
FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE

*De
Theognide
Megarensi*



*Nietzsche on
Theognis of Megara
– A Bilingual Edition –
Translated by R. M. Kerr*

THE NIETZSCHE CHANNEL

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✦ *editio electronica* ✦



*Sic rerum summa novatur
semper, et inter se mortales mutua vivunt.
augescunt aliae gentes, aliae invuntur,
inque brevi spatio mutantur saecula animantum
et quasi cursores vitae lampada tradiunt.*

- Lucretius -
- *de Rerum Natura*, II 75-9 -

PREFACE

The work presented here is a translation of Friedrich Nietzsche's *Valediktionsarbeit* (‹school exit-thesis›) for the *Landesschule Pforta* in Schulpforta (Saxony-Anhalt) presented on September 7th 1864. It has hitherto largely gone unnoticed, especially in anglophone Nietzsche studies. At the time though, the work helped to establish the reputation of the then twenty year old Nietzsche and considerably facilitated his later academic career. By all accounts, it was a considerable achievement, especially considering when it was written: it entailed an expert knowledge, not just of classical-philological literature, but also of codicology. The recent judgement by JENSEN (2014:99): "It is a piece that, had Nietzsche never written another word, would have assured his place, albeit quite a small one, in the history of German philology" sums the matter up quite eloquently.

Nietzsche later continued his Theognis studies, the subject of his first scholarly article, as a student at Leipzig, in 1867 – to some extent a summary of the present work – a critical review in 1869, as well as quotes in several letters from 1864 on. An adroit summary of Nietzsche's views on Theognis can be found in *KGW* I/3, Sommer 1864 18[4], 469f. (translation taken from NIETZSCHE 1998:133): "Theognis appears as a finely formed nobleman who has fallen on bad times, with the passions of a nobleman such as his time loved, full of fatal hatred toward the upward striving masses, tossed about by a sad fate that wore him down and made him milder in many respects. He is a characteristic image of that old, ingenious somewhat spoiled and no longer firmly rooted blood nobility, placed at the boundary of an old and a new era, a distorted Janus-head, since what is past seems so beautiful and enviable, that which is coming – something that basically has an equal entitlement – seems disgusting and repulsive; a typical head for all those noble figures who represent the aristocracy prior to a popular revolution and who struggle for the existence of the class of nobles as for their individual existence."

Interestingly, the present work demonstrates how many of Nietzsche's later views and preoccupations were already espoused by the adolescent: most noteworthy, the

birth of the young genealogist of morals – the notions of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ are defined in relation to types of individual. Nonetheless, the view of nobility espoused by Nietzsche seems somewhat anachronistic for Theognis and the former would furthermore seem to blame the nobles for their own moral degradation. However, a long scholarly introduction, besides well exceeding the abilities and expertise of the undersigned, seems unwarranted, especially due to the recent publication of the fine volume edited by JENSEN & HEITH, above all the aforementioned contribution. Those with a serious interest in the subject matter will do well to also consult the translations and commentaries of NEGRI (1985) and WOLLEK (2010), which were also occasionally consulted in the preparation of the present work.

The Latin and Greek text is that of the state of the art critical edition (COLLI & MONTINARI 2006). The translation attempts to follow Nietzsche's rather cumbersome Latin quite closely, and claims no literary merits. Naturally, the English rendering is not envisaged as a replacement for the Latin original, which is therefore also presented here. The Greek text of Theognis was also translated by the undersigned, whereby some attempt was made to render these passages as they were understood by Nietzsche. Although the current critical edition of the *Theognidea* (WEST 1989) was consulted, the text used by Nietzsche has been retained. With regard to questions concerning Theognis and the elegies attributed to him, SELLE (2008) should be consulted.

Originally the present volume was intended as a contribution to a more ambitious project. This has since then proven infeasible. The undersigned decided thence to make the translation available in this form, as this often overlooked work is of pivotal interest in the study of Nietzsche, and his thinking, and certainly worthy of a wider audience. Especially in this day and age, in which education has increasingly become a contentless business, where routinely mindless administrators and managers, apotheosised thaumavores, are often hailed as the new *profits* of financialisation, the labour of an admittedly talented teenager but a century and a half ago has shockingly become largely unintelligible. One can only imagine what Theognis and Nietzsche might have made of our current institutions of learning.

It remains for me to thank some friends for their kind assistance in the preparation of this work: Scott Galimore and David Porreca (both of Waterloo ON) were kind enough to read previous drafts and correct numerous inaccuracies. Renato Cristi (also of Waterloo) was a tireless commentator in the early stages of the project. I am furthermore most indebted to “The Nietzsche Channel” which was most gracious in its willingness to host this publication. Naturally, none of the above are culpable for the remaining shortcomings.

Robert Martin Kerr
Erm/Drenthe
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De Theognide Megarensi

- I. De Theognidis et de Megarensium illa ætate rebus.
1. Conversiones reipublicæ Megarensium sexto sæculo adumbrantur.
 2. Theognidis vitæ anni computando explorantur.
 3. Singuli ejus vitæ casus e carminibus ipsius possunt cognosci. 5
 4. Welckerus Theognidis vitam in alium ordinem redigit.
- II. De Theognidis carminibus.
5. De ejus carminum Fortuna et de veterum judiciis.
 6. Recentiorum hominum de Theognidea poesi judicia.
 7. Theognis carminibus ad Cyrnum compositis non inscripsit: *γνωμολογία.*
 8. Hæ elegiæ non sunt compositæ certa et circumscripta vitæ ejus parte. 5
 9. Theognis his elegiis affectus animique sensus exprimit, nunquam vero agit ut præcepta more magistri det.
 10. Item carmina convivalia non sunt ad certam ejus vitæ partem referenda. 10
 11. De quibusdam Theognideæ poeseos artibus.
 12. Argumenta convivalium carminum exponuntur.
 13. De Cyrno et de elegiis ad eum compositis.
- III. Theognidis de deis, de moribus, de rebus publicis opiniones examinantur.
14. Qui factum sit, ut ejus de rebus publicis, de deis, de hominibus arctis vinculis inter se cohærent opiniones?
 15. Quibus in rebus nobilium Græciæ dignitas et auctoritas sit posita. 5
 16. Theognis num in opinionibus etiam in omnium rerum commutatione sibi constiterit?
 17. Quibus ex indiciis conici possit Theognidem senem a suis pristinis judiciis aliquid recessisse? 10

On Theognis of Megara

- I. On the conditions of Theognis and Megara at that time.
1. The revolutions in the city-state of Megara in the sixth century are described.
 2. The age of Theognis is calculated.
 3. Some events from his life can be identified in his poems.
 4. Welcker has described the life of Theognis differently.
- II. On the poems of Theognis.
5. The fate of his poems and the judgement of the Ancients.
 6. The judgement of later critics on Theognis' poetry.
 7. Theognis did not superscript the poems written for Cynus with *maxims*.
 8. The elegies were not written at a certain or particular moment of his life. 5
 9. Through these elegies, Theognis expresses moods and feelings, but he never gives advice in the manner of a teacher.
 10. In the same fashion, the drinking songs can also not be attributed to a specific period of his life. 10
 11. Some techniques of Theognis' poetry.
 12. Traits of the drinking songs are portrayed.
 13. Cynus and the elegies written for him.
- III. Theognis' views about gods, morals and states are investigated.
14. Why is it that his opinions about states, gods and people are closely interconnected?
 15. In what with regard to Greek nobility lie the roots of dignity and respect?
 16. Did Theognis remain true to his beliefs when he redefined all values? 5
 17. From which signs can one determine that the aged Theognis departed from his previous convictions?

Fr. Th. Welcker,¹ qui in quæstionibus Theognideis adhuc suo jure primum obtinet locum, cum princeps carminibus transponendis et in meliorem ordinem digerendis operam dedit, tum diligentissime omnibus veterum testimoniis, sæpe disjectis et discrepantibus, collatis summaque cum sagacitate perquisitis, his ejectis, illis correctis, accuratius et rectius quam priores editores et de genere Theognideæ poeseos et de poetæ temporibus Megarensiumque civitate judicavit. Quas quæstiones ne quis a viro doctissimo jam absolutas credat et eo deductas, ut fere nihil novum adici possit: unum illud monendum est usque ad id temporis certamen philologorum præcipue de ratione critica, quæ ad Theognidem adhibenda sit, non esse compositum, ita ut rectissime Bernhardt² in quæstionibus Theognideis latum patere et examinandi et conjiciendi campum dixerit.

Atque cætera Welckero me assentiri non abnuerim, sed illa duo vereor ut ei possim concedere: unum quod de Theognidis vita e carminibus perspicienda dixit, qua in re nescio an multum certius et rectius possit statui, alterum quod Theognidi magnam partem carminum, quæ hodie ejus nomine ferantur, inprimis omnia carmina convivalia et potoria abjudicanda esse censuit atque omnino genus ejus poeseos esse gnomicum plerumque demonstrare studuit. Præterea nemo, quoad sciam, quanti momenti esset Theognis ad ethicam rationem ejus ætatis cognoscendam, exponere conatus est, quamquam in hac re Welckeri vestigia erant sequenda, qui summopere in his quæstionibus versatus primus de usu verborum ἀγαθός et κακός civili novam rectamque protulit sententiam.

Quare mihi primum tempora Theognidis civitatisque Megarensium statum perscrutari liceat: dein de Theognidis scriptis quærendum est; eorum genuinum nomen, formam, argumentum accuratius opus est examinemus: denique ethicæ rationis ejus ætatis, qua floruerit poeta, ex illius carminibus explorandæ faciam periculum.

Cum vero me vix in litterarum quasi limine versantem pudor quidam deterreat, quominus cum viro præstantissimo

Friedrich Theodore Welcker¹ rightfully takes first place in questions regarding Theognis. He was the first to translate the poems, to order them in a better sequence, especially because he collected many, often scattered and contradictory testimonies. He studied these with great astuteness, discarding some and improving others. He judged more accurately and correctly the style of Theognis' poetry, the times of the poet and the citizens of Megara. Although these questions have been answered by that most learned man, nobody would believe that no new contributions can be made. One need only remember the dispute of philologists concerning the [proper] procedure of [textual] criticism to be applied to Theognis [scil. his works]. This has not been solved, as Bernhardt has rightly pointed out,² and with regard to the problems pertaining to Theognis' work, he noted that it was a field [open] to research and conjecture.

I should not deny that I will generally concur with Welcker, but I fear that there are two points in which I am unable to agree with him. Firstly, with regard to what can be determined about the life of Theognis from his poems -- I do not doubt that it is possible to glean more certain and correct information. Second, Welcker denies the authorship of a large part of Theognis' poems, especially nearly all of the convivial and drinking anthems; he also attempts to show that this type of poetry is generally gnomic. Moreover, no one, to my knowledge, has attempted to demonstrate how important Theognis is for understanding the ethical thinking of his time, although hints of this line of inquiry can be found in Welcker, who, well versed in these questions, was the first to propose a new and correct interpretation concerning the political use of the terms *good* and *bad*.

Therefore firstly the times of Theognis and the condition of the citizenry of Megara are to be investigated; then it will be necessary to examine the form and argument of Theognis' writings; finally, I will attempt to distill the ethical ideas in the period of the poet's *floruit* by means of his poems.

Although a certain fear inhibits me — who is hardly on the threshold of scholarship — from competing with a distinguished

certare eique in pluribus rebus adversari audeam: nihil habere me profiteor, quo me excusem, nisi illud quod ei, qui meum in Theognide studium excitavit, gratias ita referre studeo, ut ejus viam, quam princeps ingressus sit, intento animo sequar et ubi deflectere mihi visa sit, modeste consignem. 50

I De Theognidis et de Megarensium illius ætate rebus.

1. Etiam in Megarensium civitate, ut in fere omnibus Dorium civitatibus, nobiles, penes quos imperium sacrorumque administratio erat, incolas antiquitus in his finibus insedentes et remotos ab urbe et paupertate pressos incultosque tenuerant. Sed paulatim cum Megarensium mercatura magis effloresceret coloniis in uberrimis regionibus conditis, e quibus et opes et luxus ad originem redundarunt: dissensiones inter optumates et plebem exortæ sunt, unde factum est ut Theagenes multitudine adjutus, cujus animos sibi conciliaverat, rerum potiretur, eadem astutia usus, qua fere omnes tyranni usi sunt. Arist. rhet. 1, 2, 19.³ Polit. V, 4, 5.⁴ Si vero quo tempore id factum sit, quærimus, nihil omnino pro certo haberi potest nisi eum tyrannidem exercuisse, cum Cylon Athenis regnum adfectasset.⁵ Neque constat, quo anno ab optumatibus expulsus sit, quamquam id verisimile est factum esse circa ann^o sexcent^o a. C. n. 55 60 65

Cum vero in hoc sextum sæculum major vitæ Theognidis pars inciderit, primum opus est testimonia veterum colligamus, quibus de rerum Megarensium eo tempore statu aliquid adferatur: quæ scilicet pauca et parva sunt. 70

Anno 570 bellum, quod inter Athenienses et Megarenses de insula Salamine exarserat et ancipiti eventu gestum erat, ita finitum est, ut utraque civitas Spartanos arbitros sumerent; qui concilio e quinque viris composito hanc insulam Atheniensibus adtribuerunt, quamquam Megarenses et sanguine eis propiores et simili reipublicæ gerendæ genere cum eis erant conjuncti. 75

man and contradicting him on many points; in my defence, I note that it is my way of expressing gratitude to the person who inspired me to the study of Theognis: by following the path he first took and reporting humbly where, in my opinion, a new direction seems appropriate. 45

I On the conditions of Theognis and the Megarians at that time.

1. Among the citizenry of Megara — as with nearly every community of the Dorians — the power and the administration of the *sacra* was controlled by the nobility who since time immemorial had kept the indigenous inhabitants out of the city by means of oppression and ignorance. Gradually though, due to the colonies founded in fertile regions from which riches and luxuries flowed back to the metropolis, dissension appeared between the optimates and the plebeians. That is what enabled Theagenes to gain power with the help of the multitude whose mind he had won over, whereby he employed that shrewdness which nigh all tyrants make use of (cf. Aristotle *Rhetorics* 1, 2, 19;³ *Politics* 5, 4, 5⁴). If, however, we were to ask ourselves when this happened, nothing is certain except that he established the tyranny after Cylon of Athens had obtained power.⁵ It is also not certain in which year he was expelled by the optimates, although this was probably around 600 BC. 55 60

Since it is in this sixth century that most of Theognis' life transpired, it is first of all necessary to collect the testimonies of the Ancients who provide us with information on the condition of Megara in this period. These, however, are but few and brief. 65

In 570 the war between Athens and Megara over the island of Salamis was kindled and brought to an indecisive end. It was agreed by both cities that Sparta should be chosen as an arbitrator. Sparta, by means of a council of five men, allotted the island to Athens, although the Megarians were more related to Salamis both qua blood and with regard to the administration of public affairs. 70

Anno 559 — quem statuunt Clinton⁶ et Raoul-Rochette⁷ — 80
Megarenses coloniam Heracleam Ponticam⁸ deduxerunt: ubi
cum multa alia ex Dorium institutis, tum phylæ eodem mo-
do, quo erant Megaræ, divisæ videntur demonstrare, id quod
conjecit Plaß de tyrannide I, 84,⁹ post expulsum Theagenem
majorem partem optumatium a popularibus vexatam e fini- 85
bus migrasse et novas sedes quæsisisse. Fortasse hac ratione
aliquamdiu animi sedati sunt, cum plebs tot nobiles e patria
cessisse vidisset.

Summi vero momenti sunt tres loci Plutarchi et Aristotelis
quos describamus opus est. 90

Plut. Quæst. Gr. 18. Μεγαρεῖς Θεαγένη τὸν τύραννον ἐκβαλόν-
τες, ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐσωφρόνησαν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν: εἶτα πολλὴν
κατὰ Πλάτωνα 1 καὶ ἄκρατον αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερίαν τῶν δημαγωγῶν
οἰνοχοούντων, διαφθαρέντες παντάπασι τὰ τ' ἄλλα τοῖς πλουσίοις
ἀσελγῶς προσεφέροντο, καὶ παριόντες εἰς τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν οἱ πένη- 95
τες ἤξιουν ἐστιᾶσθαι καὶ δειπνεῖν πολυτελῶς: εἰ δὲ μὴ τυγχάνοιεν,
πρὸς βίαν καὶ μεθ' ὕβρεως ἐχρῶντο πᾶσι. τέλος δὲ δόγμα θέμε-
νοι, τοὺς τόκους ἀνεπράττοντο παρὰ τῶν δανειστῶν οὓς δεδωκότες
ἐτύγχανον, 'παλιντοκίαν' τὸ γιγνόμενον προσαγορεύσαντες.

Arist. pol. v, 4, 3. Παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐν Μεγάροις κατε- 100
λύθη δημοκρατία: οἱ γὰρ δημαγωγοί, ἵνα χρήματα ἔχωσι δημεύ-
ειν, ἐξέβαλον πολλοὺς τῶν γνωρίμων, ἕως πολλοὺς ἐποίησαν τοὺς
φεύγοντας, οἱ δὲ κατιόντες ἐνίκησαν μαχόμενοι τὸν δῆμον καὶ κα-
τέστησαν τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν. V, 2, 6. Καὶ ἡ Μεγαρέων δημοκρατία
διεφθάρη δι' ἀταξίαν καὶ ἀναρχίαν ἡττηθέντων. 105

IV, 12, 10. Ἡ γὰρ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καφιστᾶσιν ἢ τινές, καὶ ἡ
ἐκ πάντων ἢ ἐκ τινῶν ἀφωρισμένων οἷον ἡ τιμήματι ἢ γένει ἢ ἀρετῇ
ἢ τινι τοιοῦτῳ ἄλλῳ, ὥσπερ ἐν Μεγάροις ἐκ τῶν συγκατελθόντων
καὶ συμμαχεσαμένων πρὸς τὸν δῆμον.

Ex his locis apparet haud multo post Theagenem expul- 110
sum optumatium cum plebejis novum exortum esse certa-
men vel ut accuratius dicam, divitum cum pauperibus, cum
Theagene imperium obtinente multi viderentur divitias asse-

In 559, according to Clinton⁶ and Rochette,⁷ the Megarians founded the colony of Heraclea Pontica.⁸ Here, like in many other Dorian colonial foundations, they divided the phylae as they were in Megara which seems to indicate as Plaß (*Tyrannus* I, 84)⁹ conjectured, that, after the expulsion of Theagenes a large number of the optimates, having been harassed by the populares, emigrated and sought out a new abode. It is possible that for some time thereafter tempers were assuaged because the plebeians saw that so many nobles had left their native land.

Of great importance in this regard are three passages from Plutarch and Aristotle which we must cite here.

Plutarch, *Greek Questions* 18. *After expelling the tyrant, Theagenes, for a short time the Megarians were of sound mind with respect to affairs of the state. Afterward, according to Plato, because the demagogues had enticed them with the taste of liberty, they became entirely corrupt. The poor behaved insolently towards the rich, occupying their houses, demanding to feast sumptuously lest they carry them [scil. the rich] away by force and with insults. Finally, they enacted a law to demand back from lenders the interest which they had already paid, calling it 'return interest.'*

Aristotle, *Politics* V, 4, 3. *Megara's democracy was destroyed in a similar fashion. The demagogues, so as to have money to distribute to the people, kept on expelling many of the notables, until they formed a large body of exiles. These then returned and defeated the people in a battle and founded the oligarchy. V, 2, 6 The democracy of the Megarians was destroyed by disorderliness and anarchy after they [scil. οἱ εὖποροὶ 'the well-to-do'] had been defeated.*

IV, 12. 10. *Either all of the citizens appoint these men [magistrates], or some, and either from each or just from a specific class defined by honour, birth, virtue or some other such factor such as at Megara where only those who had returned from exile and fought together against the people were eligible.*

These passages make it clear that not long after the expulsion of Theagenes, a new war between the optimates and the plebeians broke out – or to be more precise, between the rich and poor, since during the reign of Theagenes many born as plebeians seem to have

cuti esse etiam de plebe nati, contra vero multi nobiles agris
et opibus privati essent. Quo in certamine plebem illam quidem vicisse, sed mox ab hominibus seditiosis corruptam et
115 dissolutam factam esse, ita, ut *παλινοκίαν* instituerent, — qua decretum est, ut quod usuris pernumeratum esset debitoribus redderetur a creditoribus —; ut in domos ingruerent et hospitium postularent; denique ut multos nobiles bonis spoliarent
120 et e finibus ejicerent. Quos diu exulantes tandem in patriam congregatos rediisse et prælio commisso denuo imperium civitatis arripuisse et obtinuisse. Nihil vero statuas de tempore, quo id sit factum: id unum constat anno quingentesimo decimo jam fuisse optumates restitutos, cum hoc anno et posteris Lacedæmonii non impediti sæpius per Isthmum irent, ut Hippiam¹⁰ ex regno, quod usurpaverat, expellerent: quod fieri non potuit, si id temporis penes populares summa rerum fuisset. Optumates autem ab illo anno usque ad bella Persica et proxima tempora perpetuam obtinuerunt dominationem,
130 quamquam ne hoc quidem certis testimoniis affirmari potest. Memoriam vero traditum est a. 468 iterum nobiles exules a plebe factos esse et multitudinis restitutum esse dominatum.

2. In horum temporum spatium, cujus lineas quoad possum adumbrare conatus sum, incidit Theognidis vita, quam
135 si ad hunc rerum ordinem, quem descripsimus, accommodamus, non nulla accuratius definire possumus, quam ex illis paucis veterum testimoniis definiri licuit. Hanc autem vitam non est unde cognoscamus nisi ex paucis Suidæ aliorumque scriptorum locis et imprimis ex ipsius poetæ carminibus. De
140 anno igitur, quo poeta natus sit, habet Suidas:¹¹ Θ. γεγωνῶς ἐν τῇ νθ' Ὀλ. cui, si interpretamur “γεγωνῶς natus,” non est credendum. Est enim in Hieronymi chronico¹² “Ol. 59 Theognis clarus poeta habetur” et chron. Paschal. Ol. 57 Θ. ποιητῆς ἐγνωρίζετο.¹³ Cyrillus¹⁴ contra Julium, p. 13¹⁴ Ol. 58 Θ. ὠνομάζετο. Suidas igitur aut erravit aut vocabulo γεγωνῶς nihil voluit significare nisi “fuit eo tempore” vel “inclaruit.”
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Cum igitur ex locis, quos attuli, pro explorato habendum

become rich whereas many nobles were robbed of their fields and riches. In this war, the plebeians seem to have won, but were soon corrupted and divided by the seditious men, so that they introduced *return interest* which decreed that the interest already paid was to be returned to the debtor by the creditor. They then occupied the houses of the rich and demanded hospitality. Finally, many rich were robbed of their goods and expelled from the area. These, however, returned home after a long exile, rekindled the fight and gained power over the citizenry and held on to it. We can say nothing as to when this happened except that in 510 the optimates were again restored to power because in this year the Lacedaemonians increasingly crossed the Isthmus without hindrance to expel Hippias¹⁰ from the rule he had assumed – which would not have been possible had the populares been in power. The optimates were then continually in power from this year until the Persian Wars and thereafter – although this cannot be ascertained by evidence. It is nonetheless recorded that in 468 the nobles were once again expelled by the plebeians and the rule of the masses was again restored.

