Sofia Bougioukli

PALLADAS'S SELF-REPRESENTATION: THE ERUDITE TEACHER AND CIVIC-MINDED INTELLECTUAL IN FOURTH CENTURY ALEXANDRIA

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

May 2019

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by

Sofia Bougioukli

(Greece)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

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of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Late Antique,

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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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External Supervisor

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I, the undersigned, **Sofia Bougioukli**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 23 May 2019

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Abstract

The current thesis explores a group of epigrams by the understudied poet and grammarian, Palladas of Alexandria (fourth century AD). My thesis will provide, for the first time, an exploration of interconnected aspects of Palladas's self-representation and self-fashioning. Such an investigation into Palladas's construction of these two aspects of the self allows us to address various dimensions of the intellectual and social milieu in the late antique East. I will argue how Palladas builds his image of the ideal intellectual as Hellenic erudite teacher and civic-minded intellectual.

To demonstrate the way the late antique intellectual construct his own image, I will study his explicit self-referential comments, his programmatic statements and his criticism against other intellectuals by means of invective and satire. I will combine a philological and intra-cultural approach: by means of intertextual and discursive analysis, I will examine Palladas's relation to other texts but also contemporary cultural representations.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude towards my thesis supervisors Prof. Volker Menze and Dr. Baukje van den Berg for their motivation and advices. Their insightful discussions helped me during the time of writing this thesis and widened my research from various perspectives. I own special thanks to Volker Menze whose office door was always open for me whenever I had any concerns or questions.

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Finally, I must express my very profound gratitude to my parents, whose love and support are with me in whatever I pursue and to my partner for his continuous encouragement through the process of researching and writing this thesis.

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List of Abbreviations

AP *– Anthologia Palatina*

APl *– Anthologia Planudea*

PLRE- *The Prosopography of the Late Roman Empire*, ed. A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, J. Morris, vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

Introduction

[T]o become pepaideumenos is to engage in an activity whereby the self may become as much a product of art and ingenuity as the literary work itself.

Tim Whitmarsh[1]

The present thesis aims to provide a complex, interdisciplinary exploration of one of the few representatives of epigrammatic poetry from the fourth century AD, Palladas of Alexandria. I do so by focusing on the various strategies of self-representation and self-fashioning which can be discerned from Palladas's selected epigrams, which, in spite of their potential value, have not been properly explored by modern scholarship. The ultimate aim of my project is to reconstruct Palladas's self-fashioning as a member of the late-antique intellectual elite by studying the interplay between two essential components: the Hellenic erudite teacher and the civic-minded intellectual.

Palladas (c. 319-400) left a substantial corpus of epigrams, preserved in the *Palatine Anthology* (*AP*), a tenth century collection of poems and epigrams. His poetry, around 150 epigrams, remains understudied; to date, there is no comprehensive literary or historical commentary on them. From his corpus, I selected (27) epigrams that shed light on his explicit or implicit self-display and self-promotion in late antique Alexandria.

Review of Scholarship

Palladas is an intriguing figure whose epigrams have received the attention of a variety of scholars, including Classicists, Byzantinists and Church historians. To date, modern scholarship focused mostly on his religious profile and the events around the riots against

[1] Tim Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 91.

"pagans" in 391 AD Alexandria mentioned in his poems,[2] his position in the Greek Anthology[3] and his chronology.[4] However, the recent publication of the Yale papyrus codex *P. Ct. YBR Inv. 4000* by Kevin W. Wilkinson initiated discussions of revision and re-evaluation of Palladas's corpus.[5] This papyrus codex, originally containing around sixty epigrams that the editor attributes to Palladas, raised many questions about the ascription of the epigrams and Palladas's chronology. Wilkinson used his own attribution of the codex to Palladas, along with his readings of the epigrams from the *Palatine* (*AP*) and *Planudean Anthology* (*APl*), as an argument to back-date Palladas to c. 259-340 AD and to place him in Constantinople during the reign of Constantine.[6] The Yale codex provides many information about the fourth century Egypt, however, there is not enough evidence to support that these epigrams truly belongs to Palladas and that the traditional chronology of Palladas (c. 319-400) should be revised.[7] My current reading of Palladas's epigrams is not affected by the discussion of his chronology. However, the identification of various names that appear in the epigrams with specific historical figures (Gessius, Magnus, Themistius) assumes the traditional dates.

[2] Johannes Hahn, "The Conversion of the Cult Statues: The Destruction of the Serapeum 392 A.D. and the Transformation of Alexandria into the "Christ-loving" city," in *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity*, ed. Johannes Hahn et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 352-360; Alan Cameron, "Palladas and Christian Polemic," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 55, no. 1/2 (1965): 17-30; Alan Cameron, "Palladas and the Nikai," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 84 (1964): 54-62; Georg Luck, "Palladas: Christian or Pagan?," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 63 (1958): 455-471; Rudolf Keydell, "Palladas und das Christentum," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 50 (1957): 1-3.

[3] Marc D. Lauxtermann, "The Palladas Sylloge," *Mnemosyne* 50 (1997): 329-337; Alan Cameron, *The Greek Anthology: From Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 90-96.

[4] Gianfranco Agosti, "Greek Epigram in Late Antiquity," in *A Companion to Ancient Epigram*, ed. Christer Henriksén (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2019), 598; Lucia Floridi, "Considerazioni in margine alla datazione di Pallada di Alessandria," *Zeitschrift fur Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 197 (2016): 51-69; Robert A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley and LA: University of California Press, 1997), 337; cf. David Woods, "Palladas, Constantine, and Christianity," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 67, no. 2 (2016): 576–593; Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 13-16.

[5] Kevin W. Wilkinson, *New Epigrams of Palladas: A Fragmentary Papyrus Codex (P.CtYBR inv. 4000)* (Durham, NC: The American Society of Papyrologists, 2012).

[6] Kevin W. Wilkinson, "Palladas and the Age of Constantine," *Journal of Roman Studies* 99 (2009): 36–60; Kevin W. Wilkinson, "More Evidence for the Date of Palladas," *Zeitschrift fur Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 196 (2015): 67-71; Kevin W. Wilkinson, "Some Neologisms in the Epigrams of Palladas," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 50 (2010): 295–308.

[7] Luca Benelli, "The Age of Palladas," *Mnemosyne* 69 (2016): 978-1007; Lucia Floridi, "Considerazioni in margine alla datazione di Pallada di Alessandria." 51-69.

In the twentieth century, Palladas's poetry did not receive much appreciation by scholars. In the introduction of the ninth book of the Loeb edition of the Greek Anthology, Paton notably states: "[The ninth book] contains a good deal of the Alexandrian Palladas, […] most of which we could well dispense with."[8] Georg Luck described him as a moral nihilist and he compared him with a freak show manager for his lack of promoting moral values.[9] Gilbert Highet include him among "the world's great pessimists," the *Ecclesiastes*' author, Juvenal, Jonathan Swift and Nietzsche[10] while Baldwin described him as a "poet between two worlds", living in a time of transition between dying "paganism" and the prevalence of Christianity. However, modern English poets and dramatists noticed Palladas's voice and produced translations of his epigrams. Tony Harrison[11] translated and published almost half of Palladas's epigrams in verse, while individual epigrams were also translated by Ezra Pound (AP 11.381)[12] and Robin Skelton.[13]

Recent scholarship being less critical towards Palladas recognizes his revival of the scoptic and satirical epigram and stresses his contribution to the epigrammatic tradition.[14]

[8] William R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, MA and London: Loeb, 1915), 1.

[9] "If it is true that every satirist is a frustrated moralist, Palladas must be the exception to the rule." And "His satire resembles those mirrors at a carnival which distort the face of anyone who comes too close; but he shows us only the distortion, not the ideal, because he has no ideal. His eloquence is, indeed, the eloquence of the manager of a freak showi0; he does not have to appeal to moral standards in order to attract his public." In Luck, "Palladas: Christian or Pagan?," 467; Palladas's moral nihilism appears also in Neil Cooper, "Moral Nihilism," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society 74* (1973 - 1974): 75.

[10] Gilbert Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 142.

[11] Tony Harrison, trans., *Palladas: Poems* (London: Anvil Press Poetry, 1975).

[12] Lea Baechler and A. Walton Litz, eds., *Personae: The Shorter Poems of Ezra Pound* (New York: New Directions Publishing, 1990), 162; Gordon Braden, "Epic Annoyance, Homer to Palladas," *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics* 24, no. 1 (2016): 109-111; Barry Baldwin, *An Anthology of Byzantine Poetry* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1985): 35-36.

[13] For further details on modern translations of Palladas's epigrams, see Gordon Braden, "Epic Annoyance, Homer to Palladas," 103-124.

[14] Luis A. Guichard, "From School to Desacralization, or How Palladas read Homer," in *Traditions épiques et poésie épigrammatique: Présence des épopées archaïques dans les épigrammes grecques et latines*, edited by Yannick Durbec (Louvain-Paris-Walpole MA: Peeters, 2016), 157-170; Daria Kondakova, "Les Épigrammes de Palladas d'Alexandrie (9. 173, 9. 489, 6. 85) et la tradition scolaire de l'Antiquité," *Hyperboreus* 22 (2016): 164-173; Tom Hawkins, *Iambic Poetics in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 181-185; William Henderson, ""He Smiles and Is Gentle": The Lighter Side of Palladas of Alexandria," *Acta Classica* 56 (2013): 62-92; William Henderson, "Palladas of Alexandria on Women," *Acta Classica* 52 (2009): 83-100; William Henderson, "Epigrammatic Psogos: Censure in the Epigrams of Palladas of Alexandria," *Acta Classica* 51 (2008): 91-116; Nikos Litinas, "The Maculate Muse. A Source of Sexual Arousal in Fourth-Century AD Alexandria (Palladas, *AP* 9.395)," *Eugesta* 7 (2017): 68-83.

Ginevra Vezzosi's recent dissertation on Palladas's philosophical and gnomic epigrams contributes to our understanding of this part of Palladas's oeuvre.[15]

At the same time, late antique Greek literature, especially of the fourth century, has been much neglected in scholarship in favour of religious and political subject matters. In the last decades, scholars like Alan Cameron,[16] Gianfranco Agosti[17] and Laura Miguélez-Cavero[18] systematically started addressing the gap in the scholarship of Greek poetry. Lieve van Hoof and Peter van Nuffelen in their recent edited volume on fourth-century literature stressed the importance of studying fourth-century literature in its socio-cultural context, "seeing the social as textual and the textual as social."[19] They particularly stress the constant interaction between fourth century texts and pragmatics and link this with their authors' self-fashioning. Employing a similar approach, Miles and Whitmarsh focus on textual self-making and identity construction in imperial and late antique times.[20]

Methodology and Structure

My research aims to tie in with these current trends in scholarship and to study Palladas's text both as a literary and cultural artefact. What is more, the present thesis takes a step towards closing the existing gap in scholarship by exploring the ideological layer behind Palladas's self-display as seen in his works. I will do so by studying the modalities Palladas

Margot Neger, "Immanent Genre Theory in Greek and Roman Epigram," in *A Companion to Ancient Epigram*, ed. Christer Henriksén (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2019): 187.

[15] Ginevra Vezzosi, "Gil epigrammi gnomici e filosofici di pallada di Alessandria" (PhD diss., University of Salerno and University of Salamanca, 2014).

[16] Alan Cameron, "Poetry and Literary Culture in Late Antiquity," In *Approaching Late Antiquity*, ed. Simon Swain and Mark Edwards (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 327–354.

[17] Gianfranco Agosti, "Greek Poetry in Late Antique Alexandria: between Culture and Religion," in *The Alexandrian Tradition: Interactions between Science, Religion, and Literature*, ed. Luis Arturo Guichard et al. (Bern: Peter Lang, 2014), 287-311; Gianfranco Agosti, "Greek Poetry," in *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, ed. Scott F. Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 361-404;

[18] Laura Miguélez-Cavero, *Poems in Context: Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid 200-600 AD* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008).

[19] Lieve Van Hoof and Peter Van Nuffelen, "The Social Role and Place of Literature in the Fourth Century AD," in *Literature and Society in the Fourth Century AD: Performing Paideia, Constructing the Present, Presenting the Self*, ed. L. Van Hoof and P. Van Nuffelen (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 8-12.

[20] Richard Miles, *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014); Tim Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

used in the construction of his own image, both explicitly and implicitly; namely, through his explicit comments on himself and his poetry as well as through blaming and mocking his intellectual peers. The ultimate purpose is to provide insights into the discourses and constructed identities of late antique intellectuals; or – to paraphrase Clifford Geertz – into the stories that intellectuals told themselves about themselves.[21] Therefore, I will combine a philological and intra-cultural approach: I will conduct a close reading of Palladas's epigrams by analysing their connection with other texts, in terms of allusions to classical literature and I will treat historical and cultural questions raised by the epigrams to shed light on how they fit with the intellectual world of the time.

At first glance, claims of self-representation, especially in poetry, might seem counterintuitive to literary persona theories. However, it is unlikely that a literary *persona* would be completely irrelevant and separate from the author's psyche and experience, especially when a specific *persona* repeatedly appears in an author's oeuvre. When the author builds a specific social and cultural image, it cannot be accidental[22] and, to a certain extent, it has a psychological relation to its author.[23]

At the beginning of my thesis I will briefly discuss the role of classical *paideia* and Homer for constructions of the image of the *litteratus*, the content of Grammar and the socio-economic status of teachers in order to introduce the subject and provide some background information. Then, I will examine the way Palladas constructs the persona of the erudite, albeit poor, schoolteacher but also the way he introduces classical literature in epigrams engaging with his profession. I will argue that he demonstrates a peculiar interpretation of the Homeric epics, a sarcastic juxtaposition of epic poetry and daily life.

