

HELLENISTICA GRONINGANA 16

GODS AND RELIGION IN HELLENISTIC POETRY

Edited by

M.A. HARDER
R.F. REGTUIT
G.C. WAKKER



PEETERS
LEUVEN – PARIS – WALPOLE, MA
2012

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Christophe CUSSET et Antje KOLDE	
Rôle et représentation des dieux traditionnels dans l'Alexandra de Lycophron	1
Beate HINTZEN	
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ ΓΥΜΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΟΠΛΙΟΣ: Perspectives on the Goddess Sitting on A Multicolored Throne, Gained from Hellenistic Epigrams	31
Christopher A. FARAONE	
Boubrôstis, Meat Eating and Comedy: Erysichthon as Famine Demon in Callimachus' Hymn to Demeter	61
K.F.B. FLETCHER	
Morality and Divine Agency in Hellenistic Metamorphosis Poetry	81
Massimo GIUSEPPE	
Two Poets for a Goddess: Callimachus' and Philicus' Hymns to Demeter	103
Sarah HITCH	
Hero Cult in Apollonius Rhodius	131
Ekaterina V. ILYUSHECHKINA	
Die sakrale Geographie: Zu einigen passagen des Apollonios Rhodios in der Bearbeitung des Dionysios Periegetes	163
Alexander KIRICHENKO	
Nothing to do with Zeus? The Old and the New in Callima- chus' first hymn	181
Robert KIRSTEIN	
Satire and Religion in Hellenistic Poetry	203
Suzanne LYE	
Rewriting the Gods: Religious Ritual, Human resourcefulness, and divine interaction in the Argonautica	223
Charikleia NATSINA	
The Debt Towards Aphrodite: Female dedicators and their Interrelations with the Goddess in Votive Epigrams of the Greek Anthology	249

Ivana PETROVIC	
Callimachus' Hymn to Apollo and Greek metrical sacred regulations	281
Chad Matthew SCHROEDER	
“To Keep Silent is a Small Virtue”: Hellenistic Poetry and the Samothracian Mysteries	307
Katrin STÖPPELKAMP	
Göttliches Wirken und menschliche Freiheit bei Homer und Apollonios Rhodios	335
Emilia ŽYBERT	
Two Marginal Goddesses: Rhea and Hekate in Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica	373
Indexes	393

SATIRE AND RELIGION IN HELLENISTIC POETRY*

Robert KIRSTEIN

1. Preliminary remarks

Modern historians of literature know numerous poets and prose writers who are considered to be ‘satirists’ such as Aristophanes, Horace, Persius and Juvenal, Lucian, Erasmus, Rabelais, Jonathan Swift and Voltaire.

In a *narrower* sense it was the Romans who very early claimed the genre of satire to be their original invention. Quintilian’s often quoted statement “*satura tota nostra est*” (10, 1, 33) displays the Romans’ pride of having themselves originated something in the field of literature, traditionally dominated by the Greeks. At the same time the statement also betrays a certain sense of the dynamic attending the rise of a genre within which literary forms at a definite turning point merge into something new and become established as hitherto unknown genres of their own. As a matter of fact, in Greek literature there are no immediate patterns of what is nowadays known as Roman verse-satire.

In a *broader* sense satire can already be found in Greek literature as well. Examples are satyr-plays and Aristophanes’ comedies; furthermore, we could mention Archilochus, Hipponax, and Callimachus as authors of iambic verse and Herondas as author of his mimiambic verse, and in particular the cynic philosopher Menippus of Gadara. In Roman literature itself there are literary manifestations of satiric poetry beside verse-satire as marked by hexameter, e.g. in Petronius’ *Satyrica* and Seneca’s *Apocolocyntosis*. In addition, Martial’s satiric epigrams should be mentioned. He uses the decadent life of contemporary Rome and the literary productions of his competitors as targets of his satiric attacks.

This paper does not intend to contribute either to the theory of the genre of satire or to the understanding of what is the nature of satire¹. Relying on the results of research advanced by Wolfgang Weiß, Christine

* A German version of this paper was held at the conference “Satire – die unpolitische Gattung? Internationale Tagung in honorem W. W. Ehlers”, Berlin, March 7-8, 2008.

1. A useful overview on the recent research is given by Schmitz (2000: 1-19, bibliography 289-291).

Schmitz², and others, it confines itself to distinguishing between satire in a *narrower* sense – satire as a (more or less) definite historic genre – and satire in a *broader* sense – satire as literary style not limited to a certain genre³. The following study deals only with satire in the latter sense.

According to Gero von Wilpert the satire of this kind is a “literary ridicule of grievances, rotten habits, views, events, individuals, estates, institutions, parties, publications. With a view to circumstances of the times it describes and unmasks in a disapproving and distorting way whatever is abnormal, outmoded, petty, bad, unhealthy in human society. Such qualities are exposed to contempt, indignation, and ridicule. This style without a definite form of its own uses each literary genre from poem, epigram, (...) adage, dialogue, letter, fable, farce, comedy, Shrove-tide play, drama, epos, narration, caricature, to the satiric novel, mostly in a didactic tone and varying in sharpness and register it is – depending on the author’s attitude – sarcastic, mordant, angry, serious, pompous, ironical, funny, hilarious, humorous, amusing, charming” (my translation)⁴.

This type of satire shall now be examined more closely with the sepulchral epigram being the object of demonstration. This kind of epigram is part of consolatory literature, therefore not originally connected with elements of ridicule, satire, comedy, or even polemic. Not until the epigram developed into (book) literature in the 4th and 3rd centuries, did it extend its subject-matter to such degree that its original function of ‘inscription’ lost its significance. The now commencing play on literary convention and on ever identical *topoi* of this archaic and likewise conservative genre was not confined to introducing new subject matter. The Hellenistic poets did even more when sometimes changing traditional *topoi* into their opposite. Callimachus, the master of this play, composed sepulchral epigrams which do not even mention the name of the deceased thus withholding information from the reader that used to be at the very core of sepulchral epigrams⁵.

2. Weiß (1982: 1-16, esp. 12-13); Schmitz (2000: 4 with note 16).

3. Schmitz (2000: 4); Meyer-Sickendiek (2007: 447-469).

4. Wilpert (2001: 718): “literarische Verspottung von Mißständen, Unsitten, Anschauungen, Ereignissen, Personen, Ständen, Institutionen, Parteiungen, Literaturwerken usw. je nach den Zeitumständen, allgemein mißbilligende, verzerrende Darstellung und Entlarvung des Normwidrigen, Überlebten, Kleinlichen, Schlechten, Ungesunden in Menschenleben und Gesellschaft und dessen Preisgabe an Verachtung, Entrüstung und Lächerlichkeit, als Schreibart ohne eigene Form in allen literarischen Gattungen vom Gedicht, Epigramm, ... Spruch, Dialog, Brief, Fabel, Schwank, Komödie, Fastnachtsspiel, Drama, Epos, Erzählung, Karikatur bis zum satirischen Roman, meist mit didaktischem Einschlag, und in allen Schärfegraden und Tonlagen, je nach Haltung des Verfassers: sarkastisch, bissig, zornig, ernst, pathetisch, ironisch, komisch, witzig, humoristisch, heiter, liebenswürdig.”

5. E.g. Hutchinson (1988: 71).

2. Callimachus

Among those epigrams playing with the reader's expectation by *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* offering exactly the opposite of what is sanctioned by literary convention, there are also some sepulchral epigrams by Callimachus. In these epigrams the poet examines the traditional ideas of the world beyond, as far as they had been advanced by theology and philosophy up to his time.

