione che esso in effetti ha in *almeno un passo pindarico*, la tredicesima *Olimpica*. Se fosse vero il contrario (cioè che gli esegeti interpretavano ἀφθόνητος come un passivo anche in Pindaro), perché l'*Antiatticista* avrebbe dovuto citare Pindaro e non Eschilo? Questa ipotesi, è ovvio, è una pura interpretazione di un lemma che essendo privo di *interpretamentum* rimane enigmatico.<sup>19</sup> L'attenzione del lessicografo può però spiegarsi alla luce dell'uso di ἀφθόνητος nelle diverse fasi della lingua greca e dei suoi significati nei diversi contesti.

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**17** Ciò dipenderebbe dal fatto che il morfo \*-to- in origine era privo di un orientamento inerente: cf. Napoli 2017, 114; Pompei 2016, 214.

**18** Cf. Paliuri 2017, 717: «[f]attori fondamentali sono il grado di agentività del soggetto, di *affectedness* di oggetto e soggetto, la possibilità di rappresentare l'evento indicato dalla base verbale come spontaneo o causato esternamente (i.e. se il verbo partecipa dell'alternanza causativa), la presenza di un mutamento di stato nella struttura del predicato».

**19** Sulla 'sfida interpretativa' che pone l'*Antiatticista* mi soffermo in Tribulato 2021.



## 2.2 Usi e interpretazioni di ἀφθόνητος tra l'*Antiatticista* e il greco bizantino

Dopo le tre attestazioni in Pindaro ed Eschilo, ἀφθόνητος ricompare nel *Lessico omerico* di Apollonio Sofista (p. 25.20-22) come glossa dell'altrettanto raro aggettivo passivo ἀμέγατος 'triste, indesiderabile'.<sup>20</sup> A parte l'*Antiatticista*, nessun'altra opera precedente la tarda antichità lo usa o lo commenta, un fatto che richiede una spiegazione.

Mi pare che vada subito sgomberato il campo dalla tentazione di considerare l'*Antiatticista* come un mero collettore di glosse marginali, che registra un uso pindarico solamente perché eccentrico od opposto a quello dell'attico classico. È invece fruttuoso leggere molti lemmi dell'*Antiatticista* alla luce degli sviluppi del greco post-classico,<sup>21</sup> che costituisce l'implicito punto di paragone per gli atticisti, e gettare uno sguardo anche all'evoluzione del greco in età bizantina per ottenere informazioni sull'uso della lingua comune in età precedente.<sup>22</sup> In quest'ottica, è innanzitutto necessario non leggere il lemma in isolamento, come se non appartenesse a un'opera la cui selezione lessicale deve essere stata guidata in origine da criteri abbastanza chiari al suo compilatore. Al contrario, è proprio la struttura del lessico – e in particolare la natura dei lemmi vicini ad ἀφθόνητος – a suggerire che l'ingresso di questa voce nell'*Antiatticista* sia stato guidato da altri fattori che la sua mera rarità in greco antico.

Il primo di questi fattori è l'attenzione dell'*Antiatticista* alla variazione morfologica (un argomento che merita di essere studiato in modo più sistematico di quanto non sia stato fatto finora). I tre lemmi che precedono ἀφθόνητος nel lessico sono tutti aggettivi verbali in -τος con primo elemento ἀ-: ἀναριθμητος, ἀπαρασκευάστος e ἀμάθης. Questi quattro aggettivi verbali non condividono solo la stessa categoria morfologica e la stessa formazione, ma anche il fatto di essere varianti morfologiche ma sinonimiche di altri composti nominali. Nel caso di ἀφθόνητος si tratta naturalmente di ἄφθονος, composto possessivo dal significato altrettanto variabile. ἀναριθμητος 'innumerevole, incalcolabile' alterna con la variante nominale più antica ἀνάριθμος, ἀπαρασκευάστος 'impreparato' con la variante nominale contemporanea ἀπάρασκευος e ἀμάθης 'non istruito' con ἀμαθής.

**20** ἀμέγατε ᾧ οὐκ ἄν τις μεγίρειεν, ὃ ἔστι φθονήσειεν, ζηλώσειεν. οἷον ἀμέγατε ἀφθόνητε. καὶ πόνον ἀμέγατον ὄφελλεν οἷον ἔργον ἀφθόνητον, ὃ οὐκ ἄν τις ζηλώσειεν διὰ χαλεπότητα (ἀμέγατε [si usa] per colui che non si invidia; μεγείρω corrisponde a φθονέω, ζηλώω. E ancora *triste pena* [Il. 2.420] equivale a 'fatica non invidiabile' [ἔργον ἀφθόνητον], che a causa della sua difficoltà nessuno invidierebbe).

**21** Per l'orientamento post-classico dell'*Antiatticista* cf. Cassio 2012; Lee 2013, 294-7; Valente 2015, 43, 59; Tribulato 2016, 187-91; Tribulato 2021, 186-91; Tribulato, in corso di stampa.

**22** Come propongo in Tribulato 2019, 254-7.

Che lo scopo di questi quattro lemmi dell'*Antiatticista* fosse quello di fornire una selezione di forme in -τος alternative ad altri aggettivi è confermato dall'*interpretamentum* di ἀμάθητος (α 49 Valente), che esplicita l'alternanza morfologica: ἀμάθητος· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀμαθῆς· Φρύνιχος Κόν<v>φ (fr. 8 K.-A.).<sup>23</sup>

L'*Antiatticista* tuttavia non è un manuale di morfologia greca. Le varianti formali della lingua devono avere assunto una rilevanza particolare anche alla luce del loro significato nei vari contesti. Il secondo fattore che ha guidato la selezione dell'*Antiatticista* è stato probabilmente quello del mutamento semantico, sia per quanto riguarda la variazione diacronica sia per quanto concerne la variazione diastatica. Tutti e quattro gli aggettivi hanno una vita che spazia dal greco antico a quello moderno (anche se solo ἀναρίθμητος e ἀπαρασκεύαστος si configurano come voci relativamente comuni già in età antica) ed è molto probabile che l'*Antiatticista* fosse interessato a fornire istruzioni sui diversi significati e contesti d'uso di queste forme tra modelli classici e lingua contemporanea. Per converso, tale intenzione originaria può avere decretato la sopravvivenza dei lemmi nell'epitome di età medievale consegnataci dal Coislin 345 (*codex unicus* per l'*Antiatticista*).<sup>24</sup> Nel distillare o perpetuare informazioni del lessico originario l'epitomatore di età più tarda fu senz'altro guidato non solo dal pedigree classico di certe parole o dalla potenziale oscurità di altre divenute ormai obsolete, ma anche dall'interesse che esse potevano suscitare in chi viveva in un *continuum* linguistico diglossico, nel quale le differenze più insidiose tra il polo alto arcaizzante e quello basso della lingua d'uso riguardavano proprio la variazione semantica: «vocabulary was the most conspicuous feature that distinguished *hellenika* [la lingua arcaizzante] from other forms of Byzantine Greek» (Hinterberger 2017, 218).<sup>25</sup> Per considerare questa ipotesi interpretativa, per il momento lascerò da parte ἀφθόνητος e mi soffermerò sugli altri tre aggettivi verbali.

La coppia ἀπαρασκεύαστος/ἀπαράσκευος suscitava un interesse semantico già nei lessicografi antichi. Polluce (6.143) e il *Filetero* pseudo-erodiano (199 Dain) presentano i due aggettivi come sinonimi, ma è molto interessante che in Ammonio (7 Nickau = Her. Phil. α 10 Palmieri) si proponga una differenziazione semantica che sembra voler distinguere tra un significato attivo e uno passivo: ἀπαράσκευος si dovrebbe dire di colui che è impreparato per propria colpa, perché non ha fatto i giusti preparativi; mentre ἀπαρασκεύαστος si dovrebbe

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**23** Sull'uso di questa tipica struttura lessicografica nell'*Antiatticista*, cf. Valente 2015, 44-5.

**24** Sulla storia della trasmissione del lessico cf. Valente 2015, 6-30.

**25** Ho discusso le premesse teoriche e metodologiche di questo approccio in Tribulato 2019, cui rimando anche per la bibliografia sulla diglossia greca di età medievale.

be dire di colui che non ha ricevuto la giusta preparazione da altri.<sup>26</sup> Circa 50 delle 104 attestazioni totali di ἀπαρασκευάστος sono in testi posteriori al VI secolo d.C., una distribuzione che è simile a quella di ἀπάρασκευος (circa 100 attestazioni post VI secolo su 264 totali). Tuttavia, molte delle attestazioni bizantine di ἀπάρασκευος sono in citazioni di autori attici contenute negli scolii, mentre le stesse fonti usano ἀπαρασκευάστος sempre negli *interpretamenta*: ciò suggerisce, a mio modo di vedere, che era ἀπαρασκευάστος la variante più in uso e più comprensibile per i lettori di età bizantina, sebbene entrambe le voci sembrano essere state in uso solo nel lessico alto (non sono infatti registrate in *LME*). Tale interpretazione è implicitamente confermata dai dati che provengono dal neogreco. Entrambi gli aggettivi si sono conservati, come voci prevalentemente dotte, ma nel significato specifico di 'non preparato, non allestito', 'allo stato naturale' (detto di prodotti non confezionati).

Allo stesso modo, anche il più frequente ἀναρίθμητος (circa 760 attestazioni nei testi posteriori al VI secolo d.C. su un totale di 1.303) ha soppiantato la sua doppietta classica ἀνάριθμος, che su 241 attestazioni complessive compare un centinaio di volte in testi successivi al VI secolo d.C., ma nuovamente con una forte presenza di citazioni di *loci classici* negli scolii. ἀναρίθμητος invece è usato negli scolii prevalentemente in funzione esplicativa e questo si spiega con il fatto che era la forma d'uso normale nel greco dell'epoca (cf. *LME* s.v.), l'unica delle due ad essersi perpetuata in neogreco (dove è comune).

L'ipotesi che questi aggettivi verbali in -τος si fossero fatti strada nel greco di età medievale a scapito delle altre varianti, o seguendo canali di uso diversi dai loro, è suggerito anche dall'evoluzione della coppia ἀμάθητος/ἀμαθής. Il secondo aggettivo rimane molto frequente in età bizantina, mentre ἀμάθητος è senza dubbio una voce rara. È indicativo tuttavia che dopo l'unica attestazione classica in Frinico comico (testimone unico *Antiatt.* α 49 Valente) ἀμάθητος ricompaia in Procopio (*Historia arcana* 6.11.5) e in testi di lingua medio-bassa, come il *Digenis Akritis* (5, p. 359.29) e la *Chronographia* di Teofane 'Continuato' (p. 68.16), e che sia usato una volta nella *Suda* (α 1459) come glossa esplicativa di ἀναλφάβητος. Sembra essere stata, insomma, una variante di registro più basso di ἀμαθής, il che può spiegare la perpetuazione del lemma dell'*Antiatticista*, che avrebbe dato una legittimazione classica (e atticista) ad una parola del lessico comune di età medievale (è infatti l'unica forma in ἀμαθ- citata nel *LME* di Kriaras).

