



GÜNTHER ZUNTZ

Günther Zuntz 1902–1992

FOR GÜNTHER ZUNTZ, as for so many German classical scholars who found a new home in England,¹ the 30 January 1933, the *dies ater* of the German people, and indeed of European history, was a turning point which revolutionised all his plans. Of course, at the age of thirty-one, he was not yet a famous professor who could quickly gain a foothold abroad. He was a teacher of German, Latin and Greek at the Gymnasium Philippinum in Marburg an der Lahn.

One of his pupils says that he was, at that time ‘the first person to instil his interests into me *before* University’. This pupil remembers clearly that fateful change, ‘when in 1933 he disappeared from our German lessons and was replaced by a quite different person, who . . . took part only too willingly in the national “departure”.’ The sixteen- or seventeen-year-olds ‘felt and regretted the loss of level and of quality, despite not being aware of the tragedy of his disappearance.’ ‘He was . . . an exceptional teacher’, who ‘had no need of pedagogical motivational tricks.’ In vain ‘we idle boys tried to put to the test this thin, softly spoken, slightly stooping, apparently unworldly “newcomer”, who looked almost absently through his glasses . . . and refused to be drawn. He knew the perfect way to interest the élite, and trusted (without ever saying so) in what Sociology calls the effect of multiplication’.²

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¹ W. Ludwig, ‘Amtsenthebung und Emigration klassischer Philologen’, *Würzburger Jahrbücher* 12 (1986) 217–239 (222 ff).

² The Heidelberg Germanist Professor Em. Dr Arthur Henkel in a letter of 22/11/93.

Günther Zuntz remained all his life an inspired and inspiring teacher, not least because he himself had met such people at school and at University. He was born in Berlin on 28 January 1902, the son of a doctor of medicine, Dr Leo Zuntz (1875–1937), and Frau Edith Zuntz née Bähring (died 1951). His father came from an old German-Jewish family, whose name goes back to the town Zons am Rhein, and whose family tree can be traced back to the fifteenth century. In 1488 one Michael von Zons settled in Frankfurt. Leopold Zunz (1794–1886), the co-founder of the ‘Wissenschaft von Juden’ comes from another branch of the family. The grandfather, Professor Dr Nathan Zuntz (1847–1920), was an internationally known physiologist, recognised through his research as the pioneer of space-medicine, who founded the Animal Physiology Institute in Berlin in 1908. In 1912 appeared his highly regarded study ‘Zur Physiologie und Hygiene der Luftfahrt’.³ The grandson was always happy to talk about the original experiments of his grandfather, with whom he had an excellent relationship. In 1889, Nathan Zuntz, influenced by the writings of Spinoza, became a convert to Christianity. It was the liberal and musical spirit of Protestant German idealism which moulded the family in which Günther Zuntz grew up. Indeed, Schleiermacher, the ‘Father of the Neoprotestant Church’ and translator of Plato, is reputed to have said: ‘We were all Spinozaists’.

To a certain extent, his mother was the complement to this. She came from East Prussia, from a family which descended from Lutheran emigrants driven out of the Archbishopric of Salzburg, whom Friedrich Wilhelm I had settled in Prussia. As a young girl she had been brought up in a boarding school of the Herrnhuter Brotherhood (Moravians). Again one is tempted to quote Schleiermacher, who once described himself as ‘Herrnhuter of a higher Order’.⁴

Thus Günther Zuntz grew up in what was then the capital, in an upper-class, liberal-minded family with broad intellectual interests, in which the Theatre, Art and particularly Music played an important part. Lyonel Feininger was an uncle by marriage. A few attractive drawings by this great artist were among the few items which he was able to keep

³ See H.-C. Gunga, *Leben und Werk des Berliner Physiologen Nathan Zuntz (1847–1920)*. With particular reference to its significance in the early history of high altitude physiology. *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Medizin und der Wissenschaften*, Husum 1989.

⁴ O. Kirm, *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* 3. A. Bd. 17, 1906, 593.

through the double emigration, as remembrances of those days in Berlin.

He attended the Friedrichs-Gymnasium in Berlin until 1917 and the Bismarck-Gymnasium in Berlin-Wintersdorf, where in 1920 he received his School Graduation Certificate (Reifezeugnis). His Greek teacher Peter Corssen must have had a particularly strong influence on him. Zuntz dedicated his dissertation 'to the memory of my teacher Peter Corssen'. The latter was also a scholar of some distinction, who dared to speak energetically against Harnack among others. In the Preface of his first large book, the former pupil makes grateful reference to him:⁵

P. Corssen in my schooldays opened up the vista of scholarship, and his work on the Vulgate and the Old Latin has ever since remained a model for me.

As is nowadays the case only at University, his pupils used to have to 'reconvert' their translations of Plato or Thucydides back into Greek, to practise their 'sense of style'. It was not least Corssen's example that gave Zuntz the impetus to turn, contrary to the family tradition, to the study of classical philology and archaeology. From 1920–4 he studied in Marburg, Graz and Göttingen, in constant alternation with Berlin, where, in July 1924, as a seventh term student, out of 'perhaps excessive impatience',⁶ he sat his first degree. Later he spoke of these years as his time of learning and travel: 'I changed University almost every term'. In addition to his extensive subject-area, he also attended lectures in Philosophy, Musicology, Linguistics and History. He had already gained a comprehensive education through the cultural influences of his parental home, and his knowledge of great literature never ceased to be remarkable. Any narrow specialisation was foreign to him.

From the Curriculum Vitae accompanying his Dissertation, we learn the names of some of the professors who influenced him:

Among his teachers in Marburg he was particularly indebted to Professors Paul Friedländer and Paul Jacobsthal, and in Berlin to Professors Eduard Fraenkel, Werner Jaeger, Paul Maas, Eduard Meyer, Wilhelm Schulze and U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.

He never forgot the seminars of the last-named. They were held in Latin, and only a small circle of *electi* could hold forth, surrounded by a

⁵ *The text of the Epistles. A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum, Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1946*, London 1953, p. x.

⁶ H. Schwabl in his obituary of Günther Zuntz, *Almanach der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 143 (1992/3), 437–443 (437), from a communication from G. Zuntz.

larger number of *auditores*. Zuntz recounts how he himself said in a seminar paper that he wanted ‘to take the bull by the horns’, whereupon Wilamowitz opened his critique by saying: ‘You, however, have taken it by the *cauda*’.⁷

Most of the University teachers mentioned in his account later shared with Zuntz the fate of an émigré; he maintained his friendship with some, for example Paul Friedländer, who supervised his doctoral thesis in Marburg, and Eduard Fraenkel and Paul Maas, both of whom he met again in Oxford, that great refuge of academic German émigrés. Fraenkel was already there in 1934, but Maas did not arrive until 1939; Jacobsthal also found a home there. Paul Maas became his model in textual criticism, a model to whom he constantly referred—and whom he occasionally also contradicted.

P. Maas has been, for almost as long a time, my master in the severe art of textual criticism. I cannot hope ever to satisfy his exacting standards—few can; least of all in treating of a subject which he rightly regards as inaccessible to the exact methods which he has developed. If however, any passage in this book should meet with his approval, I would beg him to regard it as the fruit of his teaching and the offering of a grateful pupil.⁸

The University hierarchy and the thrusting ambition of some young colleagues did not particularly attract one of so many varied talents, so he turned first to the school-system. Influenced by the ideals of the Youth Movement, he wanted, not simply to ‘teach’, but to ‘educate’ young people, in the sense of *παιδεία*. So, ‘with joy and conviction’,⁹ he became a teacher. Even so, his school career shows a somewhat original character. After the Staatsexamen he did not go straight into government service, but spent two years gaining pedagogical experience at the famous private Odenwaldschule, founded in 1909–10 by Max Cassirer and his son-in-law Paul Geheeb. He describes the ensuing stages in his career as a secondary school teacher in a Curriculum Vitae accompanying his Dissertation:

At Easter-time in 1926 he reported to the provincial School Board in Kassel; he was sent as a probationary teacher to the Gymnasium Philipinum in Marburg, and one year later to the Friedrichs-Gymnasium in Kassel. Easter

⁷ Communication from H.-G. Gadamer.

⁸ Loc. cit. (above note 5); *Classica et Mediaevalia* 3 (1940) 46 Note 1; cf *An inquiry into the Transmission of the plays of Euripides*, Cambridge 1965, p. xiii. On Fraenkel and Maas, see H. Lloyd-Jones, *Blood for the Ghosts*, London 1982, 251–260 and 213, 215–18. See also the indexes and W. Ludwig, note 1 above.

