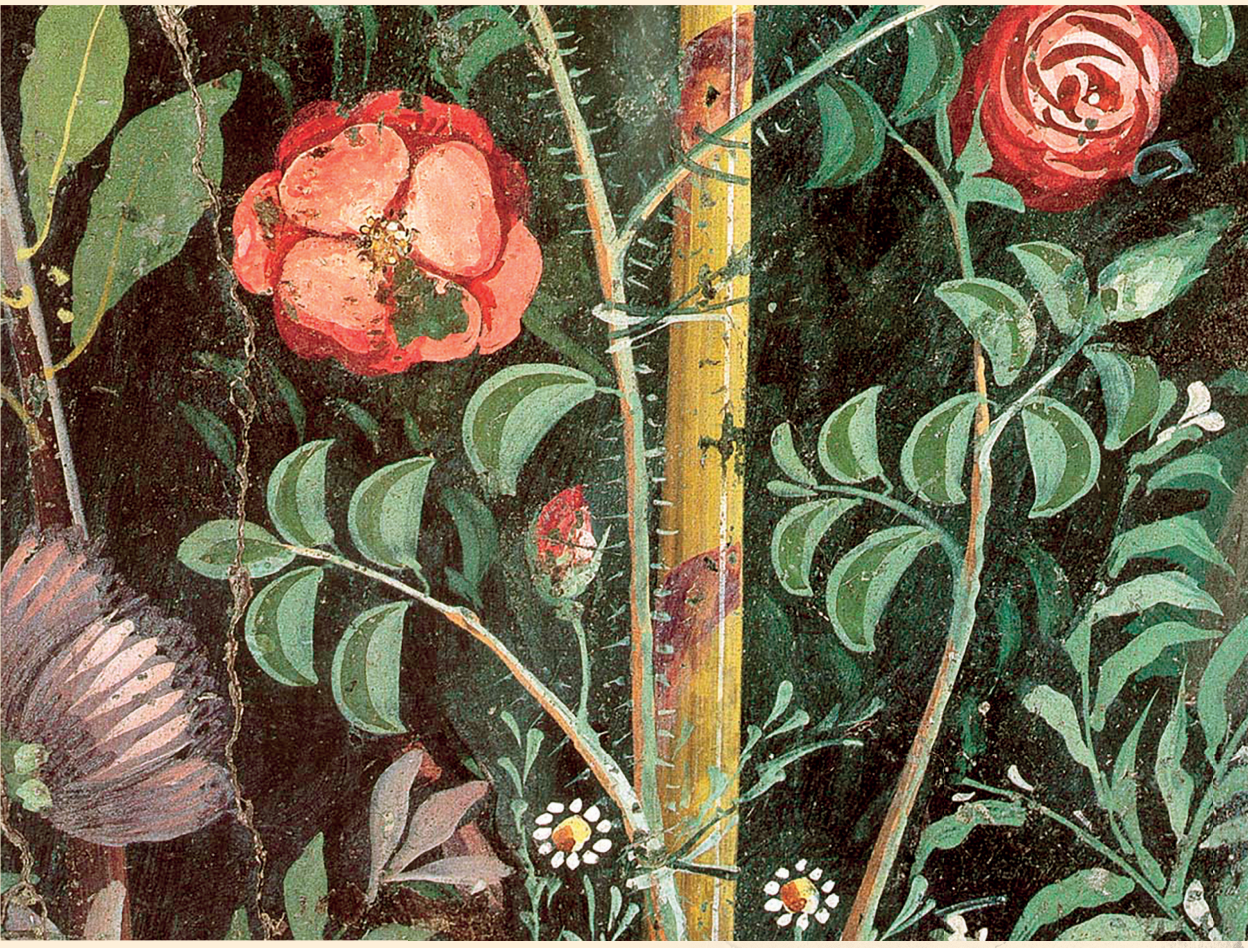
Edited by Ivo Volt, Janika Päll and Neeme Näripä



Hortus Floridus

Studies in Honour of Anne Lill

ACTA SOCIETATIS MORGENSTERNIANAE VIII–IX

Morgensterni Seltsi toimetised
Acta Societatis Morgensternianae
VIII–IX

Morgensterni Seltsi toimetised
Acta Societatis Morgensternianae
VIII–IX

Hortus Floridus

Studies in Honour of Anne Lill

Edited by Ivo Volt, Janika Päll and Neeme Näripä

University of Tartu
Press

Hortus Floridus. Studies in Honour of Anne Lill. Edited by Ivo Volt, Janika Päll and Neeme Näripä. (*Morgensterni Seltsi toimetised = Acta Societatis Morgensternianae*; VIII–IX.) Tartu: University of Tartu Press, 2024.

The publication of this volume was supported by the University of Tartu, the Cultural Endowment of Estonia, and the Cultural Endowment of Tartu.

ISSN 1736-1230 (print)
ISSN 2613-5957 (pdf)
ISBN 978-9916-27-622-8 (print)
ISBN 978-9916-27-623-5 (pdf)

Copyright: Authors, 2024

Morgenstern Society
Department of Classical Studies,
Institute of Foreign Languages and Cultures,
University of Tartu,
Lossi 3, 51003 Tartu, Estonia

University of Tartu Press
www.tyk.ee

CONTENTS

Editors' Preface and Acknowledgements 7

Jaan Puhvel
Arboreal Poetic Metonymy in Antiquity 9

Mait Kõiv
Orthagoras of Sikyon and Charillos of Sparta: Approaching the Mytho-Biography of a Forgotten 'Tyrant' 13

Stephanie West
Reinforced Messages: On the Scythian Gifts (Hdt. 4.131–132) and Other Such Communications 31

Vita Paparinska
Pragmatic *vs*. Epideictic Discourse: Aristotelian Idea and its Reception in Antiquity 47

Martin Steinrück
„… und niemand wusste, was geschehen würde" (Überlegungen zum antiken Performancebegriff) 66

Paavo Roos
Polybius the Non-Hostage 79

Jerker Blomqvist
Reactions to Natural Disasters in Antiquity 87

Gregor Vogt-Spira
Philosophie der Zeit in lyrischer Form. Überlegungen zu Horaz' Eudaimoniekonzeption 112

Heinz-Günther Nesselrath
Von hitzigen Helden, mürrischen Misanthropen und prominenten Prostituierten: Die Deklamationen des Libanios – ein kleines Plädoyer für eine weniger geschätzte Gattung (Libanios, *Decl*. 5, 12, 25, 26) 131

Kadri Novikov
On the Composition of Myths in Longus and Achilles Tatius 154

Michael Bibikov
Some Points on the Historical Approach to the Byzantine Lives of Saints 166

Peter Kuhlmann
Humanism and Confession: The *Progymnasmata* by Iacobus Pontanus... 174

Heinz Hofmann
Basilius Zanchius, *Poemata* IV 7: Eine poetische Trauerklage auf Jacopo Sannazaro 187

Janika Päll
Greek Pindaric Odes in the United Kingdom 215

Katre Kaju
„Jch weiß ein Blümlein hübsch und fein". Fünf Hochzeitsgedichte für Christoph Blume 230

Maarit Kaimio
The Kings of Salamis by J. L. Runeberg: A Drama of Justice 244

Jaanika Anderson
University of Tartu Art Museum Cast Collections of Ancient Art in Educational Activity in 1803–1940 255

Maria-Kristiina Lotman
The Transmedial World of Ancient Greek Tragedy in Estonia 281

Neeme Näripä
Lucian's Indecency: Too Much for a Soviet Reader..... 307

Merike Ristikivi
Latin Terms and Legal Education: Acquisition of Professional Terminology..... 321

Heikki Solin
Grundzüge der klassischen Studien in Finnland 333

Contributors..... 346

Index of Personal Names..... 349

EDITORS' PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This volume of *Acta Societatis Morgensternianae* is a scholarly present to Anne Lill, Professor Emerita of the University of Tartu.

Classical studies at the University of Tartu have had several beginnings. As a separate academic discipline, classical philology was introduced to the university curriculum by Professor Karl Morgenstern (1770–1852) right after the re-establishment of the university in the beginning of the 19th century. At the end of the second decade of the 20th century, the world's first Estonian-language university was born, and with it classical studies in Estonian language, guided for years by another founding father, Pärtel Haliste. There then came a hiatus, and for decades only elementary Latin was taught, while classical studies did not exist as a discipline at the University of Tartu. However, a few classicists continued teaching students who were eager to learn more, thus carrying on the torch of classical learning. One of those eager students was Anne Lill, on whose initiative classical philology as a separate discipline was re-established at the university in 1990. Anne Lill was the Professor of Classical Studies from 1992 to 2012, and is Emerita since 2012.

Contributors to this volume include Anne's friends, colleagues and students. We are grateful to all those who decided to participate and were patient when there was a overly long delay in the publication process. The papers are presented roughly in chronological order regarding the topics they focus on.

We are grateful to the University of Tartu, to the Cultural Endowment of Estonia, and to the Cultural Endowment of the City of Tartu for financial support in preparing and publishing of this volume.

Floreat, floreat, floreat!

Ivo Volt, Janika Päll, Neeme Näripä

ARBOREAL POETIC METONYMY IN ANTIQUITY

Jaan Puhvel

In days before foreign automakers cornered the American market, a motor vehicle was sometimes referred to as "a piece of Detroit iron". Such tropal whimsy proliferated in antient/ancient poetry. Even as we use an iron on clothes, Latin *ferrum* could denote an implement such as a plough (*et ferro coepere solum proscindere terrae* [Lucretius 5.1295]), or a hair-curling device (*crines vibratos calido ferro* [Vergil, *Aeneid* 12.99–100]), and especially 'sword', both literally and in destructive action (*ferro ignique*, *igni ferroque*; when Juvenal (6.112) excoriates wanton women who swoon over and fall for disfigured gladiators, *ferrum est quod amant*).

Such metonymy is notably frequent with trees. The etymon of *tree* itself can mutate to a specific kind (e.g. Greek δρῦς 'oak'), or to wood material, or to an elongated wooden object such as shaft, pole, stick, beam, mast, spear (Greek δόρυ). In Latin *utile lignum* is described by Vergil (*Georgics* 2.446–448 and 451): *viminibus salices fecundae frondibus ulmi / at myrtos validis hastilibus et bona bello / cornus; Ituraeos taxi torquentur in arcus. / nec non et torrentem undam levis innatat alnus* 'willows are good for withies, elms for boughs, myrtles for strong spears, and cornel for war(weapons); yews are bent into Ityrean bows (referring to renowned Syrian archers); so too light alder floats on rushing wave'.

Earlier Vergil (*Georgics* 2.110–111) describes the habitats of some trees: *fluminibus salices crassis paludibus alni / nascuntur steriles saxosis montibus orni* 'willows grow by rivers, alders in dense bogs, sterile ashes in rocky mountains'. At the end of a long tree list Statius (*Thebais* 6.98–106) describes *alnus* as 'fond of channels' (*amica fretis*), along with *inhospita vitibus ulmus*.

Latin arboreal metonymy leans heavily towards watercraft and weapons. *Georgics* 1.136 describes shipbuilding at the dawn of civilization: *tunc alnos primum fluvii sensere cavatas* 'then for the first time rivers were exposed to hollowed-out alders'. In Valerius Flaccus (5.65) *quercus* 'oak' stands for the

good ship Argo, but 6.243 tells of someone who suffers a lethal spear-thrust: *impacta latus inter et ilia quercu* (*ibid*. 6.244 *mediam moriens descendit in hastam*). With *pinus* 'pine, fir' the maritime trope prevails: *Mincius infesta ducebat in aequora pinu* (Vergil, *Aeneid* 10.206); *non huc Argoo contendit remige pinus* (Horace, *Epodes* 16.57); *Pontica pinus* (Horace, *Odes* 1.14.11; *ibid*. 1 *o navis!*); *orbata praeside pinus* (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 14.88). Elsewhere weaponry predominates, mainly spear, javelin, lance, notably with *ornus/fraxinus* 'ash' and *cornus/cornum* 'cornel': *si tendi facilis cuiquam fuit arcus Ulixi / aur praeter dominum vibrabilis ornus Achilli* 'if for anyone the bow of Ulysses was easy to bend, or Achilles' spear brandishable by anyone but its owner' (Ausonius, *Epistula* 24.107–108); *metuendaque succo / taxus et infandos belli potura cruores / fraxinus* 'yew, fearsome for its sap, and ash bound to quaff the unspeakable gore of war' (Statius, *Thebais* 6.101–103); *per utrumque ... fraxinus acta femur* 'spear driven through both thighs' (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 5.142–143; similar carnage from a *iaculum = ferrata fraxinus*, *ibid*. 12.324 and 122; cf. *ibid*. 5.9 *fraxineam quatiens aeratae cuspidis hastam* 'shaking an ashen brass-tipped spear'; *ibid*. 12.369 *fraxineam misit ... hastam*); *aerata torsit grave cuspide cornum* (*ibid*. 8.408); *sic proprio miseri transfigit pectora corno* (Silius Italicus, *Punica* 10.122); *volat Itala cornus / aera per teneram* (Vergil, *Aeneid* 9.698–699); *pastoralem praefixa cuspide myrtum* 'shepherd's staff tipped with goad' (*ibid*. 7.817).

Sometimes an author in one work metonymizes the same tree in both marine and martial context, as in the case of *abiēs* 'fir': *labitur uncta vadis abies* 'the (pitch-)daubed skiff glides on the shallows' (Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.91); *casus abies visura marinos* 'boat bound to see shipwrecks' (*Georgics* 2.68); *remos et pictas abiete puppes* 'oars and painted stearns of ships' (*Aeneid* 5.663); *cuius apertum / adversi longa transverberat abiete pectus* 'whose exposed breast she (viz. *aspera virgo Camilla*) pierces with long lance' (*Aeneid* 11.666–667).

Another hardwood for weapons was the yew: *letum triste ferens auras secat Itala taxus* (Silius Italicus 13.210). Latin *taxus*, cognate with Russian *tis* 'yew', was good for spears, bows, and arrows, also feared for its poisonous alcaloid (*metuenda succo* quoted from Statius above), related in name (with metonymic preemption) to Greek τόξον 'bow' and τοξικὸν φάρμακον 'arrow poison' (yew-based "taxol" is a potent, though toxic anti-cancer drug in contemporary medicine!). Silius' spear metonymy finds confirmation in Hittite (KBo 54.143 Rs. 8 *nu ANA* GIŠ.SUKUR.HI.A GIŠ*eyan isparra-* 'fell a yew-tree for wooden spears'). Hittite *eya-* is part of a widespread 'yew' term (Old English *īw*, Old Irish *ēo*, Old Norse *ýr*, Old Prussian *iuwis*, Estonian *juga(-puu)*).

On the other hand, maple (Latin *acer*) was favored by furniture makers, as evidenced by the adjective *acernus*: *acernam mensam pertersit* (Horace, *Satires* 2.8.10–11); *mensae acernae* (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 12.254); *mensa acerna* (Martial, *Epigrams* 14.90). In Vergil it served as construction material for both a chair (*solioque invitat acerno* [*Aeneid* 8.178]) and the Trojan Horse (*trabibus contextus acernis ... equus* [*ibid*. 2.112–113]). According to Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 33.146) maplewood was used for sideboards of dinner couches. Again this chimes with Hittite, where the etymological cognate of *acer* is *hiqqar-* (preceded by the sumerogram GIŠ 'tree, wood'), with German *ahorn* 'maple' as a *tertium comparationis*. The crucial passage is KBo 22.6 IV 16–19: GIŠ*hiqqarza-ma-wa-ta kuit* É*hilamni arta nu-war-at-ta karsandu n-ass-apa* GIŠ.BANŠUR.MEŠ *iyandu t-as-za-kan* LÚ.MEŠ.UR.SAG-*summis azzikandu* 'maple which stands at the portal, they shall cut it and make tables out of it, and at these our champions shall take their meals'. In this instance there is no full-blown metonymy, but the parallel use of cognate tree material is noteworthy. Similar matching with true metonymy on the Hittite side may be present in GIŠ*sarpa-*, an upholstered wooden seat, if made of wood cognate with Latin *sorbus* 'rowan', and in GIŠ*hapsalli-* 'stool' when connected with Old Prussian *abse*, English *aspen* with its well-known heat resistance (and consequent use for sauna benches). In Germanic, maritime tree metonymy is found in Old Norse *eik*, Old English *āk* 'oak' for 'ship' (cf. Valerius Flaccus' *quercus* referring to the Argo), not unexpected in skaldic poetry where kennings could take tropal parlance to great lengths.

Turning now to Greek, poetic sequences of tree names occur from Homer onward, as in an Iliadic simile (16.482–484): ἤριπε δ᾽ ὡς ὅτε τις δρῦς ἤριπεν ἢ ἀχερωΐς / ἠὲ πίτυς βλωθρή τήν τ᾽ οὔρεσι τέκτονες ἄνδρες / ἐξέταμον πελέκεσσι νεήκεσι νήϊον εἶναι 'he fell like some oak falls, or poplar or tall pine that in mountains shipwrights cut with honed axes to be boat material'. Or *ibid*. 16.767: φηγόν τε μελίην τε τανύφλοιόν τε κράνειαν 'beech and ash and stretch-bark cornel'.

Compared to Latin, Greek material is less profuse, the most metonymy-prone trees being μελίη 'ash', ὀξύα 'beech', κράνεια 'cornel' for weapons, ἐλάτη 'fir' for boats; other conifers are rare, e.g. πεύκη 'pine' for 'torch': πελασθῆναι φλέγοντ᾽ ἀγλαῶπι πεύκᾳ 'draw nigh blazing with gleaming torch' (Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus* 213–215).

Homeric attestations dominate with μελίη. While it can denote the tree itself (e.g. *Iliad* 13.178; 16.767 quoted above), elsewhere it is clearly a spear (e.g. *Iliad* 19.390, beside ἔγχος *ibid*. 19.387; 22.225); its adjective is found in μείλινον ἔγχος (*Iliad* 5.655), δόρυ μείλινον (*Iliad* 5.666). In a similar vein, ὀξύα could

stand for 'spear' (Archilochus 186; Euripides, *Heracles* 727) and its adjective qualify spear-words, e.g. ἔγχεα ὀξυόεντα (*Iliad* 5.568), δουρὶ ... ὀξυόεντι (*Iliad* 14.443). Perhaps ὀξύα is etymologically cognate with Old Norse *askr* 'ash', Latin *ornus* (< **osenos*); cf. *orneus frons* 'ashen bough' (Columella 11.2.82). While κράνεια (*Iliad* 16.767 quoted above), κρανία, κράνος, κράνον was the tree, κράνεια could also mean 'spear' (Anyta Epigrammatica in *Anthologia Palatina* 6.123); it was also fit for bows: τόξον κρανείας (Euripides, *Fragmenta* 785), τόξα κρανέϊνα (Herodotus 7.92).

The basic Homeric metonymy of ἐλάτη seems to be 'oar': ἐϋξέστῃς ἐλάτῃσι 'with well planed oars' (*Iliad* 7.5), ξεστῇς ἐλάτῃσιν (*Odyssey* 12.172), but a further metonymic stretch could amount to 'ship', e.g. Ἰόνιον κατὰ πόντον ἐλάτᾳ πλεύσασα 'having sailed by boat over the Ionian sea' (Euripides, *Phoenissae* 208–209). The 'tree' sense is still palpable in δοῦρ᾽ ἐλάτης κέρσαντες 'having cut beams of fir' (*Iliad* 24.450) and θύρην δ᾽ ἔχε μοῦνος ἐπιβλὴς εἰλάτινος 'a single firwood bolt held the door' (*ibid*. 453–454, describing Achilles' lodgings in the Trojan camp; cf. the Hittite *hattalwas taru* 'wood of the doorbolt').

This *tour d'horizon* has found much metonymy in Latin poetry, some in Greek, with Hittite, Norse, and other parallels. These lines are inscribed in tribute to the scholar whose talent and drive spearheaded the revival of classical learning in renascent free Estonia. *Audendo nobis praeclare restituit rem!*

Abstract

Tropal whimsy, notably metonymy, is characteristic of ancient literature. This study explores its extent in Latin, Greek, Hittite and other traditions, as regards the use of tree names as poetic terms for objects of wood material.

ORTHAGORAS OF SIKYON AND CHARILLOS OF SPARTA: APPROACHING THE MYTHO-BIOGRAPHY OF A FORGOTTEN 'TYRANT'*

Mait Kõiv

The Ancient Greeks were convinced that crisis and internal disorder could produce tyranny. This is testified, for example, by the famous passage of the sixth century BC Megarian poet Theognis lamenting about opposing factions and internecine slaughter (ἔμφυλοι φόνοι) from which monarchy threatens to emerge, as a rectifier of or punisher for the badness of the people (εὐθυντῆρα κακῆς ὕβριος ἡμετέρης),[1] and the verses of the slightly earlier Lesbian aristocrat Alkaios, which described the turbulent conditions of his home town Mytilene producing the rise of a number of monarchs or tyrants (Archaic poets used the words *tyrannos* and *monarchos* synonymously).[2] The passage of Theognis suggests that tyranny might have offered some solution for the troubles (monarch as εὐθυντήρ – rectifier), which was demonstrated in practice by Pittakos, an enemy of Alkaios, whom the Mytileneans appointed as a temporary monarch for establishing order after the preceding internal conflicts.[3] On the other hand, a crisis could have been equally, and preferably for many, resolved

* I wish to thank Janusz Peters for his help with my English text.

1 Theogn. 39–52. See the discussion in Nagy 1985; Cobb-Stevens 1985; Selle 2008: 262–267.

2 Alc. fr. 7; 70; 75; 129; 302b; 332; 348. Note also the metaphor of state ship in tempest in fr. 6 and 208, and the description of the political turmoil in Mytilene by the later authors relying on the lost poems of Alkaios (Arist. *Pol.* 1285a31 ff; 1311a23 ff; b24 ff; Strabo 13.2.3; Diog. Laert. 1.74). For the modern discussion of the crisis in Archaic Mytilene see especially Page 1955: 149–243; Rösler 1980: 115–285; Pippin Burnett 1983: 107–181; Kurke 1994; De Libero 1996: 315–328; Liberman 2003: XIV–XXIII and comments; Forsdyke 2005: 36–48; Kõiv 2016: 28–33. For the use of the terms *tyrannis*/*tyrannos* and *monarchia*/*monarchos* in the Archaic poetry see Parker 1998: 149–154; Kõiv 2016: 15–25.

3 Alc. fr. 348.

by legislation avoiding tyranny. This was indeed the solution offered by the famous Athenian lawgiver Solon, a contemporary of Alkaios and Pittakos. Solon lamented that discord (δυσνομίη – lawlessness) and internal fighting caused evil for the polis, including monarchy which threatened to enslave the people.[4] Solon himself could have become a tyrant, but refused this as fatal for himself and for the state.[5] Instead, he proposed as remedy a joint action of the citizens, for which he 'united the people' and established the laws for restoring εὐνομίη (good order), ending the strife and saving the state from the danger of being enslaved by a tyrant.[6]

A similar alternative of tyranny and legislation in the Archaic Greece appears from historical tradition. An example can be provided by comparing the account of the emergence of tyranny in Sikyon, a small city-state in the Northern Peloponnese, and the tradition about the establishment of the Spartan internal order – *kosmos* or *eunomia* – by the legendary lawgiver Lykurgos. These traditions with obviously mythological traits and sometimes ritual implications clearly cannot be regarded as faithful descriptions of past events, but they show how the past was conceptualised. Particularly, they infer an interplay of tyranny and legislation in the traditions concerning early Spartan history, which has been so far hardly noticed in research.[7]

⋆

The Sikyonian story runs as follows.[8] The Sikyonians once killed at Delphi a Kleonaian (Kleonai was a small polis in North-Eastern Peloponnese) boy called Teletias. The boy was about to receive the crown of the Pythian games, but was torn to pieces during a riot which broke out between the Sikyonians and the Kleonaians. The Pythia predicted that the Sikyonians

[4] Solon fr. 4.1–31 West. Monarchy threatening to ruin the polis and enslave the people in fr. 9 West.

[5] Solon fr. 33–34 West.

[6] Solon fr. 36 West (uniting the people and establishing the laws for the salvation of the polis; but note also fr. 11.5–6 complaining that the Athenians, although separately clever, have collectively little sense; and fr. 4.32 ff describing *eunomia* as the remedy against the malicious strife); in fr. 32 West Solon states the averting of tyranny as his greatest merit before the state. For the discussion of the crisis and the aims of Solon see Raaflaub 1993: 68–73; Balot 2001: 73–98; Almeida 2003: 119–236; Irwin 2005: 83–261; Lewis 2006: 108–130; Stahl–Walter 2009: 143–149.

[7] But see Kõiv 2003: 168–178.

[8] The story is told by Plut. *De sera num. vind.* 7 (553a–b); Diod. 8.24; and P. Oxy. 9.1365 = FGrHist 105 F 2. For discussion see Kunstler 1991: 197–198; Ogden 1997: 105–107.

would be whipped for a hundred years for this crime, and said that whoever among the Sikyonians present at the occasion first had a son, that boy would execute the punishment. The father of this son was either a cook or butcher (μάγειρος) called Andreas who served as a whip-bearer (μαστιγοφόρος). The Sikyonians apparently intended either to prevent the birth of the ominous child or to kill the newborn, but somebody (the name is lost in the fragmentary papyri text) disregarded the oracle and Andreas reared the child. The boy was called Orthagoras (the Straight Speaker), and he became the tyrant of Sikyon, founding the dynasty of Orthagoridai (the Straight Speakers) which ruled over the city for a hundred years as predicted by the oracle.[9] The whipping established by the tyrants was beneficial for the Sikyonians, because, as we are told, the tyrants checked their wantonness, while the Kleonaians, who were not granted such a cure, came to nothing.

The story clearly views the tyranny as a cure for the state, necessary because of the anomalous antecedents. The placement of the murder during the coronation ceremony at Delphi, and the name Teletias implying rite of initiation (τελετή), indicates a ritual setting and, consequently, suggests that the act was equated to a sacrilege, while the way of the death by being torn to pieces, which is characteristic to a number of mythological figures,[10] demonstrates the mythological nature of the account. The fact that Andreas, the father of the future tyrant, was described as μάγειρος cannot be occasional. Μάγειρος had indeed an important role in a sacrificial ritual, and could have been equated to a priest, which suggests that Andreas was believed to have had some ritual, perhaps priestly, duties, and was supposedly involved in the sacrilegious act.[11] Clearly mythological is also the suggested attempt on the life of the child, which is indeed a frequent motif in the 'biographies' of the great

[9] That the Sikyonian tyranny reputedly lasted for 100 years is testified by Aristotle *Pol*. 1315b.

[10] Note Aktaion the son of Autonoe killed by his own dogs at Artemis' instigation (see Burkert 1983: 109–116; Debiasi 2015: 151–183) and especially his namesake, the son of Melissos of Corinth torn to the pieces in a brawl between Archias with his followers and the boy's own family, an incident followed by the sacrilegious suicide of his father Melissos in the Isthmian sanctuary, which led to draught and famine and ultimately to the foundation of Syracuse by the culprit Archias (Plut. *Mor*. 772d–773b; *Schol. Ap. Rhod*. 4.1212; Diod. 8.10; Max. Tyr. 24.1; for the discussion of the evidence see Broadbent 1968: 44–53). Note also the end of Sinis killed by Theseus, connected to the rituals of the same Isthmian sanctuary (see Schmidt 1929; Burkert 1983: 198–199)

[11] Kleidemos FGrHist 323 F 5c equates μάγειρος with κῆρυξ – see Latte 1928: 394. For the significance of Andreas as a μάγειρος see Ogden 1997: 105–107.

rulers,[12] and is attested for Kypselos of Corinth and Agathokles of Syracuse among the more or less historical Greek tyrants.[13] The whipping executed by the subsequent rulers might have been imagined in a very literary sense, as implied by the duty of whip-bearer ascribed to Andreas.[14] However, the punishment set the Sikyonians back to the right path, whereas the suitability of the tyrants for executing the task is indicated by the very names Orthagoras and the Orthagoridai – the One (Ones) Speaking in the Right or Straight way.[15]

The comparable tradition concerning Sparta reports a terrible lawlessness (*anomia* or *kakonomia*) replaced by the perfect order (*eunomia*) established by Lykurgos. The dichotomy of the preceding chaos and subsequent order was explicitly stated by Herodotos and Thukydides, and was widely accepted afterwards.[16] The story tells that Lykurgos who was the tutor of a Spartan king, identified as Charillos according to the earliest recorded and most widely accepted tradition, went abroad, observed the virtuous laws of Crete, and later consulted the Delphic oracle where Pythia predicted the constitution the lawgiver consequently established at Sparta.[17] This made the Spartans famously able to avoid tyranny, as is made clear by Thukydides stating a

[12] Sargon, Moses, Kyros and Romulus are perhaps the best known examples from outside Greece. Raglan (1936: 178–189) included them into his list of the standard features of heroic 'biography', but see Redford 1967; Propp 1984 and Lewis 1980: 156–157, presenting an ample collection of relevant stories. In Greek mythology the examples include Zeus and Dionysos among the gods, and Oidipous, Pelops, Perseus, Telephos, Meleagros, Herakles and others among the mortal heroes (see Ogden 2008: 19).

[13] Kypselos: Hdt. 5.92. Agathokles: Diod. 19.9, especially 2.

[14] See Kunstler 1991: 197–198.

[15] That tyranny could have been understood as a punishment and adjustment at the same time is suggested by the description of the threatening monarch as an *euthynter* (see above, with note 1), and by the oracle concerning the future Corinthian tyrant Kypselos (Hdt. 5.92), predicting the birth of an ominous child, the future tyrant, who will set things right in Corinth: δικαιώσει δὲ Κόρινθον. The verb δικαιώσει used in this context is perhaps intentionally ambiguous, implying both punishment and adjustment. The similarity of the cases of Kypselos and the Sikyonian Orthagorids has been pointed out by McGlew 1993: 67–68. On controversial attitude to tyranny see Luraghi 2014; on the tyrants as 'whippers' see Ogden 1997: 129.

[16] Hdt. 1.65: Τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων καὶ κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν σχεδὸν πάντων Ἑλλήνων; Thuc. 1.18.1: ἡ γὰρ Λακεδαίμων μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν τῶν νῦν ἐνοικούντων αὐτὴν Δωριῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὧν ἴσμεν χρόνον στασιάσασα ὅμως ἐκ παλαιτάτου καὶ ηὐνομήθη καὶ αἰεὶ ἀτυράννευτος ἦν; Arist. fr. 611 Rose: καταλαβὼν δὲ πολλὴν ἀνομίαν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι. The fullest description is given in Plut. *Lyc*. 2–5.

[17] Hdt. 1.65; Ephoros FGrHist 70 F 149, 173; Arist. *Pol*. 1271b22 ff; Plut. *Lyc*. 2–5; etc. See Tigerstedt 1965: 70–73; Szegedy-Maszak 1978; Kõiv 2003: 161–167; 2005: 239–243.

natural connection between the *eunomia* and the lack of tyranny in Sparta after the end of lawlessness.[18]

The severe but healthy order that Lykurgos forced upon his compatriots can be easily compared to whipping, but Lykurgos also established scourging of the youth in a very literary sense, and made this an essential part of the general ordering of the state. The education of the youth, which was a central element in the whole 'Lykurgan' arrangement, and which perpetually re-created the statehood by preparing worthy citizens, contained scourging by especially established whip-bearers (μαστιγοφόροι) who assisted the overseer of boys (παιδονόμος).[19] Even more specifically, Lykurgos established the famous ritual of flogging the youth in the ancient and most venerated sanctuary of goddess Orthia on the outskirts of the Spartan town, the very name of which – the Straight One – implies the adjustment of the Spartan ways,[20] similar to the name of Orthagoras in Sikyon.

The story about how the whipping rite in honour of Orthia was established is related by Pausanias. He says that when the statue of the goddess bound into the straight position by the willows (which explained the name Orthia) was discovered in the bushes, the finders immediately went mad, and when the Spartans from all their four wards began to sacrifice to the goddess, they quarrelled, which led to the killing at the altar and brought along a plague for the whole community, presumably as divine retribution. An oracle told the Spartans to anoint the altar with human blood, which they did by sacrificing human victims chosen by lot, until Lykurgos established the ritual of scourging the *ephebes* and anointing the altar in that way.[21] A ritual involving whipping is known from both the Classical and the Roman periods. In the fourth century Xenophon mentioned a ritual fight between two groups of youth, one trying to rob some cheese from the altar and the other beating the robbers back with

---

[18] Thuc. 1.18.1 quoted in note 16. Note also the speech of the Corinthian Sokles in Hdt. 5.92α, blaming the Spartans for their attempt to re-establish tyranny at Athens while having themselves not experienced its horrors.

[19] Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 2.2. See Ducat 2006: 159–160.

[20] Orthia can be understood as 'the adjuster' or 'the one setting things right'. On the ancient interpretations of the name see Calame 1977: 289–290. For the cult and its significance see Nilsson 1906: 191–195; Rose 1929; Jeanmaire 1939: 515–523; Brelich 1969: 130–138; Calame 1977: 276–281; Vernant 1992: 235–238; Bonnechere 1993; Kennell 1995: 70–97; Ducat 2006: 249–260; Kõiv 2015: 43–49.

[21] Paus. 3.16.9–10.

their whips.[22] Plato also noted this rite.[23] By Roman times when Plutarch and Pausanias described the rite it had developed into a simple scourging as a contest of endurance (the winner of which received the honourable title of βωμονείκης – the altar-winner). In both these periods the establishment of the rite was ascribed to Lykurgos.[24]

The story of Pausanias starts with an overwhelming chaos launched by sacrilegious killing. Since the rioting and the murder was placed during the generation of Lykurgos, or to that immediately before him,[25] it clearly must have been imagined as part of the *anomia* preceding his legislation. The lawgiver was thus seen as both restoring the order in the whole of the Spartan state and establishing the ritual order in its most important sanctuary. Both Xenophon and Plato mention the ritual as an integral part of the 'Lykurgan' education, which is indeed indicated by the very ascription of its foundation to the lawgiver.[26] The shrine of Lykurgos and the tomb of his son Eukosmos

[22] Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 2.9: καὶ ὡς πλείστους δὴ ἁρπάσαι τυροὺς παρ᾽ Ὀρθίας καλὸν θείς, μαστιγοῦν τούτους ἄλλοις ἐπέταξε, ... On the whole ritual see especially Nilsson 1906: 192–195; Brelich 1969: 133–136; Ducat 2006: 249–254 (see also Paradiso 2007 suggesting that the item robbed from the altar was wheat not cheese).

[23] Plat. *Nom.* 1.633b: τὸ περὶ τὰς καρτερήσεις τῶν ἀλγηδόνων πολὺ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν γιγνόμενον, ἔν τε ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ταῖς χερσὶ μάχαις καὶ ἐν ἁρπαγαῖς τισιν διὰ πολλῶν πληγῶν ἑκάστοτε γιγνομένων·

[24] Therefore, I cannot agree with Bonnechere 1993: 15–18; Kennell 1995: 79–82; Ducat 2006: 251–252 viewing the story in Pausanias as a late invention created as an explanation of the ritual during the Roman period. Although there is no doubt that the details of the story changed, we can be sure that from an early period there was an account ascribing the foundation to Lykurgos. Moreover, the madness and fighting in Pausanias' story do not accord with the Roman period ritual of basic flagellation, but suits perfectly to the ritual described by Xenophon and Plato. For further details suggesting the antiquity of the tradition see Kõiv 2015: 44–49.

[25] Pausanias counts the finders of the cult statue (Astrabakos and Alopekos) as the fifth descendants of King Agis the eponym of the Agiad dynasty (III 16.9; counted inclusively, as the Greeks did), and elsewhere places Lykurgan legislation to the time of Agis' fifth descendant the king Agesilaos (3.2.4). Charillos, during whose reign Lykurgos reputedly legislated, was generally counted as the sixth descendant of Agis' contemporary king Soos (see Paus. 3.7.1–4), which would place the legislation a generation after Astrabakos and Alopekos. Pausanias' dating of Lykurgos might have followed the genealogy of the lawgiver given by Simonides (note 34) considering him to be the brother not the son of Eunomos, which would have shifted Lykurgos and Charillos a generation higher in the stemma and made the legislation contemporary to the discovery of the Orthian statue.

[26] The evidence is collected in Kennell 1995: 149–161. The winner celebrated as βωμονείκης is known from Hygin. *Fab.* 261 and the inscriptions on their statue bases from Sparta (IG V 1.554, 652–654, Woodward 1929, no. 142–144).

were situated near the sanctuary of the goddess,[27] which emphasises the strong connection between the lawgiver and the Orthia sanctuary, and points to the shrine as a cultic focal point of the Lykurgan *kosmos*. Two Lykurgan establishments, the salvage of the state and the scourging of youth before the goddess whose worship united the Spartans and who presided over the education of the citizens, must have belonged together in the eyes of the Spartans. Whipping the youth, both during the ordinary education and during the rituals in the honour of the goddess, appear as a kind of symbol for the bitter cure that the lawgiver provided for the Spartans.

Apart from the murderous rioting at the Orthia altar expiated by the whipping, there is another story about sacrilegious killing before the Lykurgan legislation. We are told that during the lawlessness preceding the legislation the king Eunomos, the father or brother of Lykurgos according to different versions, was stabbed to death with a butcher knife (μαγειρικῇ κοπίδι πληγεὶς ἀπέθανε) when he was trying to separate some rioters.[28] The murder of Eunomos, the king whose name means Good Order, is indeed an appropriate sign of the consequent lawlessness (*kakonomia*) overwhelming the polis. The way of the death in the midst of the rioters, and especially a butcher knife as murder weapon, are also significant. The latter detail has no sense in Plutarch's account, which suggests that it derives from another context where it was meaningful. The butcher knife (μαγειρικῇ κοπίς) was indeed a ritual instrument, used for chopping the meat of sacrificial animals. The Spartans celebrated a feast called Kopis (the Cleaver) during the Hyakinthian festival, in the course of which the slaves were entertained by their masters,[29] indicating a ritual reversal of the usual social hierarchy. The same Hyakinthia, however, also signifies the establishment of order as the panzer of a legendary warlord Timomachos was displayed during a procession marking the creation of the

[27] Hdt. 1.66. Pausanias (3.16.6) mentioned the temple of Lykurgos, like the *heroon* of Astrabakos the reputed finder of the cult statue, immediately before his discussion of the Orthia sanctuary. There is no reason to doubt that the lawgiver was already venerated at that place at the time of Herodotos.

[28] Plut. *Lyc*. 2.3. For Lykurgos' stemma see note 34 below.

[29] The feast of Kopis during the festivals of Hyakinthia and Tithenidai is discussed by Athenaios (4.139e–140b quoting a number of earlier writers) – see Kroll 1922; Pettersson 1992: 15–17; Richer 2012: 360.

Spartan military arrangement.[30] There is no evidence for associating the story of Eunomos' death with either the feast of Kopis or the Hyakinthian festival, but the analogous interplay of chaos and order, and a butcher knife as the weapon, still infer that the murder was imagined to have taken place in a ritual setting which signifies the reversal of normalcy, and from which hierarchy and order had to re-emerge. This conforms with the deep *anomia* during which Eunomos was reputedly killed, and suggests that the story of Eunomos' death was an integral part of the account of the pre-Lykurgan lawlessness. We can believe that the murder was imagined to have taken place near an altar during a sacrificial ritual when the king was trying to solve a conflict among those present. This would make Eunomos' death a sacrilege, a murder at the holy altar, which would have required expiation and punishment of the guilty, perhaps of the whole community.

On the other hand, the murder of the king with a sacrificial instrument when separating rioters strongly evokes the killing at the altar of Orthia during the high moment of the rioting and frenzy, which may suggest that Eunomos' murder reputedly belonged to this context and the story was connected to the ritual fighting at the Orthia altar. In this connection the ritual background of a Delphic tradition concerning the death of Neoptolemos the son of Achilles can be illuminative. Neoptolemos reputedly perished at Delphi in a brawl, when trying to prevent the Delphians from snatching the sacrificial meat from the altar, either being killed with the sacrificial knife (μάχαιρα), or by a local priest called Machaireus (Knife-Man), whose name derives from the sacrificial knife at Delphi (Δελφικὴ μάχαιρα).[31] The similarity with the death of Eunomos is obvious: both stories emphasise the sacrificial knife (the μαγειρικὴ

[30] Pind. *Isthm*. 7.12 with the scholia, quoting Aristotle (fr. 532 Rose). See also *schol. Pind. Pyth.* 5.76.

[31] Our earliest evidence, Pindar (*Nem*. 7.40–42; *Paian* 6.117–120), states that Neoptolemos was killed in a struggle for the sacrificial meat with a *machaira* – *Nem*. 7.41–42: ἵνα κρεῶν νιν ὕπερ μάχας / ἔλασεν ἀντιτυχόντ᾽ ἀνὴρ μαχαίρᾳ. The scholiast (schol. 58) explains that he was attempting to prevent the Delphians snatching the meat: φασὶ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου θύοντος τοὺς Δελφοὺς ἁρπάζειν τὰ θύματα, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς· τὸν δὲ Νεοπτόλεμον δυσανασχέτως ἔχοντα διακωλύειν· αὐτοὺς δὲ διαχρήσασθαι αὐτὸν ξίφη ἔχοντας, as it was stated by Pherekydes (FGrHist 3 F 64) who names the priest Machaireus as the killer: 'καὶ ὡς ὁρᾷ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον κρέα διαρπάζοντας τοὺς Δελφοὺς, ἀφαιρεῖται τὰ κρέα αὐτοὺς, αὐτὸν δὲ κτείνει Μαχαιρεὺς ὁ τούτων ἱερεύς. καὶ αὐτὸν κατορύσσει ὑπὸ τὸν οὐδὸν τοῦ νεώ' (see also Strabo 9.3.9; Asklepiades FGrHist 12 F 15; Hesychios s.v. Δελφικὴ μάχαιρα). For the discussion of this episode with its different variants, and the Delphic ritual to which it was connected, see Burkert 1983: 116–130 (especially 118–120), giving the full list of sources.

κοπίς versus Δελφικὴ μάχαιρα or the priest called Machaireus), and in both cases the murder was committed during a struggle around an altar where the person trying to intrude was stabbed to death. We are told that the struggle for snatching the meat was customary for the Delphians,[32] just like the theft of the cheese during the fighting around Orthia's altar was customary for the Spartans, and in both cases the sources use the verb ἁρπάζειν or its derivatives for describing the ritual theft.[33] There cannot be much doubt that we have a similar kind of ritual in both cases. Considering this similarity, and the resemblance of the reputed deaths of Eunomos and Neoptolemos, we can suggest that Eunomos' death was a part of the *aition* of the Spartan rite, like the death of Neoptolemos explained the rite at Delphi, and suppose that the king was supposedly killed at the Orthian altar, perhaps when pacifying his compatriots trying to snatch sacrificial items with their knives.

Be this as it may, there is no doubt that the *kakonomia* preceding the Lykugan legislation included either one or two ritual murders (depending on if we equate the murder of Eunomos with the Orthia rioting or not), that Lykurgos established the order from the sacrilegious chaos by instituting the custom of whipping, and that this avoided the emergence of tyranny for the future. This is obviously comparable to the case of Sikyon, where a similar sacrilegious killing with a μάγειρος involved, comparably to the μαγειρικὴ κοπίς as the murder weapon of Eunomos, was expiated by whipping established by the tyrants. The difference is that the cure which in Sikyon was executed by tyranny was in Sparta accomplished by the legendary legislator.

*

However, tyranny was allegedly involved also in the Spartan case, indicated by an account about Lykurgos curbing the power of a tyrant.

Lykurgos was, at least since the time of poet Simonides in the early fifth century, usually linked to the king Charillos (or Charilaos) who was reputedly his nephew and ward.[34] Charillos appears in the later tradition as an active

---

[32] *Schol. Pind*. 7.58: ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς (quoted more extensively in the previous note).

[33] For Delphi ἁρπάζειν (*Schol. Pind*. 7.58) and διαρπάζοντας (Pherekydes FGrHist 3 F 64). For Orthia ἁρπάσαι (Xen. *Lac. Pol*. 2.9) and ἐν ἁρπαγαῖς (Plat. *Nom*. 1.633b). For the full quotation see notes 22–23 and 31.

[34] Simonides fr. 628 PMG (= Plut. *Lyc*. 1): ἐπεὶ καὶ Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητὴς οὐκ Εὐνόμου λέγει τὸν Λυκοῦργον πατρός, ἀλλὰ Πρυτάνιδος καὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον καὶ τὸν Εὔνομον. Schol. Plat. *Pol*. 10.599 e–d: ἦν δὲ κατὰ Σιμωνίδην Πρυτάνιδος μὲν υἱός, Εὐνόμου δὲ ἀδελφός, καὶ θεῖος τοῦ Εὐνόμου υἱοῦ, Χαριλάου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος τῆς Σπάρτης, ἧς ἦρξεν καὶ Λυκοῦργος αὐτὸς

warlord, virtually the first conqueror among the Spartan kings after the legendary founders of the state. Pausanias credits him with the conquest of Aigys on the Arkadian border, accomplished together with his colleague King Archelaos from the other royal line, with an attack against Argos, initiating the traditional feud between these states, and a disastrous attempt to conquer Tegea in Arkadia, which led to the temporary imprisonment of the king.[35] In connection to Lykurgos, Charillos often appears as a rather colourless figure, and Plutarch characterised him as a mild and yielding man.[36] Aristotle however described Charillos as a tyrant, connecting his tyranny with the *anomia* before the Lykurgan legislation. His *Lakedaimonion politeia* states that Lykurgos finished the *anomia* in Sparta and deposed the tyrannically ruling king Charillos (καταλαβὼν δὲ πολλὴν ἀνομίαν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ τὸν Χάριλλον τυραννικῶς ἄρχοντα, μετέστησε), while in the *Politika* he recorded the replacement of Charillos' tyranny by an aristocratic form of government (μεταβάλλει ... τυραννίς ... καὶ εἰς ἀριστοκρατίαν, ὥσπερ ἡ Χαρίλλου ἐν Λακεδαίμονι),[37] obviously the constitution established by Lykurgos. A similar concept appears in Plato telling about the tyrannical inclinations of the rulers of Argos, Messenia and Sparta, which caused the downfall of the Argive and Messenian power, while in Sparta a human being with divine authority (i.e. Lykurgos) precluded such a development by establishing the *gerousia* as an anchor for the state to which a 'third saver' (probably King Theopompos) added the power of the ephors as a further safeguard.[38]

ἔτη ιη′, ὅτε καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔγραψεν, ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν. *Suda* s.v. Lykurgos. Meyer's suggestion (1892: 276–277) that this Simonides was, despite the clear statement of Plutarch (Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητής), a minor genealogist from the mid-fifth century obviously arose from his wish to deprive the tradition of Lykurgos of an early witness. The later standard version (Ephoros FGrHist 70 F 149, 173; Arist. *Pol.* 1271b22 ff; Plut. *Lyc*. 2–5 etc.) differed from Simonides so far as making Lykurgos the son of King Eunomos instead of his brother, which made Charillos the grandson of Eunomos instead of his son as stated by Simonides. There were of course also the divergent versions of Herodotos (1.65.4: Lykurgos as the tutor of King Leobotes) and Xenophon (*Lac. Pol.* 10.8: Lykurgos acting at the time of the first Herakleid kings).

[35] Paus. 3.2.5 (Aigys); 3.7.3 (Argos); 8.5.9; 48.4–5 (defeat against Tegea); the evidence discussed in Kõiv 2003: 72–77.

[36] Plut. *Lyc*. 5.5. In the *Apothegmata Lakonika* Plutarch relates, among the sayings of the famous Spartans, a few ascribed to Charillos (232bc).

[37] Arist. *Pol*. 1316a; fr. 611.10 Rose.

[38] Plat. *Nom*. 683–692, note especially 691a: οἱ τότε βασιλῆς ἔσχον, τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν τῶν τεθέντων νόμων, ...; *Epist*. 8.354b also notes the threatening tyranny at Sparta avoided by Lykurgos: ὡς ἔδειξεν ἔργῳ σοφὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀγαθὸς Λυκοῦργος, ὃς ἰδὼν τὸ τῶν οἰκείων γένος

Aristotle's understanding of Charillos as a tyrant thus conforms with what was believed at his time, and we must ask about the reason for this concept. Aristotle and Plato must have had some information from which they derived the conception. Aristotle singled out a type of tyranny arising from traditional kingship when the ruler began to rule despotically by transgressing the traditional limits of his power.[39] He mentioned Pheidon the ruler of Argos as an example, and he must have included Charillos, probably more or less a contemporary of Pheidon according to the ancient point of view,[40] in the same category. The reputed martial leadership of Charillos might have contributed to his fame as an ambitious ruler, but this alone is not likely to have convinced Aristotle that the king ruled as a tyrant.

Aristotle almost certainly gave a more or less detailed account about how the tyranny of Charillos was brought to its end. Plutarch informs us that the philosopher explained the number 28 for the members of the *gerousia* established by Lykurgos as caused by the circumstance that of the original 30 accomplices of the lawgiver, with whom he plotted to overthrow the king, two lost heart and abstained from action.[41] This demonstrates that Aristotle related a story about a conflict between the king and the lawgiver. Plutarch tells further that Charillos, threatened by the action, took refuge in the sanctuary of Athena Chalkoikos and afterwards agreed to collaborate to the benefice of the state.[42] This may be how Aristotle described the events. Aristotle probably let the king retain his regal position, as it was generally believed in antiquity (had he diverged from this tradition Plutarch would have probably indicated this), and is thus likely to have related how the king came to an understanding with the lawgiver.

ἐν Ἄργει καὶ Μεσσήνῃ ἐκ βασιλέων εἰς τυράννων δύναμιν ἀφικομένους καὶ διαφθείραντας ἑαυτούς τε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἑκατέρους ἑκατέραν, δείσας περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεως ἅμα καὶ γένους, φάρμακον ἐπήνεγκεν τὴν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν τῶν ἐφόρων δεσμὸν τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς σωτήριον...

[39] Arist. *Pol*. 1310b17–20, 26–27: κατέστησαν τῶν τυραννίδων ... ἐκ τῶν βασιλέων παρεκβαινόντων τὰ πάτρια καὶ δεσποτικωτέρας ἀρχῆς ὀρεγομένων, ... οἷον Φείδων μὲν περὶ Ἄργος καὶ ἕτεροι τύραννοι κατέστησαν βασιλείας ὑπαρχούσης.

[40] There is evidence that Pheidon was synchronised with Lykurgos (see Kõiv 2001: 343–346; 2003: 261–264).

[41] Arist. fr. 537 Rose (= Plut. *Lyc*. 5.7).

[42] Plut. *Lyc*. 5.5. Plutarch however did not follow the concept of Aristotle in this point, depicting the king as a mild man.

This evidence shows that Aristotle knew a story describing Charillos' position in respect of the establishment of the Lykurgan laws, and this was probably essential for his belief that Charillos ruled as tyrant. The story relates how Charillos came to the terms with Lykurgos, which Aristotle probably interpreted as the end of the tyranny. Since Aristotle clearly connected Charillos' tyranny with the *anomia* before Lykurgos (καταλαβὼν δὲ πολλὴν ἀνομίαν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ τὸν Χάριλλον τυραννικῶς ἄρχοντα, μετέστησε), we can suppose that he also knew an account describing how the tyranny arose from the preceding lawlessness. Unfortunately, this part of his account has not preserved.

On the other hand, a close reading of Plutarch's text reveals details pointing towards a story about a threatening tyranny at Sparta and Charillos as the tyrant. The story of the murder of Eunomos is indeed similar to that of the death of Teletias producing the tyranny in Sikyon. Both were sacrileges requiring retribution. For the Sikyonians it was destined that the first child born after the sacrilege was to become the tyrant executing this. In the Spartan story the king Polydektos, the son of Eunomos, died very soon after his father leaving his wife pregnant with Charillos the future tyrant.[43] The earlier version of the Lykurgan genealogy presented by Simonides describes Charillos as the son of Eunomos,[44] which suits even better the logic of the story, making the destined tyrant the very son of the sacrilegiously murdered king. Moreover, the Sikyonians tried to avert their destiny by attempting either to prevent the birth of the child or to kill him during his infancy, and in Sparta the life of the newborn, or still unborn, Charillos was put in danger. Plutarch tells that when his mother was pregnant she made approaches to Lykurgos, her brother-in-law, proposing to destroy the unborn baby and marry the lawgiver in the case he would assume the kingship. Lykurgos however prevented this, promising to kill the child himself immediately after the birth, while in fact proclaimed him publicly as the future king as soon as he was born.[45]

Thus, in both the Sikyonian and the Spartan case the would-be tyrant was born immediately after the sacrilege, and in both cases there were unsuccessful attempts to get rid of him either before or soon after his birth. As in many other cases, this threat to the life of the infant is likely to have predicted an ambitious and powerful ruler, comparably to Orthagoras of Sikyon and in

[43] Plut. *Lyc*. 2.3–3.1 (Ἀποθανόντος δὲ καὶ τούτου μετ᾽ ὀλίγον χρόνον).

[44] See note 34 above.

[45] Plut. *Lyc*. 3.1–4. The mythological nature of this episode has been pointed out by Kunstler 1991: 202, who views it as a sign of Lykurgos' own potentially tyrannical power.

full accord with the Aristotelian description of Charillos as a tyrant. In Sparta the tyranny however proved abortive, and the harsh treatment of the state for curing it from the vices was instead executed by the virtuous lawgiver who thereby averted the danger of tyranny for the future.

We can thus trace the elements of a complex, though hypothetical, account concerning Charillos the tyrant king of Sparta. The murder of the king Eunomos by rioters during a sacrificial ritual, maybe at the altar of Orthia, angered the divinity and launched a complete reversal of proper order. This called for divine retribution and threatened to produce tyranny. The would be tyrant, either the son or grandson of the murdered king, was about be killed either before or immediately after birth, narratively suitable for a legendary ruler, but was saved by his uncle Lykurgos becoming the tutor of the boy. When Charillos grew up he achieved fame through military exploits, but was eventually defeated by the Tegeans. He transgressed the traditional limits of kingly power at home, possibly at the time when Lykurgos spent travelling abroad. When Lykurgos returned home he found Charillos' ambitions contributing to the continuing lawlessness. To what extent the failure at Tegea reputedly contributed to the subsequent fall of Charillos, cannot be told. However, Lykurgos received the blessing of the Delphic oracle and formed a conspiracy against the king who soon yielded and agreed to collaborate with his divinely inspired tutor, while the 28 firm supporters of Lykurgos became the members of the *gerousia* established by the lawgiver.

This is of course a hypothetical reconstruction of the account, although all the elements can be firmly attested. Considering the time when the story complex emerged, we can only state that something of this must have been present by the time of Aristotle in the second half of the fourth century. A similar concept appears in Plato, and there is obviously no need to suggest that Aristotle invented any of this. Aristotle must have generalised from some tradition, and we can be confident that at least a story concerning the overthrow of Charillos' tyrannical rule was known to him. Moreover, the obviously mythological shaping of the elements of the tradition, and their ritual embeddedness, is likely to suggest that most of this derives from a complex of oral traditions connected to the cult places in Sparta, perhaps above all the sanctuary of Orthia the rites of which were, at least from the time of Xenophon and Plato but probably much earlier, seen as a Lykurgan establishment symbolising and supporting the harsh but virtuous order instituted by the lawgiver. The archaeological evidence indicates increasing cult activity at the site

of Orthia from the eighth century BC,[46] thus from the period of the probable state formation in Sparta,[47] which was also the time when the historical Charillos is likely to have acted.[48] We therefore must accept the possibility that some traditions concerning this period were embedded in the rituals of the central cult place, and transmitted in this context. The stories may present some legendary reflections of the developments of this crucial era for the formation of the Spartan state, and may contain a vague memory about tensions between a charismatic warlord and the community he tried to rule. The Classical scholars used these mythologised tales for describing what they regarded as truthful history, which led Aristotle to his concept of the tyranny of Charillos being averted by the Lykurgan reform.

References

Almeida, Joseph A. (2003). *Justice as an Aspect of Polis Idea in Solon's Political Poems. A Reading of the Fragments in light of the Research of New Classical Archaeology*. (*Mnemosyne Supplement*; 243.) Leiden: Brill.

Balot, Ryan K. (2001). *Greed and Injustice in Classical Athens*. Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Boardman, John (1963). 'Artemis Orthia and Chronology.' – *Annual of the British School at Athens* 58, 1–7. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0068245400013721

Bonnechere, Pierre (1993). 'Orthia et la flagellation des éphèbes spartiates. Un souvenir chimérique de sacrifice humain.' – *Kernos* 6, 11–22. https://doi.org/10.4000/kernos.533

Brelich, Angelo (1969). *Paides e parthenoi*. Roma: Ateneo.

[46] The origins of the cult may date to the tenth century, but from the late eighth and early seventh century we can see a remarkable revival of cult activity: the number of dedications increased remarkably and the precinct received its first archaeologically detectable permanent structures – an altar and a small temple (see Dawkins 1929: 8–27; Kirsten 1958: 171–175; Boardman 1963; Drerup 1969: 19–21; Fagerström 1988: 31–32; Cartledge 1979: 357–361).

[47] The eighth century was the period when the Spartans probably conquered Lakonika, and when a circle of sanctuaries, probably indicating the territory of the Spartan citizen land distinct from the perioic territories, emerged around the Spartan town. For these and related developments see Cartledge 1979: 102–130; Welwei 2004: 24–46; Zavvou & Themos 2009: 111–112; Kennell 2010: 27–39; Kõiv 2003: 69–215; 2015: 26–30.

[48] Charillos was reputedly the grandfather of Theopompos the conqueror of Messenia (the stemmas in Hdt. 8.131; Paus. 3.7; the earliest mentioning of Theopompos as the conqueror of Messenia in Tyrt. fr. 5 West). Since Messenia was conquered at the end of the eighth century, this stemma would place Charillos into the century's first half.

Broadbent, Molly (1968). *Studies in Greek Genealogy*. Leiden: Brill.

Buckler, John (2003). *Aegean Greece in the Fourth Century BC*. Leiden: Brill.

Burkert, Walter (1983). *Homo Necans. The Anthropology of the Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press.

Calame, Claude (1977). *Les chœurs des jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque I: Morphologie, fonction religieuse et sociale*. Roma: Ateneo & Bizzarri.

Cartledge, Paul (1979). *Sparta and Lakonia*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Cobb-Stevens, Veda (1985). 'Opposites, reversals, and ambiguities: The unsettled world of Theognis.' – Figueira, Thomas J.; Nagy, Gregory (eds.), *Theognis of Megara: Poetry and the Polis*. Baltimore; London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 159–175.

Dawkins, Richard M. (1929). 'The sanctuary.' – Dawkins, Richard M. (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Excavated and Described by Members of the British School at Athens 1906–1910*. London: Macmillan, 1–51.

Debiasi, Andrea (2015). *Eumelo. Un poeta per Corinto con ulteriori divagazioni epiche*. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.

De Libero, Loretana (1996). *Die archaische Tyrannis*. Stuttgart: Steiner.

Drerup, Heinrich (1969). *Griechische Baukunst in geometrischer Zeit*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Ducat, Jean (2006). *Spartan Education: Youth and Society in the Classical Period*. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales.

Fagerström, Kåre (1988). *Greek Iron Age Architecture. Developments through Changing Times*. Göteborg: Åström.

Forsdyke, Sara (2005). *Exile, Ostracism, and Democracy: The Politics of Expulsion in Ancient Greece*. Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Irwin, Elizabeth (2005). *Solon and Early Greek Poetry: The Politics of Exhortation*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Jeanmaire, Henri (1939). *Couroi et Courètes: essai sur l'éducation spartiate et sur les rites d'adolescence dans l'antiquité hellénique*. Lille : Bibliothèque Universitaire.

Kennell, Nigel M. (1995). *The Gymnasium of Virtue: Education & Culture in Ancient Sparta*. Chapel Hill; London: University of North Carolina Press.

Kennell, Nigel M. (2010). *Spartans: A New History*. Malden; Oxford; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Kirsten, Ernst (1958). 'Heiligtum und Tempel der Artemis Orthia in Sparta in ihrer ältesten Entwicklungsphase.' – *Bonner Jahrbücher* 158, 170–176.

Kõiv, Mait (2001). 'The dating of Pheidon in antiquity.' – *Klio* 83, 327–347. https://doi.org/10.1524/klio.2001.83.2.327

Kõiv, Mait (2003). *Ancient Tradition and Early Greek History: The Origins of States in Early-Archaic Sparta, Argos and Corinth*. Tallinn: Avita.

Kõiv, Mait (2005). 'The origins, development, and reliability of the ancient tradition about the formation of the Spartan constitution.' – *Historia* 54, 233–264.

Kõiv, Mait (2015). 'Sanctuaries and traditions in Ancient Sparta.' – Kämmerer, Thomas R.; Kõiv, Mait (eds.), *Cultures in Comparison: Religion and Politics in Ancient Mediterranean Regions*. (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament*; 390/3.) Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 25–66.

Kõiv, Mait (2016). '*Basileus*, *tyrannos* and polis: the dynamics of monarchy in Early Greece.' – *Klio* 98, 1–89. https://doi.org/10.1515/klio-2016-0001

Kroll, Wilhelm (1922). 'Kopis.' – *RE* 11.2, 1362–1363.

Kunstler, Barton (1991). 'The werewolf figure and its adoption into the Greek political vocabulary.' – *The Classical World* 84, 189–205. https://doi.org/10.2307/4350761

Kurke, Leslie (1994). 'Crisis and decorum in sixth-century Lesbos: reading Alkaios otherwise.' – *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 46, 67–92. https://doi.org/10.2307/20547249

Latte, Kurt (1928). 'Μάγειρος.' – *RE* 14.1, 393–395.

Lewis, Brian (1980). *The Sargon Legend: A Study of the Akkadian Text and the Tale of the Hero Who was Exposed at Birth*. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.

Lewis, John D. (2006). *Solon the Thinker: Political Thought in Archaic Athens*. London: Duckworth.

Liberman, Gauthier (2003). *Alcée. Fragments*. I–II. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Luraghi, Nino (2014). 'The cunning tyrant: the cultural logic of a narrative pattern.' – Moremo, Alfonso; Thomas, Rosalind (eds.), *Patterns of the Past: Epitēdeumata in the Greek Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 67–92. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:osobl/9780199668885.003.0005

McGlew, James F. (1993). *Tyranny and Political Culture in Ancient Greece*. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press.

Meyer, Eduard (1892). *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, I. Halle: Niemeyer.

Nagy, Gregory (1985). 'Theognis and Megara: A poet's vision of his city.' – Figueira, Thomas J.; Nagy, Gregory (eds.), *Theognis of Megara: Poetry and the Polis*. Baltimore; London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 22–81.

Nilsson, Martin P. (1906). *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Ogden, Daniel (1997). *The Crooked Kings of Ancient Greece*. London: Duckworth.

Ogden, Daniel (2008). *Perseus*. London; New York: Routledge.

Page, Denys (1955). *Sappho and Alcaeus: An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Lesbian Poetry*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Paradiso, Annalisa (2007). 'Ravir des fromages à l'autel d'Orthia?' – *Ktema* 32, 311–325. https://doi.org/10.3406/ktema.2007.1064

Parker, Victor (1998). 'Τύραννος. The semantics of a political concept from Archilochus to Aristotle.' – *Hermes* 126, 145–172.

Pettersson, Michael (1992). *Cults of Apollo at Sparta: the Hyakinthia, the Gymnopaidiai and the Karneia*. Stockholm: Åström.

Pippin Burnett, Anne (1983). *Three Archaic Poets: Archilochos, Alcaeus, Sappho*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Propp, Vladimir (1984). 'Oedipus in the light of folklore.' – Edmunds, Lowell; Dundes, Alan (eds.), *Oedipus: A Folklore Casebook*. New York; London: Garland, 76–121.

Raaflaub, Kurt (1993). 'Homer to Solon. The rise of the polis. The written sources.' – Hansen, Mogens Herman (ed.), *The Ancient Greek City-State*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 41–105.

Raglan, Lord (1965). 'The hero of tradition.' – Dundes, Alan (ed.), *The Study of Folklore*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 142–157.

Redford, Donald B. (1967). 'The literary motif of the exposed child.' – *Numen* 14, 209–228. https://doi.org/10.1163/156852767X00157

Richer, Nicolas (2012). *La religion des spartiates: croyances et cultes dans l'Antiquité*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Rose, H. J. (1929). 'The cult of Orthia.' – Dawkins, Richard M. (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Excavated and Described by Members of the British School at Athens 1906–1910*. London: Macmillan, 399–407.

Rösler, Wolfgang (1980). *Dichter und Gruppe: Eine Untersuchung zu den Bedingungen und zur historischen Funktion früher griechischer Lyrik am Beispiel Alkaios*. München: Fink.

Schmidt, J. (1929). 'Sinis.' – *RE* A 3.1, 238–244.

Selle, Hendrik (2008). *Theognis und die Theognidea*. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Stahl, Michael; Walter, Uwe (2009). 'Athens.' – Raaflaub, Kurt A.; van Wees, Hans (eds.), *A Companion to Archaic Greece*. Malden; Oxford; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 138–161.

Szegedy-Maszak, Andrew (1978). 'Legends of the Greek Lawgivers.' – *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 19, 199–209.

Tigerstedt, E. N. (1965). *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity*, I. Stockholm; Göteborg; Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Vernant, Jean-Pierre (1992). *Mortals and Immortals. Collected Essays*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Welwei, Karl-Wilhelm (2004). *Sparta: Aufstieg und Niedergang einer antiken Großmacht*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.

Woodward, A. M. (1929). 'Inscriptions.' – Dawkins, Richard M. (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Excavated and Described by Members of the British School at Athens 1906–1910*. London: Macmillan, 285–377.

Zavvou, Elena; Themos, Athanasios (2009). 'Sparta from prehistory to Early Christian times: observations from the excavations of 1994–2005.' – Cavanagh, William G.; Gallou, Chrysanthi; Georgiadis, Mercourios (eds.), *Sparta and Laconia: From Prehistory to Pre-Modern*. London: British School of Athens, 105–122.

Abstract

The article explores examples of ancient Greek tradition reflecting the view on tyranny and legislation as alternative outcomes of crisis. A comparison is made between the account of the emergence of the Orthagorid tyranny in the Archaic Sikyon, and the traditions about the establishment of the Spartan internal order by the legendary lawgiver Lykurgos. In both cases a reputed crime (or crimes) committed by the people in a ritual context required expiation by whipping, symbolizing the adjustment of order, which in the Sikyonian story was executed by the dynasty of tyrants, and in the case of Sparta by the lawgiver. The discussion reveals an interplay of tyranny and legislation in the Spartan tradition – the tyranny of King Charillos checked by Lykurgos – which has been so far hardly noticed in research.

REINFORCED MESSAGES: ON THE SCYTHIAN GIFTS (HDT. 4.131–132) AND OTHER SUCH COMMUNICATIONS[1]

Stephanie West

Herodotus' detailed Scythian ethnography (4.59–80) leaves no doubt about the strangeness of the steppe world which Darius entered when he led his invasion force across the Danube. The quality of the information retailed commands respect; much has been confirmed by the observations of later travellers. A brief campaign that did not go beyond the Dniester appears to have been exaggerated to point a moral and adorn a tale in which the nomads' distinctive way of life is the primary object of interest.

The bewildering character of this culture, much more remote from Greek norms than Egyptian was,[2] finds its clearest expression in the communication sent by the Scythian chiefs when the Persian force's futile pursuit of the elusive foe has lasted some time (4.131). A herald delivers a bird, a mouse,[3] a frog, and five arrows, but refuses any explanation. Darius, having been forewarned that he should expect such gifts as the Scythian leader, Idanthyrsus, judged appropriate (4.127.4), appreciates that this curious collection is an enacted riddle; recurrent *eikazein*, a verb particularly suited to solving such puzzles, should be noted. In the king's perplexity we may see a reflection of

---

[1] The main commentaries on Herodotus cited in the following include Asheri, Lloyd & Corcella 2007, Bowie 2007, Flower & Marincola 2002, Hornblower 2013, Macan 1895, Stein 1906, and Woodhouse 1902.

[2] Herodotus clearly got some satisfaction from developing the theme of the peculiarity of Egyptian customs as the opposite of those of all other men, the latter being equated with Greeks (2.35–6), but many of the differences which he cites are trivial, and often he is simply inaccurate.

[3] Greek μῦς in fact covers a wider range of small rodents than 'mouse'. 'Very characteristic of the steppe are the various rodents, *susliks* and *baibaks*, relations of the jerboa, but regarded by the ancients as exaggerated mice' (Minns 1913: 6). Marmots are a further possibility.

Greek reaction to such communications. But displaying an optimism which will appear quite irrational to anyone who has followed Herodotus' narrative so far, he understands it to signify submission, mouse and frog being taken to represent earth and water, the conventional tokens of submission to Persian sovereignty, which Darius had demanded (4.126),[4] and on that assumption interprets the other two constituents, the bird as representing a horse,[5] and the arrows as symbolizing Scythian power. Such wishful thinking in terms of metaphors highlights the correct interpretation offered by the wise Gobryas, whose loyalty to Darius is established by the events narrated in Book 3 (especially 3.78) and puts him beyond any suspicion of defeatism. He sees the message's meaning: for the Persian force there is no escape from destruction, unless they turn into birds and fly up into the air, or into mice and burrow underground, or into frogs and leap into the lakes, they will not return home but will be overwhelmed by Scythian arrows. This is an invitation to surrender. Darius later admits that Gobryas was right when a Scythian force, having seemed about to offer battle, is distracted by the appearance of a hare, and goes hunting instead, thus displaying their contempt for the Persian invaders (4.134.1–2). This episode marks the climax of Darius' trans-danubian campaign. It is well discussed by Deborah Steiner (1994: 175), who highlights Rousseau's reference to this passage in his *Essai sur l'origine des langues* as illustrating 'how objects may communicate more forcefully than speech. As he remarks, if writing had been substituted for these signs, Darius would only have laughed at the message'.[6]

While the alleged historical context for this episode must inspire scepticism, it is certainly not to be regarded as just a quaint anecdote. Ethnographically

[4] Herodotus' account of the conduct of the Athenian delegation who sought an alliance in 507/6 (5.73) suggests that the significance of this symbolism was not then properly understood at Athens. See further West 2011: 9–21. We should set this custom in the context of conveyancing by a symbolic gift or sale of earth, which confers the ultimate right of ownership or sovereignty: see further Strosetzki 1958: 1–17. Thus, as Pindar tells the story in *Pyth.* 4.20–56, the Battiad claim to rulership in Cyrene was based on the tradition that their Argonaut forebear Euphamos had received a clod of Libyan earth from the indigenous god; see further Braswell 1988: 89–90, 92–93. A similar assumption informs the legend relating the origin of the Macedonian monarchy as Herodotus tells it (8.137–8: see Bowie *ad loc.*).

[5] To claim that a bird is *most* (μάλιστα) like a horse, as Darius does in the text as transmitted, seems obviously absurd. Powell's ταχυτῆτα, published in the appendix to his (rather eccentric) translation (Oxford, 1948) and adopted in Wilson's *OCT* (2015), is very attractive.

[6] The cover of Hollmann 2011 is enlivened by the author's illustration of this episode; his approach is rather different from mine, but I have learnt much from his insightful discussion.

it is highly acceptable, offering a valuable glimpse of long-standing steppe custom. I discussed this passage more than 30 years ago, adducing several parallels from Central Asia.[7] From Mongol history we have the declaration of war sent in 1303 by Prince Toktai to his rival Noghai, consisting of a hoe, an arrow, and a handful of earth. 'Noghai interpreted this as meaning, "If you hide in the earth, I will dig you out! If you rise to the heavens I will shoot you down! Choose a battle-field!"'[8] For the phraseology compare the instructions issued by Genghis Khan to his great general, Sübe'etei, dispatched in pursuit of enemies: "If those, becoming winged, flying, ascend into heaven, shalt thou, Sübe'etei, becoming a gerfalcon, flying, not seize them? If, becoming marmots, digging with their nails, they enter into the earth, shalt thou, becoming an iron rod, boring, seeking them, not overtake them? If, becoming fishes, they enter into the Tenggis Sea, shalt thou, Sübe'etei, becoming a net which is cast or a net which is dragged, catching and taking them up, not take them?" (*The Secret History of the Mongols*, tr. F. W. Cleaves, Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1982, i.133–4, 199).[9] In reality Darius' perplexity is likely to reflect a Greek reaction to this practice.[10]

But the practice was not confined to Central Asia. It is instructive to compare an instance from Mali, from *Sunjata*, an oral epic widely performed in West Africa and reflecting the vanished imperial glory of the kingdom of Mali under the rule of Sunjata in the early thirteenth century. The young hero lays before his antagonist a basket containing bits of pottery, feathers of guinea fowl and young partridges, and wisps of straw. The meaning is explained thus: the broken pots and wisps of straw represent a threat to destroy the town; it will be recognized only by the fragments of broken pots, and guinea-fowl and young partridges will lay their eggs there. The enigmatic statement most effectively heightens the tension.[11]

So far the gifts offered are of little or no intrinsic value; indeed, their worthlessness makes the assemblage the more puzzling to the recipient. It is very

---

7 West 1988: 207–211.

8 Yule & Cordier 1920 (1993), II: 497–498.

9 See further Merkelbach 1996: 454–459.

10 The danger of misconception was real enough. A consignment of grain and a few melons sent from Gilgit to the native servant of a British officer caused consternation in late-nineteenth-century Chitral when it was taken to be a warning that all who opposed the advancing British troops, as numerous as grains of corn, would be cut into pieces like melons (Robertson 1898: 34).

11 See further Edwards & Sienkewicz 1990: 176 f.

different when Cambyses seeks to win the good will of the Ethiopian king (3.20–22); he sends a purple robe, a golden necklace and bracelets, an alabaster pot of myrrh, and a jar of palm wine. This is a display of luxury goods, characterizing a view of Persian culture in which Cambyses may be supposed to take pride. The Ethiopian king, though he approves of the wine, is not otherwise impressed by this offering: in the purple dye he sees deceit, in the golden necklace and bracelets fetters (3.22.2–3),[12] rightly suspecting Cambyses' intentions. He sends in return a bow, with a warning: when the Persians can draw so great a bow as easily as he does, then they should consider assembling a great force and invading Ethiopia, but until then they should thank the gods who have not inclined the Ethiopians to add others' territory to their own.[13] We later learn that Cambyses' brother Smerdis incurred the king's jealousy, with fatal consequences, because he was the most successful among those of the Persians who tried to draw the Ethiopian bow (3.30.1). The importance attached to archery in Persian education (1.136.2) enhances the humiliation implied by this response. Familiarity with the *Odyssey* inevitably suggests an association between the ability to string a special bow and rightful sovereignty. The motif is widely attested, even beyond the region of Indo-European myth.[14] 'Through the symbolism of the bow Herodotus creates a moral connection between the Ethiopian campaign, Cambyses' madness, and the problem of the succession to the throne' well observes David Asheri (on 3.21.3). This is not serious diplomatic history; Herodotus stages a confrontation between two very different cultures (as he does between Greek and Egyptian (2.143), and Spartan and Persian (7.101–4)), but the Ethiopian is merely a utopian fantasy.

There is more reality to the anecdote of the response made by Euelthon, ruler of Cypriot Salamis, to the importunity of Queen Pheretime, when she sought an army to restore her and her son Arkesilas III to Cyrene (4.162.5). Having tried in vain to satisfy her with various generous suggestions, finally he sent a distaff, spindle, and wool, explaining that these were customary gifts for women, but an army was not. The paraphernalia of textile production are symbols not just of housewifely concerns but of obedience and womanly virtue.[15] The story no doubt appealed to Herodotus as illustrating Pheretime's

[12] Cf. 3.130.4.

[13] Cf. 1.27.3.

[14] See further West 2007: 439 f.

[15] The point is well explored by Zanker (1993: 212–230).

determination to play a male role.[16] We may suspect that this is a 'wandering anecdote'. Compare the reproach conveyed by such a gift sent to a man. Thus, in a Serbo-Croat epic set in the borderland of Montenegro and Herzegovina the heroine asks her brother-in-law, a captain of the Montenegrin border fighters, to come and kill his own sister and her husband, who had betrayed her to the Turks, and threatens to send him a spindle and distaff if he should refuse. The threat achieves her purpose.[17] The sending of symbolic objects to convey a message of contempt is a migratory motif, widely current in popular tales.[18] On such gifts in Herodotus John Gould well comments (1989: 57): 'In all these cases the action of present-giving is to be read as a figurative statement of limitation, of the recipient's inability to match and overcome the giver, or as a warning to stay within the limits of a sexual role'.

In the communications so far discussed the recipients are expected to get the sense without much difficulty. We also find several instances of symbolic action designed to attract attention or stimulate a question. Thus the story was told in Egypt of how Cambyses' sister/wife provoked his fatal assault (3.32.3). As they sat at table she stripped a lettuce of its leaves and asked him if he thought it looked better with or without its leaves; when he said he liked it better before it was stripped she accused Cambyses of treating Cyrus' descendants similarly, thus showing that she was aware that he had compassed the death of their brother Smerdis (cf. 3.30.3). Cambyses would have done well to consider the implied warning; his violent reaction caused not only her death but also that of the child with whom she was pregnant, potentially Cambyses' heir.[19]

On occasion the action itself is the message, though its context is provided by a preceding question, as in the well-known story of the advice given by Thrasyboulos, tyrant of Miletos, to Periander, tyrant of Corinth, when the latter sought guidance on the best way to ensure stable government (5.92 ζ 2): ἐπυνθάνετο ὅντινα ἂν τρόπον ἀσφαλέστατον καταστησάμενος τῶν πρηγμάτων κάλλιστα

[16] The daughter of Masistes, Artaute, displays a similar misplaced persistence in demanding the cloak woven for Xerxes by Queen Amestris (9.109); Xerxes offers her not only cities and gold, but even an army: Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς δῶρον claims Herodotus.

[17] See further Koljević 1980: 237. Gifts suitable for a young boy convey the reproach of immaturity in the *Alexander Romance* (1.36–38), as with the Dauphin's present of tennis-balls in Shakespeare's *Henry V* (Act I Scene ii).

[18] See further Yarshater 1983: 401.

[19] Aristodikos' strange behaviour at Didyma (1.158–9) seems to be similarly motivated; see further Merkelbach 1996: 468.

τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύοι. Thrasyboulos took Periander's emissary out of town, and as they walked through a field questioned him about the reason for his visit, all the while docking the tallest ears of corn and throwing them aside until he had destroyed the best of the crop. At the end of this stroll he sent off the herald, without offering a word of advice. Back in Corinth the messenger expressed surprise that Periander had sent him to a man who seemed crazy in thus destroying his own property, and related his experience. Periander, sharper than his emissary, got the point. 'The anecdote .... incorporates the popular and perfectly true observation that the tyranny and the oligarchy were essentially hostile forms and principles. It is not the Many but the Few who object to a "one-man" power' (Macan *ad loc.*). Thrasyboulos' name, though in itself common enough, made him particularly suitable as the giver of such counsel, a detail which seems to have escaped Aristotle who reverses the roles of the two tyrants (*Pol.* 1284a; 1311a). Euripides echoes the motif in Theseus' indictment of one-man rule (*Suppl.* 445–449). The story reappears in Livy's historical romance (1.54), as advice given by Tarquinius Superbus to Sextus Tarquinius at Gabii. It might well be described as Aesopian; Thrasyboulos says nothing that might be held against him.[20]

Old Testament prophecy offers numerous parallels for preparatory symbolic action, intended to attract attention and highlight the message to be delivered. Thus Isaiah is instructed to walk naked and barefoot for three years 'as a sign and a warning to Egypt and Cush; just so shall the king of Assyria lead the captives of Egypt and the exiles of Cush naked and barefoot, their buttocks shamefully exposed, young and old alike. All men shall be dismayed, their hopes in Cush and their pride in Egypt humbled. On that day those who dwell along this coast will say, So much for all our hopes on which we relied for help and deliverance from the king of Assyria; what escape have we now?' (*Isaiah* 20.2–4).[21] To this tradition belongs the warning delivered by the prophet Agabus to Paul at Caesarea (*Acts* 21.11–12): He took Paul's belt, bound his own feet and hands with it, and said, 'These are the words of the Holy Spirit: Thus will the Jews in Jerusalem bind the man to whom this belt belongs, and hand him over to the Gentiles'.

[20] Very well discussed by Aly (1921 [1969]: 153). See also Hornblower *ad loc*. The same Machiavellian principle might be seen to lie behind the Spartan massacre of helots in 424 related by Thucydides (4.80).

[21] For further examples cf. I *Kings* 11.29–40; 22.11; *Jeremiah* 13.1–11; 19.1–11; 28.10–11; 43.8–10; 51.60–64; *Ezekiel* 12.1–12; 24.

We move in a milieu very close to that of the *Old Testament* with the story of Pharaoh Amasis and his golden footbath (2.172), melted down and recycled as the image of a god; set up in a suitable public position, it enjoyed great reverence. Amasis, aware that his modest origins led to a lack of respect on the part of his subjects, emphasised the parallel: what mattered was his present position, not his previous status (cf. Aristotle, *Pol.* 1259b). Amasis was the last native Pharaoh before the Persian conquest; his reign came to be seen as a time of unrivalled prosperity (2.177.1), and it is not surprising if stories clustered around him; in Herodotus he takes on something of the character of a trickster. This (like the tale of his comparative appraisal of oracular reliability (2.174)) looks very much more like a Greek story than an Egyptian.[22] It suggests the theological trend apparent in Xenophanes' ideas of divinity (DK 21 B 14–16, 23–6), The theme is strongly reminiscent of the diatribe on the absurdity of idolatry in *Isaiah* 44.9–20 (cf. 40.19–20; 45.20; 46.1–2; 6–7). Herodotus' account of Persian religion (1.131) can easily be read as an indirect criticism of anthropomorphic conceptions of divinity,[23] but that is irrelevant to his purpose in relating this anecdote here, a fine example of the adaptability of migratory motifs in the hands of skilled storytellers.

That skill shaped the narrative of Cyrus' rise to power (1.95–130). Though Herodotus tells us that he has followed the most sober of four accounts known to him, we can hardly hope to find here any close correspondence to whatever might be revealed by excavation. We can only admire the clarity and coherence of his narrative, and should not try to reduce its improbabilities to a basic historical core.

Cyrus' qualities of leadership, his energy and organizational competence, are well illustrated by an episode aimed to strengthen Persian commitment to revolt against Astyages and Median rule (1.126). Claiming before a large gathering of Persians representing various tribes that Astyages had appointed him to command the army Cyrus told them to assemble next day, each man bringing a sickle. The designated meeting place was an extensive stretch of rough ground full of thorn-bushes, and Cyrus gave orders that they were to clear it in a day. (The play on words ἐξημερῶσαι ἐν ἡμέρηι can hardly be accidental.) When this task had been completed, Cyrus told them to appear the following day, having bathed. He arranged a lavish feast, and as they relaxed after the meal asked which they preferred, the previous day's labour or the

[22] See further Aly (1921 [1969]: 71). On Herodotus' treatment of Amasis see Müller 2006: 189–224; Kurke 1999: 89–100.

[23] See further Burkert 1990: 1–39, esp. 20 f. (=2007: 140–60); Scullion 2006: 192–208, esp. 202.

present pleasures. Getting the answer to be expected, he urged them to ensure the continuation of such enjoyment by revolting against the Medes. The episode is well summarized by Reinhold Merkelbach (1996: 466): 'Wie die Perser gestern schufteten, so werden sie es alle Tage tun müssen, solange sie unterworfenene der Meder bleiben; wie sie heute im Überfluß leben, so können sie es alle Tage tun, wenn sie frei und Herren werden . . . [D]as Entscheidende ist . . . die Aktion. Nur weil sie gestern so geschwitzt haben, nur weil es ihnen heute so gut geht, leuchtet der Plan des Kyros den Persern so ein. Was man am eigenen Leib erfährt, dringt tiefer ein, als was nur gesagt wird, dringt auch tiefer ein, als was man nur sieht'.

This rather improbable episode is hardly to be reconciled with the wise advice credited to Cyrus in the last chapter (9.122), but reflects Greek assumptions about the close link between pleasure and power and the importance of lavish feasting in the Persian lifestyle (cf. 1.133; Aristophanes, *Ach.* 59–89). This is highlighted in a story set in the aftermath of the battle of Plataia (9.82).[24] Pausanias, observing the luxurious furniture and equipment that had belonged to Mardonios, ordered the Persian catering staff to prepare a dinner in that style. While that was being done he told his own servants to prepare a Spartan dinner. The contrast between the two meals was obvious (τῆς θοίνης ποιηθείσης ἦν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον); a similar phrase expresses the difference between Cyrus' contrasted days (1.126.4 οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον). Pausanias then sent for the Greek commanding officers, and explained that he wanted to demonstrate the folly of the Persians who lived in such style and yet had come against them who lived in such poverty. The prediction of the wise Lydian Sandanis (1.71) had proved accurate. Thucydides tells us (1.130.1) that Pausanias soon acquired a taste for Persian luxury; we might suspect that this story was inspired by later developments.[25] It contributes very powerfully to the impression left by Book 9 that Herodotus believed the fall of the Persian Empire to be imminent. For the figure of contrasted banquets we may compare a memorable *Old Testament* passage, *Proverbs* 9.1–18, where Wisdom and Folly are presented as rival hostesses inviting the simple into their houses to dine with them.

[24] The excellent notes provided by Flower/Marincola supply much information that Herodotus' audience would have taken for granted.

[25] The contrast between Spartan and Persian royal diets appealed to Xenophon (*Ages.* 9.3). The Thracian king Dromichaites arranged a similar comparison of Macedonian and Thracian lifestyles for the defeated king Lysimachos (Diod. Sic. 21.12.5–6). On 'power banquets' see further Davidson 1997: 283–286.

Tangible expressions of large numbers are a world-wide commonplace. In Herodotus' work they are particularly conspicuous in his narrative of Darius' venture into Europe. Thus the force's arrival at the (not certainly identifiable) river Arteskos[26] was marked by great heaps of stone, Darius having commanded every man to leave a stone (4.92). The importance of this stage in the Persian advance is thus implied by what might be taken as a crude attempt to count the army.[27] Herodotus had no conception of the bureaucracy revealed by the Treasury tablets from Persepolis. Or should Darius' motive be regarded rather as a demonstration to posterity of the size of his host? These wordless memorials form a counterpart to the series of Darius' inscriptions (4.87.1; 91), marking progressive claims to the territory. A concern with quantification is in accordance with Darius' image as a small trader (κάπηλος 3.89.3). But whether these Thracian landmarks really had any connection with the Persian campaign is questionable. 'The stone cairns said to have been raised by the Persians (92) sound suspiciously like the megalithic tombs in the Sakar and Strandja,' observes Zofia Archibald.[28]

What Herodotus' informants appear to have interpreted similarly, as a measure of the Scythian fighting force in the form of a gigantic copper cauldron, makes a fitting conclusion to Herodotus' Scythian ethnography (4.81), and is, incidentally, the only point where he appears to claim first-hand observation of the region (though modern acccounts of Herodotus' life almost invariably include without discussion a visit to the North Pontic coast). The passage deserves close scrutiny.

Herodotus confesses to uncertainty about the size of the population: according to some accounts the Scythians are very many, according to others true Scythians are rather few. (The different estimates reflect a terminological problem: ordinary Greek usage could designate as Scythian any non-Greek

[26] Mentioned by Hesiod (*Theog.* 345) among the world's important rivers.

[27] Cf. Philochoros' account of Cecrops' first census (*FGrHist* 328F95).

[28] 1998: 82. A nice parallel is offered by the route associated in local tradition with the march through the Volga area by the troops of Ivan the Terrible on his Kazan campaign, mounds called *mary* being common in the region. 'These mounds, according to the local people, had been created by Ivan; in order for the tsar to assess the size of his army, each soldier had to fill his cap with earth and pile it up. One such tradition recorded that the tsar counted his men in this way because he feared that they might get lost in the dense impenetrable forest. In one place where there were two mounds of unequal size, it was said that the larger had been created on the way to Kazan, and the smaller on the return journey, the difference serving as an indication of the extent of the losses the Russians sustained during the siege of Kazan' (Perrie 1987: 68–9).

from the Eurasian steppe, but Herodotus aims at greater precision, and though he is not entirely consistent, seems to wish to restrict the ethnic to the dominant group, those whom he calls the Royal Scythians (4.20.2).) He was invited to draw his own conclusions from an enormous copper cauldron, six times the size of a vessel dedicated by Pausanias at the Bosporos (which Herodotus assumes to be widely familiar), and for those who have not seen that, he gives some measurements: six fingers in thickness and holding 600 amphoreis (i.e. roughly 10 cm thick, with a capacity of 20,000 litres). This remarkable vessel was located at a place called Exampaios, previously mentioned (at 52.3, where Herodotus says the Greek name was *Hierai Hodoi*[29]) between the Borysthenes (Dnieper) and the Hypanis (Bug/Sinyukha). This, he was told, had been made when their ruler, Ariantas, wishing to know the number of his people, ordered every Scythian to bring an arrowhead, and then, deciding to leave a memorial, had the copper vessel made from them. 'The Scythian king defeats his own attempts at record keeping, destroying the very numerical evidence he has collected,' comments Deborah Steiner (1994: 177 f.). Given the importance of metal cauldrons in the social life of the Eurasian steppe, this sounds like an exercise in beating swords into ploughshares, and it is tempting to suppose that the vessel, thus set at a site with religious associations, was intended to mark the unification of previously separate groups/clans/tribes under Ariantas and to deter dissident tendencies. The theme of harmony among previously discordant elements strongly encourages symbolic expression.[30] Ariantas is not mentioned elsewhere, but Herodotus clearly supposed that he exercised authority over all the Scythians, not just a group, and *basileus* must be translated as 'king'.[31] Herodotus offers no indication of the supposed age of this

[29] Not necessarily a translation of Exampaios, but evidence that the Greeks saw this as a site of some religious importance.

[30] As with Herakleitos' famous frugal meal, by which he memorably conveyed to his fellow-citizens advice about *homonoia:* mounting the rostrum, he took a cup of cold water, sprinkled barley meal over it, stirred in pennyroyal, drank it, and went away, having thus demonstrated that being content with what is readily available preserves communities in peace and harmony. Plutarch tells this story (*Mor.* 511b) to illustrate the force of communication by symbols without speech (οἱ δὲ συμβολικῶς ἄνευ φωνῆς ἃ δεῖ φράζοντες οὐκ ἐπαινοῦνται καὶ θαυμάζονται διαφερόντως;).

[31] We are greatly handicapped by his failure to describe the political organization of Scythia, in particular the division of the territory into *nomoi*, mentioned at 62.1 as if some account had already been given.

monument. Such attempts to inaugurate a place of social memory, in effect a geopolitical statement, call for the activity of a chronicler.[32]

I have evaded translation of the crucial sentence (81.2): τοσόνδε μέντοι ἀπέφαινόν μοι ἐς ὄψιν. The imperfect is worrying, rather suggesting 'they offered to show me' (conative imperfect)[33] than actual inspection, which would have been better conveyed by the aorist. We may imagine Herodotus in conversation with Greek traders familiar with the area, who offer to take him sightseeing if ever he comes that way, and report what is said by οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, the locals, the people of the area. It may be worth considering <ἐς > ἔσοψιν, 'they brought forward this point for my consideration'. εἴσοψις leads a rather shadowy existence, but Scaliger's conjecture εἴσοψιν 'attention, observation' for εἰς ὄψιν at Euripides, *El.* 1085 is generally accepted.[34]

There is an undoubted appeal about such memorials by their simple size testifying to the activity of a great crowd. Numbers beyond those in regular everyday use are thus given intelligible expression. This symbolism is parodied in Herodotus' allusion to an alleged Egyptian instance (2.126): the daughter of the pyramid builder Cheops, being forced by her father's extravagance to serve as a sex-worker, kept a tally of her clients, demanding from each of them a stone, and was thus able to build a small pyramid for herself. This is a very Greek story, exemplifying the sturdy determination not to be over-awed by the wonders of Egypt that we see in the derogatory vocabulary of *obelos*, *krokodilos*, and perhaps *pyramis*.[35]

The trans-danubian campaign is given temporal structure by the limitation to sixty days of the Greek guard on the Danube bridge (4.97–8, cf. 133.2–3; 136.3–4), tangibly expressed by the strap with sixty knots which Darius leaves with the Greek leaders. One knot is to be undone daily, and the Greeks are free to leave if the Persian force has not returned when all the knots have been undone. This may seem primitive, but it underlines the importance of the period set, removing any uncertainty where the lack of a generally accepted calendar might very easily lead to confusion. It is tempting to suppose that we get here a glimpse of a practice current in the Persian administration, faced with the Empire's multilingual population. The motif lends some tension to

---

[32] See further Christ 1994: 167–202; Greenblatt 1991: 124–126; Dewald 1993: 55–70.

[33] So Woodhouse: 'Translate, "offered to show me," of projected action. It is not necessary to conclude that Herodotus had visited Exampaeus and seen the bowl'. See further Smyth 1920: 424 f., § 1895: 'The impf. may express an action attempted, intended, or expected in the past'.

[34] I have discussed this passage more fully in West 2000: 15–34.

[35] Similarly Pharaoh Rhampsinitus prostitutes his daughter (2.121e).

the narrative,[36] but the context in which it is set, involving a last-minute change of plan more appropriate to a picnic party than a serious military campaign, does not encourage confidence in the timetable in which it figures.

Herodotus gives the impression, probably correctly, that the Persian force had very little idea of the topography of the land beyond the Danube. We are so accustomed to cartography as indispensable to strategy that we are likely to underestimate the significance of the map engraved on a bronze tablet with which Herodotus equips Aristagoras as he goes to Sparta to seek support for the Ionian revolt (5.49.1), ἔχων πίνακα ἐν τῆι γῆς ἁπάσης περίοδος ἐνετέτμητο καὶ θάλασσά τε πᾶσα καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες. The wording is reminiscent of Homer: cf. *Il.* 21.196 (Ὠκεανός) ἐξ οὗ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα, but the tablet cannot have been very large if Aristagoras took it around with him, and the Homeric reminiscence should alert us to an element of poetic licence. According to Strabo the philosopher Anaximander was the first to draw a map of the inhabited world, and this prototype was corrected by Hekataios; both came from Aristagoras' own city of Miletos. This Ionian product might be expected to be unfamiliar at Sparta, a spectacular visual aid adding force to Aristagoras' argument[37] and minimizing the distance between Ionia and Sousa. Herodotus encourages us to visualise Aristagoras using it as he presents his case: δεικνὺς δὲ ἔλεγε ταῦτα ἐς τῆς γῆς τὴν περίοδον, τὴν ἐφέρετο ἐν τῶι πίνακι ἐντετμημένην (49.4). A series of deictics, (ἐχόμενοι) Ἰώνων μὲν τῶνδε οἵδε Λυδοί (49.5), παρὰ ποταμὸν τόνδε (49.7) etc. reinforces the picture of Aristagoras tracing a route, making this lengthy trek seem well within the capacities of tough Spartans. But a map of the known world could not convey as much relevant information as an itinerary might have done; the latter might be expected to indicate the number of days' journey involved[38] (and offer recommendations of suitable places to pass the night), along with some advice on opportunities for revictualling and the availability of beasts which might carry baggage.

Macan well comments (on 49.7): 'There is a frivolous, exaggerated, and "hybristic" tone about this speech, which helps to explain and justify the rejection of Aristagoras' suit at Sparta'. We shall not imagine that Herodotus could have had any reliable source for it, and indeed the idea of a Spartan march on

[36] Well discussed by Purves (2006: 1–26).

[37] Contrast the Samians' ineffectual use of a visual aid in their attempt to counteract Spartan prejudice against Ionian verbosity (3.46).

[38] More relevant than an indication of the scale might have been, since the speed of travel obviously depends on the terrain.

Sousa seems ludicrous set in the period before the Persian Wars. The meeting between the representatives of austere, conservative Sparta and affluent, intellectually vibrant Ionia well illustrates varieties of hellenicity. It is no surprise that Aristagoras' map is not mentioned when he goes to Athens (5.97).[39]

Of the various episodes here discussed few have a strong claim to be historical, but this does not mean that they all should be dismissed as pure fiction nor classified as a Herodotean mannerism. They have much in common with oracles, riddles, fables, and parables, reflecting the mind-set and habits of societies in which few read easily. The speaker reinforces his words and improves the chances that his listeners will remember them by accompanying action.

William Tyndale (c. 1492–1536), a leading figure in the English Reformation, best known for his translation of the New Testament, makes a point very relevant to this topic, in commenting on Jesus' command to his disciples as given in *Matthew* 10.14: 'And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet'. 'Why are they commanded to shake off the dust? For a witness saith Luke,[40] that that deed may testify against them in the day of judgement, that the doctrine of salvation was offered them, but they would not receive it. Ye see also that such gestures and ceremonies have greater power with them, than have bare words only, to move the heart and to stir up faith, as do the laying on of hands and anointing with oil.' Such gestures and other forms of non-verbal communication have a greater importance in communities where habits of literacy are not firmly rooted, at the interface between orality/aurality and literacy, while in societies long literate they may take on significance from the power of tradition.

It is an honour and a pleasure to contribute to this *Festschrift*, itself a tangible expression of the respect and affection in which Anne Lill is held, above all as the leading figure in the extraordinarily rapid revival of the Tartu Classics department, and to join in wishing her the enjoyment of many years of *otium cum dignitate*!

[39] Aristagoras' map has received unusual attention recently: see further Purves 2010: 132–140; Pelling 2007: 179–201; de Bakker 2016: 81–99, esp. 92–96.

[40] *Luke* 10.10–16.

References

Aly, Wolfgang (1921). *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot und seinen Zeitgenossen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. (Reprint 1969.)

Archibald, Zofia (1998). *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Asheri, David; Lloyd, Alan; Corcella, Aldo (2007). *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I–IV*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bakker, M. de (2016). 'An uneasy smile. Herodotus on maps and the question of how to view the world.' – Barker, Elton; Bouzarovski, Stefan; Pelling, Christopher; Isaksen, Leif (eds.), *New Worlds from Old Texts. Revisiting Ancient Space and Place*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 81–99.

Bowie, Angus M. (2007). *Herodotus Histories Book VIII*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Braswell, Bruce Karl (1988). *A Commentary on the Fourth Pythian Ode of Pindar*. (*Texte und Kommentare*; 14.) Berlin; New York: de Gruyter.

Burkert, Walter (1990). 'Herodot als Historiker fremder Religionen.' – Nenci, Giuseppe; Reverdin, Olivier (eds.), *Hérodote et les peuples non grecs*. (*Entretiens Hardt*; 35.) Vandoeuvres/Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 1–39. (= *Kleine Schriften VII* (Göttingen, 2007), 140–60).

Christ, Matthew R. (1994). 'Herodotean Kings and Historical Inquiry.' – *Classical Antiquity* 13, 167–202. https://doi.org/10.2307/25011013

Davidson, James (1997). *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens*. London: HarperCollins.

Dewald, Carolyn (1993). 'Reading the World: the interpretation of objects in Herodotus' Histories.' – Rosen, Ralph M.; Farrell, Joseph (eds.), *Nomodeiktes: Greek Studies in Honor of Martin Ostwald*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 55–70.

Edwards, Viv; Sienkewicz, Thomas J. (1990). *Oral Cultures Past and Present*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Flower, Michael A.; Marincola, John (2002). *Herodotus Histories Book IX*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gould, John (1989). *Herodotus*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Greenblatt, Stephen (1991). *Marvelous Possessions: the Wonders of the New World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hollmann, Alexander (2011). *The Master of Signs. Signs and the Interpretation of Signs in Herodotus' Histories*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Hellenic Studies, Trustees for Harvard University.

Hornblower, Simon (2013). *Herodotus Histories Book V*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Koljević, Svetozar (1980). *The Epic in the Making*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kurke, Leslie (1999). *Coins, Bodies, Games, and Gold: The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Macan, Reginald Walter (1895). *Herodotus, the fourth, fifth and sixth books*. London: Macmillan.

Merkelbach, Reinhold (1996). *Hestia und Erigone. Vorträge und Aufsätze*, ed. Wolfgang Blümel *et al*. Stuttgart; Leipzig: Teubner.

Minns, Ellis H. (1913). *Scythians and Greeks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Müller, Carl Werner (2006). 'Der Schelm als König und Weiser: Amasis von Ägypten in der Darstellung Herodots.' – Müller, Carl Werner, *Legende – Novelle – Roman*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 189–224.

Pelling, Christopher (2007). 'Aristagoras (5.49–55, 97).' – Irwin, Elizabeth; Greenwood, Emily (eds.), *Reading Herodotus. A Study of the* logoi *in Book 5 of Herodotus*' Histories. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 179–201.

Perrie, Maureen (1987). *The Image of Ivan the Terrible in Russian Folklore*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Purves, Alex (2006). 'The plot unravels: Darius's numbered days in Scythia (Herodotus 4.98).' – *Helios* 33, 1–26.

Purves, Alex C. (2010). *Space and Time in Ancient Greek Narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Robertson, George S. (1898). *Chitrál: The Story of a Minor Siege*. London: Methuen.

Scullion, Scott (2006). 'Herodotus and Greek religion.' – Dewald, Carolyn; Marincola, John (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Herodotus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 192–208.

Smyth, Herbert Weir (1920). *A Greek Grammar*. New York etc: American Book Company.

Stein, Heinrich (1906). *Herodotos*. Berlin: Weidmann.

Steiner, Deborah Tarn (1994). *The Tyrant's Writ: Myths and Images of Writing in Ancient Greece*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Strosetzki, Norbert (1958). 'Antike Rechtssymbole.' – *Hermes* 86(1), 1–17.

West, Martin L. (2007). *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

West, Stephanie (1988). 'The Scythian ultimatum (Herodotus iv 131, 132).' – *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 108, 207–211. https://doi.org/10.2307/632648

West, Stephanie (2000). 'Herodotus in the North? Reflections on a Colossal Cauldron (4.81).' – *Scripta Classica Israelica* 19, 15–34.

West, Stephanie R. (2011). 'A diplomatic fiasco. The first Athenian embassy to Sardis (Hdt. 5,73).' – *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 154(1), 9–21.

Wilson, Nigel G. (ed.) (2015) *Herodoti Historiae: Libri I–IV*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Woodhouse, William John (1902). *Herodotus IV, chapters 1–144*. London: University Tutorial Press.

Yarshater, Ehsan (1983). *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol. 3(1): *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yule, Henry; Cordier, Henri (1920 [1993]). *The Travels of Marco Polo*. II. London: Murray. (Reprint New York Dover, 1993.)

Zanker, Paul (1993). 'The Hellenistic grave stelai from Smyrna: identity and self-image in the polis.' – Bulloch, Anthony *et al*. (eds.), *Images and Ideologies: Self-definition in the Hellenistic World*. Berkeley, LA; London: University of California Press, 212–230.

Abstract

In several episodes in Herodotus a symbolic or figurative action reinforces, or even takes the place of, verbal communication. Among the most memorable is the rebus of the menacing message sent to Darius by the Scythian chief Idanthyrsus, consisting of a bird, mouse, frog, and five arrows (4.131–132), ethnographically authentic though set in a quite unreal historical framework. Such narratives tend to be treated in isolation, simply in relation to their alleged historical context. But considered as a group such tales of a traditional style of communication, paralleled from other cultures and periods, above all from the Old Testament, throw valuable light on the mindset of Herodotus' audience, at the interface of orality and literacy.

PRAGMATIC *VS*. EPIDEICTIC DISCOURSE: ARISTOTELIAN IDEA AND ITS RECEPTION IN ANTIQUITY

Vita Paparinska

A major contribution of Aristotle (384–322 BC) to rhetoric was his treatise *Ars rhetorica* (*c*. 335 BC) with clear and unambiguous identification of three discourse[1] kinds – deliberative, judicial and epideictic:[2]

> ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἂν εἴη τρία γένη τῶν λόγων τῶν ῥητορικῶν, συμβουλευτικόν, δικανικόν, ἐπιδεικτικόν.[3]
>
> There are necessarily three kinds of rhetorical discourse – deliberative, judicial and epideictic.

There is some testimony that antiquity was well aware of the heterogeneity of discourse, and different opinions on the number of discourse kinds existed. Protagoras is said to have classified discourse into question and answer, command and entreaty (*[Protagoras]… interrogandi*, *respondendi*, *mandandi*, *precandi*, *quod* εὐχωλήν *dixit*, *partes solas putat*).[4] According to Plato, Gorgias recognised discourse directed at judges in the court of law or at statesmen in the council or at members of the popular assembly or at the audience at any other meeting that was held on public affairs (τὸ πείθειν ἔγωγ᾽ οἷόν τ᾽ εἶναι τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ δικαστὰς καὶ ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ βουλευτὰς καὶ

---

[1] In this paper the term "discourse" is used to denote a kind of speech in the general sense, "public, spoken or written prose of all varieties as well as private, reasoned thought (Walker 2000: 41). When referring to a particular act of expression, the term "speech" is used.

[2] For detailed discussion of the development of Greek rhetoric (pre-4th century BC and 4th century BC) and its kinds see Chiron 2002: vii–clxviii. For a short overview see Solmsen 1941: 169–190.

[3] Aristoteles, *Ars rhetorica* 1358a36–1358b20.

[4] Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.4.10.

ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκκλησιαστὰς καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ συλλόγῳ παντί, ὅστις ἂν πολιτικὸς σύλλογος γίγνηται).[5] Plato's *Phaedrus* argues that the art of speaking and writing is exercised mainly in the court of law, and the art of speaking – also in popular assemblies; no other uses have been heard of (μάλιστα μέν πως περὶ τὰς δίκας λέγεταί τε καὶ γράφεται τέχνη, λέγεται δὲ καὶ περὶ δημηγορίας: ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ οὐκ ἀκήκοα).[6]

The Roman rhetorician Quintilian (*c.* 35–100) states that the Aristotelian discourse classification was the one (almost) generally recognised and adopted in post-Aristotelian times:

> *... nec dubie prope omnes utique summae apud antiquos auctoritatis scriptores Aristotelem secuti... hac partitione contenti fuerunt*[7]*... partes enim rhetorices esse dicebant laudativam*[8]*, deliberativam, iudicialem*.[9]
>
> It is quite certain that all the most eminent authorities among ancient writers, following Aristotle, have been content with the threefold division... [They] said that the parts of rhetoric were the epideictic, deliberative and judicial.

Validity of Quintilian's statement is strengthened by Diogenes Laertius' (*fl. c.* 3rd century) remark that the Stoics of the 4th/3rd century BC supported a tripartite discourse classification (καὶ τὴν μὲν ῥητορικὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι λέγουσι τριμερῆ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι συμβουλευτικόν, τὸ δὲ δικανικόν, τὸ δὲ ἐγκωμιαστικόν[10]).[11] Though Diogenes does not mention Aristoteles, the enumerated kinds seem to point to the Aristotelian classification.

However, some of Quintilian's remarks cast doubt on his statement of the universal adoption of the Aristotelian tripartite discourse classification.

---

5 Plato, *Gorgias* 452e.

6 Plato, *Phaedrus* 261b.

7 Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.4.1.

8 Greek post-Aristotelian and Latin discussions of rhetoric are inconsistent in the use of terms denoting the Aristotelian concept of τὸ ἐπιδεικτικόν and the relevant kind of discourse. In Greek writings τὸ ἐπιδεικτικόν is the most general term, with τὸ ἐγκωμιαστικόν and τὸ πανηγυρικόν used occasionally (contrary to the basic meaning of the relevant words, they denote speeches both of praise and vituperation). Latin *demonstrativum*, the closest translation of the Greek τὸ ἐπιδεικτικόν, is frequently substituted by *laudativum* (in the meaning of praise and vituperation). For this reason, to avoid confusion, in the translations of text excerpts the most general term – "epideictic" – has been used both for Greek and Latin texts.

9 Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.3.14.

10 See Note 8.

11 Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 7.42.

Quintilian notes that there is some uncertainty as to whether there are three kinds of discourse or more (*sed tria an plura sint, ambigitur*) [12]:

> *verum et tum leviter est temptatum, cum apud Graecos quosdam tum apud Ciceronem in libris de Oratore, et nunc maximo temporum nostrorum auctore*[13] *prope impulsum, ut non modo plura haec genera, sed paene innumerabilia videantur.*[14]
>
> Still there has been a feeble attempt by some Greeks as well as by Cicero in his *De Oratore*, and now an insistent attempt by the greatest authority of our own times [to prove] that there are not only more kinds, but also that the number of kinds seems almost innumerable.

Quintilian himself recognises dichotomy inherent in Aristotle's discourse classification. Some discourse is pragmatic (i.e., *negotialis* or πραγματική) and some discourse includes praise and vituperation:

> *quod genus [pars quae constat laude ac vituperatione] videtur Aristoteles atque eum secutus Theophrastus a parte negotiali, hoc est* πραγματικῆ *removisse.*[15]
>
> Aristotle, and Theophrastus following him, seems to have separated this kind [the component of praise and vituperation] from the pragmatic component.

The Greek Neoplatonist philosopher Syrianus (died *c*. 437) consolidates Quintilian's uncertainty by saying:

> … εἴδη δὲ αὐτῆς [τῆς ῥητορικής] οἱ μὲν δύο, πραγματικὸν καὶ ἐπιδεικτικόν, οἱ δὲ τρία, δικανικὸν συμβουλευτικὸν πανηγυρικόν[16], οἱ δὲ τέταρτον τούτοις προστιθέασι τὸ ἱστορικόν.[17]
>
> … some say that there are two kinds of rhetorical discourse, pragmatic and epideictic, some say that there are three kinds – judicial, deliberative and epideictic, some add to these a fourth kind – historical.

---

[12] Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.4.1.

[13] It is uncertain whom Quintilian means by "*maximus temporum nostrorum auctor*". H. E. Butler (Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria, Book 3*, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, England 1920) is of the opinion that Quintilian is speaking of Pliny the Elder.

[14] Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.4.2.

[15] Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.7.1.

[16] See Note 8.

[17] Syrianus, *Commentarium in librum* περὶ στάσεων 133.9.

Syrianus' testimony taken together with Quintilian's remarks makes one question the acceptance of Aristotle's tripartite discourse classification in antiquity.

My argument is that, first, the Aristotelian tripartite discourse classification is, in fact, implicit dichotomy of, to use Syrianus' terminology, pragmatic discourse and epideictic discourse, secondly, the implicit dichotomy is developed in post-Aristotelian times to explicitness, thirdly, developments of the Aristotelian discourse classification are inseparable from re-evaluation of discourse kinds and their relative importance. The argument will be proved by a chronologically sequential overview of the discussions of discourse kinds. As Aristotle is the point of reference, the discussion will be introduced by an overview of the Aristotelian theory of discourse kinds.[18]

At first glance, the basis for Aristotle's differentiation of the three discourse kinds seems to be the content of discourse. Deliberative discourse generally, but not exclusively, discusses a political issue, and its content is expediency or disadvantageousness of a proposed future action. Judicial discourse assesses an action of the past, its justifiability or wrongfulness. Epideictic discourse speaks of "now and here" though it may touch upon the past and consider the future; it evaluates people and actions from the perspective of praise or vituperation.[19]

In fact, for Aristotle the demarcation line between discourse kinds is audience and its function. The major distinction is between the audience who are judges, and the audience who are observers (ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἢ θεωρὸν εἶναι ἢ κριτήν, κριτὴν δὲ ἢ τῶν γεγενημένων ἢ τῶν μελλόντων. ἔστιν δ᾽ ὁ μὲν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων κρίνων ὁ ἐκκλησιαστής, ὁ δὲ περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων οἷον ὁ δικαστής, ὁ δὲ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ὁ θεωρός).[20] If the audience are judges, i.e., people authorized to make decisions, the speech is delivered in an institutional setting. For deliberative discourse it is a council meeting or a popular assembly. For judicial discourse it is a court of law. The speech is expected to trigger an action (πρᾶξις). The judges will listen to a speech or speeches, make a decision and vote. Their vote will have direct or indirect impact on the community. If the audience are observers, they listen to a speech or speeches in a ceremonial setting – festivities, symposia, public ceremonies and also funerals. Although the functions of judges and observers

[18] Walker argues that Aristotle's *Ars rhetorica* is a theoretical treatise concerned with advancing the understanding of rhetoric, a discussion of general principles and paradigms, and his tripartite discourse classification may not be direct reflection of rhetorical practice (Walker 2000: 39).

[19] Aristoteles, *Ars Rhetorica* 1358b3–5.

[20] Aristoteles, *Ars Rhetorica* 1358b2.

may overlap, observers of an epideictic discourse being judges of the speaker's success in a rhetorical competition,[21] yet generally epideictic discourse is not followed by any significant action that would have perceptible impact on the community.[22]

Thus, in the Aristotelian system, depending on the audience and its function, discourse can be pragmatic, i.e., promoting an action, and epideictic, i.e., display discourse. Pragmatic discourse includes deliberative discourse and judicial discourse. Aristotle expresses some preference for deliberative discourse as he considers it to be nobler and more suitable to a statesman (καλλίονος καὶ πολιτικωτέρας τῆς δημηγορικῆς πραγματείας οὔσης). Yet the general discussion in the *Ars rhetorica* shows that there is much similarity between deliberative and judicial discourse (stability of the delivery situation, significance of a vote, impact of a vote on the community).

Epideictic discourse is different. It has the potential for high flexibility – diversity of delivery situations, target audiences and contents. Epideictic discourse can function in the form of an epideictic speech or it can be incorporated into deliberative and judicial speeches as epideictic inserts, mostly praise of action (ἔπαινος) or praise of achievements (ἐγκώμιον). Though Aristotle discusses epideictic discourse as a separate kind and defines it according to the general criteria of deliberative and judicial discourse, not much is said about it. This may reflect the general uncertainty of Aristotelian times in terms of discourse that is neither deliberative nor judicial. Isocrates seems to have questioned the very concept of epideictic discourse due to praise and vituperation being included in any kind of speech (*Isocrates in omni genere inesse laudem ac vituperationem existimavit*).[23] Plato, through the principle of exclusion, recognises a kind of discourse that is neither deliberative nor judicial. He calls it "conversational" (προσομιλητική), i.e., suitable for private discussions.[24]

Another Greek discussion of rhetoric, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, written at about the same time as Aristotle's *Ars rhetorica*, has survived. The text is introduced by a spurious letter, purporting to be from Aristotle to Alexander the Great (thence the title of the treatise). Authorship of the treatise is uncertain.[25] Some of the precepts in the treatise correlate with those attributed to Isocrates

[21] Aristoteles, *Ars Rhetorica* 1391b6.

[22] Kennedy 1994: 4, 58; Walker 2000: 37–41.

[23] Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.4.11.

[24] Plato, *Sophist* 222c–d; Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.4.10.

[25] Kennedy 1963: 114–123; Kennedy 1994: 49–51; Walker 2000: 51–55. Cf. strong arguments to the contrary in Buchheit 1960: 189–198; 205–207.

(style, clarity and brevity of expression) – the author of *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* may have studied with Isocrates or at least read him.[26] General structure of the text and some precepts (arguments, topics style, arrangement) are similar to the discussion in the Aristotelian *Ars rhetorica*. *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* seems to reflect the rhetoric of the 4th century BC and the intermediary stages between the 5th century BC technographers and Isocrates from one side, and Aristotle from the other.[27]

In *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* speeches are classified into seven species (εἴδη) that may function separately and may be used in combinations.[28] The basic principle of the classification is subject of the speech. To some extent, the species of *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* correlate with Aristotle's three discourse kinds. The species of exhortation (τὸ προτρεπτικόν) and the species of dissuasion (τὸ ἀποτρεπτικόν) in *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* would be deliberative discourse in Aristotle's *Ars rhetorica*, the species of praise (τὸ ἐγκωμιαστικόν) and the species of vituperation (τὸ ψεκτικόν) would be epideictic discourse, and the species of accusation (τὸ κατηγορητικόν) and the species of defence (τὸ ἀπολογητικόν) in *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* would be judicial discourse in Aristotle. The seventh species of *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* – inquiry or examination (τὸ ἐξεταστικόν) – is a general mode of disputation that may function independently or with other species.[29] The author of *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* remarks that these species are employed in public assemblies (κοιναὶ δημηγορίαι) and courts of law (περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια δικαιολογίαι), also in private disputations (ἰδίαι ὁμιλίαι).[30] As *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* discusses public discourse (λόγοι πολιτικοί),[31] the concept of private disputations is not elaborated beyond mere mention.[32]

The core material of the discussion is focused on speeches that exhort action (παράκλησις ἐπὶ προαιρέσεις ἢ λόγους ἢ πράξεις), i.e., judicial and deliberative discourse as having utmost pragmatic application and significance.[33]

---

[26] Chiron 2002: cxlvii.