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<sup>26</sup> Her. Phil. α 10 Palmieri: ἀπαρασκευάστου διαφέρει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν χορηγίαν ἔχων ἀπάρασκευος ἂν λέγοιτο, ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑτέρου ἀπαρασκευάστος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχιερεὺς <ὁ> μονομάχου δούναι <θέλων> ἀπάρασκευος· οἱ δὲ μονομάχοι ἀπαρασκευάστοι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸ παθητικὴν ἔχειν ἔμφασιν ὑφ' ἕτερον πίπτει, τὸ δὲ αὐτεξουσίον ἐστίν. ὁ οὖν ἐναλλάσσων ταῦτα ἀκυρολογεῖ.

Anche la sopravvivenza di questi due aggettivi in età moderna è interessante. Il neogreco preserva sia ἀμάθητος che ἀμαθής (e anche la forma più recente ἀμαθος) sia nell'accezione di 'senza istruzione, ignorante' sia in quella traslata di 'rozzo'. Ma l'uso in parte si differenzia, in quanto ἀμάθητος viene usato per indicare chi non ha esperienza di qualcosa (= ἀπειρος 'inesperto') e che per questo motivo può risultare anche ingenuo (= νέος 'giovane; immaturo, inconsapevole') e può anche essere usato - in senso passivo orientato all'oggetto - per ciò che 'non è stato imparato'. ἀμαθής indica più specificamente qualcuno che non ha istruzione generale (sinonimo: ἀπαίδευτος) o che è addirittura analfabeta. Lo sviluppo nella lingua moderna sembrerebbe dunque riflettere un processo, già avviatosi in età medievale, per cui ἀμάθητος poteva occorrere al posto di ἀμαθής in certi registri stilistici, divenendo nel corso del tempo un suo sinonimo con alcuni usi specifici.

Questa rassegna diacronica conferma come già per l'*Antiatticista* il corretto uso delle varianti qui discusse dovesse costituire una questione degna di attenzione e suggerisce che l'evoluzione semantica e stilistica di età bizantina abbia contribuito a mantenere vivo l'interesse per questi aggettivi in -τος. Alla luce di questi spunti, torniamo ora alla motivazione dell'ingresso di ἀφθόνητος nell'*Antiatticista* e alla questione del suo significato in Pindaro.

La natura dei tre lemmi che precedono ἀφθόνητος nell'*Antiatticista* prova che il suo inserimento nel lessico deve essere stato dettato dalla volontà di registrarlo come variante morfologica di ἄφθονος. Probabilmente, questo interesse di tipo morfologico si è coniugato con l'attenzione alle variazioni semantiche di età post-classica, e in particolare all'accezione attiva di ἀφθόνητος, come si può sostenere sulla base degli usi dell'aggettivo nell'epoca successiva a quella in cui fu compilato l'*Antiatticista*.

ἀφθόνητος ricorre ventisei volte nell'arco cronologico tra IV e XII secolo d.C. L'autore che lo usa più frequentemente è Eustazio (cf. *infra*), una frequenza che non stupisce vista la centralità del concetto di φθόνος (invidia, rivalità, gelosia, malevolenza) nella letteratura di età bizantina.<sup>27</sup> Il significato di ἀφθόνητος oscilla tra l'accezione passiva, quella attiva e quella traslata di 'generoso'.<sup>28</sup> Gli rimane invece estraneo il significato 'abbondante, copioso' assunto da ἄφθονος

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Hinterberger 2013.

<sup>28</sup> La voce ἀφθόνητος di LSJ rimanda anche ad un'attestazione in una lettera su papiro di tardo IV secolo d.C. (BGU 984), in cui una forma di ἀφθόνητος viene parzialmente ricostruita nell'espressione conclusiva di saluto: ἔρρωμένον σε [ὁ θεὸς κ]αθ' ὑπόνοιαν <ν> διαφυλάξ<ε>ιεν ἀφθο[νητ].] ... κύριέ μου ἄδελφε. Il testo viene ora corretto in ἔρρωμένον σε [ἡ ἀγ]αθή πρόνοια διαφυλάξ<ε>ιεν ἀφθό[νω]ς] (possa la buona provvidenza conservarti in buona salute agiatamente) da Papatomas 2007, 186, che nota anche come ἀφθόνητος sia attestato nei papiri documentari solo come nome proprio.

già in epoca classica e che in età bizantina si specializza come l'unica accezione (conservata in neogreco).<sup>29</sup>

La diatesi passiva caratterizza le tre attestazioni dell'aggettivo in Cirillo di Alessandria: Cyril. *Epistulae paschales*, MPG 77, p. 844.23-24 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἠὐλίζοντό που κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον, οὐκ ἀφθόνητοι μεμενῆκασιν (poiché si accamparono da qualche parte nel deserto, non furono nella condizione di essere invidiati / non vissero in modo invidiabile); Cyril. *Glaphyra in Pentateuchum*, MPG 69, p. 244.4 Πλὴν οὐκ ἀφθόνητος ἦν Ἰακώβ (Tutto fuorché non invidiato era Giacobbe);<sup>30</sup> *Expositio in Psalmos*, MPG 69, p. 945.52 οὐκ ἀφθόνητον ἔχουσι τὴν ζωὴν ([i pii] non hanno vita non invidiata; cioè: la vita dei pii è spesso oggetto di invidia). ἀφθόνητος ricorre poi due volte nei lessici di Esichio e di Fozio. In Hsch. α 3537 è usato come glossa dell'omerico ἀμέγατος (cf. *supra* e qui sotto) ed ha dunque significato passivo. In Phot. α 3349 ἀφθόνητος fa parte di un lemma che comincia con ἀφθονώτερος e ἀφθόνως e che riflette una più ampia attenzione lessicografica ai comparativi e agli avverbi di ἄφθονος (sui quali tornerò *infra*), ma che non è utile ai fini della definizione semantica di ἀφθόνητος.

Le dodici attestazioni in Eustazio confermano che nel greco di età bizantina la diatesi attiva era più comune di quella passiva, che era ormai recessiva. I tre casi in cui Eustazio adopera ἀφθόνητος in significato passivo sono tutti spiegazioni di *loci* omerici in cui compare il già discusso aggettivo raro ἀμέγατος: πόνον δ' ἀμέγατον (Eust. *Il.* 1, p. 381.4; cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.420), ἀμέγατον ἀϋτήμη (Eust. *Od.* 1, p. 425.29; cf. Hom. *Od.* 11.400) e ἀμέγατε συβῶτα (Eust. *Od.* 2, p. 141.19; cf. Hom. *Od.* 17.219 etc.). Nel servirsi di ἀφθόνητος in accezione passiva il Tessalonicense si posiziona dunque nel solco della precedente tradizione lessicografica; ma al di fuori della consolidata connessione con ἀμέγατος il suo uso di ἀφθόνητος è sempre attivo.

Il senso letterale di 'non invidioso' occorre in cinque passi, tra cui *Il.* 3, p. 234.23-25 ἀφθόνητος δὲ καὶ ὁ Αἴας, εἴπερ ἐπαίνους τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ἐκ Μενελάου ἀκούσας οὔτε ἀντιφωνεῖ καὶ ἅμα ἔπειται βοηθήσων (Anche Aiace è privo di invidia se, avendo sentito da Menelao le lodi di Odisseo, non dissente e anzi lo segue per aiutarlo).<sup>31</sup> Questa citazione, come gli altri quattro passi, permette di comprendere come l'accezione 'privo di invidia' possa aver dato a luogo a quella di 'generoso' (in senso morale), che si intuisce per esempio in Eust. *Od.* 2, p. 166.21-22 (βασιλεῖς μὲν τὸν Ἀντίνοον καὶ τὸν Εὐρύμαχον ὀνομάζει, αὐτὸς δὲ Ξεινοδόκος εἶναι τοῦ πτωχοῦ λέγει, ἀφθόνητον ἐπιλεξάμενος

<sup>29</sup> Hinterberger 2013, 27.

<sup>30</sup> Il riferimento è al passo della *Genesis* in cui si narra di come Giacobbe accrebbe le sue greggi ingannando Labano.

<sup>31</sup> Gli altri passi sono Eust. *Il.* 3, p. 55, l. 7; 3, p. 849, l. 29; *Od.* 2, p. 70, l. 18.

ὄνομα: [Telemaco] definisce 're' Antinoo ed Eurimaco, ma di sé dice di essere ospite del mendicante [Odisseo], adoperando un'espressione che non suscita invidia/generosa), dove l'ἀφθόνητον ὄνομα per traslazione evidenzia la generosità e il disinteresse del parlante. In questa accezione Eustazio ricorre anche tre volte al neutro sostantivato τὸ ἀφθόνητον per indicare 'la generosità, il disinteresse' (*Od.* 2, p. 70.18; *Sermones* 1, p. 38, § 774 Schönauer; *Epist.* 45.70 Kolovou).<sup>32</sup>

Similmente, ἀφθόνητος è impiegato in un passo della (forse non più) anonima *Passio sanctae Thomaidae Lesbiae* in una metafora che definisce santa Tomaide «un maestro generoso che non vuole denaro» (ἄμισθον διδάσκαλον καὶ ἀφθόνητον: p. 216.39-40 Halkin).<sup>33</sup> Sebbene, come dimostrato da Efthymiadis (2015), il testo sia composto in un greco letterario retoricamente sofisticato, questa testimonianza conferma come il valore 'normale' di ἀφθόνητος nel greco bizantino tra XII e XIII secolo fosse quello attivo.<sup>34</sup>

Più complessa risulta la definizione del valore di ἀφθόνητος nell'espressione ἀφθόνητον γῆρας, che Eustazio impiega due volte per illustrare l'uso gnomico di πρεσβυτέροισιν Ἐρινύες αἰὲν ἔπονται in *Hom. Il.* 15. 204 (ai più anziani vanno sempre dietro le Erinni; cf. *Eust. Il.* 3, p. 723.16) e di πρότερος γενόμεν καὶ πλείονα οἶδα in *Hom. Il.* 19.219 (sono nato prima e so più cose; cf. *Eust. Il.* 34, p. 316.7). Secondo Eustazio, nei due passi in questione Omero usa l'argomento dell'anzianità per permettere a due personaggi, Iride ed Odisseo, di motivare la superiorità rispettivamente di Zeus su Posidone e di Odisseo su Achille per mezzo di un ragionamento inoppugnabile ed inoffensivo: quello, appunto, dell'ἀφθόνητον γῆρας. Sarebbe errato tradurre l'espressione con 'non invidiata vecchiaia', perché il punto non è far risaltare le qualità negative della vecchiaia (come invece è il caso per il πόνον δ' ἀμέγαρτον di cui sopra), ma al contrario porre l'anzianità come qualcosa che si colloca al di là dell'invidia o, più propriamente, come qualcosa che 'non ha senso invidiare'.

