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The Eunomia of Solon. How to change the citizens of Athens

The so-called Eunomia of Solon is one of the most famous elegies of early Greek poetry. Too often, however, the actual aim of the elegy as a means of persuasion seems to be forgotten; Solon does not want to present a political theory here, but to convince the Athenian citizens. With the help of the theories of Performativity (Fischer-Lichte) and Emotion Studies (Winko and Hillebrandt), the elegy is examined in a close reading for persuasive elements that are intended to draw the Athenian citizens to Solon's side. The results show a clear structure with a focus on emotionalizing the problems of the city and Solon's opponents with a simultaneous rationalization of his position and legislation.

Keywords: Poetry, Solon, Eunomia, Performativity, Emotion Studies, persuasive structures

1. Introduction

Solon's so-called *Eunomia* (West 4, Gentili-Prato 3, Diehl 3) is probably his best-known elegy and is invaluable for historical research on Athens in the archaic period. Analyses of this elegy usually try to view the text as a political manifesto and forget the actual objective of the elegy, namely, to persuade and transform its recipients. The analysis of the combination of poetics, religion, and political impact by addressing the emotional level, especially, seems to be one of the most important and still unresolved questions concerning the elegy. This paper will address this gap. In the following chapter, the theories of Performativity by Fischer-Lichte and Hans Rudolf Velten and Emotion Stud-

ies as developed by Simone Winko and Claudia Hillebrandt will be briefly presented. In chapter 3, the elegy will be analyzed, and it will be shown how it tries firstly to create and emotionalize the problems of the city and establish a group of enemies; secondly to convince the citizens of Athens of Solon's laws and thus create Solon in a performative way as Athens' rational savior in these irrational times. In a short conclusion, the findings will be summarized.

2. How to change the citizens of Athens - Performativity and Emotion Studies

I will start with the theory of Performativity, which is the cornerstone of my reflections, and then give a brief insight into the importance of Emotion Studies for the theory of Performativity. 'Performativity' finds its beginning in the 20th century in a series of lectures by John Austin, later published under the title *How to do things with words*. In his first lecture, Austin distinguished between performative (*performative utterances* or *performatives*) and constative statements;[1] collectively, they could be divided as 'reality-changing' and 'reality-describing' statements. The 'Yes' in a wedding ceremony will serve as a brief example of a performative statement - this phrase does not describe anything, rather it creates the marriage performatively, only by saying this phrase in a certain context the marriage becomes legally and socially valid.

Austin's theories subsequently went a long way; for my considerations, the reflections of the branch of theatre research by Erika Fischer-Lichte are especially important. She is a German theatre and literature scholar and is concerned with the Performativity of plays in the moment of the performance. For Fischer-Lichte, a play is a performative work of art in that it is -

[1] 'Utterances can be found, satisfying these conditions, yet such that A. they do not "describe" or "report" or constate anything at all, are not "true or false"; and B. the uttering of the sentence is, or is a part of, the doing of an action, which again would not normally be described as saying something.' Austin (1962: 5–6, Lecture I). The crucial features of performatives can thus be summarized as self-referential and reality-constructing, Austin (1962: 4–7, Lecture I).

like Austin's performatives - self-referential and constructs reality.[2] The concrete moment of the performance is thus a unique event that seems to have transformative or reality-changing power in Austin's sense for all actors and the audience - the entirety of the performance. For Fischer-Lichte, six points constitute the Performativity of moments of performance, namely Physical Co-Presence ('Leibliche Ko-Präsenz'), Spatiality ('Räumlichkeit'), Physicality ('Körperlichkeit'), Rhythm ('Rhythmus'), Perception/Creation of meaning ('Wahrnehmung/Erzeugung von Bedeutung') and the Eventfulness of performances ('Ereignishaftigkeit von Aufführungen').[3]

When we think of the recital of an elegy in the early Greek period, the similarity to a play as described by Fischer-Lichte is striking. The recital of an elegy can incorporate tactics of a theater performance consisting of a single actress co-presence with the recipients and music; Physicality, Phonetic, and Rhythm define the 'flow' of the act; through listening, the recipients create a relationship with the recital and create their own meaning of the text and performance. However, we face a major problem for our analysis, namely the lack of many factors of these performances, specifically the music and the context of these recitals. We have hardly any information about how and where these elegies were actually performed; for the most part we have only received the text, although not even the text is certain.[4] My consid-

[2] Fischer-Lichte (2021: 35).

[3] These points are taken from the introductory work 'Performativity. Eine kulturwissenschaftliche Einführung', Fischer-Lichte (2021: 63–81).

[4] An interesting summary of the possibilities of recitals in general is offered by West (1974: 10–13): 1. + 2. a military setting; 3. the 'normal, civilian' symposium; 4. the *komos* after the *symposion*; 5. 'Some kind of public meeting', here West emphasizes the place of Solon's elegies; 6. an improvised poem at a public fountain; 7. at funerals (where Bowie [1986: 22–27] convincingly shows that the funeral elegy seems to be arguably a later form of elegy); 8. 'In aulodic competitions at festivals'. In particular, points 3 (Bowie [1986: 15–21]) and 8 (Bowie [1986: 27–34]) are discussed in more detail by Bowie. He emphasizes a classification by length, the shorter elegies being for private symposia, while the longer, narrative elegies are designed for competitions at public festivals; situation 5 is rejected by Bowie (1986: 18–20) because, apart from Solon's elegies, we have no references to such public recitals. Nevertheless, I think that Solon's *Eunomia* can only develop its full meaning as a public recital (Irwin [2006: 69–71] and Stehle [2006: 79–113] additionally stress the groups addressed), mainly because of the topic and poetics of the poem, which precludes possibilities 1, 2, 4, 6, 7 and 8, the imagery, which is understandable even without 'insider-knowledge', and the

erations will therefore focus on the text and in particular the performative text structures, simply because of the problem that we have hardly any other information about a performance of this elegy.

So how do we examine a text for performative structures? Two performative elements of a text were distinguished, structural and functional Performativity; structural Performativity[5] refers to the concrete text structures that have a performative character; Velten, a German medievalist and literary scholar, defines the elements as follows:

> Structural Performativity ('Strukturelle Performativität') refers to textual strategies that serve to stage presence, orality and corporeality and integrate "performances" into narrative or dramatic execution. This "performance in the text" includes the faking of oral communication, the simulation of theatrical image sequences and eventful exclamations, effects of presence and sensuality, stagings of bodily liveliness and emotionality.

These elements can in turn evoke transformations in the recipients, which Velten summarizes under the term functional Performativity:

> Functional performativity ('Funktionale Performativität') refers to the effects and dynamics that a text unfolds at the interface with its recipients. Like speech acts, texts can also constitute reality, for example by triggering laughter or crying and thus creating community, provoking feelings of hatred or revenge, or exerting influence on the cultural modelling of emotional patterns through the iterative use of their stagings.[6]

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persuasive character of the elegy, all of which make a recital in a private symposium unlikely. A public recital before the 'totality' of the Athenian demos seems likely to me, even if there are no sources mentioning such a recital. Unfortunately, little more can be said about the context; for a general discussion on the issues of orality vs. literacy and in particular the relationship between transmitted text and performance, see Thomas (1992: 113–127).