[27] Chiron 2002: clv.

[28] *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 5.4.

[29] Quintilian thinks that inquiry belongs to the judicial kind (Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.4.9).

[30] *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 2.1–2.

[31] *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 1.1.

[32] *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 2.29.

[33] *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 1.2.

Epideictic discourse (τὸ ἐπιδεικτικόν) is assigned a supplementary role.[34] The author rather seems to consider praise and vituperation to be valuable inserts in a deliberative and judicial speech or techniques of amplification or minimisation.[35] Implicit dichotomy of pragmatic discourse and epideictic discourse is evident. Though the introductory letter of the treatise praises Isocratean general study (λόγων φιλοσοφία),[36] the treatise itself in essence is its substantially reduced variant. *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* is a handbook concerned with imparting skills to the practitioner and oriented to those interested in learning pragmatic discourse.[37]

In reference to the classification of discourse kinds in *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, a perplexing *locus* should be mentioned. A classification scheme with almost Aristotelian wording (τρία γένη τῶν πολιτικῶν εἰσὶ λόγων, τὸ μὲν δημηγορικόν, τὸ δ᾽ ἐπιδεικτικόν, τὸ δὲ δικανικόν) is mentioned in the first sentence of the treatise after the introductory letter.[38] The author structures his discussion pursuant to the rhetorical species enumerated immediately afterwards and throughout the treatise no further reference to the tripartite Aristotelian scheme is made. This inconsistency – an explicit reference to a fundamental concept of Aristotelian rhetoric alongside the use of a different classification scheme – is generally explained by corruption of the text. The original text of *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* presumably did not have that first disputable sentence. Quintilian and Syrianus seem to refer to such a version in their pronouncements that the author recognised two kinds of public discourse – judicial and deliberative – and its seven species: ("*iudicialem et contionalem generales partes esse voluit, septem autem species: hortandi, dehortandi, laudandi, vituperandi, accusandi, defendendi, exquirendi, quod ἐξεταστικόν dicit*"[39] and "δύο γένη φησὶν εἶναι τῶν πολιτικῶν λόγων, δικανικόν τε καὶ δημηγορικόν, εἴδη δὲ ἑπτά, προτρεπτικὸν ἀποτρεπτικὸν ἐγκωμιαστικὸν ψεκτικὸν κατηγορητικὸν ἀπολογητικὸν ἐξεταστικόν"[40]).[41]

---

[34] *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 1.4.

[35] *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 1.6., 35–36.

[36] *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 1.13.

[37] Kennedy 1994: 56; O'Rourke 2005: 20.

[38] *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 2.1. Cf. ἂν εἴη τρία γένη τῶν λόγων τῶν ῥητορικῶν, συμβουλευτικόν, δικανικόν, ἐπιδεικτικόν (Aristoteles, *Rhetorica* 1358a36–1358b20).

[39] Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.4.9.

[40] Syrianus, *Commentarium in Hermogenis librum περὶ στάσεων* 133.9.

[41] L. Spengel made the afore mentioned emendation in his edition of *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* (Anaximenis *Ars Rhetorica* 1844: 5). Hinks (1936: 170–176) strongly supports this view. For different opinions see Forster 1959: 232–234.

As to authorship of the treatise, Quintilian attributes it to Anaximenes of Lampsacus (4th century BC), a slightly older contemporary of Aristotle. Attribution of authorship of *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* to Anaximenes on the basis of Quintilian's pronouncement is plausible, if the original text of *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* was different from the surviving one.[42] Syrianus' attribution of authorship of the treatise to Aristotle shows that at some point between 2 AD and 5 AD the Aristotle-like sounding statement had been inserted in order to formally bring the text into coherence with the Aristotelian doctrine, as far as discourse kinds are concerned, and attribute authorship to Aristotle.[43]

The Aristotelian tripartite discourse classification is implicitly echoed by Hermagoras, the distinguished Greek rhetorician of the mid-second century BC. *Suda* mentions his treatise on rhetoric in six books.[44] No writings of Hermagoras have survived, but Cicero's and Quintilian's testimony permits some reconstruction of Hermagoras' rhetorical theory.

The nominal goal of Hermagoras' rhetoric was comprehensive – "to treat the proposed public issue as persuasively as possible" (τὸ τεθὲν πολιτικὸν ζήτημα διατίθεσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πειστικῶς).[45] Hermagoras divided discourse into special cases (*causae*) and general questions (*quaestiones*), by special cases meaning a discussion with introduction of definite individuals, and by general questions – a discussion without introduction of definite individuals.[46] The corresponding Greek terms would be "*hypothesis*" (ὑποθέσις) for "*causa*" and "*thesis*" (θέσις) for "*quaestio*" / "*praepositio*".[47] If correlated with the Aristotelian tripartite discourse classification, Hermagorean "*causa*" can be equated to Aristotle's deliberative and judicial speech, i.e., pragmatic discourse, and "*quaestio*" would be epideictic discourse or a theoretical discussion. Dichotomy of pragmatic discourse and epideictic discourse is evident.

Hermagoras' discourse classification is criticized by Cicero, in whose view, it is obvious that a speaker deals with special cases in a deliberative, judicial or epideictic speech, but general questions are outside a speaker's field of competence.[48] Another point that Cicero is critical about is, to his mind, inconsistency of Hermagoras' classification. Within the discussion of *stasis* theory,

---

42 Chiron 2008: 101–104; Chiron 2002: lxxv–lxxxiii; Mirhady 1994: 54–58.

43 Chiron 2002: lxxxviii–lxxxix.

44 *Sudae Lexicon Graece et Latine tribus voluminis. Tomus 1*. Cambridge 1705. S.v. Ἑρμαγόρας.

45 Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus rhetores* 62.

46 Cicero, *De inventione* 1.6.8; Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.5.5, 3.5.7.

47 Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.5.14.

48 Cicero, *De inventione* 1.5.7–1.6.8.

speaking about qualitative *stasis*, Cicero attributes to Hermagoras division of qualitative *stasis* into deliberative, epideictic, judicial, negotiative parts (*huic generi Hermagoras partes quattuor subposuit, deliberativam, demonstrativam, iuridicialem, negotialem*).[49] Correlation of the Aristotelian discourse classification that Cicero supports[50] with the Hermagorean system, in Cicero's opinion, brings out a logical error. Cicero's argument is that the same thing can be *genus* in relation to one thing, and *species* in relation to another, but it cannot be *genus* and *species* in relation to the same thing, as the case of deliberative, judicial and epideictic discourse in Hermagoras seems to him to be.[51] In fact, the error lies not with Hermagoras who had introduced a new discourse classification, but with Cicero (or his source) who tried to integrate the Aristotelian system with the Hermagorean division.[52] It is impossible as the basis of Aristotle's discourse classification is the audience to whom the speech is delivered, but for Hermagoras – the relevant subject matter.

As Hermagoras text is lost, it is not possible to reconstruct his position in full. From the examples given by Cicero and Quintilian in order to explain some opinion of his, it seems that Hermagoras wrote primarily (maybe exclusively) on judicial discourse and, maybe, to some extent, on deliberative discourse.

As to chronologically sequential discussions of oratory that deal with or touch upon the issue of discourse kinds, these are Latin texts. The earliest surviving Latin discussions of rhetoric written in *c*. 90–80 BC, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, a Latin manual of rhetoric of uncertain authorship[53] and Cicero's *De inventione*,[54] speak of three kinds of subject matter (*tria genera causarum*[55]

[49] Cicero, *De inventione* 1.9.12

[50] Cicero, *De inventione* 1.5.7

[51] Cicero, *De inventione* 1.9.12.

[52] Quintilian says that the reason for Cicero's misunderstanding of Hermagoras' text was his early age or the misinformation of his teacher (Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.6.59). There is some uncertainty whether Cicero had direct knowledge of Aristotle' *Ars rhetorica* when he wrote *De inventione.*

[53] The author may or may not have been a certain Cornificius, mentioned by Quintilian (Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.1.21; 6.10.2), but otherwise unknown (Kennedy 1994: 121; Clark 1996: 14; Caplan 1964: vii –xiv).

[54] Caplan 1964: vii–xxiv; Grube 1995: 165–167; Kennedy 1994: 117–127; Walker 2000: 62–65.

[55] *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1.2.

or *tria genera rerum*[56]) that correlates with three discourse kinds – epideictic, deliberative, judicial (*demonstrativum*[57], *deliberativum*, *iudiciale*).[58]

The *genera causarum* are explained in concise, easily understandable statements that closely mirror Aristotle's definition in the *Ars rhetorica*:

> *Demonstrativum est quod tribuitur in alicuius certae personae laudem vel vituperationem. Deliberativum est in consultatione, quod habet in se suasionem et dissuasionem. Iudiciale est quod positum est in controversia, et quod habet accusationem aut petitionem cum defensione.*[59]
>
> The epideictic kind is that which is devoted to the praise or vituperation of some particular person. The deliberative kind is applied in consideration and comprises persuasion and dissuasion. Judicial kind is that which, having its place in legal controversy, comprises criminal prosecution or civil suit and defence.

and:

> *Demonstrativum est, quod tribuitur in alicuius certae personae laudem aut vituperationem; deliberativum, quod positum in disceptatione civili habet in se sententiae dictionem; iudiciale, quod positum in iudicio habet in se accusationem et defensionem aut petitionem et recusationem.*[60]
>
> The epideictic kind is that which is devoted to the praise or vituperation of some particular person; the deliberative kind is applied in disputation of policy and comprises a statement of one's opinion; judicial kind is that which, having its place in judicial proceedings, comprises criminal prosecution and defence; or civil suit and counter-plea.

Yet, development of the *stasis* theory and focus on judicial discourse made adoption of the Aristotelian tripartite discourse classification into Latin rhetorical culture difficult. In reference to the proportion of discussion of the kinds of discourse, Latin rhetoric diverges from the Aristotelian model. The Latin perspective is closer to the Hermagorean dichotomy of πολιτικὰ

[56] Cicero, *De inventione* 1.7.

[57] See Note 8.

[58] *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 2.1; Cicero, *De inventione* 1.7.

[59] *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 2.1.

[60] Cicero, *De inventione* 1.7.

ζητήματα. Rhetorical writings have been tailored for an audience interested almost exclusively in judicial discourse.[61]

Rhetorica ad Herennium devotes the first two of its four books to the discussion of judicial discourse.[62] The author points out that judicial discourse is not only "much more difficult" (*multo difficillimum*), but it is also one of the "most important issues" (*res maximae*).[63] It is model, and the author advises to structure a deliberative speech along the same lines as a judicial one. The author is less interested in deliberative (*deliberativum*) and epideictic (*demostrativum*) discourse – deliberative discourse is discussed in nine chapters,[64] and epideictic discourse in six chapters[65]. As to the epideictic speech, the author's remark that it is rarely employed *per se* is noteworthy. Yet, as occasions for praise and vituperation oftentimes occur in judicial and deliberative speeches, epideictic speech deserves "some measure of study".[66] Likewise, Cicero in *De inventione* extensively discusses judicial discourse,[67] with much less focus on deliberative discourse.[68] Epideictic discourse is reduced to the display of praise (*laus*) and vituperation (*vituperatio*).[69]

In the treatise of his maturity, *De oratore*, Cicero to some extent reconsiders the role and significance of discourse kinds.[70] In this treatise, the speakers – political men and eminent orators – exchange their views on the nature and scope of knowledge necessary for an ideal orator. Their opinions differ, but the conclusion is unanimous – judicial discourse is the major area of practice for an orator and the crown and glory of his skill. Cicero does not consider, like Aristotle, that deliberative discourse is the noblest kind, yet he admits its importance.[71] As to epideictic discourse, Cicero's *De oratore* marks a significant turning-point in the understanding of the relevant concept. On the one hand, epideictic discourse is narrowed (at least in name) to praise (*laudatio*), and as such considered to be rare in application:

---

61 Walker 2000: 62–65.

62 *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 2.1–47.

63 *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 2.1.

64 *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 3.1–9.

65 *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 3.10–15.

66 *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 3.15.

67 Cicero, *De inventione* 2.14–154.

68 Cicero, *De inventione* 2.155–6.

69 Cicero, *De inventione* 2.176–8.

70 Walker 2000: 71–83.

71 Cicero, *De oratore* 1.35.

> *Nec illud tertium laudationum genus est difficile, quod ego initio quasi a praeceptis nostris secreveram; sed et quia multa sunt orationum genera et graviora et maioris copiae, de quibus nemo fere praeciperet, et quod nos laudationibus non ita multum uti soleremus, totum hunc segregabam locum.*[72]
>
> Nor is there any difficulty about the third kind – that of praise –, which I had excluded in the beginning from my instructions. But as there are many kinds of speeches that are both more dignified and intense, which almost nobody lays instructions about and as we generally do not use praise so much, I put this area entirely aside.

Besides praise being easier to perform than other kinds of speech,[73] it does not have and does not need any special rules and conventions.[74] The question put by Cicero's Antonius "who does not know what is to be praised in a man?" (*quis est qui nesciat, quae sint in homine laudanda?*)[75] is meaningful enough.

On the other hand, Cicero's treatise *De oratore* marks a new and different understanding of the concept of epideictic discourse in the Latin rhetorical tradition. Cicero differentiates between a man of *sapientia*, i.e., a philosopher proper, and a man of *sapientia* and *eloquentia*, i.e., an ideal orator. The ideal orator is a Roman, whose ambition is to speak in a court of law or public assembly, but whose skills rely on *sapientia* – comprehensive knowledge of philosophy. By philosophy Cicero understands different fields of intellectual activity – philosophy proper, history, poetry, ethics, dialectics. They are comparable to Hermagorean' theses and Aristotle's epideictic discourse, as areas segregated from judicial and deliberative discourse that are different but equally important. [76]

The Roman rhetorician Quintilian's treatise *Institutio oratoria*, a comprehensive study of rhetoric, is a singular phenomenon in Roman culture, the quintessence of the whole existing Latin rhetorical tradition.[77] The question of discourse kinds is a vivid example of this. Latin writings on rhetoric show knowledge of the Aristotelian tripartite discourse classification. Yet, there is some uncertainty as to whether the authors' knowledge stems directly from Aristotle's *Ars rhetorica*.

---

[72] Cicero, *De oratore* 2.341.

[73] Cicero, *De oratore* 2.47.

[74] Cicero, *De oratore* 2.44–46.

[75] Cicero, *De oratore* 2.45.

[76] Clark 1996: 56–58; Walker 2000: 79–83; Grube 1995: 168–192.

[77] Kennedy 1994: 185–186; Clark 1996: 109–11.

As to the early Latin writings on rhetoric, the decisive aspect could be accessibility of Aristotle's *Ars rhetorica*. Some information is provided by the authors of antiquity, Strabo and Plutarch. Aristotle's book collection after the death of his student Theophrastus (*c*. 285 BC) was sent off to Asia Minor where Aristotle's texts disappeared from view. Some copies of the writings may have remained in private hands, yet there is no evidence that Aristotle's works were read in the time period between the early 3rd century and the 1st century when the library of the book collector Apellicon was appropriated in Athens, brought to Rome by Sulla and published there by Andronicus of Rhodes.[78] Thus in *c*. 90–80 BC, when Cicero wrote *De inventione* and the unknown author wrote *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Aristotle's *Ars rhetorica* was almost certainly not available in Rome. Therefore, when young Cicero makes his few references to Aristotle and, namely, to Aristotle's classification of discourse kinds,[79] it does not mean that he has read Aristotle's *Ars rhetorica*. He, like the author of *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, who is generally critical of the Greek rhetorical tradition and never mentions Aristotle, probably relies on what he has been taught or what he has read in some secondary source.[80] Quintilian's position is more difficult to explain. He is a self-confessed supporter of the Aristotelian theory of discourse kinds (*[ego] illa vetere persuasione permanens*)[81]. He explicitly recommends adherence to the Aristotelian system as the safest and most rational choice (*nobis et tutissimum est auctores plurimos sequi, et ita videtur ratio dictare*)[82]. Yet, references to Aristotle in his discussion of discourse kinds are sometimes inaccurate[83] and strongly suggest indirect knowledge of the text.[84]

Quintilian's discussion of discourse kinds is also a characteristic example of the Latin rhetorical tradition in another aspect. Treatment of the subject is conservative, respectful of authorities and loyal to the Roman predecessors,

---

78 Strabo, *Geographica* 13.1.54; Plutarch, *Sulla* 26.

79 Cicero, *De inventione* 1.7.

80 Kennedy 1994: 119–120.

81 Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.4.4.

82 Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.4.12.

83 Mirhady 1994: 64.

84 Cicero's treatise *De oratore* is a welcome exception in this respect (*c*. 55 BC, when Cicero wrote this text, Aristotle's works were available in Rome) – it shows not only knowledge, but also understanding of Aristotle's rhetorical doctrine.

especially Cicero.[85] Quintilian employs the traditional terminology – *deliberativum*, *iudiciale*, *laudativum*[86]. He structures his discussion around the tripartite discourse classification.[87] Throughout the text Quintilian focuses on judicial discourse. There is some discussion of deliberate discourse[88], and Quintilian admits that knowledge of this kind may be useful when counselling friends, speaking in the senate or advising the emperor.[89] Discussion of the epideictic kind is treated mainly as use of praise and vituperation in judicial oratory.

Another text, an approximate contemporary of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria – Dialogus de oratoribus*, written by the outstanding Roman orator and historian Tacitus (*c.* 56–117) – shows a shift in the understanding of discourse kinds.[90] Strictly speaking, Tacitus' *Dialogus de oratoribus* is not a discussion of rhetoric in the traditional sense as it focuses on the evaluation of contemporary oratory and on judicial speech in particular. The position of one of the speakers of the dialogue, the pragmatically-minded Aper, is illustrative of the contemporary opinion of the supremacy of judicial discourse over any kind of discourse whatsoever. Aper speaks highly of the pragmatic aspect of judicial discourse, elaborating its role in securing social and political career. Tacitus implicitly rejects extreme absolutisation of judicial oratory and reinstates deliberative discourse to its former importance by treating its loss of employment as a sign of general decadence of oratory. What is even more important – if the very existence of epideictic discourse was questioned in Latin rhetorical writings, Tacitus' treatise shows gradual transformation of the concept. With Aper's statement that "eloquence has more than one face" (*non esse unum eloquentiae vultum*)[91] Tacitus sets apart "oratorical discourse" (*eloquentia oratoria*),[92] by this meaning pragmatic discourse, practically only judicial discourse, and eloquence "in its more sacred and august form" (*sanctior illa et augustior eloquentia*),[93] i.e., poetry. If referred to the tripartite

[85] *praecipuum vero lumen sicut eloquentiae ita praeceptis quoque eius dedit, unicum apud nos specimen orandi docendique oratorias artes, M. Tullius* (Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.1.20)

[86] Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.3.14.

[87] Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.3.14–3.4.16.

[88] Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.8.

[89] Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.8.70.

[90] Kennedy 1994: 190–192; Walker 2000: 101–109.

[91] Tacitus, *Dialogus de oratoribus* 18.2–4.

[92] Tacitus, *Dialogus de oratoribus* 5.3; 6.1.

[93] Tacitus, *Dialogus de oratoribus* 4.2.

discourse classification, poetry as intellectual activity dealing with generalities and eternal values, equates to epideictic discourse.

On the theoretical level this understanding of epideictic discourse is evident in the doctrine of Hermogenes (*c.* 161–180), the eminent rhetorician of the times of Marcus Aurelius.

In the treatise *On kinds of style* (Περὶ ἰδεῶν) [94] Hermogenes discusses kinds of style that in some combination are inherent in any high-quality public discourse (λόγος πολιτικός).[95] Public discourse is divided into two sub-kinds. One sub-kind is "purely political discourse" (λόγος ἁπλῶς πολιτικός),[96] and it includes deliberative, judicial and panegyric discourse.[97] This discourse kind is represented by the canon of Attic orators.[98] The other sub-kind of λόγος πολιτικός is "purely panegyric discourse" (λόγος ἁπλῶς πανηγυρικός[99]),[100] and it includes philosophy, history, poetry. Representatives of this category are philosophers Xenophon, Aeschines the Socratic, Nicostratus, historians Herodotus and Thucydides and poets.[101] Demosthenes, Plato and Homer stand outside all categories due to their excellence.

Hermogenes' theory proves that epideictic discourse was being re-evaluated. The Latin rhetorician Fronto (*c.* 100–160s) views epideictic speech from the Aristotlian perspective as one of the three discourse kinds, that is especially difficult for the speaker and very important (ὑπόθεσιν *scribas, nimirum* ἐπιδεικτικήν, *qua nihil est difficilius. Cur? Quia, cum sint tria ferme genera* ὑποθέσεων: <ἐπιδεικτικῶν, συμβουλευτικῶν>, δικανικῶν, *cetera illa multo sunt proniora, multifariam procliva vel campestria*, τὸ ἐπιδεικτικὸν *in arduo situm*[102]). *Dionysius Rhetoric*[103], a collection of miscellaneous material and mistakenly indicated in manuscripts as a work of Dionysius (2nd/3rd century?), discusses seven sub-kinds of epideictic speech. Two treatises,

[94] Walker 2000: 113–118; Kennedy 1994: 115–117.

[95] Hermogenes, Περὶ ἰδεῶν 2.10.366.

[96] Hermogenes, Περὶ ἰδεῶν 2.11.

[97] Hermogenes, Περὶ ἰδεῶν 2.10.370–2.

[98] Hermogenes, Περὶ ἰδεῶν 2.11.395–403.

[99] See Note 8.

[100] Hermogenes, Περὶ ἰδεῶν 2.12.

[101] Hermogenes, Περὶ ἰδεῶν 2.12.404–412.

[102] Fronto, *Ad Marcum Caesarem* 3.17.

[103] Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Ars Rhetorica, in *Dionysii Halicarnassensis quae exstant rhetorica et critica*, Oxford 1704.

ascribed to Menander Rhetor[104] (3rd/4th century?) follow the Hermogenean tradition – in the author's detailed classification scheme epideictic discourse includes poetry and prose and epideictic speeches proper.

It is not known whether Aristotle was the originator or developer of the discourse classification into the sub-kinds of deliberative, judicial and epideictic. An overview of the major rhetorical writings of antiquity proves that it was the Aristotelian scheme that survived in his posterity. In this respect, Quintilian's statement[105] is not to be questioned. Syrianus' statement[106] about the different opinions in reference to discourse kinds is, in fact, a concise summary of the development of the relevant rhetorical thought from Aristotle to late antiquity.

Though explicit in the formulation of three discourse kinds, Aristotle's *Ars rhetorica* shows implicit dichotomy of pragmatic discourse and epideictic discourse. Epideictic discourse has a subsidiary role, and in the rhetorical discussions of later times it is gradually narrowed to the function of inserts or techniques of expression in judicial or deliberative speeches. Interest of post-Aristotelian times in the *stasis* theory facilitated studies that focused on judicial discourse. Deliberate discourse with its diminished practical application retained place in rhetorical discussions due to tradition. Hermogenes' rhetorical theory was a decisive step in the re-evaluation of τὸ ἐπιδεικτικόν. With poetry and prose recognised as the epideictic, dichotomy is clearly evident. There is discourse of practical applicability and significance in civic community – be it of the deliberative, judicial or epideictic kind – and the discourse of texts that carries and promotes civic values. All of them are necessary.

Bibliography

Texts

Anaximenis *Ars Rhetorica* quae vulgo fertur Aristotelis *Ad Alexandrum*. L. Spengel (ed.). Leipzig, 1844.

Aristoteles, *Ars Rhetorica*. W. D. Ross (ed.). (*Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxonienesis*.) Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.

[104] Menander, Διαίρεσις τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν; Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν.

[105] Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 3.3.14.

[106] Syrianus, *Commentarium in librum* περὶ στάσεων 133.9.

Aristotelis *De Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*. I. Bekker (ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1837.

Cicero, *De inventione*, in *Cicero. Rhetorical treatises*. Vol. II. *De Inventione. De Optimo Genere Oratorum. Topica*. (*Loeb Classical Library*.) Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, 1968.

Cicero, *De oratore*, in *Cicero. Rhetorical treatises*. Vol. III. *Books 1–2*. (*Loeb Classical Library*.) Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, 1949.

Cicero, *Topica*, in *Cicero. Rhetorical treatises*. Vol. II. *De Inventione. De Optimo Genere Oratorum. Topica*. (*Loeb Classical Library*.) Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, 1949.

[Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, in *Cicero. Rhetorical treatises*. Vol. I. (*Loeb Classical Library*.) Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, 1964.

Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*. Vol. II. *Books 6–10*. R. D. Hicks (ed.). (*Loeb Classical Library*.) Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, 1925.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Ars Rhetorica*, in *Dionysii Halicarnassensis quae exstant rhetorica et critica*. Oxford, 1704.

Fronto, *Correspondence*. Vol. I. C. R. Haines (ed.). (*Loeb Classical Library*.) London; New York, 1919.

Hermogenes, Περὶ ἰδεῶν, in *Rhetores Graeci*. Vol. II. L. Spengel (ed.). Lipsiae, 1854.

Menander Rhetor, Περί ἐπιδεικτικῶν, in *Rhetores Graeci*. Vol. III. L. Spengel (rec.). Lipsiae, 1856, 329–368.

Plato, *Gorgias*, in *Plato. Opera*. Vol. III. J. Burnet (ed.). (*Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxonienesis*.) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1903.

Plato, *Phaedrus*, in *Plato. Opera*. Vol. II. J. Burnet (ed.). (*Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxonienesis*.) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1915.

Plato, *Sophista*, *Opera*. Vol. I. E. A. Dude *et al*. (eds.). (*Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxonienesis*.) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Plutarch, *Sulla*, in *Parallel Lives*. Vol. IV: *Alcibiades and Coriolanus. Lysander and Sulla*. (*Loeb Classical Library*.) Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, 1916.

Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria*. Vol. II. *Books 3–5*. (*Loeb Classical Library*.) Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, 2002.

Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria*. Vol. III. *Books 6–8*. (*Loeb Classical Library*.) Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, 2002.

Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Rhetores*, in *Sextus Empiricus*. I. Bekker (ed.). Berlin, 1842.

Strabo, *Geographica*, in *Geography*. Vol. VI. *Books 13–14*. (*Loeb Classical Library*.) Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, 1929.

Sudae Lexicon Graece et Latine tribus voluminis. Tom. 1. Cambridge, 1705.

Syrianus, *Commentarium in librum* περί στάσεων, in *Syriani in Hermogenem commentaria*. Vol. 2. H. Rabe (ed.). Leipzig, 1893.

Tacitus, *Dialogus de oratoribus*, in *Tacitus*, I. *Agricola. Germania. Dialogue on oratory*. (*Loeb Classical Library*.) Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, 1970.

Studies

Buchheit, Vinzenz (1960). *Untersuchungen zur Theorie des Genos Epideiktikon von Gorgias bis Aristoteles.* München: Hueber.

Caplan, Harry (1964). 'Introduction.' – *[Cicero], Rhetorica ad Herennium.* (*Loeb Classical Library*). London: Heinemann; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, vii–xi.

Chiron, Pierre (2002). 'Introduction.' – *Pseudo-Aristote. Rhétorique à Alexandre*. (*Collection Budé*). Paris: Les Belles Lettres, vii–cxxviii.

Chiron, Pierre (2008). 'The Rhetoric to Alexander.' – Worthington, I. (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Rhetoric*. Malden etc.: Blackwell, 90–106.

Clark, Martin L. (1996). *Rhetoric at Rome. A Historical Survey.* London; New York: Routledge.

Forster, E. S. (1959). 'Preface. De rhetorica ad Alexandrum.' – Ross, W. D. (ed.), *Works of Aristotle*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 232–234.

Grube, George M. A. (1995). *The Greek and Roman Critics*. Indianapolis; Cambridge: Hackett.

Hinks, D. A. G. (1936). 'Tria genera causarum.' – *Classical Quarterly* 30(3/4), 170–176. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0009838800013823

Kennedy, George A. (1963). *The Art of Persuasion in Greece*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kennedy, George A. (1994). *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mirhady, David C. (1994). 'Aristotle, the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* and *tria genera causarum*.' – Fortenbaugh, W. W.; Mirhady, D. C. (eds.), *Peripatetic Rhetoric After Aristotle*. (*Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities*; 6.) New Brunswick; London: Transaction Publishers, 54–65.

O'Rourke, Sean Patrick (2005). 'Anaximenes, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*.' – Ballif, M.; Moran, M. G. (eds.), *Classical Rhetorics and Rhetoricians: Critical Studies and Sources*. Westport, Connecticut; London: Praeger Publishers, 19–23.

Solmsen, Friedrich (1941). 'The Aristotelian tradition in ancient rhetoric.' – *American Journal of Philology* 62(2), 169–190. https://doi.org/10.2307/290828

Vanderspoel, John (2008). 'Hellenistic rhetoric in theory and practice.' – Worthington, I. (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Rhetoric*. Malden etc.: Blackwell, 124–138.

Walker, Jeffrey (2000). *Rhetoric and Poetics in Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Abstract

Aristotle's *Ars rhetorica*, having defined the basic concepts of rhetoric, is a source of substantial value for the study of the ancient theory of rhetoric not only *per se*, but also as a point of reference against which further developments of the theory of rhetoric can be identified, studied and evaluated.

One of the fundamental precepts in the *Ars rhetorica* is the concept of the three discourse kinds – deliberative discourse, judicial discourse and epideictic discourse. This paper argues that the Aristotelian model is, in fact, a dichotomy. For Aristotle the determinant criterion for distinction of the kinds of discourse is the speech's relation to promotion of activity. Deliberative discourse and judicial discourse are the pragmatic kind, epideictic discourse is the non-pragmatic kind. Aristotle considers pragmatic discourse to be of major importance in a civic society, as this aspect has the potential of influencing the further development of state and community.

The paper focuses on the discussion and classification of discourse kinds in the major Greek and Latin rhetorical texts, with focus on the Aristotelian tradition. An overview of the relevant textual testimony shows that the Aristotelian idea of the three discourse kinds survived throughout antiquity. Change affected the content that was put into a specific kind, and thus – interest and study of rhetoric.

„… UND NIEMAND WUSSTE, WAS GESCHEHEN WÜRDE“ (ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZUM ANTIKEN PERFORMANCEBEGRIFF)

Martin Steinrück

Tun und Sprechen

Kalypso streichelt Odysseus in *Odyssee* 5.181, bevor sie zu dem Mann, den sie einsperrt, auch spricht. Thetis tut dasselbe mit ihrem Sohn in der *Ilias*, aber die Verbindung dieses Gestus mit einer Formel des Sprechens ist typisch für die *Odyssee*:[1]

> Χειρί τέ μιν κατέρεξεν ἔπος τ᾽ἔφατ᾽ἔκ τ᾽ὀνόμαζεν
> Sie streichelte ihn mit der Hand, sprach und formulierte es:

Dieser heroische Vers ist zum einen interessant, weil sein zweites Kolon sich noch 18 mal in der *Odyssee* findet, zum andern weil er zwei Verben nebeneinandersetzt, die auch im Aspektsystem zusammengehören. Das Wort *mythos* scheint ähnlich im Gegensatz zu *epos* zu stehen wie das aspektuell vollendete *poiēma* sich zur Tätigkeit *ergon* verhält. So heisst *epos* nicht nur der zur epischen Performance verwendete Vers, sondern auch das Sprechen, die „parole“, die Äusserung, und seine aspektuelle Entsprechung im Tun findet sich im ῥέζειν, einem einfachen Tätigsein, oft ein rituelles, häufig ein Blutopfer. Der kleine Ritus, den Kalypso vollbringt, das „Nach-unten-tun“, das wir gerne mit „Streicheln“ übersetzen, findet sich hier in einem Relationspaar, wie es Aristoteles mit „Vater und Sohn“ exemplifiziert, oder um die These anders zu formulieren: Ein Tun verlangt nach einem Sprechen. In den 18 Stellen, in welchen die Formel ἔπος τ᾽ἔφατ᾽ἔκ τ᾽ὀνόμαζεν auftritt, kann eine solche

[1] Jacobsohn 1934; D’Avino 1969; Muñoz Valle 1971.

Hypothese jedenfalls bestätigt werden, sodass das Publikum jedenfalls eine Verbalisierung des Gestus zu erwarten schien.

So gibt es Nausikaa den Maultieren mit der Peitsche in *Od.* 6.254, und der Erzähler lässt dieselbe Formel folgen. Man erinnert sich: die Prinzessin hat dem fremden, nackten Mann erst die vom weiblichen Code vorgeschriebene kalte Schulter gezeigt, dann aber ihre Haltung geändert, weil der Fremde potentielles Heiratsmaterial wird. Sie wird also freundlich, aber auf der Heimkehr scheint ihr diese Freundlichkeit beinahe leid zu tun. Sie geht mit dem Peitschenschlag wieder auf Distanz, gespielt oder nicht und expliziert mit ihrer Rede den Gestus.

Es gibt andere, weniger deutliche Beispiele, aber es geht hier darum, das Verhältnis von Tun und Sprechen anders zu fassen als mit der ebenfalls existierenden, aber bereits bearbeiteten Opposition von virtuellen blossen Worten und dem wirklichen Handeln wie in der *Antigone* oder im Schlager *Parole, parole*.[2] Friedrich Nietzsche hat mit seiner *Geburt der Tragödie* bei Jane Harrison die Suche nach Ritus und Mythos ausgelöst,[3] die durch Boas und Malinowski aus ihrer Einseitigkeit (zuerst der Ritus, dann der Mythos oder umgekehrt?) befreit wurde. Was den Philologen nach dem zweiten Krieg blieb, war der Versuch, diese Verbundenheit mit dem schwierigen Begriff der Performance zu fassen.[4] Ich möchte hier einen Gedanken hervorheben, der vielleicht hilfreich ist, den anthropologischen Begriff in seinem vielfältigen Gebrauch zu fassen.[5]

---

[2] Soph. *Ant*. 543: λόγοις δ’ἐγὼ φιλοῦσαν οὐ στέργω φίλην; Soph. *El.* 357–358: ἡ μισοῦσα μισεῖς μὲν λόγῳ, ἔργῳ δὲ τοῖς φονεῦσι τοῦ πατρὸς ξύνει; cf. zum Sprechen, Fournier 1946.

[3] Harrison 1903.

[4] In den Performance-studies (z.B. McKenzie 2001) setzte sich ein anthropologischer, ritueller oder linguistischer Sinn vom allgemein englischen Begriff des Spektakels ab. Ein weiterer Einfluss, der gleichzeitig Verwirrung schuf, war die Pragmatik-Forschung (ausgehend von Austin 1962), in welcher *performatif* ein ebenso wirkungsvolles Sprechen wie das Tun ist. So gibt es Überlegungen zur *parole efficace* im Theater, aber solche Konzepte von Vitalismus würden im Griechischen allenfalls mit dem *ainos* oder der Rhetorik in Verbindung gebracht.

[5] Natürlich ist viel über die Performance geschrieben worden, aber meist wird dabei der Begriff einer Kontext- (oder *hic et nunc*)-bezogenen *parole* dem geschriebenen „Text“ gegenübergestellt und vorausgesetzt, im Kielwasser Richard Heinzes (1903) oder Wolfgang Röslers (1980), entwickelt in den 90-ger Jahren durch Eva Stehle (1997) und durch die modernen, v.a. amerikanischen Performance-studies, aber der Begriff wird selten einem wissenschaftkritischen Blick unterworfen. Denn Performance hat dasselbe Problem wie Ritus (oder *mutatis mutandis* Mythos): die Griechen sprechen von nichts Vergleichbarem.

Kurze Geschichte des Lesens

Meine Lehrer brachten mir bei, frühgriechische und klassische „Literatur" nicht als Literatur, als geschriebenen Text, zu verstehen, sondern als Performance. Es schien damals selbstverständlich unter diesem Anglizismus so etwas wie *oral poetry* zu verstehen. Heute sind es die Philologen dagegen schon beinah zu hören müde, dass klassische und vorklassische „Literatur" mündlich gewesen sei, und viele von ihnen nehmen (nach einigen Scharmützeln in den 90ger Jahren zwischen amerikanischen und europäischen Homeristen)[6] bereits Stellung dagegen, sei es aus Bequemlichkeit, aus dem Erstarken der Tradition Gottfried Hermanns (nach dem „linguistic turn") her oder einfach um ihre Generation abzusetzen. So kommt es, dass die ehemaligen Antipoden, die Dekonstruktion und die positivistischen Hermannianer beide, in Princeton und Paris, den „Text" zur Grundlage nehmen, ob er nun gesprochen werde oder geschrieben, und oft nimmt man sogar, wie im 19. Jh., wieder an, dass Homer geschrieben habe. Aber das dabei implizierte Lesen sollte nicht mit unserem Lektürebegriff verwechselt werden, und auch der Mündlichkeitsbegriff hat sich verschoben.

Sicher ist daran nur, dass in den langen Wachestunden des peloponesischen Krieges, am Ende des 5. Jh., attische Soldaten begannen, Papyrusrollen zu „lesen", wie Soldaten heute dabei ihren MP4 einstöpseln, jedenfalls in der Schweiz. In den 420ger Jahren hatte Lesen denselben Status wie heute das Hören von Musikkonserven, jedenfalls ging die Faszination in beiden Fällen davon aus, dass man einem stummen Artefakt Töne entlocken konnte. Dieses Recorder-Lesen (*anagignōskein*) hat aber (noch) nichts mit der Art und Weise gemein, mit welcher 200 Jahre später, im hellenistischen Alexandria oder Pergamon, in Ägypten oder Kleinasien, „gelesen" wird.[7] Lesen hat sich dort vom lauten Sprechen in eine Art Videogame entwickelt, das versucht, Platons Höhlenkino in die Schädel der Leser zu bringen oder eben das „Kino im Kopf" zu schaffen.[8]

Aber selbst wenn hellenistische Lesepraxis, nötig für Kallimachos, Theokrit oder Herodas, das Publikum endgültig vom Ritus, von der Performance trennte, weil dieser Vortragskontext selbst Teil des Films wird, selbst als

[6] So führte eine Diskussion über die Wichtigkeit des „populären", d.h. stillosen homerischen Stils, die amerikanische, auf Parry gegründete These, oder des nietzscheschen In-Ketten-Tanzens Homers, einer genialischen, europäischen Dichtung, auf einem Homerkongress in Grenoble zum Zerwürfnis zwischen Nagy und Latacz.

[7] Svenbro 1988 hat die These des Recorder-Lesens mit mehreren Inschriften begründet.

[8] Eine etwas längere Geschichte des Lesens in Goldhill 1999 und Steinrück 2013.

später, in Rom, Vergil und mehr als alle andern Ovid oder Pseudo-Longin diese spielerische, räumliche Loslösung des Publikums vom Theatersehen in einen Schmelztiegel von Stimmen umformte, in dem der Leser sich verlieren konnte und sich selbst verwandeln (wie in den *Metamorphosen* Ovids oder des Apuleius),[9] selbst in diesen Praktiken blieb der Ton *outsourced*. Entweder hatte man einen Lesesklaven, einen *lector*,[10] oder liess sich an eine *recitatio* des Autors einladen, aber selbst wenn man sich mit der Rolle in einen Sessel setzte, zuhause oder in der Bibliothek, las man laut, gab dem Papyrus eine Stimme. Das selbstvergessene leise Lesen, diese geschriebene *parole*, die Derridas *Grammatologie* benötigte[11] und die Geschichten Jasper Ffordes möglich machte, in welchen die Heldin in die Texte eindringt wie die Leser, dieses Identifikationslesen des 19. Jh., das wir gerne in antiken Texten und Performances voraussetzen, ist im starken Sinne (der erlebten Rede z.B. bei Flaubert oder Virginia Woolf) nur möglich, wenn dieser Ton, diese Stimme, auch noch ins leise Kopfkino integriert wird. Insofern kann man Performance, im Sinne frühgriechischer Erfahrung von dem, wovon die Ausgaben uns Spuren hinterlassen, nicht einfach als Gehörtes bestimmen, auch nicht als nicht Geschriebenes. Am besten ist sie noch als Gegensatz zum Lesen zu fassen, das erst viel später seine eigenen Performance-Qualitäten entwickelt.

Kritik

Wenn wir aber nach Unterschieden zwischen Lesen und Performance suchen, können wir uns auch nicht damit zufrieden geben, die im Ritus sozialisierende Performance, eine Bürgerpflicht, dem bis heute isolierenden, als Vergnügen betrachteten Lesen gegenüberzustellen. Denn selbst diese Gegensätze sind keine Antwort auf die Frage, was eine Performance in der Antike ausmacht, was ihr *proprium* ist. Einer meiner Basler Professoren sagte uns, Performance sei eine Multi-media-show und ein französischer Kollege kommentierte diese Sichtweise treffend mit „en fait, c'est du 3D“, wichtig bei der Performance sei die Dreidimensionalität. Diesen Performancebegriffen ist ihr Bedürfnis gemein, ein trockenes, plattes Fossil wieder zu Lebensgrösse aufzupumpen. Vor ihnen hatten bereits Wagner, der polnische Malerdichter Stanisław Wyspiański und Max Reinhard den Traum vom Gesamtkunstwerk,[12] in welchem den Augen,

[9] Eine Anthropologie der römischen (*recitatio*-)Lektüre bei Valette-Cagnac 1997.

[10] Cf. Plinius *ep*. 9.34.

[11] Derrida 1967.

[12] Wagner 1849; Schelling 1859.

den Ohren Melodie, Text, Bild, Tanz, jedenfalls viel geboten werden sollte, ein eher positivistischer, Schellingscher Vitalismus, der auf der Suche nach Wirklichkeit die Dimensionen, die Medien multipliziert, ein bisschen wie zur Zeit, da der Basler Professor seine Definition abgab, der österreichische Künstler Ernst Nitsch rituelle Performances organisierte, bei welchen möglichst viel Blut floss, um das Ziel der Lebendigkeit zu erreichen. Ich kann mich aber des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, dass hier eher krampfhaft, mit quantitativer „Geschaftelhuberei", wie in einem philologischen Kommentar, der Sentimentalität des Verlorenen geopfert wird, statt nach einer Qualität, einer Form der Performance zu fragen.

Vorschlag

Der Historiker und (was nicht genügend ernst genommen wird) Rhetor des 4. Jh. unserer Zeitrechnung Eunapios von Sardes flüstert uns gleich zweimal einen seltsamen Satz ein, der diesem Beitrag den Titel gegeben hat und uns vielleicht in unseren Bestimmungen weiterbringt: Er wiederholt ihn dort, wo er eine Performance seines Rhetorikprofessors in Athen beschreibt, des Armeniers Prohairesios, einen für die Spätantike typischen Wettkampf zwischen zwei Rhetoriktraditionen, der ionischen (oder asianischen) und dem *schedios logos*, der attizistischen Improvisation. Eunap stellt diesen Wettkampf in einer grossen Ringkomposition dar, welche eben den Satz als Wiederholung verwendet: „Und niemand wusste, was geschehen würde"[13].

[13] *VPS* 10.4.3 ff: Der Prokonsul setzt einen Wettkampf aus. Doch die Rhetoren kommen langsam, zu Fuss, warten knapp den Höflichkeitsapplaus (***krotos***) ab und verschwinden wieder in wartenden Sänften. Die Partei des Prohairesios bleibt allein und mutlos zurück.

> Aber der Prokonsul versucht es ein zweites Mal, beruft alle Rhetoren ins Theater und lässt die Tore schliessen. Dann ruft er Prohairesios auf und die anderen **wissen nicht, was geschehen wird** (***ta mellonta***), zumal der Prokonsul verlangt, dass jeder von ihnen rede.
>
> > Sie dürfen dabei nichts Vorbereitetes, Eigenes (***idion***) vortragen und antworten auch hierauf nach langer Überlegung (***skepsis***) mit dem Satz, sie gehörten nicht zu denen, die Reden „kotzen". Aufgerufen,
> >
> > > hält Prohairesios einen Vortrag (***dialexis***) über die Stegreifrede als Proagon. Jetzt müsste der Prokonsul das Thema stellen.
> > >
> > > > Prohairesios lässt seinen Blick kreisen (***perieblepe***) und sieht nur Feinde, während seine Freunde beinahe verschwinden (***dialanthanon***).

Ich habe oft über diesen Autor gearbeitet,[14] verstand aber die Bedeutung dieses Satzes sowenig wie Richard Goulet in seiner neuen Belles-Lettres-Ausgabe und schlage nun vor, ihn als Definition der Performance zu lesen.[15] Wenn tausend Jahre vor Eunap, im 6. Jh. vor unserer Zeitrechnung, der Elegienmacher Theognis und andere verheiratete Männer sich versammelten, um einen Ritus für Dionysos zu feiern, d.h. zum Symposion, so ging es darin nicht nur darum, Wein mit Wasser zu mischen und ihn zu trinken, sondern jeder musste eine Antwort singen auf die Elegie, die der Vorgänger gesungen hatte: Der Philosoph und Philologe Nietzsche hat bereits die Spuren dieses Singdialogs in der antiken Ausgabe der Theognislieder gesehen,[16] nämlich Stichwörter oder Stichworte, welche mehrere Lieder miteinander verbinden. Innerhalb dieser dialogischen Form musste sich das ereignen, was meine Freunde und Schüler „le crocodile“ nennen, ein Kinderspiel, bei welchem der erste Spieler den Kopf eines Monstrums auf die linke Seite eines Blatts Papier zeichnet und diese Ecke so umfalzt, dass nur der Halsansatz für den nächsten Spieler sichtbar bleibt. Dieser fügt die Brust und die Vorderbeine hinzu und verbirgt sie wieder durch Falten. Und so weiter, bis am Schluss entfaltet wird und gelacht über ein meist Krokodil-ähnliches Wesen. Dieses Überraschungsmoment zeichnete wohl auch die frühgriechische Elegie oder jedenfalls ihre Verwendung aus. Im *Symposion* Platons z.B. schlägt jemand ein Thema vor, aber von diesem Punkt an kann niemand mehr die Richtung kontrollieren, welche das Krokodil, die Kombination der Beiträge, nimmt. Dieses

---

Aber sein Daimon hilft ihm,
er schaut nochmals in die Runde (***periskopōn***), entdeckt
zwei Feinde und verlangt von ihnen ein Thema (womit sie im
Wettkampf seine Gegner werden). Sie tauchen unter
(***dialanthanein***).
Von den Soldaten nach vorne gebracht, müssen sie wieder lange
nachdenken (***skepsamenoi dialechthentes***),
sie sollen etwas Professionelles bieten, bringen aber nur etwas
Laienhaftes zustande (***idiōtikon***).
Prohairesios erhält auf seine Bitte zwei Gerichtsschreiber, die seine Rede
notieren und **niemand weiss, was geschehen wird** (***mellonta***), aber Prohairesios verbietet
obendrein
jeglichen Applaus (***krotos***) und beginnt, indem er jede Periode mit dem ***krotos*** beendet. Schliesslich brechen der Prokonsul und die Gegner das Applausverbot.

[14] Steinrück 2004.

[15] Goulet 2014.

[16] Ercolani 1998 führt Nietzsches Entdeckung in „Zur Geschichte der Theognideischen Spruchsammlung“ (Nietzsche 1867) weiter.

Sich-Ausliefern, aufs Spiel setzen und nicht wissen, was geschehen wird, ist die Gegenwart von Göttlichem im Ritus, dem Gott, dem diese Gesangsgaben dargebracht werden. Dieser Ritus jedenfalls entspricht dem Satz Eunaps und macht so aus einem puren *happening*, einem Geschehen, so die Vermutung, eine Performance.

Der Künstler Joseph Beuys schuf eine berühmte *performance*, auf welche die Definition zutrifft: Für die Amerikaner zog er sich mit einer Filzdecke und einem Kojoten in einen geschlossenen Raum zurück. Die beiden kannten sich nicht und wussten nicht, ob sie miteinander leben könnten, der Europäer, der das Land der Indianer mit Strassen und Autos durchsetzt hat und der Kojote, der in den Cartoons als Bild für die Ureinwohner mit dem temporeichen Roadrunner kämpft. Auch die Zuschauer der Performance wussten nicht, was geschehen würde.

Es gibt und gab also *performancies*, die sich mit Eunaps Satz definieren lassen, aber trifft dies auf all das zu, was man heute so als Performance in der Antike bezeichnet? Die Performance eines epischen Sängers im 7. Jh vor unserer Zeitrechnung, wie die Odyssee, scheint auch in den Augen der *oral poetry*-Philologen eher als Ohrenlektüre zwar nicht eines festen Wortlauts, aber einer festen Story zu sein. Da mögen sich kleine Überraschungen verstecken, aber die Stimme der Göttin, die da aus dem Mund des Sängers und in den Pausen des Lehrlings kommt, scheint vorhersehbar zu sein. Aber die Form der *Odyssee* zeigt doch, dass wir auch hier möglicherweise zu sehr unsere Leseerfahrung in die frühgriechische Performance projizieren. Auch der Gesang eines epischen Sängers ist die Installierung einer Maschine aus welcher die Stimme einer Göttin spricht, und zumindest vor den Rhapsoden, in der frühgriechischen Epoche spricht die Formanalyse Taplins der *Ilias* in Drittel oder die Wiederholungen zwischen den beiden Hälften der *Odyssee* dafür, dass die Sänger, wie Aristoteles es im Grunde in der *Poetik* beschreibt oder die rhetorische Theorie es vorschreibt, eine Raumvorstellung von bis zu 8 (oder 2×8) Gegenständen oder Zeichnungen haben (z.B. einen Seehund in Buch 4 und 15 der *Odyssee*, ein Temenos ein Rechteck, in Buch 6 und 17, eine Spitze in Buch 9 und 19), die jeweils den Rahmen oder das Zentrum einer Rhapsodie darstellen, ein Gedächtnisstütze, die auch eine Vase sein kann, ähnlich wie lappische Schamanen aus den Zeichnungen auf ihrer Trommel einen durchaus narrativen „Joik" bauen und singen können. Ein solches System, gepaart mit der Formeltechnik, erlaubt es einem Sänger, nicht nur die Ausdehnung des Lieds der zur Verfügung stehenden Zeit anzupassen (Aristoteles reduziert die *Ilias* auf einen Satz), sondern auch diese *oimē*, diesen Weg, der Situation anzupassen: So finden wir in der Fixierung

einer 6-Tage-Performance, der *Odyssee*-Ausgabe, Hinweise auf den Ritus einer Heirat und ähnlich wie in der modernen usbekischen Variante des Ehemanns auf der Hochzeit seiner eigenen Frau, in den 2×3 Teilen des Alpamysh, variert jede bereits fixierte Performance des Weges in dem, was wir Text nennen würden. Weder der Sänger noch das Publikum weiss also genau, was die Muse erzählen wird, oder um es mit dem alten Mantram Jesper Svenbro's zu sagen: die Muse ist das Publikum, sein Einfluss auf den Sänger. Natürlich kommt bei dieser *Poetry of the Past* noch ein anderes kultuell-politisches Element als die Erfahrung des Göttlichen in der Stimme hinzu: die Reise in die Vergangenheit, welche das verheiratete und in diesem Sinn erwachsene Publikum in die Vergangenheit der heroischen Jugendzeit mit dem *diēgetēs*, dem Hinüberführer oder Erzähler macht. Das Scheitern der heroischen, jugendlichen Könige (in der *Ilias* gegenüber dem erwachsenen Agamemnon) erlaubt es dem Publikum, befriedigt in die Zeit nach dem trojanischen Krieg, ins Erwachsenenzeitalter zurückzukehren und so narrativ seine Initiation nocheinmal durchzumachen oder zu rechfertigen. Aber dieses *re-enactment*, in welchem nach Ford's Formel die Gegenwart durch ihren Gegensatz zur Vergangenheit, begründet oder geschaffen wird, hat nur soviel mit der hier vorgeschlagenen Performance-Definition zu tun, als die sich ständig ändernde Gegenwart eine Veränderung der Vergangenheit fordert. Das wird vor allem deutlich in einem anderen Ritus, der bis zu einem gewissen Grad eine Performance darstellt: das Drama.

Diese Umformung des aristokratischen Symposions in ein demokratisches Massenbankett sendet dem Gott Dionysos nicht nur feinen Fettdampf und noch feinere dithyrambische Stimmen nach oben, sondern hat, wie sein Name sagt, noch eine andere Opfergabe bereit: das Sehen von *dran*, von Tun, von Tanzfiguren (die in einem geschlossenen Theater unsinnig wären). Auch hier ändert Aischylos nicht nur den Rhythmus, wenn die daktylischen Serien des Vorbilds Stesichoros in der Parodos des *Agamemnon* (*kyrios eimi throein*, M<u>ei</u>ster im S<u>i</u>ngen bin <u>i</u>ch) im letzten Singversuch des Chors zu demokratischen, gesprochenen Trimetern verkommen (im sogenannten 4. Stasimon), sondern auch das narrative Material der aristokratischen *Orestien* des Stesichoros, um die demokratische, antioligarchische Reform des Areopags (und vielleicht die Ermordung ihres Durchsetzers Ephialtes) 4 Jahre danach als Wiederholung der heroischen Vergangenheit zu rechtfertigen. Ähnlich ändert Sophokles jedenfalls die odysseischen Namen (Epikaste) und die narrativen Elemente der Oidipodie des 7. Jh. (Epikaste erhängt sich nicht und Oidipus blendet sich nicht), welche die Königin zur Hauptfigur einer aristokratischen Politik machte, um die Stellung der Oligarchen in der männlich orientierten

Demokratie darzustellen (Epi-kaste, die nachhaltig durch ihren Fluch wirkende, wird zum verschwindenden Mauerveilchen Io-kaste und Oidipus zum zerrissenen Adligen in der Demokratie). Dennoch ist dies nur eine Interaktion im Vorfeld der Aufführung, die Performance entsteht eher durch die Mischung von Hörer und Sprechen. Wie der französische Dramaturg und Diktionslehrer Michel Arbatz sagt, weiss ein Schauspieler bei aller Vorbereitung nie, welche Diktion er wählen wird bevor er vor seinem Publikum steht. Aristoteles spricht von einer dramatischen Reinigung durch den chemischen Ausgleich (*katharsis*) zwischen Szene und Zuschauer. Aber selbst wenn bis heute niemand vor der Premiere weiss, wie ein Stück oder ein Film beim Publikum „ankommt", sind das alles nur schwache Elemente von Performance, nichts, was die Wahl unseres Kriteriums rechtfertigte. Das Drama, Tragödie, Satyrspiel oder Komödie, deren Status zwischen Ritus und Unterhaltung immer noch umstritten ist, gewinnt seine Performanz im hier geforderten Sinne erst durch die Idee Vernants, wonach das Theater eine demokratische Umformung des oligarchischen Symposion sei, aber nicht aus unserer Theatererfahrung heraus, nicht aus der simplen Überlagerung von Chorstimme und Zuschauersitz, sondern aus dem Festival, den Dionysien z.B., an welchem nicht nur mehrere „Stücke" pro Tag vorgeführt werden, sondern 3 tragische und bis zu 5 komische Dichter wie im Symposion nacheinander vorführen und so ein weder von den Dichtern, noch vom Archon Eponymos, noch vom Publikum vorhersehbares Ereignis bilden, den Wettkampfsausgang, von der Jury durchaus nach den Kriterien der Interaktion, des *prepon*, beurteilt. Als Makro-Symposion hat das Theater jedenfalls die Eigenschaften einer Performance.

Man kann daraus schliessen, dass Performance nicht notwendigerweise Improvisation impliziert; *bricolage* oder konstruktivistische Konzepte reichen, um diesen Effekt zu schaffen. Aber es gibt einen griechischen Begriff, der mit der Improvisation und der Performance verbunden wird, den Begriff des *kairos*, der vor allem auf Pindar und die einzige Tradition angewandt wird, welche die Griechen selbst bis in die Spätantike als Mündlichkeit betrachtet haben, nämlich die Rhetorik. Man übersetzt ihn ins Deutsche mit dem richtigen Augenblick, *le bon moment* auf französisch, und tut so, als ob ein Redner wie Gorgias oder ein Kitharode wie Pindar auf der Lauer lägen wie Jäger, bis die Beute sich einfindet, und warteten, bis das Publikum oder die Zeit reif wären, um das richtige Wort zur richtigen Gelegenheit zu sagen. Die Absurdität dieses mir gerne wiederholten Mantrams verrät sich nicht nur durch die Gemeinplatzrhetorik des Richtigen oder Guten als Katze, die sich in den Schwanz beisst, sondern verschweigt beharrlich, was geschieht, wenn dieser Moment nicht kommt, und worin der Angriff auf das Publikum eigentlich

bestehen solle. Die Performance, so mit Improvisation vermengt, wird zur *black box* der nebulösen *claritas*, die zu akzeptieren ist, aber nichts erklärt.

Die Formtheorie des 5. Jh. und Monique Trédés Buch über *kairos* bei Pindar helfen.[17] Sie hat die Wörter *kairos* und *kairos* miteinander verglichen, die Gelegenheit und den geschürzten Webknoten. Die lautliche, etymologische, aber nicht akzentuelle Ähnlichkeit der Wörter deutet bei Pindar darauf hin, dass der Gelegenheitskairos dort liegen muss, wo das Gewebe einer Pindarode ihren Knoten hat, in dem alle Fäden zusammenlaufen. An diesem Knoten verbinden sich die Äusserungssituation eines Lieds, d.h. die Gelegenheit (das Fest) und das Publikum (Tyrann, Demokraten, Oligarchen, Frauen Männer, Mädchen), und das Lied nach der antiken Formtheorie des *prepon*, des „Angemessenen“, wie gerne übersetzt wird. Das bedeutet nicht nur, dass ein *énoncé de l'énonciation* die Äusserungssituation im „Text“ spiegelt (*lector in fabula*, Anrede der Muse, Chor als *spectator in fabula*[18]), sondern auch, schräg, die Verbindung zwischen Lied und Situation (wie es Xenophon in den *Memorabilien*, Homer in der *Odyssee*, Platon im *Charmides* andeuten),[19] ein Balancesystem, das sich oft in der figurativen Form (Ringkomposition, Katalog) oder vielleicht im Rhythmus ausdrückt.[20] Im Wesentlichen ist das *prepon* aber das,[21] was Aristoteles am Anfang seiner *Rhetorik* ein Enthymem nennt, die Einbeziehung der Situation in das, was wir als Text abzugrenzen gewohnt sind („omnes hi qui“ am Anfang von *Pro Roscio Amerino* zum Beispiel bereitet das Argument vor, wonach der Umstand, dass alle da sind, beweise, dass die Anwesenden hinter Cicero stehen; der Aspektwechsel von *psēphisasthai* zu *pempein* in der zweiten Olynthischen Rede tut so, als ob das topische *psēphisasthai* bereits evident und akzeptiert wäre und es nur darum

[17] Trédé 1992.

[18] So die semiotische Theorie Claude Calames (1986, ²2000), Klaus Theweleits (1988) oder Jean-Luc Godards, wonach die Produktionsbedingungen sich im Text widerspiegeln (sollen, sagt Godard, wenn er – an einem Vortrag im *Conservatoire d'Art Cinématographique* von Montreal – Truffaut vorwirft, die Verhältnisse zu einer Schauspielerin im Film nicht wiedergegeben zu haben).

[19] *Memorabilien* 3.10.10, wo Sokrates die Angepasstheit eines Brustpanzers in seine Ornamentalform umbaut; *Od*. 8.169: der Gott umgibt (bekränzt) den guten Redner durch Worte mit „Schönheit“, auch wenn sein *eidos*, sein körperliches Aussehen, nicht besonders ist. Der *Charmides* 154e5 nimmt den Gegensatz wieder auf, baut ihn aber wie die Odysseestelle in einen *tropos*, eine Ringkomposition, ein.

[20] Siege im Rennen werden von Pindar meistens mit Daktyloepitriten honoriert, nicht so beim Ringen.

[21] Zur Wichtigkeit des *prepon*-Begriffes in klassischer Performance, Ford 2002.

ginge, das *pempein* zu akzeptieren), und wenn das Publikum einmal in diesen Performanz-Text integriert ist, die Kontrolle zu übernehmen, oder wie sich Demosthenes ausdrückt, wenn er von Philipp spricht, ein Stück des Ganzen an sich zu ziehen. Dieser Typ von Performance tut also nur so, als ob er sich aufs Spiel setzte, verwendet die Form als Netz. Der Redner wartet nicht auf eine gute Gelegenheit, sondern schafft sie. Der Kairos ist in der Performance das, was wir in der Werbung Manipulation nennen. Ganz ähnlich arbeitet der Dialog Platons mit dem Netz der Fragen.

Dabei gilt aber bis in die Spätantike die Improvisation als Garant der Ehrlichkeit und schafft schon bei Autoren, die sich diese nicht leisten können, wie bei Pindar, der seine komplizierten Oden schriftlich fixiert, bevor er sie mit dem Chor einstudiert, eine als-ob-Mündlichkeit, die mit Figuren wie der *correctio* hervorgehoben werden, wie am Anfang der ersten *Olympie* („nein so kann die Story nicht gehen") oder der zehnten *Pythie* („ach was sag ich da im falschen Moment").

Schluss

Was die Hypothese nicht des Unerwarteten, aber der Unkontrolliertheit in diesem kleinen (und lückenhaften) Katalog griechischer (und römischer) Performance genannter Ereignisse gezeigt hat, ist zumindest, dass es verschiedene Typen gibt:

a) Der magische Moment erweist sich in der Unkontrolliertheit der Realisierung von verschiedenen, nicht notwendig improvisierten Liedern oder Reden oder aus der Improvisierungsvirtuosität und den verschiedenen Gegebenheiten der Vortragssituation in der Form des *prepon*.

b) Der „wie ein Blitz" alles erhellende Moment (Pseudo-Longin) ist ein durch rhetorische Manipulation herbeigeführter Kairos, eine Figur (auch beim Lesen), die dem Publikum den Eindruck vermittelt, ein Mitspieler zu sein. Dieser Typ taucht auf, wie es gilt, die vorbereitende und als solche täuschend empfundene Schriftlichkeit zu vertuschen.

c) Der alte Relationsgegensatz von Tun und Sagen, von Ritus und Mythos (nach dem Cambridge-Blickwinkel), der Vitalismus der Philologen führt gerne dazu, von Performance im englischen Sinn zu sprechen, wenn Schweiss fliesst, wenn etwas getan wird. So unterscheiden

Seneca-Interpreten eine Performance der Dramen von der blossen Lektüre (so Leo, Zwierlein) dieser Texte in der Recitatio.

Allein der Gegensatz von Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit ist nicht mit Performance und Lesen deckungsgleich. Lesen als *recitatio* kann eine Performance im zweiten Sinne sein und in jedem Fall sollten wir nicht unser selbstvergessenes Töne sehen mit dem Lesen identifizieren, das Theokrit *akouein* nannte und Seneca *audire*,[22] also „hören“. Diese Betrachtungen sollen niemand hindern, das Wort Performance auf das anzuwenden, was sie so nennen, aber es sollte auf das Kriterium der Unkontrolliertheit hingewiesen werden.

Bibliographie

Austin, John L. (1962). *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Calame, Claude (1986). *Le récit en Grèce ancienne*. Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck. (Paris: Belin, ^{2}2000.)

D'Avino, Rita (1969). ‚La funzionalità di ὀνομάζω e la formula ἔπος τ᾽ ἔφατ᾽ ἔκ τ᾽ ὀνόμαζε.‘ – *Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro oblata*, II. Roma: Herder, 7–33.

Derrida, Jacques (1967). *De la grammatologie*. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.

Ercolani, Andrea (1998). ‚Teognide 1381–1385: una nuova catena simposiale?‘ – *Seminari Romani di cultura greca* 1, 231–242.

Ford, Andrew (2002). *The Origins of Criticism: Literary Culture and Poetic Theory in Classical Greece*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Fournier, Henri (1946). *Les verbes « dire » en grec ancien*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Goldhill, Simon (1999). ‚Body/politics: is there a history of reading?‘ – Falkner, Thomas M.; Felson, Nancy; Konstan, David (eds.), *Contextualizing Classics: Ideology, Performance, Dialogue; Essays in Honor of John J. Peradotto*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 89–120

Goulet, Richard (ed.) (2014) *Eunape de Sardes, Vies de philosophes et de sophistes*, 2 t. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Harrison, Jane Ellen (1903). *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heinze, Richard (1903). *Virgils epische Technik*. Leipzig: Teubner (^{3}1915).

Jacobsohn, Hermann (1934). ‚Zum homerischen ἔπος τ᾽ ἔφατ᾽ ἔκ τ᾽ ὀνόμαζεν.‘ – *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 62(1/2), 132–140.

[22] Theokr. 1.6, cf. Verg. *Ekl.* 9.7 und Sen. *ep*. 6.5.

McKenzie, Jon (2001). *Perform or Else: From Discipline to Performance*. London: Routledge.

Muñoz Valle, Isidoro (1971). ‚Interpretación de la fórmula homérica ἔπος τ᾽ἔφατ᾽ἔκ τ᾽ὀνόμαζε.' – *Emerita* 39, 305–314.

Nietzsche, Friedrich (1867). ‚Zur Geschichte der Theognideischen Spruchsammlung.' – *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 22, 161–200.

Rösler, Wolfgang (1980). *Dichter und Gruppe: Eine Untersuchung zu den Bedingungen und zur historischen Funktion früher griechischer Lyrik am Beispiel Alkaios*. München: Fink.

Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph (1859). *Philosophie der Kunst*. Stuttgart: Cotta.

Stehle, Eva (1997). *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece: Nondramatic Poetry in Its Setting*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Steinrück, Martin (2004). *Haltung und rhetorische Form: Tropen, Figuren und Rhythmus in der Prosa des Eunap von Sardes*. (*Spudasmata*; 94.) Hildesheim: Olms.

Steinrück, Martin (2013). *Antike Formen: Materialien zur Geschichte von Katalog,* mythos *und Dialog*. (*Lexis Supplementi*; 67.) Amsterdam: Hakkert.

Svenbro, Jesper (1988). *Phrasikleia: anthropologie de la lecture en Grèce ancienne*. Paris: Éditions La Découverte.

Theweleit, Klaus (1988). *Buch der Könige*, 1: *Orpheus ~~und~~ Eurydike*. Basel; Frankfurt: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern.

Trédé, Monique (1992). *Kairos: L'à propos et l'occasion (le mot et la notion d'Homère à la fin du IVe s. av. J.-C.)*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Valette-Cagnac, Emmanuelle (1997). *La lecture à Rome: rites et pratiques*. Paris: Belin.

Wagner, Richard (1849). *Die Kunst und die Revolution*. Leipzig: Wigand.

Abstract

My teachers described performance as an event of many components (multidimensional, a multi-media-show) or as lively *parole* as opposed to dead text. Following the doubt that these definitions are indebted to a romantic vitalism (Schelling/Nietzsche), I try to apply a mantram of the late-antiquity rhetoric teacher and historian Eunapius to antique performances such as symposion and theater ("and nobody knew what would happen") in order to stress the element of surprise out of interaction.

POLYBIUS THE NON-HOSTAGE

Paavo Roos

Even if common knowledge concerning hostages in Antiquity is rather scarce, there is at least one fact that seems to be well known. If you mention hostages in Antiquity as a neglected topic, you will often hear the statement: 'But Polybius was a hostage in Rome, was he not?' Well, perhaps he was – it is sometimes reported as such in modern literature[1] – but what do the ancient sources tell us? It is quite certain that he was brought to Rome along with 1,000 other members of the Achaean League after the Romans had defeated the Macedonians, and was detained there. But how do we know this? Which ancient sources give us this information? Do they tell us why and how it was decided that Polybius should be brought to Rome? Do any of the ancient sources mention the word hostage in relation to him?

The event in question took place in the year following the Third Macedonian War between the Roman Republic and King Perseus of Macedon, which ended in 168 BC. The previous decades had seen successful Roman wars against the Carthaginians, Macedonians, Aetolians and Seleucids, all of which had resulted in many hostages being brought to Rome, but this war was different. The aim of the treaties after the previous wars had been to maintain relations with inferior and conquered enemies. This time, however, the hostile state – Macedonia – was abolished and there was no need to bring any relatives of the ruler to Rome as hostages. It is true that the family of Perseus, including the king himself, was brought to Rome,[2] but not as hostages for a treaty. It is also true that the Illyrian king Gentius and others, such as the son of the Thracian king Cotys,[3] were brought to Rome along with others who had been delivered to Perseus from Cotys as hostages. But what of the Achaeans? Where do we read about them?

---

1 Of all examples, the most remarkable is probably *Polybios-Lexikon*, see n. 30.

2 Liv. 45.35.1.

3 Liv. 45.42.5.

Let us peruse the writings of those authors who are likely to yield relevant information. The first author to study is, of course, Polybius himself. Of all those mentioned as hostages in Antiquity, he is the only known author, so his writings are certainly significant. What does he tell us about his involuntary departure for Rome?

The books that detail the war are rather incomplete and fragmentary. However, aside from information relating to the war, they contain information on events in neighbouring countries, though less than we would wish. Book XXVIII mentions parts of the war and the alliance between Perseus and Gentius (including mutual hostages). This particular book also deals with conditions in Greece and it reports that the Achaean Assembly in 169 BC decided to support the Romans, at behest of the strategos Archon, and send Polybius and other envoys to the Romans to offer help. The offer was declined by the Roman commander Q. Marcius Philippus and, though the other envoys returned, Polybius stayed with the Romans and took part in their campaign.[4] Book XXX mentions that the people had sided with Perseus in various cities, but Achaea is not specifically mentioned. Embassies were sent to the Romans from various regions – including Callicrates and others from Achaea – with the aim of incriminating their countrymen for siding with Perseus, and envoys were sent by the Romans to the Achaean League to investigate the accusations.[5] The follow up to the investigation is missing and we cannot track the deportation of the Achaeans to Italy; we can only read about the animosity towards Callicrates in Achaea, the later efforts of the Achaeans to retrieve the detainees in books XXX–XXXIII and the final repatriation in book XXXV.

Of Livy's numerous books, the last preserved, book XLV, contains the end of the Macedonian war and some later developments, such as the triumph of Aemilius Paulus, the fate of Perseus and his family and that of the Thracian hostages of Perseus, and the visit of the Bithynian king Prusias in Rome. But nothing is said of the Achaeans in this volume or in the periochae of the following books.

In the *Historical Library* of Diodorus Siculus, book XXX contains information on the Macedonian war and book XXXI on some subsequent events, including the fate of Perseus and his family and others defeated in the war, though with no mention of the Achaeans.

Among his numerous narrations of the wars that the Romans conducted with the peoples and nations around the Mediterranean, Appian has

[4] Polyb. 28.12.1–6, 28.13.1–6, cf. 29.24.2.

[5] Polyb. 30.7.9, 30.13.3–11.

a thorough description of the Macedonian war in book XII. Unfortunately, little survives of this book, and although parts of the last Macedonian war are among the preserved sections, what happened after the war is not. Polybius is mentioned only once in the preserved part of Appian's work, and that is in the Third Punic War when Scipio Aemilianus and he observe the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC.[6]

Strabo's *History* is unfortunately almost entirely lost, but he often presents a significant amount ot of historical information in his work *Geography*. In this case, he mentions only the defeat of Perseus and the destruction of cities in Epirus,[7] with no mention of the outcome of the Achaeans.

Dio Cassius treats the end of the war and subsequent events in book XX but makes no reference to the Achaeans in the preserved fragments.[8] It is only in book XXI (Zonaras 9.31) that the later fate of the Achaeans in question, the return of some of those previously deported and the subsequent destruction of Corinth are mentioned.

In book XXXIII, Justin discusses the Macedonian war and the capture of Perseus and his sons. Then follows a strange mix-up. The book ends with a description of how numerous Greeks were brought to Rome and detained there for a long time in spite of deputations sent to apply for them. This description seems to fit the Achaeans, only that Justin has instead documented them as being the senators of all Aetolian towns along with their wives and children – an event that would have occurred more than twenty years earlier and not led to such a long detainment. The next book starts with the war against the Achaeans and the destruction of Corinth, just as if it had occurred immediately afterwards and not, in fact, more than twenty years later. Events that occurred elsewhere in the meantime are, however, detailed in the following.[9]

Of other authors, biographers are among the most important, which of course includes Plutarch. It is fair to say that most of the important periods of Antiquity up to the start of the Roman Empire are covered in at least some of his biographies. For this reason, we should first look for information in the biography of Aemilius Paulus, victor in the Third Macedonian War against Perseus. Though the Macedonian war occupies a large part of the biography and includes later events concerning his triumph and the fate of Perseus, there is no mention of the Achaeans or Polybius. It would of course have been

6 App. *Pun.* 8.132.

7 Strab. 7.7.3 (information that he has in fact taken from Polybius).

8 The fate of Perseus is given in Zonaras 9.24.

9 Cf. infra, n. 25.

very interesting to see what was included in the biography of his son Scipio Aemilianus, Polybius' friend, but that unfortunately belongs to the pair of biographies that is lost and cannot be studied. Among other biographies, that of Cato the Elder has an interesting piece of information concerning the final return of the surviving detainees.

In fact, it is an author of quite another kind who furnishes the details of what happened. This author is Pausanias, which is not quite unexpected since he often gives detailed commentaries of events that we do not read so exhaustively in other writings, even if they should exist. Here in his description of Achaea and its history he relates the story of what happened to the Achaeans after the Macedonian war.[10] The Romans sent ten senators to arrange the affairs of Macedonia in the best interests of the Romans. An Achaean called Callicrates sought their favour and persuaded one of them to attend a meeting of the Achaean League. There he declared that the most influential Achaeans had supplied Perseus with money, aside from providing him with general help. With that, he required the Achaeans to condemn the collaborators to death. After their condemnation, he would disclose the names of the collaborators. Naturally, the members protested against this unfair demand and insisted that the names should be mentioned before they were condemned. The Roman asserted that every Achaean who had held the office of strategos was included in the accusation, since one and all had sided with the Macedonians and Perseus. Xenon, a man of great repute among the Achaeans,[11] rose and said that he had served as strategos but was guilty of neither treachery to Rome nor friendship to Perseus. Therefore, he was prepared to stand trial before either the Achaeans or the Romans. The Roman grasped the pretext, and sent all those whom Callicrates accused of supporting Perseus – numbering over a thousand men – for trial before the Roman court. In Rome, no trial was held but the Romans said that they had already been condemned by the Achaeans, and scattered them throughout Etruria and its cities.[12] None of them is mentioned by name, but we naturally assume that Xenon was among them

[10] Paus. 7.10.7–11. Much of the wording in the narration given here is borrowed from the Loeb edition, like some resumés of other authors mentioned here.

[11] Xenon from Patrae is mentioned in Polyb. 28.6.2 as one of the Achaean leaders.

[12] There is a short hint of this in Polybius 30.32, where the senate was asked to pronounce judgment on a matter which it considered already judged by the Achaeans, whereas the Achaeans pointed out that the league had neither heard the defence of the accused nor pronounced any judgment on them and now begged the senate to see that they were tried. The request, which was to no avail, is easier to understand with the long narration of Pausanias in mind.

even though we do not hear about him subsequently. Polybius has given us several names of the leading Achaeans, including Arcesilaus, Ariston, Stratius, Xenon, Apollonidas, Archon, Nicander and himself.[13] The only one of them that we are certain was brought to Rome beside Polybius was Stratius.[14] Polybius' father, Lycortas, is also mentioned among the leaders, and it is supposed that he had died before the events narrated by Pausanias.

So much for their dispatch to Italy. No mention is made by Pausanias about hostages.[15] For the following sixteen years of the Achaeans in Italy and their final return, Polybius only mentions his own fortune and nothing of his comrades in what has survived of his writings. He escaped from the fate of being dispatched to any city in Etruria or elsewhere, as we know was standard practice also from other sources besides Pausanias. Carthaginian hostages from the Second Punic War had been settled in Norba, Signia, Ferentinum, Setia, Circeii and Fregellae,[16] but we have no information about where the Seleucid and Aetolian hostages had been brought in 189 BC. As to whether any of those hostages were still located in these towns in 167 BC is not known. We also do not know which towns were chosen to receive the comrades of Polybius,[17] but we learn about Polybius' fate from his own narrative that it was Scipio Aemilianus and his brother whose application to the Senate made it possible for Polybius to stay in Rome.[18]

Perseus and his family were conducted in the triumphal procession,[19] and from Livy we learn that Perseus and his son Alexander were to be brought to Alba Fucens.[20] The Illyrian king Gentius who had been conquered at the same time was first brought to Spoletium together with his family, and then onwards to Iguvium when Spoletium refused to receive them.[21] The Thracian king Cotys, who had been Perseus' ally after exchanging mutual hostages, including Cotys' son Bithys, applied to pay ransom for the hostages that had

13 Polyb. 28.6.

14 See below, n. 27.

15 In fact, the word 'hostage' is seldom mentioned by Pausanias at all.

16 Liv. 32.2.3–4, 32.26.5–7, 32.26.16–18.

17 In Polyb. 31.23.5 only 'the towns' are mentioned, without specification. According to Paus. 7.10.11, they were towns in Etruria.

18 Polyb. *loc. cit*. They were the sons of Aemilius Paulus adopted into other families. Polybius speaks at length in the following chapters of Scipio and his friendship with him.

19 Plut. *Aem*. 33.6, 34.1.

20 Liv. 45.42.4.

21 Liv. 45.43.9.

been brought to Carseoli. The Romans criticised him for giving hostages to Perseus, but in the end they returned the hostages without ransom.[22] From Plutarch we learn that Perseus died within a short time, though the exact details are unclear, as did two of his sons; they were survived by Alexander who evidently had a normal life.[23]

The most interesting incident in the history of hostageship during Polybius' stay in Rome was the case of the Seleucid prince Demetrius. He was the son of Seleucus, who reigned from 187–175 BC, the elder son of Antiochus III. When Seleucus died, he was succeeded by his younger brother Antiochus IV, who had been a hostage in Rome, and Demetrius was sent as a hostage instead. When Antiochus died in 164, Demetrius naturally expected that he would be sent back to reign as the son of Seleucus rather than Antiochus' young son. However, he was denied that by the Senate and made his escape through the fact that he resided in two places and could be absent from either without arousing suspicions. Polybius relates the story and states that he dissuaded Demetrius from repeating his application; evidently, he was himself involved in the process.[24] The story is also related by other authors such as Appian, Dio Cassius and Justin.[25] Demetrius is of course called a hostage in this connection, but no other writer also uses the same term of Polybius or sees him as a comrade of the same fortune.

During these years, the Achaeans in Greece were not idle but tried several times to have their ill-fated politicians released. Unsuccessful attempts were made in 164, 159, 155 and 153 BC;[26] the second time Polybius mentions that the plea was made chiefly on behalf of himself and Stratius.[27] On the third occasion, the plea could have been successful but that was averted by a skilful use of voting procedure by the praetor Aulus Postumius Albinus. Finally, in 151 BC a plea was successful, when only about 300 of the original 1,000 people were left[28] and not worthy of a discussion about whether they would be carried

[22] Polyb. 30.17.1–4; Liv. 45.42.5–11; Dio Cass. 20 (Zonaras 9.24).

[23] Plut. *Aem*. 37.4; Zonaras *loc. cit*.

[24] Polyb. 31.11–15. Polybius has even been thought to be the instigator of the plot, see Walbank 1972: 9.

[25] App. *Syr*. 11.8.46–47, 67; Dio Cass. 20 (Zonaras 9.25); Justin 34.3.5–9.

[26] Polyb. 30.32, 32.3.14–17, 33.1.3–8, 3 and 14; Walbank 1972: 10, n. 45.

[27] Stratius of Tritaea was also one of the leaders mentioned in Polyb. 28.6.2, see above, n. 13.

[28] Paus. 7.10.12 hints that attempts of escape had been made, though evidently not very successful. Dio Cass. 21 (Zonaras 9.31) relates that some of them, in despair of ever returning to their homes, made away with themselves.

to their graves by bearers from Rome or Achaea, as Cato puts it.[29] Also, at this stage the word hostages is not used – Polybius speaks of τῶν κατεχομένων and τῶν ἀνακεκλημένων (rendered with 'those in detention' in Loeb),[30] τῶν καταιτιαθέντων and τῶν κατηγτιαμένων (the accused) or τῶν ἀκληρούντων (the unhappy sufferers); Plutarch uses τῶν φυγάδων (the exiles). Pausanias only speaks of them as the Achaeans. Only in the Loeb edition of Dio Cass. 21 (Zonaras 9.31) do we find 'the survivors among their hostages'.[31] However, this is an illusion since the Greek original has simply τοὺς περιλιπεῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων that had been deported, μετῳκίσθησαν, and nothing about their being hostages.

No, it seems certain that Polybius was not regarded as a hostage, either by himself or anybody else, though he may have felt as one. There are many examples in Ancient literature of people who felt or were regarded as hostages by themselves or others without strictly being so, such as daughters given in marriage for political reasons.[32] Cicero speaks of his son being taken as a hostage by the state for his consulate and also sees his office, his ambition and his hopes as hostages to the state.[33] Lucanus permits Pompey to regard his wife as being left as a hostage on Lesbos during the war against Caesar.[34]

Therefore, in light of such examples, Polybius may have regarded himself as being a hostage. However, he certainly could not technically have been regarded as such, and was not deemed one either.

Bibliography

Polybios-Lexikon (2000). Band I, Lieferung 1 (α–γ). Bearbeitet von Arno Mauersberger. 2. verbesserte Auflage von Christian-Friedrich Collatz, Hadwig Helms und Melsene Schäfer. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

[29] Polyb. 35.6.1–4, Plut. *Cato Mai.* 9.3, Paus. 7.10.12. That Polybius was one of them is certain, but otherwise we do not know who else may have been, whether leaders or others.

[30] Walbank speaks of internees in 1972: 75, n. 42, those summoned in 1979: 461 and detainees in 1979: 521, 542, 543, and points out on p. 461 that Mauersberger (in the *Polybios-Lexikon*) s.v. ἀνακαλέομαι incorrectly speaks of 'die achaiischen Geiseln'.

[31] Translation by H. B. Foster & E. Cary.

[32] E.g. Cato's daughters or nieces could be regarded as hostages when married, Plut. *Cato Min.* 30.3–4.

[33] Cic. *Catil.* 4.2.3, *In Caecil.* 22–72.

[34] Lucan. *Phars.* 8.127–133.

Walbank, Frank W. (1972). *Polybius*. (*Sather Classical Lectures*; 42.) Berkeley: University of California Press.
Walbank, Frank W. (1979). *A historical commentary on Polybius*. Vol. III: *Commentary on books XIX–XL*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Abstract

It is a common notion that Polybius was a hostage in Rome, but in fact none of the preserved ancient authors has called him so. The part where Polybius himself described his and his colleagues' transport to Rome is not preserved, and he gives no term for his keeping. Of the other historians dealing with the sequel of the Macedonian war none narrates the event in their preserved parts, and nobody uses the word hostage. The narrative of the event is instead given by Pausanias who also does not use the word hostage (in fact he seldom does). But of course Polybius may have felt as a hostage even if he does not use the word about his status.

REACTIONS TO NATURAL DISASTERS IN ANTIQUITY

Jerker Blomqvist

The Near-Eastern and Mediterranean civilisations of the bronze age and classical antiquity flourished in a region of the earth that is not exactly characterized by geological stability. Plate tectonics explain the instability. The African continental plate is moving northwards, subducting under the Eurasian plate, and in Asia Minor and Greece with its islands two smaller plates, the Anatolian and the Aegean, moving independently, make the situation particularly complex.[1] Earthquakes are common all over the Mediterranean area but most frequent in Asia Minor, the Balkans and Italy, where the fault lines are dense. Volcanoes also exist in the region. In the historical periods, volcanism has been more or less restricted to Italy and its adjacent islands, but the Aegean was the scene of the bronze-age explosion of Thera. In later periods, the most common natural disasters in the Eastern Mediterranean have been earthquakes with ensuing tsunamis and land-slides.

Earthquakes and volcanic eruptions often have catastrophic consequences for human lives, man-made installations and for the soil itself, the source of all life. While the inhabitants of the rest of Europe are threatened to a much lesser degree by disasters of this sort, the peoples living around the Mediterranean and in the Near East must adapt their way of life and their ways of thinking to the reality of possibly imminent natural hazards and, when disasters strike, they must find strategies for coping with their consequences, practically and intellectually. This article will be a survey – incomplete certainly – of some of the modes with which the people of Greco-Roman antiquity reacted to major natural disasters of their time.

My starting-point will be a particular major event, the earthquake followed by a tsunami, wide-spread flooding and soil liquefaction that, in the winter of 373/2 B.C., completely destroyed the two cities of Helike and Boura

[1] On Aegean plate tectonics see especially Mourtzas 1988 and Higgins & Higgins 1996: 19–23.

in Achaia to the south of the Corinthian Gulf. The disaster was of spectacular proportions even in a country as infested with earthquakes as this is. It evoked amazement among contemporary Greeks, the memory of it lived on, and the sources that preserve information about it are numerous and detailed enough to provide a wide panorama of the varied reactions an event of this character would produce. Other similar disasters provide material for comparison and demonstrate that the percussions of the Helike disaster[2] were not unique.[3]

The Helike Disaster

Helike was situated c. 35 kilometres to the east of modern-day Patras on a coastal plain on the south side the Corinthian Gulf; according to Strabo,[4] it was about two kilometres distant from the shoreline. Two rivers, the Selinous and the Kerynitis, border the plain to the east and west, respectively. The soil of the plain consists of loose sediments carried with them by the rivers from the mountainous interior of the Peloponnese. The southern boundary of the plain coincides with the Helike fault line. Along that line a steep mountain wall rises about 100 meters above the level of the plain.[5]

The Corinthian Gulf and the lands on both sides of it are an area of remarkably high seismic activity. Smaller earthquakes (magnitude 1–3 on the Richter scale) occur almost every day and in the last decades there have been events of considerable magnitude at Aigion (June 15, 1995; magnitude 6.2), Andravida south of Patras (June 8, 2008; 6.4), Galaxidi north of the Gulf (November 18, 1992; 5.9) and Efpalio in Phokida (January 20, 2010; 5.3).[6] An

[2] Since Helike was the more important of the two cities and was more severely affected by the disaster than Boura, it is with the name of Helike that the event is mostly associated.

[3] When tracing material for comparison I have made extensive use of Guidoboni's catalogue of ancient earthquakes (Guidoboni 1994). In the following, the individual earthquakes are mostly identified by the number that they have in Guidoboni's catalogue. Since the ancient sources seldom distinguish seismic and volcanic events, the catalogue also includes tremors of the earth that were actually caused by volcanism, not by plate-tectonic movements.

[4] Strabo 8.7.2. The modern village of Eliki/Ελίκη is about the same distance from the sea but not on the spot where the archaeologists claim to have found remains of ancient Helike.

[5] On the unstable soil conditions in the area see Malartre *et al.* 2004, Ford *et al.* 2007 and Backert *et al.* 2010.

[6] Cf. the web page of the *Corinth Rift Laboratory* (*CRL*): http://crlab.eu. The *CRL* coordinates European, Japanese and American research projects focused on the risks of future earthquakes or land-slides in the area.

earlier, well-documented major quake struck the Helike plain in December 26, 1861.[7] Most of the quakes are located along the numerous fault lines that run in an approximate east-westerly direction through the area, both on land and at the bottom of the Gulf.[8]

The most extensive accounts of the Helike disaster are those of Diodoros Siculus, Strabo and Pausanias.[9] Whereas the sources of Pausanias cannot be identified, both Diodoros and Strabo are known to have had access to fourth-century accounts. Strabo refers explicitly to Herakleides Pontikos and, since he relates practically the same story of Poseidon's wrath, Diodoros was probably dependent on the same source. Diodoros may have used Ephoros of Kyme as well for, according to Seneca, Ephoros had written about the event and Diodoros refers to Ephoros elsewhere in his books on fourth-century history.[10]

These three accounts agree that the disaster involved two elements, an earthquake and a tsunami. Diodoros (15.48.2–3) declares that the quake was exceptionally destructive because it occurred during the night, to be followed by a deluge in the morning:

> ἐπέτεινε δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς ὁ καιρός· οὐ γὰρ ἡμέρας συνέβη γενέσθαι τὸν σεισμόν, ἐν ᾗ δυνατὸν ἦν τοὺς κινδυνεύοντας βοηθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλὰ νυκτὸς τοῦ πάθους συμβάντος αἱ μὲν οἰκίαι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σεισμοῦ καταρριπτούμεναι συνεχέοντο, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι διά τε τὸ σκότος καὶ τὸ τῆς περιστάσεως ἀπροσδόκητον καὶ παράδοξον ἀδυνάτως εἶχον ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείους ἐναποληφθέντες τοῖς πτώμασι τῶν οἰκιῶν ἠφανίσθησαν· ἐπιλαβούσης δ' ἡμέρας τινὲς ἐξεπήδων ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν, καὶ δόξαντες ἐκπεφευγέναι τὸν κίνδυνον μείζονι καὶ παραδοξοτέρᾳ συμφορᾷ περιέπεσον· τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης μετεωρισθείσης ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ κύματος ὑψηλοῦ ἐξαιρομένου κατεκλύσθησαν ἅπαντες σὺν ταῖς πατρίσιν ἀφανισθέντες.
>
> The time [of its occurrence] increased the extent of the disaster. The earthquake did not occur in daytime when it would have been possible for the victims to help themselves but, since the calamity happened at night, the houses crumbled and collapsed under the earthquake's magnitude and, because of the

[7] It was accounted for by a competent scientist, J. F. Julius Schmidt, the first professor of geology at the University of Athens; see Ferentinos *et al.* 2015: 11–16.

[8] Cf. map 4 at http://crlab.eu > Overview > 'General Tectonic Context of the Corinth Rift'.

[9] Diodoros 15.48.1–4, Strabo 8.7.1–5 (plus a short reference at 1.3.18), Pausanias 7.24.12–13. For other sources, see Guidoboni 1994, no. 024, Lafond 1998 and Katsonopoulou 2005. Cf. also Blomqvist 2011 with references.

[10] Seneca, *Naturales quaestiones* 7.16.1–2; Diodoros 13.54.5, 60.5, 80.5, 14.11.1, 22.2, 54.5, 15.60.5, 16.76.5.

> darkness and the astonishing and incredible nature of the event, the people were not able to try for safety. Most of them were caught in the ruined houses and lost there. When the day came, a few hurried out of the houses but, when they hoped to have escaped the danger, they became victims of an even greater and more unforeseeable disaster: The sea swelled up for a long stretch and a wave towered high, so that all of them were swept away and were lost and their dwellings as well.

Strabo also reckons with both an earthquake and a tsunami. Both he and Pausanias speak of extensive inundation of the land around Helike and Boura, and in particular Pausanias seems to assume that parts of the plain had remained under water for a prolonged time. No traces of the two cities were longer visible on the surface of the earth when Eratosthenes and Pausanias visited their location.[11] Strabo succinctly describes their fates by reporting that one of them was submerged by a sea wave, the other one swallowed up by a chasm in the earth.[12]

The total disappearance of two whole cities may seem paradoxical and hardly believable. However, geologists of the Patras University have suggested a scenario that is compatible with the ancient accounts.[13] Combining the evidence of the ancient texts with modern geological exploration of the area and with data from recent earthquakes, in particular those of 1861 and 1995, the geologists conclude that the epicentre of the Helike quake was in one of the faults at the bottom of the gulf.[14] This would have triggered a tsunami but, given that the quake's magnitude cannot have been implausibly great, the tsunami is not likely to have been forceful enough to cause, in itself, all the devastation postulated by the ancient writers.[15] More plausibly, the earthquake caused a large land-slide, which opened a chasm in the earth close to the mountain wall on the south side of the plain and also triggered wide-spread soil liquefaction. The buildings of the two cities and other installations sank into the chasm or into the unsolidified earth that could no longer bear their

---

[11] Pausanias, *l.c.* Eratosthenes is likely to have visited the place approximately 100 years after the event (Geus 2011: 26); his report from the visit was known to Strabo (8.7.2).

[12] Strabo 1.3.18 Βοῦρα δὲ καὶ Ἑλίκη ἡ μὲν ὑπὸ χάσματος ἡ δ' ὑπὸ κύματος ἠφανίσθη.

[13] Ferentinos *et al.* 2015.

[14] The geologists associated with the Helike Project (cf. below) had presumed that the earthquake was caused by a dislocation in the Helike fault at the southern border of the plain and the scenarios suggested by them are based on that assumption (Soter 1998, Koukouvelas *et al.* 2001; Koukouvelas *et al.* 2005).

[15] Papadopoulos 2003.

weight, and the tsunami brought sea-water into the chasms and craters. Thus, the extent of the disaster presupposed by the ancient sources is not incompatible with geological evidence available today.

Boura, which is supposed to have been situated a short distance to the east of Helike,[16] was rebuilt after the event, Helike was not. Before the disaster, Helike was one of the twelve members of the Achaean League and even had a leading position within the league. That position was taken over by Aigion, and also the lands belonging to Helike were in Aigion's possession when Pausanias visited the location. There were no traces left of the renowned sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios, except that Eratosthenes was told by the locals that a submerged bronze statue of Poseidon with a hippocamp in its hand was a danger to fishing-nets that could be entangled with it. Nor did Helike ever regain its status as a proper Greek city-state. With the disaster Helike ceased to exist both as a geographical and physical entity and as a political unit.

Since 1988 archaeological investigations on the supposed location of Helike have been carried out within the Helike Project under the directorship of Dora Katsonopoulou.[17] The work started with the supposition that Helike had been totally destroyed by the earthquake and never rebuilt. In recent years the archaeological evidence has been interpreted in a different direction and the excavators are now prepared to maintain that Helike was a flourishing society throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods; even the coins with the inscription ΕΛΙΚ, which prove the existence of Helike as a Greek city-state, are now given a later date than the traditional one.[18] These conclusions are in disagreement with the unanimous testimony of the ancient literary sources. Since we here discuss the reactions to natural disasters and since such reactions are recognizable, in the case of Helike at least, only via the literary testimonies, we use the traditional notion of a Helike that ceased to exist in 373/2 B.C. as our working hypothesis and leave the interpretation of the archaeological and numismatic material to specialists in those fields. It is a fact that no Greek text after 373/2 B.C. speaks of Helike as a still existing city;

[16] Katsonopoulou & Soter 1998: 66–67, Morgan & Hall 2004: 480.

[17] Results of the investigations are mainly presented on the web-site of the project (http://www.helikeproject.gr/index.htm) and in the *acta* of a series of conferences (for archaeological results, cf. in particular *Helike II* and *Helike III*). The full report of the latest Helike conference was not yet published when this was written, but informative abstracts of its content were accessible on-line (*Helike V. Abstracts*).

[18] Katsonopoulou 2013a, Katsonopoulou 2013b, Weir 2013.

when the name appears, it refers to something that was totally annihilated in a disastrous winter night that year.

A Scientific Approach

In a pre-scientific age disasters of this sort were generally regarded as acts of a divine power and explained either as punishments or as portents sent respectively by an infuriated and a helpful god. However, in the ancient Greek world, philosophers strived to explain earthquakes and other spectacular natural phenomena as the results of the forces of nature. It is evident that the Helike disaster had an impact on ancient seismological theories. This is apparent from Aristotle's chapters on earthquakes in his *Meteorology*.[19] The event occurred when Aristotle was eleven years old, and events of this sort are likely to have been discussed in Plato's Academy when he studied there.[20] When he wrote his *Meteorology* – probably after returning to Athens in the 330's and 320's – he presumably had access to contemporary accounts of the disaster.

Aristotle never explicitly mentions the names of Helike or Boura but, when he refers to an event that took place "in Achaia",[21] it is clear that he has the Helike disaster in mind. He does not give a detailed account of what happened but assumes that his readers already are adequately informed on these details. His real objective was to explain *why* it had happened or rather why earthquakes in general happen. The explanation he presents presupposes that the event included two distinguishable elements, a tsunami and an earthquake, but that both of them resulted from the impact of the same natural force, the *pneuma* that manifested itself as wind on the surface of the earth but could also be confined in subterranean cavities and burst forth from there with disastrous consequences. The simultaneous occurrence of a tsunami with an earthquake at Helike has decisively influenced Aristotle's seismological theories and

[19] *Meteorologica* 2.7–8/365a14–369a9. The Helike event is also discussed in the chapters on comets, *Meteorologica* 1.6–7.

[20] It has been suggested that Plato, when constructing his Atlantis myth, was inspired by the fate of Helike; see Herter 1928: 47, Giovannini 1985 and Katsonopoulou 1995: 37. The archaeologists of the Helike Project have tried to stir interest in their discoveries by promoting the equation "Helike – the real Atlantis"; cf., e.g., http://www.bbc.co.uk/science/horizon/2001/helike.shtml.

[21] *Meteorologica* 343b2, 366a26, 368b6.

his – or his disciple Kallisthenes' – explanations were largely accepted by later scientists of antiquity,[22] rather than those of his predecessors.[23]

What we regard today as the correct explanation of earthquakes, i.e., the plate-tectonics theory, gained full acceptance among geologists only in the second half of the twentieth century. Aristotle's theory may seem primitive when compared to this, but it took scientists more than two millennia to find the final solution (or what is accepted as such today). Aristotle's mode of attacking the problem also has one very important feature in common with modern seismology: his approach is a scientific one. He never invokes the intervention of transcendent divine powers in order to explain natural phenomena but assumes that the forces causing them are natural forces, the impact of which can be traced in other natural phenomena is well.

This is also apparent when he addresses a problem the solution of which still mainly eludes the seismologists, viz., the problem of predicting earthquakes. According to Aristotle, earthquakes are a meteorological phenomenon. Consequently, they are likely to be linked to other meteorological phenomena and, when such phenomena appear, they could be indications that an earthquake is imminent. Aristotle offers no decisive answer to this problem but he points out a number of precisely meteorological phenomena that are said to precede or to be concomitant with earthquakes, e.g., dimming and darkening of the sun on a cloudless day, calming wind and chilling air before sunrise, the appearance of a long, thin cloud in an otherwise cloudless sky.[24] The Helike earthquake and the ensuing tsunami are also associated with the appearance

[22] Cf., e.g., ps.-Aristotle, *De mundo* 395b18–395a32, Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 2.190, Seneca, *Naturales quaestiones*, book 6 (6.23.4 about Kallisthenes' book on the fate of Helike and Boura).

[23] Anaximenes, Anaxagoras and Demokritos, whom Aristotle lists in *Meteorologica* 365a14–b20.

[24] *Meteorologica* 367a22 γίγνεσθαι τὸν ἥλιον ἀχλυώδη καὶ ἀμαυρότερον ἄνευ νέφους καὶ πρὸ τῶν ὀρθρίων σεισμῶν ἐνίοτε νημενίαν τε καὶ κρύος ἰσχυρόν, 367b10 αἰθρίας οὔσης νεφέλιον φαίνεται διατεῖνον καὶ μακρόν. On an "ἄστρον οὐ μικρόν" – probably a comet – that preceded an earthquake in Perinthos 427(?) B.C. see Hippocrates, *Epidemiae* 4.1.21 (Guidoboni 1994: no. 013). When Philo of Alexandria (*De opificio mundi* 59), quoting *Genesis* 1.14 "[the stars should] be for signs", reports that some people had been able to predict "a turmoil and shaking of the earth" from the movements of the heavenly bodies (ἤδη δὲ καὶ κλόνον καὶ σεισμὸν γῆς ἐκ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν κινήσεων στοχασμῷ προεσήμηνάν τινες καὶ μυρία ἄλλα τῶν ἀηθεστέρων), comets are possibly meant, too.

of a remarkable comet in the same winter, and comets are meteorological phenomena in Aristotle's universe.[25]

It was a widespread belief that mice and other small animals could feel an impending earthquake beforehand and were seen leaving the place to save themselves. According to Claudius Aelianus, that had happened in Helike, too, but the inhabitants had not been able to interpret the phenomenon correctly as a sign of an imminent disaster.[26] This sort of animal behaviour could be used as a warning sign, but it is not mentioned by Aristotle in the context of earthquakes, perhaps because he focuses on the meteorological nature of the phenomenon.

Helping the Victims

Today, when a major natural disaster strikes somewhere in the world, the victims may be fairly certain that help will arrive to them from abroad. Both governments and non-government charity organizations will normally declare themselves prepared to send personal and material resources to the place where they are needed. That preparedness is based on the assumption that the people who need help are innocent victims of natural forces that operate arbitrarily, i.e., it presupposes that the scientific ideas – common to Aristotle and today's seismologists – about how nature works are shared by those who have the necessary help-resources at their disposal.

In classical Greece that sort of interstate solidarity was not the rule.[27] Scientific ideas were not prevalent to the same extent as today, but there were also obstacles of a practical or technical nature. The Greek city-states were small units and each of them controlled only a minor geographical area with limited resources. When a disaster struck, more than one adjoining state was normally affected, and the inhabitants of each state were primarily motivated to help themselves with their own limited resources. Interstate relations were normally not of a friendly nature but a city-state was more often than not at war with some of its neighbours.

---

[25] On comets as meteorological phenomena: *Meteorologica* 1.7/344a5–345a11; on the Helike event in particular: 343b2–4, 18–20, 344b34–345a2.

[26] Aelianus, *De natura animalium* 11.19. On the phenomenon from the perspective of modern seismology see Grant & Halliday 2010 and Grant *et al.* 2011.

[27] On the gradual development, in the post-classical period, of the idea that victims of disasters were entitled to assistance from others see Meißner 1998.

For these reasons, examples of interstate assistance in the classical period are few or next to non-existing. In 426 B.C., e.g., the area around the Malian Gulf was struck by a major earthquake with following tsunamis; it is fairly well documented in the literary sources.[28] Several cities in East Lokris, Achaia Phthiotis and Euboia were destroyed or severely damaged. All of them seem to have survived and been restored, but there exists no record of other states providing support. This illustrates what was the normal situation in this period.

In the Hellenistic period the political map of Greece had been redrafted and the preconditions for international solidarity were different. With the expansion of the Macedonian power and the creation of the Hellenistic kingdoms, much larger and more resourceful political units had come into existence. The Hellenistic kings were expected to assist their subjects when disasters struck and they had the necessary administrative and financial means at their disposal. Separate city-states and wealthy individuals followed their examples. The new situation is illustrated by what followed after the major earthquake that struck the island of Rhodes and the adjacent lands of Asia Minor in c. 217 B.C.[29] Polybios praises the Rhodians for cleverly sending embassies to both kings and cities to secure their aid. The rulers of the large kingdoms of Macedonia, Syria, Egypt and Sicily made particularly valuable donations[30] and kings, dynasts and "hardly numerable"[31] cities of Asia Minor contributed according to their capacity. A preserved inscription attests that a private citizen, Aristomenes, contributed to the restoration of the island city of Telos that was ruined by the same earthquake.[32]

The Roman emperors continued the euergetic tradition of the Hellenistic kings until the end of antiquity. The first example was Augustus, the first emperor, who contributed money for the restoration of Tralleis when it had

---

[28] Guidoboni 1994: no. 014. Primary sources: Thucydides 3.89.1–5, Diodoros 12.59.1–2, Strabo 1.3.20 (referring to Demetrios of Kallatis).

[29] Guidoboni 1994: no. 036. Primary sources: Polybios 5.88.1–90.2, Pausanias 2.7.1. The precise date of the event is not above debate, for the sources disagree.

[30] Ptolemy III of Egypt – with the appropriate epithet *Euergetes* – even promised money for the repair of the fallen Colossus, but the Rhodians allowed the statue to remain lying there, obeying the recommendation μὴ κινεῖν κακὸν εὖ κείμενον (Hypereides frg. 30, sch. on Plato, *Philebus* 15c).

[31] Polybios 5.90.2 τάς γε μὴν πόλεις τὰς συνεπιλαμβανομένας αὐτοῖς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐδ' ἂν ἐξαριθμήσαιτο ῥαδίως οὐδείς.

[32] *IG* XII 3.30.

suffered an earthquake in 27 B.C.[33] The generosity of Tiberius towards the Asian cities that were ruined in 17 A.D. is praised by Strabo and other writers and was commemorated by a number of coins issued for the occasion and by a statue, the inscribed base of which has been identified.[34] Later examples include the support for the rebuilding of Smyrna by Marcus Aurelius after the earthquake of 177 or 178, which was celebrated in a series of speeches by Aelius Aristeides.[35] Three works of his are directly linked with the earthquake and the rebuilding of the city, *Or*. 18, the Μονῳδία ἐπὶ Σμύρνῃ, a lamentation over the ruined city, *Or*. 19, a letter of petition to the emperors, which reportedly evoked the tears of Marcus Aurelius,[36] and *Or*. 20, the Παλινῳδία ἐπὶ Σμύρνῃ, on the reconstruction of the city.

Aristeides' speeches were a source of inspiration when Libanios composed his Μονῳδία ἐπὶ Νικομηδείᾳ (*Or*. 61) after that city had been struck by an earthquake in 358 A.D.[37] It is not known whether his lamentation had any effect on Constantius II, who at the time – if the date is correct – was the reigning emperor in the eastern parts of the empire. In his epitaph on Julian, the successor of Constantius, Libanios reports that the pious pagan emperor by his urgent prayers to Poseidon succeeded in aborting the effects of an earthquake in Constantinople in February 363.[38] This was one of the frequent earthquakes that harassed the Eastern Mediterranean area in the period 350–370 and which are repeatedly discussed by both Christian and pagan writers. Their accounts give the impression that both writers and rulers at the time were more interested in finding out who were to blame for enraging the divine power than in initiating practical actions to the benefit of the victims.

The Helike disaster occurred when the small independent city-states with their limited resources and with little propensity for solidarity with their neighbours were the normal political units in the Greek area. Helike was one

[33] Guidoboni 1994: no. 072, Strabo 12.8.18.

[34] Guidoboni 1994: no. 079, Strabo 12.8.18, 13.4.8, Suetonius, *Tiberius* 48, Dio Cassius 57.17.7–9, Phlegon of Tralleis, *De rebus mirabilibus* 13 (citing Apollonios "ὁ γραμματικός"), *CIL* X 1624.

[35] Guidoboni 1994: no. 117.

[36] Philostratos, *Vitae sophistarum* p. 582 Olearius. Aristeides' two Σμυρναϊκοὶ λόγοι (*Orr.* 17 and 21) describe the city before the disaster and after its restoration, respectively. The third Ἱερὸς λόγος (*Or.* 49.38–42) probably narrates Aristeides' experiences during an earlier Smyrnean earthquake (Guidoboni 1994: no. 116).

[37] Guidoboni 1994: no. 147. The precise year of the event is not certain.

[38] Guidoboni 1994: no. 152, Libanios, *Or.* 18.177.

of those city-states, too, but it belonged to the Achaean League. The twelve states of that organization were obliged to keep peace with each other, and their combined resources could be used for relieving an individual member in need of help. In the case of Helike, Strabo reports that the League dispatched a troop of 2,000 men to the ruined city, but they were not even able to salvage the dead bodies; they could only distribute the lands of the no longer existing Helike among the other members of the League.[39] This is one of the few examples known to our sources of interstate help in the case of a natural disaster in this early period. The clearest parallels are when members of an amphictyony combine to restore a temple or sanctuary after it has been damaged by enemies, fire incidents or natural forces, as repeatedly happened, e.g., in Delphi.

Poseidon's Revenge

It is true, of course, that in some regions of our world pre-scientific ideas about the causes of natural disasters are still dominant, and international charity organizations are sometimes denied access to a devastated area for ideological or religious reasons. In antiquity, too, such ideas competed with the scientific approach; in fact, they often prevailed and gained prominent supporters.[40] Diodoros, e.g., in his account of the Helike disaster, curtly dismisses the possibility of a natural explanation (15.48.4):

> οἱ μὲν φυσικοὶ πειρῶνται τὰς αἰτίας τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν οὐκ εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀναφέρειν, ἀλλ' εἰς φυσικάς τινας καὶ κατηναγκασμένας περιστάσεις.
>
> The scientists attempt to assign the causes of such incidents, not to the divine sphere, but to certain natural conditions, existing with necessity.

Diodoros then proceeds to account for what he calls the "convincing" (πιθανάς) causes of the incident, i.e., "the wrath of gods" (θεῶν μῆνιν). When identifying what had caused the god's displeasure in a particular case, "those who are reverent of the divine element" (οἱ εὐσεβῶς διακείμενοι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον), as Diodoros styles them, displayed a considerable amount of inventiveness. In times of dogmatic strife, defenders of competing ideologies or faiths could feel

[39] Strabo 8.7.2 δισχιλίους δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πεμφθέντας ἀνελέσθαι μὲν τοὺς νεκροὺς μὴ δύνασθαι, τοῖς δ' ὁμόροις νεῖμαι τὴν χώραν.

[40] On religion-based explanations of natural phenomena cf. Graf 2010.

the urge to endorse incompatible explanations of the same incident. This is demonstrated by the conflicting accounts of a series of severe earthquakes that struck the eastern part of the Mediterranean in the third quarter of the fourth century A.D., culminating with the disaster of 21 July 365, when an earthquake close to Crete sent a devastating seismic sea-wave against the coasts of Libya, Egypt, Sicily, Epirus and, possibly, Cyprus.[41] Whereas Libanios, in his epitaph of Emperor Julian, claims that the disasters occurred because Earth itself mourned the death of the defender of paganism, Christian writers describe the same series of events as punitive measures by God against the Apostate and his followers. This idea is most clearly expressed by Sozomenos,[42] but the association of these natural disasters with divine punishment of apostasy runs like a subtext also in other Christian writings of the fourth and fifth centuries; even a pagan like Ammianus Marcellinus may have been influenced by them.[43]

Also in the case of Helike we are presented with an elaborate explanation of why Poseidon had been enraged. The story is known to us mainly from Diodoros, Strabo and Pausanias.[44] Strabo explicitly refers to Herakleides Pontikos as his source, so this unscientific explanation is likely to have been current in Athens when, at the same time, Aristotle and other philosophers of the same grit struggled with identifying a natural causation for earthquakes.[45]

According to these sources, the situation that provoked Poseidon's anger had its ultimate origin in the pre-historic conflicts between the Greek tribes and their enforced migrations to new territories; a mass of legends about these events were current in the classical period. Greeks who lived in the Ionian cities in Asia Minor in the fourth century maintained that their ancestors had once resided in Achaea but had been ejected from there by the Dorians. Shortly before the disaster of 373 B.C. these cities are said to have sent an embassy to Helike, demanding to be given certain cult objects[46] which

41 Guidoboni: nos. 147–157.

42 Sozomenos, *Historia ecclesiastica* 6.2.10–16 (with an explicit reference to Libanios in 6.2.1).

43 As shown by Kelly 2004.

44 Diodoros 15.49.1–3, Strabo 8.7.2, Pausanias 7.24.5–6 and 7.25.1–4; shorter notices in Aelianus, *De natura animalium* 11.19, and in an epigram by Poseidippos (*Epigr.* 20.1–2). On the mythical history of the Ionian tribes see also Pausanias 7.1.

45 Herakleides lived c. 390–310 and was active in Athens c. 365–338 (Wehrli 1953).

46 The precise nature of these objects cannot be ascertained. The Greek words that refer to them, ἀφιδρύματα (Diodoros 15.49.1–2) and ἀφίδρυσις (Strabo 8.7.2), mostly denote effigies of gods, but with his ἡ ἀφίδρυσις Strabo must refer to something different from the image of Poseidon (τὸ βρέτας τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος) that the Ionians asked to be given in the first place.

existed in the sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios. The Ionians claimed that the sanctuary had been a Πανιώνιον, a cult site common to all Ionians, and now they wanted to take back the ancient holy objects and dedicate them in a new *Panionion* that was going to be established on the Asian coast of the Aegean. The Helikians rejected their demand and, still after the Ionians had applied to the leadership of the Achaean League and gained their support, Helike refused, and Boura sided with them. Diodoros reports that both parts claimed to obey instructions they had received from the Delphic oracle. The Ionians were forbidden to perform sacrifice in the sanctuary; according to Aelianus and Pausanias the ambassadors were even killed. When the disaster came over the two Achaean cities the following winter, it was interpreted as a revenge by Poseidon because the Helikians had gravely offended the god by refusing the Ionians their just share of an ancient cult established by themselves.

The inventiveness of "those who are reverent of the divine element" is further demonstrated by two alternative explanations of the cause for Poseidon's wrath against Helike. Polyainos (*Strategemata* 8.46) relates: Themisto, daughter of Krithon of Oiantheia in Western Lokris, had been forced to marry a certain Philon, the son of the tyrant Phrikodemos. On the wedding night she killed her husband and then sought asylum in Poseidon's sanctuary in Helike, but he Helikians surrendered her to the murdered husband's brother Herakon. For that they were punished by Poseidon with the earthquake, and the god also sent a storm over Herakon's ship, so Themisto could be saved. These persons are not known from any other source.[47]

A different story is told by Diogenes Laertios, who cites Favorinus as his source (*Vitae philosophorum* 3.20): The target of Poseidon's punishment was according to Favorinus/Diogenes not the inhabitants of Helike but the Spartan Pollis. He was on board a Spartan ship that was anchored off the Helike delta when the disaster struck and was killed when the ship capsized. Pollis was the Spartan who had once captured Plato and made him a slave, and the killing of him was Poseidon's revenge for his treatment of the great philosopher. Also Aelianus (*De natura animalium* 11.19) reports that a squadron of Spartan warships were foundered by the Helike tsunami but does not mention Pollis. Other sources make it clear that Pollis was a historical person, and Plutarch (*Dion* 5) denounces him as responsible for the capture of Plato. There are no reports elsewhere on the circumstances of his death.

[47] Rousset 2004: 397.

Evidently, the believers in the divine origin of earthquakes had made considerable effort to find plausible arguments for the intervention of the Earthshaker in the case of Helike. Similar explanations seem to have been current after most major natural disasters in Greco-Roman antiquity. In late antiquity, the omnipotent Christian God, whose revengeful disposition was apparent in Scripture, could easily be recognized as the agent when disaster struck.

Warnings and Portents

The ancient peoples did not expect only punishments from their gods. Divine providence was also an active force and gods who cared for the welfare of their worshippers would send them signs that warned them from continuing an on-going enterprise that displeased the gods or would lead to unfortunate consequences. Throughout antiquity, earthquakes were not seldom interpreted to signify the will of gods, as indicated by the following examples.

The earthquake that devastated the area around the Malian Gulf in 426 B.C. was strong enough to be felt even in the Corinthian Isthmus. There, at precisely that time, a Spartan army detachment with Peloponnesian allies was on march to invade Attica, but the earthquake was interpreted as an unfavourable omen and the troops turned back to the Peloponnese.[48] An earthquake could conceivably damage the terrain enough to make further advance of an army difficult or impossible, but in this case Diodoros makes it clear that it was because they "feared the divine" (δεισιδαιμονήσαντες) that the Spartans decided to abort their enterprise.

The sources record several other cases in which military enterprises were abandoned or reorganized because of earthquakes.[49] Religious anxieties are not always explicitly cited as the reason but the divine origin of the event is made clear by phrases like θεὸς ἔσεισεν or θεοῦ σείσαντος. The accounts of the Spartan king Agesilaos' unsuccessful invasion of Argive territory in 388 B.C. even indicate that an earthquake normally was considered to be a valid

[48] Guidoboni 1994: no. 014 (cf. above). The turning back of the Spartan army is reported by Thucydides (3.89.1–2) and Diodoros (12.59.1–2).