[21] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 448.

[22] Lieve Van Hoof and Peter Van Nuffelen, "The Social Role and Place of Literature in the Fourth Century AD," 11.

[23] For a psychoanalytical approach to literature see Peter Brooks, *Psychoanalysis and Storytelling* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: 1994); Kenneth Burke, "Freud-And the Analysis of Poetry," *American Journal of Sociology* 45, no. 3 (1939): 391-417.

The second aspect of Palladas's self-display builds on the image of the ideal intellectual by criticizing other intellectuals in means of invective and satire. For this, in the second chapter I will conduct a "generic" exploration and clarify the terminology related to satire and invective that I employ in my analysis. Next, I will discuss invective as part of the school curriculum and in the context of the fourth century literary production, and, finally, I will explore how Palladas constructs his image through his programmatic statements. The third chapter will demonstrate how his practice of invective and satire offered him the vehicle for his self-representation as an erudite and ethically driven intellectual and will explore aspects of the civic-minded intellectual. Looking into satire and invective to explore Palladas's self-representation departs from the premise that these are discursive practices.

Chapter 1 – Self-representation and the Use of Homer

Σκηνὴ πᾶς ὁ βίος καὶ παίγνιον[24]

Palladas, *AP* 10.72

Foremost in Palladas's explicit self-representation comes the persona of the erudite but struggling grammarian. As seen in his oeuvre, the study of Grammar affected his poetry but also projected his classical *paideia* and Hellenic identity. A group of six epigrams by Palladas share the same topics and depict the same literary persona: a poor schoolteacher in continuous struggle who blames his profession for his misfortune in life. Notably, Palladas incorporates Homeric quotations in epigrams engaging with his profession. I will address Palladas's self-representation based on the way he introduces Homeric quotations into a trivial and quotidian context and I will argue how Palladas fashions himself as an expert on Greek Grammar but also how he demonstrates a peculiar interpretation of the Homeric texts, a sarcastic juxtaposition of epic poetry and daily life.

Homeric quotations are intertwined with trivial themes; through puns, wordplay, various literary devices, textual *displacements*[25] and mythological hints, Palladas creates a witty and mock-serious atmosphere which suggests a sarcastic self-representation and mockery of himself, as well as Grammar and the Homeric epics.

[24] All life is a stage and a play.

[25] By "textual displacement," I mean the excerpt of words or phrases from a text and their placement into another textual context. The *displacement* is used in Sistakou; in her words: "epigrammatists recontextualize the Trojan myth, a device that results in the vulgarization of epic poetry and the reversal of the values it stands for" in Evina Sistakou, "Mock Epic in the Greek Anthology," in *Homère revisité: parodie et humour dans les reécritures homériques. Institut des Sciences et des Techniques de l' Antiquité*, ed. Benjamin Acosta-Hughes, Christophe Cusset, Yannick Durbec, Didier Pralon (Besançon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2011), 195.

1.1 *Paideia*, Homer and Grammar

1.1.1 Self-representation and Greek *Paideia*

From the first century AD, during the period which is identified with the phenomenon of Second Sophistic, literature consisted a medium to project identity. According to Whitmarsh, the Graeco-Roman intellectual constructed his image through his texts and this constructed cultural identity is a product in the same way that a literary product is.[26] Indeed, this cultural identity was identified by Greek *paideia*. More specifically, Classical education was an agent to preserve the "Greek" cultural identity against the "barbarian other" in the Eastern *pars imperii*. Reconstructed Atticizing Greek, shared ideology, social values and aesthetics were the main constituents of the late Roman *litteratus*'s identity.[27] It was the classical education which provided someone with all the features of "a gentleman" and with an entrée to intellectual networks and positions of influence and power.[28]

1.1.2 Homer as a Cultural Marker[29]

Homer constituted the inspiration for Greek literature and culture from antiquity onwards. In the words of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, "through [Homer] all culture (*paideia*) and finally philosophy itself entered our lives"[30] Homer was the point reference and the way for the "Greeks" (i.e. not necessarily of Greek descent but shareholders of the Greek *paideia* and culture) to understand the world, to declare "their values and their sense of Hellenic

[26] Tim Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 37, 91, 123.

[27] Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton University Press, 2001), 9; Edward Watts, "Education: Speaking, Thinking, and Socializing," in *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, ed. S. F. Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 468; Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity. Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 35–41.

[28] Edward J. Watts, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria* (Berkeley and LA: University of California Press, 2006), 5-7.

[29] By "Homer," I mean the Homeric epics and not the historical figure of the poet. Also, the discussions of allusions and echoes of the Homeric epics examines them as written texts and does not relate them to any theories of orality.

[30] *Letter to Gnaeus Pompey* 1.13-14; Richard Hunter, *The Measure of Homer: The Ancient Reception of the Iliad and the Odyssey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 2.

identity."[31] The use of Homer, literary or symbolically, revealed a sophistication in the history of Greek literature and culture.[32] According to Hunter, " it is indeed Homer who makes the world Greek."[33] Thus, in the Graeco-Roman world, references and allusions to Homer were a cultural marker.[34]

1.1.3 Grammar and the Social Status of the Grammarians

Alexandria was a leading philological and grammatical centre from the Hellenistic era up to the sixth century with a variety of universities and institutions focusing on these disciplines.[35]

The *Grammatike*, Grammar in the broader sense, was grounded on classical literature. It was based on the teaching of classical literature and language. A variety of literary and non-literary sources provide information about the teaching material used in Greek educational culture. According to Dionysius Thrax (second to first centuries BC) and Quintilian (first to second centuries AD), Grammar was focused on reading and interpreting the mythological and historical events of texts. Grammatical courses also included linguistic analysis (i.e. the study of words, style and etymology), textual criticism but also aesthetic evaluations of the texts under investigation.[36]

Especially in the secondary level of education, the one of the grammarians, the canon of schoolbooks and school exercises focused on poetry; students read Hesiod, Pindar, Menander but primarily Homer.[37] The latter was "a pillar of Greek education";[38] numerous

[31] Hunter, *The Measure of Homer*, 21. See also Teresa Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 75-78.

[32] Hunter, *The Measure of Homer*, 2.

[33] Hunter, *The Measure of Homer*, 4

[34] Hunter, *The Measure of Homer*, 24

[35] Stephanos Matthaios, "Greek Scholarship in the Imperial Era and Late Antiquity," in *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*, ed. Franco Montanari et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2015), vol 1, 196-199.

[36] Dion. T. 1, *GG* I/1, 5.4–6.3; and *Sch*. Dion. T, *GG* I/3, 12.3–13.6; Quint. *Inst*. 1.8.1–12 and 13–21; Matthaios, "Greek Scholarship in the Imperial Era and Late Antiquity," 204-205.

[37] Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 115-116.

[38] Luis A. Guichard, "From School to Desacralization, or How Palladas Read Homer," in *Traditions épiques et poésie épigrammatique: Présence des épopées archaïques dans les épigrammes grecques et latines*, ed. Yannick Durbec, (Louvain-Paris-Walpole MA: Peeters, 2016): 158.

ancient sources (papyri, wax tablets, ostraca) provide evidence for the significance of Homer in the school curriculum at all levels, from the stage of learning and memorizing the alphabet to the stage of literary analysis and the composition of *progymnasmata*, rhetorical exercises. Thus, in the words of Luis A. Guichard, "it is no exaggeration to say that the point departure for grammar (and teaching as a whole) was the first verses of the *Iliad*".[39] As will be demonstrated, this is clearly pointed out by Palladas as well, namely that the "pernicious wrath" of the *Iliad* was literally the beginning but also the content of Grammar.[40] The grammarians offered a deeper understanding of the works of the poets by making linguistic analyses and writing commentaries, while in many cases they composed poetry themselves.[41] In terms of their position in the educational hierarchy, they constituted the secondary level of education that the students had to attend, after the level of the elementary teachers and before the sophists.

The socio-economic status of grammarians was influenced by complex factors. Their position in the "educational pyramid" decisively affected this status;[42] the elementary teachers were of a lower standing than the grammarians and rhetors. According to the *Edict on Prices* (301 AD) of the emperor Diocletian, grammarians' taxes were four times higher than that of primary teachers while sophists' taxes were only slightly higher than grammarians. This indicates that grammarians and sophists had a considerable advantage over the elementary teachers. However, in 376 AD the emperor Gratian distinguished the grammarian from the teacher of rhetoric in the educational hierarchy by announcing that the latter's income should be twice as much of the grammarian's, recognizing the higher position that sophists held.[43]

[39] Guichard, "From School to Desacralization, or How Palladas Read Homer," 159-60.

[40] Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton University Press, 2001): 196.

[41] Raffaella Cribiore, "Education in the Papyri," in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall, (Oxford University Press, 2011), 330-332; Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 50-59.

[42] Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 59.

[43] Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 61-63.

At the same time, intellectual centres of the empire, such as Athens, Rome, Alexandria, Constantinople and Antioch offered better financial opportunities for teachers than small schools in the hinterlands. Hence, teachers were not a uniform group of professionals and the fact that, in many cases, they had independent, private schools meant that their income was far from uniform across the board. Their position was determined by their location, the school that they were employed in, their own professional reputation, and their family's socio-economic status.[44]

1.2 A Grammarian in Struggle

In this framework, Palladas blames his profession as a grammarian for his poverty and represents himself as a practicing teacher in continuous struggle. Although in one of his poems he admits that he could support the considerable size of his household (*AP* 10.86), his poetry is usually full of complaints about his socio-economic status.

(1) In *AP* 9.168, Palladas presents his life as being full of wrath.

> *"Μῆνιν οὐλομένην" γαμετὴν ὁ τάλας γεγάμηκα*
> *καὶ παρὰ τῆς τέχνης μήνιδος ἀρξάμενος.*
> *ὤμοι ἐγὼ πολύμηνις, ἔχων διχόλωτον[45] ἀνάγκην,*
> *τέχνης γραμματικῆς καὶ γαμετῆς μαχίμης.[46]*
>
> I, unhappy man, have married a wife who is "pernicious
> wrath," and my profession, too, obliges me to
> begin with "wrath." Oh, man of much wrath,
> forced to consort with wrath in two things, my calling
> as a grammarian and my combative wife![47]

In this epigram, the *persona loquens* correlates his wife's wrath with that of Achilles in the *Iliad*. His career also forces him to start with *wrath* since this is the beginning of the

[44] Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind.*, 64-65.

[45] Beckby's edition uses the word *τριχόλωτον* based on the *AP* version but I adopt here the variant *διχόλωτον* from the *Pl* manuscript because it gives justice to the meaning; the *persona loquens* seems to have two furious woes in this epigram, Grammar and his wife, not three.

[46] The text is taken from Hermann Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3 (Munich: Heimeran, 1958), 106.

[47] The translation is taken from W. R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, MA and London: Loeb, 1915), 87-89.

Homeric text; his "violent anger in both personal life and work makes his life a misery"[48]. The power of emotions is enhanced by the repetition of the word *μήνις* ("wrath") three times in a four-line poem as *Μῆνιν*, *μήνιδος* and *Πολύμηνις*. Palladas declares that he has to deal with two furious woes (*διχόλωτον ἀνάγκην*), namely his profession as a grammarian and his "combative wife."

In terms of Homeric phrases in the poem, the first two words *Μῆνιν οὐλομένην* are immediately recognized by the reader as the opening words of the first two lines of the *Iliad*. The threefold repetition of the word *μήνις* ("wrath") as *Μῆνιν*, *μήνιδος* and *Πολύμηνις* refers to the Homeric epics and creates a heroic, warlike environment. *Πολύμηνις* ("of much wrath") is an *hapax legomenon* which immediately reminds the reader of the Homeric epithet *πολύμητις* ("of many counsels"), the typical epithet for Odysseus in the Homeric epics.[49] Except for giving a Homeric colouring to the epigram by creating a pseudo-heroic word, this *paronomasia* also provokes laughter when the reader realizes that the *persona loquens* instead of being a Homeric hero ended up being full of distress. Thus, in this epigram he alludes to both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. *Διχόλωτον* ("double furious") is also an *hapax legomenon* which enhances the emotive abundance of the poem. The final word *μαχίμης* is a relatively common word in literature but is normally used as an adjective for men, especially warriors.[50] Here it is used for a woman as if the married life were like a Homeric battle. These mock-heroic words and the various wordplays add humour to the epigram. [51]

Ultimately, Palladas places two worlds, the heroic and the everyday, side by side. These two distinct worlds are also distinguished and divided by the metrical *caesura*.

Μῆνιν οὐλομένην (heroic) | *γαμετὴν ὁ τάλας γεγάμηκα* (everyday)
καὶ παρὰ τῆς τέχνης (everyday) | *μήνιδος ἀρξάμενος*. (heroic)
ὤμοι ἐγὼ πολύμηνις, (pseudo-heroic) | *ἔχων διχόλωτον ἀνάγκην,* (everyday)

[48] William J. Henderson, "Palladas of Alexandria on Women," *Acta Classica* 52 (2009): 97.
[49] See Gordon Braden, "Epic Annoyance, Homer to Palladas," *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics* 24, no. 1 (2016), 113.
[50] Henderson, "Palladas of Alexandria on Women," 97.
[51] For another analysis of the same epigram, see Henderson, "Palladas of Alexandria on Women," 97.

τέχνης γραμματικῆς (everyday) | *καὶ γαμετῆς μαχίμης*. (pseudo-heroic)

In other words, the two worlds behave like the two metrical *cola*. The juxtaposition is also enhanced by two chiasmi when the words *γαμετὴν* and *τέχνης* are repeated in reverse and placed crosswise as *γαμετὴν* - *τέχνης* / *τέχνης* - *γαμετῆς*.