⁹ H. Schwabl (Note 6), 438, from a communication from Zuntz.

1928 saw him pass the government teaching examination, and he is now working as a graduate teacher at the last named establishment. He is of Prussian nationality.

One year earlier, he had received his D.Phil. from the Philipps University in Marburg for his dissertation 'On Hölderlin's Translation of Pindar'. This slim work of barely 100 printed pages¹⁰ already shows evidence of his developing mastery. In his analysis of this literal translation, which Hölderlin only made for his own use, Zuntz shows its linguistic inadequacies but simultaneously demonstrates its positive significance for the later work of the poet: 'He had to free himself, to exorcise this overpowering stranger by expressing him in his own words' (p. 83). Philological precision is here combined with a concise and lucid style which clearly defines the essentials and can thus achieve artistic stature. In the same year he married Eva Leonore Hempel.

The young teacher also proved himself as pedagogue, philologist and artist in that, with the senior classes of both Gymnasien, he produced in Kassel two dramas by Aeschylus, the 'Persians' in 1928, and the 'Seven against Thebes' in 1930. This 'Theatre as it was two thousand five hundred years ago', to quote the headline in the *Kasseler Neuesten Nachrichten* of 22/9/30, caused a great sensation. Walter Kranz reviewed it in *Gnomon*:¹¹

The apparently impossible succeeded, and Hellenic Spirit and Form became visible. The actors—he himself and a Sixth-Former—wore masks again The Chorus—Fifth- and Sixth-Formers—achieved wonders in delivery and in the rhythm of their movements The whole was so rich in startling sounds and impressive sights, that our usual complaint about a 'lack of action' in ancient Tragedy seemed ridiculous. The way in which the Chorus surged about the actors allowed one to sense physically the original nature of all 'Drama'.

There followed invitations to guest productions in Frankfurt and—twice—to Düsseldorf, to the theatre of the famous Louise Dumont. The next day, as a reward, the young actors were allowed to watch Bertolt Brecht's Threepenny Opera, which aroused displeasure in Kassel, and earned Zuntz the reproach of 'corrupting the youth'. It may be that these difficulties, which also had political overtones, influenced Zuntz to go back to the Gymnasium Philippinum in Marburg; also he now had his eye on his habilitation. At that time he read Greek tragedies with Hans-

¹⁰ This appeared in print as an academic supplement to the annual report of the Friedrichs-Gymnasium, Kassel, in May 1928.

¹¹ 7 (1931), 62.

Georg Gadamer¹² and advised Uvo Hölscher, the young son of a theologian, in his study of Classical Philology. His sparkling German lessons inspired Arthur Henkel (see note 2 above) to take up German Studies:

In those days—that was 1931–2—it was still possible, thanks to a liberal Headmaster, who must have been responsible for his appointment, for him to teach German, not as what you might call a lesson in the national literature given in the German Department, but as one with broad horizons. So we read, for example, not only Hölderlin, his *poète préféré*, . . . whose name I first heard from him; but also Shakespeare . . . Zuntz, however, soon turned these readings into something productive in that he got us to put together a comedy of our own out of the Falstaff scenes from ‘Henry IV’, which we directed ourselves, and produced at a school summer celebration.¹³ And everyone joined in, almost all of them enthusiastically! With him we also had lessons in Choral Speaking, as an unspoken introduction to the Choruses of the ancient Tragedies.

Later

it was Goethe’s ‘Pandora’, the first part of which we . . . produced at a school festival; and I remember with pleasure my role as ‘Prometheus’ . . . Need I also say that in that period basic motifs for my later work were ‘sounded’ for the first time? But Zuntz also interested us in Art History. So he put in front of us, with an explanation, Piranesi’s ‘Carceri’, about which we then . . . had to write. Or he (the Berliner!) interested us in the Berlin Castle.¹⁴ I also remember a paper which I had to read on the ‘Masks’ of Schlüter. And for that he obtained permission for this seventeen-year-old to use the library of the . . . Institute of Art History—and, kindly advised by the assistants, to feel already almost like a student . . . I have much to thank him for; indeed, he showed me my way.

This is but one example among many.

Initial smaller publications followed the Dissertation; in 1930 a school exercise with a short commentary from Menander, ‘Epitrepontes, Samia, Fragmente’¹⁵ and in 1932 an essay about the *Iphigenia*

¹² See the preface to *The political plays of Euripides*, Manchester 1955, X: ‘If the first chapter should come before the eye of H. G. Gadamer, it will probably remind him of our reading *The Suppliant Women at Marburg*, in pre-Hitler days, and he may recognise in minor details the echo and effect of his own observations’.

¹³ See *Chronika ehemaliger Marburger Gymnasiasten*, No. 12 Oct. 1932, p. 110, for the Spring Festival 1932. ‘The Fifth form performed . . . two scenes from Shakespeare’s *King Henry IV* under the direction of Herr Assessor Zuntz, who, as a result of his great theatrical experience . . . was able to ensure a complete success for the play.’

¹⁴ Which was destroyed under the SED-Regime on the orders of Walter Ulbricht.

¹⁵ Reprinted 1953.

in *Tauris* of Euripides.¹⁶ With that he took up one of the great themes of his life, to which he dedicated himself for decades.

In these early days he also wrote poems. One can hear in them the language of Hölderlin, Rilke and Stefan George, but also of Greek lyricism. For his ninetieth birthday, friends arranged for these to be privately printed.¹⁷

This fruitful work with young people, in which at the same time an academic career was also in preparation, was destroyed by Hitler's rise to power. On 7 April 1933 the 'Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums' was promulgated, according to §3 of which 'Civil Servants who are of non-Aryan origin' were to be forced into retirement. The order for implementation issued on 11 April stipulated that one Jewish parent or even grandparent was enough.¹⁸ With that, Zuntz lost his teaching post, and, coming with characteristic decisiveness to the logical conclusion, emigrated to Denmark. His wife and children followed a little later. He had probably already quickly made contacts in Copenhagen in the summer of 1933, and the final emigration followed in 1934. In the months between his dismissal and his final emigration to Denmark he trained himself in papyrology. The fruits of this return to academic work gradually began to ripen. First a miscellany on POxy IV 744 and the publication of two Berlin Papyri with poetical texts.¹⁹ Then came the monographic study of *Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri*,²⁰ which is more substantial than the title might lead one to believe. Going on from P. Berol. 13929 he investigates not only commentaries on Aristophanes from Hellenic to late Byzantine times, but, following up an idea of Paul Friedländer, also the whole question of the tradition of *scholia* and *catenae* in late antiquity in general, so that this study is also of value to patrologists and Byzantinists. There are indications here of that gift for a complex overview of phenomena which is a feature of his later work, whereby he always concerned himself first with manuscripts and the historical contexts. The main part of the work appeared in early 1934 on the basis of lengthy

¹⁶ *Die Antike* 9 (1932), 245–54.

¹⁷ Günther Zuntz, *Gedichte 1920–1930*, Privatdruck © Günther Zuntz, Cambridge/Tübingen 1992.

¹⁸ Text from Kurt Meier, *Kirche und Judentum*, Halle 1968, 65.

¹⁹ *Symb. Osloenses* 12 (1933), 94 f; *Aegyptus* 15 (1935), 282–92; *Mnemosyne* 7 (1938), 53–61.

²⁰ *Byzantion* 13 (1938), 631–90, 14 (1939), 545–614. Reprint with a supplement, Berlin 1975.

preliminary studies, presumably with the underlying idea of a Habilitationsschrift. The introduction mentions the names of scholars and institutions who had helped or advised him; in the first place W. Schubart, the Director of the Berlin Papyrus Collection. In a letter to the author of 31 October 1989 he names him as a friend; C. H. Roberts also studied at that time with Schubart in Berlin, and lived in the house of Zuntz's parents, from which an academic collaboration later developed. He mentions also the classical-philological seminar and the library of the University of Freiburg/Br., where he stayed briefly. He experienced the tragic clashes in German Universities at close quarters. It is understandable that the wounds caused by the fateful year of 1933 never fully healed. He never visited his home town of Berlin again, and first returned to Germany only in 1972 on his way back from the Fondation Hardt in Vandœuvre.