[5] These structures were designed for reading texts; however, this subdivision is also worthwhile for performed texts, since recitals do not necessarily have to use such structures either. If these structures are additionally emphasized in the act, this naturally increases the effects analyzed here.

[6] See for both quotes and classification Velten (2009: 552); the English translations are mine.

In my opinion, however, the area of functional Performativity is still missing a crucial link, namely the question of emotionality. Velten seems to take the field of creating emotions too lightly: the elements of structural Performativity discussed above seem to involve the recipients - if these recipients are in the right disposition - in the performance and in a certain way demand a 'response' from them. This does not mean, however, that it explains why we can give emotional responses, even be persuaded and transformed as a result. This is a gap that the field of Emotion Studies is trying to fill. It is not possible here to give an overview of the now enormous amount of literature on emotion research in antiquity; in short, certain subfields of Emotion Studies are concerned not only with the naming and representation of emotions in texts, but above how texts evoke emotions in the recipients.[7] This seems to be of crucial importance for our question of changing subjects' world relations, since it is primarily through an emotional connection to the characters, the world and generally all the components of a text - whether in a positive sense through sympathy, empathy or their opposites - that we can experience the story and events and thus often become an emotional part of the work or some of the characters. In recent years, Simone Winko and her student, Claudia Hillebrandt have dealt with a text-centred analysis of emotion-generating structures. Not all the elements that the two have put forward can be listed here; I will limit myself to a few points, which seem decisive for the elegy of Solon. Winko and Hillebrandt emphasize - besides general structures of lyric poetry, such as versification, rhythmic-metrical considerations, and rhetorical presentation - above all:

I. Intertextuality. For Winko, the field of Intertextuality is not only a game of knowledge, but rather one of emotions; the intertextual references are able either to inscribe additional emotions into the text or to intensify already existing ones.

[7] Hillebrandt (2011: 11). Research into the representation of emotions, in contrast to the question of the activation of emotions in the recipients, has been a topic for some time. To name just two important publications for antiquity Cairns/Nelis (2017) and Cairns (2019).

II. Narrative presentation. The 'how' of the story also has a strong influence on the emotionalization of the content. Winko emphasizes classic elements of Genette's narrative analysis, such as 'mood' ('distanced, "narrative mode"' and a '"dramatic mode" without distance' and focalization) and 'voice'.
III. Cultural contextualization. All the elements discussed must be culturally contextualized - as far as this is possible in the archaic period. Especially the use of religious themes should be addressed here, which seem to have a particularly emotional impact.[8]
IV. Evaluations. Hillebrandt adds, above all, the issue of evaluations. How are persons and groups, but also activities and places, represented and evaluated? A certain representation can also evoke emotions in recipients.[9]

3. The Εὐνομίη and the persuasive structures

In the following, we will deal with the persuasive structures of the elegy. First, the text and translation of the text will be given, followed by an outline and a short summary (3.1). After that, the individual verses will be examined in terms of persuasive structures with the help of the theory of Performativity and Emotion Studies (3.2). Chapter 4 will summarize the results.

3.1. Text, Translation and Structure[10]

ἡμετέρη δὲ πόλις κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὔποτ᾽ ὀλεῖται
  αἶσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων·
τοίη γὰρ μεγάθυμος ἐπίσκοπος ὀβριμοπάτρη
  Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη χεῖρας ὕπερθεν ἔχει·
αὐτοὶ δὲ φθείρειν μεγάλην πόλιν ἀφραδίηισιν 5

[8] For a discussion of the significance of religion in Athens in general, see Parker (2005: 1–3).
[9] See for intertextuality, narrative presentation, and cultural contextualization Winko (2003: 132–150), for evaluations Hillebrandt (2011: 76–88 [Empathy] and 88–102 [Sympathy]).
[10] The text of the elegy was quoted according to West (1922).

ἀστοὶ βούλονται, χρήμασι πειθόμενοι,
δήμου θ᾽ ἡγεμόνων ἄδικος νόος, οἷσιν ἑτοῖμον
ὕβριος ἐκ μεγάλης ἄλγεα πολλὰ παθεῖν·
οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστανται κατέχειν κόρον, οὐδὲ παρούσας
εὐφροσύνας κοσμεῖν δαιτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίηι.
...
πλουτέουσιν δ᾽ ἀδίκοις ἔργμασι πειθόμενοι
...
οὔθ᾽ ἱερῶν κτεάνων οὔτέ τι δημοσίων
φειδόμενοι κλέπτουσιν ἐφ᾽ ἁρπαγῆι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος,
οὐδὲ φυλάσσονται σεμνὰ Δίκης θέμεθλα,
ἣ σιγῶσα σύνοιδε τὰ γιγνόμενα πρό τ᾽ ἐόντα,
τῶι δὲ χρόνωι πάντως ἦλθ᾽ ἀποτεισομένη.
τοῦτ᾽ ἤδη πάσηι πόλει ἔρχεται ἕλκος ἄφυκτον,
ἐς δὲ κακὴν ταχέως ἤλυθε δουλοσύνην,
ἣ στάσιν ἔμφυλον πόλεμόν θ᾽ εὕδοντ᾽ ἐπεγείρει,
ὃς πολλῶν ἐρατὴν ὤλεσεν ἡλικίην.
ἐκ γὰρ δυσμενέων ταχέως πολυήρατον ἄστυ
τρύχεται ἐν συνόδοις τοῖς ἀδικέουσι φίλαις.[11]
ταῦτα μὲν ἐν δήμωι στρέφεται κακά· τῶν δὲ πενιχρῶν
ἱκνέονται πολλοὶ γαῖαν ἐς ἀλλοδαπήν,
πραθέντες δεσμοῖσί τ᾽ ἀεικελίοισι δεθέντες.
...

[11] Verse 22 is probably - apart from the three lacunae - the biggest text-critical problem of this elegy. In the oldest and more recent manuscripts, τοῖς ἀδικέουσι φίλοις has been handed down. The surviving text does not seem correct to me, since a simultaneously attributive and absolute use of the participle ἀδικέουσι would be necessary, which is not attested. Two of the proposed solutions seem worthy of discussion: we find φίλους, which survives in some recent manuscripts ('the city is being worn out in secret meetings by those who treat their friends badly', see West [1922], Noussia [1999: 95–96] and Mülke [2002: 138–139]) and Bergk's conjecture φίλαις ('the city is being worn out in secret meetings dear to the unjust', see for example Linforth [1919: 203]). The solution φίλαις seems to me the most likely here, since the ending -οις can easily be explained via a transcription error and the harmonization with the previous dative; in terms of content, φίλους also seems to mean that the city will be destroyed 'to those who wrong the friends', which differs from the focus on the destruction of the whole city.