The most noted poem of this kind is the epigram on Cleombrotus. It deals with a 'philosophical' suicide carried out after Plato's dialogue *Phaedo* has been read (G–P 53; 23 Pf.; AP 7, 471):

Εἶπας Ἥλιε χαῖρε Κλεόμβροτος ὠμβρακιώτης
ἦλατ' ἄφ' ὕψηλοῦ τείχεος εἰς Ἀἴδην,
ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἰδὼν θανάτου κακόν, ἀλλὰ Πλάτωνος
ἐν τὸ περι ψυχῆς γράμμ' ἀναλεξάμενος.

Cleombrotus of Ambracia said good-bye to the sun jumping from a high wall down into Hades. He had not seen any evil things that might have justified dying; but he had just read Plato's one discourse on the soul.

The epigram starts, as is typical of Callimachus, in a conventional way. He gives us the last words of the deceased in the first verse (Ἥλιε χαῖρε)⁶, and in addition his name (Κλεόμβροτος). This is, so far, typical of the genre of sepulchral epigrams. In this case, however, name and place of birth merely serve as foil to the information of the second verse that Cleombrotus died committing suicide by jumping from a high wall (ἦλατ' ἄφ' ὕψηλοῦ τείχεος εἰς Ἀἴδην)⁷. It comes in itself as a complete surprise that he died by his own volition. Yet the third and fourth verses still provide a further climax when telling the passer-by that Cleombrotus did not get things done after suffering from an evil (οὐδὲν ... κακόν), but after reading (ἀναλεξάμενος) Plato's discourse on the soul (τὸ περι ψυχῆς γράμμα). As a modern psychologist would label it, the suicide was 'media-induced'. Most likely, it is Plato's dialogue *Phaedo* that is meant by 'the discourse on the soul'. Among the ancients Plato's dialogue was given the title *Περὶ Ψυχῆς*⁸.

6. See in general Guthke (1990).

7. Inscriptional epigrams on suicide: Merkelbach–Stauber (1998: Nr. 01/15/04); Beckby (1957–1958: vol. 4, 602, index s.v. Freitod); Meyer (2005: 164 with note 117).

8. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1924: vol. 1, 177); Gow–Page (1965: vol. 2, 204–205). See further Cicero, *Tusc.* 1, 24: *eum librum qui est de animo*, and Diogenes Laertios 3, 57–58 on double titles, used by Thrasyllus for some of Plato's works: *Φαίδων ἢ περι ψυχῆς, ἠθικός*. Mansfeld (1994); Schroeder (1999: 41–43). – For γράμμα, in the meaning 'book / literary work', see Pfeiffer (1949–1953: vol. 1, 354–355) and below note 27.

Little is known about Cleombrotus' life. His name 'famous among people' was widespread. The hero of the epigram is most likely the Cleombrotus referred to in Plato's *Phaedo* as having been absent from Athens along with Aristippus when Socrates died (59c4)⁹.

Ancient authors of the subsequent centuries have quoted the epigram on Cleombrotus remarkably often¹⁰. The story was downright proverbial¹¹. The reason of this popularity is the theme of the philosophically motivated suicide. It was in particular the Romans who liked putting suicide forward as a positive example of an autonomous decision. Cicero refers to the epigram even twice. For the first time he does so in his speech *Pro Scauro* (54 BC). There he mentions Cleombrotus along with four Roman senators all of whom had committed suicide (1-5)¹². Not much later he again mentions Cleombrotus in the first book of the *Tusculanae disputationes* known under the subtitle *De contemnenda morte*. In this book Cicero defends the Stoic indifference towards death giving some historic examples including Cleombrotus' suicide (1, 84)¹³. In a

9. Similar Gutzwiller (1998: 205). – Cleombrotus: Gow–Page (1965: vol. 2, 204), and Williams (1995: 155-158). Persons named 'Cleombrotus' are listed by Frazer–Matthews (1987: vol 1, 261-262 [14 entries just for Aegina]). The Cleombrotus of Plato's Phaidon: Ebert (2004: 101-102 with note 16).

10. Gow–Page (1965: vol. 1, 70 and 2, 204 *ad locum*); Sinko (1905); Spina (1989); Dörrie (1990: 283-285, here nr. 42 "Der unpraktische Platon"); White (1994: 136-142 "The Legend of Cleombrotos") and Williams (1995: *passim*).

11. Cf. e.g. AP 11, 354 (Agathias) with direct reference to the Callimachean Cleombrotus: εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις, τὸν παῖδα Κλεόμβροτον Ἀμβρακίωτην / μμοῦ καὶ τεγγέων σὸν δέμας ἐκχάλασον (17-18), and AP 7, 470 (Meleager) which also refers to Callimachus (see also note 40).

12. Cicero, *Scaur.* 4: *at Graeculi quidem multa fingunt, apud quos etiam Cleombrotum Ambraciotam ferunt se ex altissimo praecipitasse muro, non quo acerbitatis accepisset aliquid, sed, ut video scriptum apud Graecos, cum summi philosophi Platonis graviter et ornate scriptum librum de morte legisset, in quo, ut opinor, Socrates illo ipso die quo erat ei moriendum permulta disputat, hanc esse mortem quam nos vitam putaremus, cum corpore animus tanquam carcere saeptus teneretur, vitam autem esse eam cum idem animus vinculis corporis liberatus in eum se locum unde esset ortus rettulisset. num igitur ista tua Sarda Pythagoram aut Platonem norat aut legerat? qui tamen ipsi mortem ita laudant ut fugere vitam vetent atque id contra foedus fieri dicant legemque naturae. aliam quidem causam mortis voluntariae nullam profecto iustam reperietis.*

13. Cicero, *Tusc.* 1, 84: *Callimachi quidem epigramma in Ambraciotam Theombrotum [for the different readings of the proper name s. Lundström (1960) and Dörrie (1990: 285)] est, quem ait, cum ei nihil accidisset adversi, e muro se in mare abiecissee lecto Platonis libro. eius autem, quem dixi, Hegestiae liber est, quo Ἀποκαρτερῶν a vita quidem per inedia m discedens revocatur ab amicis; quibus respondens vitae humanae enumerat incommoda. possem idem facere, etsi minus quam ille, qui omnino vivere expedire nemini putat. mitto alios: etiamne nobis expedit? qui et domesticis et forensibus solacii ornamentisque privati certe si ante occidisset, mors nos a malis, non a bonis abstraxisset.* As to Cicero's interpretation of the Cleombrotus-epigrams s. Williams (1995: 163-166 "The Ciceronian Verdict"). – On the stoic's view on suicide s. e.g. SVF III 757/768; Sandbach (1989: 48-52); further Baltes (1988), also Baltes (1999: 157-189).

similar way Cleombrotus later on serves to underscore an argument when Augustine examines if suicide may pass as a case of magnanimity and arrives at the guarded conclusion this assessment applies to Cleombrotus' case as he did not act by necessity (*nihil enim urgebat...*), but by his own choice (*De civitate dei* 1, 22). Augustine, however, does not finish this section without pointing out that suicide is not in harmony with Plato's actual doctrine¹⁴.

There were, however, other ancient scholars who understood Cleombrotus' story not as a positive, but as a negative example. According to some Christian authors, e.g. Lactantius, the epigram from Callimachus served as a warning example of the dangerous influence exerted on humankind by pagan and in this case Platonic philosophy¹⁵. Neoplatonists, e.g. Ammonius, attributed the defect to Cleombrotus' insufficient comprehension thus clearing Plato himself of any liability¹⁶.

