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THE ARISTOCRATIC ASPECT OF HUNTING IN ARRIAN'S *CYNEGETICUS*¹

What did it mean to be an aristocrat in ancient Greece?² If one tries to offer a definition, the Homeric poems immediately come into mind.³ In *The Iliad* the consciousness of being an 'aristocrat' is followed by the proper behavior and attitude. It was simply understood as to be the first and most famous in excellence:⁴ 'ever be bravest (Gr. *aristeuein*), and pre-eminent above all' (tr. A. T. Murray, Loeb).⁵ Homeric poems and Homeric ethics had never ceased to be one of the most important sources of the values for the ancient Greeks,

and courage in battlefield was regarded as the highest virtue for it brought an eternal glory.⁶ Among various factors, bravery was also presented in the symbolic terms of the confronting the wild animals (here the lions and boars occupied the privileged place⁷). To be sure Homeric heroes at Troy do not hunt, nor is hunting or chase present in the poem, nevertheless *The Iliad* abounds in the similes of the fighting men compared to the attacking beasts⁸. As J. Gottschall reminded us,⁹ of the total number of 226 similes, 125 concern animals (among the latter, lion appears 50 times). To this picture one may add such a telling evidence as the representations in the archaic art¹⁰ – a plenty of the narratives in the vase painting, and the pictures engraved on gems or coins, do show hunting as a dramatic and stubborn fighting (Gr. *agon*; or: battle, Gr. *mache*) the monsters.¹¹ These animal

¹ I thank Professor Marian Wesoly for his comments after the presentation of my paper. I owe also a great debt to my colleague from Warsaw University, Dr. Jacek Rzepka for his insightful reading of the earlier draft. As for the Greek text of *Cynegeticus*, I rely on the A. G. Roos and G. Wirth's Teubner edition vol. II, Leipzig 19682.

² The most popular introduction is W. Donlan's study *The Aristocratic Ideal in Ancient Greece*, [in:] *The Aristocratic Ideal and Selected Papers*, Wacounda [Illinois] 1999, esp. 143.

³ A. W. H. Adkins, *Homeric Ethics*, [in:] *A New Companion to Homer*, eds. I. Morris and B. Powell, Leiden – New York – Köln 1997, p. 698.

⁴ K. Bassi, *The Semantics of Manliness in Ancient Greece*, [in:] (ed.) R. M. Rosen and I. Sluiter, *Andria: Studies in Manliness and Courage in Classical Antiquity*, Leiden-Boston 2003, pp. 33-34; H. van Wees, *Status Warriors. War, Violence and Society in Homer and History*, Amsterdam 1992, pp. 69-77.

⁵ *Il.* 11, 783 – 784; To be 'pre-eminent above all' presupposes the efforts to be first, in short: nobility, see N. Fisher, *The Culture of Competition*, [in:] (ed.) K. Raaflaub and H. van Wees, *A Companion to Archaic Greece*, Malden-Oxford 2009, p. 524; also K. C. King, *Achilles. Paradigms of the War Hero from Homer to the Middle Ages*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1987, pp. 2-3. Homeric definition resembles the Persian educational ideal as mentioned by Herodotus: 'The period of a boy's education is between the ages of five and twenty, and they are taught three things only: to ride, to use the bow, and to speak of truth' (1, 136; tr. A. de Selincourt). We know from Xenophon that hunting belonged to the educational 'system' of the young Persian noblemen (*Cyr.* 1, 2, 10 - 11). No evidence can be more revealing than the oriental (and Persian especially) hunting parks, called *paradeisoi* (παράδεισοι), where the wild animals were kept, see Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1, 3, 14; 8, 1, 38; *Anab.* 1, 2, 7; 4, 10; *Oec.* 4, 13- 14; 4, 20-25; *Hell.* 4, 1, 15ff.; Strabo, 15, 3; Curtius Rufus, 8, 2; cf. Ch. Tuplin, *The Parks and Gardens of Achaemenid Empire*, [in:] *Achaemenid Studies*, Stuttgart 1996, p. 101, and which were under the special guidance of the royal administration, see A. Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire. A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period*, II, London-New York 2007, 806f., who cites the evidence from Persepolis tablets.

⁶ Cf. O. Murray, *Narodzinę Grecji*, Warszawa 2004, ch. XII, esp. p. 267f.; cf. D. G. Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens*, Leiden 1987, pp. 2-3.

