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Editor: W. J. Dominik

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EDITORIAL NOTE

Scholia has always aimed for an international audience, as shown by the fact that the journal and its companion electronic journal, *Scholia Reviews*, has published articles, reviews and other pieces by scholars and academics in 36 countries[1] across the globe and has been distributed in print form to individuals, universities and libraries in 47 countries.[2] Not many journals in the discipline of Classics can claim this broad international representation and distribution. In addition to being available in many libraries throughout the world, *Scholia* has been gradually making its volumes available electronically through various periodical agencies. While it has been available for a number of years through ProQuest (USA), EBSCO (USA) and Informit (Australia), it has recently been archived in Sabinet (South Africa) along with the contents of *Scholia Reviews*. Since its inception *Scholia* not only has been indexed and abstracted in *L'Année Philologique* (France) but also indexed in *Gnomon* (Germany) and TOCS-IN (Canada). Information about *Scholia* can be found at http://www.otago.ac.nz/classics/scholia, while information about and the contents of *Scholia Reviews* can be accessed at http://www.classics.ukzn.ac.za/reviews.

While each volume of *Scholia* always contains articles and reviews by scholars in several countries on different continents, this volume is different in that the main articles are entirely by scholars in Australasia. The broad scope of scholarly articles published by *Scholia* is evident in the main articles in this volume dealing with the Athenian Anthesteria, Homeric epic, Augustan and post-Augustan literature, Roman sculpture, the orations of Julian, and Nonnian epic.[3] The In the Museum section features an article on a marble head in the Otago Museum, Dunedin by Robert Hannah, who is the Honorary Curator of the Classical Collections in the Museum.[4] The title of this volume's J. A. Barsby Essay, the winning essay of the New Zealand essay competition held under the auspices of the Australasian Society for Classical Studies, is 'The Different Facets of Theseus', which is written by Alexandra Blair (Canterbury).[5] *Scholia* expresses its appreciation to the Society for sponsoring the prizes for the competition.

William J. Dominik
Editor, *Scholia*

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[1] Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Cyprus, Democratic Republic of Congo, England, Finland, France, Germany, Ghana, Greece, India, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Northern Ireland, Poland, Puerto Rico, Romania, Russia, Scotland, Senegal, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Switzerland, USA, Wales and Zimbabwe.

[2] In addition to the countries listed above, n. 1, these are Chile, China, Hungary, Japan, Macedonia, Malta, Mexico, Norway, Portugal, Ukraine, Vatican City.

[3] See pp. 2-125.

[4] See pp. 174-83.

[5] See pp. 184-88.

THE *KERES* OF THE ATHENIAN ANTHESTERIA
AND NEAR EASTERN COUNTERPARTS

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Abstract. In the Near East, uncanny periods of transition and renewal, when the worlds of the living and dead were momentarily intertwined, were an occasion to consign demonic spirits back to the netherworld. Similarly, at the close of the Anthesteria, the *Keres* were supposedly expelled. We should not discount their presence or view them as souls of the dead but understand them in their traditional sense of demonic spirits of disease.

The 'blossoming' festival, now known as the Anthesteria, held in Athens and throughout Ionia in the spring month to which it gave its name, was one of the oldest of all Greek festivals. Indeed, Thucydides, who calls it the 'older Dionysia' (2.15.4), suggests that it predated Ionian settlement of Asia Minor.[1] The blossoms that lent their name to the occasion referred to the flowering vines, and the event itself focused on the dedication and drinking of the new vintage, fermented from the grape harvest of the previous autumn.

Despite the relative abundance of ancient testimonia detailing the activities, much about their nature and purpose remains controversial. As Parker notes, 'the problems of reconstruction, unfortunately, are much more severe in relation to the *Anthesteria* than any other major festival'.[2] Even its duration is debatable. Thus, for example, Hamilton condenses the activities into a single day, though the traditional view of a three-day celebration, from 11-13 Anthesterion, still prevails.[3] Within the conventionally extended timeframe, each festive day was most likely reckoned as beginning not at sunset, as has been suggested, but rather at dawn.[4] The first day, *pithoigia*, so called from the opening of the jars (*pithoi*) that stored the wine, involved a processional

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[1] See W. Otto (tr. R. B. Palmer), *Dionysus: Myth and Cult* (Bloomington 1965) 53.

[2] R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford 2005) 291.

[3] R. Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria: Athenian Iconography and Ritual* (Ann Arbor 1992) 42-50. For the traditional view, see L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Darmstadt 1965) 93-123; A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford 1968) 1-25; also, e.g., W. Burkert (tr. P. Bing), *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth* (Berkeley 1983) 213-47; S. C. Humphreys, *The Strangeness of Gods: Historical Perspectives on Greek Religion* (Oxford 2004) 223-75; R. Parker, 'Anthesteria', in S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (edd.), *Oxford Classical Dictionary*[3] (Oxford 1996) 101.

[4] Burkert [3] 215 considers sunset as the division in the religious calendar between one day and the next; rejected by Parker [2] 291.

delivery of the wine to the temple of Dionysus ἐν λίμναις ('in the marshes', schol. Ar. *Ran.* 216), a location as yet undiscovered. Whether the effigy of the patron god himself was also part of this parade, carried in a wagon made up in the shape of a ship, is not at all certain.[5]

The central day was *choes*, named after the jugs or beakers that held the wine for each participant. Here, too, we encounter issues over which modern opinion is divided,[6] and on which even ancient sources seem contradictory. For Aristophanes (*Ach.* 1000-142) depicts an atmosphere of riotous partying whereas, in contrast, Euripides (*IT* 939-60) paints an altogether sombre picture. The mood, Euripides says, was established following the arrival in Athens of Orestes, seeking sanctuary after murdering his mother. But, polluted as he was with her blood, he was able neither to communicate with his hosts nor to share food and drink with them. Hence the solution that they would all eat and drink separately and in silence; the custom persists on *choes*, Euripides adds, to the present day. Aristophanes perhaps bases his scene on informal, private celebrations as opposed to a more solemn public ritual. But we should not discount the possibility of a fictionally comic parody of the events. For example, Aristophanes' hero, Dikaiopolis, claims with undoubted exaggeration that he drank his wine neat, draining the pitcher in a single gulp (*Ach.* 1229). The quantity, as we learn from Euripides (*IT* 960), was more than two litres.

Further, as Farnell notes, it is unlikely that Euripides invented the aetiology to explain his version of the ritual; for other sources provide details of the Orestes story that are not found in the dramatist's account.[7] The ancient scholia also add that on this day all temples were closed, except for that of Dionysus, which was closed for every other day of the year; moreover, they claim that the Athenians began the day by chewing buckthorn in an attempt to ward off 'the spirits of the dead that were supposed to come up at that time' (ἐν ᾧ δοκοῦσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν τελευτησάντων ἀνιέναι, Phot. *FGrH* 325 F 11).[8] Throughout the city, the Athenians coated the doors of houses with pitch as a similarly apotropaic device (πίττῃ ἐχρίοντο τὰ δώματα ἀμίαντος γὰρ αὕτη, 'they smeared the doors with pitch, for this is unpollutable', Phot.).[9] Burkert, however, interprets the rituals not so much in terms of the presence of chthonic spirits but rather as a result of a superstitious and apparently

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[5] See Pickard-Cambridge [3] 12; Hamilton [3] 57f.

[6] On *choes* as a day of gloom, see, e.g., Burkert [3] 218f.; as a festive day, see, e.g., Hamilton [3] 26f.; Pickard-Cambridge [3] 12f.

[7] L. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* 5 (Oxford 1909) 216, 318. See also Plut., *Quaest. Conv.* 1.1.2 (613b) for testimony to the silence of the occasion.

[8] See Hamilton [3] 158 (T24).

[9] See Hamilton [3] 158 (T26).

widespread association of wine and blood.[10] For in drinking the new wine the assembly partakes of a sacrifice, consuming the blood of the god himself. Thus, the features of the ritual, he argues, were a means whereby the company could cleanse itself of guilt for benefitting from the death of their divine patron. Nevertheless, he concludes that the evidence of the ancient scholia is compelling in their insistence that *choes* was μιαρὰ ἡμέρα ('a day of pollution', Phot.).[11]

The evening between *choes* and the third day, *chytroi* ('pots'), was possibly the occasion of a boisterous procession to Dionysus' temple; for Aristophanes has his underworld chorus of frogs, calling themselves λιμναῖα κρηνῶν τέκνα ('marshy children of the springs'), sing of a drunken crowd staggering to the frogs' holy shrine for the holy day of Pots (*Ran.* 215-20). But, like *choes*, this final day also had uncanny associations. Theopompus notes that every household boiled a primitive dish of mixed grains (*panspermia*), supposedly in memory of the first meal eaten by the survivors of the Flood. The pots were offered to Chthonian Hermes (and possibly also to Dionysus) περὶ τῶν ἀποθανόντω ('on behalf of the dead', Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 1076 = Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 347a). The unmistakably chthonic atmosphere of this day led both Pickard-Cambridge and Hamilton to rearrange the evidence of the testimonia and label *chytroi*, rather than *choes*, as 'the day of pollution' and to transfer to it the superstitious practices involving buckthorn and pitch.[12] Thus, *choes* could be seen as a day of Dionysiac revelry, while *chytroi* could be separated as the occasion for rituals for the dead and for ghostly visitations; for this final day that was, according to Hamilton, 'definitely devoted to the dead', was one on which, as Pickard-Cambridge says, 'Dionysus had little or no part'.[13]

Robertson, however, goes still further, excising all aspects of gloom and miasma, including the temporary presence of the dead, from the Anthesteria as a whole, even from the final day.[14] Such ideas, he argues, have been mistakenly transferred by the scholiasts from another Athenian festival, at the beginning of the month Anthesterion, commemorating the Flood and its victims. He hypothesises that Theopompus' description of the offering of the *panspermia* with its netherworld beneficiaries has later been erroneously transposed from a quite separate chthonic ritual to an entirely joyful Anthesteria festival. Yet the scholia are unanimous in reporting Theopompus' insistence that this event took its name from the pots (*chytroi*) in which the offerings were made (e.g., schol.

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[10] Burkert [3] 220-26.

[11] See Hamilton [3] 158 (T24).

[12] Pickard-Cambridge [3] 13-15; Hamilton [3] 26f.

[13] Hamilton [3] 27; Pickard-Cambridge [3] 13.

[14] N. Robertson, 'Athens' Festival of the New Wine', *HSPh* 95 (1993) 197-250.

Ar. *Ach.* 1076; Suda *s.v.* 'chytroi'); and the Anthesterian *chytroi* is still the only so-named occasion of which we know. Further, Theopompus himself can hardly be reckoned as a late and unreliable source; he was writing in the fourth century BCE and would surely be unlikely to be misinformed about the chronology or contents of the classical Anthesteria.

In sum, the weight of evidence points to an uncanny atmosphere of miasma and pollution, and associated rituals, during at least part of the Anthesteria. More problematic, however, is the question of whether spirits were thought to return temporarily from the netherworld to be present during the festival. Of course, seasonal ceremonies involving communal meals and hosting of the dead were not uncommon in the classical world, the *Parentalia* in mid-February and the *Lemuria* in May being two obvious Roman examples. And the *Derveni Papyrus* now attests to a Greek practice of making χοὰς ('drink offerings', col. 6.1-7), as well as prayers and sacrifices, to appease the souls of the dead.[15] The same text speaks of the power of incantations to dispel δαίμονες ἐμποδὼν ὄντες ('daimons who impede'), defined as ψυχαὶ τιμωροί ('vengeful souls'). Bremmer, however, concludes his examination of the Anthesteria by insisting that 'so far, it has not been convincingly proved that the Greeks in historical times believed in a periodic return of the dead'.[16] Similarly, as already noted, Burkert prefers to interpret the rituals of *choes* as a means of exorcising communal guilt, not ghosts; so that, in this context, the chewing of buckthorn was a cathartic preparation for the ensuing drinking and feasting rather than a superstitious defence against the presence of underworld spirits.[17]

Unsurprisingly, then, the cry that supposedly concluded the Anthesteria has been subject to emendation if not outright rejection: θύραζε Κῆρες, οὐκετ' Ἀνθεστήρια ('Out of doors, you spirits [*Keres*], the Anthesteria is over').[18] Hesychius adds the later note of κῆρες: ψυχαί ('spirits: souls'). Modern commentators, however, have pointed out that *Keres* would not have been used to describe the souls of the dead or the spirits of the ancestors.[19] Rather, the term typically denoted more fearsome entities such as 'harmful demons' or 'the source of disease and death'.[20] 'In popular belief', Dietrich concludes, 'they

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[15] See R. Janko, 'The Derveni Papyrus: An Interim Text', *ZPE* 141 (2002) 1, 12; the papyrus was written probably *ca.* 350 BCE, but the text that it contains was most likely composed in the late-fifth century BCE.

[16] J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton 1983) 123.

[17] Burkert [10].

[18] See Hamilton [3] 167 (T60).

[19] E.g., Burkert [3] 227; Bremmer [16] 114; Pickard-Cambridge [3] 14.

[20] J. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Princeton 1991) 44. Parker [3] 806 calls the *Keres* 'powers of evil'. See also E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley 1979) 39-41.

embodied the manifestation of sickness, any form of physical affliction, and death'.[21] Sometimes personified in particularly chilling form, as in the Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles* (248-57), with hooked talons and a vampirish taste for blood, the *Keres* became, in general, manifestations of 'powers of evil', representing the various afflictions and forms of disease that brought death (Hes. *Op.* 92). Indeed, the singular Ker could be synonymous simply with the fate of death itself (e.g., Hom. *Od.* 11.171). Consequently, some modern critics prefer the alternate reading, Κᾶρες ('Carians'), offered by Photius. But this, too, comes with difficulties of interpretation. Burkert suggests that 'Carians' was a byword either for slaves who were allowed briefly to join the festivities or, more likely, what he calls 'masked mummers', that is men masquerading as intruders or even 'aboriginal inhabitants' who had to be given temporary hospitality before being expelled at the close of the festival.[22] Bremmer elaborates the suggestion with the hypothesis that the Anthesteria, being a time when normal social structures were interrupted or reversed, entertained the brief presence of masked individuals playing the role of uncanny or otherworldly entities.[23] Thus, he argues, the *Keres* do not need to be seen as souls of the dead, but both they and Carians are 'representatives of a demonic, nonsocial, and unstructured world who are absent in normal times'. In general, commentators either reject an underworld presence of any kind, as do Burkert and Bremmer, for example, or, even if willing to countenance a temporary return of the dead, dismiss the mention of the *Keres* as a proverb that later scholiasts mistakenly attached to the festival.[24]

Dionysus was not, of course, simply a god of wine and lively congregation but a power with intimate links to the underworld and its inhabitants. Like Aristophanes' ghostly chorus of Limnaian frogs, he too seems equally at home in his marshland temple and in the world below. This, after all, is a god with a grave at Delphi and possibly also at Thebes.[25] And thanks in large part to the discovery and translation of more inscribed gold tablets from a variety of grave sites stretching from southern Italy and Sicily to central and northern Greece, it is now evident that Dionysus promised his adherents safe passage into the afterlife and guaranteed their blessed existence in the world of the dead.[26] Hence Heraclitus could claim confidently that 'Hades is the same as

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[21] B. C. Dietrich, *Death, Fate and the Gods* (London 1985) 242.

[22] Burkert [3] 226-29.

[23] Bremmer [16] 109-23.

[24] Parker [2] 297; Humphreys [3] 268.

[25] Otto [1] 190.

[26] C. Segal, 'Dionysus and the Gold Tablets from Pelinna', *GRBS* 31 (1990) 411-19; S. G. Cole, 'Landscapes of Dionysus and the Elysian Fields', in M. B. Cosmoupolos (ed.), *Greek Mysteries: The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults* (London 2003)

Dionysus' (ὡυτὸς δὲ ᾽Αιδης καὶ Διόνυσος, *DK* 22 B 15), while Sophocles describes Dionysus as πολυώνυμε ('the many-named god') with power in Italy 'who rules in the welcoming folds of Eleusinian Deo' (μέδεις δὲ παγκοίνοις ᾽Ελευσινίας Δηοῦς ἐν κόλποις, *Ant.* 1114-21), which alludes to his role in the chthonic mysteries alongside Demeter and Persephone.

Burkert suggests that the growth of a chthonic Dionysus and the consequent Bacchic mysteries, particularly as they developed from the sixth century BCE onwards, was greatly influenced by increasing knowledge in the Greek world of Egyptian afterlife beliefs and customs.[27] Such ideas, he argues, began to alter the traditional Dionysiac cult, concluding that 'Orphic-Egyptian Dionysus came to overlay and to transform Mycenaean Dionysus'.[28] Yet there is reason to believe that Dionysus' association with the underworld was established well before the sixth century BCE. Hesiod, for example, says that the mortal Semele gave birth to the immortal Dionysus and that both are now gods (*Theog.* 940-43), the poet perhaps hinting at the story attested in later sources of Dionysus' journey into the underworld to reclaim his mother's soul and ensure her immortality on Olympus (e.g., Diod. Sic. 4.25.4; Plut. *De Sera* 27 [566A]).[29] Moreover, in a clearly funerary context, Homer has Agamemnon recall that the great urn that holds the ashes of Achilles and Patroclus was a gift to Thetis from Dionysus (*Od.* 24.73-7). Elsewhere, Homer also notes that, when he was fleeing the pursuing Lycurgus, Dionysus dived beneath the sea to the arms of Thetis (*Il.* 6.135-7). The image suggests that Homer's world was already familiar with the association of Dionysus with watery depths that later writers described as the means by which the god entered and exited the underworld. As Otto remarks, 'the cults and myths are as explicit as they can be about the fact that Dionysus comes out of the water and returns to it'.[30] At Lake Lerna near Argos, for example, Dionysus was summoned from the water by a trumpet blast, while a lamb was thrown into the depths as an offering to τῷ Πυλαόχῳ ('The Keeper of the Gate', Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 34 [364F]). Similarly, the Alcyonian Lake (another λίμνη) was said to be the passage by which Dionysus descended to Hades to reclaim his mother (Paus. 2.37.5). Perhaps not coincidentally, at the Athenian *Lenaia*, celebrated shortly before the

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193-217; F. Graf and S. I. Johnston, *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife: Orpheus and the Bacchic Gold Tablets* (London 2007) 4-164.

[27] W. Burkert, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis: Eastern Contexts of Greek Culture* (Cambridge, Mass. 2004) 71-98.

[28] Burkert [27] 88. Similarly, Humphreys [3] 268 speculates that the growth of the eschatological Dionysian mysteries eventually gave rise to a chthonic element in the Anthesteria.

[29] For the scene on late sixth-century vases, see Graf and Johnston [26] 73f.

[30] Otto [1] 162.

Anthesteria, the god was apparently summoned from the underworld by the Eleusinian Torchbearer.[31] Certainly, Dionysus' temple ἐν λίμναις, with its watery surroundings, would be an appropriate setting for the kind of chthonic ritual attested for τοῖς ἱεροῖσι Χύτροισι ('the holy *chytroi*', Ar. *Ran.* 219) of the ensuing festival, as well as for the presence of a god who moved between upper and lower worlds. The antiquity in the Greek world of Dionysus *anodos*, the god who rose from the underworld, might be further evidenced by the finds from the temple at Ayia Irini on Keos. Here, amidst the debris of drinking vessels from the archaic period, was found a pottery head that had been deliberately set on the ground inside a pottery ring-stand, as if rising from the earth. Although the manufacture of the figure itself might be considerably earlier, the excavator concludes that, 'by the end of the eighth century BC this head indeed represented Dionysus' in his role as the rising god.[32]

The early existence of a chthonic Dionysus, however, does little to corroborate the presence of spirits of any kind at the Dionysiac Anthesteria. But one element of the Anthesteria, sufficiently uncommon in Greek practice to warrant attention, finds a parallel not in Egyptian but in Near Eastern ritual; and not only might this support the claim of the presence of the *Keres* but also might help to elucidate their identity. For, as mentioned, house doors throughout the community were coated in pitch on the middle day of the festival. Similarly, in the New Year festival in Babylon, the doors of the sanctuary of the god Bel were smeared with cedar resin as part of the purification ritual.[33] Moreover, at the close of the ceremony the priest expelled any evil within, charging the god to rid the temple of any 'evil demon'.[34] The incantation can be compared with the formula used in the exorcism of demonic spirits during the ancient *Maqlû* ('burning') ceremony, still practiced across Mesopotamia in the first millennium

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[31] R. Seaford, *Reciprocity and Ritual: Homer and Tragedy in the Developing City-State* (Oxford 1994) 263. Note also Seaford 321: 'The evidence for the association of Dionysus with the underworld is rich, and some of it predates Heracleitos'.

[32] M. E. Caskey, 'Ayia Irini, Kea: The Terracotta Statues and the Cult in the Temple', in R. Hägg & N. Marinatos (edd.), *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Stockholm 1981) 130. The name of Dionysus is found on Mycenaean Linear B tablets; see E. Hallager, M. Vlasakis and B. Hallager, 'New Linear B tablets from Khania', *Kadmos* 31 (1992) 76-78, who suggest that the name occurs in connection with wine, which leads them to speculate on a Mycenaean origin of the Anthesteria.

[33] Burkert [3] 219 n. 13.

[34] A. Sachs, 'Akkadian Rituals', in J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*[2] (Princeton 1955) 333f. Sachs [above, this note] 331 notes that the text dates from the Seleucid period but that the ritual 'may go back to a much earlier time'.

BCE.[35] Here, too, the priest drove any malign presence from the house with the command 'Evil demon, to your steppe' (that is, to the netherworld).[36] Belief in the temporary presence of potentially harmful underworld spirits, even at such moments of renewal as the New Year festival, and their expulsion at the ritual closing, was undoubtedly widespread in the ancient Near East.

Granted, the provision of parallels is no guarantee of the transmission of ideas and practices from one culture to another. But a growing weight of evidence, both material and literary, now urges recognition of the increasing influence exercised by the cultures of the eastern Mediterranean and Near East over the Greek world. And rather than being considered a feature of the so-called Orientalising period of the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, such contacts can now arguably be discerned as early as the mid-Bronze Age. Given the scope and complexity of the issue and its attendant scholarship, a brief review must suffice here.[37] The provenance of artifacts such as Mesopotamian glass beads, found in Mycenaean shaft graves, is clearly the easiest to identify, though the means of arrival, whether direct or via an intermediary, is harder to assess. But, as West argues, the techniques of decorative metal inlay and of new styles of swordmaking, also evidenced in these graves, show the direct influence of Syrian craftsmanship.[38] Similarly, the sacred architecture and iconography seen in the cult area of Mycenae is demonstrably Near Eastern in its inspiration.[39] On the more abstract level, Kirk proposes that the Homeric concept of the Olympian family of gods is undeniably Mesopotamian and could only have been initiated in the Greek world 'no later than the second millennium BC'.[40] West reinforces the argument in his wide-ranging survey of the extent of oriental influence on archaic Greek culture, as preliminary to his exhaustive analysis of the Near Eastern background of Greek epic poetry and myth.[41] His list spans such social institutions as the nature and function of monarchy, the shaping of laws and wording of treaties, the rituals of sacrifice and the adoption of Semitic or Akkadian loan words seen already on the

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[35] T. Abusch, 'Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Literature: Texts and Studies, Part 1. The Nature of *Maqlû*: Its Character, Divisions, and Calendrical Setting', *JNES* 33 (1974) 251-62.

[36] Abusch [35] 253.

[37] For a recent summary, with further bibliography, see S. Noegel, 'Greek Religion and the Ancient Near East', in D. Ogden (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Religion* (Oxford 2007) 21-37.

[38] M. L. West, *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth* (Oxford 1997) 5-11.

[39] S. P. Morris, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (Princeton 1992) 108-10.

[40] G. Kirk (ed.), *The Iliad. A Commentary* 2*: Books 5-8* (Cambridge 1993) 2.

[41] West [38] 1-60. B. Powell, *Writing and the Origins of Greek Culture* (Cambridge 2002) 33-55 elaborates West's analysis.

Linear B tablets. Further, the indebtedness of the Greek cosmogonies to Near Eastern prototypes has long been recognised and recent analyses continue to open new perspectives.[42] Of particular relevance to the present argument, aspects of Greek rituals have also been suggested to derive from a Mesopotamian original. For example, Dalley and Reyes argue that the annual cult procession on Samos, in which the statue of Hera was bathed and clothed, recalls in detail the lustration performed in the Babylonian New Year *akitu* festival.[43] They note further that specific rituals and magic spells used to validate the foundation of the colony of Cyrene in 650 BCE match some of those traditionally employed in the neo-Assyrian *Maqlû* ceremony.

In Mesopotamian myth and cult, netherworld spirits, particularly of the potentially threatening kind, cluster especially around the figure of the Sumerian Dumuzi (the Semitic Tammuz), ill-fated husband of the goddess Inanna. The story and related rituals are documented extensively in texts stretching back to the late-third millennium BCE.[44] From this assortment of sources we learn of the courtship of the young goddess of fertility by her shepherd suitor, followed by their marriage and Dumuzi's installment as king of Inanna's city, Uruk. Other tablets tell of Inanna's subsequent headstrong attempt to take control of the underworld from its queen, Inanna's sister Ereshkigal. The latter, however, fastens the eye of death on Inanna who is hung up as a corpse on a meat hook. Anticipating such a fate, the goddess had left instructions with her servant to seek the help of the other gods. Consequently, Ereshkigal is tricked into letting her sister be revived, but she will release her from the underworld only if a substitute is provided. With the demonic agents of the underworld, the *galla*, clinging like leeches to her side, Inanna returns to the world above.[45] But on finding all the gods and her own servants lamenting her death in due fashion, she refuses to allow any to be taken. Only Dumuzi seems unconcerned by her fate, so with Inanna's blessing the demons fasten on him and, after several attempts to escape, he is hauled off to his death. Amidst the

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[42] See most recently C. López-Ruiz, *When the Gods Were Born: Greek Cosmogonies and the Near East* (Cambridge, Mass. 2010).

[43] S. Dalley and A. T. Reyes, 'Mesopotamian Contact and Influence on the Greek World', in S. Dalley (ed.), *The Legacy of Mesopotamia* (Oxford 1998) 98-100.

[44] For the chronology of the Sumerian Inanna texts, see, e.g., T. Mettinger, *The Riddle of Resurrection: 'Dying and Rising Gods' in the Ancient Near East* (Stockholm 2001) 187f.

[45] D. Katz, *The Image of the Netherworld in the Sumerian Sources* (Bethesda 2003) 148 notes that by the early second millennium BCE the term *galla* had been 'completely transformed and separated from its original meaning, from a city official to a wicked infernal creature'. The derivation of the Greek demonic figure Gello from the Sumerian/Akkadian *galla* has been proposed by D. R. West, 'Gello and Lamia: Two Hellenic Daemons of Semitic Origin', *UF* 23 (1991) 359-68.

multiplicity of accounts of Dumuzi's demise, however, it seems that in at least one version Inanna bewailed the loss of her husband and set off to reclaim him.[46] Finally, with the help of Dumuzi's sister, Geshtinanna, a compromise is reached and the tale ends with the statement (presumably by Inanna) that 'You (that is, Dumuzi) half the year, your sister half the year'. The alternation suggests a seasonal pattern, perhaps alluding to a seasonal loss of milk production, given Dumuzi's original role as a shepherd.[47]

A later, and much shorter version of the story, in which Inanna is known by her Semitic name Ishtar, survives from the end of the second millennium BCE, though it perhaps echoes a much earlier Akkadian adaptation.[48] In this text, it is Ishtar's absence that causes the loss of (human and animal) fertility; and though the conclusion hints at the substitution of Dumuzi for the goddess, the theme of alternation between brother and sister has been replaced by a formula for the ritual commemoration of Dumuzi's brief return to the world above.[49] Having been washed, anointed and dressed on his departure to the sound of dirge and lamentation, he will return accompanied not only by mourners but also by the anonymous dead:

> On the day when Dumuzi comes back up, [and] the lapis lazuli pipe and
>   carnelian ring come up with him,
> [When] male and female mourners come up with him,
> The dead shall come up and smell the smoke offering.

By the first millennium BCE, if not before, Dumuzi's return from the world below, accompanied by ghosts, and his return to it, had been condensed in at least some rituals to a three-day event. It had also become an occasion when disease and other afflictions, believed to be under the agency of demonic or other supernatural powers, could be removed from the community and consigned, along with Dumuzi himself, to the netherworld where they properly

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[46] For text, translation and commentary, see B. Alster, 'Inanna Repenting: The Conclusion of Inanna's Descent', *Acta Sumerologica* 18 (1996) 13-16.

[47] T. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness: A History of Mesopotamian Religion* (New Haven 1976) 36f., 62f. argues that Dumuzi represented both the date harvest and the grain harvest that enabled the production of beer, while Geshtinanna represented the grape harvest. However, B. Alster, 'Tammuz', in K. van der Toorn *et al.* (edd.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden 1999) 828 rejects this and emphasises Dumuzi's role as a shepherd in the production of milk.

[48] For chronology and text, see S. Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia* (Oxford 1991) 154-62; also Mettinger [44] 190f.

[49] For the change from narrative to ritual, see Mettinger [44] 192f.

belonged.[50] Thus, in one invocation, Dumuzi is bidden to 'turn the evil about' and to send it before him as he departs. These unearthly and potentially deadly bearers of disease, 'assistants of evil' as the ritual text calls them, were to be banished alongside more kindly ghosts.[51] With their demonic characteristics, they closely resemble what Greeks would have called *Keres*, not the souls of the dead but, more specifically, agents of deadly affliction and disease. And it is noteworthy that the food offering of grain, roasted or soaked in beer in the archaic Mesopotamian fashion of preparing the cereal, and offered to the spirits being invoked to remove such torments, was similar to the primitive porridge of boiled grains (*panspermia*) said to be put out as an offering to Hermes Chthonios and shared between the living and the dead on the last day of the Anthesteria.[52]

In addition to their common association with the underworld and its inhabitants, especially in their role as dying and rising gods, the cults of Dumuzi and Dionysus share several other characteristics. For example, as Kutscher notes, the Dumuzi texts of the first millennium suggest 'a popular cult independent of temples' in which Dumuzi's death was commemorated by mourning women.[53] So, too, Dionysiac cult belonged in a rustic setting and was set apart by the lamentations of its female followers, bewailing the death of their god.[54] Moreover, though Dumuzi's role in the original Sumerian myths was that of shepherd rather than farmer, his periodic detention in the netherworld nonetheless marked the changing seasons. One neo-Assyrian text representing the parts of Dumuzi's body in terms of various types of tree depicts him, in Mettinger's words, 'as the very embodiment of vegetation'.[55] Indeed, he became increasingly associated with figures that symbolised the cycle of vegetation. Principal among them was the ill-fated child Damu whose story is related in texts that seem to conflate the figure of the young boy with that of Dumuzi.[56]

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[50] J. A. Scurlock, 'Magical Uses of Ancient Mesopotamian Festivals of the Dead', in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (edd.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden 1995) 93-107.

[51] Scurlock [50] 97f.

[52] For the Mesopotamian ritual, see J. A. Scurlock, 'Ghosts in the Ancient Near East: Weak or Powerful?', *HebrUCA* 68 (1997) 88. On the *panspermia*, see Parker [2] 295f.; C. Calamé, *Thésée et l'imaginaire athénien* (Lausanne 1990) 329f.

[53] R. Kutscher, 'The Cult of Dumuzi/Tammuz', in J. Klein and A. Skaist (edd.), *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology* (Jerusalem 1990) 44.

[54] See Seaford [31] 322f.

[55] Mettinger [44] 194.

[56] Katz [45] 5 notes that 'local incarnations of the young dying fertility gods were assimilated with Dumuzi around the beginning of the second millennium'. For the amalgamation of Dumuzi and Damu, see also Mettinger [41] 203f.; C. Penglase, *Greek Myths and Mesopotamia* (London 1994) 31, who states that 'Damu, whose specific function is the fertility of vegetation, is identified with, or is an aspect of, Dumuzi'.

Damu, too, was snatched away to the underworld, to be lamented and searched for by his mother. Portrayed as lying asleep in the poplar and tamarisk, he is finally joined in the netherworld by his sister. The text ends with the apparent prediction of his seasonal return, seemingly expressed as a revival of vegetation; as the poplar and tamarisk release him, he comes back on the flood and 'out of the river'.[57] Jacobsen characterizes Damu as 'the god of the sap that rises in trees and plants in the spring'.[58] It is worth adding that, in addition to the three-day ritual of Dumuzi's return and departure in the summer month named after the god, at least one Mesopotamian festival of Dumuzi occurred in the last month of winter, perhaps originally accompanied by a re-enactment of the sacred marriage (*hieros gamos*) between himself and Inanna.[59] In this context, like Damu, Dumuzi too was 'the harbinger of spring'.[60] The description is no less appropriate to Dionysus in his springtime epiphany; and, like Damu, he is the δενδρίτες ('tree god', Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 5.3.1 [675F]).

In the ancient Near East the expulsion of malign spiritual forces, often seen as agents of disease, was widespread and enduring, the practice continuing to be performed well into the first millennium BCE.[61] It could be associated with rituals of catharsis and renewal, and with divinities that move between the upper and lower realms. Both elements were intrinsic to the classical Anthesteria; the festival was not, on the weight of evidence, a wholly joyous occasion but also incorporated gloomy, chthonic observances. Besides, even at a predominately festive moment, the supposed presence of the *Keres* would be far from unexpected. For, as Plato notes, to many of the fine things in life there attach themselves *Keres*, so to speak, that 'defile and corrupt' everything (*Leg.* 937d6f.). In sum, perhaps there is no need to remove these demonic spirits from the Anthesteria, or to consider the term to refer, somewhat implausibly, to souls of the departed. Rather, we might see them in their traditional Greek role, and one that resembles their Near Eastern counterparts, as personifications of disease and death. Abroad (seemingly along with the ghosts of ancestors) amongst the living at a critically liminal moment, they had to be exorcised thereafter and consigned to their rightful place in the world below.

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[57] For text and analysis, see Penglase [56] 32-8; T. Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once . . . : Sumerian Poetry in Translation* (New Haven 1987) 56-84.

[58] Jacobsen [57] 56.

[59] On the sacred marriage ritual of Inanna and Dumuzi, see Kutscher [53] 33f., 41, who suggests that, by the end of the second millennium BCE, the rite was no longer celebrated. On the *hieros gamos* of Dionysus and the wife of the *archon basileus*, as part of the rites of the Anthesteria, see [Dem.] *Neaer.* 59.72-84; Deubner [3] 104-08; Parker [2] 303-05.

[60] M. Cohen, *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda 1993) 188.

[61] For a survey see Cohen [60] 454-81.

GENERATIONAL DEGENERATION:
THE CASE OF TELEMACHUS[1]

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Abstract. Although there are clear signs that Telemachus receives an education in being 'Odysseus-like' over the course of the *Odyssey*, this paper considers those aspects of Telemachus' characterization that may have indicated to the audience that he is not and will not ever be the same as or better than his father with regards to the latter's most salient characteristics.

In the process of admonishing his brother Perses for unjustly attempting to take possession of more of their father's estate than he was entitled to claim, Hesiod relates the story which we now call the 'Myth of the Races' (*Op.* 109-201).[2] In it he describes the continual decline in the quality of earth's inhabitants through four previous races until he reaches the men of his own generation, the fifth, known as the Race of Iron, in which men are the most degenerate of all (169-201).[3] But it does not end there: unlike three of the four preceding generations, which produce no progeny of their own, the men of the fifth race become progressively more degenerate with each new batch of offspring.[4] Men will eventually become so wicked that the goddesses Aidos and

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[1] I would like to thank *Scholia*'s editor and the journal's anonymous referees for the positive contribution that their suggestions and comments have made to the argument presented here. All errors and omissions remain my own.

[2] The text of Hesiod's *Opera et Dies* is that of F. Solmsen (ed.), *Hesiodi Opera* (Oxford 1970); of Hesiod's fragments R. Merkelbach and M. L. West (edd.), *Fragmenta Hesiodea* (Oxford 1959); of Homer's *Odyssey* T. W. Allen (ed.), *Homeri Odyssea* (Oxford 1908); Homer's *Iliad* T. W. Allen (ed.), *Homeri Ilias* 2-3 (Oxford 1931); of Lycophron's *Alexandra* L. Mascialino (ed.), *Lycophronis Alexandra* (Leipzig 1964); of Eustathius' commentary on the *Odyssey* G. Gottfried (ed.), *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (Hildesheim 1960); and of Proclus' *Chrestomathia* T. W. Allen (ed.), *Homeri Opera* 5 (Oxford 1969). Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

[3] The fourth race, the Race (or Age) of Heroes, is called more courageous and righteous (158-60) than the one which preceded it and, thus, seems to create a temporary hiatus in the degeneration of men; however, the rarity of stories about the exploits of the sons of the Trojan War heroes would suggest that the caliber of these sons was less remarkable and, therefore, less memorable than that of their fathers and grandfathers.

[4] As T. M. Falkner observes ('Slouching Towards Boeotia: Age and Age-Grading in the Hesiodic Myth of the Five Races' *ClAnt* 8 [1989] 42-60), only the Silver Race and the Race of Heroes contain any indication that generation has taken place, the former through the

Nemesis will desert humanity and flee to heaven (197-200).[5] A bleak picture indeed; however, Hesiod was not the first to comment on the tendency for the quality of men to deteriorate from one generation to the next: the oral-poetic tradition in which Homer composed had already indicated that this was a potential problem as the Age of Heroes itself was drawing to its close.[6]

When Athena, disguised as Odysseus' friend, Mentor, says to Odysseus' own son, παῦροι γάρ τοι παῖδες ὁμοῖοι πατρὶ πέλονται, / οἱ πλέονες κακίους, παῦροι δέ τε πατρὸς ἀρείους ('Few indeed are the sons like their fathers; most are worse, and few are better', *Od.* 2.276f.), it seems a wholly inappropriate and, indeed, unnecessary comment to make in a context where she is trying to convince this particular young man that he *is* his father's son in more than appearance, for it implies that, despite their physical similarity, he may not prove to be the measure of the man in intellect and abilities.[7] Even when she qualifies this deflating observation by stating that because Telemachus is neither base (κακός) nor witless (ἀνοήνων) but retains a spark of Odysseus' wisdom there is hope that he will accomplish his task (278-80), this is no guarantee that he will prove himself to be the equal of his father, let alone better him.

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inclusion of women (52), the later through the specific references to more than one generation of heroes (56).

[5] For differing interpretative perspectives on the significance of the 'Five Ages' myth see, e.g., J. Fontenrose, 'Work, Justice and Hesiod's Five Ages', *CPh* 69 (1974) 1-16; J.-P. Vernant, 'Hesiod's Myth of the Races: An Essay in Structural Analysis', in J-P. Vernant (ed.), *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks* (London 1983) 3-32; J.-P. Vernant, 'Hesiod's Myth of the Races: A Reassessment', in Vernant [above, this note] 33-72; A. S. Brown, 'From the Golden Age to the Isles of the Blessed', *Mnemosyne* 51 (1998) 385-410; and Falkner [4]. For a more general discussion of the idea that family characteristics are passed from father to son see, e.g., L. Nash, 'Concepts of Existence: Origins of Generational Thought', *Daedalus* 4 (1978) 1-21.

[6] The Homeric poems' engagement with a pre-existent oral tradition is now a readily accepted fact, although at what time and through what means they achieved their written form continues to be debated, as does the question of whether their oral-derived characteristics prevent them from being interpreted through the tools of literary criticism. The latter issue is to be the focus of the next *Orality and Literacy* conference in 2012. The author accepts and respects the oral-poetic inheritance of the poet and his audience(s), and works on the assumption that at least some members of his audience(s) would appreciate the ways in which the poet employs the traditional features of his craft to create the impression of Telemachus presented here.

[7] In the *Iliad*, the possibility that a son may not be the equal of his father, especially in battle prowess, is used as a taunt to stir up the fighting spirit in that warrior and get him to enter more wholeheartedly into the battle (e.g., 5.368-75; 6.799-813). Of course, each hero so addressed does prove himself to be his father's son; however, the taunt itself assumes the possibility that not all sons may do so.

Odysseus, of course, is most renowned for being πολύμητις ('much-devising') and πολύτλας ('much-enduring', 'long-suffering'). For Telemachus to show himself to be the same as or the equal of his father, the audience would expect him to display a natural aptitude for such behaviour.

Athena's comments here are seldom given the cautionary weight they deserve, in part because we have come to see Telemachus' story in the *Odyssey* as a variant of a 'coming-of-age' tale, which predisposes us to read his characterization positively and to explain everything he does in terms of a maturation process through which he grows into a man who does successfully exhibit his father's epic φύσις ('nature'). This has been the dominant paradigm in the scholarship on Telemachus for almost 100 years.[8] While I would agree that in the first book of the *Odyssey* we are shown the moment when Telemachus realizes that he is no longer a child and must begin to behave as the young adult that he is, I am not as convinced that in his subsequent words and actions, he reveals himself to be as Odyssean in character as modern critics tend to argue.[9] Rather, I would suggest that, although Telemachus displays a limited

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[8] The following are but a sampling: J. Heath, 'Telemachus ΠΕΠΝΥΜΕΝΟΣ: Growing into an Epithet', *Mnemosyne* 54 (2001) 129-57; E. F. Cook, *The* Odyssey *in Athens*: *Myths of Cultural Origins* (Ithaca 1998) 157; N. Felson-Rubin, 'Paradigms of Paternity: Fathers, Sons and Athletic/Sexual Prowess in Homer's *Odyssey*', in J. Kazazis and A. Rengalos (edd.) *Euprosyne*: *Studies in Ancient Epic and Its Legacy in Honor of Dimitris N. Marontis* (Stuttgart 1999) 89-98; *Regarding Penelope*: *From Character to Poetics* (Princeton 1994) 67-91; P. Jones, 'The ΚΛΕΟΣ of Telemachus: *Odyssey* 1.95', *AJPh* 109 (1988) 496-506; N. Austin, *Archery at the Dark of the Moon*: *Poetic Problems in Homer's Odyssey* (Berkeley 1975) and 'Telemachos Polymechanos', *ClAnt* 2 (1969) 45-63; G. Rose, 'The Quest of Telemachus', *TAPA* 98 (1967) 391-8; C. Millar and J. Carmichael, 'The Growth of Telemachus', *G&R* 1 (1954) 58-64; and J. A. Scott, 'The Journey made by Telemachus and Its Influence on the Action of the *Odyssey*', *CJ* 13 (1918) 424.

[9] A few critics have offered a less than positive assessment of Telemachus' characterization. See, e.g., F. Ahl and H. Roisman, *The Odyssey Re-Formed* (Ithaca 1996); S. D. Olson, *Blood and Iron*: *Stories and Story-Telling in Homer's Odyssey* (Leiden 1995); H. Roisman, 'Like Father, Like Son: Telemachus' ΚΕΡΔΕΑ', *RhM* 137 (1994) 1-22; and R. Martin, 'Telemachus and the Last Hero's Song', *ColbyQ* 29 (1993) 222-41. Some have argued that Telemachus' maturation process is either stifled by Odysseus' return or incomplete at the end of the poem, as does, for example, W. Thalmann, *The Swineherd and the Bow*: *Representations of Class in the Odyssey* (Ithaca 1998) 209, 217. In a similar vein, T. A. Garvey, *ΗΒΗΣ ΑΝΘΗΣ*: *Coming of Age in Homer's Iliad and Odyssey* (PhD diss. Virginia 2010), in a sensitive study of youth in the Homeric epics, especially the figure of Telemachus, argues that, although Telemachus succeeds in demonstrating his acquisition of several of his father's most salient characteristics, by the final two books of the poem, he allows himself to slip back into a child-like attitude of dependence on Odysseus. M. Katz, *Penelope's Renown*: *Meaning and Indeterminacy in the Odyssey* (Princeton 1991) 35, argues rather that it is Penelope's presence that stands in the way of Telemachus' 'ascension to fully

affinity for some of his father's most famous characteristics, he is not a 'natural' in their execution.[10] Even acknowledging that the poem establishes a 'contrast between mature experience and aspiring young manhood'[11] in the representation of Odysseus and his son, other aspects of Telemachus' presentation strongly suggest that he will never match or surpass his father as a mature adult.

The first indication of this comes quite early in the poem (1.88-95). Athena knows that there is a problem with Telemachus, and it is one that requires her immediate attention if she is to see her personal favourite, Odysseus, successfully complete his homecoming. Odysseus' son is decidedly not showing any signs that he is the same as his father,[12] and without assisting him to behave in a more Odysseus-like manner, his father's return is in jeopardy. Thus, Athena grants Telemachus her favour because he is the son of her favourite, and it is *his* destiny that must be realized. For this to happen, Athena must enhance that Odyssean spark remaining in Telemachus, as well as provide him with those Odyssean qualities he lacks, so that he can be a help rather than a hindrance to his father's return. When we grant Athena the status of a separate actor with motives of her own (as she is given in this story), rather than taking her engagement with Telemachus to represent some externalized and personified aspect of his innate abilities,[13] it becomes apparent that her

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adult status'. Most recently, J. Wissmann ('Athena's "Unreasonable Advice": The Education of Telemachus in Ancient Interpretations of Homer', *GRBS* 49 (2009) 448f.) has observed that while 'Telemachus was, of course, the prototype of a young man coming of age . . . he was apparently not regarded as role model material' by later Homeric interpreters because he remained a work-in-progress.

[10] Such an interpretation of Telemachus is in keeping with that of earlier critics who have identified an anti-aristocratic undercurrent in the poem; cf. Thalmann [9] *passim* and P. Rose, 'Ambivalence and Identity in the *Odyssey*', in *Sons of the Gods, Children of Earth*: *Ideology and Literary Form* (Ithaca 1992) 92-140.

[11] W. Thalmann, *Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epic Poetry* (Baltimore 1984) 53.

[12] Except, perhaps, in his newly awakened concern for his property and the *kleos* he should have garnered from a heroic father whose fate was known; so much is implicit in Athena's stated intention to 'more fully arouse' (μᾶλλον ἐποτρύνω, 1.89) Telemachus, although the specifics of his new-found concerns are not presented until his interview with her at 1.156-65, 230-51.

[13] S. Murnaghan, 'The Plan of Athena' in B. Cohen (ed.) *The Distaff Side*: *Representing the Female in Homer's* Odyssey (New York 1995) 61, calls attention to the manner in which the entire story of the *Odyssey* is framed as 'Athena's project'. While it certainly cannot be denied that a rationalizing of the god's favour appeared comparatively early in the reception of the both epics, I have serious doubts that views such as D. Belmont's ('[o]n the non-mythic level . . . the goddess Athena does represent Telemachus' own "athena", his own maturing, intelligent power of reasoning'), in 'Athena and Telemachus', *CJ* 65 (1969) 114,

motivation for coming to his aid is based on her interest in restoring Odysseus to his former position in Ithaca and within his own household.[14] It is not because Telemachus is Odysseus-like that she aids him, but because he is Odysseus' son and she has an established relationship with (and special appreciation of) his father and *his* unique qualities.[15]

Odysseus is clearly the figure of principal interest in this tale: he is foremost in the poet's mind and in the thoughts of Athena, Telemachus and Penelope as each character is introduced, and so he is positioned to be foremost in the minds of the audience as well. However, the focus on Telemachus in the first four books invites the audience to be especially concerned about the character of this young man and to retain an interest in him once father and son are brought face to face in the second half of the tale. How he develops, and the degree to which he resembles his father are set up as significant questions to be assessed as the story progresses, especially for an audience who may well have been familiar with other tales of Telemachus' career after his father's successful return.[16]

Telemachus Πολύμητις?

According to Olson, when we first meet Telemachus, he is 'already who and what he needs to be',[17] in that he is already a young man with manly concerns by the time Athena intervenes in the guise of a long-standing family friend, Mentes.[18] But he is lacking one crucial aspect of his father's *phusis*: although Telemachus is already displaying an Odyssean-like concern over his

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would have been widespread amongst the poem's early auditors. In fact, the earliest extant evidence of such an interpretation of Athena comes several centuries after the ancients' dating of the poem's creation; cf. M. Murrin, 'Athena and Telemachus', *IJCT* 13 (2007) 500-03.

[14] Murrin [13] 504-06 endorses the probability that Athena was originally recognized as the patron goddess of the household, especially its head male.

[15] For modern discussions of the human/divine relationship in epic, see E. L. Harrison, 'Notes on Homeric Psychology', *Phoenix* 14 (1960) 78-80; M. Willcock, 'Some Aspects of the Gods in the *Iliad*', *BICS* 17 (1970) 1-10; and M. Edwards, *Homer*: *Poet of the* Iliad (Baltimore 1987) 125-37; M. Winterbottom, 'Speaking of the Gods', *G&R* 36 (1989) 33-41.

[16] We know that there were several stories about Telemachus in circulation, although we do not know how many of them drew upon pre-existent material in the oral tradition. Modern scholars suspect that the majority of them post-date the *Odyssey*. See discussion below with notes 44, 52 and 53.

[17] Olson [9] 65, although he lays particular emphasis on Telemachus' status as a 'listener' and therefore a learner.

[18] Austin [8 (1969)] 49.

possessions and his reputation, he lacks either the will or the ability to devise his own plan(s) to secure them. It falls to the goddess to provide him not only with a plan but with the courage to enact it.[19] Olson notes, in particular, that throughout the first four books, it is actually Athena who takes the lead and does the planning, while Telemachus merely follows her instructions.[20] Later, in book 16, once he and Odysseus have been reunited, Telemachus does make an attempt (feeble though it is) to involve himself in the planning of the revenge that his father is devising (235-320), but his contribution is more in keeping with that of a naysayer than of a collaborator.[21] When his father invites Telemachus to consider whether the two of them can overcome the suitors, Telemachus chides his father for over-estimating their own abilities and recommends that they will need the assistance of others (241-44). When Odysseus invites his son to consider whether Athena and Zeus are assistance enough, Telemachus again offers only qualified agreement: they would be, but it is unlikely that they will leave Olympus to offer them their aid (264).[22] Finally, when Odysseus reveals the part of his plan which will involve the two of them making trail of the male and female servants' loyalty (304-07), Telemachus claims that the strategy is unworkable because it will take too long, and that testing the male-servants, at least, should be delayed until after the suitors are dispatched (308-320). In all of his responses Telemachus reveals that he both lacks his father's discernment and cannot think in the same terms as his father does (i.e., strategically); without some assistance, he cannot see behind the surface meaning of others' words.[23]

While it may be possible to excuse Telemachus' apparent inability to think as his father thinks here because he is still being educated in being 'Odyssean', it is more difficult to explain away this inability once the crisis in their home has passed. Even after the suitors have been killed, it is apparent that Telemachus still suffers from the same unwillingness or inability to scheme and/or plan as he displayed in books 1-4: when Odysseus now invites him to contribute to their strategizing about how to prepare for the inevitable retaliation of the suitors' kin, Telemachus candidly declines, noting his father's superiority

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[19] Olson [9] 67-68.

[20] Olson [9] 80-81.

[21] Roisman [9] 16 goes further and observes that Telemachus actually attempts to offer advice when none has been sought.

[22] As Garvey [9] 243, observes, this is both remarkable and disturbing given that Telemachus knows from personal experience that Athena has been assisting him for quite some time.

[23] He assumes that he and Odysseus are to go house-by-house throughout his estate in their testing of male servants (313f.).

to his own (and to all men's) ability in this area (23.117-28).[24] By his own admission, then, Telemachus has neither grown into, nor is he, the equal of his father in this regard. He is decidedly not πολύμητις.

But this is not the only way in which Telemachus fails to display the primary characteristics for which his father gained his reputation in the larger epic tradition. In addition to being known for scheming well and being able to execute his plans, Odysseus is also known for his ability to tell a good tale, and to shape his accounts in accord with the expectations of his audience.[25] In contrast, Telemachus is the most reluctant of speakers while a guest of Nestor and Menelaus and he never engages in extended elaborations, even of factual material, at any point in the *Odyssey*.[26] Even when reporting to his mother what he had learned of his father while abroad, Telemachus repeats, almost verbatim, the words of Menelaus (17.107-49).[27] Apart from the requisite grammatical changes, the only significant alternation he makes to the story is to turn what the sea-god Proteus saw and reported to Menelaus into something which Menelaus personally observed.[28] Here was a perfect opportunity for the poet to reveal Telemachus to be the equal of his father in this regard; but he did not do so. Unlike Athena-Mentes, who initially concealed the truth of Odysseus' situation from his son (1.196-99), Telemachus unabashedly reports what he has heard from Menelaus to his mother: he makes no effort to shape his story to the needs of his audience. In fact, even when not delivering a report, there are other instances where Telemachus makes use of the words he has heard from others

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[24] It is worth noting that Athena's advice to Telemachus at 1.294-96 to give thought how he will kill the suitors is not enacted by him but rather by Odysseus, and that Odysseus' advice at 23.118-22 to give thought to how to deal with the suitors' angry relatives provides his son with a second opportunity to show himself like his father. His refusal to do so offers the audience a strong indication that he has not matured into a man the equal of his father.

[25] Ahl and Roisman [9] 152-66.

[26] Cf. Olson [9] 12 n. 29; Austin [8 (1969)] 51, 56; Scott [8] 422f. Martin [9] 240 more strongly observes that, unlike his father, 'we never see Telemachus perform; he never tells his story'.

[27] Such near-verbatim repetition is a regular feature of the poet's oral-compositional technique, and testifies not just to the oral-derived nature of the *Odyssey*, but also, perhaps, to the poet's excellent memory in the execution of his craft. Nevertheless, precisely because (near) verbatim repetition occurs so frequently, when a character makes a deliberate (and misleading) alternation to a story heard earlier by the external audience, it serves to signal the dissembling nature of that character and his speech for the audience.

[28] Compare *Od.* 3.556-60 with 17.142-46. If Telemachus had reported the story told him by Athena-Mentes rather than Menelaus, the audience would have good reason to believe that he was deliberating dissembling (even though he still would have been repeating a story he had heard elsewhere rather than building one of his own to suit his audience).

as though they were his own. For instance, in book 20 Telemachus unbraids Ctesippus (316-19), one of the suitors, in almost the very same words with which his disguised father upbraided him in book 16 (106-109).[29] Similarly, in book 2 (350-60) his directions to Eurycleia are but an expansion of Athena-Mentor's directions to him at 2.288-91: he merely adds the quantity of things to be gathered. Likewise his response to Eurymachus (2.214-23) does little more than echo the instructions given him by Athena (1.280-92). It would seem that, in Telemachus' estimation, listening to (and then repeating) what others say is what qualifies him as an adult (2.314f.). Even given the formulaic nature of epic poetry, it is remarkable how often Telemachus' speeches are composed of thought sequences he has appropriated from others. One might go so far as to say that, as a speaker, Telemachus is a man of few (of his own) words and decidedly matter-of-fact when engaged in conversation.

Additionally, it is made clear that Telemachus actually lacks the stellar intellect of his father.[30] This is brought out particularly well in book 22 in two related incidents. First, back when Odysseus was sharing his revenge plan with his son, he indicated that he expected Telemachus to stow all of the weapons from the great hall in the storeroom, except for two swords, two spears and two shields, which he was to conceal from view so that they might be ready-to-hand when needed (16.282-97). However, when the weapons are initially stowed, Telemachus, with his father's assistance, takes all of the weapons away (19.1-52), without a reminder from Odysseus of the need to keep some back.[31] Thus, in the early stages of the suitors' slaughter, Telemachus must volunteer to leave the fighting in order to retrieve weapons for himself and his father (22.101-07). It is only now that the audience can appreciate the significance of that earlier omission: Telemachus' forgetfulness, which is allowed to pass by without comment by Odysseus, has created a more dangerous situation for both of them, one which tests both Telemachus' courage and his ability to 'think on his feet' when under pressure.

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[29] Based on E. Minchin's study of the 'rebuke script' in both modern and epic usage ('Speech Acts in the Everyday World and in Homer', in I. Worthington and J. M. Foley [edd.], *Epea and Grammata*: *Oral and Written Communication in Ancient Greece* [Leiden 2002] 71-97). It is clear that Telemachus has taken over both the 'slot sequence' *and* the content of his father's rebuke, rather than generating his own content.

[30] Despite the later allegorical reading of the scholiasts and others who saw Athena as indicative of Telemachus' own innate φρόνησις ('intelligence'); cf. Wissmann [9] 448f.; Murrin [13] 500-02.

[31] This is one of those instances where some scholars would argue the Homer has lost track of a detail presented earlier in the poem as a way of explaining the inconsistency; from this perspective, the failure of Telemachus to remember or of Odysseus to remind him while in the process of hiding the weapon does not convey any significant meaning.

Almost immediately upon his return with the weapons we learn that Melanthius is now raiding the storeroom in aid of the suitors and that he is able to do so because, as Telemachus himself admits, he neglected to secure the storeroom door (153-56).[32] This is a fact which he did not need to acknowledge and, perhaps, would have been better to conceal, for it reveals to his father that he is someone who does not retain his composure well under pressure. But more significantly, his admission of guilt also displays his innate and perhaps unthinking tendency to speak the truth: unlike his father, he is not naturally given to prevarication.[33]

Telemachus Πολύτλας*?*

We may gain more support for this aspect of Telemachus' characterization by considering, in a little more detail, his conversation with his father in book 16 (452-81). Telemachus has just been told the basic outline and a few details of the plan Odysseus intends to put into action in ridding his home of the suitors, during which he exhorts his son to keep the news of father's return to himself, hiding it from all others (300-03). As Beck has noted, '[i]n that Odysseus is himself famous for his ability to dissemble and conceal, Telemachus' own power of concealment may be considered not just a test of loyalty but a mark of family resemblance'.[34] But Odysseus actually directs his son to do more than keep news of his arrival and identity as the beggar secret; his first directive specifically tells him to *endure* when he sees his father being mistreated (274-77).[35] The long-absent father seems to be making trial of his own son not just, as Beck saw, with regards to loyalty and resemblance, but in order to determine the *degree of likeness* between them according the same categories articulated by Athena: will he prove to be 'better', 'worse' or the 'same as' his father?

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[32] According to Cook [8] 164, because the slaughter 'is organized as an *aristeia* . . . the suitors must be able to arm themselves'.

[33] This seems all the more important given that (a) Odysseus initially suspects one of the serving-maids or Melanthius (22.151f.) and (b) Telemachus himself has had 'issues' with at least some of the maids since the suitors' arrival. In context, there is little if anything to motivate the frankness of Telemachus' admission here; thus, the reason for doing so must lie with the poet and the insight it provides the audience (and his father) into Telemachus' innate character. On Telemachus' problems with the serving women see, e.g., Thalmann [9] 206-23, Felson-Rubin [8 (1994)] 67-91, and briefly, Rose [10] 131f.

[34] D. Beck, 'Speech Introductions and the Character Development of Telemachus', *CJ* 94 (1998/9) 133 n. 33; cf. Katz [9] 9.

[35] Athena similarly had told Telemachus that he must endure for up to a year if he were to learn that his father was alive and on his way home (1.287f.).

Unlike Odysseus, who knows how to bide his time and keep both his emotions and the impulses they inspire in check, Telemachus is impatient and prone to emotionally driven, impulsive action; nor has this tendency been significantly curtailed as a result of his educational journey overseas. As Austin observes, '[t]he impatience which Telemachus exhibits in Book 15 is exactly the same impatience which he exhibited in Book 4'. In the earlier book, once Telemachus has been told all Menelaus knows about his father's whereabouts, he is anxious to leave, so much so that his first words are a negative command, Ἀτρεΐδη, μὴ δή με πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδ᾽ ἔρυκε ('Son of Atreus, detain me for no long time here', 4.594), following which he candidly, but tactfully, refuses his host's offer to remain for eleven or twelve more days (4.593-608). So, too, in the later book, his desire to abandon heroic etiquette and leave Menelaus' palace like a thief in the night is an impulsive, emotion-driven reaction to the information Athena has only just provided about the situation back in Ithaca (15.10-42). Had Peisistratus not persuaded him to wait until morning, we are led to believe that Telemachus would have departed without even taking the time to offer the requisite libations to the gods for a safe journey (15.143-53).

This same impatience is evident in Telemachus' rejection of his father's strategy regarding the testing of the servants: it will take too long, they will lose that much more property, so haste is required in dispatching the suitors (16.312-15). And, in fact, once the plan is underway, there are several points at which he makes an effort to hurry on the slaughter by attempting to provoke them to anger, despite his father's instruction that he should employ 'soothing words' (μειλιχίοις ἐπέεσσι) when dealing with their mistreatment of Odysseus (16.278f.).[36] In book 17 (345-47), through Eumaeus, he directs the 'beggar' to seek food from the suitors in an effort to stir up dissention; at lines 392-410 he openly insults Antinous, which results in the latter threateningly picking up his footstool as if to throw it at someone. Similarly, in book 18, he severely chastises the suitors' unruly behaviour and orders them home for the night (405-09), which results not in a hostile confrontation he seems to desire, but in their acquiescence. There is even a suggestion that his attempt to string the bow is motivated at least as much by a desire initiate the killing of the suitors as to show his father that he is his equal in strength (21.118-29).[37] Moreover, the

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[36] Olson [9] 158-59 comments that, especially in book 20, Telemachus 'acts in a consistently provocative manner' with regard to the suitors; cf. Roisman [9] 19-21.

