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ΑΥΤΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ

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Citation

Worp, K. A. (1976). ΑΥΤΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ. In *Miscellanea Tragica in honorem J.C. Kamerbeek* (pp. 501-504). Amsterdam: Hakkert. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/11130>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)
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Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

ΑΥΤΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ

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The word *αυτόστολος* occurs only a few times in Greek literary texts: in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, l. 496, in Musaeus, *Hero et Leander*, l. 255, and in the *Anthologia Palatina*, VII 585, 1. It also occurs in an inscription from Myra (Lycia), last edited by W. Dittenberger, *OGIS*, II 572, ll. 41-42; Finally, the word – partially supplemented – is found in *P. Jand.* inv. 616 + inv. 245, one of the papyri from the collection *Papyri Jandanae* at Giessen, published in *ZPE XX* (1976), 157-165 by P.J. Sijpesteijn and the present author. This papyrus consists of two fragments, of which the second (inv. 245) was published as early as 1947 by K. Kalbfleisch (*Schiffahrtsvertrag, Aegyptus XXVII* [1947], 116 ff.). Only recently have we been able to identify *P. Jand.* inv. 616 as the upper part of *P. Jand.* inv. 245.

The present article offers an interpretation of the passage from Sophocles. I shall proceed on the assumption that the compound is made up of an element *αυτο-* + an element *-στολος*, to be derived from the verb *στέλλειν* = "to send, to set in motion". As we know, *αυτο-* as the first element of a compound may take any of the meanings it has when used of its own (cf. J.C.F. Nuchelmans, *Die Nomina des sophokleischen Wortschatzes*, Utrecht 1949, § 98 ff.). Taking the meaning of *αυτόστολος* as "to be moved (forward) by someone himself", it would seem to me that the word may be taken to allow of the more "technical" interpretation of "without a pilot/skipper".

1. In the papyrus (Oxyrhynchite nome; l. 9. 221 A.D.) a ship is leased by its two owners. The vessel is described as — σκα[π]οπάκτωνα | [μῆκ]ος πηχῶν δεκ[α]πέν 'τε' αὐτόστο- | [λον ἐξ]ηρητισμένον [π]ᾶσι καὶ ναύ- | [ταις ἱ]κανοῖς -- (ll. 6-9), i.e. a skaphopakton (cf. *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3111, 2 n.), fifteen cubits long, *autostolos*, fully equipped and with an adequate crew. It is clear that in this description the word *αυτόστολος* represents a further qualification of the vessel, literally: "to be moved (forward) by someone himself". This allows of more than one interpretation. On the one hand, we may think of a vessel which the lessor

himself has to move forward (together with others). for instance, because he is a member of the crew and plies the oars and/or works the sails himself (together with others). On the other hand, however, we may think of a ship one has to move forward oneself in the sense that the lease does not include the services of an experienced pilot/skipper. In that case we would be concerned with a vessel intended to be let without a pilot/skipper, an interpretation, which, in my opinion, is to be preferred in view of the fact that the lease does include the services of a crew, who will undoubtedly have plied the oars and/or worked the sails. The rest of the available evidence supports this interpretation.

2. The inscription (IInd/IIIrd cent. A.D.) contains a decree by the assembly at Myra regarding the lease of a certain ferry. The present leaseholder could not make a sufficient income from the ferry and punitive measures are proclaimed against anyone who, bypassing the official ferryman, may take persons or goods across without surrendering part of the proceeds. In the context of the inscription the word *αὐτόστολος* should be taken to relate to these unauthorised crossings, as distinguished from crossings by the official ferryboat or an equivalent vessel. The inscription expresses this distinction as follows: *πλεύσει δὲ | μόνα τὰ ἀπο- | γεγραμμένα | πλοῖα καὶ οἷς | ἄν συνχωρή- | ση ὁ τὴν ὠνήν ἔχων* -- (l. 30 ff.), to be rendered: "only registered vessels and vessels which the leaseholder has granted this right, are allowed to ply", against: -- *ἐὰν | δὲ τις αὐτόστο- | λος | ναυλώσῃ* (l. 40 ff.), to be rendered: "if a person leases a vessel without a pilot/skipper", i.e. bypassing the official ferryman (cf. LSJ⁹, s.v. *αὐτόστολος*). L. Dindorf (*Thes. Graec. Linguae*, s.v. *αὐτόστολος*) compares the use of *ἰδιόστολος* in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, XII 521 A: *Συβαριτῶν δὲ τις ... ἰδιόστολον ἐναυλώσατο πλοῖον* (cf. also LSJ⁹, s.v. *ἰδιόστολος*).

3. The epyllion of Musaeus (late Vth cent. A.D.; cf. H. Färber's edition, Munich 1961, 93) tells the story of Hero and Leander. In ll. 251-255 we read how Leander makes preparations to swim across the Bosphorus to join his beloved Hero:

Ὡς εἰπὼν μελέων ἐρατῶν ἀπεδύσατο πέπλα
 ἀμφοτέραις παλάμησιν, ἐψ̄ δ' ἔσφιγξε καρῆνῳ,
 ἠῶνος δ' ἐξώρτο, δέμας δ' ἔρριψε θαλάσση.
 λαμπομένου δ' ἔσπευδε, αἰεὶ κατεναντία λύχνου
 255 αὐτὸς ἔων ἐρέτης, αὐτόστολος, αὐτόματος νηῦς.

