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# SCHOLIA

*Studies in Classical Antiquity*



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Editor: W. J. Dominik

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*Scholia* features critical and pedagogical articles and reviews on a diverse range of subjects dealing with classical antiquity, including late antique, medieval, Renaissance and early modern studies related to the classical tradition; in addition, there are articles on classical artefacts in museums in New Zealand and the J. A. Barsby Essay.

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## CONTENTS

Editorial Note 1

## ARTICLES

The Earliest Philoctetes 2  
*C. J. Mackie*

Plato's *Laches* on What We Should Value 17  
*Thomas Fred Morris*

Turrets, Gaugamela and the Historian's Duty of Care 29  
*Michael B. Charles*

Manipulation of Names in the Speeches of Cicero 37  
*A. H. Mamoojee*

Horace's Dialogues: Book Two of the Satires 66  
*Frederick Jones*

Statius and the *Veteres*: *Silvae* 1.3 and the Homeric House of Alcinous 78  
*Adam R. Marshall*

The White Doe of Capua (Silius Italicus, *Punica* 13.115-37) 89  
*Neil W. Bernstein*

The Panegyric *Personae* of Eustathios of Thessaloniki 107  
*Andrew Stone*

## REVIEW ARTICLES

The Cinematic Ancient World	118
Irene Berti and Marta García Morcillo (edd.), <i>Hellas on Screen: Cinematic Receptions of Ancient History, Literature and Myth</i> / Ruth Scodel and Anja Bettenworth, <i>Whither Quo Vadis? Sienkewicz's Novel in Film and Television</i> (Arthur J. Pomeroy)	
Recent Work on Greek Tragedy	123
Michael Lloyd (ed.), <i>Aeschylus</i> / Isabelle Torrance, <i>Aeschylus: Seven Against Thebes</i> / Thalia Papadopoulou, <i>Euripides: Phoenician Women</i> (Edith Hall)	
The Hellenistic World	129
R. Malcolm Errington, <i>A History of the Hellenistic World: 323-30 BC</i> (John Atkinson)	
Hellenistic Literature	134
Kathryn Gutzwiller, <i>A Guide to Hellenistic Literature</i> (W. J. Henderson)	
<b>Reviews</b>	140
<b>Books Received</b>	161
<b>Australasian 'From Nero to Hadrian' Symposium Proceedings</b>	164
<b>In the Museum</b>	168
<b>J. A. Barsby Essay</b>	177
<b>Exchanges with <i>Scholia</i></b>	185
<b>Notes for Contributors</b>	186
<b>Forthcoming in <i>Scholia</i> 19 (2010)</b>	189
<b>Subscription Form</b>	190

## EDITORIAL NOTE

Since its inception *Scholia* has aspired to publish articles and reviews on mainstream topics as well as those that are slightly out of the usual academic mainstream. The editors have insisted, however, that quality should not be sacrificed in the achievement of these aims, as reflected in the overall acceptance rate of 40 per cent for academic articles. The success of *Scholia* and *Scholia Reviews* can be gauged from the following publication figures in its first eighteen years: 780 contributions by 362 scholars and academics at 180 universities and other institutions in 35 countries.

*Scholia* has also aimed to disseminate its articles and reviews on an international basis and has been distributed to institutions and scholars in 43 countries. Furthermore, the contents of the journal are available online through ProQuest (USA), EBSCO (USA) and Informit (Australia), in addition to being indexed and abstracted in *L'Année Philologique* (France) and indexed in *Gnomon* (Germany) and TOCS-IN (Canada).

The main articles in this volume are authored by scholars in Australia, United Kingdom, Ireland, Canada and USA on the works of such writers as Homer, Plato, Cicero, Horace, Statius and Silius Italicus.<sup>1</sup> But this volume also features the standard sections of the journal: Review Articles, Reviews, Books Received, In the Museum, J. A. Barsby Essay, Exchanges with *Scholia*, Notes for Contributors and Forthcoming in *Scholia*; in addition, *Scholia* has included the abstracts from the Australasian 'From Nero to Hadrian' Symposium held at the University of Otago in June 2009.<sup>2</sup>

One of the purposes of *Scholia* is to serve the profession beyond the mere publication of scholarly articles and reviews, as is evident in its publication of the In the Museum section, which features news about classical artefacts in New Zealand museums. This year the focus is on four recent acquisitions to the Classics Museum at Victoria University of Wellington.<sup>3</sup> Another example of the service function of *Scholia* is its publication of the J. A. Barsby Essay, the winning entry to the New Zealand essay competition held annually by the Australasian Society for Classical Studies. This year's essay, written by Dennis de Visser (Massey), is entitled 'Exploiting Superstition: The Power of Religion in Greek and Roman Political and Military Activity'.<sup>4</sup> The competition was organised by Arlene Allan (Otago) and adjudicated by Babette Puetz (Victoria, Wellington), Patrick O'Sullivan (Canterbury) and Dougal Blyth (Auckland).

William J. Dominik  
Editor, *Scholia*

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<sup>1</sup> See 'Articles', p. v.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 164-67.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 168-76.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 177-84.

# THE EARLIEST PHILOCTETES

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**Abstract.** This article examines representations of the archer Philoctetes in the early Greek sources. In particular, it explores Homer's three brief references to him. Its central argument is that, although he does not actually appear in either Homeric poem, Philoctetes' mythical profile and his *persona* lie behind both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in important ways.

This article is concerned with representations of the archer Philoctetes in the early Greek sources.<sup>1</sup> It will explore in particular the three brief references to him in Homer, one in the *Iliad* (2.716-28), and two in the *Odyssey* (3.190; 8.215-28).<sup>2</sup> The central argument to be made is that, although he does not actually appear in either Homeric poem, Philoctetes' mythical profile and his *persona* lie behind both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in some important ways. The best evidence points to the fact that he was a figure of great importance in the

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<sup>1</sup> Classical texts are as follows (in order of appearance, other than to avoid repetition): the text of Homer, *Iliad* is that of T. W. Allen (ed.), *Homeri Ilias* 2-3 (Oxford 1931); of Homer, *Odyssey* P. von der Mühl (ed.), *Homeri Odyssea* (Basel 1962); of *Cypria Argumentum*, *Ilias Parva Argumentum* (Proclus, *Chrestomathia*; Apollodorus, *Epitome*), Creophylus, *Capture of Oichalia*, and Panyassis, *Heracleia* M. L. West (ed. and tr.), *Greek Epic Fragments from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC* (Cambridge, Mass. 2003); of Sophocles, *Philoctetes* A. Dain and P. Mazon (edd.), *Sophocle* 3 (Paris 1967); of Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* and *Epitome* J. G. Frazer (tr.), *Apollodorus: The Library* 1-2 (London 1921); of Pindar, *Olympian Odes* and *Pythian Odes* B. Snell and H. Maehler (edd.), *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis* <sup>15</sup> (Leipzig 1971); of Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 1-20 F. Vogel and K. T. Fischer (edd.; post I. Bekker and L. Dindorf), *Diodori Bibliotheca Historica* <sup>3</sup> 1-3 (Leipzig 1888-1893), 4-5 (Stuttgart 1964); and of Bacchylides, *Dithyramborum Fragmenta* J. Irigoin (ed.), *Bacchylide: Dithyrambes, épinicies, fragments* (Paris 1993). All translations are my own except where otherwise indicated.

<sup>2</sup> On the subject of the early Philoctetes, see W. Kullman, *Die Quellen der Ilias* (Wiesbaden 1960) 72, 337f.; A. Schnebele, *Die epischen Quellen des Sophokleischen Philoktet: Die Postiliaca im frühgriechischen Epos* (PhD diss. Tübingen 1988). For the evidence of vase painting and further bibliography, see M. Pipili, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zurich 1994) 7.1.376-85, 7.2.321-26 s.v. 'Philoktetes'; E. Simon, 'Philoktetes—ein kranker Heros', in H. Cancik *et al.* (edd.), *Geschichte—Tradition—Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag 2: Griechische und Römische Religion* (Tübingen 1996) 15-39. The interest shown in Philoctetes in early epic poetry and myth, which is the subject of this article, is apparently not reflected in early art. The earliest surviving appearance of him comes from Attic vases from the period *ca.* 460-450 BC.

pre-Iliadic poetic context. Moreover, the principal aspect of Sophocles’ account of Philoctetes seems to go right back to very early times. Sophocles’ version is built on the notion that Philoctetes has possession of the special bow and arrows of Heracles; and the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, not to mention the *Epic Cycle*, support the likelihood that this is a very ancient story. Indeed, the special spear of Achilles in the *Iliad* (originally from Chiron, 16.141-44 = 19.388-91), and the special bow of Odysseus in the *Odyssey* (originally from Eurytus, 21.1-41), both inform the long tradition of Philoctetes as the owner of Heracles’ bow. Thus, despite the very limited early sources for the mythical role of Philoctetes, and some variation in points of detail in narratives about him, the evidence suggests a consistency in the main thread of the story from the earliest pre-Homeric times right up to Sophocles’ version.

First of all, I shall make some introductory comments about Philoctetes in Greek myth from the various sources. In many ways, he is one of the stranger and more surprising characters from the Trojan saga. His profile in the Greek myths is based on his role as the pre-eminent Greek archer in the war at Troy, and on his long period of isolation and suffering on the island of Lemnos. His role as the greatest archer parallels the identities and the weaponry of other great heroes among the Greeks at Troy: Achilles is the pre-eminent spearman and horseman; Ajax is a man of the greatest brute strength, with a massive shield; Odysseus is a trickster and inventor. The Greek attack on Troy is a collective quest narrative, and it is no surprise that different men from different regions should have particular strengths to bring to the campaign. It is fundamental to the whole saga of Troy that the city falls as a result of all kinds of weapons being brought against it; and the special bow of Philoctetes has a major part to play in this.

Philoctetes is also a figure of loneliness and anguish after two cruel blows afflict him on the way to Troy. It is noteworthy that his suffering takes place on the way *to* Troy (and not on the way back, as is usual in the many νόστοι [‘homeward’] narratives). Indeed, his long period of isolation on the island of Lemnos can be seen as a kind of mythical parallel to the protracted stay of Odysseus on Calypso’s island on his way back to Ithaca in the *Odyssey*. But Philoctetes’ suffering is all the more acute, because it also involves physical sickness and a cruel rejection of his role in the war by his former comrades-in-arms. His first affliction is to be attacked and bitten by a water snake (*Cypr. Arg.* 9), either during a feast (per Procl. *Chr.*) or during a sacrifice to Apollo (per Apollod. *Epit.*). The physical effect of this wound is to bring him great pain and suffering, especially in Sophocles’ play during the course of which he has an attack (*Phil.* 732-826).

In the wake of being bitten by the snake, the Greeks proceed to dump him on Lemnos as they sail to Troy. He stays there for most of the war, and the Greeks go back to get him only after they receive a prophecy about his fated role in helping to end the conflict. The cyclic poem *Little Iliad* tells the story that upon his return he is healed of his wounds by Machaon, the son of Asclepius, after which he plays a crucial part in the fighting by killing Paris in a duel (*Il. Parv. Arg. 2*, per Procl. *Chr.*). Sophocles gives a similar account (foretold by Heracles as the *deus ex machina* at the end, *Phil.* 1409-444, 1449-451), but in this case Asclepius himself, the father of Machaon, eventually heals him (1437f.; but cf. Neoptolemus, 1329-347). One characteristic of the sources for Philoctetes is the considerable variation in some of the specific details of his role in the saga: the location of the wounding (Tenedos/Chryse); the circumstance of it (sacrifice/feast); the identity of those who go to fetch him from Lemnos (Odysseus, Diomedes, Neoptolemus); and the healer of his wound when he finally gets to Troy (Asclepius, Machaon, Podalirius).<sup>3</sup>

Philoctetes is therefore an important individual in the whole story of Troy, not least because of his part in the series of linked killings with which the final part of the *Iliad* is concerned (in books 16-24). First, Patroclus kills the Lycian, Sarpedon, the son of Zeus (16.426-505); then Hector kills Patroclus (16.818-63); then Achilles defeats Hector (book 22). This 'chain of death' extends beyond the end of the poem, with the foreshadowed death of Achilles by Apollo and Paris (22.358-60), and then the destruction of Troy itself (note, *inter alia*, 4.163-65 = 6.447-49; 20.315-17 = 21.374-76; 22.59-76; 22.410f.; 24.725-39; cf. 2.724f.). It is important that the great warrior of the poem will fall prior to the sack of the monumental city, and these two 'deaths' are linked together in various ways.<sup>4</sup> The *Iliad* therefore is concerned with a series of

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<sup>3</sup> Philoctetes is wounded at Tenedos (*Cypr. Arg. 9*), at Chryse (Soph. *Phil.*, e.g., 1327). When Philoctetes needs to be healed, Machaon has already been killed by Penthesilea, and Machaon's brother Podalirius performs the act (Apollod. *Epit.* 5.8). Philoctetes is fetched from Lemnos by Odysseus (*Il. Parv. Arg. 2*, per Apollod. *Epit.*; Soph. *Phil. passim*), Diomedes (*Il. Parv. Arg. 2*, per Procl. *Chr.* and Apollod. *Epit.*), or Neoptolemus (Soph. *Phil. passim*). There were also, as we would expect, significant differences between the versions of Philoctetes by the three great tragedians, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, not the least of which is the fact that, in Sophocles, Lemnos is a deserted island (*Phil.* 1f.). For a recent discussion of variant treatments of Philoctetes in drama, see S. L. Schein, *Sophokles: Philoktetes* (Newburyport 2003) 89-117.

<sup>4</sup> Not least of these aspects is the fact that both Achilles and Troy are protected, until their fated day comes, by divinely constructed objects (Achilles' armour made by Hephaestus [e.g., Hom. *Il.* 18.134-47, 18.191, 18.462-19.13, 19.367-86, 22.312-16]; Troy's walls made by Poseidon [21.441-57], or by Poseidon and Apollo [7.452f.] who are aided by the mortal Aeacus in Pindar's version of events [*Ol.* 8.31-35]). Both therefore have 'imperfect invulnerability'. There is also the sense that both are defeated by archery and treachery,

deaths, from Sarpedon right through to the city itself. In between the last two episodes, those that occur outside of the *Iliad*—the death of Achilles and the fall of Troy—is the defeat and death of Paris by Philoctetes. As we shall see in a moment, this episode is only hinted at in the *Iliad* (2.724f.), although, if we can trust Proclus, it was a prominent narrative in the *Little Iliad*. In many ways, Philoctetes is as important for the eventual defeat of Troy as is Odysseus, the more immediate sacker of the city. Ultimately, the great Greek archer Philoctetes outdoes the principal Trojan archer Paris, just as Greek deceit and treachery outdo Trojan perfidy by the construction and use of the wooden horse.

Philoctetes’ role as the killer of Paris, and therefore the direct avenger of Achilles’ death, is linked, however, not just to his archery, but also to his provenance in Thessaly (*Il.* 2.716-19), and to his association with healing (upon which I shall expand in a moment). The *Iliad* links the various Thessalian contingents together, both by their placement in the Catalogue in book 2 (681-759), and within the body of the text in other ways.<sup>5</sup> It is important to bear in mind that the *Iliad*’s chain of death is begun by Achilles’ unusual interest in his fellow Thessalian Machaon (11.597-654). After Machaon’s wounding by the archer Paris (11.504-07), he returns to the Greek encampment on Nestor’s chariot, and it is during this return that Achilles catches sight of him (11.597-601). Achilles then sends out Patroclus on a reconnaissance mission to find out what has happened (11.602-17). This mission leads ultimately to the re-emergence of Patroclus into battle (note esp. 11.645-54, 11.804f., 11.837-41, 16.1-258), and finally foreshadows the death of Achilles himself (cf. 18.95f.; 19.408-10; 22.358-60). Thus, Achilles ends up going back into battle because of his inability to detach himself entirely from the course of the war. His curiosity about the welfare of Machaon gets the better of him, and he is ultimately drawn back into the conflict. So it is two Thessalians, Machaon and Philoctetes, who ‘frame’ the return and death of Achilles on the battlefield. The wounding of the one by Paris’s arrow ultimately draws Achilles into the fighting, whilst the other avenges Achilles’ death by killing its perpetrator Paris with his bow and arrow.

Likewise, the notion of the hero as healer links these three Thessalians together—Achilles, Machaon and Philoctetes—in the various sources. Healing

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which is testimony to their monumental greatness. It is worth noting that there seems to be a corresponding solemnity in the prophecies of the death of Achilles, and the ‘death’ of Troy: cf. (re Achilles) *Il.* 21.111-13; N. Richardson (ed.), *The Iliad: A Commentary* 6: *Books 21-24* (Cambridge 1993) 63; (re Troy) 4.164-68, 6.448f. See also M. Lynn-George, *Epos: Word, Narrative and the Iliad* (Basingstoke 1988) 209-29, on the connection between the death of Achilles and the fall of Troy.

<sup>5</sup> On the Thessalians in the Catalogue, see G. S. Kirk (ed.), *The Iliad: A Commentary* 1: *Books 1-4* (Cambridge 1985) 186f.

is obviously very important in the story of Philoctetes, because terrible suffering at the emotional level compounds a physical ailment. In fifth-century texts, Philoctetes is associated with drugs and healing both in the physical sense of treating a wound, and in the metaphysical sense as the healer of a more general suffering. In Sophocles' play, Philoctetes has acquired the knowledge of special plants to ease the physical aspects of his ailment (*Phil.* 649f., 696-700; cf. 40-44). The herb that he uses tends to ease his pain (650), rather than heal the wound *per se*: note his attack during the play, and the part played by sleep in his recovery from it (732-830). But, despite its limitations, the herb is very important to Philoctetes, and he has every intention of taking it with him when he is first about to leave the island (645-50). Sophocles, following Pindar *Pythian Odes* 1, also emphasizes Philoctetes' role as the 'healer' of a more general suffering. After he leaves the island, Philoctetes will end the protracted pain of all the Greeks, by virtue of his role in the defeat of Troy (note esp. 1329-347; 1418-444). Pindar stresses the fact that Philoctetes Πριάμοιο πόλιν πέρσεν ('destroyed the city of Priam') as a bowman, and τελεύτασέν τε πόνους Δαναοῖς ('ended the toils of the Greeks') even though he was physically weak (*Pyth.* 1.54f.).<sup>6</sup> The healing of Philoctetes' wound at Troy is linked fundamentally to his act in ending the suffering of the entire Greek force at Troy. There is a suggestion of reciprocity of different healing functions.

The dual notions of healing in the figure of Philoctetes correspond to the profile of Achilles in the *Iliad*, who is both a healer of physical wounds, drawing on the knowledge of Chiron (11.828-32), and a 'healer' in a much more metaphysical kind of way (cf. 9.186-91, where he deals with his suffering by playing the lyre; book 24, esp. 656-72, where he manages to assuage some of the suffering of Priam and the Trojans by some generous acts). In many ways the general portrayal of Philoctetes in later sources as a Thessalian warrior-healer finds some important parallels with the figure of Achilles from the time of our earliest source. Moreover, the fact that Philoctetes is ultimately healed by Machaon, or one of his family, reiterates the series of connections in the story between these Thessalian healers.

The earliest reference to Philoctetes is in the Catalogue of Ships in book 2 of the *Iliad*. It is to this that we now turn. The account of Philoctetes and his men runs as follows:

Οἱ δ' ἄρα Μηθώνην καὶ Θαυμακίην ἐνέμοντο  
καὶ Μελίβοιαν ἔχον καὶ Ὀλιζῶνα τρηχεῖαν,

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<sup>6</sup> Pindar's reason for inclusion of this story in the ode is made clear by the parallel adventures of Philoctetes and Hieron (*Pyth.* 1.50-55). Like Philoctetes, the sick Hieron is also drawn from his island (of Sicily) to fight a military campaign for his fellow Greeks.



τῶν δὲ Φιλοκτῆτης ἦρχεν τόξων εὖ εἰδὼς  
 ἐπὶ τὰ νεῶν· ἐρέται δ' ἐν ἐκάστη πεντήκοντα  
 ἐμβέβασαν τόξων εὖ εἰδότες ἱφί μάχεσθαι.  
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν νήσῳ κεῖτο κρατέρ' ἄλγεα πάσχων  
 Λήμνῳ ἐν ἡγαθέῃ, ὅθι μιν λίπον υἱεὶς Ἀχαιῶν  
 ἔλκεϊ μοχθίζοντα κακῶ ὀλοόφρονος ὕδρου·  
 ἐνθ' ὃ γε κεῖτ' ἀχέων· τάχα δὲ μνήσεσθαι ἔμελλον  
 Ἀργεῖοι παρὰ νηυσὶ Φιλοκτῆταο ἄνακτος.  
 οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἄναρχοι ἔσαν, πόθεόν γε μὲν ἀρχόν·  
 ἀλλὰ Μέδων κόσμησεν Ὀϊλῆος νόθος υἱός,  
 τὸν ῥ' ἔτεκεν Ῥήνη ὑπ' Ὀϊλῆϊ πτολιπόρθῳ.

(Hom. *Il.* 2.716-28)

And they who dwelt in Methone and Thaumachia,  
 and who held Meliboea and rugged Olizon,  
 of their seven ships, the leader was Philoctetes,  
 well-skilled in archery, and on each ship embarked fifty oarsmen,  
 well-skilled in the strength of the bow in battle.  
 But Philoctetes lay on an island suffering strong pains,  
 in sacred Lemnos, where the sons of the Achaeans had left him  
 in agony with an evil wound from a deadly water snake.  
 There he lay suffering; but soon the Argives  
 beside their ships were to remember lord Philoctetes.  
 Yet these, longing though they were for their leader, were not without a leader,  
 but Medon marshalled them, bastard son of Oileus,  
 he whom Rhene bore to Oileus sacker of cities.

At first glance, the entry to Philoctetes in the Catalogue understands the fact that the audience knows the story of his life quite well.<sup>7</sup> The poet of the *Iliad* is able to assume this knowledge well enough, and he scarcely needs to go into very much detail about him (a common *modus operandi* in the composition of the *Iliad*). But notwithstanding Homer's penchant for oblique allusion to well-known mythic narratives, we actually acquire in this passage some important detail about Philoctetes himself, and about Iliadic attitudes to archery. First is that he brings with him quite a small cohort of only seven ships from Magnesia in Thessaly. One can obviously compare this figure of 350 men in seven ships with the hundred ships in Agamemnon's cohort (*Il.* 2.576f.), or the eighty ships each of Idomeneus and Diomedes (*Il.* 2.567f., 2.650-52). Despite the undoubted aristocratic status of Philoctetes (cf. Soph. *Phil.* 180f.), he is a 'northerner' from Thessaly, and with a much lower level of wealth than the main players in the Greek army. The rough treatment that he receives from the Greeks at a moment of personal distress obviously suggests his lack of any real power in the army as a whole; and the small numbers of ships that he brings with him help to bear

<sup>7</sup> Kirk [5] 233 *ad* Hom. *Il.* 2.721-23: 'the story of Philoktetes' snake-bite and his sojourn on Lemnos . . . is obviously well-known to the epic audience'.

this out. In the *Iliad*, the bulk of the power in the Greek army at Troy is in the hands of the ‘southern’ princes; and Achilles too has to confront this reality within the poem itself.

In addition to the comparative smallness of Philoctetes’ cohort, emphasis is placed on the fact that they are *archers*. The description stands in contrast to most other entries in the Catalogue of the Greek army, where there is little emphasis on weaponry.<sup>8</sup> It is implicit in the Catalogue that all the other Greek aristocrats are spearmen, because that is the weapon that they use in the course of the fighting within the body of the poem. And so Philoctetes is the ‘exception that proves the rule’ that the aristocrats of the *Iliad* are spear-warriors. His identity therefore from the earliest times is based largely on his unusual choice of weapon, and a significant contrast is established at the beginning of the poem between him and the other main figures in the Greek army at Troy.

The *Iliad* also makes it clear that Philoctetes is not present at Troy because he has been deserted on the island of Lemnos where he endures great suffering. He was bitten by a water snake; and this, or so we infer, is the cause of his anguish and his desertion. It is noteworthy that the emphasis in the *Iliad* is on his separation and his suffering (that is, in a general sense, ἀχέων, 2.724), not on the specific form that this takes (like the smell of his foot, or the noise that he makes; cf. Soph. *Phil.* 7-11, etc.). Of great importance in the Catalogue entry is Homer’s rather enigmatic reference to Philoctetes’ future role in the war at Troy (*Il.* 2.724f.), the fact that the Greeks will have cause to remember Philoctetes in time to come. This anticipates his killing of Paris, as referred to in the *Little Iliad*, and I will say more about this reference in a moment.

Similarly important is the fact that a νόθος (‘bastard’, 2.727) called Medon, a son of Oileus of Locris, and therefore a half-brother of the lesser Ajax, now commands Philoctetes’ cohort (*Il.* 2.726-28). Kirk was troubled by the fact that somebody of Medon’s class could be brought in to command the expedition of Philoctetes in the absence of the normal leader. Comparing the later references to Medon (13.694-97 = 15.333-36), which describe his killing of an older relative and his subsequent flight to Phylace, Kirk suggests that ‘it is strange, none the less, that he [Medon] should inherit the command of his adopted country’s contingent’.<sup>9</sup> My response to this is that the emphasis on Medon’s status by birth seems to be connected to the fact that he commands a cohort of *archers*. The absence of the noble Philoctetes from the *Iliad*, and the fact that a bastard replaces him, are really different sides of the same coin.

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<sup>8</sup> For references to the spear in the Catalogues, cf. Locrian Ajax (Hom. *Il.* 2.530); the Abantes (2.543); Hector and his men (2.816-18). For other references to the bow (among the Trojans), cf. Pandarus (2.824-27); Pyraechmes (2.848-50).

<sup>9</sup> Kirk [5] 233f. *ad* Hom. *Il.* 2.726).

The *Iliad*’s emphasis on the spear as the only real weapon of war for a Greek aristocrat seems to preclude Philoctetes’ replacement by a man of the same class as the original commander. The passage suggests that a bastard replaces an aristocrat *in this case* because archery on the Greek side is a weapon of the lower class (that is, in the fighting in the *Iliad* itself).

We see this too with the main Greek archer Teucer, another νόθος (*Il.* 8.284), the son of Telamon and Hesione, and half brother of Ajax (although this lineage is not specified as such in the *Iliad*). The poet undercuts Teucer’s triumph of killing ten Trojans with his bow and arrow (8.273-313), not just by reference to the status of his birth, but in other ways too.<sup>10</sup> Likewise, Meriones, the winner of the archery contest (23.859-83), and the only other named Greek archer in the poem, also seems to have had a lower class line (although the evidence for this is much later than the *Iliad* itself).<sup>11</sup> One distinctive aspect of Trojan archery is that the bow is a preferred weapon of some of the high-born upper class (like Paris and Helenus; and the wealthy Lycian Pandarus, esp. 5.193-216); whereas among the Greeks it is a weapon of secondary figures like the bastards Medon and Teucer, and the θεράπων (‘[inferior] comrade-in-arms’) Meriones.<sup>12</sup>

It is in the context of the social status of particular weapons that the entry to Philoctetes in the Catalogue bears useful comparison with the slightly earlier account of the unfortunate Protesilaus. Comparison of the two men, and their cohorts, gives us further insight into the *Iliad*’s general attitude towards weaponry on the Greek side of the war. As we have seen, it was Philoctetes’ fate never to make it to Troy with the main expedition (although he will appear later, after the events described in the *Iliad* itself, 2.724f.). Protesilaus, by contrast, made it to the Troad, although he was killed as soon as he arrived (2.701f.). As it turns out, therefore, neither Protesilaus nor Philoctetes is there to command his cohort; and emphasis is given to this fact through verbal repetition (2.703 = 2.726). The Catalogue entries on these two leaders are obviously very close to one another, with only the short entry on Eumelus of Pherae, the son of Admetus, lying between them (Protesilaus, 2.695-710; Eumelus, 2.711-715;

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<sup>10</sup> Note the unflattering simile (Hom. *Il.* 8.271f.); and the fact that Teucer, unlike his high-born brother, is no match for Hector (8.293-329). In the end, Ajax has to come with his gigantic shield to the rescue of his hapless half-brother Teucer (8.330-34).

<sup>11</sup> For Meriones’ father Molus in Hom. *Il.*: 10.261-71, 13.249. For Molus as a bastard son of Deucalion: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.3.1 (but cf. Diod. Sic. 5.79.4, where Deucalion and Molus are brothers).

<sup>12</sup> See E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition Through Tragedy* (Oxford 1989) 42 for a contrasting view that the Greeks in the *Iliad* are as much a bow-culture as the Trojans.

Philoctetes, 2.716-28).<sup>13</sup> In the earlier case, Protesilaus is said to have led forty ships to Troy, but he was killed by a Dardanian man as soon as he leapt ashore. He was by far the first of the Achaeans to be killed at Troy (2.702), and it is for this that he is renowned. In his absence, his cohort of warriors, about whom little is said, is led by Podarces, the son of Iphiclus, the son of Phylacus. Podarces is therefore the younger brother of Protesilaus himself, the deceased leader of the cohort.

The significant thing about the description of the replacement leader Podarces is the emphasis given to his aristocratic birth—the fact that he is αὐτοκασίγνητος μεγαθύμου Πρωτεσίλαου ('the *full brother* of great-hearted Protesilaus', 2.706).<sup>14</sup> This rather striking emphasis on the status of his birth invites comparison with the similar emphasis given to that of Medon shortly afterwards. The two references amount to a clear and unequivocal contrast in this part of the Catalogue between the high-born Podarces, the full brother of the dead aristocrat Protesilaus (αὐτοκασίγνητος, 2.706), and Medon, the bastard (νόθος, 2.727), who replaces Philoctetes. The emphasis on the status by birth of the two replacement leaders is surely explained by the emphasis (in the later passage) on the weaponry involved. There is a clear implication that the cohort of Greek archers has to be led by somebody of low birth; whereas the cohort of non-archers (presumably they are spearmen, there being no statement to the contrary) requires an aristocrat as leader, even if he is not as good as his older brother (cf. ὁ δ' ἅμα πρότερος καὶ ἀρείων / ἥρως Πρωτεσίλαος ἀρήϊος, 'but at the same time he was older and better [*sc.* than Podarces], the warrior warlike Protesilaus', 2.707f.). The near-juxtaposition of the two Catalogue entries (Philoctetes/Protesilaus) helps further to emphasize the very different attitude taken by the poem to the two main weapons of war among the Greeks.

So we can say in the first instance that the narrative of Philoctetes' part in the defeat of Troy is known well enough to the poet of the *Iliad* and to his audience, even though no specific statement is made of precisely what that part is. Moreover, the designated social class of his replacement (especially when compared with Protesilaus' replacement) suggests that the poet is more than happy to have the aristocratic archer Philoctetes well away from the main battle-action at Troy. It is clear that the *Iliad* can deal with the notion that aristocratic

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<sup>13</sup> Note the further connection that both Medon and Podarces have with Phylace (Medon, Hom. *Il.* 13.696, 15.335; Podarces, 2.695).

<sup>14</sup> For αὐτοκασίγνητος ('own brother') in Hom. *Il.*: cf. Castor and Pollux (αὐτοκασιγνήτω, τώ μοι μία γείνατο μήτηρ, 'brothers [of Helen], whom the same mother bore', 3.238); Charops, brother of Socus (11.427); Polites, brother of Deïphobus (13.534); Poseidon, brother of Hera (14.156); Apollo as Asius, brother of Hecuba (16.718).

archers exist in the warrior world of the Greeks. After all, the reference to Philoctetes in the Catalogue does assume his nobility, and indicates unequivocally his future importance to the expedition as a whole. But it is also clear that no Greek warrior of high birth ever uses the bow in the course of battle within the *Iliad*, and that this distinguishes the Greeks from the enemy Trojans.<sup>15</sup>

Before returning to the figure of Philoctetes in the *Iliad*, it is worth moving forward to the references to him in the *Odyssey*. Homer refers twice to Philoctetes in the *Odyssey*, the first of which is a brief statement by Nestor at Pylos that he was one of the Greeks who successfully made it back home after the war (3.190). Philoctetes’ happy return (εὖ, 3.190) is one of those that Nestor contrasts with the miserable fate of Agamemnon on his return to Mycenae (3.193-98). Later in the poem, we get a slightly more detailed insight into the life of Philoctetes. This is part of a reminiscence of Odysseus when he is on the island of Scheria. After he is invited by the Phaeacians to take part in the athletic competitions being held in his honour, and then mocked by a certain Euryalus because of his unwillingness to take up the offer, Odysseus makes the following claims:

εὖ μὲν τόξον οἶδα ἐϋξοον ἀμφοφάασθαι·  
 πρῶτός κ’ ἄνδρα βάλοιμι οἷστεύσας ἐν ὀμίλῳ  
 ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων, εἰ καὶ μάλα πολλοὶ ἐταῖροι  
 ἄγχι παρασταῖεν καὶ τοξαζοίαιτο φωτῶν.  
 οἷος δὴ με Φιλοκτῆτης ἀπεκαίνυτο τόξῳ  
 δήμῳ ἐνὶ Τρώων, ὅτε τοξαζοίμεθ’ Ἀχαιοί·  
 τῶν δ’ ἄλλων ἐμέ φημι πολὺ προφερέστερον εἶναι,  
 ὅσσοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ σῖτον ἔδοντες.  
 ἀνδράσι δὲ προτέροισιν ἐρίζεμεν οὐκ ἐθελήσω,  
 οὔθ’ Ἡρακλῆϊ οὔτ’ Εὐρύτῳ Οἰχαλιῇ,  
 οἳ ῥα καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἐρίζεσκον περὶ τόξων.  
 τῷ ῥα καὶ αἰψ’ ἔθανεν μέγας Εὐρυτος οὐδ’ ἐπὶ γῆρας  
 ἔκετ’ ἐνὶ μεγάροισι· χολωσάμενος γὰρ Ἀπόλλων  
 ἔκτανεν, οὐνεκά μιν προκαλίζετο τοξαζέσθαι.  
 (Hom. *Od.* 8.215-28)

I know well how to handle the polished bow  
 and first I would shoot and hit my man among the throng  
 of hostile men, even though many companions  
 stood right beside me and were shooting at men with bows.  
 Philoctetes alone surpassed me with the bow  
 in the land of the Trojans, when we Achaeans shot with it.  
 But of the others, I say that I am better by far,

<sup>15</sup> The nearest thing in the *Iliad* to aristocratic use of the bow is by Odysseus, who takes a bow with him and uses it as a whip, in the *Doloneia* (10.260f.; 10. 500f.; 10.513f.).

of all mortals that are now upon the earth and eat bread.  
 Yet with earlier men I will not seek to contend,  
 neither with Heracles nor with Eurytus of Oechalia,  
 who used to contend even with immortals with the bow.  
 And so great Eurytus died quickly, and old age did not  
 come upon him in his halls, for Apollo grew angry  
 and killed him because he had challenged him to an archery contest.

The references to archery here are very important for a number of different reasons. Clearly, Odysseus' statement of his proficiency with the bow at Troy anticipates the part played by archery in *Odyssey* books 21 and 22.<sup>16</sup> The emphasis in Odysseus' boast is not on his background in bow *contests*, which would be relevant to the Phaeacian context of athletic contests, but on his use of archery in battle to kill *men*. Odysseus' speech looks back to Troy and forward to Ithaca; it helps to promote interest in the special identity of the guest as a veteran of the Trojan War; and it invites the reader to anticipate the part to be played by archery in the final part of the poem. The Ithacan context of Odysseus' boast is also signified by the reference here to Oechalian Eurytus, who died at the hands of Apollo after he had challenged him to an archery contest (8.226-28). We learn later in the text that Odysseus now possesses the bow of Eurytus (21.20-41), and it is this bow that the suitors cannot string. It had come to Odysseus as a guest-gift from Iphitus, the son of Eurytus, when Odysseus was on a trip to Oechalia.<sup>17</sup> The special bow therefore has a special history which bears upon the nature of the task that Odysseus faces. It is a gift of guest-friendship, and will ultimately decide the issue against those who have invaded Odysseus' house.<sup>18</sup>

It is especially significant that, despite the unrivalled greatness of earlier-generation archery (that is, Heracles and Eurytus, as at 8.223-28), the bow in the *Odyssey* is the weapon of choice—or *a* weapon of choice—among the later generation at Troy and Ithaca. Whereas the *Iliad* emphasizes a fundamental break in the character of heroic weaponry, especially on the Greek side, from

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. J. B. Hainsworth, in A. Heubeck *et al.* (edd.), *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* 1 (Oxford 1988) 359 *ad* Hom. *Od.* 8.215-18: 'Schol. suggest that the present passage προοικονομεῖ the massacre of the suitors, but that episode does not need the support of so distant and incidental a comment as this'. For a detailed analysis of Odysseus' speech, see G. Danek, *Epos und Zitat: Studien zu den Quellen der Odyssee* (Vienna 1998) 151-53.

<sup>17</sup> The bow originally came from Apollo (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.88; cf. the bows of Pandarus and Teucer, Hom. *Il.* 2.827, 15.440f.). The implications of such an origin for the bow of Odysseus would be very considerable, in view of the fact that the bow contest is held on Apollo's festal day (*Od.* 20.156; 20.276-78; 21.257-68).

<sup>18</sup> See E. D. Francis, *Image and Idea in Fifth Century Greece: Art and Literature After the Persian Wars* (London 1990) 77-82.

the earlier generation into the later (notably, the bow of Heracles and the spear of Achilles), the *Odyssey* reveals a continuum in the use of the bow in war from one generation to the next.<sup>19</sup> Philoctetes and Odysseus may not be as good with the bow as the men of the past, but they are archers at Troy nonetheless, and the *Odyssey* is not coy about emphasizing that fact.

Another important aspect is that an apparent ranking of individual archers takes place both in respect of the earlier generation of heroes, and of the later men. Homer’s text makes it clear that Philoctetes is the best archer in the war at Troy (*Od.* 8.219-22), closely followed by Odysseus. Likewise, it is implicit that Heracles is the pre-eminent archer in the earlier generation, and that the honour of second-best lies with the hapless Eurytus: there is a tradition outside of Homer in which Heracles defeats Eurytus for the hand of his daughter Iole (e.g., Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.6.1).<sup>20</sup> The *Odyssey* connects the two pre-eminent archers in their respective generations in a fundamentally important thematic way. Heracles and Philoctetes are the best respectively in their own times; and Eurytus and Odysseus are second-best. Moreover, Eurytus and Odysseus share the same bow at different times (21.20-41); which, in turn, suggests that the same is true of the two best archers Heracles and Philoctetes (as in the later sources: *Cypr. Arg.* 9; *Soph. Phil.* 654-57, 942f., 1128-133, 1431-433, 1439f., cf. 1123-127; Apollod. *Epit.* 5.8; *Bacchyl. Dith.* fr. 9).<sup>21</sup> Thus, the rather oblique allusions in the *Odyssey* indicate that the story of the passing down of Heracles’ bow to Philoctetes also lies behind its story. Odysseus’ act in breaking the siege in his own house with a special bow mirrors the kind of siege-breaking feat of Philoctetes at Troy with the special bow and arrows of Heracles. The present passage looks back to Philoctetes as a kind of *exemplum* for Odysseus in his own attempt to break the long years of ‘siege’ in his own house.

As we have seen, Philoctetes’ renown in the classical period, especially in Sophocles’ play, is as the keeper of Heracles’ bow and arrows. These are the special weapons that were used to defeat Troy in the previous generation of heroes. The first sack of Troy occurred when Laomedon broke his word to give

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<sup>19</sup> For Heracles as an archer in Homer: *Il.* 5.392-94, 5.395-97; *Od.* 8.223-25, 11.601-08. In many ways, the *Iliad* presents us with a hero (Achilles) who is an ‘un-Heraclean’ rival to Heracles; whereas, in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus operates in a far more ‘Heraclean’ kind of world, and his use of the bow is one aspect of this.

<sup>20</sup> See Hainsworth [16] 359f. *ad* Hom. *Od.* 8.224, who refers to Creophylus [attrib.], *Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσις* [*Capture of Oichalia*]; Panyas. *Heracleias*; and U. Hofer, in A. Pauly, G. Wissowa *et al.* (edd.), *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1893-1980) 6 col. 1360 s.v. ‘(2) Eurytos von Oichalia’.

<sup>21</sup> Note that in Sophocles’ play (1123-127), Philoctetes points to the fact that no one else has held the bow before him. In view of the Heraclean background and ownership of the bow, he presumably means no one of his own time and generation.

over the special horses that he had promised to Heracles, who had killed the sea-monster attacking the city. The *Iliad* knows this story well enough, and indeed it is a very important episode in the ‘history’ of Troy in the poem.<sup>22</sup> The Iliadic Heracles is an archer who sacked Laomedon’s Troy; but there is no explicit statement that he did so with his special bow and arrow, and nothing about what happened to his weapons after he died. All is revealed in Sophocles’ play, that the same weapons need to be used again before the city will fall a second time. Odysseus says that εἰ γὰρ τὰ τοῦδε τόξα μὴ ληφθήσεται, / οὐκ ἔστι πέρσαι σοι τὸ Δαρδάνου πέδον (‘if the bow of this man [Philoctetes] is not captured, it is not possible for you [Neoptolemus] to conquer the land of Dardanus’, *Phil.* 68f.; cf. 77f., 105f., 113-17, and *passim*). Even though the tradition of Philoctetes as the keeper of Heracles’ bow is not spelt out in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, it does seem be the principal underlying aspect of his portrayal in the Epic Cycle.<sup>23</sup> Proclus’ account of the *Little Iliad* says that:

μετὰ ταῦτα Ὀδυσσεὺς λοχήσας Ἐλενον λαμβάνει, καὶ χρήσαντος περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως τούτου Διομήδης <Ὀδυσσεὺς μετὰ Διομήδους [Apollod. *Epit.* 5.8]> ἐκ Λήμνου Φιλοκτήτην ἀνάγει. ἰαθεὶς δὲ οὗτος ὑπὸ Μαχάονος καὶ μονομαχήσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κτείνει.

(*Il. Parv. Arg.* 2, per Procl. *Chr.*)

After this [that is, the awarding of Achilles’ arms to Odysseus, and Ajax’s attempt at revenge] Odysseus ambushes Helenus and captures him. Following a prophecy he makes about the taking of the city, <Odysseus with> Diomedes brings Philoctetes back from Lemnos. He is healed by Machaon, and fights alone against Alexander and kills him.<sup>24</sup>

As West points out, the prophecy referred to was that Troy could only be sacked if Heracles’ bow, which was in Philoctetes’ possession, was used against it.<sup>25</sup>

These later references to the passing down of Heracles’ bow to Philoctetes hardly provide us with any proof about what lies behind the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*.<sup>26</sup> As we have seen, the passage devoted to Philoctetes in the

<sup>22</sup> For references to the first sack of Troy in the *Iliad*, and associated stories: Hom. *Il.* 5.265-73, 5.638-51, 7.451-53, 8.284, 14.249-51, 20.144-48, 20.231-38, 21.441-60.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 3.27: Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτὸν εἰς Λήμνον μεθ’ ὧν εἶχε τόξων Ἡρακλείων ἐκτίθησι κελεύσαντος Ἀγαμέμνονος (‘Odysseus, under the orders of Agamemnon, put him out on Lemnos with the bow of Heracles that he had’).

<sup>24</sup> Tr. West [1] 120-23.

<sup>25</sup> West [1] 121 n. 27.

<sup>26</sup> J. S. Clay, *The Wrath of Athena: Gods and Men in the Odyssey* (Princeton 1983) 92 is confident that the story is very ancient: ‘Now, while Homer nowhere explicitly states that Philoctetes inherited Heracles’ bow, it seems clear that he and his audience knew that tradition well’.



Catalogue in the *Iliad* is more concerned to spell out details of his recent past, and his absence from the current fighting. But the bulk of the evidence in the two Homeric poems points to the idea that Philoctetes is the keeper of Heracles' bow with a special destiny in the defeat of Troy, just as he is in Sophocles. The fact that the Greeks would 'remember lord Philoctetes' (*Il.* 2.724f.) implies that he needs to be brought back to the war before Troy is ever going to fall. Moreover, the *Iliad* operates on the notion that Achilles' period as the dominant hero with a special spear is sandwiched between two periods when the bow is the most successful weapon of war for the Greeks at Troy. The archer Heracles sacked the city (presumably with his bow) in earlier times, and the implicit reference to Philoctetes' return (2.724f.) seems to point to the special role of the bow in the second victory over the city. Achilles too sacks 'Troy', by killing Hector (22.270-369) with his special spear (16.141-44, 19.387-91), and it is significant that this is a very different kind of victory from those of Heracles and Philoctetes. Thus we are in a position to say that the *Iliad* consciously alludes in some rather oblique ways to the fact that the city falls twice to archers; once to the archer Heracles (5.638-51, etc.), and once to Philoctetes and the Greeks (2.724f.). There is also the distinct possibility, depending on what lies behind these references, that the *same* bow and arrows are used in both cases. Moreover, as we have seen, the *Odyssey* draws on the notion of the passing down of a special bow to break a protracted siege. The bow of Eurytus given to Odysseus corresponds to the bow of Heracles given to Philoctetes, and the eventual resolution of the crisis in Odysseus' house is better understood in these terms.

So, to conclude. We have seen that Philoctetes is a rather obscure figure in Homer because the two poems refer to him only in passing—just three times in all. These references provide us with only a few details about his role in the Trojan saga, and we therefore have to reach for later sources to fill in the gaps. We could respond to this by saying that the minimal detail provided is an indication of just how unimportant he is in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Obviously, it is often the case in Homer that the absence of extensive referencing to an individual signifies a clear lack of importance within the broader mythical context. But there are also cases where much more important implications are derived from a single reference to a myth in the *Iliad* (as, for instance, the fact that Achilles is a healer and student of Chiron, *Il.* 11.828-32).<sup>27</sup>

I have argued here that the myth of Philoctetes was very important in the pre-Homeric world, and that it functions as a significant background narrative to the two Homeric poems. The case has also been put that the main aspect of

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<sup>27</sup> C. J. Mackie, 'Achilles' Teachers: Chiron and Phoenix in the *Iliad*', *G&R* 44 (1997) 1-10.

Sophocles' version of Philoctetes—that he has the bow and arrows of Heracles—also lies behind the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. This last point might not seem like such a radical thing to say, that the main aspects of a myth can remain constant from the pre-Homeric poetic context into the late period of Sophocles. But the Greek myths can sometimes undergo very radical transformation through time, depending on how the individual poets and mythmakers were inclined to adapt or embellish them. One can imagine the story of Philoctetes' acquisition of Heracles' bow being a later embellishment, perhaps emerging in the Epic Cycle. But the argument presented here is that it lies behind the Homeric poems themselves. The best early extant evidence, limited though it is—the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the Epic Cycle (that is, Proclus and Apollodorus), Pindar, Bacchylides, and Sophocles—all seem to suggest that the fundamentals of his myth are fairly constant from the earliest pre-Homeric times right through to the late-fifth century BC.

# PLATO'S *LACHES* ON WHAT WE SHOULD VALUE

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**Abstract.** In Plato's *Laches*, all the characters, with the exception of Socrates, desire to *appear* to have virtue rather than desire actually to have virtue. A close reading of the text shows that the dialogue is a denunciation of a concern for the appearance of virtue because it prevents one from actually attaining virtue.

With the exception of Socrates, all the characters of Plato's *Laches* desire to appear to have virtue, rather than desire actually to have virtue.<sup>1</sup> They are like the people described in Plato's *Protagoras*, who have no real concern for whether or not they are virtuous, but who are vitally concerned with maintaining the appearance of virtue (*Prt.* 323a-c). Thus, Plato is illustrating the fact that what is truly valuable is not reputation—not having the appearance of having virtue—but rather actually having it. Indeed, we shall see that the text indicates that a concern for the appearance of virtue prevents one from acquiring virtue. While this is indicated in other of Plato's works—for example, Socrates asks people why they are concerned with their reputation rather than with the perfection of their souls (*Ap.* 29d7-e3)—its deduction as part of the subtext of the *Laches* will show that Plato writes with a sophistication for which he is not generally given credit. The fact that Plato puts so much effort into making his point emphasizes the importance that he places upon moving past a concern for appearances in order to attain virtue.

## *What Lysimachus and Melesius Care About*

Lysimachus' basic problem is that he and his friend, Melesius, are ashamed that, while they have many noble deeds to tell about their own fathers, their boys observe that they have no noble deeds to tell about themselves (*La.* 179c2-d1).

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<sup>1</sup> The text of Plato, *Laches* and *Protagoras* is that of J. Burnet (ed.), *Platonis Opera* 3 (Oxford 1968); of Plato, *Apologia* and *Crito* J. Burnet (ed.), *Platonis Opera* 1 (Oxford 1967); and of Plato, *Respublica* J. Burnet (ed.), *Platonis Opera* 4 (Oxford 1968). The translation of Plato, *Laches* and *Protagoras* is that of W. R. M. Lamb (tr.), *Plato in Twelve Volumes* 4: *Laches, Protagoras, Meno, Euthydemus* (Cambridge, Mass. 1924); of Plato, *Apologia* and *Crito* H. N. Fowler (tr.), *Plato in Twelve Volumes* 1: *Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus* (Cambridge, Mass. 1914); and of Plato, *Respublica* P. Shorey (tr.), *Plato: The Republic* 1-2 (Cambridge, Mass. 1937). I occasionally make changes to these translations.

It is not the lack of noble deeds that makes them feel ashamed, but rather that the boys should observe it. Thus they are more concerned with their failure to *appear* noble than with any failure to *be* noble.<sup>2</sup>

Lysimachus is clearly oriented around the goodness of fame: he says that, on the one hand, if their sons do not take care of themselves they will not achieve fame but that, on the other hand, if they do take care they will be *worthy* of their grandfathers' names (*La.* 179d2-5). That is, for Lysimachus the alternative to his son being worthy of his grandfather's name is simply being without fame; and thus having fame would be equivalent to being worthy.<sup>3</sup> Because he will consider his boy to be worthy of his grandfather's name as long as he attains a reputation for virtue, it is clear that Lysimachus' real concern is that his boy be *perceived* as having virtue, not that the boy actually possess it.<sup>4</sup> If, for example, the boy could trick people into thinking that he has virtue, Lysimachus would have his desire fulfilled. According to Adeimantus in Plato's *Republic*, this attitude toward virtue is inculcated by the culture of Athens: λέγουσι δέ που καὶ παρακελεύονται πατέρες τε ὑέσιν, καὶ πάντες οἱ τινῶν κηδόμενοι, ὥς χρή δίκαιον εἶναι, οὐκ αὐτὸ δικαιοσύνην ἐπαινοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῆς εὐδοκιμήσεις ("When children are told by their fathers and all their mentors that it is a good thing to be just, what is commended is not justice in itself but the good reputation it brings," *Resp.* 362e4-363a2).

When Lysimachus hears of Socrates' courageous conduct at Delium, he does not express gladness that Socrates is a courageous person, but rather gladness that he has such a good reputation: εἶ οὖν ἴσθι ὅτι ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἀκούων χαίρω ὅτι εὐδοκιμεῖς ("So let me tell you that I rejoice to hear this and to know that you have such a good reputation," *La.* 181b7-8).

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<sup>2</sup> C. H. Kahn, *Plato and the Socratic Dialogue: The Philosophical Use of a Literary Form* (Cambridge 1996) 152 is mistaken in thinking that virtue here "is understood in terms of political success and public fame." The mere fact that Lysimachus foolishly uses fame as a *measure* of virtue does not mean that he thinks virtue to be the same as fame. Laches, for example, indicates that a virtuous person might not have yet attained fame (*La.* 189a6-b1). It is too much to think that this statement would be unintelligible to Lysimachus.

<sup>3</sup> M. Stokes, *Plato's Socratic Conversations: Drama and Dialectic in Three Dialogues* (London 1986) 42 does not have it quite right when he says that "These old men's values are of the utmost banality. What counts for them as successful living is very much what the world in general esteems as success." What counts for them as successful living is that they be seen by the world as being successful; the criteria that the world uses to evaluate their success is not of the essence.

<sup>4</sup> W. T. Schmid, *On Manly Courage: A Study of Plato's Laches* (Carbondale 1992) 57 is not in accord with this passage when he says that these men want their sons to *become the best*.

For Lysimachus, the good thing about Socrates’ conduct is that it wins the praise of such men as Laches (181b5-7). Indeed, the reason why Lysimachus should particularly value Laches’ praise would be due to Laches’ reputation. When he says that Laches and Nicias are men to be believed (181b6), it is not because he has actually witnessed their behavior, which will be the ground for Laches’ praise of Socrates later in the dialogue (188e).<sup>5</sup>

Nicias responds to Lysimachus’ concern for his son’s reputation in a way that would be valued by Lysimachus: he commends fighting in armor by saying that πᾶς γὰρ ἂν μαθὼν ἐν ὅπλοις μάχεσθαι ἐπιθυμήσειε καὶ τοῦ ἐξῆς μαθήματος τοῦ περὶ τὰς τάξεις (“everyone who has learnt how to fight in armor will desire to learn the accomplishment which comes next, the management of troops,” *La.* 182b5-7). Indeed, Nicias goes so far as to indicate that the student would continue ἐπὶ πᾶν ἂν τὸ περὶ τὰς στρατηγίας ὁρμήσειε (“to attain the whole art of generalship,” 182c1). These tasks are the sort of management of things on a grand scale for which Lysimachus and Melesias wish that they could take credit; they wish they had stories about themselves similar to the stories about their grandparents καὶ ὅσα ἐν πολέμῳ ἡργάσαντο καὶ ὅσα ἐν εἰρήνῃ, διοικοῦντες τὰ τε τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τὰ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως (“who had numerous achievements both in war and in peace, when they were managing the affairs either of the allies or of the city,” 179c4-5).

It is not clear whether Nicias is bringing up these grand accomplishments for their own sake or for the sake of the reputation that they would bring. But he clearly commends fighting in armor for its effect upon one’s reputation when he says that it will give the student ὅτι καὶ εὐσχημονέστερον ἐνταῦθα οὐδὲ χρὴ τὸν ἄνδρα εὐσχημονέστερον φαίνεσθαι (“a smarter appearance in the place where a man should look smartest,” *La.* 182c8-d1). That is, the student of

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<sup>5</sup> M. Blitz, ‘An Introduction to the Reading of Plato’s *Laches*,’ *Interpretation* 5 (1975) 187 is mistaken in thinking that Lysimachus does not show why Laches and Nicias are called to advise; it is implied that they are valued because they have attained what Lysimachus and Melesias want for their boys (and what Lysimachus and Melesias themselves lack). Thus E. V. Kohak, ‘The Road to Wisdom: Lessons on Education from Plato’s *Laches*,’ *CJ* 56 (1960) 127 is also mistaken in thinking that Nicias and Laches are “brought into the conversation because of their skill and acquaintance with the actual practices of war.” E. Benitez, ‘Cowardice, Moral Philosophy, and Saying What You Think,’ in G. A. Press (ed.), *Who Speaks for Plato? Studies in Platonic Anonymity* (Lanham 2000) 90 is similarly mistaken in thinking that they are valued because of either their special capacity as generals or their influence as prominent citizens. R. K. Sprague (ed. and tr.), *Plato: Laches and Charmides* (Indianapolis 1973) 4 is mistaken in saying that Lysimachus is uncritical in his choice of experts because “he has brought Nicias and Laches to the military show on the advice of an unnamed ‘somebody.’” The unnamed somebody directed Lysimachus toward the study of fighting in heavy armor (*La.* 179e1-3), *not* to take Nicias and Laches along to get their opinion on that study.

fighting in armor will meet people's standard for how it is good to appear.<sup>6</sup> But here we get the first indication in the *Laches* that there might be something limited about a concern for how one is thought of, for Nicias prefaces his comment by saying that μὴ ἀτιμάσωμεν δὲ εἰπεῖν, εἰ καὶ τῷ σμικρότερον δοκεῖ εἶναι ("Nor let us disdain to mention, even though some may think it a rather slight matter," 182c8). Some people might judge such considerations as what the many will think of the boys' physiques to be of slight importance, but Nicias sees these people's standards as being false and rejects them. Nicias clearly understands the difference between being a good person and merely having a good reputation, and he chooses to be concerned with the lesser of the two. He does not disdain to get Lysimachus to care about what is really a slight matter, when he should be appealing to Lysimachus in terms of these other people's higher values. The fact that Socrates really thinks that he is wrong in doing so can be seen in Plato's *Crito*, where Socrates asks Crito οὕτω τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης μέλει; ("Why do we care so much for what the many think?," *Cri.* 44c6-7).

Laches is also concerned with the boys' reputations as he gives advice to Lysimachus and Melesias. While Nicias presented Lysimachus with the prospect of that which he values most, Laches' advice about the art of fighting in armor presents Lysimachus with the prospect of that which he wants most to avoid. According to Laches, if, on the one hand, someone is skilled in the art of fighting in armor is also courageous, φυλαττόμενος ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἰ καὶ σμικρὸν ἐξαμάρτοι, μεγάλας ἂν διαβολὰς ἴσχειν ("then people will be on the look-out for even the smallest mistake on his part, and he would incur much grievous slander," *La.* 184b6-7). But if, on the other hand, he is *not* very much superior to others in courage, he will be made a laughing-stock. With either possibility, the boys will have bad reputations. It is implied that Laches is aware that reputation might not accord with virtue: the *smallest* mistake can lead to *much* grievous slander.

Laches' example of how a laughing-stock was made of the particular expert that they have just witnessed fighting in armor is instructive. This Stesilaus had designed a strange weapon, a scythe fixed to a spear. In a battle at sea, the weapon became stuck in the enemy ship's rigging:

εἶλκεν οὖν ὁ Στησίλεως βουλόμενος ἀπολῦσαι, καὶ οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν, ἡ δὲ ναῦς τὴν ναῦν παρήει. τέως μὲν οὖν παρέθει ἐν τῇ νηὶ ἀντεχόμενος τοῦ δόρατος· ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ παρημείβετο ἡ ναῦς τὴν ναῦν καὶ ἐπέσπα αὐτὸν τοῦ δόρατος ἐχόμενον, ἐφίει τὸ δόρυ διὰ τῆς χειρός, ἕως ἄκρου τοῦ

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<sup>6</sup> Schmid [4] 65 sees that Plato is raising the issue of whether fighting in heavy armor makes one a better person, or merely makes one seem to be a better person.

στύρακος ἀντελάβετο. ἦν δὲ γέλως καὶ κρότος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ὀλκάδος ἐπὶ τε τῷ σχήματι αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπειδὴ βαλόντος τινὸς λίθῳ παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰστρωμα ἀφίεται τοῦ δόρατος, τότε ἤδη καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς τριήρους οὐκέτι οἰοί τ’ ἦσαν τὸν γέλωτα κατέχειν, ὀρώντες αἰωρούμενον ἐκ τῆς ὀλκάδος τὸ δορυδρέπανον ἐκεῖνο.

(Pl. *La.* 183e3-184a7)

So Stesilaus pulled at it in the hope of getting it free, but could not. As the ships were passing by each other, he ran along in his ship holding on to his spear; but as the other ship sheered off from his and drew him after, still holding the spear, he let it slip through his hand until he gripped the butt-end of the shaft. From the crew of the enemy ship there came laughter and clapping at his posture, and when someone aimed a stone at him which hit the deck near his feet, and he let go of the spear, the troops on his own ship in their turn could no longer restrain their laughter, as they saw the notable scythe-spear dangling from the enemy ship.

While it is true that Stesilaus looked ridiculous, he *endured* for a while in holding on to the spear even though success seemed unlikely, continually clinging to the possibility of success. It seems clear that Plato wants us to consider whether this act of endurance is of the type of endurance that Socrates says is entailed by courage (*La.* 193e8-194a5)—the fact that it caused Stesilaus to have a bad reputation clearly being irrelevant. It can take courage to endure ridicule for the sake of what one believes in. But what did Stesilaus believe in? What was his positive motivation? If he endured for the sake of victory in battle, then we would seem to have a fine example of manly, courageous behavior. But the fact that Stesilaus was serving on a warship that was attacking a transport ship shows that the outcome of the fighting between the two ships would not have been in serious doubt. Hence the motivation for Stesilaus’ extreme determination would be something other than helping his ship win the battle. His motivation seems to be indicated by Laches’ subsequent claim that the pretension to the skill of fighting in armor arouses jealousy (184c1). Such jealousy clearly explains why they laughed at Stesilaus; the humor in his situation lies in the contradiction between being a distinguished man with a distinguished weapon (183d5-6) and the process of losing that weapon in such a helpless, ignoble way. What provokes the laughter of the enemy is his ignoble posture, and what provokes the laughter of his own side is the sight of the weapon feebly dangling; the way in which he and his weapon appear is the opposite of the way in which they were being presented. Stesilaus, hearing the laughter and the clapping, could clearly have been motivated by a desire to save face and escape the further ridicule which he would be sure to receive if he were to lose his weapon. But, if this were the case, then he would not really be being courageous. He would simply be trying to minimize the amount of ridicule he received; there would be no question of fidelity to something higher. We are left

with the impression that there is something unworthy about caring about how one is perceived by others—is that *all* Stesilaus was concerned with?<sup>7</sup>

Laches uses the fact that no expert fighter in armor has ever yet distinguished himself in war as a way of quickly estimating the value of the art (*La.* 183c2-5). Again, he is clearly aware of the distinction being good and having a good reputation, for he sees reputation as a mere indication of goodness. The fact that he says that the reputation of the art's practitioners is merely a *quick estimate* of the value of the art further indicates that he understands that reputation does not necessarily correspond to value: a quick estimate might be mistaken. It is therefore curious that he should add that all other arts have practitioners who have attained good reputation (183c5-8). Just as Nicias did not disdain from using a standard that some people would think to be a slight matter, so too does Laches not disdain from using a standard of value that might not be accurate. Both do so to appeal to what Lysimachus and Melesias care about the most: their sons' reputations.

Note the pomposity of the claim that all arts other than the art of fighting in armor have practitioners who have attained reputation. The claim might be true, but it would take a long period of time to assess every single art and to make sure that it has a practitioner who has attained a good reputation. Laches is clearly putting on a show. He can get away with this humbug because Lysimachus and Melesias see him as someone who really knows. His motivation for humbugging them seems to be that he sees himself in competition with Nicias. The issue in Laches' mind seems to be which of them will succeed in winning Lysimachus' and Melesias' respect. Because both Nicias and Laches are aware that it is their boys' reputations that Lysimachus and Melesias really care about, they both talk about the effect upon their reputations.

### *What Socrates Cares About*

Socrates soon raises the question of what they would be accomplishing if they give advice about the boys' education (*La.* 185b9-c1). The interlocutors come to the conclusion that they would be doing it for the good of the boys' souls (185e1-2), but there is still no indication of what that good might consist in. We have seen some indications that it does not consist in reputation, but the dialogue does not yet give us any indication of what to put in reputation's stead.

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<sup>7</sup> Kohak [5] 126 observes that "It never occurs to [Laches] that the experience which he relates, while quite amusing, is rather beside the point as far as the educational value of hoplomachy is concerned." But it really has everything to do with what Lysimachus values: he wants his son to be the opposite of a laughing-stock.



Socrates indicates that he thinks that their motivation in looking for a teacher would be to prevent the boys from becoming common and disgracing their ancestors (*La.* 187a5-6). It is not clear from his statement whether prevention of commonness is done for the sake of preventing disgrace—which we have seen to be the reason why Lysimachus would want the boys not to be common—or whether the prevention of disgrace merely accompanies the really important thing, namely the prevention of commonness. Thus the dialogue again raises the issue of what is important: is it how you actually are, or is it how people perceive you to be? Because Socrates has said that they are doing it for the good of the boys’ souls, the important thing would be how you are, for a good reputation does not necessarily benefit your soul.

### *What Laches and Nicias Care About*

Socrates implicitly accuses Laches and Nicias of a lack of integrity: they would not have offered advice unless they were confident that they knew what they were talking about, and yet they differ (*La.* 186c8-d5). At least one of them did not have grounds for being confident that he knew what he was talking about. Thus, at least one of them either did not know that he was ignorant, or was willing to offer advice about something about which he was not sure that he was knowledgeable. Nicias and Laches are thus put on the defensive. Will they be honest, or will they, like Stesilaus, hang on to the possibility of avoiding disgrace? If they continue by pretending to know, then we can once again see the lack of virtue in caring about appearances.

Socrates proceeds to play a game with Nicias and Laches. According to him, people who know should be able to support the claim that they know by pointing either to their teacher or, if they have learned it on their own, to those whom they have benefited. Socrates is backing Nicias and Laches into a corner where even disingenuousness will not be able to make them look good. If Nicias and Laches were more astute, they might point out that the person who has learned it on his own would not be able to support the claim that he knows as he tries to benefit his *first* pupil. But then Socrates releases them from this requirement, and merely asks them to define what it is they teach, for ὅλλ’ οἶμαι καὶ ἡ τοιάδε σκέψις εἰς ταὐτὸν φέρει (“But I believe this other way of inquiring leads to the same thing,” *La.* 189e1-2). Even as he lets them go, he threatens to capture them again—it will lead to the same thing. He is playing a game of cat and mouse with them. Taylor is mistaken in paraphrasing this passage as saying “we may, however, contrive to avoid the demand for direct evidence that there is an expert among us,”<sup>8</sup> for one cannot establish one’s

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<sup>8</sup> A. E. Taylor, *Plato: The Man and His Work* (Cleveland 1956) 60.

authority to teach merely by being able to define what one supposedly teaches. How then can Socrates' other way of inquiry lead to the same thing? It can only do so, if Nicias and Laches are not, in fact, qualified to teach: if you do not have a necessary condition—namely, being able to define what you supposedly teach—then you cannot have a sufficient condition—namely, proof that you are qualified to teach. Thus, in saying that he believes that his way of inquiry will lead to the same thing as pointing to their teacher or to someone that they have taught, Socrates is really implying that he believes that they are not qualified to teach.

