## SEA-MONSTERS AT SUNRISE

ήμεις δύο μόνας ήμέρας ἐν εὐδία πλεύσαντες, τῆς τρίτης ὑποφαινούσης πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα τὸν ἥλιον ἄφνω ὁρῶμεν θηρία καὶ κήτη πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, ε̂ν δὲ μέγιστον ἁπάντων ὅσον σταδίων χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων τὸ μέγεθος. (Lucian, VH 1.30)

It is hard to avoid the suspicion that the time appointed for the arrival of Lucian's leviathan was intended to bring to the reader's mind Nearchus' account of an alarming encounter with a school of whales in the course of his famous voyage from the Indus to the Persian Gulf (Arrian, *Ind.* 30.1-3 = FGrHist 133 F 1 (c. 30)):

κήτεα δὲ μεγάλα ἐν τἢ ἔξω θαλάσση βόσκεται, καὶ ἰχθύες πολὺ μέζονες ἢ ἐν τἢδε τἢ εἴσω. καὶ λέγει Νέαρχος, ὁπότε ἀπὸ Κυίζων παρέπλεον, ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω ὀφθῆναι ὕδωρ ἄνω ἀναφυσώμενον τῆς θαλάσσης, οἶά περ ἐκ πρηστήρων βία ἀναφερόμενον. ἐκπλαγέντας δὲ σφᾶς πυνθάνεσθαι τών κατηγεομένων τοῦ πλόου, ὅτι εἴη καὶ ἀπ' ὅτου τὸ πάθημα· τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὅτι κήτεα ταῦτα φερόμενα κατὰ τὸν πόντον ἀναφυσά ἐς τὸ ἄνω τὸ ὕδωρ. καὶ τοῖσι ναύτησιν ἐκπλαγεῖσιν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τὰ ἐρετμὰ ἐκπεσεῖν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιὼν παρακαλεῖν τε καὶ θαρσύνειν κτλ.

Nearchus' sang froid and resourcefulness restored the confidence of his men, and his daring head-on approach brought his fleet safely past this extraordinary hazard:  $\check{\epsilon}\nu\theta\epsilon\nu$  κρότον  $\tau\epsilon$   $\check{\epsilon}\pi$ ì  $\tau$  $\hat{\eta}$  παραλόγω σωτηρία γενέσθαι τῶν ναυτέων, καὶ αἶνον ἐς τὸν Νέαρχον τῆς τε τόλμης καὶ τῆς σοφίης. Lucian's company is clearly not cast in a heroic mould: ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν τὸ ὕστατον ἀλλήλους προσειπόντες καὶ περιβαλόντες ἐμένομεν. We might just wonder whether to Lucian's ironic eye the exemplary behaviour of all concerned in the successful execution of the admiral's bold tactic would have seemed a little too good to be true; his zoological fantastication is spiced with a dash of more realistic psychology.

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## 'THE WISE MAN AND THE BOW' IN ARISTIDES QUINTILIANUS

In his note on the allusion to the unnamed wise man and the bow, Andrew Barker, in his recent translation of Aristides, <sup>1</sup> follows the edition of T. J. Mathiesen in seeing a reference to Plato, *Symp*. 187a, where the well-known dictum of Heraclitus about 'the back-turning *harmonia* of the bow or the lyre' is employed to illustrate the reconciliation of opposites. He adds, however, the alternative explanation, 'Bend it (sc. the bow) as you will: it will spring back' emphasising the futility of ignoring an aspect of our natural motivation. Mathiesen himself<sup>2</sup> had referred briefly, but without

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In Greek Musical Writings, ii (Cambridge, 1989), p. 465.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Aristides Quintilianus, On Music (New Haven, 1983), p. 123.

further clarification, to Winnington-Ingram's citation ad loc. of Herodotus 2.173.3 and Phaedrus, Fab. 3.14.10–13, but noting, like R. Schäfke,<sup>3</sup> that Aristides elsewhere calls Plato  $\sigma o \phi o's$  (60.5, 127.13), he concludes 'it seems likely that the Symposium is evoked here, rather than some other passage'.

