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Editor: W. J. Dominik

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

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EDITORIAL NOTE

Each volume of *Scholia* in the twenty-year series of the journal has contained articles and reviews by scholars in several countries on different continents. This final volume contains articles and reviews by scholars in Australia, England, Ireland, USA, South Africa and New Zealand.¹ The broad scope of classical areas covered by the main articles in this volume reflects the wide range of scholarly content contained in the journal over two decades: Greek animal husbandry, art, biography and history, philosophy; Roman elegy and masculinity, elegy and etymology, epic, epigram and occasional poetry.² In addition, there is an article on the concept of 'high culture', Classics and the Humanities in New Zealand.³

The In the Museum section features short articles by the curators of classical collections in New Zealand.⁴ The J. A. Barsby Essay, the winning essay of the Australasian Society for Classical Studies New Zealand student essay competition, is by Alex Wilson (Victoria, Wellington) and is entitled 'Poet, *Princeps* and Proem: Nero and the Beginning of Lucan's *Pharsalia*'.⁵

Scholia was conceived as a scholarly journal in 1991 and was first published a year later at the University of Natal. For over the past decade *Scholia* has been a joint publication of the University of Otago and the renamed University of KwaZulu-Natal. During this latter period the main editorial and management office of *Scholia* has been at the University of Otago, while *Scholia Reviews*, its companion electronic journal, has been managed at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. *Scholia* has published critical and pedagogical articles and reviews on a broad range of subjects dealing with classical antiquity, including late antique, medieval, Renaissance and early modern studies related to the classical tradition. *Scholia Reviews* has been one of only two electronic review journals in the world in the field of Classics. A selection of these electronic reviews has been published in the annual printed volumes of *Scholia*.

¹ Since volume 20 is the final volume in the series, the usual Notes for Contributors, Forthcoming in *Scholia*, and the Subscription Form do not appear.

² See pp. 4-134. Konstantinos P. Nikoloutsos' article entitled 'From Tomb to Womb: Tibullus 1.1 and the Discourse of Masculinity in Post-Civil War Rome' (pp. 52-71) was nominated for the US Women's Classical Caucus award for the best article published in the three years prior to the nominating year (2012). The Women's Classical Caucus is an affiliate of the American Philological Association.

³ See pp. 135-144. This article by William J. Dominik is the product of a Royal Society of New Zealand and University of Otago Centre for Research on National Identity Symposium on the ongoing status of European high culture in New Zealand Aotearoa held at the University of Otago on 20 August 2011.

⁴ See pp. 193-207.

⁵ See pp. 208-214.

In its two decades of publication *Scholia* and *Scholia Reviews* have published 158 articles,⁶ 619 reviews⁷ and 85 additional pieces⁸ by 392 scholars and academics at 193 universities and other institutions in 36 countries.⁹ The overall acceptance rate of articles submitted for publication has been 35 per cent. Scholarly articles have been published in English, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Afrikaans. Each article has been refereed by two editorial advisors, 68 of whom have refereed submissions to *Scholia*. *Scholia* and its offprints have been distributed to individuals, universities and libraries in 49 countries.¹⁰

The *Scholia* web site can be found at <http://www.otago.ac.nz/classics/scholia>. This site includes the entire volumes of *Scholia* and a downloadable index of all contributions to *Scholia* and *Scholia Reviews*; there is also a link to the *Scholia Reviews* web site at <http://www.classics.ukzn.ac.za/reviews>. All material published with *Scholia* is available via ProQuest (USA), EBSCO (USA), Informit (Australia) and SABINET (South Africa). The contents of *Scholia Reviews* are available via EBSCO and SABINET and can be accessed without charge at the *Scholia Reviews* web site.

Scholia expresses its appreciation to its editorial committee members, contributors, editorial advisors and subscribers for helping to ensure its success. The editor wishes especially to thank John Hilton (KwaZulu-Natal) for serving as the Reviews editor for twenty years; E. A. Mackay (Auckland) for supporting the establishment of the journal and for being the In the Museum editor in South Africa; Aileen Bevis (KwaZulu-Natal) for her proofreading and for allowing the editor to use the name of her student journal *Scholia*; Patricia Hannah (Otago) for serving as the In the Museum editor in New Zealand; Terrence Lockyer (KwaZulu-Natal) and Gordon Turner (Otago) for their editorial assistance; and Corryl Harper (Otago) for her service as business manager in New Zealand. In addition, the editor wishes to

⁶ This figure includes 1 Royal Society of New Zealand and University of Otago Centre for Research on National Identity presentation, 2 inaugural professorial lectures and 1 memorial article.

⁷ Of the 619 electronic reviews in *Scholia Reviews*, 77 have been published as review articles and 143 as reviews in a slightly revised form in *Scholia*.

⁸ The numerical breakdown is as follows: 14 In the Universities articles; 24 In the Museum articles; 10 B. X. de Wet Essays; 10 J. A. Barsby Essays; 20 Editorial Notes; 3 In the Schools articles; and 4 Conference Proceedings.

⁹ 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.

¹⁰ In addition to the countries listed above, n. 9, these are Chile, China, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Japan, Macedonia, Malta, Mexico, Norway, Portugal, Ukraine and Vatican City.

thank David Konstan (New York) for encouraging him in his role as editor and manager of *Scholia*.

The editor also expresses his gratitude to E. A. Mackay for drawing the sphinx that is featured on the cover of *Scholia* and that has served as its logo. This sphinx is derived from a black-figure fragment (L.1989.K) on permanent loan by M. A. Gosling in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.¹¹ Finally, the editor wishes to thank those colleagues who have refereed more than ten articles: John Atkinson, André Basson, Dougal Blyth, Jo-Marie Claassen, Peter Davis, M. A. Gosling, W. J. Henderson, John Hilton, Steven Jackson, Bernhard Kytzler, Michael Lambert, E. A. Mackay, Stephen Newmyer and Richard Whitaker. All but two of these colleagues have been based in South Africa and/or New Zealand at some point during their academic careers.

William J. Dominik
Editor, *Scholia*

¹¹ See E. A. Mackay, 'Poikiloidos Sphinx', *Scholia* 1 (1992) 3-11.

GOOD BREEDING: MAKING SENSE OF ELITE ANIMAL PRODUCTION IN ANCIENT GREECE¹

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Abstract. Consideration of social, environmental, and economic variables that helped to shape ancient Greek responses to animal management allows a way beyond the transhumance/agro-pastoralist debate. Each Greek community devised its own unique ways, methods, and goals for keeping animals in order to meet its unique social agenda. The differing social, environmental, and economic variables at Athens, Sparta, Thessaly, and Arcadia and central Greece resulted in differing responses to animal management.

. . . . δεῖ γὰρ ἔμπειρον εἶναι πρὸς ἄλληλά τε τούτων [ζώων] τίνα
λυσιτελέστατα, καὶ ποῖα ἐν ποίοις τόποις· ἄλλα γὰρ ἐν ἄλλαις εὐθηνεῖ
χώραις . . .

(Arist. *Pol.* 1258b15-17²)

One must be expert as to which animals are most profitable compared to each other, and also which are most profitable on what sorts of land, for different ones thrive on different lands.

. . . εἴ τις διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπίστασθαι προβάτοις χρῆσθαι ζημιόιτο, οὐδὲ τὰ
πρόβατα χρήματα τούτῳ εἶη ἄν;

(Xen. *Oec.* 1.9.2f.³)

. . . if a man should suffer a financial loss because he does not know how to manage sheep, his sheep would not be a source of money for him either?

The lone cowboy, well known from television and the silver screen, evokes a time when men roamed the wide-open ranges and cattle were king. Yet despite this strong, semi-mythical reputation, the reign of cattle in the American middle west was a relatively short-lived phenomenon (a decade), having little or nothing to do with “lone cowboys.” In fact, the cattle kingdoms of the 1870s

¹ I wish to thank Anne Groton and Mark Munn for their comments and advice. Also deserving of thanks are the editors of *Scholia* and the anonymous readers whose critical suggestions help sharpen many an argument. The greatest debt, however, is owed to Richard and Carole Howe, lifelong students of animal husbandry, without whose support and practical guidance this study would not have been possible. Of course, errors of fact or logic are my sole responsibility.

² Citation of Aristotle, *Politica* is taken from W. D. Ross (ed.), *Aristotelis Politica* (Oxford 1964). Translations throughout are my own, except where stated otherwise.

³ Citations of Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* are taken from E. C. Marchant (ed.), *Xenophontis Opera Omnia* 2² (Oxford 1971).

were scarcely American productions at all, depending largely on the London financial futures’ market and huge sums of money from Scottish, English, Dutch, and German investors for the purchase of land, livestock, fencing, and fodder. During the 1870s and 1880s, these foreign investors were so feared that American state and territorial legislatures even passed laws circumscribing their influence, to little lasting effect. Inasmuch as foreign capital created the cattle kingdoms, it also facilitated their early demise. Raising stock on the prairie was so dependent on the international economy, in the form of continued foreign investment and consumption, that it had no protection from the crushing depressions of the late 1870s and early 1880s. Once the influx of foreign capital slowed, the animals died in the fields through overgrazing, or at the stockyards, for want of a market.⁴

Such a dramatic example from frontier America serves to illustrate the extent to which animal production can be connected to specific political and social variables, how very much tied to a specific time and place. In much the same ways as King Cattle of the American West was a phenomenon of the 1870s financial futures’ market, the elite production of cattle, goats, and pigs in democratic Athens was a feature of the state-sponsored sacrifice market of the late-fifth and fourth centuries BCE. The infrastructure that makes animal production systems possible—specialized markets, systems of landholding, investment by elites, state involvement—is a unique cultural construct. Consequently, largely because of these highly visible cultural characteristics, we should speak about systems of animal husbandry as discrete, historical and regional entities, differing from each other in significant and observable ways. Unfortunately, social and economic historians of ancient Greece have treated ancient Greek animal husbandry as a uniform phenomenon, differing only in scale from producer to producer.⁵ Two competing models have evolved, and become entrenched: first, *transhumance*, a system of mobile animal production, in which shepherds drive free ranging herds between lowland and upland pasture for seasonal grazing; and secondly, *agro-pastoralism*, the practice of keeping animals either penned or herded close to the farm base, fed on the residues of arable farming, and/or restrictively grazed on fallow and specially

⁴ R. G. Kennedy, *Rediscovering America* (Boston 1990) 188f.

⁵ S. Hodkinson, “Animal Husbandry in the Greek Polis,” in C. R. Whittaker (ed.), *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge 1988) 35-74; J. E. Skydsgaard, “Transhumance in Ancient Greece,” in Whittaker [above, this note] 75-86. Even recent work such as C. Chandezon, *L’élevage en Grèce (fin V^e–fin I^{er} s. a. C.)* (Bordeaux 2003) and L. Calder, *Cruelty and Sentimentality: Greek Attitudes to Animals, 600-300 BC* (Oxford 2011), which are fairly sensitive to cultural nuance, largely ignore the role of social values in shaping management strategies.

planted fodder.⁶ Troubled by the transhumance/agro-pastoralist stalemate, Forbes urges that attention should not only continue to be centered on management typologies, but also shifted to elite production and the role of animals in the wealth-generating activities of the elite.⁷ This study takes up Forbes' challenge, arguing that different individual elites devised unique ways, methods, and goals for keeping animals to meet local social, political, and economic agendas.⁸

While modern animal production strategies are easily observable—and even those of the recent past, such as King Cattle, are well documented—ancient strategies are rarely discussed or downright confusing in the literary sources. For example, Homer alludes to transhumance *and* fixed-based grazing;⁹ while Hesiod and Xenophon, whose *Opera et Dies* and *Oeconomicus* concern the rural lifestyle and might be expected to explain animal management strategies, devote only minimal attention to the technical aspects of agriculture or animal husbandry in general. Witness Hesiod's overview of draft animals, oxen, and mules as being useful for arable farming (*Op.* 405, 436, 606). Elsewhere, Hesiod makes equally brief mention of sheep, goats and cattle around the farm, freezing from the winter cold, and even lists certain "Days" that are related to animal husbandry: when the ram, boar, and bull should be

⁶ For transhumance, see S. Georgoudi, "Quelque problèmes de la transhumance dans la Grèce ancienne," *REG* 87 (1974) 155-85; Skydsgaard [5] 75-86; S. Isager and J. E. Skydsgaard, *Ancient Greek Agriculture: An Introduction* (London 1992) 99-101. For agro-pastoralism, see P. Halstead, "Traditional and Ancient Rural Economy in Mediterranean Europe: Plus Ça Change?", *JHS* 107.1 (1987) 77-87; "Present to Past in the Pindhos: Diversification and Specialization in Mountain Economies," *RStudLig* 56 (1990) 61-80; "Pastoralism or Household Herding? Problems of Scale and Specialization in Early Greek Animal Husbandry," *World Archaeology* 28 (1996) 20-42; Hodkinson [5] 35-74.

⁷ H. A. Forbes, "The Identification of Pastoralist Sites within the Context of Estate-Based Agriculture in Ancient Greece: Beyond the "Transhumance versus Agro-Pastoralism" Debate," *ABSA* 90 (1995) 325-38.

⁸ S. Hodkinson, "Politics as a Determinant of Pastoralism: the Case of Southern Greece, Ca. 800-300 BC," *RStudLig* 56 (1990) 139-63, also argues that more attention be paid to political and social systems as significant factors in shaping animal management systems.

⁹ For mountain grazing, see, e.g., Hom. *Il.* 2.749, 5.315, 12.301, 16.352, 18.598, 21.448. For winter pasturage in the lowlands, see, e.g., 17.549f. Homer often pictures these flocks accompanied by their doughty shepherds (13.492, 16.353, 11.106; *Od.* 4.413, 15.386, 24.112). The poet even tells about sheepdogs (*Il.* 10.183); and he painstakingly describes the many pens, shelters and corrals necessary for protecting the animals at night and during times of bad weather: e.g., for upland pastures and their equipment, see 18.588, cf. 8.131. For fixed grazing, see, e.g., 2.775, 15.630-32, 20.221f. In the marshy areas of the mainland, across from the Isle of Ithaca, Odysseus' herdsmen grazed his twelve herds of cattle, twelve flocks of sheep, and twelve droves of pigs, while only on rocky Ithaca itself did the hero keep his twelve herds of goats (*Od.* 14.99-104).

castrated (786); when the sheep should be sheared (775); and when a heifer should be sacrificed (590). Therefore, we see that domesticated animals do have a place on Hesiod’s farm, but for whatever reason Hesiod simply does not wish to elaborate on how such animals are produced. Indeed, Hesiod does not even describe the pens and corrals in which the draft animals are housed on his farm, nor the infrastructure for grazing sheep in the mountain pastures. This silence is especially puzzling, since herding sheep on the slopes of Helikon played an important role in Hesiod’s life, bringing him into contact with the Muses and starting him on his career as a poet (*Theog.* 22; cf. Paus. 9.31.2 comments on the sheep and goat pastures of Helikon). Xenophon is even less helpful than Hesiod. Yet animals must be present on Ischomachos’ farm, for Xenophon’s Socrates argues that the skill of animal production (προβατευτική τέχνη) is closely linked with arable farming (γεωργία), and is necessary for the production of sacrificial victims (*Oec.* 5.3.5).¹⁰ It is perhaps due to this lack of detail that modern studies have overlooked the geographical diversity of animal production, and instead come to view animal management in such paradigms as transhumance and agro-pastoralism.

Only Aristotle’s *Historia Animalium*, which has been largely overlooked by historians of animal husbandry, offers a rich, nuanced, at times even technical, discussion of animal production. For this reason, *Historia Animalium* is a good starting point not only for constructing a more balanced understanding of animal management but also for assessing the general state of Greek practical and theoretical knowledge about keeping animals during the classical period. But before discussing each species, it is necessary to draw attention to some general characteristics of *Historia Animalium*. First, Aristotle’s main purpose is not to describe animal husbandry as such, but rather to present a taxonomic classification and description of all living animals according to their similar characteristics.¹¹ Secondly, Aristotle has a gift for banal observation. In his discussion of cattle, for example, he knowingly advises that larger species require more extensive pastures (*Hist. An.* 522b20). Yet behind such obvious points lay a certain depth: the ancients understood the differences in land use in

¹⁰ But perhaps not to the degree that Hodkinson [5] 35-40 would have it. Ischomachus does not save the stubble after harvest so that his animals can graze it. Instead, he has it burned. Further, Ischomachus does not graze the fallow, instead having it plowed and dug by slaves (*Xen. Oec.* 16.10-15).