Modern scholars read the epigram on Cleombrotus as a satire revealing his naive belief in a life hereafter. Accordingly it is a joke that the belief in the immortality of the soul leads to a lethal result. Wilamowitz, Livrea, Gutzwiller, Meyer, and others agree on this interpretation¹⁷. Meyer expressly says 'it is a satiric epigram critical of philosophy' ("ein satirisches Epigramm mit einem philosophiekritischen Hintergrund"). In an earlier paper Sinko even held that the poem was based upon a polemic definitely directed at Plato and his philosophy. By the end of the last century White and Williams distanced themselves from this anti-Platonic view and tried to construe the epigram downright as a pro-Platonic plea. In their interpretation they do not deny the satiric character of the epigram, but relate it, as the Neoplatonists did, only to Cleombrotus' naivety¹⁸.

14. Augustine, *civ.* 1, 22: ... *ille potius Theombrotus* [see note above] *in hac animi magnitudine reperitur*. Cf. Gregor v. Nazianz, *Adv. Jul.* 1, 70 (PG 35, 592) and *Virt.* 680-683 (PG 37, 729), and Jerome, *Epist.* 39, 3. See White (1994: 137).

15. Lactantius, *inst.* 3, 18. Williams (1995: 161).

16. Ammonius, In Porph. 4, 18-25 (CAG 4, 3, 4, 18ff.). White (1994: 136-148); Williams (1995: 161-163). Cf. also Dillon (1998).

17. Wilamowitz (1924: vol. 1, 177): "Denn darin liegt der Hohn, daß die Verkündigung der unsterblichen Seele solche Folgen hat"; Livrea (1990; [1993: 77-93]); cf. e.g. 318 [83] "polemica antispiritualistica", see further below note 53; Gutzwiller (1998: 205): "... [i.e. *the epigram*] satirizes belief in immortality". Cf. also Gutzwiller (1998: 206 and 207); Meyer (2005: 164); Gow-Page (1965: vol. 2, 204).

18. On the 'anti-Platonic' interpretation s. Sinko (1905: *passim*); Riginos (1976: 181); Wilamowitz (1924: vol. 1, 177). – On the 'pro-Platonic' view esp. White (1994: 136): "I hope to show ... that he had more regard for philosophers in general and Plato in particular than most of his readers now suppose", and White (1994:159): "The homage to Plato is redoubled: his eloquence, the poet implies, enables his thought to transcend mortality"; Williams (1995: *passim* and esp. 159-161) "Was Callimachus anti-Platonic?" (dealing mainly with Sinko).

The much debated question of what Callimachus' 'philosophy' was like shall not be dealt with here¹⁹. Instead the elements of satire shall be analyzed more closely with our attention being focused on language and style. There are at least three traits pervading the satiric style as it has been defined in the preliminary remark.

(1) The first trait is the *paradoxical conclusion of the thought*. This device is typical of the genre of epigram; it is according to Christine Schmitz even one of the 'devices constituting the satiric art of language and depiction' ("stilkonstituierende Mittel satirischer Sprach- und Darstellungskunst")²⁰. In the development of the information as to how Cleombrotus died we find two facts *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*. First we learn about his unusual way of dying: Cleombrotus committed suicide by jumping from a high wall (ἦλατ' ἄφ' ὄψηλοῦ τείχεος εἰς Ἄϊδην). As regards the convention of the genre, suicide rarely occurs in sepulchral epigrams and it is, as a rule, not expected by the reader²¹. As a second surprise to the reader comes the motive of his in itself unusual deed: it is not need, as expressly said (οὐδὲν ... κακόν); Cleombrotus feels motivated to commit suicide after reading Plato's *Phaedo* (ἀναλεξόμενος is pointedly the last word of the epigram). It is true, the idea of the immortality of the soul and the hope for a life hereafter is not expressly articulated, but it is doubtless implied owing to the reference to Plato's dialogue.

(2) According to Schmitz the *limitation to one crucial detail* is also one of the characteristic devices of satire. It is – along with 'exaggeration' and the 'personification of the material world' – of the superior field of 'distortion' ("Verzerrung")²². Such *limitation* is also found in Callimachus' epigram. The epigram ends telling us that Cleombrotus read among Plato's dialogues *only the one* 'on the soul' (ἐν τὸ περὶ ψυχῆς γράμμα)²³. As ἐν is put at the beginning of the verse, this number is strongly emphasized and enhances the satiric impact. So naive a reader was Cleombrotus that the knowledge of *only one* Platonic dialogue gave him sufficient reason to embark on a most serious and irreversible deed²⁴. Following the

19. Callimachus on philosophy: White (1994: *passim*).

20. Schmitz (2000: esp. 117-128).

21. See above note 7.

22. Schmitz (2000: esp. 150-161). Schmitz deals primarily with the "satirische Reduktion eines Menschen auf das entscheidende Detail" (italics mine), see also Schmitz (2000: 166). – On 'distortion' see above p. 204 (G. v. Wilpert).

23. Cf. the translations by Nisetich (2001: 183) "... he had read one book of Plato's, the one about the soul" and by Asper (2004: 487) "... sondern nach der Lektüre nur einer Schrift Platons, der über die Seele".

24. Cf. Schmitz (2000: 65-96) "Satire in einem einzigen Wort", esp. chap. B. I. 3 "Die emphatische Betonung eines Wortes".

afore mentioned Christian interpretation of the epigram, we naturally might be inclined to construe this detail as a warning against the dangers of Plato's dialogues which lead to disastrous results after a merely superficial study.

(3) Another 'device constituting the satiric art of language and depiction' ("stilkonstituierendes Mittel satirischer Sprach- und Darstellungskunst") is the *ambivalent wording*. Schmitz speaks here of the "epigrammatische Prägnanz doppeldeutiger Formulierungen"²⁵. Callimachus' epigram at least includes one equivocal phrase of this kind. The last word of the epigram (ἀναλεξάμενος) is usually translated 'having read'. Actually the compound verb ἀνα-λέγεσθαι is elsewhere metaphorically used, but it occurs only rarely, e.g. in Asclepiades' epigram written on Antimachus' Lyde (AP 9, 63)²⁶. As Antimachus' choice of words reminds us of the epigram on Cleombrotus, we may conjecture an immediate link between his and Callimachus' epigram²⁷. Ἀναλέγεσθαι is ambivalent because its original meaning is 'picking up' or 'gathering'²⁸. If we understand the sentence in this way, we can even less avoid concluding that Cleombrotus acted superficially and rashly. He had not even perused this *one* Platonic dialogue, but *just picked it up*, before he threw himself from the wall.