[49] Thucydides 6.95.1, 8.6.5, Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3.2.24 (cf. Pausanias 3.8.4), Diodoros 16.56.8.

reason for abandoning a military enterprise.[50] When Agesilaos disregarded a διοσημία of this sort, he acted contrary both to the army's expectations and to Lakedaimonian practice. It was only when part of his troops were incapacitated by another allegedly divine act, a thunderbolt, that he resigned and gave up his enterprise.[51]

According to Christian interpreters, Julian the Apostate also made the mistake of disregarding divine warnings sent in the disguise of earthquakes during the last year of his life. As noted above, Libanios claims that the earthquake threatening Constantinople early in 363 A.D. was averted by Julian's ardent prayers to Poseidon.[52] Ammianus Marcellinus, on the other hand, includes this earthquake among the portents indicating that Rome's supremacy was in peril; [53] although a pagan himself, Ammianus was not unfamiliar with Christian thought and shared the belief of his contemporaries, polytheists, Jews and Christians, that natural disasters were sent by divine powers.[54] The devastating earthquake that occurred in Palestine a few months afterwards was seen by the Christians as a warning to the emperor not to continue his plans to rebuild the Jewish temple of Jerusalem; disobedience would cost him his life.[55]

Not only military activities were affected by earthquakes but also events of a more civil nature could be disturbed or predicted by them. We may suspect that such events are relatively seldom mentioned in the historical sources since they are more focussed on the vicissitudes of war, but a few examples could be cited. Thucydides reports that a meeting of the Athenian ecclesia in 420 B.C. had to be suspended because of an earthquake but could be reconvened the

[50] Dion Chrysostomos (38.18) voices the same idea: καὶ ὅταν συνερχομένων εἰς μάχην στρατῶν ἢ διοσημία φανῇ αἰφνίδιος ἢ τῆς γῆς γένηται σεισμός, ἀποστρέφονται εὐθὺς οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀποχωροῦσιν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ὡς τῶν θεῶν οὐ βουλομένων αὐτοὺς μάχεσθαι, 'when armies meet for battle and there suddenly appears a portent or an earthquake occurs, then the men immediately turn back and move away from each other, thinking that the gods do not want them to fight.'

[51] Guidoboni 1994: no. 022, Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4.7.3–7, Pausanias 3.5.8–9.

[52] Guidoboni 1994: no. 152, Libanios, *Orationes* 1.134, 18.177.

[53] Ammianus Marcellinus 23.1.7.

[54] See Kelly 2004.

[55] Gregory of Nazianzus, *C. Julianum* 2.3–4 (*PG* 35.668.10–669.18), Sokrates, *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.20.7–15, Sozomenos, *Historia ecclesiastica* 5.22.7–11, Theodoretos, *Historia ecclesiastica* 199.16–200.6, Philostorgios, *Historia ecclesiastica* 7, frg. 9. Libanios (*Orationes* 18.292) seems to include this earthquake among those by which Earth herself demonstrated her grief for the deceased emperor; actually the earthquake occurred more than a month before Julian's death.

next day. [56] Although it obviously did not cause much devastation in Athens, the same earthquake was felt in Corinth as well. A conference with the Peloponnesian states involved in the war with Athens was going on there, and it had to be broken off as well.[57]

Cicero twice mentions earthquakes that are said to have foreshadowed crucial moments of his own or his city's life. The Catalinarian conspiracy and the disturbances caused by it had been accompanied by a number of disquieting natural phenomena, such as a glowing night sky, thunderbolts and earthquakes, which Cicero enumerates in a skilfully structured *praeteritio*.[58] Also Plutarch and Dio Cassius mention these natural phenomena as possible portents of what was to happen during Cicero's consulate.[59] The earthquake referred to by Cicero probably was the one in Spoletum mentioned in Julius Obsequens' *Liber de prodigiis* for the year 63 B.C.[60]

In another speech, of May 56 B.C., Cicero mentions a recent earthquake in Potentia in Picenum and recommends his audience to be prepared for imminent evils.[61] Plutarch refers to an earthquake that occurred in Dyrrachium in 58 B.C. when Cicero had been exiled and disembarked there after crossing the Strait of Otranto; the event was said to presage that his exile would not last for long.[62]

The earthquake in Nikomedeia in 358 A.D., which was the theme of Libanios' Μονῳδία, thwarted the plans for a council of the church to be held in the city that year. The plan was to assemble the bishops of the eastern part of the empire to find a solution to the Arian controversy over the nature of Jesus Christ. After the earthquake the council had to be suspended; it convened again the following year in Isaurian Seleukeia. The orthodox church historians

---

56 Guidoboni 1994: no. 017, Thucydides 5.45.4–46.1.

57 Thucydides 5.50.5.

58 Cicero, *In Catilinam* 3.18 *nam ut illa omittam, visas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces ardoremque caeli, ut fulminum iactus, ut terrae motus relinquam, ut omittam cetera ...* , 'for, not to mention these things, the nocturnal torches and glowing on the western sky, not to mention the impacts of thunderbolts, not earthquakes, not to mention other ...'

59 Plutarch, *Cicero* 14.4, Dio Cassius 37.25.2.

60 Guidoboni 1994: no. 063, Obsequens 61.

61 Guidoboni 1994: no. 65, Cicero, *De haruspicum responso* 28.62–63, Dio Cassius 39.20.2.

62 Guidoboni 1994: no. 64, Plutarch, *Cicero* 32.4.

Philostorgios and Thedoretos of Kyrrha (who mistakenly calls the city Nikaia) interpret the earthquake as a sign of God's displeasure with the Arians. [63]

Rebuilding the Cities

After the disastrous earthquake Helike was not rebuilt, which is remarkable. Boura was rebuilt, although Helike, with its leading role in the Achaean League, had been the more important city of the two. The sources indicate that Boura had suffered a total destruction just as Helike, so the extent of its destruction cannot explain why Helike, but not Boura, ceased to exist.

If we widen our perspective, it appears that, according to existing evidence, Helike was the only Greek city that was *not* restored to its previous state after a destructive earthquake.[64] If there existed parallels to the fate of Helike, the sources are silent anyway, and there exists no decisive archaeological evidence. On the contrary, numerous cases of reconstruction of severely damaged cities are quoted. Cities struck by earthquakes normally continued to exist after a period of restoration, admittedly not always on the same location and sometimes dependent on other cities; "wandering cities" has been used as an appropriate description of some of them.[65] The aftermath of the disastrous seismic sea-wave that damaged or destroyed a number of cities around the Malian Gulf in 426 B.C. illustrates what normally would happen.[66] There is no evidence to show that any of them ceased to exist, and for several of them archaeological evidence or literary sources attest that they regained their previous status.[67]

There is of course evidence to show that a number of Greek cities or city-states actually were eliminated and ceased to exist in the classical era, but in those cases the cause of their destruction was that they had been defeated in a war and conquered by enemies. Yet, even in most cases when defeated cities were exposed to total destruction and reportedly razed to the ground by an

---

[63] Guidoboni 1994: no. 147, Philostorgios, *Historia ecclesiastica* 4, frg. 11, Theodoretos, *Historia ecclesiastica* 156.21–157.6.

[64] Zangger 1998: 228.

[65] Mackil 2004.

[66] Guidoboni 1994: no. 014. Cf. above.

[67] Cf. Autino 1987: 416–428 (s. 422: "... tutte queste località, anche quelle che subirono una distruzione totale o quasi, furono in seguito recostruite, sicuramente a non molta distanza di tempo"), Antonopoulos 1992, Nielsen 2004 (on Alope, Alponos, Kynos, Opous, Skarpheia and Thronion).

ἀνασκαφή, they appear to have been reconstructed.[68] It is no wonder, then, that cities demolished by earthquakes were, to judge from available evidence, always reconstructed – with Helike as the unique exception.

Also in a global perspective it is evident that settlements destroyed by earthquakes mostly survived and were quickly restored; they did not fade out of history. Rather, humans seem to have a tendency to establish themselves in regions where earthquakes are relatively common and to return to the same locations when they are destroyed by earthquakes. The reason is that such regions often offer favourable conditions for human life, e.g., fertile soils or appropriate climatic conditions. This was at least the situation in pre-modern and early modern societies, whereas today's societies with their complex infrastructures and advanced but fragile technical installations are more severely damaged by natural disasters that were of little consequence to humans of earlier periods. The relatively limited long-term damages caused by earthquakes in earlier history were recently illuminated in the conference volume *Ancient Earthquakes*, with examples varying in time from Palaeolithic East Africa to seventeenth-century Colombia. The editors of the volume felt motivated to conclude that "Earthquakes in themselves are incapable of causing the collapse of a community, let alone a civilization", but it is political, social and economic factors that "eventually determine whether or not an earthquake leads to the decline of a society."[69]

Thus, we have reason to ask the question what the "political, social or economic" factors were that, in combination with a natural disaster, prevented the rebuilding of Helike. Since Boura could be rebuilt, solely material destruction cannot have motivated the total abandonment of Helike. Rather, the extensive and amply documented legendary accounts of Poseidon's wrath and the punishment it caused could give a clue to the real reason. The legend has an evident tendency of enmity towards the citizens of Helike: they are supposed to have brought about their own catastrophe, and that idea must have been widely current already in the fourth century, shortly after the event itself, since it was known to Herakleides Pontikos. There is also reason to suspect

[68] See Hansen & Nielsen 2004; 120–123, 1363–1364. On p. 123 Hansen and Nielsen point out that, out of fifty-two *poleis* in their inventory that are known to have been demolished after an enemy conquest, at least forty-two survived as *poleis* in the political sense of the word and two remained as municipalities.

[69] Sintubin *et al.* 2010: vii.

that the extent of the destruction was exaggerated by the reports on it.[70] It was deliberately given a proportion that could only be explained as the result of a divine power's intervention.

There may have been political ambitions behind the denigration of the Helikians in the legendary accounts of the disaster. Greek history offers a number of examples of how states or ethnic groups exploited the disasters of others in order to promote their own interests.[71] In the mid-460's B.C., when Sparta was severely ravaged by an earthquake with concomitant land-slides, the Messenians and the Helots joined their forces and attacked Sparta.[72] This was the Third Messenian War, which ended, admittedly, with a victory for the victims of the earthquake. Above we have mentioned Spartan and other generals who interrupted military enterprises when "the earth trembled". The opposite behaviour is exemplified by the Spartan Astyochos who in 412/11 B.C. took the chance to plunder the city of Meropis in Kos when its habitants had abandoned it in fear of an earthquake.[73] King Antigonos Doson of Macedonia took advantage of a similar situation in Doris during his campaign c. 228 B.C. The fortifications of Kytenion and other cities of Doris had recently been damaged by an earthquake and the young men had been sent to Delphi to implore the god for help. When the king and his army arrived, they could destroy the walls that were still standing and burn the houses without much resistance from the remaining inhabitants.[74]

The legendary stories about Poseidon's wrath against Helike and what caused it may be interpreted as an indication that there existed political conflicts within or outside the Achaean League which manifested themselves as animosities towards Helike. The disastrous earthquake offered the other parts in the conflict an opportunity to deprive Helike of its influence in the League

[70] Cf. Prandi 1989: 58, Faraklas 1998: 209–210, and Blomqvist 2011: 17–20, with references. Faraklas suggests that those Helikians who presumably survived the catastrophe formed the demographic base of a new city called Keryneia. The existence of that city is not attested earlier, but in later sources it appears as a member of the Achaean League (Polybios 2.41.7); cf. Morgan & Hall 2004: 483.

[71] Cf. Chaniotis 1998.

[72] Guidoboni 1994: no. 008. The link between the earthquake and the Messenian attack is guaranteed by a sufficient number of sources: Thucydides 1.101.2–3, 2.27.2, Diodoros 11.63.3–4, 15.66.4, Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 28.6, *Cimon* 16.7, Pausanias 4.24.6.

[73] Guidoboni 1994: no. 020, Thucydides 8.41.2.

[74] Guidoboni 1994: no. 035. The occurrence is known to us because an inscription from Xanthos in Lykia preserves a letter that the inhabitants of Kytenion sent to their kinsmen in Lykia asking them to support the rebuilding the walls; see Bousquet 1988.

by annihilating the city. Prandi suggests that Sparta's striving for a dominant position among the Greek city-states was ultimately responsible for Helike's decline and fall.[75] She regards the claim of the Ionian cities for holy objects in Helike's possession as a historical fact but assumes that the demand was inspired by Sparta, since Sparta strived to expand its sphere of influence by creating closer links with the Greek cities of Asia Minor. When the Ionians decided to found a new *Panionion* at Mykale, the Spartans attempted, with support from Delphi, to make that cult centre into a descendant of Poseidon's sanctuary in Helike; the Achaean cities had been allied to Sparta since 427 B.C. For the Ionians it would have been more natural to establish a cultic relationship either with Athens, which according to the legends about their early history was the mother city of the Ionian colonies, or with Thebes, the leading city of Boiotia, from where the cult of Poseidon Helikonios originated.[76] But at the time – two years before the battle of Leuktra – Thebes and Athens were the most serious rivals of Sparta and Sparta strived to diminish their influence east of the Aegean. For success it was necessary that Helike complied with the Ionian demand, but Helike refused. In that situation – most appropriately from the Spartan point of view – a natural disaster eliminated the obstinate city, and the Spartans could argue that the disaster was Poseidon's punishment.

Faraklas prefers to identify a more regional rivalry as a potential cause for the elimination of Helike.[77] He assumes that the neighbouring city of Aigion contended with Helike for the leading position within the Achaean League. After the disaster, Aigion took the opportunity to expel its rival from the community and secure the leadership for itself. Faraklas is sceptical to the truthfulness of the stories about the appeal of the Ionian cities to Delphi, Helike and the Achaean League, since that event can only with difficulty be brought into harmony with other events of the period, as they are known from other sources. Faraklas' explanation presupposes that the story about the demand of the Ionians and its dismissal by Helike was construed or at least manipulated only after the disaster had annihilated the city.

---

[75] Prandi 1989.

[76] The epithet Ἑλικώνιος must, as Aristarchos taught (*Etymologicum Magnum* 647.15–20) and Prandi (1989: 48–49) points out, be derived from Ἑλικών, the name of the Boiotian mountain. The epithet is often associated with the name of Ἑλίκη, but that is likely to be a folk-etymology, although sometimes taken seriously, e.g., by Katsonopoulou 1998: 253–255.

[77] Faraklas 1998.

Neither of these hypotheses can be verified but they demonstrate that political controversies that may have contributed to the fateful demise of Helike were a reality at the time.

Epilogue

This survey of the reactions of the ancient peoples to natural disasters is not complete and much more evidence is available that has not been analysed here. However, the following tentative conclusions could serve as a summary of our findings:

- Natural disasters were commonly explained as a result of the intervention of divine powers.
- The scientific approach, exemplified by Aristotle and others, had little consequence. Scientific explanations were known to and accepted by only an intellectual elite.
- Interstate assistance to victims of disasters was not common in the classical period, mainly for two reasons: lack of recourses of the small city-states and fears of the divine powers that were supposed to have worked the disasters and might turn their wrath against the helpers.
- In the Hellenistic kingdoms and the Roman empire the rulers were expected to lend support to victims of disasters. In late antiquity, the rulers seem to have been less eager to bring help.
- States were at times prepared to take advantage of the weakness of others when a natural disaster had struck.
- Cities struck by disasters displayed a remarkable ability of resilience; after earthquakes the cities were normally rebuilt.

References

For ancient texts the current standard editions have been used, mainly those accessible via the *TLG* (http://www.tlg.uci.edu/). The web pages referred to have been accessed in April 2016.

Antonopoulos, John (1992). 'The tsunami of 426 BC in the Maliakos Gulf, Eastern Greece.' – *Natural Hazards* 5, 83–93. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00127141

Autino, Paolo (1987). *I terremoti nella Grecia classica*. (*Memorie dell'Istituto lombardo, Accademia di scienze e lettere. Classe di lettere, scienze morali e storiche*; 38, 4.) Milano: Istituto lombardo di scienze e lettere.

Backert, Nicolas; Ford, Mary; Malartre, Fabrice (2010). 'Architecture and sedimentology of the Kerinitis Gilbert-type fan delta, Corinth Rift, Greece.' – *Sedimentology* 57, 543–586. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-3091.2009.01105.x

Blomqvist, Jerker (2011). 'Helikekatastrofen 373/2 f.Kr.' – *Aigis. Supplementum I*, 1–31 (https://aigis.igl.ku.dk/aigis/CGT/Jerker_BHelike.pdf).

Bousquet, Jean (1988). 'La stèle des Kyténiens au Létôon de Xanthos.' – *Revue des études grecques* 101, 12–53. https://doi.org/10.3406/reg.1988.1525

Chaniotis, Angelos (1998). 'Willkommene Erdbeben.' – Olshausen, Eckart; Sonnabend, Holger (eds.), *Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur historischen Geographie des Altertums 6, 1996: Naturkatastrophen in der antiken Welt*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 404–416.

Faraklas, Nikolas (1998). 'Ελίκη. Η φυσική και πολιτική καταβύθιση.' – Katsonopoulou, Dora; Soter, Steven; Schilardi, Demetrius (eds.), *HELIKE II. Αρχαία Ελίκη και Αιγιάλεια/Ancient Helike and Aigialeia*. Athens/Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Φίλων της Αρχαίας Ελίκης, 201–234.

Ferentinos, George; Papatheodorou, George; Geraga, Maria; Christodoulou, Dimitris; Fakiris, Elias; Iatrou, Margarita (2015). 'The disappearance of Helike-Classical Greece – New remote sensing and geological evidence.' – *Remote Sensing* 7, 2, 1263–1278. https://doi.org/10.3390/rs70201263

Ford, Mary; Williams, Edward A.; Malartre, Fabrice; Popescu, Speranta-Maria (2007). 'Stratigraphic architecture, sedimentology and structure of the Vouraikos Gilbert-type fan delta, Gulf of Corinth, Greece.' – *Special Publication of the International Association of Sedimentologists* 38, 49–90. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444304411.ch4

Geus, Klaus (2011). *Eratosthenes von Kyrene: Studien zur hellenistischen Kultur- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*. Oberhaid: Utopica.

Giovannini, Adalberto (1985). 'Peut-on démythifier l'Atlantide?' – *Museum Helveticum* 42, 2, 151–156.

Graf, Fritz (2010). 'Earthquakes and the gods. Reflections on Graeco-Roman responses to catastrophic events.' – Dijkstra, Jitse; Kroesen, Justin; Kuiper, Yme (eds.), *Myths, Martyrs, and Modernity. Studies in the History of Religions in Honour of Jan N. Bremmer*. (*Numen Book Series. Studies in the History of Religions*; 127.) Leiden: Brill, 95–113.

Grant, Rachel A.; Halliday, Tim (2010). 'Predicting the unpredictable; evidence of pre-seismic anticipatory behaviour in the common toad.' – *Journal of Zoology* 281, 263–271. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-7998.2010.00700.x

Grant, Rachel A.; Halliday, Tim; Balderer, Werner P.; Leuenberger, Fanny; Newcomer, Michelle; Cyr, Gary; Freund, Friedemann T. (2011). 'Ground water chemistry changes before major earthquakes and possible effects on animals.' – *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 8, 1936–1956. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph8061936

Guidoboni, Emanuela (1994). *Catalogue of Ancient Earthquakes in the Mediterranean Area up to the 10th Century*. With the collaboration of Alberto Comastri and Giusto Traina; translated from Italian by Brian Phillips. Rome. [Title of original: *Terremoti prima del mille in Italia e nell'area mediterranea*.]

Hansen, Mogens Herman; Nielsen, Thomas Heine (2004). *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Helike II = Katsonopoulou, Dora; Soter, Steven; Schilardi, Demetrius (eds.) (1998). *HELIKE II. Αρχαία Ελίκη και Αιγιάλεια. Πρακτικά β΄ διέθνους επιστημονικού συνεδρίου, Αίγιον, 1–3 Δεκεμβρίου 1995/Ancient Helike and Aigialeia.* Proceedings of the second international conference, Aigion 1–3 December 1995. Athens/Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Φίλων της Αρχαίας Ελίκης.

Helike III = Katsonopoulou, Dora; Soter, Steven; Koukouvelas, Ioannis (2005). *HELIKE III. Αρχαία Ελίκη και Αιγιάλεια. Αρχαιολογικοί Χώροι σε Γεωλογικά Ενεργές Περιοχές. Πρακτικά γ΄ διέθνους επιστημονικού συνεδρίου, Νικολαϊκά Διακόπτου, 6–9 Οκτωβρίου 2000/Ancient Helike and Aigialeia. Archaeological Sites in Geologically Active Regions.* Proceedings of the third international conference, Nikolaïka, Diakopton, 6–9 October 2000. Athens/Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Φίλων της Αρχαίας Ελίκης.

Helike V. Abstracts = Katsonopoulou, Dora (ed.). *Helike V. Ποσειδών, ο θεός των σεισμών και των υδάτων. Λατρεία και ιερά/Poseidon, God of Earthquakes and Waters. Cult and Sanctuaries. Τόμος περιλήψεων ε΄ διέθνους συνεδρίου φια την αρχαία Ελίκη και Αιγιάλεια. Πανεπιστήμιο Πατρών, 4–6 Οκτωβρίου 2013/Abstracts volume of the Fifth International Conference on Ancient Helike and Aigialeia. University of Patras, 4–6 October 2013.* (http://www.helikeproject.gr/index.htm > Helike V > Helike V abstract book).

Herter, Hans (1928). 'Platons Atlantis.' – *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1928, 28–47.

Higgins, Michael D.; Higgins, Reynold (1996). *A Geological Companion to Greece and the Aegean*. London.

Katsonopoulou & Soter (1998) = Κατσωνοπούλου, Ντόρα; Soter, Steven (1998), 'Αρχαιολογικές ειδήσεις από την περιοχή της Ελίκης/Archaeological news from the Eliki area in Aigialeia.' – *Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνες* 66, 41–45.

Katsonopoulou, Dora (1995). 'Ελίκη.' – *Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνες* 54, 35–40.

Katsonopoulou, Dora (1998). 'Η λατρεία του Ελικωνίου Ποσειδώνος. Μια νέα θεώρηση.' – Katsonopoulou, Dora; Soter, Steven; Schilardi, Demetrius (eds.) (1998), *HELIKE II. Αρχαία Ελίκη και Αιγιάλεια. Πρακτικά β΄ διέθνους επιστημονικού συνεδρίου, Αίγιον, 1–3 Δεκεμβρίου 1995/Ancient Helike and Aigialeia.* Proceedings of the second international conference, Aigion 1–3 December 1995. Athens/Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Φίλων της Αρχαίας Ελίκης, 251–265.

Katsonopoulou, Dora (2005). 'The earthquake of 373 BC. Literary and achaeological evidence.' – *Helike III*, 15–32.

Katsonopoulou, Dora (2013a). 'Towards a re-evaluation of the Helike bronze coins of Poseidon.' – *Numismatica e antichità classiche. Quaderni ticinesi* 42, 31–40.

Katsonopoulou, Dora (2013b). 'Helike before and after the 373 BC catastrophe.' – *Helike V. Abstracts*, 27–28.

Kelly, Gavin (2004). 'Ammianus and the Great Tsunami.' – *The Journal of Roman Studies* 94, 141–167. https://doi.org/10.2307/4135013

Koukouvelas, Ioannis K.; Katsonopoulou, Dora; Soter, Steven; Xypolias, Paraskevas (2005). 'Slip rates on the Helike Fault, Gulf of Corinth, Greece: new evidence from geoarchaeology.' – *Terra Nova* 17, 158–164. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-3121.2005.00603.x

Koukouvelas, Ioannis K.; Stamatopoulos, Leonidas; Katsonopoulou, Dora; Pavlides, Spyros (2001). 'A palaeoseismological and geoarchaeological investigation of the Eliki Fault, Gulf of Corinth, Greece.' – *Journal of Structural Geology* 23, 531–543. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0191-8141(00)00124-3

Lafond, Yves (1998). 'Die Katastrophe von 373 v. Chr. und das Verschwinden der Stadt Helike in Achaia.' – Olshausen, Eckart; Sonnabend, Holger (eds.), *Naturkatastrophen in der antiken Welt. Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur Historischen Geographie des Altertums 6, 1996*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 118–123.

Mackil, Emily (2004). 'Wandering cities: Alternatives to catastrophe in the Greek polis.' – *American Journal of Archaeology* 108, 493–516. https://doi.org/10.3764/aja.108.4.493

Malartre, Fabrice; Ford, Mary; Williams, Edward A. (2004). 'Preliminary biostratigraphy and 3D geometry of the Vouraikos Gilbert-type fan delta, Gulf of Corinth, Greece.' – *Comptes Rendus Geoscience* 336, 269–280. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.crte.2003.11.016

Meißner, Burkhard (1998). 'Naturkatastrophen und zwischenstaatliche Solidarität im klassischen und hellenistischen Griechenland.' – Olshausen, Eckart; Sonnabend, Holger (eds.), *Naturkatastrophen in der antiken Welt. Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur Historischen Geographie des Altertums 6, 1996*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 242–261.

Morgan, Catherine; Hall, Jonathan M. (2004). 'Achaia.' – Hansen, Mogens Herman; Nielsen, Thomas Heine, *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 472–488.

Mourtzas, Nikos (1988). 'Neotectonic development of the Hellenic Arc (Aegean area).' – Marinos, Paul G.; Koukis, George C. (eds.) (1988–1990), *The Engineering Geology of Ancient Works, Monuments and Historical Sites. Preservation and Protection. Proceedings of an International Symposium Organized by the Greek National Group of IAEG, Athens 19–23 September 1988*. Vol. 1–4. Rotterdam: Balkema, 4, 2235–2245.

Nielsen, Thomas Heine (2004). 'East Lokris.' – Hansen, Mogens Herman; Nielsen, Thomas Heine, *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 664–673.

Olshausen, Eckart; Sonnabend, Holger (eds.) (1998). *Naturkatastrophen in der antiken Welt. Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur Historischen Geographie des Altertums 6, 1996*. Stuttgart: Steiner.

Papadopoulos, Gerassimos A. (2003). 'Tsunami hazard in the Eastern Mediterranean: Strong earthquakes and tsunamis in the Corinth Gulf, Central Greece.' – *Natural Hazards* 29, 437–464. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1024703531623

Prandi, Luisa (1989). 'La rifondazione del Panionion e la catastrofe di Elice (373 a. C.).' – Sordi, Marta (ed.), *Fenomeni naturali e avvenimenti storici nell'antichità*. (*Contributi dell'Istituto di storia antica dell'Università del Sacro Cuore*; 15. *Scienze storiche*; 44.) Milano, 43–59.

Rousset, Denis (2004). 'West Lokris.' – Hansen, Mogens Herman; Nielsen, Thomas Heine, *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 391–398.

Sintubin, Manuel; Stewart, Iain S.; Niemi, Tina M.; Altunel, Erhan (eds.) (2010). *Ancient Earthquakes*. (*Geological Society of America special paper*; 471.) Boulder, Colo.: Geological Society of America.

Soter, Steven (1998). 'Holocene uplift and subsidence of the Helike Delta, Gulf of Corinth, Greece.' – Stewart, Iain S.; Vita-Finzi, Claudio (eds.), *Coastal Tectonics*. (*Geological Society special publications*; 146.) London: Geological Society, 41–56.

Wehrli, Fritz (1953). *Die Schule des Aristoteles. 7. Herakleides Pontikos*. Basel; Stuttgart: Schwabe.

Weir, Robert (2013). 'Exaggerated rumours of death and the downdating of Helike's coinage.' – *Helike V. Abstracts*, 6–8.

Zangger, Eberhard (1998). 'Naturkatastrophen in der ägäischen Bronzezeit. Forschungsgeschichte, Signifikanz und Beurteiliungskriterien.' – Olshausen, Eckart; Sonnabend, Holger (eds.), *Naturkatastrophen in der antiken Welt. Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur Historischen Geographie des Altertums 6, 1996*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 211–241.

Abstract

This article surveys the ways in which the people of Greco-Roman antiquity reacted to natural disasters of their time. The focus is on earthquakes, and particularly one major event, viz. the destruction of Helike in 373/2 B.C. Mainly three themes are discussed: (i) The hypotheses on the causes of natural disasters: had they natural causes or were they thought to be the result of divine intervention? (ii) External support to victims of disasters: kings and emperors were supposed to provide assistance, but the city-states of the classical period were more reluctant. (iii) The ability of resilience of ancient cities when struck by disasters.

PHILOSOPHIE DER ZEIT IN LYRISCHER FORM. ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZU HORAZ' EUDAIMONIEKONZEPTION

Gregor Vogt-Spira

I

Das Thema ‚Zeit' zieht sich durch das horazische Œuvre, das für dieses Phänomen einprägsame Formeln und Bilder geschaffen hat. Geradezu geflügelt geworden ist die prägnante Sentenz: *Carpe diem; quam minimum credula postero*.[1] Sie liefert ein gutes Beispiel für eine aufs Äußerste verdichtete Formel, die aus einem umfassenden Begründungshorizont erwächst und erst in diesem Rahmen recht verständlich wird. Denn was vordergründig als Aufforderung zum Hedonismus verstanden werden könnte, ist in Wahrheit gerade das Gegenteil!

Der hohe Stellenwert von Zeit als einer der großen Herausforderungen für die Lebensgestaltung kommt nicht von ungefähr: Denn im Rahmen der ethischen Wende der hellenistisch-römischen Philosophie war die Frage des richtigen Umgangs mit Gegenwart, Zukunft und Vergangenheit zu einem Schlüsselthema geworden. Bezeichnend ist, daß auch Seneca seine *Lucilius-Briefe* mit einer Diatribe gegen den Raub und den Verlust der Zeit einsetzen läßt: Alles sei fremder Besitz, nur die Zeit gehöre uns; seine Zeit richtig anzuwenden bedeute, sich selbst zu besitzen.[2]

Es fällt nun auf, daß Aussagen über die Zeit oft in paradoxale Form gekleidet sind und darin eine Herausforderung für alltägliche Erfahrung darstellen: Wer des morgens am wenigsten bedürfe, werde am freudigsten auf das morgen zuschreiten.[3] Oder die Erinnerung an vergangene Güter sei

---

1 Hor. *C.* 1.11.8: vgl. u. Anm. 23.

2 Sen. *Epist.* 1.

3 Epikur, fr. 490 Us.

das wichtigste, um angenehm zu leben.[4] Chrysipp erklärt, zusätzliche Zeit werde das Gute nicht vermehren, vielmehr werde einer, der nur eine kurze Stunde vernünftig sei, im Glück um nichts zurückstehen hinter dem, der eine Ewigkeit glückselig in der Tugend lebe.[5] Ja, die Stoiker bekunden geradezu programmtisch, ein glückliches Leben sei, wenn es lang, nicht wünschens- und erstrebenswerter als wenn es kurz sei.[6] Ähnlich äußert Epikur, die Zeitdauer spiele keine Rolle für das glückliche Leben, da die Lust, die man in kurzer Zeit genieße, nicht geringer sei, als wenn sie ewig währte.[7] Deshalb habe der Vernünftige an einem Tag den gleichen Gewinn wie in der Ewigkeit – ein geradezu antiökonomistischer Standpunkt![8] Ungeachtet der im einzelnen erheblichen Unterschiede treffen die philosophischen Schulen in dem Grundansatz zusammen, daß Eudaimonie nicht der Zeit nach quantitierbar sei.[9] Das ist eine Position, die mit alltäglicher Erfahrung nicht ohne weiteres in Übereinklang zu bringen ist und von daher eine Provokation verbreiteter Voreinstellungen darstellt. Die paradoxalen Formulierungen haben insofern auch die Funktion, Denkanstöße zu geben.

Indes, so wenig diese Paradoxa, zumal wenn sie auf die Spitze getrieben sind, mit geläufiger Vorerwartung übereinstimmen, sie sind gleichwohl kein Manierismus, keine um des Effekts willen gesuchten rhetorischen lumina. Vielmehr hängen sie durchaus mit dem Gegenstand zusammen und sind eine Folge struktureller Eigentümlichkeiten der Zeit selbst. Die übliche Einteilung der Zeit in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft wirft, ontologisch gewendet, ja die Schwierigkeit auf, daß Vergangenheit als nicht mehr Seiendes und Zukunft als noch nicht Seiendes nicht wirklich existieren, im eigentlichen Sinne also nur die Gegenwart ‚ist', es mit deren Existenz jedoch auch nicht so einfach steht, weil sie strenggenommen ein Punkt sein müßte: Die Probleme, die mit der Annahme ihrer Punktförmigkeit verbunden sind, zeigen eine staunenswerte Konstanz durch die zweieinhalbtausendjährige Philosophiegeschichte.[10]

---

4 Ders., fr. 436 Us.

5 Chrysipp SVF 3.54 v. Arnim.

6 Cic. *De fin.* 3.46.

7 Ebd. 2.87.

8 Philodem, *De morte* col. 38.14.

9 Vgl. dazu näher: Levi 1951: 209–216; Barigazzi 1959: 29–59; Neck 1964; eingehend zur Stoa: Gildschmidt 2006.

10 Vgl. dazu e.g. Frank 1989: 449–471, hier bes. 449 f.

Eine herausragende Etappe ist in diesem Zusammenhang Aristoteles' Zeittheorie im vierten Buch seiner *Physik*. Die hier geleistete strukturelle Analyse liefert letzthin die Struktur, die jene so paradoxal daherkommende ethische Entwertung der Zukunft in hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Zeitreflexion überhaupt ermöglicht.[11] Es seien an dieser Stelle nur knapp einige Punkte angeführt, um den Problemhorizont zu verdeutlichen, in dem sich Horaz bewegt. Aristoteles' Ausgangspunkt bildet die Frage, ob die Zeit zum Seienden oder zum Nichtseienden gehöre. Denn es gelte, das eine Stück der Zeit sei vorbei und sei nicht mehr, das andere Stück komme erst und sei noch nicht, und aus diesen Stücken bestehe jedwede Zeit, ob die eine unendliche Zeit oder irgendein Zeitabschnitt: Was aber aus Nichtseiendem bestehe, scheine keinerlei Sein besitzen zu können.[12]

Auch ein zweites Argument spricht gegen das Sein der Zeit: Für jegliches Gebilde, das Teile besitze, gelte, wenn es überhaupt sein solle, das unverbrüchliche Gesetz, daß für die Dauer seines Seins entweder überhaupt alle seine Teile oder doch wenigstens einige derselben sein müßten. Bei der Zeit hingegen, die ein solches Gebilde doch darstelle, seien die einen Teile vorbei und kämen die anderen erst und kein einziger habe Sein. Der Jetztpunkt aber sei kein Teil; der Teil sei eine Meßgröße, mit der man das Ganze, zu dem er gehöre, messen könne, und das Ganze müsse aus den Teilen bestehen; es sehe aber nicht so aus, als ob die Zeit aus den Jetztpunkten bestehe.[13]

Für den Jetztpunkt wird daraus das Problem abgeleitet, ob er, der das Vergangene und Zukünftige zu trennen scheine, immer als einer und derselbe beharre oder ob immer neue Jetztpunkte aufträten.[14] Beide Möglichkeiten führen in die Aporie. Denn einerseits könnten die Jetztpunkte, indem immer neue aufträten, nicht gleichzeitig miteinander bestehen. Andererseits sei auch nicht möglich, daß der Jetztpunkt immer als einer und derselbe beharre, da sich, sobald man einen beliebigen Zeitabschnitt herausgreife, bereits zwei verschiedene Jetztpunkte ergäben. Dafür wird schließlich noch als schlagendes

[11] Zur grundlegenden Bedeutung der aristotelischen Zeitabhandlung für die hellenistischen Zeittheorien vgl. die o. Anm. 9 genannten Arbeiten. Zum Verständnis der vieldiskutierten aristotelischen Zeitkonzeption Wieland 1970: 316–334.

[12] Arist. *Phys*. 4.10.217b33–218a3 (hier und im folgenden im Anschluß an die Übersetzung von H. Wagner).

[13] Ebd. 218a3–8.

[14] Ebd. 218a8–11.

Argument beigebracht, daß es sonst kein Früher oder Später zwischen irgendwelchen Ereignissen gäbe.[15]

Aristoteles löst das Problem durch Unterscheidung zweier Aspekte des Jetzt: Als dasjenige, was die Zeit im Sinne eines Nacheinanders ihrer Phasen trennt, was er seine ‚jeweilige Bestimmtheit' nennt, ist es immer ein anderes, als Substrat dagegen immer dasselbe.[16] Als Jetzt, das immer dasselbe ist, stellt es die Kontinuität der Zeit her, indem es beständig Vergangenheit und Zukunft verbindet; in seiner anderen Bedeutung ist es ihr Begrenzungsprinzip: Indem es die Zeit teilt, ist es Voraussetzung, um überhaupt von Zeit sprechen zu können, denn das durch das Jetzt Begrenzte scheine Zeit zu sein.[17] Darauf folgt dann ein weiterer Schritt, der schließlich auch für die Ethik von zentraler Bedeutung sein wird: Die einzelnen Jetzte dabei als verschieden zu bestimmen, Zeit also vermittels teilender Jetztpunkte in ihrer Ausdehnung festzustellen und in eine sukzessive Ordnung von früher und später zu fügen ist ein kognitiver Akt: Zeit ist konstitutiv an die zählende Seele gebunden.[18]

Auf dem Hintergrund jenes Doppelcharakters wird verständlich, worum es im hellenistisch-römischen Diskurs über die Zeit eigentlich geht. Es handelt sich nicht zuvörderst um den Gegensatz der Zeitstufen ‚Gegenwart – Zukunft – Vergangenheit', sondern um zwei unterschiedliche Konzeptionen des Gegenwartsaugenblicks: jener Gegenwart, die, insofern sie beständig Vergangenheit und Zukunft verbindet und dadurch die Kontinuität der Zeit garantiert, immer identisch ‚Gegenwart' ist, und jener anderen Gegenwart, die durch Zählung der zeitlichen Abfolge ihren Verlauf gewährleistet und darin jeweils eine andere wird. Wenn auf Grundlage der ontologischen Entwertung der Zukunft und überhaupt der Zeitausdehnung als nicht-seiend allein der Gegenwart die Dignität der Existenz zugesprochen wird, diese jedoch wiederum wegen ihrer Ausdehnungslosigkeit nicht Teil der Zeit ist, bleibt allerdings die Frage, wo eigentlich Eudaimonie angesiedelt ist.[19] Dies scheint umso schwieriger vorstellbar, als die primäre Selbstwahrnehmung sie durchaus im Zeitverlauf verortet: Man kann nicht glücklich sein, ohne daß dabei nicht – zumindest ein wenig – Zeit voranschreitet. Indes, Horaz liefert nicht diskursive Philosophie, sondern Dichtung. Eben hier liegen Ansatzpunkte für das besondere Potential literarischer Darstellung.

---

15 Ebd. 218a11–30.

16 Ebd. 219b10–12; vgl. dazu auch Wieland 1970: 323–327.

17 Ebd. 219a29–30.

18 Vgl. besonders ebd. 2.14.223a16–29.

19 Zur Auseinandersetzung mit diesem Problem in der Stoa vgl. Levi 1951: 211.

Vorausgeschickt sei noch eine Bemerkung zum allgemeineren Horizont des hier skizzierten Problems. Denn es handelt sich dabei nicht um eine philosophische Spezialproblematik, sondern um eine Konsequenz aus weit grundlegenderen Weichenstellungen. Die Literatur nimmt insofern, wenn sie sich mit dem Thema ‚Zeit' befaßt, nicht eine Fragestellung aus der Philosophie auf, vielmehr sind beide Teil eines übergreifenden Diskurses und antworten auf dieselben Herausforderungen. Die hellenistisch-römische Phase läßt sich dadurch charakterisieren, daß sie mit großer Intensität einen Diskurs herausbildet, der einen Bereich des Verfügbaren, mithin dessen, was der Lebensgestaltung des einzelnen unterliegt, zu bestimmen versucht. Die Frage von Verfügbarkeit und Unverfügbarkeit steigt vom vierten Jahrhundert v. Chr. an zu einem Schlüsselproblem auf. Indikator ist der Umstand, daß der personifizierte Zufall – *tyche* in griechischer, *fortuna* in lateinischer Terminologie – zum Leitkonzept wird: Tyche / Fortuna avancieren zur Zentralgottheit der antiken Welt; ja, sie lösen in gewisser Hinsicht die traditionellen olympischen Götter ab.[20] Hinter einem Leitkonzept, das die Welt aus der Perspektive ihrer Unverfügbarkeit sieht, steht der Anspruch, Verfügbarkeit und Unverfügbarkeit zu unterscheiden und damit letztlich einen Bereich des Verfügbaren zu bestimmen.[21]

Um das, was der eigenen Verfügbarkeit unterliegt, näher zu bestimmen, sind zwei Ansätze denkbar: Der Herrschaftsanspruch kann sich entweder auf das Äußere richten – dies ist der Weg, den Europa in der Neuzeit gegangen ist und der außerordentliche technologische Entwicklungen und den Beherrschungsversuch der Natur zur Folge gehabt hat – oder sie kann der individuellen Haltung gegenüber dem Äußeren und allen Fährnissen gelten – dies ist die Lösung, die die hellenistisch-römische Antike gewählt hat. Sie setzt beim Individuum und seiner Selbstbestimmung an; pointiert gesagt soll nicht die Außenwelt, sondern die Innenwelt verändert und beherrscht werden.[22] Aus der Erkenntnis, daß allein die Haltung, wie sich der einzelne zu all dem stellt, was ihm widerfährt, in vollem Umfang steuer- und lenkbar sei, erklärt sich der hohe Stellenwert, der dem Thema Eudaimonie, mithin ‚Lebensgestaltung' eingeräumt wird. Die Fokussierung auf das Postulat der Autonomie bedeutet dabei einerseits eine Verengung; andererseits findet in der Folge dieses ‚Blicks nach innen' eine reiche Modellbildung über seelisch-kognitive Dispositionen des Individuums statt, die für spätere Zeiten viele

[20] Vgl. Nilsson 1974: 200–210; Vogt-Spira 1992.

[21] Vgl. z.B. die Stob. *Ekl.* 2.8 gesammelten Sentenzen.

[22] Vgl. Hossenfelder 1985, bes. 32–39.

Anknüpfungsmöglichkeiten bietet. Auf diesem Hintergrund wird bereits erkennbar, welches Potential für die Ethik die Unterscheidung der beiden Typen von ‚Jetzt' in der Zeitanalyse hat.

II

Begonnen sei mit einem der bekanntesten Gedichte des Horaz zu diesem Thema:[23]

> Tu ne quaesieris, scire nefas, quem mihi, quem tibi
> finem di dederint, Leuconoe, nec Babylonios
> temptaris numeros. ut melius, quidquid erit, pati,
> seu pluris hiemes seu tribuit Iuppiter ultimam,
> quae nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare
> Tyrrhenum! sapias, vina liques et spatio brevi
> spem longam reseces. dum loquimur fugerit invida
> aetas: carpe diem quam minimum credula postero.

Schon der Duktus des an die Freundin Leuconoe gerichteten Gedichts, die ihre Gedanken allzusehr an die Zukunft hängt und darüber die Gegenwart vernachlässigt, ist überaus knapp, geradezu kurz angebunden: Die rasche Bewegung suggeriert den Eindruck, es sei keine Zeit zu verlieren.[24] Der Gedankengang selbst verläuft antithetisch: Erst geht es um das Verhalten zur Zukunft, sodann um das zur Gegenwart. Zunächst wird dem Wissenwollen des Künftigen ein Erdulden (*pati*) entgegengesetzt. Im sechsten Vers erfolgt der Umbruch und Neueinsatz, eingeleitet durch die nachdrückliche Aufforderung, die eigene Vernunft zu gebrauchen. Nunmehr lautet die Antithese: einerseits das unablässige Fliehen der neidischen Zeit, andererseits die Beschränkung auf eine erfüllte Gegenwart.

---

[23] Hor. *C.* 1.11: „Frag nicht, Leuconoe, was du nicht wissen darfst, welch Ziel die Götter mir bestimmten, welches dir. Versuch babylonische Rechnungen nicht. Weit besser ist es, dulden, was uns trifft; mag mehr der Winter noch uns Iuppiter verleihn, sei dies der letzte, welcher jetzt die Wut tyrrhenischer Wogen an den Klippen bricht. Sei weise und kläre den Wein, und angesichts der Kürze des Lebens stutze die lange Hoffnung zurück. Indem wir sprechen, flieht die neidische Zeit. Ergreif den Tag, und traue nicht leichtgläubig dem kommenden." – Deutsche Übersetzung der horazischen Werke hier und im folgenden nach den unübertroffenen Übertragungen des 18. Jahrhunderts: die Oden nach C. F. K. Herzlieb (1787), die Epoden nach J. P. Uz (1773), die Satiren und Episteln nach C. M. Wieland (1786/1782).

[24] Zur komplexen griechischen Tradition, die diesem Gedicht vorausliegt, Nisbet, Hubbard 1970: 134–136.

Man könnte sich fragen, ob nicht die Empfehlung im dritten Vers, besser sei es zu dulden, was uns trifft, in gewisser Spannung zu der Aufforderung *carpe diem* im Schlußvers steht. Der Widerspruch löst sich zunächst, wenn man genau auf das Tempus achtet: Was man ertragen soll, steht im Futur. Zukünftiges aber kann man nicht genießen, man kann nur ertragen, daß etwas kommen wird, was man noch nicht weiß. Andererseits geht das folgende Bild doch darüber hinaus – das einzige des Gedichts und in betonter Mittelstellung –, das menschliches Leben und Meer unter dem Tertium der Stürme vergleicht, denen sie ausgesetzt seien. Es ist schwerlich anzunehmen, daß Leuconoe, wenn die hier aufscheinende Zukunft von der Gegenwart eingeholt ist, anderes übrig bleiben wird, als die Wetterlagen, die ihr Iuppiter zugedacht hat, zu ertragen. Somit scheint es die Empfehlung eines gleichzeitigen *pati* am Anfang und eines *carpere* am Schluß des Gedichts zu geben: eine scheinbare Widersprüchlichkeit, auf die man auch von einem anderen Ausgangspunkt her stoßen kann. Denn wie verhält sich die unablässig fliehende neidische Zeit gegenüber dem Tag, den Leuconoe ‚pflücken' soll? Ist dieser nicht auch selbst wenigstens ein Bruchteil der ‚neidischen Zeit'? Auch durch ihr ‚Pflücken' wird sie diese gewiß nicht aufhalten.

Hier sind ganz offensichtlich unterschiedliche Zeitaspekte gemeint, die nicht wechselseitig ineinander aufgehen. Wir erkennen das Zeitparadoxon wieder mit seiner Unterscheidung der beiden Typen von Gegenwartsaugenblicken, wie es Aristoteles analytisch freigelegt hatte und wie es den Paränesen Epikurs und der Stoa zugrunde liegt. Es erscheint hier in eine konkrete Situation gefaßt und damit aus der kognitiven Dissonanz einer paradoxalen Struktur herausgeführt.

Doch wenden wir uns zunächst der poetischen Gestaltung jener beiden Zeitaspekte zu. Zunächst die äußere, meß- und zählbare Zeit. Für sie hat die Tradition eine Fülle von Ausdrucksformen geschaffen. Einen der gängigsten Topoi stellt die Flüchtigkeit der Zeit dar: *Currit enim ferox / aetas*; an anderer Stelle wird von der Lebenszeit, speziell der Jugend gesagt: *fugit retro*.[25] Besonders eindrücklich findet sich die Unausweichlichkeit des Zeitflusses in der Postumus-Ode gemalt; die Eindringlichkeit erklärt sich aus der Uneinsichtigkeit des Adressaten, der steinreich, aber geizig ist:[26]

[25] Hor. *C.* 2.5.13–14 und 2.11.5.

[26] Hor. *C.* 2.14.1–4: „Weh, flüchtig, Postumus, Postumus, gleiten die Jahre dahin, und auch fromme Gesinnung wird den Falten nicht Aufschub gebieten und dem drohenden Alter und dem unbezwingbaren Tode ..."

Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,
labuntur anni, nec pietas moram
rugis et instanti senectae
afferet indomitaeque morti

Auch die übrigen Strophen dieser Ode über die Vergänglichkeit handeln von der Notwendigkeit des Sterbens, nur die letzte vom lachenden Erben, der den aufgesparten und sorgfältig verwahrten kostbaren Wein besser zu nutzen weiß.[27]

Traditionelles Bild für die Vergänglichkeit ist der Jahreszeitenlauf, worin die Naturgesetzlichkeit von Werden und Vergehen versinnbildlicht ist. Horaz baut darauf zwei Frühlingsgedichte auf. Zu Anfang des späten Gedichts 4.7 wird zunächst der Augenblick des einsetzenden Frühlings ausgemalt:[28]

Diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis
arboribus comae;
mutat terra vices et decrescentia ripas
flumina praetereunt.

Die dritte Strophe setzt dann das Gesetz des ewigen Fortschreitens der Zeit dagegen:[29]

Frigora mitescunt Zephyris, ver proterit aestas,
interitura, simul
pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit; et mox
bruma recurrit iners.

Bei diesem zyklischen Modell ist die Vorstellung von der Zeit als einer zerstörenden Kraft betont – eine Akzentsetzung, die im übrigen auch Aristoteles als Grunderfahrung stark hervorgehoben hatte: Die Zeit übe Macht über die

[27] Die Neuartigkeit, mit der Horaz hier die Topoi behandele, vermerkt schon Mitscherlich in seinem Kommentar (Mitscherlich 1800: 480). Zu *fugax* ebd. 481: „*Anni fugaces labuntur* docte et copia poetica pro, fugiunt, labuntur, praetereunt; aurea tamen hac cumulatione celeritatis notione." Vgl. Nisbet, Hubbard 1978: 226–227.

[28] Hor. *C.* 4.7.1–4: „Entflohn ist der Schnee! Den Fluren entkeimet junges Grün, den Bäumen neues Laub; Tellus wandelt ihre Gestalt, die niedersinkenden Flüsse gehn in ihren Ufern fort." Zur Tradition vgl. den Kommentar von Nisbet – Hubbard zu *C.* 1.4.

[29] Ebd. 9–12: „Zephyre zerschmelzen den Frost, den Lenz vertreibt der Sommer, auch dieser schwindet dahin, sobald der früchtebeladne Autumnus sein Füllhorn ausgeschüttet hat. Und bald kehrt der tote Winter zurück."

Dinge aus, wie wir etwa zu sagen pflegten, an den Dingen nage der Zahn der Zeit, die Zeit verbrauche alles, sie lasse vergessen, während wir nicht sagten, sie lasse uns begreifen oder etwas jung und schön werden. Denn an ihr selbst sei die Zeit eher ein Grund des Verfalls. Verständlicherweise, sei sie doch die Zahl der Bewegung, die Bewegung aber beseitige das Vorhandene.[30]

All die Darstellungen der verfließenden äußeren Zeit zielen auf den Grundgedanken der Übermächtigkeit und Unausweichlichkeit. Konsequent werden daher häufig die eigentlichen Gewalthaber jener äußeren Zeit genannt: die Götter. In dem *Carpe diem*-Gedicht war es Iuppiter; oft heißt es einfach *deus* oder *divi*; daneben treten *Fors*, *Fortuna* und *Necessitas* als Kräfte, die das Leben lenken. Am eindrücklichsten ist jene Übermächtigkeit in der großen Ode an Maecenas dargestellt, in der zugleich eine Variation des *Carpe-diem*-Motivs wiederbegegnet:[31]

quod adest memento

conponere aequos: cetera fluminis
ritu feruntur, nunc medio alveo
cum pace delabentis Etruscum
in mare, nunc lapides adesos

stirpisque raptas et pecus et domos
volventis una, non sine montium
clamore vicinaeque silvae,
cum fera diluvies quietos

inritat amnis.

Der Verlaufsaspekt der Zeit ist in diesem Flußgleichnis besonders eindringlich ausgestaltet. Signifikant ist etwa das Überlappen der Strophengrenzen, die geradezu von der Gewalt des Flusses überflutet sind.[32] Die hier entwickelte Antithese – *quod adest memento componere aequus*, im übrigen

[30] Arist. *Physik* 2.12.221a30–221b3.

[31] Hor. *C.* 3.29.32–41: „Gebrauche, was da ist, mit ruhiger Seele. Alles übrige führt gleichsam ein Strom fort, der bald friedlich in seinem Bette zum Etruskischen Meer fällt, bald, wenn wild Überschwemmung die stillen Gewässer aufbringt, Felsentrümmer und entwurzelte Stämme und Herden und Häuser fortwälzt, daß Berge und Wälder umher widerhallen."

[32] Auf die mimetische Wortstellung hat besonders V. Pöschl aufmerksam gemacht (Pöschl 1970: 198–245, hier besonders 240).

die Leitmaxime des ganzen Gedichts, die auch numerisch exakt in die Mitte plaziert ist, gegenüber *cetera fluminis ritu feruntur* – ist strukturell identisch mit dem in unserem ersten Gedicht beobachteten Gegensatz, daß Leuconoe einmal den Lauf der Zeit insgesamt tragen soll und damit auch die jeweils eintretende Gegenwart, und andererseits aufgefordert wird zum *Carpe diem*. Mit dem Flußgleichnis wird dabei einer der verbreitetsten Vergleiche mit dem Lauf des Lebens überhaupt verwendet.

Das Gedicht enthält darüber hinaus geradezu philosophische Signalwörter. Denn im Anschluß an das Flußgleichnis heißt es: *ille potens sui / laetusque deget, cui licet in diem dixisse ‚vixi'*.[33] *Vixi* – βεβίωται gilt nach Cicero als Kennwort epikureischer Einstellung; so soll sich Metrodor von Lampsakos als glücklich bezeichnet haben, weil er jederzeit aus dem Leben scheiden und dabei sagen könne ὡς εὖ ἡμῖν βεβίωται. Auch Seneca nimmt den Gedanken in einer ganz an Horaz angelehnten Formulierung in *Epistel* 12 auf.[34]

Hier werden die beiden unterschiedlichen Konzeptionen des Gegenwartsaugenblicks scharf gegeneinandergestellt, die von Aristoteles analytisch getroffene Unterscheidung der beiden Typen des ‚Jetzt' also mit konkreter Anschauung gefüllt. Wir können somit für die Frage nach der spezifischen Leistungsfähigkeit der literarisch-poetischen Form festhalten, daß hier Anschaulichkeit erzeugt, eine komplexe Vorstellungsbildung in Gang gesetzt wird und durch diese die Hörer oder Leser in die Gedankenbewegung hineingezogen werden.

Dies ist nun keineswegs eine aus der Neuzeit herangetragene Ästhetik, vielmehr spielt in konzeptionellen Äußerungen zu Literatur das Moment sinnlicher Wahrnehmung eine auffällige Rolle. Die Anforderung lautet, die Dinge so darzustellen, daß es ist, als sähe man sie deutlich vor sich; dem entspricht etwa das zentrale Postulat der *enargeia*.[35] Bilderzeugung wird in Poetik und Rhetorik dabei als genuines Verfahren von Texten analysiert, die auf Emotionen einwirken wollen. Quintilian erläutert einmal am Fall des Jammers bei der Einnahme von Städten, zwar erfasse einer, der sage, die Stadt sei erobert worden, alles, was ein solcher Schicksalsschlag enthalte, doch dringe es wie eine knappe Nachricht zu wenig tief in unser Gefühl ein. Wenn man dagegen entfalte, was alles das eine Wort enthielt, dann werde das Flammenmeer erscheinen, das sich über die Häuser und Tempel ergossen habe, das

---

[33] Hor. *C.* 3.29.41–43: „Jener wird als sein eigener Herr und voller Freude sein Leben führen, dem es jeden Tag zu sagen vergönnt ist ‚Ich habe gelebt'."

[34] Cic. *Att.* 12.2.2; Metrodor fr. 49 Körte; Sen. *Epist.* 12.9.

[35] Dazu ausführlicher bei Vogt-Spira 2011: 13–34.

Krachen der einstürzenden Dächer und das aus den so verschiedenen Geräuschen entstehende Getöse etc.[36] Ähnliches läßt sich für unsere Horazode 3.29 festhalten, bei der für den Verlaufsaspekt der Zeit in dem überaus sorgfältig ausgestalteten Flußgleichnis mit seiner geradezu mimetischen Darstellung von brausenden und über alle Ufer tretenden Strudeln der Gedanke gefaßt war, daß hier eine übermächtige äußere Macht am Werke sei, vor der Schutz nottue.

Daran schloß sich unmittelbar die Darstellung des Repräsentanten der Unabhängigkeit von solchen Fährnissen: des idealen Weisen, der jederzeit *vixi* sagen könne – ein Kontrast, bei dem die emotionale Kraft des vorangehenden Gleichnisses gewissermaßen noch auf das Gegenbild überschießt. Dies rührt an ein zentrales Mittel dichterischer Gestaltung: die Form. Gerade *C.* 3.29 ist ein Musterbeispiel für eine nichtdiskursive Gestaltung im zeitgenössischen epistemologischen Horizont.

III

Die hier bei Horaz zu beobachtende kontrastive Methode weist darauf, daß es generell eine besondere Herausforderung darstellt, jenen anderen Aspekt der Zeit zu gestalten, der ihrem Verlauf entgegengesetzt wird und der ja der eigentliche Zielpunkt der philosophischen Paränese ist. Denn insofern der Kerngedanke darin besteht, daß Glück als höchstes Telos des menschlichen Lebens unabhängig vom Zeitverlauf sei, dominiert die Negation: mithin eine Aussagestruktur, die als solche nicht bildlich dargestellt und mit Anschaulichkeit gefüllt werden kann, sondern diskursiv bleibt. Das wird gerade an den Radikalpositionen deutlich; es an die eingangs angeführten Paradoxien des Typs erinnert, zusätzliche Zeit werde das Gute nicht vermehren, vielmehr werde auch einer, der nur eine kurze Stunde vernünftig sei, im Glück um nichts zurückstehen hinter dem, der eine Ewigkeit glückselig in der Tugend lebe.[37] Dies entspricht eben dem Grundansatz, daß Eudaimonie nicht der Zeit nach quantitierbar ist und deshalb auch nicht dem Zeitfluß zugeordnet werden kann. Wenn Eudaimonie sich nur in der ausdehnungslosen Gegenwart realisieren kann und dort, der Gewalt des Zeitlaufs enthoben, der eigenen Verfügbarkeit unterliegt (*potens sui*), so ist es zwar logisch konsequent, wenn alle Aspekte ausgeblendet werden, die mit dem Zeitverlauf zu tun haben; doch läßt es sich nicht ohne weiteres in die Lebenswelt zurückbinden.

[36] Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.68–69.

[37] S. o. Anm. 3–8.

Von größerer Bedeutung ist daher eine Argumentationsrichtung, in der die beiden Zeitaspekte keineswegs unverbunden nebeneinander stehen bleiben. Zum Angelpunkt wird der schon genannte Umstand, daß Zeit in ihrer Ausdehnung festzustellen und in eine sukzessive Ordnung von früher und später zu fügen ein spezifisches Werk der „zählenden Seele" und damit nicht zuletzt des Vorstellungsvermögens sei.[38] Wenn aber der Zeitverlauf allein in der Vorstellung existiert und nur die jeweilige Gegenwart ‚ist', dann hat der Zeitfluß auch nur soviel Macht und Einfluß, als ihm in der Vorstellung zugestanden wird. Daraus ergibt sich, daß eben jene Vorstellung von Vergangenheit und Zukunft den Ansatzpunkt liefert, auf den sich die Reflexion zur Lebensgestaltung richtet. En passant: Die intensive Auseinandersetzung mit Techniken und Steuerung der Vorstellungsbildung von Aristoteles' grundlegender Analyse der *phantasia* in *De anima* an kann als ein Charakteristicum der Epoche angesehen werden; Rhetorik und Literaturtheorie sowie Ethik gehen in ihrer Nutzbarmachung hier Hand in Hand.[39]

Die Ethik verfolgt nun mit fast stereotyper Regelmäßigkeit einen Hauptgedanken: Sie begreift die Offenheit der Zukunft als Beunruhigungspotential, das sie zu beseitigen sucht, indem sie Zukunft eben als Werk der Vorstellung erweist. Die Argumentation ist eigentümlich negativ auf die Beseitigung von Gefährdungen für die seelische Verfassung ausgerichtet – bezeichnend die epikureische Metapher für Eudaimonie *galene*, also unter dem Leitgedankens eines Fehlens aller Gemütstrübungen. Die horazische Dichtung hingegen hat für diese glückliche Gegenwärtigkeit vielerlei Situationen und Bilder geschaffen. Dabei kehrt eine immer wieder: das Symposion als Inbegriff der erfüllten Gegenwart. In konstant durchgehaltener Antithese ruft Horaz seinen jeweiligen Adressaten aus den Geschäften des Zeitlaufs heraus und fordert ihn auf, meist mit ihm gemeinsam und in seiner Lebenssphäre auf dem Sabinum zu trinken. So lädt er z.B. in *C.* 3.8 Maecenas zum Danksymposion am Jahrestag seiner Errettung vom stürzenden Baum: Jener solle hundert Becher auf ihn leeren, und man wolle bis in den frühen Morgen hinein feiern, fern sei alles Lärmen und Grollen. Das Fest wird als Gegenwelt zum Getriebe des Alltags mit seinen Gemütstrübungen gezeichnet: *dona praesentis cape laetus horae, / linque severa*.[40]

---

[38] Vgl. o. Anm. 18.

[39] In der Regel werden die einzelnen Bereiche disziplinär getrennt betrachtet: Eine Behandlung von *phantasia* als einen übergreifen Diskurs erscheint lohnend.

[40] *C.* 3.8.27–28: „Ergreife freudig das Geschenk des Augenblicks, laß den Ernst der Dinge ruhn". Vgl. dazu auch den Kommentar von Mitscherlich z.St.

Wesentliches Merkmal des Symposions als privilegierter Ort jener Gegenwärtigkeit ist nun der mit ihm verbundene Gemütszustand, das Fernsein von Sorgen. Dem Adressaten wird versprochen, er werde freudig sein, wenn er sich denn von seinen *curae* löse; das Symposion ist insofern ein konkreter Ort jener *galene*. Der Wein, Urheber dieses Zustandes, avanciert dabei geradezu zur Chiffre, wie ein übermütiges Lob zeigt:[41]

> Quid non Ebrietas dissignat? Operta recludit,
> spes iubet esse ratas, ad proelia trudit inertem,
> sollicitis animis onus eximit, addocet artis.
> Fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum,
> contracta quem non in paupertate solutum?

Das ist durchaus ein traditionelles Motiv in der Symposienliteratur; auffallend ist jedoch, mit welcher Konstanz es im Rahmen eines Konzepts von erfüllter Gegenwart eingesetzt wird: es scheint in besonders faßlicher Weise jenen Zustand der Freiheit von den Sorgen und Plagen des Zeitlaufs zur Anschauung zu bringen.[42]

Es liegt auf der Hand, daß der Zustand des Weingenusses Inbegriff eines nicht rational kalkulierenden Verhältnisses zur Außenwelt ist. Schaut man näher hin, zeigt sich, daß das Kalkulieren – *numerus* – nun ein Schlüsselwort im Zusammenhang jener äußeren verfließenden Zeit ist, der gegenüber eine andere Zeitdimension aufgebaut wird: Leuconoe in *C.* 1.11 soll keine babylonischen *numeri* versuchen, mithin aus der Berechnung des Gestirnslaufs die Zukunft errechnen wollen.[43] Die hohe Bedeutung, die offenkundig dem Kalkulieren und Zählen beigemessen wird, läßt sich verstehen, wenn man bedenkt, was Zeit kennzeichnet, die Aristoteles „Zahl der Bewegung" genannt

[41] Hor. *Epist.* 1.5.16–20: „Es geht doch, traun, die Menschheit zu veredeln in der Welt nichts über Trunkenheit! Sie schließt das Herz weit auf, bestätigt alles, was wir hoffen, nimmt allen Kummer dem Betrübten ab, und stürzt den Feigen mitten in die Feinde. Wo ist die Tugend, wo die Kunst, wozu der Wein uns nicht das Selbstvertrauen gibt? Wen machen volle Becher nicht beredt? Und welcher Irus dünkt sich arm bei ihnen?"

[42] Zum Wein vgl. Commager 1957: 68–80; Schmidt 1980: 18–32.

[43] Auch in Catulls erstem *Basia*-Gedicht *C.* 5, das mit der Horazode motivisch enge Berührungen aufweist, steht das Zählen für eine dem *Carpe diem* entgegengesetzte Fremdbeherrschung: So sollen die Liebendem zum Schluß alle Zahlen durcheinanderbringen, um dadurch, daß niemand mehr die Küsse zählen kann, den glücklichen Gegenwartsaugenblick der Liebe zu wahren, d.h. sich davor zu schützen, daß die Küsse in die Ordnung des Zeitverlaufs eingepaßt werden können; vgl. dazu die eindringliche Interpretation von J. P. Schwindt (2013: 15–35).

hatte:[44] Nur durch ein zählendes Aneinanderreihen von Früher und Später entsteht der Zeitfluß, jenes *fugax tempus*. Dagegengesetzt wird ein Zustand, in dem eben auf jenes Zählen verzichtet wird – am Wein aus physiologischen Gründen leicht nachvollziehbar versinnbildlicht. Das heißt nicht, daß die Zeit nicht währenddessen ebenfalls verginge; es handelt sich vielmehr um die mentale Haltung, phasenweise von jenem Zählen und Kalkulieren abzusehen.

IV

Damit ist zugleich klar, daß es sich um einen hervorgehobenen Zustand handelt, der nicht grundsätzlich der Notwendigkeiten des Zeitverlaufs enthebt. Daher bleibt zuletzt ins Augen zu fassen, wie Horaz diese beiden Zeitdimensionen ineinander verschränkt. Wir hatten gesehen, daß in *C.* 3.29 nach der Entgegensetzung von *quod adest* und *fluminis ritu feruntur* mit dem eindrucksvollen Flußgleichnis die Idealfigur des Weisen aufgeboten wird, der jeden Tag sage *vixi* – „ich habe gelebt" und von daher als sein eigener Herr und voll Freude sein Leben führen könne. Dahinter steht also die Konzeption, den Blick statt auf die Zukunft mit ihrer Ungewißheit auf die Vegangenheit zu lenken, die den einzig sicheren Besitz darstelle. Dies entspricht dem Ideal, das die epikureische und die stoische Schule gleichermaßen entwickeln. Da nicht selbstbestimmt ist, wer sich von Unsicherem abhängig macht und dabei Angst und Hoffnung unterliegt, die Zukunft jedoch konstitutiv unsicher ist, ergibt sich daraus der Schluß – nochmals in der Worten Epikurs: „Wer des morgens am wenigsten bedarf, wird am freudigsten auf das morgen zuschreiten".[45] Das indes kann nur als eine paradoxale Lösung des Problems der Zukunft bezeichnet werden. Denn eherne Voraussetzung ist dabei, nichts über den Augenblick hinaus zu wollen. Bei solcher Vereinseitigung sollte man allerdings das Moment der Provokation in protreptischer Absicht nicht unterschätzen.

Horaz nun – und nicht zuletzt das macht seine paradigmatische Qualität aus – hält Distanz zu radikaleudaimonistischen Positionen, die allenfalls gelegentlich als Ideal, im Sinne der Orientierung oder des Korrektivs, aufscheinen. Daß es ein vollkommen glückliches Leben nicht gebe, findet sich einmal ausdrücklich in einer Ode an den Großgrundbesitzer Grosphus formuliert.[46] Der ethische Kernbegriff in diesem Zusammenhang lautet *aurea*

[44] S. o. Anm. 18.

[45] Epikur, fr. 490 Us. (s. o. Anm. 3).

[46] *C.* 2.16.25–28.

mediocritas: Da das grundlegende Gesetz der Dinge der beständige Wechsel sei, werde eine momentan schlechte Lage daher nicht immer so bleiben.[47] Bemerkenswert ist, daß hier der gegenwärtige Augenblick als von geringer Relevanz bezeichnet wird. Ähnlich hatte einmal der frühgriechische Dichter Archilochos aus der Flußmetapher die Lehre gezogen, dem Augenblick nicht zuviel Bedeutung beizumessen.[48] Es wird also durchaus anerkannt, daß mit dem unausweichlichen Lauf der Zeit Gemütsbeunruhigungen verbunden sind. Der sorgenfreie Zustand, die erfüllte Gegenwart des Symposions stellt einen außergewöhnlichen Zustand und nicht den Regelfall dar. Eben dies entspricht dem Begriff des Festes in der Tradition der Symposiendichtung, in der die Vergänglichkeit Folie bildet für die Aufforderung, den Augenblick wahrzunehmen.

Entscheidend ist das Ergreifen der Gelegenheit. Ein eingängiges Bild für falsches Verhalten dem Zeitfluß gegenüber liefert einmal ein Bäuerlein, das am Flusse geduldig stehenbleibt, zu warten, bis das Wasser abgeflossen sei; allein, jenes fließt und wird fließen in alle Ewigkeit.[49] Um im Bild zu bleiben, kann der Genuß des Augenblicks überall auf dem Zeitlauf aufruhen, wie immer wieder betont wird. Somit bleibt festzuhalten, daß das *Carpe diem* zwar einerseits auf einen kurzen Zeitraum der den Unbilden der Zeit enthobenen Gegenwart zielt, dieses aber grundsätzlich wiederum in den Verlauf der Zeit eingebettet und ihren Wechselfällen unterworfen gedacht ist. Es ist kein Plädoyer für eine generelle Absolutsetzung der Gegenwartsorientierung.

Das wird noch klarer, wenn man die einzelnen Empfehlungen in Zusammenhang mit den jeweiligen Adressaten betrachtet. Oftmals ist es Horaz mit dem Appell, sich der Gegenwart zuzuwenden, ersichtlich darum zu tun, ein Gegengewicht zu je spezifischen Verfehlungen zu schaffen, im Sinne eines Korrektivs. Etwa die Einladung an den Kaufmann Vergilius zu einem Frühlingssymposion. Der Kaufmann ist im Moraldiskurs der Diatribe Prototyp dessen, der sich aus der falschen Begierde nach Reichtum heraus statt Glück nur Unbilden und Sorgen einhandelt, weil er eben immer auf die Zukunft hin plant und kalkuliert, der also dem idealen Weisen kontradiktorisch entgegengesetzt ist. Auch bei Horaz ist die Antithese topisch, gleichwohl ist er fern davon, Vergilius aufzufordern, sich durch Aufgabe seiner Geschäfte die bürgerliche Subsistenzgrundlage zu entziehen. Indes wird der Eingeladene zu dem krämerischen Tausch aufgefordert, er solle für den

47 *C.* 2.10.17–18.

48 Archilochos fr. 67 a D 7.

49 Hor. *Epist.* 1.2.41–43.

kostbaren Wein, den er erhalten werde, ein Büchschen Nardenöl mitbringen. Das ist kein unpoetisches Versehen, vielmehr wird hier der Kaufmann mit seinen eigenen Waffen geschlagen und die Unangemessenheit einer tauschwertorientierten Denkweise im Zusammenhang von Eudaimonie markiert.[50]

Ein Beispiel liefert auch Maecenas, vorzüglicher Repräsentant des zweiten großen Tätigkeitsbereichs neben der Wirtschaft: der Politik. Horaz stünde es kaum an, seinen Förderer zu einem Rückzug aus der Öffentlichkeit bekehren zu wollen; zudem ist er politisch genug, um die Notwendigkeit öffentlichen Handelns nicht grundsätzlich in Abrede zu stellen. Doch nimmt er sich heraus, Maecenas eine allzu hohe Bindung an die Alltagsgeschäfte vor Augen zu führen. So spießt er mit leichtem Spott überflüssige Sorgen auf, etwa daß er sich darum kümmere, was irgendwelche weit entfernten Völker am Rande des Imperiums betrieben.[51] Das ist zusätzliche Motivation, den Adressaten zur Annahme der Einladung zu bewegen. Doch es ist noch mehr: es ist gleichzeitig Vehikel für eine grundsätzliche Abgrenzung der Lebenssphären. Und in diesem Zusammenhang erfährt die Kontrastierung der unterschiedlichen Zeitauffassungen nochmals eine völlig neue Wendung.

Denn für Horaz' Selbstverständnis spielt Zeit eine durchaus maßgebliche Rolle. Auffällig ist zunächst der häufige Verweis, daß er durch den besonderen Schutz der Götter den Unbilden des Zeitlaufs zu gewissen Graden enthoben sei. Mit ihrer Hilfe sei er drei schweren Gefahren entronnen, sei er als Kind, als er im Wald einschlief, durch niederfallendes Laub vor wilden Tieren geschützt worden; ja, als er das Mädchen Lalage besang, habe sogar ein Riesenwolf in den Sabinerbergen vor ihm Reißaus genommen.[52] Den Schlüssel liefert die Feststellung: *Di me tuentur. Dis pietas mea / et Musa cordi est*.[53] Als *poeta* also genießt Horaz diesen besonderen göttlichen Schutz, als solcher ist er den Gesetzen des Zeitlaufs enthoben.

Aus diesem Selbstverständnis erwächst der Anspruch für seine Dichtung: Er ist bereits in *C.* 2.20, erhoben, allerdings noch in den Bahnen des

---

[50] Hor. *C.* 4.12; vgl. dazu die Interpretation von Zintzen 1985/86: 131–145.

[51] Hor. *C.* 3.29.25–28 mit dem Kommentar von Orelli–Baiter zu Vers 27 (Orelli, Baiter 1850–52): „Inest in his innocens neque amicum laesura ironia; etenim et ille et omnes Romani optime noverant nihil periculi iam impendere Romano imperio ab Orientis atque Septentrionis nationibus." Vgl. auch die in der vierten Auflage von Hirschfelder (Orelli, Baiter, Hirschfelder, Mewes 1886) modifizierte Anmerkung.

[52] Hor. *C.* 3.4.9–20 und 26–28; *C.* 1.22; vgl. auch *C.* 2.13.

[53] *C.* 1.17.13–14: „Die Götter schützen mich, den Göttern liegt meine *pietas* und meine Muse am Herzen."

konventionellen Unsterblichkeitstopos: Er werde nicht sterben, ihn würden die Stygischen Fluten nimmer umschließen.[54] Das Potential des Topos findet sich weiterentwickelt und bis an seine Grenze geführt im berühmten Schlußgedicht des dritten Odenbuchs, in dem die Antithese vom Fortschreiten der Zeit und einer ihr enthobenen Sphäre in voller Konsequenz auf das Dichterselbstverständnis angewandt wird:[55]

> Exegi monumentum aere perennius
> regalique situ pyramidum altius,
> quod non imber edax, non aquilo impotens
> possit diruere aut innumerabilis
> annorum series et fuga temporum.
> non omnis moriar multaque pars mei
> vitabit Libitinam: usque ego postera
> crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium
> scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex.

Somit ist hier pointiert der Anspruch auf Überwindung der Zeit gesetzt. Denn für ewig erklärt Horaz seine Dichtung nur vordergründig im Sinne des unendlichen Zeitverlaufs, einer unaufhörlich anstehenden Zukunft; in Wahrheit siedelt er sie auf einer qualitativ anderen Stufe an: Wenn sie durch die Zerstörungsmacht der Zeit nicht tangiert wird, ist sie im selben Sinne wie die erfüllte Gegenwart ‚zeitlos'. Das Schlußgedicht setzt damit die Zeitthematik aus *C.* 3.29 fort, mit dem zusammen es auch in dieser Hinsicht ein Abschlußdiptychon der ersten Odensammlung bildet: Die eigene autonome Sphäre des Horaz, die dort vom konkreten räumlichen Ambiente des Sabinum ausgeht, wird hier in Hinblick auf seine Kerntätigkeit des Dichtens gefaßt. Der damit artikulierte Anspruch ist kaum steigerbar; entsprechend zeigt die unendliche Rezeptionsgeschichte dieses Gedichts, in welchem Maße es als Orientierungspunkt poetischen Selbstverständnisses begriffen wurde.

Nimmt man solche Selbsteinschätzung ernst, so entbehrt sie nicht der Provokation. Mit dem Leitbegriff des ersten Verses, *monumentum*, ist eine klare Referenz auf die Memorialkultur hergestellt, die in der Topographie Roms

[54] Hor. *C.* 2.20.

[55] Hor. *C.* 3.30: „Errichtet hab' ich mir ein Denkmal, ewiger als Erz, erhabener als der königlichen Pyramiden Bau, unzerstörbar dem nagenden Schnee, dem wütenden Aquilo, der Reihe zahlloser Jahre, dem Strome der Zeit! Ich werde nicht ganz sterben! Ein großer Teil von mir entrinnet Libitinen. So lange der Pontifex noch und mit ihm die feierlich schweigende Jungfrau das Capitol besteigt, so lange wächst mein Lob, ewig neu im Munde der Nachwelt."

allenthalben präsent ist. Für die römische Gesellschaft ist grundlegend, daß das soziale Prestige auf der Länge der Ahnenkette und der von den Vorfahren jeweils erreichten politischen Stellung beruht und dies für das jeweils aktuale Glied in der Kette zugleich eine verpflichtende prospektive Aufgabe darstellt. Einer solchen Gesellschaft ist ein Raum, in dem jenes klar geregelte Verlaufsschema nicht gilt, strukturell fremd. Das Verhältnis könnte sogar konfliktuell sein. Und für die Seite des Literaten trifft dies tendenziell durchaus zu. Nicht so allerdings für die römische Nobilität. Denn als Infragestellung der politisch-sozialen Ordnung wird die philosophisch-poetische Präsenzkonzeption in der frühen Kaiserzeit nicht mehr begriffen. Vielmehr wird sie im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert n. Chr. dann ein gesellschaftliches Ideal, das sich vielfache Realisationsformen, etwa in einer ausgedehnten Villenkultur, sucht.[56]

Bibliographie

Barigazzi, Adelmo (1959). ‚Il concetto del tempo nella fisica atomistica.' – Bignone, Ettore (Hrsg.), *Epicurea in memoriam Hectoris Bignone. Miscellanea philologica*. Genova: Istituto di filologia classica, 29–59.

Commager, Steele (1957). ‚The function of wine in Horace's Odes.' – *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 88, 68–80. https://doi.org/10.2307/283893

Frank, Georg (1989). ‚Das Paradox der Zeit und die Dimensionszahl der Temporalität.' – *Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung* 43, 449–471

Hossenfelder, Malte (1985). *Geschichte der Philosophie: Die Philosophie der Antike*, Bd. 3. München: Beck.

Levi, Adolfo (1951). ‚Il concetto del tempo nelle filosofie dell'età ellenistica.' – *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia* 6, 3, 209–216.

Mitscherlich, Christoph Wilhelm, *ill.* (1800). *Q. Horatii Flacci opera*, 2 Bd.e. Leipzig: Sumtibus Siegfried Lebrecht Crusii.

Neck, Gisela (1964). *Das Problem der Zeit im Epikureismus*. Dissertation Heidelberg.

Nilsson, Martin Persson ([3]1974). *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion*, Bd. 2. München: Beck.

Nisbet, Robert George Murdoch; Hubbard, Margaret (1978). *A commentary on Horace: Odes, Book II*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Nisbet, Robert George Murdoch; Hubbard, Margaret (1970). *A commentary on Horace: Odes, Book I*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

[56] Abschluss des Manuskripts 21.6.2016.

Orelli, Johann Caspar von; Baiter, Johann Georg; Hirschfelder, Wilhelm; Mewes, Wilhelm (1886). *Q. Horatius Flaccus*. Recensuit atque interpretatus est I. G. Orellius, Editio quarta maior, emendata et aucta, quam post I. G. Baiterum curavit G. Hirschfelder. Berlin: S. Calvary.

Orelli, Johann Caspar von; Baiter, Johann Georg (1850–2). *Q. Horatius Flaccus, rec. I. G. Orellius, editio tertia curavit I. G. Baiterus*, Bd. 1. Zürich: Sumptibus Orellii, Fuesslini et sociorum.

Pöschl, Viktor (1970). ‚Die große Maecenasode des Horaz (c. III 29).' – Pöschl, Viktor, *Horaz: Lyrik, Interpretationen*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Schmidt, Ernst A. (1980). ‚Alter Wein zum Fest bei Horaz.' – *Antike und Abendland* 26, 18–32. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110241389.18

Schwindt, Jürgen Paul (2013). ‚Die Magie des Zählens. Zur cantatorischen Statur der Dichtung (Catull, cc. 5 u. 7; Horaz, c. 1, 11).' – Dunsch, Boris; Prokoph, Felix M. (Hrsgg.), *Am langen Seil des Altertums: Beiträge aus Anlaß des 90. Geburtstags von Walter Wimmel*. Heidelberg: Winter, 15–35.

Vogt-Spira, Gregor (2011). ‚Prae sensibus. Das Ideal der Lebensechtheit in römischer Rhetorik und Dichtungstheorie.' – Radke-Uhlmann, Gyburg; Schmitt, Arbogast (Hrsgg.), *Anschaulichkeit in Kunst und Literatur: Wege bildlicher Visualisierung in der europäischen Geschichte*. (*Colloquia Raurica*; 11.) Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 13–34. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110213546.13

Vogt-Spira, Gregor (1992). *Dramaturgie des Zufalls. Tyche und Handeln in der Komödie Menanders*. München: Beck.

Wieland, Wolfgang ([2]1970). *Die aristotelische Physik*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Zintzen, Clemens (1985/86). ‚Horaz' Einladung an einen Kaufmann (c. IV 2).' – *Grazer Beiträge* 12/13, 131–145.

Abstract

Horace created memorable formulas and images for the theme of 'time' that runs through his œuvre. The question of how to deal with the present, future and past had become a key issue with the ethical turn in Hellenistic-Roman philosophy. The contribution traces how Horace, within the framework of this Hellenistic discourse on time, clearly distinguishes between the various aspects of time and, in doing so, proceeds in an address-related manner within the range of wit and admonition. Particular attention is paid to the poetic techniques he uses to shape that aspect of time which is difficult to grasp and in which eudaimonia is located. Time also plays a crucial role in Horace's own self-image: the article concludes with a look at the claim that arises from this for his poetry in the contemporary Roman world.

VON HITZIGEN HELDEN, MÜRRISCHEN MISANTHROPEN UND PROMINENTEN PROSTITUIERTEN: DIE DEKLAMATIONEN DES LIBANIOS – EIN KLEINES PLÄDOYER FÜR EINE WENIGER GESCHÄTZTE GATTUNG (LIBANIOS, *DECL.* 5, 12, 25, 26)

Heinz-Günther Nesselrath

1. Einführung

Der im 4. Jh. n. Chr. in der syrischen Metropole Antiocheia am Orontes aufgewachsene und später dort mehrere Jahrzehnte bis an sein Lebensende als Redelehrer tätige Libanios ist kein Autor, der jemals im griechischen Schulunterricht – in Deutschland oder anderswo – eine nennenswerte Rolle gespielt hätte. In Fachkreisen ist ihm in den letzten Jahrzehnten etwas mehr Aufmerksamkeit zuteil geworden; in der Alten Geschichte wird er inzwischen als eine eminent wichtige Quelle für die politischen und geistesgeschichtlichen Verhältnisse im spätrömischen Reich (vor allem seiner östlichen Hälfte) anerkannt und gewürdigt. Als zeitweiliger enger Vertrauter und Weggefährte des letzten bedeutenden heidnischen Kaisers des Reiches – Julians, des sogenannten Apostata – hat Libanios während der kurzen Regierungszeit dieses Herrschers sogar im Brennpunkt der Ereignisse gestanden; er hat aber auch noch längere Zeit nach Julians Tod in seiner Heimatstadt Antiocheia eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt, vor allem aufgrund seiner Lehrtätigkeit, die er offenbar bis kurz vor seinem eigenen Tod (im Alter von nahezu achtzig Jahren) unermüdlich ausgeübt hat. Seine Rednerschule hatte von überall aus den östlichen Reichsprovinzen Zulauf und vermittelte sogar späteren christlichen Bischöfen Kenntnisse in der griechischen Rhetorik, die sie dann in ihren Predigten nutzbringend anwenden konnten.[1]

[1] Zur Schule des Libanios vgl. Petit 1957 und Cribiore 2007.

Weil Libanios als Verfasser von Reden, als großer Briefschreiber und eben als Rhetoriklehrer auch über seinen Tod hinaus sehr geschätzt wurde, ist von ihm ein Oeuvre von solchem Umfang erhalten geblieben, wie dies nur wenigen anderen antiken Autoren widerfuhr. Aus diesem Oeuvre soll nun im Folgenden – anhand einiger Textbeispiele – gerade derjenige Teil etwas näher vorgestellt werden, der in landläufiger Meinung eigentlich als der langweiligste innerhalb Libanios' reicher Produktion gilt: das recht stattliche Corpus der sogenannten Deklamationen, also der Übungs- und Modellreden, die Libanios gerade für seinen rhetorischen Unterricht verfasste. Dabei soll gezeigt werden, dass diese Texte (oder zumindest einige von ihnen) alles andere als langweilig sind; vielleicht könnten sie sogar auch im heutigen griechischen Schulunterricht als interessante Ergänzung der gängigen Texte verwendet werden, da sich über sie recht gut Wege in zentrale Bereiche der griechischen Literatur und Kultur finden lassen.

In Libanios' Oeuvre sind insgesamt 51 Deklamationen – mehr als in jeder anderen aus der Antike bekannten Sammlung rhetorischer Schriften – überliefert; selbst wenn man die sicher unechten und die zweifelhaften Fälle unter ihnen weglässt,[2] bleiben immer noch vierzig übrig. Das Corpus lässt sich in zwei ungefähr gleich große Gruppen aufteilen: Die eine Hälfte behandelt mythologische und historische Themen, die andere „ethologische", d.h. sie führt bestimmte Charaktertypen in bestimmten Situationen vor. Unter den im Folgenden vorgestellten vier Beispielen ist ein mythologisches, dann zwei historische (von denen das eine aber auch schon stark ethologisch geprägt ist), und ein ethologisches.

2. Beispiel 1: Ein Held und sein Zorn – Achill bei Libanios

Das erste Textbeispiel ist für die antike griechische Schulrhetorik durchaus typisch. Um Redekunst zu lernen, wurden Schüler in den Rednerschulen darin geübt, sich in eine bestimmte Situation aus dem griechischen Mythos oder der griechischen Geschichte zu versetzen, den Standpunkt einer der an dieser Situation beteiligten Personen anzunehmen und von diesem Standpunkt aus vor einer anstehenden Entscheidung in diese oder jene Richtung zu argumentieren. Die fünfte Deklamation des Libanios[3] führt uns mitten hinein

[2] Genauere Angaben bei Nesselrath 2012: 42; ferner Penella 2014: 111 f.

[3] Sie umfasst 58 Teubnerseiten; zum Vergleich: *Decl.* 1 (eine Verteidigungsrede für den angeklagten Sokrates, gehalten von einem *synēgoros*) hat 109 Teubnerseiten.

in einer der spannendsten Situationen der homerischen *Ilias*, nämlich in die, wo drei prominente griechische Helden – der kluge Odysseus, der alte Phoinix und der tapfere Aias – den größten griechischen Kämpfer vor Troja, Achill, dazu überreden wollen, wieder beim Kampf gegen die Trojaner mitzumachen; bekanntlich hatte Achill sich von diesem Kampf zurückgezogen, als ihn der griechische Oberfeldherr Agamemnon im Lauf eines heftigen Streits brüskiert und ihm dann sogar noch die schöne Kriegsgefangene Briseis weggenommen hatte, die Achill vom Heer für seine großen Leistungen als Ehrengeschenk zugesprochen worden war.

Schon im neunten Buch der *Ilias* ist diese Situation Anlass für ein packendes argumentatives (und damit auch rhetorisches) Ringen zwischen den genannten vier Helden: Während Odysseus, Phoinix und Aias nacheinander dafür plädieren, dass Achill wieder in den Kampf eintreten möge, hält Achill nach jedem dieser Plädoyers mit einer eigenen Rede dagegen und lässt sich bis zum Schluss nicht davon abbringen, die Kriegsanstrengungen des Heeres weiter zu boykottieren (auch wenn gegen Ende eine gewisse Relativierung seiner Position erkennbar wird). Der späteren Schulrhetorik galt diese Homerpartie immer als ein Paradestück früher rhetorischer Argumentationskunst.[4] Im 2. Jh. n. Chr. ließ es sich einer der bedeutendsten Vertreter der sogenannten Zweiten Sophistik, Aelius Aristides, nicht nehmen, eine Deklamation (*or*. 16) zu verfassen, in der Odysseus gewissermaßen noch einmal dazu antritt, Achill von der Notwendigkeit und Wünschbarkeit (für alle Beteiligten) seines Wiedereintritts in den Kampf zu überzeugen; etwa zweihundert Jahre später verfasst dann Libanios darauf eine fulminante Antwort – eben seine fünfte Deklamation – und lässt nunmehr noch einmal Achill in beeindruckender Weise für sein Recht streiten, dem Kampf fernzubleiben, da er vom Oberkommandierenden in so ehrabschneidender Weise desavouiert wurde.[5]

Schon im Prooemium (1–7) lässt der libanianische Achill keinen Zweifel daran, dass er nicht einen Augenblick daran denkt, auf das Ansinnen der ihn besuchenden Gesandten einzugehen: Eigentlich habe er erwartet, dass die Gesandten sich auf seine Seite und gegen Agamemnon stellen würden (1), und die Enttäuschung dieser Erwartung hat ihm nun noch größeren Schmerz bereitet (2). Schon dass Odysseus jetzt von Agamemnon kommt, verstimmt Achill (4); er hätte fürwahr gern geschwiegen, sieht sich aber nun gerade durch

[4] Vgl. entsprechende Urteile bei Quintilian (*Inst*. 10.1.47) und in der pseudo-plutarchischen Schrift *De Homero* (Kap. 169).

[5] Die folgende Inhaltsübersicht ist eine gekürzte Version derjenigen, die ich in Nesselrath 2014: 24–30 gegeben habe.

die Gesandtschaft zu einer klaren Darlegung des Unrechts veranlasst, das er erlitten hat.

In einem ersten großen narrativen und zugleich argumentativen Block legt Achill seine bisherigen großen Verdienste um das griechische Heer dar (8–13); unter anderem ist es nur ihm zu verdanken, dass die Griechen Troja überhaupt gefunden haben, denn er war es, der bei der ersten Expedition den Myserkönig Telephos verwundete und diesen dadurch zwang, zu den Griechen zu kommen und ihnen für seine Heilung den Weg nach Troja zu zeigen (8–10). Ein zweiter Block (14–24) legt die Entwicklung des Zerwürfnisses mit Agamemnon dar und demonstriert erneut die lebenswichtige Rolle Achills für das griechische Heer: Als Agamemnon nichts gegen den (von Agamemnon selber verschuldeten!) Zorn des Gottes Apollon unternahm, der sich in der tödlichen Seuche manifestierte, musste Achill eingreifen und den Seher Kalchas dazu ermutigen, den wahren Grund für die Notlage des Heeres zu nennen; erst dann konnte man sinnvolle Rettungsmaßnahmen unternehmen.

Zum Dank aber wurde Achill dann in empfindlichster Weise durch die Wegnahme der Briseis bestraft und entehrt (25); als er sich diese Wegnahme erneut vergegenwärtigt, wallen Empörung und Zorn heftig in ihm auf (27). So wird verständlich, dass ihn im nächsten Abschnitt (28–34) die von Odysseus gemeldeten schlechten Nachrichten aus dem Krieg (vgl. *Il.* 9.230–246) nicht nur nicht betrüben, sondern sogar erfreuen. Zugleich kommt hier auch Achills φιλοτιμία (Ehrgeiz, Streben nach Ehre) als sein zentraler Wesenszug zum Ausdruck (33).

Danach (35–39) geht er auf die Ermahnung durch seinen Vater Peleus ein, mit der Odysseus ihm ins Gewissen reden wollte (vgl. *Il.* 9.252–259) und korrigiert sie: Peleus hat seinen Sohn gewiss nicht zum Stillhalten gegenüber ungerechter Behandlung ermahnt (37):

> Der, der offensichtlich die Milde für etwas Schönes hält, aufgrund der Ehre, die aus ihr entsteht – wie hätte der versucht, mich zu überreden, gefühllos gegenüber Entehrung zu sein? Nein, wie ich schon sagte: Er versuchte, mich davon abzuhalten, als erster einen Frevel zu begehen, nicht aber, mich daran zu hindern, betrübt zu sein, wenn ich Schlechtes erfahren hätte; ja, er hätte mich von vornherein nicht (hierher) gesandt, wenn er gewusst hätte, dass ich dies erleiden würde.[6]

[6] *Decl.* 5.37: ὁ δὴ τὴν πρᾳότητα καλὸν ἡγούμενος διὰ τὴν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς τιμὴν πῶς ἂν οὗτος ἔπειθεν ἀνάλγητον εἶναι πρὸς ἀτιμίαν; ἀλλ᾽, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἄρχειν μὲν ὕβρεως ἀπέτρεπε, λυπεῖσθαι δὲ παθόντα κακῶς οὐκ ἐκώλυεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔπεμψεν, εἰ ταῦτ᾽ ᾔδει πεισόμενον.

Sodann geht Achill auf die von Odysseus so ausführlich angepriesenen Geschenke ein, die Agamemnon für den Wiedereintritt in den Kampf versprochen hat (vgl. *Il.* 9.260–299), und weist sie alle schroff zurück (43–50): Sich auf diese Weise kaufen zu lassen, wäre der Beginn von Knechtschaft (44) und würde den Empfänger zu einem ehrlosen Besitzgierigen abstempeln (46). Auch den Vorschlag einer Verschwägerung mit Agamemnon (vgl. *Il.* 9.283–289) weist Achill zurück (51–55), da er ihn für völlig unglaubwürdig hält (51):

> Der, der mir die Frau wegnimmt, die ich habe, wird mir seine Tochter geben, und der, der mir die Kriegsgefangene neidete, wird mir sein Kind aushändigen? Und wird, wenn der Krieg zu Ende ist, derjenige anständig sein [d.h. sein Wort halten], der nicht einmal in der Notlage vernünftig sein konnte? Das ist nicht möglich![7]

Der Aussicht, Briseis zurückzuerhalten (56–70; vgl. *Il.* 9.273f.), spricht Achill jeglichen Wert ab: Der ursprüngliche Frevel ist damit nicht aus der Welt geschafft (57). Hätte denn Odysseus – fragt Achill nun sehr wirkungsvoll – Ähnliches im Fall seiner Frau Penelope (erst Raub, dann Rückgabe) goutiert (61)? Selbst wenn sich Menelaos mit einer ähnlichen Rückgabe seiner Helena zufriedengäbe (was den Krieg beenden würde), ist dies nicht vergleichbar (65), denn Menelaos erlitt kein Unrecht von einem, dem er Gutes tat (wie Achill von Agamemnon, 66).

Auch Agamemnons angekündigter Schwur, er habe Briseis nicht angerührt (71–81; vgl. *Il.* 9.274–276) kann Achill nicht beeindrucken; er fragt provokant: Wofür hat er sie sich dann überhaupt genommen? Sein Ziel war offenbar nur die Entehrung Achills (71).

Ihren Höhepunkt erreicht diese gnadenlose Widerlegung von Odysseus' Plädoyer dort, wo Libanios' Achill auf dessen Schlussappell eingeht (82–93), Achill möge sich, wenn schon nicht Agamemnons, dann doch wenigstens der übrigen Griechen erbarmen (vgl. *Il.* 9.300–303). Dies kommt für Achill nicht zuletzt deshalb nicht in Frage, weil er auch und gerade die übrigen Griechen eindeutig im Unrecht sieht: Durch ihr damaliges Nichthandeln haben sie sich auf Agamemnons Seite gestellt (84), denn ein beherzter Widerspruch von ihrer Seite in der damaligen Situation hätte den Frevel der Wegnahme der Briseis verhindern können (89). Die Griechen sind also zu Mitträgern des Unrechts

---

[7] *Decl.* 5.51: ὁ τὴν οὖσαν ἀφαιρούμενος τὴν αὑτοῦ δώσει καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλώτου φθονῶν ἐγχειριεῖ τὴν παῖδα; καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τελευτὴν εἰληφότος ἔσται χρηστὸς ὁ μηδ' ἐν τῇ χρείᾳ σωφρονῶν; οὐκ ἔστιν.

gegen ihn geworden; ja sie sind sogar schuldiger als Agamemnon, weil sie ihn hätten aufhalten können (90):

> Wer nämlich dem Übeltäter Freiraum gibt, Unrecht zu tun, obwohl die Möglichkeit bestünde, ihn zu stoppen, der hat noch in höherem Maße selbst das getan, was getan wurde.[8]

Und gegen dieses Unrecht setzt sich Achill nun zur Wehr, indem er sich der Griechen eben *nicht* erbarmt (91).

In seiner Peroratio (96 f.) hebt er noch einmal deutlich hervor, dass nicht die trojanischen Priamiden, sondern die griechischen Atriden ihm Unrecht getan haben; es wäre widersinnig, seinerseits denen Schaden zuzufügen, die ihm keinen zufügten (96). Daraus formuliert er in abschließenden knappen Sätzen die folgende Konsequenz:

> Agamemnon hat Hektor mobilisiert und soll den Mann (jetzt auch) im Kampf stellen. Mich hat er aus dem Geschehen vertrieben; er soll (jetzt) nicht den Entehrten (wieder) rufen. (97) Schon ziehe ich die Schiffe ins Meer; er aber (Agamemnon) mag das Feuer löschen. Besser ja, besser ist Klugheit als Stärke für den erfolgreichen Abschluss eines Krieges, Odysseus. Idomeneus mag von euch als Bollwerk gegen die katastrophale Situation gefunden werden; jetzt zeige Nestor seinen Verstand, jetzt du deine Wohlberatenheit, jetzt zusammen mit euch Diomedes seinen Speer![9]

Insgesamt bringt diese Deklamation ihren Lesern und Hörern meisterhaft die tiefe Verletztheit Achills zum Ausdruck, die schon bei Homer gut erkennbar ist; das Ethos des homerischen Achill ist hier ausgezeichnet getroffen. Anders jedoch als der homerische Achill weist der des Libanios das Ansinnen der griechischen Gesandten viel umfassender und besser strukturiert zurück: Er geht die Argumente des Odysseus Punkt für Punkt durch und widerlegt jeden von ihnen nach allen Regeln der rhetorischen Kunst. Während der homerische Achill bereits mitten in seiner Rede mit seiner Drohung herausplatzt, er werde morgen einfach kurzerhand abfahren, behält sich der Achill des Libanios

[8] *Decl.* 5.90: ὁ γὰρ τῷ πονηρῷ δοὺς ἀδικεῖν παῦσαι παρὸν μᾶλλον αὐτὸς εἴργασται τὸ πραχθέν.

[9] *Decl.* 5.96 f.: ἥσκηκεν Ἀγαμέμνων Ἕκτορα καὶ δεχέσθω τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐξελήλακεν ἐμὲ τῶν πραγμάτων, μὴ καλείτω τὸν ἄτιμον. (7) ἤδη καθέλκω τὰς ναῦς, ὁ δὲ σβεννύτω τὸ πῦρ. κρείττων γάρ, κρείττων σοφία ῥώμης εἰς πολέμου τέλος, Ὀδυσσεῦ. Ἰδομενεὺς παρ᾽ ὑμῶν εὑρεθήτω τοῖς δεινοῖς τὸ κώλυμα. νῦν δεικνύτω Νέστωρ τὴν σύνεσιν, νῦν σὺ τὴν εὐβουλίαν, νῦν μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν ὁ Διομήδης τὸ δόρυ.

diesen Paukenschlag bis ganz zuletzt vor. So ist die Wut und Empörung des libanianischen Achill eine überlegter und logischer vorgehende als die seines homerischen Vorbildes.

3. Beispiel 2: Ein Menschenhasser in Liebesqualen – Timon und Alkibiades

Um etwas ganz anderes geht es in der 12. Deklamation, nämlich um eine prominente und zugleich skurrile Figur aus der attischen Geschichte: den berühmten Menschenhasser Timon von Athen, der uns zuerst bei Aristophanes und anderen Komödiendichtern des ausgehenden 5. und des 4. Jh.s v. Chr. begegnet und dem auch Lukian von Samosata einen sehr unterhaltsamen und lesenswerten Dialog gewidmet hat.[10] Bei Libanios nun ist dem armen Timon etwas widerfahren, was gerade für einen Menschenhasser das denkbar Schlimmste sein muss: Er hat sich in einen anderen Menschen verliebt, und dies ausgerechnet in den jungen, schönen (und schillernden) athenischen Politiker und Lebemann Alkibiades. Libanios selbst hat in seiner kurzen didaktischen Einführung zu dieser Rede (*protheoria*) die Aufgabe skizziert, die bei dieser Konstellation auf den Redner zukommt:

> Er muss zwei einander entgegengesetzte charakterliche Dispositionen darstellen, den Menschenhasser und den Verliebten, und er muss darauf achten, dass durch beide die Argumentation voranschreitet, ohne dass die Einführung der Gedanken den Widerstreit in den Charakteren konterkariert.[11]

Gleich zu Beginn formuliert Timon als gedachter Sprecher der Deklamation sein fürwahr paradoxes Anliegen: Er wendet sich an den athenischen Rat, um von ihm zum Tode verurteilt zu werden (1),

> damit ich nicht (mehr) den schönen Alkibiades sehen muss und wegen ihm gezwungen werde, mit euch (weiter) zu verkehren.[12]

---

[10] Vgl. Ar. *Av*. 1549, *Lys*. 809–814; Phryn. fr. 19 K.-A.; Plat. Com. fr. 237 K.-A.; aus Antiphanes' *Timon* ist nur ein Fragment (204 K.-A.) erhalten, das nichts von der Handlung erkennen lässt. Vgl. auch Plut. *Alcib*. 16.9. Libanios' Deklamation umfasst 31 Teubnerseiten.

[11] *Decl*. 12 proth.: δύο [...] ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις ἤθη ὑποκρίνεσθαι δεῖ, μισάνθρωπον καὶ ἐρῶντα, καὶ ὁρᾶν χρὴ εἰ δι' ἑκατέρων πρόεισιν ὁ λόγος τῆς τῶν νοημάτων εἰσαγωγῆς οὐκ ἐλεγχούσης τὴν ἐναντίωσιν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἤθεσι.

[12] *Decl*. 12.1: ἵνα μὴ Ἀλκιβιάδην ἴδω τὸν καλὸν μηδ' ὑμῖν δι' ἐκεῖνον ἀναγκάζωμαι προσομιλεῖν.

Sein Verlangen nach Alkibiades bringt ihn nämlich in höchste Gefahr, die eigene Identität zu verlieren (2):

> Da mich Alkibiades aus meiner Einöde fortzieht und ich Gefahr laufe, nicht mehr Timon zu sein noch ein Menschenhasser, muss ich meine Zuflucht beim Tod nehmen.[13]

Er liebt Alkibiades freilich auch, weil gerade diese Liebe ein Grund für ihn ist, den Tod und damit die für einen Menschenhasser erstrebenswerte finale Einsamkeit zu suchen (3); zugleich wünscht er – und dies ist ein sehr beredtes Zeugnis seines Menschenhasses – auch allen anderen Verehrern des Alkibiades, sie möchten auf den gleichen Ausweg verfallen und ihrer Liebe durch den Tod ein Ende setzen (*ibid.*):

> Nichts nämlich würde mir mehr bedeuten, als zusammen mit meinen Liebesrivalen zugrundezugehen.[14]

So weit das Prooemium. Es folgt – wie in der Rhetorik üblich – eine Art Narratio: Bevor er Alkibiades kennenlernte, dünkte sich Timon glücklich, die Menschen – als das schlimmste aller Übel – einfach meiden zu können, dann aber musste er erkennen, dass Alkibiades deutlich vom Glück begünstigter sei als er (4):

> „Ich hatte aus meinem Hass nur den einen Vorteil, die Menschen zu meiden; schaden aber konnte ich niemand. Alkibiades dagegen reicht seine Schönheit, um die Menschen zu verderben, und sein bloßer Anblick vermag so viel, wie die Mythen von der Gorgone erzählen.[15]

Im folgenden legt Timon dar, warum er ein so überzeugter Menschenhasser ist (5–9): Er hätte entweder nie oder aber als etwas anderes als ein Mensch geboren werden sollen (5); denn was gibt es schlimmeres als Menschen? Sie sind sanft in ihren Worten, aber brutal in ihren Taten; kein Tier führt gegen die eigene Art so schlimme Kriege, kennt so viel Betrug und Meineid, so viel

---

[13] *Decl.* 12.2: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπάγει τῆς ἐρημίας ἡμᾶς Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ κινδυνεύω μηκέτ᾽ εἶναι Τίμων μηδὲ μισάνθρωπος, ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον καταφεύγω.

[14] *Decl.* 12.3: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ προτιμότερον τοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀντεραστῶν ἀπολωλέναι.

[15] *Decl.* 12.4: ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μισεῖν οὐδὲν ἦν πλέον πλὴν αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον τὸ φεύγειν ἀνθρώπους, βλάπτειν δ᾽ ἠδυνάμην οὐδένα· Ἀλκιβιάδῃ δὲ τὸ κάλλος πρὸς ὄλεθρον ἀνθρώπων ἀρκεῖ καὶ τοσοῦτον δύναται μόνον ὀφθεὶς ὅσον τὴν Γοργόνα φασὶν οἱ μῦθοι.

Besitzgier, so viele Orgien und Unzucht, Heuchelei und Verbrechen (6 f.). Des Menschen Leben ist eine einzige Abfolge von Widerwärtigkeiten (8); alle seine Eigenschaften lassen sich für Verbrechen missbrauchen (9).

Vor diesem Hintergrund setzt Timon schon früh seinen Entschluss um, jeglichen Verkehr mit Menschen so weit wie möglich zu meiden (10–14). Selbst aus seinen Träumen schreckt er hoch, wenn sie ihn in die Gegenwart anderer Menschen führen (12), und nicht einmal Götterstatuen hält er aus, weil sie eben wie Menschen gebildet sind, und lobt deswegen die Ägypter, weil ihre Götter theriomorph sind (13). Schließlich wünscht er sich erdumspannende Katastrophen, denen das Menschengeschlecht möglichst umfassend zum Opfer fallen soll (14).

Lange lebte Timon so als glücklicher und zufriedener Menschenhasser – dies ist das paradoxe Fazit aus dem bisher Dargestellten –, aber dann geschah das Unglück (15):

> Ein böser Daimon stürzte mein Leben um [...] und ein göttliches Trugbild und himmlische Schönheit schlüpfte in die Gestalt des Alkibiades und brach in ausgelassener Stimmung in meine Welt ein.[16]

Jetzt findet sich Timon wegen seines Verlangens nach Alkibiades an all den Orten, die er als Misanthrop doch so sehr verabscheut: mitten in der Stadt, in der Volksversammlung, im dicksten Gewühl. Er vergleicht sein Schicksal mit dem des Herakles, den ebenfalls die Schönheit eines Menschen (in diesem Fall der Lyderkönigin Omphale) zwang, einen ihm völlig ungemäßen Lebensstil anzunehmen (17).

Im folgenden schildert Timon geradezu herzzerreißend seine ausweglose Lage (18f.): Er fühlt sich regelrecht zerrissen zwischen seinem Verlangen nach Alkibiades und seiner misanthropischen Charakterart. So kann es nicht weitergehen (19):

> Wenn ich meine Natur bedenke, und welch ein großes Übel auf mich zukommt, und dass Alkibiades ein Mensch ist und dass ich, Timon, einen Menschen liebe, dann kann ich Alkibiades immer noch nicht hassen, bei den Göttern, sondern richte meinen Charakter gegen mich selbst und sehne mich

[16] *Decl.* 12.15: δαίμων τις πονηρὸς ἀνέτρεψέ μου τὸν βίον καὶ κρειττων ἐγένετο τῆς ἐμῆς προθέσεως. καὶ θεῖόν τι φάντασμα καὶ κάλλος οὐράνιον τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου μορφὴν ὑπελθὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐκώμασε.

> nach dem Henker und dem Schierling als einem käuflichen und vor Unheil bewahrenden Mittel.[17]

Wie es aber zu seiner fatalen Neigung zu Alkibiades kam, schildert Timon ausführlich im Folgenden (20–24): Eines Abends kommt Alkibiades ziemlich angeheitert in seine Einsamkeit und lässt sich auch durch Würfe mit Erdklumpen nicht verjagen, sondern appelliert an Timon geradezu als Gleichgesinnten (21). Timon versucht zwar, den Störenfried mittels einer längeren Rede – mit dem Tenor, er sei hier am völlig falschen Ort – zu vertreiben (21–23), und Alkibiades verschwindet daraufhin auch, aber er kommt nun ständig wieder – bis Timon Feuer gefangen hat (24). Timon kann sich dieses Unglück nur damit erklären, dass Alkibiades gar kein Mensch ist, sondern (26)

> ein göttliches, aus dem Himmel gekommenes Trugbild geht unter uns um, und irgend ein archetypisches Bild der Schönheit [hier wird Timon geradezu platonisch] zeigt sich in einer solchen Gestalt.[18]

Und nun schildert er nahezu verzückt die im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes blendenden Details von Alkibiades' göttlich-dionysischer Schönheit (27); und auch sein ihn ständig umschwärmendes Gefolge wird wie die Begleiter des Dionysos beschrieben, mit Sokrates in der Silensrolle (28).

In dieser Schilderung hat ganz der Verliebte die Oberhand; nun aber bricht sich der Menschenhasser wieder Bahn: Trotz aller seiner Vorzüge ist Alkibiades letztlich doch nur ein Mensch und damit hassenswert. Nahezu klinisch diagnostiziert der Menschenhasser Timon seine Verliebtheit in Alkibiades als Wahnsinn, für den es nur eine Therapie gibt: den Tod (29).

An dieser Stelle nun lässt der Sprecher einen fiktiven Gegenredner auftreten und fragen, was Timon denn so Schlimmes erlitten habe, dass der Tod für ihn die einzige Rettung sei (31).[19] Für den Menschenhasser Timon ist freilich jeder Verkehr mit Menschen ein solches Unglück, gegen das nur der Tod

---

[17] *Decl.* 12.19: τὴν φύσιν δὲ ὅταν λογίσωμαι πάλιν καὶ τὸ κακὸν ὅσον εἶσιν ἐπ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ ὡς ἀνθρώπου Τίμων ἐρῶ, μισεῖν μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδην οὐδὲ οὕτω δύναμαι, μὰ τοὺς θεούς, κατ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ χρῶμαι τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τὸν δήμιον ἤδη καὶ τὸ κώνειον ὥσπερ ὤνιόν τι φάρμακον καὶ ἀλεξίκακον προσδοκῶ.

[18] *Decl.* 12.26: οὐκ ἔστιν Ἀλκιβιάδης Ἀθηναῖος οὐδ᾽ ἄνθρωπος, μὴ τοῦτο ὑπολάβητε, θεῖον δέ τι φάντασμα ἐξ οὐρανόθεν ἧκον ἐν ἡμῖν πλανᾶται καὶ κάλλους τις ἀρχέτυπος εἰκὼν ἐν τοιούτῳ φαίνεται τῷ σχήματι. Vgl. zu diesem Motiv bereits § 15 (in Anm. 16 zitiert).

[19] Im folgenden werden dann einige Unglücksfälle genannt, denen gegenüber der Tod wie eine Erlösung erscheinen könnte (z.B. Verlust eines lieben Angehörigen oder körperliche Verstümmelung; 33).

hilft; und nun hat ihm Alkibiades das ganze Glück seiner „splendid isolation" zunichte gemacht, so dass er sich wie ein feige aus der Schlacht weglaufender Soldat vorkommt (34 f.):

> „Ich habe meinen Platz in der edlen Schlachtreihe des Lebens verlassen und konnte selbstbeherrschtes Denken wegen meiner Liebe nicht bewahren; und obwohl ich meinen Menschenhass wie einen Schild vor mein Leben gehalten habe, habe ich diesen Schild weggeworfen und Alkibiades den Sieg zugestanden. Den Ehrgeiz habe ich besiegt und mich von Reichtum nicht beherrschen lassen, ihr Götter, und Ruhm habe ich verachtet, ebenso die bei euch (Athenern) üblichen Lobes- und Ehrenbezeugungen. Von keinen Festlichkeiten, keiner Prozession, keinem Wettkampf habe ich mich in Bann schlagen lassen. Während ich aber gegenüber allen menschlichen Dingen uneinnehmbar war, bin ich (nun) Sklave meiner Liebe zu einem jungen Burschen ...[20]

An einem früheren Punkt der Rede hatte Timon den von Omphale gefesselten Herakles zum Vergleich herangezogen; nun vergleicht er sich mit keinem geringeren als Achill, der sich völlig wider seine Natur in eine Mädchenstube auf der Insel Skyros integrieren ließ (36). Die schonungslose Beschreibung der eigenen Denaturierung lässt sich geradezu als Selbsthass klassifizieren (36 f.):

> Ich wälze mich in wilden, trunkenen Ausschweifungen und habe jenes einsame Leben völlig abgelegt, und ich tausche die mir liebsten Bezeichnungen gegen (erheblich) schlechtere ein: ich lasse mich ‚Schmeichler' statt ‚Timon', ‚Liebhaber' statt ‚Menschenhasser' nennen. Alkibiades aber prunkt mit meinem Unglück und zeigt allen Menschen, was für einen Liebhaber er aus der Einöde entfernt und jetzt als gefesselten Gefolgsmann hat. Und das schlimmste der Übel: Die Menge seiner Liebhaber macht den Burschen (auch noch) hochnäsig mir gegenüber.[21]

---

[20] *Decl.* 12.34 f.: τάξιν ἔλιπον τοῦ βίου γενναίαν καὶ λογισμὸν σώφρονα δι᾽ ἔρωτα οὐκ ἠδυνήθην φυλάξαι καὶ τὴν μισανθρωπίαν ὥσπερ τινὰ προβεβλημένος ἀσπίδα τοῦ βίου ταύτην ἀφῆκα καὶ παρεχώρησα τῆς νίκης Ἀλκιβιάδῃ. φιλοτιμίας μὲν ἐκράτησα καὶ πλούτου κρείττων ἐγενόμην, ὦ θεοί, καὶ δόξης ὑπερεῖδον, κατεφρόνησα δὲ καὶ τῶν παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐπαίνων καὶ τιμῶν. οὐ πανηγύρεων, οὐ πομπῆς τινος, οὐκ ἀγῶνος ἡττήθην. (35) ἀνάλωτος δὲ πρὸς πάντα μείνας τἀνθρώπινα ἔρωτι δουλεύω μειρακίου ...

[21] *Decl.* 12.36 f.: κώμοις καὶ μέθαις ἐγκαλινδοῦμαι τὸν μονήρη βίον ἐκεῖνον ἀποθέμενος, καὶ τὰς χείρους ἀνταλλάττομαι προσηγορίας τῶν φιλτάτων κόλαξ ἀντὶ Τίμωνος ἀκούων, ἐραστὴς ἀντὶ μισανθρώπου. (37) ἐμπομπεύει δ᾽ Ἀλκιβιάδης τῇ ἐμῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπιδείκνυται ἀνθρώποις οἷον ἐραστὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐρημίας ἀναστήσας δέσμιον ἔχει παρακολουθοῦντα. καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν συμφορῶν, τὸ τῶν ἐραστῶν πλῆθος τὸ μειράκιον ὑπεροπτικὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπεργάζεται.

Es folgt ein anschauliches Gemälde, wie Alkibiades mit seinen zahlreichen Verehrern umgeht und was er alles von ihnen verlangt (37–39); in all dem Trubel nur die zweite Geige zu spielen, ist für Timon ein weiterer Grund akuten Missvergnügens (40); seine Bemühungen, Alkibiades zu gefallen, sieht er von Misserfolgen gekrönt (42) und muss sich vom Objekt seines Begehrens auch noch verspotten lassen (43).

Das alles ist Timon höchst zuwider: möchten ihm die Buleuten doch die Augen ausstechen, die die Ursache für sein Unglück waren (44)! Bislang – fährt er fort – sei ihm der Mythos, dass ganz Griechenland wegen der Schönheit einer Frau einen Krieg (nämlich den gegen Troja) begonnen habe, stets lächerlich vorgekommen, jetzt aber glaube er der Geschichte und bewundere den Liebesgott sogar dafür – hier spricht wieder der Menschenhasser –, was er auf diese Weise den Griechen alles Übles antun konnte (45). Bisher habe er alle Verehrer des Alkibiades und unter ihnen namentlich Sokrates stets verachtet (46); jetzt müsse er ihnen zugutehalten, wie wunderschön – schöner als die mythischen Jünglinge Narkissos und Hyakinthos – Alkibiades in der Tat sei (47). Wegen Alkibiades nun umkommen zu wollen, rechnet sich Timon sogar als besonderes Merkmal seines Ehrgeizes an (48).

