

RECENSIONES

RESEÑAS

EMILIO SUÁREZ, MIRIAM BLANCO, ELENI CHRONOPOULOU & ISABEL CANZOBRE (Eds.), *Magikè Tèchne. Formación y consideración social del mago en el Mundo Antiguo*, Madrid, Agorà & Co., 2017, X+221 pp. [ISBN: 978-88-974-6146-3] *

Il volume rappresenta un'attenta analisi di diversi dati che contribuiscono a ricostruire il profilo del mago, rivelando come questa figura abbia acquisito e trasmesso la propria "arte magica"; il fascino della tematica e l'esposizione estremamente chiara, assieme al rigore scientifico mostrato nelle citazioni e nei riferimenti bibliografici, rendono l'opera utile sia per il lettore esperto che per chi sia alla ricerca di un testo dal carattere divulgativo.

La prima parte, strutturata in sei capitoli, insiste sul contesto socio-culturale che ha contribuito al formarsi della figura del mago.

N. Torras Benezet analizza il ruolo del sacerdote egizio nel rituale magico necessario per calmare la pericolosa dea Sekhmet, mostrando il nesso inscindibile, nella cultura egiziana antica, tra sfera magica e dimensione religiosa.

M. A. Santamaría Álvarez presenta un lavoro basato sull'analisi di dati testuali tratti dall'*Encomio di Elena* di Gorgia, dal papiro di Derveni e dal *Banchetto* di Platone, che dimostrano come, a differenza della maggior parte delle fonti di epoca classica, particolari testimonianze si siano distinte per una considerazione positiva nei confronti di chi pratica la magia.

G. Sfameni Gasparro riporta esempi estremamente significativi che mostrano la capacità, da parte del mago, di acquisire e trasmettere i propri "poteri eccezionali": il mago non si limita a mostrare la propria arte nell'ambito di un'azione rituale; esercita una professione, rivelando un sapere che il discepolo deve attentamente custodire.

A. Mastrocinque a sua volta riflette sulla professione del mago, fornendo diversi esempi e, in particolare, insistendo sulla figura di Simon Mago e sul problema della "trasmissione

* Esta reseña es parte de la actividad investigadora del Grupo HERMES (Ref. HUM 312) de la Junta de Andalucía (Universidad de Málaga).

dello spirito”, in modo tale da mettere in luce testimonianze che hanno posto l’accento sulla relazione tra magia e ambito religioso.

A. Pérez Jiménez, attraverso uno studio sistematico delle fonti che mostrano i rapporti tra magia e astrologia (di cui offre un’opportuna selezione), dimostra il valore della dottrina astrologica all’interno del bagaglio culturale del mago: il forte vincolo tra le due discipline s’impone, come traspare dalle fonti antiche e medievali, nel tentativo di conferire un carattere “scientifico” all’attività del mago.

M. Blanco Cesteros conclude questa prima parte del volume, insistendo sul ruolo attribuito alla donna da fonti che fanno riferimento al fenomeno magico: i dati testuali dimostrano l’esistenza di autentiche “maghe” che, nel mondo antico, esercitavano ed insegnavano la propria professione.

La seconda parte, divisa in sette capitoli, s’incentra in modo particolare sull’analisi dei papiri magici greci.

E. Suárez de la Torre si concentra su testi che rivelano l’esigenza, da parte del mago, d’imporre il proprio ruolo, la propria “autorità”; un’autorità difficile da mantenere considerando il rapporto con il riconosciuto status sacerdotale: nel passaggio dall’essere “sacerdote” all’essere “mago”, chi esercitava tale professione doveva adattarsi ad un nuovo contesto che prevedeva una diversa “clientela”.

E. Pachoumi analizza papiri magici che mostrano il tentativo, da parte del mago, di associare elementi magici a rituali misterici: attraverso l’uso di una specifica terminologia, l’inserimento della formula magica all’interno di un contesto misterico servi ad accrescere l’importanza dell’attività del mago nell’ambito socio-culturale.

M. Monaca, attraverso un attento confronto tra dati testuali ed iconografici, mostra in che maniera elementi quali la scrittura, la rappresentazione delle immagini e la fabbricazione degli oggetti, strumenti indispensabili nella pratica magica, abbiano imposto il proprio ruolo significativo all’interno di quest’arte, e siano stati tramandati non solo all’apprendista ma anche al di fuori della bottega del mago.

I. Canzobre Martínez esamina la funzione degli “amuleti”, soffermandosi sulla descrizione dei diversi materiali con cui venivano fabbricati (elementi animali, vegetali e minerali), sulla tecnica di costruzione e sul modo in cui venivano utilizzati nel rito magico, in relazione con lo scopo per il quale erano richiesti.

M. Zago da un lato raccoglie testimonianze che mostrano il tentativo di conferire un’origine egiziana alla figura di Omero, dall’altro analizza testi magici in cui vengono citati versi omerici, con il fine di dar forza ad un’invocazione, un responso oracolare o una formula protettiva; inoltre il mago, citando Omero, dava prova del proprio spessore culturale e guadagnava maggior rispetto praticando la propria arte.

A. Nodar Domínguez affronta il problema del rapporto tra il livello di esperienza dello scriba ed il livello di conoscenza dell’arte magica: i grandi manuali di magia, che dovevano durare nel tempo, erano scritti da una mano esperta; tuttavia, vi sono casi in cui il mago, pur

mostrando uno scarso dominio della tecnica di scrittura, lascia all'apprendista un testo che dimostra una profonda conoscenza della propria arte.

E. Chronopoulou conclude l'opera con una riflessione sui costi delle ricette magiche: il valore significativo di diversi ingredienti lascia intuire che i committenti della maggioranza delle ricette fossero individui particolarmente ricchi, e in alcuni casi, trattandosi di costi eccessivi per qualsiasi privato, le ricette sembrano ricondurre direttamente a rituali svolti all'interno di un tempio.

La tematica trattata impone una riflessione sul problema dell'origine, nel mondo greco, del rapporto tra sfera magica e culturale.

J. G. Frazer, nel suo lavoro monumentale *The golden bough. A study in magic and religion* (1911-1915), impostò la propria ricerca sul fenomeno magico distinguendo nettamente la dimensione religiosa da quella magica: considerò la prima posteriore alla seconda, in quanto frutto dell'esigenza di chiamare in causa personalità sovrumane con lo scopo di controllare una realtà che il mago non è in grado di dominare. Tuttavia, i dati iconografici provenienti dalla Grecia dell'età del bronzo mostrano le prove più chiare di una compenetrazione dei due fenomeni, particolarmente evidente laddove si registra l'intenzione di rappresentare un'epifania divina.

In diversi sigilli egei è possibile vedere scene in cui i personaggi rappresentati sembrano ripetere azioni abbastanza schematiche, accompagnando l'apparizione di figure umane in sospensione: il contatto con elementi della natura quali rocce o alberi, processioni, danze, sono interpretabili come atti rituali.

In un anello del periodo Tardo Elladico, rinvenuto a Micene (*Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel* I 017), osserviamo una scena emblematica: nella parte alta sono rappresentati il sole e la luna; sulla destra, sei teste di animali potrebbero rappresentare l'esecuzione di un sacrificio; sulla sinistra, una figura femminile stabilisce un contatto con un albero; al centro, una processione si dirige verso una figura seduta, nella cui mano si riconoscono tre esemplari di *papaver somniferum* ("pianta dell'oppio"); in sospensione si distinguono chiaramente una doppia ascia, simbolo culturale, e una figura umana.



Anello in oro da Micene (CMS I 017).

La presenza dell'oppio rappresenta un elemento estremamente significativo, giacché può rinviare ad un'alterazione dei sensi da parte di eventuali partecipanti ad un rituale. La prova più chiara del rapporto, nel mondo egeo, tra la pianta dell'oppio e la sfera culturale, è rappresentata da un idolo rinvenuto a Gazi, in un ambiente del secolo XIII a. C.: la figura femminile, con seno scoperto e braccia alzate, presenta sulla testa tre esemplari di papaver somniferum, con incisioni che dimostrano una conoscenza del metodo di estrazione dell'oppio.

L'iconografia egea sembra pertanto dar ragione a B. Malinowski, il quale, contro la teoria frazeriana, postulò un'originaria coesistenza delle due dimensioni, magica e religiosa, nel pensiero speculativo umano (*Magic, science and religion* – 1948).

Da Malinowski in poi non è più possibile parlare di una “fase magica” ed una “fase religiosa” dell'essere umano, e le prime tracce di un comportamento religioso appartenenti al mondo greco rivelano la necessità d'inserire l'elemento magico in un contesto culturale: nell'anello miceneo preso in esame, la divinità si manifesta a seguito di un atto sacrificale, di cui la doppia ascia e le teste di animali costituiscono l'emblema; tuttavia, l'epifania divina è anche conseguenza di un contatto con elementi della natura, tra i quali il papaver somniferum s'impone in quanto necessario per provocare l'estasi che conduce alla visione.

Il mago manterrà il proprio ruolo significativo all'interno della sfera culturale greca, esercitando un'arte che contribuisce alla creazione di una dimensione mistica, e l'importanza di questo ruolo viene magnificamente mostrata nelle pagine di questo libro.



Statuetta in argilla da Gazi
(Museo Archeologico di
Candia).

MARCELLO TOZZA
Universidad de Málaga
marcello.tozza@virgilio.it

CLAUDIO DE STEFANI (Ed.), *Ps.-Manethonis Apotelesmatica. Einleitung, Text, Appendices*, Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2017 (Serta Graeca. Beiträge zur Erforschung griechischer Texte, vol. 33), 304 pp., 98,00 € [ISBN 978-3-95490-200-2].

The five major Greek astrological poets have received considerable editorial attention during the last years¹. With De Stefani's edition of the pseudo-Manethonian corpus, they are

¹ Besides these five major poets, we have three hexametrical fragments of astrological poems attributed to Orpheus (ed. A. BERNABÉ, *Poetae epici Graeci. Testimonia et fragmenta, pars II: Orphicorum et Orphicis similia testimonia et fragmenta*, fasc. 2, München – Leipzig 2005: 313–328, *OF* 778–781), of which the first and longest is a conceptually complete passage of 66 lines on earthquakes, the second on continuous horoscopy, and the third on catarchic astrology (cf. R. MARTÍN HERNÁNDEZ, “Orfeo científico”, *Estudios Clásicos*, 129 (2006) 111–119, and the more detailed study by EAD., *La ciencia*

now eventually all available in recent critical editions. I shall list them in chronological order:

1. Dorotheus of Sidon: ed. D. Pingree 1976 (Teubner). This edition includes, besides most of the extant fragments of the Greek original text (ca. 390 hexameters)², the massive body of Greek and Latin paraphrases and the very free Arabic translation of a Pahlavī (middle Persian) translation of the whole work. The only (yet important) weak part of this edition are the original hexameters³.

2. Anubio of Diospolis (Egypt): fragments in the amount of about 200 relatively well preserved (plus numerous badly mutilated) hexameters, which are mostly preserved on papyri, have been edited by D. Obbink 1999 (P. Oxy. vol. LXVI) and – including the extant *testimonia* – by D. Obbink 2006 (Teubner) and P. Schubert 2015 (Les Belles Lettres)⁴.

3. (Ps.-?)Antiochus of Athens: the extant fragment (115 hexameters) of a poem on the effects of the seven planets in the single places of the *dodekátropos* has been edited with

de Orfeo. Lapidarios y escritos sobre astrología y medicina, Madrid 2015: 103–154). Moreover, we have the late ‘Homeric’ hymn to Ares (17 vv.), which is actually a late antique prayer to the planetary deity (see esp. vv. 6–8; the author is likely to be Proclus: cf. M. L. WEST, “The Eighth Homeric Hymn and Proclus”, *CQ*, 20 [1970] 300–304), an anonymous Greek poem (13 hexameters, maybe by Theon of Alexandria) on the names, qualities and effects of the planets that we owe to Stobaeus, 1.5.14 (cf. E. HEITSCH, “Carmen astrologicum”, in ID. [ed.], *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, vol. II, Göttingen 1964: 43–44), and traces of iambic astrological poetry from the 2nd c. BCE in the pseudepigraphic work(s) of Nechepsos and Petosiris (cf. S. HEILEN, “Some metrical fragments from Nechepsos and Petosiris”, in: I. BOEHM & W. HÜBNER [eds.], *La poésie astrologique dans l’Antiquité*, Paris 2011: 23–93). Moreover, we have two large Greek astrological poems by the Byzantine poet John Camaterus (12th c.); cf. L. WEIGL (ed.), *Johannes Kamateros, Εἰσαγωγή ἀστρονομίας* [...], Würzburg 1907–1908, and E. MILLER (ed.), “Poèmes astronomiques de Théodore Prodrome et de Jean Camatère [...]”, in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques* 23, 2^e partie (1877): 1–112.

² All but 31 of them are extant in the work of Hephaestio of Thebes. In addition to Pingree’s edition of Dorotheus, a few more original hexameters have been recovered by Hübner from Hephaestio’s prose paraphrase, and some further Dorothean verses or fragments thereof have been recovered by Heilen from a prose paraphrase that Pingree had not taken into account. Cf. W. HÜBNER, “Dorothee de Sidon: L’édition de David Pingree”, in I. BOEHM & W. HÜBNER (eds.), *La poésie astrologique dans l’Antiquité*, Paris 2011: 115–133, here: 124–129 (cf. EUND., *Die Eigenschaften der Tierkreiszeichen in der Antike* [...], Wiesbaden 1982: 409), as well as HEILEN 2010 (as n. 4 below): 190–192 (tab. 5a–5c).

³ Cf. HÜBNER 2011 (as n. 2 above): 124–130.