(2) A similar self-representation appears in *AP* 9.169, which opens with Palladas blaming *the wrath of Achilles* for his poverty.

> *Μῆνις Ἀχιλλῆος καὶ ἐμοὶ πρόφασις γεγένηται*
> *οὐλομένης πενίης γραμματικευσαμένῳ.*
> *εἴθε δὲ σὺν Δαναοῖς με κατέκτανε μῆνις ἐκείνη,*
> *πρὶν χαλεπὸς λιμὸς γραμματικῆς ὀλέσει.*
> *ἀλλ' ἵν' ἀφαρπάξῃ Βρισηίδα πρὶν Ἀγαμέμνων,*
> *τὴν Ἑλένην δ' ὁ Πάρις, πτωχὸς ἐγὼ γενόμην.*[52]
>
> The wrath of Achilles was the cause of pernicious poverty to me too, since I adopted the profession of a grammarian. Would that "wrath" had killed me with the Greeks, before the bitter hunger of grammar had put an end to me. But all to let Agamemnon run away with Briseis, and Paris with Helen, I have become poor.[53]

Here the wrath of Achilles metonymically refers to the *Iliad* as a teaching material. It is not the wrath of Achilles *per se*, but the teaching of Grammar that brings Palladas poverty. Palladas states that he would rather have participated in the Trojan War and have been killed among the Greeks "before the bitter hunger of grammar" would destroy him. Keeping in mind the Homeric setting, the word *λιμὸς* ("hunger") creates a pun with the word *λοιμὸς* ("plague") which occurs in the *Iliad* 1.61.[54] Because of the iotacism, the word must have created an amusing confusion to the audience during its oral performance. In the last two lines he appears envious of Agamemnon and Paris for running away with Briseis and Helen respectively. He also seems to simplify the Trojan myth in this part, as if the whole *Iliad* were only about these

[52] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 106.
[53] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 89.
[54] *Iliad* 1.61: *εἰ δὴ ὁμοῦ πόλεμός τε δαμᾷ καὶ λοιμὸς Ἀχαιούς.*

two “love affairs”, almost as if he were implying: “just for them to have fun, I am miserable and poor”. Similar erotic interpretations of the Trojan myth appear also in Ovid, *Tristia* 2.1.371-380 and Propertius 9.180-181, 10.90-92, 10.94-96 which provide insights to more rationalized interpretations of Homer. However, here Palladas’s simplistic attitude towards the myth must be a rhetorical exaggeration that serves the effect that he wants to achieve, to provoke laughter through his self-mockery without the intention to construct a coherent argument or a detailed elaboration on the Trojan myth. Palladas’s reading of the Trojan myth can be interpreted in the light of the *progymnasmata*, the rhetorical exercises of the schools of grammar and rhetoric. Particularly, the models of such exercises by Libanius of Antioch (fourth century) provide many examples of similar constructions of arguments based on the Homeric epics or the epic cycle. Paradoxical themes and flattened interpretations, selection and omission of events or deeds are employed to serve the subject matter.[55] Especially if one assumes that Palladas’s epigrams were read aloud, detailed elaboration must have been put aside for the sake of the immediacy and the text’s amusing content.

Despite the fact that the events around the Homeric works are tragic, associated with war and death, Palladas introduces them into another context and constructs another interpretation. All in all, he treats the epic in a mocking way, pointing to ridicule and parody.[56]

(3) The persona of the poor grammarian appears in *AP* 9.173 in a similar setting:

> *Ἀρχὴ γραμματικῆς πεντάστιχός ἐστι κατάρα·*
> *πρῶτος “μῆνιν” ἔχει, δεύτερος “οὐλομένην”,*
> *καὶ μετὰ δ’ “οὐλομένην” Δαναῶν πάλιν “ἄλγεα” πολλά·*
> *ὁ τρίτατος “ψυχὰς εἰς Ἀίδην” κατάγει·*
> *τοῦ δὲ τεταρταίου τὰ “ἑλώρια” καὶ “κύνες” ἀργοί,*
> *πέμπτου δ’ “οἰωνοὶ” καὶ “χόλος” ἐστὶ Διός.*
> *πῶς οὖν γραμματικὸς δύναται μετὰ πέντε κατάρας*
> *καὶ πέντε πτώσεις μὴ μέγα πένθος ἔχειν;*[57]

[55] Ruth Webb, “Between Poetry and Rhetoric: Libanios' Use of Homeric Subjects in his "Progymnasmata,” *Quaderni Urbinati Di Cultura Classica* 95, no 2 (2010): 145-149.

[56] Mock-epic in the Greek Anthology, mostly in relation to an erotic framework, is discussed in Sistakou, “Mock Epic.”

[57] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 108.

> The beginning of grammar is a curse in five lines.
> The first has the word "wrath" the second "pernicious,"
> and after that "many woes" of the Greeks;
> the third "leads down souls to Hades"; to the
> fourth belong "spoil" and "dogs"; to the fifth
> "birds" of ill-omen and the "anger of Zeus." How,
> then, can a grammarian avoid having many sorrows
> after five curses and five cases (falls)?[58]

This time, the poet literally "cuts and pastes" words and expressions from the proem of the *Iliad*.[59] This is a school exercise in the making, at the time of its creation.[60] Luis Arturo Guichard suggests that this epigram is an example of practicing and teaching the Greek inflection. [61] Such school exercises are preserved in papyri and wax tablets found in contemporary schools. Students used to make summaries and paraphrases of the epics, especially the first two books of the *Iliad*. [62]

Form and semantic content are intertwined in this epigram when the "curses" are distributed into "five lines" and enclosed in a circular construction which starts and ends with the repetition of five lines and five curses. The last line is a punchline, a pun based on the various meanings of the word *πτώσις*. This word can mean either "case" ("grammatical case") or "fall."[63] The meaning here is ambiguous; it could either work as "case", as it refers to a school exercise, or it could work as "fall", creating the figure of speech *ἓν διὰ δυοῖν* between the words *κατάρας* ("curses") and *πτώσεις* ("fall") as "cursed falls" and corresponding perfectly with Palladas's attitude to Grammar as causing his fall. Thus, he plays on both senses of the word and makes the audience or the reader wonder what he might imply.

(4) A similar setting returns in *AP* 11.378:

[58] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 91.

[59] According to Nisbet, cut-paste activities are indigenous to the scoptic epigrams. See Gideon Nisbet, *Satiric Epigram*, in *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram: Down to Philip*, ed. P. Bing, J.S. Bruss, (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 357.

[60] Guichard, "From School to Desacralization," 3.

[61] Guichard, "From School to Desacralization," 3.

[62] For the importance of memory training in ancient education, see Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 166-167, 213; Alan Cameron, *Callimachus and His Critics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 65.

[63] Palladas uses the word as "fall" in other epigrams too.

Οὐ δύναμαι γαμετῆς καὶ γραμματικῆς ἀνέχεσθαι,
γραμματικῆς ἀπόρου καὶ γαμετῆς ἀδίκου.
ἀμφοτέρων τὰ πάθη θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα τέτυκται.
τὴν οὖν γραμματικὴν νῦν μόλις ἐξέφυγον,
οὐ δύναμαι δ' ἀλόχου τῆς ἀνδρομάχης ἀναχωρεῖν·
εἴργει γὰρ χάρτης καὶ νόμος Αὐσόνιος.[64]

I cannot put up with a wife and with Grammar too,
Grammar that is penniless and a wife who is
injurious. What I suffer from both is Death and
Fate. Now I have just with difficulty escaped from
Grammar, but I cannot escape from this shrewish
wife, for our contract and Roman law prevent it.[65]

In this epigram, the *persona loquens* again blames his wife and his profession for his misfortune. His wife is unfair and hostile, and his job does not generate enough income to lead a prosperous life. Without explaining how, he states that he managed to escape from his job, but he cannot divorce his wife because of their marriage contract and the Roman law. This law can refer either to the Constantinian law of 331 AD (*Theodosian Code* 3.16.1), which stipulated that divorce, initiated by men against their wives, was only allowed in cases of adultery, poison preparer, and tombs violator or a presumptive introduction of a similar law by Valentinian after Julian's death.[66]

His wife and his profession brought Palladas death and fate. His distress and the intensity of emotions are supported by the alliteration of the letter 'γ' created by the words

[64] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 732.

[65] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 4 (Cambridge, MA and London: Loeb, 1918), 251.

[66] According to Ambrosiaster, *Lib. Quaest*. 115.12, Julian repealed this restriction and allowed to women to divorce their husbands freely; see Kyle Harper, "Marriage and Family," in *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, ed. S. F. Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 376; Judith E. Grubbs, *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire: A Sourcebook on Marriage, Divorce and Widowhood* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 203-204. However, in this case, Palladas's epigram can be chronologically placed during either the reign of Constantine or Valentinian. This is one of the arguments that Wilkinson used to backdate Palladas to the late third-early fourth centuries, by arguing that Palladas's reaction could only have occurred at the time of the introduction of the law (331 AD). However, this does not fit with the traditional dating of Palladas and with other historical information that Palladas's oeuvre provides; see Kevin Wilkinson, "Palladas and the Age of Constantine," *Journal of Roman Studies* 99 (2009): 49-51; cf. Luca Benelli, "The Age of Palladas," *Mnemosyne* 69 (2016): 994-998. For the chronology of Palladas see Alan Cameron, "Palladas: New Poems, New Date?," in *Wandering Poets and Other Essays on Late Greek Literature and Philosophy*, ed. A. Cameron, 91-112. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016; also, Lucia Floridi, "Considerazioni in margine alla datazione di Pallada di Alessandria," *Zeitschrift fur Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 197 (2016): 51‑69.

γαμετῆς, γραμματικῆς, γραμματικῆς, γαμετῆς, γραμματικὴν, γὰρ (in a six-line poem!). At the same time, the chiasmus between the words *γαμετῆς* and *γραμματικῆς* as *γαμετῆς – γραμματικῆς, γραμματικῆς – γαμετῆς, γραμματικὴν – ἀλόχου*, creates the two extremes, marriage and Grammar, which Palladas is trapped in between.

Palladas's wife is described as *Ανδρομάχος* "fighting men", "shrewish". This word rarely occurs. In fact, it appears once again in *AP* 7.241 in Antipater of Sidon (second century AD), where it is used to describe a man's hands as "warlike hands."[67] Thus, it is used for combat, for warriors fighting on the battlefield, men against other men, while in Palladas's epigram it refers to the "war" between the married couple; the wife is "fighting a man", i.e. her husband. The fact that the phrase *θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα τέτυκται* is taken from *Iliad* 3.101, the duel of Menelaus and Paris, adds another layer of combat, as if marriage were some kind of Homeric duel.[68] The word might also be an allusion to Andromache, the wife of Hector. Notably, Andromache is presented and described in the Homeric and post-Homeric tradition as the ideal wife, the symbol of spousal love, while here the adjective is used to refer to a shrewish wife. The pun is that Palladas's wife, who might even be called Andromache, is faithful to her name. Ultimately, the words *ἀλόχου τῆς ἀνδρομάχης ἀναχωρεῖν* allude to the farewell scene between Hector and Andromache; here the joke plays on the fact that Palladas cannot say farewell to his own Andromache.

(5) Palladas's change of profession (or retirement) is also stated in *AP* 9.171, where he exclaims that he is selling the books of the Muses.

> *Ὄργανα Μουσάων, τὰ πολύστονα βιβλία πωλῶ*
> *εἰς ἑτέρας τέχνης ἔργα μετερχόμενος.*
> *Πιερίδες, σῴζοισθε· λόγοι, συντάσσομαι ὑμῖν·*
> *σύνταξις γὰρ ἐμοὶ καὶ θάνατον παρέχει.*[69]

[67] *AP* 7.241: […] *πολλὰ τιθηνητὴρ ὀλοφύρατο, χερσὶν ἀμήσας | ἀνδρομάχοις δυοφερὰν κρατὸς ὕπερθε κόνιν.* […] ("and long did thy tutor lament thee, gathering in his | warlike hands the dark dust to scatter on his head.")

[68] See also the first epigram (1) *AP* 9.168.

[69] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 108.

I am selling the implements of the Muses, the
books that have made me groan so much, now that I
am taking to another profession. Farewell, ye Muses.
I bid thee good-bye, Learning; for syntax is the death of me.[70]

He says farewell to the Muses who are used metonymically to refer to the books of Grammar and blames Syntax in the sense of his profession as grammarian for his poverty. In the last two lines, there is a pun created by the words *συντάσσομαι*, "I bid farewell" and *σύνταξις* meaning both "syntax" and "pension."[71]

(6) Except for the "implements of the Muses," in *AP* 9.175, he also sells the books of Callimachus and Pindar, which were also part of a grammarian's teaching material.[72]

Καλλίμαχον πωλῶ καὶ Πίνδαρον ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτὰς
πτώσεις γραμματικῆς πτῶσιν ἔχων πενίης. […][73]
I sell Callimachus and Pindar, and all the cases in
the grammar, being myself a sore case of poverty. […][74]

The word play between the two meanings of the word *πτῶσις*, as "cases of grammar" and "fall of poverty," reappears here as in *AP* 9.173.