⁷ A. Schnapp, *Heroes and Myths of Hunting in Ancient Greece* [in:] *Greek and Egyptian Mythologies*, compiled by Y. Bonnefoy, Chicago 1992, p. 120.

⁸ A young dog attacking boar reminded to Xenophon (*Cyr.* 1, 4, 11) the assault of the young Cyrus upon the Assyrians.

⁹ *The Rape of Troy: Evolution, Violence, and the World of Homer*, Cambridge 2008, p. 161; see also his *Homer's Human Animal: Ritual Combat in the Iliad*, "Philosophy and Literature", 26 (2001), p. 280; S. Lonsdale, *Creatures of Speech: Lion, Herding and Hunting Similes in the Iliad*, Stuttgart 1990, 20ff., and M. Clarke, *Between Lions and Men: Images of the Hero in the Iliad*, "Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies", 25 (1997), 139.

¹⁰ H. – G. Buchholz, G. Jöhrens u. I. Maull, *Archaeologia Homeric. Jagd und Fischgang*, Göttingen 1975, J8 – J9.

¹¹ Cf. J. Whitley, *The Archeology of Ancient Greece*, Cambridge 2001, p. 200. Animals and the fighting / hunting wild beasts were a constant theme of the painted pottery, gems (J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, London 2001, figs. 105 – 129; pls. 58; 86; 103 - 138), coins (C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1976: e. g. pls.: 256; 308; 327; 574 etc; P. R. Franke and M. Hirmer, *Die griechische Münze*, München 1964, pls. 3; 17 – 20; 39; 60), and mosaics (K. Dunbabin, *Mosaics from the Greek and Roman Worlds*, Cambridge 1993, pp. 135, 156, 183; B. Andreae, *Antike Bildmosaik*, Frankfurt am Main 2003, pp. 23, 31). Generally, the standard reference book remains *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. To these beasts such a small animal as hare was included, for, as R. Osborne, *Archaic and Classical Greek Art*, Oxford – New York 1998, 101, rightly has

similes permit us to infer that hunting was the important way of revealing the aristocratic *ethos*. The later examples from *Odyssey* (deer hunt: 10, 153-181; boar hunt: 19, 418 – 458¹²) confirm this opinion.¹³ In sum, hunting, like war, was the best way to test prowess and manliness (called *arete* - excellence¹⁴), henceforth the long literary tradition of equating war to hunt.¹⁵

It is the classical epoch when the first hunting manual has appeared - the famous treatise by Xenophon, written in the 90s of the 4th century BC. According to the author, hunting has a good influence on the citizens making them morally better and well prepared to take participation in the public affairs (Xen. *Cyn.*, especially in ch. 1 and 13).

said, 'Hunting hares was a way of demonstrating prowess'. The idea of an *agon* (competition, or: battle) with the monstrous beasts was based on the Greeks' conviction that there existed great differences between man and animal, as it was put by Hesiod, *op.* 276 – 279 (and Homer, *Il.* 22, 262 - 268). Yet, emphasizing these differences did mean an apparent admiration for the wild animals.

¹² On the function of hunting in *The Odyssey* see S. Goldhill, *Reading Differences: the Odyssey and Juxtaposition*, [in:] *Homer. Critical Assessments IV*, ed. I. J. F. de Jong, London-New York 1998, pp. 411-412.

¹³ See the excellent book by J. Barringer, *The Hunt in Ancient Greece*, Baltimore 2002, pp. 11, 42, and 203; J. K. Anderson, *Hunting in Ancient Greece*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1985, p. 15; as M. L. West has observed, the appearance of the lions in the Homeric poem does prove, in fact, the Eastern (Assyrian) influences on Greek literature (*The East Face of Helicon. West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*, Oxford 1997, pp. 246-252), but see E. Yannouli, *Non-Domestic Carnivores in Greek Prehistory: a Review*, [in:] *Zooarchaeology in Greece. Recent Advances*, (ed.) E. Kotjabopoulou *et al.*, London 2003, 175f., who analyzes the findings of the lion bones in Greece from the archaic period (the second inventory is disputable).