⁴ The most complete edition is that of Schubert because it includes a new papyrus (P. Gen. IV 157). See, however, its criticism by C. DE STEFANI in *BMCR* 2016.10.23. On the shortcomings of Obbink’s edition, see S. HEILEN, “Anubio Reconsidered”, in *Aestimatio. Critical Reviews in the History of Science*, 7 (2010) 127–192 [<http://www.ircps.org/aestimatio/7/127–192>], esp. 138, n. 36.

translation and commentary by A. Pérez Jiménez (2014)⁵.

4. Maximus (of Ephesus?): his extant 610 hexameters on catarchic astrology have been edited by N. Zito 2016 (*Les Belles Lettres*)⁶.

5. Ps.-Manetho: C. De Stefani 2017 (here under review). In addition, there is a regrettably unpublished edition with English translation and commentary by R. Lopilato, a doctoral student of D. Pingree (1998)⁷. Much to his credit, De Stefani has checked Lopilato's dissertation systematically⁸.

By far the largest of the extant Greek astrological poems comprises six books, totalling a bit more than 3000 hexameters. It is attributed to 'Manetho'. This is a pseudepigraphical reference to the Egyptian priest and historian Manetho who lived in the 3rd c. BCE under Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II. Books 2, 3 and 6 (altogether 1684 vv.) form the original nucleus of the corpus⁹ and are by one anonymous author who wrote in the first half of the 2nd c. CE. This date of composition results from his horoscope, which he gives as a *sphragis* (6.738–750): it dates astronomically to 27–28 May 80 CE (more on this below). Book 4 is a summary of books 2, 3, and 6 by a different author and must have originated no later than the 3rd c. CE because fragments of this book are extant on papyri from that period. Books 1 and 5 are the latest parts of the corpus and may belong to one and the same author who must have written before Hephaestio of Thebes (born in 380 CE)¹⁰, who quotes some verses from book 1¹¹. Hence, we are dealing with a corpus whose parts have been written by at least three different anonymous poets starting in the 2nd c. CE. The proem to the original nucleus (bks. 2, 3, 6) is missing¹², probably because it has been moved to the beginning of what is now book 1 by its late antique compiler. This proem is addressed to 'king Ptolemy' (v. 1.1). The author of this book (1) has compiled various parts of book 4 and parts of an older astrological poem in

⁵ A. PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ, "Antiochi *De stellarum in locis thematis significationibus fragmentum epicum*. Edición, traducción española y comentario", *MHNH*, 14 (2014) 217–289. Since this poem breaks off after the luminaries in the 5th place, its original size must have been about 300 hexameters.

⁶ The beginning of the poem is lost. As the extant prose paraphrase shows, the first three of altogether twelve sections (and the proem) are missing. The text begins in the middle of the fourth section.

⁷ R. LOPILATO, *The Apotelesmatika of Manetho*, PhD thesis Providence (RI) 1998 (UMI microform 9830484). It contains the only existing full translation of the *Manethoniana* into any modern language.

⁸ See his brief appraisal of this dissertation ("ein allerdings intelligentes Werk") on 42, n. 167.

⁹ I.e., the transmitted books 2, 3 and 6 were books 1, 2 and 3 of the original work.

¹⁰ On his autobiographical horoscope in Heph. 2.11.6–7 and 2.11.9–15, see S. HEILEN, Hadriani genitura. *Die astrologischen Fragmente des Antigonos von Nikaia*, Berlin et al. 2015: 297.

¹¹ Heph., 2.4.27 (cf. *ibid.*, 2.11.12 a reference to book 3 and *ibid.* app. 1.7 a reference to book 6).

¹² Cf. DE STEFANI's introduction, 23.

elegiac distichs¹³, which modern scholars have attributed to Anubio, the only Greek astrological poet known to have written in this meter. In addition to those traces of elegiac distichs that have been included by Obbink and Schubert in their editions of Anubio (see above), De Stefani argues (25) that the end of the proem of book 1, namely vv. 1.11–15, may be a hitherto overlooked fragment of Anubio that has been adapted by the late antique compiler to the dactylic hexameter. I am sceptical about this claim¹⁴.

¹³ This is certain because the *textus receptus* contains, scattered over the first book, more than twenty pentameters, which the compiler did not adapt to the dactylic meter. Their indentations in De Stefani's edition are the same as those which indicate the beginnings of new paragraphs. This is a bit confusing, also because both the new paragraphs and the scattered pentameters begin with minuscules.

¹⁴ Before I can adduce my arguments, a brief explanation is needed: the poet who wrote vv. 1.11–15 claims to have rewritten in the heroic meter what Petosiris had written earlier. Therefore vv. 1.11–12 are part of Nech. et Pet. test. 8 Riess. Since the extant Greek fragments attributed to the most revered authorities on ancient astrology, 'Nechepsos and Petosiris' (see the up-to-date list in HEILEN 2015 [as n. 10 above]: 40–47), were written no earlier than the middle of the 2nd c. BCE, our poem's pseudepigraphical attribution to the historian Manetho of the early 3rd c. BCE seems, at first sight, chronologically impossible. However, 'Nechepsos and Petosiris' is a pseudonym, too. It refers to several centuries before the rule of the Ptolemaic dynasty over Egypt, more precisely: to the reign of Necho II, 610–595 BCE (cf. HEILEN 2015 [as n. 10 above]: 551–552). Hence, the chronology of the alleged times when both works were composed is in order, regardless of the question who actually wrote vv. 1.11–15. Now to my scepticism regarding De Stefani's tentative attribution of these lines to Anubio (1st c. CE) instead of the Ps.-Manetho who was born in 80 CE: since the verses in question are impeccable dactylic hexameters, De Stefani tentatively athetizes v. 13 and modifies vv. 12 and 15 in order to 'restore' the original distichs (in his tentative restauration on 25, correct πῆδιον to πεδίον). I wonder if this is not too speculative. Moreover, De Stefani does not mention the fact that if his conjecture were true, the remaining, in my view probably authentic proem from the early 2nd c. CE would be extremely short (just seven hexameters, because De Stefani plausibly athetizes vv. 8–10). Thirdly, the adverb ἐπιτροχάδην (v. 1.11), 'fluently', is extremely rare before Ps.-Manetho. Its only two poetic attestations besides our passage in question are Hom., *Il.* 3.213 and Hom., *Od.* 18.26. It seems to have passed unnoticed that our verses 1.11–13 may well be an intertextual allusion to the passage in the *Iliad* where Homer compares Menelaos and Odysseus as speakers in the assembly. Homer says (I quote from the commentary on *Il.* 3.213–214 by G.S. KIRK, Cambridge et al. 1985: 295) "that Menelaos is a clear and fluent speaker, but a somewhat laconic one; even his fluency must be in a lower class than Odysseus' 'snowflake' delivery which he is about to describe." Since Homer compares Menelaos to Odysseus, it is noteworthy that Ps.-Maneth., 1.12 πάντα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω is attested only once in Greek poetry, namely in Hom., *Od.* 24.303, where Odysseus himself is the speaker. (For incomplete parallels, cf. Hom., *Il.* 10.413. 10.427. *Od.* 24.123). By describing his own activity with words that are unmistakably Odysseus' words to his father Laertes in *Od.* 24.303, our astrological poet seems to associate himself with Odysseus. At the same time, Petosiris is associated with Menelaos, not only through the extremely rare adverb ἐπιτροχάδην, whose position in both verses is the same, but also because their names have four syllables each and are metrically equivalent. (One may object that the two names are not in the same positions of the respective hexameters, but the pronoun αὐτός, which characterizes Petosiris in quasi-Pythagorean manner as our poet's teacher and authority [αὐτός ... εἰρηκεν ~ αὐτός ἔφα],

The pseudo-Manethonian corpus has been transmitted through a single, heavily corrupted manuscript (Laur. plut. 28.27, saec. IX, = L), from which three copies derive which all go back to the work of the 17th c. scholar Lukas Holste.¹⁵ Moreover, a few hexameters are transmitted independently by P. Oxy. 2546 (saec. III), P. Amst. inv. 56 (saec. III), and cod. Vat. gr. 1056 (saec. XIV)¹⁶.

Since the publication of the last two critical editions of the pseudo-Manethonian corpus by Armin Koechly (1851 and 1858)¹⁷, a new edition had been a *desideratum*. This is all the

is in the same position as the last two syllables of Μενέλαος). These observations indicate that Ps.-Manetho deliberately describes the relationship between himself (who writes in heroic hexameters) and Petosiris (who wrote in prose and/or iambic trimeters, see Heilen 2011, as n. 1 above) by means of an allusion to how the greatest epic poet, Homer, describes the relationship between Odysseus and Menelaos, implying that Petosiris was, as far as purely literary (not astrological) qualities are concerned, a thoroughly respectable writer yet inferior to Ps.-Manetho himself. All this speaks in favor of considering v. 13 authentic, not (as De Stefani conjectures) as a later addition to some hypothetical elegiac distichs borrowed from Anubio (in De Stefani's tentative reconstruction of these distichs, v. 13 is necessarily athetized, and v. 12 is made into a pentameter at the price of destroying the large correspondence with *Od.* 24.303). One last point to consider is this: even if De Stefani does not say so, he may have liked his conjecture because it seems to remove a difficulty: De Stefani adopts (23, n. 73; cf. *IBID.*: 32 and 39) Lopilato's view (1998: 10) that the content of books 2 and 3 is largely derived from Dorotheus. This view is difficult to reconcile with the attribution of vv. 1.11–13 to the Ps.-Manetho of the early 2nd c. CE (unless one interprets v. 1.11 as a statement of indirect dependence on Petosiris, with Dorotheus as a not explicitly mentioned intermediary). This problem vanishes into nothing if vv. 1.11–13 were originally written by Anubio and borrowed by the late antique compiler of book 5: we would then have the original speaker of vv. 1.11–15, Anubio, claiming to draw his content from Petosiris, while Ps.-Manetho would have drawn his content from Dorotheus. However, the problem that De Stefani may have envisaged here does, in my opinion, not exist because there are good reasons to assume that Ps.-Manetho, Dorotheus, Anubio and Firmicus Maternus all drew independently of each other from 'Nechepos and Petosiris' (see my arguments in Heilen 2010 [as n. 4 above]: 130–138, esp. the diagram *ibid.*: 136). In sum, I tend to think that vv. 1.11–15 make good sense as spoken by Ps.-Manetho and do not require a new attribution. Last, I should like to point out one curious detail: v. 14 δαίμονες ἄνδρες εἰμέν has only one parallel in Greek literature, namely *Anth. Gr.* 11.23.1 Ὁκύμορον με λέγουσι δαίμονες ἄνδρες ἄστρον. This is the opening line of an epigram attributed to 'Antipater', who is commonly identified with Antipater of Thessalonike, a contemporary of the emperor Augustus. The first line of this epigram mentions a death prediction given to the speaker by astrologers. One would be tempted to suspect an allusion of Antipater to our proem if the chronology did not speak against it. Did maybe both authors allude to a lost expression used by (or, in the sg. δαίμων ἄνθρωπος, about) 'Petosiris'? On this epigram, cf. G. GALÁN VIOQUE, "La astrología y los astrólogos en la *Antología Palatina*: alusiones y paradojas", *MHNH*, 2 (2002) 221–236, here: 224–225.

¹⁵ See DE STEFANI 2017: 13–18. One of these three copies (formerly at Halle) is lost.

¹⁶ P. Oxy. 2546: vv. 4.384–433 and 4.564–604; P. Amst. inv. 56: a few lines from bk. 4; Vat. gr. 1056, f. 156^{r-v}: vv. 1.357–358, 2.150–153, 2.213–214, 5.58–61. See DE STEFANI 2017: 26.

¹⁷ *Arati Phaenomena et Prognostica. Pseudo-Manethonis et Maximi carmina astrologica, cum frag-*

more true in view of the fact that Koechly did not have access to the *codex Laurentianus* but drew on the collation that Jakob Gronovius made in 1698. With De Stefani's book, we have not just a new edition of the *Manethoniana*, but one by an expert in the fields of Greek poetry and editorial technique. De Stefani has published profusely on Greek poetry from Homer to the Byzantine period. Before turning his attention to Ps.-Manetho, he has edited two other late antique poems, book 1 of Nonnus' paraphrase of the gospel of John (2002) and the description of the Hagia Sophia by Paul the Silentiary (2011). His present edition of the pseudo-Manethonian corpus comprises four major parts:

1. a very solid and learned introduction (9–48), which informs the reader of the transmission of the text, the *codex unicus* L, the independent witnesses of small portions of text (see the next to last paragraph above), humanistic copies of L (they contain the first large wave of early modern emendations), printed editions, the chronological order in which the six books originated as established by Koechly (it is 2, 3, 6, 4, 1, 5), the origin and authors of the extant corpus, stylistic and orthographical peculiarities with a view to their relevance for textual criticism, the origin, character and content of L's Greek lists of topics treated in books 2, 3, 6 and 1 (4 and 5 lack such summaries), De Stefani's editorial method, sigla, abbreviations, and bibliography. This introduction is by far the best and most up-to-date available treatment of the *Manethoniana*, except for the poem's astrological content and its sources, whose treatment De Stefani explicitly leaves to others (41–42).

2. the edition (49–193) which (following Koechly) presents the six books in their original order (i.e., the chronological order in which they were written) while keeping the book numbers of their late antique rearrangement as transmitted in L (2, 3, 6, 4, 1, 5), with an *apparatus criticus* and occasionally (when applicable) *apparatus testimoniorum*. The relatively large interlinear blanks make the text easily readable and contribute to avoiding excessive amounts of *apparatus criticus* per page. This *apparatus* is superior to Koechly's in various respects, first of all because it is based on autopsy of L and distinguishes systematically between L and L²¹⁸. Moreover, it is praiseworthy because it elucidates the editor's decisions by means of countless brief comments on his understanding of the text, on manuscript readings, on the quality of scholarly conjectures, on secondary literature, on *loci similes*, etc. The *apparatus testimoniorum* requires two addenda¹⁹.

mentis Dorothei et Anubionis. Recensuit et praefatus est A. KOECHLY Paris 1851: xxv–lxi [*critical commentary to the Greek text*] and 41–101 [*text and Latin transl.*] (repr. Paris 1931); editio minor with further emendations: *Manethonis Apotelesmaticorum qui feruntur libri VI*. Relegit A. KOECHLY. *Accedunt Dorothei et Annubionis fragmenta astrologica*, Leipzig 1858. Note that the TLG online text is based on the earlier edition (1851).