And then Socrates claims he will make his requirement even easier, πλέον γὰρ ἴσως ἔργον (“since [defining the whole of virtue] may well be too much for us,” *La.* 190c9), that is, since it may well be the case that you two cannot even define that about which you are talking. Therefore he will merely require that they tell him what one part of virtue is (and thus defend their reputation). It is like Shakespeare's Hamlet toying with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern (*Hamlet* 2.2.238-63<sup>9</sup>): we all know you two are faking it, and there is something common about the fact that you are not willing to admit that you are.

When Nicias consents to be examined by Socrates, he implies that how one lives is more important than how one appears:

χαίρω γάρ, ὦ Λυσίμαχε, τῷ ἀνδρὶ πλησιάζων, καὶ οὐδὲν οἶμαι κακὸν εἶναι τὸ ὑπομιμνήσκεισθαι ὅτι μὴ καλῶς ἢ πεποιήκαμεν ἢ ποιούμεεν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα βίον προμηθέστερον ἀνάγκη εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα μὴ φεύγοντα . . .

(Pl. *La.* 188a6-b2)

I delight, Lysimachus, in conversing with the man, and see no harm in our being reminded of any past or present misdoing: nay, one will take more careful thought for the rest of one's life, if one does not fly from his words . . .

Nicias has associated with Socrates in the past, and knows the sort of lesson we have seen that Socrates teaches in the *Apology*—having virtue is more important than having a good reputation. Thus, Nicias is implying that undergoing the sort of disgrace that made people want to kill Socrates would be a good thing if, in the process, one could learn the error of one's ways. Of course, flying from Socrates' words would also look bad, so perhaps he is here merely covering—trying to do some public relations work in order to minimize the damage that Socrates will do to his reputation when Socrates eventually turns his attention upon him.

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<sup>9</sup> S. Orgel and A. R. Braunmuller (edd.), *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works* (New York 2002).

Laches, on the other hand, does not even pretend to be interested in bettering himself. He represents himself as having an aesthetic interest rather than an ethical one, merely claiming to receive aesthetic delight in learning from someone who is worthy of that about which he talks (*La.* 188c6-e4). This delight is caused by the harmony between the speaker’s words and his deeds. But if a man is not worthy of what he talks about, then the better he talks, the more Laches is pained (188c8, 188e2-4). Laches is actually saying that, if the deeds of the teacher are not up to the quality of the teacher’s fine words, then he would rather not be taught. He is clearly not primarily oriented toward bettering himself. Because Socrates has proven his virtue before Laches’ eyes in battle, if he also speaks fine words, Laches says that he will consent to be taught by him (189a1-4). But he then proceeds to invite Socrates to teach him, even though he is still ignorant of the nature of Socrates’ words (189b1-6). Thus, it would not really matter how poorly Socrates talked; because his deeds proved him worthy, Laches is willing to put himself under him. Therefore Laches is actually more interested in the quality of the speaker’s deeds than in the harmony between the speaker’s deeds and words.

This inconsistency can be explained by the fact that Laches says that his standard of worthiness for a teacher is not age (he has no objection to being taught by the younger Socrates), or whether he has so far no reputation (*La.* 189a6-b1). The dialogue later indicates that people might jeer at an old person going to school (201a7-b1). It would then be even more disgraceful to go to school and to be taught by someone younger than oneself. Plato elsewhere indicates that it would be considered an insult to be placed under an inferior person (*Prt.* 338b2-c6). But no, Laches is justified, because the younger man, Socrates, has proven himself to be a worthy man. It seems clear that Laches is trying to save face at the prospect of the young man taking charge of the conversation that he and Nicias had attempted to lead. In his effort to maintain his dignity, Laches repeats the statement about the difference in ages not making any difference (*La.* 189b6-7); he wants to make sure that everyone present gets this message. He evidently does not want there to be any doubt about the worthiness of the person under whom he is placing himself. It is clear that he is not really concerned with the harmony between Socrates’ deeds and the yet unknown quality of his words; that pretense was merely a cover for his effort to protect his reputation.

The fact that Laches seeks to justify himself—to establish himself as not being ridiculous—in this particular way shows that his deeds are not in harmony with what he says. Even though he has indicated that reputation is not important (*La.* 189a8-b1), he is at that very moment vitally concerned with maintaining

his reputation.<sup>10</sup> While Laches is worried about what people will think of him for placing himself under Socrates, the more experienced Nicias is worried about what people will think of him after he places himself under Socrates and Socrates then makes him look bad.

Nicias understands Laches' motivation: he deals with one of Laches' rebuttals by saying that, when he refers to rash people, οὐκ οὐν σέ γε, ὦ Λάχης, ἀλλὰ θάρρει ("I am not referring to you, Laches, so do not be frightened," *La.* 197c5). If Nicias were to cast aspersion upon Laches' character, Laches would indeed have grounds for fright, for he would be in danger of losing that with which he is truly concerned: his reputation. If, on the other hand, he had Nicias' supposed willingness to endanger his reputation for the sake of the possibility of bettering his character, he would not have cause to be frightened at the prospect of Nicias calling him rash. Indeed, if he were as Nicias claims to be, he would be glad for the opportunity to improve himself.

Laches' concern for reputation can also be seen when he praises Socrates for οὐ μόνον τὸν πατέρα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ὀρθοῦντα ("keeping up not merely his father's name but also his fatherland's name," *La.* 181a8-b1). Indeed, he assures Lysimachus that εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι ἤθελον τοιοῦτοι εἶναι, ὀρθὴ ἂν ἡμῶν ἢ πόλις ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔπεσε τότε τοιοῦτον πτόμα ("if the rest had chosen to be like him, our city would be holding up her head and would not then have had such a terrible fall," 181b2-4). The city's terrible fall seems to be equivalent to its loss of prestige. For example, if I were to say, "If the Bush administration had acted with more humanity, then we would still be holding up our head, and Abu Ghraib would not have caused us to have had such a terrible fall," it would be clear that I am concerned with the loss of American prestige rather than with the fact that my country was actually abusing prisoners. Similarly, Laches seems concerned with Athens' loss of prestige upon losing the battle rather than with the loss of the battle *per se*. Finally, when Laches says to Socrates: ἔδωκας σαυτοῦ πείραν ἀρετῆς ἣν χρή διδόναι τὸν μέλλοντα δικαίως δώσειν ("you gave proof of your own virtue, which is to be expected of anyone who hopes to justify his good name," 189b5-6), it is quite clear that he, like Lysimachus, fits Adeimantus' description of people who care about virtue for the sake of the reputation it can bring: he views proof of virtue as a means toward the end of justifying Socrates' name.

Nicias accuses Laches of the *ordinary* practice of keeping an eye on others rather than on oneself (*La.* 200a8-b1). Because the characters in the dialogue have been searching for a way to prevent the boys from being *common* (187a5-6), we thus have the suggestion that the true way to raise the boys above

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<sup>10</sup> Schmid [4] 69 makes the mistake of believing Laches when he says that he is not concerned with appearances.

the common level is to get each of them to keep an eye on himself rather than the common practice of keeping an eye on how other people might be judging him. Again, this is part of the teaching of *Ap.* 29d9-e3.

### *Conclusion*

As the dialogue draws to a close, Socrates emphasizes the conflict between virtue and reputation—the supposed outward sign of virtue—by saying that they should be willing to accept ridicule—the opposite of striving for reputation—for going to school at their age, because their need for a teacher overrides such considerations (*La.* 201a7-b3). He justifies this by quoting Homer: οὐκ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι αἰδῶ κεχρημένῳ ἀνδρὶ παρεῖναι (“shame is no good mate for a needy man,” 201b2-3). They are each in need of something, and that something is *not* reputation. Indeed, reputation is so trivial in comparison with their need that they should be willing to sacrifice reputation for the sake of meeting that need.

First, Laches switched from talking about worthiness to talking about virtue (*La.* 189b5). And then, Socrates goes beyond merely saying that they would be making the boys’ souls better, and says that they would be making the boys’ souls better by joining *virtue* to them (190b3-5). But the dialogue does not take us very far in understanding the meaning of virtue. It is agreed that courage is generally assumed to be a part of virtue (190d3-5), and the dialogue does deal with that part, but there is no real effort to define virtue as such.<sup>11</sup> Thus, rather than showing us exactly what ought to be valued, the dialogue emphasizes what ought *not* to be valued. The important thing is *not* reputation; the important thing is an inward quality, not the outward appearance of that inward quality. This might sound trivial, but perhaps we, like Laches and Nicias, face the difficulty of overcoming our tendency to live for what we really know to be unworthy—namely, reputation—before we can make ourselves into people who lead lives that are truly worth living. Perhaps we need to get past the same preoccupation that the people with whom Socrates spoke on the streets of Athens needed to get past.

Socrates indicates what he values when he says καὶ γὰρ ἂν δεινὸν εἴη, ὦ Λυσίμαχε, τοῦτό γε, μὴ ἐθέλειν τῷ συμπροθυμεῖσθαι ὡς βελτίστῳ γενέσθαι (“How dreadful it would be, Lysimachus, not to desire to participate in anyone’s betterment,” *La.* 200e1-2). We ought to care about bettering people,

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<sup>11</sup> Socrates does attack Nicias’ definition of courage as being rather the definition of the whole of virtue (*La.* 199e3-11). But Nicias’ definition—the knowledge of all good things and of how to bring them about—has been rightly dismissed by Laches as superhuman (196a5-7). Nicias admits that even people who could predict the future would not have enough knowledge to qualify as possessing virtue so defined (196a2-3).

about helping them to attain to virtue. The reason that Socrates' conversations always wind up being about the manner of life of the person to whom he is talking (187e6-188a3) is that he is always trying to participate in his companion's betterment—even though the initial loss of reputation generally causes the companion to become angry with Socrates (*Ap.* 21e1-4). Because Plato's *Laches* does not really indicate what the nature of this virtue might be, its message about what Socrates is trying to accomplish with these people is the same as the message of the *Apology*:

. . . χρημάτων μὲν οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ ἐπιμελούμενος ὅπως σοι ἔσται ὡς  
πλεῖστα, καὶ δόξης καὶ τιμῆς, φρονήσεως δὲ καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ τῆς  
ψυχῆς ὅπως ὡς βελτίστη ἔσται οὐκ ἐπιμελῇ οὐδὲ φροντίζεις;

(Pl. *Ap.* 29d8-e3)

. . . are you not ashamed to care for the acquisition of wealth and for  
reputation and honor, when you neither care nor take thought for sensibleness  
and truth and the perfection of your soul?

We are all vitally concerned with advertising the product, but hardly anyone is working on the product that they are advertising. Indeed, we must move beyond our concern for advertising ourselves before we can be genuinely involved with working on the product, or, for that matter, before we can be genuinely involved with anything at all.

# TURRETS, GAUGAMELA AND THE HISTORIAN'S DUTY OF CARE

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**Abstract.** Persian elephants, despite a recent assertion to the contrary, are unlikely to have carried turrets at Gaugamela (331 BC). Their active participation in the battle is also doubtful. Problematic sources such as the *Fragmentum Sabbaiticum* and the *Itinerarium Alexandri* should not be used unqualified to supplement the more well-recognized accounts of the engagement.

It is commonly accepted that the battle of Gaugamela, waged between Alexander the Great and the Persian king Darius III in 331 BC, represents the first time that a western military power confronted elephants in the field.<sup>1</sup> Despite this, the most reputable ancient account of the engagement, that of Arrian, does not actually state that the Macedonians and their allies had to contend with the beasts, though it does mention that the elephants were positioned in the Persian centre along with fifty of Darius' two hundred scythed chariots (*Anab.* 3.8.6, 3.11.6f.).<sup>2</sup> Indeed, Arrian, whose probable source for the

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<sup>1</sup> The author thanks Brian Jones and Philip Rance for reading a version of this article in addition to *Scholia*'s two anonymous referees for helpful comments and suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> Classical texts are as follows (in order of appearance, other than to avoid repetition): the text of Arrian, *Anabasis* is that of A.G. Roos and G. Wirth (edd.), *Flavii Arriani Quae Exstant Omnia* 1 (Leipzig 1967); of Curtius Rufus C. M. Lucrarini (ed.), *Q. Curtius Rufus: Historiae* (Berlin 2009); of Procopius, *De Aedificiis* J. Haury and G. Wirth (edd.), *Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia* 4 (Leipzig 1964); of *Itinerarium Alexandri* H.-J. Hausmann (ed.), *Itinerarium Alexandri (kritische Edition)* (Diss. Cologne 1970); of Diodorus Siculus F. Vogel and K. T. Fischer *et al.* (edd.), *Diodori Bibliotheca Historica* 1-5<sup>3</sup> (Stuttgart 1964); of Polyaeus, *Strategemata* E. Woelfflin and J. Melber (edd.), *Polyaeni Strategematon Libri* 8 (Stuttgart 1970); of Vegetius, *De Re Militari* M. D. Reeve (ed.), *Vegetius: Epitoma Rei Militaris* (Oxford 2004); of Silius Italicus, *Punica* J. Delz (ed.), *Sili Italici Punica* (Stuttgart 1987); of *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Alexander Severus* E. Hohl (ed.), *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* 1 (Leipzig 1965); of Julianus Imperator, *Orationes* J. Bidez *et al.* (edd.), *L'empereur Julien: Oeuvres complètes* (Paris 1932-1964); of Ammianus Marcellinus W. Seyfarth *et al.* (edd.), *Ammiani Marcellini Rerum Gestarum Libri Qui Supersunt*<sup>2</sup> 1-2 (Stuttgart 1999); of Zonaras, *Annales* M. Pinder (ed.), *Ioannis Zonarae: Annales* 1-2 (Bonn 1841-1844); of Florus, *Epitome of Roman History* P. Jal (ed.), *Florus: Oeuvres* 1-2 (Paris 1967); of Dionysius of Halicarnassus K. Jacoby (ed.), *Dionysii Halicarnasei Antiquitatum Romanarum Quae Supersunt* 1-4 (Stuttgart 1967); of Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* K. Ziegler (ed.), *Plutarchi Vitae Parallelae*<sup>2</sup> 3.1 (Leipzig 1971); of the elder Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*

order of battle was Aristobulus (*Anab.* 3.11.3 = Aristobul. *FGrH* 139 F 17),<sup>3</sup> merely states that the elephants, in addition to some camels, were captured along with the Persian baggage train (*Anab.* 3.15.4, 3.15.6). Other prominent accounts, such as those of Curtius Rufus, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch and Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus, do not mention the presence of elephants at all. In view of this, it is surprising that Worthington, in a recently published history of Alexander the Great intended for general readership, provides the following description of Darius' force and the deeds of his elephants in battle:

Darius was in the middle of the line with the Royal Bodyguard and, on either side, whatever Greek mercenaries had stayed with him after Issus. In front of him was a small but deadly corps of 15 elephants and 50 scythed chariots. On the backs of the elephants were wooden towers, in which sat armed men to shower javelins and other deadly weapons down on the enemy. Opponents were destroyed by the men in the towers and by the elephants that trampled them underfoot.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the confidence of these authoritative and unqualified assertions, there is much that is problematic about Worthington's views on the equipment and role of Darius' elephants at Gaugamela. This is especially the case given his lack of comment on the fate of the beasts.<sup>5</sup>

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C. Mayhoff (ed.), *C. Plini Secundi Naturalis Historiae Libri 37* 1-5 (Leipzig 1892-1909); of Plutarch, *Alexander* K. Ziegler (ed.), *Plutarchi Vitae Parallelae*<sup>2</sup> 2.2 (Leipzig 1968); of Megasthenes, *Fragmenta* E. A. Schwanbeck (ed.), *Megasthenes: Indica* (Amsterdam 1966); of Strabo A. Meineke (ed.), *Strabonis Geographica* 1-3 (Graz 1969); of Aelianus, *De Natura Animalium* R. Hercher (ed.), *Claudii Aeliani de Natura Animalium Libri 17, Varia Historia, Epistolae, Fragmenta* 1 (Graz 1971); of Aristotle, *De Generatione Animalium* H. J. Drossaart Lulofs (ed.), *Aristotelis De Generatione Animalium* (Oxford 1972); and of Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* P. Louis (ed.), *Aristote: Histoire des animaux* 1-3 (Paris 1964-1969). Translations of Arrian, *Anabasis* are by P. A. Brunt (tr.), *Arrian: Anabasis of Alexander* 1-2 (Cambridge, Mass. 1976, 1983). All other translations are mine.

<sup>3</sup> See esp. A. B. Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander* 1 (Oxford 1980) 297.

<sup>4</sup> I. Worthington, *Alexander the Great: Man and God* (Harlow 2004) 130.

<sup>5</sup> It is also worthwhile to note the elephants' absence on the battle plan that Worthington includes, which diagram follows that previously published by N. G. L. Hammond, *The Genius of Alexander the Great* (London 1997) 107. There is a battle group referred to as 'Darius, Royal Guard and Greek mercenaries', but elephants do not seem to be included. Notable, too, is that E. W. Marsden, *The Campaign of Gaugamela* (Liverpool 1964), does not seem to mention elephants at all. The vast majority of Alexandrian scholars, however, generally accept the presence of elephants (if not participation). On this, see now M. B. Charles, 'Alexander, Elephants, and Gaugamela', *Mouseion* 8 (2008) 9-23.



Worthington’s reference to fifteen Persian elephants clearly reflects Arrian, though there is a school of thought that Arrian’s language is ambiguous and that there may have been more than fifteen elephants present: ἐλέφαντες δὲ οὐ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα μάλιστα Ἰνδοῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἦσαν (‘a few elephants, the Indians on this side of the Indus had some fifteen’, *Anab.* 3.8.6).<sup>6</sup> This matter, however, need not detain us here. The assertion that fifty of the 200 Persian scythed chariots were also positioned close to the elephants and the accompanying Indian troops is also attested (e.g., *Arr. Anab.* 3.11.5f.; *Curt.* 4.12.9; Diodorus does not provide any comparable information). But none of the major sources mentioned previously refer to elephants carrying wooden turrets or turrets of any other kind. What is more, there is no mention of the beasts inflicting injury on Alexander’s soldiers. In view of this, some explanation is warranted.

For the sort of information provided by Worthington, one needs to turn to the *Fragmentum Sabbaiticum* (*FGrH* 151 F 1). This anonymous account of the battle, seemingly once part of a larger history written (at least according to Jacoby) ‘nicht vor 150 p. Chr.’,<sup>7</sup> records the presence of an unspecified number of beasts procured ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς (‘from India’, 1.12). The brief narrative includes a reference to Darius’ elephants carrying πύργοι ξύλινοι (‘wooden towers’) filled with armed men (1.12).<sup>8</sup> It also makes the claim that Alexander, with the greatest of tactical foresight, placed τρίβολοι (‘spiked devices or caltrops’) in order to impede the elephants’ progress (1.13). As Briant points out, these details are likely to be anachronistic insertions, especially in view of the appearance of turreted elephants and various tactical obstacles in narratives of later conflicts waged between Alexander’s successors.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> On this *locus*, see esp. A. B. Bosworth, *Alexander and the East: The Tragedy of Triumph* (Oxford 1996) 154f.

<sup>7</sup> F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* 2B Kommentar zu Nr 106-261 (Leiden 1993) 536: ‘er kann freilich auch wesentlich später sein’. It was once supposed that Amyntianus might have written it (e.g., E. L. Bowie, ‘Greeks and Their Past in the Second Sophistic’, *P&P* 46 [1970] 14), but this is no longer seriously credited (e.g., J. Aubberger, *Historiens d’Alexandre*<sup>2</sup> [Paris 2001] 486: ‘Cette *Histoire* . . . est restée anonyme’).

<sup>8</sup> Procopius also mentions ξυλίνους . . . πύργους much later (*Aed.* 2.1.11); but Sassanid elephants carried these in the context of siege warfare.

<sup>9</sup> See P. Briant, ‘Notes d’histoire militaire achéménide: À propos des éléphants de Darius III’, in P. Brulé and J. Oulhen (edd.), *Esclavage, guerre, économie en Grèce ancienne: Hommage à Y. Garlan* (Renne 1997) 178f. On similar devices from the Hellenistic era, see those used against Polyperchon at the siege of Megalopolis (*Diod. Sic.* 18.71.2-6); τρίβολοι are used by Darius *against* the Macedonian cavalry at Gaugamela (*Curt.* 4.13.36, *murices ferreos*, ‘iron caltrops’; Polyaeus *Strat.* 4.3.17); cf. *Veg. Mil.* 3.24.4 (caltrops employed against scythed *quadrigae*, ‘four-horsed chariots’). On the fragment’s untrustworthy nature,

The *Fragmentum Sabbaiticum* is clearly a problematic source. Yet the *Itinerarium Alexandri*, ostensibly written by an unknown author in the mid-fourth-century AD for the emperor Constantius II (*It. Alex.* 1),<sup>10</sup> seems to corroborate the elephantine information provided by the *Fragmentum Sabbaiticum*, in particular, its assertion that the elephants in Darius' possession were *turriti*, that is, equipped with turrets or howdahs on their backs (*It. Alex.* 56).<sup>11</sup> Unlike the *Fragmentum Sabbaiticum*, the fourth-century *Itinerarium* generally follows the normally reliable testimony of Arrian,<sup>12</sup> notwithstanding its claim that only 100 Macedonians were killed at Gaugamela as opposed to 300 000 Persians (*It. Alex.* 64).<sup>13</sup> There is no suggestion that the elephants were directly involved in the battle.

In view of the overall similarity of the *Itinerarium* to Arrian's narrative, it is likely that the author's reference to turrets is little more than an anachronistic interpolation intended to add further detail or else narrative vibrancy, much like Silius Italicus' otherwise inexplicable references to turreted Carthaginian elephants at the Trebia in 218 BC, Cannae in 215 BC, and Zama in 202 BC (*Pun.* 4.599, 9.239f., 17.621).<sup>14</sup> Such an interpretation would also help to explain the appearance of turrets in the even more colourful *Fragmentum Sabbaiticum*, in addition to the otherwise inexplicable contention that the elephants stampeded the Macedonian phalanx. Authors of the late second through to the mid-fourth centuries AD, being well versed in the exploits of

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see T. Reinach, 'Un fragment d'une nouvelle histoire d'Alexandre le Grand', *REG* 5 (1892) 306-26 *passim*, who fails to remark on the turrets; L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great* (New York 1960) 256; J. M. Bigwood, 'Aristotle and the Elephant Again', *AJPh* 114 (1993), 548 n. 57. P. Goukowsky, 'Le roi Pôrus, son éléphant et quelques autres', *BCH* 96 (1972) 476 n. 13 rejects the reference to turrets.

<sup>10</sup> On the date (AD 340), see T. D. Barnes, 'Constantine and the Christians of Persia', *JRS* 75 (1985) 135; on the work's authorship, see R. J. Lane Fox, 'The Itinerary of Alexander: Constantius to Julian', *CQ* 47 (1997) 239-52.

<sup>11</sup> K. Müller, *Fragmenta Scriptorum de Rebus Alexandri Magni, Pseudo-Callisthenes, Itinerarium Alexandri* (Chicago 1979) 160. Compare the somewhat free translation of the *locus* at I. Davies, 'Alexander's Itinerary: An English Translation', *AHB* 12 (1998) 40.

<sup>12</sup> On this, see H. Tonnet, 'Le résumé et l'adaptation de l'*Anabase* d'Arrien dans l'*Itinerarium Alexandri*', *RHT* 9 (1979) 243-54; R. Tabacco, *Per una nuova edizione critica dell'Itinerarium Alexandri* (Bologna 1992) 10 ('sua fonte principale').

<sup>13</sup> Arrian gives the Macedonian casualties as 100 (*Anab.* 3.15.6), with 1000 horses killed; Curtius provides a figure of fewer than 300 (4.16.26); while Diodorus Siculus claims about 500 (17.61.3).

<sup>14</sup> The contention that elephants were present at Cannae is, of course, erroneous in any case. Punic elephants do not carry turrets in the historical narratives: see M. B. Charles, 'African Forest Elephants and Turrets in the Ancient World', *Phoenix* 62 (2008) 338-62.

turreted elephants in the Hellenistic era, were obviously familiar with the notion of elephants bearing towers on their backs. Moreover, the beasts of the contemporary Sassanid Persians, who constituted Rome’s most significant enemy when the author of the *Itinerarium Alexandri* was writing, were sometimes described as carrying towers (it matters little, however, whether this was always the case).<sup>15</sup>

There is some dispute regarding when war elephants first carried turrets. Goukowsky has dealt with this matter previously. His views are for the most part cogent, but it will be well to provide a brief overview of the issue here.<sup>16</sup> It is generally believed that turrets (Lat. *turres*; Gk. πύργοι, θωράκια) were an innovation introduced by the Epirote king Pyrrhus (or else by one of his lieutenants or engineers) during his campaigns against Rome in the early third century BC.<sup>17</sup> Scullard likewise notes that the Byzantine epitomator Zonaras, in his description of the battle of Heraclea in 280 BC, claims that Pyrrhus’ animals carried πύργοι (8.3).<sup>18</sup> Though this is a very late notice, it is presumed that the information is derived from earlier sources, at least via the intermediary Cassius Dio. As a form of corroboration, Florus, perhaps here using Livy as his source (though one cannot be entirely sure), also claims that Pyrrhus’ elephants carried *turres* at Asculum in 279 BC (*Epit.* 1.13.10). Of some significance, too, is a plate recovered from Capena depicting a female elephant (bearing a turret) and calf that possibly alludes to a story from the time of the Pyrrhic wars.<sup>19</sup> Brown,

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<sup>15</sup> *SHA Alex. Sev.* 56.3 mentions turrets, although this account, relating to the campaign against Ardashir in AD 232, may be apocryphal: see M. B. Charles, ‘The Rise of the Sassanian Elephant Corps: Elephants and the Later Roman Empire’, *IA* 42 (2007) 305-08, 331. Julianus Imperator also refers to turrets in the context of the third siege of Nisibis in AD 350: ἐκ σιδήρου πύργους (‘towers of iron’, *Or.* 2.63b). Ammianus Marcellinus describes *elephantorum agmina . . . armatis onusta* (‘columns of elephants laden with fighting men’) at the siege of Amida in AD 359, but does not specifically mention turrets (19.2.3). Whatever the case, it is likely that Sassanid elephants carried turrets in siege operations, but less certain that they were employed in set-piece engagements.

<sup>16</sup> Goukowsky [9] 473-502.

<sup>17</sup> See esp. Goukowsky [9] 489-98: ‘j’attribuerais volontiers le mérite de la découverte à Pyrrhus ou aux ingénieurs de son entourage’ (497-98). This is, of course, debatable, and warrants further investigation elsewhere: see below, n. 22.

<sup>18</sup> H. H. Scullard, *The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World* (London 1974) 104f. On elephants in the Hellenistic world (especially Raphia), see also F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* 1 (Oxford 1957) 614; M. B. Charles, ‘Elephants at Raphia: Reinterpreting Polybius 5.84–85’, *CQ* 57 (2007) 306-11.

<sup>19</sup> In Florus’ description of Beneventum in 275 BC, an elephant calf is struck on the head by a missile (*Epit.* 1.13.12); its mother, upon hearing its cries, turned on her own ranks: see also Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.12.3; Zonar. 8.6; cf. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 25.8. For a representation of

however, merely assigns the invention of turrets to the third century.<sup>20</sup> Whatever the case, there is reasonably good cause to hold that turrets—at least as they pertain to Mediterranean and Middle Eastern warfare—were an invention of the Hellenistic world, perhaps in some way the result of an increased emphasis on siege warfare (though this is naturally speculation). In view of these considerations, it is unlikely, *pace* Worthington, that whatever elephants were present at Gaugamela carried such devices.

At least some of the elephants of Darius were procured directly from his eastern allies in northwest India (Arr. *Anab.* 3.8.6).<sup>21</sup> But there is nothing, at least in the classical sources, to suggest that the elephants of the various princes of northern India carried turrets at the time of Alexander the Great.<sup>22</sup> Subcontinental elephants do not carry turrets in the accounts of Arrian, Curtius Rufus and Plutarch. Aside from one possible reference in the derivative account of Diodorus Siculus, turrets even fail to appear in the contest against Porus at the Hydaspes in 326 BC.<sup>23</sup> These accounts seem to corroborate the view that during

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the plate, now held in the Villa Giulia, Rome, see F. De Visscher, 'Une histoire d'éléphants', *AC* 29 (1960) pl. 4; Goukowsky [9] 491 fig. 8; Scullard [18] pl. 7a.

<sup>20</sup> R. Brown, 'India's Ivory Palisade', *CPh* 86 (1991) 320 n. 15. For a general statement on turrets, see the elder Pliny, where turreted elephants are associated with eastern warfare (*HN* 8.27).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Briant [9] 180-87 who gives some credence to the notion of an elephant herd maintained in the heartland of the Persian kingdom.

<sup>22</sup> Porus' elephants, it seems, did not carry turrets filled with soldiers on their backs: see P. Connolly, *Greece and Rome at War* (London 1981) 75. According to Plutarch, the Indian king rode his elephant like a horse (*Alex.* 60.12). This is (probably) corroborated by Alexandrian coins/medallions: see Goukowsky [9] figs 1-3; P. Bernard, 'Le Monnayage d'Eudamos, satrape grec du Pandjab et «Maître des éléphants»', in G. Gnoli and L. Lanciotti (edd.), *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dictata* (Rome 1985) 65-94; P. Ducrey, *Guerre et guerriers dans la Grèce antique* (Paris 1985) 105 fig. 74; P. Vidal-Naquet, 'Flavius Arrien entre deux mondes', in P. Savinel (tr.), *Arrien: Histoire d'Alexandre* (Paris 1984) 387-93; J. Warry, *Warfare in the Classical World* (London 1980) 83; and esp. F. L. Holt, *Alexander the Great and the Mystery of the Elephant Medallions* (Berkeley 2003) *passim*. Cf. C. D. Starnaman, *Alexander, Porus, and the Battle of the Hydaspes* (MA diss. Michigan State 1990) 68, who believes that Porus' elephants were smaller than those used elsewhere in India (although Diodorus Siculus seems to contradict this: μεγίστους ἐλέφαντας, 'elephants of the largest size', 2.37.2). Starnaman adds that the small size of the beasts precluded the use of turrets, which he believes *were* used elsewhere on the subcontinent. In personal correspondence, Philip Rance contends that we should guard against assuming that elephantine practices in northwest India and the Indus valley were typical for the rest of the subcontinent.

<sup>23</sup> One reading of Diodorus Siculus would have Porus falling out of a θωράκιον (17.88.6). I owe this comment to Philip Rance, who holds that this reading should probably be accepted. Yet, if true, this is likely to represent another Diodoran anachronism; cf. the turret-carrying Indian elephants deployed against the legendary Semiramis (2.17.8).

this period Indian war elephants of northwest India and the Indus region were steered by a mahout, with a single warrior, or else a couple of fighting men, perched on the elephant’s back. As a form of corroboration, the fragmentary eyewitness Megasthenes, who wrote little more than a generation after Porus, states that a Mauryan elephant crew normally consists of a mahout and three archers (frr. 34.15 [= Str. 15.1.52], 35.4 [= Ael. NA 13.9]). The *locus* in Aelian explicitly refers to a θωράκιον, a word normally taken to mean a turret or howdah. Despite this, Goukowsky contends that θωράκιον was a later interpolation on Aelian’s part. According to this line of thought, Aelian must have felt that it was ‘invraisemblable que trois archers puissent tenir en équilibre sur le dos d’un éléphant’.<sup>24</sup> Even if one gives credence to Megasthenes’ ‘evidence’, at least as read through the eyes of Strabo and Aelian, it still does not corroborate the view that the elephants at Gaugamela carried turrets into battle.

To put it bluntly, there is therefore no cause to give the ‘testimony’ of the *Itinerarium Alexandri*—much less that of the even more spurious *Fragmentum Sabbaiticum*—greater credence than the more recognized sources for Gaugamela. Indeed, these two accounts do not greatly trouble the view, as espoused, that turrets were probably an invention of the third century BC.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, if the forces of Alexander did indeed come to grips with Achaemenid war elephants, as the *Fragmentum Sabbaiticum* would have us believe, it seems odd indeed that the first recorded encounter between elephants and soldiers of the Mediterranean world<sup>26</sup> would not have been mentioned in the relatively detailed accounts of Arrian, Curtius Rufus and Diodorus Siculus, or even the biography of Plutarch or Justin’s epitome of Pompeius Trogus.

It is possible that the elephants were withdrawn at some stage to the rear of the Persian lines.<sup>27</sup> This is an especially attractive interpretation given the prominence of the elephant’s terrifying aspect and behaviour in the same

<sup>24</sup> Goukowsky [9] 489; Charles [14].

<sup>25</sup> On this (which is not without controversy), see above, n. 22.

<sup>26</sup> It is worth noting that the Achaemenids were reasonably familiar with elephants long before Gaugamela, though perhaps not as weapons of war. Indeed, fragments of Ctesias place elephants among the Achaemenids during the reign of Artaxerxes II (e.g., Arist. *Gen. An.* 736a2-4; *Hist. An.* 523a6-7); see J. M. Bigwood, ‘Ctesias’ *Indica* and Photius’, *Phoenix* 43 (1989) 302-16; Bigwood [9] 537-55.

<sup>27</sup> For this view, see A. B. Bosworth, *The Legacy of Alexander: Politics, Warfare, and Propaganda under the Successors* (Oxford 2002) 138 n. 150; cf. R. J. Lane Fox, *Alexander the Great* (London 1973) 239 where it is conjectured, plausibly enough, that the beasts were left stranded when Alexander drove in from the right of the field. Briant [9] 188, in accord with his view that more than fifteen were present, points out that the elephants described by Arrian in the battle-line and in the battle’s aftermath need not necessarily be the same beasts; see now Charles [5] 9-23.

authors' descriptions of the Hydaspes.<sup>28</sup> Curtius Rufus, for example, describes the elephants' fearful trumpeting (8.13.10), while both Curtius and Diodorus Siculus provide suitably graphic descriptions of Alexander's men being gored by tusks and crushed underfoot (Curt. 8.14.26-7; Diod. Sic. 17.88.1). In short, the *Fragmentum Sabbaiticum* and *Itinerarium Alexandri* should not be allowed to influence unduly our understanding of the appearance, equipment and actions of the Persian elephants at Gaugamela. It is therefore disappointing that Worthington's narrative, at least on this particular point, should seemingly assign an equal weight to *all* the available sources for the battle. This assignation is exacerbated by the lack of references in the text, which of course is hardly Worthington's fault.

In sum, it might be argued in Worthington's defence that this sort of misrepresentation need not matter in a work generally intended for those without any great familiarity with the battles and military equipment of the ancient world. On the other hand, one might very well hold that, in these sorts of texts, an author has an even greater duty of care to his or her audience than would normally be the case when writing for an informed academic audience. This is especially with respect to ensuring that information regarded as having some degree of verisimilitude by mainstream scholarship is not given the same weight as testimony generally deemed apocryphal, anachronistic, or at least highly unlikely. Though this particular case might pertain to a seemingly trivial matter, it should nonetheless serve to remind us—as professional historians and classicists towards whom the general reading public accords a considerable amount of trust—that much care needs to be taken when drafting composite accounts of ancient narratives. This is especially the case when the audience in question cannot be expected to have any historiographical training. It is easy to forgive errors in detail (of which all scholars have surely been guilty at some point), but less easy to ignore marginal views portrayed as indisputable fact in all-encompassing narratives.

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<sup>28</sup> Arrian maintains a slightly different state of affairs, with the Macedonian phalanx and cavalry being brave enough to confront the beasts with their missile weapons (*Anab.* 5.17.3; cf. 5.15.5f.). Note, however, Arrian's statement, made in the context of fighting Porus' elephants: καὶ ἦν τὸ ἔργον οὐδενὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἀγώνων ἑοικός ('and the action was now without parallel in any previous conquest', 5.17.3). This (upon which A. B. Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander* [Oxford 1995] 2.300f. does not comment) seems to suggest that the Macedonians and their allies had not previously encountered elephants in the line. As J. G. Lloyd, *Alexander the Great: Selections from Arrian* (Cambridge 1981) 62 writes, Alexander's men had met elephants 'in the last few months' before the Hydaspes, but were shocked when they saw them 'as a massed force in a set battle'; see also J. Seibert, 'Der Einsatz von Kriegselefanten: Ein militärsgeschichtliches Problem in der antiken Welt', *Gymnasium* 80 (1973) 351 ('Zum ersten Mal').

# MANIPULATION OF NAMES IN THE SPEECHES OF CICERO

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**Abstract.** The system of Roman nomenclature offers multiple options to Cicero for naming individuals in his speeches. The orator picks from these choices what best serves his rhetorical purpose, notably the elevation or demotion of his subjects. Method can be seen in his selection between alternative surnames, preference for double or single name, recourse to triple name, and the avoidance of name altogether.<sup>1</sup>

Cicero's handling of personal names is a familiar subject.<sup>2</sup> It is included in several existing studies in Roman nomenclature, Latin onomastics and

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<sup>1</sup> This article originates from three shorter oral presentations. Two were made at meetings of the Classical Association of Canada held respectively at Vancouver in May 2002, and at Quebec City in May 2004; and one was made at a meeting of the Classical Association of the Canadian West held in Victoria, British Columbia in February 2005. Remarks from members of the audience on those occasions, and comments from this journal's two anonymous referees on an earlier draft of the resulting paper, have helped me in the writing of this final version. I wish to express my gratitude to all the commentators.

<sup>2</sup> Classical texts are as follows (in order of appearance, other than to avoid repetition): the text of Diomedes, *Ars Grammatica* and Priscian, *Institutio de Arte Grammatica* is that of H. Keil (ed.), *Grammatici Latini [GL]* 1-8 (Hildesheim 1961); of Auctor, *De Praenominibus* C. Kempf (ed.), *Valeri Maximi Factorum et Dictorum Libri Novem Cum Incerti Auctoris Fragmento De Praenomibus* (Hildesheim 1976); of Appian, *Praefatio* H. White (ed.), *Appian's Roman History* 1 (Cambridge, Mass. 1958); of Cicero, *In Verrem* and *Divinatio in Q. Caecilius* W. Peterson (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes* 3 (Oxford 1917); of Cicero, *De Provinciis Consularibus*, *Post Reditum in Senatu*, *Post Reditum ad Populum*, *De Haruspicio Responso*, *In Vatinius*, *Pro Balbo*, *Pro Sestio*, *De Domo Sua* W. Peterson (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes* 5 (Oxford 1911); of Cicero, *Philippicae*, *Pro Milone*, *Pro Marcello*, *Pro Rege Deiotaro*, *Pro Ligario* A. C. Clark (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes* 2 (Oxford 1918); of Asconius A. C. Clark (ed.), *Q. Asconii Pediani Orationum Ciceronis Quinque Enarratio* (Oxford 1907); of Cicero, *Pro Archia*, *Pro Sulla*, *Pro Plancio*, *Pro Fonteio*, *Pro Scauro* A. C. Clark (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes* 6 (Oxford 1911); of Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed. and tr.), *Cicero's Letters to Atticus* 1-6 (Cambridge 1965-1968); of Cicero, *De Divinatione* C. F. W. Mueller (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta Quae Manserunt Omnia* 4.2 (Leipzig 1890); of Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares* D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed.), *Cicero: Epistulae ad Familiares* 1-2 (Cambridge 1977); of Cicero, *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo*, *Pro Caecina*, *Pro Flacco*, *Pro Quinctio*, *In Pisonem*, *Pro Rabirio Perduellionis Reo*, *Pro Rabirio Postumo* A. C. Clark (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes* 4 (Oxford 1909); of Cicero, *Pro Cluentio*, *Pro Caelio*, *Pro S. Roscio Amerino*,

individual denomination.<sup>3</sup> Examination of the Ciceronian corpus has shown how the author uses the constituent elements of *praenomen*, *nomen* (*gentilicium*) and *cognomen* (or *agnomen*)<sup>4</sup> as an aspect of his social intercourse with peers, inferiors and superiors. This paper differs from past treatments in its distinctive focus on Cicero's rhetorical denominations in his speeches, the speaker's methodology—in picking from multiple naming options at his

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*De Imperio Cn. Pompeii, Pro Murena, In Catilinam* A. C. Clark (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes* 1 (Oxford 1905); of Cicero, *De Oratore* A. S. Wilkins (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis De Oratore Libri Tres* (Oxford 1892); of Cicero, *Brutus* E. Malcovati (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta Quae Manserunt Omnia* 4 (Leipzig 1970); of Cicero, *De Finibus* T. Schiche (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta Quae Manserunt Omnia* 43 (Leipzig 1915); of Sallust, *De Catilinae Coniuratione* A. Kurfess (ed.), *C. Sallusti Crispi Catilina, Iugurtha, Fragmenta Ampliora* (Leipzig 1957); of Cicero, *Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem* D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed.), *Cicero: Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem et M. Brutum* (Cambridge 1980); of Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* O. Seel (ed.), *C. Iulii Caesaris: Commentarii Rerum Gestarum* 1 (Leipzig 1961); of Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* M. Ihm (ed.), *C. Suetoni Tranquilli Opera* 1 (Leipzig 1908); of Cicero, *De Inventione Rhetorica* E. Stroebel (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta Quae Manserunt Omnia* 2 (Leipzig 1915); of Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* M. Winterbottom (ed.), *M. Fabi Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae Libri Duodecim* 1-2 (Oxford 1970); of Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* M. Pohlenz (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta Quae Manserunt Omnia* 44 (Leipzig 1918); and of *Scholia Bobiensia [In P. Clodium et C. Curionem]* T. Stangl (ed.), *Ciceronis Orationum Scholiastae: Asconius, Scholia Bobiensia, Scholia Pseudasconii Sangallensia, Scholia Cluniacensia et Recentiora Ambrosiana ac Vaticana, Scholia Lugdunensia sive Gronoviana et Eorum Excerpta Lugdunensia* (Hildesheim 1964). All translations are my own.

<sup>3</sup> On the distinctions between the terms 'nomenclature', 'onomastics' and 'denomination', and on the pertinence of undertakings such as the present one, see C. Nicolet, 'L'onomastique des groupes dirigeants sous la République', in *L'Onomastique latine* (Paris 1977) 57f.

<sup>4</sup> The fourth-century grammarian Diomedes provides a classic definition of the denominational categories: *propriorum nominum quattuor sunt species, praenomen, nomen, cognomen, agnomen. praenomen est quod nominibus gentilibus praepositur, ut Marcus, Publius. nomen proprium est gentilicium, id quod originem familiae vel gentis declarat, ut Porcius, Cornelius. cognomen est quod unius cuiusque proprium est et nominibus gentilicis subiungitur, ut Cato, Scipio. ordinantur enim sic, Marcus Porcius Cato, Publius Cornelius Scipio. agnomen quoque est quod extrinsecus cognominibus adici solet ex aliqua ratione vel virtute quaesitum, ut est Africanus, Numantinus et similia* ('There are four kinds of proper names: *praenomen*, *nomen*, *cognomen*, *agnomen*. *Praenomen* is what is placed before the *nomen gentilicium*, e.g., Marcus, Publius. *Nomen* proper is the *gentilicium*, which expresses the origin of the family or clan, e.g., Porcius, Cornelius. *Cognomen* belongs to particular individuals and is appended to the *gentilicium*, e.g., Cato, Scipio. Their order is as follows: Marcus Porcius Cato, Publius Cornelius Scipio. *Agnomen* too is usually added from adventitious circumstances, coined from some reason or quality, e.g., Africanus, Numantinus and the like', *Ars Grammatica* 1 [GL 1.321]). See also App. *Praef.* 13; Auct. *De Praenom.* 2; Prisc. *Inst.* 2.22 (GL 2.57).



disposal—those which serve his defensive and offensive aims in the courtroom and political arena. Special attention to the orator’s manipulation of names as weapons in his oratorical armoury will add insights on the whole subject of denomination further to those obtained through earlier investigations from other perspectives; it will also raise some doubts regarding certain views previously expressed on points of detail.

### *Double Name*

As in Cicero’s letters and treatises, so too in his orations, Roman men usually receive a double name upon introduction, the forename (*praenomen*) attached to the surname (either *gentilicium* or *cognomen*) as a standard courtesy equivalent to our English ‘Mister’, ‘Doctor’ or other appropriate title. In the choice between the two available surnames, the principal determinant tends to be not so much ancestral pedigree as common acceptance, instant recognition and diacritical effectiveness. Regardless of ancient or recent nobility, most senatorial families are referred to by *cognomen*, either exclusively, like the *Sullae*, *Scipiones*, *Catonnes*, *Luculli*, *Catuli* and *Gracchi*, or overwhelmingly, like the *Cottae*, *Dolabellae*, *Lentuli* and *Metelli*; the occasional *gentilicium* is typically confined to year-dating formulaic expressions of the type *L. Licinio Q. Mucio consulibus* (‘when the consuls were L. Licinius and Q. Mucius’, *Verr.* 2.2.122.3), for what are Crassus and Scaevola respectively elsewhere. Other families, fewer in number but no less aristocratic, appear with equal profusion, almost always in *gentilicium*—as *Claudii*, *Antonii*, *Domitii*, *Cassii* and *Servilii*—not in their corresponding *cognomen*—as *Pulchri*, *Hybridae*, *Ahenobarbi*, *Longini* and *Isaurici*.<sup>5</sup> *Cognomen* is ubiquitous for Caesar, the patrician dictator;<sup>6</sup> while the *gentilicium* Pompeius, instead of the personal

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<sup>5</sup> For further particulars, see E. Fraenkel, in A. Pauly, G. Wissowa *et al.* (edd.), *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1893-1980) 16 cols 1649f. s.v. ‘Namenwesen’; G. Bonfante, ‘The Origin of the Latin Name-system’, in *Mélanges de philologie, de littérature et d’histoire anciennes offerts à J. Marouzeau par ses collègues et élèves étrangers* (Paris 1948) 43-46; H. Thylander, ‘La Dénomination chez Cicéron dans les Lettres à Atticus’, *ORom* 1 (Rome 1954) 158f.; R. Syme, ‘Imperator Caesar: A Study in Nomenclature’, *Historia* 7 (1958) 172; Nicolet [3] 53-56; esp. J. N. Adams, ‘Conventions of Naming in Cicero’, *CQ* 28 (1978) 149-54 (despite Adams’ overstated restrictions of the combination ‘*praenomen* + *cognomen*’ to *nobiles*, as noted by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero’s Speeches* (Norman 1988) 4-6. Adams’ contention (149) that ‘to be named by *nomen* was for the most part to be relegated to lower status’ goes too far. See also, in this respect, the earlier caveats of A. E. Douglas, ‘Roman “Cognomina”’, *G&R* 27 (1958) 62-66.

<sup>6</sup> ‘C. Iulius’ (Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 39.11) and the posthumous ‘Divus Iulius’ (*Phil.* 2.110.4) are the only two exceptions.

Magnus, is the norm for his plebeian rival.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, the upstart M. Tullius Cicero, a *novus homo*, goes by *cognomen* rather than Tullius;<sup>8</sup> whereas his more established colleague Q. Hortensius is invariably in *gentilicium*, never Hortalus. *Cognomen* prevails for the *triumvir* M. Licinius Crassus, being more discrete than Licinius, a widespread *nomen*; but for Cicero's pupil M. Caelius Rufus, *nomen* is the rule, less commonplace as it is and more effectively individuating than Rufus, a popular *cognomen*.<sup>9</sup> With some families the choice can be relatively flexible. The *Scaevolae*, for example, show up now and then as *Mucii*, and the *Scauri* as *Aemilii*, for no apparent reason. Although the norms for the choice between *nomen* and *cognomen* do not always follow a clear rationale, we need to be aware what they are in order to appreciate how the orator manipulates or flouts them in order to achieve his effect.

Three cases provide the clearest illustration of Cicero's purposeful preference of one surname over the other in order to advance his rhetorical aim. In each case, Cicero's exceptional substitution of a rare for a habitual alternative constitutes a deliberate strategy adapted to the speaker's agenda.

First, the tactic is discernible in Cicero's defence of T. Annius Milo (*Mil.*). Cicero calls the accused 'Milo', his regular name both in *Pro Milone* and elsewhere, 105 times.<sup>10</sup> In the speech, the orator deviates from this normal practice when he needs the official double name for particular reasons. It happens at six points only. Cicero resorts to a formal introduction of the defendant as *T. Annius* (1.2). Next, he does likewise in a formulaic *T. Anni tribunatu* (6.2). Then, he opens and closes an imaginary harangue to the Roman people declaimed by Milo as a grave office-bearer in terms that *si . . . clamaret T. Annius: 'Adeste, quaeso, atque audite, cives! . . . quis est qui non probet, qui non laudet . . . T. Annium . . . ?* ('if Titus Annius were exclaiming "Attend, please, and listen, citizens" . . . who is there who would not approve, who would not praise Titus Annius?', 77.1-9). This formulation reoccurs in an inspired

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<sup>7</sup> Thylander [5] 159, and more substantively Adams [5] 160f., discuss the variants 'Magnus' and 'Cnaeus' in the letters.

<sup>8</sup> On the uses of 'Tullius' in official and family contexts, see H. L. Axtell, 'Men's Names in the Writings of Cicero', *CPh* 10 (1915) 389-92; Thylander [5] 154f.; Adams [5] 157-59; A. H. Mamoojee, 'Naming relatives and intimates in Cicero's Correspondence', *CEA* 37 (2001) 5-7.

<sup>9</sup> Thylander [5] 159 notes the same prevalence of 'Caelius' in the *Letters to Atticus*, which Adams [5] 154f. ascribes unconvincingly to inferior status. On the commonness of 'Rufus', cf. I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki 1965) 229; E. Dickey, *Latin Forms of Address* (Oxford 2002) 62.

<sup>10</sup> The reader will allow a five to ten per cent margin of error to the statistics in this paper, given occasional textual uncertainties and possible mistakes in the counting.

elevation of this killer of P. Clodius to the calibre of historical paradigms who executed public enemies in the national interest (83.1-4). Finally, in an emotional address from advocate to client forming part of the concluding appeal to the jurors’ compassion in the moving *miseratio*: *tibi, T. Anni, nullum a me amoris, nullum studi, nullum pietatis officium defuit* (‘to you, Titus Annius, no service of affection or dedication or devotion was lacking from me’, 100.1f.). *Pro Milone* thus exhibits switches from a routine single *cognomen* to an extraordinary ‘*praenomen + gentilicium*’ held in reserve as an optional recourse in order to formalize the tone or heighten the pitch, as needed, to the benefit of the protagonist in the dock.<sup>11</sup>

Secondly Cicero, at the trial of the poet Archias (*Arch.*), uses the same ploy to reinforce his defendant client’s cause in a different way. This Greek adoptee of the *Licinii Luculli* was defending his Roman citizenship acquired under the *Lex Plautia Papiria* against a challenge under the *Lex Papia*. In this circumstance, his adopted Roman name assumes a symbolic significance which is crucial for vindicating the franchise at stake. In five instances (4.5, 5.13, 18.1, 19.13, 25.2), Cicero calls the poet ‘Archias’, which is his everyday Greek name, confirmed in the letters (*Att.* 1.16.15) and treatises (*Div.* 1.79.11). But in three places where it is most telling, the orator replaces the Greek with the official Roman name in order to emphasize the defendant’s legitimate status. Remarkably, he introduces the accused in the opening sentence as *hic A. Licinius* (‘my client Aulus Licinius’, *Arch.* 1.6).<sup>12</sup> He repeats this atypical designation on his second mention, in order to point out the absurdity of removing such a Roman entry from a roll of Roman citizens: *perficiam profecto ut hunc A. Licinium . . . non segregandum, cum sit civis, a numero civium . . .*

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<sup>11</sup> Similar reasons could be adduced for ‘T. Annius’ in lieu of ‘Milo’ by Cicero elsewhere (*Red. Sen.* 19.1, 30.1f.; *Red. Pop.* 15.11; *Har. Resp.* 6.2, 6.9; *Vatin.* 40.4, 41.2, 41.4, 41.6). Likewise, *Asc. Mil.* 26.8 has the full ‘<T.> Annius Milo’ exceptionally in his introduction against scores of mere ‘Milo’. ‘<T.>’ is a logical restoration by the editor Clark on the authority of Manutius and in conformity with Asconius’ normal inclusion of the *praenomen* in his introductory identifications of individuals whether in double or in triple name: cf. *Asc. Tog. Cand.* 73.4-9, 75.6-8; *Asc. Scaur.* 16.6, 18.16-18, 24.6-9. See A. C. Clark (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis Pro T. Annio Milone ad Iudices Oratio* (Oxford 1895) xvii-xviii on the adoptive status of the *gentilicium* ‘Annus’; lvi-lvii on the elevated tone of the passage which includes the third, fourth and fifth occurrences of ‘T. Annus’ in *Cic. Mil.*. F. P. Donnelly, *Cicero’s Milo: A Rhetorical Commentary* (New York 1935) 107 characterizes the last occurrence as ‘affective and effective’. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero’s Letters* (Stuttgart 1995) 15 rightly rejects attribution by Adams [5] 154f. of the complete absence of ‘T. Milo’ to social snobbery.

<sup>12</sup> Editors rightly reject the addition ‘Archias’, found in some manuscripts: cf. J. S. Reid (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis Pro A. Licinio Archia Poeta Oratio ad Iudices* (Cambridge 1904) 34 n. *ad Cic. Arch.* 1.6.

*putetis* ('I shall certainly succeed in making you agree that my client Aulus Licinius, since he is a citizen, ought not to be expunged from a list of citizens', 4.2-4). Moreover, he reiterates this designation in a recital of documentary evidence from the registry in order to authenticate Archias' entitlement: *Hic igitur <in> tabulis nullam lituram in nomine A. Licini videtis* ('hence you see in these records no erasure on the name of Aulus Licinius', 9.13f.). In *Pro Archia*, therefore, formal Roman '*praenomen* + *gentilicium*' supersedes the familiar foreign *cognomen* with scrupulous selectivity where it matters most in order to validate the immigrant's claim to *civitas*.<sup>13</sup>

Thirdly, in Cicero's defence of L. Cornelius Balbus (*Balb.*), the Spanish adoptee of the *Cornelii Lentuli* who received Roman citizenship from Pompey, the identical goal of asserting an exotic subject's Roman status relies on total evasion of a widely recognized surname in favour of a hardly used substitute. Nearly 100 incidences in the letters establish the regular name of this man from Gades as 'Balbus', an indispensable adjunct for precise identification if he were ever called 'Cornelius': *Cornelius, hunc dico Balbum* ('Cornelius, I mean this Balbus', *Att.* 2.3.3), *Balbus Cornelius* (8.15.3, *Fam.* 8.9.5, 8.11.2). Balbus was the object of considerable envy for his successful career in Rome; his outlandish-sounding surname ('Stammerer') was liable to be an embarrassing drawback in a trial where franchise was on the line, a potential reminder of some alien interloper with an imperfect mastery of the nation's Latin tongue. In a continuous affirmation of the Spaniard's Roman legitimacy, Cicero ignores it completely in *Pro Balbo*, calling his man by the adoptive surname in all twenty-five named references, with punctilious abnormality, either 'L. Cornelius' or 'Cornelius'.<sup>14</sup> The homegrown *gentilicium*, fundamental to the defence of the Spaniard's Roman identity, eclipses entirely the unprepossessing *cognomen* prejudicial to it, however customary.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> H. and K. Vretska (edd.), *Marci Tulli Ciceronis Pro Archia Poeta Oratio* (Darmstadt 1979) 74, 80, 107 note the force of the exceptional formulation 'A. Licinius' in establishing the justice of Archias' claim. L. Bianchi and C. Vaioli (edd.), *L'orazione Pro Archia e lettere scelte* (Bologna 1966) 18 go further in taking the deviation to be a sign of Cicero's certainty to win his case.

<sup>14</sup> Readers dependent on translations will miss the nuance, misled by even authoritative translators' liberal supplies of the absent 'Balbus'. For example, cf. J. Cousin (ed.), *Cicéron. Discours 15: Pour Caelius; Sur les provinces consulaires; Pour Balbus* (Paris 1962) 245, 267, 272, 277-79, 281 (a total of eleven glosses); R. Gardner (ed. and tr.), *Cicero 13: Pro Caelio; De Provinciis Consularibus; Pro Balbo* (Cambridge, Mass. 1958) 683, 685 (three glosses).

<sup>15</sup> Contrast Adams [5] 155: 'The *cognomen* of the Spaniard . . . was rigorously avoided by Cicero . . . in the speech . . . that form of naming was likely in public to be withheld from a foreigner'. Explanation of the omitted 'Balbus' in terms of public propriety misses the point.

A double name naturally gives way to the anaphoric single name after initial introduction.<sup>16</sup> Cicero’s defendants do without their *praenomen* in numerous incidences: the actor Q. Roscius (70 out of 75, *Q. Rosc.*), A. Caecina (36/46, *Caecin.*), A. Cluentius *alias* Habitus (104/122, *Clu.*), P. Sulla (42/72, *Sull.*), L. Flaccus (51/78, *Flac.*), M. Caelius (40/56, *Cael.*), Cn. Plancius (49/66, *Planc.*). More frequent inclusion of the *praenomen* in repeats may arise from an ongoing need to distinguish the individual from implicated namesakes. Thus the *Sexti Roscii* of Ameria, father and son, have it in each of seventy-six instances except one, mainly to avoid confusion with their homonymous malefactors, the two *Roscii* identified variously as T. Roscius, Capito or Magnus (*Rosc. Am.*). P. Quinctius has it on forty-six out of ninety-nine occasions, an unnecessary overdose if it were not for the involvement of his late brother, C. Quinctius, whose legacy is at issue (*Quinct.*). The reason must be similar for M. Fonteius’ appearance in double name thirty times out of thirty-eight, a brother, C. Fonteius, being also in the picture as his legate in Gaul (*Font.*). The addition of ‘Marcus’ to Marcellus in each of eight references is likely due to the presence of his cousin (*cos.* 50 BC), twice named ‘C. Marcellus’ in this thanksgiving to Caesar (*Marcell.*). Otherwise, excessive reiterations of the same double name signify extra insistence on its implicit civility. Recipients comprise presiding judges who are objects of adulation: the esteemed jurist C. Aquilius (30 times versus 1, *Quinct.*); the ingratiatingly addressed Caesar (12/1, *Marcell.*); the consular *iudex* C. Piso (7/4, *Q. Rosc.*). Pompey, consistently eulogized in public, gets it twenty-five times out of twenty-eight in a panegyric (*De Imp. Cn. Pomp.*); twenty times out of thirty as a prestigious co-defender of Balbus (*Balb.*); and every one of ten times over the course of one oration (*Pis.*); but only twelve out of twenty-three times where he is treated as a potential hindrance to the smooth proceedings of the trial (*Mil.*). The double name outnumbers the single markedly in pinpointing a few other clients: the elderly C. Rabirius tried for *perduellio* (21/3, *Rab. Perd.*); the consul-elect L. Murena (26/15, *Mur.*); the devoted ex-tribune P. Sestius (32/12, *Sest.*). Age, stature or

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On the *invidia* earned by Balbus as a successful foreigner, see J. S. Reid (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis Pro L. Cornelio Balbo Oratio ad Iudices* (Cambridge 1878) 5-9; on Cicero’s effort to overcome the jury’s resulting prejudice, see K. A. Barber, *Rhetoric in Cicero’s Pro Balbo* (New York 2004) 13-19.

<sup>16</sup> See also F. Jones, *Nominum Ratio: Aspects of the Use of Personal Names in Greek and Latin* (Liverpool 1996) 73f. on the anaphoric single name in Cicero’s letters.

deeply felt gratitude may account for above average recourse to the deferential form in denominating these persons.<sup>17</sup>

Conversely, minimal use of the binominal designation may be more than merely anaphoric when directed to contemptible opponents. It constitutes a slight to the likes of C. Erucius, a trifling bounty hunter hired to ruin Sex. Roscius (2 versus 25, *Rosc. Am.*); Sex. Aebutius, a lightweight contender for land inheritance against A. Caecina (2/31, *Caecin.*); C. Fannius Chaerea, the despised ex-partner of actor Q. Roscius (2/44, *Q. Rosc.*); T. Labienus, the tribune ridiculed over his impeachment of C. Rabirius for *perduellio* (3/12, *Rab. Perd.*); P. Albinovanus, one of P. Sestius' prosecutors (0/4, *Vatin.*); in the trial of A. Cluentius, the murderous Statius Albius Oppianicus Sr. (2/142, *Clu.*), his prosecuting son (0/14) and suborned accomplice C. Staienus (1/43). In certain cases the slight of scarce binominal appellation stems not from scorn but from avuncular condescension *vis-à-vis* juvenile opponents otherwise credited with promising qualities and cordial relations towards Cicero, such as the young D. Laelius (2/20, *Flac.*); the adolescent L. Torquatus (4/17, *Sull.*); the teenaged L. Atratinus (0/3, *Cael.*); the junior counsel L. Cassius (1/6, *Planc.*), *subscriptor* to M. Laterensis (3/35). All these contrast with relatively generous concessions of the recurrent double name to mature, well-respected adversaries in the league of venerable Cato (10/19, *Mur.*) and Ser. Sulpicius Rufus (6/17) as prosecutors; or Q. Hortensius as antagonist (3/10, *Quinct.*).

### Single Name

In principle, single name is proper to foreigners, slaves, freedmen, persons of lowly station<sup>18</sup> and women; but not to men of the Roman nobility and Italian upper class, for whom omission of the forename might have the sort of impolite implication associated with the absence of a respectful 'Mister' or title from a surname in English. Nevertheless, we might evoke Churchill or Dickens, Constable or Olivier in plain surname without fear of misunderstanding or intent of discourtesy. Likewise, it is not uncommon for Cicero to recall national icons readily remembered without conjoined *praenomen*. There is no dearth of well-known historical figures appearing in mere surname, spotlighted here and there by Cicero with an appended *ille* ('the well-known') for fame: Brutus founder of the republic (*Phil.* 2.114.3); Ahala the tyrannicide (*Mil.* 83.2; *Phil.* 2.26.6);

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. Adams [5] 146f. for a partly different analysis of the relative frequency between double and single names from the perspective of a division between 'formal' versus 'informal' speeches.

<sup>18</sup> Titurius, Porcius, Munius and Servaius (*Font.* 19.9-13), collectors of *portorium* ('port duty', 'customs duty') in Narbonensis, possible freedmen, are examples of such humble folk.

Regulus the martyr (*Phil.* 11.9.7); Serranus (or Atilius) the statesman-farmer (*Sest.* 72.7); Caecus (or Appius) the blind censor (*Cael.* 33.8, 35.2; *Mil.* 17.8; *Phil.* 1.11.9f.); Cato the Elder (*Arch.* 22.5; *Flac.* 72.1). Such exalted stars often parade in a cluster: *Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario . . . imperia mandata* (‘commands entrusted to Maximus, Marcellus, Scipio, Marius’, *De Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 47.4-7); *si . . . Paulum Scipio ac Maximus filii . . . imitatus est* (‘if the sons Scipio and Maximus imitated their father Paulus’, *Rab. Post.* 2.13-16); *Scipio clarus ille . . . alter eximia laude Africanus . . . vir egregius Paulus ille . . . aeterna gloria Marius* (‘the brilliant Scipio . . . the other, singularly praiseworthy, Africanus . . . the outstanding Paulus . . . the ever glorious Marius’, *Cat.* 4.21.1-9). Notorious *populares* disliked for seditious demagoguery have their fair share, though no monopoly, of denotation by single name: Saturninus (e.g., *Cat.* 1.29.10f.; *Dom.* 82.12; *Rab. Perd.* 9.5; *Verr.* 2.1.151.6); Glaucia (*Rab. Perd.* 20.5; *Rab. Post.* 14.3; *Verr.* 2.1.26.7); Sertorius (*Mur.* 32.19; *Verr.* 2.5.154.11); Cinna (e.g., *Caecin.* 87.10; *Cat.* 3.9.9, 3.24.8; *Har. Resp.* 54.12; *Phil.* 2.108.3); Sulpicius (*Har. Resp.* 41.10, 43.17; *Phil.* 8.7.4; *Vatin.* 23.9); Drusus (*Arch.* 6.4; *Mil.* 20.4; *Vatin.* 23.8). The neutral single name is also noticeable in many a dating of office or law: for example, *Lepido et Tullo consulibus* (*Cat.* 1.15.4); *Mario consule et Catulo* (*Arch.* 5.9f.); *ensoribus . . . Iulio et Crasso* (*Arch.* 11.2-5); *Silvani lege et Carbonis* (*Arch.* 7.1f.). It is also employed to denote ascription of monument, adage or civic celebration: for example, *Catuli monumentum* (*Cael.* 78.14); *Catonis . . . dictum* (*Flac.* 72.1); *Antoni ludis* (*Mur.* 40.10). It is typical of popular authors (Ennius, Accius), actors (Roscius, Aesopus), and proverbial folklore characters like witty auctioneer Granius (*Planc.* 33.11f., 33.16; cf. *De Or.* 2.244.7f., 2.253.8, 2.281.3, 2.282.3; *Brut.* 160.9; *Att.* 6.3.7; *Fam.* 9.15.2); public crier Gallonius (*Quinct.* 94.4; cf. *Fin.* 2.24.13, 2.90.12); antiquarian Congus (*Planc.* 58.7; cf. *De Or.* 1.256.4); veteran *accusator* Antistius (*Rosc. Am.* 90.4; cf. *Brut.* 308.5, 311.2). In the letters, omission of the forename between correspondents in headings and addresses is an intimation of familiarity or endearment, especially so with the possessives *suo* and *mi*.<sup>19</sup>

In the speeches, on the contrary, unremitting denial of the *praenomen* to contemporaries—including, notably, initial single naming—is not a ‘cosying up’ but an inimical belittlement stemming from antagonism directed at hated foes and their minions. This diminution is systematically applied throughout the *First Catilinarian* to the conspirator, denounced as straight ‘Catilina’ in all twenty vocatives and four references. In the vituperative *In Vatinium*, it is a blatant slap in the face to the target of invective, who is bare ‘Vatini’ or ‘Vatinius’ every one of eleven times as addressee and referent, in contrast to his

<sup>19</sup> See Adams [5] 146, 148f., 162f.; Jones [16] 68-73.

opponent who is more often 'P. Sestius' than 'Sestius' (8/3).<sup>20</sup> A perfunctory single name diminishes the stature of Catilinarians again and again, whether shadowy acolytes like Tongilius, Publicius, Minucius (Cic. *Cat.* 2.4.9-11) and Gabinius (3.6.11, 3.12.9, 3.14.19, 4.12.3, 4.13.16),<sup>21</sup> or disgraced senators like Vargunteius (*Sull.* 6.1, 67.7) whose *praenomen* 'Lucius' and senatorial status are known only from Sallust (*Cat.* 17.3.4, 28.1.2, 47.1.8). So also Autronius, Lentulus and Cethegus (3.8.3, 3.9.3, 3.9.6, 3.10.1-18, 3.25.12, 4.11.15, 4.12.2, 4.13.10).<sup>22</sup> Likewise, the dismissive single name underpins representations of P. Clodius' sycophants as shady hoodlums of no consequence. There is Fidulius,<sup>23</sup> a homeless vagrant, first in line to vote for Cicero's banishment (*Dom.* 79.11, 80.10, 82.2); Scato, a penniless man of straw put up to purchase the exile's Palatine residence (*Scatonem illum, hominem . . . egentem*, 'Scato, that pauper of a man', *Dom.* 116.10f.); the nonentity Menulla from Anagnia who set up Clodius' statue on the confiscated property (*Anagnino nescio cui . . . Menullae*, 'some individual from Anagnia called Menulla', *Dom.* 81.2); one Gellius (*Har. Resp.* 59.11; *Sest.* 110.1, 111.6, 112.2; cf. *Att.* 4.3.2; *Q Fr.* 2.1.1), berated as a lowlife *nutricula seditiosorum* ('nurse of troublemakers', *Vatin.* 4.5).