οὕτω δημόσιον κακὸν ἔρχεται οἴκαδ᾽ ἑκάστωι,
αὐλείοι δ᾽ ἔτ᾽ ἔχειν οὐκ ἐθέλουσι θύραι,
ὑψηλὸν δ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἕρκος ὑπέρθορεν, εὗρε δὲ πάντως,
εἰ καί τις φεύγων ἐν μυχῶι ἦι θαλάμου.
ταῦτα διδάξαι θυμὸς Ἀθηναίους με κελεύει,
ὡς κακὰ πλεῖστα πόλει Δυσνομίη παρέχει·
Εὐνομίη δ᾽ εὔκοσμα καὶ ἄρτια πάντ᾽ ἀποφαίνει,
καὶ θαμὰ τοῖς ἀδίκοις ἀμφιτίθησι πέδας·
τραχέα λειαίνει, παύει κόρον, ὕβριν ἀμαυροῖ,
αὐαίνει δ᾽ ἄτης ἄνθεα φυόμενα,
εὐθύνει δὲ δίκας σκολιάς, ὑπερήφανά τ᾽ ἔργα
πραΰνει· παύει δ᾽ ἔργα διχοστασίης,
παύει δ᾽ ἀργαλέης ἔριδος χόλον, ἔστι δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς
πάντα κατ᾽ ἀνθρώπους ἄρτια καὶ πινυτά.

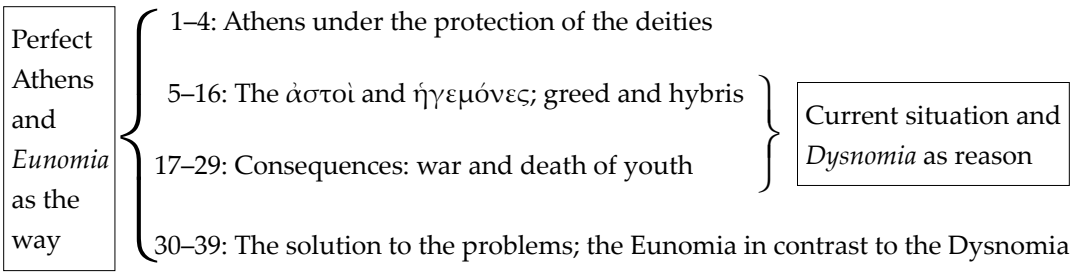
Our city will never perish according to the decree of Zeus and the intentions of the blessed gods; for such a high-minded guardian, the daughter of a mighty father, Pallas Athena, holds her hand over it. But the citizens themselves want to destroy the great city by their folly, persuaded by possessions, and also the unjust sense of the leaders of the people, to whom out of great hybris many pains surely come to condone! They do not know how to suppress <the effects of> satiety, and not to honour the present pleasures of the meal in peace. […] they become rich, obeying unrighteous works […] sparing neither holy nor public land, they rob with rapacity, the one here, the other there, not keeping an eye on the holy foundation of Dike, which silently knows of what is happening and what was happening before; in time, however, she surely is coming to punish. This now comes to the whole city as an inescapable wound; the city comes quickly into evil slavery, awakening inner Stasis and dormant war, which destroys the beloved youth of many; by enemies the much-loved city is worn down in meetings, dear to the unjust! These evils are now among the people. But of the poor many go to a foreign land, sold and bound in ever-lasting

> dishonourable shackles. […] Thus the public evil comes to every man's home, the courtyard doors will no longer keep it out, high above the fence it is already, but will surely find <him>, even if someone has fled to the corner of the bedroom. This is what my Θυμός (will) commands me to teach, namely, that the Δυσνομία (ill-legality) causes the most evil to the city, the Εὐνομία (well-legality), on the other hand, shows everything to be well-ordered and fitting and constantly puts shackles on the unjust. Rough it smooths, restrains <the effects of> satiety, makes hybris disappear and withers the blooming blossoms of ruin, makes straight crooked law and mitigates deeds of pride, ends deeds of separation, ends anger from painful strife; all is fitting and rational among men under her.

The elegy can be broken down into four parts.[12] In verses 1–4, the city of Athens is presented to us as protected by the gods, in particular by the goddess Athena. Verses 5–16 now depict the intrusion of the townsmen (ἀστοὶ) and the agitators (ἡγεμόνων ἄδικος νόος) who destroy this peace and protection by their greed and sacrilegious behaviour. They cannot restrain themselves, robbing everywhere and calling Dike into action, who, though still watching silently, enters the stage in the next verses. In verses 17–29 it is now shown what happens when Dike takes revenge: inner (στάσις) and outer war (πόλεμος) are aroused, the youth of many people is destroyed and everyone is affected, even if they flee to their bedrooms. The solution to this problem is presented in the last verses of the poem (verses 30–39), namely Solon's 'well-legality' (*Eunomia*) in contrast to the 'ill-legality' (*Dysnomia*) of the current situation. The *Eunomia* straightens out crooked law, restrains hybris and brings every form of division to a halt.

[12] At least for the moment it is communis opinio that the beginning and the end of the elegy are original; see Jaeger (1970: 12–13) and Anhalt (1993: 73, 'It might seem implausible, however, that an orator would fail to cite the opening lines of a well-known work, the lines which make an elegy recognizable and memorable to an audience'). We can only speculate about the amount of missing verses in the gaps, although large leaps seem improbable due to the line of thought. For a discussion of whether we have the verses of Solon at all, see Lardinois 2006.

Overall, we thus find an 'abba' structure: verses 1–4 produce the city of Athens under the protection of the gods before our eyes; in the last verses (30–39), we learn how the polis can get this back, namely via Solon's *Eunomia*.[13] In the between these two passages we find the problems that afflict the city: first, the 'unreflected' ἀστοὶ and especially the ἡγεμόνες who take advantage of the townsmen; second, the problems that arise as a result, namely war and the death of the young. The structure shall be briefly illustrated schematically:[14]



3.2. The persuasive structures – the play with emotions

3.2.1. Verses 1–4 (Our City!)

The elegy starts with the words ἡμετέρη δὲ πόλις, which on the one hand creates a form of community of the city, and at the same time builds up and contextualizes the city before the eyes of the recipients: it is about our city, the city of Athens.[15] Hereby, not only a community of the city is created performatively but the city gets emotionally charged; it is our city, but also the city of our families and forefathers. By these three words alone, Athens is constructed in the minds of the recipients and emotionally charged, without

[13] This structure also seems to suggest that only a few verses were dropped out in the intermediate sections, perhaps even only one verse each.

[14] For other outlines, see Jaeger (1970: 326–327); Römisch (1933: 37–38); Siegmann (1975: 274), Fowler (1987: 79), Mülke (2002: 89–90) and Blaise (2006a: 44–45).