¹¹ Consequently, Aristotle divides domestic animals into two main categories: those living in herds, and those living in close connection to man. Horses, sheep, goats, and cattle are examples of the former, while the dog and the pig are noteworthy of the latter. In fact, the herds of Epirus roam so far from the settlements of men that the bulls were not seen for three months at a time (*Hist. An.* 572b20).

terms of carrying capacity and individual species' unique needs.¹² While most of Aristotle's statements, obvious or otherwise, are useful in some respect, a small number are painfully naïve and representative of folk tradition, such as his assertion that if sheep mate when the wind blows from the north, the offspring will be male, when the wind blows from the south, female (574a).¹³

We begin our survey of Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* with sheep, goats, and cattle, since these were essential to ancient social, religious, and economic life as sources of sacrifice, meat, hides, hair, and wool. These ruminants are grass eaters (ποηφάγα, *Hist. An.* 596a14), and Aristotle observes that they need a good deal of open range (596a14). Sheep graze the pasture intensively, eating the grass and shrubs down to the ground (596a15); goats move around quickly and trim only the new shoots of the plants (596a16); and cattle must have rich, well-watered grazing in order to thrive (575b4).¹⁴ Hence, goats require more land than sheep but are less destructive to the plants, while cattle require irrigated land or supplemental feeding. And supplemental feeding seems to be a necessity for all three, at least for meat production; the philosopher preferred to eat animals that had been fattened in a controlled setting with the cereal residues, olive shoots, wild olive branches, vetch, grape pressings, and other types of vegetal byproducts (595b-596a).¹⁵ While Aristotle lists many feeding strategies, the most important is salt additives. At the end of summer, probably to fatten for fall festivals, stockmen give their young charges salt every five

¹² Perhaps equally banal is Aristotle's statement that all quadrupeds produce milk, but some produce more than is required for nourishing the offspring and this is used for cheese-making (*Hist. An.* 522a25-30). Yet even this observation tells us that the Greeks made cheese from the milk of certain domestic animals. In the same section, Aristotle also makes some comments on the relative values of cheeses: the best is sheep's milk, next goats', then cows'. One *amphoreus* of goats' milk yields nineteen *obol*-cheeses, while the same amount of cows' milk thirty *obol*-cheeses. A. L. Peck and D. M. Balme (edd. and trr.), *Aristotle: Historia Animalium* (Cambridge, Mass. 1970) 1.239 suggests that *obol* here refers to the price of the cheese rather than to its weight or shape.

¹³ Modern stockmen are not immune to this sort of folklore. All have different techniques, often passed down through families, for ensuring twins and triplets among sheep, or males among cattle.

¹⁴ Unlike herd animals, Aristotle advises that swine should live in close conjunction with humans, and are most efficiently raised on human refuse (*Hist. An.* 596a16f.), though they can be quickly fattened for market with barley, millet, figs, acorns, wild pears, and cucumbers (596a18-596b1).

¹⁵ But there is a risk that sheep can become too fat through overfeeding. At Leontini and on Sicily, the shepherds do not turn out the sheep to the pastures until late in the evening, in an effort to reduce the amount they eat (*Arist. Hist. An.* 520b1-3). Aristotle, it seems, can be sensitive to regional variations in animal production, but he mentions such differences rarely, and then only as extreme illustrations.

days at the rate of one *medimnos* for one hundred animals (596a10-24). Although this technique does not result in actual meat production, it does dramatically increase water gain, which gives the impression of a fat, healthy animal; indeed, this may even be a means to maintain health through water retention over the long drive from feedlot to market during the hot temperatures of late summer.¹⁶

Sheep, goats, and cattle are dependent animals, needing constant care, attendance, and a certain amount of protection from bad weather. According to Aristotle, they often leave their shelters in wintry weather and must be rounded up by their tenders.¹⁷ In order to make the roundup of sheep easier, shepherds regularly train a castrated ram, while it is quite young, to lead the others of the flock (*Hist. An.* 573b25-27). Goats, however, were not trained to follow a leader, because they are more individualistic in their grazing; and cattle tended to stay in herds with no designated leader (574a11, 611a7-9). The shepherds also trained their sheep and goats to become accustomed to sudden noises, so that they would not become unduly frightened by a thunderstorm and consequently miscarry if pregnant (611a4f.).¹⁸ Such was the devotion of shepherds to their flocks that at night they even slept in the shelters with their animals in order to protect them from cold and predators (610b30f.).¹⁹

Unlike animals used for human consumption, horses, mules and asses are not fattened. Consequently, Aristotle recommends that they graze in large herds, out on open pasture and with only the young taken for training and sale (*Hist. An.* 611a10-15). In order to ensure a good strong animal, however, the horseman should plant and maintain alfalfa, since it makes horses sleek and strong (596b23-29). For best results, equines are kept in large herds, and special horse-trainers (ἵπποφορβοί, 577a15-17) are employed to maintain the herds, and to separate out young animals when their time comes for training. Unlike

¹⁶ My father, a professional stockman, knew a rancher who always fed his cattle a grain and salt mixture a few hours before taking them to market. This man firmly believed that the salt-induced water retention increased their weight and thus raised his profit margin. He also left the mud on his cattle, also in an effort to increase weight. Many ranchers in the western USA also feed their animals salt, so they will take up extra water and thus fare better during the long, hot ride from pasture, or feedlot, to market.

¹⁷ Sheep and goats seldom know what is in their best interest. On my parents' ranch, our sheep would often break out of their barns, pushing the doors off their hinges, only to stand for hours, cold and miserable in the rain and snow.

¹⁸ This is a real fear among stockmen. From my own experiences herding sheep, I can recall losing lambs on at least three separate occasions where loud noises such as thunder or gunshot caused pregnant ewes to miscarry, resulting in the deaths of their lambs.

¹⁹ Woolly sheep do not winter as well as the broad-tailed variety (Arist. *Hist. An.* 596a25-596b8).

shepherds or cowherds, horse-trainers do not choose a leader for the herd, nor manage the herd too much; yet the trainers do supervise their charges, making sure that their herds are healthy and manageable, forty individuals or less under a dominant stallion (*Hist. An.* 572b10, 577a15-18).²⁰

While Aristotle provides more technical information than Hesiod or Xenophon, and offers a useful point of departure for a full view of animal production in terms of general practice and ideal goals, he (like many modern scholars) is only concerned with production of animals in a taxonomic sense. In order to grasp the methods and scope of animal management strategies, as practiced during the classical period, we need to explore the interaction of variables such as landscape, fodder, market demand, and socio-political systems. Consequently, we turn to the two best-studied *poleis*, Sparta and Athens, and contrast them with the *ethne* of Thessaly and Arcadia.

Athens

ἀρχαῖον δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸ πολεμεῖν τοῖς λύκοις, βελτίονα νέμειν ἢ γεωργεῖν χώραν ἔχουσι.

(Plut. *Sol.* 23.4.4)²¹

Now the Athenians of old fought the wolves, since their country was better for grazing than farming.

The Athenians were given a land better for grazing than farming, as Plutarch says; and fortunes could be made in both (Bacchyl. 18.9). In his typology of wealthy Athenians, Xenophon ranks sheep ranchers equally with wine, oil, and grain farmers (*Vect.* 5.3).²² And the value of Athenian sheep derived from their high quality wool; Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, was so impressed with Attic wool that he wanted to import Athenian animals for crossbreeding with Milesian sheep, in an attempt to improve his own herds and thereby to compete with, or perhaps surpass, the Athenians (Ath. 12.540d).²³ Indeed, by the Roman period, all knew the quality of Attic wool: . . . τίνα τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐρίων ἄλλ' ἐστὶ μαλακώτερα . . . ; (“what other wool is softer than Attic?”, 5.219a

²⁰ The ass is raised much like the horse, but lives on less feed. Aristotle also includes much technical data about the proper crossbreeding of horses and asses to produce draft mules (*Hist. An.* 572a12, 572b11, 576a2, 577b5-78a4).

²¹ Citation of Plutarch, *Solon* is taken from K. Sintenis, *Plutarchi Vitae Parallelae* 1 (Leipzig 1906). Translation of Plutarch, *Solon* is that of B. Perrin (ed and tr.), *Plutarch's Lives* 1 (Cambridge, Mass. 1914).

²² Lysicles “the sheep dealer,” a contemporary of Pericles, may have been a sheep rancher (Ar. *Eq.* 132, cf. 739).

²³ Wool is listed as a particular product of Athens by Antiphanes, a fourth century BCE playwright (Ath. 2.43c).

[*Epig. Gr.* 5.60.16f.]) is recorded by Athenaeus as a most foolish question. But in addition to wool, the Athenians also exploited their sheep for cheese, and Athens was famous for its fresh cheese market, frequented during the fifth century BCE by men from outlying areas as far away as Plataea (*Lys.* 23.6).²⁴

The Attic orators provide some clues concerning the practical management of these sheep. [Demosthenes] describes a herd of fifty fine-fleeced animals, supervised by both a herdsman and assistant, which were stolen by rustlers, while pastured out, away from the cultivated farmland (47.52f.).²⁵ That the speaker identifies them as wool breeds, that such a small flock has two shepherds, and the fact that they were stolen, suggests that these were valuable animals. But such care is not unique—wool sheep in Attica and the Megarid usually wore leather coverings, or “jackets,” in order to protect their wool from dirt and the elements, and thus to ensure a better price at market (*Diog. Laert.* 6.41).

The orator Isaeus shows the other main concern of Athenian husbandry, goat production. He describes the affairs of Euctemon, who owned a herd of goats which, together with their herdsman, was valued at 1300 drachmas (*Isae.* 6.33), a not inconsiderable portion of an estate worth three talents. While the speaker of *Isaeus* 6 does not tell us the number of goats, or even the reasons for which they were kept, he does suggest that they provided to their owner a ready income with which to engage in important public duties such as liturgies. It is likely that Euctemon was selling off young animals for the sacrificial/meat market, and thus engaged primarily in meat and hide (perhaps also cheese)

²⁴ It is probable that men in rural areas like Plataea raised the sheep that produced the cheese sold at this market. Such a practice would certainly account for Plataean interest in the Athenian cheese market. Cf. *Ar. Eq.* 479f., where Athenians are selling cheese as far afield as Boeotia.

²⁵ It seems clear that these sheep were grazing under supervision, perhaps on the nearby hillsides, just as Aristotle recommends (*Hist. An.* 596b3-4); and were only loosely connected to the farm at the time when they were seized, because as [Demosthenes] carefully observes, the animals were taken *before* the rustlers could trespass on the plaintiff’s land, as Isager and Skydsgaard [6] 102 argue (47.52f.). Hodkinson [5] 38f. argues the opposite, that the owner of the fifty sheep was engaging in mixed, agro-pastoralist strategies (i.e., housing his animals in stalls at night, and supplementing their grazing with agricultural byproducts), since the sheep were grazing in close proximity to the owner’s farm when stolen. These two views are not mutually exclusive. At the time of the crime, the sheep are disconnected from the main agricultural base; but whether this is usual or part of some complex strategy is unknowable, for the speaker of [Dem.] 47 is not really concerned with how the sheep were raised. Instead, he concentrates on his main theme: the fact that the sheep and their shepherds had been taken by force, against their owner’s will, by his creditors.

production.²⁶ The Athenian demand for sacrificial animals was so great in the fourth century BCE that it effectively created its own market: 6528 oxen and 15186 sheep/goats were the minimum numbers of animals required yearly for both the deme sacrifices and the *epithetoi heortai* (the large state-sponsored sacrifices of the late-fifth and fourth centuries BCE).²⁷ And Euctemon was not alone in recognizing the potential of this market. A miller named Nausicydes invested the money earned from his mill in a large herd of pigs and cattle. The income derived from selling the animals was so great that Nausicydes was able to support his family, and even to undertake expensive liturgies (Xen. *Mem.* 2.7.6).²⁸ The wealth-generation potential of animal production, and the social power of the liturgies it could buy, seems to be the crux of Demosthenes' complaint when Philip of Macedon rewarded several non-elite Athenian ambassadors with a number of sheep, cattle, goats, and horses (Dem. 19.265).²⁹ Because of their animal wealth, and the opportunities that it gave them, these men were able to become leaders of the *polis*, honored and even envied.³⁰ During the classical period, state sacrificial demand created an artificial situation in which large profits could be made by selling sacrificial victims, profits large enough to entice even wealthy citizens like Nausicydes to invest in animal production.

While the forensic sources do not always specify how these animals were raised, a great deal can be inferred from how the animals themselves were described. The sheep and goats in the above examples are all treated separately, as herds, usually together with their shepherds, rather than as part of a working

²⁶ S. Hodkinson, "Imperialist Democracy and Market-Oriented Pastoral Production in Classical Athens," *Anthropozoologica* 16 (1992) 53-61. These goats were just one of Euctemon's many sources of income; he also rented out both city and farm property (Isae. 6.33).

²⁷ V. J. Rosivach, *The System of Public Sacrifice in Fourth-Century Athens* (Atlanta 1994) 78, n. 27. In the fourth century BCE, Attica experienced the highest level of intensive farming coupled with animal production, largely because of the sacrificial market. This was abandoned abruptly at the end of the century; and less intensive methods, such as transhumance, took its place. For discussion, see H. Lohmann, "Agriculture and Country Life in Classical Attica," in B. Wells (ed.), *Agriculture in Ancient Greece* (Stockholm 1992) 29-57.

²⁸ Cf. J. McNerney, *Cattle of the Sun: Cows and Culture in the World of the Ancient Greeks* (Princeton 2010) 181, who offers a different interpretation by arguing that Nausicydes made his wealth by other means and invested the profits as a kind of hobby.

²⁹ Isaeus probably describes the size of a typical elite holding: sixty sheep, 100 goats, and a cavalry horse (11.40-43).

³⁰ Plato, like Demosthenes, criticizes those who make great profits by fattening castrated animals for the sacrificial meat market (*Leg.* 743d). J. K. Davies, *Wealth and the Power of Wealth in Classical Athens* (Oxford 1971) discusses the social power that liturgies can buy.

farm.³¹ Recent archaeological evidence from the Attic countryside seems to support such conclusions about semi-mobile herds of sheep and goats, grazing marginal pastures at some distance from the main agricultural base. The remote buildings and tower constructions scattered across the Attic countryside seem to have served as herding stations, complete will corral compounds, to provide nighttime protection.³² The Athenians would have sent their flocks into the hills for extended periods of time in order to exploit the grazing that these areas offered. The well-pastured mountains near the borders of Boeotia and especially the Megarid are thick with such pastoralist sites.³³

Nonetheless, the degree of mobility would have depended on the resources that the individual owner could control, and on the number of animals that he owned. The property boundary stones and rupestral inscriptions found in the Attic countryside suggest that many Athenians protected grazing in otherwise predominantly agricultural regions. These ὄποι boundary stones are usually found along the steep ridges that separate one farm from another. As such they are in plain sight to those who approach the crest of the ridge and, as Stanton puts it, they seem to be saying “Don’t bring your sheep or goats over here.”³⁴ Perhaps, if an owner could control the hillsides around his farm, he

³¹ The sheep and goats mentioned in the Attic *stelai* were also listed in this fashion (IG 1³ 426.58f.). The sixty-seven goats and eighty-four sheep are registered with their young, separate from other property.

³² The Cyclops in Euripides’ *Cyclops* grazed his animals on the slopes by day, but penned them each night (9.216-39). This seems to have been the practice in Southern Attica, with animals kept close to farm complexes. In the northwest, though, herding stations tended to be remote, removed from cultivated areas and devoted primarily to animal production. For a discussion of the debate surrounding the use of towers in southern Attica, see R. Osborne, “‘Is it a Farm?’ The Definition of Agricultural Sites and Settlements in Ancient Greece,” in Wells [27] 21-28; Lohmann [27] 29-47. For northwestern Attica and the Megarid, see H. Lohmann, “Antike Hirten in Westkleinasien und der Megaris: Zur Archäologie der mediterranen Weidewirtschaft,” in W. Eder and K.-J. Hölkeskamp (edd.), *Volk und Verfassung im vorhellenistischen Griechenland* (Stuttgart 1997) 63-88.

³³ Thucydides observes that the border between Attica and Boeotia at Panacton was a recognized grazing ground from ancient times (5.42). Lohmann [31] 75 adds that the ancient Megarid may have been even more “pastoral” than Attica; and longer distance movements, which exploited seasonal grazing, more the norm in that area. Clearly, Megara was an important sheep-producing region. In antiquity, the area boasted an important sanctuary to Demeter the Sheepbringer, and was known for its quality woolens (Ar. *Ach.* 519; Xen. *Mem.* 2.7.6); see R. P. Legon, *Megara: The Political History of a Greek City-State to 336 BC* (Ithaca 1981); E. Mantzoulinou-Richards, “Demeter Malophoros: The Divine Sheep-Bringer,” *AncW* 13 (1986) 15-22.

³⁴ G. R. Stanton, “Some Attic Inscriptions,” *ABSA* 79 (1984) 289-306 suggests that these ὄποι protected deme land. He observes that two in particular seem to mark the boundary between coastal Lamptrai and upper Lamptrai. As a result, these particular ὄποι probably

might not need to lease pasture or to move his animals farther from his agricultural base.³⁵

Controlling land is essential to large-scale, elite animal production; and at Athens, as elsewhere in Greece, socio-political conventions affected the amount of land that a man could control. At least from the time of Solon, Athenian landholding was a complicated affair, with all citizens having potential access to land, and most owning at least one plot, albeit small.³⁶ As a result, because of inheritance and other social factors, the Attic landscape became subdivided over time to a degree seldom seen elsewhere in the Greek world, consisting of an intricate patchwork of small, individually owned parcels.³⁷ This hodgepodge character is best illustrated by the property liens discussed by Finley in his classic study of Athenian credit and landholding and the Attic *stelai* or lists of property confiscated from those who mutilated the herms and profaned the Mysteries with Alcibiades in 415 BCE (*IG* 1³ 426).³⁸ Such a fragmented system of land tenure and land use certainly had an effect on the number of animals that Athenians could keep in any one place. Consequently, one sees individual flocks not much larger than fifty sheep, about the amount that one shepherd (or a shepherd and his assistant, if they were especially valued) could reasonably herd. In practice, wealthy Athenians may well have kept many such herds of sheep on their scattered properties, but they could not have grazed larger herds on individual holdings. Only in the border areas, or on the uninhabited slopes of the larger mountains such as Pentelicon, Hymettus, or Parnes, where Lohmann identified the large herding stations, might several herds be kept.³⁹

defined areas of public grazing leased out by the demes, not lands held by private citizens. See also J. Krasilnikoff, "Marginal Land, Its Boundaries, and the Rupestral Horoi of Attica," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 61 (2010) 49-69.