2. In the time frame whose lines I have tried to sketch as well as is possible lies Theognis' life, which, should we adhere to this succession of events, we are unable to describe with more accuracy than is permitted by the few testimonies of the Ancients. We cannot learn about this life except through the few passages of the *Suda*, other authors and above all from the works of the poet himself. As to the year in which the poet was born, the *Suda* has¹¹ "*Theognis was present [gegonōs] in the 59th Olympiad*" for which interpreting *gegonōs* as 'born' is not credible. In fact Hieronymus' *Chronicle*¹² notes "Theognis was considered a famous poet in the 59th Olympiad" whilst the *Chron. Paschal.* has for Olympiad 57 *Theognis known as a poet*¹³ and Cyrillus *Contra Iulianum* I p. 13 has for Olympiad 58 *Theognis well-known*.¹⁴ The *Suda* is either mistaken or merely wishes to signify with the word *gegonōs* that "he lived at this time" or "he was famous."

If, from the passages which I have cited, the poet had started to

sit c. Ol. 58 poetam primum inclaruisse, non crediderim id prius esse factum quam vicesimum annum ageret. Neque potest multo post eum annum factum esse, cum Theognis anno 479 admodum senex vixerit. Hac ratione statuimus poetam non multo ante annum vitæ nonagesimum obiisse: quod fortasse non videtur credibile, cum Iones, ut e Mimnermi fragmento¹⁵ conicere licet, raro ultra septuagesimum annum vixisse videantur, Attici vero et fortasse etiam affines Megarenses non ultra octogesimum, id quod Solonis versus adhuc exstantes (Bergk, 20)¹⁶ docent. Quare coacti sumus ut hunc annorum numerum, quem statuimus, aliquid tamquam coarctemus et in angustiores fines cœrceamus.

Examinemus igitur opus est, num vere vixerit poeta a. 479; id vero unice potest concludi ex versibus 773-82, quibus poeta Phœbum implorat, ut ab urbe averruncet Persarum advenientem exercitum, ut populi ineunte vere hecatombas mittant et cantibus ludisque festum dei rite celebrent: sese vero timere discordiam (στάσιν λαοφθόρον) inter Græcos exortam. Quos versus non posse ad alium annum referri Dunccker¹⁷ censet: sed quidni?

Præter hos versus etiam v. 757-768 videntur referendi esse ad bellum Persicum, quibus poeta hilariter et jocose ad bibendum invitatur.

μηδὲν τὸν Μήδων δειδιότες πόλεμον.
νόσφι μεριμνάων εὐφροσύνης διάγειν
τερπομένους, τηλοῦ δὲ κακὰς ἀπὸ κῆρας ἀμῦναι,
γῆρας τ' οὐλόμενον καὶ θανάτοιο τέλος.

Profecto num scripsit hæc poeta instante bello periculosissimo? Tunc erat bibendum? Atque quid suppliciter rogat poeta? Ut dei averruncet senectutem. Id rogat poeta nonagenarius?

Censeo igitur hos versus ad prorsus aliud tempus pertinere, ad Harpagi¹⁸ expeditionis tempus, quam eum suscepisse est verisimile a. 546. Tunc ille terror Græcis injectus est, quem

become famous by the 58th Olympiad, then this is unlikely to have occurred before his twentieth year. In any case, it can not have been much after this year because Theognis was still alive as an old man in 479. For this reason, we can conclude that the poet died shortly before his ninetieth birthday. This might not seem plausible because the Ionians, as can be concluded from the fragment of Mimnermus,¹⁵ seldom surpassed the age of seventy, and the Attic Greeks as well as possibly also the closely related Megarians did not surpass eighty, as the extant verses of Solon teach (Bergk, 20¹⁶). For this reason we are forced to take the number of years which we have determined and somehow shorten them and place them within more narrow limits. 145 150

It is therefore necessary to investigate whether the poet could actually have been alive in 479. This can only be concluded from the verses 773-83 in which the poet implores Phoebus to avert the advancing army of the Persians so that the people could send hecatombs at the beginning of spring and, along with songs and games celebrate an appropriate festival for the god. He himself feared discord (*people-destroying discord*) among the Greeks. Duncker¹⁷ is of the opinion that these verses can only refer to this year and no other. But why not? 155 160

Besides these, verses, 757-68 also appear to refer to the Persian Wars, which the poet merrily and jovially calls to drink: 165

*Not fearing the war of the Medes
Living blissfully without worries
Being merry and far from evil spirits,
Accursed age and ultimate death*

Would the poet really have written such at the beginning of a most dangerous war with the Persians? Would there then have been time to drink? And what does the poet request suppliantly? That the gods postpone old age. Is this what a nonagenarian poet requests?

I am thus of the opinion that these verses refer to a completely different period, namely that of Harpagus' expedition which he in all likelihood undertook in 546.¹⁸ At that time, dread overtook the 5

memorat in loco laudato Theognis et etiam Herodotus notis-
simis verbis; tunc Græcæ urbes in Europa sitæ metuebant, ne
Persæ in occupandis urbibus pergerent; tunc discordiæ inter
gentes exortæ sunt, ad quas referenda est (στάσιν λαοφθόρος); 10
tunc poeta admodum juvenis nihil antiquius habuit, quam ut
pulcra frueretur juventute et ut quam longissime senectus et
mors abessent.

Sic nobis ab annis quos statuimus recedere licet, sed non
ultra annum 484 quo Gelon Syracusarum tyrannus Megaram 15
Hyblæam¹⁹ expugnavit. Est autem apud Suidam: Θ. ἐκ τῶν
ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρέων. Ἔγραψεν ελεγείαν εἰς τοὺς σωθέντας τῶν
Συρακοσίων ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. Quæ verba Müller Dor. II, 509²⁰
ita vult intellecta, ut Megara Hyblæa obsessa dicatur et τῶν 20
Συρακοσίων genitivus subjecti sit; id mihi valde placet, quam-
quam verborum positionem esse inusitatam concedo. Haud
enim recte illud Suidæ de Gelone Syracusas occupante accep-
tum est; quem non vi potitum esse urbe constat, sed a populo
sponte traditam in fidem accepit. Obsessa autem est Megara
(Her. 7, 156²¹ circ. Ol. 74, 2 vel anno 483, 84. Ergo Theognis 25
484 etiam vixit, fortasse etiam postero anno. Statuimus igitur
poetam inclaruisse c. a. 543, fortasse natum esse c. a. 563,
obiisse a. 483 vel paullo postea.

Fuit vero Theognis inter exules optumates, cum ante ex-
ilium acerrime contra populares eorumque instituta luctatus 30
esset. Ipse memorat eo tempore, quo se jam fugere cœpisset
juventus, se paupertate et acerbis maledicentium conviciis
vexatum esse. <1129-32>

Οὔτε γε μὲν πενίης θυμοφθόρου, οὐ μελεδαίνων
οὐτ' ἀνδρῶν ἐχθρῶν, οἳ με λέγουσι κακῶς; 35
Ἄλλ' ἤβην ἐρατὴν ὀλοφύρομαι, ἣ μ' ἐπιλείπει,
κλαίω δ' ἀεγαλέον γῆρας ἐπερχόμενον.

Quamquam his acerbitatibus eo tempore non tam vehemen-
ter affectum eum esse ex sedata voce, qua poeta in his versibus
utitur, conicere possumus, quam eum alio tempore fuis-

Greeks which Theognis in a famous passage and also Herodotus with well-known words memorialise. This was when the Greek cities in Europe feared that the Persians would continue to seize cities – this is when the discord arose among the peoples to which the *people-destroying discord* refers. At this time, the still youthful poet wished for nothing less than to enjoy a pleasant youth and that old age and death be kept as distant as possible. 10

Thus we must work back from the year which we have determined, but not past 484, the year in which Gelon the tyrant of Syracuse conquered Hyblaea.¹⁹ The *Suda* also mentions *Theognis of Megara in Sicily; he wrote an elegy for those rescued during the siege of the Syracusans*. These words were understood by Müller *Dor.* II, 509²⁰ to mean that Megara besieged Hyblaea and that *of the Syracusans* is to be taken as a subjective genitive. This appeals to me very much, yet I must admit that the word-order is somewhat unusual. The passage of the *Suda* about Gelon invading Syracuse is incorrect – it is known that he did not take the city by force, but received it from the people voluntarily. Megara (Herodotus 7, 156)²¹ though was besieged approximately at the time of the Olympiad 74.2 or the year 483/4. Hence, Theognis was still alive in 484, perhaps also in the following year. We can thus determine that the poet became famous in 543, was born possibly in 563 and died in 483 or possibly somewhat later. 15 20 25

Theognis was therefore among the exiled optimates because before the exile he had strongly resisted the populares and their institutions. He himself remembers how at that time he had already tried to flee, being harassed by both poverty and the severe abuses of his slanderers. 30

I worry not about the poverty consuming me <1129-32> 35
Nor of my enemies' evil slander
But youth beloved now fleeting I do mourn
And that grievous age now approaching

We can nonetheless suspect, due to the moderate tone which the poet uses in these verses, that at this time he was not yet as plagued by anguish as at other moments in his life which many

se multa carmina docent. Videntur igitur hi versus in illius certaminis primordiis compositi esse, e quo victus bonisque privatus cessit et exulavit. Id vero unum apparet non ante tricesimum poetæ annum i.e. 533 hoc carmen scriptum esse (ob verba ἤβην ἐρατὴν ἢ μ' ἐπιλείπει). Quare facere non possumus, quin intra a. 530 et 510 Theognidem et exulasse et Siciliam, Eubœam, Lacedæmonem peragrasse et in patriam rediisse statuamus.

Jam restat, ut ea, quæ Theognis de Megarensium civitate et civilibus perturbationibus tradat, concinere doceam cum paucis Plutarchi et Aristotelis testimoniis.

Quod facile est intellectu, si verba inter se comparanda juxta scripta aspexeris.

V. 4, 3 οἱ γὰρ δημαγογοὶ
ἵνα χρέματα ἔχοιεν δημεύειν –

Q. 18 οἱ πένητες - πρὸς
βίαν καὶ μεθ' ὕβρεως ἐχρῶντο
πᾶσι – τέλος δὲ δόγμα θέμενοι
– παλιντοκίαν

Q. 18 ἐσωφρόνησαν – ἄκρατον
δ' αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερίαν τῶν
δημαγωγῶν οἰνοχοούντων
διαφθαρέντες παντάπασι –

οἰκείων κερδέων εἵνεκα
καὶ κράτεος– V. 46

κέρδεα δημοσίῳ σὺν κακῶ
ἐρχόμεν 50

χρέματα ἀρπάζουσι βίῃ
κόσμος δ' ἀπόλωλεν 677

δασμὸς δ' οὐκέτ' ἴσος γίνεται
ἐς τὸ μέσον ἄστοι μὲν γὰρ ἐθ'
οἶδε σαόφρονες - ἡγεμόνες δὲ
41

τετράφαται πολλὴν ἐς κακό-
τητα πεσεῖν.

quib. v. conf. v. 44, 45.

Licet versuum sententiæ sint subobscuræ, nunquam obliviscamur scriptos esse sub dominatione atrocissima, ut poeta indicium uti cogeretur, cum libera vox et oratio terrore tamquam exclusa esset. Atque poeta ipse illud carmen, quo desperatum urbis statum imagine navis periclitantis depingit, ita finit:

ταῦτά μοι ἠνίχθω κεχρησμένα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν

poems demonstrate. These verses then seem to have been written at the beginning of a conflict from which he would depart into exile, vanquished and robbed of personal property. This passage, however, would not seem to have been written before the thirtieth year of the poet, i.e. 533 (on account of the words *But youth beloved now fleeting I do mourn*). Thus we can only conclude that Theognis went into exile between 530 and 510, travelled to Sicily, Euboea and Lacedaemon and then returned home.

I need now only compare what has been transmitted about the citizenship of Megara by Theognis and about the civil wars with some testimonies of Plutarch and Aristotle.

This is easy to understand if one studies the passages to be compared next to one another.

V. 4, 3 *The demagogues in order to have funds to distribute to the people.*

Q. 18 *The poor ... inflicted all with outrageous violence ordained ... return interest.*

Q. 18 *—They came to their senses ... when the demagogues poured them absolute liberty like free wine they became utterly corrupt.*

v. 46 *For the sake of profit and power*

50 *Profits that bring with them public baseness.*

677f. *They snatch with force, order is in ruin, spoils they no ... longer divide equally.*

41f. *The citizens though are used to reason ...*

Their leaders though headed for great destruction.

Comp. these with vv. 44-45

It may well be that the meaning of the verses is unclear. One must though never forget that they were written during an atrocious tyranny so that the poet only insinuates because free speech was made impossible by the reign of terror. The poet himself ends the poem by portraying the desperate condition of the city as if it were a foundering ship [680]:

I speak my oracles in riddles for the good

<681-82>

γινώσκοι δ' ἄν τις καὶ κακός, ἂν σοφὸς ᾖ.

3. Cum igitur tempora, quibus fuit poeta, investigaverim annosque computando definire studuerim, cumque rerum Megarensium statum, quem Theognis carminibus attigit, paucis describerim, accuratius singuli casus, quorum mentio fit in carminibus, inter se connectendi et ad certum ordinem dirigendi sunt: quam rem quamvis gravem a Welckero prætermissam doleo.

Constat igitur Theognidem nobili genere ortum adolescentem oblectationibus vacavisse, cum hac ætate Megarensium nobiles jam ab antiqua morum integritate degenerassent et luxuria mollitiaque quadam correpti essent. Ad hanc juvenilem animi hilaritatem et levitatem spectant

v. 1122 ἦβη καὶ πλούτῳ θυμὸν ἰαινόμενος.

1153 εἶη μοι πλουτοῦντι κακῶν ἀπάτερες μεριμνέων
ζῶειν ἀβλαβέως

567 ἦβη τερπόμενος παίζω

Sed jam ingruebant reipublicæ tempestates neque jam ei licuit securam et jucundam agere vitam. In dies enim præcepta, quibus institutus jam a puero erat, non modo a plebejis illudi, sed etiam ab optumatis negligi observavit. Præsertim cum nobilem sanguinem novorum hominum conjugiiis contaminatum vidisset, summa cum indignatione certamen contra ingruentia reipublicæ mala suscepit et quacunque potuit acerbitate et degeneres nobiles castigavit plebejosque homines flagrantissimo cum odio perstrinxit. Nihil vero magis quandam ejus animi superbiam iramque infregit, quam quod, dummodo vitam servare vellet, ad plebem propius accedere ejusque studiis invitus favere cogebatur. Id unum dumtaxat <constat> eum ut sua bona sibi servaret, cum aliorum opes a popularibus arriperentur, aliquamdiu gratiam plebis aucupari studuisse: quod primum quidem succedere visum est, ut scriberet:

but the bad too will understand if they are prudent

3. I have attempted to investigate the period in which the poet lived and to calculate the years of his life. I have also briefly discussed the condition of the Megarians at the same time, something Theognis touches upon in his poems. Now then, some other events which are mentioned in the poems still need to be joined together and put in a logical sequence — I regret that this important matter was neglected by Welcker. 10

It is therefore certain that Theognis, of noble stock, was exposed in adolescence to pleasure since in this period the Megarian nobles had abandoned the old values and through luxury had become somewhat soft. This youthful gaiety and frivolity is referred to by the verses: 15

1222 *My heart melted with youth and riches ...* 20

1153f. *May I be allowed, aloof of evil cares, to live in wealth, unharmed ...*

567 *I play with delight in youthful prime ...*

Yet the storms were already falling upon the republic and it was no longer possible to lead a secure and agreeable life. He in fact perceived daily how not only the customs in which he had been brought up with since his childhood were ridiculed by the plebeians, but were also being neglected by the optimates. This was especially the case when he saw noble blood being contaminated through marriages with upstarts. He would then take up with indignation the struggle against the badness assailing the republic and by whatsoever means he was able, castigated the degenerate nobles and chastised the plebeians with a burning hatred. In truth, nothing checked his fighting spirit and anger than in order to save his life, he was forced to associate himself with the plebeians and albeit grudgingly support their objectives. One thing is certain, that in order to save his goods — although the goods of others had been robbed by the populares — he took pains for a while to strive after the gratitude of the plebeians, something he seems to have achieved because he writes: 5 10 15

πίστει χρήματ' ὄλεσσα, ἀπιστίη δ' ἐσάωσα
γνώμη δ' ἀργαλή γίνεται ἀμφοτέρων.

tamen eum fefellit, cum adversarii, qui ejus nobilitatis studium specie popularis animi male tectum perspexerunt, ei bona eriperent et ejus vitam in summum periculum vocarent.

ὦ μοι ἐγὼ δειλός: καὶ δὴ κατάχαρμα μὲν ἐχθροῖς

Summa igitur penuria pressus, ab inimicis illusus, molestus suis amicis, immo proditus ab amicis, quod valde queritur, fugere constituit et primum dubitavit, num suam uxorem — si recte video — Argyrin secum duceret et ipsi adolescentulo Cyrno, quem paterno animo diligebat, proposuit, num forte secum itineris et fugæ labores sustinere vellet. Non autem satis apparet, num hi eum secuti sint necne. In Bœ<o>tia vero benigne speravit se exceptum iri ab optumatis Lebadæ urbis, cum nobiles Megarensium a. 559 recordaretur in condenda Heraclea Pontica a Bœ<o>tiis optume adjutos esse. Num vere eo venerit, non adseverare ausus sim. Id vero, quod ipse memorat, certum est eum in Sicilia diu esse versatum <et Megaræ Hyblææ civitate donatum> et Suidæ testimonio, quod jam attulimus, confirmatur et Plat. Legg. I, p. 630,²² qui eum πολίτην τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρέων vocat, unde error priorum Theognidis editorum fluxit, qui statuerent natum esse poetam Megaræ Hyblææ. Sed multis exemplis doceri potest eximios litterarum artiumque laude viros cives coloniarum et originum et fuisse et vocatos esse, veluti Archilochum Parium et Thasium, Protagoram et Hecatæum juniorem Tejos et Abderitas, Terpandrum Bœotium et Lesbium, Mimnermum Colophonium et Smyrnæum.

In Sicilia exilium mediocriter toleravisse se ipse profitetur et si quis cupere velit, quæ sit suarum rerum conditio, nun-

By good faith I lost wealth, by bad faith saved it, <831-32>
The verdict of both is equally bitter.

He was nonetheless mistaken, since his adversaries seeing through the poorly disguised zeal of the nobleman appearing to be popularly-minded, robbed him of his goods and brought his life in great danger.

Oh wretched me — a mockery unto my enemies <1106>

Oppressed by extreme destitution, mocked by his enemies, irksome to his friends who — to his great lament — even betrayed him, he decided to flee. Initially, he doubted whether to take his wife — should I see this correctly — Agyris with him, also proposing to the adolescent Cynus, to whom he bore a fatherly disposition, whether he might not take on with him the exertions of the journey and flight. It does not become sufficiently clear whether they followed him or not. In Boeotia he, however, hoped to be favourably received by the optimates of the city of Lebedea because he remembered that in 559, when the Megarian nobles were founding Heraclea Pontica, they were most optimally aided by the Boeotians. I would not hazard a guess as to whether he actually went there. What he himself recalls is certain, namely that he spent a long while on Sicily (and was given presents there by the citizenry of Megara Hyblaea) which is also confirmed by the testimony of the *Suda* previously cited and by Plato (*Laws* I p. 630)²² who refers to him as a “*citizen of the Megarians on Sicily*.” This is the source from which the error of the first Theognide editors emanates, who state that the poet was born at Megara Hyblaea. It is, however, possible to show with many examples that those distinguished by fame in letters and the arts were known to be citizens of both the colonies as well as of the founding cities, such as Archilochus of both Paros and Thassos, Protagoras and Hectaeus the Younger of both Abdera and Teos, Terpander of both Boeotia and Lesbos, and Mimnermus of both Colophon and Smyrna.

He reported to enduring the Sicilian exile tolerably well. If one would desire to know what his living conditions were, he let it be

tiari jubet:

ὥς εὖ μὲν χαλεπῶς, ὥς χαλεπῶς δὲ μάλ' εὖ.

25

Exilii molestia ea re inprimis videtur deminuta esse, quod exulantes optumates per mutua commercia communi consilio semper id agebant, ut in patriam restituerentur suamque pristinam dignitatem recuperarent. Ex Sicilia in Eubœam Theognis navi advectus esse videtur, cujus insulæ nobiles, quibus erant opibus et luxu, magnifice et splendide exulem exceperunt. Ultimam vero exilii partem Spartæ degit, ut ita dicam, in nobilitatis sede, unde maxime exules sperabant se auxilium contra suos malos cives accepturos esse. Quæ spes eos videtur non fefellisse. Non enim est credibile hos exules sua sola vi, non ab aliis adjutos in patriam irrupisse, plebem vicisse, rerum iterum potitos esse.

5

10

Hæc fere omnia, quæ de ejus vita ante exilium et in exilio peracta explorata habeamus: restat, ut quæ poeta de ultima vitæ parte significaverit, perscrutemur, pauca scilicet neque gravia. In rebus publicis majore moderatione, quam antea versatus est, ita ut ipsa ejus in plebem indignatio et odium videretur consenuisse.

15

Valde quidem doluit asperis calamitatibus, quibus optumates sibi amicissimi et in suam salutem bene meriti duarum urbium profligati sunt, Cerinthi et Megaræ Hyblææ, id quod jam commemoravimus. Ceterum a severis præceptis, quibus suam juventutem aluerat, senex magis magisque recessit, cuius rei certa indicia deprehendere possumus. De morte jam diximus nihil constare: secutam esse verisimile est paulo post a. 484, cum de Megara a Gelone capta audivisset et dolore mæstitiaque consumeretur.

20

25

4. Cum igitur vitam Theognidis paucis adumbraverimus, Welckerum aggrediamur opus est, qui prorsus aliter singulas res disponat novamque rerum seriem connectat. Theognidem

made known:

Good yet hard, also hard but good

<520>

The irksomeness of exile would seem to have been diminished by the fact that the noble exiles were continually striving, through reciprocal trade and common experience, to be restored to their native city and to regain their former rank. From Sicily, Theognis seems to have travelled by boat to Euboea. The nobles of this island, who enjoyed opulence and luxury, received the exiles generously and nobly. The last part of his exile, however, he spent in Sparta among the resident nobility from whom, as it were, the exiles expected to receive the most help against their wicked fellow citizens. They do not seem to have been deceived in this hope. It is really not conceivable that these exiles, by their own might, without the aid of others were able to forcibly return to their native city, defeat the plebeians and again take charge of the political institutions.

This is nearly everything which we can relate with certainty about his life before and during exile. There only remains to be examined what the poet relates about the last part of his life which is neither much nor important. In public affairs, he remained more moderate than previously, so that even his own disdain and hatred against the plebeians seems to have faded.

He suffered intensely from the cruel misfortunes through which the optimates, who had been most friendly to him and most meritorious with regard to his well-being, were done away with in two cities, namely Cerinthus and Megara Hyblaea, which we have already noted. For the rest, as an old man, he continually distanced himself from the austere precepts, about which we have been able to derive certain information, that he had cherished in his youth. We have already said that nothing at present is certain regarding his death. It is most probable that it followed shortly after 484 when he had heard that Megara had been captured by Gelon and he was consumed by grief and sorrow.