[15] In the apt words of Mülke (2002: 102): 'Our polis, we!'. Adkins (1985: 111) analysis that this is used as an 'antithesis' to other cities is not convincing, the emphasis on the community of the city is more compelling with regard to the rest of the poem. However, Adkins calls it a 'powerfully emotive phrase', with which I agree.

mentioning the name; the performatively fabricated city in the text is closely interlinked with the self-world relations of the recipients.[16] This is now placed in a religious context to boot. Our city will never perish, according to the plan of Zeus and of the immortal gods (verses 1–2, κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὔποτ᾽ ὀλεῖται / αἶσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων). These verses clearly recall the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* and are arguably common knowledge handed down by the epic tradition; Zeus' plan foreshadows a positive outcome for Athens.[17] Through this contextualization with Zeus in particular, but all the gods in general, the emotional level is reinforced by the religious context: our city is under the protection of the gods, our city will never perish as a result. We find here an emotional 'two-step': the personal level of the city is opened by ἡμετέρη δὲ πόλις, but at the same time placed in a religious-social context by the statements to come. This socio-religious context is further reinforced when in verse 3 we find an enumeration of epithets of a deity, namely μεγάθυμος ἐπίσκοπος ὀβριμοπάτρη, clearly represented by the combination as Athena. All these epithets are not simply chosen but tailored to the intertextuality with the Homeric epics and to the contemporary situation: μεγάθυμος is only used in the *Odyssey* for one deity, and that is Athena. It is always used in the context of Athena's protection and assistance on the part of the Greeks and Odysseus in particular;[18] ἐπίσκοπος refers to Athena as a guardian; probably the most exciting reference here is to the ἐπίσκοπος Hector;[19] ὀβριμοπάτρη points to Athena's special connection with her father, but at the same time also to Athens' connection with Zeus, who is depicted in the first two verses as Athens' patron god. The personal and socio-religious level is now extended by an intertextual level: the reference to the Homeric epics and thus to the long history of the deity Athena and the city of Athens are woven into the text as an additional reference to the past, which is likely to increase the emotional power once again.[20] Mülke's refutation of

[16] For the concept of self-world relations, see Rosa (2012: 13).
[17] Irwin (2005: 92).
[18] Adkins (1985: 112) and Mülke (2002: 105); *Od.* 8, 520 and 13, 121.
[19] See Adkins (1985: 112), Anhalt (1993: 75–76), Mülke (2002: 105) and Irwin (2005: 93–94).
[20] Whereby, of course, the important discussion to stress here is that we cannot know for

Anhalt's thesis that Troy is used as a foil for Athens is to be agreed with, although no one has power over ancient associations and the story certainly had tremendous impact;[21] to be 'skeptical' of the fundamentally intertextual character of these verses on the epic tradition, however, seems to do injustice to the references and the question of their efficacy.[22] By invoking the epic story of Athens - which is probably anchored in the collective memory - and the subsequent naming of Athena, a sense of emotional connection and commonality is to be created in the recipients; in Hartmut Rosa's words, it could be understood as a 'diachrone Resonanzbeziehung' that adds history and an emotional connection to the city.[23] Verse 4 now takes us back to the protection of the city; it will never perish because - alongside all the deities and in particular Zeus - the city deity Athena watches over us, represented by the image of the protecting hand (Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη χεῖρας ὕπερθεν

sure whether we are reading the same Homeric epics as the Athenians of the seventh/sixth century BC. We know that some textual passages looked different from what they do now in our modern textual editions; nevertheless, in addition to the purely lexical, the thematic references can also be highlighted, which make a certain level of intertextuality likely. See for a discussion Fowler (1987: 50–51).

[21] Here I want to refer to the thoughtful introduction by Blaise (2006a: 10–17), who points to the multitude of possible interpretations by the recipients, to the diversity of the respective performance - similar to Fischer-Lichte - and to the legacy of the elegy. Despite the knowledge of these problems, with the help of the implicit reader an attempt can be made to include the intended recipients and thus to give an interpretation that includes a large part of the recipients of the time. In the analysis, I would therefore try - in the same way as Irwin 2005, 161 but with criticism from Blaise (2006a: 13, 'Pourtant, même si la prise en considération des différents publics peut sembler plus objective, dans la mesure où il s'agit d'un paramètre extérieur, on n'en revient pas moins à chercher une intention qui ne dit pas son nom') - to exclude the author intention and speak of an offer of the text, which can of course bring about something different in each subject, yet are influenced by the social framework - and also the person of Solon. For the implicit reader, see Iser (1994: 60).

[22] Anhalt (1993: 74–78, clear references to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*); Fowler (1987: 34–35, completely rules out intertextual references), Mülke (2002: 105, is at least skeptical about intertextuality) and Irwin (2005: 161, 'When the allusions are so strong maybe the main point is that they are there'). The problems of whether Solon could really have been referring to the city of Troy stem from an author-centered reading; however, this text is clearly designed for a general audience and thus with an effect on the recipients, which makes the question of author intention seem unimportant: not 'what did Solon mean should be in the foreground', but 'what could the recipients understand', which by no means excludes an association with Troy.

[23] See for the notion of diachronic resonance relationship Rosa (2016: 504).

ἔχει). After the performative fabrication of the city in the imagination of the recipients, Athena - through the reference to Zeus and the epic tradition - is brought on stage as the patron deity of Athens; these first verses thus create the city of Athens before its recipients as an emotionally charged place with a connection to themselves, their personal history and thus their self-world relations, but also embedding it in the socio-religious fabric and literary history. Solon creates an ideal image that is to exist as the goal and at the same time the past of Athens.

3.2.2. Verses 5–16 (But then they came…)

This ideal image is now invaded by the ἀστοὶ (αὐτοὶ ... ἀστοὶ, v. 5–6), emphasized by the position at the beginning of each verse and the particle δὲ; they wish to destroy the mighty city of Athens (φθείρειν ... βούλονται, v. 5–6), driven by their foolishness and persuaded by possessions (ἀφραδίησιν, v. 5 and χρήμασι πειθόμενοι, v. 6).[24] This seems to show the guilt of the people for the current situation; into the world protected by the gods the ἀστοὶ enter as sinners.[25] This is further highlighted by the late entry of the ἀστοὶ: only in verse 6 do the ἀστοὶ appear, which might surprise recipients.[26] Like the city before, the townsmen are brought performatively onto the stage, they break into the previously established ideal image as a collectively created body, are described by their central features and thus expand the scene:

[24] Mülke (2002: 109–110) and Blaise (2006a: 75, with reference to the use of the term in Hesiod) quite rightly emphasize that the generality of the term χρήματα is not to be seen via a transmission error, but rather as a knowingly general term, almost in the form of gnomic wisdom. Blaise (2006b: 126) stresses the verb βούλονται, which clearly highlights the intention of the ἀστοὶ.

[25] Jaeger (1970: 16, the first to refer to this passage in 1926), Bowra (1938: 78) and Adkins (1985: 113) as well as Blaise (2006a: 56–57, in more detail 56–63) stress this with reference to Zeus' speech at the beginning of the *Odyssey*, in which we can also see the contrast of human faults and the benevolence of the gods (*Od.* 1, 32–43); see also Noussia (1999: 79). Will (1958: 310), with reference to many other poems of Solon, talks about the often-occurring reference to the role of the individual for a society: 'In one way or another, the individual's moral behavior has significance which goes far beyond himself. For that reason, Solon is saying, the individual needs to know his moral self.'