Professor Carsten Høeg in Copenhagen was decisive in the further destiny of Günther Zuntz and his relatively rapid emigration. Høeg, together with Kirsopp and Silva Lake and Egon Wellesz, had made a plan to publish the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, or, more exactly, the Liturgies of the Greek Church, complete with the ecphonetic notation prescribing the musical form of their recitation. With the help of the Carlsberg and Rask-Ørstedt Institutes he obtained for Zuntz a research post with a small remuneration for the editing of the Old Testament liturgies, the so-called Prophetologion, which appeared in six instalments between 1939 and 1970. Zuntz bore the main weight of the demanding task. Later, Frau Dr Gudrun Engberg helped him. Above all, she rendered invaluable assistance with the last two instalments. After the death of Carsten Høeg in 1962 Zuntz took over sole responsibility as editor of the edition, to which he devoted himself for more than thirty-five years.²¹ It gave him the opportunity to become intensively involved in the Byzantine transmission of Christian as well as Classical texts, and to a great extent determined the direction of his further academic studies, even though his inclination lay more with the great 'classical' literature from Homer to Callimachus. A close friend-

²¹ *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae. Lectionaria*, ed. C. Høeg/G. Zuntz, Vol. 1 *Prophetologium Pars Prima. Lectiones anni mobilis*, Copenhagen (1939–70), 614 pp., 7 plates. See also *Classica et Mediaevalia* 17 (1956), 183–198. On the substantial contribution of Dr G. Engberg see the preface p. 422 and above all p. 507: *Gudrun Engberg ita mihi adfuit ut coeditoris potius quam adiutoris vice fungeretur.*

ship developed out of his collaboration with Carsten Høeg. When the latter died, Zuntz wrote to the Høeg family that 'he had lost his best friend': 'The world seems darker without Carsten.'²² In another letter to the author, dated 29 January 1987 he wrote about 'my friends in Denmark—the best of them has been dead for a long time, but lives with me every day'.

Mrs Ida Høeg-Jacobsen, Carsten Høeg's daughter, writes about that difficult time of new beginnings:

Dr. Zuntz came to our house almost every day. He learned Danish incredibly quickly.

Right up to the time of his death he wrote

letters to my mother in fluent, though sometimes slightly unorthodox Danish. . . . I can still see his tall, thin, slightly stooping figure, as, after work with my father, he strolled with us in our big garden—always very lively, often witty, but also nervous, sensitive and excitable. He was also very musical, like my parents.

Presumably it was Carsten Høeg who, together with C. H. Roberts with whom Zuntz had links from Berlin, first arranged contacts in England where he moved in 1939, shortly before the outbreak of war. Høeg helped him to place his study on the *Aristophanes Scholia* in an international periodical, after Zuntz had already presented 'in January 1936 . . . some main results of the work to the Philological Society in Oxford'.²³ His substantial book *The Text of the Epistles*, 1953, is dedicated to C. Høeg and C. H. Roberts.

On 9 June 1938 he was able to speak in Oxford again, on the theme of 'Earliest Attic Prose Style: On Antiphon's Second Tetralogy',²⁴ and in March 1939 he held a seminar in Pusey House on Acts 15.²⁵ Also, 'before the war,' he gave in English 'in Copenhagen and Oxford' the lecture, published years later in German, 'Oedipus and Gregorius', a sensitive comparison between the drama of Sophocles and the epic legend of Hartmann von Aue.²⁶

²² Letter from Ida Høeg-Jacobsen of 9 December 1993.

²³ *Byzantion* 13 (1938), 631.

²⁴ *Classica et Mediaevalia* 2, 121–44 = *Opuscula Selecta (O. S.)*, Manchester 1972, 121–44, *Museum Helveticum* 6 (1949), 100–3.

²⁵ *O. S.*, 216–251.

²⁶ *Antike und Abendland*, 4 (1954), 191–203.

He was accompanied also on this second emigration, from Denmark to England, by his wife and the three children, Peter, Maleen and Gabriele.²⁷ Mrs Ida Høeg-Jacobsen, who as a child often played with the three, also remembers the small 'home in Copenhagen which to me did not seem at all big enough for a family with three children.' The marriage was dissolved in 1945.

The beginning in England was even harder than the one in Denmark. At the outbreak of war, like so many emigrants of German origin, Günther Zuntz was placed in an internment camp on the Isle of Man. While there he had many interesting encounters with artists, chess masters and scholars. Here, among others he met the enthusiastic formulator of hypotheses, the polymath Robert Eisler, for whose philological and historical methods he was quite unable to develop a taste. The Aramaic Scholar and theologian C. C. Torrey sent him his books to the camp, which led to a friendly correspondence which lasted for years. The regime there was not too strict. Since the Sergeant-Major could not pronounce the German names correctly, the calling of the names of the interns went wrong so persistently at the morning roll-calls that they soon gave them up altogether. His internment seems to have lasted only a few months.²⁸ After his release, Zuntz went to Oxford with his family and his sister Leonie Zuntz, a very able Hittite scholar who died sadly early. It was not, however, until 1943 that he received a not very highly paid post as Librarian at Mansfield College which he held until his appointment to Manchester University in 1947–8. At Mansfield College he succeeded C. J. Cadoux, and straightway gave 'eight lectures in the Hilary Term 1943 on the New Testament'. In July of the same year Dr Nathaniel Micklem, Principal of Mansfield College, called Dr Zuntz 'one of the ablest and most delightful refugee professors'.²⁹

This means that—as already in Copenhagen—he was working intensively even during these difficult years when he was establishing himself in Oxford. From 1937 onwards there appeared every year one or more publications which demonstrate the breadth of his interests. In this dark time from his emigration to Denmark up to the end of the war, in addition to his main work on Byzantine textual traditions, which he

²⁷ His daughter Maleen is praised in the first instalment of the *Prophetologion: quae in neumis enotandis patri adfuit* (p. 6).

²⁸ Information from William Brice, 9 December 1993.

²⁹ Letter from Principal D. J. Trevelyan of 19 January 1994.

now broadened to include the New Testament, he wrote studies of lyric and comic fragments on papyrus, most important among which is a work in Latin on Sappho. He also wrote others on the style of the first Greek Rhetor, Antiphon, on the Chester-Beatty papyrus of the book of Enoch, on Melito's Paschal homily and—last but not least—several essays on the New Testament, for example on the Western Text of the Acts of the Apostles (1940), on the significance of the all too often neglected Byzantine text (1942) and on the 'Centurion' of Capernaum (1945),³⁰ a truly many-sided anthology.

While in Copenhagen, he had already begun to learn Syriac (and a little Coptic) from the Orientalist A. G. Drachmann, and he continued this in Oxford with G. R. Driver. He had known Hebrew since his time at the Gymnasium in Berlin. The first ripe fruit of his labours in the field of the text of the New Testament was his brilliantly written study, 'The Ancestry of the Harklean New Testament', which appeared in 1945.³¹ He takes as his starting-point the idiosyncratic colophons of the review of the Syriac New Testament by Thomas v. Harkel, in 616 AD, who brought the text into line with the Greek Imperial text, basing himself on the revision of Philoxenus of Mabug, from more than 100 years earlier. The latter had used manuscripts whose text dated back to the library of Pamphilus, the pupil of Origen in Caesarea (died 309). The *κατὰ στίχους* version of the text, from the enigmatic Euthalius in the fourth century, forms a link: 'In the last resort all these endeavours point back to Alexandria' (104). In 1951 Zuntz expressed the opinion that 'Euthalius' was a pseudonym of the Arian Euzoïus of Caesarea, who according to Jerome caused the manuscripts in the library in Caesarea to be revised.³²

His great investigation into the Antinoë papyrus of the Proverbs is comparable in method, penetratingly uniting meticulous textual-critical observation with historical conclusions and making sovereign use of the 'Omnipotence of analogy' (E. Troeltsch). Here he proves that the Hebraising influences in the text of the Septuagint go back to versions which are older than the Hexapla of Origen.³³ The discovery of the Greek Dodekapropheton in Judaea confirmed this conjecture. Jewish

³⁰ See his Bibliography up to 1971 in: *Opuscula Selecta*, Manchester 1972, 314 f.

³¹ *The British Academy Supplemental Papers* No. VII, London 1945: cf. *Études Harcléennes, Revue Biblique* 56 (1950), 550–82; 'Die Subscriptionen der Syra Harclensis', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 101 (1951), 174–96.

³² 'Die Subscriptionen' (cited in n. 31), 180; cf. *Vigiliae Christianae* 7 (1953), 16–22.

³³ *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 68 (1956), 124–184.

recensions of the Septuagint texts which adapt these to the original text have been shown to have existed since as early as the first century AD.

