

HYPERBOREUS

STUDIA CLASSICA

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

(Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 29–30)

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Nicholas Lane

TWO CONJECTURES ON PINDAR

1) *P.* 9. 36–37:

ὅσια κλυτὰν χέρα οἱ προσενεγκεῖν
ἦρα καὶ ἐκ λεχέων κεῖραι μελιαδέα ποίαν;¹

Is it right to lay my famous hand upon her and indeed to reap the
honey-sweet flower from the bed of love?²

Apollo ponders aloud whether he should sleep with Cyrene. The Loeb translates ποία in v. 37 as “flower”, but it means “grass”.³ Giannini explains the image in μελιαδέα ποίαν as “efficace e delicata”,⁴ but he cites no parallels for ποία used metaphorically of a person or an attribute of a person (or perhaps more specifically their virginity). Elsewhere Pindar only ever uses ποία literally.⁵ For ποία used “metafóricamente, en relación con el amor” Salvador Castillo compares fragment 122. 6–8 Maehler ὕμῃν ἄνευθ’ ἐπαγορίας ἔπορεν,

¹ Text is from Snell–Maehler 1987, 91–92.

² Translations are from Race 1997.

³ Liberman 2004, 173 also translates “la fleur”. However, while *CGL* s.v. ποία 3 has “(fig.) flower (ref. to a woman’s virginity) Pi.” within the lemma for “foliage, leaves” (presumably with reference to this instance) and Slater 1969, 434 s.v. ποία b cites just this instance for the alleged sense “(met.), *flower* of love”, *LSJ* s.v. πόα gives no such sense.

⁴ In Gentili–Bernardini–Cingano–Giannini 1995, 598. Ferrari 2018, 179 translates “È lecito che io le accosti la mia mano gloriosa e falci dal letto un’erba dolce come il miele?” and, along similar lines to Giannini, notes (178 n. 12) “Figura della verginità”, but he does not provide any parallels for ποία signifying virginity.

⁵ At Theoc. *Id.* 25. 15 μελιιδέα ποίαν is used in the quite different, and literal, sense of the sweet grass which makes bulls grow strong.

| ὦ παῖδες, ἐρατειναῖς <ἐν> εὐναῖς | μαλθακᾶς ὥρας ἀπὸ καρπὸν
δρέπεσθαι and *Pythian* 9. 109–111 χρυσοστεφάνου δέ οἱ Ἥβας |
καρπὸν ἀνθήσαντ’ ἀποδρέψαι | ἔθελον,⁶ but these instances involve
the noun καρπός, “fruit”, rather than “grass”, and there are therefore
no true Pindaric parallels for the supposed metaphorical use of ποία.
I suggest that μελιαδέα ποίαν might be an error for μελιαδέ’ ὀπώραν.
Apollo wonders whether it would be right to pluck Cyrene’s honey-
sweet “fruit”, i.e. her “virginity”.⁷ As fruit, ὀπώρα is proverbially
“sweet”,⁸ and the epithet μελιαδής, “honey sweet”, applies naturally
to fruit.⁹ At *Isthmian* 2. 5 Pindar mentions the ἀδίσταν ὀπώραν of the
young victor. Both Pindar and Aeschylus use ὀπώρα of the reaching
of sexual maturity by men and women.¹⁰ Certain scholia also
understood this verse as a reference to Cyrene’s virginity.¹¹ Pindar
writes elsewhere of prostitutes (tactfully addressed as παῖδες) being
permitted by Aphrodite to cull the fruit of soft youth in beds of love

⁶ 1996, 70. Kirkwood 1982, 225 comments that “The reaping of crops or cutting of flowers as an erotic image occurs again below, lines 109–10”, but the cutting of grass is not quite the same whereas the metaphor in vv. 109–110 is, as Kirkwood says, one of reaping a crop.

⁷ LSJ s.v. ὀπώρα A.III cites A. *Supp.* 998, 1015 and Chaerem. fr. 12. 1 *TrGF* for the noun used metaphorically of “ripe virginity”. Privitera 1982, 157 cites the two Aeschylean instances as instances of the noun denoting the age when a virgin is ready for marriage. For the association of ὀπώρα with youthful beauty, see Friis Johansen – Whittle 1980, vol. 3, 292; see also Sommerstein 2019, 357–358. *Hyperboreus*’ anonymous referee suggests that μελιαδέα ποίαν might be taken as meaning “youth” without any recourse to virginity, but this would only be possible if ποία could mean “youth” and I have not been able to find any evidence for this. Moreover, the context is clear that Apollo is clearly contemplating taking Cyrene’s virginity.

⁸ μελιηδέα καρπὸν is a stock epic phrase (Hom. *Il.* 18. 568, *Od.* 9. 94, Hes. *Op.* 172).

⁹ The idea that Apollo will not only cull but also “taste” the fruit of Cyrene’s virginity is easier than if we have Apollo wanting to cull and taste “grass”. With fruit the idea that the union of Apollo and Cyrene will bear fruit in the shape of Aristaeus also comes to the fore and since their son was the first bee-keeper, the idea that the fruit of their union is μελιαδής is apt.

¹⁰ See *CGL* s.v. ὀπώρα 2.

¹¹ Σ 61 c (= Drachmann 1903–1927, vol. 2, 225. 23) δρέψαι τὴν παρθενίαν αὐτῆς, Σ 61 d (= Drachmann 1903–1927, vol. 2, 226. 2) ἀντὶ τοῦ διαπαρθενεῦσαι αὐτήν, Σ 64 c (= Drachmann 1903–1927, vol. 2, 226. 6) ἢ [sc. κείραι] τὴν παρθενίαν.

and later in this ode of suitors of Antaeus' daughter wishing to cull the "fruit" of her youth.¹² Misdivision may have caused the error.¹³

2) *N.* 11. 17–18:

ἐν λόγοις δ' ἀστῶν ἀγαθοῖσιν νιν αἰνεῖσθαι χρεόν,
καὶ μελιγδοῦποισι δαιδαλθέντα μελίζεν ἀοιδᾶς.¹⁴

17 ἀγαθοῖσιν Tricl. : ἀγαθοῖς BD | νιν Mommsen, μιν Mingarelli :
μὲν BD

18 μελίζεν Pauw : μελιζέμεν BD

Yet it is necessary that he be praised in townsmen's kindly words,
and that we celebrate and adorn him with honey-sounding songs.

Most editors since Bowra have printed Pauw's emendation in v. 18.¹⁵ It removes a superfluous syllable on the assumption, right or wrong, that ἀοιδᾶς cannot be dissyllabic. Some hold that Pindar would not have treated α + οι as a single syllable,¹⁶ while others admit the possibility.¹⁷ ἀοιδά is the same word as ᾠδή and in the Homeric Hymns ἀοιδή is sometimes dissyllabic (*H. Cer.* 494, *H. Ap.* 20, *H. Hom.* 32. 2). Sophocles and Euripides use both forms in lyric.¹⁸ Pindar's treatment of α + οι in e.g. σιγῶμι (fr. 81. 3 Maehler) suggests that he perhaps could have treated ἀοιδᾶς as dissyllabic, but certainty is impossible.

¹² Fr. 122. 6–8 Maehler and *P.* 9. 109–111 (both cited above).

¹³ For misdivision as a source of error in Pindar's MSS, see Young 1965, 257–258 (= 1970, 108).

¹⁴ Text and apparatus are from Henry 2005, 20.

¹⁵ Turyn 1952, 192 is the sole modern editor to retain the transmitted text, printing μελιζέμεν ἀοιδᾶς.

¹⁶ So Henry 2005, 127, referring to West 1966, 172–173.

¹⁷ E.g. Farnell 1930–1932, vol. 2, 327 and Verdenius 1988, 105. Schroeder 1900, 39 warned "ne nimis cauti simus in contractionem admittenda ἀ(φ)οιδᾶς, monet eiusdem Bacchylidis Ἀλφειῶν VI 3 cl. Pind. O. IX 18", but in his 1923 Appendix (524) he added "μελίζεν ἀοιδᾶς (≅ ἀοιδά 7)?" In his last *ed. min.* (1930, 224) Schroeder printed Pauw's conjecture. Braswell 1988, 137 is less cautious about the possibility of such synizesis.

¹⁸ For ᾠδή, see *S. Aj.* 630; *E. Cyc.* 69, *Med.* 197, *El.* 865, *Her.* 1026, *Tro.* 514, *IT* 179, *Ion* 169, *Ph.* 807 b. For ἀοιδή, see *S. Ant.* 883; *E. Med.* 421, 425, *Hipp.* 743, *Hcl.* 975, *Supp.* 997, *Tro.* 336, 529, *IT* 12832, *Ion* 1096, *Phaeth.* 101 Diggle, fr. 453. 7 Kannicht.

However, other factors make Pauw's emendation unattractive. It alters a more characteristically Pindaric form of the infinitive to one that is less so.¹⁹ It also assumes a corruption that is unparalleled in Pindar's MSS.²⁰ Henry suggests that αοιδαῖς gains support from *Nemean* 6. 30 αοιδαὶ καὶ λόγοι, but it need not, and αοιδά already appears in v. 7. αοιδαῖς could well be corrupt. Pindar may have written μελιγδούποισι δαιδαλθέντα μελιζέμεν αὐδαῖς, "celebrate and adorn him with honey-sounding voices". This preserves the transmitted form of the infinitive and avoids the question of whether the synizesis of α + οἱ is admissible. Homer associated the voice with honey.²¹ Pindar probably coined the epithet μελίφθογος. Both μελίγδουπος here and μελίρροθος are Pindaric hapaxes, and he also uses μελίγαυρος (*O.* 11. 4, *P.* 3. 64, *N.* 3. 4, *I.* 2. 3, *Pae.* 5. 47 = fr. 52 e. 47 Maehler). For μελιγδούποισι ... αὐδαῖς one may compare *Olympian* 13. 100 ἀδύγλωσσος βοά, *Pythian* 10. 56 ὅπ' ... γλυκεῖαν, *Nemean* 2. 25 ἀδυμελεῖ ... φωνᾷ, 10. 33–34 ἀδεῖαι ... | ... ὁμφαί, *Isthmian* 2. 25 ἀδυπνόω ... φωνᾷ, *Paeon* 5. 47 (= fr. 52 e. 47 Maehler) μεγλιγάρυϊ παιᾶνος ... ὁμφᾷ, 8. 78 (= fr. 52 i. 78 Maehler) μελ[ί]φρονι αὐδ[ῖ]α, and fr. 152 Maehler μελισσοτεύκτων κηρίων ἐμὰ γλυκερώτερος ὁμφά. Corruption of αὐδή to αοιδή occurs at Hesiod *Theogony* 31 and elsewhere.²² The corruption could have arisen from unconscious substitution of a rare word with a much more familiar one and / or because the juxtaposed verb meaning "sing" influenced a copyist to write αοιδαῖς.

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¹⁹ There are 31 instances of -έμεν infinitives in Pindar and six of the -εν form. In his survey of the latter Braswell 1988, 137 observes that none is required by metre and concludes that "There is no compelling reason ... to write -εν where the paradosis has happened to preserve this form except where metrically required".

²⁰ None of the -εν form infinitives preserved in the MSS is corrupted to the -έμεν form. As Farnell 1930–1932, vol. 2, 327 pointed out, μελιζέμεν "is not likely to have arisen from a MS. blunder".

²¹ Hom. *Il.* 1. 247–249 τοῖσι δὲ Νέστωρ | ἠδυεπὴς ἀνόρουσε λιγυρὰ Πυλίων ἀγορητὴς, | τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδῆ; cf. Tyrt. fr. 12. 8 West γλῶσσαν ... μελιχόγηρυν.

²² West 1966, 165 cites instances of this corruption and to his instances may be added Hom. *Od.* 1. 371, Ar. *Av.* 241, Theoc. *Id.* 21. 21 and Bion fr. 9. 11.

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These notes propose conjectures on two passages in Pindar (*P.* 9. 37: μελιάδε’ ὀπώραν; *N.* 11. 18: αὐδαῖς).

Предлагаются две конъектуры к Пиндару (*P.* 9. 37: μελιάδε’ ὀπώραν; *N.* 11. 18: αὐδαῖς).

Vsevolod Zeltchenko

EUR. *IT* 819: A PARALLEL

In the famous recognition scene from *Iphigenia in Tauris*, Orestes tells his sister about certain details and events from her past that no stranger could be aware of. Among other things, he mentions that, when sending Iphigenia to Aulis for her supposed wedding to Achilles, Clytaemestra gave her water for the prenuptial bath (818). My focus will be on Iphigenia's response to these words (819):

OP. καὶ λούτρ' ἐς Αὐλιν μητρὸς ἀνεδέξω πάρα;
IΦ. οἶδ'· οὐ γὰρ ὁ γάμος ἐσθλὸς ὧν μ' ἀφείλετο.

At a time when Euripides' work was evaluated according to the rigorous principles of common sense and classical aesthetics, this line was seldom left as it is. The only relatively popular defense of the *paradosis* came from August Matthiä, who attributed to Iphigenia a kind of status pride inappropriate in the grim circumstances of her failed marriage: “Nuptiae enim bonae, cum nobili viro ineundae, non effecerunt, ut lavacris a matre ministrandis carerem”.¹ For the most part, the text was subjected to emendations,² some of which were quite radical (οὐ γὰρ ὁ γάμος ἐσθλὸς ὧν μ' ἐπωφέλει Kirchhoff, οὐ γὰρ ὁ χρόνος μακρὸς ὧν μ' ἀφείλετο Nauck, οἴκου γὰρ ὁ γάμος ἐξολῶν μ' ἀφείλκετο F. G. Schmidt etc.).

This state of affairs changed when Reinhold Klotz and Henri Weil, both relying on a scholion in **L** that was later established to belong to Demetrius Triclinius (<ἀφείλετο>· τοῦτο τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι), argued that the text is sound and the object of ἀφείλετο is the infinitive obtained from οἶδα. Iphigenia implies that a happy marriage could have erased the memory of the mother's gift, but it is now forever

¹ Matthiae 1823, 465.

² They are listed in Wecklein 1898, 76.

etched in her mind.³ When Euripidean scholarship had become accustomed to subtle and intricate psychological interpretations, this idea enjoyed universal success from N. Wecklein (1876, *dubitanter*) to M. Cropp (2000); to avoid unnecessary suspense, I will say that I judge it to be correct. In his instructive note to *Hel.* 577, Richard Kannicht collected examples of similar ellipses of the object after *verba privandi*, including *Andr.* 913: *κᾶκτεινας, ἥ τις συμφορά σ' ἀφείλετο* (sc. τὸ κτείνειν);⁴

Nevertheless, this *communis opinio* has been called into question by Poulheria Kyriakou, L. P. E. Parker, and Emily Kearns in their recent commentaries on the tragedy:

The problem with this explanation is that a happy marriage does not necessarily erase the memories of its ritual preliminaries. One would expect a bitter comment along the lines of “I know, but the unhappy marriage did not allow me to use that water”. Perhaps *λουτρά* is the implied object of the verb. Iphigeneia may suggest that the marriage, though dismal in every other respect, did not at least deprive her of this kind of maternal care.⁵

Most editors understand οὐ with both *ἐσθλὸς* and *ἀφείλετο*, and understand: ‘For the marriage, not being *ἐσθλός*, did not take away the knowledge’. Kovacs takes *ἐσθλός* as ironic. But either way, the underlying assumption is that if the marriage had been fortunate, she might have forgotten the pre-nuptial bath. Schöne – Köchly’s *εἰ γάρ <...>* might satisfy someone who is prepared to believe that a happy marriage might make one forget the wedding ceremony. The rest of us will remain puzzled.⁶

³ Klotz 1860, 114–115 (“Scio. Neque enim nuptiae probae [Iphigeniae nuptiae improbae potius dicendae erant] mihi abstulerunt eius rei memoriam”); Weil 1868, 508 (“Le sens de ces mots doit être: «Je me le rappelle: ce n’est pas le bonheur de mon mariage qui m’en a ôté le souvenir». Iphigénie aurait pu oublier ce détail, s’il avait été suivi d’un heureux mariage; mais, se trouvant lié aux souvenirs ineffaçables du jour le plus funeste de sa vie, il est resté gravé dans sa mémoire”).

⁴ Kannicht 1969, 163–164.

⁵ Kyriakou 2006, 273.

⁶ Parker 2016, 225.

...In that case it is difficult to make sense of ἐσθλὸς ὄν: why should a good marriage erase memories of the ritual preliminaries? The line is very likely corrupt.⁷

This criticism is symptomatic. Indeed, the interpretation of Klotz and Weil, for all its depth and elegance, needs not only grammatical but above all substantive parallels. Without them, the idea that a happy marriage could make someone forget the circumstances of the prenuptial ceremony could easily appear like a typical example of anachronistic over-psychologizing, an ‘Ibsenism’. I will attempt to propose such a parallel.

In 1928, Girolamo Vitelli and Medea Norsa published a papyrus fragment of Erinna’s *Distaff* (PSI IX 1090 = 401 SH = Erinn. F 4 Neri), the renowned hexametric ποιημάτων most likely dating from the 4th c. BC. In this poem, written in the first person, Erinna mourns her friend Baucis, who left home to get married and died shortly after the wedding. In the lines preserved on the papyrus, Erinna, interrupting her memories with exclamations of grief, evokes scenes from the common infancy of two girls, with their games, scary fairy tales, and carefree activities. In his monumental edition of Erinna’s *testimonia et fragmenta*, Camillo Neri argued that these flashbacks do not refer to different periods of time, as was previously thought, but to a single night on which “un rito di nubilità” took place.⁸ This hypothesis cannot be discussed here; suffice it to say that if Neri is right (I am not entirely convinced that he is),⁹ this would add weight to my argument, since the parallel with Euripides turns out to be closer. After the set of recollections, Erinna continues as follows (28–30):

άνικα δ’ ἐς [λ]έχος [άνδρὸς ἔβας, τ]όκα πάντ’ ἐλέλασο,
 ἄσσο’ ἔτι νηπιάσσασα τε[ἄς παρὰ] ματρὸς ἄκουσας,
 Βαυκί φίλα· λάθας ..ε.[]. Αφροδίτα.

⁷ Kearns 2023, 213.

⁸ Neri 2003, 90 *et alibi*.

⁹ One of the reviewers expressed enthusiastic support for Neri’s thesis: “It is hard to resist this interpretation. The old perception that the poem describes with childish naivety scenes of everyday life must be laid to rest once and for all” (Spanoudakis 2007, 208).

V. 28 *suppl.* P. Maas:¹⁰ this ingenious reconstruction, which fits with the traces of letters and the context, has been widely accepted and does not require further justification. V. 29 as printed above was also completed by Maas, and this conjecture also became deservedly popular; but here we need a digression. In 1977, M. L. West suggested that the lacuna contained a possessive pronoun of the first person rather than of the second, referring to *Erinna's* mother: ἄσσ' ἔτι νήπια εἶτα τ' ἐ[μᾶς ἐν(ι)] μάτρος ἄκουσας.¹¹ C. Neri made a strong case for νηπιάσασα ("l'unica forma compatibile con le tracce"),¹² but retained τ' [ἐμᾶς παρὰ (vel ποκα)]. His reasons are as follows: (1) a trace after τ "sembra riconducibile a un apostrofo piuttosto che a una lettera";¹³ (2) above in v. 23 (one of the flashbacks), a μάτηρ, mentioned without any clarification, can only be *Erinna's* (cf. *AP* 9. 190. 5–6). In my opinion, νηπιάσασα τ' is impossible because of the particle's position and meaning (Neri vaguely characterizes it as τε *épieque* "con una sfumatura temporale", without discussing the eccentric word order).¹⁴ Since τοι is equally unimaginable here, the assumption of an apostrophe must be rejected.¹⁵ As for argument (2), it does not seem necessary to consider two mothers as the same person. *Erinna* still remembers her mother's tale about *Mormo* (vv. 23–27); in contrast, *Baucis* forgot all *her* mother's words.¹⁶ For v. 30, cf. West's conclusion: "Scholars have sought

¹⁰ Maas 1929a; Maas 1929b; Maas 1934.

¹¹ West 1977, 108 ("If we read εἶτα, τεᾶς is no longer possible, because the τ must represent τ': 'in your infancy and then...'. Elided τ', or there is no caesura").

¹² Neri 2003, 356; cf. 355 (objections against νηπία εἶτα, both palaeographic and metrical).

¹³ *Ibid.* 355; cf. 71; 327. The text of *PSI* IX 1090 is provided with apostrophes, although not systematically.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 358. Neri's references to "*LSJ* 1765 s. v. C 5" (dealing with Homeric ὅτε τε) and "*Denniston GP* 524" (a section devoted to such combinations as ἐξ οὗτε, ἴνα τε or ἐπεῖτε) are misleading.

¹⁵ I am unable to examine the papyrus directly, but both West and the editors of *Supplementum Hellenisticum* assumed that the trace after τ could well be part of ε (West 1977, 99; Lloyd-Jones, Parsons 1983, 191).

¹⁶ We must also dismiss the two peculiar interpretations of μάτηρ in v. 29. D. L. Page believed that vv. 23–29 referred to the girls playing house: *Erinna* took on the role of the mother and *Baucis* that of the daughter. "When she says 'You forgot all you heard from Mother when you were a child', she plainly means 'all you heard from me': she can have no interest in whether *Baucis* forgets things said to her by her real mother in the past" (Page 1981, 344;

the sense ‘Aphrodite made you forget’. A more general proposition such as ‘Aphrodite makes people forget many things’ would, I think, be more effective, but I cannot restore the Greek”.¹⁷

When Baucis came to the marital bed, she forgot everything her mother had told her while she was a maiden; Iphigenia, who had never experienced the joys of marriage, forgot nothing. This parallel, it seems, helps us to understand Euripides’ aphoristic line better and to dispel the doubts expressed by Kyriakou and Kearns (“Why should a good marriage erase memories of the ritual preliminaries?”). If Iphigenia had been blessed with an ἑσθλὸς γάμος, she would have forgotten not her prenuptial bath itself, but rather the touching detail that Clytaemestra provided the water for it. The notion that marriage separates a daughter from her mother, destroying their close personal bond, appears as early as in Sappho’s epithalamia (fr. 104a Voigt; Theocr. 18. 12–15; cf. Hes. *OD* 520–521). There is no need to emphasize that this exchange between Iphigenia and Orestes is imbued with tragic irony, highlighting the stark contrast of their idyllic past and their dire present: the mother Orestes speaks of was killed by him, and the ritual ablution was performed on Iphigenia not as a bride, but as a victim.

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cf. Page 1941, 487, n. b). However, it remains unclear what important and memorable words Erinna could have said to Baucis during their one-time game, as there is simply no room for this *message* on the papyrus (see Bowra 1953, 157 n. 1 for other objections). Zdeněk K. Vysoký assumed that ‘mother’ in all three cases (vv. 23, 29 and *AP* 9. 190. 5–6 [an anonymous epigram on Erinna]) refers to the leader of a ‘Sapphic’ *thiasos* to which Erinna and Baucis belonged (Vysoký 1942, 97–98). Without getting into a discussion about *thiasoi*, I would like to note that Vysoký fails to provide examples of μήτηρ being used in this way: παῖς, adopted by Sappho to designate the young members of her circle, does not necessarily mean ‘daughter’, and Kleis from Sapph. fr. 98; 132 Voigt was the real daughter of the poetess (Hallett 1982).

¹⁷ West 1977, 108. For various attempts for reconstruction, see Neri 2003, 360–364; the general sense is clear.

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During a tense exchange with Orestes, Euripides’ Iphigenia appears to suggest that a happy marriage should erase a young woman’s memory of the events preceding it. This unusual idea has puzzled three recent commentators on the tragedy, P. Kyriakou, L. P. E. Parker, and E. Kearns, who suggest that v. 819 is corrupt. The article draws attention to the fact that the same notion is implied in a papyrus fragment of Erinna (F 4, 28–30 Neri). This parallel enables Iphigenia’s response to be interpreted more accurately: if she had been destined for a happy marriage, she would have forgotten not her prenuptial bath, but the fact that the water for it was given to her by her mother.

В напряженный момент диалога с Орестом еврипидовская Ифигения как будто дает понять, что счастливый брак должен отнимать у девушки память о том, что ему предшествовало. Эта необычная мысль вызвала недоумение трех недавних комментаторов трагедии, которые, совпав в этом с длинным рядом старых издателей, предлагают считать ст. 819 испорченным. В статье обращается внимание на то, что аналогичное представление выражено в папирусном фрагменте Эринны (F 4, 28–30 Neri). Более того, эта параллель позволяет точнее истолковать ответ Ифигении: будь ей сужден счастливый брак, она могла бы забыть не о самом предсвадебном омовении, но о том, что вода для него была передана матерью.

Carolus M. Lucarini

IN PINDARI SCHOLIA ADVERSARIA

Cum ante paucos annos vir de veteribus grammaticis optime meritus mihique amicus, Francus Montanari, me hortatus sit, ut Pindari scholia legerem, editionem Drachmanni¹ evolui nonnullaque, quae mihi corrupta videbantur, emendare conatus sum.

Nem. Hypoth. b (p. 2, 5–7 Drachmann): ἡγωνίζοντο δὲ στρατιῶται καὶ παῖδες στρατιωτῶν· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν πλῆθος ἔδραμεν· ἦν δὲ γυμνικὸς [scil. ἀγών, cf. l. 4 D.] καὶ ἄρμα οὐχὶ δίφρος οὐδὲ κέλῃς.

Dele ἐπί.

Nem. 1 Inscr. b (6, 22 – 7, 3 D.): ζητεῖται δέ, τί δήποτε τῷ Ἀλφειῷ προσδιαλέγεται καὶ τῇ Ὀρτυγίᾳ, τῆς νίκης οὐκ οὔσης Ὀλυμπιακῆς, ἀλλὰ Νεμεακῆς; ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν φασιν, ὅτι τὰ ἵπποτροφεῖα τοῦ Ἰέρωνος καὶ τοῦ Χρομίου ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ Ὀρτυγίᾳ ἦν· τῷ δὲ ἱερὰν εἶναι τὴν κρήνην Ἀρτέμιδος, τὴν δὲ θεὸν ἵππικὴν εἶναι.

Verba τῷ δὲ ... εἶναι vix sana videntur; fortasse τὴν {δὲ} θεὸν scribendum, ut dicat ea causa (τῷ δὲ) Dianam ἵππικὴν esse, quod stabula Hieronis et Chromi in eius insula erant.

Nem. 1, 16 a (13, 8–14 D. schol. **BDP**), cf. etiam 16 b, praecipue 13, 21–22 D. (schol. **U**): ἔκπεμπε τοίνυν, ὦ Μοῦσα, καὶ σπεῖρε λαμπρότητα τινὰ τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ἦντινα ὁ Ζεὺς ἐξαίρετον δέδωκε τῇ Φερσεφόνῃ ἀρίστην οὔσαν καὶ ἐπιτηδειοτάτην τῆς γῆς τῆς εὐκαρποτάτης, καὶ ἐπένευσε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῇ τὴν Σικελίαν πειρῶς καὶ λιπαρῶς ἀνορθώσιν, ἣ τὴν πισοτάτην καὶ καλλίστην ὑψώσιν πλουσίων πόλεων ἐνοικήσῃσι ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἐσομέναις.

¹ Hic agam de volumine III (Drachmann 1927). Cf. etiam Tessier 1989.

ὕπ' αὐτὴν vix sanum est; suspicor ὕπ' ex praecedenti ὑψώσιν ortum esse. Fortasse scripserat scholiasta ἐν αὐτῇ (cf. paulo infra 14, 7–8 D.: οὕτω γὰρ ἔμελλε δηλονότι ὀρθοῦσθαι ἢ Σικελία, εἰ ἀξιολόγους ἔχοι πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ [Lucarini : αὐτῇ codd.]).

Nem. 1, 49 c (20, 13–19 D.): βέλτιον δέ φησιν ὁ Δίδυμος (nr. 144 Coward–Prodi) ἐκεῖνο λέγειν, ὅτι ὁ περὶ τῆς Αἴτνης ἔφη, τοῦτο καὶ νῦν βούλεται δηλοῦν ὁ Πίνδαρος (*Pyth.* 1, 33): ναυσιφορήτοις δ' ἀνδράσι πρώτη χάρις ἐς πλόον ἐρχομένοις πομπαῖον ἐλθεῖν οὔρον. Τοιοῦτο λέγοι ἂν τι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρομίου· ἐπεὶ νῦν ἦρκται ἀγωνίζεσθαι καὶ ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς ἐνίκησε, ἐλπίς ἐστὶν αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεύξεσθαι στεφάνων.

In praecedentibus attulerat scholiasta opinionem Chrysippi grammatici, cui nunc opponit ea quae Didymus contenderat, scilicet locum nostrum *Nemeae* cum *Pythica* 1 esse conferendum, quae ipse magis probat. Videtur esse scribendum δὲ φαίνεται ὁ Διδύμος; verbum φησιν vel ex praecedenti φησιν (p. 20, 12–13 D.: ὅπερ αἰτιώτατον τῆς παρεκβάσεως φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος εἶναι) vel ex insequenti ἔφη ortum suspicor.

Nem. 2, 1 d (30, 8 – 31, 7 D.): οἱ δέ, ὅτι κατὰ μέρος πρότερον τῆς ποιήσεως διαδεδομένης τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν ἕκαστος ὃ τι βούλοιο μέρος ἦδε, τοῦ δὲ ἄθλου τοῖς νικῶσιν ἀρνὸς ἀποδεδειγμένου προσαγορευθῆναι τότε μὲν ἀρνωδούς, αὐθις δὲ ἑκατέρας τῆς ποιήσεως εἰσενεχθείσης τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς οἷον ἀκουμένους πρὸς ἄλληλα τὰ μέρη καὶ τὴν σύμπασαν ποίησιν ἐπιόντας, ῥαψωδοὺς προσαγορευθῆναι. ταῦτά φησι Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀργεῖος (*FrGrHist* 308 F 2).

De origine nominis rhapsodorum agit scholiasta. Quid significet ἑκατέρας non video: fortasse scribendum est μακροτέρας, cum recentioribus temporibus (αὐθις) poemata longiora recitarentur. Sed remedium verum adhuc, suspicor, latet.

Nem. 2, 1 e (31, 19–20 D.): αἰεὶ οὖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐκ Διὸς ἐποιοῦντο προοιμιαζόμενοι, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ Μουσῶν.

Fortasse fuit δὲ καὶ Μουσῶν, cf. 29, 3–4 D.: οὐκ αἰεὶ ἀπὸ Διὸς ἤρχοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Μουσῶν.

Nem. 3, 4 (42, 16–22 D.): ιερομηνίαι δὲ λέγονται αἱ ἐν τῷ μηνὶ ἱεραὶ ἡμέραι οἷαι δῆποτε θεοῖς ἀνειμέναι· τὸν οὖν Δημητριῶνα μηνά φησι Φιλόχορος (*FrGrHist* 328 F 166) ὅλον ψηφίσασθαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ιερομηνίαν λέγεσθαι, οἷον ὅλον ἑορτήν. <...> ιερομηνίαν φησὶν ἐν τούτοις (*Dem.* 24, 29)· ἀπάντων ὑμῶν ἀγόντων ιερομηνίαν. ἔοικε δὲ ὁ Πίνδαρος νῦν ιερομηνίαν λέγειν τὴν τῶν ἐπινίκων ἑορτήν.

Lacunam a Drachmanno agnitam, in qua Demosthenis nomen sine dubio occurrebat, ita explere possis: <ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης δημοτελῆ ἑορτήν> ιερομηνίαν.

Nem. 3, 27 b (46, 22 – 47, 2 D.): τῇ τοῦ παγκρατίου ὀρμῇ, τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει στόλῳ, καὶ ὀρμῇ τῇ περισθενεῖ καὶ πανταχόθεν συνεχομένη μαλαχθεὶς καὶ γυμνασθεὶς ἱκανῶς.

καὶ ὀρμῇ redundat atque delendum videtur. Ante μαλαχθεὶς Schroeder addebat <οὐ>. Malim equidem scribere: συνεχούση μηδὲν μαλαχθεὶς.

Nem. 3, 40 (48, 6–9 D.): ἀμφίβολον πότερον τῆς ἐσχάτης μάρτυρες ναυτιλίας αἱ στῆλαι, ἢ κατὰ τὸ πληθυντικὸν τὰς ἐσχάτας μάρτυρας ἐμφανίζουσας ἔθηκεν, ὅτι μέχρι αὐτῶν δεῖ πλεῖν.

Ordo verborum laborat; lege ἔθηκεν ἐμφανίζουσας, ut participium ὅτι introducat.

Nem. 3, 60 (51, 16–19 D.): ποντίαν Θέτιν κατέμαρψεν· ἀντὶ τοῦ περιεγένετο [scil. Πηλεὺς] αὐτῆς [scil. Θέτιδος] τῶν ἐπιβουλῶν· διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ μετέβαλλε τὰς μορφάς, ὅτε μὲν εἰς πῦρ, ὅτε δὲ εἰς θηρία· ὁ δὲ καρτερήσας περιέγρονε.

Pro καρτερήσας legendum credo κρατήσας (“cum eam comprehendisset”), cf. e. g. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3, 170 (p. 155 Wagner): Χείρωνος οὖν ὑποθεμένου Πηλεΐ συλλαβεῖν καὶ κατασχεῖν αὐτὴν μεταμορφουμένην, ἐπιτηρήσας συναρπάζει, γενομένην δὲ ὅτε μὲν πῦρ ὅτε δὲ ὕδωρ ὅτε δὲ θηρίον οὐ πρότερον ἀνήκε πρὶν ἢ ...

Nem. 3, 61 d (52, 15–16 D.): φησὶν οὖν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Τελαμὼν παραστάτης ὢν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἅμα τῷ Ἰόλῳ ἐπόρθησε τὸν Λαομέδοντα.

Lege potius παραστάτης ὢν τοῦ Ἰόλα ἅμα τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἐπόρθησε... Cf. paulo superius l. 11 D. (τῷ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ συγκαθεῖλε Τελαμῶν τὴν Ἰλιον) et Pindari locum (Λαομέδοντα δ'εὐρυσθενῆς / Τελαμῶν Ἰόλα παραστάτης ἔων ἔπερσε).

Nem. 3, 72 a (53, 19–21 D.): ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος (p. 230 fr. 39 Schmidt = nr. 148 Coward–Prodi)· οὐδέποτε καταβὰς ἐπὶ τι πρᾶγμα ἐνέμεινεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνεκαρτέρησεν, ἀλλ' εἰς πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα μετατρέπει.

Cum τρέπω intransitive non adhibeatur, suspicor μετατρέπεται esse scribendum.

Nem. 3, 116 (58, 16–18 D.): τὸ ἐπιχώριον καὶ ἴδιον αὐτῶν τῶν Αἰγινήτων χάρμα καὶ ἡδονὴν ἀνυμνῶν τὸν νικηφόρον.

Lege τοῦ νικηφόρου, cf. Schol. in *Ol.* 13, 39 d (365, 18 D.): ὅς ἐστιν ὕμνος τῶν νικηφόρων.

Nem. 3, 129 b (60, 14–17 D.): ὁ θνητὸς αἰὼν καὶ τετάρτην ἀρετὴν ταύτην φέρει, τὸ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος φροντίζειν· ὢν οὐκ ἄπεστιν ὁ Ἀριστοκλείδης, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ταῖς τρισί, φησίν, αἷς προκατεῖλχε, κέκτηται καὶ ταύτην, τουτέστι τοῦ παρόντος φροντίζειν.

Lege ἃς προκατεῖλοχε (“quas antea enumeravit”, scil. a verbo προκαταλέγω; de forma -κατεῖλοχα, cf. Montanari s. v. καταλέγω).

Nem. 3, 134 a (61, 1–5 D.): τῇ ὁμοιότητι χρῆται τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέλιτος καὶ γάλακτος κατὰ [Drachmann in app. : καὶ **BDP**] διαφορὰν ἐπὶ τοῦ ποιήματος, καθὼς ἀποδέχεται τὰ φύσει γράφων ποιήματα τῶν ἐκ πόνου· τὸ γὰρ γάλα φύσει παρέπεται ταῖς τικτούσαις, τὸ δὲ μέλι μετὰ πόνου αἰ μέλισσαι ἐργάζονται.

Fortasse fuit καθὼς ἀπέχει [scil. “distat”] τὰ φύσει γραφόμενα τῶν ἐκ πόνου.

Nem. 3, 136 b (61, 16 D.): qua ex causa Pindari verba Αἰολῆσιν ἐν πνοαῖσιν αὐλῶν grammaticus τοῖς Δωρίοις φθόγγοις interpretetur addita admonitione Pindarum Aeolicum ἄνωθεν esse, satis mirari nequeo.

Nem. 4, 1 c (64, 2–3 D.): ἡ ἀρίστη εὐφροσύνη τῶν τετελειωμένων καὶ πεπληρωμένων πόνων καὶ σπουδασμάτων ἱατρός ἐστιν.

Scribendum videtur ἡ εὐφροσύνη ἀρίστη τῶν... Cf. Pindari verba: ἄριστος εὐφροσύνα πόνων κεκριμένων / ἱατρός...

Nem. 4, 30 (68, 8–9 D.): ἦν δὲ καταλληλότερον εἰπεῖν *Θηβῶν*, ἢν' ἧ καὶ ἀπὸ *Θηβῶν* ἔπεμψας αὐτῷ στέφανον.

Excidit, opinor, vel post *Θηβῶν* vel post ἔπεμψας vocula <ἄν>, cum Timocritus, pater victoris Timasarchi, iam diem obisset neque ullum nuntium vel Thebis vel aliunde accipere posset; memento enim hic Pindarum de tempore praesenti, vix de praeterito loqui.

Nem. 4, 53 b (73, 4–8 D.): ὁ δὲ Ἀμμώνιος (fr. 24 D' Alessandro) ὡμολογηκέναι φησὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον ἐν χρόνῳ τινὶ ἀποδώσειν τὸν ἐπίνικον· ὁ νόμος μὲν οὗτος, ὃν διεστησάμεθα ἐγὼ τε καὶ οἱ τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας, ἧ ἀποδώσω, κωλύει με μακρὰ γράφειν.

Pro διεστησάμεθα scribe συνεστησάμεθα.

Nem. 4, 92 a (79, 11–6 D.): Ἰπολύτης θυγάτηρ γέγονε Κρηθ-
ῆς Ἀκάστου γαμετή, ἥτις τῷ Πηλεΐ ἐρωτικῶς διατεθεῖσα καὶ
μὴ πείσασα συνελθεῖν αὐτὸν φθάσασα τῷ Ἀκάστῳ ὥς ἄσμενον
ἢ βίαιον διέβαλεν. ὁ δὲ κατακούσας καὶ προφασισάμενος ἤγαγεν
ἐπὶ τὰ ἀπέρημα τοῦ Πηλίου ὄρους, καὶ καταλείψας...

Inauditum ἀπέρημα in ἔρημα emendandum videtur. Sed fortasse vox nobis inaudita non talis erat Graecis, ut me admonet D. Keyer, qui Hesych. α 6002 Latte–Cunningham confert: ἀπερημάσαι· ἀποικῆσαι.

Nem. 4, 100 a (81, 13–16 D.): ἀμφίβολον πότερον τὸ *μόρσιμον*
ἔκφερε καὶ ἔξω ἔφερε τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ τὸν
πεπρωμένον, ἢ οἷον ἐξέφερε καὶ ὑπεδείκνυε τὸ πεπρωμένον.

Hoc legitur apud Pindarum: ἄλαλκε δὲ Χίρων, / καὶ τὸ μόρσιμον
Διόθεν πεπρωμένον ἔκφερεν. Fortasse ita scholium restituendum:
πότερον <καὶ> τὸ μόρσιμον ἔκφερε καὶ ἔξω ἔφερε τοῦ κινδύνου κατὰ
τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ τὸν πεπρωμένον, ἢ οἷον ...

Nem. 4, 112 a (83, 25 – 84, 1 D.): περαιτέρω γὰρ λοιπὸν ὁ Ὠκεανὸς καὶ πάντα ἀφανῆ, ζόφου ὄντος. τὰ ἐντεῦθεν οὖν τῶν Γαδείρων τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐστὶν· εἰς δύο γὰρ διήρητο τὸ παλαιὸν μέρη ἢ οἰκουμένη, Εὐρώπην καὶ Ἀσίαν.

Pro ἐντεῦθεν scriberem ἔντοσθεν.

Nem. 4, 123 (84, 17–20 D.): ἔνθα τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀπόπειραν λαβόντες, καὶ γνῶσιν τῆς ἀγωνίας σχόντες οὐδέποτε ἄνευ στεφάνων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐληλύθασι, τῶν ἑνδοξον καρπὸν φερόντων στεφάνων.

Pro τῶν ἑνδοξον lege mecum τὸν ἑνδοξον.

Nem. 4, 148 b (86, 24–26 D.): ταῦτά γε μὴν ὅπως ἂν τύχη λέγων, ἐλπίζει καὶ πείθεται αὐτὸς ἐξαιρέτως καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς λογίους εἰρηκέναι.

Adde ἂν <τις> τύχη.

Nem. 5, 17 b (91, 21–22 D.): Ἑλλήνιος δὲ Ζεὺς τιμᾶται ἐν Αἰγίνῃ παρὰ τῷ οὕτως Ἑλληνίῳ ἀκρωτηρίῳ καλουμένῳ.

Nonne patet Ἑλληνίῳ esse delendum atque (de quo me admonet N. Almazova) vel παρὰ τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ οὕτω(ς) καλουμένῳ vel παρὰ τῷ οὕτω(ς) καλουμένῳ ἀκρωτηρίῳ esse scribendum?

Nem. 5, 30 a (93, 13–15 D.): οὐ φέρει κέρδος πᾶσα ἀλήθεια ἀτρεκῆς γινομένη καὶ φαίνουσα τὸ ἴδιον πρόσωπον, ἀλλὰ δεῖ ποτε καὶ ἐπικεκρύφθαι τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς ἀληθείας.

Drachmann γινομένη pro codicum γὰρ audacter introduxit. Transpone potius γὰρ ante φέρει; de hac vocula in principio scholi cf. e. g. Schol. in *Nem.* 6, 97 b (113, 21 D.).

Nem. 5, 39 (94, 8–9 D.): οἱ ἀετοί, φησὶν, οὐ μόνον τὰ περίγεια πέτονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πελαγίζουσι.

Fortasse fuit <περί> τὰ περίγεια, cum πέτομαι obiectum regere nequeat.

Nem. 6, 4 a–c (102, 10–12 D.): a. *διείργει δὲ πᾶσα κεκριμένα δύναμις*· ἡ ἀμετάβλητος. b. ἡ πολλή, ἐπιτατικῶς. c. *κεκριμένη, ἥτοι κεχωρισμένη*.

Scribe ἡ ἀμετάβλητος.

Nem. 6, 97 a (113, 15–20 D.): σημαίνει γὰρ ὅτι ἐκουσίως ἐγὼ τοῦτο τὸ βάρος ὑπέμεινα δίδυμον ὑπάρχον· τοῦτο δέ φησιν, ἡ ὅτι σὺν τῷ τὸν Ἀλκιμίδην ὑμνῆσαι συμπαραλαμβάνειν μέλλει καὶ ἔπαινον τοῦ ἀλείπτου Μελησίου, ἡ τὸ τοῦ Ἀλκιμίδου καὶ τὸ τῶν Αἰγινήτων.

Lege ἡ τὸ<v> τοῦ Ἀλκιμίδου καὶ τὸ<v> τῶν Αἰγινήτων.

Nem. 6, 104 a (114, 11–13 D.): κληρωθέντες οὖν οὗτοι παίδων ἀγωνίσασθαι, μεταξὺ γενειάσαντες ἐξεκρούσθησαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος.

Adde <μετὰ> παίδων, cf. Schol. in *Isthm.* 4, 120 a (239, 15 D.): μετὰ παίδων προαγωνισάμενος ἐνίκησεν.

Nem. 7, 1 a (117, 12–15 D.): Ἀριστόδημος δὲ ὁ Ἀριστάρχου μαθητὴς βέλτιον οὕτω φησίν· ὁπὲ ποτε τῷ Θεαρίωνι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἤδη προήκοντι, εὐξαμένῳ τῇ θεῷ Σωγένην τεκνωθῆναι, καὶ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ γέννησιν οἶον Εὐλειθυίας εἶναι χάριν.

Nonne patet vel παρὰ esse delendum vel post id verbum <προσδοκίαν> esse addendum? Keyer autem suggerit παρὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν {ἥδη προήκοντι}.

Nem. 7, 35 b (121, 23–7 D.): εἰ γὰρ ἦν τὴν οὖσαν καὶ δέουσαν ἀλήθειαν πάντας γινώσκειν, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ ὁ Αἴας τῶν ἀριστείων ἐστερήθη, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν τῶν κρινάντων ὄχλων ἀμαθίαν, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐνέπηξε κατὰ τῶν φρενῶν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ξίφος.

Dele εἰ μὴ atque interpunctionem post ἐστερήθη.

Nem. 7, 47 (123, 4–14 D.): ἔμολε παρὰ μέγαν ὀμφαλὸν εὐρυκόλπου χθονὸς Νεοπτόλεμος, Πριάμου πόλιν ἐπεὶ πρᾶθε· τεθνηκότων δὲ τῶν βοηθῶν ἐν Πυθίοις δαπέδοις κεῖται. ποίων δὲ βοηθῶν; τῶν περὶ τὸν Εὐρύπυλον, οὓς αὐτὸς ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος ἀνελών

ἐπόρθησε τὴν Ἰλιον. οὕτω γὰρ ἴδιος ὁ πόνος ἔσται τοῦ ἥρωος. δοκεῖ δὲ ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνηρῆσθαι καὶ τεθεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ ναῷ. ἐὰν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα, καθὼς Ἀρίσταρχος φησιν, ἀναδράμωμεν, πρῶτον μὲν μακρόθεν ἔσται τὴν πόρθησιν συνάπτων, δεύτερον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν κοινότητα μεταβησόμεθα, δι' ἧς τὸ ἐγκώμιον οὐκ ἔσται.

Aristarchi interpretatione accepta non laudatio omnino concidit, sed laudatio Neoptolemi; unde supplendum censeo ἐγκώμιον <ἴδιον> οὐκ ἔσται. Cf. Schol. in *Ol.* 9, 40 (276, 11 D.): τὰ ἴδια ἐπεξεργάζεται ἐγκώμια et 11, 10 c (345, 17–18 D.): τοῦτο δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἴδια ἐγκώμια κατασκευάζει; Schol. in *Nem.* 3, 51 (50, 14–15 D.): ἔπαινον ἐξ ἀλλοτριῶν ἐγκωμίων καὶ μὴ ἰδίων.

Nem. 7, 62 c (125, 20–22 D.): δεύτερον δέ, ὅτι πρέπον ἦν <ἕνα> τῶν Αἰακιδῶν καὶ ὀφειλόμενον σύνοικον εἶναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι.

<ἕνα> addidit Abel ex schol. ad v. 70 (126, 11–12 D.), sed cum nulla necessitudo inter duo scholia intercedat, possis etiam <τινα> ex Pindaro ipso (44–45: ἐχρῆν δέ τιν' ἔνδον ἄλσει παλαιτάτῳ / Αἰακιδᾶν κρεόντων τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμμεναι) supplere.

Nem. 7, 70 (126, 16–20 D.): ἔνιοι δὲ οὕτως· ἀπολογεῖται [Drachmann in app. : ἀπολογοῦνται **BD**] περὶ τῆς τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου τελευτῆς τρία φέροντες ταῦτα, ὅτι <τε> [add. Drachmann in app.] ὑπὲρ τῶν κρεῶν εἶπεν [Drachmann in app. : εἶπεῖν **BD**] ἀνηρῆσθαι, καὶ ὅτι οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐβαρύνθησαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι πεπρωμένον ἦν αὐτὸν ἀναιρεθῆναι.

Addendum videtur αὐτὸν <αὐτοῦ> ἀναιρεθῆναι, cum necessitas esset Neoptolemum Delphis interfici atque humari (cf. Pindari vv. 44 sqq.). Verbum φέροντες, Drachmanno obscurum, in φέρων (“adferens”) fortasse mutandum.

Nem. 7, 94 a (128, 22–25 D.): ἐὼν δ' ἐγγὺς Ἀχαιὸς οὐ μέμψεται μ' ἀνήρ· Ἀχαιὸν ἄνδρα τὸν Ἑπειρώτην· ἢ αὐτὸν τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον ἢ ἕνα τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν. Ἀχαιὸς γὰρ οὐ καθάπαξ ὁ Ἑπειρώτης, ἀλλὰ Μυρμιδῶν.

Legendum videtur ἀλλὰ <ὁ> Μυρμιδῶν.

Nem. 7, 99 a–b (130, 19–20 D.): ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς εὐφρων ποτὶ χρόνος ἔρποι· [...] b ὁ δὲ νοῦς ὅλος· εἴθε μοι τὸ ὅλον τοῦ βίου οὕτω μετ' εὐφροσύνης συμπερανθείη.

Patet τὸ ὅλον ex ὅλος esse ortum atque in τὸ λοιπὸν esse corrigendum.

Nem. 7, 106 b (132, 7–11 D.): ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ παλαίοντες χρονοτριβοῦσι καὶ διὰ τὸν πλείονα χρόνον ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ μένουσι, διὰ τοῦτο φησι· πρὶν ἁλίῳ γυῖον ἐμπεσεῖν, τουτέστι πρὸ τοῦ ἐκλυθῆναι τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου διὰ τὴν πάλην, ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν· πρὶν παλαῖσαι σε.

Dele διὰ ante τὸν πλείονα, ex insequenti videlicet ortum.

Nem. 7, 116 (133, 9–13 D.): τινὲς φασιν εἶναι κουράλιον, εἰρησθαι δὲ αὐτὸ ποντίαν ἔερσαν διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν, ἕως μὲν ἐστι κατὰ βάθους, ἀπαλὸν εἶναι καὶ φυτῷ ὅμοιον· ὅταν δὲ ἀνασπασθῇ καὶ γένηται ἔξω τοῦ ὕδατος, ἀπολιθοῦσθαι τοῦ ἡλίου καταλάμπσαντος αὐτῷ.

Pro αὐτῷ Schneider malebat αὐτοῦ, ego αὐτό.

Nem. 7, 127 c (134, 26 – 135, 1 D.): Ἀρίσταρχος οὕτως· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὰς συνουσίας καὶ γειτνιάσεις ἕτερος ἄνθρωπος ἀφ' ἐτέρου γεύεται τε καὶ ἀπολαύει ἀφομοιούμενος.

Suspisor voculam ἀφ' esse insiticiam atque ab ἀφομοιούμενος ortam.

Nem. 7, 155 a (137, 18 – 138, 5 D.): Ἀλήτης {ἐλθὼν} περὶ τῆς ἐν Κορίνθῳ βασιλείας προσῆλθε τῷ μαντεῖῳ τῷ ἐν Δωδώνῃ, ὃ ἐστὶ τοῦ Διός, καὶ ἔχρησεν αὐτῷ τότε κρατήσιν, ὅτε τις δῶ βῶλον γῆς· ἐπιθέσθαι δὲ ἡμέρα πολυστεφάνῳ. ἐλθὼν οὖν ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἥτει τινὰ ἄρτον ἀγροῖκον ὁ Ἀλήτης, ὁ δὲ λαβὼν βῶλον ἔδωκεν. ἐτελεῖτο δὲ καὶ θυσία τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐν Κορίνθῳ, δι' ἣν τῆς πόλεως ἐν μνήμασιν οὔσης ἐπέρχεται ὁ Ἀλήτης, καὶ εὐρὼν Κρέοντος θυγατέρας περὶ τὰς θήκας [ita Drachmann in app. : περὶ συνθήκας **BD**] γενομένας, ἔφησέ τε ἐὰν κρατήσῃ, ἔξειν τὴν νεωτέραν αὐτῶν πρὸς γάμον, καὶ πείθεται ἡ κόρη καὶ προδίδωσι τὴν πόλιν τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξασα.

Excidit aliquid ante ἔφησέ τε velut <τὸν χρησμὸν ἐδήλωσε>.

Nem. 8, 1 a (140, 18–23 D.): ὃ ἀκμὴ ἐντιμοτάτη, ἄγγελε τῶν ἀφροδισίων καὶ θαυμαστῶν φιλιῶν, ἥτις τοῖς τε τῶν παρθένων βλεφάροις καὶ τοῖς παιδικοῖς ἐπικαθεζομένη, <τὸν μὲν> πράεσιν ἔρωσι ταῖς τῆς ἀνάγκης χερσὶ βαστάζεις, ἕτερον δὲ φαύλοις πόθοις. πράεσι δὲ φησι ταῖς τῆς ἀνάγκης χερσίν, ὅτι ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἡμῖν οἱ ἔρωτες παραγίνονται.

Dele molestissimum illud ἔρωσι.

Nem. 8, 6 (140, 27 – 141, 3 D.): ἀγαπητὸν δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ εὐτακτον τῆς εὐκαιρίας καὶ τοῦ δέοντος καιροῦ μὴ ἀποσφαλέντα πρὸς ἕκαστον ἔργον, τῶν βελτιόνων ἐρώτων ἐπιθυμεῖν δύνασθαι καὶ ἐπικρατεῖν, τῶν δὲ φαύλων ἀπέχεσθαι.

Ordine verborum leviter immutato lege ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ δύνασθαι ἐπικρατεῖν, cf. Pindari versum (5) τῶν ἀρειόνων ἐρώτων ἐπικρατεῖν δύνασθαι et paulo infra scholium ipsum (141, 3–4 D.): τοιούτων οὖν ἐρώτων ἐπικρατεῖν δύνασθαι, φησί, καλὸν ἐστίν.

Nem. 8, 34 a (143, 26–27 D.): βασανίζοντες γὰρ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ τὰ λεγόμενα κρίσιν διδόασιν.

Lege potius κρίσει διδόασιν, cf. paulo superius l. 23–25 D.: νεώτερα δὲ ἐγκώμια ἐξευρόντα καὶ ἐπινοήσαντα τῇ τῶν ἀκροατῶν κρίσει δοῦναι πρὸς διάκρισιν καὶ δοκιμασίαν ἐπικίνδυνον.