In the *Philippics*, Cicero insists in passing over the first names of many satellites gravitating in the orbit of Mark Antony, from cronies and centurions to senators and consuls. The list of these Antonians' names and nicknames is long: Sergius *mimus* ('mime-artist', 2.62.7); Laco (2.106.9); Basilus (2.107.5); Aquila

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<sup>20</sup> The juxtaposition 'Vatini' / 'P. Sestio' is telling: *debuisti, Vatini, etiam si falso venisses in suspicionem P. Sestio, tamen mihi ignoscere* ('even if Publius Sestius had suspected you wrongly, you, Vatinius, should have forgiven me', Cic. *Vatin.* 2.6-8); *ne me cum his principibus civitatis qui adsunt P. Sestio . . . conferam, de te ipso . . . quaero, Vatini* ('not to compare myself with these leaders of the state who are supporting Publius Sestius . . . I ask you yourself, Vatinius', 10.6-10).

<sup>21</sup> This is *ex equestri ordine . . . P. Gabinius Capito* ('from the equestrian order . . . P. Gabinius Capito', Cic. *Phil.* 1.13, 2.114; *Sall. Cat.* 17.4.1f.), nicknamed 'Cimber' (Cic. *Cat.* 3.6.11). He receives his binominal designation 'P. Gabinius' exceptionally from Cicero where it is inevitable in a formal list of names enumerated in a senate resolution (*Cat.* 3.14.10f.).

<sup>22</sup> Cicero's *Pro Sulla* provides the most striking examples of the treatment of these three individuals. P. Autronius (*cos.* designate 65 BC, convicted of *ambitus*) receives his *praenomen* in none of twenty-two references; P. Lentulus, (*cos.* 71 BC, subsequently expelled by the censors) obtains his *praenomen* in only one out of ten references, and not initially; C. Cethegus (whose senatorial status is known from Sallust [*Cat.* 17.3.2-4]) gets his *praenomen* too in just one out of four references, and not at the first opportunity. Catilina himself is nowhere dignified with 'L.' in twenty-three references.

<sup>23</sup> D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature* (Atlanta 1991) 24f. reads 'Fidulus'.



(11.14.4, 12.20.5, 13.27.8); Eutrapelus, Mela, Pontius and Crassicius (13.3.3f.); Gallius (13.26.11) and Insteius (13.26.20); Saserna (13.28.1), Extitius (13.28.3) and Asinius (13.28.6); and others.<sup>24</sup> The orator proffers an excuse for leaving out the forename. Supposedly, sheer numbers of these scoundrels baffle accurate recollection of each and every one: *omnes tamen tantam habent similitudinem inter se ut in eorum praenominibus errem* (‘all that lot have so much resemblance with one another that I would make mistakes with their forenames’, 13.28.1-3). The pretext is disingenuous, coming from someone with the prodigious memory of Cicero, who duly remembers every double name he cares to in the *Philippics* as elsewhere. The omission is for the most part intentional, dictated by partisan bias. What incessantly replace the gracious option are dismissive accessories like *nescioqui(s)* (‘I do not know who’, e.g., *Saxa nescio quis*, 11.12.4; *Insteius nescio qui*, 13.26.20; *Licinius nescio qui*, *Mil.* 65.4f.), *quisquis* (‘whoever he may be’, *Labienus iste . . . quisquis fuit*, *Rab. Perd.* 14.9), *aliquis* (‘a certain’, *Phormioni alicui*, *Phil.* 2.15.2f.), *quidam*

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<sup>24</sup> Others include Nucula (*Cic. Phil.* 6.14.9, 8.26.11, 11.13.3, 12.20.5, 13.2.16, 13.26.16, 13.37.13); Cafo (8.9.4, 8.26.4, 10.22.7, 11.12.8, 11.37.11, 12.20.8); Bestia (11.11.3, 12.20.9, 13.2.16, 13.26.12); Censorinus (11.11.1, 11.36.8, 13.2.15, 13.26.1); Cotyla or Cotylo *alias* Varius (5.5.2, 5.7.1, 8.24.6, 8.28.11, 8.32.19, 13.26.14); Saxa *alias* Decidius (8.9.4, 8.26.4, 10.22.6, 11.12.4, 11.37.11, 12.20.8, 13.2.16, 13.27.11, 14.10.5); Lento *alias* Caesennius (11.13.3, 12.20.5, 12.23.4, 12.23.7, 13.2.16, 13.26.16, 13.37.14); Mustela *alias* Seius (2.8.3, 2.106.9, 5.18.2, 8.26.14, 12.14.5, 13.3.4); Tiro *alias* Numisius (2.8.3, 5.18.2, 8.26.14, 12.14.4, 13.3.4); Curius (5.13.11, 5.14.9, 8.27.6: at 5.13.11, some manuscripts give the *praenomen* ‘M.’ [emended to ‘M.’ (for Manius) in the source-text for this article], but the text is improbable, and ‘M’ is incompatible with ‘Q.’ preceding his name, if it is the same person, at *Asc.* 93.18; cf. Shackleton Bailey [5] 42); Ventidius (12.23.8, 12.23.11, 13.2.15, 13.26.1, 13.47.2f., 13.48.4, 14.21.1: at 14.21.1, ‘P. Ventidius’, the reading of some editors [including that of the source-text for this article], does not rest on secure textual foundation); Caelius (13.3.4, 13.26.13: at 13.26.13, the *praenomen* ‘Q.’ supplied by some editors [including that of the source-text for this article] has no manuscript authority. The name is more likely ‘Coelius’: cf. Shackleton Bailey [5] 27 s.v. ‘Caelius’); Licinius Lenticulus (2.56.3f.) or Denticulus or Lenticula (Shackleton Bailey [23] 30); Apulus Domitius (11.13.6); Marsus Octavius (11.4.9f.); Petusius Urbinas (12.19.12f., 13.3.4). In connection with the last four cases, it should be noted that in the Ciceronian period the combination ‘*nomen + cognomen*’ or the like, and its inversion, are no respectful substitutes for the standard ‘*praenomen + nomen* or *cognomen*’. Aimed at these Antonians, they are as pejorative as single name. Literature on this combination, a growing trend in the early empire and normal by then, is abundant, and includes W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (Berlin 1904) 489-94; Axtell [8] 392-97; Thylander [5] 156f.; Syme [5] 172-75; T. P. Wiseman, ‘Pulcher Claudius’, *HSPH* 74 (1970) 211-13; Adams [5] 165f.; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens* (London 1979) 156; Shackleton Bailey [5] 7f.; B. Salway, ‘What’s in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 BC to AD 700’, *JRS* 84 (1994) 128-31; Dickey [9] 67-70.

(‘someone named’, *Ennium . . . quendam*, *Clu.* 163.1; *Bambalio quidam*, *Phil.* 3.16.7; *Asinius quidam*, 13.28.6), *iste* (‘that’, e.g., *Aebutius iste*, *Caecin.* 13.1f.; *iste Lollius*, *Dom.* 13.4; *Ligus iste nescio qui*, *Sest.* 68.4f.); and assorted slurs, for example, *aleator* (‘gambler’, *Cat.* 2.23.2) or *conlusor* (‘gambling partner’, *Phil.* 2.56.4, 5.13.12, 13.3.3), *ebrius* (‘tippler’, 2.67.7, 2.105.5), *egens* (‘pauper’, *Clu.* 163.2; *Phil.* 11.4.10; *Sest.* 1.11.15), *veneficus* (‘poisoner’, *Cat.* 2.7.6; *Sest.* 39.7). Such dismissive accessories and assorted slurs contribute to the battery of antitheses opposed to honorifics such as *vir clarissimus* (‘very distinguished man’, e.g., *Deiot.* 32.4; *Phil.* 11.19.4, 14.7.4; *Rosc. Am.* 6.3), *nobilissimus homo* (‘most honourable person’, e.g., *Lig.* 37.2; *Mur.* 16.11; *Planc.* 12.12, 51.5f.), *quem honoris causa nomino* (‘whom I name with respect’, e.g., *De Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 58.2; *Phil.* 2.30.2f.; *Rosc. Am.* 6.3f.), honorifics associated with the double name.

The trivializing single name is dispensed to miscellaneous individuals aligned in whatever capacity on the opposite side. The precise name of Q. Caecilius Bassus, a Pompeian leader in Syria, was surely no mystery to Cicero (*Fam.* 12.11.1; *Phil.* 11.32.8). Yet, in refuting this mutineer’s alleged complicity with King Deiotarus to assassinate Caesar, the orator undermines his significance by consistently curtailing him to *Caecilius* (*iste*, *nescio quis*, *furiosus ille* [‘that madman’], *Deiot.* 23.1, 23.6f., 25.2f.). In defending Cn. Plancius, Cicero brushes aside as *ille . . . Iuventius* (‘that Iuventius’) the first plebeian *aedile* in 306 BC, whom the prosecutor M. Laterensis proudly evokes as his own celebrated ancestor (*Planc.* 58.2).<sup>25</sup> As advocate of C. Rabirius in the rebuttal of the charge of *perduellio*, if Cicero once allows the binominal ‘Q. Labienus’ to the plaintiff’s uncle, a victim in the lynching of Saturninus, he does so with the qualification that the wording is from the nephew’s lips, *addam, quoniam ita vis* (‘I will so add, since such is your wish’, *Rab. Perd.* 20.12f.); Cicero’s own preference is *Labienus iste, patruus vester, quisquis fuit* (‘that Labienus uncle of you people, whoever he was’, 14.9), or just *patruus* (*tuus, vester*) (14.3, 18.1f., 21.23, 23.2, 23.6), in a continuous innuendo hinting that this person was a probable fabrication. Licinius, a hostile witness in the trial of Milo, is casually dismissed as *popa Licinius nescio qui de circo maximo* (‘butcher [or innkeeper] of sorts from the Circus Maximus’, *Mil.* 65.4f.). In *Pro Flacco*, well-established Roman *negotiatores* settled in Asia find themselves reduced to negligible expatriates devoid of first name owing to their testimony against the ex-governor: Decianus *alias* Appuleius, son of a tribune (20 times); Falcidius (91.8, 93.2, 93.8, 94.1); Castricius (54.2, 75.3, 75.7); Andro *alias*

<sup>25</sup> T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* 1-3 (New York 1951-1986) 1.166.

Sextilius (84.1, 88.9, 94.1) or Sestullius.<sup>26</sup> Not so ‘L. Eppius’, ‘L. Agrius’, ‘C. Cestius’ (31.5), comparable *equites Romani* who testified in favour. Complainants, at a disadvantage in single name, face supporters of equivalent social station aggrandized in the respectability of double name: *Septimio et Caelio testibus P. Servilius et Q. Metellus . . . testes repugnabunt* (‘to witnesses Septimius and Caelius witnesses Publius Servilius and Quintus Metellus offered rebuttal’, 100.10-12).

While the single name is as pervasive as the double name in the shape of a lone *gentilicium* or *cognomen*, a *praenomen* on its own is a different matter. It is normally limited to the function of differentiating between family members when the relevant surname is present nearby, for example, *dies quo Ti. Gracchus est caesus . . . quo Gaius* (‘the day on which Tiberius Gracchus was killed, the day Gaius was’, *Mil.* 14.3f.); *quis . . . Serv. Sullam, quis Publium . . . defendendum putavit* (‘who thought Servius Sulla had to be defended, who thought Publius needed to be?’, *Sull.* 6.5-7). Or else the surname is implicit in an attached familial term, for example, *Q. fratris mei laude delector* (‘I am pleased with praise of my brother Quintus’, *Flac.* 33.7);<sup>27</sup> *L. Albius Sex. filius* (‘Lucius Albius, the son of Sextus’, *Quinct.* 24.3). The truly independent *praenomen* is peculiar to three patrician monopolies, where Appius in the *Claudius Pulcher* family, Servius among the *Sulpicii Rufi*, and Faustus standing for Sulla’s son behave like surnames.<sup>28</sup> These exceptions aside, the unaccompanied forename belongs to the informality of the most intimate letters and of the fictitious dialogues in Cicero’s treatises,<sup>29</sup> where it is restricted within a close domestic circle, between age-mates and from elder to younger.

The impropriety of the independent *praenomen* in an oration enables Cicero to take advantage of its oddity and to wield it as a weapon to the detriment of opponents in court. There are just six, possibly seven, examples, all vocative.<sup>30</sup> The addressees are Sex. Naevius twice in quick succession (*Quinct.*

<sup>26</sup> Shackleton Bailey [5] 89.

<sup>27</sup> It may be noted that inclusion of the *praenomen* ‘Q.’, although not in the source text, has manuscript authority.

<sup>28</sup> See Schulze [24] 487 n. 7; Syme [5] 173; Wiseman [24] 212f.; Adams [5] 153, 162.

<sup>29</sup> See further Axtell [8] 398-400; Thylander [5] 157f.; Syme [5] 173f.; Adams [5] 161f.; J. G. F. Powell, ‘A Note on the Use of the *Praenomen*’, *CQ* n.s. 34 (1984) 238f.; Jones [16] 80-83; Mamoojee [8] 7-11; Dickey [9] 63-67.

<sup>30</sup> Not counting a private exchange where a supposed slave (Antony in disguise), talking to another slave of the household, is reported referring to their common master by the forename: *ianitor*, ‘*Quis tu?*’ ‘*A Marco tabellarius*’ (“Who are you?”, asked the gatekeeper. “A messenger from Marcus”, *Cic. Phil.* 2.77.5f.). Cf. Q. Cicero to the slave Tiro about his master: *Marcus est adhibendus* (“you will have to recruit Marcus”, *Fam.* 16.26.1).

38.7, 40.3); Sex. Aebutius in a peroration (*Caecin.* 102.14); Sex. Cloelius on two separate occasions (*Dom.* 47.14; *Mil.* 33.14); Cato (*Mur.* 13.3f.); and Hortensius near the end of the *Verrines* 2 (5.176.5). The first two individuals are petty litigants; the third is among Clodius' detestable lackeys; while the last two are, of course, honourable adversaries. In all six or seven cases, the unqualified first name is a remarkable anomaly, importing an artificial aside of private conversation into a formal public hearing where it is out of place. The misfit produces a quaint effect of incongruous drollery. To the revered Cato it is good-natured banter, an off the cuff invitation to a spot of collegial candour, as between sparring lawyers over lunch break: *non debes, Marce, adripere maledictum ex trivio* ('come on, old boy, you shouldn't be picking up hearsay from the gutter').<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, for the abject Cloelius it is laced with sarcasm, a patronizing jab in disparagement of a presumptuous oaf: *Sexte noster, bona venia, quoniam iam dialecticus <es>* ('excuse me, hey buddy, since you have taken up logic of late', *Dom.* 47.14f.). The demeaning effect of a vocative *praenomen* is well illustrated where it is a retort to an interlocutor who has teased the speaker with a derisive diminutive of his *nomen*: *cum C. Cento . . . satis contumeliose 'quid fers, Cinciole?' quaesisset, 'ut emas,' inquit 'Gai, si uti velis'* ("What are you proposing, Master Cincius?" C. Cento enquired in a somewhat insolent manner. "That you, boy, pay for what you want to use", he rejoined', *De Or.* 2.286.7f.).<sup>32</sup>

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On address of slave to master, Dickey [9] 66, 77-81 does not comment on these two tantalizing, albeit referential, glimpses.

<sup>31</sup> The reading *Marce* depends on editions other than the source-text, which has *M. Cato*. Manuscripts are divided between the standard *M. Cato* and the unusual *Marce*. The latter accounts more plausibly for the corrupt nonsense *marre annipere* found in other manuscripts. See, notably, the text and *apparatus criticus* of H. Kasten (ed), *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta Quae Manserunt* 18: *Oratio Pro L. Murena* (Leipzig 1972) 7. For further examples of followers of this version, see J. H. Freese (ed.), *M. Tullii Ciceronis Pro L. Murena: Oratio ad Iudices* (London 1961) 7; L. E. Lord (ed. and tr.), *Cicero: The Speeches In Catilinam I-IV; Pro Murena; Pro Sulla; Pro Flacco* (Cambridge, Mass. 1964) 162.

<sup>32</sup> In the *Letters to Atticus*, Jones [16] 77, 81 notes an offensive touch in the uses of 'Publius' with reference to Clodius (*Cic. Att.* 2.7.2f., 2.9.1, 2.9.3, 2.12.1, 2.12.3, 2.22.4, 4.7.2). Powell [29] 239 senses a 'gentle nuance of parody' in a few cases there, although he is oddly mystified by *De Or.* 2.286.7f.: 'I do not have any idea why M. Cincius calls C. Cento Gai'. With regard to '*Sexte*' at *Dom.* 47.14 and *Mil.* 33.14, Clark [11] 29 explains that Cicero uses the *praenomen* 'to avoid confusion with his master'; but this explanation is now invalidated by widespread acceptance of the emendation 'Cloelius' for 'Clodius' in the manuscripts.

### *Triple Name*

Compared with the masses of double and single names, a comprehensive tally of triple names would yield a relatively slim total: forty-seven out of fifty-eight speeches, that is, seventy-five per cent of the extant material, contain a little over seventy *tria nomina*, give or take a few emendations, and barring close to a dozen rejects where the third constituent seems to be an indication of place of origin or residence rather than a genuine or probable *cognomen*.<sup>33</sup> These seventy-plus *tria nomina* pertain to fifty-five different individuals, and they range from zero in ten orations, one each in eight others, to twelve in the lengthy *Pro Cluentio* and nineteen in the fourteen *Philippics*.<sup>34</sup> A random sample from ten speeches may be taken as representative of the comparative frequency. It shows a total of merely eleven triples versus more or less 700 doubles and 900 singles,<sup>35</sup> an average of one in about 145 naming incidences, less than one per cent, not even factoring in collectives like *Gracchi* and *Cassii*, foreigners such as Mithridates and Deiotarus, let alone women and slaves. Among frequently named contemporaries there is never a ‘C. Iulius Caesar’, ‘M. Licinius Crassus’, ‘L. Cornelius Sulla’, ‘M. Porcius Cato’, ‘L. Sergius Catilina’, ‘P. Clodius Pulcher’, or ‘Q. Hortensius Hortalus’, and no more than one solitary instance of ‘Cn. Pompeius Magnus’ (Cic. *Phil.* 2.64.5f.) and ‘M. Tullius Cicero’ (*Dom.* 102.4). Clearly trinominal designation is far

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<sup>33</sup> The rejects are P. Caesius Ravennas (*Balb.* 50.2f.); L. Rubrius Casinas (*Phil.* 2.40.11); Anconitanus L. Clodius (*Clu.* 40.6); Spoletinus T. Matrinius (*Balb.* 48.5); Q. Flavius Tarquiniensis (*Q. Rosc.* 32.2); L. Cossinius Tiburs (*Balb.* 53.8f.); T. Caelius (Cloelius?) Terracinensis (*Rosc. Am.* 64.1f.); Q. Fabius Saguntinus (*Balb.* 50.10f.); Cn. Decidius Samnes or Samnis (*Clu.* 161.1); as well as, perhaps, Q. Caelius (Coelius?) Latiniensis (*De Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 58.1) where ‘Latiniensis’ could be *cognomen*; and *Iguvinatem* M. Annium Appium (*Balb.* 46.4f.) where ‘M.’ is doubtful, a likely dittography from the preceding ‘m’ in a problematic text, *Iguvinatem* being itself an emendation for (*a*)*equitate* in the manuscripts: cf. Shackleton Bailey [23] 7f.. Such *ethnica* (‘designations of local address’) are to be distinguished from the likes of Antias, Silanus or Africanus, locally derived but well-established surnames by the late republic: see G. D. Chase, ‘The Origin of Roman *Praenomina*’, *HSPH* 8 (1897) 113f.; Schulze [24] 522-35; Fraenkel [5] 1652-653; Kajanto [9] 43-52, 180-97.

<sup>34</sup> 0 (Cic. *Caecin.*, *Cael.*, *Deiot.*, *De Imp. Cn. Pomp.*, *Marcell.*, *Mur.*, *Pis.*, *Quinct.*, *Red. Pop.*, *Red. Sen.*); 1 each (*Arch.*, *Flac.*, *Har. Resp.*, *Lig.*, *Prov. Cons.*, *Rab. Perd.*, *Sull.*, *Vatin.*); 2 each (*Cat.*, *Mil.*, *Rab. Post.*, *Sest.*); 3 each (*Balb.*, *Font.*, *Planc.* [or 4?], *Scaur.*); 4 each (*Rosc. Am.*, *Q. Rosc.*); 5 (*Dom.*); 12 (*Clu.*); 19 (*Phil.*).

<sup>35</sup> *Arch.*: 1 triple/21 doubles/35 singles; *Balb.*: 3/101/33; *Cael.*: 0/58/69; *Cat.*: 2/71/131; *De Imp. Cn. Pomp.*: 0/59/14; *Lig.*: 1/30/67; *Mil.*: 2/100/192; *Prov. Cons.*: 1/37/31; *Quinct.*: 0/147/143; *Sull.*: 1/78/157.

from being a Ciceronian staple.<sup>36</sup> It is certainly not standard for the introduction of a person.<sup>37</sup> Nor is it, on the whole, accidental, but in most cases accountable with one explanation or another.

Ten of the triple names appear in official documents cited in the *Philippics*, all of them inconsistent with Cicero's own usual formulation. Caesar's assassin, 'Brutus' or 'M. Brutus' without fail in sixty-three occurrences throughout the *Philippics*, is conspicuously, six times in a row, 'Q. Caepio Brutus' (adoptive *praenomen* and *cognomen* converted into '*nomen* + original cognomen')<sup>38</sup> only in the text of a *senatusconsultum* regularizing his power grab in Greece (*Phil.* 10.25f.). The jurist who is always 'Servius Sulpicius', 'Servius' or 'Sulpicius' in no fewer than fifty references spread across several orations, expands three times into 'Ser. Sulpicius Q. f. Lemonia Rufus', filiation and tribe included, solely in the wording of a senatorial decree proclaiming his state funeral (9.15.8f., 9.17.1f., 9.17.5). 'Q. Marcius Crispus' and 'L. Statius Murcus', proconsuls in the East, occur in a senate resolution empowering Cassius in Syria (11.30.4). The reason for these triple names is documentary formalism.<sup>39</sup> They resemble those found in the letter-headings of certain official or officious dispatches, for example, *M. Tullius M. f. Cicero s. d. Cn. Pompeio Cn. f. Magno imperatori* (*Fam.* 5.7).<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Similarly, Thylander [5] 153f. counts barely seven triple names in the corpus of 420 plus *Letters to Atticus*.

<sup>37</sup> Cicero's purely introductory uses of the trinominal form for characters subsequently reduced to one name or two are extremely few in the speeches: 'P. Attius Varus' (*Lig.* 3.6); 'A. Cluentius Habitus' and 'A. [a conjecture] Aurius Melinus' (*Clu.* 11.8, 11.14) where narrative of the feud at Larinum begins, with the latter, if valid, desirable for disentanglement from a homonymous 'A. Aurius' involved in the complicated maze. For introductory triple name in the letters, see Jones [16] 66f.; for an overview, see Schulze [24] 487-89. Caesar, the orator's contemporary, and Asconius, his commentator, are less restrained in their recourse to introductory *tria nomina*. Caesar has four each in *B. Gall.* 1 and 5; Asconius has thirteen and seven respectively in his approximately eight- and seven-page commentaries on *Cic. Scaur.* and *Tog. Cand.*.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Auct. *De Praenom.* 2: *quaedam cognomina in nomen versa sunt ut Caepio; namque hoc in Bruto nominis locum obtinuit* ('some *cognomina* were turned into *nomen*, e.g., Caepio; for this name assumed the place of the *nomen* in the case of Brutus'). See further Fraenkel [5] 1662; Balsdon [24] 152; Shackleton Bailey [23] 55-57.

<sup>39</sup> The same kind of reason might account for 'M. Furius Camillus' and 'C. Servilius Ahala' (*Cic. Dom.* 86.3f.), who are otherwise usually 'Camillus' and 'Ahala' or *Ahala ille Servilius* (*Mil.* 8.7).

<sup>40</sup> See Adams [5] 145: although his generalization that 'all three names were employed only in highly formal circumstances' is too sweeping, as Shackleton Bailey [5] 3 briefly notes.

Another ten of the triple names belong to minor senators who turn up once or twice in passing. They are of no historical importance, their probable status as *novi homines* apparent from the novelty of their *nomen* in the rolls of office-holders or their lack of senatorial antecedents. C. Fidiculanus Falcula, L. Cauius Mergus, M. Iuuentius Pedo, P. Octavius Balbus and P. Septimius Scaevola (Cic. *Clu.* 103.11, 107.3, 107.11f., 115.6) were jurors in the trial of Cluentius’ persecutor Oppianicus, in all likelihood equestrian recruits into Sulla’s enlarged senate. None of them is known to have held any magistracy, just as C. Luscius Ocrea (*Q. Rosc.* 43.6, 43.8) and the Catilinarian Q. Annius (mss. Manlius) Chilo (*Cat.* 3.14.16). L. Tillius Cimber (*Phil.* 2.27.7) was among Caesar’s new senators of questionable origin. M. Atius Balbus (*Phil.* 3.16.5f.), albeit praetor by 60 BC and maternal grandfather of future emperor Augustus, was unknown enough to be vilified as an upstart of municipal provenance, vendor of bread and perfume in his hometown of Aricia (Suet. *Aug.* 4.2). C. Annius Bellienus (*Font.* 18.8) was no higher than legate of M. Fonteius in Transalpina (18.7, 18.13-16), at best a second-generation senator if related to an earlier Billienus or Bellinus, at any rate bearer of an almost certainly non-Italian Celtic *cognomen*.<sup>41</sup>

Yet another dozen of the triple names pertain to incidental characters, not senators but mostly local notables who played no prominent role either in Roman public life or in the proceedings of Cicero’s discourses. They comprise Cn. Publicius Menander (*Balb.* 28.9f.), a Greek freedman and interpreter in the preceding century; C. Domitius Sincaeus (*Scaur.* 43.3), a Sardinian recipient of Roman citizenship from Pompey; P. Vettius Scato (*Phil.* 12.27.4), insurgent Marsic leader in the Social War; T. Sertius Gallus (*Mil.* 86.3), young owner of an estate near Bovillae, scene of Clodius’ murder; M. Laenius Flaccus (*Planc.* 97.7; *Sest.* 131.13), host of the exiled Cicero in Brundisium; P. Quinctilius Varus (*Clu.* 53.10), a scrupulous witness in court; P. Fulvius Neratus (*Flac.* 46.9), guarantor of some loan. These incidental characters include attested *equites*: C. Causinius Schola (*Mil.* 46.10), companion and alibi of Clodius at Interamna; P. Helvidius Rufus (*Clu.* 198.8), landowner at Larinum; C. Flavius Pusio (*Clu.* 153.8f.), a juror in the nineties; Q. Caecilius Bassus (*Phil.* 11.32.8), Pompeian military officer and Civil War adventurer in Syria; C. Licinius

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<sup>41</sup> All except two of these senators make it to the catalogue of *novi homines* in T. P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate 139 BC-AD 14* (Oxford 1971) as nos 56, 67, 112, 174, 218, 239, 391, 430. On the two missing ones, P. Octavius Balbus and Q. Annius Chilo, see Broughton [25] 2.493, 3.15. On Belli(e)nus, see also Wiseman [above, this note] no. 66; Kajanto [9] 231; Shackleton Bailey [23] 66.

Sacerdos (*Clu.* 134.3), a recruit to the *ordo equester* in 142 BC.<sup>42</sup> These twelve, and the preceding ten, triple names must owe the trinominal appellation to their possessors' relative obscurity in the Roman limelight. The standard binominal designation would have exposed at least some of them to confusion with household namesakes in the capital.<sup>43</sup>

Similarly, there are at least three incidences of unusual trinominal designation of *nobiles* generally identified in double or single name that are due to the practical necessity of distinguishing the individuals concerned from homonyms mentioned within close proximity. They all pertain to the *Metelli*. The same appellation '(Q.) Metellus' commonly stands for five distinct dignitaries not far apart in date: first, Q. Metellus Pius, *cos.* 80 BC; secondly, his father Q. Metellus Numidicus, *cos.* 109 BC, who is also once in a while (*ille*) *Numidicus* or *Metellus ille Numidicus*, less often '(Q.) Caecilius'; thirdly, Clodia's husband Q. Metellus Celer, *cos.* 60 BC, consistently '(Q.) Metellus' in seven speeches; fourthly, Q. Metellus Creticus, *cos.* 69 BC; and fifthly, Q. Metellus Nepos, *cos.* 57 BC.<sup>44</sup> The trinominal 'Q. Metellus Pius' (*Cic. Planc.* 69.15) follows on the steps of 'Q. Metellus' (69.11), already employed to indicate his father; 'Q. Metellus Pius' (*Sull.* 70.14) comes soon after 'Q. Metellus' (65.4), which has signified Celer; 'Q. Metellus Scipio' (*Har. Resp.* 12.13), 'adoptive double name + original *cognomen*' for the ordinarily 'P. Scipio', *cos.* 52 BC, is in a list of pontiffs that has just included 'Q. Metellus' to mean Creticus (12.12).

There remain in the forty-seven speeches examined about thirty-five cases of trinominal designation, the great majority of which show Cicero exploiting the triple name for its scarcity as a resource reserved for achieving special rhetorical effect of one sort or another: magnification of stature, emphasis, pathos or solemnity. A name gains in stature from being upgraded into the triple form in the following instances. '(M.) Scaurus' is standard for the *propraetor* charged with *repetundae* ('extortion') in Sardinia (ten incidences in *Pro Scauro*, and a total of four in *De Haruspicum Responso*, *Pro Sestio* and *Verrines* 2). Son of the well-known *princeps senatus*, he is 'M. Aemilius' once (*Scaur.* 45[n].2), when his noble pedigree is opposed to the insignificance of the

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<sup>42</sup> For further information on these five *equites*, see C. Nicolet, *L'ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine (312-43 BC) 2: Prosopographie des chevaliers romains* (Paris 1974) nos 61, 90, 146, 177, 200.

<sup>43</sup> Axtell [8] 386f. provides comparable examples from the letters.

<sup>44</sup> References would be numerous: see Shackleton Bailey [5] 26f. The trinominal 'Cn. Lentulus Clodianus' (*Vatin.* 27.5f.) *praetor* 59 BC, must also be due to the fact that the binominal 'Cn. Lentulus' is established for the better known *cos.* 56 BC, surnamed 'Marcellinus'.



skin-clad native plaintiffs testifying against his provincial administration. The complete set is exclusive to a forceful contrast pitting an aristocrat of his worth against a *homo sordidus* (‘base man’) who, like him but deservedly, was victim of a careless indictment: *Hoc tu idem tibi in M. Aemilio Scauro putasti esse faciendum?* (‘did you think you had to do this little in dealing with a Marcus Aemilius Scaurus?’ 24.1f.). ‘(Q.) Metellus’, as we have seen, is the rule for the consul of 80 BC, everywhere in eight different orations. The trinominal ‘Q. Metellus Pius’ (‘*praenomen + cognomen + agnomen*’) occurs twice, plus once more in a fragment, augmented on each occasion to enhance his impeccable authority as a conscientious statesman: first, *Quid? a Q. Metello Pio, familiarissimo suo, qui civitate multos donavit, neque per se neque per Lucullos impetravisset?* (‘Why? Could he not have received it either on his own or through the Luculli from a Quintus Metellus Pius, who knew him very well and granted the franchise to many?’ *Arch.* 26.1-3); secondly, *nonne civitate donavit . . . Quid? vir sanctissimus et summa religione ac modestia, Q. Metellus Pius, Q. Fabium Saguntinum?* (‘Why? Did not Quintus Metellus Pius, a man of the utmost honesty, scruple and moderation, bestow citizenship on Quintus Fabius of Saguntum?’ *Balb.* 50.3-13); thirdly, *Mentitos esse equites Romanos . . . existimo, mentitum Q. Metellum Pium, mentitam Africam* (‘indeed, I am to suppose the Roman knights lied, a Quintus Metellus Pius lied, Africa lied’, *Asc. Tog. Cand.* 77.23-26). ‘M. Atilius Regulus’ inflates the normal ‘M. Regulus’ in a comparison of his public-spirited martyrdom to the detriment of Cicero, who is criticized for whining selfishly over his own exile: *Tu mihi etiam M. Atilium Regulum commemoras* (‘you even remind me of a Marcus Atilius Regulus’, *Sest.* 127.6). In the solitary occurrence of ‘Cn. Pompeius Magnus’, *tria nomina* comes with redoubled force by being held up for an encore: *bona Cn. Pompei . . . bona, inquam, Cn. Pompei Magni . . . subiecta . . .* (‘the goods of Gnaeus Pompeius . . . the goods, I say, of Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus . . . were so subjected’, *Phil.* 2.64.4-6).<sup>45</sup>

The trinominal version of a name elsewhere current in the shorter forms can also draw extra attention to the designated person at a critical moment. For example, ‘L. Cornelius Chrysogonus’, thereafter simply ‘Chrysogonus’ in all the next forty-eight occurrences, is more than introductory when it comes in the introduction (*Rosc. Am.* 6.6). It is an unexpected bombshell of a revelation that unmasks this dreaded freedman of Sulla as the covert originator of the *Sex. Roscii*’s troubles. In that same speech, one of the victims’ overt malefactors,

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<sup>45</sup> There is similar emphasis on stature in ‘Q. Metellus Nepos’ (*Prov. Cons.* 22.8) *cos.* 57 BC, who is elsewhere always ‘(Q.) Metellus’. The ordinarily ‘(M.) Scaurus’, *cos.* 115 BC, is ‘M. Aemilius Scaurus’ (*Font.* 24.3f.), where he is singled out to be a culminating model for commendation.

‘T. Roscius’ or ‘T. Capito’ or *ille*, the absentee accomplice who conspired with his homonym present in court (equally ‘T. Roscius’, otherwise ‘Magnus’, *iste, hic, tu*) is magnified into ‘T. Roscius Capito’ at three junctures. Two of his triple names come one on top of the other for dramatic impact in clinching a crucial proof of his complicity. Cicero relates how the report of the elder Sex. Roscius’ death in Rome was rushed to his hometown of Ameria, via Magnus’ messenger, for delivery not to the many members of the aggrieved family but first and foremost to this enemy of the dead man while he was salivating in solitude with eager expectation of the *good* news:

Qua ratione <T.> Roscio Capitoni primo nuntiavit? Cum Ameriae Sex. Rosci domus uxor liberique essent, cum tot propinqui cognatique optime convenientes, qua ratione factum est ut iste tuus cliens, sceleris tui nuntius, T. Roscio Capitoni potissimum nuntiaret?

(Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 96.12-17; cf. 26.6)

For what reason did he deliver the news first to Titus Roscius Capito? When at Ameria there was Sex. Roscius’ home, there were his wife and children, so many kith and kin on perfectly good terms, by what logic did it come about that this client of yours and this messenger of your crime delivered the news to Titus Roscius Capito rather than anyone else?’

Similarly, C. Rabirius, the equestrian magnate fighting a charge of embezzlement, is so introduced in his defence as ‘C. Rabirius’ (Cic. *Rab. Post.* 1.1), is then referred to or addressed as ‘Postumus’ on thirty-three subsequent occasions, and is not fully ‘C. Rabirius Postumus’ until the final appeal in a concluding *miseratio* emotionally intense in its arousal of climactic pathos (45.5f.).<sup>46</sup>

A triple name can add solemnity to a momentous statement. Throughout *Pro Cluentio*, a certain Staienus is savaged as a murder accomplice of Oppianicus and as a juror on the take. Going by this *nomen* turned *cognomen*<sup>47</sup> after adoption by one Aelius, he is mere ‘Staienus’ forty times, even on

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<sup>46</sup> Likewise, ‘C. Fannius Chaerea’ (*Q. Rosc.* 3.6, 20.2) puts the man on the spot. The pairing of ‘M. Tullius Cicero’ with ‘M. Fulvius Flaccus’ (*Dom.* 102.4f.) adds weight to a confrontation between these two unequal victims of expropriation. It may be noted that in ‘M. Fulvius Flaccus’, ‘M.’, a conjecture that goes back to Mommsen, is widely accepted by editors in order to achieve the structural balance of the pair. See the *apparatus criticus* of, e.g., P. Willeumier (ed. and tr.), *Cicéron, Discours 13: Au Sénat; Au peuple; Sur sa maison* (Paris 1952) 146; R. G. Nisbet (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis De Domo Sua ad Pontifices Oratio* (Oxford 1939), who also states (155) that ‘it is better to read (with Mommsen) *M. Fulvi Flacci*’.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Adams [5] 149, 156 who takes ‘Staienus’ as *nomen*, and sees here a complete denial of *cognomen* to an individual marked for a downgrade.

introduction, a clear signal of contempt, his inclusive *praenomen* permitted just once (70.4). His supplementary *cognomen*, the adoptive ‘Paetus’, is acknowledged only as occasion for one mocking comment: it is a fiction, Cicero contends, made up in his hope of association with the *Aelii Paeti* rather than the *Aelii Ligures* (72.6-9). ‘Ligur’ would have exposed him, savage as he is, to mistaken identity as a palaeolithic Ligurian. The triple name (Paetus denied) is unique in an urgent affirmation that this wretch pocketed a fat bribe to return a perverse verdict. The sentence is prefaced with an assertive *dico* that lends to the declaration the ritualistic tone of a sworn oath: *Dico C. Aelio Staieno iudici pecuniam grandem Statium Albium ad corrumpendum iudicium dedisse* (‘I declare that Statius Albius did disburse a handsome payment to Caius Aelius Staienus juror with intent to bribe’, 65.1-3).<sup>48</sup>

### *No Name*

Cicero’s naming options also include deliberate abstinence from certain names. This happens in the letters, for various reasons, varying from discretion and embarrassment to rancour and suppression of painful reminders.<sup>49</sup> In the speeches, systematic name avoidance<sup>50</sup> is essentially a hostile weapon of ultimate rebuff discharged from afar at unspeakable adversaries, as if naming the name would come close to touching the person bearing it and contact would

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<sup>48</sup> Similarly: *dico . . . C. Valerium Flaccum, praetorem urbanum, nominatim . . . tulisse* (‘I affirm that Caius Valerius Flaccus, *praetor urbanus*, made an express proposal’, Cic. *Balb.* 55.11-15). A few residual triple names do not fit as neatly into the classifications enumerated above. If not random, they may be due to euphony, structural balance or conformity with others in a list: ‘<A.> Atilius Calatinus’ (*Planc.* 60.6); ‘M. Horatius ille Pulvillus’ (*Dom.* 139.3); ‘Q. Baebius Tamp(h)ilus’, ‘P. Valerius Flaccus’ (*Phil.* 5.27.3f.); ‘L. Valerius Flaccus’ (*Rab. Perd.* 20.14); ‘P. Rutilius Rufus’ (*Rab. Post.* 27.7). ‘T. Annius Cimber Lysidici filius’ needs the *cognomen* for wordplay on *Cimber* and *Germanum*, the filiation for wordplay on *Lysidicus* (Greek λυσι-δίκος, Roman *lysi-dikos*, ‘dissolving justice’) and *omnia iura dissolvit* (‘he dissolves all laws’, *Phil.* 11.14.7-9).

<sup>49</sup> See Adams [5] 163f.; Jones [16] 76-79; Mamoojee [8] 14; and, on the absence of Cicero’s name in the dialogues, E. Dickey, ‘*Me Autem Nomine Appellabat*: Avoidance of Cicero’s Name in his Dialogues’, *CQ* n.s. 47 (1997) 584-88.

<sup>50</sup> We are not concerned here with incidental identifications by means of pronoun, finger-pointing, relation term, placement in age group, occupation, role, *et cetera*, all of which are natural after initial naming and in allusions to obvious persons: e.g., *summus poeta* (‘the greatest poet’) for Ennius (*Balb.* 51.15; *Prov. Cons.* 20.7); or, standing for Pompey, *ille invictus civis* (*Har. Resp.* 38.12), *vir amplissimus* (*Planc.* 25.1), *princeps . . . civitatis* (*Red. Sen.* 4.12), *unus* (*Cat.* 2.11.8). The issue is a contrived omission, in some cases affecting protagonists, and so persistent as to require translators’ constant glosses or annotators’ periodic elucidations.

result in contagion. The accuser of Balbus presents a striking example of such *nefandi viri* ('unspeakable men'), a fellow-native from Gades who was seeking to retrieve his own forfeited Roman citizenship and to ingratiate his senatorial masters by *omni* relentless name denial, sustained through the thirty pages of extant text, in sharp contrast to the ever punctilious naming of the defendant as '(L.) Cornelius'. The snub has doomed the man to perpetual anonymity. Cicero fills the gap with substitutes drawn from the conventional vocabulary of words directed at forensic opponents, the noun *accusator* (*Balb.* 6.6, 7.4, 8.2, 14.1, 19.14, 36.7, 42.7, 56.5), the pronouns *tu* (25.1, 32.10 *tibi*, 32.12 *te*, 46.1 *tibi*, 46.2 *te*, 51.1), *iste* (27.5) and *ille* (41.12), the verbs *inquit* (32.9) and *audes dicere* (33.17), and the conjunction *etenim* (32.1). Into this stock-in-trade, he blends a string of sarcastic periphrases conceived to build up the paradoxical picture of a presumptuous outsider who deigns to lecture experienced legal minds of the land on the niceties of Roman jurisprudence, treaty rights and naturalization: *hoc magistro* ('this professor', *Balb.* 64.15); *iste magister . . . ignorat* ('yonder expert . . . fails to grasp', 27.5f.); *tu . . . patrone foederum ac foederatorum* ('you, champion of treaties and nations under treaty', 25.1); *O praeclarum interpretem iuris, auctorem antiquitatis, correctorem atque emendatorem nostrae civitatis* ('o, what a brilliant expositor of legal rights, what an authority on precedents, all set to reform and even improve *our* constitution', 20.1-3). Thus, in *Pro Balbo*, total evasion of the prosecutor's name constitutes a vital contribution to the orator's depiction of this individual as an insignificant nonentity unworthy of the jury's trust.<sup>51</sup>

In the political and semi-political addresses following Cicero's return from exile, protracted name-refusal signals the orator's cold shoulder to the three principals chiefly responsible for his expatriation. The opening salvo, *Post Reditum in Senatu*, set the precedent. Although this piece is in good part a tirade against the hated trio, '(P.) Clodius', the prime initiator of Cicero's troubles, is entirely missing over the eighteen pages of text, out of deep loathing for the odious creature. The speaker insinuates the target of his attack by means of oblique hints: *Tribunus plebis* ('a certain tribune', 3.10f., 11.14); *meus inimicus* ('a foe of mine', 4.6f.); *praesens adversarius* ('my present antagonist', 33.15f.); *dissensit unus* ('that lone dissenter', 26.5); *sceleratus civis aut domesticus potius hostis* ('the criminal citizen or rather the public enemy in our midst', 19.3f.); *latro archipirata* ('the larcenous arch-pirate', 13.2); *idem gladiator*

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<sup>51</sup> For further discussion of Cicero's characterization of the prosecutor and its role in the strategy of *Pro Balbo*, see Barber [15] 10-14, 97-100, 109.

(‘that very cutthroat’, 18.6f.).<sup>52</sup> The absence of this obviously expected name is all the more glaring when seen in the light of the orator’s meticulous adherence to the binominal standard, *nominatim* (‘by name’, 31.1), in his simultaneous record of twenty-one loyalists who sponsored his reinstatement.<sup>53</sup> The prolonged name-snubbing extends to Clodius’ consular accomplices. L. Piso and A. Gabinius form an unnamed couple: (*Ii, hi, duo*) *consules* (‘the consuls’, 9.7, 9.10f., 10.1, 18.11); *duo impii nefariiue consules* (‘the two consuls united in immoral wrongdoing’, 18.9f.); *salutem meam . . . ii consules qui vendiderant* (‘the peddlers of my life’, 3.13); *non consules, sed mercatores provinciarum ac venditores vestrae dignitatis* (‘the pair of shams trafficking in provinces and trading your honour’, 10.5f.); *non consules sed latrones* (‘the swindlers masquerading in office’, 10.9); mockingly, *consules modesti legumque metuentes* (‘those conscientious sticklers for constitutional propriety’, 4.4f.). On his own, Piso is anonymous: *tu* (‘you’, 16.4, 16.11, 17.4, 17.8, 17.11-13); *hic homo* (‘this fellow’, 14.1); *ille* (‘that one’, 15.6); *alter consul* (‘one of the consuls’, 32.8); *vicinus consul* (‘the consul who is my [Palatine] neighbour’, 18.4). In one of many digs at this aspiring philosopher’s shaggy coiffure, he is *belua immanis* (‘the abominable beast’, 14.7); and in one among sporadic taunts of his alleged birth from a Gallic mother, his hereditary *agnomen* Caesoninus is mischievously tacked to a non-Roman metronymic, Calventius, his maternal grandfather (*ille alter Caesoninus Calventius*, ‘that other one, Caesoninus Calventius’, 13.10; cf. *Prov. Cons.* 7.2; *Pis.* 14.5). The normal designation, L. Piso, appears once, in the vocative, not until halfway through the discourse and for the specific purpose of dissociating ‘Piso’, a respectable family name, from this particular individual who is unworthy of it, contrary to his kinsman C. Piso Frugi, Cicero’s devoted son-in-law (16.1). Piso’s colleague, A. Gabinius, is likewise allowed his correct double name but once, and only at a place where it is structurally apposite to balance the exceptional admission of

<sup>52</sup> J. Nicholson, *Cicero’s Return from Exile: The Orations Post Reditum* (New York 1992) 96 is off the mark in attributing the reticence to deference for the post of tribune when he states that ‘Cicero avoids (Clodius’) name probably out of respect for his office’.

<sup>53</sup> Cn. Pompeius (Cic. *Red. Sen.* 5.7, 29.1); P. Lentulus (5.2, 8.1, 9.3, 27.10, 28.6); T. Annius, i.e., Milo (19.1, 30.2); P. Sestius (20.2, 30.5); L. Ninnius (3.7); C. Cestilius, M. Cispus, T. Fadius, M. Curtius, C. Messius (21); Q. Fabricius, L. Caecilius, M. Calidius (22); C. Septimius, Q. Valerius, P. Crassus, Sex. Quinctilius, C. Cornutus (23.1-3); P. Servilius (25.12); Cn. Plancius (35.2); C. Piso, i.e., *gener Ciceronis* (38.2). *Per contra*, N. H. Watts (tr.), *Cicero 11: Orations. Pro Archia; Post Reditum in Senatu; Post Reditum ad Quirites; De Domo Sua; De Haruspicum Responsis; Pro Plancio* (Cambridge, Mass. 1923) 52 nn. a, b, 60 n. a, 62 n. b, 64 n. c, 72 nn. a, b, 82 n. a finds it necessary to provide readers unprepared for the recondite trio of Clodius, Piso and Gabinius with eight identifying footnotes.

‘L. Piso’ (16.3). Otherwise, he too is nameless: *alter* (‘the other one’, 10.13); *consul* (‘the consul’, 12.14); *idem* (‘that same one’, 12.1); *tuus ille par* (‘that peer of yours’, 17.5); *vicinus alter consul* (‘the other consul who is my [Tusculan] neighbour’, 18.5); *nefarius hostis praedoque* (‘the vile traitor and robber’, 11.13). The man’s dainty physique and social indulgences supply ingredients for the portrayal of a matching effeminate fop: *hic calamistratus saltator* (‘this curly-haired dancer’, 13.9); *cincinnatus ganeo* (‘the rake with the ringlets’, 12.5); *ille unguentis oblitus* (‘the one reeking of perfume’, 12.17); *leno impudicissimus* (‘the shameless pimp’, 12.4); in irony *gravis auctor* (‘the grave-looking sage’, 13.7).<sup>54</sup>

Cicero remains aloof from the repugnant names of Clodius, Piso and Gabinius during the course of eight subsequent orations (*Red. Pop.*, *Dom.*, *Har. Resp.*, *Sest.*, *Vatin.*, *Prov. Cons.*, *Pis.*, *Planc.*). Throughout these discourses, the trio continues to be the object of his frequent and sometimes intense preoccupation, but their names, particularly in the double form, are either non-existent or scarce, buried under mudslides of nameless alternatives. Allusions to all three are always anonymous in *Post Reditum ad Populum* and *Pro Plancio*. So too are the many onslaughts in *Pro Sestio* against Clodius (*passim*); and in *In Vatinius*, the broadsides against Piso (18, 36). Admissions of these three names, if any, may be due to some special reason, as in a vivid example from *In Pisonem*. This lengthy, albeit fragmentary, diatribe contains no mention of ‘Piso’ except once when it is absolutely necessary to make the point that the subject is unfit to bear such a name: *Aedilis es factus; Piso est a populo Romano factus, non iste Piso* (‘you were elected aedile: yes, a Piso was elected by the Roman people, not the Piso over there’, *Pis.* 2.6f.). The binominal ‘L. Piso’, in one of its rare manifestations (*Dom.* 23.13), is unavoidable because it is integral to a reported senate resolution (note *nominatim*, 23.13). The sparingly allowed ‘P. Clodius’ is indispensable for achieving the emphasis and sarcasm intended in places (*Dom.* 104.7; *Har. Resp.* 8.6). ‘A. Gabinius’ is nowhere to be found in any speech after *Red. Sen.* 16.3: the courtesy had not been withheld before the outbreak of his enmity with the orator (*De Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 52.7, 57.3, 58.13f.), and it was restored after their public reconciliation (*Rab. Post.* 8.5, 10.8).<sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Piso and Gabinius as ‘odd couple’, complementary opposites in physical affectation and moral aberration, form a recurring motif: cf. *Dom.* 60; *Pis.* 1, 12-14, 18, 20, 25; *Planc.* 87; *Prov. Cons.* 8f., 12, 14; *Sest.* 18-23, 26.

<sup>55</sup> The extent of Cicero’s recoil, throughout the nine relevant speeches, from the trio’s names, especially in the double form, can be appreciated in the light of figures comparing the number of nameless incidences of each of them versus the single and double alternatives: see Appendix.

Skipped, clipped or distorted names are the lot of Clodius' henchmen. His brother-in-law is rightly *L. Natta, summo loco adulescens* ('Lucius Natta, a young man of very respectable parentage', *Mur.* 73.11f.) prior to hostilities. Afterwards, throughout a long parody ridiculing his religious dedication of Cicero's confiscated house, he fades into an anonymous neophyte bungling with ineptitude over the course of a ceremonial travesty: *Frater uxoris . . . tuus adfinis . . . [aliquis] hic novus pontifex . . . [unus] imperitus adulescens, novus sacerdos . . . ille pontifex et magister* ('your brother-in-law . . . your relative . . . [a certain] this novice pontifex . . . [a] solitary, immature stripling, inexperienced priest . . . that pontificating pedant', *Dom.* 118-141). The tribune who incinerated the murdered Clodius' corpse in a riot, identified as T. Munacius Plancus with the help of Asconius' annotation, is devoid of name, just *hic ambustus tribunus* ('this arsonist tribune', *Mil.* 12), *furiosus ille tribunus* ('that mad tribune', 14.9), *mercennarius tribunus plebis* ('a mercenary tribune of the plebs', 45.7). The three recalcitrant tribunes who obstructed Cicero's recall from exile always receive anonymity, misnomer or some circumlocution evasive of the binominal standard. Sex. Atilius Serranus Gavianus is *is tribunus . . . unus dissentiens* ('that sole naysayer', *Red. Pop.* 12.2, 15.13f.), *alter [a] Gaviis in Atilios insitus* ('that other one, the graft from the *Gavii* to the *Atilii*', *Sest.* 72.7f.), *Atilius hic Gavianus* ('this Atilius Gavianus', 74.8), or plain 'Serranus' (85.8, 94.12). Aelius Ligus is invariably fodder for wordplay on 'Ligurian', with its potential implication of a retarded blockhead: *stipes ille . . . Ligus* ('that dolt Ligus', *Har. Resp.* 5.f), *Ligus iste nescio qui* ('some nobody called Ligus', *Sest.* 68.4f.), *ille novicius Ligus* ('that novice Ligus', *Dom.* 49.6f.). Q. Numerius Rufus, if not outright 'Numerius' (*Sest.* 82.10, 94.11), is *rusticulus* ('the petty country bumpkin', 82.6) or masked behind the sobriquet 'Gracchus': *is quem homines . . . Gracchum vocabant* ('the fellow folks nicknamed Gracchus', 72.4f.), *Gracchus ille suus* ('that Gracchus of his', 82.4). Numerius and Serranus are lumped together as *duo de lapide empti tribuni* and *duo . . . empti* ('two hirelings picked up from the slave market', *Pis.* 35.8f.; *Sest.* 87.14f.); and collectively, the three are *quisquiliae seditionis Clodianae* ('the dregs of Clodian turbulence', 94.12).

Cicero's works contain scattered remarks on his preoccupation with the minutiae of denomination in public discourse. Naming, he states, is a delicate matter calling for caution: *nonne, quotienscumque in causa in nomen huius incidisti, totiens hunc et virum bonum esse dixisti et honoris causa appellasti?* ('whenever in your presentation you uttered my client's name, did you not always add that he was an honourable man and that you took his name with respect?', *Q. Rosc.* 18.6-8; cf. *L. Sulla, quem honoris causa nomino*, 'Lucius Sulla, whose name I take with respect', *Rosc. Am.* 6.3f.; *C. Flaccum . . .*

*quem . . . honoris gratia nomino*, ‘Gaius Flaccus, whose name I mention with respect’, *Quinct.* 28). Circumspection is advised because mere utterance of someone’s name can give offence to its bearer: *homines notos sumere odiosum est, cum . . . incertum sit velintne ei sese nominari* (‘it is a breach of decorum to cite the names of one’s acquaintances, since it is uncertain whether they would like their names to be used’, *Rosc. Am.* 47.5f.). On the other hand, a client’s or opponent’s name is among personal attributes not immune from rhetorical exploitation in advancing an argument:

Omnes res argumentando confirmantur aut ex eo, quod personis, aut ex eo, quod negotiis est adtributum. Ac personis has res adtributas putamus: nomen, naturam, victum, fortunam, habitum, affectionem, studia, consilia, facta, casus, orationes. nomen est, quod uni cuique personae datur, quo suo quaeque proprio et certo vocabulo appellatur.

(Cic. *Inv. Rhet.* 1.34.10-16)

In argument all propositions are supported by attributes of persons or actions. We believe the following to be attributes of persons: name, nature, lifestyle, circumstances, habits, feeling, interests, thoughts, deeds, experiences, words. ‘Name’ is what is given to each person whereby he is identified by a proper appellation specific to him.

Cicero repeats the point in the second book of this early manual on rhetoric: *nam et de nomine nonnumquam aliquid suspicionis nascitur* (‘sometimes a touch of suspicion arises even from a name’, *Inv. Rhet.* 2.28.7-9). He reiterates it in a later work: *Etiam interpretatio nominis habet acumen, cum ad ridiculum convertas, quam ob rem ita quis vocetur* (‘there is point also in the explanation of a name, when you turn into a joke why someone is called as he is’, *De Or.* 2.257.1-3). Consequently, the orator is interested in other speakers’ witty uses of names to raise laughter while scoring a point, for example, on Catulus and *catulus* (‘Puppy’, 2.220.1-3<sup>56</sup>); Musca, a *cognomen* implicit with A. Sempronius (‘Aulus Sempronius’), and *musca* (‘Buzzer’, 2.247.6f.); Naevius or Navus and *ignavus* (‘Idler’, 2.249.9f.); Nummius, a name reminiscent of *nummi* (coins), and *divisor* (‘Paymaster’, 2.257.3f.). He is a consummate punster himself, playing on, among others, the names Verres, Frugi, Rex, Pulcher, Murena,

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<sup>56</sup> Both the name and the word are implicit in the text. (Q. Lutatius) Catulus is the person meant by *hic meus frater* (‘my brother here’) put in the mouth of the *dramatis persona*, his half-brother C. Julius Caesar Strabo Vopiscus; *catulus* is implied in *interrogatus quid latraret* (‘asked why he was barking’). The witty Catulus gave a sharp repartee: *furem se videre respondit* (‘“I see a thief”, he retorted’).



Alienus, Magnus, and he can make the most of the meaning and sound embedded in a name.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> In the *Verrines*, a range of words resembling the name of Verres reinforces his depiction as a predator on the rampage, eviscerating the life out of his Sicilian province and sweeping it clean: the name Verres itself, carrying a hint of the homonym *verres* (‘boar’, Cic. *Div. Caec.* 57.6f.; *Verr.* 2.3.84.4f.); *ius Verrinum* (‘the administration of Verres’), suggestive of *ius verrinum* (‘pork gravy’, 2.1.121.3); *ex nomine istius* (‘true to his name’, 2.2.18.3) . . . *paratus* . . . *ad everrendam provinciam* (‘all set to sweep the province clean’, 2.2.19.1f.); *Verria* (‘The Verres Festival’, with the *double-entendre* ‘Clean-Sweep Day’, 2.2.52.8f.); *quod* . . . *everriculum* (‘what an eviscerating dragnet!’, 2.4.53.1). Cf. the remark of Quintilian: *iocorum* . . . *materia* . . . *Cicero in Verrem non semel usus est* (‘Cicero made frequent use of the substance for jokes against Verres, *Inst.* 5.10.31.2f.). Frugi, the additional surname attached to one branch of the Pisos, same as *frugi* (‘frugal’, ‘abstemious’), occasions wordplay on the scrupulous frugality of one individual from that family: *cum de Pisone Frugi dixerim* . . . *ille in auri semuncia totam Hispaniam scire voluit unde praetori anulus fieret* . . . *comprobavit, sic ille cognomen* (‘since I have spoken about Piso Frugi . . . he wanted the whole of Spain to be aware of every half-ounce of gold used to make the governor’s ring . . . thus did he live up to his name’, *Verr.* 2.4.57.2-7); *Frugi* . . . *qui uno cognomine declarabatur non modo quis esset sed etiam qualis esset* (‘Frugi, whose bare surname proclaimed not merely his identity, but his character as well’, *Font.* 39.10-13); *reliquas etiam virtutes frugalitas continent. quae nisi tanta esset* . . . *numquam esset L. Pisonis cognomen tanto opere laudatum* (‘“frugality” embraces other virtues as well. Had it not been so comprehensive, the surname of Lucius Piso would never have become the object of so much eulogy’, *Tusc.* 3.16.12-14); *vivit ut Gallonius, loquitur ut Frugi ille Piso* (‘he lives like Gallonius [a noted Epicure], but talks like Piso the Thrifty’, *Fin.* 2.90.12f.). Rex, the *cognomen* of Q. Marcius, gives rise to an amusing pun on *rex* (‘king’, *Att.* 1.16.10). Cicero exploits the coincidence of P. Clodius’ surname Pulcher with *pulcher* (‘good-looking’) to produce this teasing ambiguity: *postquam speculum tibi adlatum est, longo te a pulchris abesse sensisti* (‘after a mirror was brought to you, you realized how distant you were from (Beauty and) Pulchri [your relations]’, *Schol. Bob. [In P. Clodium et C. Curionem]* fr. 24); and he twists the surname into a facetious code-name, the diminutive *Pulchellus* (‘Pretty Boy’, *Att.* 1.16.10, 2.1.4, 2.18.3, 2.22.1). L. Murena’s name, phonetically reminiscent of *munera* (‘funereal games’), with the promise of gladiatorial munificence from Murena’s pending praetorship, provides opportunity for a pun on *expectatio muneris* (‘expectation of funereal [Mureneal] games’, *Mur.* 37.3f.). Alienus, one of the competing petitioners for the prosecution of Verres, is subjected to a jest on *alienus* (‘alien’): *cum et ipse Alienus* . . . *si Alienus* . . . *primas* . . . *partis concesserit. Quartum quem sit habiturus non video* . . . *ex quibus alienissimis hominibus* (‘since Alienus himself . . . if Alienus . . . gives up a leading role. I do not see whom he will find as fourth speaker . . . from what aliens more alien than Alienus’, *Div. Caec.* 49.3-50.1). Pompey’s personal *cognomen* Magnus (‘The Great’) inspires an allusive use of the ordinary adjective *magnus* (‘great’): *Cn. Pompeium* . . . *etiam alienis vitiis magnum* (‘Cn. Pompey . . . great even from the shortcomings of others’, *De Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 67.12f.). The subject has been discussed extensively. E. S. McCartney, ‘Puns and Plays on Proper Names’, *CJ* 14 (1919) 343-59 provides some seventy-five Ciceronian examples in a compilation of over 330 from Latin, Greek and English. A. Corbeill, *Controlling Laughter: Political Humor in the Late Roman Republic* (Princeton 1996) 57-98

Although the rhetorical treatises are silent on a methodology of denomination, the speeches leave ample evidence of Cicero's practical manipulation of the multiple naming options available to him from the conventions of Roman nomenclature. On innumerable occasions, the orator picks from the choices at his disposal what best serves his purpose in the persuasion of his audience, notably with regard to the elevation or the depreciation of his subjects. Method can be seen in various aspects of his handling of names: strategic departures from a usual surname in order to advance a given argument and to suit a particular context; preference for a double or a single name depending on an attitude of respect or irreverence; anomalous recourse to the independent first name in order to suspend for a moment a normally serious tone; exploitation of a rare triple name in order to enhance stature, emphasis, pathos or solemnity; avoidance of a name altogether, or distortion of it, in order to communicate the speaker's ultimate rebuff.

*Appendix: The Anonymity of Clodius, Piso and Gabinus*

*Clodius*

	Anonymous*	Clodius (once Pulcher)	P. Clodius
<i>Red. Sen</i>	8	0	0
<i>Red. Pop.</i>	1	0	0
<i>Dom.</i>	82	3	7
<i>Har. Resp.</i>	73 (+ many <i>tu</i> )	4	7
<i>Prov. Cons.</i>	8	1	1
<i>Sest.</i>	52	0	0
<i>Vatin.</i>	4	2	0
<i>Pis.</i>	19	1	2
<i>Planc.</i>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	250+	11	17

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studies Ciceronian wordplay in a wider context of the significance of names and Roman attitude to them. See also W. L. Watson, 'The Surname as a Brickbat in Cicero's Speeches', *CJ* 66.1 (1970) 55-58; V. J. Matthews, 'Some Puns on Roman *Cognomina*', *G&R* 20 (1973) 20-24.

*Piso*

	Anonymous* (incl. ‘consular duo’)	Piso	L. Piso
<i>Red. Sen</i>	18	0	1
<i>Red. Pop.</i>	5	0	0
<i>Dom.</i>	16	5	1
<i>Har. Resp.</i>	6	1	1
<i>Prov. Cons.</i>	23	4	2
<i>Sest.</i>	42	7	0
<i>Vatin.</i>	2	0	0
<i>Pis.</i>	82 (+ many <i>tu</i> )	1	0
<i>Planc.</i>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	198+	18	5

*Gabinus*

	Anonymous <sup>58</sup> (excl. ‘consular duo’)	Gabinus	A. Gabinus
<i>Red. Sen.</i>	12	0	1
<i>Red. Pop.</i>	1	0	0
<i>Dom.</i>	4	9	0
<i>Har. Resp.</i>	1	1	0
<i>Prov. Cons.</i>	13	4	0
<i>Sest.</i>	19	5	0
<i>Vatin.</i>	1	1	0
<i>Pis.</i>	22	10	0
<i>Planc.</i>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	75	30	1

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<sup>58</sup> ‘Anonymous’ includes the codename ‘Catilina’ for Clodius; the misnomers ‘Caesoninus’ and ‘Calventius’ for Piso; and the epithet ‘Semiramis’ for Gabinius.