¹⁸ De Stefani has thus taken care of a *desideratum* emphasized by W. KROLL, art. 'Manethon (2)', *RE* XIV.1 (1928), coll. 1102–1106, here: col. 1106.30–33: "Dringend notwendig ist eine Neuvergleichung der Handschrift, wobei die Korrekturen der zweiten Hand vom ursprünglichen Text geschieden werden müßten."

¹⁹ It mentions only one of the altogether three references to the *Manethoniana* that we find in He-

3. an appendix of minor mistakes in **L**, most of which were corrected by **L**² (195–197), of wrong accents in **L** (197–199), of hundreds of scholarly conjectures (200–211), and of copying mistakes in the dependent early modern manuscripts (212–218). While all this material was not important enough for inclusion into the main *apparatus criticus* of the edition, which it would have burdened excessively, it was too important to be excluded altogether from the edition. As a result, De Stefani's book provides by far the most comprehensive and reliable account of the manuscript readings and the scholarly conjectures that have been made during the last centuries. Suffice it to mention that this appendix contains some thirty formerly unedited conjectures that Koechly made (and partly discarded afterwards) on the margins of his copy of the edition of Axt and Rigler²⁰, and that it also contains 131 unpublished conjectures made by Lopilato in his PhD-thesis (1998)²¹. Some readers may, however, find it regrettable that De Stefani decided not to include the numerous conjectures of David Pingree as mentioned by Lopilato, because “man hätte sonst dem großen Orientalisten und Wissenschaftshistoriker keinen guten Dienst geleistet” (42, n. 167). It is certainly true that Greek poetical style and meter were not among the strengths that account for Pingree's outstanding, well-deserved scholarly reputation, but even unconvincing or, in the worst cases, metrically impossible conjectures may have a heuristic value for future editors.

4. a meticulously made index verborum (219–297) whose entries are in many cases usefully differentiated with regard to semantical, syntactical, or other criteria.

The book ends with three black-and-white plates of MS Hamb. cod. phil. 4, f. 69^r (vv. 3.1–20), **L** f. 9^v (vv. 1.1–41) and **L** f. 25^v (vv. 3.412–4.19).

Besides adopting about 1500 emendations by earlier scholars²² into his constitution of the badly transmitted text, De Stefani also made more than fifty emendations of his own²³.

phaestio, namely (165, ad vv. 1.167–169) Heph., 2.4.27. On 92, ad vv. 399–428, add Heph., 2.11.125 (= Heph., *epit.* 4.25.155); on 169, ad vv. 1.250–255, add Heph., *app.* 1.7 (= Heph., *epit.* 4.88.7). D. Pingree in his edition of Hephæstio (Leipzig 1973–1974), vol. I: 330, *app. font. ad app.* 1.7, refers erroneously to vv. 6.237–239. I owe the correct reference to G. BEZZA, “Alcune note sull' eutocia e la distocia”, *MHNH*, 7 (2007) 289–292, here: 290, n. 6.

²⁰ See DE STEFANI 2017: 21–22. The book is part of Koechly's *Nachlass* at the university of Heidelberg (cod. Heid. 365, 209).

²¹ Besides these conjectures, which De Stefani did not find convincing, there are three emendations by Lopilato which De Stefani adopted in his text (vv. 2.104, 2.472, 1.335–336).

²² This figure excludes the very numerous corrections made by **L**² (saec. IX), on whose qualities and shortcomings as a corrector and emendator see DE STEFANI 2017: 11–12. Some 300 corrections are due to KOECHLY (1851 and 1858), and about the same amount to AXT and RIGLER (1832 and 1835); some 200 go back to D'ORVILLE (1783), some 130 to GRONOVIVS (1698).

²³ Bk. 2: vv. 10, 153, 303, 308, 309 (“dub.”), 334, 344, 381, 433–434 (mult.); bk. 3: vv. 60, 180 (“dub.”), 261, 419 (bis); bk. 6: vv. 209, 212, 426, 566, 605, 674, 712; bk. 4: vv. 49, 86, 88, 150, 156, 214, 318, 536, 562, 566 (“dub.”), 612; bk. 1: vv. 41, 120, 146, 167, 283; bk. 5: vv. 11, 37, 56, 74, 97, 118, 184, 198, 203, 204, 235, 246, 297, 322. These changes to the transmitted text are all indicated

Nevertheless, he is more restrictive than Koechly with regard to emendations, as the higher number of *cruces desperationis* in his edition, compared to Koechly's, shows²⁴. This severe weighing of the value of every conjecture made by his predecessors is an important merit of De Stefani's edition. As to his own emendations, most of them are plausible, and some are excellent. The editor has explained a selection of his emendations in his article "Per il testo dei *Manethoniana*", in *Prometheus*, 42 (2016) 178–206 (henceforth: De Stefani 2016)²⁵. To adduce just a few examples, De Stefani has changed Ps.-Maneth., 2.381 ἄλλα τ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ τ' αἴσχεα† πολλὰ τελοῦντας το αἰὲν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι κάκ' αἴσχεα πολλὰ τελοῦντας (2016: 187–188)²⁶, 3.60 ἢ λώβην τιν' ἀεικελίην ἀκάχησε γυναῖκας το ἢ λώβην δι' ἀεικελίην ἀκάχησε γυναῖκας (ibid. 189), and the corrupt word at the end of 5.197–198 ἦνίκα δ' ἢ βασύλεια μέση συνέχοιτο Σελήνη / Ἄρεος ἠδὲ Κρόνου †συνλιβομένη† ισόμοιρος το συνθλιβομένη (2016: 203)²⁷. As so often in the case of excellent emendations, one wonders why no other scholar had thought of them earlier. The last example, for instance, is clearly about the moon being hemmed in physically by the two malefics²⁸, and συνέχοιτο is the clue to understanding that the last two words of this conditional clause serve to specify and 'dramatize' the relatively vague predicate συνέχοιτο. The quality of De Stefani's emendation becomes evident if contrasted with the failed conjectures of earlier editors (συντεινομένη Axt, συλλαμπομένη Koechly)²⁹.

While the edition under scrutiny has substantially benefitted from the editor's indisputably high competence in the fields of Greek poetry, style, meter etc., some difficult technical details of ancient astrology still leave room for further improvement. This is not surprising, and De Stefani himself, who has not published on ancient astrology before the present edition

by the remark "correxii" in the *apparatus criticus*, which mentions, in addition, conjectures that De Stefani made but did not adopt into his Greek text (cf. ex. gr. app. crit. ad vv. 1.14, 1.60, 2.311, 2.336, 3.132, 4.68, 5.292, 6.458).

24 One of them is a typo: 92 (v. 412) †προθέοντα.

25 This article also summarizes (178–184) large parts of the introduction to the edition.

26 Expanding on Axt's (early 19th c.) conjecture ἀλλήλοισι κάκ'.

27 He could have referred to 3.263 where the same verb occurs (yet in a different meaning, and with corruption of the prefix).

28 Ancient astrologers spoke of ἐμπερίσχεσις κατὰ συμπαρουσίαν. For details on this doctrine, see HEILEN 2015 (as n. 10 above): 807.

29 Paradoxically, however, De Stefani's translation (2016: 203) of the uncorrected sentence – "Quando la regina Luna è presa in mezzo, condividendone le sorti, da Marte e Saturno † ... †," (etc.) – reveals a misunderstanding of ισόμοιρος, which does not mean 'sharing their (scil. Mars' and Saturn's) fate' but 'occupying the same zodiacal degree (as Mars and Saturn)'. This astronomical meaning occurs many other times in various books of the pseudo-Manethonian corpus (see De Stefani's index 256 s.v. ισόμοιρος), and we find it once more just four lines later, in 5.202 Μη λαθέτω σε Κρόνος ισμοιρήσας Ἀφροδίτη κτλ.

(2017) except for the already mentioned article (2016) and his review of Schubert's edition of the fragments of Anubio³⁰, modestly states, at the end of his introduction to the edition, that he plans to leave the task of a commentary to experts of ancient astrology³¹. In the following, I shall adduce three examples of technically difficult passages where the text could be further improved, one from each book of the original nucleus of the pseudo-Manethonian corpus (i.e., books 2, 3 and 6). These examples will be based on the edition itself (2017) and on De Stefani's article from 2016 (see above). They will be arranged in order of increasing complexity.

1. The original nucleus of the poem ends with the autobiographical horoscope of Ps.-Manetho (6.738–750), which has been dated astronomically to 27–28 May 80 CE in Neugebauer's authoritative study on Greek horoscopes³². The astronomical data are specified in vv. 745–749 which read thus in De Stefani's edition:

Ἡέλιος μὲν ἔην Διδύμοις, τῷ δ' αὖθ' ἅμα καλῆ 745
 Κύπρις καὶ Φαέθων ἐρατὸς καὶ χρύσεος Ἐρμῆς,
 Ὑδροχόω δὲ Σεληναίῃ Φαίνων τε καθ' ὥρης,
 πολυλόδη δ' Ἄρης ἐν Καρκίνω, ἀμφὶ δὲ μέσσον
 οὐρανὸν ἐστρωφᾶτο βέλος Κένταυρος ἀνέλκων.

In v. 747, the *codex unicus* (L) reads καὶ ὥρη ('and the ascendant') which De Stefani has changed (following Koechly's editions from 1851 and 1858) to καθ' ὥρης ('on the ascendant', or: 'in the first place of the *dodekátropos*'). This change is not plausible because the poet is here enumerating the canonical core data of a horoscope, namely the zodiacal longitudes of the sun, the moon, the five planets, and the ascendant. In v. 747, he is saying that the moon, Saturn and the ascendant were in Aquarius, not that the moon was in Aquarius and Saturn on the ascendant. If the poet had written v. 747 as given by the present edition, the reader would not be able to understand the zodiacal longitudes of both Saturn and the ascendant. A further important argument is that the poet specifies also the position of the midheaven (vv. 748–749), which happened to fall into Sagittarius. The midheaven is far less frequently mentioned in ancient horoscopes than the ascendant³³. As a matter of fact, there is not a single one among the more than 350 extant Greek horoscopes³⁴ which specifies the midheaven but not the ascendant. The ascendant came to be considered the most important

³⁰ See note 4 above.

³¹ DE STEFANI 2017: 41–42: “Die Gedichte benötigen allerdings noch eine systematische Darstellung der Metrik und einen *apparatus fontium* mit poetischen bzw. astrologischen Parallelstellen: ich vermag dies leider den Lesern nicht anzubieten. Erst musste ein zuverlässiger kritischer Text etabliert werden [...] den Kommentar [...] muss ich [...] *eruditioribus* überlassen.”

³² OTTO NEUGEBAUER & B. L. VAN HOESSEN, *Greek Horoscopes*, Philadelphia 1959: 92, no. L 80.

³³ See the explanation by R. HAND, “Signs as Houses (Places) in Ancient Astrology”, *Culture And Cosmos*, 11/1–2 (2007) 135–162, here: 138–143 (“Missing Midheavens”).

³⁴ See my catalogue in HEILEN 2015 (see n. 10 above): 204–333.

single parameter of the entire set of astronomical data of a nativity, so much so that the Greek prose term for “ascendant”, ὠροσκόπος, came over the centuries to denote (by *pars pro toto*) the entire nativity (hence, English “horoscope”). Even if the manuscript offered καθ’ ὥρης, which is not the case, it would necessitate the emendation καὶ ὥρη. Since, however, the manuscript does offer the reading that is needed here, the transmitted text must by all means be kept. De Stefani was aware of the fact that Garnett, whom he quotes in the *apparatus ad locum*, had already defended the manuscript reading³⁵ and that Lopilato adopted and correctly translated it in his unpublished edition. Nevertheless, De Stefani preferred to follow Koechly, who was inspired to conjecture καθ’ ὥρης because these are the final words of v. 6.716 where, however, the sense is different and was not understood by Koechly³⁶. An up-to-date discussion of this horoscope, including a defense of the manuscript reading καὶ ὥρη, is available (regrettably ‘hidden’) in an earlier article of mine³⁷.

2. A similar case occurs in v. 3.411, which is part of the explanation how one finds the ἀφέτης (‘releaser’), i.e., the planet that releases the vital ray whose length predetermines the native’s lifespan. Since this is one of the most important topics in ancient astrology, our poet placed it prominently at the end of this book (vv. 3.399–428). In his article from 2016 (see above): 191–192, De Stefani discusses vv. 3.410–420, which he edits and translates thus (words to which I shall refer in the following are underlined):

ὀπότε δ’ ἄν κέντρων ἐκτὸς †φαέθων ἀποκλιθῆ,	410
ἢδ’ ἄρ’ ἐπὶ μοίρησι κατωφερέεσσι πόλοιο	
νίσσηται προθέοντα, τὸτ’ ἀστέρος ἄρχεο κείνου,	
ὃς ῥά τε δεσπόζει γενέθλης, μέγα τε κράτος ἴσχει.	
εἰ δ’ ἄρα κάκεινον λεύσσοις κλινθέντ’ ἀπὸ κέντρου,	
ἐξ ὥρης τὸτ’ ἔπειτα χρόνων ἄφεσιν σύ γε φράζου.	415
ζωῆς δ’ αὐτ’ ἀρχὴν <u>εὗτ’ ἄν διζήμενος εὖρης,</u>	

³⁵ R. GARNETT, “On the Date of the Ἀποτελεσματικά of Manetho”, *Journal of Philology*, 23 (1895) 238–240, here: 239 (with correct translation of the passage in question). Garnett repeated his criticism in: “On Some Misinterpretations of Greek Astrological Terms”, *Classical Review*, 13 (1899) 291–293, here: 292.