In conclusion, it is well-known that punning is used for a witty or humorous effect in rhetoric. In literature, the pun fits in with the broader concept that Ezra Pound, in his essay *How to Read,* called *logopoeia*. *Logopoeia* "employs words not only for their direct meaning, but it takes count in a special way of habits of usage, of the context we expect to find with the word, its usual concomitants, of its known acceptances, and of ironical play."[75] Indeed, Palladas's narrative brings phrases with specific mythological and textual connotations into another context; highbrow, elevated poetry is placed in an everyday context. The legendary,

[70] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 89.
[71] Kaster offers an interpretation of Palladas's pension in Robert A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley and LA: University of California Press, 1997), 328-329.
[72] Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 201-202; Cameron, *Callimachus and His Critics*, 287.
[73] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 110.
[74] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 91.
[75] T.S Eliot (ed.), *Literary Essays of Ezra Pound*, (London; Faber & Faber, 1963), 25.

heroic world and its real, anti-heroic counterpart are placed side by side in a single epigram, in a single line.

At the same time, in this group of epigrams, various literary devices such as puns and wordplay, accompanied by textual *displacements* and mythological hints create a scoptic air,[76] fostering sarcastic self-representation as well as mockery of himself, Grammar and the Homeric epics.[77] In this way, Palladas mocks "real-life drama by reference to epic paradigms."[78] Furthermore, he proves his erudition and demonstrates his teaching skills by incorporating in his poetry grammatical exercises such as inflection, linguistic variations and wordplays with etymology and similarly sounded or spelled words. In this way he displays his practical expertise and competence on the art of grammar. He illustrates that he masters the language currency, i.e. Homer – which reveals his Hellenic cultural identity – but he uses it in an original manner, namely for his own self-fashioning as a competent grammarian.

[76] "Scoptic" (*σκωπτικός*) literally means "given to mockery, jesting" and it is also the title that the eleventh book of the Greek Anthology bears (*σκωπτικά*), in which many epigrams by Palladas are included. Even though some of the epigrams discussed in this chapter are not from the eleventh book, I interpret them as being a semantic unit. For scoptic epigrams and the eleventh book of *AP*, see Gideon Nisbet, "Satiric Epigram," in *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram: Down to Philip*, ed. P. Bing, J.S. Bruss, (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 353-356.

[77] *The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Poetry and Poetics* defines the term "Mock-epic/ Mock-heroic" as "a satiric method in poetry and prose and, more specifically, a distinct subgenre or kind of poetry which seeks a derisive effect by combining formal and elevated language with a trivial subject."; s.v "Mock-epic/Mock-heroic", 791.

[78] Sistakou, "Mock Epic," 208.

Chapter 2 – Invective, Satire and Programmatic Statements

κακῶς εἰπεῖν Ἀττικόν ἐστι μέλι[79]

Palladas, *AP* 1.341

2.1 A "Generic" Exploration

Palladas's epigrams have been identified as satirical, iambic, invective and comic.[80] To better understand his epigrams, his influences and his standing in the literary tradition, a "generic" exploration is in order. This is as necessary a task, however, as it is difficult and addresses controversial issues. Therefore, in order to avoid forcing anachronistic categories on the texts, I will examine genre here only in terms of what contemporary ideas, stylistic preferences and trends were employed by authors. Attempting to relate genre to the history of ideas and the "semantic nature of poetic compositions", rather than dispensing with it by means of dry taxonomy, will prove fruitful in understanding Palladas's poetry. [81] I intend to demonstrate how Palladas adopts features and techniques from various traditions while at the same time alluding to Homer and Aristophanes.

2.1.1 Invective and Learning to Blame

As early as the fifth century BC, when the metrical form of *iambus* started merging with invective and abuse, and Archilochus's and Hipponax's poetry became the epitome of iambic poetry, invective soon became the core of iambics.[82] The term *iambus* stopped being

[79] To speak ill of others is Attic honey.

[80] Gianfranco Agosti, "Greek Poetry," in *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, ed. S. F. Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 365; Tom Hawkins, *Iambic Poetics in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 181-185. Alan Cameron, "Notes on Palladas," *The Classical Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (1965): 220 note 1, 222; Alan Cameron, "Palladas and Christian Polemic," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 55, no. 1/2, (1965): 29; William Henderson, "Epigrammatic Psogos: Censure in the Epigrams of Palladas of Alexandria," *Acta Classica* 51 (2008): 91; John M. Raines, "Comedy and the Comic Poets in the Greek Epigram," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 77 (1946): 95-99.

[81] Andrea Rotstein, *The Idea of Iambus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 4.

[82] Andrea Rotstein, *The Idea of Iambus*, 344.

bound with the iambic metre as such and infused different genres in both poetry and prose, being identified mostly in terms of content rather than form.[83] Its tone began to be associated with terms like *λοιδορία*, *αἰσχρολογία*,[84] *κακηγορία*, *κακολογία*, *διαβολή* and *ψόγος*.[85]

Even though Palladas wrote some epigrams in the iambic trimeter, the traditional meter of iambic poetry, his oeuvre is dominated by the elegiac couplet as its metrical form.[86] Thus, here the meter does not give any indication as to generic affiliation in his poetry.

A discussion of invective immediately recalls the rhetorical exercises (*progymnasmata*) and particularly the one of *psogos*. *Progymnasmata* are the rhetorical exercises which prepared students of rhetoric in composition and had a central role in the curriculum of ancient education from the Hellenistic era onwards. The *progymnasmata* shaped elite discourse and prepared young men for public display and public life.[87] These exercises are ubiquitous in all sorts of utterances in late antique society. [88] Surviving handbooks of rhetoric provide insights as to the specific guidelines that the students had in hand for the learning of all kinds of composition.

The handbooks of *progymnasmata* describe the exercise of *psogos* as the obverse of encomium, without providing further details. Based on Aphthonius's guidelines and Libanius's examples, one can draw a typology of both *encomium* and *psogos* along these lines: [89]

[83] Gianfranco Agosti, "Late Antique Iambics and Iambike Idea," in *Iambic Ideas: Essays on a Poetic Tradition from Archaic Greece to the Late Roman Empire*, ed. Alberto Cavazere et al. (Lanham, MD: Routledge, 2001), 219–220.

[84] Agosti, "Late Antique Iambics and Iambike Idea," 219-220.

[85] Rotstein, *The Idea of Iambus,* 319.

[86] Seventeen epigrams are in iambic trimeter; for instance, AP 9.180-1, 9.400, 10.90-2, 94-6.

[87] Ruth Webb, "The Progymnasmata as Practice," in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, ed. Y. Lee Too (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 289-290.

[88] For instance, analysis on the use of *progymnasmata* in the works of Cicero and Lucian has been made by Frazel and Anderson respectively; see Thomas Frazel, *The Rhetoric of Cicero's "In Verrem"* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009) and Graham Anderson, "Lucian: A Sophist's Sophist," *Yale Classical Studies* 27 (1982): 61–92. Webb draws links between Libanius's *Progymnasmata* and the writings of the Cappadocian Fathers in Ruth Webb, "Between Poetry and Rhetoric: Libanios' Use of Homeric Subjects in his 'Progymnasmata'," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 95, no. 2 (2010): 149-152.

[89] George A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 111-112; Craig A. Gibson, *Libanius's Progymnasmata: Model Exercises in Greek Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 267-319.

A composition of *encomium* or *psogos* builds on four main headings: (1) the subject's origin: nation, homeland, ancestors, parents; (2) the upbringing: habits, *tekhne*, conduct; (3) the deeds: related to mind, body and fortune; and (4) a comparison to prove the subject's superiority or inferiority over another subject.

As it will be demonstrated, these headings influenced Palladas's invective and appear particularly in his epigrams against intellectuals. Is this an indication that Palladas's invective resembles rhetoric more than poetry?

2.1.2 Poetry or Rhetoric?

Penella suggests reading the whole Roman imperial literature "progymnasmatically."[90] However, this is only one side of the coin. It is important to stress that *progymnasmata* and poetry were engaged in constant dialogue. From antiquity onwards, the interaction between literature and rhetoric can be identified with a process of "literaturization"[91] of rhetoric and "rhetorization" of literature.[92] Ancient poetry and especially the Homeric epics constituted a database of themes, characters and rhetorical techniques for teachers and students for practicing composition while poetry was studied simultaneously with rhetoric even in the highest levels of education.[93]

The content of the *progymnasmata* was taken from the ancient poets, primarily Homer and the epic cycle, mythology and history. Even though the examples found in the handbooks

[90] Robert J. Penella, "The Progymnasmata and Progymnasmatic Theory in Imperial Greek Education" in *A Companion to Ancient Education*, ed. Martin W. Bloomer (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 169.

[91] Florescu coined the term *letteraturizzazione* to describe this phaenomenon; see Vasile Florescu, *La Retorica nel suo sviluppo storico* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1971), 43.

[92] See Laurent Pernot, *Rhetoric in Antiquity* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 196-197; George A. Kennedy, *Classical rhetoric and its Christian and secular tradition from ancient to modern times* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 127-130; Webb, "The Progymnasmata as Practice," 289– 92; Laura Miguélez-Cavero, *Poems in Context: Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid 200-600 AD* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 264-265.

[93] Notably, as attested in Lib. *Let.* 1296, the sophist Themistius taught, except for rhetoric and philosophy, poetry and astrology. See Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 225-230; Rafaella Cribiore, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 100-104; Webb, "Between Poetry and Rhetoric," 132-134; Richard Hunter, "The Rhetorical Criticism of Homer," in *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*, ed. Franco Montanari et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2015), vol 2, 686-690.

of *progymnasmata* are in prose—their aim was to prepare students for public life—Egyptian papyri also reveal examples of the rhetorical exercises of *encomia* and *ethopoieai* in verse.[94] On the other hand, since a poetic product is itself a composition, it also presents and argues, like a rhetorical piece.[95] Any attempt to establish whether invective in Late Antiquity originates from poetry or rhetoric will inevitably end up being a chicken-and-egg sort of problem. Their dialogue is constant, and they cannot be easily separated. In the words of Aelius Theon (first century AD), *Progymnasmata* 2.70:

> "Training in the [pro]gymnasmata is absolutely necessary not only for those who are going to practice rhetoric, but also if one wishes to undertake the function of poets or historians or any other writers. These exercises are, as it were, the foundation of every kind of discourse, and, depending on how one instils them in the minds of the young, necessarily the results make themselves felt in the same way later."[96]

Thus, is Palladas's invective influenced by the ancient *iambus* or the rhetorical exercises of invective? Studying Palladas's poetry, one can argue that he is influenced both by the iambic-Archilochean tradition of invective but also by the rhetorical exercises of *psogos*. At the same time, his references and allusions to the Homeric epics—as discussed in the previous chapter—and their influence in every verbal expression cannot be overlooked. It seems that Palladas had at his disposal a large reservoir of themes and he drew examples both from traditional poetry, either epic or iambic, and the rhetorical training itself (*psogos*).

2.1.3 Invective and Satire

Satire and invective are closely related, since both employ abusive language and might trigger laughter. However, while satire also reveals an ethical concern and demands a moral

[94] Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 229-230. For more examples of poetry being influenced by Progymnasmata see Miguélez-Cavero, *Poems in Context*, 264.

[95] Webb, "Between Poetry and Rhetoric," 134.

[96] Theon, *Progymn*. 2.70, trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric*, 13.

viewpoint by the public, invective publicly discredits and defames its subject, usually named or implied, without an apparent moralizing dimension. According to Highet,

> "Invective and lampoon are full of hatred and wish only to destroy. […] The man who writes an invective would be delighted if, after delivering it, he were told that his subject had been overwhelmed by shame and obloquy and had retired into oblivion. […] As for satire, the satirist always asserts that he would be happy if he heard his victim had, in tears and self-abasement, permanently reformed; but he would in fact be rather better pleased if the fellow were pelted with garbage and ridden out of town on a rail. […] The purpose of invective and lampoon is to destroy an enemy. […] The purpose of satire is, through laughter and invective, to cure folly and to punish evil; but if it does not achieve this purpose, it is content to jeer at folly and to expose evil to bitter contempt."[97]

In general, authors, by ridiculing and contemning a character or behavior, build a relationship with the audience, create a feeling of superiority to both of them and "reinforce intra- and inter-group bonds, strengthening the cohesiveness of interpersonal relations."[98] In principle, "[d]espite the aesthetic and often comic or witty pleasure associated with much satire, their authors incline toward self-promotion as judges of morals and manners, of behavior and thought."[99] In this framework, I intend to demonstrate how Palladas constructs his self-fashioning and self-promotion as ideal intellectual through his self-referential epigrams but also, implicitly, through his invective and satirical epigrams.

2.2 Self-display Through Programmatic Statements

The following group of epigrams includes Palladas's explicit statements on his poetics, which are linked to his invective attitude and social criticism. In these epigrams, he breaks the fourth wall and reveals to his audience the reasons behind his practice of invective and also the role of poetry in society.

(1) In *AP* 11.340, Palladas exclaims that writing epigrams is his sickness.

Ὤμοσα μυριάκις ἐπιγράμματα μηκέτι ποιεῖν,

[97] Gilbert Highet, *Anatomy of Satire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 155-156.
[98] Paul Simpson, *On the Discourse of Satire: Towards a Stylistic Model of Satirical Humor* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003), 3.
[99] *New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, s.v. "satire", 1114.