## HORACE'S DIALOGUES: BOOK TWO OF THE *SATIRES*

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**Abstract.** All of the *Satires* of Horace's second book are in dialogue form, or are somehow dialogue-related. Horace himself takes part in the dialogue in all but one. It has been believed widely that Horace generally plays a Socratic role, allowing his interlocutors to reveal their own various inadequacies. This paper argues that the credibility of Horace's Socratic position has been taken for granted too much.<sup>1</sup>

Seven of the eight poems in Horace's second book of *Satires* are dialogues or reports of dialogues (that is, *Sat.* 2.1-5, 2.7f.).<sup>2</sup> In one case, Horace is neither of the two speakers (2.5); in all the others, apart from the first, the interlocutor rather than Horace is the main speaker. The remaining satire contains a significant dialogue scene in which Horace's presence is implied and another speaker has the dominant role, telling the story of the Town Mouse and Country Mouse (2.6). The significant others in these poems are Trebatius (2.1), Ofellus (2.2), Damasippus (2.3), Catius (2.4), Tiresia (2.5), Ulixes (2.5, cf. 2.3), Cervius (2.6, cf. 2.1), Davus (2.7, cf. 2.5), Fundanius (2.8) and Nasidienus Rufus (2.8). Horace's audience would have known something from outside the

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to the following for helpful comments on an earlier draft: Kathleen M. Coleman, Harry Hine, Niall Rudd and Bruce J. Gibson.

<sup>2</sup> Classical texts are as follows (in order of appearance, other than to avoid repetition): the text of Horace, *Satirae* [*Sermones*], *Epodi*, *Epistulae*, and *Carmina* is that of F. Klingner (ed.), *Q. Horati Flacci Opera* (Leipzig 1959); of Lucilius, *Saturae*, *Fragmenta* E. H. Warmington (ed.), *Remains of Old Latin 3: Lucilius and The Twelve Tables*<sup>2</sup> (Cambridge, Mass. 1967); of Velleius Paterculus, *Historia Romana* J. Hellegouarc'h (ed.), *Velleius Paterculus: Histoire Romaine* 1-2 (Paris 1982); of Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed. and tr.), *Cicero's Letters to Atticus* 1-6 (Cambridge 1965-1968); of Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares* D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed.), *Cicero: Epistulae ad Familiares* 1-2 (Cambridge 1977); of Tibullus, *Elegiae* F. W. Lenz and G. K. Galinsky (edd.), *Albii Tibulli Aliorumque Carminum Libri Tres*<sup>3</sup> (Leiden 1971); of Matron, *Convivium Atticum* P. Brandt (ed.), *Parodorum Epicorum Graecorum et Arcestrati Reliquiae* (Leipzig 1888); of Juvenal, *Saturae* W. V. Clausen (ed.), *A. Persi Flacci et D. Iuni Iuvenalis Saturae* (Oxford 1959); of Pomponius Porphyrio, *Commentum in Horati Epistulas* A. Holder (ed.), *Pomponi Porphyronis Commentum in Horatium Flaccum* (Innsbruck 1894); and of Virgil, *Eclogae* R. A. B. Mynors (ed.), *P. Vergili Maronis Opera* (Oxford 1969). All translations are my own.

satires about Trebatius, Damasippus, Catus,<sup>3</sup> Tiresia, Davus, and Fundanius; and also about Maecenas and Varius who have supporting roles in the eighth satire.<sup>4</sup> Trebatius, Damasippus and Catus appear in Cicero (e.g., *Cic. Att.* 7.17, 9.9, 9.12, 9.15, 9.15a, 9.17, 10.1, 10.11f., 11.8, 13.9, 13.23; *Fam.* 4.1, 7.5-21, 11.27f., 14.17 [Trebatius]; *Att.* 12.29, 12.33; *Fam.* 7.23 [Damasippus]; *Fam.* 10.23, 15.16, 15.19 [Catus]). Damasippus and Trebatius may have still been alive. Tiresia stems from Homer and Greek tragedy (e.g., *Hom. Od.*; *Aesch. Sept.*; *Eur. Bacch.*; *Soph. Ant., OT*). Davus is a stereotypical name for a comic slave (e.g., *Ter. An.*; *Phorm.*). Gaius Fundanius, Gaius Cilnius Maecenas and Lucius Varius Rufus were Horace’s contemporaries: the first was a writer of comedy, the second a political adviser and a patron of poets, and the third an epic poet. These would have been sufficient to give the audience a starting point in a sense of reality, or familiarity, especially as the Trebatius who holds place in the opening poem is probably the least distorted, parodic, or artificial in presentation.

Ofellus stands out to some extent. A person like Ofellus would not have the social elevation to be known to Horace’s audience, but his presence is excused by the way he is introduced to the audience, and by Horace’s assertion that as a boy he knew him (*Sat.* 2.2.112). As well as the main characters of the book, the literary form too would not have been strange to the audience. Cicero had written philosophical and literary-theoretical dialogues involving real people, and here too the conversations were not historical (*Cic. Fam.* 9.8; *Att.*

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<sup>3</sup> See C. J. Classen, ‘Horace—A Cook?’, *CQ* 28 (1978) 333-48, who deals with Catus (*Hor. Sat.* 2.4) in detail, but also pays attention to the other main figures in the second book.

<sup>4</sup> The last satire of the book (2.8) is an account of a dinner, hosted by Nasidienus Rufus, and attended by Fundanius (who gives the account to Horace), Maecenas and two of his attendants (Vibidius and Servilius Balatro), Viscus Thurinus, Varius, Nomentanus, and Porcius. The leading role is taken by Nasidienus, and Maecenas has a small ‘star guest’ appearance. The rest are important in varying degrees. Of these characters, Fundanius, Maecenas, and Varius are real and known to us: see F. Münzer, in A. Pauly, G. Wissowa *et al.* (edd.), *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1893-1980) 7 col. 292 s.v. ‘(2) C. Fundanius’; A. Kappelmacher, in *RE* 14.1 cols 207-29 s.v. ‘(6) C. Maecenas’; R. Helm, in *RE* (s. 2) 8A.1 cols 410-13 s.v. ‘(21) L. Varius Rufus’. Viscus Thurinus is presumably also real, as he is mentioned in a list of real persons (*Hor. Sat.* 1.10.83). Of Nomentanus and Porcius, the parasites of the host, Nomentanus is possibly mentioned by Lucilius (fr. 56, 59ff.: cf. C. Damon, *The Mask of the Parasite: A Pathology of Roman Patronage* [Ann Arbor 1997] 112 n. 20); Porcius (‘Piggy’) is the name of a significant type. Probably Balatro (‘Babbling Buffoon’, cf. *Hor. Sat.* 1.2.2) is a type name as well. That leaves Nasidienus: there seems to be no merit in arguing that this is a code-name for Salvidienus Rufus; there is no evidence that the latter was a gourmet, and his execution six or so years earlier suggests that Horace would not need a cover name (*Vell. Pat.* 2.76.4).

13.19.2f.; cf. 13.14, 13.16.1, 15.1).<sup>5</sup> The tradition goes back to Plato's Socratic dialogues, and Platonic models are visible for the Horace's fourth and eighth satires, and in a more generalized way for the dinner conversations exemplified in the tale of the two mice in the sixth satire. There is also the reference to Plato at the beginning of the third satire (*Sat.* 2.3.11) in the context of literary models (it is unlikely that the comedy writer is meant here). Taking this into consideration with the posture that Horace takes in the dialogues in which he is one of the actors, it has seemed compelling to see Socrates as a role model.<sup>6</sup> However, although it is commonly taken that the Horace in the poems is a Socrates, there is no guarantee that he is an *adequate* Socrates. I shall be suggesting that the interlocutors are not necessarily so very laughable. Rather than the interlocutors enacting the role of the Platonic stooges whose inadequacies are revealed by Socrates' ironically non-judgmental questions, I would say that in writing these satires Horace presents himself as a man assuming a Socratic posture, but one whose adequacy for the role is variable. Satiric themes, indeed sometimes the same themes as in the first book, are thus given an extremely ambivalent treatment.<sup>7</sup>

This ambivalence is weakest in the opening satire of the second book (2.1). Here, Horace has a discussion about writing satire. The interlocutor is C. Trebatius Testa,<sup>8</sup> *iurisconsultus* ('legal adviser') and friend of Cicero (*Cic. Fam.* 7.6-22). His legal persona and his sense of humour go a long way towards explaining the Horatian dialogue in which he appears. It is framed as a legal consultation, though whimsically this is converted into both a medical consultation (*Sat.* 2.1.5-9) and a Callimachean *recusatio* with Trebatius taking Apollo's role (2.1.1-23); the punch-line of the dialogue is an equivocation based

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<sup>5</sup> Behind Horace's dialogues, one can also see the shadows of other dialogue-based forms, including Virgil's even numbered *Eclogues*, the Theocritean *Idylls*, and the literary mime.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. W. S. Anderson, 'The Roman Socrates: Horace and his Satires', in J. P. Sullivan (ed.), *Critical Essays on Roman Literature: Satire* (London 1963) 1-37. Menippus (perhaps via Varro's *Menippean Satires*) may be a contributory figure.

<sup>7</sup> K. Freudenburg, *Satires of Rome: Threatening Poses from Lucilius to Juvenal* (Cambridge 2001) 15-124 argues that Horace's mild satire is a sort of metasatire, condemning contemporary conditions for preventing him from writing satire. See also I. DuQuesnay, 'Horace and Maecenas: The Propaganda Value of *Sermones* I', in A. J. Woodman and D. A. West (edd.), *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus* (Cambridge 1984) 19-58; I. A. Ruffell, 'Beyond Satire: Horace, Popular Invective and the Segregation of Literature', *JRS* 93 (2003) 35-65. R. P. Bond, 'Horace on Damasippus on Stertinius on . . .', *Scholia* 7 (1998) 82-108 sees some merits in Damasippus' sermon.

<sup>8</sup> F. Muecke, 'Law, Rhetoric, and Genre in Horace, *Satires* 2.1', in S. J. Harrison (ed.), *Homage to Horace: A Bimillenary Celebration* (Oxford 1995) 203-18.

on word play and a point of law (2.1.80-86),<sup>9</sup> and reminds us that Trebatius had a taste for puns, including puns on legal terms.<sup>10</sup> Cicero’s letters to Trebatius also imply a shared knowledge of poetry, which would make Horace’s dialogue the more dramatically credible.

As Muecke points out, Trebatius’ short replies are practical and lawyerly, but Horace continually goes off on other tacks—indeed he seems to have the flimsiest case possible, shot through with loopholes and weak arguments. The real points that are made are quite other than what is argued at the surface level. At the deeper level, Horace asserts that he is a poet subject to the aesthetic principles of poetry, that writing poetry is natural to him, and that it is about real life (2.1). It is possible, too, that the argument *misleadingly* encourages the reader to expect ‘aggressive self defence’ or satiric attack, so that in the rest of the book we find it too easily in the wrong places, and may be misled into too readily trusting in the validity of the Socratic pose which ‘Horace’ assumes.<sup>11</sup>

It is with the second satire in book 2 that the ambivalence of the ‘Socratic’ method begins to come into full force. It is easy to make the assumption that Ofellus’ views are presented for our assent in this satire, but to do so downplays the actual structure of the dialogue. What Ofellus says himself is confined to the final section of the poem (*Sat.* 2.2.116-36), a small but important section which gives a perspective for viewing the rest. All the preceding part is Horace’s second-hand report of Ofellus’ precepts (cf. 2.2.2f.). In subsequent satires, Damasippus and Davus give second- and indeed third-hand reports of moralizing lessons, and are commonly taken to be rather absurd figures; but the reader of the Ofellus satire could not know that in advance on a first reading (and this would beg the question of Damasippus’ and Davus’ roles in any case). We might then take Horace’s disclaimer (*nec meus hic sermo est*, ‘It is not me speaking here’, 2.2.2) as a rhetorical device paradoxically implying his assent to Ofellus’ message. It is a *captatio benevolentiae* which, by seeming to soften the message, accepts that it is a hard lesson and implies that it is worth taking seriously. By emphasizing that the message comes from Ofellus, the Horace in the poem suggests disarmingly that he too, as well as the audience, must try to take it in. Nevertheless, despite the lengths taken to give authority to the lesson, the message in Horace’s version of Ofellus’ precepts actually turns out to be less than entirely convincing.

The points raised against the eating of peacock, for example, are very thin: that one is attracted by its rareness, or its cost, or by the appearance of

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<sup>9</sup> *Mala carmina* means ‘evil incantations’; Horace’s *bona carmina* means ‘good poetry’, and turns Trebatius’ *mala carmina* into ‘bad poetry’.

<sup>10</sup> See Muecke [8].

<sup>11</sup> See Muecke [8] 209.

feathers that are not actually eaten (*Sat.* 2.2.23-30). Luxury foods are expensive, but there is an element of relativity here. A life without any luxuries or extravagances is rather a poor affair. Horace conjures up the notion of a simple life as an artificially polarized opposite of a caricature of extravagance. When Horace wishes that he could have lived in the old days when boar was eaten high, because it was better to keep it for a late guest than eat it on one's own while still fresh (2.2.92f.), the reader may suspect that self-deception lies behind the nostalgia and recall the way in which dissatisfied people hankered after other lives in book 1 (1.1.3-19). Later in the second book, Davus accuses Horace of precisely this sort of false nostalgia, and uses language which recalls both of these passages together (2.7.23). By contrast, the description of the simple life given in Ofellus' own words acquires credibility from its particular circumstances (2.2.116-36). Its picture is congenial, moreover, because of the sociability built into it. There is both fun and endurance here. Ofellus' 'simple life' makes Horace's version look like a rather idle and luxurious town-dweller's half-baked attempt to rehash some clichés. The satire is perhaps less about excessively luxurious lifestyles, than about derivative moralizing.<sup>12</sup>

The third and the seventh satires in book 2 need to be considered together. In each, a named character lectures Horace on a Stoic paradox. In each, the lecture becomes a direct criticism of Horace himself. Damasippus was, according to Cicero, an agent in the purchasing of estates and works of art (*Att.* 12.29, 12.33; *Fam.* 7.23). According to Horace, he was ruined, but was saved from suicide by a lecture from Stertinius the Stoic, a lecture which he purveys (with what accuracy we are left ignorant) in turn to Horace (*Sat.* 2.3.18f., 2.3.31-42). Davus is a stock name for a comic slave (cf. 2.5.91); Davus has learned some material from the Stoic Crispinus' porter, and has been waiting for the courage to say it to Horace (2.7.1f., 2.7.43-45). Both characters have something comic or absurd about them in Horace's presentation, and neither's lecture is original—indeed we might expect both to be parodies in part or whole of Stoic moralizing. There are, however, curiosities. In the first place, both Damasippus and Davus use the Horatian manner, specifically of the Horatian lectures that open the first book. Damasippus uses the same kind of lecturing gambits as found there<sup>13</sup>—analogies, anecdotes, examples, fable, and myth. Davus uses an indirect introduction with examples, as Horace does in all three of the opening satires of the first book. Davus' contrary Priscus is very like Horace's changeable Tigellius (1.3.1-19). He turns to the subject of his speech

<sup>12</sup> The portrait of the hypocritical Alfius (*Hor. Epod.* 2) shows some resemblance to the moralizing 'Horace' (*Sat.* 2.2).

<sup>13</sup> See *primum* . . . ('First', *Hor. Sat.* 2.3.41); *audire atque togam iubeo componere* ('Pay attention and compose yourselves, please', 2.3.77).



*via* an intervention from Horace, just as Horace turns to his subject *via* interlocutions (1.2.23, 1.3.19f.; and, for that matter, in Horace’s version of Ofellus’ discourse, 2.2.7). Davus’ opening shot against Horace is like Horace’s earlier argument (1.1.3-19). Both Damasippus and Davus are images of Horace as satirist.<sup>14</sup> Not only that, but when they criticize Horace, he resents it just as the victims (and potential victims) of satire do in his own apologies for satire (1.4, 2.1).

The strength of Horace’s counterargument is rather different in the two poems. His argument against Davus is particularly weak: it is merely that Davus had better leave off or he will (as slave—and despite the freedom of the Saturnalia) be punished (*Sat.* 2.7.118).<sup>15</sup> His argument against Damasippus is just to lose his temper without further threats (2.3.323-26). Perhaps this may incline the reader to suspect that Davus (who provokes more reaction) has the stronger case against Horace. We have already seen that the beginning of Davus’ critique (2.7.22-27) reminds us of two Horatian passages (1.1.3-19, 2.2.92f.). The actual charges—instability, obsession with married ladies, art, and luxury dinners—are the stuff of Horatian satire, but Horace is himself ready to admit to instability and a taste for luxury (*Epist.* 1.8, 1.15). Damasippus only aims the final part of his speech directly at Horace. Here, the charges are mimicking Maecenas with his extravagant building, writing poems, having an ill temper, and being obsessed with sex. Horace enacts the ill temper (*Sat.* 2.3, 2.7), and admits it elsewhere (*Epist.* 1.8.9, 1.20.25), but the building programme seems to belong to the architectural strand in Roman moralizing rather than to Horace. Davus may have something of a better case against Horace than Damasippus; but rather than seeing this in terms of degrees of exculpation for Horace, we should take it that Damasippus’ charges are the *kind* of things in which Horace (or the reader) might have weaknesses, and that no matter how silly the critic, the critic’s silliness does not mean that he has not got a point. The revelation of the foolishness of Damasippus—and Davus even more so<sup>16</sup>—is not complete, and Horace does not escape scot-free.

In these two poems in particular, moral judgments are made and invited, but they prove tricky to pursue. The ethical critic, generally speaking, has a tactical problem. If he criticizes us (the audience) directly, we evade the point by thinking his criticism unrealistic—the satirist is too good to be of this world. On the other hand, if he criticizes *other* people, we are free to go along with the

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<sup>14</sup> We might think of seeing the comic character Davus as in some degree parallel to the comic writer Fundanius, who might be seen as standing in for Horace (*Sat.* 2.8).

<sup>15</sup> The same argument is implicit against the *vilicus* (Hor. *Epist.* 1.14).

<sup>16</sup> Stereotypically, the comic slave is not stupid; he often helps the less intelligent young master in his predicament with clever stratagems.

criticism and accept the scapegoat provided by it. Our own sense of being better than other people in some respect at least, and therefore good enough to get by, is reinforced. In these two poems, Horace puts himself in the role of the audience of the first book of his *Satires*, and thereby makes himself a figure for the audience to identify with: to the extent that we have doubts about his attempt to evade criticism we begin (potentially) to question our own moral imperviousness.

In the fourth satire in book 2, the Platonic model is clear; the teasing of Catus—in particular about the authorship of the lecture he goes on to deliver—is reminiscent of Plato's *Phaedrus*.<sup>17</sup> This puts Horace in a very clear Socratic stance, and we are invited to think that Catus is somehow unsatisfactory—too devoted to food perhaps, or materially obsessed. There was a long tradition of instructional literature in Greek and Latin and, more particularly with regard to this poem, a long tradition of instructional poetry. Standard subject matters include farming, and astronomical phenomena; but there are many more areas covered such as snakebites, and atomic physics. The didactic genre feeds into other genres too, so that we see erotic instruction filtering into Roman love elegy (e.g., Tib. 1.4; Ov. *Ars Am*; *Rem. Am.*; *Medic.*), and literary theory in Horace's later *Ars Poetica*. There had also long been a broad strain of food-related material in Roman literature, especially in moralizing literature.<sup>18</sup> These two strains, the didactic and the culinary, are blended in *Satire* 2.4. We could look at the poem in formal terms like these, and see it as a Latin experiment in form and content<sup>19</sup> analogous to those of the elegists; but the context of the book in which it comes, and the broader generic background of satire, lead us to expect some ethical element. Horace transforms Ofellus' comments on the simple life into a moralizing sermon on extravagance and luxury. In the preceding poem (2.3), Damasippus lectures (at second-hand) on the folly of humans. In *Satire* 2.4, we might expect to see Catus as purveying yet another unbalanced key to the question of life. If we accept Horace's Ofellan sermon (2.2) as serious, we might see Catus' precepts as put in a worse light by the contrast.

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<sup>17</sup> See E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 136f.; N. Rudd, *The Satires of Horace* (Cambridge 1966) 208; N. A. Hudson, 'Food in Roman Satire', in S. H. Braund (ed.), *Satire and Society in Ancient Rome* (Exeter 1989) 69-88.

<sup>18</sup> See Rudd [17] 161-65, 202-23; F. Muecke, *Horace: Satires II* (Warminster 1993) 9-11.

<sup>19</sup> In Greek, Archestratus' *Hedypatheia* is essentially a parodic food-didactic. See Rudd [17] 204; Classen [3] 340. Note also Matron, *Convivium Atticum* Brandt 60. Ennius' *Hedypagetica* was a translation or imitation of Archestratus. Varro's Menippean *Peri Edesmaton* definitely included—probably extensively—moralizing.

There are, however, a number of reasons for hesitation before accepting this reading of Catius. First, Damasippus may not be such a complete fool as we thought. Secondly, the contrast provided by Horace’s Ofellan sermon is weakened by any doubts which we may have about its worth. Thirdly, the content of Catius’ lecture, on its own terms, appears to be quite unobjectionable—what Catius says is generally orderly (reflecting the course of a Roman dinner) and apparently sound enough.<sup>20</sup> An interest in food, its preparation and presentation, is, furthermore, quite innocuous; in terms of didactic literature, one presumably did not need to be excessively interested in snakebites to be part of Nicander’s intended audience for his didactic poem on the subject, nor in astronomy to read Cicero’s version of Aratus’ *Phaenomena*. It is perhaps amusing that Catius’ claim to be the first to serve Alban grapes with apples, wine lees and tartar, and white pepper and black salt on little dishes (*Sat.* 2.4.73-75) could almost be a parody of the frequent (and often tendentious) claims to be the first to write this or that kind of literature in Latin that we find in this period—including Horace’s own later claim to be the first to have transferred lyric and iambic into Latin (*Epist.* 1.19.21-34)<sup>21</sup>—but this is a long way from making Catius a symptom of flaws in society. If Horace is a Socrates in this Socratic dialogue, he falls short of anything more than a possibly amiable tease.<sup>22</sup> The poem may, however, also be a joke at the expense of the food moralizing, which is part of its background.<sup>23</sup>

Tiresia and Ulixes (Hor. *Sat.* 2.5), and the minor figure Cervius (2.6.77), need little comment. Only two points about the Homeric satire (2.5) are required. First, the use of an instructional approach by the major speaker Tiresia makes this poem, like the Catius satire (2.4), another experiment with the didactic tradition; and the contrast between Tiresia and the harmless Catius

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<sup>20</sup> See Rudd [17] 209-13; Classen [3] 337-39 finds some humorous touches.

<sup>21</sup> Catius’ claim to novelty (*Sat.* 2.4.45f.) is false (A. Kiessling and R. Heinze [edd.], *Q. Horatius Flaccus: Oden und Epoden*<sup>9</sup> [Berlin 1958] 273, quoting Arcestratus F 3 Brandt 141); and Horace makes fun of literary posturings (*Epist.* 2.2.91-105); but a false claim of originality does not have to put Catius in the wrong: see S. Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge 1998) 52-54 on such claims in poetry. Elsewhere, Horace puts programmatic words in another surprising mouth—that of the mime actress Arbuscula (*Sat.* 1.10.76f.); see C. Keane, *Figuring Genre in Roman Satire* (Oxford 2006) 17-23.

<sup>22</sup> Rudd [17] 213 has Horace ‘making fun of Catius’ largely for his uncritical and absolute dependence on his rather pedantic source (and not ‘really attacking luxury’).

<sup>23</sup> Classen [3] 345 argues that Catius, the Epicurean philosopher who died in 46/45BC, is the specific target representing ‘those who follow Epicurus without understanding his philosophy’; and that Hor. *Sat.* 2.4 therefore balances the parody of a Stoic philosopher in the preceding satire (cf. *Carm.* 2.2f., *Epist.* 1.15f. for Stoic-Epicurean juxtapositions).

gives some sense of scale to how we should view the latter. Secondly, it is clear that Tiresia's advice is cynical (although sound in its own terms), and that the naïve Ulixes is more or less ready to accept it: there is no figure in the poem who acts as an ironic Socrates allowing the other to reveal his own inadequacies. In *Satire* 2.6, Cervius is a lesser figure than those in the other satires in book 2; but he still has his significance. It is he who tells the tale of the Town and Country Mice, which concludes the sixth satire (2.6.77-117). The idea of the simple life is blended with the element of the 'town and country' contrast, which is conventional in Roman moralizing and important throughout this particular poem;<sup>24</sup> and Cervius' tale illustrates the moral. Though there is a sophisticated humour in his telling,<sup>25</sup> that (of course) is Horace's work. If we look at how Horace presents Cervius' telling of it, we make several interesting observations. First of all, Cervius is old. His name tells us this ('staglike' is proverbial in Latin for 'long-lived': cf. Juv. 14.251), and he tells *anilis* . . . *fabellas* ('old wives' tales', Hor. *Sat.* 2.6.77f.). This particular old wives' tale is a fable—as though Cervius is close to his second childhood—and there is the suggestion that he regularly trots out this and other such tales. In addition, we note a discrepancy with the preceding context: Horace has said that, at his place in the country, the conversation is not about fripperies like other people's town and country houses (2.6.71); but that, despite its moral dimension, is what Cervius' tale is, both at the superficial level of its content, and at its level of response to comments about someone's money (2.6.78f.). Yet again in the dialogue part of this poem, we find that the direction of the apparent moral content is less precise in its aim than we expect.

The last poem of the second book (2.8) is the most deeply evasive. In a replay of the basic outline of Plato's *Symposium*,<sup>26</sup> Horace meets a friend, Fundanius, who reports the events at a drinking and dinner party given by one Nasidienus Rufus. Fundanius, we know, was a comic poet (Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.41f.); and we know too how Horace presents satire and comedy as related (*Sat.* 1.4). We might, therefore, expect that Fundanius represents a point of view not significantly different from Horace's,<sup>27</sup> and that his negative presentation of Nasidienus justifies our trying to make further negative inferences. Following

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<sup>24</sup> It is important as a theme also in Hor. *Epist.* 1—see esp. 1.7, 1.10, 1.14, 1.18.

<sup>25</sup> See D. A. West, 'Of Mice and Men: Horace, *Satires* 2.6.77-117', in D. A. West and A. J. Woodman (edd.), *Quality and Pleasure in Latin Poetry* (Cambridge 1974) 67-80.

<sup>26</sup> See Fraenkel [17] 137 on Hor. *Sat.* 2.8 and the opening of Plato's *Timaeus*.

<sup>27</sup> But cf. Horace's disclaimer in the Ofellus satire (2.2.2).

these lines, we might see Nasidienus as analogous to the social manipulator in *Satire* 1.9.<sup>28</sup>

The setting of the bulk of this poem, the dinner party, is a recurrent and often symbolic element in Roman literature.<sup>29</sup> Food is an important element in Roman moralizing (and we have seen it play a role in the second and fourth satires of this book). But, as a literary motif, the dinner itself is significant because of its social function and symbolism. Intimately tied in with the workings and expression of *amicitia* (‘friendship’), the occasion embodied the gathering together of fellow citizens to share food; by the seating arrangement, it also embodied both social unity and social grading. In the basic plan of the town house, moreover, the dining room was behind the hall (which those who came to the *salutatio*, the morning visit to the patron,<sup>30</sup> would enter), and therefore represented a privileged place.<sup>31</sup> Over and above this, since the figure of Maecenas is integrally linked with the theme of *amicitia* in (especially) *Satires* 1.5, 1.6, 1.9, and 2.6, a dinner poem in which Maecenas appears suggests inevitably that *amicitia* will be important in the poem. This line of reasoning makes it even more tempting to take Nasidienus as one who attempts to use the bonds of *amicitia* improperly, that is, for his own self-advancement.

There is, indeed, irony at the expense of Nasidienus; but it is less than clear that it is that kind of irony, or that it is the only level of irony in the poem. Certainly it is ironic that, when the awning collapses on top of the meal, it does not appear to be the attempts of Nasidienus’ own supporter (*Sat.* 2.8.25f.) with the ominous Lucilian name of Nomentanus which cheer up the weeping host (although Fundanius says so, 2.8.59-61), but instead the ironic consolation speech of Maecenas’ ‘shadow’, Servilius Balatro (2.8.64-74). While this goes on, Varius, Horace’s friend, has been attempting to conceal his laughter (2.8.63f.). It is clear that Nasidienus is too imperceptive to tell that he is the object of mockery; but it is less clear how justified the mockery is. Nasidienus’ dinner is neither mean nor careless. Throughout *Satire* 2.8, he explains things about the food and its preparation very much in the manner of Catius in the

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<sup>28</sup> Aristius Fuscus, who provides another point of perspective (Hor. *Sat.* 1.9), is also supposed to have written comedies (Porph. *ad* Hor. *Epist.* 1.10).

<sup>29</sup> See E. Gowers, ‘Horace, *Satires* 1.5: An Inconsequential Journey’ *PCPhS* 39 (1993) 25f. For the Greek background of symposiastic literature, see Rudd [17] 214f.

<sup>30</sup> On the importance of the *salutatio*, see R. P. Saller, ‘Patronage and Friendship in Early Imperial Rome: Drawing the Distinction’, in A. W. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society* (London 1989) 57f.

<sup>31</sup> On the relation of architecture to the social structure of the activities that it houses, cf. A. W. Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Patronage in Roman Society: From Republic to Empire’, in Wallace-Hadrill [30] 63f.

fourth satire of book 2,<sup>32</sup> but this does not make him a culpable social manoeuvrer. He tries too hard to impress, and gets upset and cries when the dinner goes wrong (2.8.58f.). Doubtless, we would find this highly annoying were we present as guests but, as the audience of a shaped and crafted narrative, we may perhaps find a childish pathos in Nasidienus' portrayal. It is true that Fundanius tells Horace (and therefore us) that Nasidienus bewailed the apparent demise of his dinner party as though it were the untimely loss of a son (2.8.58f.), but it is part of the comedian Fundanius' manner to exaggerate comic effects (as when the collapse itself is dressed up as a mock epic incident, 2.8.54-56).

On the other hand, both of Maecenas' followers-on, Vibidius and Balatro, may seem to us boorish in their attitude to the host's wine and their mocking attitude (*Sat.* 2.8.33-40, 2.8.81f.). Perhaps this is our modern sensibility at work. Certainly Fundanius, who is telling the story to Horace, identifies with the mocking attitude. At the end of his account, he describes the guests' desertion of the unfinished dinner merely as revenge (2.8.93). Fundanius was, like Horace, a poet; his genre, comedy, is the one of which Horace makes much as a parallel to (1.4): perhaps he, of all the interlocutors of the second book, has the best *prima facie* case for being seen as not being subjected to irony by the Horace of the poem. Indeed, Fundanius clearly expects Horace to share his attitude. In the very last lines, he says: *quem nos sic fugimus ulti, ut nihil omnino gustaremus, velut illis Canidia adflasset, peior serpentibus Afris* ('We got our revenge, getting away without tasting anything, as if Canidia had breathed on it worse than African snakes', 2.8.93-95). Canidia appears elsewhere in Horace (*Epod.* 3, 5, 17; *Sat.* 1.8, 2.1): Fundanius' use of her name here suggests either that Fundanius is drawing attention to shared values, or that Horace, as author of the poem, has put the name in Fundanius' mouth as a seal of approval.<sup>33</sup> However, we cannot take it for granted that Fundanius is right to make such an assumption of shared values, or that he alone of all the interlocutors in book 2 is free from any of the author's irony. We are not given Horace's response; and Maecenas, although the occasion is a dinner, and conversation is a generic expectation, says nothing (according to Fundanius' account, even when addressed by Nasidienus, 2.8.16f.).<sup>34</sup>

Perhaps we need not resist the temptation to feel that the behaviour of Fundanius and the other fugitives is less than ideal; we may feel that their

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<sup>32</sup> Rudd [17] 220.

<sup>33</sup> So E. C. Wickham (ed.), *Quinti Horatii Flacci Opera Omnia*<sup>3</sup> (Oxford 1896) 205, comparing the use of *Tityre, te patulae* (Verg. *Georg.* 4.566) as an echo of *Tityre, tu patulae* (1.1).

<sup>34</sup> Nor does Viscus, but he does not count for as much as Maecenas.

behaviour is at least open to question.<sup>35</sup> In any case, we can certainly construe it as part of a comically exaggerated tale told by a comedian, and partly at his own expense. This non-moralizing, comic approach allows the lack of ethical simplicity to represent a form of realism, which is how the Romans thought of comedy; it suits Fundanius as a comedy writer, and also ties in with major elements in the satiric programme which Horace laid out in book 1 (especially in *Satire* 1.4). The apparent absence of any satirical criticism may defy the reader’s expectations of food satire; but they have surely been defied already throughout book 2.<sup>36</sup>

The dialogue form in *Satires* book 2 allows other points of view to be set against Horace’s, with the result that the contents are refracted in a complex way. As we have seen, the characters involved would all be familiar to the audience in one way or another (in the case of Nasidienus one has to assume this to be so), and most were real people. In their individual dramas, and in their differences from each other and from Horace, they emerge as abrasive, and the conflicts of viewpoints are dynamic. We are not entitled to extract simple straightforward moral lessons, perhaps especially in the case of Fundanius, whose poem ends the collection, and whose viewpoint—which Horace makes us think he shares—is comic and not moralizing. In all this, we may feel that contact with real experience is an issue, and that different literary decorums—especially comic and moralizing—are being put in the scales against each other. This process can be seen as a development from the more singular Horatian perspective of the first book (especially if we look at Damasippus’ and Davus’ lectures as themselves using the Horatian format of *Satires* 1.1-3). It can also be seen as fulfilling the implications of the opening lines of the second book about the difficulty of getting the degree of criticism right (2.1.1-4); and is carried still further in the first book of the *Epistles*, where the main themes (friendship, philosophy, poetry, and the ‘town versus country’ contrast) are set within the multiple and mutually interacting perspectives of the different personalities and attitudes of the addressees.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Cf. R. J. Baker, ‘Maecenas and Horace, *Satires* II.8’, *CJ* 83 (1988) 212-32; J. Henderson, ‘Be Alert (Your Country Needs Lerts): Horace, *Satires* 1.9’, *PCPhS* 39 (1993) 67-93 raises similar questions about Hor. *Sat.* 1.9.

<sup>36</sup> It is striking that the first and last poems in a book of satire should set up Callimachus (Hor. *Sat.* 2.1) and comedy (2.8) as models, in addition to Lucilius (2.8).

<sup>37</sup> See F. Jones, ‘The Role of the Addressees in Horace, *Epistles* 1’, *LCM* 18 (1993) 7-11.

# STATIUS AND THE *VETERES*: *SILVAE* 1.3 AND THE HOMERIC HOUSE OF ALCINOUS<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract.** In Statius' *Silvae* 1.3, on the villa of his patron Manilius Vopiscus at Tibur, the poet's sustained engagement with his literary predecessors (the *veteres*) compliments the literary and philosophical interests of his patron Vopiscus. Statius' allusions to the Homeric house of Alcinoos, however, add a further and unnoticed layer of significance, drawing the reader's attention to Statius' novel use of *ekphrasis* as a literary device, and allowing the poet to pay tribute to the ideology of Vopiscus.

## Introduction

Within the intricate structure of *Silvae* book 1, poems 1, 3 and 5—all of which describe works of art and architecture—make up a thematically coherent group.<sup>2</sup> As with the other *ekphrastic* pieces in book 1, *Silvae* 1.3 describes and

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Philip Hardie for reading and commenting on an earlier version of this article. I am also very grateful to the two *Scholia* referees for their many helpful comments and criticisms.

<sup>2</sup> Classical texts are as follows (in order of appearance, other than to avoid repetition): the text of Statius, *Silvae* is that of E. Courtney (ed.), *P. Papini Stati Silvae* (Oxford 1990); of Catullus G. P. Goold (ed.), *Catullus* (London 1983); of Propertius G. P. Goold (ed.), *Propertius: Elegies* (Cambridge, Mass. 1990); of Horace, *Carmina, Epistulae* and *Satirae* [*Sermones*] F. Klingner (ed.), *Q. Horati Flacci Opera* (Leipzig 1959); of Seneca, *Epistulae* L. D. Reynolds (ed.), *L. Annaei Senecae ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales* 1-2 (Oxford 1965); of Martial, *Epigrammata* W. Heraeus and J. Borovskij (edd.), *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton Libri* (Leipzig 1982); of Pliny, *Epistulae* R. A. B. Mynors (ed.), *C. Plini Caecili Secundi Epistularum Libri Decem* (Oxford 1966); of Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* M. Winterbottom (ed.), *M. Fabi Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae Libri Duodecim* 1-2 (Oxford 1970); of Vergil, *Aeneid* R. A. B. Mynors (ed.), *P. Vergili Maronis Opera* (Oxford 1972); of Homer, *Odyssey* P. von der Mühl (ed.), *Homeri Odyssea* (Basel 1962); of Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* H. Fraenkel (ed.), *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (Oxford 1970); of Ovid, *Metamorphoses* F. J. Miller and G. P. Goold (edd.), *Ovid: Metamorphoses in Two Volumes* (London 1977-1984); of Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* W.-W. Ehlers (ed.), *Gai Valeri Flacci Setini Balbi Argonauticon Libros Octo* (Stuttgart 1980); of Lucan A. E. Housman (ed.), *M. Annaei Lucani Belli Civilis Libri Decem* (Oxford 1927); of Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* D. S. Robertson (ed.) and P. Vallette (tr.), *Apulée: Les Métamorphoses* 1-3 (Paris 1940-1946); of Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto* J. André (ed.), *Pontiques* (Paris 1977); of the elder Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* C. Mayhoff (ed.), *C. Plini Secundi Naturalis Historiae Libri* 37 1-5 (Leipzig 1892-1909); of Schol. Homer, *Odyssey* G. Dindorff



celebrates the villa of Manilius Vopiscus at Tibur with originality and sophistication.<sup>3</sup> This sophistication stems from the allusiveness of the piece which, as has been noticed, engages constantly with the *veteres*,<sup>4</sup> Horace and Lucretius in particular, in order to compliment the literary and philosophical interests of the *laudandus*.<sup>5</sup> The purpose of this article, however, is to tease out the implications of a further layer of allusion which has received surprisingly little attention, showing how Homeric allusion both complements Statius’

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and E. Maas (edd.), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam* 1-6 (Oxford 1875-1889); of Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* G. Kaibel (ed.), *Athenaei Naucratis Deipnosophistarum Libri 15* 1-3 (Stuttgart 1965-1966); of Heraclitus F. Buffière (ed. and tr.), *Héraclite: Allegories d’Homère* (Paris 1962); of [Plutarch], *Vita Homeri* 1-2 J. F. Kindstrand (ed.), *[Plutarchi] De Homero* (Leipzig 1990); of Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina* A. Loyen (ed. and tr.), *Sidoine Apollinaire 1: Poèmes* (Paris 1960); of Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* D. P. Fowler, *Lucretius on Atomic Motion: A Commentary on De Rerum Natura 2.1-332* (Oxford 2002); of Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed. and tr.), *Cicero’s Letters to Atticus* 1-6 (Cambridge 1965-1968); and of Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* W. Ax (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta Quae Manserunt Omnia* 45 (Leipzig 1933). All translations are my own.

<sup>3</sup> This is the first of Statius’ villa poems proper in the *Silvae*: 1.2.147-57 describes briefly the *domus* of Stella and Violentilla, and acts as a microcosm of the much larger description in 1.3; 2.2 describes Pollius Felix’s maritime villa at Surrentum; 2.3 and 3.1 also seem to be located on the estates of Atedius Melior and Pollius Felix respectively. Nothing in extant Latin literature can parallel exactly Statius’ villa poems in the *Silvae*. There had, of course, already been descriptions of buildings, including villas, in Latin literature: e.g., Catullus’ Sabine villa (Catull. 44.1, cf. 64.43-9); Palatine Temple of Apollo (Prop. 2.31); an unidentified villa described by Horace (*Carm.* 2.18). Horace had made numerous references to his Sabine farm throughout his poetry; Seneca had mentioned briefly some features of his park at Vatia (*Ep.* 55.6f.); while Statius’ contemporary Martial had peppered his work with references to his own rustic villa (*Epigr.* 2.38, 6.43, 7.31, 7.36, 7.49, 7.91, 7.93, 9.18, 9.54, 9.60, 10.58.9f., 10.93f., 12.57), his villa in Spain (12.31), and the villas of others (3.58, 4.64, 5.71, 10.30, 10.44, 10.51, 11.34, 12.50, 12.72). However, these descriptions are either much shorter than Statius’; or description is subordinated to a wider moral agenda (e.g., in *Carm.* 2.18, Horace uses the extravagant villa as an illustration of contemporary *luxuria*).

<sup>4</sup> First-century CE authors often apply the term *veteres* to literary figures of the Augustan and republican periods; A. Hardie, *Statius and the Silvae: Poets, Patrons and Epideixis in the Graeco-Roman World* (Liverpool 1983) 231 n. 1 cites Plin. *Ep.* 4.27.4 (Calvus, Catullus), 9.22.1 (Propertius); Mart. *Epigr.* 5.16.11; Quint. *Inst.* 1.8.10f. (Ennius, Accius, Pacuvius, Lucilius, Terence, Caecilius).

<sup>5</sup> Several aspects of Horace’s representation of Tibur correspond to Statius’ picture of Vopiscus’ Tiburtine estate: see C. E. Newlands, *Statius’ Silvae and the Poetics of Empire* (Cambridge 2002) 129-42. For examples of Lucretian and Epicurean allusion, see Hardie [4] 177f.

discourse of praise and allows the poet to articulate his own position within the traditions of *ekphrasis*.<sup>6</sup>

### *Homeric and Statian Ekphrasis*

Description of houses and palaces in the Homeric poems, particularly the house of Alcinous (*Od.* 7.81-132), the dwelling of Calypso (5.43-148) and, perhaps to a lesser extent, the much more compact description of the house of Menelaus (4.43-46), created the dynamics of a tradition of such descriptions in subsequent epic poetry.<sup>7</sup> Strikingly in the context of a non-epic poem, Statius explicitly names Alcinous, so validating the villa poem by drawing attention to its distant yet distinguished literary origins:<sup>8</sup>

quid bifera Alcinoi laudem pomaria uosque,  
qui numquam uacui prodistis in aethera, rami?

(Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.81f.)

Why should I praise Alcinous' twice-bearing apple orchards and you,  
branches, which never stretch unladen into the air?

There Statius, with a light touch of irony, addresses his question to the branches of Vopiscus' apple trees and implies a direct equation of Vopiscus' Tiburtine

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<sup>6</sup> Hardie [4] 128f. does, however, comment in passing on the Homeric device of 'the arriving, and admiring, visitor'. But he attaches more importance to epigrammatic models. In the companion piece to this poem (*Silv.* 2.2, the villa of Pollius Felix at Surrentum), Statius again appropriates an epic device (in this case, the visitor arriving by sea): Statius' arrival by sea in order to visit Felix's villa (2.2.1-29) recalls the arrival by sea of the weary Aeneas at Carthage (*Verg. Aen.* 1) and, perhaps, Hermes' arrival by sea at Calypso's dwelling (*Hom. Od.* 5.43-54, which also introduces an *ekphrasis*).

<sup>7</sup> For descendants of Homer's house of Alcinous, cf., e.g., the palace of Aietes (*Ap. Rhod. Argon.* 3. 215-41); Dido's temple (*Verg. Aen.* 1.453-93); the Temple of the Sun (*Ov. Met.* 2.1-18; *Val. Fl. Argon.* 5.406-54); Cleopatra's palace (*Luc.* 10.11-35). Outside poetry, Apuleius' *ekphrasis* of Cupid's palace also belongs to this tradition (*Met.* 5.1); E. J. Kenney, *Apuleius: Cupid and Psyche* (Cambridge 1990) 137 notes Homeric parallels. But there may also be points of contact between Apuleius' *ekphrasis* and Statius' *Silv.* 1.3: Apuleius' reference to treading on riches (*uehementer iterum ac saepius beatos illos qui super gemmas et monilia calcant!* 'twice indeed and more than twice blessed are those who tread upon gems and jewellery!', *Met.* 5.1.18f.) seems to echo Statius (*calcabam necopinus opes*, 'I was treading unawares upon riches', *Silv.* 1.3.53).

<sup>8</sup> Working on a smaller scale than Stat. *Silv.* 1.3, Statius' contemporary Martial interestingly uses the same allusion to Homer in describing his own villa in Spain: *si mihi Nausicaa patrios concederet hortos, / Alcinoos possem dicere 'Malo meos'* ('if Nausicaa were to offer me her father's gardens, I could say "I prefer my own"', *Epigr.* 12.31.9f.), where the verb *malo* may pun on *malum* with a specific allusion to the apple orchards.

estate with the luxurious house and gardens of Alcinous.<sup>9</sup> The language is close to Homer’s description of the productivity of Alcinous’ orchards, which yield fruit in summer and winter:<sup>10</sup>

τάων οὐ ποτε καρπὸς ἀπόλλυται οὐδ’ ἀπολείπει  
χείματος οὐδὲ θέρεως, ἐπετήσιος· ἀλλὰ μάλ’ αἰεὶ  
ζεφυρίη πνείουσα τὰ μὲν φύει, ἄλλα δὲ πέσσει.

(Hom. *Od.* 7.117-19)

The fruit of these is never spoiled, never does it fail, neither in winter nor in summer, but it lasts throughout the year; and always the west wind, as it blows, starts some fruits, and ripens others.

The allusion to the house of Alcinous seems to invite a comparison between Statius’ poem and the Homeric *ekphrasis*. Several correspondences can be detected between the two texts. In the Homeric house, the poet had offered a systematic and clearly organized description of Alcinous’ palace, first the exterior of the house (*Od.* 7.83-94), then the interior and Alcinous’ household staff (7.95-111), before ending the description with an account of Alcinous’ gardens (7.112-32). A similar progression can be observed in Statius’ poem: the villa is viewed first from the exterior (*Silv.* 1.3.13-33), briefly from the interior (1.3.47-63), before the poet’s attention returns to the villa’s surrounding gardens and landscape (1.3.64-89). While Statius’ approach to description is less rigidly systematic, the epic-style *ekphrasis* in the centre of the poem recalls aspects of the Homeric house:

uidi artes ueterumque manus uariisque metalla  
uiua modis. labor est auri memorare figuras  
aut ebur aut dignas digitis contingere gemmas;  
quicquid et argento primum uel in aere minori  
lusit, et enormes manus est expertura colossus.  
dum uagor aspectu uisusque per omnia duco,  
calcabam necopinus opes. nam splendor ab alto

<sup>9</sup> Alcinous was a conventional symbol of wealth, hence the Latin proverbial phrase *poma dare Alcinoō* (‘to give apples to Alcinous’), equivalent to English ‘carry coals to Newcastle’; see Mart. *Epigr.* 7.42.6; Ov. *Pont.* 4.2.10; P. G. W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford 1982) 94 s.v. ‘Alcinous b’; A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Hildesheim 1962) 12 no. 53 s.v. ‘Alcinous (1)’.

<sup>10</sup> Statius’ *numquam vacui* (*Silv.* 82) goes further than *bifera* (81), and picks up Homer’s οὐ ποτε (‘never’, *Od.* 7.117): Vopiscus’ orchards, like those of Alcinous, will never fail to produce fruit. Tibur was, of course, well-known for its apple orchards: see Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.13f.; R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard (edd.), *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book 1* (Oxford 1970) 102, who cite Hor. *Sat.* 2.4.70 (where Catius thinks that Tibur’s apples are overrated), Prop. 4.7.81 (where the river Anio is connected with apple growing).

defluus et nitidum referentes aera testae  
 monstrauere solum, uarias ubi picta per artes  
 gaudet humus superatque nouis asarota figuris.  
 expauere gradus.

(Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.47-57)

I saw artworks of the ancients and metals animated in varied forms. Laborious it would be to tell of the figures of gold or the ivory carvings or the gems worthy to adorn fingers, and whatever the artist's hand first attempted in miniatures of silver or bronze before undertaking even massive statues. All the time I wandered gazing and cast my eyes over everything, I was treading unawares upon riches. For the brilliance of the light streaming down from above and the tiles reflecting the radiant air revealed the floor, where the ground coloured by varied arts rejoices and excels the *asarotos* in its original designs.<sup>11</sup> Awe halted my steps.

This passage is in several ways reminiscent of an epic *ekphrasis*. In like manner, this *ekphrasis* is clearly demarcated from the rest of the poem, opening with the emphatic intervention of the poet (*uidi*, 1.3.47), and breaking off suddenly in mid-hexameter with the halting of the awe-stricken poet's steps (*expauere gradus*, 1.3.57). And, again as in the case of an epic *ekphrasis*, this passage, which might once have been considered digressive or decorative in nature, is in fact carefully interwoven into the fabric of the poem through a number of verbal parallels.<sup>12</sup> Several features in this passage point back to Homer: the abundance of gold, silver and bronze which is found in both cases (*Silv.* 1.3.48, 1.3.50; cf. *Od.* 7.88-91); the presence of sculpture (the gold and silver watchdogs found at *Od.* 7.91-94 are picked up by Vopiscus' sculptures at *Silv.* 1.3.50f.); and the emotional reaction which closes the passage (*expauere gradus*, *Silv.* 1.3.57) parallels that of Odysseus as he freezes on the threshold of the house of Alcinous, a line which similarly marks the end of description (ἐνθα σταῖς

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<sup>11</sup> The *asarotos* ('unswept floor') was so called because the pattern of the mosaic imitated refuse from the table. Pliny describes an example from Pergamum, which can be dated to the first century BCE (*HN* 36.184). This example no longer survives, although there were Roman copies and imitations in Statius' time and later; see K. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge 1999) 26, 270f. Here Statius, with a rhetorical flourish, suggests that Vopiscus has gone one better: the novelty of his designs surpasses even those of the *asarotos*.

<sup>12</sup> C. E. Newlands, 'Horace and Statius at Tibur: An Interpretation of *Silvae* 1.3', *ICS* 13 (1988) 100 identifies some of these: e.g., *defluus* (1.3.54) recalls Statius' description of the stream which divides Vopiscus' villa (1.3.24-26). But Statius also uses language here which anticipates language to be used in the encomium of Vopiscus, which concludes the poem: e.g., *splendor* (1.3.53) anticipates *splendescat* (1.3.104, where it is used of Vopiscus' literary activity), *splendente* (1.3.108); *nitidum* (1.3.54) looks ahead to *nitor* (1.3.92).

θηεῖτο πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, ‘there the long-suffering great Odysseus stood still and admired it’, *Od.* 7.133).

There are, however, as many differences as there are similarities between the two passages, and it is possible here to see Statius making significant refinements to poetic technique. In Homer, Odysseus is the viewer of the house; though only loosely connected to the *ekphrasis*, Odysseus sees both the inside and the outside of the palace complex while standing outside the main gate. Apollonius Rhodius, in his *ekphrasis* of Aietes’ palace (*Argon.* 3.215–41), itself closely modelled on the Homeric passage, had offered a more realistic correction of perspective than that applied by Odysseus: he describes the exterior of Aietes’ palace before the men have entered, then the interior of the palace after they have entered.<sup>13</sup> Statius makes a further alteration to perspective still: he assumes the role of viewer himself with the emphatic *uidi* (*Silv.* 1.3.47).<sup>14</sup> The intervention of the poet reflects a fundamental characteristic of *ekphrasis* in the *Silvae* generally. Whereas in epic poetry the artefacts described were fictitious (and the descriptions mediated through the gaze of a fictional viewer such as Aeneas), Statius’ *ekphrastic* poems are largely concerned with mythologizing and mythicizing objects of everyday life. The *Silvae*, by contrast with epic, describe genuine works of contemporary art and architecture which embody the *dignitas* of their owners; and it is the poet himself, rather than a fictive viewer, who performs the crucial role of observer and reporter. The dominance of the first-person voice throughout this poem—particularly the use of the forceful *uidi* (1.3.47)—draws our attention not only to the patron’s cultured interests but also to the poet’s innovation and creativity within the *ekphrastic* tradition. Although Statius clearly highlights the Homeric origins of

<sup>13</sup> R. L. Hunter (ed.), *Apollonius of Rhodes: Argonautica Book III* (Cambridge 1989) 121 notices this last point.

<sup>14</sup> See also *reporto* (‘I bring back’, *Stat. Silv.* 1.3.13); *canam* (‘I shall sing’, 1.3.24’); *quiescam* (‘I shall fall silent’, 1.3.34); *mirer* (‘I shall marvel’, 1.3.37); *trahor* (‘I am drawn’, 1.3.38’); *dicam* (‘I shall tell of’, 1.3.38); and the description of Vindex’s statuette of Hercules (4.6.20–22). But the intervention of the poet here (*Silv.* 1.3.47) is particularly marked both by the prominence of the word in the line and by the unusual elision of *ī* in *uidi*; cf. also *uidi ego transertos alieno in robore ramos* (‘I saw branches grafted onto another tree’, 2.1.101); *uidi et adhuc uideo* (‘I saw him and I see him still’, 2.6.30); *uidi omni pridem te flore nitentem* (‘I have seen you shining in full blossom’, 5.1.183). For the poet as observer, see (referring to Statius’ description of Pollius’ Temple to Hercules at Surrentum, 3.1): *habuerat quidem et secundus te testem, sed hic habet auctorem. nam primum limen eius Hercules Surrentinus aperit, quem in litore tuo consecratum, statim ut uideram, his uersibus adoraui* (‘The second book of my poems had you, Pollius, as its witness, but this one has you as its patron. For Hercules of Surrentum opens its threshold; as soon as I saw that his temple had been dedicated on your shoreline, I honoured him with these verses’, 3 *pr.* 8–10).

his chosen theme, description and narrative are not discrete elements as in the epic poem: the poet's assumption of the role of viewer, together with references to his personal visit to Vopiscus' estate,<sup>15</sup> mean that the traditional distinction between narration and description is blurred.<sup>16</sup>

### *Allusion and Encomium*

By writing the epic origins of *ekphrasis* into this non-epic poem, Statius is able to showcase his innovation in *ekphrastic* writing. But it must not be forgotten that the primary function of *Silvae* 1.3, like the other *ekphrastic Silvae*, is to use description of an artefact as the point of departure for praise of the patron. The equation made between Vopiscus' estate at Tibur and Alcinous' orchards pays an obvious compliment to the addressee: Vopiscus, like Alcinous, is to emerge in this poem as immensely hospitable towards his guests and judicious in the use of his own wealth.<sup>17</sup> But the allusion to the Homeric passage, given the evident Epicureanism of the addressee, is particularly pointed.

Little is known of Manilius Vopiscus beyond what we are told by Statius:<sup>18</sup> he is presented as a poet, a patron<sup>19</sup> and an Epicurean who enjoys a

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<sup>15</sup> Statius' exclamation *O longum memoranda dies!* ('O long to be remembered day!'), *Silv.* 1.3.13) makes it clear that the poet's visit to the estate was a day trip.

<sup>16</sup> On the boundary between description and narrative in epic, see the classic discussion of D. P. Fowler, 'Narrate and Describe: The Problem of *Ekphrasis*', *JRS* 81 (1991) 25-35.

<sup>17</sup> I owe this last point to one of the *Scholia* referees. It may also be worth noting that the name of Homer's Alcinous puns, perhaps, on ἄλκη and νοῦς, meaning something approaching 'strength of mind'; the etymology makes Alcinous an apt name to associate with Vopiscus and his philosophical pursuits (see *pondera*, *Stat. Silv.* 1.3.90).

<sup>18</sup> For attempts to interpret the scattered and fragmentary evidence relating to Vopiscus, see E. Groag *et al.* (edd.), *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi*<sup>2</sup> 1-3 (Berlin 1933-) M 107 s.v. 'P. (?) Manilius Vopiscus'; M. Fluss, in A. Pauly, G. Wissowa *et al.* (edd.), *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1893-1980) 14.1 cols 1143f. s.v. 'P. Manilius Vopiscus'; H. Cancik, 'Tibur Vopisci. Statius, *Silvae*, I, 3. *Villa Tiburtina Manili Vopisci*', *Boreas* 1 (1978) 120; Hardie [4] 68f. There is evidence of two Vopisci, neither of whom is likely to be Statius' Vopiscus: one Vopiscus was *consul suffectus* at the time of Nero's comet in 60 CE, while a P. Manilius P.f. Vopiscus is recorded as the consul of 114 CE in a Tiburtine inscription (H. Dessau *et al.* [edd.], *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* [Berlin 1863-] 14.4242 = H. Dessau [ed.], *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* 1-3 [Berlin 1892-1916] 1044). The relationship between these two Vopisci is uncertain, but Statius' Vopiscus may be the son of the *consul suffectus* of 60 CE and the father of the consul of 114 CE. No mention is made of the distinguished political career enjoyed by the other Vopiscus: it is possible, as Hardie [4] 68f. suggests, that he was one of a number of individuals who rose to prominence under Vespasian but fell under Domitian.

life of *quies* on his secluded Tiburtine estate.<sup>20</sup> Against this backdrop, the Homeric allusion acquires particular edge. The Phaeacian way of life was associated with φιληδονία (‘the love of pleasure’), a lifestyle encapsulated in Alcinous’ words to Odysseus: αἰεὶ δ’ ἡμῖν δαῖς τε φίλη κίθαρίς τε χοροὶ τε / εἵματα τ’ ἐξημοιβὰ λοετρά τε θερμὰ καὶ εὐναί (‘and feasting is always dear to us and the lyre and dances, as are changes of clothes and our hot baths and beds’, *Od.* 8.248f.).<sup>21</sup> Interestingly, the ‘Phaeacian books’ 6-8 of the *Odyssey*, like many other episodes in the Homeric poems, were subjected to a later tradition of moralizing interpretation, a tradition of which Statius was certainly aware.<sup>22</sup> The exegetical tradition focused particularly on Odysseus’ words to Alcinous:

οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γέ τί φημι τέλος χαριέστερον εἶναι  
ἢ ὅτ’ ἐὺφροσύνη μὲν ἔχη κάτα δῆμον ἅπαντα,  
δαιτυμόνες δ’ ἀνὰ δώματ’ ἀκουάζονται ἀοιδοῦ  
ἥμενοι ἐξείης, παρὰ δὲ πλήθωσι τράπεζαι  
σίτου καὶ κρειῶν, μέθυ δ’ ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων  
οἶνοχόος φορέησι καὶ ἐγγεῖη δεπάεσσι·  
τοῦτό τί μοι κάλλιστον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν εἶδεται εἶναι.

(Hom. *Od.* 9.5-11)

For I myself think that there is no greater realization of happiness than when festivity takes possession of a whole people, and banqueters throughout the houses sit in order and listen to the singer, and the tables are laden with bread and meats and from the mixing bowl the cup bearer draws the wine, bears it round and pours it into the goblets. This seems to my mind to be the most beautiful of things.

In particular, on the basis of this passage, the Phaeacians came to be seen as the hedonistic predecessors of Epicurus; Phaeacia came to embody for the allegorists negative qualities such as ἡδυσπλαθεία (‘luxurious living’) and τρυφή

<sup>19</sup> Statius makes this clear by describing Vopiscus as *uir eruditissimus et qui praecipue uindicat a situ litteras iam paene fugientes* (‘a most learned man and one who is pre-eminent in rescuing our now almost vanishing literature from stagnation’, *Stat. Silv.* 1 *pr.* 24f.).

<sup>20</sup> On *quies* as a contrast to an equestrian or senatorial career, see R. R. Nauta, *Poetry for Patrons: Literary Communication in the Age of Domitian* (Leiden 2002) 308-10.

<sup>21</sup> It is perhaps not coincidental that a number of these features turn up in Statius’ poem where they are elements of Vopiscus’ lifestyle singled out for praise; see esp. the description of Vopiscus’ baths (*Silv.* 1.3.43-46); the reference to dining (1.3.64); and the mention of the lyre (1.3.99f.).

<sup>22</sup> See F. Buffière, *Les mythes d’Homère et la pensée grecque* (Paris 1956) 320-22; E. Kaiser, ‘Odyssee-Szenen als Topoi’, *MH* 21 (1964) 217-20; M. W. Dickie, ‘Phaeacian Athletes’, *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 4 (1983) 237-76.

(‘softness’).<sup>23</sup> These moralizing interpretations were transmitted into Latin poetry where the lavish dining habits of the Phaeacians, as well as the opulent house and gardens of Alcinous, became τόποι, and were often synonymous with the life of luxury.<sup>24</sup> The house of Alcinous, in particular, was singled out as an *exemplum* of *luxuria* (with the full negative force which that term carried). Lucretius, in a passage which draws heavily upon Homer,<sup>25</sup> uses the luxurious house to make precisely such a moralizing comment:

ergo corpoream ad naturam pauca uidemus  
 esse opus omnino, quae demant cumque dolorem  
 delicias quoque uti multas substernere possint.  
 gratius interdum neque natura ipsa requirit,  
 si non aurea sunt iuuenum simulacra per aedes  
 lampadas igniferas manibus retinentia dextris,  
 lumina nocturnis epulis ut suppeditentur,  
 nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet  
 nec citharae reboant laqueata aurataque templa . . .  
 (Lucr. 2.20-28)

And so we see that few things at all are necessary for our bodily nature, with the result that whatever removes pain is able also to provide many delights. Nor does human nature itself need anything more pleasurable, if there are not golden images of youths throughout the house, gripping flaming torches in their right hands, that light may be bestowed upon banquets at night, if the house does not gleam with silver or glisten with gold, if fretted and gilded rafters do not resound to the lyre . . .<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Cf. schol. Hom. *Od.* 9.5f. (Dindorff and Maas [2] 2.40) where Odysseus is said to be humouring the hedonistic Phaeacians. See also Fowler [2] 82: ‘Vulgarly, the Phaeacians, and Odysseus in Phaeacian mood, were taken to be precursors of the Epicureans’. For similar interpretations of Odysseus’ words (Hom. *Od.* 9.5 f.), see Ath. 12.7.1-18 [513a-c]; Heraclit. *All.* [= *Quaestiones Homericae*] 79.9; [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 2.150.

<sup>24</sup> Scholars generally see the house of Alcinous as a stereotypical Greek image of Egyptian (H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* [London 1950] 97, 429) or Assyrian architecture (E. Cook, ‘Near Eastern Prototypes of the Palace of Alkinoos’, *AJA* 108.1 [2004] 43-77). The associations of the Homeric house with the ‘other’ anticipate its appropriation as an *exemplum* of *luxuria* in Latin: see Hor. *Epist.* 1.2.28-31 (where the sons of Alcinous are condemned as morally corrupt); 1.15.23-25, Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 12.19 (Phaeacian feasting); Prop. 1.14.24 (Alcinous’ gardens).

<sup>25</sup> C. Bailey (ed. and tr.), *Titi Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura Libri Sex* 1-3 (Oxford 1947) 2.802f. shows the extent to which the Lucretian passage is indebted to Homer: see Hom. *Od.* 7.100; Lucr. 2.24. Note also that Lucr. 2.26 is a close rendering of Hom. *Od.* 7.100-02. For meticulous discussion of the implications of Homeric allusion in Lucretius, see Fowler [2] 82, 93f.

<sup>26</sup> My interpretation of this passage follows Fowler [2] 80-88.



There, in the proem to book 2, Lucretius polemically uses the Homeric house (and ‘hedonistic’ interpretations of Phaeacia) to show that his Epicurus was not that kind of hedonist.<sup>27</sup> Horace, in language echoing Lucretius and, in turn, the Homeric house of Alcinous, had criticized the extravagant decoration of contemporary villas: *non ebur neque aureum / mea renidet in domo lacunar* (‘No ivory nor gilded ceilings gleam in my house’, *Carm.* 2.18.1f.; cf. *Hom. Od.* 7.88-90; *Lucr.* 2.27).<sup>28</sup> Statius, through a subtle process of verbal allusion, shows awareness of the ethical position of his predecessors, but their moralizing attitudes to wealth are reversed or modified. The ivory and gold rejected by Horace become aspects of Vopiscus’ villa openly advertised by Statius (*Silv.* 1.3.35, 1.3.48-50), and the presentation of Vopiscus’ lifestyle contrasts with the Lucretian ideal:

scilicet hic illi meditantur pondera mores;  
hic premitur fecunda quies, uirtusque serena  
fronte grauis sanusque nitor luxuque carentes  
deliciae, quas ipse suis digressus Athenis  
mallet deserto senior Gargettius horto.

(Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.90-94)

Here indeed is the place where that noble mind broods upon weighty issues, this place conceals rest conducive to creativity and grave virtue with its tranquil brow and temperate splendour and delights without excess—the sort of delights which the old Gargettian himself [Epicurus] would have preferred and for which he would have left his native Athens and abandoned the Garden.

Statius praises Vopiscus for his *fecunda quies* (‘rest conducive to creativity’, 1.3.91), his *uirtusque serena / fronte grauis* (‘grave virtue with its tranquil brow’, 1.3.91f.), and his *sanusque nitor* (‘temperate splendour’, 1.3.92). In each case, with the addition of a qualifying epithet, Statius adds ambivalence to these morally loaded terms. Indeed Vopiscus’ philosophy, as it emerges here, is reminiscent of the Aristotelian ‘Golden Mean’; interestingly Horace, in his well-known exposition of the *aurea mediocritas*, had, like Statius, used the image of the house to articulate a similar ethical outlook to that of Vopiscus: *auream*

<sup>27</sup> See Fowler [2] 93: ‘L. is thus rejecting the notion that it was Epicurus who was ὁ Φαίᾱξ φιλόσοφος . . . ; rather his opponents live the Phaeacian life’.

<sup>28</sup> The palace of Dido similarly blends allusions to both the Homeric and Lucretian passages: see the nocturnal banquets (*Verg. Aen.* 1.726f.); the use of gold and silver on the tables (*Aen.* 1.640f.); the golden *laquearia* (*Aen.* 1.726); the golden cithara (*Aen.* 1.740f.). J. T. Dyson, ‘Dido the Epicurean’, *ClAnt* 15 (1996) 203-221 argues that the figure of Dido can be seen to embody aspects of the type of popular Epicureanism whereby the doctrine of ἡδονή is used to justify *luxuria*.