¹⁴ This was explicitly stated by Xenophon, *Cyn.* 1, 5, who asserts that the disciples of Chiron – eminent hunters themselves - 'were admired for their virtue' (tr. E. C. Marchant, Loeb). See J. M. Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World ca. 1200 – 479 BCE*, Oxford 2007, p. 130, and M. Golden, *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece*, London-New York 1998, p. 146. How 'excellence / bravery' was praised by the Greeks, see Herodotus, 8, 26.

¹⁵ Aeschylus, *Ag.* 694 – 695; Pindar, *Nem.* 3, 43 – 52; Herodotus, 1, 37, 1-2 and 39, 1; Xenophon, *Cyn.* 1, 18; 12, 2-5: τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον μάλιστα παιδεύει; *Cyn.* 1, 2, 10 and 2, 3, 9 (Feraulas on the ways the animals fight); *Resp. Lac.* 4, 7; *De re eq.* 8, 10; *Equit. mag.* 4, 17 – 18; Plato, *Prot.* 322b; *Soph.* 222b-c; *Resp.* 544c; 545a; *Legg.* 633b, 823b. According to Aristotle, *Polit.* 1256b 25, hunting was a part of warfare (see M. H. Jameson, *Sacrifice before Battle* [w:] *Hoplites. The Classical Greek Battle Experience*, ed. V. D. Hanson, London-New York 1993, p. 210), a view shared by others, cf. Isocrates' *Panathenaecus* (*or.* 12, 163); also Ovid, *Hal.* 53 – 54; Ps. – Oppian, *Cyn.* 1, 34 – 35 and 86 – 88 ('the warfare of the chase'; 'the keen hunter must contend with warlike wild beasts', tr. A. W. Mair, Loeb); Athenaeus, 1, 24d. There is a telling story preserved by Polyaeus, *Strat.* 4, 2, 16: in order of winning the Orbellians, king Philip of Macedon 'brought out numerous hunting dogs, who tracked and hunted down most of the enemy' (tr. P. Krentz and E. L. Wheeler, *Polyaeus, Stratagems of War I*, Chicago 1994, p. 325). The good influence of hunting on warfare is stressed out by the Byzantine emperor Maurice, *Strat.* 12 D, 1.

Xenophon's conviction was that hunt – being a bodily exercise (Gr. *askesis*) - belonged to the sphere of the education (W. Jaeger, *Paideia*, Warszawa 2001, 1085),¹⁶ for it could influence the character of a future commander or politician (*Cyn.* 12, 1 - 2). In effect, what Xenophon preferred, was hare hunting on foot (*Cyn.*, chapters 2 – 8), which strengthened the physical condition of the hunter and was helpful in hoplite warfare. Consequently, the writer directed appeals to the young men: 'therefore I charge the young not to despise hunting or any other schooling' (*Cyn.* 1, 8; see also Plato, *Legg.* 823 b-c), and at other place (*Cyn.* 2, 1) he is suggesting that hunting is one of 'branches of education' (*paideumata*). Regarding the formal features of the treatise, Xenophon's work is a combination of the technical details and ethical advices, expressed especially in the chapters 12 – 13. The core of these advices is a sharp quarrel with the sophists.¹⁷ The argument is that while hunting forms the essential factor of the education, sophistic ways of teaching remain elusive and they distort the character of their pupils.¹⁸ The author goes as far as to say that venery provides training 'in the school of truth' (ἐν τῷ ἀλήθεια παιδεύεσθαι, *Cyn.* 12, 7).¹⁹ In the final point of his argumentation, Xenophon introduces the figure of Virtue itself (*arete*: *Cyn.* 12, 19 – 21; see too *Mem.* 2, 1, 21 - 34),²⁰ the suggestive metaphor and mark of a true aristocrat (see too Thucydides, 7, 86, 5 [on Nicias]: *es areten nenomismene epitedeusis*).²¹

Arrian's handbook, written probably ca. AD 145 (that's almost 550 years after Xenophon's essay),²² remains a fine literary piece. As the writer (*Cyn.* 1, 4) confirms us, his interests overlapped with those of the Athenian thinker: both were addicted to hunting, warfare, and philosophy. Accordingly, the author follows many formal and thematic

¹⁶ A. Schnapp, *Le chasse et la cité*, Paris 1997, p. 150.

¹⁷ Cf. M. Wesoły, *Tendencje wychowawcze i moralizatorskie w Ksenofontowym 'Podręczniku łowiectwa'*, „Symbole Philologorum Posnaniensium”, 2 (1975), pp. 9-11.