³⁵ For a general discussion of leased land, see D. M. Lewis, "The Athenian *Rationes Centesimarum*," in M. I. Finley (ed.), *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne* (Paris 1973) 187-212; R. Osborne, *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika* (Cambridge 1985) 56-59; and J. Krasilnikoff, "Attic ΦΕΛΛΕΥΣ: Some Observations on Marginal Land and Rural Strategies in the Classical Period," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 167 (2008) 37-49.

³⁶ T. W. Gallant, *Risk and Survival in Ancient Greece: Reconstructing the Rural Domestic Economy* (Palo Alto 1991) 128f.; V. D. Hanson, *The Other Greeks: The Family Farm and the Agrarian Roots of Western Civilization*² (Berkeley 1999) 125-76.

³⁷ R. Osborne [35] 47-63; Wells [27]; N. F. Jones, *Rural Athens Under the Democracy* (Philadelphia 2004) 17-47.

³⁸ M. I. Finley, *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens, 500-200 BC: The Horos-Inscriptions* (New Brunswick 1952).

³⁹ Lohmann [27] 32-57. Perhaps it is significant that Euctemon, the owner of 1300 drachmas worth of goats, had property on the slopes of Pentelicon (Isae. 6.33).

Inasmuch as Athenian practices of landholding profoundly affected the ways in which flocks were managed in Attica, climate and geography must also have played a role, if only in limiting the types of animals that the Athenians could raise. Since Attica is one of the driest regions of mainland Greece, with very little wetland pasture, large animals such as cattle and horses, which require abundant fodder and water, would not prosper, and certainly would not survive in the big herds suggested by Aristotle (*Hist. An.* 596a).⁴⁰ As a result, Attica is goat and sheep country, with the larger animals kept only in small numbers (Plut. *Sol.* 23.4). The Attic *stelai* reflect this reality: the estate of Panaetius contained only two draft oxen, two unspecified oxen, four cows with an unknown number of calves, sixty-seven goats and eighty-four sheep, together with an unregistered number of offspring (*IG* 1³ 426.58-75). This lack of large animals in Attica may explain why Solon forbade the sacrifice of oxen at funeral feasts; and why, in the Athenian sacrificial calendar, sheep were regularly substituted in the place of oxen (Plut. *Sol.* 21).⁴¹

As for horses, although a cavalryman and horse-racer like Xenophon advises against home production (*Oec.* 3.10), Athenians did retain some horses; though never in large herds, for members of the Athenian cavalry on active duty were required to maintain their horses on their own land (about 700 to 1200 horses in total, excepting replacements). Stratocles, the man who profited from his niece’s dowry, kept a cavalry horse (Isae. 11.40-43). He could afford to do this because the state supplemented cavalry fodder expenses by providing a cash advance to each horseman for the purchase of grain.⁴² This grain supplement substantially reduced the amount of grazing land an owner might need, and thus allowed Athenians to keep horses in their pasture-poor environment. Here again

⁴⁰ R. Osborne, *Classical Landscape with Figures* (London 1987); P. D. A. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge 1988) 89-106. It is telling that Thucydides lists only draught animals and sheep when describing the livestock that the Athenians evacuated to Euboea during the Peloponnesian War (2.14.1). For discussion of the wartime evacuation and its effect on agricultural production, see V. D. Hanson, *Warfare and Agriculture in Classical Greece*² (Berkeley 1998). The lease inscriptions from demes and rural sanctuaries seem to support a shortage of animals in the classical period: e.g., *IG* 2² 493 expressly prohibits the taking of manure from the lease land, suggesting a general shortage of manure at the time. See Osborne [32] 21-28 for further discussion.

⁴¹ For a discussion of the sacrificial calendar at Athens, see S. Dow, “The Greater Demarkhia of Erkhia,” *BCH* 89 (1965) 180-213. Rosivach [27] 9-67 suggests that these substitutions were even more common than Dow suggests.

⁴² I. G. Spence, *The Cavalry of Classical Greece: Social and Military History with Particular Reference to Athens* (Oxford 1993) 272-86 argues that each cavalryman was given what his particular horse might cost, up to 1200 drachmas; cf. G. R. Bugh, *The Horsemen of Athens* (Princeton 1988) 53-58, 66-70, who suggests that each cavalryman received a set fee of 1200 drachmas.

we see social institutions creating an opportunity for animal production where environment would have discouraged it.

In the end, we can conclude that the Athenians were primarily sheep and goat producers. Their strategies, shaped by local systems of landholding, practical ecology, the sacrificial market and concomitant elite need for wealth in order to fulfill their competitive liturgical obligations, seem to have been particularly varied. Perhaps the oath of the Furies, from Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, best summarizes the agricultural cares of the Athenians:

φλογμοὺς ὀμματοστερεῖς φυτῶν, τὸ
μὴ περᾶν ὄρον τόπων,
μηδ' ἄκαρπος αἰα-
νὴς ἐφερπέτω νόσος,
μῆλ' αὖτ' εὐθenoῦντα Πᾶν
ξὺν διπλοῖσιν ἐμβρύοις
τρέφοι χρόνῳ τεταγμένῳ.

(Aesch. *Eum.* 939-45)⁴³

May leaf-destroying ruin not blow
(I speak graciously)
its blasts of heat, stealing buds from plants,
lest they pass the border in these places;
may no deadly plague draw near to kill the crops;
may Pan at the appointed time
nurture the thriving flocks with twin offspring.

Sparta

τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εἰ ἐθέλεις <εἰς> τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων πλούτους ἰδεῖν,
γνώσῃ ὅτι πολὺ τὰνθάδε τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐλλείπει· γῆν μὲν γὰρ ὅσῃν ἔχουσιν
τῆς θ' ἐαυτῶν καὶ Μεσσήνης, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἀμφισβητήσῃε τῶν τῇδε πλήθει
οὐδ' ἀρετῇ, οὐδ' αὖ ἀνδραπόδων κτήσῃ . . . οὐδὲ μὲν ἵππων γε, οὐδ' ὅσα
ἄλλα βοσκήματα κατὰ Μεσσήνην νέμεται.

(Pl. *Alc.* 1.122d3-8)⁴⁴

You have only to look at the wealth of the Spartans and you will see that wealth here is far inferior to the wealth there. Think of all the land they have both in their own country and in Messenia, not one of our [Athenian] estates could even compete with theirs in extent and excellence, nor in ownership of slaves and especially of those from the helot class, . . . nor yet of horses, nor of all the flocks that graze in Messenia.

⁴³ Citation of Aeschylus, *Eumenides* is taken from G. Murray (ed.), *Aeschyli Tragoediae*² (Oxford 1960).

⁴⁴ Citation of Plato, *Alcibiades Major* is taken from J. Burnet (ed.), *Platonis Opera* 2 (Oxford 1967).

Spartan animal management strategies differed greatly from those of the Athenians, mostly because of Spartan social institutions. At Sparta, a narrowly defined elite controlled all property and resources (Arist. *Pol.* 1270a15-b6).⁴⁵ In addition, the well-watered river valleys of Laconia and Messenia, in contrast to the dry plains of Attica, enabled the Spartans to keep horses and cattle on a scale simply not possible at Athens.⁴⁶ Euripides, for example, speaks eloquently about the resources and gentle climate of the region:

. . . κατάρρυτόν τε μυρίοισι νάμασι, καὶ βουσὶ καὶ ποίμναισιν
εὐβοτωτάτην οὐτ’ ἐν πνοαῖσι χείματος δυσχείμερον, οὐτ’ αὖ τεθρίπποις
ἡλίου θερμὴν ἄγαν.

(Eur. [*ap.* Str. *Geog.* 8.5.6]⁴⁷)

Watered by countless streams, furnished with good pasture for both cattle and sheep, being neither very wintry in the blasts of wind, nor yet made too hot by the chariots of Helios.

Consequently, because of the unique social, political, and environmental characteristics of Sparta, large estates and large herds (rather than a patchwork of small units) dominated the Spartan landscape.⁴⁸ The Spartans also had a compelling social market for meat and other pastoral products. The public mess, to which every Spartiate must contribute (or lose his citizenship) seems to have served much the same role as liturgies in Athens, providing the wealthier Spartiates with a competitive forum in which to demonstrate the calibre of their wealth, through gifts of meat and cheese (Ath. 4.139c, 140c-e, 141e).⁴⁹

The Spartans also competed in horse production and had demonstrated a passion and no small skill for chariot racing; between the years 448-420 BCE, a Spartan won the four-horse race in seven out of eight Olympiads. Aside from raising animals for competition, Xenophon tells us that each Spartan was expected to provide his own horses for the cavalry forces, though in practice the

⁴⁵ For a discussion of the Spartan system of landholding, see S. Hodkinson, “Land Tenure and Inheritance in Classical Sparta,” *CQ* 36 (1986) 378-406.

⁴⁶ Homer praises the green meadows of Laconia and Messenia (*Il* 3.74, 4.530; *Od.* 4.602-04).

⁴⁷ Citation of Euripides *ap.* Strabo, *Geographica* is taken from A. Meineke (ed.), *Strabonis Geographica* 1-3 (Graz 1969).

⁴⁸ Xenophon’s comments about his estate at Scillus in Elis, which he dedicates to Artemis, suggest that this sort of large estate (in which agricultural land as well as pasture was individually owned) was not uncommon in the southern and western Peloponnese (*An.* 5.6.4). For the vast numbers of sheep and cattle in Elis, see Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.26; cf. Theoc. 25; Hom. *Il.* 9.707-23, 9.739-47, 11.671-80, 23.202f.

⁴⁹ See S. Hodkinson, “Social Order and the Conflict of Values in Classical Sparta,” *Chiron* 13 (1983) 239-81.

wealthier Spartiates often loaned out horses to their less wealthy peers as a way of creating social obligations (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.10f., 6.4.11; *Lac.* 6.3; Arist. *Pol.* 1263a35f.). Indeed, the Spartans were so successful at, and famous for, their horse production that in the hellenistic period they even exported animals to the Ptolemaic kingdom of Egypt (Polyb. 5.37). While the literary sources do not provide a clear picture of how these horses were raised, it is probable that the Spartans kept herds much as Aristotle describes, on the well-watered pastures of their estates, complete with helot grooms and trainers (*Hist. An.* 577a15-17).⁵⁰

Apart from their horses, the Spartiates were also famous for their cattle (Str. *Geog.* 8.5.6). In fact, King Agesilaus II took such pride in his herds that he presented each new member of the Gerousia with an unblemished ox when they entered office (Plut. *Ages.* 4.3). The Spartans also seem to have possessed smaller animals in abundance, raised primarily in large herds. In particular, Plato's Alcibiades contrasts the numerous flocks and the large estates of Messenia with the smaller scale of Athenian herds and lands (1.122d-e). Yet, as with Athens, the degree of integration between arable farming and animal husbandry remains elusive; though the well-described estate of Xenophon at Scillus in Elis may offer a useful context against which to evaluate the Spartan evidence, since Scillus seems to echo the rich estates described by Plato's Alcibiades. Xenophon tells us that the grazing resources of Scillus were so abundant that the visitors to the local festival of Ephesian Artemis (whose shrine and festival Xenophon established and continued to support) could even pasture their sacrificial livestock and beasts of burden while attending the ceremonies; the meadows and tree-clad hillsides were excellent for raising pigs, goats, cattle, and horses (*An.* 5.3.11f.). The overall impression given by Xenophon is that all types of animals were raised at Scillus in large quantities, each in its own distinct enclave, seemingly independent from arable farming.⁵¹

Although the Spartan estates may well have possessed all the grazing and fodder resources necessary for onsite animal production, some form of seasonal movements were employed for sheep and goats. Indeed, a dispute over mountain grazing seems to have precipitated the First Messenian War, the war *ca.* 743-724 BCE, in which Sparta began to subjugate Messenia. The accounts agree that the hostilities began when the Spartans encroached on some borderland near Mount Taygetus; the exact nature of this encroachment is

⁵⁰ E.g., Agesilaus II is said to have stocked his estate with many horses (Xen. *Ages.* 9.1).

⁵¹ Any sort of integration between pastoral and agricultural spheres of production would be minimal—probably even less than Forbes [7] postulated for the Argolid—because Xenophon (and his Spartan friends) was not under the pressure to develop alternate sources of fodder (as were the Athenians and elite producers from drier regions such as Argos). Scillus possessed abundant, year-round grazing. Any supplement to the natural graze would be on an *ad hoc* basis, when there were agricultural byproducts near at hand.

unclear, but all reports agree that the Spartans seized the borderland for their own use and set up a shrine to Artemis of the Wetlands (Tac. *Ann.* 4.43; Paus. 3.7.4, 4.31.3, 4.4.2.). The fact that the Spartans dedicated the land to Artemis of the Wetlands suggests that this area contained springs and pasturage, and that therefore the dispute centered upon access to grazing.⁵²

In the end, the abundant, well-watered plains of Messenia and Laconia, with their large amounts of farming and grazing land, worked by the servile helots, witnessed a greater separation between agriculture and animal husbandry than existed anywhere in Attica. The Spartans had land and labor to spare, with a relatively small landowning class competing for available resources. Indeed, the production of animals for food was a social necessity at Sparta, since all Spartiates had to contribute to the mess, with the wealthier citizens competing to see who might donate the most meat and cheese and thereby gain the most respect.

A Lowland Ethnos: Thessaly

Θεσσαλοῖσι δὲ καλὸν τῷς ἵππων ἐκ τῆς ἀγέλας λαβόντι αὐτῷ δαμάσαι καὶ τῷς ὀρέας βῶν τε λαβόντι αὐτῷ σφάζει καὶ ἐκδεῖραι καὶ κατακόψει, ἐν Σικελίᾳ δὲ αἰσχρὸν καὶ δόλων ἔργα.

(*Dissoi Logoi* 2.11 [= *Dialexeis* fr. 2.19-21])⁵³

To the Thessalians it is seemly for a man to select horses and mules from a herd himself and train them, and also to take one of the cattle and slaughter, skin, and cut it up himself, but in Sicily these tasks are disgraceful and the work of slaves.⁵⁴

The Thessalian elite, like their counterparts in Sparta, controlled large tracts of well-watered land, worked by a dependent population. The one thousand cattle and ten thousand sheep, goats, and swine that Jason, the tyrant of Pherae, collected from his subjects in 370 BCE to offer at a single Pythian festival suggest that Thessalians raised animals on a grand scale. And Jason's sacrifice would have only represented the surplus that each elite producer could give, since the individual owners would need to retain a viable number of animals in order to maintain the health and productivity of their herds, as Xenophon asserts

⁵² Before they had the rich, well-watered Messenian plain, the Spartans may have needed the heights for their sheep. There is no indication, however, that Spartan exploitation of the upland areas diminished after the conquest of Messenia. Fifth- and fourth-century Spartan incursions into areas such as Thyrea suggest that acquisition of grazing land was still a major concern (Hdt. 1.82; cf. *Anth. Pal.* 7.244, 7.431f.; Thuc. 2.27.2; Eur. *El.* 413).

⁵³ Citation of *Dissoi Logoi* is taken from H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* 2 (Berlin 1906-1910).

⁵⁴ Tr. R. K. Sprague, in R. K. Sprague (ed.), *The Older Sophists* (Columbia 1972) 282.

(*Hell.* 6.4.29). When speaking of the abundance of Thessaly, Theocritus recalls the immense herds of the Homeric epics, and even evokes Homeric language when he praises the attendants and cattle of the Scopadai clan and numerous sheep raised by the Creonidai clan (16.34f.). These large, well-tended Thessalian herds seem to be the inspiration behind many discussions in Aristotle's *Historia Animalium*.

And as with Sparta and Athens, social incentives underlay the Thessalian animal production. The *Dissoi Logoi* suggest that the Thessalian elite considered it as a point of honor to be personally involved with animal production. Inasmuch as the social value that the Thessalian elite placed on animal wealth determined the numbers of animals required, the environment of Thessaly shaped the methods of that production. The marshy areas of the Thessalian and Malian plains offered areas of superb grazing, with many regions fit only for animal production, since they lacked the drainage necessary to support grain crops.⁵⁵ Thus, to a greater degree than Greeks elsewhere, the Thessalians could specialize in animal production. It is, then, no surprise that the inhabitants of Thessaly were famous for their large herds of pasture-intensive cattle and horses.⁵⁶ Indeed, Thessalian stud farms bred Alexander the Great's famous horse Bucephalus (*Arr. Anab.* 5.19.4-6), and supplied the chariot horses that carried Orestes to victory at Delphi (*Soph. El.* 703f.).