Nem. 8, 41 c (144, 19–24 D.): ναὶ δὴ τὸν μὴ τῷ λόγῳ μὲν ἱκανόν, ἀνδρεῖον δὲ σῶμα μόνον ἔχοντα, μεγάλη λήθη ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μάχῃ καὶ στάσει κατέχει· καταπαλαίονται γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ οἱ πάντῃ ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ βαρύσωμοι ὑπὸ φρονίμων. τὸν γὰρ ἐν τῷ λέγειν μὴ δεινὸν μηδὲ σοφιστὴν τῷ λόγῳ ὁ τοιοῦτος ὑπερβάλλει.

Lege τὸν τῷ λόγῳ μὲν μὴ ἱκανόν (vel τὸν τῷ μὲν λόγῳ μὴ ἱκανόν, ut mavult N. Almazova). Cf. in sequentibus μὴ δεινόν.

Nem. 11 inscr. a (185, 11–13 D.): εἰ δὲ παραμιμνήσκεται, ὅτι περιχώρους ἀγῶνας ἐνίκα παῖς ὢν, οὐ διὰ τοῦτο ἀθλητής· καθὼς οὐκ ἀθλητῇ γέγραπται, ἀλλὰ πρυτάνει καθὼς ἐπρυτάνευσεν.

Lege potius οὐ διὰ τοῦτο ἀθλητῇ καθὼς ἤθλει γέγραπται, ἀλλὰ κτλ.

Nem. 11, 22 a (187, 24–25 D.): ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν γνώμῃ ἐπαινέσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς προσήκει, φησίν.

Pro ἀγαθῶν Drachmann desiderat ἀστῶν. Adderem potius τῇ <τῶν ἀστῶν> τῶν ἀγαθῶν, cf. paulo infra (187, 27): ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

Nem. 11, 62 a (191, 9–13 D.): οὐ δεῖ, φησί, ζητεῖν ὠφελείας ὑπερμέτρους οὐδὲ κερδαίνειν τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς. ἀπροσίκτων δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀμηχάνων, ὧν οὐκ ἔστι θιγεῖν. τῶν γὰρ ἐρώτων σκληραὶ εἰσιν αἱ μανίαι καὶ σύντονοι αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι.

Non de desideratis universis loquitur scholiasta, sed tantum de iis quae vix consequi possis (Pindarus: ἀπροσίκτων δ' ἐρώτων ὁζύτεραι μανίαι). Lege igitur <τού>των γὰρ ἐρώτων.

Isthm. Hypothesis (193, 18–21 D.): πάντας δὲ εἰκότως τοὺς γενομένους ὑπερηφάνους καὶ γενναίους Ποσειδῶνος παῖδας φασιν οἱ ποιηταί, εἰς τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἄγριον καὶ οὐ σταθερὸν ἀφορῶντες κάκειθεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ τοιοῦτου λαμβάνοντες.

Non omnes superbos Neptuni filios dicunt poetae, sed omnes Neptuni filios superbos aiunt: unde τοὺς vel post γενναίους ponendum vel delendum.

Isthm. 1, 15 b (200, 9–11 D.): καὶ μήποτε ἀνάξιον Ἡρακλέους ἡγήσατο πρὸς ἄθλον καὶ κατόρθωμα τοῦ ἥρωος ἀντιπαράταξαι τὸν κύνα;

Pindarus de pluribus Geryonis canibus ab Hercule caesis loquitur, cum aliunde constet canem unum fuisse, unde suspicatur scholiasta Pindarum ad amplificandam herois gloriam numerum beluarum auxisse. Pro τὸν κύνα suspicor esse scribendum ἓνα κύνα, cf. paulo supra ll. 3–7: εἷς γὰρ ἦν ὁ Γηρυόνου κύων ... ἐνὸς γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ Γηρυόνου κυνός.

Isthm. 1, 36 (203, 8–14 D.): ὄντινων στεφάνων πλείστοις ἀναδυσάμενοι βλαστήμασι τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐνδοξοὶ ὤφθησαν κατὰ τὰς Θήβας καὶ Λακεδαίμονα. πάλιν δὲ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ συγέκρουκε τὸ

ἐκατέρῳ συμβεβηκός, εἰπὼν αὐτοὺς φανῆναι νενικηκότας πέλας τῆς Δίρκης καὶ τοῦ Εὐρώτα· Ἰόλαος μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τῇ Δίρκῃ (ἔστι γὰρ Θηβῶν αὕτη), Κάστωρ δὲ παρὰ Εὐρώτῃ (οὗτος γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιος ποταμός).

Adfirmat scholiasta poetam in unum contulisse (συγκέκρουκε) quae Iolao et Polluci separatim acciderant; adde ἐκατέρῳ <χωρίς> συμβεβηκός, cf. 201, 11–12 D.: ἀλλὰ τὸ χωρὶς συμβεβηκός τῷ Κάστορι καὶ Ἰολάῳ κατ’ ἀμφοτέρων κοινῶς εἴρηκεν. Post Θηβῶν αὕτη adde <πηγή>.

Isthm. 1, 60 (207, 2–3 D.): ἢ χωρὶς τοῦ ἰώτα· εἰ ἀρετὰ κατάκειται ὁ καὶ μάλλον.

Ita **D**, cum **B** habeat βέλτιον, ὁ καὶ μάλλον. Suspicio βέλτιον a **B** (vel eius fonte) esse introductum, cum μάλλον non intelligeretur. Vide ne fuerit ὁ καὶ κάλλιον, cf. Schol. in *Pyth.* 10, 85 c (251, 4 D.): οἱ δέ, ὅπερ κάλλιον, τοὺς Κρανωνίους ἤκουσαν.

Isthm. 1, 81 b (209, 7–8 D.): προσήκει προσεῖπεν καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ ἱερὸν ἄλσος τὴν Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν, καθ’ ἣν ὁ νικηφόρος ἐνίκησεν.

Immo καθ’ ἧς, cf. paulo infra (209, 12–13 D.): Εὐβοιάν τε καὶ Ἐλευσῖνα διὰ τοὺς δρόμους καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς ἀγῶνας.

Isthm. 1, 85 b (210, 2–10 D.): ἦτοι ὅτι πρὸς τὸν διδόμενον μισθὸν καὶ τὰς ψῆδὰς ἐξέτεινε, ἵν’ ἢ οὕτω πάντα αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀγωνίσματα εἰπεῖν βραχὺν μισθὸν ἔχων ὁ ὕμνος οὐ συγχωρεῖ μοι· ἢ ὅτι ἡ συμμετρία τῶν εἰρημένων λόγων ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ἑκτασιν καὶ μῆκος. Ἀριστόδημος δὲ καὶ τοῦτο λαμβάνων πρὸς τὸ μόνων τῶν ἐπισήμων αὐτὸν μνημονεύειν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς παρωδευκέναι, βραχὺ φησι μέτρον εἰρηκέναι τοῦ ὕμνου διὰ τὰς ἐκδόσεις τῶν ἐπινίκων πρὸς ἀριθμὸν ἐπῶν καὶ τριάδων ἔχειν τοὺς μισθοὺς.

Adfirmat Pindarus (vv. 60–62) se propter brevitatem carminis non omnes victorias equestres Herodoti persequi posse. Scholiasta duabus explicationibus adlatis (πάντα αὐτοῦ ... συγχωρεῖ μοι; ἢ ὅτι ... καὶ μῆκος) addit opinionem Aristodemi grammatici. Pro καὶ τοῦτο

scribendum videtur καὶ αὐτός, cum Aristodemus eatenus grammaticis antea adlatis consentiat, ut credat Pindarum μόνων τῶν ἐπισήμων μνημονεύειν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς παρωδευκέναι. Verbum ἐπισήμων parum perspicuum esse iam adnotavit Drachmann; fortasse addendum ἐπισήμων <ἀγώνων>, cf. Schol. in *Nem.* 10, 35 (170. 21–22 D.): ἐπεὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ... οὐκ ἦν ἐπίσημος.

Isthm. 2 inser. a (213, 4–10 D.): Καλλίστρατος δέ φησι τὸν Πίνδαρον μὴ τυχόντα τοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν μισθοῦ διὰ τινὰ μικρολογίαν τοῦ Ξενοκράτους προσδιαλέγεσθαι Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ νίῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ εἰς Ξενοκράτην, φησί, γέγραφε τὴν ᾠδὴν, ἀλλ' εἰς Θρασύβουλον· καὶ γὰρ ἡ εἰσβολὴ περὶ ἀργυρίου μέμψεώς ἐστιν, ὡς θέλοντος αὐτοῦ τὸν κατ' ἀξίαν μισθὸν κομίσασθαι.

Principium carminis potius ipsum avaritiae exprobratio est, quam de exprobratione avaritiae agit. Suspicio igitur olim fuisse ἀργυρίου μέμψις ἐστίν, cf. Schol. in *Nem.* 7, 123 a (134, 7–8): πρὸς τοὺς μεμφομένους περὶ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου.

Isthm. 2, 2 (214, 1–3 D.): ἄμπτυξ μὲν κυρίως κόσμος τις περὶ τὰς γυναικείας κεφαλάς· Ὅμηρος (X, 469)· ἄμπτυκα κεκρύφαλόν τε· νῦν δὲ ἀπὸ μέρους τὰς τιμίας λέγει.

Quid significet τὰς τιμίας non video; an scribendum est τὰς ταινίας?

Isthm. 2, 54 a (219, 25 – 220, 4 D.): Διόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνειος μὴ νοήσας ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου κεῖται τὸ ἦν, θρῆνόν φησι γεγράφθαι, οὔτε ἐκεῖνο νοήσας, ὅτι παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἐναλλάττονται <οἱ> χρόνοι, οὔτε τὸ ἐπὶ τέλους λεγόμενον (τὸ *Νικάσιππ' ἀπόνειμον, ὅταν ξεῖνον ἐμὸν ἡθαῖον ἔλθῃς*) πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα, οὐ πρὸς τὸν τετελευτηκότα.

Diodorus Aristophaneus, contendit scholiasta noster, verbo praeterito ἦν deceptus, credebat Xenocratem, dum Pindarus poemation conscribit, iam diem obisse. Ut adnotat Drachmann, verba μὴ νοήσας sensu carent, cum Diodorum certe non fugerit verbum ἦν esse praeteritum. Dele μὴ νοήσας (quod fortasse ex insequenti νοήσας ortum est) atque intellege: “Diodorus Aristophaneus, propterea quod ἦν est forma praeteriti, adfirmat a Pindaro θρῆνον esse conscriptum...”.

Isthm. 2, 61 b (221, 17–20 D.): ἕκαστος, φησί, τῶν ξενιζομένων ἐκ μὲν θερμότητος καὶ καμάτων πρὸς ψυχρότητα καὶ ἀνάκτησιν ὥσπερ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσπευδεν, ἐκ δὲ χειμῶνος πρὸς θερμότητα.

Verbum ὥσπερ post καμάτων traicerem.

Isthm. 4, 11 b (226, 16–19 D.): οἱ μὲν οὖν σοὶ πρόγονοι ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διαβεβόηνται κατὰ τὰς Θήβας ἐπίτιμοι καὶ ἔνδοξοι γεγονέναι πάντων τῶν ἐνοικούντων ξενισταὶ τῆς τε θορυβώδους ὕβρεως παντελῶς ὄντες ἀλλότριοι.

Verbum ἐνοικούντων parum aptum esse iam vidit Drachmann; ego id in περιοικούντων corrigerem, cf. e. g. Schol. in *Nem.* 6, 67 b (110, 1 D.): ἀμφικτυόνων δὲ τῶν περιοικούντων et *Nem.* 8, 14 a (141, 26 – 142, 1 D.): ὥστε τοὺς περιοικούντας ἐκουσίως πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἀναξίαις.

Isthm. 4, 58 d (231, 13–20 D.): ὁ δὲ Χρῦσιππος αἰνιγματωδῶς φησι κεῖσθαι τὴν περὶ τοῦ Αἴαντος ἱστορίαν· ἄδηλον γὰρ πότερον εἰς τὴν πάλιν τείνει τὴν γενομένην πρὸς Ὀδυσσέα, ὅτε ἐνίκησε δόλῳ, ἢ εἰς τὰ περὶ τὴν κρίσιν τῶν ὅπλων. ἄμεινον δὲ φησιν, ὅτι καὶ ὡς ὁ Αἴας μείζων ὢν κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα βαστάζων τὸν Ὀδυσσέα δόλῳ παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐλήφθη, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Μέλισσος μείζονα ὄντα τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν τῇ τέχνῃ ἐνίκησε.

Quid sibi velit καὶ ante ὡς Αἴας non video; dele voculam.

Isthm. 4, 63 a (232, 13–16 D.): κατὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ μὲν ἀλλὰ κείμενος ἔσται διεσταλτικός, ὁ δὲ λόγος· καίπερ ἐλάττονα τὸν Ὀδυσσέα γενόμενον Ὅμηρος τετίμηκε. γελοίως.

Quid significet κατὰ δὲ τούτους iam Drachmann non intellegebat, cum antea explicatio grammatici Chrysippi inducatur, cui haec nova opponitur. Vide ne fuerit κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους, cf. Schol. in *Ol.* 8, 60 a (252, 7 D.).

Isthm. 4, 92 b (236, 10–14 D.): ὅπως ταῖς τῶν ἀναιρουμένων ξένων κεφαλαῖς τὸ αὐτόθι τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τέμενος ἐμφράττοντα Ἀνταῖον ἐπίσχη· ἐδυστύχει γὰρ ἀπανθρωπίαν ἅμα καὶ εἰς θεοὺς ἀσέβειαν· καὶ ἐπισχὼν Ἡρακλῆς μισθὸν τοῦ κατορθώματος τὴν εἰς Ὀλυμπον ἀνάβασιν ἐδέξατο.

Suspisor excidisse ἐδυστύχει γὰρ <ἢ γῆ δι> ἀπανθρωπίαν.

Isthm. 5, 14 a (243, 12–14 D.): τὸ εὖ πάσχειν καὶ τὸ λόγον <ἐσθλὸν> ἀκούειν δύο ὄντα ποιμαίνουσι καὶ παραθάλλουσι τὸν ἀνέλπιστον τῆς ζωῆς ἄωτον.

Pro ὄντα lege μόνα, cf. Pindari locum (δύο δὲ τοι ζωᾶς ἄωτον / μούνα ποιμαίνοντι).

Isthm. 5, 36 b (245, 2–5 D.): τοῖς δὲ σοφοῖς ἀνδρισάμενοι παρέσχοντο τὴν τῶν ἐγκωμίων φροντίδα, καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς γνώμην τιμώμενοι τήνδε τὴν τῶν ἐγκωμίων φροντίδα καὶ σύνθεσιν.

Homines qui viriliter egerunt (ἀνδρισάμενοι) poetis (τοῖς σοφοῖς) materiam carminum dederunt. Post παρέσχοντο dele τὴν τῶν ἐγκωμίων φροντίδα καὶ utpote ex insequentibus huc perperam inlata.

Isthm. 6, 14 b (252, 27–28 D.): εἰ γάρ τις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τῇ δαπάνῃ χαρεῖς καὶ ἡσθεῖς γλυκεῖαν ἔσχε τὴν ἐκβασιν.

Adde δαπάνη <καὶ πόνω>, cf. Pindari locum (εἰ γάρ τις ἀνθρώπων δαπάνῃ τε χαρεῖς / καὶ πόνω) et scholium paulo supra (252, 19–20 D.): ἐπὶ τῷ δαπανᾶν ... χαρεῖς ... καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πονεῖν.

Isthm. 6, 53 a (255, 19–22 D.): εἴληπται δὲ ἐκ τῶν Μεγάλων Ἥοιων ἡ ἱστορία (fr. 250 M.–W.): ἐκεῖ γὰρ εὐρίσκεται ἐπιξενούμενος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τῷ Τελαμῶνι καὶ ἐμβαίνων τῇ δορᾷ καὶ εὐχόμενος, καὶ οὕτως ὁ διόπομπος αἰετὸς, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν προσωρυμίαν ἔλαβεν Αἴας.

Pro εὐχόμενος καὶ οὕτως Wilamowitz coniecit εὐχόμενος οὕτως καί, remedio levi et eleganti. Ego malim εὐχόμενος καὶ οὕτως <ἐφεστῶς> ὁ διόπομπος, verbo οὕτως pro “tunc, post id” accepto (cf. Montanari s. v. οὕτως 1 c), ut eadem in *Magnis Eois* restituantur quae apud Pindarum leguntur, aquilam scilicet post invocationem apparere.

Isthm. 7, 18 b–c (263, 15 – 264, 7 D.): ἢ ὅτε τὴν Δωρίδα τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς στήναι παρεσκεύασας. [...] καὶ γὰρ τότε Θήβηθεν ἦκειν τοῖς Δωριεῦσι τοὺς ἀψαμένους τῆς καθόδου Αἰγείδας μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων· εἶναι δὲ τοὺς Θήβηθεν Αἰγείδας τὸ ἀνέκαθεν Ἀθηναίους.

Adde <κατὰ> κάθοδον, deinde <συν>απομένους.

Isthm. 7, 23 a (264, 17–24 D.): Ἀρίσταρχος τοῦτο λεγόμενον, φησίν, ὑπόνοιαν δίδωσιν, ὥς ὅτε ἔγραφεν ὁ Πίνδαρος ἀχαριστουμένων τι τῶν Θηβαίων ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐὰν δὲ ὑποτεθῇ τὰ ἐξῆς, ὃ *τι μὴ σοφίας ἄωτον*, ὥς ἐν τῷ καθόλου λέγων ἔσται, ὅπερ πολλάκις εἶωθε λέγειν· ὅτι πᾶσα χάρις πεπαλαιωμένα καθεύδει καὶ μεμάρανται, καὶ ὅτι τοιούτου πράγματος ἀμνήμονές εἰσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὃ ἂν μὴ ἀοίδιμον γένηται καὶ τύχη ὕμνου τινός.

Qua ex causa scholiasta Pindari verba *ὃ τι μὴ σοφίας ἄωτον* in scholio laudaverit non video, cum ea ad firmandum quod ipse scholiasta contra Aristarchum contendit minime apta sint. Remove igitur ex scholio *ὃ τι μὴ σοφίας ἄωτον*.

Isthm. 7, 44 (266, 17–19 D.): σὺ δέ, Διοδότου παῖ, ἐν ἐπαίνῳ τιθέμενος Μελέαγρόν τε καὶ Ἑκτορα καὶ τὰς τούτων ζηλῶν ἀρετὰς κατὰ πόλεμον ἐτελεύτησας.

Adderem Ἑκτορα <καὶ Ἀμφιάραον> καὶ τὰς. Cf. Pindari verba: τὸ δέ, Διοδότοιο παῖ, *μαχατάν* / *αἰνέων Μελέαγρον*, *αἰνέων* δὲ καὶ Ἑκτορα / Ἀμφιάρηδόν τε...

Isthm. 7, 55 a (267, 12–14 D.): ὁ δ' ἀθανάτων μὴ *θρασέτω φθόνος*· Ἀρίσταρχος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐρεθίζειν ἀκούει, τάττεσθαι δὲ φησι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ταράττειν.

Agitur de verbo θράσσειν, quod alibi Aristarchus pro ταράττειν accipiebat, hic pro ἐρεθίζειν. Fortasse fuit ἐρεθίζειν <νῦν> ἀκούει, cf. Schol. in *Ol.* 7, 118 b (224, 18 D.): νῦν δὲ καταχρηστικῶς τὴν τιμίαν ἀκουστέον et in *Isthm.* 63 d (233, 1–2 D.): οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀκούουσι νῦν κατὰ ῥάβδον.

Isthm. 7, 60 a (268, 3–4 D.): τουτέστιν οὐκ ἔστι προφανὴς ὁ δαίμων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐδὲ οἶδε τὸ ἐκβησόμενον.

Pro οἶδε lege οἶδαμεν vel ἴσμεν (nam utraque forma utebantur scholiastae atque, si error ex οὐδὲ ortus est, haud facile iudicatu est quid scriptum fuerit). Cf. Pindari verba: θνήσκομεν γὰρ ὁμῶς ἅπαντες / δαίμων δ' ἄϊστος.

Isthm. 8, 27 a–b (271, 19–22 D.): δόλιος γὰρ αἰὼν ἐπ’ ἀνδράσι κρέμαται [...] b. ὁ γὰρ δὴ τῆς ζωῆς χρόνος ἐνήρηται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸν τοῦ βίου πόρον κυλίων καὶ προΐων.

Immo ἐπήρηται.

Isthm. 8, 57 b (273, 21–25 D.): ὁ Ζεὺς βουλόμενος Θέτιδι πλησιάσαι ἐκωλύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Προμηθέως· εἶτα Πηλεῖ ἔδοξεν αὐτὴν ἐγγυῆσαι. τεθρύλληται δὲ ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τε συγγραφεῦσι καὶ ποιηταῖς, ἀκριβῶς δὲ κεῖται καὶ παρὰ Αἰσχύλῳ ἐν *Προμηθεὶ δεσμώτῃ*.

Molestum καὶ ante παρὰ, cum ἀκριβῶς ad solum Aeschylum pertinere videatur: ceteri scilicet historici et poetae tantum attigerunt fabulam quam poeta Atheniensis diligenter persecutus est.

Isthm. 8, 92 (275, 15–17 D.): ἐπεὶ νεῖκος ὑμῖν ἔστηκε νῦν περὶ τοῦ γάμου τῆς Θέτιδος τῶν δύο διαφερομένων θεῶν, μὴ πρὸς ἔῃποντι καὶ ἕτερον κατασκευαζέτω.

Verba ἔῃποντι sensu carere patet, unde ἐν ποιόν τι Resler proposuit. Malim πρὸς τῷ ἐνεστῶτι.

Isthm. 8, 119 b (277, 12–15 D.): οἷς σημαίων τὸν Ἄϊδην ἀντὶ τοῦ οὖς ἀναιρῶν. ἀναιρῶν γὰρ αὐτοῦς αἴτιος ὥσπερ τῆς εἰς Ἄϊδου καθόδου αὐτοῖς ἐγίνετο.

Vide ne fuerit ὥσπερ αἴτιος, cf. Babr. *Myth.* 10, 6 La Penna–Luzzatto: τὴν δ’ Ἀφροδίτην ὥσπερ αἰτίην τούτων; Alex. Aphrod. *In Metaph.* 454, 2 Hayduck (ὥσπερ δὲ αἴτιος ὢν); Heracl. *Quaest. Hom.* 22, 5 (p. 96 Pontani): τῶν στοιχείων ὥσπερ αἰτιώτατον ὁ Θάλης ἀπεφήνατο στοιχεῖον εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ.

Isthm. 8, 125 (277, 16–20 D.): τὸν μὲν οὔτε θανόντ’ ἀοιδὰι ἔλιπον τὸν μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα οὔτε θανόντα αἱ ἐπαινετικάι ᾧδαι κατέλιπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ παρὰ τε τὴν πυρκαϊὰν καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τὸν τάφον αἱ Μοῦσαι ἔστησαν καὶ θρῆνον πολυθρύλλητον ἀνεβάλοντο.

Dele τὸν ante Ἀχιλλέα.

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Index librorum

- Th. R. P. Coward, E. Prodi, *Didymus and Graeco-Roman Learning* (Oxford 2020).
A. B. Drachmann (ed.), *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina* III (Lipsiae 1927).
M. Schmidt, *Didymi Chalcenteri grammatici Alexandrini Fragmenta* (Lipsiae 1854).
A. Tessier (ed.), *Scholia metrica vetera in Pindari Carmina* (Leipzig 1989).

The aim of this paper is to shed new light on the textual constitution of 77 passages of the scholia to Pindar's Nemean and Isthmian Odes. For almost every passage a new textual arrangement is proposed.

Статья призвана пролить новый свет на состояние текста в 77 пассажах схолиев к Немейским и Истмийским одам Пиндара. Практически во всех случаях предлагается новое чтение.

Elia Schnaible

VARIA EPIGRAPHICA

Der vorliegende Beitrag umfasst einige Adnoten zu griechischen Inschriften verschiedener Regionen und Epochen. Darunter finden sich neue Ergänzungsvorschläge, Neulesungen sowie ein bislang unbekannter Text. Die Ausführungen haben vor allem zum Ziel, Anstöße zur weiterführenden Beschäftigung mit diesen Inschriften zu liefern.

1. Megara

O. Kern hinterließ dem Halleschen Seminar der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaften nicht nur zahlreiche Abklatsche, sondern auch Diapositive und Photographien griechischer Inschriften, die zum Teil in seinem Tafelwerk Verwendung fanden.¹ Darunter sind zwei Abbildungen einer Statuenbasis, die nach Ausweis des Kürzels auf den Photographien aus Megara zu stammen scheint (Abb. 1).² Die bis auf wenige Bestoßungen an den Rändern offenbar intakte Basis schließt am unteren Ende mit einem wulstartigen, an der Oberkante hingegen mit einem auskragenden Profil, das von der geglätteten Stirnseite, die die Inschrift trägt, abgesetzt ist. Ihre Abmessungen lassen sich mangels Maßstab aus den Aufnahmen nicht entnehmen; über die Fundumstände ist ebenfalls nichts vermerkt. Die Ehreninschrift auf der Stirnseite wird hier in der Hoffnung bekannt gemacht, dass sie in dem betreffenden Faszikel von *IG VII*² eine eingehendere und, wenn möglich, auf Autopsie beruhende Behandlung erfahren wird:

3 Κρίσπος Ἰσιδώρου καὶ Κανίνια Λευκίου θυγάτηρ
 Λύκα Ἰσίδωρον, τὸν ἑαυτῶν υἱὸν, υἱῶνδν
 δὲ Γναίου Ὀκτανίου Σπορίου υἱοῦ Ἰσιδώρου,
 ἀνέθηκαν.

¹ Kern 1913.

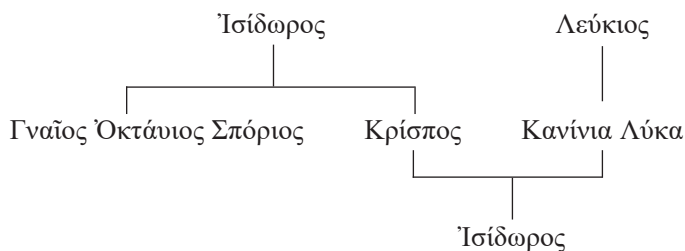
² Es handelt sich um die Nummern MEG. 30 (hier als Abb. 1 reproduziert) und 31. Die Basis wurde auf dem Kopf stehend fotografiert.



Abb. 1. Basis mit der Ehreninschrift für Isidoros aus Megara (Photographie aus dem Nachlass Otto Kerns, Halle an der Saale / Robertinum)

Als Auffälligkeiten der Schrift sind zu bemerken: Kappa mit verkürzten Schenkeln, Rho mit überlanger Vertikalhaste, Pi mit gleichlangen Vertikalhasten, Alpha mit gebrochener Querhaste, Ypsilon mit geschwungenen Schenkeln, Epsilon mit verkürzter und abgesetzter mittleren Querhaste (ebenso Eta). Die Inschrift gehört, wie auch die Onomastik nahelegt, in römische Zeit (1. Jh. v. / 1. Jh. n. Chr.).

Ἰσίδωρος wurde von seinen Eltern ohne Angabe eines spezifischen Grundes durch Errichtung eines Standbildes geehrt. Seine Stellung als Neffe des Γναῖος Ὀκτάνιος Σπόριος wird hervorgehoben, so dass Letzterer ein gewisses Prestige besessen haben dürfte, was wohl auch seine *tria nomina* widerspiegeln. Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse lassen sich so darstellen:



IG VII 87 bezeugt die Weihung der Statue eines kaiserlichen Gesandten durch einen gewissen Κρίσπος in Megara, ohne dass dieser zwingend mit dem Vater des Ἰσίδωρος gleichgesetzt werden müsste. Die Mutter des Ἰσίδωρος stammt aus der *gens Caninia*. Ihr Vater, Λεύκιος (Κανίνιος), könnte mit dem durch die Thespioten geehrten L. Caninius Gallus identisch sein,³ was freilich auch nicht erwiesen ist. Eine römerzeitliche Grabinschrift aus Megara (IG VII 153) weist Νουμηνίς als Ehefrau eines gewissen Λεύκιος aus. Belegt sind ferner Λεύκιος Κανίνιος Ἀρκαθίας in Attika (IG II/III² 10813) und Λεύκιος Κανίνιος Ῥοῦφος auf Lesbos (IG XII 2, 375).

2. Kasos

IG XII 1, 1050: F. Hiller von Gaertringen zweifelte, ob der Anfangsbuchstabe des Namens ein Epsilon (so sein Faksimile) oder doch eher ein Sigma sei, wie er am Abklatsch erkannt zu haben meinte. Auf demselben im Archiv der *Inscriptiones Graecae* verwahrten Abklatsch erkennt man, dass der Buchstabe drei Querhasten gleicher Länge besitzt, mithin als Epsilon zu lesen ist, wohingegen die vermeintlichen Schenkel des Sigma eine Auswaschung oder Verletzung im Stein zu sein scheinen. Nach dem Epsilon ist die Inschrift abgewittert. Die wenigen Buchstabenreste sind am ehesten mit einem Ypsilon vereinbar (Abb. 2), so dass man Εὐ|τιμ|ίω erhalten würde.⁴

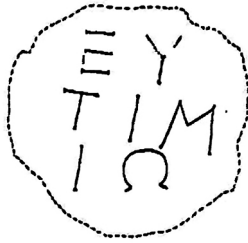


Abb. 2. IG XII 1, 1050 (Faksimile des Verf. nach dem Abklatsch im Archiv der *Inscriptiones Graecae*)

³ *I. Thespie* 339; vgl. Plassart 1926, 438 f. Nr. 74.

⁴ Wohl Genitiv von Εὐτιμίας; vgl. Εὐτιμίδας (IG I³ 1186₁₃₁; V 1, 1114₁; *Tit. Calymnii* 88₂); Τιμίας (IG I³ 80₆ = Kirchner, *PA* 13657; IG IV² 1, 96₄₆; XII 9, 191b₁₄; *I. Delphinion* 75₂).

3. Imbros

„Though any correction on the text in IG would be most unwise“ (*I.Samothrace*, p. 72), ist es dennoch möglich, dem Inschriftfragment *IG* XII 8, 147 mehr Sinn zu verleihen, indem man in C. Fredrichs ΑΠΑΤΟΡ an dritter Stelle Alpha statt Lambda liest, was entweder zu einem Patronym [- - -] Ἀράτορ[ος - - -] (von *Arator*)⁵ oder, was plausibler erscheint, zu einem Präpositionalausdruck [- - - π]αρά τὸ ῥ[- - -] ergänzt werden kann.⁶

4. Samothrake

IG XII 8, 160a₁ fehlen nach Fredrichs Angaben drei Buchstaben. Er vermutet hier mit Hiller von Gaertringen [Ῥόδι]οι? auf Grund des Patronyms Ἀριδείκου (Z. 2), „nam Ἀριδείκης nomen Rhodium est“. Jedoch ist dieser Name nicht allein auf Rhodos belegt, sondern auch auf Kos und Kalymna.⁷ Bei drei fehlenden Buchstaben dürfte somit auch [Κώι]οι in Betracht kommen (vgl. e.g. *IG* XII 8, 168).

5. Labraunda

I.Labraunda 43_{12–16} steht der Beschluss der Chrysaoreis: Apollonios soll ob seiner ἀρετή und εὐνοια gegenüber Ptolemaios II. und den Chrysaoreis belobigt werden. Danach ist der Text äußerst lückenhaft. Aus Z. 15 [- - - c. 6 - - -] ἦναι δὲ καὶ το[- - - c. 32 - - -] lässt sich dennoch ein Teil der Publikationsbestimmungen des Dekrets rekonstruieren: εἰς τε [β]ασιλέα Πτολεμαῖ[ο]ν καὶ εἰς Χρυσαιορεῖς [πάντας? | ἀναγραφ]ῆναι δὲ καὶ τό[δε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν Λαβράυνδοις καὶ πεμφθῆ]ναι εἰς βα[σιλέα Πτολεμαῖ]ον - - - c. 27 - - -].⁸

⁵ Der Name ist in *ICUR* I 160 in einer griechischen Transliteration belegt.

⁶ Mit *I.Delphinion* 148_{33–34}; *IG* XIV 352₆₀ könnte man an einen Bach denken: [- - - π]αρά τὸ ῥ[εῖθρον - - -].

⁷ Rhodos: *Pol.* IV, 52, 3; *I.Lindos* 51c, col. II₂₀; 88_{287–288}; *GV* I 1451; *Tit. Camirenses* 3; 12₈; 5, col. II₁₇. Kalymna / Kos: *Tit. Calymnii* 41₁₁; 89a₁₃; 94a₄; *GV* I 1448; siehe auch *LGPN* I, 58.

⁸ Die Rekonstruktion von Piejko 1990, 142 f. (καὶ εἰς Χρυσαιορέων [τὸ κοινόν· δοθ]ῆναι δὲ καὶ τό[πον ἐν ᾧ ἀναθήσεται τὸ ψήφισμα τότε παρὰ τὸν βα]σιλέα Πτολεμαῖ[ον - - -]) ist ebenfalls möglich. Jedoch bezeichnen sich die Chrysaoreis in unserer Inschrift nicht als κοινόν (Z. 2–3; 8; 10–11; 12–13; im Gegensatz zu *I.Stratonikeia* 1418) und die Lesung Z. 14 ist unsicher, so dass εἰς Χρυσαιορεῖς nicht vollkommen ausgeschlossen werden darf.

Ob die kleine Fehlstelle am Ende von Z. 14 treffend mit πάντας gefüllt ist, bleibt offen.⁹

Z. 15: ἀναγραφῆναι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ist *I.Labraunda* 59₂₅ belegt. Statt ἐν Λαβραύνδοις¹⁰ (vgl. *I.Labraunda* 46₈) könnte man an einen Ausdruck wie ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ (τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραύνδου) denken; aber die Fehlstelle lässt dafür nicht genug Raum.

Z. 16: Ein ἀντίγραφον des Dekrets sollte offenbar an Ptolemaios II. gesandt werden; jedenfalls würde dies den Akkusativ βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον kurz nach εἰς τε [β]ασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον (Z. 14) erklären. Ungewöhnlich bleibt freilich der abrupte Übergang von den dekretierten Ehrungen zu den Publikationsbestimmungen. Dennoch scheint sich das zweimalige Auftreten des Akkusativs βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον am ehesten so zu erklären.¹¹ πεμφθῆναι hat dem Inf. Aor. pass. [ἀναγραφ]ῆναι entsprechend zu stehen. Die Fehlstelle lässt genug Raum, dass die letzte Silbe von πεμφθῆναι an den Beginn von Z. 16 gesetzt werden kann, da βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος in dieser Inschrift konsequent ohne Artikel steht (Z. 5, 10, 14).

6. Aizanoi

SEG LXVII 993 hat Z. 4–6 eine große Rasur, die entgegen der Ansicht der ed. pr. am ehesten als Tilgung eines Kaisernamens zu verstehen ist. M. Hallmannsecker erwog im *SEG* mit Verweis auf eine andere Inschrift aus Aizanoi Commodus.¹² Diesen Vorschlag bestätigt folgende Rekonstruktion:

⁹ Vgl. Cousin–Diehl 1886, 308–310 Nr. 4. Falls Piejkos Lesung (Anm. 8) zutrifft, könnte man Z. 14 auch an εἰς Χρυσαιορέων [ἔθνος] denken, vgl. *I.Mylasa* 101₁₇; *F.Delphes* III 4, 163₁₂. Man bemerke den Mangel an Artikeln in unserer Inschrift!

¹⁰ Zu den Publikationsorten der Ehrendekrete der Chrysaoreis vgl. Şahin 2003, 1.

¹¹ *I.Labraunda* II, p. 54: „The mention of the king’s name in l. 16 may indicate that offerings had been decreed in his honour or that a report was to be sent to him or it may signify another expression of the respectful or grateful attitude towards him“. Der erste Vorschlag ist unwahrscheinlich, da es sich ja um ein Ehrendekret für Apollonios, nicht für Ptolemaios II. handelt. Der dritte Vorschlag würde lediglich ἀρετῆς ἔνεκ[ε]ν καὶ εὐν[οίας ἣν ἔχων | διατελ]εῖ εἰς τε [β]ασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον (Z. 13–14) wiederholen und ist damit ebenfalls abzulehnen.

¹² *CIG* 3841c; *LBW* 873; *IGR* IV 565; *SEG* LXVII 995.

- 2 Ἡ [βουλ]ῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμ[η]-
 σεν Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Μηνο-
 φίλου υἱὸν Κυρεῖνα Ἀκύλαν ἱε-
 4 ρέα [[[Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος]]]
 [[[Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου]]]
 6 [[[Σεβαστοῦ]]] διὰ βίου τὸν κτίστην
 καὶ φιλοκαίσαρα τῆς ἀνυπερβλή-
 8 του πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔνεκεν εὐ-
 νοίας.

Die vollständig erhaltenen Zeilen der Inschriften haben Z. 1: 20; 2: 21; 3: 22; 7: 24; 8: 21 Buchstaben (Iota als halber Buchstabe gezählt). Mit der hier zur Diskussion gestellten Ergänzung würde man passender Weise Z. 4: 22½; 5: 22 und 6: 23½ Buchstaben erhalten.

7. Kinna

L. Audley-Miller, S. Mitchell, Ph. Niewöhner, A. Vardar und L. E. Vardar veröffentlichten im 73. Band der *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* unter den Ergebnissen eines Survey in und um Haymana S. 380 als „Cat. 35“ folgende Inschrift auf einem Altarfragment weißen Marmors aus Kinna (Karahamzalı):

- Ἀγαθῇ leaf Τύχῃ
 [Α]υτοκράτορα
 Καίσαρα Τ. Αἰ[λ-]
 4 [ιον Ἀδ]ριαν[όν]
 [Ἀντωνεῖνον]

Ob einige fehlerhafte Schreibweisen,¹³ wie sie auch andernorts in jenem Beitrag zu beklagen sind,¹⁴ den Autoren oder der Redaktion angelastet werden müssen, sei für uns ohne Belang. Hingegen ist

¹³ [Α]υτοκράτορα statt [Α]υτοκράτορα; [Ἀδ]ριαν[όν] statt [Ἀδ]ριαν[όν].

¹⁴ Cat. 4, Z. 2: Διδῶ statt Διδῶ; Cat. 32, Z. 3–4: τῶι υἱοὶ καὶ | ἐαυτῶι ζῶν statt τῶι υἱῶι καὶ | ἐαυτῶι ζῶν; Cat. 33, Z. 5–7: ἀνεσ|τησάμ|εν statt ἀνεσ|τήσαμ|εν, Cat. 34, Z. 3–4: Αὐτοκρα|τόρων statt Αὐτοκρα|τόρων; Z. 5: ἀ[υτ]ῶ[ν] statt α[υτ]ῶ[ν]; Z. 9: εὐχην statt εὐχῆν.

bemerkenswert, wie sicher sich die Herausgeber in der Lesung der dürftigen Buchstabenreste Z. 4 und der daraus folgenden Ergänzungen sind.

Zunächst bedarf aber Z. 3 einiger Bemerkungen: Der Buchstabe, den die ed. pr. mit Tau angibt – Τ(ίτον) –, ist in Abb. 45 auf S. 379 nur schwerlich zu erkennen, da zwar der rechte, nicht aber der linke Teil der Querhaste gut sichtbar ist. Zudem steht die Vertikalhaste dieses Buchstabens vergleichsweise nahe an dem vorhergehenden Alpha, jedoch etwas weiter weg von dem nachfolgenden, so dass er eher dem Gamma in ΑΓΑΘΗ (Z. 1) als dem Tau in ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ (Z. 2) ähnelt. Es lässt sich folglich am Ende von Z. 3 ΓΑΙ, i.e. Γάι[ov] lesen, was im Übrigen auch die ungewöhnliche Silbentrennung Αἶλ-ιον der ed. pr. erübrigen würde.¹⁵

Nun steht mit diesem Gegenvorschlag auch die Lesung von Z. 4 zur Disposition. Die ed. pr. hat hier ΠΙΑΝ; doch in den oberen Enden der noch erkennbaren Buchstaben kann man dies schlechterdings nicht ausmachen. Zunächst sind die Enden zweier Vertikalhasten, daraufhin deutlich ein Rundbuchstabe, rechts davon zwei nach unten zusammenlaufende Schenkel und wiederum eine Vertikalhaste zu sehen. Dass mittig also ΟΥ zu lesen ist, erscheint recht plausibel. Somit dürfte – auch unter Berücksichtigung der Paläographie,¹⁶ die freilich nicht überschätzt werden sollte – als Geehrter eher Maximinus Thrax¹⁷ als Hadrian in Frage kommen:

¹⁵ Hier seien nur die Beispiele für den Akkusativ zusammengetragen: Αἶ-λιον (*I.Beroia* 88₃₋₄; *IG* X 2, 1, 202₄₋₅; *LBW* 595₁₋₂; *I.Didyma* 162₄₋₅; *I.Ephesos* 2049₂₋₃); Αἶλ-ιον (*IG* X 2, 1s, 1063₄₋₅; *SEG* XXIX 741₁₃₋₁₄; Robert, *Carie* II, Nr. 53₁₋₂; *I.Stratonikeia* 1029₇₋₈; *MAMA* IV 134₅₋₆; *IGR* III 349₁₋₂). Freilich kann auch die Abbrueviatur Αἶλ(ιον) gestanden haben; jedoch ginge dann die in der ed. pr. vorgeschlagene Ergänzung Z. 4 nicht mehr auf. Im Übrigen würde man, sofern man ΑΙ[Λ] Z. 3 anzunehmen geneigt ist, rechts des Iota Z. 3 doch zumindest den unteren Ausläufer des linken Schenkels des Lambda erwarten, da der Stein in diesem Bereich intakt zu sein scheint.

¹⁶ Es sei außerdem bemerkt, dass der Schriftcharakter Z. 3 verschieden von den zwei vorhergehenden Zeilen zu sein scheint, so dass man an einen späteren Zusatz denken könnte. Gleichwohl verrät die Photographie nicht, ob ein älterer Kaisername hierfür zunächst getilgt werden musste.

¹⁷ Zur griechischen Kaisertitulatur des Maximinus Thrax vgl. *IG* V 2, 134; *IGBulg* II 731; III 1, 1515; III 2, 1563; IV 2033; 2069; V 5567; *I.Histria* 94–95; *IGR* I 1100; *SB* III 6305; *SEG* XXIV 443; *I.Thrake Aeg.* E 395; E 454; *I.Byzantion* S 26; *I.Ephesos* 1107.

Ἀγαθῇ ☩ Τύχη
 Ἀυτοκράτορα
 3 Καίσαρα Γάϊ[ον]
 [Ιούλιο]ν Οὐῆ[ρον]
 5 [Μαξιμῖνον?]
 [Σεβαστόν?]

Der hier zur Diskussion gestellte Rekonstruktionsvorschlag bleibt Z. 5 f. hypothetisch. Die nachfolgende Skizze (Abb. 3) soll die Lesung Z. 4 verdeutlichen, ersetzt aber gewiss nicht eine erneute Autopsie des Steins.



Abb. 3. Rekonstruktionsvorschlag für Z. 4 der Inschrift aus Kinna (Nr. 7), Zeichnung des Verf.

8. Emesa

SEG XL 1409 erwähnt sicherlich St. Aëtios, bekannt als einer der Verfasser des *testamentum sanctorum XL martyrum Christi Sebastorum*:¹⁸ ἅγιος ^{crux} Αέ[τιος].

9. Samosata

IGLS I 54 ist wohl [- - - τοῦ - - -]ου πρ[ε]σβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀντιστρ[ατήγου - - -] zu lesen. OY am Beginn weist auf einen Namen im Genitiv hin, weswegen auch die übrige Titulatur im Genitiv zu stehen hat. Man mag an einen Datierungsvermerk ἐπὶ (τοῦ δεῖνος) πρεσβευτοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀντιστρατήγου denken.¹⁹

¹⁸ Test. Seb. (ed. Seeliger–Wischmeyer), init.: Μελέτιος καὶ Αέτιος καὶ Εὐτύχιος οἱ δέσμοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ χώραν ἁγίοις ἐπισκόποις τε καὶ πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνους τε καὶ ὁμολογηταῖς καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασιν ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ χαίρειν.

¹⁹ Vgl. *AE* 1976, 677; *IGLS* XIII 1, 9057; 9105; XXI 2, 17; XXI 4, 37.

10. Syrakus

Die Inschrift auf der linken Seite des östlichen Stylobats des Apollontempels von Syrakus wird durch Interpunktionen in fünf Abschnitte gegliedert.²⁰ Nach Konsultation des Abklatsches H. Röhls im Institut für Altertumswissenschaften der Universität Halle-Wittenberg scheint folgender Text plausibel und soll nachfolgend in den Abschnitten II, IV und V erläutert werden: ^I Κλεο[- -]ἔς : ^{II} ἐποίησε τὸπέλ(λ)ῶνι : ^{III} ὁ Κνιδιέδα : ^{IV} κέπικ[λ]ῆ στύλεια : ^V κάλ(λ)α φέργ[α].

II: ἐποίησε begegnet regelmäßig in archaischen Künstlerinschriften;²¹ ferner erscheint es plausibler, ποιεῖν wörtlich zu verstehen und Kleo...es mithin als „Schöpfer“ (i.e. als den Architekten) des Tempels, dem erlaubt worden war, sein „Werk“, den Tempel, gewissermaßen zu „signieren“. ²² Kleo...es weihte seine Kreation der Gottheit (τὸπέλ(λ)ῶνι), so dass es nicht einfach ist, zwischen Künstler- und Weihinschrift zu unterscheiden, wie ja auch die Grenzen zwischen Weih-, Ehren- und Grabinschrift oftmals fließend sind.²³ Dennoch hat man in Kleo...es einen Bauvorsteher (ἐπιστάτης)²⁴ oder einen Bürger von Syrakus sehen wollen, der den Tempel,²⁵ einige²⁶ oder alle²⁷ Säulen gestiftet habe. Hätte er beispielsweise Säulen finanziert, dann wäre die Inschrift doch eher auf einer oder mehreren Säulen an Basis oder Schaft zu erwarten.²⁸

²⁰ Engelmann 1981, 92.

²¹ Wie mehrere Vaseninschriften zeigen (Wachter 2001, 275–279), differenzierte man schon in archaischer Zeit zwischen ἀνατιθέναι (für den Stifter / Dedikanten) und ποιεῖν (für den Künstler / Produzenten). Hier kann nur eine kleine Auswahl vergleichbarer Inschriften geboten werden: *IG* I³ 628 unterscheidet zwischen Nearchos als Dedikanten (ἀνέθεκεν) und Antenor als Bildhauer der Kore (ἐποίησεν) (vgl. auch *IG* I³ 632; 637; 639; 641; 646; 647; 649; 656; 657 et al.). Dies ist auch der Fall in der Phanodikos-Inschrift aus Sigeion (*IG* I³ 1508). Vgl. ferner *IG* IV 683; *SEG* XXX 478a; *I.Olympia* 143 und *Syll.*³ 15.

²² Hirzel 1894, 91; Schubring 1866, 363; Drerup 1935, 1.

²³ Gerlach 1908, 2 f.; 43 f. Anm. 1; Larfeld³ 1914, 432 (§ 251); Naumann 1933, 1; Klaffenbach² 1966, 65; McLean 2002, 236.

²⁴ Guarducci 1985; 1987; Ghezzi 2002.

²⁵ Bergmann 1867, 568.

²⁶ Gentili 2005 (vgl. *SEG* LV 1012 bis; *BE* 2008, Nr. 638).

²⁷ Di Cesare 2020.

²⁸ Rumscheid 1999.

IV und V: Wegen des schlechten Erhaltungszustandes ist dieser Abschnitt der Inschrift ganz verschiedentlich gelesen und interpretiert worden. Er enthält offenbar das Akkusativobjekt des Satzes, also das, was Kleo...es dem Apollon weihte. Nach Konsultation von Röhls Abklatsch erscheint M. Guarduccis Lesung immer noch am wahrscheinlichsten. H. Engelmann erkannte in ΕΠΙΚ[Λ]Ε ein Attribut zu στύλεια.²⁹ Hingegen ließ er offen, ob eher καλὰ oder κᾶλ(λ)α³⁰ φέργ[α] gelesen werden sollte. Für letzteren Vorschlag lässt sich eine Reihe von Indizien finden: IV beginnt mit einer Konjunktion (κέπικ[λ]ῆ = καὶ ἐπικλῆ). Würde man καλὰ φέργ[α] lesen, so müsste man IV–V mit „auch hochrühmliche Säulen, schöne Werke“ übersetzen. Freilich können die καλὰ φέργ[α] ohne Weiteres auf στύλεια bezogen werden, jedoch wäre dann der Tempel als solcher übergangen:³¹ „Kleo...es, (Sohn) des Knidiedas, schuf dem Apollon (dies, i.e. den Tempel, und) auch hochrühmliche Säulen, schöne Werke“. Im Kontext der antiken Architekturtheorie wäre eine solche Auslassung aber recht ungewöhnlich. Wie Vitruv zeigt (III, 1, 1–4 passim; 2, 5–6; 3, 7. 10; 4, 3. 5), mussten die Säulen proportional mit den übrigen Baugliedern korrespondieren, waren idealiter von Baubeginn an konzipiert und das Fundament entsprechend angelegt. Ein Fokus auf Kleo...es als Verfertiger der Säulen wäre mithin nur dann gerechtfertigt, wenn der übrige Bau durch einen anderen <Architekten> entworfen worden wäre.³² Dann wäre die Anbringung der Inschrift auf dem Stylobat jedoch überaus erklärungsbedürftig.

Nichtsdestotrotz sind die vielen Steinsäulen des Tempels eine Innovation, die es verdient, hervorgehoben zu werden.³³ Sie werden

²⁹ Engelmann 1981, 94.

³⁰ Arena 1987, 19–21; Manganaro 1996, 56–59.

³¹ Engelmann 1981, 91; ferner Sacco 1992/1993.

³² Guarducci 1949; 1964, 148–151 Nr. 11; 1995, I, 343 f.; III, 389 f.; ähnlich Gallavotti 1975/1976, 116. Jeffrey, *LSAG*², 265 Nr. 3 mit Anm. 5 war der Ansicht, dass ein gewisser Epikles, Sohn des Tyletas, den Tempel vollendet habe. Gegen diese Deutung von ΕΠΙΚ[Λ]Ε: Engelmann 1981. Womöglich war Kleo...es πρῶτος ἀρχιτέκτων wie Rhoikos bei Hdt. III, 60, 4; vgl. Furtwängler 1984.

³³ Gruben ⁵2001, 289: „So stämmige Säulen, so eng aneinandergerückt, hat es in der griechischen Welt kein zweites Mal gegeben“; Mertens 2006, 104.

durch das Attribut ἐπικ[λ]ῆ³⁴ herausgestellt, so dass ein Nachsatz wie καλὰ φέργ[α]³⁵ gewissermaßen pleonastisch erscheint. Für die Lesung κᾶλ(λ)α φέργ[α] spricht darüber hinaus:

- ein vollkommener Parallelismus in IV und V: κἐπικ[λ]ῆ στυλεια – κᾶλ(λ)α φέργ[α] („sowohl hochrühmliche Säulen als auch [die] übrigen Werke“),
- eine weitere Haplographie neben τὸπέλ(λ)ῶνι,
- eine weitere Krasis neben κἐπικ[λ]ῆ.

Das Verdienst des Kleo...es war gewiss die vielsäulige Peristasis, die wortwörtlich den übrigen Bau in den Schatten stellte; jedenfalls wird dieser Eindruck im Gegensatz von „hochrühmlichen Säulen“ und „übrigen Werken“ kolportiert. ᾶλ(λ)α φέργ[α] können somit als kollektiver Ausdruck verstanden werden, der die übrigen Bauglieder des Tempels (Unterbau, Cella, Gebälk usw.) umfasst. Diese waren bereits geläufig und brauchten daher nicht eigens erwähnt zu werden. Stattdessen wurden sie unter *et altera opera* subsumiert,³⁶ obgleich dafür Parallelen aus archaischen Inschriften zu fehlen scheinen.³⁷

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³⁴ ἐπικλῆ kann im Übrigen in zwei Weisen interpretiert werden: Einerseits scheint dieses Adjektiv zu indizieren, dass die Säulen hochrühmlich seien, dass sie ihrem Schöpfer und der Gottheit mithin Ruhm und Ehre verleihen würden. Andererseits entsteht, wenn man ἐπικλείειν wie περικλείειν fasst, das Bild von Säulen, die sich dicht an dicht gestellt an den Tempel, um den sie sich reihen, anschmiegen.

³⁵ Eine wörtliche Entsprechung ist mir unbekannt, aber in *SEG XLVII* 1259, 5 sagt eine Vase von sich: καλὸν : εἰμι ποτήριον | Εὐχρος : ἐποίησεν ἐμέ.

³⁶ Contra Engelmann 1981, 94; di Cesare 2020, 112.

³⁷ Zumindest findet sich der Ausdruck ᾶλλα ἔργα in mehreren delischen Inschriften: *IG XII* 2, 142₃₁; 148₆₀; 150₁₀; 206₉.

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The article provides corrections and new readings of several Greek inscriptions from different parts of the ancient Mediterranean (Aegean islands, Asia Minor, Syria, Sicily) and a hitherto unknown honorific inscription from Megara.

Автор предлагает исправления и новые чтения для ряда древнегреческих надписей из разных областей Средиземноморского бассейна (Эгейских островов, Малой Азии, Сирии, Сицилии) и публикует неизвестную почетную надпись из Мегары.