[37] The audience is well aware that Telemachus is eager to kill a suitor: At *Od.* 20.306, he has confessed that he would happily drive a spear through any suitor, and at 20.384-86, the narrator tells us that Telemachus keeps his eyes on Odysseus, on-watch for the moment when he might lay hands on the suitors. S. Hoffer, 'Telemachus' Laugh (*Odyssey* 21.105): Deceit, Authority and Communication in the Bow Contest' *AJPh* 116 (1995) 519, postulates that Odysseus stays his son from stringing the bow because he 'may not want his son to have the

narrator observes that Telemachus fails in his first three attempts because, in his eagerness, he caused the bow to quiver (21.125).[38] His impatience remains active even in book 23 when he rudely chides his mother for her hesitancy in accepting the beggar as her own longed-for Odysseus (94-103). Thus, in terms of Odysseus' most prominent characteristic, his ability to keep his impulses in check and endure, Telemachus proves himself to be similar to but certainly not the same as his father. Were this the only way in which he failed to display an innate affinity with his father's nature, we might easily put it down to his relative youth and lack of experience in relation to his more tried and tested father. However, even more dramatic evidence of Telemachus' inability to maintain control of his emotions and the actions these inspire is further highlighted in his decision to disregard his father's instructions in dispatching the twelve disloyal serving maids following the eradication of the suitors.

Odysseus specifically directs his son, along with Eumaeus and Philoetius, to take these women outside and put them to the sword (22.437-45). But, as soon as opportunity presents itself, Telemachus announces to his assistants that he will in no way allow them a 'clean' death, because both he and his mother have been so insulted by them (22.457-60). Rather he will give them a pitiless death (so the narrator comments, 472) by hanging. If Telemachus' emotional state is not clear enough in this action, it is immediately presented to view when the narrator describes the next thing the young man does: 'with angry heart' (κεκοτηότι θυμῷ, 22.477) Odysseus' son and his assistants drag Melanthius out of the house and brutally maim and mutilate him with no clear direction to do so by Odysseus.[39] This tendency of Telemachus' to react emotionally to a situation with excessive violence and cruelty was even suspected and exploited by Odysseus when he rebuked Melantho, in particular, for her disrespectful behavior (18.337-39): he threatens to report her to his son who will 'cut her limb from limb'.[40] It is not that Odysseus himself is averse to the use of cruel or violent punishment, but rather that when he employs such methods they are the

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principal glory of having killed the suitors—or, rather the onus of having killed the local leaders'; see also Olson [9] 159 n. 46.

[38] One actually has the impression that without his father's prior instructions (and both Odysseus' and Athena's near-constant presence) Telemachus would not have been able to restrain himself from bringing the confrontation with the suitors to a premature and potentially disastrous head.

[39] Cf. M. Davies, 'Murder or Mutilation: *Odyssey* 22.474-7?', *CQ* 44 (1994) 534-36; R. W. Newton, 'Odysseus and Melanthius', *GRBS* 38 (1997) 5-18. It seems that the poet gives us a definitive example of how Telemachus 'learns' from the words of others in his angry treatment of Melanthius; for what is done to this man here is precisely what Telemachus heard Eurymachus say King Echetus would do to the beggar Irus (18.84-87).

[40] Ahl and Roisman [9] 222.

result of calculation rather than emotion. Telemachus, on the other hand, allows his emotions to dictate his actions.[41]

Further support for Telemachus' impatience can be drawn from Martin's observations on the relative authority of speakers who employ the frequently encountered formulaic pattern, 'you do X, but Y will be the concern of men'. He found that although these words 'sound like those of an authoritative character, or one who strives to be', the phraseology 'has overtones of being attached to one who is in fact still powerless'.[42] It is surely significant that this formula, first used by Telemachus in book 1 (356-59), appears again in book 21 (350-53), shortly after he has represented himself to the suitors, first as foolish (21.101-05) and then as immature and child-like (21.132-35)—a designation which he emphatically denied when his mother described his behaviour as such within earshot of the suitors in book 18 (215-42). Especially in book 21, it reveals his inability to maintain the 'disguise' of child-likeness for an extended period.[43] As in his attempt to string the bow, he places his father's successful return in jeopardy by vacillating between two contradictory self-presentations at once: immature adolescent and authoritative κύριος ('Lord', 'Head of the household').[44] Thus, even though he does manage to endure while witnessing his father's mistreatment (but only just), he is unable to maintain the same degree of endurance when his own identity is under threat.

Telemachus Heros?

When Athena first appeared to Telemachus in book 1 as Mentes, her description of how Odysseus would deal with the suitors laid particular stress on his prowess as a fighter (1.253-66), setting forth for Telemachus a model of behavior worthy of emulating. However, in the presentation of Telemachus' own heroics, something is amiss, as he is never credited with killing a

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[41] In contrast, Heath [8] 151-53 takes a positive view of Telemachus' treatment of the maids and Melanthius by seeing in his actions a sign of his newfound independence from his father and a mark of his full maturity; however, he takes no notice of the emphasis given to Telemachus' emotional state by the narrator.

[42] Martin [9] 236f. In this discussion, Martin also argues that Hector's use of this construction when addressing Andromache (*Il.* 6.490-94), reveals a similar lack of true authority in his current situation.

[43] Cf. Hoffer [37] 521.

[44] While Austin [8 (1969)] 61 suggests that only a man confident in his maturity could comfortably feign being a child or child-like, Katz [9] 114 argues that once he has accepted Odysseus as his father, Telemachus' 'disguise' entails playing the role of κύριος (cf. 157).

particularly heroic enemy.[45] As Hans van Wees has shown, bragging rights exist for the warrior who does battle with and overcomes a man of equal status to himself: there is little glory to be had in killing one's inferiors within the social hierarchy.[46] In Telemachus' *aristeia*, he is credited with four named kills. In comparison with the many suitors who die a nameless death, the fact that these four are named may serve to elevate them above the rest.[47] Nevertheless, only the first of the four is specifically acknowledged as being Telemachus' equal in the social hierarchy, but his killing of him is problematic in its own way.

Amphinomus, specifically identified as the son of a king and, thus, Telemachus' equal in terms of social standing (22.89-94) is his first kill. However, he does not dispatch this man in face-to-face combat, but rather spears him from behind (92f.).[48] This Amphinomus, moreover, was not only the first suitor to acknowledge Telemachus' lordship over his own house (18.414-21) but also the only suitor to speak against killing Telemachus without a clear sign that it was willed by Zeus (16.400-05), and the only one who pleased Penelope because of his understanding (16.397f.). Furthermore, he was the only suitor to show consistently proper respect to Odysseus in his beggar disguise, even uttering a prayer that his fortunes improve (18.122-24), and, as the narrator reveals, he would have acted on the beggar's advice to leave before Odysseus returned had not Athena devised to keep him there *for Telemachus to kill* (18.146-57). In addition to his questionable valour in killing this man, it is reported that Telemachus immediately jumped back from Amphinomus' corpse and ran to the side of his father, not taking the time to retrieve his spear in fear

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[45] This aspect of Telemachus' story seems to be carried forward into tales of his later life where he kills two very unheroic victims, one a woman and the other a child. Lycophron's tale at 807-11 implies that after killing his own wife, he was slain in turn by his wife's daughter, who happened to be his sister. Eustathius also reports that in Sophocles' tragedy, *Euryalos*, Telemachus kills his own half-brother, the play's namesake, a son born to Odysseus' Epeirian wife, Euippe (Eust. 1796.52 *ad Od.* 16.118).

[46] H. van Wees, 'The Homeric Way of War: The *Iliad* and the Hoplite Phalanx', *G&R* 41 (1994) 13, notes the *Iliad*'s heroes are in the 'habit of seeking out opponents of equal rank'.

[47] Although the *Odyssey* refers to the suitors collectively as 'aristocrats' or 'princes' (ἄριστοι, e.g., 1.245), few are given patronymics, as would befit a truly heroic character in the epic tradition.

[48] Granted that by doing so, Telemachus seems to have saved his father, against whom Amphinomus was advancing at the time; nevertheless, his attack from the rear and his immediate flight to his father's side, suggest that he may not prove to be as excellent a warrior as his father.

that some other suitor might ambush him (18.95-100).[49] And no sooner had he reached Odysseus' side than he offers to leave the fighting in order to fetch additional armour from the storeroom. During his absence Odysseus kills the vast majority of the suitors so that, by the time his son returns, there remain only six named suitors to be granted the dubious status of 'the best of the rest' (22.244f.).

Telemachus' second named kill is Euryades, one not named among the best remaining six, and a man without his own genealogy in the poem—in other words, a relative nobody. His third kill, Amphimedon, is one of the named six, but he too is another nobody without genealogy in the poem. This suitor, moments before his death, had managed to inflict a wound on Telemachus, his first and only wound—a mere scratch on his wrist, which is hardly heroic for either party.[50] Telemachus' fourth and final named kill is Leiocrites (267): he, at least, has a named father (2.242) but, like Euryades, is not one of those suitors identified as among the best of the rest. So Telemachus does not emerge as particularly heroic from his *aristeia* and this impression is retained in the final book when he joins his father and grandfather in combat against the suitors' vengeful kin.

As that battle is about to begin, there would seem to be something further amiss in Telemachus' response to Odysseus' challenge that he 'bring no shame on your lineage' (24.506-09). Although this challenge is in keeping with the standard advice that fathers give sons before they embark on their own battles (e.g., *Il.* 6.207-10), Telemachus, in his reply, does not take ownership of his bloodline; instead he says that he will not shame 'your' (i.e., Odysseus') lineage (*teon*, 24.512), rather than 'my' (*meon*). It is a small point, but given the preceding evidence, it does suggest that Telemachus perceives himself as sharing less affinity with his father than anticipated. Two other aspects of this final exchange between father and son invite us to agree.

In prefacing his challenge to Telemachus, Odysseus' wording implies two rather negative things, the first of which is that the 'battle' with the suitors was not actually a true test of his son's martial prowess, for only *now* has Telemachus arrived at the place where those who are bravest are distinguished

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[49] H. van Wees, 'Kings in Combat: Battles and Heroes in the *Iliad*', *CQ* 38 (1988) 5 n. 15 notes that recovering one's spear in the midst of battle *before* running back to one's comrades seems a 'regular practice', with six mentions of this action in the *Iliad*.

[50] Thalmann [9] 219; cf. Felson-Rubin [8 (1994)] 171 n. 48, who notes how unfavourably this superficial wound compares with Odysseus' leg wound from the wild boar.

(506f.).[51] The second negative point also involves the opening words of his challenge and their completion: Odysseus says, ἤδε μὲν τόδε γ' ἔισεαι (506) . . . μή τι καταισχύνειν πατέρων γένος (508), 'now you will *eiseai* this . . . not to disgrace your family line' which has excelled in 'strength and valour' in the past (509). The verb ἔισεαι has the sense here of 'coming to know' and so 'to learn', which implies that Telemachus is *to learn not to disgrace* his bloodline. Even allowing for the oral-traditional nature of this call to martial valour, at this, the most Iliadic moment of the *Odyssey*, the use of this verb implies that Telemachus' previous actions have not been seen by his father to be especially exemplary of his family's reputation. As things turn out, he will be given only limited scope to acquit himself respectably, for Athena cuts short the battle before anyone's blood, other than Eupeithes', is shed. Telemachus has been allowed to demonstrate that he has the courage to face the first wave of the enemy on the battlefield.[52] But one is left to wonder how long his fighting spirit would last in a sustained battle. It is notable that when Odysseus begins to pursue the retreating Ithacans, he does so alone: there is no mention of Telemachus at his side. And this is where the *Odyssey* ends.

Thus it would seem that that Odyssean spark which Athena noted as remaining alive in Telemachus (2.278-80) is but briefly ignited under her own and his father's influence. While in their presence, and under their instruction, he can display Odysseus-like attributes, but he does not seem to have a natural aptitude for such behavior. Despite his intensive 'education' in Odyssean behavior, which certainly serves to prepare him for performing the task that Athena wanted him accomplish—to prove himself a 'good' son in assisting his father's recovery of his former position in society and his own home—the tale implies that, without a more natural aptitude, this education proves to be too little too late for it to have had a lasting effect on him and, thus, on his persona in the epic tradition.

The Post-Odyssey Telemachus

In fact, outside of the *Odyssey*, other poems within the Epic Cycle have precious little more to tell us about Telemachus, but what they do say does little to change our picture of a son who does not prove himself to be the same as or

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[51] Would this invite the audience to think that Odysseus was not especially impressed with the way his son handled himself in the slaying of suitors, in his punishment of the maids, or of Melanthius?

[52] If, that is, we are to believe that this courage is distinct from that strength (μένος) and courage (θάρσος) Athena imparted to her favorite's son just before departing in book 1 (320f.).

better than his father. According to Proclus' summary (*Chrestomathia*) of Eugammon of Cyrene's *Telegonia*, another of Odysseus' sons (here, by Circe), named Telegonus, came in search of his father and accidently killed him. Thereafter, he returned to his mother's isolated island home bringing with him both Penelope and Telemachus. Once there, Telegonus took his father's widow as his wife while his mother, Circe, took Telemachus as her husband.[53] Critics find this a most unsatisfactory conclusion to the story of Telemachus because it seems an unbecoming end for such a distinguished young man.[54] Yet, it would seem that the poets who purveyed this tale understood something about Odysseus' son that later audiences have not fully appreciated: he may look like his father and he may even share some of his abilities to a limited extent, but he is crucially not the same as his father. In terms of the possibilities for sons given by Athena, it would seem that Telemachus falls into the category of those sons who are worse. He may have proved himself to be a good and loyal son in the *Odyssey* by working for, rather than against, his father's return, but outside of this narrative, Telemachus is far from successful in his own right: no tale involving a πολύμητις or πολύτλας Telemachus is extant, and there is no evidence to suggest that such a tale was ever in circulation.[55] And the *Odyssey* itself seems to be aware that this son will not prove himself to be the measure of his father when it tells us that Zeus wants the Ithacans to swear an oath to keep Odysseus as their King for his entire life (24.482-86). Apparently, it is the god's will that, unlike his own father, Laertes, Odysseus not cede authority to his own son before he dies. By implication, even when Odysseus leaves again (in accord with Teireisias' prophecy, 11.118-134), Telemachus will be, at best, master of his house, but never king.[56]

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[53] Apart from Eugammon's *Telegonia* (above), another tale, probably the Hesiodic *Eoiae*, (Hes. Frag. 221 Merkelbach and West [2]) relates that Nestor's youngest daughter, Polycaste, was given in marriage to Telemachus. Eustathius also reports in his commentary on *Od.* 16.118 that both Aristotle (*Ithakesian politeia*) and Hellenicus (4F156) said that Telemachus married Nausicaa; here we have never-never-land figure in whose homeland Telemachus will live a life of leisure, devoid of the trials faced by mortal and heroic men like his father. Cf. Dictys of Crete (6.6).

[54] For instance, M. Davies, *The Greek Epic Cycle*[2] (Bristol 2001) 90, calls it a 'second-rate Greek epic's equivalent of "they all lived happily ever after"' and 'intensely un-Homeric' (91), while over a century earlier, D. Munro, 'The Poems of the Epic Cycle', *JHS* 5 (1884) 41, expressed 'regret that the curtain should be made to fall in this strange and burlesque fashion on the stage so long filled by Homeric gods and men'.

[55] Cf. Martin [9] 240f.

[56] This would tell against Rose [10] 103f., who observes that 'the books dedicated to Telemachus stress emphatically and repeatedly the rightness of inherited monarchy'.

Thus the tales of Telemachus' translation to Circe's isle seem designed to highlight how far away Telemachus is from being another Odysseus in more than his appearance.[57] Unlike his father, Odysseus' son seems perfectly happy to end his life in obscurity, to live forever in a never-never-land where heroic achievement is impossible and the need to endure, to plan, to scheme and to employ cunning speech is nonexistent.[58] It seems a most appropriate way of saying that although Telemachus does 'come of age' in the *Odyssey*, as a degenerate version of Odysseus, he was incapable of generating a truly heroic story of his own.

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[57] Although his subsequent translation to the 'Isle of the Blessed' could indicate that he is to be viewed as on par with the great Achaean heroes of the *Iliad*, Menelaus' own report of Proteus' prophecy that he will find a place on this Isle because he was the husband of Helen (4.561-69) suggests that neither he nor Telemachus deserved such a blessed fate in his own right.

[58] There is a certain lack of clarity in the sources dealing with what happened to Telemachus on Circe's island, one indicating that he was made immortal and translated (with Circe?) to the Isle of the Blest (*Nostoi*), the other, granting him immortality but leaving him with Circe on her island (*Telegonia*).

THE AUGUSTAN UTOPIA OF HORACE AND VERGIL
AND THE IMPERIAL DYSTOPIA OF
PETRONIUS AND JUVENAL

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Abstract. Both Horace and Vergil were recruited by Maecenas to give a poetic stamp of approval to the Augustan regime, though neither was an uncritical adherent. Horace appears to have accommodated himself to the new order until he emerges as Augustus' poet laureate. During the reigns of Nero and Domitian, however, Petronius and Juvenal respectively suggest that the Augustan utopia has been replaced by an imperial nightmare of dystopic proportions.

In keeping with Utopian theory as summarized in the *Oxford Companion to Philosophy*,[1] Horace's sixteenth *Epode* gives an implicit and explicit critique of the socio-political situation *ca.* 39-38 BCE, a situation ultimately replaced by the Augustan 'Utopia' or golden age, celebrated in Vergil's *Eclogue* 4, in *Georgics* 2, in parts of the *Aeneid* and also in the poems of Horace, in which he describes and celebrates his own Epicurean and Sabine Utopia, made possible by the *pax Augusta*.

Utopias were considered essentially conservative by Northrop Frye,[2] and dangerously so by Karl Popper, influenced in the composition of *The Open Society and Its Enemies* by twentieth century fascism.[3] Popper's views and those of others are summarized by Sargent,[4] who tells us that William Morris, in *News from Nowhere*,[5] posits violent revolution as the basis of change in his utopia and, presumably, violent revolution or political convulsion as being instrumental in, or necessary for the establishment of a utopian society. Others indicate that a utopian society may be born as a consequence of the destruction

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[1] T. Honderich (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*[2] (New York 1995) 892f. For a comprehensive modern study of the topic of ancient utopias see R. Evans, *Utopia Antiqua: Readings of the Golden Age and Decline at Rome* (London 2008).

[2] N. Frye, 'Varieties of Literary Utopias', in F. E. Manuel (ed.), *Utopias and Utopian Thought* (London 1973) 25-49.

[3] K. Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* 1-2 (London 1945).

[4] L. T. Sargent, 'Authority and Utopia: Utopianism in Political Thought', *Polity* 14 (1982) 565-84.

[5] W. Morris, *News From Nowhere, Or an Epoch of Rest: Being Some Chapters from a Utopian Romance* (Boston 1890).

of another city: one city dies, another is born; Troy dies, Rome is born.[6] The ashes of republican Rome are the ground from which arises, phoenix-like, the Rome of Augustus.

Sargent sums up the paths to a utopian society: 'Many utopias do not discuss the process of change in any detail. Some assume revolution, some evolution. Some prescribe specific political actions, but many depend on a "great man" or in a few cases a "great woman" to bring about the desired result.'[7] Was Augustus one such 'great man' when revolution and evolution gave difficult birth to the principate under his maieutic hand? To what extent and when did he develop a vision of a utopian society under his guardianship as *princeps*. Certainly on Octavian's return from the east in August of 29 BCE he was faced with the problems of how to cement his position of power and of how to develop a new constitution under the guise of restoring the republic to satisfy those with genuine republican leanings among the senate and elite. There was the problem of how 'to impose the habit of peace' (*pacisque imponere morem*, Ver. *Aen.* 6.852[8]) on a population ravaged by and inured to generations of civil strife and war. The civil war had indeed culminated in 'a violent revolution', which was on occasion the prerequisite for the establishment of a utopian state.[9] Both Horace and Vergil imply, as literary supporters of the Augustan regime, that a utopian society was on the point of being established and was, in fact, later established. It was also the utopian intent of Augustus to impose a moral renewal on Roman society.

Through a process of assuming powers, adapting them, apparently laying them down, while maintaining power through pro consular dominion over the

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[6] See C. S. Kraus, '"No Second Troy": Topoi and Refoundation in Livy, Book V', *TAPhA* 124 (1994) 270: 'the recurrent pattern of a city destroyed before a city can be founded: Troy before Lavinium, Alba Longa before Rome'. Kraus [above this note] 270 n. 19 also cites M. Serres, *Rome: The Book of Foundations* (Stanford 1991) 38: 'the book entitled *ab urbe condita* begins—after announcing the beginning of all things—with *Troia capta*, the city stormed. From the first opening, it is an electrifying short-circuit between the origin and the storming.'

[7] Sargent [4] 580.

[8] Classical texts are as follows (in order of appearance, other than to avoid repetition): the text of Vergil, *Aeneid* and *Eclogues* is that of R. A. B. Mynors (ed.), *P. Vergili Maronis Opera* (Oxford 1972); of Cicero, *De Republica* C. F. W. Mueller (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta Quae Manserunt Omnia* 4.2 (Leipzig 1890); of Horace, *Epodi*, *Carmina*, *Satirae* and *Epistulae* F. Klingner (ed.), *Q. Horati Flacci Opera* (Leipzig 1959); of Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* R. S. Conway and C. F. Walters (edd.), *Titi Livi Ab Urbe Condita* 1 (Oxford 1955); of Juvenal *Saturae* W. V. Clausen (ed.), *A. Persi Flacci et D. Iuni Iuvenalis Saturae* (Oxford 1959); and of Petronius, *Satryica* K. Müller and W. Ehlers (edd.) *Petronius: Satyrica* (München 1983).

[9] Sargent [4] 571.

two Spains, Gaul, Syria and Egypt Augustus managed to create a mixed constitution reminiscent of Cicero's nostalgic ideal in the *De Republica*, where the author hankers after: *bonus et sapiens et peritus utilitatis dignitatisque civilis quasi tutor et procurator rei publicae; sic enim appellatur, quicumque erit rector et gubernator civitatis* ('a good and wise and skilful guardian and protector, so to speak, of the practical interests and dignity of the state; for that man will be so described who is truly the guide and helmsman of the state', *Rep.* 2.51).

In fact Cicero's *Republic* is far from a 'purely ideal Utopia',[10] as had been his Platonic literary model but, as explained as long ago as 1930 by How, it 'is real and historical as he [Cicero] repeatedly insists, being in fact the old Roman constitution purged and purified' (as, for example, in *Rep.* 2.3.22, 51). More recently, Wallace-Hadrill comments that the legacy of the ancestors had been betrayed through neglect of the masterpiece that had been the collective creation of the *maiores*.[11] For Cicero, arguing for a mixed constitution with *gubernator rei publicae* ('a helmsman of the state') providing a benign oversight—a role suitable for one such as himself—the presence of such an individual would have been a temporary expedient. Octavian, however, confronted with the contrasting *exempla* of Sulla's cynical abdication of power, of Caesar's naked and fatal ambition and of Pompey's failure—a severe disappointment to Cicero (Cic. *Att.* 8.1.2)—he had to play a more cunning game to ensure his continued tenure of power. Octavian's creation of the principate as a 'restored republic' was identified by his poetic supporters as a new golden age both before and, especially, during the millennial celebrations of 17 BCE, in which a new golden age was pronounced in Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*.

Disillusionment with the imperial dream is expressed later in the works of Petronius and Juvenal, along with nostalgia for the life-style of a mythic Roman

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[10] W. W. How, 'Cicero's Ideal in His *De Republica*', *JRS* 20 (1930) 26.

[11] A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge 2008) 229f. quotes Cic. *Rep.* 5.1.f.: *Itaque ante nostram memoriam et mos ipse patrius praestantes viros adhibebat, et veterem morem ac maiorum instituta retinebant excellentes viri. Nostra vero aetas cum rem publicam sicut picturam accepisset egregiam, sed iam evanescentem vetustate, non modo eam coloribus eisdem, quibus fuerat, renovare neglexit, sed ne id quidem curavit, ut formam saltem eius et extrema tamquam liniamenta servaret. . . . Nostris enim vitiis, non casu aliquo, rem publicam verbo retinemus, re ipsa vero iam pridem amisimus.* ('And so before living memory traditional custom by itself made men outstanding and excellent men preserved the old ways and practices of the ancestors. But our age, having inherited the *res publica* like a masterpiece of painting that was already fading with age, has not only neglected to restore the old colours that were there, but has not even troubled to preserve its shape and outlines. . . . It is by our own faults, not by accident, that we keep the *res publica* in name only, and have long since lost its substance.')

past, which, in *Epode* 16, Horace wished to recreate in a land of the golden west. Watson comments: 'Above all, the radical nature of Horace's proposal, to quit the doomed city for good and make for a utopian paradise at the extremities of the known world, represents a veritable counsel of despair which more than anything expresses the utter hopelessness of Rome's situation'.[12] Horace was possibly influenced by Sallust's *Histories* and the utopian ambitions of Q. Sertorius, recorded in Plutarch's life of Sertorius. Watson reports Gabba's comments to the effect that 'such utopian visions generally arise in response to social and political crises'.[13] At a time when the republic had been destroyed by the ravages of civil war and the ambitions of powerful men it might have seemed reasonable to consider the peace that finally arrived with the victory of Augustus as the beginning of a new age, when hope for the future became again possible in the minds of a population fragmented and decimated by over a century of civil strife and dissension. Peace after war was a blessing and it was Maecenas' task to foster in the minds of the populace that mattered, through the agency of his stable of poets, the impression of a return of a mythical golden age and the establishment of an ideal society in a brave new world that might be labelled utopian. The *desiderata* of the utopian *beatae insulae* as described in *Epodes* 16 are benignity of climate, crops which grow spontaneously, a miraculous fertility, an abundance of all good things and no need for toil. Such conditions are later described as existing in the 'restored republic' of Augustus.

For the Roman citizen in the time of the civil wars there was much toil and hardship—hunger, even, due to the blockade of Sextus Pompeius—while the peaceful coexistence of antipathetical and disparate animal species in *Epode* 16 is in stark contrast to the internecine strife between the factions of a supposedly homogeneous Roman aristocracy. There is much debate about the meaning of the poem. Is it an expression of despair? Is it included in the *Epodes* as an articulation of the dire situation which demanded escape, a situation from which the Roman people were rescued by the victory of Augustus?

Watson discusses the parallels with Vergil, *Eclogues* 4 and raises the question of chronological priority.[14] This is not a major problem since it is likely that either Vergil's vision of a new beginning and a fresh golden age must be in response to his friend's tone of despair, or that Horace's pessimism is in response to Vergil's high hopes, a pessimism exacerbated by the disappointment that the hopes temporarily raised by the peace of Brundisium were crushed.[15] In the poem the author tells us that Rome is on the point of self-destruction by

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[12] L. C. Watson, *A Commentary on Horace's 'Epodes'* (Oxford 2003) 479.

[13] Watson [12] 482; E. Gabba, 'True History and False History', *JRS* 71 (1981) 50-60.

[14] Watson [12] 486f.

[15] Watson [12] 487.

accomplishing herself what was impossible for generations of foreign enemies (*Ecl*. 4.1-10). In its desolation Rome will be a prey for barbarians who will sully its holy places (*Ecl.* 4.11-14), and there is an irony in the thought of abandoning Rome to wild boars and wolves, given the mythical role of the latter in the founding of Rome.

Rome must be abandoned by the 'better sort'. Horace urges 'those men with virtue' (*vos quibus est virtus*, *Epod*. 16.39) to abandon womanly wailing and sail beyond the Etruscan shores and into the Atlantic, possibly the Canary Isles. The Blessed Isles are an earthly paradise, though no hint is given of its political constitution, but one assumes it will be very different from that which obtained in contemporary Rome. Rather there will be a return to the agrarian oligarchy of the early Republic, idealized in Livy's *History* and in *Epodes* 2, for example, and also in Cicero's *De Republica* and in Horace, *Odes* 3.6, where there is a satirical take on Rome's present depravity and moral decline, as well as an ironical idealization of Rome's rustic past:

> Non his iuuentus orta parentibus
> infecit aequor sanguine Punico
>   Pyrrhumque et ingentem cecidit
>   Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum;
>
> sed rusticorum mascula militum
> proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
>   uersare glaebas et seuerae
>   matris ad arbitrium recisos
>
> portare fustis, sol ubi montium
> mutaret umbras et iuga demeret
>   bobus fatigatis, amicum
>   tempus agens abeunte curru.
>
> Damnosa quid non inminuit dies?
> aetas parentum, peior auis, tulit
>   nos nequiores, mox daturos
>   progeniem uitiosiorem.
>
>   (Hor. *Odes* 3.6.33-48)

> Not sprung from parents such as these
> the youth who stained the sea with Punic blood,
>   felled Pyrrhus, great Antiochus
>   and Hannibal the dread,
>
> but rather a virile yeoman soldiery
> of yesteryear, skilled tillers of the sod
>   with Sabine hoe, who at the matriarch's
>   stern request

bring fresh cut kindling wood, until
the sun's departing car has shifted hill
      top shadows, eased the yokes from aching ox
         neck, brought on the pleasant time.

What thing does not pernicious time destroy?
Our parents' age was worse than their
      own parents' age and spawned then us, worse still,
         about to birth a far more vicious progeny.

This poem crystallizes satirical views on the depravity of the time, critical views presumably condoned by Augustus, who was intent on both moral and political reform, as he looked to re-establish an ideal 'republic' under his tutelage.[16] These ideas include the notion that Rome has suffered because of neglect of the gods, a lack of *pietas,* a failing which in tradition goes back to Romulus' murder of his brother, blighting the example set by *pius Aeneas*. The view that sexual morality has collapsed under the influence of Greeks and of wealth from the East, is appropriate in that it might be thought to refer to the career of Antony and his affair with Cleopatra. The mood of the poem anticipates the pessimism expressed by Livy in his Preface to his history, *Ab Urbe Condita*, as he traces the moral decline of Rome: *donec ad haec tempora quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus perventum est* ('until we come to our modern era when we can neither endure our vices nor suffer their remedies', *praef.* 9); *nuper divitiae avaritiam, et abundantes voluptates desiderium, per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia, invexere* ('recently riches have brought in their train greed and self-indulgence in physical pleasures and a desire, through the effects of luxury and lust, for death and total destruction', *praef.* 12). While Livy is following in the tradition of Sallust in his indulgence in such moralizing preliminaries, the text gives an impression of sincerity and fits in with the alleged uncertainty (in the minds of some historians[17]) that Livy felt regarding the ultimate success of Augustus' plans for moral reform.

     The satirical tone of Horace, *Odes* 3.6, anticipatory of the tone of Petronius' *Satyricon* and the *Satires* of Juvenal, is maintained by the suggestion that marriage's prime purpose—the getting of new children born to be warriors—has changed to the immoral procuring of wealth by whatever means, including the prostitution of a wife. Such behaviour was not a part of the *mores*

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[16] At the same time there is more than a hint of irony in the depiction of the stern matriarch and the compliant sons, which anticipates Juvenal's less than flattering attitude to a moral past in, for example, his description of the primitive wife and mother at *Satires* 6.1–10.

[17] See, e.g., P. G. Walsh, 'Livy's Preface and the Distortion of History', *AJPh* 76.4 (1955) 369-83; H. Petersen, 'Livy and Augustus', *TAPhA* 92 (1961) 440-52.

maiorum which had brought Rome to the hegemony of the world. Rather what had brought Rome's success, had made her, in nostalgic dreams at least, a kind of utopia, were the values of a tough rusticity embodied in hard men, dutiful alike to the land, the family, the state and the gods. This message also resonates with the sentiments expressed throughout Livy's history that the *bonae artes* ('noble arts') have been lost,[18] as well as the cardinal virtues identified by Panaetius' brand of Stoicism as *temperantia* ('self-control'), *fortitudo* ('courage'), *sapientia* ('wisdom') and *iustitia* ('justice').[19]

By the time of *Odes* 2.6, Horace's utopia is in Italy and there is no need to travel, since Italy and Rome are free of civil strife. Horace's Sabine farm comes near to being a personally constructed pastoral and utopian realm, divorced from *fumum et opes strepitumque Romae* ('the smoke and wealth and din of Rome', *Odes* 3.29.12), a realm which is a setting for an idyllic existence, the very construction of which was made possible by the *pax Augusta.* If one were to ask what it was about Roman life to which Horace especially objected, and against which he measured his personal and private Utopia as a corrective, one would list competitive and destructive political and personal ambition, displayed in a minor key by the social climber of *Sat.* 1.9, and the abandonment of traditional virtues; Horace is, after all, *laudator temporis acti*[20] ('an encomiast of time past'), though not an uncritical one—witness his treatment of Ofellus in *Satires* 2.2.[21]

In *Epodes* 16 Horace had associated himself with *melior pars* ('the better men'), that is to say, the republican faction defeated at Philippi—the noblest Roman of them all, and his followers:

> nulla sit hac potior sententia: Phocaeorum
> velut profugit exsecrata civitas
> agros atque lares patrios habitandaque fana
> apris reliquit et rapacibus lupis . . .
>
> (Hor. *Epod*. 16.17-20)
>
> No better plan than this—but, like Phocaea's men,
> we should unite and take an oath and leave behind
> our fields and household gods, and leave our shrines
> as homes for pig and the ravening wolves . . .

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[18] See Walsh [17] 370.

[19] For a discussion of the utilization of the stoic cardinal virtues in the *Aeneid*, see R. P. Bond, 'Aeneas and the Cardinal Virtues', *Prudentia* 6 (1974) 67-91.

[20] M. E. Taylor, 'Horace, *Laudator Temporis Acti*', *AJPh* 83 (1962) 23-43.

[21] See R. P. Bond, 'The Characterization of Ofellus in Horace, *Satires* 2.2 and a Note on v. 123', *Antichthon* (1980) 112-26.

Horace declares that those *pars indocili melior grege* ('better than the common herd', 16.38) have only one course available, to flee and leave Rome to the *indocilis grex*. One is reminded of *odi vulgus profanum et arceo* ('I hate the common herd and keep them at bay', *Odes* 3.1.1). Although usually interpreted as referring specifically to an audience of men not *docti* ('learned'), it demonstrates a hearty contempt for the under-educated, an attitude of mind which is criticised by the slave Davus at *Sat.* 2.7.95-101. Horace's insistence on his own moral and aesthetic superiority either through explicit statement, or through tortuous defences interwoven into such poems as *Sat.* 2.1 indicates a mind-set incompatible with a slavish dedication to a political ideal less than congenial.

Davies makes the point that 'the landscape of Horace's Blessed Isles is described for the most part in terms of absences',[22] although there is also plenty in terms of the advantages the new home will bestow:

> nos manet Oceanus circumvagus: arva beata
>   petamus, arva divites et insulas,
> reddit ubi cererem tellus inarata quotannis . . .
>
>   (Hor. *Epod*. 16.41-43)
> The surrounding stream of Ocean waits for us: so let us seek
>   the Elysian fields, the islands where wealth abounds,
> where the ground, untilled, returns its yield of wheat each year . . .

At lines 65f., Horace uses the phrase *vate me* ('poet's voice') claiming the authority of a seer and truth for his dream of the Blessed Isles. What is interesting is that in this poem, written shortly after Philippi, and before Horace's adoption by Maecenas and the new regime, the tone of the poem seems to be a genuine expression of a bleak pessimism, suggesting that he had himself despaired of Rome, because of the city's stubbornly self-destructive nature. Horace's radical solution in this poem, namely a journey to the west, a *fuga* ('flight') follows the example of the pious Aeneas, and anticipates the flight from Rome of Juvenal's dubious spokesperson Umbricius in *Satires* 3.[23] That *Pietas* is a prerequisite of the people who are to undertake this new venture, abandoning an immoral Rome, is made clear at verse 66. It was already stated at verse 39, soon after the voyage is mooted, that *virtus* is to be a prerequisite for membership of the expedition. The notion of Aeneas' piety was

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[22] Watson [12] 483, who also references M. Davies, 'Description by Negation: History of a Thought Pattern in Ancient Accounts of the Blissful Life', *Prometheus* 13 (1987) 265-84 and B. Lincoln, 'On the Imagery of Paradise', *IF* 85 (1980) 151-64.

[23] On various readings of Umbricius see G. A. Staley, 'Juvenal's Third Satire: Umbricius' Rome and Vergil's Troy,' *MAAR* 45 (2000) 85-98.

not a Vergilian invention. It is difficult to imagine how the profound pessimism of this poem, written when it seemed to the author that the continuing cycle of self-destructive civil strife would never cease, could be profitably inserted into a collection intended primarily, according to conventional wisdom, as a first step in the construction of a literary campaign supporting the new regime. Again Watson's comments are pertinent. Following his line of interpretation, *Epode* 16 is seen as indicative of the slough of despond from which Octavian's victory had dragged the right thinking men of Rome.[24] Right thinking men, according to Horace, had initially felt a need to escape from Rome, to abandon the city, as Aeneas had been compelled to abandon Troy, as Juvenal's Umbricius would be compelled to abandon a degenerate Rome. The victory of Octavian made that westward flight unnecessary, however, since Octavian was the new Aeneas and was in Rome. The journey was not to be into the west but into the future.

With this sentiment Vergil was pretty much in sympathy in *Eclogues* 4, where the new age is likened to Hesiod's age of gold—with advantages such as the self-tinting fleece. Irrespective of the identity of the child of *Eclogue* 4, Vergil's Italy, about to be re-born into new *Saturnia regna* (4.6), shares many characteristics with Horace's golden west: compliant full-uddered goats, ox and lion in mutual harmony, crops that grow without cultivation and no snakes. The praise of Italy in *Georgics* 2 is in much the same vein, as are passages in the *Aeneid* (especially 6.792-94). As long ago as 1958 Ryberg wrote: 'The restoration of *aurea saecula* brings echoes of the hopes for the return of peace and law and justice after the civil wars, of the idealization of the early days of Rome, of the perhaps equally romantic longing for the simple life preached by philosophers and poets'.[25] That Italy has been restored as a place of peace and plenty worthy of immortalizing through Horace's poetic skills is the message also of *Odes* 1.7.

Horace constructs in the *Odes* and *Epistles* an Epicurean and agrarian utopia, sometimes featuring Faunus as a beneficent deity, associated with an Italy blessed by the *pax Romana* of Augustus. Even as the Epicurean ideal, like many utopian visions, as mentioned before, is defined by a *lack* of pain or anxiety—*ataraxia*—as much as by positives, Horace's utopian Italy is characterized both by what is deemed to be missing—dishonour, dishonesty and immorality; he looks forward to a life no longer tainted by *avaritia* and *ambitio,* and blessed by what is present—an adequate supply of food and wine, procured with a minimum of toil, congenial companionship, male and female—all to be

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[24] Watson [12] 488.

[25] I. S. Ryberg, 'Vergil's Golden Age', *TAPhA* 89 (1958) 112-31.

found in idyllic Italian surroundings. There is no need now to look outside of Italy to find utopia.

It was not only the utopian dreams of Quintus Sertorius that inspired Horace's dream of a western escape from the moral and political horrors of Rome. In book 5 of Livy's history the author reports that after the capture of Veii some members of the commons and their tribunes were of a mind to migrate to that pleasant site, while after the sack of Rome by the Gauls that proposal was mooted by the same parties, only to be defeated, according to Livy, by a speech by the military hero Marcus Furius Camillus (5.51-55).

Horace's utopian vision takes on a more official aspect in *Odes* 4 and in the *Carmen Saeculare*. As Barchiesi points out, it is in the fourth book of *Odes* and in the *Carmen Saeculare* that Horace moves from the 'coherence of utterance and song' to 'writing as an authorial activity reinscribed in the Pindaric praise poetics of book 4, as it never was in the Alcaic-Sapphic poetics of books 1-3'.[26] Perhaps as Augustus' position (and so Horace's) became ever more secure, it became possible more overtly and with less likelihood of giving offence to celebrate explicitly in a precisely written genre the *pax Augusta* and the benefits it had brought. The *auctoritas* of the poet is a major theme of *Odes* 4, coupled with his unique capacity for conferring immortality on the achievements and person of the *princeps*. The various critical responses to what to some appears to be Horace's abandonment of self-respect and any vestige of independence is thoroughly analysed by Lowrie: 'Before D. Kennedy (1992),[27] much debate revolved around whether Horace was "Augustan" or "anti-Augustan", with ambiguity mediating between the two. These terms are now usually brought up to be dismissed in favour of the idea that Horace's poetry contributed to and benefited from Augustus' ideological hegemony, however the poetry functions and whatever the historical poet intended.'[28] Davis deconstructs Kennedy's neutralist position in order to present himself as a wilful and iconoclastic anti-Augustan, and Horace, in the composition of the celebratory odes of the fourth book and the *Carmen Saeculare*, as a poet who has finally abandoned any semblance of the independence[29] that Oliensis

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[26] A. Barchiesi, '*Carmina*: *Odes* and *Carmen Saeculare*', in S. Harrison (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Horace* (Cambridge 2007) 152.

[27] D. Kennedy, '"Augustan" and "Anti-Augustan": Reflections on Terms of Reference', in A. Powell (ed.) *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus* (London 1992) 26-58.

[28] M. Lowrie, 'Horace and Augustus', in S. Harrison (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Horace* (Cambridge 2007) 89.

[29] P. J. Davis, '"Since My Part Has Been Well Played": Conflicting Evaluations of Augustus', *Ramus* 28 (1999) 1-15; 'The Fabrication of Tradition: Horace, Augustus and the Secular Games', *Ramus* 30 (2001) 111-27.

perceived in *Odes* 1-3,[30] being complicit now in 17 BCE in the 'fabrication of tradition'. By contrast, Oliensis, referring to *Odes* 4, claims that 'if Horace begins by representing the collection as a spontaneous and purely personal production, a response to an inner rather than an external compulsion, he ends with an act of self-obliteration that leaves Caesar in sole possession of the poem',[31] a view with which Davis concurs. This does seem to fly, however, in the face of the poet's aforementioned confidence in his capacity to confer immortality. But it seems that neither of these critics takes account of the historical reality in which Horace was operating. Would it have been possible for Horace to refuse the imperial 'request'? Why should the poet not see the commission for the *Carmen Saeculare* as the pinnacle of the Roman career of the boy *libertino patre natus* ('born of a freedman father', *Sat.* 1.6.45f.)? At once an opposing voice might be imagined citing Cherniss[32] to the effect that it is illegitimate to speculate on what we cannot know, namely the author's intention at the time of composition. It is time that the totalitarian authority accorded to this orthodoxy was challenged. Even in a generally favourable review of this essay, Carver suggests that Cherniss pushes his theory to an extreme position, declaring:

> Classical literature differs from that of the great Romantic Period, for instance, very widely in that the latter is the expression of intense individualism. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* stand forth clearly, their meaning apparent to one whether or not he ever heard of the debate concerning the existence of Homer. Are the poems in *Lyrical Ballads* equally clear to one having no knowledge of Wordsworth and Coleridge? And what of the works of Keats, Byron, and Shelley, iotacists to an extreme degree? But many instances of poets who lived before the Romantic Period occur. The work of John Donne comes into sharper focus for one who is aware of the poet's life experience, especially of his preoccupation with science. Alexander Pope's attitude throughout his writing is more easily understandable if one remembers his bodily suffering. As a towering exception, of course, one grants that the plays of Shakespeare are beyond any necessity of biographical explication. Can it be that the greater the work the smaller the need to know the details in the life of the author?[33]

It seems that in inspiration, artistry and tone Horace, an intensely personal poet, has much more in common with such literary and human figures such as Keats, Byron and Shelley—Pope, of course—than with such monumental figures as

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[30] E. Oliensis, *Horace and the Rhetoric of Authority* (Cambridge 1998) 150.

[31] Oliensis [30] 152.

[32] H. Cherniss, *The Biographical Fashion in Literary Criticism* (Berkeley 1943) 279-92.

[33] G. Carver, Review: H. Cherniss, *The Biographical Fashion in Literary Criticism* (Berkeley 1943), *CW* 37 (1944) 142f.

Homer and Shakespeare. Therefore it behooves the critic to make an effort of the sympathetic and informed imagination to try to understand and communicate what might very likely have been the poet's personal position *vis à vis* the regime which dominated his life and of which he was an integral part. Such an effort is a useful counterweight to those who are intent on iconoclasm. Although it may be true that Lucan and Statius, for example, did not write imperial propaganda, it is also certainly arguable that Augustus in the period immediately after the civil wars presents a less dangerously tyrannical figure than either Nero or Domitian. In addition, Horace had experience of the horrors of civil war—on the losing side—and was intimately acquainted with the *clementia* of the emperor.

Moreover, if one reads *Odes* 4 in a sequential manner, one is struck, as mentioned, by the proud statements of Horace on the power of poetry, of the *vates* and his capacity to immortalize the great far more effectively than do their own actual achievements. Take, for example, the conclusion of *Odes* 4.6, at once a hymn to Apollo and a poem which celebrates with pride the personal achievement of the *Carmen Saeculare,* and more especially the eighth poem which, after poem seven and its comments on the constant flux and change of nature, and the transience of everything, determines that poetry alone can bestow lasting immortality. Horace, in the employ of the regime, abandons despair to embrace that regime as having provided a kind of utopian peace to war torn Rome and Italy. His praise of Augustus' achievements in *Odes* 4.2, 4.5 and 4.15 express a belief that a new millennium has arrived. His attitude to Augustus in *Odes* 4.2 and 4.5 is as messianic as anything in *Eclogue* 4, as when Augustus is declared to be the new Romulus:

> Diuis orte bonis, optume Romulae
> custos gentis, abes iam nimium diu;
> maturum reditum pollicitus patrum
>   sancto consilio redi.
>
> Lucem redde tuae, dux bone, patriae;
> instar ueris enim uoltus ubi tuus
> adfulsit populo, gratior it dies
>   et soles melius nitent.

<div align="right">(Hor. Odes 4.5.1-8)</div>

> Descended from kind gods, best protector
> of Romulus' race—your absence is too long;
> you solemnly promised the august senate
>   an early return—so come!

> Restore your light, sweet leader, to your land:
> for when the light of your countenance smiles
> like spring upon your citizens, our days are blessed,
>   the sun shines brighter in the sky.

The fact that the tone does not suit certain modern tastes is an irrelevance. One has only to read the praise of patrons by later English poets, Shakespeare included, to understand this kind of praise was expected and formal, but also that this style does not exclude sincerity. See also *Odes* 4.2, where, in a kind of *recusatio*, Horace nonetheless manages to sing the praises of Augustus, as he anticipates the *princeps'* triumphal return to Rome and declares that he, as a poet, must emulate the power of Pindar to do justice to his emperor's achievement:

> Pindarum quiquis studet aemulari,
> Iule, ceratis ope Daedalea
> nititur pinnis vitreo daturus
>   nomina ponto.
>
>   (Hor. *Odes* 4.2.1-4)
>
> Who so would strive to rival Pindar, Iullus dear,
> must fly on wings waxed with the skill of Daedalus,
> be ready to give his name to seas that shine
>   like glass.

Horace's brave new world of *Epodes* 16 is alive and well, but centred on Rome. The notion that the rule of Augustus has ushered in a new golden age in Rome, in Italy and the world is also the message of the *Carmen Saeculare*. It is no longer necessary to contemplate flight from Rome, not at least until the time of composition of Juvenal's third satire. The *Carmen Saeculare* is the poetical expression of the line put forward by Augustus in the *Res Gestae*.[34] It is a statement based upon the expression of positives. The golden age is a time of peace and prosperity, of moral and economic health, of joyous worship of tutelary deities. One of the things particularly interesting about the *Carmen*, however, is that Horace refers explicitly to Aeneas' journey from Troy:

> Roma si vestrum est opus Iliaeque
> litus Etruscum tenuere turmae,
> iussa pars mutare lares et urbem
>   sospite cursu,

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[34] As expressed rather controversially by E. S. Ramage, *The Nature and Purpose of Augustus' 'Res Gestae'* (Stuttgart 1987).

cui per ardentem sine fraude Troiam
castus Aeneas patriae superstes
liberum munivit iter, daturus
        plura relictis . . .

                                        (Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 37-44)

If Rome is your great work and Trojan warriors hold
Etruscan shores, a group required to change
their household gods and city on a journey
        made safe, a group that was led

safe and sound by holy Aeneas through a city
in flames, a survivor, who forged a route
to freedom and fated to give his men
        more than was lost . . .

My interest in the *Carmen* was rekindled by Putnam's book, according to which it gives 'a glowing picture of contemporary Rome',[35] what I would call the 'official view', but was, in fact, according to Putnam, a commissioned masterpiece.[36] My defence of Horace's effusions in *Odes* 4 and the *Carmen Saeculare* was precipitated by the readings of Oliensis and Davis. As a reader who is the creation of a particular time and place in history, one must be necessarily formed and influenced by that environment; nevertheless it does the ancient author an injustice not to recreate imaginatively and sympathetically, as much as may be, the political and societal pressures that conspired to inform his work.[37] If the projected journey of *Epodes* 16 to the Isles of the Blest is inspired by thoughts of the mythical journey of Aeneas from Troy to Italy, and that proposed journey or flight had been recommended in a poem of deep despair, then it is fascinating to see the poet use the same mythical material in the *Carmen Saeculare* in a positive manner. The poet recycles his material, reconstructs his poetry and his poetic self to suit the demands of the creative moment, and the demands of his imperial patron, *pater patriae* ('father of the nation'), a man who was in Cicero's prophetic words *rector et gubernator civitatis* ('director and helmsman of the state', *Rep.* 2.51) and first citizen of a

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[35] M. Putnam, *Horace's Carmen Saeculare* (Yale 2000) 3.

[36] Putnam [35] 8.

[37] At *Epist.* 2.1.124f., Horace declares that the poet can be of some use to the state, suggesting that he sees service to the state as part at least of his role as a poet: *militiae quamquam piger et malus, utilis urbi,* / *si das hoc, parvis quoque rebus magna iuvari* ('though he is idle in things military, not a good soldier, but of use to the state, / if you grant great ends are helped by small things). N. Rudd, *Horace: Epistles Book II and Epistle to the Pisones ('Ars Poetica')* (Cambridge 1989) 95 *ad Epist.* 2.1.125 notes, 'but H. is modestly understating the poet's role'.

peaceful and utopian society that, under his guidance, had emerged from the unmitigated misery of the civil wars.

The optimism of Horace and perhaps of Vergil, however, was replaced within a century by the self-conscious pessimism and disillusionment of the satirical writers, especially Petronius and Juvenal. It can be assumed from what has gone before that it was part of Vergil's and Horace's task to promote in their individual ways and with reservations the Augustan ideal as formulated by the *princeps* and his advisers.[38] Their aim was to advertise the new regime in the best possible light and to align it with the quite possibly mythical values which were thought to have made Rome great. These included in the *Aeneid* the cardinal virtues of courage, demonstrated in both its raw and developed form in book 2; temperance, developed and tested in book 4; justice, demonstrated in action in books 1, 3 and 5; and wisdom, vouched safe and confirmed by the experiences of Aeneas in the underworld in book 6. Such values are also praised by Horace in the first six odes of *Odes* 3.

The traditional Italian virtues—of the male—were also exemplified in the *Histories* of Livy; one thinks of the sturdy Cincinnatus exchanging the plough for his military regalia and then returning victorious, but unambitious, to the plough (3.26),[39] or the story of Brutus, sacrificing all and punishing his sons in the service of the state (2.5). In short, these masculine virtues were subsumed under the single term *pietas*, the virtue which embraces duty to the gods, to the state, to the family and, importantly, to the self.

As well as a clearly defined male ideal there also existed a less spectacular, perhaps, but equally clear picture of what constituted female excellence. A prime illustration occurs in Livy 1.57 when the Roman generals brag about the virtues of their respective wives. Lucretia proves to be the ideal, working at her wool far into the night with her exhausted maidservants, a very picture of domestic bliss and duty. Although Alcumena is a notionally a 'Greek' woman in the *Amphitryo* of Plautus, she nevertheless also exemplifies the rather limited and male defined idea of female excellence as understood at Rome.[40]

The *Aeneid*, officially at least then, was a document of some optimism, as were Horace's *Odes*, especially, but not exclusively those of book 4 and the *Carmen Saeculare*, its ideology well in tune with the notion of the restoration of traditional values, as it looked forward to the new age of peace and prosperity

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[38] For a traditional view, well argued and articulated some many years ago, see R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939) 459-75.

[39] Described also by Columella *Rust.* 1, *praef.* 13f.

[40] Whether one accepts Alcumena as actually an idealised figure or as a parody of such is immaterial. Her depiction argues for the existence of such a set of standards for female excellence.

trumpeted by the organs of the Augustan machine. The received wisdom was that the divine favour and 'good fortune' granted to Rome's founding father, and to Rome herself as she grew to dominate the known world demanded in return certain duties and obligations on the part of both individuals, such as Aeneas, and of the state itself and the historical individuals who guided its progress.[41] These obligations were eloquently summed up in the speech of the dead Anchises in *Aeneid* 6. Rome was, in short, to act towards its subjects as might a firm, but kindly, parent or, more properly, a firm but kindly father. The city of Rome was to exercise *patria potestas* over its dominions.

In addition to the ideological norms and models of individual behaviour (for both male and female) there were also well established institutional aspects of Roman society within the constraints or opportunities of which the individual Roman lived his/her life. These institutions and the required mores by which they were governed were deemed essential for the health and stability of that society. These include the patron/client relationship,[42] the related concept of *amicitia* and, of course, the marriage partnership itself. An idealised picture of the patron/client relationship is presented by Horace in his depiction of the developing relationship between Maecenas and himself in the *Satires*, *Odes* and *Epistles*. Potential abuse of the special relationship between patron and client is warned against in *Satire* 1.9, while positive advice on how properly to cultivate such a relationship—in so far as the junior partner is concerned—is given in *Epistles* 1.17. Mutual respect and trust between patron and client are the basic essentials in a relationship, which, if properly operated, is of mutual benefit to both parties. The relationship could develop into a genuine friendship as appeared to take place in the case of Horace and Maecenas,[43] but even if this did not happen, patronage did not, ideally, demean the client. Marriage was for the

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[41] As well as the favour granted to Aeneas by Venus and to the other great men of Rome by Jupiter or Fortuna, as outlined in *Aeneid* 6, the humbler activities of the primitive Romans seem also to have been supervised and enhanced by favourable indigenous gods, as, for example, in Juvenal: *'vivite contenti casulis et collibus istis, / o pueri', Marsus dicebat et Hernicus olim / Vestunusque senex, 'panem quaeramus aratro, / qui satis est mensis: laudant hoc numina ruris, / quorum ope et auxilio gratae post munus aristae / contingunt homini veteris fastidia quercus . . .'* ('"Live content with these huts and hills, my boys," / as an old man of the Marsi, Hernici or Vestini / would say long ago. "Let's seek our bread / with the plough, enough to satisfy our tables: / that's what the country gods approve. It's thanks / to their help and assistance we, after they gave us the gift / of the welcome wheat, held in disdain the ancient acorn . . ."', Juv. 14.179-84).

[42] For a valuable study of patronage see R. P. Saller, *Personal Patronage Under the Early Empire* (Cambridge 1982); see also Oliensis [30].

[43] R. P. Bond, 'Dialectic, Eclectic and Myth (?) in Horace, *Satires* 2.6', *Antichthon* 19 (1995) 68-86 for a discussion of the complexities of the Horace/Maecenas relationship.

propagation of children, the enhancement of the husband's career, and the augmentation of the *res familiaris*.

By the time of Nero, the official optimism of the Augustan poets might have served already as the occasion for cynical laughter. In the *Bellum Civile* of the *Satyricon* Petronius already suggests an altogether more jaundiced view of those civil wars which eventually brought Augustus to power. Rather than being identified as a punishment visited upon Rome because of the death of Remus at his brother's hands, the civil wars are identified as a punishment inspired by an altogether different and more complex crime. The *Bellum Civile* is a poem which is most remarkably politically correct in ecological terms. In the prologue to the poem the blame for the civil war is placed squarely on Rome's betrayal of her duties as mistress of an empire granted to her by the favour of the gods and by Fortuna, and on her abuse of that empire for purposes of self-aggrandisement and luxury. In response to a request from Dis—and in a scene reminiscent of the prologue to Euripides' *Trojan Women*—Fortuna declares that she will punish Rome with civil war for the misuse she has made of her gifts:

> o genitor, cui Cocyti penetralia parent,
> si modo vera mihi fas est impune profari,
> vota tibi cedent; nec enim minor ira rebellat
> pectore in hoc leviorque exurit flamma medullas.
> omnia, quae tribui Romanis arcibus, odi
> muneribusque meis irascor. destruet istas
> idem, qui posuit, moles deus. et mihi cordi
> quippe cremare viros et sanguine pascere luxum.
> cerno equidem gemina iam stratos morte Philippos
> Thessaliaeque rogos et funera gentis Hiberae
> et Libyae; cerno tua, Nile, gementia claustra
> Actiacosque sinus et Apollinis arma timentes.
> iam fragor armorum trepidantes personat aures.
> pande, age, terrarum sitientia regna tuarum
> atque animas accerse novas. vix navita Porthmeus
> sufficiet simulacra virum traducere cumba;
> classe opus est. tuque ingenti satiare ruina,
> pallida Tisiphone, concisaque vulnera mande:
> ad Stygios manes laceratus ducitur orbis.
>
> <div align="right">(Petron. Sat. 121.1.103-121)</div>
>
> O Father Dis, who rules the deeps of Cocytus, if I
> might frankly speak the truth of that which is to be,
> your prayers will come to pass; nor does a lesser rage
> rises up within this breast or paler flame consume my heart.
> I hate all things I gifted once to the citadels of Rome
> and am enraged at my own gifts. So let the god who built
> this mass now tear it down. I have it in my heart

> to burn their warriors, to sate their luxury on blood,
> I see Philippi's field spread over with a double death,
> Thessalian pyres alight and multiple death in Spain.
> The crash of arms already sounds through frightened ears.
> I see your groaning barriers raised in Libya's face, o Nile,
> the sweep of Actium's bay and men in fear of Apollo's arms.
> Come, open up the thirsting acres of your realm,
> and summon new ghosts home. A single boat will scarce
> supply the needs of Charon, ferrying the spirits of the dead;
> he will require a fleet. And glut yourself on ruin huge,
> deathlike Tisiphone, and fix your teeth in open wounds.
> A world in tatters is led as slave to the Stygian shades.

Incidentally, Fortuna plays further cruel jokes, but on a smaller scale, on the nobility of Rome, according to Juvenal in *Satire* 6 when she dispatches supposititious babies to the houses of the great.[44]

As if taking the hint from Petronius (and from the satirical elements in the Horatian corpus and from the *Satires* of Persius), Juvenal devotes much of his criticism of 'contemporary' society in the *Satires* to a depiction of different acts and examples of betrayal. In a very real sense this emphasis on betrayal helps to unify his *farrago libelli*, as he or his mad satirist depicts the 'reverse of the medal', a perspective on what has become of the Augustan Utopia. For he attempts to demonstrate that Romans of both genders and at all levels of society have betrayed and are in the process of betraying their duties and obligations. The result is a society depicted in Juvenal's text as being in as much a state of moral collapse and decay as the city of Rome itself is allegedly in a state of physical decay and imminent and actual collapse, which is one of the major themes of the third satire.

Successive emperors, especially Domitian, have betrayed the ideals inherent in the concept of *Romanitas*, as understood by the satirist. In *Satire* 4, Domitian treats the members of his council with cruel contempt. If his terrified victims here are to be thought of as being in some sense Domitian's clients, then the supreme patron is abusing his position to savour the taste of absolute power as an instrument of psychological torment.[45] By so doing he gains amusement

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[44] *Stat Fortuna improba noctu / adridens nudis infantibus: hos fovet omni / involvitque sinu, domibus tunc porigit altis / secretumque sibi mimum parat; hos amat, his se / ingerit utque suos semper producit alumnus* ('And Fortune stands, shameless in the night, / smiling at the naked babes: she nurtures them in her / ample bosom, then passes them to lofty homes / to produce for herself a comic mime; these children she loves / and takes pains over, always favouring them as her own', Juv. 6.605-09).

[45] On the sadistic behaviour of Domitian and others see R. P. Bond, '"Fearful Friendships": Terror in the Historiography, Drama and Satire of First Century CE Rome', in G.-J. Berendse and M. Williams (eds), *Terror and Text* (Bielefield 2002) 103-18.

by his cool observation of their varied types of contorted obsequiousness. Elsewhere, Domitian is accused of seducing his niece, causing her to require an abortion;[46] again a trust is betrayed, this time to serve the needs of unnatural lust. The crime is made more heinous because of the hypocrisy involved. Domitian is simultaneously promoting the *lex julia de maritandis ordinibus*, while sleeping with his brother Titus's daughter Julia. It is instructive to compare Augustus' treatment of his own niece Julia and his exile of the poet Ovid. The women of the imperial household are equally to be deplored, being licentious and murderous by turns (Juv. 4.146-48). They provide poor role models for their poorer or less nobly born sisters, who are equally murderous and licentious (6.224-41). Eppia, however, can almost be excused when her sexual adventures are compared with the nightly excursions of Messalina (6.114-32). And the poorer women do at least have babies and so fulfil their expected role.