4. Now that we have briefly sketched the life of Theognis, we must then address Welcker, who, briefly stated, arranges some events differently and joins them into a new sequence of events. He

enim dicit, ut in libro suo abunde faciat palam, inter exules 30
fuisse optumates et scripsisse eo tempore, quo principatus
eorum post victam pugna plebem restitutus denuo populari
statui cessisset, qui ad Ol. 89, 1 usque teneret. Patrimonium,
si cum reliquorum turba quod valde dubium una regressus 35
[esset,] recepisset poeta, tunc certe ei iterum demptum esse.
Quo dum possessores de plebe gaudere, dum honores man-
dari hominibus a republica antea prohibitis et nobilem adeo
sanguinem victrici factioni sponte concesso connubiorum ju-
re, novorum hominum conjugiiis maculatum videret, indigna-
tionem videri versum fecisse. 40

Quid igitur fit? Nonne res mirum in modum discindun-
tur?

Profecto multæ oriuntur difficultates, quarum gravissu-
mam elegisse sufficiat. A. 510 imperium fuit penes optuma-
tes; post hunc annum paulatim omnia illa mala irrepsisse in 45
republicam Welckerus censet, in quæ acerbissime invectus
est Theognis. At quid fecit poeta ante hunc annum? Nihilne
scripsit? Sane scripsit: ex exilio misit elegias ad Cyrnum v.
1197. Et jam ante exilium 53-60:

Κύρνε πόλις μὲν ἔσθ' ἥδε πόλις, λαοὶ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι, 50
οἱ πρόσθ' οὔτε δίκας ἤδεσαν οὔτε νόμους,
ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ πλευραῖσι δορὰς αἰγῶν κατέτριβον,
ἔζω δ' ὡστ' ἔλαφοι τῆσδ' ἐνεμοντο πόλεος.
καὶ νῦν εἰς' ἀγαθοί, πολυπαῖδη:²³ οἱ δὲ πρὶν ἐσθλοὶ
νῦν δειλοί. τίς κεν ταῦτ' ἀνεχοιτ' ἐσορῶν; 55

Qui versus fieri non potest ut ad has dissensiones civiles,
quas Welcker dicit, referri possint, cum eis plebeji ante has
perturbationes rure pellibus amicti degisse dicantur, urbem
haud minus quam cervi fugientes: quod cum ratione historica
non quadraret quoniam plebeji jam prima reipublicæ conver-
sione in urbem ingruebant et diu se in luxuriam et licentiam 5

says, as he makes unambiguously and abundantly clear in his book, that Theognis was namely among the exiled nobles and wrote at a time during which the optimates, who had been in power after their victory over the plebeians, again had had to retreat from the rule of the populares, until the 89th Olympiad. The poet supposedly recovered his property, if he — which is quite dubious — returned together with the others, whereupon it was certainly taken away from him again. Then, when he saw propertied men from the plebeians enjoying themselves — those who had formerly been disenfranchised from public life being entrusted with honours as well as with noble blood, which after the right of marriage had voluntarily been given to the victorious party, was being defiled by unions with upstarts — his indignation would seem to have been made into verse.

What happened then? Are the events then not torn asunder wondrously?

Certainly, many difficulties arise, of which it is sufficient to single out the most severe. In 510, the optimates were in power — after this year Welcker proposes that all that badness, which so vexed Theognis, gradually crept into the state. But what had the poet done before this year? Had he not written anything? Certainly he had written — from exile he sent elegies to Cyrnus, such as v. 1197. And also before exile he had composed vv. 53-60:

*Cyrnus, though the city's still a city, the inhabitants are others;
 Those who previously had known neither order nor laws,
 But wore out goat skins clothing their sides,
 They dwelt there like deer beyond this city.
 And now, son of Grabbedalot²³, they're the good, those once noble
 Now are servile. Can anyone bear to see such?*

It is not possible that these verses can be taken to refer to the civil uprisings of which Welcker speaks, since the plebeians, allegedly before the disturbances, dwelt in the countryside clothed in hides, having then fled from the city like deer. This does not square with historical reckoning because the plebeians already had forced their way into the city during the first republican uprising and had already for

effundebant; his versibus apparet describi rerum statum, in quo urbs ante exilium Theognidis fuerit. Tunc igitur jam οἱ πρὶν δειλοὶ dignitatem τῶν ἀγαθῶν usurpaverant: tunc Theognidi bona vi erepta sunt:

<346> χρήματ' ἔχουσι βίη
συλήσαντες: ἐγὼ δὲ κύων ἐπέεησα χαράδρην
χειμάθρῳ ποταμῶ πάντ' ἀποσεισάμενος.

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Tunc Theognis summa penuria vexatus illas elegias composuit, quibus *πενίην* vehementissime exsecaretur.

Quid igitur demonstravimus? Eadem, quæ poeta Welckeri quidem sententia post exilium perpessus est, jam ante exilium perpessum esse, ita ut omnes res tamquam iterarentur.

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At qua necessitate coacti sumus, ut tam contorte interpretaremur? Num versus extant, quibus hanc rerum iterationem significare videatur poeta? Non extant, nulla urguet necessitas.

Quamquam non abnuerim cum ea ratione, qua ego vitam poetæ descriperim, non prorsus congruere præter Welckerum eorum, qui omnino vitam poetæ, sive obiter, sive copiosius narraverint, iudicia et rationem. Fere unusquisque eorum in hac illa re suam propriam secutus est viam, quam magis ingeniose, quam acute et ad historicam veritatem accommodate nobis proposuit. Sic K. O. Müller: "Bei einer gewaltsamen Vertheilung des Grundbesitzes war Theognis, der gerade auf einer Seereise abwesend war, des reichen Erbes seiner Väter beraubt worden."²⁴ Sed hæc *ναυτιλίη* (1202), ex quo uno vocabulo fluxit hæc conjectura, est ipsum exilium, quamquam nemo hoc e Mülleri verbis conicere potest.

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Jam restat, ut colligam et summatim repetam, de quibus rebus scriptum sit.

a. 563? Theognis Megaræ natus est.

543? primum poeta inclaruit.

533 certamen contra populares incepit.

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a long time been lavishing upon themselves lust and licentiousness. These verses describe the condition of the state before Theognis' exile. Therefore, at that time, those "once servile" had usurped the dignity of "the good" — that is when the possessions of Theognis were forcibly taken from him:

... my possessions by force <346>
 They've robbed. I, like a dog, did cross the torrent
 Shaking off all from myself in the swollen river.

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It was then, harassed by extreme destitution, that he composed those elegies in which *poverty* was heftily cursed.

What then have we shown? That according to Welcker, what the poet endured after returning from exile, he had already endured before being exiled — as if all events were being repeated.

What compels us to accept this contorted interpretation? Are there perchance any verses in which the poet may be perceived to intimate the repetition of events? Since such verses do not exist, nothing compels us.

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Nonetheless, I do not deny that the method by which I have delineated the life of the poet does not entirely coincide with the judgements and computation — besides those of Welcker — of all who have recounted the life of the poet whether in passing or in detail. Almost every one of them followed their own way in this matter, some more ingenious than shrewd, others more adapted to historical truth than would suggest itself to us. So, for example K. O. Müller: "due to a forcible redistribution of property, Theognis, who happened to be on a sea-voyage, was robbed of his father's rich inheritance."²⁴ But this *sea-voyage* (1202), and from this one word this conjecture originates, is the exile itself, although no one might conclude such from Müller's words.

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What remains is to synthesise and summarily note what is still to be written about.

563? Theognis born at Megara

543? Initial fame as a poet

533 The struggle against the populares begins

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- 530-10 bonisque privatus penuriaque confectus exulavit, versatus est in Sicilia, Eubœæ, Spartæ, cum ceteris exulibus rediit, plebe prælio victa pristinam recuperavit dignitatem. 30
- 506 Cerinthi nobiles a plebe expulsos elegia questus est.
- 484 in Megaram Hyblæam a Gelone captam elegiam composuit.
Haud multo post obiit. -- 35

II De Theognidis scriptis.

5. Utrum veterum, inprimis Xenophontis et Isocratis de Theognidis poesi judicium sequerer an nostratum vestigia in re perquam controversa ingrederer, diu multumque dubitavi. Illos enim ætati ejus propiores nescio an verisimilius sit de eo rectius judicasse, quam nos recentiores viros: quibus non minus 40
obstat, quod eis e misera carminum farragine coniciendum est, non e totis integrisque carminibus, quam illud, quod apud veteres scriptores, ut docuimus, cum de ejus temporibus patriæque conditione, tum de ejus vita manca et rara est memoria. 45

Cum vero nuperrime in quæstionibus Theognideis diutius versatus essem et ipsius Theognidis reliquias identidem perlustrassem, neque illis neque his omnibus in partibus suffragandum esse mihi persuasi.

Ut enim paucis complectamur, quæ veteres diversis antiquitatis temporibus de Theognideæ poeseos genere judicaverint: Isocratis ætas in eo magistrum morum severissimum vidit; in ejus libro *σύγγραμμα περὶ ἀνθρώπων* vel *περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας* (Xen. in Stob. Sermon. 88, p. 499)²⁵ (a. Rand: Platon. cf. leg. I p. 630. Isocrat. ad Nicoclem c. 12²⁶), qui liber jam in puero- 50
rum discentium usum abiit, fortasse ne integer quidem, sed 55

- 530-10 Robbed of his goods and consumed by destitution he went into exile; he abided on Sicily, Euboea and at Sparta. With the other exiles he returned after the plebeians were beaten in combat and recovered his former dignity. 30
- 506 He complained that the nobles of Cerinthos were driven out by the plebeians.
- 484 He composed an elegy about Megara Hyblaea captured by Gelon. 35
- Not long thereafter he passed away.

II On the Writings of Theognis

5. I have long and often been uncertain whether I should specifically follow the judgements of Xenophon and Isocrates, or rather in the footsteps of our more recent scholars in this most controversial matter. I do not know whether those who lived closer to the era of Theognis judged more correctly than those of us who came afterwards. It is no less problematic, that due to the poor hodge-podge arrangement of the poems we must make guesses, though not with the complete and intact poems as did the older writers as we have shown, with regard to not only his era and the condition of his homeland, but also especially regarding his life, memory is defective and incomplete. 40

Because most recently I have meditated upon questions concerning Theognis and have myself gone through what survives of Theognis repeatedly, I have convinced myself that neither one nor the other position is to be supported in all facets. 50

We should briefly consider how the Ancients in different periods of Antiquity judged the poetry of Theognis. In the age of Isocrates, he was seen as a very strict teacher of morality — see his book *Writing on Men* or *On Perfection and Badness* (Xenophon cited by Stobaeus²⁵; and note also Plato, *Laws* 630, Isocrates, *To Nicoles* 2.43²⁶). Theognis' book had already been used to teach boys. Possibly it was no longer intact, but only in excerpts of maxims which 55

sententiarum excerpta, quæ memoriæ mandare discipuli jubebantur (a. Rand: Isocr. ad Nicocl. init. Aeschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 525 Reiske²⁷). Ex qua libri fortuna nescio an omnium veterum iudiciorum, quæ post Xenophontem prolata sint, causæ repetendæ sint. Cum enim pueri litterarum adhuc rudes ut Theognidi operam darent ediscendo coacti essent et ex eo quasi omnis doctrinæ elementa haurire iussi essent: factum est ut Theognidis versus quidem in vulgarem et cotidianum usum abirent et sæpissime in sermone citarentur, id quod nos e veterum scriptis cognovimus, in quibus hic illic aliqua Theognidis sententia laudatur — poetam vero Theognidem, non magistrum fuisse mox obliti esse videntur veteres. Unde recte intellegi possunt Plutarchi verba in aud. poet. c. 2 p. 16,²⁸ qui Theognidis dicit sententias (γνωμολογίας) esse λόγους, qui ut solutam orationem effugiant metro et numero pro vehiculo (ὄχημα) utantur. Accedit quod integra Theognidis carmina paulatim prorsus evanuerunt, cum pueris ex iis nihil utile esse censerent nisi has excerptas sententias: quis vero vir non se indignum habuit iterum ad puerorum rudimenta accedere? Id quod dilucidis verbis dicit Dio I p. 74: ἀφ' ὧν (Θεόγνιδος, Φωκυλίδου) τί ἂν ὠφελήθηνα ιδύναίτο ἀνήρ ἡμῖν ὁμοίος;²⁹

Ex hac carminum fortuna causa est repetenda, cur nobis carmina in miserrima conditione, disjecta et interrupta, mixta cum parodiis aliorumque poetarum versibus tradita sint: Quo vero tempore homo sciolus, qui litteratum egit, versus Theognidis ex aliis scriptoribus et ex illis sententiarum excerptis collectos in unum congererit, de hac re id unum statuam jam Stobæum librum in eandem formam redactum, qua nunc exstaret, manu trivisse: cui, quod a Bergkio accurate doctum est, etiam id addam nullo pacto id esse factum ante Cyrillum (433); hic enim Theognidem fatetur scripsisse χρηστομαθῆ ψιλὰ καὶ κεκομψευμένα ὁποῖά περ ἂν καὶ τίτθαι κορίοις καὶ μὴν καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ φαῖεν ἂν νουθετοῦντες τὰ μειράκια. Quibus ex verbis apparet quantopere ille Theognis quem Cyrillus tanquam nutrimentum infantium censuit, ab hoc Theognide abhorrerit, quem hodie, mixtum cum amatoriiis, potoriis, quin etiam

students were made to memorise (note Isocrates, *To Nicoles*, and Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon* 3.32)²⁷. From the fate of this book, possibly all of the opinions can be derived which were proffered after Xenophon. Because boys, still uncultivated in learning, were given the work of Theognis in order to commit it to memory, so as to derive from it the rudiments of all knowledge, the verses of Theognis achieved common and daily usage and were very often quoted in discussions, as we know from the writings of the Ancients in which an axiom of Theognis is praised here and there — so that it seems that the Ancients soon forgot that Theognis was in reality a poet and not a teacher. From this it is possible to correctly understand the words of Plutarch (*Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat* 2)²⁸ who says that the *dicta* are *propositions* which in order to avoid epistolatory style use metre and rhythm as a *vehicle*. Furthermore, the intact poems of Theognis gradually faded away entirely because it was thought that nothing from these was useful for boys except for the excerpted *dicta* — and truly which man would not find it undignified to return to his earliest schooldays? This is what Dio says quite clearly: “*What is there in them (Theognis, Phocylides) by which a man like you or me could profit?*”²⁹

From this fate of Theognis’ poems one can derive the reason why they have been transmitted to us in a most deplorable condition — dispersed, broken asunder and mixed together with parodistic verses of other poets. I would contend that at the time in which a scholiast who studied literature would have gathered together the verses of Theognis, collected into one volume from other authors and from excerpts of *dicta*, from those efforts Stobaeus would have copied by hand that one book, reduced to the same form which exists today. This has been accurately demonstrated by Bergk, to which I would only add that this could not have been undertaken before Cyril of Alexandria [†444 CE]. The latter states namely that Theognis wrote “*Simple and ingenious anthologies, which nurses show to young girls and tutors to young boys when advising them.*” It becomes clear from these words how greatly this Theognis — which Cyril has deemed baby food — differs from the Theognis who we have today:

obsценis fragmentis, ex rudi et indigesta conflatum farragine habemus.³⁰

Ut igitur, cur a veterum de Theognide judiciis recedendum esse censeam, paucis expromam: nemo, quoad sciam, tempora quibus floreret poeta ejusque vitam perscrutari studuit, nemo legit Theognidem, ut ejus poesi delectaretur, sed plerique ut sententias morales ex eo carperent et ediscerent. Nemo denique operam dedit, ut carmina incorrupta et integra ad posteros transirent: Theognidi vero id contigit, quod Horatius a se deprecatur: Sat. I, 10 An tua demens Vilibus in ludis dictari carmina velis? Non ego. —

6. Priusquam nostris temporibus memoria rerum antiquarum adhiberetur ad Theognidis reliquias recte intelligendas, fieri non potuit quin docti homines perverse de Theognide judicarent: quamquam non tam perverse, quam eis judicandum esset, nisi pudor restitisset et nimia quædam antiquitatis æstimatio quominus clarissimo Græcorum poetæ obtrecent. Unus omnium Goethe ingenue quid sibi ipsi visum sit de Theognide, ingenue hisce verbis profitetur (Goethe, ges. Werke, Band V, 549³¹): So erinnre ich mich ganz wohl, daß wir uns in jüngerer Zeit mit dem Theognis zu wiederholten Malen abgequält und ihm als einem pädagogisch gesinnten, rigorosen Moralisten einigen Vortheil abzugewinnen gesucht, jedoch immer vergebens, deshalb wir ihn denn abermals bei Seite legten. Erschien er uns doch als ein trauriger griechischer Hypochondrist. Denn wie konnte wohl eine Stadt, ein Staat so verderbt sein, daß es den Guten durchaus schlecht, den Schlechten gewiss gut gienge, in dem Grade, daß ein rechtlicher, wohl denkender Mann den Göttern alle Rücksichten auf redliches und tüchtiges Wollen abzuspochen verharrete? Wir schrieben diese widerwärtigen Ansichten der Welt einer eigensinnigen Individualität zu und wendeten unsere Bemü-

a potpourri of amatory and drinking songs, and even obscene fragments all brought together as an unskilled and unordered hodge-podge.³⁰ 95

Therefore, so that I may briefly explain why I am of the opinion that the judgements of the Ancients must be revised: no one to my knowledge has made the effort to investigate the life and times of the poet; no one read Theognis in order to be delighted 100 by his poetry. Rather almost everyone read Theognis to extract and memorise his moral sentences. Lastly, no one made any effort to transmit the poems uncorrupted and intact to following generations. Truly, Theognis has met with what was so deprecated by Horace (*Satyrarum* 1.10: 74-76): “What, would you be such a fool as 105 to be ambitious that your verses should be taught in petty schools? Not in my case.”

6. Prior to our times in which historical records of the ancient world are brought to bear in order properly to understand the remnants of Theognis, it could only be that scholars judged Theognis 110 wrongly — although not as wrongly as they would have had to judge Theognis were it not that a sense of propriety held them back and had not a certain inestimable appreciation of Antiquity prevented them disparaging a very famous Greek poet. It was only Goethe who candidly expressed what he himself saw of value in Theognis with 115 these candid words: (W. Goethe, *Gesammelte Werke* Vol. 5, p. 549):³¹ “I remember very well that we in our youth repeatedly struggled with Theognis and thought him a pedagogically oriented rigorous moralist from whom we sought to procure some benefit without ever succeeding. Therefore we put him aside again and again. He came across to 120 us as a miserable (un-)Greek hypochondriac. For how could a city or yet a state be so depraved that the good ones fared badly and the bad by all accounts fared well, and in such a measure that an upstanding and right-thinking man would insist on denying the benevolent nature of the gods? We attributed these objectionable opinions to an idiosyncratic individualism and turned our attentions reluctantly to his merry 125 and cheerful compatriots.”

hungen unwillig an die heiteren und frohsinnigen seiner Landesgenossen. 125

Sed ipse Goethe egregie, quantopere suam mutaverit sententiam, cum res Megarenses poetæque casus ex bonis historicis cognovisset, his verbis expromit: “Nun aber, durch treffliche Alterthumskenner und durch die neueste Weltgeschichte belehrt, begreifen wir seinen Zustand und wissen den vorzüglichen Mann näher zu kennen und zu beurtheilen. Megara, seine Vaterstadt, durch Altreiche, herkömmlich Adlige regiert und im Laufe seiner Zeit durch Einherrschaft gedemüthigt, dann durch Volksübergewicht zerrüttet. Die Besitzenden, Gesitteten, häuslich und reinlich Gewöhnten werden aufs Schmähhichste öffentlich bedrängt und bis in ihr innerstes Familienbehagen verfolgt, gestört, verwirrt, erniedrigt, beraubt, vernichtet oder vertrieben, und mit dieser Klasse, zu der er sich zählt, leidet Theognis alle möglichen Unbilden. Nun gelangen dessen räthselhaften Worte zum vollsten Verständniß, da uns bekannt wird, daß ein Emigrierter diese Elegien gedichtet und geschrieben. Bekennen wir nur in ähnlichen Fällen, daß wir ein Gedicht wie Dantes Hölle weder denken noch begreifen können, wenn wir nicht stets im Auge behalten, daß ein grosser Geist, ein entschiedenes Talent, ein würdiger Bürger aus einer der bedeutendsten Städte jener Zeit, zusammen mit seinen Gleichgesinnten von der Gegenpartei in den verworrensten Tagen aller Vorzüge und Rechte beraubt ins Elend getrieben worden.” 130 135 140 145 150

Cui iudicio cum in Universum suffragandum esse censeam, non dubito quin in singulis hujus iudicii partibus hoc illud accuratius atque clarius expromi possit: quin etiam error inest in verbis et ille quidem in ipsa re, quod Goethe omnes elegias ab exule poeta compositas esse arbitratur, cum ne major quidem pars earum in exilio scripta sit. Sed facile est intellectu, unde fluxerit hic error: et jam attigimus, quod copiosius explicare et in clariore luce ponere harum erit paginarum. 155

In quatuor igitur locis deinceps explanandis primum versabitur nostra oratio: censeo enim

1. Theognidem suis carminibus ad Cyrnum compositis non inscripsisse *γνωμολογίαν* neque *γνώμας* πρὸς Κύρνον, 160

Yet Goethe himself expresses with the following words just how greatly he changed his opinion once he had learnt from good historians about ancient Megara and the misfortunes of the poet: “Once informed by excellent classicists and by modern historical research, we can better understand his situation and are better able to know the eminent man. Megara, his native city, ruled by the old moneyed, conventionally known as nobles, was, during the course of time, humiliated by monocracy and then shattered by the populist preponderance. The propertied, the cultured, those accustomed to tidy domesticity, were most ignominiously beset in public, and their most intimate familial bliss haunted, disrupted, disturbed, humiliated, robbed, destroyed or driven away — and along with this class, among which he counted himself, Theognis suffered all manner of tribulations. Now his enigmatic words can be understood most completely when one learns that an émigré composed and wrote these elegies. We must then admit that we can neither imagine nor understand a poem such as Dante’s *Inferno* if we do not bear in mind that a great intellect, a decisive talent, a worthy citizen from one of the most important cities of that time, who, together with his like-minded fellows, was robbed of all privileges and rights and driven into penury during those most tumultuous times.”

Although I recommend that, generally speaking, this judgement is to be supported, I do not doubt that in some parts of it, this or that could be expressed more accurately and clearly. Furthermore, Goethe’s words are erroneous in that he believed that all of the elegies were composed by the poet during exile, although not even the greater part of these were written then. Yet it is easy to understand the cause of this error. And thus we touch upon what is to be set forth in greater detail and described more clearly in these pages.

Our discourse will deal with four points to be explained subsequently. I believe that:

1. Theognis did not entitle the poems he composed for Cynrus *Gnomology* nor *Practical Maxims for Cynrus*.

2. Has elegias non esse compositas certa et circumscripta vitæ ejus parte,
3. Immo vero his elegiis poetam in omnibus vitæ ætatibus affectus suos animique sensus expressisse, nunquam autem id egisse, ut præcepta daret magistri loco, 165
4. Item carmina convivalia et potoria non esse ad certam vitæ ejus ætatem referenda.