The Thessalians must have been in Aristotle's mind when he writes of large herds of horses, cattle, and sheep, all supervised by grooms, trainers, shepherds and cowherds (*Hist. An.* 575a30-b4). Yet these animals need not have always been kept off arable land. As Aristotle observes, the ancient Greeks often fattened their animals on agricultural refuse (595a13-b14); and the Thessalians in particular were adept at integrating pastoralism into their other agricultural strategies, employing the practice of tillering, or winter grazing of grain crops, which slowed the maturation of the grains and also substantially increased the yield (*Theophr. Hist. Pl.* 8.7.4).⁵⁷ Consequently, small animals

⁵⁵ Aristophanes speaks about the many cattle grazing in Malis along the river Spercheus (*Ran.* 1384). Conversely, parts of the plain may have been too dry to graze animals, requiring some sort of transhumance. Livy tells of regions particularly affected by seasonal drought (42.57).

⁵⁶ Many authors speak of "well-flocked" Thessaly: Bacchyl. 14b.6; Hom. *Il.* 2.696, 9.446; *Od.* 11.257; Str. *Geog.* 6.5.18. Homer praises the oxen, the horses and the harvest of Thessaly (*Il.* 18.573-76). For sheep and cattle, see Theoc. 16.36-39. H. D. Westlake, *Thessaly in the Fourth Century BC* (London 1935) 4f., observes that the coinage of Larissa in particular bears cattle and sheep motifs. For horses, see *Soph. El.* 703-06; *Eur. Andr.* 1229; *Pl. Leg.* 625d; Theoc. 18.30. For the famous Thessalian cavalry, see *Hdt.* 7.196; *Isoc.* 15.298.

⁵⁷ Thessaly was also famous for its large yields of grain (*Xen. Hell.* 5.4.56f.). Tillering is also known during the Roman era, and was greatly praised (*Cato Agr. Orig.* 30). See

such as sheep and goats grazed the lowland grain fields in winter, in addition to the unfarmed areas, and then moved to the abundant summer pastures in the surrounding high mountains and river basins when the crops began to mature. Cattle and horses, however, while they might have grazed the grain fields in winter, were in all likelihood never far from the lush pastures of cultivated alfalfa or the year-round wetlands.

The Upland Ethne: Arcadia and Central Greece

καί ῥ' ὃ γ' ἐς Ἀρκαδίην πολυτίδακα, μητέρα μήλων . . .

(*Hom. Hymn Pan* 30⁵⁸)

And he [Pan] came to Arcadia, land of many springs and mother of flocks.

As with lowland Thessaly, the mountain dwellers of Phocis, Locris, and Arcadia also possessed the necessary geographical/ecological conditions to develop more specialized forms of pastoralism, less connected to arable agriculture than those of the Athenians or even the Spartans. Because of the general shortage of quality arable land outside of the lowland river valleys, the shorter growing season, and the difficulty of raising the primitive wheats and barleys at the higher elevations,⁵⁹ the upland communities developed pastoral production. The highland meadows offered abundant summer pasturage for sheep and goats, free from the farmer's plough. In fact, the ancient sources are explicit about sheep grazing the high slopes of Parnassus from the earliest times (*Eur. Andr.* 1100f.; *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 303f.; *Hom. Il.* 9.406);⁶⁰ and a recent archaeological survey of modern and ancient settlement in the eparchy of Doris, conducted by Doorn, has suggested that communities with a majority of territory above 1200 meters were dependent primarily upon stockbreeding, while those below 1200 meters,

K. D. White, "Wheat Farming in Roman Times," *Antiquity* 37 (1963) 209; *Roman Farming* (Ithaca 1970) 134.

⁵⁸ Citation of the *Homeric Hymn to Pan* is taken from T. W. Allen *et al.* (edd.), *The Homeric Hymns*² (Oxford 1936).

⁵⁹ The problem is one of growing season. The primitive grains required a longer season than the hybrids of today. P. D. A. Garnsey, "Mountain Economies in Southern Europe: Thoughts on the Early History, Continuity and Individuality of Mediterranean Upland Pastoralism," in C. R. Whittaker (ed.), *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge 1988) 196-209 points out that the growing season falls from 170 days at 1000 meters (Pindos in the Tetrapolis of Doris) to only ninety-five days at 2000 meters (the highland meadows of Parnassos, Kiona and Vardousi); even modern hybrids have trouble growing above 1800 meters. See R. Sallares, *The Ecology of the Ancient Greek World* (Ithaca 1991) 309f.

⁶⁰ All three sources have sheep pasturing on the highlands of Parnassos. The quality of this pasturage is disputed. For differing views, see Hodkinson [5]; Skydsgaard [5].

primarily upon arable and arborial agriculture.⁶¹ These highlanders exchanged wool, cheese, and even the animals themselves, in return for the agricultural produce of their lower neighbors. In fact, Doorn concludes that both lowland and highland communities depended on these periodic exchanges of resources.⁶²

Because of the central importance of animal production among the upland communities, mountain pasturage was a constant source of contention. Witness the early fourth century BCE dispute between the Locrian and Phocian communities around Parnassus. The Oxyrhynchus Historian observes that these two groups were in a state of continuous raiding and petty warfare, forever stealing the sheep, and the grass, of their neighbors (*P. Oxy.* 842).⁶³ Elsewhere on the Parnassus massif, in the upland pastures near modern Arakhova, the Ambryssians and Phlygonians carefully walled off their pastures in a fashion that recalls the ὄποι of Attica or, better yet, the barbed wire of frontier America.⁶⁴ Yet not all communities fought over pasture. The towns of Myania and Hypnia agreed, among many other things, to set aside land for common use in order to allow shepherds from each community to have the use of pasturage while in transit from upland and lowland ranges.⁶⁵ The pasture, however, was common only among the citizens of the two participating communities, and guards, paid by a special “pasture tax,” patrolled the boundaries and evicted outsiders.

The centrality of animal husbandry to the peoples of the uplands is even better illustrated in western Arcadia. To a greater degree than anywhere else in Greece, the highlands of Arcadia were unpopulated, with the only permanent structures being religious sanctuaries. Jost has observed that these isolated sanctuaries served as community centers, as meeting areas from which the Arcadians exploited the pastoral landscape, giving the dispersed, mobile, Arcadians focal points for their pastoral lifestyle. Such a sense of community would be quite different from that of more settled, urban folk such as the Athenians. In fact, even when the western Arcadians did move into large urban centers like Megalopolis, they did not abandon their rural shrines, but instead created new festivals and urban sanctuaries twinned with their rural

⁶¹ L. S. Bommelé and P. K. Doorn (edd.), *The Strouza Region Project (1981-1984): An Historical-Topographical Fieldwork 1981-1984* (Utrecht 1985) 14f., 28f.

⁶² Pausanias observes how the fair that was stimulated by a festival of Isis in southern Phocis provided all the surrounding pastoralists with a ready, seasonal market in which to sell their animals as sacrificial victims (10.32.15).

⁶³ In one instance, these raids escalated into a panhellenic war (the Corinthian War of 380 BCE), when each side called for support from allied states (*Hell. Oxy.* 18.3f.).

⁶⁴ Cf. Osborne [35] 50f.

⁶⁵ J. Bousquet, “Convention entre Myania et Hypnia,” *BCH* 89 (1965) 665f.

predecessors, thereby continuing to stress the close connections between Arcadian life and the pastoral countryside.⁶⁶

One of the primary gods worshipped in these rural sanctuaries was Pan, patron god of shepherds. Consequently, it is no surprise that in antiquity Arcadia was famous for its sheep, with the epithet “rich in flocks” used from Homeric times forward (Pind. *Ol.* 6.100, 6.169; *Hymn. Hom. Merc.* 4.2, 18.2; Hom. *Il.* 2.605; Str. *Geog.* 8.3.6. [= Simon. fr. 104]; Theoc. 22.157; Philostr. *VA* 8.7; Bacchyl. 11.95).⁶⁷ And from the early eighth century BCE through the classical period, Arcadian craftsmen celebrated the region’s sheep production by creating small bronze sheep figurines of a quality and quantity not seen in other regions of Greece.⁶⁸ Indeed, sheep production was so important and honorable among the Arcadians that wealthy men, such as Praxiteles of Mantinea, described themselves and their fortunes in terms of sheep (*IG* 5.2.47[i]).⁶⁹

Conclusions

A way beyond the transhumance/agro-pastoralist debate has been offered by highlighting some of the social, environmental, and economic variables that helped to shape the many distinct ancient Greek responses to animal management. Each Greek community (indeed, each Greek) devised its own unique ways, methods, and goals for keeping animals in order to meet unique, social agendas. Since the rancher of Athens, the absentee stockman of Sparta, the horse and cattle baron of Thessaly, and the shepherding clan of Arcadia did not share similar goals, or similar physical environments, they did not share similar production methods. At Athens, the dry nature of the Attic countryside and the lack of year-round pasture prohibited the Athenians from raising horses and cattle in large numbers, and also ensured that sheep and goats, which could thrive on the scrub-covered hills, would predominate. But without the necessary socio-economic inducements, such as the export wool market and the unusually large state-sponsored demand for meat, animal husbandry in Athens would have

⁶⁶ M. Jost, “The Distribution of Sanctuaries in Civic Space in Arkadia,” in S. Alcock and R. Osborne (edd.), *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 1994) 220-23. A. Chaniotis, “Habgierige Götter, habgierige Städte: Heiligtumsbesitz und Gebietsanspruch in den kretischen Staatsverträgen,” *Ktema* 13 (1988) 21-39, postulates a similar role for mountainous shrines on Crete.

⁶⁷ Bacchylides calls it “sheep-feeding” Arcadia.

⁶⁸ See M. E. Voyatzis, *The Early Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and Other Archaic Sanctuaries in Arcadia* (Göteborg 1990).

⁶⁹ See S. Hodkinson and H. Hodkinson, “Mantineia and the Mantinike: Settlement and Society in a Greek Polis,” *ABSA* 76 (1981) 271, 280.

remained a small-scale affair. Moreover, without the need for capital with which to perform socially necessary liturgies, the elite might not have pushed the limits of their environmental constraints. At Sparta, helotage and sufficient natural grazing allowed the Spartans to produce horses for cavalry and chariot racing, as well as cattle, sheep, and goats for meat, cheese, hides, and wool. But without the social need to compete through cavalry production and horseracing or gifts of meat and cheese, large herds would not have been necessary. In Thessaly, vast, well-watered pastures provided an unparalleled pastoral resource; but it was a social system that encouraged elites to compete in producing huge herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, as well as the best racing stud, which allowed available pastures to be exploited to their fullest. In the uplands, where many arable crops were difficult or impossible to grow, animals became a hedge resource and medium of exchange for the products of arable agriculture. In the end, no two communities, and no two individuals, raised animals in the same way.

PORNE OR PARTHENOS: **THE REPUTATION OF A PAINTED LADY**

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Abstract. The social status of a woman painted on the *tondo* of the Christchurch Attic red-figure cup AR430 has proved to be difficult to resolve. Most modern scholars interpret her status as that of a *hetaira* or *porne*. But the painter's visual clues allow construction of a new and more conclusive identification as a *parthenos*, a virgin bride accompanying her husband to the marital bed.

In ancient Athens, the disparity in the status of a *porne* and that of a *parthenos* could not have been greater.¹ The former was a slave girl used for sex and the latter was an unmarried free-born girl accredited as being a virgin. It is not easy for the modern viewer to discern the status of some of the girls painted on ancient Athenian pottery. One case in question is that of the girl painted on the *tondo* of the Christchurch Attic red-figure cup AR430, *ca.* 500-450 BCE (probably 480-470 BCE²), in the James Logie Memorial Collection (figures 1 and 5).³ She is repeatedly described as a *hetaira*, a high-class sexual companion with her client. However, one scholar links her with another painted girl who,

¹ I am grateful to J. R. Green for encouraging me to develop this paper from my initial suggestion for a catalogue entry and for his helpful discussion; Robert Guy and Dyfri Williams for answering my questions on the style of the Painter of London E55; Penelope Minchin-Garvin, curator of the Logie Collection, for supplying me with Duncan Shaw-Brown's photos; Roger Fyfe of Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, for giving permission to publish the photos; Graham Zanker for corrections to a late draft; and Sian Lewis for assisting me with some referencing. All line drawings are mine.

² Douris' career as a painter lasted some fifty years. On grounds of subject and style, the Christchurch Attic red-figure cup AR430 can be dated probably to *ca.* 480-470 BCE, which were the middle years of Douris' career.

³ Christchurch, Canterbury Museum AR430; attributed to Douris (Beazley), the Painter of London E55 (Guy); currently on loan to the James Logie Memorial Collection, University of Canterbury, Christchurch; see J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*² [ARV²] (Oxford 1963) 438.138; *Beazley Archive Pottery Database* [BAPD] 205184 (www.beazley.ox.ac.uk: last accessed 31 October 2011 throughout. In e-mail correspondence, R. Guy, author of *The Late Manner and Early Classical Followers of Douris* (DPhil diss. Oxford 1982), has confirmed to me that the Painter of London E55 was a close follower of his teacher Douris, whose late style he had fully assimilated, and that it is very likely that the painter of the Christchurch cup would have seen the contemporary Boston Attic red-figure cup 1970.233 (figure 6).

without doubt, is a *porne*. Recently attention has been given to the significance of her hairstyle, and it has been suggested that the scene may represent a more private love-affair. These readings will be surveyed with particular focus on the view that girl or woman is a *porne*. All the visual clues left to us by the painter will then be reviewed and a new reading of the status of this painted lady will be constructed.

Description of Tondo

The foot, handles and the whole circumference of the lip of the Christchurch cup AR430 are missing. Although the heads of the figures painted on the exterior scenes are not preserved, only a small fragment of the *tondo*, in the interior of the cup, is missing. There is also a small chip out of the cup just above the missing fragment.⁴ The *tondo* depicts a girl reaching up to embrace the head of a young man. They gaze into each other's eyes as he gestures, with an open hand, to his right towards the head of the *kline*.⁵ One leg of the bed, decorated with Ionic volutes at the top, is shown, and there is a portion of a striped cushion atop the bed. Between the youth and the bed hangs an *alabastron*, a long cylindrical jar that contained scented olive oil. It is suspended from the wall by a red cord. In the upper left field, there is an inscription HIKET<ΕΣ>ΚΑΛΟΣ ('Hiketes [is] handsome').⁶ The girl wears a voluminous *chiton*, her hair in the bundled style, and they both wear a narrow headband that has been painted in added red. He is nude, save for a cloak draped over his shoulders and upper arms. His posture is relaxed, with his weight distributed between his left leg and the knotty staff in his left hand. His flexed right leg suggests imminent movement towards the bed. At the right of this 'porthole' view of the room, part of a sturdy door with its double rows of rivets is seen; behind the girl there is the top of the leg of a chair with a cushion.

⁴ S. Lewis, *The Athenian Woman: An Iconographic Handbook* (London 2002) 121 ponders whether this is a sandal, or damage to the cup.

⁵ G. M. A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks Etruscans and Romans* (London 1966) 52-63.

⁶ K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, Mass. 1989) 117 comments on this inscription that 'it is characteristic of the genre that in a scene of heterosexual love it should be a male whose beauty is acclaimed'. For other appearances of the *kalos*-name Hiketes, see J. D. Beazley, *ARV²* [3] 1583f.; *Paralipomena: Additions to 'Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters' and 'Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters'* [*Paralipomena*] (Oxford 1971) 506; *BAPD* [3] 205184; D. Robinson and E. Fluck, *A Study of the Greek Love-Names* (Baltimore 1937) 116.

The Scholarly Consensus

Robertson makes a sympathetic comparison of the Christchurch cup AR430 with the London Attic red-figure cup XXXX0.5144 (now lost), *ca.* 500-450 BCE (figure 3),⁷ which he attributes to the master painter Douris.⁸ On the interiors of both cups there are quiet and private scenes, contrasted with more boisterous symposiastic figures on their exteriors. The *hetaira* on the lost London cup XXXX0.5144 has been described as ‘sleeping’,⁹ but I consider this to be a somewhat innocent reading of what the painter has inferred by the proximity of her head to the man’s groin. Haggo describes the embracing girl on the Christchurch cup AR430 as probably a *hetaira* since she is depicted without any of the conventional signs of a ‘good’ woman and is initiating amorous physical contact with a nude male figure.¹⁰ This girl became notorious by association after Peschel’s publication of the exterior scenes (figure 2) in his survey of *hetairai* in *symposion* and *komos* settings.¹¹ Reeder describes the girl in a very similar embrace of a near nude young man on the fragmented New York Attic red-figure cup 07.286.50, *ca.* 525-475 BCE (figure 4)¹² in terms that ‘no woman other than a prostitute would be depicted in an embrace and in direct eye contact with a man.’¹³ Neils considers her to be a *hetaira*.¹⁴ Mitchell describes the scene as ‘a youth who has just entered a *hetaira*’s house’.¹⁵ Lewis notes that the scene does not include a food basket or *aulos* case in order to signal the *symposion*. She also observes that the girl’s hair is in the bundled *parthenos* hairstyle and wonders if the woman’s status is of relevance here by

⁷ London, Collection of J. C. Robinson XXXX0.5144 (now lost); attributed to Douris (Robertson); see ARV² [3] 436.98; BAPD [3] 205144.

⁸ M. Robertson, ‘A Lost Cup by Douris with an Unusual Scene’, *JHS* 66 (1946) 123-25.