πολλῶν γὰρ μωρῶν ἔχθραν ἐπεσπασάμην·
ἀλλ' ὁπόταν κατίδω τοῦ Παφλαγόνος τὸ πρόσωπον
Πανταγάθου, στέξαι τὴν νόσον οὐ δύναμαι.[100]

I swore ten thousand times to make no more epigrams,
for I had brought on my head enmity of many fools,
but when I set eyes on the face of the Paphlagonian
Pantagathos I can't repress the malady.[101]

It is notable that epigrammatic poetry appears as a metonymy for invective poetry. What brings him hostility is not the poetic form of the epigram but the abusive attacks in them. As Henderson suggests, Pantagathos's name can be read as part of the joke, as "Mr. All-Good"[102] which might reveal Palladas's irony against Pantagathos's claimed excellence. Then, by referring to Paphlagon, he could indicate the place of origin of Pantagathos,[103] or him being a "splutterer, blusterer," through an etymological pun. Alternatively, he could allude to the Aristophanic comedy and to how it was used proverbially in literature as an insult.[104] In *Knights*, being "a scoundrel", a bribetaker, a thief and a liar are among the many features that Aristophanes attributes to Paphlagon.[105] Aristophanes was read at Graeco-Roman schools and if Palladas was indeed a grammarian, he must have had Aristophanes' *Knights* at his disposal.[106]

(2) In *AP* 11.341, he admits about his own invective that:

Αἰνίζειν μὲν ἄριστον, ὁ δὲ ψόγος ἔχθεος ἀρχή,

[100] The text is taken from Hermann Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3 (Munich: Heimeran, 1958), 710.

[101] The translation is taken from W. R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 4 (Cambridge, MA and London: Loeb, 1918), 229.

[102] William Henderson, "Epigrammatic Psogos: Censure in the Epigrams of Palladas of Alexandria," *Acta Classica* 51 (2008): 95.

[103] A famous contemporary Paphlagonian was Themistius.

[104] Agosti, "Late Antique Iambics and Iambike Idea," 235; Alan Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 3.

[105] Thomas Conley, *Toward a Rhetoric of Insult* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 107; Ralph M. Rosen, "Aristophanes," in *Brill's Companion to the Study of Greek Comedy*, ed. Gregory Dobrov (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 245-255.

[106] School commentaries on Aristophanes are found on papyri and manuscript marginalia. Moreover, according to Cribiore, Aristophanes probably was read mostly at the highest levels of education because of his peculiar language and suggestiveness to contemporary events. Libanius (*Or*. 2.48), for instance, was also familiar with Aristophanes's works, as noted by Eunapius (*Lives of the Sophists* 16.2.2-3); see Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 201-202.

ἀλλὰ κακῶς εἰπεῖν Ἀττικόν ἐστι μέλι.[107]

It is best to praise, and blaming is the cause of enmity
But yet to speak ill of others is Attic honey.[108]

Although in this passage Palladas seemingly recognizes that "it is best to praise" while "to blame causes hostility", he likens verbal abuse to Attic honey. The words *αἰνίζειν* and *ψόγος* allude to the rhetorical exercises of *ἔπαινος* and *ψόγος*, constituting the two sides of the same coin in rhetoric. If one interprets "Attic honey" as something sweet, invective is for Palladas a sweet satisfaction. Hawkins's reading refers to the therapeutic qualities of Attic honey which can be further developed to interpret as a pleasant "medicine."[109] The adjective "Attic" may also suggest something splendid and idealized, especially in Palladas's intensely Atticizing times. The poem itself is built as a priamel – albeit a short one – concluding with what the author prefers to do.

(3) The addressee of *AP* 11.291 seems to be a fellow poet of iambics, which the *AP* lemmatist indicates as *εἰς Νίκανδρον*.[110]

Τί ὠφέλησας τὴν πόλιν στίχους γράφων,
χρυσὸν τοσοῦτον λαμβάνων βλασφημίας,
πωλῶν ἰάμβους ὡς ἔλαιον ἔμπορος;[111]

"What good do you do to the city by writing verses, getting so
much gold for your slanders, selling iambic verses as a shopman sells oil?"[112]

The *persona loquens* asks the iambographer how he benefited the city by receiving gold for his poetry as if he was an oil merchant. In this epigram, Palladas's critique externalizes his social anxiety about the role of invective – or even poetry in general – in the city (probably

[107] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 710.
[108] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 4, 229.
[109] Tom Hawkins, *Iambic Poetics in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 183-184.
[110] The lemmatist of the *AP* is many times mistaken in his interpretation; cf. Maurice C. Bowra, "Palladas and the Converted Olympians," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 53, no. 1 (1960): 2.
[111] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 686.
[112] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 4, 207.

Alexandria). However, if, by the term *ἰάμβους*, Palladas refers metonymically to poetry in general, then he fiercely criticizes the iambographer for trading in poetry, like commercializing a social duty whereby an intellectual product is treated like everyday goods. Similar attitude towards oil-sellers, together with other "craftsmen" appear in Libanius's *To His Students on the Carpeting* where he contrasts his students "deemed worthy of initiation into the rites of Hermes" (i.e. rhetoric) to craftsmen in order to stress the educated man's socio-cultural and intellectual superiority.[113] A reading of Palladas's and Libanius's passages in parallel reveals why a neutral word, such as "merchant" it is turned into an insult.

Hawkins is likely correct in suggesting that this epigram is an "introspective critique."[114] In this interpretation, Palladas questions his own role in the society; thus, the criticism turns back to Palladas himself and the epigram ends up being self-reflective than an attack against a fellow-poet. While at first reading the epigram, comparing a poet to an oil merchant sounds humorous, it finishes in an obvious disappointment and bitterness, which are all indications of a satirical piece. Moreover, the fact that the epigram itself is written in iambic meter cannot be a mere coincidence.

(4) Finally, in *AP* 10.49, his invective is as natural and necessary as breathing.

> *Καὶ μύρμηκι χολὴν καὶ σέρφῳ φασὶν ἐνεῖναι·*
> *εἶτα χολὴν μὲν ἔχει ζῷα τὰ φαυλότατα,*
> *ἐκκεῖσθαι δ' ἐμὲ πᾶσι χολὴν μὴ σχόντα κελεύεις,*
> *ὡς μηδὲ ψιλοῖς ῥήμασιν ἀνταδικεῖν*
> *τοὺς ἔργοις ἀδικοῦντας; ἀποφράξαντα δεήσει*
> *λοιπὸν ὁλοσχοίνῳ τὸ στόμα μηδὲ πνέειν.*[115]
>
> They say that even ants and gnats have bile. So,
> while the most insignificant beasts have bile, do you
> bid me have no bile and lie exposed to the attacks of
> all the world, not even wronging by mere words those
> who wrong me by deeds? I have for the rest of my life

[113] *Or*. 58.4-5; trans. A. F. Norman, *Antioch as a Centre of Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanius* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 171.

[114] Tom Hawkins, *Iambic Poetics in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 182.

[115] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 500.

to stop up my mouth with a rush and not even breathe.[116]

In terms of construction, the epigram opens with an aphorism in order to strengthen the author's argument and ends up with an allusion to Aeschines.[117] When he mentions bile, he refers metonymically to emotions. If for Libanius, rhetoric is the agent for "punishing those who have caused one pain", for Palladas this function is operated by poetry. [118]

Palladas exclaims to his unnamed addressee that he cannot stop wronging the people who hurt him; lest he shut his mouth and die. While in the previous epigram he could not resist the disease, here it is a matter of survival. His weapon is his poetry. In terms of programmatic statements, those "mere words" could well refer to his own invective epigrams. This epigram goes one step further than the previous one: here he stands up against people who act unjustly against him personally and at large.

In this group of epigrams, Palladas fashions himself as a victim of his own art and of his social role; as he rebuked his fellow iambographer for, poetry writing is not a profession but has a function in society and should benefit the city. Furthermore, his epigrams are a "malady"; even though they bring him troubles, he cannot stop himself from ridiculing the "Mr. All-Ggood". His invectives are sweet as honey and a medicine for him, or even for the society at large, that "cure folly and […] punish evil", as Highet described. [119] Palladas's self-representation here can be interpreted in the light of the iambic-satirical tradition; namely, the victimization of the satirist is a literary *topos* which goes back to Archilochus and Hipponax and it functions in poetry as vehicle for the satirist to justify his attacks and invective. [120] This

[116] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 4, 27.

[117] Aeschin. *Or*. 2.21: *ὥστε ἀπορράψειν τὸ Φιλίππου στόμα ὁλοσχοίνῳ ἀβρόχῳ*.

[118] Lib. *Chreia* 3.17, trans. Craig A. Gibson, *Libanius's Progymnasmata: Model Exercises in Greek Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 69.

[119] Gilbert Highet, *Anatomy of Satire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 156.

[120] Todd M. Compton, "Appendix B: Aggression and the Defensive Topos; Archilochus, Callimachus, Horace," in *Victim of the Muses: Poet as Scapegoat, Warrior and Hero in Greco-Roman and Indo-European Myth and History* (Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies 2006), accessed April 22, 2019, http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebook:CHS_Compton.Victim_of_the_Muses.2006.

"apologetic" attitude is another indication of the moralizing stance that the satirists, such as Palladas, take when they criticize.

Chapter 3 – Self-representation as Civic-Minded Intellectual

Bald ist das Epigramm ein Pfeil,
Trifft mit der Spitze;
Ist bald ein Schwert,
Trifft mit der Schärfe;
Ist manchmal auch (die Griechen *liebten's so)*
Ein klein Gemäld', ein Strahl, gesandt
Zum Brennen nicht, nur zum Erleuchten.[121]

Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock

Invective and satire against intellectual peers

An extensive part of the oeuvre of Palladas includes satirical poems directed against members of late-antique society. This chapter will examine the satirical and invective techniques that Palladas uses to defame and/or mock other intellectuals. Particularly, I will address the way that he communicates with his intellectual peers and how invective and satire offer him the vehicle for his self-representation as an erudite and ethically driven intellectual.

Palladas's invective and satire are directed against gods, women, different civic positions and professions, and many intellectuals.[122] This chapter focuses on the latter because intellectuals are the most frequent target in his invective and satirical epigrams but also because they provide a well-defined pole to examine his self-definition and representation through his opposition and comparison in his own social group. His "victims", intellectuals of his time,

[121] "Sometimes an epigram is an arrow; it strikes with its point. Sometimes it is a sword; it strikes with its sharpness. It is often also (the Greeks liked it so) a small picture, a ray sent not to burn, but only to illuminate."; Christian F. R. Vetterlein, *Klopstocks Epigramme, gesammelt und erläutert* (Leipzig: Lehnhold, 1830), 1; Peter Howell, "Epigram in the Later Western Literary Tradition," in *A Companion to Ancient Epigram*, ed. Christer Henriksén (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2019), 674.

[122] For instance, against gods: *AP* 9.441, 9.773, 10.34, 10.53; against women: 9.165-167, 10.55-56; against officials: 9.393, 11.283-285.

whether famous or not, are poets, philosophers, rhetors, teachers, a lawyer, a surgeon and a *geometres*, who are either referred to by their "name" or as types of people.

The first two epigrams are cases of invective against physical defects.

(1) In *AP* 11.204, Palladas mocks the rhetor Maurus and the "murderous sounds" from his big lips:

> *Ῥήτορα Μαῦρον ἰδὼν ἐτεθήπεα ῥυγχελέφαντα,*
> *χείλεσι λιτραίοις φθόγγον ἱέντα φόνον.*[123]
>
> I was thunderstruck when I saw the rhetor Maurus, with a snout like an elephant, emitting a voice that murders on from lips weighing a pound.[124]

Firstly, the verb *θηπέω* ("to be thunderstruck"), a rare word used mostly in epic poetry, may have been chosen by Palladas because his addressee is an intellectual peer who could grasp the reference. Maurus's elephantine features introduce animal imagery to the poem. [125] The compound *ῥυγχελέφας* can be interpreted either as him having a big nose or, especially considering the following criticism on his voice, it could refer to the sound of an elephant's trunk.[126] In literature, elephants frequently appear with positive connotations, as smart and wise animals.[127] The use of the elephant as a negative simile only occurs in Libanius *Or*. 30.8, when the author attacks Christian monks for gluttony and drinking.[128] In Libanius as well as in

[123] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 646.

[124] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 4, 169.

[125] Regarding the name of the rhetor, which literarily means "black", scholars interpret it as a proper name but in *The Prosopography of the Late Roman Empire*, vol. 1, ed. A. H. M. Jones et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 570, s.v. "Maurus 3" is suggested that it may be an appellation referring to ethnicity, i.e. a "Moor."

[126] Coleman reads the passage as referring to Maurus's nose; see Kathleen M. Coleman, "Epigram Society and Political Power," in *A Companion to Ancient Epigram*, ed. Christer Henriksén (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2019), 67.

[127] See for instance, Pliny *Nat. Hist*. 8.11, Apollonius 2.15.

[128] Lib. *Or*. 30.8: "this black-robed tribe, who eat more than the elephants and, by the quantities of wine they consume, weary those that accompany their drinking with the singing of hymns." Translation in Libanius, *Selected Works*, vol. 2, trans. A. F. Norman (Cambridge, MA, and London: Loeb, 1977), 107.

Palladas, the point of comparison seems to be the feature of the elephant to be an animal of enormous size.[129]

Whether Palladas mocks the sound of Maurus's voice or the incomprehensible words from his "big mouth," both these features conflict with his profession as a rhetor, who were supposed to be eloquent and pleasant speakers. Moreover, whether the epigrams were performed aloud, the last word *φόνον* ("murders") could also be easily misheard as *φωνῶν* ("voices"), especially with the accentuation of the last syllable during the oral metrical performance; one can imagine the audience wondering what exactly he might mean. This paronomasia may have added to the humorous effect.

The word *λιτραῖος*, meaning "weighing, being worth a pound", immediately takes the reader to a city market and introduces low-register language in the poem. The word only occurs in Palladas and Galen, but also strangely in *Batrachomyomachia* (c. first century AD), a parody of the Homeric epics.[130] A short exploration of this latter occurrence might add another layer to Palladas's use of the word here. In *Batrachomyomachia,* 226 the word appears as: *Λιτραῖον δ' ἀρ' ἔπεφνεν Βορβοροκοίτης* ("The one weighing a pound was slain by the worthy Sludgecouch").[131] The similarity between the phrase *Λιτραῖον*[132] *δ' ἀρ' ἔπεφνεν* from *Batrachomyomachia* and Palladas's *λιτραίοις φθόγγον* is notable. As mentioned before, the word *λιτραῖος* rarely occurs but in both occasions, it stands next to variations of *θείνω* ("slay") or its derivative noun *φόνος* ("murder"). What is more, his contemporary Gregory of Nazianzus (fourth century) uses vocabulary from *Batrachomyomachia* extensively while there are indications that Cyril of Alexandria (early fifth century), Claudian (early fifth century), Nonnus

[129] Also, in Tertulian, *De anim.* 32.