³⁶ The meaning of vv. 6.716–718 is (as LOPILATO 1998: 303, correctly translates): “When [...] the malefics, Saturn and Mars, either appear in the ascendant or are in quartile or trine to the ascendant” etc. For Koechly’s misunderstanding of that passage, see his translation (1851: 73). Koechly misunderstood v. 747, too, whose last words he translates (*ibid.*) as “et Saturnus in hora”.

³⁷ S. HEILEN, “Problems in translating ancient Greek astrological texts”, in: *Writings of Early Scholars in the Ancient Near East, Egypt and Greece. Translating Ancient Scientific Texts*, ed. by A. IMHAUSEN & T. POMMERENING, Berlin – New York 2010: 299–329, here: 316–321. This article clarifies, too, that Κένταυρος (v. 749) means Sagittarius, not, as the otherwise meritorious Neugebauer (see n. 32 above) thought, the extra-zodiacal constellation Centaurus, which is a paranatellon of 12° Scorpio. See my chart *ibid.* 319 which shows that Neugebauer’s misunderstanding implies an error of about three hours regarding the time of birth.

δεικῆλων σκέπτοιο χρόνους, ὅποσους περάτηθεν
 ἀντέλλει, †κείνου τε περι μοιβαῖσι δάσασθαι†·
 τὼς κεν³⁸ πλειώνων ἀριθμὸν μηνῶν τε φράσαιο,
 ὄσους Μοῖρ' ἐπέδησε βροτῶν μογεροῦ βιότοιο. 420

Ma se †Giove declina da uno dei centri o si muove procedendo nelle parti inferiori del cielo, allora comincia da quell'astro che signoreggia la nascita, e ha grande potere. E se anche quello vedrai declinare dal centro, deduci dall'ora il computo del tempo [scil. della vita]. Se poi cerchi di stabilire l'inizio della vita, guarda i tempi dei segni [zodiacali], durante i quali sorgono da oriente e ... [*corrupt*]. Così potresti comprendere il numero degli anni †e delle parti†, a cui il destino ha legato la faticosa vita umana.

De Stefani's point is that L's reading μοιρῶν τε in v. 419 ("†e delle parti†") must be emended to μηνῶν τε, 'and of the months', as opposed to the full years of life (πλειώνων) mentioned in the first half of the same verse. This is an excellent proposal because μηνῶν τε yields better sense than Hermann's conjecture μοίρησι (which had been adopted by Koechly)³⁹ and is both phonetically (itacism) and palaeographically⁴⁰ plausible. However, De Stefani's translation reveals misunderstandings of some other details⁴¹. My reason for adducing this example is a problem in v. 411, which affects the Greek text: De Stefani follows Koechly's change of the transmitted ἦ τ' ('or') to ἦδ' ('and')⁴². This is no trifle because it means that the two astronomical conditions, which are expressed respectively in v. 410 and vv. 411–412, must be fulfilled either both (ἦδ') or only one of them (ἦ τ'). Koechly seems to have understood both conditions as describing one and the same motion,⁴³ which

³⁸ Thus in the edition (2017: 92); but ID. 2016: 191: τὼς γὰρ [κεν].

³⁹ One could point out, in addition to De Stefani's arguments, that Vettius Valens (ed. D. PINGREE, Leipzig 1986) specifies on many occasions that the natives of his sample horoscopes lived so and so many years and so and so many months, e.g. Val. 3.7.20 (about an anonymous individual born on 13 May 114 CE) ἔζησεν ἡ γένεσις ἔτη κημῆνας θορ ibid. 3.10.28 (about someone born on 15 February 115 CE) ἔζησεν ἔτη λβμῆνας ε̄.

⁴⁰ On the frequent confusion of ρ and ν in L see DE STEFANI 2017: 10.

⁴¹ One of them is ἐξ ὥρης (v. 415), which he translates as "dall'ora" ('from the hour'), while the meaning here is beyond doubt 'from the ascendant' (see W. HÜBNER, "Zur Verwendung und Umschreibung des Terminus ὠροσκοπος in der astrologischen Lehrdichtung der Antike", *MHNH*, 1 [2001] 219–238, esp.: 231: "Ersatz der Nominalkomposition durch Polysemie"; see also HEILEN 2015 [as n. 10 above]: 687). Moreover, he translates v. 414 ἀπὸ κέντρου as "dal centro" ('from the centre'), while the meaning is indefinite: 'from one of the (altogether four) centres', and v. 416 as "se poi cerchi di stabilire l'inizio della vita" ('if you try, then, to determine the beginning of life'), while the meaning is 'when you have, then, by means of your search, found the beginning of life' (i.e., once you have, following the instructions in vv. 410–415, found the releasing planet).

⁴² Already before Koechly, Gronovius had changed ἦ τ' to ἦδ' (*sic*, ed. 1698, f. H2^r), Axt and Rigler to ἦ δ'.

⁴³ He translates (1851: 59): "Quando autem extra centra duo lumina declinant atque in partibus declivibus poli ferantur praecurrentia".

is not the case⁴⁴. Curiously, De Stefani translates ἦ τ' ("o") while he prints Koechly's ἦδ' (which would, in Italian, be "e"). He was not aware of my recent edition of the entire final section of this book (Ps.-Maneth., 3.399–428), which is based on a systematic examination of all ancient sources for the astrological method of calculating an individual's life-span by means of a primary direction (ἄφεις), including extant horoscopic applications⁴⁵. This is not the place to explain the details of that method; suffice it to say that the sources require the logical connection with 'or', as transmitted by L⁴⁶, not 'and'⁴⁷. In this case, too, Lopilato (1998) rightly follows the manuscript reading by printing (74, without *spatium*) ἦτ' and translating (237) "or". If an epic parallel for the use of ἦ τ' is needed, see the important words that Achilles speaks to Agamemnon in *Ilias* 19.147–148: δῶρα μὲν αἶ κ' ἐθέλησθα παρασχέμεν, ὡς ἐπιεικές, / ἦ τ' ἐχέμεν παρὰ σοί· κτλ.

3. Ps.-Maneth., 2.402–437 discusses the effects of conjunctions of the five planets with the sun. The topic is clearly announced (v. 402) and concluded (vv. 436–437). The first lines (vv. 403–409) summarize the underlying principle which is then applied to each of the five planets, whose sequence (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury) follows the traditional descending order of the so-called ἐπτάζωνος. In other words, we are dealing with a well-organized section. In contrast to this observation, the text of the introductory explanation (vv. 403–409) is all but clear. De Stefani repeats it without change from the edition of Koechly (1851)⁴⁸. It reads thus (with the uncorrected readings of the *codex unicus* L on the right margin)⁴⁹:

πάντες μὲν χαίρουσιν ἐπ' ἀντολίησιν ἐόντες,	
ὡς ἐν εἴοσιν ἕκαστος ἀγαλλόμενος βασιλείοις·	
καὶ ῥά τ' ἐπ' ἀντολῆς μὲν <u>ἰόντες <ἄτ'></u> ἐς νεότητα,	405 L: ἐόντες εἰς νεότητα
θητοῖς πάντα τελοῦσιν ἄγαν κρατεροὶ <u>παρεόντες</u> ·	L: περ ἐόντες
ἐσπερίοισι δὲ βαρδύτεροι προῖοῦσι χρόνοισιν,	L: ἐσπέριοι δὲ βραδιότεροι
<u>δείλοισι</u> ἀνγῆσιν μαλεραῖς ὑποπεπτηῶτες,	L: δειλοὶ δ'
<u>ἀδρανέες</u> τε πέλονται ἐδὸν σθένος ἀμβλύνοντες.	L: ἀδρανες (corr. L ²)

⁴⁴ If the sun declines (in the astrological technical sense of ἀπόκλιμα) from the descendant or from the lower midheaven, it is below the horizon, but if it declines from the ascendant or from the midheaven, it is *above* the horizon.

⁴⁵ HEILEN 2015 (see n. 10 above): 991–1021 (analysis of the sources) and 1385–1389 (edition of Ps.-Maneth., 3.399–428, with translation).

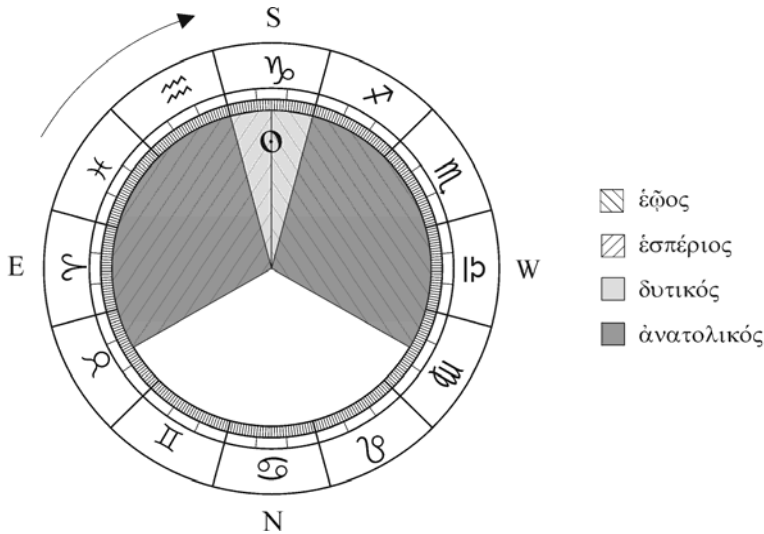
⁴⁶ I have verified through autopsy of L fol. 25^r that it reads ἦ τ', as correctly stated by De Stefani.

⁴⁷ It seems to have been taboo among ancient astrologers to release from positions beneath the horizon, except for the first place (cf. Ptol., *apotel.* 3.11.4 and HEILEN 2015 [see n. 10 above]: 999). But not all places above the horizon are suitable for ἄφεις. If 'and' were correct, the method explained by Ps.-Manetho would not tell the practicing astrologer what to do in the many situations when the sun is above the horizon but cadent from a center (either from the ascendant or from the midheaven).

⁴⁸ Koechly's *editio minor* (1858) is different in reading προῖασι (v. 407) and σφαλεραῖς (v. 408).

⁴⁹ I have taken these readings from De Stefani's apparatus and verified them through autopsy of L fol. 19^r.

De Stefani found it (understandably) difficult to make sense of this text, as is clear from his remarks in the apparatus criticus. One gets a similar impression when reading the confused translations by Koechly (1851: 48) and Lopilato (1998: 216–217, based on a few different textual choices). These difficulties arise from the text’s references to risings (vv. 403, 405) and to the evening (v. 407). They do not, as (to the best of my knowledge) all scholars to the present have assumed, refer to the *motions* of the sun and the planets with respect to the horizon⁵⁰ but to the *positions* of the single planets with respect to the sun. The poet is here reporting an exclusively astrological, *static* definition of ἀνατολή and δύσις which has developed out of (and envisages nothing but the results of) the *dynamic* processes of heliacal rising and setting. The exclusively astrological meaning of ἀνατολή and δύσις is attested in many texts and has been masterfully analyzed by S. Denningmann⁵¹. I use her diagram of the phases of the planets in relation to the sun to illustrate the doctrine⁵²:



When a planet happens to be located in one of the two dark grey areas, it is either ἐσπέριος ἀνατολικός (in the diagram: 15°–120° left of the sun) or ἐφῶς ἀνατολικός (in the diagram: 15°–120° right of the sun). In the light grey area, which extends 15° to either side of the sun, the planet is either ἐσπέριος δυτικός (left) or ἐφῶς δυτικός (right). Instead of δυτικός, one

⁵⁰ This assumption is explicitly perpetuated by DE STEFANI 2016: 188–189.

⁵¹ S. DENNINGMANN, *Die astrologische Lehre der Doryphorie. Eine soziomorphe Metapher in der antiken Planetenastrologie*, München – Leipzig 2005: 386–474. Cf. the short version by EAD., “The Ambiguous Terms ἐφῶς and ἐσπερία ἀνατολή, and ἐφῶς and ἐσπερία δύσις”, *Culture And Cosmos*, 11/1–2 (2007): 189–210. See also my German summary in HEILEN 2015 (see n. 10 above): 741–743.