⁹ Robertson [8] 123.

¹⁰ R. Haggo, ‘Catalogue’, in *Ancient Celebrations* (Christchurch 1985) 11; see also A. Holcroft, ‘The Symposium’, in *Ancient Celebrations* 2.

¹¹ I. Peschel, *Die Hetäre bei Symposium und Komos in der attisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei des 6.-4. Jahrh. v. Chr.* (Frankfurt 1987) pll. 157, 158 (A, B).

¹² New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.50; attributed to the Kiss Painter (Beazley); see ARV² [3] 177.2; BAPD [3] 201625.

¹³ E. D. Reeder (ed.), *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece* (Baltimore 1995) 192f., ill. 41, n. 7.

¹⁴ J. Neils, ‘Others Within the Other: An Intimate Look at Hetairai and Maenads’, in B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* (Leiden 2000) 210-13.

¹⁵ A. G. Mitchell, *Greek Vase Painting and the Origins of Visual Humour* (Cambridge 2009) 66.

suggesting that perhaps the scene depicts the intimacy of the bedchamber, but she does not take it further.¹⁶

Kilmer takes us down a different track: he sees the *alabastron* painted within the Christchurch cup AR430 as a sexual accessory that is a suggestive element sufficient to tell us that something sexual is imminent.¹⁷ To appreciate the full implications of this and Kilmer's other observations, we need to examine the scene within the Christchurch cup in conjunction with a painted cup that Kilmer links to it. Kilmer's comparison is with the Boston Attic red-figure cup 1970.233, *ca.* 500-450 BCE (figure 6).¹⁸ It is a late work by Douris, the master painter from whom the painter of the Christchurch cup AR430 learned his craft. At first glance, there are several notable elements common to both scenes: the head of a bed is visible at the left of both scenes; the front legs of a stool or a chair can be seen at the right in both scenes; and there is an oil-flask in both scenes (an *alabastron* on the Christchurch cup AR430; an *arybalos* on the Boston cup 1970.233); they both bear *kalos* inscriptions. However, it should be noted that whereas the Christchurch cup AR430 praises the young man, the Boston cup 1970.233 praises the young lady: HE ΠΑΙ[Σ] Κ[ΑΛ]Ε ('the girl [is] beautiful').

Kilmer considers that the implication of the painter's prominent placement of the oil-jars in both scenes would probably have been enough of a clue for the *cognoscenti* to conclude that sex was about to take place, facilitated by lubrication.¹⁹ On the Boston cup 1970.233, an inscription emanates from the man's mouth, HEXE HEΣY[X]OΣ ('Hold still').²⁰ Kilmer notes that the position of the partners 'show that penetration has already taken place; it is not a question of finding the place of entry'. He also points out that there is a bed behind the couple; 'their method is a preference, not *faute de mieux*'. He considers that the admonition, 'which would not be appropriate with vaginal copulation, makes eminent good sense with anal, particularly if the girl has not tried it before'. He adds that Douris has supplied one blatant clue, the admonition, to make sure his audience recognise it as anal intercourse. Here Dover also observes that the point of entry (of the penis) is so high that it is

¹⁶ Lewis [4] 121.

¹⁷ M. F. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London 1993) 82-86.

¹⁸ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. 1970.233; attributed to Douris (Beazley); see ARV² [3] 444.241; BAPD [3] 205288; T. H. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV² and Paralipomena²* (Oxford 1989) [Beazley Addenda] 240.

¹⁹ Kilmer [17] 85.

²⁰ ARV² [3] 444.241, BAPD [3] 205288, suggest the missing letters. The man's admonition for the girl to 'hold still' is in the nature of a command to a servant.

reasonable to suppose that the painter had anal penetration in mind.²¹ Douris has also included two other clues: the spurned bed and the *aryballos* that hangs in front of the couple.

Kilmer suggests that the girl on the Christchurch cup AR430 is resisting the young man’s goal of copulation on the bed, her goal being to stand bending forward, supporting herself with her hands on the chair, for anal copulation as seen on the Boston cup 1970.233. If this is correct, what would it tell us about the status of the girl on the Christchurch cup AR430? Jameson informs us that the *kubda*, the bent-over rear-entry posture, was on the lower scale of a prostitute’s price range.²² The ‘three-obol position’ was the cheapest kind of sex. Blundell has pointed out that anal penetration had the advantage of being the most reliable contraceptive technique available to the Greeks.²³ This must have been the safest option for prostitutes, who could ill afford to get pregnant. It might also explain the high percentage of heterosexual copulation scenes, represented on both Attic black- and red-figure vases, being depicted in the *a tergo* position. It seems probable that this mode of copulation denotes prostitution in particular. However, we should also acknowledge that this position would have been used for birth control by married couples. Prostitutes in Corinth are said to present their anuses to wealthy customers on their arrival, according to Aristophanes (*Ploutos* 149-52).²⁴ Even if this is humour, it only works if there is at least a measure of truth to it.

On the *tondo* of the Christchurch cup AR430, the young man gestures towards the bed; the girl leans forward to embrace him, but her feet are rooted close to the chair. Is she holding back in an attempt to persuade him to use the chair for the bent-over rear-entry posture? If we accept Kilmer’s linking of the Christchurch cup AR430 with the Boston cup 1970.233 and if we speculate—as Kilmer does—that the embracing girl on the Christchurch cup AR430 is resisting the young man’s goal of copulation on the bed in favour of anal copulation, then we might well conclude that we are looking at a prostitute with her client. It is worth noting that, in the scene on the Boston cup 1970.233, the oil flask is ovoid-shaped (that is, an *aryballos*), the shape carried exclusively by males, which might suggest either that the locale is his room (she may be his slave) or that he has taken his own lubrication to the brothel. In the scene on the Christchurch cup AR430, however, the oil-flask is cylindrical (that is, an

²¹ Dover [6] 100.

²² J. Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (London 1997) 118, 169-172.

²³ S. Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece* (London 1995) 101, 107f.

²⁴ Citation of Aristophanes, *Plutus* is taken from V. Coulon and M. van Daele (edd.), *Aristophane* 5 (Paris 1963).

alabastron), which was the shape associated exclusively with women. Does this indicate that the locale is either at a *hetaira*'s own premises or at the brothel where a *porne* works? Or does it perhaps suggest a scene at home in the *gynaikeion* ('women's quarters')? More recently Green questions the status of the girl on the Christchurch cup AR430 by asking: 'Is she a *hetaira*/courtesan taking the young man to what is clearly her room from the *symposion* on the outside, or is it a more private love-affair as Lewis suggests?'²⁵ The overwhelming scholarly consensus is that this image represents a prostitute with her client; her display of affection to a near-nude young man is not the expected behaviour of a respectable Athenian girl. But Lewis and Green encourage us to look closer: is it a more private love affair? And what is the significance of her hairstyle?

A Closer Look at the Visual Elements

Any reading of a Greek vase scene requires a close examination of the visual elements that go to make up the whole image. These scenes are not photographs of everyday life; rather, they are carefully constructed images designed to tell a story. They are also depicted in an idealised form; the Greeks believed that good art should have vitality, beauty, sensuality and soul.²⁶ In constructing his image, the painter of the *tondo* on the Christchurch cup AR430 has drawn on both the pictorial tradition of his predecessors and on the many other contemporary images of his colleagues. His visual language was instantly recognised by his contemporary viewers, but it is far from immediately decipherable to a modern viewer. The visual elements of this image will now be analysed; by deciphering these visual codes, a very different picture from the one presented above will be ascertained. All the painters of Douris' workshop were both astute and economical with their visual clues; nowhere was this more the case than when they were painting the small awkward concave field that is the interior of a cup, that is, the area of the *tondo*. It will be seen that every element in this scene is charged with meaning, even partially seen objects such as the chair. The painter was acutely conscious of the viewer's participation.

²⁵ J. R. Green, *The Logie Collection: A Catalogue of the James Logie Memorial Collection of Classical Antiquities at the University of Canterbury, Christchurch* (Christchurch 2009) 119; Lewis [4] 121.

²⁶ A. Stewart, *Classical Greece and the Birth of Western Art* (Cambridge 2008) 8-12.

The Door

A prominent architectural element intrudes into the space of the *tondo* scene on the Christchurch cup AR430: the door must play a vital role. In the context of *hetairai*, Neils has discussed the motif of elaborate architectural entranceways being used by vase-painters to allude to the sexual denouement of such scenes; once inside the doorway, sexual intercourse was presumed to ensue. She draws our attention to the Tampa Attic red-figure *hydria* 86.70, *ca.* 500-450 BCE, which depicts a brothel with customers at the threshold.²⁷ Neils also highlights the Christchurch cup AR430 as a depiction of ‘a woman embracing a youth to the left of a prominent doorway while he gestures toward a bed at the far left, thus making it clear that once inside the doorway, sexual intercourse is expected to follow’.²⁸ Keuls considers the closed door to be the standard iconographic clue that identifies the location of the women’s quarters of the private house.²⁹

But doors feature most prominently in wedding iconography. In this context the door motif has a very long tradition.³⁰ In Attic black-figure it features as early as Sophilos’ signed scenes of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis on the London Attic black-figure *dinos* 1971.11-1.1, *ca.* 600-550 BCE.³¹ The motif appears on a similar frieze painted by Kleitias on the Florence Attic black-figure volute *krater* 4209 (the François Vase), *ca.* 600-550 BCE.³² It also marks the points of departure and arrival of the rustic wedding procession on the New York Attic black-figure *lekythos* 56.11.1, *ca.* 575-525 BCE by the Amasis Painter.³³

²⁷ Tampa, Museum of Art 86.70; attributed to Harrow Painter (Beazley); see *ARV*² [3] 276.70; *BAPD* [3] 202666; *Beazley Addenda* [18] 207. See also Neils [14] 213.

²⁸ Neils [14] 213 n. 39.

²⁹ E. C. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens* (New York 1986) 108-110.

³⁰ F. Lissarrague, ‘Figures of Women’, in P. S. Pantel (ed.) (tr. A. Goldhammer), *A History of Women in the West 1: From Ancient Goddesses to Christian Saints* (Cambridge, Mass. 1992) 139-149; J. H. Oakley and R. H. Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* (Madison 1993) 31.

³¹ London, British Museum 1971.11-1.1; see *Paralipomena* [6] 19.16 *bis*; *BAPD* [3] 350099. See also Athens, National Museum 15165, *ca.* 600-550 BCE; Attic black-figure *dinos* (fragments), signed by Sophilos; see J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters* [ABV] (Oxford 1956) 39.15; *BAPD* [3] 305074.

³² Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 4209; signed by Kleitias, Ergotimos Potter; see *ABV* [31] 76.1; *Paralipomena* [6] 29; *BAPD* [3] 300000.

³³ New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.11.1; attributed to Amasis Painter (Beazley); see *Paralipomena* [6] 66; *BAPD* [3] 350478.

The door motif in wedding processions continued in Attic black-figure and over into Attic red-figure, with a few examples in white ground. Vase painters marked the point of departure or arrival of the wedding procession with a door. This is perfectly illustrated on the Paris Attic red-figure *pyxis* N3348, ca. 475-425 BCE (figure 7).³⁴ The image wraps around the cylindrical shape of the *pyxis* (a box used exclusively by women to hold jewellery or cosmetics), allowing the same door to be seen as both the point of departure and the point of arrival. This 'door to door' frieze begins with the bride's mother seeing her veiled daughter off from the door of the family home. The bride stands motionless as the groom grasps her wrist in a gesture known as *cheir' epi karpōi*, a ritual symbol of a husband taking possession of his wife.³⁵ As he begins to lead her away, he turns to make eye contact. The painter illustrates divine support for the young couple by making visible Apollo, with laurels, and his sister Artemis, identified with her bow and quiver. Apollo is the god of *arete*, poetry and music, which played a major part in a boy's training. Artemis is the goddess who presides over the education of young girls until they reach the threshold of marriage. The presence of these two gods conveys the good character of the wedding couple. The frieze concludes with the groom's parents ready to receive the bride before the double doors of the groom's home. The bride leaves her childhood behind when she departs through the doors of her parent's home, and she begins the life of a woman when she passes through the doors of her husband's home. The lineal space between the doors indicates the transition from the status of unmarried to married, with the doors symbolically marking a young woman's passage from *parthenos* to wife.

Doors commonly feature in the friezes depicted on *pyxides*. Roberts notes that the iconography of Attic *pyxides* deals repeatedly with the features of weddings. For instance, she describes the emblematic frieze on the Munich Attic red-figure *pyxis* 2720, ca. 450-400 BCE.³⁶ A double door takes up a major part of the composition. A woman, fleeing from the door, turns and gestures. On its other side, there is a Nike and a suspended fillet. Roberts concludes: 'Surely, here the door means the wedding'.³⁷ Some painters, of both Attic black- and red-figured vases, depict the door to the *thalamos* (groom's bed chamber) ajar in order to underscore the fact that the wedding ceremony culminated in the

³⁴ Paris, Musée Du Louvre N3348 [L55]; attributed to Wedding Painter (Beazley); see ARV² [3] 924.33; *Beazley Addenda* [18] 305; *BAPD* [3] 211247.

³⁵ *Cheir' epi karpōi* ('[placing] the hand on the wrist'). See Oakley and Sinos [30] 137 nn. 70f.

³⁶ Munich, Antikensammlungen 2720; attributed to Drouot Painter (Beazley); see ARV² [3] 1223.4; *Beazley Addenda* [18] 349; *BAPD* [3] 216660.

³⁷ S. R. Roberts, *The Attic Pyxis* (Chicago 1978) 182. Roberts [above, this note] 178-87 also notes that aspects of weddings are depicted repeatedly in the iconography of *pyxides*.

sexual union of the couple. On the Boston Attic red-figure *loutrophoros* (a tall jar used to carry the ritual bathwater for weddings) 03.802, *ca.* 425 BCE (figure 8),³⁸ painted about fifty years after the Christchurch cup AR430, the painter concludes the wedding procession with the double doors partly open in order to reveal the turned leg and the mattress of the bed within the *thalamos*. The scabbard hanging on the wall above the bed further defines the *thalamos*.

On the *tondo* of the Rome Attic red-figure cup XXXX0.4532, *ca.* 500-450 BCE (figure 9),³⁹ contemporary with the Christchurch cup AR430, Bérard and Durand describe what they hold to be a young man leading his bride to ‘the interior of the house towards the bed in the nuptial chamber’.⁴⁰ Acknowledging that the economy of signs makes this image ambiguous, they were able to deduce this after examining ‘a richer corpus of images’, especially a series of marriage processions, and in particular the Copenhagen Attic red-figure *loutrophoros* 9080, *ca.* 475-425 BCE,⁴¹ which encourages them to see the figures as newlyweds in their first moments of intimacy. Moreover, the London Attic red-figure *pyxis* E774, *ca.* 450-400 BCE (figure 10), depicts two *lebetes gamikoi* (vessels associated with the marriage ritual) placed at the door amidst the wedding preparations.⁴² The image of the house door on Attic vases is integrated with wedding scenes. The house door is also associated with weddings in Attic classical drama. Admetos, on his return from his wife’s funeral, addresses the door of his house:

ὦ σχῆμα δόμων, πῶς εἰσέλθω,
 . . . πολὺ γὰρ τὸ μέσον·
 τότε μὲν πεύκαις σὺν Πηλιάσιν
 σὺν θ’ ὕμεναίοις ἔστειχον ἔσω
 φιλίας ἀλόχου χέρα βαστάζων,
 πολυάχητος δ’ εἶπετο κῶμος

³⁸ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.802; unattributed; see *BAPD* [3] 15815.

³⁹ Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia XXXX0.4532; attributed to Painter of Louvre G265 (Beazley); see *ARV²* [3] 416.1; *BAPD* [3] 204532.

⁴⁰ C. Bérard and J.-L. Durand, ‘Entering the Imagery’, in J.-P. Vernant, C. Bérard *et al.* (tr. D. Lyons), *A City of Images: Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece* (Princeton 1989) 33f.

⁴¹ Copenhagen, National Museum 9080; attributed to Sabouroff Painter (Beazley); see *ARV²* [3] 84.75; *BAPD* [3] 212254.

⁴² London, British Museum E774; attributed to Eretria Painter (Furtwängler); see *ARV²* [3] 1250; *Beazley Addenda* [18] 354; *Paralipomena* [6] 469; *BAPD* [3] 216969; Oakley and Sinos [30] figs 32-35.

τὴν τε θανοῦσαν καὶ ὀλβίζων
 . . . νῦν δ' ὕμεναίων γόος ἀντίπαλος

(Eur. *Alc.* 912-22)⁴³

O visage of my house! How shall I enter you? . . . How great is the change! Once, of old, I entered my house with marriage-songs and the torches of Pelion, holding a loved wife by the hand, and a merry crowd followed, pronouncing the happiness of both my dead wife and me . . . Today, in place of marriage-songs are lamentations . . .

