

Given the inability of Memnon's offensive to dislodge the Macedonians from their control of the Hellespont in 335, the Persians clearly could not hope to prevent Alexander's crossing in the spring of 334. When Parmenio and, subsequently, Calas succeeded in maintaining this control, Alexander was able to leave Macedonia for Asia with the knowledge that his crossing would be unopposed.<sup>25</sup> The Persian fleet, then, was not surprisingly absent from the Hellespont in 334; it was, with good reason, never meant to be there.

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335. Perhaps satrapal politics was involved (cf. Arr. *Anab.* 1. 12. 9–10), or perhaps these troops were scattered about Asia Minor and could be assembled only after some delay. It is also possible that many of these mercenaries had been dispatched to Asia Minor from Darius' army after the victory in Egypt: this would explain why they were commanded not by Memnon, or by any of the satraps, but by the Persian Omars (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 16. 3). In the successful invasion of Egypt in 343 Greek mercenaries had played a prominent role; see H. W. Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers from the Earliest Times to the Battle of Ipsus* (Oxford, 1933), pp. 166–69.

25. Parmenio had been one of the leaders of the advance party, but he was recalled to Macedonia before Alexander's crossing (Diod. 17. 16. 2), and Calas was left in charge (cf. Diod. 17. 7. 10).

#### BRUNO SNELL AND FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE ON THE SPEECH OF ASSES

In 1935 Bruno Snell published a short article, entitled "Das I-Ah des goldenen Esels," in which he endeavored to demonstrate, by comparing various passages from the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius and from the Λούκιος ἢ Ὀυός attributed to Lucian, that the braying sound of an ass was represented in Greek by οὐ.<sup>1</sup> He concluded the piece with a sentence that was to become famous in the world of classical scholars: "Es stellt sich also heraus, dass das einzige wirkliche Wort, das ein griechischer Esel sprechen konnte, das Wort für 'nein' war, während kurioserweise die deutschen Esel gerade umgekehrt immer nur 'ja' sagen." When Snell reprinted this article in 1966, he added the following note of explanation: "Um die Situation zu illustrieren, derentwegen ich den letzten Satz (und den ganzen Aufsatz) schrieb, füge ich eine Photographie bei, die ich der Liebenswürdigkeit von Herrn Dr. Werner Jochmann verdanke, dem Leiter der Forschungsstelle für die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus in Hamburg. Sie gibt ein Plakat wieder, das zur Volksabstimmung am 19. August 1934 aufforderte (man sollte dem Gesetz vom 2. August 1934 zustimmen)."<sup>2</sup> The photograph referred to in this note shows a poster that states in part "Der Führer hat dieses prophetische Wort Bismarcks wahr gemacht. Ihm gilt unsere Treue und unsere Gefolgschaft. Ein ganzes Volk sagt am 19. August: JA."

In *Also Sprach Zarathustra*, Friedrich Nietzsche represents Zarathustra as encountering a number of "higher men" (*höhere Menschen*), including a pope

1. *Hermes* 70 (1935): 355–56.

2. *Gesammelte Schriften* (Göttingen, 1966), pp. 200–201.

“out of service” (*ausser Dienst*), an evil magician, a voluntary beggar, an old soothsayer, and two kings *with an ass*, all of whom Zarathustra directs to his cave, where they gradually surrender themselves to laughter and to talking all at once, which Zarathustra interprets as a healthy sign of recovery: his old arch-enemy, the spirit of gravity (*der Geist der Schwere*), has fled. He slips outside for a while but soon is disconcerted by a sudden silence in the cave and an odor of incense emanating therefrom. He returns to the entrance and discovers with horror what has happened: “Sie sind alle wieder fromm geworden, sie beten, sie sind toll!” “God is dead” proved too hard a saying for them, and they were all on their knees worshipping a new god—the ass. One of their number, the ugliest man, began to utter a pious litany in praise of this ass. In the German it runs in part as follows (emphasis added):<sup>3</sup>

Amen! Und Lob und Ehre und Weisheit und Dank und Preis und Stärke sei unserm Gott, von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit!

—Der Esel aber schrie dazu I-A.

Er trägt unsre Last, er nahm Knechtsgestalt an, er ist geduldsam von Herzen und redet niemals Nein; und wer seinen Gott liebt, der züchtigt ihn.

—Der Esel aber schrie dazu I-A.

Er redet nicht: es sei denn, dass er zur Welt, die er schuf, *immer Ja sagt*: also preist er seine Welt. Seine Schlaueheit ist es, die nicht redet: so bekömmt er selten Unrecht.

—Der Esel aber schrie dazu I-A . . .

Welche verborgene Weisheit ist das, dass er lange Ohren trägt und *allein Ja und nimmer Nein sagt*! Hat er nicht die Welt erschaffen nach seinem Bilde, nämlich so dumm als möglich?

—Der Esel aber schrie dazu I-A.

As the unknown source of the Greek tale explicitly equated the braying of the ass with οὐ, “*Nein*,” so Nietzsche identifies “I-A” with the German word for “yes”; his ass “*immer Ja sagt*.” I think it beyond reasonable doubt that Snell, when he wrote “die deutschen Esel . . . immer nur ‘ja’ sagen,” must have been consciously echoing this very passage. When one recalls that the Nazis (with very questionable justification) had adopted Nietzsche as an especially “approved” philosopher, then Snell’s language becomes even more pointed and even more courageous.<sup>4</sup>

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3. *Sämtliche Werke: Kritische Studienausgabe in 15 Bänden*, ed. G. Colli and M. Montinari, vol. 4 (Munich-Berlin-New York, 1980), p. 389 (= Part IV, from the section entitled *Die Erweckung*).

4. Snell was a man of great delicacy of feeling, and in his later years, when the danger was long past, he did not like public references to this paper in his presence. I remember one occasion when an individual who was introducing him on the lecture platform wittily alluded to this article in his introduction, but without indicating the political background of it. Frau Snell told me afterwards that her husband appreciated that. His famous, and in many ways severe, review of the first volume of Werner Jaeger’s *Paideia* was a similar case (see *GGA* 197 (1935): 329–53 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, pp. 32–54). As Snell himself told me, he felt it necessary to write some of the things which he did because of the danger that in the political climate of the time some might misinterpret the book’s contents; but he added that it was a “great book” and that he had never intended to suggest otherwise. Years later, when he happened to be passing through Boston, he made a special point of going to Cambridge to visit Jaeger at Harvard.