Let us now return to the afore advanced interpretation which means, the punch-line of the epigram is Cleombrotus' naive belief in a life hereafter that led him to commit suicide. In her analysis Meyer points out that the epigram by no means says Cleombrotus believed in the

25. Schmitz (2000: 109).

26. LSJ 110-111 s.v. ἀναλέγω III.1. (Med.) *read through*, with reference to Callimachus' Cleombrotus-epigram; Andrados (1980: vol. 1, 248 s.v. ἀναλέγω 2) *leer completamente, de arriba abajo*. Cfr. D.H. 1, 89 "Α μὲν οὖν ἐμοὶ δύναμις ἐγένετο σὺν πολλῇ φροντῖδι ἀνευρεῖν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων συχνὰς ἀναλεξαμένω γραφῶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων γένους, τοιάδ' ἐστίν. – In Plutarch 582a (*De genio Socratis*), to which LSJ and Andrados refer, ἀναλέγεσθαι retains its primary meaning: ἄλλ' ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἄπειρος γραμμάτων δυνάμεως ὀρῶν ὀλίγα πλῆθει καὶ φαῦλα τὴν μορφὴν ἀπιστοῖη ἄνδρα γραμματικὸν ἐκ τούτων ἀναλέγεσθαι πολέμους μεγάλους οἱ τοῖς πάλοι συνέτυχον, καὶ κτίσεις πόλεων πράξεις τε καὶ παθήματα βασιλέων; cf. also 711d (*Lysander* 19, 7) δεξάμενος δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν ἀναλέξασθαι δύναται τῶν γραμμάτων συναφὴν οὐκ ἐχόντων, ἀλλὰ διεσπασμένων

27. AP 9, 63 (Asclepiades) Λύδη καὶ γένος εἰμι καὶ οὔνομα τῶν δ' ἀπὸ Κόδρου / σεμνοτέρῃ πασῶν εἰμι δι' Ἀντίμαχον. / τίς γὰρ ἔμ' οὐκ ἤεσις; τίς οὐκ ἀνελέξατο Λύδην, / τὸ ξυὸν Μουσῶν γράμμα καὶ Ἀντιμάχου; – Gow-Page (1965: vol. 2, 139). On Asclepiades' influence on Callimachus s. e.g. Hutchinson (1988: 264-265); Gutzwiller (1998: 214-215).

28. LSJ 110-111 s.v. ἀναλέγω I. (Med.) *to pick up for oneself*, with reference to Herodotus 3, 130 στατήρας ... ἀνελέγετο. – See also LSJ Suppl. 28 s.v. ἀναλέγω referring to SEG 31, 985 D 14: "read out, recite".

immortality of the soul, but merely read one book dealing with the subject. In fact, Plato does not recommend suicide in his dialogue; on the contrary, he expressly rejects it²⁹. From this observation Meyer concludes that Callimachus meant to castigate both pseudo-philosophic rigorism and superficial education³⁰. As a result, it is at the same time the punch-line of the epigram that not only a *naive belief in a life hereafter*, but also an *insufficient understanding of a text* can be lethal. This interpretation is supported by the afore listed observations concerning the satiric character of epigrams: Cleombrotus obviously made the mistake to read *only one* Platonic dialogue (ἐν τὸ Περὶ ψυχῆς γράμμα). The ambivalence of ἀναλεξάμενος makes Cleombrotus appear to be even more superficial if ἀναλέγεσθαι is understood in its original meaning ('to pick up') instead of its metaphorical meaning ('to read').

There are two more aspects connected with our paper up to this point, but have not yet been explained sufficiently: on the one hand the act of committing suicide in itself, as far as the way of its execution is concerned, and on the other hand the problem of how to classify it from the psychological and sociological angle.

Cleombrotus' suicide by throwing himself down (*iactatio*) is remarkable. In ancient literature throwing oneself down from a rock, a wall, or another rise was regarded as more or less contrary to the discretion of a man educated by philosophers. Unlike other methods of killing oneself, e.g. taking poison or bloodletting in a bathtub, this kind of killing oneself does not require a great deal of preparation³¹. At the rocks of Leukos it was – apart from criminals who were thrown down from a cliff as a punishment – above all unhappy lovers who committed suicide in despair or the feeling of hopelessness³². In his sixth satire Juvenal urgently warns the addressee Postumus not to marry: how could he bring himself to take such a risk although various ways were open of escaping his fate – for instance by voluntary death. Giving more illustrated pieces of advice Juvenal mentions ropes existing in large quantities, windows in

29. Plato, *Phaedo* 62b1-c8, cf. also *Leges* 873c-d. Plato on suicide: Gallop (1975: 83-85); Williams (1995: 158-159); Miles (2001); in general Van Hooff (1990: here 181-197) "Philosophers and Theologians".

30. Meyer (2005: 164-165): "Der Sprecher sagt nicht, daß Kleombrotos starb, weil er an die Unsterblichkeit der Seele glaubte, sondern weil er ein Buch des Platon über die Seele gelesen hatte" (citation: 165). Similar already Gutzwiller (1998: 206): "... since the *Phaedo* forbids suicide, Cleombrotus is guilty as well of *misreading* the Text" (italics mine).

31. On the various methods of suicide see Hirzel (1908: here esp. 243-244). – Gow-Page (1965: vol. 2, 204-205) don't discuss the suicide itself.

32. Discussed (and rejected) by Dörrie (1990: 284); see also Dörrie (1975: 33-49).

great height, or the bridge of Aemilius where he could throw down himself (6, 25-32)³³.

In his work on suicide committed in antiquity Van Hooff finds out that throwing oneself down is as a whole not typical of a philosophically motivated suicide and that the case of Cleombrotus in this respect is an exception³⁴. This is exactly the joke, for Cleombrotus is not a serious philosopher, but, if at all, a naive and superficial pseudo-philosopher. His jumping down from the wall obviously corresponds with his superficial knowledge of philosophy. Cleombrotus' method of killing himself bestows a further nuance on the ridicule of his character: Cleombrotus reads only one Platonic dialogue, misunderstands its message and throws himself from the wall thoughtless by relying on the immortality of the soul. The wording of the epigram excludes that Cleombrotus took time for second thoughts before he leapt.

Diogenes Laertius might offer a parallel when giving his account of Empedocles' death and reporting that he had killed himself by jumping into the streams of lava on Mount Etna (8, 51-77)³⁵. Yet this version –

33. Juvenal, *Sat.* 6, 25-32: *conuentum tamen et pactum et sponsalia nostra / tempestate paras iamque a tonsore magistro / pecterus et digito pignus fortasse dedisti? / certe sanus eras. uxorem, Postume, ducis? / dic qua Tisiphone, quibus exagitere colubris. / ferre potes dominam saluis tot restibus ullam, / cum pateant altae caligantesque fenestrae, / cum tibi uicinum se praebeat Aemilius pons?* What follows is, in case that the given solutions do not appear to be of interest, the advice to go and look for a boy (*pusio*).

34. Van Hooff (1990: 73-77 here 76-77): “Parallel to the curve of age runs the line of motives: they remain on the lower side of the spectrum. Only Kleombrotos' suicide might be regarded as a philosophical demonstration ...: he jumped from a wall after reading the book of Plato. Had he ceased to be a ‘vir unius libri’ by reading, apart from the *Phaedo*, Plato's *Laws*, he could have reached different conclusions. Callimachus' epigram about this pointedly mocks such ‘precipitate’ behaviour by intellectuals who have lost common sense”; cf. 215 and 237, further Moron (1975: 37): “Historiquement, et culturellement, la mort par précipitation a toujours eu un caractère infamant”.