[26] See Irwin (2006: 65).

the focus shifts from the overall view of the city and the protective hands of the deities to the city, where we encounter the first large group that will play a central role in this elegy. There is a lively discussion about the word ἀστοὶ and which group it ultimately refer to; I agree with Mülke's interpretation with a small correction: although the term ἀστός does not carry any social stratification within the group of aristocratic citizens, it very much does with regard to the population of Athens as a whole. This makes a discussion of whether the poor population of Athens has been addressed here obsolete; neither does Solon have any interest in convincing a politically powerless group, nor would a noble inhabitant of Athens consider poor people fellow inhabitants of the city, ἀστοὶ.[27] However, this group of people not only enters this previously created setting in an extremely performative way, but they are also emotionally charged: they are greedy and wish to destroy the city. At the same time, this emotional setting is reinforced by the intertextual references to the *Odyssey*; Odysseus' companions also prevented the return journey to Ithaca by their own foolishness (αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρῃσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο, Hom. *Od*. 1, 7) and greed (as one example, πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ Τροίης ἄγεται κειμήλια καλὰ / ληίδος ἡμεῖς δ' αὖτε ὁμὴν ὁδὸν ἐκτελέσαντες / οἴκαδε νισόμεθα κενεὰς σὺν χεῖρας ἔχοντες, Hom. *Od*. 10, 40–42).[28] These ἀστοὶ are thus compared to the companions, which makes two points clear: the townsmen's own lack of understanding is problematic, as is their greed, but they are not fundamentally bad people and can still change their behavior; moreover, they are incited to their deeds by individuals, just like Odysseus' companions. At the same time, however, Solon, who has a plan for the rescue of the city, is connected to the cunning Odysseus: the behavior of his companions both hinders and obstructs his plans, but one thing is certain: he will defend his οἶκος.

[27] See for a summary of the discussion and his own interpretation Mülke (2002: 108–109); he calls the term 'socially and economically undifferentiated'. See also Noussia (1999: 80). One could think here of the famous quote by Park (1986: 1) 'The city is, rather, a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of the organized attitudes and sentiments that inhere in these customs and are transmitted with this tradition.'

[28] See for example Noussia (1999: 79).

This is further reinforced by the next two verses when a new group emerges from the ἀστοὶ; there is a group of unjust 'agitators of the people' (δήμου θ᾽ ἡγεμόνων ἄδικος νόος, v. 7) who persuade the others to do their deeds.[29] These are now characterized not by stupidity and greed, but rather by their hybris (ὕβριος ἐκ μεγάλης, v. 8). Blaise convincingly argues the translation of the word ὕβρις with reference to the basic meaning of 'aggressive transgression of boundaries', which, however, in no way justifies her translation of the term as 'violence' and decisively changes the meaning;[30] the focus in describing the ἡγεμόνες is more than clearly placed as religious sacrilege against the deities protecting the city and their general inability to accept boundaries, not on any active acts of violence. The structure of this characterization is interesting: we move from the totality of the city to the totality of its inhabitants, the δήμος, then to the ἡγεμόνες and the description of their inner doings, whereby the characterization and description continues to happen from 'outside to inside'. This group is clearly differentiated from the δήμος and seems to describe a political power in Athens, one can probably assume a form of 'counterparty' to Solon.[31] Here, the many sufferings that Odysseus and his companions must endure again serve as emotional reinforcement for the scene (ἄλγεα πολλὰ παθεῖν, v. 8 to πολλὰ δ᾽ ὅ γ᾽ ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν, Hom. *Od*. 1, 4). The strong characterization through their hybris, in addition to the literary importance of this concept for the *Odyssey*, again brings a socio-religious component into play - these persons transgress against the gods; we see in the *Odyssey* what happens to society because of this, but also in our everyday lives.

Their hybris is now defined in the last two verses before the first *lacuna*; they do not know how to suppress their greed (actually 'satiety', οὐ γὰρ

[29] That 'all the members of the upper-ruling class' are meant here, as Noussia (1999: 81) assumes, seems unlikely, since Solon clearly wants to separate this group as sacrilegious from the other unreflective townsmen; what use is the differentiation if here again all noble Athenians are addressed?

[30] Blaise (2006a: 79–80).

[31] Blaise (2006a: 76–79) discusses this difficult passage with reference to the Homeric epics, Hesiod and Tyrtaeus; particularly important here seems to be the political connotation of the word ἡγεμών, which is only used as a military term before.

ἐπίστανται κατέχειν κόρον, v. 9), and do not understand how to enjoy the momentary, well-ordered situation (οὐδὲ παρούσας / εὐφροσύνας κοσμεῖν δαιτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίηι, v. 9–10).[32] Now these verses do not necessarily indicate a recital in a symposium, but rather, in my estimation, are emblematic of the situation of the city.[33] The city is perfect according to the decision of the ancestors and gods, but the ἀστοὶ and ἡγεμόνες do not know how to enjoy this. Both images are corporeal and thus strongly figurative in nature: greed is represented by the image of 'satiation'; the beauty and order of the city by the image of symposium. Both are not only building blocks of performative textual design, but could again increase the emotional value for the recipients: they know the symposium and understand the social value and joy of this place, a destruction of this institution is unthinkable.[34] The image of satiation is directly linked to this, both in terms of eating and drinking - especially alcohol - a certain restraint must be exercised in order to make the symposium a successful celebration for all. Solon uses imagery that could trigger strong emotions in the Athenian recipients of the time, both through its literary importance in connection with the Homeric epics and its general importance within the social fabric; the process of persuasion is initiated through the emotion-generating and performative textual structures. Verse 11 is difficult to interpret, as we have a *lacuna* after and before verse 11, which must be at least one verse long.[35] However, verse 11 seems to further stress the previous image of greed of the agitators.

[32] Mülke 2002, 116 argues for a connection of δαιτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίηι in contrast to εὐφροσύνας δαιτὸς, especially via the structural argument that Solon never puts a word in the second pentameter half that refers to the first half. I am not a friend of such statistical evaluations, since we have far too small a text sample for such. Furthermore, apart from the clearly more logical connection of 'symposia pleasures' in terms of content - since when are symposia quiet? - note the flow of reading aloud: although δαιτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίηι comes in the second half of pentameter, in the flow of recitation εὐφροσύνας, κοσμεῖν and δαιτὸς meet; if the pause is not read strongly, the structure seems to support the other reading more. See also Blaise (2006a: 93–95) for this.

[33] The content of the elegy seems inappropriate for a private symposium of Solon and his 'party', since the elegy seems to be very general and of a highly persuasive character; the reference to the symposium is rather to be seen as a metaphor for the organized polis, see for this Blaise (2006a: 98).

[34] For an overview of the importance of the symposium for Greek polis society, see Schmitt-Pantel (2006).

[35] See for a discussion of the transmission situation of the poem in Demosthenes Rowe (1972), also with discussion of the recital of poems by Attic orators, and Blaise (2006a: 43–44).