Dalla rassegna di fonti post-classiche qui presentate emerge come in età bizantina ἀφθόνητος potesse essere usato sia nella sua accezione passiva sia in quella attiva, ma come quest'ultima fosse più comune. Questo potrebbe avvalorare l'ipotesi che ἀφθόνητος in *quanto lemma pindarico* sia entrato nell'*Antiatticista* allo scopo di documentare

**32** La forma neutra ἀφθόνητα è usata, nel senso di 'generosamente', anche nella *Monodia per Teodoro Prodromo* di Niceta Eugenio (p. 452.9 Petit): [γλώτταν] γνωτοῦς ἀφθόνητά οἱ προσανέχοντας θέλγουσιν ([una lingua] che incanta i sapienti che le si affidano generosamente). Questo uso non ricorre altrove e potrebbe forse rientrare nel novero di quelle innovazioni di cui si arricchisce lo scritto (sul cui stile cf. Petit 1902, 451).

**33** Il testo era stato precedentemente situato nel X secolo, datazione seguita nel *TLG*. È ora datato ai primi decenni del XIII secolo da Efthymiadis 2015, 124-31, che ne attribuisce la composizione a Niceforo Xanthopoulos.

**34** La stessa conclusione in Hinterbeger 2013, 46.

L'uso già classico di un'accezione semantica, quella attiva, che conosce un discreto sviluppo nell'età successiva e che invece non poteva essere illustrata sulla base di un'autorità attica, visto che in Eschilo ἀφθόνητος ha significato passivo. In quest'ottica si comprenderebbe meglio anche la preservazione del lemma nella tradizione medievale dell'*Antiatticista* rappresentata dalla miscellanea lessicografica del Coislin 345, perché permetteva ai lettori bizantini di illustrare un uso contemporaneo alla luce di un esempio classico.

### 3 ἀφθονέστερος, ἀρχαιέστερος e il trattamento dei comparativi irregolari

In questo secondo paragrafo desidero gettare uno sguardo ad altri materiali lessicografici che riguardano i comparativi irregolari ἀφθονέστερος e ἀρχαιέστερος per i quali l'*Antiatticista* cita *loci* pindarici. Essi sono probabilmente entrati nel lessico da fonti più antiche che dovevano essersi occupate della formazione di comparativi e superlativi. Il lemma α 74 Valente si sofferma sul comparativo irregolare dell'aggettivo ἄφθονος:

#### Antiatt. α 74 Valente

ἀφθονέστερον· Πίνδαρος Ἐπινικίους (*Ol.* 2.94).<sup>35</sup>

Il *locus classicus* evocato è *Ol.* 2.92-94:

αὐδάσομαι ἐνόρκιον λόγον ἀλαθεῖ νόφ,  
τεκεῖν μή τιν' ἑκατόν γε ἐτέων πόλιν  
φίλοις ἄνδρα μᾶλλον  
εὐεργέταν πραπίσιν ἀφθονέστερόν τε χέρα  
Θήρνος.

L'intento di questo lemma è innanzitutto quello di illustrare una irregolarità morfologica. L'*Antiatticista* dedica non meno di ventotto voci a forme di comparativo o superlativo (più ulteriori cinque contenuti negli *interpretamenta*), tra cui sei forme in -εσ-. Tre di esse sono regolari: si tratta di ἀληθεστέρωσ 'veramente' (α 39 Valente) e καταδεεστέρωσ 'molto male' (κ 48 Valente), che con probabilità hanno destato l'attenzione del lessicografo per la formazione dell'avver-

<sup>35</sup> Nel Coislin 345 il lemma appare nella forma abbreviata ἀφθονέστ<sup>ε</sup>/ (cf. Valente 2015 *ad loc.*); il suo scioglimento in ἀφθονέστερον era già stato proposto da Bekker 1814, 80.

bio di grado comparativo (in -ως anziché in -ες);<sup>36</sup> e di ἐμπερέστερα (ε 85 Valente), apparentemente un neutro plurale che tuttavia solleva alcuni dubbi testuali non discussi nelle edizioni critiche di Bekker e Valente.<sup>37</sup>

Le altre tre forme in -εσ- commentate nell'*Antiatticista* sono accomunate dall'estensione analogica di -εσ-.<sup>38</sup> Nel caso del superlativo ἐλεημονέστατον (ε 17 Valente), si tratta in realtà dell'unica forma ammessa dal greco, dato che gli aggettivi in -ων come ἐλεήμων formano sempre comparativi e superlativi in questo modo.<sup>39</sup> Forse il senso del lemma era quello di commentare una forma che, seppure 'regolare' in attico, era rara nel resto del greco? Nel caso di ἀρχαιότερον (α 75 Valente), come per ἀφθονέστερος, si tratta di un comparativo che compete con la forma regolare (ἀρχαιότερος) e per il quale ancora una volta l'*Antiatticista* rimanda a Pindaro:

### Antiatt. α 75 Valente

ἀρχαιότερον· Πίνδαρος Ὕμνοις (fr. 45).

Nel volgere l'attenzione a queste forme in -έστερος l'*Antiatticista* mostra un interesse condiviso da una larga parte della lessicografia di età successiva ed è molto probabile che dietro queste informazioni di natura diversa ci sia il trattato sui pronomi di Filosseno, citato per nome dagli etimologici bizantini.<sup>40</sup> L'*Etymologicum Genuinum* (AB α

**36** Cf. Sicking 1883, 21, ripreso da Valente 2015, 94 relativamente ad ἀληθεστέρως. Queste forme analogiche dell'avverbio di grado comparativo erano già diffuse negli autori attici: cf. Kühner, Blass 1890, 577 per una rassegna. Un altro lemma di questo tipo è *Antiatt.* α 40 (ἀμεινόνως) che precede il lemma su ἀληθεστέρως.

**37** Per quest'ultima forma l'*Antiatticista* rimanda alle *Supplici* di Eschilo, ma al v. 279 la lezione tràdita (e necessaria) è il nominativo femminile plurale ἐμπερέστεραι. Valente (*ad loc.*) non commenta la forma neutra tramandata nel Coislin 345 né la discrepanza con il *locus classicus*. Se nei lessici le forme plurali del *locus classicus* possono essere lemmatizzate al nominativo singolare, straordinaria sarebbe la lemmatizzazione al neutro plurale di un nominativo femminile plurale, poiché essa è solitamente riservata ad aggettivi già neutri (cf. Bossi, Tosi 1979-80, 10-1). Può darsi dunque che la lezione del Coislin 345 sia errata e dovuta alla mera caduta di *iota*: in tal caso, andrebbe corretta in ἐμπερέστεραι sul modello del verso eschileo. O potrebbe essere sbagliato solo l'accento: il compilatore, cioè, potrebbe aver voluto citare il lemma al femminile singolare (ἐμπερεστέρα) seguendo il modello eschileo, ma l'accento si è corrotto (anche in questo caso, comunque, la forma andrebbe corretta nell'edizione critica).

**38** La motivazione dell'estensione analogica di -εσ- al di fuori dei temi sigmatici non è chiara. Wackernagel 1897, 12 ipotizzava come punto di partenza l'aggettivo εὐδεινός 'calmo': il suo comparativo εὐδιέστερος, correttamente formato sull'antico tema εὐδιεσ-, sarebbe stato reinterpretato come il comparativo del sinonimo εὐδιος, portando all'estensione analogica di -έστερος ad altri temi in vocale.

**39** Cf. Kühner, Blass 1890, 561-2.

**40** Vedi, specificamente su forme in ἀφθον-, Athen. 10.24.5 (καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἡλιάσιν Αἰσχύλου ἄφθονέστερον λίβρα) e Phot. α 3349 (ἀφθονεστέραν εἶπεν Αἰσχύλος, ἀφθονώτερος καὶ



1468 Lasserre-Livadaras = Philox. fr. 332 Theodoridis) dedica una discussione al superlativo ἀφθονέστατον, parte di una serie che comprende anche ἀρχέστατον (dunque, il superlativo dell'ἀρχαίεστερον di *Antiatt.* α 75 Valente) e αἰδοιέστατον. Lo stesso lemma passa poi a considerare i comparativi irregolari in -έστερος, tra cui figura la forma eschilea ἀφθονέστερα vel ἀφθονεστέρα (cf. Aesch. fr. 72 Radt).<sup>41</sup> Queste stesse informazioni si riscontrano, con minime variazioni, in altri lessici di tradizione bizantina.<sup>42</sup>

Secondo il *Genuinum*, Filosseno avrebbe definito le forme analogiche in -εσ- come poetiche e specificamente ioniche. La stessa regola si riscontra in un certo numero di fonti, con variazioni nella forma e nei lemmi citati, come si può evincere dalla rassegna dei frammenti raccolti da Theodoridis.<sup>43</sup> È qui all'opera il criterio antico dell'auto-re-guida, che con probabilità induceva gli eruditi ad attribuire le forme analogiche in -εσ- allo ionico perché esse ricorrevano in Omero ed Erodoto pur essendo attestate ampiamente anche in autori attici:<sup>44</sup> lo stesso Filosseno (secondo la testimonianza delle fonti bizantine) considerava attiche le forme analogiche in -ιστ- come ποτίστατος e ψευδίστατος (cf. il fr. 337 Theodoridis con relative fonti e *loci paralleli*). La frequenza delle forme in -εσ- nei poeti (da Omero e Pindaro ad Epicarmo e i tragediografi) può poi aver valso a queste forme il giudizio di ποιητικά, nonostante esse siano in uso anche nei prosatori.<sup>45</sup>

Nei suoi molti lemmi dedicati ai comparativi l'*Antiatticista* dunque eredita e rielabora informazioni di più vasta portata che devono aver riguardato da un lato la morfologia e la frequenza letteraria delle forme analogiche e dall'altro la formazione degli avverbi di grado comparativo. Non è escluso che alcuni dei frequenti comparativi in -ον del lessico fossero in origine forme avverbiali: questo potrebbe essere il caso anche del pindarico ἀρχαίεστερον di *Antiatt.* α 75

ἀφθόνως Δημοσθένης, ἀφθόνητος δὲ Πίνδαρος).