It was a disappointment for Zuntz that his book on the *Catena*, which would have continued research into the work of Hans Lietzmann, could not appear. On 25 November 1942, he had submitted the manuscript to the editors Kirsopp and Silva Lake for 'Studies and Documents', and received the first proofs after the end of the war. After the death of Kirsopp Lake the printing process dragged on for eight years. The American publisher suddenly came up with a demand for a further contribution of \$1000 towards printing costs, which Zuntz, who was living as an émigré in his early years in England, could not raise: 'I could about as easily have given them the moon.'³⁴ Zuntz received back the galley-proofs and parts of the manuscript. This sort of experience too forms part of the fate of an émigré. The work remained unprinted and is partially lost.

His book 'The Text of the Epistles',³⁵ a masterpiece which has not been superseded and which is being reprinted, was a first high-point in his work on the historical study of texts. He is certainly well justified in reminding the reader that the New Testament, as 'the most influential book written in the Greek tongue' should also arouse the interest of philologists, who all too willingly adhere to the maxim: 'Christiana non leguntur' (p. 3), as well as that of theologians, so that textual criticism and exegesis should not become separated, since otherwise 'exegesis may lose its vital hold upon the text while criticism tends to become sterile' (p. 2). His starting point is the recognition that the three-step process of *recensio*, *examinatio*, *emendatio*, established by Lachmann and confirmed by P. Maas, is not applicable to the New Testament because of the large amount of textual evidence, since, owing to the hopelessly contaminated transmission, it is not possible to reconstruct stemmata but only groups of texts at best. As an example of his inquiry into the Pauline text, he makes use of its oldest witnesses, (P⁴⁶) from the beginning of the third Century. He is able to demonstrate that this papyrus presupposes corrections made by Alexandrian grammarians, in contrast to the corrupted forms of the Western text. This early textual criticism in Alexandria is a special case of the 'Hellenisation of

³⁴ Letter of 25 November 1983.

³⁵ *A disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1946*, London 1953. See also *Revue Biblique* 59 (1952), 5–22 = *O.S.* 252–68 and *Philologus* 99 (1955), 295–303 = *O.S.* 269–77.

Christianity' which we meet in other forms with the Gnostics and the Apologists. Finally there is the hypothesis that the archetype of the *Corpus Paulinum* came into being around the year 100 through the comparison of manuscripts.

Even when, later, in Manchester he had in the main turned back to 'classical' themes, he still retained his interest in the New Testament. In his first letter to the theologian in Tübingen (4 December 1975), he wrote, almost apologetically: 'I am after all a theologian only as a side-line (and in fact the term theologian is not applicable)',—but it is precisely for that reason that theologians can learn a great deal from Zuntz the philologist! So, at the beginning of the Eighties he gave a seminar in Tübingen on the theme: 'When was the Gospel of Mark written?', in which he advocated an early dating. He also gave a lecture, which, with the title 'Ein Heide las das Markusevangelium', contains what is almost a declaration of love for the oldest Gospel, which he characterised as 'the—one and only—Christian Tragedy, precisely because it is . . . totally independent and different from the Greek'.³⁶ His beautiful paper from a higher seminar on the early history of the word θεολόγος was unfortunately never printed; however the last article from his pen, which appeared shortly before his death—prompted by the discussion of the dating of the second Gospel—is devoted to Papias's writing on the death of the sons of Zebedee and on the Gospels.³⁷

During his first fifteen years in England Günther Zuntz, besides working on the Septuagint—the work on the Prophetologion of course, went on³⁸—worked on the New Testament intensively, and clearly also with a certain self-denial which must have been painful to him. This may have happened because at the outset a research grant from the Hall-Houghton Fund made this work possible³⁹ and opened the way for him to the honorific Schweich lectureship. In 1956 he became a Fellow of the British Academy. His election was due to the recognition 'of his contribution both to the study of the text and transmission of the Bible, which display . . . originality as well as mastery of highly

³⁶ In H. Cancik (Hg.), *Markusphilologie*, Tübingen 1984, 47–71; 205–222 (222).

³⁷ Papias, in: *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 82 (1991), 242–63. See also below p. 518.

³⁸ The second fascicle appeared in 1940, the third in 1952. See the Preface by C. Hoeg: 'Operis, in quod parandum dum bellum saevit solus alter nostrum Guentherus Zuntz, multum laboris impenderit . . .' (197).

³⁹ See the *Acknowledgements* to *The Ancestry of the Harklean New Testament*.

complex material, and in the related field of early Christian and pagan literature'.⁴⁰ Among his sponsors and friends, Sir Frederic Kenyon should first be mentioned, together with C. H. Roberts, his friend since his student days in Berlin, and in Oxford Eduard Fraenkel, whose lectures he had attended as a student, and who was elected to the Corpus Christi Chair of Latin in 1935. One should also name here the historian of music Egon Wellesz, with whom he was linked by his interest in Byzantine music, and last but not least Gilbert Murray, who had been so committed to the German émigrés, and for whom Zuntz felt a life-long admiration. In the summer of 1946 the St. John's College Mummers performed the *Epitrepontes* of Menander in honour of Murray's eightieth birthday. The programme has in small letters the words: 'Produced by Dr. G. Zuntz'. An eyewitness later enthusiastically told Zuntz about this production:

and he listened patiently before remarking on his part therein. It took place in the hall of St. John's College, in the afternoon . . . and I remember how hilariously witty it was in Gilbert's natural colloquial phrasing. I remarked to Günther on how composed and dignified was the lovely Goddess who addressed us from the clouds, and he told me that she was in fact terrified with stage fright, and they had to dose her with spirits and then to force her up the ladder.⁴¹

The offer, in 1947–8, of the position of Senior Lecturer in Hellenistic Greek at Manchester University gave him a new foundation in his life. In the same year he had married Mary Alyson (Stella) Garratt. The happy couple, who greatly enjoyed music and were close to Nature, often walking in the moors, had three children: Carsten, Andrew and Alyson. They preferred the hills of Derbyshire to life in the industrial city, living first in Chinley and later in Buxton in a hospitable house with plentiful rosebeds. The whole family loved the wild moors of the Peak District of Derbyshire, where they would go walking with friends, whom Zuntz would 'bombard' with questions about the geology of the landscape. When the children were younger, the family had a pony, which made it easier for the smaller ones to take part in these excursions. Since it was a long way from Buxton to Manchester, 'he travelled to work by train, aided sometimes in season by skis, bicycle and—briefly—by Vespa'. He never valued the automobile, or indeed the

⁴⁰ Letter from P. W. H. Brown, Secretary of the Academy, 18 January 1994, with a verbatim quotation from the resolution.

⁴¹ Letter from William Brice of 9 December 1993.

television. Even at a time when very few people thought about it, the protection of Nature and the Environment was close to his heart.

Zuntz remained loyal to Manchester, not least because of good collaboration with colleagues who—philologists and theologians—became his friends. Pride of place is taken here by T. B. L. Webster and T. W. Manson, who, in 1947–8, had helped to pave his way from Oxford to Manchester. Webster was a particular friend of his:

Above all the two of them held in common an exceptionally broad range of scholarly interests, and a vast enthusiasm for teaching and learning; both of which characteristics, to tell the truth, tended to be slightly suspect to the average English classicist in those days.⁴²

The Senior Lecturer became Reader in 1955, but Professor only in 1963. In 1969 he became Emeritus Professor. Among his friends one should also mention the Latinist Otto Skutsch (1906–90), like Zuntz, of Jewish origin on his father's side, who emigrated to St. Andrews in 1934, came to Manchester in 1939 as Assistant Lecturer, and was called from there to University College London as Professor in 1951; also the archaeologist William Brice, the hellenists C. J. Herington and H. D. Jocelyn and the theologians F. F. Bruce and S. G. F. Brandon. William Brice tells us: 'he excelled in research seminars, and was a tremendous stimulus to younger students . . . His long series of notoriously researched seminars on Orphic texts was particularly appreciated.' His supreme knowledge of this controversial material found expression in his *opus maximum*, *Persephone*, and also in his plan to edit the philosophical hymns from Empedocles and Kleantes to Proklos.⁴³

He took the elementary teaching of Greek no less seriously, particularly for those beginning their studies in the Theological Faculty. In England (as also in Germany) Greek teaching was being more and more driven out of the schools, and he saw in this a fundamental task for the University teacher, without which all other endeavours would be built on sand. With tireless energy and pedagogical talent he introduced many generations of students to Greek language, culture and history, since his Greek courses provided more than simply basic knowledge. It is only too easy to understand that he disliked the narrow horizons of many young theologians, who were only interested in the fiction of 'New Testament Greek'. Professor Herington remembers:

⁴² Letter from C. J. Herington of 24 January 1994.