*quisquis mediocritatem / diligit, tutus caret obsoleti / sordibus tecti, caret invidenda / sobrius aula* ('whoever cherishes the middle way, safely avoids the squalor of a house in ruins, modestly avoids a palace that is bound to attract envy', Hor. *Carm.* 2.10.5-8). Statius' Vopiscus, like Horace, steers a middle course between *uirtus* and *uoluptas*. But crucially, the *deliciae* censured by Lucretius (2.22) are celebrated by Statius, although shorn, with a paradoxical turn of phrase, of their negative connotations: *luxuque carentes / deliciae* ('delights without excess', *Silv.* 92f.). For Statius, as contrasted with the proem to Lucretius 2, the life of luxury and the Epicurean life are in fact compatible.<sup>29</sup>

### Conclusions

Statius' allusions to the Homeric house of Alcinous assume, then, a double significance. On one level, Homeric allusion serves to style Statius' poem as a novel development in *ekphrastic* writing, drawing our attention to Statius' creative adaptation of an epic device to celebrate a villa in Tibur and its owner, Manilius Vopiscus. But, perhaps most significantly of all, by recalling—and challenging—'Epicurean' readings of the Homeric passage, Statius is also able to pay tribute to the distinctive ideology of Vopiscus, for whom the enjoyment of wealth and the cultivation of the Epicurean life are no longer seen to be diverging paths. Statius, in his direct eulogy of Vopiscus, imagines Epicurus abandoning his Athenian garden in favour of Vopiscus' secluded Tiburtine estate (*Silv.* 1.3.90-94). We might even go so far as to read these lines as implying that the 'virtuous luxury' to which Vopiscus subscribes is preferable to the simple life advocated by conventional Epicureanism, a bold assertion of Vopiscus' philosophy and a reflection of the changing intellectual climate of Flavian Rome.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Although she does not discuss Lucretius, Newlands [5] 133-38 explores Statius' reactionary response to the moralizing tradition against luxury (as associated with Horace in particular); Newlands [12] 95-111 had previously argued that such a response to Horace conveyed criticism of Vopiscus by implying that he fell short of the Horatian ideal.

<sup>30</sup> The *hortus* of Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.94 refers, of course, to the garden in which Epicurus taught, a tradition continued by his followers: cf. Cic. *Att.* 12.23.2; *Nat. D.* 1.93; Mart. *Epigr.* 7.69.3; Prop. 3.21.25f. Statius' reaction to, and challenge of, the moralizing discourse of his predecessors is probably best interpreted as part of the widespread change in attitudes towards wealth under the Roman empire, and against the backdrop of a new intellectual climate in which Epicureanism and the life of luxury became compatible. For the intellectual background, see Newlands [5] 138; and esp. Fowler [2] 95 n. 19 on Philodemus' 'reading' of the Phaeacians.

## THE WHITE DOE OF CAPUA (SILIUS ITALICUS, *PUNICA* 13.115-37)

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**Abstract.** This paper examines the aspects of Silius' narrative of the white doe's sacrifice that preclude straightforward commendation of Fulvius. The suggestion of inappropriate use of force in Fulvius' sacrifice of a human-like creature is confirmed by his own excessive behavior during the assault on Capua. The passage suggests some of the problems that Rome will face as a consequence of victory.<sup>1</sup>

cerua fuit, raro terris spectata colore, 115  
quae candore niuem, candore anteiret olores.  
hanc agreste Capys donum, cum moenia sulco  
signaret, grato paruae mollitus amore  
nutrierat sensusque hominis donarat alendo.  
inde exuta feram docilisque accedere mensis 120  
atque ultro blanda attactu gaudebat erili.  
aurato matres adsuetae pectine mitem  
comere et umentu fluuio reuocare colorem.  
numen erat iam cerua loci, famulamque Dianae 125  
credebant, ac tura deum de more dabantur.  
haec aeui uitaeque tenax felixque senectam  
mille indefessos uiridem duxisse per annos  
saeclorum numero Troianis condita tecta  
aequabat. sed iam longo nox uenerat aeuo.  
nam, subito incursu saeuorum agitata luporum 130  
qui noctis tenebris urbem (miserabile bello  
prodigium) intrarant, primos ad luminis ortus  
extulerat sese portis pauidaque petebat  
consternata fuga positos ad moenia campos.  
exceptam laeto iuuenum certamine ductor 135  
mactat, diua, tibi (tibi enim haec gratissima sacra)  
Fulvius atque "adsis," orat "Latonia, coeptis."

(Sil. *Pun.* 13.115-37)

There was a doe, of a color rarely seen on earth, who outdid snow in her  
whiteness, swans in her whiteness. When Capys was laying out the walls with  
a trench, he was softened by affectionate love for the little creature, a rustic

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank William Owens, Yi-Ting Wang, William J. Dominik and *Scholia*'s two anonymous referees for many helpful comments and suggestions. I am grateful also for the assistance of Craig Pinkerton.

gift. He had fed her and given her human sensibilities by nurturing her. Then she cast off her wild nature and was taught to approach the table and affectionately enjoyed the master's touch of her own accord. The city's matrons had the habit of brushing the gentle creature with a golden comb and renewing her original color in the river. The doe was now the divinity of the place, and they believed that she was the servant of Diana, and she was given incense in the manner of the gods. She held on to years and life and was lucky to have passed a flourishing old age through a thousand vigorous years. She equaled the age of the buildings constructed by the Trojans in her number of centuries. But now night had come to her long lifetime. She was stirred up by the sudden incursion of savage wolves who had entered the city in the shadows of the night—a pitiful omen in time of war. She had rushed out of the city gates as soon as the sun rose and in her alarm made for the fields outside the walls in a terrified dash. She was captured by the young men happily competing with one another. The commander Fulvius sacrifices her to you, goddess (for she is a most welcome sacrifice to you) and prays, “May you favor our enterprise, Diana.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Classical texts are as follows (in order of appearance, other than to avoid repetition): the text of Silius Italicus, *Punica* is that of J. Delz (ed.), *Sili Italici Punica* (Stuttgart 1987); of Vergil, *Aeneid*, *Eclogues* and *Georgics* R. A. B. Mynors (ed.), *P. Vergili Maronis Opera* (Oxford 1972); of Calpurnius Siculus, *Eclogues* C. Giarratano (ed.), *Calpurnii et Nemesiani Bucolica, Accedunt Einsidlensia Quae Dicuntur Carmina* (Turin 1943); of Ovid, *Metamorphoses* R. J. Tarrant (ed.), *P. Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphoses* (Oxford 2004); of Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* W.-W. Ehlers (ed.), *Gai Valeri Flacci Setini Balbi Argonauticon Libros Octo* (Stuttgart 1980); of Pliny, *Epistulae* R. A. B. Mynors (ed.), *C. Plini Caecili Secundi Epistularum Libri Decem* (Oxford 1966); of Statius, *Thebaid* D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed. and tr.), *Statius 2-3: Thebaid* (Cambridge, Mass. 2003); of Tiberius Claudius Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae* H. Georgii (ed.), *Tiberi Claudii Donati: Interpretationes Vergilianae* 1-2 (Leipzig 1905-1906); of Ennius, *Annales* O. Skutsch (ed.), *The Annals of Q. Ennius* (Oxford 1985); of Homer, *Iliad* T. W. Allen (ed.), *Homeri Ilias* 2-3 (Oxford 1931); of Ovid, *Fasti* E. H. Alton et al. (edd.), *P. Ovidi Nasonis Fastorum Libri Sex* (Leipzig 1978); of *Anthologia Palatina* W. R. Paton (ed. and tr.), *The Greek Anthology* 1-5 (London 1916-1926); of Stephanus Byzantius A. Meineke (ed.), *Stephani Byzantii Ethniconum Quae Supersunt* (Graz 1958); of Tacitus, *Annales* C. D. Fisher (ed.), *Cornelii Taciti Annalium Ab Excessu Divi Augusti Libri* (Oxford 1906); of Callimachus, *In Lavacrum Palladis* (Hymn 5) R. Pfeiffer (ed.), *Callimachus* 2 (Oxford 1953); of Appian, *Annibaica* P. Viereck et al. (edd.), *Appiani Historia Romana* 1 (Leipzig 1962); of Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 1-5 R. S. Conway and C. F. Walters (edd.), *Titi Livi Ab Urbe Condita* 1 (Oxford 1955); of Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 26-30 R. S. Conway and S. K. Johnson (edd.), *Titi Livi Ab Urbe Condita* 4 (Oxford 1953); of Valerius Maximus D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed. and tr.), *Valerius Maximus: Memorable Doings and Sayings* 1-2 (Cambridge, Mass. 2000); of Velleius Paterculus F. W. Shipley (ed. and tr.), *Velleius Paterculus. Compendium of Roman History, Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (Cambridge, Mass. 2002); of Pausanias F. Spiro (ed.), *Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio* 1 (Stuttgart 1967), 2-3 (Leipzig 1903); of Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* H. Rackham et al. (edd. and tr.), *Pliny: Natural History* 1-10 (Cambridge, Mass. 1989-1999); of Censorinus, *De Die Natali* I. Cholodniak (ed.), *Censorinus: De Die Natali*

At the beginning of the final hexad of the *Punica*, Silius Italicus narrates the successful Roman assault on the city of Capua, which had earlier broken its alliance with Rome in favor of the invading Carthaginians. Before the attack begins, the Romans receive what they interpret to be a favorable omen, the flight of a white doe sacred to Diana toward their camp. The Roman commander, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, sacrifices the animal immediately before the attack. This paper examines the aspects of the narrative of the white doe’s sacrifice and the fall of Capua that preclude straightforward commendation of Fulvius and the Romans and condemnation of the disloyal Capuans. I begin with an extended comparison between this passage and its major Vergilian model, Ascanius’ shooting of Silvia’s stag in *Aeneid* 7 (Sil. *Pun.* 13.115-37; Verg. *Aen.* 7.483-510).<sup>3</sup> In contrast to Vergil’s stag, tended by a single family, Silius’ doe is the focus of the entire community’s worship. Through her extreme age, she signifies the city’s continuity with its Trojan foundation, but also evokes an ominous tradition regarding the duration of cities, including Rome. Her loss signals the end of Capua as an independent political and cultural community.

I next examine how the narrative questions the appropriateness both of the sacrifice and of Roman conduct during and after the assault on Capua. The sacrifice episode evokes earlier narratives in which divine anger is the inevitable result of the killing of a god’s favorite animal. The absence of explicit divine sanction, and the compromising of the animal’s consent to her sacrifice, contrast with narratives of the sacrifice of other exceptional animals. The suggestion of inappropriate use of force in Fulvius’ sacrifice of a human-like creature is

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(St. Petersburg 1889); of Statius, *Silvae* D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed. and tr.), *Statius 1: Silvae* (Cambridge, Mass. 2003); of Suetonius, *Domitianus* J. C. Rolfe (ed. and tr.), *Suetonius: Lives of the Caesars* 2 (Cambridge, Mass. 1979); of Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae* F. C. Babbitt (ed. and tr.), *Plutarch: Moralia* 4 (Cambridge, Mass. 1936); of Propertius G. P. Goold (ed.), *Propertius: Elegies* (Cambridge, Mass. 1990); of Lucan D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed.), *M. Annaei Lucani De Bello Civili Libri 10*<sup>2</sup> (Stuttgart 1997); of Proclus, *Chrestomathia* T. W. Allen (ed.), *Homeri Opera* 5 (Oxford 1969); of Juvenal W. V. Clausen (ed.), *A. Persi Flacci et D. Iuni Iuvenalis Saturae* (Oxford 1959); of Lucretius W. H. D. Rouse and M. F. Smith (edd. and tr.), *On the Nature of Things* (Cambridge, Mass. 1992); of Cicero, *De Officiis* M. Winterbottom (ed.), *Cicero: De Officiis* (Oxford 1994); of Tacitus, *Historiae* C. D. Fisher (ed.), *Cornelii Taciti Historiarum Libri* (Oxford 1911); and of Macrobius, *Saturnalia* is that of J. Willis (ed.), *Ambrosii Theodosii Macrobi Saturnalia* (Stuttgart 1994). All translations are my own.

<sup>3</sup> The parallels are discussed by J. Groesst, *Qua tenus Silius Italicus a Vergilio pendere videatur* (PhD diss. Halle 1887) 13; S. Franchet d’Espèrey, “Variations épiques sur un thème animalier,” *REL* 55 (1977) 157-72; E. Burck, *Silius Italicus: Hannibal in Capua und die Rückeroberung der Stadt durch die Römer* (Mainz 1984) 38f.; and F. Spaltenstein, *Commentaire des Punica de Silius Italicus, livres 9 à 17* (Geneva 1990) 213-15.

confirmed by his own excessive behavior during the assault on Capua. The Romans attack the city while subject to *furor* that does not dissipate upon their victory. In contrast to Marcellus, who restrains his troops after their capture of Syracuse, Fulvius' troops are prepared to burn Capua until Pan restrains them by recalling their ties of kinship with the Capuans. The assault on Capua, like others in the *Punica*, dissolves the fantasy of Italian unity projected in the Cannae episode, and prefigures the subsequent Roman civil wars. The episode counters a triumphalist reading of the epic by suggesting some of the problems that the Romans will face as a consequence of victory. Though providing the Romans with a pre-existing *casus belli* against the Capuans, the *Punica* nevertheless signals the costs of the Roman imperialist project.

As has long been observed, Silius modeled the passage describing the sacrifice of the white doe upon the episode of Vergil's *Aeneid* 7, in which Ascanius shoots a domesticated stag and thereby ignites the war in Latium. The Vergilian passage inspired numerous variations on the "theme of a sacred or domesticated animal killed" in the poetry of the following century (Calp. *Ecl.* 6.32-45; Ov. *Met.* 10.109-42; Val. Fl. *Argon.* 3.20-26).<sup>4</sup> Though Silius may have drawn on local Campanian tradition in his representation of the doe as a sacred animal, the choice was also traditional in terms of the epic genre.<sup>5</sup> Episodes in previous epics had also featured the killing of sacred animals. Valerius' Cyzicus kills one of Cybele's lions (*Argon.* 3.23f.); Ovid's Cyparissus kills a stag *sacer nymphis* ("sacred to the nymphs," *Met.* 10.109); and Statius' Aconteus kills Bacchus' tigers (*Theb.* 7.564-67). In contrast to Valerius and Ovid, the Statian episode returns to the Vergilian motif of igniting immediate warfare through the killing of an animal. Bacchus' tigers, who receive cult worship from the Thebans, also provide a model for Silius' doe in terms of their religious significance for their community (Stat. *Theb.* 7.576-78). Silius' doe is the *numen . . . loci* (*Pun.* 13.124) and the object of communal ritual.

In terms of her function within the community, the doe contrasts with Vergil's stag, who is the property of a single family and not a focus of communal religious activity. An active scholarly debate continues regarding the

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<sup>4</sup> See Franchet d'Espèrey [3]; J. J. L. Smolenaars, *Statius: Thebaid VII* (Leiden 1994) 254.

<sup>5</sup> Pliny the Younger relates a period of retirement in Campania at the end of Silius' life (*Ep.* 3.7.6). This notice does not license a reading of the episode in biographical terms. The hazards of such an interpretive approach, particularly with regard to ancient poetry, are well known. Silius' knowledge of local Campanian lore may equally well have come from the consultation of literary sources, most likely Varro. See J. Heurgon, *Recherches sur l'histoire, la religion et la civilisation de Capoue préromaine: des origines à la deuxième guerre punique* (Paris 1970) 324.

ambiguities presented by the Vergilian episode. As Horsfall comments, “it is peculiarly Virgilian . . . to leave the reader hopelessly entangled in an endless sequence of irresolvable moral dilemmas.”<sup>6</sup> The degree of Ascanius’ responsibility for the violence that follows his shooting of the stag remains an important question. The extent of Allecto’s intervention, Ascanius’ ignorance of the animal’s domestication, and Ascanius’ immaturity have all been advanced as factors that preclude the straightforward passage of judgment upon his actions.<sup>7</sup> The pathos aroused by the violence of the events prompts a different series of questions regarding the larger interpretation of the epic. The stag resembles a human being in his fully socialized behavior and his reaction to his suffering.<sup>8</sup> The language used to describe his wounding, furthermore, recalls the descriptions of Dido’s erotic suffering earlier in the epic.<sup>9</sup> The episode’s account of the deaths of innocent farmers suggests the irrationality involved in the use of force, and prefigures the violent transformations that will occur in Latium as the result of contact with the Trojans.<sup>10</sup> As with many other examples

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<sup>6</sup> N. M. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 7: A Commentary* (Leiden 2000) 330.

<sup>7</sup> Ti. Claudius Donatus *Interpretationes Vergilianae* 2.75.24-76.6 offered a defense of Ascanius’ shooting of the stag based on his ignorance of his status as a domestic animal. See R. J. Starr, “Silvia’s Deer (Vergil, *Aeneid* 7.479-502): Game Parks and Roman Law,” *AJPh* 113 (1992) 435-39. J. Griffin, *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (London 1985) 170-72 absolves Ascanius of any intent to cause greater suffering for human beings. C. U. Merriam, “Storm Warning: Ascanius’ Appearances in the *Aeneid*,” *Latomus* 61 (2002) 852-60 argues, however, that Ascanius remains immature and prey to his “heedless enthusiasms” throughout the *Aeneid*. Vergil leaves unspecified whether Allecto or another *deus* guided Ascanius’ arrow in the phrase *nec dextrae erranti deus afuit* (“nor was a god absent from his right hand so that it missed,” *Aen.* 7.498). See G. Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid* (New Haven 1983) 23; Horsfall [6] 333f.

<sup>8</sup> The account of the stag’s reaction to the shot further humanizes him: *successitque gemens stabulis, questuque cruentus / atque imploranti similis tectum omne replebat* (“groaning, he came into the stables, and covered in blood and just like a man begging for help, he filled the whole building with his complaint,” *Aen.* 7.501f.). M. C. J. Putnam, *Virgil’s Epic Designs: Ekphrasis in the Aeneid* (New Haven 1998) 100-02 observes the parallels with human lamentation in the description of the stag’s clamor; the description of the stag’s self-directed freedom of action associates him with the qualities that Latinus attributes to his people. Horsfall [6] 336 compares the phrase *similis imploranti* to a human appeal for help from fellow citizens.

<sup>9</sup> Like Dido, the stag is *saucius* (“wounded,” *Aen.* 7.500; cf. *saucia*, 4.1). The comparison between Dido and a wounded deer (4.68-73) features similar wounding by a *harundo* (“arrow,” 7.499). See Griffin [7] 170-72; Putnam [8] 100-02.

<sup>10</sup> Almo, the eldest son of Tyrrhus’ family, is the first casualty (*Aen.* 7.531-34). Vergil’s description of his youth, and his role in nurturing the stag, increase the pathos of the account of the conflict. See Horsfall [6] 349. Almo’s death is closely followed by that of Galaesus

of violence in the *Aeneid*, this episode details the “cruel costs” of the imperialist project outlined elsewhere in the narrative.<sup>11</sup>

Silius’ episode might, on one reading, appear to have avoided both the balancing of his reader’s sympathies and many of the moral dilemmas present in the Vergilian episode of the shooting of Silvia’s stag. The sacrifice of the white doe of Capua represents neither an unwitting mistake nor the unexpected triggering of violence, but a deliberately chosen act. In the episode relating the outbreak of violence in Latium, Vergil takes care to maintain the balance in his reader’s sympathies for both Trojans and Latins.<sup>12</sup> Silius’ Romans, however, already have a long-standing *casus belli* against Capua by the time that Fulvius sacrifices the doe. As personified *Fides* remarks, the Capuans have justly incurred retribution through their treacherous alliance with the Carthaginians (*Pun.* 13.281-91). In a triumphalist reading, therefore, one that privileges Roman victory above other considerations, the episode represents the success of Roman *fides* and *pietas* over Capuan *perfidia* and *impietas*. The narrator indicates that the doe’s abandonment of the city represents a *dextrum . . . omen* (“lucky omen,” 13.114) for Fulvius’ besieging troops and her sacrifice *gratissima sacra* (13.136) for Diana. Difficult questions of motivation and responsibility might also appear to have been obviated. The Fury does not interfere with the attacking Romans, as she did with Ascanius and the Latin farmers. Instead, she is inside Capua, speeding Virrius and the traitors to their suicide as the city falls (13.291-98). As a mature, responsible Roman commander, Fulvius can be opposed to the rash, youthful Ascanius, who is *eximiae laudis succensus amore* (“inflamed by love of outstanding glory,” *Aen.* 7.496) as he hunts in Latium. As elsewhere in the *Punica*, Silius has engaged in a pointed reversal of Vergilian themes.<sup>13</sup>

The *Punica* does not, however, communicate exclusively in a triumphalist mode. As has recently been observed, numerous episodes of the *Punica* question the morality of Roman behavior throughout the second Punic war and in subsequent eras. In the epic’s programmatic opening episode, the Senate’s

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(7.535-39). Both victims bear the names of Italian rivers; their paired deaths suggest that the violence will encompass the destruction of the landscape itself. See Putnam [8] 112.

<sup>11</sup> Griffin [7] 170-72 lists the violence as an example of the “cruel costs” of empire. M. C. J. Putnam, *Virgil’s Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence* (Chapel Hill 1995) 107 draws the parallel between the shooting of the stag (*Aen.* 7) and the comparison of Aeneas and Turnus to hunter and stag (12.749-55).

<sup>12</sup> See D. C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition* (Oxford 1991) 172.

<sup>13</sup> For discussion of Silius’ reversal of a number of themes from *Aeneid* 8, see A. J. Pomeroy, “Silius’ Rome: The Rewriting of Vergil’s Vision,” *Ramus* 29 (2000) 149-68.



decision to refuse military support to the Saguntines (resulting in their inevitable capture by Hannibal) places in question the Roman commitment to *fides*.<sup>14</sup> The Cannae episode would appear to offer an example of Roman unity against an external foe. Yet the narrative in fact prefigures the subsequent Roman civil wars through its catalogue of Roman commanders whose names evoke the internecine violence of the first centuries BC and AD.<sup>15</sup> After Cannae, the epic examines the moral difficulties that accompany a succession of Roman victories. The behavior of Roman commanders toward the defeated provides a ready example. Claudius Nero decapitates Hasdrubal and exhibits his head on a spear (*Pun.* 15.794-823), thereby displaying far greater brutality than Hannibal, who buried his Roman enemy Paulus with honor at Cannae (10.503-77).<sup>16</sup> Fulvius’ seizure of Capua should therefore be read in the context of the Roman victories in the epic’s final hexad, where instances of military success lead to morally questionable results.

Further contrasts between Silius’ doe and Vergil’s stag are visible in their functions within their communities. Capys, the Trojan founder of the city, first nurtured the white doe while tracing the *sulcus primigenius* (“original trench,” *Pun.* 13.117f.).<sup>17</sup> As the only living being who survives from the time of the Trojan foundation of Capua, the animal embodies the city’s continuity with the city’s own origins (13.124-29).<sup>18</sup> The doe represents the city’s “âme extérieure” in the manner of the *ficus Ruminalis* at Rome.<sup>19</sup> As the *numen loci*, she is bound

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<sup>14</sup> See W. J. Dominik, “Hannibal at the Gates: Programmatizing Rome and *Romanitas* in Silius Italicus’ *Punica* 1 and 2,” in A. J. Boyle and W. J. Dominik (edd.), *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text* (Leiden 2003) 469-97.

<sup>15</sup> See D. T. McGuire, “History Compressed: The Roman Names of Silius’ Cannae Episode,” *Latomus* 54 (1995) 110-18. The fratricidal episode of Scipio’s funeral games (*Pun.* 16.527-48) similarly evokes the civil war theme. See F. M. Ahl *et al.*, “Silius Italicus,” *ANRW* 2.32.4 (1986) 2557; A. Mezzanotte, “Echi del mondo contemporaneo in Silio Italico,” *RIL* 129 (1995) 357-88.

<sup>16</sup> See Ahl *et al.* [15] 2540-42; A. Augoustakis, “*Rapit infidum victor caput*: Ekphrasis and Gender-Role Reversal in Silius Italicus’ *Punica* 15,” in P. Thibodeau and H. Haskell (edd.), *Being There Together: Essays in Honor of Michael C. J. Putnam on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (Afton 2003) 110-27.

<sup>17</sup> The founder of Capua in Silius is Capys the father of Anchises (*Pun.* 11.295-97; cf. Enn. *Ann.* 1.28f. Skutsch; Hom. *Il.* 20.239; Ov. *Fast.* 4.34) rather than Capys the shipmate of Aeneas as in Vergil (*Aen.* 10.145). See G. Brugnoli, “Siliana,” *GIF* 44 (1992) 35-46.

<sup>18</sup> Deer are occasionally associated with the foundation of cities in the ethnographic tradition, though less commonly than other animals. Examples include Byzantium (*Anth. Pal.* 14.115.4, Hsch. *Mil. FGrH* 3 B 390 F 1.3; Steph. Byz. Meineke [2] 189 s.v. ‘Βυζάντιον’); Thyateira (Steph. Byz. Meineke [2] 319 s.v. ‘Θυάτειρα’). See F. Vian, *Les origines de Thèbes: Cadmos et les Spartes* (Paris 1963) 78.

<sup>19</sup> Heurgon [5] 323; Franchet d’Espèrey [3] 165-68; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 13.58.

up far more closely with the religious identity of Capua than Vergil's stag with the community of Latin farmers. In Vergil's more naturalistic account, the stag has been brought up by the family of a lower status individual, the keeper of Latinus' herds (*Aen.* 7.485f.). The animal has a normal lifespan and no associations with the founding of a city. Throughout the centuries following Capys' foundation, the doe has been a focus of the city's ritual activity.<sup>20</sup> The Capuan matrons comb the doe and bathe her in the river, and the whole community offers incense (*Pun.* 13.122-25). The description of the bathing, and the offering of incense, recall the ritual washing of a cult statue.<sup>21</sup> There is no similar motif of communal ritual in the Vergilian passage. Only the members of Tyrrhus' family, not the entire community of farmers, are engaged in caring for the stag (*Aen.* 7.484f.). The departure of the doe, therefore, represents a greater loss to her community than the shooting of the stag.

According to Putnam, Vergil's stag embodies aspects of the pastoral ideal in his self-directed departure for the woods and return to human habitation at night.<sup>22</sup> Silius' doe, by contrast, is a thoroughly urbanized animal. She only leaves the city when the boundaries between civilization and savagery have already begun to collapse. Wolves enter the city by night and chase the doe into the fields beyond the city walls (*Pun.* 13.130-34). The terror that they cause in the doe compromises her appearance of consent to her own sacrifice, an important requirement of Roman ritual. The incursion by wild animals signals the collapse of the civilized order. Even before its capture by the Romans, the city is unable to maintain the boundaries that keep it separate from the threatening world of animal predation. On the political level, the wolves' presence and the doe's flight prefigure Capua's military defeat and its subsequent dissolution as a political community. The contrasts between the animals of the *Punica* and the *Aeneid*, in terms of their roles within the community, further strengthen the identification between the fates of Silius' doe and Capua itself.<sup>23</sup> Vergil's episode traces the escalation of violence in Latium

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<sup>20</sup> The deer is a symbol of the cult of Diana Tifatina: see Heurgon [5] 324-26.

<sup>21</sup> While Vergil's Silvia *puroque in fonte lauabat* ("washed [the stag] in a pure stream," *Aen.* 7.489), Silius' Capuan matrons *adsuetae . . . umentis fluvio reuocare colorem* (*Pun.* 13.122f.). The indication of renewing original color suggests the ritual washing of a cult statue (e.g., Callim. *Hymn* 5.1-56).

<sup>22</sup> As Putnam [8] 109 remarks, "the stag is the perfect pastoral animal, demonstrating in itself what in ordinary situations would be either inculcated by training or achieved by man's constant intervention."

<sup>23</sup> Augoustakis [16] draws a similar connection between the beheading of Hasdrubal and the omen of the horse's head at the foundation of Carthage: Carthage itself will soon be "headless."

from a skirmish between the Trojans and the band of farmers to the outbreak of full-scale war. By representing the doe as a symbol of Capua, Silius suggests a different sort of tragedy. With the doe’s sacrifice, the focus of the city’s ritual activity has been eliminated.

The narrative constructs thematic parallels between the defeat of Capua and Saguntum through the repetition of narrative motifs such as the intervention of personified *Fides* and a concluding collective suicide.<sup>24</sup> The Saguntines’ loss and destruction of their city’s religious symbols present relevant parallels to the Capuan loss of the white doe. As the Fury exhorts the Saguntines *en masse* to commit suicide, a snake emerges from a burial mound constructed by Hercules at the founding of the city and departs from Saguntum (*Pun.* 2.584-91). Both the spectators’ reaction, and the passage’s allusion to the snake who emerges from the burial mound of Vergil’s Anchises (Verg. *Aen.* 5.84-103), associate the snake with the founder Zacynthus. The snake’s departure symbolizes the city’s loss of continuity with its origins and imminent collapse.<sup>25</sup> The Saguntines then destroy their *penates*, religious objects that symbolize the origins and identity of their city: *portantque trahuntque . . . prisca aduectos Rutulorum ex urbe penates* (“they carry and drag [to the pyre] . . . the *penates* carried over from the ancient city of the Rutulians,” *Pun.* 2.600-04). The control exercised by the Saguntines in disposing of their city’s symbols (and subsequently their own bodies) rather than letting them fall into enemy hands contrasts with the haplessness of the Capuans. With Fulvius’ capture of the city, Capua loses all of

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<sup>24</sup> *Fides*’ reproach of the disloyal Capuans echoes the narrator’s admonition to other nations in his eulogy of the Saguntines: *foedera, mortales, ne saeuo rumpite ferro, / sed castam seruate fidem* (“do not destroy treaties with the harsh steel, mortals, but preserve pure loyalty,” *Pun.* 13.284f.); *audite, o gentes, neu rumpite foedera pacis / nec regnis postferte fidem!* (“hear, o peoples, neither break the treaties of peace nor put loyalty second to power!” *Pun.* 2.700f.). Tisiphone leads the Saguntines to their act of mass suicide (*Pun.* 2.526-631). A Fury similarly distributes poison to Virrius and the other conspirators at the conclusion of the Capua episode (*Pun.* 13.291-98). F. Ripoll, *La Moral Héroïque dans les épopées latines d’époque flavienne: Tradition et innovation* (Louvain 1998) 405-16 interprets the downfall of the Capuan conspirators as a partial expiation of the crime against the Saguntines. D. T. McGuire, *Acts of Silence: Civil War, Tyranny, and Suicide in the Flavian Epics* (Hildesheim 1997) 219-25 discusses the motifs of imperial suicide at the conclusion of the Capua episode. See also P. Schenk, “Die Gesänge des Teuthras (Sil. It. 11, 288-302 u. 432-482),” *RhM* 132 (1989) 360-63.

<sup>25</sup> Silius’ narrative of the foundation of Saguntum includes an account of the death of Zacynthus (*Pun.* 1.283-87), who must be the inhabitant of the burial mound. The spectators’ assumption that the snake represents the spirit of the dead man (*Pun.* 2.592-94) both certifies the association with Zacynthus’ spirit, and recalls Aeneas’ reaction to the snake who emerges from Anchises’ tomb (*Aen.* 5.84-103). For comparison with the Vergilian passage, see F. Spaltenstein, *Commentaire des Punica de Silius Italicus, livres 1 à 8* (Geneva 1986) 165f.

its political autonomy and some of its cultural identity. Though the Romans leave the city's buildings standing, they execute the city's nobility, enslave the citizen population, and remove the community's powers of self-governance (see also App. *Hann.* 184.1-188.2; Livy *AUC* 26.15f., 26.33; Val. Max. 3.8.1; Vell. Pat. 2.44.4).<sup>26</sup>

The narrator's indication of the doe's age as a thousand years and the synchronization of her lifespan in terms of number of *saecula* with the foundation of Capua (*Pun.* 13.126-29) evoke an ominous tradition regarding the duration of cities.<sup>27</sup> Varro's research on Etruscan chronologies, which Silius may have consulted, indicates ten *saecula* as the duration of the Etruscan people.<sup>28</sup> As Varro observes that several of the Etruscan *saecula* were longer than a hundred years, a thousand years in fact represents slightly less than ten *saecula* (Varro *apud* Censorinus *DN* 17.6). The numerical indications given above, however, should not be taken as suggesting an overly literal interpretation of Silius' use of the term *mille*, which may be used in an approximate sense to represent a number slightly larger than one thousand.<sup>29</sup> Silius also synchronizes the doe's lifespan with the Trojan foundation of Capua in terms of *saecula* as well as years (cf. *saeculorum numero*, *Pun.* 13.128). Though the doe may still be physically vigorous, both she and Capua must perish when the latter reaches the end of its natural lifespan. The narrator's learned allusion to the tradition concerning the lifespan of cities offers a similar suggestion of mortality for the city of Rome. The city was near its nine hundredth birthday at the time of Silius' composition of the *Punica*, and had celebrated its seventh set of *ludi Saeculares* in AD 88.<sup>30</sup> Varro also reports a

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<sup>26</sup> Ripoll [24] 400 has shown, however, that Silius has portrayed the Roman commander far more favorably than Livy.

<sup>27</sup> For further examples of deer with lengthy lifespans, see Paus. 8.10.10; Plin. *HN* 8.119; Heurgon [5] 323; F. Orth, in A. Pauly, G. Wissowa *et al.* (edd.), *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1893-1980) 8 col. 1943 s.v. "Hirsch".

<sup>28</sup> *Itaque scriptum est quattuor prima saecula annorum fuisse centum, quintum centum viginti trium, sextum undeviginti et centum, septimum totidem, octavum tum demum agi, nonum et decimum superesse, quibus transactis finem fore nominis Etrusci* ("Thus it was written that the first four *saecula* were one hundred years in length, the fifth 123, the sixth 119, the seventh of an equal number to the sixth, the eighth was currently in progress, and the ninth and tenth were remaining. Once these were complete, there would be an end to the Etruscan people," Censorinus *DN* 17.6). See Heurgon [5] 324.

<sup>29</sup> For the use of *mille* καθ' ὑπερβολήν, see V. Bulhart, in S. Clavadetscher *et al.* (edd.), *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* [TLL] (Munich 1900-) 8.1 cols 980f. s.v. "Mille (caput alterum I B καθ' ὑπερβολήν)".

<sup>30</sup> See, e.g., Censorinus *DN* 17.11; Stat. *Silv.* 1.4.17; Suet. *Dom.* 4.3. See also B. W. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian* (New York 1992) 102f.

tradition that the city would last for 1200 years, a figure derived from the twelve vultures seen by Romulus (Censorinus *DN* 17.15). Rome could be seen as approaching its terminus, in terms of both years and *saecula*.

The episode’s sacrificial narrative provokes questions regarding the moral acceptability of the Romans’ behavior. On the literal level, the emphatic claim of Silius’ narrator that the doe is a most acceptable sacrifice to Diana is borne out. No divine anger in fact befalls Fulvius or the Romans during their siege of Capua, and the animal is killed through a deliberate sacrifice rather than the act of an unwitting hunter. Franchet d’Espèrey explains the acceptability of the sacrifice and the guiltlessness of the Romans in terms of the *hostia propria* (“appropriate sacrificial victim”) theme.<sup>31</sup> Yet Fulvius’ action may be questioned in terms of Roman religious practice. The Romans who capture the animal regard her flight toward the Roman camp as a *dextrum . . . conatibus omen* (“a lucky omen for their efforts,” *Pun.* 13.114), symbolizing the transfer of divine favor from the Capuans to their side. Yet the narrative does not specify how the commander comes to know that the doe will be a welcome sacrifice. There is no prior consultation of the goddess or explicit indication of divine direction. In other narratives of the sacrifice of exceptional animals, by contrast, the sacrificer is usually granted an explicit divine sanction.<sup>32</sup> The narrator has indicated that the wolves who chase the animal into the Roman camp have caused her terror, and that she has been captured by youths engaged in a hunting competition. These circumstances impede her ability to appear as if giving her consent to her own sacrifice.<sup>33</sup>

Though the narrator labels the doe a welcome sacrifice, Roman epic tradition tells against crediting narratorial claims in their entirety. Despite the narrator’s omniscience, his is merely one voice among many, one that may be challenged or undermined by events or claims made elsewhere in a given epic.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Franchet d’Espèrey [3] 165, who compares the dedication of antlers to Diana Tifatina at *CIL* 10.3796: see also H. Dessau (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* 1-3 (Berlin 1892-1916) [ILS] 3261; E. Courtney (ed.), *Musa Lapidaria: A Selection of Latin Verse Inscriptions* (Atlanta 1995) no. 139.

<sup>32</sup> An example would be Livy’s account of the Roman sacrifice of the Sabine heifer (Livy *AUC* 1.45.3-7; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 4).

<sup>33</sup> For *excipio* (“capture by ambush or similar means, intercept”) used of hunters, see Prop. 2.19.24; Verg. *Ecl.* 3.18; see also P. G. W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford 1982) 635 s.v. “excipio 13”. For examples of animals who present negative omens through their lack of consent to their sacrifice, see Luc. 1.611-13; Sil. *Pun.* 16.263-67.

<sup>34</sup> See R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Further voices in Vergil’s Aeneid* (Oxford 1987) 217-38; D. P. Fowler, “Deviant Focalisation in Virgil’s Aeneid,” *PCPhS* 36 (1990) 42-63. Challenges to the narrator’s authority are not unique to epic. R. F. Thomas, *Lands and Peoples in Roman Poetry: The Ethnographical Tradition* (Cambridge 1982) 35-69, examines the undermining

If not visited immediately on Fulvius, Diana's anger may be reserved for another occasion. Epic narrative often features motifs such as the deferral of divine vengeance and the repetition of divine punishment for crimes, despite human efforts at expiation.<sup>35</sup> The specific claim made here by Silius' narrator, that the doe represented *gratissima sacra* for Diana, works against an established tradition of divine anger at the killing of favorite animals. Examples are provided by two of the episode's intertexts, the immediate metamorphosis of Ovid's Cyparissus upon the shooting of Apollo's stag (*Met.* 10.136-40) and the slightly deferred vengeance of Valerius Flaccus' Cybele upon Cyzicus for the killing of her lion (*Argon.* 3.14-272).<sup>36</sup> Killing Diana's favorite beasts is often a precursor to destruction. Agamemnon's reversal of fortune as the result of killing a deer sacred to Artemis represents the paradigmatic example. The angry goddess withholds the winds from his fleet and can only be appeased by the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia.<sup>37</sup> The motif of the *hostia propria* and the absence of immediate divine vengeance are balanced, therefore, by the absence of narrative elements that accompany the positive sacrifice of exceptional animals (explicit divine sanction and the animal's appearance of consent) and by the memories of divine anger in the episode's intertexts and narrative parallels.

Silius' emphasis on the doe's high level of socialization also suggests the morally problematic nature of her sacrifice. As discussed above, Vergil's representation of the stag as possessing many of the qualities of a human being accentuates the pathos of his shooting. The structural allusion to the Vergilian episode in the *Punica* passage assists in the creation of the reader's expectations of viewing the doe in terms of her similarity to a human being. The echoes of prior epic in Silius' phrase describing Capys' encounter with the doe, *grato paruae mollitus amore* (*Pun.* 13.118), contrast his gentle behavior with the unwitting violence of Vergil's Ascanius and Valerius' Cyzicus: *eximiae laudis succensus amore* ("inflamed by love of outstanding praise," *Aen.* 7.496); *ingenti praedae deceptus amore* ("deceived by his tremendous love of prey," *Argon.* 3.21).<sup>38</sup> As the result of Capys' gentle treatment, the doe has both acquired

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of the Vergilian narrator's positive claims in the *laudes Italiae* passage of the *Georgics* (2.136-76).

<sup>35</sup> See D. C. Feeney, "The Reconciliations of Juno," in S. J. Harrison (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford 1990) 339-62, regarding Juno's ongoing anger against the Romans.

<sup>36</sup> See Spaltenstein [3] 215.

<sup>37</sup> See Procl. *Chr.* 104 Allen; Soph. *El.* 563-76. Franchet d'Espèrey [3] 163-65 compares Diana's other acts of vengeance on Oeneus, Actaeon, Orion, and Niobe.

<sup>38</sup> See Smolenaars [4] 267.

*sensusque hominis* (*Pun.* 13.119) and *exuta feram* (*Pun.* 13.120). She feeds at Capys’ table and takes pleasure in caresses and grooming by human beings (*Pun.* 13.120-23). These motifs of socialization, along with the length of her lifespan, suggest the inappropriateness of her killing by human beings. A comparable evocation of pathos occurs in Statius’ laments for highly socialized animals such as Melior’s parrot or the tame lion (*Stat. Silv.* 2.4f.).

The episode of the sacrifice of the white doe presents questions regarding Fulvius’ capacity to exercise force appropriately. The conflation of typical patterns of human and animal behavior in the passage relating the sacrifice of the doe and the beginning of Fulvius’ assault on Capua indicate that the Roman troops themselves are verging from humane toward bestial behavior. Animals first take the place of hunting men: the wolves who drive the doe out of Capua and toward the Romans perform a similar function to hunting dogs or to the slaves who drive animals into the nets during a Roman hunt.<sup>39</sup> Human beings next kill an animal who has been socialized to the point where she resembles a fellow human being. A further conflation of human and animal behavior occurs when Fulvius’ troops proceed to hunt fellow human beings as if they were animals. The Roman commander arrays his troops around the city of Capua *in morem indaginis* (“in the manner of a ring of hunters,” *Pun.* 13.141). Comparison of troop deployments to the use of the *indago* occurs commonly in epic descriptions of military operations (e.g., *Luc.* 6.38-42; *Sil. Pun.* 14.366-68; *Stat. Theb.* 12.450f.).<sup>40</sup> In a narrative context where the wolves and the doe have already acted like men, however, the association between fighting enemies in war and hunting them as animals provides a further example of the blurring of the distinctions between human and feral behavior.<sup>41</sup> While the soldiers do not raze Capua, thanks to restraint by the god Pan, Fulvius proceeds to execute its citizens as *piacula*: *tum sontes procerum meritosque piacula prima / acciet et iusta punit commissa securi* (“then he calls forth the guilty and deserving among the leaders, the first expiatory sacrifices, and punishes their deeds with the just axe,” *Pun.* 13.367f.). Where it does not refer to other forms of punishment, the term *piaculum* occurs in Silius and other epic poets to refer to the sacrifice of animals and to the killing of human beings, either on the battlefield or in

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<sup>39</sup> See J. Aymard, *Essai sur les chasses romaines des origines à la fin du siècle des Antonins (Cynegetica)* (Paris 1951) 226-28.

<sup>40</sup> See C. Nelz, in *TLL* 7.1 cols 1106f., s.v. “indago.”

<sup>41</sup> E. Vance, “Sylvia’s Pet Stag: Wildness and Domesticity in Virgil’s *Aeneid*,” *Arethusa* 14 (1981) 127-37, discusses the Vergilian episode’s erosion of the boundaries between domesticity and wildness in Latium.

executions.<sup>42</sup> The bivalent term points to the same ambiguity in the use of violence that occurred in the killing of the human-like doe. The sacrifice of a fully socialized animal represents a thematically appropriate prelude to Fulvius' killing of men in the manner of animals, in his use of the *indago* during the siege and in his execution of Capuans as *piacula* after the capture of the city.

The subsequent narrative of Fulvius' assault on Capua continues to offer the indications of excessive and inappropriately directed violence that were introduced in the episode of the sacrifice of the white doe. Fulvius and his troops are in the grip of *furor* throughout the assault. The narrator offers sympathy to the "wretched" Capuan young men sent out to face the *furor* of the conquering Romans: *miseramque furori / uincentum obtulerat pubem* ("[Virrius] had offered the wretched young men to the madness of the conquering troops," *Pun.* 13.216f.). A series of allusions to Turnus' assault on the Trojan camp in *Aeneid* 9 suggests that the Roman troops have abandoned typical modes of fighting in favor of recapitulating the Vergilian character's *furor* and unrestrained aggression. Fulvius' attack on the Capuan defenders of the gate (*Pun.* 13.191-218) resembles Turnus' similar assault (*Aen.* 9.672-716). In Vergil, two brothers guard the *porta* to the Trojan camp (*Aen.* 9.672-82); in Silius' episode, three brothers guard the *claustra* of Capua (*Pun.* 13.191-205).<sup>43</sup> In each episode, a maddened assailant kills one of the defenders with a missile. "Raging Turnus" kills Bitias with a *phalarica* (*Turno . . . furenti*, *Aen.* 9.691); Fulvius throws a fatal *hasta* at Numitor *furiatis uiribus* ("with maddened strength," *Pun.* 13.209). The commander's personal recapitulation of Turnus' *furor* is shared to some degree by other soldiers in his army, such as Claudius and Volesus.<sup>44</sup> The representation of Fulvius' army in terms that recall Turnus indicates the contrasting function of divine intervention. When Vergil's Allecto assaults Turnus with her torch, she creates madness in a man who previously appeared to be in control of his reason (*Aen.* 7.406-74). When Silius' Pan restrains Fulvius and his soldiers from razing Capua, however, he applies

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<sup>42</sup> Sacrifice of animals: Sil. *Pun.* 13.405, 13.418; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.636, 6.153. Killings on the battlefield: Sil. *Pun.* 4.465, 13.702; cf. Luc. 4.790. Executions: Sil. *Pun.* 1.182; cf. Luc. 2.176.

<sup>43</sup> The opening of the gates in both episodes presents a further parallel. Vergil's brothers do so out of confidence (*freti armis*, "trusting in their weapons," *Aen.* 9.676), Silius' Virrius out of folly (*incauto feruore . . . amens*, "with incautious zeal . . . mindless," *Pun.* 13.215).

<sup>44</sup> Claudius' solo race through Capua (*Pun.* 13.171-78) recalls Turnus' unaccompanied entry into and departure from the Trojan camp (*Aen.* 9.722-818). The description of Volesus' killing of Ascanius the Campanian (*Pun.* 13.246-48) echoes Turnus' killing of Lynceus (Verg. *Aen.* 9.768-71). See E. Burck, *Historische und epische Tradition bei Silius Italicus* (Munich 1984) 39-43.



supernatural restraints to men who have already displayed their propensity to *furor*.

Scipio’s behavior during the attack on Capua shows that he participates in the same *furor* that grips the soldiers. The narrator applies the epithet *insatiabilis* to the attacking Scipio: *ruit obuia in arma / Scipio et oblatum metit insatiabilis agmen* (“insatiable Scipio rushes against the oncoming weapons and mows down the opposing battle line,” *Pun.* 13.217f.). The epithet is used but once in prior epic, in Tisiphone’s description of Tydeus’ act of cannibalism in Statius: *miserum insatiabilis edit / me tradente caput* (“insatiable Tydeus ate the wretched head I gave him,” *Theb.* 11.87f.).<sup>45</sup> Silius uses *insatiabilis* on two other occasions in the *Punica*, in descriptions of Hannibal’s exhortation of his troops before hostilities commence at Cannae (*hortandoque iterum atque iterum insatiabilis urget / factis quemque suis*, “insatiable Hannibal urges on each man, exhorting him again and again with his own deeds,” 9.245f.), and of Scipio’s encounter with the *decemvirs* in the Underworld (*laetatur spectatque uirum insatiabilis ora / Scipio*, “insatiable Scipio rejoices and gazes at the faces of the men,” 13.755f.). Though neither of these other occurrences is as extreme as Tydeus’ act of cannibalism, they do not necessarily reflect positively on Scipio. The parallel with Hannibal indicates a similar participation (naturally to a lesser degree) in martial *furor*. Scipio’s admiration for the *decemvirs* suggests his desire for perpetual oligarchic rule, a style of governance opposed to the republican system to which he is putatively subordinate and with which he would clash at the end of his career. Scipio’s “insatiability” during the assault on Capua associates the man who will soon lead the Romans to victory with a series of threatening figures: Tydeus, Hannibal, and the *decemvirs*. His participation in the soldiers’ excessive acts of violence sets a disturbing precedent for the campaigns that he will lead during the epic’s final hexad.

The Roman victors’ madness does not cease upon the successful completion of the assault on the city. After their victory, they continue to experience both *rabies* and *furor* until the god Pan intervenes: *malamque / sedauit rabiem et permulsit corda furentum* (“he calmed their evil madness and soothed the hearts of the raging soldiers,” *Pun.* 13.343f.). Fulvius’ soldiers are represented as lacking both reverence for the gods and concern for those related to them through ties of kinship. Had Pan not intervened, they would have burned the temples of Capua:

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<sup>45</sup> *Insatiabilis* occurs elsewhere in hexameter verse only at Juv. 14.125; *insatiabiliter* occurs at Lucr. 3.907, 6.978; *insatiatus* at Stat. *Theb.* 6.305, 7.12. See V. Schmidt, in *TLL* 7.1 cols 1836-838 s.v. “insatiabilis, insatiabiliter.”

Atque ea dum miles miratur inertia facta  
 expectatque ferox sternendi moenia signum, 315  
 ecce repens tacito percurrit pectora sensu  
 religio et saeuas componit numine mentis,  
 ne flammam taedasque uelint, ne templa sub uno  
 in cinerem traxisse rogo. subit intima corda  
 perlabens sensim mitis deus. ille superbae 320  
 fundamenta Capyn posuisse antiquitus urbi  
 non cuiquam uisus passim monet, ille refusis  
 in spatium immensum campis habitanda relinqui  
 utile tecta docet. paulatim atrocibus irae  
 languescunt animis, et uis mollita senescit. 325

(Sil. *Pun.* 13.314-25)

But while the soldiers marvel at these cowardly deeds and fiercely await the signal to overturn the walls, look! Suddenly religious awe, an unexpressed sensation, rushes through their breasts and tames their savage minds with its divine power. It causes them not to want fire and torches, nor to reduce the temples to ashes in a single bonfire. The gentle god, gradually slipping in, enters their innermost hearts. Unseen by all, he admonishes them that Capys long ago had set the foundations for the mighty city, he teaches them that it is expedient to leave inhabitable buildings on the plains spread out over an immense space. Little by little the anger declines in their fearsome spirits, and their violence softens and decays.

Pan's influence is necessary in order to remind the troops that they are linked in kinship with the Capuans through the common foundation of Rome and Capua by members of the Trojan royal line. The narrative has included several earlier recollections of Capys' foundation (Sil. *Pun.* 11.295-97, 13.117f.). The invented names of several Capuan soldiers, such as Ascanius, Numitor, and Laurens, present further suggestions of συγγένεια between Romans and Capuans (13.194f., 13.212; 13.244).<sup>46</sup> The first two names directly recall important figures in the proto-history of Rome, and the *Punica* often employs the latter name as a typical synonym for "Roman" (e.g., 1.110, 1.605, 1.659, 1.669).<sup>47</sup> In their desire to burn the city, the soldiers have been swayed by Fulvius' description of Capua as an *altera Carthago* (13.100). The god's intervention, a reversal of his normal practice of inspiring rather than allaying madness, restores the soldiers to their sense of common humanity and awareness of shared descent. In Cicero's view, respect for gods and family are some of the typical obligations required for the continued existence of a civilized society (e.g., *Off.* 1.160). In their absence, Silius' narrative suggests, human beings revert to savage behavior. The necessity of Pan's intervention indicates that

<sup>46</sup> These names appear to be Silius' inventions: see Brugnoli [17].

<sup>47</sup> As adjective and substantive, *Laurens* occurs twenty-four times in total.

considerations of *pietas* and *humanitas* did not return to the soldiers after the successful completion of their assault on Capua.

Comparison with other Roman commanders adds a further level of significance to the soldiers’ madness and Pan’s intervention. In his relationship with his troops, Fulvius contrasts with Marcellus, whose siege and capture of Syracuse forms the major episode of the subsequent book. An intratextual allusion activates the comparison between the two Roman commanders: Marcellus’ *mite . . . dextrae decus* (“gentle glory of his right hand,” *Pun.* 14.148) echoes Fulvius’ *mite decus mentis* (“gentle glory of his mind,” 13.350). Without need of a god’s pacifying intervention, Marcellus protects his enemies’ houses and temples, restrains his soldiers’ anger through his leadership, and does not execute human beings (14.665-75, 14.679-83). While Fulvius’ command only certifies in verbal form the restraint that Pan has already caused in his troops, Marcellus can restrain his troops through his own moral authority.<sup>48</sup> In their readiness to destroy shrines and people linked to them through συγγένεια, Fulvius’ soldiers recall the followers of Lucan’s Caesar, similar victims of *furor* (1.8) who have sworn to kill their family members and destroy temples upon his orders (1.374-82). Fulvius’ sole responsibility for the sacrifice of the doe, one of the religious symbols of Capua, recalls Caesar’s initiation of the destruction of the sacred grove at Massilia (3.399-452).<sup>49</sup> Through their failure of *pietas* and *humanitas*, Fulvius’ soldiers suggest Roman readiness for participation in subsequent civil wars.

The account of animosity between Rome and an Italian city, in the episodes of the defection and capture of Capua, dissolves the images of Italian unity offered elsewhere in the epic. The catalogue of Roman forces at Cannae presents an anachronistic vision of unity and equality between Romans and Italians. In order to suggest that the entire peninsula was united against Hannibal, the *Punica* relates the contribution of communities that historically either did not participate in the battle of Cannae or were actually opposed to Rome at the time.<sup>50</sup> The fictive assertion of equality and unity among the participants conceals the important juridical distinctions between Roman *cives* and Latin *socii* and *foederati* that obtained throughout the third century and long

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<sup>48</sup> See Ripoll [24] 451-65.

<sup>49</sup> Caesar asks his troops to credit him alone with the *nefas* of the destruction of the grove (Luc. 3.436f.).

<sup>50</sup> Several of the populations that Silius lists in the Italian catalogue either did not participate in the battle of Cannae (such as the Praenestines, *Pun.* 8.365), or were supporters of Hannibal (the Ligurians, *Pun.* 8.605). Silius’ description of the Senate house commemorates a Roman victory over the Ligurians (*Pun.* 1.628). See P. Venini, “La visione dell’ Italia nel catalogo di Silio Italico (*Pun.* 8.316-616),” *MIL* 36 (1978) 126-34.

after, causing great resentment of Roman dominance among Italians.<sup>51</sup> The account of the fall of Capua, however, questions the fantasies of national unity generated in these other episodes. Despite the fleeting moment of cohesion at the battle of Cannae, Rome's subsequent history will be one of civil conflict, in which Capua will again choose the losing side. As Tacitus relates, Capua supported Vitellius against the Flavians in the war of AD 68-69 (*Hist.* 3.57).

Silius' representation of the white doe as a symbol of Capua challenges a triumphalist reading of Fulvius' seizure of the city. On the one hand, Romans succeed in punishing disloyal allies. On the other, their victory results in the destruction of an Italian city's religious identity, and the confirmation of an ominous tradition regarding the lifespan of cities. Though the narrator represents the doe as a welcome sacrifice, his claim is undermined by the memory of other examples of divine anger in the episode's intertexts. The description of the animal's high level of socialization both evokes pathos upon her death and prefigures the blurring of human and feral behavior that occurs in the subsequent assault on the city. Allusion to Turnus' assault on the Trojan camp in *Aeneid* 9 suggests that Fulvius' troops participate in comparable *furor*. Intratextual allusion creates a further contrast between Pan's intervention to restrain Fulvius and his troops, and Marcellus' self-directed *moderatio*. Allecto's interventions in Vergil's Latium create *furor* in the case of Turnus, and accentuate pre-existing tendencies for war in the case of other characters. Pan's intervention in Silius' narrative, by contrast, points to the Romans' pre-existing propensity for madness, violence, and contempt for religion and family. Some ancient critics of Vergil's passage on the shooting of the stag found it an insufficient cause of the outbreak of war in Latium (e.g., Macrobian *Sat.* 5.17.2). Modern readers have tended to relate the pathos of the episode to Vergil's questioning of the human costs of war. Silius' response to the Vergilian episode offers a comparable examination of the responsible use of force. Through episodes such as the sacrifice of the white doe, Silius' epic subtly observes the costs involved in the imperialist project.

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<sup>51</sup> See Venini [50] 127.

# THE PANEGYRICAL *PERSONAE* OF EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKI

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**Abstract.** Eustathios, appointed as Archbishop of Thessaloniki by Manuel I Komnenos after serving as ‘Master of the *Rhetors*’ at Constantinople, presented himself in different ways in his orations: sometimes he drew attention to his oratorical skill, and at other times he affected humility and appealed for sympathy. He used these two attitudes for the same end—to encourage his audiences to approve his continuance in his highly paid position.

All performers of rhetoric, including those of late twelfth-century Byzantium, celebrated and utilized the malleability of their art form. There was scope to aggrandize oneself or to be self-humbling, as the dictates of each piece required. This study will examine the rhetorical *personae* of Eustathios of Thessaloniki, and will investigate the question whether or not a common thread ran through his different professed self-perceptions, be they inflated or self-humbling.

Eustathios of Thessaloniki, was μαῖστωρ τῶν ῥητορῶν (‘Master of the Orators’) from approximately AD 1167 to 1176, before being elevated to the metropolitan diocese of Thessaloniki. The position of μαῖστωρ τῶν ῥητορῶν was held by the most accomplished orator of his day, and one of his most important duties was to praise the contemporary emperor in his panegyrics; the emperor Constantine Monomachos may have created the post for Michael Psellos.<sup>1</sup> One who held this position might well then have cause to preen himself on attaining it; and self-projection, the drawing of attention to his own worthiness to hold the post, might be a way to ensure continued remuneration.

Let us turn to an interesting segment of autobiography contained in the annual Epiphany (the sixth day of January) Oration for the emperor Manuel I Komnenos in 1176.<sup>2</sup> This long passage<sup>3</sup> will be broken into smaller segments for comment:

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<sup>1</sup> P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge 1993) 327.

<sup>2</sup> Magdalino [1] 455.

<sup>3</sup> Classical texts are as follows (in order of appearance, other than to avoid repetition): the text of Eustathios of Thessaloniki, *Epiphany Orations* (AD 1174 and 1176), *Oration for the Arrival of Agnes of France* (AD 1179), *Lenten Orations* (AD 1176 and 1179) is that of P. Wirth (ed.), *Eustathii Thessalonicensis Opera Minora* (Berlin 2000); of *Funeral Oration to Manuel* (AD 1180) T. F. L. Tafel (ed.), *Eustathii Metropolitae Thessalonicensis Opuscula*

. . . τὸ γοῦν παρὸν οὐκ ἂν παυσάιμην διὰ βίου λαλῶν· ἥ γὰρ ἂν ἀδικοίην τὰς Χάριτας, ἐὰν αὐταὶ μὲν ἰλαρὸν οὕτω προσέβλεψαν καὶ γλυκύ μοι προσεμειδίασαν καὶ τῶν πάλαι βασιλικῶν ἐκείνων ἐγκαινίων ἀμοίβας πολυτίμους ἔδωκεν ἰλεῦσαντο . . .

(Eust. *Epiph. Or.* AD 1176)<sup>4</sup>

. . . I would not stop speaking at this present moment while I live. Indeed, I would do the Graces an injustice, had they looked so cheerfully upon me, and smiled sweetly on me, and lavishly bestowed on me most valuable recompenses for those earlier imperial festivals of inauguration . . .

Eustathios is referring to earlier orations made at the time that the new emperor assumed office. The *rhetor* overtly draws attention to his worthiness at the time, on the basis of his performance, to be paid for his orations. But, in a Protean fashion, the *rhetor* then performs a *volte-face*:

. . . ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀποστρέψω καὶ εἰς ὄκνον καταβαρυνθῶ τοῦ λαλεῖν, ὅτε καὶ μᾶλλον ἐγρηγορέναι χρεῶν καὶ νηφάλια φθέγγεσθαι, αἰσχυνῶ δὲ ἂν καὶ τὴν φίλην θρέπτειραν ῥητορείαν, ἥτις ἔτι παῖδά με ὄντα καὶ οὐδὲ εἰς ἱούλον ἀρτιφυῆ λασιούμενον ῥήτορα βασιλικὸν παρεστήσατο, ἥνικα θεὸς τὰ πρῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς ταύτης ἐκάθισέ σε περιωπῆς, καὶ φλέβα τοῦ ῥητορεύειν τότε μὲν ὑπήνοιξεν, εἴτα ἐπὶ μακρὸν συσταλεῖσαν αὐθις ἐξέφηεν, οὐκ οἶδα μὲν, εἰ κάλλιον τοῦ πρωτοφανοῦς ἐκείνου καὶ ἀρθρούστερον ρεύματος, βλύζουσιν δὲ ὅμως ἀσχιδὲς καὶ ἀρρέμβαστον καὶ ἰθυτενῶς τῶν ἐκβολῶν ἐφιεμένην καὶ ἀπεριπλάνητα θέουσιν·

(Eust. *Epiph. Or.* AD 1176)<sup>5</sup>

. . . but I then turn myself away, and am restrained by shyness from speaking, when rather there is the need to bestir myself, and to speak in sober tones. And I would also be dishonouring my beloved nurse, the art of rhetoric, which, when I was still a youth, and not yet becoming woolly with a newly-grown beard, appointed me an imperial *rhetor* at that time when God had first seated you on this imperial summit, and began opening the arteries of rhetoric, and then, having restrained them for a long time, suddenly released their flow. I do not know whether it is now a fairer thing than that stream which first appeared and flowed more continually, but it bubbles along nevertheless, undivided, constant and emerging straight from its sources, and rushes on without straying to either side.

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(Frankfurt 1832); of Hermogenes of Tarsos H. Rabe (ed.), *Hermogenis Opera* (Leipzig 1913); of Aristotle, *Poetica* R. Kassel (ed.), *Aristotelis de Arte Poetica Liber* (Oxford 1968); and of Aristotle, *Rhetorica* W. D. Ross (ed.), *Aristotelis Ars Rhetorica* (Oxford 1964). All translations of Eustathios of Thessaloniki are my own; the translations of Hermogenes of Tarsos are those of C. W. Wootten (tr.), *Hermogenes: On Types of Style* (Chapel Hill 1987) 71-75, 84-89.

<sup>4</sup> Wirth [3] 203/36-39.

<sup>5</sup> Wirth [3] 203/39-48.

Eustathios is saying that he needs to produce something comparable to those early orations, and feigns modesty—as we shall see him do in other orations—as to his ability to perform on this occasion. He also refers to a long interval during which he did not produce any rhetoric for the emperor. Our orator then says, however, that it now flows smoothly, again suggesting his worthiness of recompense for his orations. The subsequent lines also contain a curious mixture of pride and humility:

ἐγὼ δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν κατάραν ἐμαυτῷ ἐπικλῶ καὶ ἀξιῶ  
ἐμαυτὸν οὐ μὴ βλέπειν τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις  
οὐράνωσας, εἰ μὴ στραφεῖς γένωμαι ὁ παῖς ἐκεῖνος ὁ πάλαι, ὁ τότε σοι  
τὴν βασιλείαν ἐγκαινίοις λόγων δεξιωσάμενος καὶ μενῶ ἐν τῇ  
εὐγνωμοσύνῃ ταύτῃ διὰ βίου παντός, εἰ καὶ, ὥσπερ τότε τὰ εἰς  
ῥητορείαν ψελλίζων καὶ οὐ πρὸς ἀξίαν τῆς ἐορτῆς, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τῷ  
γῆρα τρομαλέα φθεγγόμενος·

(Eust. *Epiph. Or.* AD 1176)<sup>6</sup>

And I here invoke the imprecation of the Gospel upon myself and think myself not worthy to look at the empire which you have raised to the heavens with your manly exploits, unless I turn back to become that child of old who at that time greeted your rule as emperor with inaugural feasts of words, and I will continue to dwell in this state of gratitude throughout my whole life, even if, just as then I was inarticulate in speech, with regard to rhetoric and was unworthy of the feast, now I utter words which tremble with old age.

The tone has shifted from self-praise to self-effacement. Despite what he had said above, the *rhetor* now claims, with mock modesty, that he is now, as earlier, inarticulate as a result of his age. He needs rather to produce something that is as worthy of his subject as the inaugural orations. Eustathios is therefore seeking sympathy, as Kazhdan and Franklin have noted.<sup>7</sup> Hermogenes of Tarsos, a second-century theorist of great import in the Byzantine empire, says that the seeking of sympathy is a function of the ἰδέαι (‘ideas’, ‘qualities’, ‘styles’, Hermog. *Id.* 2) of ἀφελεῖα (‘simplicity’, 3) and ἐπιεικεία (‘modesty’, 6) in rhetoric.<sup>8</sup> I shall suggest, however, that there is more to this self-effacement than first meets the eye. One factor is that beneath the superficial pretence of modesty, there is a gratuitous rhetorical demonstration of ability to employ the *topos* of humility. We shall come to two other factors in due course.

The subsequent passage portrays the *rhetor* in a more confident light:

<sup>6</sup> Wirth [3] 203/48-54.

<sup>7</sup> A. P. Kazhdan and S. Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge 1984) 116.

<sup>8</sup> Rabe [3] 321-29, 345-52.

ναὶ γάρ, ὦ βασιλέων εὐεργετικώτατε, σὺ με καὶ ἀπὸ ἰλύος πραγμάτων εἰς λάμπουσιν μετήνεγκας καθαρότητα, καὶ ἡμειψάς μοι τὸν τοῦ βίου πηλὸν πλουτοποιὸν Πακτωλὸν καὶ τὴν ἀγοραίαν στωμυλίαν εἰς εὐγενὴ λαμυρίαν μετέθηκας καὶ γῆθεν λαλοῦντά με πρὸς μετέωρον ὕψωσας, καὶ τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ χθόνιον τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ πτερώσας οἷον οὐράνωσας καὶ γλῶσσαν μογιλάλον διήρθρωσας, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν παντελῶς σιγῶσαν ἐτράνωσας καὶ ἀντὶ ὀνόματος, οὗ μετέχειν ἀξιοῦται καὶ μικρόν τι γραμμάτων γευόμενος ἄνθρωπος, ὄνομα ἐχαρίσω μοι τὸ τοῖς κατ' ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ ἅπαν κρινόμενον ὄνομα.

(Eust. *Epiph. Or.* AD 1176)<sup>9</sup>

Yes, O most benevolent of all emperors, you have lifted me from a state of slime into gleaming purity and you have changed the mire of my life into the richly providing Paktolos for me, and you have changed the chatter of the market-place into noble boldness of expression, and raised me as I speak from the earth to the air, and you have set the wings of Hermes on the earthly part of me, and elevated me to the sky, as it were; you have turned my tongue, which was stammering, or rather was even completely silent, into an articulate one, and made it clear; and instead of a name, which a man having even a little experience of letters was thought worthy to possess, you have granted me the name which is the name judged by those around me to be above all others.