Eleni Avdoulou

SARDANAPAL(L)US IN CICERO AND PHILODEMUS’ *ON RHETORIC* BOOK 3*

According to Arrian 2. 5. 2, legend has it that the famous Assyrian king Sardanapal(l)us¹ built the cities Anchiale and Tarsos in a single day.² Specifically, Arrian describes the fortifications of Anchiale as follows:

Ταύτην (i.e. Ἀγκιάλην) δὲ Σαρδανάπαλον κτίσαι τὸν Ἀσσύριον λόγος· καὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεμελίοις τῶν τειχῶν δῆλη ἐστὶ μεγάλη τε πόλις κτισθεῖσα καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἐλθοῦσα δυνάμεως.³

In Book 3 of Philodemus’ *On Rhetoric*, Sardanapal(l)us is mentioned twice in two papyri (*PHerc.* 240 and *PHerc.* 1095), which belong to the definitive version of this book.⁴ In the first passage, a small fragment now available only as a Neapolitan *disegno* of *PHerc.* 1095, Sardanapal(l)us is said to have fortified the towns of Tarsos and Anchiale.⁵

* I am grateful to Graziano Ranocchia (University of Pisa), Stefan Schorn (Leuven), and the anonymous peer reviewers for their insightful comments.

¹ For a detailed discussion of Sardanapal(l)us, see the extensive entry in Weißbach 1920.

² Bing 1971, 101 and n. 16.

³ Cf. Ath. 12. 39 (Kaibel).

⁴ A new critical edition of this book, including an introduction and commentary, is under preparation by me in the framework of the ERC Advanced Grant 885222-GreekSchools (H2020, Excellent Science, European Research Council). Sudhaus was the first editor of the book. See Sudhaus 1896, 196–272. For partial reeditions of this book see Hammerstaedt 1992 and Avdoulou 2022.

⁵ *PHerc.* 1095, fr. 3 = Sudhaus 1896, 188.

τῶν πολλα[
 τικου⁶ δο[
 κλέους [
 . . .] μέγα ν[ομίζων
 5 μηδὲν καὶ [τὸν θανμαστὸν
 περίβολον [τῆς πόλε-
 ως κατασκευάσ[ας, καθά-
 περ Ἀγχιάλην [καὶ Τάρ-
 σον ὁ Σαρδανά[παλ(λ)ος.
 10 Καὶ γὰρ εἰ σεμν[ύνονται
 κατὰ τοῦτο, κα[ὶ πολιτι]-
 κὸς ἀνὴρ πᾶς ἄ[ν εἴη

At the beginning of l. 3, the *disegno* hands down the ending of a masculine proper name in -κλῆς or the noun κλέος in genitive. I suggest that the missing name is most likely Themistocles. In Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* 10. 8. 7, we read:⁷

non sunt omnia colligenda quae tu acutissime perspicis, sed
 tamen ea pone ante oculos; iam intelleges id regnum vix se-
 menstre esse posse. Quod si me fefellerit, feram, sicut multi cla-
 rissimi homines in re publica excellentes tulerunt, nisi forte me
Sardanapali vicem in suo lectulo mori malle censueris quam
 <in> exsilio **Themistocleo**. Qui cum fuisset, ut ait Thucydides,
 τῶν μὲν παρόντων δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων, τῶν
 δὲ μελλόντων ἐς πλεῖστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής,
 tamen incidit in eos casus quos vitasset si eum nihil fefellisset.
 Etsi is erat, ut ait idem, qui τὸ ἄμεινον καὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ
 ἔτι ἐώρα μάλιστα, tamen non vidit nec quo modo Lacedaemo-
 niorum nec quo modo suorum civium invidiam effugeret nec
 quid Artaxerxi pollice<re>tur.

Cicero compares himself to the historical *exempla* of Themistocles and Sardanapal(l)us, who both suffered unfortunate deaths: the first died in his bed,⁸ while the second died in exile. Given a choice

⁶ Most probably πολ[ι]τικου should be restored.

⁷ Shackleton Bailey 1968, 248.

⁸ Cicero follows Cleitarchus' version of Sardanapal(l)us demise. See Shackleton Bailey 1968, 410 and n. 7; below n. 12.

between these two fates, Cicero would prefer a death similar to that of Themistocles. The latter is praised for his insightfulness, yet he is also criticized for failing to escape the jealousy of both the Spartans and his own co-patriots. The association of Themistocles and Sardanapal(l)us in this Ciceronian passage may suggest the presence of Themistocles in the passage of Philodemus' *On Rhetoric*, Book 3, cited above.⁹ Notably, both Sardanapal(l)us and Themistocles are mentioned in that passage for fortifying their cities.

Of course, the contexts of these two testimonies differ: in *Letters to Atticus*, Cicero wonders whether he should act like Sardanapal(l)us or Themistocles. On the other hand, the context in Philodemus is less clear. In the third book of *On Rhetoric*, Philodemus systematically criticizes the views of the Stoic philosopher Diogenes of Babylon, who denied that political orators made great contributions to their cities, considering the Stoic sage to be the only true politician. Therefore, it remains uncertain whether the passage from *On Rhetoric* quoted above reflects the ideas of Diogenes or those of Philodemus himself. As expected, an Epicurean would never approve the fortifications of cities instigated by famous politicians. Notwithstanding, despite being an Epicurean, Philodemus appears to acknowledge the value of political orators, in direct opposition to Diogenes.¹⁰ Thus, in the context of the third book, it would not be surprising if Philodemus appreciated the fortification of cities by Sardanapal(l)us and Themistocles.¹¹

⁹ Another possible supplement could be Περι[κλέους], as Pericles was also renowned for promoting the building of the Long Walls. Nevertheless, the connection between Sardanapallus and Themistocles in Cicero suggests the supplementation of Themistocles' name in the passage from *On Rhetoric*. Moreover, Pericles is never associated with Sardanapal(l)us in the existing sources. Themistocles's foresight, for which he is praised in the Ciceronian passage, led him to propose the construction of the Long Walls. However, a syntactical observation should be made regarding *PHerc.* 1095, 1–7: the genitive of the proper name ending in -κλής in l. 3 does not align with the following participles ν[ομίζων and κατασκευάσ[ας, which are in the nominative. The presence of the first participle can be doubted, as it is largely conjectural, whereas the second appears almost certain. Unfortunately, the passage cannot be reconstructed with certainty, leaving the syntax of these lines unclear.

¹⁰ See Avdoulou 2022, 146.

¹¹ *PHerc.* 1095, 10–12 could have a sarcastic tone if these lines are attributed to Diogenes.

In any case, it is fascinating, how philosophical perspectives can cast different light on the same individual – in our case, a mythical figure.

The next question to address concerns the identity of Sardanapal(l)us in the Philodemean passage. The earliest references to him appear in Hellanicus of Lesbos and Herodotus. A search in *TLG* reveals that this name is attested more than 400 times in various works of ancient Greek literature. Sardanapal(l)us is generally depicted as an extremely wealthy king, fond of luxury (see e.g. D. S. 2. 24. 4), who met a tragic end by setting himself, his treasures, and his courtiers ablaze after being defeated by his enemies.¹² According to M. Schneider, the discrepancy about Sardanapal(l)us' death raises questions about his identity: were there more than one figures named Sardanapal(l)us in antiquity¹³ and is there a correct spelling of the name – with a single or a double 'l'?¹⁴ The double consonant dominates before the first century CE, whereas later authors predominantly use the single consonant.¹⁵ Unfortunately, in the Philodemean passage, the Neapolitan *disegno* does not preserve the full form of the name. However, in another passage of the same book of *On Rhetoric*, the name appears again with a double consonant:¹⁶

¹² Cleitarchus' account deviates from this tradition, stating that Sardanapal(l)us died at an old age (Ath. 12. 39 Kaibel). He likely died of natural causes, though this remains uncertain.

¹³ In Hesychius' *Lexicon*, s.v. Σαρδανάπαλ(λ)ος, it is stated that there were two individuals with this name, though the identity of the second remains unclear. Callisthenes, *FGrHist* 124 F 34, and Hellanicus, ib. 4 F 63a, also mention two Sardanapal(l)i (ἓνα μὲν δραστήριον καὶ γενναῖον, ἄλλον δὲ μαλακόν). See Weißbach, 1920, 2437, 2443. Interestingly Weißbach 1920, 2454–2455, comments on Hellanicus' and Callisthenes' accounts of two Sardanapal(l)i: "Hellanikos hat bereits zwei Sardanapale unterschieden, sei es auf direkte Überlieferung hin, sei es, weil er in der Schilderung des Charakters S.s Widersprüche fand, die er in einer und derselben Persönlichkeit für unmöglich halten mußte. Fast möchte man bei Kallisthenes auf die letztere Annahme kommen. Dieser unterscheidet ebenfalls zwei Personen des Namens S. und charakterisiert sie scharf ἓνα μὲν δραστήριον καὶ γενναῖον, ἄλλον δὲ μαλακόν". For the debate in Assyriology regarding the number of Sardanapal(l)i see Weißbach 1920, 2457–2458.

¹⁴ Schneider 2000, 122.

¹⁵ On the spelling of Sardanapal(l)us see also Weißbach 1920, 2436–2437.

¹⁶ *PHerc.* 240, fr. 18 = Sudhaus 1896, 278.

θησομεν[
 περίοδον ἔ[νεκεν ἐπι]-
 δείξεως¹⁷ τα[ἔξ-
 ετάζομεν τῶν [
 5 τῇ`ι´ κοινολογία`ι´ τ[
 θεις εἰ¹⁸ τὸν Σύρον [
 Σαρδανάπαλλον [
 τυχόντων καὶ τ[
 χην τοιοῦτον οὐο[
 10 [.]η παραδέδωκ[
 11 ρα φησὶν ἀλλ[¹⁹

Should we then restore the name with a double consonant in the first Philodemean passage? Cicero, who was contemporary with Philodemus, writes the name of the Assyrian king three times with a double consonant and only once with a single ‘l’. In the first three cases Sardanapallus is portrayed as a deficient statesman correspondingly to his image in ancient literature as an *exemplum* of vice. However, in the passage from the *Letters to Atticus* quoted above, Sardanapalus is written with a single ‘l’.²⁰ According to Schneider this cannot be a coincidence: Cicero was probably aware of two (or more?) distinct traditions of Sardanapal(l)i:²¹ on the one hand, he is portrayed as a vicious and incompetent ruler, on the other hand, he is a lesser-known individual who was nevertheless well known in rhetorical schools. However, his mention in *Letters to Atticus* once again carries negative connotations, as it does in its other appearances within Cicero’s works.²² The *exemplum* of Sardanapallus is contrasted with that of Themistocles: both met tragic ends, but at least Themistocles remained active in the political arena and faced the consequences of his actions. It should therefore be clear, that the spelling of the name in Cicero has no influence on its spelling in Philodemus or any other author.

¹⁷ An alternative reading could be ἔ[νεκα τῆς] | δείξεως.

¹⁸ The reading]θεῖσι corresponding to a dative plural participle, is also possible.

¹⁹ L. 8–11 are partly preserved in the *scorza PHerc. 240, pezzo 3*, of *On Rhetoric*, Book 3.

²⁰ Schneider 2000, 123–125.

²¹ On Cicero’s treatment of Sardanapal(l)us see Weißbach 1920, 2442.

²² See also *Tusc.* 5. 101; *Fin.* 2. 32. 106; *De rep.* 3 fr. 4.

So far in this contribution, it has been argued that the presence of Sardanapallus in Philodemus could carry a positive connotation, as the Assyrian king is said to have built fortifications to protect cities. One may wonder whether Philodemus simply conflated different traditions about the same person, or if there was more than one figure named Sardanapal(l)us. Sardanapal(l)us was not a typical proper name, suggesting that other notable individuals besides the Assyrian king may have borne it. Therefore, it is highly likely that we are dealing with the same figure, around whom both positive and negative accounts circulated in antiquity. The attribution of various, seemingly contradictory, characteristics to Sardanapal(l)us could be explained according to Weißbach in the following way: “Der angebliche assyrische König S. ist keine geschichtliche Persönlichkeit, sondern eine romanhafte Gestalt, zu deren Schöpfung gewisse Personen der assyrisch-babylonischen Königsgeschichte ... beigetragen haben”.²³ In any case, it is important to note that the presence of both good and bad qualities in an individual should not seem unusual, nor should it imply that we are dealing with a mix of characteristics of different individuals. Most importantly, in the case of Philodemus, his potentially positive view towards the Assyrian king must be understood within the polemical context of the third book of *On Rhetoric*, which argues against the Stoic Diogenes, as previously highlighted.

Undoubtedly Cicero knew Philodemus and his treatises, as he refers to him a few times in his works.²⁴ D. Delattre rightly noted that echoes of Philodemus' treatises can be found particularly in Cicero's *Letters*. According to Delattre, several terms from Philodemus' *On Rhetoric* also appear in Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*.²⁵ Philodemus may have served as one of Cicero's sources on certain individuals / mythical figures and anecdotes.²⁶ For the first time in ancient literature, Sardanapal(l)us appears in the same context as Themistocles in *Letters to Atticus*. About the orthography of the

²³ Weißbach 1920, 2475.

²⁴ Delattre 1984, 28, 30.

²⁵ Delattre 1984, 32–34.

²⁶ See Avdoulou 2022, 130. Philodemus and Cicero employ similar vocabulary when referring to a well-known episode about Themistocles, suggesting that Cicero's text may aid in restoring the Philodemian passage. The same applies to an anecdote about Demosthenes. See Avdoulou 2022, 135.

name in *PHerc.* 1095 one can only make assumptions. Even if we accept the Ciceronian text as edited by Shackleton Bailey,²⁷ and thus recognize the form *Sardanapali* with a single consonant, it is not necessary to deduce that in *PHerc.* 1095 Philodemus had written this name with a single ‘l’ in contrast to the form of the same name with a double consonant in *PHerc.* 240, fr. 18. Schneider’s hypothesis that the different spellings indicate distinct individuals appears arbitrary. *PHerc.* 240, fr. 18 has little text and does not allow a full understanding of why Sardanapal(l)us is mentioned. It remains possible that the passage concerns a stylistic matter, as suggested by the words περίοδος, κοινολογία and the supplement ἐπιδείξεως. Does Philodemus refer here to the rhetorical abilities of Sardanapal(l)us? The available sources on the Assyrian king make no mention of his rhetorical skill or lack thereof. Schneider’s assumption that there was another Sardanapal(l)us known to the rhetorical schools cannot be verified on the basis of the fragmentary *PHerc.* 240, fr. 18. Although this fragment seems to place Sardanapal(l)us in a rhetorical context, it clearly refers to the famous Assyrian Sardanapal(l)us.

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²⁷ Shackleton Bailey 1968, 248, preferred the form with the single consonant, as transmitted by some manuscripts (PMZ¹), over the form with the double consonant, found in another group of manuscripts (ORδ). His preference was presumably based on the significance of the manuscript group preserving the form *Sardanapali*. However, the manuscripts’ history in the introduction to the first volume (Shackleton Bailey 1965, 77–101) does not necessarily justify the editor’s choice of *Sardanapali*. For instance, it is explicitly stated that the manuscript R is superior to P. In any case, it remains possible that the reading *Sardanapali* simply resulted from a scribal error of *Sardanapalli*. Interestingly, Winstedt 1913, 304 had printed the form *Sardanapalli*.

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The present article examines a reference to the Assyrian king Sardanapal(l)us as a builder of Anchiale and Tarsos in Philodemus' third book *On Rhetoric*. The name of Themistocles, possibly as a builder of Athenian walls, can be restored in the same passage. This restoration is backed up by a reference to both Sardanapal(l)us and Themistocles in Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* (10. 8), a work that contains Philodemean echoes, as already noted by D. Delattre. However, while Sardanapal(l)us is typically mentioned with negative connotations in Cicero, I argue that, considering the context of the third book of *On Rhetoric*, Philodemus might have credited Sardanapal(l)us, and possibly also Themistocles, for their efforts in protecting their cities. Furthermore, I criticize M. Schneider's thesis that the different spellings of *Sardanapal(l)us* may suggest the existence of more than one Sardanapal(l)i.

В статье рассматривается упоминание ассирийского царя Сарданапала как строителя городов Анхиалы и Тарса с их укреплениями в третьей книге *О риторике* Филодема; в том же контексте можно восстановить имя Фемистокла, вероятно, как строителя афинских стен. Подтверждением этого восстановления служит упоминание Сарданапала вместе с Фемистоклом в одном из писем Цицерона к Аттику (X, 8), – в них, как заметил уже Д. Делатр, видны следы знакомства Цицерона с сочинениями Филодема. В этом пассаже, как и в других случаях у Цицерона, Сарданапал предстает в негативном свете. Однако Филодем, судя по контексту третьей книги *О риторике*, мог отзываться о стараниях Сарданапал(л)а и, возможно, Фемистокла защитить свои города с одобрением. В статье оспаривается предположение М. Шнейдер, что написание имени *Сарданапал* с одним или двумя л отражает представление о двух разных царях, носивших это имя.

Maria N. Kazanskaya

THE EXPRESSION *LONGUS HELLESPONTUS* IN OVID*

Ovid uses the expression *longus Hellespontus* several times. It occurs once in *Metamorphoses*, as the poet describes the opening of the strait: *longus in angustum qua clauditur Hellespontus* “where the long Hellespontus closes into a narrow strait” (*Met.* 13. 407).¹ It should be noted that this passage may well have been the original context for which the expression was coined, as the epithet *longus* is neatly balanced by *in angustum*. Two more times the expression is used in the *Fasti*: *perque urbes Asiae longum petit Hellespontum* “and across the cities of Asia, [Ceres] seeks the long Hellespontus” (*Fast.* 4. 567); and later in the poem, it appears in the designation of Priapus as *longi deus Hellesponti* “the god of the long Hellespont” (possibly with a *double entendre*, see below n. 3) as he advances on the sleeping Vesta (*Fast.* 6. 341). Ovid also plays with the expression in the periphrasis *longaque Phrixiae stagna sororis* “the long stagnant waters of Phrixus’ sister (*scil.* the Hellespont)”

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¹ Verses 404–407 that anticipate the further narration (cf. the more detailed mention of Priam in verse 409) have given rise to a long discussion whether they should be considered an interpolation, and are even bracketed in some editions (for a summary of the discussion with references to earlier scholarship, see Bömer 1982, 299). I follow Bömer who, emphasizing that the passage indicates what will later be told in detail and also plays the role of *cardo* in the transition of Ovid’s narrative from Ajax to the fall of Troy, considers the passage authentic and placed where it was intended by Ovid.

(*Fast.* 4. 278), and later in the *Tristia* (1. 10. 15–18), when describing his route to Tomi:

Quae simul Aeoliae mare me deduxit in Helles
et longum tenui limite fecit iter,
fleximus in laeuom cursus, et ab Hectoris urbe
uenimus ad portus, Imbria terra, tuos,

[the ship] that brought me to the sea of the Aeolian Helle, and made its long path in the narrow channel;² we turned to the left, and from the city of Hector, we arrived at your port, o land of Imbros.

At first glance, there is nothing remarkable about the epithet *longus* for the Hellespont, given the oblong and narrow form of the strait: probably this is the reason why the expression *longus Hellespontus* in itself has not attracted much attention of commentators and scholars.³ However, it was not a fixed expression (it does not occur in other poets), and the fact that Ovid, despite his love of *variatio*, repeats such a trivial characteristic several times, retaining *longus* even in cases where the toponym itself is replaced by a learned periphrasis (*mare... Helles* or *Phrixiae stagna sororis*) is peculiar.⁴ Repetition of

² G. Luck suggested that the expression *tenui limite* might refer to the thin trail left by the passing of the ship: “meint Ovid die schmale Furche, die das Schiff in seinem Kielwasser zurückläßt?” (Luck 1977, II, 83). But it seems more natural to understand *limes* as “channel”, denoting the form of the strait.

³ Bömer 1982, 300 *ad Met.* 13. 407 who notes: “*longus* ist ein für Ovid typisches Epitheton für den Hellespont”; Fantham focuses on the spondaic line-ending produced by the toponym *Hellespontus* (Fantham 1998, 199 *ad Fast.* 4. 567). Littlewood 2006, 111 *ad Fast.* 6. 341 discusses the stylistic and rhythmical effects used by Ovid in his witty depiction of Priapus (including the possible double entendre behind *longus*), but does not comment on the use of *longus* to characterize the Hellespont: “It is clear from the word-order that *longus* here is suggestive, and the poet prolongs the anticipation by putting the noun right at the end of the hexameter and slowing the tempo with the spondaic *Hellesponti*”.

⁴ This is not to say that trivial epithets are never repeated in Ovid (for example, the expression *formosa puella* occurs numerous times). But, as far as Ovid’s qualification of toponyms and names is concerned, a greater variation of epithets is expected. A good example of Ovid’s usual technique is his qualification of Mount Ida (where he not only could choose his own epithets,

expressions in the Ovidian corpus is often due to a pun, wordplay or allusion that the poet considered a success: in this case, the repetition of *longus* seems to suggest that the adjective when applied to the Hellespont might have carried for Ovid more weight than is warranted by its literal sense, and that we might be dealing with an allusion or wordplay that Ovid was proud of and could have expected at least some of his readers to recognize.

Two more traits about Ovid's use of the expression *longus Hellespontus* are worth noting: (a) the adjective is always separated from the word it qualifies, suggesting that the poet highlighted the epithet by means of hyperbaton; and what is even more important, (b) in three cases (*Met.* 13. 407; *Fast.* 4. 567 and 6. 341) the word *Hellespontus* occupies the fifth and sixth foot of the hexameter, creating a σπονδειαῖζων.⁵ While *Hellespontus* is not the easiest word to adapt to dactylic poetry, and is not used frequently by Roman poets, it should nevertheless be noted that the last two feet of the hexameter was not the only possible position for the toponym and its derivate adjectives.⁶ The placement of the Greek toponym at the verse end,

but also incorporate references to Homer's *πιδήεσσα, πολυπῖδαξ, πολύπτυχος*: in Ovidian corpus only *nemorosa* appears twice (*Her.* 16. 53; *Ars am.* 1. 289), whereas all other characteristics are single occurrences: *clivosa* (*Am.* 1. 14. 11); *longa* (*Her.* 16. 110); *alta* (*Her.* 17. 115); *creberrima fontibus* (*Met.* 2. 218); *umbrosa* (*Met.* 11. 762); *amoena fontibus* (*Fast.* 4. 249); *aquosa* (*Fast.* 6. 15); *opaca* (*Fast.* 6. 327); *umida* (*Met.* 10. 71). On *Ida* in Ovid, see McKeown (1989, 369 *ad Am.* 1. 14. 11).

⁵ The term σπονδειαῖζων for the rare form of hexameter with a spondee on the fifth foot was used by Cicero: *ita belle nobis 'flavit ab Epiro lenissimus Onchesmites' (hunc σπονδειαῖζοντα si cui voles τῶν νεωτέρων pro tuo vendito)...* "so nicely did for us 'the softest Onchesmites blew from Epirus' (feel free to sell this spondaic verse to one of the νεώτεροι as your own)" (*Att.* 7. 2. 1). For Roman readers this type of line-ending was associated with Greek poetry: Winbolt 1903, 129; Dainotti 2015, 196–198 (with references to earlier scholarship); specifically on Ovid's use of spondaic line-ends in *Fasti*, see Bömer 1958, II, 85–86 *ad Fast.* 2. 43; Fantham 1998, 199 *ad Fast.* 4. 567.

⁶ Thus, the toponym *Hellespontus* is placed in the first part of the hexameter (before the penthemimeral caesura) in Enn. fr. 369 Skutsch and in *Culex* 33; before Ovid, *Hellespontus* was placed at the end of the hexameter by Catullus (64. 357–358, where the expression *rapidi... Hellesponti* probably reproduces Homer's verse end *παρ' ἀγάρροον Ἑλλήσποντον* at *Il.* 12. 30, as noted by Ellis 1876, 279, cf. Trimble 2025, 636); roughly contemporary with Ovid is *Hellespontus* at the verse end in *Ciris* 413 (the high number of σπονδειαῖζοντες

coupled with the rarity of dispondaic endings in Roman hexametric poetry, inevitably produces an association with Greek poetry. And indeed, the Hellespont does occupy the last two feet of hexameter in four passages in Homer.⁷ In one of these (*Il.* 12. 30) the name of the strait stands alone, but in the remaining three it is accompanied by the epithet *πλατύς* (because of the ambiguity, I leave the adjective untranslated):

Il. 7, 85–86:

... ὄφρα ἐ ταρχύσωσι κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί,
σῆμά τέ οἱ χεύωσιν ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ

... so that Achaeans crowned with long hair may bury him, and make him a mound by the *πλατύς* Hellespont

Il. 17, 432–433:

τὼ δ' οὐτ' ἄψ ἐπὶ νῆας ἐπὶ πλατὺν Ἑλλήσποντον
ἦελέτην ἰέναι οὐτ' ἐς πόλεμον μετ' Ἀχαιούς...

but the two did not want to go back to the ships by the *πλατύς* Hellespont, nor into the battle with other Achaeans...

Od. 24, 80–84:

ἄμφ' αὐτοῖσι δ' ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον
χεύαμεν Ἀργείων ἱερὸς στρατὸς αἰχμητῶν
ἄκτῃ ἔπι προὔχούσῃ, ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ
ὥς κεν τηλεφανῆς ἐκ ποντόφιν ἀνδράσιν εἶη
τοῖς, οἳ νῦν γεγάασι καὶ οἳ μετόπισθεν ἔσσονται...

in this poem is noted by Lyne 1978, 16). Two derivative adjectives are attested: *Hellespontia* (hapax in poetry), placed at the beginning of the hexameter in Cat. fr. 1. 4; and *Hellespontiacus*, regularly placed at the beginning of hexameter (Verg. *Georg.* 4. 111; probably reprised in Petronius, 139. 2) or occupying the first half of the pentameter, especially in Ovid (*Her.* 18. 108 and 19. 32; *Fast.* 1. 440).

⁷ This was not the only possible position for the toponym Ἑλλήσποντος in the Homeric hexameter: in other cases, it is located on the second and third foot (*Il.* 2. 845; 9. 360), or on the fourth and fifth foot (*Il.* 15. 233; 18. 150; 23. 2; 24. 346; 24. 545).

and over them we heaped a mound, big and flawless, we the holy host of Argive spearmen, on a projecting shore by the πλατύς Hellespont, so that it would be visible from afar in the sea to men living now and to those to come...

In all these cases the narrator's focus is primarily not on the Hellespont as such, but on its coastline. The adjective πλατύς in Greek could be used in two senses. It usually means "broad, i.e. wide and flat", and translations and commentaries on Homer's poems invariably accept this translation for πλατὺς Ἑλλήσποντος.⁸ However, in a number of contexts (especially in prose) πλατύς is used to define sea water as opposed to potable water, i.e. carries the sense "salty, brackish". The earliest attestation of πλατύς in this sense appears in Herodotus (2. 108):

[...] σπανίζοντες ὕδατων πλατυτέροισι ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι πόμασι, ἐκ φρεάτων ἀρυόμενοι.

feeling the lack of water, they used saltier <water> for drink, drawing it from wells.

In Aristotle's *Meteorologica* (258 a) the adjective denotes saltiness of rain water, and is used as a synonym of ἀλμυρός:

ὅθεν μὲν οὖν ἡ γένεσις ἔνεστιν τοῦ ἀλμυροῦ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι, εἴρηται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ τε νότια ὕδατα πλατύτερα καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν μετοπωρινῶν.

wherein lie the origins of the saltiness in <sea>water, has been explained. And for the same reason, the rainwater brought from the south as well as the first rains of autumn are saltier.

⁸ *LSJ* 1996, 1414 s.v. πλατύς III: "but πλατὺς Ἑλλήσποντος *Il.* 7. 86, 17. 432, is not *the salt*, but *the broad*, Hellespont"; Kirk 1990, 245 *ad Il.* 7. 86: "over the flat Hellespont". For Edwards, the formula was probably created for the specific context of burial mounds on the sea-shore: "The mound can be seen from afar over the 'level' sea, and the association of the phrase with tombs suits the context and looks forward to the grave-stone simile two lines later" (Edwards 1991, 105–106).

It can be added that the same authors use πλατύς as both “broad” and “salty”.⁹ Aristophanes even seems to use a pun that plays with the two usages of πλατύς in the stichomythic exchange between Lamachus and Dicaeopolis (*Ach.* 1124–1127):

ΛΑ. Φέρε δεῦρο γοργόνωτον ἀσπίδος κύκλον.

ΔΙ. Κάμοι πλακοῦντος τυρόνωτον δὸς κύκλον.

ΛΑ. Ταῦτ’ οὐ κατάγελῶς ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις πλατύς;

ΔΙ. Ταῦτ’ οὐ πλακοῦς δῆτ’ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις γλυκύς;

Lamachus. Carry here the round of shield, decorated with the Gorgon!

Dicaeopolis. And give me too the round of cake, covered with cheese!

Lamachus. Is not this a πλατύς derision for people?

Dicaeopolis. Is not this cake sweet for people?

Whereas dictionaries and most commentaries on the *Acharnians* understand κατάγελως πλατύς as “downright mockery”,¹⁰ the pun behind Lamachus’ use of πλατύς has been aptly explained by Ch. de Lamberterie, building on F. A. Paley’s remark,¹¹ as a pun on “broad” (laugh openly) and “brackish” (bad taste), which brings out the contrast with γλυκύς at the end of Dicaearchus’ reply; de

⁹ For πλατύς “broad” in Aristotle, e.g. *Met.* 992 a where πλατύ and στενόν are opposed; for Herodotus, cf. *Hdt.* 2. 156. 2; 3. 113. 2; 4. 39. 2 and 41; and (what is relevant for the question of Hellespont), πλατέα was suspected behind the transmitted reading ἀκτὴ παχέα for the coastline by the Hellespont: “Statt παχέα ist wohl πλατέα zu lesen. Es ist ein hügeliger bewaldeter Küstenvorsprung von einer Meile Ausdehnung, an beiden Enden durch die Einbuchtungen von Sestos (heute Zemenik) und Koila (heute Kilia) von der übrigen Küste abgekerbt” (Stein 1889, 44 *ad Hdt.* 7. 33; see also Wilson 2015, 130 who approves of this emendation).

¹⁰ *LSJ* 1996, 1413, s.v. πλατύς I.5: “metaph. [...] flat (i.e. downright) mockery, *Ar. Ach.* 1126”; cf. in the same category, “but πλατὺ γελάσαι, καταγελᾶν, laugh loud and rudely”; cf. Olson in his commentary while maintaining that πλατύς is the right reading (ms. also give πολύς), explains the use of πλατύς based on the meaning “broad” only: “**πλατύς**: Lit. ‘broad’, i.e. ‘patent, open’; cf. *Pax* 815 with Olson *ad loc.*” (Olson 2002, 343 *ad Ach.* 1126–1127).

¹¹ Paley 1876, 109: “πλατύς flat in the sense of downright. It may also resemble our phrase *broad grins*. But the contrast with γλυκύς suggests the meaning ‘bitter’ or ‘brackish,’ *Herod.* II, 108”.

Lamberterie proposed the following translation for v. 1126: “N’a-t-il pas le mauvais goût de se moquer ouvertement du monde ?”¹²

Neither “broad” nor “brackish” is a fortunate characteristic for the Hellespont. “Broad” is obviously a strange epithet to qualify a notoriously narrow strait. As for “brackish”, it may be argued that this qualification is supported by a Herodotean parallel in Xerxes’ scornful address to the Hellespont: Σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει, ὥς ἐόντι καὶ θολερῷ καὶ ἀλμυρῷ ποταμῷ, “and justly no one honours you with offerings, as you are a turbid and brackish river” (Hdt. 7, 35), but, as regards the Homeric formula, “brackish” is unexpected and unpoetic. Nairn pithily summarized the problem with the two interpretations of πλατὺς Ἑλλήσποντος: “the meaning ‘broad’ is as destructive of the truth, as ‘brackish’ is of poetry”.¹³ Another line of explanation was to accept that πλατὺς in πλατὺς Ἑλλήσποντος means “broad”, and to focus instead on the application of the term *Hellespont*. There is one Homeric parallel that justifies this approach – Achilles calls the Hellespont “limitless” as he pities Priam’s loss in *Iliad* 24. 544–546:

ὅσπον Λέσβος ἄνω Μάκαρος ἔδος ἐντὸς ἐέργει
καὶ Φρυγίῃ καθύπερθε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος ἀπείρων,
τῶν σε γέρον πλούτῳ τε καὶ υἰάσι φασι κεκάσθαι.

People say, old sir, that you excelled in wealth and through your sons as far as the confines of Lesbos, the seat of Makar, out in the sea, and of Phrygia inland,¹⁴ and of the boundless Hellespont.

Obviously, the expression Ἑλλήσποντος ἀπείρων is suited to emphasize the vastness of the territories in which Priam had no pier; but it is an isolated expression, most likely created on the basis of the preexisting formula πλατὺς Ἑλλήσποντος, and the idea of the

¹² De Lamberterie 1990, 457.

¹³ Nairn 1899, 436.

¹⁴ I am grateful to D. V. Keyer for correcting my initial translation and drawing my attention to the fact that ἄνω and καθύπερθε cannot be used as equivalent to “down below, i.e. to the south” and “above, i.e. to the north”, and that these adverbs must refer to the position of Lesbos out in the sea, and of Phrygia on the land.

vastness of the Hellespont is fully present here. As early as W. Leaf's commentary on the *Iliad*, it has been suggested that the term in *Il.* 24. 545 (but in other cases as well) refers not only to the Bosphorus strait, but to the Northern part of the Aegean Sea: thus, when Homer is characterizing it as πλατύς or ἀπείρων, he was thinking of the broader sea off Troy and Thrace.¹⁵ Alternatively, it has been linked to the fact that the form of Hellespont resembles a river – and that, if so ranked, the Hellespont is broad in comparison to other rivers.¹⁶

¹⁵ Leaf 1902, 576 *ad Il.* 24. 545: “Ἑλλήσποντος must evidently be taken to include the sea on the [West] coast of the Troad as well as the narrow channel on the [North], to which we now confine the name. This could hardly be called ἀπείρων”; cf. Büchner 1912, 182: “An den meisten Stellen der großen Homerischen Gedichte bezeichnet der Name nicht bloß die Straße der Dardanellen, sondern auch noch das westlich angrenzende Gebiet des Melasbusens bis an den Thermäischen Golf und das thessalische und makedonische Gebiet des nördlichen Ägäischen Meeres [...], dessen Name vor dem 5. Jhdt. v. Chr. nicht nachgewiesen werden kann”. Richardson 1993, 333 *ad Il.* 24. 543–546 admits this solution, recognizing, at the same time, the alternative possibility of the expression being influenced by the expression πόντος ἀπείρων which is known from Hesiod (*Th.* 678) and attested as Aristarch's reading in two Homeric passages: “The epithet ἀπείρων in 545, applied only here to the Hellespont, is at first sight puzzling, and has been explained as referring to the whole sea off Troy and Thrace, not just the modern channel. It is called ‘broad’ at 7.86, 17.432”; see also the *Basler Kommentar* (Bierl–Latacz 2009, 195 *ad Il.* 24. 545): “nicht nur die Dardanellen selbst, sondern in einem weiteren Sinn auch ein Teil der nordöstlichen Ägäis”. From the point of view of geographical descriptions, Jachmann 1955, 94–95 and 108–109 has argued in favor of the idea that the term Hellespont could denote a larger area than the Bosphorus.

¹⁶ Luce 1998, 41–42: “Ancient sailors regarded the Hellespont as a river rather than a strait, and this conception is embodied in the stock epithet, ‘broad’, that Homer three times applies to it (*Il.* 7, 86; 17, 432, *Od.* 24, 82). ‘Broad’ would be rather pointless as a description of an arm of the sea but is very much in order for a riverlike mass of water that flows constantly in the same direction and is between two and three miles wide at its point of entry to the Aegean”. In ancient sources there is the direct qualification of the Hellespont as a ποταμός in Xerxes' scoffing words (ὥς εἶναι καὶ θολερῶ καὶ ἄλμυρῶ ποταμῷ, *Hdt.* 7. 35), and a reference to an idea of this kind may be implicitly present in Ausonius' *Mosella* as he compares the Mosel to the Hellespont (*Mos.* 287–291; however, Ausonius' choice of words qualifies the Hellespont as a maritime strait, cf. *Sestiacum pelagus* v. 287, *freta Abydeni ephebi* v. 288, *pontus* v. 289, *euripus* v. 290).

The question of whether πλατύς “broad” and πλατύς “salty, brackish” are homonyms or whether the latter is semantically derived from the former remains a disputed one. The purposes of this article do not require me to propose a solution to this question, but a summary of the discussion seems to be in order. The idea of the existence of two very similar PIE u-stem adjectives is an old one: those who adhere to this interpretation would reconstruct, on the one hand, *plh₂tú- “wide” for Gk. πλατύς “wide, flatly spread out”, Skt. pṛtú- “wide” and Lith. platùs “wide”, and, on the other hand, *pl̥tú- “sharp” for Gk. πλατύς “salty, brackish” (i.e. “with a sharp taste”) and Skt. paṭú “sharp”. This interpretation for πλατύς “salty” already found in Debrunner (1954, II.2, 465); in Boisacq (1916, 792) who mentions among 19th century linguists for the discussion of πλατύς “brackish” together with Skt. paṭú “sharp” Fröhde, Fortunatov and Persson; in Pokorny (1959–1969, III 985 s.v. (s)p(h)el-), who admits the possibility of linking πλατύς “brackish” to a verbal root with the meaning “to split”; the idea is mentioned by LSJ (1996: 1414, s.v. πλατύς III; the remark seems to have been based on the lemma in Boisacq’s dictionary), and it was endorsed by Ch. de Lamberterie (1990, 457–459). There is, however, a formal problem with the reconstruction of the root for sharp, pungent taste, *pl̥tú-, as it is formally difficult to reduce Gk. πλατύς “brackish” and Skt. paṭú- “sharp” to a single form: however, Ch. de Lamberterie explained Skt. paṭú- as a prakritism, comparing it with a similar adjective *kṛt(h₂)ú (cf. Gk. κρατύς and Skt. kaṭú-) and viewing the adjective *pl̥tú “sharp” as a whole as a Greek and Indo-Iranian isogloss¹⁷ (an early derivative of the verb *(s)pl̥t / *(s)pólt (“to split”) in these two languages).

However, another authoritative line of interpretation has been to posit πλατύς “brackish” as derived from πλατύς “wide and flat”. The common denominator for these two characteristics is, obviously, the sea, but such a transition is untypical and difficult to explain

¹⁷ “Limité à deux langues, il ne permet évidemment pas de restituer en indo-européen un adjectif *pl̥tú-. Mais comme d’autre part πλατύς, immotivé et isolé en synchronie, se dénonce par ce fait même comme un archaïsme et ne saurait pas être une création du grec, on est en droit de considérer *pl̥tú- comme une forme dialectale de l’indo-européen ; c’est une de ces isoglosses entre le grec et l’indo-iranien comme il en existe tant dans la dérivation nominale” (de Lamberterie 1990, 460).

from the point of view of semantics (cf. Chantraine *DELG*, 913 s.v. πλατύς 2: “on s’étonne pourtant de cette déviation du sens chez [Hérodote] et [Aristote]”). The idea that the meaning “brackish” is due to a reinterpretation of πλατύς “broad” is already found in Passow: “wahrscheinlich weil man ursprünglich unter πλατὺ ὕδωρ überhaupt das Meer verstand, wovon nachher der besondere Begriff des Salzigen allein festgehalten wurde” (Passow 1852, II, 942 s.v. πλατύς).¹⁸ This idea was taken up by Pape and, among Herodotean scholars, in Sayce’s commentary and Powell in his *Lexicon to Herodotus*.¹⁹ An interesting twist on the idea of semantic derivation of πλατύς from “broad” to “brackish” was offered by C. B. Gulick, in a note on Athen. 2. 41 b: “Perhaps because salt was extracted from the broad ocean” (Gulick 1927, 178–179). A new reconstruction for this semantic transition was proposed by A. Heubeck who took the Homeric formula πλατύς Ἑλλήσποντος as the original context where this reinterpretation occurred: for him, the Hellespont was regarded in archaic times as a river (he specifically evokes Herodotus’ Xerxes chastising the Hellespont ὡς ἐόντι καὶ θολερῷ καὶ ἄλμυρῷ ποταμῷ, Hdt. 7. 35) and, in comparison to other rivers, it could be characterized as πλατύς “broad”, which was then reinterpreted to “salty” (another feature that is not typical of a river).²⁰ Similarly, Hj. Frisk (1954–1972, 554–555 s.v. πλατύς 2, building on Heubeck’s article): “Ohne Zweifel aus πλατύς Ἑλλήσποντος (Hom.; vgl. A. Pers. 985) durch Mißverständnis entstanden, indem der ‘breite [Hellespont]’ als der

¹⁸ Cf. “Weil man unter πλατὺ ὕδωρ überhaupt das Meer verstand, bekam das Wort auch die Bedeutung des Salzigen” (Pape 1880, II, 627).

¹⁹ Sayce 1883, 182, *ad* Hdt. 2. 108 (explaining πλατυτέροισι): “‘Brackish’, perhaps because πλατύς was used of the ‘broad’ sea”; E. Powell qualifies the meaning “brackish” as metaphorical (which must mean that he derives it from “broad”): “metaph. compar. πόματα *brackish*: 2, 108⁴” (Powell 1996, 306 s.v. πλατύς).

²⁰ Heubeck 1958, 260: “Wir nehmen also an, daß in einer Zeit, als der Hellespont kühnerweise als ‘salziger Fluß’ bezeichnet werden konnte und die Erinnerung an die auffällige und darum besonders einprägsame Formulierung πλατύς Ἑλλήσποντος lebendig war, πλατύς als ἄλμυρός mißverstanden bzw. umgedeutet werden konnte”. Heubeck (1958, 258–259) credited Meyrhofer with the idea for the study, and Heubeck’s conclusions were, several years later, incorporated by Meyrhofer into his dictionary of Sanskrit (cf. Meyrhofer 1963, II, 191 s.v. पातुह).

‘salzige [Hellespont]’ aufgefaßt wurde. Das schmückende Epithet ‘breit’ erschien wohl für eine Meerenge wenig angemessen” (cf. Beekes 2010, 1205 s.v. πλατύς 2 whose treatment of the question is extremely close to Frisk’s). The possibility of this semantic transition was, however, vigorously contested by de Lamberterie (1990, 459) who pointed out that the epithet is only applied to water as substance, never to stretches of water (the sea or straits).²¹

Returning to the question of πλατύς Ἑλλήσποντος in Homer, it is very probable that the poet inherited this noun-epithet formula from earlier epic tradition; and the way he reworks πλατύς Ἑλλήσποντος into Ἑλλήσποντος ἀπείρων in *Il.* 24. 545 gives reason to believe that for him πλατύς (whatever its relationship with πλατύς “brackish”) in this expression meant “broad”. However, ancient readers and critics did see the contradiction in calling the notoriously narrow strait πλατύς, and while the triple repetition (*Il.* 7. 86; 17. 432; *Od.* 24. 82) did not leave room to doubt Homer’s text, tried to explain the poet’s choice of epithet. Some of the explanations that exist in modern editions were offered already by ancient readers and Homeric scholarship.

I. Usage of πλατύς as “salty”. Remarkably, even the explanation of πλατύς Ἑλλήσποντος as “brackish Hellespont” is attested in Athenaeus (2. 41 a), as he lists different types of water mentioned in Homeric poems:

διαστέλλει δὲ καὶ γλυκὺ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ πλατέος, τὸν μὲν Ἑλλήσποντον εἶναι λέγων πλατύν, ὑπὲρ δὲ θατέρου φράζων ‘στήσαμεν νῆας ἀγχοῦ ὕδατος γλυκεροῖο’.

²¹ “Il s’agit toujours de l’eau comme élément chimique, et non d’une étendue d’eau. Un syntagme *πλατύς πόντος ‘mer saumâtre’ n’est ni attesté ni même, semble-t-il, concevable : le grec dit couramment ἄλμυρον ὕδωρ, mais pas *ἄλμυρος πόντος. On ne voit donc rien qui puisse justifier cette ‘Umdeutung’ : le point de départ comme le point d’arrivée sont mal posés” (de Lamberterie 1990, I, 459). This is certainly a strong argument. However, it should be noted that while for the expression πλατὺ (or ἄλμυρον) ὕδωρ de Lamberterie’s reasoning is correct, the possibility for a double understanding (both “broad” and “salty”) opens up, once the same expression is placed in the plural, πλατέα ὕδατα (and indeed this or similar expression may stand behind the periphrasis of Helle in *Heroid* 18. 104: *sola dedit vastis femina nomen aquis*).

[Homer] distinguishes fresh water from *salty*, by describing the Hellespont as πλατύς, and saying of the other [type]: ‘we moored [our] ships near to fresh water’.²²

Indeed, this may have been one of the earliest interpretations. In a fragment of Choerilus from the list of nations that crossed the Hellespont as part of Xerxes’ army, quoted by Joseph in *Contra Apionem*, there is a people who lived by Mount Solyma, by the lake characterized as πλατέη (Choeril. fr. 320. 1–3 SH = fr. 4. 1–3 Radici Colace):

τῶν δ’ ὅπιθεν διέβαινε γένος θαυμαστὸν ιδέσθαι,
γλῶσσαν μὲν Φοίνισσαν ἀπὸ στομάτων ἀφιέντες,
ῥκευν δ’ ἐν Σολύμοις ὄρεσι πλατέη παρὰ λίμνη...

behind them was crossing a tribe wondrous to behold, who let out from their mouths Phoenician speech and lived in the mountains of Solyma by the broad (salty?) lake.

Joseph clearly interpreted this passage as referring to the Jews, and the πλατέη λίμνη to the Dead Sea, with its saltiness being its chief characteristic.²³ While most modern scholars interpreted this passage as a reference to the Aethiopes of Asia, to be identified with the Solymi mentioned by Homer who live by the Phaselis lake (πλατέη λίμνη would then mean “broad lake”), P. Radici Colace in her edition of Choerilus (and in an earlier article on this fragment) proposed to

²² Homeric formula πλατύς Ἑλλήσποντος is counterbalanced by the quotation from the *Odyssey* (abridged and slightly modified, as Homer mentioned only one ship): στήσαμεν ἐν λιμένι γλαφυρῷ εὐεργέα νῆα / ἄγχ’ ὕδατος γλυκεροῖο... (*Od.* 12. 305–306). Both C. B. Gulick (1927, 179; see above) and S. D. Olson (2006, 235) translate πλατύς as “broad”; the latter gives no explanation of his translation.

²³ Cf. Joseph’s explanation: δῆλον οὖν ἐστίν, ὥς οἶμαι, πᾶσιν ἡμῶν αὐτὸν μεμνησθαι τῷ καὶ τὰ Σόλυμα ὄρη ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ εἶναι χώρα, ἃ κατοικοῦμεν, καὶ τὴν Ἀσφαλιτῖν λεγομένην λίμνην· αὕτη γὰρ πασῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ [λίμνη] πλατυτέρα καὶ μείζων καθέστηκεν (*Ios. Flav. Contra Apion.* 1. 175). It is worth noting that in the expression πασῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ πλατυτέρα καὶ μείζων καθέστηκεν Joseph seems to be playing with the two meanings of πλατύς (“broad” and “salty”).

return to Joseph's interpretation, which would then mean that πλατύς would then mean "salty" (as the most salient characteristic of the Dead Sea).²⁴ This interpretation is accepted, as a possibility, by R. Führer who translates πλατέη παρὰ λίμνη as "an dem großen (Saltz?) See".²⁵ It may be added that a number of contexts in Hellenistic epigrams shows a similar jeu de mots on the two meanings of πλατύς, however, in these examples the adjective characterizes the sea (or even other seas), not specifically the Hellespont.²⁶

II. Geographical explanation ("the broader part of the Hellespont"). The second line of interpretation of πλατὺς Ἑλλήσποντος by ancient readers, well attested in the scholia, has much in common with modern geographical interpretations, i.e. the argument is that Homer used the term Ἑλλήσποντος broadly, denoting not only the Bosporus, but the wider area near the Troad, before the strait. Therefore, πλατύς characterizes the whole area that can be called Ἑλλήσποντος, not only the narrow strait which is a part of it. Thus, the scholia A to *Il.* 7. 86 (which probably remount to Aristarchus through Aristonicus) explain:

πλατεῖ δὲ καθ' ὃ μέρος ἐ<σ>τὶ πλατύς, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ παρὰ πλατεῖ.

πλατεῖ in that part where [the Hellespont] is broad, and [ἐπὶ πλατεῖ] is used instead of παρὰ πλατεῖ.

A similar explanation is found in the exegetical scholia, ex. schol. bT in *Il.* 7. 86:

ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ: καθ' ὃ μέρος ἐστὶ †πλατύτερος† ἑαυτοῦ περὶ τὰς ἐκροὰς τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου.

in that part where [the Hellespont] is broader than itself, by the outflow of the Scamander [into the sea].

²⁴ See Radici Colace 1979, 42–44; cf. Radici Colace 1976, 17–20.

²⁵ See Führer 1993.

²⁶ E.g., Ἰονίου γὰρ ἐπὶ πλατὺν κῶμα περήσω (*Anth. Pal.* 5. 17. 3), where πλατύς, applied to the wave, may mean both "broad" and "salty"; similarly, διὰ πλατὺν κῶμα φηγόντα (*Anth. Pal.* 6. 349. 5); κατ' Αἰγαίῳ ῥόῳ πλατὺν λαῖτμα (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 614. 7).

Cf. scholia bT in *Il.* 17, 432:

οὐ τὸν καθόλου πλατύν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὃ μέρος ἑαυτοῦ πλατύτερός ἐστιν.

not “broad” as a whole, but in that part where it is wider than itself.

And the A scholia on *Iliad* 17. 432 state that it is specifically used to denote the wider parts of the Hellespont, not the strait as a whole:

πλατύν εἶρηκε τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον οὐχ ὅτι τοιοῦτος, ἀλλ' ὅτι σύγκρισίς ἐστι τῶν κατὰ τὸν ναύσταθμον μερῶν πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα μέρη τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου· τὰ γὰρ κατὰ τὸν ναύσταθμον πλατύτερα ἐστι τῶν ἄλλων διαστημάτων τῶν ἀπεστενωμένων. λέγει οὖν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ πλατύτερα μέρη τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου.

[Homer] called the Hellespont “broad” not because it is such, but because there is an element of comparison of the place where the ships are stationed with other parts of the Hellespont. For the parts where the ships are stationed are wider than the dimensions of the straitened parts. Homer thus uses this expression instead of saying “by the wider parts of the Hellespont”.

The same explanation that πλατὺς Ἑλλήσποντος refers to a part of the area that could be denoted as Ἑλλήσποντος, not to the Bosphorus strait only, was taken over from the scholia by Eustathius of Thessalonike,²⁷ and even integrated into ancient lexicographical works (Apoll. Soph. *Lex. Hom.* p. 132):

²⁷ Eustath. in *Il.* 7. 86 = vol. II, 408 van der Valk: Πλατύν δὲ Ἑλλήσποντον λέγει οὐ τὸν ἀπλῶς διόλου τοιοῦτον – ἔχει γὰρ στενὰ πολλὰ καὶ τι λίαν στενότατον καὶ οὐ πλέον ἐπτασταδίου πλατυνόμενον –, ἀλλὰ τὸ διεκπίπτον αὐτοῦ ἔξω πρὸς τῷ Αἰγαίῳ ἕως καὶ εἰς τὸ ναύσταθμον καὶ εἰς τὸ Ῥοίτειον καὶ εἰς τὸ Σίγειον, τὰ ἀνωτέρω ῥηθέντα, ἐκεῖνο πλατύν Ἑλλήσποντον λέγει. ἐκεῖ γὰρ εἰς πλάτος ὁ τῆς Ἑλλης πόντος ἀνοίγεται. Οἰονεῖ γοῦν φησιν ὁ ποιητής, ὅτι σῆμα χεῦωσι περὶ τὸ πλατὺ μέρος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ ἀπαλὸν αὐχένα φησὶν οὐ τὸν ἀπλῶς ἀπαλόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον μέρος αὐτοῦ.

πλατὺν Ἑλλήσποντον· οὐ καθολικῶς λέγει πλατύν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κατὰ τὴν Τροίαν μέρος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους τὸ ὅλον τροπικῶς λέγων· κατὰ γὰρ Σηστὸν καὶ Ἄβυδον πλατὺς ἐστὶν Ἑλλήσποντος.

Homer does not say of the Hellespont that it is “broad” as a whole, but the part of Hellespont by Troia, characterizing, tropewise, the whole from its part: for the Hellespont is broad around Sestos and Abydos.

Cf. the abridged explanation in Hesychius (π 2492): πλατὺν Ἑλλήσποντον· τὸ κατὰ τὴν Τροίαν μέρος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου· ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅλου τὸ μέρος τ<ρ>οπικῶς λέγων.

III. Antiphrasis. An explanation of πλατὺς Ἑλλήσποντος through stylistic effect is found in the D scholia (*schol. in Il.* 7. 86 van Thiel):

H 86/Ys. πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ. ἦτοι κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν, στενὸς γὰρ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος· ἢ κατ’ ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος τὸ πεπλατυμμένον.

“on the broad Hellespont”. Homer says so either as an antiphrasis (i.e. expression of a notion through its opposite – *M. K.*), for the Hellespont is narrow; or because of its broadening in that part of the strait.

The explanation κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν is here coupled with the geographical explanation (see above, under II). However, it is a valuable testimony of an interpretation via stylistic figure (of the type πόντος Εὐξεινος instead of Ἄξεινος).²⁸ In view of the integration of early stages of Homeric scholarship into the D scholia, this interpretation may well remount even to pre-Hellenistic times.

²⁸ On the stylistic term ἀντίφρασις in ancient scholarship, see Lausberg 1990, 450 § 940, who classes it as a subtype of εἰρωνεία. It was regularly used by Greek and, even more often, by Roman grammarians to explain a difficult word etymology: cf. *lucus a non lucendo* (Serv. in *Aen.* 1. 22; cf. Diom. I. 462 Keil; Mart. Cap. IV. 360 Keil etc.); *antiphrasis... ut Parcae ab eo quod non parcant* (Sacerd. VI. 462. 12; cf. Serv. in *Aen.* 1. 22; etc.).