Αυτόστολος in l. 255 is rather ambiguous, since the line could be read with a penthemimeres caesura as well as with a bucolic diaeresis. The consecutive use of two adjectives beginning with *αὐτο-*, the second definitely going with *νηῦς*, suggests that *αὐτόστολος* also qualifies *νηῦς*. In my opinion Leander, as he swims, is simultaneously likened to a rower and to a ship that does ^{not} require a skipper and proceeds independent of any outside force. Compare in this connection the passage in Ovid. *Heroides*, ep. XVIII, ll. 147-148. Ovid has Leander say:

Arte egeo nulla: fiat modo copia nandi,
idem navigium, navita, vector ero.

In this passage "vector" is to be translated by "pilot/skipper"; cf. Seneca, *Epist.* 73, 5.

4. In the *Anthologia Palatina*, VII 585, we find a funerary epigram by Julian the Egyptian (ca. 530 A.D.; cf. H. Beckby's edition, Munich 1957, vol. IV, 738) to a fisherman drowned at sea:

Μύγδων τέρμα βίου λαχὼν αὐτόστολος ἦλθεν

εἰς Ἄϊδην, νέκυνων πορθμῖδος οὐ χατέων, κτλ.

Here *αὐτόστολος* can be interpreted as "with his own ship, selfwafted". In the following line the word is further explained by *νέκυνων πορθμῖδος οὐ χατέων*. This is, of course, an allusion to the fact that Mygdon did not require the services of Charon's bark. However, the interpretation "without a pilot/skipper" equally applies, since Mygdon, being a fisherman by trade, did not need the assistance of a pilot (i.e. Charon) to reach Hades.

From the above four passages it appears that *αὐτόστολος* is usually found as an adjective qualifying a noun, "ship". Only in the epigram does it refer to the drowned fisherman himself and is used as a predicate to ἦλθεν. Semantically, the word belongs to the nautical world and may be rendered "to be moved (forward) by someone himself, without a pilot/skipper" (possibly: "without a ferryman"). At a pinch the word in the inscription might be understood as having been substantivised, viz. τὸ αὐτόστολον (sc. πλοῖον) or ἡ αὐτόστολος (sc. ναῦς), standing for a particular type of vessel, easy to sail without an experienced pilot/skipper.

The interpretation of *αὐτόστολος* = "not requiring a pilot/skipper" would also seem to apply to Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, l. 496.

Philoctetes tells Neoptolemus how he has often implored his father to arrange for his safe return home:

— — — — — πολλὰ γὰρ τοῖς ἰγμένοις
 495 ἔστειλλον αὐτὸν ἰκεσίους πέμπων λιτάς,
 αὐτόστολον πέμψαντα μ' ἐκσῶσαι δόμους.

R.C. Jebb (*Sophocles, The Plays and Fragments*, part IV: *The Philoctetes*, Cambridge 1932²) in his note to l. 496 paraphrases αὐτόστολον πέμψαντα as "having sent with his own στόλος, i.e. having sent a ship of his own". Apparently Jebb relates the element αὐτο- to Philoctetes' father and takes the compound as a predicative adjective with πέμψαντα. This explanation of αὐτόστολος seems to derive from the *Lexicon Sophocleum* (ed. F. Ellendt-H. Genthe, Berlin 1872²) and is followed by J.C. Kamerbeek (*Sophocles' Philoctetes*, Leiden 1965²) and by T.B.L. Webster (*Sophocles' Philoctetes*, Cambridge 1970), although they interpret πέμψαντα as προπέμψαντα, i.e. "having escorted".

In the light of the above passages, however, αὐτόστολον should rather be construed as the object of πέμψαντα, understanding the meaning to be "ship without a pilot/skipper". In his helplessness Philoctetes laments: "Often have I implored my father through passing travellers to deliver me from my misery by sending an αὐτόστολος-ship" (i.e. a ship he would be able to sail without the assistance of a pilot/skipper).

Previously (ll. 481-483) Philoctetes had begged Neoptolemus to take him on board his ship and to give him a place where he would be least inconvenience to others:

τόλμησον, ἐμβαλοῦ μ' ὅποι θέλεις ἄγων,
 ἐς ἀντλίαν, ἐς πρῶραν, ἐς πρύμνην, ὅπου
 ἦκιστα μέλλω τοὺς ξυρόντας ἀλγυνεῖν.

Philoctetes is only too aware that his evil-smelling wound is offensive to those near him, which is why he wants his father to send a ship he would be able to sail without a pilot/skipper: he feared that the skipper of a larger vessel sent to take him home would refuse to take him on board, or would leave him behind somewhere on the way home.

In view of the above interpretation, the conjectures of Radermacher (αὐτόστολον to be corrected into ναυτῶν στόλον) and Blaydes (πέμψαντα to be corrected into πλεύσαντα) are unwarranted.