¹⁸ J. Luccioni, *Les idées politiques et sociales de Xénophon*, Paris 1948, p. 136.

¹⁹ It is difficult to accept the translation of this passage by R. Waterfield, who understands it as 'it brings them up surrounded by reality' (Xenophon, *Hiero the Tyrant and Other Treatises*, London 1997, p. 159). In the same vein wrote H. G. Dakyns: 'being trained in the real world of actual things' (*The Works of Xenophon III.2*, London 1897, p. 120). Above all, here Xenophon is thinking of the ethical value of hunting.

²⁰ Cf. also Nemesian, *Cyn.* 150.

²¹ A. Fouchard, *Aristocratie et démocratie. Idéologies et sociétés en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1997, pp. 11-20; there is a still highly valuable treatment of Ch. G. Starr, *The Origins of Greek Civilization 1100 – 650 BC*, London 1962, 302ff. On Xenophon particularly, see S. Johnstone, *Virtuous Toil, Vicious Work: Xenophon on Aristocratic Style*, "Classical Philology", 89 (1994), 222-223, who mentions of 'strategies of cultural distinction' that included 'symposiums, horse breeding, pederasty, and hunting'.

²² P. A. Stadter, *Arrian of Nicomedia*, Chapel Hill 1980, p. 171, tentatively puts the time of its writing after AD 136/137.

points of his predecessor,²³ but with one essential exception, which significantly separates his attitude toward hunting from the Xenophon's approach: almost exclusively, Arrian praises the aesthetic delights of hunt, rather than its ethical importance. His wish was, then, not to update Xenophon's treatise but to replace it,²⁴ and to praise hunting again by stressing out the importance of pleasure which is given by gazing of the pursued animals. At first look, such an attitude toward hunting as pastime was nothing new, for the consciousness of taste and refinement, followed by the frequent appeals to beauty, always was an argument, by which Greek elite (to use of Professor Starr's words, *op. cit.*, 302) expressed its 'social distinctions'.²⁵ Nor was Arrian the first who raised the question of the delight in hunting: this aspect - to some extent - remained under consideration of other writers (see e.g. Xenophon himself, *Cyn.* 5, 29; 5, 33; 6, 8; 12, 7; 12, 10; 13, 18; *Hell.* 4, 1, 11 and 4, 1, 31; *Cyr.* 1, 4, 14; also Callimachus, *Anth. Graeca*, 12, 102; Lucretius, 3, 954; Horace, *Sat.* 1, 2, 105-106; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 9, 9; Pliny, *Paneg.* 81). But it was Arrian, however, who firstly highlighted chasing as the most important part of hunting. Why? He was writing in quite different political realities, when there was no need of defending hunting practices (as did Xenophon in the democratic Athens) in the time of the reign of the emperor Hadrian (AD 117 - 138). Although venery was for Arrian - as it was for Xenophon too - the manifestation of life-style, the principal reason of glorifying this leisure was more specific: he had new breed of dogs at disposal - the so called οὐέριτροχοί (in Latin *vertragi*; *Cyn.* 3, 6).²⁶ Being sight-hounds, this Celtic breed did provide a good amusement, so huntsmen who had them needed no nets or snares or other instruments (2, 5).²⁷

Arrian himself confesses with admiration that he and his friends (*Cyn.* 35, 1) followed the Celtic manner of hunting 'without purse nets'. The crucial passage is that the Celts 'do not hunt for food, but for the pleasure of the sport' (*Cyn.* 1, 3; tr. Phillips & Willcock²⁸). The high esteem for the Celtic hunt practices was repeated also in ch. 24, where the writer explicitly states that Celts do not deceive beasts and simply reject tricks - on the contrary, they do fight the animals in an open, fair and honest competition (*Cyn.* 24, 4: *ek tou eutheos diagonidzomenoi*). So, *vertragi* are the point of departure in Arrian's change of attitude toward hunting.²⁹ What is especially for Arrian worth of stressing out here? Firstly, he argues, that these quadrupeds provide a nice view: 'a most pleasant sight to a hunting man' (Gr. *hediston theama*; *Cyn.* 3, 7),³⁰ as 'in appearance the best breed of them are a fine sight' and are distinguished by 'bodily excellence' (6, 3).³¹ Secondly, the *vertragi*, whose name Arrian derives from 'speed', ensure a spectacle.³² Hunting becomes, then, pastime, because it is a game and competition between man and beast (see Barringer, *op. cit.*, 7). The most important element in such a hunting is, then, chase, and Arrian consequently differentiates between tracking ('following the line'; *he ichneia*; *masteuein*; *Cyn.* 3, 5; also Xenophon, *Cyn.* 4, 9) and pursuing itself. In a sentence which is a subtle paraphrase of Xenophon's opinion, Arrian states that *vertragi* can easily pursue hares, what was the difficult task for the scent hounds, known to the 'Old' Xenophon (viz. the Laconian breed). Nothing wonder that at *Cyn.* 16, 6 Arrian criticizes his predecessor for having found pleasure when seeing the hunted hare,³³ although he understands Xenophon's method of venery, 'who did not know fast running dogs, if a hare being