Here we come to a most important point: for a poor role model the imperial household most certainly is, according to the satirist; the vindictive behaviour of Virro towards his lesser guests depicted in *Satire* 5 is a reflection of Domitian's treatment of his council in the immediately previous poem, while in *Satire* 9 Virro is accused of betraying the very special relationship between himself and poor Naevolus (9.73-91). One of the crimes of betrayal which arouses Juvenal's savage indignation in the programmatic satire[47] is the despoliation of a helpless ward by a predatory guardian (1.45-47), with which we might compare Domitian's alleged treatment of his niece. In the same section of *Satire* 1 the provincial governor betrays his trust to enrich himself—*victrix provincia plorat* ('the victorious province laments', 1.50)—even as Domitian has betrayed his office and plundered the world to satisfy a lust for luxury. Hypocrisy and betrayal march hand in hand in Juvenal's *Satires*. As a result it is hardly surprising, given the corruption of the patron/client relationship, from both top and bottom—witness Trebius' total lack of dignity and betrayal of self-respect in *Satire* 5 or, indeed, the depiction of the fickle mob abusing Sejanus' corpse in *Satire* 10—that more serious betrayals of principles and people take place. The wayward saints of Petronius' *Satyricon*

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[46] *Qualis erat nuper tragico pollutus adulter / concubitu, qui tunc leges revocabat amaras / omnibus atque ipsis Veneri Martique timendas, / cum tot abortivis fecundam Iulia vulvam / solveret et patruo similes effunderet offas* ([Those laws] which were a cause of dread for all / mankind and even Venus and Mars themselves—just when Julia's fertile womb was emptying itself of abortions, / and pouring out lumps of flesh the image of uncle Domitian no less!', Juv. 2.29-33).

[47] On the programmatic satire in Persius and Juvenal, see W. T. Wehrle, *The Satiric Voice: Program, Form and Meaning in Persius and Juvenal* (Hildesheim 1992).

are the anti-heroes of the satirical novel and constantly betray in small and personal ways the values which, writ large, served as the cement which allegedly held together the fabric of Roman society. In this way the novel acts as an anticipation, as do the *Satires* of Persius, of the Juvenalian masterwork.

The stoic Publius Ignatius Celer, for example, acts as *delator* and brings about the death of his young friend and disciple, Barea Soranus (3.116-18);[48] how different from the idealised relationship of Cornutus and Persius (Pers. 5.19-51), but in keeping again with the anticipatory hint in *Satire* 1 of the man who informed on his important friend—*post hunc magni delator amici* (Juv. 1.33f.). The literary patron betrays—and this is serious for the poor poet—the fond hopes of his client in *Satire* 7 (36-49), because he does not want his protégé to have any chance of outshining his own genius. This is very different from the picture presented by Horace of the ideal relationship between poet and patron. Everything involved in political, social, artistic and family life is in a dire state of decline or total disarray, according to the 'mad satirist'. The major cause, trumpets Juvenal, is the fact that the traditional values have been betrayed and those who should provide the proper examples to follow have themselves betrayed and abandoned their responsibilities. Even on the level of the individual, young members of the aristocracy have so little self-respect that they subject themselves to the indignities of the gladiatorial contest (11.5-8), but then Nero performed in musical shows in public and expected to win.

In *Satire* 14 Juvenal makes explicit what has been implicit in his earlier satires. A great part of the responsibility for the moral breakdown in Rome is because those who should set the standards of appropriate behaviour have sadly betrayed this obligation. In this poem he condemns parents whose corrupt practises have corrupted their own children.[49] One should certainly provide children for the state. It was the betrayal of this fundamental duty which particularly aroused Juvenal's ire in *Satire* 6. One should produce children, however, only if one accepts the responsibility of their proper upbringing, as is made very clear in *Satire* 14,[50] where Juvenal adopts an almost Horatian view of the obligations of fatherhood.

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[48] The story is also told in Tac. *Ann.* 15.23, 33.

[49] Compare the pride with which Horace describes the care with which his own freedman father cared for the youthful Horace's moral welfare of his son in Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.103-31.

[50] *Gratum est quod patriae civem populoque dedisti, / si facis ut patriae sit idoneus, utilis agris, / utilis et bellorum et pacis rebus agendis. / plurimum enim intererit quibus artibus et quibus hunc tu / moribus instituas* ('It is great you have gifted a citizen to our native land and the citizenry, / so long as you ensure that he is of use to his country, on the farm, / in time of war and in the arts involved in peace. / In which arts and customs you train him will make a / vast difference', Juv. 14.70-74).

There is certainly a relative lack of vigour of the later satires of Juvenal.[51] The trenchancy of the earlier poems owes a certain amount to the uncompromising manner of Persius. The irony of these later works is Horatian, although the old rage does emerge in the fifteenth poem, inspired by his hatred of Egypt and the Egyptians. There is in the place of the earlier *indignatio* a world-weary nostalgia as Juvenal compares modern appetites with the needs of past generations. Not only are the Romans suffering the evils of too long a peace, but the values of an earlier age eroded. Once a humble farm steading served as a reward for patriotic service, feeding a whole family. Now the rich possessor of the *latifundia* farms more acres than were the property of the entire population in the days of Tatius, the Sabine king who allied himself with the Romans to form one nation. What we have here is Juvenal reflecting in a calm manner on the reasons behind the breakdown in values against which his earlier satires had so railed.

It does seem also that an attempt is being made to diagnose the causes of the malaise, the symptoms of which have so vividly been described in the more famous products of the *saeva indignatio*. Major causes are, then, the betrayal of traditional political, social and familial values—insofar as these can be separated—and, also, the betrayal of a perceived obligation to the gods, or to whatever powers there are that have endowed Rome with a fortunate history and an imperial present.

The Roman parent, claims Juvenal at the start of *Satire* 14, imparts not examples of *pietas* or *pudicitia* to their children, but examples of extravagance, cruelty and sexual misbehaviour. Some of the most flagrant examples of such vice depicted in the earlier satires were drawn from the behaviour of Domitian and his imperial household, as already indicated. The immorality of Roman society is put down to the perversion at all levels of society of that *patria potestas* which precisely should have underpinned received morality at all levels of society, and the betrayal of the obligations which were part and parcel of that *patria potestas*. The perceived moral bankruptcy is the product of a patriarchal system which has failed dismally. Juvenal does not draw that conclusion explicitly, implicit though it may be in his text.

Juvenal's text, as does the fragmented text of the *Satyricon,* betrays a preoccupation with both the idea and the fact of betrayal in all levels of Roman society, despite the fact that the vocabulary of betrayal is significantly absent. The ideals and the idea of Rome have been betrayed since the time of Vergil and Horace by the rulers of Rome. The emperors and their families have provided a totally destructive role model for their subjects. These subjects have

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[51] See especially S. Braund, *Beyond Anger: A Study of Juvenal's Third Book of Satires* (Cambridge 1988).

in turn, as parents, betrayed their own responsibilities and have left their children a moral legacy in which cynical self-aggrandisement stands out as the major criterion of choice in an individual's behaviour. Juvenal's concern for the young and their education rings extraordinarily sincere at this stage. Each and every mature individual, however, is willing to betray family, friend and even self (in the sense of self-respect), if the pecuniary or hedonistic rewards are sufficient.

The ethic condemned is one of total selfishness. As a result of total selfishness the Romans have betrayed their obligations to the gods, to the empire, to the idea of the family and to the individual. Rome is in the process of reducing herself to the state of the savagery and barbarism of the Egyptians who are depicted in *Satire* 15. The cannibalistic Egyptian villagers are depicted as having betrayed the greatest gift granted the human species by nature and the gods, that is, the humanity and basic compassion which separate humankind from the brute beast. It is not a coincidence that the epic poet's *lacrimae rerum* are so vividly brought to mind by Juvenal in his penultimate satire:

> Mollissima corda
> humano generi dare se natura fatetur,
> quae lacrimas dedit. haec nostri pars optima sensus.
> plorare ergo iubet causam dicentis amici
> squaloremque rei, pupillum ad iura uocantem
> circumscriptorem, cuius manantia fletu
> ora puellares faciunt incerta capilli.
> naturae imperio gemimus, cum funus adultae
> uirginis occurrit uel terra clauditur infans
> et minor igne rogi.
>
> (Juv. 15.131-58)
>
> By giving tears
> to the human race Nature revealed she was giving us also
> tender hearts; compassion is the finest of all our feelings.
> She therefore moves us to pity the accused, as he pleads his case
> unkempt in body and dress, or the orphan who brings to court
> his swindling guardian, and whose face, streaming with tears, and
> framed by his girlish hair, invites the question 'Is he a boy?'.
> It is Nature who makes us cry when we meet the cortege of a girl
> on the eve of marriage, or a little child too small for the pyre
> is laid in a grave.

It is as if the poet himself, whose *persona* presents in the later poems as a man who gives voice to a frustrated humanity, weeps at the picture he has painted in his disillusionment and disappointment at contemporary Rome. This is the dystopic picture to replace the relatively optimistic, even utopian views, of the Augustan poets.

ON INTERPRETING THE
ECLECTIC NATURE OF ROMAN SCULPTURE

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Abstract. Flexible combinations of 'old' and 'new' methodologies are probably the best way to interpret the eclectic nature of Roman sculpture. An analysis of three pieces of Roman sculpture—the 'Pseudo-Athlete' from Delos, the Prima Porta Augustus and the fourth-century *donatio* relief from the Arch of Constantine—demonstrates the value of older methods in the face of commanding theories produced by more recent methodology.

In contrast to traditional, formal treatments, recent books on Roman art, often informed by perspectives gleaned from such disciplines as anthropology and sociology, are marked by a fundamental interest in social context, rituals and relationships.[1] This evolution in methodology has been quite successful in exposing some of the unquestioned assumptions and shortcomings of earlier scholarship. It is difficult not to think in terms of 'old' and 'new', given the way that books have been marketed and reviewed, but a certain mix of formal and social interests has probably always existed, so that the change perceived in recent years perhaps boils down to a change in the mix.[2] Nevertheless, even if the situation is one of evolution rather than revolution, there are points to be made in the interests of balance. The formal and the social appear to be complementary rather than competitive. The basic aim of this paper is to suggest that the best way to understand the eclectic nature of Roman sculpture is to employ combinations of the old and new methodologies. For the purpose I have selected three well-known works of Roman sculpture which can be discussed in terms of combinations of influences and the value of older methods

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[1] I am grateful to Robert Hannah, who discussed a number of the ideas in this article with me and suggested various improvements. The reports of the journal's referees were also very helpful. None of these people, of course, is responsible for any remaining errors.

[2] Some recent books which attempt to move beyond such matters as form, style and aesthetic quality include J. Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer* (Cambridge 1995); M. Beard and J. Henderson, *Classical Art: From Greece to Rome* (Oxford 2001) (reviewed by T. Stevenson in *Electronic Antiquity* 6.1 [2001]); P. J. Holliday, *The Origins of Roman Historical Commemoration in the Visual Arts* (Cambridge 2002) (reviewed by T. Stevenson in *CB* 79 [2003] 330-34); P. Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response* (Oxford 2003); T. Hölscher, *Römische Bildsprache als semantisches System* (Heidelberg 1987) = T. Höscher (tr. A. M. Snodgrass and A.-M. Kunzl-Snodgrass), *The Language of Images in Roman Art: Art as a Semantic System in the Roman World* (Cambridge 2004).

of analysis: the 'Pseudo-Athlete' from Delos, the Augustus from Prima Porta, and the fourth-century *donatio* relief from the Arch of Constantine.

Traditional scholarship in this field has often been preoccupied with the basic question of identification: how are we to distinguish 'Roman' art when so much of it looks 'Greek' and is the product of Greek workshops and traditions?[3] Indeed, it took a long time before a majority of scholars even accepted the existence of a distinctly 'Roman' art that was not merely a continuation of the history of Greek art. In the eighteenth century it was no less a figure than the 'father' of art history, Johann Joachim Winckelmann, who promulgated the view that Hellenistic art represents a decline from Classical art and that a truly Roman art never existed because there was no Roman style.[4] A serious challenge to this theory was only mounted towards the end of the nineteenth century by two Viennese art historians, Wickhoff and Riegl.[5] The eventual recognition of 'Roman' art was achieved, naturally enough, by analyzing the works of art themselves and by contemplating the intentions of artists and patrons. Debate centred on formal elements of style or composition or subject that were identified as specifically 'Roman', and scholars tended to employ major works of considerable aesthetic or political importance rather than so-called 'minor' works. A definitive narrative based on iconographical analysis through successive ages then became the primary aim. Several underlying assumptions can be detected: that art is properly a matter of aesthetic beauty; that style is the basic product and measure of the artistic output of a generation; that the apex of style was reached in the fifth century BC in Athens (the 'classical' or 'first-class' period); and that artistic development can be described with reference to an organic model of 'rise' and 'decline'. The last assumption is particularly dubious, of course, because it treats art like a living organism, such as a plant or an animal. Yet probably more damaging to the study of ancient art was another widespread assumption among classicists, largely derived from von Willamowitz-Moellendorff, that the study of art is inferior to the study of language and literature.[6] Texts have been privileged over art;

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[3] Cf. O. J. Brendel, *Prolegomena to the Study of Roman Art* (London 1979) 3-9; Beard and Henderson [2] 65-68; P. Stewart, *Roman Art* (Oxford 2004) 1-4.

[4] Brendel [3] 25, 72; R. Brilliant, 'Some Reflections on the "New Roman Art History"' (Review: J. Elsner [ed.], *Art and Text in Roman Culture* [Cambridge 1996]), *JRA* 11 (1998) 557; Beard and Henderson [2] 65-71.

[5] F. Wickhoff (ed. and tr. E. Strong), *Roman Art* (London 1900); A. Riegl, *Spätromische Kunstindustrie*[2] (Vienna 1927) = A. Riegl (tr. R. Winkes), *Late Roman Art Industry* (Rome 1985); Brendel [3] 25; M. Iversen, *Alois Riegl: Art History and Theory* (Cambridge, Mass. 1993); Brilliant [4] 557f.

[6] U. von Willamowitz-Moellendorff, *Geschichte der Philologie* (Leipzig 1927); Brilliant [4] 557, 559.

philology over iconography. Literature has a clear voice, whereas art is apparently mute.

In recent years scholars have stressed their interest in the relationship between art and society. In place of questions to do with date of production and style, attention is now given regularly to relationships, rituals, settings and changing usage through time. The concepts of 'reception' and 'response' on the part of ancient audiences have grown in popularity, rivalling authorial 'intention' in constructions of meaning.[7] Interesting treatments of the relationship between art and literature have been produced and strong differences of opinion are evident, as when scholars employ *ekphraseis*, or literary descriptions of works of art, in analyzing reception.[8] Such developments are welcome, justified, interesting and valuable. In many ways they are the flipside of what was done previously. Instead of coming 'from above' (artists, artistic genius, patrons, political ideology, propaganda), the perspective tends now to be 'from below' (audiences, reception, social ties, class interaction, power negotiation). Great individuals give way to faceless groups, a trend paralleled in many recent studies of Roman history.[9]

Voices of disquiet and dissent have been raised. Clarke acknowledges that traditional emphasis on formal change has tended to omit the Roman viewer's apparatus for understanding art. However, he is disappointed by recent attempts to put the dynamic of viewer and viewed into its cultural framework: they require extensive special pleading, demand that text be privileged over image, and rely heavily on deconstruction, born of textual studies.[10] Brilliant objects that the new approach is not really new.[11] He points out that scholars such as Rostovtzeff and Bianchi Bandinelli wrote about Roman art with a developed knowledge of the wider cultural and historical framework into which

[7] E.g., Elsner [2].

[8] On the relationship between art and text see S. Goldhill and R. Osborne (edd.), *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture* (Cambridge 1994) and J. Elsner (ed.), *Art and Text in Roman Culture* (Cambridge 1996). For some of the problems surrounding the use of *ekphraseis*, see N. Bryson, 'Philostratus and the Imaginary Museum', in Goldhill and Osborne [above, this note] 255-314; J. Elsner (ed.), *The Verbal and the Visual: Cultures of Ekphrasis in Antiquity*, *Ramus* 31 (2002), esp. J. Elsner, 'Introduction: The Genres of Ekphrasis', 1-18; G. Zanker, *Modes of Viewing in Hellenistic Poetry and Art* (Madison 2004) with the review by J. Elsner in *AJPh* 126 [2005] 461-63.

[9] Compare the works discussed in T. Stevenson, 'Recent Scholarship on the Late Roman Republic: Where Have All the Romans Gone?' (Review: M. Beard and M. Crawford, *Rome in the Late Republic: Problems and Interpretations*[2] [London 1999]), *Ancient History* 30 (2000) 133-63.

[10] J. R. Clarke, 'Deconstructing Roman Texts, Viewers, and Art' (Review: J. Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer* [Cambridge 1995]), *JRA* 9 (1996) 375-80, esp. 375f.

[11] Brilliant [4] 557-59; cf. Clarke [10] 375.

it fitted. Bianchi Bandinelli successfully inspired his followers to give attention to art that emanated not from the elite but from groups lower down the social scale.[12] More recently Zanker's treatment of Augustan images, highly praised for the stress it lays on their emotive power and reception by contemporaries, in fact owes much to a tradition boasting names of the calibre of Alföldi, L'Orange and Weinstock, who studied charismatic aspects of the imperial image and set them against a background of social and political change.[13] Changes in attitudes to art have long been linked with social change as, for instance, in explaining the advent of late antique art, and it is noticeable that scholars who are attuned to this connection have often themselves experienced social or political upheaval in their own lives. The tendency has been for them to project their own experiences anachronistically onto the past.[14] Nor is the current taste for semiotic analysis of Roman images, which treats them as abstract signs or affective markers, seen as a product of contemporary scholarship alone. Hölscher's study of Roman state monuments and their public describes the rejection of naturalism in favour of an insistent, often abstract system of signs.[15] The language seems sophisticated and innovative, but Brilliant cites one of his own books as an example of a treatment of images that postulates a sign system and gives constant attention to the social context of that system's creation and consumption.[16] Finally, he appears to find the new approach somewhat strange and unhelpful, given the intensely visual nature of modern western culture,

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[12] M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* 1-3 (Oxford 1941); M. Rostovtzeff (rev. P. Fraser), *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*[2] 1-2 (Oxford 1957); R. Bianchi Bandinelli (tr. P. Green), *Rome, the Centre of Power: Roman Art to AD 200* (New York 1970); R. Bianchi Bandinelli (tr. P. Green), *Rome. The Late Empire: Roman Art, AD 200-400* (New York 1971).

[13] P. Zanker (tr. A. Shapiro), *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1988); A. Alföldi, *Der Vater des Vaterlandes im römischen Denken* (Darmstadt 1971); A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Reprasentation im römischen Kaiserreich*[3] (Darmstadt 1980); H. P. L'Orange (trr. Dr and Mrs Knut Berg), *Art Forms and Civic Life in the Late Roman Empire* (Princeton 1965); S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford 1971). Cf. A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Rome's Cultural Revolution' (Review: Zanker [above, this note], *JRS* 79 [1989] 157-64; 157: 'Z.'s approach both distinguishes him from the traditional art historian and makes it impossible for the social historian of the British tradition to ignore him [the same approach is shared in some measure by other outstanding exponents of the Germanic tradition of classical archaeology, such as Strocka and Hölscher, and goes back to earlier scholars like Schefold]. His central concern is not so much with artists, and the artistic tradition, techniques and aesthetics of the material he discusses, as with the social and political context out of which it arises and which it so greatly illuminates'.)

[14] Brilliant [4] 558f., mentioning Rodenwaldt, Pelikan, Kitzinger, Wickhoff and Riegl.

[15] Hölscher [2].

[16] R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (New Haven 1963).

which probably approximates the situation in ancient Rome quite well.[17] How can scholars of the present generation want to shift our focus from the objects and monuments themselves? In sum, then:

> . . . the new 'Roman art history' represents a shift in emphasis away from works of visual art to the formative, institutional circumstances of their making, their subsequent reception, and their extended afterlife as objects and derivative images. This shift is in keeping with current tendencies in socially or ideologically oriented histories of art, focussed on audience response rather than artistic creativity and on the artefact as a material symbol whose meaning, however interpreted, transcends or ignores traditional aesthetic considerations.[18]

There is accuracy in this description, but the stance is not inevitable and a number of points ought to be made on behalf of the new approach. First, alongside the general rise in interest in social aspects of culture, the theoretical influence of successive professors of ancient history at Cambridge, Finley and Hopkins, both social historians and the latter a sociologist by training, has been profound and challenging to established traditions of scholarship. The air of challenge which marked their output often remains in the work of their colleagues and students, even beyond the confines of ancient history. It is hard not to make a connection when reading a number of Roman art books of the 1990s and beyond. Yet today's scholars of Roman art whose interests extend to the social plane are undoubtedly individuals; they do not form a school and are often explicitly appreciative of formal analysis, upon which they attempt to build.[19] In addition, more recent scholars have been able to exploit a huge range of material which simply was not available before the end of the Second World War. Large-scale excavations from the 1950s onwards have uncovered a wealth

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[17] Stewart [2] 118 gives a good impression of ancient Rome practically bursting with a 'stone and bronze crowd' of statues.

[18] Brilliant [4] 560.

[19] I am grateful to one of the journal's anonymous readers for arguing that the old/new dichotomy becomes simplistic under these circumstances. Given that it is so prominent a feature of current methodological debate, however, I have decided not to sweep it away but to stress its shortcomings, imply that a label like 'formal/social' may cover the situation more sympathetically, and suggest co-operation or integration rather than competition. On Finley and Hopkins, see Stevenson [9] esp. 135f. For appreciation of earlier scholarship see, e.g., J. Elsner, 'Cult and Sculpture: Sacrifice in the Ara Pacis Augustae', *JRS* 81 (1991) 50-61 (at 51 cf. 56): 'Traditional interpretations assume that images have single meanings rooted in the intentions of artists or patrons. . . . My objection to this approach is not that it is necessarily wrong, but that it is limiting'; cf. Beard and Henderson [2] 5: 'We shall be concerned not to sever the objects we study from their origins in classical antiquity, but just as fundamental to our approach is the determination to keep in clear view their history since antiquity'.

of material from non-elite contexts. As a result the distinct identity of Roman art has become even clearer, and we now know more about the influence of Greek art in the middle and late republic, about regional differences and what might be called 'the popular taste'. These developments have played no small part in shaping recent theoretical approaches to Roman art, even if one accepts Brilliant's position that at times too much in the way of innovation has been claimed over the painstaking work of earlier luminaries.

　　　The task becomes one of assessment. How do we assess the relative value of the new methodology? How should the current preoccupation with social setting and audience response be related to more traditional preoccupations with formal characteristics, artistic genius, elite attitudes, 'major' works, date, aesthetics and style? It really should be taken on board that there are elements of the new approach in the old, that the two have coexisted in varying degrees for some time, and that they are not distinct in the way that may sometimes have been implied of late. The answer in what follows, therefore, is that some combination of the new with the old is the best course and that the two approaches tend to complement one another. In order to illustrate this, it is time to move to the first example.

The 'Pseudo-Athlete' from Delos (Figure 1)[20]

This seems a case where substantial new insights could not have been made without the basis provided by older stylistic analysis. For many scholars this piece has seemed discordant, being a 'composite' statue, probably representing an Italian, with a veristic, wizened head and a youthful, impressively muscular body.[21] The oddity of such a combination to modern aesthetic tastes has caused considerable misunderstanding. Explanations have ranged from Roman vanity

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[20] The 'Pseudo-Athlete', possibly an Italian *negotiator* (businessman), from the 'House of the Diadoumenos' on Delos, late second- or early first-century BC, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 1828, h. 2.25 m. R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (London 1991) 256-58, 262 fig. 315 ('c. 100 B.C.'); D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven 1992) 34f., 35 fig. 11; J. Boardman (ed.), *The Oxford History of Classical Art* (Oxford 1993) 215 fig. 225; K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton 1996) 340 fig. 161; E. Gruen, 'The Roman Oligarchy: Image and Perception', in J. Linderski (ed.), *Imperium Sine Fine: T. Robert S. Broughton and the Roman Republic* (Stuttgart 1996) 218 fig. 1; T. Stevenson, 'The "Problem" with Nude Honorific Statuary and Portraits in Late Republican and Augustan Rome', *G&R* 45 (1998) 48-50, 50 fig. 2; C. Hallett, *The Roman Nude: Heroic Portrait Statuary 200 BC-AD 300* (Oxford 2005) 2 pl. 1.

[21] Zanker [13] 5-8; cf. A. F. Stewart, *Attika: Studies in Athenian Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (London 1979) 144: 'Here, the charity of some such description as "eclectic" would be wasted on what results. The statue is a pastiche, a piece of pure kitsch, a monster of inauthenticity.'

to barbarous aesthetics to Greek denigration of the Romans.[22] The general trend, based firmly on stylistic comparison with related pieces from Italian and Greek contexts, has been to see the veristic head as a 'Roman' preference and the youthful body as 'Greek'.

The veristic style in particular still tends to be misread. Some have interpreted it as a forensic reading in search of physiognomic accuracy, supposedly the Roman preference in portraiture.[23] Yet verism is not a matter of straightforward realism or naturalism. The product is heightened or exaggerated, so that it seems more fruitful to think of the severe lines, blemishes and wrinkles as expressions of a system of elite values.[24] In other words, the 'veristic' portraits are ideological in character rather than realistic; they are about ideas and ideals rather than some objective reality. They stand as attempts to evoke the moral and psychological superiority of the Romans through images that appear to embody the *severitas* and *gravitas* of the ideal Roman statesman. Modern scholars have deemed it appropriate to describe them using adjectives such as 'stern', 'severe', 'honest', 'resolute', 'experienced' and so on. At any rate, it is surely the values approach which provides a superior interpretation of 'composite' statues like our 'Pseudo-Athlete'. According to Erich Gruen, '[t]here is no reason to believe that Romans would have found the conjunction of an idealized body and a realistic head particularly jarring'.[25] The statuary served a purpose, it can be suggested, that a Roman and Italian citizenry readily understood. It combined symbolically the peak years of physical prowess in the

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[22] For a survey of the many different ideas, see J. Tanner, 'Portraits, Power, and Patronage in the Late Roman Republic', *JRS* 90 (2000) 20-22; Hallett [20] 102-158, esp. 102-108. It is R. R. R. Smith, 'Greeks, Foreigners and Roman Republican Portraits', *JRS* 71 (1981) 24-38, who offers the idea that veristic portraits are caricatures produced by Greeks of their new political masters.

[23] In support of this thesis, a great deal has been made of Polybius 6.53.5 (T. Büttner-Wobst [ed.], *Polybii Historiae* 1-4 [Stuttgart 1962-1967]), which refers to the wax mask of a deceased Roman noble: ἡ δ᾽ εἰκών ἐστι πρόσωπον εἰς ὁμοιότητα διαφερόντως ἐξειργασμένον καὶ κατὰ τὴν πλάσιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπογραφήν ('The likeness is a mask fashioned with extraordinary fidelity both in its modelling and its complexion to represent the features of the dead man'). For a full discussion of the Italian background to veristic portraiture, see J. D. Breckenridge, 'Origins of Roman Republican Portraiture: Relations with the Hellenistic World', *ANRW* 1 (1973) 826-54; but cf. L. Giuliani, *Bildnis und Botschaft: Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Bildniskunst der römischen Republik* (Frankfurt 1986) 225-33, and E. Gruen, *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome* (Ithaca 1992) 155-59 on the inadequacy of indigenous sources for the veristic style. On the use of *imagines* see H. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (Oxford 1996).

[24] Gruen [23] 152-70; Gruen [20] 219f.; Hallett [20] 271-308, esp. 277-81. Cf. Galinsky [20] 165f.: 'The function of the Roman portrait was more than the mere reflection of a likeness. Rather, its aim was to convey an ethos.'

[25] Gruen [20] 219.

depiction of the body with the maturity of age and experience as exhibited in the head. Few individuals, if any, could boast that combination in real life, but the repeated representation of personages in that mode has the effect of a collective vision. These were magistrates, generals and benefactors of their communities. The leaders conquered an empire in the vigour of their youth and governed the *res publica* through the wisdom of their experience.[26] Hallett agrees strongly that the negative aesthetic reaction of modern viewers cannot have corresponded to ancient perceptions, for there was much 'hybrid' art on display in antiquity, such as the sphinxes of pharaonic Egypt, Greek *erotes*, satyrs and centaurs. In his view our statue stands among a class of portraits that combine an idealized (youthful) body and an idealized (mature) head; hence there is no contradiction.[27]

If, then, the 'Pseudo-Athlete' is an idealized depiction of a man's leadership and mores, the combination of styles and cultures it exhibits derive not from individual preference or a discrete artistic development but from ideas pertinent to the particular physical and social setting. Tanner has shown that such statues seem at first to have been erected by clients or communities in the Greek East in honour of Romans or Italians who had performed some service for the eastern group or were perhaps resident there.[28] One of his important conclusions is that verism was invented specifically for such relationships; it does not reflect Roman values in general; it inscribes in portraits the moral values relevant to the particular type of patronage relationship that called it forth; portraits in this style were used to construct, objectify and thereby sustain the new type of relationship between clients in Greek settings and Roman patrons. The advent of verism and its employment on 'composite' statues, therefore, appear to constitute an attempt to come to terms with the new, increasingly hierarchical type of Roman authority in the Greek East. The mix suggests a mastery of both Greek and Roman values, and its subsequent appearance in Italy is intelligible in terms of the general process of hellenization.[29] When such statues appear in Italy during the second and first

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[26] Gruen [20] 219; cf. Gruen [23] 170.

[27] Cf. Hallett [20] 280, who refers to Plutarch's reaction to a portrait of Marius (*Mar.* 2) and writes that 'Roman portraits have been "idealized" according to Roman feelings about what a public man ought to look like'. Hallett [above, this note] 307 concludes his analysis: 'Perhaps when we disparage such works with talk of "a confusion of cultures", and designate such pieces as "hybrid art", we say less about the statues than we think; and rather more about ourselves'.

[28] Tanner [22] esp. 39-45. Cf. Hallett [20] 102-158, esp. 102-37.

[29] Tanner [22] esp. 35. R. MacMullen, 'Hellenizing the Romans (2nd Century BC)', *Historia* 40 (1991) 419-38, emphasizes that contemporary notions of 'civilization' were constructed largely with reference to Greek norms and achievements.

centuries BC,[30] for instance, the well-known example from the Temple of Hercules at Tivoli (figure 2),[31] they remain statements on the nature of Roman authority in a highly hellenized environment—perhaps even statements on Italian pre-eminence in the eastern Mediterranean. Note that they are more the responsibility of the clients than the patrons in this conception of the phenomenon, though we should assume the patrons' approval, for it is hard to imagine the trend continuing if this were not the case. Furthermore, they must be honorific, therefore positive in their connotations, and obviously distinct from images of Hellenistic rulers who have been superseded by the Romans.

A number of points arise from this. First, Tanner's conclusions rely heavily on his explicit appreciation of earlier analyses of the combination of styles, their cultural ('Greek', 'Roman') affiliations, and date. This illustrates the indispensable value of traditional formal analysis in this case. Of course, he understands the mix not as a matter of aesthetic preference but of social interaction. Secondly, his understanding of the veristic style is that it embodies and is intended to promote leadership values different from those conveyed, for instance, by youthful images of the Hellenistic kings. This idea has been around for some time, but here it is not Roman elite propaganda as much as an ideal espoused by a group that is culturally and socially more broad (and notably including Greeks). The veristic heads, then, although each was usually a recognizable likeness, are not so much about individual identity as about cultural and social ideals which are congenial to the elite but not confined to it. Thirdly, some questions. If 'composite' statues are the products of Greek artists, forged for the particular kind of social relationship described, how was the veristic image arrived at in artistic terms? Can we be sure in the current state of our evidence that the sculptors were not drawing on Greek sculptural traditions? The veristic style might have proved particularly congenial to the Romans, but instead of being something that started from scratch with the new type of patronal relationship, could it owe something to a Greek style and to a Greek conception of authority that was already different from that represented by the youthfulness of the Hellenistic kings?[32] A fair while ago now Stewart drew

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[30] Gruen [23] 118-23, 161; Gruen [20] 218f.; Tanner [22] 44f. (on the transfer of verism from Greece, 'its technical home', to Italy) and n. 141; Hallett [20] 102-222.

[31] Statue of a Roman general from the Temple of Hercules at Tivoli, *ca.* 75-50 BC, Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, inv. 106513, h. 1.94 m. DAIR 32.412. S. Walker and A. Burnett, *The Image of Augustus* (London 1981) 11 fig. 10; N. Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy* (Aarhus 1988) 33 fig. 29; Smith [20] 256, 263 fig. 319; Kleiner [20] 36, 35 fig. 12; Gruen [20] 219 fig. 3; Stevenson [20] 48f., 49 fig. 1; Tanner [22] 20, pl. 3.1; Stewart [3] 9; Hallett [20] 2 pl. 2.

[32] Hallett [20] 295 conceives of a Roman commissioning from a [Greek] sculptor a fully idealized [veristic] image 'according to Roman ideals of age and character'. This seems

attention to examples in an Attic style notable for their extreme realism and the alternate conception of authority they represent. His point was well made in a discussion of the head of an aged priest from the Athenian Agora (S333).[33] Such a piece seems to view the relationship between mature age and social power in a positive light. It is relatively common, from institutions such as the Senate and the *cursus honorum*, to assume a positive relationship between mature age and authority in Roman society, but the tendency has been to draw a contrast with Greek norms of the Hellenistic period. This probably owes a lot to the fact that Roman portraits of the late republic usually look between forty and sixty years old, whereas Hellenistic kings usually look between twenty and twenty-five and are depicted in a generally softer style.[34] Such thinking probably underestimates the complexity of attitudes among both the Greeks and the Romans.[35] There were other figures of authority in the East beside the kings, and given that the power of most members of the republican elite was quite unlike that of the kings, images of these other types of Greek leaders might have seemed more appropriate approximations.

The question might subsequently be asked, in respect of Roman attitudes to authority or social power, whether youthfulness was as much a disqualifier at Rome as mature age might once have seemed in a Hellenistic world led by youthful kings. Surely maturity and youthfulness were states both positive and negative in their associations, particularly with respect to matters mental and physical, as they are today. It is not difficult to think that portraits displaying aspects of advanced age or of youth, either separately or in tailored combinations like the 'Pseudo-Athlete', could have worked to the advantage of Greek and Roman leaders, allowing for such variables as setting and audience.[36]

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possible after the veristic style came online in Italy, but what models were originally available to clients in the Greek world from which to choose or adapt? On the newness and difference of verism in comparison to earlier/contemporary Hellenistic styles, see Tanner [22] esp. 19, 31, 35, 45.

[33] Stewart [21] 80-84 (pl. 24), 96, 145f.; followed by Gruen [23] 159f. The view persists that this is not a Greek style but that members of the philo-Roman ruling classes in the Greek East adopted the veristic style under Roman influence: R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford 1988), 130-34; Smith [20] 255-58; Galinsky [20] 165; Tanner [22] 39f. (who thinks it more likely that these are Romans, even patrons).

[34] On the age difference, see Smith [33] 129f.; Galinsky [20] 165f. and Tanner [22] 19 ('[kings] seldom older than thirty-five to forty').

[35] T. G. Parkin, *Old Age in the Roman World: A Cultural and Social History* (Baltimore 2003) 57-89, underscores the complexity of Roman attitudes to advanced age, and pages 57-60 indicate as much about Greek attitudes too.

[36] See Plut. *Pomp*. 2 for Pompey's youthful attractiveness and the way this eased his rise to power through the positive impact it made on people.

In general, the assumption that age and style are indicators of a distinct cultural preference in portraiture needs to be made with pronounced care, for the likelihood is that it underestimates the complexities. This thought has interesting implications for the next example.

The Prima Porta Augustus (Figure 3)[37]

Zanker's treatment of the Prima Porta Augustus is now fundamental on both the style and the reception of this famous piece, which he believes shows a rejection of discordant 'Hellenistic' elements in favour of a pure 'Classical' style that conveys calmness and serenity.[38] Hallett offers a slight modification, writing in terms of 'renunciation' and a decision to tone down nude heroic images in favour of portraits which stress the emperor's civic and religious role.[39] Yet Zanker's assessment of the style is open to serious question, and this in turn affects his views on its reception. Older methods tend to undermine his innovative arguments. Zanker sees heavy stylistic influence from Polykleitos' Doryphoros, a view which underlies his definitive thesis that Augustus consciously rejected images of aggressive, excessive, emotional leaders of the Hellenistic world in favour of an image based on the calm serenity of the Classical hero. In fact, Augustus is said to have done this at a precise date, 27 BC, in conjunction with the political and administrative changes which occurred in that year. His new leadership ideal supposedly governed the style of subsequent portraits, which sought a positive reception that would give stability to his regime.[40]

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[37] Marble statue of Augustus from the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta. Tiberian marble copy, *ca.* AD 20, of a bronze original, *ca.* 20-17 BC, Rome, Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo, inv. 2290, h. 2.03 m. Walker and Burnett [31] 21 fig. 21a; Hannestad [31] 52 fig. 34; Zanker [13] 99 fig. 83, 190 fig. 148a, 191 fig. 148b; Kleiner [20] 66 fig. 42; Boardman [20] 245 fig. 240; W. G. Moon (ed.), *Polykleitos, the Doryphoros, and Tradition* (Madison 1995) 262 fig. 15.1, 263 figs. 15.2-3, 265 figs. 15.6-8; Galinsky [20] 26 fig. 5; Stevenson [20] 57f., 59 fig. 9; Stewart [3] 11-13, 12 fig. 3.

[38] Zanker [13] 79-100, esp. 98-100.

[39] See Hallett [20] 159-222, esp. 160 for the 'renunciation' of fully nude portraits, although the argument tends to be nuanced and less than insistent in the succeeding pages. Note that Appendix J deals with 'The Return of Military Imagery to Imperial Iconography after its Renunciation by Augustus'. See Stevenson [20] 61-69 for the suggestion that the thesis of Augustus' rejection of 'discordant' images has been overstated.

[40] C. Hallett, 'Emulation versus Replication: Redefining Roman Copying', *JRA* 18 (2005) 430 follows Zanker's lead in writing that the portrait head of the Prima Porta statue was 'probably created after 27 B.C.' For criticism of Zanker's view that the classical style elevates Augustan art to a timeless sphere from which viewers voluntarily take the didactic Augustan meaning without the possibility of irony or subversive readings, see

The idea that works of art can embody and promote moral values is stimulating and valuable, as was indicated above, but the link between style and values is difficult to describe with precision. It is not quite plain, for instance, that a ruler or people will always identify with a single style or that a particular set of values requires a particular style. Different styles might be suitable for different purposes, settings and audiences. Moreover, values change and are received differently over time, so that an unchanging style could be potentially problematic. Notions of discord between artistic styles, therefore, are hardly inevitable, though circumstances of competitive rhetoric and social or cultural conflict might engender them. Yet Zanker believes that 'Hellenistic' images were purged absolutely from the realms of imperial portraiture under Augustus because they were identified with forces undermining Roman tradition—forces of immorality, of subversion, of Asianic excess in contrast to Attic dignity. Instead, more traditional, upright attitudes and values were supposedly expressed by 'Classical' images, which were voluntarily and spontaneously internalized by the Roman People and then universalized throughout the empire. This process was not 'propagandistic' in the sense of coercion from above.

Unfortunately, the categories employed in this argument tend to be arbitrary and imprecise. What, for instance, is 'Hellenistic'? The term is a modern rather than ancient invention; it is used in both chronological and stylistic senses; and it refers to an age of eclectic tastes. Zanker does not define the term but he seems to have in mind a restricted set of images, like the blatant nudity of the Terme Ruler (figure 4)[41] and the heightened emotion and conflict of the Pergamon Altar. It is almost as though 'Hellenistic' is conceived as the exact opposite of another restricted set, centred upon the cool and dignified Prima Porta Augustus, Via Labicana Augustus and Ara Pacis. The selectivity is too great, for there are other images from all the periods involved which would upset the degree of contrast.[42]

Furthermore, close examination of the style of the Prima Porta, as per traditional norms, is unsettling for Zanker's chronology and for the comparison

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Wallace-Hadrill [13] esp. 159-63; Elsner [19] esp. 51, 61 and Beard and Henderson [2] 173f. (on the Forum of Augustus).

[41] The Terme Ruler, undiademed prince or dynast, bronze, third- to second-century BC, Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, inv. 1049, h. 2.2 m. DAIR 66.1686. Smith [33] 164, pls. 31.1-2 and 32.1-2 [Cat. 44]; Zanker [13] 5, 4 fig. 1, 6 fig. 2; Smith [20] 19f., 26 fig. 3; Smith in Boardman [20] 195 fig. 194; Galinsky [20] 163 fig. 76; Stevenson [20] 52f., 53 fig. 4; Hallett [20] 58 pl. 30.

[42] For further discussion see Stevenson [20] 52-66, esp. 57-66 for Augustan images whose inspiration appears to owe more to the Terme Ruler than the Prima Porta Augustus.

with the Doryphoros.[43] It is not certain that the head of the Prima Porta resembles the Meroë head in the British Museum,[44] nor that the latter can help to date the Prima Porta type after 27 BC, 'the great turning point' that ushered in 'a new imperial style' (to borrow from the title of Zanker's third chapter).[45] In stance we may concede a similarity with the Doryphoros, but elsewhere there is difference. Zanker makes much of a comparison between the head of the Prima Porta statue and that of a herm of the Doryphoros. This herm, made by the Athenian sculptor Apollonius circa 30 BC, was found in Italy and is now in the National Museum at Naples (figure 5).[46] The photographic comparison that is employed does the author's thesis a great service. Viewed from other angles the two heads do not seem nearly as close.[47] Indeed, the Prima Porta head probably owes less to fifth-century Athens than to work of the fourth century and later. His protruding ears are hardly idealized. The naturalistic hairstyle is neither as stylized nor as symmetrical as on the herm; its volume is rather like that of a fourth-century marble statue instead of a fifth-century bronze like the Doryphoros.[48] Augustus' brow is more the leonine brow of an Alexander or Mausolos than the flat plane of the Doryphoros.[49] The extended right arm is likewise reminiscent of fourth-century statues that thrust into the space

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[43] Some of these points have been made previously: Stevenson [20] 54f., 57-66; noticed by Stewart [3] 9. See also G. B. Waywell (Review: P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* [Ann Arbor 1988]), *CR* 41 (1991) 186-89, and R. Hannah (Review: P. Stewart, *Roman Art* [Oxford 2004]), *Scholia Reviews* 14 (2005) 5 for doubts about Zanker's comparison.

[44] Bronze head of Augustus from Meroë, Sudan, *ca.* 27-25 BC, London, British Museum, inv. GR 1911.9-1.1, h. 0.48. Walker and Burnett [31] 22 fig. 22a ('c. 27-25 BC'); Kleiner [20] 67, 68 fig. 43 ('before the capture of Syene in 24 BC'); S. Walker, *Greek and Roman Portraits* (London 1995) pl. VI; Galinsky [20] 173 fig. 90; Stewart [3] pl. 1.

[45] Hannah [43] 2 describes the Meroë portrait as 'still a more emotive Hellenistic precursor' to the Prima Porta type. For the view that the Prima Porta type precedes January 27 BC by several years, see B. Schmaltz, 'Zum Augustus-Bildnis Typus Primaporta', *Röm. Mitt.* 93 (1986) 211-43; Galinsky [20] 173-75.

[46] Bronze head of a herm by Apollonius, copying the head of the Doryphoros by Polykleitos, from the Villa of the Papyri, Herculaneum, first-century BC, Naples, Museo Nazionale, inv. 4885, h. 0.54 m. DAIR 64.1804. Walker and Burnett [31] 20 figs. 20a-b; Zanker [13] 99 fig. 83 and fig. 84, cf. 206; Galinsky [20] 28 figs. 9a-b; Stewart [3] cover, 109 fig. 34, cf. 107 fig. 33.

[47] Cf. Moon [37] 76 fig. 6.23, 77 figs. 6.24-27, 131 fig. 8.12, 154 figs. 8.48 and 8.50, 155 fig. 8.51, 162 fig. 9.1, 164 fig. 9.6, 167 fig. 9.14, 247 fig. 14.3, 270 fig. 15.15.

[48] Cf. Waywell [43] 187. Galinsky [20] 174, however, continues to see similarity in the symmetrical hairstyle: 'The hair of both is ordered carefully in the manner of movement and countermovement, a resolution of opposites that is at the heart of the classical aesthetic'.

[49] An observation made to me by Bridget Buxton.

surrounding them in a manner quite alien to the more self-contained, introverted and unaware pieces of the fifth century.[50] This Augustus is addressing an audience or pouring a libation. He is definitely aware of the audience in whose midst he stands. Finally, the youthfulness of the face has been counted as an unmistakably Classical feature, something that contrasts with the veristic images. Yet it is quite appropriate for the real age of Augustus, who was still only thirty-six years old by 27 BC. Given that it became the norm for men to hold the consulship in their early 40s under the republic, he was demonstrably younger than this and clearly younger than his rivals throughout the period of civil war. Furthermore the face is slightly puffy and plastic like a younger version of one of the veristic heads. It is hardly the smooth, linear and flawless visage of a Classical hero. There is a resemblance in the pose, but even here the feet of the Prima Porta are planted more firmly on the ground.[51] One may go a dimension further by bringing up the subject of colour and emphasizing how very differently the Prima Porta statue appears in its recently colour-reconstructed state, especially in comparison to an Athenian bronze.[52]

In this light the reception of the statue requires a different explanation. Instead of illustrating 'Classical' moral purity, we are probably dealing with a more 'youthful' ideal of leadership than that conveyed by images of the traditional ('old') republican nobility. It might be that a pointed contrast with the selfish and corrupt nobility of the republic is fundamental to the style, but the contrast seems more about the potential of youth than an entirely different set of elite values, as the *Res Gestae* makes clear.[53] Augustus' successors, the Julio-Claudians, often exhibit fairly youthful images too. The primary aim seems more about identifying with Augustus and his innovative, 'youthful' ideal of leadership than with an ideal that is derived from 'Classical' models.

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[50] E.g., Antikythera youth, *ca.* 340 BC Athens Br 13396, h. 1.94 m. J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Late Classical Period* (London 1995) 70, 79 fig. 43; cf. frontispiece.

[51] H. Meyer, 'A Roman Masterpiece: The Minneapolis Doryphoros', in Moon [37] 114 n. 44; cf. Galinsky [20] 28 figs. 10a-b.

[52] See P. Liverani, 'L'Augusto di Prima Porta', in H. Bankel *et al.*, *I colori del bianco: policromia nella scultura antica* (Rome 2004) 235-42, 236 fig. 338, 237 fig. 339, 238 figs. 340-41, 241 figs. 342-43. The detail of the Prima Porta head in fig. 340 implies that colour serves to emphasize the plastic and moulded quality of the face in a way vastly at odds with the Doryphoros. Cf. http://www.nyborg-gym.dk/uv/oldtidskundskab/classicolor/slides/140304-071.html

[53] E.g., *RG* 1.1 (E. Malcovati [ed.], *Imperatoris Caesaris Augusti Operum Fragmenta* [Turin 1962]): *annos undeuiginti natus exercitum priuato consilio et priuata impensa comparaui, per quem rem publicam dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem uindicaui* ('At the age of nineteen, on my own initiative and at my own expense, I raised an army by means of which I restored liberty to the republic, which had been oppressed by the tyranny of a faction').

Moreover, under the early empire the 'warts and all' style was being used widely for freedmen reliefs, so that its traditional evocations were changing.[54] At any rate, exciting as Zanker's new approach may be, some combination of the old with the new seems best when assessing the Prima Porta Augustus, and serious questions need to be asked about the theory that it represents a 'Classical' hero.

The Contemporary Donatio Relief on the Arch of Constantine (Figure 6)[55]

The subject matter here is very well known. Among the 'composite' decoration of the Arch of Constantine, which includes reliefs recycled from Trajan's Forum and reliefs from the ages of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, there are contemporary reliefs in a very different style: human figures are squat, flat, frontal, lacking three-dimensional plasticity, unconcerned with naturalistic physical proportions, and distributed from top to bottom with little feeling for depth in the field. The fourth-century AD scene depicting Constantine's largesse to the people of Rome shows the emperor enthroned prominently in the centre; members of his retinue flank the throne on both sides and a group of larger figures adore him from below; on each side of the central group a strong horizontal line divides the panel into two registers; above the line, officials distribute the imperial gifts; below, smaller figures of Roman citizens stand in line and stretch their hands towards the goods being handed down. The difference between the abstract style of the contemporary reliefs and the naturalistic style deriving from Classical Greece is absolutely profound and much commented upon. Riegl sought to understand it through formal analysis, but his work is nowadays employed mainly to demonstrate that formal analysis on its own does not explain the sculptural decoration of the Arch, especially the style of the contemporary reliefs.[56] Most writers in Riegl's wake have attempted to place the contemporary reliefs into context within the social history of art. Lately a number of writers have done this in a way that tends to make the Arch a product of general processes rather than particular circumstances, and it is perhaps time for some balance to be restored.

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[54] E.g., marble funerary relief of Lucius Ampudius, together with his wife (right) and daughter (left), from the wall of the family tomb, found near the Porta Capena, Rome, *ca.* 15-5 BC, London, British Museum S GR 1920.2-20.1. Walker [44] 80, 72 fig. 50, cf. 75 fig. 53.

[55] Scene of *donatio* or *liberalitas* from the Arch of Constantine, north side, AD 312-315. Rome, h. 1.02 m. DAIR 31.2069. D. Strong, *Roman Art* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1976) pl. 209; N. H. Ramage and A. Ramage, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Roman Art* (Cambridge 1991) 270 fig. 12.5, 273 12.8; Boardman [20] 300 fig. C; Stewart [3] 115 fig. 37.

[56] Riegl [5] esp. 51-57.

This is not to deny that dissatisfaction expressed with certain older theories has been largely justified.[57] The traditional approach has produced a number of strongly worded but plainly subjective and unfair condemnations of the style of the fourth-century reliefs. For Berenson the aesthetics are all about decline and inferiority, so that late antique art became a matter of loss, lack and impoverishment.[58] The argument from aesthetics is certainly flawed, as has been argued by several recent scholars who point out that there is nothing inevitable or inherently superior about naturalism; it is just that we have been conditioned for generations to see it in these terms.[59] Moreover, given that the fourth-century panels are employed in close proximity to panels in a naturalistic style on the same monument, which according to traditional ideas would make their 'inferiority' more obvious and, given that the traditional fixation with establishing a work's original date must be undermined by the obvious fact that there are reused panels on the Arch since it becomes clear that both the context and interpretation of art can change over time, surely there are insurmountable weaknesses in the traditional methodology? For Elsner such points indicate that scholars should not be interested primarily in date, style and aesthetic appreciation, but in the mental frameworks by which Roman viewers interpreted the art before them. In contrast to the allusive and suggestive approach taken on a monument such as the Ara Pacis, Elsner thinks that the abstract style of the fourth-century reliefs more clearly and accurately describes the power and dominance of Constantine over the unindividualized masses of Rome. Furthermore, he underlines how very wrong it is to think that the abstract style first came to prominence in public art on the Arch of Constantine, as was once done. It can be traced back to the second century AD on public monuments and to even earlier periods on other types of art.[60] Stewart tends to agree with

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[57] For brief but insightful overviews of the relevant scholarship, see A. Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford 1998) 272-76; Stewart [3] 111-16.

[58] B. Berenson, *The Arch of Constantine, or, The Decline of Form* (London 1954). The idea of 'decline' in late antique art goes back as far as the writings of Raphael and Vasari: J. Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100-450* (Oxford 1998) 18.

[59] Beard and Henderson [2] 65-71; Elsner [58] 15-23, 245-49. The argument that artistic styles should not be judged according to the standards of other periods is in fact that of Riegl [5] 51-57, 77f., 91-95, 101f.

[60] Elsner [2]; Elsner [58] 15-23, 81-87, 187-89. Cf. Brendel [3] 86-92 and Stewart [3] 116 on monuments of the second century, especially the Column of Marcus Aurelius. L'Orange [13] and S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1981), argue that late antique art effectively conveys the hierarchical nature of a society in which unindividualized masses were dominated by a remote, godlike emperor. Cf. R. MacMullen, *Constantine* (New York 1971) 84-86, who sees the abstract style of the contemporary reliefs 'confronting' the spectator, thereby making it clear that individual differences no longer

Elsner, though his survey of interpretations of the sculptural decoration of the Arch ends in a rather non-committal fashion, which is slightly disconcerting and provokes questions.[61]

Should scholarship continue in this vein? It certainly does seem that statues of the Tetrarchs tend to eschew individual representation for impressions of power and solidarity, but does this provide an explanation for the abstract style of the metre-high panels on the Arch?[62] Does the style convey a clearer impression of imperial power or permit greater visibility for viewers at ground level? Would this mean conversely that the naturalistic style was at that time (and perhaps earlier) less easy to read and interpret? Is this more a modern perception? Given that the second-century reliefs are serviceable here, who is to say which style was in fact the easier to interpret on this monument? Were the ancients equally comfortable with both? Is it entirely true, in spite of immediate impressions, that persons commemorated in veristic portraiture or represented on the Ara Pacis are more individualized than those on the Arch, or do all these works ultimately provide a collective vision? Is the choice of style on the Arch governed not so much by clarity of interpretation as by practical or political necessity? If the option of producing an arch with reliefs entirely in one or the other style had been available, would it have been taken up? Should we merely accept that the coexistence of diverse styles on a Roman monument is unproblematic?[63] Could it be slightly misleading to think of the Arch as being 'composite' like the 'Pseudo-Athlete', where the combination is quite deliberate and not as far as anyone can tell inhibited by the resources available to produce the final effect? Perhaps the real point about the reliefs on the Arch is not that contemporary reliefs in an abstract style are used, but that contemporary reliefs in a naturalistic style are not, so that the sculptural programme becomes less 'composite', or more 'composite by default', than it would be if contemporary reliefs in each style had been juxtaposed. Is the laudable attempt to introduce

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matter. Everything is subordinated to function. Therefore 'any architectural element, regardless of its style or period, may be put in its appropriate place on the Arch of Constantine' (86). For an interpretation of the sculptural programme of the Ara Pacis that emphasizes its sacrificial function and the shortcomings of an approach that relies on the naturalism of the figures in order to identify them in light of a specific, original historical occasion, see Elsner [19].

[61] Stewart [3] 111-21, esp. 115f. on the clarity and effectiveness of the contemporary reliefs.

[62] Cf. Strong [55] 277: 'unquestionably the least conspicuous of all the sculptured details'.

[63] Kleiner [20] 445, 455 seems right to argue that it would not have troubled the ancient observer. Should we, however, treat the abstract style and even more the combination of styles as though they warrant no explanation?

into the debate important factors other than style in danger of shrouding the fundamental point that style has social origins? The naturalistic style began as a distinct Greek contrast to the modes of artistic representation employed in the Ancient Near East; Greek names appear regularly in connection with public art at Rome under the republic and empire.[64] Notwithstanding abstract elements in earlier public art, it is hard to imagine that the uncompromising abstract style of the Arch is the work of imported Greek sculptors. Should we, after all, take our cue from the style of the fourth-century reliefs, but ask why Greek sculptors were not employed? As numerous scholars have recognized, the reasons must relate in some way to the manifold upheavals of the preceding century.[65]

There is little need, of course, to point out that socio-economic and political factors have been discussed for some time in scholarship on the *Stilwandel*, those changes in visual representation that mark the end of the Greek tradition and the beginning of early Christian art.[66] Bianchi Bandinelli emphasized the military anarchy, rampant inflation and economic problems of the third century AD. These produced a fundamental transformation of the imperial elite. Aristocratic families died out or lost influence, new families rose to take their place, often from humble backgrounds, and the imperial court itself moved away from Rome to the East. The result, according to Bianchi Bandinelli, was that the 'plebeian' art of Italy in earlier periods became the new art of the upper classes through this process of social transformation. Beneath the hellenized façade that had been maintained mostly by those who had died out, lost power, or gravitated eastwards, this was the art of the common people of Italy.[67] Certainly there are problems with this famous theory, subtly governed by Marxism. The idea of culture as an entity composed of layers is highly dubious; the horizontal division of Roman society into 'upper' and 'lower' classes ignores the substantial vertical linkages; the association between style and social class is a vast oversimplification that has to sweep exceptions under the carpet. It seems preferable to think of a consistent dialogue between naturalism and abstraction that affects all classes to varying degrees and to emphasize continuities rather than discontinuities. Yet there is no denying Bianchi Bandinelli's comprehensive effort to place the art in as broad a context as possible for the sake of superior interpretation. This applies equally to the

[64] Gruen [23] 134-40, 151f., 159f.; Holliday [2] 63-121, esp. 91-96, 104-21.

[65] For reappraisal of the view that there was an extensive empire-wide crisis in the third century, see C. Witschel, 'Re-evaluating the Roman West in the 3rd c. A.D.', *JRA* 17 (2004) 251-81.

[66] For scholarship on the *Stilwandel*, see Brendel [3] 38-47; Clarke [10] 375; Brilliant [4] 558 and Stewart [3] 116-21.

[67] R. Bianchi Bandinelli, 'La crisi artistica della fine del mondo antico', *Archeologia e cultura* (Milan/Naples 1961) 189-233.

thesis of Feletti Mai, who describes Bianchi Bandinelli's 'plebeian' art as 'Italic' art, thus making it a national product rather than a social one. In this reconstruction 'Italic' art had long existed beneath the surface; it had merely been swamped in the public domain by hellenizing styles; and gradually it resurfaced and came to dominate public art from the third century onwards as a result of Italic resurgence among the ranks of the transformed elite. Once again, when the hellenized layer was stripped away, the abstract style supposedly existed as a separate and independent foundation.[68]

Such approaches suffer in their conceptions of society and culture, but it is plain that the broad political and socio-economic movements upon which they are based are of crucial relevance to the Arch. Perhaps the particular politics of the Arch deserve more attention. For instance, it was once assumed that Constantine funded the Arch and that it was merely an example of imperial propaganda.[69] It now seems tolerably clear, however, that the Senate and People of Rome were responsible for the monument, just as the inscription says.[70] At first they were probably terrified and searching desperately for a means to please the warlord who had just defeated their ruler Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge. Consequently, the Arch was vowed in AD 312 to commemorate Constantine's triumphal entrance into Maxentius' capital and completed in AD 315 in time for the emperor's return visit to the humbled city for his *decennalia*. One of the fundamental aims of the Arch, therefore, was to appease the new ruler and assure him of Roman loyalty in the wake of Maxentius' defeat. The Senators must have been careful about the impression it would make, and surely they took time to consider carefully the form of the monument and its decoration. Their security and power depended on it. A few clues towards interpreting the contemporary reliefs might emerge from dwelling for a moment on the Senate's predicament.[71]

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[68] B. M. Feletti Mai, *La tradizione italica nell'arte romana* (Rome 1977) 19-39.

[69] Cf. Strong [55] 276 ('the arch of Constantine erected by the Senate in honour of the emperor between 313 and 315') with 277 ('The choice of monuments had to be appropriate to the image that the emperor wished to create, and it is not therefore surprising that *he* [emphasis mine] selected "the Great Trajanic Frieze"').

[70] *CIL* 6.1139. General treatments of the period now accept this, e.g., MacMullen [60] 72; H. A. Pohlsander, *The Emperor Constantine* (London 1996) 25.

[71] P. Peirce, 'The Arch of Constantine: Propaganda and Ideology in Late Roman Art', *Art History* 12 (1989) 387-418 tends to make Constantine and his advisors the prime determiners of the Arch's decoration. In what follows below it is suggested that the leaders of Rome were searching for something that would please the new emperor. This may well have involved some form of assent from on high, though hardly the detailed oversight that others have implied.

First of all, it was vital to send the right political messages. There were undoubtedly financial constraints due to Maxentius' constant campaigning, and material constraints seem obvious too, but then no project could have been more important at the time and nothing appears to have been spared. The decision was taken to construct a traditional type of monument *and* to ensure that no bigger monument of this type stood in all Rome. Consequently the dimensions of Constantine's arch match those of the Arch of Septimius Severus quite closely. Next the Senate chose or confirmed decoration of a traditional kind whose subject matter would link their new ruler with the finest models of imperial autocracy. The military and civic achievements described on both the new reliefs and those extracted from earlier monuments were undoubtedly meant to honour and constrain Constantine as the embodiment of the values and behaviour associated with Trajan, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. This emphasis on tradition, traditional scenes, virtues and activities aside, it seems nonetheless remarkable that there are two scenes of *donatio*, or the distribution of largesse, to the citizens of Rome. One is an Antonine relief, with the head of Constantine substituted for that of Marcus Aurelius,[72] and the other, described above, was commissioned specially for the Arch. Why are there two depictions of the same scene presided over by the same central figure (since Constantine's head has replaced that of Marcus)? It is plain that the subject matter itself is not the determinant of the abstract style (that is, the particular scene does not call for a particular style), given the presence of versions in naturalistic and abstract style. Is the important thing the manner in which the subject is represented? The contemporary scene appears to make the hierarchical nature of the society more obvious to us, and certainly Constantine is the dominant, central figure. Does the Senate want to assure Constantine that the reality of his power is clearly understood? They probably did want to do this, but it should not be assumed that the art of earlier centuries indicates that Romans were any less clear on this fact or were any less inclined to acknowledge it in public art. There is a fundamental point about the exercise of imperial power that is possibly being downgraded in the thesis that the abstract style is somehow more honest or emphatic about the emperor's power: sometimes rulers need to exalt their power, in order to overawe their subjects and enemies and make manifest the basis for their rule; at other times they need to humble themselves, in order to interact personally with their subjects and maintain vital avenues of communication with their functionaries.[73] Images that relate to each of these

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[72] Antonine *donatio* panel on the Arch of Constantine, north side, late 170s AD, Rome, h. 3.14 m. Hannestad [31] 234 fig. 143, 235 fig. 144; Boardman [20] 299 fig. B; Stewart [3] 114 fig. 36.