It is surprising that the two modern translators seem not to have looked more closely at the Phaedrus citation especially, which, overlooked by Meibomius in his *Musici Scriptores*, was long ago quoted as the relevant allusion in A. Jahn's edition of Aristides,<sup>4</sup> who claimed therefore that the *sophos* in question must be Aesop, for in this poem, entitled *de lusu et severitate*, Aesop, being derided for playing with nuts, demonstrates his good sense in occasionally relaxing by displaying an unstrung bow to his detractors:

tum victor sophus: r si tensum habueris,

'cito rumpes arcum, semper si tensum habueris, at si laxaris, quum voles erit utilis.'

The second passage, from Herodotus, is more elaborate, and attributes the analogy with the bow to the Egyptian king Amasis:

τὰ τόξα οἱ ἐκτημένοι, ἐπεὰν μὲν δέωνται χρᾶσθαι, ἐντανύουσι: εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐντεταμένα εἴη, ἐκραγείη ἄν, ὥστε ἐς τὸ δέον οὐκ ἄν ἐχοῖεν αὐτοῖς χρᾶσθαι, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου κατάστασις: εἰ ἐθέλοι κατεσπουδάσθαι αἰεὶ μηδὲ ἐς παιγνίην τὸ μέρος ἑωυτὸν ἀνιέναι, λάθοι ἄν ἤτοι μανεὶς ἢ ὄ γε ἀπόπληκτος γενόμενος.

But further investigation of what is in fact a very common *topos*<sup>5</sup> suggests that the *sophos* whom Aristides may have had in mind was not Aesop, but one of the traditional 'seven wise men' of Greece, Anacharsis, who, as a Scythian, lacked no familiarity with the use of the bow, and of whom a similar anecdote is to be found in the *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 17, p. 11 Sternbach:

ό αὐτὸς (sc. 'Ανάχαρσις) ἀστραγαλίζων<sup>6</sup> καὶ ἐπιτιμηθείς, διότι παίζει, ἔφη το ἄσπερ τὰ τόξα διὰ παντὸς τεταμένα ῥήσσεται, ἐπὰν δὲ ἀνεθῆ, εὕχρηστα γίνεται πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ βίῳ χρείας, οὕτω καὶ ὁ λογισμὸς ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μένων κάμνει.

Such an attribution is supported by the fact that in *Eth. Nic.* 10.1176b33, when Aristotle is discussing the place in life of pure amusement  $(\pi \alpha \iota \delta \iota \acute{\alpha})$ , he concludes that it is only incidentally useful as relaxation, and cites Anacharsis:  $\pi \alpha \iota \acute{\zeta} \epsilon \iota \nu \delta$ ,  $\delta \pi \omega s$   $\sigma \pi o \nu \delta \acute{\alpha} \acute{\zeta} \eta$ ,  $\kappa \alpha \tau$ ,  $A \nu \acute{\alpha} \chi \alpha \rho \sigma \iota \nu$ ,  $\partial \rho \theta \mathring{\omega} s$ ,  $\delta \chi \epsilon \iota \nu$   $\delta \kappa \epsilon \iota$ ,  $\delta \iota \alpha \pi \alpha \iota \sigma \epsilon \iota$ ,  $\delta \iota$   $\delta$ 

To this one might add that Fronto may have had Anacharsis' saying in mind in his de feriis Alsiensibus 4 (p. 229 van den Hout): 'quis arcus perpetuo intenditur? quae fides perpetuo substrictae sunt?' For he liked to compare himself, as a non-Roman immigrant intellectual, to Anacharsis, and in ad matrem Caesaris 3.5 (p. 24) he apologises if he seems to lapse into barbarous linguistic solecisms, in precisely the manner of the sententia of the Scythian sophos which immediately precedes the one already quoted from Gnom. Vat. above (p. 10 Sternbach):  $\delta \alpha \dot{v} \tau \delta s \lambda o i \delta o \rho o \dot{v} \mu \epsilon vos \dot{v} \pi$ 

- <sup>3</sup> Aristeides Quintilianus, *Von der Musik* (Berlin, 1937), p. 258. Aristides uses *sophos* of many named or un-named persons see Winnington-Ingram's index.
  - <sup>4</sup> Aristidis Quintiliani de musica libri III (Berlin, 1882), intro. p. xxiii.
- $^5$  K. Praechter, Hermes 47 (1912), 471ff. suggests it was used by Athenodorus in his  $\pi\epsilon\rho$ ι σπουδής καὶ παιδίας.
- <sup>6</sup> It is odd that, in his 'Dinner of the seven wise men' (Mor. 148c–e), Plutarch introduces, as attending assiduously to Anacharsis, Cleobulina, whose wisdom, and skill in setting riddles, is mentioned ισπερ ισπερ
  - <sup>7</sup> See E. Champlin, Fronto and Antonine Rome (Harvard, 1980), pp. 7, 16, 26.