⁴³ He worked on the Hymn of Kleantes early on, see *Rheinisches Museum* 94 (1951), 337–41; *Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.* 68 (1958), 289–308.

how he would come into the staff Common Room after teaching one of these classes and announce to his colleagues: 'Well, I converted three of them to paganism this morning!' It was a joke; but the joke had a certain bite to it.⁴⁴

After becoming Emeritus he took up once again his work on the Greek Beginners' Course, when invited by Herington to be Visiting Professor at the University of Texas in Austin. Let him speak for himself:

Since 1967 I have given all my time . . . to improving and completing it. Indeed it seemed more important to me to provide access to Greek Antiquity than to write learned books about it, books which, without such an access, almost nobody would read any more.⁴⁵

In 1974 he justified to his friend his refusal to contribute to a collection of essays about Tragedy:

I'm getting more and more sceptical about these ever increasing 'essais de vulgarisation'. Or say: interpretation. Yes, yes, yes, we must all do all we can to prevent the Golden Chain from being broken; ten years ago I still agreed (in public) that the most important thing to be done is good commentaries. By now, however, there is so much interpretation bandied about: nobody can hope any longer to form his own image and impressions—and yet, that is what needs keeping alive: instead of the prattle by the experts, the chance of fresh, direct, unprejudiced encounters with the originals, is it not? This is why I have given these years and all my mind to elementary teaching; and concurrently, my scepticism about the provision of predigested fare has been increasing all the time.⁴⁶

One can see here the same attitude which influenced him, after graduation, initially to become a teacher. Above all he wanted to impart 'fundamental' education, to build on the foundations and thus to show young people the way.

Since he could not find any means of publishing the English version of his 'Greek Course', he accepted an invitation to Tübingen in 1976–7, in order to test it with German students. After arduous preparatory work with the help of friends in Tübingen it was possible to publish the 'Griechischer Lehrgang'.⁴⁷ With his characteristic tendency to understatement and self-irony he wrote about this to a friend, in a letter which still echoes the end of this great strain, drawn out over many years:

⁴⁴ Letter of 24 January 1994.

⁴⁵ *Griechischer Lehrgang* I, 10; see Note 47.

⁴⁶ Letter to C. J. Herington of 9 July 1974.

⁴⁷ *Griechischer Lehrgang*, I *Lektionen* (295 pp); II *Exercitia. Vokabular* (272 pp); Appendix *Grammatica. Summa Grammatica* (317 pp), Göttingen 1983; 2nd corrected edn 1991. The English version appeared in 1994 in two volumes.

My GRIECHISCHER LEHRGANG has at last been published. I had got sick and tired of it and am not very thrilled by the so-called 'final achievement'; still, on looking at a few bits here and there it seems to be quite nice—apart from a few hair-raising, and as always unaccountable misprints. . . . I really—as you know—have done nothing since 1967 apart from labouring with this abortion.⁴⁸

Shortly before his death, after a long search for a publisher, he had the pleasure of an offer from Professor D. J. A. Clines of the Sheffield Academic Press to take over the English version of this Course, behind which lay decades of work. He was energetically supported by English friends and colleagues in the translation and revision of the German version. Here one must name above all Professor Patricia Easterling, Cambridge, and Professor H. G. Maehler, of University College, London. Without their encouragement and help in the procuring of finance for assistance, it would have been impossible for Zuntz, now in his ninth decade, to overcome these final difficulties.

All 86 Lessons consist:

throughout of original Greek; the whole is a mosaic of quotations from Greek literature from Homer to Marcus Aurelius (particularly from the New Testament), but principally classical Attic This disposes of the problem of the 'transition to original texts': this Course consists entirely of 'original texts' (I, 5f.7).

The Lessons, which contain more and more difficult pieces of text, lead seamlessly into an anthology which ends with excerpts from Plato's *Protagoras*. Parts II and III contain Exercises, Vocabulary and Grammar. One has here a textbook which offers far more than a simple teaching aid, which basically is interesting as a reader for anyone with a wish to learn, to remind or to teach themselves, but at the same time for the teacher of Greek, to whom it can give stimuli for his lessons.

Nevertheless, during the decades spent on these efforts in the interests of the teaching of the Greek language, his other academic work did not suffer, quite on the contrary. From the mid-fifties onwards he concentrated on Attic Drama, here again particularly on Euripides. In 1955 appeared a volume, slim in appearance but rich in content, *The Political Plays of Euripides*,⁴⁹ dedicated to Gilbert Murray. As in most of his longer works, he follows the *règle de trois*. It consists of three studies. The subject of the book comes from a

⁴⁸ Letter to C. J. Herington of 27 December 1983.

⁴⁹ Manchester, revised reprint 1963.

comparison of the *Heraclidae* and the *Supplices*: 'The theme of both is supplication' (26); but each can be seen as an ἐγκώμιον ᾠθηνῶν, and yet they are of different character, owing to the contrasting historical situation. The belligerent *Heraclidae* reflects the spring of 430, and the argumentative *Supplices*, lacking in action and more inclined towards peace, the year 424. At the same time, however, Zuntz stresses that the Attic Tragedies are complete works of art in themselves, and it is only in a general way that they refer to the political happenings of their time.⁵⁰ The second part contains individual investigations of the *Heraclidae*⁵¹ in a critical rejoinder to his teacher Wilamowitz, and the now famous Chapter Six 'On the tragic Hypotheseis' is added as an Appendix. Philology differentiated between two fundamentally different forms in the prefaces of the medieval manuscripts: the strict form of the Alexandrian philologists and the ornate one of the Byzantine writers. Zuntz, following in Wilamowitz's footsteps, recognised traces of a third, and inferred from this the existence of a new genre of Hellenistic origin: summaries in prose of Euripidean dramas through which interested people could quickly inform themselves without reading the plays. Seven years later remains of such a work were published in Part 27 of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, and further finds followed. On this subject, Richard Kannicht wrote in his Laudatio of G. Zuntz at the conferring of the Tübingen honorary Doctorate in 1983: 'A conjecture has rarely been more dazzlingly confirmed by a new turn in the history of transmission'.

This sixth chapter forges a link with a further masterly study which constitutes the high point of his researches in textual history and of his work on Greek Tragedy as a whole: *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge 1965). Here he used as a starting point the work of A. Turyn, to whom the book was dedicated.⁵² In this he starts from a concrete question, with the solution of which he links the presentation of the whole problem of the transmission. It is certainly exceptional in Philology that a study of textual criticism and history, formulated with minute precision, should, in long passages, be as

⁵⁰ See also 'Contemporary Politics in the Plays of Euripides', *Acta Congressus Madvigiani. Proceedings of the Second Intern. Congress of Class. Studies I, Copenhagen 1958*, 155–62 = *O. S.* 54–61. Reprint in: E. R. Schwinge (Hg.), *Euripides, Wege der Forschung* (1968), 416–27.

⁵¹ Pt II ch. 4–5, 97–128; cf. *Class. Quart.* 41 (1957), 46–52 = *O. S.* 43–52.

⁵² See the appreciative review of Turyn's work on the Byzantine manuscripts of Euripides, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 81 (1960), Sp. 25–30.

thrilling to read as any detective story. The basic question is the relationship between the two manuscripts L(aurentianus 32,2) and P(alatinus 287 + Laurentianus 172), which come from the Scriptorium of Demetrios Triklinios (c. 1280–1340). Zuntz, partly by studying the different inks, was able to establish that Triklinios himself revised Codex L on three separate occasions. After this only the first corrections were taken over from the text by P, so that P was copied between the first and the second sets of corrections. He describes a small but dramatic discovery which confirmed this conclusion:

How often had he already by 3.6.1960 stooped over a completely senseless colon in verse 95 of the *Helena* in Codex L, and noticed in the manuscript a strange red hue in the ink of the punctuation-mark. It could not be a defect in the paper, since he could feel no unevenness in the paper with his finger. Under the quartz light the colour of the colon stood out still more markedly. He asked the palaeographer Dr. Lenzuni for her advice: she too had no ideas, but 'in the end she ran her hand over the place—and the "colon" stuck to her finger'. It was a tiny bit of straw in the paper, which had been loosened by the heat of the lamp. In order to avoid it, the writer had had to leave a slightly bigger space. The copyist of P had mechanically copied this senseless 'colon' while it had been rightly ignored by a later copyist. A 100 year-old dispute had been resolved.