⁵² DENNINGMANN 2007 (as previous note): 200 (reproduced with kind permission by the author).

also finds ὕπανυγος, ‘under the rays’ of the glaring sun which makes any other celestial body nearby invisible. In this technical terminology, the adjectives ‘vespertine’ (ἑσπέριος) and ‘matutinal’ (ἑφῶς) refer to the time within a νυχθήμερον (i.e., within 24 hours) when a planet that is ἀνατολικός is visible, i.e., either after sunset or before sunrise. In other words, they mean the same as ‘being on a higher / lower zodiacal longitude’. The use of ἑσπέριος and ἑφῶς is independent of the actual time of day. If the sun, which is arbitrarily located at the upper culmination (= noon) in the above diagram, were in any other position with respect to the horizon, the terminology would still be the same. As far as the astrological interpretation is concerned, a planet that is ‘under the rays’ (ὕπανυγος, = δυτικός) is weak and miserable, one that has ‘risen’ from the burnt zone around the sun (ἀνατολικός) is strong, especially when it is ‘matutinal’ (ἑφῶς), a bit less so when it is ‘vespertine’ (ἑσπέριος)⁵³, and its effects will come about soon when it is ‘matutinal’ (ἑφῶς), rather late when it is ‘vespertine’ (ἑσπέριος). It will be useful to take a fresh look at Ps.-Manetho’s introductory explanation (vv. 403–409) with two authoritative astrological statements in mind, one by Antigonos of Nicaea (2nd c. CE) and one by Paul of Alexandria (4th c. CE; he preserves much astrological material from earlier periods). The former says: αἱ γὰρ αἱ μὲν ἑφῶι ἀνατολαὶ ἐκ νεότητος ποιοῦσιν, αἱ δὲ ἑσπέριοι ἐπὶ προβάσεως δηλοῦσι τὰς πράξεις⁵⁴. And the latter: καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν ἑφῶς ἀνατολῆς οἱ ἀστέρες τυγχάνοντες ἐνεργεῖς καὶ δραστικοὶ ἀπὸ νεότητος πρὸς τὰ ἴδια ἀποτελέσματα νοεῖσθωσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ ἑσπερίας ἀνατολῆς κατὰ τὴν τῶν χρόνων πρόβασιν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳ ἀποτελέσμασιν ἐνεργοῦσιν. ἑφῶν δὲ κρύψιν ἢ ἑσπερίαν ποιοῦμενοι [...] ἀδρανεῖς καὶ ἀπράκτους καὶ ἀνεπιφάντους τὰς ἀποτελέσεις ἔχουσιν. ἑφῶι δὲ ἀνατολικοὶ οἱ ἀστέρες γίνονται, ὅταν ἀποδιαστῶσι τοῦ Ἡλίου μοίρας τε’ ἐν ταῖς προηγουμέναις μοίραις κτλ.⁵⁵

It now becomes clear that the modern editors’ ‘corrections’ of vv. 405, 407 and 408 are implausible. The original text is likely to be this (my conjectures in bold):

πάντες μὲν χαίρουσιν ἐπ’ ἀντολίησιν ἐόντες,
 ὡς ἐν εἴοσιν ἕκαστος ἀγαλλόμενος βασιλείοις,
 καὶ ρά τ’ ἐπ’ ἀντολῆς μὲν **ἑφῶς** ἐκ νεότητος 405 (ἑφῶς ἀνατολικός; best case)
 θνητοῖς πάντα τελοῦσιν ἄγαν κρατεροὶ παρεόντες,
ἑσπέριοι δ’ ἔ<τι> βαρδύτεροι **ποιοῦσι** χρόνοισιν, (ἑσπέριος ἀνατολικός; good case)
δειλοὶ δ’ ἀγῆσιν μαλεραῖς ὑποπεπηθῶτες (δυτικός = ὕπανυγος; bad case)
 ἀδρανεές τε πέλονται ἐδὸν σθένος ἀμβλύνοντες.

All planetary deities rejoice when they are in their (respectively two) risings (with respect to the sun), as if each of them exulted in his own (two) palaces, and – to be precise (ῥά) – in their morning rising they accomplish everything for the mortals being present

⁵³ Cf. HEILEN 2015 (see n. 10 above): 744, with reference to Antig. Nic., F1 § 32 (ap. Heph., 2.18.32).

⁵⁴ Antig. Nic., F1 § 31 (ap. Heph., 2.18.31), ed. HEILEN 2015 (see n. 10 above): 138.

⁵⁵ Paul. Alex., 14, ed. E. BOER, Leipzig (Teubner) 1958: 28,21–29,8. Cf. the detailed analysis of this passage by DENNINGMANN 2005 (as n. 51 above): 430–437.

with utmost might; (in) vespertine (rising) they exercise their effects with more delay⁵⁶, and when they are crouched beneath the fierce rays (of the sun) and (therefore) wretched, they become (astrologically) weak because they blunt their (former) strength.

My conjectures have the advantage of establishing coherent, well-documented⁵⁷ meaning while sticking, on the whole, more closely to the transmitted text than all previous editors. Some details: The change of number from the plural ἐπ' ἀντολίησιν (v. 403) to the singular ἐπ' ἀντολῆς (v. 405) is probably not a chance product nor dictated by metrical convenience but due to the fact that there are actually two areas near the sun where a planet has astrologically 'risen', namely the ἐφ' ἀνατολή and the ἐσπερία ἀνατολή. As soon as these two are differentiated (v. 405), the singular is appropriate. L's εἰς (ibid.) is likely to be a corruption of ἐκ⁵⁸ and (since εἰς requires the accusative) to have led to a secondary corruption of νεότητος to νεότητα⁵⁹. For the verb ποιεῖν (v. 407) in its standard astrological meaning 'exercise an effect' cf. (if any proof is needed) v. 433 within the same passage (ποίησε, scil. Mercury) and v. 177 within the same book (Ἀφρογενουῶς δὲ Κρόνος παρεὼν οἴκοις τάδε ποιεῖ). The intrusion of ρ into the reading of L (προϊούσι) may have occurred under the influence of the immediately following word χρόνοισιν, but see also the preceding word which begins (in L) with βρα-. My conjecture δ' ἔ<τι> (v. 407) is far less certain. Note, however, that there are several instances of καὶ δ' ἔτι, πρὸς δ' ἔτι and εἰ δ' ἔτι in the corpus. Here the loss of τι could have been caused by the following word⁶⁰. As to δειλοὶ (v. 408), this adjective occurs frequently in the *Manethoniana*, and we even find it, earlier in the same book, combined with both ἀδρανέες and a compound of the participle πεπηθῶτες (2.168–169): Φαίνων νωχελέας τε καὶ ἀδρανέας μάλα ῥέζει, / δειλοὺς πανταρβεῖς τε, φρεσὶν καταπεπηθῶτας (note that even the positions of δειλ- and -πεπηθῶτ- within the respective verses are the same; it is irrelevant for the textual criticism that the objects described in 2.168–169 are mortals, not planetary gods). As to the syntax and meaning of vv. 408–409, cf. v. 421 (in the same passage, about Mars): ἦσσαν δ' ἐσπέριος γεγαῶς ἀδρανέστερα ῥέζει. Last, it is revealing how earlier editors have struggled with μαλεραῖς (v. 408): Koechly did not understand the point ("*fulgentibus*", 1851: 48) and changed the adjective to σφαλεραῖς in his subsequent *editio minor* (1858). De Stefani remarks (2017: 70, app. crit.): "*haud iniuria, quamquam μαλερός obvium ap[ud] Maneth[onem] est; f[or]t[asse] intellegi potest de stellis quae nondum ἀπήμβλυνται (et c[on]f[er] [Opp[ian]i] Hal[ieutica] 1.300 ἀμβλύνων μαλερὸν σθένος).*" In his precious word index (2017: 265), he mentions six more occurrences of μαλερός, all of them in the original nucleus

⁵⁶ Lit.: being more slow with respect to time.

⁵⁷ See the previous quotations from Antigonus of Nicaea and Paul of Alexandria.

⁵⁸ Cf. De Stefani's approval (2016: 187) for Axt's correction of 2.381 καὶ τ' το κάκ' (see n. 26 above).

⁵⁹ De Stefani points out (2017: 10) that the *antigraphon* of L must have contained cases of the well-known abbreviation ο for -ος. If this was the case in v. 405, the scribe of L may even more easily have corrupted νεότητ^ο to νεότητα.

⁶⁰ Another, less likely conjecture: δ' <ῶτ>ε (with omission of the *copula*).

of the poem (i.e., in books 2, 3, and 6). One of them, 6.389–390 (εἰ δέ κε τοῖσι καὶ Ἥλιος συνέπηται, / ἄσσοτέρω μαλεροῖο πυρὸς τέχνας μογέουσιν), alludes to what is meant in our verse (408), too, namely the destructive heat in the immediate proximity of the sun⁶¹.

After this introduction, the poet moves on to the specific tenets regarding each planet's conjunction with the sun (vv. 410–435). These lines present various difficulties that cannot be solved here. It is a *desideratum* for future research to determine if the poet specifies all three situations mentioned in vv. 403–409 or – this is my impression – only the last one, namely being under the rays of the sun (either on a lower or on a higher longitude, i.e., either ἔϕος δυτικός or ἑσπέριος δυτικός). This analysis requires careful comparison with several parallels in the works of Dorotheus, Anubio, Vettius Valens and Firmicus Maternus⁶². Suffice it here to focus briefly on v. 433, where De Stefani changes the transmitted ἐζ//ομένους to δυόμενος⁶³. This line belongs to the last piece of information in our passage (vv. 431–435), which deals with the conjunction of Mercury with the sun. The first two lines (vv. 431–432) describe a negative effect (Ἐρμῆς δ' Ἡελίῳ ξυνήν βαίνων κατ' ἀταρπὸν / ἤμερσεν σοφίης καὶ παιδείης μάλα πολλῆς), which is clearly one of the negative effects of 'being under the fierce rays' as generally stated in vv. 408–409. It would therefore be very surprising to hear in v. 433 of Mercury heliacally setting and thus becoming astrologically δυτικός, as if the previous two lines had been about the opposite, i.e., about being astrologically ἀνατολικός. Moreover, there is no form of δύνειν or δύνεσθαι in this entire passage (vv. 2.402–437), and the change from ἐζ//ομένους to δυόμενος is palaeographically awkward. I do not see the need for an emendation of the first three words of v. 433 as transmitted in L: ἐζομένους ποίησε βίους may be a pun that allows for two equally correct interpretations, 'he produces sitting lives' (because Egyptian scribes would hold the writing tablets on their laps while sitting on the ground) and 'he produces crouched lives' (cf. v. 408 ὑποπεπηῶτες, LSJ s.v. ἔζομαι I.2 "crouch" with epic examples, and Firm., *math.* 6.25.2 about these very natives – with Mercury under the rays – being *omni ratione sollicitos ... superstitiosa trepidatione sollicitos etc.*).

Incidentally, this third example leads to another potentially useful insight which concerns the summaries of the contents of books 2, 3, and 6 in L. De Stefani states in his introduction (35) that they are in all likelihood old, probably written by an ancient editor of the poems, if not by the author himself ("wenn nicht vom Autor selbst"). While they may indeed be old, or even very old, we shall see that the summary of book 2 (and probably those of books 3 and 6, too) cannot be by the author himself because it contains substantial misunderstandings and

⁶¹ In the quotation from Oppianus, instead, the fierce strength is that of pain (πήματος) and therefore irrelevant to our context.

⁶² Dor. paraphr., PINGREE 1976: 354,4–357,7 (= Anub., T8,308–410 Schubert). Dor. arab., 2,18–19. Vett. Val. *app.* I (PINGREE 1986: 369–389). Firm., *math.* 6,22–27. These texts present clear parallels for several (yet not all) details of Ps.-Manetho's passage. Compare, for instance, vv. 426–430 (on Venus) with Firm., *math.* 6.25.1.

⁶³ Cf. De Stefani's discussion of this passage in his article (2016): 188–189.

omissions. It reads thus (L f. 14^r)⁶⁴:

Ἐν τῷ β' τούτῳ βιβλίῳ διέξεισιν·

A. Περὶ τῆς θέσεως τῶν ἐν τῇ σφαίρᾳ κύκλων φαινομένων τε καὶ ἀφανῶν καὶ ἄξονος καὶ ὀρίζοντος καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς κύκλοις τῶν ἄστρον τε καὶ ἀστέρων θέσεως καὶ τῶν λοξῶν κύκλων.

B. Τί ἕκαστος τῶν ἑπτὰ πλανητῶν ἐν ἰδίῳ, καὶ τί ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ οἴκῳ φαινόμενος ἀποτελεῖ.

Γ. Τίς ἐκάστου τῶν ἑπτὰ πλανητῶν ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, καὶ τίς ἐν τῇ δύσει ἢ δύναιμις.

Δ. Περὶ τῆς φάσεως τῶν ζ' πλανητῶν, καὶ τί μὲν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τῷ ἡλίῳ συνὼν ἀποτελεῖ, καὶ τί διαμετρῶν, τί δὲ τῇ σελήνῃ καθ' ἕκαστην τῶν δύο φάσεων αὐτῆς.

While the first two entries (A and B) summarize quite accurately the long sections 2.18–140 (on the celestial circles) and 2.141–398 (on the effects of the planets in their own and other planets' houses), the last two entries (Γ and Δ) show that whoever wrote them did not understand that vv. 2.402–437 form a unified whole, 2.402–409 (cf. Γ) being the general introduction to the subsequent specific tenets (2.410–435, cf. Δ) about the conjunctions of each of the five planets with the sun⁶⁵. This misunderstanding is all the more remarkable because the poet has emphasized the unity of vv. 2.402–437 by phrasing the first and last lines in almost identical wording⁶⁶. As a consequence of his misunderstanding, the writer of the summary misinterpreted πάντες (2.403) as denoting all seven planets including the luminaries (cf. Γ: ἐκάστου τῶν ἑπτὰ πλανητῶν), while it actually refers only to the five planets Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury, whose conjunctions with the sun are discussed in the following lines⁶⁷. The misunderstanding of πάντες continues in the next entry, Δ, which speaks once more of seven planets (Περὶ τῆς φάσεως τῶν ζ' πλανητῶν κτλ.) although the poet actually discusses the phases of the same five planets as before. Apart from this numerical mistake, the content of Δ is acceptable until including διαμετρῶν; then it gets wrong because the remainder of the second book does not treat 'what (each of the planets brings about being in conjunction) with the moon during the moon's two phases'. If one takes the words τί δὲ τῇ σελήνῃ (scil. ἕκαστος αὐτῶν συνὼν ἀποτελεῖ) alone, they acceptably (though somewhat

⁶⁴ DE STEFANI 2017: 37.

⁶⁵ In the same fashion, vv. 2.141–398, which the writer of the summary correctly treats as a unity (B), falls into a general introduction (2.141–149) that is followed by the respective specific tenets (2.150–398). By the way, both general introductions (2.141–149 and 2.402–409) are, in L (ff. 15^v and 19^v), marked with asterisks, one asterisk preceding each verse. I assume, however, that whoever added these asterisks simply meant to mark the respective verses as important, nothing more.

⁶⁶ Cf. v. 402 ὄσσα δ' ἄμ' Ἠελίῳ δρῶσιν παρεόντες, αἰέσω and vv. 436–438 τόσσα μὲν Ἠελίῳ μούνην ζυνη παρεόντες / ῥέζουσ', ἴσα δὲ τοῖσι καὶ ἀντίον Ἠελίου / φαινόμενοι.