I would like to suggest that literary sources (Ovid, but other poets as well) point to an existence of one other explanation, which is not attested directly in remnants of ancient scholarship, but would be in keeping with ancient stylistic theories. Homer's use of the epithet *πλατύς* for the Hellespont could be viewed as a *κατάχρησις* (the use of proximate terms instead of the exact term, a stylistic quality that was specifically noted for poetry), and that it could be substituted, by later emulators of Homer, by an epithet that they considered more apt. Thus, in poetry we find traces of replacement of *πλατύς* by *μέγας* (Dion. Per. 820–821):

τὴν δὲ μετ' Αἰόλιδος παραπέπταται ἦθεα γαίης
Αἰγαίου παρὰ χεῖλος, ὑπὲρ μέγαν Ἑλλήσποντον

after that are spread the abodes of the Aeolian land by the rim of
the Aegean, over the great Hellespont.

J. Lightfoot does not remark on Dionysius Periegetes' choice of *μέγας* for the Hellespont (and even omits the epithet altogether in her translation),²⁹ and indeed, at first glance, the epithet is so neuter that it is easy to miss Dionysius' point. However, since just a few lines before he had described the broadening of the coastline by the river Sangarius, the use of *μέγας* seems to be a pointed correction of Homer: the Hellespont cannot be properly called “broad”, but it can be admired as “great”. In Roman poetry, a replacement among the same lines is attested in Valerius Flaccus (*Arg.* 1. 50):

et magni numen maris excitat Helle

and Helle, the deity of the great sea, keeps [me] awake.

Another poet who sought to correct Homer's *πλατύς Ἑλλήσποντος* was Ovid: retaining the recognizable Homeric position of the toponym at the end of the hexameter, Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti* modified the epithet *πλατύς* to *longus*, displacing the focus of perception from the width of the strait to the extension of its coastline. In the first passage where the expression appears, this replacement is

²⁹ Lightfoot 2014, 241.

especially pointed, as Ovid both stresses the narrowness of the strait *and* replaces the Homeric epithet with *longus*: *longus in angustum qua clauditur Hellespontus* (*Met.* 13. 407; cf. similar care in choice of words in *longum tenui limite fecit iter*, *Trist.* 1. 10. 16). This passage bears all the typical traits of that type of allusion that R. F. Thomas called “correction” in his seminal article on types of allusion in Roman poetry.³⁰ It is also worth noting that Ovid seems to have tried out a different approach to rendering Homer’s πλατὺς Ἑλλήσποντος, through the adjective *vastus*: on the one hand, *vastus* is closer to Homer’s πλατὺς, but it seems that Ovid did not feel that it could be applied to the toponym Hellespont itself. There are two passages of this kind in his corpus. Ovid seems to have invented this variant in the letter of *Leander to Hero* (*Her.* 18. 104): *sola dedit uastis femina nomen aquis* “a single woman gave <her> name to vast waters”, and he later takes it up again in the *Tristia*, in the same elegy in which he described his journey, in a way juxtaposing in one poem the two adjectives he had considered as a variant for Homeric πλατὺς (*Trist.* 1. 10. 32): *hic locus est gemini ianua uasta maris* “this place is the wide door between the two seas”.

Ovid displays interest in Homeric scholarship and an awareness of many of the questions raised by Homer’s text:³¹ it has been noticed that on several occasions Ovid in his references to Homer seems to be reacting to Aristarchus’ atheteses,³² or to scholars’ doubts on the authenticity of a passage (as preserved in the scholia).³³ While there is still much work to be done on Ovid’s reworking of Homeric expressions

³⁰ Thomas (1986, 185–189) who builds on Giangrande’s earlier remarks on *oppositio in imitando* in Hellenistic and Roman poetry (Giangrande 1967).

³¹ This has been noted already by M. von Albrecht for *Heroid* 3 (1980; for the analysis of Homeric scholarship in *Heroid* 3, see also Jolivet 1999).

³² E.g. Papaioannou (2007, 41) noticed that in *Met.* 12. 22–23 Ovid seems to have specifically rearranged the story of the portent at Aulis so as to place the petrification of the snake (the verse that had been athetized by Aristarchus, *Il.* 2. 319) as the culmination of the story, thus taking “an affirmative stance on the question of authenticity tied to the particular verse” (*ibid.*).

³³ E.g. it has been suggested that Ovid’s references to the *Doloneia* episode in *Her.* 1. 39–44, *Ars am.* 2. 135–138 and *Met.* 13. 98–100, 243–254 (that was suspected by Alexandrian scholars to be an Pisistratean insertion, cf. Eustath. in *Il.* 10. 1–10 = vol. III, 2 van der Valk) are a pointed defense of the episode (see Jolivet 2004; Weiden Boyd 2017, 38–40).

that were considered problematic by Homeric scholars, there is a good number of expressions where we are certain of the double reference to Homer and to the scholarly interpretation of the passage.³⁴ I think that the expression *longus Hellespontus* in *Met.* 13. 407, *Fast.* 4. 567 and 6. 341 deserves to be included among allusions of this kind.

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³⁴ A good example of Ovid reworking a Homeric expression so as to "answer" a scholarly interpretation of Homer are Briseis' words to Achilles *sed non opus est tibi coniuge* (*Her.* 3. 37) as a reference to Achilles's qualification of Briseis in Homer as ἄλοχον θυμαρέα (*Il.* 9. 338), but also echoes the scholarly interpretation (as reflected in the bT scholia: ἡῤῥησε τὴν ὕβριν ἄλοχον αὐτὴν εἰπὼν καὶ θυμαρέα, schol. bT in *Il.* 9. 336 b); see Weiden Boyd (2017, 100–101).

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The article reconstructs the origins of Ovid's expression *longus Hellespontus* (*Met.* 13. 407; *Fast.* 4. 567; 6. 341 where the toponym invariably stands at the end of the hexameter, while the epithet is placed separately in a hyperbaton; cf. *Fast.* 4. 278 and *Trist.* 1. 10. 15–18). The epithet *longus* is accurate in that it corresponds to the long and narrow form of the strait; however, it does seem somewhat trivial to be repeated many times, and moreover, Ovid is the only Roman poet to use it. It is suggested that the expression *longus Hellespontus* was originally inspired by the scholarly discussion of the Homeric formula πλατύς Ἑλλήσποντος (*Il.* 7. 86; 17. 432; *Od.* 24. 81 placed invariably at the end of the hexameter in the accusative or dative) where the epithet πλατύς, if taken to mean "broad, i.e. wide and flat", is a strange description of

a notoriously narrow strait. After an overview of solutions proffered by ancient scholars, it is shown that Ovid had probably devised the expression *longus Hellespontus* as another solution to the problematic formula in Homer: Ovid modified the epithet *πλατύς* to *longus*, displacing the focus of perception from the width of the strait to the extension of its coastline.

В статье восстанавливаются истоки выражения *longus Hellespontus* “длинный Геллеспонт” у Овидия (*Met.* XIII, 407; *Fast.* IV, 567; VI, 341, где топоним неизменно стоит в конце гекзаметра, а эпитет вынесен вперед в гипербате; ср. также *Fast.* IV, 278 и *Trist.* I, 10, 15–18, где характеристика *longus* появляется при перифрастическом обозначении Геллеспонта). Эпитет *longus* соответствует удлинненной и узкой форме пролива, однако кажется слишком банальным, чтобы использовать его несколько раз (в том числе в рамках эрудированных перифраз). Кроме того, Овидий единственный из римских поэтов использует это выражение. В статье высказывается предположение, что *longus Hellespontus* у Овидия является ответом на обсуждение гомеровской формулы *πλατύς Ἑλλήσποντος* (*Il.* VII, 86; XVII, 432; *Od.* XXIV, 81, в форме асс. или dat., неизменно в конце гекзаметра), в которой эпитет *πλατύς*, если понимать его в стандартном значении “широкий и плоский” противоречит форме пролива, известного своей узкостью. После обзора предлагавшихся античными филологами интерпретаций, показывается, что Овидий, скорее всего, изобрел выражение *longus Hellespontus* как собственное решение проблемного выражения у Гомера: он сменил эпитет *πλατύς* на *longus*, перенеся тем самым фокус восприятия с ширины пролива на протяженность линии берега.

Heiko Ullrich

EINE VERGESSENE KONJEKTUR J. G. FRAZERS ZU OV. *FAST.* 5, 74

Im fünften Buch seines Lehrgedichts über den römischen Festkalender präsentiert Ovid drei verschiedene etymologische Herleitungen des Monatsnamens *Maius*, die er drei Musen in den Mund legt: Während Polyhymnia den Ursprung der Bezeichnung in einer allegorischen Götting Maiestas sieht, favorisiert Uranie die Ableitung von den *maiores*; Calliope wiederum präsentiert Maia, die Mutter Merkurs, als Namensgeberin des Monats. Im Rahmen der zweiten Erklärung erläutert Uranie das Ansehen und die politische Bedeutung der alten Männer, die sie dann mit den namensgebenden *maiores* gleichsetzt.¹ Zum Abschluss des Abschnittes präsentiert sie einen Akkusativ mit Infinitiv, der in der überlieferten Fassung von einem in dieser Funktion anderweitig nicht bezeugten verbum dicendi *tangor* abhängt (Ov. *Fast.* 5, 69–76):²

uerba quis auderet coram sene digna rubore
dicere? censuram longa senecta dabat. 70
Romulus hoc uidit selectaque pectora patres
dixit: ad hos urbis summa relata nouae.
hinc sua maiores tribuisse uocabula Maio
†tangor† et aetati consuluisse suae;
et Numitor dixisse potest „da, Romule, mensem 75
hunc senibus“ nec auum sustinuisse nepos.

71 corpora ς | 72 nouae est G^2B | 73 posuisse $G\varsigma$ | 74 auguror
aetati consulere Delz (et Goold in Frazer ²1989)

¹ Vgl. zur Rede der Urania insbesondere die ausführliche Interpretation von Leidecker 2019, 247–256.

² Vgl. Platnauer 1944, 69: „But if Ovid at times strains the meaning of substantives, still more does he strain that of verbs: [...]. There is a strange use of *tangor* in this same book of the *Fasti* (ll. 73, 4): *hinc sua maiores tribuisse vocabula tangor* = „I am inclined to think that for this reason our ancestors gave ...“.

Berechtigte Zweifel an der Latinität der Formulierung und damit an der Authentizität der Überlieferung hat zunächst James George Frazer angemeldet, der sich allerdings von A. E. Housman von diesen Zweifeln wieder abbringen ließ und die zahlreichen von ihm in Erwägung gezogenen Konjekturen daraufhin erst gar nicht veröffentlichte;³ etwa ein halbes Jahrhundert später hat Josef Delz diese Zweifel wiederbelebt

³ Frazer 1929, 7: „In this passage the use of *tangor* (line 74) in the sense of *inducor ut credam*, ‘I incline to think’, is peculiar, and I formerly thought that the verb must be corrupt. But Professor A. E. Housman, whom I consulted on the point, wrote to me as follows: ‘Cicero has several examples of the brachylogy found in *De divin.* i. 35 *nec adducar* (ut credam) *totam Etruriam delirare*; and I do not think it incredible that a poet should extend the usage to *tangor*, ‘I am influenced (to believe that)’. Somewhat analogous is Tac. *Ann.* iv. 57 *permoveor* (ut quaeram) *num ad ipsum referri verius sit*. Such at any rate seems to be the sort of sense required’. I accept my learned friend’s defence of *tangor*, and have accordingly cancelled the conjectures by which I had proposed to emend, or rather corrupt the text“. Teile der Argumentation Housmans finden sich bereits bei Peterson 1895, 145 f., der zu Cic. *Cluent.* 104 (*adducti sunt iudices non modo potuisse honeste ab eo reum condemnari qui non perpetuo sedisset, sed, aliud si is iudex nihil scisset nisi quae praeiudicia de eo facta esse constarent, audire praeterea nihil debuisset*) ausführt: „Similar examples of brachylogy are not uncommon. Cp. *De Oratore*, i. 25, 115, where we have *ita dico, ut ... possit* for *ita dico ut dicam ... posse*; ad *Att.* xi. 16, 2, and Tac. *Ann.* iv. 57, *plerumque permoveor num verius sit*, etc. Similar and still stranger ellipses are found in the poets: Lucr. iii. 765, *Scilicet in tenero tenerascere corpore mentem Confugient*; ii. 1128, *fluere ... manus dandum est*; Plaut. *Mil.* ii. 3, 61 *me homo nemo deterruerit quin ea sit in his aedibus*; Ovid *Fast.* 5, 74, *hinc sua maiores tribuisse vocabula Maio tangor*; Plaut. *Epid.* iv, 1, 22, *si ego te novi, animum inducam ut noveris*“, und bei Reid 1911, 14, der Lucr. 1, 858 (*at neque reccidere ad nilum res posse neque autem / crescere de nilo testor res ante probatas*) folgendermaßen kommentiert: „The brevity of the expression, for *testor ut credas reccidere* is like III, 766, where *confugient* is followed by an infinitive, something like *ad id ut dicant* being omitted. The similar form *adducor ut sit* for *adducor ut credam esse* is found in V, 1341, and is not uncommon [...] Quite as harsh a brevity occurs in Lucr. II, 1128, *fluere ... manus dandum est*; and in Ovid, *Fast.* V, 74, *hinc tangor maiores tribuisse vocabula Maio*; and in Hor. *Sat.* I, 4, 115, *sapiens uitatu quidque petitu sit melius causas reddet*; and in *Aetna*, 372, *atque hanc materiam penitus discurrere fontes / infectae rumpuntur aquae radice sub ipsa*“; typisch für die skeptische, aber in ihrer Skepsis folgenlose Wiedergabe dieser Diskussion durch die späteren Kommentatoren ist Bömer 1958, 295: „*tangor* mit a. c. i. ist singulär = *adducor ut credam*: Housman bei Frazer z. St. nennt Cic. *div.* I 35 *adducar*, Tac. *ann.* IV 57, 1 *permoveor* (m. indir. Fragesatz) = ich überlege“.

und als bislang einzige publizierte Konjektur – sieht man von Frazers eher halbherzig ins Spiel gebrachtem und unabhängig davon noch einmal von Harald Fuchs vorgeschlagenem *censeo* einmal ab⁴ – in Analogie zu *Fast.* 4, 61 (*sed Veneris mensem Graio sermone notatum / auguror: a spumis est dea dicta maris*) ein *auguror* vorgeschlagen, das die Tilgung des folgenden *et* und die Emendation des Infinitivs *consuluisse* zum Indikativ *consulere* notwendig macht:⁵ ein recht schwerwiegender Eingriff, dem sich neben George Patrick Goold in seiner Neuauflage der Frazerschen Ausgabe⁶ auch Ian Nigel Brookes in seinem Kommentar (mit weiteren Argumenten für den Eingriff) angeschlossen hat.⁷ Einen ähnlichen Weg hatte offenbar bereits der im

⁴ Frazer 1929, 7: „The poet’s meaning would be given and the metre preserved by the substitution of *censeo* for *tangor*“; offenbar ohne Kenntnis des Frazerschen Vorschlags präsentiert Fuchs 1972, 218 dieselbe Konjektur noch einmal und verweist zur Metrik auf die bei Ovid nicht seltene Kürzung der Personenendung, wofür er als Beispiele *confero*, *desino* und *odero* anführt.

⁵ Delz 1971, 57 f.: „Frazers erster Eindruck, dass das Verb korrupt ist, war sicher richtig. Es ist freilich kaum anzunehmen, dass sich unter seinen aufgegebenen Konjekturen eine wahrscheinliche Textherstellung befand, wenn er *censeo* schliesslich doch für erwähnenswert hielt. Wie oft bei Korruptelen beschränkt sich der Fehler nicht auf ein einziges Wort, sondern auch die Umgebung ist in Mitleidenschaft gezogen. *Fast.* 4, 61 f. äussert Ovid eine Vermutung zur Entstehung des Namens Aprilis: *sed Veneris mensem Graio sermone notatum / auguror: a spumis est dea dicta maris*. Daraus gewinne ich für unsere Stelle den Wortlaut: *hinc sua maiores tribuisse vocabula Maio / auguror: aetati consulere suae*, ‚ich nehme an, dass infolge dieser hohen Stellung die Älteren dem Mai ihren Namen gegeben haben: sie handelten im Interesse ihrer Altersklasse‘. Die Korruptel liesse sich folgendermassen erklären: durch Haplographie war *augor* (oder vielleicht *angor*) aus *auguror* entstanden; dies wurde in ein lateinisches Verb verwandelt und *et* eingesetzt, um dem Metrum aufzuhelfen; die Konjunktion zog die Änderung von *consulere* in *consuluisse* nach sich“.

⁶ Die Anmerkung bei Frazer–Goold²1989, 264 lautet schlicht: „Accepting the conjecture and interpretation of Josef Delz: the mss have *tangor et aetati consuluisse*“; vgl. dazu auch Gee 1998, 89.

⁷ Brookes 1992, 32–34: „This reading is an emendation proposed by Delz. AWC retains the reading of the main manuscripts: *tangor, et aetati consuluisse suae*. A further emendation *censeo, et aetati consuluisse suae* has been proposed by Fuchs. The use of *tangor* to mean ‚I am led to believe‘ is unprecedented. Housman defends the reading of the manuscripts as an extension of the use of *adducor* and *permoveor* in similar circumstances by Cicero (*de Divinatione* I. 35) and Tacitus (*Annales* IV. 57) respectively. However, the use of *tangor* seems

Jahr 1952 verstorbene Ernest Henry Alton eingeschlagen, der *auguror* durch die Tilgung des folgenden *et* und die Ersetzung des Infinitivs *tribuisse* im vorangehenden Vers durch den Indikativ *tribuere* in die Syntax einfügen wollte; im Text der von D. E. W. Wormell und Edward Courtney im Jahr 1977 veröffentlichten Ausgabe freilich blieb das überlieferte *tangor* stehen.⁸ Im neuesten Kommentar zur Stelle setzt nun Luca Basso wieder die Cruces, die *tangor* als Regent eines Akkusativ mit Infinitiv verdient hat, und weist auch die Konjektur von Delz mit Recht als „eccessivo“ zurück.⁹

to involve a different metaphor than either of the analogies cited by Housman. Delz argues that *auguror* could easily have been changed by haplography to *augor*, and subsequently to *tangor*. Furthermore, the appearance of *et* may have been caused by dittography from *aetati* (perhaps written *ETATI* in the archetype). It is, therefore, easy to imagine the corruption of the configuration *AUGUROETATI* to *AUGURETETATI* and finally – to make sense of that corruption – *TANGOR ET AETATI*, with the necessary adjustment being made to the ending of *consulere*. The emendation of *censeo*, tentatively suggested by Frazer and confidently taken up by Fuchs is less plausible palaeographically. [34] Further support for Delz's conjecture is provided by the sense made by the change he is forced to make in the punctuation of the couplet. The phrase *aetati consulere suae* standing after a colon has more point as an explanation of the decision reported in the hexameter (cf. IV. 62) than the alternative reading, which merely repeats the sense of the previous line“.

⁸ Die Konjektur wird dokumentiert im Apparat bei Alton–Wormell–Courtney 1977, 116: „tribuere v. M. (auguror aetati ... suae) Alton cf. 4. 62“.

⁹ Basso 2022, 161 f. kommentiert *tangor* folgendermaßen: „trasmesso unanimemente dai codici e interpretato come ‚tendo/sono portato a credere‘, ma l’accezione non è altrimenti attestata ed è difficilmente sostenibile. [...] il paragone con una struttura come *adducor* (*ut credam, o simili*) presenta qualche problema: questa comporta solo la soppressione dell’elemento mediano (*adducor* [*ut credam*] + inf.), ma il significato di *adducor* (‚sono portato a‘) si inserisce bene nell’espressione estesa. Tale non è il caso di *tangor*, per il quale, al di là della brachilogia, si dovrà postulare un’accezione isolata (‚tendo/sono incline a‘), oppure la soppressione di un complemento (*tangor opinione, sententia* [162] ecc.). Più utili sembrano altri paralleli, come Tac. *Ann.* 4, 57, *permoueor num ad ipsum referri uerius sit*, e soprattutto Caes. *Gall.* 4, 14, 2, *perturbantur, copiasne aduersus hostem ducere an castra defendere an fuga saltum petere praestaret*; qui i verbi (*permoueor, perturbor*) hanno significato affine, ma sono costruiti con l’interrogativa, che appare più lineare nella formulazione ellittica rispetto all’infinitiva retta da *tangor*. Critico verso il ripensamento di Frazer è Delz, che propone *auguror*. La frase così ricostruita (*hinc sua maiores tribuisse uocabula Maio / auguror*) corrisponderebbe a un uso

Denn möglicherweise kann die Stelle durch eine wesentlich einfachere Konjektur als durch die vom Delzschen *auguror* angestoßene Emendationskette geheilt werden, wenn man sich auf die Anfänge der textkritischen Diskussion um die Stelle besinnt und das verdächtige *tangor* mit Frazer durch ein auf den ersten Blick zugegebenermaßen paläographisch nicht besonders naheliegendes *rumor* ersetzt. Am 21. Oktober 1927 schreibt Frazer an Housman und legt seine Konjekturen mit der Ausnahme des offenbar erst später entwickelten und dann anders als die vier älteren Heilungsversuche im Kommentar von 1929 wenigstens genannten *censeo* dem Urteil des Philologen vor:

My dear Housman,

There is one word in the *Fasti* which I feel sure is wrong, though there appear to be no variations in the MSS and none of the commentators explain *tangor* by *inducor ut credam*, which is the sense seemingly implied by the context, but, so far as I can see, it is absolutely impossible that *tangor* can bear that sense. Various emendations have occurred to me. The first was *fertur* (impersonal), 'it is rumored'. But is *ferri* used impersonally in this sense? It is not recognized in this sense by Smith's Latin Dictionary, the only one I have beside me. Then I thought of *rumor*, which, I take it, is possible without *est*. Also I have conjectured *auguror aetati et* or *suspikor aetati et*. But none of these is satisfactory. *Rumor* is perhaps the least bad. Can you help me to a correction of the text? If you can and will I should be grateful, and should of course be proud to acknowledge the help in my book.

Housman antwortet bereits am 22. Oktober mit einer energischen Verteidigung der Überlieferung, in der *fertur* nicht erwähnt, *rumor* pauschal und ohne Begründung abgelehnt und lediglich die Umstellung infolge von *auguror* und *suspikor* argumentativ widerlegt wird:

ovidiano ricorrente: cf. 4, 61–62, *sed Veneris mensem Graio sermone notatum / auguror; a spumis est dea dicta maris* [...]. Tale soluzione comporta però di eliminare *et* per motivi metrici e modificare, di conseguenza, *consuluisse* in *consulere*, accostato per asindeto; [...] Per quanto un distico come 4, 61–62 fornisca una buona difesa alla ricostruzione die Delz, l'intervento è forse eccessivo, ed è rigettato dalla maggior parte degli editori successivi“.

My dear Frazer,

Cicero has several examples of the brachylogy found in *de diuin.* I 35 *nec adducar (ut credam) totam Etruriam delirare*; and I do not think it incredible that a poet should extend the usage to *tangor*, 'I am influenced (to believe that)'. Somewhat analogous is Tac. *ann.* IV 57 *permoueor (ut quaeram) num ad ipsum referri uerius sit*. Such at any rate seems to be the sort of sense required, and I do not think that *rumor* would suit. *Aetati et* ending the first half of the pentameter would have two metrical vices, for *et* is not one of the monosyllables which Ovid puts in that place, and he does not allow elision (as distinct from aphaeresis) at that point either.

Am 24. Oktober bedankt Frazer sich überschwänglich bei Housman und verabschiedet sich sowohl von seinen vier Konjekturen als auch (vorerst, d.h. bis zur Entscheidung, zumindest *censeo* noch in den Kommentar von 1929 aufzunehmen) von seinen heftigen Zweifeln an der Latinität eines den Akkusativ mit Infinitiv regierenden *tangor*.¹⁰

My dear Housman,

I thank you heartily for your letter, which is very helpful. Your defence of *tangor* seems to me sound and justified by the apt parallels which you cite. I had thought it quite impossible Latin. I now believe that Ovid wrote it, and with your permission (which I will take for granted unless I hear from you the contrary) I will quote your explanation verbatim in my commentary and will suppress my conjectures, which I now see would have been corruption rather than corrections of the text.¹¹

¹⁰ Problematisch erscheint *tangor* auch deshalb, weil das Verb im Gegensatz zu *adducere* oder *permouere* stärker auf den emotionalen Eindruck abzielt, der an der vorliegenden Stelle keine Rolle spielt; gerade wenn Ovid *tangere* und *mouere* als Synonyme verwendet (vgl. etwa Ov. *Met.* 10, 614 f. oder 15, 550–552), steht dieser emotionale Aspekt stets im Vordergrund, während *adducere* und *permouere* auch rationale Beweggründe bezeichnen, wie sie an der vorliegenden Stelle passend wären (vgl. etwa Caes. *Gall.* 1, 3, 1: *his rebus adducti et auctoritate Orgetorigis permoti*).

¹¹ Der gesamte Briefwechsel wird zitiert nach Ackerman 1974, 361–363. Vgl. zu Frazers Konjekturen auch Gee 1998, 88: „[...] in the first proofs of the Loeb *Fasti* (Wren Library, Frazer Ms 13), 5. 74 is given as *fertur, et aetati*

Da Housman *suspīcor* und die *auguror*-Version von Frazer überzeugend zurückgewiesen hat, dieser selbst darauf hinweist, dass *fertur* in der Regel persönlich konstruiert wird,¹² das *auguror* von Delz, wie Basso zu Recht betont, dagegen zu viele weitere Eingriffe notwendig macht, als dass er wirklich als überzeugende Lösung gelten dürfte, sich das von Fuchs wiederaufgenommene *censeo* nicht nur auf keinerlei paläographische Wahrscheinlichkeit berufen kann, sondern auch keine überzeugende Parallele im nun nicht gerade schmalen Werk Ovids hat,¹³ sollen die folgenden Überlegungen bei *rumor* ansetzen, das Frazer in seinem Brief an Housman mit typischem Understatement als das geringste Übel bezeichnet hat.

consuluisse suae, with the note, *fertur*: Frazer; *tangor* apparently all other mss and editors'. However in both text and note, *fertur* has been crossed out and replaced with *rumor* in red ink in Frazer's hand. In the 1929 Macmillan edition, however, we find that *tangor* has regained its place". In der Loeb-Ausgabe selbst findet sich dann diese Anmerkung: „*Tangor* seems to be used for ‚I am influenced‘, *inducor ut credam*: compare Tac. *Ann.* iv. 57 ‚permovere (ut credam) num ... verius sit“ (Frazer 1931, 264), vgl. dazu auch Gee 1998, 89: „Thus both the 1931 Loeb and 1929 Macmillan editions have Merkel's original version. Both quote parallels adduced by Housman in his letter to Frazer“. Dass Housman ein sehr persönliches Interesse daran hatte, ein elliptisches *adducor* nachzuweisen, betont Naiditch 1995, 166 mit Verweis auf Housman 1928, 122, wo die Argumentation allerdings eher darauf abzielt, die Konstruktion als extrem selten und typisch für einen einzelnen Autor (nämlich Cicero) zu erweisen. Gerade weil alle von Housman angeführten Nachweise aus der Prosa stammen und Housman *Lucr.* 5, 1341–1349 aufgrund derselben Konstruktion in 1341–1343 (*sed uix adducor ut ante / non quierint animo praesentire atque uidere, / quam commune malum fieret foedumque, futurum*) als Cicero-Interpolation auszuweisen sucht, läuft seine Verteidigung des ovidischen *tangor* der in diesem Aufsatz entfalteten Argumentation jedoch eher zuwider.

¹² Vgl. dazu allein aus den *Fasti*: *Cynthia saepe tuis fertur, uocalis Arion, / tamquam fraternis obstipuisse modis* (2, 91 f.), *immemor imperii sedisse sub arbore fertur* (2, 255), *Concordia fertur / illa praeipue mitis ades die* (2, 631 f.), *Ampelon intonsum satyro nymphaque creatum / fertur in Ismariis Bacchus amasse iugis* (3, 409 f.), *an quia de capitis fertur sine matre paterni / uertice cum clipeo prosiluisse suo?* (3, 841 f.), *dum legit, oblito fertur gustasse palato / longamque imprudens exsoluisse famem* (4, 533 f.), *plebs colit hanc, quia qui posuit de plebe fuisse / fertur, et ex humili sceptrata tulisse loco* (6, 781 f.).

¹³ Vgl. zu *censere* bei Ovid etwa Helzle 2003, 334 (zu Ov. *Pont.* 2, 5, 73 f.: *pro quibus ut maneat de quo censeris amicus / comprecor ad uitae tempora summa tuae*) oder Gaertner 2007, 163 mit Anm. 47.

Die Korruptel von originalem *rumor* zu überliefertem *tangor* kann dadurch erklärt werden, dass *rumor* zunächst durch das im fünften Buch der *Fasti* anders als *rumor* zweimal belegte (Ov. *Fast.* 5, 84. 625) und auch generell weit häufigere Synonym *fama* überschrieben wurde und sich *tangor* aus der Verschmelzung der als Korrektur missgedeuteten Glosse mit dem glossierten Wort ergab: Zunächst verlor die Glosse – wahrscheinlich mechanisch – ihren letzten Buchstaben, dann wurde das unlateinische **fam* zu *tam* verbessert; anschließend erfolgte die Verschmelzung, indem ein weiterer Abschreiber *tam* als Verbesserungsvorschlag für die ersten drei Buchstaben des Verses deutete und **tamor* herstellte, das dann durch einen Korrektor oder weiteren Abschreiber zu *tangor* verbessert wurde, wohl nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil Formen von *tangere* im fünften Buch der *Fasti* auch außerhalb unserer aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach korrupten Stelle außergewöhnlich häufig sind (Ov. *Fast.* 5, 253. 256. 262. 295. 395. 441. 489. 653).¹⁴

Dass es sich bei *fama* und *rumor* um Synonyme handelt, wie jüngst insbesondere Gianni Guastella wieder betont hat,¹⁵ ist dabei nicht nur für die Herleitung der Verderbnis, sondern insbesondere auch für den Nachweis bedeutsam, dass die Konjektur dem Sprachgebrauch Ovids (und der Augusteer) entspricht. Denn die wichtigste syntaktische Parallele, die eine vorzeitige Akkusativ-mit-Infinitiv-Konstruktion von dem elliptischen ‚(es gibt) das Gerücht‘ abhängig macht, findet sich im fünften Buch der *Fasti* selbst, verwendet aber nicht *rumor*, sondern das (nicht nur in den *Fasti* oder auch nur bei Ovid häufigere) *fama*: *fama uetus, tunc, cum Saturnia terra uocata est, / talia fatidici*

¹⁴ King 2006, 128 spricht anlässlich von Ov. *Fast.* 4, 19 (*si qua tamen pars te de fastis tangere debet*) geradezu von „Ovid’s language of ‚touch‘“.

¹⁵ Guastella 2017, 119 mit Anm. 80. Unter den Belegen, die Guastella aufführt, ist für den Sprachgebrauch der *Fasti* insbesondere Ov. *Trist.* 3, 12, 43 f. (*quisquis is est, memori rumore uoce referre / et fieri famae parsque gradusque potest*) von Bedeutung, wo die Verwendung des jeweiligen Wortes ausschließlich von den Klangfiguren im unmittelbaren Umfeld und nicht von der offensichtlich austauschbaren Semantik diktiert wird; vgl. zu dieser auch *ebd.* 120: „*Rumor* can be considered a synonym of *fama* particularly when it comes to the concepts of ‚hearsay‘ and ‚rumours‘. [...] For example, for ‚rumour has it‘ and ‚people say that‘, one could use both *rumor est* and *fama est*“ mit den in Anm. 88 angeführten Stellen Ter. *Andr.* 185 und Cic. *Fam.* 1, 8, 7 (für *rumor est*) sowie Lucr. 3, 981 und Nep. *Them.* 10, 4 (für *fama est*).

dicta fuisse Iouis (Ov. *Fast.* 5, 625 f.).¹⁶ Nicht für den elliptischen Hauptsatz *fama (est)* bzw. *rumor (est)*, aber für die folgende Konstruktion wäre Verg. *Aen.* 7, 144 f. (*diditur hic subito Troiana per agmina rumor / aduenisse diem quo debita moenia condant*) zu vergleichen;¹⁷ ähnlich auch Mart. 4, 16, 1 f. (*priugnum non esse tuae te, Galle, nouercae / rumor erat, coniunx dum fuit illa patris*).¹⁸ Den elliptischen Hauptsatz *fama (est)*, aber nicht mit dem Akkusativ mit Infinitiv, sondern mit indirektem Fragesatz, weist Ov. *Fast.* 6, 103 f. auf (*unde datas habeat uires, obscurior aeuo / fama*);¹⁹ zum Pendant *rumor (est)* vgl. etwa Tac. *Hist.* 1, 34, 2 (*uixdum egresso Pisone occisum in castris Othonem uagus primum et incertus rumor*).²⁰

Noch ähnlicher ist unserer Stelle – wenn auch wieder mit *fama* anstelle von *rumor* – das erneut elliptische und lediglich durch die Temporaladverbiale *nunc* erweiterte *fama* in Verg. *Aen.* 3, 165 f. (*nunc fama minores / Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem*),²¹ während der

¹⁶ Für diesen und den zweiten Beleg aus dem fünften Buch der *Fasti*, Ov. *Fast.* 5, 83 f. (*hinc sata Pleione cum caelifero Atlante / iungitur, ut fama est, Pleiadasque parit*) wäre auch Hor. *Serm.* 2, 1, 35 f. (*nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus, / missus ad hoc pulsus, uetus est ut fama, Sabellis*) zu vergleichen. Zu Ov. *Fast.* 5, 625 vgl. auch Spencer 2019, 226 f. und Damon 2020, 138; zum Ausdruck *fama uetus* auch Guastella 2017, 192 mit Anm. 16 und Leiendecker 2019, 277 Anm. 855.

¹⁷ Vgl. zur Verwendung von *rumor* bei Vergil insbesondere Fratantuono – Alden Smith 2018, 207 (zu Verg. *Aen.* 8, 90: *rumore secundo*).

¹⁸ Vgl. zu *rumor* an dieser Stelle auch Moreno Soldevila 2006, 191.

¹⁹ Zu dieser Stelle verweist bereits Bömer 1958, 343 auf das Vorbild Verg. *Aen.* 7, 205, das die Ellipse nicht aufweist (*fama est obscurior annis*).

²⁰ Vgl. zu dieser Stelle auch Ries 1969, 120 und Hardie 2012, 291 f.

²¹ Vgl. zur Bedeutung von *fama* an dieser Stelle auch Horsfall 2006, 154, zur thematischen Verwandtschaft der Passage mit den *Fasti* auch O'Hara 1996, 90. Das *hinc* zu Beginn von Ov. *Fast.* 5, 73 gehört gewiss eher der Akkusativmit-Infinitiv-Konstruktion (,dass die *maiores* dem Mai deshalb – d.h. wegen ihres Ansehens und der soeben noch hinzugewonnenen politischen Macht – ihren Namen gegeben haben'); man könnte es allerdings ohne erhebliche semantische Verschiebung durchaus auch zum übergeordneten verbum dicendi ziehen und auch *rumor* in Entsprechung zu Vergils *nunc fama* zu einem *hinc* [...] / *rumor* erweitern (,aus diesem Grund gibt es noch heute das Gerücht, dass die *maiores* dem Mai ihren Namen gegeben hätten'); vgl. dazu auch die durchaus bedenkenswerten stilistischen Überlegungen von Loehr 1996, 253 zu *hinc*: „Um die Verwendung der etymologischen Methode zusätzlich formal zu betonen, formuliert Uranie die Ableitung in den Termini der varronischen etymologischen Forschung: *vocabula* bezeichnet den Gegenstand der Erfor-

Hauptsatz in den vergleichbaren Stellen Verg. *Aen.* 3, 578 f.; 3, 694 f.; 8, 600; 10, 641; 12, 735–737 jeweils ebenso durch das vollständige *fama est* gebildet wird wie Hor. *Serm.* 1, 10, 62–64 (*quale fuit Cassi rapido feruentius amni / ingenium, capsis quem fama est esse librisque / ambustum propriis*),²² Ov. *Heroid.* 3, 57 f. (*quin etiam fama est, cum crastina fulserit Eos, / te dare nubiferis lintea uelle Notis*), *Heroid.* 13, 3 (*Aulide te fama est uento retinente morari*), *Met.* 4, 305 (*saepe suas illi fama est dixisse sorores*), *Met.* 9, 316 (*numine decepto risisse Galanthida fama est*), *Met.* 10, 45 f. (*tunc primum lacrimis uictarum carmine fama est / Eumenidum maduisse genas*), *Met.* 15, 356 (*esse uiros fama est in Hyperborea Pallene*) oder *Met.* 15, 431 (*nunc quoque Dardanium fama est consurgere Romam*).²³ Auch für den Vergleichssatz bietet Vergil einen einzelnen Beleg mit Ellipse: *pastor Aristaeus fugiens Peneia Tempe, / amissis, ut fama, apibus morboque fameque, / tristis ad extremi sacrum caput adstitit amnis / multa querens atque hac adfatus uoce parentem* (*Georg.* 4, 317–320), während vergleichbare Parenthesen in der Regel ein Prädikat aufweisen: *si uera est fama* (*Aen.* 3, 551); *ut fama est* (*Aen.* 6, 14); die bereits von Bömer als Vorbild für Ov. *Fast.* 6, 103 f. angeführte Stelle *fama est obscurior annis* (*Aen.* 7, 205); *Silvano fama est ueteres sacrasse Pelasgos* (*Aen.* 8, 600); *nam mihi facti / fama sat est* (*Aen.* 9, 194).²⁴

schung; *hinc* markiert das Ableitungsverhältnis. Gleichwohl belässt es Uranie nicht bei einer traditionellen antiquarischen Etymologie. Ihre Ableitung ist nicht nur historisch-logisch erschlossen und zeitlos, sondern (früh-)römisch-allgemein beschrieben, sondern über ein initiiertes Ereignis etabliert und an bestimmte Personen geknüpft“; vgl. auch *ebd.* Anm. 229: „Aus diesem Bedeutungsfeld stammend, ist *hinc* in *fast.* 5, 73 betont eingesetzt, auch wenn die logische Ableitung nicht ganz sauber durchgeführt ist. Die Ableitung klappt erst in dem durch *hinc* eröffneten Satz nach“.

²² Vgl. zur Bedeutung von *fama* an dieser Stelle Taxidis 2019, 30 f.; zum Kontext auch Gowers 2012, 331.

²³ Vgl. zur Formel *fama est* auch den Kommentar von Wagner 2024, 86 f. zu Ov. *Met.* 10, 45; zu einer ausführlichen Untersuchung der Rolle einer (teilweise personifizierten und von Vergil abhängigen) *fama* bzw. *Fama* in Ovids *Metamorphosen* auch Hardie 2012, 150–174.

²⁴ Zur Sammlung und vergleichenden Interpretation dieser Vergil-Stellen vgl. insbesondere Horsfall 2016, 128–131 sowie Nelson 2023, 9–12, die allerdings nicht auf den Regelfall der Realisierung von *est* und die Ausnahme der einen Ellipse eingehen; in der Sammlung von *ut*-Sätzen bei Pinkster 2021, 275 ist die *Georgica*-Stelle bezeichnenderweise die einzige mit einem elliptischen *ut*-Satz.

Ein elliptischer Hauptsatz *rumor* mit folgender Akkusativ-mit-Infinitiv-Konstruktion scheint also dem Fehlen einer genauen Parallele zum Trotz²⁵ durchaus auch bei Ovid als Ausnahme parallel zu Vergils *nunc fama* oder *ut fama* denkbar; da Ovid *rumor* in den *Fasti* lediglich einmal zu Beginn des Hexameters verwendet: *Rumor, ut est uelox, agitat peruat alis* (Ov. *Fast.* 6, 527), wäre zur Verwendung der Form zu Beginn des Pentameters etwa Prop. 2, 32, 23 f. (*nuper enim de te nostras me laedit ad auris / rumor, et in tota non bonus urbe fuit*)²⁶ zu vergleichen. Tatsächlich ist *rumor* bei Ovid nicht übermäßig häufig belegt;²⁷ seine Verwendung des Wortes zeigt jedoch, wie gut dessen Bedeutung pace Housman gerade an unserer Stelle passt. Während die Personifizierung in *Fast.* 6, 527 (*Rumor, ut est uelox, agitat peruat alis, / estque frequens, Ino, nomen in ore*

²⁵ Die Tatsache, dass die Kombination aus elliptischem *rumor* mit folgendem Akkusativ mit Infinitiv also letztlich nicht belegt, sondern lediglich durch partielle Parallelen (zu den jeweiligen Einzelteilen der Konstruktion) wahrscheinlich zu machen ist, macht aus der Glosse *fama*, deren Funktion sich auf den ersten Blick lediglich aus der Freude am Sammeln von Synonymen (etwa für den Sprachunterricht) erklären ließe, also wahrscheinlich doch eine bemerkenswerte Beobachtung, denn wenn der Glossator mit *fama* auf die engste syntaktische Parallele Verg. *Aen.* 3, 165 f. hinweisen wollte, wird aus der vermeintlichen Banalität der beiden synonymen Wörter (*rumor* = *fama*) eine für den Leser durchaus hilfreiche Anmerkung: (hier singuläres) *rumor* + AcI = (bei Vergil belegtes) *fama* + AcI = ‚es geht das Gerücht, dass‘.

²⁶ Vgl. zu Rolle des *rumor* an dieser Stelle auch Caston 2012, 87 f.; zum Einfluss dieser Stelle auf Ov. *Am.* 3, 14 auch Morgan 1977, 102 f. sowie zum textkritischen Problem um das vorangehende *me laedit ad auris* auch Günther 1997, 112.

²⁷ Den für unsere Stelle auf der Textoberfläche bedeutsamsten Aspekt, dass Berichte aufgrund des großen zeitlichen Abstands (etwa zwischen dem Vorgang der Benennung des Mai nach den Alten und der Rede der Uranie) zum nur noch undeutlich wahrnehmbaren *rumor* werden, entwickelt Ovid in der Exildichtung zur Klage über die Zeit, die Nachrichten aus dem unendlich weit entfernten Rom für ihren Weg bis zu dem Dichter und die dessen Gedichte für die Reise nach Rom benötigen, vgl. dazu Ov. *Pont.* 2, 49–52 (*pertulit hic idem, nobis, Germanice, rumor / oppida sub titulo nominis isse tui / atque ea te contra nec muri mole nec armis / nec satis ingenio tuta fuisse loci*); *Pont.* 3, 4, 59 f. (*dum uenit huc rumor properataque carmina fiunt / factaque eunt ad uos, annus abisse potest*); *Pont.* 4, 4, 19 (*ut laeto Pontum rumore repleuit*); *Trist.* 3, 7, 43 f. (*quisquis is est, memori rumorem uoce referre / et fieri famae parsque gradusque potest*).

tuum) zunächst das beunruhigende Bild der vergilischen *Fama* aufruft und sich ja auch tatsächlich auf eine nicht unproblematische Gottheit bezieht, führt gerade der *rumor* dazu, dass Ino zunächst von Carmentis und dann ins römische Pantheon aufgenommen wird (*Fast.* 6, 529–550), bevor der Erzähler der *Fasti* erneut umschwenkt und die Leser warnt: *non tamen hanc pro stirpe sua pia mater adoret! / ipsa parum felix uisa fuisse parens. / alterius prolem melius mandabit illi: / utilior Baccho quam fuit ipsa suis* (*Fast.* 6, 558–562).²⁸ In ähnlich

²⁸ Vgl. zum Attribut *uelox* insbesondere Guastella 2017, 121 mit Anm. 89 und zahlreichen Vergleichsstellen aus der Prosa (v.a. Cicero, Caesar, Livius, Tacitus), aber auch aus Enn. *Ann.* 491 Skutsch (*celerissimus rumor*). Bereits Bömer 1958, 375 verweist auf das Vorbild Verg. *Aen.* 4, 173–177 (*exemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes, / Fama, malum quo non aliud uelocius ullum: / mobilitate uiget uirisque acquirit eundo, / parua metu primo, mox se attollit in auras / ingrediturque solo et caput nubila condit*); der intertextuelle Verweis demonstriert neben der Austauschbarkeit von *fama* und *rumor* (bzw. von *Fama* und *Rumor*) auch das Oszillieren der Stelle zwischen neutraler und negativer Konnotation, das auch der ausführliche Kommentar von Littlewood 2006, 174 betont: „Ovid’s *rumor* is swift and winged, like Virgil’s *Fama* (*qua non aliud uelocius ullum*, *Aen.* 4. 174). However, unlike *fama*, *fertur* or even *diceris* (530), *rumor* has the connotation of an unsubstantiated report (cf. Ovid *Met.* 12. 55). This does not represent an Alexandrian footnote but a mistier oral tradition associated with the holy places of the Forum Boarium. By alluding to Virgil’s striking personification of *Fama*, who initiates cataclymic events by proclaiming false rumours through the cities of Libya, Ovid humorously adapts an epic motif to elegiac context: the news of Ino’s arrival spread through Evander’s tiny settlement like wildfire, which is made clear in the pentameter: *estque frequens, Ino, nomen in ore tuum*. But which part of Ino’s story provided gossip for Evander’s settlers? Ino’s Theban past and her infanticide were wholly incompatible with her new role as Roman kourotrophos goddess. Besides, she had been symbolically cleansed by her rite of passage through the sea. In the subsequent distich the poet uses imagery which demonstrates clearly Ino’s new role by elevating her to the stature of the archetypal sorrowing mother goddess, Ceres“. Die positiven Aspekte (über-)betont Panoussi 2019, 198: „In the *Aeneid*, *Fama/Rumor* is a deity whose activity is often described in Bacchic terms. She is also described as an agent through which the women’s Bacchic violence spreads to the realm of male warfare. In Ovid, *Rumor* bears no trace of this Bacchic past; instead she neutralizes all destructive aspects of the collective female action (and of Juno, who mobilizes it). *Rumor* here spreads the story of Carmentis’ successful hospitality and Ino’s ultimate protection of mothers and children within the framework of women’s cult. *Rumor* is thus an agent that propagates

ambivalenter Weise ist auch an unserer Stelle der *rumor* aufzufassen: Zwar rechtfertigt das Ansehen des Alters die Benennung des Mai nach den Alten, aber die Benennung durch den Namensträger selbst (vgl. insbesondere das Polyptoton *sua – suae*, *Fast.* 5, 73 f.) erscheint dennoch als Akt der Anmaßung (vgl. insbesondere *consuluisse*, *Fast.* 5, 74),²⁹ der durch die Alternative von Numitors Bitte an seinen Enkel Romulus nur teilweise relativiert wird – schließlich ist Numitor selbst ebenfalls alt – und erklärt, warum Romulus offenbar nur widerwillig gehorcht (*nec [...] sustinuisse*, *Fast.* 5, 76).³⁰

knowledge regarding positive social and religious relationships among women, first within the context of hospitality and then within the context of cult, by reporting on the baking of cakes, providing an etiology for cult practices that occur during the Matralia. Furthermore, the text emphasizes Ino's character as a constructive agent, even though she herself had exhibited potentially destructive Bacchic qualities: Carmentis calls her propitious and beneficial to the people, and Ino promises to be so“.

²⁹ Vgl. Basso 2022, 162: „l'attribuzione del nome al mese di maggio e presenta come un atto di omaggio che gli anziani rivolgono a se stessi“; unter den Parallelen, auf die Basso verweist, ist besonders Ov. *Her.* 2, 87–90 aufschlussreich (*at si nostra tuo spumescant aequora remo, / iam mihi, iam dicar consuluisse meis. / sed neque consului nec te mea regia tanget / fessaque Bistonia membra lauabis aqua*). Dass die stets umstrittene Ehre, einen Monat nach sich selbst benennen zu dürfen, in den *Fasti* als Äquivalent zum sprichwörtlichen Zankapfel aufgefasst wird, zeigt insbesondere das Wortgefecht der drei Göttinnen Juno, Hebe-Iuventas und Concordia zu Beginn des sechsten Buches (Ov. *Fast.* 6, 1–100); wenn der Dichter diesen Streit explizit mit demjenigen vergleicht, der dem Parisurteil vorausgeht (*dicta triplex causa est. at uos ignoscite, diuiae: / res est arbitrio non dirimenda meo. / ite pares a me! perierunt iudice formae / Pergama; plus laedunt quam iuuat una duae*, Ov. *Fast.* 6, 97–100), verweist er überdeutlich auf die problematische Eitelkeit als verbindendes Element der beiden Streitszenen; vgl. dazu insbesondere Leiendecker 2019, 330–334.

³⁰ Basso 2022, 163 verweist auf Ov. *Met.* 14, 787 f. (*nec nymphae iusta petentem / sustinuere deam*), wo die positive Konnotation aufgrund der berechtigten Bitten der Venus durch die drastische Schilderung der Folgen (*et strata est tellus Romana Sabinis / corporibus strata estque suis, generique cruorem / sanguine cum soceri permiscuit impius ensis*, 800–802) deutlich relativiert wird; vgl. auch Ov. *Fast.* 6, 645 f., wo umgekehrt zunächst innere Widerstände zu überwinden sind, sich durch deren Überwindung dann aber ein positives Ergebnis zeigt (*sustinuit tantas operum subuertere moles / totque suas heres perdere Caesar opes: / sic agitur censura et sic exempla parantur; / cum uindex, alios quod monet, ipse facit*).

Als programmatische Umschreibung für die Methode der Mehrfacherklärungen erscheint *rumor* dann Ov. *Fast.* 3, 543 f. (*quae tamen haec dea sit, quoniam rumoribus errat / fabula, proposito nulla tegenda meo*);³¹ die negative, von *errat* ausgehende Färbung des *rumor* ist auch in *Fast.* 5, 74 die Grundlage für die – allerdings erneut problematische – Präsentation einer Alternative, die dann allerdings einen noch geringeren Wahrheitsanspruch formuliert und geradezu eingesteht, dass diese Erklärung ad hoc erfunden worden ist (*potest, Fast.* 5, 75).³² Uranie stellt beide Erklärungen unter erheblichen Vorbehalt, um dann zum Abschluss ihrer Rede das einzige mit voller Überzeugungskraft vorgetragene Argument aus der Analogie heraus zu begründen: *nec leue*

³¹ Vgl. Loehr 1996, 362; Ursini 2008, 535; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2012, 212 f.; Chiu 2016, 73; Heyworth 2019, 193; McCallum 2019, 28 f.; McIntyre 2019, 41; Hirt 2022, 250; Beek 2022, 277 f.

³² Basso 2022, 162 („una seconda spiegazione, altrettanto congetturale“), ähnlich auch Smutek 2015, 246 f.; etwas vager formuliert Loehr 1996, 255: „Uranie formuliert die Variante ausdrücklich als Möglichkeit (*potest*), so daß die Anspielung auf die Form der wissenschaftlichen Mehrfacherklärung deutlich wird“ – was nicht zuletzt daran liegt, dass sie am überlieferten *tangor* festhält und dieses entsprechend auf eine ähnliche Stufe des Wahrheitsgehalts stellt wie *potest*, vgl. Loehr 1996, 254 f.: „Die Muse versucht jedoch, in der Darstellung den Rahmen wissenschaftlicher Methodik nicht zu sprengen. Sie stellt die Anbindung des zu erklärenden Monatsnamens an das Ereignis pointiert als ihre Schlußfolgerung aus dem Wissen um die Ehrenstellung des Alters dar: *tangor*. Das Aition des romulischen Senats ist Uranies konkretisierende Spekulation. Die spekulative Erschließung des konkreten Aitions wird dadurch noch deutlicher, daß Uranie sogar eine Alternative angibt: Die Benennung könnte auch auf eine Aufforderung des Numitor an Romulus zurückgehen. So wichtig Uranies Anknüpfung des zu erklärenden Monatsnamens an ein Ereignis der Vergangenheit zur Herstellung der aitiologischen Form und Funktion ist, so belanglos erscheint das Ereignis an sich zur Benennung des Namens: Denn in beiden Aiten spiegelt sich der bereits bekannte, mit der Etymologie (*maiores*) verbundene Deutungshorizont. Das Aition selbst ist von Uranie abgeleitet und obendrein um eine Alternative ergänzt, d. h. Welches Ereignis auch immer zur Namensgebung geführt hat, in jedem Falle hat der V. 57–70 beschriebene Zustand zu diesem Ereignis geführt. Damit erweist sich Uranies Rede als etymologische Deutung des Wortes ‚Mai‘, die zwar als Aitiologie überformt, aber als solche inhaltlich auch gleich schon wieder zurückgenommen wird: Uranies Zugriff auf das Thema zeigt sich im Kern antiquarisch-etymologisch“; vgl. auch die *ebd.* 254 Anm. 234 angeführte Auffassung des fraglichen *tangor*: „[...] das Wissen um die Ehrenstellung des Alters führt sie zu dem Glauben, daß ...“.

propositi pignus successor honoris / Iunius, a iuuenum nomine dictus, habet (*Fast.* 5, 77 f.).³³ Ein geradezu falsches Gerücht wird von Ovid durch das entsprechende Attribut auch explizit als solches markiert, wenn der Sprecher Claudia Quinta folgendermaßen exkulpiert: *casta quidem, sed non et credita: rumor iniquus / laeserat, et falsi criminis acta rea est* (*Fast.* 4, 307 f.).³⁴ Wichtig ist hier jedoch insbesondere die Gleichsetzung eines *rumor iniquus* mit einem *falsum crimen*, denn diese Gleichsetzung schlägt gleichsam eine Brücke von dem konjizierten *rumor* in *Fast.* 5, 74 zu einer Passage aus dem zweiten Buch der *Fasti*, in der die Senatoren sich ebenfalls eines falschen Verdachts erwehren müssen (Ov. *Fast.* 2, 491–508):

est locus, antiqui Capreae dixere paludem:
 forte tuis illic, Romule, iura dabas.
 sol fugit, et remouent subeuntia nubila caelum,
 et grauis effusis decidit imber aquis.
 hinc tonat, hinc missis abrumpitur ignibus aether, 495
 fit fuga, rex patriis astra petebat equis.
 luctus erat, falsaeque patres in crimine caedis,
 haesissetque animis forsitan illa fides;
 sed Proculus Longa ueniebat Iulius Alba,
 lunaque fulgebat, nec facis usus erat, 500
 cum subito motu saepes tremuere sinistrae,
 rettulit ille gradus, horrueruntque comae.
 pulcher et humano maior trabeaque decorus
 Romulus in media uisus adesse uia
 et dixisse simul ,prohibe lugere Quirites, 505
 nec uiolent lacrimis numina nostra suis;
 tura ferant placentque nouum pia turba Quirinum
 et patrias artes militiamque colant!‘

Die Stelle weist nicht nur erhebliche stilistische Parallelen zu unserer Stelle auf: Insbesondere entspricht dem klanglichen Chiasmus *<rum>or et – et Numitor* am Versbeginn von 5, 74 und 75, der den Übergang vom Gerücht aus grauer Vorzeit hin zu einer noch vor der

³³ Das betont auch Basso 2022, 164 („argomento a conferma della credibilità“), ähnlich auch Loehr 1996, 256 und Leiendoeker 2019, 255.