**41** *Et. Gen.* AB α 1468 Lasserre-Livadaras: ἀφθονέστατον· ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ ἀρχέστατον, ὡς παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ ἐν τῇ Πηνελόπῃ (fr. 187 Radt), οἷον ἐγὼ γένος μὲν εἶμι Κρήσ ἀρχέστατον καὶ τὸ αἰδοιέστατον, ὡς παρ' Ἀλκμᾶνι, οἷον (cf. fr. 2, ii *PMG*): ἡσυοῖσικ' ἀνθρώποισιν αἰδοιέστατοι, καὶ τὸ ἀφθονέστερα, οἷον (cf. Aesch. fr. 72 Radt)· ἴδρα σε κρήνης ἀφθονέστερα† λιβάσιλ( ), ταῦτα ποιητικά εἰσι κατ' ἔθος ἰώνων γινόμενα· τὰ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ο συγκριτικά οὔτοι διὰ τοῦ εσ προφέρουσι, οἷον δικαίεστερος καὶ ἀρχέστερος λέγοντες· ὠφειλεν γὰρ τὰ προειρημένα δικαιοτέρος εἶναι καὶ αἰδοιότερος καὶ ἀφθονώτερος, οὕτως Φιλόξενος εἰς τὸ Περὶ συγκριτικῶν. Il frammento eschileo è edito come ἴδρα σε† κρήνης ἀφθονεστέρα λιβάς da Radt, al cui apparato rimando per una discussione dell'accentazione del comparativo.

**42** Vedi Eust. *Il.* 2, p. 699.3-9; *Et. Gen.* B α 179 Lasserre-Livadaras (= *Etym. Sym.* α 247, *EM*, p. 31.5-21: vd. qui *infra*); cf. Valente 2015, 104.

**43** Cf. i fr. 331-333, 337-339, 343-345, 348, 351 e 353 Theodoridis.

**44** È noto l'interesse di questo grammatico alessandrino per le forme dialettali, cui dedicò numerosi scritti. Per i suoi studi omerici, cf. Pagani 2015.

**45** Kühner, Blass 1890, 562-3. In Omero vedi la forma ἀνιρῆστερος di *Od.* 2.90.

Valente, di cui non si conosce la citazione diretta.<sup>46</sup> Considerato che ἀφθονέστερος ed ἀφθονέστατος occorrono nelle opere di *auctoritates* attiche quali Platone (*Resp.* 5.460b.2) e Senofonte (*Mem.* 4.3.6.7) e che la stessa lessicografia antica ne attribuisce l'uso ad Eschilo (fr. 72 Radt) ed Eupoli (fr. 330 K.-A.), l'orientamento pindarico di questi lemmi nell'*Antiatticista* è degno di nota e si oppone al prevalente orientamento attico (se non atticista) delle fonti più tarde. Per esemplificare le forme in -εσ- l'*Antiatticista* avrebbe potuto rivolgersi anche ad Erodoto, autore che cita una settantina di volte per notare usi che si discostano dalla norma atticista. Da quanto possiamo vedere, il ricorso a *loci* pindarici per queste forme non era una caratteristica del Περὶ συγκριτικῶν, dove Pindaro è citato una sola volta a proposito di un altro comparativo, ἀπρονέστερον (fr. 339.38 Theodoridis: cf. *Ol.* 2.62): probabilmente, l'*Antiatticista* ha usato fonti comuni a Filosseno, ma non direttamente Filosseno.<sup>47</sup>

#### 4 Conclusioni

I tre lemmi pindarici qui discussi non possono essere ricondotti al presunto orientamento 'antiatticista' del lessico. Non abbiamo indizi né che ἀφθόνητος fosse una voce discussa dagli atticisti né che le forme analogiche in -εσ- fossero da loro stigmatizzate, nonostante Filosseno le definisse ioniche e poetiche. Al contrario, la lessicografia normalmente discute dei comparativi in -εσ- ricorrendo ad *auctoritates* attiche e lo stesso Meride (α 42) li attribuisce senza mezzi termini alla lingua degli Ἀττικοί: ἀκρατέστερον Ἀττικοί· ἀκρατώτερον κοινόν.<sup>48</sup>

Il ricorso a Pindaro per esemplificare queste forme va dunque letto in un'altra chiave. La mia impressione è che sia all'opera un più generale criterio lessicografico piuttosto che uno puristico (o antipuristico). Pindaro fu insieme ad Eschilo il primo autore in cui, da quan-

<sup>46</sup> Il comparativo ἀρχαιέστερος è noto soltanto attraverso una *lectio* del lemma dell'*Etymologicum genuinum* dedicato al superlativo αἰδιόεστατον (B α 179 Lasserre-Livadaras = Philox. fr. 331 Theodoridis), che sembra riprendere il medesimo passo di Filosseno escerto nel già citato lemma dell'*Et. Gen.* AB α 1468 Lasserre-Livadaras (cf. *supra*). Nel lemma, trasmesso nella sola versione di B, la forma tràdita è ἀρχέεστερος, corretta in ἀρχαιέστερος da Lasserre-Livadaras e in ἀρχέστερος da Theodoridis (Philox. fr. 331) sulla base del superlativo eschileo ἀρχέστατος citato poco oltre e che secondo Nauck 1848, 46 nota 54 andrebbe piuttosto ricondotto al sostantivo ἀρχός (cf. Kühner, Blass 1890, 563).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. in proposito anche il commento di Valente 2015, 96 su ἀφθόνητος: «nescio utrum totam Ph. gl. ex Antiatt. per Σ'' vel Σ''' (vd. et Ph. α 3346 ad *Antiatt.* α 106) an e pluribus fontibus (e.g. Philox.) fluxerit, vd. Proll. p. 28». Le attuali versioni della *Synagoge* non preservano alcun lemma in ἀφθον-.

<sup>48</sup> La stessa coppia è presente in Polluce (6.24), che si limita a citare ἀκρατέστερος come sinonimo di ἀκρατώτερος.

to sappiamo, un lessicografo poteva trovare le forme ἀφθονέστερος e ἀρχαιέστερος. Anche per il lemma ἀφθόνητος, come abbiamo visto, Pindaro è fondamentale: è l'unico autore di epoca classica che permetta di illustrare (se non difendere) l'accezione attiva che diviene più comune nel greco più tardo.

Nella preparazione di queste voci l'*Antiatticista* sembra dunque avere operato come l'accorto compilatore di un buon lessico storico moderno, che va a ricercare pazientemente la prima attestazione di una parola o di un uso linguistico per creare i suoi lemmi: forse un ἀφθόνητος πόνος, ma che merita un ἀφθόνητος αἶνος.

## Abbreviazioni

- Abel = Abel, J. (ed.) (1891). *Scholía recentia in Pindari epinicia*. vol I. Budapestini; Berolini.
- ASD = *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami, recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrate* (1993-2005). Amsterdam; Oxford.
- CPG2 = Geerard, M. (ed.) (1974). *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*. Vol. 2, *Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostomum*. Brepols.
- Dain = Dain, A. (ed.) (1954). *Le Philétaeros attribué à Hérodien*. Paris.
- GE = Montanari, F. (2015). *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*. English Edition ed. by M. Goh and C. Schroeder. Leiden.
- GI = Montanari, F. *Vocabolario della lingua greca*. 3a ed. Torino.
- Halkin = Halkin, F. (ed.) (1986). *Hagiologie byzantine. Textes inédits publiés en grec et traduits en français*. Bruxelles.
- Jagić = Jagić, V. (ed.) (1917). *Supplementum psalterii Bononiensis. Incerti auctoris explanatio Graeca*. Vindobonae.
- Kolovou = Kolovou, F. (ed.) (2006). *Die Briefe des Eustathios von Thessalonike*. Berlin; Boston. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110928181>.
- Kriaras, LME = Εμμανουήλ Κριαράς, Λεξικό της μεσαιωνικής ελληνικής δημώδους γραμματείας, 1100-1669 (1969-). Θεσσαλονίκη.
- Lasserre-Livadaras = Lasserre, F.; Livadaras, N. (edd) (1976). *Etymologicum Magnum Genuinum. Symeonis Etymologicum una cum Magna grammatica. Etymologicum Magnum auctum*. Roma.
- LKN = Λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής (1998). Θεσσαλονίκη.
- LNE = Γεώργιος Μπαμπινιώτης, Λεξικό της νέας ελληνικής γλώσσας (2008). 3a ed. Αθήνα.
- MGED = Iorgos Georgakakos, D.I. (2005-). *A Modern Greek-English Dictionary*. Thessaloniki.
- MPG = Migne, J.P. (ed.) (1857-66). *Patrologiae cursus completus (series Graeca)*. Paris.
- Nickau = Nickau, K. (ed.) (1966). *Ammonii qui dicitur liber de adfinium vocabulorum differentia*. Leipzig.
- Palmieri = Palmieri, V. (ed.) (1988). *Herennius Philo. De diversis verborum significationibus*. Napoli.
- Petit = cf. Petit 1902.
- Schönauer = Schönauer, S. (Hrsg.) (2006). *Eustathios von Thessalonike. Reden auf die Große Quadragesima*. Frankfurt am Main.

Theodoridis = Theodoridis, Ch. (Hrsg.) (1976). *Die Fragmente des Grammatikers Philoxenos*. Berlin/New York. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110867534>.  
Valente = cf. Valente 2015.

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**A mo' di conclusione**





# The Sublime in Motion: Longinus, Freud, and Embedded Metaphors

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**Abstract** This paper explores the relevance and the effect of the sublime in connection with Dionysian inspiration, Freud's concept of the uncanny, and the interpretation of metaphorical thinking developed in the field of cognitive psychology.

**Keywords** Sublime. Longinus. Dionysus. Freud. Metaphors.

**Summary** 1 The Sublime and Motion. – 2 Dionysiac Sublime. – 3 Motion(s) in the Text. – 4 Sublime Metaphors. – 5 The Sublime Embodied. – 6 The Uncanny Sublime. – 7 Stylistic Sublimity. – 8 Regressive Sublime?

An "Image" is that which presents an intellectual and emotional complex in an instant of time [...] It is the presentation of such a "complex" instantaneously which gives that sense of sudden liberation; that sense of freedom from time limits and space limits; that sense of sudden growth, which we experience in the presence of the greatest works of art.<sup>1</sup>

Ezra Pound

This paper is for Willy Cingano, his intelligence, his wit, his humanity, in grateful celebration of many years of nurturing friendship. I thank the Editors for their encouragement, and Luigi Battezzato, Massimo Fusillo and Guido Paduano for their valuable comments on an earlier draft.

**1** Pound 1913, 200-1.



## 1 The Sublime and Motion

The sublime is predicated on motion: *sublimis* originally describes the oblique movement from down below to high up of an object, or a person, who rises towards the sky, *in altitudinem elatum*.<sup>2</sup> This explanation would have appealed to the outstanding theorists of the Romantic sublime, Burke or Kant, who pay more explicit attention to its dynamic aspect.<sup>3</sup> It also represents an appropriate point of departure for this paper, where I propose to explore this dynamic dimension by discussing the relationship between sublimity and movement in the classical mastertext of sublimity, Longinus' *Peri hupsous*,<sup>4</sup> and then to suggest possible connections between his insights, psychoanalysis, and the study of embodied cognition.

