

PLATES

	<i>facing page</i>
Price, Bird-Dancer and Saryr-Craftsmen on an Attic Vase	
8 Squat Lekythos at the University of Chicago	246
9 Squat Lekythos at Chicago	247
Fig. 1. Silen and Saryr-craftsmen	
Fig. 2. Bird-dancer and Saryr-craftsmen	
Calder, Schliemann on Schliemann: A Study in the Use of Sources	
10 Fig. 1. Memorial Plaque to Schliemann, Neubukow	342
Fig. 2. Schliemann's Birthplace: Old Pfarrhaus, Neubukow	
11 Fig. 1. Schliemann's Birth in Parish Register, Neubukow	343
Fig. 2. Schliemann's Father's Church in Neubukow	

Pandora's Diseases, *Erga* 102-04

R. M. Frazer

νοῦσοι δ' ἀββρώποισιν ἐφ' ἡμέρη, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ νυκτὶ
αὐτόματου φοιτῶσι κακὰ θνητοῖσι φέρουσαι
κυγῆ, ἐπεὶ φωνῆν ἐξείλετο μητίετα Ζεὺς.

IN THESE VERSES Hesiod describes the diseases that Pandora lets out of the jar as coming upon men *αὐτόματου*, 'freely', 'of their own accord', and *κυγῆ*, 'silently', since Zeus has taken away their voices. There have been two main interpretations of this description so far as I know, that of Willamowitz and that of Hermann Fränkel. Willamowitz interprets as follows: "H. will sagen, dass die Krankheit von aussen in den Leib hereinkommt und man davon nichts merkt. Er verwirft also jeden Versuch, die Erkrankung auf natürliche Ursachen zurückzuführen."¹ According to this interpretation Hesiod apparently thinks of diseases as being godsent and not naturally caused, and his description merely emphasizes the fact that diseases come upon men from outside and catch them unawares. Fränkel, however, in a comment on *αὐτόματου*, gives a different opinion: "Bei Homer ist alle Spontanität des Willens und Tuns den Göttern vorbehalten; für Hesiod sind es nicht mehr Apollon und Artemis, die Krankheit und Sterben auf den Menschen schiessen wie der Schütze den Pfeil, sondern die Krankheit fällt ihn an *aus eigenem Willen*. Gewiss hat auch Hesiod geglaubt, dass Gott auf den Lauf der Dinge einwirken kann und dass er tut. Aber er sieht nicht mehr hinter jedem eingreifenden Ereignis Gottes besondere Fügung; vieles was geschieht, wird von den einzelnen wirksamen Faktoren der Welteinrichtung *selbsttätig* vollzogen." [Italics his.]² The diseases are thus seen as com-

¹ U. von Willamowitz-Moellendorf, *Hesiodos Erga* (Berlin 1928) 53. L. Edelstein, "The Distinctive Hellenism of Greek Medicine," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 40 (1966) 208 (= *Ancient Medicine: Selected Papers of Ludwig Edelstein*, ed. O. and C. L. Temkin [Baltimore 1967] 378), comments on *Erga* 103-05: "Here the natural explanation of illness is rejected altogether."

² H. Fränkel, "Drei Interpretationen aus Hesiod," *Festschrift Richard Reitzenstein* (Leipzig/Berlin 1931) 19 (= *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens*², ed. F. Tietze [Munich 1968]

ing upon men in the natural order of things; the word *αὐτόματοι* emphasizes that they are not specially godsent but come of their own accord.

Fränkel's explanation seems to me more satisfying than Wilamowitz's, but not completely so. I suggest that Hesiod means to say not only that (as Fränkel explains) Pandora's diseases come to men in the nature of things, but also that they are different from another class of diseases, those that are specially sent by the gods to punish men, those that are not autonomous forces of nature but god-directed avengers of moral evil. I think Walcot is on the right track when he remarks that since Hesiod describes the diseases as *αὐτόματοι*, to become their victim "can hardly be associated with personal guilt in any form."³ In other words, diseases that come of their own accord are not to be regarded as avenging ministers of justice. But Walcot apparently assumes, as do Wilamowitz and Fränkel, that Hesiod is describing all diseases. I, however, believe that he knows of other diseases whose office it is to punish the wickedness of men, and that he uses *αὐτόματοι* and *αἴτι* to distinguish Pandora's diseases from these avenging ministers.