³⁴ Vgl. Pasco-Pranger 2006, 157f.; Steenblock 2013, 254; Chiu 2016, 44 f.; Fucecchi 2018, 556.

Stadtgründung anzusiedelnden und bereits halb und halb der Sage zugehörigen Figur untermalt, mit der die dichterische Phantasie bereits völlig frei umspringen darf, sowie der unmittelbar vorangehenden Parallele *longa senecta* – *selectaque pectora* (5, 71 f.),³⁵ die die Eignung der Alten für die Staatslenkung auch stilistisch unterstreicht, die ähnliche Kombination aus klanglicher und semantischer Grundlage eines Chiasmus: *effusus decidit imber aquis* – *patriis astra petebat equis*, 2, 494 und 496;³⁶ vgl. auch, weniger auffällig, *Romule* – *remouent*, 2, 492 f.). Zudem enthalten beide Passagen eine direkte Rede, die nicht durch eine Personalform von *dicere*, sondern durch eine Nominativ-mit-Infinitiv-Konstruktion eingeleitet wird: *Numitor dixisse potest* (5, 75) – *Romulus in media uisus adesse uia* / *et dixisse simul* (2, 505 f.). Dem vom Volk ausgehenden (elliptischen) *falsaeque patres in crimine caedis* (2, 497)³⁷ wird ebenso wie dem (elliptischen) *rumor et aetati consuluisse suae* (5, 74) das Handeln einer monarchischen Figur gegenübergestellt, die den jeweils gegenüber dem Senat erhobenen Vorwurf zu beseitigen scheint: Numitor setzt die Benennung des Mai nach den *maiores* durch und befreit so den Senat vom Vorwurf der Fixierung auf das eigene Interesse; Romulus bezeugt die eigene Apotheose und spricht die Senatoren so von der Anklage des Königsmordes frei.

Was auf den ersten Blick eine reine Affirmation der monarchischen Überformung einer außer Kontrolle geratenen Senatorenklasse, die nur aus purem Egoismus handelt und den wichtigsten militärischen Anführer meuchelt und daher dringend faktisch entmachtet werden muss, darstellt, wird jedoch mithilfe der Relativierung der jeweiligen souveränen ‚Rettung der Republik‘ durch die Monarchen Numitor und

³⁵ Basso 2022, 159 äußert sich lediglich zur klanglichen Qualität der *selecta pectora* („raffinato tessuto fonico dell’hemistichio“); zu *longa senecta* verweist Bömer 1958, 295 auf die Verwendung in derselben Versposition in *Fast.* 6, 190 (vgl. dazu auch Littlewood 2006, 63) und in *Fast.* 5, 132, wo *longa senecta* Teil eines Parallelismus ist (mit *multa uetustas* in 5, 131; vgl. zu dieser Stelle auch Walter 2020, 179); weitere Parallelen listet Ramírez de Verger 2021, 81 (zu *Ov. Met.* 6, 37) auf.

³⁶ Vgl. zur sprachlichen Gestaltung von *Fast.* 2, 494 auch Ursini 2008, 362; Moreno Soldevila 2006, 210.

³⁷ Zur Bezeichnung dieses Vorwurfs als *perobscura fama* (Liv. 1, 16, 4) in der Parallelüberlieferung vgl. neben Šterbenc Erker 2023, 137 auch Zenk 2021, 112; zur Ellipse auch Beek 2022, 234.

Romulus zu einem raffinierten Vexierspiel: Handelt es sich bei den Anschuldigungen gegen den Senat noch um (mutmaßlich falsche) Gerüchte, so wird das monarchische Eingreifen durch die Relativierung der entscheidenden direkten Reden mithilfe der Modalverben *uisus (est)* (2, 504)³⁸ bzw. *potest* (5, 75) noch deutlicher in den Bereich der subjektiven Wahrnehmung verschoben. Entscheidend ist dabei, dass die Gerüchte noch auf dem (wenn auch mutmaßlich falschen) Konsens einer breiten Masse fußen, während die (scheinbar eindeutige, in Wahrheit jedoch noch weit deutlicher relativierte und problematisierte) Richtigstellung stets von einem einzelnen Individuum verantwortet wird, wenn Uranie die Unterredung zwischen Numitor und seinem Enkel Romulus aus dem Stand erfindet und ein ähnlicher Verdacht vielleicht auch gegenüber dem Bericht des Iulius Proculus von seiner Unterredung mit dem vergöttlichten Romulus-Quirinus geäußert werden muss: *luctus erat, falsaeque patres in crimine caedis / haesissetque animis forsitan illa fides; / sed Proculus Longa ueniebat Iulius Alba* (2, 499 f.).³⁹

So ist es gewiss kein Zufall, sondern ein bewusster Rückverweis auf die Passage aus dem zweiten Buch der *Fasti*, dass Uranie sich für ihr völlig arbiträres Beispiel ausgerechnet Numitor, den König von Alba Longa,⁴⁰ aussucht und diesen einen Akt der *pietas* einfordern lässt, wie ihn Augustus gegenüber seinem Adoptivvater Julius Caesar in Philippi demonstrativ eingelöst hat: *hoc opus, haec pietas, haec prima elementa fuerunt / Caesaris, ulcisci iusta per arma patrem* (Ov. *Fast.* 3, 709 f.).⁴¹ Ovids subtile Kritik an der willkürlichen Herrschaft eines

³⁸ Vgl. etwa 2, 845 f.: *illa iacens ad uerba oculos sine lumine mouit, / uisaeque concussa dicta probare coma*; gerade vor dem Hintergrund der durch *uisa* deutlich relativierten Deutung der Gestik und Mimik der sterbenden Lucretia durch die Umstehenden muss der Analyse der Deutung durch Šterbenc Erker 2023, 140: „The Ovidian narrator in the *Fasti* surprises the reader with his almost naive credence in the epiphany of Quirinus. He does not use any subtle distancing device, as do Livy and Dionysius, in order to express doubt in Julius Proculus' vision“ doch deutlich widersprochen werden, zumal Šterbenc Erker das fragliche *uisus* wenig später selbst folgendermaßen übersetzt: „Romulus seemed to be there“ (*ebd.* 142).

³⁹ Vgl. dazu insbesondere Šterbenc Erker 2023, 142 f.

⁴⁰ Bömer 1958, 118 betont zu Recht die „archaische Wortstellung“ von *Longa [...] Alba* in *Fast.* 2, 500.

⁴¹ Vgl. Heyworth 2019, 228; Beek 2022, 285; Šterbenc Erker 2023, 190 f. sowie den Verweis auf weiterführende Literatur bei Hirt 2022, 250 mit Anm. 626.

Einzelnen zeigt sich in beiden Passagen an nichts deutlicher als an dem der patriarchalischen römischen Gesellschaft zugrundeliegenden Nexus zwischen Staats- und Familienstrukturen: Im zweiten Buch der *Fasti* demonstriert der Sprecher eine geradezu kindliche Freude daran, die Benennung der Senatoren als *patres* ad absurdum zu führen, indem er diesen entmachteten und entmännlichten *patres* (vgl. die verräterische Wortstellung *falsaeque patres* im Hyperbaton zu *caedis*, 2, 497) dem wahren *pater* des Romulus gegenüberstellt: Nicht die mörderischen Senatoren, sondern Mars, der Vater des Romulus, ist für die Entrückung seines Sohnes zuständig (*patriis astra petebat equis*, 2, 496)⁴² – ebenso übrigens wie Vesta und nicht die Dolche des Brutus und Cassius den Diktator ins Jenseits befördert haben: *ipsa uirum rapui simulacraque nuda reliqui: / quae cecidit ferro, Caesaris umbra fuit* (Ov. *Fast.* 3, 701 f.).⁴³

Auch im fünften Buch erscheinen die *patres* als schwach, weil nur von des Romulus Gnaden überhaupt zu Vätern geworden (*censuram longa senecta dabat. / Romulus hoc uidit selectaque pectora patres / dixit*, 5, 70–72);⁴⁴ vor allem aber wird ihre Senilität betont (*sene, longa senecta, senibus, auum*, 5, 69. 70. 76),⁴⁵ bis sie schließlich zur Benennung des Mai in ihrer übersteigerten Eitelkeit zu ihren eigenen Vorfahren werden müssen: *hinc sua maiores tribuisse uocabula*

⁴² Vgl. Mantzilas 2002, 510; Labate 2003, 106; Robinson 2011, 313, Bechtold 2011, 155; Šterbenc Erker 2023, 140; zur Parallele Hor. *Carm.* 3, 3, 15 f. (*hac Quirinus / Martis equis Acheronta fugit*) neben Nisbet–Rudd 2004, 43 auch Woodman 2020, 110.

⁴³ Bömer 1958, 192 f.; Heyworth 2019, 226; Beek 2022, 284.

⁴⁴ Dass Romulus sich gerade durch den konservativen Anschein seiner politischen Entscheidungen als Proto-Princeps inszeniert, lässt sich insbesondere an der Interpretation bei Pasco-Pranger 2006, 59 ablesen: „Young men go to war, old men advise and give laws so that the senate is named for them – the division is already familiar; here, however, Romulus lacks an active role as organizer of both society and the calendar. Rather than making a division of society and then naming the months to mimic that division, he sees that this division is already in place and endorses it by entrusting the general interests of his city to the elders“ (vgl. auch Leidendecker 2019, 249).

⁴⁵ Vgl. zum idealisierten Bild eines aus ‚weisen alten Männern‘ bestehenden Senats bei Ovid, Cicero und anderen antiken Autoren auch die Ausführungen von Parkin 2003, 100–129, zu Ovid insbesondere 100–104 sowie Leiendecker 2019, 250 mit Anm. 751 und 254 mit der Betonung, dass „in der Rede selbst fast ausschließlich von den *senes* und der Rolle der *senectus* gesprochen wurde“.

Maio / <rum>or et aetati consuluisse suae (5, 73 f.).⁴⁶ Damit maßen sie sich an, was nur dem Monarchen und Gottessohn ansteht – doch nicht einmal dieser benennt sein Volk nach sich, sondern umgekehrt sich nach seinem Volk: *„prohibe lugere Quirites, / nec uiolent lacrimis numina nostra suis; / tura ferant placentque nouum pia turba Quirinum / et patrias artes militiamque colant!“* (2, 505–508).⁴⁷ Die – vom scheidenden König freilich in klassisch monarchisch-dynastischer Manier auf die aus der Sicht des Romulus so benannten *patrias artes* verpflichteten⁴⁸ – Quiriten sind eben gerade nicht die Anhänger einer verfassungsmäßigen, aber in ihrer Exklusivität stets verdächtigen Senatsherrschaft, sondern die dynastisch orientierten Militärs vom Schlag eines Julius Caesar, die der Republik dann ja auch tatsächlich ihr Grab geschaufelt haben.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Zu dieser nicht unproblematischen Auffassung von *maiores* vgl. beispielsweise die besonders deutlich das (absichtlich) Krude der Wortwahl Ovids ausstellenden Erläuterungen bei Loehr 1996, 257 Anm. 240: „Gemeint sind nicht die *maiores* als Vorfahren, sondern *maiores natu* als *senes*. Dieses Wort ist gewählt in Analogie zu *iuvenes* – *iuniores*, wo die Verbindung evidenter ist“; deutlicher artikuliert das Problem Brookes 1992, 28: „The Muse is faced with the problem of establishing a link between the key word *maiores* and *senes*, the more usual term for the older generation“ (vgl. dazu die weitere Ausführungen *ebd.* 28 f., Smutek 2015, 245 f. und Leidendecker 2019, 248).

⁴⁷ Bömer 1958, 118 verweist auf Verg. *Aen.* 6, 847 und die Parallel-darstellung Liv. 1, 16, 7; wichtiger freilich ist sein entscheidender Hinweis auf die Behandlung der Etymologie des Namens Quirinus in *Fast.* 2, 475: *siue suum regi nomen posuere Quirites*, der die Abhängigkeitsrichtung noch einmal deutlich hervorhebt.

⁴⁸ Vgl. dazu insbesondere die Anmerkung bei Beek 2022, 235 („the martial legacy that Romulus has from his father“).

⁴⁹ Vgl. zum grundsätzlichen Gegensatz zwischen der dynastischen Familie des Romulus und der politischen Institution des Senats auch Pasco-Pranger 2006, 59: „Urania believes that the *maiores*, as law-makers, gave their own name to the month: *hinc sua maiores tribuisse vocabula Maio / tangor, et aetati consuluisse suae*. For this reason I am convinced that the elders gave their own name to May and took consideration for their own generation“. This shift in emphasis from Romulus to the senators as the namers of the months comes almost automatically as a result of Urania's emphasis on their position of high honor – control of the calendar is inseparable from control of society“; vgl. auch *ebd.* Anm. 97: „Urania's alternative explanation, that Numitor might have asked his grandson for the honor on behalf of the *senes*, and Romulus

Der Prinzipat hat – das scheint Ovid uns durch die beiden deutlich aufeinander bezogenen Stellen mitteilen zu wollen – den Teufel mit dem Beelzebub ausgetrieben: An die Stelle des <rum>or, des dissonanten und häufig schwer nachvollziehbaren vielstimmigen Gemurmels einer zur Lynchjustiz geneigten Volksmasse, die die korrupte und letztlich in ihrer Selbstverliebtheit nicht weniger als in ihrem Tyrannenmord selbstzerstörerische Senatorenkaste mit Argusaugen betrachtet und so ein Mächtiggleichgewicht des Misstrauens konstituiert, ist die willkürliche Setzung einer neuen Realität getreten, die ihre reine Macht im singularischen und etymologisch nicht weniger als <rum>or einschlägigen *potest* konzentriert.⁵⁰ Dass das grammatikalische Subjekt von *potest* über die Nominativ-mit-Infinitiv-Konstruktion der (ironischerweise ebenfalls als senil dargestellte und darüber hinaus klanglich ebenso wie sein Enkel Romulus mit <rum>or verbundene) schwache König Numitor ist,⁵¹ rüttelt freilich bereits heftig am strahlenden Glanz dieser neuen monarchischen Macht – und dass das logische Subjekt der gesamten willkürlichen Setzung, die Erfinderin des Beispiels und Schöpferin der neuen Realität die Muse Uranie ist, zeigt die wichtigste Botschaft Ovids: Wenn der Prinzipat erfolgreich sein will, muss er sich auf die Autorität der Poesie stützen.⁵²

Abschließend soll hier also folgender Text vorgeschlagen werden (Ov. *Fast.* 5, 69–76):

could not refuse him, maintains the respect for old age, but loses something of the political – it replays the relationship of young and old on a familial level“ (vgl. dazu auch Brookes 1992, 34 und Leidecker 2019, 254).

⁵⁰ Vgl. dazu etwa Varr. *Ling.* 5, 4.

⁵¹ Vgl. insbesondere Basso 2022, 163: „il vecchio re di Alba non è una presenza molto attiva nei *Fasti* [...]. Rilevante, nel nostro caso, è soprattutto il passo del terzo libro (v. 68), dove il re di Alba è definito, come qui, *auus*, ed è per di più qualificato come *longaeuus*, ‚anziano‘; si noti che Numitore è altresì definito *senex* in *Met.* 14, 773: Queste menzioni, nel loro insieme, forniscono una caratterizzazione stabile del personaggio ovidiano“; Barchiesi 1991, 14 sieht Numitor auch durch den Verweis auf Ciceros Epos *De consulatu suo* (fr. 2, 66–70) ironisiert.

⁵² Zu Ovids wiederholtem Bekenntnis zu einer panegyrisch-staatstragend-stabilisierenden Dichtung vgl. etwa die Stellensammlung bei Gaertner 2005, 109 (zu Ov. *Pont.* 1, 1, 27 f.).

uerba quis auderet coram sene digna rubore
dicere? censuram longa senecta dabat. 70
Romulus hoc uidit selectaque pectora patres
dixit: ad hos urbis summa relata nouae.
hinc sua maiores tribuisse uocabula Maio
<rum>or et aetati consuluisse suae;
et Numitor dixisse potest „da, Romule, mensem 75
hunc senibus“ nec auum sustinuisse nepos.

Wer wagte es, in Gegenwart eines Greises Worte zu sprechen, die einem die Schamröte ins Gesicht treiben müssen? Hohes Alter verlieh das Zensorenamt. Dies sah Romulus und nannte die erwählten Autoritäten die Väter: Diesen wurde die Verantwortung für die neugegründete Stadt übertragen. Es geht das Gerücht, dass diese Altvordenen dem Mai deshalb ihren Namen gaben und so ihrem Alter ein Denkmal setzten; es ist aber auch möglich, dass Numitor sagte: „Romulus, widme diesen Monat den alten Männern“, und dass der Enkel dem Großvater dies nicht gut abschlagen konnte.

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In *Ov. Fast.* 5, 74 the paradosis offers *tangor*, otherwise unattested as *verbum dicendi* governing an accusative with infinitive. Comparing *Ov. Fast.* 5, 625 f. and *Verg. Aen.* 7, 144, this note argues for reading *rumor* (proposed but then rejected by J. G. Frazer) instead of *tangor* explaining the corruption as a melting of a former gloss *fama* (perhaps corrupted into *tam*) into the original *rumor* producing the non-latin **famor* or **tamor* then emended by a scribe or corrector into the *tangor* of the manuscripts. Reconstructed *rumor* in 5, 74 allows for an interesting comparison between 5, 69–76 and 2, 491–508 showing how Ovid criticizes both the selfish senate of the late republic and the princes who removed power from the republican institution in an arbitrary manner.

В рукописном чтении Ov. *Fast.* 5, 74 глагол *tangor* выступает как *verbum dicendi*, от которого зависит асс. *cum inf.* Однако такое значение больше нигде не засвидетельствовано. Опираясь на параллели Ov. *Fast.* 5, 625 f. и Verg. *Aen.* 7, 144, автор защищает конъектуру *rumor*, предложенную, но затем отвергнутую Дж. Фрезером. Он предполагает, что глосса *fama* (очевидно, в искаженной форме *tam*) слилась со словом *rumor*, которое она была призвана объяснять, в виде **famor* или **tamor*, что было затем исправлено на *tangor*. Чтение *rumor* в 5, 74 позволяет сопоставить 5, 69–76 с 2, 491–508 и проследить, как Овидий критикует эгоизм позднереспубликанского сената и принцепса, по своему произволу лишившего власти республиканские установления.

Denis Keyer

“WAXING THE KNEES OF THE GODS” IN JUVENAL (10. 55) AND PRUDENTIUS (*APOTH.* 457)

1. Iuv. 10. 54–55: Textual Problems

Juvenal’s Satire 10 develops the well-known Stoic thesis that human prayers are meaningless since people cannot distinguish good from evil and their aspirations are often harmful. The only reasonable thing left to be prayed for at all is reduced to “a sound mind in a sound body” (*orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano*, v. 355).¹

The introductory part starts with the main thesis, succinctly condemns pursuit of eloquence (9–10), strength (10–11), wealth (12–27), and political honours (36–46), and refers to the example of Democritus, who laughed at the foolish crowd and despised Fortune. Further it is summed up by v. 54–55 (echoed further in v. 346 *nil ergo optabunt homines?*):

ergo supervacua† aut perniciose petuntur
propter quae fas est genua incutere deorum. 55

54 *del. Leo*, 54–55 *del. Knoche* | supervacuo *Bickel* | aut <ne>
perniciose petantur ... deorum? *Lachmann* : aut <et> *Schurzfleisch*,
aut <vel> *Doederlein*, s. et vel *Campana* : aut <ut> p., p. q. ...
deorum? *Munro* : aut <quae> p. petuntur ? propter quae ... deorum?
Bücheler probante Housmano : putentur *Richards probante Duff* :
aut <vel> p. putantur *Mayor*, alii alia 55 mos est *Ruperti* | incutere
Madvig : cf. *Prudent. Apoth.* 457 genua incutere Dianae

¹ I agree with Brink 1972, 37–40 that while v. 356 is playfully disguised as a variation of a conventional prayer for mental and physical health (see examples in Mayor 1878, 356 ad loc.), this ‘health’ is at once reinterpreted in terms of a Cynic-Stoic virtue (357–362 *fortem posce animum mortis terrore carentem, qui...*), and further it is specified that one can achieve this virtue himself and not depend on Fortune (363–366).

V. 54 needs emendation for prosodic reasons: a hiatus together with a lengthened short vowel in arsis is inconceivable. Bücheler's proposal, supported by Housman,² to insert *quae* and put two question marks is tempting:

Then, what unnecessary or pernicious things are prayed for?
For the sake of what is it (*on the contrary*) right to wax the knees
of the gods?

This would provide an elegant pair of asyndetically opposed questions:³ the first one introducing the following exemplification of wrong aspirations – 56–113 political power, 114–132 eloquence, 133–187 military glory, 188–288 longevity, 289–345 beauty – and the second one anticipating the conclusion (346–362: *mens sana in corpore sano* understood as inner virtue).⁴

Alternatively – if one inserts another monosyllabic word after *aut* or adopts Bickel's *supervacuo* (with hiatus)⁵ – the lines might be regarded as a statement (a rhetorical question is also possible⁶); if so, *quae* in v. 55 is relative:

Then, people pray for unnecessary things [or, with Bickel: pray without necessity] or even (for) pernicious things, for the sake of which it is (considered) right to wax the knees of the gods.

² Bücheler 1879, 355–356; Housman 1905, 90 (“*quae et que saepe numero in codicibus propter per interciderunt*”); adopted in Clausen 1959 a. o.

³ Lachmann was the first one to take *propter quae fas est...* as a question; on the same lines Munro in Mayor 1878, 84 and Highet 1954, 278. However, if only one question, the one about proper prayers, were posed, it would be odd to take it up by five long sections dismissing wrong prayers.

⁴ Pace Leo it can hardly be a problem that the answer to the question posed in v. 55 begins after almost 300 verses: the train of thought at the end of the satire is sophisticated (cf. n. 1 above), yet the satire has a clear structure, so that a competent reader would be able to keep in mind v. 55 even after a prolix answer to the question posed in v. 54. The objection of Ernout 1960, 322 “la double interrogation paraît bien maladroite” is arbitrary.

⁵ Bickel 1943, 93, citing hiatus after the long vowel in the same position in 3. 70 *Samō hic*, 6. 274 *suā atque*, 6. 468 *agnoscī atque*, 12. 110 *bellī et*; cf. n. 11 below.

⁶ Cf. v. 346 *nil ergo optabunt homines?*

Madvig found it impossible that *fas est* describes the act of improper prayer,⁷ but Bickel rightly objected that it might be an ironic reference to what now came to be sanctioned by the society.⁸

Arguing for the athetesis of v. 54, Leo claimed that the whole satire dwells on the harmful⁹ and not on the superfluous; this and the metrical defects of v. 54 made him athetize it. In his view, *propter quae* in 55 is exclamatory; the interpolator failed to grasp this and patched up a verse that would govern the relative *quae*.¹⁰

However, Bickel rightly pointed out that the idea of the superfluous is conveyed by the image of Democritus laughing at excessive outward honours and other follies (v. 33–53), as well as by the main point of the satire, “not to bow before fortune” (v. 52–53, 365–366): a wise man rejects fortune’s gifts as irrelevant, not as (inevitably) harmful.¹¹

Thus, if v. 54–55 are taken as a statement, *supervacua* in v. 54 may refer to v. 33–53, while *perniciosa* refers to v. 56–345. If, following Bücheler, v. 54–55 are taken as a pair of questions, one will have to concede that common aspirations are both superfluous (to a wise

⁷ Madvig 1887, 561–562.

⁸ Bickel 1943, 91 (siding with Friedländer 1895, 460 and quoting 6. 329 *iam fas est, admitte viros* and 6. 628 *iam iam privignum occidere fas est*).

⁹ Apart from anticipating v. 56–345, v. 54 echoes v. 8–9 *nocitura toga, nocitura petuntur / militia*.

¹⁰ Leo 1910, 49–52 supported by Jachmann 1943, 263–264 with n. 1, who adds that *ergo* is inappropriate and gives away interpolation (on no good grounds). Knoche 1940, 31 with n. 2; 1950, 93 (supported by Willis 1997, 134 and, tentatively, Tengström 1980, 19–21, 25) considers the difficulties of v. 54–55 serious enough to athetise them both and suspect an early interpolation (*genua incere* is echoed in Prudentius); anyway, the unusual expression *genua incere* speaks against it.

¹¹ Bickel 1943, 92 (cf. idem 1912, 144–145 and n. 5 above). Yet, he agrees with Leo that Juvenal does not regard wealth, power, eloquence, military glory, longevity and beauty as *supervacua*. His emendation *supervacuo* aims at solving this difficulty: not the common blessings themselves are superfluous, but the act of praying for them (since gods know better). – Anderson 1982, 346, who posits strong influence of Seneca’s *De tranquillitate animi* on Juvenal’s philosophic satires, also refers *supervacua* to the preceding v. 53, quoting *Tranq.* 13. 1 *hoc secutum puto Democritum ita coepisse: “Qui tranquille volet vivere nec privatim agat multa nec publice”, ad supervacua scilicet referentem ...* Cf. schol. vet. ad v. 54: *ut Democritus dixit*.

man, at least) and potentially harmful, but in order to beef up his argument,¹² in v. 56–345 Juvenal lays stress on the latter.¹³

2. *genua incerare deorum*: Wax Tablets with Vows?

Whatever solution be preferred for the text,¹⁴ it leaves us with the semantic difficulty of v. 55 that has remained in the shadow of the discussions about the textual problems and has not attracted the proper attention of scholars: why is a prayer or a vow described as “waxing the knees of the gods”, *genua incerare deorum*?¹⁵

This curious expression has almost universally been taken to refer to sealed wax tablets that contained vows and were supposedly fixed at the knees of the statue; possibly, this was implied by scholia vetustiora ad loc. (see n. 27 below). The association arises naturally, since verbs meaning ‘to cover with wax’ (*cerare, incerare, κηροῦν*) are frequently used in reference to wax tablets, which themselves provide a logical link to vows in the form of votive offerings.

Yet the central problem with this explanation is the unclear association between wax tablets and the knees. Some scholars attempted to explain it by suggesting that wax tablets were laid upon the knees of seated statues;¹⁶ others refer to a particular practice of attaching the

¹² V. 57–355 are justly reproached for ostentatious rhetoric that lacks philosophical depth (cf. Lehrs’ hand-written vitriol quoted in Friedländer 1895, 452–453 and remarks in Courtney ²2013, 398).

¹³ Thus Courtney ²2013, 392: he sees *supervacua* as hinting at v. 35, but admits the problem: “The former question is answered in 56–345 (though the stress is laid entirely on harmful things; *supervacua* are not so well suited to satire)”. – If one regards *supervacua* both as ‘pointless’ and ‘excessive’ (Murgatroyd 2017, 35), one may find the mention of the latter in v. 56–345: e. g., 104–105 *nimios optabat honores / et nimias optabat opes*; 154 *iam tenet Italiam, tamen ultra tendere pergit*; 251–252 *queratur ... nimio de stamine*. Yet, the connection to v. 35–46 and pairing with *perniciosa* suggests that *supervacua* should rather mean ‘pointless’.

¹⁴ Apart from athetizing both v. 54–55 (see n. 10 above).

¹⁵ Its meaning in the echoing words of Prudentius’ (*Apoth.* 457 *genua incerare Dianae*) will be discussed below in section 4.

¹⁶ Duff 1898, 334 “the custom ... of writing a prayer or vow on a wax tablet and placing it on temple walls or on the knees of divine images”; Musurillo 1961, 174 “on the laps of the gods”; Marie 1961, 43; [Rudd]–Barr 1991, 204 “Petitions written on wax-coated tablets were placed on the knees of gods”.

sealed wax tablets with vows to the thigh of a statue;¹⁷ sometimes these two versions are mentioned together or confused.¹⁸

Edgeworth rightly puts forward two crucial objections against the first option: (1) such a practice is not attested anywhere at all;¹⁹ (2) statues of gods in seated position are much rarer than those in standing or reclining positions, especially in the art of the Flavian and Antonine periods. Therefore, even if vows were indeed laid on the knees of seated statues, this would apply to a very limited range of deities (like, say, the Olympian Zeus). Besides, the metaphor of ‘waxing’ in this case would be somewhat strained.

The evidence for the peculiar custom of fixing sealed vows on wax tablets to statues deserves a closer look. It should be emphasised that these vows must be distinguished (a) from tablets *ex voto*, i.e. paintings or inscriptions that were offered to gods as expressions of gratitude,²⁰

¹⁷ Rutgers 1618, 451–464; Ruperti 1804, 308 “nam vota solebant in cerea concipi tabula, et haec imaginibus deorum, inpr. genibus earum, cera adfigi”; Mayor 1878, 84 “The wax tablets hung from or fastened to the knees...”; Pearson–Strong ²1892, 177; Friedländer 1895, 460 “Wachstafeln, die die Gelübden enthielten, wurden an die Kniee der Götterstatuen geheftet oder andere Tafeln mit Wachs angeklebt”.

¹⁸ Gnlika 2001, 1–8 = 1964, 52–57 (at length); Courtney ²2013, 404; Murgatroyd 2017, 35–36, 39 with n. 48.

¹⁹ Edgeworth 1999, 184–185. However, offerings other than wax tablets could be laid on the knees of seated statues: see *Il.* 6. 92 (πέπλον) θεῖναι Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν, with Leaf 1886, 203–204 ad loc.; besides, donations are sometimes seen in the hands or upon the knees of votive statuettes: Rouse 1902, 67; 304 with n. 5.

²⁰ These were normally placed on votive walls and pillars or inside temples, sometimes near the statues of gods (as in Herod. 4. 19 ἐκ δεξιῆς τὸν πίνακα, Κοκκάλη, στῆσον / τῆς Ὑγίειης); the usual term was πίνακα ἀναθεῖναι (πίναξ ἀνάκειται). For other instances of these votive tablets see, e. g., Headlam 1922, 181–182 on Herod. 4. 19 (confusing this practice with the passages discussed below); Arph. *Thesm.* 773 ff. with Austin–Olson 2004, 260 ad loc.; Maltby 2002, 192 on Tib. 1. 3. 28; Bömer 1958, 163–164 on Ov. *Fast.* 3. 268; Jane Harrison in Hunter–Handford 1927, 208 on Aen. *Tact.* 31. 15 (πινάκιον ἡρωϊκόν). – H. R. Bailey in Mayor 1878, 85 (followed by Pearson–Strong ²1892, 177) wrongly links the passages discussed below to Aesch. *Suppl.* 463 νέοις πίναξιν βρέττα κοσμήσαι τάδε (the suppliants threaten to Pelasgus “to adorn the images of gods with tablets of a novel kind” – i.e., as they explain in v. 465, “to hang themselves from the images of the gods”). Friis Johansen – Whittle 1980, 336 ad loc. rightly doubt that such donations could be suspended from the statues, as κοσμήσαι is vague and other evidence is wanting.

and (b) from the unsealed votive tablets with vows that were placed in temples in public view.²¹

Apul. *Apol.* 54. 7 (implying that common gestures can be misinterpreted as sorcery): *votum in alicuius statuæ femore signasti: igitur magus es. aut cur signasti? tacitas preces in templo deis allegasti, igitur magus es; aut quid optasti?..*

You sealed a vow²² on the thigh of some statue – therefore, you are a magician; otherwise, why would you have written it? You prayed to the gods in the temple in a quiet voice – therefore, you are a magician; otherwise, what would you have asked?...

Philostr. *Her.* 9. 6–7 (of an old cult statue of Protesilaos in the abandoned sanctuary of Elaious): *περιτρίψας δὲ αὐτὸ ὁ χρόνος καὶ νῆ Δί' οἱ ἀλείφοντές τε καὶ ἐπισφραγίζόμενοι τὰς εὐχὰς ἐξηλλάχασιν τοῦ εἶδους.*

Time has worn it away and, by Zeus, those who anoint²³ it and seal their vows here have changed its shape.²⁴

Luc. *Philops.* 20 (of a bronze statue of a certain Pellichus,²⁵ worshipped by votive offerings and supposedly wandering at night):

²¹ Cf. Iuv. 12. 100–101 *legitime fixis vestitur tota libellis porticus* with Stramaglia 2008, 277–278 ad loc.; schol. vet. ad Iuv. 9. 139 *aut certe quia in ceris vota figuntur apud templa*.

²² Pace Latte 1960, 328, Versnel 1981, 32 with n. 123 and Campana 2004, 129–130 *votum signare* can hardly be taken here as ‘write a vow (on a statue)’ (cf. *OLD* s.v. 1b). Abt 1908, 284–285 ad loc. rightly points out that the context suggests secret vows hidden from the public, so it cannot refer to the inscriptions engraved on thighs of votive statues; *signare* should therefore refer to sealing (*OLD* s.v. 8c ‘to fasten or enclose with a seal’; cf. Apul. *Met.* 10. 9, of sealing the money). – The annual ceremony in Plin. *Epist.* 10. 35 (ad Traianum) *Sollemnia vota pro incolumitate tua ... et suscepimus, domine, pariter et solvimus precati deos, ut velint ea semper solvi semperque signari* was public and suggests merely affixing a seal to the officially recorded vows (*OLD* s.v. 8a); see Sherwin-White 1966, 611–612 ad loc.: “The record of the vow was sealed and kept, to be exactly paid the next year”.

²³ Probably anointing with oil (cf. Arnob. 1. 39; Min. Fel. 3. 1) or perfumes (see, e.g., Brøns 2025, 184–191) is meant.

²⁴ Transl. Maclean-Aitken 2002, 15–16.

²⁵ Eucrates tentatively identifies him as a Corinthian general (ch. 18).

Πολλοὶ ... ἔκειντο ὀβολοὶ πρὸ τοῖν ποδοῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλα νομίσματα ἔνια ἀργυρᾶ πρὸς τὸν μηρὸν κηρῷ κεκολλημένα καὶ πέταλα ἐξ ἀργύρου, εὐχαί τινος ἢ μισθὸς ἐπὶ τῇ ἰάσει ὅποσοι δι' αὐτὸν ἐπαύσαντο πυρετῷ ἐχόμενοι.

A number of obols ... were lying at his feet, and some other small coins of silver had been stuck to his thigh with wax, and leaves of silver, prayers or payment for a cure from one or another of those who through him had ceased to be subject to fever.²⁶

Cf. schol. vet. ad Iuv. 10. 55: in signis. insignare. vota facere

On statues. To fasten with a seal [or: to inscribe?].²⁷ To make vows.

These three passages indeed attest a peculiar practice of attaching vows or prayers to the statues – both marble ones (as, probably, in Philostratus) and bronze ones (as in Lucian). In Apuleius and Philostratus these vows are enclosed with a seal, so that no one can learn their content.

In Lucian, the situation is slightly different. The silver leaves mentioned there were of two kinds: some of them were intended as votive offerings inscribed with a prayer,²⁸ and some served as purely

²⁶ Transl. Harmon 1921, 351, with corrections.

²⁷ Rutgers 1618, 462 (followed by Heinrich 1839, 267; Iahn 1851, 318) deletes an asterisk and reads “*in signis insignare*”. Probably, the scholiast meant this rare verb to refer to sealing (thus Du Cange s.v.; cf. *MLW* s.v. 1b ‘besiegeln’). Still, it is also possible that he used it in the sense ‘to inscribe (vows on statues)’ (cf. *CGL* II. 284. 17 ἐγγράφω); if so, he must have imagined that one covered the knees of the statues with wax and wrote vows on it (Campana 2004, 129–130 argues that this was actually meant by Juvenal; see, however, n. 22 above); cf. Porphyry’s, as well as Ps.-Acro’s, inept explanation of Hor. *Serm.* 2. 3: *incerare parietes soliti erant poetae et ibi scribere, siquid noctu in mentem venisset*. – Scholia recentiora absurdly suggest that the wax from the candles held by the prayers dripped onto the statues (Grazzini 2018, 124 [rec. φ and χ]; Gallo–Grazzini 2021, 398 [rec. λ]; cf. n. 59 below).

²⁸ A parallel could be found in inscriptions on Corinthian votive terracotta tablets: *IG* IV. 212 [...τὸ δὲ] δὸ[ς χα]ρίεσ(σ)αν ἀμοιβάν, (echoing *Od.* 3. 58; cf. *IG* IV. 212–215). See Strunk 1960, 117; cf. Rouse 1902, 80 with n. 7.

votive offerings, i.e. as payment for the healing. If κεκολλημένα refers to πέταλα as well as νομίσματα, these leaves were fixed to the thigh with wax along with silver coins²⁹ and later fell off. If κεκολλημένα does not refer to πέταλα, these were laid at the statue's feet. In any way, they were not on the statue: ἔκειντο is the common predicate for ὀβολοὶ ... καὶ ἄλλα νομίσματα ... καὶ πέταλα, and further a Libyan slave attempts to steal all of it (πάντα ἐκεῖνα) in the absence of the statue. Thus, vows on silver leaves in Lucian may have initially been attached to thighs, but they were essentially votive offerings and were not sealed.

Surprisingly, it follows that these statues may not necessarily be the ones of gods, and they can be located outside of temples. In Lucian, the statue is of a man and it stands in a private place;³⁰ Apuleius is vaguely referring to "some statue",³¹ and in Philostratus, the statue is of a hero who was given divine honours, and it stood in a sanctuary, albeit abandoned.

In Apuleius and, possibly, in Lucian, vows and prayers on votive offerings were attached to thighs (not knees!), while Philostratus does not specify this. This poses the first problem: in order to apply the words *incerare genua* to the custom in question, one must extend the notion of 'thighs' to 'knees', which is overstrained. One might

²⁹ Ogden 2007, 156 n. 48 cites *IG VII. 303* = Petrakos 1997 [B. X. Πετράκος, *Οι επιγραφές του Ωρωπού*], 231–238 (no. 324): gold and silver coins and pieces that were nailed to the walls of Amphiarus' sanctuary in Oropus and later are mentioned to have fallen off (lines 6–8).

³⁰ Ogden 2007, 143–144, 156 with n. 34, 35, 37 and 41 refers to the healing statues of the athletes Polydamas and Theagenes (Luc. *Deor. conc.* 12; Paus. 6. 11. 8–9) as well as of Alexander (Paris), Peregrinus-Proteus and Neryllinus (a flamen under Antoninus Pius according to Jones 1985, 40–45): Athenagor. *Legat.* 26. 3–4. It is noteworthy that the Hellenistic bronze statue of the Boxer found on the Quirinal shows clear signs of wear from (obviously) reverential touching, especially on the brass knuckles of the right hand, as well as on the fingers and toes of the outstretched right foot (Zanker 2005, 48–49).

³¹ Tacit vows offered "to gods in temples" are mentioned as the next risk to be accused of sorcery; one might assume that "some statue" in this case is neither of a god, nor stands in a temple. Yet, the text may also imply a contrast between secret and open vows, both being made to gods in temples: sealed tablets with vows instead of non-sealed ones (see n. 21 above), and praying in a quiet voice instead of in a loud voice; further Apuleius says: *contra: nihil in templo precatus es: igitur magus es; aut cur deos non rogasti?*

conceive that tablets were hanging down from thighs so as to reach the knees (though it is not certain), but even this would hardly make the metaphor more convincing.³²

It is not quite clear which wax could be referred to by the metaphor inherent in *incerare*. It seems a fair assumption that the vows attached to the thighs of the statues, like the more common unsealed ones placed in temples,³³ were also written on wax tablets rather than on parchment or papyrus; yet, in Lucian, the vows are probably inscribed on silver leaves (and hardly sealed), while in Apuleius and Philostratus the material is not specified.

The vows were probably attached to marble or bronze with wax (as in Lucian). So, the wax that ‘covered’ the knees of the gods could be (1) that of the wax tablets, (2) that of the seal, or (3) that used for fixing it to the statue (it is the only wax that is in direct contact with the statue).³⁴

Now the second problem is that, even assuming that the knees of the statues somehow came in touch with the tablets, it would hardly be natural at all to describe the knees as “covered with wax”, whatever degree of humorous hyperbolizing one might be willing to accept.³⁵ As the tablets were sealed, their wax was not even on the outer surface;³⁶ the same applies to the wax of the seal. Admittedly, one might conceive *incerare* as a way of saying that parts of the statue were ‘covered’ with the bits of wax used for affixing tablets to marble or bronze – but if so, it would cover the thighs and not the knees.

³² In accepting it one probably proceeds from the supposition that this custom rooted in the notion of knees as place of mercy (see section 3 below on the gesture of touching knees in a prayer), but the origin of this custom remains obscure.

³³ See n. 21 above.

³⁴ Ruperti 1804, 308 (above, n. 17) and Murgatroyd 2017, 35–36 vacillate between (1) and (3), Gniska 2001, 1–2 = 1964, 52–53 between (1) and (2), inclining toward (2); (3) is preferred by Rutgers 1618, 461 and Courtney ²2013, 404, who mistakenly ascribes this view to Gniska (*versiegeln* means ‘to seal with wax’, not ‘to fasten with wax’).

³⁵ Gniska 2001, 3 = 1964, 53 sees here a play on words with *inaurare* that in his view makes the metaphor easier to understand. I am not aware of any examples of gilded knees or legs documented in ancient statuary.

³⁶ Say, if a suitcase with clothes were put on a sofa, would it allow a metaphorical statement that the sofa is ‘clothed’ or ‘covered with clothes’?

Finally, a third, more general objection can be raised against the traditional interpretation: the passages in Apuleius and Philostratus associate the custom in question with sealed – that is, secret – vows,³⁷ which does not suit Juvenal’s context. In this case, the idiom would restrict the vows he speaks of to secret ones, whereas the common aspirations he exposes as “unnecessary or pernicious” (both before and after v. 54–55) require no secrecy and would scarcely be sealed.

Thus, contrary to most of the scholars, it is problematic to interpret the expression *incerare genua* as referring to vows enclosed with a seal and fixed to the statues of the gods.

3. Metaphorical Reference to Clasping the Addressee’s Knees in Prayer? The Waxing of Statues and Other Objects

The mention of knees in the context of prayer suggests another line of interpretation that refers to the well-attested ritual gesture of clasping the knees of the person prayed to. This custom is mentioned by many of those who defend the interpretation of *genua incerare* discussed above.³⁸

A detailed survey by Sittl³⁹ points out four possible variations of the gesture: (1) both knees are clasped; (2) in Eur. *Hel.* 894 and *Suppl.* 165, one knee is clasped, but it may be *singularis poeticus*; (3) one hand clasps one knee (another one may simultaneously touch the chin); (4) hands are stretched out towards the knees without touching them.

³⁷ It is otherwise in Lucian, but there silver leaves with prayers are mentioned alongside other precious offerings, which gives no reason to posit the same usage of wax tablets.

³⁸ Rutgers 1618, 461; Weidner 1873, 223; Mayor 1878, 84; Duff 1898, 334; Courtney 2013. Still, it is far from certain that the habit of fixing vows to (the thighs of) the statues originates in the same notions as the gesture of clasping the knees. Neither is it certain, *pace* Weidner, Duff and Courtney, that the latter has anything to do with the obscure Homeric idiom θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείραι (*Il.* 17. 514 et al.).

³⁹ Sittl 1890, 163–166; cf. *ThLL* VI. 2. 1878–1879 s.v. “*genu*”; to the point cf. Plin. *NH* 11. 250: *haec* (scil. *genua*) *supplices attingunt, ad haec manus tendunt, haec ut aras adorant* etc.

The passage from Arnobius (6. 16. 6) leaves no doubt that statues of gods were also prayed to by handling their knees:

Ita enim non videtis spirantia haec signa, quorum plantas et genua contingitis et contrectatis orantes, modo casibus stillicidiorum labi...

Do you not see that these statues that seem to breathe, whose feet and knees you touch and keep handling [or: caress] as you pray to them, sometimes crumble under the raindrops...

In view of this, it is tempting to interpret *incerare genua* in this vein, with *incerare* functioning as a kind of equivalent to ‘touching’ or ‘handling’.

An attempt along these lines was made as early as 1607 in Ramirez de Prado’s edition of Martial:⁴⁰ he explained the word *cerea* (1. 92. 7 *lacerna* and 4. 53. 5 *abolla*) as referring to small pellets of condensed sweat in garments, resembling wax, and suggested that *incerare* implies touching statues with sweaty hands, allegedly leaving similar marks.⁴¹ However, (1) it is more likely that *cereus* simply refers to the yellowish colour of old and soiled wool (as opposed to white), and (2) it is cloth and skin – not marble or bronze – that becomes covered with yellowish pellets of dried sweat mixed with dirt; marble and bronze are more likely to tarnish or wear down (the Spanish expression *roer los santos*, ‘to gnaw at the saints’, cited by him, obviously refers to kissing).⁴²

⁴⁰ Ramirez de Prado 1607, 121 (ad Mart. 1. 92. 7).

⁴¹ Along similar lines, Fels 2011, 72 (translation of Prud. *Apoth.* 447) “...und machte die Knie der Diana durch Küssen ganz schmierig”. However, (1) kissing of knees is much more rarely attested than kissing of hands and feet (Sittl 1890, 166–169), to say nothing of clasping of knees; and (2) the analogy between smearing with saliva and waxing is questionable.

⁴² For other examples of bronze statues worn down by repeated reverent touching and/or kissing, see Lucr. 1. 316–318 (the right hands of bronze statues near city gates); Cic. *Verr.* 4. 94 (the chin and mouth of the bronze statue of Hercules in Agrigentum); and n. 30 above. A famous modern example is the worn-down toes of Saint Peter’s right foot in the Vatican, now resembling a sock.

Edgeworth suggests a more plausible solution, taking *incerare* metaphorically as “to give a smooth, waxy appearance”.⁴³ He compares areas of bronze statues rubbed to a shine by frequent touch to marble statues polished with wax, the *tertium comparationis* being their lustrous surface (Iuv. 12. 88 *fragili simulacra nitentia cera*) resulting from the polishing of bronze and the removal of patina.

Tempting as it is, this suggestion also encounters difficulties: (1) it would confine all prayers to bronze images of gods, excluding marble ones, which, by contrast, lose their glamour through frequent touch; (2) waxing marble statues (γάνωσις, on which see further) was a regular practice in antiquity, so in this case the metaphor for wearing down bronze statues would evoke the confusing analogy with the protection of marble ones.⁴⁴

Meanwhile, the concept of ‘waxing’ can be analogically linked to ‘handling’ or ‘stroking’, based on the actual process of applying wax, which included rubbing the wax in with subsequent polishing. The phrase *genua incerare* can be interpreted as ‘*genua prensare*’ if we posit two semantic shifts: (a) from ‘waxing’ to ‘stroking’ or ‘rubbing’; (b) from ‘stroking’ or ‘rubbing’ to ‘intense reverent touching’.

Shift (b) is nicely illustrated by a passage in Plautus’ *Asinaria* (v. 670–678), in which the slave Leonidas, when asked to give money to his young master Argyrippus, insists that the latter first rub his knees:

⁴³ Edgeworth 1999, 185. Campana 2004, 129 objects that a similar meaning of *incerare* is not attested; however, the verb is rare (*ThLL* s.v. lists only eight occurrences, including scholia), and it is unreasonable to rule out the possibility of metaphorical usage simply because it is not attested more than once.

⁴⁴ Evidence for waxing statues and objects of bronze in antiquity is lacking. For bronze vessels oil seems to have been used, probably due to frequent contact with fire. With regard to bronze containers used for boiling, γεγανωμένος must refer to tinning (Crito Med. apud Gal. XII. 490 K. ἀγγεῖον χαλκοῦν γεγανωμένον; Aet. Am. 12. 55 ἀγγεῖον γεγανωμένον τῷ κασσιτέρῳ; et al., thus Stephanus and LSJ s.v. γανόω; Glare’s *Supplement* [1996] surprisingly deletes the section title “II. *tin, lacker*” and puts these examples under the title “*make bright, polish*”). Plin. *NH* 21. 85 ...*parietumque etiam et armorum tutelam* may refer to preserving painted walls and (wooden) shields.

LEON. ...at qui pol hodie non feres, ni genua confricantur. 670

ARG. Quidvis egestas imperat: fricentur. dan quod oro?..

(...)

ARG. Fuscifer, etiam me delusisti?

LEON. numquam hercle facerem, genua ni tam nequiter
fricares. 678

LEON. ...But I swear, if you don't rub (my) knees, you
won't get it today.

ARG. One cannot argue with necessity. Fine, I'll rub them.
But will you give me what I asked for?...

(...)

ARG. You, gallows-bird! You mocked me?

LEON. I wouldn't have done that, had you not rubbed (my)
knees improperly.

Clearly, Leonidas does not demand an actual knee massage or anointing of knees here;⁴⁵ it is just a metaphor that playfully describes clasping his knees in a prayer.⁴⁶

Similar examples of the metaphorical shift from 'rub' to 'embrace, press against oneself' can be found in Statius:

Silv. 5. 1. 162–164 *anxius omnibus aris / illacrimat signatque
fores et pectore terget / limina...*

⁴⁵ Thus, implausibly, De Melo 2011, 215 (“*kneels down and massages Leonida’s legs*”). Gurlitt 1921, 138 (followed by Bertini 1968, 279 and Lilja 1983, 22) oddly suggests here a kind of homosexual intercourse in the form of “*Knierreiten*”. Versnel 1998, 97 and Auhagen 2009, 23 n. 81; 200 mistakenly refer the phrase to the kneeling of Argyrippus. – The reference to a suppliant gesture was justly recognized as early as in the commentary of Pylades Brixianus (Giovanni Francesco Boccardo) 1514, fol. LXV verso “*nisi mihi genua atrectans supplicaveris*” (in later editions this quotation is ascribed to Janus Dousa); thus Ussing 1875, 411–412; Hurka 2010, 227.

⁴⁶ Cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* 1189–1190 (in a bath): *uncti hi sunt senes, fricari sese ex antiquo volunt*, where *fricari* refers *prima facie* to massage, but, probably, hints at beating (*pace* Adams 1982, 184, the meaning ‘to get masturbated’ seems out of place here).

Theb. 10. 52–53 pictasque fores et frigida vultu / saxa terunt;
Silv. 2. 1. 193 similes tergenter pectore ceras [curas *codd.*].⁴⁷

Thus, rubbing or stroking the knees would be an appropriate designation for an ardent supplication. It remains to defend shift (a) and show that the image of ‘rubbing’ or ‘stroking’ can be conveyed by the metaphor of ‘waxing’. A close parallel can be found in an affected passage from a Russian-Jewish writer Andrej Sobol (1923):⁴⁸

С подносом плывет в столовую тетушка Гликерия, за тетушкой семенит Илиодор, шуршит свежим номером “Известий”,
 вошит пол шлепанцами...

Aunt Glikeria is floating into the dining room with a tray; Ilidodor is trotting behind her, rustling with the latest issue of “Izvestia”, waxing the floor with slippers...

In modern times, wax has been applied to wooden furniture and floors primarily in the form of a paste mixed with turpentine, and occasionally in a hot, liquefied state; in both cases, it was rubbed in and subsequently polished. For antiquity, the method of waxing is not attested in full detail: wax was not mixed with turpentine but rather melted and liquefied with oil, and most evidence refers to encaustic techniques.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, it can be shown that the processes of rubbing and polishing were present in at least some instances.

⁴⁷ The emendation of Sandström 1878, 19–20 *cerae* – i.e., “wax bust” – is universally accepted: Glaucias, the addressee’s recently deceased *puer delicatus*, is said to recognize his master’s friend Blaesus in Elysium, because he had seen his master weaving wreaths and ‘wiping with breast’ (Blaesus’) similar looking *image* (‘wiping away similar worries’ would give the boy no help in identifying).

Delz 1992, 243–244 and Newlands 2011, 111 suspect that *pectore* is corrupt, because in their view *tergentem* should refer to cleaning the effigy rather than embracing it (they cite *CIL* VIII. 9052. 13 *ita ut statuam meam et uxoris meae tergeat et unguat et coronet*); Sandström also regards *tergentem pectore* as suspicious – perhaps, in vain.

⁴⁸ Sobol 1927 [Андрей Соболев, “Китайские тени”, in: id., *Собрание сочинений*], 9.

⁴⁹ See, e.g., Blümner 1887, IV, 448–457 on encaustic wax painting on tablets, ships and other wooden objects.

First of all, we should examine the process of waxing marble statues (γάνωσις), as this is the analogy most likely to come to mind in connection with the phrase in question. The relevant evidence is found in two closely related passages: Plin. *NH* 33. 122 and Vitruv. 7. 9. 3–4; these either derive from a common source or reflect Pliny's direct borrowing from Vitruvius.⁵⁰

Both texts describe a process in which painted walls are coated with a mixture of what is called Punic wax⁵¹ and oil, applied with bristles (*saetis*), then heated with burning charcoal to melt and absorb the wax into the surface. The final step is polishing: first with candles – that is, cold wax – and then with pure linen. Both texts add that marble statues were treated in the same way: *sic et marmora nitescunt* (Pliny); *uti signa marmorea nuda*⁵² (?) *curantur* (Vitruvius). Drawing on temple accounts that mention utensils for wax polishing, Blume-Jung demonstrates that the full procedure applied to walls was also used for statues – that is, they too were coated with liquefied wax mixed with oil and then polished with cold wax and linen.⁵³

Γάνωσις was the final touch in producing the statue (Plut. *Mor.* 74 b [*De adulatore et amico*] ...ἐπιλεαίνοντες καὶ γανοῦντες), and it was regularly applied in ritual practice.⁵⁴ An analogy between waxing and manual actions such as rubbing or stroking might therefore be drawn from the final stage of γάνωσις applied to marble statues.

Apart from that, one might assume that in everyday life in antiquity, other objects – made of wood, bronze, or terracotta – could also have been coated with wax in a manner that involved rubbing and polishing, even though such practices are not attested in the sources.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ The text of both passages is given in Appendix 1 below; for a detailed analysis see Blume-Jung 2021, 100–111.