Nun aber bricht sich Timons Menschenhass noch einmal besonders markant Bahn: Er apostrophiert Alkibiades direkt und fordert ihn auf, noch möglichst viele seiner Verehrer auf diese Weise in den Tod zu führen, zu dem er, Timon, sich entschlossen habe (49). In beachtlicher Klarsicht nimmt er Alkibiades' destruktives Potential wahr (51):

> Ich erkenne deine Natur, Alkibiades: Du dünkst dich über die Gesetze erhaben; für verächtlich hältst du die Demokratie und die Gesetze Solons, als unbedeutend siehst du Perikles und als minderwertig das Beispiel des Themistokles an; du denkst an die Akropolis und richtest deinen Ehrgeiz auf Peisistratos; ein Liebhaber der Tyrannis bist du.[22]

Aber das sei alles noch zu wenig, meint Timon und setzt zu einer gewaltigen Peroratio des Menschenhasses an (52–54):

> Es ist nur ein kleiner Gedanke, eine einzige Stadt zu ruinieren [...] Ergreife Du das Feldherrenamt und werde zum Herrn von Triëren, Waffen, Soldatenlisten,

[22] *Decl.* 12.51: τὴν φύσιν ἐπιγινώσκω τὴν σήν, Ἀλκιβιάδη. μείζω φρονεῖς τῶν νόμων. ταπεινὴν ἡγῇ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καὶ τοὺς νόμους τοῦ Σόλωνος, μικρὸν Περικλέα καὶ φαῦλον νομίζεις τὸ Θεμιστοκλέους παράδειγμα, τὴν ἀκρόπολιν περινοεῖς, τὸν ζῆλον ἄγεις πρὸς Πεισίστρατον, τυραννίδος ἐραστὴς τυγχάνεις.

> Reitern, Geldmitteln [...] (53) Beschränke deine Taten nicht auf die Grenzen Griechenlands und die Macht des Alkibiades nicht innerhalb der Peloponnes. Führe Flottenexpeditionen über die Ägäis und das Ionische Meer hinaus, nach Osten und nach Westen. Richte viele Gemetzel in Sizilien und im Hellespont an und viele Städtezerstörungen überall auf der bewohnten Erde und mache alle heimatlos [...] (54) Ahme jene homerische Eris nach, die zunächst aus kleinen Anfängen begann und dann in ihrem Vormarsch den ganzen Zwischenraum zwischen Himmel und Erde erfüllte! Diesen Triumphzug führe mir, Alkibiades, gegen die gesamte bewohnte Welt [...] Ich trete dir die Bezeichnung ‚Menschenhasser' ab. Und mögen dich fortan die Götter für die zukünftigen Katastrophen der Menschen bewahren, mich aber soll nun jemand zu meinem anderen Geliebten führen: zum Tod.[23]

Fürwahr ein fulminantes Ende eines schon zuvor sehr lebendigen Plädoyers.

4. Beispiel 3: Lais und Korinth – eine schöne Frau als Gefahr für eine ganze Stadt

Mitten hinein in zeitlose Geschlechterbeziehungen – unter dem Thema „Die Gefahren weiblicher Reize für wehrlose Männer" – führt uns die 25. Deklamation.[24] Ihre (etwas längere) Überschrift beschreibt prägnant, worum es geht:

> In Korinth gab es eine attraktive Hetäre namens Lais,[25] die mit ihrer Schönheit viele Liebhaber anzog. Da infolgedessen ein großer Teil der Jugend verdorben

[23] *Decl.* 12.52–54: ἀλλὰ μικρὸν τὸ ἐνθύμημα μίαν ἀπολέσαι πόλιν, [...] σὺ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν παρελθὼν καὶ τριήρων, ὅπλων, καταλόγων, ἱππέων, χρημάτων καταστὰς κύριος [...] (53) μή μοι μέχρι τῶν ὅρων τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὰς πράξεις μηδὲ εἴσω Πελοποννήσου τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου καθείρξῃς δυναστείαν. ὑπὲρ τὸν Αἰγαῖον πόντον, ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰόνιον, Ἀλκιβιάδη, νεῶν στόλον ἐξαγαγεῖν <ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω>, ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν. πολλὰς κατὰ Σικελίαν, πολλὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ σφαγὰς καὶ πόλεων ἀναιρέσεις πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπεργασάμενος ἅπαντας ἀνάστησον. [...] (54) μίμησαι τὴν Ἔριν ἐκείνην τὴν Ὁμηρικὴν ἥ τὰ πρῶτα ἐκ φαύλων ὁρμηθεῖσα πᾶν τὸ μέσον οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς προϊοῦσα ἐπλήρωσε. τοῦτόν μοι τὸν κῶμον κατὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης, Ἀλκιβιάδη, κώμασον. [...] παραχωρῶ σοι τῆς τοῦ μισανθρώπου προσηγορίας. καὶ σὲ μὲν ἐντεῦθεν θεοὶ φυλάττοιεν ταῖς μελλούσαις ἀνθρώπων συμφοραῖς, ἐμὲ δὲ ἤδη τις ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἐρώμενον ἀγέτω, τὸν θάνατον.

[24] Sie umfasst 26 Teubnerseiten.

[25] Es gab mindestens zwei berühmte Hetären namens Lais (vgl. Strothmann 1999: 1067 f.), aber sie sind hier zu einer Person zusammengezogen. Ähnliches könnte bereits in der Mittleren attischen Komödie geschehen sein, vgl. Epikrates fr. 3 und 4 K.-A. (aus dem Stück „Anti-Lais") sowie Nesselrath 1990: 197 f.

> wurde, stellte jemand den Antrag, Lais aus der Stadt zu weisen, und setzte sich durch. Als es danach viele Ehebrecher in der Stadt gab, und da ein Gesetz bestand, das den Tod für einen in flagranti erwischten Ehebrecher vorsah, erlitten viele die von diesem Gesetz vorgesehene Strafe. Daher stellte jemand den Antrag, Lais zurückzuholen, wogegen ein anderer Einspruch erhob. Wir wollen eine Rede des Einspruch Erhebenden ausarbeiten.[26]

Dieses Gegenplädoyer beginnt mit dem Hinweis, dass eine Rückberufung der notorischen Hetäre Lais – die zuvor durch Gesetzesbeschluss aus Korinth entfernt wurde – für die Stadt einen großen Reputationsschaden (ἀδοξία) bedeuten würde (1). Doch will der Sprecher bei seinem Plädoyer vor allem den Gesichtspunkt des Nutzens (συμφέρον) in den Vordergrund stellen (2), und zwar des Nutzens für die Allgemeinheit (κοινῇ συμφέρον), den eben diejenigen nicht beachten, die statt einer Befriedigung ihrer Lüste in guter gesetzlicher Ehe diese Befriedigung in Unzucht anstreben (3).

Nach diesen einleitenden Bemerkungen zeichnet der Redner das Bild des idealen Korinth der „Vor-Lais-Zeit" (4) – dann aber führte ein böswilliger Daimon eben Lais in die Stadt, und ihr Wirken, das alsbald viele jüngere wohlhabende männliche Korinther um viele ihrer Besitztümer erleichterte, wird plastisch beschrieben (5f.). Was auch immer die braven Ehefrauen versuchten, gegen diese gewiefte Rivalin kamen sie nicht an (7), ja einige von ihnen ließen sich sogar zu einem ähnlichen Lebenswandel verführen (8f.).

Das von Lais ausgehende Unheil beschränkte sich aber nicht nur auf Korinth. Zunächst ziert der Redner sich noch, hier deutlicher zu werden, weil er davon für sich selbst und seine Stadt ebenfalls großen Reputationsverlust befürchtet (10); da er aber eine Wiederkehr dieser Zustände um jeden Preis verhindern will, stellt er auch diese Dinge dar (11): Alle Griechen, die zuhause wegen unzüchtiger Gelüste um ihren Ruf fürchteten, brachen nunmehr nach Korinth auf, das dank Lais immer mehr den Ruf eines „Ausgangspunkts der Zügellosigkeit" (ἀκολασίας ὁρμητήριον) und eines Zuhälters (πορνοβοσκός) erhielt (12). Dies veranlasste die moralisch Aufrechten der Korinther endlich dazu, ein Gesetz zu beschließen, mit dem Lais aus der Stadt verwiesen

[26] In seiner didaktischen Einführung (*Protheoria*) zählt Libanios die Punkte kurz auf, die dieses Gegenplädoyer behandeln muss: 1. τὰ πεπραγμένα Λαίδι καθ' ἡμῶν [„das, was von Lais gegen uns getan worden ist"] καὶ 2. τὴν ἤδη περὶ τοῦ μὴ μένειν κρατήσασαν ψῆφον [„den bereits erfolgten Volksbeschluss, dass sie hier nicht bleiben soll"], εἶτα 3. τὸ μὴ δεῖν μεταβάλλεσθαι [„dass es keinen Sinneswandel geben darf"] 4. μηδὲ τὴν πόλιν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀδοξεῖν θεραπεύουσαν ἑταίραν [„dass die Stadt nicht durch ihre Liebedienerei gegenüber einer Hetäre bei den Griechen in Verruf geraten darf"] καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διέξιμεν.

wurde (13). Leider vergaß man dabei jedoch, zugleich künftige Versuche, Lais zurückzuholen, unter Todesstrafe zu stellen – dann müsste man sich jetzt nicht anhören, dass die Hetäre unbedingt wieder in die Stadt kommen müsse, damit vor allem die jüngeren Korinther ihre Lüste nicht mehr auf die ehrbaren korinthischen Frauen richteten (14).

Der Redner jedenfalls will sich in keiner Weise auf eine solche Argumentation einlassen: Es könne doch nicht darum gehen, das eine Übel (nämlich Übergriffe von sich nicht beherrschen könnenden Männern gegen ehrbare Frauen) durch das andere (eine die Stadt ausplündernde Hetäre) zu vertauschen, sondern man müsse beide vermeiden! (15–16). Was aber die (erwähnten) korinthischen Frauen angehe, die sich von Lais' üblem Gebaren hätten anstecken lassen, so werde man die nicht dadurch kurieren, dass man Lais wieder in die Stadt lasse (17 f.); vielmehr könnte die Aufrechterhaltung von Lais' Ausweisung sogar eine heilsame Drohung auch für diese Frauen sein (19).

Damit aber die Jugend der Stadt nicht auf dumme Gedanken komme, müsse sie durch sinnvolle Tätigkeiten (Jagd, Waffenübungen) beschäftigt werden; denn sexuelle Begierden entstünden gerade aus Verweichlichung und Lotterleben (20). Wer dagegen die Rückkehr der Lais betreibe, sage all dem, was für die Stadt nützlich sei, den Kampf an (21).

Der Redner weist sodann darauf hin, dass die Verantwortung für eine beschlossene Rückkehr der Hetäre nicht auf den einzelnen Vorschlagenden, sondern auf die ganze beschließende Versammlung falle (22). Er fragt ferner, warum man den früheren Beschluss, Lais zu vertreiben, überhaupt gefasst habe, wenn es schon damals für „anständige Verhältnisse" in der Stadt besser gewesen wäre, sie hier zu behalten (24 f.). Danach setzt er sich mit dem Argument auseinander, dass Lais' Anwesenheit die Zahl der Ehebrüche und damit auch die Zahl der Todesurteile wegen Ehebruch (einer im klassischen Griechenland für ein solches Vergehen durchaus üblichen Strafe) reduzieren würde (26); dagegen wendet er ein, dass die Zahl derer, die aus Streit um die Hetäre zu Tode gekommen seien, wahrscheinlich viel größer sei – wie auch die Zahl der Frauen, die der Polis Korinth keine Kinder gebären konnten, weil ihre Ehemänner es lieber mit Lais trieben![27] In dieser Hinsicht könne man der Hetäre dann sogar Wehrkraftzersetzung vorwerfen.

---

[27] *Decl.* 25.26 f.: πότε τοσούτους δείξεις διὰ μοιχείαν ἐννόμως ἀνῃρημένους, ὅσους ἡ μιαρὰ κεφαλὴ τεθέαται περὶ τὸ αὐτῆς ἐργαστήριον ἐσφαγμένους παρανομώτατα; (27) [...] πολλὰς γὰρ ἐκώλυσε παῖδας ἔχειν, ἐξ ὧν πεφύκασιν αἱ πόλεις ἀσφάλειαν ἔχειν καὶ πλήθει κρείττους γίνεσθαι τῶν ἐναντίων.

Als nächstes mokiert sich der Sprecher über das insinuierte Argument, dass ausgerechnet diese Hetäre den Korinthern zu einem selbstbeherrschteren Verhalten (mehr σωφροσύνη) verhelfen soll – wie könne man sie dann den übrigen Städten der Griechen vorenthalten (28)?

Um zu zeigen, dass sexuelle Zügellosigkeit in der Tat erst mit Lais nach Korinth gekommen sei, beschreibt der Sprecher, wie gut und bedeutend die Stadt vorher war (30 f.); jetzt aber

> wurden anstelle dieser guten Dinge Trunkenheit, ausgelassene Feste und teure Bewirtungen eingeführt – was alles diejenigen abstellen müssen, die nach (wahrem) Ruhm streben.[28]

Auch die Insinuation, dass der Beschluss gegen Lais nur durch die Eifersüchteleien anderer Hetären zustandegekommen sei, die ihre Zuhälter dazu bewegt hätten, ihn in der Volksversammlung vorzubringen (32), weist der Sprecher zuerst fast amüsiert und dann empört zurück: Müssen sich die ehrbaren Bürger, die für Lais' Entfernung sorgten, jetzt auch noch als Zuhälter beschimpfen lassen (33 f.)? Der Beschluss gegen Lais sei völlig ordnungsgemäß und gesetzeskonform zustandegekommen, und eine überwältigende Mehrheit habe für ihn gestimmt (35–37).

Ebenso lässt der Sprecher das Argument nicht gelten, dass die Stadt in früheren Zeiten die Anwesenheit von Hetären nicht verboten habe; daraus könne man keinen Blankoscheck für Lais ableiten (38 f.). Erst recht leuchtet ihm der Hinweis, dass es ja auch in Athen angesehene Hetären gebe, nicht ein (40):

> Was fällt dir ein, (hier) einen anderen Staat anzuführen und Gesetze, mit denen wir nichts gemein haben?[29]

Schließlich führt der Sprecher die wahren Beweggründe des Gegners für seine Initiative, Lais zurückzuholen, vor, indem er ihm einen fiktiven Monolog in den Mund legt, der zeigt, dass er ausschließlich in seinem persönlichen Interesse als in Lais Verliebter handelt und seine Argumente zugunsten eines angeblichen Nutzens der Stadt nur Vorwand sind (43 f.). In seiner Peroratio (45 f.) macht der Sprecher klar, dass die Korinther sich zwischen Zügellosigkeit und gutem

---

[28] *Decl.* 25.31: ἀντεισῆκται δὲ νῦν ἀντὶ τῶν χρηστῶν τούτων μέθη καὶ κῶμοι καὶ πολυτελεῖς ἑστιάσεις· ἃ παῦσαι δεῖ τοὺς δόξης ὀρεγομένους.

[29] *Decl.* 25.40: τί δὲ παθὼν πολιτείαν προφέρεις ἑτέραν καὶ νόμους οἷς οὐδὲν <καὶ> ἡμῖν ἐστι κοινόν;

Ruf werden entscheiden müssen, und dass diese Entscheidung auch in ganz Griechenland Auswirkungen auf die Reputation Korinths haben wird.

Insgesamt versteht es diese Deklamation, den Aspekt des Nutzens mit dem des moralisch Guten zu verbinden, zugleich aber auch noch – vor allem durch plastische Schilderungen der verderblichen Einflüsse, die die prominente Hetäre Lais auf Korinth ausübte – sehr kurzweilig zu sein.

5. Beispiel 4: Der schweigsame Eigenbrötler und seine unerträgliche Ehefrau

Ein wahres Kabinettstück unter Libanios' Deklamationen ist die Nr. 26,[30] unser letztes Beispiel: In ihm beantragt ein älterer Mann, der vor allem seine Ruhe liebt und auch selber kein Freund langer Reden ist, vor dem Rat seiner Stadt, ähnlich wie der oben geschilderte Timon den Schierlingsbecher trinken zu dürfen. Der Grund? Er wird so sehr von dem unaufhörlichen und schier unerträglichen Geschwätz seiner Frau geplagt, dass er diesem Zustand nur noch durch eine Flucht ins Jenseits entgehen zu können glaubt.

Schon in seinem Prooemium (1–4) macht der Sprecher seine Disposition auf höchst unterhaltsame Weise klar: Er hätte es mit dieser Frau nie so weit kommen lassen dürfen; nun aber bittet er die Ratsherren, ihn nicht in ein langes Palaver zu verwickeln, sondern ihm die erbetene Gunst (den Schierlingsbecher) möglichst rasch zu gewähren, damit seine Frau nichts davon erfährt und ihm auch noch in den ersehnten Tod hinein quatscht. Wenn es nicht ein Gesetz gegen Selbstmord gäbe, hätte er sich ja am liebsten gleich in der Stille irgendwo aufgehängt; da dies aber verboten ist, muss er sich nun einmal diesem Verfahren stellen (4).

Um seinen Entschluss zu begründen, schildert er in der nun beginnenden Narratio zunächst seine eigene Veranlagung (6–8): er sei ein sehr vernünftiger, ruhiger und jedem Lärm und Geschrei abholder Mensch und meide deshalb so viel wie nur möglich Volksversammlung, Agora und Gerichte, ja sogar die lauten Handwerke. Damit habe er lange gut gelebt; dann aber sei ein böses Geschick in Gestalt eines Verwandten an ihn herangetreten und habe ihm schmackhaft gemacht, dass er sein solitäres Leben doch durch eine Heirat beenden solle, und auf seine bängliche Frage, wie es die ausersehene Dame denn mit dem Reden halte, sei er auf ganzer Linie beruhigt worden (9 f.).

[30] Sie umfasst 34 Teubnerseiten. Zu dem beachtlichen Nachleben dieser Deklamation vgl. Nesselrath & Van Hoof 2014: 173 f.

Diese Lobeshymne stellt sich dann freilich als glatte Täuschung heraus; schon die Hochzeit erweist sich als eine so lärmerfüllte Angelegenheit, dass unser Sprecher sich am liebsten den Festkranz aus den Haaren gerissen und sogleich davon gelaufen wäre (11). Aber es kam noch viel schlimmer, und dies bereits in der Hochzeitsnacht (12):

> Noch vor Mitternacht gab sie Laut und tadelte das Bett; und diese Äußerung verstörte mich nicht wenig [...] Dann fragte sie mich, ob ich schlafe; das verursachte mir noch größere Verstimmung. Dann stellte sie irgendeine dritte Frage und dann noch eine vierte andere; ich aber antwortete nichts, sondern schämte mich gegenüber einer Unverschämten.[31]

In den nächsten Tagen wird ihm die unerträglich geschwätzige Natur seiner Ehefrau immer klarer (14–23): Zuerst lässt sie sich von der ganzen Dienerschaft deren ganze Familiengeschichte erzählen; dann fragt sie nach allen möglichen Dingen des Haushalts, schließlich auch danach, wieviele Hähne es gebe. Als ihr Ehemann antwortet, keine, denn er halte deren Gekrähe nicht aus, trägt sie ihm auf der Stelle ein wortreiches Lob des Hahns vor (14). Als er mitten in diesem rhetorischen Erguss entnervt fortläuft – um dem, der ihm diese Ehe eingebrockt hat, Vorwürfe zu machen –, muss er sich bei seiner Rückkehr eine ganze Fragensalve anhören (15):

> Wohin bist du gegangen? Woher kommst du? Mit wem hast du geredet? Was gibt es Neues? Hat es etwas umsonst gegeben? Wurde ein Volksbeschluss beantragt? Hat jemand ein Gesetz eingebracht? Waren die Gerichte voll? Hat jemand eine Anklage angestrengt? Wurde einer verurteilt?[32]

Damit nicht genug: Seine Frau macht sich über sein Schweigen lustig und hält ihm lange Vorträge, dass man als Mann doch reden müsse; sagt er aber tatsächlich einmal etwas, nimmt sie das sofort zum Anlass für unzählige neue Fragen, und überhaupt zieht sie aus allem und jedem stets neue Materie für unablässiges Reden, Reden, Reden (16–19). Der arme Mann leidet bei all

[31] *Decl.* 26.12: πρὶν μὲν γὰρ μέσην φανῆναι νύκτα φθέγγεταί τι μεμφομένη τὴν κλίνην. καί με τὸ ῥῆμα οὐ μικρῶς ἐτάραξεν [...] ἔπειτα ἤρετό με εἰ καθεύδοιμι. τούτῳ μειζόνως ἤλγησα. τρίτον ἤρετό τι καὶ τέταρτον ἕτερον. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπεκρινάμην οὐδέν, ἀλλ᾽ ἠσχυνόμην πρὸς ἀναισχυντοῦσαν.

[32] *Decl.* 26.15: „ποῖ πεπόρευσαι; πόθεν ἀφῖξαι; τῷ διείλεξαι; τί καινὸν ἤγγελται; γεγόνασιν ἐπιδόσεις; ἐγράφη τι ψήφισμα; νόμον τις ἔθηκεν; ἐπληρώθη δικαστήρια; γέγραπταί τις; ἥλωκέ τις;“

dem Höllenqualen (20); aber selbst sein Stöhnen wird wieder zum Anlass für kein Ende nehmen wollende Nachfragen, und wenn er dann endlich einmal „Schweig!" sagt, wird auch das sofort aufgegriffen (21):

> Warum soll ich dir schweigen? Stamme ich etwa von Leuten ab, die keine bürgerlichen Rechte haben?[33]

und dies bringt sie assoziativ noch zu völlig anderen Themen, z.B. zur Entwicklung der attischen Tragödie, während ihr Ehemann sich wie einer der unglücklichen Helden dieser Tragödie vorkommt (22). Nicht einmal nachts gibt sie Ruhe, und selbst wenn sie einmal in Schlaf fällt, schläft ihre Zunge jedenfalls nicht (23).

Dies alles hat den Mann fix und fertig gemacht, so dass er den Rat geradezu anfleht (24):

> Helft mir, bei Zeus! Gebt mir von dem Gift! Rettet mich vor der nie aufhören wollenden Stimme![34]

Fragen eines fiktiven Gegensprechers, was denn an dem Ganzen *so* schlimm sei, dass er sterben wolle, weist er indigniert zurück (25 f.) und empört sich, dass er selbst für einen gnädigen Tod so viele Worte machen müsse (27). ‚Normale' Unglücke (wie Verlust von Besitz oder Angehörigen, Schädigungen am eigenen Körper) seien mit seiner üblen Lage überhaupt nicht zu vergleichen (29):

> Ich bin angefüllt mit dummen Worten, mitgenommen durch endlos lange Vorträge, ersäuft durch Redseligkeit, Opfer einer Überdosis Geschwätzigkeit. Wie ein Schiff das Meer hat mich der Schwall meiner Frau unter sich begraben. Ich bin nicht mehr zurechnungsfähig; mir schwindelt und ist speiübel. Sind das nicht genügend Gründe zum Sterben?[35]

Kurz: Sein Leiden sei absolut einmalig (30).

---

[33] *Decl.* 26.21: „διὰ τί σοι σιωπῶ; μὴ γὰρ ἐξ ἀτίμων γέγονα;"

[34] *Decl.* 26.24: ἀμύνατέ μοι, πρὸς Διός, μετάδοτέ μοι τοῦ φαρμάκου, ῥύσασθέ με φωνῆς ἀπαύστου.

[35] *Decl.* 26.29: μεστός εἰμι ῥημάτων ἀνοήτων. μήκεσιν ἀπείροις λόγων βέβλημαι. ἀδολεσχίαις βεβάπτισμαι. πολλὴν δέδεγμαι γλωσσαλγίαν. καθάπερ πλοῖον θάλαττα, ὑπερέσχε με τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ κλύδων. οὔκ εἰμι φρενήρης. ἰλιγγιῶ, σκοτοδινιῶ. ταῦτ᾽ οὐχ ἱκαναὶ προφάσεις πρὸς θάνατον;

Noch einmal setzt er an, die besondere Qualität dieses Leidens darzulegen; er sei nun einmal absolut gegen *makrologia* allergisch (31). Wenn seine Frau eine Säuferin wäre, würde sie ja wenigstens Ruhe geben, wenn sie ihre Räusche ausschliefe. Auch eine dumme und verschwenderische könnte er aushalten (32);

> diese Unaufhörlichkeit ihrer Vorträge aber hat mich besiegt, niedergerungen und das Leben (selbst) zum Feind gemacht.[36]

Der nie versiegende Redefluss seiner Frau habe ihn schon oft dem Tode nahegebracht, sagt der Sprecher (33); ihrer Stimme könne nichts Einhalt gebieten, „nicht Winter, nicht Sommer, nicht Wind, nicht Windstille" (34).[37] Von den Göttern erbitte er sich deshalb Dinge, die jedem anderen absurd vorkommen müssten: Taubheit oder einen dicken natürlichen Ohrpfropfen (35); da diese Bitten aber unerhört blieben, bleibe ihm nur zu sterben (36). Nirgends finde er seine so heißersehnte Ruhe: Vor seiner Ehe war ihm das Haus eine Zufluchtstätte, aber diese habe die Zunge seiner Frau zunichte gemacht (37). Wenn seine Frau einmal krank werde, sei ihre Zunge das einzige, das sich stets bester Gesundheit erfreue (37).

Ja nun, kommt wieder der fiktive Gegenredner zu Wort, er habe seine Frau eben besser erziehen müssen. Aber genau das habe er ja ständig versucht, nur leider völlig erfolglos (38); auch die Versuche, mit Helfern gegen sie vorzugehen, seien gescheitert (39). Dann habe er es mit Zitaten bedeutender Dichter versucht, woraufhin sie ihn sogleich mit einem Fragenschwall zu diesen ein weiteres Mal in die Flucht geschlagen habe (40):

> Und wer war dieser Dichter? Von welchem Vater stammte er ab, aus welchem Demos? Wann fing er an zu dichten, und wie starb er?[38]

Ebenso wenig fruchtete der Hinweis auf die Verhältnisse in der Natur, wo nur die männlichen Grillen zirpten, die weiblichen aber nicht – woraufhin sie die Geschlechterdifferenzierung überhörte und die Grillen wortreich als Musenlieblinge pries, denen das Zirpen viel wichtiger sei als Essen (41). Dann

---

[36] *Decl.* 26.32: τουτὶ δὲ τὸ διηνεκὲς τῶν λόγων νενίκηκέ με καὶ κατεπάλαισε καὶ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἐπολέμωσεν.

[37] *Decl.* 26.34: οὐ χειμών, οὐ θέρος, οὐκ ἄνεμος, οὐ νηνεμία.

[38] *Decl.* 26.40: „καὶ τίς οὗτος ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ τίνος πατρὸς καὶ ποίου δήμου καὶ πότε ποιεῖν ἤρξατο καὶ πῶς ἐτελεύτησε;"

habe er es mit brachialer Gewalt versucht; aber ihr den Mund zuhalten führte anschließend nur zu umso größerem Geschrei (42). So machten alle Erziehungsversuche alles nur noch schlimmer (43).

„Ja, warum wirfst du sie denn nicht einfach aus dem Haus? Dann hättest du doch Ruhe!" kommt jetzt der Rat eines fiktiven wohlmeinenden Mitbürgers (44).[39] Aber auch damit ist nichts geholfen, wie unser Sprecher sogleich nachweist: Der Versuch eines solchen Hinauswurfs würde eine Gerichtsverhandlung nach sich ziehen, in der seine wortgewaltige Frau als Prozessgegnerin fürwahr alles und jeden niederreden würde (45). Und selbst wenn ihm eine solche gerichtliche Scheidung von seiner Frau gelänge, würden ihn anschließend deren Verwandten und vor allem aber auch wiederum sie selbst ihn fortan dauernd belagern und nie mehr zur Ruhe kommen lassen (46–8).

So bleibt als Ausweg also wirklich nur der Tod, den zu gewähren der Sprecher nun den Rat noch einmal in einem eindringlichen Appell bittet (49–52). Er malt sich die herrliche Ruhe aus, die ein Verstorbener bereits während der (in einem antiken griechischen Ambiente nicht gerade leisen) Bestattungsfeier genießt (49). Zwei zusätzliche kleine Bitten äußert er: Derjenige, der ihm den Schierlingsbecher reicht, möge dies bitte stumm tun (50); und bei dieser Sterbeszene solle auch seine Frau nur ja nicht anwesend sei, denn selbst die würde sie noch zerreden (51). Wenn er jetzt sterbe, werde seine Frau auch nicht mehr dazu kommen, ihm Kinder zu gebären, die ja wahrscheinlich so wie sie ausfallen und das Haus mit noch mehr Lärm und Geschrei erfüllen würden (52).

Während er sich aber noch die himmlische Ruhe des Jenseits ausmalt (53):

> Ich werde zu denen unten gehen, zu denen, die nicht schwätzen; ich werde einen Ort erlangen, der vor Ruhe strotzt![40]

fällt ihm plötzlich ein, dass es da ja gar nicht unbedingt so ruhig ist (da soll es ja auch Gerichte und andere Lärmentwicklungen geben) und dass – schlimmer noch – irgendwann auch seine Frau da unten ankommt (54)! Falls dies wirklich so sein sollte, bittet er nun die Götter in einem abschließenden Gebet inständig darum, seine Frau möglichst lange hier auf Erden leben zu lassen – so hätte er in der Unterwelt wenigstens noch etwas länger Ruhe.

---

[39] *Decl.* 26.44: „ἔκβαλε τὸ γύναιον· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ᾽ οὐδὲν ἀκούσῃ φθεγγομένης."

[40] *Decl.* 26.53: ἄπειμι παρὰ τοὺς κάτω, παρὰ τοὺς οὐ λαλοῦντας. καταλήψομαι χῶρον ἡσυχίας γέμοντα.

6. Resümee

Libanios' Deklamationen – heute noch lesenswert, vielleicht sogar geeignet für die Schule?

Vielleicht konnte die Vorstellung dieser vier Deklamationen zeigen, dass Libanios zum einen sehr unterhaltsam Situationen zu entwerfen und zu schildern, zum andern aber auch Argumente anschaulich und überzeugend zu vermitteln versteht – alles Fähigkeiten, die auch wir heutigen in vielen Situationen sehr gut gebrauchen können.

Das erste der vorgeführten Beispiele führt mitten in eine der berühmtesten Episoden der homerischen *Ilias* hinein und entwickelt sie ingeniös weiter; das hier gezeigte Individuum Achill, das auf seinen Rechten gegenüber einer Gemeinschaft besteht, die diese Rechte nicht genügend beachtet oder unterstützt hat, dürfte auch heute noch einer Diskussion würdig sein.

Das zweite Beispiel kontrastiert zwei außerordentlich schillernde Individuen der klassischen athenischen Geschichte miteinander und könnte als eine sehr anschauliche Einführung in diese Geschichte dienen und zugleich zeigen, in welcher Weise eine konsequente Fokalisierung oder Perspektivierung durch einen sicherlich extremen Charakter Situationen verfremden und verzerren kann.

Das dritte Beispiel ist an eine ebenfalls historische Figur angeknüpft (es gab sogar zwei Hetären mit Namen Lais in Korinth, die bei Libanios zu einer Gestalt zusammengeflossen sind), behandelt aber eigentlich eine zeitlose Frage, nämlich die nach Möglichkeiten, mit dem unweigerlich vorhandenen menschlichen (hier vor allem männlichen) Sexualtrieb so umzugehen, dass er sich auf eine Gesellschaft nicht (allzu) destruktiv auswirkt.

Das Verhältnis der Geschlechter zueinander spielt schließlich auch im vierten Beispiel (das auf weite Strecken Züge einer Komödie hat) eine Rolle; die hier so wunderbar entwickelten „Szenen einer Ehe" dürfen wohl ebenfalls als zeitlos gelten.

Die Rhetorik des Libanios hat also auch heutigen Lesern noch Einiges zu bieten – ob auch für die Schule, sei gern dem Urteil der Leser (und Leserinnen) der voranstehenden Seiten überlassen; doch hoffe ich, dass dieses Urteil vielleicht nicht völlig negativ ausfallen dürfte.

Bibliographie

Cribiore, Raffaella (2007). *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Nesselrath, Heinz-Günther (1990). *Die attische Mittlere Komödie: ihre Stellung in der antiken Literaturkritik und Literaturgeschichte*. (*Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte*; 36.) Berlin; New York: de Gryter.

Nesselrath, Heinz-Günther (2012). *Libanios: Zeuge einer schwindenden Welt*. (*Standorte in Antike und Christentum*; 4.) Stuttgart: Hiersemann.

Nesselrath, Heinz-Günther (2014). „Ein homerischer Held in Konflikt mit der Welt? Achill zwischen Flucht und Verantwortung in der Ilias und in späterer griechischer Rhetorik." – Nesselrath, Heinz-Günther; Rühl, Meike (Hrsg.), *Der Mensch zwischen Weltflucht und Weltverantwortung: Lebensmodelle der paganen und der jüdisch-christlichen Antike*. (*Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum*; 87.) Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 13–30.

Nesselrath, Heinz-Günther; Van Hoof, Lieve (2014). „The reception of Libanius: from pagan friend of Julian to (almost) Christian saint and back." – Van Hoof, Lieve (ed.), *Libanius: A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 160–183.

Penella, Robert J. (2014). ‚Libanius' *Declamations*.' – Van Hoof, Lieve (ed.), *Libanius: A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 107–127

Petit, Paul (1957). *Les étudiants de Libanius*. Paris: Nouvelles Éditions latines.

Strothmann, Meret (1999). ‚Lais 1 + 2.' – *DNP* 6, 1067 f.

Abstract

This paper presents four declamations by the late antique rhetor Libanius of Antiochia (*decl.* 5: a speech by the Homeric hero Achilles, in which he defends his decision to take part no longer in the Greeks' fight against the Trojans, because of the intolerable insults Achilles had to suffer from Agamemnon; *decl.* 12: a speech by the classical Athenian misanthrope Timon who feels torn apart by his hatred of mankind and his uncanny love for the flashy young Alcibiades and sees no other solution for his dilemma than by seeking death by hemlock from the city's authorities; *decl.* 25: a speech by a Corinthian politician arguing against the recall of the famous hetaera Lais, who had been thrown out of Corinth because of her disruptive influence on the city's youth; and *decl.* 26, in which a despairing man argues that he is so tormented by the incessant talking of his vigorous wife that the only solution for his plight is – again – death by hemlock granted by the city). The paper tries to point out the many attractive qualities of these declamations and asks whether they might not be suitable for the teaching of ancient Greek at schools.

ON THE COMPOSITION OF MYTHS IN LONGUS AND ACHILLES TATIUS

Kadri Novikov

Myths and mythology has always had an important role in ancient Greek literature, starting from Homer and Hesiod and ending with the writings of the Roman empire. The role and function of myths, however, is rather varied if works from different times and different genres are compared. On the one hand, myths have been a source and subject for many works, either in poetry, prose or drama, on the other hand, they have been used as parts of longer works, for instance as examples for persuasion or as delightful digressions. Anne Lill's inspiring lectures and continuing interest in mythology have given me the impetus to examine the role and composition of myths in two ancient Greek novels from the 2nd century AD – in *Leucippe and Clitophon* by Achilles Tatius and *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus. Both novels, written in the period of the Second Sophistic, are known for their rhetorical style and the ponderous composition of the narrative.

Leucippe and Clitophon was composed most probably in the third quarter of the 2nd century by an Alexandrian writer Achilles Tatius.[1] He is considered to be the most playful among the authors of the five fully extant ancient Greek novels, tricking the reader/listener of his work with many twists in the plot and depicting his characters with several human faults. *Daphnis and Chloe* is written probably in the second half of the 2nd century, and almost nothing is known about the author Longus himself.[2] His novel is like a miniature ancient Greek novel – all the action takes place on the island of Lesbos and his characters have to overcome hardships to a smaller extent than in other works from the same genre. On the other hand, greater emphasis is put on

---

1 Plepelits 2003: 387–391.

2 The name itself suggests that he was a Roman citizen, who may have lived on the island of Lesbos. See Hunter 2003: 367–368, Cueva 2010: 44. It is also possible that Longus wrote at the beginning of the 3rd century (see Mittelstadt 1967: 753–755).

the psychological and emotional development of the main characters.[3] Bierl compares the novel by Longus itself with a myth, saying that he has composed "einen archetypischen Ur-Mythos, nämlich wie zwei naive Hirtenkinder über vier Bücher hinweg hereinreifen, um zum vollständigen Vollzug ihres erwachenden sexuellen Triebs zu gelangen."[4]

Myths in ancient Greek novels do not have a central role,[5] but are rather used as a literary device. They may illustrate, predict or present an analogue to the events and scenes in the plot, imitate a moral pattern or indicate what may happen to a person in a certain situation.[6] In my opinion, we could add entertainment to these functions. Most of the myths, for example, the aetiological myths in the novels by Longus and Tatius, are told as digressions and slow-downs in the narrative, offering the author an opportunity to display his rhetorical and compositional skills. Therefore, the myths are still an important part in the literary composition and this raises the question of how the myths themselves are composed. In the following paper, the use of rhetorical figures is examined in all the myths occurring in *Leucippe and Clitophon* and in *Daphnis and Chloe*.

General Characteristics of Myths in the Novels of Achilles Tatius and Longus

Achilles Tatius makes very many allusions to myths and mentions many mythical characters;[7] however, only five myths are fully presented in *Leucippe and Clitophon*, distributed rather symmetrically – two of them are placed in

[3] Cf. Morgan 1994: 64–66.

[4] Bierl 2007: 263.

[5] If we leave aside the proposition of Merkelbach, Witt and Chalk, that these novels (except *Chaereas and Callirhoe* by Chariton) are mystery texts (see e.g. Bierl 2007: 260). Some elements in the plot may be borrowed from myths, but the novels are not written following the fabula of a certain myth. Still, several scholars have argued that myths are very important in the composition of the novels (see e.g. MacQueen 1990, Cueva 2010, Bartsch 1989).

[6] See e.g. Cueva 2013: 24, referring to Grundy Steiner's work *The graphic analogue from myth to Greek romance* (1969). Cueva (2013: 26, n. 8) also notes that both Longus and Tatius „while showing Homeric influence on their selection of myths, employ myths that had been heavily reworked in the Hellenistic period by authors like Callimachus and Theocritus."

[7] See e.g. Cueva 2010: 64–82 for the thorough analysis of myths and mythical characters mentioned in Tatius' novel.

the 2nd book, one in the 5th book and two in the 8th book.[8] Four of the myths are aetiological,[9] the first two explain the origin of wine (in chapter 2.2) and the colour purple (in ch. 2.11), and the last two explain the origin of religious rituals in the cave of Pan (including a narration about the origin of syrinx, in ch. 8.6) and in the river Styx (ch. 8.12), that the female characters Leucippe and Melite have to pass. The myth located in the middle of the novel, however, explains a painting depicting the metamorphosis of Procne, Philomela and Tereus into birds (ch. 5.5). Only the myth about syrinx is told by a priest (of Artemis), all the others are presented by the ego-narrator Clitophon or Clitophon as a character in his story.

Three myths are incorporated into *Daphnis and Chloe*, located in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd book. The *leitmotif* in all the myths in Longus' novel is metamorphosis; perhaps in this motif we can also see an allusion to the gradual change (maturing) of the protagonists.[10] In addition, all three myths are narrated in a similar manner, all myths are about a maiden/nymph chased by Pan, in every myth music/singing is important and the author repeats certain key-elements or keywords.[11]

Similar to Tatius, two myths out of three are aetiological – in the 2nd book the origin of syrinx is told (narrated by Daphnis' adoptive father Lamon), as in *Leucippe and Clitophon*, and in the 3rd book Daphnis explains the origin and essence of echo. In the first book, Daphnis tells of the metamorphosis of a girl into a wood pigeon (similar to the myth about Procne, Philomela and Tereus in the novel of Tatius). Therefore, we can observe similarities in the subjects of the two myths (syrinx and metamorphoses into birds) in the novels of Longus and Tatius, as well as in terms of the narrating characters (male protagonists or an older male).

Many different opinions have been presented about the role of myths in the composition of Longus' novel. MacQueen's analysis shows that a chiastic framing or ring-composition of elements can be noticed around each myth in Longus; consequently, they become central elements in his novel.[12] Létoublon observes the fact that certain words are repeated in each myth (παρθένος,

[8] Novikov 2014: 100–101, 342–391.

[9] Cf. Graf 2000: 633–635, who defines myths as fictitious stories explaining the origin of something.

[10] Cf. Kestner 1973: 169.

[11] Cueva 2013: 49–53.

[12] MacQueen 1990: 31–81; MacQueen 1985: 119–134.

καλή, ἥδε(ν)).[13] I would add here the word μουσική, which also recurs in every myth. In Létoublon's opinion the myths have a didactic purpose – to educate Chloe.[14]

As the novel by Longus is much more concise than that by Tatius, the myths in his novel are also shorter. The longest myth in *Leucippe and Clitophon* (about the river Styx) is twice as long as the longest myth in *Daphnis and Chloe* (about the echo). When in Tatius' novels the myths are rather told as digressions from the plot, slowing down or even stopping the narrative tempo, the myths in Longus' novel do not seem to have exactly the same effect (although they are told in the direct speech of the characters, which is slower than the narration about the events in the novel[15]). The reason is that Longus writes his whole novel in a slower narrative tempo than Tatius, presenting the events in separate scenes rather than describing them as taking place during a longer narrative period. Consequently, the myths appear as scenes within scenes and do not decelerate the narrative considerably.

Composition and Rhetorical Figures in Myths in *Leucippe and Clitophon*

The first two myths Achilles Tatius tells through his ego-narrator Clitophon are located quite close to each other in the first half of the 2nd book. The book starts with supper at Clitophon's house at the time of the festival of Dionysus Protrygaios, which follows Clitophon's first attempts to win Leucippe's attention. The ego-narrator gives the Tyrian account of the origin of the festival and of wine. According to this myth Dionysus once showed a hospitable shepherd Icarius how wine could be made. The myth can be seen, on the one hand, as a digression between events and interrupting the process of winning Leucippe's heart, on the other hand, wine (= Dionysus) is important in the scene a few chapters later, where Clitophon's servant Satyrus intermediates the

[13] Létoublon 2013: 129.

[14] Létoublon 2013: 127–128.

[15] See Novikov 2014: 36–75 about dividing the text of the novel into different types of narrative tempo-management and analysis of narrative tempo in the novels of Achilles Tatius and Eustathius Macrembolites.

"kisses" (= Eros) of the protagonists with a cup of wine he serves alternately to Leucippe and to Clitophon.[16]

The myths in the novel of Achilles Tatius are not the most figurative genre; the use of rhetorical figures is rather similar to the authors' style of narrating events in the plot, although more structural repetitions are used and the lexical repetitions tend to highlight keywords in myths.[17] The same can be said about the myth about wine here – there are several parallel or chiastic constructions, supported by anaphora. Other lexical repetitions highlight, for instance, the words *wine*, *to drink*, *vine* and *pleasure* (οἶνος, πίνω, ἄμπελον, ἡδονή). This is one of the two myths in Tatius' novel which includes a dialogue between characters (Dionysus and the shepherd), therefore some figures used mostly in direct speech also occur (e.g. address).

The second myth at the beginning of the novel presents an elaborate description of the decoration on the wedding-dress belonging to Clitophon's half-sister and bride-to-be Calligone. As the dress is purple in colour, the ego-narrator Clitophon tells the Tyrian myth of how a shepherd walking on the beach with his dog discovers the marvellous purple colour from a murex shell. This myth does not seem to continue in the following narrative, the purple colour (πορφύρα) is not mentioned in the novel again. Therefore, we can see this myth as a purely entertaining insertion, offering again a slow-down in the narrative before the troubling news about the kidnapping of Calligone. However, as many hidden meanings and allusions to following events have been read from the descriptions and myths in Tatius' novel, maybe we could see one here too: namely the murex itself, being at first glance just a rough shell that the fisherman threw away, but in the end it turned out to be something valuable. A similar kind of "metamorphosis" takes place in the side-storyline of this novel, which immediately follows the narration of the myths.

---

[16] The "kissing" is preceded by the ego-narrator's explanation in ch. 2.3: Ἔρως δὲ καὶ Διόνυσος, δύο βίαιοι θεοί, ψυχὴν κατασχόντες ἐκμαίνουσιν εἰς ἀναισχυντίαν, ὁ μὲν καίων αὐτὴν τῷ συνήθει πυρί, ὁ δὲ τὸν οἶνον ὑπέκκαυμα φέρων· οἶνος γὰρ ἔρωτος τροφή. (*When Eros and Dionysus, both powerful gods, take hold of the soul, they drive it on to the wilder reaches of immodesty, for the gift of Dionysus fuels the well-known fires of Eros. Wine is the aliment of love.*) The Greek text for analysis of Achilles Tatius is taken from Vilborg 1955, the translations from Winkler 1989.

[17] See Novikov 2014: 267–309. I have analyzed 17 rhetorical figures, which belong to the following groups: lexical repetitions (polyptoton, word-repetition, anaphora, rare lexical repetitions), syntactical repetitions (parallelism, antithesis, chiasmus, parison, isocolon), figures of tempo (asyndeton, enumeration), figures of appellation (rhetorical question, exclamation, address) and sound-repetitions (alliteration, homoioteleuton, paronomasia).

Namely, Calligone, who is mistaken for Leucippe, is kidnapped by a Byzantian youngster Callisthenes, who did not get permission to marry Leucippe from his father because of his ill manners and way of life. At the end of the novel we learn, however, that Callisthenes has fallen in love with Calligone (who initially was not the object of his love) and changed his way of life completely, and the novel ends with their wedding.

Looking at the use of rhetorical figures in this myth, we can see that it is composed using primarily lexical repetitions[18] – mostly polyptoton, but also word-repetition and anaphora highlight the keywords *paint*, *blood*, *shell*, *purple*, *dog* (βαφή-βάπτω, αἷμα, κόχλος, πορφύρα, κύων). The section is framed also by sound-repetitions (alliteration, homoioteleuton), which emphasize the secrecy of the colour, e.g. τῆς πορφύρας ἡ κόσμος ἀνθρώποις ἀπόρρητος ἦν (*the elegance of porphyry was a secret kept from all mankind*, ch. 2.11.4) in the beginning and τὸ ἄδυτον ἀνοίγει τῆς πορφύρας (*he opened the sacred shrine of porphyry*, ch. 2.11.8) at the end.

The third myth in ch. 5.5 is told by Clitophon as a character in his ego-narration, after Leucippe has asked him the meaning of the myth on the picture they had just seen. The myth is about Procne's revenge on her husband Tereus, who raped her sister Philomela. This myth may be seen as alluding to the forthcoming horrible events (kidnapping and decapitation of Leucippe), as also Clitophon's friend Clinias says after seeing the picture and warning not to visit Charmides (who later kidnaps Leucippe): λέγουσι δὲ οἱ τῶν συμβόλων ἐξηγηταὶ σκοπεῖν τοὺς μύθους τῶν εἰκόνων, ἂν ἐξιοῦσιν ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν ἡμῖν συντύχωσι, καὶ ἐξομοιοῦν τὸ ἀποβησόμενον τῷ τῆς ἱστορίας λόγῳ." (*Interpreters of the signs tell us to consider the story of any painting we chance to see as we set out on business, and to plot the outcome of our action by analogy with that story's plot*, ch. 5.4.)

This myth is the most emotional one presented in Tatius' novel – it contains the highest number of asyndeta[19] among all five myths in *Leucippe and Clitophon*, the emotionality is stressed also by short rhythmical structures (parallellisms, antitheta, chiasms, enumeration, parisa, isocola) together with anaphora and polyptota. The sound repetitions (alliteration, homoioteleuta) again emphasize the keywords – the nightingale and swallow, the peplos,

[18] This, however, may be partly an influence of the previous section containing the *ekphrasis*. According to my analysis, the author often uses similar rhetorical figures in following sections (see Novikov 2014: 129–267).

[19] As the analysis of Tatius' novel has shown, asyndeta tend to occur in more emotional sections (see e.g. Novikov 2014: 303).

which "tells" of the rape of Philomela as she is unable to speak herself, the child, who is served as dinner. The rhetorical figures tend to accumulate around structural repetitions, but also at the beginning and the end of the myth as a frame. The beginning of the myth is very similar to the composition of the introduction of characters in Tatius's novel overall[20] – short asyndetic rhythmical clauses give a brief overview of the characters and place of action.

The 8th book of the novel contains again two myths, rather close to each other, both explaining the origin of religious ordeals that Leucippe and Melite (the second-important female character in the novel) have to pass. The first ordeal takes place in the cave of Pan and involves the voice of the panpipes. Therefore, the myth of Syrinx and Pan is told by the priest of Artemis, framed by a thorough description (*ekphrasis*) of the syrinx itself[21] and by the description of the ritual in the cave. Telling this myth to the reader/listener provides the background to the ordeal, but is not essential for comprehending it, having a more entertaining function. The description of the ritual itself is more important for understanding the subsequent narrative (why music is heard from the cave, when Leucippe enters it).[22]

The myth is rather short, but it is the most figurative of the five myths in Tatius' novel. There is a clear division of the rhetorical figures used in this section – in the first half, which describes Pan chasing the girl and how she turned into reeds (i.e. the action), structural repetitions prevail (antithetical structures and a parallelism) together with anaphora and word repetitions emphasizing Pan, the girl, and the earth (γῆ), who turned Syrinx into reeds. In the middle part and in the second half, describing the scene where Pan picks up the reeds, kisses them and accidentally discovers the sound of the panpipes, Tatius aptly uses sound repetitions; in the middle part the lexical repetitions clearly prevail. These highlight the keywords *beloved*, *cut*, *reed*, *flute/song of flute*, *syrinx* (ἐρωμένη, τομή, κάλαμος, αὐλός/αὔλημα, σύριγξ). Therefore, the clear difference between presenting action and the following slower scene can be noticed here, on the other hand choice and placement of rhetorical figures emphasize the sound and the musical instrument.

[20] See Novikov 2014: 141–142, 160, 199, 213–214, 275 for the analysis of the introductions of characters in first two books of the novel.

[21] Similarly to the myth about purple colour in the 2nd book, which was preceded by an *ekphrasis* of Calligone's dress.

[22] Létoublon (2013: 141) notes a parallel between Leucippe and Syrinx, but Leucippe's fate in Tatius' novel is with a happy ending instead of just vanishing as Syrinx.

The last myth in Tatius' novel explains the background to the ordeal in the river Styx. It is not preceded by any descriptions, but follows almost immediately the challenge of Thersander[23], which Leucippe and Melite accept. After the myth, as in the case of the Syrinx myth, the ordeal itself is described. Again, the description of the ordeal helps us to understand the ritual Melite has to pass in the river Styx, the myth is just an aetiological digression of how the river itself was once created.

Similar to the myth about Procne-Philomela-Tereus, this myth starts with an introduction of the main characters – the maiden Rhodopis and a young man Euthynicus, both hunters and both avoiding Aphrodite's rites. The style of the introduction again resembles the introduction of the characters of the novel in general. Most of the asyndetic parallel structures, together with isocola, parisa, anaphora and homoioteleuta, and an enumeration are accumulated into this introductory part of the myth. The middle part of the myth contains direct speech – the address of Aphrodite to her son Eros. In the second half of the myth lexical and sound-repetitions prevail, emphasizing the keywords *deer*, *hunt*, *arrow*, *Eros* (ἔλαφος, θήρα/θηράω, βέλος,Ἔρως). The sentences telling of the maiden shooting at a deer, Eros at the maiden and both hitting their target, are expressed through anthithetical structures. The end of the myth, where Rhodopis and Euthynicus break their oath to Artemis (pure narration of events), contains rather few figures (some lexical repetitions, alliterations, an asyndeton), as is characteristic to the narrative parts in the novel in general.[24] Despite the less figurative second half, this myth is the second-most figurative of the five myths in Tatius' novel.

Composition and Rhetorical Figures in Myths in *Daphnis and Chloe*

The first myth in *Daphnis and Chloe* tells us of the metamorphosis of a maiden into a wood pigeon. The myth is told to Chloe by Daphnis (in ch. 1.27) after she has asked him what the song of this bird means. Therefore, the reason for telling it is similar to the myth about Tereus-Procne-Philomela (again

[23] Thersander issues a challenge to Melite (she has to swear in river Styx that she has not committed adultery, while her real husband Thersander was away) and to Leucippe (to prove her virginity in the cave of Pan).

[24] See e.g. Novikov 2014: 272 for the sub-genre narration of the plot in the first two books of the novel.

metamorphosis into birds) in Tatius' novel, and the myth starts with an address to Chloe.

It is the least figurative of the three myths presented in Longus' novel; however, the author uses more figures than Tatius in any of his myths.[25] The most remarkable difference between Tatius and Longus lies in the occurrence of structural repetitions – Longus uses most of the analyzed structural repetitions (parallelisms, isocola, parisa) more than Tatius. The only exceptions are antitheta and chiasms, which in general occur more frequently in *Leucippe and Clitophon*. Longus' style is therefore very rhythmical, the amount of parisa and isocola is very high in every analyzed section.[26] In addition, asyndeta and homoioteleuta occur more frequently in Longus' novel. The distribution of rhetorical figures seems also more even in his sections containing myths than in Tatius' novel – no conspicuous accumulations of certain figures can be noticed in the beginning or end of the myths in *Daphnis and Chloe*.

In the myth about the wood pigeon, Longus, as Achilles Tatius, highlights the keywords through lexical repetitions – *the maiden*, *cows/to keep the cattle*, *the pine* (παρθένος, βοῦς/βουκολέω/νέμω, πίτυς). The only sound-repetitions here are homoioteleuta, which together with anaphora emphasize the structural repetitons and help to make the text more rhythmical. The combination of two pairs of parallel structures is interesting in the first half of the myth, and forms an antithesis, describing the way the maiden commands her cattle (οὔτε καλαύροπος πληγῇ οὔτε κέντρου προσβολῇ, ἀλλὰ καθίσασα ὑπὸ πίτυν καὶ στεφανωσαμένη πίτυϊ – *not with staff blows or goad strikes, but sitting under a pine and wreathed with pine she sang...*, ch. 1.27.2). Although several beginnings of periods are asyndetical, the shorter clauses within are connected polysyndetically (hence the high occurrence of anaphora). Here we can also see a myth, where another myth is mentioned – namely the maiden sings about Pitys and Pan, again a myth about Pan's violence and a metamorphosis of a nymph into a pine tree.[27]

The myth about the origin of syrinx in the 2nd book (ch. 2.34) is told by Daphnis' adoptive father Lamon – the only myth in *Daphnis and Chloe*, which

[25] The general frequency of rhetorical figures (the sum of all analysed figures divided by the number of words in a section) in sections containing myths in Tatius' novel varies between 0.15 and 0.27, the general frequency of rhetorical figures in Longus' myths varies between 0.31 and 0.42. The Greek text for the analysis of *Daphnis and Chloe* is taken from Herscher 1858, the translations are my own.

[26] Cf. Laird 2008: 206–208.

[27] Cf. Létoublon 2013: 128.

is not narrated by the protagonist Daphnis (similarly to the myth of syrinx in *Leucippe and Clitophon*). It is the shortest of the myths in this novel, but the only one, where we can see a beautiful circular composition using keywords: the first sentence ends with παρθένος καλὴ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν μουσική, the last sentence ends with παρθένος καλὴ νῦν ἐστι σύριγξ μουσική. The periods again mostly start with asyndeta, but contrary to the previous myth, also longer cola follow each other often asyndetically (the frequency of asyndeton is the highest here among the myths in Longus). The text is again very rhythmical, composed in many parallel structures together with anaphora and homoioteleuta (even an epiphora occurs). Otherwise the polyptota and alliterations are used to highlight the keywords such as *love/lover*, *Pan*, *violence*, *to escape* (ἔρως/ἐραστής, Πάν, βία, φεύγω).

The last myth is again aetiological – how the echo was born (ch. 3.23). This is the longest and most figurative myth in *Daphnis and Chloe*, told again by Daphnis to explain the echo to Chloe, and as with the myth about the wood pigeon, it starts with an address to Chloe. The composition of phrases is again very rhythmical, primarily using parallelisms, parisa and isocola, supported by anaphora and homoioteleuta (the frequency of homoioteleuta is by far the highest among all the analyzed myths). Here we can also notice the similar style in introducing characters as in Tatius' novel. The lexical repetitions in the myth bring out keywords such as *maiden*, *nymphs*, *Muses/musical*, *to imitate* (παρθένος, Νύμφαι, Μοῦσαι/μουσική, μιμέομαι). The use of enumeration (otherwise not present in Longus' myths) may be seen as a framing figure – at the beginning the author/narrator enumerates different kinds of nymphs (Μελίαι καὶ Δρυάδες καὶ Ἕλειοι), at the end the "singing" parts of the maiden imitate different objects (θεούς, ἀνθρώπους, ὄργανα, θηρία).

Conclusions

The myths presented in the novels by Achilles Tatius and Longus share several similarities. There are myths on the same subject (Syrinx), on the same theme (metamorphosis into birds, river, reeds), and most of the myths are aetiological. In both novels, the myths occur somehow symmetrically. In Tatius' novel the aetiological myths are located in the first and last part of the novel, whereas the last two are similar in their subject (explanation of a religious ritual). In Longus' novel the myths told by Daphnis are the first and last, the middle one is told by Lamon. However, the myths in *Daphnis and Chloe* seem to be more deeply integrated into the composition or "architecture" of

the novel and connected to each other by the repetition of certain elements and words (e.g. *maiden*, *beautiful*, *music/singing*, *Pan*). In the novel by Tatius such a connection between all the myths cannot be seen; their content and subject depends directly on the preceding narrative. Their function is purely explanatory or entertaining, sometimes they are (in)auspicious, alluding to the following events.

Regarding the use of rhetorical figures, the myths in the novel by Longus are much more figurative than in Tatius' novel. Longus' style is very rhythmical, he uses many structural repetitions, which are supported by anaphora and homoioteleuta. The same combinations can also be seen in Tatius' novel, but to a much smaller degree. The distribution of figures in Longus' myths is much more homogeneous, Tatius varies the use of figures according to the different function of the section (introducing, describing events etc.) and he uses a larger variety of figures (which may be caused by the fact that his myths are longer). Nevertheless, a rather similar use of rhetorical figures can be noticed in both authors, for instance, in the introductory parts of the myths, as well as in the function of lexical and sound-repetitions to emphasize the keywords in the story.

Bibliography

Bartsch, Shadi (1989). *Decoding the Ancient Novel: The Reader and the Role of Description in Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bierl, Anton (2007). 'Mysterien der Liebe und die Initiation Jugendlicher. Literatur und Religion im griechischen Roman.' – Bierl, Anton; Lämmle, Rebecca; Wesselmann, Katharina (Hrsg.), *Literatur und Religion 2: Wege zu einer mythisch-rituellen Poetik bei den Griechen.* (*MythosEikonPoiesis*; 1/2.) Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 239–334.

Cueva, Edmund P. (2010). *The Myths of Fiction: Studies in the Canonical Greek Novels.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Cueva, Edmund P. (2013). 'The literary myth in the novel.' – Pinheiro, Marilia P. Futre; Cueva, Edmund; Bierl, Anton; Beck, Roger (eds.), *Intende, Lector – Echoes of Myth, Religion and Ritual in the Ancient Novel.* (*MythosEikonPoiesis*; 6.) Berlin; Boston: de Gruyter, 24–27.

Graf, Fritz (2000). 'Mythos.' – *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, Bd. 8. Stuttgart; Weimar: Metzler, 633–635.

Hercher, Rudolf (ed.) (1858). *Longus. Erotici Scriptores Graeci*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner.

Hunter, Richard (2003). 'Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*.' – Schmeling, Gareth (ed.), *The Novel in the Ancient World.* Rev. ed. Boston; Leiden: Brill, 361–386.

Kestner, Joseph (1973). 'Ekphrasis as frame in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*.' – *The Classical World* 67, 166–171. https://doi.org/10.2307/4347982

Laird, Andrew (2008). 'Approaching style and rhetoric.' – Whitmarsh, Tim (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 201–217.

Létoublon, Françoise (2013). 'Mythological paradigms in the Greek novels.' – Paschalis, Michael; Panayotakis, Stelios (eds.), *The Construction of the Real and the Ideal in the Ancient Novel.* (*Ancient Narrative*; 17.) Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing & Groningen University Library, 127–145.

MacQueen, Bruce D. (1985). 'Longus and the myth of Chloe.' – *Illinois Classical Studies* 10(1), 119–134.

MacQueen, Bruce D. (1990). *Myth, Rhetoric and Fiction: A Reading of Longus's* Daphnis and Chloe. Lincoln; London: University of Nebraska Press.

Mittelstadt, M. C. (1967). 'Longus: *Daphnis and Chloe* and Roman narrative painting.' – *Latomus* 26, 752–761.

Morgan, John Robert (1994). 'Daphnis and Chloe: Love's own sweet story.' – Morgan, John Robert; Stoneman, Richard (eds.), *Greek Fiction: The Greek Novel in Context*. London; New York: Routledge, 64–79.

Novikov, Kadri (2014). Leucippe and Clitophon *by Achilles Tatius: Rhetorical Figures, Narrative Tempo and Genres in the Greek Novel.* (*Dissertationes studiorum Graecorum et Latinorum Universitatis Tartuensis*; 6.) Tartu: University of Tartu Press.

Plepelits, Karl (2003). 'Achilles Tatius.' – Schmeling, Gareth (ed.), *The Novel in the Ancient World.* Rev. ed. Boston; Leiden: Brill, 387–416.

Vilborg, Ebbe (ed.) (1955). *Achilles Tatius – Leucippe and Clitophon*. Göteborg: Elanders Bocktryckeri Aktiebolag.

Winkler, John J. (transl.) (1989). 'Achilles Tatius – Leucippe and Clitophon.' – Reardon, Bryan P. (ed.), *Collected Ancient Greek Novels.* Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 170–284.

Abstract

The article discusses the role and composition of myths in two ancient Greek novels: *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus and *Leucippe and Clitophon* by Achilles Tatius. It shows the similarities between the subject and types of myths, but differences in their function in these novels. The focus of the article is on the analysis of rhetorical figures in the myths, which reveals that Achilles Tatius uses a larger variety of rhetorical figures, which also depend on the position of the myth in the narrative. Longus style is more elaborate and rhythmical, the occurrence of figures is more homogeneous. However, similarities can be noticed in emphasizing the keywords in myths and the use of certain rhetorical figures and combinations of figures in both novels.

SOME POINTS ON THE HISTORICAL APPROACH TO THE BYZANTINE LIVES OF SAINTS

Michael Bibikov

On the face of it, it would seem that the topic described in the title is absurd. The idea that claims the basic opposition of hagiographic and historiographic principles and methods of attitude in literary works may now be reckoned traditional.[1] Hagiography is usually associated with schematisation, idealisation and the stereotyping of representation, which is far from the so-called "truth of life" and the freedom of the author's self-expression.[2]

The apparent anti-historicity of Byzantine hagiography is proved by intangible aspects in the described topic, which has led to countless scholarly discussions about the dating and attribution of one or other "Life", as was the case with the Vita of George of Amastris, at one time attributed to Ignatius and hence dated to his period of activity, but then revised.[3] The Life of Eudokimos was dated to the period of Patriarch Ignatius or Tarasios,[4] but has since been attributed to the 14th century in light of subsequent studies.[5]

Approximations of historical definitions led the author of the Life of Stephen of Sougdaia to confuse two emperors, Leo III and Leo V, and on the other hand to fail to identify the pious daughter of the king of Kerch, the patroness of the saint, with Irene, the Khazar princess, empress and wife of Basileus Constantine V Copronymus.[6]

---

1 Poljakova 1972: 248, 260–2, with reference to Ključevskij 1871: 432 ff. Cf. Magdalino 1991: 693; Mentzou-Meimaris 1994: 552.

2 Mertel 1909: 90 ff.; Šestakov 1910: 104 f.; Loparev 1914: 16 f.

3 Ševčenko 1977: 121 f.

4 Loparev 1893, 1897: 355–6.

5 Beck 1977: 699.

6 Vasiľevskij 1915: 74.11–14, 76.8–9, 93.16–24.

Uncertainty in the dating of the Lives of Byzantine saints due to carelessness in historical precision created another feature of hagiographical images, and one deemed typical of this genre, which is namely the clichéd set of normative traits instead of a living historical portrait.[7]

At the same time, the hagiographic narrative is somewhat aimed at resolving the task of historicity: the hagiographer has to offer a historical certificate, a real testimony of outstanding deeds of the protagonist, his Sanctity, as in the Miracles of St. Demetrius. Therefore, the topic of the Lives of Byzantine saints became a chain of historical events and examples.

It is characteristic of hagiographers to stress their own participation in the events described: the principle of "autopsy", as maintained in hagiography, is also relevant in the analysed works. Therefore, Nicetas claims to be especially exact in his Life of Philaret the Merciful, as this saint was his own grandfather of whose activity Nicetas had a first-hand account. Gregory, the hagiographer of Basil the Younger, was the latter's pupil.

In many cases, the Lives and Acts of Byzantine saints were created in response to the necessity to document an idea, claim or celebration in the historical record: this was the case in the formalisation of the apocryphal legend of St. Andrew in accordance with the claim of Constantinople to the Apostolic heritage, which becomes apparent in comparison to the hagiographic tradition of the Act of Clement.[8]

The historicity of hagiography is conditioned, on the one hand, by the impact of hagiographic narration in regard to historical topics and scenes, such as the account of a battle between Arabs and Byzantines in the Life of Roman the New Martyr, the Russian attack on Amastris in the Life of George of Amastris, or about Hungarians and Russians (?) ("Rhos, Gog and Magog") in 941 in the Life of Basil the Younger. On the other hand, it is also conditioned by the nearly direct textual borrowing from hagiographic works in the writings of pure historical genre, chronicles and histories, as in the case of Theophanes the Confessor's adoption of some texts from the Life of Philaret the Merciful.

Another interesting aspect of the description of historical events in the biographies of Byzantine saints is their attention to the specific details of everyday life, the facts of individual manners and ordinary rituals, as these tend to be neglected in the monumental general chronicles or historical memoirs, which are full of numerous narratives of campaigns, wars or court intrigues. One

---

[7] Delehaye 1907: 25; cf. Dorn 1967: 121 ff.

[8] Dvornik 1958; Čičurov 1992: 195 f.

such account pertains to the beginning of iconoclast disturbances in the Life of Philaret by Nicetas of Amnia, which was later borrowed by the chronicler Theophanes.

In this respect, historical descriptions in hagiography are perfectly exact and supply history with new details; as such, they "humanise" the events and give them more individual characteristics. In this way, the bride-show stories in the Life of Philaret the Merciful, of Theophano or that of Irene of Chrysobalanton are of great significance in the study of the socio-psychological aspects of ritual culture in Byzantium.[9]

As a whole, it is typical for hagiography to contain a multitude of details and descriptions of everyday life, individual features, personal cases and ordinary facts that often remained beyond the scope of a Byzantine chronicler. However, these are even more important for the modern scholar in attempting to comprehend medieval approaches "from an inner perspective" in categories related to the culture under study.[10]

There is significant terminological accuracy in some Lives of Byzantine saints: in that of John of Gothia or of Patriarch Euthymius, the respective titles and ranks are named literally, in exact words, and not in a descriptive or figurative way.

Beyond the stereotypy of hagiographic images, there are portraits of a number of social strata that are not well known from other types of literary sources but are nonetheless very important in the study of the morals and psychology of Byzantine society. Among them are groups such as holy fools, beggars, hermits and other "individualists" and "outsiders".[11]

That also concerns some other marginal social groups. Generally, it is in the Lives of saints that issues such as, for example, sexuality, which is hardly reflected by chroniclers or historians, is mentioned more, however paradoxical it may seem.[12] Such examples include Symeon Salos being tempted by a woman in his Life by Leontius of Naples, Andrew Salos being seduced by a fornicatrix, and the temptress Melitina in the Life of Basil the Younger. In the Life of Cyprian and Justina, Symeon Metaphrastes introduces the reader to the world of pagan magic.

Therefore, it is in hagiography that the topics of "lower culture" in Byzantium appear to be established, as is the swear word *kourba*, "whore", which represents

9 Rydén 1985, 1986a, 1986b, 1982; Rosenqvist 1986.

10 Hackel 1981. Cf. Rudakov 1917.

11 Kovalevskij 1902; Hilpisch 1931: 121; Benz 1938; Rydén 1963, 1970; Magdalino 1981.

12 Kazhdan 1990.

a Greek transliteration of the Slavic expression. This evidence of the Acts of David, Symeon and George[13] proves the existence of direct linguistic contacts at such a level as early as the 9th century.

Therefore, the historicity of hagiography becomes apparent in both the accounts of everyday life events and the textual parallels of Lives and chronicles. The first case is highlighted by the similarity of topics, ideas and situations, such as the likeness of the preambles in Theophanes' Chronograph and the Life of Saint Basil the Younger. The latter fact is evident in the appearance of such a mixed, quasi-hagiographic genre as the Lives of secular persons not canonised by the Church, real historical figures.[14] These include the Life of Patriarch Euthymius and *Vita Basilii*. As such, it is natural that the former work also bears a conventional title, "Psammathian Chronicle", and the latter is incorporated into the text of the chronographic Continuation of Theophanes. As a matter of fact, even the Life of Nicephorus by Ignatius can be considered a semi-secular biography. The basis of this kind of Lives, besides the church tradition of eulogistic literature such as the Life of Constantine the Great by Eusebius, were biographies by ancient and Hellenistic authors as well as semi-folklore legends and narrations of the Pateric (Menologium) character.[15]

There is no insurmountable barrier between hagiographic and historiographic works in this regard. At the same time, the Lives of Byzantine saints have their own peculiar characteristics that are evident along with other considerations in the functioning of the main categories of history.

The most peculiar in hagiography seems to be the function of time. Time is neither cyclic, as in histories and biographies of classical antiquity, nor linear, as in medieval annalistic historiography. The category of time in the Lives of Byzantine saints is characterised by its providentialism: Prediction is the chief form of the revelation of the holiness of a saint and the main form of the appearance of time. The events are merely the realisation of a prophecy directed into the future. The temporal development is shown as a revelation (resp. "apocalypse").

The temporal revelation is as much repetitive (the events of "new" history are a sort of repetition and copy of Biblical history) as it is sudden. For example, Basil the Younger appears suddenly and miraculously, and he works wonders. Just as sudden and striking is Constantine's transformation from a Jewish boy into a Christian monk.

---

13 Van den Gheyn 1899: 252.10–11; Ševčenko 1977: 117–8.

14 Ehrhard 1937–1952; Alexander 1940; Munitit 1981: 164–8; 1996: 798–9.

15 Cf. Šestakov 1910: 104 j.

This simultaneity corresponds to the absence of the past. For instance, Basil the Younger has neither a motherland nor a lineage, nor his own past. Philaret the Merciful also loses everything, giving up his assets and his past. One's past in hagiography does not matter; it can be, and even must be, neglected.

The absence of the past is related to the principal xenophilia. The hagiographic protagonist is often a stranger, a newcomer, who suddenly appears and disappears, as in the case of Basil the Younger. But God's fools are principally asocial. They never accept either followers or disciples.[16] Such examples include Andrew or Symeon, among others.

The hagiographic space is not only populated by strangers, but is also teratological; everywhere, in the town or in the desert, demons are waiting for a moment to tempt someone.

The highest form of teratology in the hagiographic space may be considered the world of Satan, the main anti-hero of the Lives of Byzantine saints.[17] This space is able to involve things within the closest proximity of the saint in order to tempt him. For example, the Devil virtually determines the actions of Theosebo, wife of Philaret the Merciful.

The apocalyptic temporal development in the Lives of Byzantine saints corresponds to the character of actions, in space and time, of the hagiographic hero, that is the evidence, revelation and realisation of his holiness and supreme essence. For example, Philaret's high morality, spirituality and sanctity emerges from unselfishness, impracticality and even foolishness.

At the same time, the trustworthiness of testimonies about the saints' lives is emphasised by the insertion of topographical details, exact indications of the places of their activity, with a description of some details, such as in the Life of John of Gothia or that of Basil the Younger in which the realities of Constantinople are presented.

Thus, the historicity of hagiography finds indirect expressions, in accordance with the standards of the genre, the socio-psychological and historical conditions of the medieval mentality. The historicity of hagiography may be defined as mainly *apocalyptic* in its character.

[16] Ivanov 1994: 119.

[17] Mango 1992.

References

Alexander, Paul J. (1940). 'Secular Biography at Byzantium.' – *Speculum* 15(2), 194–209. https://doi.org/10.2307/2849049

Beck, Hans-Georg (1977). *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*. München: Beck.

Benz, Ernst (1938). 'Heilige Narrheit.' – *Kyrios* 3, 1–55.

Čičurov, Igor Sergeevič (1992) = Чичуров, Игорь Сергеевич (1992). '«Хождение апостола Андрея» в византийской и древнерусской литературной традиции.' – Tachiaos, Anthony-Emil N. (ed.), *The Legacy of Saints Cyril and Methodius to Kiev and Moscow*. Thessaloniki, 195–213.

Delehaye, Hippolyte (1907). *Die hagiographischen Legenden*. München: Kösel.

Dorn, Erhard (1967). *Der sündige Heilige in der Legende des Mittelalters*. (*Medium Aevum*; 10.) München: Fink.

Dvornik, Francis (1958). *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of Apostle Andrew*. (*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*; 4.) Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press.

Ehrhard, Albert (1937–1952). *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*. Bd. 1–3. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Hackel, Sergei (ed.) (1981). *The Byzantine Saint*. London: Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius.

Hilpisch, Stephanus (1931). 'Die Torheit um Christi Willen.' – *Zeitschrift für Askese und Mystik* 6(2), 121–131.

Ivanov, Sergej Arkad'evič (1994) = Иванов, Сергей Аркадьевич (1994). *Византийское юродство*. Москва: Международные отношения.

Kazhdan, Alexander (1990). 'Byzantine Hagiography and Sex in the Fifth to Twelfth Centuries.' – *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44, 131–143. https://doi.org/10.2307/1291623

Ključevskij, Vasilij Osipovič (1871) = Ключевский, Василий Осипович (1871). *Древнерусские жития святых как исторический источник*. Москва: издание К. Солдатенкова.

Kovalevskij, Ioann (1902) = Ковалевский, Иоанн (1902). *Юродство о Христе и Христа ради юродивые восточной и русской церкви*. Москва: Изд. А. Д. Ступина.

Loparev, Chrisanf Mefodievič (1893) = Лопарев, Хрисанф Мефодиевич (1893). *Βίος τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ δικαίου Εὐδοκίμου. Житие святого Евдокима Праведного*. (*Памятники Древней Письменности*; 96.) Санкт-Петербург: Общество любителей древней письменности.

Loparev, Chrisanf Mefodievič (1897) = Лопарев, Хрисанф Мефодиевич (1897). 'Описание некоторых греческих Житий святых.' – *Византийский Временник* 4(3/4), 337–401.

Loparev, Chrisanf Mefodievič (1914) = Лопарев, Хрисанф Мефодиевич (1914). *Греческие жития святых VIII и IX веков*. Петроград.

Magdalino, Paul (1981). 'The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelth Century.' – Hackel, Sergei (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint*. London: Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, 51–66.

Magdalino, Paul (1991). 'The Alternatives to Hagiography in Twelfth Century.' – Litavrin, Gennadij G. (ed.), *The XVIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Résumés des communications.* Moscow, t. 2, 693.

Mango, Cyril (1992). 'Diabolus Byzantinus.' – *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (*Homo Byzantinus: Papers in Honor of Alexander Kazhdan*), 215–223. https://doi.org/10.2307/1291654

Mentzou-Meimaris, C. (1994). 'The Life of Saints' Biographers in the Middle and Late Byzantine Periods.' – Karayannopoulos, Yannis (ed.), *Septième Congrès International d'études du Sud-Est Européen. Rapports.* Athènes, 552.

Mertel, Hans (1909). *Die biographische Form der griechischen Heiligenlegenden*. Diss. München.

Munitiz, J. A. (1996). 'Hagiography and Autobiography in the 13th Century.' – Hanak, Walter (ed.), *The XVIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Moscow, 1991). Selected Papers.* Shepherds-Town, 798–799.

Munitiz, Joseph A. (1981). 'Self-Canonisation: the "Partial Account" of Nikephoros Blemmydes.' – Hackel, Sergei (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint*. London: Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, 164–168.

Poljakova, Sofija Viktorovna (1972) = Полякова, София Викторовна (1972). 'Византийские легенды как литературное явление.' – *Византийские легенды*. Изд. подгот. С. В. Полякова. Ленинград: Наука, 245–273.

Rosenqvist, Jan Olof (1986). *The Life of St. Irene, Abbess of Chrysobalanton*. (*Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia*; 1.) Uppsala: Almqvist och Wiksell.

Rudakov, Aleksandr Petrovič (1917) = Рудаков, Александр Петрович (1917). *Очерки византийской культуры по данным греческой агиографии*. Москва.

Rydén, Lennart (1963). *Das Leben des Heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis*. (*Studia Graeca Upsaliensia*; 4.) Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Rydén, Lennart (1970). *Bemerkungen zum Leben des Heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis*. (*Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis*; 6.) Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Rydén, Lennart (1982). 'The Revised Version of the "Life of St. Philaretos the Merciful" and the "Life of St. Andreas Salos".' – *Analecta Bollandiana* 100, 485–495. https://doi.org/10.1484/J.ABOL.4.02015

Rydén, Lennart (1985). 'The Bride-Shows at the Byzantine Court – History or Fiction?' – *Eranos* 83, 175–191.

Rydén, Lennart (1986a). 'New Forms of Hagiography: Heroes and Saints.' – *The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Main Papers.* New Rochelle, N.Y., 539–540.

Rydén, Lennart (1986b). 'Byzantine Hagiography in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries: Literary Aspects.' – *Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala, Årsbok 1986*, 67–79.

Ševčenko, Ihor (1977). 'Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period.' – Bryer, Anthony; Herrin, Judith (eds.), *Iconoclasm. Papers given at the ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975*. Birmingham: Centre for Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, 113–131.

Šestakov, Dmitrij Petrovič (1910) = Шестаков, Дмитрий Петрович (1910). *Исследования в области греческих народных сказаний о святых*. Варшава.

Van den Gheyn, Joseph (1899). 'Acta Graeca SS. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii Mitylenae in insula Lesbo.' – *Analecta Bollandiana* 18, 209–259. https://doi.org/10.1484/J.ABOL.4.02725

Vasiľevskij, Vasilij Grigor'evič (1915) = Васильевский, Василий Григорьевич (1915). *Труды*. Т. III. Петроград: Императорская Академия наук.

Abstract

The article focuses on the historical categories of time, space, and historical hero. The most peculiar in Byzantine hagiography seems to be the function of time. It is neither cyclic as in Antiquity nor linear as in medieval annals or historiography. The nature of temporal revelation is as iterative as it is sudden. The hagiographic space is full of features of teratomorphism, whether in the desert, the wild or in the mountains. The historical approach to hagiography is expressed indirectly, in accordance with the genre etiquette, the socio-psychological and cultural conditions of medieval mentality. Thus, the historicity of Byzantine hagiography can be characterized as an "apocalyptical historicity": from Greek *apokalyptein* 'to reveal'.

HUMANISM AND CONFESSION: THE *PROGYMNASMATA* BY IACOBUS PONTANUS

Peter Kuhlmann

Confessionalisation and Higher Education

In the Middle Ages and early modern times, Europe was a Latin-speaking continent in various respects: Latin was the language predominantly used in ecclesiastical and administrative contexts, and many literary texts were also written in Latin. Literate people usually had a knowledge of Latin. In medieval times, most people learned Latin in monastic or cathedral schools. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, instruction in Latin was subject to fundamental change: As humanism prevailed, the majority of medieval teaching contents became obsolete. Especially the sixteenth-century Reformation brought about major changes throughout Europe.

Historians – and church historians in particular – tend to regard the Reformation as a development directly associated with humanism; as indicated by a range of accounts of Reformation history, many scholars also wonder why Erasmus of Rotterdam and other humanists did not identify with Luther's teachings. Closer examination, however, shows that the ideas of humanists and reformers differed significantly as early as the beginnings of Reformation:[1] Whereas the humanists primarily strived for a reorganisation of the educational system on the basis of largely non-Christian classics, Luther and Calvin considered themselves as reformers of early Christianity which was based on the Bible. The said discrepancy might suggest that Catholic-humanist and Protestant education were entirely different; contrary to expectations, the teaching practices showed a range of similarities in early modern times.[2]

---

1 Fuhrmann 2001: 46–49.

2 Also cf. Seifert 1996: 332–335.

Especially Melanchthon, who generally followed Luther's course, drew on humanist ideas in developing curricula for Protestant education. With regard to Northern and Eastern Europe, Michael Agricola was an influential figure, and, even more importantly, Johannes Bugenhagen played a crucial role due to his wide reception.[3]

Generally speaking, there are no indications that Luther and Melanchthon disapproved of the use of classical texts in schools: Quite the contrary, Luther even recommended the study of Plautus' comedies for the purpose of learning spoken Latin in his *Table Talk*.[4] In other ways as well, both Luther and Melanchthon contributed greatly to reforming the Protestant educational system according to humanist principles: Most importantly, Luther wrote an open letter "An die Bürgermeister und Ratsherren aller Städte in deutschen Landen" (1524), and Melanchthon's inaugural address titled *De corrigendis adulescentiae studiis* (1518) as well as his "Sächsische Schulordnung" (1528) were equally important.[5] Former monastic and cathedral schools in Protestant regions were taken over by authorities such as municipal administrations or local rulers. This led to a stabilisation of the educational system in Protestant areas on the one hand, and to its nationalisation on the other; Protestant education was no longer subject to the Church.[6] In Catholic areas, by contrast, the educational system in the hands of the Church experienced a deep crisis; this is even suggested by Catholic reports from the sixteenth century.[7] As neither the contents nor the organisational structure of education were successfully reformed, medieval scholastic teaching was continued without much alteration. At this stage, it could hardly compete with its Protestant counterpart.

This is perfectly illustrated by the different curricula and principles of language teaching: Reformed Latin schools made Latin the core subject of teaching. Medieval scholastic Latin, however, was no longer taught; instead, the focus was on classical Latin as used by authors such as Cicero. Besides, Greek and Hebrew were included in the curriculum so as to ensure the students' ability to study the Bible in its original version. Apart from that, reformed schools aimed at teaching the close connection of *eloquentia* and *sapientia* which was also promoted by humanists. Still, it is worth noting that this connection necessarily involved *pietas*. In everyday teaching, however,

---

3 On the reception of Bugenhagen in particular cf. Garbe 2013.

4 On Luther and Melanchthon in general: Scaglione 1986: 36–41.

5 Fuhrmann 2001: 52; annot. 34; for general information cf. Kühlmann 1996: 165–168.

6 Paulsen 1919: 276–325 comments on these developments in more detail.

7 Cf. Duhr 1913: 507.

textbooks by Catholic authors completed the humanist education programme: The *colloquia* by Petrus Mosellanus (*Paedologia*; 1517/18)[8] and Erasmus of Rotterdam (*Colloquia familiaria*; in several versions from 1518 onwards)[9], the latter of whom was clearly regarded as an unrivalled role model, were of particular influence. At a later date, Protestant authors started to write similar *colloquia* according to their Catholic predecessors; the *Colloquia scholastica* (1564) by Mathurinus Corderius were extensively used for a long time.[10]

Jesuit Colleges and the *Ratio Studiorum*

Catholic education changed fundamentally in the mid-sixteenth century: In 1540, the Spaniard Ignatius of Loyola established the Society of Jesus and, in so doing, contributed greatly to reforming the Catholic system and even recatholising large parts of Central Europe which had become Protestant since the end of the sixteenth century. The "Peace of Augsburg" (1555) helped resolve the confessional conflict for the time being, but at the same time it reinforced the confessional division which had been officially recognised by this time.[11] As indicated by an array of newly founded Protestant universities (e.g. Marburg), confessions also played a central role in the educational sector.[12] According to reports from the Jesuit provinces, the second half of the sixteenth century was characterised by a severe lack of priests and priest recruitment, and even the priests available were by no means well-trained. Furthermore, the faculties of theology had to face a considerable decrease in their number of students due to a general theological disinterest.[13] These circumstances hardly allowed for successful missionary work on the part of the Catholics. The Society of Jesus soon focused on promoting the spread of Catholicism by improving the training of priests as well as providing an attractive education for all youths.[14] Ignatius himself had realised that military means were bound to fail to strengthen Catholicism; in fact, he even

8 Bömer 1966: 95–107.

9 For a more detailed account including information on the complex development cf. Bömer 1966: 71–94.

10 Bömer 1966: 200–226.

11 Weiß 2005: 43f.; 91–93.

12 Müller 2000: 267.

13 Weiß 2005: 35–37.

14 Cf. Seifert 1996: 313–317; an overview is provided by Weiß 2005: 74–80.

considered them counterproductive, since he held that the people had to be convinced by more powerful arguments and appropriate role models.[15] In general, the Jesuit educational reform could be regarded as an ideological counterattack on Protestantism.[16] The said counterattack mainly owed its effectiveness to the following arrangements: Under the guidance of the Dutchman Petrus Canisius, more and more central educational institutions – colleges – were established over time; these always included a 'gymnasium' (referring to the school throughout this essay) for the *studia inferiora*, and often even lyceums or actual universities.[17] In the Livonian Dorpat, for instance, the Jesuits started to establish a college including gymnasium for the purpose of recatholising the country as early as 1583.[18]

By the mid-eighteenth century, the Jesuits had established several hundreds of colleges worldwide and, as a result, literally had a monopoly on education in the Catholic world.[19] Admission to the colleges was free so that the intellectual or rather spiritual potential of all social classes could be used in support of the Society of Jesus and the recatholisation.[20] The colleges were usually funded by private sponsors or princes. In confessionally mixed areas which were high in number especially in Central and Northern Europe, the college system proved so successful that even many Protestant families sent their children to a Jesuit college, although there was also an evangelical Latin school close by. One of the educational system's biggest advantages was probably its transnational uniformity which created a European educational area. After the Council of Trent, the Society of Jesus worked on uniform study regulations for all colleges, the so-called *Ratio studiorum*. The latter was initiated in 1583 under the command of the Superior General Claudio Aquaviva, and it contained regulations on methods, contents, and school structures. It was finished in 1599 and persisted in this form until the Society of Jesus was finally broken up roughly 200 years later. The *Ratio studiorum* ignored the preferences of the colleges' sponsors in many respects, which can be easily exemplified by its selection of set

15 Ignatius of Loyola, Epistolae VI, cf. Müller 2000: 267.

16 Scaglione 1986: 51–74 elaborates on this idea.

17 On the structure of these institutions cf. Duhr 1896: 79; Müller 2000: 270–272; Nising 2004: 1–31.

18 For a detailed account cf. Wrembek 2003; Helk 1977.

19 Müller 2000: 269.

20 For general information on this cf. Seifert 1996: 317–324.

texts: Even though several princes had expressed their disapproval of classical authors, the Jesuits sticked to the classical and non-Christian literary canon.[21]

Unlike Protestant higher education with its country-specific and heterogeneous organisation, Catholic education had a homogeneous and transparent structure which guaranteed uniform "scholastic standards". In addition to these guidelines, there are a range of other parallels between the Jesuit educational system and present-day standards in education: The methods of the *Radio studiorum* are similar to the competence-based approach of the "Common European Framework of Reference for Languages" published by the Council of Europe. Jesuit education put great emphasis on actual 'know-how', which is why classes explicitly focusing on the theoretical framework of grammar were usually less frequent than various exercises training practical language skills according to the "can-do-principle".[22] Spoken Latin was also practised in the context of Latin academic drama; this kind of drama was well-known from Protestant grammar schools and later became canonical as the so-called "Jesuit drama".[23] In general, many peculiarities of the Jesuit colleges were supposed to have a propagandistic effect on groups of confessionally mixed people and, thus, were meant to create a certain public image.

The *Progymnasmata* by Iacobus Pontanus

Among the most influential Jesuits was Iacobus Pontanus from Bohemia (1542–1626).[24] He worked as a teacher at the gymnasia of Dillingen and Augsburg (Bavaria) for 27 years; besides, he was a philologist, poet, and critic. Pontanus also contributed to the *Ratio studiorum*. In his report from 1593 (*nonnulli circa studia humaniora tractatus*), he summarises how far the work on the study regulations has already progressed. Whilst he notes that Catholic schools still have to develop in several respects so as to catch up with their Protestant competitors, he also emphasises the fact that both confessions agree on the use of a literary canon centred around classical authors.[25]

---

21 Bauer 1986: 250; cf. also Wiegand 2000: 183.

22 The keywords of the *Ratio studiorum* are the following: *pauca praecepta – plurima exercitatio*, cf. Wiegand 2000: 182; Duhr 1896: 79 f.

23 On the Jesuit drama in general cf. Rädle 1979.

24 On Pontanus's life and works cf. Blum 1993 and Bauer 1984.

25 Lukács 1992a: 96 f. (= No. 5).

It was not long until Pontanus's school books had the status of classics, and there were several new editions by the end of the eighteenth century.[26] His *Progymnasmata Latinitatis sive Dialogi* (three or four volumes finished between 1588 and 1594) were especially influential, not least because they reawakened the interest in the genre of *colloquia Latina*. Even at Protestant schools, the popularity of these teaching materials was so great that they had to be abolished there later on.[27] Contrary to expectations, occasional anti-Protestant remarks were not removed from the editions printed in Protestant cities (e.g. Frankfurt 1630).

In his preface (*ad humaniorem atrium studiosam iuventutem*; n. p.) to the first volume which is dedicated to the patrician Georg Fugger from Augsburg, Pontanus elaborates on some of his didactic principles crucial to the *Progymnasmata*: The target audience includes both the students of lower grades and those of the following *humanitas*-grade, the latter of whom already have a good knowledge of Latin and are somewhat familiar with the classical authors. Through their form as witty and parodistic dialogues, the *Progymnasmata* shall appear like little plays (or rather: comedies) to their audience. At the same time, they are meant to teach good Latin as well as good behavior and a broad encyclopedic knowledge in a way appropriate for young people.[28] Just like the *Ratio studiorum*, Pontanus highlights the importance of playful learning and a certain entertaining quality of teaching materials which consider the everyday life of younger students.[29] After all, the *Progymnasmata* should make classes enjoyable for students and, in so doing, give them a good impression of Catholicisim;[30] as a matter of course, piety necessarily meant Catholic piety for Pontanus.[31] By and large, the *Progymnasmata* were based on a document associated with the *Ratio studiorum* from 1586 (*oeconomia dialogicae scriptionis*) which gives advice on dialogues for students such as the *Progymnasmata*.[32] In this document, the order recommends the *usus bonae Latinitatis*, but at the same time calls for a language being "suitable for adolescence" and reflecting the students' lives and play; additionally, the dialogues

[26] Cf. especially Kuhlmann 2010: 124–129.

[27] Blum 1993: 629; Pachtler 1894: 14 f.; interestingly enough, Bömer 1966 does not take Pontanus into consideration.

[28] Blum 1993: 628 f.

[29] Bauer 1984: 255–258.

[30] Bauer 1984: 273.

[31] *Progymnasmata* II, 506.

[32] Lukács 1992b: 473–479 (= Mon. 31, Appendix).

shall *de moribus civilibus et christianis atque catholicis erudire*. Still, Pontanus aims at creating something new which goes beyond the scope of common dialogues: In his preface to the first volume, he criticises the dialogues of his forerunners, namely Vives, Corderius or Schotten: In his opinion, their focus was too much on an education concentrating on language experience, whilst topics related to everyday life were hardly ever considered. Moreover, both the contents and the form of Pontanus's dialogues reveal that the *Progymnasmata* specifically reflect the expectations of upper-class people and particularly parents to the youths[33]; in the following, I would like to present some examples to show that the *Progymnasmata* provide practical examples for the future social or intellectual and/or spiritual elite.

Taken as a whole, the four books of dialogues show a clear division: The first two books contain scenes from the students' daily lives which are also typical of a large group of related *colloquia* from the end of the fifteenth century onwards. They open with the visit of a reluctant student who does not want to go to school. These opening texts exhilarate the parents rather than the students themselves, since father and mother take on an important and positive role here. Hence, especially the text's beginning could be interpreted as some kind of advertisement aimed at making parents send their children to the type of school associated with the *Progymnasmata*, namely the Jesuit gymnasium.

In the second book, the range of topics gets a little broader: The dialogues implicitly introduce students to a set of key behavioural norms which go beyond the scope of school and social interaction with teachers and fellow students; in fact, the youths shall also practise social interaction in a general sense. The text not only includes advice on a proper style of clothing, but also clarifies how to behave at dinner, sickbed visits, funerals or visits of condolence. Additionally, the dialogues address topics such as friendship and infatuation and present suitable ways of arguing with friends as well as strategies of reconciling with them. Even at this point, Pontanus's intention to present universal rules of conduct in the cloak of a Latin textbook becomes obvious. These rules, however, do not have the form of mere prescriptions, but are illustrated by vivid scenes which seem to be taken directly from everyday life. Particularly striking is the positive humanist conception of man which is free from any asceticism or excessive humility and is already clearly present in Book Two.

[33] Blum 1993: 628.

A dialogue titled *de falsa verecundia*,[34] for instance, addresses the problem of shyness and shows ways to overcome an excessive and unfavourable kind of shyness so that one can develop a natural self-confidence in socialising with fellow men. Just like in other dialogues, Pontanus promotes the Aristotelian principle of μεσότης,[35] which is explained by him in the commentaries or *Annotationes* to the respective dialogues. Cicero frequently occurs as another philosophical role model, as for instance in dialogue 90 called *de virtute*: This dialogue displays an entirely pagan concept of *virtus* which refers to rhetorical competence and a convincing appearance in public, whereas it is free from Christian notions of *virtus* implying a moral, thus ascetic and humble way of life. In the *Annotationes*, this concept is almost exclusively substantiated by quotations from Cicero's philosophical works. The end of the second book, by contrast, consists of theological dialogues which extend the text's scope in focusing on the topics of mass, the Eucharist, and the doctrine of the sacraments; it is, therefore, clear that this part of Pontanus's work is specifically centred around those topics which can be regarded as the distinctive features of Catholicism distinguishing it from Lutheranism and especially Calvinism after the Council of Trent.

Books Three and Four are similar to the preceding books in sharing their dialogue form. Nevertheless, large parts of these books rather contain treatises on specific topics which are interrupted by short interjections of the speaker only once in a while. The topics are much more complex than those of the first two books, which is why they are only understandable to students of the *humanitas*-grade having good background knowledge of the Latin language and literature.

The third book broadens the field of topics by turning to cosmic matters: It deals with the origins of both world and man and, by implication, also addresses the role of man in the context of Creation. Again entirely in accordance with old humanist tradition, Pontanus ascribes a godlike role to man and literally declares him the physical 'copy' of an ideal cosmos.[36] The beauty of the human body is particularly praised.[37] Interestingly enough, Pontanus quotes hardly any Christian sources for this in the respective *Annotationes*, but refers all the more to ancient pagan texts such as those by Cicero, Pliny or Ovid. Even

[34] *Progymnasmata* II, 55–63.

[35] *Progymnasmata* II, 178 f.

[36] *Progymnasmata* III, 163.

[37] *Progymnasmata* III, 159 f.

the etymology of man as the creature looking to the sky (ἄνθρωπος < ἄνω θρεῖν) which is characteristic of ancient Greek linguistics can be found here.[38]

In spite of their author's Czech-Bohemian origin, the *Progymnasmata* were obviously written for a German-speaking audience: A long dialogue titled *Germania* (No. 32) provides evidence of this.[39] The text is a conversation between three students returning home from a longer stay in France – the dialogue is set at a point when the students are still wandering. Pontanus uses this dialogue to elaborate both on some typically German advantages in comparison with the French and on early Germanic history. Moreover, Pontanus assumes a spiritual kinship between Romans and Germans in this dialogue: According to him, "Germans" or "Germanic people" (Lat. *Germani*) and Romans had been equally modest at an early stage before each of the two peoples finally succeeded in building an empire; as Pontanus points out, both Romans and Germans emphasise deeds rather than words – a feature clearly distinguishing them from the Greeks, who, in turn, appreciate rhetorical competence as a means of making up for a lack of glorious deeds (the neo-humanists would certainly not have agreed on this). Criticism directed at the German Martin Luther and the Reformation, however, is particularly harsh, as Pontanus writes: "the devil leads the [Lutheran] flock straight into hell with himself".[40] Finally, what is perhaps most striking about the dialogue is the fact that it also considers national interests within the framework of originally supranational – or from a modern perspective: European – scholastic standards. These national interests had increasingly occurred since the Reformation. The anti-French remarks described above probably result from a positive attitude towards the House of Habsburg which was not shared by the French, who provided military support for the Protestant opponents of Catholicism in the Holy Roman Empire.

Most dialogues of the fourth book, then, deal with topics only relevant to the education of a social and political elite: Among these dialogues are *de venatione*, *de re militari* or *de re politica sive potestates* (dial. 12, 15, 20)[41], all of which provide future officials, including the members of religious orders, with guidelines on a just administration according to the principles of *prudentia*, *iustitia*, *clementia* and *constantia*. Particular importance is placed on the principles of strict law-abidance and "Rechtsstaatlichkeit". This being the case,

[38] Cf. *Etymologicum magnum* s.v. "ἄνθρωπος".

[39] *Progymnasmata* III, 602–628.

[40] *Progymnasmata* III, 619.

[41] *Progymnasmata* IV, 855–938.

Pontanus's statements about monarchy seem quite contradictory: On the one hand, he defines monarchy as mankind's natural and original form of government several times; on the other hand, he criticises the destruction of the "free" Roman Republic by Caesar and, hence, also the establishment of the monarchal empire since Augustus when he elaborates on the Roman state structure (dial. 17).[42]

As he devotes much space to the topic of ancient Roman religiosity in dialogue 14 (*sacrae Romanorum potestates*), Pontanus draws an analogy to the present: Quite different from Saint Augustine in his work *de civitate Dei*, Pontanus suggests that the Romans owe their immense power to the fact that they already followed religious-cultic rules in pre-Christian times; he then enumerates all early Roman priesthoods of major importance. This part is in line with Luther's opinion that the "popish superstition" is actually synonymous to "pagan" Roman idolatry. The contemporary Jesuit student, however, should learn from this that strict obedience to the religious and cultic rules of the Church also ensures success in this life.

Conclusion

Primarily designed as a textbook teaching Latin by means of dialogues according to early humanist tradition, the *Progymnasmata* went far beyond the scope of merely linguistic knowledge: In fact, they offered an array of practical, subject-specific and social skills which were particularly relevant to a spiritual and secular elite. In this context, the dialogue form allowed for the presentation of concrete behavioural and conversational patterns which enabled the students to talk about the topics outlined above and, hence, contributed considerably to the students' confident appearance. Rhetorical and social competence, combined with a self-confident manner, were vital especially in keeping up with the Protestant competition (e.g. in confessionally mixed areas) and created a positive public image of one's own confession. Whilst explicit polemic against Protestantism occurs only rarely, some dialogues subtly display views characteristic of Catholicism; thus, Pontanus succeeds in taking a stand on the question of confessions in an objective and implicit way which is far from the 'drooling' anti-popish propaganda of early Protestantism. Still, since they are characterised by a positive conception of man and almost exclusively draw on non-Christian sources and authors, the *Progymnasmata*

[42] *Progymnasmata* IV, 919 f.

take up many pedagogic principles of early German humanism which was, as a consequence, subject to harsh criticism by Pietist philosophers of education (e.g. Spener, Speccer, Comenius)[43]. The Jesuit gymnasium originating in the confessional division was much debated well into recent educational research. From a modern perspective, however, the Jesuits' post-Tridentine educational ideal was highly influential, which is clearly the reason for its popularity with Protestant circles.

Works Cited

Edition

Iacobi Pontani Progymnasmata Latinitatis sive Dialogi I–IV, Ingolstadt 1592–1598. (Reprint Frankfurt 1630).

Secondary literature

Bauer, Barbara (1984). 'Jakob Pontanus SJ, ein oberdeutscher Lipsius.' – *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 47, 77–120.

Bauer, Barbara (1986). *Jesuitische "ars rhetorica" im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe*. (*Mikrokosmos: Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Bedeutungsforschung*; 18.) Frankfurt am Main: Lang.

Berndt, Rainer (ed.) (2000). *Petrus Canisius SJ (1521–1597): Humanist und Europäer*. (*Erudiri sapientia: Studien zum Mittelalter und zu seiner Rezeptionsgeschichte*; 1.) Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Blum, Paul Richard (1993). 'Jacobus Pontanus SJ.' – Füssel, Stephan (ed.), *Deutsche Dichter der frühen Neuzeit (1450–1600)*. Berlin: Schmidt, 626–635.

Bömer, Aloys (1897/1899). *Die lateinischen Schülergespräche der Humanisten*. Berlin: Harrassowitz. (Reprint Amsterdam: Schippers, 1966.)

Duhr, Bernhard (1896). *Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder.

Duhr, Bernhard (1913). *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*. Bd. II,1: *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge in der ersten Hälfte des XVII. Jahrhunderts*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder.

Fuhrmann, Manfred (2001). *Latein und Europa: Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts in Deutschland von Karl dem Großen bis Wilhelm II*. Köln: DuMont.

Garbe, Irmfried (2013). 'Johannes Bugenhagen.' – Bahlcke, Joachim *et al.* (ed.), *Religiöse Erinnerungsorte in Ostmitteleuropa: Konstitution und Konkurrenz im nationen- und epochenübergreifenden Zugriff*. Berlin; New York: Akademie Verlag, 678–685. https://doi.org/10.1524/9783050093437.678

[43] On this cf. Duhr 1896: 97; Paulsen 1919: 477–481 elaborates on Comenius.

Helk, Vello (1977). *Die Jesuiten in Dorpat, 1583–1625: ein Vorposten der Gegenreformation in Nordosteuropa*. Odense: Odense University Press.

Kuhlmann, Peter (2010). 'Lateinunterricht im Zeitalter der Katholischen Reform – Jacobus Pontanus und die Methodik und Didaktik der Jesuitengymnasien.' – Korenjak, Martin; Schaffenrath, Florian (ed.), *Pontes VI. Der Altsprachliche Unterricht in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Innsbruck; Wien; Bozen: StudienVerlag, 119–132.

Kühlmann, Wilhelm (1996). 'Pädagogische Konzeptionen.' – Hammerstein, Notker (ed.), *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*. Bd. I: *15. bis 17. Jahrhundert: von der Renaissance und der Reformation bis zum Ende der Glaubenskämpfe*. München: Beck, 153–196.

Lukács, Ladislaus (ed.) (1992a). *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Jesu*. Bd. VI: *Collectanea de ratione studiorum Societatis Jesu (1582–1587)*. Roma: Inst. Histor. Soc. Jesu.

Lukács, Ladislaus (ed.) (1992b). *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Jesu*. Bd. VII: *Collectanea de ratione studiorum Societatis Jesu (1588–1616)*. Roma: Inst. Histor. Soc. Jesu.

Müller, Rainer A. (2000). 'Schul- und Bildungsorganisation im 16. Jahrhundert. Die Canisianische Kollegienpolitik.' – Berndt, Rainer (ed.), *Petrus Canisius SJ (1521–1597): Humanist und Europäer*. (*Erudiri sapientia: Studien zum Mittelalter und zu seiner Rezeptionsgeschichte*; 1.) Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 259–274.

Nising, Horst (2004). *"…in keiner Weise prächtig": die Jesuitenkollegien der süddeutschen Provinz des Ordens und ihre städtebauliche Lage im 16.–18 Jahrhundert*. Petersberg: Imhof.

Pachtler, Georg Michael (1894). *Ratio studiorum et institutiones scholasticae Societatis Jesu per Germaniam olim vigentes*. Bd. IV: *Complectens monumenta quae pertinent ad gymnasia, convictus (1600–1773) itemque ad rationem studiorum (anno 1832)*. Berlin: Hofmann. (Reprint München 1978.)

Paulsen, Friedrich (1919). *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgange des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart: mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den klassischen Unterricht*. Bd. I. Leipzig: Gruyter. (Reprint Berlin 1965.)

Rädle, Fidel (1979). 'Das Jesuitentheater in der Pflicht der Gegenreformation.' – Valentin, Jean-Marie (ed.), *Gegenreformation und Literatur*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 167–199.

Scaglione, Aldo (1986). *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit College System*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Seifert, Arno (1996). 'Das höhere Bildungswesen im katholischen Deutschland.' – Hammerstein, Notker (ed.), *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*. Bd. I: *15. bis 17. Jahrhundert: von der Renaissance und der Reformation bis zum Ende der Glaubenskämpfe*. München: Beck, 312–331.

Weiß, Dieter J. (2005). *Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Wiegand, Hermann (2000). *Der zweigipflige Musenberg: Studien zum Humanismus in der Kurpfalz*. Ubstadt-Weiher: Regionalkultur.
Wrembek, Christoph (2003). *Jesuiten in Estland*. Tartu: Johannes Esto Ühing.

Abstract

The Bohemian philologist, poet, and critic Iacobus Pontanus (1542–1626) was one of the prominent contributors to the reorganisation of the educational system in the 16th and 17th century. Pontanus composed new school books for the Jesuit education, which got the status of classics and were reprinted in many new editions until the 18th century. Especially popular became the *Progymnasmata Latinitatis sive Dialogi* as an example of the well-known genre of *colloquia Latina*, used even at Protestant schools. Designed as a collection of Latin dialogues, the *Progymnasmata* not only confine to teach linguistic knowledge of Latin language, but also imparted practical and social skills relevant to the elite of the baroque society. Pontanus resigned explicit polemic against Protestantism, and some dialogues subtly display views characteristic of Catholicism. The *Progymnasmata* took up pedagogic principles of early German humanism which was partially subject to harsh criticism by Pietist Protestants. The Jesuits' educational ideal was, however, highly influential and astonishingly popular even within Protestant circles.

BASILIUS ZANCHIUS, *POEMATA* IV 7: EINE POETISCHE TRAUERKLAGE AUF JACOPO SANNAZARO

Heinz Hofmann

Mit dem Leben und den Dichtungen des 1500 in Bergamo geborenen und Ende 1558 im Castel S. Angelo in Rom in päpstlicher Haft gestorbenen Pietro[1] Zanchi haben sich die Neolatinisten bisher nur wenig beschäftigt. Die letzte Ausgabe seiner Gedichte datiert von 1747,[2] die letzte Biographie von

[1] Sein Geburtsname war Pietro, beim Eintritt in die *Accademia Romana* 1519/20 nahm er die Namen *Lucius Petreius* an, und als er 1524 in Bergamo in den Orden der Regularkanoniker eintrat, wählte er *Basilius* als seinen Ordensnamen, unter dem er künftig alle seine Werke publizierte; vgl. dazu Hofmann 2011: 46 und zu weiteren biographischen Details, vor allem zu seinem richtigen Geburtsjahr 1500 anstatt, wie bisher immer zu lesen, 1501: Hofmann 2021: 211–213.

[2] Basilii Zanchii Bergomatis Canonici Ordinis Lateranensis Poemata quae extant omnia. Accessit Basilii Vita Petro Antonio Serassio Auctore. Nunc primum ex Oporiniana editione accuratissime recensita, illustrata & aucta. Excudebat Petrus Lancellottus, Bergomi MDCCXLVII. Die Ausgabe ist bei Google Books digitalisiert zugänglich, das Exemplar der ÖNB Wien ist ebenfalls online lesbar. Die erste Ausgabe von 11 Gedichten von – damals noch Lucius Petreius – Zanchi wurde von einem Freund des Dichters aus gemeinsamen Studienzeiten in Bologna (1519–1521), dem schlesischen Adligen Georg von Logau (ca. 1495–1553), zwischen 1531 und 1533 herausgegeben: Lucii Petrei Zanchi Bergomatis Poemata varia, G. Logus S‹ilesius›. [s.l., s.a.], und ist seit kurzem bei Google Books online lesbar (Logau hielt sich noch bis 1525 in Italien auf und lernte in Rom u.a. Pietro Bembo und Jacopo Sadoleto kennen; ein zweiter Aufenthalt in Italien führte ihn 1531–1534 u.a. nach Rom, Venedig und Padua, wo er zum Doktor der Rechte promoviert wurde und erneut mit Zanchi in Kontakt gekommen sein dürfte: vgl. Grimm 1987: 117 f.). Von der zeitlich folgenden Ausgabe Basilii Zanchi Bergomatis De horto sophiae libri duo ad Petrum Bembum Cardinalem; eiusdem Varia poemata, quae olim sub L. Petrei Zanchi nomine aedidit, Romae: Antonius Bladus Asulanus excudebat, MDXL, ist derzeit noch keine digitale Version zugänglich (Druckexemplare sind in der BN Paris und in vier amerikanischen Bibliotheken – Houghton Library Harvard, Yale University Library, Folger Shakespeare Library Washington DC, Library of the University of California, Los Angeles – vorhanden). Die Ausgabe Basilii Zanchii Poematum editio copiosior, Romae

1911,[3] und an Einzeluntersuchungen zu seinen Gedichten sind für die vergangenen Jahrzehnte nur vier zu verzeichnen.[4] Um so wichtiger dürfte es erscheinen, das beträchtliche poetische Œuvre dieses von seinen Zeitgenossen hochgeschätzten Dichters, Theologen und Humanisten[5] der *Respublica litterarum* zugänglich zu machen und ihm den gebührenden Platz in der Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur des Cinquecento und der humanistischen Studien einzuräumen.

In einem ersten Beitrag hatte ich vor einigen Jahren versucht, seine fünf *Eclogae*, die das fünfte Buch seiner *Poemata* in der Basler Ausgabe von 1555 einnehmen, kurz vorzustellen und in die Geschichte der Gattung einzuordnen.[6] Im folgenden möchte ich ein anderes Gedicht Zanchis vorlegen,

M.D.L., apud Valerium et Loisium fratres Doricos, ist bei Google Books (über Hathi Trust Digital Library) digitalisiert zugänglich, von der folgenden Ausgabe Basilii Zanchii Poematum libri VII, Romae, apud Antonium Bladum Impressorem Cameralem, Anno M.D.LIII. Mense Iunio, ist das Exemplar der Bibliothèque Nationale de France über BnF Gallica online lesbar. Die letzte noch zu Zanchis Lebzeiten veröffentlichte Gesamtausgabe seiner Dichtungen, zusammen mit drei Büchern Poemata von Lorenzo Gambara di Brescia (ca. 1495–1585), erschien 1555 in Basel: Basilij Zanchij Bergomatis Poematum libri VIII. Laurentii Gambarae Brixiani Poematum libri III, Basileae, per Iohannem Oporinum (am Ende auf der letzten – unnumerierten – Seite nach dem Inhaltsverzeichnis steht: Basileae, anno salutis humanae M.D.LV, Mense Februario); das Exemplar der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München ist online lesbar. Zu den verschiedenen Ausgaben vgl. Hofmann 2011: 46 f.

[3] Gritti 1911 (der Verfassername ist bei IJsewijn, Sacré 1998: 426 A. 4 irrtümlich "Grilli" geschrieben); ein kurzer Eintrag steht bei Cosenza 1962: 3738 f. Eine Vita Zanchis von Pier Antonio Serassi findet sich in der von ihm besorgten Ausgabe Bergamo 1747 (s. oben A. 2): i–xx.

[4] Ryan 1981; Hofmann 2011 und zuletzt Hofmann 2021. Dazu kommt als weitere Studie zu Zanchis theologisch-allegorischem Gedicht *De horto Sophiae* Leuker 2011, in der Leuker allerdings nur eine knappe Inhaltsangabe von *De horto Sophiae* gibt und sich vor allem mit Bembos Würdigung und dessen Kenntnis von Sannazaros *De partu virginis* und Vidas *Christias* beschäftigt.

[5] Vgl. die in Serassis Ausgabe (Bergamo 1747: xxi–xl) abgedruckten "*Illustrium aliquot scriptorum de Basilio Zanchio Testimonia*", unter den sich u.a. Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, Paolo Giovio, Paolo Manuzio, Marcantonio Flaminio, Lorenzo Gambara, Ippolito Capilupi, Giovanni Battista Pigna, Annibale Caro und Bernardo Tasso finden. Außerdem gehörten Andrea Navagero und Fulvio Orsini zu seinem Bekannten- und Freundeskreis. Leuker 2011: 80 A. 23 weist darauf hin, daß in Serassis Sammlung das Epigramm *Ad Basilium Zanchium* von Joachim du Bellay (*Epigr*. 3, ed. Geneviève Demerson, *Œuvres poétiques VII: Œuvres latines: Poemata*, Paris: Librairie Nizet 1984, 82–85), der 1553–1557 in Rom lebte und Zanchi persönlich kannte, fehlt.

[6] Hofmann 2011. Dazu kommt die inzwischen erschienene Abhandlung zu *Poemata* V 1, einer poetischen Trauerklage auf Giovanni Pontano, in Hofmann 2021.

das die Belesenheit und die stilistische und metrische Kunst seines Verfassers in, wie ich meine, vorbildlicher Weise zeigt. Zwar sind, worauf ich in A. 2 hingewiesen habe, Zanchis Gedichte inzwischen in verschiedenen Ausgaben online zugänglich, doch hoffe ich, der Bequemlichkeit des Lesers entgegenzukommen, wenn ich den Text des *Carmen* IV 7 nach der letzten Ausgabe von Pier Antonio Serassi (Bergamo 1747: 124–127) in leicht geänderter Orthographie und Interpunktion hier nochmals abdrucke:

NENIA IN ACTIUM SINCERUM SANNAZARIUM
Successor iam, Phoebe, tibi vaga cornua Phoebe
junxerat et puri fulgebant aetheris ignes,
et faciem Terrae nigrantibus horrida pennis
texerat et somnos fessis mortalibus alma
Nox tulerat, quum me placidus sopor occupat alta
Pausilypi sub rupe, novi qua lumina Solis
prospicit et placido iactantes retia ponto.
Quam subter iacet apricis circumdata campis
planities: hic aura levis per florea Tempe
ludit et afflatae flectuntur leniter herbae.
In medio dulci crepitantes murmure rivi
subsiliunt, circumque viret densissima silva,
ipsa suis manibus rerum Natura creatrix
quam sevit, non ulla comis decussit honorem
ventorum vis saeva: riget non illa pruinis,
non nivibus solita est canis albescere silva,
nec gemit aut raptis nemus omne immurmurat umbris,
aeterno sed vere tepet laetissima tellus.
Hic densis non una sedens philomela sub umbris,
nunc summo pendet ramo, nunc carmina mille
concinit et pennas radiis expandere gestit.
Nunc querulos inter nidos confusa volucrum
turba canit cantuque diem laetata salutat.
Ecce autem, dum membra rigat languentia somnus,
extollens sese tota moestissimus unda
Sebethus, viridi limo rorantia tectus
corpora muscosoque comas velatus amictu
astitit et mediis clarum sese obtulit umbris,
talia vociferans: "Quis te, Sincere, Deorum
abstulit et nostris invidit, candide, terris?
Hoc erat, hoc latices quod iam mirabar amaros,
quod praerupta procul fumabant summa Vesaevi.