Here Eustathios talks of his former poverty in addition to his awkwardness in speech, a poverty which has now justly (in Eustathios' eyes, due to his elegant expression) been transformed to a river flowing with gold ('the richly providing Paktolos'), and he implicitly thanks the emperor for awarding him the title of 'Master of the *Rhetors*'.

The climax, however, coming in what has been an artistically gratifying rhythm over the entire passage of gratitude, self-depreciation and self-aggrandizement (elevation-humility-elevation), is the *rhetor's* assertion of his own worth under the veil of further gratitude, for he claims that like Christ himself (Philippians 2.9; cf. Ephesians 1.21) he has a name more worthy than any other. Eustathios could here be making a tacit comparison between the emperor and God, by no means unusual in the genre. We might also say that the *rhetor* is showing his gratitude to the emperor by implicitly suggesting, first, 'you made me what I am today—a great orator' and, secondly, 'thank you for paying me, I assure you that more of the same will follow'. The passages of self-depreciation throughout this autobiographical part of the oration throw the confident ending into high relief, increasing the impact on audience and emperor alike.

The other thing that we might note is that even the pity-seeking parts of this passage as a whole could be intended to prevail not only upon the

<sup>9</sup> Wirth [3] 203/56-204/64.



emperor’s philanthropy, but indeed his pleasure at a well-executed passage employing the *topos* of humility.

The theme of one’s own worthiness as a *rhetor* is one which recurs in other discourses of Eustathios. It is found, for example, in the Betrothal Oration which he delivered in summer 1179 upon the arrival at Constantinople of the princess Agnes of France, betrothed to the crown prince Alexios Porphyrogenetos. In particular, Eustathios makes a mention of a lost written work in which he had celebrated the porphyrogenite heir:

Καὶ εἶχον αὐτὸς ἐναβρύνεσθαι διηγήμασιν, ἐξ ὧν ὁ λόγος ἐνεπλατύνατο τε ἂν ἱκανῶς καὶ κομψότητα περιέθετο, καὶ μοι τοῦτο εὐπορώτερον ἦν ἐν τοῖς νῦν ἥπερ ὅτε συγγενέσιν ἐκείνοις ἀφηγήμασιν τὸν λόγον ἐναπησχόλουν βιβλὸν ἐκθέμενος, ἐν ᾗ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου ἐξεγραψάμην βρεφικά· ὅτι δέ μοι οὐκ ἐφίησιν ὁ καιρὸς, ἀπεριχόρευτον καὶ τὸ κατὰ μέρος τοῦτο ἀφείς κατακλείω τὸν λόγον εἰς τὸ πρόχειρον τοῦ σκοποῦ, ὥς ἄρα οὐ μικρόν τι καὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀγαθοῦ ἃ μέτεστι τῷ τῆς πορφύρας καλῷ τούτῳ βλαστῷ . . .

(Eust. *Agnes Or.* AD 1179)<sup>10</sup>

And I myself could take pride in the statements, from which the oration would both have developed suitably, and would have adorned itself with elegance. And for me, this was easier at the present time than when I was labouring over this topic in related discourses generated at the same time, after producing a book in which I recorded the deeds of this emperor performed in his infancy; but because time does not allow me to do so, and permits no labouring over it, part by part, I now conclude my mention of it, according to the impromptu nature of my aim, since therefore there is no small share in the present felicity for this beautiful shoot of the purple . . .

Shades of Herakles in his cot, it would seem. The birth of the prince gave rise to many narratives, with which Eustathios had to compete. But here Eustathios, again using both rhetorical magnification and belittlement, first draws attention to his rhetorical ability (and his superiority to his rivals in rising to the task) and then offsets this with the observation that he was merely one among a number of commemorators at the time of the heir’s birth and of the prince’s prodigious development. It is the confidence, however, that prevails. We shall see another appraisal of self in this oration in due course; but we should compare this passage with that of the 1176 Epiphany Oration above, where the drawing of attention to ability in rhetoric in an oration to the emperor doubtless has remuneration as its aim.

We find in Eustathios’ ἐπιτάφιος (Funeral Oration) for Manuel in 1180 another example of Eustathios affirming that he has rhetorical ability:

<sup>10</sup> Wirth [3] 259/16-23.

Μίμησιν γὰρ ἔχων ἅπας ἄνθρωπος διδάσκαλον, καὶ αὐτήν, ὅπη βούλοιτο, εἴτε καλοῦ τε καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος, εἴτε καὶ τῶν ὡς ἐτέρως ἔχόντων, σιωπώντων μὲν τῶν ἐλλογιμωτέρων, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄν' λαλοῦσι δὲ τὸ σύμφωνον ἐναρμόσεται, καὶ μᾶλλον, εἴπερ καὶ ὁ φθάσας βίος τοιοῦτον τινὰ ἔτρεφε, μὴ θέλοντά τινων ὑστερεῖν λαλιᾶς τῆς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ, οἷους φημί τινας καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ μακαριστοῦ βασιλέως ἀποβῆναι θαυμασίοις. Ὅποι γὰρ ποτε παρήκοι, οὐδ' ἡμᾶς ὁ χρόνος εὔρεν ὀκνοῦντας τὰ δυνατὰ ἐγκώμια.

(Eust. *Fun. Or. Man.* AD 1180)<sup>11</sup>

Every man who has imitation as his teacher—and he will imitate, as he wishes, something good and true, or the opposite—will follow when more learned men keep silent, but when they speak, will join his voice to theirs in unison; and this is much more the case, if his former life has raised him to be the sort of person who does not wish to lag behind in speaking for a good purpose. I say that I too am such a man and am capable of applying myself to the marvellous characteristics of the most blessed emperor. Wherever [the occasion] then might arise, time has not found me shrinking from [delivering] capable encomia.

The passage is interesting for what it has to say about Eustathios and rhetorical theory, with its allusion to Aristotle's theory of literature (that it is mimetic, *Poet.* 1447a-b), but that does not concern us here. Rather, we see Eustathios once more projecting himself and his worth into the text of his oration. He describes himself as a good judge of when to speak and when to remain silent, since learned men understand the proper circumstances for both. He would also seem to be touting for business from the new regime (the regency of the empress Maria-Xene for Alexios, still a minor) by mentioning his ability to deliver encomia in a capable fashion.

We see later in the 1176 Epiphany Oration a fourth example of its self-projection, in the form of self-affirmation as a capable encomiast. The motif is reworked when Eustathios comes to consider that when he goes to his new diocese—he was at the time of this oration a candidate for the see of Myra, which was probably at that time under Seljuk control, or at least threatened by the Seljuk Turks—he will still be capable of delivering a capable encomium on the emperor's fine physique:

Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἡ φύσις, ἄριστε βασιλεῦ, ἀμφὶ σὲ φιλοτίμως ἡσχόληται καὶ ὅσον αὐτῆς τὸ περὶ σὲ φιλοτέχνημα, ἔσται μοι καλλιγραφῆσαι καιρὸς ἕτερος· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πού το ἀπόδημον βαρβαρώσει τὰ κατ' ἐμέ, ὡς πάντῃ ἐπιλιπεῖν τὰ τοῦ λόγου χρώματα, δι' ὧν ἔχοιμι ἂν καταγράψασθαι τὸ κάλλος τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, τὸ τῆς θεᾶς γαλήνιον, τὸ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ λάμπον καὶ ἡρωϊκόν, τὴν ὅλην εὐρυθμίαν τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀκροπόλεως . . .

(Eust. *Epiph. Or.* AD 1176)<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Tafel [3] 197/13-22.

As for the way in which nature, O best of emperors, has been prodigally busy in relation to you, there will be another opportunity for me to depict calligraphically the masterpiece she has achieved in you; for my migration will not render me so uncouth as to become deprived of linguistic abilities, that is to be unable to depict the beauty of your eyes, the serenity of your countenance, and also the brilliance and heroic quality of your face, the total harmony of the acropolis of your body . . .

We see here a more tempered grandiosity than that found earlier in the oration (at the first passage considered). Rather here, the incentive for the emperor to pay our *rhetor* seems to be as a reward for his praise of him—as always, the chief motivating factor in panegyric.

Interestingly, passages of self-depreciation are at least as common throughout Eustathios’ *oeuvre*, if not more so, than passages of self-aggrandizement. Self-praise and assertion of one’s own worth, I would argue, was not the only way to obtain remuneration. As I have suggested, one could prevail upon the emperor’s philanthropy by soliciting his pity. Self-diminution, however, need not exclude self-aggrandizement within the space of a few lines, as we saw in the 1176 Epiphany Oration and will now also see in a Lenten Oration of 1179.<sup>13</sup> The passage of interest runs as follows:

οὕτω δὴ οὖν ἀναγκαίως τοῦ σκοποῦ καθισταμένου ἐπιβλητέον τῷ προτεθειμένῳ σκοπῷ, ἐκθησαμένοις τὸν φθόνον καὶ ἀπονεύσασιν πρὸς ἀπλαστίαν, ὡς οἶόν τε, εἴτε ἰδιωτικὴν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, εἴτε καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ φαίην (οἶμαι δ’ ὅτι καὶ μάλα ἀσφαλῶς) γεροντικὴν· ἵνα γὰρ καὶ εἰσέτι βραχὺ τοῦ σκοποῦ ὑπερηγορήσωμεν· εἰ θεάτρου πλήθοντος φόρτος ὁ μὴ τὰ θεωρικὰ πλατυλογῶν, καὶ πανηγύρεως δὲ ἑτέρας ἀγομένης γελοῖος ὁ μὴ τὰ τῆς ἡμέρας σεμνολογῶν, καὶ ἕκαστον δὲ πρᾶγμα τοὺς οἰκείους ἐξευρίσκει κατὰ καιρὸν λόγους, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς νηστείας καλὸν μενεῖ δεόντως ἀσεμνολόγητον ἐν οἰκειοτάτῳ καιρῷ· εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἰδιωτικὸν κατὰ τῆς ἀνὰ χεῖρα γραφῆς ὑποπτεύεται ῥηθέν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐπιεικέστερον, ἀλλ’ οὐ πάνυ χύδην καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐπιπόλαιον ἄνθρωπον ὁ περὶ νηστείας ἡμῖν λόγος ἐκφωνηθήσεται, ὡς εἶναι πάντῃ πάντῳ δυσήκοος, ἀλλὰ (παραφρονῶν τυχὸν λέγω), καθάπερ ἂν τις τὸ τοιοῦτον μεταχειρίσεται οὐ πάντῃ παιδείας ἄγευστος.

(Eust. *Lenten Or.* AD 1179)<sup>14</sup>

So therefore, since our aim has been established as is necessary, we must aim at this mark set before us, and set aside envy and incline towards simplicity as best we can, whether this simplicity is unrefined, as one would say, or as I would (and I think that this is very much the case), it is the result of old age. Let me speak in defence of my aim for a little while longer: if, when the theatre is full, the orator is irksome when he does not speak at length of what

<sup>12</sup> Wirth [3] 223/9-14.

<sup>13</sup> Magdalino [1] 99 n. 299.

<sup>14</sup> Wirth [3] 155/11-24.

pertains to the festival, and he is ridiculous in the conduct of any other assembly if he does not speak solemnly of things relevant to the day, then the fine act of fasting should not remain untreated by dignified words on the proper occasion; but even if an amateurish oration read from a manuscript is very reasonably suspect after it has been read out, as is likely, the oration that I will deliver about fasting is not, however, altogether crude and the product of a superficial man, so that it is in all ways entirely unpleasant to listen to, but the reverse (perhaps I speak without good sense here), since someone who has never tasted education at all would not be entrusted with such a task.

The first thing that we see is, in the early part of the passage, the ostensible self-depreciation of the *rhetor* in his reference to his old age. He then would seem to be seeking to excuse himself because he is reading from a manuscript (Aristotle says that *rhetors* seem amateurish when reading from manuscripts, *Rh.* 1413b). But the *rhetor* then, in the space of a few lines, asserts that he is capable for the task which he has in hand, the delivering of a Lenten homily. The ostensible humility at the beginning of the passage in fact has the effect of highlighting the self-assertion at the end—such is the dynamic nature of rhetoric. There is therefore in this passage a rationale behind Eustathios' seemingly split literary *persona*, the curious mixture of self-aggrandizement and self-belittling.

In the Eustathian Epiphany Oration of 1174,<sup>15</sup> we see a tempered self-diminution:

Ἄλλ' ὦ χρόνος εἰς τοῦτό με περιαγαγὼν ὥρας, ὥς μὴ ἔχειν ἐμπλατύνεσθαι τοῖς βασιλικοῖς τούτοις καλοῖς φειδοῖ τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἐμαντοῦ δυνάμεως, οἷς ἄλλοι μὲν ἐνδιέτριψαν πρὸ ἡμῶν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἤκομεν δεῦτεροι καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμῖν μέλον, εἰ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ λόγου δυνάμει, ὥς, εἴ γε λέγειν ἦν ἡμῖν, οὐκ ἂν τὰ τῆς δευτερολογίας ταύτης ὠκνήσαμεν.

(Eust. *Epiph. Or.* AD 1174)<sup>16</sup>

But, O time which has brought me to the point at which I cannot enlarge on these imperial virtues, because of my lack of ability in speaking, the virtues on which others have lingered before me, but I myself come second, and it is of no importance whether it is time, or my powers of speech; if it had been possible for me to say anything, I would not have shrunk from the situation of repeating what has been said.

The passage speaks largely for itself. Through the power of rhetoric, the *rhetor*, who has elsewhere asserted his ability in speaking, here denies it. We have seen passages where the *rhetor* is bold. There are those in which self-effacement

<sup>15</sup> Magdalino [1] 455 n. 159.

<sup>16</sup> Wirth [3] 266/78-82.

serves to throw his confidence into high relief. It is with two passages of more clear-cut self-depreciation, however, that I wish to conclude this short survey.

In the Oration for Agnes of France in 1179, Eustathios describes himself in the following terms:

Τοιούτοις τόποις ἐκεῖνοι τὸ λογογράφον φύλον ἐπεξεργαστικώτερον διακονησάμενοι βίβλους παραδόξων ἀκουσμάτων ἐκπονήσονται καὶ μνημοσύνης ἐπαινετῆς δέλτους διασκευάσονται κάλλιον ἢ περ ἡμεῖς, οὐδὲ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ἔσω τοῦ μετρίου σφίγγει καὶ τὸ γῆρας ἀπάγει τοῦ σοφίζεσθαι εἰς ἀβρότητα (καὶ ὁ καιρὸς δὲ μετρεῖται εἰς πάνυ στενόν).

(Eust. *Agnes Or.* AD 1179)<sup>17</sup>

With expressions of this kind, those who serve the race of speech-writers in a more finished manner will labour over books of marvellous orations and set in order tablets of praiseworthy memory better than we do, since our appearance cramps us within the bounds of mediocrity, and old age prevents us from using delicate subtleties, and the available time has been measured altogether into a very short space.

As has now become apparent, this self-depreciation is part of a literary *persona* which may at times be confident, at times diffident, according to what rhetorical effect the orator wishes to create at any instant of the overall trajectory of the oration. Here the *rhetor* draws attention to his small frame and feigns lack of rhetorical skill. We shall see the rationale behind this in due course, but we should also note another excusing of self due to old age, and compare this passage with the final one that I would like to consider, this time from a Lenten Oration of 1176:

Ἄλλ’ ὦμοι, ὅτι τὴν βασιλικὴν ταύτην ὁδὸν περιηγουμένῳ καὶ προϊόντι, ὅποιπερ ἤθελον, ὁδοιδοκήσασα ἢ νόσος ἐπικείται καὶ τὸν τοῦ λέγειν δρόμον ἐγκόπτει, ὥς μήτε τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν τῶν βασιλικῶν μεγαλουργιῶν ἐπεκτείνεσθαι καὶ μηδὲ ἀνὰ πόδας ἔχειν χωρεῖν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ μείναι συμπεποδισμένον καὶ ἀπαγορεῦσαι [τ]ὸ πᾶν . . . Δώσετέ μοι τὸ ἐντεῦθεν, ὦ φίλον ἀκροατήριον, ἀνδρὶ λεληστευμένῳ καὶ καταπόνῳ ἐξ ἀσθενείας καὶ δεδεημένῳ ἑκατέρου ἐλαίου τοῦ τε πρὸς οἶκτον καὶ τοῦ ἱλαρύνοντος εὐρεῖν θεραπείαν βραχείαν· ἢ καθάπαξ ἐνδόντα τῇ γλώττῃ λαλεῖν ἀφήσετε, οὐκ οἶδ’ εἴτε στέργοντες εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως ἔχοντες· εἰ μὲν ἐνδιδοάτε μοι νοσοκομήσασθαι, χάρις ὑμῖν, εἰ δ’ οὖν, ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ σιγήσας ἑμαυτῷ λήψομαι τὸ ζητούμενον τοῖς μὲν βασιλεῦσιν ἐπευξάμενος ζωὴν συνεξικνουμένην χρόνοις μακροῖς, ὑμῖν δὲ ποδηγίαν τὴν εἰς τὴν προκειμένην εὐκταίαν ὁδὸν ἐν θεῷ τῷ ὑπὸ πάντων ὑμνητῷ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

(Eust. *Lenten Or.* AD 1176)<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Wirth [3] 255/80-85.

<sup>18</sup> Wirth [3] 18\* (date), 45/19-46 (text).

But woe is me, because as I am led and proceed forth along this imperial path, along which I wished to go, illness has lain in wait, and stands in the way, and cuts short the course of my oration, so that I cannot even extend my account to the emperor's earlier great deeds, nor can I proceed on foot, but I am rooted to the spot here and I am completely exhausted . . . Grant this henceforth to me, O beloved audience, to a man who is being robbed of strength and worn out from weakness, and who is in need of another anointing of pity, which encourages one to find a quick cure; and once you allow a person to depend on his tongue to speak, I do not know whether you love him or are otherwise; if you allow me to tend myself in my illness, I thank you, but if, however, I, after falling silent, seek for myself that thing which is sought after for the emperors, and pray for a life accompanied by a long period of years, for you on the other hand the thing that I pray for, in the name of God, the One who is celebrated by all men for eternity, is guidance along the path that lies ahead of you, Amen.

In a sense, we have come full circle with the reference to the *rhetor*'s tongue being his livelihood. Eustathios also dwells, in his self-pity, on his illness, a motif which recurs in an oration that I have dated to Autumn 1179,<sup>19</sup> although the expression of self-pity is a little more attenuated than it is here.

Apart from the fact that *rheto*rs celebrated their art as able to aggrandize, diminish, celebrate or vilify as desired, can we explain why in some places Eustathios should be boastful and in other places ostensibly humble? Part of the answer lies, as I have suggested, in Eustathios' rhetorical training, in particular an exercise for trainee rhetoricians known as the ἡθοποιία ('formation of character').<sup>20</sup> This exercise required the trainee, now at the equivalent of tertiary education, to compose an oration representative of one that a character from history or mythology might have said under given circumstances. Though Eustathios is clearly not making a declamation of this kind directly, during his rhetorical training he will, in practising such exercises, have had many opportunities to adopt a grandiloquent and self-laudatory tone, while at other times he would have presented his character in a self-effacing manner. As a result, either mode would have presented itself quite spontaneously in his panegyrics. Indeed, Hunger remarks that the ἡθοποιία has left more traces than any other training exercise in rhetoric as a whole.<sup>21</sup> We might note in passing

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<sup>19</sup> Wirth [3] 229/19-27.

<sup>20</sup> G. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (Princeton 1983) 64; H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* 1 (Munich 1978) 18f.; H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* 1 (Munich 1960) 543.

<sup>21</sup> Hunger [20] 108.

here that there was a *topos* of humility also in the literature of the West of the time.<sup>22</sup>

The rest of the answer lies with the ulterior motive of the rhetorician, to be suitably paid, whether it be by the emperor or by the flock of his diocese. By showing one’s worth as a *rhetor*, one could demonstrate worthiness of remuneration. By being ostensibly humble, one could solicit pity and exact ‘alms’ from the flock—at Thessaloniki in particular, since the *topos* of humility becomes more prevalent after Eustathios’ elevation to the metropolitanate of that city. Self-aggrandizement and self-pity are therefore two sides to the same coin: mechanisms to procure payment. Indeed, since in both cases the *rhetor* was employing his craft to create showpieces to the best of his ability, an audience inured to the genre may have by no means regarded the two apparent extremes as opposites. Which method or mixture Eustathios ended up selecting was determined primarily by who the audience was. This can be demonstrated clearly in the cases of the 1176 Epiphany Oration (for the emperor), the 1176 Lenten Oration (for the Thessalonians) and the 1180 ἡθοποιία (for the court as a whole). Eustathios, however, surely also had his motives for using self-aggrandizement or self-effacement as the preferred mechanism in the case of the other orations.

It must be remembered that for Eustathios, particularly before his metropolitan bishopric, rhetoric was his livelihood. He used the tools for procuring this with a mastery worthy of the ‘Master of the *Rhetors*’.

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<sup>22</sup> A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London 1984) 15, 22, 49, 59, 87, esp. 192-94.

## REVIEW ARTICLES

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### THE CINEMATIC ANCIENT WORLD

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Irene Berti and Marta García Morcillo (edd.), *Hellas on Screen: Cinematic Receptions of Ancient History, Literature and Myth*. HABES Band 45. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009. Pp. 267, incl. 29 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-3-515-09223-4. EUR48.

Ruth Scodel and Anja Bettenworth, *Whither Quo Vadis? Sienkiewicz's Novel in Film and Television*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2009. Pp. x + 292, incl. 18 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-1-4051-8385-7. GBP50.

The world of Greece and Rome was one of the earliest cinematic subjects, reflecting a desire to appropriate high cultural values into what quickly became a mass medium. Still, it took nearly a century for classicists to show much interest in these photo dramas. Solomon's *Ancient World in the Cinema* led the way in 1978, but only in the 1990s—with the publication of Winkler's edited collection, *Classics and Cinema* in 1991 and especially Wyke's *Projecting the Past* in 1997—did the reception of the ancient world on film cautiously begin to be regarded as worthy of scholarship.<sup>1</sup> In the last decade, the trickle has become a spate. The reasons for this are several: the rise of media and cultural studies in addition to more established film studies in academia; the need to offer classes that will attract student numbers (is Film the new Mythology?); the search for fields unexplored (in similar fashion, the meadow of post-Vergilian epic has suddenly become quite crowded); and perhaps a more tolerant attitude in the profession to non-canonical material. The two books under review are very much to be welcomed as broadening the focus away from well-known Hollywood blockbusters. At the same time, they raise questions about methodology that need to be faced if the study of the cinematic reception of the past is to mature.

*Hellas on Screen* developed out of a course on 'Antiquity in Film' at the University of Heidelberg in 2005. The contributors all originate in mainland Europe

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<sup>1</sup> J. Solomon, *The Ancient World in the Cinema* (South Brunswick 1978); M. M. Winkler (ed.), *Classics and Cinema* (Lewisburg 1991); M. Wyke, *Projecting the Past: Ancient Rome, Cinema, and History* (New York 1997).



(three presently working in the United Kingdom) and so offer a different perspective from the Anglophone studies that have predominated till now. The decision to publish all the papers in English could be seen as a response to the lack of attention paid to foreign language material in previous studies, although the cause of that neglect, rather than linguistic incompetence, may be that European reception studies have been later out of the gate compared to their North American and British counterparts. There are occasional indications that the writers are non-native speakers, but these are rarely confusing and sometimes even charming (e.g., ‘Greek freedoms-thought’, p. 221). The odd man out is Robin Lane Fox, whose preface, with its studied English eccentricity *à la* P. G. Wodehouse, enthusiastically embraces the whole project. The chapters are unnumbered.

Nacho Garcia, ‘Classic Sceneries: Setting Ancient Greece in Film Architecture’ (pp. 21-38), leads off with a discussion of the *mise-en-scène* of around twenty films portraying ancient Greece, from Robert Wise’s *Helen of Troy* (1956) to Zack Snyder’s *300* (2006). He rightly stresses that cinemagoers’ conceptions of Greece do not derive from the vision of any of the Hollywood studios, but from Pinewood and Shepperton in London and Cinecittà and Palatino in Rome. Examining the visual styles of these films reveals some readily recognizable trends (the use of Near Eastern and Minoan styles to characterize Troy in contrast with the harsher Doric style of mainland Greece); others are less obvious, such as the use of the Ionic order to signify the more luxurious Roman world rather than classical Greece. This is an important contribution that stresses the visual element of production design that is often given short shrift in comparison with narrative themes.

Martin Lindner, ‘Colourful Heroes: Ancient Greece and the Children’s Animation Film’ (pp. 39-56), examines ten animated films or series, mainly from the 1990s, that recreate the adventures of Hercules and Odysseus and other tales from Greek mythology. This interesting collection of videos from around the world—unusually labelled by their European Article Number (EAN) barcode rather than the traditional identification by director and date—is examined for variations from canonical versions. In line with the target audience, these versions remove sexual content and tone down violence; other alterations may reflect the brevity of the productions and their didactic purposes. Clearly much more can be done with such material (for instance, looking for localized content in product that is often aimed at a global market, or comparing recent approaches with older examples of children’s film and literature), but this is a valuable introduction to a type of production that, as both derivative and juvenile-directed, is often undervalued.

The use of classical philology to explicate Heracles films is the subject of Luigi Spina’s light-hearted chapter, ‘By Heracles! From Satyr-play to *Peplum*’ (pp. 57-64). Wryly noting that English-speaking scholars are better acquainted with studies of the *peplum* film than with other Italian research, Spina discusses the comic treatment of Heracles since ancient times. His call for serious study of the depiction of Heracles in the *peplum*, given the genre’s appeal to an Italian working-class audience, is sensible. It also strengthens the case for reserving the term for such films produced in Italy in

1958-1965, a time that also saw considerable internal migration of southern workers to the north. While he argues that parodic treatments reveal the exhaustion of the genre (a similar development occurs in Italian westerns), comic elements, a trademark of scriptwriter Ennio de Concini, are certainly already present in *Le fatiche di Ercole* (1958), the film that initiated the *peplum* flood.

Herbert Verreth, 'Odysseus' Journey Through Film' (pp. 65-74), briefly discusses variations in the approximately eighty versions of the *Odyssey* that exist in his database of films on ancient topics. Would the hero be impressed to discover that his *kleos* is not as great as that of (unsurprisingly) Jesus, Julius Caesar, Cleopatra, or Nero? Particularly impressive is Pantelis Michelakis' chapter, 'The Legend of Oedipus: Silent Cinema, Theatre, Photography' (pp. 75-88). The 1912 French version of *Oedipus Rex*, starring Jean Mounet-Sully, is now lost, but production stills show the growing independence of cinema from stage. The film's depiction of a hanged Jocasta in contrast to the off-stage violence of ancient drama was a shocking innovation that might attract spectators, but it has also incurred the censors' wrath. Michelakis shows the gains that can accrue from exposure to film theory. His analysis of the 'gaze' goes well beyond the familiar 'male gaze' associated with Mulvey's famous article<sup>2</sup> and offers considerable opportunities for development.

While Pier Paolo Pasolini's cinematic versions of Greek tragedy are well known, Filippo Carlà's chapter, 'Pasolini, Aristotle and Freud: Filmed Drama Between Psychoanalysis and "Neoclassicism"' (pp. 89-116), is to the best of my knowledge the first detailed treatment in English of the poet-director's interpretation of the ancient world in the light of his own classical education, Freudian psychoanalysis, and post-colonial theories of the 1960s and 1970s. Pasolini's ideas of ritualized drama and the relationship between pre-industrial and capitalist societies, as well as his sexual politics, are complex and very much of their time. Carlà's explication, drawing on Pasolini's own writings and other Italian scholarship, clarifies his thought considerably. This is clearly the place to start any investigation of post-war European cinematic depiction of ancient drama. Fernando Lillo Redonet, 'Sparta and Ancient Greece in *The 300 Spartans*' (pp. 117-30), offers an analysis of Rudolph Maté's *The 300 Spartans* from 1961. While the Cold War parallels are well known, the didactic use of Sparta as a model for American society is well illustrated from the film's pressbook. Perhaps the film's greatest significance has been to inspire Frank Miller's comic and its cinematic representation by Zack Snyder in 2006.

Irene Berti, "'A Rare Ensampler of Friendship True': The Story of *Damon and Pythias*' (pp. 131-46), uses the Italo-American co-production *Il tiranno di Siracusa* (1962) to explore this tale of male-bonding to the exclusion of all else. The study ranges from silent screen films to Thorsten Becker's novel, *Die Bürgschaft* (1985), which alludes to Schiller's 1799 ballad of the same name. There are some misinterpretations (for example, that in 1962 free-love and extra-marital sex were regarded as acceptable) and more might be made of the casting of Disney's Zorro, Guy Williams, as a gentleman-thief Damon. But Berti documents well the tale's

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<sup>2</sup> L. Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', *Screen* 16 (1975) 6-18.

importance as a model for homosociality (and sometimes homosexuality) from the Renaissance to the American fraternal order of the Knights of Pythias (1864-). It would be worth investigating why this story has almost slipped into oblivion over the last fifty years: is the decline of male homosocial values in the face of feminism and gay pride the explanation?

Three papers—by Anja Wieber, ‘Celluloid Alexander(s): A Hero from the Past as Role Model for the Present?’ (pp. 147-62); Ivana Petrovic, ‘Plutarch’s and Stone’s *Alexander*’ (pp. 163-84); and Angelos Chaniotis, ‘Making Alexander Fit for the Twenty-First Century: Oliver Stone’s *Alexander*’ (pp. 185-202)—treat Rossen’s 1956 film and Oliver Stone’s ambitious but often infuriating 2004 version. Wieber contrasts Hollywood treatments with other versions, while Petrovic points out that Plutarch, a favourite source for dramatists such as Shakespeare, is a model for Stone. More ambitiously, Chaniotis examines Stone’s framing of his story by the unreliable narration of the aged Ptolemy to incorporate multiple subtexts that may appeal to a variety of modern audiences. Of course, they may also stir up controversy, as the much-discussed subject of Alexander’s sexuality did amidst nationalist, religiously fundamentalist and gay factions internationally.

The Athenian courtesan Phryne is best known for the *coup de théâtre* during her trial, when Hyperides exposed her breasts in an appeal to the jurors for mercy. Eleonora Cavallini, ‘Phryne: from Knidian Venus to Movie Star’ (pp. 203-18), explores the evidence about Phryne’s life and the representation of her court scene in modern art, culminating in Gérôme’s *Phryne Before the Areopagus* (1861). Perhaps the most iconic modern depiction is Gina Lollobrigida’s version of the heroine in the last segment of Blasetti’s *Altri Tempi* (1952), although Mario Bonnard’s *Frine, cortigiana d’Oriente* (1953) has its charms, changing the story into a wronged heroine’s revenge drama. The volume is concluded by Marta García Morcillo’s study, ‘*Graecia Capta*? Depictions of Greeks and Hellas in “Roman Films”’ (pp. 219-36). If the Greeks had culture, philosophy and inventiveness, the Romans were destined to rule. Greek rulers such as Hiero of Syracuse (substituted for his less famous son, Hieronymus) and the Corinthian politicians Critolaus and Diaeus in Francisci’s *Archimede* (1960) and Costa’s *Il conquistatore di Corinto* (1961) are depicted as mired in the past, no match for the Roman commanders Marcellus and Mummius. The Greeks may dream of freedom and universal citizenship (as does Timagenes in *The Fall of the Roman Empire*), but others must put these ideas into practice.

While *Hellas on Screen* discusses various *kolossals*, *spectacolari*, *mitologici* and *peplum*, Ruth Scodel and Anja Bettenworth concentrate their efforts on the transfer of Sienkiewicz’s 1895-1896 novel *Quo Vadis: A Narrative of the Time of Nero* to the screen in Enrico Guazzoni’s 1912 Italian epic, the Italian/German version of D’Annunzio and Jacoby (1925), Mervyn LeRoy’s 1951 film, Franco Rossi’s Italian mini-series of 1985, and Jerzy Kawalerowicz’s 2001 film and extended mini-series. Their subject is well chosen since it represents the last survival of the once-popular theme of conflict between Christianity and paganism that can be examined across time and national cinemas. The love between a pagan Roman soldier and a beautiful

foreign hostage who is also a Christian, played out amid the Great Fire of Rome and Nero's persecution, has all the elements for a blockbuster but, like the romance of Rhett Butler and Scarlett O'Hara in *Gone with the Wind*, seems dated these days. Scodel and Bettenworth prefer not to prejudge their material, but instead analyse it narratologically based on a comparison of the novel chapter by chapter with film versions to indicate what material has been transferred or omitted (chapter 1, 'Novel and Film' [pp. 1-15]). This works well enough for most versions, particularly highlighting Kawalerowicz's 'faithfulness' to his text, but breaks down in the case of Rossi's reimagining of the novel. Furthermore, the reading of film as text reduces the important role of the visual elements. The authors offer interesting asides, such as remarks on the influence of Alma Tadema on Kawalerowicz's *mise-en-scène*. But more can be said. The English painter's 'Roses and Heliogabalus' (1888) is clearly the inspiration for the Polish film's depiction of Nero's banquet. The choice to use predominantly pastel hues throughout is also likely to be a deliberate stylistic choice that recalls paintings of Sienkiewicz's contemporaries (a point briefly touched on at p. 9). In chapter 2, 'Adapting the Narrative' (pp. 16-54), the authors make good remarks on Sienkiewicz's use of his characters as focalizers and the reader's identification (or not) with their views. But the example of the opening of Rossi's version shows very clearly the disconnect between narrative voice and the focus of the camera. This discussion also highlights a weakness of the book's structure: by constantly comparing all six versions, the most interesting features of any version tend to be obscured and repetition from one chapter to another is unavoidable.

Chapter 3, 'Gender and Ethnicity' (pp. 55-87), clarifies the different expectations at the time of the versions' production for male and female protagonists. Here the authors' classical training comes to the fore with apposite citations of parallels from classical literature. I miss any reference to the problems of mixed marriages in a Christian setting either here or in the later chapter on religion. The clash between totalitarian power and individual conscience makes for good drama. This is explored in chapter 4, 'Political Institutions, Political Subtexts' (pp. 88-138). Although the silent films steer clear of close parallels with contemporary events, later versions can compare Nero's tyranny with Fascist or Communist totalitarian rule. The most complex nexus of parallels occurs in Rossi's 1985 version, where the viewer can make connections with the murky politics of contemporary Italy as well as of earlier periods. Perhaps the most revealing moment in this series is Tigellinus' self-exculpation when Christianity (in the form of Ursus) triumphs of Nero's brute force (as represented by the bull that the Polish giant fights): 'No one will understand that we were only trying to defend ourselves'.

Chapter 5, 'The Roman People' (pp. 139-72), indicates different possible presentations of the crowd, whether as a bloodthirsty mob or a democratic element in opposition to aristocratic power. This can be traced in reactions to the Fire of Rome or the persecution of Christians (especially in the arena). While events of the twentieth century are adduced to explain the different ways of handling these scenes in the film versions, it would also have been useful to consider similar cinematic representations

(for instance, in the works of Cecil B. DeMille). Chapter 6, 'Religion and Religious Authority in *Quo Vadis*?' (pp. 173-218), examines the portrayal of paganism (most interestingly portrayed in Rossi's version as even more exotic than the new teachings from Palestine), the novel's anti-Semitic elements and the way in which they are toned down or excluded in later versions, and the development of the early Christian movement. Particularly contentious will be the relationship between Christianity and Judaism, but the depiction of the Christians as a unified or disparate group reflects the views of the films' creators and their expected audiences.

A brief conclusion sums up the study (pp. 219-22): the most recent versions of the story are the most self-conscious, but stand at opposite ends of the spectrum in fidelity to the novel. The 1985 version stands out and not simply because of its length (the 2001 film is more readily available in its longer mini-series version, which is equivalent in length to the 1985 production). Rather, Rossi's vision appears more 'modern' than that of his Polish counterpart. Sienkiewicz's novel openly displayed his Polish nationalist feelings, taking its title from the tale of Peter's return to Rome and martyrdom, a foundation story for Roman Catholicism. Kawalerowicz's version of 2001, despite its high budget, failed to make the list of nominees for an Academy Award as Best Foreign Film. Is the religious epic, like gladiator movies, still capable of being revived? The authors answer in the affirmative but without great conviction. Indeed they state: 'For classicists, these movies are a mixed blessing'. Perhaps greater interest will in the future come from film and cultural studies. The plates are well chosen, although only offering grayscale reproductions of scenes from the latest versions; one hopes that in future editions the publisher will more carefully adjust the contrast since in a number of cases it is difficult to see what is portrayed in the image. There are few misprints, but 'Arctium' for 'Antium' (p. 88) may confuse the reader.

## RECENT WORK ON GREEK TRAGEDY

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Michael Lloyd (ed.), *Aeschylus*. Oxford Readings in Classical Studies. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. Pp. xiii + 418. ISBN 0-19-926525-9. GBP80.

Isabelle Torrance, *Aeschylus: Seven Against Thebes*. Duckworth Companions to Greek and Roman Tragedy. London: Duckworth, 2007. Pp. 174, incl. 5 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-0-7156-3466-0. GBP12.99.

Thalia Papadopoulou, *Euripides: Phoenician Women*. Duckworth Companions to Greek and Roman Tragedy. London: Duckworth, 2008. Pp. 160. ISBN 978-07156-34646. GBP12.99.

An enigmatic South Italian vase, dating from around 340 BC, depicts a lively scene from the siege of Thebes.<sup>1</sup> One of the seven great gates of Thebes is painted in the centre, surmounted by massive blocks representing the city wall, with defending warriors and a grey-haired elderly monarch looking out from crenels in the battlements. On the left, the attacking hero Capaneus, holding a flaming brand, is halfway up a ladder, although Zeus' thunderbolt is already heading towards him. A team of four horses enters the picture from the lower right. But what makes the scene so remarkable is that the walls of Thebes are painted in a distinctive, streaky way, with dilute glaze, elsewhere used to suggest the appearance not of monumental stonemasonry but rather of planks of wood. The edifice painted on the vase gives the impression to the viewer that it has been made by a carpenter and thus is designed to suggest a temporary construction rather than mythical walls of stone. In his brilliant recent (2007) study, even the reliably cautious Taplin acknowledges that the vase may represent 'a trace of some kind of strange "war games" performance about which we are otherwise ignorant'.<sup>2</sup>

I suspect that the vase is indeed theatre-related, perhaps inspired by a spectacular show related to (or ultimately derived from a tradition of entertainments founded by) one of our two surviving 'siege of Thebes' tragedies, Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* or Euripides' *Phoenician Women*, or perhaps to one of the other attested lost or fragmentary plays on this theme. These include, for example, the papyrus dialogue featuring an encounter between Jocasta and her sons (*TrGF adesp.* F 665 = *PSI* 1303). Indeed, it is likely that there was far greater diversity of performances on mythical themes than we currently realize or can thoroughly document. This is certainly the case by 340 BC, when drama had long since freed itself from the overwhelming cultural dominance of Athens, theatres were mushrooming across the Greek-speaking world, and touring professional actors were performing on temporary wooden stages wherever people would pay to see them. Studies in the performance and influence of the more popular plays in the fourth century and beyond have, since a pathbreaking article by Easterling published in 1993,<sup>3</sup> become a cutting-edge research area.

Whatever our preconceptions about onstage death, we learn from the hypothesis to Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* that in the Hellenistic theatre it was not unknown for the Argive king to be killed in a memorable way that could actually be seen by the audience (lines 15f.). The performance reception of ancient plays within antiquity has also been stimulating important research. We know, for example, that

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<sup>1</sup> Malibu, J. Paul Getty Mus. 92.AE.86. Attributed to the Caivano Painter. See <http://www.getty.edu/art/collectionSearch/collectionSearch?col=museum&nh=10&pw=100%25&lk=1&qt=92.AE.86&Go.x=4&Go.y=6>.

<sup>2</sup> O. Taplin, *Pots and Plays: Interactions Between Tragedy and Greek Vase-Painting of the Fourth Century BC* (Los Angeles 2007) 267.

<sup>3</sup> P. E. Easterling, 'The End of an Era? Tragedy in the Early Fourth Century', in A. Sommerstein *et al.* (edd.), *Tragedy, Comedy and the Polis: Papers from the Greek Drama Conference, Nottingham, 18-20 July 1990* (Bari 1993) 559-69.

there was a famous Greek theatrical dancer called Telestes associated with *Seven Against Thebes* (Ath. 1.22a), a piece of testimony that raises important questions about performance conventions, since it is not at all clear which individual role in this tragedy requires its actor to dance at all. Again, Diodorus reports that before the battle of Arginusae one of the Athenian admirals dreamed that he and his six colleagues were playing the roles of the ‘Seven Against Thebes’ in Euripides’ *Phoenician Women* (Diod. Sic. 13.97f.); yet, with the exception of Polynices, the Seven do not appear in the text that has been transmitted, unless the audience could see, through extra-textual supplements to the action, what Antigone is shown from the walls of Thebes. Moreover, performance styles may well have been interestingly diverse long before, even as early as the fifth century, when we now know that Greek tragedies were performed—or rather, revived—in contexts other than the major Athenian festivals of Dionysus, for example, in Attic *deme* theatres. Theatrical impresarios handling a text with an impressive *teichoskopia* scene, such as Euripides’ *Phoenician Women*, may well not always have felt hidebound by the minimalist scenic and staging conventions that classical scholars—as opposed to people teaching Greek tragedy in drama departments—tend to assume was the norm.

Most ancient actors and producers certainly did not have any inherent respect for the idea of an ‘authentic’ original text by a canonical poet. The fourth-century *nonpareil* tragic actor Theodorus always demanded that the character he was playing as protagonist be given the prologue, on the ground that audiences sympathized most with the first voice that they heard (Arist. *Pol.* 7.1336b27–31). Since Theodorus specialized in reviving canonical masterpieces by Sophocles and Euripides, this must in practice have meant that new prologues needed to be created hastily and prefixed to favourite plays in the repertoire. Such thespian input explains why, for example, Euripides’ *Iphigenia in Aulis* has two prologues, the result of at least one drastic thespian intervention in the text. Therefore, when Lycurgus arranged for the texts of the fifth-century tragic masterpieces to be collected and held for the benefit of the public (ἐν κοινῷ, [Plut.] *X Orat. Lyc.* 841F10), probably in the Athenian Metröon where documents of public interest had been archived since the late fifth century, his scribes may have faced a paper jungle. However irritating ‘actors’ interpolations’ may be to scholars and critics aspiring to the holy grail of textual ‘authenticity’, they can alternatively be seen as welcome evidence of a flourishing and creative ancient performance tradition.

These are some of the fascinating directions in which studies of the Greek tragic theatre have been moving, at least over the last decade and a half. Moreover, thinking about the origins and transmission of ancient tragic texts in terms of *performance* has come profoundly to affect our reading of the emotional and sociopolitical impact of plays. Wiles, for example, has made some very important points about the use of performance space in *Seven Against Thebes*, even if he makes some rather unfounded assumptions about what exactly its original spectators could

see.<sup>4</sup> But when it comes to more ‘literary’ appreciation, as evidenced by the three books under discussion here, the well of inspiration seems to be drying up. The majority of publications on Greek tragedy today seem to collect or recycle ideas from publications that first appeared at least a decade and a half ago. Indeed, the 1970s to the early 1990s begin to look retrospectively something like a golden age. It was during that chronological period that there appeared the two canonical (although very different) heavyweight commentaries on the tragedies dealing with the siege of Thebes and the fratricide of Eteocles and Polynices, Aeschylus’ *Seven Against Thebes* and Euripides’ *Phoenissae*, by Hutchinson and Mastronarde respectively.<sup>5</sup> Just as importantly, it was in those days that many of the most important theoretical advances in the way literature was discussed by classicists were made in publications on Greek tragedy by such illustrious names as Vernant, Vidal-Naquet, Loraux, Segal and Winkler. But these five are all now dead and during the last decade and a half, with one or two outstanding exceptions, it seems that the torch of literary avant-gardism has passed from scholars on Greek tragedy to those investigating quite different genres, especially epic, Hellenistic poetry and the ancient novel.

To replace the provocative monographs and pathbreaking articles that apply theoretical models such as structuralism, deconstruction, gender theory, narratology, ritual anthropology and cultural materialism, there has, however, been a veritable avalanche of pedagogical aids in the form of ‘Companions’ to Greek tragedy. These include such estimable compendia as the Blackwell *Companion to Greek Tragedy* in 2005 and *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Theatre* in 2007.<sup>6</sup> There are also several similar volumes currently in press, including ‘Companions’ to Sophocles in preparation by both Blackwell and Brill. Oxford University Press has so far eschewed the ‘Companion’ arrangement, which contains newly commissioned articles on discrete aspects of a genre or author, sticking instead to its now time-honoured format of the *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies*. These volumes, according to the Oxford University Press website, aim to offer ‘a representative selection of the best and most influential articles on a particular author, work, or subject’, kicked off by ‘an authoritative and wide-ranging introduction by the editor surveying the scholarly tradition and considering alternative approaches’.<sup>7</sup> That is, the volumes’ unique selling point is that their contents have been tried and tested for a period of some—sometimes many—years. This series contains some important

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<sup>4</sup> D. Wiles, *Tragedy in Athens: Performance Space and Theatrical Meaning* (Cambridge 1999) 197-201.

<sup>5</sup> G. O. Hutchinson (ed.), *Aeschylus: Septem Contra Thebas* (Oxford 1985); D. J. Mastronarde (ed.), *Euripides: Phoenissae* (Cambridge 1994).

<sup>6</sup> J. Gregory (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Tragedy* (Malden 2005); M. McDonald and J. M. Walton (edd.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Theatre* (Cambridge 2007).

<sup>7</sup> <http://ukcatalogue.oup.com/category/academic/series/classicalstudies/orcs.do>.



collections, including Segal's on Greek Tragedy (1983), Mossman's on Euripides (2003),<sup>8</sup> and now Michael Lloyd's *Aeschylus*.

Lloyd built his reputation with two books on Euripides: a discussion of the debate scene and an edition of *Andromache*, which is one of the most rhetorically flamboyant and sophisticated of all Euripides' plays.<sup>9</sup> Aeschylus is a very different dramatist, but Lloyd shows that he is at home in any area of ancient Greek drama and has produced a useful if slightly staid collection. His brief was, it must be said at the outset, a very challenging one, since really important individual articles on Aeschylus have historically been few and far between. There is nothing intrinsically wrong with any of the articles that Lloyd has selected. Timothy Gantz, chapter 1, 'The Aeschylean Tetralogy: Attested and Conjectured Groups' (pp. 40-70), a thorough review of what is factually known about Aeschylean tetralogies, and Mark Griffith, chapter 3, 'The King and Eye: The Rule of the Father in Aeschylus' *Persians*' (pp. 93-140), first published in 1980 and 1998 respectively, are both fundamental to contemporary studies in Aeschylus. The articles that Lloyd includes on the *Oresteia* are all 'classics' of their kind: John J. Peradotto, chapter 7, 'The Omen of the Eagles and the *Ethos* of Agamemnon' (pp. 211-44); E. R. Dodds, chapter 8, 'Morals and Politics in the *Oresteia*' (pp. 245-64); and Colin Macleod, chapter 9, 'Politics and the *Oresteia*' (pp. 265-301). The other three plays are rather mysteriously less well-served in that there are in existence several much more recent and far less dull discussions of every single one. The 1962 discussion by Kurt von Fritz, chapter 4, 'The Character of Eteocles in Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*' (pp. 141-73), in particular, has been emphatically superseded. But what this volume does not include is any very *literary* discussions of one of the greatest poets of all time, nor any sense (besides a few undeveloped references in footnotes) of his importance to the scholarly *avant-garde* in the 1980s and 1990s. Reading the book feels like sitting on the back row at an Oxford seminar in the early 1980s: the 'speakers' are mostly theoretically traditional male contributors, with no poststructuralists or feminists and very little sense that what Aeschylus composed was for collective performance by an ensemble in a theatre.

The tension inherent in the *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies* format results from its fundamental brief. It is supposed to 'consider alternative approaches' through a process of surveying the scholarly tradition. But at the end of the *Oxford Readings* in Aeschylus, the novice reader would be no more aware of the crucial importance of the *Oresteia* and *Suppliants* in feminist scholarship, of *Persians* in postcolonial studies, or of *Seven Against Thebes* to Semiotics (see further below). They certainly would not know about Aeschylus' reception within antiquity, which has attracted some crucial work by distinguished scholars. Lloyd's collection constitutes a good enough book and his introduction is reliable and perceptive within methodologically

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<sup>8</sup> E. Segal (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Greek Tragedy* (Oxford 1983); J. Mossman (ed.), *Euripides* (Oxford 2003).

<sup>9</sup> M. Lloyd, *The Agon in Euripides* (Oxford 1992); (ed. and tr.), *Euripides: Andromache* (Warminster 1994).

rather limited parameters, but an authoritative survey of the critical tradition it cannot claim to be. I am also confused about the intended reader. Students will find it old-fashioned and be annoyed by the untranslated ancient Greek; scholars will find it useful as a collection of studies that have indeed been historically important and some of which are still making waves, but limited in its theoretical range.

Duckworth's intervention in the same 'advanced pedagogical' market is a developing series of 'Companions to Greek and Roman Tragedy', which consist of short monographs promoted as 'accessible introductions' to individual plays: 'Each volume discusses the main themes of a play and the central developments in modern criticism, while also addressing the play's historical context and the history of its performance and adaptation', says the promotional literature. The quality of the series, edited by Tom Harrison (who deserves great praise for encouraging some very able younger scholars to participate), varies wildly. The best, which include Hesk's *Ajax* and Michelakis' *Iphigenia at Aulis*, are quite outstanding;<sup>10</sup> some (including Lloyd's *Sophocles' Electra*) are helpful and incisive;<sup>11</sup> but one or two are woefully inadequate. Isabelle Torrance's new study of *Seven Against Thebes* is one of the more useful, although I think (for all the reasons detailed above) that she made a mistake in deciding at the outset to dismiss as 'inauthentic' the transmitted ending, in which Antigone and Ismene appear in order to join the lament for their slain brothers. This ending may not have been written by Aeschylus, but it was certainly a version that we know was performed, and we know that tragedies by Aeschylus were revived as early as the 420s BC, with *Seven Against Thebes* high on the list of likely candidates.

Torrance organizes her analysis of the tragedy's themes under sensible chapter headings—chapter 2, 'City and Family' (pp. 23-37); chapter 3, 'Divine Forces and Religious Ritual' (pp. 38-63); chapter 4, 'Warriors' (pp. 64-91); and chapter 5, 'Women' (pp. 92-107)—and has clearly given a very great deal of intelligent thought to the question of what her likely reader will want from a book of this nature and scale. She is excellent on the emotional tensions and psychological development of the play, the religious atmosphere (although the Christian connotations of the word 'sin' are rather unhelpful), curses, oaths and their functions, imagery and the use of the chorus. I particularly liked her sensitivity to the way in which the play interacts with its audience's knowledge of earlier poetry and of the myths relating to Thebes. The discussion of the play's *Nachleben* in and subsequent to the crusades, although necessarily brief, is also very perspicacious. But where I part company with Torrance is with her round-up of the critical tradition, which implies that discussions of the play have been limited to textual criticism, the politics of the play in relation to Athens at the time of its premiere in 467 BC, and the configuration of the protagonist Eteocles. Not only does this account leave out the entire story of the play's staging in antiquity, but also it curiously omits the crucial place that this particular text holds in the history

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<sup>10</sup> J. Hesk, *Sophocles: Ajax* (London 2003); P. Michelakis, *Euripides: Iphigenia at Aulis* (London 2006).

<sup>11</sup> M. Lloyd, *Sophocles: Electra* (London 2005).

of literary theory in the classics academy as a result primarily of Zeitlin's pathbreaking experiment in applying semiotic theory to Greek theatrical poetry. This is particularly curious because the section on the *ekphrasis* of the shields earlier in Torrance's book clearly does owe a good deal to Zeitlin's innovative approach.<sup>12</sup> One of the best qualities of Torrance's study is her palpable appreciation of the peculiarly dark, violent and desperately anxious atmosphere of her play as well as its extraordinary emphasis on the noise and stress of war. I would certainly recommend this book to undergraduates, although *Seven Against Thebes* is not a play that is often read within the curriculum except on the most specialist courses.

Thalia Papadopoulou, in contrast, struggles earnestly but with rather less literary sensitivity in her contribution to the Duckworth series, *Euripides: Phoenician Women*. Unfortunately, the success of her volume is further compromised by its cut-and-paste attitude to publications by other scholars (usually sourced in footnotes but still creating a rather disjointed effect) and lack of careful editing by a native speaker of English. The book has some strengths, including a wide-ranging and informative study of reception in both antiquity and post-Renaissance. Whereas Torrance organized her chapter according to themes, Papadopoulou favours a more Aristotelian set of categories—characters and actions, the role of the chorus—which leads to some no-nonsense clarity that may help the intended reader. But in the case of this play, I would still rather send my undergraduates—even completely Greekless ones—to Craik's exemplary edition, with its helpful introduction and translation in the same volume as her text and wise commentary keyed to the English translation.<sup>13</sup>

## THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

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R. Malcolm Errington, *A History of the Hellenistic World 323-30 BC*. Blackwell History of the Ancient World. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008. Pp. xix + 348, with 21 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-0-631-23388-6. GBP19.99.

Malcolm Errington is particularly well-qualified to be the author of this important volume in this Blackwell series. His earlier major publications include *Philopoemen* (1969), *The Dawn of Empire: Rome's Rise to World Power* (1971) and

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<sup>12</sup> F. I. Zeitlin, *Under the Sign of the Shield: Semiotics and Aeschylus' Seven Against Thebes* (Rome 1982), which has hitherto been frustratingly inaccessible because printed in such a small quantity by the Italian press Edizioni dell'Ateneo. Fortunately, a second edition has just been published by Lexington Books (Lexington 2009).

<sup>13</sup> E. Craik (ed. and tr.), *Euripides: Phoenician Women* (Warminster 1988).

*A History of Macedonia* (1990).<sup>1</sup> In line with the aim of the series, which is to provide ‘a new narrative history of the ancient world’, he describes this book as ‘a history of important political events and developments, not an encyclopedia with a brief run-down on all aspects of cultural life in the 300 years covered by it’ (p. x). In other contexts he has defended (though those who know him and his work would consider it fairer to say that he has championed) his more traditional approach to historical writing in his monographs with its focus on well-researched narrative and political history. Indeed, this matches perfectly the above-mentioned aim of the series. So here we have embedded in the narrative sober analysis of the complex, multifaceted developments of this momentous political history that stretched from the death of Alexander the Great down to the demise of ‘the last of the great Macedonian monarchies’ (p. 308) in 30 BC.<sup>2</sup> Developments are properly contextualized and interconnections are clearly established. Errington eschews the biographical approach, which means not having to bother with anecdotal material of dubious historical value and not having to face the temptation to cater for any assumed devotion on the reader’s part to the characters of popular imagination. He is also careful not to distract or irritate the reader with obtrusive direct or intertextual references to contemporary politics.

The book comes without footnotes or endnotes, but references to the ancient sources are built into the text and, where the name of a modern scholar is cited in parenthesis, the reference is in respect of factual or source material rather any particular line of argument. The ‘Select Bibliography’ (pp. 316-19) provides not only a short schematic guide to source selections in or with an English translation but also to the key modern books, with a deliberate emphasis on books in English. Errington directs the reader to the listed general studies and more detailed monographs for bibliographic details on more specialist articles and studies, including material in languages other than English. This model seems to be becoming more fashionable and the clutter-free style no doubt makes a book like this more manageable and more affordable. My reservation about this is that for those whose task is to introduce students to research methodology—especially in institutions with modest library resources—more annotation would be helpful. This I can mention, as the target readership is said to be ‘*students* [my emphasis] and general readers’, and I guess that students and academics in the field will constitute the majority of the readership until the film and documentary industries do more to fill the gap between Alexander the Great and Cleopatra VII. What makes this book particularly valuable is Errington’s mastery of the source material and in particular the epigraphic and papyrological sources, without which our knowledge of some periods and topics would be decidedly

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<sup>1</sup> R. M. Errington, *Philopoemen* (Oxford 1969); *The Dawn of Empire: Rome’s Rise to World Power* (London 1971); R. M. Errington, *A History of Macedonia* (Berkeley 1990).

<sup>2</sup> Thus Errington’s chronological approach differs from the more thematic survey by F. W. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*<sup>2</sup> (London 1992).

thin. One appreciates the way in which he offers, for many of the documents, alternative source books in which the relevant text or translation can be found.

Errington cleverly opens the Introduction (pp. 1-9) with a reference to the Olympic Games of August 324 BC, at which Alexander's envoy announced that the Greek cities were to readmit and reinstate as citizens all those whom they had exiled. In this, Alexander ignored the provisions of the Corinthian League; and Errington contrasts Alexander's unilateralism with Antipater's more pragmatic approach, born of awareness of the 'dissension and political instability' that the decree on the exiles would cause. Indeed, Greek resistance to Macedonian control led to the Lamian War. But the cities of Asia, 'whether Greek, Syrian or other', had long been conditioned to subservience to the Persian empire and had few illusions about their liberation by Alexander (p. 3). As for the peoples of the non-Greek areas, 'there could be no disguising the fact that the Macedonians and their Greek administrators (or their indigenous collaborators) were foreign occupiers, despite the real efforts they made to accommodate the interests of their subjects' (p. 6). The introduction clearly foreshadows a Hellenocentric approach to the period.<sup>3</sup> Otherwise, Errington might have started not with the Exiles' Decree but with the marriage parade in Susa, which recognized the unions between Macedonian officers and men and Asian brides,<sup>4</sup> or the incorporation into the army of the 30 000 Asian *Epigonoï*.

Part 1, 'The Making of the Hellenistic World' (pp. 11-76), covers the period 323-281 BC. Chapter 1, 'First Steps' (pp. 13-35), takes the story down to the peace agreement with Antigonus in 311 BC and the liquidation of Roxane and Alexander IV in 310 BC.<sup>5</sup> Errington shows his purpose by what he omits as much as by what he spells out. Thus he passes over the circumstances of Alexander's death and the allegations that he was the victim of a plot masterminded by Antipater; and he therefore ignores attempts that have been made to reconstruct some political history from elements transmitted by the Alexander Romance and the *Liber de Morte Alexandri*. Errington is dealing with political history at a higher level. Part 2, 'The Hellenistic World in Action' (pp. 77-161), looks separately at the affairs of Macedon and Greece, Asia and Egypt under the Ptolemies down to the 220s BC. In the case of Iran, Errington notes that the level of 'Hellenizing' is not known (p. 137), and there was surely a grey area between planned Hellenization and some measure of voluntary or even unconscious assimilation.

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<sup>3</sup> This can be seen later, for example, in Errington's reference to the Galatians as characterized by 'barbarism', the 'classic barbarian bogey' (p. 116); and he does not linger to elaborate on the alternative view of them. Contrast S. Mitchell, 'The Galatians: Representation and Reality', in A. Erskine (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 2003) 280-93, esp. 287f.

<sup>4</sup> Errington alludes to the marriages later (p. 64) and there refers to fifty nobles as the grooms, though Chares gives the total as ninety-two *hetaeroi* (Ath. 12.538b), while Arrian further refers to the registration of the partnerships of some 10 000 of his troops and their Asian brides (Arr. 7.4.4-8).

<sup>5</sup> This date is given as 310 BC (pp. 13, 45) but also as 311 BC (p. 34).

Part 3, 'The Challenge of Rome' (pp. 163-245), includes coverage of the Fifth Syrian War, the Second Macedonian War (201-197 BC), and Rome's war with Antiochus III of Syria (192-189 BC). This section concludes with chapter 10, 'Symploke' (pp. 221-45), which starts with the Peace of Apameia and runs down to the Third Macedonian War and Rome's termination of the Macedonian monarchy after the battle of Pydna (168 BC). Errington does not subscribe to the view that Roman foreign policy in the East was driven by greed and economics, though there were material gains (e.g., pp. 213, 223); rather, strategic considerations came first (pp. 203, 211). Like Gruen, Errington holds that the *clientela* system was well established in the Hellenistic world before the Romans came on the scene.<sup>13</sup> Errington opens this section with special emphasis on Polybius' notion of the interconnectedness of events that called for universal history with the *symplokē* ('interweaving') of the various parts of the whole (1.3.4, 1.4.11). Polybius chose to begin his detailed history with the one hundred and fortieth Olympiad (220-216 BC), as this marked the start of a complex of events that were to draw Rome in as a new force in the politics of the Hellenistic kingdoms. With Polybius to hand and a richer supply of source material, Errington seems more relaxed, and there is a noticeable lightening of the style as the book proceeds. Part 4, 'Rome in the Hellenistic World' (pp. 247-308), followed by chapter 16, 'Epilogue' (pp. 309-15), covers the period 168-30 BC, including Athens' suicidal decision to throw in its lot with Mithridates VI in 88 BC (p. 255), the demise of the Seleucid dynasty and Rome's annexation of Syria in 64 BC, and the Ptolemaic tragicomedy that ended with the suicide of Cleopatra VII in 30 BC and Rome's annexation of Egypt.

For the period covered by parts 1 and 2, 323 to *ca.* 221 BC, chronological problems abound. Errington rightly, in my opinion, holds to the 'low chronology' on the diversion of Alexander's hearse to Egypt and Perdiccas' retaliatory invasion of Egypt, putting Perdiccas' death in 320 BC. On the dating of the assumption of the royal title by Antigonus and the subsequent adoption of kingship by Ptolemy and others, Errington accommodates conventional dating in the chronological scheme that heads chapter 2, 'Consolidation' (pp. 36-50), thus making 306 BC (p. 36) the 'year of the kings';<sup>7</sup> but in the text he reflects awareness of the lengthy gap between the battle of Salamis, which must belong to the summer of 306 BC, and Ptolemy's assumption of the royal title, which Egyptian documents indicate to have happened no earlier than late 305 BC. Errington therefore suggests that Antigonus' action did not take place immediately after the battle of Salamis, but 'during the following months' (p. 43), yet still in 306 BC (p. 52), and was known in Athens by April 305 BC (p. 44); Ptolemy only followed suit after his repulse of Demetrius' subsequent attempt to invade Egypt (p. 44), but Diod. Sic. 22.73-76 sets this campaign at the end of 306 BC. Errington's

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<sup>13</sup> E. Gruen, 'Rome and the Greek World', in H. I. Flower (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic* (Cambridge 2004) 242-67, esp. 259f.

<sup>7</sup> To borrow the phrase used by O. Müller for his *Antigonos Monophthalmos und 'das Jahr der Könige'* (Bonn 1973).

solution, as I understand it, is that Egyptians (presumably as opposed to Ptolemy's Macedonian and Greek subjects) did not count the beginning of Ptolemy's reign till 305/304 BC, when it was officially recognized that Alexander IV was dead and thus that Ptolemy was no longer formally his satrap (p. 44). Errington states that it was only in 304 BC that Ptolemy arranged for the Egyptians to recognize his royal status by crowning him Pharaoh of Upper and Lower Egypt at Memphis (p. 147). All this takes us further away from 306 BC as the 'year of the kings'.

Errington gives the date of Arsinoe II's death as 270 BC (pp. 154f.), but the agreed date now seems to be 1 or 2 July 268 BC, thus, as Habicht says, 'a month or two' before Chremonides introduced his proposal that Athens should enter into alliance with Sparta and her allies (clearly, but not explicitly, against Antigonos Gonatas).<sup>8</sup> But Errington agrees with Habicht in defending the high chronology for Chremonides' decree (August 268 BC) and the start of the 'Chremonidean' War (267 BC, p. 89). This is now the *communis opinio*, as is his date for the end of the war, if by 262 BC (p. 89) he means the Athenian year 263/262 and not 262/261 BC. On the agreement negotiated between Hannibal and Philip V's envoy, Xenophanes, in 215 BC, and intercepted by Romans, Errington comments on the effect that this had on the Senate's thinking (p. 186), but a reference to Livy's account needs to be added. Errington translates the Ptolemaic cult title Epiphanes as 'Renowned' (pp. 168, 304), but I am reluctant to give up the idea that an allowable connotation is 'manifest', the related noun *epiphaneia* meaning 'manifestation'. 'Renowned' would be the appropriate translation when the word is used in a secular context, but, as Price notes, when a Roman emperor was styled a *theos epiphanes*, this implied that 'the emperor was present in the world like one of the traditional gods'.<sup>9</sup> And, of greater relevance, from the early Hellenistic period we have the Athenian ithyphallic hymn to Demetrius Poliorcetes hailing him as the god who has appeared in person (Duris: Ath. 6.253d-f).

Having periodically to defend the odd South African English usage, I can sympathize with Errington if some of his expressions seem quaint, such as 'loose gun' (p. 43), 'Nikomedes' pre-mortal diplomacy' (p. 120), 'shaken in its elements' (p. 125), and 'consoled to the idea' (p. 252). His usage of the phrase 'politically correct' (as at pp. 174, 186) seems unusual to me. But, stylistic quirks aside, some formulations are obscure or confusing: for example, the penultimate sentence on p. 35 and the beginning of the second paragraph on p. 115. Missing words mar the summary of Diod. Sic. 19.57.1 (p. 29) and the translation of a section of Chremonides' decree (Syll.<sup>3</sup> 434.32-35, p. 89). Baktria is missing its 't' (p. 122). The maps and chronological tables that head each chapter are helpful, but family trees of the key dynasties should be added before a second edition is published (as it surely will be).

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<sup>8</sup> C. Habicht (tr. D. L. Schneider), *Athens from Alexander to Antony* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997) 142f. But the debate is not closed: see P. Collombert, 'La "stèle de Saïs" et l'instauration du culte d'Arsinoé II dans la chôra', *AncSoc* 38 (2008) 83 n. 1, who finds the case of 270 BC stronger for Arsinoe's death.