⁵¹ For technology of its preparation see Plin. *NH* 21. 83–84.

⁵² For the problem of *nuda* see Appendix 1 below.

⁵³ Blume-Jung 2021, 105–107; Blume 2015, 46–47: along with wax, sponges and linen, one also purchased oil and nitron for preparing the Punic wax and liquefying it.

⁵⁴ See lists from Greek temples in Blume-Jung 2021, 105–107; Iuv. 12. 88 *fragili simulacra nitentia cera* with Prud. *c. Symm.* 203, *Ham.* 404–405 (discussed below). For γάνωσις in Plut. *QR* 98 (287 c), see n. 73 below.

⁵⁵ Internal waxing of clay vessels for oil storage is attested in Colum. 12. 15–16; of wooden cups in Theocr. 1. 27 and Ov. *Met.* 8. 670. Cf. n. 44 above and n. 73 below.

4. Prudentius' Imitation of Juvenal:
The Waxing of Knees (*Apoth.* 447) and of Gods
(*Ham.* 404; *c. Symm.* 1. 203)

Prudentius, who readily borrows from Juvenal,⁵⁶ imitates the phrase in question when ridiculing Julian the Apostate for worshiping false gods (*Apoth.* 454–459):

perfidus ille Deo, quamvis non perfidus orbi,
augustum caput ante pedes curvare Minervae 455
fictilis et soleas Iunonis lambere, plantis
Herculis advolvi, *genua incerare* Dianae,
quin et Apollineo frontem submittere gypso
aut Pollucis equum suffire ardentibus extis.

This emperor, treacherous to God but not to the world, bowed his august head at the feet of Minerva, licked the sandals of a clay Juno [or, earlier: ...of a clay Minerva], rolled himself at the feet of Hercules, waxed Diana's knees, bowed his forehead before a plaster Apollo, and smoked the horse of Pollux with burning entrails.

Gnilka rightly points out the sequence *pedes – soleas – plantis – genua* and defines the motif as “servile adoration of feet”.⁵⁷ The context clearly suggests that *incerare genua* refers to a (caricatured) suppliant posture, in line with “licking” Juno's sandals and prostrating before Hercules' feet. It is therefore very likely that Prudentius understood the ‘waxing of knees’ precisely in the way suggested above, which may support our interpretation.

By contrast, taking *genua incerare* as a hyperbole that hints at wax tablets and alludes to *inaurare*, Gnilka argues that Prudentius, misinterpreting Juvenal, thought of an actual coating of the statue's knees with wax.⁵⁸ He draws this conclusion from two passages in which images of gods are actually described as being covered with wax. These passages deserve a closer look, as they attest the waxing of sculptures in private premises.

⁵⁶ For the list of imitations see Lease 1895, 71–72; Schuster 1909, 91–94.

⁵⁷ Gnilka 2001, 4 = 1964, 54.

⁵⁸ Gnilka 2001, 4–7 = 1964, 54–56.

c. Symm. 1, 201–207:

...puerorum infantia primo
 errorem cum lacte bibit, gustaverat inter
 vagitus de farre molae, saxa inlita ceris⁵⁹
 viderat unguentoque lares umescere nigros;
 formatum Fortunae habitum cum divite cornu 205
 sacratumque domi lapidem consistere parvus
 spectarat matremque illic pallere precantem.

The infancy of children imbibed the error with their first milk; it had tasted, amidst infant wailing, the flour of sacrifices; it had seen the wax-smearred stones and the black Lares damp with ointment. When he was little, he had observed an image of Fortune with the horn of abundance and a consecrated stone placed at home and his mother growing pale as she prayed there.

Ham. 404–405:

incerat lapides fumosos idololatrix
 religio et surdis pallens advolvitur aris.

An idolatrous religion smears smoky stones with wax and prostrates itself, pale, before deaf altars.

In Gnilka's view, these instances of sculpture-waxing in Prudentius also echo *genua incerare deorum* in *Iuv.* 10. 55, and he even goes so far as to suggest that Prudentius, having misunderstood Juvenal's idiom, came to imagine a custom of covering images of gods with wax – a practice Gnilka considers non-existent – analogous to anointing images with oil (hence the Lares damp with perfumed oil in the following line).⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Ewald 1942, 60, referred to by Gnilka 2001, 7 = 1964, 56 n. 15, noticed that *illita ceris* is borrowed from *Ov. Met.* 8. 670 (cf. n. 55 above). – Edgeworth 1999, 185 impossibly refers this and the following example to the dripping of votive candles on temple pavements (cf. n. 27 above).

⁶⁰ Gnilka 2001, 7 = 1964, 56, supported by Tränkle 2008, 121 n. 46 and, with reservation, by Palla 1981 ad *Ham.* 404–405 (he takes *Ham.* 404 to imply placing wax tablets all around the statue, not only over their feet, and *c. Symm.* 1. 203 to reflect the actual practice of coating statues with wax; the latter, however, is incorrectly regarded by him as unrelated to cultic practice).

The hypothesis that Prudentius compiled his knowledge on the details of the pagan cult not from personal experience, but from reading classical authors – whose descriptions he could have misinterpreted, thereby distorting the rites in question – is further reinforced by Gnilka with reference to the problems that he sees in Prudentius' use of the word *caespes* in ritual context (see Appendix 2 below). However, this view meets with three objections:

(1) even if Prudentius associated *genua incerare* with coating whole statues with wax, as in *Ham.* 404 and *c. Symm.* 1. 203, waxing Diana's knees in *Apoth.* 457 would still be different; if so, he must have imagined that in some cases only parts of statues were coated with wax, which makes his illusion implausibly complicated;

(2) the practice of coating statues with wax, *a.o.* in cult, is well attested in literary and epigraphic sources (see section 3 above and Appendix 1 below);

(3) it can be shown that *Ham.* 404 and *c. Symm.* 1. 203 are closely related to *Iuv.* 12. 88;⁶¹ in contrast, their resemblance to *Iuv.* 10. 55 and *Prud. Apoth.* 457 is confined to the verb *incerare*, which in the latter case is but a playful metaphor that depicts a suppliant gesture.

Iuv. 12. 183–190:

ite, igitur, pueri, linguis animisque faventes
sertaque delubris et farra imponite cultris
ac mollis ornate focos glebamque virentem. 185
iam sequar et sacro, quod praestat, rite peracto
inde domum repetam, graciles ubi parva coronas
accipiunt fragili simulacra nitentia cera.⁶²
hic nostrum placabo Iovem laribusque paternis
tura dabo atque omnis violae iactabo colores.

So go, slaves, hold your tongues and hearts in check, crown the shrines, sprinkle sacrificial flour on the knives, and decorate the soft altars and green turf. I will follow shortly and, after the sacrifice has been properly performed, which takes precedence, I will return home, where the small images, shining with brittle wax, receive slender wreaths. Here I will appease our Jupiter, offer incense to the paternal Lares, and scatter violets of every colour.

⁶¹ Thus already Blümner 1884, III, 202 n. 1.

⁶² Schol. vet. ad loc.: *incerata signa deorum*.

Indirect evidence strongly suggests that Juvenal's "little images" are the Lares: they are appropriately described as "little",⁶³ were often adorned with wreaths,⁶⁴ and were offered sacrifices upon returning home (Juvenal thanks the gods for the safe return of a friend who survived a storm).⁶⁵

Lares are said to shine with "brittle wax"; it has been understood to mean that the images themselves were made of wax,⁶⁶ but this is very unlikely, as other examples of Lares made of wax are lacking, and the *lararium* was often (though not always) placed near the hearth, so wax images would be in danger of melting. Therefore, it seems certain that the images of Lares are said to be coated with wax.⁶⁷ The epithet 'crumbling' can imply either that the wax coating crumbled and peeled off due to the heat from the fire,⁶⁸ or, more plausibly, that cold wax used for final polishing was indeed brittle.⁶⁹

The context and imagery of Prudentius is undeniably similar: in *Ham.* 404, coating smoky stone images with wax in general is ridiculed (Lares are possibly, but not necessarily implied here), and in *c. Symm.* 1. 203–204 stony images coated with wax are mentioned alongside black (i.e., smoky) Lares damp with ointments in the context of a sacrifice.

Whether *saxa inlita ceris* are the same as *lares nigri* or images of other gods is not fully certain, but in view of *Iuv.* 12. 88, the first option seems preferable. If so, the two coordinated direct objects governed by the verb *viderat* refer to one and the same thing: "wax-

⁶³ See Nisbet–Rudd 2004, 268 ad *Hor. Carm.* 3. 25. 15–16 *parvos coronantem ... deos*.

⁶⁴ Nisbet–Rudd 2004, 268; Courtney ²2013, 465 ad loc.

⁶⁵ Courtney ²2013, 465, with literature; however, there are no other examples of them being honoured upon the return of someone outside the family.

⁶⁶ Blümner 1884, II, 155 n. 6; Gniska 2001, 7 = 1964, 56 agrees with him on that and therefore denies that the passage in question is related to *Ham.* 404 and *c. Symm.* 1. 203.

⁶⁷ *Hor. Ep.* 2. 66 *renidentes Lares* has been explained in the same vein: Blümner 1884, III, 202 n. 1, [Kiessling–]Heinze ⁷1930, 498 and Watson 2003, 112 ad loc.

⁶⁸ Thus Wilson 1903, 124, followed by Courtney ²2013, 465 ad loc. Stramaglia 2008, 271–272 objects that stressing this detail would not be appropriate in the description of a joyful feast.

⁶⁹ Munro's explanation in Mayor 1878, 236 ad loc. that the wax crumbled before melting into hot wax that was further applied to images is far-fetched.

smeared stones and Lares glistening with ointments” – that is, stone statues of the Lares, smeared with wax and glistening with ointments. Unusual as it looks, it sits well with the following lines, where *formatum Fortunae habitum* and *sacratumque ... lapidem*, likewise coordinated, also refer to the same thing (= ‘the consecrated stone image of Fortune’).⁷⁰ Thus, it appears that on festive occasions the Lares were both coated with wax and anointed with perfumes.

5. Conclusion

It has been shown that the commonly accepted interpretation of the phrase *genua incerare deorum* in Iuv. 10. 55 as referring to the practice of attaching wax tablets with vows to statues is unsatisfactory, as the metaphor in this case would be far-fetched; the tablets, according to the evidence, were attached to thighs, not to knees; and in all likelihood, they were sealed and thus contained secret vows, which does not fit Juvenal’s context.

The phrase is best explained as a reference to the praying gesture of clasping the addressee’s knees: the verb that denotes ‘waxing’ instead of ‘touching’ metaphorically refers to the intensive rubbing and polishing typical of the final stage of coating statues (and, possibly, other objects) with wax.

Prudentius’ imitation of the phrase in *Apoth.* 447 clearly refers to the same gesture and suggests that he also understood *incerare genua* in Juvenal as a metaphor for ‘rubbing’ the knees (by analogy with techniques of waxing).

On the contrary, the mention of waxing stone images of gods in *c. Symm.* 1. 203 and *Ham.* 404 is not related to the phrase in question, as it is inspired by the reference to Lares coated with wax in Iuv. 12. 88. Gnilka’s idea that Prudentius had no proper knowledge of the pagan cult and could provide false evidence based on misinterpreted passages from classical authors is to be rejected. Quite the opposite: Prudentius is a reliable witness to pagan cultic practices, even though, due to philological difficulties and the lack of corroborating evidence from other sources, some details that he mentions may remain unclear.

⁷⁰ Likewise in Iuv. 12. 185: *mollis focos* and *glebamque virentem* refer to the same.

Appendix 1.
Pliny and Vitruvius on γάνωσις

Plin. *NH* 33. 122: inlito (*scil.* minio) solis atque lunae contactus inimicus. remedium, ut pariete siccato cera Punica cum oleo liquefacta candens saetis inducatur iterumque admotis gallae carbonibus inuratur ad sudorem usque, postea candelis subigatur ac deinde linteis puris, sicut et marmora nitescunt.⁷¹

Vitruv. 7. 9. 3–4: at si qui subtilior fuerit et voluerit expolitionem miniaceam suum colorem retinere, cum paries expolitus et aridus fuerit, ceram Punicam igni liquefactam paulo oleo temperatam saeta inducat; deinde postea carbonibus in ferreo vase compositis eam ceram <una> cum pariete calfaciundo sudare cogat fiatque ut peraequetur; deinde tunc candela linteisque puris subigat, uti signa marmorea nuda curantur (haec autem γάνωσις graece dicitur).

una (*scil.* ^a_I) *Krohn* : a primo *codd.* | fiatque *codd.* : lietque *Krohn* | linteisque puris *ed. princ. (ex Plinio)* : cunctisque pluris *codd.* : centunculisque puris *Krohn* | γάνωσις *Welcker* : gnosis *codd.*⁷²

In addition, Plutarch (*QR* 98 [287 c–d]) reports that the censors' first duty upon taking office was γάνωσις of the statue (of Capitoline Jupiter), allegedly because otherwise the red pigment with which old statues had been tinted would fade.⁷³

⁷¹ Text from Zehnacker 1983.

⁷² Text and apparatus [adapted] from Liou–Zuighedau–Cam 1995.

⁷³ However, according to Plin. *NH* 33. 111–112 their duty consisted in painting it with red pigment (cf. 35. 157; Serv. auct. in *Ecl.* 6. 22; Serv. in *Ecl.* 10. 27), so some confusion lies here. Either Plutarch tacitly implies that painting preceded to coating with wax (thus Blümner 1884, III, 202), or γάνωσις is taken here in a more general sense and in fact refers to painting; cf. (ἐπι)κόσμησις in temple accounts that Blume-Jung 2021, 105–107, vice versa, shows to mean the same as γάνωσις in a narrow sense. In any way, it was an old terracotta statue (not a marble one), and colouring of the face with red pigment was associated exclusively with Jupiter and triumphators.

Vitruvius' *nuda* has been taken to imply that only the skin areas of statues were coated with wax.⁷⁴ Blümner draws from this that γάνωσις might have aimed at tempering the harsh brightness of the marble and giving it a resemblance to human skin;⁷⁵ Blume-Jung points out that in some Roman, and Hellenistic, statues, the skin areas were left marble-white, and that in the two cases where ancient wax was found on statues it was applied to the pure marble.⁷⁶ On the other hand, as Pliny and Vitruvius (possibly also Plutarch, but cf. n. 73 above) state that γάνωσις served to protect red pigment from sunlight and moonlight, one might suggest that the skin areas of the statues were painted with a reddish colour, and that these areas alone were then coated with wax.⁷⁷

Meanwhile, *nuda* in Vitruvius is clearly suspicious: (1) *signa nuda* is not equivalent to 'bare parts of a statue' (*signi partes nudae*); rather, it would imply that only nude statues were treated with wax, whereas those depicted in garments were not; (2) more generally, it is easier to imagine that the entire statue was treated with wax rather than only selected parts of it.

Since the passages of Vitruvius and Pliny are cognate and coincide in details, with a close lexical parallelism, Pliny's words *sicut et marmora nitescunt* must correspond to *uti signa marmorea nuda curantur*; it is therefore tempting to assume that the problematic *nuda* is corrupt and the original reading should correlate with the paleographically close stem *nitid-*.⁷⁸ As a diagnostic conjecture, I suggest *nitidanda curantur*: the scribe failed to recognize the gerundive form of a rare verb, which led to haplography; subsequently a minuscule error occurred (*nitidāda* > *nitida* > *nuda*).

⁷⁴ Blume-Jung 2021, 107 (cf. Blume 2015, I, 46): "The open question remains as to whether the treatment with wax was used solely on parts painted with vermilion (such as the walls), on all the painted parts (in general), or even explicitly on all parts without paint (if naked is meant as those parts free of colour)".

⁷⁵ Blümner 1884, III, 202.

⁷⁶ Blume-Jung 2021, 108–110; Blume 2015, I, 24–29. Cf. also Neri et al. 2021, 29–36 on traces of γάνωσις on the painted Roman head from Dougga in Tunisia (there the skin displayed yellow treatment).

⁷⁷ Reuterswärd 1960, 71–72 acknowledges both possibilities as valid.

⁷⁸ For the confusion between *nudus* and *nitidus* in manuscripts see examples in Watt 2000, 11; given the nearby corruption *cunctisque pluris*, a minuscule error of this kind is quite possible.

The term γάνωσις is mentioned specifically in relation to *nitidanda* (or a similar word), with emphasis on their etymological affinity: both words refer to brightness or sheen.

Two conclusions may be drawn from this emendation for the discussion of the polychromy of ancient statues:

– there is no reason to assume that only certain parts of statues were coated with wax;

– as regards the effect that γάνωσις had on statues, both Pliny and Vitruvius mention only its contribution to their sheen or, more generally, their festive appearance; the reference to protection of the red colour may pertain solely to the walls. There are no reasons to assume that its primary purpose was to preserve the red pigment, as was the case with exterior marble walls (cf. n. 73 above).

Appendix 2.

Caespes and the Sacrificial Ritual in Prudentius

In Rome, it was customary to sacrifice upon a piece of turf that covered a temporary or portable altar.⁷⁹ Lavarenne,⁸⁰ supported by Gnika,⁸¹ maintains that Prudentius was unaware of this and understood the turf as a kind of votive offering that was burned along with incense or entrails. This surprising conclusion is drawn from the following passages:

Perist. 5. 50–52:

aut ara ture et caespite
precanda iam nunc est tibi,
aut mors luenda est sanguine.

et caespite *codd.* : sospiti *Collins apud Cunningham*

⁷⁹ Serv. ad *Aen.* 12. 119 *Romani enim moris fuerat caespitem arae superimponere et ita sacrificare*; *ThLL* III. 111. 26 ff. s.v. *caespes*; Nisbet–Hubbard 1970, 242 ad Hor. *Carm.* 1. 19. 13 and Courtney ²2013, 457 ad Iuv. 12. 2–3, with literature.

⁸⁰ Lavarenne 1951, 75 n. 1 (with reference to Hor. *Carm.* 1. 19. 13–14 and 3. 8. 2–4, where *caespes* is mentioned along with *tus* in sacrificial context, allegedly misinterpreted by Prudentius); 223 n. 5 to p. 126.

⁸¹ Gnika 2001, 7–8 = 1964, 56–57.

Apoth. 186

ridiculosque deos venerans sale caespitū.

Perist. 10. 186

ostende, quaeso, quas ad aras praecipis,
vervece caeso fumet ut caespes meus?

The piece of turf is described here as smoking and is listed alongside incense and sacrificial flour as a part of a coordinated series. However, this does not imply that Prudentius thought it was burned together with the incense. The turf is smoking simply because the offerings are burned upon it. As for coordinated ablatives dependent on *venerans* and *precanda*, they can be explained instrumentally as referring to integral elements of the sacrifice (not all of which are offerings in the strict sense).

Caespes is often mentioned in sacrificial contexts as one of its main elements, and it is perfectly natural to say that one “prays” or “worships the gods” “with the help of turf and incense”.⁸²

A slight difficulty lies in the fact that in both *Peristephanon* passages, the word *ara* is governed by a verb denoting sacrifice. This may cause confusion, since *caespes* itself functions as an altar or at least as its upper part; “to pray to an altar with an altar” does sound odd. (Perhaps this is why Collins deemed the text suspicious.)

Still, there is no irreconcilable contradiction here: if we take the *ara* as a portable altar metonymically representing the object of prayer, and the *caespes* as a disposable attribute to be provided for the sacrifice (along with incense and sacrificial flour), then Prudentius’ phrasing is satisfactory. There is no reason to suspect him of ignorance regarding the essential practices of pagan religion.

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⁸² Cf., e. g., Stat. *Silv.* 1. 4. 130–131 *sed saepe deis hos inter honores / caespes et exiguo placuerunt farra salino*; Sen. *Med.* 797–798 *tibi sanguineo caespitū sacrum / sollemne damus* (here the boundary between locative and instrumental meaning is difficult to draw).

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- H. L. Wilson (ed., comm.), *D. Iuni Iuvenalis satirarum libri V* (New York – Boston – New Orleans 1903).
- P. Zanker, “Der Boxer”, in: L. Giuliani (ed.), *Meisterwerke der antiken Kunst* (Munich 2005) 28–49.
- H. Zehnacker (ed., tr., comm.), *Plinie l'Ancien, Histoire naturelle: Livre XXXIII* (Paris 1983).

The phrase *genua incerare deorum* in Iuv. 10. 55 is not related to the practice of attaching wax tablets with vows to statues of gods: (1) this metaphor would be far-fetched; (2) the tablets were attached to thighs, not knees; and (3) the tablets affixed to statues were sealed and contained secret vows, which does not fit Juvenal's context.

Instead, it refers to the praying gesture of clasping the addressee's knees: by analogy with waxing techniques, the verb *incerare* functions as a metaphor for rubbing, and with regard to the knees, ‘rubbing’ implies intensive touching: cf. *genua (con)fricare* in Pl. *Asin.* 670; 678. Prudentius' *genua incerare Dianae* (*Apoth.* 447) suggests the same interpretation.

Conversely, waxing images in Prud. *c. Symm.* 1. 203 and *Ham.* 404 is unrelated to Iuv. 10. 55, being connected instead to Iuv. 12. 88 (of the images of Lares). Chr. Gnllka's suspicion that Prudentius was ignorant of pagan cultic practices is unfounded.

Nuda in Vitruv. 7. 9. 4 is problematic and, in view of the close lexical parallelism with Plin. *NH* 33. 122 (*nitescunt*), should be emended to *nitidanda*.

Выражение Ювенала *genua incerare deorum* (10. 55) не объясняется обычаем прикреплять восковые таблички с обетами к статуям богов: (1) такая метафора была бы натянутой; (2) такие таблички прикрепляли к бедрам статуй, а не к коленям; (3) они запечатывались и содержали тайные обеты, что не соответствует контексту Ювенала.

На деле *incerare genua* указывает на практику обнимать или хватать колени адресата молитвы: по аналогии с техникой вождения, глагол *incerare* метафорически передает идею натирания, а применительно к коленям 'трение' подразумевает интенсивное прикосновение, ср. Plaut. *Asin.* 670; 678: *genua (con)fricare*. Так же следует понимать *genua incerare Dianae* у Пруденция (*Apoth.* 447).

Напротив, пассажи Пруденция о покрытии камней воском (с. *Symm.* 1. 203 и *Ham.* 404) не имеют отношения к Iuv. 10. 55, но соотносятся с Iuv. 12. 88 (о статуэтках Ларов). Мнение Хр. Гнилки о том, что Пруденций не был знаком с языческими культовыми практиками, необоснованно.

Чтение *nuda* у Витрувия (7. 9. 4) не дает удовлетворительного смысла и, учитывая близкое сходство с пассажем Плиния (*NH* 33. 122 *nitescunt*), должно быть исправлено на *nitidanda*.

Grigory Belikov

MAXIMOS VON TYROS UND APOLOGIE DES SOKRATES*

Maximos von Tyros ist ein griechischer Redner des 2. Jhr. n. Chr., dessen 41 Reden ein interessantes kulturelles Phänomen darstellen. Er bietet seinen Hörern eine Einführung in die platonische Philosophie, nicht nach Art eines Lehrbuches, wie Apuleius, Albinos und Alkinoos es zu tun pflegten, sondern nach Art philosophischer Vorlesungen, die durch rhetorische Figuren ausgeschmückt werden.

In letzter Zeit lässt sich in der Wissenschaft ein wachsendes Interesse an den Reden des Maximos von Tyros feststellen. Dieser Trend findet zum einen Bestätigung durch die italienische Übersetzung¹ des Gesamtcorpus und die Ausgabe der 5. Rede in der Serie SAPERE,² zum anderen durch die Monographie von J. Lauwers³ sowie eine Maximos von Tyros gewidmete Konferenz, deren Vorträge später veröffentlicht wurden.⁴

Nicht allen Reden wird dieselbe Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. Die 3. Rede *Εἰ καλῶς ἐποίησεν Σωκράτης μὴ ἀπολογησάμενος*⁵ wird zwar in Monographien und in Aufsätzen regelmäßig erwähnt, erscheint

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¹ Brumana 2019.

² Trapp–Hirsch–Luipold 2019.

³ Lauwers 2015.

⁴ Fauquier–Pérez-Jean 2016.

⁵ Die Frage nach den Titeln der Rede und ihrer Authentizität bleibt offen. Es gibt die Titel, die nicht genau dem Inhalt entsprechen. Das hat den Forschern Anlass gegeben, die Titel als spätere Hinzufügung von einem Abschreiber (Hobein 1895, 15) anzusehen. Koniaris dennoch behauptet, dass die Titel authentisch sind, und nur nicht entsprechende Titel später hinzugefügt worden sind (Koniaris 1982, 102–110).

jedoch meistens als potenzielle Quelle für die Rekonstruktion des Prozesses des Sokrates und nicht als selbständiger Text des 2. Jhr. n. Chr. Im vorliegenden Aufsatz wird diese Rede sowohl in der Tradition des Schreibens der *Apologien des Sokrates*, als auch in dem literarischen Kontext des 1. und 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. behandelt. Sokrates war immer populär, aber die Interpretation seines Bildes änderte sich und je nach Epoche wurden verschiedene Aspekte vorrangig untersucht. Die Untersuchung der 3. Rede im allgemeinen Kontext lässt gemeine Stelle der sokratischen Literatur sowie originelle Eigenschaften der Schrift von Maximus feststellen.

In Maximus' Corpus gibt es sieben Reden, die mit Sokrates verbunden sind: Die 3. Rede: *Εἰ καλῶς ἐποίησεν Σωκράτης μὴ ἀπολογησάμενος*; die Reden acht und neun: *Τί τὸ δαιμόνιον Σωκράτους α΄, Ἔτι περὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου β΄*. Die Reden 18–21: *Τίς ἢ Σωκράτους ἐρωτική α΄–δ΄*. Im Unterschied zu Reden acht und neun sowie 18–21 wird die 3. Rede nicht so oft in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur erforscht.

Der Inhalt der 3. Rede scheint paradox zu sein. Laut Maximus von Tyros hat sich Sokrates gar nicht vor Gericht verteidigt. Soweit man aus dem erhaltenen Corpus des Maximus urteilen kann, war ihm das Schreiben paradoxer Schriften überhaupt nicht zu eigen. Es ist kaum vorstellbar, dass er die traditionelle Vorstellung des Prozesses über Sokrates revidiert hat. In der Rede geht es nicht darum, dass Sokrates vor Gericht geschwiegen hat, sondern darum, aus welchen Gründen Sokrates nicht eine Verteidigungsrede nach rhetorischen Regeln vorbereitet hat. Diese in dem Aufsatz vorgeschlagene Interpretation basiert sowohl auf der 3. Rede selbst als auch auf Parallelen aus der 16. Rede von Maximus von Tyros.

Die wissenschaftliche Untersuchung dieser Rede hat früher zwei Positionen in der Forschungsliteratur hervorgebracht. Üblicherweise wurde untersucht, ob Maximus' Text als historische Quelle oder als reine rhetorische Übung betrachtet werden darf. Die historische Glaubwürdigkeit der 3. Rede hat nicht viele Unterstützter gefunden, dennoch haben im ersten Teil des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts einige Forscher, wie K. Meiser, H. Gomperz, W. Oldfather, diese Rede im Rahmen des Prozesses gegen Sokrates untersucht.⁶ Ihr Schwerpunkt

⁶ Meiser 1909, 24–31; Gomperz 1936, 32–43; Oldfather 1938, 203–211.

waren die *Apologien* Platons und Xenophons, die sie als reine literarische Werke und nicht als historische Quelle betrachteten. Sie behaupteten, dass der historische Sokrates keine Verteidigungsrede im Gericht vorgetragen habe. Viele Stellen bei Platon (*Grg.* 484 d–e, 527 a; *Tht.* 172 c – 175 d; *Resp.* 517 a–d; *Lach.* 196 b; *Phd.* 64 b; *Phdr.* 249 d) und Xenophon (*Mem.* IV, 8, 5) bestätigen in der Tat, dass Sokrates für seinen Prozess keine Apologie vorbereitet hat. Die 3. Rede von Maximos dient als ein Beweis ihrer Theorie.⁷

Der andere früher vertretene Ansatz wurde von J. Puigalli und M. Szarmach in ihren Maximos von Tyros gewidmeten Monographien berücksichtigt.⁸ Diese Forscher betrachteten diese Rede als reine rhetorische Übung. M. Szarmach schreibt: „Diese Deklamation wie auch die vorhergehenden Konferenzen sind eine rhetorische Thesis, die jedoch durch das sich auf Annahmen stützende Thema und die Beurteilung der Beweggründe beim Vorgehen Sokrates' einer Kontroversion (sic!) nahekommt“.⁹ Szarmach zitiert Hermogenes' Definition der θέσις: τὴν θέσιν εἶναι ἐπίσκεψίν τινος πράγματος θεωρουμένου ἀμοιροῦσαν πάσης ἰδικῆς περιστάσεως¹⁰ (*Progymn.* 11. *Rhetores Graeci* II. 17 Spengel). Darüber hinaus zieht Szarmach eine Parallele aus anderen rhetorischen Lehrbüchern, in denen es um Sokrates und seinen Prozess geht. Er behauptet, die Apologie des Sokrates sei ein populäres Thema für rhetorische Deklamationen in Maximos' Zeit geworden.

Nach der Monographie von M. Szarmach erregte diese Rede keine besondere Aufmerksamkeit bei den Forschern mehr. Sie wird

⁷ „Wir besitzen auch ein unmittelbares und ausdrückliches Zeugnis dafür, daß sich Sokrates vor Gericht ‚nicht verteidigt‘ hat. Es steht freilich an einem selten besuchten Ort; es rührt von einem Manne her, dessen Absehen keineswegs auf geschichtliche Genauigkeit gerichtet war, und es ist mit rhetorischem Flitter reichlich behängt; allein dies Zeugnis beweist doch, daß es schon in Altertum eine Überlieferung gab, derzufolge Sokrates vor Gericht ‚geschwiegen hat‘; und je auffälliger diese Überlieferung dem allgemeinen Glauben des späteren Altertums widersprach, als desto verlässlicher muß sie dem Schriftsteller gegolten haben, der aus ihr das Thema einer Kunstrede schöpfte“ (Gomperz 1936, 39).

⁸ Puigalli 1983; Szarmach 1985.

⁹ Szarmach 1985, 27.

¹⁰ „Die Thesis ist eine Bearbeitung eines im Titel gestellten Problems bei Umgehung aller besonderen Umständen“ (übersetzt von M. Szarmach).

regelmäßig in Schriften, die Sokrates' Bild in der Griechischen und Römischen Literatur des 1. vor Chr. – 2. nach Chr. Jahrhunderts gewidmet sind, erwähnt. Unter diesen Schriften ist die Monographie von Klaus Döring als erste zu erwähnen, wo die Rezeption des Bildes von Sokrates in den Werken von Seneca, Epiktet und Dion von Prusa gründlich erforscht wird. Einzelne Kapitel werden den späteren und christlichen Schriftstellern gewidmet. Obwohl Maximus' dritte Rede in dieser Monographie ganz kurz behandelt wird,¹¹ bietet Döring eine gute Darstellung über den relevanten Hintergrund dieser Rede, und zwar welche Rolle Sokrates in der populär-philosophischen Literatur gespielt hat.

Die Rezeption in verschiedenen Epochen stellt für die Forschung ein beliebtes Thema dar. Unter den vielen Büchern und Aufsätzen sind zwei Sammelbände zu erwähnen, in denen sich Beiträge finden, welche dem Bild des Sokrates bei Maximus von Tyros gewidmet sind. Im Jahr 2007 ist der Sammelband *Socrates from Antiquity to the Enlightenment* erschienen, wo M. Trapp, der führende Spezialist zu Maximus von Tyros, den Aufsatz „Beyond Plato and Xenophon: Some Other Ancient Socrateses“¹² geschrieben hat. In diesem Aufsatz werden die mit Sokrates verbundenen Hauptmotive, die in der Literatur der hellenistischen und römischen Zeit populär waren, betrachtet. Derselbe M. Trapp veröffentlichte den Aufsatz, der Maximus von Tyros gewidmet ist, im Sammelband *Socrates and the Socratic Dialog*.¹³ In diesem Aufsatz gibt Trapp eine kurze Übersicht des Sokratischen Zyklus bei Maximus von Tyros, also alle Reden, in denen Sokrates erscheint (3, 8 f., 18–21).

Ein wichtiger Aufsatz wurde von X. Campos-Daroca in dem Sammelband *Maxime de Tyr, entre rhétorique et philosophie au IIe siècle de notre ère* veröffentlicht. Im Aufsatz „Maxime de Tyr, Socrate et les discours selon la philosophie“ wird die Rolle des Sokrates in der Komposition der Reden untersucht. Campos-Daroca überblickt insgesamt das literarische Phänomen, das er „die zweite Socratica“ (Dion von Prusa, Epiktet, Favorinos von Arelatos) genannt hat, indem er das Material der oben genannten Monographie Dörings heranzieht. Darüber hinaus analysiert der Autor ausführlich die Reden

¹¹ Döring 1979, 130–131.

¹² Trapp 2007, 51–63.

¹³ Trapp 2018, 772–786.

25 und 28 und schreibt von der protreptischen Rolle des Sokrates in den Schriften von Maximos von Tyros.¹⁴

Vor der Analyse der 3. Rede ist es nötig, die Vorgeschichte dieses Textes zu erörtern. Laut einigen Quellen verfasste nach dem Tod des Sokrates der Sophist Polykrates eine Schrift mit dem Titel *Κατηγορία Σωκράτους* (Isocr. *Bus.* 4, Diog. Laert. II, 38–39; Quint. *Inst. or.* II, 17, 4; Liban. *Apol. Socr.*; Themist. *Or.* 23). Als Antwort auf Polykrates' Pamphlet haben Platon und Xenophon ihre *Apologien* verfasst.¹⁵ Die nächste erhaltene *Apologie des Sokrates* stammt von Libanios im 4. Jhr. n. Chr. Es gab aber andere nicht erhaltene Apologien, die wir aus späteren Zeugnissen kennen. Die Autoren der Apologien sind Kriton (Suda κ 2451 Adler), Lysias (Ps.-Plut. *Vitae or.* 836 b, Cic. *De or.* 1, 231), Theodektes (Arist. *Rh.* 2, 23, 13, 1399 a 7–11), Demetrios von Phaleron (Diog. Laert. 9, 15; Plut. *Ar.* 1, 27), Zeno von Sidon (Suda ζ 78 Adler), Theon von Smyrna (Suda θ 204 Adler). Laut Lamprias' Katalog hatte Plutarch 2 Schriften: *Ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ Σωκράτους* (189), *Περὶ τῆς Σωκράτους καταψηφίσεως* (190).

Obwohl die Schrift von Polykrates nicht erhalten ist, liegen einige Zeugnisse darüber vor. Laut *Suda* hat Polykrates zwei Reden für Meletos und Anytos geschrieben.¹⁶ Dazu schreibt Diogenes Laertios folgendes (II, 38–39):

So reichte denn Meletos die Klage ein, Polyeuktos trug die Anklage vor Gericht vor, wie Favorinus in seinen Geschichtlichen Miszellen behauptet; geschrieben aber war die Rede von dem Sophisten Polykrates, wie Hermippos behauptet, oder nach andern von Anytos, vorbereitet war alles von dem Demagogen Lykon. Antisthenes in den Sukzessionen der Philosophen und Platon in der Apologie nennen als Ankläger folgende drei: Anytos, Lykon und Anytos, Anytos als grollenden Vertreter der Handwerker und Staatsmänner, Lykon als Vertreter der Redner und Meletos als Vertreter der Dichter, weil Sokrates ihnen allen übel mitgespielt. Favorinus aber behauptet im ersten Buch seiner

¹⁴ Campos-Daroca 2016, 95–121.

¹⁵ M. Stokes behauptet, dass Polykrates' Pamphlet nach Platons *Apologie*, aber vor Xenophons verfasst wurde (Stokes 1997, 3–4).

¹⁶ Suda s.v. Πολυκράτης π 1977 Adler: Πολυκράτης, Ἀθηναῖος, ῥήτωρ, δεινός τε καὶ τοὺς κατὰ Σωκράτους λόγους β' Ἀνύτῳ καὶ Μελήτῳ γράψας.

Denkwürdigkeiten, die Rede des Polykrates gegen Sokrates sei nicht die wirklich gehaltene; es wird nämlich in ihr des Wiederaufbaues der Mauern durch Konon gedacht, der erst sechs Jahre nach Sokrates Tode vollzogen ward.¹⁷

Aufgrund dieses Zeugnisses kann man behaupten, dass Favorinus der erste war, der die Echtheit der Rede bezweifelt hatte. Quintilian meint, dass Polykrates selbst seine Rede vor dem Gericht vorgelesen habe (*Inst. or.* II, 17, 4). Themistios dagegen behauptet, dass die Rede gegen Sokrates zwar von Polykrates verfasst, allerdings von Anytos vorgelesen worden war (*Or.* 23).

Aufgrund der oben genannten Zeugnisse lässt sich mit Sicherheit lediglich folgendes feststellen: (1) dass Polykrates mit seinem Pamphlet Sokrates angeklagt hat, (2) dass Alkibiades Sokrates' Lehrling gewesen war und (3) dass Sokrates antidemokratische Ansichten gehabt hatte (Σ Ael. Arist. III, 320. 480 Dindorf). Obwohl A. Chroust den Text der *Κατηγορία Σωκράτους* aufgrund von Xenophons *Memorabilien* und Libanios' *Apologie des Sokrates* rekonstruiert hat,¹⁸ haben nicht alle Forscher seinen Optimismus geteilt.¹⁹

Mittels dieser Zeugnisse über spätere Apologien kann der Kontext der 3. Rede des Maximós erschlossen werden. Es ist nötig den kompositionellen Aufbau dieser Rede darzustellen, damit eine angemessene Interpretation und eine Untersuchung im Rahmen der literarischen Tradition der Apologien möglich sein können.

Die ersten zwei Kapitel stellen eine Einführung dar, in der Maximós ein Paradoxon aufzeigt, auf das er regelmäßig in der Rede rekurren wird: es ist merkwürdig, dass Menschen, die sich beruflich nicht mit der Schifffahrt auseinander sehen, sich nicht dazu entscheiden, einen Steuermann gemäß seiner Leistungen zu beurteilen, so wie einen Arzt zu beurteilen, nur die Menschen im Stande sind, die sich selbst mit der Medizin beschäftigen. Die Menschen sehen Kunstwerke von Zeuxis, Polykleitos oder Pheidias an und „wagen es nicht, sie zu tadeln, ja nicht einmal sie kritisch zu prüfen“: ὁρῶντες γοῦν ἐκείνα οἱ ἄνθρωποι, μὴ ὅτι αἰτιᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐξετάζειν τολμῶσιν (III, 1). Sokrates jedoch wurde von den Menschen, die

¹⁷ Übersetzt von Apelt 2015.

¹⁸ Chroust 1957, 69–100.

¹⁹ Trapp 2007, 53.

kein Recht dafür hatte, verurteilt. Im zweiten Kapitel rekonstruiert Maximos kurz die Geschichte des Prozesses gegen Sokrates, wobei er stets von Parallelismen und Antithesen Gebrauch macht (III, 2).

Σωκράτη τοῦτον Μέλητος μὲν ἐγράψατο, Ἄνυτός τε εἰσήγαγεν, Λύκων δὲ ἐδίωκεν, κατεδίκασαν δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔδισαν δὲ οἱ ἔνδεκα, ἀπέκτεινεν δὲ ὁ ὑπηρέτης. Καὶ Μελήτου γραφομένου ὑπερέωρα, καὶ Ἀνύτου εἰσάγοντος κατεφρόνει, καὶ Λύκωνος λέγοντος κατεγέλα, καὶ ψηφίζομένων Ἀθηναίων ἀντεψηφίζετο, καὶ τιμωμένων ἀντετιμᾶτο, καὶ δεόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ἔνδεκα τὸ μὲν σῶμα παρείχεν, ἀσθενέστερον γὰρ ἦν πολλῶν σωμάτων, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν οὐ παρείχεν, κρείττων γὰρ ἦν Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων, οὐδὲ τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ ἐχαλέπαιεν, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ φάρμακον ἐδυσχέραιεν.

Meletos hat den Sokrates angeklagt, Anytos schleppte ihn vor Gericht, Lykon hielt die Anklagerede, die Athener verurteilten ihn, die Elf Männer sperrten ihn ins Gefängnis, der Gerichtsdiener reichte ihm das Gift. An Meletos, der ihn verklagte, kehrte er sich nicht, Anytos, der ihn vor Gericht zerzte, verachtete er, Lykon, der gegen ihn sprach, lachte er aus, gegen das Urteil der Athener fällte er ein Gegenurteil, gegen ihr Strafmaß stellte er einen Gegenantrag, und als ihn die Elf Männer banden, gab er ihnen seinen Körper (dieser war ja schwächer als die vielen), nicht aber seine Seele preis (denn diese war stärker als die aller Athener zusammen), zürnte auch dem Gerichtsdiener nicht und lehnte sich gegen das Gift nicht auf.²⁰

Nach dieser Einleitung kommt Maximos zum Beweis der Hauptthese: Sokrates hatte recht damit, sich vor dem Gericht nicht zu verteidigen. Die Argumentation zeichnet sich als eine Antwort auf die Fragen eines fiktiven Gegners aus. Dieses Stilmittel benutzt Maximos gern in seinen Reden (vgl. VII, 7; VIII, 1. 4). Der Hauptteil der Rede (Kapitel 3–7) besteht aus drei Abschnitte, auf denen Maximos seinen Beweis aufbaut. In dem dritten und dem vierten Kapitel gibt es eine Darlegung *ex contrario*: was Sokrates vor dem Gericht nicht gemacht hatte. Danach erklärt Maximos, dass er zurecht, gewöhnliche Mittel

²⁰ Hier und im Folgenden übersetzt von Schönberger–Schönberger 2001.

der Verteidigung (Flehen, weinende Kinder) vermieden hat. Hier stellt er dieselbe Prämisse auf, die im ersten Kapitel ausführlich angeführt worden war: die Richter seien nicht würdig, dass Sokrates vor ihnen eine Rede vorgetragen hätte.

Der zweite Abschnitt (5.–6. Kapitel) beginnt mit einem Widerspruch des fiktiven Gegners: Sokrates hätte den Vorwurf, dass er die Jugend verderbe oder neue Gottheiten einführe, entkräften können. Maximós widerlegt diese Behauptung durch das Argument der durch ein Los ausgewählte Richter. Um so einen Menschen wie Sokrates zu verurteilen, hätten die Richter sich selbst erst verbessern sollen.

Der dritte Abschnitt beginnt wieder mit der Frage des Gegners, ob Sokrates sich hätte verteidigen müssen, um nicht zu sterben. Darauf antwortet Maximós, dass Sokrates die Möglichkeit, seine Tugend zu wahren, höher geschätzt habe, als sein Leben zu retten.

Das letzte Kapitel zieht einen Vergleich zwischen Sokrates und Leonidas. Wie Leonidas keine Angst vor Xerxes hatte und seinen Tod angenommen hatte, so hatte Sokrates keine Angst vor den Athenern. Zum Schluss erhebt Maximós selbst die von Sokrates vorgebrachte Anklage gegen die Athener: Das Volk der Athener führt neue Gottheiten ein, indem es nicht Zeus, sondern Perikles einen Olympier nennt. Das Volk verderbe die Jugend, weil es schon Alkibiades und Hipponikos und Kritias und tausend andere verdarb.

Im Vergleich zu Platons *Apologie des Sokrates* betrachtet, kann man sagen, dass sich Maximós nur auf wenige mit Sokrates' Biographie zusammenhängende Tatsachen gestützt hat. Im ersten Kapitel verweist Maximós auf Apollons Zeugnis von Sokrates' Weisheit (vgl. *Ap.* 21 a). Im dritten Kapitel werden die Kritiker und Ankläger des Sokrates genannt: Aristophanes, Anytos, Meletos, Lykon, denen Sokrates vor dem Gericht Widerstand hätte leisten können. Wenn Maximós behauptet, dass Sokrates gewöhnliche Mittel hätte benutzen können, verweist er auf eine bekannte Stelle in Platons *Apologie des Sokrates* (III, 3).

καὶν τοῖς ἐπιλόγοις ἱκετεύων καὶ ἀντιβολῶν καὶ δεόμενος καὶ
που καὶ δάκρυα ἐν καιρῷ ἀφίεις, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τελευτῶν τὴν
Ξανθίππην ἀναβιβασάμενος κωκύουσιν, καὶ τὰ παιδία κλαυμυ-
ρίζόμενα, διὰ τούτων ἀπάντων μετεχειρίσατο τοὺς δικαστάς, καὶ
ἀπεψηφίσαντο αὐτοῦ, καὶ ᾤκτειραν, καὶ ἀφῆκαν;

Am Ende der Rede habe er gefleht, gebeten und gebettelt, schließlich sogar an rechter Stelle Tränen vergossen und am Ende noch eine schluchzende Xanthippe vorgeführt und kläglich weinende Kinder. Durch all dies habe er die Richter umgestimmt, so dass sie ihn lossprachen, bemitleideten und frei ließen.

Diese Worte verweisen wiederum auf Sokrates' Überlegungen in der *Apologie* (34 c):

τάχα δ' ἂν τις ὑμῶν ἀγανακτήσειεν ἀναμνησθεὶς ἑαυτοῦ, εἰ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἐλάττω τουτουῖ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀγῶνα ἀγωνιζόμενος ἐδεήθη τε καὶ ἰκέτευσε τοὺς δικαστὰς μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων, παιδίᾳ τε αὐτοῦ ἀναβιβασάμενος ἵνα ὅτι μάλιστα ἐλεηθείη, καὶ ἄλλους τῶν οἰκείων καὶ φίλων πολλοὺς, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄρα τούτων ποιήσω, καὶ ταῦτα κινδυνεύων, ὥς ἂν δόξαιμι, τὸν ἔσχατον κίνδυνον.

Vielleicht wird aber mancher von euch an sich selbst denken und verärgert sein, wenn er nämlich, obwohl in einen harmloseren Prozess verwickelt als diesen hier, die Richter gebeten und unter vielen Tränen angefleht hat und, um möglichst Mitleid zu erregen, seine Kinder hat auftreten lassen und andere Verwandte und Freunde in großer Zahl, ich aber nichts dergleichen tue, und das, obwohl ich offensichtlich in äußerster Gefahr schwebe.²¹

Es gibt am Ende des sechsten Kapitels eine Parallele, auf die die Herausgeber hinweisen. Maximos teilt mit, Sokrates hätte die Athener überzeugen können, dass das tugendhafte Streben die Jugend nicht verderbe, dass die Erkenntnis Gottes keine Sünde wider Gott darstelle (III, 6).

Καὶ γὰρ ἦτοι συνηπίσταντο ταῦτα τῷ Σωκράτει, ἥ ὁ μὲν ἠπίστατο, οἱ δὲ ἠγνόουν. Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἠπίσταντο, τί ἔδει λόγων πρὸς τοὺς εἰδότας; εἰ δὲ ἠγνόουν, οὐκ ἀπολογίας αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐπιστήμης ἔδει.

²¹ Hier und im Folgenden übersetzt von Heitsch 2002.

Entweder nämlich wussten auch sie, was Sokrates wusste, oder Sokrates wusste es, jene aber nicht. Und wenn sie es wussten, wozu brauchte es dann noch Worte zu Wissenden? Wussten sie es aber nicht, bedurfte es keiner Verteidigung vor ihnen, sondern sie brauchten Belehrung.

Diese Stelle wird mit ähnlichen Überlegungen in der *Apologie des Sokrates* verglichen (26 a):

εἰ δὲ ἄκων διαφθείρω, τῶν τοιούτων [καὶ ἀκουσίων] ἀμαρτημάτων οὐ δεῦρο νόμος εἰσάγειν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ἰδίᾳ λαβόντα διδάσκειν καὶ νοουθετεῖν· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐὰν μάθω, παύσομαι ὃ γε ἄκων ποιῶ. σὺ δὲ συγγενέσθαι μὲν μοι καὶ διδάξαι ἔφυγες καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησας, δεῦρο δὲ εἰσάγεις, οἷ νόμος ἐστὶν εἰσάγειν τοὺς κολάσεως δεομένους ἀλλ' οὐ μαθήσεως.

Verderbe ich sie aber unabsichtlich, dann lautet das Gesetz nicht, einen wegen derartiger Vergehen vor Gericht zu bringen, sondern ihn in privatem Umgang zu belehren und zu ermahnen. Denn es ist klar, dass ich dann, wenn ich belehrt worden bin, aufhöre mit dem, was ich unabsichtlich tue. Du aber hast es vermieden und warst nicht bereit, dich meiner anzunehmen und mich zu unterrichten, sondern du bringst mich hier vor Gericht, wohin laut Gesetz die zu bringen sind, die Strafe und nicht Belehrung verdienen.

Die letzte Parallele, auf die von den Herausgebern hingewiesen wird, befindet sich im siebten Kapitel. Wenn Sokrates sein Leben hätte retten wollen, hätte er sich nicht vor Gericht verteidigen müssen, sondern hätte schon früher darauf achten sollen, sich nicht bei Meletos nicht verhasst zu machen und Anytos nicht bloßzustellen (vgl. *Ap.* 21 b; 30 e).

Auf Grund dieser Parallelen kann man behaupten, dass die 3. Rede nur thematisch mit der *Apologie des Sokrates* verbunden ist. Es gibt keine unmittelbaren Zitate noch große Anspielungen. Diese Angaben über den Prozess, die in der 3. Rede erscheinen, können nicht nur aus Platons *Apologie*, sondern auch aus anderen sokratischen Schriften, die uns nicht erhalten sind, stammen. Diese Stellen aus der *Apologie*, die oben erwähnt wurden, haben nichts, was ausschließlich von Platon

stammt. Das Argument, dass Sokrates des Lehrers, nicht des Richters bedurfte, war Teil des rhetorischen Arsenal von Maximos. Er benutzt dieses Argument auch in der 16. Rede, die der Vorzüglichkeit des betrachtenden Lebens gewidmet wird. In dieser Rede spricht vor den Richter Anaxagoras (XVI. 2):²²

Λείπεται δὴ, εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικῶν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμέραν ἔμαντοῦ διαιτήμασι καὶ τῷ τοῦ βίου σχήματι, γνώμη ἔτι ἀμαρτάνω, τοῦ μὲν ἔχειν αἰτίαν, ὡς ἀδικῶ δημοσίᾳ τὴν πόλιν, ἀφείσθαι με, τυχεῖν δὲ εἰς τὰ ἔμαντοῦ ἰδίᾳ διδασκάλων, ἀλλ' οὐ κατηγόρων.

Wenn ich euch also im täglichen Wandel und in der Einrichtung meines Lebens kein Unrecht zufüge, aber immer noch falschen Ansichten folge, dann bleibt nur übrig, dass man mich vom Vorwurf der Schädigung des Staates freispricht und mich wegen meines Privatlebens belehrt, nicht jedoch anklagt.

Wenn man sich insgesamt anschaut, wie oft Maximos auf Platons *Apologie* verweist, kann man sagen, dass er nicht oft auf die *Apologie des Sokrates* anspielt. Laut des Index in Trapps Ausgabe,²³ zitiert Maximos 20-mal die *Apologie*, dennoch sind diese Zitate größtenteils auf drei Reden konzentriert: acht Parallelen in der 3. Rede, insgesamt sieben in den Reden 18 und 19. Die anderen Zitate befinden sich in verschiedenen Reden (Pl. *Ap.* 20 c: XXXVIII, 4; 21 a: XIII, 9; 26 a: XVI, 2; 30 c: XII, 8; 40 b: VIII, 6). Diese Anspielungen in den anderen Reden, wie die in der 3. Rede, sind nicht beweisend, denn sie müssen nicht zwangsläufig aus Platons *Apologie* stammen. Am meisten geht es um Erwähnungen der biographischen Daten: Apollons Orakel über die Weisheit des Sokrates (XIII, 9), Sokrates' Ankläger im Gericht (XII, 8), die Erlaubnis der Gottheit, den Tod zu erleiden (VIII, 6). Man kann kaum behaupten, dass Maximos hierbei

²² Bezüglich des Einflusses von Platons *Apologie des Sokrates* auf die *Apologie* des Anaxagoras in der 16. Rede siehe Trapp 1997, 143; Belikov 2024 [Г. С. Беликов, “Проблема деятельной и созерцательной жизни в речах Максима Тирского”, *Σχολή. Φιλοσοφское антиковедение и классическая традиция*], 176–178.

²³ Trapp 1994, 372.

ausschließlich auf Platons *Apologie* verweist, denn hierbei handelt es sich um damals allgemeinbekannte Tatsachen.

In der dritten Rede befindet sich eine Anspielung auf Platons *Gorgias*. Maximus benutzt einen Vergleich, der von *Gorgias* stammt, wenn er davon spricht, dass die Richter des Sokrates nicht würdig waren (III, 6):

Πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἦν καταγέλαστος γέρων ἀνὴρ καὶ φιλόσοφος συναστραγαλίζων τοῖς παισίν; ἢ τίς πώποτε ἰατρὸς ἐπεισεν τοὺς πυρέττοντας, ὅτι ἀγαθὸν τὸ διψῆν καὶ λιμώττειν; ἢ τίς τὸν ἀκόλαστον, ὅτι πονηρὸν ἡδονή; ἢ τίς τὸν χρηματιστήν, ὅτι οὐδενὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἐφίεται; ἢ γὰρ ἂν καὶ τοῦτο Σωκράτης οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐπεισεν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὥς οὐκ ἔστιν διαφθορὰ νέων ἀρετῆς ἐπιτήδευσις, οὐδὲ ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ γνῶσις περὶ δαίμονας παρανομία.

Wie nun wäre ein alter Mann und Philosoph nicht lächerlich, wenn er mit Knaben Würfel spielte? Oder hat je ein Arzt Fiebernde überzeugt, dass Dursten und Fasten nützlich ist? Oder den Zügellosen, dass die Lust schandbar ist? Oder überzeugte einer den Habsüchtigen, dass er nach nichts Gutem strebt? Dann hätte Sokrates auch die Athener unschwer davon überzeugt, dass das Streben nach Tugend die Jugend nicht verdirbt, dass die Erkenntnis Gottes keine Sünde wider Gott darstellt.