## 2 Dionysiac Sublime

*Peri hupsous* establishes a clear connection between the sublime and Dionysiac-Bacchic inspiration. Defining the sublime as a form of 'distinction and excellence in expression' which can guarantee 'eminence... and immortality of renown' (1.3) to the writers who are able to attain it, Longinus quickly moves onto the effects that this stylistic strategy produces on the hearer or reader, as well as on the poet (1.4):<sup>5</sup>

For grandeur produces ecstasy (ἔκστασις) rather than persuasion in the hearer; and the combination of wonder and astonishment always proves superior to the merely persuasive and pleasant. This is because persuasion is on the whole something we can control, whereas amazement and wonder exert invincible power and force and get the better of every hearer.<sup>6</sup>

*Ekstasis* - and its cognate *enthousiasmos* - evoke Plato's theory of the poet as divinely inspired, partly follows, in a different perspective, Democritus' earlier intimations. We owe Plato's *Ion* (535a-b) the first

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<sup>2</sup> Festus 306, cf. Maltby 1991, 589. The adj. is a compound of *limus*<sup>2</sup> (also in the form *limis*), 'oblique, transverse', hence 'transverse from below upward', with *sub-* in its original meaning 'upward', which is clear in *sublimare*, 'to raise' (de Vaan 2008, 343). On movement and the sublime see Saint Girons [1993] 2003, 17-25.

<sup>3</sup> Kant discusses the category of the 'dynamic sublime' in the *Critique of Judgment* (Kant 2000, esp. 143-8).

<sup>4</sup> I will refer to Longinus as the author of this work.

<sup>5</sup> Longinus repeatedly stresses that reader and writer are conjoined in their experience of the sublime, and this is reflected in the frequent occurrence of compounds with *sun-*.

<sup>6</sup> Translation by Russell 1972, with occasional modifications.

explicit connection between inspiration and Bacchic ecstasy, specifically ‘wineless Bacchic ecstasy.’<sup>7</sup>

Longinus is doubtlessly aware of the Bacchic connotation of *ekstasis* and *enthousiasmos*, both terms which recur throughout his essay.<sup>8</sup> Within the same chapter he likens the effect of sublimity to that of a thunderbolt – ‘sublimity flashing forth at the right moment scatters everything before it like a bolt of lightning’ (1.4) –, a traditional metaphor for the effect of Dionysiac inspiration on the audience, as confirmed by the specialised use of both the Greek συγκεραυνόω and the Latin *attonitus* to describe its impact.<sup>9</sup> Lightning is associated with Dionysos from the very beginning of his life, and with the poetry sung for him.<sup>10</sup> Longinus underlines the kinetic effects of the lightning, which scatters everything in its path, and is a suitable Dionysiac icon because of its intrinsically oxymoronic character: it promotes Bacchic frenzy, yet it also paralyses in a sort of hypnotic trance,<sup>11</sup> as befits a god who straddles categorical distinctions and makes opposites merge.<sup>12</sup> The experience provoked by the sublime, not unlike Bacchic trance, is too extreme to be considered simply ‘pleasurable’. Bacchic inspiration and the Longinian sublime find their common ground in the perturbing link between pleasure and terror, the very aspect of the sublime which will attract the attention of Burke and Kant (I will focus on this point shortly). As Kant argues, “the mien of the human being who finds himself in the full feeling of the sublime is serious, sometimes even rigid and astonished”.<sup>13</sup> Sublimity contains its own share of religious awe, the same feeling experienced by participants in Dionysiac rituals, removed as these are from traditional piety.

Experiencing the sublime is a *pathos*, but, as Longinus explains in chapter 8, the two do not necessarily coincide (as Caecilius assumed), because not all *pathe* can cause the peculiar combination of pleasure and awe which is at the heart of the experience of the sublime. There

7 Murray 1996, 115; cf. Murray 1981.

8 For *ekplexis* cf. 15.1, 38.5; *enthousiasmos*: 8.4, 13.2, 15.1, 32.4. Cf. ἐμπνευσθεὶς ἐξαιρήνης ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ οἶονεὶ φοιβόληπτος γενόμενος (16.1).

9 Mendelsohn 1991-92.

10 Cf. e.g. Archilocus (fr. 117.2 Tarditi), who describes himself as οἶνῳ συγκεραυνωθεὶς φρένας when he takes the lead in singing ‘a beautiful song in honour of Lord Dionysus.’

11 According to Kant 2000, 128-9, the sublime “is a pleasure that arises only indirectly, being generated, namely, by the feeling of a momentary inhibition of the vital powers and the immediately following and all the more powerful outpouring of them”. Cf. Longinus’ notion of *agonia* below.

12 Fusillo 2006 offers a fundamental discussion of Dionysus in this perspective; see esp. pp. 17-34 for the connection between Dionysiac logic and Matte Blanco’s symmetrical logic (cf. below).

13 Kant 2012, 16. On the notion of the sublime in Kant and other nineteenth- and twentieth-century authors see Fusillo 2009, 24-9, and now esp. Fusillo, forthcoming.

exist mediocre *pathe* which do not attain sublimity, for instance pain, fear and lamentations, while, conversely, powerful images such the Homeric piling up of Pelion upon Ossa are sublime but not pathetic -an important qualification which paves the way to viewing grand cosmic themes as 'sublime'.<sup>14</sup> Only when genuine passions burst forth in all their Dionysiac energy does *to empathes* attain sublimity (8.4):

I should myself have no hesitation in saying that there is nothing so productive of grandeur as noble emotion in the right place. It inspires and possesses our words with a kind of madness and divine spirit (ὑπὸ μανίας τινὸς καὶ πνεύματος ἐνθουσιαστικῶς).

### 3 Motion(s) in the Text

The Dionysiac sublime invariably implies a sense of motion: when divine inspiration invades writers and audiences, hearers are transported to loftier heights. Bacchic rites produce a pervasive sense of movement, as the startled messenger describes in Euripides' *Bacchae* (726-727): πᾶν δὲ συνεβάκχευ' ὄρος | καὶ θῆρες, οὐδ' ἐν δ' ἀκίνητον δρόμῳ (and the whole mountain and its beasts were god-possessed as they were, and with their motion all things moved).<sup>15</sup> The enthused poet, as Horace famously describes in *Carm.* 2.19 and especially 3.25, can be as adventurous in his roamings through woods, rocks and caves as the Bacchantes who climb the rugged summit of Mount Cithaeron.<sup>16</sup> Cliffs and mountains share as important a place in the landscape of the sublime, especially in its post-classical incarnations, as they do in the usual setting of the Dionysiac experience not only because they imply isolation, but also because height and distance convey the smallness of human beings in the face of Nature at its mightiest. The sublimity inherent in great distances, as Longinus spells out in 9.5, or, as Kant adds, vast expanses of time,<sup>17</sup> threatens - or promises - a descent into the abyss of near-nothingness, thus challenging as much as the overpowering force of Dionysus does the integrity and meaningfulness of human boundaries. The result is the peculiar combination of *horror* and *divina voluptas* experienced, as Lucretius explains, when 'the walls of the world open out, I see ac-

<sup>14</sup> Russell 1964, xxxviii.

<sup>15</sup> Longinus 15.6 quotes πᾶν... θῆρες as an instance of bold *phantasia*.

<sup>16</sup> On 'Bacchic poetics' see Schiesaro 2009.

<sup>17</sup> Kant 2012, 18: "A long duration is sublime. If it is of time past, it is noble; if it is projected forth into an unforeseeable future, then there is something terrifying in it".

tion going on throughout the whole void'.<sup>18</sup> Precisely for these reasons height and distance can also be metaphorical, as in San Bonaventura's description of God as *altitudo terribilis*.<sup>19</sup>

Longinus, too, insists on the importance of motion, as his sharp analysis of Sappho 31 L.-P. in chapter 10 shows. Longinus has preliminarily listed the five 'most productive sources of sublimity' in literature (8.1).<sup>20</sup> The first two are 'for the most part natural': 'the power to conceive great thoughts (τὸ περί τὰς νοήσεις ἀδρεπήβολον)', of which he discusses several examples in chapter 9, and 'strong and inspired emotion'; the other three, however, 'involve art', namely 'certain kinds of figures' (both of thought and of speech), 'noble diction' and a 'dignified and elevated word-arrangement'. The discussion of Sappho's poem is preceded by the general statement that 'sublimity will be achieved if we consistently select the most important of these inherent features and learn to organise them as a unity by combining one with another. The first of these procedures attracts the reader by the selection of details, the second 'by the density of those selected' (τῇ πυκνώσει τῶν ἐκλελεγμένων προσάγεται) (10.1).

Sappho's eminence is then traced to 'the felicity with which she chooses and unites together the most striking and powerful features' (10.3):

Is it not wonderful how she summons at the same moment (ὑπ<ὸ τὸ> αὐτὸ) – mind and body, hearing and tongue, eyes and skin, all as though they had wandered off apart from herself? She feels contradictory sensations (καθ' ὑπεναντιώσεις), freezes, burns, raves (ἀλογιστεῖ), reasons, so that she displays not a single emotion, but a whole congeries of emotions. Lovers show all such symptoms, but what gives supreme merit to her art is, as I said, the skill with which she takes up the most striking and combines them into a single whole (ἢ εἰς ταῦτο συναίρεισις).<sup>21</sup>

There is a wealth of interesting details here, but I would like to focus first on Longinus' remark that Sappho attains sublimity by forcing together in both time (ὑπ<ὸ τὸ> αὐτὸ) and space (εἰς ταῦτο) all the contrasting emotions and symptoms she describes. This compression of sensations, and the rapidity with which it is carried out, gen-

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**18** *De rerum natura* 3.16-7, translation M.F. Smith. On the Lucretian sublime see Porter 2016, 445-54.

**19** Cf. Boitani 1989, 311.

**20** On the limited function of this catalogue see Russell 1981.

**21** I follow here the translation by Fyfe, Russell 1995, which brings out the chronological sense of ὑπ<ὸ τὸ> αὐτὸ (Spengel's integration, followed by Russell and others, for the mss. ὑπ' αὐτὸ; Mazzucchi 1992 adopts the contracted form τ>αὐτὸ proposed by Toll), as does Russell 1964, 102 (Russell 1972 translates "she brings everything together").

erates amazement; a more leisurely list could not produce a similar effect, because it would not possess the energy to force together different and even contradictory concepts. Longinus' choice of example is of course significant – Sappho is in love, and love's irrational force (note ἀλογιστεῖ) requires no explanation – but 'sympathetic emotion' (τὸ συγκεκινημένον)<sup>22</sup> is an integral component of the sublime in general, for it is closely associated with *ekplexis*, which according to Longinus stands as the undoubted *telos* of poetry (15.2). A similar contrast, for instance, is drawn where Longinus discusses cases when 'the urgency of the moment gives the writer no chance to delay (διαμέλλειν), but forces on him an immediate change from one person to another' (27.2), i.e. forces him to take over abruptly from a character's speech. And already in the first chapter Longinus touches upon these 'technical' aspects of the sublime – a 'special effect'<sup>23</sup> rather than a style –, which, flashing 'at the right moment' (1.4 κairίως) like a thunderbolt, shows the 'whole power' of the author.