Tu vero quid membra foves? Age lumina solve
in fletum lacrimisque diu testatus ademptum
et tumulum statue et tumulo solennia mitte."
Confestim excussus somno ter pectora planxi,
ter gemitu implevi tristis nemora omnia circum
et tandem in fletum lacrimantia lumina solvi.
Tu mecum, o quae saxa colis, quae funera cantas
coniugis amissi, tristes meditare querelas,
Alcyone. Vos, o pictis Acheloides alis,
antiqua Tellure satae, coniungite luctus.
Tuque adeo quondam felix cantataque Musis,
Parthenope, mecum inferias et funera vati
redde, iterum crines, iterum discissa papillas
post magni occasum supremaque fata Maronis.
Quis nunc te nobis, quis nunc, Sincere, Deorum
abstulit et nostris invidit, candide, terris?
Nimirum paulo ante feri data signa doloris,
nec mens laeva fuit: caput aureus occuluit Sol
nube cava septemque dies, septem aethera noctes
vidimus in liquidos totum dissolvier imbres,
et moerens canum excussit caput Apenninus
et castella humeris tremuere haerentia duris.
Nec tamen infletum linquam te, nobilis Acti:
Accipe, terra, meas lacrimas, vos flebile carmen
ingeminate, piis commotae quaestibus aurae.
Te mecum e vitreis Lucrinae Naides antris,
te flebit coniuncta meis Euplea querelis,
Inarime, Prochyteque fero circumdata ponto,
Nesis, et assiduo pulsata Megalia fluctu,
te placidus Limon, te felix palmite Gaurus
Teleboumque domus dilectaque littora Baiae,
teque Dicarchei portus, te proxima Cyme
Aenariaeque lacus celebres et Vesvia rura,
te referent veteris resonantia saxa Minervae.
Te Stabiae, te terrigenûm perfusa cruore
terra gemet funusque tuum laudesque sonabunt
arva tibi dilecta, Ceres, tibi cognita, Bacche.
Vos patrii mecum, vos suspirabitis amnes,
flebitis et virides toto cum flumine ripae.
Vos mecum rigidi montes, vos invia lustra,
vos gelidae valles discetis flere, meique
testes vos eritis circum nemora alta doloris,

testis erit, quae sola gementibus ingemit, Echo,
testis erit, qui cuncta videt, qui luce recludit.
Praeterea Serri in ripis viridantibus alti
nulla erit, e duro quae non in cortice signet
populus, ah!, moestum et semper lacrimabile carmen.
Quis nunc te nobis rapuit, Sincere, Deorum?
En tibi Parthenope tumulum moestissima mater
construit et Pario decorat tua funera saxo
atque sepulcrales longinqua in saecula pompas.
Has lacrimas vulsamque a vertice Mergillina
caesariem et violam et candentia lilia fundit.
Has nassas, haec lina tibi, Sincere, sepulto
piscator dicat, et soli cantare periti
Arcades hos calamos et pastoralia serta
apportant: tu dona libens, tu vota benignus
suscipe, et o tantos praesens solare dolores.
Parva loquor: te Nereidum, te docta sororum
Musarum venerata cohors, te mater Amorum
flebilibus modulata modis tibi funera solvit
et tumulo lacrimas oculis turgentibus addit
et tumulo densas inducit sedula lauros
et Paphia vestit myrto et pallente corymbo:
Tum vivax apium et Mylesia vellera donat
purpureasque rosas et purpureos amaranthos
spargit et Ammineo redolentia mella Lyaeo
aeternoque tuum designat carmine bustum:
Nereidvm pontique decvs, Sincere, sepvlcrvm
Hoc posvere tibi formosa Doride natae.
Mvsarvm Phoebiqve decvs, Sincere, sepvlcrvm
Hoc posvere tibi pvlchra Pimpleide natae.
Idaliae natique decvs, Sincere, sepvlcrvm
Hoc posvit tibi moesta Iovis pvlcherrima proles.
I felix! Iam te Elysii ter magna recessus
umbra manent, manet umbra tui divina Maronis
innumerique alii, queis vel tua cognita virtus
vel qui felices tecum vixere per annos.
I felix animi fortunatusque laborum!
Iamque vale, vale, o vates: vos saxa, valete.
Terra tibi violae sint, o sit perpetuum ver,
quae cineres vatis servat felicis et ossa,
et Zephyri molle inspirent tibi semper amomum!

Das Gedicht gliedert sich deutlich in drei größere Abschnitte, die ihrerseits wieder mehrfach untergliedert sind: Auf eine Einleitung von 38 Versen folgen zunächst die Totenklage und ein Katalog der Trauernden (v. 39–79), an den sich die Errichtung des Tumulus mit Grabepigramm und Segenswünschen schließt (v. 80–115).[7]

Das Gedicht beginnt mit einer Apostrophe an den untergehenden Phoebus (Apollo/Sol), die mit der Doppeldeutigkeit der Substantivform *Phoebe* spielt – einmal Vokativ von *Phoebus*, dann Nominativ von *Phoebe* (Diana/Luna) – und zu einer poetisch ausgebreiteten Beschreibung des Einbruchs der Nacht überleitet (v. 1–5a).[8] In dem anschließenden temporalen, mit *cum inversum* eingeleiteten Nebensatz führt sich ein anonym bleibender Ich-Sprecher ein (*me*, v. 5), der schlafend unter einem überhängenden Felsen[9] an der Ostseite[10] des Pausilypus (heute Posillipo im Südwesten von Neapel) liegt. In den folgenden Versen 8–23 stellt der Ich-Sprecher in einer Ekphrasis die Landschaft am Fuße des Posillipo vor, die mit ihren immergrünen Wäldern, in denen zahlreiche Vögel singen (v. 19–23), und ihrem gleichmäßig milden Klima ein Abbild des Tempe-Tals und einen *locus amoenus* gleichsam in einer *aurea aetas* (Stichwort *aeterno vere* in v. 18) darstellen.

In einem mit *ecce* markierten Neueinsatz in v. 24 schildert der Ich-Sprecher eine plötzliche Erscheinung in seinem Traum: Der Flußgott Sebethus[11] taucht

---

[7] Die Metrik ist, wie auch sonst bei Zanchi, häufig gesucht und kapriziös: Wie die Neoteriker liebt er *versus spondeaci* (v. 53 [mit Spondeen außer im 4. Metrum], 84), Daktylen mit Spondeen außer im 5. Metrum (v. 20, 25, 36, 47, 110), Monosyllaba am Versende (v. 50, 113), Zäsuren κατὰ τὸν τρίτον τροχαῖον (v. 6) und die im Hexameter ungewöhnliche Mitteldihärese (v. 113); auffällig ist ferner ein viersilbiges Wort (*amaranthos*) am Versende (v. 98) und der dreimal vorkommende Versschluß *Sincere, Deorum* (v. 29, 47 und 80); vgl. dazu Hofmann 2011: 52 f. und Hofmann 2021: 227. Zu v. 112 *vale vale o* s. unten A. 71.

[8] Referenztext ist Verg. *Aen*. 4.522 ff.; vgl. zur Wirkungsgeschichte Pease 1935: 434 ff.

[9] V. 5 f. *alta / Pausilypi sub rupe*, nach dem Vorbild von *alta sub rupe* (Verg. *Ecl*. 1.56), *rupe sub aëria* (Verg. *Georg*. 4.508), *sub rupe cavata* (Verg. *Aen*. 1.310, 3.229).

[10] Diese ist mit v. 6b–7 umschrieben. Der syntaktische Anschluß ist etwas hart, da Subjekt zu *prospicit* (v. 7) nur die *rupes Pausilypi* sein kann, die (bzw. von der aus man) in Richtung Sonnenaufgang und hinaus auf den Golf blickt.

[11] Der Sebeto ist heute so gut wie verschwunden; einst mündete einer seiner beiden Arme unterhalb der Collina di Pizzofalcone bei der heutigen Piazza Borsa und Piazza Municipio, d.h. zwischen den antiken Siedlungen Parthenope und Neapolis, der andere beim heutigen Ponte della Maddalena in den Golf von Neapel. In der Antike wird er bei Stat. *Silv*. 1.2.263, Colum. 10.134 (*doctaque Parthenope Sebethide roscida lympha*) und Vibius Sequester 137 (ed. Gelsomino) genannt; im Italikerkatalog ist Oebalus der Sohn von Telon und der Tochter des Sebethus (*Sebethide nympha*, Verg. *Aen*. 7.734, s. oben die Stelle bei Columella). Später wird

mit den üblichen Insignien einer Flußgottheit auf und, deutlich zu sehen im Dunkel der Nacht, beklagt er zunächst Sannazaros Tod (v. 29b–32);[12] dann wendet er sich an den schlafenden Ich-Sprecher mit der Aufforderung, er solle aufwachen und den toten Dichter beweinen, ihm einen Tumulus errichten und an seinem Grab die feierlichen Totenriten begehen (v. 33–35). Mit dem erschreckten Auffahren des Ich-Sprechers aus dem Schlaf und seinem Klagen und Weinen, wie Sebethus es ihm im Traume befohlen hat,[13] endet dieser erste Teil (v. 36–38).

Der zweite Teil beginnt mit einer Aufforderung des Ich-Sprechers an seine Umgebung, mit ihm in die Trauerklagen einzustimmen: Mit anaphorischem *tu* bzw. *vos* eingeleitet, wendet er sich im einzelnen an Alcyone (den Eisvogel), berühmt für ihre Klage um ihren verstorbenen Gatten Ceyx,[14] an die Töchter des Flußgottes Achelous, die für ihren Gesang berühmten Sirenen (*pictis Acheloides alis*, v. 41),[15] die nach der häufigsten Überlieferung ihren Sitz auf den Σειρηνοῦσσαι (Strab. 1.2.12 ff.) / *Sirenum insulae* oder *scopuli* (heute Isole Li

er häufiger erwähnt in der Dichtung des Humanistenkreises von Neapel (Pontano, Sannazaro u.a.), seine Hochzeit mit der Nymphe Parthenope ist Thema von Pontanos 1. Ekloge *Lepidina*; vgl. Tufano 2011 und 2015; Soranzo 2014: 31, 37 ff.

[12] Die Worte "*Quis te, Sincere, Deorum / abstulit et nostris invidit, candide, terris?*" (v. 29b–30) kehren leicht abgewandelt noch zweimal im Gedicht in v. 47 und 80 wieder.

[13] Die Worte "*age lumina solve / in fletum*" des Sebethus (v. 33b–34a) nimmt der Ich-Sprecher auf mit "*in fletum lacrimantia lumina solvi*" (v. 38).

[14] Für die Folgezeit war Ovids Darstellung in *Met*. 11.410–748 maßgebend.

[15] Die Wendung *gemmatis ... Acheloides alis* bereits in *De horto Sophiae* 1.52. Die Sirenen erscheinen als Töchter des Acheloos und der Muse Terpsichore schon bei A.R. 4.893 (Σειρῆνες ... Ἀχελωίδες), später werden auch Melpomene und Kalliope als ihre Mutter genannt. Auch hier dürfte wiederum Ov. *Met*. 5.551–563 (*Acheloides ... doctae Sirenes*) für Zanchi maßgebend gewesen sein; vgl. zur Doxographie und zu den verschiedenen Überlieferungen Bömer 1976: 367 f. Eine Abstammung von Terra, wie Zanchi sie in v. 42 *antiqua Tellure satae* voraussetzt, ist in der Antike erstmals bei Eur. *Hel.* 168 f. (πτεροφόροι νεάνιδες, παρθένοι Χθονὸς κόραι, Σειρῆνες) und dann erst wieder spät belegt (Luc. *Salt*. 50, Liban. *Progymn*. 4.1108 R.) und wird mit den von Achelous' abgebrochenem Horn auf die Erde gefallenen Blutstropfen in Verbindung gebracht, aus denen sie entstanden seien. Zanchi hatte seine Kenntnis dieser seltenen Überlieferung vermutlich aus Euripides, vermengte aber die Tradition der auf die *Odyssee* zurückgehenden Sirenen mit den bei Euripides gemeinten "musizierenden und den κόμμος ausführenden Hades- oder Grabsirenen [...], die seit dem ausgehenden 5. Jh. auf den attischen Grabstelen erscheinen" (Kannicht 1969: 67). Daß mit *Acheloides* nicht Najaden des Achelous (so Ps.-Verg. *Copa* 15) oder Quellnymphen im allgemeinen (Colum. 10.263) gemeint sein können, zeigt die Qualifizierung durch *pictis ... alis*.

Galli südlich der Halbinsel von Sorrent) haben,[16] also nicht weit weg vom Golf und Mergellina, dem Schauplatz des Gedichts, und schließlich an Parthenope selbst, d.h. die Stadt Neapel, die hier mit ihrem auf die Überlieferung von der dort bestatteten Sirene Parthenope zurückgehenden Namen genannt[17] und als *adeo quondam felix cantataque Musis* (v. 43) bezeichnet wird: Damit spielt Zanchi auf die kulturelle und politische Blütezeit Neapels unter Alfons von Aragon und seinen Nachfolgern an, die durch die Besetzung neapolitanischer Gebiete durch französische Truppen 1501 infolge der Aufteilung des Königreichs Neapel und durch die Truppen des Gran Capitán Gonzalo de Cordoba 1503 und die nachfolgenden Kämpfe zwischen Frankreich und den Katholischen Königen ein Ende nahm.[18] Speziell für Parthenope ist es die zweite große Klage nach dem Tode Vergils (v. 45 f.), womit Zanchi impliziert, daß Sannazaro ein neuer und zweiter Vergil ist.

Nach der Wiederholung der nur geringfügig veränderten, d.h. in v. 47 auf einen vollen Hexameter ausgedehnten rhetorischen Frage des Sebethus

[16] Vgl. Bömer 1986: 35 f. (zu *Met*. 14.87 f. *Acheloiadumque relinquit / Sirenum scopulos*).

[17] Ein Grab der Parthenope in Neapel wird erstmals bei Lykophr. 717 ff. genannt, geht aber vielleicht auf ältere Überlieferung zurück, vgl. Strab. 1.2.18, später Dion. Perieg. 358 ff. In der lateinischen Literatur ist diese Überlieferung erstmals im 4. Buch der *Communes Historiae* des Q. Lutatius Catulus (cos. 102 v. Chr.) bezeugt, vgl. Serv. Auct. *Georg*. 4.563 (= *fr*. 7 *HRR* I^2, 192 f. Peter); dieser Name wird dann von den augusteischen und späteren Dichtern übernommen (Verg. *Georg*. 4.563 und im Grabepigramm der *Vita Donati* 36 [p. 8.136 f. Brummer]; Ov. *Met*. 14.101 f., 15.711 f.; Colum. 10.134; Sil. It. 12.31 f.; Stat. *Silv*. 1.2.261; Petr. 120.68 [*Bellum civile*]); vgl. Bömer 1986: 43 f., 442. Neapel-Parthenope und die Sirenen erscheinen in Zanchis Epos *De horto Sophiae* 1.51 ff. als Zentrum sinnlicher Verführungen, denen der Ich-Erzähler fünf Jahre lang ausgesetzt war: vgl. Leuker 2011: 73.

[18] König Federigo I. von Neapel, Nachfolger seines kinderlosen Neffen Ferdinand II. ("Ferrandino", † 1496), floh 1501 vor den heranrückenden Spaniern mit seiner Familie über Ischia nach Frankreich und starb 1504 in Tours. Das Königreich Neapel kam dann 1504 unter die Herrschaft der Katholischen Könige Ferdinand II. von Aragon (1452–1516) und Isabella I. von Kastilien (1451–1504). Nach Ferdinands Tod 1516 trat Karl I. von Spanien (später als deutscher König und römischer Kaiser Karl V.) die Herrschaft auch über Neapel an und ließ es seit 1522 durch Vizekönige regieren. Diese Unruhen und die Übernahme der Herrschaft durch die Katholischen Könige veranlaßten auch Sannazaro, mit seinem Mäzen König Federigo nach Frankreich ins Exil zu gehen, von dem er erst nach Federigos Tod 1505 wieder nach Neapel in seine Villa in Mergellina zurückkehrte, die ihm der König 1499 zum Geschenk gemacht hatte und für die er sich, wie Horaz bei Maecenas für sein Sabinum, mit einem Gedicht bedankte (*Epigr*. 1.2, in sapphischen Strophen); vgl. dazu Auhagen 2006; Divenuto 2009. Für 1499 als Jahr des Geschenks der Villa plädieren Pèrcopo 1931: 136 ff., 194 f. und Altamura 1951: 20 mit A. 1., für 1497 u.a. Divenuto 2009. Kidwell 1993: 85 ff. favorisiert auch 1499, gesteht jedoch ein: "there seems to be no real evidence for an exact date" (224 A. 70).

(v. 29b–30) gibt der Ich-Sprecher einen Katalog von Vorzeichen, die bereits auf Sannazaros Tod vorausdeuteten und die er als solche durchaus erkannt hat:[19] Verfinsterung der Sonne hinter einer Wolke, sieben Tage und Nächte strömender Regen und Erdbeben des trauernden Apennin[20] (v. 49–54).

Nach der Versicherung, ihn, den *nobilis Actius* (v. 55), nicht unbeweint zu lassen, und der Bitte an die Erde, seine Tränen aufzunehmen, und an die Lüfte, sein trauriges Lied zu wiederholen,[21] folgt ein längerer Katalog (v. 55–79) von Personen und geographischen Personifikationen, die um Sannazaro trauern werden.[22] In den v. 58–69 wendet sich der Ich-Sprecher mit achtfachem anaphorischem *te*[23] jeweils direkt an Sannazaro und versichert ihn der Trauer der Gottheiten und der Landschaften rings um den Golf.[24]

---

[19] *Nec mens laeva fuit* (v. 50) im Gegensatzu zu *si mens non laeva fuisset* in Verg. *Ecl*. 1.16, *Aen*. 2.54.

[20] Vgl. die Schilderung der Wetterzeichen und ihrer Funktion als Vorzeichen für Cäsars Ermordung und den Bürgerkrieg in Verg. *Georg*. 1.424 ff., 463 ff., wo statt des Apennin die Gegend um den Aetna infolge eines Vulkanausbruchs bebt.

[21] *Vos flebile carmen / ingeminate* (v. 56 f.): *flebile carmen* bei Ovid als Bezeichnung für Klageelegien in *Her*. 15.7 und *Tr*. 5.1.5, später auch in Paul. Nol. *c.* 23.34, *CE* 1403.21 und Pontano *Tumuli* 1.1.18, stets (außer bei Pontano) am Versende nach der bukolischen Dihärese.

[22] Ähnliche Trauer in Theocr. *Id*. 1.71 ff.; [Mosch.] *Epitaph. Bion*., passim; Bion, *Epitaph. Adon*. 31 ff.; Verg. *Ecl*. 10.13 ff.; in neulateinischer Bukolik z.B. Pontano *Ecl*. 2.4 ff.; s. auch unten A. 34 und A. 92.

[23] Anaphorische Apostrophe mit *te* oder *vos* ist ein typischer Zug hymnischer Sprache, vgl. die dreifache Apostrophe in Verg. *Aen*. 7.759 f. *te nemus Angitiae, vitrea te Fucinus unda, te liquidi flevere lacus*, die neben Theokrits dreifachem τῆνον in der Daphnisklage (*Id*. 1.71 f.) Zanchi auch inhaltlich beeinflußt haben mag (Theokrits erstes *Eidyllion* war ihm in der *ed. pr*. von Bonus Accursius, Mailand 1480, und der Aldina von A. Manutius und M. Musuros, Venedig 1495/6, sowie der lateinischen Übersetzung von Martino Filetico, Rom 1482 und Venedig 1499, zugänglich und auch bekannt). Sie wird weitergeführt im doppelten Polyptoton *tibi* in v. 69 und spielerisch aufgenommen in der Assonanz von *Te*leboumque (v. 63), *te*rrigenûm (v. 67) und *te*rra (v. 68). Grundlegend dazu noch immer Norden 1923: 149 ff. ("Anaphorische Prädikation im 'Du'-Stil"); knapp (z.T. kritisch) Thraede 1994: 928 ff. ("Hymnus-Stil u. Kult [zu E. Norden]"); ausführlich La Bua 1999.

[24] In diesem Abschnitt stützt sich Zanchi insbesondere auf einige Gedichte in Statius' *Silvae* (1.2 *Epithalamion in Stellam et Violentillam*; 2.2 *Villa Surrentina Pollii Felicis*; 3.1 *Hercules Surrentinus Pollii Felicis*; 3.5 [*Ad uxorem*]; 5.3 *Epicedion in patrem suum*). Im einzelnen werden angerufen: die *Lucrinae Naides*, d.h. die Nymphen des *lacus Lucrinus* (v. 58 *vitreis Lucrinae Naides antris* ist gebildet nach Stat. *Silv*. 1.2.264 *sulpureis Lucrinae Naides antris*), *Euplea*, d.h. Aphrodite Euploea (nur genannt bei Stat. *Silv*. 2.2.79 und 3.1.149f., vgl. auch Sannazaro *Ecl*. 2.32; 4.66; *fr*. 1), die Beschützerin der Segler, die auf dem Vorgebirge von Pizzofalcone einen Tempel besaß (vgl. Stat. *Silv*. 3.1.150 *Lucrina Venus* und Sannazaro *Ecl. fr*. 13 *Lucrinae ad*

In den v. 70–73 wendet er sich dagegen der Heimat des Dichters Zanchi zu, die, insofern der Ich-Sprecher als eine innertextliche Projektion des außertextlichen Autors Zanchi, gleichsam als dessen *alter ego*, anzusehen ist, auch seine eigene Heimat ist, und ruft die *patrii amnes*[25] und ihre

Veneris scopulos), die Inseln Inarime (heute Ischia), Prochyte (heute Procida), Nesis (heute Nisida) und Megalia (heute Castel dell'Ovo), alle im Golf von Pozzuoli und Neapel gelegen (Hauptquelle für diese Geographica waren Stat. *Silv*. 2.2.76–80 und Sannazaro *Ecl*. 1.14. 109; 2.21, 2.32 f.; 3.72 f., 3.76; 4.35; *fr*. 14 f.), dann *placidus Limon* (so auch Stat. *Silv*. 3.1.149 von einer weiteren Villa des Pollius Felix, die der in *Silv*. 2.2 beschriebenen von Surrentum gegenüber auf der anderen Seite des Golfes in Misenum lag), hier wohl nur von der Lokalität gesagt, also "das friedliche Misenum", der wegen seiner Weine berühmte *Gaurus mons* östlich von Cumae (vgl. Stat. *Silv*. 3.1.147 *nemorosus palmite Gaurus*; 3.5.99 *Bacchei vineta madentia Gauri*, vgl. auch Sannazaro *El*. 2.4.14), *Teleboumque domus*, d.h. die Insel Capri, die früh von Teleboern aus Akarnanien (Westgriechenland) besiedelt wurde (vgl. Stat. *Silv*. 3.5.100 *Teleboumque domos* und Sannazaro *Ecl*. 4.67 f.; 5.3), das berühmte Seebad Baiae (*dilectaque littora Baiae*, vgl. Stat. *Silv*. 3.5.96 *blandissima litora, Baias* und Sannazaro, *El*. 1.9.65), der Hafen des Dicarcheus (*Dicarchei portus*, vgl. Stat. *Silv*. 5.3.169 *Dicarchei portus Baianaque ... litora*; 3.5.75 *Dicarchei portusque* und Sannazaro *Ecl*. 3.86; 5.12), d.h. Puteoli (heute Pozzuoli), das 531 v.Chr. von Samiern als Dikaiarcheia gegründet wurde, ferner das unweit davon liegende Cumae (*proxima Cyme*), die viel aufgesuchten Quellen (*lacus* hier im weiteren dichterischen Gebrauch von Gewässern allgemein, vgl. Tib. 1.10.38; 2.6.40; Prop. 2.28.40; Verg. *Aen*. 8.66, 8.74, auch vom Styx und anderen Unterweltsflüssen: *Aen*. 6.134, 6.393; 8.296; *Culex* 372 f.; Stat. *Silv*. 5.3.44; zur Vorstellung der jemand beweinenden Natur vgl. auch Verg. *Aen*. 7.760 *te liquidi flevere lacus* und *Ecl*. 10.13–15, s. unten A. 34 zur *pathetic fallacy* und A. 92) von Ischia (Aenaria ist neben Inarime und Pithecusa ein anderer alter Name für Ischia), die für ihre heilende Wirkung bekannt waren (vgl. Stat. *Silv*. 3.5.104 *Denarumque lacus medicos* [so die Hss. M und A], aber die Ed. von Domizio Calderini, Rom: Pannartz 1475, die Zanchi offensichtlich herangezogen hatte, schrieb *Aenariaeque*, das er übernahm, während Vollmer *Aenarumque* und Marastoni *Dinarumque* konjizierten und Courtney die Konjektur *venarumque* von A. van Buren in den Text setzte), die Ländereien um den Vesuv herum (*Vesvia rura*, vgl. Colum. 10.133 *fontibus et Stabiae celebres et Vesvia rura*), die *saxa Minervae* (griech. Ἀθηναῖον), d.h. das Vorgebirge an der westlichen Landspitze der Halbinsel Sorrent, auf der sich ein angeblich von Odysseus gegründeter Minervatempel befand (vgl. Stat. *Silv*. 2.2.4 *saxaque Tyrrhenae templis onerata Minervae*, und Sannazaro *Ecl*. 4.22 *ad saxa Minervae*), Stabiae, eine der vom Vesuv zerstörten Städte in der SO-Ecke des Golfs, die mit *terrigenûm perfusa cruore / terra* umschriebenen *Campi Flegrei* und die von Ceres geliebten und dem Bacchus vertrauten Gefilde, d.h. die fruchtbaren Gebiete mit Getreide- und Weinbau in der Umgebung des Golfes. Vgl. Lefèvre 2006; Coppel 2006.

[25] Vgl. *patrius...amnis*: Stat. *Th*. 11.277; Val. Fl. 5.134; *patrios ... amnes*: Val. Fl. 4.229; *patrium ... amnem*: Val. Fl. 5.191, 5.397, 5.419; *ab amne ... patrio*: Sil. It. 14.36. Die Nennung des Flusses *Serrius* (Serio) in v. 77 weist darauf hin, daß die *patrii amnes* und die folgenden geographischen Angaben sich auf die norditalienische Heimat Zanchis beziehen (mit *rigidi*

virides ripae,[26] die *rigidi montes*,[27] die *invia lustra*[28] und die *gelidae valles*[29] der Landschaften Oberitaliens in fünffacher Anapher direkt mit *vos* an,[30] und in v. 74–76 beschwört er mit Fortsetzung des anaphorischen *vos* und dreifachem anaphorischem Polyptoton von *testes–testis–testis* und *eritis–erit–erit*[31] die *nemora alta*,[32] Echo und Sol[33] zu Zeugen seiner Trauer.[34] Schließlich versichert er (v. 77–79), daß es am Ufer des Serrius[35] keine Pappel, den typischen Baum

montes und *invia lustra* sind zweifellos die Bergamasker Alpen gemeint, in denen auch die *gelidae valles* zu suchen sein dürften), die, metaphorisch mit dem Dichter selbst, in die Klagen um Sannazaros Tod einstimmt. Daraus läßt sich schließen, daß Zanchi dieses Gedicht in den dreißiger Jahren des Cinquecento schrieb, als er sich wieder in Norditalien aufhielt, vermutlich bald, nachdem er von Sannazaros Tod erfahren hatte.

[26] *virides ... ripae*: Verg. *Georg*. 4.121; Stat. *Th*. 9.322; Aus. *Mos*. 141; *virides/is ... ripas*: Verg. *Ecl*. 7.12; Ov. *Met*. 2.371; Val. Fl. 5.216.

[27] *rigidi ... montis*: Ov. *Met*. 8.798; Avien. *Orb*. 783; *rigido ... monte*: Stat. *Ach*. 2.97; *rigidos montes*: Avien. *Orb*. 1332.

[28] *invia lustra*: Verg. *Aen*. 4.151; Stat. *Ach*. 2.102 f.

[29] Vgl. Verg. *Georg*. 2.488 *gelidis convallibus* (v.l. *in vallibus* R Gud. edd. ante Ribbeckium) *Haemi*; Claud. *Cons. Stil*. 1.131 *vos, Haemi gelidae valles*.

[30] Zu *testes vos eritis* (v. 74) vgl. Prop. 1.18.19 *vos eritis testes*.

[31] Zum kunstvoll aufgeladenen Stil dieses Abschnitts gehören auch die zahlreichen Assonanzen, das Polyptoton *gementibus ingemit* (v. 75), das gleichsam das Echo akustisch andeutet, und das zweifach anaphorische *qui* in v. 76.

[32] *nemora alta*: Verg. *Georg*. 3.393 (3.520, Ov. *Met*. 1.591 und Claud. *Ruf*. 2.395 *altorum nemorum*, *ad alta ... nemora* Cat. 63.12); *Aen*. 12.929; Luc. 1.453; Stat. *Th*. 9.221; *Silv*. 1.3.17; 2.2.62; Val. Fl. 1.728; Sil. It. 2,74. "*altus* ist als Epitheton zu *silvae nemora* sim. ganz vorwiegend poetisch und in den meisten Fällen, wie auch hier, Epitheton ornans..." (Bömer 1969: 186).

[33] Der Name Sol wird nicht genannt, sondern mit *qui cuncta videt, qui luce recludit* (v. 76) umschrieben. Zu *qui cuncta videt* (antik nur in Ennod. *c*. 1.9.24, sonst nur in ma. Dichtung belegt) vgl. die ausführliche Stellensammlung von Hom. *Il*. 3.277 bis Claud. *Ol. Prob*. 1 und Nonnos *Dion*. 17.285 ff. in Pease 1935: 483 f. zu Verg. *Aen*. 4.607 (ohne die Ennodius-Stelle).

[34] Vergleichbare Anrufungen der Natur zur Mittrauer mit teilweise denselben Personen und Personifikationen bereits in [Mosch.] *Epitaph. Bion*. und Bion *Epitaph. Adon*., die Zanchi beide aus der Aldina (Venedig 1495) oder der Iuntina (Florenz 1516) gekannt hat (vgl. oben A. 22 und 24). Zu dieser sog. *pathetic fallacy* vgl. Dick 1968; Buller 1981; Hecht 1985.

[35] Gemeint ist der von Pappeln gesäumte *Serius* (heute Serio), der in den Bergamasker Alpen am Monte Torena entspringt und in Bocca Serio, südlich von Montodine, in die Adda mündet, die ihrerseits zwischen Piacenza und Cremona in den Po fließt. Zanchi erwähnt ihn auch in einem Gedicht an die Jungfrau Maria (*Poemata* 3.13.3 f. *Virgini Matri Sacrum*, p. 122 f. ed. Basel 1555 = p. 95 ed. Bergamo 1747): *Haec cecinit Serri in ripis, qua Bergomen alta / imminet, Ausoniis carmina ducta modis*. Literarisch berühmt wurde er durch den von Vida in sein Seidenraupengedicht (*Bombycum libri II*) eingefügten Mythos (2.387–432) von einem

der Trauer,[36] geben wird, die nicht auf ihrer Rinde Klagen und ein *lacrimabile carmen*[37] haben wird, womit er auf die vor allem in der Bukolik und Liebeselegie geschilderte Gepflogenheit, Namen, Gedichte und Lieder in die Rinde von Bäumen einzuritzen, anspielt.[38]

Mit der bereits in den Versen 29b–30 und 47 f. ausgesprochenen rhetorischen Frage – hier in einen Vers (80) komprimiert – nach dem Gott, der für Sannazaros Tod verantwortlich ist, wird der dritte Teil des Gedichts (v. 80–115) eingeleitet, der dem Grab (*tumulus*) Sannazaros gewidmet ist und mit Gebeten und Segenswünschen für seine Seele im Jenseits endet.

chinesischen Prinzen, der in Phaëthusa, eine der Heliaden, die nach Phaëthons Tod in Pappeln verwandelt worden waren, verliebt war und unter Klagen und Weinen ihren Stamm umarmte, bis er selbst gänzlich in Tränen zerfloß und aus Mitleid von den Göttern in den Fluß Serius verwandelt wurde und so die Wurzeln des Baumes, in dem sich seine spröde Geliebte verbarg, benetzte, bis es ihm gelang, doch noch ihre Liebe zu gewinnen und sich mit ihr in richtiger Ehe zu verbinden. Auf diese Weise hatte Vida etymologisch innovativ den Fluß *Serius* mit dem *Serius*, dem Prinzen der Chinesen (*Seres*), verbunden. Die Schreibung *Serrius* (auch *Sarrius*) ist nachantik.

[36] Vgl. Ov. *Met*. 2.340–366 (Verwandlung der um Phaëthon trauernden Heliaden in Bäume, die bei anderen Autoren fast immer Pappeln sind, vgl. Bömer 1969: 328 f.). Zum Unterweltsbezug vgl. Hom. *Od*. 10.509 f. (Hain der Persephone) und die Sage von der Okeanostochter Leuke, die von Hades entführt und in eine Weiß- oder Silberpappel in den Elysischen Gefilden verwandelt wurde; bei seiner Rückkehr aus der Unterwelt trug Herakles einen Weißpappelkranz (vgl. Verg. *Ecl*. 7.61 *populus Alcidae gratissima* mit Servius *ad loc*. und Cucchiarelli 2012: 402). Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, daß Zanchi mit der Erwähnung der Pappeln auf den Mythos in Vidas Seidenraupengedicht anspielt und dem 15 Jahre älteren Dichter dadurch eine gelehrte Reverenz erweist. Beide Dichter kannten sich, gehörten demselben Orden an und lebten längere Zeit in Norditalien. Buch VII von Zanchis *Poemata* enthält ein Epigramm auf Vida (7.28, p. 227 f. ed. Basel 1555 = p. 178 ed. Bergamo 1747), in dem er ihn als *Vida pater* anspricht und seine Dichtungen rühmt. Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Zanchi und Vida vgl. Gritti 1911: 109 f.

[37] Diese Junktur nur bei Paul. Diac. *c*. 39.35 (*MGH Poetae* I, p. 72) belegt (ebenfalls am Versende).

[38] Gedichte auf einer Rinde: Verg. *Ecl*. 10.52–54 (*Amores* des Cornelius Gallus); Calp. Sic. 1.19–88 (Lobpreis des Kaisers); 3.43–91 (Versöhnungslied an die spröde Geliebte); Name der/des Geliebten: Prop. 1.18.22 (zurückgehend auf Kall. *fr*. 73 Pf. mit Aristain. *Epist*. 1.10, p. 23.60 f. Mazal); Ov. *Her*. 5.21 f.; *AL* 241 Sh.-B.; *AP* 9.341, 12.130; vgl. Theocr. *Id*. 18.47 f. (Weihe an Helena); Totenklage: Verg. *Ecl*. 5.12–44; Nemes. *Ecl*. 1.28–80; Pontanus *Ecl*. 2 (Klage von Meliseus/Pontano um seine verstorbene Gattin Ariadna). In Sannazaros *Eclogae piscatoriae* findet sich nichts derartiges.

Zunächst werden in den Versen 80–100 der *tumulus* selbst und die dort vollzogenen Riten beschrieben;[39] diesen *tumulus* hat Parthenope, d.h. die Personifikation Neapels, die als Sannazaros *moestissima mater* (v. 81)[40] bezeichnet wird, selbst errichtet und mit Parischem Marmor verkleidet, und an ihm hat sie für alle kommenden Zeiten *sepulcrales pompas* (v. 83) eingerichtet. Diese und die folgenden Beschreibungen gibt der Ich-Sprecher dem Leser, den er wie sich selbst am Grabe stehend vorstellt und mit deiktischen Partikeln und Pronomina[41] auf die einzelnen Gaben und ihre Spender hinweist. Gleichzeitig spricht er auch den toten, im Grabe ruhenden Sannazaro in der zweiten Person und direkt mit Namen an.[42]

Im folgenden werden dann Personifikationen der Landschaft des Golfes und Gottheiten genannt, die am Grabe des Dichters trauern und dort Gaben niederlegen: Mergillina, das Gebiet am Küstenvorsprung südwestlich der Stadt unterhalb des Posillipo, in dem Sannazaros Villa lag,[43] opfert ihre Tränen, die sie am Grab vergießt, und ihre ausgerauften Haare, dazu legt sie Veilchen und weiße Lilien auf sein Grab (v. 84 f.).[44] Ein Fischer legt seine Netze und Segel nieder *tibi*, *Sincere*, *sepulto*,[45] wie der Ich-Sprecher in emphatischer Apostrophe sich direkt an den verstorbenen Dichter wendet, als Dank und Anerkennung für die *Eclogae piscatoriae*, der von Sannazaro neu begründeten Gattung, in der er Leben und Arbeit der Fischer des Golfes schildert (v. 86–87a).[46] Dann kommen Hirten aus Arkadien, *soli cantare periti / Arcades*, wie sie der Ich-Sprecher mit einem Zitat aus Vergils *Eklogen*[47] einführt, die Hirtenflöten (*calamos* v. 88) und Hirtenkränze (*pastoralia serta* v. 88) bringen, eine neuerliche metapoetische Referenz auf eine Dichtung Sannazaros, nämlich den Gedichtzyklus (in *volgare*) *Arcadia*. Hier schaltet sich der Ich-Sprecher erneut ein und bittet den Dichter, die Gaben und Gebete freudig und wohlwollend

[39] Aus den vielen antiken Vorbildern seien Prop. 2.13.17 ff.; 3.16.21 ff. und [Lygd.] 2.9 ff. genannt.

[40] Zur Junktur vgl. Ov. *Her*. 15.153 und *CE* 1212.9 (ebenfalls Versende); Paul. Petr. *Mart*. 5.453.

[41] *en* v. 81, *has* v. 84 und 86, *haec* v. 86, *hos* v. 88.

[42] *tibi* v. 81, *tua* v. 82, *tibi, Sincere, sepulto* v. 86, *tu* v. 89, *te* v. 91 f., *tibi* v. 93.

[43] Vgl. oben A. 18.

[44] Vgl. den *Tumulus Actii Sinceri Sannazarii* (7.24.5–8).

[45] Vgl. den *Tumulus Actii Sinceri Sannazarii* (7.24.1 f.).

[46] Vgl. dazu Kennedy 1983: 149 ff.; Salemme 2007.

[47] Verg. *Ecl*. 10.32 f. (an derselben Versstelle), vgl. 7.4 f.; ähnlich im *Tumulus Actii Sinceri Sannazarii* (7.24.3 f.).

anzunehmen und die Hirten *praesens*, d.h. wie eine Gottheit in ihrer Epiphanie, in ihrem großen Schmerz zu trösten (v. 89b–90). Mit *parva loquor*[48] (v. 91a) ruft sich der Ich-Sprecher dann von diesen trauernden Menschen zurück und lenkt die Aufmerksamkeit des Lesers in einem erneut kunstvoll stilisierten Abschnitt mit dreifach anaphorischem *te* (v. 91 f.), dem das Polyptoton *tibi* (v. 93) folgt, auf die göttlichen Wesen, die nunmehr trauernd am Grabe erscheinen: die Nereiden, die Musen und Venus selbst, die *mater Amorum*[49] (v. 92), die mit traurigen Weisen sein Leichenbegängnis versieht:[50] in drei anaphorisch mit *et*, davon zweimal mit *et tumulo* eingeleiteten Versen wird weiter berichtet, wie sie aus geschwollenen Augen Tränen über dem Grab vergießt, es mit Lorbeerkränzen[51] schmückt und mit Myrten von Paphos,[52] der ihr heiligen Pflanze von ihrem Heiligtum auf Zypern, und Blütendolden von mattgrünem Efeu,[53] ferner mit immergrünem Eppich[54] und weicher, kostbarer Milesischer Wolle umkleidet;[55] dazu streut sie purpurrote Rosen und Amaranten und träufelt nach Aminäerwein[56] duftenden Honig über

[48] Beliebte Junktur, meist am Versanfang, z.B. Luc. 9.783; Stat. *Silv*. 4.2.52, 5.1.127, 5.3.159 (vor der Penthemimeres); Claud. *DRP* 2.294; Sedul. *CP* 3.338; Sid. Apoll. *c*. 5.198; Drac. *Rom*. 2.43. Auch von Zanchi selbst verwendet, z.B. 7.28.11.

[49] Beliebte Junktur, meist am Versende nach der bukolischen Dihärese: Ov. *Am*. 3.15.1; *Her*. 7.59, 16.203; *Fast*. 4.1; Claud. *Praef. Eutr.* 2.63; Drac. *Rom*. 2.48, 7.10; *AL* 9.5 Sh.-B.

[50] Die Junktur *funera solvit* (v. 93) scheint nur bei Aethelwulf von Lindisfarne (um 803), *Carmen de abbatibus* 8.52 (ebenfalls am Versende) belegt zu sein. Vgl. Cic. *Sex. Rosc*. 8.23 *qui nondum etiam omnia paterno funeri iusta solvisset*.

[51] Mit *densas lauros* (v. 95) dürften wohl eng geflochtene Lorbeerkränze gemeint sein.

[52] Zu *Paphia vestit myrto* (v. 96) vgl. Verg. *Georg*. 2.64 *solido Paphiae de robore myrtus*; Ov. *AA* 3.181 *hic Paphias myrtos*; Stat. *Th*. 4.300 *hi Paphias myrtos a stirpe recurvant*.

[53] Zu *pallente corymbo* (v. 96) vgl. Verg. *Ecl*. 3.39 *diffusos hedera vestit pallente corymbos* (in Nachahmung von Theocr. *Id*. 1.29–31); *Culex* 405 *Chrysanthusque hederaeque nitor pallente corymbo*; Calp. Sic. 7.9 *et solus Stimicon caneret pallente corymbo*.

[54] Die Junktur *vivax apium* nur noch bei Hor. *c*. 1.36.16; vgl. auch Verg. *Ecl*. 6.68 *apio crinis ornatus amaro.*

[55] *Milesia vellera* auch bei Verg. *Georg*. 3.306 f. und 4.334.

[56] Verg. *Georg*. 2.97 *sunt et Aminneae vites, firmissima vina* lobt den in Campanien auf den Hügeln rings um Neapel wachsenden, später auch im Picenum angebauten Wein aus der Aminnäerrebe, der sogar über den Süßweinen von Tmolos in Lydien und dem Spitzenwein vom Vorgebirge Phanai im Süden von Chios stehe; bereits bei Cato *agr*. 6.4 und 7.1 genannt, ausführlich beschrieben bei Colum. 3.2.7–13, 7.2, 9.3–5 und Plin. *Nat*. 14.21 f. Die Schreibung (*Aminneus*, *Amineus*, *Aminaeus*, *Aminnaeus*, *Ammineus, -ius* etc.) schwankt schon in der Antike, vgl. *ThLL* I 8, 1916, 3 ff. s.v.; vgl. auch Hülsen, Olck 1894.

das Grab.[57] Zuletzt entwirft sie für das Grabmal ein sechs Verse umfassendes Epitaphion, ein *aeternum carmen* (v. 100), das der Ich-Sprecher im folgenden wörtlich wiedergibt (v. 101–106).

Dieses Grabepigramm ist erneut äußerst kunstvoll aufgebaut: Es besteht aus dreimal zwei parallel gebauten Versen, die je einer göttlichen Stifterin bzw. einer Gruppe von göttlichen Stifterinnen zugeordnet sind, die in hierarchisch aufsteigender Linie erscheinen (Naiaden–Musen–Venus). Im jeweils ersten Vers wird der Verstorbene im Vokativ mit dem Namen *Sincere* angesprochen und als *decus* der betreffenden Göttinnen und einer weiteren Person oder geographischen Personifikation bezeichnet, wobei die Namen der jeweiligen Göttinnen am Versanfang stehen. Unterschiede bestehen nur in der nachfolgenden Spezifizierung: So sprechen ihn die Nereiden, die Töchter der schönen Doris,[58] als *Nereidum Pontique decus* an,[59] die *pulchra Pimpleide natae*, die im schönen Pimpleis[60] Geborenen, d.h. die Musen, als *Musarum Phoebique decus*, und Venus, die *Iovis pulcherrima proles*, als *Idaliae natique decus*.[61]

---

[57] Vgl. Verg. *Georg*. 4.169 *redolentque thymo fragrantia mella* (= *Aen*. 1.436) und Ov. *Met.* 15.80 *mella thymi redolentia flore*; Pontano *Ecl*. 2.99 *redolentia mella*. Zur Verwendung von Honig im antiken Totenkult und als Totenopfer vgl. Sallinger, Böcher 1994: 448 ff. Zanchi denkt wohl an die in der Antike gebräuchliche Honig-Mischung (μελίκρατον, lat. *mulsum, i* oder *mulsa, ae* wie zuerst in Apul. *Met*. 3.18), die über dem Grab ausgegossen wurde (*spargit*, v. 99). Zu Thematisierungen des Grabkults in den Epitaphien vgl. Lattimore 1942: 126 ff.

[58] Doris, hier als Tochter von Okeanos und Tethys, Gattin des Nereus und Mutter der Nereiden aufgefaßt. Die Junktur *aequoreae formosa Doride natae* nur bei Prop. 1.17.25; vgl. Ov. *Met*. 2.11 und 2.269 *Doridaque et natas*. Doris und die Nereiden begegnen auch häufig in den Dichtungen von Sannazaro und Pontano.

[59] *Ponti* wegen seiner *Eclogae piscatoriae*, in denen der Golf von Neapel zentral steht.

[60] Pimpla (Πίμπλα) war ein Ort in der Nähe des Olympus in Pierien, das seit Hesiod *Theog*. 53, *Op*. 1 und *fr*. 7.3 M.-W. als Heimat der Musen galt (*Musae Pierides* in lateinischer Dichtung). Spätestens seit hellenistischer Zeit (Kallim. *Hymn. Del*. 7) trug eine lokale Quelle den Namen Pimpleia (Πίμπλεια), der in der lateinischen Dichtung in der Form *Pimpleia* oder *Pipleia* erscheint, woraus *Pimpleis* als Name für die Gegend am Pimpla oder die Quelle (Cat. 105.1 *Pipleum … montem*; Stat. *Silv*. 1.4.26 *excludat Piplea sitim*; 2.2.37 *superet Piplea sitim*; Mart. 12.11.3 *Pimpleo … ab antro*; Auson. *Epist*. 8.9 Green *si riguam laetis recolis Pipleida Musis*) und als Name für die Musen selbst entstanden ist (Hor. *c*. 1.26.9 *Piplea* [*Piplei* Porph., edd.] *dulcis*; Mart. 11.3.1 *non urbana mea tantum Pimpleide gaudet / otia*; Varro *LL* 7.20).

[61] In Idalium (oder Idalia) auf Zypern hatte Venus ein berühmtes Heiligtum: vgl. Verg. *Aen*. 1.681, 1.693; 5.760 *Veneri Idaliae*; 10.51 f. (Aufzählung ihrer Heiligtümer); vgl. auch Sannazaro *Eleg*. 1.4.27 f. und *Part. Virg*. 3.168 *et late Idaliam spargunt cum baccare myrtum* (sc. die Hirten am Stall in Bethlehem); Pontano *Urania* 5.421 *placida Idalium implevere querela*. Offensichtlich spielt Venus mit *Idaliae* und *nati* (ihr Sohn Amor) auf die erotischen Inhalte von Sannazaros Dichtungen an.

Der anaphorische Versanfang bis zur Penthemimeres *hoc posuere tibi* in v. 102 und 104 wird in v. 105 durch *hoc posuit tibi* leicht variiert; darauf folgt jeweils ein Adjektiv (*formosa* v. 102, *pulchra* v. 104, *moesta* v. 106), von denen das dreisilbige *formosa* sich auf die Mutter und das zweisilbige *pulchra* – beide im Abl. – auf die Heimat der jeweiligen Stifterinnen beziehen, während das zweisilbige *moesta* im Nom. die Stifterin (sc. Venus) selbst bezeichnet. In den Versenden von v. 102 und 104 bezeichnen sich die Stifterinnen indirekt mit dem Namen ihrer Mutter im *abl. originis* (*Doride*), von der sie abstammen, bzw. mit dem Namen des Ortes im *abl. loci* (*Pimpleide*), an dem sie geboren sind; diese beiden Verse schließen im letzten Metrum gleichlautend mit *natae*, während sich die dritte Stifterin, die Göttin Venus selbst, mit ihrer Abstammung väterlicherseits paraphrasiert[62] und die Eigenschaft der Schönheit von den Müttern nun im Superlativ auf die Göttin selbst übertragen und das zweisilbige *natae* am Versende von v. 102 und 104 in *proles* variiert wird (*Iovis pulcherrima proles*). Schließlich enden die jeweils ersten Verse der drei Zweiergruppen (v. 101, 103, 105) auf das dreisilbige Wort *sepulcrum*, das als Objekt von *posuere* bzw. *posuit* im jeweils folgenden Vers abhängt und somit dieser Grabinschrift einen gleichsam mathematisch sorgfältig konstruierten Charakter verleiht.[63]

Im Anschluß an das Grabepigramm klingt das Gedicht mit Segenswünschen des Ich-Sprechers an Sannazaro für einen glücklichen Aufenthalt im Elysium aus (v. 107–115): Mit der zweifachen anaphorischen Apostrophe *I felix*[64] werden zwei Versgruppen von vier und fünf Versen eingeleitet.

---

[62] In einer von Hes. *Th.* 188 ff. abweichenden, nur in der Dichtung belegten Tradition ist Aphrodite/Venus die Tochter von Zeus und Dione: Hom. *Il.* 5.370 f.; Eur. *Hel.* 1098 und häufig bei den römischen Dichtern; vgl. Bömer 1957/8, Bd. II: 310 zu *Fast.* 5.309.

[63] Zur Tradition der (fiktiven) Grabinschriften in Bukolik und Elegie, aber auch im Epos (vgl. Ov. *Met.* 2.327 f., 9.794, 14.443 f.), seit Verg. *Ecl.* 5.43 f.; *Culex* 413 f.; Tib. 1.3.55 f.; [Lygd.] 3.2.29 f.; Prop. 2.13.35 f., 4.7, 4.85 f.; Ov. *Am.* 1.11.27 f., 2.6.61 f.; *Her.* 2.147 f., 7.195 f. (= *Fast.* 3.549 f.), 14.129 f.; *Tr.* 3.3.73–76 und auch Sannazaro *Ecl.* 1.104 f. vgl. Schulz-Vanheyden 1969: 84 ff.; Lausberg 1982: 145–170 (Grabepigramme in Hellenismus und Kaiserzeit), 284 ff. (Epigramme in Elegien); Schmidt 1985; Pallarès 1992. Diese Tradition wurde auch von den neulateinischen Dichtern aufgenommen.

[64] Das Wort erscheint in vierfacher Wiederholung, davon zweimal im Polyptoton *felices* (v. 110) und *felicis* (v. 114). *I felix* am Versanfang bei Stat. *Ach.* 1.942 *I felix nosterque redi* (Deidamia zu Achilles); Sil. It. 3.116 *I felix, i numinibus votisque secundis* (Imilce zu Hannibal). Zu *felix* als Bezeichnung Verstorbener vgl. *ThLL* VI, 1, 443.21 ff. (frühester Beleg: Verg. *Aen.* 11.158 f. *tu ... / felix morte tua*).

In der ersten (v. 107–110) verheißt der Ich-Sprecher dem Dichter ein glückliches Weiterleben im Jenseits, wo ihn die *Elysii recessus*[65] und der göttliche Schatten "seines" Vergil erwarten – eine Hommage an den Vergilkenner, Vergilverehrer und vergilianischen Dichter Sannazaro, dem damit als einem zweiten Vergil gehuldigt wird.[66] Ebenso erwarten ihn dort zahllose andere, denen seine *virtus*[67] bekannt ist oder die auf Erden viele glückliche Jahre mit ihm gelebt haben.[68] Die zweite Versgruppe (v. 111–115) enthält den Abschied des Ich-Sprechers von Sannazaro und die traditionellen Wünsche für den Verstorbenen: Auf die Glücklichpreisung seines geistigen Schöpfertums und

[65] In v. 107 f. liegt offensichtlich eine extreme Form des Hyperbaton, eine sog. "verschachtelte Apposition", vor: Subjekt ist der Nom. Pl. *Elysii recessus*, der durch die Apposition *ter magna umbra* näher umschrieben wird; vgl. Maurach 1989: 95 f. (mit weiteren Stellen und Literatur). Die Verbindung *ter magna umbra* ist ungewöhnlich und nirgends belegt, am nächsten kommt Hor. *c*. 2.14.7 f. *ter amplum Geryonen*, das aber auf den dreifachen Körper des Riesen anspielt (vgl. Lucr. 5.28 *tripectora tergemini vis Geryonai*; Verg. *Aen*. 6.289 *forma tricorporis umbrae*; ähnlich Sil. It. 13.201); meistens sind solche *ter*- und *quater*-Formeln jedoch mit einem Makarismos verbunden, z.B. *Aen*. 1.94 *o terque quaterque beati*; Hor. *c*. 1.13.17 *felices ter et amplius*; Prop. 3.12.15 *ter quater in casta felix ... Galla*; Ov. *Pont*. 4.9.3 *ter quater imperii laetus honore tui*; [Lygd.] 3.26 *felicem terque quaterque*, dazu Antolín 1996: 234 ff. mit reichem Stellenmaterial.

[66] Das bringt auch das Grabepigramm von Pietro Bembo für Sannazaro (*Petri Bembi Carminum libellus*, Venetiis 1552, p. 50; *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum*. Secunda editio copiosior prima, Florentiae: apud Laurentium Torrentinum 1549, p. 20; auch in *Renaissance Latin Verse: An Anthology*, vgl. Perosa, Sparrow 1979: 172) zum Ausdruck, das an Sannazaros Grabmal in der Kirche Santa Maria del Parto in Mergellina angebracht ist und auf die Nähe von Sannazaros Grab zum (vermeintlichen) Grab von Vergil anspielt: *Da sacro cineri flores: Hic ille Maroni / Sincerus musa proximus ut tumulo*. Abbildung bei Kidwell 1993: 167. Putnam 2009: xxiii A. 3 zitiert neben diesem Epigramm auch das Schlußdistichon von Zanchis *Tumulus Actii Sinceri Sannazarii* [*Carm*. 7.24.9 f.], schreibt es aber fälschlicherweise ebenfalls Bembo zu. Auch am Ende seines Gedichts *Sarca* legt Bembo der Seherin Manto eine Prophezeiung über Pontano (v. 579–589) und Sannazaro (v. 590–604) als spätere große Nachfolger Vergils in den Mund; vgl. Schönberger 1994: 54 ff. Zu Zanchis *Tumulus Actii Sinceri Sannazarii* s. unten A. 91.

[67] Neben seiner dichterischen Kraft und Begabung sind damit wohl auch seine Treue und Charakterstärke gemeint, die er u.a. bewiesen hatte, als er König Federigo I. 1501 ins Exil folgte (vgl. oben A. 18).

[68] Damit dürften u.a. die Könige Ferdinand I. ("Ferrante", 1458–1494), Alfonso II. (1494–1495), Ferdinand II. ("Ferrandino", 1495–1496) und Federigo I. (1496–1501) gemeint sein, dann vor allem Dichter und Humanisten der Neapolitaner Accademia Pontaniana wie Giovanni Pontano, Gabriele Altilio, Andrea Matteo Acquaviva, Girolamo Carbone, Tristano Caracciolo, Antonio De Ferraris detto "Galateo" und Pietro Summonte.

seiner Werke (v. 111 *felix animi*[69] *fortunatusque laborum*[70]) folgt ein eindringlicher Abschied mit *iamque vale, vale, o vates*[71] (v. 112), der mit *vos, saxa, valete* auf die Heimat des Dichters, Mergillina und den Posillipo, ausgedehnt wird. Statt des üblichen *sit tibi terra levis*[72] erscheint der Wunsch, die Erde möge ihm Veilchen tragen (v. 113a *terra tibi violae sint*)[73] und Asche und Gebeine[74]

[69] Der Genitiv nach *felix* ist seit Verg. *Georg*. 1.277 f. *ipsa dies alios alio dedit ordine luna / felicis operum* belegt; vgl. auch *furens animi* in Verg. *Aen*. 5.202 und Sil. It. 10.210 sowie Sil. It. 8.108 *aegerque animi*. Vgl. Zanchi *Poem*. 3.8.21 *felix ille animi* (p. 112 ed. Basel 1555 = p. 87 ed. Bergamo 1747).

[70] Vgl. Verg. *Aen*. 11.416 *ille mihi ante alios fortunatusque laborum / egregiusque animi* (*labores* hier auf die Kämpfe bezogen).

[71] *Iamque vale* ist häufig als Abschiedsformel am Versanfang belegt: Verg. *Georg*. 4.497 (die in die Unterwelt zurückkehrende Eurydike zu Orpheus); *Aen*. 2.789 (Aeneas zu Creusa); 5.738 (Geist des Anchises zu Aeneas); 11.827 (die sterbende Camilla zu Acca); Ov. *Her*. 9.165 (Deianira am Ende ihres Briefes an Hercules); *Met*. 2.363 (letzte Worte der Heliade Aegle vor ihrer Verwandlung in einen Baum); Stat. *Silv*. 4.4.101 (Schlußgruß an Vitorius Marcellus). Mit Verdoppelung des *vale*: häufig bei Plautus, dann Verg. *Cat*. 5.7 *vale, Sabine, iam valete formosi*; *Ecl*. 3.79 *et longum «Formose, vale, vale», inquit, «Iolla»*; Ov. *Met*. 3.501 *dictoque vale, «vale» inquit et Echo*; Stat. *Th*. 11.187. Das doppelte *vălē vălē*, das metrisch nicht in den Daktylus paßt, erfordert pyrrhische Messung des zweiten iambischen Imperativs und Hiat zwischen *vălē ō*, wobei das auslautende *-e* von *vale* gekürzt wird wie in Verg. *Ecl*. 3.79 und Ov. *Met*. 3.501 (dazu Bömer 1969: 567 f.), also *vălē |ō vates*.

[72] An die 50 Beispiele dafür sind in den *CE* überliefert; vgl. außerdem Tib. 2.4.50 *terraque securae sit super ossa levis* und Sen. *Epigr*. 2.8 *vivorum cineri sit tua terra levis*; ähnlich Prop. 1.17.24 *ut mihi non ullo pondere terra foret* mit Fedeli 1980: 413. Vgl. Lattimore 1942: 65 ff.; Schulz-Vanheyden 1969: 98. Gute Stellensammlung in der alten Diss. von Hartke 1901: 60 ff.

[73] Zum Wunsch der Blumen auf dem Grab vgl. Iuv. 7.207 f. *di, maiorum umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram / spirantisque crocos et in urna perpetuum ver*; vgl. zum Gedanken auch Pers. 1.36–40 *nunc non cinis ille poetae / felix? Non levior cippus nunc inprimit ossa? / [...] Nunc non e tumulo fortunataque favilla / nascentur violae?* (dazu ausführlich Kißel 1990: 162 ff.); Auson. *Epigr*. 8.1 f. Green *Sparge mero cineres bene olentis et unguine nardi, / hospes, et adde rosis balsama puniceis*. Häufig in den *CE*, z.B. 1313.2 *precor ut cineres sint ia sintque rosae*; für Rosen vgl. auch die Inschriften in Dessau *ILS* 8369–74 und Lattimore 1942: 137 ff. zum römischen Fest der *Rosalia*. Zu Veilchen, die in Rom als Totenblumen eine besondere Bedeutung hatten, vgl. Schuster 1955: 598; allgemein vgl. Lattimore 1942: 129 ff., 135 ff.; Toynbee 1971: 62 f.

[74] Streng genommen ein Widerspruch, da das eine auf Verbrennung, das andere auf Körperbestattung verweist, aber hier wohl als metaphorisches Hendiadyoin zu verstehen: vgl. Stat. *Silv.* 2.6.90–92 *nec quod tibi Setia canos / restinxit cineres, gremio nec lubricus ossa / quod vallavit onyx*, wozu Van Dam 1984: 441 bemerkt: "*cineres* usually refers to the remnants of the pyre in general, while *favillae* is used of the ashes of the body, see Plin. *Nat*. 19.19 and Austin and Norden on Verg. *A*. VI 227. But here *tibi ... cineres* rather suggests the meaning 'your ashes', cf. Prop. II 13, 31 *cinerem me fecerit*." Anders Kißel 1990: 165 A. 181: "*Favilla*, ursprünglich die

des glücklichen Dichters (*vatis ... felicis*) bewahren; dazwischen eingefügt ist das Bild des ewigen Frühlings (*o sit perpetuum ver*[75]), das "zu den Berichten über märchenhafte oder utopische Landschaften [gehörte], die auch sonst Züge mit Ovids Zeit des ewigen Frühlings gemeinsam haben."[76] Diese Reihe endet in v. 115 mit dem Wunsch, die Zephyrwinde mögen ihm immer sanften Balsamduft des Amomum zuwehen.[77]

Das Gedicht beschließt das aus sieben rein hexametrischen Gedichten unterschiedlichen Inhalts zusammengestellte Buch IV:[78] Dieses Buch wird eröffnet mit zwei Epithalamia, einem mythologischen auf die Hochzeit von Pan und Aex, der Tochter des Sol[79] (*c.* 1), und einem zeitgeschichtlichen

dünne, noch glühende Asche, erscheint für die bei der Leichenverbrennung anfallenden Überreste vor Persius nur Hor. carm. 2,6,23f.; Prop. 1,19,19; 2,1,77 und Ov. met. 13,697." *cinis/cineres* für die Asche des Menschen auch in Calv. *fr.* 15 und 16 *FPL* ed. Blänsdorf, Verg. *Aen.* 4.34; Mart. 1.25.7 f.; *cineres* für die Asche des kapitolinischen Jupitertempels und die der gefallenen Punier bei Sil. It. 15.803–805 *mando Capitolia victor / exurat cinerique Iovis permisceat ossa / et cineres nostros*; ähnlich *CE* 1062.1 *In terris cineres alius locus, hic habet ossa* und 1829.10 *condidimus cineres latebris et odoribus ossa* (die Zanchi freilich nicht kennen konnte). Es ist offensichtlich, daß Zanchi hier die Vorstellungen einer antiken paganen Beisetzung entwickelt, nicht aber der tatsächlichen christlichen von 1530.

[75] Am Versschluß in einer vergleichbaren Bitte nur bei Iuv. 7.208 (s. oben A. 73); vgl. Auson. *Epigr.* 8.3 Green *perpetuum mihi ver agit illacrimabilis urna*; Ov. *Met.* 5.391 *perpetuum ver est* (in Henna); Verg. *Georg.* 2.149 *hic ver assiduum* (*Laudes Italiae*).

[76] Bömer 1969: 55 zu Ov. *Met.* 1.107 *ver erat aeternum*. Vgl. Reynen 1965; Gatz 1967: 174 ff. Auf die Vorstellung vom ewigen Frühling bereits bei Hesiod *fr.* 204.124–128 M.-W. (Frauenkatalog) weist indes Barchiesi 2013: 170 hin.

[77] *Amomum* war der Name für die aromatischen Kapseln und Samen von Gewürzstauden aus Indien und Afrika, aus denen kostbarer Balsam gewonnen wurde, vgl. Plin. *Nat.* 12.48–50. Es wird in Dichtung (ebenfalls meistens am Versende) häufig mit dem Goldenen Zeitalter verbunden, aber auch in Verbindung mit Bestattungsriten oder als Charakteristikum eitler Leute genannt, die es als Parfüm, Salbe oder Pomade für ihre Hare verwenden: Verg. *Ecl.* 3.89, 4.25; Ov. *Her.* 21.166; *Met.* 10.307; 15.394; *Tr.* 3.3.69; *Pont.* 1.9.52; Pers. 3.104; Luc. 10.168; Sil. It. 11.402; Stat. *Silv.* 2.4.34 *Assyrio cineres adolentur amomo* (mit Van Dam 1984 *ad loc.*), 3.3.132 *funera maternoque rogos unxistis amomo*; Mart. 5.64.3, 8.77.3; Iuv. 4.108, 8.159. Vgl. auch Zanchi *Carm.* 6.11.19 *et myrrha totum et Syrio perduxit amomo* (sc. Mnemosyne für Marullo).

[78] Zur Struktur von Buch IV und V vgl. Hofmann 2011: 47–49. Hier und im folgenden beziehen sich alle Angaben, soweit nicht anders vermerkt, auf die Ausgabe Basel 1555 bzw. die von Serassi besorgte, Bergamo 1747. Die Numerierung der Gedichte in den einzelnen Büchern und die Verszahlen stammen von mir.

[79] Eine solche Hochzeit wird in der antiken Literatur und Mythologie nur bei Hyg. *Astr.* 2.13.518 ff. ed. Viré erwähnt, der als Quelle dafür Euhemerus nennt (= T 68 Winiarczyk); ebendort (504 f.) wird *Aex* – so die Nominativform, cf. *ThLL* I, 1170, 30 ff. s.v. *Aex*; im

auf die des aus alter venezianischer Adelsfamilie stammenden Gerolamo Querini (Hieronymus Quirinus) mit Isabella, Tochter des venezianischen Patriziers Giorgio Marini (*c.* 2).[80] Darauf folgen zwei Lobgedichte, eines auf Papst Leo X. (1513–1521)[81] (*c.* 3) und eines auf Kaiser Karl V.[82] (1519–1556, römisch-deutscher Kaiser seit 24. Februar 1530) (*c.* 4), an die sich eine mythologisierende Erklärung der Sonnenfinsternis (*Defectio Solis*, *c.* 5)

Epithalamium kommen nur die obliquen Kasus in den latinisierten Formen *Aegis* und *Aegem* vor, während Hygin den griechischen Akkusativ *Aega* verwendet – nach einem Teil der Überlieferung (*nonnulli ... dixerunt*) als Tochter von Sol bezeichnet. Paulus Diaconus in seinem Auszug aus Festus (p. 22.29 ed. Lindsay) überliefert *Aege* als den Namen einer Amazonenkönigin, die im Ägäischen Meer ertrunken sein und diesem dadurch den Namen gegeben haben soll. Das Epithalamium lehnt sich strukturell an Catulls *c.* 64 an, insofern den Hauptteil eine Ekphrasis (v. 53–143) von Gemälden, darunter Szenen aus Merkurs Leben – seiner Liebe zur Nymphe Dryope, der Geburt von Pan, dessen Präsentation im Olymp (nach [Hom.] *Hymn.* 31) und seine Mitwirkung im Kampf gegen die Giganten –, einnimmt, die Merkur an den Wänden der Höhle angebracht hat, in welcher das Brautbett aufgestellt ist.

[80] Auch dieses Epithalamium folgt Catulls *c.* 64, doch statt der Ekphrasis eines Kunstwerks ist im zweiten Teil (v. 78–131) die Ankunft von *tercentum numina ponti* (v. 80) – die Hochzeit findet in Venedig statt, daher werden bereits in den Eingangsversen die *Adriaci decus aequoris, ... bona Nymphae numina* angerufen – und ihrer Geschenke für das Brautpaar ausführlich geschildert; vgl. auch Pontano *Ecl.* 1.371–621 (*Pompa quinta*).

[81] Nach einer kurzen einleitenden Ekphrasis des Auftauchens des Flußgottes Tiberinus (v. 1–9) aus seinem Fluß in Rom folgt eine wörtlich wiedergegebene Prophezeiung des Tiberinus über die Rückkehr der *aurea saecula* während des Pontifikats Leos X. (v. 10–94), die er einstens vom Meeresgott Glaucus erhalten hatte und nun seinerseits wörtlich reproduziert (v. 16–93); den Schluß bildet eine Apostrophe des Ich-Sprechers an Leo X. (v. 95–100) mit der Bitte um eine lange Regierungszeit. Die Struktur zeigt also durchaus Ähnlichkeiten mit Verg. *Ecl.* 4, aber auch mit Sannazaros *Ecl.* 4, so daß das Gedicht als Ekloge bezeichnet werden kann, auch wenn Zanchi es nicht ausdrücklich so genannt und nicht unter die Eklogen in Buch V aufgenommen hat.

[82] Das Gedicht besteht aus einer Einleitung des Ich-Sprechers (v. 1–14), in der er sich als Zeuge des Liedes eines Sehers Strophius – *Strophius astrorum prudens, Cyllenius ipse / quem docuit totoque comes deduxit Olympo / Uranie magnique dedit scire abdita mundi* (v. 10–12) – über den künftigen Ruhm der Habsburger und ihre Herrschaft, insbesondere von Karl V. (v. 59–61 *Salve, Heros, salve afflictis lux addita rebus, / magne pater, per quem Romana potentia coelo / attollet caput et famam super inseret astris*), vorstellt, das Strophius in Ferrara gesungen habe und das er im folgenden (v. 15–65) wörtlich wiedergibt; in den letzten Versen 66–69 schildert der Ich-Sprecher, wie der Aufgang des Mondes und der Sterne dem Lied des Strophius ein Ende gemacht hat. Situation und Struktur entsprechen also den Gepflogenheiten des bukolischen Genres (vgl. etwa Verg. *Ecl.* 6 und 10, Sannazaro *Ecl.* 4), so daß auch dieses Gedicht als Ekloge angesehen werden kann, auch wenn Zanchi ihm nicht diese Gattungsbezeichnung gegeben und es nicht unter die Eklogen in Buch V eingereiht hat.

anschließt.[83] Den Abschluß bilden zwei Trauerklagen: die *Naenia in Iulium Caesarem Gryphonem & Ioannem Cottam* (*c.* 6) – der eine, Giulio Cesare Grifone, Soldat und Dichter im Exil, der andere, Giovanni Cotta, der berühmte jung verstorbene Dichter († 1510), dem auch Fracastoro und Sannazaro poetische Nachrufe gewidmet haben[84] – und die *Naenia in Actium Sincerum Sannazarum* († 6. August 1530, *c.* 7).

Die ersten drei Gedichte sowie die Gedichte 5 und 6 sind Jugendgedichte und gehören wohl noch in die Zeit von Zanchis erstem Romaufenthalt 1519–1524, während für das Gedicht auf Kaiser Karl V. (*c.* 4) und die *Naenia* auf Sannazaro (*c.* 7) der 24. Februar bzw. der 6. August 1530 die *termini post* sind und sie folglich während seines Aufenthalts in Norditalien zwischen 1525 und dem Ende der vierziger Jahre (ca. 1548), am wahrscheinlichsten wohl bald nach den betreffenden Ereignissen abgefaßt wurden.[85]

Von diesen sieben Gedichten in Buch IV kommen die ersten drei – die beiden Epithalamia (IV 1–2)[86] und das Gedicht auf Leo X. (IV 3) – bereits in der von Georg von Logau veranstalteten Ausgabe (ca. 1531/3)[87] vor, allerdings in anderer Anordnung als in der Ausgabe Basel 1555, sowie in allen folgenden Ausgaben (Rom 1540, Rom 1550 und Rom 1553).[88] Das vierte Gedicht (*Carm.* 4.4) – *Carolus V. Imp.* – steht dagegen erst in den Ausgaben Rom 1540 (nach

[83] Das Gedicht zeigt einen stark moralisierend-allegorisierenden Charakter, indem es den Menschen, dem *vulgus iners* (v. 1), die sich über ihr Los beklagen, das ebenso schwere Los der Sonne vor Augen hält, und führt deren Eklipsen auf den Versuch von Phoebe/Luna zurück, ihren Bruder Phoebus/Sol vom Thron zu stoßen. Im weiteren Verlauf wird Phoebe/Luna mit Proserpina gleichgesetzt und deren Mythos mit ihr verbunden.

[84] Hieronymus Fracastorius, *c.* 2.45 ff.; Sannazaro, *Epigr.* 2.39.

[85] Vgl. Gritti 1911: 21 f., 27, 33 f., 37, 87 f.

[86] In den früheren Ausgaben von ca. 1534, 1540 und 1550 lautet der Schluß des zweiten Epithalamiums ab v. 135b noch etwas anders, und es hat nur 137 Verse statt 138 wie ab der Ausgabe Rom 1553.

[87] Vgl. Hofmann 2021: 213. In dem Distichon Logaus auf der Titelseite ist der Inhalt bereits knapp zusammengefaßt: *Ver, aestas, pater Autumnus, dehinc rustica Musa / materia est vati, pax, Hymeneus, amor.*

[88] Zu den Ausgaben s. oben A. 2. An dieser Stelle danke ich sehr herzlich Frau Alina Reznicek von der UB Wien für freundliche Auskunft über den Inhalt der Ausgabe von Georg von Logau und deren bevorstehende Digitalisierung, Ms. Julianna Jenkins von den Library Special Collections der University of California, Los Angeles, für freundliche Auskunft über den Inhalt der Ausgabe Rom 1540 und Herrn Dr. Peter Stoll von der UB Augsburg für freundliche Auskunft über den Inhalt der *Editio copiosior*, Rom 1550, und deren bevorstehende Digitalisierung. Ohne die Hilfe der genannten Personen wären mir diese und die folgenden Angaben bei der Abfassung dieses Beitrags im Sommer 2016 nicht möglich gewesen.

Leo X Pont. Max. und vor der *Ecloga Amilcon*), Rom 1550 (in Buch II nach *Leo X Pont. Max.* und vor *Defectio Solis*) und Rom 1553, wo es an derselben Stelle in Buch IV wie in der Ausgabe Basel 1555 steht.[89] Das Gedicht *Defectio Solis* (*Carm.* 4.5) ist zum ersten Mal in der Ausgabe Rom 1550 in Buch II als 5. Gedicht, nach *Carolus V. Imp.* und vor *Licmon*, das ab der Ausgabe Rom 1553 den Titel *Naenia in Iulium Caesarem Gryphonem et Ioannem Cottam* (*Carm.* 4.6) trägt, gedruckt, während das eben genannte Gedicht 4.6 erstmals in die Ausgabe Rom 1553 aufgenommen wurde. Die *Naenia in Actium Sincerum Sannazarium* (*Carm.* 4.7) erscheint ebenfalls zum ersten Mal in der Ausgabe Rom 1553, ebenso wie die Sannazaro gewidmete Elegie *In Lycinnam* (*Carm.* 6.2) und der *Tumulus Actii Sinceri Sannazarii*, der in dieser Ausgabe als das 23. Epigramm von Buch VII steht, während er ab der Ausgabe Basel 1555 das 24. Epigramm ist, da hier noch das Epigramm 4.10 *In Agellum Rodulfi Pii Carpi Card.* hinzugekommen ist.

Hieraus wird deutlich, daß die Gedichte und ihre Reihenfolge, wie sie in der letzten zu Zanchis Lebzeiten erschienenenAusgabe gedruckt sind, keineswegs von Anfang an festgelegt waren, sondern daß sich die Ausgaben durch die Aufnahme neuer Gedichte und die dadurch bedingte Anordnung und teilweise Neubearbeitung von Gedichten, wie sie am Beispiel der *Ecloga III Damon*[90] besonders eklatant ist, ständig änderten. Das bedeutet auch, daß thematisch und gattungsmäßig verwandte Gedichte auf verschiedene Bücher verteilt sind: Bereits o. S. 206 f. mit A. 82 und 83 habe ich darauf hingewiesen, daß die Gedichte 4.3 und 4.4 sowie die Naenien 4.6 und 4.7 einige "generic markers" haben, die für die Bukolik typisch sind, aber trotzdem nicht in das Eklogenbuch (Buch 5) aufgenommen wurden, während die Epikedien auf Pontano, Navagero und Castiglione (ursprünglich Celino Mellini) die ersten drei Eklogen von Buch 5 bilden und die *Naenia in Michaelem Marullum Tarchaniotam* (*Carm.* 6.11) in das aus ganz unterschiedlichen Gedichten zusammengesetzte Buch 6 eingeordnet wurde, in das auch das Gedicht *In discessum Lycinnae* (*Carm.* 6.2) aufgenommen wurde, das gattungsmäßig ebenfalls zu den Totenklagen gehört. Dagegen sind die *Tumuli* für Gabriele Altilio (*Carm.* 7.23), Sannazaro (*Carm.* 7.24),[91] Navagero (*Carm.* 7.25), Marco

[89] Die Bücher IV und V sind in den beiden Ausgaben Rom 1553 und Basel 1555 identisch.

[90] Vgl. dazu Ryan 1981 und für die Eklogen (Buch 5) insgesamt Hofmann 2011.

[91] Dieser Tumulus greift viele der in der Naenie (*Carm.* 4,7) vorkommenden Formulierungen und Gedanken auf, die im einzelnen nicht mehr nachgewiesen zu werden brauchen, sondern im Vergleich mit der Naenie ohnehin evident sind (s. oben S. 199 mit A. 44–47). Deutlich wird jedenfalls, daß die Verse 1–4 sich auf die *Eclogae piscatoriae* und die *Arcadia* beziehen (Mycon

Colonna (*Carm*. 7.36) und den im Kleinkindalter verstorbenen Knaben Sylvius (*Carm*. 7.37) alle im Epigrammen-Buch 7 versammelt.

Die Totenklage (*naenia*, *epicedium*) ist seit hellenistischer Zeit ein fester Bestandteil antiker bukolischer Dichtung.[92] Diese Tradition wurde auch von den neulateinischen Dichtern fortgesetzt, etwa von Battista Mantuano *Ecl*. 3.90–144 (mit Grabepigramm in v. 123 f.), Pontano *Ecl*. 2.24–144 und 151–180, Castiglione *Alcon* 24–154, Sannazaro *Ecl*. 1.44–105, Vida *Ecl.* 1 und 3, Pietro Angelino di Barga, *Ecl*. 3 und 4 und vielen anderen.[93] Daneben erscheint das Epicedium auch außerhalb der bukolischen Dichtung als selbständige Gattung, etwa bei Horaz *c*. 1.24, Properz 3.7, 3.18 und 4.11, Ovid *Am*. 3.9, in den anonymen *Elegiae in Maecenatem* oder bei Statius *Silv*. 5.1, 5.3 und 5.5. Zanchi folgte hier insofern der nicht-bukolischen Tradition, als er die Totenklage um Sannazaro nicht in einen bukolischen Handlungsrahmen ("*bucolic setting*") einfügte und auch auf das traditionelle bukolische Personal verzichtete. Die Klage wird von einem einzigen Sprecher vorgetragen, der erstmals in v. 5 mit *me* als Person erscheint und im folgenden sich in der Landschaft des Golfes (Pausilypus und Mergillina) lokalisiert, sich aber nicht weiter zu erkennen gibt, aber weder als Hirte noch als eine andere bukolische Person auftritt, etwa im Gegensatz zu den "bukolischen" Totenklagen in Buch 5.1–3. Darin ist das Gedicht 4.7 mit der vorangehenden *Naenia* (4.6) auf Grifo und Cotta, aber auch der auf Michael Marullus (6.11) vergleichbar, in der

ist einer der beiden Fischer in *Ecl.* 1, Lycon der Fischer, der in *Ecl.* 2 seine Liebesklage vorträgt), während *De partu virginis* auffälligerweise (auch in der Naenie) nicht erwähnt wird:

Has nassas, haec lina tibi, Sincere, sepulto
piscator tenui dedicat arte Mycon.
Hos calamos myrtumque tibi viridemque coronam
Arcadia pastor ponit ab arte Lycon.
Has lacrimas vulsamque a vertice Mergillina
caesariem et violas spargit et ammineum.
Parthenope patria ipsa tibi de marmore bustum
condit et extentis funera temporibus.
Quid moror? Aeterni te suscipit umbra Maronis
et tibi vicinum donat habere locum.

Zu v. 7 sei noch auf Verg. *Georg*. 3.13 *templum de marmore ponam* hingewiesen, während die Doppeldeutigkeit von v. 10 hinsichtlich der Nachbarschaft zu Vergil jener in Bembos Grabepigramm entspricht (s. oben A. 66).

[92] Theocr. *Id*. 1, [Mosch.] *Epitaph. Bion*., Bion, *Epitaph. Adon.*, Verg. *Ecl.* 5.20–44; vgl. Rosenmeyer 1969: 89 ff., 111 ff.; allgemein Effe, Binder 2000: 38 ff., 83 ff., 179 ff.

[93] Vgl. Hofmann 2011: 49 f.; allgemeine Übersicht bei Grant 1965: 306–330 ("pastoral as epicedium").

ebenfalls ein anonym bleibender Ich-Sprecher die Klage vorträgt.[94] Für alle diese Klagegedichte trifft jedoch zu, daß sie rein antikisierend gestaltet sind wie die hellenistischen und römischen Vorbilder von Theokrit bis Vergil und auch viele der neulateinischen Epikedien, unter Verwendung antiker mythologischer Bilder und Vorstellungen, aber losgelöst von jeglichem christlichem Kontext oder Subtext, während ein Großteil von Zanchis poetischer Produktion, vor allem in den Büchern 2, 3 und 8, rein christliche Thematik und Motivik aufweist. Damit stellt sich Zanchi in die Tradition der neulateinischen Dichtung der Frühen Neuzeit, aber auch der Bildenden Kunst, die sich in ihren antikisierenden Schöpfungen der antiken Formen- und Bildersprache und der Semantik der antiken paganen Literatur bediente in ihrem Streben, mit den antiken Vorbildern zu wetteifern, ihnen möglichst nahe zu kommen, ja sie sogar zu übertreffen, ohne indes damit gleichzeitig deren religiöse Ideen und Überzeugungen zu übernehmen: "paganism still untouched by Christianity", wie Kidwell[95] anläßlich der Gestaltung von Sannazaros Tomba in der Kirche S. Maria del Parto schrieb. Dort sind in den Zwickeln des Triumphbogens Fresken von Paolo Guido Borghese von 1593 mit der Verkündigung an Maria und in der Apsiskalotte Szenen aus dem Marienleben dargestellt; auf dem Altar thront eine Madonna mit Kind, eine Arbeit von Francesco Saverio Citarelli von 1865, aber das Fresko von Nicola Russo von 1699 in der rechteckigen Apsisnische hinter der Tomba beruht gänzlich auf ikonologischen Vorgaben der heidnischen Antike (Fama mit Trompete und Lorbeerkranz krönt Sannazaro im Beisein von Venus und Merkur, Pegasus schlägt mit seinem Huf die Quelle Hippokrene aus dem Felsen des Helikon).[96] Auch auf der Tomba selbst ist das Relief einer arkadischen Szene angebracht mit dem flötenspielenden Pan, Neptun, der, auf seinen Dreizack gelehnt, eine schöne leierspielende Nymphe beäugt, dem an einen Baum gebundenen Marsyas und einer Nymphe mit einem langen Pfeil. Dieses Nebeneinander, das auch für

[94] Dieses Gedicht zeigt viele Übereinstimmungen mit der Naenie auf Sannazaro, von der Wortwahl und Topik bis zur eingefügten Grabinschrift, die hier im einzelnen nicht nachgewiesen werden können, aber jedem Leser beim Vergleich der beiden Gedichte sofort auffallen.

[95] Kidwell 1993: 164.

[96] Freilich mußten die das Grabmal flankierenden Statuen von Apollo und Minerva gerade von den Servitiermönchen (*Ordo Servorum Beatae Virginis Mariae*), denen Sannazaro die Kirche und seinen Besitz in Mergellina testamentarisch zur Betreuung und zum Unterhalt hinterlassen hatte, zu solchen von David und Judith umgedeutet (und nachträglich extra mit diesen Namen beschriftet) werden, um sie vor dem spanischen Vizekönig zu retten, der diese heidnischen Statuen aus einer christlichen Kirche entfernen lassen wollte; vgl. Kidwell 1993: 168.

Zanchi typisch ist und auch nach seinem Eintritt in den Orden der Regularkanoniker in seinen Dichtungen weiterhin anzutreffen ist, gilt in besonderem Maße für sein Vorbild Sannazaro, der in *De partu virginis* die Geburt Christi in rein antikisierenden, der klassischen Dichtersprache Vergils und anderer Augusteer entlehnten Formen besang und Gedichte rein christlicher Thematik schrieb (*De morte Christi Domini ad mortales lamentatio*, Elegien und Epigramme auf S. Nazarius), aber in der *Arcadia*, den *Eclogae piscatoriae*, den *Salices* und vielen seiner Elegien und Epigramme sich in einer rein antiken, vom Christentum gleichsam noch unberührten Welt bewegte. Diesem in und aus der Antike lebenden und schaffenden Sannazaro hat Zanchi mit seiner sich in derselben Welt bewegenden Naenie ein äußerst kunstvolles und literarisch anspruchsvolles Denkmal gesetzt.[97]

Bibliographie

Altamura, Antonio (1951). *Jacopo Sannazaro*. Napoli: Silvio Viti.

Antolín, Fernando Navarro (1996) *Lygdamus. Corpus Tibullianum III. 1–6: Lygdami Elegiarum Liber. Edition and Commentary*, translated by J. J. Zoltowski. Leiden etc: Brill.

Auhagen, Ulrike (2006). 'Sannazaros "Sabinum": *Ad villam Mergillinam* (*Epigr*. 1,2).' – Schäfer, Eckart (Hrsg.), *Sannazaro und die Augusteische Dichtung*. Tübingen: Narr, 147–156.

Barchiesi, Alessandro ([4]2013). *Ovidio Metamorfosi. Volume I (Libri I–II)*, a cura di Alessandro Barchiesi. Milano: Mondadori.

Bömer, Franz (1957/8). *P. Ovidius Naso, Die Fasten*, hg., übersetzt und kommentiert. Band I: *Einleitung, Text und Übersetzung*. Band II: *Kommentar*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Bömer, Franz (1969). *P. Ovidius Naso, Metamorphosen, Kommentar. Buch I–III*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Bömer, Franz (1976). *P. Ovidius Naso, Metamorphosen, Kommentar. Buch IV–V*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Bömer, Franz (1986). *P. Ovidius Naso, Metamorphosen, Kommentar. Buch XIV–XV*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Buller, Jeffrey L. (1981). 'The Pathetic Fallacy in Hellenistic Pastoral'. – *Ramus* 10, 35–52. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0048671X00005324

[97] Für hilfreiche Informationen besonders *in geographicis* danke ich sehr herzlich den Freunden und Kollegen Vera Tufano (Neapel), Giancarlo Abbamonte (Neapel) und Pietro Janni (Pesaro).

Coppel, Bernhard (2006). 'Der Golf von Neapel: Proteus' Nachtlied an der Punta della Campanella (*Ecl*. 4).' – Schäfer, Eckart (Hrsg.), *Sannazaro und die Augusteische Dichtung*. Tübingen: Narr, 87–100.

Cosenza, Mario E. (1962). *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship, 1300–1800*, vol. IV. Boston, Mass.: Hall.

Cucchiarelli, Andrea (2012). *Publio Virgilio Marone, Le Bucoliche*. *Introduzione e commento* di Andrea Cucchiarelli. *Traduzione* di Alfonso Traina. Roma: Carocci Editore.

Dam, Harm-Jan van (1984). *P. Papinius Statius, Silvae Book II: A Commentary*. Leiden: Brill.

Dick, Bernard F. (1968). 'Ancient Pastoral and The Pathetic Fallacy.' – *Comparative Literature* 20, 27–44. https://doi.org/10.2307/1769804

Divenuto, Francesco (2009). '*Deos nemorum invocat in extruenda domo*. Iacopo Sannazaro e la sua casa a Mergellina.' – Sabbatino, Pasquale (ed.), *Iacopo Sannazaro: la cultura napoletana nell'Europa del Rinascimento*. *Convegno internazionale di studi, Napoli, 27–28 marzo 2006*. Firenze: Olschki, 237–259.

Effe, Bernd; Binder, Gerhard ([2]2000). *Antike Hirtendichtung. Eine Einführung*. Düsseldorf; Zürich: Artemis & Winkler.

Fedeli, Paolo (1980). *Sesto Properzio, Il primo libro delle elegie. Introduzione, testo critico e commento*. Firenze: Olschki.

Gatz, Bodo (1967) *Weltalter, goldene Zeit und sinnverwandte Vorstellungen*. Hildesheim: Olms.

Grant, W. Leonard (1965). *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Grimm, Heinrich (1987). 'Logau, Georg von.' – Wagner, Fritz *et al*. (Hrsg.), *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 15. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 117–118.

Gritti, Enrico (1911). *Basilio Zanchi: umanista bergamasco*. Firenze: Roberto Lastrucci.

Hartke, Wilhelm (1901). *'Sit tibi terra levis' formulae quae fuerint fata*. Diss. Bonn.

Hecht, Anthony (1985). *The Pathetic Fallacy*. A lecture delivered at the Library of Congress on May 7, 1984. Washington: Library of Congress.

Hofmann, Heinz (2011). 'Le Egloghe di Basilio Zanchi di Bergamo (1501–1558).' – *Studi Umanistici Piceni* 31, 45–54.

Hofmann, Heinz (2021). 'Basilius Zanchius, *Poemata* 5.1: Eine poetische Trauerklage auf Giovanni Pontano. ' – Landtsheer, Jeanine de *et al.* (ed.), Dulces ante omnia Musae. *Essays on Neo-Latin Poetry in Honour of Dirk Sacré*. Turnhout: Brepols, 211–228. https://doi.org/10.1484/M.STLLL-EB.5.124059

Hülsen, Christian; Olck, Fritz (1894). 'Aminaea.' – *RE* I, 2, 1835–1837.

IJsewijn, Jozef; Sacré, Dirk (eds.) (1998). *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*. 2nd entirely rewritten ed. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

Kannicht, Richard (1969). *Euripides Helena, Band II: Kommentar*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Kennedy, William J. (1983). *Jacopo Sannazaro and the Uses of Pastoral*. Hanover, NH; London: University Press of New England.

Kidwell, Carol (1993). *Sannazaro and Arcadia*. London: Duckworth.

Kißel, Walter (1990). *Aulus Persius Flaccus, Satiren*, hg., übersetzt und kommentiert. Heidelberg: Winter.

La Bua, Giuseppe (1999). *L'inno nella letteratura poetica latina*. San Severo: Gerni Editori.

Lattimore, Richard A. (1942). *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press.

Lausberg, Marion (1982). *Das Einzeldistichon. Studien zum antiken Epigramm*. München: Fink.

Lefèvre, Eckart (2006). 'Die sentimentale Erinnerung der Humanisten an antike Stätten und Sannazaros Cumae-Elegie.' – Schäfer, Eckart (Hrsg.), *Sannazaro und die Augusteische Dichtung*. Tübingen: Narr, 49–68.

Leuker, Tobias (2011). '*Delectare ornate graviterque* – Basilio Zanchis theologische Dichtung *De horto Sophiae* (1540) und ihre Würdigung durch Pietro Bembo.' – Leuker, Tobias; Kulessa, Rotraud von (Hrsg.), *Nobilitierung versus Divulgierung? – Strategien der Aufbereitung von Wissen in romanischen Dialogen, Lehrgedichten und Erzähltexten der frühen Neuzeit*. München: Meidenbauer, 71–92.

Maurach, Gregor ([2]1989) *Enchiridion Poeticum. Zur lateinischen Dichtersprache*. Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchgesellschaft.

Norden, Eduard ([4]1923). *Agnostos Theos. Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede*. Leipzig; Berlin: Teubner.

Pallarès, Joan Gómez (1992). 'Poetas latinos como «escritores» de *CLE*.' – *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos* 2, 201–230.

Pease, Arthur Stanley (ed.) (1935). *Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos liber quartus*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Pèrcopo, Erasmo (1931). 'Vita di Jacobo Sannazaro.' – *Archivio storico per le province Napoletane* 56 (n.s. 17), 90–198.

Perosa, Alessandro; Sparrow, John (eds.) (1979). *Renaissance Latin Verse: An Anthology*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Putnam, Michael C. J. (2009). *Jacopo Sannazaro, Latin Poetry*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Reynen, Hans (1965). 'Ewiger Frühling und goldene Zeit. Zum Mythos des goldenen Zeitalters bei Ovid und Vergil.' – *Gymnasium* 72, 415–433.

Rosenmeyer, Thomas G. (1969). *The Green Cabinet: Theocritus and the European Pastoral Lyric*. Berkeley; Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Ryan, Lawrence V. (1981). 'Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis* and B. Zanchi's Elegy on Baldassare Castiglione.' – *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 30, 108–123.

Salemme, Carmelo (2007). *Il canto del Golfo. Le* Eclogae piscatoriae *di Iacopo Sannazaro*. Napoli: Loffredo.

Sallinger, Adelheid; Böcher, Otto (1994). 'Honig.' – *RAC* 16, 433–473.
Schmidt, Victor (1985). '*Hic ego qui iaceo*: Die lateinischen Elegiker und ihre Grabschrift.' – *Mnemosyne* 38, 307–333. https://doi.org/10.1163/156852585X00438
Schönberger, Otto (1994). *Petrus Bembus,* Sarca. *Pietro Bembo*, Sarca. *Integra princeps editio. Einleitung, vollständiger Text, erste Übersetzung und Anmerkungen.* Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann.
Schulz-Vanheyden, Elmar (1969). *Properz und das griechische Epigramm*. Diss. Münster/Westf.
Schuster, Mauriz (1955). 'Veilchen.' – *RE* VIII A 1, 591–600.
Soranzo, Matteo (2014). *Poetry and Identity in Quattrocento Naples*. Farnheim etc: Ashgate.
Thraede, Klaus (1994). 'Hymnus I.' – *RAC* 16, 915–944.
Toynbee, Jocelyn Mary Catherine (1971). *Death and Burial in the Roman World*. London: Thames & Hudson.
Tufano, Carmela Vera (2011). 'La *Lepidina* di Giovanni Pontano e il suo rapporto con il sistema dei generi letterari fra tradizioni antiche e innovazioni umanistiche.' – *Studi Rinascimentali* 9, 37–51.
Tufano, Carmela Vera (2015). *Lingue tecniche e retorica dei generi letterari nelle Eclogae di Giovanni Pontano.* Napoli: Loffredo.

Abstract

This paper offers an interpretation of Basilio Zanchi's epicedium on the death of the famous poet Jacopo Sannazaro († 6 August 1530 in Naples) which, in the Basle 1555 edition, forms the final poem of book IV, a collection of seven hexametric compositions in various genres. It analyzes the macro- and microstructure of the poem, discusses its sources in ancient and contemporary Latin (and Greek) poetry and its present position in Zanchi's poetry book and tries to uncover the literal allusions to and quotations from its models, mainly Vergil and Statius' Silvae on the one hand, and Pontano and Sannazaro on the other, which are also set in the landscape of the Bay of Naples.

GREEK PINDARIC ODES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM[1]

Janika Päll

Introduction

In the 17th century, a good birthday present would have been a *genethliakon* in Greek or in Latin.[2] In modern days, an article discussing *anniversaria* and/or other types of occasional poetry seems more appropriate. My present discussion is thus dedicated to an especially elevated type of Early Modern poetry, the so-called Pindaric ode and its tradition in the United Kingdom.

While the genre of Pindaric or Pindarising ode is relatively common, having many different faces in vernacular languages (Schmitz 1993; Revard 2001; Revard 2009), their humanist Greek counterparts are much closer to the Pindaric model and source of inspiration because they use the same language. Humanist Greek *Ode Pindarike* or *Eidos Pindarikon* imitates Pindaric metrics exactly or generally: in so-called metrical parodies a metrical pattern of a certain Pindaric ode is followed exactly (but without much exact borrowing of words or phrases)[3]; the more general imitations use only a triadic pattern

[1] This article has been written with the support of Estonian Research Council's grant PUT 132 (Humanist Greek in Early Modern Estonia and Livonia: a bridge to modern and ancient European Culture, 1.1.2013–31.12.2016), which also financed some digital copies needed for this study. I owe also much to GoogleBooks, München, Halle, Berlin, Vienna libraries and their digitizing centres, as well as to Gallica, HathiTrust Digital Library, Bielefeld Search Engine and Karlsruhe Digital Catalogues. Although EEBO is not an Open Access database, I have made an exception here and focused on 'insular practice' in this study, thanks to the access to EEBO provided among membership benefits of the Renaissance Society of America. I thank also Raili Marling for editing my English and good colleagues (Martin Steinrück, Alessandra Lukinovich, Stefan Weise and my colleagues at Tartu University Library) for their suggestions and information.

[2] For the genre, see IJsewijn, Sacré 1990–1998, Cairns 1972.

[3] For such parodies, see Glei, Seidel 2006.

and lyric cola types, which can be found in Pindar, but do not follow a model of one certain Pindaric poem (Päll 2017). According to a less rigid classification, we could also include Greek Odes in a looser Pindaric style, which does not follow triadic patterns, but only pairs of strophes and antistrophes, or unstrophic patterns with freely arranged lyric cola, or odes in the so-called Cowleyan stanzas (Revard 2009: 154–155, 189); however, I will leave the discussion of those texts for the future.

In mainland Europe, Greek Pindaric odes were practiced from 1548 onwards in dedication poetry for special, elevated occasions (see Schmitz 1993, Revard 2009, Päll 2017); for example, for various princes and royal personages or high clergy, but including also the nobility of spirit, the humanists. Such was the first known Greek ode by Francesco Robortello, addressed to Arnoldus Arlenius Peraxylus[4], but at the same time praising Cosimo de' Medici (in Robortello 1548, Päll 2017). The list of the recipients of such odes (almost 110 to my present knowledge) includes Queen Mary II of England, Empress Catherine II of Russia, King Louis IX and Louis XIII of France (see more below), Napoleon II, or John Buchanan, Jean Calvin and pope Urban VIII, as well as Nicolaus Reusner, Joachim Camerarius and Paul Melissus Schede.[5]

In addition to dedication poetry, the Greek Pindaric Ode was also used for psalm paraphrases by Frédéric Jamot and Florent Chrestiens, first appearing in Estienne's edition of Buchanan's Psalms in Geneva (see Schmitz 1991; Andrist, Lukinovich 2005; Lukinovich 2018) and then in several reprints, or used occasionally for religious poetry.

Although the peak of the tradition of Pindarising odes in Greek was the turn of the 16th and 17th century, the tradition has continued into the 21st century. And even when the occasions and involved persons seem less significant (e.g. Heinrich Vogelmann's poem for the professor of Greek Peter Götsch on the occasion of publishing his inaugural lecture, in Tartu/Dorpat in 1633; see Päll 2001), the poems still have a value of special honour and fulfil their function of adding grandeur and glory to an elevated occasion (Päll 2017, Revard 2009). The tradition of Greek Pindaric odes started in Italy, continued in Switzerland (corresponding to the modern borders of the Swiss Confederation, which includes Basel and Geneva), France and Germany, arriving in Estonia and Greece in the East and North-East. The practice seems

[4] A Hellenist of Dutch origin, who was active in Italy and Central Europe (Kossmann 1933).

[5] A broader overview of the expansion of this genre in mainland Europe is given in Päll 2017, the first part of the corpus and the bibliography are still in the preparation phase. Several examples can be found in Pontani, Weise 2022.

relatively homogenous in the European mainland, whereas the British tradition of Greek Pindaric Odes (as of British Humanist Greek poetry in general) seems to be slightly different from mainland Europe, including its later start and longer life, as well as differences in form and occasions of writing. The following brief account is dedicated to this tradition.

Pindaric Greek Odes in the United Kingdom: from the End to the Beginning

The United Kingdom has offered us one of the latest examples of Greek Pindarising Odes. During the London Olympic Games, Armand d'Angour's Ode in Alcaic stanzas was announced as "Pindaric" and read by the then mayor of London, Boris Johnson.[6] Although the London Olympic ode is actually far from Pindaric in its metre or language, another of d'Angour's Greek odes can rightfully be classified as Pindaric. This is a small one-triad ode for the Olympic Games in Athens in 2004 (d'Angour 2004). Writing this ode, d'Angour followed in the footsteps of another British scholar, George Stuart Robertson, who wrote an ode for the first modern Olympic Games in Athens (where he also participated in competitions). Robertson's ode had the length of three triads and it was based on the metrical model of Pindar's 5th Olympian Ode (published in Cook 1908: 55–56). While d'Angour's odes seem to be an isolated attempt to revive an old tradition (at least as printing the odes and performing them before a great public is concerned),[7] Robertson's composition is an example of a vivid 19th century tradition as we will see below.

[6] The tradition of applying the label "Pindaric" to any ode, which aspires to special grandeur, is not new, see Revard 2001, 2009, Schmitz 1993. The all but elevated performance of the Ode by the Mayor is published in YouTube, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kim9tiPRXUg, for BBC's account, see http://www.bbc.com/news/education-18929408 . The text of d'Angour's poem from 2012 is also published online, see http://classicalanthology.theclassicslibrary.com/2012/08/17/pindaric-ode-by-armand-dangour/ and now published with a commentary in Weise 2022: 554–557.

[7] It is possible that such poetry is still written in the framework of Greek verse composition courses, although simpler stichic verse types as well as Sapphic stanzas seem much more popular. I have not been able to find out if any of Porson and Gaisford prizes and Browne medals have been awarded for Pindaric Greek odes, but it cannot be excluded.

According to the state of research in EEBO in April 2016,[8] the earliest British Greek ode which uses Pindar's epinicion as a model is an epicedium to Queen Mary II by Charles (Carolus) Daubuz, published in 1695.[9] Its metrical model is Pindar's 11th Olympian Ode. About five years later, in 1700, Samuel Cobb (1675–1713) published a Greek epicedium for Princess Anne's son, Prince William, Duke of Gloucester, using Pindaric layout with strophe, antistrophe and epode and lyric cola, but without copying the metrical model of any of Pindar's odes (*Threnodia* 1700: P[1]rv). The earlier examples of British Greek Odes, which attempt to pindarise in lyric metres, use either free form (as John Mill, see *Epicedia* 1669: L1v) or stanzas with an irregular structure (like Davies in *Epicedia* 1671: C2rv), probably revealing the influence of vernacular English odes of this time, such as John Dryden's *Threnodia Augustalis, A Funeral-Pindarique Poem Sacred to the Happy Memory of King Charles II* from 1685 (Dryden 1685, see more in Revard 2009).

The only British Greek ode from the 17th century which corresponds to the mainland European tradition of *Pindarica Graeca* is thus by Charles Daubuz (Danbuz, Daubus 1673(1674?)–1717). His adherence to the European tradition is not surprising, as he was a son of a French Protestant refugee, pastor Isaye d'Aubus from Nerac, Poilou. Having arrived in England at the age of twelve, Daubuz studied in York and later at Queen's College in Cambridge, where he became a librarian, keeping this post until 1695. Afterwards he became a vicar and famous biblical scholar (Agnew 1874: 192; 1886: 339–341). His situation as a refugee's son is also reflected in his address to the Queen, referring to her φιλοξενία, hospitality (in v. 8).

Daubuz' ode is typical for his times: he has chosen an elevated form worthy of its subject, the death of Queen Mary II of England (1662–1694), who had reigned jointly with her husband, William of Orange (1650–1702) from 1689.

---

[8] In: Early English Books Online database (https://eebo.chadwyck.com/home), search in different commemorative prints. More digitisations of personal collections and hopefully more explicit metadata will come from EEBO, although its restricted access remains a serious obstacle for obtaining adequate reflection of the British tradition. A repeated search in January 2024 using the search words *Pindarica*, *Pindarike*, *eidos Pindarikon*, *ode*, *Greek*, *graec-* did not yield any new results.

[9] On the same occasion, another Pindaric ode by Samuel Cobb may have been published, according to Courtney 1887, but whether it was in Greek is unknown. The same article refers to Cobb's dispute with Richard Bentley during Greek exercises, concerning Pindaric metrics (told by Samuel Johnson in the section about Alexander Pope in his *Lives of the Poets*, Johnson 1825.6: 104).

Illustration. Queen Mary II. Rijksmuseum
http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.542148

These Protestant rulers were regarded by Daubuz as defenders of Protestants like himself, although he had arrived in England already before the beginning of their rule.

Εἰς τὴν τῆς ΒΑΣΙΛΊΣΣΗΣ τελευτήν	*On the death of the Queen*
Εἶδος Πινδαρικόν.	*Pindaric type*
Στροφή.	*Strophe*
Φιλτάταν νυμφᾶν ἐμὲ θυμὸς ἀνώγει	*My soul tells me to mourn with an ode,*
Πενθέειν ᾠδᾷ κατακλαιόμενον·	*lamenting the loveliest of the nymphs.*
Αὐτὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄπο	*The tear from the eyes*
Δάκρυ φῶς τε κωλύει, φωνάν τε	*is keeping off the light, and the voice is hindered*
βαρυστεναχόντων	*by pain from heavily sobbing breast, and the*
Στηθέων ἄχθος τ', ὀδυρμός τε δά-	*strong lamentation of the peoples, and loud cries.*
μων καρτερός, μεγάλαι τε βοαί.	
Ἀντιστροφή.	*Antistrophe*
Ἦν γὰρ ἁ πασᾶν ἀρετᾶν γε δρέποισα	*She was the one who plucked the flowers of all*
Ἄνθος, ἦν καὶ σῶμα φυάν τ' ἀγαθά·	*virtues, and whose body had a noble stature;*
Ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοξενίαν,	*but Maria with beautiful cheeks also revealed*
Καὶ θεῷ σέβας ΜΑΡΙΑ δείκνυτο καλλιπάρῃος,	*her hospitality and the reverence to the God,*
Ὡς τὰ μὲν κάλλιστα πρὸς μὶν Θεός	*therefore in the most beautiful way*
Αἰώνιος φιλεῖ ἀγαγεῖν ἐπάνω.	*the Everlasting God welcomes to bring her up to him.*
Ἐπῳδός.	*Epode*
Μοῖρα δὲ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐσιδοῖσ' ἐσθλάς	*The Fate who has seen the noble virtues*
Ἁγνοτάτας Βασιλίσσας, τὸν δρόμον	*of the most Holy Queen, jumped onto the earth*
Ἂν' οὐρανὸν ποιοῖσα χαμάσδε θόρεν,	*in order to make her arrive rapidly into the heaven*
Τὰν ἴν' ὡραίαν Ὀλύμπῳ ἐκφέροι.	*and to carry her, still young, away to the Olympus.*
Ἀλλὰ μὲν τῷ [Ἄ]ΝΑΚΤΙ χωρέει μενεῖν	*But he allowed the King to stay,*
Εὖ κυβερνόωντι λα-	*who is ruling the people*
ούς, ἐπεὶ οὔποτ' ἔβλεψεν φέρτερον κοσμάτορα·	*well, as he had never seen a more brave leader.*
Ἁ ΜΑΡΙΑ τῶ Ζανὸς ὑψί-	*And embracing the knees*
στω δὲ γουνάτων λαβοῖσα	*of the highest Zeus, Mary*
Ὑπὲρ τήνω λίτοιτο.	*may pray for him.*
Carolus Danbuz A.B. Coll. Regin.	Charles Danbuz, Bachelor of Arts in the Queen's College

Although Daubuz uses the metric model of Pindar's 11th Olympian, and the usual features of an epicedium, he has also taken the motive from Book 1 of Homer's *Iliad*, where Thetis embraced the knees of Zeus, begging him to help his son. Daubuz applied it to his ode, making Queen Mary beg the almighty God ("Zeus") for the life of her husband. He also used several nouns and adjectives, which can be found in Book 1 of the *Iliad* (v. 10 καλλιπάρῃος, v. 6

καρτερός, v. 19 φέρτερον κοσμάτορα) and help to elevate the style. And we see the typical use of classical poetry in a Christian context as well.

Regarding the language of the ode, we see a mixture of dialects[10]: features of Aeolic dialect, like the Doric-Aeolic long α for η and the contracted α in the feminine plural genitive (e.g. v. 1 Φιλτάταν νυμφᾶν, v. 19 κοσμάτορα, v. 7 πασᾶν ἀρετᾶν), as well as the compensatory diphthongisation of the vowel in the feminine participles (v. 7 δρέποισα, v. 13, ἐσιδοῖσ' v. 15 ποιοῖσα, v. 21 λαβοῖσα). At the same time, he also uses Homeric words and phrases, as v. 10 καλλιπάρῃος and the other words named above. The dialect usage is not systematic: we find the Doric-Boeotian ω in masc. gen. sg. (v. 20–21, τῶ ὑψίστω, v. 22 τήνω) used next to the ου (as in Homer) in the case of compensatory prolongation (v. 21 γουνάτων) and the Attic-Ionic and Homeric masculine plural accusative (v. 18–19 λαούς) and also Attic forms (gen. plural, v. 5 Στηθέων).

Daubuz' choice of Pindar's 11th Olympian Ode as a model can firstly be explained by its shortness (the ode does not need to be long in order to fulfil its function of showing respect to the deceased patroness), which is perhaps the reason for its popularity as a model for Pindarising Odes in mainland Europe: prior to Daubuz, five other Pindaric odes have been based on this metrical model.[11] The first to imitate the 11th Olympian was Italian humanist Giovanni Battista Amalteo (1525–1573), who wrote an epinicium to the naval victory at Lepanto by Don John of Austria in 1571 (the work was printed in 1627 in Venice and reprinted in 1689 and 1728 in Amsterdam),[12] followed by Italian Benedictine monk and humanist poet Tito Prospero Martinengo (†1594) in a dedication to Horatius Malaguti, published in his collected poems,[13] Wittenberg Professor Erasmus Schmidt in a dedication for Christian II, Elector of Saxony, on the occasion of his visit to the Leucorea (Schmidt 1601), and Jesuit scholar Odon Van Maelcote in a dedication for Claude Dausque in his edition and translation of the homilies of St. Basil of Caesarea (Dausque 1604: p.††3v). In 1679, Andreas Hey from Basel (1662–1717) published a congratulation

[10] For the principles of dialect poetry, in this period, see Van Rooy 2020: 43–44.

[11] From 44 types of different metrical patterns of Pindar's epinicia, only 30 have been used as metrical models (in more than 60 different odes). The most popular models are the 11th Olympian with six, and the 8th Olympian and the 1st Nemean Ode with five imitations (all with relatively short strophes and using dactylo-epitritic metres).

[12] See Venier 2006: 695–698, 710, 714; Päll, Valper 2014: 16–17, Amalteo 1627: 149–150, 1689: 103–104 (= E4rv); 1728: 453–454. Revard 2009: 44–45 presents the transcription of the text without references to its model. Pontani 2022: 112–115 has edited it with a commentary.

[13] For the poem, see Martinengo 1582: 269–270.

for Benedict Mitz, who received his degree in philosophy at Basel University (*Adolescenti* 1679: A3v).

Although there seems to be a lot of time and space between Daubuz' Ode and other imitators of Pindar's 11th Olympian, we must bear in mind that he was free to choose any of the 44 metrical types of Pindaric epinicia, so we need to take into account the whole tradition, which was lively in the 17th century. It is difficult to say whether it was his French Protestant origin that influenced his choice of form, as "Pindarising" was popular in England as well, but the family tradition might have had its influence at least on the choice of the Greek language.[14]

The Continuation of British *Pindarica* at the End of the 18th Century and the Academic Tradition at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Century

The British tradition of Greek Pindaric Odes does not end with the 17th century.[15] The next example I am able to present was written by the great Hellenophile Frederic North, 5th Earl of Guilford, and first printed in Leipzig (North 1791[16]) and after his death also in Athens (North 1846). This ode, dedicated to Catherine II of Russia (1729–1796) praised her might as an empress, including the list of subjected lands, and was connected to the ending of the Russo-Turkish war (1787–1792), where in 1791 a truce was achieved, thus affording her the epithet Εἰρηνοποιός, the Peacemaker.[17] North's ode does not use any specific Pindaric epinicion as its metrical model, but it uses a triadic pattern and lyric metres.

[14] For his ancestors, see a dedicatory epigram for Petri Ravanelli Vticensis Occitani Bibliotheca Sacra.... (Genf 1660, http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11059005-8).

[15] The rareness of such odes may be explained by severe criticism of the use of Pindaric form by contemporary critics, see Revard 2009: 185–191.

[16] The date (which is not noted in the book) according to the catalogue data of British Library (Ieronimaki 2006: 54, 211 does not give the date).

[17] In January 1792, the treaty of Jassy was signed, which confirmed Russia's annexation of Crimea and other previously Turkish regions. Some years before, in the 1770s, Empress Catherine had been celebrated in another Greek Pindaric Ode (following the model of the 3rd Olympian), written by Italian philologist and papyrologist Pasquale Baffi (unpublished manuscript, discussed in Pontani 2017: 333–334).

North's decision to write a Pindaric ode seems well in tune with his interests: he owned a great number of Greek manuscripts and books, including a manuscript containing Pindar's *Olympia*; he also owned of the copy of Antonios Koraes' Pindaric ode for Franciscus Dagessa, as attested by his Ex libris in it.[18] However, Koraes' Ode was monostrophic, so North probably directly followed Pindar, as he also explains in his address to the reader.

The end of the 18th century reveals other examples of Pindarising epinicia from Britain. The first was written by William Frere (1775–1836)[19] for Admiral William Cornwallis (1744–1819), dated 1794, when the admiral had received the post of Vice-admiral and continued to battle in the so-called French revolutionary wars.[20] This Ode is based on Pindar's 1st Nemean Ode (see *Musae Etonenses* 1795: 27–31). The second is by William Herbert (1778–1847), a famous naturalist and classical scholar.[21] It was written to commemorate the death of Robert Faulknor (Falkner, Faulknor the younger, 1763–1795), the captain of the British battle ship Blanche, who was killed in action when the ship was attacked by the French.[22] Faulknor's death was so glorious that it received a series of commemorations, of which Herbert's is one example. William Herbert's ode was based on the 1st Pythian Ode of Pindar (*Musae Etonenses* 1795: 14–17, reprinted in 1842). Both odes in their manner continue the tradition of Pindarica as Victory poems (which we have seen in the case of Amalteo and North), but they also present some features of other occasional genres, a propempticon in Frere's ode and an epicedium in Herbert's ode, although the context – display of one's bravery in marine battles – is the same for both.

During the 19th century we can see the continuation of exact metrical imitations of Pindar by British authors, but with important changes. Firstly, the visual side of these odes is different from earlier ones, as 19th-century scholars read Pindar in new scholarly editions, which follow the metrical theory and the colometry of the German scholar August Boeckh.[23] So the short lines of Byzantine manuscripts and early editions of Pindar are replaced by long lines,

---

[18] The manuscript of Pindar is at present No. 54 of Clark's collection of manuscripts (Sharpe III 1982: 60–64). North's copy of the edition of the ode of Koraes (Koraes 1702, following the model of 9th Nemean Ode) is now in the British Library under shelf mark 870/h 18.

[19] FRR 793W in Cambridge Alumni Database, http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/.

[20] Wilson, Callo 2004: 62.

[21] Jackson 1891: 234–235.

[22] Laughton 1889: 245–247.

[23] See Boeckh 1811–1821.

corresponding to entire metrical periods. The new imitators follow this pattern in Britain as well as in mainland Europe, corresponding to the changes in neo-humanist education, which reveals much stronger orientation to specialisation and exactness.[24] Secondly, the odes by British authors from the last decades of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century reveal a change of context, which is much more academic than previously (with the exception of the odes for the Olympic games mentioned above), corresponding again to the tendencies which can be seen in Germany at the same time.

The earliest of this set are four odes by Richard Claverhouse Jebb (1841–1905),[25] whose familiarity with Greek lyrical meters is best attested to by his edition of Bacchylides (Cambridge 1905). In a posthumous edition of his Greek poetry we find four Pindaric Greek odes, following the models of two of Pindar's epinicia. Three of the four odes represent a type of Humanist Greek poem, which is especially popular in the 19th century Great Britain: a translation[26] (like for example Shakespeare translations in trimeters by Porson prize winners). Although Jebb's translations mostly include poems in iambic trimeters, he has also followed Pindaric patterns.

Jebb's first two Pindarising translations follow the model of the 4th Pythian. These are the translation of *Abt Vogler* by Browning from 1873 in 4 triads, and the translation of the poem *The Reign of the Youth* by Rann Kennedy in 12 triads, which dates from no later than 1877, when it was first published.[27] Jebb's later Pindaric poems (undated in the edition, but from 1888) follow the metrical model of Pindar's 8th Olympian Ode. The first is the translation of Leopardi's *Sopra il monumento di Dante che si preparava in Firenze* in 11 triads and then a *genethliakon* to the 800th anniversary of the University of Bologna in 7 triads.[28]

---

[24] See Bommel 2015.

[25] JB858RC in Cambridge Alumni Database, http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk.

[26] Although we do find translations into Humanist Greek from the European mainland, it does not seem so popular, except in Germany (Weise 2016). Except for psalm paraphrases, the form of Pindaric odes has been used elsewhere, by Federic Morel in a translation (dedicated to Louis XIII) of Latin Pindaric Ode by Pope Urban VIII (then a bishop Maffeo Barberini) for Louis IX. The ode is undated, but the translation dates probably close to the year 1623, when Urban became pope (as Morel also includes a Latin gratulation in the honor of Urban's pontificate and a *soterikon* for him). In this case, however, already the original ode in Latin was using a Pindaric pattern: triads and lyric cola.

[27] Jebb 1907: 2–15 and 274–311.

[28] Jebb 1907: 240–263 (a reprint of *Universitati litterarum et artium Bononiensi ferias saeculares octavas pridie Idus Iunias anno p. n. C. MDCCCLXXXVIII celebranti*. Cantabrigiae: Typis

Another translation in the form of a Pindaric Ode by eminent orientalist and classical scholar Reynold Alleyne Nicholson (1868–1945) was published in 1907 in Aberdeen.[29] It is a translation of an English epicedium in dactylo-trochaic rhythms by the principal of Aberdeen University and classical scholar William Dugguid Geddes (1828–1900) for William Cameron, MA, who had drowned in the Rhine in 1883. Nicholson's translation follows the model of Pindar's 3rd Pythian, again according to modern colometry.