Pl. *Gorg.* 521 e – 522 a:

ὁ αὐτὸς δέ μοι ἤκει λόγος ὄνπερ πρὸς Πῶλον ἔλεγον· κρινοῦμαι γὰρ ὥς ἐν παιδίοις ἰατρὸς ἂν κρίνοιτο κατηγοροῦντος ὁμοποιοῦ. σκόπει γάρ, τί ἂν ἀπολογοῖτο ὁ τοιοῦτος ἄνθρωπος ἐν τούτοις ληφθεὶς, εἰ αὐτοῦ κατηγοροῖ τις λέγων ὅτι “ὦ παῖδες, πολλὰ ὑμᾶς καὶ κακὰ ὅδε εἰργασται ἀνὴρ καὶ αὐτούς, καὶ τοὺς νεωτάτους ὑμῶν διαφθείρει τέμνων τε καὶ κάων, καὶ ἰσχυαίνων καὶ πνίγων ἀπορεῖν ποιεῖ, πικρότατα πώματα διδούς καὶ πεινῆν καὶ διψῆν ἀναγκάζων, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐγὼ πολλὰ καὶ ἡδέα καὶ παντοδαπὰ ἡυώχουν ὑμᾶς”· τί ἂν οἶε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἀποληφθέντα ἰατρὸν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν; ἢ εἰ εἴποι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὅτι “Ταῦτα πάντα ἐγὼ ἐποίουν, ὦ παῖδες, ὑγιεινῶς”, πόσον τι οἶε ἂν ἀναβοῇσαι τοὺς τοιούτους δικαστάς;

Mir kommt dasselbe in den Sinn, was ich zu Polos gesagt habe: ich werde nämlich abgeurteilt werden wie ein Arzt vor Kindern abgeurteilt würde, wenn der Koch ihn anklagt. Denn sieh dir an, was ein solcher Mensch, unter solchen Leuten gefangen, zu seiner Verteidigung vorbringen könnte, wenn ihn einer anklagte und sagte: „Kinder, dieser Mann da hat euch selbst viel Böses angetan und sogar die Jüngsten von euch schneidet er und brennt er und richtet er zu Grunde, er lässt euch ganz bittere Getränke und zwingt euch zum Hungern und Dürsten, nicht so wie ich euch mit vielen verschiedenen süßen Sachen bewirtet habe“. Was, glaubst du wohl, wird ein in einer solchen Klemme gefangener Arzt sagen können? Oder wenn er die Wahrheit sagte, nämlich „Das alles habe ich getan, Kinder, und es war gesund“: wie laut, glaubst du, würden diese Richter wohl aufschreien?²⁴

Dieses lange Zitat aus *Gorgias* zeigt, dass Maximos nicht nur die Bilder dieses Dialogs benutzt, sondern auch das Thema des Philosophen vor Gericht anspielt. Wie oben erwähnt, behaupteten Oldfather und Gomperz, dass gerade Platons *Gorgias* die echte Geschichte von Sokrates' Prozess widerspiegeln, was Maximos' Rede bestätigt.

Wenn man die Argumentation der Rede betrachtet, kann man sehen, dass sie gegensätzlich zu Sokrates und seinen Richtern aufgebaut ist. Was das Bild des Sokrates in dieser Rede betrifft, passt es harmonisch in den literarischen Kontext des 1. und 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Insgesamt spielt Sokrates eine wichtige Rolle in Maximos' Reden. Öfter als Sokrates wird nur Homer in den Reden erwähnt. Es wurde schon oben gesagt, dass Sokrates' Name in den Titeln der sieben Reden erscheint (3., 8–9., 18–21.). Trapp markiert auch die 12. Rede als sokratische Rede, die der Frage, ob man erlittenes Unrecht vergelten soll, gewidmet ist.²⁵ Es ist klar, dass es in dieser Rede viele Verweise auf Sokrates und Platons *Gorgias* gibt. Die Person des athenischen Philosophen wird in zwei Zyklen (8–9. und 18–21.) auf verschiedene Weise betrachtet. In den Reden acht und neun wird die meiste Aufmerksamkeit auf Sokrates' Fähigkeit, die Stimme Gottes zu hören, gerichtet. In den Reden 18–21 wird die

²⁴ Übersetzt von Dalfen 2004.

²⁵ Trapp 2017, 772–786.

sokratische Liebe Anlass dafür, von echter Liebe zu sprechen. Andere Bemerkungen des Sokrates in den Reden sind ziemlich kurz. Trapp schreibt in seinem Aufsatz:²⁶

The biographical details that it suits Maximus' purposes at different points to mention, besides the outline of the trial, imprisonment, and death, are Socrates' humble origins as the son of a stonemason, his poverty, his ugly, shabby appearance (the snub-nose, pot-belly, and ragged cloak), his unhappy marriage to Xanthippe, his military exploits (as recalled in the Symposium), his defiance of the Thirty Tyrants, and the celebrated verdict on his wisdom delivered by the Delphic oracle. <...> None of these (all entirely familiar) facets of the philosopher is expounded at any length; they are all alluded to in knowing tones in illustration of some larger truth, about him or about life and values more generally. It is simply assumed, as part of the implicit pact between the highly cultivated orator and his well educated audience, that the audience will of course be familiar with all this material.

Trapp bemerkt auch, dass sich Maximus wie die anderen Schriftsteller nicht mit der Frage des historischen Sokrates beschäftigt:²⁷

It is clear from this concatenation of references that, like almost all ancient authors, Maximus finds no difficulty at all in combining information from different Socratic authors and treating them all on the same footing, as equally reliable sources whose testimony is usefully complimentary.

Alle erwähnten Verweise auf Sokrates passen sehr gut zur Tradition, die nach Döring *Exemplum Socratis* genannt werden kann.²⁸

²⁶ Trapp 2017, 788.

²⁷ Trapp 2017, 780.

²⁸ Döring schenkt wenig Beachtung den Reden des Maximus. Seine Schätzung des Maximus ist nicht sehr hoch: „Die Gestalt des Sokrates ist bei ihm nur mehr ein willkommenes Vehikel, das er ihm ermöglicht, seine Bildung und sein rhetorisches Geschick in ein günstiges Licht zu setzen“ (Döring 1973, 130–138).

In der 3. Rede wird Sokrates zweimal charakterisiert. Beide stellen eine ausführliche rhetorische Periode dar.

III, 3: τί οὖν, εἴ τις σοι παρελθὼν διηγείτο, ὅτι ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, γέρων τὴν ἡλικίαν, φιλόσοφος τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν, πένης τὴν τύχην, δεινὸς τὴν φύσιν, ἀγαθὸς εἰπεῖν, συνετὸς νοῆσαι, ἄγρυπνος καὶ νηφάλεος, καὶ οἷος μηδὲν εἰκῆ μῆτε ἔργον πρᾶξαι, μῆτε εἰπεῖν λόγον, βεβιωκῶς μὲν πόρρῳ ἡλικίας, ἐπαινέτας δὲ σχῶν τοῦ τρόπου Ἑλλήνων μὲν οὐ τοὺς φαυλοτάτους τὴν φύσιν, θεῶν δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα...

Was würdest du sagen, wenn einer zu dir käme und folgendes erzählte: Ein Mann aus Athen, an Alter ein Greis, von Beruf ein Philosoph, an Glücksgütern arm, von Natur aber stark, ein vor-
trefflicher Redner, ein kluger Denker, wachsam und nüchtern, ein Mann, der unbedacht weder handelte noch sprach, schon ziemlich alt an Jahren, einer, der zu Lobrednern seiner Art nicht die schlechtesten der Hellenen hatte, von den Götter aber Apollon...

III, 8: Πάνυ γοῦν ἔδει τοῖς τότε Ἀθηναίων δικασταῖς λόγων. Σωκράτῃ γὰρ ἐβδομήκοντα μὲν ἐτῶν χρόνος, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ φιλοσοφία καὶ ἀρετὴ διηνεκής, καὶ ἄπταιστος βίος καὶ ὑγιής, καὶ δαίαιτα εἰλικρινής, καὶ ὁμιλίας χρησταί, καὶ ἐντεύξεις ὠφέλιμοι, καὶ συνουσίαι ἀγαθαί, τὰυτα μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐξείλετο ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου, καὶ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου, καὶ τοῦ θανάτου, ἀμφορεὺς δὲ ἔμελλεν διαμετρηθεῖς πρὸς ῥητορείας καιρὸν βραχὺς ρύσεσθαι τὸν Σωκράτην;

Und doch bedurften die Athenischen Richter damals einer Rede. Sokrates war ja schon siebenzig Jahre alt und hatte diese ganze Zeit der Philosophie und der Tugend gewidmet; seine Lebensführung war ohne Anstoß und vernünftig, sein Wandel tadellos, sein Umgang rechtschaffen, der Verkehr mit ihm segensreich und seine Unterhaltung moralisch wertvoll, und doch rettete ihn dies nicht vor Gericht und Gefängnis und Tod. Hätte dann eine durch den abgemessenen Lauf der Wasseruhr begrenzte Redezeit den Sokrates gerettet?

Zu diesen Beschreibungen des Sokrates in der 3. Rede kann man als Parallele den Anfang der 8. Rede heranziehen (VIII, 1), in der Sokrates' Lebensweise gelobt wird. Maximós verwendet da dieselben rhetorischen Figuren (Parallelismus, Isokolon).

Θαυμάζεις εἰ Σωκράτει συνῆν δαιμόνιον, φίλον, μαντικόν, ἀεὶ
παρεπόμενον, καὶ μόνον οὐ τῇ γνώμῃ αὐτοῦ ἀνακεκραμένον;
ἀνδρὶ καθαρῷ μὲν τὸ σῶμα, ἀγαθῷ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀκριβεῖ δὲ τὴν
δίαιταν, δεινῷ δὲ φρονεῖν, μουσικῷ δὲ εἰπεῖν, εἰς δὲ τὸ θεῖον
εὐσεβεῖ, ὅσιω δὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα.

Du wunderst dich, dass in Sokrates ein Daimonion wohnte, freundlich, die Zukunft voraussagend, sein steter Begleiter und mit seiner Gesinnung geradezu verschmolzen, mit einem Mann von reinem Wandel, guter Seele, sorgsamer Gestaltung des Lebens, einem klugen Denker, guten Redner, fromm gegenüber der Gottheit, rein im Umgang mit Menschen.

Wie Sokrates' Bild, das für die Argumentation benutzt wurde, so erscheint noch an einer anderen Stelle im Corpus das Argument, das auf der Entgegensetzung eines wahren Philosophen und unwürdiger Richter gegründet wird. Wie oben erwähnt wurde, stellt Maximós in der 16. Rede die fiktive Apologie des Anaxagoras dar, die von dem Philosophen vor dem Gericht in Klazomenai vorgetragen wird. Diese Parallele ist fast immer von Forschern übersehen worden. W. Race macht eine kurze Anmerkung dazu in seiner Ausgabe der Reden von Maximós von Tyros in der Reihe Loeb Classical Library.²⁹

Im fünften Kapitel der 3. Rede wird erzählt, dass Sokrates sich nicht verteidigt hat, denn die Richter seien nicht würdig, über ihn zu richten. Seine Tugend und sein rechter Lebenswandel bedürften anderer Richter, anderer Gesetze und anderer Redner (III, 5).

οὐ γὰρ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχόντες δικασταὶ χίλιοι ταῦτα ἐξετάζουσιν,
οὐδὲ Σόλων τί ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γέγραφε, οὐδὲ οἱ Δράκοντος σεμνοὶ
νόμοι· <...> ἀλήθεια δὲ καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ βίος ὀρθὸς ἑτέρων

²⁹ Race 2023, 363.

δικαστῶν δεῖ, καὶ νόμων ἑτέρων, καὶ ῥητόρων ἑτέρων, ἐν οἷς
Σωκράτης ἐκράτει, καὶ ἑστεφανοῦτο, καὶ εὐδοκίμει.

Die tausend Richter nämlich, die durch Los bestimmt sind, prüfen Derartiges nicht, noch hat Solon darüber etwas verfügt, auch nicht Drakons erhabene Gesetze. <...> Wahrheitsliebe aber, Tugend und rechter Lebenswandel bedürfen anderer Richter, anderer Gesetze, anderer Redner, bei denen Sokrates gesiegt, den Kranz errungen, Ansehen gewonnen hätte.

Demselben Argument begegnet man in der 16. Rede nach der Apologie des Anaxagoras. Maximos sagt, die Richter in Klazomenai, wenn Anaxagoras so spräche und sich verteidigte, würden wahrscheinlich darüber lachen und ihn verurteilen. Aber wenn die Richter besser wären und nicht durch Los erwählt worden wären, könnten sie dann sich richtig entscheiden (XVI, 4).

Εἰ δέ που τις οἷος δικαστοῦ χώραν ἔχειν μὴ κυάμῳ λαχόντος, ἀλλ' ἥπερ δεῖ χειροτονία δικαστοῦ μόνη, αὐτῷ τῷ εἰδέναι, πρὸς τοῦτον οὐχ ὥς ἀδικῶν, οὐδ' ὥς φεύγων γραφήν, ἀπολογιέται, εἴτε Ἀναξαγόρας ἐν Κλαζομεναῖς, εἴτε ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Ἡράκλειτος, εἴτε ἐν Σάμῳ Πυθαγόρας, εἴτε ἐν Ἀβδήροις Δημόκριτος, εἴτε ἐν Κολοφῶνι Ξενοφάνης, εἴτε ἐν Ἐλαίᾳ Παρμενίδης, εἴτε ἐν Ἀπολλωνίᾳ Διογένης, εἴτε τις ἄλλος τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκείνων ἀνδρῶν· ἀλλ' ἐξ ἰσοτιμίας οὕτωςι πείθων καὶ διαλεγόμενος, συνετὰ συνετοῖς λέγων, καὶ πιστὰ πιστοῖς, καὶ ἔνθεα ἐνθέοις.

Wenn hier jedoch einer Richter wäre, der sein Amt innehätte nicht auf Grund einer Wahl durch das Los, sondern auf Grund seines Wissens (denn nur so darf man einen Richter wählen), dann wird sich Anaxagoras in Klazomenai vor diesem nicht wie ein Verbrecher, ja nicht einmal wie ein Angeklagter verteidigen, so wenig wie Herakleitos in Ephesos oder Pythagoras in Samos oder Demokritos in Abdera oder Xenophanes in Kolophon oder Parmenides in Elea oder Diogenes in Apollonia oder sonst einer jener genialen Männer; nein, er wird ihn als Gleichberechtigter überzeugen und sich mit ihm unterreden, wird Verständiges zu Verständigen sprechen, Verlässliches zu Verlässlichen und Begeistertes zu Begeisterten.

Das Thema des Loses – nämlich die Bohne – durch das die Richter auserwählt wurden, ist wichtig für Maximós, obwohl es aus der vorhergehenden rhetorischen und philosophischen Tradition übernommen wurde. Laut Xenophon kritisierte Sokrates die Art und Weise wie Beamte auserwählt wurden (*Mem.* I, 2, 9).

Ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία, ὁ κατήγορος ἔφη, ὑπερορᾶν ἐποίει τῶν καθεστῶτων νόμων τοὺς συνόντας, λέγων ὡς μῶρον εἶη τοὺς μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντας ἀπὸ κυάμου καθιστάναι, κυβερνήτη δὲ μηδένα θέλειν χρῆσθαι κυαμευτῷ μηδὲ τέκτονι μηδ' αὐλητῇ μηδ' ἐπ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἃ πολλῶ ἐλάττονας βλάβας ἀμαρτανόμενα ποιεῖ τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀμαρτανομένων.

Doch beim Zeus, so sagte der Ankläger, er veranlaßte seine Freunde, die bestehenden Gesetze zu verachten, wenn er sagte, es sei doch töricht, die Leiter des Staates auf Grund einer Abstimmung durch Bohnen zu bestellen; niemand dagegen wolle auf Grund einer Wahl durch Bohnen jemanden als Steuermann verwenden, als Zimmermann, als Flötenspieler oder für etwas anderes derart, obschon durch einen Missgriff darin viel weniger Schaden entstehen könne als bei Fehlern den Staatsgeschäften.³⁰

Diese Arbeit hat gezeigt, dass diese Rede kaum ein kräftiges Argument in der Frage der historischen Rekonstruktion von Sokrates' Prozess sein kann. Aber die geringschätzigste Definition dieser Rede als einer zierlichen sophistischen Übung scheint auch wenig begründet zu sein. Der Nachteil der früheren Forschungen zu dieser Rede ist, dass während der Untersuchung der Rede der Akzent des Hauptthemas verschoben worden ist. Es kann damit verbunden sein, dass der Titel der Rede *Εἰ καλῶς ἐποίησεν Σωκράτης μὴ ἀπολογησάμενος* nicht genau den Inhalt widerspiegelt. Hier ist zu wiederholen, dass die in der Handschrift Parisinus Graecus 1962 erhaltene Titel nicht authentisch sein können, sondern von einem Abschreiber hinzugefügt worden waren. Die Antwort auf die Frage, ob Sokrates sich vor dem Gericht verteidigt hatte, die

³⁰ Übersetzt von Jaerisch 1987.

Gomperz und Oldfather zu finden versuchten, kann nicht in dieser Rede gefunden werden. Maximos stimmt zu, dass Sokrates sich nicht so verteidigt hat, wie es gewöhnlich im 5. und 4. Jhr. v. Chr. war. Sokrates hat keine mit rhetorischen Figuren geschmückte Rede vorbereitet, hat nicht die weinende Xantippe und die Kinder auftreten lassen. In den früheren Forschungen ist außer Acht geblieben, dass Maximos im dritten Kapitel technische Begriffe benutzt:

ἔπειτα εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον παρελθὼν ἀντερρητόρευεν τοῖς λέγουσι καὶ λόγους διεξήει μακροὺς, ἀπολογίαν εὖ μάλα εἰς ἐπαγωγὴν δικαστῶν συγκειμένην, ἐξευμενιζόμενος μὲν τὸ δικαστήριον τοῖς προοιμίῳις, πείθων δὲ τοῖς διηγήμασιν, ἀποδεικνὺς δὲ τεκμηρίῳις καὶ πίστεσιν καὶ εἰκάσμασιν, ἀναβιβάζόμενος δὲ καὶ μάρτυρας τῶν πλουσίων τινὰς καὶ ἀξιόχρεων ἐν Ἀθηναίοις δικασταῖς, κἂν τοῖς ἐπιδόγοις ἰκετεύων καὶ ἀντιβολῶν καὶ δεόμενος καὶ που καὶ δάκρυα ἐν καιρῷ ἀφίεις, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τελευτῶν τὴν Ξανθίππην ἀναβιβασάμενος κωκύουσιν, καὶ τὰ παῖδιά κλαυμυρίζόμενα, διὰ τούτων ἀπάντων μετεχειρίσατο τοὺς δικαστάς, καὶ ἀπεψηρίσαντο αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὤκτειραν, καὶ ἀφῆκαν;

Alle diese Begriffe erscheinen regelmäßig in Aristoteles' *Rhetorik*. Maximos sagt, dass Sokrates mit einem schönen Prooimion (προοίμιον, praefatio, Ar. *Rhet.* III, 13, 1414 b 9) hätte anfangen, mit einer Narratio hätte fortsetzen (διήγημα, Herm. *Prog.* 2, 4, διήγησις, narratio, Ar. *Rhet.* I, 1, 1354 b 19), dann zu einer Argumentatio hätte überleiten (πίστις, probatio, argumentatio, Ar. *Rhet.* III, 13, 1414 a 35), und schließlich in einer Peroratio (ἐπίλογος, peroratio, Ar. *Rhet.* III, 19, 1419 b 10) Erbarmen hätte erflehen können.

In diesem Sinn nähert sich die 3. Rede Xenophons *Apologie des Sokrates* an, in der mitgeteilt wurde, dass Sokrates keine Verteidigungsrede vorbereitet hatte. Im Unterschied zu Platons *Apologie* gibt es keine Parallele oder Verweise, die bestätigen könnten, dass Maximos Xenophons *Apologie* benutzt hat. Die Argumentation in der Schrift Xenophons wird auf andere Weise aufgebaut als in Maximos' Rede. Dazu erscheinen die Begriffe oder die Tatsachen, die bei Xenophon die große Rolle spielen (μεγαληγορία Σωκράτους, das Schicksal des Sohnes von Anytos), bei Maximos nicht.

Die Entgegensetzung der ἀπολογία und σιωπή hat schon Gomperz bemerkt:³¹

Indem man sie (die III. Rede von Maximus von Tyros) liest, denkt man zunächst, der Verfasser habe unter der „Verteidigung“, die er dem Sokrates abspricht, etwa nur eine Verteidigung im eigentlichsten Sinne oder eine solche in der hergebrachten rühreligen und demütigenden Art verstanden, wie sie ja auch der Sokrates der Platonischen Apologie zurückweist. Und vorerst sieht es so aus, als würde die Rede diese Vormeinung bekräftigen oder doch zum mindesten mit ihr vereinbar sein. Hätte Sokrates etwa eine kunstvoll gebaute, auf die Kaptivierung der Richter zielende Rede vortragen sollen?

Dennoch zitiert Gomperz Maximus, um seine Hypothese zu bestätigen: Sokrates habe während des Prozesses geschwiegen. Seiner Meinung nach beweisen die letzten Sätze des siebenten Kapitels, dass Sokrates kein Wort gesagt habe (III, 7).

Τοιγαροῦν ἐσιώπησεν ὁ Σωκράτης ἀσφαλῶς, ὅπου λέγειν οὐκ ἔξῃν καλῶς, φυλάξας μὲν τὴν ἀρετὴν, φυλαζάμενος δὲ τὴν ὀργήν, καὶ παρασχὼν τοῦνειδος αὐτοῖς πικρόν, ὅτι καὶ σιωπῶντος αὐτοῦ κατεδίκασαν.

Daher schwieg Sokrates dort voll Festigkeit, wo er nicht anständig sprechen konnte. So wahrte er seine Tugend, vermied den Zorn der Richter und setzte sie dem bitteren Vorwurf aus, dass sie ihn verurteilten, obschon er doch schwieg.

Gomperz' Insistieren auf einigen Sätzen scheint übertrieben zu sein. Gomperz selbst, wie es oben erwähnt wurde, betrachtet Maximus als historische Quelle verächtlich. Man muss berücksichtigen, dass Sokrates' Schweigen nicht die wichtigste Rolle in der 3. Rede spielt. Leitmotiv der Rede ist die Bestätigung, dass Sokrates sich hätte retten können, aber es ein Unrecht der Philosophie und Tugend gegenüber gewesen wäre. In dem vierten Kapitel wird mitgeteilt, dass so ein

³¹ Gomperz 1936, 39–40.

Gewinn des Philosophen nicht würdig ist. Dazu zeigt der Vergleich zu Leonidas in dem 7. Kapitel, dass die Rettung vor dem Tod für Sokrates, sowie für Leonidas ein schändliches Leben bedeuten würde.

Als Argument kann man noch hinzufügen, dass das im siebten Kapitel erwähnte Schweigen eher einer Übertreibung ähnelt, die die Wirkung der Rede verstärken sollte. Maximos hat manchmal Unstimmigkeiten in seinen Reden oder einen Wechsel des Themas. Zum Beispiel spricht Maximos in der 8. und 9. Rede, die Sokrates' Gottheit gewidmet sind, unterschiedlich über die Natur der Dämonen (vgl. VIII, 8 und IX, 6).³² Als zweites Argument lassen sich Parallelen zur 16. Rede heranziehen. Wie oben gezeigt, wird die fiktive Apologie des Anaxagoras mit einem Rückblick auf Platons *Apologie* geschrieben. Daraus kann man schließen, dass der Prozess gegen Anaxagoras selbst, der mit der Verurteilung des Philosophen endet, auch auf dem Prozess von Sokrates beruht. Wie oben gezeigt, ist die Schlussfolgerung, zu der Maximos in den 3. und 16. Rede kommt, die gleiche: Die Richter, die durch das Los gewählt wurden, waren unwürdig, über Sokrates und Anaxagoras ein Urteil zu fällen. Es ist kaum anzunehmen, dass Sokrates laut Maximos bei seinem Prozess schwieg, während Anaxagoras bei seinem Prozess eine Rede hielt, die stark an Platons *Apologie* erinnert.

Zum Abschluss kann man einerseits sagen, dass die 3. Rede als eine historische Quelle für die Rekonstruktion des Prozesses gegen Sokrates nicht betrachtet werden kann, denn es gibt keine Angaben, die Maximos allein zuzuschreiben sind, sondern die Rede basiert auf der populären biographischen Tradition. Andererseits darf man diese Rede nicht für eine rhetorische Übung halten, die eine paradoxe These bearbeitet. In der Rede geht es nicht darum, dass Sokrates vor Gericht geschwiegen hat, sondern darum, aus welchen Gründen Sokrates eine Verteidigungsrede laut rhetorischen Regeln nicht vorbereitet hat. So eine Formulierung entspricht der Hauptidee der *Apologie des Sokrates* Xenophons (1): Sokrates hat keine Rede vorbereitet, weil er den Tod dem Leben vorgezogen hat. Es gibt jedoch keine Hinweise auf Xenophons Schrift in der 3. Rede. Am meisten verwendet Maximos das Material der platonischen *Apologie*

³² Aufgrund solcher Inkonsistenzen, die H. Hobein in seinem Artikel aufzählte, behauptete er, dass Maximos Reden *ex tempore* (αὐτοσχεδιάσματα) gehalten habe (Kroll-Hobein 1930, 2559).

des Sokrates, es gibt auch Verweise auf seinen *Gorgias*. Die Argumentation dieser Rede hat die Entgegensetzung des Sokrates als wahren Philosophen und seiner Richter zum Gegenstand, die ihn zu verurteilen kein Recht hatten.

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The third speech of Maximus of Tyre “Whether Socrates was right not to speak in his own defence” was little researched, although it is an original text connected with the tradition of Socratic writings. In this article this speech is considered in the light of the tradition of writing Socrates’ Apologies, as well as in the literary context of the I–II centuries AD. The third speech of Maximus can hardly serve as a historical source for the reconstruction of Socrates’ trial, since it is based on the common biographical tradition and does not contain any unique historical data. At the same time, it is wrong to consider this speech as a rhetorical exercise based on a paradoxical thesis, following some researchers (M. Szarmach, J. Puigalli). Maximus does not try to prove that Socrates did not defend himself in court. The main question to which the speech is devoted is why Socrates did not prepare an apology according to the rules of rhetoric. This formulation corresponds quite well to the main idea of Xenophon’s *Apologia Socratis*: he did not prepare a speech because he had

preferred death to life (Xen. *Ap. Socr.* 1). However, there are no direct references to this text of Xenophon in the third speech. Maximus used material from Plato's *Apologia Socratis*, and there are also references to the dialog *Gorgias*. The argumentation in this speech is built around the opposition between Socrates as a true philosopher and the Athenians who were not worthy to judge him.

Третья речь Максима Тирского “Прав ли был Сократ, не защищаясь в суде” мало изучена, хотя представляет собой оригинальный текст, связанный с традицией сократических сочинений. В статье эта речь рассмотрена в свете традиции написания “Апологий Сократа”, а также в литературном контексте I–II вв. н. э. III речь Максима едва ли может служить историческим источником для реконструкции суда над Сократом, так как она основана на расхожей биографической традиции и не содержит каких-либо уникальных исторических сведений. При этом не следует, вслед за некоторыми исследователями (М. Шармах, Ж. Пюигалли), считать эту речь риторическим упражнением, построенным на парадоксальном тезисе. Максим не стремится доказать, что Сократ вовсе не защищался в суде. Главный вопрос, которому посвящена речь, – почему Сократ не подготовил апологию согласно правилам риторики. Такая формулировка вполне соответствует главной идее “Апологии Сократа” Ксенофонта: он не готовил оправдательную речь, так как предпочел смерть жизни (Xen. *Ap. Socr.* 1). Однако прямых отсылок к этому тексту Ксенофонта в III речи нет. Максим использовал материал “Апологии Сократа” Платона, присутствуют также отсылки к диалогу “Горгий”. Аргументация в этой речи выстроена вокруг противопоставления Сократа как истинного философа и афинян, которые не были достойны его судить.

Giovanni Zago

PER IL TESTO E L'ESEGESI DI AVIANO,
FAB. 40. 1–4

Cito il testo di Avian. *Fab.* 40. 1–4 secondo l'edizione Budé di Gaide (1980), a cui rimando anche per i *sigla*:

Distinctus maculis et pulchro pectore pardus
inter consimiles ibat in arua feras.
Sed quia nulla graues uariarent terga leones,
protinus his miserum credidit esse genus.

Gli interpreti novecenteschi di Aviano ritengono che la frase *quia nulla ... uariarent terga leones* (v. 3) significhi “poiché i leoni non avevano i dorsi screziati”. Gaide 1980 traduce, infatti, “n’avaient pas le dos bigarré”, e analogamente rendono Duff-Duff 1934 (“had no varied hues upon their back”), Herrmann 1968 (“n’avaient sur le dos nulle bigarrure”), Solimano 2005 (“non avevano il dorso variegato”), Holzberg 2022 (“auf dem Rücken nicht bunt waren”). Questi studiosi non chiariscono però quale sia, secondo loro, la funzione logica di *leones* e quale quella di *nulla terga*. Aveva provato ad analizzare la sintassi della frase Ellis 1887, secondo cui *leones* sarebbe un nominativo e *nulla terga* un accusativo. Bisogna tuttavia osservare che se *leones* fosse il soggetto allora il senso della frase sarebbe “poiché i leoni non screziavano i dorsi”, e non a caso Ellis rendeva in inglese, nella sua nota al passo, *uariarent terga* con “spotted their backs”, immaginando poi però, senza argomentare, che “spotted their backs” equivalesse a *uariata terga haberent*. Da questa forzatura interpretativa di Ellis mi pare che derivino le rese novecentesche.

In un primo momento avevo pensato che si dovesse cercare, quanto meno a fini diagnostici, una congettura plausibile, e ritenevo che si potesse suggerire *sed quia nulla graues uariarent signa leones*. Nel testo emendato *signa* (congettura mia) avrebbe assunto il significato di “marks on the body” (*OLD* s.v. *signum*, 3 c; cf. –

in questa stessa favola – *notas* al v. 8, oltre che *maculis* al v. 1), e sarebbe stato il soggetto di *uariarent* (cf. Ov. *Am.* 1. 2. 41 *pinnas gemma, gemma uariante capillos*; OLD s.v. *uario*, 1 a). Questa la traduzione del passo così ritoccato: “ma poiché non c’erano macchie che screziassero i pesanti leoni”. Immaginavo che all’origine della corruzione potesse esserci una dittografia (*uariarent tsigna*), e ritenevo non inverosimile che la somiglianza, in minuscola, tra *s* e *r* avesse favorito l’eventuale susseguente mutazione di *tsigna* in *terga*.

Ora però vedo che si può difendere il testo trádito considerando *terga* soggetto della frase e attribuendogli il senso di “pelli”, “manti” (OLD s.v. *tergum*, 7),¹ e ipotizzando che *nulla* sia stato usato in accezione avverbiale (*nullus* = *non*).² Interpretata in questo modo, la *paradosis* potrebbe essere tradotta “ma poiché le pelli non screziavano i leoni” (per una frase analoga, con *terga* come soggetto, cf. Avian. *Fab.* 15. 6 *caeruleam facerent liuida terga* [“manto”, ovvero “piumaggio”] *gruem*).

Un’osservazione, ora, sul discusso v. 2. Gaide, come Baehrens 1883 e Guaglianone 1958, stampa *in arua*, che è correzione di mano seconda in due *antiquiores* (A e V) e lezione di vari *recentiores*:³ si tratta, con ogni probabilità, di un tentativo di emendazione, e la lezione dell’archetipo sembra esser stata *in ira* (in alcuni *antiquiores* *in ira* è alterato in *inire*; V *ante correctionem* reca *in ara*).⁴ A favore della congettura si può citare, con Gaide (*ad locum*), l’occorrenza di *arua* in questa stessa sede metrica in vari pentametri di Aviano: 37.

¹ Si veda, in particolare, Verg. *Aen.* 5. 351–352 *sic fatus tergum Gaetuli immane leonis / dat Salio uillis onerosum atque unguibus aureis*, luogo ben noto ad Aviano (cf. 5. 5, 15).

² Cf. – per quest’uso di *nullus* – Hofmann–Szantyr, 205, § 109, Zus. β; *nullus* occorre in senso avverbiale in Avian. 7. 3; 27. 5; 36. 7 (vd. Ellis 1887, XXXVII).

³ Gaide cita il solo B; altri recenziatori che leggono *in arua* elenca Ellis 1887; *adde* il Reg. Lat. 1556, il Vat. Lat. 1663, mss. gemelli del s. XIII^{ex}, il Reg. Lat. 2080 (s. XIV/XV), il Pal. Lat. 1573 (s. XIII), l’Ottob. Lat. 3025 (c. 1400) e il monacense, BSB, Cgm 3974 (s. XV^{med}).

⁴ Gaide non lo dice, ma anche A *ante correctionem* aveva *in ira* (ho collazionato il codice). Che ci sia stato un archetipo è evidente alla luce dei molti errori comuni a tutti i manoscritti. Sulla trasmissione di Aviano cf. Reeve 1983 e la *Praefatio* della mia edizione teubneriana del favolista, che uscirà nel 2026; numerosi errori ho provato a correggere in uno spicilegio di *Auianea* di prossima pubblicazione in *Hermes*.

18 *quae libet arua peto* (parla il leone, e ciò costituisce, ovviamente, un termine di confronto per l'immagine del leopardo che *ibat in arua*),⁵ nonché 34. 12 e anche 29. 2; 36. 2; 42. 2 (in questi ultimi tre casi, significativamente, *arua* non solo forma l'ultimo trocheo del pentametro, ma ricorre anche nel primo pentametro della favola). E tuttavia anche se si accoglie *in arua* il testo continua a risultare problematico, perché da *inter consimiles ibat in arua feras* il lettore deduce che il leopardo si accompagnava con altri leopardi o comunque con *ferae* maculate (*consimiles ... feras*),⁶ mentre dal séguito (vv. 5–12)⁷ emerge che è il solo della sua specie tra animali

⁵ Bisogna tuttavia osservare che mentre in 37. 18 l'interpretazione di *quae libet arua* non crea problemi di sorta (lì *arua* è usato nel senso genericissimo di "territori", cf. *ThlL* s.v. *aruum*, 734. 84 – 735. 42), in questo caso risulta più difficile capire cosa concretamente indicherebbe il segmento *ibat in arua*. Il leopardo e le altre *ferae* escono da una *silua* e vanno verso campi o praterie? Oppure *arua* è usato per indicare il movimento da un'altura verso il piano (cf. *ThlL* s.v. *aruum*, 734. 42–63)?

⁶ Non a caso nel Reg. Lat. 1556 e nel Vat. Lat. 1663 (vd. sopra, n. 3) in corrispondenza di *consimiles* troviamo la glossa interlineare *pardos*. Nina Almazova, che ringrazio, mi stimola a prendere in considerazione la possibilità che in *pardus / inter consimiles ibat in arua feras* il nesso *consimiles ... feras* significhi *feras quae sicut pardus in arua ire solebant*, ovverosia – in sostanza – ἄγρια θηρία. Si tratta di un suggerimento acuto; bisogna però osservare che nella favolistica la *similitudo* tra gli animali riguarda tipicamente le caratteristiche fisiche e ὁμοίωσις, ed è legata alla specie, non all'habitat o alla selvatichezza/domesticità: eloquente, da questo punto di vista, è Phaedr. 1. 29. Sarebbe dunque assai strano che Aviano avesse usato *consimiles ... feras* nel senso di *feras quae sicut pardus in arua ire solebant* – connettendo quindi semanticamente *consimiles* al successivo *ibat in arua* – proprio in una favola in cui si evocano le differenze fisiche tra specie animali e in cui *inter consimiles ... feras* è immediatamente preceduto dal sintagma *distinctus maculis et pulchro pectore*, che di *consimiles* (se *consimiles* è lezione genuina) costituisce il naturale referente.

⁷ *Cetera sordenti damnans animalia uultu, / solus in exemplum nobilitatis erat. / Hunc arguta nouo gaudentem uulpis amictu / corripit et uanas approbat esse notas: / "Vade" ait "et pictae nimium confide iuuentae, / dum mihi consilium pulchrius esse queat, / mirenturque magis quos munera mentis adornant, / quam qui corporeis enituere bonis".* Al v. 7 *nouo* – lezione d'archetipo corretta da Haupt 1874, 181 in *suo* – è garantito da Avian. 12. 7 *hunc Fortuna nouis gaudentem prouida rebus* e significherà "fresh. The pard was in the first flush of his youthful beauty" (vd. Ellis 1887, *ad locum*, che però non cita il filologicamente decisivo verso 7 della favola 12; che il leopardo

diversi da lui e non maculati. Sulla base di Babr. 101. 1–4 (λύκος τις ἄδρὸς ἐν λύκοις ἐγεννήθη, / λέοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἐπεκάλουν. Ὁ δ' ἀγνώμων / τὴν δόξαν οὐκ ἤνεγκε, τῶν δὲ συμφύλων [cf. *consimiles*] / ἀποστατήσας τοῖς λέουσιν ὠμίλει) Lachmann 1845 proponeva di leggere *inter consimiles abnuit ire feras*.⁸ La congettura è acuta, ma il testo suggerito da Lachmann suona troppo brachilogico: alla luce dei vv. 3–4, se si accettasse *abnuit ire* si sentirebbe infatti la mancanza di un esplicito cenno al fatto che il leopardo – sdegnoso dei suoi simili – si era mescolato ai leoni; si sentirebbe insomma il bisogno di qualcosa che corrispondesse al babriano τοῖς λέουσιν ὠμίλει, e si dovrebbe postulare la caduta di un distico dopo il v. 2, distico che peraltro avrebbe dovuto anche offrire la spiegazione del perché il leopardo si fosse separato dai suoi simili: la screziatura del manto e la bellezza fisica evocata al v. 1 (*distinctus maculis et pulchro pectore*) sono infatti una caratteristica della specie, non di quel singolo esemplare,⁹ e non possono dunque essere la ragione del suo presunto disprezzo verso le *ferae consimiles*, che proprio perché *consimiles* saranno state screziate e belle anch'esse (in questa favola di Aviano non si dice mai che il leopardo di cui si parla è *più bello* dei suoi simili). Inoltre, come nota Ellis,¹⁰ *ibat* ha tutti i crismi della genuinità, perché corrisponde alla *uox Babriana* ἦι: cf., in particolare, l'incipit di Babr. 61 ἦι κυνηγὸς ἐξ ὄρους κυνηγήσας, / ἦι δὲ γριπεὺς κύρτον ἰχθύων πλήσας. Non è risolutiva, a mio avviso, neppure la congettura *honore* per *in ira* di Withof 1741, 288–289, il quale così spiegava *inter consimiles ibat honore feras*: “*inter feras ibat pardus honore sibi consimiles, id est conditione, dignitate, robore, statura*

sia giovane è confermato dal v. 9 della nostra favola, *pictae ... iuuentae*). Al v. 11 *mirenturque* è giusta congettura di Baehrens 1878, 193 per il tràdito *miremurque*.

⁸ Nevelet 1610, 667 afferma che il codice della Biblioteca Palatina di Heidelberg da lui utilizzato (ora perduto) recava *respuit ire*, e definisce tale lezione “*uix respuenda*”. La congettura di Lachmann è tuttavia più verisimile dal punto di vista paleografico (*abnuitire* è quasi l'anagramma di *ibatinira*). Sul *Palatinus Neveleti* cf. Baldzuhn 2009, 918.

⁹ Per la screziata bellezza dei leopardi (in quanto specie) cf. Poll. *Onom.* 5. 83, p. 284. 1–3 Bethe εἵποις δ' ἂν ἐπὶ παρδάλεως ὡς ἔχει τὸ σῶμα στικτὸν κατὰστικτον, κροκοειδές, εὐπρόσωπον, εὐχρουν, εὐειδές. Si noti che *pulchro pectore* è tessera virgiliana (*Aen.* 3. 426 *pulchro pectore uirgo* in clausola).

¹⁰ Ellis 1887, *AD LOCUM*.

etc. Sic solet loqui Auianus”.¹¹ Difficile credere, infatti, che in una favola esopica, ossia in un testo che per statuto dovrebbe esprimere con precisione i rapporti gerarchici tra gli animali, il leone, che è βασιλεύς (Babr. 67. 6), potesse essere definito *honore consimilis* al leopardo. Che si debba scrivere *inter dissimiles ibat in arua feras*, oppure, con un intervento più lieve, *inter non similes*¹² *ibat in arua feras*? Un'altra possibile soluzione, forse migliore, mi pare sia *inter non similes* [uel *dissimiles*] *ibat honore feras*. Si potrebbe ipotizzare che tanto *honore* al v. 2 quanto *sed* e *graues* al v. 3 siano stati usati anfibologicamente da Aviano: *non similes* ... *honore* significherebbe, cioè, che le *ferae* tra le quali il leopardo si trovava erano diverse da lui per bellezza (*honor* nel senso di *pulchritudo*), ma anche per dignità e maestà (*honor*, appunto, nel senso di *dignitas* e *maiestas*); allo stesso modo, *graues* al v. 3 potrebbe indicare anfibologicamente che i leoni sono “pesanti”, e quindi meno aggraziati del leopardo, ma anche “poderosi” e “maestosi”; per quanto riguarda *sed*, esso oscillerebbe tra l'usuale funzione avversativa (il leopardo si trova tra fiere non simili a lui – ossia superiori – per dignità, *ma nonostante* ciò ritiene di essere migliore di loro) e la meno tipica funzione di evidenziare “the next stage in a narrative”¹³ (il leopardo si trova tra fiere non simili a lui – ossia inferiori – per bellezza, *e* ritiene di essere superiore a loro).¹⁴

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¹¹ Withof scrive “sic solet loqui Auianus” riferendosi a 5. 8; 15. 9; 19. 4.

¹² Una corruzione analoga a quella qui ipotizzata (*nonsimiles* > *consimiles*) occorre nella versione latina della *Passio Perpetuae*, 10. 11, p. 28. 4 van Beek, ove la tradizione si divide tra *non calcans* e *concalcans*. A sostegno della congettura *non similes* si può citare Verg. *Aen.* 1. 136, ove *non simili* occupa la stessa sede metrica (ancorché, naturalmente, nell'ambito di un esametro).

¹³ *OLD* s.v. 2 c.

¹⁴ Ovviamente si potrebbe anche pensare a una corruzione *et* > *sed*. *Et* è attribuito a torto da Guaglianone 1958 a **W**, che reca invece *sed*, lezione d'archetipo; *et* fu congetturato da Nevelet 1610, 483. *Sed* ha valore puramente transitivo in Avian. 21. 5.

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This article provides critical and exegetical notes on a passage in Avianus (*Fab.* 40. 1–4).

В статье содержатся критические и экзегетические заметки к пассажию Авиана (*Fab.* 40. 1–4).

S. Douglas Olson

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES ON THE LETTER *LAMBDA*
IN A NEW GREEK-ENGLISH DICTIONARY
IV. ΛΟΓΟΣΚΟΠΟΣ – ΛΩΦΑΩ*

At Pallad. *Io.* 6. 69, **λογοσκόπος** (glossed “*person who spies on word*” (*sic*), and as a substantive “*spy, informer*”) is specifically contrasted with **ἐργοσκόπος** (omitted). The former thus means ~ “eavesdropper”, while the latter means ~ “spy”.

λογοτέχνης at *Rhetores Graeci* II p. 90. 6 means not “*author of speeches*” but ~ “*wordsmith*” (τὸν δίκην ὕλης τὸν λόγον ... κοσμοῦντα, “he who lends form to his speech as if it were a craftsman’s material”).

λογοφίλης (an adjective, although seemingly lemmatized and translated as a noun) at Phil. *Leg.* 1. 74 means not “*friend of speeches*” but “*fond of words*” (thus LSJ s.v.) or “*fond of speeches*”. **λογόφιλος** (Zeno [fr. 300] observed that some of his students were φιλόλογοι, others merely λογόφιλοι), meanwhile, means not a “*friend of speeches*” (as if this too were a noun) but “*fond of argument*” or “*fond of empty words*” (cf. Stob. II. 7. 11 k, p. 105. 4–6 Wachsmuth).¹

S.v. **λόγχη**, “*devourer of catapults and spears*” at Timocl. fr. 12. 5 is a description not of “*a cowardly braggart*” but of the fire-breathing orator Demosthenes. At S. *OC* 1312 οἱ νῦν σὺν ἐπτά τάξεσιν σὺν ἐπτά τε / λόγχαῖς τὸ Θήβης πεδῖον ἀμφεστᾶσι πᾶν (“*who now surround*

* See *Hyperboreus* 29: 1 (2023) 133–156; 29: 2 (2023) 299–325; 30: 2 (2024) 286–309. Thanks are again due Benjamin W. Millis and David Sansone for their comments on earlier drafts of these notes. I would also like to express my gratitude to the *Hyperboreus* editorial team for their extraordinarily careful and generous attention to the individual entries in this article.

¹ Cf. the distinction between actual philologists and individuals who merely produce catalogues of words.

the entire Theban plain with seven ranks, with seven spears”), plural λόγχαι means “*host of lancers*” only by extension, the reference being in the first instance to the spears carried by the individual Seven against Thebes. Intriguingly, Thucydides never uses the word.

A λόγχη is properly a metal spear-tip or javelin-tip (not necessarily made of iron) and by extension a spear or a javelin. S.v. λογχίον, the *Dictionary* follows LSJ s.v. in citing *IG* II² 1541. 17 στυράκιον λονχίο<υ> (“the butt-end of a *logchion*”) rather than the more recent and authoritative *IEleusis* 140. 17 στυράκιον· λόνχιον (“a butt-end; a *logchion*”) and is thus misled into translating “small shaft” (as if the primitive meant “spear-shaft” rather than “spear-tip”). *SEG* XLVI 185. 14 ἀκόντια ΔΔΓΠΙΙ, λογχία οὐ[κ ἔ]χοντα ΠΙΙ (“28 javelins, 4 lacking *logchia*”; omitted) leaves no doubt that the word means “metal tip (of a spear/javelin)”. The ὄρμος λ[ογχω]τός, λονχί[ων· –] at *ID* 338 face B fr. a. 4 (ignored) is thus likely so-called because it was made up of pieces that resembled spearheads, was ornamented with dangling spearheads, or the like. The number of λογχία in such objects, at any rate, is reported in inventories (e.g. *ID* 296. 46).

λογχήρεσι ... ἀσπισταῖς at *E. IA* 1067 means not “armed with spears and shields” (as if ἀσπιστής were also an adjective) but “shield-bearing men armed with spears”, i.e. “hoplites armed with spears”.²

The λογχίς (glossed “*small spear*”; a *hapax*) dedicated by a goatherd at Lycophronid. *PMG* 844. 3 θηροφόνον λογχίδ(α) is probably a javelin, i.e. a throwing weapon to be used to fight off predators or perhaps kill occasional small game.

λογχοδρέπανος (glossed “*having an elongated form with a point like a scythe*” [*sic*]) is used substantively at *Suda* γ 390 and Σ *Lyc.* 836, 843 (ignored) to refer to the weapon with which Perseus beheaded Medusa, i.e. a sickle-like cutting tool of some sort.

² S.v. λογχίδιον (glossed “*small spear*”), the odd “Hsch. 2. 261. 54” is apparently intended as a reference to Hsch. λ 154 (λογχίδια μικρά as a gloss, the presence of the adjective making it clear that the word is not diminutive except in a formal sense).

λογχοφόρος is an adjective and thus means “armed with a spear” (or javelin), but “spear-bearer” only as a substantive. For the latter sense of the word at Ar. *Pax* 1294; X. *Cyr.* 2. 1. 5, the *Dictionary* offers instead “lancer”. But a lancer is a type of cavalry soldier, and Xenophon in particular seems to use the word to mean ~ “hoplite” (ἰππέας ... εἰς ὀκτακισχίλιους ..., λογχοφόρους δὲ σὺν πελτασταῖς οὐ μείους τετρακισμυρίων, “about 800 cavalry, and no less than 40 000 *logchophoroi* combined with peltasts”, i.e. more lightly armed foot-soldiers).

The paradosis λογοδεστερον at Arist. *Resp.* 481 b 27 makes no sense, and Dobson accordingly emended to λογοδεέστερον (< the otherwise unattested λογοδεής, glossed “wanting in reason or reasonableness” by LSJ s.v.), which is printed e.g. in the Loeb. The *Dictionary* nonetheless includes the passage s.v. **λογώδης** (glossed “similar to prose” at Aristox. *Harm.* 18), but translates the emended version of the text (“bereft of foundation”).

S.v. **λοιδορέω**, E. *Hel.* 1171 ἐγὼ δ’ ἐμαντὸν πόλλ’ ἐλοιδόρησα combines an external and an internal accusative with an instantaneous aorist and means not “I have many things to reproach myself” (*sic*) but “I find much fault with myself”. S.v. **λοιδόρημα**, Plu. *Mor.* 607a τὸν πτωχὸν λοιδόρημα ποιοῦνται means not “they outrage the beggar” but “they abuse the beggar”. **λοιδορημάτιον** (Ar. fr. 92) is glossed “a small insult” (*sic*) but likely means “a bit of abuse”.³

S.v. **λοιπός**, X. *Smp.* 4. 1 λοιπὸν ἂν εἶη ἡμῖν ... ἀποδεικνύναι means not “it would remain to be demonstrated” but “it would remain for us to demonstrate”, i.e. “we would still need to demonstrate”.

λοίσθων (a *hapax* at Hsch. λ 1248 in the accusative plural) is coyly glossed “over-indulgent in love”. The actual definition of the word in Hesychius is τοὺς ἀκρατεῖς περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια (“sexually unrestrained persons”).

³ S.v. **λοιπογραφέω**, English says not “concede a deferment of payment” and “be registered as a debit” but “grant a deferment of payment” and “be registered as a debt”.

Λοκρῶν ξύνθημα (cited as a proverb at Hsch. λ 1254 = Phot. λ 393) is translated “pact in the Locrian manner”, which is then clarified as meaning “treason”. But the phrase really means ~ “an agreement made by Locrians”, and Hesychius says it is used ἐπὶ τῶν παρακρουομένων· Λοκροὶ γὰρ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πρὸς τοὺς Πελοποννησίους (“in reference to those who are cheated; because the Locrians ... their agreements with the Peloponnesians”), i.e. the phrase apparently referred to making an agreement and then backing out of it.

λολλοῦν is glossed “*pap*, a child’s word” and traced to Hermipp. fr. 86 and Hsch. λ 1255 (which is where the fragment is preserved and thus not a second attestation of the word). The text of Hesychius is corrupt – the manuscript has λογχ** out of alphabetical order between Λοκρῶν ξύνθημα and λομβούς, followed by the gloss τὰ παιδία τῶν θεῶν· κέχρηται τῇ λέξει Ἑρμιππος (“the children of the gods; Hermippus uses the word”) – but Phot. λ 394 offers λολλοῦν· τὰ παιδία τὸν θεόν. οὕτως Ἑρμιππος (“*lolloun*: the children the god. Thus Hermippus”; between Λοκρῶν ξύνθημα and Λοξίας). Editors have offered various emendations of the definition of the word, whatever it might be, including Latte’s τὰ παιδία τὸν πόλτον (“children [refer thus] to porridge”; cf. Phot. λ 461 † λυλω †· βρωμά τι παιδίων ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ γινόμενον ἐκ γιγάρτων καὶ σύκων κεκομμένων (“† *lylō* †: a food consumed by children in Euboea, made from grape-seeds and minced figs”), which seems have provided the basis for the *Dictionary*’s definition. Cf. below s.v. **λωλον** (another version of the material in Photius).

λόξευμα at Man. 1. 307 πόλου λοξεύματα βαίνων / ~ 4. 479 πόλου λοξεύματα βᾶσα / is a concrete astrological term and thus means neither “*obliqueness*” nor “*oblique direction*” but “*obliquity*” (thus LSJ s.v.).⁴

⁴ S.v. **λοξίν** (glossed “*obliquely, off the track*”; better “*off course*”), note that the word – a *hapax* at Nil. Anc. *Ep.* II. 217 ὁ δὲ λίθος λοξὶν πορευθεὶς – appears to be an adverb equivalent to λοξόν (to which it should perhaps be emended).

Tyrt. fr. 11. 2 οὐπω Ζεὺς ἀνέχεται **λοξὸν** ἔχει means not “not yet does Zeus turn his neck elsewhere” (signaling attention to someone or something else) but “in no way does Zeus turn his neck sideways” (signaling indifference).

A **λοπάς** is a stewing-pan or the like (attested in this sense already at Eup. fr. 5; 60. 2, half a century or so before Eub. fr. 108. 2); see in general Arnott on Alex. fr. 115. 21–23, noting that “The diminutive **λοπάδιον**” – glossed “*small dish*” by the Dictionary – “occurs in Attic comedy ... as a metrically convenient alternative to **λοπάς** without any apparent distinction of size”. **λοπαδάγχη** (an abusive nonce-word at Eub. fr. 137. 3) accordingly means not “*plate-strangler*” but “stewing-pan-strangler”; **λοπαδαρπαγίδης** at Hegesand. fr. 2, *FHG* iv. 413 *ap.* Ath. 4. 162 a means not “*dish-robber*” but “snatcher of stewing-pans” (*sc.* away from other guests at a party, food regularly being served in the vessel in which it was prepared rather than being shared out on individual plates among the guests); **Λοπαδέκθαμβος** (an imaginary parasite’s name) at Alciph. 3. 1. 1 means not “Dish-frightener” but “Crazy-about-stewing-pans” *vel sim.*; and **λοπαδοφυσήτης** at Mnesim. fr. 10. 2 means not “*who blows on cymbals*” (*sic*) but “who blows on stewing-pans” (*sc.* to cool their contents). **λοπάδια** at Men. fr. 351. 9 (something a cook can use to “capture” an Arcadian, who has no experience of the sea and thus of seafood) means not “*oysters*” but once again “stewing-pans”, as does **λοπάς** at Ar. *Eq.* 1034 and Alciph. 3. 17. 1, where the word is glossed “*disk*” (*sic*).⁵

S.v. **λοπίς**, note that at Ar. *V.* 790 the word (glossed “*scale*”) means “fish scale”. At Aen. Tact. 20. 3 τὸν δὲ καρκίνον ἐσκευάσθαι, ὅπως ὑπὸ τὴν λοπίδα καθίηται καὶ ῥαδίως τὴν βάλανον μετεωρίζῃ (“to design the pincers so that they pass under the *lopis* and easily raise the bolt-pin”; instructions regarding gate-locking technology), the **λοπίς** is seemingly not a “*pin, peg*” (thus also LSJ s.v.) but a metal plate of some sort – i.e. something that resembles a fish scale or a pan – that holds the door-pin in place.