[73] A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Civilis Princeps: between Citizen and King', *JRS* 72 (1982) 32-48.

poles were available from the reign of Augustus onwards. The Prima Porta Augustus will have been far more exalted in its original setting than the Augustus of the Ara Pacis may appear to modern viewers. At the very least, it is not clear that a second *donatio* scene in the abstract style was needed to establish or reinforce a political point about the Senate's acceptance of the overwhelming nature of Constantine's imperial power. That point must have been well and truly made in the general form and dimensions of the monument, and the metre-high contemporary panel is hardly more powerful for the purpose than its predecessor, which is three times as large. Nor does it seem feasible that the new aristocracy in the Senate would have wanted to employ 'its' style in a spirit of self-assertion. This was not the spirit with which they probably approached the task of negotiating their relationship with Constantine. Equally, why is the naturalistic style of the figures on the Mildenhall Dish,[74] for instance, not just as much the style of men in the Senate at this time? In the end, although political considerations were vital, they do not seem to be fully determinant or explanatory in respect of the contemporary reliefs.

What, then, of the practicalities? The insertion of the contemporary reliefs helps to provide symmetry to the decoration of the Arch, but this does not explain their style. The use of *spolia* must have been interpreted in a positive light, for example, as homage to predecessors or an appeal to traditional values or talismans for imperial success. They were evidently not seen as a cheap option. Yet they do seem to point towards lack and constraint: resources were not as plentiful as the Senate might have liked, and a number of traditions relating to such a monument had apparently been lost. The Arch would certainly make a grand political statement but the expertise to decorate it was evidently not available as it had once been. This seems to be the way to understand the style. It is not that naturalism was not the Senate's style now, for naturalism persisted in other aristocratic contexts. It is not that naturalism was rejected for political reasons, because the supposed clarity of the abstract style would have been muted by the relative size and placement of the panels in question. The matter appears to come down to the identity of the sculptors. Who was there available in the near vicinity and capable of undertaking the job in the absence of the monumental masons who had either left for the East or died out as imperial commissions of this type had dried up in previous generations? As has been surmised on stylistic grounds in earlier scholarship, the answer appears to be the sculptors whose workshops had been producing such items as stone sarcophagi.[75] The results of their preferred scale and particular training appear to be in evidence on the famous contemporary reliefs of the Arch. These

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[74] Ramage and Ramage [55] 266f., 285f.

[75] E.g., Kleiner [20] 455-59.

sculptors could only conceive of subjects that were similar to those previously depicted and even used elsewhere on the Arch. Hence two scenes of *donatio*. The style, therefore, was governed not by aesthetics or political imperatives but by practical necessity, above all a certain dearth of craftsmen for monumental commissions of this kind. In other words, the abstract style is probably that of a particular group of artists within Roman society whose product was called into the monumental sphere because specialist craftsmen for the genre, whose customary style might have more closely approximated the second-century reliefs, were not present in Rome. We do not need to assume that craftsmen accompanied Constantine from Gaul, partly because it is unnecessary to assume that the new emperor had overall supervision of the project.[76] Therefore, the Arch is not evidence for an overall decline in artistic quality; it is the product of employing limited resources to meet the demands of a difficult social relationship (that between the new emperor and the inhabitants of Rome). It probably tells us nothing about stylistic preference on aesthetic or even political grounds; it is not about natural evolution or the characteristic style of a social class or nation; it relates to the sculptural style of a particular group of sculptors from another genre whose work was elevated to the public monumental level because of a set of unique practical, political and socio-economic circumstances. If anything, the style is dictated by the social background of the sculptors rather than the patrons.

Conclusion

The works discussed in this paper are particular examples of eclecticism in Roman sculpture. Each shows combination, interaction, or discourse, though in different and individual ways. The distinct styles and evocations of the Arch of Constantine are largely a consequence of the Senate choosing a particular school of sculptors; this choice appears to have been more limited than that which produced the Pseudo-Athlete and far less subtle in its results than the employment of various influences on the Prima Porta Augustus. It can be stressed once more that some combination of the two major approaches to Roman art tends to work best in interpreting works that have such individual possibilities. Generalizations become inadequate. The works of art need to be treated in as comprehensive a manner as possible, with attention to both formal and social factors; style in particular cannot be treated summarily, as an examination of the Prima Porta Augustus shows. Style does have social origins,

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[76] G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Roman Art: A Modern Survey of the Art of Imperial Rome* (New York 1975) 124 (artists responsible for the 'folk art' of Trier might have accompanied Constantine to Rome).

but there is complexity in saying this, for various styles may coexist and interact within the one society and period. Roman sculpture seems to be the product of constant interaction between elements of naturalism and abstraction. This conception of the situation tends to mean that our traditional interpretive categories are woefully inadequate. Terms such as 'Classical' and 'Hellenistic' (and sometimes 'Greek' and 'Roman') tend to make style a product of an era rather than a mode of conception, and they are determined heavily by accidents of survival. This masks the continuities and fails to recognize that naturalistic and abstract styles coexisted to varying degrees in all periods.
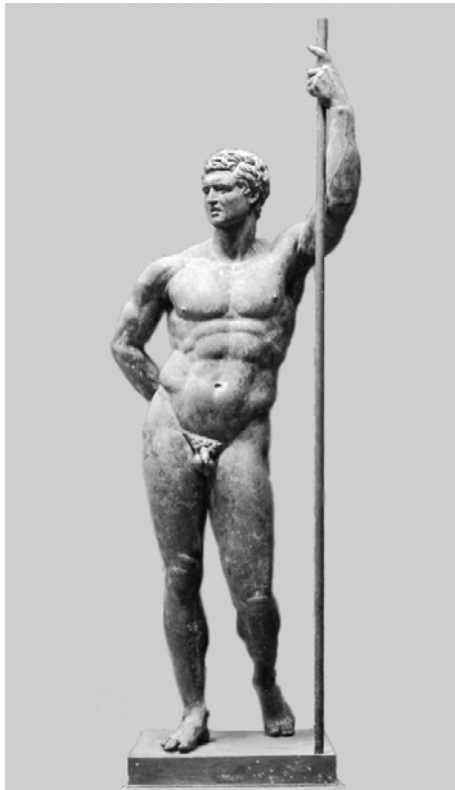
Figure 1: Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1828.
'Pseudo-Athlete.'

Figure 2: Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme 106513.
Roman general from the Temple of Hercules at Tivoli

Figure 3: Rome, Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo, inv. 2290.
The Prima Porta Augustus.

Figure 4: Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme 1049.
The Terme Ruler, undiademed prince or dynast.
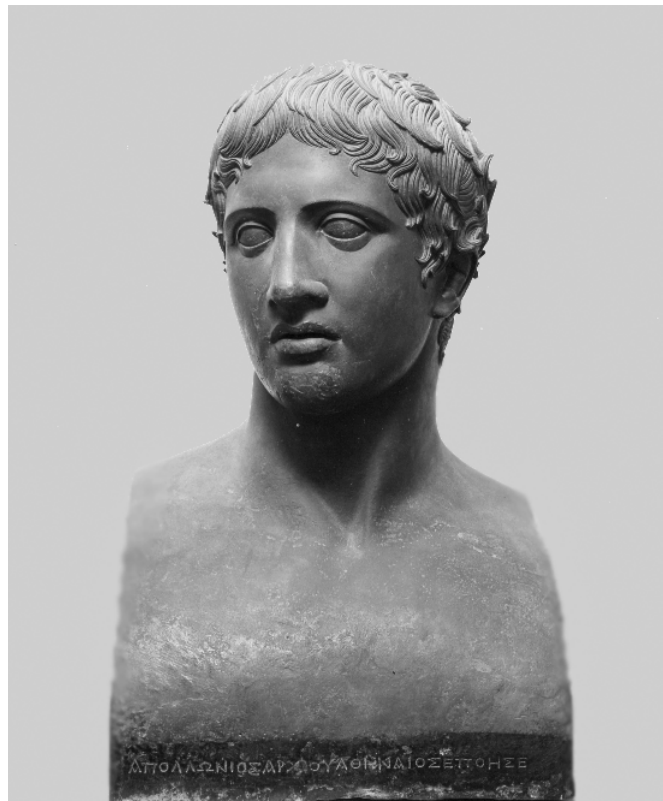
Figure 5: Naples, Museo Nazionale 4885.
Bronze head of a herm by Apollonius.

Figure 6: Rome, DAIR 31.2069.
Arch of Constantine. North side.

EROTICS AND FRIENDSHIP IN
EMPEROR JULIAN'S FOURTH ORATION[1]

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Abstract. This paper explores the emperor Julian's use of pederastic and same-sex sexual tropes to characterize the importance of his friendship with Saturninius Secundus Salutius. The "Self-Consolation" or *Oration* 4 is read in light of its intertextualities with Theocritus, Plato, and various ancient discussions of dreams with nocturnal emissions.

> ἢ τούτους μὲν ἄτε δὴ μείζονας καὶ περὶ μειζόνων οὐ κινητέον, ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ μικρῷ μηχανὰς μεγάλας . . .
>
> (Julian. *Or.* 4.3.244A)[2]

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[2] Unless otherwise credited, all translations are my own and references are to Julian's fourth oration in the absence of further specification. When I have adapted a translation, no disrespect is intended. I make changes with an eye toward supporting my argument. For texts of Julian's works, I use those from l'Association Guillaume Budé: J. Bidez (ed. and tr.), *L'Empereur Julien: Oeuvres Complètes, Discours de Julien César (I-V)* (Paris 1932); G. Rochefort (ed. and tr.), *L'Empereur Julien: Oeuvres Complètes, Discours de Julien Empereur (VI-IX)* (Paris 1963); C. Lacombrade (ed. and tr.), *L'Empereur Julien: Oeuvres Complètes, Discours de Julien Empereur (X-XII)* (Paris 1965); and J. Bidez (ed. and tr.), *L'Empereur Julien: Oeuvres Complètes, Lettres et Fragments* (Paris 1924). I also have occasion to consult and cite W. C. Wright (ed. and tr.), *The Works of the Emperor Julian* (Cambridge 1923). The other classical texts are as follows (in order of appearance, other than to avoid repetition): the text of Aristotle, *Ethica Eudemia* is that of F. Susemihl (ed.), *Aristotelis Ethica Eudemia* (Amsterdam 1967); of Plato, *Symposium* J. Burnet (ed.), *Platonis Opera* 2 (Oxford 1967); of Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea* I. Bywater (ed.), *Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea* (Oxford 1962); of Menander Rhetor D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson (edd. and trr.), *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford 1981); of Ammianus Marcellinus W. Seyfarth *et al.* (edd.), *Ammiani Marcellini Rerum Gestarum Libri Qui Supersunt*[2] 1-2 (Stuttgart 1978); of Themistius, *Oration* 22 H. Schenkl and G. Downey (edd.), *Themistii Orationes Quae Supersunt* 1 (Leipzig 1965); of Jerome, *Vita Pauli* E. M. Morales (ed.), *Trois Vies de Moines* (Paris 2007); of Theocritus A. S. F. Gow (ed.), *Theocritus* 1[2] (Cambridge 1965); of Plato, *Charmides* J. Burnet (ed.), *Platonis Opera* 3 (Oxford 1968); of Artemidorus, *Oneirokritika*

> Or are these [words to be acted-out], inasmuch as they are greater and are about greater things, not to be set in motion, as though they were great stage machinery in a small theater . . . ?

The fourth oration of emperor Julian, the "Self-Consolation on the Departure of the Most-Excellent Salutius," so far as I know, has not been subjected in recent times to sustained critique. Julian wrote this substantial oration[3] in 358/359 CE while he, as *Caesar*, was campaigning on the northern frontier. While the details are murky, it appears that Salutius,[4] who had been the holding the *quaestura sacri palatii* in Julian's court,[5] was summoned across the Alps so that Julian's cousin, emperor Constantius II, could install Lucillianus (who would keep a closer eye on the goings on). In the "Letter to the Athenians" (10.282C), Julian portrays the summoning of Salutius as a hostile move calculated to isolate him. This oration often has been seen, quite logically, as a testament to Julian's anguish over the departure of his friend and advisor, with whom he shared philosophical interests.[6] I agree that the oration is revelatory of anguish,

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R. A. Pack (ed.), *Artemidori Daldiani Onirocriticon Libri V* (Leipzig 1963); of Aristotle *De Insomniis* W. D. Ross (ed.), *Aristotle: Parva Naturalia* (Oxford 1970); of Caelius Aurelianus *On Chronic Diseases* I. E. Drabkin (ed.), *On Acute Diseases and On Chronic Diseases* (Chicago 1950); of Oribasius, *Collectiones Medicae* J. Raeder (ed.), *Oribasii Collectionum Medicarum Reliquiae* 1-4 (Leipzig 1928); of *Constitutiones Apostolorum* M. Metzger (ed.), *Les Constitutions Apostoliques* 1-3 (Paris 1985-1987); of *Historia Monachorum* A.-J. Festugière (ed.), *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* (Brussels 1971); and of Homer, *Iliad* T. W. Allen (ed.), *Homeri Ilias* 2-3 (Oxford 1931).

[3] At about 3000 words, Julian's *Oration* 4 is roughly the length of Cicero's *Pro Archia* and a few hundred words longer than Lysias' *On the Death of Eratosthenes*.

[4] Salutius' full name is Saturninius Secundus Salutius and his name appears as Σαλούστιος in the oration and other Greek sources.

[5] A. Gutsfeld, "Secundus," *Brill's New Pauly* (http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/ uid=1773/entry?entry=bnp_e110628); J. Harries, "The Roman Imperial Quaestor from Constantine to Theodosius II," *JRS* 78 (1988) 156-58 discusses the development of the office of *quaestor* in the fourth century and describes Salutius himself in his role as *quaestor*.

[6] Controversy may attend this claim about shared philosophical interests. There is a minor late-Platonic treatise (*De Deis et Mundo*) that is clearly related to Julian's eighth oration (both the treatise and oration feature similarly complected discussions of Attis, as well as marked similarities of thought). "Saloustios" is the author of this treatise. Debate has centered on whether the author is the same as the addressee of the consolation (Saturninius Secundus Salutius) or a certain Flavius Sallustius (who was consul with Julian in 363)—for the Greek name will allow either identification. What makes this debate relevant to the present discussion of Julian's fourth oration is that if Saturninius Secundus Salutius is the author, then the treatise is further evidence (over and beyond that on display in the oration) of intellectual interests shared by him and Julian. I incline to identification of the author of this treatise as Saturninius Secundus Salutius (and I have support in this from, e.g., E. Clarke, "Communication, Human and Divine: Saloustios Reconsidered," *Phronesis* 43 (1998)

but I also see it as revelatory of a connection between the politically significant relationship of Salutius and Julian and same-sex sexual desire. In arguments to come, I will explore the same-sex sexual imagery that characterizes Julian's words about his friendship with Salutius and the uses this imagery serves. We will discover in particular that Julian uses this imagery to mark out his friendship with Salutius as an important relation that deserves respect; the imagery ultimately serves a political purpose. First, however, I offer a survey of prior scholarship in the interests of contextualizing the investigation that will follow.

As said above, *Oration* 4 has been read as indicative of Julian's distress at his enforced separation from his friend. Bowersock perceives in the oration "an elaborate and intense discourse of regret on [Salutius'] departure"[7] and Athanassiadi-Fowden, attuned to the marked intertextuality of the speech with Homer, sees anguish over separation from his friend contrasted with a vision of the lost Eden of his boyhood studies;[8] the trauma of the present separation parallels that caused by his having to leave his boyhood teacher, Mardonius (2.241C). Also sensitive to the intertextuality with Homer in the oration, Rosen underscores its topical conventionality.[9] And he is correct: handbooks provide patterns which Julian uses.[10] Scholarship about this speech has also considered what it tells the reader about Julian's notion of friendship, for he and Salutius have a friendship (φιλία: 2.242C) and they are friends (φίλοι: 2.242A, 3.242D, 3.243C).[11] Bringmann notes that Julian presents in this oration "ein Denkmal seiner Freundschaft" with Salutius.[12] We can connect Bringmann's comment to some scholarship from the 1990s. Smith draws attention to the oration's substantial engagement with Aristotle's exposition of friendship such as we find

347-50; G. Rochefort, *Saloustios: De Deis et Mundo* (Paris 1960) x-xxi; and A. D. Nock, *Sallustius: Concerning the Gods and the Universe* (Cambridge 1926) ci. On the other hand, L. Brisson ("Salustius," *Brill's New Pauly* [http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/uid=1773/entry?entry=bnp_e1028720]) regards the question still open. A. Jones, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* 1*: A.D. 260–395* (Cambridge 1971) 796 is of the opinion that the author is not Saturninius Secundus Salutius but is perhaps Flavius Sallustius.

[7] G. W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (Cambridge 1978) 45.

[8] P. Athanassiadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism: An Intellectual Biography* (Oxford 1981) 20f.

[9] K. Rosen, *Julian: Kaiser, Gott und Christenhasser* (Stuttgart 2006) 167.

[10] See, e.g., Menander Rhetor 2.395.1-399.10 (on the *logos propemptikos*) and discussion by F. Cairns, *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry* (Edinburgh 1972) 7-16, esp. 7-10.

[11] Julian also refers to Salutius as his *philos* in *Oration* 5 (10/282C) and *Oration* 11 (44/157B).

[12] K. Bringmann, *Kaiser Julian* (Darmstadt 2004) 65.

it in the *Eudemian* and *Nicomachean Ethics*[13] and Guido, writing at greater length in an important article on Julian's understanding of *philia* across all of his works,[14] also notes Julian's frequent resort to Aristotle in the oration.[15] I stress here that Julian's oration is highly learned and its readership, as recipients of the *paideia*, would have been learned too.[16] Given that this is the case, reading the oration via Aristotle now reproduces a plausible late-ancient reception, and is the beginning of my argument.

Without denying the emotional component to the oration (as is mentioned by Athanassiadi and Bowersock), I am in part interested in continuing with approaches to the speech that see it as revelatory of the friendship that existed between Julian and Salutius. To this end, I further flesh out the commonalities between this friendship and Aristotle's ideas on what a friendship should be. What emerges is that Julian leavens considerable similarities to Aristotle's conceptions with notable differences. Julian speaks of παρρησία ("frankness") and employs the verb derived from this noun (both at 3.243C) and elsewhere emphasizes the pure and uncalculated nature of the dealings that he and Salutius had with one another (e.g., 2.241D, 6.248D). These characterizations of his

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[13] R. Smith, *Julian's Gods: Religion and Philosophy in the Thought and Action of Julian the Apostate* (New York 1995) 40f.

[14] R. Guido, "La Nozione di Φιλία in Giuliano Imperatore," *Rudiae* 10 (1998) 125-29.

[15] Noting that Aristotle is named twenty-three times in Julian's works, J. Bouffartigue, *L'Empereur Julien et la Culture de son Temps* (Paris 1992) 65, 200-02 sees at least second-hand reference to the *Nicomachean Ethics* in the *Hymn to Helios*, the *Letter to Themistius*, and the oration *To the Uneducated Cynics*. Bouffartigue sees no mention of the *Eudemian Ethics* in Julian's works. Building upon Guido's and Smith's remarks, my analysis sees evidence of both these works of Aristotle in *Oration* 4.

[16] The importance of education, or the *paideia*, to elite men in the later Roman empire probably cannot be overstated. For the pervasiveness of the *paideia* in late antiquity, see, e.g., P. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison 1992) *passim*; R. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1988) *passim*; A. Cameron, "Education and Literary Culture," in A. Cameron and P. Garnsey (edd.), *Cambridge Ancient History* 13*: The Later Empire A.D. 337-425* (Cambridge 1998) 665-707; and A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge 2007) 120-72. N. Lenski, *Failure of Empire: Valens and the Roman State in the Fourth Century A.D.* (Berkeley 2002) 92-97, 371 notes that emperor Valens' lack of conspicuous educational attainment made relations with the highly educated elites of Asia Minor difficult and put him at a disadvantage vis-à-vis the usurper Procopius (cf. R. Van Dam, *Kingdom of Snow: Roman Rule and Greek Culture in Cappadocia* [Philadelphia 2002] 80-94, 160-62). Mastery of the *paideia* also was essential to a career in the service of the emperor (see, e.g., F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World, 31 BC-AD 337* [Ithaca 1977] 83-101, 203-28; M. Vessey, "Sacred Letters of the Law: The Emperor's Hand in Late Roman [Literary] History," *Antiquité Tardive* 11 [2003] 345-58).

friendship with Salutius mark it as post-Aristotelian, for, as Konstan has shown, an emphasis on frankness is a feature of friendships in societies with extreme status discrepancies (e.g., the Hellenistic monarchies and the Roman republic and empire) and hence is a departure from the *polis*-based model about which Aristotle speaks.[17] The appearance of frankness is not the sole difference from Aristotelian ideals of friendship: it is at this point that I take analysis of the oration in a direction that, so far as I am aware, has not been taken before.

In the course of his remarks, Julian makes reference to Plato's *Charmides* (especially 156D-157B) and Theocritus' *Idyll 12* (lines 10-16). This intertextuality, I argue, complects the friendship between these two grown men in pederastic terms and so marks a radical break between Julian's presentation of his and Salutius' friendship and Aristotle's conception of what a friendship should be.[18] In the *Eudemian Ethics* (*Eth. Eud.*), for example, Aristotle notes that relations between lover and beloved are different from those between friends. There is a lack of common interests and the lover is often solely interested in things carnal:

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[17] D. Konstan, "Friendship, Frankness, and Flattery," in J. T. Fitzgerald (ed.), *Friendship, Flattery, and Frankness of Speech: Studies on Friendship in the New Testament World* (Leiden 1996) 7-19; Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World* (Cambridge 1996) 15-23, 93-105. See too fr. 12 from book 8 of Ennius' *Annales* (O. Skutsch, *The* Annals *of Q. Ennius* [Oxford 1985] 93f.).

[18] A word about intertextuality may be welcome here. When I speak of intertextuality, I am thinking of the way in which meaning is made by readers/listeners at the time when they are reading or hearing a text. Perceptible links with prior literature—perceptible because of the high level of education among late-ancient elites—enable perceptions of meaning on the basis of a text's similarity to and difference from older texts (such as those by Theocritus and Plato). Readerly awareness of perceptible relations between texts allows for meanings to emerge. A frequent point of confusion as regards intertextuality is the fact that while the author writes his texts and indeed arguably sets out (and even has *the intention*) to quote Plato or Theocritus, any meaning that emerges is entirely dependent on the competence of the reader. In the absence of readerly competence the author's intention counts for nothing (even as we have to say that he is the one who has made reference to Plato, for example). It is also quite conceivable that readers make meanings on the basis of perceived relations with other texts that might surprise an author and even run counter to his intentions (could we know them, and we cannot). Recent stimulating treatments of intertextuality in late antiquity include G. Kelly, *Ammianus Marcellinus: The Allusive Historian* (Cambridge 2008) and M. Mastrangelo, *The Roman Self in Late Antiquity: Prudentius and the Poetics of the Soul* (Baltimore 2008). For treatments of intertextuality in the earlier empire, I have found the following most helpful: G. Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets* (Ithaca 1986); L. Edmunds, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Roman Poetry* (Baltimore 2001); D. Fowler, *Roman Constructions: Readings in Postmodern Latin* (Oxford 2000) 115-137; and S. Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge 1998).

. . . ὁ ἔρως δοκεῖ φιλίᾳ ὅμοιον εἶναι· τοῦ γὰρ συζῆν ὀρέγεται ὁ ἐρῶν,
ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ἧ μάλιστα δεῖ, ἀλλὰ κατ᾽ αἴσθησιν.

(Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 7.12.1245A 24-26)[19]

. . . love seems to be similar to friendship, for the lover of someone wants to
be together [with his beloved]; not, however, in the way he especially should
[if friendship is at issue], but instead in a sensual way.

Hence, in creating a web of intertextuality that includes the references to Plato
and Theocritus, Julian not only transforms the substantial Aristotelianism of the
friendship he depicts, he also raises the topic of sexual desire between adult
males. As will be shown, it should not occasion surprise that Julian would trope
his friendship in same-sex sexual terms; we can find similar instances in late
antiquity. What is remarkable, as I will argue, is the degree to which Julian,
even as he uses same-sex sexual desire as a metaphor for his friendship with
Salutius, seems to suggest that it is more than mere metaphor. He seemingly lets
the mask slip, if you will, twice. The reader can draw the conclusion that Julian
is "really" feeling desire. For the reader of today, the seeming glimpse of
something beyond the play of representation is intriguing and a temptation. But
care is called for. In the first place, we have no knowledge about what really
happened between Julian and Salutius. Furthermore, any seeming glimpse
beyond the play of representation in this most rhetorical of documents must be
understood as a further instance of rhetoric; Julian's gestures toward reality are
the devices of a rhetorical showman. And Julian ups the rhetorical stakes for, as
I will argue, he audaciously figures his devotion to Salutius as something that
could cause dreams accompanied by nocturnal emissions. This excessive
figuration and the assertion of a devotion that ceases to use same-sex attraction
as a metaphor and instead insists on its reality impress me as typical Julianic
hyperbole. But it is hyperbole that sends a message to the readers and listeners
of this oration about the power and durability of the connection between Julian
and his friend: those who may wish to tamper with Salutius will have Julian to
answer to for as long as Julian remains powerful. My analysis also attests to the
intelligibility of male/male sexual desire in late antiquity and its perceptible
connection to friendship. Here, then, is something rare because sexual desire
between adult males is infrequently represented in accounts we have of same-
sex desire in both the primary and secondary sources of late antiquity.

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[19] Cf. *Eth. Eud.* 7.3.1238B 35-40, 7.10.1243B 17-19; *Eth. Nic.* 8.4.1157A 6-10,
9.1.1164A 2-8.

Summary of the Fourth Oration

The oration begins with an address to Salutius in which Julian wonders how he will find the words to soothe the grief he feels. Perhaps music or a drug of some kind will be of help (1.240A-C)? As the oration continues, Julian philosophizes, considering whether or not adversity can be productive of pleasure (1.240C-241C). Reflections on the nature of his friendship with Salutius (2.241C-242D; to be discussed below) crescendo into a suicide threat (3.243D). At 3.244A (also to be discussed below), Julian makes reference to the Platonic account of the spells (ἐπῳδαί) of Zamolxis which were to treat the handsome Charmides' headache. Subsequent to the evocation of this famous scene of homoerotic desire, Julian changes tack and decides to speak ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἔργων . . . τὰ κλέα ("glories from the deeds of old," 3.244B). In his discussion of Scipio Aemilianus and Laelius (4.244C-245C), he points up the equality of affection they had for one another through a reference to Theocritus' pederastic *Idyll 12*. After mentioning other pairs of friends in history, Julian comes to Pericles and Anaxagoras. At this point, he gives a long speech to Pericles (5.246A-248B). In this *prosopopoieia*, Pericles reflects on and regrets the necessity of his separation from his friend. As far as Pericles is concerned, however, as long as they are able to think of one another, he and Anaxagoras will be able to ameliorate the pain of their separation.

Toward the end of this section of the oration Julian (anachronistically) embeds in Pericles' speech a replay (5.247C-248B) of Plato's "ladder of love" (*Smp.* 210A-211C), which climaxes in Pericles' assertion that his and Anaxagoras' devotion to things incorporeal (which takes its start from things corporeal) will ensure that they are not assailed by φαντάσματα ("visions") in the night that have their basis in the body (which I understand, reading with attention to the broad context of late antiquity, to signify nocturnal emissions). When Pericles' speech ends, Julian straightaway asserts that he cannot manage such sublimity and that he is concerned about the φαντάσματα that are assaulting him as he tries to fashion a consolation to ameliorate his grief (6.248C-D). Continuing the back and forth motion in the oration, a look to the future and hope for divine aid (6.249A-250A) give way again to skepticism about an ability to equal heroes of old but Julian will nonetheless try and hopes that God will aid him (6.250A-D). After a brief discussion of the excesses of Alexander the Great, Julian notes his more limited and sensible needs, saying that, ἀρκεῖ δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ φιλεῖν ὁμολογῶν μόνον, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα σιωπηλότερος ὢν καὶ τῶν Πυθαγόρᾳ τελεσθέντων ("It is enough for me that [my friend] admit only that he loves me too and that he be more silent about other matters than the initiates of Pythagoras," 7.251C-D). The oration ends with wishes for a safe voyage for his friend (8.251D-252D). In phrases that

recall the recommendations of Menander Rhetor (third century CE) for concluding a *logos propemptikos* (2.398.29-399.10) he hopes that Salutius' journey will be an easy one and that he will be received with joy wherever he goes. He looks forward to the day of reunion—which underscores that Julian sees their alliance as durable.

Friendship

As previously noted, the continuities between the picture Julian draws of his friendship with Salutius and the ideals of friendship elaborated by Aristotle have been touched on in prior scholarship.[20] I will now substantiate these continuities further in the interests of emphasizing how much of Aristotle is present in Julian's proffered model of friendship in this oration. This substantiation will place in sharp relief Julian's departure from the Aristotelian model when he has recourse to erotics—a departure that would have been recognized by his educated audience.

The reader of *Oration* 4 soon discovers that Julian sees his friendship with Salutius as chiefly founded on moral excellence (ἀρετή) and secondarily on the way in which they have been of use to each other. The following passage features most of the commonalities Julian's conception has with Aristotle's ideals (and is therefore a good place to start):

> Ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν ἐξ ἴσης, ὡς ἔοικε, κοινωνοῦμεν, σὺ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀλγῶν μόνον, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀεὶ ποθῶν τὴν σὴν συνουσίαν καὶ τῆς φιλίας μεμνημένος, ἣν ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς μὲν μάλιστα καὶ προηγουμένως, ἔπειτα καὶ διὰ τὴν χρείαν, ἣν οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν σοί, σὺ δὲ ἐμοὶ συνεχῶς παρέσχες, ἀνακραθέντες ἀλλήλοις ὡμολογήσαμεν, οὐχ ὅρκοις οὐδὲ τοιαύταις ἀνάγκαις ταῦτα πιστούμενοι, ὥσπερ ὁ Θησεὺς καὶ ὁ Πειρίθους, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ὧν ἀεὶ ταὐτὰ νοοῦντες καὶ προαιρούμενοι . . .
>
> (Julian. *Or*. 4.2.242C-D)
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> We are partners equally in this [i.e., the pain this separation is causing]—you grieving only on my behalf and I both missing your company and remembering our friendship, emphatically and chiefly based on ἀρετή, and secondarily on its usefulness which I to you, and you to me, have continually provided—[this friendship] which we, having compacted it, swore to each other, not relying on oaths and such ties (as did Theseus and Perithoos) but through always thinking and choosing the same things . . .

The first thing to note is that the foundation of their friendship is ἀρετή (a sentiment that Julian echoes later in the words he gives to Pericles at 5.247D, 5.248A). The importance of ἀρετή reflects the ideals of friendship as elaborated by Aristotle, who declares on a number of occasions that the best friendship is

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[20] Smith [13] 40f.; Guido [14] 125-29.

one based on ἀρετή (see, e.g., *Eth. Eud.* 7.2.1236B 1, 7.2.1237A 29-31, 7.2.1238A 30f.; *Eth. Nic.* 8.1.1155A 1-6), which he is at pains to distinguish from friendships that are based solely on utility or pleasure (see, e.g., *Eth. Nic.* 8.3.1156A 7-19 and *Eth. Eud.* 7.2.1236A 15-1236B 1). Seeming perhaps to run against this formulation of Aristotle, Julian here (and again at 3.243B) also characterizes his connection with Salutius as a χρεία, a thing of use or advantage, that benefits both of them. Furthermore, Julian elsewhere underscores the pleasure he receives from his friendship with Salutius saying that κοινωνήσαντας γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλοις . . . πολλῶν δὲ ἡδέων ἔργων τε καὶ λόγων . . . κοινὸν εὑρίσκεσθαι χρὴ τῶν παρόντων . . . παιωνικὸν ἄκος ("it is necessary for us, who have shared with each other many *pleasant* deeds and words to discover a shared remedy in the present circumstances," 1.240B) and he complains that Salutius' departure will render him μόνης . . . θαλπωρῆς τε καὶ τέρψεως ἐνδεής ("bereft of his sole comfort and *pleasure*," 3.243C). These other details may seem to suggest that Julian is portraying his and Salutius' friendship in terms of the two lesser friendships that Aristotle identifies, that is, those based on pleasure and use.[21] But drawing this conclusion would be a mistake. Aristotle identifies pleasure and use as operative in friendships of the best kind declaring ἡδὺς δὲ καὶ χρήσιμος ἅμα εἴρηται ὅτι ὁ σπουδαῖος ("that the good/serious man [who is one to seek for a friend most of all] is said to be pleasant and useful, *Eth. Nic.* 8.6.1158A 34f.).[22]

We can see further continuities between Julian's and Aristotle's conceptions of friendship in this passage. At the beginning of the passage quoted above (2.242C-D), Julian says that he and Salutius are partners in grief. The verb at issue, κοινωνέω, and the related noun (κοινωνία) and adjective (κοινός) occur often in Julian's oration (1.240A, 1.240B, 2.241C, 2.241D, 2.242A, 2.242C, 4.245A, 4.245B, 4.245D, 8.252C) and their occurrence marks another continuity with Aristotle.[23] Aristotle states quite directly that friendship is κοινωνία, a "partnership" or "community" (κοινωνία . . . ἡ φιλία, *Eth. Nic.* 9.12.1171B 32f.; cf. *Eth. Nic.* 8.12.1161B 11; *Eth. Eud.* 7.9.1241B 11-19, 7.10.1242A 19-22). The frequent occurrence of these words also connects the oration to Pythagoras' notions of communality (a connection which Julian makes explicitly in the oration [see 4.245A, 7.251C-D]). A final continuity with Aristotle to note in the passage above is the presence of a tension between

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[21] For more on the three kinds of friendship Aristotle discusses, see L. Pangle, *Aristotle and the Philosophy of Friendship* (Cambridge 2003) 37-56; A. W. Price, *Love and Friendship in Plato and Aristotle* (New York 1989) 131-61.

[22] Cf. Pangle [21] 44, 50f.; Price [21] 137, 145, 151f.

[23] Both Guido [14] 125f. and Smith [13] 40f. note the importance of κοινωνία in Julian's representation of his friendship with Salutius.

difference and sameness. Julian says that he and Salutius are equal partners in dismay over their separation. But what follows are words that assert difference: Salutius grieves on Julian's behalf while Julian pines for and ruminates on the companionship his friend provided. Explicitly directed toward his friend, Julian's affect is arguably more lavish than Salutius'. This disparity is a function of the difference in status between the two of them and provides a further instance of the influence of Aristotle. Aristotle remarks, ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς ἀνομοιοειδέσι φιλίαις τὸ ἀνάλογον ἰσάζει καὶ σῴζει τὴν φιλίαν ("in all friendships based on dissimilarity, what is proportionate equalizes and preserves the friendship," *Eth. Nic.* 9.1.1163B 29f.).[24] The status differential between Salutius and Julian drives Julian in the direction of more overt display of affection as a sort of balance.[25] And this would not be the only time that Julian opted for a display of affection that ran counter to the protocols of deportment befitting a man of his status. Ammianus Marcellinus relates how Julian rushed out from the senate and greeted the philosopher Maximus enthusiastically and forgot what, Ammianus says, were the proper canons of imperial dignity.[26] The positions he held—first *Caesar* and then *Augustus*—and,

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[24] Cf. *Eth. Nic.* 8.13.1162 2-4: τοὺς ἴσους μὲν κατ᾽ ἰσότητα δεῖ τῷ φιλεῖν καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἰσάζειν, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀνίσους τὸ ἀνάλογον ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς ἀποδιδόναι ("equals will need to keep things equal and strictly so, in terms of loving and everything else, while unequals will need to render what is proportionate to the superiority of one of the parties in each case").

[25] Menander Rhetor writes that a *logos propemptikos* addressed to an equal or to a social inferior who is a friend will avoid the giving of advice (which is suggestive of hierarchy) and instead will feature a display of affection: ἕτερος δὲ τρόπος ἂν γένοιτο, ἐν ᾧ δυνήσεταί τις ἐνδείξασθαι ἦθος ἐρωτικὸν καὶ διάπυρον περὶ τὸν προπεμπόμενον, συμβουλὴν μὴ καταμιγνύς, τῆς ἀξίας ὑπαρχούσης ἐφαμίλλου καὶ τῆς δόξης ἴσης τῷ προπέμποντι καὶ τῷ προπεμπομένῳ, ὡς ὅταν ἑταῖρος ἑταῖρον προπέμπῃ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ βελτίων εἴη ὁ προπέμπων ἐνταῦθα τοῦ ἀπαίροντος, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ τὸ ἀμφοτέρους εἶναι φίλους ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς συμβουλῆς τὸν λέγοντα ("There would be another type [of *logos propemptikos*] in which the speaker will be able to express a passionate [ἐρωτικόν] and ardent attitude to the departing person without the addition of advice; this is when the reputation and position of the two parties are equal, e.g., when a comrade sees off a comrade [ἑταῖρος ἑταῖρον προπέμπῃ]. Even if the speaker in these circumstances is superior to the person who is going away, nevertheless the common title, the fact that both are friends [φίλους], deprives him of his advisory status," 2.395.12-20; trr. Russell and Wilson [2] 127 [adapted]). *Oration* 4 fits these comments on the *logos propemptikos* well. Julian finesses the difference in status between himself and Salutius through a desirous attitude, an emphasis on their friendship, and titles, e.g., ἑταῖρος, that stress equality.

[26] *Res Gestae* 22.7.3f.: *Frequentabat inter haec curiam agendo diversa, quae divisiones multiplices ingerebant. et cum die quodam ei causas ibi spectanti venisse nuntiatus esset ex Asia philosophus Maximus, exsiluit indecore et, qui esset, oblitus effuso cursu a vestibulo*

of course, his being a member of the house of Constantine—should have kept him from behaving as he did with Maximus as far as Ammianus is concerned, and, we may speculate, from displaying the apparently lavish informality that is in evidence in this oration.

Looking beyond the passage hitherto under discussion and out into the oration as a whole, a reader will discover a further connection with Aristotle's notion of the friend, namely, that a friend is often a comrade or ἑταῖρος. Aristotle remarks at one point, συνδιάγειν δὲ μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων οὐκ ἔστι μὴ ἡδεῖς ὄντας μηδὲ χαίροντας τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ὅπερ ἡ ἑταιρικὴ δοκεῖ ἔχειν ("it is not possible for people to live with one another if they are not pleasant and do not rejoice in the same things, as is the case with the friendship of comrades (ἑταιρικὴ [sc. φιλία])," *Eth. Nic.* 8.5.1157B 22-24; cf. *Eth. Nic.* 8.11.1161A 25-27, 8.12.1162A 9-11, 9.2.1165A 29f., 9.10.1171A 14f.; *Eth. Eud.* 7.10.1242A 1-5, 7.10.1242A 35-40). The reader will recall that Julian says that he and Salutius always think and choose the same things. Furthermore, Salutius is most assuredly Julian's ἑταῖρος. Julian addresses him directly as ὦ φίλε ἑταῖρε ("dear comrade," 1.240A). Indeed ἑταῖρος appears in a paraphrase Julian makes from Plato (*Ep.* 7.325D), where it is noted that it is difficult to govern the state and, ἄνευ φίλων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἑταίρων πιστῶν οἷόν τε εἶναι πράττειν ("without estimable friends and trusted comrades it is not possible to act," 3.243A). In the speech he gives Pericles, Julian has him call Anaxagoras τὸν ἄριστον . . . τῶν ἑταίρων ("the best of comrades," 5.246C). Finally, we read ἑταῖρος in the company of an injunction to Salutius that he continue to cherish Julian (and note also the presence of κοινωνία and φίλος): στέργων δὲ ἡμᾶς ἥκιστα ποθήσαις ἀνδρὸς ἑταίρου καὶ φίλου πιστοῦ κοινωνίαν ("keeping your regard for me constant, it is my desire that you never miss

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longe progressus exosculatum susceptumque reverenter secum induxit per ostentationem intempestivam, nimius captator inanis gloriae visus praeclarique illius dicti immemor Tulliani, quo tales notando ita relatum: "*ipsi illi philosophi etiam in his libris, quos de contemnenda gloria scribunt, nomen suum scribunt, ut in eo ipso, quo praedicationem nobilitatemque despiciunt, praedicari de se ac se nominari velint*" ("[Julian] was frequently in the senate-house to settle the numerous disputed points which arose. One day, when he was hearing cases there, he was told that the philosopher Maximus had arrived from Asia. He forgot himself so far as to leap up in undignified haste, run out some way from the ante-room, kiss Maximus, and bring him into the chamber with every mark of respect. By this out of place and thoughtless performance he showed himself excessively anxious for empty distinction, forgetting the splendid saying of Cicero, who criticizes such ambition in the following words: 'Those same philosophers inscribe their own names on the very books which they write urging men to despise glory; this shows their desire for reputation and recognition in the very act of preaching contempt for such distinctions,'" W. Hamilton [ed. and tr.], *Ammianus Marcellinus: The Later Roman Empire* [Harmondsworth 1986] 240 [adapted]).

having partnership [κοινωνίαν] with an estimable comrade [ἑταίρου] and trustworthy friend [φίλου]," 8.252C). Camaraderie also shows through in the various terms Julian applies to Salutius (the preposition σύν in each of these terms underscores the togetherness of comrades): Salutius is Julian's συνασπιστής ("fellow-shieldsman," 2.242A), his συνεργός ("fellow-worker," 3.242D) and his συναγωνιστής ("partner-in-endeavor," 7.251C).[27]

Late-Ancient and Julianic Innovations

As said above, this friendship between Julian and Salutius exceeds the Aristotelian model in a key way when Julian uses erotic tropes in his presentation of it. Instead of being careful to distinguish the friendship from an erotic connection which it in some ways resembles, Julian's proffered friendship creates questions on just this basis. Julian's strategies lead the reader to wonder if there is any distinction between this friendship and an erotic relationship. Julian creates these questions in the first instance through reference to Plato's *Charmides* and Theocritus' *Idyll 12* and then makes these questions more insistent through indirect and then direct statements of his inability to live up to his forebears in the matter of self-control. As said above, a mask seems to slip and the sexual tropes seem to acquire constative force; Julian creates the suspicion that he is not speaking metaphorically but is in fact describing a reality, as will be shown below.[28] In any case, this figuring of friendship in pederastic/same-sex sexual terms is comparable to what we read in other texts in late antiquity.

Writing in his twenty-second oration in, perhaps, the 360s or 370s,[29] Themistius depicts the acquisition of friends in erotic terms. In this oration, entitled significantly for the present purposes "On Friendship," Themistius speaks of men who are devoted to friendship not as competing with one another (as often happens when a woman is at issue; Them. *Or.* 22.266C) but as discovering what they want in each other:

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[27] Speaking of Cato, Plato and Democritus at 4.245C-D, Julian notes that they undertook journeys on which they travelled alone, leaving behind συνήθεις ("intimates," 4.245C). Hence, then, Salutius is by implication a συνήθης.

[28] I stress again and will reiterate below that the creation of suspicion of actual desire is a rhetorical strategy. While there may be a reality of actual desire underneath the representation, this possible reality is unavailable to us.

[29] There is no consensus about the date of *Oration* 22 (see R. Penella, *The Private Orations of Themistius* [Berkeley 2000] 18).

μόνοι δὲ οἱ φιλίας ἐρῶντες οὐ μάχονται ἀλλήλοις περὶ τοῦ κτήματος,
ἀλλ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐξευρίσκουσι τὰ παιδικά.

(Them. *Or.* 22.266D; cf. 272A-B)[30]

Only those in love with friendship do not fight with one another over
possession of it, but straightaway they discover their beloved boy in each
other.

The metaphor for the discovered thing of desire is most assuredly sexual. The
beloved boy, τὰ παιδικά, is roughly synonymous with the ἐρώμενος of
Athenian pederasty. A similar dynamic is present in the somewhat later *Vita
Pauli* of Jerome. In section 9, St. Antony is outside St. Paul's hermitage,
begging to come in and sounding for all the world like a locked-out lover:

Qui sim, unde, cur venerim, nosti. Scio me non mereri conspectum tuum,
tamen nisi videro, non recedam. Qui bestias suscipis, hominem cur repellis?
Quaesivi, et inveni, pulso ut aperiatur; quod si non impetro, hic, hic moriar
ante postes tuos: certe sepelies vel cadaver.

(Jer. *Vita Pauli* 9)

You know quite well who I am, from where and why I have come. I know that
I don't deserve to see you. All the same I will not leave until I see you. You
who welcome beasts, why do you repel a man? I have sought and I have
found; I pound so that it may be opened. And if I do not get what I seek,
here—here!—I shall die at your doorstep. You will certainly then bury a
corpse at least.

Citing prior scholarship that sees Antony "playing Romeo to Paul's Juliet,"
Burrus persuasively suggests that these opening moves of the eventual
communion of these two saints are an "almost parodically groping rite of
courtship."[31] Indeed, as it is the case that Antony is complaining outside the
locked door of his desired one, a reader will be thinking of the many
paraclausithyra in the erotic poetry of previous centuries. The repetition of
"here" (*hic*, *hic*) certainly recall Roman elegy.[32]

Similar to what we read in Themistius and Jerome, Julian uses pederastic
and same-sex sexual desire to talk about his friendship with Salutius. I will now
discuss the two examples in the oration of intertextual evocation of pederastic

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[30] For more on Themistius' *Oration* 22, see Konstan [17 (Leiden 1996)] 16-19; Penella
[29] 16-18.

[31] V. Burrus, *The Sex Lives of Saints: An Erotics of Ancient Hagiography* (Philadelphia
2004) 30.

[32] Furthermore, when Antony threatens suicide if he is not admitted, Jerome's text recalls
a scene of boyish cruelty to the importuning lover exemplified by Theocritus' *Idyll* 23. In this
poem, the lover, having been driven to utter despair by rejection, commits suicide by hanging
himself outside the locked door of the boy's house (49-52).

and same-sex desire. In the first example, it is arguable that Julian makes reference to Theocritus' *Idyll 12*. This poem is an amorous address by a mature male to a younger male on the occasion of the latter's return after a few days' absence. It is a work that Julian quotes on two other occasions in his works.[33] Here is the passage containing the reference:

> 'Τί πρῶτον; τί δ' ἔπειτα; τί δ' ὑστάτιον καταλέξω'; πότερον ὡς ὁ Σκηπίων ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τὸν Λαίλιον ἀγαπήσας καὶ φιληθεὶς τὸ λεγόμενον 'ἴσῳ ζυγῷ' παρ' ἐκείνου πάλιν, ἡδέως μὲν αὐτῷ συνῆν, ἔπραττε δὲ οὐδὲν ὧν μὴ πρότερον ἐκεῖνος πύθοιτο καὶ φήσειεν εἶναι πρακτέον;
>
> (Julian. *Or.* 4.4.244C-D)

"What is the first thing I will recount? What next and what last?"[34] How the famous Scipio—who loved Laelius and was loved by him in return, as the saying goes, "under an equal yoke"—[how Scipio] spent time pleasantly with him and how he did not do anything before [Laelius] was apprised of it and he said it needed to be done?

At this point in the oration, Julian is beginning his survey of famous pairs of men in history with Scipio Aemilianus (185/184-129 BCE) and his friend Laelius—a survey which will climax with Pericles and Anaxagoras. A relationship with structural similarity to that between Julian and Salutius, the friendship of these earlier Romans of different status nonetheless featured equal affection. The portion of this passage that has our particular interest is the phrase ἴσῳ ζυγῷ ("under an equal yoke"). As Wright points out in the Loeb edition, this recalls line 15 of Theocritus' *Idyll 12*. Here are the lines that contain the reference:

> εἴθ' ὁμαλοὶ πνεύσειαν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισιν Ἔρωτες
> νῶιν, ἐπεσσομένοις δὲ γενοίμεθα πᾶσιν ἀοιδή·
> 'δίω δή τινε τώδε μετὰ προτέροισι γενέσθην
> φῶθ', ὃ μὲν εἴσπνηλος, φαίη χ' Ὠμυκλαϊάζων,
> τὸν δ' ἕτερον πάλιν, ὥς κεν ὁ Θεσσαλὸς εἴποι, ἀίτην.
> ἀλλήλους δ' ἐφίλησαν ἴσῳ ζυγῷ. ἦ ῥα τότ' ἦσαν
> χρύσειοι πάλιν ἄνδρες, ὅτ' ἀντεφίλησ' ὁ φιληθείς.
>
> (Theoc. *Id.* 12.10-16)

Oh that equal loves should breathe upon us two and that all those who are to be have a song about us: "Divine were these two mortals in earlier days, the one the inspirer, as one speaking the speech of Amyclae would say, and the other the hearer, as a Thessalian would put it. *They loved* (ἐφίλησαν) each other *under an equal yoke* (ἴσῳ ζυγῷ). Indeed in truth were men golden *again*

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[33] In *Epistle* 96 (Bidez) / 52 (Wright) at 374C Julian refers directly to line two, and in *Misopogon* at 3.338D he has occasion to cite line 32.

[34] Julian quotes *Odyssey* 9.14 (though not completely correctly): Τί πρῶτόν τοι ἔπειτα, τί δ' ὑστάτιον καταλέξω;

(πάλιν) at that time when the *beloved* (φιληθείς) *loved in return* (ἀντεφίλησαν)."

Comparing Julian's text to that of Theocritus, the reader will note that not only is the phrase ἴσῳ ζυγῷ echoed, forms of the verb φιλέω appear three times and the adverb πάλιν once. Even though Julian says that the phrase is proverbial ("as the saying goes"), it would seem that he is putting down enough of Theocritus' poem into the surrounding text that an educated reader (whom we may certainly assume for the oration) would connect it to Theocritus' poem and sense Julian adding a pederastic complexion to the friendship of Scipio and Laelius, and hence to that between himself and Salutius.[35] A reader would not only be aided by his experience of Alexandrian poetry in forming this opinion, in the section prior to this one Julian makes explicit reference to a notorious passage from Plato which would prime a reader to make this particular connection. Arguably invoking Socrates' asserted inability to maintain his composure when he was confronted by Charmides' beauty, Julian then ostentatiously regrets the inclusion *in his own oration* of this reference to Plato as, he says, the reference has turned out to be something destructive to representation, something too real.

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[35] Taking Julian at his word that the words ἴσῳ ζυγῷ are proverbial, J. Bouffartigue [15] 260f. believes that there is no reason to suppose that Julian had it in mind to be quoting Theocritus' *Idyll 12* at this point. As has been shown, more of Theocritus' text seems to be influencing the prose around the "proverbial" bit and this in turn strongly suggests that Julian was in fact quoting the poem (and that his readers were likely to recognize him doing so). I am not denying, of course, that the phrase ἴσῳ ζυγῷ had acquired by late antiquity proverbial status. As A. Gow, *Theocritus* 2 [Cambridge 1952] 224 points out, we find the phrase, or near recollections of it, in sources Greek (Nicander, *Theriaca* 908; Theaetetes Scholasticus, *AP* 10.16.3) and Latin (Horace, *Carm.* 1.35.28; Propertius 3.25.8; Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 3.9.8). To this list I add from the fourth century an instance of the phrase itself in Paulinus' epistle to his friend Ausonius (*C.* 11.38-40 in W. A. Hartel and M. Kamptner (edd.), *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani* 30 [Vienna 1999]; *Ep.* 30.38-40 in H. G. E. White (ed.), *Ausonius* 2 [London 1921]: *vix Tullius et Maro tecum / sustineant aequale iugum. si iugar amore, / hoc tantum tibi me iactare audebo iugalem* ["with difficulty would Cicero or Virgil hold up *an equal yoke* with you. If I will be yoked in love, on this basis alone will I dare to boast that I am your yoke-mate"]). I also draw the reader's attention to the playful use of the word yoke (*iugum*)—and the related verb and adjective (*iugo* and *iugalis*)—seven times in lines 30-48 of this poem and to the wordplay involving *iugum* and the related adjective in Ausonius' *Ep.* 24: see lines 1, 8, 15, 18, 40, 61, 82 (R. P. H. Green [ed.], *The Works of Ausonius* [Oxford 1991])—the letter to which Paulinus was responding. Note also that Ausonius has occasion to mention Laelius and Scipio (*Ep.* 24.37) in the context of discussion of his friendship with Paulinus.

When speaking earlier of the pain that the separation from Salutius is causing him, Julian wonders if the spells of Zamolxis, which helped the handsome Charmides (in Plato's dialogue of the same name) will help him:

Τί ποτε οὖν ἄρα χρὴ διανοηθέντα καὶ τίνας ἐπῳδὰς εὑρόντα πεῖσαι πράως ἔχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους θορυβουμένην τὴν ψυχήν; ἆρα ἡμῖν οἱ Ζαμόλξιδός εἰσι μιμητέοι λόγοι, καὶ αἱ ἐκ Θρᾴκης ἐπῳδαί, ἃς Ἀθήναζε φέρων ὁ Σωκράτης πρὸ τοῦ τὴν ὀδύνην ἰᾶσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπᾴδειν ἠξίου τῷ καλῷ Χαρμίδῃ; ἢ τούτους μὲν ἅτε δὴ μείζονας καὶ περὶ μειζόνων οὐ κινητέον, ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ μικρῷ μηχανὰς μεγάλας . . .

(Julian. *Or.* 4.3.244A)

What must I think now? What spells must I discover to persuade my soul, which has been disturbed by passion, to bear up with composure? Must I act out the words of Zamolxis and the spells from Thrace, which Socrates, bringing to Athens, deemed worthy to sing over handsome Charmides prior to curing his headache. Or are these words, inasmuch as they are greater and are about greater things, not to be set in motion, as though they were great stage machinery in a small theater. . . .

Coming on the heels of Julian's worry about how he is going to bear up without his friend (indeed, at 3.243D, Julian says that regret over this separation makes him think of suicide), Julian calls to mind Plato's *Charmides*. Would the spells of Zamolxis which Socrates affected to bring to Charmides help him deal with the pain of this separation?[36] In order to gauge the effects of this intertextuality, we must examine the *Charmides* more closely.[37]

Shortly after the dialogue begins, Socrates, Chaerephon and Critias are talking about Critias' handsome cousin Charmides, who shortly arrives and becomes one of the interlocutors in the dialogue. When Charmides arrives, all the men and boys in the scene are transfixed by the intensity of Charmides' good looks. Chaerephon at this point addresses Socrates:

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[36] Julian also mentions Zamolxis twice in his satire of his predecessors, *Caesares*. At 4.309C, Zeno is able to make Octavian wise and temperate providing spells (ἐπῳδάς) of the kind that Zamolxis used to employ and, at 28.327D, Julian mentions that Zamolxis was an illustrious ancestor of the Goths.

[37] Jean Bouffartigue [15] 177 is skeptical that Julian would have seen and is relying on his audience having read the actual text of the *Charmides*. I see no reason to consider this case made, indeed I find it puzzling that Julian, who is one of the minor figures of late Platonism, has to be declared functionally ignorant of Plato. As Bouffartigue's own analysis shows, Julian makes reference to eighteen of Plato's works in a total of eighty-one references. But even granting that Julian acquired the passage in question through a handbook or from a life of Socrates, this text would have often fallen into the hands of those who would have known the *Charmides* firsthand.

Τί σοι φαίνεται ὁ νεανίσκος, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες; οὐκ εὐπρόσωπος;
Ὑπερφυῶς, ἦν δ᾽ ἐγώ. Οὗτος μέντοι, ἔφη, εἰ ἐθέλοι ἀποδῦναι, δόξει σοι
ἀπρόσωπος εἶναι· οὕτως τὸ εἶδος πάγκαλός ἐστιν.

(Pl. *Chrm.* 154D)

"What does the young man look like to you, Socrates?" [Chaerephon] said.
"Handsome face, no?"
"Supernatural." I said.
"Yet," he continued, "if he should be willing to disrobe, you will utterly forget
his face, so all-beautiful is he as regards his form."

Confronted with such physical beauty, Socrates decides characteristically that it
is time to sublimate. He asks: Τί οὖν, ἔφην, οὐκ ἀπεδύσαμεν αὐτοῦ αὐτὸ
τοῦτο καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα πρότερον τοῦ εἴδους; ("So—why haven't we stripped
this very part of him [i.e., his mind] and formed a complete picture of it before
his form?", 154E). But Socrates' suggested strategy of bypassing consideration
of the body to the more reputable evaluation of a virtuous mind's beauty is, as it
turns out, not so easy to put into practice. In order to get close to the object of
his interest, Socrates takes up the suggestion that he pretend to be in possession
of a cure for a headache Charmides had on the previous day. Learning that a
cure for his headache is at hand, Charmides gives Socrates such a look that it
discountenances the voluble philosopher (ἐνέβλεψέν τέ μοι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς
ἀμήχανόν τι οἷον, "he gazed upon me [Socrates] with a somehow irresistible
look," 155C-D). Then, as he teeters off balance because of this full-on
inquisitive look from the handsome Charmides, Socrates inadvertently catches
provocative sight of what's inside Charmides' cloak:

. . . τότε δή, ὦ γεννάδα, εἶδόν τε τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἱματίου καὶ ἐφλεγόμην
καὶ οὐκέτ᾽ ἐν ἐμαυτοῦ ἦν . . . ὅμως δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐρωτήσαντος, εἰ
ἐπισταίμην τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς φάρμακον, μόγις πως ἀπεκρινάμην ὅτι
ἐπισταίμην.

(Pl. *Chrm.* 155D-E)

. . . and then, my noble friend, I saw what was inside his cloak and I was set
ablaze. I was no longer in possession of myself . . . but all the same, since he
had asked if I knew the remedy for his head, I somehow and with difficulty
answered that I knew it.

Seemingly struggling with desire, Socrates explains that while he was on
campaign he learned of spells from one of the doctors of the Thracian king,
Zamolxis:

. . . ἀλλὰ Ζάμολξις, ἔφη, λέγει ὁ ἡμέτερος βασιλεύς, θεὸς ὤν, ὅτι ὥσπερ
ὀφθαλμοὺς ἄνευ κεφαλῆς οὐ δεῖ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἰᾶσθαι οὐδὲ κεφαλὴν ἄνευ
σώματος, οὕτως οὐδὲ σῶμα ἄνευ ψυχῆς . . . θεραπεύεσθαι δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν
. . . ἐπῳδαῖς τισιν· τὰς δ᾽ ἐπῳδὰς ταύτας τοὺς λόγους εἶναι τοὺς καλούς·
ἐκ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς σωφροσύνην ἐγγίγνεσθαι, ἧς
ἐγγενομένης καὶ παρούσης ῥάδιον ἤδη εἶναι τὴν ὑγίειαν καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ

καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ σώματι πορίζειν. διδάσκων οὖν με τό τε φάρμακον καὶ τὰς
ἐπῳδάς, ὅπως, ἔφη, τῷ φαρμάκῳ τούτῳ μηδείς σε πείσει τὴν αὑτοῦ
κεφαλὴν θεραπεύειν, ὃς ἂν μὴ τὴν ψυχὴν πρῶτον παράσχῃ τῇ ἐπῳδῇ
ὑπὸ σοῦ θεραπευθῆναι.

(Pl. *Chrm.* 156D-157B)

[The Thracian doctor] said, "But Zamolxis, our king, who is a god, says, that
just as one must not treat the eyes while excluding the head nor the head
without the body, so one must not treat the body without taking the soul into
consideration . . . the soul . . . is treated with certain spells. These spells are
beautiful words. Through the agency of these sorts of words, temperance
(σωφροσύνη) is born in souls. And if temperance has been born within and is
present, it is easy at that moment to provide health to the head and the rest of
the body." And so, while teaching me the remedy and the spells he said, "Let
no one, who would not offer his soul to be treated with the spell first, persuade
you to treat his head with this remedy."

After this, as it turns out, successful conversational gambit, Socrates proceeds to
explore the nature of σωφροσύνη with Charmides throughout the rest of the
dialogue. As the discussion proves to be inconclusive, the awkwardness and
aphasia that temporarily afflict Socrates prefigure the contours of the remainder
of this work. The question for us here is how the reader should understand
Julian's evocation of this work of Plato that features philosophical fumbling in
the face of beauty's irresistible glances and an all-beautiful physique.