7. Primum quem dixi locum, quamquam jam Welcker eum propemodum ita expedivit, ut nihil mihi relinqueretur quod adjicerem, tamen a Bernhardyo hisce verbis “überlieferter Titel γνῶμαι πρὸς Κύρνον” perturbatum miror. Si vero quæritur, cur diutius in hac re levissima, quam significasse sufficiat, verser: cum poesin Theognideam non fuisse gnomiam demonstrare conemur, primum inscriptionem solitam, qua vulgo libellus fertur, opus est avellamus, ne quis futilissimo hujus tituli argumento utatur ad demonstrandum, gnomiam esse ejus poesin. In brevi Suidæ ad Th. adnotatione hæc ad Cyrnum elegiæ ter memorantur diversis semper nominibus “γνῶμαι πρὸς Κύρνον, γνωμολογία, παραίνεσις” cujus testimonio nemo dubitabit quin nihil sit adtribuendum, cum sibi non constet et mirum in modum in hoc nomine fluctuet. A Plutarcho³² carmina Theognidea γνωμολογία vocantur, a Stephano Byzantio³³ et Aphthonio³⁴ παραίνεσις. Ac redeundum est ad ea, quæ de Theognideorum fato in hujus capitis initio dixi: his titulis (γνῶμαι, γνωμολογία, παραίνεσις) significantur illa sententiarum excerpta, quæ memoravi. 170
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Antiquissimum de inscriptione controversa testimonium exstat apud Platonem in Menone p. 95: Σ. Θεόγνιν τὸν ποιητὴν οἶσθ' ὅτι ταῦτ λέγει; Μ. ἐν ποίοις ἔπειν; Σ. ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις, et sequuntur versus, qui etiam nunc leguntur.³⁵ 190

De his verbis scrupulum injecit Schneidewin, cum ex interrogatione ἐν ποίοις ἐλεγείοις; et ex responso ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγεί-

2. These elegies were not composed at a specific or defined period in his life.
3. Indeed, in these elegies the poet evinces all phases of his life, his affection and intellect, though this was never done in order that he give precepts in a teacher's stead. 160
4. Similarly, the banquet and drinking anthems are not to be related to a specific moment in his life.

7. With respect to the first point, although Welcker explained it in such a way that there is nothing left for me to say, I am nevertheless surprised that the subject has been thrown into confusion by these words from Bernhardt "traditional title *Practical Maxims for Cyrnus*." If, however, it is asked why I dwell on this trivial matter extendedly — merely mentioning it would have sufficed — my reply is that I wish to demonstrate that the poetry of Theognis was not gnomic, and therefore it is first of all necessary that the title by which the manuscript is transmitted be removed, so that no one will use this worthless title to prove that Theognis' poetry was gnomic. In a short note on Theognis in the *Suda*, the elegies to Cyrnus are mentioned thrice, always by different names: *Practical Maxims for Cyrnus*, *Gnomonology* and *Exhortations*. No one doubts that nothing is to be added to this testimony because it contradicts itself and, in a surprising manner, fluctuates in the title it gives. The poems of Theognis are called *Gnomonologies* by Plutarch³² and *Exhortations* by Stephen of Byzantium³³ and Aphthonius.³⁴ And besides we must return to the things I have said about the fate of the Theognide corpus at the beginning of this chapter — the titles (*Practical maxims*, *Gnomonologies* and *Exhortations*) refer to those excerpts of maxims which I have already mentioned. 170 175 180 185

The oldest testimony to the controversial title is found in Plato's *Meno*: 95d: Socrates "... but Theognis the poet also says, you remember, the very same thing?"; *Meno* "In which poems?"; Socrates "In the elegies." And following this are the verses as they are still read today.³⁵

Schneidewin is somewhat troubled by these words because from the question "In which poems?" and from the answer "In the elegies", 190

οἷς conjiciendum esse diceret Theognidem etiam alius generis carmina præter elegias scripsisse: quod valde dubium, im-
mo vero rejiciendum est, dummodo recte interpretemur: ἐν ποίῳ ἔπειν; in qualibus versibus? (ut Arist. Nub. 638³⁶) vel in qualibus sententiis? (ut Ar. Thesm. 113, Av. 507). Si vero hæc verba eam vim, quam Schneidewin vult, haberent, offenderem in “ἐν ποίῳ ἔπειν; scriberem potius ἐν ποίῳ vel ἐν τίνι ἔπειν”; “in quo poemate”?³⁷ Scilicet non prorsus congruit responsum; sed hæc respondendi ratio est usitatissima in familiari sermone.

Cum igitur Plato, quem integra cognovisse carmina perquam est verisimile, illa ἐλεγεία vocet, non est cur dubitemus, quin hoc nomine ipse Theognis inscripserit sua carmina. Alios vero titulos jam recte vidit Welcker non indices esse libro alicui peculiare, sed varia gnomiæ poeseos vocabula.

8. Progredimur ad alterum locum, quem gravissimum puto, cum in eo plerumque peccatum esse videatur: ita ut ipse verer, ne in hac re controversa peccem.

Goethe — vel Weber, cujus sententiam secutus est — has ad Cynum elegias ab exule poeta compositas esse censet, Welcker ab ætate provento ac laborante inopia, cum ex exilio rediisset, simili modo Bernhardy: Daß Theognis die Gnommen im hohen Alter abfaßte, darf man aus Stellen wie 527 nicht folgern, sondern nur nach dem Ton der geselligen Lieder 1077 ff. 1131 ff.; C. O. Müller post exilium, cum Theognis labores et certamina, quæ multo ante perpressus esset, describeret. En, tanta est inter viros doctissimos de hac re iudicii differentia. Unus omnium optime — Duncker, Gr. hist. — quamquam de Theognide non seorsum agit, videtur in eandem sententiam abire, quam ego valde probo et solam probabilem mihi persuasi: Theognidem per totam vitam facta sensaque singulis ætatibus consignasse et his elegiis mandasse. Quod facere non possum quin ita demonstrem, ut elegiarum fragmenta,

he seems to draw the conclusion that Theognis must also have written poems in other genres besides elegies. This is very doubtful, and on the contrary, it certainly must be rejected if only because “*In which poems?*” must be correctly interpreted as “in which verses” 195 (as in Aristophanes, *Clouds* 638³⁶) or “in which lines” (as in Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 113, *Birds* 507). If these words really had the force which Schneidewin wants, I must take exception to “*In which poems?*” and would rather write “*In which poem?*”³⁷ Certainly this answer is not an exact fit, but this manner of answering is the 200 one most commonly used in familiar speech.

As Plato, who in all likelihood was acquainted with the unmutated poems, refers to the aforementioned as *elegies*, there is no reason why we should doubt that Theognis himself actually entitled his poems with this name. With regard to the other titles, Welcker already correctly saw that they are not titles belonging to some book, but rather variant terms referring to gnomic poetry. 205

8. Let us now move on to the second point, which I consider to be the most important one because it seems that many have erred with regard to it. Thus I myself fear that I fall short in this controversial matter. 210

Goethe, or rather Weber, whose opinion he has followed, believes that the elegies to Cyrnus were composed by the poet during exile. In contrast, Welcker thinks they were written by poet after he had returned from exile, age-worn and poverty-stricken. A similar view is held by Bernhardt: “*That Theognis composed the poems as a very old man cannot be concluded from passages such as 527, but only from the tone of the banquet poems 1077ff. and 1131ff.*” K. O. Müller also thinks that they were written after Theognis’ return from exile because Theognis describes the hardships and struggles that he endured much earlier. There are so many different opinions among scholars in this matter! Only one of these is really sound, namely that of Dunker in his *Greek History*. Although he does not deal with Theognis specifically, he seems to be of the same opinion with which I am very much in agreement with. I am convinced 225 that this is the most probable view, namely that Theognis recorded

quas certa vitæ ætate scriptas esse per se intellegatur, eligam et inter se connexa proponam.

- v. 53-58 ut jam docuimus
183-90 230
1109-14
173-85³⁸ ante exilium conscripti
833-36
1103-4

(elegi sola talia fragmenta, in quibus nomen Cyrni exstat, ne quis dubitet, num vere hæc fragmenta ex illis ad Cyrnum elegiis sint sumpta) 235

- v. 209-10 in exilio conscripti
1197-1202
v. 549-54 post exilium conscripti. 240
805-10
783-88

Maximam harum elegiarum partem his temporibus esse compositam non abnuerim, quibus Theognis acerbissimis calamitatibus afflictus, de sua reipublicæque salute desperans 245
asperis urgentibus doloribus sæpissime in poeseos tanquam portum confugeret: i. e. ante exilium.

9. His quæ modo scripsi jam tertium illud, quod proposui, breviter attigi, quod quidem, si recte video, sponte sequitur, dummodo alterum locum recte explanaverimus. 250

Apud veteres Græcos carmina elegiaca ad modos tibiæ vel etiam ad lyræ canebantur; fuit enim apud illos maxima poeseos cum arte musica conjunctio et necessitudo. Qui usus Theognidis ætate nondum evanuit, cum ejus carmina affec-

his deeds and experiences at separate times throughout his entire life and consigned these as elegies. Yet I cannot maintain this unless I first show that I have selected the fragments of elegies which were self-evidently written at a specific period of his life, and then demonstrate that these elegies are interconnected. 230

v. 53-58 As we have already shown
 183-90
 1109-14
 173-85 235
 text^{superscript}38 written before exile
 833-36
 1103-4

(I have only chosen those remnants in which the name of Cyrnus is attested, so that no one may doubt that these remnants really have been selected from those elegies for Cyrnus). 240

v. 209-10 Written in exile
 1197-1202
 v. 549-54 Written after exile.
 805-10 245
 783-88

I do not deny that the largest part of these elegies were composed during the time in which Theognis was most harshly afflicted by calamities. Despairing for the welfare of both himself and his republic, he very often took refuge from the crushing indignities in poetry as if it were a safe harbour — that is before exile. 250

9. I have briefly touched upon the third point which I proposed in what I have written above. If I see it correctly, then it can only really follow provided that I have explained the second point correctly. 255

In the ancient world, elegiac poems were sung to the music of flutes and also lyres — the ancient Greeks truly saw a very close connexion and bond between poetry and music. In Theognis' time, this custom had not yet disappeared as his songs expressed moods

tus et motus animi exprimerent ideoque cantui essent accom- 255
modata. Habent igitur etiam Theognidis ampliora fragmenta
id sibi proprium, ut ab animo commoto et affectibus incitato
proficiscantur: in plerisque enim his reliquiis, in quibus non
sola sententia moralis inest, expressum videris vel aliquem
dolorem acerbissimum vel iram in plebejos inextinctam vel 260
patriæ exilio ademptæ desiderium vel curam de Cyrni salute
sollicitudinemque. Nunquam vero cognoveris magistrum
severum morosumque qui id unum agit, ut præcepta discipu-
lum doceat. Id quidem non est infitiandum multas res, quas
memoret Theognis, jam in se habere aliquam doctrinam; quin 265
etiam nihil magis ille videtur metuisse, quam ne adulescens
Cyrnus, quem ut filium diligebat, ab optimatum præceptis
vitæquæ genere degeneraret; qua re eum quam gravissime
monet, ne unquam a via, quam semel ingressus sit, abscedat:
sperat per hunc adolescentem vetera nobilitatis instituta, 270
quorum acerrimus est propugnator, propagatum iri neque ab-
surdum nescio an videatur, quod Theognidem cum illo Schil-
leri Posa comparo, qui totus in rerum humanarum studio ver-
satus³⁹ in amico Carolo eum hominem admet, quem aliquan-
do sua consilia speret machinaturum esse: qua re non dubitat 275
suam vitam hisce consiliis huicque amico devovere.

Equidem cum talia in legendo Theognide animo volvere
soleam, nullo pacto gnomiam invenio poesin: quamquam
lubenter unumquemque concedo, qui non historiæ cogni-
tione institutus accedat ad Theognidem, aliquid simile se 280
invenire putaturum esse, ac Salomonis proverbialia, quibuscum
re vera Julianus contulit Theognidea.⁴⁰ Qua re non est
supervacaneum Goethii verba describere, quæ ad hæc,
quæ dixi, pulcerrime pertineant: “Wir sind gewohnt, die
Äußerungen eines Dichters, von welcher Art sie auch sein 285
mögen, ins Allgemeine zu deuten und sie unsern Umständen,
wie es sich eben schicken will, anzupassen. Dadurch erhalten
freilich viele Stellen einen ganz andern Sinn, als in dem
Zusammenhang, woraus sie gerissen; ein Sprichwort des
Terenz nimmt sich im Munde des Alten oder des Knechtes 290

and passions of the soul and for that reason were adapted to singing. 260
 Thus most of the fragments of Theognis share the characteristic that
 they were performed in an agitated spirit and with a roused mood.
 Because in most of these fragments, in which not only moral teach-
 ings are contained, you may see either the most harsh pain and un- 265
 quenchable hatred against the plebeians expressed, or longing for
 the homeland stolen by exile, as well as concern and anxiety for the
 well-being of Cyrnus. You will never, however, perceive a strict and
 pedantic teacher who only aims to teach precepts to his pupil. It in-
 deed cannot be denied that many things to which Theognis relates 270
 have some instructional content; especially since he did not seem
 to fear anything more than that young Cyrnus, whom he loved as a
 son, would depart from the teachings of the optimates and their way
 of life, which is why he warned him most seriously that he should
 never ever depart from the way which he had once embarked upon.
 He hoped that through this youth the old institutions of the nobles, 275
 whose biggest proponent he was, would be preserved. Perhaps it
 will not seem absurd that I compare Theognis with Schiller's Mar-
 quis of Posa, who, wholly versed in the study of human affairs,³⁹
 loved in Don Carlos the man who he hoped would one day realise
 his plans — which is why he did not hesitate to devote his life to 280
 those plans and to that friend.⁴⁰

For my part, when reading Theognis, I can discover nothing
 gnomic in his poetry, although I readily admit that anyone who ap-
 proaches Theognis not having a foundation in the study of history
 will find something apparently similar to the *Proverbs* of Solomon, 285
 with which Julianus indeed did compare Theognis' works.⁴¹ For this
 reason, it is not superfluous to quote the words of Goethe which
 pertain quite well to that what I have said: "*We are used to interpret-*
ing the statements of a poet — regardless of their nature — in a general
fashion and to adapt them to circumstances as they momentarily suit 290
us. Thereby, many passages receive an entirely different meaning than
in the context from which they were taken. A proverb of Terrence takes
on a different meaning in the mouth of an elder or a slave or even on
the page of a family album."

ganz anders aus als auf dem Blatte eines Stammbuchs.”

Qua re longe a Plutarchi iudicio abhorreo, quod nuper Teuffel his verbis approbavit “doch hat schon Plutarch den wesentlich prosaischen Charakter seiner Dichtung richtig erkannt.” Contra, si quid videtur in ejus reliquiis sententiosum — neque paucæ esse videntur solius argumenti sententiosi — ego id doleo quod tales versus, ex connexu et ordine genuino separati, quando et quibus in casibus a Theognide compositi sint, jam non potest perspicere. 295

10. Iam ultima restat quæstio quamvis non levis, quæ de carminibus convivalibus potoriisque agit. Id quidem facillime potest demonstrari hæc carmina diversis temporibus esse conscripta, si exceperis senectutem; e qua jam a natura plerumque exclusa videtur jocosa hilaritas amorisque gaudia. 300

- v. 1119-22 ab adolescente compositi 305
773-82
756-69
1153-54
- v. 1017-22 ab adulto juvene — 310
1129-32
- v. 1087-90 Spartæ ab exule.
879-84

In nullo carmine convivali cum nomen Cyrni, percrebrum in omnibus aliis elegiis, exstet, jam inde concludere possum, id quod Welcker concedit “non locum habuisse in gnomologia illa carmina”: omnino autem poetæ non licuit ad adolescentem, quem optimis præceptis informare voluit, dedicare carmina potoria et amatoria. Sed Welcker ne seorsum quidem hæc carmina edita esse, cum tota fere antiquitas de eis taceret, et Theognis a Dione, scriptore illo peritissimo, ab amatoriorum et convivalium carminum poetis aperte discerneretur, affirmat. Narrat enim Alexandrum rogatum a patre, quid esset quod solum e poetis Homerum legeret, respondisse non omnem poesin regem decere. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ποιήματα ἔγωγε 315 320

For this reason, I completely disagree with the opinion of Plutarch which Teuffel recently endorsed with these words: "*Plutarch already correctly discerned the fundamentally prosaic character of his poetry.*" On the contrary, should something in his fragments appear sententious, and not a few appear to be so, based solely on their content, it pains me that such verses, deprived of their original context and order, their rhyme and the circumstances in which Theognis composed them, can no longer be determined. 295 300

10. Now remains the final though by no account light question which concerns the banquet and drinking songs. It is most easy to demonstrate that these songs were composed at various times with the exception of old age — which due to its nature seems to preclude jestful merriment and amorous delights. 305

- v. 1119-22 Composed by the adolescent
773-82
756-69 310
- v. 1153-54
- v. 1017-22 By the young adult —
1129-32
- v. 1087-90 In Sparta by the exile.
879-84 315

As in none of the banquet songs the name Cynus, which is so frequent in all of the other elegies, is extant, I am thus able to infer what Welcker concedes: "these poems have no place in the *Gnomonology.*" It would have been moreover entirely improper for the poet to dedicate drinking and love anthems to a youth he wanted to instruct with the best precepts. However, Welcker maintains that not even these poems were published separately inasmuch as Antiquity, for the most part, makes no mention of them. Theognis was distinguished by Dio, that most skillful writer in this matter, from the poet of the love and banquet anthems. For Dio relates that Alexander the Great on being asked by his father why it was that he only read the poet Homer, responded that not every poet is suitable for a 320 325

ἡγοῦμαι τὰ μὲν συμποτικὰ αὐτῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐρωτικά [...] ἴσως δέ τινα 325
αὐτῶν καὶ δημοτικὰ λέγοιτ' ἄν, συμβουλευόντα καὶ παραινοῦντα
τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ἰδιώταις, καθάπερ οἶμαι τὰ Φωκυλίδου καὶ Θεόγνι-
δος.⁴¹ Sed etiam hoc iudicium referendum est ad illa excerpta,
quæ sola ex toto Theognide nota erant: ita ut ex his verbis ni-
hil possit conici de convivalium carminum fide. Neque tacet 330
tota antiquitas de his carminibus, cum Athenæus, ut erat an-
tiquarum rerum diligentissimus scrutator, Theognidi adscri-
bat v. 917-22 et v. 1057-60 his verbis usus: ἦν δὲ καὶ Θεόγνις
περὶ ἡδυπάθειαν, ὡς αὐτὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ φησι διὰ τούτων.⁴² Scilicet
nondum tunc erat omnium reliquiarum farrago in hanc for- 335
mam redacta, quia Athenæus si hæcce fragmenta habuisset,
quæ nos habemus, e quibus multa melius probant Theogni-
dem non abhorruisse a voluptatibus, certe his usus fuisset.
Certa quidem argumenta id mihi confitendum est deesse mi-
hi, quibus probem hæc carmina convivalia vere profecta esse 340
a Theognide: sed non est, cur omnino de his dubitemus et
pulcriorem fragmentorum partem abjudicemus, cum res esset
perquam mira, quod carmina hilariora incerti auctoris Theo-
gnidi ipsi, quem habebant severum morum magistrum, ad-
scripta fuissent. Valde igitur etiam Bernhardyum gaudeo fere 345
in eandem sententiam locutum esse II, 457: Außerdem besitzt
der sympotische Theil eine Güte des Vortrags und eine solche
Lebendigkeit, daß man ihn nur den jugendlichen Jahren des
Theognis zutrauen darf. E quibus verbis apparet hoc unum
etiam Bernhardyum hæc carmina Theognidi auctori adtribue- 350
re. — Suo vero jure Welcker ultimam Theognideorum partem
amatorii argumenti ex uno codice ceteris fragmentis additam
adulterinam censuit, quoniam hæc carmina incerti auctoris
e Suidæ verbis “γνώμαι πρὸς Κύρνον τὸν Θεόγνιδος ἐρώμενον”
Theognideis asserta sunt: a qua sententia longe abhorreo. Cf. 355
Welcker C. II, Bernhardy II, 458, C. O. Müller.

11. Iam de Theognideæ poeseos ratione in universum di-
sputavi: pauca addam de artibus, quibus ille usus sit, ut de-

king: “And perhaps some of them [i.e. poets] might be called popular also, in that they do give advice and admonition to the masses and to private citizens, as, for instance, the works of Phocylides and Theognis do.”⁴² But even this judgement must refer to those excerpts which are known from the entirety of the Theognide corpus, so that from these words nothing can be concluded about the trustworthiness of the banquet anthems. Nor is all of Antiquity silent about these songs because Athenaeus, who was a most diligent investigator of ancient matters, attributed to Theognis vv. 917-22 and 157-60 with these words: “Theognis also deals with pleasure, what he himself says about himself with these [words]”.⁴³ Naturally, this means that the hodge-podge of all remnants were not yet rendered in their current form. If Athenaeus had had these fragments which we now have, these would have provided many better arguments that Theognis was not adverse to pleasures and he would certainly have quoted these. Yet, I must confess that I do not have convincing arguments by which I might prove that these banquet anthems were indeed left by Theognis. But such arguments do not exist. This is why generally there is uncertainty with regard to the authorship of the more pleasant fragments. However, it surprises me that the light-hearted poems of some unknown bard were attributed to, of all people, Theognis, that allegedly severe moral teacher. Therefore, I am very pleased that Bernhardt has spoken out in favour of the same view (*Op. cit.* II, 457): “Furthermore, the symposiast part has such an oratory elegance and liveliness that one can only think Theognis capable of such in his youthful years.” It becomes clear from these words that Bernhardt also ascribes these anthems to Theognis. Welcker is entirely correct in considering as not genuine the last part of the Theognide corpus with erotic content because these songs by an unknown author were appended to the other fragments from one manuscript based on the words of the *Suda*: *Maxims for Cyrnus, Theognis’ Lover [eromenos]* — an opinion from which I greatly differ (see Welcker C. II, Bernhardt II, 458, K. O. Müller).

11. I have already discussed the nature of Theognis’ poems in general. I wish briefly to add a few comments on the methodology

monstrem non tam jejunum, tam frigidum, tam aptum ad orationem solutam esse Theognidem, quam veteres et inprimis Plutarchus judicaverint. 360

Primum colligam imagines similiaque e Theognide sumpta.

114 malus portus (plebejus homo)

105 in mare serere (τὸν κακὸν εὖ ποιεῖν)⁴³ 365

657-82 cf. 855 navis periclitans (res publica) — quod simile pulcerrime per singulas partes est expolitum.