It is precisely with the characterization of the ἡγεμόνες as sacrilegious and thieves that the elegy continues after the gap. They steal from both sacred and public property (οὔθ᾽ ἱερῶν κτεάνων οὔτέ τι δημοσίων / φειδόμενοι κλέπτουσιν ἐφ᾽ ἁρπαγῆι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος, v. 12–13).[36] Noussia introduces the possibility of a reference to Kylon and the conspiracy, which is at least a possible association for the recipients;[37] by such a reference, the verse becomes significantly more emotionalized, since it refers to the contemporary history. At the same time, Solon's adversaries are also charged emotionally; above all, the religious outrage of stealing divine property creates a group that is not to be agreed with in any matter. They do not even stop at the foundation of Dike (οὐδὲ φυλάσσονται σεμνὰ Δίκης θέμεθλα, v. 14), who will later appear personified.[38] Mülke comments on verses 9–14 that '[sie] wenig systematisch wirken';[39] with a view to performative and emotionalising structures, however, the tactics seems clear: a sequence of scenes that were significant, religiously important and generally impressive for the recipients of the time. Here, again, an attempt should be made to reflect on the objective and function of these verses. The text seems to have two aims here, firstly the problematization of the townsmen who harm the city without thinking for themselves; secondly the clear separation of this group from the real problem, namely the ἡγεμόνες who, due to hybris and bad thoughts, bring the city close to ruin. Harmonization, as has often been discussed, does not seem to me to be the goal, rather a performative generation of a new Athenian community, but with persuasion of the ἀστοὶ of a new way of thinking and without the group of ἡγεμόνες.[40]

Verses 15 and 16 now provide a smooth transition to the next topic; Dike knows about the past and present behavior of these groups (ἣ σιγῶσα σύνοιδε τὰ γιγνόμενα πρό τ᾽ ἐόντα, v. 15); finally she will take revenge on

[36] For a discussion around public and sacred property, see Mülke (2002: 119–120).
[37] Noussia (1999: 86).
[38] For a discussion of the figure of Dike in the early Greek period and the reference to religious sacrilege, see Gagarin (1974).
[39] Mülke (2002: 90): '[…] darf man vermuten, daß (sic!) hier die drängendsten Probleme identifiziert sind, die naturgemäß zugleich die wirksamsten gegenüber den Rezipienten gewesen sein dürften.'
[40] See, for example, Halberstadt (1955: 202, 'a plea for harmonious coexistence').

all (τῶι δὲ χρόνωι πάντως ἦλθ᾽ ἀποτεισομένη, v. 16).[41] Dike is thus placed before the eyes of the recipients as a real actor, who is given a character and a shape. The group of ἡγεμόνες, on the other hand, is therefore not only cleverly emotionalized and performatively created as a sacrilegious group, but at the same time it is claimed that through their behavior they will affect and destroy the entire city in the sense of a *Miasma* (πάντως).[42] The actions of the ἡγεμόνες are thus not only shown as problematic on a strictly human level, but rather as sacrilege, which again carries a strong emotional connotation - all this in connection with the intertextuality to Hesiod. Walker aptly states in this respect: 'All of this resonates, on one hand, with the Athenian audience's own recognition of actual conditions in the city and on the other hand with such poetic precedents as Hesiod's account of the "bad strife" and civil corruption in *Works and Days*.'[43] Both past and upcoming problems of the city are transferred to this group; they are emotionalized and presented as a problem of the city of Athens. Following this quotation, the at least probable importance of the Hesiodic *Erga* and the connection of city, hybris and Dike for the *Eunomia* should be mentioned again. In Hes. *Erg*. 213-273, the general superiority of Dike over hybris is emphasized in the context of the city, but the images also seem similar: Dike appears in Hesiod with 'sound scenery' (της δε Δίκης ρόθος ελκομένης, v. 220), she wanders through the city lamenting and bringing evil to the people (η δ' επεται κλαίουσα πόλιν και ηθεα λαων, / ηέρα εσσαμένη, κακον ανθρώποισι φέρουσα, v. 220); but if one follows the law, the city flourishes (δε δε δίκας ξείνοισι και ενδήμοισι διδουσιν / ιθείας και μή τι παρεκβαίνουσι δικαίου, / τοισι τέθηλε πόλις, λαοι δ ανθευσιν εν αυτη, v. 225-227). The action of an individual can affect the whole city (πολλάκι και ξύμπασα πόλις κακου ανδρος απηύρα, v. 240), with emphasis on the 'plan' of Zeus and the connection to the daugh-

[41] Blaise (2006a: 115–116) cites all the places where Dike occurs in Hesiod's works and the Homeric epics. She nevertheless emphasizes the transformation of Dike here in Solon; the damage Dike will do does not come immediately, but 'in due time' (2019: 122, 'L'action punitive de la justice n'a plus la soudaineté surnaturelle du châtiment divin, mais s'identifie à la sanction du temps').

[42] For the concept of miasma and the purification from it, the catharsis, see Zimmermann (2006).

[43] Walker (2000: 264). See also Masaracchia (1958: 258) and Adkins (1985: 117).

ter Dike (Ζηνος φραδμοσύνησιν Ολυμπίου, v. 245, and αυτίκα παρ Δι πατρι καθεζομένη Κρονίωνι, 249). Thus, assuming that the Hesiodic text is known, at least in its basic features and images, we look at a clear parallelization of the situation; the intertext thus seems to redirect and ultimately reinforce the emotionalization of the situation from the 'general' of Hesiod to the 'specific' of Solon's Athens.

3.2.3. Verses 17–29 (Dike sees all)

The problems that befall the city due to the behavior of the ἡγεμόνες are now presented to the recipients. Dike appears as a character in the performance; again, a reference to Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days* is possible, in which she is not only the daughter of Zeus, but also the sister of *Eunomia* (Hes. *theog*. 901–903). Thus, if the recipients are familiar with Hesiod's works, the family tree of Dike emerges, which not only emotionalizes her in her function as 'avenger', but also closely links her to Athens through her family tree: a city that will never perish because of Zeus. She comes to the city represented by the physical image of the unescapable gangrene (τοῦτ᾽ ἤδη πάσηι πόλει ἔρχεται ἕλκος ἄφυκτον, v. 17).[44] This image is chosen in line with the body metaphors we have seen before and is again likely to affect the recipients on an emotional basis: a society that is constantly at war seems to have a painful relationship with the theme of gangrene and the related theme of death. The city of Athens becomes a living body that

[44] Verse 17 is one of the most discussed verses of this elegy. On the one hand, there has been much discussion about the meaning of the τοῦτο - is it to be seen with hindsight to the previous verses, as a kind of heading, or as looking into the future? - and about the meaning of the ἤδη. Ἤδη is important mainly because of whether the following verses are to be interpreted as a general statement - this can happen to any city that behaves in this way - or are specifically adapted to Athens' current situation. I read τοῦτο as referring backwards and ἤδη as 'now' and thus referring to the present or possibly coming situation of Athens. Τοῦτο is mostly used as referring back and makes the best sense here; ἤδη is read as 'now' because a direct reference to Athens simply seems more likely here than a long list of generalities - Solon argues very directly and with familiar imagery in this elegy, which also makes the direct reference likely here. See for a discussion of the different opinions Mülke (2002: 126–129) and Blaise (2006a: 126–128).