Chapter 20 offers further insights about 'order' and 'disorder'. Longinus deals here specifically with asyndeton, but formulates a general rule: 'monotony and a stationary effect (ἐν στάσει) are associated 'with inertia, whereas disorder (ἐν ἀταξίᾳ) goes with emotion, which is a disturbance and movement of the mind (φορὰ ψυχῆς καὶ συγκίνησις ἐστίν)' (20.2). *Ataxia* is expressed through asyndeta, anaphora, 'vivid description' (διατυπώσει), or a relentless combination of the above, and as he deploys this strategy the orator behaves like an aggressor who 'deals blow upon blow on the minds of his judges' – here again the verb πλήττει echoes *ekplexis*. The opposite effect, as Longinus discusses in the following chapter 21, is attained by polysyndeton, because 'the urgent and harsh character of the emotion loses its sting and becomes a spent fire as soon as you level it down to smoothness by the conjunctions' (21.1).

Movement and motion are also the essence of another important ingredient of the sublime, hyperbaton, defined as κεκινημένη τάξις, 'an arrangement of words or thoughts which differs from the normal sequence... It is a very real mark of urgent emotion (ἐναγωνίου πάθους)' (22.1).<sup>24</sup> Longinus's analysis of hyperbaton, its logic, and its effects is particularly insightful. Hyperbaton forces the natural order of discourse by violently separating elements which would natural-

<sup>22</sup> I adopt the *LSJ*'s translation rather than that of Russell 1972, because it foregrounds the importance of prefix. The verb is rare, and, of course, implies motion.

<sup>23</sup> Russell 1964, xxxvii, building on the important distinction between a sublime style and 'the sublime' developed by Boileau 1674: "Le style sublime veut toujours de grands mots; mais le Sublime se peut trouver dans *une seule pensée*, dans *une seule figure*, dans un seul *tour de paroles*" (*Préface*; emphasis mine): this paper is concerned precisely with these discrete 'special effects.'

<sup>24</sup> Lacuna in the text.

ly cohere, and inserting in their midst extraneous ones which therefore create a different pattern of association. This feature of hyperbaton is nothing less than ‘irrational’ (22.1 ἀλόγως), for thanks to it the author ‘diverted the order of thought’ (22.2 ἀπέστρεψε τάξιν) – note the role that motion plays once again in this context. Thucydides is singled out as a master of ‘ingenuity’ in the use of hyperbaton, ‘separating by transpositions even things which are by nature completely unified and indivisible’ (22.3).

The most important aspect of this section, which is unusually and, one suspects, intentionally complex, is to be found in the analysis of the psychological effects of hyperbaton upon the hearers. Demosthenes is the author held up as an example (22.3-4):

his transpositions produce not only a great sense of urgency but the appearance of extemporisation, as he drags his hearers with him into the hazards of his long hyperbata. He often holds in suspense the meaning which he set out to convey and, introducing one extraneous item after another in an alien and unusual place before getting to the main point, throws the hearer into a panic lest the sentence collapse altogether (ἐπὶ παντελεῖ τοῦ λόγου διαπτώσει), and forces him in his excitement to share the speaker’s peril (ὑπ’ ἀγωνίας), before, at long last and beyond all expectation, appositely paying off at the end the long due conclusion; the very audacity and of the hyperbata add to the astounding effect.

Hyperbaton can produce *phobos* because it threatens an unexpected suspension of the speech, which as it occurs is perceived as potentially final, and therefore as a means to deny the satisfactory attainment of the natural conclusion of the speech. Alongside *phobos*, hearers share in the speaker’s *agonia*, again a form of mental distress, a ‘vertiginous sense of peril’, which encapsulates *in vitro*, as it were, the emotion experienced at the contemplation of infinity.

Although he is dealing here with a very specific stylistic effect, Longinus’ reference to *phobos* establishes an important connection with modern theorisations of the sublime, where ‘terror’ looms large.<sup>25</sup> *Phobos*, Longinus explains, arises as speakers and hearers find themselves (figuratively) on the edge of a cliff, forced to stare in the abyss of the unsaid, or the unsayable. In a momentary pause of the narrative flow, in the *agonia* of suspended time and fearful expectation, they are denied the pleasure of intelligibility and of closure. Hyperbaton, especially as it rises to Demosthenic heights, produces within the context of a paragraph or chapter the same disconcerting, yet alluring, effect that narrative detours impose on the plot,

<sup>25</sup> See esp. Burke 1990, and below.

thus delaying or even jeopardising the reader's expectation of narrative fulfilment.<sup>26</sup>

Longinus evokes the image of the abyss indirectly more than once thanks to his predilection for the otherwise rare adjective ἀπτόμομος,<sup>27</sup> which he uses both to indicate a curt and unexpected utterance, all the more effective because of its brevity (27.1), or, in the sense of Latin *praeceps*, a frightening downward movement. At 12.4 Demosthenes' greatness is located ἐν ὕψει... ἀπτοτόμῳ, a 'vertiginous *hupsos*', which expresses both the excitement of elevation and the danger of falling.

Vertiginous fear is an appropriate, if partial, description of Lucretius' own staring in the abyss in Book 1 of *de rerum natura*, where Epicurus' revelation that matter and space are infinite provokes a Kantian combination of *horror* and *divina voluptas*, or Horace's Bacchus-inspired *dulce periculum* (*Carm.* 3.25.18), the god's peculiar power to instil thrill and danger in equal measure. Therein resides the ultimately Dionysiac nature of Longinian sublime. Just like Dionysus, the sublime is 'a power and irresistible violence' (1.4) which 'reigns supreme over every hearer', and obliterates the difference between pleasure and pain<sup>28</sup> by making the two dependant on a sense of irresistible motion, the dynamic correlate -and consequence- of the attempt to embrace enormous heights and distances.

#### 4 Sublime Metaphors

In this reading of *Peri hupsous* I have privileged the mechanics and dynamics of the sublime in its effect upon hearers and readers, rather than the topics and images usually associated with the concept, many of which are already present in Longinus, while others are suggested or reiterated especially during the Romantic revival of the sublime: storms, volcanoes, tall and dark mountains, the desolation of deserts.<sup>29</sup>

Both the rapid movement between disparate concepts, the mechanism of condensation which Longinus calls παθῶν... σύνοδος (10.3), in connection again with Sappho's poem, and hyperbaton, produce a similar effect as they force together elements which would normally be kept separate from each other, and are in this respect arguably

<sup>26</sup> I refer here to the theory developed by Brooks 1984.

<sup>27</sup> Cajani 1997, 107. The adjective recurs three times in Longinus (here and at 27.1, 39,4) and only four other times elsewhere.

<sup>28</sup> The complexities of this relationship have now been put on a new conceptual footing by Telò 2020.

<sup>29</sup> A comprehensive list in Porter 2016, 51-3.



comparable to the workings of metaphors. Longinus' remarks about hyperbaton are once again enlightening: this figure separates what belongs together as it 'introduc[es] one extraneous item after another in an alien and unusual place (ἀλλόφυλον καὶ ἀπεικικῆν τάξιν)' (22.4).<sup>30</sup> The same conceptual framework emerges from Longinus' remarks (10.6) on the Homeric use of the rare preposition ὑπέκ, a compound of ὑπό and ἐκ, in *Il.* 15.627-628 'and the hearts of the seamen are shaken with fear, as they are carried only a little way out of death's reach (τυτθὸν γὰρ ὑπέκ θανάτοιο φέρονται). This 'forced combination of naturally uncompoundable prepositions' (τὰς προθέσεις ἀσυνθέτους ὄσας συναναγκάσας) is regarded as an act of violence, if not outright torture (συμβιασάμενος, ἐβασάνισε), yet it is this very process of extreme condensation which enables the poet to keep close to the emotions he depicts, and through it 'almost stamped the special character of the danger on the diction'.

Metaphors are a key ingredient of the Longinian sublime, and of *Peri hupsous* itself, a text which revels in the use of many daring ones.<sup>31</sup> Both Greek 'metaphor' and Latin *translatio* encode movement, and Longinus' analysis of the figure in the context of his critique of Plato's style in chapter 32 accordingly insists on motion. Metaphors 'conduce to sublimity' (32.6 ὑψηλοποιὸν), and abound in passages 'involving emotion or description.' Here Longinus recalls Caecilius' admonition that metaphors should be used sparingly - ideally not more than two or three on the same topic (32.1) - but his position is actually different. The 'right' number of metaphors is simply a function of the strength of passions and degree of sublimity which the author is capable of attaining, as he explains, resorting once again to the language of enthusiasm (32.4):

strong and appropriate emotions and genuine sublimity are a specific palliative for multiplied or daring metaphors, because their nature is to sweep and drive all these other things along with the surging tide of their movement. Indeed it might be truer to say that they *demand* the hazardous. They never allow the hearer leisure to count the metaphors, because he too shares the speaker's enthusiasm.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. 10.6 παρὰ φύσιν.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. esp. Von Staden 1999.

## 5 The Sublime Embodied

Longinus' insistence on movement as a key pleasurable component of the poetic sublime, attained by a number of techniques which privilege rapid, even disruptive, motion, invites comparison with recent theories about embodied emotion and its role in the perception of art.<sup>32</sup>

If all forms of our perception of narrative can be described, as has been suggested, as "liberated embodied simulation",<sup>33</sup> metaphors can claim a privileged status within this theoretical perspective: they can be regarded as compressed narratives which connect together different domains; while we can unpack them into their constituent components, we grasp them in their compressed form by exploiting the brain's ability to activate rapid exchanges of impulses between synapses – a mobility facilitated by the fact that metaphors tap into the associative mechanism of the primary system.<sup>34</sup> This movement is accompanied by sensation and emotion, as was instinctively clear to Longinus<sup>35</sup> well before neuroscientific studies would establish a relationship with measurable physiological processes.

Specifically, metaphors imply a complex interaction between the left and the right hemisphere of the brain, with the right side exploring a much wider range of possible meanings than those entertained by the left side. This 'exploration' is not, crucially, a metaphor itself, but is actually embodied in the physical, and measurable, activity of specific areas of the brain. Novel metaphors, as opposed to dead or trivialised ones, imply more work in the right part of the brain,<sup>36</sup> because more effort is needed in order to grasp their correct meaning (or indeed meanings).<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Cf. for instance Gallese, Di Dio 2012; on 'embodiment', Gallese, Lakoff 2005. A critical survey of the cognitive approach to metaphor in connection with literary analysis in Lyne 2011, 28-67.