83 in una nave (facile omnes bonos complexus sis)

970 navem evitare navem (falsus et subdolos amicus perstringitur) 370

457-60 navis, gubernaculum, ancora portus (feminæ fides)

575 gubernator scopulum vitat (ego inimicos)

— Jure miraris tam crebro poetam usum esse rebus nauticis in suis similibus: cujus rei causa ex florentissima Megarensium mercatura et navigatione repetenda est. 375

56 cervi (rustici quondam)

949 cervus et leo (ipse post reditum)

293-94 leo non semper carne vescitur (nobiles penuria pressi)

1057-60 asinus et mulus (duo stadiodromi) 380

847 bestia, cui calcaria et jugum imponenda sint (plebs)

257 equa loquitur (amica nobili genere)

983 equi per agros frumenti plenos (tam celeriter fugit juvenus)

811 volucris (puella amica) 385

1097 ales ex lacu volitans (Cyrnus plebejum hominem fugiens)

993 lusciniæ (clara voce canere)

347 canis ex torrenti servatur (ipse ex periculis)

602 serpens in sinu (subdolos amicus) 390

537 non crescunt ex cæpis rosæ et hyacinthi (non e plebejo nobilis homo)

— Megarenses clari erant cæparii Schol. Arist. Pac. 245.

which Welcker employed in order to show that Theognis was not so sober, so cold or so dependent on free prose as the Ancients, especially Plutarch, judged.

365

First of all, I will collect concepts and comparisons taken from Theognis:

114 A bad harbour (a plebeian)

105 To sow on the sea (*to do good to the bad*)⁴⁴

657-82, cf. 855 An imperiled ship (the republic) — what is very nicely elaborated throughout the individual parts.

370

83 In a ship (you should easily embrace all good people) 970 A ship avoids a ship (a false and insidious friend is reprimanded)

457-60 Ship, steering-oar, anchor, harbour (the faithfulness of women)

375

575 The helmsman avoids the reef (I, my enemies)

— Certainly one will be quite surprised that the poet often uses nautical allusions in his comparisons. This is due to the most flourishing Megarian mercantile and nautical activity.

380

56 A deer (the peasants, formerly)

949 A deer and a lion (himself after his return)

293-94 A lion does not always eat meat (the nobles oppressed by poverty)

385

1057-60 A donkey and a mule (two competitors)

847 A wild animal on which spurs and a harness are fitted (plebeians)

257 A mare speaks (a girlfriend of noble lineage)

983 A horse crossing land full of grain (so quickly does youth flee)

390

811 A bird (a young girlfriend)

1097 A fowl flying from a lake (Cyrnus, fleeing the plebeians)

993 Nightingale (singing with a clear voice)

347 A dog saving itself from torment (he himself from dangers)

395

602 A snake in one's bosom (an insidious friend)

537 Roses and hyacinths do not grow from onions (from a plebe

Plin. XIX, 5, 30, XX, 9, 40
 — in agris Nisææ multæ rosæ Nicandr. ap. Athenæum XV, 395
 491
 215 polypus (amicus dexter)
 568 lapis et terra (homo sepultus)
 175 monstrum in mare jaciendum (penuria).

Inducuntur a poeta ut personæ:

ἔλπις 1135	πίστις 1137	πλοῦτος 523,1117	400
σωφροσύνη 1138	πόλις (κύει)	πενία 351	
οἶνος 873	γῆ 9	θάλασσα 10	

Loquentes facit Theognis:

hominem plebejum	Aithonem	
dilectam puellam	— equam —	405

Hasce res fabulosas vel personas attingit poeta:

Ulixem 1123	Boream 716	Rhadamanthyn 701
Sisyphum 702	Nestorem 714	Harpyias 715
Centauros 541	Alcathoum, urbis heroa	Castorem Pollucemque.

410

12. Cum igitur paucis artes quasdam exemplis docuerimus, restat ut ad diversa ejus poeseos genera accuratius explicanda transeamus. In quo negotio sie versabimur, ut disse-
 rendi initium a carminibus convivalibus faciamus. 415

Etiam apud Megarensium nobiles æque atque Spartæ systitia antiquitus instituta videntur similesque in eis leges observatæ. 536-66, 309-12, c. Welcker prl. et Grote, hist. of Gr. Ex his nobilium circulis quasi nata est Theognidea elegia: ita ut
 ex illius reliquiis imaginem talium conviviorum animo concipere possimus. Cum convivæ cibo satiati sunt 994-1002, in- 420

a noble will not emerge)

— the Megarians were famous onion traders (Schol. Arist. Pac. 245. Plin. XIX, 5, 30, XX, 9, 40). 400

— on Nice's fields there are many roses (Nicandrus cited by Athenaeus xv, 491).

215 An octopus (a true friend)

568 Stone and earth (a man buried)

175 A monster to be cast into the sea (destitution). 405

The following persons are introduced by the poet:

<i>Hope</i> 1135	<i>Faith</i> 1137	<i>Wealth</i> 523, 1117
<i>Prudence</i> 1138	<i>City (gravid)</i>	<i>Poverty</i> 351
<i>Wine</i> 873	<i>Earth</i> 9	<i>Sea</i> 10

Theognis gives speaking rôles to:

A plebeian	Ulysses
The beloved girl	— A mare — 410

The poet mentions the following mythical stories or persons:

Odysseus 1123	Boreas 716	Rhadamanthus 701
Sisyphus 702	Nestor 714	Harpy 715
Centaur 541	Alcathous, a civic hero	Castor and Pollux [1087] 415

12. Now that we have shown with a few examples Theognis' rhetorical devices, it remains that we go over to a more precise explanation of the various genres of his poetry. We will open the discussion with the banquet anthems. 420

Megarian nobles, just as at Sparta, appear to have had instituted *common meals* ('*syssitia*') long ago, in which similar laws were adhered to (536-66, 309-312; see Welcker, *Prl.* and Grote, *History of Greece*). These noble assemblies seem to have given birth to Theognis' elegies, so that from these remnants we are able to get an idea 425 of the nature of these gatherings. After the table companions had

fundunt pocula, deis libant, inprimis Apollini preces et cantus adhibent 943-44. Dein illa sequitur convivii pars, quam *κῶμον* dicunt, musicis artibus jocosque hilaribus omnino dedita. Singuli autem convivæ deinceps ad modos tibiæ elegias canere solent, in quarum numero præne omnes Theognideæ ponendæ sunt. Videtur autem Theognis talium carminum argumenta — quæ in varias et diversas classes descripseris — de media vita communi et inprimis de medio convivio, ut ita dicam, desumpsisse, cum hæc ad convivarum sensus affectusque movendos essent accommodatissima. Etenim modo Theognis suaviter et urbane cum amicis jocatur, veluti cum eos ad convivia et computationes invitat 1047-48, 997-1002, 879-84, modo hymnos in deos canit vel preces facit

1-4 in Apollinem	5-10 iterum in Apollinem	435
11-14 ad Dianam	15-18 in Musas Charitesque	
337-40, 341-50 ad Jovem	757-68 ad Jovem et Apollinem	
773 ad Apollinem	ad Castorem Pollucemque,	

quorum pulcherrimum est alterum carmen ad Apollinem, quod descripsisse juvabit:

φοῖβε ἀναξ, ὅτε μὲν σε θεὰ τέκε πότνια Λητώ,
 φοίνικος ῥαδινῆς χερσὶν ἐφαψαμένη,
 ἀθανάτων κάλλιστον, ἐπὶ τροχοιδεῖι λίμνῃ,
 πᾶσα μὲν ἐπλήσθη Δῆλος ἀπειρεσίῃ
 ὀδμῆς ἀμβροσίης, ἐγέλασσε δὲ γαῖα πελώρη
 γήθησεν δὲ βαθὺς πόντος ἀλὸς πολιῆς.

Modo vini usum suaviter commendat velut 929 aut omnino cohortatur ad juventutem ingenue fruendam 877, 983-88 vel ejus fugam acerbissime dolet 1017-22, 1129-32. Id vero, quod monui de connexu et necessitate poeseos cum musica, videtur omnino singularem in modum ad Theognidem pertinere, ut non ullum antiquitatis poetam sciam, qui subtilius de mu-

been satiated with food (994-1002), cups were filled, a libation was made to the gods, and prayers and songs were offered especially to Apollo (943-44). This was then followed by the festive part called *carousal*, entirely dedicated to music and cheerful jesting. Some of the participants then were wont to sing elegies accompanied by the flute — among which nearly all of Theognis' elegies are to be counted. It seems that Theognis selected the themes of quite a number of his anthems — which one could divide into various and diverse genres — directly from daily life and especially from the domain of banquetry. This is because I believe they were intended to arouse the sentiments and affections of the banqueters. As a matter of fact, Theognis on occasion jokes pleasantly and politely with his friends as if he were inviting them to a banquet or drinking bout (1047-48, 997-1002, 879-84) — while on other occasions, he sings hymns to the gods or makes supplications:

1-4 To Apollo	5-10 Again to Apollo	
11-14 To Diana	15-18 To the Muses and Charites	
337-40, 341-50 To Zeus	757-68 To Zeus and Apollo	
773 To Apollo	(1087) To Castor and Pollux	445

Of these, the most beautiful is the second song to Apollo which will be helpful to have quoted here [vv. 5-10]:

*Oh lord Phoebus, when divine Leto bore you,
Her slender hands clutching an oasis' palm,
To be the most fair of the immortals,
Limitless Delos' entirety was filled with
Ambrosia's scent — monstrous earth laughed,
The grey ocean's saline depth rejoiced.*

On yet other occasions, he recommends the measured use of wine as in 929; on others, he outrightly exhorts the full enjoyment of youth (877, 983-88) or he most bitterly laments its flight (1017-22, 1129-32). However, what I have already pointed out concerning the connexion and relationship of poetry with music seems to apply to Theognis in a quite singular fashion, inasmuch as I do not know of another poet

sicæ effectu scripserit. Unde factum est, ut haud minima con-
vivalium carminum pars in laudanda musica versata miram
conjungeret suavitatem et dulcedinem cum sententiarum vi
et fervore. Veluti cum Orcum describit et in eo se musicam
desideraturum maxime dolet 973-78. 531-32. 533-34. 944. 455

Ad certamen inter convivas crebro exoriens referendi
sunt v. 406-7,⁴⁴ 993-996, 1087-90. 460

In conviviis erant usitatissima scoliorum et scirporum
genera, quæ quoque Theognidem tractasse documento sunt
255-56

κάλλιστον τὸ δικαιοτάτον, λῶστον δ' ὑγιαίνειν,
πρᾶγμα δὲ τερπνότατον τοῦ τις ἐρᾷ τὸ τυχεῖν. 465

et 1229-30 ab Athenæo servati

ἤδη γάρ με κέκληκε θαλάσσιος οἴκαδε νεκρὸς
τεθνηκῶς ζῶν φθεγγόμενος στόματι.

Etiam in aliis versibus scirpum latere veluti 1209, 949-54
sibi videntur investigasse docti viri: quamquam non est, quin
hos versus simplici modo explicemus. 470

Præter has elegias, quarum argumenta in communi
omnium convivorum natura versantur, Theognis etiam
elegias ad certos casus eventusque composuit, in quarum
præstantissimis fragmentis rem tractat amatoriam. Adamavit
enim puellam, cujus parentes non ei, sed plebejo homini
favebant: videntur igitur in eorum nobilium numero fuisse,
quorum animum degenerantem et solis opibus inhiantem
acerbe Theognis perstrinxit. Nihilosecius puella nobilem
virum quamvis pauperem prætulit et cum eo, quando aquam
e fonte hauriebat, convenisse mihi videtur. Tum vero 475 480

ἔνθα μέσσην περὶ παιῖδα βαλὼν ἀγκῶν' ἐφίλησα 265-66
δειρῆν, ἣ δὲ τέρεν φθέγγετ' ἀπὸ στόματος.

In hac elegia amatoria sæpius puellam loquentem facit:

of Antiquity who has written so subtly about the purpose of music. This is why a not inconsiderable part of the banquet songs which deal with the praise of music juxtapose a marvellous sweetness and delightfulness together with an emotional power and passion. So, for example, when he describes the Underworld, he regrets most of all that he will miss music there (973-78, 531-32, 533-34, 944). 465

Verses 406-407,⁴⁵ 993-96, 1078-90 must refer to the contests that arise frequently among banqueters.

At banquets, *Trinklieder* and riddles were most common, and it is recorded that Theognis also performed these: 470

*Most beautiful is righteousness, most desirable is health <255-56>
Though the thing most pleasant is finding one's true love.*

And in the verses 1229-30 preserved by Athenaeus:

*For I have been called home by a corpse from the sea,
Who though dead, croaks with a mouth quite vital.* 475

Riddles were also hidden in other verses, such as 1209, 949-54, and although they seem to have been investigated by scholars — this should not prevent us from proffering here a simple explanation of these verses.

Besides these elegies, whose common theme deals with the general nature of banquets, Theognis also composed elegies for specific occasions and events, the best of these fragments touch upon affairs of the heart. He loved a girl deeply, whose parents though favoured not him, but rather a plebeian. They seem to have belonged to those nobles who were so degenerate, lusting only after wealth, which Theognis so abhorred. Nonetheless, the girl preferred the noble though a pauper and, as it seems to me, she came together with him as if she had drawn water from a spring. Thus: 480 485

*[At the spring] I embrace the girl and kiss her neck <265-66>
Her lips softly murmuring.* 490

In these amatory elegies, he often lets the girl speak:

ἵππος ἐγὼ καλὴ καὶ ἀεθλίη, ἀλλὰ κάκιστον ἄνδρα φέρω, καὶ μοι τοῦτ' ἀνηρότατον. πολλάκι δ' ἠμέλλησα διαρρήξασα χαλινὸν φεύγεν, ἀπωσαμένη τὸν κακὸν ἠνίοχον. ἐχθαίρω κακὸν ἄνδρα, καλυψαμένη δὲ πάρεμι σμικρῆς ὄρνιθος κοῦφον ἔχουσα νόον.	257-60	485
οἱ με φίλοι προδιδοῦσι καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσί τι δοῦναι ἀνδρῶν φαινομένων: ἀλλ' ἐγὼ αὐτομάτη ἐσπεριή τ' ἔξιμι καὶ ὀρθρῆ αὖτις ἔσιμι, ἦμος ἀλεκτρούων φθόγγος ἐγειρομένων.	579-80	490
	861-64	

Eandem puellam nescio an postea in matrimonium duxerit: laudat quidem matrimonium cum nobili muliere initum. Fortasse ei nomen Argyridis erat. 495

οὐδέν, Κύρην' ἀγαθῆς γλυκερώτερόν ἐστι γυναικός: μάρτυς ἐγὼ, σὺ δ' ἐμοὶ γίγνου ἀληθοσύνης. μή μ' ἀφελῶς παίζουσα φίλους δένναζε τοκῆας, Ἄργυρι. σοὶ μὲν γὰρ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἔπι: ἡμῖν δ' ἄλλα μὲν ἐστι, γύναι, κακὰ πόλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ γῆς φεύγομεν, ἀργαλή δ' οὐκ ἔπι δουλοσύνη, οὐδ' ἡμᾶς περναῖσι: πόλις γε μὲν ἐστι καὶ ἡμῖν καλὴ Ληθαίῳ κεκλιμένη πεδίῳ.	1225-26	500
		505

Præter hanc elegiam scripsit Theognis ante exilium dominatione plebis depressus elegiam ad Simonidem, quam jam commiseramus, 667-82 eo tempore, quo statum reipublicæ tecte significare et imaginibus circumscribere licuit.

βοῦς μοι ἐπὶ γλώσση κρατερῶ ποδὶ λάξ ἐπιβαίνων ἴσχει κωτίλλειν καίπερ ἐπιστάμενον.		510
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Exul Theognis ad Clearistum scripsit, qui ad eum penuria laborans venit et ab eo benigne exceptus est, 511-22. Alii exuli mare ingressuro omnia fausta precatur 691-92.

A fair prize foal am I, but most repugnant <257-60>
Is my jock - this upsets me:
Often I have discarded my bit,
Thrown off my vile rider and fled. 495
(She) I detest a bad man, veil myself when I meet one <579-80>
Keeping, like a little bird, my wits nimble.
My friends forsake me and give nothing <861-64>
When men come. Hence I keep going out
Evenings and return in the morn, 500
When the cocks begin to crow.

I do not know if he later married the same girl — although does praise a marriage entered into with a noble woman. Possibly her name was Argyris.

Nothing, Cyrnus, is more dear than a good wife: <1225-26> 505
I am the living proof, as you are mine.
Don't ridicule my lineage so brazenly <1211-16>
Argyris! For one day you will be a slave.
Although we - woman! - have been abused since
Exile, vile slavery hasn't been our lot: 510
Our likes are not sold - We at least have a city,
Yonder on the plains of Oblivion.

Besides this elegy, Theognis wrote one for Simonides before he went into exile, whilst under pressure from the tyranny of the plebeians which we have already noted (667-82). This was a time in which one could only make known the condition of the republic covertly and describe it with similes. 515

A bull that stomps its stout hoof on my tongue <815-16>
Keeps me from prattling what I know.

As an exile, Theognis wrote to Clearistus, who being afflicted by destitution, came and was received benevolently by him (511-12). He wished another émigré, who was about to embark on a sea- 520

Democlem monet, ut paupertatem modice ferat, 923-30. 515
Omnino videntur exules optumates ad vitæ mollitiam luxum-
que adsueti gravius tulisse opum angustias exiliique acerbi-
tates.

Δημῶναξ, σοὶ πολλὰ φέγειν βαρῦ: οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστη
τοῦθ' ἔρδειν ὅτι σοι μὴ καταθύμιον ἦ. 520

597-98, 599-602 in amicos infideles invehitur, quorum ani-
mum subdolum verisimile est exulem expertum esse.

Post exilium, ut jam diximus, nobiles Cerinthis a plebe vic-
tos elegia deploravit, cujus quatuor exstant versus 891-94.

Homo, aliquando popularis, post nobilium reditum in 525
Theognidis gratiam irrepere studuit, quem acerbè rejecit.
453-56.

Quid significant v. 1209-10, adhuc a nullo interprete est
explanatum.

13. Denique, quod attinet ad elegias Cyrno dedicatas, ad 530
quas nunc progredimur, non est dubium, quin poeta, cum sin-
gulas scriberet, nondum in mente habuerit, ut has collectas et
in ordinem redactas postea aliquando ederet: id certo factum
est: etenim versus extant (19 ss.), quibus Theognis se tam-
quam sigillum suis carminibus imprimere profiteatur, quo fa- 535
cile discernantur ab adulterinis. Accedit quod e Xenophontis
ap. Stob., verbis conjiciendum est hos versus initium elegia-
rum fecisse itaque tamquam titulum esse in fronte totius libri
positum. Quos versus a sene Theognide compositos et carmi-
nibus cum institueret ea in lucem proferre additos crediderim; 540
præsertim cum 1) se σοφιζόμενον vocet, id quod solus senex
sine arrogantiâ dicere debuit. Dein 2) non est dubium, quin
nullo pacto adulescens scribere potuerit: πάντα κατ' ἀνθρώ-
πους ὄνομαστος ἀστοῖσιν δὴ οὔπω πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν δύναμαι. Laudem
poeticæ virtutis non est verisimile jam ante exilium eum tota 545
Græcia assecutum esse: accedit, quod illud οὔπω nondum eum

voyage, good luck.

He advises Democles to bear poverty with dignity (923-30). Seemingly the exiled optimates, accustomed to a gentle and luxurious life, endured the shortage of resources and the harshness of exile only with difficulty. 525

*'Tis very hard for you, Demonax, to bear a burden - <1085-86>
Accustomed as you are to doing just what you want.*

Verses 597-98, 599-602 are inveighed against unfaithful friends whose insidiousness was apparently discovered whilst in exile. 530

After exile, as we have already noted, an elegy of which four verses survive (891-94), bemoans the nobles of Cerinthus who were driven out by the plebeians.

After the return of the nobles, Theognis rejected a man harshly who, formerly a commoner, had attempted to creep back into his favour (453-56). 535

What verses 1209-10 mean has hitherto not been explained by any commentator.

13. Lastly, regarding the elegies dedicated to Cyrnus, to which we now proceed, it cannot be doubted that when he wrote each of them, he did not yet have any intention to publish these in the form which they were later ordered and collected. This is certainly what happened, since verses survive in which Theognis makes known that he, as it were, put a seal on his poems so that they could easily be distinguished from counterfeits. In addition, it can be concluded from the words of Xenophon (cited by Stobaeus) that these verses formed the beginning of the elegies and thus seemingly, became the title on the cover of the complete book. I believe that these verses were composed by the elderly Theognis and that on deciding to publish, he prepended these to his poems, namely because 1) he calls himself a "*sophisticated reasoner*", something which only an old man can say without being arrogant; 2) Undoubtedly a young man would under no circumstances write "*famous to all men, although I have not been able to please all of my fellow-citizens*" (22-24). It is unlikely that he had already achieved fame throughout Greece 540 545 550 555

sibi et optumates et populares conciliasse significat, quod de-
mum post exilium senex quæsivit.

Priusquam autem argumenta, in quibus hæ elegiæ ver-
sentur, deinceps complectar, de Cyrni Theognidisque consue- 550
tudine pauca dicenda sunt. Welcker⁴⁵ quidem Cyrni allocu-
tionem ad solam libri formam pertinere dicit, cum Theognis
Κύρνε non proprium, ut videatur, nomen, sed vetus appella-
tivum, quo ipso fictio prodatur, frequentet. Ac profecto qui
apud lyricos quoque poetas obtineret mos, ut amico blande 555
compellando speciem quandam rei non licetæ, sed veræ effi-
cerent, qua maxime moveretur affectus vel quo vellent animo
sensa sua excipi significarent, quasi non alienissimo cuique,
sed amicis tantum penetralia pectoris aperientes, eum gno-
micæ poesi magis etiam convenisse. Mitigato enim per pa- 560
ternæ benevolentiae significationem præceptorum severitate
facilius illa se in juvenum animos insinuare.

Ab hac sententia quam longissime abhorreo, cum nihil
minus ad hanc imaginem, quam nobis de Theognide infor-
maverimus, aptum sit, quam illud Welckeri. Non erat præ- 565
ceptorum magister: non finxit personam, quam blande com-
pellaret, ut hoc modo præcepta facilius se in adolescentium
animos insinuarent: omnino non est habendus in gnomico-
rum poetarum numero: id quod jam demonstravimus. Contra
multa sunt illius interioris, quam dixi, consuetudinis iudicia. 570
Quod enim Theognis modo patris, modo fratris, modo amici
affectum erga Cyrnum hic illic profiteri videtur, id referen-
dum est ad diversas utriusque vitarum ætates, quoniam ali-
quando fit, ut ei, qui alter consulentis patris, alter adolescentis
partes tamquam egerunt, seniores magis magisque hanc æta- 575
tis differentiam obliviscantur et amicitia inter se conjuncti
paulatim tamquam annorum intervalla videantur coarctare.
Cyrnus igitur erat, ut recentiores editores Welckero excep-
to consentiunt, Polypai filius Πολυπαΐδης; Welcker autem no-
men proprium et patronymicum et in deorum invocationibus 580

for his poetical abilities before he went into exile. In addition, that *not yet* indicates that he had reconciled with the optimates and the populares, something which he only sought as an old man after returning from exile.

Before, however, I explain in what follows, the subjects dealt with by these elegies, something must be said about the relationship of Cynrus and Theognis. Welcker,⁴⁶ for instance, says that Cynrus is just a figure of speech which only has meaning in relation to the form of the book. It seems to him that Theognis does not use *Cynrus* as a given name, but rather as an old epithet by which this fiction once having been made, perpetuates itself. And Welcker even says there was in fact a custom among lyrical poets to use such epithets in order to make their point seem more real when addressing a young friend, so as to effect the maximum emotional impact that only the addressee, and not any stranger, would understand — something which would be more suited to gnomic poetry. In this manner, the severity of precepts is softened by the import of paternal kindness, so as to penetrate more easily into the minds of youths.