Another British classical scholar and editor of Greek lyric poetry, Walter George Headlam (1866–1908)[30], has also left us one Pindaric ode. Like Reynold Nicholson, he followed the model of Pindar's 3rd Pythian, translating the 18th Book of Job (Headlam 1907: 58–65) and thus continuing the tradition of Greek Biblical paraphrases. Although it is the first publication of this ode, it dates probably from much earlier times and is published at a mature age for the first time together with many other of his unedited works. Headlam explains in his preface why he has translated poetry into Ancient Greek. Apart from giving pleasure to connoisseurs and young students, who might delight in such things, he believes in the literary value of such translations, as "they can illustrate, as nothing else can do so vividly, affinities in thought and manner between writers in two different languages" (Headlam 1907: vii–viii).

The last examples of *Pindarica Britanniae* come from the early 20th and early 21st century and have already been discussed above. However, there are possibly many gaps in this account. Firstly, I have left out poetry that does not strictly use Pindaric patterns; secondly, I believe that much of the Pindarising production of British humanists and scholars is not yet known to me. Despite this, the trends are very clear: first, we see the occasional use of the form of Pindaric odes in Greek commemorative poetry for outstanding persons during the 17th–18th century, often in the framework of school compositions (but not only), with greater stress on military success and glory and victory than perhaps on the European mainland. Secondly, from the second half of the 19th century, we see the transfer of the ode to a purely academic context, where it is influenced by modern scholarship, and at last, it is used (among others) for translation (from the Book of Job to contemporary authors), which seems to be a typical feature of British Humanist Greek verse composition in the 19th century.

academicis excudebant C. J. Clay et filii), and 264–273. See Kennedy 1877: 352–377. A part of the poem is published in Weise 2022: 539–542.

[29] In *Flosculi Graeci* 1907: 52–55. A part of the poem is published in Weise 2022: 542–545.

[30] HDLN884WG in Cambridge Alumni Database, http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk.

Bibliography

Adolescenti Pereximio ... Benedicto Mitzio .. amici. Basel: Jacob Bertsch. In: e-rara.ch, https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-72048.

Agnew, David Carnegie A. (1874). *Protestant exiles from France in the reign of Louis XIV : or, The Huguenot refugees and their descendants in Great Britain and Ireland.* Index-volume with analyses. London: Reeves and Turner.

Agnew, David Carnegie A. (1886). *Protestant exiles from France in the reign of Louis XIV : or, The Huguenot refugees and their descendants in Great Britain and Ireland*. Vol. 2 (3rd edition). (1st published 1871 London: Reeves and Turner).

Amalteo, Giovanni Battista (1627) = *Trium fratrum Amalthaeorum carmina Hieronymi Io. Baptistae Cornelii*. Venice: Andreas Muschius.

Amalteo, Giovanni Battista (1689) = *Trium fratrum Amalthaeorum carmina Hieronymi Io. Baptistae Cornelii.* Amsterdam: Wetstenius.

Andrist, Patrick; Lukinovich, Alessandra (2005). 'POESIS ET MORES: Florent Chrestien, Joseph-Juste Scaliger, et les *Psaumes* en vers du *Bernensis* A 69.' – *Mélanges offerts à André Hurst*. Genève: Droz, 673–715.

d'Angour, Armand (2004). 'Ode to Athens.' – Howard, Philip; Hamilton, Alan, 'Olympics ring to sound of winning British Ode.' *The Times*, Saturday, July 31, p. 9.

Boeckh, August (1811–1821). *Pindari Opera.* Leipzig: Weigel.

Bommel, Bas van (2015). *Classical humanism and the challenge of modernity: debates on classical education in the 19th century Germany.* Berlin: de Gruyter.

Cairns, Francis (1972). *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry*. Ann Arbor: Michigan Classical Press.

Cook, Theodore Andrea (1908). *Olympic Games: being a short history of the Olympic movement from 1896 up to the present day, together with an account of the Games of Athens in 1906, and the organisation of the Olympic Games of London in 1908.* London: Archibald Constable & Co.

Courtney, William Prideaux (1887). 'Cobb, Samuel.' – *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 11. New York etc: MacMillan & Co, 141–142.

Dausque, Claude (1604). *B. Basilii Selevciae Isavriae Episcopi Orationes XLIV. Cl. Davsveivs Avdomarivs nunc primum latine fecit* [...] [Heidelberg:] Commelianus.

Dryden, John (1685). *Threnodia Augustalis, A Funeral-Pindarique Poem Sacred to the Happy Memory of King Charles II.* London: Printed for Jacob Tonson (2nd ed.).

Epicedia (1669) = *Epicedia Universitatis Oxoniensis, in Obitum Augustissimae Principis Henriettae Mariae Reginae matris.* Oxonii: E Typographia Sheldoniana. Wing O-879.

Epicedia (1671) = *Epicedia Cantabrigiensia in Obitum Illustrissimae Principis Annae Ducissae Eboracensis.* Cantabrigiae: Ex officina Joann. Hayes. Wing C-334.

Flosculi Graeci (1907) = *Flosculi Graeci Boreales sive Anthologia Graeca Aberdonensis. Series nova. Decerpsit Joannes Harrower*. Aberdeen: University Press.

Glei, Reinhold F.; Seidel, Robert (Hrsg.) (2006). *„Parodia" & Parodie: Aspekte intertextuellen Schreibens in der lateinischen Literatur der frühen Neuzeit*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Headlam, Walter (1907). *A Book of Greek Verse.* Cambridge: University Press.

Ieronimaki, Thaleia (2006) = Ιερωνυμάκη, Θάλεια (2006). *Το είδος της ωδής στη νεοελληνική λογοτεχνία (από την αρχή του 19ου αιώνα έως το 1880)*. Κύπρος: Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου. (Electronic PhD dissertation in Cyprus University, http://www.didaktorika.gr/eadd/handle/10442/29033).

IJsewijn, Jozef; Sacré, Dirk (1990–1998). *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*. Vol. 1–2. Leuven: Leuven University Press & Peeters Press.

Jackson, Benjamin Daydon (1891). 'Herbert, William (1778–1847).' – *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 26. New York etc: MacMillan & Co, 234–235.

Jebb, Richard Claverhouse (1873). *Translations into Greek and Latin verse.* Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co; London: Bell & Daldy.

Jebb, Richard Claverhouse (1907). *Translations into Greek and Latin verse.* 2nd edition. Cambridge: University Press.

Johnson, Samuel (1825). *The Works of Samuel Johnson.* Vol. VI. Philadelphia: Carey and Lea.

Kennedy, Benjamin Hall (1877). *Between Whiles or Wayside Amusements of Working Life. Edited by Benjamin Hall Kennedy.* London: George Bell and Sons; Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co.

Koraes, Antonios (1702). *Τῷ ἐκλαμπροτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ Ἐῤῥίκῳ Φραγκίσκῳ τῷ Δαγεσσεῖ τῷ καθόλου βασιλικῷ προκουράτωρι, ὠδή*. Paris.

Kossmann, F. H. K. (1933). 'Eyndhouts, Arnout van.' – Blok, P. J.; Molhuysen, P. C. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsk biografisch woordenboek.* Deel 9, 249–250, online: http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/molh003nieu09_01/molh003nieu09_01_0435.php.

Laughton, John Knox (1889). 'Faulkner, Thomas.' – *Dictionary of National Biography,* Vol. 18. New York etc: MacMillan & Co, 245–247.

Lukinovich, Alessandra (2018). 'Florent Chrestien pindarise sous la houlette d'Henri Estienne. Un psaume des montées en vers grecs (*Ps.* 127 hébreu) dans la version publiée en 1566 et dans un autographe.' – Päll, Janika; Volt, Ivo (eds.), *Hellenostephanos. Humanist Greek in Early Modern Europe*. Tartu: University of Tartu Press, 260–298.

Martinengo, Tito Prospero (1582). *Πρὸς Γρηγόριον τρισκαιδέκατον ὕπατον ἀρχιερέα. Τίτου Προσπέρου Μαρτινεγγίου μοναχοῦ Βριξιανοῦ ποιήματα διαφορὰ ἑλληνικὰ καὶ λατινικὰ [...]*. Roma: Francesco Zanetti.

Morel, Federic; Urbanus VIII [1623]. *In Divvm Lvdovicvm IX. Regem francorvm, ode Pindarica Bilingvis*. Paris.

Musae Etonenses (1795) = *Musae Etonenses seu Carminum Delectus nunc primum in lucem editus*. Tomus 3. London: G. Stafford

North, Frederic (1791). *Αἰκατερίνῃ Εἰρηνοποιῷ*. [Leipzig].

North, Frederic (1846). *Αἰκατερίνῃ Εἰρηνοποιῷ. Ὠιδὴ Πινδαρική. Βιογραφικὰ, ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα περὶ τοῦ κόμητος Φριδερίχου Γυΐλφορδ ὑπὸ Ἀνδρέου Παπαδοπούλου Βρετοῦ. Ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τυπογραφείου*. Athens.

Päll Janika (2001). 'Pindarlektüre an der *Academia Gustaviana*: Henricus Vogelmannus' *Ode prosphonetike*.' – *Studia Humaniora Tartuensia* 2.A.2, 1–16. https://doi.org/10.12697/sht.2001.2.A.2

Päll, Janika; Valper, Eve (2014). *Βάρβαρος οὐ πέλομαι ... "I'm not a barbarian...." . The humanists in and about the Greek language. An exhibition dedicated to the reflections of the love for ancient Hellas in old prints from Tartu University Library: Catalogue*. Tartu: Tartu University Library.

Päll, Janika (2017). 'The transfer of Greek Pindaric Ode from Italy to the Northern Shores: From Robortello to Vogelmann and further.' – Weise, Stephan (Hrsg.), *Hellenisti! Altgriechisch als Literatursprache im neuzeitlichen Europa.* (*Palingenesia*; 107.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 349–368.

Pontani, Filippomaria (2017). *'Graeca per Italiae fines*. Greek poetry in Italy form Poliziano to the present.' – Weise, Stefan (Hrsg.), *Hellenisti! Altgriechisch als Literatursprache im neuzeitlichen Europa*. (*Palingenesia*; 107.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 311–347.

Pontani, Filippomaria (2022). 'Italy.' – Pontani, Filippomaria; Weise, Stefan (eds.), *The Hellenizing Muse: A European Anthology of Poetry in Ancient Greek from the Renaissance to the Present*. (*Trends in Classics – Pathways of Reception*; 6.) Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 82–145.

Pontani, Filippomaria; Weise, Stefan (eds.) (2022). *The Hellenizing Muse: A European Anthology of Poetry in Ancient Greek from the Renaissance to the Present*. (*Trends in Classics – Pathways of Reception*; 6.) Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter.

Revard, Stella Purce (2001). *Pindar and the Renaissance Hymn Ode: 1450–1700*. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies.

Revard, Stella Purce (2009). *Politics, Poetics and the Pindaric Ode: 1450–1700*. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies; Turnhout: Brepols.

Robortello, Francesco (1548) = *Francisci Robortelli Utinensis De historica facultate disputatio ... Ode Graeca quae Βιοχρησμωδία inscribitur*. Firenze: Torrentino. CNCE 34563

Schmitz, Thomas (1991). 'Les Odes grecques de Frédéric Jamot († ca. 1609).' – *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 53.2, 281–303.

Schmitz, Thomas (1993). *Pindar in der französischen Renaissance. Studien zu seiner Rezeption in Philologie, Dichtungstheorie und Dichtung*. (*Hypomnemata*; 101.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Schmidt, Erasmus (1601) = Εἶδος Πινδαρικὸν Illustris principi ac Domino DN. CHRISTIANO SECUNDO [...] *Cum ejus Celsitati Homagia facienda essent in Electorali urbe VViteberga XV. Octobris | Anno M D C I. ἐνφημίας* loco [...] *A M. ERASMO SCHMIDT* [...] *Wittenberg:* Laurentius Seuberlich.

Sharpe III, John L. (1982) 'The Kenneth Willis Clark Collection of Greek Manuscripts.' – *Library Notes* (Duke University Library) 50, 50–67. https://archive.org/details/librarynoteseri5051528285

Threnodia (1700) = *Threnodia Academiae Cantabrigensis in immaturum obitum illustrissimi ac desideratissimi principis Gulielmi ducis Glocestrensis.* Cantabrigiae: Typis Academicis. Wing C-357.

Van Rooy, Raf (2020). *Greece's labyrinth of language: A study in the early modern discovery of dialect diversity*. (*History and Philosophy of the Language Sciences*; 2.) Berlin: Language Science Press.

Venier, Matteo (2006). 'Poesia latina degli Amalteo.' – *Aevum* 80.3, 687–716.

Weise, Stefan (2016). ''Ελληνίδ' αἶαν εἰσιδεῖν ἱμείρομαι – Neualtgriechische Literatur in Deutschland (Versuch eines Überblicks).' – *Antike und Abendland* 62, 114–181.

Weise, Stefan (2022). 'Great Britain.' – Pontani, Filippomaria; Weise, Stefan (eds.), *The Hellenizing Muse: A European Anthology of Poetry in Ancient Greek from the Renaissance to the Present*. (*Trends in Classics – Pathways of Reception*; 6.) Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 482–557.

Wilson, Alastair; Callo, Joseph F. (2004). *Who's Who in Naval History: From 1550 to the Present.* London, New York: Routledge.

Abstract

This paper discusses a rare subgenre of Humanist Greek poetry: the Pindarising ode, focusing on the poems written in Britain, which form a small but remarkable subcorpus of such poems. Through a chronological survey, the article highlights the specific features of this corpus, taking into account the period, the occasions of the poems, the context of writing, the use of Pindaric models, as well as the role of translation.

„JCH WEISS EIN BLÜMLEIN HÜBSCH UND FEIN". FÜNF HOCHZEITSGEDICHTE FÜR CHRISTOPH BLUME[1]

Katre Kaju

Am 3. März 1653 haben Christoph Blume, Pastor zu Haggers (auf Estnisch Hageri), und Anna Wibold, Tochter des Revaler (Tallinner) Bürgers Johann Wibold, in Haggers geheiratet. Dieses feierliche Ereignis hat einigen Amtsbrüdern Blumes eine günstige Gelegenheit geboten, sich selbst und Blumes Heirat in Versen zu verewigen.[2] Bis jetzt ist nur ein Heftchen mit Hochzeitsgedichten bekannt, die aus diesem Anlass geschrieben bzw. gedruckt wurden. Ob es noch andere gab, lässt sich nur vermuten.

Der Bräutigam Christoph Blume (5. August 1625 bis 18. Februar 1669) war ein Leipziger Bürgersohn, der nach seinen Schul- und Studienjahren in Deutschland, zwischenzeitlich auch am Revaler Gymnasium, dank mehrerer Stellenangebote im Jahre 1652 nach Reval zurück kam. Kurz nach der estnischen Probepredigt in Reval wurde er am Ende desselben Jahres als Pastor zu Haggers ordiniert. Neben seinen pastoralen Pflichten widmete er sich der geistlichen Literatur: Er übersetzte Matthäus Judex' *Kleines Corpus doctrinae* ins Estnische, gab Gebet- und Liederbücher auf Estnisch und Deutsch heraus; darüber hinaus hat er das ganze Neue Testament und die meisten Bücher des Alten Testaments ins Estnische übersetzt.[3] So hat er sich, wie auch mehrere seine zeitgenössischen Pastoren, mit seiner geistlich-literärischen Tätigkeit in die estnische Kulturgeschichte geschrieben.

[1] Ich möchte mich ganz herzlich bei Dr. Kristi Viiding für inhaltliche Korrekturen und Vorschläge und bei Dr. Martin Klöker für sprachliche Korrektur bedanken.

[2] Siehe Lust-Wundsch 1653.

[3] Zu Blumes Lebenslauf und Werken siehe Elvering 1699: Fij verso – G verso; jüngste Fassungen: Aarma 2007: 29–30; Klöker 2014: 540–541.

Anna Wibold war Christoph Blumes erste Ehefrau.[4] Gewöhnlich wurde auf dem Titelblatt eines Hochzeitsdruckes auch die soziale Stellung der Braut angegeben, entweder durch ihren Vater oder, im Fall der Witwen, durch den verstorbenen Ehemann. Hier aber ist darauf verzichtet worden; ihre Persönlichkeit wurde nur mit zwei Adjektiven (*Ehr und VilTugendreich*) charakterisiert. Sie ist ungefähr 1632 in Reval geboren und wurde kurz nach ihrem Tod im Januar 1660 in der Nikolaikirche begraben.[5] Ihr Vater, dem Bürgerbuch zufolge Jochim Wiegeboldt genannt, wurde im Jahre 1620 im Revaler Bürgerbuch eingetragen und 1667 in der Nikolaikirche bestattet.[6] Ihre Mutter, Dorothea Temmius, geborene Ditmer, war ebenso Tochter eines Revaler Bürgers.[7]

Die genannte Sammlung der Hochzeitsgedichte besteht aus fünf Beiträgen von vier Autoren. Unter den vier Beiträgern, die sich auf dem Titelblatt des Gedichtheftes als hochgeehrte Gönner und geneigte Freunde bezeichnen,[8] finden wir den Pastor der Revaler Nikolaikirche, Magister Nicolaus Specht,[9] den Rektor der Revaler Stadtschule Johann Sebastian Markard,[10] Christoph (Christoff) Krause[11] und den Theologiestudenten Johann Dietrich Vockerodt.[12] Nur zwei von diesen, Specht und Vockerodt, haben ihre soziale Position explizit herausgestellt. Markard und Krause dagegen haben aus irgendwelchen Gründen darauf verzichtet. Die Gedichtunterschriften geben uns leider keine

---

4 Den 24. Juli 1660 heiratete Blume zum zweiten Mal, diesmal die Witwe des Johann Gutsleff, Pastors zu Urbs (Urvaste) in Südestland. Ob Blumes zweite Hochzeit mit gedruckten bzw. handgeschriebenen Hochzeitsgedichten verewigt wurde, lässt sich nur vermuten – bis jetzt sind keine solche Gedichte bzw. Sammlungen bekannt.

5 Aarma 2007: 29.

6 Siehe Tallinna kodanikkuderaamat 1409–1624: 109; Aarma 2007: 29.

7 Aarma 2007: 29.

8 Siehe Lust-Wundsch 1653.

9 Zu Specht siehe Robert 2002 und 2003; Klöker 2014: 641–642.

10 Zu Markard siehe z.B. Klöker 2014: 197–204, 601–602.

11 Bis jetzt ist es mir noch nicht gelungen, den genannten Christoph Krause zu identifizieren. Da aber andere Beiträger Pastoren bzw. zukünftige Pastoren waren, darf man vermuten, dass auch Krause auf diesem Feld tätig war bzw. Theologie studiert hatte. Im Nationalarchiv Estlands werden zwei Dokumente aufbewahrt, die seinen Namen tragen. 1655 vertrat Krause den Kapitän Friedrich Elert in einer Schuldforderungssache gegen Caspar von Asswegen (EAA.1.2.136, Bl. 91–91 verso). Aus dem Jahre 1658 stammt Krauses deutschsprachiges Diarium über die schwedisch-russische Waffenstillstandsverhandlungen in Valiesar (Vallisaar) (EAA.1.2.758). Diese Archivdokumente lassen dagegen vermuten, dass Krause in der estländischen Schloss- oder Gouvernementskanzlei amtieren konnte.

12 Zu Vockerodt siehe Amburger 1998: 502.

Informationen, wie gut Blume und diese vier Männer einander kannten. Da Blume schon in den 1640er Jahren in Reval gewesen war, darf man vermuten, dass wenigstens Specht und Markard ihm seit dieser Zeit bekannt gewesen sein konnten. Vockerodt, der erst 1652 nach Reval kam und wahrscheinlich (als Hofmeister/Hauslehrer?) eine feste Stelle suchte, mag Blume erst nach seiner zweiten Ankunft kennengelernt haben. Krauses Hochzeitsgedicht für Blume beweist aber deutlich, dass Blumes Lebenslauf, besonders sein Studiengang, seine Neigung zum Lernen und zu den musischen Künsten ihm bekannt waren. Da aber Blume mit ‚Sie' angeredet wird, darf man vermuten, dass die beiden Männer nicht besonders eng befreundet waren. Aus der dritten Strophe seines Gedichtes geht hervor, dass Krause damals in Reval ansässig war.

Die Blume gewidmete Hochzeitsschrift beinhaltet zwei kurze lateinische Epigramme, zwei längere deutsche Gedichte in der Liedform und ein kurzes deutsches Alexandrinergedicht. In diesem Gedichtheftchen dominiert das Deutsche mit 143 Versen gegenüber 8 auf Latein. Da Blume kurz vor der Heirat eine estnische Probepredigt gehalten hatte (das Estnische hatte er schon während seines ersten Aufenthaltes in Estland gelernt), und später als außerordentlich guter Kenner der estnischen Sprache bekannt war,[13] ist es etwas unerwartet, dass in dieser Gedichtsammlung sich kein Wort auf Estnisch befindet. Johann Sebastian Markard wäre dazu bestimmt fähig gewesen, denn 1656 schrieb er zum Erscheinen des neuen estnischen Gesangbuches eine estnische Gratulation und 1657 ein estnisches Epigramm zum Bildnis des Schweinfurter Superintendenten, Professors und Schulinspektors, seinem ehemaligen Lehrer Johannes Andreas Piccart.[14]

Die lateinischen Epigramme befinden sich gleich am Anfang der Sammlung. Einerseits widerspiegelt sich hier die Hierarchie der Sprachen – als Gelehrtensprache war Latein in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts in Reval immer noch höher bewertet als Deutsch, obwohl die Position des Deutschen als Literatursprache, besonders aber als Gedichtsprache, seit den 30er Jahren stets gestiegen war –, andererseits aber die soziale Stellung der Autoren. Da die Nikolaikirche als Hauptkirche der Revaler Unterstadt galt, ist Spechts Beitrag auch als erster positioniert worden. Ihm folgt der Schulrektor Johann Sebastian Markard mit seinem lateinischen Epigramm und deutschem Lied. Vockerodt bezeichnet sich als *Studiosus*, und deswegen ist sein Beitrag hier auch der letzte.

[13] Elvering 1669: Fiij; Lill 1988.

[14] Siehe Neu Ehstnisches Gesangbuch 1656; Pleiss & Viiding 2007.

Drucktechnisch ist die Christoph Blume und Anna Wibold gewidmete Hochzeitssammlung ein zeittypisches Revaler Druckwerk, das nur mit den gängigen Zierleisten und mit der typischen Endvignette geschmückt ist. Blumes bedeutungsvoller Name hat das Äußere des Gedichtheftchens gar nicht beeinflusst: Dieselben aus stilisierten Pflanzenmustern bestehenden Zierleisten und die Vignette wurden in mehreren anderen Revaler Drucksachen verwendet.

Im Folgenden werde ich in die in dieser Gedichtsammlung vorhandenen Texte einführen und versuchen, die wichtigsten inhaltlichen und stilistischen Eigenschaften zu erörtern.

Das blumenlose Anfangsgedicht

Nicolaus Specht hat sein sechszeiliges und in Eile geschriebenes lateinisches Epigramm als Gebet gestaltet: er wünscht den Neuvermählten alles Gute, dass sie ein ehrwürdiges, ruhiges und frommes Leben führen, und dass Gott das Ehebett segne. Solche Wünsche kommen in den Hochzeitsgedichten oft vor und bilden damit einen festen Bestandteil der gattungstypischen Motivik. Dieses kurzes Epigramm kann als eine Pflichterfüllung[15] interpretiert werden, obwohl Specht selbst es nicht so äußert. Neben dem typischen Inhalt – glückliches Leben und Kindersegen[16] – fallen in diesem Gedicht noch zwei Momente auf. Zuerst müssen wir unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf die ersten Verse wenden, die zugleich als Programm und Erklärung für die Kürze dienen: die Gelehrten lieben kurze Reden, und Specht schreibt dieses kurzen Gedicht für den Gelehrten bzw. das gelehrte Publikum (*Pauca placent Doctis. Doctis haec paucula scribo*). Ob auch Blumes Ehefrau unter die genannten Gelehrten gezählt wird, bleibt offen. Es muss auch betont werden, dass schon am Anfang der Gelegenheitsgedichte oft die Kürze angedeutet wird. Gewöhnlich werden solche Andeutungen durch die Unfähigkeit des Autors bzw. die Abwesenheit der Musen oder des Apollo motiviert, Specht hingegen hat den anderen Weg gewählt. Statt Minderung seiner eigenen poetischen Fähigkeiten zeigt Specht Respekt (sei es fiktiv oder nicht) gegenüber dem Bräutigam: Er schreibt so, wie es ihm gefällt. Diese *captatio benevolentiae* ist unmittelbar mit einer anderen verbunden, nämlich mit dem Topos von der fliegenden Feder, womit oft die Unvollkommenheit und Kürze des Carmens ganz bewusst begründet

[15] Zur Pflicht als ein Grund für das Gelegenheitsgedicht siehe Segebrecht 1977: 175–176.

[16] Siehe Segebrecht 1977: 151–156.

bzw. entschuldigt wird.[17] Zweitens ist dieses Epigramm durch Wiederholungen verschiedener Art geprägt. In den ersten Versen häufen sich zwei Schlüsselworte, *pauc(ul)a* und *doctis*, die Disticha aber sind durch die Anadiplose gekennzeichnet, das heißt, dass die letzten Worte des Pentameters am Anfang des folgenden Hexameters wiederholt werden. Ob und wie beliebt dieses Stilmittel (Anadiplose) in der Revaler frühneuzeitlichen (Hochzeits-)Dichtung war, bleibt im Moment noch offen.

Der Höhepunkt der Sammlung: die Häufung der biblischen Blumenmetaphorik

Johann Sebastian Markard hat den ersten von seinen zwei Beiträgen, die er aus wohlmeinendem Herzen geschrieben hatte, direkt dem Bräutigam gewidmet (*Ad Rev. Dn. SPONSUM*) und geht beide Male von seinem sprechenden Namen aus. Der Name der Heiratenden ist wahrscheinlich immer die populärste Inspirationsquelle der Gelegenheitspoeten gewesen.[18] In diesem Fall spielt auch der berufliche Hintergrund des Bräutigams mit:[19] Es dient nämlich das Hohelied Salomos (2.1[20]) als zweite Inspirationsquelle für beide Beiträge Markards. Im lateinischen zweizeiligen Epigramm wird Christoph Blume mit der biblischen Blume zu Saron verglichen: Sie ist aus der lobenswerten Wurzel entsprossen und so wird auch der Herr Bräutigam ehrenvoll, wenn er auf dem Feld Gottes sät.

Markards zweiter, deutschsprachiger Beitrag *Ich bin ein Blum zu Saron* ist ein Gedicht in Liedform,[21] das auf die Melodie eines bekannten Kirchenliedes *Ich weiß ein Blümlein hübsch und fein* gesungen werden konnte. Markards

[17] Zu diesem Topos siehe Segebrecht 1977: 166–173.

[18] Segebrecht 1977: 115–119. Als estnische Parallele vgl. z.B. die Hochzeitsgedichte für zwei Heinrich Stahls in Kaju 2010.

[19] Der Beruf des Bräutigams ist neben den Namen eine der populärsten Inspirationsquellen der Kasualpoeten gewesen, vgl. Segebrecht 1977: 119–120.

[20] *Ich bin eine Blume zu Saron und eine Rose im Tal*. Die Bibelzitate stammen aus der Lutherbibel 1912.

[21] Markards Lied besteht aus sieben jambischen fünfzeiligen Strophen, wobei einzelne Reime noch etwas holprig wirken.

Lied basiert wahrscheinlich auf dem Choral von Basilius Förtsch († 1619) aus Roßla in Thüringen.[22]

Markard beginnt sein Lied mit zwei Strophen, in welchen drei biblische, im abendländischen Christentum tief verwurzelte Sinnbilder gemischt worden sind. Erstens Jesus als die Blume zu Saron (bei Markard ist Blume männlich: *ich bin ein Blume, die mit Pracht / zu Saron pflegt zustehen*), zweitens Christus als Bräutigam der Kirche (*So hat der Seelenbreutigam, / die Libsblum Sich benennet*), und drittens Jesus als Blume, die aus der Wurzel Jesse stammt (*alß Sie aus deß Jesse Stamm / das Fleisch annahm*). Dabei hat Markard zwei Worte – *Saron* und *Libsblum* – am Rande des Textes auch kommentiert. Die erste Marginalie besteht aus einem Zitat aus Heinrich Büntings (1545–1606) *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae*;[23] in der zweiten Marginalie wird höchstwahrscheinlich ein Werk des Greifswalder Theologieprofessors Philipp Heinrich Friedlieb (1603–1663) zitiert.[24] Aus Büntings *Itinerarium* hat Markard das Stichwort 'Saron' im Ortsregister ausgewertet: Es bedeutet Grünland oder Grünfeld und bezeichnet das ganze Land zwischen dem galiläischen Meer und dem Gebirge Ephraim. Von Friedlieb dagegen hat Markard einen theologischen Kommentar übernommen: Der Bräutigam wird mit Recht eine Blume genannt, denn Christus sei eine Blume aus der Wurzel Jesse aus der Lande der Jungfrau, die nie einen Acker gesehen hat.

Nach den zwei Anfangsstrophen wendet der Autor sich an den Bräutigam, der ebenso einen Blumennamen trägt und furchtlos das heilige Wort Gottes sät. In der Marginalie wird hier eine Bibelstelle angedeutet – der erste Petrusbrief (1.23[25]) –, wonach die Wiedergeborenen aus dem unvergänglichen Samen, nämlich aus dem lebendigen und ewigen Wort Gottes stammen. Die vierte Strophe dient als ein kleiner Exkurs und ist dem Wort Gottes und seinen Eigenheiten gewidmet: Es kann die Menschen trösten, beleben und kräftigen. In der fünften Strophe wendet Markard sich wiederum an den Bräutigam, diesmal im Vergleich zu Moses. Dank dem fleißigen Beten kann er vor Gott treten, genau wie der fromme und unerschütterliche Moses. Bei

[22] Wimmer 1749: 371. Schon Valentin Triller (1493–1573) hat in seinem *Schlesischen singebüchlein* (1555) ein Lied dieses Themas abgedruckt, aber die metrische Struktur stimmt der von Markards Lied nicht überein. Siehe Triller 1555: Riij–[Riiij verso].

[23] Bünting 1646: 200.

[24] Ob Markard hier Friedliebs *Florilegium theologicum, Theologia exegetica* oder ein kleineres Werk zitiert hat, bleibt im Moment noch offen.

[25] … als die da wiedergeboren sind, nicht aus vergänglichem, sondern aus unvergänglichem Samen, nämlich aus dem lebendigen Wort Gottes, das da ewig bleibt.

diesem Vergleich hat Markard in der Marginalie auf das vierte Buch Mose hingedeutet (16.41[26]).

Die ersten fünf Strophen waren den biblischen Themen gewidmet, in der sechsten dagegen wendet Markard seinen Fokus auf irdische Sachen. Er fährt mit einem Sinnbild fort, wonach im Frühling, wenn die Blumen auf der Weide blühen, die Augen sich fast verwirren. Markards Frühlingsbild könnte hier als *inventio ex loco circumstantiarum temporis*[27] interpretiert werden, obwohl am Anfang des Märzmonats in Estland fast noch nichts blüht. Andererseits ist es möglich, dass Markard hier statt der estländischen Natur die des biblischen Landes gemeint hatte: in der ersten Strophe wurde doch Saron als Ort des Geschehens angegeben, und der März ist als einer der israelischen Frühlingsmonate bekannt. Die siebente und letzte Strophe des Gedichtes ist gattungstypisch dem ehelichen Glück und (Kinder-)Segen gewidmet. Markard äußert sich hier deutlich sublimer als viele andere Kasualpoeten: Hier sind zwar die typischen Stichworte, wie Glück, Freude, Wollust, Segen, Gottes Gnade, vorhanden, aber die Gedanken und Wünsche, die hinter diesen Stichworten stehen, sind nicht direkt ausgesprochen worden, sondern etwas mehr allusiv.[28]

Markards beide Beiträge sind von Blumenmetaphorik geprägt, besonders aber sein zweites, deutschsprachiges Gedicht, wo in jeder Strophe außer der vierten entsprechende Stichworte auftauchen. In der genannten vierten Strophe, die auch den Mittelpunkt des Gedichtes bezeichnet, steht das Wort Gottes an Stelle der Blumenmotivik. Statt der herkömmlichen, schon seit der Antike in den Hochzeitsgedichten beliebten Blumen- und Pflanzenvergleiche hat Markard vielleicht einen etwas unkonventionellen Weg gefunden und sich fast gänzlich auf der theologischen Bahn gehalten, nur das Frühlingsbild mit den blühenden Blumen weicht davon ab.

---

[26] Hier ist wahrscheinlich ein Druckfehler: Anstatt Kapitel XVI sollte eher XIV stehen, denn im Kapitel 16 gibt es nur 35 Verse. Die Versnummer 41 ist wegen der schlechten Druckqualität ebenso nicht eindeutig, es könnte auch 44 sein. Hoheslied 14.41: *Mose aber sprach: Warum übertretet ihr also das Wort des HERRN? Es wird euch nicht gelingen*; Hoheslied 14.44: *Aber sie waren störrig, hinaufzuziehen auf die Höhe des Gebirges; aber die Lade des Bundes des HERRN und Mose kamen nicht aus dem Lager*.

[27] Zu diesem Topos siehe Segebrecht 1977: 122–123; vgl. auch Baumgartner 2004: 66–67.

[28] Vgl. z.B. die anderen Gedichte in diesem Gedichtheftchen (Lust-Wundsch 1653), wo Liebesspiele bzw. Sex empfohlen und Kindersegen gewünscht werden. Zur Theologie und christliche Ehelehre z.B. in den Bremer Hochzeitsgedichten siehe Fuchs 1994: 185–224. Vgl. auch Segebrecht 1977: 152–161, Baumgartner 2004: 73–76, besonders aber Baumgartner 2001.

Das Feuerwerk der weltlichen Blumen

Der Unterschrift nach hat Christoph Krause seinen deutschen Glückwunsch in Liedform[29] beiden Eheleuten gewidmet, aber das ganze Gedicht außer den zwei letzten Strophen ist eigentlich nur an den Bräutigam Christoph Blume adressiert. In der Gedichtunterschrift gibt Krause noch an, dass sein Gedicht als ein wohlgemeinter Scherz interpretiert werden sollte. Ähnlich den Topoi 'in der Eile' und 'mit kurzen Worten' kann auch die Andeutung auf das Scherzhafte als eine Art von *captatio benevolentiae* interpretiert werden.

Krause beginnt mit der rhetorischen Frage, ob diese Ehe für Blume ein gewünschter Lohn ist. In den Hochzeitsgedichten benötigen solche Fragen keine Antwort, denn es ist sowieso klar. Aber Lohn wofür? In den Hochzeitsgedichten für Kaufmänner wird die Ehe bzw. die Braut oft als Lohn für die erfolgreiche Handelstätigkeit geschildert,[30] aber hier im Fall eines Theologen ist die Ehe der Lohn für das fleißige Studieren, wie es sich aus den folgenden Strophen ergibt. Krause schildert den Bräutigam Christoph Blume als einen lernbegierigen, eifrigen Mann, der sich schon seit seinen jungen Jahren bewusst, manchmal auch mit großer Mühe, den Wissenschaften und schönen Künsten gewidmet hatte. Blumes Neigung für das Erlernen der schönen Künste wird metaphorisch geschildert: er will dort hinziehen, wo die Musen, d.h. die musischen Künste blühen. Wiederum wird betont, dass Blume ein gebildeter Mann war – auch Nicolaus Specht hatte es in seinem Epigramm hervorgehoben.

Wissensdurst und Neugier brachten ihn aus dem Vaterland nach Reval, wo er trotz schwerer klimatischer Bedingungen sich der Lehre und den Künsten widmete, so dass Reval ihm ein Pfand für die Zukunft gab. Krause gibt damit eine kurze Erklärung, warum Blume nach seinen Studienjahren nach Reval zurück kam. Dieses Thema scheint für den Autor (auch für den Adressaten?) sehr wichtig gewesen zu sein, denn einige Strophen später greift Krause dieses wieder auf. Es ist bekannt, dass Blume im Revaler Gymnasium lernte. Das Gymnasium und die in dieser Schule erworbene Bildung werden hier durch eine Metapher sehr hoch gepriesen: Er kam nach Reval, um *milden Safft / von Pegasus zu fassen*. In Reval hätte Blume auch eine Vorstellung von Tugend entwickelt, wonach er später immer strebte; sein Studium war ebenso von diesem Zweck geprägt. Um seine Weisheit zu vertiefen, besuchte Blume deutsche

[29] Krauses Gedicht besteht aus zwölf jambischen achtzeiligen Strophen.

[30] Vgl. z.B. Christian Stralborns Hochzeitsgedicht für den Kaufmann Heinrich Stahl: Hochzeitlich Ehren-Gedicht 1643; Kaju 2010: 20–21, 32–33. Siehe auch Fuchs 1994: 166–142.

Universitäten, die poetisch als Deutschlands weise Spitzen beschrieben werden. Laut der zeitgenössischen poetischen Sprache werden die Universitäten als Wohnsitze der Musen (hier der *Föbus-Jungfern* und *der gelehrten Schaar*) charakterisiert.[31] Krause schildert utrierend auch Blumes Lehrfächer: Platons Philosophie, griechische Literatur, das Leben Christi und biblische Lehre.

Während Blumes Studienzeit hatte Livland – im 17. Jahrhundert wurde das Herzogtum Estland immer noch als ein Teil Altlivlands bezeichnet – ihn nicht vergessen. Krause deutet noch an, dass eine Stelle in Estland ihm schon früher, während Blumes erstem Aufenthalt in Reval, beigemessen worden sei. Und so ist der Bräutigam nach Norden zurückgekehrt. Darüber hinaus nennt Krause die mächtigen Beweggründe Gunst und Liebe. Welche Beziehungen oder Umstände sich hinter diesen Stichworten verstecken, bleiben leider verborgen; auch Gabriel Elvering erleuchtet diese Umstände in seiner Trauerrede nicht.[32] Als die nächsten Lebensetappen Blumes nennt Krause die Ordination, kurz danach folgend das Verlieben und die Heirat. Damit ist Blumes Lebenslauf kurz zusammengefasst worden. Hier muss hervorgehoben werden, dass das *curriculum vitae* des Bräutigams als Hauptthema eines Hochzeitsgedichtes eher eine Ausnahme zu sein scheint,[33] dagegen Deutungen auf der Basis der allgemeinen Gelehrsamkeit, der einen oder anderen Etappe des Studiengangs oder den besonders guten Kenntnissen eines Faches ziemlich oft vorkommen.[34]

In den drei letzten Strophen greift der Autor nach den typischen Floskeln, um den jungen Eheleuten Glück und Segen zu wünschen. Die erste von diesen drei Strophen ist immer noch nur an den Bräutigam adressiert, obwohl Krauses gute (auch gattungstypische) Wünsche, wie Glück, Heil, Segen, das Leben ohne Sorgen und Wehen und dauerhafte echte Liebe, eigentlich beide Ehepartner betreffen. Blumes Liebe wird hier als ‚keusch' bezeichnet – es ist ein Adjektiv, mit dem sonst vor allem die Bräute charakterisiert werden.[35] Aber hier im Fall eines Pastors mag es auch von seiner Profession bedingt sein.

---

[31] Vgl. Viiding 2007: 19; Ludwig 2001 und 2013.

[32] Elvering 1669: Fiij.

[33] Walter Baumgartner (2004: 80) behauptet, dass auch in den Lübecker Hochzeitsgedichten nur wenige biographische Daten hervorgebracht wurden.

[34] Zur Bildung und zum Wissen in den Bremer Hochzeitsgedichten siehe Fuchs 1994: 102–115. Auch in den estnischen Hochzeitsgedichten werden des Bräutigams Gelehrsamkeit und besondere Kenntnisse hervorgehoben, vgl. z.B. die Hochzeitsgedichte für den Superintendenten Heinrich Stahl in Kaju 2010: 26.

[35] Siehe z.B. Fuchs 1994: 216.

Die vorletzte Strophe ist ganz unerwartet von Amor- und Schiffsmetaphorik geprägt: Zuerst nennt Krause den Venussohn und dessen Liebespfeile, die die unverheirateten Menschen in eine hoffnungslose und furchtvolle Lage setzen können. Dieses in der humanistischen Literatur und Kunst weit verbreitete antike Sinnbild wird durch eine andere populäre Metapher erweitert: das Leben eines Unverheirateten wird mit dem Schiff auf dem stürmischen Meer verglichen.[36] Diese Strophe lässt uns ahnen, dass Krause selbst verliebt und unverheiratet war (*Wir aber müssen … / ohn Hoffnung Furcht-voll stehen / und tragen Amors Feuer-Pfeil' / unwissend wies wird gehen…*).[37] Amor und die oben genannten Musen und Pegasus sind die einzigen antiken Gottheiten bzw. mythologischen Gestalten, die in der Hochzeitsschrift für Christoph Blume überhaupt erwähnt werden; neben diesen wird auch Platons Philosophie als eines von Blumes Lehrfächern genannt. Im Fall von Markard und Krause scheint die Vermeidung der typischen bzw. augenscheinlichsten Motivik, darunter auch antiker Gegenstände eine bewusste Wahl zu sein: der eine konzentrierte sich auf das religiöse Thema, der andere auf den Bildungsgang des Bräutigams.

In der letzten Strophe wird endlich auch die Braut angesprochen, doch nicht persönlich, sondern zusammen mit ihrem Bräutigam. Für die Gattung typisch stehen am Ende des Gedichtes sexuelle Anspielungen und der Kinderwunsch. Hier endlich hat Krause sich das Feuerwerk der Blumenmetaphorik erlaubt, die er vorne wahrscheinlich ganz bewusst vermieden hatte – hier sind insgesamt vier verschiedene Metaphern für Sex, das Verlieren der Jungfräulichkeit, die Ehe und die Zeugung der Kinder vorhanden (*Jhr aber, liebsten Eheleut', / dörfft nun nicht länger warten, / geht, geht, und raubet eure Beut' / auß Venus Rosen-Garten. / Brecht Jhr die Jungfer-Blumen ab / und senckt den Braut-Krantz in das Grab, / so werden Euch zum frommen / mehr Blumen daher kommen*). Dank der *licentia poetica* galten die Hochzeitsgedichte, wie oft angedeutet wird, als Schauplätze der sexuellen Sinnlichkeit, die von der Kirche aus dem Alltagsleben verbannt war.[38]

[36] Zur Schifffahrtsmetaphorik in der Revaler Dichtung siehe Klöker 2014: 440; vgl. auch Segebrecht 1977: 127–128; Fuchs 1994: 128–133; Baumgartner 2004: 68–69. Im Allgemeinen siehe Grage 2000.

[37] Dies mag auch eine reine literarische Fiktion sein.

[38] Siehe z.B. Fuchs 1994: 216–219; Baumgartner 2001; Baumgartner 2004: 73–74.

Das blumenlose Endgedicht

Der letzte Glückwunsch in diesem Gedichtheftchen stammt aus der Feder des Theologiestudenten Johann Dietrich Vockerodt, der es ‚in Eile geschrieben' hatte. Dies ist eine typische Floskel, die oft als Entschuldigung für die Kürze bzw. geringe Qualität des Gedichtes diente. Vockerodts Beitrag ist ein zwölfzeiliges deutsches Alexandrinergedicht, das ähnlich dem Beitrag von Nicolaus Specht vollständig als Votum interpretiert werden kann. Der Autor ermahnt die Eheleute, dass deren Familie, aber auch Ruhm ständig wachsen sollen. Um das erste Ziel zu erreichen, sollen sie bald ins Bett gehen; das zweite Ziel dagegen wird durch verschiedene Eigenschaften erreicht, von denen Tugend, Witz, Wahrheit und Recht genannt werden. Der zweite Teil dieses Gedichtes ist fast vollständig der ehelichen Sexualität gewidmet, deren einziges und von Gott gebilligtes Ziel die Erzeugung der ehelichen Kinder ist. Vockerodt beendet sein etwas spielerisches Gedicht mit zwei Wünschen: *Nun lebet Freuden voll! Ich sag Euch gute Nacht.*

Zusammenfassend kann man sagen, dass die Christoph Blume gewidmete Hochzeitsschrift mit fünf Beiträgen von vier Autoren trotz vieler typischer Charakteristika der frühneuzeitlichen Casualgedichte eine einzigartige Konstellation bildet. Deutsche Verse dominieren hier über die lateinischen; antike Mythologie und andere, seit der Antike beliebte Motive wurden (wahrscheinlich bewusst?) weitgehend vermieden – statt dessen prävalieren christliche bzw. biblische Themen und Motivik, Bildung und Wissen. Blumes Name ist für zwei Autoren, besonders aber für Johann Sebastian Markard eine fruchtbare Erfindungsquelle gewesen: Beide seine Gedichte gehen von der biblischen Blumenmetaphorik aus. Auch in der Gratulation von Christoph Krause sind Blumenvergleiche am Ende des Gedichtes vorhanden, das Hauptthema seines Gedichtes ist hingegen Blumes Lebenslauf bzw. Bildungsgang. Dass in einem Hochzeitsgedicht der Werdegang des Bräutigams geschildert wird, ist eher eine Seltenheit. Die Beiträge von Nicolaus Specht und Johann Dietrich Vockerodt sind typische Vota, der erste auf Latein, ehrenvoll und verhalten, der zweite auf Deutsch und spielerisch zum Thema 'eheliche Liebe'.

Bibliographie

Aarma, Liivi (2007). *Põhja-Eesti vaimulike lühielulood 1525–1885*. Tallinn: G. ja T. Aarma Maja.

Amburger, Erik (1998). *Die Pastoren der evangelischen Kirchen Russlands vom Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts bis 1937: ein biographisches Lexikon*. Lüneburg: Institut Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk; Erlangen: Martin-Luther-Verlag.

Baumgartner, Walter (2001). '"Der heiße Trieb der Wunder-reichen LIEBE". Lust kontra Lehre: Anlässlich Petter Olufsson Warnmarcks und Gunno Eurelius Dahstiernas Gedichten zu einer Hochzeit in Stralsund 1696.' – *Skandinavistik. Zeitschrift für Sprache, Literatur und Kultur der nordischen Länder* 31, 1, 1–23.

Baumgartner, Walter (2004). 'Lübecker Hochzeitsgedichte. Aspekte und Facetten.' – Bruns, Alken (Hrsg.), *Der Wagen: Lübecker Beiträge zur Kultur und Gesellschaft*. Lübeck: Hansisches Verl.-Kontor, 58–87.

Bünting, Heinrich (1646). *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae. Das ist: Ein ReiseBuch, Uber die gantze Heilige Schrifft, In vier Bücher getheilet. Der Erste Theil begreifft alle Reisen der lieben Patriarchen, Richter, Könige, Propheten, Fürsten, etc. Nach Deutschen Meilen aussgerechnet, und die Länder, Städte, Wasser, Berg und Thal, deren in Heiliger Schrifft gedacht wird. Der Ander, gehet auff dass Newe Testament, Und zeiget an, wie die Jungfraw Maria, Joseph, die Weisen auss Morgenland, der Herr Jesus Christus, und die lieben Apostel gereiset haben. Der Dritte Theil uber das Buch Josua, sampt der Erklärung und Ausstheilung des gelobten Landes Canaan. Zuvor vermehret mit einem Büchlein, De Monetis Et Mensuris ... und mit mehren schönen ... Tabulis, mit Kupffer ... gezieret …* Braunschweig, Magdeburg: Kirchner.

Elvering, Gabriel (1669). *Verwelckliche, doch am jüngsten Tage wieder herfürgrünende Blume, Welche bey Christlicher und Volckreicher Erden-Bestattung, Des weyland Ehrwürdigen, VorAchtbahren und Wolgelahrten Hn. Hn. Christoffer Blumen, Wolverdienten Pastoren auff Hackers, Nach dem derselbe 43. Jahr, 6. Monats und 13. Tage in dieser Sterbligkeit zugebracht, und der Seelen nach den 18. Februarii in das ewige Leben versetzet, der Leib aber in der Kirchen zu St. Nicolai, in sein Erb-Begräbnüss den 10. Martii dieses 1669sten Jahres beygeleget. Aus dem 40. Cap. des Propheteh Esaiae v. 6. 7. 8. Erkläret und auff Begehren zum Druck heraussgegeben durch M. Gabrielem Elvering, Pastorem Primarium und Superintendenten zu Reval.* Reval, Gedruckt durch Adolph Simon, Gymn. Buchdr. [UB Tartu, R-Est.A-5062].

Fuchs, Juliane (1994). *HimmelFelß und Glückes Schutz. Studien zu Bremer Hochzeitsgedichten des 17. Jahrhunderts*. (*Helicon: Beiträge zur deutschen Literatur*; 16.) Frankfurt am Main u.a.: Lang.

Grage, Joachim (2000). *Chaotischer Abgrund und erhabene Weite. Das Meer in der skandinavischen Dichtung des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Hochzeitlich Ehren-Gedicht (1643) = *Hochzeitlich Ehren-Gedicht Auff Des Ehrenvesten, Wolgeachten und Vornehmen Herrn Heinrich Stahl, Kauffhändelers,*

Bräutigams, Und Der Ehr- und VielTugendreichen Jungfrawen Margareta, Des Ehrenvesten, VorAchtbaren und WolVornehmen Herrn Caspar Stralborn, der grossen Gilde wolverdienten Alterman, Eheleiblichen Tochter, Braut, Ehren-Tag, Alss derselbe den 18. Septembr. des 1643. Jahres Hochfeyrlich begangen, Geschrieben von etzlichen des Gymnasij alumnis. Revall: Heinrich Westphal. [Stadtarchiv Tallinn, Bestand 230, Findbuch 1, Akte 58 [Htr. 45a] (70)].

Kaju, Katre (2010). 'Die Heinrich Stahl gewidmeten Hochzeitssammlungen.' – Päll, Janika; Volt, Ivo; Steinrück, Martin (Hrsgg.), *Classical tradition from the 16th century to Nietzsche*. (*Acta Societatis Morgensternianae = Morgensterni Seltsi toimetised*; 3.) Tartu: Tartu University Press, 11–44.

Klöker, Martin (2014). *Tallinna kirjanduselu 17. sajandi esimesel poolel (1600–1657): Haridusinstitutsioonid ja juhuluuletamine*. Tallinn: Teaduste Akadeemia Kirjastus.

Lill, Anne (1988). 'Christoph Blume ja XVII sajandi kirjakeel.' – *Keel ja Kirjandus* 1, 7–17; 2, 90–102.

Ludwig, Walther (2001). 'Musenkult und Gottesdienst .. Evangelischer Humanismus der Reformationszeit.' – Ludwig, Walther (Hrsg.), *Die Musen im Reformationszeitalter*. (*Schriften der Stiftung Lehrgedenkstätten in Sachsen-Anhalt*; 1.) Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 9–51.

Ludwig, Walther (2013). 'Muusadekultus ja jumalateenistus – reformatsiooniajastu evangeelne humanism.' – Kaju, Katre (Hrsg.), *Kroonikast kantaadini: Muusade kunstid kesk- ja varauusaegsel Eesti- ja Liivimaal*. (*Eesti Ajalooarhiivi toimetised*; 20 (27).) Tartu: Eesti Ajalooarhiiv, 93–136.

Lust-Wundsch (1653). *Lust-Wundsch Dem Ehrwürdigen, Andächtigen und Wolgelarten H. Christof Blumen, der Gemeine Gottes zu Hakeris treu- und wolverordneten Seelsorger, wie auch desselben gelibten Braut, Der Ehr und VilTugend-Reichen J. Anna Wiboldin, An deroselben den IIIten Merzens gehaltenem Eh- und Ehrnfeste dargereichet von Hochgeehrten Gönnern und geneigten Freunden*. Gedruckt zu Reval bey Heinrich Westphalen, deß Gymnasij Buchdruckern. [RSB Zwickau, 15.3.34 (48)].

Lutherbibel (1912). http://www.bibel-online.net (24.05.2016).

Neu Ehstnisches Gesangbuch (1656) = *Neu Ehstnisches Gesangbuch, Worinnen die Kirchen-Gesänge Sel. Hn. Lutheri und anderer Gottseligen Männer in die gewöhnliche Melodeyen und gleiche Reimen verfasset sind. Zum Aufnehmen der Gemeine Gottes in Ehstland wolmeinentlich verfertiget und zum Druck übergeben Von Etlichen Pfarrherren im selbigen Lande*. Reval: Adolph Simon.

Pleiss, Detlev; Viiding, Kristi (2007). 'Johann Sebastian Markardi senitundmatu eestikeelne juhuluuletus aastast 1657.' – *Keel ja Kirjandus* 4, 265–276.

Robert, Kyra (2002). 'Nicolaus Specht ja tema raamatupärand.' = 'Nicolaus Specht und sein Büchernachlass.' – *Bibliotheca Revaliensis ad D. Olai = Tallinna Oleviste raamatukogu = Revaler Bibliothek zu St. Olai*. Tallinn: Eesti Akadeemiline Raamatukogu, 63–73.

Robert, Kyra (2003). 'Nikolaus Specht und sein Büchernachlass in der Estnischen Akademischen Bibliothek.' – Garber, Klaus; Klöker, Martin (Hrsgg.), *Kulturgeschichte der baltischen Länder in der frühen Neuzeit: mit einem Ausblick in die Moderne*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 129–135. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110950816.129

Segebrecht, Wulf (1977). *Das Gelegenheitsgedicht: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Poetik der deutschen Lyrik*. Stuttgart: Metzler.

Tallinna kodanikkuderaamat 1409–1624 (1932) = *Das Revaler Bürgerbuch 1409–1624*. Tallinn: Ühisus.

Triller, Valentin (1555). *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein aus Göttlicher schrifft von den fürnemsten Festen des Jares, vnd von andern gesengen vnd Psalmen, gestelt auff viel alte gewönliche melodien, so zum teil vorhin Lateinisch, zum teil Deutsch, mit Geistlichen oder auch Weltlichen texten gesungen seind*. Bresslaw: Scharffenberg.

Viiding, Kristi (2007). 'Tartu juhuluule 17. sajandil.' – Viiding, Kristi; Orion, Jana; Päll, Janika (Hrsgg.), *O Dorpat, urbs addictissima Musis… Valik 17. sajandi Tartu juhuluulet*. Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 15–28.

Wimmer, Gabriel (1749). *Ausführliche Lieder-Erklärung: Wodurch die ältesten und gewöhnlichsten Gesänge der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche, dergestalt ins Licht gesetzet, daß bey einem jedweden I. Der Verfasser und Werth des Liedes bestmöglichst angezeiget, II. Der Text mit beygefügten biblischen Sprüchen gründlich bewähret, III. Der Inhalt durch eine ungezwungene Eintheilung aufs ordentlichste beygebracht, IV. Die Geschichte, wo dergleichen zu finden waren, kürtzlich vorgetragen, und endlich V. Das gantze Lied, mit ... Anmerckungen, umständlich erläutert worden. Zweyter Theil*. Altenburg: P. E. Richter, 371–380 (Ich weiß ein Blümlein…).

Abstract

This paper discusses five wedding poems written to Christoph Blume (1625–1669) on the occasion of his marriage to Anna Wibold on 3 March 1653, and published in printed form. Blume worked as a pastor in Haggers, Estonia (nowadays Hageri), and was also active in translating theological literature into Estonian, including the whole New Testament and most of the Old Testament. The five wedding poems were written by Blume's four friends and colleagues: Nicolaus Specht, Johann Sebastian Markard, Christoph Krause, and Johann Dietrich Vockerodt. The collection includes two short epigrams in Latin, two longer poems in German, and a short alexandrine poem in German, altogether 143 lines in German and 8 lines in Latin. Ancient mythology and other motifs popular since antiquity have been largely avoided; instead, Christian or biblical themes and motifs predominate. This paper introduces the texts in this collection and focuses on the most important features of their content and style.

THE KINGS OF SALAMIS BY J. L. RUNEBERG: A DRAMA OF JUSTICE

Maarit Kaimio

The Kings of Salamis, written by Johan Ludvig Runeberg, the national poet of Finland, was published in 1863, only three days before the poet suffered a stroke which finished his active literary career.[1] It is a drama in five acts, written in the spirit of ancient Greek tragedy. The play begins with a scene of a controversy about the ownership of a purple shell. The precious shell had been found among the catch of fish in the waters around the island of Salamis, and through this, the controversy is connected with the order of succession to the throne of Salamis. The fishing ground originally belonged to an old man called Eubulos, who was a devoted subject of the old royal house of Salamis, but when King Aias had died by his own hand in the aftermath of the conquest of Troy, the rule of the island was taken over by Leiokritos, who belonged to another family. Eubulos had been refractory towards the new ruler and thus lost his property to a new favourite, Rhaistes. Eubulos was, however, permitted to retain the right of fishing in his old fishing grounds on the condition that the largest specimen of each species in the catch had to be given to Rhaistes as a sort of lease of the fishing ground. But in this case, as there was only one purple shell, there arose a problem of justice: should it be considered to be the largest of the species, in which case it would belong to the rich Rhaistes, or the smallest of the species, belonging to the poor Eubulos?

A passer-by, a common man, recommends a conciliatory solution: let the poor man keep his treasure, which in any case would not mean a great deal for a rich man. Naturally, the rich man is not satisfied with this, and so the problem of justice is solved by Leontes, the new king's son: one should divide the shell and give the larger part to the one to whom it judicially belongs. As

[1] Original in Swedish (Runeberg 1863). The quotations in Finnish are from the translation by Otto Manninen, *Salamiin kuninkaat*, in Runeberg 1948. The prose translations given in English are by the author.

the crust of the shell is certainly larger than the inside part,[2] Rhaistes gets the empty crust and Eubulos the precious core of purple.

Was this a wise ruling? The result is humane, just what the common man had suggested, but the argument is not morally satisfying, and smacks of sophistry. One could say that the contract granting the biggest one of each species to Rhaistes is hazy and leaves room for interpretation, and therefore, in such an unusual case as this, other viewpoints must be considered. But why, then, is the problem solved literally on the basis of this hazy contract? Is it so that the contracts made between people can be unjust even though they are entered into in justice to both parties? Or is it really right to attend to the principles which are commonly agreed upon to represent justice, even if the result gives the impression of being morally wrong?

Runeberg does not raise these questions at the beginning of his play by chance. They are strongly connected with the central problem of the drama – who has the right to govern Salamis as the king, and what kind of measures are justified to protect his power. To Leontes, who acted as the judge in the contest about the purple shell, the highest principle of life is to act in accordance with justice. In his view, Justice is also the highest of gods, whom even Zeus, the supreme god, must obey. He worships Justice with sacrifices and prayers, and in his own life, he strives to act justly, whatever the cost. At the end of the tragedy, he sacrifices his own life for justice, when he tries to help the rightful heir of the old royal family to regain the throne from his father. To prevent his father from recognizing the rightful successor and harming him in battle, Leontes exchanges his armour with the heir and thus provokes his father into killing his own son by mistake. The son's justness leads inevitably to the suicide of the father, when he learns the truth.

The conflict between Leontes and his father Leiokritos is the central theme of the tragedy, and without doubt, the father is in this conflict more in the wrong. His way of ruling leaves plenty of room for improvement, and it is clear that he should step aside when the rightful heir unexpectedly arrives. But is Leontes, the worshipper of Justice, acting justly? Leontes has a verse in the drama where the poet seems to express his own high principle of justice: "Even if everything else wavers, deceives, falters, changes, justice remains forever immutable."[3]

---

[2] "Större är det rymmande / än det, som ryms." – "Vaan sisältävä suuremp' on / kuin sisältyvä."

[3] "Allt, allt kan svigta, gäcka, rubbas, växla om, / men evigt oföränderligt det rätta är." – "Jos horjuu, pettää, järkkyy, muuttuu kaikki muu, / on ikuisesti muuttumaton oikeus."

This drama has often been called the poet's spiritual testament, since it remained his last extensive work. Only a few days after the play was published in December 1863, he suffered a severe stroke, which left him bedridden for fourteen years. The poet had, in fact, written the first three acts already in the eighteen-forties, while the two last acts, containing the decisive moments of the plot, are from the sixties. Among scholars, there have been various views as to what the message of the play is. Has it a near relation to the politics of the poet's day, for instance, to the discussions about the right of succession or the cause of the Finnish people? Or does it describe the conflict between two political conceptions, unscrupulous machiavellism and idealistic rule? Or is it centred in the eternal conflict between generations, in the relationship between fathers and sons and their mutual duties? Does the poet crystallize the central idea of the play in the words of Leontes just quoted, emphasizing the eternal quality of justice, or in the last verses of the drama, where two powers are said to be greater than the ruler's power: "a son's love, and a mother's prayer"?[4]

Here we meet a problem very familiar to the scholars of ancient drama. For more than two thousand years, both theatre audiences and literary critics have readily interpreted certain verses spoken by the dramatic persons as the pattern of thought of the poet himself. Even the audience of Euripides did so in the theatre of Athens in the fifth century B.C., if we can trust the anecdotes which describe the angry reactions of the spectators to some morally suspicious opinions expressed by the dramatic persons. The story goes that sometimes Euripides had to stand up and ask the audience to be kind and look at what kind of fate awaited the immoral person, before they condemned the poet's morals. Whether this story has a morsel of historical truth or not, it reflects the reaction of the spectators to a theatrical piece or of the readers to a literary text – and this happens equally well when the dramatic person expresses highly virtuous thoughts. Such lines have through ages easily been interpreted as the personal morals of the author. But drama is in this respect a dangerous form of art, and the Greek tragedy especially dangerous, since it reflects in many ways the propensity of the contemporary Athenians to present the same thing in different colourings. This was the way of speaking in the courts of justice of the day, and this was the way taught by the teachers of

[4] "Ett sonligt hjertas kärlek, och en moders bön." – "Rukous äidin ynnä pojan rakkaus." In the twentieth century, *The Kings of Salamis* has been analyzed by, e.g., Hirn 1942b: 297–326 (orig. in Swedish, Hirn 1942a); Viljanen 1948: 370–408; Kerkkonen 1956: 191–198; Alhoniemi 1978: 117–126; all with references to earlier literature.

rhetoric, especially the so-called sophists. Thus, the scholars of ancient drama have been compelled to confess that it is very difficult to grasp what, for instance, Euripides really thought about gods or politics or morals – the picture changes all the time, as in a kaleidoscope, depending on the dramatic person or the play. Even the old master Aeschylus troubles his readers in this way, although he lived before the moral values of the Athenians, due to the civil war and the teaching of the sophists, took a strong turn towards relativism. Although his great trilogy, the *Oresteia*, is largely centred on the problem of justice and ends in general harmony, abandoning blood revenge and creating a new court of justice, it does not give the impression that the problem of justice is once and for all satisfactorily solved. This was clearly seen in the *Oresteia* production of the company *Raivoisat Ruusut* in the nineteen-nineties,[5] in which the gods Athene and Apollo, whose great dispute of justice forms the central theme of the last play of the trilogy, were presented half-humorously as cunning and practical politicians. The reactions of the audience and the critics were partly delighted, partly resentful.

In ancient Greek tragedy, the chorus was, along with the characters, an important part of the play, and the choral songs often discussed moral problems. Scholars have interpreted especially such passages frequently as reflecting the poet's own beliefs. Runeberg had himself written an academic treatise in which he discussed the significance of the chorus in Greek tragedy.[6] He there criticized both ancient and modern literary critics: Aristotle, who held the view that the chorus should be considered as one of the roles in the tragedy; Horace, who interpreted the chorus too narrowly as a kind of divinity who advised and censured the characters of the tragedy; Schiller, who described the chorus as the ideal spectator of the play. Runeberg saw the chorus as representing the divine and universal truth, but not without connection with the action of the drama. On the contrary, he maintains that the opinions presented by the chorus are essentially linked with the main character of the play, the hero with a tragic destiny. In an earlier treatise, Runeberg had discussed the tragic hero, comparing the *Medea* tragedies by Euripides and Seneca.[7] In the spirit of Aristotle, he claims that the tragic hero must have "gratifying nobleness and inspiring greatness",[8] while his innate passions direct his actions towards his

[5] The original presentation, directed by Ritva Siikala, in Helsinki in the machine shop of Katajanokka, 1 July 1991.

[6] Runeberg 1833.

[7] Runeberg 1830.

[8] "...nobilitatem, quae delectet, magnitudinem, quae studium moveat."

destiny. According to Runeberg, the tragic hero's greatness lies in his desperate battle against his passions: he is conscious that his passions are leading him astray from his right and noble goals, and exactly this creates, at the moment of his ruin, the impression that he falls in a battle against an overwhelming foe, and not as a miserable coward. Runeberg claimed that the chorus of Greek tragedy is the vehicle by which the poet reveals the universal norm hidden in the hero's soul. The chorus brings the universal principle before the spectator in personified form, pure and clear, while the hero acts as an individual who rejects the universal norm in the toils of his passions and thus leads both himself and his family to destruction.

It is, however, interesting that Runeberg dissociated himself from this method of presenting human intention and action, considering it an immature phase in literary history. He thought that modern dramatic art should not imitate the Greek drama in this respect, but employ the means of a more developed literary art to describe the conflict between a person's actions and the universal norm. Therefore he gave up the use of the chorus in *The Kings of Salamis*, although he was in many other respects influenced by Greek tragedy. He thought that in order to describe the inner conflicts of a person, modern dramatic literature does not need any external factor, like the chorus. Both the consciousness of the eternal universal law and the breaking of this law in the grips of passion must find expression through the hero's own words and actions.

In this play, Runeberg concentrates upon two main characters, the father and the son. As said before, it is the father who at first sight is more in the wrong, and even at the second glance, at least more in the wrong than the son. Leiokritos stubbornly refuses to surrender the kingship to the rightful successor; he is ready to kill the heir rather than give up power. Nevertheless, the portrait of Leiokritos painted by Runeberg is by no means a straightforward tyrant. The poet does not explain at all how Leiokritos came to be the king. The interpreters of the drama usually take Leiokritos to be a usurper, but Runeberg never hints at any kind of coup d'état. King Aias had left his country to take part in the Trojan war: it seems clear – if we are allowed such a reconstruction of events outside the drama – that before his departure, he had somehow arranged the temporary administration of his country. Thus, Leiokritos could have been the vice-regent appointed by Aias himself, although Runeberg does not say this, either. The drama shows, however, that Leiokritos' rule has become more and more bad. This is due to a growing fear: he knows that Aias has sired a son in Troy, and now this boy has grown to be a man and a threat to Leiokritos' power. His actions are, however, not based merely on selfish lust

for power, but he, at least in his own words, has a more noble and humane motif: more than anything else, he wishes to secure the kingship for his son Leontes. To gain this end, Leiokritos has to take recourse to tyrannical, inhuman, even unlawful actions, although he lets his hirelings do the dirty work for him and suffers himself from this adopted role. When the pressure eases with the report of the death of the rightful successor, he changes and behaves like a noble ruler should. His destiny is a clear example of the model of tragic hero outlined by Runeberg: he is conscious of the universal law, but led by his passions to abandon this law to his ruin.

The universal law of justice rules the thinking of Leontes, Leiokritos' son much more strongly. As a character of drama, literary critics have compared him to Shakespeare's Hamlet – he, too, is young, thoughtful, inclined to pessimism. In ancient tragedies, an often-mentioned comparison is to Euripides' Hippolytos, who, like Leontes, is a young man of high moral spirit, to the irritation of his father. Another young man who comes to mind is Hyllos in Sophocles' tragedy *Antigone*, who tries, in vain, to persuade his father to forsake his tyrannical acts. It is easy to point out such similarities, and Runeberg may have been, to some extent, influenced by them, but of course, they cannot explain the character of Leontes. This character of Runeberg's has been criticized as being too unambiguous: the drama does not give expression to any inner struggle about whether the young man should be loyal to his father or to the rightful successor. In conformity with his principle of justice, his choice seems to be ready from the beginning of the drama. This is not quite true – even Leontes has his weak moments. When he considers the possibility of the rightful successor's return, he confesses his fears: "I am trembling, my blood freezes at the thought that the rights of him and my father clash together and demand the choice: one duty, or the other?"[9] The expression used by Runeberg – "one duty, or the other", "välja mellan pligt och pligt" – brings into mind, perhaps intentionally, the verses describing the contradiction of justice in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*: "Violence will clash with violence, justice with justice!"[10] After these words, Leontes makes a sacrifice to Dike, the goddess

[9] "Dock bäfver jag och känner, hur min blod blir stel / vid tanken blott att se min faders härskarrätt / i strid med hans och välja mellan pligt och pligt." – "Vaan mua vavistaa, / vereni hyytää aatoskin, ett' oikeus / isäni ynnä hänen iskee vastakkain, / valintaan vaatii: velvoitus vai toinenko?"

[10] Aesch. *Cho.* 461: Ἄρης Ἄρει ξυμβαλεῖ, Δίκᾳ Δίκα. Translation from *Aeschylus: Oresteia* (*Loeb Classical Library*; 146), ed. and transl. by A. H. Sommerstein. Cambridge, Mass.; London, 2008.

of justice, observing that justice is forever unchangeable. In fact, he does not here take a definite stand in regard to his duty, although the reader can easily interpret the lines so that he is already rejecting his father's choice of action.

Leontes also shows a normal human reaction when he, hearing that Eurysakes is reported dead, bursts out in spontaneous joy: "The cloud which darkened my whole youth, taking away from me the joy of living, has now disappeared."[11] We see that Leontes has really lived under the pressure of a hideous conflict. When he later meets Eurysakes, who has survived a shipwreck, and begins to realize that the youth lying helpless on the shore is his future king, he cannot help considering a possible solution to the dilemma: "What if my sword should end this uneasiness at once, openly punishing the traitor who makes so bold as to call himself our ruler?"[12] So, Leontes is not ready to kill his king, but he is almost ready to kill him as long as he is not proven to be his king – and preferably at once.

Leontes, however, recovers quickly from such thoughts, takes his stand as the defender of the young king and thus leads himself and his father to their ruin. He chooses consciously the role of the victim. Here Runeberg follows the tradition of Greek tragedy, where we often meet an idealistic youth or virgin, who, after a summons from an oracle, willingly sacrifices him/herself for the good of the fatherland, or the benefit of a military expedition. In Greek tragedy, there follows a real human sacrifice at an altar, while Runeberg's Leontes sacrifices himself by entering a battle in the guise of an enemy, but as the whole point of this battle is the elimination of this one enemy, his act is clearly suicidal.

To my mind, the personality of Leontes rouses more interest if we are aware that in all his nobility, he is not quite convincing. In fact, if Leontes in his claim of righteousness were a perfectly innocent victim, he would not be a real tragic hero, neither in the spirit of ancient tragedy nor according to Runeberg's own theory. In his treatise about the Greek drama, he explicitly defines the tragedy so that it glorifies the eternal, universal law, which is clarified by the destruction of the individual who rises against it. There are laws that are more eternal and universal than the law that demands the observance of a king's rule: for instance, love and respect towards one's parents. Eurysakes gives an example

---

[11] "Den sorg, som klädt min ungdoms glada dag i moln / och lifvets lust förbittrat, finns ej mer." – "Se pilvi, joka nuoruuteni pimitti, / mult' elon riemun riudutti, on poissa nyt."

[12] "Hvad, om mitt svärd / på engång söfde oron, öppet straffande / bedragarn, som vår härskare sig nämna djerfs?" –"Josp' arvelut / nukuttais miekka nopsa, julki rankaisis / tuon julkean, tuon viekkaan valhevaltiaan?"

of the observance of this kind of law at the end of the drama, when he rejects his plan to shame the body of his fallen opponent, because his mother asks this of him. Eurysakes does not abandon his revenge because he thinks that his mother is right, but simply because his mother asks him to do so. This is emphasized in the last verses of the play, where the most powerful forces of Salamis are claimed to be "a son's love and a mother's prayer."

Leontes, on the contrary, does not allow that his love for his father should cause him to waver from the path he thinks right. Naturally, this is as such morally acceptable – but is the path of justice chosen by Leontes unproblematic? Is it right to deceive one's father so that he inadvertently kills his own son, especially when one well knows that the son's life and happiness is everything to him? Is it right to bring about one's father's death? Is it right to lure one's friend into a situation where this friend can be successful only because of the death of the other? Is it not so that Leontes, in his suicidal mania, chooses a solution which is easy for him, disregarding the feelings and destiny of those around him? I think that Runeberg has created a drama where such questions can be posed.

In this respect, the opening scene, discussing the owner's right to the purple shell, is significative. It shows that Leontes' sense of justice as well as justice itself is not unproblematic, even if it is eternal and unchangeable. What is problematic is the application of eternally unchangeable principles to the eternally changeable destinies of men.

When interpreting Runeberg's drama, I would like to emphasize the changes brought about by an instant. Here, too, we could pick up a verse and declare that it contains the essential message of the poet: "Yes, a twinkling of an eye shapes the form of the whole future."[13] In fact, especially in the two last acts, the actions of the drama are governed by instantaneous decisions, not by the deliberate judgment guided by firm principles. The sudden decisions by Leontes and Leiokritos result from the shifting about of the human mind; they are passionate, almost arbitrary, and at the same time, psychologically understandable on the basis of the person's character and situation.

At the end of the third act, Eurysakes, the rightful heir of the king, has returned to his native island. His mother Tekmessa persuades him, with much difficulty, to adopt the cautious way of proceeding suggested by Leontes: he must for the present be quiet and remain unknown, and let the time act for him. Leiokritos is an old man and will anyway soon pass away, and then it will

[13] "Ja ögonblicket ger all framtid dess gestalt." – "Niin, hetki kaiken vastaisuuden hahmoilee."

be safe for the son of Aias to step forward and regain his hereditary power. In the next act, however, when the old Eubulos and his son have recognized the young king, the prudent way of action is instantly abandoned. "No, Queen! We must act!" is the reaction of Eubulos' son. "Let us hurry!" cries Eubulos, and "Arms!" shouts Eurysakes himself. In a moment, Eubulos has sent his son to go around the island and tell about the return of the king, and the sensible plan vanishes like mist before the sun. The outcome is what could be expected: the rumour soon reaches Leiokritos, and the encounter is inevitable.

And what about the sensible, cautious Queen Mother Tekmessa, the paragon of gentleness? When clothed in the old harness of his father Aias, Eurysakes rejoicingly embraces his blind mother, and the pressure of the harness reminds Tekmessa of her life with Aias during the Trojan war. There are downright erotic vibrations in her exclamation: "Son, press me more hardly against your hard breast! So did your father press me long ago, when he, victorious, came back from battle."[14] In this hard embrace, Tekmessa's wish for peace fades away. She does not try to prevent her son from taking arms any more, only recommends him to have a short rest before the battle. Leontes suggests to Eurysakes that they should exchange armour with each other, so that Leiokritos could not know who is the new king threatening him. When Eurysakes flares up at such a precautionary measure, the mother bursts out in shouts of joy; in mingled emotions of delight and fear, she summons everybody to hear the son's bravado, "because your youthful soul is so enamoured with the glory of danger." Now, she exhorts her son to listen only to his own heart – "it does not lead you astray."[15]

Leontes' self-sacrificing plan would hardly have been realized, if a common man standing around had not blurted out that Eurysakes should consent to the suggestion, because the people of Salamis know Leontes and his strength, but cannot be sure of what the stranger is capable of. This remark gets Eurysakes to flare up: "Ha! Is it so? Is that man stronger than I am? He can try --- Let

[14] "Gosse, tryck mig hårdare / emot din hårda barm ännu! Så var jag van / att famnas af din fader förr, när segersäll / han kom från sina strider." – "Poika, kovemmin / mua kovaan rintaas paina! Painoi taattos niin, / kun voitokkaana muinoin saapui taistoistaan."

[15] "Jag darrar för din våda, barn, och tjusas dock / i djupa hjertat, då din unga själ förstår / att älska vådans ära. Följ då, följ din håg, / dess ledning sviker inte." – "Laps, sydän vaaraas vapisee, vaan hurmioon / se saa, kun nuori sielus vaaran kunniaa / noin rakastaa. Siis kuule mieltäs! Harhaan ei se vie."

us compete!"[16] In the craze of the moment everything else is again forgotten, the sudden desire to prove oneself a better warrior than the other is the only incitement to action. No attention is given to the possible consequences of the action for the other person. The critical moment of the drama, the scene where the father kills his son, is equally precipitate. At the head of the army, Leiokritos rushes to the place where Leontes, wounded, strains every nerve to acquire a defence posture. "Ha, what a happy sight! There you are then, the agitator of my people, at last!" cries Leiokritos and strikes Leontes dead.[17]

In this way, all plans, whether good or bad, rebound from human passions. Thirst for power, lust for revenge, pride, obstinacy and self-complacency break out in impulsive, rash actions: "a twinkling of an eye shapes the form of the whole future." These outbursts result in what could be said to be a victory of justice: the country regains a scion of the old reigning house as its king, who, to please his mother, even consents to bury his enemy, although he does not, as such, deem it necessary. But could the victory of justice be a bit more rational? Are a civil war, a son's death and a father's suicide really necessary?

The Kings of Salamis by Runeberg is a lot more interesting a drama than it is generally thought. The drama dealing with the difficulty of pursuing the principle of justice in the real world can be associated with the Greek masterpieces treating the subject, such as Aeschylus' *Oresteia* and Sophocles' *Antigone.* Like his great predecessors, Runeberg is able to bring forth the conflict latent in harmony. And similarly, his drama is startlingly actual even today. Or are we modern Europeans capable of determining which of the parties seeking power is in the right, whether justice must be realized with arms, and should it be defined by a present ruler, an old tradition, a mother's prayer or a man's honour?

References

Alhoniemi, Pirkko (1978). 'Salamiin kuninkaat: Runebergin testamentti?' – *Sananjalka* 20, 117–126. https://doi.org/10.30673/sja.86423

Hirn, Yrjö (1942a). *Runeberg-gestalten: strödda studier*. Helsingfors: Schildt.

[16] "Ha, vill man hålla denne för den starkare, / så må han pröfva - - - Ja, låt oss täfla. Följ, Leontes!" – "Haa, niinkö, tuoko väkevämpi? Koettaa / siis saakoon - - - Niin, käy, Leontes, kilpaan!"

[17] "Ha, en lycklig syn! / Har jag dig slutligt funnit, folkförledare?" – "Haa, näky onnekas! Siin' olet vihdoin, kansanviettelijä, siis!"

Hirn, Yrjö (1942b). *Runebergin runoilijaolemus*. Helsinki: Otava.
Kerkkonen, Karin (1956). 'Kungarne på Salamis: Några reflexioner kring problemställningen.' – *Finsk Tidskrift* 159/160, 191–198.
Runeberg, Johannes Ludovicus (1830). *Specimen academicum Medeam tragediam Euripidis cum Medea Senecae comparans*, 1: Publico examini modeste subjiciunt Joh. Ludovicus Runeberg et Laurentius Isaacus Ahlstubbe, 2: Joh. Ludovicus Runeberg et Johannes Guilielmus Snellman. Helsingforsiae.
Runeberg, Johannes Ludovicus (1833). *Specimen academicum, observationes quasdam circa chorum tragicum continens*, p.p. Johannes Ludovicus Runeberg, respondente Jac. Joh. Peuron. Helsingforsiae.
Runeberg, Johan Ludvig (1863). *Kungarne på Salamis: tragedi i fem akter*. Helsingfors: Sederholm.
Runeberg, Johan Ludvig (1948). *Runoteokset*. Porvoo; Helsinki: WSOY.
Viljanen, Lauri (1948). *Runeberg ja hänen runoutensa 1837–1877*. Porvoo: WSOY.

Abstract

The Kings of Salamis is the last extensive work written by the Finnish national poet Johan Ludvig Runeberg. Soon after it was published in 1863, Runeberg suffered a stroke which left him bedridden for fourteen years. The play is written in the style of Greek tragedy, but without the chorus. Runeberg had written a couple of academic treatises about the ancient drama and the chorus, and he claimed that the chorus of Greek tragedy was the vehicle by which the poet reveals the universal principle of justice hidden in the hero's soul. However, he considered that in a modern drama, the conflict between this principle and the passions of the human soul should not be presented using the chorus as the interpreter of the universal principle, but made clear by the action and speech of the dramatic hero him/herself. The two main characters of the play are Leiokritos, the vice-regent of Salamis, passionately striving to stay in power and to pass it on to his son, even though he knows that the true successor is alive, and the son Leontes, who worships Justice and sees his father's dilemma. In this play, Runeberg discusses the problems inherent in the application of eternally unchangeable principle of justice to the eternally changeable destinies of men.

UNIVERSITY OF TARTU ART MUSEUM CAST COLLECTIONS OF ANCIENT ART IN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY IN 1803–1940

Jaanika Anderson

Introduction

Museums are inventions of humans and education is the need of humans. Museums exist to house the artefacts, and they develop as each generation chooses how to see and use those items. For centuries, the purposes of museums have been closely linked with education, though themes and educational methods have changed over the years.

The term "education" has not always been used in the context of museums. The educational role of museums is as old as the institutions themselves, but only since World War II has the role matured into an acknowledged profession. As had been recognised since at least the early 19th century, museums have by their nature been educational institutions (Hein 2006: 340; Hooper-Greenhill 2007: 1–15). In the present paper, University of Tartu Art Museum cast collections of ancient art are observed as early educational tools from the opening of the museum in 1803 until the annexation of Estonia by the Soviet Union in 1940.

Within the European context, the cast collection of ancient art at the University of Tartu is an interesting phenomenon from an educational perspective, due to its location, position and situation. Tartu[1] is far from Greece and Italy, the cradles of antiquity. After a period of warfare, the university re-opened in

[1] Previously in German known as *Dorpat* and in Russian as *Yuryev*.

1802[2] by order of Russian Emperor Alexander I[3] and pursued enlightenment ideals in the fields of education and scientific life[4] (Rüegg 2004: 35; Tohvri 2009: 9). In addition, the University of Tartu existed under the influence of two different cultures – politically a part of the Russian Empire, while in the German cultural sphere in terms of education and art ideals. Developments during the first decades of the 20th century included the evacuation of the original art collection to Russia in 1915 (Anderson 2016: 201–211) and the re-opening of the university in 1919 under the new Estonian Republic.

The paper explores how the University of Tartu Art Museum and cast collections were used in the teaching process. To some extent, this is reflected in the lecture plans of the university.[5] In addition to the plans, the lecture notes by students as well as their seminar works[6] provide some information about the themes encountered during courses at the University of Tartu.[7] How was the museum environment actually utilised in the classroom in introducing antiquity?

---

[2] In Tartu, the university had first opened in 1632. The institution was called then *Academia Dorpatensis* and as parallel name was *Academia Gustaviana* after the Swedish King Gustav II Adolphus (1594–1632), who signed the founding documents of academia. The activity of the University of Tartu was interrupted by the Great Northern War in 1710.

[3] Regarding the history of the University of Tartu, see Piirimäe 1982; Siilivask 1982; Siilivask & Palamets 1982; Siilivask 1985.

[4] Legally, the university belonged to Russia, which determined the scientific relations with Russia, mainly with St. Petersburg's academic and scientific institutions. However, the professors were mainly of German nationality and that favoured establishing connections with the renowned European scientific centres. In 1802–1825, 83% of professors were of German origin in the University of Tartu. (Siilivask 1982: 57)

[5] *Anzeige der Vorlesungen* ... 1802–1918; *Eesti Wabariigi Tartu Ülikooli ettelugemise kawa* ... 1919–1927; *Eesti Vabariigi Tartu Ülikooli ettelugemiste ja praktiliste tööde kava* ... 1928–1940.

[6] Several tens of seminar works by students who studied at the University of Tartu in 1824–1836 are preserved in the National Archives of Estonia. These are about various topics in connection with the antiquities: literature, traditions, everyday life and mythology (EAA.402.10.25–35).

[7] Few lecture materials belonging to lecturers are preserved from the 19th century because all museum directors except J. K. S. Morgenstern and L. Mercklin left Tartu for other universities and their lecture materials with this information are missing.

Museum Education and the Educational Role of University Museums

An ideal in the Age of Enlightenment was to give a person a broad education, in which art was central. Some functions of religion were taken over by art, and museums were seen as special temples of aesthetics which, at the end of the 18th and in the first decades of the 19th century, resulted in a surge in new galleries and museums (Alexander 2008: 42). Prussian philosopher Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) declared that in every epoch the individual has to find a balance between his sensory experiences and his ideas. This can only happen according to the education that state institutions such as universities and museums can offer him (Gaehtgens 2012: 301). Education has been an important and increasingly specialised role for museums. Collections of objects are not necessarily educational in their primary purpose; even collections are classified, organised and preserved. However, as soon as these objects are in a public museum, they are incorporated within a broadly educational project (Alexander 2008: 7).[8]

Although 19th century museums were acknowledged as being educational institutions, the actual educational work was carried out in a haphazard and often unsatisfactory manner when viewed from the perspective of subsequent educational theory. Efforts to exploit the educational function of museums were guided by curators and directors; there was no formal education staff in the 19th century. The recognition of education as a specialised function of museums is primarily a 20th century phenomenon, which corresponds to the emergence of modern human development theory on the establishment of the social sciences as legitimate academic subjects (Hein 2006: 341–342).

Thus, in addition to public museums, art collections were established at universities because an essential component of education in the Age of Enlightenment was art education, which developed good taste and taught

[8] In Berlin, *Altes Museum* (opened 1830) was not first intended for experts – it was an institution for those who wanted to take pleasure in and be educated (Gaehtgens 2012: 301). Museums are educational institutions whose exhibitions of art from other times and places help us understand, appreciate and respect our own and other peoples' cultures (Merryman 2009: 74). There you can get experience of comparative education by passing monuments of different cultures. The case of the Parthenon Marbles installed in the British Museum has had and continues to have, as Lord Elgin hoped, a strong educational impact. Merryman believes that if all classical Greek art had remained in Greece, our world today would be significantly different one. Using the British Museum as an example, Merryman claims that in Greece where the museums are understandably filled with Greek art, this kind of learning experience is not available to the viewer (Merryman 2009: 74).

people to understand beauty (Kukk *et al.* 2006: 9). Collections of casts made of ancient sculptures, gems and coins are still important components for almost all institutes of archaeology in universities. These research and study collections are considered equal to the collections of ancient originals, libraries and other collections (Bauer 2002: 117).

In the 19th century, there was intense interest in subjects associated with classical antiquity at European universities, including the University of Tartu. Greek and Latin language and literature became priority philological subjects in Tartu. These helped to create a holistic picture of ancient times.

Collections of Ancient Art at the University of Tartu Art Museum

One of the oldest museums in Estonia, the University of Tartu Art Museum, was founded in 1803 by Johann Karl Simon Morgenstern (1770–1852), professor of classical languages and literature, history of art and aesthetics, who had come to Tartu from Germany. Since the Age of Enlightenment idealised multifaceted education, in which art had a special role according to the example of the University of Göttingen[9], a museum was also established in the University of Tartu (see Boehringer 2001).

There were three types of cast collections at the art museum and the collections were not obtained at the same time. Miniature casts, casts of gems and coins were purchased during the first half of the 19th century, while the spread of the sculpture casts began from the 1860s (Anderson 2015: 125). In the first half of the 19th century, abundant casts of gems and ancient coins were bought. The collection of gem casts (about 17,000 items) includes both plaster and sulphur casts of ancient gems and cameos; the collection of coin casts mainly consists of Greek and Roman coins (about 3,000 items).[10] Yet in 1858, the decision was made to focus solely on collecting ancient art, including casts made from ancient sculptures.[11] The collection of sculpture casts is not extensive, in comparison to a number of other European cast collections, though it contains more than 350 copies of well-known ancient works of art (compare Anderson 2015: 57–67); that said, it includes many masterpieces of Greek art or their Roman copies.

---

[9] Founded in 1767 by Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812), who is considered to be the founder of archaeology as "a university subject" (Anderson 2015: 60–62).

[10] On the collection of casts of the University of Tartu Art Museum, see Anderson 2015.

[11] On the history of the University of Tartu Art Museum, see Kukk *et al*. 2006: 9–25.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the University of Tartu Art Museum had an outstanding collection of ancient art. On 22 September 1915, however, the first part of the property of the University of Tartu was evacuated to Nizhny Novgorod in the Russian hinterland by train due to the imminent threat of World War I (see more Tamul 2010: 69–126; Anderson 2016: 201–211). The cast collections of the university were left in Tartu due to their large dimensions, the fact that they were easily breakable and that they were not considered as valuable as ancient original art.

The University of Tartu Art Museum continued its work in 1919[12] when the University of Tartu of the Republic of Estonia was opened. The museum was affiliated to the Institute of Classical Antiquities at the Faculty of Philosophy and the head of the museum was a professor of classical philology, at least until the closing of the department of classical philology in 1954. During this period, the museum, which had lost its independent status, was not further developed and was rather an additional burden alongside the teaching of classical philology and creation of a specialised library (Kukk 2006: 19).

Platform for Implementing Collections in Education: Ideas of J. K. S. Morgenstern

The cast collections of the University of Tartu Art Museum had great potential for use in lectures. Numismatics was a valued science that covered many aspects of ancient times: coins illustrated history, had philological and literary value, illustrated ancient religion and constituted part of the history of art (Medd 1865). Glyptic art or engraving gems was a major luxury art form in ancient times, and the iconography of gems is similar to that of coins, though more varied and with more examples from ancient times. Ancient sculptures were used to depict ancient history, mythology and rulers. Although different measures, these three types of art were similar because of the information they could provide about antiquity. To explore the reality and methods of exploiting the cast collection, we have to look closer at the ideas spread during the 19th century.

[12] Since the 1920s, the importance and uniqueness of the University of Tartu Art Museum began to decline, because people could also view artworks in the Estonian National Museum (opened at Raadi Manor in 1922) and in the Art Museum of Tartu (opened in 1940). In Tallinn, the Art Museum of Estonia was also established (1919).

As the first director of the Art Museum, Morgenstern pointed out in the statutes of the University of Tartu that an encyclopaedic museum was not planned as an abstract corpus of art objects, but had, after all, immense pedagogical importance. Influenced by the ideology of the Enlightenment, Morgenstern believed in the paramount importance of education. He valued self-education that relied on noble models, good literature and art (Morgenstern 1805; Kukk 2001: 99–100). In particular, he placed his hope in the study of the ancient world, ancient literature and art (Keevallik 1993: 93).

One of Morgenstern's goals was to nurture a similar intellectual atmosphere in Tartu as he had become accustomed to seeing in German universities. Education in the humanities based on the classical languages of Greek and Latin was a prerequisite for defining themselves as intellectuals (Lill 1996: 6). Morgenstern's teacher in Halle, Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824), had already pointed out that the recovery of the spirit of Greece required the precise, historical interpretation of texts. He enjoined his students not to ignore the contribution that knowledge of the sub-fields of epigraphy and numismatics could bring to the construction of the ancient world. An exact knowledge of the Greek language was not sufficient to understand the poems of antiquity, in regard to the talent and genius of their authors. The science of antiquities (*Altertumswissenschaft*) encompassed twenty-four disciplines for Wolf, from grammar to geography. Knowledge of all the disciplines was theoretically necessary to help decipher the evidence provided by a text. Wolf differentiated between "first class" disciplines, such as linguistics, metrics and grammar, and "second class", including numismatics, history, geography, art history and several kinds of archaeology (Wolf 1833: 41–43; Marchand 2003: 21).

In the footsteps of his teacher, Morgenstern, as professor of classical philology, aesthetics, literature and art history in Tartu, developed *Altertumswissenschaft* extensively. Philology was merely the starting point and a tool for Morgenstern, as his goals were much broader than research or the teaching of one science (Mercklin 1853: 18). He held lectures on many ancient authors, taught Latin style, aesthetics, art history and classical archaeology. In order to provide an excellent education in the humanities, visualisation of the topics played a part in the lectures of classical languages, literature, philosophy, archaeology, art and history. Only such illustrated lectures could, in the broader sense, contribute to educating a versatile human in the fashion of the Age of Enlightenment (Anderson 2015: 158–160).

While Morgenstern was studying at Halle, there was not yet such a cast collection as he was to later establish at the University of Tartu.[13] Morgenstern had surpassed his teacher Wolf in this regard – the establishment of the art museum created a convenient basis for the visualisation of the teaching process in the special room(s) with three-dimensional objects. In 1797, Morgenstern visited Göttingen to view the museum and library of the university.[14] Before arriving in Tartu, he had probably found the inspiration for establishing a museum with casts from this short visit alone. Since Morgenstern did not have a direct example of how to use the cast collections in teaching from his university studies in Halle, the beginning of this decade was a pedagogical search of sorts for him.[15]

Special Lectures About and Around the Casts of Ancient Art 1803–1915

If we take a systematic look at the commented plan of lectures on art history and the auxiliary disciplines of *Altertumswissenschaften* maintained by the directors of the art museum and professors of classical philology during the 19th century and first half of 20th century, we can see that special lectures which focused on all types of casts or some group of them were seldom held.

[13] With the establishment of the Department of Classical Archaeology at the University of Halle in 1845, the construction of the collection of antiquities began. Over a few decades through purchases and donations, an extensive collection was created. With about 1,000 casts, the collection of Robertinum, named after Carl Robert (1850–1922), is one of the largest collections in Germany today.

[14] Morgenstern visited Göttingen on 21–25 October and from 18 November until 5 December 1797 as a young scientist, on 5–7 January 1809 during his European trip, and in 1837 when he took part in the anniversary celebrations of the University of Göttingen (Tering 1985: 619–620).

[15] Morgenstern tried to illustrate the art lectures with art objects. Thanks to his teaching methods and the fame of his lectures, interest in the fine arts in Dorpat increased (Mercklin 1853: 18; Süss 1928: 172–173; Kaju 2003: 68–70). The following is the opinion of one of Morgenstern's students, which manifests very clearly the character of his lectures. Emil Anders, who studied under Morgenstern in the 1820s, wrote: "I was personally attracted by Professor Morgenstern's lectures on antiquities, archaeology and aesthetics, Plato and Horace. Within three years, I listened to him and got the greatest enthusiasm and also thanks to my diligence and the semester examinations I became acquainted with him. I soon got used to his garrulousness. He was a very erudite man and could present a lot of new things in his lectures in a stylish way, showing the large engravings with archaeological content. Thanks to him, I was fascinated by classical antiquity." (Anders 2012: 84)

In general, the collecting order of the different types of casts determined the order of their usage in the teaching process. All the collections at the museum (incl. casts) were only once treated together, in 1810 as the *Introduction to the Art Museum*. Other lectures can be divided into seven groups: introduction to the art museum, archaeology and art history,[16] antiquities, numismatics, mythology, geography and topography, and aesthetics to demonstrate the part of casts collection in the lectures about different topics connected with the ancient world. (Table 1.) At the time, it was not self-evident to use illustrative materials in archaeology lectures as Morgenstern did (Raid 1970: 69).

Table 1. Topics related to ancient art and antiquities and the University of Tartu Art Museum read in lectures in the period 1803–1940.[17]

	Morgenstern (1802–1836)[18]	Preller (1838–1842)	Stephani (1846–1850)	Mercklin (1840–1863)	Schwabe (1863–1872)	Petersen (1873–1879)	Loeschcke (1879–1889)	Malmberg (1890–1907)	Felsberg (1911–1918)	Bergman (19199–1922)	Süss (1923–1934)	Haliste (1919–1944)	Pridik (1921–1936)	Karling (1933–1941)
Introduction of art museum/ sculpture casts	X				X	X	X	X	X					
Antiquities	X	X	X	X	X			X	X			X		
Archaeology and art history	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
Numismatics	X		X	X										
Mythology	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X					
Geography and topography		X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X			
Aesthetics	X	X	X	X										

[16] It is complicated to distinguish the exact scope of the treatment of archaeology and art in the courses. Organising this group was based on the use of the word archaeology in the title of the lecture, assuming that art history and other topics reflected in the title were spoken of in respect to archaeology.

[17] The linguistic or philological disciplines, in which text was not a subject of research, are not included in Table 1.

[18] Time spent in the University of Tartu.

General introduction to the Art Museum

An introductory course for students about the art museum only ever took place once (1810) in the history of the museum. These lectures had a long prehistory and depended on a number of things coinciding – Morgenstern's trip to Europe and visits to art collections, the enthusiasm about quickly amassing the collections and the new rooms for the museum in the university's main building.

In 1809, Morgenstern undertook a trip to Europe, where he visited many museums and collections in Germany, France, Switzerland and Italy. On his return, he published his notes about the trip.[19] He certainly obtained impressions and new knowledge from the European museums for what he was trying to transmit to the students in Tartu. He applied the input from that trip to two kinds of lectures: in 1810, he held a course on archaeology where, in addition to the history of glyptics, painting and architecture, he dealt with the most spectacular collections of ancient art in European museums. He delivered these lectures in the art museum, as noted in the lecture plan.

Driven by new experiences and emotions, Morgenstern gave an introduction to the University of Tartu Art Museum in the same year to all those students who were interested. There were enough artworks in the collection to demonstrate to a wider circle. A general introduction to the art museum could only contain a small introduction to the casts, because very few casts had been obtained since the first years of its activity and the main focus had been on collecting engravings. The general introduction to the Art Museum in 1810 also depended on the spatial possibilities of the museum. Until 1809, the museum was crammed into Morgenstern's private apartment. Even then, the museum was already in use: in the first half of 1805, Morgenstern first mentioned in the lecture plan that he held classes introducing the archaeology of art there three times a week with the use of the museum under his supervision.[20] In 1809, the university's main building was completed, and the art

[19] Morgenstern, K. *Karl Morgenstern's Reise in Italien im J. 1809. Auszüge aus den Tagebüchern und Papieren eines Reisenden* (Dorpat, Leipzig: P. G. Kummer, 1811–1813). The book consists of letters, lists of art objects and descriptions of art and cultural objects he had seen on his trip to Naples, Florence, Milan and other cities. The ideal trip for Morgenstern was educational, with an enlightening character that required thorough preparation. He tried to provide the reader of his book with diverse and detailed information (Keevallik, Loodus, Viiroja 2000: 106–109).

[20] *Einleitung in die Archäologie der Kunst mit Benutzung des unter seiner Aufsicht stehenden Museums, 3 Mal wöchentlich, Montags, Dienstags u. Donnerstags von 6–7 Abends* (*Anzeige der Vorlesungen* ... 1805).

museum moved from Morgenstern's apartment into the new rooms in the university's main building. The change definitely made visiting the museum more comfortable because from then on it was possible to ask Morgenstern to show the museum rooms outside of lecture hours. Therefore, the general introduction to the Art Museum belonged to an idealistic programme of art education in the broader sense.

For some reason, Morgenstern did not repeat the course any more. It is not known whether this was because it was too difficult a task to make generalisations from such diverse collections or there were not enough people interested in art. Furthermore, subsequent directors did not continue to make such a general introduction to the museum; instead, they provided explanations about the sculpture casts in the museum as instigated in 1866 by director Ludwig Schwabe (1835–1908).

One of Morgenstern's pedagogical steps was the opening of the art museum at certain times for enthusiasts outside of the university.[21] This made it possible to increase the popularity of the museum and improve people's education and taste in art. Therefore, Morgenstern actively searched for ways to use the art museum in the teaching process to prove the necessity of the newly established institution and to earn the support of a wider circle.

The teaching of numismatics

The heyday of the use of the numismatic collection of the art museum in lectures was undoubtedly while Morgenstern was the director (Anderson 2017: 363–378). The lectures on coins were added to the lecture plan in 1819. By that time, Morgenstern had obtained Stieglitz's coin cast collection (KMM Nv 3) for the museum and in some cases original ancient coins.[22] Morgenstern devoted one hour per week during the semester to the introduction of ancient numismatics, and the lecture plan points out that this was carried out in the art museum. He saw many themes in coins that were worth explaining to the students. Morgenstern wrote about the coins and what can be studied

[21] The University of Tartu Art Museum was primarily established for the students, but it was also introduced to guests of the university. Because Morgenstern himself was busy with many duties, a librarian named Emil Aleksander Lorenz Anders (1806–1887) was asked to introduce the art museum. This extra task was probably performed at the end of the 1820s and in the 1830s. Anders soon described himself to be pretty adept at this task (Anders 2012: 97).

[22] Original coins are listed in the *Verzeichniss des Museums der Kunst der Kaiserl. Universität zu Dorpat angefertigt von dessen ersten Sammler und Director Karl Morgenstern. Zweiter Band. Münze.* Dorpat, 1808.

through them in the foreword to the lecture plan: ancient history, law, sacred and secular rites, mythology, grammar, iconography and liberal arts can be studied via coins (Morgenstern 1817: v).

A couple of years later (1821), lectures on numismatics were re-introduced. Although the coin cast collection had not been upgraded in the meantime, in 1828, Morgenstern again lectured on ancient numismatics for three hours per week according to the teachings of the Austrian Jesuit priest and numismatist Joseph Hilarius Eckhel (1737–1798). In 1833, Théodore Edme Mionnet's (1770–1842) huge collection of coin casts (KMM Nv 1, KMM Nv 2) was acquired for the art museum (Anderson 2015: 119–121). After a pause, this acquisition seems to have provided the impetus to hold numismatic lectures again in 1833 and 1835, just before Morgenstern's retirement.

Ludwig Mercklin (1816–1863), who was a student of the University of Tartu 1835–1839[23], took notes on the numismatics lectures delivered by Morgenstern.[24] As professor of classical philology, Mercklin himself delivered lectures in Greek and Roman numismatics on a number of occasions (1855, 1859). In his lectures, he also used the publications of Eckhel and Mionnet. The latter had already been used by Morgenstern's successor, Ludolf Stephani (1816–1887), in 1849.

There was no other good reason to discontinue the lectures in numismatics after Mercklin, except the strong change in the approach to collecting.[25] The art museum concentrated on collecting plaster casts of ancient sculptures, which were thought to be the best means for teaching ancient art (Anderson 2011: 345).

The teaching of glyptic art

Morgenstern began establishing the University of Tartu Art Museum in 1803 and immediately started purchasing collections of gem casts for their very rich visual material (Anderson 2015). One might expect that active teaching also began immediately on the basis of the gem casts. The reality, however, is different.

[23] Regarding the students of the University of Tartu, see *Album Academicum* 1867.

[24] *Alte Numismatik*. 1835 (F 18, s 2).

[25] Although lectures on numismatics in the University of Tartu were not held anymore, it does not mean that coins were not dealt with anywhere at all. For example, Schwabe held a public lecture on coins many years later in Tübingen (Schwabe 1905).

The effect of Morgenstern's travels in Europe, during which he broadened his horizons and gathered experiences, had a role to play. In 1810, after his travels in Europe, he delivered lectures in archaeology where he talked about the most outstanding museum collections of ancient art in Europe, and where he presented also large amounts of gems as well as gem cast collections. In the context of this lecture, he also dealt with the history of glyptics alongside the history of painting and architecture. He had already organised similar lectures before his trip in 1805, but at that time he had dealt only with glyptics, painting and architecture, without any explanations of European museums. By 1813, he had also integrated an overview of the works of Pheidias into the same format of the lecture. He devoted 3–4 hours a week for this cycle of lectures.

Archaeology lectures with such titles did not continue after Morgenstern; therefore, it is not known how much time subsequent professors dedicated to glyptic art in the context of the history of ancient art. We would not have even known about the use of the gem cast collections in lectures if the lecture notes from the art history lectures delivered by Mercklin in the Estonian History Museum in 1854 had not survived. In the section on sources of ancient art, gems are named and the gem cast collection of Cades and Lippert is also indicated, but there is no reference to the existence of these collections in the University of Tartu Art Museum (Berting 1854: 7).[26]

Considering that Morgenstern had purchased such an excellent collection of gem casts for the art museum, the volume of lectures on glyptics was rather limited. Although a few gem cast collections were obtained after Morgenstern, lectures on glyptic art were no longer incorporated into the lecture plan.

The teaching of ancient sculptures

Although Morgenstern already gave an introduction to the art museum for those interested in 1810, by that time the museum had only managed to obtain some casts of sculptures and there was a wider range of other types of art. In

[26] Alexander Berting (1832–1903) was a student of philology at the University of Tartu in 1851–1854, and later an inspector and schoolmaster in Tallinn (*Album Academicum* 1867: 251). His notes from the lecture of the history of ancient art held by Mercklin cover 78 pages and are well-structured: starting with the art of Egypt, Phoenicia, West-Asia, Asia Minor, Etruria and continuing with Greek art, they are divided into periods and in each period architecture, sculpture and painting are dealt with separately. Even the relationship of the original artwork and the copy is briefly mentioned (p 7 recto). The notes are illustrated with some pencil drawings of architecture. *Die Geschichte der alten Kunst. Exzerpt aus den Vorträgen von Prof. L. Mercklin. Dorpat*. 1854 (AM.51.1.5.).

1833, he emphasised the importance of the sculpture casts for studies,[27] yet no special course about the sculpture casts of the museum took place during his time.

After a long break, in 1866, in the time of director Schwabe, a special introduction to the museum was started again in the form of tours of the museum that focused on the plaster cast sculptures.[28] By that time, different plaster casts of ancient sculptures ordered by Mercklin during his travels to Europe had arrived as had casts purchased by Schwabe himself (Anderson 2015: 137–139). Therefore, there were a considerable number of casts made of ancient Greek sculptures to introduce. On Saturdays, Schwabe spoke on the sculptures in the art museum for an hour to students from all faculties (1866, 1870, 1872), but there was also a lecture on selected works of art in the art museum (1867, 1869). Subsequent directors followed suit, but there were more and more casts in different styles – archaic, classical and Hellenistic – to use as examples for illustrating art history.

The lecture was apparently successful in the museum environment because it was held several times in the decades that followed. Professor Eugen Petersen (1836–1919) gave explanations of the plaster casts in the art museum in 1875, 1877 and professor Georg Loeschcke (1852–1915) in 1883 and 1885. This course was continued by Woldemar Malmberg (1860–1921) in 1892, 1896, 1899, 1901 and 1907 and Ernst Felsberg (1866–1928) in 1910 and 1911.

Besides ordinary lectures, Schwabe, who is remembered for his many innovations, held a number of public art presentations at the university. On 24 December 1866, he delivered a lecture in the assembly hall of the university on Greece and Greek culture on the northern coast of the Black Sea[29], which

[27] Morgenstern mentions that he had repeatedly proposed, without success, to buy an assortment of plaster casts of ancient originals now located in Göttingen, Bonn, Breslau and other universities, where classical archaeology was taught. He was advised to buy the casts from the Art Academy of St. Petersburg using the university's savings (Morgenstern 1834: 71–76).

[28] Schwabe wrote in his memories: . . . *However, I attached particular weight to art history lectures and other similar. I dealt with both Greek and Roman art history as a whole and in parts (sculpture, architecture) in detail, explained selectively ancient sculptures or lectured on sculptures of the Art Museum to students from all the faculties, highlighted art historical paragraphs from Plinius's Natural History, presented Roman topography and finally gave archaeological demonstrations and internships* (Schwabe 1986: 240–241). See more memoires by Schwabe from his period in Tartu in Schwabe 1915.

[29] Preller spoke about the importance of the Black Sea for trade and traffic in the old world for Kaiser Nikolai's coronation day in the assembly hall of the university in 1842 (Stieda 1927: 307).

was printed in the *Baltische Monatsschrift*.[30] Schwabe wrote in his memoirs about public presentations for the charitable purposes of the Support Society of Tartu (*Dorpater Hilfsverein*): two lectures on the Acropolis of Athens and another two on the Niobe group of sculptures (Schwabe 1986: 244), casts of which he obtained for the museum just prior to the presentations.

Lectures on ancient art and material culture in the rooms of the museum or by a visit to the museum

If we exclude the general introduction to the museum and a few lectures held in the museum that focused on special groups in the cast collection, there is no clear evidence on how systematically and with which methodology the cast collections of the museum were used in the study process. In examining the lecture plan of the university, we can see that Morgenstern had organised lectures on art and archaeology since 1805; the remark *Held in the Art Museum* is included in the lecture plan. We can only guess that the environment of the art museum also means that these lectures were illustrated using casts as well other art works from the collections.

The lecture plan of the university (1802–1918) indicates that the first systematic series of lectures held in the museum rooms was connected to subjects on ancient art and antiquities in the context of archaeology. Morgenstern delivered lectures on art archaeology six times (1805–1813) in the museum, and these could have been successfully carried out by his successors in the rooms of the art museum. Morgenstern began with archaeology lectures in 1805 and, just before his retirement, those lectures included mentions of Egyptian, Syrian, Persian, Indian and Mexican art. In his wake, Stephani lectured on art archaeology (1846, 1847).

A seminar work written in 1824 by pharmacy student (1824–1825) Peter Ludwig Bornwasser (*Album Academicum* 1867: 1823) and based on Morgenstern's lectures on art archaeology was preserved with the title *De artibus praecipue de sculptura veterum Graecorum. Ex praelectionibus C. Morgensternii*.[31] From this manuscript, we can see that Morgenstern utilised information from ancient sources for his lectures. He used the writings of ancient authors who had written about the arts (Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Athenaeus,

[30] Die Griechen und die griechische Kunst am Nordgestade des schwarzen Meeres. Akademische Festrede, gehalten am 12. (24.) December 1866 in Dorpat. *Baltische Monatsschrift.* Bd. 15. Riga: Livl. Gouv. Typogr., 1867, 181–208.

[31] EAA.402.10.25–35, p 142–149.

Plutarch, Pausanias, Philostratus the Elder and Younger, Pliny the Elder[32]). The seminar work deals with ancient sculptures that are evaluated by ancient authors. He did not relate the sculptures to those in European museums and he also mentions sculpture casts. Morgenstern's approach to ancient texts is therefore still more focused.[33]

In 1812, Morgenstern held lectures in the museum on the theory of the visual arts. It is not known for certain how much time was devoted to ancient art or the reception of ancient art during these lectures. The lecture plan contains the remark that the course was mainly for those who had previously attended the course on aesthetics (*Anzeige der Vorlesungen* ... 1812, II: 5).[34] In the second case (1821), it is written that the paintings and not the casts of the art museum would be under observation (*ibid.* 1821, I: 4).

The art museum had visual material for many more topics and lectures. For example, in one semester in 1885, Loeschcke lectured on Pompeii for two hours per week. The walls of the art museum were painted in the Pompeii style, and several casts in the collection were made after ancient antiquities uncovered in Pompeii. However, no evidence of the use of museum pieces in the teaching process has been found to date. In 1889, Loeschcke initiated lectures on the history of Greek vase painting. By that time, the museum had a considerable collection of ancient vases. Loeschcke had authorised Adolf

---

[32] Bornwasser, p. 144 verso.

[33] The centrality of the text remained as a main line in the publications of the museum directors and professors. In his archaeology lectures, Schwabe started to treat the paragraphs of art from Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* (1864, 1867) in the art lectures, as did also Malmberg later (1892, 1894, 1895). Malmberg was another man who based his lectures on the ancient author. He used Vitruvius' work of *About Architecture* (*De architectura*) (1892) in his architecture lecture. Malmberg was first and foremost an art historian though he also taught his speciality (Hiio *et al.* 2007: 182–183).

[34] The lectures on aesthetics occur in the lecture plan in the first half of the 19th century. The lectures were divided between four professors: Morgenstern (1804–1806, 1808, 1810, 1812, 1815–1817, 1819, 1822, 1831, 1832, 1835), Preller (1841), Stephani (1848) and Mercklin (1845, 1851, 1856, 1860). The programme of aesthetics was quite intensive: Morgenstern always spoke five hours per week and compiled the lectures on aesthetics after Christian Wilhelm Snell's book *Lehrbuch der Kritik des Geschmacks, mit ständiger Rücksicht auf die Kantische Kritik der ästhetischen Urtheilskraft* (Leipzig 1795). Mercklin reduced the number of hours to four or even three. Although it is indicated in the lecture plan that Mercklin lectured in 1851 on aesthetics from the aspects of ancient art, it is not known how much and how often these lectures referred to ancient art; to some extent, however, it was done. As with the lectures on numismatics, the lectures on aesthetics had also ended by 1860. Once again, the paradigm shift obviously played a role: focusing on the collecting of plaster casts and the history of ancient art.

Furtwängler to buy 30 ceramic vases, lamps and fragments of those objects for the art museum from an auction in Paris, and these became an effective addition to the collection of ancient originals (Laiverik 2003: 11). Felsberg (1911, 1914, 1915), who had published a catalogue with Malmberg about the most beautiful ancient vases and terracottas in the collection of the art museum in 1910, also spoke on the vases.[35] During these courses, visits to the art museum could be assumed, yet they cannot be attested.

The third group of lectures on material culture, for which the museum had remarkable collections, were lectures on antiquities initiated by Morgenstern in 1804[36] and 1806,[37] which were continued by all of his successors except Loeschcke and Malmberg. Greek and Roman antiquities were discussed in separate lectures, but there were sometimes complex courses too. The topics in those lectures were quite different and extensive, and much material was dealt with because the lectures were from four to five hours per week. For example, there were lectures on "Roman antiquities or the history of the state constitution, religion, customs and the life of the Romans" (1804), "Greek antiquities or the history of the state constitution, religion, customs and the life of the Greeks" (1806), "Roman antiquities: historical descriptions of the constitution and administration of Rome, religion, warfare, customs and private life" (1814), "Greek private and state antiquities" (1854), "Roman private and state antiquities" (1855) and "Sacral antiquities from Greece and Rome" (1852). In these lectures, the focus seems to have been on everyday life.[38] One new and different topic, classical antiquities of southern Russia, was dealt with by Malmberg in 1895 and 1901, after he had taken part in an expedition to and archaeological works in southern Russia in 1892 (Gamaliya 2011: 347). It was certainly possible to use the collections of the art museum in these lectures; the gem casts could provide rich illustration for this topic, as could the coins.

The last two groups of lectures, for which the museum and its casts could provide auxiliary material, are mythology, geography and topography.

---

[35] Woldemar Malmberg, Ernst Felsberg. *Античные вазы и терракотты*. Юрьев: Маттисен, 1910. There are 228 objects listed, about twenty of which are terracottas and the rest are vases from different periods, like Cyprian, Corinthian and Attic vases. The publication is illustrated with photos.

[36] In that lecture, he followed the publication of Johann Leonhardt Meyer: *Meyer's Lehrbuch der Röm. Alterthümer*. Erlangen: Walther, 1797.

[37] 1806 special lectures about antiquities of Athens.

[38] Sixteen seminar works made in the lectures of Morgenstern are preserved. They deal with various topics from literature to everyday and state life (EAA.402. 10.25–35).

Mythology is an important subject in understanding ancient literature and art. The courses were held from 1831 onwards by Morgenstern. They most likely dealt with the question of mythology in the context of earlier lectures. The courses in mythology were given different names in the lecture plan. Professor of classical philology Ludwig Preller (1809–1861) put mythology and religion together in one lecture. For example, Mercklin spoke on Greek and Roman mythology (1858), mythology in art (1853, 1859) and simply mythology (1853), while Petersen concentrated solely on Greek art mythology (1875, 1879) and Greek mythology (1877, 1885).

Examining the lecture plan in detail shows that art topics were also dealt with in the lectures on geography and topography, and necessary illustrative material, for example, should be found from the plaster cast collection of the art museum. Unfortunately, there is no evidence of whether the professor visited the museum with the students during the lectures. All the directors spoke on geography and topography except for Morgenstern and Felsberg. Topography, geography and ancient art were, however, predominantly taught on the basis of *Descriptions of Greece* (*Perigesis*), which was written by the Greek traveller and geographer Pausanias. The first book in that travelogue was initially used by Stephani (1846, 1848). Loeschcke had lectured on the topography of Greece in 1887 and in the same year he used the travelogue of Pausanias to describe the Acropolis, and Malmberg (1891, 1897) and Felsberg (1914, 1915) used the work of Pausanias to describe Greece.