35. Diogenes cites two of his own epigrams on the death of Empedocles (8, 75): Φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Παμμέτρῳ σκοπτικὸν μὲν, τοῦτον δ' ἔχον τὸν τρόπον. “καὶ σύ ποτ', Ἐμπεδόκλεις, διερῆ φλογὶ σῶμα καθήρας / πῦρ ἀπὸ κρητῆρων ἔκπιες ἀθανάτων / οὐκ ἔρέω δ' ὅτι σαυτὸν ἐκὼν βάλες ἐς ῥόον Αἴτνης, / ἀλλὰ λαθεῖν ἐθέλων ἔμπεσεσ οὐκ ἐθέλων.” (AP 7, 123) καὶ ἄλλο: “ναὶ μὴν Ἐμπεδοκλῆα θανεῖν λόγος ὡς ποτ' ἀμάξης / ἔκπεσε καὶ μηρὸν κλάσματο δεξιτερὸν / εἰ δὲ πυρὸς κρητῆρας ἐσήλατο καὶ πῖε τὸ ζῆν, / πῶς ἂν ἔτ' ἐν Μεγάρῳις δείκνυτο τοῦδε τάφος;” (AP 7, 124). The version that Empedocles died at mount Aetna is also referred to by Horace: *dicam Siculique poetae / narrabo interitum. 'deus immortalis haberi / dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus / insiluit* (*De arte poetica* 463-466), see also Strabo (6, 274 [II 188, 14-17 Radt]), and the Suda (s.v. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς Μέτωνος [Adler II 258, 6-21]). This version might go back to Heracleides Ponticus (frgm. 85 Wehrli), see Guthrie (1965: vol. 2, 131 with note 1). Cfr. Diels–Kranz (1952: 31 A 1-2); Kirk et al. (1983: 281).

suicide by burning rather than falling down³⁶ – is only one of numerous legends covering the philosopher's death. According to Favorinus – likewise quoted by Diogenes Laertius (7, 73) – Empedocles died after falling from a cart, and according to Demetrius of Troezen he hanged himself (Diog. L. 7, 74)³⁷. There is, however, a significant difference between the two cases: Empedocles does not die as a young, but as an old and wise man; the legends concerning his death each emphasize the particular circumstances of his death, not his desire to learn more³⁸.

So much concerning the manner of death chosen by Cleombrotus. Yet his suicide appeals to us to pursue further questions. In his study *Suicide* published in 1897 Émile Durkheim worked out four principal types when analyzing suicide from the sociological point of view. He distinguishes the *egoistic*, the *altruistic*, the *fatalistic* and the *anomic* type, the latter being the result of intimidation in a state of lawlessness³⁹. Relying on this classification we ought to assign Cleombrotus' suicide to the first type, the egoistically motivated suicide. Fatalism and anomia are to be ruled out because we are told in the third verse that he did not act in desperate need (ἄξιτον οὐδὲν ἰδὼν θανάτου κακόν). No word of the epigram indicates that Cleombrotus acted out of altruism like Alcestis in Euripides' tragedy. It was obviously mere curiosity that inspired Cleombrotus to verify by experience what he had 'read' in Plato's dialogue; and this should happen as soon as possible as we can derive from the chosen manner of death by jumping from a wall.

Illuminating is the comparison with another sepulchral epigram by Callimachus which likewise deals with suicide. The epigram on Basilo presents a young woman (παρθενική) who kills herself at her own hand

36. Since Empedocles jumps into an active vulcano, his suicide also belongs in the category 'Death by fire', see Van Hooff (1990: 57-59), "Fire as Exotic Means", here 58; cf. AP 7, 123, 1-2 (note 35) and Suda s.v. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς Μέτωνος (Adler II 258, 15 ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς κρατῆρα πυρός).

37. Diog. L. 8, 67-75. An overview on the different versions of the legend is given by Wellmann (1905: 2507-2512, here 2507).

38. Van Hooff (1990: 36): "For the Greek world self-killing is attributed to a series of old intellectuals: Pythagoras at the age of 82, Anaxagoras 72, Empedokles 60, Speusippos 68, Diogenes 80, Aristotle 62, Epicurus 71, Zeno the Stoic 72, Dionysios circa 80, Kleantes 72. These ages are generally given according to Diogenes Laertios. Especially in his series of lives of philosophers self-killing looks like an obligatory last act. In order to be convincing the old philosopher is expected to express his views by the way he dies." On Empedokles also Van Hooff (1990: 37).

39. Durkheim (2006: e.g. 162. 242. 273. 318 with note 29). The starting point of Durkheim's empiric investigation are cases of suicide reported in the France of his own time. On Durkheim's studies on Classical Antiquity see e.g. McCarthy (2003: here esp. 145-147).

(αὐτοχερί)⁴⁰ on the day of her brother's burial (Gow–Page 32)⁴¹. Basilo did so because she had lost the courage to face life after her brother's death. This motivation can be classified by Durkheim's third or *fatalistic* type. In this epigram complexity and ambiguity of suicide are demonstrated by the fact that the parents double grief (δίδυμον ... κακόν) is pointed out who had to mourn the loss of their son in the morning and of their daughter in the evening. The parents have to suffer even more as we read in the last verse that they have no other children and therefore live in an orphaned house from then on (τὸν εὐτεκνον χῆρον ἰδοῦσα δόμον)⁴². As Basilo aggravates her parents grief because she cannot bear her own ("suicide from grief" [Gow–Page]), her deed is characterized by a trace of *egoistic* and therefore culpable action corresponding Durkheim's first type. It is needless to underline that the epigram on Basilo is not attended by any satiric element. Unlike Basilo who is marked both by need and guilt Cleombrotus appears evidently as a man of not so complex a manner of action thus again confirming the satiric character of this epigram⁴³.

There are, however, other sepulchral epigrams by Callimachus that deal with death and belief in the next world. What about their interpretation? Not far away from the epigram on Cleombrotus is the one on Timarchus (G–P 33; 10 Pf.; AP 7, 520):

Ἦν δίζη Τιμαρχον ἐν Ἄϊδος, ὄφρα πύθῃαι
 ἧ τι περὶ ψυχῆς ἢ πάλι, πῶς ἔσσει,
 δίξεσθαι φυλῆς Πτολεμαΐδος υἷα πατρός
 Πausανίου· δῆεις δ' αὐτὸν ἐν εὐσεβέων.

When looking for Timarchus in Hades so as to learn more about the soul and how you will live on⁴⁴, look for Pausanias' son from the phyle Ptolemais: you will find him among the pious men.

40. Emphasized by enjambement and verse position; cfr. AP 7, 470 (Meleager, above note 11): Ἦλυθον Ἄϊδαν / αὐτοθελεί, Κείων γευσάμενος κυλίκων (5-6).

41. Gow–Page (1965: vol. 1, 32); AP 7, 517; Pf. 20: Ἦφοι Μελάνιππον ἐθάπτομεν, ἠελίου δέ / δυομένου Βασιλῶ κάτθανε παρθενική / αὐτοχερί: ζῶειν γάρ ἀδελφεὸν ἐν πυρὶ θεῖσα / οὐκ ἔτλη. δίδυμον δ' οἶκος ἔσειδε κακόν / πατρός Ἄριστίπποιο· κατήφησεν δὲ Κυρήνη / πᾶσα τὸν εὐτεκνον χῆρον ἰδοῦσα δόμον. On this epigram see Ambühl (2002).

42. On the meaning of εὐτεκνον see Gow–Page (1965: vol. 2, 190): "The implication is not that there were other children but that the two, now both dead, were worthy."

43. On the relation of these two Callimachean epigrams see Meyer (2005: 165). The whole 'sequence' AP 7, 517-525 is discussed by Gutzwiller (1998: 200-213, esp. 203).

44. In the sense of "how it shall be with thee hereafter": Gow–Page (1965: vol. 2, 191); cfr. Gutzwiller (1998: 201) "... or about your fate after death". Πῶς is then to be taken in the sense of ποῖος (cfr. e.g. Pias 11, 838, Gow–Page (1965: vol. 2, *ad locum*). Gow–Page prefer a reading in the sense of "comment survivras" (Cahen), similar Meyer (2005: 173) "... oder wie du weiterleben wirst".