I suggest two ways to interpret this reference to the *Charmides* and in the
end it seems that the reader is best off keeping both in mind. On the one hand,
Julian invokes the spells of Zamolxis as a means to ease his own pain at his
separation from his friend. This particular invocation has the effect of making
Julian into the handsome Charmides, an object of desire. But since, on the other
hand, Julian observes that he is the one who may have to act out these words, it
appears that Julian is to be seen as Socrates also—the desiring one. The net
result of this flexibility on the part of Julian (and, by implication, on the part of
Salutius) is a problematization of the pederastic norms of ἐραστής and
ἐρώμενος as the asymmetry that was generally asserted for these relationships
is not present. The erasure of asymmetry that this Platonic allusion brings to the
fore fits with Julian's elsewhere attested interest in not insisting on personal
grandeur and sharply-marked status distinctions in his relations with intimates
(discussed above) and it also harmonizes with Julian's drive to equalize the
friendship through the invocation of τὸ ἀνάλογον ("what is proportionate") as
Aristotle puts it (*Eth. Nic.* 9.1.1163B 29f.; also discussed above). A picture of
symmetrical desire between adult males emerges from this moment of
intertextuality. My suggestion that such desire is perceptible may impress some
present readers as unwarranted. I offer again the final words of a passage
discussed above (and which were the frontispiece of this article) in support of

the idea that this desire in fact is visible (my second offering, a discussion of why Julian might want to suggest the presence of same-sex and age-consonant desire, will appear in the conclusion of this article):

> . . . ἢ τούτους [sc. μιμητέοι λόγοι] μὲν ἅτε δὴ μείζονας καὶ περὶ μειζόνων οὐ κινητέον, ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ μικρῷ μηχανὰς μεγάλας . . .
>
> (Julian. *Or.* 3.244A)
>
> . . . or are these [words to be acted out], inasmuch as they are greater and are about greater things, not to be set in motion, as though they were great stage machinery in a small theater . . .

Through these words Julian affects to regret his recollection of the *Charmides* in his own oration. These words, however, are difficult. Although Julian does offer an explanation—he calls the words to be acted out, the μιμητέοι λόγοι, expansive and concerned with weighty affairs, similar to stage machinery that will prove to be too large for the theater into which it has been put—and it is not clear what his (initially) abstracting and (subsequently) metaphorical language means. A generalizing statement about size? A sort of similarity to oversized stage machinery?

When Socrates remarks that he would like to strip the mind of Charmides rather than his body, he figures dialectic as foreplay and thereby embraces the physical at a figurative level. And then, shortly thereafter, the pretensions of the philosopher to a mode of speech sovereign enough to metaphorize dialectic as foreplay are themselves stripped away. After the physical has asserted itself, an at best inconclusive discussion of σωφροσύνη eventuates: the body arguably wins in this dialogue (although the existence of his own irony will ever immunize Socrates from a charge of intemperance or ἀκράτεια[38]). In similar fashion Julian makes reference to this story from the Platonic corpus but then declares that it is unable to play its role as a metaphor for his grief, presumably similar to the way stage machinery that is too big for a small theater destroys the illusion on stage and attracts all credence to itself. Julian says here that the mechanism he uses to metaphorize his grief will not, under the present circumstances, stably remain a medium of representation but will instead designate itself and thereby express actual male/male desire: the use of sexual desire as a mode of representation fails as signifier and signified are rendered identical. Indeed, the reader of Aristophanes' story in the *Symposium* will recall that Zeus gave the comfort of sexual intercourse to the beings that he had sliced

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[38] Julian is well-aware of Socratic irony. In *Oration* 7 (24/237B) Julian notes that Socrates is by his nature ironic (ὁ Σωκράτης εἴρων ὢν φύσει).

in half through the μηχανή of moving the genitals to the front.[39] This change of bodily morphology—a μηχανή just as the stage machines Julian mentions are μηχαναί—enabled both sex between men and women and that between men and men, as Plato goes on to say (*Smp.* 191C). Furthermore, Julian indirectly says here that Socrates' ironic pose in relation to such physical incitements is not one that Julian can strike and he thus cannot measure up to the accomplishments of his philosophical forebear. At this moment, at least, philosophical distance and ironic detachment are not his possessions. He seems to let his mask slip, as it were, and the reader wonders whether Julian is really feeling desire. As previously stressed, I do not regard the appearance of desire here, in the first place, as saying anything definitive about what Julian and Salutius may have done with one another. Second—and this issue is independent of the first, no matter what the facts of the case are—Julian uses an apparent confession of inability in the face of desire as yet another strategy in his ongoing presentation to all who would read or hear this oration that his friendship and alliance with Salutius is a special thing. This will not be the only occasion when Julian uses same-sex sexual erotics in this way.

Later in the oration, a similar dynamic attends the speech Julian puts in the mouth of Pericles. When the speech of this golden-age figure concludes, the words Julian offers *in sua persona* constitute another moment in which Julian showcases his inability to accomplish what a forebear is able to accomplish—and, significantly, it is again a seeming failure of sublimation in the face of male/male erotics.

Pericles' Ability and Julian's Inability

The end of the speech of Pericles climaxes with what we can read as an anachronistic replay of Plato's "ladder of love" from the *Symposium*. Here is this passage from Pericles' speech to Anaxagoras in Julian's oration:

> κωλύει δὲ οὐδὲν καὶ ἅμα βλέπειν ἀλλήλους, οὐχὶ σαρκία καὶ νεῦρα καὶ ‘μορφῆς τύπωμα, στέρνα τε ἐξεικασμένα’ πρὸς ἀρχέτυπον σώματος (καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο κωλύει τυχὸν οὐδὲν ταῖς διανοίαις ἡμῶν ἐμφαίνεσθαι), ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας καὶ τὰς ἐντεύξεις, ἃς πολλάκις ἐποιησάμεθα μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων, οὐκ ἀμούσως ὑμνοῦντες παιδείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸν ἐπιτροπεύοντα νοῦν τὰ θνητὰ καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ περὶ πολιτείας καὶ νόμων καὶ τρόπων ἀρετῆς καὶ χρηστῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων διεξιόντες, ὅσα γε ἡμῖν ἐν καιρῷ τούτων μεμνημένοι. Ταῦτα ἐννοοῦντες, τούτοις

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[39] Plato, *Smp.* 191B: ἐλεήσας δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἄλλην μηχανὴν πορίζεται, καὶ μετατίθησιν αὐτῶν τὰ αἰδοῖα εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν . . . ("Filled with pity [for the separated beings who were dying of grief] Zeus devised another μηχανή and he moved their genitals to the front . . .").

στρεφόμενοι τοῖς εἰδώλοις, τυχὸν οὐκ ὀνείρων νυκτερινῶν ἰνδάλμασι προσέξομεν, οὐδὲ κενὰ καὶ μάταια προσβαλεῖ τῷ νῷ φαντάσματα πονηρῶς ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος κράσεως αἴσθησις διακειμένη. Οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὴν παραληψόμεθα τὴν αἴσθησιν ὑπουργεῖν ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖσθαι· ἀλλ᾽ ἀποφυγὼν αὐτὴν ὁ νοῦς ἐμμελετήσει τούτοις πρὸς κατανόησιν καὶ συνεθισμὸν τῶν ἀσωμάτων διεγειρόμενος· νῷ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῷ κρείττονι σύνεσμεν, καὶ τὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀποφυγόντα καὶ διεστηκότα τῷ τόπῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ δεόμενα τόπου ὁρᾶν τε καὶ ἐρᾶν πεφύκαμεν, ὅσοις ἀξίως βεβίωται τῆς τοιαύτης θέας, ἐννοοῦντες αὐτὴν καὶ συναπτόμενοι.

<div align="right">(Julian. Or. 4.5.247C-248B)</div>

But at the same time nothing prevents our seeing each other [although we may be apart]; I do not mean our flesh and sinews and "bodily outline and chest in the likeness" [Eur. *Phoen.* 162] of the bodily original—though perhaps there is no reason why these too should not become visible in our minds—but I mean our virtue, our deeds and words (λόγους), the intercourse and conversations that we so often had with one another, when in perfect harmony we sang the praises of education and justice and the mind governing mortal and human affairs; when too we discussed the art of government and laws (νόμων), the ways of virtue, and the noblest practices (ἐπιτηδευμάτων), everything in short that occurred to us when, as occasion served, we mentioned these subjects. Thinking on these things, nourishing ourselves on these images [of such abstract notions as virtue or government], perhaps we will not give ourselves over to the images of nocturnal dreams and sense perception (shamefully composed from the body's physical constitution) will not attack the mind with empty and vain visions (φαντάσματα). We will not allow sense perception to serve and labor for us. Having fled sense perception, the mind will practice those things I have mentioned, motivated for the observation of and habituation to those things that are incorporeal. By means of mind we commune with he who is greater and [by means of mind] we were born to see and love/desire (ἐρᾶν) things that have fled sense perception and are widely separated in space, or, I should say, that have no need of space: that is to say, all of us who have lived so as to deserve such a vision, conceiving it in our minds and uniting ourselves with it.[40]

Pericles proceeds in familiar Platonic terms as he starts from the individual body (his and Anaxagoras') and then proceeds to draw a picture of ever more secure investment in virtues more and more disembodied. Enlightened in this way, a man thereby possesses an ability both to remain impassive to bodily stimuli and to avoid, it would seem, nocturnal emissions. The privileging of mind over sense perception is underscored and humanity's highest goal is found in the intellection of things incorporeal and transcendent, and, indeed, in the love of these things (which reinscribes the fact that the springboard of this transcendence is desire).

Certainly perceptible to all who would have had the benefit of the *paideia* in late antiquity, the resemblance between this passage and the so-called "ladder

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[40] Wright [2] 185-87 (adapted).

of love" in the *Symposium* (210A-211C) is strong. Present in both Julian's and Plato's writing is the conversion of interest focused on a single male body into a broader investment in the institutions of society. The final phrases that Julian gives to Pericles (e.g., the references to desired incorporealities that need no space at all) nicely adumbrate "the vast sea of beauty" (τὸ πολὺ πέλαγος . . . τοῦ καλοῦ, *Smp.* 210D) Diotima proposes for a successful sublimator in the *Symposium*. There are perceptible verbal echoes too. Julian speaks of λόγοι (247D), νόμοι (248A) and ἐπιτηδεύματα (248A) which we may correlate with Plato's mention of λόγοι (210A, 210C, 210D, 211A), νόμοι (210C), and ἐπιτηδεύματα (210C [twice], 210D, 211C [twice]).

Pericles' version of the ladder of love shows some difference from Plato's though. On the way up to beauty's vast sea, the striving climber clambers out onto the ledge of asceticism and self-mastery for a time—a detour that surely indicates the late-ancient provenance of these words. And this impression of a late-ancient provenance is redoubled by the seeming mention of erotic dreams with nocturnal emissions ("images of nocturnal dreams . . . empty and vain visions"), which were a concern in the writings on dreams, in medical treatises, and in discussions of practicalities of Christian asceticism in late antiquity.[41]

I will now demonstrate that nocturnal emissions are arguably perceptible in the passage through a brief survey of these literatures. The benefit of making this demonstration is that it shows Julian praising Pericles' ability to rise above the distractions of the body, while he (Julian) continues to be assailed by φαντάσματα that are arguably causing nocturnal emissions whose impetus is Salutius. Here, for reference, is the passage in which Pericles remarks that devotion to abstract things of virtue will enable him and Anaxagoras to avoid being influenced by these nightly dreams:

> Ταῦτα ἐννοοῦντες, τούτοις στρεφόμενοι τοῖς εἰδώλοις, τυχὸν οὐκ ὀνείρων νυκτερινῶν ἰνδάλμασι προσέξομεν, οὐδὲ κενὰ καὶ μάταια προσβαλεῖ τῷ νῷ φαντάσματα πονηρῶς ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος κράσεως αἴσθησις διακειμένη.
>
> (Julian. *Or.* 4.5.248A)
>
> Thinking on these things, nourishing ourselves on these images [of such abstract notions as virtue or government], perhaps we will not give ourselves over to the images of nocturnal dreams (ὀνείρων νυκτερινῶν ἰνδάλμασι)

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[41] Both Wright [2] 185 and Bidez [2] 199 report that the phrase, ὀνείρων νυκτερινῶν ἰνδάλμασι ("images of nocturnal dreams") was designated by Nauck as a quotation from an anonymous tragedy (fr. 108). If there is intertextuality with an unknown tragedy here, a relation whose force is utterly lost to us now, this relation does not vitiate the power of the other surrounding words that speak of the shameful effects of the body on the imagination. This passage remains, in any case, intertextual with the literature on erotic dreams.

and sense perception (shamefully [πονηρῶς] composed from the body's physical constitution) will not attack the mind with empty and vain visions (κενὰ καὶ μάταια . . . φαντάσματα).

In the first place, the final phrase Pericles uses here, "empty and vain visions," can be associated with erotic dreams that one has while sleeping. In a lengthy work from the second century CE on the interpretation of dreams, the *Oneirokritika*, Artemidorus is concerned with the meaning that dreams can be said to have. Not all dreams, however, are meaningful; Artemidorus finds that some of them, which he calls ἐνύπνια, merely reflect the current preoccupations of a person when he or she goes to bed: an ἐνύπνιον is, he says, ἀσήμαντον καὶ οὐδενὸς προαγορευτικόν ("meaningless and predicative of nothing," *Oneirokritika* 4 *praef.* 65). Artemidorus remarks further of the ἐνύπνιον as follows:

> . . . γινόμενον δὲ ἐξ ἐπιθυμίας ἀλόγου ἢ ὑπερβάλλοντος φόβου ἢ πλησμονῆς ἢ ἐνδείας τροφῆς, ἐνύπνιον χρὴ καλεῖν.
>
> (Artem. *Oneirokritika* 4 *praef.* 66-68)
>
> It is necessary to say that an *enupnion* comes about from an irrational desire or an overwhelming fear or satiety or lack of food.

An ἐνύπνιον either is an emanation of the non-rational part of the mind (and is, presumably, indicative of physical desire) or it is a figment arising from the current needs or concerns of the body.[42] One might go so far to say that an ἐνύπνιον is "shamefully composed from the body's physical constitution." Artemidorus speaks elsewhere of ἐνύπνια, their connection to waking life, and how they can cause physical manifestations, called ὀνειρωγμοί, in the dreamer:

> ταύτῃ γὰρ ὄνειρος ἐνύπνιον διαφέρει, ᾗ συμβέβηκε τῷ μὲν εἶναι σημαντικῷ τῶν μελλόντων, τῷ δὲ τῶν ὄντων. σαφέστερον δ᾽ ἂν μάθοις οὕτω. τὰ ποιὰ τῶν παθῶν προσανατρέχειν πέφυκε καὶ προσανατάσσειν ἑαυτὰ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τοὺς ὀνειρωγμοὺς ἀποτελεῖν. οἷον ἀνάγκη τὸν ἐρῶντα ὄναρ ἅμα τοῖς παιδικοῖς εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ τὸν δεδιότα ὁρᾶν ἃ δέδιε, καὶ πάλιν αὖ τὸν πεινῶντα ἐσθίειν καὶ τὸν διψῶντα πίνειν . . .
>
> (Artemidorus, *Oneirokritika* 1.1.5-12)
>
> The *enupnion* differs from a dream in this way: it happens that the dream signifies future events while the *enupnion* signifies things in the present. But if you would learn about this with more clarity, [observe] certain of the passions by nature retrace [the day's events], draw up beside the soul, and they bring *oneirōgmoi* to fruition such that the lover, as he dreams, seems of necessity to

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[42] For more commentary on "meaningless" ἐνύπνια in Artemidorus, see P. C. Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture* (Princeton 1994) 47, 80f.; A. Pomeroy, "Status and Status-Concern in the Greco-Roman Dream-Books," *Ancient Society* 22 (1991) 59, 67.

> be together with his boyfriend; the one who has been in a state of fear seems to
> see what he fears; and, again, the hungry one seems to eat and the thirsty one
> seems to drink . . .

There are two things to understand from these remarks. In the first place, Artemidorus' assertion that ἐνύπνια are manifestations whose origin is the day's experiences recalls Aristotle's characterization of the general nature of dreams. In *De Insomniis*, Aristotle maintains that the vast majority of dreams come from physical disturbances left over in the various sensory organs of the body from waking activities and thoughts; the images seen in dreams are mere after-images.[43] The reader once again may remember "sense perception (shamefully composed from the body's physical constitution) . . . attack[ing] the mind with empty and vain visions." Hence, then, both the conceptual emptiness of the visions Pericles mentions and their basis in the body can be connected to Artemidorus and Aristotle on dreams.

Before leaving this passage from the *Oneirokritika*, there is the second point to make (and it will function as a bridge to a consideration of the light shed by the medical literature on what Julian says). Artemidorus sees these dreams as bringing about actual physical effects in the dreamer. The lover, for example, will dream of his boyfriend and this is an ὀνειρωγμός. It is difficult to decide precisely what Artemidorus means here—both because he does not specify precisely what the relationship between the ἐνύπνιον and the ὀνειρωγμός is and because ὀνειρωγμοί also arise, according to Artemidorus,

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[43] See, e.g., *De Insomniis* 459A 23-28: Τί δ᾽ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον, καὶ πῶς γίνεται, ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν ὕπνον συμβαινόντων μάλιστ᾽ ἂν θεωρήσαιμεν. τὰ γὰρ αἰσθητὰ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον αἰσθητήριον ἡμῖν ἐμποιοῦσιν αἴσθησιν, καὶ τὸ γινόμενον ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν πάθος οὐ μόνον ἐνυπάρχει ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητηρίοις ἐνεργουσῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπελθουσῶν ("What a dream is, and how it occurs, we may best study from the circumstances attending sleep. For sense-objects corresponding to each sense-organ provide us with perception. And the affection produced by them persists in the sense-organs, not only while the perceptions are being actualized, but also after they have gone," D. Gallop [ed. and tr.], *Aristotle on Sleep and Dreams* [Peterborough 1990] 87); and 461A 25-30: καθισταμένου δὲ καὶ διακρινομένου τοῦ αἵματος ἐν τοῖς ἐναίμοις, σῳζομένη τῶν αἰσθημάτων ἡ κίνησις ἀφ᾽ ἑκάστου τῶν αἰσθητηρίων εἰρόμενά τε ποιεῖ τὰ ἐνύπνια, καὶ φαίνεσθαί τι καὶ δοκεῖν διὰ μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως καταφερόμενα ὁρᾶν, διὰ δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἀκούειν, ὁμοιοτρόπως δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθητηρίων . . . ("When in sanguineous animals the blood has subsided and its purer elements have separated off, the movement of sense-impressions persisting from each of the sense-organs makes the dreams coherent. Thus something is made to appear, and because of effects carried inward from vision one judges that one is seeing, or because of those from hearing, that one is hearing; and so on similarly for those from the other senses," Gallop [above, this note] 95). Cf. 460A32-B3, 461B21-23; see also Miller [42] 42-44.

from daytime fear, hunger and thirst[44]—but the definition of ὀνειρωγμός as a dream with a seminal emission would have been well known to those familiar with medical literature.[45] In any case, ἐνύπνια and the ὀνειρωγμοί are germane to this discussion because of the asserted connection between "empty" images and physical manifestations—a connection in the face of which Pericles expresses his power and Julian confesses his weakness.

The fifth-century writer of *On Chronic Diseases*, Caelius Aurelianus (whose work is a Latin translation of a Greek text by Soranus who lived two or three centuries earlier), discusses nocturnal emissions at 5.7 and the terms he uses in his discussion recall those of Artemidorus, Aristotle, and, as is my assertion, Julian. A dream with a nocturnal emission is, Caelius says, an *onyrogmos*.[46] Caelius also believes that wet dreams are indicative of poor health. He says, *per somnos inanibus visis adfecti aegrotantes seminis lapsu vexantur* ("those ill-ones affected by empty/vain visions (*inanibus visis*) during sleep are troubled by the emission of seed," *On Chronic Diseases* 5.7.80).[47] This phrase is familiar by now; conceptual emptiness is once again associated with sexual arousal that, in this case, explicitly climaxes with the emission of semen. Caelius later suggests, too, that it may be necessary to take action to cause the emissions to cease:

> quapropter convenit primo aegrotanti ab intentione veneria visa mentis avertere, quae Graeci phantasmata vocaverunt.
>
> (Caelius, *On Chronic Diseases* 5.7.83)

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[44] I will simply note here that I find it difficult to decide how dreams of fear, hunger, and thirst will be of a kind with dreams based in sexual desire—especially when the possibility of the evidence of seminal emission is taken into consideration.

[45] There are a number of words which are associated with nocturnal emissions in the medical literature (and elsewhere). See *LSJ* for the following words (all of which recall the words Julian uses [ὀνείρων νυκτερινῶν ἰνδάλμασι]): ἐξονειριασμός; ἐξονειρωγμός; ὀνειρωγμός; ὀνείρωξις II; ἐξονείρωξις. See too the remarks of D. Brakke, "The Problematization of Nocturnal Emissions in Early Christian Syria, Egypt, and Gaul," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3 (1995) 423f.; T. Vivian, "'Everything Made by God is Good,'" *Église et Théologie* 24 (1993) 93; K. Russell, "John Cassian on a Delicate Subject," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 27 (1992) 1-12; J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New York 1990) 92f.; and J. Pigeaud, "La Rêve Érotique dans l'Antiquité Gréco-Romaine: l'Oneirogmos," *Littérature, Médecine, Société* 3 (1981) 10-23.

[46] The spelling change is clearly an effect of the translation of this word from Greek into Latin. Caelius Aurelianus entitles the section on wet dreams as follows: *De Somno Venerio, Quem Graeci Onyrogmon Appellant* ("On the erotic dream, which the Greeks call the *onyrogmos*," *On Chronic Diseases* 5.7.80). See I. Drabkin (ed. and tr.), *Caelius Aurelianus: On Acute Diseases and On Chronic Diseases* (Chicago 1950) 958.

[47] Drabkin [46] 958.

> Therefore [if nocturnal emissions are occurring] it will suit, in the first place to turn the ailing man's mental images away from preoccupation with sex, which [images] the Greeks call *phantasmata*.[48]

Phantasmata are erotic dreams that lead to nocturnal emissions and they need controlling. There is mental work for the man to do. In addition to the mention of *phantasmata* here (note that *phantasmata* are that which Julian's Pericles says he will be able to resist), Caelius twice mentions *phantasiae* (5.7.80, 81), which are often synonymous with *phantasmata*[49] and a term which is often used of the wet dreams in other literature.

In contrast to this concern with a man's mental state as a powerful contributing factor in wet dreams, the fourth-century medical writer, Oribasius, recommends a proper diet so that the soul will not have to endure the commission of a seminal emission. Didactically addressing the male reader, he observes that if you do what he says:

> τοὺς ὕπνους δ᾽ ἡδίονας ἂν εὕροις καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ ἐκταρασσομένην ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους φαντασιῶν.
>
> (*Collectiones Medicae* 9.17.5)
> You will find sleep more pleasant and your soul will not be harassed by wet dreams.

Oribasius enunciates here a position that emissions are primarily a physical phenomenon—it is a matter of eating properly—but it is better for the soul that the emissions not occur. Proper diet will prevent shameful episodes that have their basis in the body's constitution.

We also find discussion of erotic dreams and seminal emissions in literature associated with Christian asceticism. As is the case with the doctors, vocabulary and concepts have commonality with what Julian's Pericles has to say. A little background on the various views of nocturnal emissions is necessary to establish that emissions were an object of debate and that this debate had a degree of prominence.

Broadly addressing writings on wet dreams in Christian ascetic literature, Brakke remarks:

> [O]n the immediate question [about the status of nocturnal emissions], Christians held nearly every conceivable position: some believed that such emissions were always defiling, others that they were never so, and still others that some emissions were defiling, and some not.[50]

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[48] Drabkin [46] 961 (adapted).

[49] *LSJ*: φαντάσμα II.

[50] Brakke [45] 420f.

Initially among Christians, there was reluctance to declare a nocturnal emission defiling, as this was the Old Testament Jewish view of the matter:[51] the early Christians took pains to take positions on questions that were distinct from those that Jews held. This reluctance gave way in time as the Christians became more secure. One thing that kept this reluctance from breaking down entirely in ascetic circles was the worry that a monk, over-fastidious, would stay away from church services, or synaxes, and so deprived of the Eucharist be rendered easier prey for the Devil. Such was the opinion of the powerful fourth-century bishop Athanasius in his *Letter to Amun.*[52] The position that became dominant, however (and which constituted a rejection of Athanasius' position), was one that was ambivalent about nocturnal emissions. Nocturnal emissions could sometimes be merely a physical shedding of excess that was morally indifferent but other times, when they occurred in the company of sexual imagery, they were the object of moralizing regard. In the late fourth-century *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, for example, we discover a distinction between emissions that are γονόρροιαι ("sheddings") and wet dreams which are known as ὀνειρώξεις (6.27)[53] the latter of which certainly recalls the words that Pericles/Julian uses when he refers to "nocturnal dreams." It was important that a man decide which of the two had occurred. This position that any nocturnal emission would need further consideration also appears in the anonymous *Historia Monachorum* (circa 400 CE). In the relevant section, the Abba Dioscurus commands that any monk who has had a nocturnal emission while dreaming of a woman (ἐν γυναικὸς φαντασίᾳ, 20.3-4) may not come to synaxis but the monk whose release of semen was without dreams and involuntary (ἄνευ τῶν φαντασιῶν . . . αὐτομάτως, 20.6) could. The will was implicated in the case of the former and not in the case of the latter. Dioscurus remarks that, αἱ δὲ φαντασίαι ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἔρχονται καὶ τῆς κακῆς γνώμης ἐστὶ τεκμήριον ("*phantasiai* come from the will and are proof of a sinful frame of mind," *Historia Monachorum* 20.9-10).

My assertion here is that a plausible reception of Pericles' remarks when he speaks about "images of nocturnal dreams . . . empty and vain visions" would have featured thoughts similar to those we find in these authoritative discourses: dream analysis, medicine, and asceticism. Furthermore, Pericles' position is similar to those who see a (possibly shameful) weakness in the body (e.g., Artemidorus, Aristotle, Oribasius, Athanasius) but it also has some commonalities with those who counsel that sexual thoughts should be a concern (e.g., Caelius Aurelianus, the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Dioscurus in the

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[51] See, e.g., *Le.* 15.16f. and *De.* 23.11f.; see also Brakke [45] 421f., 424-30.

[52] See discussions by Vivian [45] 75-108; Brakke [45] 442-44.

[53] Cf. Brakke [45] 430.

Historia Monachorum)—sublimation is a goal he pursues, after all. Pericles' flat-out negativity about the body sets him apart from some of the Christian notions I have referred to here but the worry with the mind and its passions and thoughts certainly recalls the concerns we see in the Christianized ascetic literature with its injunctions to self-examination. We may like to say that Pericles has arrived at the desirable place adumbrated by Dioscurus in the *Historia Monachorum*: Pericles' mind, organized properly, will pay the emissions no mind because there is no issue.

Following directly on these words he has given to Pericles, Julian resumes speaking in his own voice. This resumption of Julian speaking *in sua persona* is a powerful move that creates the impression that this is a moment of true confession, whatever the truth (forever inaccessible to us) may be. As we will shortly see, Julian showcases his inability to do what Pericles does and so, on the basis of both the emergence of something seeming to be more real and the confession of inability, the reader can associate this moment in the speech with the prior destruction of mimesis by the too-great stage-machinery in a theater. In both cases Julian has abandoned a representational dynamic for a confession of inability:

> Ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς, ἅτε δὴ μεγαλόφρων ἀνὴρ καὶ τραφεὶς ἐλεύθερος ἐν ἐλευθέρᾳ τῇ πόλει, ὑψηλοτέροις ἐψυχαγώγει λόγοις αὐτόν· ἐγὼ δέ, γεγονὼς ἐκ τούτων 'οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν', ἀνθρωπικωτέροις ἐμαυτὸν θέλγω καὶ παράγω λόγοις καὶ τὸ λίαν πικρὸν ἀφαιρῶ τῆς λύπης, πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν ἀεί μοι προσπιπτόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος δυσχερῶν τε καὶ ἀτόπων φαντασμάτων ἐφαρμόζειν τινὰ παραμυθίαν πειρώμενος, ὥσπερ ἐπῳδὴν θηρίου δήγματι δάκνοντος αὐτὴν ἔσω τὴν καρδίαν ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς φρένας.

(Julian. *Or.* 4.6.248C-D)

> But Pericles, inasmuch as he was great-hearted and raised free in a free city, ministered to his own soul with loftier words. I, on the other hand, born from the kind of "mortals such as live now" [*Iliad* 5.304], must beguile and encourage myself with arguments more human; and thus I take away the excessive bitterness of my pain, trying as I do to fashion some consolation—like a charm against some wild beast that is gnawing into both my very heart and viscera—[some consolation] for each of the hard-to-handle and strange visions (φαντασμάτων) always assailing me in the present situation.[54]

Julian says that the strategies Pericles employed are not ones that will work for him. He does not have his glorious predecessor's ability to transcend the physical, a point that he underscores by reference to the *Iliad*. In a battle scene in book five, Diomedes hefts a rock that men of the current day would never be able to lift: ὃ δὲ χερμάδιον λάβε χειρὶ / Τυδεΐδης μέγα ἔργον ὃ οὐ δύο γ᾽

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[54] Wright [2] 187 (adapted).

ἄνδρε φέροιεν, / οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσ'· ὃ δέ μιν ῥέα πάλλε καὶ οἶος ("Tydeus' son took in his hand a boulder—a great deed which not even two men, such as men are now, could do. But he hurled it easily, such was he," 5.302-04). This reference looks forward to Julian's statement later in the passage of his *aporia* in the face of the physical where he admits that he battles on even as φαντάσματα continue to plague him—φαντάσματα starring Salutius and capable of producing nocturnal emissions?

And so Julian draws a picture of his regard for Salutius that we may rightly call desire of one adult male for another. There is in the first case the arguable presentation of wet dreams as caused by the longing for his friend. But there is more, as has been seen. Julian primes the reader to read in this way by the earlier intertextuality with Theocritus and Plato. While it is true that these intertextualities can be understood as being of a piece with other late-ancient figurations of male/male friendship, the difference here is Julian's embrace of the real: "stage-machinery destroys mimesis" and "I cannot measure up to the men of the past and these dreams assault me." On my reading, Julian rejects the deployment of male/male desire as merely metaphorical. The question at this point is why Julian would want to assert what may impress some readers as unlikely and still other readers as outrageous.

Conclusion

I believe that whatever the truth of the nature of the relationship between Julian and Salutius (and beyond what I say here, there is nothing that I think we can say for certain), what we can say is that we have an excessive moment, a moment of rhetorical hyperbole that identifies Salutius as special. As indicated above, this conclusion may strike some readers as unwarranted. How can an emperor confess to or leave the impression of something that conceivably could engender a cat-call of *cinaede*/κίναιδε? In the first place, I go where the evidence takes me and the call we may hear may be for some readers to examine what they think they know for certain about the ancient world. But such a response on my part is not sufficient (and perhaps more polemical than persuasive). And to that end, I will offer further thoughts as to why Julian may have liked to cut things so close to the bone, as it were.

In evaluating a claim such as this, a reader should, in the first place, remember that Julian is merely upping the stakes already present in other late ancient contexts—contexts in which erotic tropes define friendships and connections between men. Furthermore, in contemplating the spectacle of homoerotic behavior in high places being employed as a way to designate the strength of a public alliance, a reader may find a historical comparison persuasive. Bray discusses the ways in which George Villiers (later Duke of

Buckingham) and James I of England figured their political alliance in terms that suggest not-so-covert homosexuality. In a letter from 1623, which reacts to James' making Villiers the Duke of Buckingham (and he was the first commoner so honored in over 100 years[55]), Villiers compares the king's beneficence to a hand that will bring him off:

> There is this difference betwixt that noble hand and hart, one may surfitt by the one, but not by the other, and soner by yours then his one, therefore give me leave to stope with mine, that hand which hath bine but tow redie to execute the motions and affections of that kind obligeing hart to me.[56]

This letter is not a peculiarity in the context of their relations. Writing one last letter just before the end of his life to the Duke in 1624, James says that he wants to make a "new marriage" with the Duke and he calls himself the Duke's "husband."[57] Letters such as these were not private documents—they would have been shown to others and they would have shown the world the power of bonds between certain men and, in this case, the esteem in which James held Buckingham.[58] It is in this way that I suggest that we view the instances of same-sex desire and Julian's varied confessions of it in *Oration* 4, for it is surely certain that this oration did not merely disappear into a drawer. As is well established—a fact to which the numerous *progymnasmata* and rhetorical treatises attest[59]—there were numerous opportunities for oral performance of a heavily figured speech in the later empire. Furthermore, not only performance was possible, there was a diffusion of written versions of orations. In the case of the two praise-orations Julian wrote to Constantius II and the one to the empress Eusebia, oral performance is posited and it is generally agreed that the orations were sent over the Alps to the court in Milan.[60] Similarly, the Justinianic historian Malalas reports that the text of the *Misopogon* was posted on the

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[55] See A. Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago 2003) 171f. for more discussion of the circumstances surrounding this letter.

[56] Bray [55] 166.

[57] Bray [55] 96.

[58] Bray [55] 100f.

[59] Readers interested in the importance of rhetoric in the later empire may start with the following: V. Burrus, *"Begotten, Not Made": Conceiving Manhood in Late Antiquity* (Stanford 2000) 18-22; M. Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton 1995) *passim*; Brown [16] *passim*; A. Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley 1991) *passim*; and G. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (Princeton 1983) *passim*.

[60] S. Tougher, "In Praise of an Empress: Julian's *Speech of Thanks* to Eusebia," in M. Whitby (ed.), *The Propaganda of Power: The Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (Leiden 1998) 107-10.

Tetrapylon of the Elephants in Antioch for all to read (*Chron.* 328.3-4[61]). While we have no evidence of which I am aware for oral performance of *Oration* 4 or for a subsequent circulation of the written version, it is reasonable to suppose a similar dynamic of performance and diffusion. Thinking further about diffusion, it is intriguing to think of the oration as functioning in a fashion similar to that of a letter from a *Caesar* or emperor.

Julian mentions in a letter to a certain Philip, about whom little is known, that recipients of letters from members of the imperial family have been known to abuse them:

> Καὶ ἴσως ἔχει μέν τι πρὸς τὸ γαυριᾶν καὶ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἡ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐπίδειξις, ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς ἀσυνήθεις ὥσπερ δακτύλιοί τινες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπειροκάλων φερόμενοι κομίζωνται.
> <div align="right">(Ep. 40/30; Bidez and Wright[62])</div>
> Then, too, letters from the emperor to private persons might well lead to their display for bragging and making false pretences when they come into the hands of persons with no sense of propriety, who carry them about like seal-rings and show them to the inexperienced.[63]

While Julian reprehends the behavior of those with no sense of propriety in this letter, the letter also attests to a practice of displaying such letters from a *Caesar* or an emperor in the interests of raising the status of the recipient.[64] Addressing his friend in ways that do not lack for epistolary aspects, this oration, I suggest, would have been quite a calling-card for Salutius.

As history shows, Salutius was most active later in the reign of Julian in various ways, including presiding at the trials at Chalcedon, when Julian settled some scores in the process of establishing his rule, and holding the office of Praetorian Prefect of the East.[65] Interestingly, too, when Julian was killed on the ill-fated campaign against Persia, the troops initially favored Salutius to be the next emperor (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 25.5.3). Rosen suggests that

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[61] M. Gleason, "Festive Satire: Julian's *Misopogon* and the New Year at Antioch," *JRS* 76 (1986) 106.

[62] Bidez [2 (1924)]; Wright [2].

[63] Wright [2] 105.

[64] Julian could also have in mind "rescripts" or letters certifying that an emperor favoured a petition at some point. J. Harries, *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge 1999) *passim* but 20f. discusses the range of communications from emperors in legal situations.

[65] Salutius held the office of Praetorian Prefect of the East from 361 to 365, and therefore beyond the reign of Julian (who died in 363). Relieving him in 365, Valens reappointed him within months because of the usurpation of Procopius. Salutius finally retired in 367. For more on the later career of Salutius, see Gutsfeld [5]; Jones [6] 814-17; Lenski [16] 106f.; and N. Lenski, "The Election of Jovian and the Role of the Late Imperial Guards," *Klio* 82 (2000) 492-96.

he was seen by the troops to embody best the glamour of the Constantinian Dynasty.[66] As he did not have the blood of Constantine in his veins, I suggest that we entertain the notion that his nearly becoming emperor was at least to some extent a function of his closeness to Julian. Salutius was, it would seem, the closest of Julian's many male friends and the oration written before the imperial adventure truly commenced indicates as much. I am not asserting that they were homosexual lovers but what I am asserting is that Julian presents their friendship in terms of sexual desire and thereby suggests a special closeness and importance that was legible to others. Julian affects to be making revelations and his rhetoric plays with reality to make his point in the strongest terms possible. That he does this provides important information about desire among adult males and about the perceived connection of same-sex desire to male friendship in late antiquity.

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[66] Rosen [9] 382.

CONTESTS, COMPETITIVENESS
AND ACHIEVEMENT IN NONNUS' *DIONYSIACA*

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Abstract. Nonnus' interest in competition and in what is truly original, inherent in his own challenges to earlier authors, is present in the *Dionysiaca*'s numerous portrayals of the drive to achieve excellence and to be the first. This need to achieve, this intrinsically driven intentional competitiveness, is often swamped by an extrinsically driven structural competitiveness which needs to dominate and defeat, even humiliate, rivals.

Travelling eastward to conquer the Indians, the eponymous hero of Nonnus' poem met and stayed with the Assyrian king, Staphylus.[1] Staphylus died, and to honour him, Dionysus organised contests beside the tomb. Prizes were produced for a harp and song contest between Oeagrus and Erechtheus, two members of Dionysus' army. The audience were delighted by both performers, but it was Oeagrus who was declared the winner. He received first prize, ἄσμενος ('well-pleased'), while Erechtheus took the second prize, ashamed and ἄχος καὶ ζῆλος ἀέξων ('seething with sorrow and envy', 19.113-18). Then Dionysus produced the prizes for a mime-dance contest, between Maro and Selinus: not, we are told, the usual tripods, horses, armour, but a golden crater full of wine and a smaller, silver crater. 'For', says Dionysus, 'I am different from everyone else' (οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ πάντεσσιν ὁμοίιος, 19.143). Maro prefaced his performance by requesting of Dionysus that νίκην πασιμέλουσαν ('the victory be known to all', 19.194f.). Having depicted his wordless story, he waited nervously for the decision. Selinus then depicted the story of the contest between wine and Aristaeus' innovation, honey, where the gods adjudicated and awarded the prize to Dionysus.[2] If Dionysus was tempted to award the prize to Selinus for this flattering story, he was forestalled by Selinus' losing control of his dancing body and metamorphosing into a river. Maro claimed the first prize and had his achievement immortalised by the river becoming known as Crater. Throwing the intended second prize, a silver bowl, into the river, he taunted Selinus for his presumption in challenging him and reminded him of the fate of Marsyas who

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[1] The text of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* is that of W. Rouse, *Nonnus. Dionysiaca* 1-3 (Cambridge, Mass. 1940-1945).

[2] This contest is also described at 13.255-78. There is more praise of wine over honey at 14.419-37.

had presumptuously challenged Apollo (19.328-45). In Nonnus' account of the contests, novel elements, the joys and rewards of victory, the need for an audience, the prizes that calibrate and proclaim success and the bitterness and humiliation of defeat are evident, as well as reminders of the links between pantomime and metamorphosis when a mime becomes a river which in turns mimics the mime's labile behaviour and nature.[3]

The achievement motive, the doing-it-better motive, has been extensively studied by modern scholars. It is defined as the drive or need to achieve success, to excel and be the best, to strive for perfection, to do something well, to create something that works more efficiently. Entrepreneurs, athletes, record-breakers, artists, inventors are typically persistent, optimistic, future oriented strivers who value planning and foresight. Achievement is conceptualised as an assertive, competitive drive, which measures performance mainly against an internal standard but which is not completely indifferent to the recognition of achievement that fame, money and possessions can bestow. Great athletes and creators, however, routinely deny the importance of extrinsic motivation to their striving. Achievement imagery is recognisable in literature and fantasy when someone is portrayed as the first to do something, who introduces something new, engages in a (con)test of skill, creates or does something extraordinary, often arousing admiration, wonder, even envy.[4]

Nonnus himself reveals clear achievement motivation when, explicitly in his first and second introductions (in books 1 and 25), and implicitly in his numerous reworking of Homeric scenes, such as the long description of the new shield Hephaestus crafts for Dionysus in book 25, he sets out to imitate or surpass Homer (e.g., 1.1-45, 25.1-10; cf. 13.50).[5] In choosing to tell in the fifth

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[3] Cf. ἀγκύλον ὕδωρ Σιληνοῦ . . . ἰσοφυὲς μίμημα πολυγνάμπτου ποταμοῖο ('the curving waters of Selinus . . . imitating by his likeness the much-turning river', 19.346-48). See further on these two funeral contests, W. Fauth, *Eidos Poikilon* (Gottingen 1981) 39-44; N. Hopkinson, 'Nonnus and Homer', in N. Hopkinson (ed.), *Studies in the Dionysiaca of Nonnus* (Cambridge 1994) 30f.; R. Shorrock, *The Challenge of Epic. Allusive Engagement in the Dionysiaca of Nonnus* (Leiden 2001) 156-58.

[4] D. McClelland, *Human Motivation* (London 1985) 223-67. Cf. E. Kessler, 'Achievement: a Philosophical Approach', in P. Gouk (ed.), *Wellsprings of Achievement* (Aldershot 1995) 77-93.

[5] Numerous verbal echoes aside, he explicitly refers to Homer on seven occasions, including once as father, at 25.265. On the many points of imitation, emulation and divergence vis-à-vis Homer, and the way Nonnus formulates his challenge, see Hopkinson [3] 9-42; Shorrock [3] 116-19, 164-66. Nonnus is well aware that creativity is an enterprise fraught with anxiety and risk of traumatic failure. Other authors—old (e.g., Euripides) and new—are in his sights. The result is a work that is both an epic and *sui generis*. Nothing extant from antiquity is quite like it. When Hesiod is noticed by Nonnus, it is to repeat his recommendation that hard work and persistence are necessary for achievement. Cf. 20.94-96

century the tale of Dionysus' unique achievements, which we are told are superior to those of other gods and heroes, Nonnus believes he has some justification for his daring, almost reckless entry into an ἀγών ('competition'). Almost certainly a Christian, perhaps even a bishop, it was not the virtues of humility and modesty that drove him and many contemporary Christians to compete in the arena and traditional, pagan genres of literature.[6] When the highly competitive activity of rhetoric continued to prevail in education and many Christian spiritual athletes sought not just to imitate exemplars of asceticism but to surpass them and any contemporary rivals, it could be difficult to prevent (a) a noble striving for excellence becoming (b) invidious emulousness and boastfully proclaiming one has surpassed. This paper explores the relationship between these two dynamics. In the end, it remains uncertain whether Nonnus narrates so much (b)-type behaviour because of fascination and possible personal affinity with it, or to demonstrate un-Christian pride and ridiculous folly.

In the *Dionysiaca*, Dionysus' ultimate goal is to achieve Olympian status. Rhea makes it very clear to Dionysus what is required:

> ἐπεὶ Διὸς ἄμβροτος αὐλὴ
> οὔ σε πόνων ἀπάνευθε δεδέξεται, οὐδὲ σοι Ὧραι
> μή πω ἀεθλεύσαντι πύλας πετάσουσιν Ὀλύμπου . . .
>
> (Nonnus, *Dion*. 13.22-24)
>
> 'the immortal palace of Zeus will not receive you without hard toil . . . and the Seasons will not unbar the gates of Olympus unless you have struggled and contended . . .'.[7]

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with Hes. *Op*. 289-92, a work, incidentally, high in achievement imagery. For the agonistic spirit in Archaic and Classical Greece, see D. McClelland, *The Achieving Society* (Princeton 1961) 108-21; A. Gouldner, *Enter Plato* (London 1965) 41-77; D. Konstan and N. Rutter (edd.), *Envy, Spite and Jealousy. The Rivalrous Emotions in Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh 2003); D. Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World* (Oxford 2007) 55-57, 203-05. That the *Dionysiaca* comprises forty-eight books is no accident.

[6] For rampant and ubiquitous competitiveness in late antiquity, see P. Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge 1978) 18-50; for Nonnus as bishop, see E. Livrea, 'The Nonnus Question Revisited', in D. Accorinti and P. Chuvin (edd.), *Des Géants à Dionysos* (Alessandria 2003) 447-56; for humility and competitiveness in the 'purest' forms of early Christianity, see E. Clark, 'Authority and Humility: a Conflict of Values in Fourth-Century Female Monasticism', in E. Clark (ed.), *Ascetic Piety and Women's Faith* (Lampeter 1986) 209-28; J. Wortley, 'The Spirit of Rivalry in Early Christian Monachism', *GRBS* 33 (1992) 383-404.

[7] She also cites the exemplary, prize-winning feats of Hermes, Apollo and even Zeus. At 18.217-305, Staphylus urges Dionysus to be worthy of Zeus and surpass Ares, Apollo and Perseus. Roused by his sire's example, Dionysus' response is that he 'vied with Zeus and desired a third and greater victory in the future, having defeated the Indians twice, to be a rival to Cronides' (Κρονίδην νείκεσσε, καὶ ἤθελε μείζονα νίκην ἐσσομένην τριτάτην,

Dionysus was brought into the world through an extraordinary, unique feat of parturition by his father to introduce viticulture and new, wine-inspired dances to sorrowful humanity (7.1-21). Zeus foresees that wine will be a care-dissolving boon to humanity, as good for mortals as nectar is for immortals, that Dionysus will rival Demeter as a gift-giver and that both he and Dionysus will be praised and honoured for this their joint contribution to cultural progress. As he plans a new dispensation for humanity, Zeus envisages the introduction of wine as a great cultural advance before moving to the glory both he and Dionysus will enjoy for this and for Dionysus' martial feats (7.67-105). The conversion of grape juice into wine is an achievement extolled by Nonnus over the rival cultural contributions of Demeter (grain), Athena (olive), Apollo (iris, laurel and prophecy) and Aristaeus (see below). Wine's envy-inducing impact upon these other innovators is asserted and dwelt upon by Nonnus. Viticulture, as a cultural innovation, outshone other, non-Dionysian, advances, including water divining (4.252-59; 6.383-86; 7.82-88; 12.110-13, 207-69). By introducing such an important sphere of activity, Dionysus also ensured that the glory of his beloved young Ampelus (vine-dresser) eclipsed that of Apollo's favourite, Hyacinthus (12.207-91, 328-62). Viticulture requires a distinct set of skills which Dionysus taught and sought to spread across the world, including India (17.83-86, 47.68-72). Nevertheless, as a culture-hero, he had formidable rivals, mortal and immortal.[8] Aristaeus was appropriately named, for he not only introduced honey to humanity but he was one of the best healers, warriors and hunters. He improved hunting techniques and invented mountain songs, olive pressing, hunting with dogs and managing sheep.[9] Another great cultural contributor, Cadmus, brought alphabetic literacy, Tyrian stone-working and astronomy to Greece and founded a city, Thebes, which was a carefully crafted microcosm of heaven (4.247, 259-84; 5.50-87).

    An issue that will be explored further below is that high achievers are sometimes so fixated upon the end of leading the field, and winning renown and

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διδύμην μετὰ φύλοπιν Ἰνδῶν, ζῆλον ἔχων Κρονίδαο, 18.311-13). At 20.35-98 Dionysus is taunted to achieve by Eris disguised as Rhea.

[8] To Dionysus' immortal rivals should be added Hephaestus (metallurgy) and Athena (weaving), but Nonnus does not explicitly match them with Dionysus. Nonnus' contest vocabulary includes ἀεθλεύω (occurring ten times), ἀεθλητήρ (10), ἀέθλιον (16), ἄεθλον (21), ἄεθλος (9), ἀεθλοσύνη (1), ἀεθλοφόρος (1), ἀθλεύω (2), ἀθλητήρ (1), ἄθλον (1, used of Heracles' labours [25.242], which are also referred to as ἀγῶνα [17.53]), ἀριστεύω (27), ἀμιλλητήρ (13), ἐρίζω (36), ἔρις (14, plus Ἔρις 8), ἐριδαίνω (3), ἐριδμαίνω (15), ἀγών (77), ἀντίπαλος (8) and νεῖκος (6).

[9] 5.229-69, 13.256-74. 17.357-74, 29.115-17; cf. 3.75f., 24.37f., 40.303-10, 41.368-84 for other, non-Aristaean inventions. On Nonnus' interest in innovations, see P. Chuvin, *Nonnos de Panopolis: Les Dionysiaques* 2: *Chants III-V* (Paris 1976) 44-46.

reward, that they disregard the means and resort to cheating and dishonesty to achieve their goal, which is victory at any price and not the display of ability *per se*. A degree of deceit may be an inherent, desirable, enjoyable part of a contest, a necessary weapon in, for example, card games like poker. It is taken for granted by contestants in the chariot race in book 37 that cunning has to supplement equestrian skill to ensure victory.[10] However, as with athletes today who take illegal, performance-enhancing drugs, some stratagems are generally considered unacceptable.

There is another assertive drive that can be, and in Nonnus is, strongly implicated in contests and competitiveness, the need or drive for power and dominance, the power motive. It is evident in Dionysus' martial exploits. Power is about influence, control, manipulation, prestige, status and having impact. It is considered to be more externally referenced than the achievement drive, depending more on evaluation by others. As with achievement, seeking power may require considerable endurance and planning, but it is more present oriented, concerned about the power one exercises here and now. What it seeks to do well is to enhance or maintain power and influence. This may require lying and cheating.[11] Expressions of concern with status, making an impression on others, whether it be gratitude, wonder, fear, anger, joy, sorrow and the boasting and mockery that seeks to establish superiority and inferiority, are easily visible marks of power-driven competitiveness.[12] Contests provide victors with opportunities to vaunt superiority and taunt less successful rivals. This is

[10] In exchanging taunts, two of the charioteers very much have a tale of victory-through-dishonesty in mind as they race, 37.308-45. Because Pelops faced death if he lost the race with King Oenamaus for his daughter's hand, self-preservation and the kudos of winning a princess-bride, provided an extra incentive to cheat and to not risk his charioteering skill proving inferior. He co-operated with Myrtilus, Oenamaus' charioteer, to put a wax axle into the king's' chariot. The story is also mentioned at 20.157-65 and 33.292-96. Cf. J. Davidson, 'Olympia and the Chariot-race of Pelops', in D. Phillips and D. Pritchard (edd.), *Sport and Festival in the Ancient Greek World* (Swansea 2003) 101-22.

[11] Some idea of the salience of deceitfulness in Nonnus can be gained from noting that words for deceit, such as δόλος, ἀπατήλιος, ἐπίκλοπος, ψεύδομαι, αἰόλος, plus their compounds and cognates, occur a total of 407 times. The *Dionysiaca*, at 21,287 lines, is about three quarters the length of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* combined, which amount to about 28,000 lines. Despite the prominence of the tricky Odysseus, words for deceit in Homer occur only 140 times.

[12] For the relationship between anger, aggression and the need for power, see E. Zurbriggen and T. Sturman, 'Linking Motives and Emotions', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 28 (2002) 521-35. On the power motive, see McClelland [4] 268-332. C. Smith (ed.), *Motivation and Personality: Handbook of Thematic Content Analysis* (Cambridge 1992) contains several chapters on the achievement and power motives. For power in Nonnus, see R. Newbold, 'Power Motivation in Sidonius Apollinaris, Eugippius, and Nonnus', *Florilegium* 7 (1985) 1-16.

what has been called *structural* competitiveness, that is, participation in a zero-sum game of winners and losers, defeating and dominating antagonists. So-called *intentional* competitiveness is about the intrinsic motivation that competes with the self and pursues excellence and perfection for their own sake.[13] Although achievement and power drives are in their genesis quite distinct, they can clearly fuse in arenas of competition.[14] The common definition of rhetoric, 'the art of persuasion', contains both achievement (art) and power (persuasion) imagery. Successful generals not only have a great *impact* on opponents but also display *skill* in the art of war. Ridicule and triumphant swaggering by winners can threaten the self-esteem of losers but also ignite greater efforts to compete and succeed.

The *Dionysiaca* begins with the struggle between Zeus and Typhon for control of the cosmos, complete with the traditional elements of boasting and mocking. Zeus' throne and sceptre were the ἀέθλια ('prizes') of combat (2.363). Zeus, aided by Cadmus' deception of Typhon, eventually prevails and marks his victory by pouring scorn and derision upon his defeated foe. Zeus' impregnation of Semele ignites a struggle between Hera, enraged and fearful of yet another threat to her status, and Dionysus, who survives her several attempts to destroy him. This continues until he defeats the Hera-incited Giants in book 48, a feat that allegedly matched Zeus' defeat of Typhon (48.4-74). Thanks to Hera's support for the Indians, Dionysus' war of conquest against them drags on for seven years. Contestants in these conflicts continually display externally referenced competitiveness. Having been incinerated by Hera's deceitfulness, catasterised Semele viciously mocks her rival and belittles her own sister, Ino. She was encouraged to boast by Zeus, who said her marriage surpassed those of Danae and Europa (7.355-58). Nonnus' emphasis here is not on any achievement by Semele herself, but on the destined success of her son which will surpass that of any of Zeus' other divine sons (this also reflects well on Nonnus' epic) and the uniqueness of Dionysus' birth, for which she claims status by association (9.208-42, 10.129-36). The behaviour contained in these struggles is largely about power, dominance and status in the eyes of others,

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[13] The terms used for this distinction come from J. Abra, 'Competition: Creativity's Vilified Motive', *Genetic, Social and Psychological Monographs* 119 (1993) 291-342, an illuminating study of the positive role of competition in the careers of inventors, athletes and aesthetes. Abra shows how similarly these three classes of achievers, typically perennially dissatisfied, are motivated and regarded. Skill in sport, for example, can appear as poetry in motion. Abra ranges over time and cultures and treats many of the issues raised in this article.

[14] J. Veroff, 'Assertive Motivation: Achievement versus Power', in A Stewart (ed.), *Motivation and Society* (San Francisco 1982) 99-132. R. Caillois (tr. M. Barash), *Man, Play, and Games* (New York 1961) 65f. points to both the achievement and power drives that can be present in any contest or game.

about not appearing vulnerable or inferior. Clearly, an epic that contains so much material relating to imperialism and warfare, notably in the Typhoneia of books 1-2 and the Indiad of books 13-40, will contain a great deal of aggressive power imagery, as well as some manoeuvres that could be classed as skill in warfare.[15] One of the many extraordinary feats of Dionysus in the Indian war was to cross the river Hydaspes by a variety of ingenious means (23.122-61) and, as Nonnus narrates it, to inflict *further* humiliation upon the river by igniting it (23.183-91, 255-79). Dionysus' defeat in battle of Perseus is prefaced by the customary exchange of boasts and insults (47.587-663).[16] The last part of the final book is devoted to the story of Aura, the Amazon-like companion of Artemis and an uncommonly good huntress, who could run like the wind. She gratuitously insulted Artemis and vaunted her own breasts and body—attributes bestowed by Fortune rather than achieved qualities—over those of the goddess. Furious, Artemis exacted her revenge, enjoyed Aura's rape by Dionysus, callously mocked the pregnant Aura and then again when she was in labour (48.749-82, 831-47). The poem ends with a brief mention of Dionysus' ascension to Olympus, a reward for his labours and successes (48.974-78), but the last book is dominated by further structural competitiveness and power-related struggles between Dionysus and the Giants, Aura and Artemis, and Aura and Dionysus.

Material to do with contests and competition in the *Dionysiaca* is, then, strongly infused by power imagery and a fear of weakness or inferiority, which, for men, includes the fear of appearing womanish.[17] In this respect it accurately recaptures the oral, pre-literate world evident in Homer, where elite display, boasting and mockery, winning imperishable kudos in a world of transience and decay, are so central to the lives of its members.[18] However, achievement imagery as a striving for originality and excellence is also quite strongly present in the poem.

Competition with models and exemplars raises issues of identity, authenticity and legitimacy that can render problematic the drive to excel.

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[15] On which, see E. Lasky, 'Encomiastic elements in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus', *Hermes* 106 (1978) 351-76.

[16] A Pelasgian had compared Dionysus' feats unfavourably with Perseus' (47.496-533). Dionysus himself belittled Theseus' Minotaur-slaying feat at 47.436.

[17] The agonistic strain of the work extends to fierce gender antagonism. A male-female contest, however, is often considered a no-contest, an inglorious way for males to prevail. On gender rivalry, see J. Winkler, *In Pursuit of the Nymphs: Comedy and Sex in Nonnos' Tales of Dionysus* (PhD diss. Texas 1974) 130-48.

[18] For brief remarks on jeering, boasting and the contest in Nonnus, see G. Braden, 'Nonnos' Typhoon: *Dionysiaca* Books I and II', *Texas Studies in Language and Literature*, 15 (1974) 865-67. A more extensive study is in Winkler [17] 130-57.

Too close imitation of a role model or remaining too long in their arena may threaten one's distinct identity and claim to fame. Dionysus refused to try to master his father's thunderbolts but made his own conspicuous use of fire to discomfort his foes (10.298-300, 305f.; 45.335-46).[19] Insofar as Nonnus competes (intentionally) with literary predecessors, notably Homer, he can only seek to equal or surpass in an arena of achievement, not of power. One cannot influence or dominate the dead. Learning a skill from a teacher, master, role model, even from nature, involves a considerable and legitimate element of imitation, of mimicry. Close imitation is both a form of flattery and a path to gaining valuable skills. Actaeon was an indisputably excellent hunter, like his father Aristaeus (5.293-98).[20] Surpassing the master requires imitation and something else, an originality and creativity that draw on the master's skill in order to outdo it. While the quest for originality may not matter much to, say, contending wrestlers or archers, it poses problems in other fields of endeavour and creates certain vulnerabilities. Maro and Selinus, for example, have to *distinguish,* in both senses of the word, their mime performances. Selinus' struggle to win, however, ends with him turning into a river.[21] Aristaeus trying to rival Dionysus' wine with his honey is more about asserting distinctiveness, less about imitation. The relationship between imitation and rivalry is very evident in the Latin words *aemulatio / aemulor / aemulus* which denote rivalry, striving to equal or excel, zealous imitation. Zealous, derived from ζῆλος ('eager rivalry', 'emulation'), can shade into envy (a signal and authentic indicator of one's success) and emulous desire for something or someone.[22] In Nonnus, ubiquitous deceit, trickery and untrustworthiness of appearances (forms and surfaces continually metamorphose, dissolve and mislead), create an atmosphere of suspicion and raise questions about the legitimacy of some

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[19] The issue of competition and imitation is discussed by M. Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity* (London 1993) 20-24; Caillois [14] 20f., 63, 120.

[20] At least, until his fateful encounter with Artemis. The nautilus, being shaped like a ship, provided the inspiration for ships and seafaring. The crane, by carrying stones in its mouth for ballast, provided the idea for ballasted ships, 40.502-19.

[21] Cf. the fate of Ampelus. Deceitful Ate was able to appeal to his desire for greater honour and prestige by persuading him to demonstrate expertise in controlling and riding a wild bull and thereby win even more recognition from Dionysus *because he would become more like Dionysus*. Ampelus duly perished, 11.339-12.223.

[22] Emulation is often implicit, sometimes explicit, in words denoting 'envy' and 'jealousy': ζῆλος (occurring 36 times), ζηλήμων (42), ζηλομανής (4), ὁμόζηλος (23), including 'baleful envy': φθόνος (18, plus Φθόνος 2), φθονερός (28), φθονέω (10). P. Walcot, *Envy and the Greeks* (Warminster 1978) 1f., 15 asserts that, like Anglophones, the Greeks used these terms loosely. For imitation versus emulation, see M. Potolsky, *Mimesis* (London 2006) 56-59. For an extended display of rancour, envy and deceit by Hera, see 31.4-74.

achievements: just what is extraordinary and believable about them? Were they all his or her own work, or was some magic or divine aid, some kind of cheating or dubious motive involved? This issue of motive is perennial and the uncertainty is conveyed by two senses of English 'craft' and Greek τέχνη: 'cunning', 'crafty', or 'sly', versus 'skilled', 'craftsmanlike', or 'artistic'. τέχνη is used to characterize the shape-shifting art of Dionysus that Deriades rightly fears (40.57).[23] While the excellence of artists like Hephaestus and Athena is beyond question, their representations, and even those of lesser artists, can still unsettle because their relationship to 'reality', their position on the originality versus copy/imitation/forgery spectrum is (inherently) imprecise. It is considerations such as these that make it difficult at times to determine just what constitutes achievement in Nonnus and just what role achievement motivation plays in the poem.