In the last decades of the 19th century, new tools and methods emerged for illustrating subjects in the University of Tartu, as in other universities. Malmberg showed photographs and drawings during his lectures. For larger audiences, he insisted on using the magic lantern (*laterna magica*, image projector), at least during his demonstration in Moscow after leaving Tartu, as did German art historian and writer Hermann Grimm (1828–1901) in Berlin and Adolf Furtwängler in Munich (Gamaliya 2011: 348).[39] New visual technologies changed how plaster cast sculptures were used – from being used as a direct source, many alternative ways of accessing the material in lectures were adopted.

[39] *Laterna magica* was an early type of image projector developed in the 17th century and used until the early 20th century for educational and entertainment purposes (Ward 2008: 351). In the collection of the University of Tartu Museum, there is one *laterna magica* (ÜAM 890:9 Aj), which was previously used in the Institute of Physical Chemistry at the University of Tartu at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. It is unknown whether this kind of projector was also used in the lectures on art history.

Ideas About Teaching Ancient Cultures in the University of Tartu in the 1920s–1930s

The art museum continued its work in 1919 when the University of Tartu of the Republic of Estonia was opened. The museum was affiliated to the Institute of Classical Antiquities at the Faculty of Philosophy. The director appointed to the museum was a professor of classical philology, and he carried out lectures in the museum and was responsible for the museum's library. Following the evacuation of collections of original art to Russia in 1915, the University of Tartu Art Museum's collections were not further developed (Kukk *et al.* 2006: 17).

In any case, the knowledge of classical cultures was deemed important as can be seen in the documents for electing a professor of classical philology in 1923. The University of Tartu commission weighted the candidatures of Wilhelm Süss (1995–1958) and Aarne Henrik Salonius (1884–1930)[40]. Because of only one professorship of classical philology in the University of Tartu, the professor of classical philology was expected to have extensive competence in ancient cultures, including languages and literature. The commission preferred the candidature of Süss because he had the perceived competence to teach classical philology and culture in a broader sense. The reason given for the choice was that grammatical-linguistic interpretation alone could not fulfil the purpose of understanding text; cultural enlightenment was also required.[41] The university also educated school teachers, and their education could not solely consist of language and literature, but also an overview of culture. It is cited as the only way of giving students a holistic view of ancient cultures as the most important element in the development of European culture.[42] The object of classical philology is Greek and Roman culture in all its forms.

The same idea was repeated some years later by professor of classical philology Pärtel Haliste[43] (1890–1944). In reconstructing ancient cultural history, sources of ancient languages, myths, material objects (archaeology), documental materials (epigraphy, papyrology), ancient coins (numismatics) and ancient literature are used (Haliste 1929: 8). According to Haliste, archaeological evidence such as the ruins of ancient towns, temples, houses, graves, household objects and artefacts are more important as sources in terms of cultural history than languages and myths (Haliste 1929: 9). He stresses the importance

[40] 1920–1929 assistant professor and 1929–1930 professor in the University of Helsinki.

[41] EAA.2100.2.1169, p. 8.

[42] EAA.2100.2.1169, p. 12.

[43] Until 1928 Bauman.

of numismatics as interesting iconographical materials in studying economics and in researching political history and the portraits of rulers (Haliste 1929: 12–13). In 1934, Haliste points out that an understanding of ancient culture benefits the development of strong national cultures. If Estonia wants to become a nation to create permanent cultural values, contact with ancient cultures is vital (Haliste 1934: 15).

In returning to the ideas, there were good ideological conditions for teaching classical philology as a whole by using casts of ancient art and numismatic objects for illustrations. However, the University of Tartu Art Museum continued its work in 1919 and was affiliated to the Institute of Classical Antiquities at the Faculty of Philosophy. The art museum lost its independent status. The head of the museum was a professor of classical philology as it had been in the 19th century, but there was no longer any museological work or increasing collections. Seemingly, the collections were used in teaching (Siilivask 1982: 80).

The Role of the Cast Collection in the Teaching of Ancient Cultures in 1919–1940

The lectures in which cast collections could be used are divided into seven groups, as was done in lectures in the 19th century: introduction to the art museum, archaeology and art history, antiquities, numismatics, mythology, geography and topography, and aesthetics. (Table 1.) By following similar model and studying the lecture plans of 1919–1940[44] it is possible to see how much the lectures about ancient cultures in the Estonian Republic differed from those in the Russian imperial university before the evacuation of the original art collections and professors to Russia. These show the changes in the programme of teaching classical philology aside from the lectures on classical languages and literature.

At first one can see that the lectures about gem and coin casts were not incorporated into lecture plan. Handing the gem cast collections over to the Estonian National Museum was even discussed due to lack of space.[45] There

[44] *Eesti Wabariigi Tartu Ülikooli ettelugemise kawa...* 1919–1927; *Eesti Vabariigi Tartu Ülikooli ettelugemiste ja praktilisete tööde kava...* 1928–1940.

[45] EAA.2100.6.277, p 2. Pärtel Haliste wrote to the university administration to obtain permission to deposit 14,000 gem casts in part or in whole to the Estonian National Museum. The condition was that the Estonian National Museum had to exhibit the gem casts. However, the deal remained off and the gem casts are preserved in the university.

is no mention of lectures about aesthetics and mythology in the lecture plan. Even an introduction to the art museum for students is no longer on the agenda.

However, there is a strong presence of lectures about archaeology and art history, antiquities and geography, and topography. Professor of Latin language, literature and archaeology Johan Bergman (1864–1951) held several different lectures about ancient art. He spoke about selected monuments of ancient art in the art museum (1920) and gave an introduction to ancient art (1922). He also delivered a special introductory lecture on classical archaeology in 1921, which was also given two years later by Pärtel Haliste (1890–1944).

Professor Alexander Pridik (1864–1936) gave lectures about ancient art in different orientations: art history of the Orient, Greece and Rome (1924), history of ancient art (1925, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930 and 1931), art history, Pompeii and Christian antiquities (1930 and 1932) and proseminars about ancient art (1928, 1929, 1930 and 1931). In addition to the professors of classical philology, there were lectures on art history from professor of art history Sten Karling (1906–1987), who spoke about Greek and Roman architecture in 1939. Presumably, he was able to use plaster casts of the Parthenon and temple of Zeus in Olympia as represented in the University of Tartu Art Museum for illustrative purposes.[46]

Lectures about antiquities were scheduled during the time of Haliste: antiquities of Attica on the basis of Pausanias (1929, 1930 and 1940). Stephani, Loeschcke, Malmberg and Felsberg used *Descriptions of Greece* for teaching the topography of Greece and antiquities. Although Süss was elected professor of classical philology to retain lectures on ancient culture in the lecture plan, he himself only read on ancient topography in addition to lectures on literature and language. He spoke about the topography of Rome and Italy in 1924 and 1928. In addition, there were some lectures in which Bergman could use references to ancient art museum objects: history and sources of ancient cultural world (1920), Roman cultural history (1921). In the programme of Pridik, chapters of ancient cultural history were selected (1926). Lectures

[46] Tor Helge Kjellin (1885–1984), professor of art history in 1921–1926, guided students in work with collections. He gave practical exercises in the university library, where students catalogued engravings and organised reproduction of the art history cabinet in 1923. Kjellin himself was the founder of the art history cabinet and there were collections for using in lectures: books, reproductions of art and slides. In this way, there were also other possibilities for illustrating art history lectures aside from visiting art museum.

about ancient history had become relatively important and these were held by professors of classical philology. Bauman spoke about the history of Greece in 1920 and 1924, and the history of Rome in 1921; Pridik also had the history of Greece and Rome in the programme as well as Egypt and a separate history of ancient economy.

The University of Tartu Art Museum was opened to the public in 1919 (Siilivask 1982: 80). Haliste claimed that the inhabitants of Tartu were greatly interested in the museum as were people attending travelling exhibitions. Therefore, in 1928, the faculty of philosophy requested finances to compile a museum catalogue in the Estonian language.[47] Such a catalogue was also regarded as a way for the museum to provide education.

Summary

In teaching classical philology, the professorship of elocution, aesthetics, Latin and Greek language and antiquities was founded in 1802. Karl Morgenstern became a professor and at the same time director of the art museum. Despite the heavy workload as director of the university's library and art museum, Morgenstern read and taught many subjects during his professorship. He laid the foundation for most of the lectures, which were read many years later by his successors as professors of classical philology and directors of the art museum. Only in the last third of the 19th century and early 20th century did Morgenstern's model of universal professor and director of the art museum in the same role change, when several professorships were established instead of one professorship for classics and art history. Therefore, the museum directors Ludwig Schwabe, Eugen Petersen, Georg Loeschcke, Woldemar Malmberg and Ernst Felsberg could only focus their interests as professors on ancient art from the 1860s onwards.

In the 19th century, subjects associated with classical antiquity had considerable importance in the lecture plans of the faculty of philosophy at the University of Tartu. A large proportion of lectures concerned philological subjects, but subjects related to ancient material culture such as art and antiquities, together with the mythology, geography and topography of ancient times, received a lot of attention. According to the data available, it is not possible to ascertain exactly if and when the cast collection was used in lectures. Certainly, it could be argued that plaster cast sculptures were introduced in

[47] EAA.2100.6.330, p 31.

special lectures held for interested students from different faculties. The coin cast collections were shown besides original coins in lectures on numismatics, and the gem casts were presented in archaeology lectures by Morgenstern. It was possible that the collections were shown in other lectures where topics related to ancient times were discussed.

From the second decade of the 20th century, the art museum belonged to the Institute of Classical Antiquities at the Faculty of Philosophy. The museum lost its independent status, but the head of the museum was still a professor of classical philology as had been the case in the 19th century. However, no museological work was done any longer, and there was no increase in the art collection; that said, a selection of the lecturers seem to have utilised the cast collections of ancient art for illustrative purposes.

Attention was concentrated on the lectures of ancient art history read by all professors of classical philology, except Wilhelm Süss. In addition, professor of art history Sten Karling gave a specific lecture about Greek and Roman architecture. Unlike in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the selection of lectures that could be connected with demonstrating the cast collections of ancient art decreased considerably. The introduction to the art museum and explanation of coin and gem casts had already been omitted in the 19th century. In their place was an abundance of lectures about ancient history with different focuses.

It would be expected that the cast collections had been implemented more effectively in the service of teaching. It must be considered that the collection was still quite new in the 19th century, and it would have taken time to learn to exploit its potential. However, it is noteworthy that the cast collection of ancient art had already been implemented consciously as an educational tool in the 19th century. The cast collections would most likely have been used to a greater extent if museological work had not stopped after World War I and the museum had preserved its independence.

Bibliography

Archive sources

National Archives of Estonia

EAA.402.10.25–35. Referate der Studenten.

EAA.2100.2.1169. Süss, Wilhelm, professor. 01.08.1923–01.07.1934. Asjatundjate komisjoni täiendav teadaanne klassikalise eriti ladina filoloogia professuuri täitmise asjus.

EAA.2100.6.277. Kirjavahetus klassilise muinasteaduse instituudi majandusliste kulude, sisseseadete ja inventari kohta

EAA.2100.6.330. Kirjavahetus klassilise muinasteaduse instituudi asjus. Kunstimuuseumi asutamisest Raadi mõisa lossi

Estonian History Museum

AM.51.1.5. Berting, Alexander, 1854. *Die Geschichte der alten Kunst. Exzerpt aus den Vorträgen von Prof. L. Mercklin. Dorpat.*

University of Tartu Art Museum

N 150, n 14. *Verzeichniss des Museums der Kunst der Kaiserl. Universität zu Dorpat angefertigt von dessen ersten Sammler und Director Karl Morgenstern. Zweiter Band. Münze.* Dorpat, 1808.

University of Tartu Library

F 18, s 2. Morgenstern, Karl, 1835. *Alte Numismatik.*

Secondary literature

Album Academicum = Album Academicum Kaiserlichen Universität Dorpat (1867). Dorpat: H. Laakmann.

Alexander, Edward P.; Alexander, Mary (2008). *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums.* Lanham etc: Altamira Press.

Anders, Emil (2012). *Emil Andersi mälestused*. Tartu: Tartu Linnamuuseum.

Anderson, Jaanika (2015). *Reception of Ancient Art: the Cast Collections of the University of Tartu Art Museum in the Historical, Ideological and Academic Context of Europe (1803–1918).* (*Dissertationes studiorum Graecorum et Latinorum Universitatis Tartuensis*; 7.) Tartu: University of Tartu Press.

Anderson, Jaanika (2016). 'Das Kunstmuseum der Universität Tartu vor, während und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg.' – Kott, Christina; Savoy, Bénédicte (Hrsg.), *Mars & Museum. Europäische Museen im Ersten Weltkrieg.* Köln etc: Böhlau, 201–211. https://doi.org/10.7788/9783412504656-014

Anderson, Jaanika (2017). '"Begs leave most respectfully to inform his Friends and Public that he has on sale the most extensive collection of casts in sulphur [...]."' – Jönsson, Arne; Vogt-Spira, Gregor (eds.), *The Classical Tradition in the Baltic Region: Perceptions and Adaptations of Greece and Rome.* (*Spudasmata*; 171.) Hildesheim etc: Olms, 363–378.

Anzeige der Vorlesungen, welche auf der Kayserlichen Akademie zu Dorpat . ... . gehalten werden (1802–1918). Dorpat: Mattiesen.

Bauer, Johannes (2002). 'Gipsabguss-sammlungen an deutschsprachigen Universitäten.' – *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte Stuttgart* 5, 117–131.

Boehringer, Christof (2001). 'Über die Göttinger Sammlung von Gipsabgüssen antiker Skulpturen.' – Hoffmann, Dietrich; Maack-Rheinländer, Kathrin (eds.), *"Ganz für das Studium angelegt": Die Museen, Sammlungen end Gärten der Universität Göttingen*. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 64–72.

Eesti Wabariigi Tartu Ülikooli ettelugemise kawa. Tartu, 1919–1927.

Eesti Vabariigi Tartu Ülikooli ettelugemiste ja praktiliste tööde kava. Tartu, 1928–1940.

Gaehtgens, Thomas W. (2012). 'Altes Museum, Berlin: Building Prussia's First Modern Museum.' – Paul, Carole (ed.), *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and Early 19th-Century Europe*. Los Angeles: The Paul Getty Museum, 285–304.

Gamaliya, Kateryna (2011). 'Vladimir (Woldemar Justus Konstantin) Malmberg (1860–1921), Professor of Dorpat and Moscow Universities.' – *Baltic Journal of European Studies* 1, 1(9), 345–353.

Haliste, Pärtel (1929). *Vana ajaloo uurimise meetod*. Tartu: H. Laakmann.

Haliste, Pärtel (1934). *Klassiline haridus ja Eesti kultuuri arendamise probleeme*. (*Eesti Kultuuri Sõprade Koondise Toimetised*; 1.) Tartu: Eesti Kirjanduse Selts.

Hein, Georg E. (2006). 'Museum Education.' – MacDonald, Sharon (ed.), *A Companion to Museum Studies.* Oxford: Blackwell, 340–352.

Hiio, Toomas; Piirimäe, Helmut (eds.) (2007). *Universitas Tartuensis 1632–2007*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.

Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean (2007). *Museums and Education: Purpose, Pedagogy, Performance.* New York: Routledge.

Kaju, Katre (2003). 'Wilhelm Süssi pilt Karl Morgensternist kui õpetajast ja õpetlasest.' – Volt, Ivo (ed.), *Kakssada aastat klassikalist filoloogiat Eestis = Duo saecula philologiae classicae in Estonia*. (*Morgensterni Seltsi toimetised = Acta Societatis Morgensternianae*; 1.) Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 67–76.

Keevallik, Juta (1993). *Kunstikogumine Eestis 19. sajandil. Kunstiteadus Eestis 19. sajandil*. Tallinn: Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia Ajaloo Instituut.

Keevallik, Juta; Loodus, Rein; Viiroja, Lehti (2000). *Tekste kunstist ja arhitektuurist. Kunstikirjutus Eestis 1777–1863*. Köide I. = *Texte über Kunst und Architektur. Kunstschreibung in Estland von 1777 bis 1863*. Band 1. Tallinn: Teaduste Akadeemia Kirjastus.

Kukk, Inge (2001). 'Tartu University Art Collection and the Trends of Artistic Taste in the 18th and 19th Centuries.' – *International Restitution Conference. Estonian-Russian Co-operation in Museology: The History and the Disposition of an Art Collection Established by Professor Morgenstern at Tartu University in 1803. 15. and 16. September 2000 Tartu, Estonia.* Tartu: Tartu University Press, 97–107.

Kukk, Inge; Laiverik, Laidi; Sahk, Ingrid; Tiisvend, Jaanika; Valk, Külli (2006). *200 aastat Tartu Ülikooli Kunstimuuseumi: Valikkataloog. 200 Years of the Art Museum of the University of Tartu: Selected Catalogue.* Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.

Laiverik, Laidi (2003). 'Georg Loeschcke Tartus ja Bonnis.' – *Muuseum* 1(14), 10–12.

Lill, Anne (1996). 'Prof. Karl Morgenstern kui klassikalise filoloogia alusepanija Tartu Ülikoolis.' – *Ammendamatu Morgenstern*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu, 6–7.

Loodus, Rein; Keevallik, Juta (1990). *Kunstielu Eestis 19. sajandil.* Tallinn: Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia.

Malmberg, Woldemar; Felsberg, Ernst (1910). *Античные вазы и терракотты*. Юрьев: Маттисен.

Marchand, Suzanne L. (2003). *Down From Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Medd, Charles Septimus (1865). *The Value of Numismatics in the Study of Ancient History.* Oxford: T. & G. Shrimpton.

Mercklin, Ludwig (1853). *Karl Morgenstern: Gedächtnissrede, gehalten am Tage der Thronbesteigung seiner Kaiserlichen Majestät des Selbstherrscher aller Russen Nikolai Pawlowitsch den 20. November 1852 im grossen Hörsaale der Universität Dorpat*. Dorpat: Heinrich Laakmann.

Merryman, John Henry (2009). *Thinking about the Elgin Marbles. Critical Essays on Cultural Property, Art and Law*. Austin etc: Walters Kluwer Law & Business.

Meyer, Johann Leonhardt (1797). *Lehrbuch der römischen Alterthümer*. Erlangen: Walther.

Morgenstern, Karl (1805). *Johann Winkelmann. Eine Rede*. Leipzig: Göschen.

Morgenstern, Karl (1811–1813). *Karl Morgenstern's Reise in Italien im J. 1809. Auszüge aus den Tagebüchern und Papieren eines Reisenden.* Dorpat, Leipzig.

Morgenstern, Karl (1817). *Praelectiones Semestres, In Caesarea Vniversitate Litteraria, Qvae Dorpati Constitvta Est, A Calendis Aug. Anni MDCCCXVII Habendae Indicvntvr A Rectore Et Senatv Academico. Inest Envmeratio Nvmmorvm Familiarvm Romanarvm, Qvi in Mvseo Academico Servantvr.* Partic. I. Dorpat: ex officina academica Mich. Gerh. Grenzii.

Morgenstern, Karl (1834). 'Museum der Kunst in Dorpat. Beitrag zum Generalbericht der Universität Dorpat für das Jahr 1833.' – *Dorpater Jahrbuch für Litteratur, Statistik und Kunst, besonders Russland*. Riga, Dorpat: Eduard Frantzen's Buchhandlung, 71–76.

Piirimäe, Helmut (1982). *Tartu ülikooli ajalugu*. I. Tallinn: Valgus.

Rüegg, Walter (ed.) (2004). *A History of the University in Europe.* Volume III. *Universities in the Nineteenth ad Early Twentieth Centuries (1800–1945)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schwabe, Ludwig (1867). 'Die Griechen und die griechische Kunst am Nordgestade des Schwarzen Meeres. Akademische Festrede, gehalten am 12. (24.) December 1866 in Dorpat.' – *Baltische Monatsschrift* 15, 181–208.

Schwabe, Ludwig (1905). *Kunst und Geschichte aus antiken Münzen: Rede am Geburtstage des Kaisers 1905 im Namen der Universität Tübingen gehalten.* Tübingen: Mohr.

Schwabe, Ludwig (1915). *Dorpat vor fünfzig Jahren. Aus den Lebenserinnerungen eines deutschen Professors*. Leipzig: Hirzel.

Schwabe, Ludwig (transl. L. Priimägi) (1986). 'Tartu viiskümmned aastat tagasi.' – Issakov, Sergei (ed.), *Mälestusi Tartu ülikoolist (17.–19. sajand)*. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 239–246.

Siilivask, Karl (1982). *Tartu ülikooli ajalugu II. 1798–1918*. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.

Siilivask, Karl (1985). *History of Tartu University 1632–1982*. Tallinn: Perioodika.

Siilivask, Karl; Palamets, Hillar (1982). *Tartu ülikooli ajalugu*. III. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.

Snell, Christian Wilhelm (1795). *Lehrbuch der Kritik des Geschmacks, mit ständiger Rücksicht auf die Kantische Kritik der ästhetischen Urtheilskraft*. Leipzig: Müller.

Stieda, Wilhelm (ed.) (1927). 'Das Tagebuch des Professors Ludwig Preller in Dorpat.' – *Baltische Monatsschrift* 58, 305–330, 369–400.

Süss, Wilhelm (1928). *Karl Morgenstern (1770–1852): Eloquentiae, Ll. Gr. et Lat., antiquitatum, Aesthetices et historiae litterarum atque artis P. P. O. simulque bibliothecae academicae praefectus*. Dorpat: C. Mattiesen.

Tering, Arvo (1985). 'Göttingeni ülikool ja selle osa Eesti- ja Liivimaa haritlaskonna kujunemises XVIII sajandil ja XIX sajandi alguses II.' – *Keel ja Kirjandus* 10, 615–623.

Tohvri, Epi (2009). *Valgustusideede mõju Tartu arhitektuurile 19. sajandi alguses*. (*Dissertationes Historiae Universitatis Tartuensis*; 18.) Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.

Wolf, Friedrich August (1833). *Darstellung der Altertumswissenschaften, nebst einer Auswahl seiner kleinen Schriften; und litterarischen Zugaben zu dessen Vorlesungen über die Alterthumswissenschaft*. Leipzig: August Lehnhold.

Abstract

For centuries, the purposes of museums have been closely linked with education. In this paper, University of Tartu Art Museum cast collections of ancient art are observed as early educational tools from the opening of the museum in 1803 until the annexation of Estonia by the Soviet Union in 1940. The cast collection is an interesting phenomenon from an educational perspective, due to its location, position and situation, although data on the ways of use in teaching are scarce.

THE TRANSMEDIAL WORLD OF ANCIENT GREEK TRAGEDY IN ESTONIA[1]

Maria-Kristiina Lotman

0. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to provide a historical account of the interpretations of ancient Greek tragic dramas in Estonia and to explore the development of the transmedial space of Greek tragedy in the Estonian cultural landscape.

The article proceeds from the premise that the Estonian translations of Greek tragedy, along with the texts influenced by them, collectively form a distinct structure with fuzzy boundaries, which could be observed as the world of Greek tragedy in Estonian culture. At its core are the translations of original tragedies, while on the periphery lie the original Estonian works that exhibit direct or indirect influences from specific Greek tragedies, as well as the texts that are recognized as Estonian variants of Greek tragedy in reception. This world encompasses the texts directly or indirectly linked to a particular Greek tragedy through events, characters, and themes. However, the texts merely sharing general qualities with Greek tragedies or inspired by Greek myths are excluded unless they possess structural features qualifying them as metatexts of a particular prototext (for more details, see Torop 2011: 78). The degree of overlap between these texts increases with closer translation methods, while freer forms of translation such as adaptations or rewritings may result in minimal overlap.

[1] My sincere thanks go to everyone who has helped me with my research. I am especially grateful to Elin Sütiste and Vasso Giannakopoulou for their numerous comments and suggestions. I would also like to thank the translators, stage directors and actors, who consulted me during the study, in particular, Anne Lill, Tiit Palu, Lembit Peterson, Tanel Saar, Anu Lamp, and Priit Strandberg.

The material of this article includes the latter only when the text is explicitly related to a certain prototext or at least perceived as a version of it in the reception. The article shows how this world is constantly evolving, tracing its origins from sparce mentions in the 19th-century press, gaining momentum with the first full translations and productions in the first half of the 20th century, and reaching a more diverse multimedial landscape in the 21st century. Here, each new performance across various media platforms brings a fresh perspective to the whole (see also Jenkins 2008: 97–98).

For the study, the entire body of translations of Greek tragedies, their adaptations, and productions across different media, together with the related paratexts have been mapped and studied in a semiotic framework, approaching them as complex and multi-layered polycoded structures, in which meaning is constructed not only through the sign system of the respective language but also through text- (in the semiotic sense of the term) and culture-specific codes (see also Nord 1988: 352). In theatre productions, the text-specific codes can be, for instance, stylistic or poetical solutions in verbal texts, imagery and scenery in visual texts, and euphonic, rhythmic, and musical codes in auditory texts. The culture-specific codes include the elements that, by means of, for example, names, realia, and other cultural references, construct a particular coherent cultural setting in a text.

It is essential to note that these elements form a code if they are not just random and isolated effects but build up consistent structures, the elements of which constitute an organized whole. That is, a theatre code is regarded as a set of rules that converts relevant information into a certain form and, together with multiple other codes, participates in the meaning-making of the production. The semiotic language of a particular code determines the nature of these rules: auditory codes are based on auditory signs, visual codes on visual signs, etc. The case of verbal signs in a theatre text is more complicated: they can be auditory, intended for oral presentation, or visual, meant to be read silently (either from a script or as an element in a stage design; for a detailed taxonomy of theatrical signs, see Kowzan 1975: 182).

The following chart reveals the use of different genres and codes in the reception of ancient Greek tragedy in Estonia.

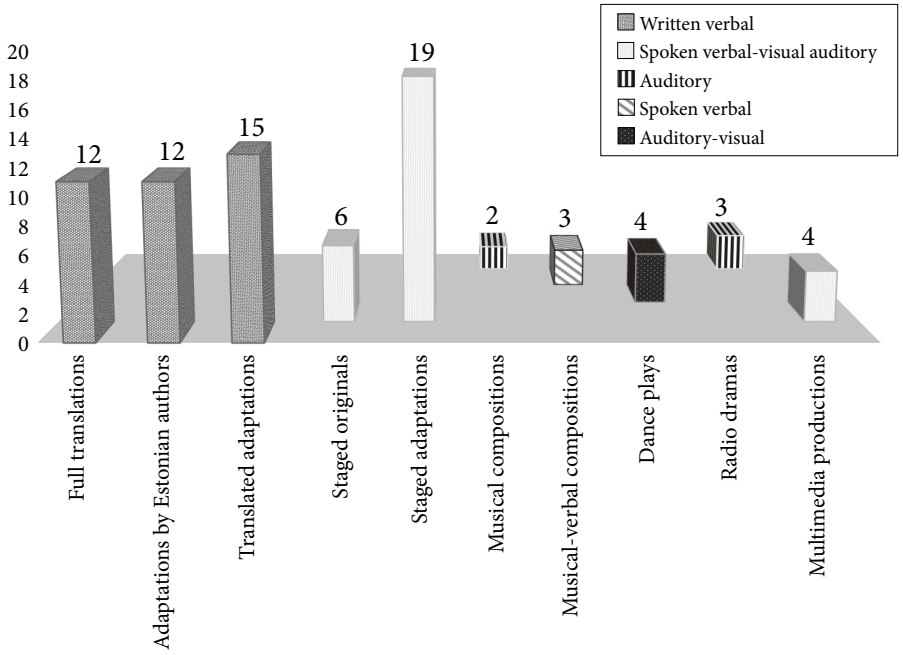


Chart 1. Ancient tragedy in Estonian culture: codes and genres

There are five main groups of codes that determine the media types of the texts that were studied (for more information, see Elleström 2019: 52) and depend on the nature of their modalities. These groups are, on the one hand, flat, solid, static, visual types of texts, which in our material include written verbal texts[2]; and on the other hand, non-solid, temporary, moving texts, including spoken verbal-visual-auditory (stage plays), auditory-visual (dance productions), spoken verbal (radio dramas), and auditory texts (musical compositions). Thus, in the case of different types of verbal texts, the distinction has been drawn between the texts that are only available in written media and thus mainly oriented towards silent reading and the texts that are primarily created for stage, even if they are sometimes also published to be read. In the first group, a further distinction is made between the translation of the original ancient Greek texts and translations of their modern adaptations. To this, Estonian literature inspired by the Greek tragedy (adaptations by Estonian

[2] There are only a few purely visual texts inspired by antiquity in the Estonian cultural space, excluding costume and decoration designs for productions, which were never intended to function as separate works of art. An exception to this is Argo Sootla's cycle of paintings, which illustrates Linnar Priimägi's poetry collection *Medeia* (2023).

authors) as well as the meta- and paratexts may be added. Not included on the chart are the translated fragments of the original plays, which can be found in pedagogical literature, anthologies, and scholarly treatises (at this point, there are altogether 39 entries in the database). As for the texts where different visual or auditory codes participate, they can be further divided based on the semiotic language they make use of. Here too, a distinction should be made between the stage versions of translated originals and staged adaptations. Accordingly, the collected material has been classified under verbal-visual, auditory, or auditory-visual works of art; the latter includes a further distinction between verbal compositions, musical compositions, stage plays incorporating musical and verbal elements, stage plays incorporating music and dance, and a few multimedia productions that use various technological means. At the same time, in the case of multi-layered polycoded texts, the boundaries between different types are sometimes fuzzy; for example, verbal stage productions usually contain some kind of musical design, musical productions may also contain some kind of verbal structure or visual design, and so on. The dominant, or the main stabilizing and organizing element of these texts, is the deciding factor when taxonomizing such cases (Jakobson 1981), and the genre of a play typically determines this criterion.

However, media events are not isolated but are in turn part of a larger whole, the cohesive story-world, as referred to by Ojamaa, Torop 2015: 62, constituting a mental unity, where new themes and events of the given story are brought to the fore on different platforms (Evans 2011: 27). Thus, in this paper, all such events, which can be represented in different media, are considered different parts of the same world. In culture, such events in their reciprocal relationship form the ever-growing Estonian world of Greek tragedy.

1. The Prequel: First Glimpses into Greek Tragedy in Estonia

When the Estonian theatre was taking its first steps in the nineteenth century, classical Greek tragedy was not included in the repertoire. On the contrary, we even encounter opinions in written media that the Estonian audience was not yet ready for the world classics (anonymous 1888) and that great tragedies are not fitting for Estonians because "There are no great classes among our nation, we do not possess a glorious and grand past, there have been no great political events on the soil of our home country, namely among our own people, from which great works of theatre could be written, we do not have a theatrical past, so to speak" and merely "Scenes of simple family life in a

cottage would be suitable, maybe even translations that show the bourgeoisie and its way of living" (Liiv? 1888, cf. also Gielen, Lotman 2021: 214). Ancient theatre was thus not performed to the Estonian audience at the time, although those Estonians who visited local German theatres had several occasions to see Franz Grillparzer's adaptation of Euripides's *Medea* (at the Reval German Theatre in 1878, 1882, and 1894) and Goethe's *Iphigenia in Tauris* (at the Reval German Theatre in 1894 and in 1899).

In this period, the only Estonian-language medium with which ancient drama was engaged was verbal written text, mostly in the form of newspaper articles. If ancient drama warranted mention in these at all, it was mostly in the context of some domestic or political phenomenon. Greek tragedies were thus mentioned as a possible source for exploring the situation of servants in the translation of Gustav Diercks's text on masters and servants, published in the 1886 edition of the *Sakala* newspaper (Diercks 1886). Comparisons were also made with characters of Greek tragedies in the newspaper *Postimees* in a series of articles published in 1899, describing a grand tour in Estonia. In one of these articles, the beauty of the daughter of a local merchant was compared to that of Electra and Cassandra. In the same article, we find a description of how the author and a young woman read for hours the chorus songs by Aeschylus and a dialogue from *Antigone* (Bergmann? 4.08.1899). In the article 'Sõjajumal' [God of war] published in *Olevik*, the situation of the Boers was compared to that of the *Oedipus Rex*: "No matter what they are planning themselves, fate and the god of war have their own firm intentions with them, and their tragedy will reach its own merciless ending just as if written by Sophocles." (Anonymous 1900) In 1903, an article dedicated to alcohol was published in the newspaper *Uus Aeg* [New Era] that used a quote from Aeschylus to demonstrate that the Greeks were not fond of beer. The situation of ancient Greek women was discussed in the article 'Mõnda abielust' ([Some things about marriage], 1905; translated from an unknown Russian source), referring to their near-slave status as well as the misogyny of several playwrights. No complete tragedy was translated in the 19th century, but a translated fragment from *Antigone* (349–352) appeared in *Postimees* in 1897, entitled "Koduloomad" [Domestic animals] (for more details, see Lotman, Bodniece, Dikmonienė 2022: 22).

Ancient drama received scant attention in textbooks and manuals during this period, except for Jaan Bergmann's *Üleüldine ajalugu* [General history] (1879), which briefly discussed the three renowned tragedians and recounted the plots of certain myths featured in tragedies.

2. Literary Texts

2.1. Translations of the original tragedies

In the early 20th century, the translation of ancient tragedies into Estonian finally started. In 1908, Jaan Jõgever translated *Prometheus Bound*[3] as the first complete Greek tragedy into Estonian. Jõgever's translation strategies are rather coherent, as they do not only simplify the versification but also the content to make it easily performable and understandable for the Estonian audience (see also Lotman 2012a: 65–66). Consequently, the complicated poetics of the original have largely been lost, resulting in a text that even comes across as plain and simplistic. The reception of this translation was quite critical, and it did not become a model for future translations. Nevertheless, Jõgever's original goal may not have been a text that was true to the original and meant for silent reading, but a version fit for the stage that Jõgever's contemporary audiences would understand. Even so, this translation has never been staged, at least not in any professional theatre[4].

The next complete text to be conveyed into the Estonian language was Sophocles's *Antigone*, translated by Marie Under from the German version of *Antigone* by August Böckh (staged in Estonia Theatre in 1928; for further discussion on this, see Lotman, Bodniece, Dikmonienė 2022: 22).

In addition to the complete texts, several translations of excerpts during this period must also be mentioned. In the first half of the 20th century, an increasing amount of pedagogical literature began to be published, containing both overviews and translated excerpts. In 1919, excerpts of Aeschylus's *Agamemnon* were printed in the theatre magazine *Valge Raamat* [White Book] (vv. 1372–1406 and 1468–1488, translated by the famous poetess Anna Haava). Sections from Sophocles's *Antigone* and *Oedipus the King* were translated by classical philologist Ervin Roos for Agu Tamm's monograph on the life and works of Sophocles (1935), intended for the general audience. These were the only treatises dedicated to ancient Greek tragedians during this period.

After the cultural interruption brought on by the Second World War, the Soviet Union occupied Estonia, and for a while, no ancient literature was

[3] This text has traditionally been attributed to Aeschylus, but the latest stylometric research confirmed the conclusions made by Martin L. West (1990) and determined the text to be of a later date (compare Manousakis 2020).

[4] The only known instance of it being used in a theatre setting is a production of *Greek tragedies* by the master's students of Physical Performance Making at the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre (for more details, see Teemant 2017).

translated into the Estonian language. However, the 1960s marked the onset of the first golden age of ancient drama translation, during which several Greek tragedies, among other dramatic works, were translated. Verbal texts in print became central, initiating the process of establishing standard Estonian translations of ancient texts. In the 1960s, the preparation of two voluminous collections of ancient literature began: the anthologies of Greek and Roman literature. Supervised by the editor Ain Kaalep, the translations adhered strictly to the principles he approved of. This ensured stylistic consistency yet sidelined the translators' idiosyncratic preferences and potentially risky choices. Likewise, the poetic texts of the anthologies were translated in the way prescribed by Ain Kaalep, that is, in a more foreignizing than domesticating manner. Names and culture-specific elements were not domesticated, and explanatory comments were added where necessary. The metres of the original, no matter how complicated, were rendered both equimetrically and equiprosodically (see Lotman 2012b), that is, conveying the quantitative structure of the source text as well. The translations were supplemented with short forewords and commentaries. Thus, Kaalep established the standards for the translation of ancient texts for many years to come.

The anthology of Greek literature (1964) contained three complete tragedies and two excerpts: three tragedies ascribed to Aeschylus (*Prometheus Bound*, translated by Uku Masing) and fragments from *Agamemnon* and *The Libation Bearers* (both translated by Rein Sepp and Ülo Torpats), as well as *Oedipus the King* by Sophocles and *Hippolytus* by Euripides (translated by Ain Kaalep and Ülo Torpats, respectively). In all these translations, one can notice a clear orientation towards silent reading, not theatre performances: the texts are foreignizing and written in high poetic style; they require commentary to help the audience grasp the meaning of the utterances and utilize complicated metrical systems, the comprehension of which demands specialized knowledge. Nonetheless, *Oedipus the King* was staged in the Tartu Vanemuine Theatre (about the production, see 3.1). As a separate book, it appeared in print later in 1977[5] and in 1998 and 2003 in a publication with comments by Ain Kaalep and Anne Lill[6]. This became the required reading for schools, and thus it is the most read ancient drama in Estonia to this day.

[5] *Kuningas Oidipus*, translated by Ain Kaalep and Ülo Torpats; afterword: Ain Kaalep. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1977.

[6] *Kuningas Oidipus*, translated by Ain Kaalep and Ülo Torpats. Tallinn: Avita, 1998, 2003.

During the final years of the Soviet era, Anne Lill, the most prolific contemporary translator of Greek drama, began to translate theatrical texts and translated Euripides's *Bacchae* for the diploma production of the 14th class of the Drama Department in the Tallinn State Conservatoire; for the staging, the translation was significantly simplified and adjusted[7].

In 2006, an anthology of ancient Greek literature was published, which also contained translations of Greek tragedies. The previously mentioned Euripides's *Bacchae* and Mari Murdvee's translation of Sophocles's *Ajax* were both made available in Estonian for the first time. Compared with the version performed in the theatre, the print version was largely reworked and oriented more towards the reader than to the theatre[8].

In 2012, *Iphigenia in Aulis* by Euripides was first translated into the Estonian language; the translation was commissioned by Theatre NO99 from Anne Lill. The complete text of the translation was first published in 2012 in the playbill and then republished in 2016 together with the other Euripides's tragedy on Iphigenia, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, also translated by Lill. As concerns the metrical structure, personal names, and toponyms, Lill preferred foreignizing strategies, while in the case of, for instance, idioms and culture-specific elements, domesticating strategies can be seen too (in more details, see Lotman, Novikov 2017). Anne Lill's latest translation is Sophocles's *Antigone*, which was published in April 2024.

2.2. The translations of interpretations and reworkings

The first performance of an ancient tragedy for an Estonian audience did not rely on the translation of the original but on an adaptation, when Paul Sepp produced *Oedipus the King* (1922; for the production, see chapter 3.2). It was based on Hugo von Hofmannsthal's version of the tragedy and translated by the famous Estonian poetess Anna Haava specifically for the production. This successful event opened the door for further attempts, and next, Hofmannsthal's *Electra* was translated into the Estonian language too, likely commissioned by the theatre. This version was also based on Sophocles's text, and it was translated from German by the most celebrated Estonian poetess, Marie Under (the tragedy was staged in 1923 in the Estonia Theatre; the manuscript is preserved in the Theatre and Music Museum). Euripides's *Children*

[7] Anne Lill to the author of the article on January 19, 2022.

[8] Anne Lill to the author of the article on January 19, 2022.

of Heracles was translated into Estonian in 1926, yet once again not from the Greek original, but this time through Russian (the translator Nigol Andresen rendered in Estonian the Russian adaptation by Innokenty Annensky).

In 1930, Marie Under translated Franz Grillparzer's *Medea* into Estonian. This translation too was made for the theatre and was never published; the manuscript is preserved in the archive of the Estonia Theatre.

Moving on to the Soviet-era Greek tragedy, the central piece of the era is Jean Anouilh's *Antigone*. Oskar Kuningas undertook the translation of Anouilh's version in 1967 for a production at the Estonian Theatre for Young Audiences. The translation eschewed French connotations; thus, for example, the personal names have been presented in the way Greek names are standardized in Estonian (e.g., Créon is translated as Kreon, Hémon as Haimon, etc.), and the toponyms have been translated in a similar manner. This strategy has allowed for the extraction of the plot of the narrower political context of the original, which alluded to the political situation in France during the Nazi occupation. Instead, it broadened its thematic scope to address a more universal opposition between individual choice and totalitarian order. The translation is certainly well-suited for the stage and easy to follow, making use of domesticating strategies, including functional and explanatory equivalents.

The translation of Goethe's tragedy *Iphigenia in Tauris* by Ain Kaalep should be highlighted as another more important translation of an interpretation.[9] Goethe based his version on Euripides's tragedy, modernizing and simplifying its plot and structure. Compared to Euripides's text, the metrical system of Goethe's text was simplified as well: the work is mostly written in blank verse, while occasional polymetric structures operate as functional equivalents of the chorus parts of the original. Iphigenia's character has been adapted to align with Goethe's contemporary ideals: she is not motivated by patriotism, love of liberty, or resistance against the barbarians, but rather by her love and reverance for the gods, family, and truth. Although the work was published already in 1983 as part of a collection featuring translations of Goethe's plays, it has yet to be staged in Estonian theatres.

Linnar Priimägi translated Heiner Müller's *Philoktetes*, a verse tragedy in one act, into Estonian. The play was staged in the Vanemuine Theatre in 1990 by Priimägi himself and published almost thirty years later in Priimägi's collected works (Priimägi 2019).

[9] Goethe's *Iphigenia in Tauris* was first translated into Estonian in 1943 by Ants Oras, but the text remained unpublished due to political circumstances.

Of the more recent translations, Janika Päll's translation of Seneca's *Medea* should be mentioned, which was published in the anthology of Roman literature in 2009; this translation has never been staged in Estonian theatres.

2.3. Original Estonian literature inspired by ancient Greek Tragedy

The work that has likely inspired the most Estonian original literature is the tragedy *Oedipus the King*, which has been more than a theatre text and has inspired original literature across the eras. Already in 1929, a few years after *Oedipus the King* was staged, Karl Laagus, a publicist and playwright, wrote a tragedy in four acts entitled *Leitnant Vasmer* [Lieutenant Vasmer]. The events of the play unfold in a mill located in southern Estonia during the Estonian War of Independence. The main character, Vasmer, who has grown up far from home, falls in love with his half-sister and marries her, not knowing they are related. When he finds out about this, the only solution seems to be to go to war and perish there. However, his origin is revealed, and in a moment of great anguish, he shoots himself. Critics were not impressed, as they noted that the author failed to establish sufficient psychological depth and individuality to adequately convey the theme (see, for instance, Hamburg 1930). Perhaps due to this, the work has never been staged. The influence of *Oedipus the King* continued later on, too: for example, it inspired Paul-Eerik Rummo's socially critical *Pseudopus* (written in 1968 for a planned production; however, being a political allegory, it was banned, and its publishing was not possible until 1980), Mart Kivastik's *Kuningas Oidipus* [Oedipus the King] (2004) in already free Estonia, and Arne Merilai's novel *Türann Oidipus* [Oedipus the Tyrant] (2009). In addition to prose works, Oedipus can be found in poetry, too: a socially critical poetry collection of the contemporary classic Mats Traat is titled 'Oidipus läheb Toompeale' [Oedipus goes to the Cathedral Hill Toompea[10]] (2010).

Antigone's influence has also been significant in Estonian literature. For example, the play *Libahunt* [Werewolf] by playwright and drama translator August Kitzberg (first brought to the stage in 1911 at Endla Theatre in Pärnu), despite major differences in plot, has been perceived as Estonia's own *Antigone*. The tragedy recounts the story of Tiina, a young girl who was adopted into a peasant family after her mom was executed as a witch. The son of the family falls in love with her, but the rest of the family is opposed to their marriage. A rumour spreads that Tiina is a werewolf who kills animals. The anguished

[10] That is, the location of the Government of Estonia and the Estonian Parliament.

Tiina flees into the woods. Five years later, when wolves howl around the farm, the son of the family takes a rifle to shoot them and kills Tiina.

Luule Epner wrote about the play (1996): "Perhaps most evidently in Kitzberg's tragedy, the dilemma of a small people under foreign power is apparent: (personal) freedom versus conformity in the name of the survival of the nation." Epner suggests that the ideological conflict of the *Werewolf* in fact represented a modification of *Antigone*'s struggle between the ideals of freedom and conformism, and in this interpretation, Tiina acquired Antigone-like traits. Additionally, she notes that critics also discussed Mikiver's production of *Werewolf* using the terms 'conformism' and 'nonconformism'. It is significant that "the true opposition of *Werewolf* was finally revealed: the mass versus the outsider, conformism versus the pursuit of freedom, as concluded by Mati Unt (Unt 1968a); Valdeko Tobro described the production as a clash of antagonistic ideas, as a battle between a submissive, servile environment and the idea of liberty standing outside this environment." (Tobro 1968; see Epner 1996.) This work, successfully staged over many decades, has proven immensely popular, with its own transmedial existence, extending to both film and musical adaptations.

In her article, Epp Annus has compared the novel *Keisri hull* [The Czar's Madman] by one of the most esteemed Estonian writers, Jaan Kross, to Sophocles's *Antigone* (Annus 2005). She highlights several common motifs and themes: the novel's main character, Timo, also rebels against the ruler, thereby distinguishing between moral and state power, and is willing to die for his beliefs. Consequently, he finds himself in an impossible and contradictory situation, and like Antigone, he is buried alive during his imprisonment. Annus concluded that Timo's madness mirrors Antigone's madness – an extreme desire of a person who has lost their sense of purpose in life, and this purposelessness leads to transgressing the boundaries.

Of the reception of other great tragedies, that of *Electra* deserves mention, serving as an inspiration for Mats Traat's poem *Electra*. Once again, this constitutes a socially critical poem, in which a local gang of criminals arrives at Electra's home, where she is planning a bloodshed. The juxtaposition with much more menacing criminals emphasizes a stark contrast with the terrible Greek Electra and a miserable Nordic Electra, who is presented as a helpless lamb.

In 2023, poet, critic, and cultural historian Linnar Priimägi published the poetry collection *Medeia*, which contains a cycle of poems dedicated by Medea to the Argonaut. The cycle is narrated in the first person and seems to be set at a time when Medea had already left Colchis with Jason, but their initial love

has faded, and Jason has begun to court King Creon's daughter, Creusa (or Glauce). Structurally, the work is divided into three parts: the first part recalls the emergence of Medea's feelings and the pain of love, the joy accompanying the arrival of the Argonaut, and its gradual disappearance. In the second part, the Argonaut becomes more distant, and their time together diminishes into the night. In the third part, Medea is already abandoned. The poems exemplify a skilful play with the technical possibilities of versification; the meter and sound structures are directly linked to the thematic plan, intertwining the ancient and the modern (in more details, see Lotman, Lotman 2023).

2.4. Meta- and paratexts

In the beginning of the twentieth century, we already see more substantial introductions to ancient drama. In 1904, Adolf Rühka's *Lühikese Näitemängu Õpetus* [The short instruction of stage play] is published, which briefly discussed the history of Greek tragedy, naming its more important representatives. For whatever reason, Euripides has not been deemed worthy enough to be discussed, and the high period of tragedy is dated to the era of Alexander the Great, that is, the 4th century BC. The encyclopedia project *Hariduse sõnaraamat* [The dictionary of education] contains an article on Aeschylus; the other tragedy authors remained undiscussed due to the disruption of the publication. In 1910, the producer and actor Karl Jungholz published in the journal *Näitelava* [Play stage] a series of articles titled 'Koor, riim, ja monolog draamas' [Chorus, rhythm, and monologue in drama], in which he discussed, among other issues, the most important representatives of Greek tragedy.

From the 1920s onward, textbooks on ancient literature began to be released. Linda Metslang's translation of Tadeusz Zieliński's *Vana-kreeka kirjandus* [Ancient Greek Literature] appeared in two volumes in 1926 and 1927. In 1935, Ervin Roos published his work *Ülevaade vana-kreeka kirjandusest* [The Overview of Ancient Greek Literature], dedicating around ten pages to tragedy and the three most important tragedians. In the same year, Agu Tamm's book *Sophoklese elu ja looming* [Sophocles's life and works] was also published, delving into the creation of Greek drama and the tragedies by Sophocles, with a particular focus on *Oedipus the King.* This work comprised articles on Greek tragedy, along with synopses of the most important plays and translated excerpts from them. In 1964, after a long pause, an original textbook of ancient literature was released: Richard Kleis's *Vana-Kreeka kirjanduse põhijooni* [The Main Features of Ancient Greek Literature], which, in its several reprints, remained the standard manual of Greek literature for a long time.

Treatises dedicated to Greek tragedies appeared in Estonian media from the 1920s onwards. For example, one should mention Johannes Semper's article 'Ödipuse mõistatuslikkus' [The Mystery of Oedipus] (Natanael 1922), published in *Päevaleht*, or Pärtel Bauman's [Haliste's] *Sophokles ja tema looming* [Sophocles and his creation] (Bauman 1928), which was printed in *Postimees* specially for a Drama Studio Theatre production of *Antigone*.

While there were no paratexts accompanying the published tragedies during the pre-war period, new standards were developed during the Soviet period: a good translation would incorporate introductions, comments, and afterwords. The 1964 anthology already contained short forewords and comments to the texts, but for the 1998 publication of *Oedipus the King*, the commentary by Anne Lill was added.

Anne Lill, professor emerita of classical philology at the University of Tartu, is the first in Estonian academic culture to have systematically studied ancient tragedy and published both scholarly and more popular approaches; compare Lill 2003, 2004, 2006, 2008, and 2009. In these, she has discussed tragedies both from ethical and aesthetic perspectives and compiled a lexicon of tragedy that brings together keywords pertaining to Greek tragedy as well as their explanations.

The release of Oliver Taplin's edited collection of essays on Greek and Roman literature in Estonian (2019), which includes a chapter by Peter Wilson devoted to Greek drama, is a recent publication worth mentioning.

3. Theatre Productions of Spoken Dramas

3.1. Productions of translated original texts

The first Estonian productions of ancient tragedies were staged as late as the 1920s[11]. In 1928, Sophocles's *Antigone* was brought to stage by Paul Sepp in the Estonian Drama Studio Theatre (for further description, see Lotman, Bodniece, Dikmonienė 2022: 22–23).

[11] Nevertheless, it must be noted that in the Säde theatre, located in the small Estonian town of Valga, Gluck's opera *Iphigenia in Tauris* was staged on January 6, 1913. Not much data has survived about the production, but the libretto was most likely in German. From surviving pictures, one can discern pseudo-classical costumes that imitate ancient sculpture with their long white robes, trees, and an altar located in the middle of the stage, thereby expressing the opposition between the savage and civilized, one of the foundational oppositions of this myth.

Exactly when and for which medium the critic and poet Ain Kaalep and classical philologist Ülo Torpats first translated *Oedipus the King* still needs further study. The current data indicate that the verbal text was completed in the late 1950s, and it was first presented as a radio drama that aired on January 2, 1960. The play was staged at the Vanemuine Theatre in 1963 by Voldemar Panso. The concept of the play was to combine both the old and the new. For this, the performance was divided into two separate sections: first, the foreignizing and archaizing story of Oedipus; and second, the oratorio *Kuupaisteoratoorium* [The oratorio of moonlight], dedicated to the problems of modern time. In the first section, both the visual and verbal code supported the foreignizing approach: the clothes were historizing, emulating Greek-style costumes, although the theatrical masks and cothurni were not used. Regarding the verbal text, the names retained their Greek form, culture-specific elements were translated with the use of loan words or calques as functional equivalents, and verse patterns follow the complicated metrical and prosodic structure of the original. The second section, titled *Igavene inimene* [Eternal man], was dedicated to the space age, bringing together ancient tragedy and the contemporary world. As concerns the auditory code, Eino Tamberg's music was the central and binding component of the entire concept. Two years later, the musical part of *Oedipus the King* was again performed in the concert hall of Estonia, but this time it was combined with Carl Orff's theatrical cantata, *Catulli Carmina*.

The next production that was based on an original Greek tragedy was the already-mentioned *Bacchae* by Euripides, which was staged by Evald Hermaküla in 1989 as the diploma project of the students of the Tallinn State Conservatory Stage Art Department. The most impressive visual element of this production was the use of masks, which has been rare in Estonian productions of ancient works. In this version, the masks did not cover the faces but were worn on the nape, resulting in the appearance of two-faced actors who, by turning their backs towards the audience, showed their second countenance[12]. The production did not end up being successful, with the director himself admitting not being satisfied with the result (Agur *et al.* 1990: 60); the material was seen as too complicated for the students, and, to make things worse, they were not able to overcome the additional pressure brought on by acting in masks (Agur *et al.* 1990: 61).

[12] Anne Lill to the author of the article on January 19, 2022.

In 2012, Euripides's *Iphigenia in Aulis* was staged in the theatre NO99. The translation for the production was commissioned from Anne Lill. The play was directed by Lorna Marshall, professor of choreography at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art in London, whose aim was to convey the content with as few external requisites as possible – with the use of the actor's voice, tone, and bodily movement rather than with costumes and stage design, which were minimalist. According to Lorna Marshall herself, "this required extraordinary actors who, at the same time, are open-minded and have excellent skills, and NO99 offered that" (Sibrits 2012).

In April 2024, Sophocles's *Antigone* premiered at the Tartu Vanemuine Theatre. Priit Strandberg, who is the director, based his production on a fresh translation by Anne Lill. Original music was commissioned from the composer Margo Kõlar for the chorus parts of the tragedy, while the scenography and costumes of the play aim to evoke an atmosphere of stylized antiquity, employing draped clothes, transparent and airy fabrics, and video design integrated into the space rather than merely serving as a background.[13]

3.2. The productions of interpretations of Greek tragedies

As already mentioned, the first time Greek tragedy was staged in an Estonian theatre was in 1922, when Paul Sepp brought to the stage *Oedipus the King*, relying on Hugo von Hofmannsthal's version. Paul Sepp produced it in the Drama Studio Theatre in 1922, then in Kadriorg Stadium as an open-air show, and a year later as the examination performance of the first class of the Theatre Art School (for more details, see Bodniece, Dikmonienė, Kučinskienė, Lotman 2019: 67). Paul Sepp's production is considered one of the prime moments of Estonian theatre history to this day; it is still highlighted in approaches discussing theatre history (compare Saro 2017).

Most of the other pre-war productions of Greek tragedies relied also on adaptations. Similarly, Sophocles's *Electra* was based on Hugo von Hofmannsthal's version and translated by Marie Under. The translation made it to the stage in 1923 in the Estonia Theatre, directed by Erna Villmer and starring Hilda Gleser. From surviving photos, one can observe that the production design adopted a stylized antiquity, coupled with elements of abstract art: a symmetrical construct, likely representing a castle, stood behind the steps. The actors' costumes were simple and austere, featuring freely draped robes. No use was made of masks or cothurni. The play received critical acclaim,

[13] Priit Strandberg to the author of the article on March 1, 2024.

particularly praising the performance of the protagonist (e.g., Lauter 1982: 130, Andresen 1971: 28).

In 1926, the *Children of Heracles,* based on Innokenty Annensky's text, was supposed to be staged in the Estonian Drama Studio Theatre, but for some reason it was cancelled.[14] In 1930, Hilda Gleser staged *Medea* at the Estonia Theatre, using Franz Grillparzer's version, which had been translated into Estonian by Marie Under upon commission. Later, several versions of *Medea* reached Estonian theatre audiences. Towards the end of the Soviet period, Lyudmila Razumovskaya's *Medea* was staged (produced by Toomas Lõhmuste, featuring Anu Lamp in the lead role). In 2015, a piece inspired by *Medea* was staged in Tartu Üliõpilasteater [Tartu University Students' Theatre] called *MEDEA rehabilitatsioon. Projekt nr. 2* [The rehabilitation of Medea. Project no 2]. The performance got some attention due to the admission of only women or men dressed as women in the audience.

The next staging of Medea in Estonian theatre history incorporated a similar idea and stands out as perhaps the most notable rendition of *Medea* in Estonian theatre history; while not dictating the clothing of the audience, it featured only female actors, including the roles of king Creon and Jason. The tragedy was produced by Tiit Palu, who had translated the text into Estonian himself. Using the English translation by Cecelia Luschnig and the German translation by Johann Hartung, he significantly adapted and adjusted the text to align it with his artistic vision. Tiit Palu's interpretation of Medea's character highlights her active involvement in the unfolding events and her awareness of the events and emotions[15]. Palu emphasized that the most innovative aspect of his interpretation was the element of Medea's mother tongue, a source of solace and strength for her character. In the production, the reference to Medea's native language is coded with a fragment from Georgian composer Giya Kancheli's "Amao Omi".

However, it is *Antigone* that has been the most influential in Estonian theatres, and since the beginning of the Soviet occupation, theatres have mostly grounded their versions on Jean Anouilh's interpretation. Anouilh's *Antigone* has been brought to the Estonian stage several times: in 1967, at the Estonian

[14] The review of *Päewaleht* [Daily Newspaper] of the upcoming season of the Drama Studio Theatre, published on August 24, 1926, refers to it as a new production. However, Jaan Pert does no mention it in his review of the respective season (1931: 28–44); it is possible that the reason for its exclusion from the repertoire was the financial situation of the theatre and the resulting internal crisis during the spring of 1927 (Pert 1931: 40–41).

[15] Tiit Palu to the author of the article on March 3, 2018.

Theatre for Young Audiences by Mikk Mikiver; in 1982, in the Viljandi Ugala Drama Theatre by Lembit Peterson; and in 1998, in already free Estonia, in the studio theatre Theatrum again by Lembit Peterson (for a description of Anouilh's *Antigone* in Estonia, see Lotman, Bodniece, Dikmonienė 2022: 23–25).

Of the most notable reinterpretations of *Antigone,* Homayun Ghanizadeh's version staged in R.A.A.A.M. theatre in 2010 and Janusz Glowacki's *Antigone in New York*, staged in 1995 by Peeter Raudsepp in Ugala and in 2018 by Peeter Tammearu in Kuressaare's Linnateater, should be mentioned (on the productions and reception, see Lotman, Bodniece, Dikmonienė 2022: 25–26).

In independent Estonia, original plays arose next to the productions that had been based on translated adaptations. In 1996, Andres Lepik staged Talvo Pabut's play *Oidipuse Kompleks* [Oedipus complex]. The drama, which had a historizing visual code but contemporary connotations, inverted Sophocles's entire construct: it turns out that Laius is not in fact Oedipus's father, with it instead being the king of Corinth, thereby rendering the entire tragedy in vain. This type of reinterpretation did not turn out to be successful; the production was met with negative reviews, which criticized foremost the weak stage text and dramaturgy (compare, for example, Piret Kruuspere's review in *Teater. Muusika. Kino* 1995/1996). Hence, it soon disappeared from the repertoire.

In 2003, Mati Unt staged his version of the Thebes cycle in Vanemuine Theatre, with the title *Brother Antigone, Mother Oedipus*. It compiled Euripides's *Bacchae*, Sophocles's *Oedipus the King*, Euripides's *The Phoenician Women*, Sophocles's *Oedipus in Colonus* and *Antigone*, Aeschylus's *Seven Against Thebes*, and Aristophanes's *The Frogs* (Unt 2006: 95; for more about this production, see Lotman, Bodniece, Dikmonienė 2022: 25–26). In 2023, the play was staged again at the Estonian Drama Theatre by Tiit Ojasoo, who updated it with new visual and auditory codes that create oppositions between different eras, as well as between "the self" and "the other". The latter is exemplified by the Estonian folkloric *regisong*, which is associated with the town of Thebes through the ages, and the verbal part of it refers to the hostile army as being the Russians, belonging to the historical stratum that recalls the frequent Russian wars and raids of destruction on the Estonian territory. The Russian-language songs playing in the background of the enemy attack at the beginning of the third act support this connection.

Finally, one must bring up an original Antigone-inspired play. Titled *Jumalate mõistatus* [The mystery of gods], it was authored by Estonian emigrant writer Asta Willmann and performed in a completely different cultural situation, but nevertheless in the Estonian language. The play was brought to

the audience by the Estonian National Theatre in Toronto for the Third North American Estonian Days in 1964 (see also Lotman, Bodniece, Dikmonienė 2022: 24).

4. Music and Dance Performances

The most productive director of productions inspired by Greek tragedy in the Estonian dance scene has been choreographer, dancer, and stage director Mai Murdmaa, who herself has articulated her love for ancient tragedy, stating: "A person nonetheless has a need for great, absolute feelings. People inevitably make compromises in life, but ancient tragedy is a world purely of feelings and philosophy. Completely uncompromising, in fact, outside of reality, unreal emotions due to their level of purity!" (Mattisen 2010). Already as a young director in 1966, she brought to the stage of the Estonia Theatre a ballet in one act, *Medea*, which was based on Samuel Barber's musical work. Available recordings reveal a simple stage design and dramatic long black costumes. In 1980, Mai Murdmaa directed a television production based on this ballet.

In 2007, Mai Murdmaa staged in Estonian Drama Theatre the verbal-musical dance production *Antigone*, whose libretto was authored by Murdmaa herself yet based on Anouilh's play. The costumes used in the production were modern clothes that were stylized with occasional motifs of ancient clothing. The stage design made use of tragedy masks to create an ancient atmosphere, while the musical design was based on Sándor Kallós's ballet *Antigone*. The nucleus of Mai Murdmaa's production appears to have been the inevitability of fate: due to the unwillingness to compromise, neither party of the conflict really has the freedom of choice (compare also Einasto 2007); thus, the tragic ending is also predestined.

In 2010, Mai Murdmaa staged the ballet *Phaedra* in the Estonia Theatre, relying upon the musical works of Benjamin Britten and Iannis Xenakis but also using a libretto that was based on Euripides's text. Although the stage code of this work is of the present day, attempts have been made to emulate the form of ancient tragedy with other devices, with the help of both the libretto and the chorus (Mattisen 2010).

Mai Murdmaa is not the only one who has staged performances based on Greek tragedy. *Oresteia* was staged as a tragedy in a single act in the Estonia Theatre in 1979 by Georgi Aleksidze, who was also the author of the libretto, relying on Aeschylus's work. In 2014, the ballet *Medea* was brought to the stage at the Estonia Theatre. Gianluca Schiavoni directed the production; Risto Joost oversaw the musical design; and the author of the libretto was Marco Gandini.

In 2021, Tanel Saar staged his verbal-dance-musical version of the Thebes stories in the alternative VAT Theatre. The production was titled *Oidipus. Antigone*, intertwining Oedipus's and Antigone's myths into one tragedy (in more details, see Lotman, Bodniece, Dikmonienė 2022: 26–27).

The most recent dance performance based on an ancient tragedy is *Bacchae* (2024), loosely based on Anne Lill's translation of Euripides' text. It was directed by Elina Masing and Liisbeth Horn and performed by third-year students of the Viljandi Culture Academy as part of the program of European Capital of Culture Tartu 2024.

Operas that are based on ancient tragedies have been rare in Estonia. The only noteworthy example is perhaps Cherubini's *Medea*, brought to the stage in Vanemuine in 1971 under the direction of Leonid Kogan. The production received only a modest response and is now almost forgotten.

5. Radio Dramas

A few Estonian radio dramas have also been based on ancient tragedies. However, the first experiment in this field remained inaccesible for the Estonian audience for a long time, as its author, Karl Ristikivi, fled Estonia during the Second World War and his creation was banned during the occupation. As a refugee, he wrote two scripts for radio dramas in Swedish under the alias of Kent Jansson. The first play is titled *Lõhkemata Pomm* [The unexploded bomb], loosely based on Sophocles's *Antigone* (for more, see Lotman, Bodniece, Dikmonienė 2022: 25). The second script by Ristikivi is called *Pimenägemine* [Blind vision], relying on the basic opposition of Oedipus's tragedy: that between sight and blindness. A man who is physically able to see has no eyesight because he does not want to see. As soon as his therapist helps him remember the event he does not want to see, he regains his vision but blinds himself again.

The next radio drama, already broadcast for the Estonian audience, was first aired on January 2, 1960. It was based on the translation by Ain Kaalep and Ülo Torpats, with Eino Tamberg later adding a musical section: the suite *Oedipus the King*, which he later (1965) reworked into a suite for a male chorus, an orchestra, and four actors performing the tragedy of Sophocles (thus, for instance, it was presented in 2002 by the Estonian National Symphony Orchestra and Estonian National Male Choir in the concert programme *Oedipus Rex* along with Stravinsky's opera-oratorio). The radio drama was repeatedly performed on Estonian Radio, including, for example, in 1973 and 1975.

The most recent radio drama based on ancient tragedy is Euripides's *Medea*, completed in 2020. The actors who portrayed the characters in the radio drama were reprising their roles from the 2018 Vanemuine production. The script had to be adjusted and condensed to fit the the radio drama format and not exceed the time limit.

6. A New Multimedial Approach

An example of the multimedial solution is the interpretation of *Oedipus the King* by the alternative theatre Cabaret Rhizome, presenting a technologically modernized version of the tragedy. It was staged in the club Erinevate Tubade Klubi [in the Club of Different Rooms], a venue equipped with multiple screens, which was essential for the concept as actors performed in front of a green screen. The backgrounds and animations were prepared in advance so that the content displayed on the audience's screens had a downright cinematic effect.

The verbal text of the production relies on Ain Kaalep's and Ülo Torpats's translation of Sophocles's *Oedipus the King*, although the text was partially adapted and at times supplemented with the original additions of the theatre makers. For example, while the action in Sophocles's version begins at the moment when the tragedy is already culminating, the goal of Cabaret Rhizome is to descend into the deeper layers of the myth, and for this reason, the production contains added sections of the text, in which the attempt was made to emulate the style of Sophocles, inserting various non-verbal codes into the text: rhythms, cultural elements, and so on. As for the visual code, the entire pre-programmed background in front of which the action unfolds is designed with a strive towards authenticity: the landscapes, architecture, and clothing of Ancient Greece. Cabaret Rhizome's interpretation has also brought back masks, mostly abandoned in Estonian productions of ancient theatre. On the one hand, they are more anonymous and dehumanized than the ancient masks; on the other hand, they are more personalized (see more about this project in Bodniece, Dikmonienė, Kučinskienė, Lotman 2019: 70–71).

7. Summary

Based on the material studied, it can be concluded that the adaptation of Greek tragedy in the Estonian cultural space exhibits specific features and patterns depending on the period of its occurrence.

In its earliest stage, the reception of Greek tragedy was logocentric, with its medium being almost exclusively written text. During this initial period, the world of ancient tragedy reached the Estonian-language audience in printed form, intended for silent reading. These were primarily metatextual allusions in publicist and educational treatises from the 19th and early 20th centuries, but they also included the first translation of a Greek tragedy into Estonian, "Prometheus Bound" by Jaan Jõgever.

Modernist theatre offered new ways for interpreting the ancient texts, and starting in 1922, a new era emerged wherein theatre texts took precedence and emphasis was placed foremost on theatrical codes related to performance, while the verbal text served as a playtext as either a component of the production or accompanying paratexts. During this time, the introduction of Greek tragedies had a dual purpose: firstly, it contributed to the development of national culture, proving that it is possible to express the pinnacles of world culture in Estonian, and secondly, it had an enriching function, introducing new means of expression and trends to both literature and theatre. A striking example of this purpose is the staging of ancient tragedies in the 1920s, which allowed for the experimentation with expressionist concepts instead of adhering to prevailing realism that ensured audience appeal.

The verbal code, musical settings, decorations, and action are presented in various proportions, while in different plays and even in different parts of the same play, these proportions could change. Verbal text primarily functions as a component in a performance, with various interpretations of the text increasingly accepted. The closeness of the translation to the original is not a strict norm in this period, allowing the stage directors considerable freedom in adapting and condensing the text.

During the Soviet period, the verbal text regained prominence through the medium of books, with translations of Greek tragedies into Estonian more oriented towards the reader than the spectator. Thus, these translations adopted a foreignizing approach and featured complex structures, aligning with prevailing norms in Estonian poetry translation. Poetic texts are translated in the same metrical and prosodical systems as those in the original, which, in the case of ancient tragedies, required careful consideration of the complex rules of quantity. As a result, the clarity and playability of the text often suffered, causing challenges in engaging and captivating audiences. This may explain why productions of ancient tragedies during this period were predominantly based on interpretations and adaptations. A noteworthy exception was Sophocles's *Oedipus the King*, which had already begun its own multimedial journey even before the publication of new translations of

tragedies in the anthology of Greek literature and reached audiences through a radio drama, theatrical production, and in Estonian original literary creations.

In staging the adaptations, the subtext and message of a text became more important than ever before; this is particularly evident in the case of *Antigone*, which alluded to the opposition between the individual and totalitarian order.

During the 1980s, Estonian theatres experienced a resurgence of attention to ancient theatre, and this, while not exactly vigorous, has persisted in independent Estonia. In independent Estonia, there is no longer a single dominant medium, instead, the reception of Greek tragedy has been modernized through a variety of media, including drama theatre mixed with dance and musical theatre, the use of multimedia devices in theatre performances, and the modernization and transformation of archaic codes. Additionally, one can observe a blurring of generic boundaries when, for example, comical or satirical elements are added to tragedies.

Various verbal texts are also compiled, such as the canonical translation of *Oedipus the King* with Anouilh's version of *Antigone*, or the translation of Oedipus with texts of Estonian authors, etc. A notable trend is the evolution of meta- and paratexts from popularizing writings into original academic study, with Anne Lill's analyses and commentaries being a prominent example. This broader academic context is useful for both theatre-makers and audiences. Currently, Greek tragedy reaches the Estonian public through a wide spectrum of codes and media, allowing for different layers and emphases to be highlighted, from meticulous scholarly analyses to works of art created with the help of modern technological possibilities.

In conclusion, it can be argued that one of the most important links that ties the world of Greek tragedy in Estonian culture into a cohesive mental whole is its function: the primary aim of this cultural transfer is to enrich and enhance the native culture in terms of genre, content, and through various expressive means. It serves as a tool to promote Estonian culture, address social and political issues, and give voice to the oppressed or silenced.

We often observe how ancient events are utilized to comment on Estonian society directly or indirectly: ancient tragedy provides a platform to discuss forbidden topics in an occupied land or to deepen the understanding of individual and societal experiences, incorporating both personal and collective trauma into classical plots. Moreover, it serves to showcase Estonian culture's belongingness to a broader, older European cultural sphere, solidifying its connection with the Western literary world and elevating this relatively young and small culture.

Thus, the distinct realm of Greek tragedy in Estonia continues to evolve, reflecting the overarching trends of Estonian culture at each stage. It engages in a continual dialogue with the broader world of Greek tragedy both within Estonia and in the Western cultural sphere, all while maintaining its own unique identity.

References

Agur, Rein; Hermaküla, Evald; Unt, Mati; Baskin, Roman; Komissarov, Kalju (1990). 'Eesti teatrikool: XIV lend läheb, probleemid jäävad.' – *Teater. Muusika. Kino* 6, 58–65.

Andresen, Nigol (1971). *Hilda Gleser*. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.

Annus, Epp (2005). 'Hullus ja surmaiha: Jaan Krossi Keisri hull ja Sophoklese Antigone.' – Laanes, Eneken (ed.), *Metamorfiline Kross: sissevaateid Jaan Krossi loomingusse*. Tallinn: Underi ja Tuglase Kirjanduskeskus, 95–101.

Anonymous (1888). 'Näitemäng.' – *Postimees*, 4.02.1888.

Anonymous (1900). 'Sõjajumal.' – *Olevik*, 12.09.1900.

Anonymous (1903). 'Millega inimesed endid joowastawad'. – *Uus Aeg: [jutulisa]*, 6.02.1903.

Anonymous (1905). 'Mõnda abielust'. – *Kirjandus ja Teadus: "Teataja" lisaleht*, 24.09.1905.

Anonymous (1909). 'Seda ja teist.' – *Postimees*, 28.08.1909.

Babi, Julius (1919). 'Inimene näitelaval. Julius Babi dramaturgia näitlejale. A. Haava tõlge. Teine kõne. Greeka tragöödia.' – *Valge raamat: ajakiri näitelava tegelastele ja näitemängust osavõtjatele* 2, 16–24.

Balbat, Maris (2010). 'Müüt groteskikuues.' – *Sirp*, 27.08.2010.

Bauman [Haliste], Pärtel (1928). 'Sophokles ja tema looming.' – *Postimees*, 30.06.1928.

Bergmann, Jaan (1879). *Üleüldine ajalugu. 1. jagu: Wana aeg*. Tartu: Schnakenburg.

[Bergmann, Jaan?] (1897). 'Koduloomad.' – *Postimees*, 06.09.1897.

[Bergmann, Jaan?] (1899). 'Ringreis oma rahwa keskel.' – *Postimees*, 4.08.1899.

Bodniece, Līva; Dikmonienė, Jovita; Kučinskienė, Audronė; Lotman, Maria-Kristiina (2019). 'Oidipuse transmeedialine teekond Baltimail.' – *Acta Semiotica Estica* XVI, 53–74.

Diercks, Gustav (1886). 'Isand ja sulane.' – *Sakala*, 16.08.1886.

Einasto, Heili (2007). 'Sünteesisaavutuse poolel teel: Mai Murdmaa "Antigone".' – *Sirp*, 30.03.2007.

Elleström, Lars (2019). *Transmedial Narration. Narratives and Stories in Different Media*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Epner, Luule (1996). 'Kahe "Libahundi" vahel ehk Antigone ja Hamlet.' – *Nüpli V (XIII) kevadkool. Traditsioon ja pluralism II. Kirjanduslugu*. https://www.kirmus.ee/nypli/luule-epner/

Epner, Luule (2006). 'Märkmeid ühe lavastuse sünniloost. Mati Undi "Vend Antigone, ema Oidipus".' – Epner, Luule; Saro, Anneli (eds), *Etenduse analüüs: võrrand mitme tundmatuga*. (*Studia litteraria Estonica*; 8.) Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 161–204.

E. S. (1928). '"Antigone" ja "Toomapäev". "Draamastuudio" vabaõhuetendus laululaval.' – *Uudisleht*, 48, 4.07.1928.

Ed. H. [Hubel, Eduard] (1922). 'Kuningas Ödipus.' – *Päewaleht*, 29.08.1922.

Gielen, Katiliina; Lotman, Maria-Kristiina (2021). 'On Performativity and Perception in Early Estonian-Language Theatre Translation.' – *Methis. Studia humaniora Estonica* 22 (27/28), 198–222. https://doi.org/10.7592/methis.v22i27/28.18449

Hamburg, Paul (1930). 'K. Laagus – Leitnant Vasmer.' – *Eesti Kirjandus* 8, 413–414.

HO. [Oras, Ants?] (1964). 'Asta Willmanni draama sai nimeks „Jumalate mõistatus".' – *Meie Elu*, 19.03.1964.

Jakobson, Roman (1981 [1935]). 'The dominant.' – Jakobson, Roman, *Selected Writings, Vol. 3. Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry*. Edited, with a preface, by Stephen Rudy. The Hague, Paris, New York: Mouton, 751–756. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110802122.751

Jenkins, Henry (2008). *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*. New York; London: New York University Press.

Kowzan, Tadeusz (1975). *Littérature et spectacle*. The Hague: Mouton.

Kronberg, Janika (2012). 'Kaks tõsist mängu.' – Ristikivi, Karl, *Lõhkemata pomm. Pimenägemine.* (*Loomingu Raamatukogu*; 31–32.) Tallinn: Kultuurileht, 59–61.

Lauter, Ants (1982). *Käidud teedelt. Mälestusi ja sõnavõtte*. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.

[Liiv, Juhan?] (1888). 'Eesti näitemäng.' – *Sakala*, 23.06.1888.

Lill, Anne (2003). 'Dream Symbols in Greek Tragedy: The Case of Clytemnestra.' – *Interlitteraria* 8, 178–197.

Lill, Anne (2004). *Tragöödialeksikon: teemad ja tegelased antiikkreeka teatris*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.

Lill, Anne (2006). 'Antiiktragöödia, esteetika paradoksid ja Mati Unt.' – *Keel ja Kirjandus* 1, 1–14.

Lill, Anne (2008). *Inimene ja maailm kreeka tragöödias*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.

Lill, Anne (2010). 'Eetos, kõlbelisus ja ausus kreeka tragöödias: Philoktetese dilemma ja filosoofide arutlused.' – Leibov, Roman (ed.), *Con amore: Istoriko-filologičeskij sbornik v čest' Ljubovi Nikolaevny Kiselevoj* [Con amore: историко-филологический сборник в честь Любови Николаевны Киселевой.] Moscow [Москва]: OGI [ОГИ], 298–310.

Lotman, Maria-Kristiina (2012a). 'Antiikvärsimõõdud eesti tõlgetes 19. sajandi lõpul – 20. sajandi esimesel poolel.' – *Methis. Studia humaniora Estonica* 9/10, 54–68. https://doi.org/10.7592/methis.v7i9/10.568

Lotman, Maria-Kristiina (2012b). 'Equiprosodic translation method in Estonian poetry.' – *Sign Systems Studies* 40 (3/4), 447–472. https://doi.org/10.12697/SSS.2012.3-4.10

Lotman, Maria-Kristiina; Bodniece, Līva; Dikmonienė, Jovita (2022). 'Reception of Sophocles' *Antigone* in the Baltic States.' – *Literatūra* 64 (4), 20–42. https://doi.org/10.15388/Litera.2022.64.4.13

Lotman, Maria-Kristiina; Lotman, Rebekka (2023). 'Linnar Priimäe värsikunst – tõsine mäng Medeiana.' – *Sirp*, 20.10.2023.

Lotman, Maria-Kristiina; Novikov, Kadri (2017). 'Iphigeneia tõlkeis ja tõlgendustes.' – *Vikerkaar* 9, 88–94.

Maiste, Valle-Sten (1995). 'Üle ühe. Ugala külalisetendused Tallinnas.' – *Kultuurileht*, 8.09.1995.

Manousakis, Nikos (2020). *'Prometheus Bound' – A Separate Authorial Trace in the Aeschylean Corpus*. (*Trends in Classics – Supplementary Volumes*; 98.) Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter.

Mattisen, Tiina (2010). 'Mai Murdmaa neljas puutepunkt antiiktragöödiaga.' – *Sirp*, 29.01.2010.

Mutt, Mihkel (1998). 'Vastuvooluvaim elab Vene tänaval.' – *Eesti Päevaleht*, 12.03.1998.

Natanael [Semper, Johannes] (1922). 'Ödipuse mõistatuslikkus.' – *Päevaleht*, 09.09.1922.

Nõlvak, Kristel (1999). 'Sõnumi olemasolust. Sophokles või Anouilh? ("Antigone" Theatrumis)'. – *Teater. Muusika. Kino*, 32–34.

Nord, Christiane (1988). *Textanalyse und Übersetzen. Theorie, Methode und didaktische Anwendung einer übersetzungsrelevanten Textanalyse*. Heidelberg: Groos.

Ojamaa, Maarja; Torop, Peeter (2015). 'Transmediality of cultural autocommunication.' – *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 18(1), 61–78. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877914528119

Ojamaa, Triinu (2019). 'Sõnumeid "maailma äärelt": Aksel Valgma kirjad Artur Adsonile.' – *Tuna* 4, 123–132.

Pert, Jaan (1931). *Draamastuudio 1920–1930*. Tallinn: Draamastuudio Kirjastus.

Pesti, Madli (2018). 'Võõrad inimesed võõral maal ("Antigone New Yorgis" Kuressaare Linnateatris)'. *Sirp*, 12.10.2018.

Priimägi, Linnar (2019). *Luule ja tõde.* Tartu: Ilmamaa.

Priimägi, Linnar (2023). *Medeia*. Tartu: Ilmamaa.

Reiman, Liina (1960). *Lava võlus*. Lund: Eesti Kirjanike Kooperatiiv.

Rühka, Adolf (1904). *Lühikese Näitemängu Õpetus*. Valga: F. Karlson.

Saro, Anneli (2017). *101 Eesti teatrisündmust*. Tallinn: Varrak.

Sibrits, Heili (2012). 'Antiikset teatrit moodsas NO99-s.' – *Postimees*, 16.01.2012.

Tamm, Agu (1935). *Sophoklese elu ja looming*. Tartu: Loodus.

Taplin, Oliver, ed. (2019). *Kirjandus Kreeka ja Rooma maailmas: uus vaatenurk*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.

Teemant, Marten (2017). 'Eestlased katsuvad rammu Kreekamaa traagikutega.' – *Kaktus*. https://kkaktus.wordpress.com/2017/02/28/eestlased-katsuvad-rammu-kreekamaa-traagikutega/

Tobro, Valdeko (1968). '"Libahunt" 68.' – *Sirp ja Vasar*, 27.09.1968.

Tonts, Ülo (1998). 'Jällekohtumisel Anouilh' Antigonega.' – *Postimees*, 10.03.1998.
Tormis, Lea (1991). 'Täiendusi näitlejalegendile.' – *Teater. Muusika. Kino* 11, 13–26.
Torop, Peeter (2011). *Tõlge ja kultuur*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.
Unt, Mati (1968). 'Kaasaegne libahunt.' – *Edasi*, 18.08.1968.
Voitk, Valli (1964). 'Jumalate mõistatus.' – *Vaba Eesti Sõna = Free Estonian Word: Estonian weekly*, 28.05.1964
West, Martin L. (1990). *Studies in Aeschylus*. Stuttgart: Teubner.

Abstract

This paper explores the reception of ancient Greek tragedy in Estonian culture, emphasizing its trans-, inter-, and multimodality. It provides a historical overview of its reception, analyzing various representations across different media types. Through the study of translations, adaptations, and productions across different media, the paper maps the transmedial structure of Greek tragedies in Estonia, highlighting how media choices evolve over time and reflect cultural preferences. It discusses the dominance of written texts in early reception of Greek tragedy, the importance of it in modernist theatre, and the Soviet-era focus on literary translations. The paper also discusses the resurgence of interest in ancient theatre in independent Estonia, characterized by diverse media forms and blurred generic boundaries. It emphasizes the cultural significance of Greek tragedy in enriching Estonian culture, addressing social and political issues, and connecting with broader European traditions. Ultimately, the Greek tragedy in Estonia continues to evolve, maintaining a unique identity while engaging in dialogue with global cultural trends.

LUCIAN'S INDECENCY: TOO MUCH FOR A SOVIET READER

Neeme Näripä

In the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1964, a collection of ancient Greek authors was translated into Estonian and published under the title *Anthology of Greek Literature* (Kaalep & Torpats 1964). It was of great significance for Estonian-language publications of classical literature to be published during the Soviet time. From 1949 to 1964, only the complete translations of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* appeared in Estonian[1], as well as the myth of Narcissus and Echo from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the literary monthly *Looming*[2]. A number of short examples were also translated for two textbooks, Joseph M. Tronsky's *The History of Classical Literature*[3] and Mark D. Eichenholz's and Lev N. Galitsky's *Foreign Literature: a Textbook for the Senior Years of High School*[4]. These two books were translated from Russian, but they included examples of classical authors that were translated directly from their Greek or Latin originals. For Tronsky's textbook, these translations were made by the Estonian poet and translator Johannes Semper: for Eichenholz's and Galitsky's probably by the influential underground scholar Uku Masing, though he isn't credited. Actually, these years also saw two Estonian translations of selections from Vergil and Ovid; however, they were printed in exile, while this paper deals with Soviet Estonia.[5]

---

[1] Annist & Reitav 1960, 1963. Before the complete translations were published, some excerpts from Homer's *Odyssey* by the same translators appeared in literary journals *Noorus* (vol. 11, 1951, pp. 24–26) and *Looming* (vol. 1, 1957, pp. 82–90).

[2] A. Kaalep, Ü. Torpats, transl. Publius Ovidius Naso. Metamorfoosid (Narcissus ja Echo). *Looming*, vol. 4, 1957, pp. 560–564.

[3] Tronski 1949.

[4] Eichenholz & Galitski 1951.

[5] A bibliography for Estonian translations of classical texts is accessible online at https://antiik.ut.ee/eab/. An overview can be gained in, e.g., Päll 2011, 2012.

The Anthology of Greek Literature covers 32 ancient Greek authors; several shorter texts have been translated and published in their entirety, while longer works most often are in partial form with shorter or longer omissions. The anthology was compiled and edited by two well-known Estonian philologists, Ain Kaalep (1926–2020) and Ülo Torpats (1920–1988). There are altogether twelve translators and all of them received their education before the Second World War, thus belonging more to the European/German school of philology than the Russian. In the Soviet period, classical studies were not favoured by the prevalent Soviet ideology and not taught as an independent discipline at the University of Tartu between 1954 and 1990. The younger generation of Estonian translators from classical languages acquired their skills outside of the classroom while being enrolled in other disciplines, but they were probably not yet of age to contribute to the 1964 anthology.[6]

This paper focuses on *True Stories* by Lucian of Samosata (2nd century AD). In the *Anthology of Greek Literature*, excerpts from books one and two of *True Stories* can be found. Lucian's translator was Karl Reitav (1897–1961). His *True Stories* falls under the category of partially translated works, as a complete translation would probably have been too long for an anthology of about 600 pages. The omitted parts are occasionally summed up in a sentence or two, so the reader would know what happened in the meantime.[7]

While some text has frequently been left out to save space, there are two remarkable passages that have been omitted, and their omission cannot be explained due to their length. One of them is only 285 characters long in its Greek original, while the other is 508 characters. Therefore, the reason for these omissions must be the subject matter. The first strange omission occurs in the first book of *True Stories* and the translation provides a short summary in place of the omitted text, which reads: "In the following, Lucian describes the women making love to his companions." The second omission occurs in the second book of *True Stories* and the corresponding summary says: "Lucian describes the delights of love on the island."

This paper will:

- briefly describe the general reception of Lucian during the Soviet period to provide a cultural context;

[6] Seven years later, in 1971, *The Anthology of Roman Literature* appeared in Estonian and the list of translators already included Jaan Kaplinski (1941–2021) and Jüri Maadla (born 1932).

[7] This has been done in this text as well as in others included in the anthology.

- analyse the two passages at length to determine what could have been particularly problematic about these words or motives;
- argue that these passages have been left out on moral grounds;
- compare the Estonian translation to translations in other languages from earlier times to determine if a longer tradition of censorship in the case of these two passages of Lucian can be established;
- bring forth the Russian translation by Kamila Vasilyevna Trever[8] as the model for Reitav's translation and speculate on whether censorship has been forced upon the translator (in the case of Reitav an obligation to follow Trever) or whether there is evidence of self-censoring that has arisen from either tradition or the cultural context of the Soviet Union.

The translations that will be analysed in addition to Reitav's are the following:

1664	Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt	French[9]
1788–1789	Christoph Martin Wieland	German[10]
1857	Eugène Talbot	French[11]
1905	Henry Watson Fowler and Francis George Fowler	English[12]
1913	Austin Morris Harmon	English[13]
1960	Horst Gasse	German[14]

The reception of Lucian in Soviet Estonia

Lucian is quite highly esteemed in textbooks and handbooks on classical literature that were published in Estonia in the Soviet period. The aforementioned *History of Classical Literature* by Joseph Tronsky cites the two cornerstones of socialism in the chapter on Lucian: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.[15] Marx claims that Lucian rightly makes fun of the deities ("humanity must bid farewell to its past with laughter"). Engels, on his part, approves the satire about

8 In Deratani & Timofeyeva 1947.

9 D'Ablancourt 1664.

10 Wieland 1981.

11 Talbot 1857.

12 Fowler & Fowler 1905.

13 Harmon 1913.

14 Gasse 1960.

15 Tronski 1949: 301–302.

philosophers in Lucian's *Symposium*.[16] In the appendix to the *Anthology of Greek Literature*, Ain Kaalep, one of the editors, writes the following about Lucian: "Engels called him the Voltaire of the Antiquity and Marx was an admirer of his atheism and freedom of thought."[17] Despite this appreciation, it seems even the best sometimes have to be censored. Subsequently, we will discuss the first omitted passage.

Indecent passage number one

The first short section that has been left out is located towards the beginning of book one of *True Stories*. The adventurers sail to a miraculous island where a river of wine flows. This island grows wonderful vines, which have a normal trunk but the upper body of a woman. These women succeed in seducing some of the adventurers who lose their lives as a result. The Greek passage reads as follows:

> "αἱ δὲ καὶ μίγνυσθαι ἡμῖν ἐπεθύμουν· καὶ δύο τινὲς τῶν ἑταίρων πλησιάσαντες αὐταῖς οὐκέτι ἀπελύοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων ἐδέδεντο· συνεφύοντο γὰρ καὶ συνερριζοῦντο. καὶ ἤδη αὐτοῖς κλάδοι ἐπεφύκεσαν οἱ δάκτυλοι, καὶ ταῖς ἕλιξι περιπλεκόμενοι ὅσον οὐδέπω καὶ αὐτοὶ καρποφορήσειν ἔμελλον." (1.8.13–17)[18]

As a reference point, I will use the English translation of the same passage by Austin Morris Harmon from 1913:

> "Some of them actually wanted us to embrace them, and two of my comrades complied, but could not get away again. They were held fast by the part which had touched them, for it had grown in and struck root. Already branches had grown from their fingers, tendrils entwined them, and they were on the point of bearing fruit like the others any minute."

As far as the vocabulary is concerned, there is nothing vulgar about it (although a judgement like this is always more or less subjective). The two words that could be considered indecent are μίγνυμι, which literally means 'to bring together' but can also stand for 'to have (sexual) intercourse', and

[16] Tronski 1949: 304.

[17] Kleis 1968: 154.

[18] The text is taken from *Thesaurus linguae Graecae* (TLG E, University of California, Irvine), which uses the edition by M. D. Macleod, *Luciani opera*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.

αἰδοῖα, meaning genitals (αἰδοῖα is in fact derived from the noun αἰδώς, which denotes both respect and shame). The use of these two terms in Ancient Greek is fairly neutral; that is to say, more vulgar words with similar meanings exist.[19]

Harmon's translation appeared in 1913 in the Loeb Classical Library, a series that always provides a parallel text in the original language beside the English translation. As one can see, the translation is pretty straightforward but – regarding the two aforementioned words – rather euphemistic; he speaks of "embracing" and of unspecified "parts".

As mentioned above, the Estonian *Anthology of Greek Literature* sums it all up in one sentence: "In the following, Lucian describes the women making love to his companions" ("Järgnevalt kirjeldab Lukianos naiste armatsemist tema kaaslastega"). This omission also creates a textual incoherence. As Reitav's translation continues, the first sentence says that the travellers returned to their ship and relayed to their waiting companions what had happened and how some men had lost their lives by turning into vines. Due to the omission, the reader does not know that someone has perished on the island or that the love-making had fatal consequences.

Next, I will analyse the other five translations in French, German and English to determine if there is a longer tradition to censor this passage in one way or another. The 17th century French translation by d'Ablancourt avoids any mention of intercourse, μίγνυμι, by a euphemistic paraphrase and speaks of "forbidden parts", *parties criminelles*.[20] Wieland's German translation from the 18th century, on the other hand, translates μίγνυμι as *begatten* but omits the genitals.[21] Furthermore, Wieland adds a moral to the story, which is completely absent in the Greek original: "*aber ein paar von meinen Gefährten, die ihnen zu Willen waren, mussten ihre Lüsterheit teuer bezahlen*[22]." In the

---

[19] Although the "neutrality" of such words can also be disputed, the conventionally neutral words are often *per se* euphemistic while the non-euphemistic words are considered vulgar.

[20] *& deux de nos compagnons s'estant laissez surprendre à leurs charmes, demeurèrent pris par les parties criminelles, & comme s'ils eussent esté entez ensemble commencèrent à prendre racine, & à pousser des rejetons.* (D'Ablancourt 1664: 344)

[21] *Einige von ihnen kam sogar die Lust an, sich mit uns zu begatten; aber ein paar von meinen Gefährten, die ihnen zu Willen waren, mussten ihre Lüsternheit teuer bezahlen. Denn sie konnten sich nicht wieder losmachen, sondern wuchsen dergestalt mit ihnen zusammen, dass sie zu einem einzigen Stocke mit gemeinschaftlichen Wurzeln wurden; ihre Finger verwandelten sich in Rebschosse, voll durcheinandergeschlungner Ranken, und fingen bereits an, Augen zu gewinnen und Früchte zu versprechen.* (Wieland 1981: 305)

[22] *[B]ut some of my companions who gave way to their* [*i.e.* to the women's] *wishes had to pay for their wantonness.*

19th century, Eugène Talbot translated both of these "sensitive" words, with the first, μίγνυμι, being rather euphemistically translated as 'loving embrace' (*étreinte amoureuse*) and the second, αἰδοῖα, more straightforward as 'genitals' (*parties sexuelles*).[23] The last two translations to be analysed both come from the 20th century: the English translation of H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler from 1905, and the German translation of H. Gasse from the 1960s. Fowler & Fowler translate μίγνυμι quite euphemistically as "further amorous advances" and do not mention the genitals at all.[24] Horst Gasse's translation for μίγνυμι can be considered a euphemism ("they invited us to the delights of love", "*luden sie uns zu Liebesfreuden ein*") but genitals, *Genitalien*, for αἰδοῖα, is a straightforward translation.[25]

In drawing a conclusion for the first passage from *True Stories*, we can say that all of the analysed translations in English, German and French are more or less euphemistic. In most cases, at least one of the two 'sensitive' words, μίγνυμι and αἰδοῖα, has been euphemistically paraphrased. The translation of Wieland stands out in that it includes a moralising statement that is absent in the original text. However, none of these translations is as radical as Reitav's, which omits the whole passage and replaces it with a summarising sentence. Furthermore, Reitav's omission creates a textual incoherence.

Indecent passage number two

The other short omission can be found in the second book of *True Stories* and is again about an island. The adventurers reach the Island of the Blessed and the narrator describes the lifestyle and customs of its inhabitants:

---

[23] *Quelques-unes nous invitaient à une étreinte amoureuse ; mais deux de nos compagnons s'étant laissé prendre par elles ne purent s'en débarrasser ; ils demeurèrent pris par les parties sexuelles, entés avec ces femmes, et poussant avec elles des racines : en un instant, leurs doigts se changèrent en rameaux, en vrilles, et l'on eût dit qu'ils allaient aussi produire des raisins.* (Talbot 1857: 383–384)

[24] *Some of them made further amorous advances; and two of my comrades who yielded to these solicitations found it impossible to extricate themselves again from their embraces; the man became one plant with the vine, striking root beside it; his fingers turned to vine twigs, the tendrils were all round him and embryo grape-clusters were already visible on him.* (Fowler & Fowler 1905: 139)

[25] *Dagegen luden sie uns zu Liebesfreuden ein. Ein paar von meinen Kameraden, die sich mit ihnen einliessen, konnten sich nicht wieder frei machen, sondern sassen mit ihren Genitalien fest, wuchsen mit ihnen zusammen und verwurzelten sich ineinander. Und schon waren ihre Finger zu Schösslingen geworden, Ranken schlangen sich um sie, und die Zeit war abzusehen, in der sie selbst Früchte tragen würden.* (Gasse 1960: 354–355)

> "περὶ δὲ συνουσίας καὶ ἀφροδισίων οὕτω φρονοῦσιν· μίσγονται μὲν ἀναφανδὸν πάντων ὁρώντων καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ἄρρεσι, καὶ οὐδαμῶς τοῦτο αὐτοῖς αἰσχρὸν δοκεῖ· μόνος δὲ Σωκράτης διώμνυτο ἢ μὴν καθαρῶς πλησιάζειν τοῖς νέοις· καὶ μέντοι πάντες αὐτοῦ ἐπιορκεῖν κατεγίνωσκον· πολλάκις γοῦν ὁ μὲν Ὑάκινθος ἢ ὁ Νάρκισσος ὡμολόγουν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἠρνεῖτο. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκές εἰσι πᾶσι κοιναὶ καὶ οὐδεὶς φθονεῖ τῷ πλησίον, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ περὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα Πλατωνικώτατοι· καὶ οἱ παῖδες δὲ παρέχουσι τοῖς βουλομένοις οὐδὲν ἀντιλέγοντες." (2.19.2–11)

The English translation by Austin Morris Harmon from 1913 reads, as follows:

> "About love-making their attitude is such that they bill-and-coo openly, in plain sight of everyone, without any discrimination, and think no shame of it at all. Socrates, the only exception, used to protest that he was above suspicion in his relations with young persons, but everyone held him guilty of perjury. In fact, Hyacinthus and Narcissus often said that they knew better, but he persisted in his denial. They all have their wives in common and nobody is jealous of his neighbour; in this point they out-Plato Plato. Complaisance is the universal rule." (Harmon 1913: 321–323)

As far as the vocabulary is concerned, there seems to be nothing to be ashamed of. The love-making, συνουσία[26], is mentioned. The original text also adds the "joys of love", ἀφροδίσια[27], to the lovemaking, which has been left out of Harmon's translation. So the beginning of the first sentence should read: "About love-making and joys of love their attitude is such..." Next Harmon uses a euphemistic verb 'bill-and-coo'; in the Greek text though, the neutral μίγνυμι, 'to have (sexual) intercourse' is used. There are no other "sensitive" words in this passage.

The mentioning of sexual practices such as homosexuality, promiscuity and pederasty seems to be an issue for some of the translators and/or publishers. Promiscuity is the least problematic of them, as Harmon says openly that the islanders have their wives in common. Homosexuality and pederasty are referred to when speaking about Socrates' relations with "young persons" and to Hyacinthus and Narcissus. But direct references to homosexuality have been avoided in Harmon's translation. Instead of the translator's mysterious expression 'without any discrimination' in the first sentence, the Greek original reads: "/.../ they have intercourse openly, in plain sight of everyone, with

[26] A noun derived from σύνειμι, 'to be with'.

[27] The nominalisation of adjectives ἀφροδίσιος, 'belonging to Aphrodite', neuter plural.

women as well as with men, and think no shame of it at all." The last sentence of the passage about complaisance is also written euphemistically by Harmon; the original says: "And the boys give themselves to anyone who wants them without any opposition."

The Estonian *Anthology of Greek Literature* gives a short statement in one sentence: "Lucian describes the delights of love on the island" ("Lukianos kirjeldab armunaudinguid saarel").

D'Ablancourt in his French translation from the 17th century mentions promiscuity and pederasty[28] but omits the sex in public as well as the universal complaisance of boys.[29] Wieland (18th century) avoids μίγνυμι as well as homosexuality, and pederasty is only hinted at with the doubtful accusations of boys against Socrates.[30] On the other hand, Wieland has no problem in mentioning promiscuity. The fearless Frenchman of the 19th century, Eugène Talbot, does not shrink back from anything[31]: he talks about sexual intercourse (*commerce*) and the delights of love (*plaisirs de l'amour*), mentions homosexuality (*hommes ou femmes*), promiscuity (*[t]outes les femmes sont en commun*), pederasty and complaisance of the boys (*les petits garçons accordent...*). A completely different

[28] The Greek text mentions both, homosexuality (μίσγονται /.../ καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ἄρρεσι) as well as pederasty (οἱ παῖδες δὲ παρέχουσι τοῖς βουλομένοις). D'Ablancourt's translation talks only about boys, *garçons*, who, at least in the respect of ancient Greek sexuality, should be considered as a separate category from men.

[29] *Les femmes y sont communes, & en cela, ils sont tous Platoniciens. On ne s'abstient pas mesme des garçons, il n'y avoit que Socrate qui iuroit qu'il ne les toucheroit point, encore croit-on qu'il se parjuroit.* (D'Ablancourt 1664: 369)

[30] *Was die Mysterien der Venus betrifft, so will ich nichts mehr davon sagen, als dass sie auf dieser Insel so öffentlich als möglich und mit der ungebundensten Freiheit begangen werden. In der Tat war Sokrates der einzige, der sich verschwur, dass zwischen ihm und den schönen Jünglingen, mit denen er so vertraulich lebte, nichts Besonderes vorgehe: aber alle übrigen glaubten, er schwöre falsch. Hyazinth und Narziss waren offenherziger, aber er leugnete alles frisch weg. Die Weiber sind alle gemein; die Männer sind ihrentwegen ohne alle Eifersucht und in diesem Stücke lauter ausgemachte Platoniker.* (Wieland 1981: 333–334)

[31] *Voici maintenant leur façon de penser sur le commerce et les plaisirs de l'amour. Ils se caressent devant témoins, aux yeux de tous, hommes ou femmes, et n'y voient aucun mal. Socrate seul attestait par serment que c'était sans arrière-pensée impure qu'il recherchait les jeunes gens ; mais tous l'accusaient de se parjurer. Souvent Hyacinthe et Narcisse convenaient du fait, Socrate le niait toujours. Toutes les femmes sont en commun, et nul n'y jalouse son voisin : ils sont en cela des Platoniciens accomplis ; les petits garçons accordent tout ce qu'on veut et ne refusent jamais.* (Talbot 1857: 405)

approach is taken by the two Fowlers at the beginning of the 20th century who have made the whole section disappear without a trace.[32]

The most recent translation in this analysis is the German translation by Gasse.[33] Gasse's translation is straightforward; it mentions sexual intercourse (*[m]it dem geschlechtlichen Verkehr*), homosexuality (*geben sie sich ihm mit Frauen wie Männern hin*), promiscuity (*[d]ie Weiber gehören allen gemeinsam*), pederasty and complaisance (/.../ *Knaben; sie willfahren allen*).

In drawing conclusions from the second indecent passage, this time there seem to be fewer problems with the vocabulary (μίγνυμι being the only "sensitive" word for which some authors use euphemisms) and more problems with the description of diverse sexual practices. The last issue is summed up in the table below:

	d'Ablancourt	Wieland	Talbot	Fowler & Fowler	Harmon	Gasse
homo-sexuality			+		(+) (hinted at with 'without any discrimination')	+
promiscuity	+	+	+		+	+
pederasty and universal complaisance	+ (no com-plaisance)	(+) (pederasty hinted at, no complai-sance)	+		(+) (hinted at, mentions complaisance)	+

[32] Fowler & Fowler 1905: 161.

[33] *Mit dem geschlechtlichen Verkehr und den Freuden der Liebe halten sie es so. In aller Öffentlichkeit und vor aller Augen geben sie sich ihm mit Frauen wie Männern hin, und sie finden keineswegs etwas Unanständiges dabei. Allein Sokrates schwor wiederholt Stein und Bein, dass er sich den jungen Leuten nur mit reinen Gedanken nähere; doch alle hatten ihn im Verdacht, er schwöre einen Meineid. Wenigstens gaben Hyakinthos und Narkissos des öfteren so etwas zu, obwohl er es leugnete. Die Weiber gehören allen gemeinsam, keiner neidet eins dem andern, und in dieser Beziehung sind sie Erzplatoniker. Nicht anders steht es mit den Knaben; sie willfahren allen, die sie begehren, ohne Widerstreben.* (Gasse 1960: 386–387)

Kamila Vasilyevna Trever's translation as the model for Karl Reitav

In 1935, N. F. Deratani's compilation of ancient Greek authors in Russian appeared for the first time with the title *Хрестоматия по античной литературе. Том 1, Греческая литература: для высших учебных заведений*.[34] This anthology includes Kamila Vasilyevna Trever's translation of Lucian's *True Stories*.[35] Trever's translation makes omissions of the same length in the two aforementioned places and provides similar summarising sentences. For the first indecent passage, it reads "Дальше Лукиан говорит о любви этих женщин к его товарищам"[36], and for the second indecent passage, "Лукиан говорит о любовных наслаждениях на острове"[37]. Trever's translation was most likely the model for Karl Reitav, as I am not aware of any other version that exhibits such similarities.

Next, we will compare the two anthologies to see if Deratani's (and Timofeyeva's) anthology was also followed in other ways by Kaalep and Torpats, editors of the Estonian anthology.

First, Deratani's and Timofeyeva's Russian anthology is longer: it comprises more authors and more texts. The authors that are included in the 1947 edition of Deratani but missing from the Estonian anthology are the following: anonymous folk tradition (working songs, etc.), Xenophanes, Aesop, Callinus, Hipponax, Ibycus, Lysias, Isocrates, Herodas, Asclepiades, Leonidas of Tarentum, Meleager, Heliodorus, Paulus Silentiarius, and Anacreon. Remarkably, there is also one author in the Estonian anthology who is not present in Deratani's, and that is Marcus Aurelius: Astrid Kurismaa translated an excerpt from his *Meditations*. The conclusion would be that Kaalep and Torpats followed the Russian anthology[38] for the most part, but it was also possible to deviate from this model and introduce other authors.

The selection of texts is also a little bit different in these two anthologies. Deratani's and Timofeyeva's anthology has more texts than the Estonian and we learn from the editor's foreword that with the reprints the number of

---

[34] Voronkov 1961: 23 (http://ancientrome.ru/publik/article.htm?a=1304463289).

[35] For this paper, the anthology's edition from 1947 is used, which is already the fifth in the row and has now a second editor, N. A. Timofeyeva (Deratani & Timofeyeva 1947). This edition could also have been used by Karl Reitav, since it is available at the University of Tartu Library.

[36] Deratani & Timofeyeva 1947: 529.

[37] Deratani & Timofeyeva 1947: 536.

[38] The concept of both anthologies is also based on the literary canon of the "best", which was developed in Alexandria and in later times.

texts has increased. Regarding Lucian, the 1947 edition has become richer with excerpts from *Alexander the False Prophet*, and the following are other translations of Lucian published in Deratani's book: excerpts from *Praising a Fly*, dialogue *Prometheus*, a selection from *Dialogues of the Gods* (*Hephaestus and Zeus*, *Hermes and Helios*, *Hermes and Maia*), a selection from *Dialogues of the Dead* (*Hermes and Charon*, *Charon*, *Hermes and Various Shades*) excerpts from *True Stories*, excerpts from *Passing of Peregrinus*. The selection of Lucian's writings in the Estonian anthology is smaller but also different from Deratani's: six dialogues from *Dialogues of the Gods* (*Prometheus and Zeus*, *Hephaestus and Zeus*, *Hermes and Helios*, *Hera and Zeus*, *Hermes and Maia*, *Zeus and Helios*), one dialogue from *Dialogues of the Dead* (*Hermes and Charon*) and excerpts from *True Stories*. The conclusion regarding the selection of Lucian's texts will be similar to the observations made by the selection of authors: Deratani's anthology is richer and the Estonian anthology broadly follows Deratani's model, but it also has three dialogues from *Dialogues of the Gods* that are not present in the Russian anthology. The Estonian editors had the liberty to choose.

However, Reitav's translation seems to be different from the overall policy as it follows in detail Trever's translation, which was published in Deratani's anthology. The first omission in Trever's translation also creates the abovementioned textual incoherence as it does in Reitav's. This incoherence could have been easily solved by either mentioning in the summarising sentence how men turned into vines or by omitting (or rephrasing) the subsequent sentence. There are two possibilities why this was not done in Trever's translation: a) the translator and the editors did not notice the incoherence, b) the omission was made by official censorship and they were not able to change the text afterwards (or did not want to change the text in order to leave the cuts and stitches of censorship visible). These two possibilities also apply to Reitav's translation if we modify scenario b) above and say that Reitav and/or the editors, Kaalep and Torpats, were forced to follow Deratani's and Trever's model for reasons we don't know. There is a further hint at the coping of Deratani's anthology to be found; namely, there is another omission in book one of *True Stories* where the summary reads: "There follows the war of Selenites against Heliots, the inhabitants of the Sun"[39]. In all other places in Reitav's translation, the inhabitants of the Moon are called '*kuuelanikud*' and the inhabitants of the Sun '*päikeseelanikud*'. The names Selenites and Heliots on the other

[39] Kaalep & Torpats 1964: 543: "järgneb seleniitide sõda heliootide, päikeseelanike vastu". Cf. Deratani & Timofeyeva 1947: 530: "Война Селенитов с Гелиотами, жителями солнца".

hand come straight from Trever's Russian translation where these names are correspondingly '*Селениты*' and '*Гелиоты*'.

The Russian and Estonian anthologies both provide short overviews on the authors and comments to the texts.[40] These texts, however, at least regarding Lucian, are different in the two anthologies. Kaalep's and Torpats' overview on Lucian gives more historic background and more information on Lucian's other works. The overview in Deratani's anthology cites more K. Marx and Fr. Engels but also sheds more light on Lucian's reception in Europe during the Renaissance and *Aufklärung*. Kaalep's and Torpats' anthology comments more meticulously on the texts of Lucian than Deratani's and Timofeyeva's. Therefore, we may conclude that in respect of overviews and comments, the Estonian anthology did not have to follow the Russian model strictly.

Conclusion

The Anthology of Greek Literature in Estonian, which appeared in 1964, includes Karl Reitav's partial translation of Lucian's *True Stories*. Some of the text has been omitted and the missing parts are summed up in a sentence or two. Most of the time, these omissions have been made to save space but there are two short passages (1.8.13–17 and 2.19.2–11) that have been left out on moral grounds. The first section includes "sensitive" words such as μίγνυμι and αἰδοῖα. The other omitted section includes the verb μίγνυμι but also describes sexual practices such as homosexuality, pederasty and promiscuity, which have most likely contributed to the omission. The first omission creates a textual incoherence in the translation that is not resolved.

In order to find out if there is a longer tradition of censorship in these two sections, two French, two English and two German translations ranging from the 17th to the 20th century were analysed. Most of the analysed translations have made changes to the text in these two passages. Usually, euphemisms and paraphrases have been used. In one instance, a moral has been added to the story, and one translation omits the whole section without marking it in any way. Therefore, these two passages have traditionally been difficult for translators.

A direct model for Reitav's translation is to be found in Deratani's and Timofeyeva's anthology *Хрестоматия по античной литературе*, which

[40] Lucian's overview: Deratani & Timofeyeva 1947: 508–509, comments 619–621; Kaalep & Torpats 1964: 615–617.

was first published in 1935. It contains the translation of Lucian's *True Stories* by Kamila Vasilyevna Trever, which has exactly the same omissions and summarising sentences as Reitav's translation. Also, the aforementioned textual incoherence can be observed. We may speculate that official censorship played a role in the case of Deratani's and Timofeyeva's anthology, and the translator and/or the editors could not (or did not want to) change the text afterwards to get rid of the incoherence. Reitav and the editors Kaalep and Torpats for their part followed their Russian model, at least in the case of Lucian's *True Stories*.

Bibliography

Annist, August; Reitav, Karl (transl.) (1960). *Homeros. Ilias.* Tallinn: Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus.

Annist, August; Reitav, Karl (transl.) (1963). *Homeros. Odüsseia.* Tallinn: Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus.

D'Ablancourt, Nicolas Perrot (1664). *L'histoire véritable. – Lucien de la traduction de N. Perrot Sr. D'Ablancourt, première partie*. Paris: chez Thomas Iolly.

Deratani, Nikolai F.; Timofeyeva, Nadezhda A. (1947) = Дератани, Н. Ф.; Тимофеева, Н. А. (1947). *Хрестоматия по античной литературе: Для высших учебных заведений*. Т. I. *Греческая литература*. Москва: Учпедгиз.

Eichenholz, Mark D.; Galitski, Lev N. (1951). *Välismaine kirjandus. Lugemik keskkooli vanemaile klassidele*. Toim. B. Sööt. Tallinn: Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus.

Fowler, Henry Watson; Fowler, Francis George (1905). *The True History. – The Works of Lucian of Samosata*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Gasse, Horst (1960). *Die wahre Geschichte. – Lukian: Vergnügliche Gespräche und burleske Szenen*. Leipzig: Dieterich.

Harmon, Austin Morris (1913). *A True Story*. – Lucian with an English Translation by A. M. Harmon in Eight Volumes, vol. 1. (*Loeb Classical Library*.) London: William Heinemann: New York: The Macmillan Co..

Kaalep, Ain; Torpats, Ülo (ed.) (1964). *Kreeka kirjanduse antoloogia*. Tallinn: Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus.

Kleis, Richard (1968). *Vana-kreeka kirjanduse põhijooni*. Tartu: Tartu Riiklik Ülikool.

Päll, Janika (2011). 'Translating from Ancient Languages into Estonian: Outlines for Translation History.' – Chalvin, Antoine; Lange, Anne; Monticelli, Daniele (eds.), *Between Cultures and Texts: Itineraries in Translation History*. Frankfurt am Main [etc]: Peter Lang, 123–135.

Päll, Janika (2012). 'Eesti antiigitõlke traditsioonid.' – *Methis* 9/10, 38–53. https://doi.org/10.7592/methis.v7i9/10.567

Talbot, Eugène (1857). *Histoire véritable*. – *Œuvres complètes de Lucien de Samosate*, tome premier. Paris: Hachette.

Tronski, Iossif M. (1949). *Antiikkirjanduse ajalugu*. Tartu: Teaduslik Kirjandus.

Voronkov, Aleksandr I. (1961) = Воронков, А. *И*. (1961). *Древняя Греция и Древний Рим: Библиографический указатель изданий, вышедших в СССР (1895–1959 гг.)*. Москва: Издательство Академии Наук СССР.

Wieland, Christoph Martin (1981) [1788–1789]. *Der wahren Geschichten erstes Buch*. – *Lukian: Werke in drei Bänden*, zweiter Band. Berlin; Weimar: Aufbau Verlag.

Abstract

This paper analyses two short passages of Lucian's *True Stories* which have been omitted in the Estonian translation which appeared in 1964 in the *Anthology of Greek Literature*. The omissions have been made on moral grounds because they describe sexual encounters and practises. Different strategies to deal with those indecent scenes are compered in six other translations into French, German and English from seventeenth to twentieth century. Exactly the same omissions are present in the Russian translation of Lucian from 1935 by Kamila Vasilyevna Trever, which seems to have been a direct model for the Estonian translation. The missing passages are also responsible for textual incoherence which has not been resolved and therefore we may speculate that official censorship and rigid guidelines have played a role in Russian as well as in Estonian translations.

LATIN TERMS AND LEGAL EDUCATION: ACQUISITION OF PROFESSIONAL TERMINOLOGY

Merike Ristikivi

Introduction

Law in Continental Europe has developed on the basis of Latin and proceeds from the system of ideas derived from Roman law. Historically, Latin has been closely connected to the development of European law, and in previous centuries the bulk of literature on jurisprudence, as well as legislation, was compiled in Latin. Although Latin is no longer an active language of law and science in the 21st century, it remains an important means of professional communication for jurists in Europe.[1]

The usage of Latin terminology provides an opportunity to assess the educational level of lawyers and the state of legal culture, including the quality of legal education. In other words, we can appraise the quality of the preparation of lawyers according to their usage of Latin legal terms, as the latter is dependent on the former.

In the present article, I will examine the acquisition of relevant technical terms in Latin by students of law across three distinct periods in legal education in Estonia[2]: the interwar era or the first period of independence for Estonia, the Soviet era and the post-Soviet era of re-independence. I will attempt to outline the principles of acquisition of legal terminology in these periods and the study aids used at university to this end. My main interest lies in legal journalism, so I will also review how legal education and the usage

---

1 Benke & Meissel 1997: 10.

2 In the historical and cultural framework, Estonian-language based jurisprudence is a relatively young phenomenon, which for the most part developed at the beginning of the 20th century in connection with the founding of a nation state (1918) and the re-opening of Tartu University in 1919, with Estonian as the language of instruction for the first time in its history.

of terminology are mirrored in the corresponding legal periodicals in each period.

In the context of Estonia, such a study also highlights the characteristics of the Estonian language: while the impact of Latin on the overall grammatical structure and vocabulary of Germanic or Romance languages has been quite considerable, it has been much less significant on Estonian as a Finno-Ugric language. In other words, Latin vocabulary and stems, which are familiar and understandable to a native speaker of English, French or some other major European language, are usually unrecognisable for speakers of Estonian and must be learnt separately. That is why it is important to consider in what way legal terminology is acquired and how it is subsequently reflected in the work of lawyers.

The Republic of Estonia (1918–1940)

At the beginning of the century and in the interwar period, Latin was a natural part of schooling in Estonia.[3] At university level, Latin was considered even more important. For instance, students of the Faculty of Law at the University of Tartu were required to have a sufficient standard of Latin to be able to manage compulsory reading of Caesar's *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* ('Commentaries on the Gallic War'), Cicero's speeches, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and excerpts from the works of Horace and Livy.[4]

In law, learning Latin focuses primarily on Roman law and the corresponding terminology. Therefore, it was demanded in the interwar period that students should pass their Latin exam prior to taking their Roman law exam.[5] At that time, Roman law was taught in two stages at Tartu: in the first year, students became familiar with the history and sources of Roman law, and the second year focused on study of the system of Roman law. Knowledge of professional terminology in Latin was perfected in practical classes during

[3] For a synopsis of the requirements concerning the knowledge of Latin at the Faculty of Law at Tartu University in the interwar period, see Ristikivi 2009: 232. Regarding teaching Latin in upper secondary schools, see the article by Ernst Nurm, the author of several handbooks of Latin (Nurm 1981: 300–309).