The wording *περὶ ψυχῆς* reminds us of the epigram on Cleombrotus where the same words substitute ‘Plato’s *Phaedo*’ (v. 4 ἐν τῷ περὶ ψυχῆς γράμμα). Basically the fact is less striking that in the first verse Hades is mentioned just as in the epigram on Cleombrotus (v. 2 εἰς Ἄϊδην)⁴⁵. In view of the fundamental similarity of both epigrams, however, the choice of the same words indicates some greater significance.

As in the epigram on Timarchus we can find satiric traces, as far as style and motive are concerned.

(1) The *limitation to one crucial detail* (above page 208). The action of looking for somebody occurs as often as three times: the anaphoric *δίξει*, *δίξεσθαι* (each being put in an emphasizing position at the beginning of the two distichs), and in the last verse *δήεις* (‘you will find’) in its complementary meaning. The main subject of the epigram is Timarchus’ effort to look for somebody and to find him. At the beginning of the epigram Timarchus is *looking* for somebody: Ἦν δίξει Τιμαρχὸν ἐν Ἄϊδος (v. 1), and at the end he knows where to *find* him *δήεις* δ’ αὐτὸν ἐν εὐσεβέων (v. 4). The philosophical question as to what fate the soul has to expect is not given much attention. One verse only deals with this question: ὄφρα πύθῃαι / ἢ τι περὶ ψυχῆς ἢ πάλι, πῶς ἔσειαι (v. 1-2). The dominance of the semantic field ‘search and find’ in this epigram, intensified by the anaphoric repetition *δίξει* / *δίξεσθαι*, looks hyperbolic thus creating a satiric effect.

(2) The *ambivalent wording* (above page 209). An etymological pun is implied in the toponym Πτολεμαΐς (v. 3). The genitive can also be read as compound noun out of Πτολεμ- and -αΐδος. At first glance this might seem to be far-fetched, but it becomes evident if we regard the position of -αΐδος which obtains the same position in its verse as Ἄϊδος in the first verse⁴⁶. The word Πτολεμαΐς is in itself equivocal, too: in Hellenism a phyle of this name used to exist both in Alexandria and in Athens. The latter was established as 13th phyle in Athens to honor Ptolemy III. (reigned 246–211 BC) after worship for him was decided upon⁴⁷.

45. The verbal links between the two epigrams are highlighted by Gutzwiller (1998: 204-205 with note 50); Meyer (2005: 175).

46. Meillier (1979: 197-198). On wordplays O’Hara (1996: esp. 21-42 on the Alexandrine poets).

47. Habicht (1994: 146 and 184 on the phyle ‘Ptolemais’ in Athens). – The scholia on Apollonios Rhodius mention a phyle ‘Ptolemais’ in Alexandria: Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ τῶν Ἀργοναυτικῶν ποιητῆς τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν Ἀλεξανδρεὺς φυλῆς Πτολεμαΐδος (p. 1, 5-6 Wendel); see Gow–Page (1965: vol. 2, 190 *ad locum*). In Egypt *Ptolemais* is at the same time the name of one of the three big Greek cities (together with *Naukratis* and *Alexandria*), see Huß (2001: 223).

(3) In the epigram on Timarchus we can finally recognize ‘incongruity’ (“Inkongruenz”)⁴⁸ as a further ‘device constituting satiric style’. The anonymous speaker asks the imaginary reader to look for Pausanias’ son of the phyle Ptolemaïs in Hades where he will find him among the pious men (ἐν εὐσεβέων). The reader cannot help believing the civil order in his polis is also valid in Hades. When looking for somebody in Hades you must just know the name and phyle to find him. Meyer is right to underline that naming the phyle is not unusual on sepulchral epigrams⁴⁹. The punch-line of the epigram at hand, however, rests on the circumstance that the naming of the phyle does not introduce the deceased to the reader, but is meant to help find him in Hades.

Understanding the epigram on Timarchus more closely depends to some degree on the Hero’s identity. Timarchus seems to attract attention because he is considered an expert on problems of the soul and the world hereafter (v. 1-2 ὄφρα πύθῃαι / ἢ τι περὶ ψυχῆς ἢ πάλι, πῶς ἔσεται). So we are allowed to surmise that he is a philosopher who might even have published a discourse Περὶ ψυχῆς⁵⁰. Gow–Page name three eligible philosophers called Timarchus. One of these is a cynic philosopher from Alexandria who allegedly is a disciple of Cleomenes, whose teacher was Metrocles⁵¹. Gow–Page think this man from Alexandria is likely to be the Timarchus whom Callimachus is looking at. Only recently Meillier and Livrea have agreed upon this view⁵². Starting out from this identification Livrea concludes that the philosopher survived just as a name in the list of his phyle and as a man famous for his piety⁵³. Carrying on Livrea’s interpretation Gutzwiller held that the reference to his phyle alluded to Callimachus’

48. Cfr. Schmitz (2000: esp. 97-117).

49. Meyer (2005: 176 with note 171) with reference to CEG 2, 523): ἐνθάδ’ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς κ’ ἐστὶ Καλλιστράτο υἱὸς / Καλλίμαχος φυλῆς Κεκροπίδου Μελιτεύς.

50. See above note 8.

51. Gow–Page (1965: vol. 2, 190); overview on the previous research by Meyer (2005: 173-174). The source is Diogenes Laertius 6, 95: μαθηταὶ δ’ αὐτοῦ Θεόμβροτος καὶ Κλεομένης, Θεομβρότου Δημήτριος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, Κλεομένους Τίμαρχος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς καὶ Ἐγκελῆς Ἐφέσιος.

52. Gow–Page (1965: vol. 2, 190): “Of the three the Alexandrian would be the obvious choice”, against Wilamowitz (1924: vol. 1, 176 note 2), who rejects the identification with the Alexandrian Timarchos on chronological grounds (“ganz windig”). Meillier (1979: 197-199); Livrea (1990: 314-318).

53. Livrea (1990: 318 [83-84]): “La polemica antispiritualistica, concentrata nel primo distico, si traduce insomma in un’amara parentesi ai filosofi convinti di poter incontrare nell’Ade la ψυχὴ di Timarco per confutare le sue idee sull’anima e la resurrezione: cerchino il nome del morto nei registri funterari, è tutto ciò che ne rimane assieme al ricordo della sua εὐσέβεια, il tradizionale ascetismo cinico.”

collection of biographies of authors worked out for his own literary inventory⁵⁴.

These interpretations remain speculative as long as we cannot figure out who Timarchus actually was. Yet it is also possible for us to understand the epigram out of itself. It is the basic idea that there is a reader who might be interested in meeting Timarchus in Hades to learn more about death and life hereafter. This idea implies that we cannot ascertain anything on the subject as long as we are in the real world. If we understand the epigram in this way as voice of a sceptical and rationalist attitude, we will be in line both with the observed satiric traces of style and with the overall picture as yet derived from Callimachus' statements⁵⁵.

This picture is confirmed by a further sepulchral epigram from the poet's pen. The epigram on Charidas also deals with the question what human beings can hope for after their death (G–P 31; 13 Pf.; AP 7, 524):

- Ἦ ρ' ὑπὸ σοὶ Χαρίδας ἀναπαύεται; – Εἰ τὸν Ἀρίμμα
τοῦ Κυρηναίου παῖδα λέγεις, ὅπ' ἐμοί.
- ὦ Χαρίδα, τί τὰ νέρθε; – Πολὺ σκότος. – Αἱ δ' ἄνοδοι τί;
– Ψεῦδος. – Ὅ δὲ Πλούτων; – Μῦθος. – Ἀπωλόμεθα.
- Οὗτος ἐμὸς λόγος ὕμιν ἀληθινός· εἰ δὲ τὸν ἠδύν
βούλει, Πελλαίου βούς μέγας εἰν Ἄϊδη.