Chair

The distinctive sabre-curved leg of the *klismos*, a type of chair, stands in front of the door on the Christchurch cup AR430.⁴⁴ Only the front of the chair with its padded cushion is visible. Chairs and stools are standard features in scenes with women; this is because not only are women often depicted as seated, but also painters often underscored other elements with the use of a stool or a chair. On the Boston cup 1970.233 the young woman has folded her clothes and has placed them on the sturdy stool with lion's-foot legs; her undressing is part of the painter's narrative. The New York Attic red-figure cup 23.160.54, *ca.* 500-450 BCE (figure 11)⁴⁵ is contemporary with the Christchurch red-figure cup AR430 and is also from the Dourian workshop. On its *tondo* a slightly older woman (defined by her taller stature) shows a younger woman how to wrap her *chiton* in the distinctive fold seen in sex scenes, such as on the contemporary Boston cup 1970.233, on the Tarquinia Attic red-figure cup XXXX0.4886 (also *ca.* 500-450 BCE [figure 12]),⁴⁶ and in women's toilet scenes. The younger woman turns to learn how the other woman finishes off the fold before she places the bundle on the stool. The man's clothing (his mantle) may either hang on the wall (as in figure 12) or be draped over his knotty staff;⁴⁷ the woman's clothing, when depicted, is placed on a stool in a distinctive fold.

⁴³ Citation of Euripides, *Alkestis* is taken from J. Diggle (ed.), *Euripidis Fabulae* 1 (Oxford 1984). Translation is by R. Aldington (tr.), Euripides: *Alkestis* (London 1930). For further literary examples see E. H. Haight, *The Symbolism of the House Door in Classical Poetry* (New York 1950).

⁴⁴ Richter [5] 33-37.

⁴⁵ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 23.160.54; attributed to Douris (Marshall), Oedipus Painter (Guy and Buitron-Oliver); see ARV² [3] 441.186, 1653; *Beazley Addenda* [18] 240; *BAPD* [3] 205231.

⁴⁶ Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese XXXX0.3886; attributed to Triptolemos Painter (Beazley); see ARV² [3] 367.94; *Beazley Addenda* [18] 223; *BAPD* [3] 203886.

⁴⁷ See, e.g., Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese XXXX0.4434, *ca.* 500-450 BCE; Attic red-figure cup attributed to Briseis Painter (Beazley); see ARV² [3] 408.36; *BAPD* [3] 204434.

On the Paris Attic red-figure cup S3916, *ca.* 500-450 BCE (figure 13),⁴⁸ painted by the same hand as the Christchurch cup AR430, the painter draws our attention to a *kalathos* (basket of yarn) by placing it on a similar chair to the one depicted on the Christchurch cup AR430. It is very common to see a *kalathos* placed on a chair or stool in domestic and brothel scenes. The basket of wool was a symbol of domestic virtue denoting the labours of a good woman and of the productivity of the so-called ‘spinning *hetarai*’.⁴⁹ Similarly, by placing on the Christchurch cup AR430 a chair ready to receive the young lady’s folded clothes, the painter suggests to the viewer that she is about to remove her clothes. The reason for the painter’s wish to depict her clothed and for the viewer to imagine at the same time that she is about to undress is addressed below, but for now it is enough to know that the painter could suggest that she is about to undress by the placing of a chair in the scene; its inclusion invokes the many contemporary images of undressed women with their folded clothes placed on either a stool or a chair (as in, for example, figures 6 and 12).

The Kline

One leg of a *kline* and a portion of a cushion can be observed at the left of the scene on the *tondo* of the Christchurch cup AR430. Other views of this type of *kline* are seen in figures 2, 3, 12 and 14. They are of the type of *kline* with rectangular legs tapering downwards. The posts at the top end of the *kline* are higher than those at the base and are crowned with a finial in the form of an Ionian capital.⁵⁰ The *kline* served as both a couch and a bed in ancient Athens. In vase painting we discern no differences in the couches used in *symposion* (figure 2) from those used in erotic (figure 6) and domestic, scenes. The *kline* (as nuptial bed) also appears in wedding scenes. On the New York Attic red-figure neck-*amphora* SL1990.1.21, *ca.* 500-450 BCE (figure 14),⁵¹ the wedding procession heads toward the bed-chamber, in which stands an elaborate *kline*. It is the wedding bed of Peleus and Thetis, but the iconography is much the same for the weddings of gods, heroes and mortals. And some painters of wedding

⁴⁸ Paris, Musée du Louvre S3916; attributed to Douris (Beazley), Painter of London E55 (Guy); see ARV² [3] 432.60; BAPD [3] 205106. The *laver* (wash basin), mirror and scented olive oil are attributes of beauty and hygiene, while the *kalathos* is an attribute of utility. This woman, painted in the *tondo* of a man’s drinking cup, represents a good humoured nod to the drinker. It prompts him to remember the beautiful and dutiful wife who is waiting for him to return from his drinking party.

⁴⁹ Keuls [29] 247f.

⁵⁰ Richter [5] 52-63.

⁵¹ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art SL1990.1.21, attributed to Copenhagen Painter (Guy); see BAPD [3] 43937.

processions depict the door to the groom's bed chamber ajar in order to reveal the *kline*, thus adumbrating the wedding ceremony's culmination in the sexual union of the couple (see figure 8).

Clothing

The girl on the *tondo* of the Christchurch cup AR430 wears a voluminous Ionic *chiton* with wide sleeves, a full *kolpos* (the portion formed from pulling the excess length above the girdle) and a *diploidion* (the overhang from the top forming a bib, or blouse). She is well dressed. We cannot distinguish between *hetairai* and respectable women on dress alone. Dalby's survey of the dress of *hetairai* and *pornai*, based exclusively on Greek textual evidence, concludes that 'in principle *hetairai* dress no differently from "respectable" women except with more elaboration, more care to bring out the best—according to the current ideal—in their appearance'.⁵² *Hetairai* could hold high status in ancient Athens (e.g., Aspasia and Phryne); they dressed appropriately, as do today's high-class prostitutes. The women depicted on the outside of the Christchurch cup AR430 are *hetairai* (figure 2); this is apparent from their context: 'respectable' women did not entertain men at *symposion*. The dress of the young lady on the *tondo* is sufficiently dissimilar from that of the women on the exterior for us to conclude that the painter does not intend us to see her as one of the ladies from the *symposion*. The young man with her is without doubt an aristocrat; his walking stick, *kalos* tag and bearing all testify to this. Perhaps something can be construed from the fact that they each wear a narrow red ribbon in their hair: could that suggest that they may both have participated in some ceremony together such as a marriage? There can be no certainty.

The Alabastron

Another visual element on the Christchurch cup AR430 is the *alabastron* strategically hanging on the wall between the couple and the bed. Containing perfumed olive oil, the *alabastron* was essential women's toiletry used in bathing, anointing and as a lubricant for sex. This shape of oil flask is exclusively used by women. Measuring between four and eight inches in length, this slender cylindrical shaped object was small enough to hold in one hand. Just as I find it difficult to resist a phallic innuendo above, so too it was for Attic vase painters and for the comic playwright Aristophanes. Painters represented

⁵² A. Dalby, 'Levels of Concealment: The Dress of *Hetairai* and *Pornai* in Greek Texts', in L. Llewellyn-Jones (ed.), *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World* (London 2002) 111-124.

women in domestic scenes carrying about *alabastra* or gazing at them hung on the walls, suggesting, at least to a male audience, that women were constantly thinking about sex.

In vase painting the *alabastron*, ubiquitous in domestic scenes, is a standard attribute of women.⁵³ It was also an obligatory gift carried in wedding processions and was sometimes hung above the nuptial bed (see figure 14). Keuls argues that the principal connotation of the *alabastron* is ‘dutiful conjugal sex, not the purchased variety’. She points out that the *alabastron* is infrequently shown in scenes depicting *hetairai*, though she is not suggesting thereby that they did not use them but rather that they were not conventionally associated with *hetairai*. This is contradicted, however, on the exterior of the Christchurch cup AR430, where at least one of the *hetairai* is carrying an *alabastron*. Lewis notes that most scenes of the so-called ‘spinning *hetairai*’ are depicted on *alabastra*.⁵⁴ She describes the *alabastron* as the courting shape *par excellence*. Almost all *alabastra* depict two-person compositions with male-female interaction in some form of decorous courtship gift-giving; some have nuptial overtones. The *alabastron* is a significant element in the iconography of courtship, wedding and sex scenes. In comedy, Dikaiopolis uses an *alabastron* to demonstrate how to anoint (lubricate) a groom’s penis (Ar. Ach. 1063).⁵⁵

The Hairstyle

The girl on the *tondo* of the Christchurch cup AR430 wears her hair plaited down the back with the ends tied up in a small bag wrapped round with thread.⁵⁶ In Attic red-figure pottery and contemporary sculpture (that is, late archaic and classical art), this hairstyle is peculiar to the *parthenos*. In mythological scenes it becomes the style most commonly shown on the virgin goddesses Artemis and Athena as well as Nike and the Nereids.⁵⁷ It is never shown on deities like

⁵³ Keuls [29] 120.

⁵⁴ Lewis [4] 189-191.

⁵⁵ Citation of Aristophanes, *Acharnenses*, is taken from V. Coulon and M. van Daele (edd.), *Aristophane* 1 (Paris 1967).

⁵⁶ Lewis [4] 27f.

⁵⁷ See, e.g., (Artemis) St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum B2365 [670], ca. 500-450 BCE; Attic red-figure white ground *lekythos* attributed to Pan Painter (Beazley); see ARV² [3] 557.121; BAPD [3] 206365; Reeder [13] 309, ill. 90; also Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.185, ca. 500-450 BCE; Attic red-figure bell *krater* attributed to Pan Painter (Beazley); see ARV² [3] 550.1; BAPD [3] 206276; (Athena) Munich, Antikensammlungen 2406, ca. 525-475 BCE; Attic red-figure *stamnos* attributed to the Berlin Painter (Beazley); see ARV² [3] 207.137; BAPD [3] 201956; also Paris, Musée du Louvre G341 ca. 475-425 BCE; Attic

Hera and Aphrodite.⁵⁸ Lewis identifies it ‘as a style of virgin goddesses and attendants, and of human *parthenoi*, indicating youth (before a woman wore her hair up) and pre-marital status’.

Lewis notes that this interpretation is complicated by two cups both attributed to the workshop of Douris. These two cups are the Christchurch cup AR430 (figures 1 and 5) and the New York cup 23.160.54 (figure 11), which depicts two naked women placing their clothes on stools. Lewis sees both the young lady on the Christchurch cup AR430 and the younger (shorter) of the two women on the New York cup 23.160.54 with the *parthenos* hairstyle as contradicting the notion that the style is appropriate only to *parthenoi*. Since the New York cup 23.160.54 is the only other anomaly hindering acceptance of there being a *parthenos* hairstyle, it is critical to examine this cup. On the New York cup 23.160.54 two women are about to place their clothes on stools. The woman on the left is much taller and her breasts are fuller, which suggests that she is older than the girl at the right. The other girl has turned her head to watch how the older woman is folding her clothes before placing them on her stool. Clearly the younger woman is learning how to fold her clothes. The woman at the left wears her hair in a style befitting a mother, while the girl has her hair in the *parthenos* hairstyle. We are looking at a ritual whereby the mother shows her daughter how to fold her clothes in preparation for her undressing on her wedding night; perhaps this chore would have been done for the girl by a household slave before she married and entered into the seclusion of the nuptial bedchamber. The hairstyles of the two women seem appropriate for a mother and an unmarried daughter.

Hetairai were most commonly depicted wearing their hair in a *sakkos* (that is, a soft cap worn by a woman, with a tassel to wrap around and to cover her hair).⁵⁹ The two women on the New York cup 23.160.54 have been wrongly labelled *hetairai* on the basis that they are depicted nude; brides are also depicted bathing nude as part of the nuptial ritual.⁶⁰ Contemporary scenes (that is, after 480 BCE) were beginning to depict women nude in other bathing and domestic scenes.⁶¹ Most hairstyles seem to indicate nothing more than fashion;

red-figure calyx *krater* attributed to the Niobid Painter (Beazley); see ARV² [3] 601.22; BAPD [3] 206954.

⁵⁸ Hera and Aphrodite are depicted with many different hairstyles and headgear; however, there is no extant example of either goddess depicted with the *parthenos* hairstyle.

⁵⁹ See, e.g., London, Collection of J. C. Robinson XXXX0.5144 [7], fig. 3.

⁶⁰ See, e.g., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.118.148, ca. 450-400 BC; Attic red-figure *pyxis* unattributed; see BAPD [3] 44750.

⁶¹ See, e.g., Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi 21972, ca. 500-450 (probably 470-460 BCE; Attic red-figure *lekythos* attributed to Alkimachos Painter (Beazley); see ARV²

however, it seems clear that at least two hairstyles in late archaic and classical Attic vase painting can be definitive indicators of the status of women. The short-cropped style indicates a slave, though not all slaves were depicted with short-cropped hair; most household slaves would not have been subjugated in this way.⁶² Common *pornai*, who were of course slaves, were often shown in vase painting with the cropped style. On the Boston red-figure cup 1970.233 (figure 6), for example, the girl being anally penetrated is the man’s slave to do with as he pleases; and on the Tarquinia red-figure cup XXXX0.4886 (figure 12), the girl whose head is cradled by the balding man as they look into each other’s eyes during vaginal sex is clearly either a favourite slave or a hired *porne* having an intimate moment with the master.⁶³ The short-cropped hair on both girls is not a fashion but an attribute employed by the painter to confer their slave status and thus give clarity to his narrative.

Although brides did not necessarily wear their hair in the *parthenos* style on their wedding days in Athens, the *parthenos* style worn by the girl on the Christchurch cup AR430 (see figures 1 and 5) should be seen as an attribute of a *parthenos*. As part of the preparation for her wedding, the virgin bride would make various offerings (*proteleia*) to different gods. Her offering to Artemis usually included a lock of hair in the hope that the goddess of virginity and transition would ease her passage from *parthenos* to wife.⁶⁴ This practice explains the origins of this peculiar hairstyle: the lock of hair, bundled in the small bag tied with thread, would be cut off for the goddess. This hairstyle would have been a visible caution indicating that a *parthenos*’ virginity is under the protection of the goddess.

Brides did not necessarily wear their hair in the *parthenos* style under their veils on their wedding day in Athens; nor did *pornai* always have their hair cropped short. But the vase painters were able to confer status on their painted girls with these two hairstyles; they can be seen as attributes. In some of the

[3] 535.2; *BAPD* [3] 206060; Lewis [4] 142, fig. 4.6. The scene depicts a naked woman in a woman’s room placing clothes on a chair.

⁶² See, e.g., Paris, Musée du Louvre CA587, ca. 475-425 (probably 450) BCE; Attic red-figure *pyxis* attributed to Louvre Centaureomachy Painter (Beazley); see *Paralipomena* [6] 449; *BAPD* [3] 216046; Lewis [4] 63, fig. 2.1. This depicts a domestic scene, with two seated women (mistresses) and five women (slaves) doing menial tasks, dressed in similar fashion and with similar hairstyles to the mistresses of the house.

⁶³ The locus of penile penetration is depicted so high that the painter must intend it to read as vaginal.

⁶⁴ Oakley and Sinos [30] 14; J. Reilly, ‘Naked and Limbless: Learning about the Feminine Body in Ancient Athens’, in A. O. Koloski-Ostrow and C. L. Lyons (edd.), *Naked Truths: Women, Sexuality and Gender in Classical Art and Archaeology* (London 2000) 169 n. 23.

most graphic sex scenes where two men are penetrating a woman at once⁶⁵ or where anal or oral sex is indicated, the girls are usually depicted with short-cropped hair. It tells the viewer that the girl is only a slave; this is not a *hetaira* or a free-born girl being subjected to this humiliation.⁶⁶

The Walking Stick

The young man on the *tondo* of the Christchurch cup AR430 carries a walking stick. Does it indicate that he has just arrived, or something else? While a walking stick was handy for the drunken walk home from a *symposion* or to ward off attack, a walking stick is also an attribute of a mature man, perhaps a young man who has just married. Here the painter seems to be ascribing both maturity and beauty to the young man. *Hiketes* is not among the well-known *kaloi* of his day, but he is being praised for his beauty on this cup. The head of a family also carries a stick (as does the groom's father in figure 7); it indicates the authority of a free-born mature citizen. In addition, the young groom on the Rome cup XXXX0.4532 (figure 9) carries a stick as he leads his bride towards the bed in the nuptial chamber.⁶⁷

Gestures

The girl on the *tondo* of the Christchurch cup AR430 reaches up to cradle the young man's head in her hand. This gesture of affection is not uncommon in scenes of love making (see figures 4 and 12). This same gesture, however, is also seen on contemporary scenes where either a boy or a girl is cradling the head of a vomiting symposiast in an attempt to provide comfort.⁶⁸ This gesture also appears in scenes suggesting reciprocal intimacy, even love. In considering a gesture of reciprocal intimacy, it is safer to look at the *erastes-eromenos* (lover-beloved) scenes, where we know the social status of the *erastes* is that of a free-born Athenian citizen and his *eromenos* a free-born youth on his way to becoming a citizen of Athens. These complex relationships represented the highest form of love to the ancient Athenians. A freeborn youth was free to reject the advances of his lover, so in these scenes this gesture must signal

⁶⁵ E.g., Paris, Musée Du Louvre G13, ca. 525-475 BCE; attributed to Pedieus Paunter (Beazley); Attic red-figure cup (exterior); see ARV² [3] 1578.16; BAPD [3] 200694.

⁶⁶ The young man's hairstyle is suitable for a young man of stature.