' Αθηναίων ἐπὶ τῷ σολοικίζειν εἶπεν· ' Ανάχαρσις ' Αθηναίοις σολοικίζει, ' Αθηναίοι δὲ ' Αναχάρσιδι.  $^8$ 

In addition to the attribution of the saying to Anacharsis, and in Herodotus to Amasis, another sixth-century figure, Theano, the female disciple of Pythagoras, is credited with it in the 'sixth letter' (Hercher p. 606):  $\frac{\partial \lambda}{\partial \nu}$  '  $\frac{\partial \lambda}{\partial \nu}$   $\frac{\partial \lambda}{\partial \nu}$  Note, however, that here it is the string of the *lyre* (appropriately for a Pythagorean) which is mentioned, as in the second of Fronto's questions cited above. Elsewhere the bow and lyre are combined, as in the following examples:

Plut. de liberis educandis (Mor. 9c) καὶ γὰρ τὰ τόξα καὶ τὰς λύρας ἀνίεμεν ἵν' ἐπιτεῖναι δυνηθώμεν (he goes on to recommend a combination of ἄνεσις and πόνος).

Id. an seni respublica gerenda sit (Mor. 792c-793b) τόξον μὲν γάρ, ὧς φασιν, ἐπιτεινόμενον ρήγνυται, ψυχὴ δ' ἀνιεμένη...οὐκ ἀφετέον τὴν πρᾶξιν ὥσπερ τινὰ λύραν σύντονον, ἀλλ' ἀνετέον ἐπὶ τὰ κοῦφα καὶ μέτρια καὶ προσωδὰ πρεσβύταις πολιτεύματα μεθαρμοττομένους.9

Dio Chr. fr. 5 al γὰρ ἀνέσεις παρασκευαστικαὶ πόνων εἰσί, καὶ τόξον καὶ λύρα καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἀκμάζει δι' ἀναπαύσεως.

Statius, Silv. 4.4.30–3 'pharetras arcumque retendit Parthus | ... et nostra fatiscit laxaturque chelys.'

Sometimes the relaxing of a rope or string in general is the image employed – Pindar's loosening of the  $\delta \nu \sigma \phi \delta \rho \omega \nu \sigma \chi \sigma \iota \nu \iota \delta \nu \psi \epsilon \rho \iota \mu \nu \sigma \nu \iota \delta \nu$  (fr. 248) is an early example – but probably the bow-string was in mind in Lucian, *Dial. Mer.* 3 (reproduced in Aristaenetus, *Ep.* 2.1)  $\delta \rho \alpha \mu \dot{\eta} \kappa \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha} \tau \dot{\eta} \nu \pi \alpha \rho \sigma \iota \mu \iota \dot{\alpha} \nu^{10} \dot{\alpha} \pi \sigma \rho \rho \rho \dot{\gamma} \xi \omega \mu \epsilon \nu \tau \dot{\alpha} \nu \nu \tau \epsilon \iota \nu \sigma \nu \tau \epsilon s \tau \dot{\delta} \kappa \alpha \lambda \dot{\omega} \delta \iota \sigma \nu$ . Diogenes Laertius 5.40 uses the image in a tribute to the dead Theophrastus (reproduced in *A.P.* 7.110):

οὖκ ἄρα τοῦτο μάταιον ἔπος μερόπων τινὶ λέχθη, ἡήγνυσθαι σοφίης τόξον ἀνιέμενον· δὴ γὰρ καὶ Θεόφραστος ἔως ἐπόνει μὲν ἄπηρος ἦν δέμας, εἶτ' ἀνεθεὶς κάτθανε πηρομελής.