Does Charides rest beneath you? Yes, he does if you speak of the son of Arimmas of Cyrene. Charidas, what are conditions down there like? It is pitch-dark here. What about ways back? Just a lie. But Pluto? Just a myth. So we are lost and forlorn. This is my true story for you: for a Pellaion (piece of money) there is a big ox available in Hades.

This epigram is kindred with the piece on Timarchos, as far as the subject-matter is concerned, but the narrative organization is different⁵⁶. The epigram on Charidas is made up as a dialogue between an imaginary speaker and the gravestone and afterwards the deceased himself, our eyes gradually wander from this world to the other world. This dialogue between

54. Gutzwiller (1998: 205): “The reference to Timarchos as son of Pausanias from the Ptolemais tribe suggests, not just local citizenship records, but also the biographies attached to Callimachus' own literary inventories, which apparently began with name of father and place of origin.”

55. Cf. also Wilamowitz (1924, vol. 1, 177) with reference to the Cleombrotus-epigram: “Dieser Rationalismus steckt dem Kallimachos tief im Innern. Philosophie hat nichts damit zu tun; sie berührt ihn nicht. Seinen Landsmann Hegesias mag er gekannt oder von ihm gehört haben, für seinen Pessimismus würde er nur ein Achselzucken gehabt haben.”

56. Meyer (2005: 159-224) “Die Inszenierung des Sprechakts in den Epigrammen des Kallimachos”, here esp. 211-214. – On the idea that this epigram might have had a special position in an original collection by Callimachus see Gutzwiller (1998: 39-40 and 210).

speaker and Charidas, between this world and the other has nothing to offer that is hopeful. Three times the speaker enquires about the condition of the other world, and three times he is given a short and likewise discouraging answer (v. 4 ἀπωλόμεθα): there is darkness, there is no way back, there is no Pluto (v. 3-4 πολὺς σκότος – ψεῦδος – μῦθος).

In this epigram we can again observe stylistic devices that are constitutive ingredients of satire. Equivocal is the use of μῦθος in the fourth verse: it could mean both mythical narration and legend, fiction, lie. The enquiry about the possibility of a return in the third verse (αἶ δ' ἄνοδοι τί) can be understood as *incongruity* (above page 215) of two irreconcilable ideas because there is no return. Exceptions to this rule occur in mythical tradition at times when we think of Heracles, Orpheus, Adonis; yet the myth regarding Pluto is straightaway labeled as a lie⁵⁷.

3. Conclusion

Callimachus' sepulchral epigrams addressing ideas of how to imagine the other world are pervaded by a sceptical attitude as Livrea and others have held (see above page 207). The three in this paper more closely examined epigrams deny any or other consolatory idea of human life hereafter. The epigram on Clembrotus bears direct reference to Plato; although he himself is not the target of the ridicule, but his 'naïve' reader Cleombrotus, it nevertheless seems impossible to interpret the epigram along with White and Williams as a support of Plato's doctrine. This is even more difficult because unlike Plato also the other two epigrams promise nothing that suggests an afterlife or redemption of the soul. The epigrams on Timarchus and Charidas have their basic conviction in common. Yet as long as it is unknown who is behind the name of Timarchus, it is not safe to determine if by the epigram on him merely the belief in a life after death is ridiculed or Timarchus himself as well.

Other epigrams by Callimachus corroborate this sceptical view, e.g. the one on Heraclitus (AP 7, 80; 34 G–P; 2 Pf.), the message of which it is that Heraclitus survives solely owing to his literary work (ἀηδόνες)⁵⁸: this work could not even be attacked by Hades, the robber of everything (ὁ πάντων / ἄρπακτῆς Ἀΐδης)⁵⁹.

57. On the last difficult distich see Meyer (2005: 212-213); more bibliography: Lehman (2000: 302).

58. On the metaphorical use see Gow–Page (1965 vol. 2, 192 *ad locum*).

59. Similar e.g. MacQueen (1982); Gutzwiller (1998: 206-207); Meyer (2005: 222).

The examination of the stylistic devices confirms this interpretation: in perfect harmony with the subject-matter they display a close affinity with satiric penmanship and with the autonomous genre in a narrower sense later on established in Rome.

If we for a short moment return to Roman literature as starting-point of our endeavour to define what the nature of satire is like, we can see that exactly philosophers and philosophical doctrines were the Roman satirists' favorite targets. Braund lists all in all six themes of this kind – beside philosophy – urban life, favoritism, bodily desires, theory of literature, and parody of other genres, e.g. epos⁶⁰.

According to Dimitri Tschizewskij "Satires and satirists are numerous in the history of literature, especially when young cultures and states are developing. They have got to shake off petrified ways of life, and there is no better means than comic to eliminate outmoded customs without painful treatment. Therefore, there were lots of satires in European Renaissance, and the same is true of the new Russian culture. As a result, one has later on been prepared to label all poetry as satiric"⁶¹. The correlation between poetry and political reality, discussed by Tschizewskij regarding Russian literature, applies no doubt to Greek-Roman antiquity, too.

Suicide as subject-matter, advanced in the epigram on Cleombrotus, could have been of quite political brisance in Ptolemaic Egypt. We know of a certain Hegesias who is said to have recommended suicide in Alexandria publicly and was therefore dubbed *πεισιθάνατος* (advocate of suicide)⁶². According to Cicero Ptolemy (either *Ptolemy Soter* or *Ptolemy Philadelphus*) forbade him to speak in public⁶³. On top of that the theme of belief in the other world was in Ptolemaic Egypt of eminent political importance, which must be attributed to the customary deification of members of the royal family. Callimachus himself wrote a poem on the

60. Braund (2001, 103).

61. Tschizeswkij (1976: esp. 272-273): "Satiren und Satiriker" kommen "in der Literaturgeschichte außerordentlich oft vor, besonders vielleicht bei den jungen Kultur- und Staatsbildungen. Man muß dabei besonders viele ‚versteinerte‘ Lebensformen abschüteln, und es gibt kaum ein stärker wirkendes Mittel als die Komik, die ohne schmerzliche Operationen das Veraltete beseitigen kann. Aus diesem Grund sind die Satiren zur europäischen Renaissancezeit so zahlreich gewesen, und aus demselben Grund verlangte die neue Kultur Rußlands so viele Satiren, so daß man später bereit war und noch ist, alle Dichtung für satirisch zu erklären."

62. Diog. Laert. 2, 86: Ἡγησίας ὁ πεισιθάνατος. – On Hegesias s. White (1994: 141-142), Williams (1995: 165 note 51) and Huß (2001: 232); see also above note 55.

63. Cicero, Tusc. 1, 83-84: *a malis igitur mors abducit, non a bonis, verum si quaerimus. et quidem hoc a Cyrenaico Hegesia sic copiose disputatur, ut is a rege Ptolemaeo prohibitus esse dicatur illa in scholis dicere, quod multi is auditis mortem sibi ipsi consciscerent. Callimachi quidem epigramma in Ambraciotam Theombrotum est ...*

deification of Arsinoe II (316–270 BC). The wife and sister of Ptolemy II Philadelphus died 270 BC and was immediately after her death deified. Her worship quickly spread over the whole of the eastern Mediterranean⁶⁴. It is quite amazing that Callimachus, a committed sceptic, at last turns out to be the author of a poem on his queen's deification. He should not be blamed, though. Callimachus obviously knew how to distinguish between his official duties as a court poet and his moral obligation to intellectual honesty.