I completely disagree with this opinion because nothing fits less with the depiction of Theognis we have presented here than that of Welcker. Theognis was not a teacher of precepts, he does not invent a character whom he would flatteringly address so that, in this fashion, precepts would penetrate more easily into youthful minds. He is not at all to be numbered among the gnomic poets as we have already shown. On the contrary, there is much in his character which I have described as judiciousness. For Theognis, at one moment, seems to have disposed to Cynrus as a father. While at another, as a brother or as a friend, which seems to be due to the differing ages of both since, so to speak, whereas once one of them played the rôle of the counselling father and the other that of the adolescent, as they advanced in years the age difference increasingly was forgotten: they were joined together in friendship as gradually, one might say, the dissimilitude of years seemed to narrow. Cynrus was therefore, as all recent commentators, with the exception of Welcker, agree, the son of Polypaus (*Polypaides*). Welcker, however, says that the given name and the patronymic

et in hominum alloquiis conjunctum dicit inveniri ut Γλαῦκε
 Λεπτίνεω πάι, Ἐρασμονίδη Χαρίλαε apud Archilochum, Γλαῦκ'
 Ἐπικυδείδῃ in oraculo apud Herod. VI, 86 et aliis locis. Id qui-
 dem fieri potest, non opus est, quod ex multis Homeri locis,
 Θυδείδῃ Il. E. 18, 134, 303 et sexcenties, Λιγυστιάδῃ Solon. Diog. 585
 Lært. 1, 66 intelligas. Primus demonstravit Schneidewin Πο-
 λυπαΐδην esse patronymicum Cyrni (del. Lyr. Græc. prol. ad
 Theog.). Fortasse etiam hoc non est omittendum, quod Theog-
 nis lusu verborum usus Cynnum admonet, ut πολύπου ὀργήν
 habeat, in quibus verbis est nominis significatio Πολύπαου vel 590
 Πόλυπου.

Cynnum vero in nobilium circulis perquam fuisse dilec-
 tum et carum docent v. 655-6 σύν τοι, Κύρνε, παθόντι κακῶς
 ἀνιώμεθα πάντες.

Adulescens videtur aliquamdiu dubitasse, num se Theo- 595
 gnidi ascisceret, ita ut ille nesciret, quid sibi esset faciendum,
 et miraretur, cur Cynus non ingenue, quæ sentiret, profite-
 retur.

μή μ' ἔπεσιν μὲν στέργε νόον δ' ἔχε καὶ φρένας ἄλλη,
 εἴ με φιλεῖς καὶ σοι πιστὸς ἔνεστι νόος, 600
 ἀλλὰ φίλει καθαρὸν θέμενος νόον, ἢ μ' ἀποειπῶν
 ἔχθαιρ' ἀμφοδίην νεῖκος ἀειράμενος.
 ἀλλά τοι ἀλλότριον κῆδος ἐφημέριον.
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὀλίγησ παρὰ σεῦ οὐ τυγχάνω αἰδοῦς,
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ μικρὸν παῖδα λόγοις μ' ἀπατᾶς. 605

Cum ingruissent rei publicæ tempestates, eum identidem
 admonuit, ut mediam inter partes viam sequeretur 331-32,
 219-20, neve gravius ferret rerum iniquitates. Sed ipse eo tem-
 pore tantum abest ut ea moderatione et temperantia in rebus
 publicis usus sit, ut in dies vehementissima ira incitatus et 610
 affectibus jactatus ad ipsum Cynnum elegias mitteret, quem
 sedare voluit, quibus odium in plebem inexstinctum, inimi-
 citias adversus degenerantes nobiles gravissimas, despectum

are to be found together in invocations to gods and exhortations to men like *Glaucus, the son of Leptines*, *Charilaus, the son of Erasmon* mentioned by Archilochus and *Glaucus, the son of Epiccydes* in the oracle cited by Herodotus (vi.86) and elsewhere. This is certainly possible, though by no means mandatory, as is clear from many passages in Homer: [Diomedes who is frequently known by the patronymic] *Tydides* (*Iliad* 5.18,134, 303 [et passim]) and *Ligyastades* (i.e. Mimnermus) cited by Solon (quoted by Diogenes Laërtius 1.66). Schneidewin (*Delectus poesis græcorum* (Göttingen 1838) Vol. I, 50) was the first person to show that *Polypaides* is the patronymic of Cynrus. Besides, one probably must not disregard that Theognis cautions Cynrus in jest that he must have the *polypoid disposition* — these words intended either in the meaning *many-footed* or *octopus*.

That Cynrus in fact did very often frequent in noble circles and was beloved and dear is shown by the verses 655-66: “*We are all sorry for your grief, Cynrus ...*”

The teenager seems for a while to have been in doubt whether he should associate himself with Theognis, so that the latter did not know what he should do and wondered why Cynrus did not frankly make known what he felt:

Don't say you love me, while your mind roams asunder, <87-90>
If you really love me, then only with all your heart,
Either love me wholeheartedly, or declare me
Your disdain and then let's fight it out.
Another's care is fleeting. <656>
Yet you could care less about me, disrespectful, <253-54>
You rather cheat me like a small child with words.

When the storms against the republic erupted, Theognis repeatedly warned Cynrus that he should follow the middle path between the parties (331-32, 219-20) and the adversities of the period not suffer with more severity than necessary. Yet at the same time, too much was amiss for Theognis to be able to exercise moderation and discretion in public matters. Every day he was aroused more by a burning anger, so that rocked by emotions, he sent to the same Cynrus, whom he had wanted to comfort,

amicorum infidelium expromeret et aptis coloribus pingeret.

De conubiis inter nobiles plebemque junctis	615
183-90 537-38 193-96	
de rerum publicarum conversione	
53-58 279-82 289-92 647-48 1135-50	
de effrenata plebis licentia	
39-42 43-52 663-64 833-36	620
de perniciosa divitiarum vi	
53-60 699-718 1109-14 719-28.	

Ac fortasse mireris, qui fieri potuerit ut Theognis tam acerbe, sæpe tam inique in adversarios inveheretur et tamen, ut docuimus, conaretur ut gratiam plebis sibi conciliaret bonaque et vitam inserviando popularibus studiis servaret. Ad hoc pertinent ea, quæ subtiliter monuit W. Teuffel (Pauly v. Th.) “zum Beweis, daß — durch trübe Erfahrungen seine Stimmung gegen das Volk eine erbitterte ist, und er die Theorie um so schroffer aufstellt, je mehr er in der Praxis Zugeständnisse machen muß, daß er gegenüber den Demüthigungen des Lebens den Stolz des Bewußtseins sich retten und durch dessen Darstellung im Worte für jene sich rächen möchte.”

Eodem tempore Theognis in summam egestatem delapsus est, quam sibi onus miserrimum et gravissimum esse multis in elegiis doluit:

πείνη, inquit 268-70, οὔτε γὰρ εἰς ἀγορὴν ἔρχεται οὔτε δίκας,
πάντη γὰρ τοῦλασσον ἔχει, πάντη δ' ἐπίμυκτος,
πάντη δ' ἐχθρὴ ὁμῶς γίνεται ἔνθα περ ἦ.

Quare pauperem decere mori 181-2 vel certe in mare fugere, ut penuria solvatur 173-80. Maxime vero id questus est, quod egestas et necessitas hominem a recta via avocaret et eum turpia facinora doceret: quibus versibus nescio an tecte significet, quantopere se pœniteat, quod ipse aliquando invi-

elegies in which he declared an unquenchable hatred against the plebeians, enmity against the degenerate nobles as well as disdain for unfaithful friends. He depicts this all in vivid colour:

630

Concerning the marriages between nobles and plebeians:

183-90 537-38 193-96

On the subversion of the state:

53-58 279-82 289-92 647-48 1135-50

On the unabridged wantonness of the plebeians:

635

39-42 43-52 663-64 833-36

On the pernicious power of wealth:

53-60 699-718 1109-14 719-28.

One might be surprised at how often Theognis attacks his enemies harshly, and yet, as we have shown, would nonetheless try to garner the favour of the plebeians and, by being submissive to the demands of the populares, try to save his life and possessions. This is what W. Teuffel (article "Theognis" in *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft* 6.2, ed. A. F. Pauly (Stuttgart, 1849)) accurately notes: "As proof that — by harsh experience — his mood against the people is a bitter one, he postulates the theory all the more radically, the more he is forced to make compromises in reality. So much so, that in the face of life's humiliations, he intends to save the pride of his conscience through expressing it in writing and by this means also exact revenge for the former."

640

645

650

At this time, Theognis fell into utmost poverty which he in many elegies deploras as the most wretched and harsh burden:

Poverty, he says 268-70, Visits neither the market nor the courts,

It is always considered inferior, always derided,

Always hated equally wherever it is found.

655

Therefore it behooves a pauper to die (181-82) or at least perish in the sea so that he be released from poverty (173-80). He especially laments that poverty and necessity divert a man from the right path and teach him shameful crimes. I do not know whether in these verses he is secretly noting how greatly he regrets that he himself

660

tus popularem egerit. 649-52.

ἄ δειλὴ Πενίη, τί ἐμοῖς ἐπικειμένη ὤμοις
σῶμα κατασχύνεις καὶ νόον ἡμέτερον,
αἰσχρὰ δέ μ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα βίη καὶ δειλὰ διδάσκεις
ἐσθλὰ μετ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ κάλ' ἐπιστάμενον.
cf. 351-54. 619-30.

650

Si earum elegiarum, quas exul composuit, argumenta spectas: inest in plerisque quædam humanarum rerum contemptio et despicientia 425-28

πάντων μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον
μηδ' ἐσιδεῖν αὐγὰς ὀξέος ἡελίου:
φύντα δ' ὅπως ὠκίστα πύλας Ἄϊδαο περῆσαι
καὶ κεῖσθαι πολλὴν γῆν ἐπαμυσάμενον.
οὐ δύναμαί σοι, θυμέ, παρασχεῖν ἄρμενα πάντα:
τέτλαθι: τῶν δὲ καλῶν οὔτι σὺ μοῦνος ἐρᾷς.
441-46. 555-56. 1117-18. 1229-36.

655

660

Maxime vero patriæ desiderio se exulem laborasse profitetur ipse 787:

ἄλλ' οὔτις μοι τέρψις ἐπὶ φρένας ἤλυθεν ἐκείνων.
οὔτως οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν φίλτερον ἄλλο πάτρης.

665

Fortasse etiam conjugem in patria reliquerat, quæ illa Argiris videtur fuisse, de qua jam vidimus 1123-28

μή με κακῶν μίμνησκε: πέπονθά τοι οἶά τ' Ὀδυσσεύς,
ὅστ' Ἄϊδεω μέγα δῶμ' ἤλυθεν ἐξαναδύς,
ὃς δὴ καὶ μνηστῆρας ἀνείλετο νηλείϊ θυμῷ
Πηνελόπης εὐφρων κουριδίης ἀλόχου,
ἦ μιν δήθ' ὑπέμεινε φίλῳ παρὰ παιδὶ μένουσα
ὄφρα τε γῆς ἐπέβη δειμαλέους τε μυχούς.

670

Dignissimum est etiam illud Theognidis, quod in harum rerum connexu legatur,

675

ὄρνετος φωνήν, Πολυπαίδη, ὄξυ βρώσης

had once reluctantly belonged to the populares:

Oh miserable poverty lying on my shoulders, <649-52>
You disgrace both my body and my mind,
Oppressively teaching me shame and misery -
Despite me knowing what's good and noble for men.

See also 351-54. 619-30.

665

If you look at the themes of the elegies which he composed as an exile, many of them contain a certain loathing and contempt for human affairs:

For those on earth, never being born is best, <425-28>
Never to have seen the sun's burning rays. 670
Thus when born, head straight for Hades' gates:
Make your earthen grave and then lie in it.
Have patience my soul, I can't supply all <695-96>
Your wants - you're not the only admirer of beauty!

See also 441-46. 555-56. 1117-18. 1229-36.

675

He himself acknowledges that as an exile he suffered most of all from homesickness:

Exile's abodes could not delight my heart, <787-88>
Nothing was dearer to me than my homeland.

It is possible that he had even left his wife behind in his native city, who, would seem to have been Argyris as we have already seen:

680

Remind me not of infelicity, as Odysseus, I've suffer'd - <1123-28>
Who escaped Hades' mighty abode, resurfacing,
To go and pitilessly slaughter the suitors
Of faithful Penelope, his wife dearest, 685
Who long at her son's side pined his return.
Until he once again reached dry land ...

Furthermore, the most worthy of Theognis' elegies which should be mentioned in this context are:

The bird's shrill call, Polypaides, I've heard, <1197-1201> 690

ἤκουσ', ἥτε βροτοῖς ἄγγελος ἦλθ' ἀρότου
ώραιου: καί μοι κραδίην ἐπάταξε μέλαιναν
ὅττι μοι εὐανθεῖς ἄλλοι ἔχουσιν ἀγρούς,
οὐδ' ἐμοὶ ἡμίονοι κύφων' ἔλκουσιν ἀρότρου.

680

Dum hæc secum reputat, tam vehementer ira et odio in plebejos flagrantissimo rapitur, ut ultionem a Jove postulet

τεθναίνην δ' εἰ μή τι κακῶν ἄμπαυμα μεριμνέων
εὐροίμην, δόϊν τ' ἀντ' ἀνιῶν ἀνίας.
τῶν εἶη μέλαν αἶμα πιεῖν
ἀνδρός τοι κραδίη μινύθει μέγα πῆμα παθόντος,
Κύρην', ἀποτεινυμένου δ' αὖξεται ἐξοπίσω.

685

Ante prælium, quo optumates plebem vicerunt, hi versus videntur compositi esse

ἐς πολυάρητον κακὸν ἤκομεν, ἔνθα μάλιστα,
Κύρηνε, συναμφοτέρους μοῖρα λάβοι θανάτου.

690

Post hoc prælium (quo optumates plebem vicerunt) v. 949-54, in quibus obscenum scirpum latere Welckerum putare satis miror.⁴⁶

Restat fragmentum, quod verisimile est post exilium compositum esse: Cyrnum theori munere fungentem monet Theognis, ut diligenter jussa dei observet. —

695

At si cui in his argumentis enarrandis nimis diu versatus esse videor: id suppeditat, quo me excusam. Etenim in mente habui, ut tali modo ea, quæ nuper Bergkius de argumentis Theognideorum scripsit, refutarem: qui nihil de toto Theognide jam extare nisi seriem interruptam sexcenties sententiarum excerptarum, cum affirmaverit, mihi valde videtur errare; atque id quidem me docuisse puto haud pauca esse in hac farragine vestigia, quibus ad certas res et facta, ad certos ejus vitæ casus agnoscenda nullo negotio perducamur. Quamquam ipse lubentissime concedo mihi in talibus frag-

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705

*Who to mortals announces plough
In season, what darkened my mood -
For others my fertile fields now own,
Mules drag the plough's bent yoke not for me.*

While contemplating this, he was so seized by an inextinguish- 695
able anger and hatred against the plebeians, that he demanded ven-
geance from Zeus:

Rather I die from sorrow if no relief can I <343-44>
Find, than grief for grief's sake bestowed.
Could only I drink their black blood. <349> 700
Woe shrivels a man's heart, Cynrus, <361-362>
It swells again when wrong's avenged.

These verses seem to have been composed before the battle in
which the optimates defeated the plebeians:

Aged turpitude besets us Cynrus, <819-20> 705
Best we take the deadly plunge together!

After this battle (verses 949-54), it surprises me that Welcker
believes that here lies hidden an offensive riddle.⁴⁷

One fragment remains which in all likelihood was composed
after exile [805-10], in which Theognis advises Cynrus, who is sup- 710
posed to consult an oracle, that he is to heed diligently what is
ordered by the gods.

Now if I seem to have carried on excessively in expounding on
these matters, this must suffice as my apology. Since it is my inten- 715
tion to refute in this fashion what Bergk recently wrote about the
contents of the Theognide corpus, namely that nothing of Theognis
still exists except a disparate succession of disjunct aphorisms. It
seems to me that he is quite mistaken. And besides, I believe that
I have shown that in this hodge-podge there are not a few traces 720
by which we can be led to certain events and facts and to certain
biographical details which can be recognised without difficulty. I
concede most willingly that I am in no way content with my selec-

mentis eligendis et componendo nullo pacto me satisfacisse; quoniam sæpissime factum est, ut diversa diversi argumenti fragmenta in eadem pagina memoranda et describenda essent. — 710

III Theognidis de deis, de moribus, de rebus publicis opiniones examinantur.

14. Quoniam de Theognidis vita scriptisque jam satis dictum esse videtur, superest, quod tertium nobis proposuimus, ut quæ Theognis de rebus divinis humanisque senserit, explicandi faciamus periculum. Cum vero haud multi viri docti de hac re peculiarem ediderint sententiam, fortasse juvabit jam ab initio disserendi verba Bernhardyi legisse, quibus solita virorum doctorum persuasio breviter est exprompta. II, 457. “Die Summa der Elegien ruht auf dem politischen und sittlichen Glauben der Dorier oder einer kastenartigen Tugendlehre, welche jeglichen Vorzug des Geistes und der geselligen Bildung, des Güterbesitzes und der Lebensklugheit an adlige Geburt knüpft, und der Dichter hat dort, bestimmt von tiefem Abscheu vor dem regierenden Pöbel die unveräußerlichen Rechte der guten Männer in einem Kern gediegener Sätze und Erfahrungen bezeugt.”⁴⁷ 715 720 725

Atque jam Welcker monuit, ne Theognidi auscultantes civem Doriensem et generosum loqui essemus immemores. Cui iudicio unus omnium Grote (History of Grece <sic> III c. 9⁴⁸) adversatur, qui sese in Theognideis non posse illam propriam Doriæ vim et naturam invenire et agnoscere confitetur. Quamquam de hac re ille non disputat uberius, tamen hoc iudicium est dignissimum quod perpendatur. 730

Etenim Theognis ex vetere et illustri gente exortus per totam vitam tantopere in nobilitatis studio versatus est, ut in ea restituenda et dilatanda suas omnes cogitationes et vota fixa haberet. Verum tamen in ea rerum conditione fuit, qua genuina nobilitatis Doriensium vis penitus jam esset convulsa eisque præcepta in omnium rerum conversione tamquam pro- 735

tion and arrangement of these fragments: this is because fragments with diverse contents had to be quoted and discussed on the same page.

725

III Theognis' views about gods, morals and states are investigated.

14. Since enough seems to have been said about Theognis' life and writings, what remains is the proposed third point, namely to try to explain Theognis' views on matters divine and human. Since, however, not many scholars have expressed a particular opinion about this matter, it might perhaps at the beginning of this investigation be helpful to have read the words of Bernhardt, in which he succinctly states the customary conviction of scholars (II, 457): *"The entire corpus of elegies is based on the political and ethical beliefs of the Dorians, that is a caste-based moral doctrine which attaches every merit of the soul and social education [i.e. nature and nurture], the ownership of property and worldly wisdom to noble birth. The poet, characterised by a deep repulsion towards the ruling rabble, bore witness to the inalienable rights of the good men in a kernel of solid sentences and experiences."*⁴⁸

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740

In fact, Welcker has already cautioned that when we give ear to Theognis, we must not forget that a noble Dorian citizen is speaking. The only one opposed to this judgement is Grote (*History of Greece* III c. 9),⁴⁹ who acknowledges that he is unable to discern that peculiar Dorian energy and nature in Theognis. Although he does not further discuss this matter, this judgement is nonetheless most worthy of consideration.

745

Indeed, Theognis hailed from an old and illustrious family and throughout his life was earnestly engaged in the pursuit of nobleness — its restoration and extension directed all his thoughts and desires. Without doubt, he lived in a situation in which the genuine nobility of the Dorians had by then been completely overthrown and its precepts had been trodden, as it were, in the total revolu-

750

culcarentur. Ex quo factum est ut ipse Theognis de quibusdam 740
ejus præceptis dubitare novamque sibi informare persuasio-
nem cœpisset. Atque quam viam ingressus sit Theognis, ut
senex paullo liberius de republica et de rebus humanis divi-
nisque judicasse videretur, e multis indiciis etiam nunc intel-
legere possumus. 745

Habet enim Theognidea poesis id sibi proprium, quod opi-
niones de deis, de moribus arcto connexu conjunctæ sunt cum
Theognidis de rebus publicis judicio: ex quo non nobis hæc et
illa segregatim tractare licet. Hujus rei causa ex singulari Me-
garensis civitatis forma repetenda est, quæ divisa et discripta 750
per certas quasdam classes sive castas quas dicunt fieri non
potuit, quin diversa diversarum classium de rebus humanis
divinisque judicia gigneret et aleret. Cum vero certamen acer-
rimum inter has classes exortum esset et Theognis alterius
optumatum classis sese atrocissimum præstaret propugna-
torem, etiam in carminibus ita populum discrevit, ut alteram 755
partem τὸς ἀγαθὸς i.e. optumates, bonos viros diceret, quo-
rum esset omnis erga deos relligio pietasque et omnis in ho-
mines justitia virtusque, alteram τὸς κακοὺς vel τὸς δειλοὺς
vocaret, in quibus omnis morum pravitas omnisque impietas 760
et nefas inessent. Unde liquet, qui fieri potuerit, ut opiniones
de rebus divinis humanisque apud Theognidem arcte cohæ-
rent. 775

Primum vero quærendum est, quo jure Theognis hæc de
nobilitate et plebe judicaverit quibusque ex causis hoc judi- 765
cium repetendum sit.

15. In quinque enim rebus artibusque, ut, quantum no-
biles tum valuerint quantumque plebi præstiterint, complec-
tamur, posita eorum est dignitas et auctoritas. Primum enim
magni apud omnes generis vetustas claraque origo æstimaba- 770
tur, præsertim cum hæc origo sæpe ad herœs et ipsos ad deos
auctores referretur. Contra plebejus homo, qui tamquam ex
inutili perniciosaque stirpe exortus est, obscuritate tegebatur,
neque ejus nomen ultra vitam innotescebat. Quod duobus di-
stichis acerbissime exprimit Theognis 775

tion. As a result of this, Theognis himself began to doubt some of those precepts and had begun to fashion a new conviction. In fact, the path which Theognis took, so that as an old man he was able to think somewhat more freely about the republic as well as about human and divine matters, can still be discerned from many clues. 755

The poetry of Theognis truly displays the peculiarity that opinions about the gods and morals are most closely connected with his judgement of the republic, which is why we may not discuss them separately. The cause of this is to be derived from the unique form of the Megarian citizenry which was separated and divided into various classes, or rather castes as they called them, so that different opinions about human and divine matters originated from and were maintained by the different classes. When, however, a bitter struggle between these classes arose, and Theognis began to manifest himself most fiercely as the champion of the class of the optimates, he also separated the population in his poetry in such a way that he pronounced one part *the good*, i.e. the optimates: the good men among whom was supposed to be every religious piety to the gods; and towards men, every righteousness and goodness. The other part he called *the bad* or *the lowly*, among whom every moral depravity, irreverence and ungodliness was said to exist. Whence, it is evident why, in Theognis' opinion, matters divine and human are so closely related. 760 765 770 775

First of all though, it must be asked by what right did Theognis so judge the nobles and plebeians and how this judgement is to be understood.

