

ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

VOL. LVII



HELSINKI 2023

ARCTOS – ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

Arctos has been published since 1954, annually from vol. 8 (1974). The Editorial Board of Arctos welcomes submissions dealing with any aspect of classical antiquity, and the reception of ancient cultures in mediaeval times and beyond. Arctos presents research articles and short notes in the fields of Greek and Latin languages, literatures, ancient history, philosophy, religions, archaeology, art, and society. Each volume also contains reviews of recent books. The website is at <https://journal.fi/arctos>.

Publisher:

Klassillis-filologinen yhdistys – Klassisk-filologiska föreningen (The Classical Association of Finland), c/o Department of Languages, P.O. Box 24 (Unioninkatu 40), 00014 University of Helsinki, Finland.

Editors:

Martti Leiwo (*Editor-in-Chief*), Minna Vesa (*Executive Editor and Secretary, Review Editor*)

Editorial Advisory Board:

Øivind Andersen, Therese Fuhrer, Michel Gras, Gerd Haverling, Richard Hunter, Mika Kajava, Jari Pakkanen, Pauliina Remes, Olli Salomies, Heikki Solin, Antero Tammisto, Kaius Tuori, Jyri Vaahtera, Marja Vierros.

Correspondence regarding the submission of articles and general enquiries should be addressed to the Executive Editor and Secretary at the following address: arctos-secretary@helsinki.fi.

Correspondence regarding book reviews should be addressed to the Review Editor at the following address: arctos-reviews@helsinki.fi.

Note to Contributors:

Submissions, written in English, French, German, Italian, or Latin, should be sent by e-mail to the Executive Editor and Secretary (arctos-secretary@helsinki.fi). The submissions should be sent in two copies: one text version (DOCX/RTF) and one PDF version. The e-mail should also contain the name, affiliation and postal address of the author and the title of the article. Further guidelines can be found at <https://journal.fi/arctos/guidelines1>

Requests for Exchange:

Exchange Centre for Scientific Literature, Kirkkokatu 6, 00170 Helsinki, Finland.

– e-mail: exchange.centre@tsv.fi.

Sale:

Bookstore Tiedekirja, Snellmaninkatu 13, 00170 Helsinki, Finland.

– Tel. +358 9 635 177, email: tiedekirja@tsv.fi, internet: www.tiedekirja.fi.

ISSN 0570–734X (print)

ISSN 2814-855X (online)