REFERENCES

- Ambühl, A., 2002, "Zwischen Tragödie und Roman. Kallimachos' Epigramm auf den Selbstmord der Basilio (20 PF., 32 Gow-Page, AP 7.517)". In: M. A. Harder et al. (eds), *Hellenistic Epigrams (Hellenistica Groningana 6)*. Leuven, 1-26.
- Andrados, F. R., 1980, *Diccionario Griego-Español*, Vol. 1. Madrid.
- Asper, M., 2004, *Kallimachos. Werke. Griechisch und deutsch. Herausgegeben und übersetzt*. Darmstadt.
- Baltes, M., 1988, "Die Todesproblematik in der griechischen Philosophie". *Gymnasium* 95, 97-128.
- 1999, *ΔΙΑΝΟΗΜΑΤΑ. Kleine Schriften zu Platon und zum Platonismus (BzA 123)*. Stuttgart.
- Beckby, H., 1957–1958, *Anthologia Graeca. Griechisch–Deutsch*, 4 vols. München.
- Braund, S., 2001, "Satire". In: *Der Neue Pauly*, Bd. 11. Stuttgart 2001, 101-104.
- Diels, H. & W. Kranz, 1952, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker. Griechisch und Deutsch*, 3 vols. Berlin (1964²).
- Dillon, J. M., 1998, "Singing without an Instrument. Plotinus on Suicide". In: Dillon, J. M., *The Great Tradition. Further Studies in the Development of Platonism and Early Christianity*. Aldershot, 231-238.
- Dörrie, H. P., 1975, *Ovidius Naso. Der Brief der Sappho an Phaon, mit literarischem und kritischem Kommentar im Rahmen einer motivgeschichtlichen Studie (Zetemata 58)*. München.
- 1990, *Der Platonismus in der Antike. Grundlagen–System–Entwicklung, vol. 2: Der hellenistische Rahmen des kaiserzeitlichen Platonismus. Bausteine 36-72: Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar. Aus dem Nachlaß hrsgg. und bearb. von M. Baltes unter Mitarbeit von A. Dörrie und Fr. Mann*. Stuttgart.
- Durkheim, É., 2006, *Der Selbstmord*. Frankfurt a. M. [orig. Paris 1897: *Le suicide. Étude de sociologie*]
- Ebert, Th., 2004, *Platon. Phaidon. Übersetzung und Kommentar (Platon, Werke I 4)*. Göttingen.
- Frazer, P. M. & E. Matthews, 1987, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. 1. Oxford.

64. Fr. 228 Pf.

- Gallop, D., 1975, *Plato. Phaedo. Translated with Notes*. Oxford.
- Gow, A. S. F. & D. L., Page, 1965, *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams*, 2 vols. Cambridge.
- Guthke, K. S., 1990, *Letzte Worte. Variationen über ein Thema der Kulturgeschichte des Westens*. München.
- Guthrie, W. K., 1965, *A History of Greek Philosophy, vol. 2: The Presocratic Tradition from Parmenides to Democritus*. Cambridge.
- Gutzwiller, K. J., 1998, *Poetic Garlands. Hellenistic Epigrams in Context*. Berkeley.
- Habicht, Chr., 1994, *Athen in hellenistischer Zeit. Gesammelte Aufsätze*. München.
- Hirzel, R., 1908, "Der Selbstmord". *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 11, 75-104. 243-284. 417-476 [reprint Darmstadt 1967]
- Hooff, A. J. L. van, 1990, *From Autothanasia to Suicide. Self-Killing in Classical Antiquity*. London.
- Huß, W., 2001, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit. 332–30 v.Chr.* München.
- Hutchinson, G., 1988, *Hellenistic Poetry*. Oxford.
- Kirk, G. S. et al., 1983², *The Presocratic Philosophers*. Cambridge.
- Lehnus, L., 2000, *Nuova bibliografia callimachea (1489–1998) (Hellenica 3)*. Alessandria.
- Livrea, E., 1990, "Tre epigrammi funerari Callimachei". *Hermes* 118, 314-324. — 1993, *ΚΡΕΣΣΟΝΑ ΒΑΣΚΑΝΙΗΣ. Quindici studi di poesia ellenistica*. Messina.
- Lundström, S., 1960, "Falsche Eigennamen in den Tuskulanen". *Eranos* 58, 66-73.
- Mansfeld, J., 1994, *Prolegomena. Questions to be Settled before the Study of an Author or a Text*. Leyden.
- MacQueen, J. G., 1982, "Death and Immortality. A Study of the Heraclitus Epigram of Callimachus". *Ramus* 11, 48-56.
- McCarthy, G. E., 2003, *Classical Horizons. The Origins of Sociology in Ancient Greece*. New York.
- Meillier, C., 1979, *Callimaque et son temps. Recherches sur la carrière et la condition d'un écrivain à l'époque des premiers Lagides*. Lille.
- Merkelbach, R. & J. Stauber, 1998, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten, vol. 1: Die Westküste Kleinasiens von Knidos bis Ilion*. Stuttgart.
- Meyer, D., 2005, *Inszeniertes Lesevergnügen. Das inschriftliche Epigramm und seine Rezeption bei Kallimachos (Hermes Einzelschriften 93)*. Stuttgart.
- Meyer-Sickendiek, B., 2007, "Satire". In: *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, Vol. 8, Tübingen, 447-469.
- Miles, M., 2001, "Plato on Suicide (Phaedo 60c-63c)". *Phoenix* 55, 244-258.
- Moron, P., 1975, *Le suicide*. Paris (2006⁸).
- Nisetich, F., 2001, *The Poems of Callimachus. Translated with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary*. Oxford.
- Pfeiffer, R., 1949–1953, *Callimachus*, 2 vols., Oxford (vol. 1: 1965²).
- O'Hara, J. J., 1996, *True Names. Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay*. Ann Arbor.
- Riginos, A., 1976, *Platonica*. Leyden.
- Sandbach, F. H., 1989², *The Stoics*, London.
- Schmitz, Chr., 2000, *Das Satirische in Juvenals Satiren (UaLG 58)*. Berlin.

- Schroeder, B.-J., 1999, *Titel und Text. Zur Entwicklung lateinischer Gedichtüberschriften, mit Untersuchungen zu lateinischen Buchtiteln, Inhaltsverzeichnissen und anderen Gliederungsmitteln (UaLG 54)*. Berlin.
- Sinko, T., 1905, "De Callimachi epigr. XXIII W.". *Eos* 11, 1-10.
- Spina, L., 1989, "Cleombroto, la fortuna di un suicidio". *Vichiana* 18, 12-39.
- Tschizeswkij, D., 1976, "Satire oder Grotteske". In: Preisendanz, W. & R. Warning (eds), *Das Komische (Poetik und Hermeneutik 7)*. München, 269-278.
- Weiß, W., 1982, "Probleme der Satireforschung und das heutige Verständnis der Satire". In: W. Weiß (ed), *Die englische Satire (WdF 562)*. Darmstadt.
- Wellmann, E., 1905, Art. "Empedokles 3", *RE* V/2, 2507-2512.
- White, St. A., 1994, "Callimachus on Plato and Cleombrotos". *TAPhA* 124, 135-161.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von, 1924, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos*, 2 vols. Berlin (1962²).
- Williams, G. D., 1995, "Cleombrotus of Ambracia. Interpretations of a Suicide from Callimachus to Agathias". *CQ* N.S. 45, 154-169.
- Wilpert, G. v., 2001⁸, *Sachwörterbuch der Literatur*. Stuttgart.