⁶⁷ That πάντες cannot refer to the sun is also clear from v. 408 where 'they' (i.e., πάντες) are envisaged as being under the fierce rays of the sun (cf. above on the meaning of ἀυγήσιν μαλεραῖς ὑποπεπηῶτες). Moreover, cf. the title of Paul of Alexandria's chapter 14, from which the above quotation (see n. 55) had been taken: Περὶ ὧν ποιοῦνται φάσεων οἱ πέντε (!) ἀστέρες πρὸς τὸν Ἥλιον.

vaguely) describe the content of vv. 441–480, which are about the moon’s approaches to and separations from the five planets. If the poet himself had written the summary, one would expect to find the two technical terms συναφή (‘approach’) and ἀπόρροια (‘separation’)⁶⁸, especially since the poet clearly announces this topic in vv. 438–440 (Μήνη δ’ ἅ σὺν αὐτοῖσιν παρεοῦσα / ῥέζει ἐν δισσῆσιν ἀπορροίαις συναφαῖς τε / θνητοῖς ἐν μογερῶ βιότῳ, καὶ νῦν ἐνέποιμι). It is only after these two sections (vv. 2.402–437 and 2.441–480) that the poet extends the perspective (v. 481) to the moon’s approaches to and separations from the *sun*, and still later (v. 489) to conjunctions and oppositions of the two luminaries, thus touching eventually, in the last 14 lines of book 2 (vv. 489–502), upon two phases of the moon (cf. Δ at the end), which are, by the way, not ‘the’ two, as the writer of the summary has it (τῶν δύο φάσεων αὐτῆς – he was probably misled by v. 491 τάσδε δύο φάσιαις), but two out of a canonical set of seven lunar phases⁶⁹. The poet himself implies that there are more than two lunar phases when he speaks (v. 497) of ‘all’ lunar phases (ἐν φάσεσιν πάσῃσιν). In short, the writer of the summary did not understand the structure of lines 2.399–502, which fall into three distinct sections that deal with three distinct topics: each of the five planets being in the proximity of either the sun (vv. 402–437) or the moon (vv. 438–480) or both luminaries being in the proximity of each other (vv. 481–520). Each of these three sections contains brief remarks on oppositions of the respective celestial bodies, too. The final words of item Δ of the summary do not allow for a plausible emendation, obviously because they are not a sentence from the poet’s pen, which suffered textual corruption, but the confused attempt of another, less competent person at summarizing vv. 2.402–502. The poet’s own qualities with regard to clear structure and circumspect organization of his didactic material become evident if we consider that the first two of the aforementioned three sections (vv. 2.402–437 and 2.441–480) are of almost equal length, both discuss the five planets in descending order, and both finish with a brief reference to oppositions⁷⁰; there is even more: the last hundred verses of this book (vv. 2.402–502), which item Δ summarizes so inadequately, form but the beginning of what the poet has announced in vv. 2.399–401, namely that he will now (after having completed the treatment of each planet being alone in its own or another planet’s house, vv. 2.141–398) speak of configurations (either conjunctions or aspects) of planets either among each other or with respect to specific places of the chart. This broad topic occupies not only the rest of the second book but also most of the third book where the places and cardines of the chart as well as aspects of the five planets first come into play, and they do so right from the start, thus justifying the beginning of a new book⁷¹. This last remark

⁶⁸ Cf. HEILEN 2015 (as n. 10 above): 749–758.

⁶⁹ Cf. HEILEN 2015 (as n. 10 above): 851–852, with copious references to Greek and Latin texts (add Paul. Alex., 16 and Olymp., 15). Besides the canonical seven phases, one finds isolated references to four, five, ten, or eleven phases of the moon, but never to a total of only two.

⁷⁰ See also another shared feature mentioned in n. 65 above.

⁷¹ The only kind of aspect treated in the second book is the opposition of the luminaries (full moon, vv. 490–502).

is important because it leads back to and further corroborates my above emendation of vv. 403–409: the entire section 2.402–502 has nothing to do with horizon phenomena such as cosmic risings or settings⁷²; it is exclusively about zodiacal positions of celestial bodies with respect to each other.

The analysis of the three examples above leads to some general insights:

1. One should not overdo in emending the *codex unicus* L. This heavily corrupted manuscript certainly requires numerous emendations, but here and there words that have prompted editorial interventions in the past turn out to be sound, as is the case with v. 6.747 καὶ ὄρη (example 1 above).

2. One should evaluate the merits of all printed editions that preceded De Stefani's, especially of the last two (Koechly 1851 and 1858, cf. n. 17 above), with caution. Young Koechly, whom De Stefani calls 'the hero of the *Manethoniana*' and 'their greatest editor'⁷³, was doubtlessly an admirable philologist. However, he applied his outstanding talent at a time when only a tiny amount of the extant astrological literature was available in unreliable editions from the 15th to 17th centuries, to say nothing of the scholarly investigation of the complex doctrinal system of ancient astrology from the late 19th century onwards⁷⁴. It is important cautiously to weigh each of Koechly's conjectures against the results of this research. All three of the above examples contain 'emendations' that should not have been adopted in the latest edition that is here under review⁷⁵.

3. It is promising systematically to search for parallels of both wording and content in the vast body of extant Greek astrological texts that has become available in recent decades, as the parallels from Antigonus of Nicaea and Paul of Alexandria in the third example above have shown⁷⁶.

In sum, De Stefani deserves credit for his high editorial standards and his obvious philological acumen. He has produced the best available edition of the *Manethoniana*. In view, however, of the poor state of transmission of the text and its partly difficult astrological content, there is room left for further improvement. Even if the present reviewer would not dare to claim that all textual problems of this corpus can be solved, it is much to be hoped that De Stefani's edition will stimulate further research on the *Manethoniana*.

STEPHAN HEILEN
University of Osnabrück
stheilen@uni-osnabrueck.de

⁷² I emphasize this point because the ascendant and the descendant are two of the aforementioned four cardines of the chart, and I speak of 'cosmic risings and settings' as opposed to heliacal risings and settings.

⁷³ DE STEFANI 2017: 21 and 42. He also dedicates his edition to Koechly (ibid.: 42).

⁷⁴ See my survey of the development of research into the history of astrology in HEILEN 2015 (as n. 10 above): 3–9.

⁷⁵ Cf. Koechly's changes of v. 6.747 καὶ ὄρη to καθ' ὄρης (example 1), of v. 3.411 ἦ τ' to ἦδ' (example 2), and of v. 2.407 ἐσπέριοι to ἐσπερίοισι (example 3).

⁷⁶ See notes 54 and 55.

WOLFGANG HÜBNER, *Athena am Sternhimmel bei Proklos. Astrologie im Dienste neuplatonischer Philosophie*, (Sitzungsbericht der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1/2017), München, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017, 56 p. mit Illustrationen [ISBN: 978-3-7696-1674-3].

In una sintetica e allo stesso tempo incisiva monografia, W. Hübner – docente e insigne studioso di Filologia Classica della Università di Münster, noto esperto di scienza antica, in particolare di astronomia e astrologia, e di ricezione della letteratura antica dal Medioevo all'età moderna – affronta il tema della presenza e del ruolo della dea Atena nel contesto degli scritti del filosofo neoplatonico Proclo di Bisanzio, con specifica attenzione ai temi di natura prettamente astronomico-astrologica e mitologica.

Un interesse, come noto, non nuovo in Proclo al quale, tra i copiosi riferimenti alle sue opere, sono attribuiti una parafrasi del *Tetrabiblos* di Tolomeo e il trattato *Hypotyposis astro-nomicarum positionum*, come l'autore ricorda in chiusura dell'introduzione del volume. Un interesse non nuovo, dicevamo, già oggetto dell'attenzione di un'ampia corrente di studi, tesi -da un lato- a chiarire il pensiero dello scolarca della 'Scuola Platonica' ateniese e -dall'altro- finalizzati a valutare, nelle sue linee più generali, il ruolo occupato dalla riflessione astrologica all'interno delle speculazioni proprie del Neoplatonismo, esplicitate in diversa maniera e in varia misura dai rappresentanti della 'scuola' medesima, da Simplicio a Marino di Neapoli, già successore di Proclo alla guida della stessa¹.

Atena, genuina protagonista della monografia, si fa guida d'eccezione in questo percorso, stante il forte legame esistente tra il filosofo e la dea, testimoniato -oltre che dagli scritti- dalla narrazione che l'allievo e biografo Marino ci offre nella sua *Vita Procli*.

Perseguendo tale rotta, nel confermare con indiscusso acume acquisizioni in parte già note agli studiosi del settore, l'Hübner offre –all'interno del volume- spunti per un ulteriore approfondimento di questo rapporto che, costituendo uno dei tratti caratteristici della figura di Proclo, si mostra come spaccato significativo del contesto più ampio e complesso della spiritualità e della prassi devozionale tardoantica. La disamina proposta dall'autore, allora, sembra tutta tesa a dimostrare come il summenzionato interesse astrologico procliano risponda –non solo ma in vasta misura- alle esigenze culturali del periodo in cui lo stesso visse e come, al contempo, esso sia anche un elemento di non poca utilità per comprenderne a pieno il pensiero teologico e filosofico-religioso.

È proprio per queste premesse che il volumetto dell'Hübner può essere inserito agevolmente e di diritto nel filone di studi sopra ricordato, come a costituirne un nuovo tassello, posto a completamento di quanto già ampiamente dimostrato dall'autore nei suoi precedenti contributi. Non a caso, infatti, una sua caratteristica peculiare è la volontà di comprovare l'effettiva corrispondenza tra la terminologia astrologica e quella filosofica procliana – quest'ultima riassunta nel ciclo triadico *μὴν-πρόοδος-ἐπιστοφή* – proponendo la prima quale chiave per una lettura interpretativa della seconda. Operazione che coinvolge, ovviamente, anche quei termini che

¹ Sul tema si ricordino, solo per citarne alcuni, i contributi di W. BEIERWALTES, L. THORNDIKE, F. GILLON, R. CHLUP e C. ADDEY, alcuni dei quali opportunamente menzionati dallo studioso nella bibliografia posta in conclusione del volume.

riguardano le qualità peculiari della dea Atena nel suo agire astrale².

Questi aspetti, tra gli altri, non possono che essere spie di una profonda conoscenza del ruolo e delle dinamiche interne alle concezioni astrologiche del mondo antico, conoscenza che l'autore intende offrire al suo lettore con brevità ed esaustività. Hübner, infatti, sin da subito scende nel dettaglio e, attraverso un'analisi puntuale, permette al lettore già avvisato della tematica e delle sue complessità, di cogliere con una certa immediatezza gli aspetti più profondi e innovativi della propria analisi.

Escluse l'introduzione e le conclusioni, il volume si presenta suddiviso in sette brevi paragrafi, dedicati ai legami esistenti tra Atena, il mondo celeste e astrale e quello terrestre, nello specifico: 1. Il Delta del Nilo, 2. La costellazione del *Triangulum* e l'Ariete, 3. La Vergine, 4. La Luna, 5. Il Sole, 6. La Stella Polare, 7. Le stelle settentrionali in relazione all'Orsa Maggiore e all'Orsa Minore. Alcuni passi specifici dei commentari esegetici procliani al *Timeo* (Libro I, 95-98) ed al *Cratilo* (§§ 184-185) platonici costituiscono le fonti primarie a partire dalle quali l'autore avvia la propria analisi. Scelta certo naturale, considerando l'attenzione che entrambi i testi dedicano alla decifrazione ed esposizione delle diverse nature e dei livelli interpretativi della figura di Atena (intellettiva, ipercosmica, ipercosmica-incosmica) oltre che al suo ruolo nella catena di cause che la legano al sole, alla luna, alle costellazioni e ad alcuni luoghi fisici (aspetti, questi, che Hübner analizza nei paragrafi 1-5).

Elemento che più di altri, a nostro avviso, cattura l'attenzione della prima parte è l'analisi dedicata alle connessioni tra Atena (tradizionalmente connessa al culto della divinità locale Neith, identificata con Atena), il triangolo composto dal Delta del Nilo, che include la corrispondente regione di Sais, e il *Triangulum* celeste del quale la suddetta regione è partecipe. L'autore si sofferma nell'analisi del triangolo zodiacale e degli elementi a esso connessi, per indugiare, infine, sul ruolo di Aries (che, all'interno della carta astrale, segna il punto dell'oroscopo più alto e meridionale), inserendo tali riflessioni nel contesto di una più vasta argomentazione sul *thema mundi* (12). L'autore, pertanto, prestando dovuta attenzione alla tradizione mitologica tanto cara a Proclo, si sofferma nel definire il legame che intercorre tra Atena, Zeus e lo stesso Ariete. Atena, nata dalla testa di Zeus, e insieme Pallas, è infatti collegata - sulla scia di quanto affermato anche negli *Astronomica* da Manilio - ad Aries, che è posto alla "testa", ovvero al punto più alto sulla carta astrale. Questi primi paragrafi, in cui si fondono alcuni innovativi elementi di indagine con assunti già noti alla critica, risultano assolutamente necessari nell'economia generale della monografia, e potrebbero definirsi come una introduzione al vero cuore del volume. In essi la figura di Atena è riletta nell'ottica delle sue connessioni con le costellazioni, i pianeti e in particolar modo con il Polo Nord, in un rapporto ambivalente tra immobilità e movimento, che diventa il tema centrale nel libro, enucleato nei successivi due paragrafi.

I paragrafi 6 e 7, infatti, sono oggetto di una particolare attenzione dell'autore e si presentano, a ben vedere, come la componente più originale del volume, tracciando delle vere

² Basti citare, a titolo d'esempio, le riflessioni proposte dall'autore sulle due equazioni ἀπόρροια=πρόδος e ἀναπέμπεσθαι=ἐπιστοφή, alle pagine 17-21, all'interno di una più ampia riflessione su *Athena und irgendein zirkumpolarer Einzelster*.

e proprie linee guida per una futura e più estesa analisi dei legami intercorrenti tra religione, filosofia e astrologia nel mondo tardoantico.

Riprendendo il tema dell'apparente ambivalenza di Atena, oscillante tra fissità e movimento, e ripartendo dalle connessioni tra la dimensione astrologica e quella filosofica procliana –espressa nella citata formula *μονή-πρόοδος-έπιστοφή-*, lo studioso tende ad offrire un quadro organico, capace di integrare i diversi elementi nell'ottica della complementarità.

Egli infatti utilizza temi afferenti alla sfera del mito e dottrine astrologiche per meglio definire e chiarire la cosiddetta 'triade di movimento' proposta dalla speculazione filosofica di Proclo, e inserita all'interno della concezione neoplatonica dei rapporti intercorrenti nella sfera del divino tra l'Uno ed i molti³.

Per far questo, Hübner applica ai tre termini filosofici alcune corrispondenze dalla spiccata valenza astrologica, per valutarli poi quali espressioni peculiari della *facies* divina di Atena.

La disamina dell'autore si accompagna a un repertorio iconografico di grande pregio, che ne costituisce parte integrante, e che – tra tabelle, diagrammi e carte astrali- risulta assai utile al lettore per penetrare compiutamente nella complessità della tematica oggetto di studio.

Il volume, la cui lettura è di certo consigliata agli studiosi del settore come ai lettori appassionati, quasi simbolicamente a nostro avviso, segue un andamento che dalle regioni meridionali muove verso quelle settentrionali e non a caso dato il legame che, nella visione procliana espressa nel commentario a *Timeo*, la regione del Delta del Nilo ha con quelle poste a settentrione. Un legame rappresentato dalla costellazione dell'Orsa Maggiore e, ovviamente, dal ruolo precipuo di Atena la quale -attraverso questa mediazione egizia- fa la sua comparsa in una per lei apparentemente inusitata porzione di cielo.

MARIANGELA MONACA &
MAURO MORMINO
Università di Messina

YULIA USTINOVA, *Divine Mania: Alteration of Consciousness in Ancient Greece*, Routledge, New York, 2017, 395 pp. [ISBN: 9781138298118].

Yulia Ustinova's book is a thorough and exciting revision of the concept of *μανία* in the thought, culture and sentiment of the ancient Greeks. Her argument being that it is an important feature of the Greek idiosyncrasy of the time. *Mania*, madness, deviation from the ordinary state of consciousness, has a dual connotation for the Greeks. While any non-regular behaviour is seen as suspicious of being an illness or, even worse, morally devious, perception of the unseen is considered a blessing, a gift of the gods. Therefore, a cultivation of activities and techniques for a voluntary modification in the state of the mind was, not just socially acceptable, but largely practiced in many contexts.

³ Sul tema si rimanda alle riflessioni ampie e documentate proposte nel volume di G. SFAMENI GASPARRI, *Dio unico, pluralità e monarchia divina. Esperienze religiose e teologie nel mondo tardo-antico*, Brescia, 2010.

Her methodology is historical at a first stage and structurally phenomenological (pp.17-18), in the sense that she rests her confidence in straightforward testimonies of individual experiences and behaviours, from the late-Archaic to the Classical period: based on Socrates' and Plato's canonical view on the subject (*Phdr.* 244A), she revises the use of the terminology that refers to it and the mythological personages who embody its different manifestations - literary expressions; historiography; medical texts; other philosophers' opinions and their vital experiences; cultic, votive or legislative inscriptions; and legends. She helps her views with comparisons to other contemporary cultures in which this phenomenon was, as in our current Western point of view, taken cautiously as something dangerous, uncontrollable. However, the strongest point of this innovative and pioneer study is that it poses the question from the authority of the newest discoveries of the neurosciences and the cognitive study of religions. The universality of the experience of non-ordinary states of consciousness gives new insight into the subject and allows a review of classical conceptions such as E. R. Dodds,¹ or R. Padel's².

The structure of the book is neat. Each chapter has its own bibliography and numerated notes, in the British style - listed together at the end, after the conclusions. For European readers this is uncomfortable as we are used to be able to have a look at them at the bottom page. Notwithstanding, each chapter forms a complete unity, what makes very easy to focus on the topic in question for quick consultation, due to its handy bibliography.

Her general analysis faithfully follows the Socratic style, which is pleasant in order to navigate the given arguments. Socrates' definition of madness and its typology is the centre of this study. For him, it is an ambivalent blessing: harmful if it comes from human imperfection but at the same time a god-sent gift that can even lead to resolution, to benefit the sufferer. As beneficial, it is *epipnoia*, inspiration, and there are four types: prophetic, telestic, poetic and erotic. Dialectics teaches that a single phenomenon, for the sake of clarity, must be converted into many, on its way to abstraction³. Yulia Ustinova reverses this path so as to demonstrate that Socrates' view was actually the Greek one. She dedicates each chapter to a popular manifestation of madness, amplifying those four ones up to eight, which we will revise shortly. She offers her topics as in pairs of opposites, thus subtly revealing the duality of the phenomenon of madness, but also human behaviour and the intrinsic nature of Greek mythology and beliefs. The discussion is focused on the cults or cultural-intellectual expressions which transmit these manifestations and the cognitive features that each type of *mania* shows. Her conclusions are carefully delineated along the extracts and summarized at the end of the chapters, drawing a new perspective about the ancient Greek culture, making its geniality switch from the so-called Age of Reason that it supposedly was, to precisely its, until recent times underestimated, cultivation of the Irrational.

1 E. R. DODDS, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley-L.A., 1973. In p. 222, he states "We need not assume that Plato believed the Pythia was to be verbally inspired" (p. X of the preface).

2 R. PADEL, *Whom Gods Destroy: Elements of Greek and Tragic Madness*, Princeton University Press, 1995. In p. 82 is his opinion, that Plato's concept of madness was not a popular belief (p. X of the preface).

3 Her bright argument, in pp. 1-2.

A beautiful preface opens the book, on the folly of our contemporary trust in rationality and the regular wake state of the mind, which situates us precisely in the stage at which the topic is in Classical studies.

In the first part of the introduction, the author poses the research question: Plato's reflection on the Greek feeling towards madness and the general public opinion. She resorts to the etymological approach to the phenomenon and begins to describe the first type of madness - the human side, was it a mental disorder from physical provenance, a punishment for impious actions or the very same dread deeds to purge. It relies on testimonies on how madness was perceived, and madmen represented in the imagery, the conclusion being that human insanity and divine possession were almost indiscernible.

The second part of the introduction is focused on how this problem has been faced by the academia⁴, the state of affairs on the cognitive study of religions⁵ and her methodology and sources. As a manual, the important contribution of this chapter is the summary on the cognitive features of *mania* as an alteration of consciousness. She begins with basic conceptualization: the definition of consciousness - or rather awareness⁶; its spectrum, which goes from wake to dream state, *ie.* interaction with the environment to deep unconscious; and what the altered stage is.

Essential concepts about the latter are drafted in a way to be used as analysis tools, in the rest of chapters or by anyone interested in the subject. On one hand, behavioural patterns such is disassociation, depersonalization, identity, body- or time-perception distortion, amnesia or disruption between the senses and their perception of the external world. Phenomena that denote alter consciousness like inwardly mystical ecstasy, euphoric trance and frenzy, possession, near-death and out-of-the-body experiences, and the oceanic feeling or joy of the *unio mystica*. Methods for overcoming these states, which involve sensory deprivation in caves, overstimulation through music and dance, or rather a change in the focus of attention such as hypnosis, meditation, drugs consumption or self-mortification. On the other hand, it is essential to have in mind its intrinsic characteristics (pp. 26-28): ineffability of the experience; personal proclivity to it, helped by cultural shared expectations, which is related to the human tendency to collective driving behaviour; "enhanced sense of reality" that inhibits the

4 The problem of historicism is crucial in these matters, since society determines the cultural attitude to everything, even illness or the marginalization of practicing alteration of consciousness. But the biological aspect can not be dismissed, in relation to the cross-cultural nature of cognitive processes, attested in similar experiences that still nowadays occur in the same way. The key question is what attitude a society has towards the topic at hand.

5 The cognitive study of religions is a growing field and its application to Classics is earning affiliation. She provides a bibliographical list in notes 154 to 157, p. 37.

6 Consciousness itself has not really been defined yet, but rather its content, which involves perception of the senses, cognition as the way the mind represents and processes information, the emotions, reasoning and the very same awareness of being aware. See p. 18, "Anything that we are aware of at a given moment form part of our consciousness" (*Blackwell Companion to Consciousness*, SCHNEIDER & VELMANS 2008: 1), or her doubts about the correctness of the term 'altered consciousness', in p. 21.

“objective relativistic framework”, which allows to discern real from unreal; noetic quality that leads to *metanoia* (a change of attitude towards life and the self), feeling of illumination and the sense that this state or the wisdom acquired are purer, immutable and more realistic than regular knowledge; subjective sentiments that can go from euphoria and happiness to distress and deep fear, related to the release of opiates and other chemicals by the brain.

Her main argument, from the point of view of the neurosciences, is that those altered states are a different way in which the individual perceives, where “the consciousness produces misinterpretations, such as hallucinations, delusions, memory, body image and time distortions”. And this is due to a retro-feed between our brain and the sense organs, demonstrated by J. Konorski in the 1960’s (pp. 23-24). In an ordinary state of mind, these connexions are suppressed, but if the sensory input is diminished, this “backflow” from the cortex to the periphery produces visions as realistic as the external world.

While this is a strong foundation for her analysis and the justification for labelling many different phenomena as alter consciousness, there are some assertions which narrow the possibilities of this study. The persuasive power of prophethood is attributed to the profound sincerity with which their personages transmitted their messages (p. 27). And the popularity of ecstatic cults or the readiness to undergo these experiences are explained as simple chemical joy (p. 28). We should include another human quality that these phenomena denote: the transcendence or perfection of the self. This aspiration is implied in the important messages that prophets and visionaries, or the technological or emotional knowledge that scientists or artists, have transmitted, in any historical period. But also in the average Greek individual’s need of cathartic processes that cultic rituals of the Irrational used to regulate, which precisely allow the unlocking of patterned perception and emotional blockages that inhibit the access to that mysterious source of knowledge, whatever is considered external or internal. This is treated later.

Chapter 1 is dedicated to prophetic *mania*, the noblest type of all, in Socrates’ opinion. It begins with the ancient polemic on which way is better in order to ascertain the will of the gods, whether directly by inspired prophesy or indirectly by the interpretation of signs. The first one implies an alteration of consciousness, while the second one is considered a craft, a deductive technique based on observation, which can be learnt instead of induced. I would argue that they both convey ritual preparations and actions that involve a change in the state of the mind of whoever seeks to know the unknown⁷.

Whatever the case, the author’s interest is to describe cognitive activities and abilities of individuals in which ecstatic processes are strongly attested, and here lies the most striking example: possession by Apollo and other revelation-deliverer gods. She divides her evidence into three groups: ecstatic religious personnel of oracles such as the Pythia; laymen who

⁷ She does not contemplate the testimony that are the recipes of spells found in the *Greek Magical Papyri*, which involve crafted divination by means of cleromancy, empyromancy or hydromancy. Surely, they are later examples that endanger the historicity of the study, because the Hellenistic and Roman conceptions about ecstatic traditions tend to consider them either marginal or dangerous. Nonetheless, they are a proof of the expertise of the Greek-Egyptian magicians in the alteration of consciousness and the manipulation of the emotions.

received revelations or disease remedies in sanctuaries; and independent seers, among which are the Sybil or ecstatic ancient sages such as Abaris. She finalises by comparing the situation with other cultures, especially with the Mesopotamic prophecy of the Mari Tablets and the Old Testament's prophethood tradition. It points to the conclusion that the authority of divinely inspired official prophets gives assurance and sense of security, therefore they flourish in times of crisis. And that being these characters special, powerful individuals, the more institutionalised their activities, the more controlled. Nevertheless, she emphasizes the enormous respect for such personages and the high esteem shown by the great philosophers, due to their contact with the divine. Or the importance, for ordinary people, of achieving themselves answers to problematic questions or health remedies, through the same techniques.

Teletic *mania* and near-death experiences are the topics in chapter 2. If Apollonian revelation is the highest blessing and an individual experience, the next type of *mania* is linked to human madness and Dionysus' and Core's communal cults. Mystery initiations involve, mythologically speaking, the purification of an ancient familiar guilt and rebirth. Cognitively, *mania* is manifested both in the problem endured by the seekers, actual madness, and the way of delivering from it, the rites. The evidence is divided in two groups: rites focused on the ecstatic state, such as the Corybantic or the Mother/Cybele's, which cure or release psychological tension through frenzy and music; and initiations aiming at enlightenment, such as the Eleusinian or the Isiac mysteries, which lead to *metanoia* and overcoming fear to death. Widely spread and multitudinous, the author's suggestion is that this feature is due to emotional addiction (p.122), or the need of boosting the memory of the initiation, in order to adapt it to unconscious social standards (p.132). Although, in my opinion, regular emotional cleansing is a solely reasonable possibility. She also argues the resemblance with near-death experiences (p.140): a journey from darkness to light, disembodiment, feeling of happiness and personality transformation (Plutarch, Fr. 6, Dübner). The life-changing effect and sense of an immutable reality outside our regular grasp, would be enough for the original developers of such rites to believe in the need of transmitting and reproducing in others such an experience. From my point of view, there is another, more profound, point to look at: in all-times mystical traditions, a shocking first time and afterward regular contact with these states is essential in order to think, and stay, 'out of the box', due to a belief in the afterlife or just as a way of being more centred in this one. And this practice is linked to a direct connection to creativity and higher states of consciousness⁸.