[130] The word *λίτρα* appears in *AP* 10.97 when Palladas refers to his age "having lived a pound of years."

[131] Translation is slightly adjusted by me from *The Battle of Mice and Frogs,* trans Martin L. West (Cambridge, MA and London: Loeb), 285.

[132] Even though the word *Λιτραῖον* is preserved in most of the manuscripts, it does not fit the content of the particular passage of *Batrachomyomachia*. However, this is not an issue of the current investigation. For further details see Matthew Hosty, "An Edition with Commentary of the *Batrachomyomachia*" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2013), 127.

(c. late fourth to fifth centuries) and Timotheus of Gaza (fifth century) also did.[133] While these considerations cannot prove that Palladas read and alluded a version of *Batrachomyomachia*, they make it at least likely.[134] Palladas's allusion to parody can be another indication that a low register language is intended here.

(2) Another example of jesting on physical defects against an intellectual is the following epigram, *AP* 11.349, which body-shames a *geometres* (surveyor).[135]

> *Εἰπέ, πόθεν σὺ μετρεῖς κόσμον καὶ πείρατα γαίης*
> *ἐξ ὀλίγης γαίης σῶμα φέρων ὀλίγον.*
> *σαυτὸν ἀρίθμησον πρότερον καὶ γνῶθι σεαυτόν,*
> *καὶ τότ' ἀριθμήσεις γαῖαν ἀπειρεσίην.*
> *εἰ δ' ὀλίγον πηλὸν τοῦ σώματος οὐ καταριθμεῖς,*
> *πῶς δύνασαι γνῶναι τῶν ἀμέτρων τὰ μέτρα;*[136]
>
> Tell me whence comes it that thou measurest the Universe and the limits of the Earth, thou who bearest a little body made of a little earth? Count thyself first and know thyself, and then shalt thou count this infinite Earth. And if thou canst not reckon thy body's little store of clay, how canst thou know the measures of the immeasurable?[137]

According to the *persona loquens*, the unnamed addressee employs his mathematical skills to measure the earth but has not measured his small body first. The magnitude of the earth juxtaposed with the *geometres*' exiguity advices his victim to rethink his insignificant

[133] Hosty, "An Edition with Commentary of the *Batrachomyomachia*," 83-84.

[134] If Palladas was truly a grammarian, it would be fruitful to also consider whether parody was among the schoolbooks. To my knowledge there is no clear evidence that parody was taught in Graeco-Roman schools. However, the recent excavations at the village Kellis, in the western part of the Dakhleh Oasis in Upper Egypt, unearthed various school related objects, including a fourth-century miniature wooden codex consisting of a parody of Homer with gastronomic content. This may indicate that parody in general was not absent from the late antique school curriculum and makes it more likely that Palladas had it at his disposal. See Raffaella Cribiore, "School Structures, Apparatus, and Materials," in *A Companion to Ancient Education*, ed. Martin W. Bloomer (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 157; see also Elena Ermolaeva, "A School Ancient Greek Epic Parody from Kellis," *Hyperboreus* 20 (2014): 370-382.

[135] *Geometres* (surveyors) was one of the mathematical professions. Mathematical professions were highly valued in general and were linked to intellectual practices; see, for instance, Firmicus Maternus *Math.* 155.24, 159.1, 164.3; Hephaestio, *Ap*. 149.28-30; for further details, see Serafina Cuomo, *Pappus of Alexandria and the Mathematics of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 14-16; Laura Miguélez-Cavero, *Poems in Context: Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid 200-600 AD* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 241-242.

[136] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 714.

[137] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 4, 233.

place in existence. In combination with the ancient proverb *γνῶθι σεαυτόν* ("know thyself"), Palladas urges this *geometres* to exercise self-awareness and moderation.[138] The Homeric phrases *πείρατα γαίης*[139] and *γαῖαν ἀπειρεσίην*[140]may be another indication that the object of his mockery is an intellectual peer, able to grasp the references. The suggestive image of the surveyor taking his own measurements in combination with the wordplay *τῶν ἀμέτρων τὰ μέτρα* ("the measures of the immeasurable") and the chiasmus *μετρεῖς - γαίης*, *γαίης - ἀρίθμησον* and *ἀριθμήσεις - γαῖαν* enhances the jest.

(3) In *AP* 11.263, Palladas mocks the comedian, Paulus, as an incompetent imitator of Menander (fourth to third century BC), the main representative of New Comedy.

> *Παύλῳ κωμῳδῷ κατ' ὄναρ στὰς εἶπε Μένανδρος·*
> *"Οὐδὲν ἐγὼ κατὰ σοῦ, καὶ σὺ κακῶς με λέγεις."*[141]
>
> Menander, standing over the comedian Paulus in his sleep,
> said: "I never did you any harm, and you speak me ill".[142]

Paulus's unskilful comedies upset the memory of the ancient comedian and in turn triggered Palladas's mockery against Paulus, depicting in this way chain reactions, as if Palladas were the defender of Menander. Here, the wit and humour are enhanced by the dialogic element which is introduced in the narrative by the speech of Menander himself. Presenting the dead poet speaking, Palladas recalls the rhetorical exercise of *ethopoiea* and, particularly, *eidolopoeia*, when students of rhetoric had to imagine and compose what mythological or historical figures might have said in different occasions. What is more, even though the phrase *σὺ κακῶς με λέγεις* is relatively common, Palladas likely makes Menander

[138] For this proverb see *Suda*, gamma 333; also, Hermann Tränkle, "ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ: Zu Ursprung und Deutungsgeschichte des delphischen Spruchs," *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* 11 (1985): 19-31.

[139] *Il*. 14.200, 14.301 and *Od*. 4.563.

[140] *Il*. 20.58.

[141] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 574.

[142] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 4, 195.

speak in front of the audience in his own words by altering the phrase *οὐ κακῶς μέντοι λέγεις* from Menander's *Epitrepontes*, 510.

(4) After the invectives of the rhetor, the surveyor, the comedian, comes the ridicule of a poet whose muse is Tabliope. In his words (*AP* 11.373),

> *Πάντων μουσοπόλων ἡ Καλλιόπη θεός ἐστιν·*
> *ἡ σὴ Καλλιόπη Ταβλιόπη λέγεται.*[143]
>
> Calliope is the goddess of all poets:
> your Calliope is called Tabliope.[144]

Palladas attacks a poet whose Muse is not Calliope but Tabliope, creating wordplay with the name of the muse of poetry, Calliope, and a name invented by Palladas for the "muse" of the draughts (*Tabla*), Tabliope, that the victim of his mockery seems to favour more.

In the next two epigrams, *AP* 11.280-281, Palladas directs his malediction against the physician Gennadius and the sophist of medicine, Magnus, respectively.[145]

(5) In *AP* 11.280 Palladas exclaims:

> *Βέλτερον Ἡγέμονος ληστοκτόνου ἐς κρίσιν ἐλθεῖν*
> *ἢ τοῦ χειρουργοῦ Γενναδίου παλάμας.*
> *ὃς μὲν γὰρ φονέας ὁσίως στυγέων κατατέμνει,*
> *ὃς δὲ λαβὼν μισθοὺς εἰς Ἅίδην κατάγει.*[146]
>
> Better to be judged by Hegemon, the slayer of
> robbers, than to fall into the hands of the surgeon
> Gennadius. For he executes murderers in just hatred,
> but Gennadius takes a fee for sending you down to Hades.[147]

Gennadius is accused for malpractice and is compared with a "slayer of robbers". Such comparisons are typical in the rhetorical exercises of *psogos* and in principle intent to prove the subject's inferiority. The last line *εἰς Ἅίδην κατάγει* appears again in Palladas's poetry in

[143] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 728.
[144] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 4, 247.
[145] Mocking epigrams against doctors are common in satirical epigrammatic poetry and in *AP* 11; for instance, the *AP* 11.112-126.
[146] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 680.
[147] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 4, 201.

AP 9.173, *AP* 10.75 and *AP* 10.80; what is stressed in all cases is the swiftness of the descent to Hades.

(6)

> *Μάγνος ὅτ' εἰς Ἀίδην κατέβη, τρομέων Ἀϊδωνεὺς*
> *εἶπεν· "Ἀναστήσων ἦλυθε καὶ νέκυας."*[148]
>
> When Magnus went down to Hades, Pluto trembled
> and said: "He has come to set the dead, too, on their legs".[149]

Magnus's profession of *iatrosophist* ("sophist of medicine") is only attested by the *AP* lemmatist.[150] Alan Cameron identified this Magnus with Magnus of Nisibis, who was a contemporary of Palladas and *iatrosophist* in Alexandria in 364-388.[151] Both Libanius and Eunapius refer to Magnus as a famous orator and teacher of medicine.[152] Eunapius also mentions that Magnus gained such a prestige in Alexandria that the city dedicated an auditorium to him[153] while his urological treatise constituted a reference book for the Byzantines physicians Theophilus Protospatharius (c. seventh century) and Johannes Actuarius (c. 1275-1328).[154] In *AP* 11.281, upon Magnus's death, Palladas depicts the fear of personified Hades that Magnus will raise the dead after his descent to the Underworld. Henderson fails to see the sarcasm in *AP* 11.281 and he interprets it as a real praise of a physician.[155] Cameron and Henderson seem to accept the attribution of the epigram by the *AP* lemmatist to a "professor of medicine" but they still incorrectly assume that Magnus was a physician.[156] The

[148] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 282.

[149] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 4, 201.

[150] *APl* attritudes it to Lucillius but it is unlikely that the epigram belongs to him; see Luca Benelli, "The Age of Palladas," *Mnemosyne* 69 (2016): 991.

[151] See Alan Cameron, *The Greek Anthology: From Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 67; *PLRE*, vol. 1, 534, s.v. "Magnus 7".

[152] Libanius *Epist*. 843 and 1208, Eunapius, *The Lives of the Sophists* 19.497-22.499.

[153] Eunapius, *The Lives of the Sophists* 20; Luca Benelli, "The Age of Palladas," *Mnemosyne* 69 (2016): 991-993.

[154] Maria Plastira-Valkanou, "*AP* 11.281: A Satirical Epitaph on Magnus of Nisibis," *L'Antiquité Classique* 72 (2003): 188.

[155] William J. Henderson, "Epigrammatic Psogos: Censure in the Epigrams of Palladas of Alexandria," *Acta Classica* 51 (2008): 105.

[156] Alan Cameron, "Palladas and Christian Polemic," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 55, no. 1/2, (1965): 20-21; Henderson, "Epigrammatic Psogos," 105.

physicians and the sophists of medicine were two different professions in Late Antiquity. In contrast to the physicians, teachers of medicine (*iatrosophistai*) could not actually practice medicine.[157] In a detailed analysis Maria Plastira-Valkanou composes a prosopography of Magnus, collects sources about the profession of the *iatrosophist* in antiquity and finally proves that this poem is indeed satirical. While Alexandrian sophists of medicine were experts on medical theory and wrote medical commentaries, which were transmitted to their Byzantine and Arab peers, they did not have immediate contact with patients.[158] Having a wry smile, Palladas lampoons the *iatrosophists* on account of this exact deficiency.

The aforementioned group of epigrams, by means of ridicule and abusive language confirm how Highet described invective as "wish[ing] only to destroy".[159] Palladas by attacking intellectuals builds his self-display. By exposing incongruities: the lack of knowledge from the surgeon and sophist of medicine, the lack of moderation from the surveyor, the malformation of the rhetor Maurus, the incompetence of the comedian and the poet's fall from grace—all of them typical features targeted in the *progymnasmata* of *psogos*—Palladas creates a power game in which he plays a hegemonic role and implies his self-righteousness and superiority. By means and tropes of comedy and references to classical literature, wordplays and mechanisms of humour, Palladas promotes empathy and intimacy with his audience while at the same time, he proves his knowledge of the ancient texts. In this way he confirms and reinforces his position in the intellectual group.

The following group of Palladas's epigrams against intellectuals communicate amusement, scorn, enmity but at the same time reveal specific moral categories by criticizing lack of knowledge, pretentiousness and hypocrisy, greed for money and ambition for climbing

[157] Elżbieta Szabat, "Late Antiquity and the Transmission of Educational Ideals and Methods: The Greek World," in *A Companion to Ancient Education*, ed. Martin W. Bloomer (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 261.

[158] Plastira-Valkanou, "*AP* 11.281: A Satirical Epitaph on Magnus of Nisibis," 188, 191-194; cf. David Woods, "Palladas, Constantine, and Christianity," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 67, no. 2 (2016): 588-591; Szabat, "Late Antiquity and the Transmission of Educational Ideals and Methods," 262.

[159] Highet, *Anatomy of Satire*, 156.

the social ladder. Behind his proclaimed morality hides his self-fashioning as an ethically driven intellectual which justifies his position in the intellectual circles of his time.

(7) Palladas's mockery questions the authority of a quasi-intellectual in *AP* 11.305.