<sup>33</sup> Gallese, Wojciechowski 2011.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Freud 1915, 186, about one of the properties of the system 'Unconscious': "The cathetic intensities [in the *Ucs.*] are much more mobile. By the process of *displacement* one idea may surrender to another its whole quota of cathexis; by the process of *condensation* it may appropriate the whole cathexis of several other ideas. I have proposed to regard these two processes as distinguishing marks of the so-called *primary psychical process*" (emphases in the text).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Cic. *Orat.* 134 *ex omnique genere frequentissimae translationes erunt, quod eae propter similitudinem transferunt animos et referunt ac movent huc et illuc, qui motus cogitationis celeriter agitatus per se ipse delectat*. The passage is quoted by Leopardi, *Zibaldone*, 2663.

<sup>36</sup> Aziz-Zadeh, Damasio 2008, 38, with further bibliography; Lacey et al. 2012; Desai et al. 2013.

<sup>37</sup> Holland 2009, 203. As Freud liked to point out, poets were the first to understand some fundamental truths. Cf. for instance Giacomo Leopardi's analysis of the main

## 6 The Uncanny Sublime

The pleasure-inducing effect of metaphors should not distract from acknowledging the other ineliminable component of the sublime experience, *horror*, or, in Romantic terms, terror and fright. Longinus has much to say on *phoberon*, but Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* locates the "source of the sublime; that is, it is productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling" in "[w]hatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror..."<sup>38</sup>

Burke's is a very incisive, and very influential, formulation, which, in turn, runs the risk of underplaying the oxymoronic coexistence of pleasure and pain, or, more specifically, the fact that some frightening sensations are pleasure-inducing. This fact is essential to the notion of the sublime, and, according to Longinus, accounts for the best parts of the best literary texts. This is the kind of 'terror' which ancient texts frequently associate with the figure of Dionysus-Bacchus, a fear which we experience when we are pushed to the very limits of our imaginative capacity, where the enormity of the imaginative effort challenges the last vestiges of 'rationality' and invites abandon to Bacchic ecstasy, as, literally, an out-of-body and out-of-mind experience.

This combination of *voluptas atque horror*, which captures the shivering at the boundaries of rationality, is a perturbation which has been famously explored, in a different context, by Sigmund Freud's 1919 essay on the uncanny,<sup>39</sup> one of his most challenging texts, and of his stimulating engagements with literary issues.<sup>40</sup> Freud's *das Unheimliche* is a perturbing combination of strangeness and familiarity,

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strength of Horace's style, a poet who "tiene l'anima in continuo e vivissimo moto ed azione, col trasportarla a ogni tratto, e spesso bruscamente, da un pensiero, da un'immagine, da un'idea, da una cosa ad un'altra, e talora assai lontana, e diversissima: onde il pensiero ha da far molto a [2050] raggiungerle tutte, è sbalzato qua e là di continuo, prova quella sensazione di vigore [...] che si prova nel fare un rapido cammino, o nell'esser trasportato da veloci cavalli, o nel trovarsi in un'energica azione, ed in un punto di attività [...] è sopraffatto dalla molteplicità, e dalla differenza delle cose, (vedi la mia teoria del piacere) ec. ec. ec." (*Zibaldone*, 2049-50, 4 November 1821). On this passage see Schiesaro 1986. It is worth noting that Leopardi's theories are indebted to seventeenth century sensism.

<sup>38</sup> Burke 1990, 36.

<sup>39</sup> Freud [1919], 81 distinguishes between the uncanny on the one hand and "the beautiful, sublime, attractive" on the other, but the list suggests that he is not using 'sublime' in any specific sense.

<sup>40</sup> Bloom 1982, 91-118 is the fundamental text on the relationship between the uncanny and the sublime; cf. also Ellison 2001, esp. 52-84. Kofman [1974] 1991, 119-62 discusses *Das Unheimliche* ("that work of Freud's which perhaps more than any other takes into account the specificity of literature", 63) as a key theoretical text of lit-

the resurfacing in life or literature of “removed desires or patterns of thought”<sup>41</sup> which are once again shown to hold true even long after they have been discarded.<sup>42</sup>

Freud offers a sampling of themes which he associates with the uncanny, especially the fear of castration and the *Doppelgänger*, but his more general reference to ‘discarded patterns of thought’ is more productive in the context of a dialogue between psychoanalysis and literary analysis. Freud’s main examples are related to what he defines “the omnipotence of thought”,<sup>43</sup> a form of animism according to which we can immediately and unfailingly obtain what we desire just by thinking it. This is a credence which is overcome both phylo- and ontogenetically, as primitive people evolve and children grow into adults.

Freud’s interpretation of the sublime as the resurfacing of patterns of thought otherwise overcome or discarded can fruitfully interact with the view of the Longinian sublime outlined so far. Once these ‘patterns of thought’ resurface with particular poignancy in certain literary texts, they provoke a complex set of conflicting emotions similar to the ones raised by the uncanny: recognition, estrangement, pleasure, fear, desire. What can these outdated ‘patterns of thought’ be, in the case of the sublime? And in what sense have they been otherwise discarded or overcome? Clearly, we must assume that these patterns are deep and relevant enough to provoke the strength of emotions connected with the sublime.

The answer I would like to propose was not available to Longinus in the same terms in which we are now able to formulate it, although thinkers such as Giambattista Vico<sup>44</sup> or Giacomo Leopardi intuited it long ago.<sup>45</sup> As already mentioned in passing, contemporary science confirms that metaphor likely stands as the original form of human thought. Our brain, according to the neural Darwinism championed by scholars such as Gerald Edelman, is first and foremost an associative brain, whose primary ability was, and remains, that of recognising patterns.<sup>46</sup> Logic develops later, but does not supplant, rather supplements the basic associative mechanism of metaphor. A brain-based epistemology is therefore prepared to recognise in associative, metaphorical patterns the first formulations of human thought, an intuition long shared by poets and artists, not to mention Freud

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erature and for the interpretation of literature, On the aesthetic dimension of the uncanny cf. Di Benedetto 2002. Masschelein 2011, 132-5 discusses recent developments.

**41** Freud 1919, 107.

**42** Freud 1919, 110.

**43** Freud 1919, 101; cf. esp. Freud 1912-13, 75-99.

**44** Cf. esp. *Scienza nuova prima*, book III, chapp. 28-35.

**45** See below.

**46** Edelman 2006, 58.

himself when he drew a distinction between the primary and the secondary system.

The approach to metaphorical thinking pioneered by cognitive psychologists such as George Lakoff and Mark Johnson,<sup>47</sup> comes to very similar conclusions via quite a different route, although their assessment of Freud's position is overall dismissive:<sup>48</sup> "[b]ut where Freud saw these as irrational modes of primary-process thinking, cognitive scientists have found that they are an indispensable part of ordinary rational thought, which is largely unconscious". Yet this supposed contrast appears much too rigid once we take into account one of the most important contributions to post-Freudian psychoanalytic thinking, Ignacio Matte Blanco's *The Unconscious as Infinite Sets*, whose fundamental intuition is that what Freud calls "the unconscious" is a form of logic, not a set of repressed thoughts. A logic, or rather two, since the unconscious alternates freely between the usual patterns of Aristotelian asymmetrical logic, whose primary tenet is the principle of non-contradiction, and the unconscious logic based on generalisation, symmetry, and the absence of contradiction. As if closing a methodological loop, Matte Blanco acknowledges a measure of debt to earlier neurological studies, for instance those of Eilhard von Domarus, whose influential work on schizophrenia described what he calls "delirious syllogism", and extreme form of symmetrical logic.<sup>49</sup> Also, although there is no evidence of contact between Matte Blanco and Gregory Bateson, it is in the same year, 1956, that, as the former published some of his early work on generalisation and symmetry, Bateson argued in his foundational article "Toward a theory of schizophrenia" that some mental and communicative disorders place on the same level classes which normal logic keeps at separate levels of abstraction.<sup>50</sup>

Recent neuroscientific work on the interaction between the left and right sides of the brain shows that the right hemisphere "seems to have a language system that actually uses, indeed may even be confined to, the spreading activations", i.e. free associations, those typ-

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<sup>47</sup> The author of the influential *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things*.

<sup>48</sup> Freud is virtually absent from the equally authoritative Gibbs 1994, while Edelman is ready to acknowledge the importance of his contribution. On the tensions between a psychoanalytic and cognitive approach to metaphor see Borbely 2012, 412-13. Some of Lakoff's more recent work, however, engages directly with Freud and his theories, see e.g. Lakoff 1993 and 1997, which advocates a *rapprochement* between cognitive science and 'psychotherapy' on the basis of a shared interest in the 'cognitive unconscious,' and translates the basic strategies of dream formation according to Freud - symbolisation, displacement, condensation and reversal- into their cognitive science equivalents: conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, conceptual blending and irony.

<sup>49</sup> Von Domarus 1925; 1944. In a delirious syllogism, e.g. "all Indians are fast; all deers are fast; all Indians are deers", the identity of the predicate 'fast' obliterates the difference between the two different subjects.

<sup>50</sup> Bateson et al. 1956. On these connections cf. Bodei 2000, xxv.

ical, for instance, of novel metaphors.<sup>51</sup> These associations, in an extreme, uninhibited form which defies categories and boundaries, also characterise schizophrenic language. Matte Blanco's most important contribution is the theory that these separate forms of logic coexist, and dialectically engage with each other. Art is the field where this interaction is most pronounced, where the domain of asymmetrical logic shrinks, and consequently leaves ample space to its opposite number. Developing a point which goes back in its essence to Freud himself, but which he places at the centre of his system, Matte Blanco further remarks that there exists a direct correlation between the intensity of emotion and the lowering of consciousness: the deeper we descend into the unconscious, the greater the space of bi-logic, the greater, and potentially infinite, the emotional level.<sup>52</sup>

The emotional impact of the sublime in all its unexpected and often compressed violence, can be defined, I suggest, as the consequence of 'special effects' - metaphor and other tropes - which are often the same we associate with Bacchic poetics, are heavily indebted to the symmetrical logic of the unconscious, and have been marginalised, overcome or tamed by (asymmetrical) logic.<sup>53</sup> They provoke 'emotion' (a more appropriate term than 'pleasure' not just in psychoanalytic terms but also in view of the explicitly complex nature of feelings such as *horror ac divina voluptas*), because they provide release from the strictures of Aristotelian logic, and afford a temporary, controlled return to primary patterns of thought which we have normally overcome in our personal or collective development, but which the potency of highly charged metaphoric expression, among other factors threatens -or indeed promises-, to make newly available to us.

In their extreme form, these strategies force us against the extreme boundaries of rationality, and force us to envisage the breakdown of the categorical classification which, once removed from the safe playing ground of literary imagination or preconscious experience, is the defining feature of the schizophrenic mind. Through the sublime, the overpowering phenomenon of the logical unconscious can be experienced in exciting but ultimately controlled form, as readers enjoy the exhilaration deriving from the transformation of the rules of asymmetrical logic.<sup>54</sup>

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**51** Holland 2009, 205, cf. 195-6.