⁶⁷ Bérard and Durand [40] 33f.

⁶⁸ E.g., Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.285, ca. 525-475 BCE; Attic red-figure cup attributed to Onesimos (by unknown); see BAPD [3] 46454; also Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Museum L479, ca. 500-450 BCE; Attic red-figure cup attributed to Brygos Painter (Beazley); see ARV² [3] 398.1649; BAPD [3] 203930.

reciprocal love. In a well-known *erastes-eromenos* scene, contemporary with the Christchurch cup AR430, a boy cradles the head of an ithyphallic man who is fondling the boy’s penis.⁶⁹ We see the *eromenos* cradling the head of the *erastes* on a number of other *erastes-eromenos* scenes.⁷⁰ This gesture is usually interpreted in *erastes-eromenos* scenes as either an indicator of reciprocal love or an indicator that the two are preparing to kiss. This is undoubtedly what is happening on the Christchurch cup AR430. In this quiet scene it is safe to regard the young lady’s gesture as an indicator of her reciprocal affection, as opposed to a procured response. The young man’s hand gesture towards the bed is self-evident.

Conclusions

On the *tondo* of the Christchurch cup AR430, the painter has employed a selection of visual elements, each of which is capable of alluding to one or more specific facets of his narrative. The door indicates both the arrival of the wedding couple at the nuptial bedchamber and, as Neils suggests,⁷¹ sexual denouement. The door is also a visual reference to the girl’s marriage and a symbol of her passage from *parthenos* to wife. The girl’s hairstyle reminds us that the bride is still a virgin. As she gazes into the groom’s eyes and cradles his head, she evokes the image of a sacrificial *parthenos* willingly about to sacrifice her virginity.⁷² The chair is also part of the narrative, for the painter not only wishes to depict the girl clothed as a maiden but also wants the viewer to know that she will undress (for sex). This he achieves by depicting the chair as ready for her to place her folded clothes on. The groom’s hand gesture and stance suggest that he is ready to move to the bed.

In this wedding scene the painter has taken us through the doors into the nuptial chamber. He has not overloaded the scene with the clichéd ritual symbols of the wedding night such as the loosened girdle or bridal shoes. He has not depicted a lustful ithyphallic groom with his naked bride. He has chosen instead to depict an intimate moment where a virgin bride responds to her

⁶⁹ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1967.304, *ca.* 500-450 BCE; Attic red-figure cup (fragments) attributed to Brygos Painter (Beazley); see *ARV*² [3] 378.137; *BAPD* [3] 204034.

⁷⁰ E.g., Paris, Musée du Louvre G278, *ca.* 500-450 BCE; Attic red-figure cup attributed to Briseis Painter (Beazley); see *ARV*² [3] 407.16; *BAPD* [3] 204415; also Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.25, *ca.* 525-475 BCE; Attic red-figure cup attributed to Carpenter Painter (Bothmer); see *BAPD* [3] 31619.

⁷¹ Neils [14] 213 n. 38.

⁷² For the significance of the sacrificial *parthenos* in Greek myth, drama and art, see M. R. Lefkowitz, ‘The Last Hours of the *Parthenos*’, in Reeder [13] 32-38; *Women in Greek Myth* (London 1986) 95-111.

husband's first advance. While two visual elements, the *alabastron* and the bed, allude to all the impending excitement of sex, our bride and groom are depicted in quiet intimacy. She is still a *parthenos*, a virgin in the heroic tradition of a virgin sacrifice, and as such she is afforded the dignity of that status: she is clothed and her hair is still bundled; presumably her virginity is intact. While her upper body leans forward to embrace the young man, her lower body lingers in front of the door: she is still in transition from maiden to wife. The young man's gesture toward the bed is a natural one for a groom on his wedding night. The embracing couple look into each other's eyes and display the tenderness of a true love-match. It is a highly idealised image.

Athenian girls usually married around the age of fourteen and most Athenian men married around the age of thirty after completing their military service. Here and on the hundreds of marriage scenes of this period (as in, for example, figures 7, 8 and 9), the painter has 'matured' the bride and 'youthened' the groom (that is, depicted him beardless with a youthful physique). These couples are idealised at their sexual prime.⁷³ Nevertheless these were usually arranged marriages rather than love-matches. So painters of this period often included an Eros in these scenes to personify romance (as in, for example, figure 8). On the *tondo* of the Christchurch cup AR430, the embrace conveys the same idealised inference.

Why is this charming image depicted on the *tondo* of a man's drinking cup? In ancient Athens most nuptial scenes painted in the black-figure style depicted the public spectacle of the wedding procession, that is, the transfer of the bride to her new home. These scenes were painted on communal vessels such as drinking *kraters*, *hydriai* and *amphorae*.⁷⁴ Wedding scenes only started to appear regularly on Attic red-figure vessels after the Persian destruction of Athens in 480 BCE, some fifty years after the introduction of that technique. The old technique of black-figure was retained for these formal scenes in the same way that it was retained for the Panathenaic *amphorae*. When wedding scenes started to appear regularly in Attic red-figure, there was a change in both the subject-matter and in the shapes on which these scenes were painted. In this period, the subjects ranged from the formal wedding processions to include dance, bath and all forms of bridal preparations, and they were now painted on the vessels associated with weddings, namely *loutrophoroi*, *lebetes gamikoi* and *pyxides*.⁷⁵

⁷³ A. Stewart [26] 176-79.

⁷⁴ Oakley and Sinos [30] 44f. For examples of the shapes of communal vessels, see *BAPD* [3] 'Shape'.

⁷⁵ For examples of vessels associated with weddings, see *BAPD* [3] '[Subject] Wedding'.

There also appears to be a small crop of wedding scenes painted on the *tondi* of men’s drinking cups. The Rome cup XXXX0.4532 (figure 9) depicts the deeds of Theseus on the exterior. On the *tondo* a groom is depicted leading his bride from the door of her home, but there are no references to either Theseus or any mythological wedding. The same distinction applies to the London Attic red-figure cup 1843.11-3.11 [E69], *ca.* 500-450 BCE⁷⁶ with the exterior scenes depicting Odysseus and Ajax fighting over Achilles’ arms and Athena presiding over the vote for the victor. The *tondo* scene depicts a bride being led by a draped groom wearing a *petasos*, a sun hat with a broad floppy brim, and carrying a spear. Perhaps this is the wedding of a warrior with his bride, but it is not a mythological wedding. The iconography of abduction scenes is similar, so that interpretation cannot be ruled out. The Tarquinia Attic red-figure cup RC5291, *ca.* 500-450 BCE,⁷⁷ depicts on the exterior Theseus leaving Ariadne, watched by Hermes and Eros, and a kingly Menelaus, with sword drawn, pursuing Helen at an altar. The *tondo* scene depicts a simply draped man with a spear leading his bride. Some modern commentators have labelled these two figures as Agamemnon and Briseis or Menelaos leading Helen from Troy, but this is not a depiction of a king and there are no mythological references or inscriptions to suggest such. Why would the painters of these cups leave out references in these *tondo* scenes when they have taken pains to identify the heroes on the exterior scenes? We see young couples, very similar to the couple in the *tondo* scene of the Christchurch cup AR430, embracing on the *tondi* of the fragmented New York cup 07.286.50 (figure 4) and the Berlin Attic red-figure cup F2269, *ca.* 525-475 BCE.⁷⁸ These young men are depicted nearly nude with well-dressed young women. These scenes have more in common with the *tondo* scene on the Christchurch cup AR430 than they do with sex scenes involving *hetairai*.

These ‘wedding scenes’ are painted surprisingly on the *tondi* of drinking cups; so one must assume that they were aimed specifically at a male-drinking audience and perhaps more specifically at a groom. With the Christchurch cup AR430, the wedding scene is juxtaposed against scenes of *symposion* (including *hetairai*) on the exterior. Could this be a groom’s drinking cup specially painted for his buck’s night? His drinking party is depicted on the outside of the cup

⁷⁶ London, British Museum 1843.11-3.11 [E69], *ca.* 500-450 BCE; Attic red-figure cup attributed to Brygos Painter (Klein); see ARV² [3] 369.2; *BAPD* [3] 203901.

⁷⁷ Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese RC5291, *ca.* 500-450 BCE; Attic red-figure cup attributed to Foundry Painter (Beazley), later to Brygos Painter (Beazley); see ARV² [3] 405.1, 1651; *BAPD* [3] 204395.

⁷⁸ Berlin, Antikensammlung F2269, *ca.* 525-475 BCE; Attic red-figure cup (*tondo*) attributed to Kiss Painter (Beazley); see ARV² [3] 177.1; *Paralipomena* [6] 339; *BAPD* [3] 201624.

with entertainment by *hetairai* and a boy pouring the wine and playing his lyre. The *tondo* area on the inside of the cup becomes visible only once the dark red unfiltered wine has been drunk and its dregs flicked out. It is not difficult to imagine that the groom's name was HIKETEΣ and that when he had drunk his first cup he would have been greeted with the vision of his wedding night—an opportunity to initiate a round of good-natured teasing of the groom.

Ancient mend holes on the Christchurch cup AR430 attest that it was a treasured possession. For the painter to identify the groom and then to depict the bride naked would have been not only offensive to the groom but also a serious insult to the bride's family. This is the reason that the painter was at pains to portray the bride as a *parthenos*. The status of the young lady on the Christchurch cup AR430 is that of a *parthenos*, a virgin bride in her last hour of maidenhood. But judging by the young couple's intimacy and by the young groom's gesture towards the bed, this status would be short-lived.



Figure 1: Christchurch, Canterbury Museum AR430.
 Ca. 500-450 BCE. *Tondo* of Attic red-figure cup (fragment). Italy, Orvieto.
 Douris (Beazley); The Painter of London E55 (Guy).
 (Photo: D. Shaw-Brown; Canterbury Museum, Christchurch).



Figure 2: Christchurch, Canterbury Museum AR430.
Ca. 500-450 BCE. Exterior of Attic red-figure cup (fragment). Italy, Orvieto.
Douris (Beazley); The Painter of London E55 (Guy).
(Photo: D. Shaw-Brown; Canterbury Museum, Christchurch)



Figure 3:
London, Collection of J. C. Robinson XXXX0.5144 (now lost).
Ca. 500-450 BCE. *Tondo* of Attic red-figure cup. Etruria, Vulci.
Douris (Robertson). Drawing by author.



Figure 4: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.50.
Ca. 525-475 BCE. *Tondo* of Attic red-figure cup (fragment). Arezzo, Italy.
 The Kiss Painter (Beazley). Drawing by author.



Figure 5: Christchurch, Canterbury Museum AR430.
Ca. 500-450 BCE. *Tondo* of Attic red-figure cup (fragment). Italy, Orvieto.
 Douris (Beazley); The Painter of London E55 (Guy). Drawing by author.

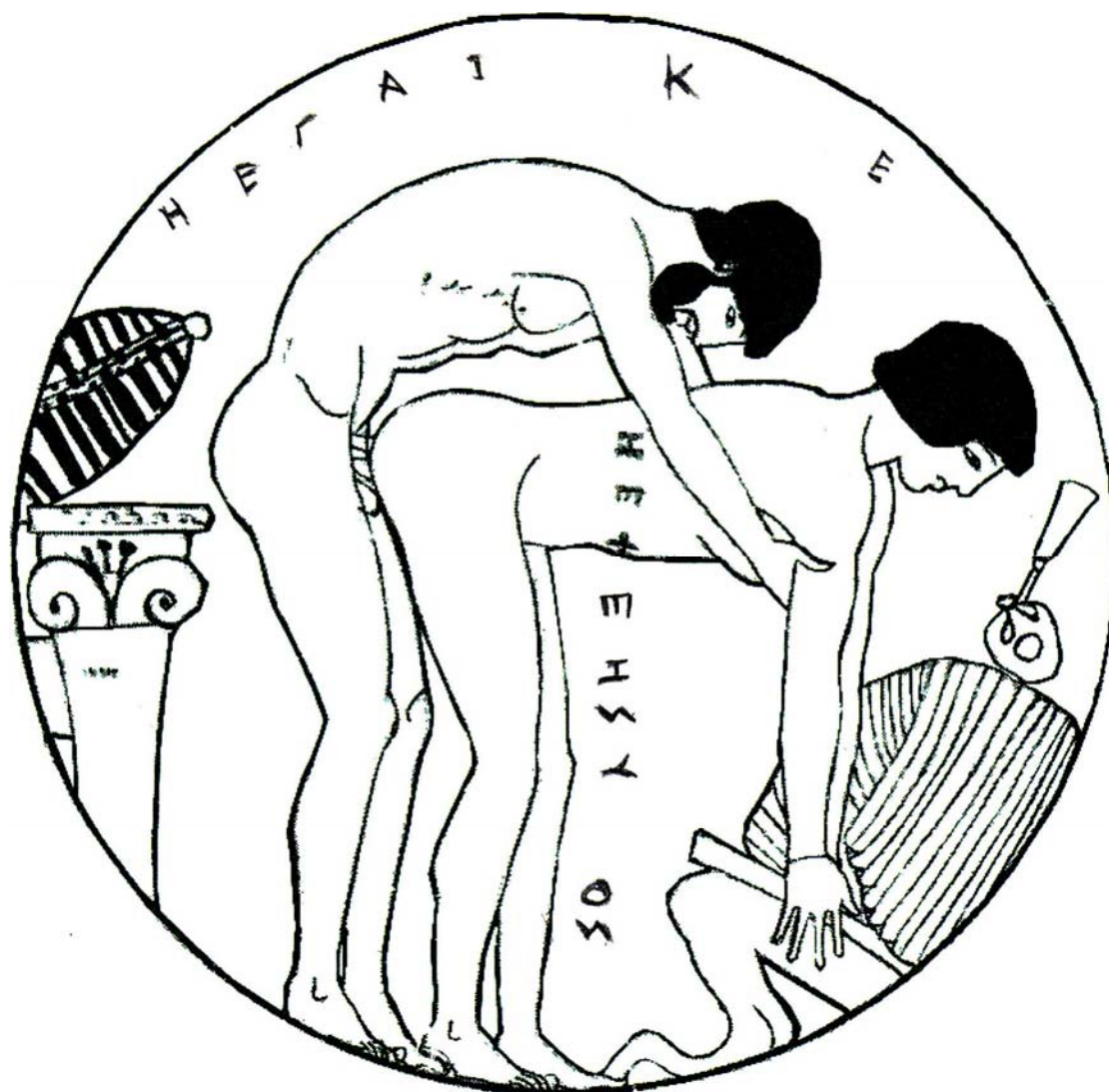


Figure 6: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1970.233.
Ca. 500-450 BCE. *Tondo* of Attic red-figure cup. Full provenance unknown.
Douris (Beazley). Drawing by author.



Figure 7: Paris, Musée du Louvre N3348.
Ca. 475-425 BCE. Attic red-figure *pyxis*. Athens.
The Wedding Painter (Beazley). Drawing by author.
(This horizontal, but not the cylindrical, image repeats the double doors).



Figure 8: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.802.
 Ca. 450-400 BCE. Attic red-figure *loutrophoros*. Provenance unknown.
 Unattributed. Drawing by author.

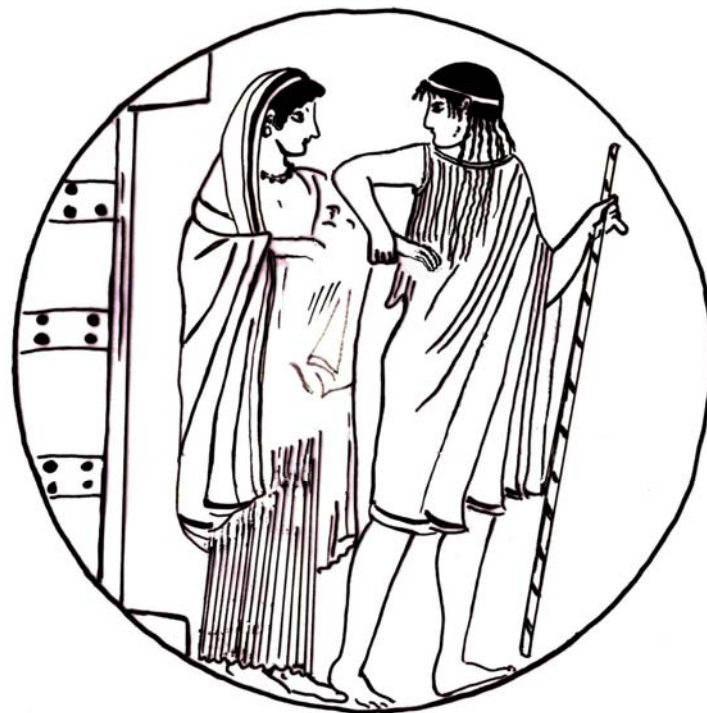


Figure 9: Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia XXXX0.4532.
 Ca. 500-450 BCE. *Tondo* of Attic red-figure cup. Etruria, Vulci.
 The Painter of Louvre G265 (Beazley). Drawing by author.