> *Τέκνον Ἀναιδείης, ἀμαθέστατε, θρέμμα Μορίης,*
> *εἰπέ, τί βρενθύῃ μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενος;*
> *ἐν μὲν γραμματικοῖς ὁ Πλατωνικός· ἂν δὲ Πλάτωνος*
> *δόγματά τις ζητῇ, γραμματικὸς σὺ πάλιν.*
> *ἐξ ἑτέρου φεύγεις ἐπὶ θάτερον· οὔτε δὲ τέχνην*
> *οἶσθα γραμματικὴν οὔτε Πλατωνικὸς εἶ.*[160]
>
> Child of shamelessness, most ignorant of men, nursling of
> folly, tell why dost thou hold thy head high, knowing nothing?
> Among the grammarians thou art the Platonist,
> and if anyone enquires as to Plato's doctrines
> Thou art again a grammarian. From one thing thou take refuge
> in another, and thou neither knowest the Art of Grammar
> nor art thou a Platonist.[161]

This vitriolic invective is written against a teacher who pretends to be an expert in grammar and in Platonic philosophy. However, among grammarians, he claims that he is a Platonist (i.e. a Plato expert) while, among Platonists, a grammarian. According to Palladas, in truth he knows neither of them (the *τέχναι*). The entire first verse is an accumulation of insults about the teacher of grammar-philosophy, stressing his shamelessness, ignorance and stupidity while Palladas immediately asks him, as in a direct question, how he can hold his head high and in pride being so ignorant. The phrase *θρέμμα Μορίης* ("nursling of Folly") is a pun with the poetic expression *θρέμμα Μούσης* ("nursling of Muses").[162] The chiasmus between the words *γραμματικοῖς - Πλατωνικός*, *Πλάτωνος δόγματά - γραμματικὸς*, *τέχνην γραμματικὴν - Πλατωνικὸς* structurally imitates the behaviour of Palladas's victim alternating his self-styled qualities according to his environment.

[160] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 692.
[161] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 4, 211-213.
[162] See for instance, Aristophanes *Eccl*. 974 and Himerius, *Or*. 20.26. It also appears as *Χαρίτων θρέμμα* ("nursling of Graces").

(8) Next, in *AP* 10.48, Palladas's vituperation is written against the profession of the advocate.

> *Μήποτε δουλεύσασα γυνὴ δέσποινα γένοιτο,*
> *ἐστὶ παροιμιακόν, τῷδε θ' ὅμοιον ἐρῶ·*
> *μήτε δίκην δικάσειεν ἀνὴρ γεγονὼς δικολέκτης,*
> *μηδ' ὅταν Ἰσοκράτους ῥητορικώτερος ᾖ.*
> *πῶς γὰρ ὁ μισθαρνεῖν εἰθισμένος οὐδὲν ἑταίρας*
> *σεμνότερον δικάσαι μὴ ῥυπαρῶς δύναται;*[163]
>
> It is a proverb, that no woman who has been a slave should ever become a mistress. I will tell you something similar. "Let no man who has been an advocate ever become a judge, not even if he be a greater orator than Isocrates. For how can a man who has served for hire in a fashion no more respectable than a whore judge a case otherwise than dirtily"?[164]

The poet draws an analogy between prostitutes and advocates which he supports with the use of an aphorism.[165] The verb *μισθαρνέω* ("work for hire") is usually used for payment for prostitution while *δικολέκτης* is a colloquial version of the word *δικολόγος* or *δικηγόρος* (i.e. advocate).[166] Linguistic register and content reveal the author's disgust and contempt. Libanius (*Or*. 63) and Ammianus (30.4) express similar bitterness about the greed of advocates.[167] In particular, Ammianus dedicated a whole chapter of his work (30.4) to a satirical description of lawyers of the Eastern empire stressing their corruption, manifested in their greed and lack of morals and compunction.[168]

Against Gessius and Themistius

[163] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 500.
[164] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 4, 27.
[165] See *Suda*, mu 87.
[166] *δικολέκτης* only occurs in the *AP*.
[167] Libanius often complains in his works about the rival law schools in Antioch (*Or*. 11.43-4). His fear about the increasing popularity of studies on law and Latin over rhetoric is also reflected in *Or*. 31.27–29, 43.3–5; 62.21. Miguélez-Cavero, *Poems in Context*, 250; Szabat, "Late Antiquity and the Transmission of Educational Ideals and Methods," 256.
[168] See Alvaro Sánchez-Ostiz, "Ammianus on Eastern Lawyers (30.4): Literary Allusions and the Decline of Forensic Oratory. Beginning and End: From Ammianus Marcellinus to Eusebius of Caesarea," *ExClass Anejo* 7 (2016): 211.

Palladas preserved his most venomous and obscure language for a certain Gessius to whom he dedicates eight epigrams (*AP* 7.681-888). The epigram's vituperative tone indicates intense personal hatred. In terms of historical background, scholars such as Franke, Seeck, Bowra and Alan Cameron attempt to identify this particular Gessius and to reconstruct his profile and the events surrounding his death implied in the following eight epigrams.[169] The *PLRE* as well as Seeck and Cameron identify this Gessius as student of Libanius and addressee of many of his letters.[170] Based on Libanius's letters, both Cameron and Seeck argued that Gessius was a teacher of rhetoric in Alexandria.[171] Gessius's increasingly debilitating lameness has been the subject of extensive discussion. Cameron suggested that Gessius was a Christian intellectual, former student of Libanius, who was tortured and murdered as a hostage by fanatic pagans who captured the Serapeum of Alexandria in 391 AD. Palladas refers to contemporary events that took place in Alexandria and it is not possible to reconstruct completely. At any rate, whether Gessius was murdered by fanatic pagans or had a violent death by any other way, it was not the reason for the criticism that he received by the author. Instead, what Palladas blames him for is his ambitions and futile efforts to acquire an office in Alexandria and to unwisely trust astrologers and oracles regarding his social promotion. If Gessius was a teacher of rhetoric in Alexandria, then he may have been a rival colleague, whose rapid fall pleased Palladas. Even though these epigrams appear to be driven by personal spite, they have an ethical depth, which makes them truly satirical.

In both *AP* 7.681 and 7.682 the *persona loquens* ridicules Gessius for initiating his own death and acting faster than Fate.

(9)

[169]August A. Franke, *De Pallada epigrammatographo* (Diss., Leipzig, 1899), 39-40; Otto Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanios* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1906), 164-165; See also Maurice C. Bowra, "The Fate of Gessius," *The Classical Review* 10, no. 2 (1960): 91-95; Alan Cameron, "Palladas and the Fate of Gessius," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 57, no. 2, (1964): 279-292.

[170] *PLRE*, vol. 1, 394-395, s.v. "Gessius 1".

[171] Cameron, "Palladas and the Fate of Gessius," 283; Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanios*, 164-165.

Οὐκ ἀπεδήμησας τιμῆς χάριν, ἀλλὰ τελευτῆς,
καὶ χωλός περ ἐὼν ἔδραμες εἰς Ἀίδην,
Γέσσιε Μοιράων τροχαλώτερε· ἐκ προκοπῆς γάρ,
ἧς εἶχες κατὰ νοῦν, ἐξεκόπης βιότου.[172]

You did not go abroad for the sake of honour, but of death, and although lame you ran to Hades, Gessius, swifter than the Fates. For you retreated from life owing to the advancement of which you were dreaming.[173]

(10)

Γέσσιος οὐ τέθνηκεν ἐπειγόμενος παρὰ Μοίρης·
αὐτὸς τὴν Μοῖραν προὔλαβεν εἰς Ἀίδην.[174]

Gessius did not die hurried by Fate, but arrived in Hades before Fate.[175]

In the first epigram, the author constructs the ridicule of Gessius on three *antitheses*: (1) not "honour" but "death", (2) lame yet still running and (3) retreat instead of advancement. The image of the lame man running intends to trigger laughter. Lame men in Homer and Old Comedy have connotations of mockery—the similarity with the *Iliad*, namely the laughter that Hephaestus and Thersites provoked to the Olympian gods and the Achaeans, respectively, is notable here.[176] In the first epigram, the oral metrical performance must have created a rhyme (or *omoioteleuton*) between the words *προκοπῆς* and *ἐξεκόπης*, since the latter's -πης is the long syllable of the fifth foot and would be accentuated. The rapidness of Gessius's death is stressed by the chiasmus of "death" and "Fate" between the words *τέθνηκεν* - *Μοίρης* and *Μοῖραν* - *Ἀίδην*.

(11) In *AP* 7.683 Palladas employs scatological obscenity.

[172] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 398.
[173] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 2, 363.
[174] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 398.
[175] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 2, 363.
[176] For instance, *Il*. 1.600-601, 2.217, Aristophanes *Ach*. 411, *Thesm*. 24; for Hephaestus, see Edith Hall, "Hephaestus the Hobbling Humorist: The Club-Footed God in the History of Early Greek Comedy," *Illinois Classical Studies* 43, no. 2 (2018): 366-387.

"Μηδὲν ἄγαν" τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν ὁ σοφώτατος εἶπεν·
ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ πεισθείς, Γέσσιε, ταῦτ' ἔπαθες·
καὶ λόγιός περ ἐὼν ἀλογώτατον ἔσχες ὄνειδος
ὡς ἐπιθυμήσας οὐρανίης ἀνόδου.
οὕτω Πήγασος ἵππος ἀπώλεσε Βελλεροφόντην
βουληθέντα μαθεῖν ἀστροθέτους κανόνας·
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἵππον ἔχων καὶ θαρσαλέον σθένος ἥβης,
Γέσσιος οὐδὲ χεσεῖν εὔτονον ἦτορ ἔχων.[177]

The wisest of the Seven Sages said "Naught in
excess," but you, Gessius, were not convinced of it,
and came to this end. Though erudite, you incurred
the reproach of the greatest lack of reason in desiring
to ascend to heaven. Thus it was that Pegasus
was fatal to Bellerophon, because he wished to learn
the rules of motion of the stars. But he had a horse
and the confident strength of youth, whereas Gessius
could not screw his courage up enough even to ease himself.[178]

Palladas's slander takes the form of accumulation: Gessius did not follow the ancient proverbs, even though he was erudite, he proved irrational, he was ambitious, he engaged himself with astrology, but he did not even have the courage to defecate.[179] The last line is a comical punchline which shatters Gessius; Palladas starts his criticism with mental and moral defects and finally reaches the point of mere bodily needs. The juxtaposition of the sublime sphere ("seven sages", "erudite", "heaven", "stars") and the ridiculous (i.e. defecation) underlines Gessius's humiliation.

Scatological obscenity is a feature of Old Comedy which intensifies the characters' comic degradation. Defecation was used in comedy as a dramatic device and it was intended to amuse the audience, which must have felt "merry superiority to the plight of such a character."[180] Notably, in the prologue of *Frogs* (1.1-1.2), Xanthias states that defecation humour always manages to initiate laugher in the audience. According to Jeffrey Henderson,

[177] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 398.
[178] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 2, 363.
[179] For the connection between astrology and magic see Tamysn Barton, *Ancient Astrology* (London, New York: Routledge, 1994), 191-197.
[180] Jeffrey Henderson, *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy* (Oxford University Press, 1991), 187.

scatological humour is always ignoble and "the characters involved in these contexts or the persons referred to therein are invariably lowly (rustic and/or vulgar) or in some way worthy of harsh insult (comical foreigners or the victims of personal attack)."[181] Alan Cameron identifies a "none too delicate" pun between *χεσεῖν* and Gessius's name, based on the similar sound of the two words. Aristophanes used similar wordplays, for instance, in *Birds* 68 (between the words *χέζειν* and the name *Ἐπικεχοδώς*). It cannot be a mere coincidence that in both Palladas and Aristophanes the pun indicates cowardice.[182]

There is an etymological wordplay between *λόγιός* and *ἀλογώτατον* which ironically enhances the contradiction between Gessius's proclaimed erudition and his lack of rationally. The reference to Bellerophon is employed for the sake of comparison in order to prove Gessius's inferiority while the well-known proverb *Μηδὲν ἄγαν* ("Naught in excess") strengthens Palladas's moralizing tone.[183] Reading *AP* 7.683 in parallel to the rest of the epigrams about Gessius, the latter's ambition to ascend to heaven (*οὐρανίης ἀνόδου*) creates an antithesis with his descent to Hades in 681.2 (*εἰς Ἀίδην*), 682.2 (*εἰς Ἀίδην*), 684.3 (*κατηνέχθη*), 685.1-2 (*βιότου τέλος* and *πρὸς τέλος*) and 686.3 (*δόμον Ἄϊδος*).

The next two epigrams, *AP* 7.684 and 7.85, rebukes again Gessius's ambition.

(12)

Μηδεὶς ζητήσῃ μερόπων ποτὲ καὶ θεὸς εἶναι
μηδ' ἀρχὴν μεγάλην, κόμπον ὑπερφίαλον.
Γέσσιος αὐτὸς ἔδειξε· κατηνέχθη γὰρ ἐπαρθεὶς
θνητῆς εὐτυχίης μηκέτ' ἀνασχόμενος.[184]

Let no mortal even seek to be a god also, nor
pursue the pride of high office. Gessius is the proof
of it, for he was first of all puffed up and then
collapsed, not content with mortal felicity.[185]

[181] Jeffrey Henderson, *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 188.
[182] See J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse*, 190.
[183] See Clem. Alex. *Strom*. 1, 14, 61.
[184] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 400.
[185] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 2, 365.