receives a wound and even gangrene through the behavior of these groups. Mülke emphasises that ἄφυκτον could suggest a reference to projectiles, which makes the image 'hit' the recipients even more vehemently.[45] As a result, the whole city now falls into enslavement, again an emotionally irritating word for the aristocracy of the time (ἐς δὲ κακὴν ταχέως ἤλυθε δουλοσύνην, v. 18), although the word is to be translated as 'tyranny' rather than 'enslavement' in the modern sense;[46] Solon offers a warning against the takeover of a ruler and more generally στάσις.[47] The mention of tyranny seems to be one of the most powerful images in terms of emotional persuasion of the recipient: the arguably noble audience loses its political power through it and thus, in principle, what constitutes an Athenian aristocrat. This is emphasized when the recipients are told what additionally happens as a result of this enslavement; the tyranny awakens both civil war and the sleeping external war (ἣ στάσιν ἔμφυλον πόλεμόν θ᾽ εὕδοντ᾽ ἐπεγείρει, V. 19), again presented very physically through the image of sleep.[48] Verse 17 now forms a small ring composition with verse 20 when we again get the reference to the theme of struggle, war and ultimately death (ὃς πολλῶν ἐρατὴν ὤλεσεν ἡλικίην, v. 20); the war destroys the youth of the city, the property of the aristocracy, and lastly, in a sense, the survival and existence of the history of the city presented in the first verses by the references to the

[45] On the translation of ἕλκος as 'gangrene' see Adkins (1985: 118), Mülke (2002: 130) and Henderson (2006: 131–132).

[46] The various possibilities of interpreting δουλοσύνη are shown by Mülke (2002: 131–132), whereby the translation with 'usurpation' or 'tyranny' is the only logical possibility for me. The relative clause has to—clearly by the position in the verse and content—refer to δουλοσύνη; the reference to Δίκη (Weil [1883]) or πόλις (Adkins [1985: 118–119], with translation of δουλοσύνη as 'poverty' with support from Noussia [1999: 93]), is in my estimation not arguable in any way.

[47] Stahl (1992: 393) rightly says that there could also be a reference to the usurpation attempt of Kylon; Noussia (1999: 95) and Mülke (2002: 133) stress the lines of connection of the now following events with the usurpation attempts of Kylon (Hdt. 5,71 and Thuk. 1, 126–127), but also the seizure of power by Pittacus of Mytilene (Alk. 129 LP).

[48] Noussia (1999: 93) thinks that πόλεμος does not necessarily have to carry the meaning 'external war', but gives no explanation hereafter of what else it should mean, especially in contrast to στάσις. Here—in my estimation—there is clear reference to the difference between 'external' and 'internal' war; the behavior of the popular ἡγεμόνες brings war on all fronts. See for this Blaise (2006a: 133–135).

Odyssey and Athena - the verses are clearly intended for the high aristocracy of the city and not at all as a parenesis for the poor population. The images chosen seem directly related to the world of the recipients, which again increases the emotional impact.[49]

Moving away from the focus on the youth, we again turn our attention to the whole city; on the one hand we find a characterization of the city as much-loved (πολυήρατον ἄστυ, v. 21) and thus positive, and on the other hand the groups already mentioned 'foul-minded' (δυσμενέων, v. 21). At the same time, this group is also portrayed as mendacious and cowardly, as they wear down the city in secret meetings (τρύχεται ἐν συνόδοις τοῖς ἀδικέουσι φίλαις, v. 22). Which structures and groups are addressed by these secret meetings cannot be answered due to the lack of sources; nevertheless, the term is likely to carry a sinister tone, possibly regarding tyranny, which could again be frightening and emotionalizing for the recipients.[50]

Solon pushes this emotional game further, after a summary of the evils (ταῦτα μὲν ἐν δήμωι στρέφεται κακά, v. 23), he emotionalizes the poor groups of the population who are abducted and enslaved by the behavior of these groups (τῶν δὲ πενιχρῶν / ἱκνέονται πολλοὶ γαῖαν ἐς ἀλλοδαπήν, / πραθέντες δεσμοῖσί τ᾽ ἀεικελίοισι δεθέντες, v. 23–25); these, though poor, are still inhabitants of the city of Athens.[51] These topics echo the theme of war and death through the shackles, but at the same time are also physical images that could create certain pictures in the recipients. All groups in the city suffer from the behavior of the ἡγεμόνες; the whole city seems to be destroyed. At the same time, this could have an empathetic and sympathetic

[49] The recipients' knowledge of the tradition of calls to defend the homeland (for example Callinus, West 1, and Tyrtaeus, West 10) could reinforce the emotional effect of these verses. Noussia (2006: 154) on the other hand, talks about the 'defamiliarize language' of Solon's elegies, although she does not discuss this elegy.

[50] Adkins (1985, 119) emphasizes the later use as 'meeting of an enemy army' and thus the reference to a possible civil war. See also Blaise (2006a: 139–140).

[51] These verses have often been referred to the famous 'Schuldknechtschaft', which, however, seems to be constructed from in the *Athenaion Politeia* from the poems of Solon; at least we find no direct mention of such debt slavery in this poem. See for further arguments against and a more detailed discussion Noussia (1999: 97) and Mülke (2002: 140–141).

effect on the recipients, slavery can also affect nobles in antiquity. This is reinforced - as Mülke rightly points out - above all through the image of the eternal shackles: the τιμή of this group is diminished forever, their social standing and honor seem lost. Although these verses arguably do not address the famous 'Schuldknechtschaft', we do have evidence of certain groups being sold in a period of tyrannical rule,[52] making these verses not only touch on the aforementioned evils but are again emotionally charged.

When tyranny comes, no part of the population is safe. The two participles are at the beginning and end of the verse 25 respectively and the eternal fetters in the middle depict the effect once again physically and pictorially.

After this, we are again missing at least one verse; here, too, an omission of only a few verses seems possible to me, since the flow of the argument is understandable. After discussing the greatness of the city, Solon introduces the subject of the individuals. This is cleverly raised in verse 26; the evil that affects the whole population now comes to each individual (οὕτω δημόσιον κακὸν ἔρχεται οἴκαδ᾽ ἑκάστωι, v. 26). The evil - namely the group of seditionists and their actions - is emotionally charged as a problem of the population as a whole, while at the same time the urgency of the solution is emphasized by the threat to the individual; Blaise refers to this as 'le désastre individuel'.[53] Solon skillfully directs away from the city towards the individual. In the following three verses what exactly happens is described in the form of an ekphrasis from the outside: the court gates will not - and cannot - keep the evil out (αὐλειοι δ᾽ ἔτ᾽ ἔχειν οὐκ ἐθέλουσι θύραι, v. 27), for it leaps over the fence into the garden (ὑψηλὸν δ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἕρκος ὑπέρθορεν, v. 28); now it not only enters the courtyard but seeks out each one in his house and finds him even if he should hide in his bedchamber (εὗρε δὲ πάντως / εἰ καί τις φεύγων ἐν μυχῶι ἦι θαλάμου, vv. 28–29). The emotionally charged evil, which relates to the entire population, affects each individual; this is precisely demonstrated to the recipients through imagery and physical descriptions.

[52] See for the diminution of the τιμή and the sale under a tyranny Mülke (2002: 141).
[53] Blaise (2006a: 148).