²³ For instance, like Xenophon, he states (*Cyn.* 1, 1) that the men practicing the art of venery are 'loved by the gods' (*theophiloi*) and 'honoured' (*entimoi*) (tr. A. A. Phillips & M. M. Willcock, *Xenophon & Arrian on Hunting*, Ed. with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary, Warminster 1999). Above all, Arrian's following Xenophon is visible in dealing with hare.

²⁴ See, e. g. V. Gray, *Xenophon's 'Cynegeticus'*, *Hermes* 113 (1985), 156; but see E. Badian, s. v. 'Arrianus', [in:] *Brill's New Pauly* II, eds. H. Cancik and H. Schneider, Leiden - Boston 2003, col. 27. I fully agree with Professor A. B. Bosworth's remark that 'Arrian often takes issue with his predecessor' ('Arrian and Rome: the Minor Works', [in:] *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II, p. 3, 4, 1, hrsg. H. Temporini und W. Haase, Berlin 1993, p. 236). To some degree, however this was also the result of the literary mode of emulating the classical patterns.

²⁵ Also his *The Aristocratic Temper of Greek Civilization*, Oxford 1992, pp. 33-35; cf. L. Gernet, *Les nobles dans la Grèce antique*, "Annales", 10 (1938), p. 38. Donlan, *op. cit.*, p. 143 says of the 'aesthetic sensibility'.

²⁶ They were known to Grattius (the beginnings of Ist century AD), *Cyn.* 203. The fullest treatment in G. Rodenwaldt, *Vertragus*, „Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archeologischen Institut“, 48 (1933), pp. 202-225; cf. F. Orth, s. v. „Jagd“, [in:] *RE* XVII (1914), col. 578.

²⁷ They are also physically beautiful, see *Cyn.* 3, 7; and ch. 4; see D. B. Hull, *Hounds and Hunting in Ancient Greece*, Chicago - London 1964, 25.

²⁸ The English translation of this sentence changed slightly the Greek original, since here Arrian is saying of 'beauty connected with the hunt'; see too W. Dansey, *Arrian on Coursing. The Cynegeticus of the Younger Xenophon*, London 1831, p. 73: 'for the beauty of the sport'. Both translations render, however, the Greek noun *he theria* as 'sport', term widely accepted in the world of the Anglophonic gentry (since XVIIth century) for hunting, see, e.g. W. Blane, *Cynegetica, or Essays on Sporting, Consisting of Observations on Hare Hunting*, London 1788, pp. 65f. However, I agree with J. Barringer, *op. cit.*, 7 that the term is slightly misleading. She writes: 'hunting was a leisure activity, associated with the leisure class and not with necessity, but sport implies a competitive aspect, which is absent from Greek hunting, unless one views the hunter and his prey as competitors'. Arrian's attitude could be an exception to Barringer's observation, yet his understanding of venery is also somewhat different: as we shall see, strictly speaking hunter is cast in a position of a spectator who is gazing a competition.

²⁹ This was reminded also by Ps. - Oppian, *Cyn.* 4, 43 - 47: 'Common is hunting with nets, common are traps, and common is the chase of all the swift-footed tribes by men with horses and dogs, or sometimes without dogs pursuing the quarry with horses only'.

³⁰ On the 'spectacle' (*theama*), cf. Thucydides, 6, 31, 1; Aristotle, *Poet.* 1449b 30.

³¹ O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* I, Leipzig 1909, p. 101.

³² D. Brewer, T. Clark & A. Phillips, *Dogs in Antiquity: Anubis to Cerberus*, Warminster 2001, p. 83.