[4] The decision of the Faculty Council of 18.12.1923. Eesti Ajalooarhiiv (Estonian Historical Archives), 2100.10.17, 28–29, 40–43.

[5] Traat 1989: 352–355; Randalu 1989: 355–357.

those courses, as extracts from the Institutes of Gaius and Justinian were read and translated.[6]

A special textbook of legal Latin for university students did not exist because elementary vocabulary and the structure of the language and its principles of usage had been learnt at school. Professional vocabulary was acquired through reading and analysing original sources of Roman law. In 1935, Leo Leesment's[7] compilation "*Excerpta iuris Romani*. Roomaõiguslikud tekstid" ('Texts on Roman law') was published.[8] As Leesment was teaching the history of Roman law at the time, this compilation was meant for practice in classes during the academic course of Roman law.[9] In the introduction, Leesment writes that the compilation is designed to improve students' knowledge of Latin. He points out that the texts in the book are not easily available but they are necessary for young lawyers, in particular. The sources selected for the compilation introduce different aspects of Roman law, with preference given to linguistically simpler texts and the main focus on extracts from the Institutes of Gaius. Excerpts from the Institutes of Justinian and *Regulae* by Ulpian are fewer, but the book also contains comparative passages from the Sachsenspiegel, the Livonian legal mirror, town law in Riga and Tallinn and the Baltic Private Law Act. The latter excerpts were not written in Latin; the author used these as examples of the principles of Roman law being conveyed in later sources.

Questions arise when we consider the amount of attention paid to the Institutes of Gaius in this book. It cannot be asserted that the choice of texts to be included was above all based on the simplicity of language because the students at that time had been prepared to deal with much more complicated texts in Latin. Those who had read the prose of great Roman authors such as Livy and Cicero in order to pass their Latin exam could certainly not find Justinian's texts too challenging. The superb knowledge of Latin of the jurists at the time is reflected in the publications in *Õigus* ('Law', a legal journal

[6] Regarding the instruction of Roman law at Tartu University in the interwar period, see Siimets-Gross 2005: 343–347.

[7] Leo Leesment (17.04.1902 Riga – 16.01.1986 Tartu) was an Estonian jurist whose research interests included penal law and its history in addition to Roman law and the general history of law. For more about his research, see Järvelaid 1992: 52–153.

[8] Leesment 1935.

[9] Siimets-Gross 2005: 361–362.

published from 1920 to 1940),[10] which was the most important – and from 1922 the only – legal periodical in the interwar period, and included citations from very specific Latin sources, such as the Law of the Twelve Tables, the Digests and Justinian's *Codex*. Besides the sources of Roman law, Latin quotations from medieval chronicles and *Codex Iuris Canonici* have also been used.

Highlighting the texts by Gaius may have been conditioned by the relevance of such material in the context of legal literature during that period. At the time of publication of Leesment's compilation in 1935, the *Institutiones* by Gaius was one of the subject matters that received most attention in Europe in research into Roman law. In addition to the manuscript discovered in Verona in 1816, new materials were found in Egypt in 1933, on the basis of which the text of the Institutes was reconstructed. This was followed by several scholarly publications about the very topic.[11] However, these new findings were not mentioned in *Õigus* and only a small number of references to the Institutes of Gaius are to be detected. The primary source for citations in the publications of the jurists of the time is the various parts of *Corpus Iuris Civilis*.

Yet, neither Leesment's reader nor *Õigus* refer to the anniversaries of Justinian's codification.[12] The 1,400th anniversary was celebrated with *Codex Iustinianus* ('Code of Justinian'), originally issued in 529/534,[13] and *Digesta* and *Institutiones Iustiniani*, originally published in 533. The named event did not go totally unnoticed, though, as a public ceremony was organised in the assembly hall at University of Tartu on 21 November 1933 to introduce parts of *Corpus Iuris Civilis* and discuss their significance in the history of law.[14]

[10] Õigus. Juridical monthly. Published by Association of Jurists in Tartu. Editor-in-chief F. Karlson. Ed. R. Räägo. Tartu, 1920–1940. In the 1920s, the journal *Õigus* introduced new legal terms in Estonian, frequently supplemented with Latin equivalents to enhance comprehension. See Pärna, Ristikivi & Vassar 2023: 259–261.

[11] The additional material found about the Institutes of Gaius was discussed in detail by E. Levy (1934: 258–311); F. de Zulueta (1934: 168–186); P. Collinet (1934: 96–117).

[12] All parts of Justinian's codification together, named *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, were issued in 1583 in Geneva by French jurist Denis Godefroy (Dionysius Gothofredus). Wenger 1953: 596; Wieacker 1967: 167. About the earlier name for Justinian's codification, *corpus iuris*, see von Savigny 1961: 516–520.

[13] The first edition of this code was prepared in 529. In 534, it was revised and reissued under the title *Codex Iustinianus repetitae praelectionis*; the revisions were based partly on Justinian's own new legislation. More about both editions of *Codex Iustinianus* see Wenger 1953: 570–576; 638–651.

[14] The ceremony conducted at the university was described in the articles „Õigusteadlaste 'piibel' 1400 aastane" [The 'Bible' of Lawyers 1,400 Years Old], see the newspaper Postimees, 21.11.1933, and „'Õiguse piibli' mõju eestlastele. *Corpus iuris*'e 1400 a. juubeliaktus ülikooli

At the present stage of research, it is not known why such an important occasion failed to be recognised on the pages of Leesment's reader and the journal *Õigus*. Nonetheless, it did not affect the extent of the influence that this source had or the abundant use of quotations taken from it in legal publications.

The systematic organisation of teaching Latin prior to World War II ensured the students' familiarity with the sources, and this period was one that was characterised by the ample use of Latin. By studying the Latin vocabulary in *Õigus*, it is possible to state that expressions in Latin had a major role in Estonian legal language during the interwar period. Latin terms in the articles written by jurists were great in number; also, the terminological variety of the vocabulary of the jurists was remarkable. The few errors detected in the usage of the terms prove that the preconditions for the effective use of Latin terms were created by educational achievements in the given period, which allowed the professionals not only to quote short technical terms consisting of a few words but also to cite the Digest of Justinian and sources in Latin originating from the Middle Ages.

The Soviet era (1940–1941, 1944–1991)

In the Soviet era, knowledge of the Latin language and terminology was mainly acquired at university, since this subject was excluded from the curricula at secondary school. However, the teaching of Latin for two semesters at university was in fact a quick overview of Latin grammar, rather than a systematic study of professional terminology based on original sources.[15] There were two particular reasons for such superficial instruction focusing on general vocabulary.

On the one hand, during Soviet rule, the official curricula at Estonian universities did not include the Classics as a separate speciality.[16] The abolition of classical philology cannot be explained by the official ideology and rhetoric of "for people's own good" alone, as the Classics continued to be taught at universities in Moscow, Leningrad (St. Petersburg), Kiev and Tbilisi. Also, in

aulas". [The influence of the 'Bible of lawyers' on Estonians. The 1,400th anniversary ceremony in the university assembly hall] Postimees 22.11.1933. Because of the ceremony, the lectures at the Faculty of Law were cancelled that day and the students were urged to go and listen to the presentations. More about this in the section "Ülikool" [University], see Postimees, 15.11.1933.

[15] For a brief synopsis of the condition of Latin at Tartu University during the Soviet era, see Ristikivi 2008: 176.

[16] Study of the speciality of classical philology was abandoned at the University of Tartu in 1954 and resumed in 1990.

Lithuania, Classical studies were kept alive thanks to very strong (Catholic) cultural traditions. Classical philology did not pose a direct ideological threat, since it was not anti-Soviet. In Estonia, both subjective as well as local and objective reasons brought about the change. What was significant was that in studying and researching antiquity, it was possible to be directly in contact with western thought and culture. All similar fields of study vanished in Estonia during the Soviet time.

Another significant cause was that within a limited range of means and possibilities the first subjects to be discontinued were those considered to be dispensable because they seemed too impractical and not directly sympathetic to the ideological cause of the regime. The mentality of the lecturers was also considered inappropriate, as most of them had been educated during the period of Estonian independence. The circle of professors who taught the Classics included those who actively resisted the Soviet regime, emigrated or died in the Second World War. [17]

On the other hand, lack of motivation for learning and teaching Latin legal language can be associated with the break in the continuity of the research into Roman law at Tartu during this period. As a separate subject, the basics of Roman private law was taught within the framework of the law curriculum, but no corresponding research was done.

Subsequently, a characteristic problem at that time was that even though both subjects were taught to students of law, the courses of Latin and Roman law were not integrated and the students failed to see the link between them. As a study aid, Heinrich Freymann's[18] "Latin Reader for Law Students"[19], published in 1958, was used, the vocabulary and presentation of grammar of which followed the traditions of other contemporary Latin textbooks designed for students of humanities. In such textbooks, the emphasis in grammar is on the system of the finite forms of the Latin verb, giving the basis for learning different sentence structures and thus enabling the students to proceed with reading prose and poetry in Latin, which of course is the ultimate goal in history studies or philological studies.

---

[17] For more about teaching Classics at Tartu University during the Soviet era, see Lill 2003: 11–12.

[18] Heinrich Freymann (05.05.1909–11.05.1975) was an Estonian classical philologist who taught general Latin courses at Tartu University to both students of the humanities and students of law. He was also one of the authors of a Latin-Estonian dictionary. For more about the content and structure of Freymann's study aid, see Ristikivi 2003: 163.

[19] Freymann 1958. Revised editions were later issued by Tartu University Press in 1969, 1972 and 1977.

When acquiring law vocabulary, this method is not very practicable because legal terminology has mostly developed on the basis of declinable words (nouns, adjectives and pronouns) and non-finite forms of the verb (gerunds, gerundives and participles). Therefore, learning the finite forms of the verb in law studies was of no help in trying to understand professional law terms. What is more, this material failed to provide students with sufficient knowledge about the polysemy and connotations of strictly legal terms. Since the vocabulary acquired in Latin classes was largely of general language rather than professional legal terminology, in practice the efficiency of learning and understanding the terms pertaining to Roman law and other areas of law was severely lacking.

The decreasing importance of Latin and Roman law in the curricula throughout the decades is clearly reflected in the articles printed in the issues of the journal *Nõukogude Õigus* ('Soviet Law', published in 1967–1989, the only legal periodical in Estonian during the Soviet period)[20], in which Latin expressions are rare. In view of the fact that virtually a whole generation of lawyers failed to receive systematic and methodical instruction in professional terminology in Latin, it is not surprising that for the most part only well-known Latin maxims and vocabulary related to the academic field occur in the publications. The number of specific legal terms began to increase in the last couple of years of the Soviet era, when the topics written about started to change and sources in foreign languages became available as a result of opening up to western influences.

The Republic of Estonia After Regaining Independence (1991 Until the Present Time)

A course of Latin legal terminology for one semester is compulsory for all first-year students of law today.[21] Since Latin is currently taught at a very small number of upper secondary schools[22], the majority of students first come into

[20] Nõukogude Õigus. Juridical Bulletin of the Ministry of Justice of Estonian SSR. Tallinn: Ministry of Justice of Estonian SSR, 1967–1989.

[21] A detailed discussion of teaching Latin at the Faculty of Law at Tartu University in the period of regained independence in Estonia can be found in Ristikivi 2006: 211–216; an overview also in Ristikivi 2007: 174.

[22] According to the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research and the Estonian Education Information System, Latin is taught at six general education schools. The data is available in EHIS (Eesti Hariduse Infosüsteem; Estonian Education Information System), www.ehis.ee.

contact with Latin at university level. In Latin classes (lectures and seminars), pronunciation and the basics of grammar and vocabulary are taught, which has a main focus on the lexica and sources of Roman private law and is an obligatory course in first year. Legal Latin is taught with the help of the "*Ladina keel juristidele*" ('Latin for Lawyers')[23] textbook. This textbook is based on the special literature that has been or is published in Estonia: the *Juridica* journal, new textbooks for students of law compiled by the professors of University of Tartu, as well as various textbooks on Roman law.

The influence of Roman law is most recognisable in the terminology of modern civil law, but Latin terms are also used in penal law, international law and other areas of law. These terms, too, are included in the course and in the textbook about Latin legal terminology. In addition, several terms and quotations in Latin have been given in the abovementioned textbook, which concern international law and diplomacy as well as the Anglo-American legal system.

The efficiency of learning professional terminology lies at present in the integration of various subjects and in emphasising their common ground – the form and aspects of meaning of the terms are discussed in Latin classes that are aimed at ensuring their grammatically correct usage in later academic research or in practice, while in law lectures the content of the same terms is explained within the context of a particular area of law. Therefore, the large legal vocabulary based on Latin is made more easily understandable for students, helping them to memorise the terms with less effort and time.

In-depth knowledge of Roman law terminology can be acquired by attending an elective course "*Fontes iuris Romani*" ('Sources of Roman Law'), which is meant for students who have passed the legal terminology course. This elective course lasts for one semester and complements the concurrent lectures on the Basics of Roman Private Law. The course on the source materials introduces the most important original texts on Roman law – the Law of the Twelve Tables, *Institutiones* by Gaius, *Corpus Iuris Civilis* – and it discusses texts relating to the Roman law of persons, family law, property law, contract law and succession. In 2019, the textbook "Fontes iuris Romani. Rooma õiguse allikate kogumik" was published, providing an opportunity to acquaint with the Estonian translation of source texts of Roman law for the first time.[24]

[23] Ristikivi 2000 (2nd edition 2003, 3rd edition 2006, 4th edition 2009, 5th edition 2019).

[24] Siimets-Gross & Ristikivi 2019.

For the first time in the history of Estonian legal language, a Latin-Estonian Legal Dictionary has been compiled[25], which helps to ensure correct and balanced usage of Latin terms. A thorough dictionary containing Latin legal terms did not previously exist in Estonia. A limited number of Latin legal terms and their translations could be found in reference books and study aids. The new Latin-Estonian Legal Dictionary contains over 3,400 entries, the selection of which is based on practical considerations. For the most part, the included terms are those that a lawyer may come across in more recent professional literature in both Estonian and other languages. The dictionary standardises the Estonian translations of Latin terms and helps in understanding the meaning of expressions as well as their suitability in Estonian texts.

In characterising the situation in Estonia after regaining independence we can say that Latin has been restored in its vital role in law. Teaching Latin has been integrated with teaching law subjects, a new study aid has been prepared and a new dictionary with Latin terms has been published. The articles in the journal *Juridica* (published since 1993, the principal legal periodical in the Estonian language in the period of re-independence)[26] are another indication that the authors are prepared and willing to employ foreign terms. Over the years, the occurrence of Latin terms in publications has increased in number, and many new expressions have been adopted due to the influence of EU legislation and the decisions of the European Court of Justice. There has been an increase in the usage of vocabulary associated with the academic world, and the general language that was predominant in the Soviet era has decreased significantly and been replaced by specific professional terms. By drawing parallels between the frequent use of Latin terminology during the first period of independence in Estonia and the present situation, we can maintain that Latin terms have once again become indispensable tools for lawyers.

Conclusion

The examination of legal journals clearly reveals the connection between the usage of foreign terminology and legal education. The accurate and relevant usage of professional terms of foreign origin requires a basic knowledge of the structure of the foreign language concerned.

---

[25] Adomeit, Ristikivi & Siimets-Gross 2005.

[26] Juridica: Law Review of the Faculty of Law, University of Tartu. Editor-in-chief M. Luts-Sootak. Tartu: Iuridicum Foundation, 1993–.

In the first period of independence in the Republic of Estonia, knowing Latin was an integral part of being a lawyer. The basic knowledge acquired at upper secondary school about the structure of Latin and the vocabulary memorised by reading ancient authors provided a solid foundation for learning legal terminology at university. Reading and translating Latin sources in the lectures and seminars on Roman law helped the students, that is, the future lawyers, to comprehend the characteristics of Latin legal terminology. A comprehensive knowledge of professional terminology and linguistic preparation were also manifested in the articles published by the authors of the time in the *Õigus* periodical.

As regards the general attitude towards ancient languages and the vocabulary of Roman law, the Soviet era stands in sharp contrast to the period between the two world wars. The imperfect knowledge of professional terminology is mirrored in the articles published in *Nõukogude Õigus*, in which specific legal terms are very few. In the Soviet years, the knowledge and usage of Latin expressions by lawyers illustrated their general cultural background and schooling.

In re-independent Estonia, the importance of Latin in law has increased again. The acquisition of professional terminology is based on the connections and common ground between the Latin language and the different areas of law. Unlike the Soviet era, the period of re-independence has been characterised by an abundant use of Latin terms in the articles in *Juridica*, and foreign terms are predominantly employed to convey legal accuracy. Although the familiarity of today's lawyers with the Latin language and its vocabulary is not yet as systematic as it was in the interwar period, Latin terminology has once again become an inherent part of legal language, language and the vocabulary of the studies of law.

Bibliography

Adomeit, Klaus; Ristikivi, Merike; Siimets-Gross, Hesi (2005). *Ladina-eesti õigussõnastik*. [*Latin-Estonian Legal Dictionary*.] Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus.

Benke, Nikolaus; Meissel, Franz-Stefan (1997). *Juristenlatein. 2800 lateinische Fachausdrücke und Redewendungen der Juristensprache, übersetzt und erläutert*. Wien: Juridica.

Collinet, Paul (1934). 'Les nouveaux fragments des Institutes de Gaius.' – *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 13, 96–117.

Freymann, Heinrich (1958). *Ladina keele lugemik õigusteaduse üliõpilastele*. [*Latin Reader for Law Students*.] Tallinn: Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus. (Revised editions: Tartu: Tartu University Press, 1969, 1972, 1977.)

Järvelaid, Peeter (1992) 'Leo Leesment (1902–1986) – 90.' – *Eesti Jurist* 2, 152–153.

Leesment, Leo (1935). *Excerpta iuris Romani. Roomaõiguslikud tekstid*. [*Texts on Roman law*.] Tartu: Akadeemilise Kooperatiivi Kirjastus.

Levy, Ernst (1934). 'Neue Bruchstücke aus den Institutionen des Gaius.' – *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung, Romanistische Abteilung* 54, 258–311. https://doi.org/10.7767/zrgra.1934.54.1.258

Lill, Anne (2003). 'Kakssada aastat klassikalist filoloogiat Eestis: kahe alguse lugu.' ['Two hundred years of classical philology in Estonia: the story of two beginnings.'] – Volt, Ivo (ed.), *Duo saecula philologiae classicae in Estonia*. (*Acta Societatis Morgensternianae*; 1.) Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 11–12.

Nurm, Ernst (1981). 'Mälestusi Tallinna Nikolai Gümnaasiumist 1907–1914.' ['Memoirs about Tallinn Nikolai Grammar School 1907–1914.'] – *Keel ja Kirjandus* 51, 300–309.

Pärna, Priidu; Ristikivi, Merike; Vassar, Laura (2023). 'Karl Ferdinand Karlson. Õigusteadlaste päevade algataja ja õiguskeele uuendaja.' ['Karl Ferdinand Karlson. Initiator of the Estonian Lawyers' Days and Innovator of the Legal Language.'] – *Juridica* 3, 256–263.

Randalu, Hillar (1989). 'Marginaale õigusteaduskonnast 1934–1940.' ['Essays about the Faculty of Law.'] – *Nõukogude Õigus* 5, 355–357.

Ristikivi, Merike (2000). *Ladina keel juristidele*. [*Latin for Lawyers*.] Tallinn: Juura. (2nd ed. 2003, 3rd ed. 2006, 4th ed. 2009, 5th ed. 2019).

Ristikivi, Merike (2003). 'Ladina keel Tartu Ülikooli õigusteaduskonnas.' ['Latin in the Faculty of Law at Tartu University.'] – Volt, Ivo (ed.), *Duo saecula philologiae classicae in Estonia*. (*Acta Societatis Morgensternianae*; 1.) Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 162–169.

Ristikivi, Merike (2006). 'Язык римского права: теоретические принципы и методы преподавания в Тартуском Университете. La lingua del diritto romano: principi teoretici e metodi d'insegnamento nell'Università di Tartu.' – *Древнее Право/Ius Antiquum* 18(2), 211–216.

Ristikivi, Merike (2007). '*Lexica iuridica* in *Juridica*: Latin terms as a reflection of Europanisation of Estonian legal culture.' – *Juridica International* 12, 173–179.

Ristikivi, Merike (2008). 'Terminological turn as a turn of legal culture.' – *Juridica International* 15, 175–182.

Ristikivi, Merike (2009). 'Latin terms in Estonian legal journalism in the interwar period: Practical tools for a young legal culture.' – *Juridica International* 16, 231–239.

Savigny, Friedrich Carl von (1961). *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*. Bd. 3. Bad Homburg: Hermann Gentner Verlag.

Siimets-Gross, Hesi (2005). 'Die Lehre des römischen Rechts an der Universität Tartu in den Jahren 1919–1940.' – *Juristische Fakultäten und Juristenausbildung im Ostseeraum: zweiter Rechtshistorikertag im Ostseeraum, Lund 12–17.03.2002*. Stockholm: Rönnels Antikvariat AB, 343–347.

Siimets-Gross, Hesi; Ristikivi, Merike (2019). *Fontes iuris Romani: Rooma õiguse allikate kogumik. [Fontes iuris Romani. A Collection of Sources of Roman Law.]* Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.

Traat, August (1989). 'Mälestuskilde õpingutest Tartu Ülikooli õigusteaduskonnas aastail 1935–1938.' ['Memoirs about the studies at University of Tartu 1935–1938.'] – *Nõukogude Õigus* 5, 352–355.

Wenger, Leopold (1953). *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts*. Wien: Holzhausen.

Wieacker, Franz (1967). *Privatrechtsgeschichte der Neuzeit*. 2., neubearbeitete Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Zulueta, Francis de (1934). 'The new fragments of Gaius (*PSI* 1182).' – *Journal of Roman Studies* 24(2), 168–186. https://doi.org/10.2307/297056

Abstract

The importance of Latin and its heritage in European legal culture is remarkable. Legal terminology in Europe has been modelled on the reception of Roman law. During the centuries, continental law developed on the basis of the Latin language and it still relies heavily on the system of concepts stemming from Roman law. Therefore, the role of the Latin language is more significant in law than in many other disciplines: it has been the *lingua franca* of European lawyers.

The article examines the arrangement of teaching legal Latin in the three periods of time: during the period of Estonia's independence between the two world wars, during the Soviet era and in the current period of the regained independence of Estonia. The article analyses the nature of teaching materials, the organisation of studies and the prescribed time for teaching Latin as well as the integration of Latin with the law subjects during these periods of time.

GRUNDZÜGE DER KLASSISCHEN STUDIEN IN FINNLAND

Heikki Solin

Die klassischen Studien haben sich in Finnland – aus verständlichen Gründen – später als sonst in Europa zu entfalten begonnen. Finnland hat aber, wie neuere Untersuchungen gezeigt haben, seit dem späten Mittelalter an der abendländischen Kultur teilgenommen, wobei die lateinische Sprache vom Klerus gebraucht wurde. Wir wissen auch von der Zirkulation von Büchern, die seit den ersten Jahrhunderten des zweiten Millenniums aus Deutschland, Frankreich und England mit Missionaren nach Südwestfinnland kamen; von in Finnland kopierten Büchern haben wir Nachrichten seit dem 14. Jahrhundert. Finnland (das in jener Zeit die Region von Turku, d.h. Südwestfinnland umfasste) hatte auch einen Bischofssitz (der erste Bischof war ein Thomas, gest. 1248). Anderseits kann die kirchliche Verwaltung noch nicht sehr weit entwickelt gewesen sein, da Finnland als eine schwedische Provinz kein souveräner Staat war, nur wenige Einwohner hatte und die Städte erst im Begriff waren, sich zu bilden. Ich hoffe, dass meine Ausführungen bei der Empfängerin dieser Festgabe als Vertreterin der klassischen Studien auf der anderen Seite des Finnischen Meerbusens Gefallen finden werden.

Wie haben aber der Unterricht der klassischen Sprachen und die klassischen Studien in unserem Land Boden gewonnen?

Ich beginne mit ein paar Worten zum allgemeinen Hintergrund, die bei der Richtung, welche die finnische Altertumswissenschaft genommen hat, bestimmend gewirkt haben. Zunächst einmal lag unser Land außerhalb der Grenzen des römischen Reiches, und die dort wohnenden Menschen hatten nur wenig mit den Römern zu tun. Eine Folge davon ist, dass im Boden unseres Landes so gut wie keine Reste und Denkmäler antiker Kultur gefunden worden sind, weder archäologische Monumente noch epigraphische Urkunden. Einige wenige Funde römischer Münzen und ein in Puteoli verfertigtes Bronzesieb aus der frühen Kaiserzeit, die auf unserem Boden gefunden wurden, ändern nichts an der Sachlage, dass in Finnland das von der antiken Kultur hinterlassene

monumentale Erbe fehlt, was bedeutet, dass wir keinen solchen unmittelbaren Kontakt mit der antiken Welt besitzen wie die Völker Süd- und Mitteleuropas, die bei jedem Schritt alte Denkmäler und Inschriften betrachten können.

Teilweise aus dem oben Gesagten folgt auch ein anderer Umstand, dass es nämlich in Finnland äußerst wenige mittelbar zu uns gelangte Produkte des griechisch-römischen Kulturkreises in Museen, Bibliotheken und anderen Sammlungen gibt. An Handschriften antiker Autoren gibt es verschwindend wenige, und sie sind weniger wertvoll sowohl an sich als auch für die Forschung, mit Ausnahme einer Handschrift des vom Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts stammenden Hauptwerks *Theorica Pantegni* des medizinischen Schriftstellers Constantinus Africanus – er war aber kein antiker Autor. Griechische oder lateinische Inschriften gibt es in hauptsächlich privaten Sammlungen vielleicht drei oder vier, kurze oder fragmentarische. Dagegen hat die Nationalbibliothek Finnlands in Helsinki in den siebziger Jahren eine wertvolle Papyrussammlung geschaffen, und auch in Turku gibt es eine Papyrussammlung. Terrakottafiguren, griechische und etruskische Vasen, römische Amphoren (und Amphorenstempel), Ziegelstempel, Lampen, Gläser und griechische wie römische Münzen gibt es hie und da meist in Privatsammlungen, aber sonderlich repräsentativ sind sie weder in Quantität noch in Qualität.

Die Gründe für diese Sachlage sind klar. Handschriften haben wir nicht, weil Finnland im Mittelalter ein Randgebiet der abendländischen Kultur war und so kein Bedarf bestand, Werke antiker Autoren zu beschaffen oder zu erforschen. Anderseits gibt es keine großen Sammlungen antiker Kunst, weil es für die Entstehung solcher Sammlungen sowohl an wirtschaftlichen Voraussetzungen als auch an Interesse und Sachkenntnis gefehlt hat. Dabei müssen wir bedenken, dass es im ganzen Land keinen Lehrstuhl für Klassische Archäologie gibt, auch wird Unterricht in Klassischer Archäologie an drei Universitäten nur begrenzt erteilt. Die Gründung zuerst eines Instituts in Rom (1954), dann später in Athen (1985) hat nun aber mitbewirkt, dass das Interesse an der Klassischen Archäologie im Wachsen ist – meines Erachtens lebenswichtig für die Entwicklung der ganzen Altertumswissenschaft in unserem Land.

Das ist aber nicht alles. Aus den oben dargelegten Gründen hat sich die finnische Altertumswissenschaft lange Zeit vor allem mit schriftlichen Quellen beschäftigt. Aber auch in diesem Sektor erfüllt sie nicht gleichermaßen alle ihre Teile. Erstens gibt es in Finnland keinen einzigen Lehrstuhl in der Alten Geschichte, was eigentlich skandalös ist. Freilich hat unser Land einige namhafte Althistoriker aufzuweisen, wie Herman Gummerus und Johannes Sundwall (beide habilitierten sich 1905), aber Gummerus war Professor

für Universalgeschichte (und war davor der finnische Botschafter in Rom gewesen), und Sundwall war Professor für griechische und römische Literatur an der kleinen schwedischen Universität in Turku, Åbo Akademi, und praktisch ohne Schüler (aus jüngeren Generationen waren auch Jaakko Suolahti [1918–1987] und Patrick Bruun [1920–2007] Lehrstuhlinhaber der allgemeinen Geschichte).[1] Das heißt, die Studenten der Klassischen Philologie haben das Studium der Alten Geschichte nur sehr begrenzt und unsystematisch betreiben können, was natürlich bei der Aufnahme der historischen Anschauung hemmend gewirkt hat – sehr schade, denn meines Erachtens ist für die weitere Entwicklung der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft die Verbindung der historischen und philologischen Methode der einzige Weg, wie sich unsere Wissenschaft überhaupt entwickeln kann.

Es bleibt also die philologische und sprachliche Forschung. Aber auch mit dieser Begrenzung ist es nicht genug. Ein Großteil der Produktion in der finnischen Altertumswissenschaft hat bis tief in die siebziger Jahre des vorigen Jahrhunderts aus sprachlichen, vor allem syntaktischen Untersuchungen bestanden. Die höhere Kritik, die Textkritik mit inbegriffen, die Edition von Texten und Kommentaren, die mythologische und antiquarische Forschung sind schwächer vertreten gewesen. Ich habe ausgerechnet, dass bis zum Jahre 1970 von allen akademischen Abhandlungen (akademische Abhandlung heißt die Arbeit, die man zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde publiziert) auf dem Gebiet der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft im vorigen Jahrhundert über die Hälfte aus sprachlichen Untersuchungen bestand – beiläufig sei erwähnt, dass die allermeisten aus Helsinki kommen.[2] Nach meinen Rechnungen beläuft sich die Zahl der zwischen 1900 und 1970 verteidigten Doktorarbeiten auf insgesamt 52, von denen 27 zum Bereich der grammatisch-sprachlichen Forschung gehören. Philologisch-literaturhistorische gibt es 26, historische fünf, philosophische vier, numismatische zwei und zum Nachleben der Antike gehörige zwei, nämlich die feinsinnige Untersuchung über die Wirkung der Antike auf die neuere französische Poesie von Emil Zilliacus (Vater von Henrik Zilliacus) und die ausgezeichnete Untersuchung von Seppo Rytkönen über Barthold Georg Nieburg vom Jahre 1968.[3] Vergleichsweise sei erwähnt, dass zwischen den genannten Jahren, also zwischen 1900 und 1970 in der

[1] Für die Werke Sundwalls s. Westman 1972. Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Sundwall s. Grumach 1958.

[2] S. Solin 2012: 350 ff.

[3] Die zeitliche Grenze überschreitet die Dissertation von Irma Korkkanen zu schwedischen Übersetzungen von Vergils *Bucolica* und einigen Büchern der *Aeneis* vom Jahre 1974.

theologischen Fakultät der Universität Helsinki zehn Abhandlungen auf dem Gebiet der neutestamentlichen Exegese und sechs auf dem Gebiet der Patristik verteidigt wurden; heute ist die Zahl der auf dem ersteren Gebiet verteidigten Dissertationen schon wenigstens verdreifacht. In der juristischen Fakultät der Universität Helsinki sind zwischen den genannten Jahren drei Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der römischen Rechtsgeschichte öffentlich verteidigt worden, was wirklich als eine sehr niedrige Zahl anzusehen ist, vergleicht man die entsprechenden Zahlen in Mittel- und Südeuropa. Es sei beiläufig erwähnt, dass es an der Universität Neapel Federico II nicht weniger als sechs ordentliche Lehrstühle für Römisches Recht gibt.

Auch für diese Lage der Dinge kann man Gründe finden: Der Schul- und vor allem der Universitätsunterricht zielte lange Zeit auf das Verstehen der Texte antiker Autoren, während einer allseitigen Analyse des Gehalts des Autors weniger Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wurde. Hier ist aber seit einiger Zeit eine Wende eingetreten; dazu mehr weiter unten. Man muss auch die Tatsache im Sinne behalten, dass wir Finnen nicht nur in fremden Sprachen publizieren müssen, sondern auch selbst eine Sprache sprechen, die sehr weit entfernt ist von den indoeuropäischen Sprachen, zu denen Griechisch und Lateinisch gehören. Der Zugang zu den Feinheiten des sprachlichen Ausdrucks der klassischen Sprachen ist also für uns mühsamer als für die Mittel-und Südeuropäer. Und wie mühsam ist es oft, sich in fremden Sprachen auszudrücken! Wie viel leichter ist es in dieser Hinsicht, eine sprachlich-grammatische Frage auf Deutsch, Englisch oder in einer anderen Weltsprache zu beschreiben als etwa die Seelenbewegungen eines antiken Dichters.[4]

Im Folgenden werde ich einen kurzen Überblick über die Geschichte der klassischen Studien in Finnland geben.[5] Davor aber ein paar Worte zur Rolle der klassischen Sprachen in Finnland. Wie schon gesagt, hat unser Land trotz seiner peripherischen Lage seit dem späten Mittelalter an der abendländischen Kultur teilgehabt. Als Folge der forcierten Christianisierung wurde Finnland eine schwedische Provinz und blieb eine solche bis zum Jahre 1809. Während der ersten Jahrhunderte unter der schwedischen Krone gehörte Finnland zu einem wesentlichen Teil zur westlichen katholischen Sphäre Europas; nur in

[4] Zur Rolle der deutschen Sprache in den Altertumswissenschaften in Finnland s. Solin 2011.

[5] Vorangehende Untersuchungen zu diesem Thema s. z.B. Solin 1998 und 2012, Vainio 2000, Westman 1989, 1991, 1993, 1996 und 1997, Aalto 1980. Zur Bibliographie der finnischen Altertumswissenschaften s. Westman 1968 (Jahre 1947–1966) und Pitkäranta, Westman 1980 (Jahre 1967–1976) und 1987 (Jahre 1977–1986); s. auch Westman 1991 (Bibliographie der Jahre 1980–1990 aus Turku und Oulu).

dem östlichen Teil des finnischen Karelien wurden die Leute unter byzantinisch-russischem Einfluss in die orthodoxe Kirche eingegliedert. Wie sonst im katholischen Europa, war die Sprache der Kirche und auch zu einem großen Teil der Verwaltung Latein. Auch wenn die Reformation Luthers und seines finnischen Schülers Mikael Agricola das Latein aus der Messe verbannte, behielt das Lateinische eine erstrangige Stellung im Schulunterricht, dank der Reform Melanchthons. Mehr als die Hälfte der Lektionen war dem Lateinunterricht gewidmet. Die erste und bis zur Verselbständigung des Landes 1917 einzige Universität wurde 1640 in der damaligen Hauptstadt Turku (in jener Zeit unter dem schwedischen Namen Åbo [lat. Aboa] bekannt) gegründet, aber 1828 nach Helsinki versetzt, nachdem Helsinki die neue Hauptstadt des Landes geworden war. Erst seit dieser Zeit kann man von einer eigenständigen literarischen und gelehrten Kultur in unserem Land sprechen.

In der Universität dauerte die Hegemonie des Lateinischen bis 1852. Bis zu diesem Jahr mussten alle Magister- und Doktorarbeiten auf Latein verfasst sein. Auch die Vorlesungen wurden auf Latein gehalten, so wie auch die öffentlichen Prüfungen; sogar das Vorlesungsverzeichnis wurde ausschließlich auf Latein gedruckt. Nach 1852 änderte sich die Lage drastisch: Abgesehen vom Unterricht der klassischen Sprachen und einiger anderen humanistischen Fächer, nahm der Gebrauch des Lateinischen stark und schnell ab. Als Sprache der Doktorabhandlungen überlebte das Lateinische länger, aber gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts wurden Dissertationen nicht mehr auf Latein publiziert, außer auf dem Gebiet der Klassischen Philologie.[6] Während der vorigen Jahrhunderte bediente man sich des Lateinischen nicht zu wissenschaftlichen Zwecken, sondern gemäß den praktischen Bedürfnissen der Kirche. Typisch ist das Beispiel von Henrik Gabriel Porthan, dem großen Humanisten, Professor für Eloquenz in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. und Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts. Der Lehrstuhl für Eloquenz ist Vorläufer dessen für Latein, dessen exakter Name heute „Lateinische Sprache und Römische Literatur" ist. Aber Porthan ist in die Geschichte nicht als Klassischer Philologe eingegangen, sondern als Begründer der finnischen Geschichtsschreibung, dank seiner bahnbrechenden Werke zur finnischen Sprache, Geschichte und Ethnographie. Auf dem klassischen Gebiet besteht sein Beitrag aus einer Serie von Dissertationen, welche die Doktrin der antiken Rhetorik auf die Kunst der Predigt anwandten. Porthan selbst hatte bemerkt, dass diese Praxis insofern nützlich war, als ein guter Teil der Studenten nach Abschluss der Studien Pastoren wurden.

[6] Zu den Dissertationen und Programmen an der Universität in den Jahre 1828–1908 s. Hjelt 1909.

Noch weniger kann man von griechischen Studien sprechen. Das Griechische bildete mit dem Hebräischen einen gemeinsamen Lehrstuhl der heiligen Sprachen, der Sprachen des Alten und des Neuen Testaments. Erst gegen Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts begann man in den Vorlesungen profane Texte zu behandeln, in erster Linie Homer. Im Jahre 1812 erhielt das Griechische einen eigenen Lehrstuhl.

Auch wenn das Studium der klassischen Antike, im modernen Sinn einer eigentlichen wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit, während der ersten zwei Jahrhunderte der Geschichte unserer Universität ein so gut wie unbekanntes Phänomen war, blieb doch der generelle Einfluss der antiken Literatur nicht irrelevant. Trotz der Vorherrschaft der rigorosen lutherischen Orthodoxie waren die hauptsächlichen Ideen des Humanismus wie die Schätzung des irdischen Ruhms, die moralische Autonomie des Menschen oder die Verherrlichung der bürgerlichen Tugenden bevorzugter Stoff in Dissertationen, die ethischen Fragen gewidmet waren, und besonders in lateinischen Reden und Gedichten. Diese Reden und Gedichte zeugen nicht nur von einer Geschicklichkeit im Gebrauch des klassischen Latein, mit Anspielungen auf die antike Mythologie und Geschichte, sondern auch von einer ausgezeichneten Kenntnis antiker Literatur und von einer großen Bewunderung der antiken Welt.

Noch wichtiger war der Einfluss des deutschen Neuhumanismus, der die Blicke von Rom nach Athen lenkte und der nicht wie der Humanismus alten Stils eine Vorliebe für mit dem Begriff der Tugend verbundene Fragen hatte, sondern sich mehr für die ästhetischen Werte der klassischen Werke interessierte. Während der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts dominierte das intellektuelle Klima an der Universität von Turku und dann später in Helsinki. Der Einfluss des Neuhumanismus für den aufkommenden Nationalismus – im guten Sinne des Wortes – war sehr wichtig. Elias Lönnrot, der den *Kalevala* aufgrund von Volksliedern verfasste, war tief von Homer beeinflusst. Seine Kompilation wurde das Nationalepos Finnlands und eine außerordentlich wichtige Inspirationsquelle für Generationen von Künstlern, Schriftstellern und Komponisten. Johan Ludvig Runeberg, der künftige Nationaldichter, studierte Griechisch an der Universität. Er publizierte zwei Dissertationen zur antiken Tragödie, die von Originalität und Urteilsfähigkeit zeugen. Wegen akademischer Intrigen war er jedoch gezwungen, auf die Universitätslaufbahn zu verzichten, und verbrachte den Rest seines Lebens als Schullehrer in der Stadt Porvoo.

Ich habe das Jahr 1852 als Wasserscheide in der Geschichte des Lateins in unserem Land bezeichnet. Jenes Jahr bedeutet aber nicht einen totalen Bruch der Lateinkenntnisse, weder in der Universität noch in der Schule.

Die Studenten aller Fakultäten mussten immer noch eine gewisse Kenntnis der Sprache Ciceros aufweisen. Erst nach dem Ersten und besonders nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg hat die Stellung des Lateinischen stärker abzunehmen begonnen. Heute, als Resultat der Umstürze der sechziger und siebziger Jahre und ihrer Folgen, hat das Lateinische auch in der Philosophischen Fakultät stark an Boden verloren; sogar in der Romanischen Philologie ist seine Kenntnis nicht mehr erforderlich. Ein Zeichen der Zeit.

In den Schulen sind die Dinge nicht besser bestellt. Im 19. Jahrhundert war Latein noch die erste zu erlernende Fremdsprache. Nachdem aber der neue Schultyp, die Realschule eingeführt worden war und sich überall verbreitete, begann das Latein seinen Primat zu verlieren und die Zahl der humanistischen Gymnasien abzunehmen. Noch in den sechziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts gab es sechs Schulen, an denen man sieben Jahre Latein und drei Jahre Griechisch lernen konnte, aber im Jahre 1970 wurde das humanistische Gymnasium abgeschafft. Glücklicherweise blieb der Lateinunterricht in den ehemaligen klassischen Schulen in etwas verkürzter Form bestehen, doch nur fakultativ (und Griechischunterricht kann auf freiwilliger Basis erteilt werden), wobei das Latein mit anderen Fächern um die Seelen der Schüler wetteifern muss. Dies ist die Lage der Dinge heute. Sehr rosig ist die Zukunft des Schullateins nicht; u.a. hängt das Bestehen von Lateinklassen von der Qualität der Lehrer und von den Interessen der Kinder und ihrer Eltern ab; ohne gute und pflichtbewusste Lehrer gerät die Erteilung des Lateinunterrichts leicht in Gefahr.

Vielleicht betreuen die Beamten des staatlichen Schulamtes die in den heißen Jahren nach 1968 gemachten Entscheidungen; heute, wo Finnland Mitglied der EU ist, brauchen wir mehr denn je einen Schultyp, der uns zu den Grundlagen der europäischen Kultur führt – und welcher könnte ein bessere Weg sein als das humanistische Gymnasium, der europäischste aller Schultypen? Aber der Würfel ist gefallen – es ist unwahrscheinlich, dass man in Finnland zu der alten guten Lateinschule zurückkehren kann.

Im selben Jahr des verheerenden Brandes der Stadt Turku, in 1828, in dem auch die Universität und ihre Bibliothek abbrannten, wurde die Universität nach Helsinki verlegt, das die neue Hauptstadt des Landes geworden war. Die Erforschung des klassischen Altertums verfügte damals – wie noch heute – über zwei Lehrstühle, einen für Latein, einen für Griechisch. Der Inhaber des Ersteren hieß von 1640 bis 1852 *Professor eloquentiae*; seit 1853 hieß der Lehrstuhl „Römische Literatur", und heute, seit 1979, lautet sein Name „Lateinische Sprache und Römische Literatur", und derjenige der Gräzistik „Griechische

Sprache und Literatur". Außerhalb von Helsinki gibt es einen Lehrstuhl in der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft nur an der Universität Turku; er heißt „Antike Sprachen und Kultur". An einigen anderen Universitäten wird einigermaßen sprachlicher und historischer Unterricht erteilt.

Ich kann hier keine Geschichte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft in unserem Land bieten. Es seien nur einige Grundzüge gestreift. Bis zur zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts war die Qualität der klassischen Studien in Helsinki eher miserabel, die meisten Dissertationen und andere Abhandlungen sind mehr als bibliophile Kuriosa zu nehmen und besitzen wenig wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Bedeutung; sie zeigen nur, dass man auf dem Gebiet des Griechischen und Lateinischen akademische Examina machte und solche Exerzitiendisputationen auch publizieren wollte, und zwar fast ausschließlich auf Latein. Der erste Professor für Latein nach der Verlegung der Universität aus Turku nach Helsinki, Johan Gabriel Linsén (1828–1848), hatte überhaupt keine Ahnung von der neuen, in Deutschland entwickelten philologischen Methode.

Wie schon gesagt, blieb bis tief in die zweite Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts Latein die erste Sprache wissenschaftlicher Kommunikation an der Universität. Bis 1852 mussten die Kandidaten ihre Dissertationen auf Latein verteidigen, seit jenem Jahr durfte man es auch auf Schwedisch tun, seit 1858 auf Finnisch und seit 1871 auch in anderen Sprachen. In der Klassischen Philologie mussten die Dissertationen „pro munere" weiterhin auf Latein publiziert und verteidigt werden; dies geschah etwa bis 1900. In der Zeit zwischen 1828 und 1908 wurden auf dem Gebiet der Latinistik insgesamt 49 Dissertationen „pro munere" und „pro venia legendi" publiziert, Exerzitiendisputationen mitgezählt. In der Gräzistik ist die entsprechende Zahl 38. Hinzu kommen noch fünf Dissertationen auf dem Gebiet der Alten Geschichte, zwischen den Jahren 1839 und 1850 verteidigt.

Die moderne Altertumswissenschaft ist in Helsinki während der Ära Gustafsson und Heikel endlich angekommen, und wir werden zum Schluss mit ein paar Worten die Periode ihrer Tätigkeit behandeln.[7] Vor Fridolf Vladimir Gustafsson (Ordinarius für Römische Literatur 1882–1920) und Ivar August Heikel (Ordinarius für Griechische Literatur 1888–1926) waren die klassischen

[7] Zum philologischen Studiums an der Åbo Universität s. Heikel 1894; Memoiren von Heikel s. Heikel 1945–1947. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf hat im Jahr 1895 in Göttingen Heikels "Vita Constantini" für Harnacks Sammlung der Kirchenväter empfohlen, s. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1928: 226.

Studien im Ganzen recht primitiv gewesen (von der Tätigkeit von af Brunér und Petersen abgesehen), ohne Innovation und Originalität. Besonders Heikel hat die wissenschaftliche Qualität der Klassischen Philologie kräftig entwickelt, unter anderem dadurch, dass er die von af Brunér aus Deutschland eingeführten Seminarübungen weiter förderte. af Brunér (Ordinarius für Römische Literatur 1848–1871) war der erste finnische Altertumswissenschaftler, der gleichzeitig europäische Standards vertrat; unsterblich hat er sich durch seine Catullstudien gemacht (sein berühmtestes Werk ist ein bahnbrechendes Buch zur Chronologie von Catulls Gedichten vom Jahre 1861). Auch sein Kollege Fredrik Julius Petersen (Extraordinarius für Römische Literatur 1871–1881) war ein ausgezeichneter Wissenschaftler, der die Entwicklung unserer klassischen Studien neben af Brunér weiter gefördert hat (bleibenden Wert haben seine textkritischen Studien zu Martianus Capella). Doch erst seit der Ära Gustafsson und Heikel hat sich die kritische Altertumswissenschaft bei uns wirklich zu entfalten begonnen. Beide hatten ausgezeichnete Schüler, welche die von ihnen begonnene Arbeit weitergeführt haben; sie waren auch sonst zentrale Gestalten im universitären Leben, Gustafsson als Dekan der philosophischen Fakultät, Heikel als langjähriger Rektor der Universität in schwierigen Zeiten. Ihren wissenschaftlichen Einsatz kann ich hier nicht behandeln (Einiges habe ich jedoch ausgearbeitet in dem in der Bibliographie erwähnten Beitrag von 2011[8]). Auch wenn Einiges aus ihrem wissenschaftlichen Oeuvre heute kritisiert wird (um ein Beispiel zu nennen, Heikels an sich ausgezeichnete Studien zur Textgeschichte einiger Werke von Eusebios und seine entsprechenden kritischen Editionen sind, und zwar zu Recht, angegriffen worden[9]), muss man die grundlegende Bedeutung ihrer Wirkung zugeben. Durch ihr Oeuvre war der Weg geebnet, die neue Bahn gebrochen.[10]

Ausgewählte Bibliographie – zur weiteren Lektüre

Aalto, Pentti (1980). *Classical Studies in Finland 1828–1918*. Helsinki: Societas scientiarum Fennica.

Grumach, Ernst (Hrsg.) (1958) *Minoica: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Johannes Sundwall*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

[8] S. Solin 2011.

[9] S. Winkelmann 1985.

[10] Ich habe meinen Aufsatz den Herausgebern der FS Lill im Jahre 2016 eingereiht. In der vorliegenden Fassung konnte nichts geändert werden.

Heikel, Ivar August (1894). *Filologins studium vid Åbo Universitet*. (*Åbo Universitets lärdomshistoria*; 5.) Helsingfors: Tidnings- & tryckeri-aktiebolagets tryckeri.

Heikel, Ivar August (1945–1947). *Minnen från min levnad* I–III. Helsingfors: Söderström.

Hjelt, Otto Edvard August (1909). *Det Finska Universitetets disputations- och programlitteratur under åren 1828–1908 – Dissertationes academicae et programmata Universitatis litterarum Fennorum Helsingforsiae annis 1828–1908 edita*. Helsingfors: Helsingfors centraltryckeri.

Pitkäranta, Reijo; Westman, Rolf (1980). 'Finlandia: Bibliographie abrégée des études classiques en Finlande 1967–1976.' – *Euphrosyne* 10, 252–259.

Pitkäranta, Reijo; Westman, Rolf (1987). 'Finlandia: Bibliographie abrégée des études classiques en Finlande 1977–1986.' – *Euphrosyne* 15, 357–367. https://doi.org/10.1484/J.EUPHR.5.126660

Sandys, John Edwin (1921). *History of Classical Scholarship* I–III^2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Solin, Heikki (1998). 'Storia degli studi epigrafici in Finlandia.' – Bruun, Christer; Helttula, Anne; Kajava, Mika; Solin, Heiki; Steinby, Eva Margareta (Hrsgg.), *Epigrafi e studi epigrafici in Finlandia*, a cura di Heikki Solin. (*Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae*; 19.) Roma: [Institutum Romanum Findlandiae].

Solin, Heikki (2011). 'Deutsch als Sprache der Altertumswissenschaften in Finnland.' – Prinz, Michael; Korhonen, Jarmo (Hrsgg.), *Deutsch als Wissenschaftssprache im Ostseeraum – Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 111–123.

Solin, Heikki (2012). 'Studi classici in Finlandia.' – Canfora, Luciano; Cardinale, Ugo (ed.), *Disegnare il futuro con intelligenza antica. L'insegnamento del latino e del greco antico in Italia e nel mondo*. Bologna: il Mulino, 347–360.

Vainio, Raija (2000). *Klassilliset kielet ja antiikin kulttuuri 40 vuotta – oppiaineen historiaa*. Juhlaseminaarin päivänä 9.12.2000.

Westman, Rolf (1968). 'Bibliographie abrégée des études classiques en Finlande 1947–1966.' – *Euphrosyne* 2, 209–214. https://doi.org/10.1484/J.EUPHR.5.127393

Westman, Rolf (1972). 'Ergänzende Sundwall-Bibliographie.' – *Klio* 54, 67–75. https://doi.org/10.1524/klio.1972.54.54.67

Westman, Rolf (1989). 'Dänemark, Finnland, Norwegen, Schweden: Die griechische Philologie.' – *La filologia greca e latina nel secolo XX. Atti del Congresso internazionale (Roma 1984)*, 2. Pisa: Giardini, 685–725.

Westman, Rolf (1991). *Classical Studies 1980–1990 in Turku-Åbo and in Oulu: A Supplementary Bibliography from Finland*. Åbo: Klassiska institutionen vid Åbo Akademi.

Westman, Rolf (1993). 'Grekiska och romerska litteraturen.' – *Åbo Akademi 1918–1993: Forskning och institutioner* II. Åbo: Åbo Akademis Förlag, 109–123.

Westman, Rolf (1996). 'History of Classical Scholarship in Finland: A Bibliography.' – *Arctos* 30, 7–20.

Westman, Rolf (1997). 'Addenda to the bibliography in Arctos XXX.' – *Arctos* 31, 227–229.
Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich von (1928). *Erinnerungen 1948–1914*. Leipzig: K. F. Koehler.
Winkelmann, Friedhelm (1985). 'Ivar August Heikels Korrespondenz mit Hermann Diels, Adolf Harnack und Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendoff.' – *Klio* 67, 568–587. https://doi.org/10.1524/klio.1985.67.67.568

Arctos. Acta historica, philologica, philosophica Fennica 1, 1930 (1931); 2, 1931 (1932).
Arctos. Acta philologica Fennica, nova series 1–, 1954–.

Forscher seit etwa der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts (noch lebende Forscher werden nicht angeführt)

Latein

af Brunér, Edvard Jonas Wilhelm (1816–1871), Ordinarius der Römischen Literatur 1848–1871.
Petersen, Fredrik Julius (1820–1883), Extraordinarius der Römischen Literatur 1871–1881.
Synnerberg, Carl (1837–1915), Akademischer Rat an der Universität Helsinki, später Oberinspektor im Landesschulamt.
af Ursin, Nils Robert (1854–1936), Lehrer.
Gustafsson, Fridolf Vladimir (1853–1924), Professor der römischen Literatur 1882–1920.
Hidén, Karl Julius (1867–1925), Assistenzprofessor der Klassischen Philologie an der Universität Helsinki 1925.
Soveri, Heikki Ferdinand (1863–1929), Lehrer.
Heikel, Einar Immanuel (1885–1949), Akademischer Rat an der Universität Helsinki, wurde bald krank und verbrachte den Rest seines Lebens auf dem Lande.
Ahlman, Erik Gustaf (1892–1952), Assistenzprofessor der Klassischen Philologie an der Universität Helsinki 1931–1935, Ordinarius der Philosophie an der Universität Jyväskylä 1935–1948, Ordinarius der Praktischen Philosophie an der Universität Helsinki 1948–1952.
Hammarström, Magnus (1893–1941), Privatdozent der Klassischen Philologie an der Universität Helsinki 1925. Seine verheißungsvolle wissenschaftliche Karriere wurde durch Krankheit unterbrochen.
Flinck, Edwin Johan Hildegard, später Linkomies (1894–1963), Professor der Römischen Literatur 1923–1963 an der Universität Helsinki, Ministerpräsident der

finnischen Regierung 1943–44, Rektor und später Kanzler der Universität Helsinki 1956–1963.

Numminen, Paavo (1894–1968), Privatdozent der Klassischen Philologie an der Universität Turku 1948–1964, stellvertretender Professor ebenda 1960–1964.

Väänänen, Veikko Ilmari (1905–1997), Assistenzprofessor der Klassischen Philologie an der Universität Helsinki 1938–1951, Ordinarius der Romanischen Philologie ebenda 1951–1972.

Oksala, Päivö (1907–1974), Assistenzprofessor der Klassischen Philologie an der Universität Helsinki 1953–1971, Ordinarius für Latein an der Universität Jyväskylä 1971–1974.

Sainio, Matti (1914–1987), PhD in Latein, Ordinarius der Pädagogik an der Åbo Akademi 1971–1976.

Aalto, Pentti (1917–1988), PhD in Latein, Professor Extraordinarius der vergleichenden indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft an der Universität Helsinki 1958–1980.

Lilja, Saara (1923–2003), Assistenzprofessorin der Klassischen Philologie an der Universität Helsinki 1973–1986.

Kajanto, Iiro Ilkka (1925–1997), Ordinarius der Römischen Literatur an der Universität Helsinki (seit 1979 heißt der Lehrstuhl „Lateinische Sprache und Römische Literatur“) 1967–1991.

Paananen, Unto (1934–2009), Akademischer Rat des Lateins an der Universität Oulu.

Oksala, Teivas (1936–2018), Privatdozent der Antiken Literatur an der Universität Helsinki 1974.

Griechisch

Gyldén, Nils Abraham (1805–1888), Ordinarius der griechischen Literatur 1847–1866.

Lagus, Jacob Johan Wilhelm (1821–1909), Ordinarius der griechischen Literatur 1866–1886.

Tudeer, Oskar Emil (1850–1930), Extraordinarius der griechischen Literatur 1885–1910.

Heikel, Ivar August (1861–1952), Ordinarius der griechischen Literatur 1888–1926.

Granit, Johannes Mikael (1869–1972), Lehrer.

Rein, Johan Edvard (1873–1940), Extraordinarius 1925–1930, Ordinarius 1930–1940 der griechischen Literatur (als Extraordinarius auch der Byzantinischen Literatur an der Universität Helsinki).

Zilliacus, Emil (1878–1961), Extraordinarius der antiken Literatur an der Universität Helsinki 1943–1945.

Salonius, Aarne Henrik (1884–1930), Assistenzprofessor der Klassischen Philologie an der Universität Helsinki 1925–1929, Ordinarius der griechischen Literatur ebenda 1929–30.

Tudeer, Lauri Oskar Theodor (1884–1955), Privatdozent der griechischen Philologie an der Universität Helsinki 1916–1933, Oberbibliothekar der Universitätsbibliothek Helsinki, der heutigen Nationalbibliothek 1933–1954.

Gyllenberg, Rafael Gideon (1893–1982), Ordinarius der Exegetik an der Universität Helsinki 1929–1934, an der Åbo Akademi 1934–1964.

Mikkola, Eino (1905–1987), Privatdozent der Klassischen Philologie an der Universität Helsinki 1958–1971 und stellvertretender Assistenzprofessor der Klassischen Philologie ebenda 1956–1967.

Zilliacus, Henrik (1908–1992), Ordinarius der griechischen Literatur 1944–1974.

Westman, Rolf (1927–2017), Ordinarius der Klassischen Philologie an der Åbo Akademi 1962–1993.

Alte Geschichte

Sundwall, Johannes (1877–1966), Extraordinarius der Alten Geschichte an der Åbo Akademi 1919–1921, Ordinarius der Alten Geschichte und der Griechischen und Römischen Literatur ebenda 1921–1945.

Gummerus, Herman (1877–1948), Ordinarius der Allgemeinen Geschichte an der Universität Helsinki 1933–1947.

Lindequist, Björn (1890–?), Lebenslauf teilweise unbekannt; studierte im Ausland und wurde in Zürich promoviert: *Beiträge zur Geschichte des römischen Britanniens*, Diss. Zürich phil. Fak. I, 1916.

Mickwitz, Gunnar (1906–1940), Privatdozent an der Universität Helsinki 1933–1940, stellvertretender Ordinarius der Allgemeinen Geschichte an der Åbo Akademi 1938–1939.

Suolahti, Jaakko (1918–1987), Ordinarius der Allgemeinen Geschichte an der Universität Helsinki 1960–1981.

Bruun, Patrick (1920–2007), Ordinarius der Allgemeinen Geschichte an der Åbo Akademi 1968–1983.

Abstract

An overwiew of the Finnish classical studies since the late Middle Ages is given. The concentration on philological matters and the lack of the slow development of the studies on Ancient history and Classical Archaeology is stressed.

CONTRIBUTORS

Jaanika Anderson (PhD) is former Director of Research of the University of Tartu Museum. Since 15 August 2024 she is the Director of the University of Tartu Library. E-mail: jaanika.anderson@ut.ee

Michail Bibikov (Dr. Sc. (Hist.)) is Chief Research Fellow at the Institute of World History of the Russian Academy of Sciences and Director of the Chair of Byzantine and Modern Greek Philology of Moscow State M. V. Lomonosov University. E-mail: mbibikov@mail.ru

Jerker Blomqvist (PhD) is Professor Emeritus of Greek Language and Literature at Lund University, Sweden. E-mail: jerker.blomqvist@gmail.com

Heinz Hofmann (Dr. phil.) is Professor Emeritus of Latin Philology at the University of Tübingen, Germany. E-mail: heinz.hofmann@uni-tuebingen.de

Maarit Kaimio (PhD) is Professor Emerita of Greek Language and Literature at the University of Helsinki. E-mail: maarit@kaimio.fi

Katre Kaju (PhD) is Editor at the National Archives of Estonia.
E-mail: katre.kaju@ra.ee

Mait Kõiv (PhD) is Associate Professor of Ancient History at the University of Tartu, Estonia, and chairman of the Research Center of Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Cultures (CAEMC). E-mail: mait.koiv@ut.ee

Peter Kuhlmann (Dr. phil.) is Professor of Latin Philology and Didactics of Ancient Languages at the University of Göttingen, Germany.
E-mail: Peter.Kuhlmann@phil.uni-goettingen.de

Maria-Kristiina Lotman (PhD) is Associate Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Tartu, Estonia. E-mail: maria-kristiina.lotman@ut.ee

Neeme Näripä (PhD) is Lecturer in Latin and Ancient Greek at the University of Tartu, Estonia. E-mail: neeme.naripa@ut.ee

Heinz-Günther Nesselrath (Dr. phil.) is Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Göttingen, Germany. E-mail: hnessel@gwdg.de

Kadri Novikov (PhD) is Lecturer in Classical Philology and Programme Director of Classical Studies at the University of Tartu, Estonia.
E-mail: kadri.novikov@ut.ee

Janika Päll (PhD) is Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Tartu, and also works at the Research Centre of the University of Tartu Library, Estonia. E-mail: janika.pall@ut.ee

Vita Paparinska (PhD) is former Professor of Classics of the University of Latvia. E-mail: vitapap@yahoo.com

Jaan Puhvel (PhD, Dr. phil. h.c. mult.) is Professor Emeritus in the Department of Classics of the University of California, Los Angeles, and honorary doctor of the University of Tartu and Tallinn University.
E-mail: jpuhvel@ucla.edu

Merike Ristikivi (PhD) is Associate Professor in Legal History (Roman Law and Latin) and Programme Director of Doctoral Studies in Law at the University of Tartu, Estonia. E-mail: merike.ristikivi@ut.ee

Paavo Roos (Dr. phil.) is former Lecturer in the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History of Lund University, Sweden.
E-mail: paavo.roos@gmail.com

Heikki Solin (PhD) is Professor Emeritus of Latin Philology of the University of Helsinki, Finland. E-mail: heikki.solin@helsinki.fi

Martin Steinrück (Dr. phil.) is former Lecturer in the Department of Classical Philology of the University of Fribourg, Switzerland.
E-mail: martin.steinrueck@unifr.ch

Gregor Vogt-Spira (Dr. phil.) is Professor Emeritus of Classical Philology at the University of Marburg, Germany. E-mail: vogtspir@staff.uni-marburg.de

Ivo Volt (PhD) is Lecturer in Classical Studies at the University of Tartu, and Editor-in-Chief of the University of Tartu Press, Estonia.
E-mail: Ivo.Volt@ut.ee

Stephanie West (MA, DPhil, FBA) is Emeritus Fellow of the Hertford College, University of Oxford. She is a Fellow of the British Academy and a Foreign Member of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences.
E-mail: stephanie.west@hertford.ox.ac.uk

INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES

Aalto, Pentti 336, 341, 344
Aarma, Liivi 230, 231, 241
Abbamonte, Giancarlo 211
Accursius, Bonus 195
Achill | Achilles 10, 12, 20, 132–137, 141, 152, 153, 202
Achilles Tatius 154–165
Acquaviva, Andrea Matteo 203
Adomeit, Klaus 329, 330
Aelianus, Claudius 94, 98, 99
Aemilius Paulus 80, 81, 83
Aeschines the Socratic 61
Aeschylus | Aischylos 73, 247, 249, 253, 285–287, 292, 297, 298
Aesop 316
Aethelwulf von Lindisfarne 200
Agabus 36
Agamemnon 73, 133–136, 153
Agathokles of Syracuse 16
Agesilaos 18, 100–101
Agis 18
Agnew, David Carnegie A. 218, 226
Agricola, Michael | Mikael 175, 337
Agur, Rein 294, 303
Ahlman, Erik Gustaf 343
Aias 133, 244, 248, 252
Aischylos, *see* Aeschylus
Aktaion 15
Alcaeus | Alkaios 13–14
Alcibiades | Alkibiades 137–143, 153
Aleksidze, Georgi 298
Alexander the Great 51, 292
Alexander, son of Perseus 83–84
Alexander I, Russian Emperor 256
Alexander, Edward P. 257, 277
Alexander, Mary 257, 277
Alexander, Paul J. 169, 171
Alfons von Aragon 194
Alfonso II (1494–1495) 203
Alhoniemi, Pirkko 246, 253
Alkaios, *see* Alcaeus
Alkibiades, *see* Alcibiades
Almeida, Joseph A. 14, 26
Alopekos 18
Altamura, Antonio 194, 211
Altilio, Gabriele 203, 208
Aly, Wolfgang 36, 37, 44
Amalteo, Giovanni Battista 221, 223, 226
Amasis 37
Amburger, Erik 231, 241
Amestris 35
Ammianus Marcellinus 98, 101
Anacreon 316
Anaxagoras 93
Anaximander 42
Anaximenes 93
Anaximenes of Lampsacus 54
Anders, Emil Aleksander Lorenz 261, 264, 277
Anderson, Jaanika 256, 258, 259, 260, 264, 265, 267, 277
Andreas 15–16
Andresen, Nigol 289, 296, 303
Andrew Salos 168
Andrist, Patrick 216, 226
Andronicus of Rhodes 59
Angour, Armand d' 217, 226
Anne, princess 218
Annensky, Innokenty 289, 296

Annist, August 307, 319
Annus, Epp 291, 303
Anouilh, Jean 289, 296–298, 302
Antigone 291, 299
Antigonos Doson of Macedonia 105
Antiochus III 84
Antiochus IV 84
Antiphanes 137
Antolín, Fernando Navarro 203, 211
Antonopoulos, John 103, 107
Anyta 12
Apellicon 59
Apollonidas 83
Appian | Appianos 80–81, 84
Apuleius 69, 201
Aquaviva, Claudio 177
Arbatz, Michel 74
Arcesilaus 83
Archias 15
Archibald, Zofia 39, 44
Archilochus | Archilochos 12, 126
Ariantas 40
Aristagoras 42–43
Aristainetos 198
Aristarchos 106
Aristides | Aristeides, Aelius 96, 133
Aristodikos 35
Ariston 83
Aristophanes 38, 137, 297
Aristotle | Aristoteles 13, 15, 16, 20, 22–26, 36, 37, 47–59, 62, 65, 66, 72, 74, 75, 92–94, 98, 107, 114–115, 118–121, 123, 124, 247
Arkesilas III 34
Artaute 35
Artemis 15, 156, 160, 161
Asclepiades of Samos 316
Asheri, David 31, 34, 44
Asklepiades of Tragilos 20
Asswegen, Caspar von 231
Astrabakos 18–19
Astyages 37
Astyochos 105
Athenaeus | Athenaios 19, 268
Augustine 183
Augustus 95, 183
Auhagen, Ulrike 194, 211
Ausonius 10, 197, 201, 204, 205
Austin, John L. 67, 72
Autino, Paolo 103, 108
Autonoe 15
Avienus 197

Bacchylides 224
Backert, Nicolas 88, 108
Baffi, Pasquale 222
Baiter, Johann Georg 127, 130
Bakker, M. de 43, 44
Balot, Ryan K. 14, 26
Barber, Samuel 298
Barberini, Maffeo, *see* Urban VIII
Barchiesi, Alessandro 205, 211
Barga, Pietro Angelino di 209
Barigazzi, Adelmo 113, 129
Bartsch, Shadi 155, 164
Basil of Caesarea 221
Basil the Younger 167–170
Bauer, Barbara 178, 179, 184
Bauer, Johannes 258, 277
Bauman, Pärtel, *see* Haliste, Pärtel
Baumgartner, Walter 236, 238, 239, 241
Beck, Hans-Georg 166, 171
Bellay, Joachim du 188
Bembo, Pietro 187, 188, 203, 209
Benke, Nikolaus 321, 330
Bentley, Richard 218
Benz, Ernst 168, 171
Bergman, Johan 262, 274
Bergmann, Jaan 285, 303
Berting, Alexander 266, 277
Beuys, Joseph 72
Bierl, Anton 155, 164
Binder, Gerhard 209, 212
Bion 195, 197, 209
Bithys (Cotys' son) 83

Blomqvist, Jerker 89, 105, 108
Blum, Paul Richard 178–180, 184
Blume, Christoph 230–243
Boardman, John 26
Boas, Franz 67
Böcher, Otto 201, 214
Böckh (Boeckh), August 223, 226, 286
Bodniece, Līva 285, 286, 293, 295, 297–300, 303, 305
Boehringer, Christof 258, 278
Bömer, Aloys 176, 179, 184
Bömer, Franz 193, 194, 197, 198, 202, 204, 205, 211
Bommel, Bas van 224, 226
Bonnechere, Pierre 17, 18, 26
Borghese, Paolo Guido 210
Bornwasser, Peter Ludwig 268–269
Bousquet, Jean 105, 108
Bowie, Angus M. 31, 32, 44
Braswell, Bruce Karl 32, 44
Brelich, Angelo 17, 18, 26
Briseis 133–135
Britten, Benjamin 298
Broadbent, Molly 15, 27
Browning, Robert 224
Brunér, Edvard Jonas Wilhelm af 341, 343
Bruun, Patrick 335, 345
Buchanan, John 216
Buchheit, Vinzenz 51, 64
Bugenhagen, Johannes 175
Buller, Jeffrey L. 197, 211
Bünting, Heinrich 235, 241
Buren, A. van 196
Burkert, Walter 15, 20, 27, 37, 44
Butler, H. E. 49

Cades, Tommaso 266
Caesar, Gaius Julius 85, 183, 322
Cairns, Francis 215, 226
Calame, Claude 17, 27, 75, 77
Callicrates 80, 82
Callimachus | Kallimachos 68, 155, 198
Callinus 316
Callo, Joseph F. 223, 229
Calpurnius Siculus 198, 200
Calvin, Jean 174, 216
Calvus, Gaius Licinius 205
Cambyses 34–35
Camerarius, Joachim 216
Cameron, William 225
Canisius, Petrus 177
Capilupi, Ippolito 188
Caplan, Harry 55, 64
Caracciolo, Tristano 203
Carbone, Girolamo 203
Caro, Annibale 188
Cartledge, Paul 26, 27
Cary, E. 85
Castiglione, Baldassare 208, 209
Catherine II of Russia 216, 222
Cato the Elder 82, 85, 200
Catullus, Gaius Valerius 124, 197, 201, 206, 341
Catulus, Quintus Lutatius 194
Cecrops 39
Chaniotis, Angelos 105, 108
Charillos 13–30
Chariton 155
Cheops 41
Cherubini, Luigi 299
Chiron, Pierre 47, 52, 54, 64
Chrestiens, Florent 216
Christ, Matthew R. 41, 44
Christian II, Elector of Saxony 221
Chrysipp | Chrysippos 113
Cicero 49, 54–60, 63, 75, 85, 102, 113, 121, 175, 181, 200, 322, 323, 339
Čičurov, Igor Sergeevič 167, 171
Citarelli, Francesco Saverio 210
Clark, Kenneth Willis 223
Clark, Martin L. 55, 58, 64
Claudianus 197, 200
Cobb, Samuel 218
Cobb-Stevens, Veda 13, 27
Collinet, Paul 324, 330

Colonna, Marco 208–209
Columella 12, 192–194, 196, 200
Comenius (Komenský, Jan Amos) 184
Commager, Steele 124, 129
Constantine the Great 169
Constantine V Copronymus 166
Constantinus Africanus 334
Constantius II 96
Cook, Theodore Andrea 217, 226
Coppel, Bernhard 196, 212
Corcella, Aldo 31, 44
Corderius, Mathurinus 176, 180
Cordier, Henri 33, 46
Cornificius 55
Cornwallis, William 223
Cosenza, Mario E. 188, 212
Cotta, Giovanni 207–209
Cotys 79, 83
Courtney, William Prideaux 218, 226
Cribiore, Raffaella 131, 153
Cucchiarelli, Andrea 198, 212
Cueva, Edmund P. 154–156, 164
Cyprian 168
Cyrus | Kyros 16, 35, 37, 38

D'Ablancourt, Nicolas Perrot 309, 311, 314, 315, 319
D'Avino, Rita 66, 77
Dagessa, Franciscus 223
Dam, Harm-Jan van 204, 205, 212
Darius 31–33, 39, 41, 46
d'Aubus, Isaye 218
Daubuz (Danbuz, Daubus), Charles (Carolus) 218, 220–222
Dausque, Claude 221, 226
Davidson, James 38, 44
Dawkins, Richard M. 26, 27
De Ferraris, Antonio 203
De Libero, Loretana 13, 27
Debiasi, Andrea 15, 27
Delehaye, Hippolyte 167, 171
Demetrios of Kallatis 95
Demetrius (son of Seleucus) 84
Demetrius, St. 167
Demokritos 93
Demosthenes 61, 76
Deratani, Nikolai F. 309, 316–319
Derrida, Jacques 69, 77
Dewald, Carolyn 41, 44
Dick, Bernard F. 197, 212
Diercks, Gustav 285, 303
Dikmonienė, Jovita 285, 286, 293, 295, 297–300, 303, 305
Dio Cassius 81, 84, 85, 96, 102
Diodoros | Diodorus Siculus 14–16, 38, 80, 89, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 105, 268
Diogenes Laertius | Laertios 13, 48, 63, 99
Diomedes 136
Dion Chrysostomos 101
Dione 202
Dionysius Halicarnassensis 61, 63
Dionysius Periegetes 194
Dionysos | Dionysus 16, 71, 73, 140, 157, 158
Divenuto, Francesco 194, 212
Dorn, Erhard 167, 171
Dracontius 200
Drerup, Heinrich 26, 27
Dromichaites 38
Dryden, John 218, 226
Ducat, Jean 17, 18, 27
Duhr, Bernhard 175, 177, 178, 184
Dvornik, Francis 167, 171

Eckhel, Joseph Hilarius 265
Edwards, Viv 33, 44
Effe, Bernd 209, 212
Ehrhard, Albert 169, 171
Eichenholz, Mark D. 307, 319
Einasto, Heili 298, 303
Elert, Friedrich 231
Elgin, Lord (7th Earl of Elgin) 257
Elleström, Lars 283, 303
Elvering, Gabriel 230, 232, 238, 241
Engels, Friedrich 309–310, 318

Ennodius 197
Ephoros 16, 22, 89
Epikrates 143
Epikur 112, 113, 118, 125, 125
Epner, Luule 291, 303, 304
Erasmus of Rotterdam 174, 176
Eratosthenes 90–91
Ercolani, Andrea 71, 77
Estienne, Henri 216
Eudokimos 166
Euelthon 34
Euhemerus 205
Eukosmos 18
Eunapios 70–72, 78
Eunomos 18–22, 24–25
Euphamos 32
Euripides 12, 36, 41, 193, 202, 246, 247, 249, 285, 287–289, 292, 294, 295, 297–300
Eusebius | Eusebios 169, 341
Eustathius Macrembolites 157
Euthymius 168, 169

Fagerström, Kåre 26, 27
Faraklas, Nikolas 105–106, 108
Faulknor (Falkner), Robert 223
Favorinus 99
Fedeli, Paolo 204, 212
Federigo I 194, 203
Felsberg, Ernst 262, 267, 270–271, 274, 275, 279
Ferdinand I. ("Ferrante") 203
Ferdinand II. ("Ferrandino") 194, 203
Ferdinand II. von Aragon 194
Ferentinos, George 89, 90, 108
Fforde, Jasper 69
Filetico, Martino 195
Flaminio, Marcantonio 188
Flaubert, Gustave 69
Flinck (Linkomies), Edwin Johan Hildegard 343
Flower, Michael A. 31, 38, 44
Ford, Andrew 73, 75, 77
Ford, Mary 88, 108
Forsdyke, Sara 13, 27
Forster, E. S. 53, 64
Förtsch, Basilius 235
Foster, H. B. 85
Fournier, Henri 67, 77
Fowler, Francis George 309, 312, 315, 319
Fowler, Henry Watson 309, 312, 315, 319
Fracastoro, Girolamo (Fracastorius, Hieronymus) 207
Hieronymus Fracastorius 207
Frank, Georg 113, 129
Frere, William 223
Freymann, Heinrich 326, 330
Friedlieb, Philipp Heinrich 235
Fronto, Marcus Cornelius 61, 63
Fuchs, Juliane 236–239, 241
Fugger, Georg 179
Fuhrmann, Manfred 174, 175, 184
Furtwängler, Adolf 269–271

Gaehtgens, W. Thomas 257, 278
Gaius 323, 324, 328
Galitski | Galitsky, Lev N. 307, 319
Gamaliya, Kateryna 270, 271, 278
Gambara, Lorenzo 188
Gandini, Marco 298
Garbe, Irmfried 175, 184
Gasse, Horst 309, 312, 315, 319
Gatz, Bodo 205, 212
Geddes, William Dugguid 225
Genghis Khan 33
Gentius 79–80, 83
George of Amastris 166, 167
Geus, Klaus 90, 108
Ghanizadeh, Homayun 297
Giannakopoulou, Vasso 281
Gielen, Katiliina 285, 304
Giovannini, Adalberto 92, 108
Giovio, Paolo 188
Giraldi, Lilio Gregorio 188

Glei, Reinhold F. 215, 227
Gleser, Hilda 295–296
Glowacki, Janusz 297
Gluck, Christoph Willibald 293
Gobryas 32
Godard, Jean-Luc 75
Godefroy, Denis (Gothofredus, Dionysius) 324
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von 285, 289
Goldhill, Simon 68, 77
Gonzalo de Cordoba 194
Gorgias 47, 74
Götsch, Peter 216
Gould, John 35, 44
Goulet, Richard 71, 77
Graf, Fritz 97, 108, 156, 164
Grage, Joachim 239, 241
Granit, Johannes Mikael 344
Grant, Rachel A. 94, 108
Grant, W. Leonard 209, 212
Greenblatt, Stephen 41, 44
Gregory (pupil of Basil the Younger) 167
Gregory of Nazianzus 101
Grifone, Giulio Cesare 207
Grillparzer, Franz 285, 289, 296
Grimm, Heinrich 187, 212
Grimm, Hermann 271
Gritti, Enrico 188, 198, 207, 212
Grube, George M. A. 55, 58, 64
Grumach, Ernst 335, 341
Guidoboni, Emanuela (1994) 88, 89, 93, 95, 96, 98, 100–103, 105, 109
Gummerus, Herman 334, 345
Gustafsson, Fridolf Vladimir 340, 341, 343
Gustav II Adolphus 256
Gutsleff, Johann 231
Gyldén, Nils Abraham 344
Gyllenberg, Rafael Gideon 345

Haava, Anna 286, 288
Hackel, Sergei 168, 171
Haliste (Bauman), Pärtel 7, 262, 272–275, 278, 293, 303
Hall, Jonathan M. 91, 105, 110
Halliday, Tim 94, 108
Hamburg, Paul 290, 304
Hammarström, Magnus 343
Hansen, Mogens Herman 104, 109
Harmon, Austin Morris 309–311, 313–315, 319
Harrison, Jane Ellen 67, 77
Hartung, Johann 296
Headlam, Walter George 225, 227
Hecht, Anthony 197, 212
Heikel, Einar Immanuel 343
Heikel, Ivar August 340–342, 344
Hein, Georg E. 255, 257, 278
Heinze, Richard 67, 77
Hekataios 42
Hektor 136
Heliodorus 316
Helk, Vello 177, 185
Herakleides Pontikos 89, 98, 104
Herakleitos 40
Herakles 16, 139, 141, 198
Herakon 99
Herbert, William 223
Hermagoras 54–55
Hermaküla, Evald 294, 303
Hermann, Gottfried 68
Hermogenes 61–63
Herodas 68, 316
Herodotus | Herodotos 12, 16, 17, 19, 22, 26, 31–46, 61, 268
Herter, Hans 92, 109
Herzlieb, C. F. K. 117
Hesiod | Hesiodos 39, 154, 201, 202, 205
Hesychios 20
Hey, Andreas 221
Heyne, Christian Gottlob 258
Hidén, Karl Julius 343
Higgins, Michael D. 87, 109
Higgins, Reynold 87, 109

Hiio, Toomas 269, 278
Hilpisch, Stephanus 168, 171
Hinks, D. A. G. 53, 64
Hippocrates 93
Hipponax 316
Hirn, Yrjö 246, 253, 254
Hirschfelder, Wilhelm 127, 130
Hjelt, Otto Edvard August 337, 342
Hofmann, Heinz 187, 188, 192, 205, 207–209, 212
Hofmannsthal, Hugo von 288, 295
Hollmann, Alexander 32, 44
Homer 11, 12, 42, 61, 66–68, 72, 73, 75, 133–136, 154, 193, 197, 198, 202, 220–221, 307, 338
Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean 255, 278
Horace | Horaz 10, 11, 112–130, 194, 200, 201, 203, 205, 209, 247, 261, 322
Horn, Liisbeth 299
Hornblower, Simon 31, 36, 44
Hossenfelder, Malte 116, 129
Hubbard, Margaret 117, 119, 129
Hülsen, Christian 200, 212
Humboldt, Wilhelm von 257
Hunter, Richard 154, 164
Hyakinthos 142, 315
Hygin 18, 205, 206
Hypereides 95

Ibycus 316
Idanthyrsus 31, 46
Idomeneus 136
Ieronimaki, Thaleia 222, 227
Ignatius the Deacon 166, 169
Ignatius of Loyola 176–177
IJsewijn, Jozef 188, 212, 215, 227
Irene of Chrysobalanton 168
Irwin, Elizabeth 14, 27
Isabella, daughter of Giorgio Marini 206
Isabella I. von Kastilien 194
Isaiah 36–37
Isocrates 51–52, 316
Iuppiter 117–118, 120
Iuvenalis, *see* Juvenal
Ivan the Terrible 39
Ivanov, Sergej Arkaďevič 170, 171

Jackson, Benjamin Daydon 223, 227
Jacobsohn, Hermann 66, 77
Jakobson, Roman 284, 304
Jamot, Frédéric 216
Janni, Pietro 211
Jansson, Kent (alias for Karl Ristikivi) 299
Järvelaid, Peeter 323, 331
Jeanmaire, Henri 17, 27
Jebb, Richard Claverhouse 224, 227
Jenkins, Henry 282, 304
Jenkins, Julianna 207
Jesus Christ 43, 102, 235
Jõgever, Jaan 286, 301
John of Austria 221
John of Gothia 168, 170
Johnson, Boris 217
Johnson, Samuel 218, 227
Joost, Risto 298
Judex, Matthäus 230
Julian Apostata | Julian the Apostate 96, 98, 101, 131
Jungholz, Karl 292
Justin 81, 84
Justina 168
Justinian 323–325
Juvenal | Iuvenalis 9, 204, 205

Kaalep, Ain 287, 289, 294, 299, 300, 307, 308, 310, 316–319
Kajanto, Iiro Ilkka 344
Kaju, Katre 234, 237, 238, 242, 261, 278
Kalchas 134
Kallimachos, *see* Callimachus
Kallisthenes 93
Kallós, Sándor 298
Kalypso 66
Kancheli, Giya 296

Kannicht, Richard 193, 212
Kaplinski, Jaan 308
Karl V 194, 206, 207
Karling, Sten 262, 274, 276
Katsonopoulou, Dora 89, 91, 92, 106, 109–110
Kazhdan, Alexander 168, 171
Keevallik, Juta 260, 263, 278
Kelly, Gavin 98, 101, 110
Kennedy, Benjamin Hall 225, 227
Kennedy, George A. 51, 53, 55, 58–61, 64
Kennedy, Rann 224
Kennedy, William J. 199, 213
Kennell, Nigel M. 17, 18, 26, 27
Kerkkonen, Karin 246, 254
Kestner, Joseph 156, 165
Kidwell, Carol 194, 203, 210, 213
Kirsten, Ernst 26, 27
Kißel, Walter 204, 213
Kitzberg, August 290–291
Kivastik, Mart 290
Kjellin, Tor Helge 274
Kleidemos 15
Kleis, Richard 292, 310, 319
Ključevskij, Vasilij Osipovič 166, 171
Klöker, Martin 230, 231, 239, 242
Kogan, Leonid 299
Kõiv, Mait 13, 14, 16–18, 22, 23, 26–28
Kõlar, Margo 295
Koljević, Svetozar 35, 44
Komenský, Jan Amos, *see* Comenius
Koraes, Antonios 223, 227
Korkkanen, Irma 335
Kossmann, F. H. K. 216, 227
Koukouvelas, Ioannis K. 90, 110
Kovalevskij, Ioann 168, 171
Kowzan, Tadeusz 282, 304
Krause, Christoph (Christoff) 231–232, 237–240, 243
Krithon of Oiantheia 99
Kroll, Wilhelm 19, 28
Kross, Jaan 291
Kruuspere, Piret 297
Kučinskienė, Audronė 295, 300, 303
Kuhlmann, Peter 179, 185
Kühlmann, Wilhelm 175, 185
Kukk, Inge 258–260, 272, 278
Kuningas, Oskar 289
Kunstler, Barton 14, 16, 24, 28
Kurismaa, Astrid 316
Kurke, Leslie 13, 28, 37, 44
Kypselos of Corinth 16
Kyros, *see* Cyrus

La Bua, Giuseppe 195, 213
Laagus, Karl 290
Lafond, Yves 89, 110
Lagus, Jacob Johan Wilhelm 344
Laird, Andrew 162, 165
Laiverik, Laidi 270, 278
Lamp, Anu 281, 296
Latacz, Joachim 68
Latte, Kurt 15, 28
Lattimore, Richard A. 201, 204, 213
Laughton, John Knox 223, 227
Lausberg, Marion 202, 213
Lauter, Ants 296, 304
Leesment, Leo 323–325, 331
Lefèvre, Eckart 196, 213
Leo III 166
Leo V 166
Leo X (Pope) 206–208
Leo, Friedrich 77
Leobotes 22
Leonidas of Tarentum 316
Leontius of Naples 168
Leopardi, Giacomo 224
Lepik, Andres 297
Létoublon, Françoise 156–157, 160, 162, 165
Leuker, Tobias 188, 194, 213
Levi, Adolfo 113, 115, 129
Levy, Ernst 324, 331
Lewis, Brian 16, 28
Lewis, John D. 14, 28

Libanios 96, 98, 101, 102, 131–153, 193
Liberman, Gauthier 13, 28
Liiv, Juhan 285, 304
Lilja, Saara 344
Lill, Anne 7, 43, 154, 232, 242, 260, 279, 281, 287–288, 293–295, 299, 302, 304, 326, 331
Lindequist, Björn 345
Linkomies, Edwin Johan Hildegard, *see* Flinck, Edwin Johan Hildegard
Linsén, Johan Gabriel 340
Lippert, Philipp Daniel 266
Livy | Livius 36, 79, 80, 83, 84, 322, 323
Lloyd, Alan 31, 44
Loeschcke, Georg 262, 267, 269–271, 274, 275
Logau, Georg von 187, 207
Lõhmuste, Toomas 296
Longin, Pseudo- 69, 76
Longus 154–165
Lönnrot, Elias 338
Loodus, Rein 263, 278, 279
Loparev, Chrisanf Mefodievič 166, 171
Lotman, Maria-Kristiina 285–288, 292, 293, 295, 297–300, 303–305
Lotman, Rebekka 292, 305
Louis IX 216, 224
Louis XIII 216, 224
Lucanus 85, 197, 200, 205
Lucian of Samosata | Lukian von Samosata, Lukianos 137, 193, 307–320
Lucretius 9, 203
Ludwig, Walther 238, 242
Lukács, Ladislaus 178, 179, 185
Lukian, *see* Lucian
Lukinovich, Alessandra 215, 216, 226, 227
Luraghi, Nino 16, 28
Luschnig, Cecelia 296
Luther, Martin 174–175, 182–183, 337
Lycortas 83
Lygdamus 199, 202, 203
Lykophron 194
Lykurgos 14, 16–19, 21–25, 30
Lysias 316
Lysimachos 38

Maadla, Jüri 308
Macan, Reginald Walter 31, 36, 42, 45
Machaireus 20–21
Mackil, Emily 103, 110
MacQueen, Bruce D. 155, 156, 165
Maecenas, Gaius Cilnius 120, 123, 127, 194
Magdalino, Paul 166, 168, 172
Malaguti, Horatius 221
Malartre, Fabrice 88, 108, 110
Malinowski, Bronisław 67
Malmberg, Woldemar 262, 267, 269–271, 274, 275, 279
Mango, Cyril 170, 172
Manousakis, Nikos 286, 305
Mantuano, Battista 209
Manutius, Aldus 195
Manuzio, Paolo 188
Marastoni, Aldo 196
Marchand, Suzanne L. 260, 279
Marcus Aurelius 61, 96, 316
Marincola, John 31, 38, 44
Marini, Giorgio 206
Markard, Johann Sebastian 231–232, 234–236, 239, 240, 243
Marling, Raili 215
Marshall, Lorna 295
Martial | Martialis, Marcus Valerius 11, 201, 205
Martianus Capella 341
Martinengo, Tito Prospero 221, 227
Marullus, Michael 209
Marx, Karl 309–310, 318
Mary II of England 216, 218–220
Masing, Elina 287, 307
Masing, Uku 299
Masistes 35
Mattisen, Tiina 298, 305

Mauersberger, Arno 85
Maurach, Gregor 203, 213
Maximus of Tyre 15
McGlew, James F. 16, 28
McKenzie, Jon 67, 78
Medd, Charles Septimus 259, 279
Medici, Cosimo de' 216
Meissel, Franz-Stefan 321, 330
Meißner, Burkhard 94, 110
Melanchthon, Philipp 175, 337
Meleagros (mythical hero) 16
Meleagros (poet) 316
Melissos of Corinth 15
Melitina 168
Mellini, Celino 208
Menander Rhetor 62, 63
Mentzou-Meimaris, C. 166, 172
Mercklin, Ludwig 256, 260–262, 265–267, 269, 271, 279
Merilai, Arne 290
Merkelbach, Reinhold 33, 35, 38, 45, 155
Merryman, John Henry 257, 279
Mertel, Hans 166, 172
Metrodoros 121
Metslang, Linda 292
Mewes, Wilhelm 127, 130
Meyer, Eduard 22, 28
Meyer, Johann Leonhardt 270, 279
Mickwitz, Gunnar 345
Mikiver, Mikk 291, 297
Mikkola, Eino 345
Mill, John 218
Minns, Ellis H. 31, 45
Mionnet, Théodore Edme 265
Mirhady, David C. 54, 59, 64
Mitscherlich, Christoph Wilhelm 119, 123, 129
Mittelstadt, M. C. 154, 165
Mitz, Benedict 222
Morel, Federic 224, 227
Morgan, Catherine 91, 105, 110
Morgan, John Robert 155, 165
Morgenstern, Johann Karl Simon 7, 256, 258–271, 275–276, 277, 279
Moschos 195, 197, 209
Mosellanus, Petrus 176
Moses 16, 235, 236
Mourtzas, Nikos 87, 110
Müller, Carl Werner 37, 45
Müller, Heiner 289
Müller, Rainer A. 176, 177, 185
Muñoz Valle, Isidoro 66, 78
Murdmaa, Mai 298
Murdvee, Mari 288
Musuros, Markos 195

Nagy, Gregory 13, 27, 28, 68
Napoleon II 216
Narkissos 142, 315
Navagero, Andrea 188, 208
Neck, Gisela 113, 129
Nemesianus 198
Neoptolemos 20–21
Nesselrath, Heinz-Günther 132, 133, 143, 147, 153
Nicander (Achaean leader) 83
Nicephorus 169
Nicetas of Amnia 167, 168
Nicholson, Reynold Alleyne 225
Nicostratus 61
Nieburg, Barthold Georg 335
Nielsen, Thomas Heine 103, 104, 109, 110
Nietzsche, Friedrich 67, 71, 78
Nilsson, Martin Persson 17, 18, 28, 116, 129
Nisbet, Robert George Murdoch 117, 119, 129
Nising, Horst 177, 185
Nitsch, Ernst 70
Noghai 33
Nonnos 197
Nord, Christiane 282, 305
Norden, Eduard 195, 204, 213
North, Frederic 222–223, 227, 228

Novikov, Kadri 156–161, 165, 288, 305
Numminen, Paavo 344
Nurm, Ernst 322, 331

O'Rourke, Sean Patrick 53, 64
Obsequens, Julius 102
Odysseus, Ulysses 10, 66, 133–136, 196
Oebalus 192
Ogden, Daniel 14–16, 28
Ojamaa, Maarja 284, 305
Ojasoo, Tiit 297
Oksala, Päivö 344
Oksala, Teivas 344
Olck, Fritz 200, 212
Omphale 139, 141
Oras, Ants 289, 304
Orelli, Johann Caspar von 127, 130
Orff, Carl 294
Orsini, Fulvio 188
Orthagoras 13–30
Orthia 17–21, 25–26
Ovid | Ovidius 10, 11, 69, 181, 193–195, 197–205, 209, 307, 322

Paananen, Unto 344
Pabut, Talvo 297
Pachtler, Georg Michael 179, 185
Page, Denys 13, 28
Palamets, Hillar 256, 280
Päll, Janika 216, 221, 228, 290, 307, 319
Pallarès, Joan Gómez 202, 213
Palu, Tiit 281, 296
Panso, Voldemar 294
Papadopoulos, Gerassimos A. 90, 111
Paradiso, Annalisa 18, 28
Parker, Victor 13, 28
Pärna, Priidu 324, 331
Parry, Milman 68
Paul 36
Paulinus of Nola 195
Paulinus Petricordiensis 199
Paulsen, Friedrich 175, 184, 185
Paulus Diaconus 198, 206
Paulus Silentiarius 316
Pausanias 17–19, 22, 26, 38, 40, 82–86, 89–91, 95, 98–101, 105, 269, 271, 274
Pease, Arthur Stanley 192, 197, 213
Peisistratos 142
Peleus 134
Pelling, Christopher 43, 45
Pelops 16
Penella, Robert J. 132, 153
Peraxylus, Arnoldus Arlenius 216
Pèrcopo, Erasmo 194, 213
Periander 35–36
Perikles 142
Perosa, Alessandro 203, 213
Perrie, Maureen 39, 45
Perseus 16
Perseus of Macedon 79–84
Persius 204, 205
Pert, Jaan 296, 305
Peters, Janusz 13
Petersen, Eugen 262, 267, 271, 275
Petersen, Fredrik Julius 341, 343
Peterson, Lembit 281, 297
Petit, Paul 131, 153
Petronius 194
Pettersson, Michael 19, 28
Pheidias 266
Pheidon 23, 27
Pherekydes 20, 21
Pheretime 34
Philaret the Merciful 167–168, 170
Philip II of Macedon 76
Philippus, Q. Marcius 80
Philo of Alexandria 93
Philochoros 39
Philodemos 113
Philon 99
Philostorgios 101, 103
Philostratus | Philostratos 96, 269
Phlegon of Tralleis 96
Phoinix 133
Phrikodemos 99
Phrynichos 137

Piccart, Johannes Andreas 232
Pigna, Giovanni Battista 188
Piirimäe, Helmut 256, 278, 279
Pindar 20–21, 32, 74–76, 215–218, 220–225
Pippin Burnett, Anne 13, 28
Pitkäranta, Reijo 336, 342
Pittakos 13, 14
Plato | Platon 18, 21–23, 25, 47–48, 51, 61, 63, 68, 71, 75, 76, 92, 95, 99, 238, 239, 261, 313
Plato Comicus 137
Plautus 175, 204
Pleiss, Detlev 232, 242
Plepelits, Karl 154, 165
Pliny | Plinius the Elder 11, 49, 93, 200, 204, 205, 267, 269
Pliny | Plinius the Younger 69
Plutarch 14–16, 18, 19, 21–24, 40, 59, 81, 83–85, 99, 102, 105, 133, 137, 269
Poljakova, Sofija Viktorovna 166, 172
Pollis 99
Polyainos 99
Polybius | Polybios 79–86, 95, 105
Polydektos 24
Pompey 85
Pontani, Filippomaria 216, 216, 221, 222, 228
Pontano, Giovanni 188, 193, 195, 198, 201, 203, 206, 208, 209, 214
Pontanus, Iacobus 174–186
Pope, Alexander 218
Porthan, Henrik Gabriel 337
Pöschl, Viktor 120, 130
Poseidippos 98
Poseidon 89, 91, 96–99, 101, 104–106
Postumius Albinus, Aulus 84
Powell, John Enoch 32
Prandi, Luisa 105–106, 111
Preller, Ludwig 262, 267, 269, 271
Pridik, Alexander 262, 274–275
Priimägi, Linnar 283, 289, 291, 305
Propertius 196–199, 201–205, 209
Propp, Vladimir 16, 29
Protagoras 47
Prusias 80
Ptolemy III Euergetes 95
Purves, Alex C. 42, 43, 45
Putnam, Michael C. J. 203, 213

Querini, Gerolamo (Hieronymus Quirinus) 206
Quintilian | Quintilianus 47–55, 58–60, 62, 63, 121–122, 133

Raaflaub, Kurt 14, 29
Rädle, Fidel 178, 185
Raglan, Lord 16, 29
Randalu, Hillar 322, 331
Raudsepp, Peeter 297
Razumovskaya, Lyudmila 296
Redford, Donald B. 16, 29
Rein, Johan Edvard 344
Reinhard, Max 69
Reitav, Karl 307–309, 311, 312, 316–319
Reusner, Nicolaus 216
Revard, Stella Purce 215–218, 221, 222, 228
Reynen, Hans 205, 213
Rezniczek, Alina 207
Rhampsinitus 41
Richer, Nicolas 19, 29
Ristikivi, Karl 299
Ristikivi, Merike 322, 324–332
Robert, Carl 261
Robert, Kyra 231, 242, 243
Robertson, George Stuart 33, 45, 217
Robortello, Francesco 216, 228
Roman the New Martyr 167
Romulus 16
Roos, Ervin 286, 292
Rose, H. J. 17, 29
Rosenmeyer, Thomas G. 209, 213
Rosenqvist, Jan Olof 168, 172

Rösler, Wolfgang 13, 29
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 32
Rousset, Denis 99, 111
Rudakov, Aleksandr Petrovič 168, 172
Rüegg, Walter 256, 279
Rühka, Adolf 292, 305
Rummo, Paul-Eerik 290
Runeberg, Johan Ludvig (Johannes Ludovicus) 244–254, 338
Russo, Nicola 210
Ryan, Lawrence V. 188, 208, 213
Rydén, Lennart 168, 172
Rytkönen, Seppo 335

Saar, Tanel 281, 299
Sacré, Dirk 188, 212, 215, 227
Sadoleto, Jacopo 187
Sainio, Matti 344
Salemme, Carmelo 199, 213
Sallinger, Adelheid 201, 214
Salonius, Aarne Henrik 272, 344
Sannazaro, Jacopo 187–214
Sargon 16
Saro, Anneli 295, 305
Savigny, Friedrich Carl von 324, 331
Scaglione, Aldo 175, 177, 185
Schede, Paul Melissus 216
Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph 69, 70, 78
Schiavoni, Gianluca 298
Schiller, Friedrich 247
Schmidt, Erasmus 221, 228
Schmidt, Ernst A. 124, 130
Schmidt, Johannes 15, 29
Schmidt, J. F. Julius 89
Schmidt, Victor 202, 214
Schmitz, Thomas 215–217, 228
Schönberger, Otto 203, 214
Schotten, Hermann 180
Schulz-Vanheyden, Elmar 202, 204, 214
Schuster, Mauriz 204, 214
Schwabe, Ludwig 262, 264, 265, 267–269, 275, 279–280
Schwindt, Jürgen Paul 124, 130
Scipio Aemilianus 81–83
Scullion, Scott 37, 45
Sedulius 200
Segebrecht, Wulf 233, 234, 236, 239, 243
Seidel, Robert 215, 227
Seifert, Arno 174, 176, 177, 185
Seleucus 84
Selle, Hendrik 13, 29
Semper, Johannes 293, 305, 307
Seneca the Younger 77, 89, 93, 112, 121, 204, 247, 290
Sepp, Paul 288, 293, 295
Sepp, Rein 287
Serassi, Pier Antonio 187–189, 205
Šestakov, Dmitrij Petrovič 166, 169, 173
Ševčenko, Ihor 166, 169, 173
Sextus Empiricus 54, 63
Shakespeare, William 35, 224, 249
Sharpe III, John L. 223, 229
Sibrits, Heili 295, 305
Sidonius Apollinaris 200
Sienkewicz, Thomas J. 33, 44
Siilivask, Karl 256, 273, 275, 280
Siimets-Gross, Hesi 323, 328–332
Silius Italicus 10, 194, 196, 197, 202–205
Simonides 18, 21–22, 24
Sinis 15
Sintubin, Manuel 104, 111
Smerdis 34, 35
Smyth, Herbert Weir 41, 45
Snell, Christian Wilhelm 269, 280
Sokles 17
Sokrates 75, 132, 140, 142, 314, 315
Sokrates Scholastikos 101
Solin, Heikki 335, 336, 341, 342
Solmsen, Friedrich 47, 64
Solon 14, 142
Soos 18
Sootla, Argo 283

Sophocles | Sophokles 11, 73, 249, 253, 285–288, 291–293, 295, 297, 299–301
Soranzo, Matteo 193, 214
Soter, Steven 90, 91, 109–111
Soveri, Heikki Ferdinand 343
Sozomenos 98, 101
Sparrow, John 203, 213
Speccer (Specker), Tobias 184
Specht, Nicolaus 231–233, 237, 240, 243
Spener, Philipp Jakob 184
Spengel, Leonhard von 53
Stahl, Heinrich 234, 237, 238
Stahl, Michael 14, 29
Statius 9, 10, 192, 194–197, 200–202, 204, 205, 209, 214
Stehle, Eva 67, 78
Stein, Heinrich 31, 45
Steiner, Deborah 32, 40, 45
Steiner, Grundy 155
Steinrück, Martin 68, 71, 78, 215
Stephani, Ludolf 262, 265, 268, 269, 271, 274
Stephen of Sougdaia 166
Stesichoros 73
Stieda, Wilhelm 267, 280
Stieglitz, Christian Ludwig 264
Stobaios 116
Stoll, Peter 207
Strabo 13, 20, 42, 59, 63, 81, 88–90, 95–98, 193, 194, 268
Strandberg, Priit 281, 295
Stratius of Tritaea 83–84
Stravinsky, Igor 299
Strosetzki, Norbert 32, 45
Sübe'etei 33
Suetonius 96
Sulla 59
Summonte, Pietro 203
Sundwall, Johannes 334–335, 345
Suolahti, Jaakko 335, 345
Süss, Wilhelm 261, 262, 272, 274, 276, 280
Sütiste, Elin 281
Svenbro, Jesper 68, 73, 78
Symeon Metaphrastes 168
Symeon Salos 168
Synnerberg, Carl 343
Syrianus 49–50, 53, 54, 62, 63
Szegedy-Maszak, Andrew 16, 29

Tacitus 60, 63
Talbot, Eugène 309, 312, 314, 315, 320
Tamberg, Eino 294, 299
Tamm, Agu 286, 292, 305
Tammearu, Peeter 297
Taplin, Oliver 72, 293, 305
Tarasios 166
Tarquinius, Sextus 36
Tarquinius Superbus, Lucius 36
Tasso, Bernardo 188
Teemant, Marten 286, 305
Telephos 16, 134
Teletias 14, 15, 24
Telon 192
Temmius, Dorothea 231
Tering, Arvo 261, 280
Thedoretos of Kyrrha 103
Themisto 99
Themistokles 142
Themos, Athanasios 26, 29
Theocritus | Theokrit 68, 77, 155, 195, 198, 200, 209, 210
Theodoretos 101, 103
Theognis 13, 71
Theokrit, *see* Theocritus
Theophanes the Confessor 167–169
Theophano 168
Theophrastus 49, 59
Theopompos (king) 22, 26
Theosebo 170
Theseus 15, 36
Theweleit, Klaus 75, 78
Thomas (bishop) 333

Thraede, Klaus 195, 214
Thrasyboulos 35–36
Thucydides | Thukydides 16, 17, 36, 38, 61, 95, 100–102, 105
Tiberius 96
Tibullus 196, 202, 204
Tigerstedt, E. N. 16, 29
Timofeyeva, Nadezhda A. 309, 316–319
Timomachos 19
Timon 137–142, 147, 153
Tobro, Valdeko 291, 305
Tohvri, Epi 256, 280
Toktai 33
Torop, Peeter 281, 284, 305, 306
Torpats, Ülo 287, 294, 299, 300, 307, 308, 316–319
Toynbee, Jocelyn Mary Catherine 204, 214
Traat, August 322, 332
Traat, Mats 290, 291
Trédé, Monique 75, 78
Trever, Kamila Vasilyevna 309, 316–319
Triller, Valentin 235, 243
Tronsky, Joseph M. (Tronski, Iossif M.) 307, 309, 310, 320
Truffaut, François 75
Tudeer, Lauri Oskar Theodor 344
Tudeer, Oskar Emil 344
Tufano, Carmela Vera 193, 211, 214
Tyndale, William 43
Tyrtaios 26

Ulpian 323
Ulysses, *see* Odysseus
Under, Marie 286, 288, 289, 295, 296
Unt, Mati 291, 297, 303, 306
Urbanus VIII (Pope) 216, 224
Ursin, Nils Robert af 343
Uz, J. P. 117

Väänänen, Veikko Ilmari 344
Vainio, Raija 336, 342
Valerius Flaccus 9–11, 196, 197
Valette-Cagnac, Emmanuelle 69, 78
Valper, Eve 221, 228
Van den Gheyn, Joseph 169, 173
Van Maelcote, Odon 221
Varro, Marcus Terentius 201
Vasil'evskij, Vasilij Grigor'evič 166, 173
Vassar, Laura 324, 331
Venier, Matteo 221, 229
Vergil 9, 10, 11, 69, 77, 126, 192–206, 209–211, 214, 307, 335
Vernant, Jean-Pierre 17, 29, 74
Vibius Sequester 192
Viiding, Kristi 230, 232, 238, 242, 243
Viiroja, Lehti 263, 278
Vilborg, Ebbe 158, 165
Viljanen, Lauri 246, 254
Villmer, Erna 295
Vitruvius 269
Vives, Juan Luis 180
Vockerodt, Johann Dietrich 231–232, 240, 243
Vogelmann, Heinrich 216
Vogt-Spira, Gregor 116, 121, 130
Voltaire 310
Voronkov, Aleksandr I. 316, 320

Wagner, H. 114
Wagner, Richard 69, 78
Walbank, Frank W. 84–86
Walker, Jeffrey 47, 50, 51, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 64
Walter, Uwe 14, 29
Wehrli, Fritz 98, 111
Weir, Robert 91, 111
Weise, Stefan 215–217, 224, 225, 228, 229
Weiß, Dieter J. 176, 185
Welwei, Karl-Wilhelm 26, 29
Wenger, Leopold 324, 332
West, Martin L. 34, 45, 286, 306
West, Stephanie R. 32, 33, 41, 45
Westman, Rolf 335, 336, 342, 343, 345

Wibold, Anna 230–231, 233, 243
Wibold, Johann 230
Wiegand, Hermann 178, 186
Wieland, Christoph Martin 117, 309, 311, 312, 314, 315, 320
Wieland, Wolfgang 114, 115, 130
Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich von 340, 343
William, Duke of Gloucester 218
William of Orange 218
Willmann, Asta 297
Wilson, Alastair 223, 229
Wilson, Nigel G. 32, 45
Wilson, Peter 293
Wimmer, Gabriel 235, 243
Winkelmann, Friedhelm 341, 343
Winkler, John J. 158, 165
Wolf, Friedrich August 260–261, 280
Woodhouse, William John 31, 41, 45
Woodward, A. M. 18, 29
Woolf, Virginia 69
Wrembek, Christoph 177, 186
Wyspiański, Stanisław 69

Xenakis, Iannis 298
Xenon from Patrae 82–83
Xenophanes 37, 316
Xenophon 17, 18, 21, 22, 25, 38, 61, 75, 100, 101
Xerxes 35

Yarshater, Ehsan 35, 45
Yule, Henry 33, 46

Zanchius (Zanchi), Basilius (Pietro) 187–214
Zangger, Eberhard 103, 111
Zanker, Paul 34, 46
Zavvou, Elena 26, 29
Zeus 16, 202, 220, 245, 274
Zilliacus, Emil 335, 344
Zilliacus, Henrik 335, 345
Zintzen, Clemens 127, 130
Zonaras 81, 84, 85
Zulueta, Francis de 324, 332
Zwierlein, Otto 77

Morgenstern Society was founded in 1999 with the aim of promoting the study of classical philology and related disciplines – ancient history and philosophy, classical archaeology, Medieval and Neo-Latin philology, Byzantine studies and the whole heritage and reception of antiquity in Estonia and beyond, connecting people who are engaged in these areas, and expanding international cooperation. The Society has been named after Johan Karl Simon Morgenstern (1770–1852), professor of rhetoric, aesthetics, Greek and Latin language and the antiquities at the University of Tartu, who was the founder of classical philology in Tartu.

Web page: https://antiik.ut.ee/morgenstern-society/

VOLUMES PUBLISHED IN THE SERIES *ACTA SOCIETATIS MORGENSTERNIANAE*

Vol. 1. *Kakssada aastat klassikalist filoloogiat Eestis = Duo saecula philologiae classicae in Estonia*. Koostanud ja toimetanud Ivo Volt. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2003. 176, [1] p. ISBN 9985–56–826–5.

This volume is dedicated to the 200th anniversary of the establishment of classical philology as an academical discipline at the University of Tartu (1802). It contains Estonian papers with summaries in either English or German. Contributors include Katre Kaju, Inge Kukk, Mait Kõiv, Anne Lill, Maria-Kristiina Lotman, Juhan Maiste, Janika Päll, Kaarina Rein, Merike Ristikivi, Jaan Unt, Kristi Viiding, and Ivo Volt

Vol. 2. *Byzantino-Nordica 2004: papers presented at the international symposium of Byzantine studies held on 7–11 May 2004 in Tartu, Estonia*. Edited by Ivo Volt and Janika Päll. Tartu: Tartu University Press, 2005. 196, [4] p. ISBN 9949-11-266-4.

The volume is a collection of conference papers. The papers are presented in two sections: the first is for Byzantine studies proper (i.e. for papers discussing the authors, architecture, cultural or political history of Byzantium); the second contains papers about Byzantine, Patristic or Greek studies in Estonia. The papers are in English and German. Contributors include Mikhail Bibikov, Markus Bogisch, Ljudmila Dubjeva, Karsten Fledelius, Kalle Kasemaa, Anne Lill, Janika Päll, Kaarina Rein, Jan Olof Rosenqvist, and Torstein Theodor Tollefsen.

Vol. 3. *Classical tradition from the 16th century to Nietzsche*. Edited by Janika Päll, Ivo Volt and Martin Steinrück. Tartu: Tartu University Press, 2010. 202, [4] p. ISBN 978-9949-19-618-0.

The papers in this volume are dedicated to classical tradition, and are divided into three sections. The first section focuses on Neo-Latin in the Baltic Sea region in the 17th century, the second deals with Humanist Greek in the same region and period, while the third is dedicated to Friedrich Nietzsche and classical tradition in philosophy. The papers are in English and German. Contributors include Katre Kaju, Tua Korhonen, Anne Lill, Janika Päll, Martin Steinrück, and Kristi Viiding.

Vol. 4–5. *Quattuor Lustra: Papers celebrating the 20th anniversary of the re-establishment of classical studies at the University of Tartu*. Edited by Ivo Volt and Janika Päll. Tartu: Tartu University Press, 2012. 400, [4] p.
ISBN 978-9949-32-067-7.

The papers in this volume have been gathered to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the re-establishment of classical studies at the University of Tartu (1990). The subjects pursued range from Hittite and Homeric etymology and lexicography all the way to social and political situation at the University of Tartu in the 19th century. The papers are in English, German, and Latin. Contributors include Michail Bibikov, Carl Joachim Classen, Hans Helander, Heinz Hofmann, Maarit Kaimio, Otto Kaiser, Mika Kajava, Peter Kuhlmann, Anne Lill, Walther Ludwig, Outi Merisalo, Heinz-Günther Nesselrath, Danny Praet, Jaan Puhvel, Paavo Roos, Heikki Solin, Martin Steinrück, Levente Takács, Horatio Caesar Roger Vella, Jürgen von Ungern-Sternberg, and Gregor Vogt-Spira.

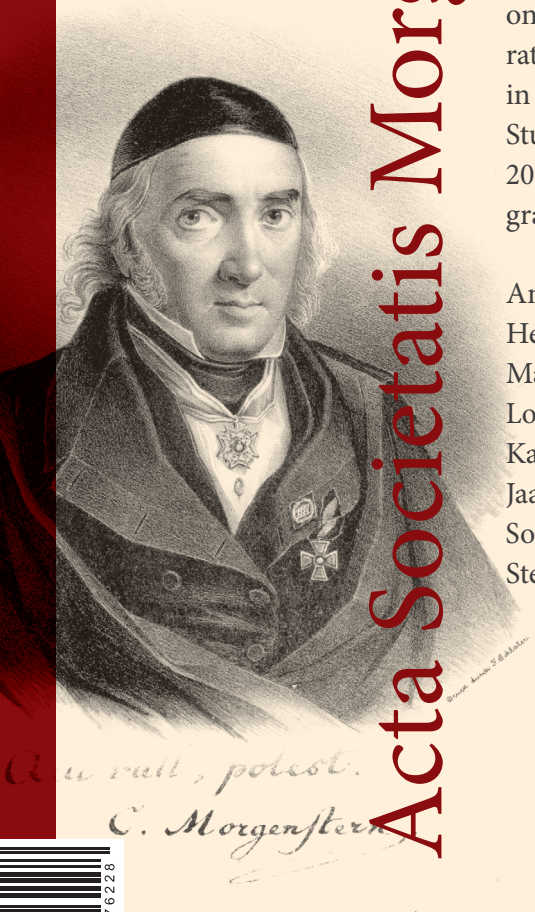
Vol. 6–7. *Hellenostephanos. Humanist Greek in Early Modern Europe: Learned Communities between Antiquity and Contemporary Culture.* Edited by Janika Päll and Ivo Volt. Tartu: University of Tartu Press, 2018. 468, [4] p.
ISBN 978-9949-77-758-7 (print), 978-9949-77-823-2 (pdf).

The rebirth of Ancient Greek in Europe was promoted by Humanist education and ideas to such an extent that we can consider the Greek language as a formative element of Humanist culture. Next to Latin, the default common language, a Humanist has to know and use Greek, because he is not, cannot and will not be a barbarian: βάρβαρος οὐ πέλομαι, as Julius Caesar Scaliger claimed in his verses in 1600. Wreaths (στέφανοι) have been the symbols of the cult of Muses from ancient times. After the love for Greek Muses had been revived by Renaissance Humanist poets and scholars, it has remained with us both in poetic activity and in scholarship. The Hellenostephanos volume presents a collection of papers by scholars who study Humanist Greek, aspiring towards another revival of Hellenism, and trying to avoid being barbarians. The volume includes papers by Johanna Akujärvi, Bartosz Awianowicz, Pieta van Beek, Gita Bērziņa, Jean-Marie Flamand, Christian Gastgeber, Antoine Haaker, Kaspar Kolk, Tua Korhonen, Walther Ludwig, Alessandra Lukinovich, Charalampos Minaoglou, Janika Päll, Vlado Rezar, Erkki Sironen, Martin Steinrück, Tomas Veteikis, and Grigory Vorobyev.

Information, orders and/or download links:
www.tyk.ee/ASM

VIII–IX

Acta Societatis Morgensternianae



Classical studies at the University of Tartu have had several beginnings. As a separate academic discipline, classical philology was introduced to the university curriculum by Professor Karl Morgenstern right after the re-establishment of the university in the beginning of the 19th century. At the end of the second decade of the 20th century, the world's first Estonian-language university was born, and with it classical studies in Estonian language, guided for years by another founding father, Pärtel Haliste. There then came a hiatus, and for decades only elementary Latin was taught at the university. However, a few classicists continued teaching students who were eager to learn more. One of those eager students was Anne Lill, on whose initiative classical philology as a separate discipline was re-established at the university in 1990. Anne Lill was the Professor of Classical Studies from 1992 to 2012, and is Emerita since 2012. This volume is dedicated to her as a token of gratitude and friendship.

The volume includes papers by Jaanika Anderson, Michail Bibikov, Jerker Blomqvist, Heinz Hofmann, Maarit Kaimio, Katre Kaju, Mait Kõiv, Peter Kuhlmann, Maria-Kristiina Lotman, Neeme Näripä, Heinz-Günther Nesselrath, Kadri Novikov, Janika Päll, Vita Paparinska, Jaan Puhvel, Merike Ristikivi, Paavo Roos, Heikki Solin, Martin Steinrück, Gregor Vogt-Spira, and Stephanie West.

UNIVERSITY OF TARTU
Press
1632

9 789916 276228