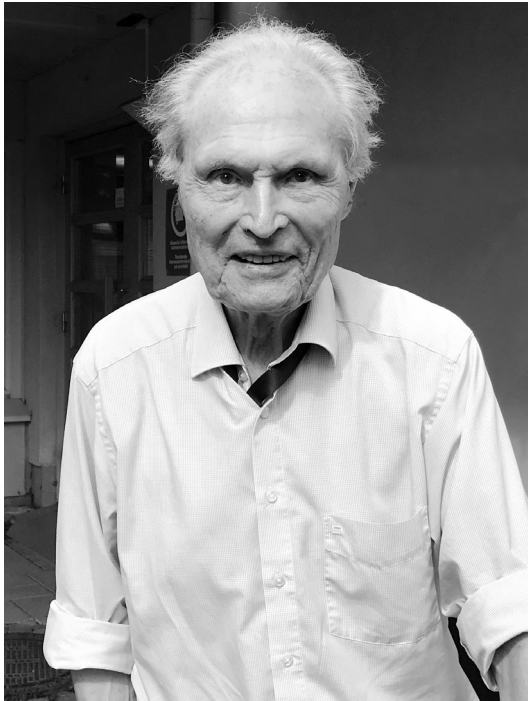
Layout by Vesa Vahtikari

Printed by Grano Oy

INDEX

HEIKKI SOLIN	<i>Holger Thesleff 4.12.1924–3.10.2023 in memoriam</i>	9
 LEE FRATANTUONO	<i>Virgil's Snatcher She-Wolf: Harpalyce, Camilla, and Female Lycanthropy in the Aeneid</i>	17
 BORIS HOGENMÜLLER	<i>Catull's Mamurra als Sapphos Andromeda: Zur Intertextualität von Catull. carm. 41/43 und Sappho fr. 57/55 LP</i>	47
 ANDRÁS KÁRPÁTI	<i>Dancing for Dionysos: Notes on a New Paestan Vase in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest</i>	65
 CHRISTIAN LAES	<i>Aunts and the Roman Family: Materterae and Amitae in Latin Inscriptions</i>	103
 OLLI SALOMIES	<i>Observations on the Order of the Consuls in Consular Dates between Augustus and Diocletian</i>	157
HEIKKI SOLIN	<i>Analecta Epigraphica 344–349</i>	189
 IOANNIS P. STAMOULAKIS	<i>A Critical and Interpretative Proposal on Herodas 3,75–76</i>	217
 HEIKO ÜLLRICH	<i>Der Dichter Anser: Eine Indizienkette rund um Catull. 68,157f.</i>	229
	<i>De novis libris iudicia</i>	241
	<i>Index librorum in hoc volumine recensorum</i>	293
	<i>Libri nobis missi</i>	297
	<i>Index scriptorum</i>	303

HOLGER THESLEFF
4.12.1924–3.10.2023
IN MEMORIAM



Holger Thesleff. Photo: Lassi Jakola, Helsinki 23 August 2021.

Holger Thesleff, who died in Helsinki on 3 October 2023 shortly before his 99th birthday, was for seven decades a central figure on the Finnish classical scene, not only as a scholar, teacher and organizer but also as a colleague and friend.

We shall not only discuss his life and work, but also remember the man who cared so much about making the Finnish Classical Association, the publisher of this journal, an important centre for Finnish classicists.

Born Berndt Holger Thesleff in 1924 in Helsinki of a prominent Swedish-speaking family with a background in Vyborg (Finn. Viipuri), the ancient capital of the former Finnish Karelia, he attended the Swedish grammar school in Helsinki from which he graduated in 1942. After having served as a fire observer in the artillery during the war in 1943–1944, he studied Greek, Latin, comparative Indo-European linguistics and Sanskrit at Helsinki University, taking the MA degree in 1948. In 1954 he defended his doctoral thesis under the direction of Henrik Zilliacus, the chair of Greek. As a result of achieving his doctorate he became reader of Greek at the University of Helsinki (1955–1968) and at Åbo Akademi, the Swedish University in Turku (1958–1975). In 1968 he was appointed Professor *ad hominem* of Greek at the University of Helsinki, a post he held until his retirement in 1987.

Since 1963, Thesleff was a member of the Finnish Society of Science and Letters (Societas Scientiarum Fennica – Finska Vetenskaps-Societeten – Suomen Tiedeseura), the older of the two general Finnish Academies of Sciences and Letters; he served as its secretary general in 1979–1980, and became an honorary member in 2013; he continuously took an active part in the affairs of the Society. Moreover, he became a member of the Danish Academy of Science and Letters in 1987 and was a founder member of Platonsällskapet (“Platonic Society”), a Nordic association devoted to ancient culture and philosophy. He was further a member of various Finnish bodies, among them the aforementioned Finnish Classical Association, of which he was for a long time, until the Covid pandemic, an active and influential member.

Before beginning his scholarly career, Thesleff participated in the last circumnavigation of the globe by a windjammer by name *Passat*, in the last grain race from Australia to Britain, and in the last rounding of Cape Horn. He narrates his achievement in becoming acting third mate of the great four-masted barque *Passat* after only four months’ experience at sea in the book *Djupsjöseglare: anteckningar från Passats sista världsomsegling* (Helsingfors 1950). The book was also published in English translation: *Farewell Windjammer: An Account of the Last Circumnavigation of the Globe by a Sailing Ship and the Last Grain Race from Australia to England* (London – New York 1951).

In the course of his postgraduate period, Thesleff spent some time at University College in London, where he studied under the guidance of T. B. L. Webster, the famous student of Greek comedy. After being named professor himself, he still maintained close relations also with other British Hellenists, such as Eric Handley, who was also a great name in the study of Greek comedy (he was elected a foreign member of the Societas Scientiarum Fennica in 1984 on Thesleff's initiative). In addition, Thesleff had close colleagues in Germany, among them Walter Marg, Professor of Classics at Mainz (Thesleff also contributed to Marg's Festschrift).