3.2.4. Verses 30–39 (*Eunomia* as solution)

From verse 30 onwards, the solution to this problem is brought performatively onto the stage, namely Solon's *Eunomia*. Like an actor, Solon calls himself onto the stage, therefore extremely performatively (ταῦτα διδάξαι θυμὸς Ἀθηναίους με κελεύει, v. 30). Like a deus ex machina, Solon brings himself into this world of problems; the problems triggered by human beings will also be solved by a human being.[54] Clearly separated from the previous presentation of the evils, Solon's θυμὸς performatively asks him to tell these things - but what exactly? Here the clear contrast is drawn between momentary system - the *Dysnomia* - and the system or laws proposed by Solon - namely the *Eunomia*: that is, that the *Dysnomia* makes everything bad and terrible (ὡς κακὰ πλεῖστα πόλει Δυσνομίη παρέχει, v. 31), while the *Eunomia* allows everything to be fitting and orderly (Εὐνομίη δ᾽ εὔκοσμα καὶ ἄρτια πάντ᾽ ἀποφαίνει, v. 32). Again, reference should be made here to the genealogical tree in Hesiod, on which we find *Dysnomia* as the daughter of Eris (Hes. *theog*. 226–232), which could again be an emotionalizing association for the recipients. Verse 30 was, of course, used to analyze the performance, although the verse is of little use here, apart from the fact that the elegy may well have been performed in Athens; more important seems the performative act, which summons Solon in this emotional web as a rational mediator (διδάξαι θυμὸς). Apart from this, Solon strongly emphasizes himself and his rational will here at the end; he is the Athenians' teacher or even 'priest', he is the one who can make the *Dysnomia* disappear. For the *Eunomia* devised by Solon physically puts fetters around the feet of the unjust - by which is probably meant the group of agitators - (καὶ θαμὰ τοῖς ἀδίκοις ἀμφιτίθησι πέδας, v. 33) and thus ends their rule. After this self-call

[54] For this, see Jaeger (1970: 19–20) and Noussia (1999: 79), who highlights that it is precisely not a god that needs to be sent to teach the people, as in the *Odyssey*, for example. In Jaeger's words, 'Kein Zeus, sondern *sein Geist "befiehlt" ihm* […].' Blaise (2006a: 154–155) formulates in relation to the function of poetry in Hesiod's works: 'Alors que la Théogonie fait des Muses la source de ce savoir et le moteur de sa diffusion, le poète ne se donne pas ici comme un médiateur entre les Muses et les hommes: à l'immédiateté de l'expérience décrite dans les verse précédents répond le caractère direct de l'intervention poétique.'

we thus arrive at two summary statements, namely the problematic nature of *Dysnomia* and the advantage of *Eunomia* for a society; *Eunomia* is immediately called on stage as a character, acting actively and physically on the body of the city.

This is precisely what leads to the climax of the elegy and the personification of *Eunomia*, who now solves the problems of the city of Athens. She smoothes roughness, stops greed and weakens hybris (τραχέα λειαίνει, παύει κόρον, ὕβριν ἀμαυροῖ, v. 34); these verses refer to the problems mentioned above - especially the terms κόρος and ὕβρις are to be mentioned here - and thus take them up in form of a ring composition;[55] the performatively generated problems of the city are here removed by the personification of *Eunomia*. This form of representation continues in the following verses: she makes the blossoms of ruin pass away (αὐαίνει δ᾽ ἄτης ἄνθεα φυόμενα, v. 35), again depicted extremely performative and descriptive by the image of the flowers; it sets crooked right and ends haughty deeds (εὐθύνει δὲ δίκας σκολιάς, ὑπερήφανά τ᾽ ἔργα / πραΰνει, v. 36–37), which can be called the basic problem of the momentary situation; it ends the separation and thus the possibility of all forms of war (παύει δ᾽ ἔργα διχοστασίης, V. 37), moreover, it ends terrible anger (παύει δ᾽ ἀργαλέης ἔριδος χόλον, v. 38). The last sentence sums up both the necessity of the change and its meaningfulness; under the *Eunomia* everything is fitting and good, i.e. just the opposite to the present situation (ἔστι δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς / πάντα κατ᾽ ἀνθρώπους ἄρτια καὶ πινυτά, v. 38–39). The style of verses 30–39 has rightly been called 'hymnic'; the last verses are designed for conviction and real transformation of the recipient's self-world relations, which are meant to 'hammer in' what is said into the recipient's 'self'. Through this hymnic style and the performative production of the *Dysnomia* and *Eunomia* as deities, but also Solon himself as the 'priest' of this religion, the final section is once again closely tied back to the theme of religiosity in general, but in particular to the beginning of the elegy; we end as we began, namely with the protection of a deity over Athens and a human

[55] For a complete list of references see Halberstadt (1955: 202), Ostwald (1969: 68), Siegmann (1975: 279), Noussia (1999: 75) and Mülke (2002: 148).

intermediary in between. Solon's teachings are presented like a new religion, which has probably found its greatest advertisement in this elegy.

4. Summary

Finally, let us summarize the line of argumentation of the elegy and its objective. Solon's *Eunomia* begins with the emphatic presentation and performative fabrication of the city of Athens and the protection of the gods, which make the city's downfall impossible; the gods are benevolent towards Athens. Into this ideal image again performatively breaks the group of the ἀστοὶ, who are not morally reprehensible, but ultimately follow the group of political power, the ἡγεμόνες, blindly and without reflection. In contrast to the ἀστοὶ, these are clearly presented to the recipients as morally reprehensible; they are characterized by a lack of control of their feeling of satiation and, above all, hybris. This behavior enrages the deities and calls Dike into action; according to her name, she takes revenge, but not only on the ἡγεμόνες, but on the entirety of the Athenian population; the consequences are death of the youth and war. There is, however, a solution that Solon presents to the recipients at the end of the elegy: the currently ruling *Dysnomia* must be replaced by the Solonian *Eunomia* to restore not only the conditions in the city, but also the relationship with the deities. The elegy ends with a hymnic transformation of the city's problems, with a transformation of the *Dysnomia* into the *Eunomia*.

Solon's *Eunomia* can be described without exaggeration as an early rhetorical masterpiece. The study of the elegy from the perspective of theories of performativity have uncovered three major goals inscribed in the text. First, an emotionalization of the city, of religion, and lastly of all the inhabitants, who are divided into groups, is foregrounded in opposition to rationalizing ('le but de Solon est moins de faire appel à l'intelligence que de susciter l'émotion').[56] The problems of the city, which is presented to the recipients as one 'body', are not only put on stage performatively in the form of the ἡγεμόνες, but are emotionalized at the same time. If there is not

[56] Blaise (2006a: 37).

a quick change in the people's thinking, the city will lose the protection of the gods due to the ἡγεμόνες and perish altogether. In this confusing, emotional tangle of problems, however, the recipients can secondly find a rational savior who not only plans to solve the problems, but rather performs it through a 'hymnos' at the end of the elegy: Solon, the mediator between humans and the *Eunomia*, will save the city. Solon thus gives the people a way to save the city even without the assistance of the gods; he and his legislation are the solution. Thirdly, Solon discredits his opponents and performatively detaches them from the totality of the Athenians; a harmonization of some groups is in the spotlight but excluding the group of the ἡγεμόνες. Overall, Solon not only defames his opponents but presents his own laws as divine and indisputable; he seems to be the only rational savior in this net of emotions.

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