Of course there were those who disagreed—justifiably in individual cases, but looking at the whole achievement one must be able to agree with the judgement of James Diggle: 'To anyone who perpended with an unprejudiced mind the evidence he presented, it must have seemed that Zuntz has established an uncontrovertible case.'⁵³

Even by the work on the Byzantine liturgy and music in the *Prophetologion*, (the last instalment of which came out in 1971), on biblical textual history, Attic drama, Greek lyric poetry and language teaching,⁵⁴ Günther Zuntz's capacity for work in his later years in Manchester was by no means exhausted. Certainly the *opera aliena* of the Byzantine lectionaries had at times irritated him. While already working on the transmission of the text of Euripides he wrote as follows about the preparations for the printing of *Prophetologion V*: 'How I hate that thing, which has taken so much of that little life, and who cares?' All the same, this is immediately followed by the

⁵³ *Sileno* 10 (1984), 191.

⁵⁴ See also 'Notes on the teaching of Beginners' Greek', *Arion* 6 (1967), 362–73; cf. *Griechischer Anfängerunterricht—gestern, heute und morgen, Der altsprachliche Unterricht*, R. XVII Heft 5 (1974), 41–64.

correction: 'Though comparatively speaking this is an interesting volume: the long Easter-Night service which basically goes back to early Christianity or even to the Synagogue . . .'.⁵⁵

But it was precisely this intensive occupation with the texts of late antiquity which spurred him on, also in other very different areas, to break through the ever-narrowing canon of those texts and themes usually dealt with in classical philology. Thus an essay 'Greek Words in the Talmud' not only offers a critique of the standard work by Samuel Krauß, but also points the way for further research, which indeed has as yet hardly been seriously undertaken.⁵⁶ An enquiry 'On the Hymns in the Corpus Hermeticum XIII' demonstrates their particular poetical structure as well as the amalgamation of the Greek and the Jewish.⁵⁷ Then there are observations on the Aristeas Letter and its text,⁵⁸ on Alexander and the Gymnosophists⁵⁹ and archaeological studies on *Magna Graecia*,⁶⁰ which paved the way for his *opus maximum*. Here one must also mention some forty book-reviews, some in great detail, covering broad areas of Greek language and culture, including the Jewish-Christian transmission, and on to classical geography. As a critic he was merciless, even to his friends: *magis amica veritas*. He considered only the question in hand, and almost all his reviews contribute something new and substantial to the matter under discussion.

The main focus of his work in the decade before he became Emeritus in 1969 lay however in his research into the Greeks in Sicily and Southern Italy. Following the suggestions of theological colleagues, he had already in 1958–60 held seminars on texts which were attributed to the 'early Orphic' writers. The fruit of these seminars was a commentary on Empedokles' *Katharmoi* and a sketch on the 'Orphic' gold leaves. His work on Euripides, and the realisation that he could take these studies further only when he had come to know the home of the texts, compelled him to defer these subjects. In 1963, with the help of the University of Manchester and the British Academy, he undertook

⁵⁵ Letter to C. J. Herington of 27 May 1961.

⁵⁶ *Journal of Semitic Studies* 1 (1957), 129–40.

⁵⁷ *Hermes* 83 (1955), 68–92 = *O. S.* 150–77.

⁵⁸ *Philologus* 102 (1958), 240–6 = *O. S.* 102–9; *JSS* 4 (1960), 21–36. 109–26 = *O. S.* 110–43.

⁵⁹ *Hermes* 87 (1959), 436–40 = *O. S.* 144–9.

⁶⁰ *Klarchos* 5 (1963), 114–124 = *O. S.* 69–77; *PBA* 49 (1963), 177–201 on the Dionysos frescos in the Villa dei Misteri in Pompeii; see also the critical review of the book by H. Brückner, 'Die lokrischen Tonreliefs', *Gnomon* 43 (1971), 490–501.

a study-journey, in order to carry out specific research on the spot. An invitation to the Institute of Advanced Studies in Princeton in the winter of 1963–4 made it possible for him to revise his commentary on Empedokles and to write a first draft about ‘the Goddess of Sicily’. The project received further support through a journey to Malta in 1965 and a period at the Fondation Hardt in Vandœvres. The work was completed in July 1968; it appeared under the title ‘Persephone’ in 1971⁶¹ as one book which in fact consists of three books: ‘The Goddess of Sicily’, ‘Empedokles’ *Katharmoi*’ and ‘The Gold Leaves’, to which thirteen ‘Detached Notes’ are joined. This is not the place to give an overview of this most mature and rich work. One can only advise: ‘*tolle, lege*’. Here again Zuntz shows himself as master of concrete detail and of the broad comprehensive overview which first allows individual phenomena to become transparent. One must acknowledge the author to be a *homo universalis* who had a complete mastery of very diverse methods and a range of material almost impossible to get a general view of, which he organised with the elegance of an artist, without for one moment relinquishing philological precision. In the first ‘book’ he links the results of prehistoric and classical archaeology and the history of religion of ‘archaic’ and ‘historical times’ from Malta via Sicily to Lokri into a fascinating picture of the ‘Sicilian Goddess’ Persephone, which links the opposites: ‘The stern Goddess of the Netherworld and the loving bride; the Queen of Death and the Giver of fruitfulness and life’. Although this picture finds its classical Greek expression in Lokri, it is not imported, but rather ‘the sublime expression of a vision which was perceived and worshipped throughout Greek Sicily’, whose prehistoric ‘*Ürbild*’ we meet in Malta (175.177).

Zuntz the philologist deploys his immense linguistic ability in a newly arranged and painstakingly annotated edition of the *Katharmoi*, in terms of the history of religion the most interesting text of the Presocratics. He was, however, less interested in the philosophically more significant didactic poem ‘On Nature’. Right at the end, formulated with careful reserve, he places his own picture of this puzzling and fascinating poet-philosopher.

The third ‘book’ provides the first comprehensive and competent treatment of the ‘Gold Leaves’, including transcription and reconstruction. According to Zuntz, these leaves are incorrectly called ‘Orphic’,

⁶¹ *Persephone: Three essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia*, Oxford, XII. (1971), 425 pp., 30 plates,

and were, in fact, evidence of Pythagorean devotion to Persephone, passports for the Dead, which were to show the deceased the way to the fields of the blessed in the kingdom of the goddess. Orphic texts would however have to contain Dionysiac motifs. Zuntz had at his disposal at that time only fifteen specimens from four separate sources of discovery. In the meantime more were found which demonstrated the 'Dionysiac' influence which he had not seen, as, for example, the lamella from Hipponion discovered in 1974. Here, Zuntz wanted to explain (away) the last line, where *μύσται καὶ βάρχοι* appears, as an 'atypical addition',⁶² but the two most recent finds from Pelinna prove that an indisputable connection exists.⁶³ Zuntz's verdict was too strongly influenced by a Prussian strictness which wanted to keep apart things which ought not to be joined.⁶⁴ He underestimated the tendency to syncretic merger of originally divided religious themes that existed as early as the fourth century BC. One has to agree with the solomonic verdict of an expert:

We have no warrant for calling the gold leaves themselves Orphic, as has so often been done. But certainly their owners were the sort of people who would have been attracted to Orphic revelations and mystery cults.⁶⁵

In spite of this one-sidedness, Zuntz's investigation remains a brilliant achievement of lasting significance: he pertinaciously investigates concepts, formulas and motifs as far apart as the Egyptian Book of the Dead and the Babylonian Tree of Life, and at the end even considers plausible the statement that Pythagoras may have visited Egypt and Babylon. Certainly no work of recent years has shown a deeper understanding of the religious feeling of the Greeks in Magna Graecia than did 'Persephone'.

After becoming Emeritus Professor, he turned with renewed energy to the teaching of the Greek language. In 1976, through the agency of his pupil, Hubert Cancik, who had studied with him in 1959–60, he came to

⁶² *Wiener Studien* 89 (1976), 129–51.

⁶³ K. Tsantsanoglou, G. M. Parassoglou, 'Two Gold Lamellae from Thessaly', *Hellenika* 38 (1987), 3–17. See W. Burkert, *Antike Mysterien*, München 1990, 27 f.; H. Lloyd-Jones, *Academic Papers* II (1990), 105–9.