During the first phase of his scholarly activity, Thesleff brought out three monographs and a few other contributions to Greek and Latin linguistics and textual stylistics, to turn from the 1960s onwards more and more to the study of the history of Greek philosophy, especially Plato. But already in his early production the striving to understand linguistic phenomena as part of the history of ideas emerges. His doctoral thesis, *Studies on Intensification in Early and Classical Greek* from 1954 (Helsingfors; 228 pp.), is concerned with Greek literature up to about 350 B.C. It is divided into two parts. The first deals with the adverbs μάλα, πάνυ, κάρτα, σφόδρα, and ἰσχυρῶς. The author briefly discusses the derivation of these words, states the number of times they occur in individual writers of this period, and gives a detailed classification of their use based on their function and on the kinds of words they govern. The second part of the book investigates various other methods of intensification. The use of the superlative, one of the most obvious types of intensification, is only briefly discussed, as the author intended to deal with the subject in another work which was then published in 1955. Word order, an important aspect of intensification, is not considered. Intensifying particles are treated only briefly, with references to Denniston's work. In spite of other minor omissions, the treatment is on the whole comprehensive, certainly the most comprehensive of all works on the subject, and anyone interested in interpreting the finer points of meaning in Greek will find it a useful reference work, especially as his statements seem normally to be very sound. No wonder that the book has been praised as an excellent treatment not only of questions regarding intensification properly speaking, but also of the analysis of various morphological and lexical means of Greek. The reviews in learned journals have in their entirety been favourable, with the exception of Ernst Risch's criticism in *Gnomon* 1956, 143–145. It might still be added that Anglo-American reviewers

of Thesleff's work have praised his admirably fluent and sensitive English, which indeed became the exclusive communication idiom in his scholarly production, except for a few shorter contributions written in German.

Thesleff's second monograph, which appeared only one year after his first book, concerns a subject he could treat in it only very briefly: *Studies on the Greek Superlative* (Helsingfors 1955; 122 pp.). This is in many respects similar to its predecessor, a syntactic-stylistic study about how one can distinguish a purely elative superlative in archaic and classical Greek and discover how this type originated. For this purpose, he has examined in detail the various meanings of the superlative in the different branches of the literature and their chief representatives. The little book shows careful and accurate scholarship, a sensitive judgement of the finer shades of meaning, even if one could argue about some of the conclusions. All in all, it is an excellent study where the author has succeeded in showing that there was not a genuine elative as an independent category in classical Greek.

In his short booklet *On Dating Xenophanes* (Helsingfors 1957; 22 pp.) Thesleff challenges the generally accepted dates for Xenophanes. According to him, Xenophanes was born about 565 B.C., left his birthplace Colophon at the age of 25, and was still writing at the age of 92 about 473 B.C. The author makes strong points in his favour; in all events he has pointedly shown that those scholars who have put the capture of Colophon and other events quite a bit earlier cannot be right.

The fourth monograph is dedicated to Latin: *Yes and No in Plautus and Terence* (Helsingfors 1960; 83 pp.), a study that is meant to give "a first orientation into a neglected field of the Latin language and of linguistics in general" (p. 77). As in the earlier monographs on intensification and the superlative in Greek, the author shows a very systematic mind here, classifying all kinds of replies in Plautus and Terence, including those introduced by emphatic particles like *hercle*, *edepol*, intensive adverbs (*valde*, *sane*), and every possible variation. Let it be noted apart that Terence uses *sic* instead of *ita* in the meaning of 'yes'; as this use is lacking in classical Latin, Thesleff thinks that the later use of *sic* 'yes', also known in the Romance languages, would have come into being independently. All in all, we have here a thoroughly scholarly work useful to all who are interested in Latin idiom in general. On the other hand, the author is conscious of not having written a full account of the topic and confines himself to a critical

sifting of the material and leaves it to future research to analyse the psychological and stylistic backgrounds of the individual idioms. But within those limits this is an excellent work.