⁵ A clumsy typographical error for “dish” (still wrong, but at least comprehensible)?

Phot. λ 401–402 defines **λόπισμα** not “*bark*” but ἡ περικειμένη ἑξωθεν τοῦ κρομμύου λεπίς· καὶ πᾶν λέπος, φλοιός, δέρμα λεπτόν, ξηρόν (“the skin that surrounds an onion on the outside; also any sort of husk, bark, light dry skin”).

Active **λορδῶω** may well have a sexual sense (“bend [someone] backwards”, *sc.* to have sex with them) at Mnesim. 4. 55, as it certainly does in the middle – not simply equivalent to the active – at Ar. *Ec.* 10 λορδουμένων σωμάτων (“our backward-bending bodies”, of women having sex with men) with Ussher *ad loc.* **Λόρδων** at Pl. *Com.* fr. 188. 17 (a name in a list of invented divine beings to whom women wanting sex are supposed to make sacrifice, playing on **λορδῶω**) is anachronistically glossed “*lascivious demon*” (following LSJ s.v. “*the demon of impure λόρδωσις*”⁶).

λόρδωμα in Hippocrates is glossed “*bending backwards*”, as if it were identical to **λόρδωσις** rather than a concrete noun meaning “backward bend”.

Hsch. λ 1269 defines **λοῦκα** (a *hapax*) not as “*a porridge made of chickpeas*” but as ρόφημα ἐξ ἀλφίτων (“a gruel made of barleymeal”).

The **λουτήρια** at Antiph. fr. 206. 3 are part of a doctor’s equipment, and Poll. 10. 46 (quoting the fragment) distinguishes the sense of the word there (seemingly “basin”) from that at A. fr. 366⁷ (glossed “*bath*”).

The ᾠα **λουτρίς** mentioned at Theopomp. *Com.* fr. 38. 1 is glossed “*bathing suit*”, which in colloquial English means a costume worn to swim. Poll. 7. 66 ~ 10. 181 makes it clear that the item in question was actually worn for modesty’s sake when men and women were in the baths together (thus LSJ s.v. “*bathing drawers*”, LSJ Supplement s.v. “*loin-cloth*”). Hsch. λ 1277 ~ Phot. λ 408 (citing Ar. fr. 849) cites λουτρίδες (literally “bathers”) as a term for two girls assigned cultic

⁶ Corrected in LSJ Supplement s.v. to “humorously invented erotic deity”.

⁷ Unhelpfully cited as “fr. 714 Mette”. S.v. **λουτρικός**, “Hsch. 2. 730. 200 L.” appears to be a garbled reference to Hsch. λ 200. Cf. “Hsch. 2. 584. 632 L.” at s.v. **λυκόσπαστος**, seemingly intended as a reference to Hsch. λ 632.

duties for Athena, presumably giving one of her statues its annual washing.⁸ *IG I³ 794* (early 5th c. BCE) is a dedication by one such girl, who uses the alternative title *πλύντρια* for the office (called *πλυντρίς* in Hsch. = Phot. and allegedly by Aristophanes).

S.v. *λουτρών*, note that *ψυχρά ... Ἡράκλεια λουτρά* (“cold baths of Heracles”) are mentioned at Ar. *Nu.* 1051 only to make the point that they do not exist.

λοετροχόον τρίποδ(α) at *Il.* 18. 346 ~ *Od.* 8. 435 is glossed s.v. *λουτροχόος* as “recipient on a tripod for preparing water for the bath” (*sic*). The adjective means “pouring washing water”, and thus by extension ~ “containing water to be poured for washing”.

λουτρών at [X.] *Ath.* 2. 10 (the Athenian people have built themselves many gymnasia, changing rooms and *loutrônes*) is glossed “*bathroom, bath*,” which seems to have been taken over from LSJ without reference to the original text. The manuscripts actually have *λουτρά* (printed e.g. by Marchant and by Bowersock in his Loeb).⁹

The human spine consists of 7 cervical vertebrae (= the neck), 12 thoracic vertebrae (= the back), 5 lumbar vertebrae (= the lower back), and the sacrum + tailbone/coccyx. Poll. 2. 178–179 reports that the last cervical vertebra is called the *ἄτλας*; the first thoracic vertebra the *λοφαδίαν* or *λοφίαν*; the second thoracic vertebra the *μασχαλιστήρ*; and the twelfth and final thoracic vertebra the *διαζωστήρ*. LSJ glosses these words “*seventh of the neck-vertebrae*”, “*first dorsal vertebra*”, “*second dorsal vertebra*”, and “*twelfth vertebra in the spine*”, respectively.¹⁰ The *Dictionary*, by contrast,

⁸ Cf. Bulloch on Call. *Lav. Pall.* 7–8 and pp. 8–12 (on similar ceremonies for other cult-statues).

⁹ “Bathroom” is in any case reserved in American English for what in other countries is called a “toilet, WC, loo”; read “bath-house” (as in LSJ s.v.) or “bathing facility”.

¹⁰ The absence of a coordinated system of technical language here exposes the somewhat free-wheeling style of LSJ’s glossing generally, but also the profound competence of the team as a whole, since these look like separate entries produced by different scholars, all of whom nonetheless managed to get both the Greek and the anatomy right.

systematically garbles the terms, glossing the first three “*first cervical vertebra*”, “*name of the first vertebra*”, and “*vertebra*”, respectively, and omitting the fourth.

λοφάω at Ar. *Pax* 1211 is a nonce-word that seems intended to mean something like “have a sore crest”. But Hsch. λ 1284 (~ Phot. λ 414), cited as supporting this translation, claims instead that the verb means **λόφου ἐπιθυμεῖν** (“to desire a crest”).

λοφιήτης at Agath. *AP* 6. 79. 2 (of Pan) is not “*hill-dweller*”, i.e. “one who lives in the hills” (seemingly a misunderstanding of LSJ s.v. “dweller on the hills”), but “*crest-dweller*”, i.e. “one who lives on top of hills”.

λόφιον in Σ^{EF} Ar. *Ach.* 1109 is opaquely glossed “*the least of the three plumes*” and described as a v.l. for **λοφεῖον**. In the manuscripts and all modern editions, the Aristophanic line in question reads τὸ λοφεῖον ἐξένεγκε τῶν τριῶν λόφων (“Bring out the *lopheion* of my three crests!”; Lamachus arms himself for battle). The *scholion* says that if the diminutive **λόφιον** is read (as no other witness proposes), Lamachus is saying “Bring the little one of my three crest-feathers!”¹¹

Ath. 15. 699 d uses the word **λοφνία**, but identifies it as ἐκ φλοιοῦ λαμπάς (“a torch made of bark”) not a “*torch made of prunings, of vines*”. Ath. 15. 701 a, on the other hand, cites Cleitarchus’ *Glossary* to the effect that the inhabitants of Rhodes used **λοφνίς** to refer to ἐκ τοῦ φλοιοῦ τῆς ἀμπέλου λαμπάς (“a torch made of grape-vine bark”) but not a “*torch made of vine prunings*”.

λοφορώξ at Hippon. fr. 103. 39 (fragmentary and obscure) is glossed “one who has broken his neck or crest”, with reference to Hsch. λ 1294 (citing the word in the accusative singular). But Hesychius defines the word τὸν ἀπερρωγότα τοὺς ὄμους (“someone who has broken his shoulders”; emended by Latte to τὸν ἀπερρωγότα τὰς ἀκρωμίας).

¹¹ S.v. **λοφίς**, read “helmet-case” for “*helmut-case*”.

λόφωσις at Ar. *Av.* 291 τίς ποθ' ἡ λόφωσις ἡ τῶν ὀρνέων; (lit. “What in the world is the *lophōsis* of the birds?”; Peisetairos notes the costuming of some of the special bird-dancers) means not “*tuft*”, i.e. “crest” (thus ~ “Why do the birds have crests?”), but “cresting” (i.e. ~ “Why have the birds donned crests?”).¹²

λοχαῖος is glossed “*bending down*, of stalks of grain blown by the wind”, i.e. “*beaten down* by the wind”, at Thphr. *CP* 3. 21. 5 (south winds and fair weather in the spring ποιούσι λοχαῖον, “cause (the grain) to grow quickly and make it *lochaios*”), 3. 23. 5 (south winds and fair weather λοχαίους ποιούσιν, “make [grain-crops] *lochaios*”); cf. Phot. λ 420 λοχαῖος σῖτος· ὁ βαθύς· ἢ ὁ δι’ ἐπομβρίαν κεκλιμένος (“*lochaios* grain: that which is deep; or that which has been knocked over by heavy rainfall”). But what Theophrastus means is that conditions such as these are overly favorable for growth (3. 21. 5 ταχὺ ἀναδιδόασιν, they cause the grain to “shoot up quickly”), and the grain-stalks then collapse under their own weight. Cf. Hsch. λ 1303 λοχαῖος· κλινόμενος σῖτος ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐτροφεῖν (“*lochaios*: grain that lies down because it grows luxuriantly”).¹³

S.v. λοχάω, the *Dictionary* collects a number of examples of the verb “in aorist participle with another verb”, e.g. Hdt. 6. 87 λοχήσαντες ... τὴν ... νέα εἶλον (translated “having lain in wait, they captured the ship”, as if the participle were a perfect). This has nothing to do with either the meaning of the verb or any peculiarities of its usage, but is simply a question of basic Greek syntax, and the material should be eliminated. Hdt. 5. 121 ἐλόχησαν τὴν ... ὁδόν means not “they occupied the road by ambush” but “they laid an ambush along the road”. Jos. *BJ* 3. 116 τὰς ... λοχᾶσθαι δυναμένας ὕλας means not “the forests were well-suited for setting traps” but “forests apt for setting ambushes”.¹⁴

¹² Despite the implication of the initial comment s.v. λοχαγός (“Doric, but used in Attica” – by which “in Attic” is seemingly meant, as also s.v. λοχαγία), Epicharmus is a Doric poet.

¹³ Euripides used the expression already in fr. 725 λοχαῖον σῖτον (from *Telephus*), supposedly in reference to a stand of grain from which one could launch an ambush (thus the *Et. Gen.*); whether this interpretation is based on direct acquaintance with the original text, and thus whether it is right, is impossible to say.

¹⁴ Cf. Hsch. λ 1309 λοχιάδες· αἱ ὕλαι (omitted s.v. λοχιάς).

S.v. **λοχεία**, Pl. *Tht.* 149 b ἄλοχος οὔσα τὴν λοχείαν εἴληχε (of Artemis) means not “although she has never given birth, she has had the task of protecting women in child-birth” but “although ..., she has child-birth as her sphere”.

S.v. **λοχεύω**, E. *Ion* 455–457 Προμηθεῖ Τιτᾶνι λοχευθεῖσαν κατ’ ἀκροτάτας κορυφᾶς Διός (‘*locheutheisan* by the Titan Prometheus from the crest of the head of Zeus’; of Athena¹⁵) is offered as a unique example of the verb used in the sense “*bring to light*”. But this is a variant version of the story according to which Hephaestus split Zeus’ head open in order to allow Athena to emerge, and the participle thus has its expected meaning “*given birth to*”. Elevated poetic vocabulary (once in comedy in paratragic lyric at Ar. *Pax* 1014, and once in Attic prose at Arist. *HA* 616 a 34, of the halcyon).

λοχίζω is glossed “*place in ambush, station*” and is then translated with the second sense at Th. 3. 107. 3, where the point is however clearly that Demosthenes concealed the men in question so that they could, if necessary, attack the enemy unexpectedly, i.e. he placed them in ambush. The same is true at D. H. 2. 55. 1, where the verb refers to the actions of a commander who places troops where they can suddenly emerge from hiding and hit the enemy from behind. The supposed weak second sense of the word should accordingly be struck.

S.v. **λόχιος**, E. *Ba.* 89 ὠδίνων λοχίαις ἀνάγκαισι is translated “the painful necessity of childbirth”, but the Greek says “the childbirth necessities consisting of pangs”, i.e. “the pangs that necessarily accompany childbirth”.¹⁶

¹⁵ For this odd detail (otherwise attested only at Apollod. *Bib.* 1. 20 and in a *scholion* on Pi. *O.* 7. 36, both perhaps simply referring back to Euripides), see Martin on E. *Ion* 455.

¹⁶ S.v. **Λοχία** (“goddess of childbirth”; an epithet of Artemis at E. *Supp.* 958; *IT* 1097, both lyric; note also *IG* II² 4547. 4–5, early 4th century BCE, and *IG* VI, 1 960. 10, from Boiai, both with *iota* rather than *epsilon-iota*), the *Dictionary* refers the reader to s.v. **λόχιος**. But the note there is simply a cross-reference to s.v. **λοχεῖος**.

λοχίτης is glossed “guard” at A. *Ch.* 768 (of Aegisthus’ potential companions) and S. *OT* 751 (of the men with Laius when he died). But in both cases the normal and expected sense of the word (“men belonging to his unit, members of a military unit under his command”) makes good sense; that such men can serve as guards is true but incidental to the sense of the word itself.

The first meaning given for **λόχη** is “bush”, but the word seems consistently to mean “clump of brush, thicket, copse of trees”. The boar that wounded the young Odysseus, for example, was not hiding “in a dense bush” (*Od.* 19. 439 ἐν λόχη πυκινῇ) but “in a dense thicket, in a dense patch of undergrowth”. Ar. *Ec.* 60–61 μασχάλας / λόχης δασυτέρας thus means not “armpits more hairy than a bush” (a strange and unlikely image) but “armpits shaggier than a clump of brush”. The ὁδὸν ... **λοχμώδη** where Demosthenes placed his troops in ambush (see above s.v. **λοχίζω**) – misdescribed as “roads” (*sic*) “running between woods” – was not “wooded, forested” but “brush-covered” (allowing them to conceal themselves), and when Theophrastus describes certain plants growing this way, he means not that they are “similar to a bush, bush-shaped” but that they “grow in clumps” (of e.g. cane and reeds at *HP* 4. 8. 1, 4. 11. 13).

λυγγανάομαι (a *hapax*) is glossed “hiccup” (normally λύζω) with reference to Hsch. λ 1330. But Hesychius says that the word means λύζων ἐν τῷ κλαίειν (i.e. “wailing with great sobs” *vel sim.*). Cf. S. *OC* 1621 **λύγδην** ἔκλαιον πάντες (~ “they were all sobbing and wailing”).

λυγίζω at Theoc. 1. 97 τὸν Ἔρωτα κατεύχεο ... λυγίζειν (“you boast that you will *lugizein* Love”) means not “submit, dominate” but “cause to submit” or “master” (thus LSJ s.v.).

λύγξ (1) at Th. 2. 49 λύγξ ... κενή (“an empty *lynx*”; one of the common symptoms of the plague) means not “vomit” (i.e. that which is produced when one vomits) but “retching” (i.e. the action of vomiting, although in this case unproductively).

S.v. **λύγος**, Long. 2. 13. 3 λόγον δὲ χλωρὰν μακρὰν στρέψαντες ὡς σχοῖνον (a description of the production of a substitute mooring

cable) means not “long green rushes interwoven like ropes” but “twisting a long green willow branch like a rope”, i.e. “twisting some long willow branches to serve as a rope”.

S.v. **λυγρός**, Hes. *Op.* 530 λυγρὸν μυλιόωντες (translated “gnashing their teeth in a pitiful way”) is described as an “adverbial neuter”. It is actually an internal accusative – literally “gnashing a pitiful (gnashing)” – that can be translated adverbially.

λυδίζω (better Λυδίζω) at Hippon. fr. 95.1 and Ar. *Eq.* 523 is literally “*imitate the Lydians*”, i.e. “play the Lydian”. But in both places it really means “speak Lydian”.

λυδοπαθής (better Λυδοπαθής) at Anacr. *PMG* 136 is not precisely “*as refined as a Lydian*”, since “refined” is an unambiguously positive term in English and what is meant is ~ “who lives like a Lydian”, *sc.* in enormous luxury.

Hdn. *Grammatici Graeci* III. 1 p. 59. 23–24 asserts τὸ δὲ λυῆς λυῆντος ἀπὸ τοῦ **λυήεις** (“*lyês lyêntos* is from *lyêeis*”). Neither form is attested elsewhere, but the implication is that λυῆς is a known if problematic word, λυήεις the – otherwise unknown and perhaps invented – uncontracted form from which it comes. LSJ lemmatizes both; treats λυήεις as an adjective; and glosses it “*discordant*”. The *Dictionary* omits λυῆς; treats λυήεις as an adjective; and nonetheless glosses it as a noun (“*discord*”).

For **λυθίγραμμος** (= Pi. fr. 85), the reader is told “see διθύραμβος”, but no comment or clarification is offered there. The *EM*, cited at the end of the note, offers λυθίραμβος / λυθίραμμος, whereas λυθίγραμμος is from one manuscript of Cyril’s version of the same material (cod. Vind. 319). What Pindar wrote is unclear, and no further progress can be made on the issue until a reliable modern edition of Cyril’s lexicon appears.

Homer uses λύθρῳ (something with which one is splattered in hand-to-hand combat) repeatedly, always in the dative singular. The *Dictionary* glosses the word “*blood mixed with dust or sweat, bloody filth*”; nothing in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* obviously supports

the reference to dust and sweat, and the reference at *Od.* 23. 48 to Odysseus among the dead suitors resembling a lion splattered αἵματι καὶ λύθρῳ, *sc.* as it stands over an animal it has killed, would seem to count decisively against this interpretation. The gender of the word was clearly obscure already in antiquity, and the fact that some authorities opt for masculine, others for neuter, shows only that they were taking sides in this scholarly debate, not that they had any substantial additional information regarding the point. LSJ accordingly combines λύθρον, τό and λύθρος, ό as a single lemma.

Λύκα (the name of one member of a group of aged sex-workers at Timocl. fr. 27. 2) is crudely glossed “prostitute”, as if the name served as a generic term. The *Dictionary* appears to lack an overall policy for collecting and handling such items; of the other women’s names that appear in the fragment, most are glossed “female name”; Plangon is described as “pers(on)”; Nannion is described as “hetaira”; and Lopadion and Hieroklea are ignored. Λυκαΐνη and Λύρα at Luc. *DMeretr.* 6, 12. 1 get similarly rough treatment as “prostitute”.

What a λυκάβας is at *Od.* 14. 161; 19. 306 (Eumaeus and Penelope, respectively, told by the Stranger that Odysseus will return to Ithaca τοῦδ’ αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος, “within this very *lykabas*”) is unclear, and “temporal cycle, month, year” merely disguises the problem. That the word was eventually picked up e.g. at Philodem. *AP* 5. 13. 1 λυκαβαντίδας ὥρας (where the sense is “years”) shows that it came to be of interest to Homeric scholars, but not that anyone knew what it meant.

λυκαΐνιον at Poll. 4. 150 is lemmatized Λυκαΐνιον and glossed “kind of comic mask”, as if this were a stock-character mask like those of the servants called Μαΐσων and Τέττιξ mentioned earlier in the same section. What Pollux says, however, is τὰ δὲ γυναικῶν πρόσωπα εἴη τοιαῦτα· γράδιον ἰσχνὸν ἢ λυκαΐνιον, γραῦς παχεῖα, γράδιον οἰκουρόν ... τὸ μὲν λυκαΐνιον ὑπόμηκες· ῥυτίδες λεπταὶ καὶ πυκναὶ ... (“women’s masks are the following: an old woman who is withered up or *lykainios*; a fat old woman; an old domestic servant ... The *lykainion* (mask) is quite long, with many fine wrinkles ...”). The word (omitted by LSJ) is thus an adjective, λυκαΐνιος -η -ον, and likely means “resembling a she-wolf” (hence the extended chin).

S.v. **λυκαιμίας** is too badly garbled to decipher entirely, but the lemma is apparently intended to be **λυκαιμίας**, with reference to Alc. fr. 130 b. 10 **λυκαιμίας**, hence the etymology with the second element < αἰμός. For further clarification, the reader is directed to the non-existent lemma **αλυκαιμίας** (*sic*). The note appears at one point to gloss ***λυκαιμία** as “*battle of wolves*”; did the word exist, it would more likely mean “*battle against wolves*”, in the same way that e.g. **Γιγαντομαχία** means not “*Battle of the Giants*”, but “*Battle against the Giants*”.¹⁷

λυκήλατος (a *hapax*) is glossed at τὰς ἐνχαλινωθείσας (“those fitted with a bit”; fem. acc. pl.) at Hsch. λ 1378. The *Dictionary* suggests that the word means “held in check by a bit shaped like a wolf’s teeth”, a suggestion that requires a cross-reference to Plu. *Mor.* 641 f (some authorities believed that ἵπποι λυκοσπάδες got their name ἀπὸ τῶν χαλινῶν τῶν λύκων, “from the wolf-bits, from the bits known as ‘wolves’”). See below on **λυκοσπάς**.

λυκοβατίας (glossed as a noun, “*where wolves walk, place of wolves*”) is an adjective at Hsch. λ 1370 **λυκοβατίας** δρυμός, where it is said to mean ἐν ᾧ οἱ λύκοι διατρίβουσιν (a thicket “in which wolves spend their time”).

λυκοεργής is glossed “*made in Lycia ... spears or spits made in Lycia, used for killing wolves*” at Hdt. 7. 76 προβόλους δύο Λυκιοεργέας ἕκαστος εἶχε (“each man had two *lykioergeis* javelins”; of the arms carried by some of Xerxes’ colorful Asian allies). This appears to represent a confused amalgam of several separate attempts to make sense of the word: the warriors are patently carrying spears rather than spits, and if the adjective means that these spears were of Lycian workmanship, there is no reason to posit a connection with λύκος (“wolf”).

λυκοθαρσής (a *hapax*, although note the entry in Hesychius cited below) at Myrin. *AP* 7. 703. 5 (of a shepherd) is glossed “*zealous*

¹⁷ LSJ Supplement s.v. suggests instead “*wolf-battle*, i.e. wolf-like or guerilla fighting”.

against wolves”, following LSJ s.v. “not fearing wolves”. But the best parallel for the word is κυνοθαρσής at Theoc. 15. 53, which means “bold as a dog”, not “bold against dogs”, suggesting that λυκοθαρσής ought actually to be glossed “bold as a wolf”. Cf. Hsch. λ 1386 λυκοθρασής· θρασύς (“*lykothrasês*: bold”; almost certainly referring to the same epigram).

λυκοκαρίς (a *hapax*) at Hsch. λ 1404 is glossed “hot barley-water”. But Hesychius’ definition (θερμὸν ἀπ’ ἀλφίτου πιεῖν, “hot from barley-meal to drink”) is more obscure than this and seemingly garbled.

λυκόποδες 1 at Arist. fr. 394 is glossed “guardians of a tyrant”. What Aristotle (as reported by Σ Ar. *Lys.* 665) actually says is that *lykopodes* was the term for τοὺς τῶν τυράννων δορυφόρους, “the bodyguards of the Tyrants”, i.e. of Pisistratus and his sons. The claim that this comment is offered “as an interpretation of λυκοπέρσιον” (an Egyptian plant mentioned by Galen) is false. Thus the manuscripts of Aristophanes, joined in reading λυκό- by Hsch. λ 1392. But the paradosis λυκόποδες is metrically impossible in the text of *Lysistrata*, and what is wanted is patently Hermann’s λευκόποδες (supported by Hesychius’ διὰ τὴν τῶν ποδῶν λευκότητα, “on account of the whiteness of their feet”); the lemma λυκόποδες 2 should accordingly be struck. What Pisistratus’ bodyguards were called is impossible to say, but it seems just as likely that they too were “White Feet” rather than “Wolf Feet”.

ραίω is “break into pieces”, and the λυκορραΐσται ... κύνες at Ion AP 7. 44. 2 (the dogs that killed Euripides) are not just “wolf-killers” but “wolf-shredders, that tear wolves to pieces”.

S.v. λύκος, the proverb λύκον ἰδεῖν (referring to being dumb-struck) is not literally “to see the wolf” but “to see a wolf”. The proverbial πρὶν κεν λύκος οἶν ὕμεναιοι (of something impossible) at Ar. *Pax* 1076, 1112 (in both cases after a negative clause) means not “before a wolf weds a sheep”, but “until a wolf weds a sheep”. λύκος κεχηνώς at Ar. *Lys.* 629 means not “a wolf remained with his mouth agape” but “a wolf with his mouth agape” (sc. and ready to swallow you down). The word at Strato AP 12. 250. 2 ἄρνα λύκος ... εὔρον

(lit. “I, a wolf, found a lamb”; a pederastic predator is speaking about a pretty boy) is mischaracterized as “said of catamites”.

λυκοσπάς (glossed “*torn by wolves*”) is said to be used at Nic. Th. 742 ταῦροι δὲ μελισσῶν / σκῆνεσι πυθομένοισι λυκοσπάδες ἐξεγένοντο “of bees born from the carcasses of bulls torn to pieces by wolves”. But this is confused – the adjective ought to refer to the bees, not the bulls (cf. Nic. Al. 446–447) – and the line was accordingly deleted by Bentley, followed by Gow–Scholfield (the *Dictionary*’s nominal text of reference), hence the somewhat misleading “dubious reading”. Bentley also suggested λυκοσπαδέες ἐγένοντο; Schneider printed τούρων δὲ μέλισσαι; and Jacques in the *Les Belles Lettres* text (2002) put a half stop at the end of 741, allowing for a change of subject. The earliest attestation of the word is in any case at Call. fr. 488, where someone is riding an Ἀτράκιον ... λυκοσπάδα πῶλον (“*lykospas* colt from Atrax”, a city in Thessaly). Hsch. λ 1398 says such horses are found “around the Adriatic”,¹⁸ while Phot. λ 454 traces them to Enetia, i.e. the area around what is today Venice, which amounts to the same thing. Plu. Mor. 641 f – 642 a offers a silly explanation of the adjective, according to which horses that are chased (and presumably torn) by wolves, but are fast enough to get away, are called λυκοσπάδες and recognized as being of particularly high quality. This all looks like a folk-etymology of some non-Greek term for a region or the like.

S.v. **λυμαίνω**,¹⁹ at Hdt. 1. 214. 4 λυμαينوμένη δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε (presented as an example of the verb taking the dative), τῷ νεκρῷ is more easily taken as governed by ἐπέλεγε. E. Ba. 632 αὐτῷ τὰδ’ ἄλλα ... λυμαίνεται (of the Stranger’s treatment of Pentheus inside the palace) is translated “he crushes him with other misfortunes”; but τὰδ’ ἄλλα is an internal accusative and αὐτῷ is a dative of disadvantage, and the sense is ~ “he does him the following injuries”. Theoc. 10. 15 τίς δέ τυ τῶν παίδων λυμαίνεται; means not “Which is the girl who makes you suffer?”, but “Which of the girls is doing you injury?” X. Mem. 1. 3. 6 τὰ λυμαίνόμενα γαστέρας καὶ κεφαλὰς καὶ ψυχὰς ταῦτ’ ἔφη

¹⁸ Pace the *Dictionary*, however, Ael. NH 16. 24 does not.

¹⁹ As Renihan 1975, 132 notes, the active is late, hence LSJ’s decision to lemmatize as λυμαίνομαι.

εἶναι means not “he said that what ruins the stomach, the head, and the soul are these” but “he said that the aforementioned are what ruin stomachs, heads and souls”. The reference to “D. 18. 203” is actually to 18. 303, where εἰ ... πάντα ταῦτ’ ἐλυμαίνετο τοῖς ὅλοις means not ~ “if all these things together have worsened the situation” but ~ “if all these things went on doing damage to the whole enterprise”.

λυμαντήρ at X. *Hiero* 3. 3 is a noun and thus means “*destroyer*” (better “*damager*”) but not “*that ruins*” (as if the word were an adjective). The cognate adjective **λυμαντήριος** at A. *Ch.* 1438 γυναικὸς τῆσδ’ ὁ λυμαντήριος, meanwhile, is glossed first “*that outrages*” (better “*that damages*”) but then “*corrupter*” (as if the word were a noun), apparently in an attempt to make the genitive seem more natural in English. The noun **λυμαντής** at S. *Tr.* 793 λυμαντὴν βίου is glossed as an adjective (“*that destroys*”), which is then converted into an odd verbal phrase (“*is a ruin*”, which in colloquial English means “is ruined, is a disaster”), once again in order to make the genitive (“of life”) easier in English.²⁰

“**λυμνός** see γυμνός” is a reference to Hsch. λ 1417, an example of a simple uncial error (ΛΥΜΝΟΣ for ΓΥΜΝΟΣ) converted by ancient scholarship into a lexicographic oddity and perpetuated as such in the *Dictionary*. Cf. s.v. **λίσκος** above (*Hyperboreus* 30: 2 [2024] 301).

S.v. **λυπέω**, E. *Ion* 1311 λυπήσομέν τιν’ ὧν λελυπήμεσθ’ ὕπο means not “whoever has made me suffer, I will make him suffer”, but “We will cause pain for one of those who caused us pain”, i.e. “I will cause pain for one of those who caused me pain”. Heliodor. 2. 33. 4 λυπεῖ με λύπην ἀνίατον is an example of the verb with a combination of an internal and an external accusative, the subject of the verb is a woman, and the meaning is thus not “he afflicts me with incurable pain” but “she causes me incurable pain”. Th. 4. 53. 3 ληστὰι ... τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἥσσαν ἐλύπουν ἐκ θαλάσσης (a generalizing statement) is another example of λυπέω with a combination of an internal and an external accusative (the former here effectively translated into

²⁰ S.v. **λύμη**, Plb. 5. 59. 11 πάσας ... τὰς ἀνθρωπείας λύμας means not “all human waste” but “all the human waste”, i.e. all the sewage of Seleucia.

English as an adverb) and means not “the pirates less often attacked Laconia coming from the sea” but “pirates did Laconia less damage (by raiding) from the sea”. Pl. *Grg.* 494 a τὰς ἐσχάτας λυπεῖν λύπας means not “to suffer the last pains” but “to suffer the most extreme pains” (so too *Prt.* 354 b). E. *Med.* 286 λυπῇ δὲ λέκτρων ἀνδρὸς ἐστερημένη means not “it pains you to be deprived of your conjugal bed” but “you feel grief when you are deprived of your husband’s bed”. D. 18. 217 ταῦτ’ ἐλυπεῖθ’ ὁρῶν; means not “it was painful to see these things” but “Did he feel grief when he saw these things?”

S.v. **λύπη** (glossed “*pain, affliction, sorrow, suffering*”), “in a moral sense” must be intended to mean “in an emotional sense”.

λύπημα is “*sorrow*” or “*grief*” but not “*suffering*” (which would be *λύπησις).

S.v. **λυπηρός**, Th. 6. 16. 5 οἶδα δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους ... ἐν μὲν τῷ καθ’ αὐτοὺς βίῳ λυπηροὺς ὄντας means not “I know that such men are unpopular in their life” but “I know that such men are unpopular in their own lifetime” (in contrast to the verdict rendered by posterity).

S.v. **λυπρός**, A. *Eu.* 174 κάμοι γε λυπρός (of Apollo) means not “it was painful for us” but “he brings pain to me as well”. λυπρὴ γῆ at Hdt. 9. 122. 4 is not “sterile earth” but “difficult land” (where the Persians choose to settle as free men, rather than working the rich soil in the plains for others). At Thphr. *CP* 2. 4. 5 (discussing the sorts of crops that rich soil favors and disfavors), the word is applied to vegetable and cereal crops generically (τὰ λάχανα καὶ ὁ Δημήτριος καρπός) and patently means not “*poor, thin, miserable, insufficient*” but “containing little oil” *vel sim.*²¹

A **λυσαιδός** is properly not a “*lyre-player*” (i.e. a **λυσιστής**) but “someone who sings to the accompaniment of a lyre”; cf. the distinction between κιθαρωδός and κιθαριστής.

²¹ The passage is cited twice, first “of plants”, the second time “of food”; the former is correct, although the reference is clearly to the food such plants produce.

There is probably no real difference of meaning, or at least not one involving size, between the primitive λύρα and its formal diminutive **λύριον** (glossed “*small lyre*”).²² The same is likely true for **λυροφοινίκιον** (glossed “*a small Phoenician lyre*” (< **λυροφοῖνιξ** (glossed “*Phoenician lyre*”)).

λυρογηθής (adesp. *AP* 9. 525. 12; of Apollo) is glossed “*who loves the lyre*”. But the second element in the compound is < γηθέω, and the sense is accordingly “*who takes pleasure in the lyre*”.

The second element in **λυρωνία** at *Ar. fr.* 251 is < ὠνέομαι, and the word thus means not “*acquiring a lyre*” but “*the purchase of a lyre / lyres*”.²³

λυσιαῖδες are not “*lupins*” but “*lupines*” or “*lupine seeds*” (normally θέρμιοι); Polemon *fr.* 91 Preller identifies this as specifically Spartan vocabulary.

The attractive stone mentioned at *Plin. Nat.* 37. 172 is there referred as a *lysimachos* = Greek **λυσίμαχος**, not as a “*lysimacha*”.

λυσίμβροτος is not “*that destroys or weakens men*” but “*that destroys or weakens mortals*”.²⁴

S.v. **λύσις**, *Arist. Somn.* 454 b 25–27 has been heavily rewritten as ἡ λύσις αἰσθήσεως ἐγρήγορσις and translated “*the reawakening and release from sensation*”. The original Greek is very different: τῆς δ’ αἰσθήσεως ... τὴν μὲν ἀκινήσιαν καὶ οἷον δεσμὸν τὸν ὕπνον εἶναι φαμεν, τὴν δὲ λύσιν καὶ τὴν ἄνεσιν ἐγρήγορσιν (“*we declare that sleep is the immobilization and as it were fettering of perception,*

²² See Petersen 1910, 97.

²³ S.v. **λυσίζωνος**, “*of a woman: who loosens or has loosened one’s belt, i.e. married*” would have to mean that the woman loosens her partner’s belt, *sc.* to have sex with him; read “*who has loosened her belt*”.

²⁴ It is unnerving to find such translations still being offered in an authoritative source. Cf. part II, *Hyperboreus*. 29: 2 (2023) 301 n. 3 (on the *Dictionary*’s evasive language in regard to slavery); s.v. **λεία**, where ἀνθρώπους is translated “*men*” rather than “*human beings, people*” or the like.

and that the loosing and relaxation of (this immobilization / fettering) is waking up”²⁵). In the Aristotelian *Poetics*, where λύσις is glossed “*dissolution, solution*”, it is actually a technical term (1455 b 28–29) for the portion of the action of a tragedy that extends ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς μεταβάσεως μέχρι τέλους (“from the beginning of the transformation [of the central character’s fortunes] to the end”, i.e. ~ “the high point of the action, the denouement”).²⁶

S.v. **λυσιτελής**, Ael. *NA* 10. 50 τοῦ δέοντος πρίασθαι λυσιτελέστερον means not “to buy below cost” but “to buy for less than you should”.

λυσσός (poetic) is treated as a noun in LSJ (λυσσός, -άδος, ἡ) and handled ambiguously in the *Dictionary* (lemmatized simply λυσσός, -άδος). It is in fact an adjective of a sort restricted to use with feminine objects; cf. above s.v. **Λεσβιάς** (*Hyperboreus* 29: 2 [2023] 315). **λυτηριάς** (“liberator”) is lemmatized λυτηριάς, -άδος, ἡ, i.e. as a noun, in LSJ; again simply λυτηριάς, -άδος in the *Dictionary*.

LSJ s.v. **λυσσάω** glosses the verb “*suffer from rabies*” at e.g. Ar. *Lys.* 298. The *Dictionary* (with reference to the same passages) uses instead the archaic “*hydrophobia*” (and not simply in reference to the hydrophobic stage of the disease).

λυσσόδηκτος (glossed “*bitten by a rabid animal*”) is cited from the *Geoponica* and Marcus Aurelius, but is already attested centuries earlier in Crateuas (fr. 10 Wellmann) and then repeatedly in Dioscurides (e.g. 2. 10. 1).

λυτήρ (A. *Th.* 941; E. *El.* 136) is a noun and thus means “*liberator*” or “*resolver, referee*” but not “*that loosens*” (as if the word were an adjective).

²⁵ Adapted from Hett’s translation in the Loeb (Hett ²1957, 325).

²⁶ S.v. **λυσιτέλεια**, the use of the word at Plb. 31. 27. 11 is glossed “*attention to gain, consideration of what is useful*”, after which Polybius’ περὶ τὸν χρόνον is quoted and translated “with regard to due dates”; what is meant is “with regard to when debts are due”.

S.v. **λύτρον**, Th. 6. 5. 3 λύτρα ἀνδρῶν ... αἰχμαλώτων λαβὼν τὴν γῆν means not “the territory having been taken as the price for the prisoners’ ransom” but “taking the land as ransom payments for the prisoners”.

λυτρωτήριος (Byzantine Christian vocabulary) is an adjective and accordingly means not “*redeemer*” but “*redeeming*”.

λύττοι (a *hapax*) at Hsch. λ 1470 is treated as an adjective (**λύττος -η -ον**) and glossed “*lofty, sublime*”. But Hesychius treats the word as a noun meaning οἱ ὑψηλοὶ τόποι (“elevated spots”).

λυχνόπτης at Hsch. δ 16²⁷ is a noun (“lamp-lighter”) but is glossed as an adjective (“*that lights or carries a lamp*”).

λυχνέλαιον (in a medical recipe at Alex. Trall. *Ther.* I 445. 23) is not an “*oil-lamp*” but “lamp-oil”.

Ar. fr. 291 ὥσπερ λύχνος / ... καθεῦδ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ λυχνιδίου (“just like a lamp, he slept on the *lychnidion*”) makes it clear that a **λυχνίδιον** is not a “*small lamp or oil lamp*”²⁸ but a “lamp-stand” or the like.

S.v. **λύχνος**, Ar. *Nu.* 18 ἄπτε λύχνον (Strepsiades issues an order to a slave) is not “Light the lamp!”, but “Light a lamp!” Hdt. 7. 215 περὶ λύχνων ἀφάς is not “when the lights come on” (as if modern streetlights were in question), but “around lamp-lighting”, i.e. “around the time when people light their lamps”. *LXX II Sam.* 21. 18 οὐ μὴ σβέσης τὸν λύχνον Ἰσραὴλ means not “lest you extinguish the lamp of Israel” but is a strong prohibition: “Do not extinguish the lamp of Israel!”

λυχνοῦχος is glossed not just “*lamp-holder*” but “*candlestick, candelabra*”, with reference to a number of 5th/4th-century fragments. But the Greeks did not use candles, at least for lighting, and the latter definitions should be struck (or attributed only to Roman-era sources).

²⁷ Obscurely cited as “Hsch. 1. 397. 16”.

²⁸ All lamps were “oil lamps”, and what the difference between the two definitions is supposed to be is unclear.

S.v. **λύω**, E. *Hec.* 539 λῦσαι ... πρύμνας ... / νεῶν is “to loose the sterns of our ships” and thus only by extension “to weigh anchor”. S. *El.* 743 λύων ἡνίαν ἀριστεράν is not “loosening the left rein” but “slackening the left rein” (but the text is problematic in any case, and Finglass prints Toepfer’s τανύων). Plu. *Flam.* 10 τοῦ ποδὸς λύσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα means not “freeing Greece from the shackles imprisoning its feet” but ~ “freeing Greece (from the shackle) around its foot”. λύειν στόμα at E. *Hipp.* 1060 is not equivalent to λύειν σιωπὴν at Alciph. 3. 19. 6: the former means “to set one’s tongue free to speak”, while the latter means ~ “to put an end to silence”. At [Arist.] *Po.* 1456 a 10, the word refers to a tragic poet’s handling of the climax (**λύσις**; see above s.v.) of the action of his play (thus perhaps “*resolve*”, but not “*dissolve*”). *Il.* 11. 107 ἔλυσεν ἀποίνων is translated “freed upon payment of ransom”; ἀποίνων is a genitive of price (“he freed him for ransom money”), and it is unclear whether the text has been misunderstood or this is merely another example of normal Greek syntax treated as peculiar to a particular verb (cf. s.v. **λοχάω**).²⁹ “To cancel previous errors” catches the general sense of S. *Ph.* 1224 λύσων ὅς’ ἐξήμαρτον ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ, but what the Greek actually says is ~ “in order to make good whatever mistakes I made in the past”. γούνατ’ ἔλυσεν at *Il.* 5. 176 and similar expressions in Homer mean literally “dissolve the knees”. But the sense of the phrase is not “murder” in the context of the war at Troy but “kill”; in the *Odyssey* it routinely means ~ “break the strength of” in both active (e.g. 20. 118) and passive (e.g. 4. 703); and this sense works just as well in the cited passages in the *Iliad* as well. The expression λῦσαι τὰς αὐτὰς ὠδῖνας, used a number of times by Saint John Chrysostom to mean “be uterine siblings”, is treated as a different expression from λῦσαι ὠδῖνας in the sense “put an end to birth-pangs, give birth”; but Chrysostom is using flowery language, and “put an end to the same birth-pangs” is an elaborate way of saying “put an end to birth-pangs for the same woman”, i.e. “be born from the same womb”. X. *HG* 7. 5. 22 τὴν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πρὸς μάχην παρασκευὴν means not “the souls’

²⁹ Cf. the extensive treatment below of constructions such as λῦσαι ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν (a commonplace use of ἐκ + gen. and thus irrelevant to a discussion of λύω in particular). Despite the implication of the organization of this note, λῦσαι τίνα ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν is not an example of the verb + acc. + gen. in the sense “free someone from something”.

disposition to fight” but “the readiness in their souls for battle”.³⁰ Expressions such as λύσαντες τὰς ... σπονδάς (“violating their treaty”) at Th. 1. 23. 4 are not examples of an extended use of λύω in the supposed sense “to divide” but are simple figurative uses of the basic sense of the verb “break, destroy”. X. *An.* 3. 4. 36 οὐ ... ἐδόκει λύνειν αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς πορεύεσθαι means not “it did not seem fitting that they should travel by night” but “it did not seem advantageous for them to travel by night”.³¹ A. *Pers.* 592–594 λέλνται ... λαὸς ἐλεύθερα βάζειν, ὡς ἐλύθη ζυγὸν ἀλκᾶς (of the Ionian cities, now that Persia’s power has been broken) means not “the people is free to speak freely once the yoke of power has been loosened” but “the population has been released to speak freely, since the yoke of force has been removed”. NT *Mark* 7:35 ἐλύθη ὁ δεσμὸς τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ (of a deaf-mute man healed by Jesus) means not “his tongue was loosened” but “the bond upon his tongue was loosened” (*sc.* allowing him to talk). Aeschin. 3. 197 ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ ψήφῳ μὴ λυθῇ τὸ παράνομον means not “unless the accusation of illegality is annulled at the first votes” (*sic*) but “but whenever the charge of illegality is not dismissed by the first ballot” (i.e. by the preliminary vote on the question of whether the motion being offered was actually illegal). NT *John* 10:35 οὐ δύναται λυθῆναι ἡ γραφή means not “the validity of Scripture cannot be abolished” but “the Scripture cannot be done away with”, i.e. what it says is what it says.

S.v. λῶβη, *Od.* 24. 433 λῶβη γὰρ τάδε γ’ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι means not “these things are also a cause of shame for those who will learn of them in the future” (i.e. they too will be embarrassed at these events) but “these things are a cause for derision also for people to come to hear about” (i.e. they too will speak badly of what was done to us, when they hear the story).

λωβήτειρα and λωβητήρ are both nouns but are glossed as adjectives (“that ruins, destructive” and “that offends, that outrages”,

³⁰ In the translation of *Od.* 20. 118 immediately before this, read “one’s knees” for “one’s knes”.

³¹ This and the others examples cited of the verb used intransitively in the sense “pay off, bring benefits, be useful” are equivalent to τέλη λύω, a point obscured here but treated crisply and effectively in LSJ s.v. V.2.

respectively). **λωβητής** is also a noun glossed as an adjective (“*that offends, that ruins*”). **λωβητήν ... ἄντυγα** at Nonn. *D.* 26. 159 does not mean “shaved head”, although this approximates the sense of part of the line as a whole, **λωβητήν ἐκάλυπτε λιπότριχος ἄντυγα κόρσης** (lit. “he concealed the outraged curve of his hairless head”, of an Indian whose king abused him by shaving his head and then forced him to join a military campaign against Dionysus).

Hsch. λ 1494 does not define **λωγάλιοι** (cited in the plural) as “*catamites*” but as **πόρνοι** (“male prostitutes”).³² Cf. Hsch. λ 1495 **λωγάς· πόρνη** (“*lôgas: a prostitute [fem.]*”).

λώγασος at Hsch. λ 1496 is glossed “*lash*”, but Hesychius actually said that it means **ταυρεία μάστιξ** (“a whip made of cow-hide”).³³

λωλον (a *hapax* at Hsch. λ 1505) is glossed “*a pie for children, made of figs and grapes*”. But the Greeks did not eat anything resembling pie, and Hesychius actually defines the word as **βρωμα ἐκ γιγάρτων καὶ σύκων γενόμενον, παιδίοις πεφωσμένον** (“a food made of grapeseeds and figs that is toasted for children”). **λωλώ** (glossed **ὅταν σῦκα μετὰ γιγάρτων φωσθῇ**, “when figs are toasted with grapeseeds” at Hsch. λ 1506) is apparently another name for the same dish (or another garbled rendering of the name), and see above s.v. **λολλοῦν**; Poll. 6. 76 seems to regard it as a cake of some sort.

λώπη is a Homeric *hapax* at *Od.* 13. 224 **δίπτυχον ἄμφ’ ὤμοισιν ... λώπην** / (worn by Athena disguised as a shepherd boy) and is picked up from there at Theoc. 25. 254 **δίπλακα λώπην** /; A. R. 2. 32 **δίπτυχα λώπην** / and repeatedly in the Sibylline oracles (always **λώπην**

³² The gloss is preserved only in Vat. Gr. 23, an antistoecharium that seems to contain some material from Hesychius. Latte was convinced of its value, Cunningham is not. The gloss seems likely to be borrowed from the next item in the *Lexicon*, with appropriate adjustment for the genders of the different words.

³³ The intended sense of “[see **λωγας?**]” (*sic*) as an etymology of the word is unclear. The *Dictionary* is apparently uncertain about how to handle Latte’s **λωισμόν** (which will not do for a lemma) at Hsch. λ 1500; the options are **λωϊσμόν** (as in LSJ), **λωσμόν**, and **†λωισμόν†**, and one must choose between them.

ἀμφειμένος ὄμοις /). There seems to be no evidence that the garment was “made of skin” beyond the fact that the word is apparently cognate with λέπω (“peel”). **λώπιον** (glossed “*small cloak*”) is formally a diminutive of the word but seems to mean simply “garment resembling a λώπη”, i.e. a ἱμάτιον of some sort.³⁴ For λώπη meaning “cloak”, cf. **λωποδύτης** (lit. “one who puts on a λώπη”, *sc.* that belongs to another person), a mugger who specialized in stealing his victims’ robes; there is no reason to think that the word has the alleged extended sense “*thief, robber*” at Cratin. fr. 220; Ar. *Ra.* 772; D. 4. 47.³⁵ **λωποδυτέω** likewise means “steal clothing” at e.g. Ar. *Pl.* 165, and there is no reason to posit an extended general sense “*steal* (items of other sorts)”. **λωπιστός** at Hsch. λ 1511 = adesp. tr. fr. 591 c is glossed “wearing a patched cloak”; Hesychius actually defines the word ὁ Παλαμήδης ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἱματίων ἐπρίψεως (“Palamedes, from his throwing cloaks over himself” *vel sim.*; obscure).

λωροτομέω (cognate with **λῶρος**, “*strip of leather, belt*”) is glossed “*cut leather, be a tanner*”. But tanners cure leather rather than cutting it into strips, and the latter is the work of the βυρσοπώλης (“leather-seller”), with whom the Triclinian *scholion* on Ar. *Eq.* 768 associates the verb (κατατμηθεῖν τε λέπαδνα· ὥς βυρσοπώλης εἶπεν εἰς μέρη διατμηθεῖν καὶ λωροτομηθεῖν, “‘might I be cut up into yoke-straps!’: as a leather-seller, he said ‘may I be split into pieces and cut into straps!’”). **λωροτόμος** (“strap-cutter”) is likewise glossed “*tanner*”, despite the fact that ancient sources (e.g. Hsch. σ 1203) repeatedly describe it as a synonym for **σκυτοτόμος** (“leather-cutter, leather-worker”).

λῶταξ is included at *Cap* 8. 32. 11 in a list of undesirable persons and occupations along with various sorts of magicians, amulet-makers, and the like. The -αξ suffix suggests a colloquial term of abuse: cf. **πλούταξ** (‘rich guy’), **στόμφαξ** (‘bombastic ranter’), **φέναξ** (‘cheat’), **ψίλαξ** (‘bald guy’), etc.³⁶ There is no reason to think the word means “*procurer*” there, nor does this translation sit easily with

³⁴ See Petersen 1910, 95, citing Aristotle.

³⁵ The authors are oddly cited in alphabetical order, as if Cratinus was not a generation older than Aristophanes and thus properly listed before him.

³⁶ In all these cases the *alpha* is long; thus better **λῶταξ**?

the proposed etymology < λῶτος (“lotos”). Zonar. p. 1324 offers the gloss ὁ ληστής ἢ ὁ πόρνος ἢ ὁ μύρα ἀλειφόμενος ἢ ὁ καταδαπανῶν ἐν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ, ὡς ὁ πόρνος καὶ ὁ ἀνδρόγυνος, ἢ ὁ αὐλητής (“a bandit, or a male prostitute, or someone who covers himself with perfume, or someone who wastes his life on shameful activities, like a male prostitute or an effeminate, or a pipe-player”). LSJ s.v. condenses this into “flute-player” (apparently taking the word to be < λῶτος in the sense “pipe made of lotos-stalks”, and preferring to ignore the rest). Here, as at other points where λῶτος is connected with the *aulos*, the reference is to a tree identified with *Zizyphus lotus*, one of several species of the plant called jujube in the buckthorn family (*Rhamnaceae*). According to Theophrastus, it thrives in Libya (*Hist. plant.* 4. 3. 1), and its wood is dark, solid, and beautiful (*Hist. plant.* 4. 2. 5) and used to make a variety of objects, including pipes, statues, and furniture (*Hist. plant.* 4. 2. 5, 4. 3. 4).

Something has gone badly wrong at the end of s.v. λῶτος, which contains numerous repeated references, garbled glosses, confused abbreviations and the like.³⁷

S.v. λωφάω (glossed “*stop, cease, interrupt*”), the initial three glosses are too condensed and distant from the Greek to be comprehensible. For “with gen.: χόλου to be subject to anger Aeschl. *Pr.* 376; πόθου to desire Aeschl. *Pr.* 654; τοῦδε ... φόνου from this massacre Soph. *Ai.* 61”, read e.g. “with gen.: χόλου λ. to cease from anger Aeschl. *Pr.* 376; πόθου λ. to cease from desire Aeschl. *Pr.* 654; τοῦδε λ. φόνου³⁸ to cease from this slaughter Soph. *Ai.* 61”. So too X. *An.* 4. 7. 6 ὅταν λωφήσωσιν οἱ λίθοι means not “once the stone-throwing stops” but “when the stones stop”.

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³⁷ If Λωτοφάγοι is glossed “*Lotophagoi, Lotus-eaters*”, Λωτοφαγία (their country) should be glossed “land of the Lotophagoi, land of the Lotus-eaters”, not “*land of the Lotophages*”.

³⁸ Or πόνου; the manuscripts are divided.

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Part IV. Two generations ago, Robert Renehan published a series of articles expanding, refining, and correcting entries in the 9th edition of the monumental Liddell–Scott–Jones *Greek–English Lexicon* (1940) as supplemented by Barber and his fellow editors (1968). These notes on the letter *lambda* in the new *Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek* are offered in a similar spirit.

Часть IV. Полвека тому назад Роберт Ренеган опубликовал ряд дополнений, уточнений и поправок к девятому изданию монументального словаря Liddell–Scott–Jones, *Greek–English Lexicon* (1940), и к дополнению к нему группы издателей во главе с Барбером (1968). Настоящие заметки к леммам на букву *лямбда* призваны сыграть аналогичную роль по отношению к новому *Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*.

KEYWORDS

AVDOULOU

Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*; Philodemus, *On Rhetoric* 3; Sardanapal(l)us
Сарданапал(л); Филодем, *О риторике* 3; Цицерон, *Письма к
Аттику*

BELIKOV

апология Сократа; Ксенофонт; Максим Тирский; Платон
Apology of Socrates; Maximus of Tyre; Plato; Xenophon

KAZANSKAYA

ancient scholia; Hellespont; Homer; Ovid; πλατύς
античные схолии; Геллеспонт; Гомер; Овидий; πλατύς

KEYER

clasping knees in prayer; ganosis; genua incerare; Juvenal; Prudentius; Vitruvius; waxing of statues

Витрувий; обработка статуй воском; прикосновение к коленям
при молитве; Пруденций; Ювенал; ganosis; genua incerare

LANE

Greek literature; Pindar; textual criticism
древнегреческая литература; критика текста; Пиндар

LUCARINI

ancient scholarship; ancient scholia; Pindar; textual criticism
античная наука; античные схолии; критика текста; Пиндар

OLSON

definition; dictionary; lexicography; lexicon; philology
лексикография; лексикон; определение; словарь; филология

SCHNAIBLE

Aegean Islands; Asia Minor; Greek epigraphy; Megara; Syracuse.
греческая эпиграфика; Малая Азия; Мегара; Сиракузы; Эгейские
острова

ULLRICH

history of classical philology; subversive reading; Ovid's *Fasti*;
textual criticism

имплицитная критика; история классической филологии; кри-
тика текста; *Фасты* Овидия

ZAGO

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Авиан; Бабрий; критика текста; конъектуры; латинская басня

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Erinna; Euripides; *Iphigenia in Tauris*; popular notions about marriage
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