⁶⁴ See also his too negative verdict on the work of Fritz Graf, 'Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit', 1974 in: *Gnomon* 50 (1978), 526–31.

⁶⁵ M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems*, Oxford 1983, 26. West was writing before the discovery of the texts mentioned above, n. 63.

a guest-seminar in Tübingen, on an invitation from the Philological Seminar and the Institutum Judaicum of the Protestant Theological Faculty.

Deeply wounded by his German homeland's fall into the barbarism of National Socialism and by the undignified behaviour of some classical philologists in those critical years, he had to a large extent severed his connections with Germany after his emigration. He published almost exclusively in English, which was also the language spoken in the family, although he wrote brilliantly in German, and had a deep appreciation of the great literature of the mother-tongue which he loved. On the other hand, he maintained a close connection with certain friends like Bruno Snell in Hamburg, Hartmut Erbse in Bonn and Albin Lesky in Vienna. In reparation for past injustice he was awarded the pension of a secondary school teacher by the German Government. On 3 March 1976, shortly before his first journey to Tübingen, he wrote: 'I look forward . . . to being able, after a long time, to use my mother-tongue again' and of his hopes 'after long isolation in distant Buxton to have the stimulus of contact with colleagues', and on 29 January 1987 that he had 'decidedly profitted: In short, that I am once again in positive contact with Germany.'

In a way, the sporadic periods in Tübingen, where he initially tested the German version of his Greek Course with the students, and later held seminars and higher seminars with philologists and theologians, became also a sort of 'homecoming'. One outcome of the philological seminars is his small book *Drei Kapitel zur griechischen Metrik*.⁶⁶ In the first chapter he raises a basic question which had already been on his mind as a young teacher, when he was producing Aeschylean tragedies with his Sixth Formers, and which was also not insignificant in his teaching of Greek: 'How does one speak Greek Verse?' Arguing against his teacher P. Maas, he shows that a metric system relying on 'quantities' is not totally foreign even to us, that the stress accent taught at school destroys the rhythm of speech, and that one should try 'to speak Greek verse in as Greek a fashion as possible, that is according to its quantities, and with a musical accent' (p. 26). The two chapters following are occupied with the solution to an old metrical problem in two choral songs

⁶⁶ *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Ph.-hist. Kl.* Bd. 443, Wien 1984, 96 pp.

from Aeschylus's Prometheus:⁶⁷ Zuntz, with particular consideration for the boundaries between words and the transmitted colometry, investigates the apparent ambivalence of ionic-‘anacreontic’ and choriambic structures, and can thus convincingly interpret ll. 128–51 and 397–414 as anacreontic-ionic. In the opinion of his pupil Hubert Cancik, Aeschylus had always been the tragedian whom Zuntz loved best, though, with a restraint which one could almost call ascetic, he wrote very little about him. One exception was a lecture which he gave in Tübingen and Bonn entitled: ‘Textkritische Anmerkungen zu Aischylos’ “Hepta”’, which, from the Hypothesis and the first half of the drama, contains critical reflections upon the text of D. L. Page,⁶⁸ until recently the standard edition.

The main focus of his work lay, however, with the German edition of his Greek Course. After the Sisyphean task of the Course was concluded, he turned to a theme which had been close to his heart for a long time: the Philosophical Hymn from Empedocles to Proklos. Here too he had made extensive preparatory studies which he was constantly refining, but which, for that very reason, unfortunately remained unpublished. He lectured on some of them in seminars. In one unforgettable session in 1983 when he was dealing with Hymn §13 from the Tübingen Theosophy, the one and only manuscript⁶⁹ was actually passed around. His interest was particularly aroused by the description of God as ἄπλητος αἰών. It was not enough for him to give a mere general notion, he wanted to attack concrete points and thus at the same time to clarify wrongly assessed preliminary questions. Among these was also ‘the god Aion’. Zuntz, now well over eighty years old, presented five studies, each in its own way original, which—as fragments—formed an integrated whole. In 1989 ‘Aion Gott des Römerreichs’ appeared, followed in 1991 by ‘ΑΙΩΝ im Römerreich. Die archäologischen Zeugnisse’, both as transactions of the Heidelberg Academy.⁷⁰ In the first, Zuntz investigates the meanings of the word from Homer to Hellenistic times, and then turns—always orientated to dateable texts—to inscriptions in Rome and Eleusis. Here he comes to the conclusion that the god ‘Aion’, tied closely to Rome in the Augustan period, goes back to relatively late Greek philosophical roots—

⁶⁷ Zuntz energetically supported the authorship of Aeschylus. *Hermes* 111 (1983), 498 f.

⁶⁸ *Hermes* 111 (1983), 258–81.

⁶⁹ Cod. Tüb. Mb. 27, a copy which B. Hausius prepared for his teacher M. Crusius in 1580. See also H. Erbse, *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien*, Hamburg 1941, I Note 2.

⁷⁰ *Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. hist Klasse* 1989 2. Abh. 67pp.; 1991 3. Abh. 45pp.

probably Poseidonios—and should constitute the Greek counterpart of the symbol of *Roma Aeterna*.

In the second study he separates false and genuine evidence in a critical analysis of the work of Cumont and others. Thus the well-known 'lion-headed monster' (p. 12) is found to have no connection with 'Aion', and an Orphic connection is not provable. In the five 'valid pieces of evidence' from the Greek East of the later time of the emperors 'Aion is a bearded, older . . . man', and this points to a literary-philosophical context; the god of Augustus, on the other hand, lives on in the Latin West as a youthful figure in the circle of the Zodiac, as the symbol of the 'annus', a creation of the emperor Hadrian, with which the 'Golden Age' begins. In an essay devoted to 'Aion Plutonios',⁷¹ the god of Alexandria in the Alexander Romance, it is shown that this is a question of a late 'code-word . . . for Sarapis' (p. 301). An archaeological study, 'AION in Karlsruhe?'⁷² surprises and convinces one with the keen perception of its reasoning. The fragment of an Apulian krater from the fourth Century BC with the name]AION inscribed at the side had been taken to refer to the Greek god, incorrectly so, as in fact it should be supplemented AAKM]AION. The fifth study, 'Aion in der Literatur der Kaiserzeit',⁷³ appeared posthumously, but Zuntz had read the proofs shortly before his death. Here he takes his investigations further—though omitting the Judaeo-Christian sphere. Again we find there are three parts. In the critical examination of the 'alleged evidence' he shows, using as examples the well-known account by Epiphanius of the birth of Aion, a note of Macrobius, later examples from the Semitic East and the Mandulis Hymn, that Aion is not to be identified with an old Alexandrian god, but rather with the late classical Helios-Sol and other deities. His description is seen as going back in the end to the Egyptian 'nhh = Eternity = god' (p. 32). There is no genuine Graeco-Roman 'god Aion'. This is confirmed by non-Christian prose-literature in which Aion is employed as Eternity by Plutarch and Plotinus, starting from Timaios 37d, only in the sense of 'the timeless absolute existence' (p. 38). The poetical evidence is also inconsistent: the Hymn of Mesomedes to Nature shows Egyptian Gnostic influence, the poem of Melinno on Rome corresponds with the ideology of Empire of Augustus or Hadrian, Sotadeum 15 (Powell) and Nonnos provide individual poetic forms. Certainly the question remains open as to how far in late

⁷¹ *Hermes* 116 (1988), 291–303.

⁷² *Antike Kunst* 33 (1990), 93–106.

⁷³ *Wiener Studien*, Beiheft 17, 1992, 61pp.

Classical times notions derived from radically different origins may not after all have become 'blended'. As his next step he planned to investigate the Jewish influence on the use of language in the Hermetica, Gnostic texts and the magical papyri, which differ fundamentally from the Greek conception of 'Aion'. However, though he worked tirelessly to the end, he could not complete the execution of these plans. The transmission of the text of the New Testament⁷⁴ and 'Time and Eternity' were thus the last two great themes of his literary activity.

Given the particular creative strength, 'die Fülle der Gesichte', which filled him, he was never content with one single project at a time. During this whole final year he was also reading the proofs for the English translation of his Greek Course; simultaneously he was pursuing musicological and archaeological studies. These were the result of a lecture given on 22 June 1985 to the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften on the unusual theme 'Genuine and false from Pythagoras to Haydn', in which Zuntz spoke more as an artist than a philologist, and *inter alia* pronounced the Boston Throne to be a forgery 'which was produced before 1897, following the discovery of the "Ludovisi Throne" (1887)'. A Roman art-dealer had it made for an American collector after the failure of the latter's attempt to acquire the 'Ludovisi Throne'. On the other hand, the Haydn Quartets op. 3 1–6, about the authenticity of which there is doubt, contrary to the opinion of Alan Tyson and his many followers, are to be regarded as genuine.⁷⁵ On 19 August 1984 he wrote:

I have, quite improperly, spent the last month on my Haydn hobby-horse; I flatter myself, though, that I can prove the 'consensus of all competent authorities' to be wrong. Once that's finished, then it's back to the philosophical hymns; and if I can also still achieve that—then back to classical things . . . if there's enough time.