During this first phase of his scholarly activity, Thesleff also published some shorter contributions. Remarkable among them are “Ὠς ἀληθῶς und Verwandtes”, *Arctos* n.s. 1 (1954) 184–189, and “On the Origin of the Genitive Absolute”, *Arctos* n.s. 2 (1958) 187–207. In the first, the author tries to explain ὦς as an expressive-determinative particle in the framework of ὦς used with the superlative. It is an excellent short contribution. In the second, the author has indicated some support for the theory that the Greek *genitivus absolutus*, being originally ablative, reflects an old Indo-European usage.

At the beginning of his scholarly work concerning the history of Greek philosophy, Thesleff published two monographs on Pythagorean apocrypha: *An Introduction to the Pythagorean Writings of the Hellenistic Period* (Åbo 1961; 140 pp.) and *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period: Collected and Edited* (Åbo 1965; VII, 266 pp.). In the first volume, the author gives a fundamental catalogue of the Pseudo-Pythagorean writings. He attacks the problems of their date and provenance with a new approach: they would not have been written in the framework of Neo-Pythagoreanism after the first century BC, but in the Hellenistic period; above all the Doric writings preserved in Stobaeus would have been written in the southern Italy of the third century. In the second volume Thesleff offers the first complete critical edition of this kind of literature; in addition, he gives an impressive series of conjectures of his own. In spite of some partly justified criticism expressed in the thorough review by Walter Burkert in *Gnomon* 1967, 548–556, the edition (as does also the introduction of 1961) remains a milestone in Pythagorean studies. Add another three important articles to the present topic: “Okkelos, Archytas, and Plato”, *Eranos* 60 (1962) 8–36; “The Pythagoreans in the Light and Shadows of Recent Research”, in *Mysticism: Based on Papers Read at the Symposium on Mysticism Held at Åbo on the 7th–9th September, 1968*, Stockholm 1970, 77–90; “On the Problem of the Doric Pseudo-Pythagorica: An Alternative Theory of Date and Purpose”, in *Pseudepigrapha I (Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique 18)*, Vandœuvres-Genève 1972, 59–87, with important discussion 88–102.

The rest of Thesleff's monographs are dedicated to Plato, written above all from a philological perspective. The first in chronological order is *Studies in*

the Styles of Plato (Helsinki 1967; 192 pp.). The author states that his task is “to study the structure and the function of style in Plato’s writings”, thinking that such a study would clarify “the relation of Plato’s style to his thought and other intentions”. The main interest and value of the stylistic analysis lie in its ability to provide a guide to the growing complexity of Plato’s styles. He argues that the Platonic corpus exhibits ten different styles. Nine of these also occur in Plato’s contemporaries (colloquial, semi-literary conversational, rhetorical, pathetic, intellectual, mythic narrative, historical, ceremonious, legal); one is peculiar to Plato (*onkos* style, according to Thesleff the only style that is essentially “Plato’s own creation”). As in the next monograph, the author warns severely against a mechanical application of stylometry; the usefulness of the stylometric method for determining Platonic chronology is limited by the fact that Plato “constantly and deliberately changes his style from passage to passage and from work to work”. The book contains many interesting and convincing chapters, but has also been criticized, for example, for the fact that the author has taken no account of possible developments in the Greek language during Plato’s lifetime, or that the basis of many style markers is suspect for various reasons. In spite of such criticism, the book deserves careful attention. Thesleff hopes that “it will provoke a discussion of Plato’s styles and lead to further analyses of them”. So be it.

The next monograph *Studies in Platonic Chronology* (Helsinki 1982; VII, 275 pp.), follows in the tracks of the precedent in that it renounces the utility of stylometric criteria to establish the chronological order of the Platonic dialogues. On the whole, this is an essential book for the reader who wants to know what the arguments are for adopting one rather than another account of the temporal ordering of the events in Plato’s life and of his works. A very important suggestion of Thesleff’s is that we must accept the notion of the semi-authenticity of works which, though not actually by Plato, had enough of his approval for the Academy to think it proper to include them in the canon. Following his suggestion, we would lose not only works like the *Erastae* and most of the Letters, but also *Crito*, *Laches*, *Euthyphro* as well as both *Hippias maior* and *minor*. A normal reader would perhaps be perplexed by such a judgement, but it is partly rightful.