At times, it is unproblematic. Although one could argue about its ranking as a cultural advance, Cadmus' introduction of the alphabet was clearly a major, even glorious, innovation. Mystis, the third of the young Dionysus' nurses and protectors, was another clear innovator, being the first to shake the rattle, clash the cymbals, kindle the night torch, make a thyrsus and wear, bronze plates, fawn skins and wreathes of vine (9.111-26). She taught Dionysus many things (9.128-31). More problematically, if imitating the dancing or snake-wearing Dionysus was honorific, was it also honorific to (try to) appropriate his power. Or was it to acquire a particular skill and expertise of his?[24] Dionysus himself wore crescent horns and a spangled stag skin to assimilate lunar and solar powers (9.27, 187-94; 17.240).[25] Mimesis can operate simultaneously in the arenas of contest/excellence and power/dominance. Acting and dancing, to name two activities closely associated with Dionysus, explore mimesis and the representation of aspects of existence and how well that can be done. If one form of mimesis, mimicry, is 'incessant invention',[26] it easily becomes a field of

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[23] It clearly means 'trick' at 16.266 and 31.28. The word δόλιος occurs with τέχνη at 5.234 and τεχνήμων at 5.249, with reference to Aristaeus' hunting and apiculture skills. Elsewhere τέχνη refers to skills such as joinery, shipbuilding, metalwork, even nefarious skills like cattle-stealing, without always implying exceptional expertise. Nonnus' vocabulary of skill includes τεχνήμων (20), τεχνήεις (9), τεχνάομαι (7), τέχνη (73, occurring six times with ἴδμων, 'practised' or 'skilled'; five times with μύστις; thrice with δόλιος; thrice with ἀμίμητος, 'inimitable', used of Hephaestus' work), ἀριστοπόνος (3) and εὐποίητος (17).

[24] Or both? Cf. Ampelus' imitation of Dionysus at 11.56-63.

[25] Skilled craftsmen, the Cyclopes imitate and assume some of Zeus' power with the thunder they sound and the thunderbolts they forge and wield, 27.93; 28.184, 187, 199, 233.

[26] Caillois [14] 23. Mimas and the outstanding mime dancer, Phlogius, are part of Dionysus' army, 13.243, 28.288-308, 30.108-16; cf. 5.104-07 (Polyhymnia), 3.127, 4.7 (Peitho).

creative endeavour. The creation of works of art, such as paintings and sculptures, calls for skill in representing an idea or object, poses challenges for verbal description and incites debate about how closely X mirrors Y.

One of the ways whereby Nonnus seeks to display his compositional skill is to include ecphrastic descriptions that seek to surpass those of earlier authors. Super-craftsman Hephaestus' necklace for Harmonia's wedding was an aesthetic marvel, so lifelike in some respects that its serpent heads appeared to hiss (5.144-89). Like his shield for Dionysus, it was greatly admired and praised (25.384-567).[27] Hephaestus could make imitation dogs lining a passage that were not only lifelike but could actually bark in recognition at those they knew (3.172-77), thus excelling the metal dogs he made for Homer's King Alcinous.[28] Nonnus competes intentionally (rivals are not humiliated or dominated) both by imitation and by novelty, and tells of others who do either or both. He distinguishes creativity that is marked by great originality and that marked by exquisite artistry and elaboration.[29]

The most sustained and strongest display of achievement imagery occurs, naturally, in the tests of skill and athletic prowess in book 37, where Nonnus both follows and diverges from the funeral games model in *Iliad* 23.[30] At regular intervals Dionysus produces the prizes for competition in ἀρετή ('excellence') and calls for competitors in contests of charioteering, boxing, wrestling, foot-racing, archery, putting the shot and duelling with spears.[31] The delight of the winners, the envy and sorrow of the losers, the mockery and boasting delivered during contests are, however, faithfully, and one might say,

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[27] For his amazing workmanship in Electra's palace, see 3.132-40, 169-77, 182f.; cf. 5.578-80; 33.175; 18.67-86, 91f. on the crafted beauty of Staphylus' palace and its impact on Dionysus.

[28] Cf. Hom. *Od.* 7.91-94. Word-counts partly convey the salience of the mimetic theme in Nonnus. Μιμηλός occurs fifty-four times, μιμέομαι twenty-nine, and μίμημα forty-six. Words such as ἀντίτυπος (64), εἰκών (34), εἴδωλον (5) and ἴνδαλμα (28) can have this sense. Also common are words that denote improper, unsuccessful or illegitimate imitation, notably νόθος, which occurs 123 times. Nonnus appears to waver between the Platonic attitude to mimesis (deceitful, dangerous, corrupting) and the Aristotelian (natural, aesthetic, healing).

[29] A great musical composer who is a virtuoso performer is both.

[30] For a thorough analysis, see H. Frangoulis, *Nonnos de Panopolis: Les Dionysiaques. Tome XIII Chant XXXVII* (Paris 2003) 3-74, esp. 71-74, on Nonnus' originality.

[31] To the charioteers he says: οὐ μὲν ἐγὼ καμάτων ἀδαήμονας ἄνδρας ἐπείγω . . . Ἡμέτεροι γὰρ παντοίαις ἀρετῇσι μεμηλότες εἰσὶ μαχηταί . . . ἀρετῆς δρόμος οὗτος ('I do not urge on men unfamiliar with hard work . . . For our warriors cherish all forms of excellence . . . This is a race about excellence', 37.133-35, 143). The land of Pellene is mentioned for being a place where ῥιγηλὸν ἀγῶνα ἄνδρες ἀεθλεύουσι φιλοχλαίνου περὶ νίκης ('men compete in a chilly contest to win the prize of a welcome cloak', 37.149f.).

necessarily, recounted. The need for material prizes and external recognition of skill is very much in evidence. Prior to the chariot race, Aristaeus coaches his son, Actaeon, stressing that cunning, not the strength of the driver and the quality of his steeds, will determine the result: he will teach him ἵππια κέρδεα τέχνης ('cunning equestrian skills', 37.185).[32] Aristaeus continues:

> δρόμος ἱπποσύνης μεθέπει κλέος, ὅσσον Ἐνυώ.
> Σπεῦδε καὶ ἐν σταδίοισι μετὰ πτολέμους με γεραίρειν
>   (Nonnus, *Dion.* 37.188f.)
> Horse racing seeks as much renown as war. Strive to honour me on racecourses as well as in warfare

Be worthy of Dionysus, Apollo and Cyrene, καμάτου νίκησον τοκῆος ('and outdo the labours of your father', 37.194). Aristaeus reiterates the skill, artistry and cunning needed to win (37.195-225).[33] The outcome of the race is indeed determined by all these qualities, although an appeal by the winner, Erechtheus, to the patron of his city, Athena, may have helped (37.317-23).[34]

Another contest scene is Eros and Hymenaeus playing the cottabos, that is, shooting the nectar drops from a cup. A revolving globe of the heavens and a gold necklace were the prizes and Ganymede the umpire (33.64-104): ἀμφοτέροις ἔρις ἦεν ἐπήρατος ('It was a delightful contest for them both', 33.81). 'Crafty' (αἰολόμητις, 90) Eros won because, unlike Hymenaeus, he prayed to his mother before casting his drops. He seized the prizes, skipped, danced, somersaulted for joy and kept trying to pull the hands from his distressed rival's face. Hymenaeus' open distress may have been eased somewhat, or given way to anger, if he had known of Eros' performance-enhancing prayer. The contest between Dionysus and Poseidon for the hand of Beroe, a trophy bride, was more about a struggle for prestige (and was a proxy contest between water and wine; 42.110-14) that eventually had to be settled by mass battle after competition by pretence, deceit, false claims and offered gifts (in itself a common arena of competition) failed to decide the matter. The battle was curtailed by Zeus intervening and awarding the prize to Poseidon, leaving Dionysus jealous and humiliated in another example of structural rather than intentional competitiveness (43.372-84).

To return to the field of artistry: the exquisite craftsmanship of Hephaestus was beyond challenge. If anyone successfully strove for and

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[32] Cf. 37.225, and for τεχνήμων, 37.222, 253.

[33] They are as necessary in a wrestling bout (37.576-80; cf. 37.534, 48.138).

[34] While prayers to divinity may be part of a win-the-prize-and-the-plaudits-of-the-audience-at-all-costs approach, if answered, they do diminish the contribution of individual skill. Actaeon, cunning and well-coached, did not pray and came third of five.

achieved perfection, it was he. Athena the perfect ἱστοτέλεια ('webster', 6.154, 45.49), his female counterpart in manual skills, had a serious intentional competitor as a weaver in Arachne (40.303).[35] In trying to imitate Athena's weaving skill, Aphrodite, however, was taking on too big a challenge and was setting herself up for failure (24.240-78). She undid the work of Athena on the loom and clumsily tried to weave. Athena, derisive and angry, reproached both Aphrodite and Zeus, not with the cosmic sterility and misery that Aphrodite's handiwork was causing (24.261-73), or even for the shoddy nature of her effort, but for the threat to Athena's status and honour Aphrodite's encroachment posed. It was an affront, an outrage (βιάζεται, 24.278). Hermes delivered a mocking speech, all the other Olympians smiled, Aphrodite fled red-faced (24.292-326). This story of how Aphrodite, not taught to spin, set up a great νεῖκος ('contest') with ἐργοπόνῳ ('industrious') Athena, was (we are told) a story Athena loved to hear (24.241, 327-29). It is a story of inappropriate ambition and insufficient fear of failure in Aphrodite (plus the manifest fear of weakness in status-sensitive Athena) and is echoed by the mad, imitative ambition of Phaethon. Phaethon fantasised about driving the chariot of the sun across the sky and from an early age acted out the fantasy. He mimicked his father with an imitation chariot which he drove around Sicily when he was not pestering his father to let him be Helios and have the reins for a day (38.165-92, 212-18.) The high degree of expertise required to drive the chariot for a day was spelt out by his father but it was too much to absorb in one verbal lesson. Imitating Helios by wearing his garb was not enough (38.222-96). Successful achievement is aided by attempting tasks that are not too easy but not so difficult that failure is assured.[36]

The urge to compete has some odd manifestations at a micro-level in Nonnus, as is evident in some uses of the word ἀμιλλητήρ ('competing'). Hairs flow down Selinus' neck with an *emulous* quivering movement (23.213). As they danced, Corybants beat their shields with *emulous* swords, conveying a sense of contest between ox-hide and metal but also perhaps competition between the dancers (3.65, 29.217).[37] A dog engages in *emulous* dance with a boar (41.196). Feet crush grapes for the vintage, moving up and down alternately but, in Nonnus' mind, *as rivals* (1.33). Somewhat similarly, as a

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[35] Unlike with Marsyas, who challenged Apollo's musicianship (1.32-34, 10.232-34), the details of her grim end are not mentioned by Nonnus.

[36] Phaethon was, in fact, fated to fail. Compare Typhon who, driven by the dream of wielding supreme power in the cosmos, fantasised about inventing a superior form of lightning (2.344-46). Nonnus brings out the unreality of the fantasy by stressing that he lacked the strength even to handle the old, Zeusian thunderbolts (1.296-98).

[37] Cf. 48.453: Nemesis harnessing *emulous* griffins to her chariot in order to pursue Aura. Are the griffins competing with each other or with the speed of Aura?

Naiad tries to flee along a river bed, she does so with *emulous* feet (2.57). All these examples use ἀμιλλητήρ. In six other uses of this word, the context is more obviously agonistic, such as a harp-playing, wrestling, chariot or wedding contest. Ὁμόζηλος (occurring 22 times) provides similar examples. A panther dances *emulously* with a bear, lions 'with *emulous* throats' sound like the Cabiri. The hands of Agave and her companions *compete* to dismember Pentheus. Feet *compete* with each other as they tread and clean clothes, *as do* Botrys' dancing feet (3.73f.; 3.93; 18.13; 22.49f.; 46.210f.). Insofar as these instances betray a cast of mind in Nonnus, they illustrate intentional competitiveness.

Certain activities, such as dancing, singing, wrestling, archery, painting, music, metalworking, invite competition and the striving to equal, excel, surpass and are driven by the need to achieve. If one is the first to do something, such as break the sound barrier, this is a form of achievement that no-one else can ever match and most will not dispute. In modern societies, where accurate time-keeping and measurement of, say, wind assistance, are possible, sprinters can gauge their performance in terms of their personal best, and not rely only on their competitive ranking. It is possible to rate one's performance in many spheres of endeavour according to an internal standard and pay little attention to external opinion and recognition. One can create, invent, innovate and be content with quiet satisfaction in benefiting others and knowing one's feat is special. In Nonnus, struggles with rivals and participation in competitions are heavily freighted with power and dominance needs, with a zero-sum attitude to fame and status, where any increase for one-self involves taking away from others, so that orientation is consistently towards external opinion and being ranked against others. Hence the constant references to elation, humiliation and envy and the endemic power-driven boasting as people seek to elevate themselves and to diminish rivals and opponents. Successful entrepreneurial activity is a major field of achievement that responds to challenges and creates wealth in a way that does not automatically impoverish others. Of course, this is not how people become or remain wealthy in the *Dionysiaca*. Gaining booty, winning prizes and exchanging gifts are the means, and prestigious ones at that. Nonnus both inherits a mythological corpus infused with an agonistic ethos and recreates a world that in many respects faithfully captures the shame-driven, honour-obsessed, zero-sum structural competitiveness of Homer's world.

Before concluding, there are several issues relating to achievement in Nonnus that need to raised or reviewed. High achievers like to take as much responsibility as possible for their success. Defining success, however, can be problematic. What, for example, is achieved through (possibly) unfair

competition and what constitutes deserved success?[38] Creativity, notoriously, arouses heated disagreement. Everybody is a critic. Take the master-smith, Hephaestus: did he simply inherit a divine gift that required little effort to develop and perfect, or did he have to practice hard to produce great art and be the best? Even Hephaestus had his helpers (e.g., Corybants, Cabiri, Cyclopes) and a creation usually has some input from co-operative others. How important is that? Does the fact that Dionysus was fated to succeed anyway diminish the magnitude of his accomplishment (12.37-40, 142-71)?[39] Although not a full god until he ascends to Olympus at the end of the poem, Dionysus is super-human and can do things like shapeshift, turn pirates into dolphins and handle several kinds of fire, so that any contest with him gives most mortals little chance (23.266-69; 36.292-353; 45.165-68; 45.347-56; 48.56-62).[40] Success is sweetest when won against peers rather than inferiors. Competing thus, Ampelus, Maro, Oeagrus, Erechtheus, Melisseus, Aeacus and Hymenaeus carry off first prizes for contests of skill and athletic prowess. A more suitable rival and benchmark for Dionysus is Aristaeus, son of Cyrene, a noted archer and hunter, and of Apollo. A multi-skilled innovator, his honey nevertheless was rated below Dionysus' wine.[41] Finally, what arenas are legitimate for women to compete in? As contestants in battle, the Bacchants must display skill at arms and not just rely on the strength of one who is possessed. Nicaea, Aura and Cyrene are noted for their speed and skill in the related field of hunting. Among innovators, three are women: Mystis, Demeter and Athena, while the last-named is also a consummate artist.

To conclude: in Nonnus' world the assertive drive that is achievement and which is associated more with intrinsic motivation and intentional competitiveness, tends to be overlaid by power motivation, structural competitiveness and the need to obtain external validation for success. Demeter's jealousy towards her rival, Dionysus, is presented in typical power-need fashion. It is not so much the alleged superiority of wine to grain that irks her, it is the kudos won by Dionysus that παλαίτερον εὖχος ἐλέγξας Ζαγρέος ἀρχεγόνοιο Διονύσου ('put to shame the more ancient boast of Zagreus, the

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[38] For some thoughts on this, see D. McCloskey, '1066 and a Wave of Gadgets: The Achievements of British Growth', in Gouk [4] 114-32.

[39] Note that the innovations of Athena, Apollo and Demeter are also described as fated at 12.110-13.

[40] Hera is Dionysus' most formidable antagonist. Lycurgus, however, puts Dionysus to ignominious flight (20.304-53), and Deriades, with Hera's aid, proves a doughty foe before he is overcome.

[41] Nonnus calls him θεῖος ('divine') at 29.180. Why does Nonnus not mention other innovations Dionysus was credited with, such as ox-ploughing: Diod. Sic. 2.38.5, 3.6.34, 3.64.1? High achievers typically succeed frequently as well as superlatively.

god who was first called Dionysus', 27.340f.).[42] Phaethon is not an exemplary achiever. He is *rewarded* for his inappropriate ambition, abortive mimetic attempt to win respect and inept horsemanship, by being catasterised as the Charioteer (38.424-28). Yet achievement themes in the poem are prominent, such as when Nonnus proclaims the introduction of wine as surpassing other cultural advances and lists other examples of originality. Both viticulture and Dionysus' warrior exploits are vaunted by Nonnus above those of other gods and of heroes like Perseus, Theseus, Minos and Heracles (25.22-263). The Indian war was allegedly the greatest ever war. By implication, its narrator has claims to be regarded as the greatest ever poet: ἀλλὰ νέοισι καὶ ἀρχεγόνοισιν ἐρίζων εὐκάματους ἱδρῶτας ἀναστήσω Διονύσου ('In rivalry with *both the new and the old* I will raise up the well-toiled sweat of Dionysus', 25.27f.). Nonnus is interested in creativity, innovation, bravura artistry, technical virtuosity and in retailing contests of skill. He is very aware that competition raises issues of identity, honesty and imitation that threaten to undercut efforts to make a name for one-self. He is equally aware that interpersonal competition is enjoyable, suspenseful and a major stimulus to creative endeavour. The trajectory of his narrative, however, is determined much more by the themes of aggression, violence, domination, submission, boasting, mockery, responding to challenges to see what one can get away with (fooling people) and to show to the world, by any means, that one is the top dog. The *Dionysiaca* does not *appear* to stigmatise vainglory and cut-throat, zero-sum pursuit of renown and victory to register one's social worth, although it could be read by the humble and self-effacing as an object lesson in what to avoid.

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[42] Zagreus was her grandson by Persephone.

REVIEW ARTICLES

SMALL SCREEN ROME

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Monica S. Cyrino (ed.), *Rome Season One: History Makes Television*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008. Pp. xiii + 255, incl. 7 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-1-4051-6775-8. GPB19.99.

Monica Cyrino is rapidly establishing herself as an authority on the reception of ancient Rome in film studies. First she published *Big Screen Rome* (Oxford 2005),[1] which looked at all the major portrayals of ancient Rome in the movies up until the advent of Ridley Scott's *Gladiator* (2000). Secondly, in 2008 Cyrino turned her attention to the representation of Rome on the (relatively, nowadays) small screen, with the work under review here, an examination of the first season of the hit HBO-BBC television series *Rome*. In this volume, Cyrino as editor has brought together an impressive selection of essays from a number of different scholars who all focus on specific aspects of the first season of *Rome*. At first I was somewhat frustrated at the thought that only the first season would be covered. As with all good works of fiction which extend over more than one volume, *Season One* and *Season Two* of the *Rome* series do work together and, as I would argue, one should ideally view the entire series as a unit; however, the fact that Cyrino chose to limit the book to the first series does give the work a certain degree of focus. Presumably, though, we can anticipate a second volume entitled *Rome Season Two* in future. I look forward to this since I think there are a great many points of comparison between the two seasons that require scrutiny.

Cyrino describes the volume as 'a collection of essays that responds to the critical and commercial success of the first season of the television series *Rome*' (p. 3). Of course, the book itself gains a certain amount of commercial viability and cachet by its mere association with this successful series; illustrating this, the volume's cover is a virtual replica of the cover of the first season's DVD box, which

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[1] See my online review of *Big Screen Rome* in *Scholia Reviews* ns 16 (2007) 27 (http://www.classics.ukzn.ac.za/reviews); my review of this book is also available in Sabinet (http://www.sabinet.co.za).

makes it instantly recognisable to its target audience and enhances its appeal. Not that I am judging it by that: there is a great deal of solid scholarship in this volume, and I found most of the essays in it well written and thought-provoking.

Cyrino's 'Introduction' (pp. 1-6) looks at the relationship between the 'ordinary' Romans Titus Pullo and Lucius Vorenus, who are 'the heart and soul of *Rome*'s narrative trajectory' (p. 4f.). These are the names of real men briefly discussed by Julius Caesar himself: both are said to be centurions, both courageous and both close to reaching senior rank (Caes. *B. Gall.* 5.44). The series, however, makes Lucius Vorenus Titus Pullo's superior in military rank, and it also gives them strikingly different characters, morals and political views. Vorenus is the serious one, politically conservative ('a strict Catonian', as Octavian explains to Atia in episode 2),[2] who does everything 'by the book', is sexually monogamous[3] (if somewhat inexperienced)[4] and entirely loyal to his wife Niobe, despite her own secret indiscretions and the many problems their marriage faces.[5] As Cyrino notes, Vorenus' fortunes rise substantially over the course of the first series and his marriage improves with them, only for it all to come to a crashing catastrophe at the series' end, where they mirror (and indeed, according to the series, are a catalyst for) the disaster that befalls Julius Caesar (p. 5). Pullo, on the other hand, is the naughty, funny one of the duo, always at hand with a quick comment that is often disrespectful toward the gods and the powers-that-be. Pullo is politically more liberal than Vorenus, despite his claims that he understands little of politics, is more likely than his friend to take chances where he can, and is incorrigibly promiscuous.

Cyrino comments: 'While Vorenus wears the tragic mask, his friendly rival, Pullo dons the mask of comedy. Pullo represents a type of Everyman figure, in particular, the indestructible spirit of the Roman people . . .' (p. 5). Over the course of the first season of the *Rome* series, Pullo's fortunes do follow a downward trajectory, with his personally disastrous manumission of his beloved slave Eirene, only to find that her intentions were all the while to marry a fellow slave. Pullo then kills Eirene's intended husband in a fit of rage (episode 10). He argues with Vorenus, is thrown out of the latter's house, loses hope, becomes a hired killer for Erastes Fulmen, and is eventually a convicted criminal condemned to die in the arena, when his old friend Vorenus intervenes to save him (episode 11). Thereafter Pullo's fortunes improve, and

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[2] Episode numbers mentioned in this review refer to *Rome Season One*, unless otherwise stated.

[3] Not even the machinations of the young Cleopatra are able to sway Vorenus' loyalties (episode 8).

[4] In one scene, after a frustrated Vorenus has complained about his inability to please his wife Niobe, the more experienced Pullo helpfully enlightens him about the existence and location of the clitoris along with other advice about how to please her (episode 3).

[5] Strictly speaking, Roman soldiers were not allowed to marry. The series gets around this problem by having Vorenus tell Pullo that he was given special permission to marry Niobe (episode 1), although the events of the first season as a whole perhaps confirm the wisdom of the prohibition.

by the end of the season his luck is restored, when we see him walking hand-in-hand in the countryside with Eirene (at the start of the next season, we also witness him proposing marriage to her). Pullo's fortunes have taken a dip, but come up again, whereas Vorenus' had a more spectacular rise in terms of social class but ultimately an even more dramatic fall at the end. Cyrino comments that 'Pullo is shown to be a survivor, and so presents the optimistic flip side to the tragic coin of Vorenus' (p. 6). In the final episode of *Season One*, Cyrino observes: 'Even as Rome falls into turmoil with the assassination of Caesar, the final shot of Pullo walking hand-in-hand with his beloved Eirene, whose name means 'Peace', offers a visual promise of the ultimate survival of the Roman people' (p. 6).

Here is where knowledge of *Season Two* of the *Rome* series may have the potential to change our interpretation of these images: undoubtedly, as far as *Season One* goes, Cyrino's conclusions are warranted, but the plot of the second season shows that Pullo is not immune to tragedy.[6] Furthermore, the fact that Pullo is out of town on the Ides of March, means that he cannot be there for his friend Vorenus in his hour of need when, as part of Servilia's plot to kill Caesar, Vorenus is lured away from his post as Caesar's right-hand man and bodyguard by the truth about his wife's adultery and the paternity of young Lucius. Pullo, although still convalescing from his injuries in the arena, was probably the only person who could have restrained Vorenus or talked some sense into him, yet he was out of town. So ultimately the images of Pullo and his beloved Eirene in the country are part of the whole tragedy of the Ides of March as presented by the *Rome* series. They emphasise the fact that Pullo is not in Rome to help his friend Vorenus. Cyrino is correct, though, in identifying Pullo as the more resilient, optimistic one of the duo, as the events and endings of both seasons suggest.

One of the most entertaining pieces in the volume is Kristina Milnor's brief but hysterically funny memoir entitled 'What I Learned as an Historical Consultant for *Rome*' (chapter 3, pp. 42-48). Milnor confesses that she was never actually an official consultant for the *Rome* series, but that, while attached to the American Academy in Rome, she was contacted early in the production process and sounded out about various aspects concerning the historical authenticity of the show (p. 42). Although initially unimpressed, Milnor relates how her interest was aroused when one of the assistants to the executive producers contacted her because they were looking for someone who spoke Ubuan (later appearing in the series as Ubian), apparently the language of ancient Gaul. When Milnor tried to explain that little is known about this

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[6] In the second season Pullo's slave lover Gaia, in a jealous bid to have Pullo for herself, kills both his (by then) wife Eirene and their unborn child by giving her a dangerous abortifacient late in her pregnancy (*Season Two*, episode 8). So, ultimately, Pullo and Eirene's bid to start a family (and so, indirectly, perpetuate the Roman people) comes to naught. Eirene is in any case a foreigner, possibly German in origin (we hear that she comes from 'beyond the Rhine' when Pullo touchingly prays to her unknown and unnamed gods on her behalf after her death), and she is only in Rome because, like 'Egeria', the prostitute with whom Octavian loses his virginity in episode 6, she was sold into slavery there. We also learn from Pullo's prayer that Eirene's original, Germanic name is Adela ('noble').

language, she was asked to recommend 'a good English-Ubuan dictionary' (p. 43)! Milnor was so intrigued by the idea of producers who were under the impression 'that there were enough English-Ubuan dictionaries in the world to be classed into "good" ones and "bad" ones' that she agreed to meet with them (pp. 43f.). Her insightful chapter makes many telling comparisons between, on the one hand, the disciplines of Ancient History and Classics which, as academic enterprises, rely to a certain extent on creativity and intuition to uncover a distant and unseen past (Milnor compares this to flying over an unfamiliar landscape at night) and, on the other, the entertainment industry. Ultimately she discovers that there are limits to how far the producers of the show are prepared to go in understanding and accommodating real differences between modern sensibilities and ancient societal practice. Milnor observes that the producers of *Rome* 'wanted Romans who were different, but not too different' (p. 45). They were unable, in the end, to conceptualise the manner in which the Romans may have been truly different from us, in small, everyday ways: 'These things don't make spectacular television but they are the stuff of history, and the stuff, I would argue, that can never be realized on screen' (p. 48). I do not think that this is a case of sour grapes over the fact that she was not, in the end, the series' official historical consultant. Milnor's insights are, for me, something of lasting value in a Thucydidean sense.

In Chapter 6, 'Caesar's Soldiers: The *Pietas* of Vorenus and Pullo' (pp. 78-86), Brian Cooke analyses Vorenus and Pullo in terms of their military, political and personal allegiances. He compares the serious-minded Vorenus, who is tormented by his sometimes conflicting loyalties, to the hero of the *Aeneid* (p. 79):

> A strong and pious man of Roman virtue, Vorenus is a war-hardened yet peace-seeking soldier who evokes comparison with Aeneas, the reluctant hero and preordained founder of Rome. Just as Vergil sings the story of Aeneas, the series portrays Vorenus as a dutiful warrior and troubled patriot who struggles to reconcile his allegiance to the Republic with his devotion to gods, friends, and fatherland.

Cooke observes that this introduces the Roman concept of *pietas* into the plot of the series. If *pius Vorenus* is Aeneas (note that he evades the snares of the seductive queen Dido/Cleopatra in episode 8), one is left wondering who Pullo represents; the best I could come up with is Odysseus, although the hapless Pullo, while admittedly suffering many twists and turns of fate in the course of the first season before being reunited with his beloved Eirene at its end, is not nearly as resourceful or as crafty as the hero of the *Odyssey*.

Chapters 9-13 focus on women and gender issues in the series. One of the most remarkable of these is Gregory Daugherty's 'Her First Roman: A Cleopatra for *Rome*' (chapter 11, pp. 141-52), which deals with the representation of Cleopatra in the first season of the series. As Daugherty points out (p. 141), the character of Cleopatra only makes her appearance in half of one episode, yet for many viewers the image is quite a shock. Instead of the extraordinary beauty, wit and confident authority exhibited by Elizabeth Taylor in the 1963 film *Cleopatra*, *Rome*'s audience was presented with 'a

chained, drug-addled, whining waif' (p. 141) with short spiky hair and the attitude of a spoiled teenage brat rather than a brilliant head of state. Daugherty, however, convincingly argues that this Cleopatra 'is not a complete departure from earlier traditions or even from the historical figure' (p. 141). He notes that almost every element of this presentation of Cleopatra has appeared before in the reception of her story, particularly on stage and in film (p. 143). While Plutarch relates that Cleopatra was intelligent and could speak many languages, he also says that she was more remarkable for her charm and wit than her physical beauty (Plut. *Ant.* 27.2-4; cf. p. 143). Ironically, Lyndsey Marshal's attractive but not impossibly beautiful Cleopatra may well be closer to the truth than the young Elizabeth Taylor's stunning image. Daugherty shows how episode 8 is superbly intertextual, owing much to Plutarch, Shakespeare (with a host of theatrical in-jokes), George Bernard Shaw and a number of previous on-screen Cleopatras. *Rome*'s Cleopatra, as Daugherty suggests, bypasses Taylor's sympathetic portrayal—although there are a quite a few intertextual nods even to that version—to embrace several earlier hypersexual 'vamp' versions of the legendary Egyptian queen, as well as later incarnations from comedy, graphic novels, science fiction and pornography (pp. 147-50). Daugherty argues that *Rome*'s Cleopatra works well, both within the plot of *Season One* and in anticipation of the greater part she will play in *Season Two* (p. 151).

Equally inspiring is Margaret Toscano's 'Gowns and Gossip: Gender and Class Struggle in Rome' (chapter 12, pp. 153-67). Toscano identifies power as the central theme of the *Rome* series, and she views two issues usually associated with women and thus often seen as insignificant—gowns and gossip—as metaphors for the complexity of power in the series (p. 154). The traditionally feminine pastimes of making clothing (gowns) and gossiping are often viewed as inseparable. Both gowns and gossip—or clothing and rumour (*fama*)—are intertwined with issues of image and power, as Toscano observes (p. 154). How someone is dressed indicates their social status or where they belong in society, and gossip, as *fama*, is synonymous with the way people are socially perceived. Such issues are significant for Vorenus and his family as they rise in social status over the course of the first season, and they also provide the battleground for the fierce warfare between the wealthy female rivals Atia and Servilia. Toscano includes a fascinating discussion of how the two chief female slaves—Merula and Eleni—of these *grandes dames* act as their doubles and agents in the warfare between them (pp. 157-59). Initially Atia and Servilia, assisted by their slaves, merely compete with each other with regard to physical adornment (dress, hair, make-up) and engage in gossip. Subsequently, however, the nature of their competition becomes more aggressive: using scurrilous graffiti (courtesy of Timon's henchmen), Atia organises a slanderous gossip campaign against Servilia, which causes Caesar to break off his relationship with the latter. Immediately afterwards, we see Atia giggling about what has happened with her slave Merula (episode 5). Servilia in turn uses weaving and gossip (she invites Octavia to weave with her, tells her evil gossip about her family, and asks the girl to find out more gossip) to infiltrate Atia's household and uses her children as pawns in her plans for revenge on Caesar, culminating in the incest debacle between Octavia and her brother (episode 9).

In retaliation for Servilia's malignant interference in her family, Atia has her minions (led by Merula, Toscano suggests, p. 159, but orchestrated by Timon)[7] physically attack Servilia in the street, drag her from her sedan, strip her to the waist,[8] and hack off her hair in a public humiliation (episode 9). As a woman, Atia knows what will hurt Servilia the most—damage to her physical appearance. In the end, it is gossip (related by Servilia's slave, Eleni) which brings down both Vorenus' family and consequently, Caesar (p. 157). Toscano concludes that the 'weaving of cloth is an on-going, subtle metaphor in this series that connects all classes of people and their assumptions, aspirations, and expectations in a complex tapestry of power' (pp. 165f.). The arachnid-like Servilia has Atia and her extended family caught in a web of gossip and political plotting by the end of the first season, although the survivors will manage to prise themselves free in the second.

Another fascinating piece is Alena Allen's 'Staging Interiors in *Rome*'s Villas' (chapter 14, pp. 179-92). Allen approvingly observes that the series' artistic director and set designers created interior settings that cleverly reflect the political and social identities of the main characters (p. 179). Atia's villa, first displayed in episode 2, has an atrium in which the colours black and red, accented by yellow-gold, predominate (p. 181), and she also has frescoes on her walls which appear to have been inspired by the Villa of the Mysteries and other sites around Pompeii (p. 182). Allen suggests that the use of such dramatically contrasting colours as black and red in Atia's house reflect her dominant and rather unstable personality, prone to Vesuvian outbursts (p. 182). Her rival Servilia's villa, by contrast, which is first seen in episode 1, is characterised by the soft muted tones of sky-blue and creamy white, and she has graceful female flying-figures in stucco decorating the walls (p. 183). Compared to Atia's dramatic home environment, Servilia's muted décor subtly suggests the wealth and class of its owner (p. 184). Significant, in terms of the political identity of both Servilia and eventually also her son Brutus, is the extensive display of the ancestor masks, lit from behind with candles, that dominate one of the walls in her atrium (p. 183). Evoking his namesake ancestor, who drove out the tyrannical kings of Rome, Servilia strives, particularly from episode 10, to bend her somewhat recalcitrant son to her will and has finally managed, by the end of episode 11, to convince Brutus to join

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[7] We see Timon conversing with a fellow Jew, presumably one of his henchmen, just prior to the public humiliation of Servilia (episode 9). Timon tells this man that it is Yom Kippur (which means 'Day of Atonement' in Hebrew), although his interlocutor disputes that this is indeed the correct day according to the calendar. What Timon really means, presumably, is that Servilia's own 'day of atonement' has come on which she must atone for all her transgressions toward Atia's family.

[8] The stripping of Servilia to the waist by way of public humiliation (episode 9) ironically parallels the erotic context of the previous scene, in which the female slave Eirene is asked to display herself naked from the waist up by the drunken Pullo, who is madly in love with her. As a slave Eirene cannot refuse Pullo's requests, even though, as we discover in the next episode, her real love interest at the time is a fellow slave in Vorenus' household. Pullo kills this male slave in a jealous rage once the latter's intended marriage to Eirene is revealed (episode 10).

the plot to kill Caesar.[9] Servilia's colour-scheme itself may also have political implications. Allen points out that white and blue-grey décor has an impressive pedigree as far as previous cinematic representations of ancient Rome go: in Stanley Kubrick's film *Spartacus* (1960), the aristocratic Crassus has a villa decorated with white marble columns and small female figures on blue-stucco walls, whereas the house of his populist enemy Gracchus sports red walls replicating the frescoes found at the Villa of the Mysteries (pp. 184f.). Whether consciously copied or not, the artistic director and the set designers of *Rome*, Allen notes (p. 185), have perpetuated the conflict between 'the wealthy, conservative aristocrats in their white and blue villas' (Crassus and Servilia) and 'the populist villas displaying red and black frescoes from the House of the Mysteries' (Gracchus and Atia, populist through her connection with Caesar). Allen also provides interesting analyses of the décor of the villas of both Caesar and Pompey (pp. 186-88) and of Vorenus and Niobe's modest apartment (pp. 188-90).

The final two chapters of the volume, which appear to focus on sex, bodies and the display thereof, were both interesting and thought-provoking. In chapter 16, 'Spectacle of Sex: Bodies on Display in *Rome*' (pp. 207-18), Stacie Raucci argues that in the *Rome* series the spectacle of male bodies engaging in sex largely replaces the traditional spectacle of men engaging in warfare and bloodshed: '…their arena is the bedroom, not just the battlefield' (p. 208). Showing off his body and sexual abilities the most is the character of Mark Antony (James Purefoy), whom Raucci identifies as 'the primary sex symbol of the series' (p. 208). In the series, we never see Mark Antony doing much to support his reputation as a great military leader, but we do see him, throughout much of *Season One*, displaying his sexual prowess and much of his body in bed, usually with Atia, but also with others.[10] Raucci remarks (pp. 209f.) on the degree to which this character is shown to be at ease with his naked body, especially in the scene where Vorenus has an audience with him, and finds Antony, standing in a courtyard, completely nude, being oiled down by a slave (episode 4). Antony is entirely at ease, even though everyone else in the scene is fully clothed, and the camera even displays complete full-frontal nudity for a few moments. At one point he stands with both his arms outstretched to the sides 'in the symbolic position of a crucified victim' (p. 210), but is happy to continue to shout orders and, without a hint of irony, shortly thereafter informs the hapless Vorenus that he should have him 'nailed to a cross' for desertion. The scene, for Raucci, shows Antony's 'spectacle of powerful masculinity' in the series (p. 210)—despite being the object of various gazes, his wealthy, powerful position as a dominant male in Rome means that he is

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[9] In episode 12 we see Servilia and Brutus praying before their ancestor masks for help in their assassination attempt on Caesar. We then see a close-up of one of the ancestor masks (perhaps that of the original Brutus?), and the camera moves behind the mask to show its flame blazing up momentarily.

[10] A scene in which Antony is seen in bed with two slave women (episode 6), one of them amusingly called Cynthia, and in which he forces them to don helmets and fight each other with real weapons, is a clever spin on the *militia amoris* theme of love elegy.

unfazed if observed by his social inferiors. Comparing this to the other full-frontal male nude that appears in the series—that of the well-endowed slave Atia sends Servilia as a gift (episode 6)—Raucci astutely notes: 'It is not the mere state of being nude which makes one vulnerable, but rather the social status of each man that determines whether he will manipulate or be manipulated through the spectacle of his sexual organs' (p. 211).

By contrast, the character of Julius Caesar, Raucci argues (pp. 211-13), is gradually 'unmanned' by a number of factors in the course of the first season of *Rome*, so it is not surprising that we find his body 'penetrated by both the knives of his murderers and the gaze of the viewer' at its end (p. 211). Octavian, on the other hand, is shown to graduate to the full power of adult masculinity by means of his increasing access to sexual encounters (pp. 213f.), beginning with his loss of virginity with the prophetically named prostitute Egeria in episode 6 and culminating in incest with his sister Octavia in episode 9, after which see his naked body displayed in 'post-coital triumph' in bed (p. 214). Taking control, Octavian proceeds to give his sister a manly, authoritative put-down, telling her that she knows what they did was wrong, not just by convention but 'in essence'. He also indicates that he knows that the real reason why she seduced him was to obtain information about Caesar, information that he still refuses to divulge. Raucci notes: 'It is only after these sex scenes that Octavian takes on the male role in the household, a transformation that foreshadows his rise to power in the next season' (p. 214). The degree to which the bodies of the lower class males, Vorenus and Pullo, are displayed also documents their rise or fall in social status and power in the series (pp. 214f.). Raucci points out that as Vorenus rises in social status over the course of the season, the more of his body is shown. His social status rises along with his improved sexual prowess in his relationship with his wife (p. 215). By contrast, Pullo, who never rises above the status of legionary in the series, is shown naked, having vigorous sex with a prostitute in episode 2 and again with Cleopatra in episode 8, but as the season advances and his status falls, his body is displayed less. He is even shown fully clothed in the gladiatorial arena, where he is condemned to die and from which Vorenus rescues him in episode 11. As the now more sexually and politically powerful Vorenus helps his friend hobble away from the arena, 'Pullo is only redeemed by the association of his degraded body with that of Vorenus' more powerful one' (p. 215).

Sex and display are also the themes of chapter 17, 'Vice is Nice: *Rome* and Deviant Sexuality' (pp. 219-31). In this, the final contribution in the volume, Anise K. Strong looks more closely at the incest incident between Octavia and her younger brother in episode 9. She points out that this interlude is, as far as we know, entirely unhistorical (p. 219), and that generally the Romans had similar scruples about incest to modern society, although it was often a charge flung at political enemies that needed to be discredited (p. 221).[11] Strong analyses the 'shock value' of this incident

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[11] Strong refers to Cicero's allegations at *Pro Caelio* 36 that Clodius shared a bed with his older sister and not just because he was scared of the dark (p. 227); under the principate, Caligula was also alleged to have committed incest with his sisters (Suet. *Calig.* 24).

between the Octavii in the *Rome* series and advances some commercially motivated explanations for its inclusion. While other television shows merely flirt with the idea of incest between siblings, in order to boost its ratings, she argues, '*Rome* crossed new barriers . . . by depicting an actual sexual liaison between two blood siblings' (p. 225). As Strong herself observes (p. 230), however, the on-screen imagery of incest between adult siblings of opposite genders is hardly shocking, since it is visually no different from images of sex between any adult male and female on the screen: 'Incest cannot be visually erotic; it can only provide shock value due to the audience's knowledge of the characters' consanguinity' (p. 230). In fact, the incest scenes are pretty tame in comparison to other scenes of a sexual nature in the series; elsewhere Octavia and her brother lie in bed kissing, and what actually happened was merely suggested.

Strong makes much of the fact that the incest has little importance for the plot of the series but seems to be employed strictly for purposes of titillation (pp. 228-30). I maintain, however, that incest between the Octavii is indeed significant for the plot of the series in that it shows the incredible extent to which Servilia has by this juncture infiltrated Atia's household and is using her children as pawns in her war against their mother. After being informed by one of the slaves as to what has happened, Atia slaps her children and shouts at them in outrage. Strong finds it ironic that this 'sex queen of Rome' should chastise her children so virulently for a sexual misdemeanour (p. 229). As a mother, however, Atia's response is completely understandable, whatever her own sexual proclivities; incest was a taboo in Rome as in most societies, and Atia is horrified that it should have surfaced in her own family. When she discovers that her enemy Servilia is behind the incest saga, she plots her revenge, taking their interpersonal warfare to new heights of violence that will be exceeded only in the second season of *Rome*.

Something missing from this volume, however, is a discussion of the large number of historical anachronisms that appear in the series. Traces of substances used as recreational drugs in modern society have been found on Egyptian mummies and mind-altering medicines were not unknown to the ancient world, but how historically appropriate is Cleopatra's silver opium pipe in episode 8?[12] In episode 9, in what may be a subtle reference to Catullus' erotic pet bird imagery which features in the development of the incest theme, we see many examples of exotic pet birds from as far away as Australia and South America, continents entirely unknown to the Romans!

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[12] In *Season Two*, the anachronistic 'smoking' gets even worse, as the series probably attempts to be 'hip' in contemporary terms. In *Season Two*, episode 3, Atia comes across her daughter Octavia and her friend Jocasta 'inhaling hemp' from Macedonia through hollow reeds. Atia also gives it a try, but her abiding impression of Jocasta is that she is a bad influence on her daughter—hence her bid to add Jocasta's wealthy father's name to Octavian's list of citizens to be proscribed (*Season Two*, episode 6). A drugged-up Maecenas, looking suitably decadent, is seen smoking at the 'early stages' of a Bacchic orgy in *Season Two*, episode 5. At the same party are Jocasta and Octavia, also smoking hemp (presumably) again, until Octavia is rescued by Agrippa. As her fortunes decline towards the end of the second season, Cleopatra is also seen smoking a pipe once more (*Season Two*, episode 12).

Such issues need to be addressed and a volume treating the second season of the *Rome* series, if there is to be one, would be the best place to address them.

TELLING TALES ABOUT ACTORS AND AUDIENCES:
RECENT WORK ON THE RECEPTION OF DRAMA IN ANTIQUITY

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Eric Csapo, *Actors and Icons of the Ancient Theater*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. Pp. xiv + 233, incl. 30 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-1-4051-3536-8. GBP70.00.
Karelisa V. Hartigan, *Performance and Cure: Drama and Healing in Ancient Greece and Contemporary America*. Classical Inter/Faces. London: Duckworth, 2009. Pp. xi + 124. ISBN 978-0-7156-3639-8. GBP14.99.

Each of these books suggests a new and fruitful approach to ancient drama performance and its reception in antiquity. Csapo's *Actors and Icons* proposes an iconographical history of the ancient actor, while Hartigan's *Performance and Cure* proposes a model of theatre as therapy. Beyond charting these new courses, however, Hartigan and Csapo also spin a great yarn. On the one hand, we have a patient's experience of theatrical therapy in the ancient Asklepieion and the modern hospital; on the other, an account of ancient actors and acting. Hartigan's is very much a personal story. As its subtitle indicates, *Performance and Cure* compares the therapeutic use of drama in ancient Greece and the United States. To my mind, this pushes yet again the classical reception envelope, stretching the boundaries of what 'bringing the ancient and modern worlds together' (p. xi) really means. This is all to the good: the strengths of the Classical Inter/Faces series have always been innovation and provocation.

Chapter 1, 'Drama and Healing in Contemporary Medicine' (pp. 5-17), first presents a potted history of Psychoneuroimmunology (PNI), establishing the therapeutic potential of belief. A précis of modern uses of drama in medicine then establishes the therapeutic potential of role-play. Chapter 2, 'Drama and Healing in Ancient Greece' (pp. 18-80), outlines the cult of Asklepios—myth, healing process and evidence—before leading a 'tour' of the major sanctuaries. Based on the earlier discussion of belief and role-play in modern medicine, this chapter makes a two-fold case: (1) belief played a substantive role in healings at Asklepieia; (2) patients witnessed a theatrical performance before entering the *abaton* to await a healing dream. As we shall see, I am far more comfortable with the first proposition than the second. Chapter 3, 'Drama and Healing in the Contemporary American Hospital' (pp. 81-92), recounts Hartigan's acting experiences as a member of the Playback Theatre group at Shands Hospital, Florida. (Playback volunteers improvise short

scenes at a patient's bedside.) It is here most of all that Hartigan makes a strident, unfashionable claim for the *real* importance of drama *now*. 'Through the enactment of drama, for both hospital patient and theatre audience, the catharsis Aristotle described occurs and leads to a healthier soul' (p. 92). Chapter 4, 'Asklepios Beyond the Classical World' (pp. 93-99) presents the requisite treatment of *Nachleben*. This reads as something of an afterthought, albeit an intriguing one, outlining the iconographical continuity between Asklepios, Jesus and Greek Orthodox healing saints. Chapter 5, 'Conclusion and Epilogue' (pp. 100-3), recaps the argument, at which point a surprising 'Personal Epilogue' recounts Hartigan's positive experiences of Playback— as a *patient*!

Performance and Cure thus turns out to be about not only the ancient spectator-patient but also the modern actor-spectator-patient. I must confess to feeling a bit cheated at this point. *Nothing to do with Asklepios?* indeed. I should think that this personal account—unfairly demoted here to epilogue status—could only have strengthened Hartigan's earlier claims for the affective capacity of drama. As it is, *Performance and Cure* presupposes influence and inheritance: 'As we look back from current ideas on the interaction between drama and healing, on how both mental and emotional stimulation can help to restore health, can we discover the roots of these ideas in ancient Greece?' (p. 2). Surely, however, Playback, PNI and the placebo effect lend credence to the *possibility* of theatre-dream-healing at ancient sanctuaries, not the other way around.

I shall now offer a few specific suggestions and criticisms.

1. Calling *Poetics* 1449b27-8 'Aristotle's well-known statement . . . that drama produces an emotional catharsis' (p. 5) packages *katharsis* too neatly for me. A physiological interpretation of *katharsis* would have played nicely into Hartigan's hands here.
2. Neither the existence of plays titled *Asklepios* (p. 29), nor the location of a theatre or odeion in a given sanctuary proves that theatrical performances were staged in Asklepieia for therapeutic purposes.
3. Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 652-748 does not describe a theatrical performance, however much it may involve pageantry and a play within a play (pp. 30-32).
4. For my taste, Hartigan relies overmuch on non-specialists' discussions of Asklepios, as when she quotes a passage from a book on dream healing because it 'beautifully sums up' Asklepios (p. 26).
5. Hartigan asserts that the Epidauros theatre 'was not originally constructed for entertainment as the Greeks did not put on dramas for pleasure' (p. 46). This at least deserves some heavy-duty secondary references, if not a book unto itself.
6. Asklepios and Dionysos shared a festival day: 8 Elaphebolion, the προάγων of the City Dionysia. This does not prove 'that the theatre was used in rites honouring both deities' (p. 77).
7. The presence at an Asklepieion of an honorary statue of a resident chorister who also happened to be an actor is highly suggestive. Nevertheless, I am

        unpersuaded that 'he *must* have been so honoured because of the role(s) he
        played in the pageant for Asklepios' (p. 78, my italics).
   8. I note typographical errors below.[1]

It would be churlish not to mention Hartigan's infectious enthusiasm, the force of her narrative, or how refreshing (and reassuring!) it is, at least for this scholar of Greek drama, to imagine that theatre might actually be able to *do* something. 'Because drama unites past and future in the present, it offers a way to bear the present, and for those who must endure illness in that present drama helps them take the first step to a successful healing' (p. 17).

    Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief. Hartigan asserts: 'During the course of my research into the cult of Asklepios I have become ever more certain that a dramatic pageant was performed as part of the healing ritual' (p. 100). I lack Hartigan's conviction, but—like an agnostic seeking salvation—I am willing, eager even, to entertain the possibility. *Performance and Cure* should at the very least prompt further investigation into medicine and drama. For example, if ancient healing sanctuaries hosted theatrical performances of 'mini-scripts', to what extent were the institutionalised, large-scale genres of tragedy, comedy and satyr-play considered therapeutic? What would this mean for interpretation thereof?[2] And what about Aristotelian *katharsis*?

    Actors and Icons likewise tells its tale well: 'the central theme advertised by my title: the changing image of actors in antiquity' (p. viii). The Rise of the Actor is of course a well-worn meta-fable,[3] but by basing his narration on visual representations, Csapo neatly complements other canonical treatments.[4] *Actors and Icons* is a compelling account of the development of acting in antiquity, taking actors all the way from mere adjuncts (*hypokritai* who 'answer' the chorus) to famous, favoured members of the imperial circle. A preface (pp. viii-xii) outlines the book's genesis, thereby setting the scene. Five of the six chapters are revised and annotated lectures. In the absence of a fully fledged introduction or conclusion, this could have

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   [1] Stafford (2005) cited but not in bibliography (p. 23); 'The *iamata* and other written accounts . . . does appear to record' (p. 40); repeats quotation by Teijeiro (1993) verbatim (pp. 41f.; cf. p. 39); *pinaka* for nominative *pinax* (p. 43); 'The Sanctuary for Asklepios' (p. 53; cf. p. 52 'the sanctuary for Asklepios'); 'could also have others uses' (p. 56); 'under the support of the Ptolemys' (p. 57); '*trapezas*' for *trapezai* (p. 68); 'Eleusinian' for 'Eleusinion' (p. 80).

   [2] Cf. P. Pucci, *The Violence of Pity in Euripides' Medea* (Ithaca 1980) 21-58 on Euripidean drama as a therapeutic exploration of violence.

   [3] See, e.g., B. Gredley, 'Greek Tragedy and the "Discovery" of the Third Actor', in J. Redmond (ed.), *Drama and the Actor* (Cambridge 1984) 1-14.

   [4] E.g. O. Taplin, *Comic Angels and Other Approaches to Greek Drama through Vase-Paintings* (Oxford 1993) and *Pots and Plays: Interactions Between Tragedy and Greek Vase-painting of the Fourth Century B.C.* (Los Angeles 2007); J. R. Green, *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society* (London 1994); P. E. Easterling and E. Hall (edd.), *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession* (Cambridge 2002).

resulted in a lack of focus—but does not: 'As it turned out, my topics interact in surprisingly many ways' (p. ix). Csapo is too modest, for his chapters are more than up to telling a story, not to mention interacting with each other.

Chapter 1, 'A Portrait of the Artist I: Theater-Realistic Art in Athens, 500-330 B.C.' (pp. 1-37), outlines two related observations. First, choral scenes predominate in marble reliefs, paintings, or large sympotic vessels, whereas actors, although rare, do appear on small vessels (mostly *choes*) and terracotta figurines. Secondly, Attic vase-painting is uninterested in actors before *c.* 430 BCE. This 'shows a popular interest, for the first time, in the men behind the masks, and an awareness of their skills' (p. 31). Chapter 2, 'A Portrait of the Artist II: Theater-Realistic Art in the Greek West, 400-300 B.C.' (pp. 38-82), reassesses the dichotomy between Attic and West Greek theatre art. The earlier, Attic, vases concentrate on choruses and telling the whole story; the later, West Greek, vases concentrate on actors and capturing a single moment. Csapo maintains that 'the general impression left by theater-related art in Athens and West Greece is that from about 420 B.C. actors began to catch the popular imagination in a way they had never done before' (p. 76). Chapter 3, 'The Spread of Theater and the Rise of the Actor' (pp. 83-116), accounts for the development of acting during the classical period. Performances outside Attica meant more employment opportunities; supply and demand combined brought pay increases, especially for famous 'star actors'. Thus acting became a profession, and a lucrative one at that. Chapter 4, 'Kallipides on the Floor Sweepings: The Limits of Realism in Classical Acting' (pp. 117-39), examines three independent testimonia regarding theatrical realism: (1) Aristotle, *Poetics* 1461b34-5: Mynniskos calls Kallipides an ape for 'excessive mimesis' (ὡς λίαν γὰρ ὑπερβάλλοντα), thereby acting out elite discomfort at *mimesis* of non-elite behaviours; (2) Aristophanes, *Frogs*: an 'invaluable witness to the social and ideological resonances perceived by Athenian audiences in 405 B.C. to different production styles in tragedy' (p. 123); and (3) *Poetics* 1460b10-11: Sophokles portrays men 'as they should be', Euripides 'as they are'. Csapo suggests that these conflicts were really about elite and democratic conceptions of the real. The actor had now permeated ideological discourse. Chapter 5, 'Cooking with Menander: Slices from the Ancient Home Entertainment Industry?' (pp. 140-67), examines Roman mosaics of scenes from, and depicting, Menander. Here Csapo makes the crucial observation that private theatre under the empire was widespread *but not popular*, limited to the imperial elite. The dining-room mosaics from the House of Menander in Mytilene, or in Daphne in Antioch, reflect not theatrical performances *in situ* but upwardly mobile social aspirations of the not-quite-*über*-rich; '[t]hey are images which attest to a living social practice, but elsewhere and at another time' (p. 163). Chapter 6, 'The Politics of Privatisation: A Short History of the Privatisation of Drama from Classical Athens to Early Imperial Rome' (pp. 168-204), caps off *Actors and Icons* in style. Csapo undermines the public/private dichotomy: public theatre in the ancient world always involved private benefactors; private theatre, too, was a politically charged form of status display. Public theatre 'was more effective than public theater in its primary political and economic objective of forging obligations of friendship and service' (p. 195). Although not signposted as such, this is

the climax of the actor's story—wealthy elites introducing actors into their own spaces, cultivating them, employing them for private, not always intimate, performances and all for political ends.

Actors and Icons is ostensibly about evidence: 'In each chapter I am primarily concerned with potential bodies of evidence, whether new or old, that seem undervalued and underexploited for the purpose of theater history' (pp. viii-ix); however, there is more to this than accreted detail. As but one example, I note Csapo's discussion of three choregic statue bases from rural Attica with inscriptions listing famous poets as *didaskaloi*: 'Three of the most important inscriptions to our question are generally ignored, or avoided, because they fly in the face of a long-standing prejudice about the city's virtual monopoly on high-quality dramatic performance' (p. 90). Csapo here offers both an argument (for high-quality theatre in the demes) and a shove in the direction of the evidence. The scant few typographical errors I came across do no harm to Csapo's overall narrative,[5] which is all the more compelling for being understated. Theatre iconography reveals a late fifth-century interest in actors; the diaspora of drama created the actors' profession; actors eventually became matter for ideological debate; private theatre was the subject of bourgeois aspiration; and private and public theatre were not so different after all.

Healing at an Asklepieion worked by faith and Hartigan demands more than a little faith from her reader. Csapo, on the other hand, inspires faith: faith in the evidence; faith in the *rapprochement* of art history and theatre history; and faith in his narrative. I will return to *Actors and Icons* more often, yet I was more deeply provoked by *Performance and Cure*. In one sense, Playback Theatre itself continues Csapo's story of the rise and rise of the actor. First an afterthought, then professional performers, then superstar emblems of private political theatre, actors are now, and may once have been, part of arguably *the* greatest profession of all: medicine. Hartigan and Csapo thus prompt students of ancient drama to reconsider—excuse the irresistible, unforgiveable pun—the actor's role in society. Whether or not we find ourselves in agreement, it certainly makes for a good story.

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[5] 'Taplin's *Comic Angels and Other Approaches to Greek Drama Through Vase-Paintings*' dated to 1994 instead of 1993 (p. ix); 'interraction' (p. 2); 'mytholgical' (p. 5); question mark after 'only "Greek" drama?' (p. 39); 'atleast' (p. 84); 'it it' (p. 105); 'reclines on a kline' needs italics for Greek *kline* (p. 148); comma needed after 'the estate of the Apion family' (p. 156); '*lex Capurnia*' (p. 180); '0. Taplin' in bibliographical entry for 'Csapo, E. 1994' (p. 208).

THE RECEPTION OF ROME IN THE UNITED STATES

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The classical heritage of the United States has not received as much attention as that of Great Britain, and Margaret Malamud's volume provides a concise introduction, whose primary texts range from the highbrow to the popular, including literature, architecture, painting, theatre, world fairs and film. (Chapters 1, 2, 6, 7, 8 and 9 have been published before.) As an attention getter, she begins with United States senator Robert C. Byrd from West Virginia, who tirelessly orates with Roman *gravitas* on the dangerous slide from republican ideals into imperial corruption—yet he is clearly an anomaly in our world of Facebook, Davos summits and global warming.

According to chapter 1, 'Exemplary Romans in the Early Republic' (pp. 9-33), the American revolution and the ensuing War of Independence pitted the republican heroes Cato (notably the Cato of Joseph Addison's play of 1713), Cicero and Brutus against Julius Caesar, the tyrant and destroyer of the Roman republic. The founding fathers, fully versed in the classics, believed in a westward trajectory of empire: near east, Greece, Rome, Great Britain and finally America. In order to avoid the fate of Troy or Athens, Americans needed to dedicate themselves to civic virtue, and what better precepts than the moral exempla from Sallust, Cicero, Livy and Tacitus? Even in domestic affairs, exemplary Roman women (the Sabines, Portia, Cornelia, Arria and the younger Marcia) were to be emulated. An illustration shows George Washington in Roman military garb, with his sword symbolically laid down to stress his abdication of power, thereby avoiding a Caesarean fate (while his nemesis Napoleon consciously modelled himself on Caesar). Then, as the United States became a continental commercial power, American workers identified with the Roman plebeians in their struggle against the 'aristocrats' of industrial capitalism. President Andrew Jackson's popular democracy thus followed a fifth-century Athenian model, dismissing Rome as run by patrician elite. The new champions were Gaius Marius, slaves in general, and of course Spartacus. At the same time, Jackson was denounced by his Whig opponents as a modern Caesar (or king) corrupted by *luxus*. Caesar could be all things to all people: anti-democrat and champion of the people (a comparison to Socrates would have been instructive here).

Chapter 2, 'Working Men's Heroes' (pp. 34-69) continues the story of president Andrew Jackson, an uneducated or self-educated common man who hardly fit into the shoes of Julius Caesar (who traced his family back to Aeneas and Venus),

and the foundation and emerging identity of the Democratic party on democratic rather than republican principles. Jackson, the American Marius, was contrasted with his opponent John Quincy Adams, the aristocratic dictator Sulla. Lack of classical education became an asset, an anti-intellectualism that endeared Jackson to the common man. 'John Quincy Adams can write—Andrew Jackson can fight' (p. 36), as a succinctly slogan put it. Still, working class men were able to benefit from inexpensive translations of classical literature. All this was being negotiated not only in the press but also in the theatre, whose layout replicated the class-oriented structure of society as a whole. Spartacus, in particular, was appropriated and admired for his resistance to slavery, a concept that proved problematic later. As Malamud points out, 'slavery' was used metaphorically (and hypocritically, one should add), describing political and economic oppression of white males by other white males: '"Sweet liberty" was for whites not black slaves' (p. 45).

In chapter 3, 'Rome and the Politics of Slavery' (pp. 70-97), in the antebellum years, as the country drifted apart economically and socially, the Gracchi brothers became the new heroes. In the north they were revered for their agrarian reforms and support of impoverished citizens. In the south, conversely, wealthy landowners admired them for their eloquence and their anti-corruption crusades. As land reform and slavery eclipsed all other issues, some abolitionists identified with Carthage's resistance to Rome (with Hannibal's city figuring as an African site sacked by white people), while southerners argued that slavery contributed majorly to the accomplishments of the Greek city states and to Roman civilization: 'slavery enabled the liberty (*libertas*) and leisure (*otium*) necessary for culture and polities, ancient and modern, to flourish' (p. 70). Malamud pays special attention to Louisa S. McCord's play *Caius Gracchus*.[1] The pro-slavery McCord, who had published a scathing review of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, held up the Gracchi's mother Cornelia as a model for the perfect *matrona* and presented an essentially conservative Gracchus, who exhorted Romans to choose honour, civic duty and patriotism; here McCord was alluding to South Carolina senator John C. Calhoun, one of the most powerful voices of secession, who obsessively railed against Yankee *imperium*. With the Confederacy annihilated, southern classicist Basil Gildersleeve (vainly) exhorted the victorious north to follow Anchises' advice to Aeneas: *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* ('spare the humble, defeat the haughty', Verg. *Aen.* 6.852f.). Finally, a theatrical John Wilkes Booth shot president Abraham Lincoln with the cry, *sic semper tyrannis!*

According to chapter 4, 'Corporate Caesars and Radical Reformers' (pp. 98-121), with the south defeated and the north moving toward rapid industrialisation, labour reform trumped the political agenda. Analogies to Rome's rise and fall pervaded: 'For many Americans, robber barons, class warfare, strikes, conspicuous consumption, and corrupt political machines evoked images of imperial Rome—its decadent rich, huge landed estates, tremendous economic inequality, and corrupt government' (p. 99). Caesar now embodied plutocratic politicians and greedy industrialists. Malamud ends the chapter with Henry Adams, 'a Dinosaur in a

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[1] L. S. McCord, *Caius Gracchus* (New York 1851).