15. Five characteristic factors of the optimate's authority and dignity can be noted — so that we may grasp just how much the nobles were valued at that time and how superior they were in relation to the plebeians. Firstly, the antiquity and distinguished lineage of a great family was valued by all, especially when its origins hearkened back to heroes, and even gods, as progenitors. In contrast, a plebeian who so to speak sprang up from a useless and pernicious stock was shrouded in obscurity and his name not remembered beyond his life. This Theognis expresses very accurately 780 785

τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄλλος μάλα μέμφεται, ἄλλος ἐπαινεῖ
τῶν δὲ κακῶν μνήμη γίνεται οὐδεμία. <797-98>

οὔποτε δουλείη κεφαλὴν ἰθεῖα πέφυκεν <535-38>
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ σχολιή, καυχένα λοξὸν ἔχει
οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ σκίλλης πόδα φύεται οὐδ' ὑάκινθος
οὔτε ποτ' ἐκ δούλης τέκνον ἐλευθέριον.

780

Dein nobiles, quoniam eis armorum usus erat bellique cognitio, praesertim cum antiquitus sibi munus imposuissent, ut rem publicam soli gubernarent neque ullum de plebe ad eam administrandam admitterent: se in rebus publicis salubriter et optimo successu versatos esse sibi semper persuaserunt

οὐδεμίαν πω, Κύρην', ἀγαθοὶ πόλιν ὤλεσαν ἄνδρες - 43 5

Et jam pergit

ἀλλ' ὅταν ὑβρίζειν τοῖσι κακοῖσιν ἄδη
δῆμόν τε φθείρωσι --
ἐκ τῶν -- στάσιές τε καὶ ἔμφυλοι φόνοι ἀνδρῶν 51

Accedit quod solis nobilibus erat juris cognitio legumque interpretatio; unde factum est ut Theognidi plebs videretur δικας διδόναι ἀδίοκοισιν 45:

εἰκός τοι κακὸν ἄνδρα κακῶς τὰ δίκαια νομίζεις
μηδεμίαν κατόπισθ' ἀζόμενον νέμεσιν. <279-80>

His ultimis verbis plebejum nullis religionibus adstrictum non vereri deos iudicat poeta: id quod est tertium, quo suam auctoritatem positam esse crediderint: erat apud eos omnium sacrorum administratio. Quare deos sibi propitios, succensentes plebejis fingebant.

Hoc loco opinio memoranda hujus ætatis propria, qua 5

in a pair of distichs:

Some censure the good, others praise them, <797-98> 790
But about the bad nobody really cares.
Never do the enslaved go upright, <535-38>
But the crooked necked are ever gnarled;
As a squill doesn't bear roses or hyacinths,
So neither does a slavette a free child. 795

Secondly, the nobles — because theirs was the use of weapons and military understanding, though above all since they of old had entrusted themselves alone with the duty to govern public affairs and to exclude plebeians from administration — were always convinced that they ran public affairs in the most beneficial manner with the most success: 5

Good men, Cyrnus, have never destroyed a single city <43>

And he continues:

But whenever it pleases the bad to run wanton
They corrupt the people ...
From this ... comes discord and civil war <51>

Furthermore, only the nobles had an understanding of the legal system and the interpretation of the laws, whence it appeared to Theognis that the plebeians (45) *gave justice to the unjust*:

It is usual for a bad man to enact bad as right, <279-80>
And have no fear of retribution thereafter.

In these last words, the poet determines that the plebeians, unrestrained by religion, did not fear the gods. This is the third point by which the nobles believed that their authority was ordained: the complete administration of all sacred rites was their sole prerogative. For that reason, they imagined the gods were propitious towards them, but irate toward the plebeians. 5

At this point, one must recall the mood of the period in which

Theognis fuit, vel ut rectius definiamus, ab antiquissimis Græcorum temporibus usque ad hanc Theognidis ætatem delata, quæ dilucide, quantam dignitatem nobiles sibi vindicaverint, illustrat. Etenim deos cum hominibus fœdus iniisse credebant, quo constitutum esset, ut dei, dummodo justos ab hominibus honores sacraque acciperent, sua bona beneficiaque in eos conferre deberent. Neque alia est sententia, quam Pindarus expromit (P. 2, 73⁴⁹): si quis veri et rati viam ingressus sit, necesse esse ut divorum assequatur beneficia. Sed vereor ne jam priorem ætatem tam ingenue quam Pindarum de hac, quam dicimus, εὐδαιμονία et ἐχθροδαιμονία judicasse affirmem. Immo vero ipsa Sophoclis ætate, si illum Oedipum regem ad hanc quæstionem adhibemus, deos sibi, quem amarent suisque bonis afficerent, ex arbitrio eligere neque ullis artibus, ne pietate quidem, ad allum amore complectendum cogi posse, quem sibi non elegissent, in omnium animis hæc opinio defixa fuisse neque facile in dubium videtur vocata. Prior vero ætas, ut revertamur, unde paullo defleximus, quantopere in his opinionibus versata sit, ex multis Theognideis conici potest; unde apparet et virtutem et divitias et honorem non intellegi nisi conjuncta et artissimis vinculis conexa.

εὐδαίμων εἶην καὶ θεοῖς φίλος ἀθανάτοισιν
Κύρην: ἀρετῆς δ' ἄλλης οὐδεμιῆς ἔραμαι. <653-54>

καὶ γὰρ τοὶ πλοῦτον μὲν ἔχειν ἀγαθοῖσιν ἔοικεν
ἢ πενίη δὲ κακῶν σύμφορος ἀνδρὶ φέρειν. <525-26>

θεοῖς εὐχου: θεοῖς ἐστὶν ἐπι κράτος: οὗτοι ἄτερ θεῶν
γίνεται ἀνθρώποις οὔτ' ἀγάθ' οὔτε κακά. <171-72>

χρηῆμα δ' ὃ μὲν Διόθεν καὶ σὺν δίκῃ ἀνδρὶ γένηται
καὶ καθαρώς, αἰεὶ παρμόνιμον τελέθει. <197-98>

Ex egestate vero plebeji hominis Theognis nasci putat mise-

Theognis lived. Or rather, to define the matter more correctly, the opinion passed on from the most ancient period of the Greeks until that of Theognis, which clearly illustrates how much dignity the nobles claimed for themselves. They clearly believed that there was a covenant between gods and men which stipulated that, provided the gods received honours and rites from men, they, for their part, would confer on them goodness and favours. This is no different from the sentiment expressed by Pindar (*Pythian* 2, 73⁵⁰): “Inasmuch as a man follows the path of truth and justice, it can only be because divine favour has come upon him.” I shrink though from asserting that such an early period judged so frankly the *happiness* and *hatred of the gods* as did Pindar. On the contrary, even in the period of Sophocles, if we were wont to summon King Oedipus to this question, the general mental attitude which cannot easily be doubted, seems to have been that whom the gods love they furnish with good(s), they pick and choose as they please without artifice, they certainly cannot be compelled, even by piety, to embrace someone in love who they themselves have not chosen. However, in order that we may return whence we have somewhat deviated, how greatly a bygone age was dependent on these beliefs can be inferred from many passages in Theognis. Here and there it is often evident that virtue, wealth and honour cannot be understood if they are not united and entwined by close ties:

Let me be prosperous and a friend to the immortal gods, <653-54> 30
Cyrnus, no other excellence do I love.
It does befit the good to have wealth, <525-26>
Poverty is to be borne by the bad.
Pray to the gods, 'tis in their power. Indeed, <171-72>
Without the gods, men will neither become good nor bad. 35
According to Zeus' will, money comes to the man, <197-98>
'Tis pure and ever abiding.

Theognis, however, believes that from the penury of the plebeian

ram necessitatem (ἀμηχανίαν), qua ad scelus proripiatur.

... πενήην

<384-92>

μητέρ' ἀμηχανίης ἔλαβον . . .

ἦτ' ἀνδρὸς παράγει θυμὸν ἐς ἀμπλακίην,
βλάπτουσ' ἐν στήθεσσι φρένας κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης

.....

χρημοσύνη εἰκων, ἣ δὴ κακὰ πάντα διδάσκει
ψεύδεά τ' ἐξαπάτας τ' οὐλομένας τ' ἔριδας

.....

ἣ γὰρ καὶ χαλεπὴν τίχτει ἀμηχανίην.

5

Quanti vero momenti ad dignitatem assequendam sint divitiæ victusque cultus et splendor: id etiam nostris temporibus percipere potest observari.

Accedit quod apud hanc quam dicimus Græcorum nobilitatem vere cum divitiis conjuncta erat conformatio doctrinæ honestarumque artium studium, cum plebeji omnis eruditio-
nis expertes et ignari miserrima vitæ conditione uterentur:

5

οἱ οὔτε -- δίκας ἤδεσαν οὔτε νόμους,

<54-56>

ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ πλευραῖσι δορὰς αἰγῶν κατέτριβον
ἔζω δ' ὥστ' ἔλαφοι τῆσδ' ἐνεμοντο πόλεος.

.....

Erat autem apud nobiles quædam uberrima præceptorum copia vitæque recte et ad nobilem normam instituendæ regularum ab avis liberis posterisque tradita, ita ut Theognis se Cyrno nihil aliud tradere confiteretur nisi

— οἷά περ αὐτός

<27-28>

Κύρην', ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν ἔμαθον

Contra plebejus homo naturam et indolem a parentibus jam

wretched exigency (*helplessness*) is born, through which he is driven to crime:

... *poverty* <384-92>

The mother of helplessness has seized them ...

Who leads the soul of man astray to sin,

To pervert his body by severe necessity,

.....

Yielding to need, who teaches every badness,

Lies, deceits and accursed quarrels.

.....

For need engenders harsh helplessness.

How important though riches, refined luxury and splendour are for the pursuit of dignity can still often be seen in our times.

One must also add that among the aforementioned Greek nobility, riches were allied with formal instruction and the pursuit of the liberal arts, whereas the plebeians were entirely deprived of erudition and, being ignorant, subsisted in miserable living conditions:

These ... have known neither customs nor laws, <54-56>

But wore out goat skins clothing their sides,

They dwelt there like deer beyond this city.

.....

Yet among the nobles, there was some copiousness of precepts for instituting correct living according to the norms of the nobility which had been confided by the forefathers to their children and successors. These norms, as Theognis himself acknowledges to Cyrnus, confide nothing but

... *of what I myself* <27-28>

Cyrnus, was privileged to learn from the good as a child

In contrast, the plebeian is unable by any means to repair and im-

vitiosam acceptam non modo nullo pacto reficere et meliorem reddere potest, sed in malorum hominum usu et consuetudine adultus in dies magis corrumpitur.

τοὶ κακοὶ οὐ πάντες κακοὶ ἐκ γαστρὸς γεγόνασιν
ἀλλ' ἄνδρεςσι κακοῖς συνθέμενοι φιλίην
ἔργα τε δεῖλ' ἔμαθον καὶ ἔπη δύσφημα καὶ ὕβριν. 305-7
– διδάσκων
οὔποτε ποιήσεις τὸν κακὸν ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν. <384-92>

Cum igitur in veteris originis claritate, in belli rei publicæque gerendæ cognitione, in sacrorum administratione, in divitiarum cultusque splendore, denique in optimarum artium informatione posita sit nobilium dignitas, qua plebem subjectam et sibi obnoxiam continerent, quid est mirum, quod Theognis, cum tantum inter nobiles plebemque interesse sentiret, nobilem virum se omni ratione sejungere debere a plebis commercio dixit? Ac vereor, ne v. 343 et 347 de plebejis cogitandum sit, quibus nobiles ne in itinere quidem negotiandi causa suscepto comites se adjungere et cum eis consilia consociare vetentur. Quin etiam nihil esse vanius et inutilius quam plebejo homini prodesse censet, quoniam ille nunquam gratiam referre soleat.

δειλοὺς εὖ ἔρδοντι ματαιοτάτη χάρις ἐστί
ἴσον καὶ σπείρειν πόντον ἀλὸς πολιῆς.
οὔτε γὰρ ἂν πόντον σπείρων βαθὺ λήϊον ἀμῶς,
οὔτε κακοὺς εὖ δρῶν εὖ πάλιν ἀντιλάβοις. <105-08>

Si vero res postulent, ut homo nobilis plebejis utatur, verbis quidem et vultu se amicissimum præstare debet, semper autem re vera odio inexstincto in illos flagrare. cf. Teuffel: “Unbedingtes Mißtrauen und tief innerliche Verachtung muß die Stimmung gegen die ἀστοί sein, nur daß man zur Bekundung seiner geistigen Überlegenheit gegen sie die glättteste herzlichste Miene annimmt. Diese nichtswürdige Lehre hat der Dichter die Naivetät mit der größten Unverhülltheit vorzutragen und als Gewandtheit zu empfehlen.”⁵⁰ 283. 213. 313.

prove the depraved character and disposition already inherited from his parents, and by keeping bad company, the growing boy becomes increasingly corrupted by the day:

The bad are not all bad straight from the womb, but <305-307>
Transform in the friendly company of bad men 5
Learning base deeds, shameful words and lewdness
... by teaching <384-92>
You will never be able to make a bad man good.

Since the dignity of the nobles, by means of which they were able to keep the plebeians subjected and servile, was based on the fame of an ancient lineage; on the ability to manage military and public affairs; on the administration of the *sacra*; on the splendour of wealth and luxury; and finally on formation in the most noble arts – is it surprising that Theognis, who was of the opinion that much separated the nobles from the plebeians, said that a noble ought to have absolutely no dealings with the plebeians? I fear that in verses 343 and 347 the plebeians are also intended. In these verses, nobles are even forbidden from undertaking business ventures with plebeians. In fact, he argues that there is nothing more vain and useless than 10
aiding a plebeian, seeing that he is unable to show gratitude:

There is no glory in helping the lowborn, <105-08>
Just like sowing the grey, salty sea –
Sowing the sea brings not a rich harvest
Nor will doing good to the bad return good. 15

If, however, circumstances dictate that a noble must associate with a plebeian, he should present himself with a most friendly demeanour, while, in fact, an inextinguishable anti-plebeian hatred burns within him. As Teuffel notes: “One’s disposition to commoners must be one of absolute mistrust and deep personal contempt. Only in order to display one’s intellectual superiority ought one to take on the most polished and cordial countenance. The poet had the naïveté to present this unworthy teaching with the greatest barefacedness and recommended it as adroitness”⁵¹, e.g. verses 283, 213, 313, 363-365. 5

365. v. 63.

Habemus igitur illam superbam Doriensis nobilitatis 10
persuasionem, cujus iudicia nemo in Theognide inesse
negabit, quamquam dubitari potest, num Theognis in eadem
semper perstiterit etiam eo tempore, quo discordiis civilibus
omniumque rerum conversione hujus persuasionis funda- 15
menta, quæ in illa εὐδαιμονία posita erant, penitus concussa
erant.

16. Si enim quærimus, quibus rebus factum sit, ut paulatim nobilium auctoritas infracta in dies magis delaberetur: prima et gravissima causa inde repetenda est, quod multi plebeji maxime in urbibus maritimis mercatura magna et copiosa suam rem augebant, nobiles celeriter divitiis adæquabant, sumptu luxuque antecederant: quod iidem jam non ab omni politiore elegantia abhorrebant, sed operam in moribus pariter atque ingenio conformandis collocabant, præsertim cum sæpe ex longis itineribus scientia aucti redirent. 20
Accedit quod nobiles neque antiquam retinebant morum integritatem, sed sæpe luxuriæ et voluptatibus se dederunt et ab armorum usu paulatim abalienabantur, neque rem familiarem modice administrabant, sed æs alienum congerebant, ita ut nonnulli in pudendam paupertatem delaberentur. Unde factum est, ut non jam nobiles prorsus se a plebe sejungerent, sed conjugiiis mutuis initis opes quærerent, cum plebeji tali modo dignitatem appeterent et assequerentur. “Πλοῦτος ἔμιξε γένος” dicit Theognis. 25

Etenim omnia, quæ de paulatim corrupta nobilitate et 35
de efflorescente plebe diximus, etiam apud Megarenses post Theagenis dominationem evenerunt. Nihil vero nobilibus plus intulit detrimenti, quam ipsa Theagenis dominatio, qui illustri genere natus ahquamdiu popularem egit plebisque favore principatum assecutus est. Μάλιστα δὲ, ut est apud 40
Aristotelem pol. 5, 3, 1. αἱ ὀλιγαρχίαι μεταβάλλουσιν ὅταν ἐξ αὐτῆς συμβῆ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας γενέσθαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ δήμου.

In hanc ætatem, quam paucis descripsimus, incidit Theo-

Thus we are confronted here with the haughty conviction of the Dorian nobility. No one would deny that their judgement was shared by Theognis, although it is possible to doubt whether Theognis stood consistently firm when public discord and total revolution had thoroughly shattered the foundations of those convictions, based on the aforementioned *happiness*. 10

16. If we were to ask how it had come to pass that the authority of the weakened nobility gradually slipped by the day, the first and foremost cause must be sought in the fact that many plebeians, especially in the maritime cities, were increasing their fortunes on account of the rich and booming trade. They began quickly to rival the nobles in wealth, though in extravagance and luxury they surpassed them because they now were no longer averse to every refined elegance, and were also investing in moral and personal improvement, particularly after returning from long voyages enriched by knowledge. In addition, the nobles were no longer upholding the ancient morals, but having often given themselves over to luxury and pleasure, they had gradually become estranged from military duty, nor did they any longer look after their private affairs effectively. Instead, they heaped up debt so that some fell into shameful poverty. So it came about that the nobles no longer separated themselves from the plebeians, but rather by intermarrying, they sought wealth, whilst the plebeians by such means strove after and received dignity — Theognis said “*Wealth dilutes birthright*” (190). 15 20 25 30

Indeed, everything we have already said about the gradual decline of the nobility and the flourishing of the plebeians among the Megarians took place as a result of the tyranny of Theagenes. Assuredly, nothing was more detrimental to the nobles than the tyranny of Theagenes, who, born of an illustrious lineage, carried on for a while as a populist. Then, with the approbation of the plebeians, he seized power. As Aristotle, *Politics* 5,3,1 noted “*Oligarchies come to an end, especially when a leader of the people emerges from out of these oligarchs.*” 35 40

Theognis lived during this period which we have briefly de-

gnidis vita, instituti præceptis nobilitatis a puero, quæ adultus omnibus partibus neglecta videret. Itaque fieri non potuit, quin de deorum justitia cœpisset dubitare, id quod ipse ingenue confessus est 373-380. <743-746>

Ζεῦ φίλε, θαυμάζω σε: σὺ γὰρ πάντεσιν ἀνάσσεις
τιμὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μεγάλην δύναμιν

.....

πῶς δὴ σευ, Κρονίδη, τολμᾷ νόος ἀνδρας ἀλιτροὺς
ἐν ταύτῃ μοίρῃ τόν τε δίκαιον ἔχειν;

.....

καὶ τοῦτ', ἀθανάτων βασιλεῦ, πῶς ἐστὶ δίκαιον
ἔργων ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἐκτὸς ἐὼν ἀδίκων
μὴ τιν' ὑπερβασίην παρέχων μῆδ' ὄρκον ἀλιτροῦν
ἀλλὰ δίκαιος ἐὼν, μὴ τὰ δίκαια πάθῃ;

Præcipue vero id doluit, quod cum homines de plebe in amplissimis fortunis morerentur, non essent, qui illis poenas darent, nisi forte eorum liberi posterique paterna scelera poenis solverent. Qua re Jovi proposuit, ut suam viam, quam indicaturus esset, ad puniendos malos homines ingrederetur: <731-42>

Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἶθε γένοιτο θεοῖς φίλα τοῖς μὲν ἀλιτροῖς
ὔβριν ἀδεῖν, εἴ σφιν τοῦτο γένοιτο φίλον
θυμῶ, σχέτλια δ' ἔργα μετὰ φρεσὶ θ' ὅστις ἀθειρῆς
ἐργάζοιτο θεῶν μῆδὲν ὀπιζόμενος
αὐτὸν ἔπειτα πάλιν τεῖσαι κακά, μῆδ' ἔτ' ὀπίσω
πατρὸς ἀτασθαλῆαι παισὶ γένοιτο κακόν.

.....

ταῦτ' εἶη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς φίλα: νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἔρδων
ἐκφεύγει, τὸ κακὸν δ' ἄλλος ἔπειτα φέρει.

Si vero homines de deorum justitia cœpissent dubitare, metuit Theognis ne viam et rationem nescirent, qua quis deorum gratiam se assecuturum speraret. <381-82>

οὐδέ τι κεκριμένον πρὸς δαίμονός ἐστι βροτοῖσιν

scribed. He was raised on the precepts of the nobility from childhood, which as an adult he saw neglected by everyone. Hence, it was inevitable that he began to doubt the righteousness of the gods, something he himself frankly admitted in verses 373-380 and 743-46: 45

*O Zeus my friend! I admire you, who art lord over all, <373-380>
You yourself have honour and great power*

.....

*How, Chronos' son, can your mind dare to treat wicked men
in the same manner as the just ?* 50

.....

*How, then, oh king of the immortals, can it be just <743-46>
That a man without unrighteous works,
Knowing neither misstep nor perjury, 55
But is righteous, does not experience righteousness?*

He mainly lamented that when plebeians die in well-endowed circumstances, there is no one to punish them except when perchance their children and heirs absolve the paternal crimes by indemnification. This is why he suggests to Zeus that he make known the path through which he intended to punish bad men:

*O Zeus, father! Would that it please the gods, that the wicked 5
Should delight in lewd outrages if they so desire,
But supercilious perpetrators of premeditated crimes
Who fear not the gods, may they
Pay the price forthwith and let not
Children latterly pay for paternal sins* 10

.....

*If only this were the gods' delight, but alas
The doer gets off and another is punished <731-42>*

If men had already begun to doubt the righteousness of the gods, Theognis fears he then knows neither a way nor a means by which one could hope to procure the favour of the gods:

The deities have not for mere mortals decided <381-82>

οὐδ' ὁδὸς ἦν τις ἰὼν ἀθανάτοισιν ἄδοι.

unde factum iri ut homines in dies corrumpentur et a deis magis abalienarentur.

Quam ob rem haud pauci extant versus, quibus non esse ullum hominum crimine prorsus vacuum doleat.

ἀνθρώπων δ' ἄψεκτος ἐπὶ χθονὶ γίνεται οὐδεὶς 799
οὐδένα παμπήδην ἀγαθὸν καὶ μέτριον ἄνδρα 615-16
τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων ἡέλιος κατ' ὄρα. 5
οὐδένα, Κύρην', αὐγαὶ φαεσιμβρότου ἡελίοιο 1185-86
ἄνδρ' ἐφορῶσ' ὧ μὴ μῶμος ἐπικρέμαται.

Accedit, quod etiam nobiles, inopia gravissima vexati, ut a recti via deflecterent, cogebantur, praesertim cum hoc paupertatis onus a plebejis ad optumates inclinatum his ita esset insuetum atque inauditum, ut eo quocunque modo poterant, liberare se studerent. 649-52.

ἄ δειλὴ Πενίη 5

—
αἰσχροῖα — μ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα βίη καὶ δειλὰ διδάσκεις
χρῆ γὰρ ὁμῶς ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης
δίτλησθαι χαλεπῆς, Κύρνε, λύσιν πενίης. <179-80>

Tandem bonis patriaque privatus primum quidem de sua salute pæne desperasse et ipsam desiderasse mortem videtur.