<sup>9</sup> S. R. F. Price, 'Gods and Emperors: The Greek Language of the Roman Imperial Cult', *JHS* 104 (1984) 87.

So this is, as the series' objectives prescribe, a new narrative history, written by an expert in the field, offering an authoritative and accessible survey for students and readers alike. This is an excellent model of how it should be done, and I am sure that it will be not only students who find this a valuable reference work.

## HELLENISTIC LITERATURE

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Kathryn Gutzwiller, *A Guide to Hellenistic Literature*. Blackwell Guides to Classical Literature. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007. Pp. xv + 261, incl. 11 black-and-white figures, 3 maps, notes, chronological tables of the Diadoch dynasties, suggested reading, bibliography and index. ISBN 978-0-631-23321-3. GBP19.99.

This book in the Blackwell series of Guides is a reviewer's dream: the style eloquent and clear, the structure firm and logical, the subject matter perfectly designed for its target audience, and the final product elegantly produced. Gutzwiller has spent a long time in the field of Hellenistic literature and produced works of major importance.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the book one is aware of her knowledge, expertise and insights. In line with the series, the book aims to provide 'an introduction to the literature of the Hellenistic age for students of classics and for general readers with an interest in the ancient world' (p. xi). In addition to literary works in prose and verse, texts of a technical nature are discussed. Although the author defines her goal as 'to inform rather than to argue positions or develop interpretations' (p. xi), her treatment of authors and texts presents considered views and assessments that are based on up-to-date developments in scholarship.

Chapter 1, 'History and Culture' (pp. 1-25), traces the events that led to the creation of the Hellenistic age from the death of Alexander (323 BC) to the battle of Actium (31 BC) (pp. 1-4) and gives an account of the new political, social, economic and cultural aspects of the kingdoms of the Diadochs, the 'Successors' of Alexander: the Antigonids in Macedonia and Greece (pp. 4-8), the Seleucids in Antioch and southern Asia Minor (pp. 8-12), the Attalids in Pergamum and northern Asia Minor (pp. 12-16), and the Ptolemies of Alexandria and Egypt (pp. 16-25). Amid the wars, political intrigues, assassinations, polygamous and incestuous marriages, and the creation of dynastic rulers and their worship, one encounters the more enduring intellectual and artistic products. In Greece, for instance, we read of the Colossus of

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<sup>1</sup> K. J. Gutzwiller, *Studies in the Hellenistic Epyllion* (Meisenheim am Glan 1981); *Theocritus' Pastoral Analogies: The Formation of a Genre* (Madison 1991); K. J. Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands: Hellenistic Epigrams in Context* (Berkeley 1998); K. J. Gutzwiller (ed.), *The New Posidippus: A Hellenistic Poetry Book* (Oxford 2005).



Rhodes (built to celebrate the failed siege of Demetrius Poliorcetes in 305-304 BC), the royal tombs at Vergina (perhaps including that of Philip II), the earliest surviving Greek literary papyrus, with a description of Orphic cosmology (from a tomb at Derveni, *ca.* 340-330 BC), poets (Aratus of Soli, Timon of Phlius, Menander of Athens, Rhianus of Crete), philosophers (Bion of Borysthenes, Menedemus of Eretria, Aristotle's successor Theophrastus, the founders of the great philosophical schools: Diogenes, Epicurus, Zeno, Pyrrho), the historian Polybius, and buildings (the Stoa of Attalus). Among the achievements of Seleucid Asia, there was the creation of the city of Antioch and Eutychides' statue of Tychē, who was to figure prominently in Hellenistic religion and thought. Attalid Pergamum became famous for its imposing Acropolis (with the Great Altar of Zeus) and library of 200 000 scrolls written on *charta pergamena* ('parchment'), studied by scholars such as Crates of Mallus, and donated to Cleopatra by Mark Antony. But Ptolemaic Egypt, with its cultural centre Alexandria, was preeminent in all fields. Its numerous achievers and achievements, expanded on in the following chapters, deservedly gave the alternative name 'Alexandrian' to the age.

Chapter 2, 'Aesthetics and Style' (pp. 26-49), deals with the 'new aesthetic sensibilities' (p. 26) and their expression in emerging genres: mime, idyll, epyllion, literary epigram, prose treatises on scientific subjects, and didactic poetry. Most of this literature was now written to be read, rather than heard during an oral performance at, for example, a symposium. The poet's role as inspired vehicle of divine inspiration yielded to a new criterion of a poet's worth: *technē* ('skill'). Examples of this 'modernist movement' (p. 30) are discussed: epigrams by Posidippus of Pella from the recently discovered Milan papyrus (pp. 29f.), Erinna of Teos (pp. 30f.), Asclepiades of Samos (pp. 31f.), Callimachus (pp. 33-35), Theocritus (pp. 35f.) and Meleager of Gadara (p. 36). The poets' skill was demonstrated by the art, learning and versatility with which they employed metre, dialect and diction (pp. 36-43). In this new aesthetic, there was the ever-present awareness of literature as a written text committed to papyrus scrolls and preserved in the library.

Chapter 3, 'Authors and Genres' (pp. 50-167), is the longest chapter and the core of the book. Major authors are first dealt with: Menander (pp. 50-60), Callimachus (pp. 60-74), Apollonius of Rhodes (pp. 74-84), Theocritus and the other bucolic poets (pp. 84-97). Then follows discussion of genres: didactic poetry (pp. 97-106), epigrams (pp. 106-20), dramatic poetry (pp. 120-31), parodic and philosophical literature (pp. 131-44), historiography represented by Polybius (pp. 144-53), and technical prose writing (pp. 154-67). Treatment of the writers consists of a brief biography, details of their reception, discussion of the contents and nature of their works, and an evaluation. Important observations are imparted in this rich and varied account. Gutzwiller firmly argues against the persistent and pervasive view that Hellenistic literature is dry and deliberately obscure, conceived as a revolutionary reaction against and a break with the older Greek literature, and based

solely on the principle of *l'art pour l'art*.<sup>2</sup> Instead, close analysis of the texts and their contexts reveals a creative engagement with the past at the levels of genre, form, theme and language, a variety of styles and themes and, amid all the fictional *personae*, an individual voice. Awareness of the past is balanced with awareness of the present: poets react to the work of their contemporaries as well as to the patronage, whims and commissions of the ruling Ptolemies. Writers, immersed in the knowledge explosion, create works that demand a reciprocal effort from the reader.

The exponents of didactic poetry, Aratus and Nicander, are presented in the same way as the individual authors in the first half of the chapter. In the case of the large collection of surviving epigrams, the 'only poetic genre originally written to be read' (p. 107), Gutzwiller has perforce been highly selective. After briefly relating the origin and development of the literary epigram, the types of epigram and the various anthologies, she focuses on sepulchral epigrams (Callimachus, Posidippus, Anyte of Tanagra, Leonidas of Tarentum, Dioscorides, Meleager), dedicatory epigrams (Callimachus, Leonidas, Nossis of Locris, Posidippus, Antipater of Sidon), erotic epigrams (Asclepiades of Samos, Dioscorides, Rhianus of Crete, Meleager), satiric epigrams (Alcaeus of Messene), and 'serial' epigrams with their variations on the same theme (Antipater of Sidon, Aulus Licinius Archias of Antioch—defended by Cicero in 62 BC—and Meleager). Although tragedy, comedy and satyr plays continued to be performed in the Hellenistic age, little has survived. Mime was popular, the main exponents being Theocritus and Herodas (or Herondas). A canon of the seven top playwrights came into being, called the Pleiad after the seven-star constellation: the (six) 'most likely original members of the group' were Alexander of Aetolia, Lycophron of Chalcis, Homerus of Byzantium, Sosiphanes of Syracuse, Sositheus of Troadic Alexandria, Philicus of Athens (p. 121). But little more than some titles of their works is known. The same applies to Rhinthon, who is credited with thirty-eight plays; Sciras of Tarentum, of whose output only one title is known; and Sopater of Paphos. Other playwrights were more fortunate. Of the *Exagōgē* (*Exodus*) by Ezechiel, a Hellenized Jew, 269 lines survive; and the *Alexandra*, on Cassandra, by Lycophron runs to 1500 lines.

Next to be examined is parodic literature that emerged in the fifth century, most of it concentrated around the Homeric epics. Among the parodists and comic-satiric writers mentioned are Euboeus of Paros, Archestratus of Gela, Matro of Pitane, Machon of Corinth, and the unknown author of the Homeric parody 'The Battle of the Frogs and Mice'. The Athenian tradition of *parrhasia* ('free speech') exercised in Old Comedy, which often included scurrilous attacks on public figures, was somewhat curtailed under the Ptolemies. Sotades of Maroneia (Thrace) was imprisoned or dumped at sea in a lead jar for casting aspersions on the marriage of Ptolemy II to his sister Arsinoe. Cynic and Sceptic philosophers also made use of improvised and orally delivered witticisms and parody. Such were Crates of Thebes who, with his wife Hipparchia (an early 'feminist'), lived according to the teachings of Diogenes and

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. also M. Fantuzzi and R. Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (Cambridge 2004).

challenged the accepted view of the good life. Timon of Phlius, a Sceptic, wrote epic, tragedy, comedy, cinaedic poetry (a kind of mime delivered in the persona of a homosexual) and lampoons (*silloi*), of which sixty-five fragments survive and in which he parodies philosophers for their dogmatism. Phoenix of Colophon and Cercidas of Megalopolis wrote moralizing poetry without the critical and satiric tone. Other philosophical schools (Peripatetics, Academics, Stoics, Epicureans) produced a large corpus of prose works. Important Peripatetic writers were Theophrastus of Eresus (Aristotle's successor), Satyrus of Callatia, Strato of Lampsacus and Praxiphanes (one of the 'Telchines' attacked by Callimachus). Among Stoic philosophers we encounter Zeno of Citium, Chrysippus of Soli, Posidonius of Apamea, and among the Epicureans Epicurus and Philodemus of Gadara, fragments of whose works were recovered from the charred papyri found at the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum. Polybius, as the most important prose writer of the Hellenistic age, has a section to himself. Gutzwiller's account ought to be required reading for students of Graeco-Roman historiography. She discusses the events in his life, his works, his conception of historiography, his target audience, his view of historical events, elements of his style (for example, the use of a narrator, 'dryness', repetition), his importance as a source for the events of the second century, and his achievement as a historian.

Although the technical writings of the Hellenistic period are largely unfamiliar to most classicists and unlikely to be read in the original Greek except by researchers in the particular field, Gutzwiller treats them with interest and on a par with the other genres. The fields covered are mathematics (Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius of Perge), astronomy (Autolycus of Pitane, Aristarchus of Samos, Hipparchus of Nicaea, Theodosius of Bithynia), mechanics (Ctesibius of Alexandria, Biton, Philo of Byzantium), medicine (Hippocrates of Samos, Praxagoras of Cos, Herophilus of Chalcedon, Erasistratus of Ceos, Philinus of Cos, Apollonius of Citium) and geography (Eratosthenes of Cyrene, Agatharchides of Cnidus, Artemidorus of Ephesus). In each case, important discoveries are noted. The chapter ends with a look at paradoxographical works: accounts and descriptions of incredible and marvellous phenomena, creatures and plants.

Chapter 4, 'Topics in Hellenistic Literature' (pp. 168-222), gathers together all the themes or topics treated by the vast array of writers. Gutzwiller restates the positive evaluation of Hellenistic literature and culture in recent research as 'a worthy heir to high classicism but also strongly reminiscent of our own diverse and technically specialized culture' (pp. 168f.; see also p. 178). First come learning and innovation (pp. 169-78), in which Gutzwiller discusses the use of literary allusion, genre innovation (including the well-known mixing of genres) and learned content by Hellenistic poets. Whereas chapter 2 deals with the theoretical basis of Hellenistic literature, the discussion here focuses on the creative practice of individual poets such as Callimachus, Theocritus, Posidippus, Apollonius, and even Archimedes of Syracuse and Eratosthenes, who are credited with epigrams on complex mathematical problems. The second theme to be discussed is the 'writtenness' of the text and its

physical communication by means of a papyrus 'book' (pp. 178-88). While oral performance persisted, the increasing use of writing and the book came to be reflected as theme. Poets became aware of the advantages of a written poem: the visual impact of words and structure, the separation from a one-off live performance and resultant wider audience, the personification of the poem as a separate *persona*. There were further advantages in gathering several poems together in one collection, either by the same poet or by many poets: variety and variation, the grouping of poems by genre or theme, the creation of fictional contexts and voices. Again, Gutzwiller illustrates her account with specific examples.

The next theme is the social and political background 'thematized' in Hellenistic literature (pp. 188-201). Contrary to older perceptions of an ivory tower literature, Gutzwiller argues here (as in *Poetic Garlands*) for interpreting the literature in its context, reflecting actual social conditions and ills, closely involved with Ptolemaic ideology and policy, literary expectations and personal conduct (especially the brother-sister marriages), although frequently disguised in obscure myth or oblique allusion. Women play a more prominent role as patrons, poets and literary subjects. The Ptolemaic queens feature prominently for promoting the arts or being benefactors, or achieving something heroic in their own right (such as the victories in chariot racing by Berenice I, Arsinoe II and a later Berenice in the new Posidippian epigrams), or as 'fully sexualized beings and powerful rulers', thus anticipating Cleopatra VII. The myth of the Amazons is revised to become a paradigm of female military prowess. Ordinary Alexandrian wives are depicted (Theoc. *Id.* 15). Female poets such as Erinna, Anyte, Nossis, Moero and Hedyle, freed by the book from the constraints of male-dominated public performance, give a female *persona* and new perspectives to poetic genres. Major male poets themselves begin to write about fictional females. The chapter closes with a discussion of displacement, cultural identity, friendship and romantic relationships.

The theme of 'the critical impulse in literature and art' follows (pp. 202-13). This deals with literary theory and criticism and the views and terminology of the new aesthetic: *alētheia* (truth), *enargeia* (vividness); *ekphrasis* (literary treatment of visual art); *psychagōgia* (enthralment); *phantasia* (mental visualization); *charactērēs* (categories of style: grand, elegant, plain, forceful), developed by Theophrastus;<sup>3</sup> *poēta-poiēsis-poiēma* (creative individual, form and content, style), formulated by Neoptolemus of Parium, but perhaps also going back to Theophrastus; *eklogē* (choice of words) and *synthesis* (composition), expounded by Philodemus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus; *allegorēsis* (allegory), especially among Stoics such as Crates; and *technopaignia* (riddles, enigmas). Other theorists advocated the grand style and euphony (Andromenides, Pausimachus) and genre-mixing (Heracleodorus). The last section treats 'Reception in Rome' (pp. 213-22), the ways in which Hellenistic literature, thought and culture were transferred to Rome. Here the names are more familiar: Ennius, Lucilius, Carneades, Polybius, Parthenius, Cinna, Catullus, Gallus,

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<sup>3</sup> Gutzwiller discusses Demetrius' *On Style* and dates it to the early first century BC on the grounds that the contents reflect Hellenistic critical thinking (p. 206).

Vergil, Philodemus and Siro. Generally, Roman writers of the imperial era (for example, Quintilian, ‘Longinus’) devalued Hellenistic literature, preferring instead the works of early and classical Greece for their particular purposes. This legacy has now, through critical and intense study in recent years, been largely dispelled.

This book is likely to dispel more of the inherited prejudice against Hellenistic literature. The guide is rich in detail and succinct comments, yet very readable. The great number of names in the book (reflected in this review) might create the impression of a gallery of museum exhibits. This is not the case at all: Gutzwiller manages to give life (albeit brief in most cases) to the prominent writers of this period, always giving their towns of provenance like surnames and adding known detail, up-to-date information and intelligent comment. This book not only will fit very well into a list of required reading for students in classical civilization and comparative literature courses, but also will not be out of place in the library of advanced students and scholars.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> I noted only a few minor errors: ‘Homeric ending . . . *hualoio*’ (p. 42) should read ‘Homeric genitive ending . . . *hualoio*’; ‘Oh’ should be spelled ‘O’ (as vocative, not exclamation): ‘Oh son’ (p. 3), ‘Oh Menander’ (p. 50), ‘Oh Night’ (p. 55); ‘part of what he had in mind were [should read ‘was’] these geographical, scientific, and technical topics’ (p. 153); ‘through [should read ‘though’] not always with accurate understanding’ (p. 153).

## REVIEWS

*Scholia* publishes solicited and unsolicited short reviews. Short reviews to be considered for publication should be directed to the Reviews Editor, *Scholia*.

David Wolfsdorf, *Trials of Reason: Plato and the Crafting of Philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Pp. x + 281. ISBN 978-0-19-532732-8. GBP41.

At the end of his introductory methodological chapter 1, 'Interpretation' (pp. 3-28), Wolfsdorf makes explicit his ambition for *Trials of Reason*: 'I seek Platonic views' (p. 28). These 'Platonic views' are, as the headings of his remaining four chapters testify, those regarding the specific topics of chapter 2, 'Desire' (pp. 29-85), chapter 3, 'Knowledge' (pp. 86-145), chapter 4, 'Method' (pp. 146-196), and chapter 5, 'Aporia' (pp. 197-239), as can be reconstructed from a group of fourteen dialogues that Wolfsdorf suggests 'are widely believed to constitute Plato's early writings' (p. 3). Wolfsdorf argues that we can and should identify within this selection of texts a shared thematic concern with defending the Platonic conception of philosophy as 'the desire for and pursuit of ethical knowledge, which is conceived as political knowledge, the knowledge that befits a political leader' (pp. 12f.). Fundamental to this apologetic project is, Wolfsdorf contends, an opposition between philosophy and 'antiphilosophy'; the latter is glossed as 'encompass[ing] all that is antithetical to philosophy and includes much that is conventionally and traditionally valued in Greek culture' along with 'sophistry and pseudo-philosophy' (p. 14). For Wolfsdorf these dialogues have a 'philosophical-pedagogical' (p. 14) purpose insofar as they encourage readers to engage with a critique of their own conventional 'antiphilosophical' views before leading them *via* the dramatic structure of the text to philosophical, unconventional, Platonic beliefs.

Wolfsdorf presents his approach as an antidote to the (developmentalist?) assumption that Socrates acts as a mouthpiece for Plato, that is, that all the views that Socrates expresses are Platonic. Wolfsdorf's Socrates, in contrast, quite frequently adopts conventional, 'antiphilosophical' and non-Platonic positions in order to address his audience's 'doxastic position' (p. 16), setting it up for investigation and refutation before replacing it with an unconventional Platonic view. Accepting that Socrates does not always speak for Plato allows us, Wolfsdorf argues, to avoid the 'naïve' (p. 24) exegetical contortions necessitated by trying to render consistent everything that Socrates (and thereby Plato) says in every early dialogue. For this Socrates is not attempting to develop a consistent position (whether Platonic or not) across the dialogues. In fact, 'it is necessary to relinquish the view that the Socrates of a given early dialogue is in a strong sense identical to the Socrates of another early dialogue' (p. 24). Socrates sometimes develops Platonic positions and sometimes puts forward conventional beliefs as 'dialectical expedients, employed in conformity with the

doxastic base of the text' (p. 108f.) to help us to reach those Platonic positions for ourselves. One might wonder how we can tell which of the contrary views expressed by Socrates are supposed to be Platonic and, for this, Wolfsdorf has a set of criteria worked out, focusing in the main on whether they are 'unconventional' (e.g., p. 27) and repeated in more than one dialogue.

In his second chapter, 'Desire' (pp. 29-75), Wolfsdorf defends a subjectivist interpretation of the principle that everyone desires the good. He takes the *Meno* as evidence that the Platonic position is that 'all people desire objects as a result of fallibly evaluating them as good' (p. 51). He then considers passages from the other dialogues in which Socrates adopts a view apparently at odds with this subjectivism. In the *Gorgias*, for example, Socrates seems to think that *desiderata* are in fact objectively good. Wolfsdorf suggests that, while Socrates is perfectly sincere in promoting this objectivist outlook, 'the contradiction between the two interpretations is, however, perfectly innocuous; it does not compromise the Platonic subjectivist view of desire, for in the *Gorgias* the premise [that everyone desires what really is good] is used as a dialectical expedient' (p. 49). We are, he argues, justified in downgrading the objectivism of the *Gorgias* to the level of dialectical expedient because, first, Socrates argues against the objective goodness of health and wealth in the *Meno* and the *Euthydemus* and, secondly, because this position provides no challenge to conventional conceptions of what is good, that is, it is not being used to develop the unconventional Platonic view. Likewise, the distinction between *boulēsis* and *epithumia* in the *Charmides* is also a 'dialectical expedient' (p. 49).

Wolfsdorf's third chapter, 'Knowledge' (pp. 86-145), attempts to winkle out the details of Plato's 'epistemic conception of excellence' (p. 86). First, he proposes that Socrates' talk of the partition of excellence in, for example, the *Meno* and *Euthydemus* should be regarded as a 'dialectical expedient' and thus no bar to establishing as Platonic the view that excellence is an epistemic unity. He next argues that Socrates' assertion in *Republic* 1 that all *technai* are beneficial is a conventional view not shared by Plato, who rather holds that ethical *technai* alone can be relied upon to produce benefit. Wolfsdorf offers the *Gorgias* as evidence that the 'Platonic conception of goodness within the early dialogues . . . reflects a broad metaphysical vision' (p. 117) continuous with the metaphysics of middle dialogues and 'informed by reflection on *technē*' (p. 118). The early dialogues, Wolfsdorf suggests, imply a Platonic conception of excellence as *eidos*. After surveying the evidence in favour of classifying the principle of the epistemological priority of definitional knowledge as Platonic, Wolfsdorf moves on to consider why Socrates, despite disavowing such definitional knowledge, does seem on occasion to help himself to claims of non-definitional ethical knowledge. Wolfsdorf contends that, while Socrates is indeed being inconsistent, this inconsistency is hermeneutically innocuous. For Plato is untroubled by having his Socrates express conventional positions that are at odds with the Platonic view of knowledge. Bearing this in mind, it is misguided to attempt to establish a unified *Socratic* position from the dialogues. For, '[g]iven that almost all of the discussions in the early dialogues focus on ethical topics and that Plato uses

Socrates in various ways, some inconsistency among Socrates' avowals and disavowals of ethical knowledge is to be expected' (p. 138).

The dense fourth chapter, on 'Method' (pp. 146-96), focuses not only on *elenchus* but also on *hypothesis*. Wolfsdorf agitates against the reading of the early dialogues that takes Socrates' elenctic project to be one of testing and refuting the sincerely held beliefs of his interlocutors in favour of understanding it as a collaborative search for truth. Turning to the *Meno*'s method *ex hupotheseōs*, Wolfsdorf proposes that here we have not, as is commonly understood, a method involving hypotheticality. Rather, reasoning from *hupotheseis* is reasoning from postulates or 'cognitively secure propositions' (p. 146f.). Having set out a detailed treatment of the geometrical example of *ex hupotheseōs* reasoning in the *Meno*, Wolfsdorf endorses the view that Platonic *hupotheseis* are informed by the method of geometrical analysis, whereby one problem is reduced to another. Insofar as he holds that *elenchus* is not refutative and the method *ex hupotheseōs* is reductive rather than constructive, Wolfsdorf contends that 'the momentousness of the introduction of the method in *Meno* has certainly been misconceived and also overblown' (p. 179). The rest of the chapter returns to the issue of definitional knowledge; and suggests that propositions that are 'cognitively secure' (e.g., p. 181, 193-96) rather than known, if they are available to Socrates, might provide a suitable starting point for the pursuit of definitions and thus avoid the Socratic fallacy. Wolfsdorf concludes that such security is, at best, available in those early dialogues that are explicitly metaphysical (*Meno*, *Euthyphro* and *Hippias Major*) and that, nonetheless, 'it is doubtful that these texts offer a cogent method by which definitional knowledge can be pursued' (p. 196).

The final chapter, on 'Aporia' (pp. 197-239), is, for my money, the most intriguing. Here, Wolfsdorf draws a distinction between 'epistemological aporia' and 'dramatic aporia'. A dialogue ends in dramatic aporia when '[no] positive Platonic thesis regarding the central problem of the drama clearly emerges from the text' (p. 198). Wolfsdorf then draws a further distinction between those early dialogues dealing with ethical practice and those dealing with ethical theory. Dramatic aporia is found only in the latter group, where it emphasizes the importance and difficulty of pursuing theoretical ethical questions. While those in the former group may reach epistemological aporia, they quite deliberately do not end in dramatic aporia, because Plato wishes to demonstrate that 'the failure to achieve ethical knowledge does not and should not paralyze agents' (p. 201). Wolfsdorf teases out this notion of dramatic aporia in order to argue against the suggestion that it represents any kind of *Platonic* perplexity. Rather, Plato deliberately imposes dramatic aporiai on Socrates and his interlocutors in order to demonstrate that such perplexity is the result of the conflict between philosophy and the antiphilosophy of 'conventional' culture.

The aforementioned summary is intended to suggest the admirable scope and ambition of this volume. I wish to express tentatively two scruples about its success. The first is with regard to Wolfsdorf's accusation that those who search for a consistent Socrates within the early dialogues are naive. This accusation is developed in greater detail in his appendix on 'The Irony of Socrates' (pp. 242-60). Wolfsdorf



wants to argue that we have no good reason to think that the ‘Socrates’ of the early dialogues is an intertextual unity. Indeed, he avers, the inconsistencies of Socrates’ utterances are at odds with such a reading. In his introduction Wolfsdorf emphasizes his intention to offer a treatment that incorporates both the philosophical and the *dramatic* elements of the early dialogues. I wonder whether Wolfsdorf’s reading might not be neglecting one of the most fundamental dramatic aspects of these dialogues. For one might think that the simple fact that the protagonist in each is called ‘Socrates’ suggests more strongly than Wolfsdorf allows that he is a unified character or at least that the reader is justified in expecting consistency. Furthermore, his *verbal* inconsistencies notwithstanding, this ‘Socrates’ is clearly *characterized* in a unified way. Wolfsdorf’s suggestion is intriguing, but I am left wondering why on his interpretation Plato needs a character called ‘Socrates’ at all. My second concern is with regard to the more prosaic issue of Wolfsdorf’s intended audience. In the introduction to his bibliography, he explains that he has attempted to avoid large-scale engagement with the huge pool of secondary literature on the early dialogues in order to increase the accessibility of the book. I confess that I am not convinced of its general accessibility. Throughout the work Wolfsdorf engages with intricate and controversial issues, and it seems to me unlikely that anyone not already familiar with the secondary literature will be able to follow his exegesis. Since this is really a work for specialists, Wolfsdorf ought to have provided more extensive engagement with the scholarship. In aiming to reach the broadest audience, this book seems to fall between two stools. *Trials of Reason*, however, is a provocative and original book. It is not an easy read, but its complexity is a testament to its author’s admirable ambition.

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Neville Morley, *Antiquity and Modernity*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2009. Pp. xiv + 182. ISBN 978-1-4051-3139-1. GBP40.

Morley sets out the aim of his study in the first chapter, ‘Untimely Knowledge’ (pp. 1-20), which serves as an introduction to the core of the problem to be addressed throughout his study: ‘This book aims to consider the way that, in the “long nineteenth century”, ideas of modernity were developed and explored through the consideration of the use of the classical past and the definition of differences, contrasts, and continuities’ (p. 18). Although the authors who appear more prominently throughout the book are Nietzsche and Marx, it covers a significant number of thinkers from diverse disciplines (economy, history, philosophy, aesthetics, *et cetera*) who would not, at first sight, have much in common, such as Schiller and David Ricardo, or John Stuart Mill and Wagner. Morley’s proposal is to chart the multiple alternatives that such authors (among others) offered by way of answering to a central question: is the study and understanding of the past necessary or at least relevant to the understanding of the present?

The author takes his start from the decisive fact that the last decades of the eighteenth century manifested an increasing and shared sensation that the changes that had been witnessed in the previous centuries had led (for better or worse) to a radical rupture with the past, a qualitative change that seemed to do away with every possible common ground between classical Greek social organizations and the complex economic, social and political structures given birth by the advent of capitalism. Such discontinuity implied that the past was literally dead, as far as the new sciences of politics, sociology and economy were concerned, which meant in turn that the study of classical antiquity could no longer sustain its place not only as a point of reference in cultural and social matters but also as a source to understand and operate on contemporary issues. Morley's central claim, however, is twofold: in the first place, he shows that this awareness of a radical discontinuity between past and present was not, in fact, hegemonic; in the second place, he suggests (and this is the major task that he has to set out to prove) that even when classical antiquity was considered to belong to a now closed stage of human history, it still had a major role to play in the process of modernity's self-definition. As Morley sets out to show in the following four chapters, three main attitudes towards antiquity were possible: it could represent an instrument to *identify* and *measure* the changes that had taken place by contrasting with a proposed (metamorphic) image of Antiquity; it could stand as an *alternative* to the present order of things, when the latter was viewed negatively (that is, when modernity was seen as having failed to fulfil its promises); and it could operate as a means of denunciation of the non-natural status of modern civilization, that is, as evidence that the present forms of social organization, economic structures and cultural interaction were not an expression of the only possible state of affairs and that they could be radically overturned or improved by means of reform.

In the second chapter, 'The Great Transformation' (pp. 21-47), Morley analyses three major tendencies within the economic thought of the century. The first consists in considering the development from classical antiquity to modern capitalism as a process that does not exhibit any fundamental qualitative ruptures. This alternative (which Morley illustrates mainly through Adam Smith and Malthus) allowed for a study of antiquity as a legitimate source from where to draw empirical evidence and historical examples. The second tendency (expressed by the following generation of political economists such as Ricardo and Say) consisted in asserting the irrelevance of the classical past concerning political economy as a science. Curiously this conclusion also derived from the premise that there were no ruptures that could set both civilizations apart; only that, in this case, this served to dismiss the historical evidence and philosophical reflections of antiquity as unnecessary to the discovery and establishment of the universal laws of economy. The last tendency identified by Morley is expressed in Marx's historical turn in the consideration of the problem of modernity, through which antiquity became not merely a necessary 'stage that had to be overcome' (p. 65) but more positively a pattern of discernment of the real and apparent changes brought about by capitalism and as a 'source of hope' (p. 44), since it shattered the illusion of the eternity and natural character of capitalism.

In chapter 3, 'Before Alienation' (pp. 48-87), perhaps the most rich and stimulating section of the book, Morley focuses on the particular sensation of disappointment experienced by many writers concerning another aspect: whereas the superiority of modern economic organization was relatively undisputed, such development abruptly came into question when considered from the perspective of its social and political consequences. This feeling could take the form of a denouncement of the unfulfilled promises of modernity, or it could be expressed through an accusation directed at its (essentially) deceptive nature: contemporary forms of unskilled work were viewed as equivalent to ancient forms of slavery; the freedom that modernity claimed to have conquered for the individual was seen as nothing but a retreat into the isolation of the private sphere; the division of labour (which was promoted by some as the main factor responsible for the progress of capitalist societies) was considered as the disguised cause of an alienating, one-sided development of the individual's personal development. What was the role, if any, that classical antiquity could play in this critical scenario? Morley identifies two main (non-exclusive) alternatives: antiquity could either become a source of inspiration for possible transformations of social and political institutions (be it through a revolution or a reform) or it could help society to understand the historical source of the moral, social and political ailments of the present order. In the first case, the tendency towards an all-pervasive process of impersonal, artificial and uniform rationalization, was contrasted with the organic, 'natural', cooperative social bonds of classical Athens. In the second case, certain patterns that were seen as dormant, or latent, in the historical development of classical antiquity (most prominently in the economic and social changes brought about by the Roman empire) were identified as a likely (inevitable) source for certain negative characteristics of modern social institutions: the gradual disintegration of the sense of community; the substitution of socially oriented values with passive and inward looking virtues, and so on. The chapter ends with a critical note by Morley that (mainly *via* Nietzsche and Marx) seeks to make clear that all such uses and images of antiquity as a given *factum* of history are necessarily the product of a historical (self-serving) reconstruction, in the same degree as any of the notions of modernity proposed by way of contrast.

Chapter 4, 'An Aesthetic Education' (pp. 88-116), projects the diagnosis presented in the previous chapter to the sphere of 'culture' (here understood in broad terms as those aspects of social life other than politics or economy). Although it is in this sphere that classical antiquity acquires a (partially) uncontested place as the supreme yardstick with which to measure the progress and improvements produced by modernity, Morley indicates that it is precisely there that the various images of antiquity became the product of a distorting idealization, not only by enhancing those features of classical antiquity that contrasted with certain other negative characteristics of modernity, but also providing a view of classical Greek civilization that set it apart from any other past or contemporary society. However this may be, the question became how to recover (in the sphere of culture and the arts) at least a fragment of the 'spirit' that had made classical Greece what it once was or, from a more historically

aware perspective, how to reproduce those cultural features from within a social order built upon radically different political and economic structures.

In chapter 5, 'History as Nightmare' (pp. 117-40), Morley discusses the moral, methodological and political consequences of the construction of the global accounts (the 'grand narratives', p. 120) that aimed at an understanding—and exposition—of the covert logic that could be seen to guide and direct the whole course of the history of mankind. The author analyses the premises that made such accounts possible, pointing in particular to the widely shared conviction that history represented a line of constant progress and to the fact that modern historians considered themselves as inhabiting a fundamentally different situation than their predecessors in that they could now have a global outlook that had not been available to their pre-modern predecessors. Morley, however, also touches upon two other alternatives manifested by eighteenth century thinkers: one was that such progress might not be endless and that a downfall process (a return to barbarism) might follow the summit reached by contemporary civilization; the other alternative was that the path described by the history of mankind was not one of progress, but rather one of *decline*. The chapter closes with an analysis of Marx's and Nietzsche's attitudes towards the study of history and the possible risks implicit in having a misguided attitude towards the past.

In the final chapter, 'Allusion and Appropriation' (pp. 141-63), Morley offers a critical analysis of the problem of the historical and possible evaluations of classical antiquity (of the limits and methodological difficulties inherent in every reconstruction) and, continuing a possible objection raised in the preface (pp. xi-xiii), directs the question to his own enterprise, asking whether any given reconstruction like the one undertaken in this book might not be built upon purely accidental elements. The book closes with a 'case study' of the divergent uses given by several writers of the period to the problem of slavery in classical antiquity (where Morley concentrates mainly on the attempt made by John Stuart Mill to soften the nature and consequences of the existence of slavery in classical Greece) and a brief critical note of Marx's and Nietzsche's approaches to antiquity in general. What is important to notice is that the schema outlined above was not clearly laid out for the writers of the analysed period (some of them even leaned occasionally towards more than one of the proposed alternatives, a fact that the author fails to underline), and it is precisely one of Morley's virtues to have been able to produce an ordered account of the different possible lines of approach. However, although the author himself acknowledges that his role 'has, at times, felt less like that of a writer of history . . . than like that of the organizer and chair of a large international conference' (p. xiii), the reader is left at times with a sensation of a certain lack of direction when faced with the numerous alternatives presented by Morley. In particular, it feels as if a map is wanting, a logical map that might put some order into the multitude of feelings and attitudes reported by the author. Nevertheless, such a sensation is most certainly not Morley's fault, since it does not seem actually possible to unearth any such unifying thread; to pretend otherwise would probably imply distorting the evidence. In any case, as the author points out at the beginning of his book, perhaps the only stable and unifying feature of

modernity is ‘the conviction of its own existence and significance’ (p. 13); modernity knows that it is something different, something unprecedented, but it cannot reach a consensus as to what exactly it is that sets it apart from Athens, from Rome, or, for that matter, from pre-modern Europe. Throughout his book, partly through an apt selection of sources, Morley manages to convince the reader that the image of antiquity (be it in the form of a spectre, an irretrievably lost golden age or a necessary phase in the history of civilization, among other alternatives) is decisively present in the mind of modern thinkers and that such element must be given due weight when considering retrospectively the process of the self-definition of modernity in the eighteenth century.

Although it could be argued that Morley’s analysis lacks an instance of critical assessment in certain moments (a more detailed account, for example, of the probable reasons that induced the shift to a completely anti-historical approach experienced in the generation of Ricardo and Say), I believe that the book has two main virtues: it not only brings to light the richness and diversity of the eighteenth century alternatives concerning the question of the relationship between classical antiquity and modernity, but will also (one hopes) contribute to an enriched debate and a more profound understanding of the concept of modernity.

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Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz, *Greek Tragedy*. Blackwell Introductions to the Classical World. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008. Pp. xii + 218, incl. 7 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-1-4051-2161-3. GBP19.99.

Here is another book to add to the long list of titles aiming to offer readers an introduction to the ancient Greek theatre. It is part of the series Blackwell Introductions to the Classical World which, according to its programmatic announcement, ‘will provide concise introductions to classical culture in the broadest sense’. The books in the series, moreover, are written ‘by the most distinguished scholars in the field’ and ‘survey key authors, periods and topics for students and scholars alike’. I must admit that I approached this book with some scepticism, assuming that it would fall between two stools: that of the introductory Duckworth Companions to Greek and Roman Tragedy series, whose titles are devoted to one specific tragedy in each case, and that of longer and more comprehensive introductions to Greek tragedy or the Greek theatre that deal with more plays in more detail than this one does. In the event, however, I was won over by it and feel that Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz has made a most useful contribution to the field. After a short Introduction that touches on a range of different theoretical and scholarly approaches that are taken to Greek literature in general and Greek drama in particular, and that also serves as an *apologia* for the writing of another book on Greek tragedy in the twenty-first century, a discussion in two parts unfolds.

Part 1, 'Tragedy in its Athenian Context' (pp. 11-84), contains three chapters: chapter 1, 'What Was Tragedy?' (pp. 13-32); chapter 2, 'Tragedy and the *Polis*' (pp. 33-59); and chapter 3, 'Tragedy and Greek Religion' (pp. 60-84). Part 2, 'Thematic Approaches' (pp. 85-179), contains four chapters: chapter 4, 'War and Empire' (pp. 89-115); chapter 5, 'Family Romance and Revenge in the House of Atreus' (pp. 116-32); chapter 6, 'Victims and Victimizers' (pp. 133-54); and chapter 7, 'The King and I' (pp. 155-79). The book concludes with chapter 8, 'Epilogue: Modern Performances' (pp. 180-98), co-authorship here being ascribed to Sue Blundell. A bibliography of works cited and an index follows. There are suggestions for further reading after the introduction, after the epilogue, and after each of the chapters in part 1. The suggestions for further reading for all the chapters of part 2 come at the end of the last chapter. Part 1 first offers a sensible coverage of basic information about tragedy and the Athenian theatre. I just note that the initial discussion of the word 'tragedy' (pp. 13f.) tends to focus on the scale of suffering rather than on the 'x factor'. Also, the treatment of Aristotle's *Poetics* is defective. Specifically, no distinction is made between *metabolē* and *peripeteia*, with only the latter term being used and being defined at that as 'overturn or change in fortune' (p. 14). In addition, the concept *hamartia* is confined to a 'small mistake', which overlooks Aristotle's *megalē hamartia*. The discussion 'Tragedy and the *Polis*', understandably geared to American and British readers, appears stronger and covers much thought-provoking ground. An emphasis on the Athenian democracy and the democratic context of performance is nicely supported by modern parallels, but with a clear statement of the differences between ancient and modern practices. Particularly useful are the balanced accounts of such topics as whether Euripides was or was not 'anti-war', the composition of the audience and the fact that not all members of an audience will think and respond in exactly the same way, the fact that people's response to events in real life and events on stage may be different, and whether tragedy served more to question or to affirm. The following discussion of the relationship between tragedy and religion is also most useful. Links are made between various rituals and specific plays, and there is a concise account of the connection between Dionysos and the theatre and the differing scholarly views of that (pp. 64f.). The section ends with a good treatment of Euripides' *Bacchai* (pp. 81-84), which ties many of the threads together. I just note that the uninitiated may find it a little puzzling to be told that the wife of the king archon has to be a virgin when entering the sacred marriage alliance with Dionysos (pp. 62f.). Moreover, the relationship between the two stories about Dionysos' birth is not made clear.

The introduction to part 2 advises us that the readings of the plays to be considered will be 'indebted to structuralist, as well as feminist and multicultural, modes of analysis' (p. 85). In the event, this proves to be a two-edged sword. On the positive side, significant insights are gained *via* polarities such as barbarian/Greek, female/male and slave/free. On the down side, such a schematized approach creates a straitjacket from which I sense plays struggling to be freed. In the discussion of Aeschylus' *Persians*, for example, emphasis is rightly placed on clothing, and we are

told that 'finery and robes are associated with the East and with women' (p. 92). It is also noted that Xerxes never gets his new clothes. If you want to be strict about such things, that might be a plus with regard to Xerxes' masculinity. We are also told, however, that 'his [Xerxes'] lack of that apparel marks him as a failed man, not as masculine' (p. 92). Very convenient. Then we read: 'He goes into the house, the realm of the female, having suffered greatly in the warrior's world' (p. 92). This is where, in my book at least, things start to unravel, so to speak. Orestes goes into the house on occasion, to murder Clytemnestra. Does that mean he becomes feminized? Oedipus comes out of the house at the start of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*. Has he already been feminized? And so on. While I do not deny that there is much to be gained from the 'gendered' approach, its full application can become at times extremely problematic. In general, I found the discussions of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* (pp. 95-108) and Euripides' *Iphigenia Aulidensis* (pp. 108-15) more helpful and less open to 'deconstruction'. The discussion of Euripides' *Elektra* (pp. 117-22) is finely nuanced, with a well-balanced discussion of how to interpret Elektra herself. However, in her mention of the chorus' offer to lend a dress (p. 119), Rabinowitz does not bring out the point that Elektra cannot go to the Festival of Hera because she is neither unmarried nor married in the full sense. The longer discussion of Sophocles' *Elektra* is not so well-balanced and successful, despite a good analysis of the heroine herself. The obvious point that the 'tragic heroine' has to be different from normal women and be more like a man is not made. Rabinowitz does not investigate the 'dark' reading of the play satisfactorily and does not tune into the Odysseus/Orestes connection. I get the impression that she just is not sure about this play! Useful discussions of Euripides' *Trojan Women* (pp. 133-38), *Hekabe* (pp. 138-46) and *Medea* (pp. 146-54) follow in chapter 6, with chapter 7 being devoted to Sophocles' *Antigone* and *Oedipus Tyrannus*. The *Antigone* discussion is good, though I hesitate about the statement that the play has 'no single protagonist' (p. 156), the notions of 'protagonist' and 'hero' being muddled here. The *Oedipus Tyrannus* discussion I found to be one of the least satisfactory. While there is inevitably some 'telling the story' in the discussion of all the plays, in this case it gets out of hand and almost takes over. The idea of *hamartia* is again introduced (p. 172), but is not placed in the context of *Poetics* chapter 13. There is a brief and unhelpful reference to the Lévi-Strauss analysis of the story that leaves far too much unexplained (p. 174). And finally, while the gendered aspect of many interpretations of the myth and play is rightly stressed, much more needs to be made of the 'human vulnerability' line of approach that applies equally to women and men (however, it is mentioned).

The epilogue contains a good coverage of a range of modern performances, with Australia even getting one brief mention. More could have been made, though, of modern Greece. It almost appears as though lip service is being paid to this important part of the story, the focus of interest being placed on the United States and British Isles and, to a lesser extent, continental Europe and Africa. The discussion is good on the conflict between 'faithfulness to the past' and 'relevance to the present' in modern stagings. What is blurred, however, is the question of modern stagings of the tragedies

*vis-à-vis* stagings of modern adaptations of the tragedies, though this distinction is mentioned. In the reference to Heiner Müller, there is a confusing statement that, in *Medeamaterial*,<sup>1</sup> the playwright took ‘a cue from the *Argonautica*, which ends with Jason killed by a board from the Argo’ (p. 184).

There are the occasional inconsistencies in this book, such as having a term like ‘eponymous archon’ (p. 11) explained, but leaving *Ichneutai* (p. 12) for beginners to puzzle over. The thorny questions of the spelling of Greek names is not satisfactorily resolved. I am quite comfortable with the solution of having ‘Oedipus’ spelled that way because the name is well known, while also using ‘Kreon’ and so on (this is explained on p. xi in the preface). However, why adopt ‘Kassandra’, but then ‘Clytemnestra’ (p. 47)? The latter name is hardly better known than ‘Kreon’, for example. Read ‘satyric’ for ‘satiric’ (p. 18) and ‘Ephebes’ for ‘Epebes’ (p. 66). In general, though, this is an insightful discussion of tragedy that is up-to-date with scholarly developments and academic debate, offers helpful modern parallels throughout in connection with political and social issues, stresses the variation of response in both ancient and modern audiences, refers to modern productions and underlines the living reality of Greek tragedy as theatre, and offers balanced critiques while also stressing important ambiguities. Though it is not really a book for scholars, it should be thought-provoking for students, and I shall certainly recommend it to mine as an important ‘way in’ to the subject.

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Andrew Gregory, *Ancient Greek Cosmogony*. London: Duckworth, 2008. Pp. xii + 314. ISBN 978-0-7156-3477-6. GBP50.

The question of the origin of the universe continues to attract us. In quantum mechanics, we are presented with hypotheses of parallel universes, multiverses, ‘many worlds’, which imply a notion of universes before or after our time, and of multiple ‘creations’ and the possibility of sempiternity (perpetual time).<sup>1</sup> The very first moments of cosmic birth are the object of great, and expensive, interest, as we await results from running the Large Hadron Collider near Geneva in the hope of gaining an inkling about what happened in the first millionths of a second of the beginning of the universe.<sup>2</sup> While strictly a question of what happened after birth rather than of the

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<sup>1</sup> H. Müller, *Verkommenes Ufer Medeamaterial Landschaft mit Argonauten* (Berlin 1983).

<sup>1</sup> See M. Bojowald, ‘What Happened Before the Big Bang?’, *Nature Physics* 3.8 (August 2007) 523–25; P. J. Steinhardt and N. Turok, *Endless Universe: Beyond the Big Bang* (New York 2007); M. Kaku, *Parallel Worlds* (New York 2005); M. Rees, *Before the Beginning: Our Universe and Others* (London 1997).

<sup>2</sup> The attempt was begun on 10 September 2008 with the aim (in layman’s terms) ‘to smash protons moving at 99.999999% of the speed of light into each other and so recreate



birth itself, of cosmology rather than of cosmogony, the issues are not unrelated. Nor are they new. It is well to be reminded by Andrew Gregory's excellent book how long-standing and perennial are some of the questions surrounding the universe's origins. Throughout this book there is an engaging allusion to modern cosmological concerns—sufficiently frequent for Big Bang, Quantum Mechanics and Steady State to be granted their own abbreviations (BB, QM and SS).

Gregory necessarily starts with a caution about what his book is about and what it is not about. Fundamentally, it is 'about ancient theories of how the cosmos began' (p. xi). The book is not about Greek philosophy, nor about Greek science, although, of course, these will inform the discussion. Neither, for that matter, is it a book about Greek mythology or theogony, inasmuch as the cosmos is subject to the caprice of the gods, nor about Greek cosmology, insofar as this entails questions of the nature and organization of the cosmos, aspects of interest to philosophy and science. Nonetheless, Gregory does not ignore what these other resources can offer. Despite the strong evidence for Oriental influence on Greek thought, and in this context particularly on Greek cosmogony, Gregory nonetheless argues for Greek innovation in the realm of philosophical cosmogony in chapter 1, 'Mythological Accounts of Creation' (pp. 13-25).

Chapters 2-8 (pp. 26-139)—about half of the book's text—deal with the Presocratics, and we enter the realm of the uniquely Greek philosophical engagement with cosmogony, where the protagonists often appear to be conversing and arguing with one another. In chapter 2, 'The Milesians' (pp. 26-56), Thales, Anaximander and Anaximenes introduce the concept of multiple *kosmoi*, a concept with which we may still engage, as indicated above, even if, as Gregory warns us, our explanations (and our very understanding of what constitutes an explanation) may differ. Gregory also argues for all three Milesians eschewing chance in the emergence of the *kosmos* and instead believing in 'an active originative substance' (p. 56). In chapter 3, 'Heraclitus' (pp. 57-69), Gregory finds evidence for distinguishing Heraclitus as not only not following the Milesian multiple *kosmoi* theory but also not believing in a beginning to the *kosmos*, and therefore having no cosmogony whatever. In chapter 4, 'Parmenides and Eleaticism' (pp. 70-77), chapter 5, 'Empedocles' (pp. 78-101) and chapter 6, 'Anaxagoras' (pp. 102-16), Gregory engages with these figures more thoroughly with the fragmentary and often difficult literary evidence. With Parmenides, we encounter for the first time the rejection of creation *ex nihilo*, an issue of considerable importance much later. Gregory emphasizes how radical and problematic Parmenides' cosmogony is, until it is countered by the correspondingly radical Christian notion of a god who creates time and space along with matter. Empedocles promotes the idea of successive *kosmoi* along with a role for chance, which generates non-identical *kosmoi*. Contemporaneously Anaxagoras accepts only a single *kosmos* and is the first to ascribe to an independent intelligence a role in its creation. Chapter 7, 'Leucippus and Democritus' (pp. 117-27), discusses the originators of atomism. The two (Gregory

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conditions a fraction of a second after the big bang', but had to be aborted on 19 September and is due to resume 'not . . . before spring 2009' (<http://lhc.web.cern.ch/lhc/>).

does not seek to distinguish the indistinguishable) explore the novel idea of an unlimited number of co-existent *kosmoi* (in contrast to Empedocles' unlimited number of successive *kosmoi*) and influentially seek to establish a principle of accidental occurrence for the origin of these worlds. Chapter 8, 'Some Other Presocratics' (pp. 128-39), mops up a few stray Presocratics—Xenophanes, the Pythagoreans, Archelaus, Diogenes of Apollonia, and the elusive author of the Derveni papyrus—among whom little innovation is discernible for Gregory.

The second half of the book comprises chapter 9, 'Plato' (pp. 140-62); chapter 10, 'Aristotle' (pp. 163-72); chapter 11, 'Epicurus and His Followers' (pp. 173-86), *via* Lucretius; chapter 12, 'The Stoics' (pp. 187-202); chapter 13, 'Early Christianity and Creation' (pp. 203-17), in general; and finally chapter 14, 'Later Platonism and the Debate With Christianity' (pp. 218-37), which covers the Neoplatonists and Christians (Sallustius, Philo, Proclus, Philoponus, Plutarch, Theophilus, Tertullian, Hermogenes, Origen and Augustine—in that order, to suit Gregory's themes, rather than in chronological order). 'Conclusion' (pp. 238-45) draws the major concepts of ancient Greek cosmogony together. Plato rejects multiple *kosmoi* and accidental origins and instead argues influentially for a single *kosmos* created by a divine 'craftsman'. Aristotle, on the other hand, while promoting a single *kosmos*, argues for its eternity (on the now unsustainable grounds of 'natural' place and motion) and thus for no cosmogony as such. The difficulties that Aristotle had in entertaining the notion of a cosmogony find their parallels, Gregory demonstrates, in modern physics. Epicurus pursues the atomist tradition, refining it and responding to criticisms of Leucippus and Democritus. He reinstates a cosmogony without god, as well as multiple *kosmoi*. While his influence will be relatively small in later antiquity, Gregory finds that Epicurus' concerns resonate in some aspects of modern cosmology. Stoic cosmogony, like that of the Presocratics, is unfortunately known mainly through fragments. It supports cyclical regeneration of the *kosmos*, innovatively through the fiery, phoenix-like process of *ekpurōsis*. Christianity reintroduces the notion of creation *ex nihilo*, although, Gregory argues in his analysis of the interpretation of Genesis 1: 1–12 in chapter 13, it was not always a core concern. Creation from pre-existent matter was considered, as was the activity of god before the creation of the *kosmos*. Christian thinkers introduce the idea of an absolute beginning for time, space and matter in the act of creation, which makes any question of 'before' creation meaningless, as Augustine famously pointed out.

The chapters are supported by extensive Notes (pp. 247-82) and a useful Bibliography (pp. 283-300). I would have preferred to see the ancient sources differentiated, but this deficiency is well countered by a very helpful Index Locorum (a Duckworth feature), an Index of Names, and a good General Index. Gregory explores all the issues with care and clarity. Original texts are presented in clear translations. Problems are unbundled, solutions offered, and remaining issues honestly acknowledged. Innovation is emphasized at appropriate points and in some unusual places at times. The nod to modern concerns is not superficial but serious and, while the intricacies of modern physics are naturally simplified, Gregory does not avoid

mentioning them. This may not be a textbook by design, but it deserves to be one in courses in the history and philosophy of science, and indeed in philosophy in general.

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Niall McKeown, *The Invention of Ancient Slavery?* Duckworth Classical Essays. London: Duckworth, 2007. Pp. 174. ISBN 978-0-7156-3185-0. GBP12.99.

The present book is a lively and thought-provoking study of the ancient slavery. It consists of a short, readable survey of the scholarship on ancient slavery, which is all the more valuable because many of the original works are difficult to obtain. McKeown is rather equivocal about his own approach to writing history ('I am not necessarily a postmodernist', p. 9), but he has nevertheless reflected with care on the process. He uses the analogy of the cinema to explain the object of his inquiry—just as a film consists of a number of still photographs that give an impression of movement when shown in sequence, so the historians of ancient slavery make use of 'professional sleight of hand to produce a narrative' (p. 10).

McKeown begins in chapter 1, 'The Changing Face of Roman Slavery' (pp. 11-29), with the view of Frank, Gordon, Barrow and Duff that the orientalization of Roman society as a result of immigration from the East and the manumission of slaves from Asia Minor led to the decline of Roman civilization. This is clearly a hot topic, especially in view of the current debate on immigration and xenophobia in Europe, the United States and South Africa. It is easy to criticize this theory as racist, but recent studies stress the positive aspects of this demographic shift, without which Christianity would not have had such favourable conditions in which to grow.<sup>1</sup> McKeown argues (pp. 28f.) that these different emphases exemplify the problem of historical interpretation and show that 'when we explore [the past], we tend to find what we are looking for' (p. 29). This conclusion seems self-evident, but it is grounded on a thorough discussion of the difficulties of using epigraphic evidence in which, for various reasons, freedmen appear to be over-represented. McKeown also touches very briefly on the inverse formulation of the argument of Frank, Gordon, Barrow and Duff, namely the process of Romanization, which must always have been a preliminary condition for the manumission of foreign slaves. At the same time, however, McKeown avoids discussion of the reasons for the legislation of Augustus that restricted the manumission of slaves. Some mention of this controversy would clearly have added to his case.

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<sup>1</sup> T. Frank, 'Race Mixture in the Roman Empire', *AHR* 21 (1916) 689-708; M. L. Gordon, 'The Nationality of Slaves Under the Early Roman Empire', *JRS* 14 (1924) 93-111; R. H. Barrow, *Slavery in the Roman Empire* (London 1928); A. M. Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire* (Oxford 1928); A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Rome's Cultural Revolution', *JRS* 79 (1989) 157-64; S. R. Joshel, *Work, Identity, and Legal Status at Rome: A Study of the Occupational Inscriptions* (Norman 1992).

In chapter 2, 'Ancient Slavery and Modern Geography' (pp. 30-51), McKeown tackles the Mainz Academy's project *Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei*, exemplified by Kudlien's book on slavery in oracular responses, and the Groupe Internationale de Recherche sur l'Esclavage dans l'Antiquité, represented by Garrido-Hory's studies of slavery in the works of Juvenal and Martial.<sup>2</sup> The selection of these two exemplars of the work of these schools exaggerates the differences between them: Kudlien emphasizes the positive side of ancient slavery, whereas Garrido-Hory stresses the cruelty of slave-owners to their slaves. Here there are omissions: a central issue in the question of the emotional bonds between slave-owners and their slaves is that many slaves were the children of their owners (the *vernae*). The importance of this group of slaves has long been recognized and deserves more discussion.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, there are clearly problems with using rhetorical and literary texts such as Juvenal and Martial as evidence for the anxieties of Roman slave-owners towards their slaves.

Marxist theories of ancient Roman slavery, especially that of Shtaerman *et alia*, are the subject of chapter 3, 'Struggling with Class: Shtaerman, Trofimova and a Marxist View of Roman Slavery and Agriculture' (pp. 52-76).<sup>4</sup> This work argues that the change from a slave-based agricultural economy in the Roman empire to one worked by *coloni* ('serfs') was the result of a 'class struggle' in which slaves increasingly resisted the power of their owners, who tried to suppress this resistance through terror and violence, until a point was reached at which it was more profitable for the master class to co-opt the labour of free tenants. McKeown critically interrogates the assumptions on which Shtaerman *et alios* base their argument, especially with regard to the supposed crisis of rural slavery and the alleged deterioration of relationships between slave and free in the Roman empire which, according to Shtaerman's school, forced the passing of more liberal legislation concerning slaves. The key argument here has more to do with the theory that the relative cessation of warfare within the Roman empire led to a decline in the supply of slaves, which deserves to be given rather more of an airing than McKeown allows.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> F. Kudlien, *Skavlen-Mentalität im Spiegel antiker Wahrsagerei* (Stuttgart 1991); M. Garrido-Hory, *Martial et l'esclavage* (Paris 1981); M. Garrido-Hory, *Juvénal: esclaves et affranchis à Rome* (Besançon 1998).

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., the excellent inaugural lecture of A. M. Hugo, *The Cape Vernacular* (Cape Town 1970) 18; more recently and in much greater detail, E. Herrmann-Otto, *Ex Ancilla Natus: Untersuchungen zu den 'Hausgeborenen' Skavlen und Sklavinnen im Westen des römischen Kaiserreiches* (Stuttgart 1994).

<sup>4</sup> E. M. Shtaerman and M. K. Trofimova, *La schiavitù nell'Italia imperiale: I-III secolo* (Rome 1975). In addition to this Italian translation of the original Russian text, there is also a German edition: E. M. Shtaerman *et al.*, *Die Sklaverei in den westlichen Provinzen des römischen Reiches im 1.-3. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart 1987).

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., K. R. Bradley, 'On the Roman Slave Supply and Slave Breeding', *Slavery & Abolition* 8 (1987) 42-64; K. R. Bradley, *Slavery and Rebellion in the Roman World: 140 BC-70 BC* (Bloomington 1989) 20-26.

Bradley's work on slave resistance to oppression in ancient Rome forms the subject of chapter 4, 'Keith Bradley: Passionate about Slavery' (pp. 77-96). Bradley argues that evidence from Roman law indicates that acts of theft and sabotage to the property of the slave-owner constituted resistance. McKeown points out the difficulties with this interpretation: the acts of slaves in these cases are often indistinguishable from those of the free; there is no telling how systematic such pilfering was; the actual motives for the cases mentioned are irrecoverable; and so on. Here, as elsewhere in the book, McKeown adopts a neutral stance: 'I have actually no brief to argue in favour of one side or the other of this debate' (p. 88). He points out on the favourable side of ancient Roman slavery that there 'obviously was some debate about the limits of ill-treatment' (p. 91), and that the comparative argument—that Atlantic slavery showed signs of slave resistance, for example—is vitiated by counter-examples—in Africa slavery was supposedly far more integrated into the socio-economic structure of tribal life. McKeown's object is to show that Bradley's approach was polemical (p. 95) and that the evidence is open to a different line of interpretation.

The scope of chapter 5, "I Too Want to Tell a Story . . .": Some Modern Literary Scholars and Ancient Slavery' (pp. 97-123), is very broad—it covers literary interpretations of slave presences in Horace, Martial, the *Life of Aesop*, Tacitus, Pliny the Elder, Plautus, Apuleius, amongst other authors. Inevitably in such a wide-ranging chapter there are omissions, but in a book devoted mainly to Roman slavery it is surprising to find the *Life of Aesop* included and Phaedrus excluded. However, the central question in the chapter is clear: can literary texts ('the soft evidence', p. 102) tell us anything of value about ancient slavery, especially when these texts are open to a variety of different interpretations? It is answered by the number of insightful observations by slaves and slave surrogates in these works. In trying to recover slave testimony about their experiences, which is otherwise absent from the historical record, all the available evidence needs to be considered, even if it is filtered through the authorization of a slave-owner.

Chapter 6, 'A Scientific Approach to Ancient Slavery?' (pp. 124-40), the demographic debate on the number and sources of slaves in the Roman empire, promises to provide more reliable information, but reads very much like fiction also. Much of the discussion here centres on the number of slaves who accrued from breeding. Surprisingly, little use is made of the evidence from Roman law, which is of crucial importance (cf., e.g., Ulp. *Dig.* 5.3.27 pr.: *ancillarum partus . . . fructus esse non existimantur, quia non temere ancillae eius rei causa comparantur, ut pariant*, 'the issue of slave-women are not regarded as fruits, because slave-women are not lightly procured for such a purpose as that of bearing children').<sup>6</sup> The rate of

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<sup>6</sup> For this translation, see C. Salkowski (ed.) and E. E. Whitfield (tr.), *Institutes and History of Roman Private Law: With Catena of Texts* (Clark 2008) 349. For important discussions of this text, see Herrman-Otto [3]; A. Rodger, 'A Very Good Reason for Buying a Slave Woman?', *The Law Quarterly Review* 123 (2007) 446-54.

manumission in Roman society is another variable among many that demand resolution before the demographic overview can be thought convincing.

Chapter 7, 'The Greeks Do It (a Bit) Better: The Opportunities of Silence' (pp. 141-58), comes as a surprise as it deals, *proteron husteron* so to speak, with Greek slavery. McKeown reprises the problem of recovering a history of Greek slavery from the evidence of the Athenian law courts of the fifth and fourth centuries, investigates possible reasons for the omission of slaves from historical narratives (especially that of Thucydides), and critiques the attempt of duBois to write slaves back in to Greek history as a rewriting of the 'orthodox Anglophone view of slavery' (p. 154). Throughout the chapter, McKeown tries to uncover the hidden assumptions in these recent studies of Greek slavery.<sup>7</sup> He concludes that, while Greek historians have shown more concern for the gaps in the historical record of slavery in Classical Greece than have Roman historians, they are culpable of a similar tendency to interpret the evidence in accordance with their own ideological outlook.

Overall, McKeown shows concern about the fact that the evidence for ancient slavery can be used to support the views of scholars with very different views of the world. He claims, in contradiction with the rather facile title of the book, that he is not charging scholars with inventing slavery, but rather with not being sufficiently aware of the possibility of there being many different interpretations of the evidence (p. 163). However, after reading this book, one is left with the feeling that such ideological polarization is inevitable, given that writing history cannot be anything other than a subjective act, especially in such a contentious and political field of investigation. One also wonders what McKeown's own approach to the problem would be—the present book is really an analytical survey of the scholarship on ancient slavery in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.<sup>8</sup> As such, however, it is extremely valuable and an important introduction to the scholarship on ancient slavery.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> P. duBois, *Slaves and Other Objects* (Chicago 2003). One might have expected some reference in this chapter to Y. Garlan (tr. J. Lloyd), *Slavery in Ancient Greece* (Ithaca 1988); R. Zelnick-Abramowitz, *Not Wholly Free: The Concept of Manumission and the Status of Manumitted Slaves in the Ancient Greek World* (Leiden 2005); see also *European Review of History / Revue européenne d'histoire* 16.3: *Slavery, Citizenship and the State in Classical Antiquity and the Modern Americas* (2009).

<sup>8</sup> McKeown is most notably a contributor to K. Bradley and P. Cartledge (edd.), *The Cambridge World History of Slavery 1: The Ancient Mediterranean World* (Cambridge, forthcoming).

<sup>9</sup> Note the following typos: 'they their criticisms' for 'that their criticisms' (p. 22); double full stop (p. 88); 'Olympidorus' for 'Olympiodorus' (p. 143); 'Neara' for 'Neaera' (p. 143); 'that' for 'than' (p. 155, line 2).

Michael Hillgruber (ed.), *Otto Kern. Meine Lehrer: Erinnerungen*. Hildesheim: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 2008. Pp. ix + 281, incl. 31 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-3-615-00353-6. EUR58.

Hans Kurig and Robert Münzel (edd.), *Jacob Bernays: Geschichte der Klassischen Philologie*. Spudasmata Band 120. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2008. Pp. 198. ISBN 978-3-487-13697-4. EUR29.80.

Two hidden treasures came to light in 2008: two unpublished manuscripts on *Philologiegeschichte*, one of seventy years old, the other of no fewer than 130 years. Their modern editors present each with great care and understanding. Most of the details are explained in footnotes; rich supplementary material is provided for a better understanding; indices facilitate the reader's orientation; solid wide-ranging introductions help to appreciate the context from which these texts come. A full human lifespan separates them from each other, whereas two and four generations separate us today from them.

The name of 'Kern' is well represented within the history of Classical Studies. Franz Kern (1830-1894), while teaching classics as *Gymnasiallehrer* in prominent positions, found the time to do fruitful research. He published on presocratic philosophy, on tragedy, and also a collection of his widely admired *Schulreden*. His *Kleine Schriften*, edited by his son in 1895-1898, fill two volumes; the list of his publications covers nine pages. His eldest son Otto Kern (1863-1942) spent the second half of his life (from 1907 on) as professor at Halle's university. His list of publications (pp. 185-208) comprises no less than 501 items. It is complemented by a list of fifty-one dissertations worked out under his guidance over thirty-one years. In addition, from 1893 until 1935, Kern contributed hundreds of articles to Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*, from 'Agamede' (*RE* 1.1) to 'Mystipoloi' (*RE* 16.2). Among them, there is 'Baubo', 'Daktyloi', 'Dodona', 'Demeter', 'Dionysos', 'Eleusis' and 'Eurydike'. Moreover, 'Kabeiros' and 'Mysterien' appeared also *separatim*. His main work, however, are his three volumes *Die Religion der Griechen* (1: 1926; 2: 1935; 3: 1938; repr. 1963), which analyse the development from the beginnings over Hesiod (vol. 1), the climax in the fifth century (vol. 2), up to Plato and the later stages until the emperor Julianus (vol. 3)—a thousand pages full of intense observations, profound knowledge and great vision. A book that should find greater attention in our days, since in the years of its publication it was somehow overshadowed by *Der Glaube Hellenen* of von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.