Darwinian age' (p. 115), who as late as the early twentieth century believed in a Ciceronian system of government by the best.

Chapter 5, 'Manifest Virtue' (pp. 122-49), chronicles growing uneasiness with a hitherto neglected (or suppressed) aspect of ancient Rome: the persecutions of Christians and Jews. A new myth emerged, that of heroic resistance to the pagan Romans. And because America was God's chosen country, wealth and empire, the two usual culprits of the republic's demise, could fruitfully and triumphantly coexist. Bulwer-Lytton's fantastically popular *The Last Days of* Pompeii[2] romanticised ancient Greece, idealised the early Christians, and pictured Romans as bloated and voluptuous in a city of the dead. The second great awakening had democratised salvation and hoped to reverse the apocalyptic trend of sinful nations (Babylon, Nineveh, Sodom and Gomorrah, Carthage, Alexandria . . .), while Greek revival architecture swept the country, paying tribute to the home of timeless beauty and noble simplicity. Wallace's never out-of-print *Ben-Hur: A Tale of the Christ*[3] assuaged post-Civil War anxieties with a messianic Old and New Testament narrative, with the Puritan crossing of the Atlantic mirroring the Judaic exodus from Egypt to the promised land: 'Wallace's quest reflected and responded to a widespread desire in the United States for reassurance on the historicity of the bible and the Christian religion in the face of new and unsettling scientific theories and discoveries' (p. 141).

Chapter 6, 'The Pleasures of Empire' (pp. 150-85), discusses how the Roman empire, formerly dismissed as decadent, came to justify the acquisition of an overseas empire. The Columbian exposition in Chicago, commemorating Columbus' 'discovery' of America, revelled in triumphal arches, utopian buildings, homages to the goddess of Chicago, and conspicuous consumption. Classically minded visitors felt reminded of Aeneas' palimpsestic tour of the future Rome by Evander. The City Beautiful architectural movement, harking back to fabled Roman might, built colossal train stations, libraries, universities and other monuments. San Francisco styled itself as the Rome of the Pacific, although after the earthquake in 1906, it rather resembled a new Pompeii. In New York, Fifth Avenue became the Appian Way, where Dewey Arch evoked the Arch of Titus in the eternal city, where banks towered as modern-day temples, where one traveller instinctively looked for vestal virgins scattering flowers in Grand Central Terminal, where Pennsylvania Station combined the best of the Baths of Caracalla and the Colosseum, where the opulent Fleischman Baths invited its customers to 'Abandon care all ye who enter here and do as the Romans did' (p. 166), and where circuses re-enacted gladiatorial combats, staged chariot races, set Christians on fire, killed fabulous beasts and, of course, wallowed in Neronian orgies. And even the less wealthy benefited from sophisticated technologies of reproduction: 'In contrast to the eighteenth century's association of classicism with austerity, restraint, and civic virtue, now reproductions of classical art in homes proclaimed the owner's elevated taste, knowledge of history and art, and individual achievement in the world' (p. 173). At the same time, Americans were ambivalent about their acquisition of

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[2] E. Bulwer-Lytton, *The Last Days of Pompeii* (London 1834).

[3] L. Wallace, *Ben-Hur: A Tale of the Christ* (New York 1880).

empire around the world, a general amnesia that prevails until today (although it was thrust into the spotlight during the presidency of George W. Bush and his 'axis of evil' crusade).

According to chapter 7, 'Screening Rome during the Great Depression' (pp. 186-207), in the roaring twenties movie stars were anointed as the new Caesars, living in palatial Roman residences, enjoying Neronian nights, and ingesting Lucullan luxuries. Then everything changed in 1929, and the inevitable progress toward empire was halted. Hollywood's sword-and-sandal epics pitted Roman decadence against wholesome Protestant values, notably in Cecil B. DeMille's *The Sign of the Cross* (1932), which completed his trilogy instigated with *The Ten Commandments* and *The King of Kings*. Malamud aptly terms *Sign* a 'potent combination of sex, sadism, and religion' (p. 193) where, because of his morally didactic message, DeMille even got away with homosexuality and lesbianism; however, an extraordinary movie released in 1933, *Roman Scandals* (commissioned by Samuel Goldwyn and starring Eddie Cantor, both Jewish), exposed corruption regardless of classical or modern setting. Yet both *Sign* and *Scandals* (p. 204)

> offered reassuring and essentially conservative responses to the crises of the Depression era. The prospective alternatives for radical change—anarchism and socialism on the left and various brands of right-wing populism or fascism on the right—were both likely to frighten the studios and the distributors of films in the 1930, as well as many movie patrons.

Chapter 8, 'Cold War Romans' (pp. 208-28), documents a more critical stance in Hollywood. Marxist Howard Fast's historical novel *Spartacus*[4] appeared in 1951, with McCarthyism in full bloom, and was turned into the more famous movie of 1960, starring Kirk Douglas. In the novel Rome embodies capitalism, wage-slavery and the proletariat, issues that were considerably toned down in the movie, for the prevailing cold war ideology adamantly maintained that all *social* revolutions must fail. Fast, who was imprisoned for contempt of Congress and whose works were blacklisted and banned, identified with the persecuted early Christians in Rome, who suffered as much as Communists did at the hands of J. Edgar Hoover. The movie similarly 'portrays the slave uprising as an exodus narrative tinged with modern Zionism rather than a political revolution against an oppressive Roman state' (p. 222). A re-release of *The Sign of the Cross*, on the other hand, explicitly equated Nero with the Nazis: 'The symbolic malleability of cinematic Romans, who stand in for Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin, projected onto antiquity an American cold war discourse that collapsed fascism and communism into one overriding totalitarianism that, reassuringly, would be defeated by the requirements of history' (p. 209). But Romanisation also served another purpose. Fast got around the censor by expressing the forbidden in Roman garb or toga. (Unfortunately, what gets short shrift here is the civil rights movement. We know that Socrates represented an advocate of civil disobedience to, for example, Mahatma Gandhi and to Martin Luther King. What *Roman* models did they draw on?)

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[4] H. Fast, *Spartacus* (New York 1951).

Malamud is at her best in chapter 9, 'Imperial Consumption' (pp. 229-52). In the twentieth century, if one wants to find Rome in the United States, one does not travel to Rome, New York but to Las Vegas, home of the resort Caesars (no apostrophe) Palace. At its inauguration in 1966, 50 000 glasses of French champagne, two tons of filet mignon, and the largest order on record of Ukrainian caviar were served. Rome's supposed fabulous wealth invites emulation in the casino—and is even made democratically available to the lower classes in the Forum Shops mall next door (the Warner Brothers Studio Store is not to be missed: 'Warnerius Fraternius Studius Storius'). The nightclub Cleopatra's Barge allures Julius Caesars and Marc Antonys alike, as does the Circus Maximus Supper Club, featuring swinging Egyptian queens. (Just three years earlier, the movie *Cleopatra* had portrayed a den of debauchery on the Nile.) A copy of Giovanni Bologna's *The Rape of the Sabine Women* at the entrance invites fantasies of sexual domination, while naked (!) vestal virgins and scantily clad wine goddesses greet diners in the Bacchanal Restaurant (in the 1960s they were instructed to say 'I am your slave' and 'Yes, master'). At private parties, weight-lifters dressed as red plumed centurions will carry privileged guests on gold litters, and a hired audience will enthusiastically boom 'Hail Caesar!' The hotel's stationery features (fake) burned edges, alluding to Nero's alleged burning of Rome. Owner Jay Sarno did it all: 'Augustus claimed to have found Rome a city of mud-brick and left it a city of marble, while Sarno built a marble palace and casino empire in the sands of Las Vegas' (p. 238). Since the mall is private property, however, the rights of free speech and assembly are curtailed, and the equation of Rome with democracy is thus diminished or obliterated. No religious or political significance is attached to the Forum Shops mall—only a fetish of material desire.

In the epilogue, Malamud points to the decline of learning in the United States (especially about classical antiquity) and a lingering anxiety that the tidy, linear trajectory linking capitalism, democracy and Christianity into one nation under God may not be true. The blockbuster film *Gladiator* (2000) once again toys with the myth of the virtuous republic, which, it is hinted at, Marcus Aurelius intended to re-establish. Released one year before September 2001, in both America and Rome of the second century, there are no enemies abroad, only an internal cancer. With his dying words, Maximus, the gladiator, defies the corrupt empire: 'There was once a dream that was Rome . . . it shall be realized' (p. 254). Malamud draws a contemporary parallel, with echoes of sunny optimism during the Reagan years: 'It is the intervention of a white heroic male—the gritty, self-assured, yet also civilized, sensitive, and home-loving image of the modern, all-American hero transposed to the Roman Empire—that holds open the possibility of reversing the process of decline and fall' (p. 255). After September 11, 2001, democracy got into dire distress. Senator Byrd, who voted against the Iraq war resolution[5] that gave president Bush the power to attack Iraq, cast Bush as a blood-thirsty Caesar. (One could adduce here the *Lex Gabinia*, which gave Pompey almost unlimited power and most generous access to the Roman purse for his war on pirates/terror, which was followed by Julius Caesar's

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[5] Formally, the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002.

usurpation of power in Gaul, just as American liberals were shocked at the loss of civil liberties, the suspension of *habeas corpus* for terrorism detainees, and the quasi implementation of torture.) Fortunately, at last, there is Gore Vidal, who vigorously warns against a vanishing sense of the past, what he terms 'the United States of Amnesia.'

Malamud concludes: 'I [initially] set out to write a book that showed how Roman antiquity remains relevant for today, how its malleability keeps it alive in surprising and often overlooked form,' but along its writing Malamud also excavated 'the often forgotten, marginalized, or silenced history of modern America' (p. 7). At times, though, the book would have benefitted from greater depth and more diversity. For example, the myth of 'manifest destiny' (pp. 28f.), which is usually attributed to Genesis, is equally indebted to Jupiter's promise of an *imperium sine fine* to Aeneas and could have merited more attention. And what about literary allusions to Rome, such as F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (originally entitled *Trimalchio*) or Thornton Wilder's *The Ides of March*? Moreover, few people know that John F. Kennedy's famous exclamation of 'Ich bin ein Berliner' was preceded by 'Two thousand years ago the proudest boast was *civis Romanus sum*. Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is "Ich bin ein Berliner"'. Finally, there is Hunter S. Thompson's very suggestive equation of Richard Nixon with Nero and of Watergate as the end of American innocence.[6]

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[6] A lengthy bibliography terminates the volume, though it lacks some classics: D. J. Bederman, *The Classical Foundations of the American Constitution: Prevailing Wisdom* (Cambridge 2008); J. Eadie (ed.), *Classical Traditions in Early America* (Ann Arbor 1976); R. M. Gummere, *The American Colonial Mind and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Comparative Culture* (Cambridge, Mass. 1963); R. Hingley (ed.), *Images of Rome: Perceptions of Ancient Rome in Europe and the United States in the Modern Age* (Portsmouth 2001); C. J. Richard, *The Golden Age of the Classics in America: Greece, Rome, and the Antebellum United States* (Cambridge, Mass. 2009); J. C. Shields, *The American Aeneas: Classical Origins of the American Self* (Knoxville 2001); and S. F. Wiltshire, *Greece, Rome, and the Bill of Rights* (Norman 1992).

REVIEWS

Susanna Braund (ed.), *Seneca: De Clementia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. Pp. xiv + 456, incl. 10 black-and-white figures. ISBN 978-0-19-924036-4. GBP75.

This handsome volume, the fruit of twenty years of intermittent labour, is in the words of the author 'the first major modern philological edition of *De Clementia* in English' (p. 88). The edition includes an introduction that supplies basic information about the essay's author, Seneca, its historical context, the key concepts it employs, its structure, its later history and influence, and the scholarly treatments to which it has been subjected to date. The text follows, equipped with facing translation and a basic, but by no means complete apparatus. This is eminently justified, given the recent voluminous and exhaustive study of the text and its transmission by Ermanno Malaspina.[1] Susanna Braund had long been at work when this magisterial treatment appeared, a fact which has helped her on occasion to have her own view, though she does not lay claim to substantial independent work in establishing the text (p. 87). More than half of the volume is devoted to the commentary, which is clearly the author's main focus of interest. Here too she had the work of Malaspina behind her, but his commentary is heavily balanced towards textual matters. She has derived much help from the commentary by Faider, completed by Favez,[2] and indeed from Calvin's commentary of 1532.[3] Her own emphasis in commenting on Seneca's work is literary, and the parallels cited from Seneca's tragedies and from Lucan are particularly telling, especially as she is careful to quote and explain the parallels, not just produce indiscriminate lists.

The readers envisaged by the author are 'scholars and advanced students who want to understand this important text' (p. 91). And an important text it is; in fact, it is one of the most important texts preserved from antiquity, even in the incomplete form in which it survives. Not only does *De Clementia* provide the missing link between Cicero's eulogistic advice to an autocrat in the *Pro Marcello* and Pliny's *Panegyricus*, which then became the model for subsequent imperial panegyrics, but it is the earliest surviving example of a 'Mirror for Princes', a genre so important to Renaissance monarchical theory. The first Senecan text, along with *De Beneficiis*, to become available again in western Europe (the archetype of all surviving manuscripts, the codex Nazarianus, dates from the ninth century), *De Clementia* was extremely popular

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[1] E. Malaspina, *L. Annaei Senecae De Clementia Libri Duo: Prolegomeni, Testo Critico e Commento* (Alessandria 2001).

[2] P. Faider, C. Favez, and P. Van de Woestijne, *Sénèque: De la Clémence* (Bruges 1950).

[3] F. L. Battles and A. M. Hugo, *Calvin's Commentary on Seneca's De Clementia* (Leiden 1969).

from the twelfth century onward. In the sixteenth century, Montaigne used it for meditation, and in the next century, Corneille's *Cinna* and Busenello's libretto for Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione di Poppea* were, at least indirectly, in its debt. If we had the complete treatise that Seneca wrote or intended to write, according to his outline at *De Clementia* 1.3.1, we would be able to see a Roman philosopher being highly original in technical philosophical mode and treating in Latin an entirely Roman concept, for *clementia* has no one equivalent in Greek.

Braund's intention to help her readers understand *De Clementia* is both timely and eminently successful. Timely, because, aside from a good translation (with some notes) by Cooper and Procopé,[4] and, for continental readers, the long overdue replacement of Préchac's erratic Budé edition[5] by Chaumartin,[6] there has been little produced recently that could be used for teaching, given that Malaspina's great edition is too daunting for all but experts. Successful, in that Braund's sensitivity to readers' needs is apparent on every page. Thus the discussion of texts and editions is left until the end of the introduction, by which time the reader has been gently prepared for close study of the work by an up-to-date account of its historical, literary and philosophical features.

If the introduction rarely takes issue with the scholarly views it summarises (the reader would not know from p. 17 that the date of Seneca's consulship is disputed as between 55 and 56, or from p. 63 that the notion that the *Apocolocyntosis* represents Claudius as a usurper by reason of his lack of Julian blood has been challenged more than once, for example, by Eden[7]), that seems to be the consequence of politeness, for Braund is always courteous to other scholars to the point of obscuring their disagreements. Thus she relegates to a footnote (p. 33 n. 109), the fact that *clementia*, being a virtue, was not discredited by its association with Caesar, as maintained by Dowling;[8] instead, Caesar's behaviour towards other citizens (for which he himself did not use the word *clementia*) could be sidelined as *species clementiae* ('a type of *clementia*'). On the question of the incompleteness of the treatise, however, Braund is admirably forthright (pp. 45-47). In general, the reader is given a serviceable overview of the issues most relevant to comprehending Seneca's work, as well as bibliography for pursuing these issues further (a rare omission is Brunt's rebuttal of Fears,[9] which needs to be mentioned on p. 368).

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[4] J. M. Cooper and J. F. Procopé, *Seneca: Moral and Political Essays* (Cambridge 1995).

[5] F. Préchac, *Sénèque: De la clémence* (Paris 1921), which has been reprinted frequently and as recently as 1990. See E. Malaspina's review in the Bryn Mawr Classical Review (http://www.bmcr. brynmawr.edu/2006/2006-05-12.html).

[6] F.-R. Chaumartin, *Sénèque: De la clémence* (Paris 2005).

[7] P. T. Eden, *Seneca: Apocolocyntosis* (Cambridge 1984) 10.

[8] M. B. Dowling, *Clemency and Cruelty in the Roman World* (Ann Arbor 2006).

[9] P. A. Brunt, 'From Epictetus to Arrian', *Athenaeum* 55 (1977) 39-48, which takes issue with J. Rufus Fears, 'The Stoic View of the career and character of Alexander the Great', *Philologus* 118 (1974) 113-30.

Though work on the text is not her primary aim, as stated above, Braund shows admirable common sense, for example, in eliminating the gloss *illis hoc tribuentes* ('making this our tribute to them') at *De Clementia* 1.14.2, which Malaspina accepts. The translation is excellent. Not only are the avowed aims of clarity and consistency (p. 89) admirably achieved, but it is fluent, elegant and lively. The reader is informed in the commentary why certain difficult choices are made. Thus at *De Clementia* 1.3.3, *quem tam supra se esse quam pro se sciunt* is rendered 'the one that everyone knows is both their leader and their supporter' (p. 101), and the commentary explains that Seneca reverses the expected emphasis of the contrasting pair. (In fact, this inversion is a common phenomenon in Seneca [see Malaspina, p. 258, following Gertz], occurring also in *De Clementia* 1.20.2 and elsewhere: perhaps it was intended to startle the reader.) Then, at *De Clementia* 1.16.3, the literal translation of *quibus tamen ignoscitur* is given in the note that defends Braund's imaginative 'and who can blame them?'(p. 331). The author thus makes it possible for a reader to come to a different decision. So at *De Clementia* 1.9.2, the description of Cornelius Cinna as *stolidus* is rendered 'of annoying disposition', on the basis of Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 18.4. This reader thinks Malaspina (p. 301) is right to prefer the usual meaning of 'stupid' as in the case of another seditious young aristocrat, Libo Drusus, described by Seneca as *tam stolidus quam nobilis* ('just as stupid as he was high-born') in *Epistulae* 70.10. Just as Tacitus' account of the latter at *Annales* 2.27-30 shows he was a gullible fool, so *De Clementia* 1.9.10 suggests the same of Cinna, while Gellius is avowedly giving the view of a corrector of ordinary usage, who in this case is certainly wrong.[10]

Again, at *De Clementia* 2.7.1 (*ego ut breviter tamquam in alieno iudicio dicam*, 'my explanation, to put it briefly, as if in someone else's formulation, is'), Braund has had to deal with difficult questions of punctuation and interpretation, as regards both the phrase and the discussion that follows, where it is not clear how far Seneca's signaled intervention is supposed to extend. Deciding that *breviter* goes with *dicam*, she departs from the usual solutions and makes Seneca speak much more briefly than is usually suggested by terminating his quotation at *non donat* ('he does not waive'). This must be right, for as she says, 'Seneca needs to have presented the dispute before dismissing it' in *De Clementia* 2.7.4 (p. 417). Less convincing, however, is the radically new translation she offers of *alieno iudicio*, namely, 'in someone else's formulation'. For the omission of *in*, to increase the alleged parallel with Quintilian's assessment of Seneca himself at *De Clementia* 10.1.30, does not alter the fact that the phrase in Quintilian must mean 'someone else's judgment'. In *De Clementia* 2.7.1 *in alieno iudicio* can mean 'in a case (or trial) that is not my own', and Seneca could be imagining himself as a jurisconsult being asked to give an opinion by the *iudex* or party to a lawsuit: in *De Beneficiis* 5.19.8 and *Epistulae* 94.27 he remarks on the cut-and-dried nature of such *responsa*, which fits the brief authorial intervention here.

Helpful as the commentary is, the relative lack of interest in philosophical issues is particularly apparent in the less expansive treatment of the more technical

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[10] L. A. Holford-Strevens, *Aulus Gellius: An Antonine Scholar and His Achievement* (Oxford 2003) 63.

book 2. Seneca's philosophical points and the links he makes between the virtue of clemency and jurisdiction are bound to be the most difficult issues for a commentator, and there are corrections to be made in Braund's notes which would improve a subsequent edition. We are told that security as a motive for punishment (*Clem.* 1.22.1) is peculiarly Senecan (p. 361), whereas it occurs in Plato's *Laws* 5.735d-3 and 9.862d-863a and implicitly in the *Protagoras* 322a. Clemency is said to be 'arbitrary' (p. 39) without any indication that the view of Seneca and the Stoics is that it is rational and must show judgment and discrimination (*Clem.* 2.5.2, 2.7.3) as must any virtuous, or even appropriate, action. Seneca is said to be contradicting himself in *De Clementia* 2.4.4 over the parity of moral flaws (p. 401), but the variable danger here is not the moral risk of bad behaviour but the consequence of different wrong actions, themselves intrinsically equal in badness (cf. Cic. *Parad. Stoic.* 3.20).

In Seneca's discussion of the definitions of *clementia* at *De Clementia* 2.3.1, *una finitio* ('a single definition') shows clearly that only one definition has been given so far (not two, as on p. 391) in two formulations linked by *vel* ('or'), the second presumably more accurate than the first; moreover, Braund (p. 396), like Malaspina, ignores the implication of *posset* in the final crucial definition *quae se flectit citra id quod merito constitui posset* ('[clemency] consists of pulling back from what could deservedly be imposed', *Clem.* 2.3.2). Lipsius saw it clearly: *respondet potuisse merito fieri et non potuisse, utrumque cum modo et sine culpa. illud severitas fuisset; at hoc clementia* ('[Seneca] replies that [what *clementia* stops short of] could deservedly have been imposed and not imposed, either of the two in due measure and without fault. The former would have been severity, but the latter clemency').[11] Seneca envisages a range of possible punishments, all legitimate, under *cognitio* and advocates the milder end of the range.

Braund has done us all a great service in making Seneca's treatise so much more accessible. For the student reader she provides ample grammatical help; for all readers, she illuminates Seneca's great skill as a writer in great things and small. She dissects his ingenious use of the mirror image at *De Clementia* 1.1 (p. 154) and the way in which his direct address to Alexander at the close of book 1 balances that to Nero at the start (p. 368). And she both corrects Malaspina and shows the significance of the image of the empire as a prison at *De Clementia* 1.26.2 (p. 376) and of the adverb *publice* ('the whole community') at *De Clementia* 1.26.5 (p. 382). Many other acute comments could be adduced. Seneca and his readers have been well served.

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[11] I. Lipsius (ed.), *L. Annaei Senecae Philosophi Opera Quae Extant Omnia*[4] (Antwerp 1652) 210 n. 25 *ad Clem.* 2.3.2 with the lemma *merito posset*.

William Dominik and Jon Hall (edd.), *A Companion to Roman Rhetoric*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007. Pp. xix + 523, incl. glossary and indices. ISBN 978-1-4051-2091-3. GBP85.

People approaching the subject of ancient rhetoric can turn to an ever increasing number of introductions and reference tools. Companions in particular have become increasingly popular with different publishing houses. Over the last few years, we have seen the publication of vompanions to ancient rhetoric, rhetoric and rhetorical criticism, and Cicero's oratory and rhetoric.[1] Dominik and Hall, for their part, identify their *Companion to Roman Rhetoric* as a complement to Worthington's *Companion to Greek Rhetoric*[2] (p. xiii).

As part the *Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World* series, this volume is primarily intended for advanced students approaching the field for the first time and scholars in adjacent disciplines. At the same time, the editors express the hope that scholars specifically working in the field of Roman rhetoric will also find the volume useful because of the wide-ranging treatment of the discipline and the new questions that 'some of the contributions' are said to raise (p. xii). In fact, the originality of the contributions varies considerably. Whereas some authors do little more than to outline broadly well-known aspects of a certain topic, others do indeed offer original and innovative contributions. Another, equally understandable, result of the book's introductory character is the tendency to make broad claims drawn from a relatively small amount of evidence—a danger explicitly acknowledged by John Barsby (p. 51) and Enrica Sciarrino (p. 57) but nevertheless frequently attested throughout the volume. Barsby's discussion of Terence's 'other speeches', for example, deals with only one such speech (pp. 48-51), and Sarah Culpepper Stroup's treatment of Roman 'acculturation' of Greek rhetoric, in fact, deals with an overview of Cicero's rhetorical and literary project 'as it is embodied in the first of his rhetorical dialogues: the *De Oratore*' (p. 33). On the whole, however, there can be no doubt that this volume is a success; it does what it claims to do, which is to offer an accessible introduction to the intertwinement of Roman rhetoric with technical, cultural, practical, sociological, educational and literary issues.

The thirty-two contributions in this massive book are broadly distributed over five parts. Part 1, 'Approaching Rhetoric' (pp. 1-66), offers an introductory survey of the contributions in the volume (Dominik and Hall, chapter 1, pp. 3-8), an overview of influential recent trends in scholarship on Roman rhetoric (John Dugan, chapter 2, pp. 9-22) and a discussion of Roman appropriation of Greek rhetorical culture (Stroup, pp. 23-37). In addition, this part also focuses on early attestations of Roman rhetoric (for example, Barsby's essay on Plautus and Terence [chapter 4, pp. 38-53]

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[1] These are E. Gunderson (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Rhetoric* (Cambridge 2009); W. Jost and W. Olmsted (edd.), *A Companion to Rhetoric and Rhetorical Criticism* (Oxford 2004); and J. May (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Cicero: Oratory and Rhetoric* (Leiden 2004).

[2] I. Worthington (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Rhetoric* (Blackwell 2007).

and Sciarrino's discussion of pre-Ciceronian orators such as the elder Cato and Gaius Gracchus [chapter 5, 54-66]). Part 2, 'Rhetoric and Its Social Context' (pp. 67-160), again combines two main strands. First, it explores a wide range of sociological aspects of Roman rhetoric such as the (essentially conformist) role of rhetoric in education and the construction and preservation of social power (Anthony Corbeill, chapter 6, pp. 69-82), interconnections between rhetorical efficiency, ornament and the display of masculinity (Joy Connolly, chapter 7, pp. 83-97), and between rhetoric, oratory and politics (Michael Alexander [chapter 8, pp. 98-108] and Steven Rutledge [chapter 9, pp. 109-21]). Secondly, it discusses distinctive rhetorical forms such as senatorial oratory (John Ramsey, chapter 10, pp. 122-35), speeches at public assemblies (Alexander and, to a lesser extent, Connolly and Ramsey), panegyric (Roger Rees, chapter 11, pp. 136-48) and invective (Valentina Arena, chapter 12, pp. 149-60). Part 3, 'Systematizing Rhetoric' (pp. 161-234), explores four of the five *officia oratoris* (*inventio*, *elocutio*, *memoria* and *action* by Robert Gaines (chapter 13, pp. 163-80), Roderich Kirchner (chapter 14, pp. 181-94), Penny Small (chapter 15, pp. 195-206) and Hall (chapter 17, pp. 218-34) respectively—*dispositio* is awkwardly left out[3]) along with a discussion of wit and humour in Roman rhetoric (Edwin Rabbie, chapter 16, pp. 207-17).

Part 4, 'Rhetoricians and Orators' (pp. 235-366), is the most extensive part of the volume (nine contributions). It deals with famous orators, rhetoricians and grammarians in the republic and the imperial period (Catherine Steel [chapter 18, pp. 237-49] and Charles McNelis [pp. 285-96]), with special attention being paid to Cicero (James May [chapter 19, pp. 250-63] and Christopher Craig [chapter 20, pp. 264-84]), Quintilian (Martin Bloomer [chapter 22, pp. 297-306] and Fernández López [chapter 23, pp. 307-22]), Tacitus (Dominik, chapter 24, pp. 323-38), Pliny (Dominik) and the elder Seneca (Bloomer). Finally, Part 5, 'Rhetoric and Roman literature' (pp. 367-450), focuses on the influence of rhetoric on Latin literature. After a general discussion of the pervasiveness of rhetoric in ancient literature (Matthew Fox, chapter 27, pp. 369-81), attention is drawn to epic (Emanuele Narducci, chapter 28, pp. 382-95), satire (Dan Hooley, chapter 29, pp. 296-412) and historiography (Cynthia Damon, chapter 32, pp. 50) as well as to individual authors such as Ovid (Ulrike Auhagen, chapter 30, pp. 413-24) and the younger Seneca (Marcus Wilson, chapter 31, pp. 425-38).

Of course, there is always room for disagreement about the general disposition of a volume. Graham Anderson (chapter 25, pp. 339-53) and John Ward (chapter 26, chapter 26, pp. 354-66), for example, deal with the Second Sophistic and the afterlife of Roman rhetoric respectively, and their essays would therefore have been more appropriate in part 5 than in part 4. In general, however, the structure of the volume is clear and consistent. Its accessibility is further enhanced by the presence of what I would call 'twin chapters', which are best read in sequence. Examples are chapter 8 (Alexander) and chapter 9 (Rutledge), which deal with oratory and politics in the

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[3] But see the entries on *dispositio* and 'arrangement' in the index on p. 509 and p. 504 respectively.

republic and the empire respectively, and chapter 19 (May) and chapter 20 (Craig) on Cicero as a rhetorician and an orator respectively. The insight that rhetoric is an open, fluid and non-delineable concept is presented by Dugan (chapter 2) as one of the hallmarks of modern scholarship and is, indeed, endorsed by most authors in this volume. Occasionally, however, authors seem to adopt a systematic rigidity reminiscent of analytic discussions such as Lausberg's,[4] which is adduced by Dugan as an example of pre-modern scholarship approaching rhetoric as a 'coherent, finite phenomenon' (p. 11). The treatment by Kirchner (chapter 14) of *elocutio* is a case in point. Comparably, the discussion of rhetoric in Vergil and Lucan by Narducci (chapter 28) primarily focuses on the presence of declamatory material, thereby downplaying the wider, and 'modern', insight that rhetorical strategies of various types are intrinsic to the art of narrative in general and narratorial self-positioning in particular.

Throughout the volume as a whole, a number of broad strands seem to emerge. Some of these are well-known to specialists and important particularly to newcomers in the field. The overwhelming importance of Cicero for our knowledge and understanding of different aspects of rhetoric and its social and literary functions, for example, is repeatedly highlighted by various contributors. Another recurrently emphasised point concerns the important place of Greek rhetorical theory and practice in Roman rhetoric. Most notably, Stroup (chapter 3) discusses three broad movements to capture the dynamics underlying Roman appropriation of Greek rhetorical culture ('expansion, resistance and acculturation'). Moreover, Greek rhetoric also features prominently in discussions of pre-Ciceronian Roman oratory (Sciarrino, chapter 5), Roman rhetorical handbooks (Gaines, chapter 13) and Cicero's orations (Craig, chapter 20) as well as his discussions of humour (Rabbie, chapter 16).

In addition, various contributions highlight general strands that are relevant to specialists in the field. Let me again adduce two examples. First, interconnections between rhetoric and fiction are repeatedly addressed. They are dealt with not only in discussions of declamation, where restricted sets of fictional scenarios provide an obvious connection (see, for example, Bloomer [chapter 22] on Roman declamation and Corbeill [chapter 6] on declamation as an educational tool, esp. pp. 74-81),[5] but also in Anderson's brief account on the ancient novel (pp. 347-49) and Damon's discussion of rhetoric and historiography. Cohn's study on *The Distinction of* Fiction[6] could have been of interest here. My second example concerns the conveyance of the idea that, throughout the history of Roman rhetoric, differences in rhetorical presences and functions are more a matter of quantity than of quality. Plautus and Terence, for example, are shown to adopt 'a very similar range of rhetorical devices', but Terence

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[4] H. Lausberg, D. E. Orton and R. D. Anderson (edd.), *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study* (Leiden 1998).

[5] On fiction and declamation, see now also D. van Mal-Maeder, *La fiction des déclamations* (Leiden 2007).

[6] D. Cohn, *The Distinction of Fiction* (Baltimore 1999).

'is much more restrained in their use' (Barsby, p. 51). Similarly, the functions and use of rhetoric in the republic and the empire are depicted not only in terms of differences but also, and perhaps more prominently, in terms of continuity (see, for example, Steel on the importance of rhetorical skill in the imperial period, despite the change of government organisation [p. 246], and Rutledge [pp. 109-11 and 114-20] and Bloomer on continuity in rhetorical practice [pp. 297-9]).

Occasionally, the notion of 'influence' seems to be dealt with in a hermeneutically reductive way. Let me again give two examples. First, Barsby traces a number of stylistic features in Terence's prologues (e.g., antithesis and paronomasia) back to rhetorical handbooks such as the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* ('We might well assume that all this comes out of the rhetorical handbooks', p. 43). He goes on to observe that chiasmus, alliteration and variation, which are equally constant in Terence's prologues, are not recommended in these handbooks as stylistic adornments, which leads him to argue that these three features 'do not come from Greek rhetorical handbooks, insofar as we can reconstruct the latter from our Latin sources' (p. 43). I doubt whether relations between rhetorical practice in literary texts and rhetorical handbooks can be adequately addressed in such direct terms. Arguably, such features are already widely present in literature predating rhetorical theory (the embassy to Achilles in the ninth book of the *Iliad* is, of course, a classical example of stylistic devices and techniques used in such 'pre-rhetorical' oratory). Indeed, rhetorical handbooks first described such rhetorical phenomena as they appeared in literature and/or daily life and only at a later stage became prescriptive. My second example is the unidirectional way in which part 5 addresses the influence of rhetoric on Latin literature.[7] The pervasiveness of rhetoric in literature is abundantly addressed, for example, by Fox (chapter 27), Narducci (chapter 28) and Hooley (chapter 29) and, though Barsby draws attention to more complex ways of interaction (p. 39), most contributions are broadly concerned with straightforwardly exploring rhetorical presences in literary texts (exceptions being Hooley's more dynamic concept of rhetorical activity in satire and the discussion by Wilson (chapter 31) of rhetoric across genres in Seneca).

As the aforementioned remarks indicate, Dominik and Hall have produced a solid, well-structured and accessible piece of work, which not only provides an excellent starting point to newcomers, but also contains a number of original contributions that will be of interest to more advanced scholars.

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[7] See also C. S. van den Berg's review at http://www.bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2008/2008-09-33.html.

Carlo Caruso and Andrew Laird (edd.), *Italy and the Classical Tradition. Language, Thought and Poetry 1300-1600*. London: Duckworth, 2008. Pp. x + 269, incl. 4 black-and-white illustrations . ISBN 978-0-7156-3737-1. GPB50.

Edited by an Italianist and a classicist with strong interests in the Latin literature of the Renaissance, this diverse collection is presented as a stimulus to new approaches to study of the classical tradition, particularly as it was received and transmitted in Italy. This reviewer, a classicist who now works on humanist scholarship, naturally finds some of the essays more in her sphere of expertise than others. She agrees with the editors' proposition that the 'classical tradition in Italy is not only of interest to Italianists and historians of the Renaissance' (p. 16), but fears that classicists who are prepared to go further than concede the relevance of the classical tradition in Italy to what they do are as rare as Italianists who specialise in the Latin writings of post-classical epochs. In fact, only one of the contributors to the collection is a classicist, but he (Nigel Wilson) is one to whom we must be grateful for many fascinating studies of the intricacies and accidents of the transmission of classical texts.

In the opening essay of part 1, 'Latin, Greek and Italian' (chapter 1, pp. 29-40), Giulio Lepschy enjoyably raises a somewhat disjointed series of historical questions. These work as brief glimpses of wider and more fundamental issues. He is interested in assumptions made in the past about the three languages and their relations: Greek and Latin (that is, that Latin was Greek), Latin and Italian (Dante's Latin as a 'secondary artificial language'), and Greek and Italian (the model of the Greek dialects legitimating Italian with its varieties). He concludes with a case study of sixteenth-century grammarians and rhetoricians coming to grips with specific Latin and Greek constructions. Philip Burton's discussion, 'Itali Dicunt Ozie' (chapter 2, pp. 41-61), scrupulously examines ways of conceptualising and describing in Latin non-standard or lower registers of the language with the aim of understanding the terminology used by the ancients themselves, terminology which often refers to levels of style.[1] His examples are mostly taken from the period between Cicero[2] and Quintilian. This chapter tells us something about Latin in light of modern linguistics, but one looks in vain for a connection with the timeframe of the book (but see p. 6).[3] Nigel Wilson's brief but highly informative contribution, 'Utriusque Linguae Peritus' (chapter 3, pp. 62-72), sticks firmly to its practical questions: When and from where did tutors and texts come? Why not from the south of Italy? Was it enough to travel to Byzantium? How did students get on without dictionaries and, until the end of the fifteenth century, printed texts? Some aspects of the learning of Greek are nicely illustrated in figures 3.1-3.

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[1] Claudia Villa (chapter 7, pp. 143-60) could have learned something from p. 59 n. 19.

[2] For the issue raised on p. 45, see P. Watson, 'Puella and Virgo', *Glotta* 61 (1983) 119-43.

[3] Cf. pp. 78f. on Alberti's rhetorical terms and stylistic ideals.

   In part 2, 'Hellenism and the Latin Humanists' (pp. 73-142), Martin McLaughlin's study of Alberti's classical reading based on his Latin and vernacular writings of the 1430s (chapter 4, pp. 73-100) shows what was distinctive about the interests of this original figure whose individuality is well brought out by comparisons with Petrarch, Boccaccio, Poliziano and Machiavelli. The precocity of Alberti's knowledge of 'new' authors (such as Lucretius and Silius Italicus) is even more impressive when Silvia Rizzo's argument about the late diffusion of works discovered by Poggio is taken into account.[4] McLaughlin is right to signal that there is uncertainty about Alberti's knowledge of Greek (p. 77), but the latter's misunderstanding of Pliny *HN* 35.69 could come at least partly from corruption of the text he was using (some MSS read 'daemonem'). Letizia Panizza (chapter 5, pp. 101-17) explores the *fortuna* of Plutarch's story of Camma from its use in tracts on marriage in Latin and Italian to its conversion to tragic *novella* in Castiglione and narrative in Christian medieval guise in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. Camma of Galatia, who performs her own revenge when her husband is killed by the man who desires her, is by no means as well known as her Latin counterpart, Lucretia. It would have been noteworthy for Panizza to cite instances of her story being picked up outside Italy, if indeed the story is an example that vindicates the editors' emphasis in their introduction on the importance of Italy as a mediator of the classical tradition (p. 15).[5]

   Jill Kraye (chapter 6, pp. 118-42) takes us to a different world again, that of sixteenth-century scholars, both Italian and French, who as philologists taught, edited and commented upon Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* after printed editions in Greek had appeared (the Aldine Aristotle was 1495-1498). Her main argument is that developments in the application of philological method to Aristotle's text, which resulted in a number of rivals for the title of 'first philological commentary on the *NE*', cannot be explained by looking alone at the institutional setting of Florence in which Pier Vettori produced his commentary (1584). That had been preceded not only by his Greek edition with philological annotations of 1547 but also by Denis Lambin's translation with notes on the text (1558) and Marc-Antoine Muret's *Variae lectiones* (1559) and lectures on *NE* (1562-565).

   Part 3 contains four chapters on 'The Classical Tradition in Poetry' (pp. 143-238). Claudia Villa (chapter 7, pp. 143-60) looks at various instances of the 'renovation' of classical myth and literature in Dante's *Commedia*. She presents this in the frame of an argument about Dante's idea of the 'comic', which to my mind contains flaws. Donatus' commentary on Terence is cited selectively and misleadingly (p. 145). Terence's notion of the 'comic' is evoked (p. 144)—but what was that? Jason is a 'comic character' (on the basis of Servius, p. 145) and Dante presents him

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[4] S. Rizzo, 'Per una Tipologia Delle Tradizioni Manoscritte di Classici Latini in età Umanistica', in O. Pecere and M. D. Reeve (edd.), *Formative Stages of Classical Traditions: Latin Texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Spoleto 1995) 371-407.

[5] A quick Google search throws up a poem by Oscar Wilde and a play by Tennyson.

as a 'peasant' (p. 158), when in fact he is ploughing with the fire-breathing bulls. Jonathan Usher (chapter 8, pp. 161-92) discusses Petrarch's *Privilegium Laureationis*, focussing mainly on the brief *dispositio*, the 'technical nucleus' (p. 163), teasing out the implications for Petrarch's 'cultural programme' (p. 161) and 'status building' (p. 164) of the privileges awarded by the crowning and certified in medieval legal language by the diploma. An interesting but speculative case is made for the suggestion that the dress (*habitu quolibet poetico*) granted has something to do with the robe given by Robert of Naples at the preceding examination (pp. 170f.) and that this in turn functioned as *vestis triumphalis* for the crowning.

One feels one is in good hands with Stefano Carrai (chapter 9, pp. 193-203). He unpretentiously surveys the greater or lesser extent to which collections of Renaissance Italian lyrics after Petrarch's *Canzoniere* followed structural and organisational patterns suggested by Petrarch's two-part division, by the 'books' of classical Latin poets, or by experimental combinations of these two models. The high point of neo-Latin poems on Rome is the mid-sixteenth century. From the 1550s, besides Janus Vitalis's *Elogia* and Du Bellay's *Poemata* (especially *Romae Descriptio*), there are the less well-known *Centones ex Virgilio* of Lelio Capilupi of Mantua. George Huge Tucker's chapter (chapter 10, pp. 204-38) sets these three works in 'the cultural and political ethos of the Rome(s) of the mid-1550s' (p. 205) and analyses their rhetorical strategies (especially ekphrasis and prosopopoeia), concluding with a complex interpretation—something of a *tour de force*—of *Centones* IX and X as 'a textual *mirror* help up to the historical process of change and eternal recurrence itself' (p. 226). To this collection of disparate and (mostly) specialist papers, the editors attempt to give unity of purpose in the 'Introduction: The Italian Classical Tradition, Language and Literary History' (pp. 1-25) and 'Subject Bibliography: Further Reading on Italy and the Classical Tradition' (pp. 239-45).[6]

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Konrad H. Kinzl (ed.), *A Companion to the Classical Greek World*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006. Pp. xviii + 606. ISBN 978-0-631-23014-4. GBP85.

According to the publisher's publicity, this particular companion 'provides scholarly yet accessible new interpretations of Greek history of the Classical period, from the aftermath of the Persian Wars in 478 B.C. to the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C. Topics covered range from the political and institutional structures

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[6] *Errata*: the inverted comma should follow *cottidiano* (p. 59 n. 19); the centaur Chiron and Homer's Phoenix have been confused (p. 84); Barbaro 67.24-26: for 'miscreant' read 'misceant' (p. 103); translate Barbaro 63.21-2 as 'let the husband give the orders: it is most right that the wife should comply with his will' (p. 105); for 'oppia' read 'oppida' (p. 153); for Horace *Ep.* 2 read *Ep.* 2.1 (p. 156); translate 'though we have learned that outstanding poets were crowned' (p. 172f.)?

of Greek society, to literature, art, economics, society, warfare, geography and the environment. It discusses the problems of interpreting the various sources for the period and guides the reader towards a broadly-based understanding of the history of the Classical Age'. This volume does so in twenty-seven chapters written by twenty-six authors.

Chapter 1, 'The Classical Age as a Historical Epoch' (pp. 1-25), by Uwe Walter, is, as one might say, the theoretical backbone of this book. It discusses many of the issues of what precisely constitutes the 'Classical Age' and sets it off as a separate historical period. Originally the word 'classical' primarily had a qualitative connotation that gradually also obtained a chronological component, notably connected with literature and art. Though the term 'Classical Age' essentially is a modern concept, some of its features were already discerned in the period itself as models suitable for emulation (pp. 7f.). One might therefore maintain that in several respects the 'Classical Age' was already recognised as an 'independent' era with its own characteristics by its contemporaries, not only in Athens and Sparta, for example, but in most of the more than 1 000 states that constituted Greece. A number of these states clustered in federations, while they continued striving at the same time for freedom (*eleuthereia*) and hegemony (*arche*). Moreover, since citizens identified more with their own states than with the federations, the concept of the federation finally failed in the classical period.

Chapters 2-4 discuss the sources: 'The Literary Sources' (P. J. Rhodes, pp. 26-44), 'The Non-Literary Written Sources' (P. J. Rhodes, pp. 45-63), and 'The Contribution of the Non-Written Sources' (Björn Forsén, pp. 64-83). For the literary sources Rhodes primarily focuses on Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon (but not omitting other historians), next on orators and pamphleteers, and finally on poets (Simonides, Aischylos, Sophokles, Euripides, Aristophanes) and philosophers (Plato and Aristotle). The most notable non-literary written sources are inscriptions, but also include lead letters, coinage, pottery, ostraka and smaller inscribed objects. All are briefly discussed and commented upon. Forsén stands up for a multidisciplinary approach in the study of the classical period, advocating the use by scholars of ancient history of art history, archaeology, numismatics and so on next to the written sources. At the same time he sketches, using some examples, pitfalls and mines that lurk below the surface for those who venture unprepared in these fields. The result of the treatment of various sources he describes is the method of comparative and structural approach and it offers many new perspectives indeed. An elementary chapter.

Chapters 5-11 more or less deal with the geographical theatres in which the Greeks of the classical period figured. Roger Brock discusses 'Athens, Sparta and the Wider World' (chapter 5, pp. 84-98), Kai Brodersen 'Aegean Greece' (chapter 6, pp. 99-114), Zofia Halina Archibald 'The Central and Northern Balkan Peninsula' (chapter 7, pp. 115-36), Stanley M. Burstein 'The Greek Cities of the Black Sea' (chapter 8, pp. 137-52), Peter Funke 'Western Greece (Magna Graecia)' (chapter 9, pp. 153-73), Kathryn Lomas 'Beyond Magna Graecia: Greeks in France, Spain and Italy' (chapter 10, pp. 174-96), and Robert Rollinger 'The Eastern Mediterranean and

Beyond: The Relations between the Worlds of the "Greek" and "Non-Greek" Civilizations' (chapter 11, pp. 197-226). Invariably these chapters provide a firm introduction to the areas they discuss. Personally, I liked Rollinger's contribution best because he— like Forsén—breaks relatively new ground in the study of the classical period by emphasising the fact that our views on Greece and its surrounding world generally have been too Hellenocentric. Only from roughly the nineties of the twentieth century onwards (without detracting from earlier pioneers who already ventured there), an increasing tendency becomes visible to incorporate non-Greek material in the evidence regarding the classical period presented to the audience. In this chapter Rollinger discusses the Greeks as they emerge in various Persian documents, adding a new angle to look at Persian-Greek relations.

Related to the previous cluster to quite a substantial extent are chapters 12 and 13, which are devoted to environmental issues. Chapter 12 (pp. 227-44) by J. Donald Hughes is on 'The Natural Environment', chapter 13 (pp. 245-80) by Lin Foxhall on 'Environments and Landscapes of Greek Culture'. The reason not to include these two chapters into the previous cluster is the connexion they form with the following cluster, which deals with social-economic developments. The chapter by Foxhall especially is an example of the fortuitous effects of a multidisciplinary approach, in this case, of a quite underexposed aspect of the classical period.

The cluster on social-economic issues comprises chapter 14, 'The Economic Realities' (Graham J. Oliver, pp. 281-310); chapter 15, 'Religious Practice and Belief' (Emily Kearns, pp. 311-26); chapter 16, 'Citizens, Foreigners and Slaves in Greek Society' (Nick Fisher, pp. 327-49); and chapter 17, 'Women and Ethnicity in Classical Greece: Changing the Paradigms' (Sarah Pomeroy, pp. 350-66). I found the chapter by Fisher on the fundamental contradiction of the slave society, namely the dual nature of the slave ('how to treat slaves and how to justify the institution', p. 328), very attractive reading, additionally so because of the parallels he occasionally draws with the relatively well-documented situation in the USA in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, much of the evidence he adduces is based on written sources and, therefore almost by consequence, largely Athenocentric. To a large extent that also goes for the material brought forward by Pomeroy in her chapter.

Chapters 18-20 are on institutions. In chapter 18 Lynette Mitchell writes on 'Greek Government' (pp. 367-86), Kurt Raaflaub in chapter 19 on 'Democracy' (pp. 387-414), and Robert Wallace in chapter 20 on 'Law and Rhetoric: Community Justice in Athenian Courts' (pp. 415-31). Developed out of an isonomic system, democracy became the most conspicuous feature of the classical period notably at Athens. As for the fourth century, there are essentially three categories of evidence illuminating Athenian democracy (see pp. 390f.): perhaps less detailed, the fifth-century material offers a different perspective of Athens—democracy at work. Raaflaub succinctly describes the developments and their underlying ideologies as well as the criticism of democracy. Especially because of its compactness, this chapter makes an excellent companion for further study by a wider audience. Equally good reading is the chapter by Wallace, who sets up an opposition between modern (USA)

and classical (Athenian) everyday practices by stressing the individual's interest in the former and the community's safety in the latter. In spite of both societies sharing the same theoretical notion of *isonomia*, their respective conceptions of the role of the individual and the community lead to divergent interpretations of the law and therefore different verdicts.

The textual part of the book ends with seven surveying chapters: chapter 21, 'The Organization of Knowledge' (Susan Prince, pp. 432-55); chapter 22, 'From Classical to Hellenistic Art' (Steven Lattimore, pp. 456-79); chapter 23, 'Warfare in the Classical Age' (John W. I. Lee, pp. 480-508); chapter 24, 'The Greek World, 478-432' (Thomas Harrison, pp. 509-25); chapter 25, 'The Peloponnesian War and its Aftermath' (Karl-Wilhelm Welwei, pp. 526-43,); chapter 26, 'The Greek World, 371-336' (Bruce LaForse, pp. 544-59,); and chapter 27, 'The Conquests of Alexander the Great' (Waldemar Heckel, pp. 560-88). Prince's chapter covers the intellectual landscapes during the classical period. She focuses subsequently on the pre-Socratics at the beginning of the classical period, the Sophistic developments of Periclean Athens, the response to Socrates' execution, and 'the basic approaches of the major schools that emerged from the Sophistic and Socratic movements through the first three-quarters of the fourth century' (p. 433). The chapter is a condensed yet wide-ranging review of the most important philosophical (in its wider sense) developments during the classical period and touches upon the most important persons and topics. The book ends with an elaborate index (pp. 589-606), which is very useful on account of its various cross-references.

All the chapters in this volume are extremely valuable, all the more so because of the guides for 'Further Reading' and the elaborate bibliographies that close each discussion; the selection of chapters discussed above merely reflects my own scholarly interests. Normally I favour a common bibliography, but under the circumstances the method chosen (either by Kinzl or the publisher) seems to me to be the best option. This book is an invaluable tool for anyone working in this field by its theoretical framework, its scope, its scholarship, and the excellent basis it offers for further research, to name only some of its merits. By this combination of qualities it is an asset for both students and professionals. Kinzl deserves, therefore, a well-earned compliment for the way he has managed this project. The volume is, moreover, well produced, though some typographical errors have escaped detection.

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Emily Greenwood, *Afro-Greeks: Dialogues Between Anglophone Caribbean Literature and Classics in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. xii + 298, incl. a general index. ISBN 978-0-19-957524-4. GBP55.

Most Classicists know (and even write about, *expertus confiteor*) Caribbean literature and its relation to classics mainly, or solely, through the work of Derek

Walcott, the Nobel laureate in literature, especially his poem *Omeros*. But as Emily Greenwood's timely book *Afro-Greeks*[1] now shows, Walcott is by no means unique among writers of the region in creating a dialogue and resonance between Caribbean and Mediterranean, between Anglophone West Indian literature and classics. Walcott, although he looms large, is only one among several authors whose work Greenwood scrutinises in this fascinating and wide-ranging book. Concentrating on Caribbean writers in English, her main points of focus are the extraordinary Marxist intellectual, journalist and writer on cricket C. L. R. James; novelists Austin Clarke and Nobel laureate V. S. Naipaul; historian and first premier of Trinidad and Tobago Eric Williams; and poets Kamau Brathwaite and Derek Walcott himself. In each case Greenwood teases out the complex, inventive, sometimes problematic relationships between the work of these men and the world of (mainly) ancient Greece, as well as Rome. She further shows how, in this aspect of their writings, they responded to and reacted against authors of earlier generations.

Already in the nineteenth century, Froude had used the *Odyssey*,[2] and classics more generally, as a filter through which to render the West Indies intelligible to a British readership. And Froude's trope was taken up and extended by the travel writer and novelist, Patrick Leigh Fermor.[3] In Fermor's eyes, this region of the new world gains significance and meaning by comparison with the ancient Greek world of the Aegean. As Greenwood comments, however, 'the Hellenic interference in his account means that the Caribbean lies in the shadow of Greece' (p. 34), being humbled and lessened, rather than enhanced by the comparison.

Up until the 1960s and 1970s in the Caribbean, the few scholars who completed secondary education at elite schools devoted an inordinate amount of time and effort to winning the scarce island scholarships available for university study in Britain and its empire. The scholarships, and elite secondary education in general, demanded considerable competence in Latin and, for a tiny minority, in Greek. Britain controlled both curriculum and examinations. And imperial ideology strongly coloured the teaching of classics: 'whole civilizations were collapsed into an imperial tradition in which Pericles' funeral oration was one with the culture of Victorian Britain' (p. 69). Greenwood discusses the intriguing strategies that Caribbean authors developed to counter these influences. Pointing to 'blatant fictions and gaps in colonial Classics' (p. 113), some authors criticised the way in which such education created a small class of 'exoticized natives' (p. 78) and led to a narrow, instrumental view of learning. Other writers recreated the Greeks and Romans in their own Caribbean image, forging a direct link with classics and seeking to bypass the imperial

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[1] The title comes from the opening lines of Walcott's poem 'Homecoming: Anse La Raye': 'Whatever else we learned / at school, like solemn Afro-Greeks, eager for grades' (Derek Walcott, *Poems 1965-1980* [London 1992] 100).

[2] J. A. Froude, *The English in the West Indies, or The Bow of Ulysses* (London 1887).

[3] P. L. Fermor, *The Traveller's Tree: A Journey through the Caribbean Islands* (Texas 1950).

British reception. Since the 1970s Latin has virtually disappeared from the West Indian school curriculum. Greenwood (pp. 108-11) allows herself a brief lament for this state of affairs, pointing out that the loss of classics makes it difficult for the current generation of Caribbean students to understand all the nuances of some of the region's finest literature.

Derek Walcott is a constant presence in *Afro-Greeks*, with Greenwood providing abundant evidence for her argument that 'the ambivalent way in which Walcott represents classics and classical pedagogy belongs to an established Caribbean tradition' (p. 79). In attempting to define his world, Walcott engages with the colonial idea that the Caribbean is an 'empty' space, where 'nothing happens', where there are no monuments and no history. Strategically adopting this notion and turning it on its head, Walcott is able to create his own history and to abolish the millennia between the ancient Mediterranean and the modern Caribbean, allowing them to co-exist in a timeless present. And he can appropriate just what he needs from Homer, from the *Odyssey*, from the ancient world, to suit his poetic or dramatic purposes.

Another method Walcott uses to understand ancient Greece on his own terms, so Greenwood argues, is to view it through the filter of a humbler, 'unclassical' modern Greece; hence his engagement with the poetry of George Seferis (pp. 58-68) and his use of the modern Greek 'Omeros' (introduced to the narrator by a twentieth-century Greek woman in the poem of that name) in preference to the traditional 'Homer', with all that name's cultural accretions. Walcott wants a Homer purged of any imperial associations. And Greenwood writes of a 'cagey identification with Homer . . . whereby Walcott is careful to keep his distance even in the moment of engaging with epic' (p. 170). Finally, in discussing Walcott's use of Helen in *Omeros* (pp. 231-5), Greenwood rightly points out that that poem 'now exercises a powerful force field in the study of Homeric reception' (p. 233), just like the Ulysses figures of Dante, Tennyson and Joyce.

Greenwood's discussion of the complex figure of C. L. R. James, for whom cricket and ancient Greece were his twin lodestars, was of great interest to me. James, though he received a solid middleclass education, was largely self-taught in classics, like several other West Indians the author discusses. He fashioned for himself an idiosyncratic view of antiquity, believing (although admitting it was a fantasy) that he would have felt entirely at home in the world of ancient Greece (p. 102), and comparing cricket as 'a social art that involves the whole community' (p. 198) with the theatre of fifth-century Athens. And he was able to use his version of the ancient world as a standard against which to judge critically the shortcomings of British history and society. For James, as Greenwood well comments, the 'ancient Greek connection offers European civilisational authority without imperial and colonial interference' (p. 195).

Eric Williams, C. L. R. James's erstwhile pupil, ally and later political foe, was one of those lucky few Caribbean students who, thoroughly drilled in Latin, won an island scholarship to study at Oxford University. There, in 1938, he earned a DPhil in

history. Discussing an episode from Williams's autobiography[4] in which the author lets us know how much better he was in Latin than his Oxford contemporaries, Greenwood comments that this is 'a motif in Caribbean literature where the struggle for political and cultural autonomy is contested through the Classics' (p. 88). A parallel contestation much later in Williams's career showed how much antiquity could be shaped to suit political ends. Prior to becoming first premier of Trinidad and Tobago (from 1956 until he died in 1981), Williams launched a campaign for public political education of the masses, citing Greek philosophers and orators in his speeches. Greenwood argues that to 'offset this elitism he interprets these authors in a popularist, post-slavery, and anti-colonial light' (p. 210). She shows further how Aristotle, no less, was brought into the political arena of Port of Spain, as Williams and Dom Basil Matthews, a Benedictine monk, publicly contested the philosopher's views, with Williams turning what had been a debate about education into one about slavery (pp. 213-19).

The writing of the enigmatic V. S. Naipaul—so clear-eyed and objective (to all appearances) in his style, so relentlessly negative in his attitudes towards the third world—is discussed in some detail by Greenwood, who interprets his work in a generally sympathetic way.[5] Another Trinidadian recipient of an island scholarship to study at Oxford (English, in his case), Naipaul touches on classics at several points in his novels. *Miguel Street*[6] displays the pathetic figures of Elias, vainly striving to better himself through education in Latin (among other subjects), and his incompetent teacher Titus Hoyt, with his dubious 'External' London degree. In Greenwood's view, Naipaul here satirises the dire lack of opportunity in Trinidad rather than the characters themselves. Then, examining deliberate misquotation of the *Aeneid* in Naipaul's *A Bend in the River* and Roman allusions in *The Mimic Men* and *Half a Life*,[7] Greenwood argues that what we see here is 'a sustained process of ironizing, and indeed satirizing, of the artificiality of the relationship between British colonial power and Graeco-Roman classical antiquity' (p. 158). I am still not entirely convinced, though, that Naipaul's satire targets the coloniser as much as, or more than, the colonised.

Growing up Stupid Under the Union Jack[8] (1980) is the wonderful title of Barbadian writer Austin Clarke's memoirs, which provide yet another sidelight on Caribbean constructions of classics. Objecting to a critic's view of 'the study of Latin as an extension of white culture' (p. 95), Greenwood shows how Austin and his schoolmates happily assimilated the ancients to what they knew and saw about them;

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[4] E. Williams, *Inward Hunger: The Education of a Prime Minister* (Trinidad 1969).

[5] Greenwood does write, however, that she rejects 'Naipaul's pessimistic response' (p. 164) to the phenomenon of cultural hybridity.

[6] V. S. Naipaul, *Miguel Street* (London 1959).

[7] V. S. Naipaul, *A Bend in the River* (New York 1979); *The Mimic Men* (London 1967); *Half a Life* (New York 2001).

[8] A. Clarke, *Growing Up Stupid Under the Union Jack* (Toronto 1980).

they loved Hannibal '(and no one told us he was black like us!)';[9] in their eyes the Romans were very like their own island men, who loved women, drank, talked and sang all day long. Greenwood also discusses Clarke's novel *The Polished Hoe*,[10] drawing the reader's attention to the interesting Caribbean phenomenon of 'talking sweet' (p. 118), whereby Latin and Latinate English are felt to be appropriate, are indeed demanded of speakers, on high ceremonial occasions. She shows how Clarke satirises this practice by having one of his characters pretentiously quote Livy in Latin, which is incomprehensible to most of those listening to his speech (pp. 125-28).[11]

The concept of *translatio studii et imperii*, which denotes 'the transfer of culture along with power as empires succeed each other' (p. 112), runs like a *leitmotiv* through Greenwood's book, the transfer in question being that of classical literatures, languages and culture to the Caribbean by the British empire. Many West Indian authors, as we have seen, tried to bypass the imperial connection and forge their own, new relationship with the ancient world. One such was Edward Kamau Brathwaite, discussion of whose poetic collection *X/Self*[12] rounds off *Afro-Greeks*. *X/Self*, which reflects the multiple forces that have produced the modern Caribbean, is an enigmatic rewriting of history that uses multiple personas, among them figures from ancient Rome, in its difficult search for selfhood. The poem stands as yet another instance of the subtle innovative ways in which Caribbean Anglophone writers have used classics to make sense of their post-imperial, postcolonial situation.

This review has touched on only a few of the many valuable insights *Afro-Greeks* has to offer. Southern African scholars of classics will often find themselves nodding with recognition at the educational and cultural circumstances the author describes and with agreement at the conclusions she reaches. Greenwood writes with intelligence and passion. She has produced an excellent book that will benefit scholars of the reception of classics, of Caribbean literature in English, as well as scholars interested in postcolonialism and world literature in general.