τεθνάμεναι, φίλε Κύρνε, πενιχρῶ βέλτερον ἀνδρὶ
ἢ ζῶειν χαλεπῆ τειρόμενον πενίη. <181-82>

cf. 425-29.

postea vero magis tempori cessit et omnia mala moderate tulit animo: quin etiam eo descendit, ut diceret 444-46

ἀθανάτων δὲ δόσεις

Upon a path to go which pleases the immortals

which is why men become daily more corrupt and increasingly alienated from the gods.

Hence, there are a few verses in which he laments that there is not a single man entirely free from fault:

None of the men on earth are blameless. <799>
Of the men the sun now looks upon <615-16> 5
No one is entirely good or measured.
Since there is no man without reproach, <1185-86>
None, Cyrnus, discern the sunbeams' rays.

In addition, the nobles harassed by the hardest want, were obliged to stray from the right path, especially since the burden of poverty was diverted onto them by the plebeians. However, for the optimates this was unheard of and quite uncustomary, so that they attempted to free themselves by whatever means they were able, cf. 649-52: 5

Wretched poverty ...

Disgraceful ... against my will teaching much shame.
Yet scrape by on land or on the broad-backed sea - <179-80>
Seek release, Cyrnus, from oppressing poverty. 10

Finally, robbed of his goods and homeland, he, for a while seems to have almost despaired for his welfare and longed for death itself:

To die, my friend Cyrnus, is preferable for a poor man <181-82>
Than being oppressed by harsh poverty

see also 425-29.

Hereafter, however, he increasingly adapted to the times and bore with a more moderate attitude all the vicissitudes. Indeed, he even fell so far that he took to saying (444-46):

... The gifts of the immortals

παντοῖαι θνητοῖσιν ἐπέρχοντ': ἀλλ' ἐπιτολμᾶν
χρῆ δῶρ' ἀθανάτων οἷα διδοῦσιν ἔχειν.

5

.....

μηδὲ σύ γ' ἀπρήκτοισιν ἐπ' ἔργμασιν ἄλγος ἀέξων
ὄχθει, μηδ' ἄχθει, μηδὲ φίλους ἀνία
μηδ' ἐχθρούς εὐφραϊνε. θεῶν δ' εἰμαρμένα δῶρα
οὐκ ἂν ῥηϊδίως θνητὸς ἀνὴρ προφύγοι
οὔτ' ἂν πορφυρέης καταδύς ἐς πυθμένα λίμνης
οὔθ' ὅταν αὐτὸν ἔχη Τάρταρος ἡερόεις.

<1031-36>

10

17. Jam unus superest locus, de quo magis conjectura quam argumentis demonstrare liceat. Etenim Theognidem perquam est verisimile reversum in patriam vita jam ad finem vergente, cum in rebus publicis majore usum esse moderatione, tum omnino a suis pristinis de deis et de hominibus opinionibus aliquid recessisse et paulo liberius inprimis de plebeji hominis dignitate judicasse. Sane Cynnum monet, ne cui paupertatem opprobrio vertat.

15

20

<155-58>

μήποτέ μοι πενίην θυμοφθόρον ἀνδρὶ χολωθεῖς
μηδ' ἀχρημοσύνην οὐλομένην πρόφραε.
Ζεὺς γάρ τοι τὸ τάλαντον ἐπιρρέπει ἄλλοτε ἄλλως
ἄλλοτε μὲν πλουτεῖν, ἄλλοτε μηδὲν ἔχειν.

Omnino in hac cogitatione videtur acquievise et malum et bonum solis a deis hominibus adtribui planeque in eorum arbitrio esse positum.

<133-42>

οὐδεῖς, Κύρην', ἄτης καὶ κέρδεος αἴτιος αὐτός,
ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τούτων δώτορες ἀμφοτέρων.
οὐδέ τις ἀνθρώπων ἐργάζεται ἐν φρεσὶν εἰδῶς
ἐς τέλος εἴτ' ἀγαθὸν κίνυται εἴτε κακόν.

5

.....

ἀνθρώποι δὲ μάταια νομίζομεν, εἰδοτες οὐδέν.
θεοὶ δὲ κατὰ σφέτερον πάντα τελοῦσι νόον.

Jam redeo ad illud Grotii, unde profectus sum. Id unum me docuisse arbitror Theognidem, cum ejus vita in omnium re-

Come in all kinds to mortals, but we've to keep 5
Those gifts of the immortals such as they may be

About things that can't be done, don't let grow <1031-36>
Anger nor wrath, neither upset you friends
Nor gladden your enemies. Gifts from the gods 10
A mortal man can't easily escape from,
Whether he sink to the bottom of the surging sea,
Or when dark hell holds him fast.

17. One matter remains, which one is more able to prove with a conjecture than with facts. It is quite likely that after Theognis had returned to his homeland, his life was already nearing its end as he adopted a more lenient attitude towards the republic. By this time, he had also distanced himself from his former opinions on gods and men, now judging somewhat more liberally, especially with regard to the dignity of the plebeians. He then also cautions Cynrus that he should not reproach anyone for being poor: 20

When angry with a man, never hold life-sucking <155-58>
Poverty or cursed pennilessness against him -
For Zeus tilts the scales this way and that
Now to those with wealth, then to those without. 25

In this deliberation, he seems to have conceded entirely that both good and bad are exclusively allotted by the gods to mortals, and that it lies entirely within their purview:

No one, Cynrus, is responsible for his own loss or gain, <133-42>
But rather the gods are the givers of each
No man labours knowing in his heart 5
Whether 'tis to a good or a bad end

We men pursue vanity, not knowing
While the gods act as they see fit.

Finally then, I return to Grote from whence I set out. I am of the opinion that Theognis demonstrates one thing: since his life coin-

rum opinionumque conversionem incidisset, facere non potuisse, ut in eisdem opinionibus perstaret, quibus puer institutus esse videretur. Unde apparet, quid illud Grotii sibi velit: profecto ei concedendum est genuinam Doriensem vim et naturam jam illis temporibus imminutam et fractam in Theognide perspici. —



cided with the overthrow of all beliefs, it is not possible that he persisted in the same views in which he was instructed as a boy. Thus it becomes clear what Grote meant: “Assuredly it must be admitted that the authentic Dorian strength and peculiarity can be perceived in a diminished and broken manner in the Theognidian corpus.” 5



Notes

¹F. T. Welcker, *Theognidis reliquiæ, novo ordine disposuit, commentationem criticam et notas adiecit ...* (Frankfurt/M, 1826).

²G. Bernhardt, *Grundriß der griechischen Literatur. Zweite Bearbeitung* (Halle, 1856) vol. 2/I 463f.

³... παράδειγμά ἐστιν: ὅσον ὅτι ἐπεβούλευε τυραννίδι Διονύσιος αἰτῶν τὴν φυλακὴν: καὶ γὰρ Πεισίστρατος πρότερον ἐπιβουλεύων ἤγει φυλακὴν καὶ λαβῶν ἐτυράννησε, καὶ Θεαγένης ἐν Μεγάρῳ: καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσους ἴσασι, παράδειγμα πάντες γίγνονται τοῦ Διονυσίου, ὃν οὐκ ἴσασιν πῶς εἰ διὰ τοῦτο αἰτεῖ. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ καθόλου, ὅτι ὁ ἐπιβουλεύων τυραννίδι φυλακὴν αἰτεῖ.

⁴Τούτων δὲ ὕβρις μὲν καὶ κέρδος τίνα ἔχουσι δύναμιν καὶ πῶς αἴτια, σχεδὸν ἐστὶ φανερόν: ὑβριζόντων τε γὰρ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ πλεονεκτούντων στασιάζουσι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας τὰς διδούσας τὴν ἐξουσίαν: ἡ δὲ πλεονεξία γίνεται ὅτε μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν [10] ἰδίων ὅτε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν. —δῆλον δὲ καὶ ἡ τιμὴ, καὶ τί δύναται καὶ πῶς αἴτια στάσεως: καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀτιμαζόμενοι καὶ ἄλλους ὀργῶντες τιμωμένους στασιάζουσιν: ταῦτα δὲ ἀδίκως μὲν γίνεται ὅταν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἢ τιμῶνται τινες ἢ ἀτιμάζονται, δικαίως δὲ ὅταν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν.

⁵Cylon, the son-in-law of Teagenes, attempted to seize power in 632. This is one of the first reliably dated events in Athenian history.

⁶H. F. Clinton, *An Epitome of the Civil and Literary Chronology of Greece: from the earliest accounts to the death of Augustus* (Oxford, 1851), 155 *et passim*.

⁷M. Raoul-Rochette, *Histoire critique de l'établissement des colonies grecque* vol. 4 (Paris, 1815), 407.

⁸In Bithynia on the Black Sea coast at the mouth of the river Lycos. Modern Karadeniz Ereğli.

⁹H. G. Plaß, *Die Tyrannis in ihren beiden Perioden bei den alten Griechen. Dargestellt nach Ursachen, Verlauf und Wirkungen* (Bremen, 1852).

¹⁰Hippias of Athens succeeded his father Peisistratus in 527 and was exiled by a Spartan-led coalition in 510.

¹¹Ed. I. Bekker, *Suidæ Lexicon* (Berlin, 1854), 493: Θ136. The full entry reads: Θέογνις, Μεγαρεύς, τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγάρων, γεγονὼς ἐν τῇ νθ ὀλυμπιάδι. ἔγραψεν ἐλεγίαν εἰς τοὺς σωθέντας [Schneidewin: ἀναλωθέντας] τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, γνώμας δι' ἐλεγείας εἰς ἔπη βω, καὶ πρὸς Κύρον, τὸν αὐτοῦ ἐρώμενον, Γνωμολογίαν δι' ἐλεγείων καὶ ἑτέρας ὑποθήκας παραινετικὰς. τὰ πάντα ἐπικῶς ...; "A Megarian, from the Megara in Sicily, born in the 59th Olympiad. He wrote an elegy on the Syracusans who were saved [Schneidewin: killed] in the siege, aphorisms in elegiacs in 2800 verses, and to Kyros, his beloved, a Maxim-collection in elegiacs and other hortatory poems of advice. All epic in style ..." ("Theognis." *Suda On Line*, Tr. C. Roth; 24 June 2004; last referenced 22 December 2014; <<http://www.stoa.org/sol-entries/theta/136>>.

¹²Cf. A. Schoene, *Eusebi Chronicorum Libri*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1875), 99.

¹³Ed. L. Dindorf, *Chronicon Paschale* vol. 1 (Bonn, 1832), 269, cf. gloss. "Theognis poëta agnoscebatur."

¹⁴Ed. E. Spanheim, *Iuliani imp. opera et S. Cyrilli contra eundem libri decem* (Leipzig, 1696).

¹⁵Αἴ γὰρ ἄτερ νούσων τε καὶ ἀργαλέων μελεδωνέων / ἔξηκονταέτη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου."Would that my fated death might come at sixty, unattended by sickness and grievous cares" (translation D. E. Gerber, *Greek Elegiac Poetry* (Loeb ed., 1999), 85.

¹⁶Ἄλλ' εἴ μοι κἄν νῦν ἔτι πείσαι, ἔξελε τοῦτον: / μηδὲ μέγαιρ' ὅτι σεῦ λῶων ἐπεφρασάμην: / καὶ μεταποίησον, Λιγυαιστάδη, ὧδε δ' ἄειδε.

¹⁷M. Duncker, *Die Geschichte der Griechen* vol. 2 / *Die Geschichte des Alterthums* vol. 4 (Berlin, 1856), 70f. n8: "Die Aristokratie muß demnach damals [510] in Megara wiederhergestellt gewesen sein. Früher als 515 kann diese Restauration aber auch nicht erfolgt sein, da Theognis noch in dem Jahre 479 lebte und dichtete. Die Verse 775 bis 780 können nicht auf die Schlacht bei Marathon bezogen werden. ... Endlich ist das ... Megara, dessen Fall Theognis besang, dem Gelon erst zwischen 485 und 480 erlegen."

¹⁸A Median general who allegedly helped the first Achæmenid king, Cyrus the Great, to the throne. On the event being related, cf. Herodotus, *Histories* 1,171.

¹⁹The site approximately twenty kilometres NNW of Syracuse. On its foundations cf. Thucydides vi 4: κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ Λάμις ἐκ Μεγάρων ἀποικίαν ἄγων ἐς Σικελίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ ὑπὲρ Παντακίου τε ποταμοῦ Τρωτίλον τι ὄνομα χωρίον οἰκίσας, καὶ ὕστερον αὐτόθεν τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσιν ἐς Λεοντίνους ὀλίγον χρόνον ξυμπολιτεύσας καὶ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν ἐκπεσῶν καὶ θάψον οἰκίσας αὐτὸς μὲν ἀποθνήσκει, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐκ τῆς θάψου ἀναστάντες Ὑβλωνος βασιλέως Σικελοῦ προδόντος τὴν χώραν καὶ καζηγησαμένου Μεγαρέας ὤκισαν τοὺς Ὑβλαίους κληθέντας. καὶ ἔτη οἰκήσαντες πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακόσια ὑπὸ Γέλωνος τυράννου Συρακοσίων ἀνέστησαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ χώρας. πρὶν δὲ ἀναστῆναι, ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἑκατὸν ἢ αὐτοὺς οἰκίσαι, Πάμιλλον πέμψαντες Σελινοῦντα κτίζουσι, καὶ ἐκ Μεγάρων τῆς μητροπόλεως οὔσης αὐτοῖς ἐπελθὼν ξυγκατώκισεν.

²⁰The German edition was unavailable to the translator. Cf. C. O. Müller, *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race. Second edition* (London, 1839) vol. 2, 460f. note III. The 'siege' in question (see n. 11) is otherwise unknown and may indeed be apocryphal, cf. T. J. Figueira and G. Nagy (edd.), *Theognis of Megara: Poetry and the Polis* (Baltimore–London 1985), 25-27.

²¹Μεγαρέας τε τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ, ὡς πολιορκεόμενοι ἐς ὁμολογίην προσεχώρησαν, ... and Thucydides *supra* n 19.

²²*Leges* I 630a: ... ποιητὴν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς μάργυρ' ἔχομεν, Θέογνιν, πολίτην τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρέων.

²³The patronymic Πολυπαῖδης means 'son of Polu-pāos'. This form *Polu-pāos* 'he who has acquired much' is composed of the same formal elements—*polu-* 'much' and *pā-omai* 'acquire'—that are used in the diction of Theognis to designate the generic rich man: ... ὃς μάλα πολλὰ πέπαται Theognis 663 ... 'he who has acquired much.' T. Figueira and G. Nagy (edd.), *Theognis of Megara: Poetry and the Polis* (Baltimore–London, 1985), §43. Another word-play might also be involved with Κύρνος which according to Photius and Hesychius can be an appellative for *bastard* (see *LSJ* s.v.).

²⁴K. O. Müller, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur bis auf das Zeitalter Alexanders* vol. 1 (Breslau, 1841), 213.

²⁵Nietzsche does not cite here the edition he uses. In the edition of Meineke, *Ioannis Stobæi Florilegium recognovit Augustus Meinike* (Leipzig, 1856), it is vol. 3

p. 167 sub 4 Ξενοφώντος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Θεόγνιδος.

²⁶Σημεῖον δ' ἂν τις ποιήσαιτο τὴν Ἡσιόδου καὶ Θεόγνιδος καὶ Φωκυλίδου ποίησιν: καὶ γὰρ τούτους φασὶ μὲν ἀρίστους γεγενῆσθαι συμβούλους τῷ βίῳ τῶν ἄνθρώπων, ταῦτα δὲ λέγοντες αἰροῦνται συνδιατρίβειν ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἀνοίαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἐκείνων ὑποθήκαις.

²⁷J. J. Reiske, *Oratorum Græcorum Volumen Tertium Aeschinis Omnia Complectens* (Leipzig, 1771) =3.32.

²⁸=16c-d: Τὰ δ' Ἐμπεδοκλέους ἔπη καὶ Παρμενίδου καὶ Φηριακὰ Νικάνδρου καὶ γνωμολογίαι Θεόγνιδος λόγοι εἰσὶ κυχράμενοι παρὰ ποιητικῆς ὥσπερ ὄχημα τὸ μέτρον καὶ τὸν ὄγκον, ἵνα τὸ πεζὸν διαφύγῃσιν. “The verses of Empedocles and of Parmenides, the Antidotes against Poisons of Nicander, and the maxims of Theognis, are merely compositions which have borrowed from poetic art its metre and lofty style as a vehicle in order to avoid plodding along in prose.”

²⁹Dio Chrysostom 2.5 completes this with a quote from Homer, *Iliad* 1.288: “aspires to be / The master, over all to domineer.” 2.(4)-5: Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ποιήματα ἔγωγε ἠγοῦμαι τὰ μὲν συμποτικὰ αὐτῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐρωτικά. τὰ δὲ ἐγκώμια ἀθλητῶν τε καὶ ἵππων νικῶντων, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεῶσι θρήνους, τὰ δὲ γέλωτος ἔνεκεν ἢ λοιδορίας πεποημένα, ὥσπερ τὰ τῶν κωμωδοδιδασκάλων καὶ τὰ τοῦ Παρίου ποιητοῦ: ἴσως δὲ τινὰ αὐτῶν καὶ δημοτικὰ λέγοιτ' ἂν, συμβουλευόντα καὶ παραινοῦντα τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ἰδιώταις, καθάπερ οἶμαι τὰ Φωκυλίδου καὶ Θεόγνιδος: ἀφ' ὧν τί ἂν ὠφελῆθῆναι δύναιτο ἀνὴρ ἡμῖν ὁμοῖος, “πάντων μὲν κρατέειν ἐθέλων <sic!> / πάντεσσι δ' ἀνάσσειν.”

³⁰Echoed for example by E. Harrison (*Studies in Theognis: together with a text of the poems* (Cambridge, 1902), 92) “And indeed he [scil. Cyril] must have been very ill acquainted with Theognis in any form', or he could never have called his poems 'such stuff as nurses tell their charges.' That is not at all the character of Theognis, whose teaching is throughout a very mature kind of worldly wisdom. If Theognis were to be made fit for the nursery, changes would be needed more sweeping even than Welcker's.”

³¹= Review of W. E. Weber, *Die elegischen Dichter der Hellenen: nach ihren überresten übersetzt und erläutert* (Frankfurt/Main, 1826).

³²Loc. cit.

³³Ἄφ' ὧν Θεόγνις ὁ τὰς παραινέσεις γραψας. Ed. A. Meineke, *Stephani Byzantii ethnicorum quæ supersunt* (Berlin, 1849), 439 s.v. Μέγαρα.

³⁴Aphthonius of Antioch, *Protogymnasta* 8.14: Κατηγορεῖσθαι τὴν ποίησιν οὐκ ἀφῆκεν ὁ Θεόγνις ἀντὶ τῶν μύθων ἀσκήσας παραινέσιν. s.v. Ἐγκωμιαστικόν ed. L. von Spiegel, *Rhetores Græci* Vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1856), 26. Note here also the scholia on Theognides 2.43.5: ὁ ποιήσας τὰς ὑποθήκας, i.e. ‘warnings’ (see H. Selle, *Theognis und die Theognidea* (Berlin, 2008), 423).

³⁵31-35: ... καὶ παρὰ τοῖσιν πῖνε καὶ ἔσθιε, καὶ μετὰ τοῖσιν // ἴξε, καὶ ἄνδανε τοῖς, ὧν μεγάλη δύναμις. // ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄπ' ἐσθλὰ διδάξειαι ἦν δὲ κακοῖσιν // συμμίσηγης, ἀπολεῖς καὶ τὸν ἐόντα νόον ... “To eat and to drink, and to sit with them and to please them, for their power is great. You will learn good from good men, but if you associate with the bad, you will even loose what sense you have.”

³⁶Εἰπέ μοι. πότερα περὶ μέτρων ἢ περὶ ἐπῶν ἢ ῥυθμῶν. “Tell me -about measures or verses or rhythms?”

³⁷Nietzsche is correct in his observation, the translation of ἐν ποίοις ἔπεσιν is “in which verses of his poetry”, cf. *LSJ* s.v. ἔπος IVb-c.

³⁸Rather -80.

³⁹E.g. Act 2: “Ein unterdrücktes Heldenvolk mich sendet – // Denn jetzt steh’ ich als Roderich nicht hier,
Nicht als des Knaben Carlos Spielgeselle ...

⁴⁰Julianus, *Contra Galileos* apud Cyril loc.cit. : Ὁ σοφώτατος Σαλομών παρόμοιος ἐστὶ τῷ παρ’ Ἑλλησι Φωκυλίδῃ, ἢ Θεόγνιδι, ἢ Ἴσοκράτει; πόθεν; εἰ γοῦν παραβάλοις τὰς Ἴσοκράτους παρινέσεις ταῖς ἐκείνου παροιμίαις, εὖροις ἄν, εὖ οἶδα, τὸν τοῦ Θεοδώρου κρείττονα τοῦ σοφωτάτου βασιλέως. “Is their ‘wisest’ man Solomon at all comparable with Phocylides or Theognis or Isocrates among the Hellenes? Certainly not. At least, if one were to compare the exhortations of Isocrates with Solomon’s proverbs, you would, I am very sure, find that the son of Theodoras is superior to their ‘wisest’ king.”

⁴¹*Orationes* Second Discourse on Kingship 5.

⁴²*The Deipnosophists* 310a 85.

⁴³Actually, δειλὸς εὖ ἔρδοντι ματαιοτάτη χάρις ἐστίν

⁴⁴Rather 407-08

⁴⁵Welcker 1826: lxxvii ff. “Cyrni allocutionem ad solam adeo libri formam pertinere demonstrari potest. Primum didascalio carmini communi usu antiquitatis inhærebat apostrophe. Ac profecto, qui apud lyricos quoque poetas obtinuit mos, ut amico blande compellendo speciem quandam rei non fictæ, sed veræ efficerent, qua maxime movetur affectus, vel, quo vellent animo sensa sua excipi, significant, quasi non alienissimo cuique, sed amicis tantum penetralia pectoris aperientes, is gnomicæ pesi magis etiam conveniebat. Mitigata enim per paternæ benivolentiæ significationem præceptorum severitate, facilius illa se in juvenum animos insinuabant. ...”

⁴⁶Op. cit. 134f. on νεβρός: “Nostri ænigmatis sensum aperit Rhiani comparatio pueri cum hinnuleo, amatoris cum venatore ...”

⁴⁷G. Bernhardt, *op. cit.*

⁴⁸G. Grote, *History of Greece* vol. 3 (London, 1859), 44 “Still less can we discover in the verses of Theogenes that strength and peculiarity of pure Dorian feeling ...”

⁴⁹Ὁ δὲ Ῥαδάμανθυς εὖ πέπραγεν, ὅτι φρενῶν ἔλαχε καρπὸν ἀμώμητον, οὐδ’ ἀπάταισι θυμὸν τέρεπται ἔνδοθεν. “But Rhadamanthys has prospered, because his allotted portion was the blameless fruit of intelligence, and he does not delight his inner spirit with deceptions.” (trans. Arnson Svarlien).

⁵⁰W. S. Teuffel, art. “Theognis” in *Pauly’s Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* Vol. 6.2 (Stuttgart, 1849).

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