Plagues in both Homer and Hesiod are regarded as diseases that are specially sent by the gods to punish men. They do not come *αὐτόματοι*. We must qualify Fränkel's implication in the passage quoted above that Apollo and Artemis in Homer bring sickness and death to men. Both Apollo and Artemis cause sudden, painless death *without* sickness.⁴ But only Apollo causes death through sickness, or plague, and then only to punish men for their wickedness. In the first book of the *Iliad* he drives the plague (*ποῦρον* . . . *ἀρεε*, verse 10) among the Achaeans because of their impiety towards his priest.⁵ Similarly, Hesiod, at *Ergea* 242f, tells how Zeus drives (*ἐπιπέσει*) plague against the

331f); with which compare the same author's *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums*² (Munich 1962) 130f.

³ P. Walcot, *Greek Peasants, Ancient and Modern: A Comparison of Social and Moral Values* (Manchester 1970) 85.

⁴ Death by sickness is contrasted at *Od.* 11.172f and 198ff with the gentle death brought on by Artemis, and at *Od.* 15.407ff by Apollo and Artemis.

⁵ We can compare the plague that Apollo brings at the beginning of *Oedipus Tyrannus*. A close biblical parallel is Ezek. 5.15-17 (NEB): "You will be an object of reproach and abuse, a terrible lesson to the nations around you, when I pass sentence on you and do judgement in anger and fury. I, the LORD, have spoken. When I shoot the deadly arrows of famine

unjust city. He is conscious that such diseases are god-driven and not, like Pandora's, *αὐτόματοι*."⁶

As for the fact that Pandora's diseases afflict men 'silently', I think we should note that madness with delirious speech was regarded as a disease specially sent by the gods to punish men.⁷ That madness was considered a godsent punishment is shown by the report of Herodotus (6.84) that most people so interpreted the insanity of the sacrilegious Cleomenes; and we have good evidence that delirious speech was explained as being god-induced and was regarded, as it still is, as a major symptom of madness. The author of the *Sacred Disease* (4.21ff) offers the following examples of those whose diseases were believed to be caused by the gods: "If the patient imitates a goat and roars, or his right side is convulsed, they say that the Mother of the Gods is responsible. But if he utters cries that are piercing and loud, they compare him with a horse and say that Poseidon is responsible." Sophocles, at *Ajax* 243f, has his distraught hero speak a language "that no mortal taught him, but a daemon." In the ninth book of the *Odyssey* the Cyclopes, answering the wailings of the godless Polyphemus, are put off by his saying that no one is bothering him, and conclude that "it is by no means possible to avoid the sickness from great Zeus" (*ποῦρον γ' οὐ πως ἔστι Διὸς μεγάλου ἀλέεσθαι*, verse 411). These Cyclopes are earlier described (verses 106 and 275f) as lawless monsters to whom Zeus and the other immortals are of no concern, but faced with the inexplicable ravings of Polyphemus they are forced to acknowledge the power of Zeus.⁸ Thus it seems likely to me that Hesiod uses *αἴτι* as well as *αὐτόματοι* to describe the diseases of Pandora as coming upon men naturally in contrast to those the gods send as punishments.

This interpretation agrees well with the interpretation of the Pro-
against you, arrows of destruction, I will shoot to destroy you . . . Pestilence and slaughter will sweep through you, and I will bring the sword upon you."

⁶ Socrates, at *Pl.* Ap. 38c and 41b, speaks of natural death in old age as coming *ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτόματου*, with which he contrasts his death by execution as one that is specially caused and even divinely sent, for his divine sign had in no way opposed him during the proceedings that led to his sentence. Demosthenes (18.205) uses *αὐτόματος θάνατος* in the sense of 'natural death' as contrasted with death in battle.

⁷ On the subject of madness see E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Sather Lect. 25, Berkeley 1951) 64ff; and W. D. Smith, "So-called Possession in Pre-Christian Greece," *TAPA* 96 (1965) 403ff.

⁸ H. Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum* (Leipzig 1885), explains *πολύβητος* as *multas voces habens*, a fitting epithet for a raving maniac.

methews-Pandora story as an explanation of natural evils to be contrasted with the immediately succeeding story of the Ages of Man, which deals with moral evils. Walcott, in the passage to which we have already referred, writes as follows: "The first of these [i.e. the Prometheus-Pandora story] is not unlike the Christian tradition of Adam's fall from grace, and may be regarded as Hesiod's aetiology of ancestral sin or evil over which man has no control and for which, therefore, he cannot be held accountable as an individual." I omit several sentences to the effect that Hesiod specifies only two evils, toil and diseases. "The latter are said to range the world by day and by night under their own volition (*αὐτόματοι* in verse 103), and so to fall victim to disease can hardly be associated with personal guilt in any form. The idea of personal responsibility, however, is featured in the alternative myth, the story of the declining ages of mankind."⁹ This contrast between the Prometheus-Pandora story and the story of the Ages of Man is sharpened and strengthened if *αὐτόματοι* and *εργῆ* are meant to distinguish Pandora's diseases from those that come to punish men.