After a break of more than 15 years, Thesleff brought out his next Platonic monograph intended for international readers: *Studies in Plato’s Two-Level Model* (Helsinki 1999; VII, 143 pp.). In the Preface he describes his work as an attempt “to combine some new and slightly eccentric approaches to Plato

with the determining of an elderly philologist's positions arrived at successively over the past fifty years or more". Now, a survey of Platonic scholarship suggests that many basic ideas about Plato have become disputed. Thesleff himself cites numerous of these problems as motivations of the present volume (some of which have been discussed in his previous studies): the shortcomings of developmentalism, stylometry, and chronology; problems about the dialogues' original functions, publication, revision, and authenticity, and so on. The central subject of the volume is a "two-level vision" of reality that, according to the author, is found throughout Plato's writings, and he makes several interesting observations in attempting to carry out this task. One cannot but agree with his ideas, even if a general reader, not specialized in Platonic studies, may have some difficulties in following his reasoning connected with the two-level model. But however this may be, this is a stimulating book, and Thesleff's model offers a truly comprehensive, integrated, and coherent alternative.

In 2009, the publishing house Parmenides in Las Vegas (Nevada) produced *Platonic Patterns: A Collection of Studies* (XVIII, 626 pp.). This is a collection of three monographs and four articles, all previously published, with an introduction by the author along with a consolidated bibliography and index.

Even after turning more and more to the study of Greek philosophy, Thesleff continued to write shorter and longer contributions on various topics: on philological matters, Greek culture and philosophy, and also on academic policy and the like in Finnish and Swedish. We cannot deal with them in this connection (his full bibliography will be published elsewhere). In 2023, the article "Afterthoughts on 'School-Accumulation' in Plato's Academy" came out posthumously in *The Making of the Platonic Corpus*, edited by O. Alieva with D. Nails and H. Tarrant (Paderborn 2023, 1–14).

To conclude with Plato and Greek philosophy in general, let me refer to three books published in Finnish and intended for a larger readership: *Platon* (Helsinki 1989; 480 pp.); *Antiikin filosofia ja aatemaailma* ("The philosophy and worldview of Antiquity"), with Juha Sihvola (Porvoo – Helsinki 1994; 471 pp.), and *Platonin arvoitus* ("The enigma of Plato" [Helsinki 2011; 294 pp.]). Furthermore, he acted as chief editor of the complete Finnish translation of Plato (seven volumes; 1977–1990) and was a member of the editorial board of the Finnish translation of the philosophic works of Aristotle; moreover, he wrote the chapter on Greek and Latin literature in the first volume of a world literature (1963).

Let me end by stressing Thesleff's activity as a reviewer in scientific journals, and not just in our *Arctos*; he also wrote numerous reviews in *Gnomon*, the leading international organ for publishing critical reviews of books dealing with classical antiquity in its entirety.

To celebrate his ninetieth birthday, some of his former students and foreign colleagues gave birth to a collection of papers on Plato: *Second Sailing: Alternative Perspectives on Plato*, edited by D. Nails and H. Tarrant in collaboration with M. Kajava and E. Salmenkivi (Helsinki 2015; XI, 366 pp.). This is not a traditional *Festschrift*, which Thesleff himself did not actually want, but rather a collection of critical observations on various Platonic topics, many of which had been discussed by Thesleff himself.

Holger Thesleff was an excellent teacher. He trained students of Greek for several generations. Among the still living classicists, the writer of these lines is the oldest according to age as his student, as I began to follow his teaching in autumn 1956, whereas the youngest doctoral students he had dealings with are in their thirties (even long after his retirement he followed the work of students and also older researchers of Greek, especially of Greek philosophy). Personally, I owe much to him. He was my first academic teacher and introduced me to Greek culture and the philological method.

Thesleff was also an effective organizer. His part in the activity of the Finnish Classical Association was considerable, even though he never wanted to enter its board (as an active member he was seen at the Association's meetings until the Covid epidemic). The same is true for *Arctos*, the main organ of the Association (where he published in all 17 articles of high quality and 69 reviews); his influence was more indirect, but all the more effective.

Characteristic of Thesleff's scholarly oeuvre was a very systematic approach to the topic dealt with and its philological interpretation, often with remarkable results. The writer of the present necrology has lost an excellent teacher, a friend and a reliable colleague. All our classicists feel themselves bereft of a notable scholarly personality and a real friend.

Heikki Solin