His son Carsten remarks on his father's great love of music:

Father used to play the piano virtually every day, either solo, in duets, or with other instrumentalists. Before he became fascinated by Haydn, Scarlatti and Soler were his particular favourites. His knowledge of Classical music was very wide, and his tastes surprisingly broad—I remember once being very surprised at his enjoyment of a piece by Benjamin Britten. One day, when he must have been in his seventies, we had found a guitar at an auction, and were sitting around trying, with very little success, to play it. He came in

⁷⁴ See above, p. 505 n. 37 and below, p. 520.

⁷⁵ *Jahrbuch der Heidelberger Ak. d. Wiss.* for 1958, 58 f. For the Haydn Quartets see the detailed proof in the periodical *Die Musikforschung* 39 Heft 3, (1986) 217–239.

by chance, picked up the guitar and simply played a little piece on it. We later found that he had not played guitar for at least fifty years!⁷⁶

In 1983 Zuntz and his wife moved from Buxton, which was remote and had a harsh climate, to Cambridge, where they made a charming small 'Sabinum' for themselves, once again with plentiful flowers and shrubs. Here he wrote his last academic works.

Admittedly the onset of age did not leave him unmoved. His old friends died, and in December 1990 also his sister Dora; contact with younger people became more difficult, and growing isolation without academic colleagues depressed him. His work no longer flowed so easily. Let him speak for himself. A mere six months before his death he wrote to the publisher Georg Siebeck in Tübingen (13 October 1991) about a planned volume on Mark:

. . . and now I must still write out a fair copy of this long article, and I have only one secretary and assistant, who is my father's only son. He is now getting on a bit, has to deal with all my correspondence, must first address seventy copies of an Academy treatise, write in friendly dedications, stick them in the proper envelopes . . . He has already threatened to find another position. So far I have managed to appease him, but he is slow and unreliable. A test of one's patience . . .

In his latter years there appears again and again both in letters and in conversation the deep wish to 'return at last to my proper field, Pindar and Sophocles', but he knew that he did not have much more time, and so he adds in brackets to a letter of 7 September 1991 'da hört man Mephisto lachen'. It was his devotion to the tasks entrusted to him by others or self-imposed, which ensured, through his suppression of his own inclinations, that he continued and if possible completed a project once started. One might also discern here, in this musical and cheerful spirit, a Kantian or Prussian drive towards the fulfilment of duty, certainly quite without pretension, and allied to an agreeable modesty: "Still Aion as usual" you will ask, and rightly. Still hoping to produce, out of all the Tübingen lectures, a book which will to some extent hang together' (28 November 1987). On top of all this, he was always tempted to break new ground, to make discoveries and to overturn questionable yet much cherished hypotheses. The paths trodden by all held no attractions for him.

On 28 January 1992 he celebrated his ninetieth birthday, grateful but well aware that his strength was diminishing and that time was running

⁷⁶ Letter of 22 January 1994. The guitar, in those days called a 'Klumpfe', was the instrument of the Youth Movement in the first decades of this century.

out. The surprise visit of friends from Oxford gave him particular pleasure. In the following weeks he worked steadfastly on. On 18 March he wrote one further detailed letter to the author about the deplorable state of work on the textual criticism of the New Testament, because a quantitative classification of the manuscripts was threatening to displace the question of the quality of the individual variants. He had just concluded a brief study of Lucian of Antioch and the textual history of the Gospels, which is still awaiting publication.⁷⁷

He was working intensively right up until 2 April 1992, when he had to go into hospital because of heart trouble. On 3 April 1992 he passed away. His wife wrote: 'My husband died as he had lived, in calmness, with great dignity, and with us at his side.'

As a scholar he had received several honours: in 1956 he became a Fellow of the British Academy; in 1974 Korrespondierendes Mitglied of the Austrian Akademie der Wissenschaften; and in 1984 of the Heidelberg Akademie. One year previously the University of Tübingen had elected him D. Phil. honoris causa. The unheard-of breadth of his cultural world is revealed by the account of his academic development and prowess. All that mattered to him was the truth, and that meant work whose results could be established, which accounts for his self-criticism and his reticence about the details of his life. This made it all the easier to number him among those whom one must be thankful to have met, and from whom a great formative influence emanated. Long may it last!

He was a traveller between many worlds, those of music and the fine arts, philology and archaeology, classical studies and theology, great literature and religion. Therefore in his often very specialised work he never lost sight of the overall picture, the real man and his history, his feelings, speech and writing, his artistic development and religious sensitivity. His knowledge of languages and literature was impressive, particularly of Greek from Homer through Byzantium to Modern Greek. 'As a quite excellent Greek scholar . . . his command of the language was enviable', is the judgement of Walter Burkert.⁷⁸ He was thus more than simply an expert in his field, although in his great modesty he always stressed his ignorance.

⁷⁷ The study will appear in the *Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1995.

⁷⁸ Letter of 27 December 1993.

He always followed current affairs attentively and critically and sometimes expressed views about questions of the future. His lecture 'Humanism and History in German Education', given in German in January 1945, before the end of the war, 'at the invitation of a group of emigrants studying the problems of German Education Reconstruction', is a moving and worthwhile object for the German reader.⁷⁹ The goal is education for the 'citizen of the world'. And the way to this is 'Education' in Goethe's sense of the word: 'that activity through which we open ourselves to the spirit, and let ourselves be formed by it. History, finally, is the great reservoir of spirit objectified' (p. 114). Precisely for this reason, education needs a spiritual élite. He takes up this question later in a different situation.⁸⁰ In an exquisite dialogue, inspired by a breath of Socratic irony, between John Adrian, 'Professor in a British University', and Sir George Brown, 'the richest man in the world (No personal likeness is intended)', he outlines his ideal of a university in which all have the single goal of learning, 'knowledge' in the sense of ἐπιστήμη.⁸¹ In between he addressed the problem 'The Theologian as Historian',⁸² in the form of critical questions regarding a book about the emperor Constantine: 'The theologian . . . is, I fear, in danger of imputing to the Early Christians his concept of Christianity.' It is characteristic that he published these essays in theological periodicals, although his own, totally undogmatic understanding of religion and Christianity corresponds more to the verse of the Olympian of Weimar: 'Wer Wissenschaft und Kunst besitzt / Hat auch Religion'. In his case, one should also add other words of Goethe: 'The greatest fortune of the thinking human is to have investigated that which can be investigated, and quietly to honour that which can not be investigated.' With this belongs reverence, and this he possessed in great depth. He loathed it, for example, if classical music were misused simply as background noise. One should listen to it attentively or not at all, but certainly not profane it. His love of Truth was inexorable, and his selflessness, allied to great tolerance of others was admirable. After the death of a close relative he wrote to the theologian (3 November 1986):

I also read, with emotion, the text of the funeral service—as if I had been there. My philosophy is different from yours, but that makes almost no difference. What is transitory, passes, and what is lasting, remains—.

⁷⁹ *Congregational Quarterly* 24 (1946), 110–23.

⁸⁰ Knowing—Learning—Living. A Talk, *Hibbert Journal* 54 (1956), 350–7.

⁸¹ *Hibbert Journal* 56 (1960–1), 154–67.

⁸² *Hibbert Journal* 52 (1954), 252–9 (253).

When the theologian, on a walk with him in the Black Forest, quoted in conversation the beginning of Goethe's poem 'Grenzen der Menschheit':

Wenn der uralte,
Heilige Vater
Mit gelassener Hand . . . ,

he took it up, and continued right to the end:

Was unterscheidet
Götter von Menschen?
Daß viele Wellen
Vor jenen wandeln,
Ein ewiger Strom:
Uns hebt die Welle,
Verschlingt die Welle,
Und wir versinken.

Ein kleiner Ring
Begrenzt unser Leben,
Und viele Geschlechter
Reihen sich dauernd
An ihres Daseins
Unendliche Kette.

As he said these words, they sounded almost like a confession of faith.

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