³³ Xenophon, *Cyn.* 5, 33.

caught seemed a big spectacle to him' (*mega theama*; *Cyn.* 16, 7).³⁴ To Arrian, as he himself confirms reader, it was not a nice view ('but I declare that to see her caught is neither a pleasant sight nor exciting but upsetting rather - *oude hedy to theama*; *Cyn.* 16, 6). Instead, he declares again and again that what matters is chase which by the same means competition. So, the true huntsman finds his satisfaction in seeing and gazing of the two adversaries. Elsewhere, when narrating the nature of the hares, Arrian makes the following observation: 'True huntsmen (*hoi ge te aletheia kynegetai*) do not take out their hounds to catch the creature, but for trial of speed and race (*es agona dromou kai hamillan*), and they are satisfied if the hare manages to find something that will rescue her' (*Cyn.* 16, 4). This sentence, to my view, proves Arrian's true aristocratic *credo*: if hunting as such was the expression of the aristocratic manner of life, chasing the animals is more worth than killing them since the rivalry between the prey and quarry provide a beautiful view. Given so, the writer goes on to say that when hare is 'frightened and exhausted' huntsmen should call off their dogs, especially in the case when 'there has been a good contest' (*kalos diagonisanto*; *Cyn.* 16, 5). Here Arrian recalls his own, emotionally colored, memories: 'So that I myself, when accompanying the chase on horseback and arriving as the hare has been caught, have often snatched her away alive, and having got hold of her and put the hound on a leash, I have let the hare run to safety; and if I arrived too late to save her, I have hit myself on the head, because the hounds had killed a worthy adversary (*anthagonisten ara agathon*)'.³⁵ Perhaps it was this emotional statement which drove Professor P. Stadter (*Arrian of Nicomedia*, 50) to write that 'In no work does Arrian reveal himself more directly and personally than in his little treatise on hunting'. As the lover of contest, Arrian knew, however, that 'the competition between the hare and the hound is not on equal terms' (*Cyn.* 17, 3), especially when there was a difficult ground, so in his respect for spectacle, the writer does not forget the advice of praising the hound also, if he has caught quarry. Another revealing passage is found in the chapters 20 – 20, where the difficulty with using too many hounds is described. When hunters lead too many dogs, he argues, the danger is that the hare will be caught without chase at all! Certainly such a situation must have often occurred, and the addicted hunter gives the following precept: 'If they bring a large number of hounds, the hunters must not be in a random bunch; for if a hare is started from her form, nobody would be able to stop himself slipping his own hound, one man wanting to see his own

hound running, another unsettled by the shouting and over-excited, and a hare would be caught without a chase through the confusion of the hounds and the enjoyment of the spectacle (*tou theamatos ho ti per ophelos*) would be spoilt' (*Cyn.* 20, 3). Nothing could be clearer than this statement: respect for a good spectacle is the core of the coursing, hounds must be therefore kept in pairs. It is the care for delights that leads Arrian (*Cyn.* 21, 3) to write that a good huntsman should give to hare an opportunity to run away. For, if afraid of the undisciplined hunting or barking of the dogs, she will remain confused and in result easy to capture. In fact hound should be sent against a hare when she made 'her first turns' – in this way spectacle will be provided. The same 'philosophy' of keeping the spectacle lies behind the author's conviction that there can be nothing comparable to the men who hunt openly and straightforwardly. They resemble brave warriors, while the users of nets should be compared to the robbers and pirates. In Arrian's further argumentation, the rhetorical comparison follows - hunters who 'overcome the wild animal in open fight' (*Cyn.* 24, 5) are like the Athenians who defeated the Persians in the great sea battles.

To sum up: Arrian's treatise has been written in order to supersede the old, classical book by Xenophon. The only thing he was interested in was chase; it meant to him a fair contest which by the same was a pleasant viewing.³⁶ In this light Arrian's hunter becomes to the same extent a viewer, but it must be remembered that this attitude toward the aesthetic dimension of gazing was in accord with the traditional Greek love for spectacle,³⁷ as it was proudly manifested in the culture of the Greek *poleis* from the archaic times onwards:³⁸ in chariot – races, festivals,³⁹