And Gregory Nazianzus (Or. 28, 1237b Migne) elaborates further:

καὶ γὰρ πῶς εἴωθα τοὺς πόνους ἀεὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις διαλύειν ἀνέσεσιν· ἐπεὶ μηδὲ νευρὰ φέρει τὸ σύντονον ἀεί τεινομένη καὶ δεῖται τι μικρὸν τῶν γλυφίδων ἐκλύεσθαι.

The theme recurs here and there in Latin, notably Ovid, Her. 4.89ff. where Phaedra recommends relaxation to the vigorous Hippolytus – 'arcus...si numquam cesses tendere, mollis erit', and is cited in proverbial form, such as 'arcum intensio frangit, animum remissio'. 11

An odd twist is given to the Aesop/Anacharsis tale by the fourth-century Christian writer Johannes Cassianus (*Collationes* 24.21, vol. 49, cols. 1312–15 Migne), whose version makes a huntsman accost, and deride, St John, who is relaxing with his pet

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cf. Anacharsis, *Ep.* 1 (p. 102 Hercher), and other passages cited by Sternbach *ad loc*. For Anacharsis' awareness of his own shortcomings, cf. Luc. *Scyth*. 3–4, and perhaps Himerius, *Or*. 30.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Similar is Plutarch's musical metaphor in *Comp. Lycurg. et Numa* 1 of Lycurgus tightening the lyre strings of over-indulgent Sparta, and Numa loosening the over-stretched ones of Rome.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Cf. the paroemiographers Diogenianus 2.89, Apostolius 3.47, 13.511. Apuleius (*Met.* 2.16) plays on the familiar sexual meaning in the encounter with Fotis: 'arcum meum et ipse vigorate tetendi, et oppido formido ne nervus rigoris nimietate rumpatur.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ps. Sen. *De mor.* 138, Publ. Syr., etc. For later Latin proverbial versions, see Hans Walther, Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters, nos. 1282-6. For English usage cf. J. Lyly, Euphues (1, p. 196 Bond) 'The bow, the more it is bent...the weaker it waxeth.'

partridge ('cum perdicem manibus molliter demulceret'). When the saint ripostes by asking 'Cur non eum (his bow) tensum ubique semper circumfers?' the huntsman refers to the 'rigore per nimietatem continuae tensionis amisso', whereupon John reproaches him for criticising his 'tam parva haec brevisque laxatio'.

But even pagan sage or Christian saint must yield in authority to the archer god himself, for, as Horace says, in recommending moderation to his friend Licinius Murena (Od. 2.10.18–20), 'neque semper arcum tendit Apollo', for sometimes the god relaxes to his cithara ('quondam cithara tacentem suscitat Musam'). It is pleasant to find that in Lucian's dialogue Anacharsis 7, the setting of which is the gymnasium of the Lyceum in Athens, Anacharsis has pointed out to him by Solon a statue of Apollo at rest, leaning on a pillar, bow in hand,  $\mathring{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$   $\mathring{\epsilon}\kappa$   $\kappa\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\sigma\nu$   $\mu\alpha\kappa\rhoo\mathring{\nu}$   $\mathring{a}\nu\alpha\pi\alpha\nu\acute{\nu}\mu\epsilon\nu\nu$ .  $\mathring{a}\nu$ 

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<sup>12</sup> Horace's phrase was so employed by the once-popular Victorian novelist F. E. Smedley in his *Frank Fairlegh* (1850), ch. 52: 'It's a man's duty never to miss an opportunity of recruiting his exhausted and care-worn frame by enjoying a little innocent relaxation: *nec semper tendit Apollo*.'

Another ancient statue of Apollo at Delos represented the god with bow in his left, and the Graces with musical instruments in his right hand (Plut. Mor. 1136a, Paus. 9.35.3, etc.). It is probable enough that the active and relaxed aspects of Apollo were being indicated with the appropriate attributes, but later writers (Callimachus, Philo, Macrobius) liked to give an allegorical ethical interpretation, contrasting his beneficence and capacity for punishment of the unrighteous: see the article by R. Pfeiffer, 'The Image of the Delian Apollo and Apolline Ethics', in J.W.I. 15 (1952), 21–32.