TULANE UNIVERSITY
May, 1972

Bird-Dancer and Satyr-Craftsmen

Theodora Hadzistelou Price

A LATE ARCHAIC black-figure juglet at the University of Chicago, a squat lekythos of unusual shape published briefly thirty years ago,¹ bears a unique and puzzling representation which may be related to the satyr-play and is in any case the earliest depiction of satyr-craftsmen.

Shape, Style and Date

The first publisher noted that the "woman's garment [as the bird-like figure was interpreted] can hardly belong to the sixth century." In fact the slapdash style of the two smaller figures recalls late Attic black-figure of the first two decades of the fifth century B. C., to which it should be dated in spite of the somewhat archaizing shape which recalls sixth-century lekythoi but has no exact parallels among them.² The shape of this vase is squat, pearlike, with flowing uninterrupted contours, quite different from the aryballic lekythoi of the first quarter of the fifth century (PLATES 8 and 9).³ The omission of the ground-line is a feature of the Ripe Archaic and Early Free red-figure style, when some painters (like the Berlin Painter and Sotades Painter) tried to free their figures from the conventional vertical and horizontal frames; this style was taken over by painters of small pots in the old black-figure technique, such as the Haimon Painter⁴ and the painter of our vase. The free background makes the figures look less static and more three-dimensional; it is sometimes used in scenes of

¹ F. P. Johnson, "Be Pottery at Chicago," *A/A* 47 (1943) 305-96, fig. 11. For permission to republish the vase I am indebted to the Classical Collection, University of Chicago.

² See the discussion by Johnson, *loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 1).

³ Ch. Dugas, "Lécythre aryballisque athénien," *BCH* 70 (1946) 172-78, pl. ix and figs. 11f and further bibl.

⁴ C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* (Paris 1936) 130ff.

⁹ Walcott, *loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 3).

GREEK, ROMAN, AND, BYZANTINE, STUDIES

VOLUME 13

Autumn 1972

NUMBER 3

Issued Quarterly

Single Number \$3.00

Annual Subscription \$10.00

For abbreviations in footnotes, this journal follows the usage described in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 74 (1970) 1-8, and for ancient and Byzantine authors and titles, the practice of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* 2 (Oxford 1970) lx-xix and *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Oxford 1961) xi-xlv. Contributors are requested to observe these usages in preparing their manuscripts.

Volume 1 (published as *Greek and Byzantine Studies*) consists of Numbers 1 and 2; Volume 2 (published under the present title) consists of Numbers 1 and 2. Volume 3, Number 4 contains an index for Volumes 1, 2, and 3. No issues were published under the dates 1961 and 1962. From Volume 4, dated 1963, a volume of four issues was published annually. An index to each volume is included in its Winter issue (Number 4). For an announcement concerning supplementary series, see inside back cover.

All communications to the editor should be sent to WILLIAM H. WILLIS, Box 4715 Duke Station, Durham, North Carolina 27706, U.S.A. Orders for subscriptions may be placed with the Circulation Manager, Miss DOROTHY ROUNDS, P.O. Box 144, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies is owned and published by Duke University. Its business office is located at Cambridge, Massachusetts. Second-class postage paid at Boston, Massachusetts; and additional mailing offices.

MANUFACTURED IN GREAT BRITAIN

Hans C. Beck

GREEK, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE, STUDIES

Founded by
JOHN J. BLITZ

Editorial Board

Senior Editor	WILLIAM H. WILLIS, Duke University
Editor for Greek Studies	WILLIAM M. CAIDER III, Columbia University
Editor for Roman Studies	PHILIP A. STADTER, University of North Carolina
Editor for Byzantine Studies	DENO J. GEANAKOPOLOS, Yale University
Assistant Editor	KENT J. RIGSBY, Duke University
Business Manager	DEBORSEY FALES JR, Emerson College
Indexer and Circulation Manager	DOROTHY ROUNDS, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Advisory Board

PHILIP H. DE LACY, University of Pennsylvania
STERLING DOW, Boston College
GLANVILLE DOWNEY, Indiana University
HENRY R. IMMERSVAHR, University of North Carolina
JAMES H. OLIVER, The Johns Hopkins University
ERIC G. TURNER, University College London
GEORGE H. WILLIAMS, Harvard Divinity School

Volume 13 Autumn 1972 Number 3

DUKE UNIVERSITY, DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA