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“THE BLOW FROM THE PLOUGH” (PHILOSTR. *Gymn.* 20; PAUS. VI.10.1–2)

Аннотация. В «Гимнастике», приписываемой Флавию Филострату, приводятся пять историй о профессиональных тренерах, которые помогли атлетам победить в Олимпии (*Gymn.* 20–24). Ни один из этих анекдотов, кроме анекдота о знаменитом кулачном бойце Главке из Кариста, нигде более не встречается. Во время состязания его наставник Тисий велел τὰν ἄλ' ἄρότρον πλῆξαι («ударить от плуга»), то есть бить правой рукой, поскольку эта рука у Главка была так сильна, что однажды он выпрямил ею согнутый лемех. Павсаний приписывает эту фразу (ὃ λαὶ τῆν ἄλ' ἄρότρον) отцу Главка Демилу и рассказывает историю иначе: Демил отвел сына в Олимпию, увидев, как тот рукой приладил к плугу выпавший лемех. В настоящей статье предлагается толкование этой фразы, которую понимают и переводят по-разному; трудность интерпретации, по-видимому, привела к возникновению варианта ἐλ(ί) вместо ἄλ(ό) в лексиконе Суда, где текст Павсания цитируется с незначительными изменениями. Поскольку задача Филострата — показать, как важна роль тренера в подготовке атлета, вполне вероятно, что он изменил исходную версию анекдота, и версия Павсания является оригинальной. Если две части анекдота логически связаны, то пропущенное существительное может быть восстановлено как «лемех» (ῥῆνιν).

Ключевые слова: Филострат, Гимнастика, Павсаний, кулачный бой в античности, Главк из Кариста

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Abstract. In the *Gymnasticus*, ascribed to Flavius Philostratus, there are five anecdotes about trainers who helped their athletes by various means to win at Olympia (*Gymn.* 20–24). None of these stories, except the one about the renowned boxer Glaucus of Carystus, is attested elsewhere. Glaucus’ trainer Tisias encouraged him by shouting τὸν ἄπ’ ἀρότρου πλῆξαι which meant ‘right-handed punch’ because his right hand was so strong that he once straightened a ploughshare with it. Pausanias, however, attributes the exhortation (ὃ παῖ τὴν ἄπ’ ἀρότρου) to Glaucus’ father Demylus and renders the story differently: Demylus takes his young son to Olympia after having watched him attach a ploughshare to a plough with his bare hands. The author of the present article proposes how to interpret this exhortation. The problem of interpretation has been solved differently as we may see in the translations of Pausanias’ work into Latin and modern languages; it has also resulted in a variant reading ἐπ(ί) instead of ἄπ(ό) in the *Suda* lexicon, where the Pausanias text is cited with minor changes. Since Philostratus’ aim was to praise the wisdom of trainers, it is not improbable that he slightly changed the story and that the Pausanias version is the original one. In this case, the two parts of the anecdote are logically connected and the ellipsis might be filled with the word “ploughshare” (ὑνυ) which is present in both variants of the anecdote.

Keywords: Philostratus, *Gymnasticus*, Pausanias, boxing in Ancient Greece, Glaucus of Carystus

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In the *Gymnasticus*, ascribed by current consensus to Lucius Flavius Philostratus [de Lannoy 1997: 2404–2410; Jüthner 1902]¹, trainers (γυμνασται²) are praised for supporting athletes before or during competition. As examples, Philostratus incorporates five anecdotes (*Gymn.* 20–24) none of which, except the first one, is attested elsewhere. The first anecdote is found also in the Pausanias’ description of statues at Olympia (VI.10.1–2) and in the *Suda* lexicon (γ 281 Adler). The story in the *Gymnasticus* runs as follows:

Γλαῦκον μὲν τοίνυν τὸν Καρύστιον ἀφιστάμενον (ἀφιστάμενον Volckmar: ἀπιστούμενον P) ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὴν πυγμὴν τῷ ἀντιπάλῳ Τισίας ὁ γυμναστής ἐς νίκην ἤγαγε παρακλευσάμενος τὰν ἀπ’ ἀρότρου πλῆξαι· τουτὶ δὲ ἄρα ἦν ἡ τῆς δεξιᾶς ἐς τὸν ἀντίπαλον φορὰ· τὴν γὰρ χεῖρα ἐκείνην ὁ Γλαῦκος οὕτω τοι ἔρρωτο, ὥς ὕνιν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ποτὲ καμφθεῖσαν ὀρθῶσαι σφυρηδὸν τῇ δεξιᾷ πλῆξας (*Gymn.* 20).

When Glaucus of Carystus was giving way to his opponent in the boxing at Olympia, his trainer Tisias led him to victory by encouraging him to strike “the blow from the plow”. This meant a right-handed punch against his opponent; for Glaucos was so strong with that hand that he once straightened a bent plowshare in Euboea by hitting it with his right hand like a hammer (trans. by J. König [Rusten, König 2014: 433–435]).

Glaucus of Carystus was a renowned boxer, who won at Olympia in year 520 or 680 BCE (the first date is more probable); he had victories at Delphi, Isthmus and Nemea [Kirchner 1910: 1417; Poliakoff 1987: 124]. The expression τὰν ἀπ’ ἀρότρου πλῆξαι that is translated by J. König as “the blow from the plow” sounds like technical advice uttered in professional slang, and the *LSJ* dictionary under the word ἄροτρον gives the following meaning: “ἡ ἀπ’ ἀρότρου πλῆγῃ, in boxing, right-handed blow” [Liddell et al. 1996: 245]. It is reasonable to ask a question: why didn’t the trainer use the word ἡ δεξιᾶ (“right hand”)? If this utterance was only understandable to Glaucus and his trainer, and the latter used it intentionally so that Glaucus’ opponent would not anticipate this punch, why did he use the word “plough”? And what does it mean — ἀπ’ ἀρότρου πλῆξαι? The next part of the anecdote about straightening a ploughshare in Euboea rather complicates the issue: without any context, we may suggest that Glaucus did it to show off his strength, however the circumstances are not clear, and we do not know whether his trainer saw that deed or not.

In translations of the *Gymnasticus*, this exhortation is rendered in a similar way: “à frapper le coup de la charrue” [Darembert 1858: 35]; “den Hieb vom Pfluge anzuwenden” [Jüthner 1909: 151]; “pegar con el golpe ‘del arado’” [Mes-

¹ This attribution is primarily based on thematic and stylistic similarities shared by the *Gymnasticus* with other works ascribed to the same author; however, as M. Poliakoff points out, such arguments “are particularly insecure in this case, given the close relationship between the two authors” — this (the “second”) Philostratus and Philostratus of Lemnos, his son-in-law. The *Gymnasticus* was written sometime between 229 and 238 BCE [Jüthner 1909: 87–89].

² About terminology for trainers and their functions in general: [Lehmann 2009].

tre 1991: 182]. J. Jüthner suggests that the elliptical τὰν should be supplemented with the noun πληγὴν and sees in this form a hint to the nationality of the trainer: “Hat Philostratus, wie es allerdings den Anschein hat, die ursprüngliche Fassung des geflügelten Wortes bewahrt, so liegt darin ein Fingerzeig für die Nationalität des Trainers” [Jüthner 1909: 233]. This suggestion seems reasonable, given that πληγὴ frequently occurs as an internal accusative with the verb πλήττω or its synonyms [Diggle et al. 2021: 1141], and further in the text there is its synonym φορά (“punch”). Before Jüthner’s critical edition appeared, C.-G. Cobet had wondered: “Primum mihi mirum accidit cur homo Carystius δωριστὶ loquatur. Nil nisi Mynae error esse videtur, qui in apographo τὰν ἀπ’ ἀρότρου dedit, in editione τὴν ἐπ’ ἀρότρου substituit, in utroque aliquid peccans. <...> Pausanias sine vitio imperativum posuerat, quem praecedens syllaba absorbsit, nam mihi quidem pater filium sic exhortatus esse videtur: ὦ παῖ, (παῖε) τὴν ἀπ’ ἀρότρου” [Cobet 1859: 69].

The preposition ἀπό indicates that ἄροτρον is either an instrument (a punch that is comparable to the blow of a plough) or a starting point of movement (a punch that starts from the plough side): the first option is hardly probable, since the verbs that are usually applied to ἄροτρον are χαράττω, τέμνω, σχίζω etc., but never πλήττω or its synonyms; the second option does not help to understand the precise meaning.

If we presume that this expression is technical advice, it may mean a punch from above downwards, and the key word here is the adverbial form σφυρηδόν — “like a hammer” (*hapax*). The depiction of such a punch is not rare between the last quarter of the 6th and the first quarter of the 5th century: there are very similar representations of two young athletes, one of whom is making a sign of giving up, while the other is hitting him with his fist from above, either with the right hand or with the left hand³. I would not venture to claim that they are Glaucus and his opponent, yet it is noteworthy that such an iconographic type date back roughly to the period of Glaucus’ victories. But still ἀπ’ ἀρότρου remains unclear.

Pausanias, while describing Glaucus’ statue at Olympia, presents the anecdote differently and attributes the exhortation to Glaucus’ father Demylus:

ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς κατειλεγμένοις ἔστηκεν ὁ Καρύστιος Γλαῦκος· εἶναι δέ φασιν ἐξ Ἀθηδόνος τῆς Βοιωτῶν τὸ ἄνωθεν αὐτὸν γένος ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ ἐν θαλάσῃ δαίμονος. πατὴρ δὲ οὗτος ὁ Καρύστιος ἦν Δημύλου, καὶ γῆν φασιν αὐτὸν κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἐργάζεσθαι ἐκπεσοῦσαν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀρότρου τὴν ὕψιν πρὸς τὸ ἄροτρον καθήρμωσε τῇ χειρὶ ἀντὶ σφύρας χρώμενος, καὶ πως ἐθεάσατο ὁ Δημύλος τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ποιούμενον καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πυκτεύσοντα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν αὐτὸν ἀνήγαγεν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Γλαῦκος ἄτε οὐκ ἐμπεύρως ἔχων τῆς μάχης ἐπιτρώσκετο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνταγωνιζομένων, καὶ ἡνίκα πρὸς τὸν λειπόμενον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπύκτευν, ἀπαγορεύειν ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν τραυμάτων ἐνομίζετο· καὶ οἱ τὸν πατέρα βοῆσαι φασιν “ὦ παῖ τὴν ἀπ’ ἀρότρου”.

³ See, for example, in the Beazley Archive Pottery Database 200902 (red-figure cup from Bologna, Museo civico archeologico) and 200609 (red-figure cup from Athens, Agora museum).

οὕτω γε δὴ βιαιοτέραν ἐς τὸν ἀνταγωνιζόμενον ἐνεγκὼν τὴν πληγὴν αὐτίκα εἶχε τὴν νίκην (Paus. VI.10.1–2).

The Pausanias’ version seems to be more elaborate. Here, Glaucus is portrayed as a farmer’s son, inexperienced in professional sport. The exhortation ὦ παῖ τὴν ἅπ’ ἀρότρου might be interpreted as psychologically based advice: Glaucus’ father reminds him of how he had attached a ploughshare to the plough with ease using his fist instead of a hammer (τῇ χειρὶ ἀντὶ σφύρας χρώμενος), in order that he apply the same blow to his opponent.

The problem of interpretation is clearly seen if we compare different translations of Pausanias. Depending on how the ellipsis completed, they can be grouped as follows:

1) Ellipsis without any explanation: “illam fili ab aratro” [Amaseo 1558: 34]; “quella del’aratro” [Nibby 1817: 205]; “den vom Pfluge” [Schubart 1859: 441]; “the one from the plough, boy” [Frazer 1898: 297];

2) τὴν πληγὴν: den Schlag vom Pfluge” [Reihardt 1855: 642]; “the plough touch” [Jones 1961: 59];

3) τὴν χεῖρα: “o figlio, la mano all’ aratro” [Ciampi 1832: 30]; “Inclamasse dicitur pater, ‘illam fili ab aratro’ (i. e. manum in aratro spectatam ei impigne)” [Dindorf 1845: 288]; J. S. Facius in the commentary: “scil. χεῖρα. Infer manum, quam in aratro adhibuisti. Potius tamen ex subsequentibus supplendum esse videtur πληγὴν” [Facius 1795: 161];

4) “Remember”: “o figliuolo ti ricordo la cosa dell’aratro” [Bonaciuoli 1593: 249]; “remember the blow of the plough-share” [Taylor 1794: 112]; “my boy, remember the ploughshare” [Shiletto 1866: 379];

5) ἐπὶ instead of ἀπό: “frappe comme sur ta charrue” [Gédoyn 1731: 24]; “hieb ihm einen Schlag, wie auf den Pflug” [Goldhagen 1766: 35]; “frappe comme sur la charrue” [Clavier 1820: 293]; H. Richards: “ἐπ’ for ἅπ’ would seem to me more likely” [Richards 1900: 448].

In the first group, there are the cases where the ellipsis has been preserved. In the second, the elliptical noun is understood as πληγὴν. I have already said that it is problematic but still very tempting for *Gymn.* 20, while in Pausanias’ account it might be reasoned by βιαιοτέραν τὴν πληγὴν in the next sentence. The suggestion that τὴν χεῖρα (“the hand”) is implied is sound: in this case, it is either an indication of the hand with which Glaucus used to drive the plough or a reference to that particular episode of which Pausanias tells us. Unlike Philostratus, Pausanias does not specify what hand — right or left — Glaucus had used, nor does he mention that this hand was stronger. On ancient representations of ploughing, a ploughman obviously holds a plough with his right hand while bearing a whip or a stick in his left hand, but on some images this is contrariwise. There is another ellipsis in this passage that is the verb. If we fill the gap either with πληττε, looking back at Philostratus’ πλῆξαι, or with παῖε, agreeing with Cobet’s conjecture influenced apparently by the variant preserved in the *Suda* (γ 281 Adler), then my objection to τὴν χεῖρα would be

that dative case is expected. In the fourth group of translations the exhortation is interpreted as hinting at the previous part of the story.

The last option is to emend the preposition, conjecturing that ἐπ(ι) is the original reading: this emendation is based on the *Suda* (παῖε τὴν ἐπ' ἄρότρου, γ 281 Adler). Here, this anecdote is shortened but does not deviate from the Pausanias version. Nevertheless, ἀπ' ἄρότρου is more preferable as *lectio difficilior*, while ἐπ' ἄρότρου might have been a correction and evidence that this expression has already been causing problems⁴.

There is a word which is present in both versions under discussion: τὴν ὕνιν (“a ploughshare”). A. R. Shilleto has proposed to fill the ellipsis in Pausanias’ passage with this word, while choosing “remember” for the elliptical verb; I would agree with the first idea, but as for the verb it is more convincing, looking back to the *Gymnasticus* and Cobet’s conjecture, to fill the gap with the verb meaning “to hit”. Thus, the exhortation might be understood both as technical advice (to hit with the fist downwards), since we cannot ignore that another word present in both versions is “a hammer” (σφυρηδόν in *Gymn.* and ἀντὶ σφύρας in Paus.) and a reminder of that particular situation when Glaucus had showed his strength by attaching a ploughshare to the plough. In this case, ἀπ' ἄρότρου refers to the movement of the smaller part, a ploughshare, that has fallen down from its larger part⁵.

Another question concerns the order of the versions: which is the original one? J. König in the “Introduction” to the Loeb edition of the *Gymnasticus* states that “it seems perfectly possible that Philostratus has invented the contribution of these trainers himself” [König 2014: 362]. On the contrary, N. Nicholson supposes that the five anecdotes about trainers are actually original [Nicholson 2005: 119–121]. His arguments applied to the Glaucus anecdote are the following: first, the statue that Pausanias describes (Glaucus is portrayed “fighting with a shadow” and as a skilled athlete) does not fit the story about his inexperience; second, neither does it fit the fact that Glaucus was fighting in boys’ category (παῖδες must be under twenty years old). Nicholson concludes that “the version of the anecdote preserved in Philostratus points to the source of the problem of the Olympic version — a desire to erase the trainer’s contribution to the athlete’s victory” [Ib.: 121].

All these arguments are not strong enough for several reasons. Nicholson does not take into consideration that, according to Pausanias, the statue was consecrated by Glaucus’ son, and therefore it might have been done later. J. Fon-

⁴ V. V. Zeltchenko, whom I should thank for the following suggestion, pointed out that the noun ὁδός might have been meant here, since such ellipsis is not uncommon [Kühner, Gerth 1898: 265, 313]; thus, it might indicate direction of the movement but still remains unclear.

⁵ Although the verbs applied to the act of separating a ploughshare from a plough, like in *Gymn.* 20 (ἐκπεσοῦσαν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἄρότρου τὴν ὕνιν) or by Plutarchus (τὴν ὕνιν ἐξελόντες, *Rom.* XI.5.1), have the prefix ἐκ-/ἐξ-, the description of the ancient plough (*Schol. ad Hes. Op. et D.* 427–430) and archeological evidence show that a ploughshare is not inserted into a plough, but is put on a wooden part (ἐλυμα). About types and construction of the ancient plough see: [Gow 1914].

tenrose even suggests that this statue represented another Glaucus who was from Corcyra, and Pausanias confused the two Glaucuses [Fontenrose 1968, 99–103]. Pausanias, unlike Philostratus, does state that Glaucus was inexperienced (οὐκ ἐμπείρως ἔχων τῆς μάχης), but he does not explicitly say that Glaucus was fighting with παῖδες. He is addressed as παῖ by his father and is called παῖς with connection to his father (ἐθεάσατο ὁ Δημόλος τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ποιούμενον) which does not automatically refer to his sport category at Olympia. The purpose of the *Gymnasticus* is to demonstrate that γυμναστική is a kind of wisdom, and that a trainer, who must acquire this wisdom, is a very important figure; therefore, it is highly probable that Philostratus rearranged the Pausanias' version of the anecdote for this purpose.

We cannot prove beyond doubt that Philostratus knew the work of Pausanias. There are striking similarities with the Pausanias account in that part of the *Gymnasticus* where the author describes the order of competitions introduced at Olympia and the names of the first winners. J. Jüthner comes to conclusion that Philostratus neither used Pausanias as one of his sources nor the same sources as Pausanias had used, due to some discrepancies in the details [Jüthner 1909: 111–112]. Nevertheless, we should point out, for example, the similarities in the anecdote about Pherenike from Rhodos as it is told by Pausanias (V.6.8) and Philostratus (*Gymn.* 17): although the final sentences differ lexically, their syntactical structure is almost the same⁶. Pherenike under disguise of a man brought her son, the boxer Peisirodus, to Olympia. After her son had won and her sex had been revealed, the judges did not punish her, since her father and her brothers were all Olympic victors. This anecdote explains the reason why at Olympia trainers must be naked. Philostratus makes Pherenike a trainer of her son (Πεισίροδον τὸν ἑαυτῆς υἱὸν ἐγύμναζε) — this we do not find neither in Pausanias' (V.6.7–8) nor in Aelianus' account (*VHX.1*). Since Philostratus stresses the prominent role of the trainer in general, picturing Pherenike as a trainer well corresponds to this tendency. Thus, we should not entirely reject the idea that he might have shared some of the sources with Pausanias⁷.

Finally, we should return to the Doric form τάν. It is improbable, as J. Jüthner remarks, that Philostratus added it himself. Furthermore, if we presume that Pausanias preserved the original version of the story, it might well correspond to the notion that Glaucus' γένος originally was from Boeotia, and, consequently, his father Demylos might have been speaking the Boeotian dialect. The form ἄνωθεν (εἶναι δέ φασιν ἐξ Ἀθηδόνοιο τῆς Βοιωτῶν τὸ ἄνωθεν αὐτὸν γένος) is applied by Pausanias both to the remote past and the not so remote. However,

⁶ φωραθείσης δὲ ὅτι εἷη γυνή, ταύτην ἀφιασιν ἀζήμιον καὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῆς καὶ τῷ παιδὶ αἰδῶ νέμοντες — ὑπῆρχον δὴ ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι — ἐποίησαν δὲ νόμον ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τοῖς γυμνασταῖς γυμνοὺς σφᾶς ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐσέρχεσθαι (Paus. V.6.8); ἐπεὶ δὲ ξυνῆκαν τῆς ἀπάτης, ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν τὴν Φερενίκην ὤκνησαν ἐνθυμηθέντες τὸν Διαγόραν καὶ τοὺς Διαγόρου παῖδας — ὁ γὰρ Φερενίκης οἶκος Ὀλυμπιονίκαι πάντες — νόμος δὲ ἐγράφη τὸν γυμναστὴν ἀποδύεσθαι καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτον ἀνέλεγκτον αὐτοῖς εἶναι (*Gymn.* 17).

⁷ W. Gurlitt with reference to the *Life of Apollonius* claimed that Philostratus had drawn some information from Pausanias' work [Gurlitt 1890: 73].

this assumption is highly hypothetical, because τῶν might have been just a scribal error that is unverifiable, since there is only Codex Parisinus that contains the whole text of the *Gymnasticus*.

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