What comes to light now is a manuscript (pp. 29-158), composed by Kern in the late thirties of the twentieth century, but published only now after some seventy years. Entitled *Meine Lehrer*, it is the *Erinnerungen* of an old scholar, who has met and was influenced by all those heroes of the nineteenth century, Carl Robert and Carl Humann (who brought to light Pergamon), Hermann Diels, Ernst Curtius and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. Small wonder that the lion's share of this overview goes to Franz Kern the father. Michael Hillgruber, the editor and his team of six co-workers, are to be congratulated: they have given the public a well-rounded

edition, including a synopsis of Kern's life (pp. 3-6), several text documents of interest (pp. 151-84), and a lot of photographic material. In addition, there are helpful annotations at the bottom of almost every page, so that nobody is in danger of getting lost in this slightly labyrinthine presentation of Kern's contemporary colleagues and their work. This is *Gelehrten-geschichte* in the best sense of the word. A world is conjured up which has shaped last century's *Gelehrtenrepublik* and has laid the foundations for the continuation of their work in our time.

Robert Münzel (1859-1917), director of the Hamburger Stadtbibliothek (today's Staats- and Universitätsbibliothek) since 1902, followed the lectures of Jacob Bernays (1824 Hamburg-1881 Bonn) during his university years in Bonn from the summer of 1878 on. In the winter of 1878-1879, he took stenographic notes of the lecture 'Geschichte der Klassischen Philologie', of which he produced a *mundum* of 219 pages, in German letters, using Latin letters for names and bibliography. This text has now been carefully edited by Hans Kurig, who has added a substantial 'Einleitung' (pp. 9-29) giving a general orientation and also an 'Anhang' (pp. 173-98). There, we find fifteen pages of excerpts 'Aus Jacob Bernays' Schriften zu den in der Vorlesung behandelten Personen und Themen'; a 'Schriftenverzeichnis' of the publications by Bernays as well as of those on him; finally an 'Index Personen'. The main portion of the volume contains the 'Geschichte' (pp. 31-172), explained by Kurig's 677 condensed footnotes—a very helpful, informative and meaningful addition.

Richard Harder had called Bernays 'der profundeste Kenner der Weltliteratur, den das Jahrhundert hervorgebracht hat'.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Bernays' wide range of publications is overwhelming, and so is the panorama of his erudition. His work reaches from Homer to Renaissance Latin, from his influential contribution to the understanding of Aristotle's definition of tragedy to Juvenal's satires. In his interpretations, he links, for example, Petrarca to Erasmus to Voltaire; he likens Lessing to Diderot (p. 61) as well as to Laurentius Valla (p. 176), who for him is an 'Italian Lessing'. Montaigne is cited as an authority for Turnebus (p. 95), Wieland for Justus Lipsius (p. 104), Rousseau for St. Augustine (p. 46), and Johann Gottfried von Herder (p. 160) and Wilhelm von Humboldt (p. 161) are called up to elucidate Bernays' individual judgements. Here, a typical specimen of his comparisons: 'Macchiavelli . . . übertrifft den Thukydides an Leichtigkeit und den Aristoteles an Fülle, und steht keinem von Belden an Tiefe and Strenge nach' (p. 179).

Bernays lets his 'Geschichte' begin much later than all other scholars—in the year 370 BC, omitting entirely the philology of Alexandria and Pergamon, which for him is part of the history of Hellenic literature. The year 370 is chosen as a starting point since in this year 'in Alt- and in Neu-Rom Öffentliche Bildungsanstalten gegründet wurden' (p. 32). The first of Bernays' six periods in this history of learning extends up to the death of Charlemagne; the next to the death of Dante (1321); the third 'die Zeit der italienischen Philologie' (p. 33), until the French invasion under

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<sup>1</sup> R. Harder, Review of M. Fraenkel (ed.), *Jacob Bernays: Ein Lebensbild in Briefen*, *Gnomon* 8 (1932) 669.



Karl VIII in 1495. Here appears a gap of a full twenty years; the fourth period begins only in 1515. It reaches its end with the deaths of 'the greatest philologist of this period and of the greatest king', that is, Justus Scaliger (1609) and Henri IV, murdered 1610. For Bernays, this is 'die Blitzezeit der wahren Philologie' (p. 33) under the leadership of France and Germany.

There follows a Dutch-English period from 1610 to the death of Hemsterhuys in 1768. The sixth and final place goes to the hundred years 'bis jetzt' (p. 34); it is entitled 'die deutsche Periode' and its main merit is 'eine neue, vollendete Art der Kritik'. The main general contribution of classical philology to Europe's cultural life, however, is for Bernays 'das Erstarken des Mittelalter und der Neuzeit an dem classischen Altertum' (p. 32). As interesting as Bernays' conception might be, one cannot let it stand like this. The centre of classical philology is and remains the elucidation of classical texts, and this is what all the Hellenistic scholars have worked on. It was these early colleagues who have invented, introduced and institutionalized the categories of grammar, of synonyms, rhetoric, *et cetera*. Their position at the beginning of western philology cannot be discussed away.

Another criticism might be of minor importance. Bernays is more than ready, in fact all too willing to introduce the idea of *Welt*. He honours the university of Göttingen with 'eine Art von Weltstellung' (p. 184); ancient Athens influences, according to him, 'fast den gesamten Erdkreis' (p. 35). More evidence for his dedication to (or even obsession with) this thought pattern is found in the title of a thoughtful posthumous article of his in 1883, 'Weltalter und Weltreich'.<sup>2</sup> While talking about no more than the limited small region of the Mediterranean basin, these learned generations pronounced 'world influence' for phenomena that were unknown in most the parts of the globe, in undeveloped countries as well as in high cultures, many of them much older than Greece and Rome. What a pity that a free spirit, like Bernays', was unable to avoid the pitfalls of Europe's colonial thinking and its jargon! All the more he proves his own free position in *Geistesgeschichte* by distancing himself from what he calls 'Professorenwesen' (p. 111). For instance, he underlines that Scaliger is 'nicht engherzig-philologisch' (p. 101). We should keep in mind that Bernays, besides being a top scholar, was and remained an orthodox Jew. This was the reason why he never got a call to a Prussian professorial chair. No less a *lumen* than Theodor Mommsen remarked on this immoral obstacle sarcastically in a letter to Welcker, that 'bekanntlich noch immer die Vorhaut ein wesentliches Professoringrediens ist' (p. 16).

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<sup>2</sup> J. Bernays, 'Weltalter und Weltreich', *Deutsche Revue über das gesammte nationale Leben der Gegenwart* 8 (1883) 68-74. Bernays' text has been edited with an introduction by B. Kytzler, 'Weltalter und Weltrich', in J. Glucker and A. Laks (edd.), *Jacob Bernays: Un philologue juif* (Lille 1996) 229-42. This volume also contains 'un portrait' by J. Bollack, 'Un homme d'autre monde' (pp. 133-225), with 302 annotations, which is so far the most comprehensive and penetrating study on Bernays.

In his first academic publication,<sup>3</sup> Bernays explained what he felt to be his main mission in classical studies: he aims at integrating biblical with classical studies. This goal he sees as a task not only for himself but for the whole of mankind. The subtitle of his book on Severus underlines clearly and firmly this view: *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der classischen and biblischen Studien*. Already by 1856, Bernays had declared that he planned to combine the antiquities with the humanities.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, Bernays does not share the enthusiastic feelings and opinions and prejudices of his time: he laments the ‘moralischen Verwüstungen’ caused by the Franco-Germanic war of 1870-1871 (pp. 18f.); he also distances himself from Hellenophile neo-humanism to such an extent that he omits both the names of Johann Joachim Winckelmann as well as of Wilhelm von Humboldt. A leading classical scholar, but severely disadvantaged in central Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century, Bernays was honoured in 1981, in the hundredth year of his death, with a stimulating conference in Tel Aviv, which is well documented in the *Acta*.<sup>5</sup> Now, Kurig’s most welcome addition to our knowledge of his teaching in our field appears to be also an eye-opening insight into what students in his time were able to understand, ready to do and willing to learn. *Videant posteri*.

Both books introduced here are valuable contributions to the history of scholarship in Classics: Kern’s volume as a collection of his memories in his own time, Bernays’ book as an attempt to give an overview about achievements and shortcomings in 1500 years of European scholarship. Both authors offer their personal views and describe their predilections and their dislikes; both reflect within their evaluations more or less openly not only their individual taste but also the general inclinations of their time and place. Both scholars differ widely in character and temperament.<sup>6</sup> In reflecting their times, they (and obviously their editors as well) have done a great service both to us and to future generations of classical scholars.

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<sup>3</sup> J. Bernays, *Über die Chronik des Sulpicius Severus: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der classischen und biblischen Studien* (Berlin 1861).

<sup>4</sup> Bernays [3] 26.

<sup>5</sup> See Glucker and Laks [2].

<sup>6</sup> One feels somehow reminded of the *bon mot* by J. Bernays, ‘Aphorismen’, in Glucker and Laks [2] 253: ‘Bentley, ein wackrer Stier, Scaliger, ein edles Ross’.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

*Books for review should be sent to the Reviews Editor, Scholia.*

- Caroline Alexander, *The War That Killed Achilles: The True Story of Homer's Iliad and the Trojan War*. New York: Penguin/Viking, 2009. Pp. 320. ISBN 978-0-670-02112-3. USD26.95.
- J. E. Atkinson (ed.) and J. C. Yardley (tr.), *Curtius Rufus: Histories of Alexander the Great, Book 10*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. Pp. xiv + 274. ISBN 978-0-19-955762-2. GBP70.
- Roger S. Bagnall, *Early Christian Books in Egypt*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009. Pp. 136. ISBN 978-0-691-14026-1. USD29.95.
- Ryan K. Balot (ed.), *A Companion to Greek and Roman Political Thought*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009. Pp. xxviii + 659. ISBN 978-1-4051-5143-6. GBP95.
- Sinclair Bell and Helen Nagy (edd.), *New Perspectives on Etruria and Early Rome*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009. Pp. 336. ISBN 978-0-299-23030-2. USD55.
- Irene Berti and Marta García Morcillo (edd.), *Hellas on Screen: Cinematic Receptions of Ancient History, Literature, and Myth*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009. Pp. 267. ISBN 978-3-515-09223-4. EUR48.
- Susanna Braund (ed.), *Seneca: De Clementia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. Pp. xiv + 456. ISBN 978-0-19-924036-4. GBP75.
- David Butterfield and Christopher Stray (edd.), *A. E. Housman: Classical Scholar*. London: Duckworth, 2009. Pp. x + 288. ISBN 978-0-7156-3808-8. GBP50.
- Carlo Caruso and Andrew Laird (edd.), *Italy and the Classical Tradition: Language, Thought and Poetry 1300-1600*. London: Duckworth, 2009. Pp. x + 269. ISBN 978-0-7156-3737-1. GBP50.
- Jane D. Chaplin and Christina S. Kraus (edd.), *Livy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. Pp. xi + 523. ISBN 978-0-19-928633-1. GBP75.
- Andrew Erskine (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient History*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2009. Pp. xxxiv + 693. ISBN 978-1-4051-3150-6. GBP95.
- Kirk Freudenburg (ed.), *Horace: Satires and Epistles*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. Pp. ix + 518. ISBN 978-0-19-920353-6. GBP80.
- Miriam Griffin (ed.), *A Companion to Julius Caesar*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009. Pp. xx + 512. ISBN 978-1-4051-4923-5. GBP95.
- John R. Hale, *Lords of the Sea: The Epic Story of the Athenian Navy and the Birth of Democracy*. New York: Penguin/Viking, 2009. Pp. xxxiii + 395. ISBN 978-0-670-02080-5. USD29.95.
- Karelisa V. Hartigan, *Performance and Cure: Drama and Healing in Ancient Greece and Contemporary America*. London: Duckworth, 2009. Pp. xi + 124. ISBN 978-0-7156-3639-8. GBP14.99.

- Jeffrey Henderson (ed.), *Longus: Daphnis and Chloe; Xenophon of Ephesus: Anthia and Habrocomes*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009. Pp. xiv + 370. ISBN 978-0-674-99633-5. USD24.
- Barry Hobson, *Latrinae et Foricae: Toilets in the Roman World*. London: Duckworth, 2009. Pp. x + 190. ISBN 978-0-7156-3850-7. GBP14.99.
- Peter Howell, *Martial*. London: Duckworth, 2009. Pp. 126. ISBN 978-1-8539-9702-0. GBP11.99.
- Hyun Jin Kim, *Ethnicity and Foreigners in Ancient Greece and China*. London: Duckworth, 2009. Pp. vi + 217. ISBN 978-0-7156-3807-1. GBP50.
- Peter Knox (ed.), *A Companion to Ovid*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2009. Pp. xviii + 534. ISBN 978-1-4051-4183-3. GBP95.
- Benedict Lowe, *Roman Iberia: Economy, Society and Culture*. London: Duckworth, 2009. Pp. viii + 230. ISBN 978-0-7156-3499-8. GBP18.
- John Ma, Nikolaos Papazarkadas and Robert Parker (edd.), *Interpreting the Athenian Empire*. London: Duckworth, 2009. Pp. viii + 248. ISBN 978-0-7156-3784-5. GBP20.
- Margaret Malamud, *Ancient Rome and Modern America*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009. Pp. xi + 296. ISBN 978-1-4051-3934-2. GBP19.99.
- Neville Morley, *Antiquity and Modernity*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2009. Pp. xiv + 182. ISBN 978-1-4051-3139-1. GBP40.
- R. B. Parkinson (ed.), *Reading Ancient Egyptian Poetry: Among Other Histories*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009. Pp. xxi + 392. ISBN 978-1-4051-2547-5. GBP50.
- Catalin Partenie (ed.), *Plato's Myths*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Pp. xvi + 255. ISBN 978-0-521-88790-8. GBP55.
- Michael Paschalis, Stelios Panayotakis and Gareth Schmeling (edd.), *Readers and Writers in the Ancient Novel*. Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing & Groningen University Library, 2009. Pp. xviii + 286. ISBN 978-90-77922-54-5. EUR92.22.
- Barbara Pavlock, *The Image of the Poet in Ovid's Metamorphoses*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009. Pp. x + 198. ISBN 978-0-299-23140-8. USD55.
- Barry B. Powell, *Writing: Theory and History of the Technology of Civilization*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009. Pp. xx + 276. ISBN 978-1-4051-6256-2. GBP50.
- Jonathan R. W. Prag and Ian D. Repath (edd.), *Petronius: A Handbook*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009. Pp. xiii + 256. ISBN 978-1-4051-5687-5. GBP50.
- Kenneth J. Reckford, *Recognizing Persius*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009. Pp. x + 240. ISBN 978-0-691-14141-1. USD45.
- Gareth Schmeling, Stephen Harrison, Heinz Hofmann, Massimo Fusillo, Ruurd Nauta, Stelios Panayotakis and Costas Panayotakis (edd.), *Ancient Narrative 7*. Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing & Groningen University Library, 2009. Pp. vii + 162. ISBN 978-90-77922-50-7. EUR92.22.

- Ruth Scodel, *Epic Facework: Self-Presentation and Social Interaction in Homer*. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2009. Pp. xii + 177. ISBN 978-1-905125-22-7. GBP45.
- Ruth Scodel and Anja Bettenworth, *Whither Quo Vadis? Sienkiewicz's Novel in Film and Television*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2009. Pp. x + 292. ISBN 978-1-4051-8385-7. GBP50.
- Martin M. Winkler (ed.), *The Fall of the Roman Empire: Film and History*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009. Pp. xvii + 334. ISBN 978-1-4051-8223-2. GBP60.
- T. P. Wiseman, *Remembering the Roman People: Essays on Late-Republican Politics and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. Pp. iv + 271. ISBN 978-0-19-923976-4. GBP58.

**AUSTRALASIAN  
'FROM NERO TO HADRIAN'  
SYMPOSIUM PROCEEDINGS**

Dunedin, New Zealand

Monday, 22nd June and Tuesday, 23rd June 2009

*Organiser: William J. Dominik*

**SESSION 1: AGE OF NERO, ROBERT HANNAH, CHAIR**

*IUDICIIS AUGUSTI AUGUSTAE FELIC(ITER):*

**NERONIAN FACTIONS AND AUGUSTAN FICTIONS IN POMPEII**

Peter M. Keegan, Macquarie University, Australia

Graffiti inscribed at Pompeii record popular reactions to Augustan 'judgements' of Nero and Poppaea. These *iudicia* have been linked to the revocation of a ban on gladiatorial combat and to honorific grants of colonial status. The graffiti pertaining to these claims as well as to indications of the types of relationship between the people of Pompeii and imperial Rome under Nero are examined here.

**SESSION 2: SENECA, ROBIN BOND, CHAIR**

**JUPITER IN SENECA'S *THYESTES*:**

**AN EXPLORATION OF HIS AUTHORITY**

Constance Sleeth, University of Otago

This paper explores the imagery and invocations associated with the god Jupiter in Seneca's *Thyestes*. It discusses the role of the god with respect to the figure of Atreus and shows a systematic decline in Jupiter's authority. This portrayal of the god may be an indication of Seneca's own views concerning the state of Rome at the time, for the Jupiter of the *Thyestes* is not a typical representation of the god. This reading would also strengthen the argument for placing the *Thyestes* in the latter years of Seneca's life.

**SENECA AND DEATH**

Marcus Wilson, University of Auckland

The modern academic study of Seneca almost universally reads him through a context of irrelevant debates about Roman history and imperialism or the history of ancient philosophy. All such studies are at root attempts to evade and distract attention from his actual message to the individual reader. His message is too uncomfortable for the modern academic environment since it requires a confrontation with the facts of human death and mortality at a personal level. There are some modern readers of Seneca who have responded more directly

to his core philosophy, but these are to be found among non-academics or academics outside classics and ancient history in fields like medicine and psychiatry.

### SESSION 3: PETRONIUS AND CALPURNIUS, MARCUS WILSON, CHAIR

#### PETRONIAN POEMS: AN INTERPRETIVE KEY?

Robin Bond, University of Canterbury

The function of the poems in Petronius' *Satyricon* has been addressed by a number of scholars; in addition, the poetic quality of the various poems, including the *Bellum Civile*, has been a subject of debate. Clearly in the work of an author adept at parody and characterization the nature and quality of the poems will depend to a degree upon the nature of the mouths into which they are put by Encolpius/Petronius. Is, for example, Eumolpus a bad poet as well as an immoral scoundrel? Can immoral poets produce aesthetically beautiful work? Can the poems provide a key to the meaning or intention of individual passages and even of the whole fragmented masterpiece?

#### UTOPIA REGAINED IN CALPURNIUS' *ECLOGUES*?

John Garthwaite, University of Otago

Calpurnius' *Eclogues* 2-3 and 5-6 follow a traditional bucolic pattern by detailing the poetic and amatory rivalries of a community of herdsmen. They are framed by three poems (1, 4 and 7) that, in self-consciously recalling the political themes of Augustan verse, especially Vergil's *Eclogues*, herald the auspicious advent of a young emperor and a revived utopia of peace and goodwill. Both groups of eclogues, though distinct in subject matter, show a remarkably similar and increasingly gloomy change of mood as their characters, initially part of a community of simple fellowship, become ever more at odds with each other, their environment and themselves. The development sits uncomfortably alongside the political message of hope and harmony that is threaded through the corpus. Ultimately we are drawn to question the nature of the new utopia as represented.

### SESSION 4: STATIUS, GEOFFREY ADAMS, CHAIR

#### *SOLUS IN ARMA VOCO*: TYDEUS' MONOMACHY (*THEBAID* 2.527-303) AND ITS EPIC PREDECESSORS

Kyle Gervais, University of Otago

Tydeus' defeat of a fifty-man Theban ambush at the end of *Thebaid* 2 stands in a long line of epic *aristeiae*, all of which are invoked explicitly or implicitly. It also constitutes the first martial violence in the main narrative of Statius' epic and the first use of the important and difficult term *virtus* in a martial context. Therefore this episode is ideal for an examination not only of Statius' poetic technique in battle narratives and of his portrayal of *virtus* but also of his relationship to previous epics in their treatment of these points. A close reading of Tydeus' monomachy in comparison especially with the *aristeiae* of Perseus and Scaeva

shows how Statius uses the first battle narrative of his epic to distinguish his epic and its conception of *virtus* from those of Ovid and Lucan. Statius' approach represents a move back toward a Vergilian model but with several important differences.

## **SESSION 5: SILIUS ITALICUS, ARTHUR POMEROY, CHAIR**

### **THE RECEPTION OF SILIUS ITALICUS IN MODERN SCHOLARSHIP**

William J. Dominik, University of Otago

The development of the main trends in modern scholarship on Silius Italicus' *Punica*, especially in the twentieth century, including the reception of the epic and changes in critical attitudes to the poet, are worthy of attention in their own right. Silius Italicus arguably has received a more negative press than any other imperial epicist, but attitudes to the poet began to change gradually in the second half of the twentieth century, particularly toward the end of the century.

### **PLINY ON SILIUS (*EPISTLES* 3.7): NERO'S 'PUPPET' OR CICERO'S 'HEIR'? REPRESENTATION AND COMPETITION AMONG THE IMPERIAL ELITE**

Michelle Borg, University of Sydney, Australia

Who was Tiberius Catius Silius Italicus? The younger Pliny would have us remember this successful and popular man as a Neronian *delator*, uninspired poet and hermetic recluse who snubbed Trajan. This description can be found in a letter Pliny wrote to commemorate Silius' death. Why would he choose such invective for a deceased man against whom he ostensibly harboured no personal vendetta? The answer becomes clear when one considers the praise Martial publicly heaped on Silius by dubbing him the *heres* of Cicero and Vergil. Pliny, the self-styled 'imperial Cicero', would not have been amused. Notwithstanding the 'truth', examining opposing evidence on the same man provides us with an insight into self-fashioning and competition among elites in imperial Rome.

## **SESSION 6: SILIUS ITALICUS, MICHELLE BORG, CHAIR**

### ***FIDES* IN SILIUS ITALICUS' SAGUNTINE EPISODE**

Arthur J. Pomeroy, Victoria University of Wellington

The simple view that *fides* (associated with Rome) and *perfidia* (associated with Carthage) are two value terms in opposition to one another in the *Punica* has often been questioned. In recent times a contrary opinion has arisen that sets the *Punica* in the context of criticism of the Roman imperial system. Starting from the meaning of the term *fides* (especially in terms of the Roman system of alliances), this paper offers a new examination of the relationship between Rome and Saguntum in the *Punica* and contrasts Silius' depiction with previous descriptions of events in Polybius and Livy.



**THE *LAUDES DOMITIANI*: *PUNICA* 3.557-629**

Matthew Matthias, University of Otago

The exchange in Silius Italicus' *Punica* 3 between Venus and Jupiter culminates in Silius' panegyric of Domitian. Silius' usage in this passage of his models, primarily Vergil, and some of the attitudes towards Domitian that scholars have detected in the passage are examined here. Is it possible to form an idea on where Silius Italicus stands towards the emperor from this passage or must we remain on the fence?

**SESSION 7: TRAJANIC AND HADRIANIC ARCHITECTURE,  
PETER KEEGAN, CHAIR****THE VILLA OF TRAJAN AT ARCINAZZO AND ITS STRUCTURAL  
SIGNIFICANCE IN LIGHT OF ITS IMPERIAL PREDECESSORS**

Geoffrey Adams, University of Tasmania, Australia

While little remains of the residence of Trajan at Arcinazzo, it is still possible to analyse this large villa in comparison with the facilities that existed at earlier imperial residences. Not only the reasoning behind the design of this residence and ensuing construction but also the range of influences that affected and inspired its layout and intended function are considered here. In the comparison of these structures the primary focus is upon the imperial residences built between AD 69 and 138.

**HADRIAN'S VILLA AT TIBUR: LEGOLAND® AD 117-138**

Judy Deuling, Victoria University of Wellington

The buildings at Hadrian's Villa are certainly real buildings built with real concrete and faced with real Roman bricks dated to the reign of Hadrian. The buildings built with Roman building materials, however, test both building materials and building techniques, while they are named after places which are scattered throughout the Roman empire. Yet they look nothing like buildings in those places but instead create a complex and extravagant vision of Roman architecture as it evolves under Hadrian's design and rule.

## IN THE MUSEUM

*Scholia publishes news about classical museums in New Zealand and articles on classical artefacts in museums. Information about classical exhibitions and artefacts is welcome and should reach the In the Museum Editor by 1 July.*

### FROM ALL CORNERS OF THE ETRUSCO-ROMAN WORLD CLASSICS MUSEUM, VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Judy K. Deuling

Department of Classics, Victoria University of Wellington  
Wellington, New Zealand

Recent additions to the Classics Museum at Victoria University of Wellington during 2008 range from Etruscan to Roman and Greek. Three small items are distinctive: an impasto Etruscan jug, a large bronze fibula or decorative safety pin, and a silver Roman compact. Each illustrates to students and other visitors to the museum examples of objects used everyday by Etruscans and Romans. The final piece, a marble funerary *stēlē*, is considerably larger but likewise illustrates an item used by Greeks for centuries in a range of configurations both on the Greek mainland and in areas such as Asia Minor.

The Etruscan impasto ware jug (*oinochoē*), dated *ca.* 700-650 BC, was made simply by hand, not turned on the fast potter's wheel that was commonly used during the period of Attic and Corinthian pottery of the sixth century and later Etruscan bucchero ware.<sup>1</sup> The jug is complete, although small fragments are missing, mostly from the left side of the body. There are two small holes and patches of abrasion on both the left and right shoulders as well as a large chip gouged from the front of the base; hairline cracks are evident on the body. Often the clay of impasto pottery is coarse with inclusions of grit and small stones, but the clay of this jug is fine and relatively pure. Both the outer surface and base are smoothly burnished and polished, although the inside of the trefoil opening remains slightly less so. The body of the *oinochoē* flares from the narrow, flat base and swells to a flattened shoulder, whence the neck tapers to the bottom of the trefoil lip. The single, flat strap handle rises from the shoulder and arches over the back of the trefoil mouth, terminating at the inside

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<sup>1</sup> Figures 1a-d: Wellington, Victoria University Classics Museum 2008.1: height to handle 20.6 cm., base diameter 5.1 cm. The reddish yellow clay (Munsell 5YR 6/8) is fine with few inclusions and completely slipped with partially sintered dark brown clay (Munsell 7.5YR 3/2-3/4). All photographic images by Hannah Webling, Victoria University of Wellington.

edge, and thickened at each join.<sup>2</sup> Hand-drawn, incised decoration begins with four roughly horizontal lines conjoined by short vertical lines at each end terminating at the back and located approximately midway down the neck. Below the horizontal banding, a large strip of interlocking and overlapping U-shaped links form an open-topped chain around the neck about two-thirds of the way down, depending from a horizontal line overlapped by the splayed ends of each link of the chain (Figure 1d). Like the horizontal banding, however, the chain remains open at the back of the neck. Seen from a point directly behind the handle, each band appears to be complete, although oblique observation reveals a gap otherwise hidden by the handle. A third horizontal band, located at the base of the neck, and consisting of a hand-drawn zigzag placed above three roughly drawn horizontal lines, ends similarly. Seven groups of four to six incised, vertical lines are spaced around the belly of the jug; they extend downwards from the band of three horizontal lines located at the base of the neck below the zigzag. Finally, located below the flat strap handle is a loop of incised lines that cross near the base of the jug (Figure 1c).<sup>3</sup>

An Etruscan, bronze bow fibula provided the means for holding a cloak in place for the wearer, whether male or female.<sup>4</sup> The solid, curved bow allowed ample space for the cloth of the cloak to pass over a shoulder while held in place by the pin. At its maximum, the bow is approximately one centimetre in diameter, and has the heft and strength to hold heavy woollen cloth in place. The catchplate is plain except for a small knob at the outer corner opposite the bow. A thin layer of verdigris covers most of the pin, catchplate and terminations of the bow, which are decorated with incised horizontal bands and beaded at the points where the bow begins to flare. In contrast, the bow itself shows a rich brown sheen with only a small amount of verdigris and likely has been cleaned. Additionally, the pin is held loosely by the catchplate and continues to move freely. The fibula is dated to the sixth century BC; it is approximately one and a half centimetres shorter than examples of bow fibulae without catchplates, as illustrated in Mario Torelli's 'Etruscans' exhibition held at the Palazzo Grassi in Venice during 1999-2000.<sup>5</sup>

The Roman silver bivalve compact dated to the second century AD consists of two circular shells decorated with incised, concentric circles both inside and out.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> For the shape compare Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 919.5.165, from Tarquinia, late seventh century BC, J. W. Hayes, *Etruscan and Italic Pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum: A Catalogue* (Toronto 1985) 45 no. B23.

<sup>3</sup> For the incised decoration compare a Faliscan amphora in Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 919.5.167, late seventh century BC, Hayes [2] 11 no. A18.

<sup>4</sup> Figure 2: Wellington, Victoria University Classics Museum 2008.2: total length 11.7 cm. (length from outside of coil to end of catchplate 11 cm.), width across bow to pin, 6.8 cm.

<sup>5</sup> M. Torelli (ed.), *The Etruscans* (London 2000) 60.

<sup>6</sup> Figure 3: Wellington, Victoria University Classics Museum 2008.3; top diameter 7.6 cm.; base diameter 7.4 cm.; maximum thickness of the two halves together 1.4 cm.

Although cleaned, all surfaces show some corrosion and traces of encrustation. Each half is complete apart from a possible hinge suggested by a rough area on each edge. At the centre of each piece is a cupule, a hollow circular point, which might have rested on a machining spindle used to hold the piece while incising the concentric circles. The outer surface of the top half is decorated by a series of six circles with increasing diameters.<sup>7</sup> A similar series of five circles delineates the inside of the upper cover with seven on the inside of the bottom. As a result, each series varies slightly from the others. Only two circles, located slightly off-centre, mark the outside of the lower shell, however.<sup>8</sup> Hence the surface is relatively smooth for the base of the compact. Possibly, but not certainly, the lid held a mirror as is common in such containers used currently. No traces of glass remain, however. More likely the polished silver itself provided a generally reflective surface. Decoration in the form of series of concentric circles is similar to that used on mirrors throughout the Roman period and at least one Etruscan mirror, with several examples from the 4th century BC to the first century AD.<sup>9</sup>

The major and final purchase for 2008 consists of a Greek marble funerary *stēlē* with both a pediment and central, figural panel in low relief.<sup>10</sup> An inscription in Greek fills two lines below the relief panel. It is said to be from Asia Minor, dated around the first century BC.<sup>11</sup> While the preserved height of the *stēlē* is 68 cm., a faint discoloration rising from the base suggests that it rose about 52.5 cm. above ground during its original use. The marble itself is white with grey and brownish patterning throughout; no trace of paint remains. The back is roughly hewn and chiselled from

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<sup>7</sup> The diameters are 1 cm., 1.4 cm., 5 cm., 5.8 cm. 6 cm., and finally, 7.4 cm.

<sup>8</sup> The diameters here are 6.5 cm. and 7.0 cm. respectively.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. a bronze mirror from Corinth, G. R. Davidson, *Corinth XII: the Minor Objects* (Princeton 1952) 180, 182f. no. 1308, pl. 81; N. T. de Grummond (ed.), *A Guide to Etruscan Mirrors* (Tallahassee 1982) figs 13, 14, 42-45, 47-49. See also a bronze mirror and cover from the Temple of Atargatis at Dura-Europus, New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery 1938.4784a/b, D. E. E. Kleiner and S. B. Matheson (eds), *I, Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome* (New Haven, Conn. 1996) 163 no. 115.

<sup>10</sup> Figure 4: Wellington, Victoria University Classics Museum 2008.4; height 68 cm., width at base 33.5-34.5 cm., thickness 7-7.5 cm., with some surface wear. Central panel: 20.5 cm. high x 23 cm. wide, internally, varying slightly to outer edges flaring to 21 cm. high x 24.2 cm. at the top and 26 cm. wide at the bottom. The piece was formerly in the private collection Lugano, acquired c. 1970. Charles Ede Limited, *Antiquities* 179 (London 2008) no. 8.

<sup>11</sup> For the general style, compare a relief with a seated woman and standing maid, first century BC-first century AD, Harvard Art Museum / Arthur M. Sackler Museum 1977.216.2185, C. C. Vermeule and A. Brauer, *Stone Sculptures: The Greek, Roman, and Etruscan Collections of the Harvard University Art Museums* (Cambridge, Mass. 1990) 115 no. 103. See additionally, G. Hoffmann and A. Lezzi-Hafter (eds), *Les Pierres de l'offrande: Autour de l'œuvre de Christoph W. Clairmont* (Kilchberg 2001) esp. 23 no. 3 with others *passim*.

the rock, while the front is generally smoothed and shaped, showing claw chisel hammer and general chisel marks.<sup>12</sup>

The central, recessed panel contains a draped and veiled woman, with a face visible, but abraded, with downcast eyes. The woman is seated in profile on a stool or a chair and she leans against the left panel frame at her back. The seated woman fills the height of the frame and likely is intended to represent the deceased. She touches but relinquishes the right hand of a woman, smaller in scale but similarly draped and veiled, standing opposite. The face of the standing female survives, however, and she looks outwards slightly with a nearly three-quarter view. Frontally behind her in the lower right corner stands a young boy with a slightly worn face; he wears a tunic, over which a toga is draped in the fashion of the first century BC or AD. All three figures stand out from a plain but smoothed, background surface.<sup>13</sup>

The two-line inscription placed below the panel reads in seriffed, upper case letters: TATEIS KAIMHNAKΩN / ΛAOMENEA ΘEOKPITOY (Tateis and Mēnakōn / Laomenea [the wife or daughter] of Theokritos).<sup>14</sup> Thus the inscription consists of a series of names, two of which are joined by the connecting word KAI (and), a third name and the final one, a genitive singular form of the name Theokritos, which is common throughout the Greek world.<sup>15</sup> Ede's catalogue noted that the name 'Laomeneus' is not common, and that 'Tateis' is well attested in western Asia Minor.<sup>16</sup> The name of the boy 'Mēnakōn' is likewise found in northwestern Asia

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<sup>12</sup> At one time, whether in the Lugano collection or before, the *stēlē* appears to have been mounted on centrally located spindles at both top and bottom, with a hole about 4 cm. deep drilled into the centre of the top and bottom surfaces. Currently, however, the *stēlē* is mounted on a heavy bronzed base, supported by two spindles, 1.5 cm. in diameter, spaced nearly 19 cm. apart.

<sup>13</sup> The composition of the three-figured panel has a long heritage: compare the fragmentary relief of —eia [daughter of] Eupheros, ca. 350-300 BC, Berlin, Staatliche Museen 759, C. W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2 (Kilchberg 1993) 810 no. 2.942. Clairmont interprets this scene as the deceased between her mother and child.

<sup>14</sup> Charles Ede Limited suggested a translation in their catalogue entry, 'Tateis and Mēnakōn [commemorate] Laomeneus [son] of Theokritos', apparently understanding the image to show a seated, male deceased accompanied by his widow and son. We might equally suggest 'farewell' or a similar equivalent, but two or more names in the nominative case are commonly inscribed on gravestones without any connecting verb being implied. My thanks go to Peter Gainsford, a former member of staff, and James McNamara, a former postgraduate student in Classics, Greek and Latin at Victoria University, who have commented on the inscription and the image on the *stēlē*.

<sup>15</sup> 'Theokritos' appears in all the published volumes of P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews (eds), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (Oxford 1987-2005).

<sup>16</sup> 'Laomeneus'/'Laomenea' does not appear at all in Fraser and Matthews [15], but the alternative compound 'Menelaos' is common. 'Leōmenēs' and 'Leomenēs' occur once each in vol. 1 (from Thasos) and vol. 3A (from Tegea) respectively. In volumes 1-4 the shorter form 'Menea'/'Meneia' appears eight times, while other names on the same base exist in the

Minor.<sup>17</sup> Although one might expect the seated figure, a woman of status in the prime of her life, to be ‘the’ deceased, the inscribed name suggests otherwise. *Stēlai* could be appropriated, almost regardless of the stock image and the figures represented, and personalised for the deceased by the inscription added upon purchase. Nonetheless, the *stēlē* itself provides architectural and figural relief examples of late Hellenistic funerary sculpture in marble.

A comparable funerary *stēlē* from Smyrna is now located in the British Museum, the so-called Epitaph of Demokles, dated to the second or first century BC.<sup>18</sup> It shows features similar to the Victoria University Classics Museum *stēlē*: namely the architectural pediment at the top, and a rectangular panel with figures in low relief, but this time both adult figures are male. Demokles, the son, clasps the hand of the seated figure, Demokles, the father. Small boys have been placed to each side of the panel; one hides behind the son, who is standing on the left, and the second boy stands frontally at the lower right corner of the image, in front of the chair of the seated father; both boys wear tunics. This *stēlē* differs from the Classics Museum *stēlē*, however, in that two wreaths or honorary crowns are carved in shallow relief, below the pediment and above the figural panel with inscriptions appropriate to the large figures commemorating both father and son. Additionally, an eight-line inscription in verse ends just above the discoloration in the marble.

Comparison of the inscriptions on the two *stēlai* shows that, with the exception of the letter ‘A’, the two sets of inscriptions share the same letter types and shapes. On the *stēlē* from Smyrna the crossbar of the ‘A’ dips into a ‘v’ shape pointing towards the bottom of the line, as occurs on other Greek inscriptions from the Roman Imperial period.<sup>19</sup> The crossbar of the letter ‘A’ in the Victoria University inscription, however, is horizontal or slightly angled, while the other letters illustrate the same serifs found on the inscription from Smyrna. The letter ‘A’ appears in both forms throughout Greece and Anatolia. As a result, the choice may have simply lain with the practice of the individual who carved the inscription.

On both *stēlai*, however, the figural panels exhibit similarities in the types of figures shown, such as relatively large-scale figures, both standing and seated, who represent the deceased. They are accompanied by figures on a smaller scale,

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form of ‘Alkimeneia’, ‘Aristomeneia’ (twice), ‘Eumeneia’ (three times), ‘Nikomeneia’, ‘Parmeneia’/‘Parmeneia’ (four times) and ‘Promeneia’.

<sup>17</sup> ‘Mēnakōn’ appears in Fraser and Matthews [15] vol. 2 (from Athens) and vol. 4 (from Thrace, Byzantion and Selymbria). An online search of vol. 5A (Coastal Asia Minor: Pontos to Ionia) (pre-publication) lists ‘Mēnakōn’ twice and ‘Tateis’ eight times. ‘Tatēs’, which might be an alternative spelling, occurs once in Thrace in the third century AD in vol. 4.

<sup>18</sup> London, British Museum GR 1772.7-3.2): B. F. Cook, *Greek Inscriptions* (London 1987) 27 no. 17.

<sup>19</sup> For example, compare New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 59.11.19, Cook [17] 20 no. 10, which was dedicated in the second century AD by an athlete from Rhamnous on the coast of Attica, and 23 no 14, which is recognised in a woodcut of the Roman arch at Thessaloniki before it was demolished in 1876.

representing the living, frequently including young boys as members of the household, who stand frontally in the lower right corner of the figural panels. The one wearing a toga on the *stēlē* in the Classics Museum may suggest that this household recognises Roman hegemony in northwest Anatolia during the late first century BC.



Figure 1a: VUW Classics Museum 2008.1. Etruscan *oinochoē*. Right side.



Figure 1b (left): VUW Classics Museum 2008.1. Etruscan *oinochoē*. Front.  
Figure 1c (right): VUW Classics Museum 2008.1. Etruscan *oinochoē*. Back.

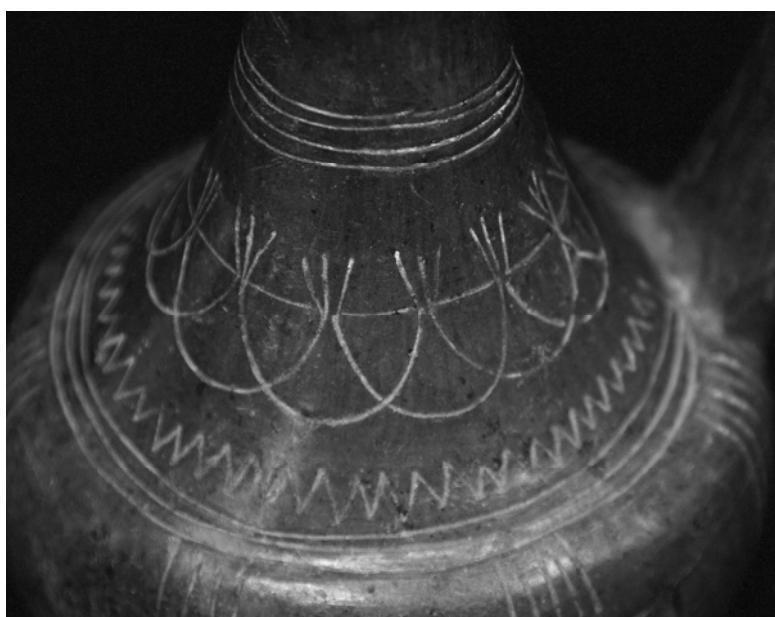


Figure 1d: VUW Classics Museum 2008.1. Etruscan *oinochoē*. Neck detail.





Figure 2: VUW Classics Museum 2008.2. Etruscan bow fibula.



Figure 3: VUW Classics Museum 2008.3. Roman bivalve compact.



Figure 4: VUW Classics Museum 2008.4. Greek funerary *stēlē*.

## J. A. BARSBY ESSAY

*The paper judged to be the best student essay in New Zealand submitted to Scholia by 1 November is published annually as the J. A. Barsby Essay. The competition is sponsored by the Australasian Society for Classical Studies. The Essay is in honour of New Zealand classicist J. A. Barsby.*

### EXPLOITING SUPERSTITION: THE POWER OF RELIGION IN GREEK AND ROMAN POLITICAL AND MILITARY ACTIVITY

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Protagoras, in the Platonic dialogue of that name, relates a myth to Sokrates explaining the origin of the democratic ideal (Plat. *Prot.* 322a-e).<sup>1</sup> In the myth it appears that the race of man, lacking any political skills, was on the brink of self-destruction. Zeus compassionately intervened in order to save mankind: Hermes was sent to impart justice and respect, distributing these political skills not to a few, as artistic skill is distributed, but equally, so that all men can share in the virtue of political wisdom. Zeus further commanded Hermes: καὶ νόμον γε θεὸς παρ' ἐμοῦ τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον αἰδοῦς καὶ δίκης μετέχειν κτείνειν ὡς νόσον πόλεως ('lay it down as my law that if anyone is incapable of acquiring his share of these two virtues he shall be put to death as a plague to the city', Plat. *Prot.* 322.d).<sup>2</sup> In addition to the obvious pro-Athenian democratic ideology, Protagoras' myth serves to illustrate three points that relate to the power of religion in political and military activity in classical antiquity. First, the myth shows religion to be prior to politics in the order of the universe. Secondly, it shows by example that myths can be used to support an argument in debate, in order to justify political or military positions or activity. Thirdly, the myth demonstrates a general belief that divine will can influence politics. In the process of exploring these three points, I will argue that in the Greek and Roman worlds religion influenced political and military activity by exploiting superstition.

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<sup>1</sup> I thank Gina Salapata of Massey University for her helpful advice and comments on a previous draft of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> The text of Plato is that of J. Burnet (ed.), *Platonis Opera* (Oxford 1903). The translation of Plato is that of W. C. K. Guthrie (tr.), in E. Hamilton and H. Cairns (edd.), *Plato: The Collected Dialogues* (Princeton 1982) 308-52.

Religion in classical antiquity had an impact over and above its mere formal usage. Any enquiry into the power of religion in classical antiquity must avoid anachronism and be cognizant of several unique features of Greek and Roman religion. Religion in the Greek and Roman world was so deeply embedded in society that it was 'more of a practice, a manner of behaviour and an internal attitude than a system of beliefs and dogmas'.<sup>3</sup> Additionally, religious power was not peremptory, as there was no overt religious hierarchical power-structure or doctrinal ideology that could force authority over political or military decisions. In Athens religious offices were not stepping-stones towards a political career and religious authority was diffuse and non-centralised.<sup>4</sup> In Rome priesthood was likewise not necessarily a political platform<sup>5</sup> and religious authority was similarly shared, at least until the time of Augustus when religious offices became associated with the emperor. Religious practice then was manifest in all private, social and political activities, but religion held no absolute power.

Finley observes that 'religion was a factor in providing legitimacy to the [city-state] as a whole' but, surprisingly, he concludes that there 'is neither documentary evidence, however, nor reason to think that policy making was ever determined or deflected by reference to divine will or divine precept'.<sup>6</sup> In other words, Finley dismisses the power of religion in politics as a mere formality. While this seems consistent with the diffuse and non-centralised nature of religious authority in classical antiquity,<sup>7</sup> the power of religion may have lain not in policy making but policy breaking. Finley neglects the power of superstitious anxiety intrinsic to an embedded religion. Religious action or conformity may be underpinned by a belief system based on superstition, that is, an irrational, religious awe that determines ritualistic or inspired behaviour to please the gods. Consequently, religious power relies on the ability to influence political or military action as a result of this superstitious anxiety or fear of the wrath of the gods.

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<sup>3</sup> J. P. Vernant (tr. J. Lloyd), *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece* (Brighton 1979) 88.

<sup>4</sup> R. Garland, 'Strategies of Religious Intimidations and Coercion in Classical Athens', in P. Hellström and B. Alroth (edd.) *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World: Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1993* (Sweden 1993) 93. See also R. Garland, 'Priests and Power in Classical Athens', in M. Beard and J. North (edd.), *Pagan Priests: Religion and Power in the Ancient World* (London 1990) 75f. In Sparta's mixed-constitution, the two kings held important religious functions, though it appears that religious potency was due to political power rather than vice versa: D. Kagan, *The Peloponnesian War* (Auckland 2003) 5.

<sup>5</sup> J. Scheid, *An Introduction to Roman Religion* (Edinburgh 2005) 20f. See also A. J. Holladay and M. D. Goodman, 'Religious Scruples in Ancient Warfare', *CQ* 36 (1986) 162.

<sup>6</sup> M. I. Finley, *Politics in the Ancient World* (Cambridge 1983) 26.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Holladay and Goodman [5] 151-71, who disagree with Finley's sceptical position.

An explicit illustration of the wrath of the gods is found in Protagoras' myth described above. Such fear of the gods, or superstitious anxiety, provoked ritualistic behaviours to avoid unfavourable divine interventions. It may in fact be argued that fear was the prime motivator for religious conformity in classical antiquity.<sup>8</sup> Whether one's belief system was a literal faith in the gods, a metaphorical means of making sense of the natural forces, or a motivation to avoid *miasma* ('pollution'), religious participation aimed at appeasing the gods to promote personal or community well-being.<sup>9</sup> Fear of the gods can be directly equated with political conduct in mythological narratives. When Odysseus arrived at the land of the uncivilised Kyklopes, he wondered whether the Kyklopes were: ὕβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι, / ἦε φιλόξεينوι, καὶ σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεοῦδής ('savage and violent, and without justice, or hospitable to strangers and with minds that are godly', Hom. *Od.* 9.175f.).<sup>10</sup> In this passage Homer locates civilisation within a religious frame and implies, much as does Pythagoras' myth, that religion is prior to politics. Additionally, we find that Homer's gods, though often distracted by their own affairs, were believed to observe mortals' conduct, both proper and violent, not only from afar but also directly in mortal guise, and that appeal to this belief could serve effectively as both chastisement and warning to promote appropriate civil conduct (*Od.* 17.483-87). In *Works and Day*, Hesiod also warns of: εἰσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ / ἄθάνατοι Ζηνὸς φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων / οἳ ῥα φυλάσσουσιν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα ('watchers-over-men, immortal, [who] roam the fertile earth of Zeus . . . and keep a watch over lawsuits and on crimes', *Op.* 252-55).<sup>11</sup> Herodotus tells us that injustices receive divine vengeance (2.120.5). Even the plague in Athens at the time of the Peloponnesian War was considered to be a punishment for acts of pollution and for the failure to observe divine oracles.<sup>12</sup> Naturally, determining a belief system from a narrow catalogue of extant literary sources is problematic and consequently the extent of divine fear or religious prescriptions as a belief system or motivator in civic behaviour in classical

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. R. Garland, *Religion and the Greeks* (London 2005) 6. Note that this differs to the Judaic religion, where a moral code associated with a reward in the afterlife is the prime motivator for religious participation. According to T. Harrison, *Divinity and History: The Religion of Herodotus* (Oxford 2000) 103, Herodotus and the characters he portrays believe that certain actions will inevitably receive retribution from the gods.

<sup>9</sup> Scheid [5] 19.

<sup>10</sup> The text of Homer's *Odyssey* is that of A. T. Murray and G. E. Dimoch (trr.), *Homer: The Odyssey* 1-2 (Harvard 1995). The translation of Homer's *Odyssey* is that of R. Lattimore (tr.), *The Odyssey of Homer* (New York 1965).

<sup>11</sup> The text of Hesiod is that of H. G. Evelyn-White (tr.), *The Homeric Hymns and Homerica* (Cambridge, Mass. 1914). The translation of Hesiod is that of D. Wender (tr.), *Hesiod and Theognis* (Auckland 1976) 59-86.

<sup>12</sup> Kagan [4] 80.

antiquity is contentious.<sup>13</sup> As we will see, though, deliberate attempts were made to generate superstitious anxiety by drawing on divine endorsement to influence political and military power or decision making. Superstition, or the fear of the potential wrath of the gods, was at least thought to guide piety and observation of religious scruples.<sup>14</sup> The extent of the superstition was an indicator of the power of the religion.

One way in which religion could sanction political and military actions was the exploitation of mythological models. Grant, for example, observes that from the earliest civilisations onward combat myths represented the conflict of civilisation against barbarism.<sup>15</sup> Combat myths were used as illustrations in political propaganda, the most elaborate of which is the depiction of the battle of gods against giants on the Altar of Zeus at Pergamon. Not only does the Pergamon Altar commemorate a god-assisted Greek victory over the Gauls, but it also serves to justify the war by associating Greeks with justice and the Gauls with barbarism. Isokrates also gives mythological reasons, albeit a century after the Persian invasion, to justify Athenian revenge in the Persian war.<sup>16</sup> As much as mythological models can serve as illustrations of divine sanction or precedent to justify or defend certain political or military actions, these models may not necessarily illustrate the extent of the persuasive power of religion in Greek and Roman culture. Formal acknowledgement of the gods, even with propagandistic undertones, does not after all necessarily equate with the power of persuasion. Stronger evidence is needed to illustrate the power of myth in political and military action.

According to Livy, the Roman king Numa held the view that national religion and mythology had a dampening effect on the people; similarly, the chief priest Publius Mucius Scaevola (130-115 BC) reconstructed myths to keep the Roman populace quiet and obedient.<sup>17</sup> Myths were flexible enough to admit various versions or to allow various interpretations to illustrate different themes; consequently, the true measure of the power of mythological models, at least as recognised by Scaevola, lies in the extent to which traditional models could be altered for political purposes. Evidence of such deliberate manipulation of myths exists: both Solon and Peisistratos, for example, were accused of fabricating politically favourable passages and inserting

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<sup>13</sup> Garland [4 (1993)] 97.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Garland [8] 6.

<sup>15</sup> M. Grant, *Roman Myths* (London 1971) 57.

<sup>16</sup> H. Montgomery, 'Piety and Persuasion: Mythology and Religion in Fourth-Century Athenian Oratory', in Hellström and Alroth [4] 127. Cf. Garland [4 (1990)] 91-99. B. Fehr argues that political exploitation may have been evident in apparently more benign illustrations such as the Laocoon Group: 'The Laocoon Group or the Political Exploitation of a Sacrilege', in Hellström and Alroth [4] 189-204.

<sup>17</sup> Grant [15] 144, 36 respectively; see also Grant [15] 34, who asserts that Euhemerus of Messene 'stimulated new ideas and interpretations of mythology which could . . . be employed subversively'.

them in the *Iliad*.<sup>18</sup> Vergil's propagandistic *Aeneid* builds on the following revelation of Homer in order to provide mythological justification for the political claims of Augustus as a descendant of Aeneas: νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνεΐαιο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει / καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται ('now the might of Aeneias shall be lord over the Trojans, and his sons' sons, and those who are born of their seed hereafter', Hom. *Il.* 20.307f.).<sup>19</sup> Vergil's example demonstrates that political propaganda could take the form of fabricated genealogies in order to claim divine descent or even outright divinity. Julius Caesar and his adoptive son Augustus both claimed direct decent from Venus and, though their cult as deities developed posthumously, divine lineage promoted political status. Mythological models, then, can illustrate exemplary divine behaviour in political and military action as well as offer divine endorsement in political propaganda. The manipulation or fabrication of mythological themes demonstrates most clearly, however, a contemporary belief in the power of religion, acting on superstition, to sway the popular vote or influence military activity.

Whereas the aforementioned examples of the use of mythological models for political propaganda serve to illustrate that religion was believed to have some persuasive power in political ventures, these examples do not recount the resultant change in behaviour. Time of war, according to Holladay and Goodman, provides the 'acid-test' for positive evidence of the power of religion on political and military behaviour. Holladay and Goodman offer examples from antiquity that illustrate the observance of religious rituals in wartime and specifically assert that the seeking of divine favouritism over the enemy was a military tactic.<sup>20</sup> This, however, does not necessarily illustrate that religion held power over military activity; it may simply indicate that religion played a formal part in all spheres of life, including warfare. Some absolute religious power may be evident in the Greek world where *manteis* ('religious experts') were required to supervise sacrifices that preceded military decisions. Although such sacrifices ostensibly took place at a time when it was impossible to avoid battle, without knowing whether the *mantis* was state appointed or attached to the army itself, it is impossible to conclude that *manteis* did *not* hold authority over war-related decisions.<sup>21</sup> A more prominent measure of the power of religion in ancient warfare may be found in the existence of superstition and the

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<sup>18</sup> Grant [15] 68.

<sup>19</sup> The text of Homer's *Iliad* is that of D. B. Monro and T. W. Allen (edd.), *Homeri Opera* 1-2 (Oxford 1920). The translation of Homer's *Iliad* is that of R. Lattimore (tr.) *The Iliad of Homer* (Chicago 1951) 412.

<sup>20</sup> Holladay and Goodman [5] 152.

<sup>21</sup> Garland [4 (1990) 83, who cites W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* 1 (Berkeley 1971) 10; Thucydides 6.69; and F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 3b, Supp. 2 (Leiden 1954) 184.

means of abating superstitious anxiety. A general sense of superstition among soldiers is conveyed in Onasander:

Προνοείσθω δὲ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν κηδείας, μήτε καιρὸν μήθ' ὥραν μήτε τόπον μήτε φόβον προφασιζόμενος, ἅν τε τύχῃ νικῶν, ἅν τε ἡττώμενος ὅσῳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἀποικομένους εὐσέβεια, ἀναγκαῖα δὲ καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας ἀπόδειξις.

(Onasander, *Strategikos* 36)

The general should make provision for the burial of the dead and should not make a pretext for delay either circumstance, or time, or place, or fear, whether he happens to have been victorious or defeated. This is both a holy act of piety towards the dead and an essential demonstration for the living.<sup>22</sup>

The provision of religious observation, especially concerning burial rites, was considered an important factor in maintaining loyalty from the ranks. Additionally, superstitious anxiety is evident in the observances of religious scruples such as the cessation of military activity on holy days. Although such measures may potentially illustrate mere formal religious practice, when the observation of religious scruples was tactically detrimental a more direct measure of superstition is evident.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, given that different *poleis* had different religious calendars, superstition could be exploited by attacking an enemy engaged in religious festivals.<sup>24</sup> Like the Greeks, the Romans also observed strict religious scruples in order to ensure divine approval for their military action, though it appears that the failure to do so did not necessarily lead to blame if the war failed. Terentius Varro, for example, was not accused of taboo infringement after the defeat at Cannae, despite initiating battle on 2 August 216 BC, a *dies postridianus* when warfare was forbidden.<sup>25</sup> Religious incentives could also deter or promote warfare. In 432 BC, for example, Sparta demanded Athens evict the Alkmaenid Perikles to 'drive out the curse of the goddess' as a last ditch effort to avert Peloponnesian War; Athens responded with similar religious-based demands.<sup>26</sup> Philip of Macedon, claiming to champion Apollo, justified his invasion of Greece by blaming the Phokians for plundering the treasures at Delphi.<sup>27</sup> While religious incentives may not overtly claim divine will, attempts to justify warfare by claiming religious authority are a subtle means to incite

<sup>22</sup> The text of Onasander is that of W. A. Oldfather, A. S. Pease and J. B. Titchener (edd. and trr.), *Aeneas Tacticus, Asclepiodotus, Onasander* (Cambridge, Mass. 1923) 368-526. The translation of Onasander is that of B. Campbell, *Greek and Roman Military Writers: Selected Readings* (London 2004) 71.

<sup>23</sup> Holladay and Goodman [5] 152.

<sup>24</sup> Holladay and Goodman [5] 159.

<sup>25</sup> Holladay and Goodman [5] 161.

<sup>26</sup> Kagan [4] 47f.; cf. Garland [8] 12.

<sup>27</sup> Holladay and Goodman [5] 154.



superstitious anxiety. Although a holy war was not a guaranteed success,<sup>28</sup> the careful observance of religious scruples, especially in the performance of rituals before and after war, demonstrates that divine approval was an important factor in warfare. Again, it is the exploitation of superstition that demonstrates the power of religion in warfare.

The power of religion in military and political spheres is also attested in the observance of omens, portents and oracles. Because belief in divine intervention, especially in warfare, was integral to ancient religion, it is difficult to determine when the seeking of divine will or guidance through omens and oracles is part of formal religious practice, as den Boer argues,<sup>29</sup> and when such religious behaviour demonstrates an inherent religious power. Abundant examples of the role of the Delphic oracle in political arbitration, warfare and colonisation are found in Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy and Plutarch (though some oracles were probably composed retrospectively).<sup>30</sup> The oracle of Apollo at Delphi was presumably consulted regarding political dilemmas because the Greeks attributed divine priority to their laws, which they believed were received originally from Apollo.<sup>31</sup> According to Price, the power of Delphi was not based on intellectual or rational belief but rooted in the structure of Greek society.<sup>32</sup> The power of Delphi is evident in the attempts to manipulate oracular responses, such as the bribing attempt made by the Alkmaeonidae (Hdt. 5.90f.), which still resonated two hundred years later in the Peloponnesian War. The Roman Sibylline Books were also consulted regarding political and military activities when superstitious fear was at its peak, such as during the Hannibalic War. The power of the Sibylline Books during this time of general religious anxiety is testified by the subsequent compliance with the oracle that demanded the rather unusual and extreme practice of human sacrifice.<sup>33</sup> The interpretation of omens also demonstrates a general superstition, which was prominently exemplified by Nikias'

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<sup>28</sup> Holladay and Goodman [5] 154.

<sup>29</sup> W. den Boer, 'Aspects of Religion in Classical Greece', *HSPH* 77 (1973) 18. Herodotus claims that there is a story that the Delphic oracle proposed the Spartan mixed-government system to Lycurgus (1.65).

<sup>30</sup> S. Price, 'Delphi and Divination', in P. E. Easterling and J. V. Muir (edd.), *Greek Religion and Society* (Cambridge 1985) 133.

<sup>31</sup> den Boer [29] 19.

<sup>32</sup> Price [30] 153. Harrison [8] 116 describes Herodotus' religious beliefs, especially in divine retribution, as an engrained habit of worldly understanding rather than an intellectual or consciously refined philosophy, thereby not only illustrating the embedded nature of Greek religion but also highlighting that religious fears are prior to intellect.

<sup>33</sup> E. Rawson, 'Religion and Politics in the Late Second Century BC at Rome', *Phoenix* 28 (1974) 199f.

actions during the battle of Syracuse and their devastating results.<sup>34</sup> Likewise, the mutilation of the Athenian Herms prior to the Sicilian expedition caused a general superstitious uproar, which was perhaps deliberately incited by saboteurs.<sup>35</sup> It appears, however, that exploitation of omens became more prevalent in the Roman Republic, where omens and portents held great religious importance<sup>36</sup> and politically minded magistrates were responsible for taking the auspices.

Superstition did have its limits. For example, Alexander the Great, inspired by Herakles and deified in art, if not in person, failed to impress the Macedonians, who would prostrate themselves 'before gods, but not before any man'.<sup>37</sup> Herodotus was perplexed by the gullibility of the archaic Athenians in their reaction to the return from exile of the tyrant Peisistratos, who was accompanied by a woman dressed as Athena. Although the story offers a great example of religious propaganda used to influence political decisions, Herodotus' response makes it clear that such an attempt would not hold sway in his own time.<sup>38</sup> It is also interesting that the Athenians, whose religion specifically revolved around *Athene Polias*, nevertheless considered the gold leaf of the statue of Athena on the Acropolis as a potential fund for the Peloponnesian War.<sup>39</sup> The influence of superstitious anxiety upon political decision making declined dramatically with the increase in the democratic ideal in Athens.<sup>40</sup> It seems that liberation of political thought had a direct impact on the religious traditions associated with it, though, as we have seen, this did not prevent some attempts to exploit the power of religion.

Religious practice in political and military action in classical antiquity, then, is well testified in the ancient sources. When discussing the power of religion, however, we need to remember that in the Greek and Roman world religion was intrinsic to all spheres of life, including the political and military. The power of religion is most clearly seen in various attempts to secure divine will or to exploit religious ideology, which presuppose an underlying superstitious disposition and a belief that fear of the gods can sometimes force a break in normal policy making. It seems that Protagoras' myth demonstrates religious formality as an accepted means to political argument as well as a deeply rooted superstitious tradition that could affect political and military activity.

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<sup>34</sup> Kagan [4] 310f.; see also C. A. Powell, 'Religion and the Sicilian Expedition', *Historia* 28 (1979) 25.

<sup>35</sup> Powell [34] 22f.

<sup>36</sup> Holladay and Goodman [5] 162.

<sup>37</sup> A. R. Burn, *The Penguin History of Greece* (Auckland 1990) 339.

<sup>38</sup> W. R. Connor, 'Tribes, Festivals and Processions: Civic Ceremonial and Political Manipulation in Archaic Greece', *JHS* 57 (1987) 40-50.

<sup>39</sup> Kagan [4] 61.

<sup>40</sup> Garland [4 (1990)] 76.

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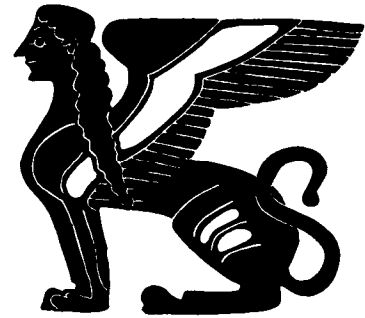
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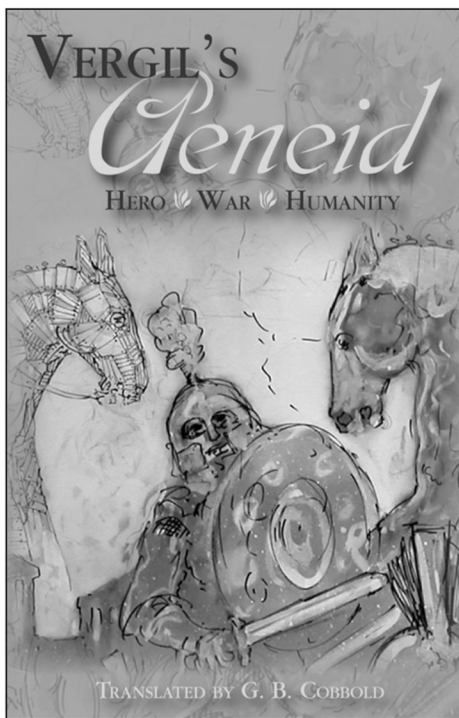
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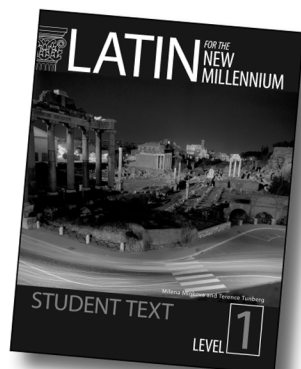
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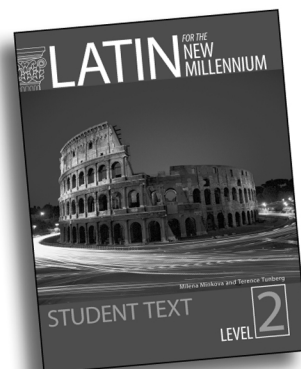
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VOLUMES 85.1 and 85.2 ♦ Table of Contents

Foreword, BRUCE DUNCAN MACQUEEN

*Aletheia* and *Doxa* in Pseudo-Hippocrates' Epistolary Novel on Democritus'  
Laughter, KRYSTYNA BARTOL

Wine, Truth and Symposion, JERZY DANIELEWICZ

Useful Truths, Enchanting Fictions: Historians and Novelists at Play, LUCA  
GRAVERINI

Revenge in the Law of Classical Athens: Reality and Rhetoric, JAN KUCHARSKI

Interpretation—Comprehension—Cognition, GRAZYNA KWIATKOWSKA

Truth from Fiction in Catullus' Gellius Poems, SHAWN O'BRYHIM

Playing the Game: Truth, Fiction and Reality in Lucian's *True Story*, MARÍLIA  
FUTRE PHINEIRO

Fiction: From Poetic Invention to Immoral Deception, HANNA M. ROISMAN

Plotinus' Conception of the Double Self, MATEUSZ STROZYNSKI

Trying to Understand War Crimes—Fiction, Truth and Reality in Sigrid  
Combüchen's Tale *Parsifal* (1998), BO S. SVENSON

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URBAINCZYK

Ancient Paradoxes: The Meanderings of Thought and Language, ELŻBIETA  
WESOŁOWSKA

Feeling or Thought—Both or Neither of Them?, ROBERT ZABOROWSKI

Criteria of Truth in Medicine, MARIOLA BIDZAN, KATARZYNA GUZIŃSKA,  
ANNA PUFAL

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KACZMAREK, KATARZYNA MARKIEWICZ

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