Chapter 3 develops the most important Greek mystery, *Bakcheia*, because of its especial relationship with madness: literary expressions link it to the wronging of the god or its acolytes and unlawfulness. Belonging to the first type of *teletai* described above, it is focused on Dionysiac frenzy. Developed in the same sacred sites as Apollo's cult and based equally on the possession of the god, it was, however, a communal activity, reserved to women or

⁸ The author never uses the expression 'higher states'. Her objective is figuring out any state that is not the ordinary, avoiding qualify them. Although her sources tend to see them as a distortion, the least. By using it myself, I try to remark their kinship to freer mental o psychological processes which precisely have allowed humanity to prosper.

effeminate male characters. It practised reversal of the norm: public frenzied dance, violence, hunt, dismembering and omophagy of sacrifices, or exhaustion, on the cultic side; sexual encounters, animalistic behaviour and hallucinations, in the imagery. The cognitive side works as follows. Women are attributed with an innate facility to acquire altered states and men with bestial excitement, characteristics that need to be purified and controlled, as well as the human tendency to atrocities such as human sacrifice. Ritual reversal and remembrance of such dread instincts reaffirm the rule. And the sense of unison, abandonment of the self and routine, a cultural contagion due to emotional empathy, all of this in the context of certain public permission such as the *thuiades*, enable institutionalisation. The rite's success is explained, on one side of the coin, by the male fear of ecstatic women; on the other side, by a female fright to loss of control. The general feeling is that this phenomenon demonstrates an intuition about the innate human proclivity towards ecstasy, its need for regulation and a deep knowledge on the manipulation of destructive energies, inherent to the ancient Greek culture.

Not included in the Platonic typology, chapter 4 is dedicated to war-related madness, which is kindred of Dionysus' cult and sometimes labelled as Bacchic. Three mythological characters are responsible of its main aspects, so they articulate the structure of the chapter in three parts. Lyssa, wolf-like rage, is the personification of combat fury and embodies the positive side of this type of madness - ferocity, fearlessness and drunkenness. She accompanied famous berserkers of the Greek epic, such as Achilles or Hector. Yet, this phenomenon can also damage the mind, in two ways. In Phobos', an incapacitating fear which paralyzes in combat, related to ASD and PTSD. And in Pan's, whose whip induces confusion in battle. He infuses an uncontrollable and contagious terror, along with hallucinations, disorientation, even suicidal reactions. In spite of this, he can also bring hope, what the author calls "battle epiphanies", where Pan and famous heroes manifest themselves to individuals but also sometimes to large groups of soldiers. It was always a sign of good news. The last three phenomena are explained as a product of exhaustion and post-traumatic stress.

In chapter 5 she discusses what drives individuals to become *nympholeps* and *panoleps*, the ancient version of the hermit. Pan and his nymphs have also a relationship with Apollo. They are capable of possessing individuals to whom they bring vatic abilities and *metanoia*. An irresistible and charming first encounter in a natural place, provokes the need to isolate and dedicate themselves to the cult of the divine personage and poetic rapture.

Poetic *mania* is described in chapter 6, along with the question of the sources of creativity and the enthusiastic effect in the audience. It is Socrates' third kind of noble divine madness. In the philosophers' opinion, talent is useless without the recollection of some sort of mysterious knowledge⁹. Inspired by Apollo and the Muses, the most important one is Mnemosyne, who embodies a mental procedure that allows the poets to sing about events in which they did not participate (e.g. *Il.*, 2.491-2). The author argues that this is an alteration of consciousness related to intoxication and psychagogic states. The poets were described often as bees.

⁹ While Plato sees *enthusiasmos* as a mild and controlled alteration of consciousness, p. 269; Aristotle explains it as a temporary abandonment of the poet's self, by means of visualization and gesticulation, which allow self-identification with the characters, p. 271.

Traditionally, this image was attributed to the sweetness of poetry, their production, as honey is to bees; but honey is also the main ingredient of mead, an old fermented drink. In my opinion, it also points to another kind of consciousness, that of the hive, a communal awareness, external to the individual. The cognitive explanation is two-folded. The bewitching effect of rhythm and the sound of the words, intertwined with mental images and associations, actually changes the state of the mind of the audience, by means of the emotional empathy with the characters and a temporary withdrawal from reality. And creativity has neurological similarities with mental psychopathologies - the same neurotransmitters and the action of the frontal lobe, which allow unusual connexions of concepts (p. 275). Both processes require a trip to a different mental state and complement each other in order to success, so drawing upon external influences.

Chapter 7 sums up the qualities of erotic *mania*, the fourth type, which is the most ambivalent. Centred on Plato's analysis and supported by the psychological features that love poetry has drawn for us, the general Greek image was that unsatisfied or prohibited passion was dangerous. Eros' possession was irresistible, induced passive depression and shaken the sufferer's personality. Be that as it may, taken with self-control and moral, led to virtue. Socrates considers it the way to illumination, as the very same essence of contemplation: human love as desire for and enjoyment of beauty, which is the shadow of the archetype of the Good, the supreme reality. I would argue that Socrates' view, in spite of the apparent duality, emphasises the destructive potential of love as a requirement in the mystical path, for the ridding of the personality and preconceptions which inhibit higher, more sophisticated awareness.

In chapter 8, the author takes care of defining a last and important type of *mania*, the philosopher's. Just Socrates denominates his talent as such. The brightness of ancient philosophy has been statically situated in the discursive approach of deduction and observation, as the origin of the contemporary sciences. In doing so, huge elements of the work of the great philosophers have been disregarded: anything that resembled a deviation of the rational process, has been treated as a figure of speech. The author's approach is that there is no contradiction between rational discourse and spontaneous illumination or inspiration, point that she already developed in earlier works¹⁰.

This chapter is an enjoyable tracking of the ecstatic experiences of the great philosophers: Socrates' abnormal behaviour and catalepsy episodes, or his trust on his personal *daimon*; Plato's references to mystical experiences in his doctrine and elaborate similes; the legends of the ancient sages, the so called *maîtres de vérité* by M. Detienne; or the Pre-Socratic particularities, such as Pythagoras' sect and ascetic practices; Parmenides' psychagogic hexametrical poem, whose radical monism defies "sane", ie. regular perception (p. 333); or Empedocles' shamanistic description of his cosmology.

The cognitive content introduced here is on the creative process in science, which forcibly involves flashes of inspiration. It is divided in: the "context of discovery", which supposes an incubation period and the "eureka moment"; and the "context of justification", which re-

¹⁰ Y. USTINOVA, *Caves and the Ancient Greek Mind: Descending Underground in the Search for Ultimate Truth*, Oxford, 2009.

quires verification by the reason and elaboration¹¹. Consequently, what has been transmitted down to us is the product of logical deliberation, but the important point was the spark of geniality that gives birth to artistic or scientific ideas. She finishes up with the polemic on the shamanic or mystical nature and provenance of the practices of these visionary thinkers, as techniques for manipulation of consciousness. The conclusion is that the testimonies described are genuinely Greek, as part of that human capability.

The epilogue resumes the concept of *mania* and reflects on what cultural qualities allowed the development of mainstream activities involved with this natural tendency of the human psyche that most societies forbid or strictly control. At a first glance, the most eccentric practices seemed to be considered foreign by means of the mythological establishment, which should protect the *decorus* of a civilized society. To my mind, this is a subjective point view, still based on the supposedly superiority of technologically oriented societies. Thus, I get inclined to suggest P. Kingsley's, for whom ecstatic cults are not geographically 'foreign' but rather alien to regular human perception. Thence, their gods dwell and come from far-away places, in the confines of reality¹². On the whole, her final, anthropological argument is fundamental. It was the unique social environment of the *polis* democratic system of which exaltation of freedom allowed this "theology of diversity" (p. 373) - without a central power, neither there was a class or social group in charge of stipulating religious behaviour.

FLOR HERRERO VALDÉS
florherrerovaldes@uma.es

ANTÓN ALVAR NUÑO, *Cadenas invisibles. Los usos de la magia entre los esclavos en el Imperio romano*, Besançon, Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2017, 219 pp. + 3 tablas [ISBN: 9782848675855].

No encontrará el lector en esta obra una aproximación a la magia que participe de las tendencias historiográficas consolidadas, esto es, aquellas que atienden a la definición normalizada y presentan la práctica mágica como una actividad alternativa y opuesta a la religión cívica, convertida, por lo tanto, en un instrumento propicio para ser desarrollado por grupos marginales como es el caso de los esclavos. Al contrario, el A. ofrece en esta monografía un compendio de muchos de sus planteamientos teóricos que, a mi juicio, hacen de este trabajo una obra puntera en el panorama actual de estudios sobre la magia por dos cualidades esenciales: por un lado, la aplicación de planteamientos metodológicos procedentes de campos ajenos (aparentemente) al estudio de las religiones antiguas, como la antropología y la sociología. Esta completa renovación metodológica en la que apoya sus tesis de partida permite la observación del fenómeno analizado desde una perspectiva absolutamente novedosa. En primer lugar y desde el punto de vista empírico, no aparece en el volumen una cartografía de las prácticas mágicas ni el habitual catálogo sobre los usos mágicos de los esclavos, ni tam-

¹¹ She gives J. Hadamard's theory, in p. 314, so corroborating Plato's and Aristotle's analysis of the phenomenon in the previous chapter.

¹² P. KINGSLEY, *Reality*, California, 2003.

poco una taxonomía descrita a modo de inventario. Los casos de prácticas mágicas aparecen entreverados en torno a las propuestas teóricas defendidas, como elementos que sirven para contrastarlas y clasificados en torno a la estructura teórica propuesta por el A. A lo largo de toda la obra, articulada en cinco capítulos, y como hilo argumental podemos comprobar que el autor abandona esa definición de la magia como instrumento diferenciado y alternativo a la religión para centrarse en la fenomenología de la magia, y detenerse en la percepción subjetiva de estas prácticas, la autojustificación de las mismas y las estrategias puestas en marcha para lograr dispositivos que permitan resolver situaciones conflictivas de carácter cotidiano. El A. se posiciona lejos de las teorías de Frazer y de la escuela de París que categorizaban la práctica mágica como una anomalía de la religión, una práctica irracional típica de mujeres y de los estratos más bajos de la población, esclavos incluidos, y por lo tanto una actividad transgresora, inmoral, contraria a la norma social y por ello, al ser una amenaza continua para el sistema, una entidad claramente diferenciada del sistema cultural romano. En efecto, se desarrolla en este trabajo un planteamiento teórico alternativo, de manera más concreta en los dos primeros capítulos pero presente y defendido a lo largo de todo el trabajo con ejemplos abundantes. Con él, el A. defiende la magia como un subsistema de la religión en el mismo nivel en el que podemos situar instrumentos tan ortodoxos como la oración, el sacrificio o la ofrenda y del mismo modo que todos ellos no son prácticas excluyentes entre sí tampoco debemos considerar el recurso a la magia como un fenómeno aislado sino como un recurso más al que acuden los individuos para afrontar situaciones conflictivas porque en un momento determinado es este dispositivo y no otro el que parece que puede proporcionarle alivio o solución del mejor modo posible.

Por otro lado, y a partir de esta reformulación de la magia, el A. logra además superar los distintos paradigmas interpretativos acerca de la esclavitud y, en consecuencia, también la función otorgada a la práctica mágica en manos esclavas que debe redefinirse por completo. Este es, en efecto, uno de los logros más sobresalientes del presente trabajo: la superación del estereotipo del esclavo, un charlatán que encuentra en la magia un mecanismo para enfrentarse y contestar el orden social establecido en el plano de lo sobrenatural. En este sentido, la interpretación propuesta por el A. posee una mayor complejidad y muestra una mayor sensibilidad ante la función del fenómeno religioso. Para el A., la magia como recurso cultural no es un instrumento alternativo ni contestatario en manos de los oprimidos, sino que opera dentro del sistema de enajenación del esclavo.

Para enfrentarse al debate en torno a si la magia constituye o no un tipo de intervención mediante la cual el esclavo exhibe su capacidad autónoma de enfrentarse al sistema el A. aplica concienzudamente uno de los conceptos sociológicos de gran influencia en los estudios sociales del mundo antiguo y que en el ámbito de la historia de las religiones está de plena actualidad: la noción de agencia, habitual en el análisis sociológico y que se está aplicando con resultados muy provechosos en el estudio de la religión de la polis en la medida en que permite conocer la intervención del individuo en la configuración de su propio sistema de creencias. El A. cuestiona la capacidad del esclavo como individuo para elegir los procedimientos mágicos pues no existe posibilidad de elección en aquel que forma parte del grupo dominado. Los dispositivos mágicos sirven de instrumento para resolver sus vicisitudes dia-

rias del único modo en el que el sistema les permitía hacerlo y por lo tanto son coherentes con la posición social del individuo que recurre a ellas. El último capítulo se dedica precisamente a diseccionar cuatro casos de estudio que permiten desechar la huida o la respuesta a la opresión sufrida como motivaciones principales de los esclavos como usurarios de la magia.

Un capítulo particularmente interesante y que revela la utilidad de prescindir de los paradigmas tradicionales que enfrentan la magia a la religión es el capítulo cuarto dedicado a los recursos mágicos y en el que no se ofrece una simple exposición descriptiva de las técnicas sino que estas sirven para demostrar que la magia era un recurso cultural que podía ofrecerse con distintos grados de institucionalización. Y así se exponen y analizan las prácticas mágicas integradas como recurso institucionalizado (el templo), aquellas de carácter semi-institucional desplegadas por un experto local que conoce bien los conflictos cotidianos de su comunidad y sabe del repertorio manejado en su profesión y por último las ofertadas en un nivel no institucional basado en el conocimiento generalizado de determinadas prácticas y que, en ocasiones, copian los modelos formulados por los expertos. Son estos últimos recursos aquellos en los que los esclavos, libres de mediadores, podían desarrollar una cierta agencia con las limitaciones dada por la presión del contexto socioeconómico.

En definitiva, este trabajo subvierte los planteamientos tradicionales con propuestas teóricas innovadoras, avaladas con una rica documentación, y plantea una visión de las prácticas mágicas completamente distinta pues lejos de ser herramientas de resistencia en el conflicto de clases tal y como se sostiene habitualmente, constituyen en el ámbito religioso otra forma de reproducción del orden establecido.

CLELIA MARTÍNEZ MAZA
martinezm@uma.es