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[9] Greenwood (p. 94), quoting Clarke [8] 46.

[10] A. Clarke, *The Polished Hoe* (Toronto 2002).

[11] The occasion is a party put on by Mr Bellfells, a plantation manager, to celebrate his son's success in winning an island scholarship; the passage of Livy comes from book 21.42 and describes Hannibal in northern Italy offering prisoners a chance to win their freedom by single armed combat. Greenwood comments: 'The Latin quotation is pertinent to the occasion only inasmuch as they are celebrating the achievements of a classical scholar' (p. 126). But there is surely a deeper relevance here. As Greenwood herself shows, the island scholarships, supervised by a superior foreign authority (Britain), were ferociously competitive with (often) only a single winner and meant freedom for the victor from the narrowness of island life. Is Clarke not suggesting a parallel here in the deadly duel for freedom among the prisoners overseen by the foreign overlord Hannibal?

[12] E. K. Brathwaite, *X/Self* (Oxford 1987).

J. H. D. Scourfield (ed.), *Texts and Culture in Late Antiquity: Inheritance, Authority, and Change*. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2007. Pp. xii + 346. ISBN 978-1-905125-17-3. GBP60.

Late antiquity is by definition the field of ancient studies that is most deeply and intrinsically subject to historical distortions. The impossibility of referring to this age without recurring to a more or less negative term (for example, 'late') is representative of how this basic distortion has ended up shaping and unconsciously framing the study of late antiquity. Every discussion, review, or book devoted to late antique texts unavoidably starts with the same refrain—that this was not an age of decline and fall but rather of change and growth. This point needs especially to be made when texts are at the center of the investigation since, while the study of late antique history has achieved recognition as a prominent field in historical research over the last decades, late antique literature still suffers from a classicist prejudice. There is an intrinsic difficulty in approaching these texts and above all in appreciating their aesthetic, which appears so strange and elusive, both to scholars of the classical world and to modern general readers, who are as a rule largely or entirely ignorant of late antique literature. Connected with this point is an institutional problem: within the academic system, especially in Anglo-Saxon universities, late antique texts, if not completely marginalised and left out of syllabi and reading lists, are scarcely discussed in the classroom.

Among the numerous books which have appeared over the past few years, the volume under review (based on a conference held at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, in September 2000) represents one of the best attempts to re-orient the discussion to certain problematic points, at the same time offering an assessment of some approaches to late antique textuality. The volume consists of an introduction by the editor and twelve other contributions. The texts discussed all come from the Roman empire during the period between the middle of the third and the middle of the fifth centuries. The majority of the studies presented in this volume are devoted to Latin authors and texts: Nonius Marcellus (Anna Chahoud, chapter 3, pp. 69-96), Claudian (Stephen Wheeler, chapter 4, pp. 97-134), Juvencus and Sedulius (Roger Green, chapter 5, pp. 135-72), Proba (Scott McGill, chapter 6, pp. 173-94), Jerome (Ann Mohr, chapter 12, pp. 299-322) and John Cassian (Richard Goodrich, chapter 13, pp. 323-38). A smaller group deals with Greek, in particular philosophical, texts: Nonnus and Eudocia (Mary Whitby, chapter 7, pp. 195-232), Plotinus (Andrew Smith, chapter 8, pp. 233-46), Stobaeus (John Dillon, chapter 9, pp. 247-60), Proclus (R. M. van den Berg, chapter 10, pp. 261-78). Finally, two chapters treat more general issues, namely a new geographical Christian worldview (Mark Humphries, chapter 2, pp. 32-68) and the concept of providence within pagan and Christian tradition (Andrew Louth, chapter 11, pp. 279-98). I will here discuss the volume's overall approach by focusing on the editor's introduction and a number of points raised in some of the other chapters.

As usual in collective volumes, the introduction by J. H. gives a sense not only of the results achieved by the book as a whole but also of the editor's aspirations, even if they were not consistently realised in the final product (I say this not as a specific criticism, but as a general remark on collective works—the problem is only very rarely avoided). In 'Textual Inheritances and Textual Relations in Late Antiquity' (pp. 1-32), Scourfield comments on the negative qualities of the description 'late' itself and sketches out some alternative historiographical paradigms that might possibly be applied to the study of this difficult period: collapse and conflict, growth, transformation. In particular, Scourfield makes clear how difficult it is in the case of late antique literary production to avoid the traditional 'appeal to canons of quality that are always contestable' (p. 2). Interpreters should instead make a non-evaluative effort to understand late antique texts and contexts; the point is well illustrated by the case of the *centones*, poems that are often seen as merely 'derivative' and as such considered lacking and thus left aside instead of being appreciated for their extraordinary creativity.

This fundamental point leads me to two other considerations. First, while reading and interpreting late antique texts we should, to the greatest extent possible, avoid the unquestioning use of the interpretive tools and aesthetic categories which we normally apply to 'classical' texts. In this regard we might wonder to what extent being a classicist helps or impedes the discussion of late antique texts, since classicists arguably tend to look for aspects they already take for granted and with which they are familiar. Interpreters of the *cento* or of late Latin epic poetry, for example, very much insist on Vergil's influence on these texts rather than shedding light on the sorts of cultural and aesthetic paradigms that lie behind the obvious fact of Vergil's dominating presence in late antique literature. To transfer this question to the middle ages, the influence of Vergil on Dante has of course been carefully investigated, but does not represent as much of a *leitmotiv* for Dante studies as it does for the study of late antique literature. So when Scourfield writes, '[t]ogether the texts reflect an intellectual world constantly exploring its relation to the past, a past that is neither simple nor single, but of unusual importance in a tradition-valuing society coming to terms with major change and seeking to redefine itself in the process' (p. 4), I wonder whether this insistence on the past as such, commonly shared within late ancient studies, has not been influenced by the very fact that those who study this epoch are generally classicists. A more general question can be asked: Does late antique literature share 'classical' conceptions of textuality at all? And, even more importantly, how different are our own modern categories and expectations from those of late antiquity? Is there perhaps an ontological difficulty for us as we attempt to understand late antique textuality independently from its classical past?

The second point is connected with the general status of classics as a discipline. Within this field—notwithstanding the massive influence of new historicism—the general tendency is to study any text with constant (if not always explicit) attention to its aesthetic value, as if texts that we might consider aesthetically insufficiently successful do not deserve literary evaluation but are to be used, if at all, as sources for

cultural history. Although the latter point may seem rather distant from the topic of our volume, it is interesting to notice how vital the late antique perspective can be for the whole field of classics.

Finally, while insisting on the contiguity rather than the conflict between classical pagan culture and Christianity, Scourfield reminds the readers that both are products of the same world and that what happened in this period has to be 'described in terms of negotiation, accommodation, adaptation, transformation' (p. 4). Given the special role of the inheritance of the past, he also identifies three main strands of textual production: the reception of the classical tradition in new poetic or philosophical texts written entirely within that tradition; Christian scriptural exegesis, within which classical pagan culture plays a much smaller role than in other literary forms; and 'the most experimental strand, in which new texts seek . . . to accommodate both inheritances and both pasts, biblical and classical' (p. 5). Although the second strand, which includes patristic commentary, represents a particularly original and rich field that needs to be explored precisely from a literary perspective, in this volume these texts have been left aside, probably because it is highly unusual for classical scholars to engage in a literary and textual investigation of works normally treated as sources for theology and religious studies.

Although the volume contains chapters on a range of topics, it coherently follows a number of thematic lines. The most important is the construction of textual authority in both pagan and Christian contexts. As Scourfield puts it, the 'nature of the authority possessed by the received texts . . . the uses to which that authority is put by the receiving texts, and the impact upon that authority of the reception itself, form a set of interrelated questions' (p. 7). Roughly speaking, one could re-adjust the table of contents around a different criterion, such as the kind of authority thematised within the texts discussed. For instance, the chapters on pagan and Christian geography by Humphries, on Nonius Marcellus by Chahoud, on John Stobaeus by Dillon, and of Proclus by van der Berg could be put together in a section devoted to the kind of authority typical of a 'commentary'; this section would be more abstract and generalised than the authority of the Virgilian text present in the discussions of Proba by McGill (pp. 173-94) and of Claudian by Wheeler (pp. 97-134) or than the authority of Homer and Plato in the chapters on Nonnus and Eudocia by Whitby (pp. 195-232) and on Plotinus by Smith (pp. 233-46). More generally, it might have been interesting to organise the chapters into sections.

Any collection of papers is of course intrinsically limited and cannot discuss all possible topics, and it would be foolish to criticise such a book because it does not contain what any given reader would like to have seen. Nonetheless, it might have been useful to point out clearly some of the new genres and texts and in the process to shed light on their original textual characteristics. An obvious example is offered by those kinds of text that nowadays are given the label 'literature of knowledge'; encyclopaedic works and technical writings of any kind would have represented a good complement to the range of topics present in this volume. And although the

commentary as such is discussed in this volume frequently indeed, a specifically literary discussion of the nature and novelty of this genre is missing.

On a few occasions Scourfield emphasises the importance of the *cento* as a literary form characteristic of the late antique literary sensibility. McGill's chapter, arguably one of the best in the book, shows with great clarity how variously Proba's *cento* has been read and interpreted already in her own time; she has been seen either as limiting herself by drawing out Christian themes already present in the Virgilian text or as radically changing the model by imposing a Christian meaning that was not at all present in Virgil himself. In both cases the reader can appreciate the versatility of this genre and its cultural value. Perhaps we could even go further and affirm that the *cento* represents a sort of metaphor for late antique literary tastes and tendencies, since it shows in an exemplary way the simultaneous presence of the utmost reverence for the literary tradition (by entirely adopting a pre-existing text) and the most irreverent attitude possible (by radically changing the meaning of the original text). Late antique textuality is intrinsically made up of such tensions. It is always worth keeping in mind that late antique texts tend to emphasise form rather than content, a point that continues to represent a major obstacle to our appreciation of the literature of this other antiquity.

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Duane W. Roller, *Eratosthenes'* Geography: *Fragments Collected and Translated, with Commentary and Additional Material.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010. Pp. xi + 304, incl. 3 line illustrations, 7 maps, and an appendix. ISBN 978-0-691-14267-8. USD49.50.

The *Geography* of Eratosthenes, the interdisciplinary 'Beta' of third-century BCE Alexandria, presents the would-be editor or translator with a significant challenge: the work fell into controversy and disfavor early in its life and so survives only in fragments, which are cited primarily by Strabo. The task of winnowing out the material that should be attributed to Eratosthenes was first taken on in 1789, again in 1821, then in 1880, and not since then. Now Duane Roller has stepped into this breach by refining the choice of fragments that make up this work and translating them into English for the first time. This translation is presented alongside a commentary enriched by recent research into ancient geography and allied subjects, particularly on the expansion of understanding of the physical world in Eratosthenes' time and afterwards.

A brief introductory note is followed by a full chapter (pp. 1-37) on the background of Eratosthenes, his works, his contributions to geography, and the reception of his work. This chapter is richly annotated with references to literature, both ancient and modern, on Eratosthenes and other geographical authors, geographical practices, and the intellectual culture of Alexandria. Roller begins with

the origins and evolution of the discipline of geography, tracing the development of proto-geographical disciplines like topography and ethnography through Homer, Herodotus, Anaximander and the explorers of the Hellenistic era. He then moves on to the difficult task of trying to reconstruct the life of Eratosthenes from the uncertain information available, including remarks from Strabo and the *Suda*. He constructs this biography with circumspection and care, paying particular attention to Eratosthenes' intellectual background. Finally, he describes the background of the *Geography* itself. He surveys the sources used by Eratosthenes, from Homer to the geographical authors who traveled with Alexander, to the explorers of Egypt in the age of Ptolemy II. Roller outlines the probable structure of the three books of the work: book 1 includes a history of geography and a discussion of the formation of the earth; book 2 lays out the shape and size of the earth and its division into zones; and book 3 is a topographical description of the inhabited world, including its division into portions Eratosthenes calls *sphragides* ('sealstones').

Roller then closes this chapter with an account of the ancient and modern reception of the *Geography*. He mentions the critical attitude taken toward Eratosthenes by Hipparchos of Nikaia and Polybius as well as Strabo's conflicted blend of critical appraisal with extensive citation. Here he also outlines the problems of making an edition of Eratosthenes, whose work survives only in fragments; these in turn are primarily quoted by Strabo, who uses Eratosthenes' work in a non-'linear' fashion (p. 36) and does not indicate the boundaries of quoted material with the greatest of care. Roller then moves on to the modern reception of the work, including the editions previously put forth by Seidel (1789),[1] Bernhardy (1822)[2] and Berger (1880). The present edition is designed to improve on these by including some fragments not found in earlier editions; by more carefully differentiating the fragments of the *Geography* from those of Eratosthenes' *Measurement of the Earth*; by including more extensive commentary on each fragment, informed by recent research on the disciplines of geography, topography and ethnography; and by providing the first English translation of the fragments.

This translation forms the next section of the book (pp. 41-107). While the Greek text is not included in this volume, Roller notes that his edition is based primarily on Berger's, which is quite readily available in a 1964 reprint of the 1880 edition.[4] The translation is organised into the conventional three books originally established by Seidel and then into the thematic sections as set out by Berger, such as 'The Formation of the Earth', 'The First Sealstone (India)' and 'The Northeastern Part of the Inhabited World'. As noted above, Roller has made additions and subtractions to the particular fragments included under these headings, but his preservation of Berger's organisational scheme makes cross-referencing between this text and

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[1] G. C. F. Seidel (ed.), *Erathosthenis Geographicorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen 1789).

[2] G. Bernhardy (ed.), *Eratosthenica* (Berlin 1822).

[4] E. H. Berger (ed.), *Die geographischen Fragmente des Eratosthenes* (Amsterdam 1964); the 1880 edition was published in Leipzig.

Berger's Greek relatively easy, as well as providing some much-needed structure to the fragments. His translation is highly readable. Roller notes that as the work survives only in paraphrase, it is not really possible to get a sense of Eratosthenes' style; he has therefore opted for a clear and straightforward translation, which tries as far as possible to clarify Strabo's own elliptical style. The possible ambiguities of reference and meaning that result from this style are reliably discussed in the commentary.

After the translation of the fragments, Roller provides an extensive section of summaries and commentaries (pp. 111-221). Summaries of each fragment, sometimes quite detailed, precede the corresponding passage of commentary. This feature of the work makes it possible to use the commentary almost like a stand-alone guide to the text of Eratosthenes, particularly given the grouping of the fragments into thematically unified sections. The organisational scheme chosen by Roller certainly makes for easier textual navigation than that of Berger, who follows each thematic group of Greek fragments with lengthy commentary. Within the commentary Roller offers careful notes about the sources used by Eratosthenes and Strabo; he includes up-to-date research about the geographical regions and features mentioned, as well as a complete and readable guide to technical aspects of Eratosthenes' geography such as the methods he used to determine latitude. Cross-references between fragments are indicated where helpful for specific questions (for tasks such as collecting every reference to a specific place, readers can turn to the gazetteer and general index at the end of the book).

Last but not least, Roller includes a gazetteer, a selection of maps, and three appendices. The gazetteer lists in alphabetical order all the place-names mentioned in the book along with cross-references to the fragment that mentions them and the maps on which they appear. Where possible, Roller also includes the modern names of these places, which will make this section particularly useful for readers wishing to locate features named by Eratosthenes on modern maps or to chart them using electronic mapping tools. The maps included in this book deserve special mention for their clarity and utility. Produced by the Ancient World Mapping Center at the University of North Carolina, these maps include 'virtually all of the over 400 toponyms cited by Eratosthenes' (p. xi). The maps themselves are grayscale shaded-relief representations of the full extent of the known world in the second century BCE, as well as five sub-regions of the world. The crisp graphics of these maps make it very easy for the reader to compare the actual topographical phenomena with Eratosthenes' descriptions. Additionally, Roller includes a map showing the shape of the inhabited regions of the world as described by Eratosthenes based on a similar map from the *Grosser Historischer Weltatlas*. Finally, there is an index of passages cited (pp. 281-87) and a general index (pp. 289-304); this latter is not of sprawling length but, as Roller notes, much of its work is done by the gazetteer and the length of the index is limited to avoid redundancy.

The first of the three appendices concerns Eratosthenes' work *On the Measurement of the Earth*, which in previous editions and commentaries was not

recognised as a separate work from the *Geography*. Roller here includes the ancient *testimonia* supporting the claim that this was a distinct work, references to modern scholarship on the controversy, and the nine fragments of the work, which come from sources ranging from geographical authors like Marinos to Macrobius' commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis*. The second appendix comprises the ancient *testimonia* for the life of Eratosthenes, upon which Roller's introductory biography is based. The final appendix is a guide to the difficulties of finding modern equivalents for the Greek measurements of the *stadion* and *schoinos* because of the variation in these units in Greek literature. The *stadion* varies from 177.7m to 197.3m, which is no small difference when one considers the large distances Eratosthenes deals with; meanwhile, the *schoinos* varies from 30 to 120 *stadia*, which clearly compounds the problem significantly. Roller deals with individual questions of distances in the commentary, but this appendix sheds a helpful light on the extent of the challenge.

Roller has succeeded admirably in producing a work that will make Eratosthenes accessible to a wide variety of readers. He has made vast improvements over the previous editions of the fragments in facilitating the reading of both text and commentary. His explanations of technical subjects such as the calculation of distances and latitudes will be comprehensible to a general audience. At the same time Roller brings to bear on Eratosthenes' text a wealth of new research on ancient exploration, travel and scientific research so that this book will be equally interesting to specialist researchers. Roller has given us a learned and readable work that should serve to communicate Eratosthenes' achievements to the broad audience he deserves.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

*Books for review should be sent to the Reviews Editor, **Scholia**.*

Egbert J. Bakker (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language.* Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. Pp. xxxix + 657, incl. 12 black-and-white figures and 73 tables. ISBN 978-1-4051-5326-3. GBP110.

Mary Beard, *The Fires of Vesuvius: Pompeii Lost and Found.* Harvard: Belknap Press, 2008. Pp. 384, incl. 23 color illustrations, 113 halftones. ISBN 978-0-674-02976-7. USD26.95.

Guy de la Bédoyère, *Cities of Roman Italy: Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia.* London: Duckworth and Bristol Classical Press, 2010. Pp. 123, incl. 46 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-1-85399-728-0. GBP11.99.

Kim Bowes, *Houses and Society in the Later Roman Empire.* London: Duckworth, 2010. Pp. 120, incl. 23 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-0-7156-3882-8. GBP12.99.

George Boys-Stones, Barbara Graziosi and Phiroze Vasunia (edd.), *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic Studies.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. Pp. 912. ISBN 978-0-19-928614-0. GBP85.

Eric Csapo, *Actors and Icons of the Ancient Theater.* Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. Pp. xiv + 233, incl. 30 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-1-4051-3536-8. GBP70.

Page duBois, *Out of Athens: The New Ancient Greeks.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010. Pp. x + 236. ISBN 978-0-674-03558-4. USD29.95.

Richard J. Evans, *Syracuse in Antiquity: History and Topography.* Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2009. Pp. viii + 169, incl. 32 black-and-white illustrations and a CD-ROM. ISBN 978-1-86888407-0. ZAR175.

Emily Greenwood, *Afro-Greeks: Dialogues between Anglophone Caribbean Literature and Classics in the Twentieth Century.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. xiii + 298. ISBN 978-0-19-957524-4. GBP55.

Edith Hall and Stephe Harrop (edd.), *Theorising Performance: Greek Drama, Cultural History and Critical Practice.* London: Duckworth, 2010. Pp. xiii + 305. ISBN 978-0-7156-3826-2. GBP25.

Stephen Hodkinson (ed.), *Sparta: Comparative Approaches.* Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2009. Pp. xxxiii + 502. ISBN 978-1-905125-38-8. GBP55.

Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers.* Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010^2. Pp. xx + 505. ISBN 978-1-40513415-6. GBP110.

Adrian Kelly, *Sophocles: Oedipus at Colonus.* London: Duckworth, 2009. Pp. 176. ISBN 978-0-7156-3713-5. GBP12.99.

Konrad H. Kinzl (ed.), *A Companion to the Classical Greek World.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2010. Pp. xviii + 606. ISBN 978-1-4443-3412-8. GBP29.99.

D. Konstan and K. Raaflaub (edd.), *Epic and History. The Ancient World: Comparative Histories.* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. Pp. xiv + 442, incl. 4 black-and-white figures and 3 tables. ISBN 978-1-4051-9307-8. GBP85.

Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones and James Robson, *Ctesias' History of Persia: Tales of the Orient.* London: Routledge, 2010. Pp. x + 253, incl. 8 black-and-white figures, 3 family trees, and 1 map. ISBN 978-0-415-36411-6. GBP60.

Jesper Majbom Madsen, *Eager to be Roman: Greek Responses to Roman Rule in Pontus and Bithynia.* London: Duckworth, 2009. Pp. ix + 166, incl. 8 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-0-7156-3753-1. GBP50.

J. G. Manning, *The Last Pharaohs: Egypt under the Ptolemies, 305-30 BC.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010. Pp. xvi + 264, incl. 18 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-0-691-14262-3. GBP27.95.

Andy Merrills and Richard Miles, *The Vandals.* Chichester: Blackwell-Wiley, 2010. Pp. xiv + 351, incl. 26 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-1-4051-6068-1. GBP70.

Robin Mitchell-Boyask, *Aeschylus: Eumenides.* London: Duckworth, 2009. Pp. 157. ISBN 978-0-7156-3642-8. GBP12.99.

Fritz-Heiner Mutschler and Achim Mittag (edd.), *Conceiving the Empire: China and Rome Compared.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Pp. x + 481. ISBN 978-0-19-921464-8. GBP85.

D. Protase, N. Gudea and R. Ardevan, *Din istoria militară a Daciei Romane: Castrul Roman de Interior de la Gherla. Aus der Militärgeschichte des Römischen Dakien: Das römische Binnenkastell von Gherla.* Timisioara: Mirton, 2008. Pp. 503, incl. 33 figures and 99 plates. ISBN 978-973-52-0387-0. No price supplied.

James Robson, *Aristophanes: An Introduction.* London: Duckworth, 2009. Pp. xi + 244, incl. 8 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-0-7156-3452-3. GBP14.99.

Duane W. Roller, *Eratosthenes' Geography: Fragments Collected and Translated, with Commentary and Additional Material.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010. Pp. xiv + 304. ISBN 978-0-691-14267-8. GBP34.95.

Christopher Smith and Anton Powell (edd.), *The Lost Memoirs of Augustus and the Development of Roman Autobiography.* Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2009. Pp. xii + 227. ISBN 978-1-90512-25-8. GBP50.

Susan A. Stephens and Phiroze Vasunia, *Classics and Colonial Cultures.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. xiii + 363. ISBN 978-0-19-921298-9. GBP85.

Christina H. Tarnopolsky, *Prudes, Perverts, and Tyrants.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010. Pp. xiii + 218. ISBN 978-0-691-12856-6. GBP24.95.

Charles Tesoriero, Frances Muecke and Tamara Neal (edd.), *Lucan.* Oxford: Oxford
    University Press, 2010. Pp. xi + 540. ISBN 978-0-19-927722-3. GBP85.

Lawrence A. Trittle, *A New History of the Peloponnesian War.* Oxford: Wiley-
    Blackwell, 2010. Pp. xxvi + 287, incl. 16 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN
    978-1-4051-2251-1. GBP22.99.

IN THE MUSEUM

A MARBLE HEAD
OTAGO MUSEUM, DUNEDIN

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In 1948 the Classical Collection of the Otago Museum was significantly augmented by acquisition through auction of a large part of the private collection of Arthur Bernard Cook (1868-1952), Reader in Classical Archaeology (1907-1931) and then Laurence Professor of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge University (1931-34). The acquisition was made possible by a very generous bequest from a local businessman, Willi Fels, who had died in 1946 and had in his lifetime donated to the Museum some 80 000 items, including 5 400 coins, among which were several hundred ancient Greek and Roman coins. The bequest's executor was Fels' grandson, Charles Brasch, a notable New Zealand poet, editor and patron of the arts, who had himself in his younger days taken part in excavations in Egypt. So satisfying an interest in Mediterranean antiquity was probably an inherent motivation behind the acquisition, both on Brasch's own behalf and on that of his late grandfather, to whom he was very close. The late Dale Trendall once told me that he was himself instrumental in ensuring that the University of Otago, as both the managing body of the then University Museum and as his own *alma mater*, should gain the best part of Cook's collection.[1] After graduating from Otago, Trendall had studied under Cook at Cambridge, and was well aware of the nature of the collection.

Outstanding among the items from this benefaction was a marble head. The head was originally published by Cook in 1941, when it was still in his private collection, and identified by him as a head from one of the metopes of the Parthenon.[2]

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[1] Other parts went to the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, the (then) Liverpool Museum and the Metropolitan Museum in New York. For a sense of the nature and extent of the Otago collection before this purchase (excluding the extensive coin collection), see A. D. Trendall, 'Greek Vases in the Otago Museum', *JHS* 56 (1936) 235f.

[2] Figures 1-4: Dunedin, Otago Museum E48.218. A. B. Cook, 'A New Metope Head from the Parthenon', *JHS* 61 (1941) 6-13. Photographs reproduced by kind permission of the Otago Museum, Dunedin.

Its dimensions are under-lifesize: 18.7 cm in height, and 14.5 cm in width at the level of the eyes. Cook reported that he bought it some years before 1941 'at a London sale of antiquities' and that 'it is—as all who have seen it agree—an Attic original of the mid fifth century'. He reported what little there was to say about its provenance:

> It came, like other items sold with it, from a collection formed about 1830 by the grandfather of its late owner. The collector was a wealthy man who had certainly visited Egypt and probably made purchases in Rome. In short, we have the usual story of a well-to-do traveller returning from the Grand Tour with a trunk or two full of Levantine spoils.[3]

The assumption, therefore, was that the sculpture came from the Mediterranean in the first third of the nineteenth century. Although neither Egypt nor Rome lends itself obviously to the notion which Cook was to develop further, that the head came from the Parthenon itself, he may have assumed that to have travelled from Egypt to Rome or *vice versa*, the grandfather probably stopped off at Athens and picked up the sculpture there. This timing would put the acquisition just a couple of decades after Lord Elgin had removed much of the surviving sculptural decoration from the Parthenon. Sculptural fragments apparently deriving from this temple were to continue finding their way into European collections long afterwards.[4] So the scenario imagined for Cook's sculpture is not implausible.

Cook was aware that the type of marble was important to any detailed identification, and he pronounced this particular marble Pentelic, explicitly distinguishing it from the very different marbles of two other heads, which he had also bought at the same auction. He did not describe this particular marble any further, so it remains a mystery how he decided on its being Pentelic.

With Pentelic marble and the roughly two-thirds lifesize dimensions understood, Cook proceeded to propose that his sculpture corresponded sufficiently closely with the metopal sculptures of the Parthenon that it probably belonged to the female figure on the left of Metope South 19. The content of this metope is known only through the drawings attributed to Carrey from the seventeenth century. These depict two standing women, apparently in conversation. Cook took them to be the veiled bride, Hippodameia (our head), and her bridesmaid, the latter handing over to her mistress the bride's *strophion*, or breast-band, which she has just taken from an open casket, which Cook believed was shown in the next metope. Carrey's sketch shows 'the veiled lady touching the left side of her chin with the fingers of her left hand. This explains why the marble head at just the same place is marked by an ugly

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[3] Cook [2] 6.

[4] E.g., the fragmentary heads, Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 737, bought in 1880, said to have come from the sea at the Piraeus and identified as coming from Metope South 7 now in the British Museum; and Ma 3110, donated to the Louvre in 1916 and identified as possibly coming from the North Frieze: M. Hamiaux and A. Pasquier, *Les sculptures grecques* (Paris 1992) 137f. nos 129f.

but original dint.'[5] The asymmetry of the head, in which apparently horizontal lines are in fact slightly inclined towards each other and would converge at a point beyond the proper left of the face, was noticed by Cook and suggested to him that the head was originally turned slightly to its left so that the right side of the face was more visible. This would match the head of the left-hand figure of Metope South 19.[6]

Mention of this defect in the sculpture as it has survived draws attention to other injuries it appears to have suffered at some point in the past. Apart from minor chips off the surface, especially on both cheeks, both sides and the back have been roughly trimmed, removing (if they were ever there originally) the ears and most of the hair on these sides. As a result, the stone looks more like a building block. Cook was, of course, well aware of these losses. He rightly dismissed the possibility that modern hands had cut away the surfaces from a pre-existing background, as if the head was originally part of a relief sculpture, because in that case the damage would not be to both sides of the head. He also rejected the idea that the head had been reused as a building block, because it was not cut to lie flat on any of its resultant faces. On the top of the head is a deep, roughly circular hole (3 cm in diameter). Cook took this to be too large for a spike or *meniskos*, and instead suggested that it was a dowel-hole to receive a marble veil, which then covered the back and both sides of the head. He noted several classical and later examples of similarly veiled females.[7] Also noticeable is a drill hole near the centre of each eye.

While some authorities agreed with Cook's assessment, others raised doubts over it and ultimately quashed it. In 1946 Chittenden and Seltman accepted the link with the Parthenon in their post-war commemorative exhibition of Greek art in Burlington House, London, when this head was included, along with a dozen or so other items from Cook's collection. They reiterated Cook's belief that it probably represented Hippodameia.[8] A few years later Eckstein, in his survey of sculptures

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[5] Cook [2] 9-11, fig. 4. The full range of Carrey's drawings is available in F. Brommer, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* (London 1979); for the south metopes, see 26f. figs 13f.

[6] Cook [2] 7. On asymmetry and how to read it in such a sculpture, see L. A. Schneider, *Asymmetrie griechischer Köpfe von 5 Jh. bis zum Hellenismus* (Wiesbaden 1973), and K. Hartswick, 'The Athena Lemnia Reconsidered', *AJA* 87 (1983) 335-46, at 341 n. 54: 'The system is as follows: for a head turned or tilted toward the proper right, the left eye is higher and larger than the right, the mouth is tilted upward at the right and the nose is displaced to the left. The right side of the face is narrower than the left. Horizontal lines drawn through these features tend to converge toward the proper right, that is, away from the frontal plane of the body. The part is displaced to the right and the crown is pulled to the right, dividing the top of the head into two unequal halves. The formula is reversed for a head turned to the proper left.'

[7] The 'Hestia' Giustiniani, the Berlin 'Aspasia', the Berlin 'Penelope', and the Torlonia 'Vesta', and even the medieval, 'quasi-classical' sculptures on Chartres Cathedral: Cook [2] 8. For the first three, see M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1975) 191, pls 61b, 63d; 192, pl. 61a; 210, pl. 63c.

[8] J. Chittenden and C. Seltman, *Greek Art: A Commemorative Catalogue of an Exhibition*

from the South Metopes of the Parthenon, also concurred.[9] But even by that stage Trendall had already demurred,[10] and by the 1960s Brommer briefly but effectively put a stop to such dalliance with the Parthenon in his magisterial works on the sculptures.[11] The final nail in the coffin was hammered home when the space in the Parthenon metope, to which Cook believed his head belonged, was filled with another from the Acropolis itself (Acropolis 7277) by Mantis in 1989. The arguments for the placement were repeated by Mantis in 1997, and the head is now physically embedded in the metope among the Parthenon sculptures in the new Acropolis Museum.[12]

Macroscopic examination alone suggests that the marble cannot be Pentelic. The crystals are too large and well spaced, and the colour is too grey rather than

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held in 1946 at the Royal Academy, Burlington House, London (London 1947) 36 no. 156, pl. 37. By happy coincidence, the University of Otago Library's copy of the exhibition catalogue is Charles Brasch's own, perhaps acquired by him while he was overseas in 1946 (he was back in New Zealand by the second half of that year). The only marginal note added to the volume by Brasch is set beside this sculpture's entry, and says simply 'Otago Museum', presumably acknowledging the acquisition in 1948. Had he seen the sculpture in the exhibition, along with other items from Cook's collection, and so become already aware of the collection's value before it came on the market in 1948? I am very grateful to Dr Donald Kerr, Special Collections Librarian at the University of Otago Library, for assistance in this aspect of my investigations.

[9] F. Eckstein, 'Die Südmetopen des Parthenon und die Carreyschen Zeichnungen', *AA* 1953, cols. 79-97, at 80 n. 1: 'Frauenkopf, der nach seiner technischen Zurichtung und der beobachteten asymmetrischen Gesichtsbildung gut zu der linken Frau von Sud XIX passt. Die ausgebrochene Stelle an der linken Seite des Kinns erhärtet diese Zuweisung'.

[10] A. D. Trendall, 'Attic Vases in Australia and New Zealand', *JHS* 71 (1951) 178-93, who put his doubt delicately at 178: 'The gift also included a number of pieces of Greek sculpture formerly owned by Professor A. B. Cook, including the magnificent head which he believed to come from one of the Parthenon metopes'.

[11] F. Brommer, 'Fragmente der Parthenonmetopen', *JdI* 75 (1960) 37-83, at 74 no. 19: 'Die Zugehörigkeit zum Parthenon ist sehr fraglich' and in note 41: 'Ashmole und Trendall haben das Bruchstück mündlich für nicht parthenonisch erklärt'; idem, *Die Metopen des Parthenon: Katalog und Untersuchung* (Mainz 1967) 106.

[12] A. Mantis, 'Beiträge zur Wiederherstellung der mittleren Südmetopen des Parthenon', in H.-U. Cain, H. Gabelmann, D. Salzmann (eds), *Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann: Beiträge zur Ikonographie und Hermeneutik* (Mainz am Rhein 1989), 109-114, at 111f. Abb. 1, Taf. 19.4f. (at 113 n. 18 Mantis acknowledges that his placement of the Acropolis head undoes the attribution of the Dunedin head to the metope); idem, 'Parthenon Central South Metopes: New Evidence', in D. Buitron-Oliver (ed.), *The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome* (Washington 1997), 66-81, at 75. For Mantis, the telling features which recommend the new head to the gap in the metope are the weathering of the right side of the throat, and the remains of a *himation* over the back of the head and of a finger touching the jaw, the latter matching the gesture depicted in the drawing by Carrey. Otherwise, it might be noted that the fragmentary, worn head joins to nothing else in the metope at present.

white. These same characteristics suggest either a Parian marble (which visually runs across a wide range) or, more likely perhaps, Thasian.[13] Furthermore, as much as Cook's identification of the marble appears to have been awry, so too his stylistic comparisons with the Parthenon metopes nowadays look extraordinarily off-target. Structurally, the rectangular face with its almost vertical planes contrasts with the more tapered, almost oval early classical heads with which Cook sought to compare his sculpture. The lack of any attempt in the Otago head to hint at the underlying bone structure of the face, while not impossible in original works of the mid-fifth century BC, is more often found among Roman copies or versions in this style. Even the damage to the surface may give rise to doubts about the very antiquity of the sculpture: the break over the chin is unsettlingly smooth to the touch, as if the marble has been deliberately broken but then polished.[14]

At times I have myself thought to find parallels for the head in original classical, but non-Attic sculpture, especially from South Italy and Sicily.[15] At other times, I have seen it (as I do at present) as a Roman creation, worked in the early classical, severe style but with a heavy, unsympathetic hand. I have also been prepared to consider whether it is a more recent work, possibly 'neoclassical' from the eighteenth or nineteenth century, or even from the twentieth century. I usually provide distinguished visitors to Otago (such as Erika Simon, Olga Palagia and Hans Goette) with an opportunity to hazard a date for the piece, and I have received the same full range of possibilities. The head is currently displayed in the Otago Museum as probably a piece of Roman sculpture—if the marble is Thasian, that identification is better than either classical Greek or neoclassical Italian—carved in the early classical, severe style but with a heavier jaw and duller expression than is found in originals.

A comparison between the Otago head and the famous head of an Amazon or Nike from the pedimental sculptures of the Temple of Apollo Sosianus in Rome demonstrates both the structural and formal proximity between the two and yet also the vast distance in the finishing between an original of *ca.* 430 BC and the Otago

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[13] This was the view of Andrew Stewart, when he was the curator of the Classical Collection at the Otago Museum in the 1970s. I came to the same view in 1994 after viewing Ward Perkins' wide-ranging collection of marble fragments housed in the British School at Rome, although I was prepared to allow for Proconnesian as well. (My thanks to Amanda Claridge for access to that collection at the time.) Olga Palagia and Hans Goette thought immediately of Parian and Thasian too on seeing the head.

[14] I am grateful to Hans Goette for drawing my attention to this detail.

[15] E.g., two heads of Athena: Taranto Museum, inv. 3899: H. Hellenkemper (ed.), *Die Neue Welt der Griechen: Antike Kunst aus Unteritalien und Sizilien* (Köln 1998) 161 no. 90; E. de Juliis and D. Loiacono, *Taranto: Il Museo Archeologico* (Taranto 1985) 83 no. 52; P. Wuilleumier, *Tarente des origines à la conquête romaine* (Paris 1939) pl. IV.1; and Taranto Museum, inv. 3883: de Juliis and Loiacono [this note] 83 no. 53; R. Ross Holloway, *Influences and Styles in the Late Archaic and Early Classical Greek Sculpture of Sicily and Magna Graecia* (Louvain 1975) 9, 73, figs. 63f.

head.[16] Much closer in effect is the youthful face of Dionysos on a Roman double-herm of the god as a youth and a mature adult in the Palatine Museum. Although carved in the severe style, it has been dated to the period of Augustus.[17] Another severe style, Roman sculpture that may be worth comparing is the head of the so-called Charioteer in the Capitoline Museum in Rome.[18] Also akin is a Hadrianic statue, again in a severising style, representing a boy initiate to the Eleusinian Mysteries.[19] Hadrianic 'severe style' heads, however, tend to treat the eyes slightly differently, providing less arched, but more sharply delineated, upper eyelids. Of particular note in this context is the fact that the Otago head has drill holes in the region of the pupils of the eyes. Such a feature is introduced into marble sculpture from the period of Hadrian onwards, along with incised irises which would be painted, so these points in the Otago head's eyes might be considered a useful dating indicator on our sculpture. The same feature, however, may be simply traces of measuring points made to assist the copyist when he was transferring measurements from another head to this one. We might wonder why they would not be erased later, but such marks are known on other sculptures.[20]

But I cannot quite put aside the worries about its being modern. While against this I would tend to put the marble itself, with Thasian being less likely as a source for sculptures in the 19th and 20th centuries than Carraran, it is not impossible (as Hans Goette pointed out to me) that an ancient head, made of Thasian, could have been re-carved more recently. The chipped chin, as I noted earlier, is suspiciously smooth, and the roughly hewn sides and back of the head might suggest a half-conceived piece. But how to explain the hole in the top of the head? This seems unnecessary in a modern version. In an ancient sculpture, it suggests an addition—Cook thought of a separately attached veil, while I have wondered about a hydria or some such object, as

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[16] Rome, Museo dei Conservatori, inv. 3456: E. La Rocca, *Amazzonomachia* (Rome 1985) 26, tav. IV-VII; B. A. Sparkes, *Greek Art* (Oxford 1991) pl. 3; more generally: E. La Rocca, 'Le sculture frontonali del Tempio di Apollo Sosiano a Roma', in H. Kyrieleis (ed.), *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik: Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums vom 22.-25. April 1985 in Athen* (Mainz am Rhein 1986), Band 2, 51-58, Taf. 95-100. The formal comparison is especially and disconcertingly close if one reverses one of the heads in Photoshop and overlays it on the other, as the asymmetries in one head are mirror-imaged in the other.

[17] Figure 5: Rome, Museo Palatino, inv. 614: M. A. Tomei, *Museo Palatino* (Milan 1997): 132 nos 111f. Photo: R. Hannah.

[18] Figure 6: Rome, Museo dei Conservatori, inv. 988: H. Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome: The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (repr. Rome 1968) 211f., pl. 80. Photo: R. Hannah.

[19] Rome, Museo dei Conservatori, inv. 1871: B. S. Ridgway, *Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton 1970) 68, fig. 112; W. Amelung, 'Die Meister des Apollo auf dem Omphalos und seine Schule', *JdI* 41 (1926) 255 Abb. 9. Andrew Stewart has independently seen the same similarity with this statue (email 2 December 2008).

[20] G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* (London 1965) 24-27.

with one of the Augustan-period, black basalt Danaids from the Palatine, carved in a hybrid archaistic-severe style,[21] or one of the Herculaneum women in Naples.[22] These particular statues also share with the Otago head the shallow forehead between the eyebrows and flatly arched hairline, a feature that seems to distinguish these heads from original, early classical models, which tend to have a steeply arched hairline and so to display a greater expanse of forehead.

As a coda and cautionary tale, we may note the fate of one of the pieces to which Cook himself was particularly attracted as a parallel to his piece—the so-called Humphry Ward head in the Louvre:[23]

> But those who are conversant with Attic sculpture of the *pentekontaetia* will be aware that an even closer parallel may be found in the Humphry Ward head. . . . Resemblance here amounts to identity of type. Indeed, it would be possible to restore the missing side-locks of our head from those of the Humphry Ward head, or the missing nose of the latter from that of the former. Mr. Casson, who has studied both, informs me that in his opinion the two heads are certainly of the same date and school, but that on the whole the new head is finer than the old.[24]

> On this showing I am free to contend that the Humphry Ward head and its replica the new marble head were carved by an unnamed sculptor *X*, who worked on the Parthenon under the direction of Pheidias.[25]

The head, formerly in the Borghese and Humphry Ward collections, was acquired by the Louvre in 1908. In Cook's time this head was usually regarded as an original of the early classical period. Even though we lack relevant originals, the most optimistic assessments, following the methods of *Kopienkritik*, associated it with the sculptor Kalamis. But even in the late nineteenth century doubts were raised, and have resurfaced more recently. The head is now interpreted as a Roman work or even a modern piece. *Déja vu*.

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[21] Rome, Museo Palatino inv. 1048: Tomei [17] 56f. nos 31-33; L. Balensiefen, 'Überlegungen zu Aufbau und Lage der Danaidenhalle auf dem Palatin', *RM* 102 (1995) 180-209.

[22] Naples, Museo Nazionale, inv. 5604, 5605, 5619, 5620, 5621, 5603: C. C. Mattusch, *The Villa dei Papyri at Herculaneum: Life and Afterlife of a Sculpture Collection* (Los Angeles 2005) 195-208, figs. 5.15-61.

[23] Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 3106: Hamiaux and Pasquier [4] 266 no. 294; for more views see also http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/artifact?name=Louvre+Ma+3106&object =Sculpture.

[24] Cook [2] 6.

[25] Cook [2] 10.
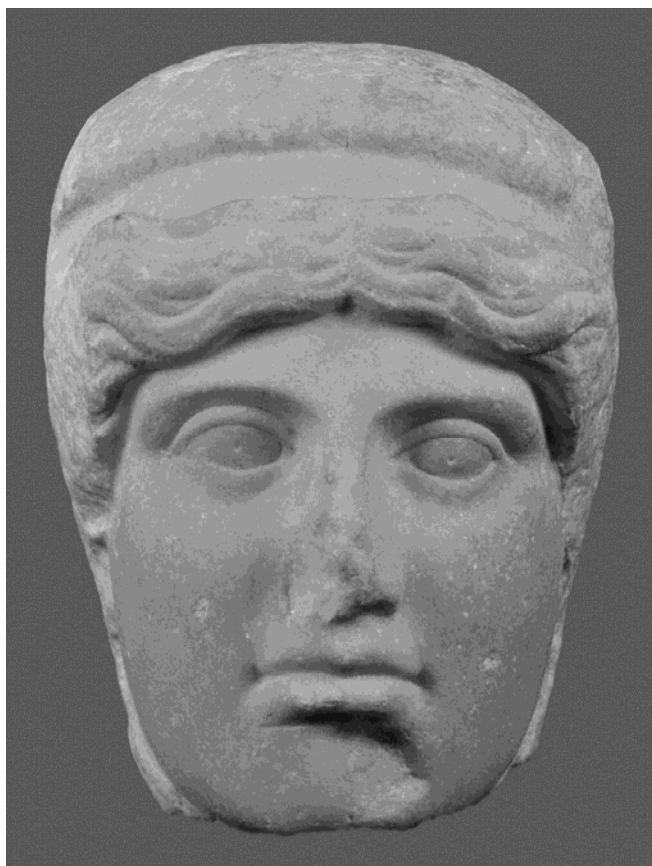
Figure 1. Otago Museum E48.218. Marble head. Front.

Figure 2. Otago Museum E48.218. Marble head. Left side.

Figure 3. Otago Museum E48.218. Marble head. Back.

Figure 4. Otago Museum E48.218. Marble head. Right side.
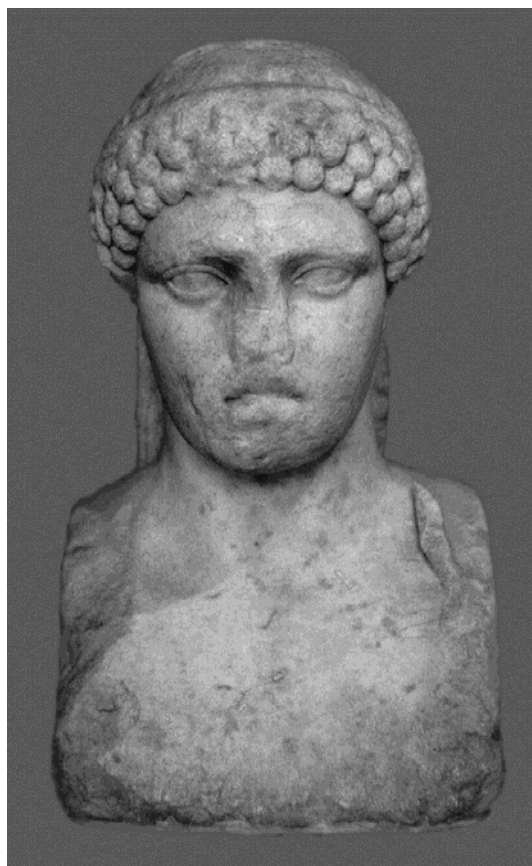
Figure 5. Rome, Museo Palatino, inv. 614. Roman double-herm of Dionysos.

Figure 6. Rome, Museo dei Conservatori, inv. 988. Roman Charioteer.

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.

THE DIFFERENT FACETS OF THESEUS:
A PROBLEMATIC HERO

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Greek heroes are powerful, extraordinary and awe-inspiring figures, but they are rarely depicted as saintly in their behaviour.[1] Even Theseus, who eventually becomes a role-model for Athenian citizens and the epitome of civilized virtues, commits a considerable number of transgressions in early accounts of his adventures. It is difficult to say whether Theseus is more problematic or more valiant as a hero because no single or canonical form of his story exists. The legend of Theseus is a complex amalgamation of different elements, and each ancient writer focussed on whichever aspect of the myth best served his own particular purpose. Furthermore, Theseus underwent an exceptional transformation in classical Athens due to the influence of political propaganda. Although some critics argue that Theseus' transgressions are irrelevant to the legend, these are essential to his character. Theseus' wrongdoings are just as important as his feats of strength and bravery since they add depth to his character and highlight the importance of moral behaviour.

Theseus was a hero whose bold and spirited nature stimulated great feats of heroism in Greek mythology. By daring to take the dangerous route to Athens along the Saronic Gulf, Theseus is able to rid the land of many notorious thieves and villains such as Cercyon and Sinis (Diod. Sic. 4.59.2-5).[2] Theseus' bravery causes him to act decisively with little consideration of the potential consequences or dangers involved. This becomes evident when Plutarch describes how Theseus unexpectedly volunteers to go to Crete because he feels sorry for the Minotaur's victims and thinks it unjust to do anything but aid his fellow-citizens in their plight (Plut. *Thes*. 17.2). It does not faze Theseus that no one has yet escaped the labyrinth alive; his φρόνημα θαυμαστὸν

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[1] I thank Patrick O'Sullivan of the University of Canterbury for his inspiring and thought-provoking comments, which helped me in the preparation of this paper.

[2] The text of Diodorus Siculus is that of C. H. Oldfather (ed. and tr.), *Diodorus Siculus: Library of History* 3 (London 1939).

('noble courage') and fearlessness prevents him from being daunted by the task (Plut. *Thes*. 17.2[3]). Theseus goes on to triumph over the Minotaur and by doing so he frees the people of Athens from a great evil. While Theseus' impetuous decision to take action in this particular story has a positive outcome, his impulsiveness and lack of consideration generally causes problems. An example of this occurs when Theseus promises his father Aegeus that he will change the colour of his ship's sails on the journey home, but then forgets to do so. According to Diodorus Siculus, Aegeus sees the unchanged sails of his son's ship and, believing that his child has perished at Crete (4.61.6f.), consequently commits suicide.

Theseus' most appalling transgressions are linked to women and examples of these offences were depicted by various writers. Theseus' abandonment of Ariadne, for example, is described by Plutarch as αἰτιῶνται μὴ καλὴν ('not honourable nor even decent', *Thes*. 29.2). Ovid also relates the fate of Ariadne by presenting Theseus as a 'faithless lover' who 'cruelly left his companion deserted' on Naxos.[4] Abandoning Ariadne, however, is not the worst of Theseus' alleged misdeeds. Theseus abducts Anaxo, a girl from Troezen, and ravishes the daughters of Sinis and Cercyon (Plut. *Thes*. 29.1). In addition, he steals the youthful Helen (31.1) and attempts to carry off Persephone from the underworld (Diod. Sic. 4.63.4f.). Although modern scholars such as Kirk describe these two offences as 'trivial and derivative',[5] they would have been viewed quite seriously by the Greeks. The attempted abduction of Persephone in particular became a permanent stain on Theseus' reputation as a hero. Persephone is, after all, a married goddess, and so Theseus' behaviour towards her would not only have been considered immoral but also impious (Diod. Sic. 4.63.4). Theseus' pursuit of adventure and women can be interpreted as troublesome for his friends, family and even his kingdom. Theseus' abduction of Helen, for instance, causes unnecessary hardship for his mother Aethra. Not only is Aethra forced to take care of Helen, but in some accounts she is actually captured and taken away as a slave as a result of her son's transgression.[6] In a similar way, Theseus is responsible for starting the war against the Amazons because he takes Antiope captive. The battle against the Amazons is described by Plutarch as μὴ φαῦλον αὐτοῦ μηδὲ γυναικεῖον γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον ('no trivial nor womanish enterprise', *Thes*. 27.1), and the disruptive fighting could have been avoided if Theseus had not captured Antiope.

Mills claims that Theseus is 'the altruistic champion of the common good of Greece' and that his 'triumph over the Minotaur transcends his failures with Ariadne, Helen and Persephone'.[7] She argues that Theseus is more heroic than transgressive

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[3] The text of Plutarch, *Theseus* is that of B. Perrin (ed. and tr.), *Plutarch's Lives* 1 (London 1914).

[4] M. Morford and R. Lenardon, *Classical Mythology*[3] (New York 1985) 419f.

[5] G. S. Kirk, *The Nature of Greek Myth* (London 1974) 155f.

[6] Morford and Lenardon [4] 422f.

[7] S. Mills, *Theseus, Tragedy, and the Athenian Empire* (New York 1997) 265f.

because his heroic exploits outweigh his misdeeds. To some extent Mills' argument is convincing; killing a beast as powerful and malevolent as the Minotaur is no ordinary feat, and Theseus deserves recognition for his strength and bravery. Theseus, however, cannot escape the Labyrinth without Ariadne's help, so it is unsettling that Theseus should repay Ariadne with abandonment in Catullus' and Ovid's versions of the myth.[8] Since there are numerous versions of the myths surrounding Theseus, it is difficult to say outright whether his heroic feats offset his transgressions. His reputation as an 'upholder of all civilized virtues'[9] depends greatly on how particular myths are construed. Many writers, both modern and ancient, have tried to justify Theseus' most serious transgressions by approaching them from different angles. His attempt to abduct Persephone, for example, can be interpreted as an act of pure loyalty if viewed from the perspective that Theseus was trying to help his friend secure a wife.[10] Diodorus Siculus portrays Theseus as being reluctant to journey to Hades and describes how he only participates in this ἀσέβειαν ('impious') act because he has sworn an oath to Pirithous (4.63.4). Theseus' abduction of Helen can also be mitigated by the fact that Theseus does not lay his hands on her and by his attempts to protect and care for Helen in Attica (4.63.3).

Indeed, in some accounts Theseus' treatment of women is most civilized. On one occasion he is said to have gallantly defended a young maiden called Eriboea from the lecherous advances of Minos on the journey to Crete (Bacchyl. 16.1).[11] Even Theseus' behaviour towards Ariadne is portrayed positively by some writers. In the *Odyssey* Homer describes:

> . . . καλήν τ' Ἀριάδνην,
> κούρην Μίνωος ὀλοόφρονος, ἥν ποτε Θησεὺς,
> ἐκ Κρήτης ἐς γουνὸν Ἀθηνάων ἱεράων
> ἦγε μέν, οὐδ' ἀπόνητο· πάρος δέ μιν Ἄρτεμις ἔκτα
> Δίῃ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ Διονύσου μαρτυρίῃσιν.
>
> (Hom. *Od.* 11.321-25[12])
>
> . . . the lovely Ariadne, that daughter of the baleful Minos whom Theseus once attempted to carry off from Crete to the hill of sacred Athens. But he had no joy of her, for before their journey's end Dionysus brought word to Artemis, who killed her in sea-girt Dia.

Whether Ariadne was killed by a divine power as Homer suggests, purposely abandoned, or merely forgotten by Theseus cannot be ascertained, as there is no single established version of the story. It is clear, however, from the multiple versions of the

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[8] Morford and Lenardon [4] 418-420.

[9] Mills [7] 265f.

[10] Mills [7] 188f.

[11] R. C. Jebb (ed. and tr.), *Bacchylides: The Poems and Fragments* (Cambridge 1905).

[12] The text of Homer, *Odyssey* is that of A. T. Murray and G. E. Dimock (edd.), *Homer: Odyssey* 1 (London 1995); the translation is that of E. V. Rieu, *The Odyssey* (London 2003).

myths surrounding Theseus that he was not, at least in the earliest stories, a hero of 'black and white' morals. The archaic Theseus was a peculiar and ambiguous hero, who was as much of a rule-breaker as a civilizer and who was as likely to simply forget Ariadne as he was to abandon her.

In Athens, particularly during the sixth century BC,[13] the myths surrounding Theseus were reinvented and purified somewhat in order to transform Theseus into a figurehead of civilisation and democracy. He was credited with important events such as the foundation of democracy, the naming of Athens and the institution of certain festivals such as the Panathenaia (Plut. *Thes*. 24.3). This reinvention caused Theseus to grow in fame and honour, and he soon became a role-model for Athenian citizens. The tyrant Pisistratus saw the advantages of promoting Theseus as a hero and he used the legend of Theseus to encourage unity within Attica.[14] Pisistratus purportedly even altered some of the written accounts about Theseus. According to Plutarch, Pisistratus had the verse Δεινὸς γάρ μιν ἔτειρεν ἔρος Πανοπηίδος Αἴγλης ('dreadful indeed was [Theseus'] passion for Aigle, child of Panopeus', *Thes*. 20.1) expunged from one of Hesiod's poems because it portrayed Theseus in a bad light. Theseus' image clearly morphed under the influence of political propaganda in Athens and he gradually came to be portrayed as a less problematic and transgressive figure. Morford believes that Theseus is 'less interesting' and not as 'genuine' as other Greek heroes as a result of his refined and polished reputation.[15] Perhaps this is true. Polluted heroes such as Heracles and Oedipus are fascinating to audiences because they evoke a wide range of emotions ranging from pity to disgust. Oedipus' transgressions add extraordinary depth to his character. In fact, it is only through Oedipus' misdeeds and the journey he undergoes in *Oedipus Tyrannus* to discover the truth that audiences realise how courageous he really is. Even when Oedipus is warned that he will hear something terrible if he continues searching for answers, he perseveres and bravely replies, ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως ἀκουστέον ('but hear I must', *OT* 1170).[16] The way in which Greek heroes like Oedipus respond to their own misdeeds adds an element of surprise and complexity to outwardly straightforward myths. For this reason, when Theseus' transgressions were withheld from accounts during the sixth century BC, he became a somewhat less exciting hero.

Archaic Theseus was a figure that encapsulated the meaning of the Greek word δεινός. He was both powerful and awe-inspiring, but his behaviour could also be strange and transgressive at times. It could be argued that Theseus became less δεινός during the classical age when his image was refined by writers. In tragedy, Theseus was generally presented as a wise democrat and an active helper of the weak. In

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[13] Kirk [5] 152f.

[14] Ward, *The Quest for Theseus* (New York 1970) 146f.

[15] Morford and Lenardon [4] 414f.

[16] The text of Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus* is that of H. Lloyd-Jones (ed. and tr.), *Sophocles* 1 (London 1994); the translation is that of T. Gould (ed. and tr.), *Oedipus the King* (Englewood Cliffs 1970).

Oedipus Coloneus, for example, Theseus is shown as a compassionate ruler who helps the troubled Oedipus find rest and release in Attica. In Euripides' *Heracles*, Theseus is similarly presented as a champion of the distressed when he persuades Heracles not to commit suicide (Eur. *HF* 116-27). The one exception to Theseus' typically glorified presentation in Greek tragedy can be seen in Euripides' *Hippolytus*. In *Hippolytus*, Theseus is no longer a wise and sympathetic democrat, but a violent and problematic character whose hasty judgement condemns his son to an undeserved death. Some argue that Theseus is not responsible for the death of his son in the play because the goddess Aphrodite clearly intervenes and directs the course of events.[17] While it is true that Aphrodite sets up the tragedy, her plan for revenge relies heavily on human characters and would not have succeeded without Theseus. In the play, Theseus' rash nature is what ultimately brings about the death of his son. Theseus curses Hippolytus in the heat of the moment and later comes to regret his decision. The portrayal of Theseus in *Hippolytus* is closer to how Theseus was presented in archaic times; he is depicted as strange, terrible and altogether more δεινὸς in his behaviour.

In many ways the Greeks were fascinated by heroes who broke ordinary boundaries, as Theseus did when he travelled to the underworld. Mills suggests that myths of transgressive heroes were vital to Greek culture because the misdeeds of characters such as Theseus 'reaffirm the importance of the behaviour fit for ordinary beings in everyday society by the sufferings they incur'.[18] Theseus is punished for his misbehaviour, and this would have emphasised the value of good moral conduct in Greek society. In the end, Theseus' transgressions lead to his destruction. During his long confinement in the underworld as punishment for trying to carry off Persephone, Theseus' kingdom falls into a state of disarray (Plut. *Thes*. 32.1). Some accounts report that when Theseus finally manages to escape Hades he is unable to repair the damage that has been done to his kingdom, and his life ends disastrously when he is pushed off a cliff by Lycomedes (Plut. *Thes*. 35.4; Paus. 1.17.6).[19]

Theseus in the archaic period was a highly transgressive and unpredictable figure, but he was also an instructive hero. Theseus' heroic actions, particularly in Crete, would have inspired Greek values of strength and bravery, but his misdeeds were also essential in demonstrating the importance of honourable behaviour. In the classical age, myths of Theseus were used to promote democracy and he became a symbol of political unity within Attica. Although stories of Theseus' transgressions were still present in classical society, they may have been reinterpreted by writers to present Theseus in a more positive light. In the end, while Theseus certainly created trouble for his family and kingdom, he was most widely immortalised in Greek literature for his heroic exploits. Theseus' defeat of the Minotaur was an extraordinary feat of strength and bravery that overshadowed his transgressions and earned him everlasting glory as a mythic hero.

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[17] Mills [7] 198f.

[18] Mills [7] 4f.

[19] Ward [14] 23f.

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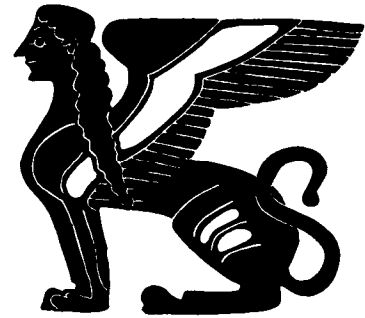
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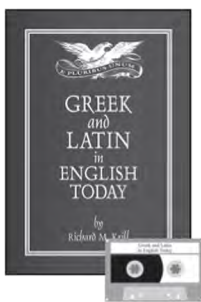
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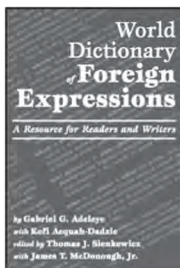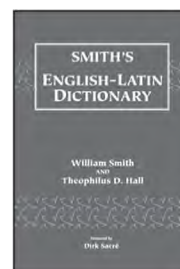*2 audiocassettes:* (1993) ISBN 0-86516-248-4

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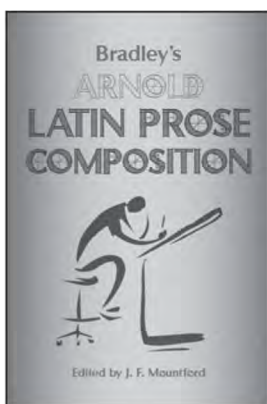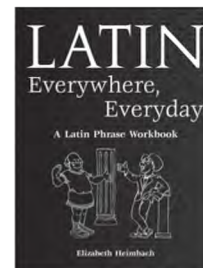
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