**52** Matte Blanco 1975, 17: "The notion that the magnitudes of emotion are a function of the level of depth, which, in this respect, is understood not as stages of development but as the proportion between symmetrical and asymmetrical thinking [...] Put in simple terms, the more there is, in a given manifestation, of the deep unconscious, the greater will be the magnitude (in the mathematical sense of the word) of emotion: in the deep levels there will be an infinite value of the same magnitude".

**53** For a comparable approach to metaphor cf. Paduano 2013, 118-19.

**54** I agree with Halliwell's 2003 view of Longinus' sublime as a "modello cognitivo in cui il pensiero e l'emozione interagiscono strettamente" (67).

## 7 Stylistic Sublimity

While there is no space, in this paper, to explore in detail the features of Latin poetic diction which can be better understood, I would argue, in the light of this interpretation of the sublime, I would like to offer a few instances of how such an analysis would develop. A suitable starting point is Horace's description of dithyramb in *Carm.* 4.2.10-12: *seu per audacis noua dithyrambos | uerba deuoluit numerisque fertur | lege solutis*. Here *nova...* | *uerba* echoes *mente noua* of 3.25.3 (the 'Bacchic ode' *par excellence*),<sup>55</sup> and identifies neologisms together with metrical licence (*numeris... | lege solutis*) as the defining features of this poetic form. Greek dithyramb abounds in neologisms, especially in the form of 'unprecedented compound adjectives'<sup>56</sup> – we already mentioned the structural similarities between compound adjectives and metaphors. When their poetry turns to Bacchus and his actions, Roman poets between Catullus and Ovid share Horace's views, and break the boundaries of neoteric and Augustan restraint in the creation of neologisms. In Catullus' *cum thiaso Satyrorum et Nysigenis Silenis* (64.252), for instance, the adj. *Nysigenis* is probably a neologism, and *trietericus* appears for the first time in *Aeneid* 4.302 in connection with Bacchic rites. Another likely Virgilian innovation, *pampineus*, is always used by the poet in reference to the god or his rites.

Longinus himself offers a confirmation of this argument, for *Peri hupsous* abounds in neologisms and rare words, often culled from 'sublime' authors such as Pindar, Homer, the tragedians. More than half of the over two thousand words present in *Peri hupsous* are used once only there, as if to display in practice the theoretical assumption that words should constantly be adapted, if not 'tortured,' to conform to the specific feeling the author wants to express.<sup>57</sup> The point is reinforced by the presence of a large number of absolute *hapax*.<sup>58</sup>

Ovid offers numerous instances of the phenomenon, but none surpasses a short section of *Met.* 4 (lines 10-13) in its accumulation of metrical and linguistic extravagances, including a hypermetric line, two absolute *hapax* – *ignigena* and *indetonsus* –, the rare epithet *bi-mater*, the lengthening of *-que* in *telasque*:

telasque calathosque infectaque pensa reponunt  
turaque dant Bacchumque uocant Bromiumque Lyaeumque

<sup>55</sup> Cf. also *Carm.* 1.18.7-9; 1.27.

<sup>56</sup> Here and in the rest of this paragraph I follow Weber 2002, 327.

<sup>57</sup> An expressive strategy well captured by Boileau's epigrammatic dictum: "(Longinus) [s]ouvent il fait la figure qu'il enseigne; et, en parlant du Sublime, il est lui-même très sublime" (Boileau 1674, *Préface*).

<sup>58</sup> Cajani 1997, 117.

ignigenamque satumque iterum solumque bimatrem;  
additur his Nyseus indetonsusque Thyoneus  
et cum Lenaeo genialis consitor uuae

Ovid's stylistic tour de force is devoted to the exceptional features and overwhelming powers of Bacchus. Hypermetron is particularly effective as an icon for excess: indeed, virtually all the hypermetric lines we find in classical Latin poetry are connected with the notion of literal or figurative excess, with the breaking of boundaries, loss of control, and overcoming of human limitations which we also associate with Bacchic inspiration and Bacchic poetics:<sup>59</sup> hypermetra are a microcosmic icon of infinity, the ultimate sublime – and 'symmetrical' – concept.<sup>60</sup>

In this connection, Plutarch's comparison between dithyramb and paian is suggestive:<sup>61</sup>

They sing for the one god [i.e. Dionysus] dithyrambic songs full of passions and with a variety which exhibits irregularity and dislocation (μέλη παθῶν μεστὰ καὶ μεταβολῆς πλάνην τινὰ καὶ διαφόρησιν ἐχούσης) ... But to Apollo they sing the paian, an orderly and restrained form of music; and in their paintings they depict Apollo as ageless and youthful, Dionysus as multi-faceted and polymorphous (πολυειδῆ καὶ πολύμορφον).

Irregularity and dislocation recall some aspects of the sublime underlined by Longinus, but it is ultimately Dionysos' polymorphism which can help us grasp the strong emotions the sublime produces: it is neither a style nor a set of rhetorical prescriptions, but one of the ways in which literature, or indeed the best literature, allows us to negotiate intricate webs of emotions and the *cathexis* towards a dimension of indefiniteness and infinity. Sublime is, in other words, an enabler of *horror* which opens up the space of oceanic feelings as it challenges the very boundaries of the human, thus frightening and attracting in equal measure.

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**59** See e.g. Fortassier 1979; multiple enjambements produce a similar effect, cf. e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 3.25 (with Nisbet, Rudd 2004, 298), and 1.18.7-9.

**60** A similar effect is conveyed by the multiplication of enjambements. I intend to return to this and other issues in a separate discussion.

**61** *De E ap. Delph.* 389a-b. The contrast Plutarch posits, however, should not be assumed as absolute, but historically contingent.



## 8 Regressive Sublime?

As a final point, I would like to return to an issue briefly mentioned above, the fact that the progressive reduction of space for metaphorical (or indeed symmetrical) thinking can be observed not only in connection with each individual's intellectual development, but also in different historical phases: I will do so by reference to the comparison between Hebrew, Greek and Latin, that Giacomo Leopardi develops in 1821.

Leopardi analyses the main features of the three languages, and in so doing he offers a general theory about the creative potential of each. His focus is mainly on compounds and metaphors, which are seen as connected, but distinct means by which languages can develop their expressive potential in full. Of the two, he remarks, metaphors are the most archaic, and in a sense 'primitive' mechanism, for compounds, easy as they are to form once mastered, represent in their very simplicity a step further, a more economical and less unpredictable process. A case in point is Hebrew, the most ancient of all languages, whose greatness lies in metaphors, but not yet in the use of compounds:

Bensì naturalissimo e primitivo, e l'uno de' primi mezzi d'incremento che adoperò il linguaggio umano, è l'uso della metafora, o applicazione di una stessa parola a molte significazioni, cioè di cose in qualche modo somiglianti, o fra cui l'uomo trovasse qualche analogia più o meno vicina o lontana. E di metafore infatti abbonda il vocabolario ebraico, e gli altri orientali, cioè quasi ciascuna parola ha una selva di significati, e sovente [2007] disparatissimi e lontanissimi, fra' quali è ben difficile il discernere il senso proprio e primitivo della parola. Così portava la vivezza dell'immaginazione orientale, che ravvicinava cose lontanissime, e trovava rapporti astrusissimi, e vedeva somiglianze e analogie fra le cose più disparate.

The evolution of Latin is different:

Lasciando le radici, osserverò che la stessa immensa facoltà dei composti che si ammira, e rende più che altra cosa inesauribile la lingua greca, l'aveva ancora ne' suoi principii la lingua latina, e l'ebbe per lungo tempo, cioè per lo meno sino a Cicerone il quale principalmente [742] fissò, ordinò, stabilì, compose, formò e determinò la lingua latina. [...] E con queste considerazioni vedrete quanto la primitiva natura della lingua latina fosse disposta, a somiglianza della greca, alla onnipotenza di esprimere tutto facilmente, e tutto del suo ed a sue spese; alla pieghevolezza, trattabilità, duttilità ecc.

In this context, I am less interested in the actual historical trajectory Leopardi is sketching than in the Freudian masterplot it evokes. Here we have a language which is naturally fertile, inexhaustible, even omnipotent, enjoying, like a gifted, unfettered child, the ‘omnipotence of thought’, until called to order by a domineering father-figure, whose normative intervention, well meaning as it may be, brings to end this auroral creativity:

E così Cicerone fra gl’infiniti benefizi fatti alla sua [745] lingua, gli fece anche indirettamente per la troppa superiorità e misura della sua fama e merito, troppo soverchiante e primeggiante, questo danno di arrestarla, come arrivata già alla perfezione, e come in pericolo di degenerare se fosse passata oltre: e quindi togliergli l’ardire, la forza generativa, e produttrice, la fertilità, e inaridirla.

In Leopardi’s reconstruction, Cicero’s overbearing role and regulatory zeal brings to an end the specific brand of sublime he calls “ardire”, together with its “forza generativa, e produttrice, la fertilità”.<sup>62</sup> No such fate is visited upon the Greek language, since its perfection is a choral enterprise, not overwhelmingly linked to a single person’s eminence, and therefore less overbearing and frightening.<sup>63</sup>

Implicit in Leopardi’s argument is an invitation to regard ‘ardiri’ as a challenge to the repressive force embodied in Cicero’s narrowing down of the expressive potential of language. The relationship he posits between these different phases of linguistic evolution is the same one that articulates, in a Freudian perspective, the dialectics between asymmetric Aristotelian logic and the asymmetrical logic of the unconscious, which can also be metaphorically expressed as a contrast between ‘adult’ and ‘infantile’ modes of thought and expression. Hebrew and Greek have escaped the fate Cicero has imposed onto Latin, and, standing as an instance of a more natural, more primitive enjoyment of the expressive freedom of metaphors, they afford the distinctive pleasure of regression.

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<sup>62</sup> Cf. Schiesaro 1986.

<sup>63</sup> Leopardi, *Zibaldone*, 743.

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Il presente volume consiste in una miscellanea di studi su vari temi del mondo classico offerta da amici, colleghi, ed ex-allievi, a Ettore Cingano, Professore Ordinario di Letteratura Greca presso l'Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, in occasione del suo settantesimo compleanno. I contributi qui presentati coprono, con approcci metodologici variegati, una vasta area della cultura classica: dall'epica arcaica e la lirica arcaica e tardo-arcaica alla storia degli studi e alla ricezione antica e moderna della classicità, dalla poesia latina alla storia politica e del pensiero, dalla poesia ellenistica alla prosa imperiale, dalla linguistica alla metrica.



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Ca'Foscari  
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ISSN 2610-8836



9 772610 883007

ISBN 978-88-6969-549-0



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