(13)

Ζητῶν ἐξεῦρες βιότου τέλος εὐτυχίης τε
ἀρχὴν ζητήσας πρὸς τέλος ἐρχομένην.
ἀλλ' ἔτυχες τιμῆς, ὦ Γέσσιε, καὶ μετὰ μοῖραν
σύμβολα τῆς ἀρχῆς ὕστατα δεξάμενος.[186]

You sought and found the end of life and happiness,
seeking an office tending to the highest end.
But you obtained the honour, Gessius, receiving
after your death the insignia of office.[187]

Palladas builds *AP* 7.684 on two planes, the up-down and high-low: the superior, divine and inferior, of the underworld—which is a variation of the sky-Hades opposition which is found in the rest of the epigrams on Gessius, as discussed above. For Gessius's arrogance drove him from being aloft (*ἐπαρθεὶς*) to be brought low. A similar play on an upper and lower level appears also in another epigram (*AP* 11.292) by Palladas about the prominent philosopher and sophist Themistius, who is also criticized for ambition by the poet.

For *AP* 7.685 Cameron noticed that "almost every word bears a calculated double meaning".[188] Palladas plays with the double meaning of the word *ἀρχὴ*, meaning both "office" but also "beginning", creating a wordplay between the words "beginning" (*ἀρχὴ*) and "end" (*τέλος*). A chiasmus between the words *τέλος* - *εὐτυχίης* and *ἀρχὴν* - *τέλος*, placed crosswise, juxtaposes Gessius's happiness about the upcoming position (*ἀρχὴν – εὐτυχίης*) with his death (*τέλος*). Bowra interprets the expression *σύμβολα τῆς ἀρχῆς* ("the insignia of office") as a reference to the cross; namely implying Gessius's crucifixion because he consulted oracles against the Roman law (Cod. *Theod*. 8.16.4).[189] Even though this would explain why in the

[186] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 400.
[187] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 2, 363.
[188] Cameron, "Palladas and the Fate of Gessius," 288.
[189] Maurice C. Bowra, "The Fate of Gessius," *The Classical Review New Series* 10, no. 2 (1960), 93-94.

next epigram Gessius appears "lamer than ever," Cameron may be right to dispute Bowra's suggestion.[190]

(14) The next epigram *AP* 7.686 takes place in the Underworld where a certain Baucalus inquires of the reason for Gessius's death as well as his guise and lack of funeral.

> *Γέσσιον ὡς ἐνόησεν ὁ Βαύκαλος ἄρτι θανόντα*
> *χωλεύοντα πλέον, τοῖον ἔλεξεν ἔπος·*
> *"Γέσσιε, πῶς, τί παθὼν κατέβης δόμον Ἄϊδος εἴσω*
> *γυμνός, ἀκήδεστος, σχήματι καινοτάφῳ;"*
> *τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη καὶ Γέσσιος εὐθύς·*
> *"Βαύκαλε, τὸ στρῆνος καὶ θάνατον παρέχει."*[191]
>
> When Baucalus saw Gessius just after his death,
> and lamer than ever, he spoke thus: "Gessius, what
> made thee descend into Hell, naked, without funeral,
> in new burial guise?" And to him in great wrath
> Gessius at once replied: "Baucalus, the pride of
> wealth may cause death."[192]

In a grim way, Palladas depicts tragicomically the image of Gessius's limping in Hades.[193] The dialogue between these two men and the information that it provides about Gessius's death indicates that the audience knew the missing information and could understand Palladas's allusions. As a punchline, Gessius himself realizes that his own ambition led him to death. As Cameron notices, Gessius is greeted in Homeric language by Baucalus,[194] which could indicate that they belonged to the same social-educational group.

(15) Next, in *AP* 7.687:

> *Τὴν Ἀμμωνιακὴν ἀπάτην ὅτε Γέσσιος ἔγνω*
> *τοῦ ξενικοῦ θανάτου ἐγγύθεν ἐρχόμενος,*
> *τὴν ἰδίην γνώμην κατεμέμψατο καὶ τὸ μάθημα*
> *καὶ τοὺς πειθομένους ἀστρολόγοις ἀλόγοις.*[195]

[190] For details, see Cameron, "Palladas and the Fate of Gessius," 280, 288.
[191] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 400.
[192] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 2, 365.
[193] The fact that the last words *καὶ θάνατον παρέχει* appear again in Palladas's poetry in *AP* 9.171 (*σύνταξις γὰρ ἐμοὶ καὶ θάνατον παρέχει*), where he mocks himself for the troubles that syntax brought him, could be one more indication that here the phrase is intended as mockery as well.
[194] For the epigram's Homeric language see Cameron, "Palladas and the Fate of Gessius," 290.
[195] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 400.

> When Gessius discovered the fraud of the oracle of Ammon not long before his death in a strange land, he blamed his own belief and that science, and those who trust in silly astrologers.[196]

Gessius realized that the oracles were misleading and that he had become the victim of a fraud which lead him to death. The wordplay between the words *ἀστρολόγοις ἀλόγοις* summarizes Palladas's opinion on astrology and highlights Gessius's naiveté.

(16) In 7.688:

> *Οἱ δύο Κάλχαντες τὸν Γέσσιον ὤλεσαν ὅρκοις*
> *τῶν μεγάλων ὑπάτων θῶκον ὑποσχόμενοι.*
> *ὦ γένος ἀνθρώπων ἀνεμώλιον, αὐτοχόλωτον,*
> *ἄχρι τέλους βιότου μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενον.*[197]
>
> The two soothsayers brought death on Gessius by their oaths, promising him the consular chair. O race of men vain minded, angry with themselves, knowing nothing even until the end of life.[198]

Referring to the two soothsayers, Palladas uses probably sarcastically the name of the Homeric augur Calchas. The last epigram is less abusive than the rest of the Gessius's epigrams, and, in a form of a climax, expresses a bitter exclamation about the human nature and an implicit satisfaction that Gessius received what he deserved for his ambition; namely death.

In sum, Palladas constructed his satires against Gessius based on accusations of stupidity, scatological references, analogy with a mythological exemplum (Bellerophon), *psogos* against his ambition and abundance of Homeric and Aristophanic allusions. He repeatedly rebukes Gessius for ambition and eagerness for social advancement which reinforces his own moral superiority and reflects his social values as an intellectual.

[196] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 2, 365.
[197] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 402.
[198] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 2, 365.

The next satirical epigram, *AP* 11.292, has also attracted the attention of scholars since it refers to Themistius (c. 317-390), the eminent philosopher, orator and prefect of Constantinople in the fourth century.

(17) The *persona loquens* criticizes once more ambition and pretentiousness:

> *Ἄντυγος οὐρανίης ὑπερήμενος ἐς πόθον ἦλθες*
> *ἄντυγος ἀργυρέης· αἶσχος ἀπειρέσιον·*
> *ἦσθά ποτε κρείσσων, αὖθις δ' ἐγένου πολὺ χείρων.*
> *δεῦρ' ἀνάβηθι κάτω, νῦν γὰρ ἄνω κατέβης.*[199]
>
> Thou, seated above the heavenly wheel, hast
> desired a silver wheel. Oh, infinite shame! Erst
> thou wast of higher station and hast straight become
> much lower. Ascend hither to the depths; for now
> thou hast descended to the heights.[200]

Scholars argued that this epigram was a reply to Themistius's speech of defence (*Or*. 34) for his tenure of the position of the prefect because some passages of Themistius's speech bear similarities to this epigram.[201] According to Palladas, even though Themistius as a philosopher was in the elevated realm of the intellectuals ("above the heavenly wheel"), he desired the silver carriage of the prefecture.[202] Cameron notes that the epigram satirizes and transforms the typical phrase from honorific epigrams *εὖχος ἀπειρέσιον* ("infinite boast") to *αἶσχος ἀπειρέσιον* ("infinite shame"). Prominent is the theme of up-down, high-low, as an image related to the realm of philosophy (high) and the public office (low). According to Palladas, by ascending upwards to the social peak, Themistius descended in the intellectual and value system. The same theme of up-down and high-low also appears in the epigrams against Gessius (mostly 7.683-684). In both cases, Palladas uses this theme to ironically degrade their ambition for public offices.

[199] Beckby, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, 686.
[200] Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 4, 207.
[201] See Alan Cameron, "Notes on Palladas," *The Classical Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (1965): 221-222.
[202] The phrase "silver wheel" refers metonymically to the silver-plated carriage of the prefect. See Cameron, "Notes on Palladas," 221 note 2.

To conclude, Palladas appears as a *litteratus* when he builds his epigrams with allusions to classical literature, which highlights his erudition and indicates his belonging to the educated elite. Palladas also uses accusations against various individuals in order to subvert their claim to the contemporary educated circles. For instance, in order to criticize his fellow-intellectuals, he accuses them of ignorance, greed for money and ambition for social climbing. In this way, he implies that these are not qualities that an intellectual should have and, in contrast to them, he is superior. The use of proverbs in these epigrams also indicates their moralistic tone by implying that his ethical system is aligned with general truths.

Even in the cases of invective where Palladas accuses intellectuals for their physical defects and not for their knowledge or intellect, he still intends to undermine their claims into the intellectual elite—or, more precisely, Palladas's ideal intellectual elite. To use a historical example: when Claudian in his *Against Eutropius* accused the consul of Syria Eutropius for being feminine and unable to wear the toga of the consulate, he did not target his skills as a commander but still, through ridiculing him, he intended to degrade Eutropius in the public eye and subvert his claim to power. According to Flower, such invective and ridiculing has an "ideological force"; it suggests paradigms and models of behaviour and finally, "drew its audience, both real and implied, into a community of condemnation."[203]

Palladas, as he himself claims, cannot escape the malady of exposing injustice and incongruity. Through the tropes of invective, satire and comedy, he blames pseudo-intellectuals and presents himself implicitly as a bastion of moral stability and a genuine intellectual. Georg Luck depicted a monochromatic profile for Palladas. In his words: "If it is true that every satirist is a frustrated moralist, Palladas must be the exception to the rule. […] he plays the role of the unsympathetic observer […] His satire resembles those mirrors at a carnival which distort the

[203] Richard Flower, *Emperors and Bishops in Late Roman Invective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 56-59.

face of anyone who comes too close; but he shows us only the distortion, not the ideal, because he has no ideal."[204]

In the light of the present chapter, I have demonstrated Palladas's posture and the non-explicit but still present moral paradigms that he promotes, his way of self-display in the intellectual milieu and have casted some light on contemporary discourse and the construction of the self of a late-antique intellectual.

[204] Georg Luck, "Palladas: Christian or Pagan?," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 63 (1958), 467.

Conclusion

In the present thesis I demonstrated how Palladas constructs his bipartite self-representation explicitly and implicitly to promote his own intellectual authority as an erudite teacher of grammar and a civic-minded intellectual against the social and intellectual background of late-antique society. I addressed that he displays himself in a Homeric fashion but also by employing elements from different poetic and rhetorical traditions.

In the first chapter I explored the way Palladas constructs the image of the erudite – albeit poor – teacher of Greek grammar. I demonstrated how, by incorporating in his poetry grammatical exercises, he displays his practical expertise and competence on the art of grammar. At the same time, by employing an abundance of Homeric echoes and references to the teaching of Grammar, Palladas mocks himself, Grammar and Homer. In terms of his intertextual dialogue with Homer, I showed how he exploits the Homeric epics and educational material in an original manner to mock himself for being a poor grammarian in continuous struggle. Peter Brown argued that what men "needed more in the Later Empire was the acting out of clearly defined roles by figures with a function in society."[205] In this perspective, Palladas indeed even when he writes poetry he acts as a grammarian.

In the second chapter I examined the literary, educational and discursive background of Palladas's invective and satire. Then, I examined Palladas's self-representation in a group of epigrams that I identified as programmatic statements in which he reveals that he perceives poetry writing as a social duty from which he cannot escape. I demonstrated how he articulates that his poetry is the agent to mock folly and to stand up against people who wrong him.

[205] For instance, a philosopher always needed to act as a philosopher; Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 93.

Finally, the last chapter examined Palladas's implicit self-representation as the ideal intellectual. By studying his practice of satire and invective, I argued that through criticizing other intellectuals he claims his own self-righteousness, erudition and moral principles Also, I discussed his self-fashioned concerns about the role of the proper intellectual in the society. His explicit criticism on other intellectuals' vices, implicitly reveals his own virtues but also the virtues that a proper intellectual should embody. I showed how he delivers mockery and harsh invective to unworthy intellectuals whom he either calls by their name – many of them are famous contemporary intellectuals – or disguises with nicknames and stereotypical characters. His criticism against intellectual peers varies from invective against physical defects to lack of knowledge and morals, and censure of pretentiousness and ambition. I highlighted that Palladas's addresses and audience were colleagues and fellow intellectuals who could grasp his classical allusions but could also empathize with similar experiences and concerns in the contemporary intellectual circles which Palladas points out and rebukes.

During the course of this research I also treated some historical questions and made some cases in relation to texts that intellectuals had at their disposal and read at schools, and compared Palladas with attitudes from his contemporary writers, such as Libanius, Themistius, Ammianus Marcellinus and Gregory of Nazianzus.

Combining all these elements, Palladas provides insights into constructed images and identities of late-antique educated men while his poetry contributes to a better understanding of the evolution of Greek poetry in Late Antiquity.

As a final remark, Palladas's self-representation is not built in a vacuum and shares many features with his contemporaries and members of the late-antique intellectual elite. For example, Libanius's self-representation is also constructed around the image of the erudite teacher of rhetoric. As seen in his *Autobiography*, the study or promotion of rhetoric affected his life and career and projected his classical *paideia* and Hellenic identity. As Palladas himself,

Libanius seems to promote a specific system of values and qualities for the late antique intellectual. Thus, the current analysis of Palladas's constructed identity contributes a case-study to the scholarship of late-antique cultural representations in late antique East and can constitute a point of comparison with other contemporary intellectuals.

Further studies of self-display and self-representation of late antique intellectuals can cast light on the contemporary discourse of late antique East and to their protagonists' narratives and mentalities.

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