³⁶ Cf. A. B. Bosworth, 'Arrian and Rome: the Minor Works' [in:] *ANRW* (1993), 236. The respect for 'beauty' connected with hunt was always present in the medieval books on this topic, see Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, *De arte venandi cum avibus* 2, 2, 9: 'Men practice falconry for pleasure alone, for a material purpose, or with both objectives in view' (tr. C. A. Wood and F. M. Fyfe); elsewhere (2, *praef.* 7), he states that 'The falconer's primary aspiration should be to possess hunting birds that he has trained through his own ingenuity to capture the quarry he desires in the manner he prefers. The actual taking the prey should be a secondary consideration' (*Finis, qui movet artificem et eius intentio est prior, ut habeat aves rapaces, que docti sunt per suam artem capere non rapaces eo modo, quem ipse vult, posterior vero, ut cum ipsis arte doctis capiat non rapaces*)'.

³⁷ See the admirable chapter by Ch. Segal, *Sluchacz i widz*, [in:] (ed.) J.-P. Vernant, *Człowiek Grecji*, Warszawa 2000, p. 223; also S. G. Miller, *Arete. Greek Sports from Ancient Sources*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 2004, pp. 81f.

³⁸ Cf. P. A. L. Greenhalgh, 'Aristocracy and Its Advocates in Ancient Greece', *Greece & Rome* 19 (1972), 191; J. Barringer, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 – 8.

³⁹ The perfect occasion to viewing and admiring (eg. Thucydides, 6, 16, 2); see N. J. Nicholson, *Aristocracy and Athletics in Archaic and Classical Greece*, Cambridge 2005, pp. 62 – 63.

³⁴ Arrian (*Cyn.* 1, 4) asserts also that Xenophon did not have good horses (his hunting was not on horseback, but on foot). Only the Scythian and Libyan horses can - Arrian implies - make the chase possible.

³⁵ In fact, despite of his delight in spectacle, Arrian tacitly assumes the old Xenophontic maxim: 'the hunter [...] must always be stronger than the hunted' (*Equit. mag.* 4, 17).

various types of the panhellenic games,⁴⁰ and banquets, all of which presented the manifestation of the aristocratic life - style.⁴¹ This was connoisseur's and onlooker's approach, to which the utilitarian side of hunting remained essentially (hence omitted in the treatise) unimportant.⁴² In this respect Arrian's attitude resembled that of the Prince Fabrizio of Salina in the Lampedusa's masterpiece novel *The Leopard*. Here we are told that the Sicilian aristocrat liked to spend many hours on hunting in his estate of Donnafugata, and - as narrator pointedly observes - plenty of the hunted prey was for him an unnecessary pleasure, a secondary thing, in fact. Instead, the pleasure of hunting during several days was something else and consisted in many smaller activities.

Streszczenie

W artykule poruszono problem stanowiska Arriana na temat łowiectwa. Polowanie było dla niego w głównej mierze rozrywką, w której najważniejszy był element widowiska. Postawa ta jest zgodna z tradycyjnym greckim etosem arystokratycznym, który wysoko cenił spektakl. Podobnie Arrian – pomija inne korzyści, jakie przynoszą łowy i skupia uwagę na samej tylko przyjemności oglądania pościgu.

⁴⁰ D. G. Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World*, Malden – Oxford 2007, 7f.; H. Tarrant, 'Athletics, Competition, and the Intellectual', [w:] *Sport and Festival in Ancient Greek World*, eds. D. Phillips and D. Pritchard, Swansea 2003, 356; J. Barringer, *Art, Myth, and Ritual in Classical Greece*, Cambridge 2008, 9 - 10; A. Stewart, *Classical Greece and the Birth of Western Art*, Cambridge 2008, p. 26.

⁴¹ See e.g. Thucydides, 6, 15, 2 on Alcibiades' aristocratic manner of life which embraced *hippotrophia*, *dapanai*, *epitedeumata* (with the remarks of S. Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides III*, Oxford 2008, 342); cf. A. Schnapp, 'Eros the Hunter' [in:] *A City of Images. Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece*, by C. Bérard et al., Princeton 1989, 71; also J. M. Bryant, *Moral Codes and Social Structure in Ancient Greece. A Sociology of Greek Ethics from Homer the Epicureans and Stoics*, New York 1996, p. 80 - 81.

⁴² G. Lorenz, *Tiere im Leben der alten Kulturen*, Köln - Weimar 2000, 92; D. Sansone, *Greek Athletics and the Genesis of Sport*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, 1988, p. 31.