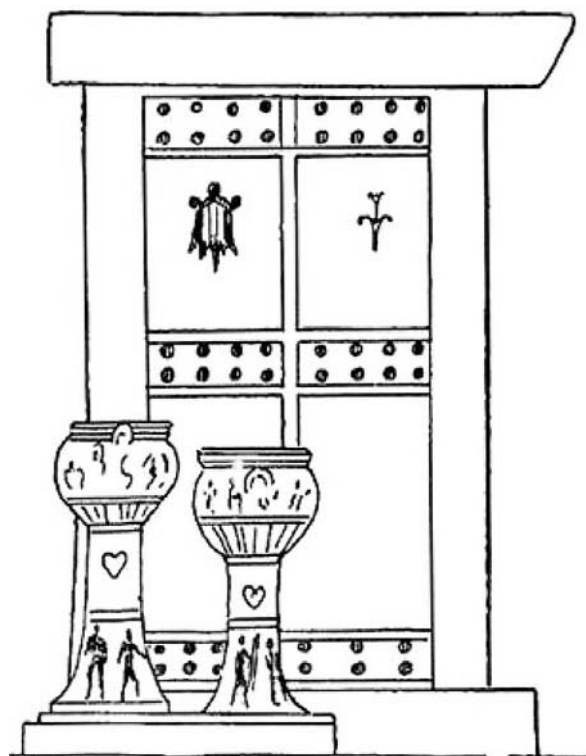


Figure 10: London, British Museum E774.
Ca. 450-400 BCE. Attic red-figure *pyxis*. Athens.
The Eretria Painter (Furtwangler). Drawing by author.

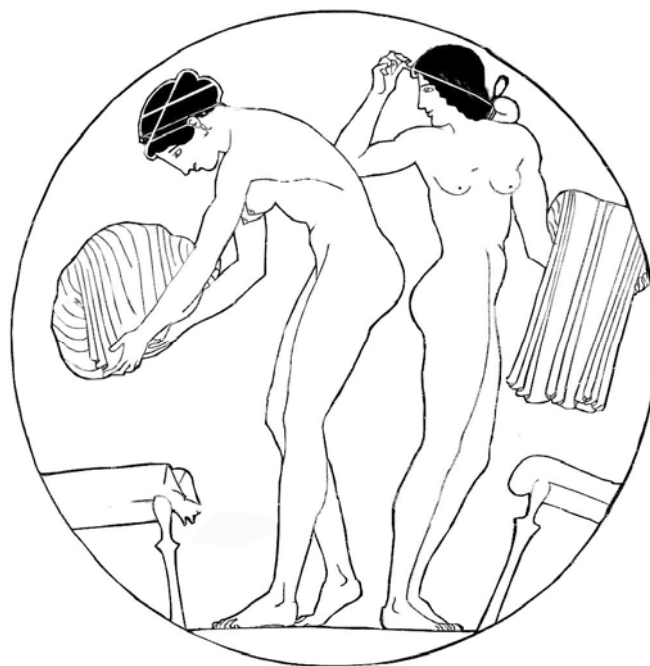


Figure 11: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 23.160.54.
Ca. 500-450 BCE. *Tondo* of Attic red-figure cup. Provenance unknown.
Douris (Marshall); The Oedipus Painter (Guy; Buitron-Oliver). Drawing by author.



Figure 12: Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese XXXX0.3886.
Ca. 500-450 BCE. *Tondo* of Attic red-figure cup. Etruria, Tarquinia.
The Triptolemos Painter (Beazley). Drawing by author.



Figure 13: Paris, Musée du Louvre S3916.
Ca. 500-450 BCE. *Tondo* of Attic red-figure cup. Provenance unknown.
Douris (Beazley); The Painter of London E55 (Guy). Drawing by author.



Figure 14: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art SL1990.1.21.
Ca. 500-450 BCE. Attic red-figure neck-*amphora*. Provenance unknown.
The Copenhagen Painter (Guy). Drawing by author.

FROM TOMB TO WOMB: TIBULLUS 1.1 AND THE DISCOURSE OF MASCULINITY IN POST-CIVIL WAR ROME

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Abstract. Tibullus 1.1 not only promotes and simultaneously defies elite definitions of *virtus* but also forges a new ideological space where masculine and feminine attitudes blend into an androgynous, “queer,” poetic voice. The construction of masculinity as a site of contradiction and contestation can be in psychoanalytical terms an attempt by the poetic subject to alleviate the psychic pain caused by the traumatic realization that holes exist in the Symbolic Order.

Introduction

Although gender has long been established as a major interpretive tool for the study of Latin elegy, the construction of the poetic subject in Tibullus in relation to the Roman protocols of masculinity has so far been left unexplored.¹ Scholarly attempts to historicize male desire in late republican and early Augustan Rome have focused on Catullus and his elegiac successors, Propertius and Ovid, but have ignored, for no justifiable reason, Tibullus.² This article seeks to restore a much-neglected poet to visibility in contemporary scholarship on gender and sexuality in Roman antiquity by examining the opening poem of book 1. The article conducts a contextualized reading of the poem by building

¹ I am grateful to the anonymous referees of *Scholia* and to the following readers for their comments, suggestions, and criticism, which helped me improve this article significantly: Anthony Corbeill, Judith Hallett, Micaela Janan, Alison Keith, Maria Marsilio, Paul Allen Miller, and Marilyn Skinner. All mistakes remain with me alone.

² Book-length studies of Roman elegy's gender dynamics have all omitted Tibullus: see E. Greene, *The Erotics of Domination: Male Desire and the Mistress in Latin Love Poetry* (Baltimore 1998); M. Wyke, *The Roman Mistress: Ancient and Modern Representations* (Oxford 2002) 1-191; R. Ancona and E. Greene Ancona (edd.), *Gendered Dynamics in Latin Love Poetry* (Baltimore 2005). The only scholar who discusses Tibullus in detail is S. James, *Learned Girls and Male Persuasion: Gender and Reading in Roman Love Elegy* (Berkeley 2003). Despite its astuteness, James' exploration of the material bases of the *docta puella* does not engage with the political overtones of Tibullus' erotic discourse. P. A. Miller, *Subjecting Verses: Latin Love Elegy and the Emergence of the Real* (Princeton 2004) 95-129 also devotes a chapter to Tibullus. Although rich and compelling, his account does not examine issues of gender fully.

on Miller’s thesis on the rise of the genre.³ Using psychoanalytical theory, Miller argues that the emergence of elegy is symptomatic of Rome’s transformation from republic into empire and should be studied with this historical context in mind. As he has put it in Lacanian terms, “the changes taking place in the Roman Real that led to the collapse of the republic created a crisis in the Symbolic that also led to the emergence of the subject position we recognize as that of the erotic elegists.”⁴ Changes in the social, political and moral spheres that took place during this transitional period constitute the forces that give shape to subjectivity and its literary expression.⁵ These changes, and most importantly the individuals who produced them, provide the cultural images against which the elegiac subject positions himself in his search for identity and a secure ideology.

Instead of revealing a coherent subject, however, elegy gives voice to a narrator torn between different cultural signifiers: man-woman, master-slave, ruler-subject, *civis-privatus*. This oscillation of the elegiac speaker between categories of polar opposites, and his failure to assume a purely masculine position, are signs of an ideological confusion that resulted from a major sociopolitical crisis in the late first century BCE. As Wyke points out, the years of the late republic and early principate are characterized by an increase in the number of discourses that are concerned with issues of gender and sexuality in a manner that manifests a deep anxiety about the *vir*.⁶ This happens because the

³ Miller [2].

⁴ Miller [2] 6.

⁵ S. D’Elia, “I presupposti sociologici dell’ esperienza elegiaca Properziana,” *Colloquium Propertianum* 2 (1981) 74f. attributes the emergence of elegy to the reconfiguration of the elite value system and the new conditions for gaining status in Augustan Rome, as well as to the youth of the poets themselves. For an application of Lacanian theory to Latin lyric and elegy, see M. Janan, “*When the Lamp is Shattered*”: *Desire and Narrative in Catullus* (Carbondale 1994); *The Politics of Desire: Propertius IV* (Berkeley 2001); R. J. King, *Desiring Rome: Male Subjectivity and Reading Ovid’s Fasti* (Columbus 2006) 4-6, 38f.

⁶ See Wyke [2] 41. I leave *vir* without translation throughout because the word “man” fails to render the connotations and restrictions applied to the Latin term. *Vir* does not only mean an adult male. Most importantly, it denotes a freeborn citizen in good standing and at the top of the social hierarchy. See, e.g., F. Santoro L’Hoir, *The Rhetoric of Gender Terms: “Man,” “Woman,” and the Portrayal of Character in Latin Prose* (Leiden 1992); J. Walters, “Invading the Roman Body: Manliness and Impenetrability in Roman Thought,” in J. P. Hallett and M. B. Skinner (edd.), *Roman Sexualities* (Princeton 1997) 32; M. B. Skinner, *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Culture* (Oxford 2005) 195; A. Corbeill, “Gender Studies,” in A. Barchiesi (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies* (Oxford 2010) 220-24. On *vir* as a sexual/gender identity see C. A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality: Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity* (New York 1999) 160-72. Elsewhere translations throughout are my own.

authors of these texts use sexual asymmetry as an analogy through which to discuss other issues such as power struggle and class structure, which are of great concern in a period characterized by continuous civil war and increasing social unrest. As Skinner notes, the homology of sex and power realized in the dominance-submission model of sexual relations in antiquity “permitted Romans writing during the troubled first century BCE to express their perceptions of social turmoil by ringing changes on the arresting theme of gender anarchy, allegorizing political crisis as a jarring disruption of natural gender roles.”⁷

Given the civil war climate of the final years of the republic, the model of elite masculinity that prevailed in Rome was that associated with her great generals.⁸ Although dominant, this model was not immune to challenge. The employment of war as a tool for solving the political crisis proved to be futile. It produced more war, and led to periods of tyranny followed by periods of domestic turmoil. Furthermore, the means used in pursuit of personal glory and power were often deemed immoral. For example, Sallust portrays Julius Caesar as a man who constantly sought to fight new battles in order to show off his military skills and gain renown. By contrast he refers to the younger Cato as an example of a *vir* who criticized his peers for their wealth and who questioned the popular belief that it was the martial proficiency of Rome’s leaders that made her such a great empire. As opposed to Caesar, Cato (as Sallust describes him) was concerned not with his public image but with the righteousness of his actions.⁹

Tibullus 1.1 participates in this dialogue between different authors and genres on the subject of masculinity in the second half of the first century BCE. I shall argue that the poem not only promotes and at the same time defies elite definitions of the *vir* but also forges a new ideological space in which masculine and feminine attitudes blend into an androgynous voice. Although this

⁷ M. B. Skinner, “*Ego Mulier*: The Construction of Male Sexuality in Catullus,” *Helios* 20.2 (1993) 116.

⁸ On alternative ways of achieving elite masculine status see, e.g., Cic. *Off.* 1.79-81; 2.45f.

⁹ Sallust writes about Caesar: *sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, bellum novum exoptabat ubi virtus enitescere posset* (“for himself he craved great authority, an army, and a new war where his manliness could shine,” *Cat.* 54.4). About Cato he notes that *esse quam videri bonus malebat: ita, quo minus petebat gloriam, eo magis illum adsequebatur* (“he preferred to be than seem good: thus, the less he sought glory, the more it pursued him,” *Cat.* 54.6). On perceptions of masculinity in the late republic, see M. McDonnell, “Roman Men and Greek Virtue,” in R. M. Rosen and I. Sluiter (edd.), *Andreia: Studies in Manliness and Courage in Classical Antiquity* (Leiden 2003) 235-61; M. McDonnell, *Roman Manliness: Virtus and the Roman Republic* (Cambridge 2006).

discursive fusion of “man” and “woman” in Latin love elegy has long been observed and analyzed by feminist critics,¹⁰ the new proposition brought here to the academic table is the use of “queer theory” as a tool for decoding the Tibullan narrator’s anti-identitarianism, that is, the resistance to the social mechanisms of regulating human desire. Queer theory’s deconstructionist approach to gender, and the emphasis that it gives to challenging binary distinctions between men and women, can enhance the findings of feminist classical scholarship. For if feminist critics have successfully exposed the ways in which elegiac ideologies of gender comply with, and simultaneously deviate from, the Roman sexual protocols, queer theory can provide the framework for further theorization of the genre’s alignment with and contestation of normative categories of gender in Roman society.

Rejecting Militia

Tibullus opens his first collection of elegies with a poem that presents its Roman reader with an unconventional model of elite masculinity. In his wishful thinking, the speaker¹¹ poses as a man who is more eager to live a peaceful life with his *puella* in a small estate in the countryside and to perform manual labor in the fields as if he were a slave than to fight battles in distant places and become richer through plunder. Wealth (in terms of property and gold) and a career in the army—i.e., traditional means of sociopolitical advancement for the Roman male citizen—are rejected for the sake of a woman named Delia. Living with her as a farmer is more desirable than being a soldier because it entails less hardship and danger (Tib. 1.1.7-52). The speaker, however, does not advocate a universal acceptance of the lifestyle of the *rusticus* that he dreams for himself. While he chooses to serve his mistress as a *ianitor*, that is, a slave, it is appropriate, as he admits, for other men like his patron Messalla to follow the conventional path and to seek glory and empowerment through military career:

te bellare decet terra, Messalla, marique
ut domus hostiles praeferat exuvias:
me retinent vinctum formosae vincla puellae
et sedeo duras ianitor ante fores.

55

¹⁰ On the fluidity of gender roles in Roman elegy, see, e.g., B. K. Gold, “‘But Ariadne was Never There in the First Place’: Finding the Female in Roman Poetry,” in N. S. Rabinowitz and A. Richlin (edd.), *Feminist Theory and the Classics* (New York 1993) 75-101; Greene [2] esp. 1-36; Janan [5 (2001)] esp. 19-23, 164-67; Wyke [2] esp. 155-91.

¹¹ Following D. F. Kennedy, *The Arts of Love: Five Studies in the Discourse of Roman Love Elegy* (Cambridge 1993) 13, I use the conventional term “speaker” to refer to the first-person male *persona* in Tib. 1.1.

non ego laudari curo, mea Delia; tecum
dum modo sim, quaeso segnis inersque vocer.

(Tib. 1.1.53-58)¹²

It is proper for you, Messalla, to fight by land and sea so that your house may exhibit the spoils of enemies. The fetters of a beautiful girl keep me bound, and I sit as a doorman before her hard door-leaves. I care not about glory, my Delia. So long as I am with you, I desire to be called lethargic and inactive.

Whether “Messalla” stands for the actual historical person or for an ideal figure of power, the reference to him shows that the poem is deeply anchored in its contemporary reality. As Kennedy points out, the text provides “its own context, a ‘reality’ notionally ‘outside’ it against which the speaker’s identity can be constructed, his character delineated and his perspectives assessed.”¹³ Yet in all major studies of Tibullus 1.1 this context or “reality” has been left unexplored or has not received adequate attention. For example, in his line-by-line commentary of Tibullus 1, Lee-Stecum argues that the opening of poem 1.1 “inscrib[es] itself within an ethical discussion which not only provides the context for the poem as a whole but opens tensions and contradictions which allow the choices and formulations of the poet in lines 1-6 to be read in a variety of ways.”¹⁴ However, in Lee-Stecum’s analysis, despite its astuteness, the ethical discourse in which Tibullus 1.1 participates is not linked to the poem’s larger sociocultural context. While Lee-Stecum is right in observing that the ethical opposition between the life of the *rusticus* and that of the *miles* is attested in Cato (*Agr. Orig.* 1.1), Vergil (*Ecl.* 1, 9), and Horace (*Sat.* 1.1),¹⁵ these literary parallels are not enough to explain why the condemnation of *militia* is a recurrent theme in Tibullus’ first book of elegies (cf. Tib. 1.2.65-74, 1.3, 1.10). Nor can they explain why, although Tibullus renounces *militia*, he uses military terminology to describe the relationship that he desires to have with Delia.

To be sure, this aversion to war expressed in Tibullus 1.1 and elsewhere in book 1, would not strike the Roman reader as odd. The collection was published presumably in 27/26 BCE,¹⁶ a few years after the end of a long period

¹² Citations from Tibullus are taken from J. P. Postgate (ed.), *Tibulli Aliorumque Carminum Libri Tres* (Oxford 1915).

¹³ Kennedy [11] 15.

¹⁴ P. Lee-Stecum, *Powerplay in Tibullus: Reading Elegies Book One* (Cambridge 1998) 33.

¹⁵ Lee-Stecum [14] 30-34. See also M. C. J. Putnam “Virgil and Tibullus 1.1,” *CPh* 100 (2005) 123-41.

¹⁶ For arguments in favor of this date, see, e.g., P. Murgatroyd (ed.), *Tibullus I: A Commentary on the First Book of the Elegies of Albius Tibullus* (Bristol 1991) 11f.; R. O. A. M. Lyne, “Propertius and Tibullus: Early Exchanges,” *CQ* 48.2 (1998) 521f.; R. Maltby (ed.), *Tibullus, Elegies: Text, Introduction and Commentary* (Cambridge 2002) 40.

of civil war (49-31 BCE). In January of 29 BCE, Octavian ordered—for the third time since Numa Pompilius’ reign (717-673 BCE)—the closing of the twin doors of the temple of Janus that had been open for more than two centuries. This extremely rare act symbolized the cessation of hostilities and the establishment of peace and stability in the empire. In the summer of 27 BCE, however, within fewer than six months of his adoption of the honorific title *Augustus* and the official inauguration of the principate, Octavian departed on a campaign against Gaul and Spain, and did not return until three years later.¹⁷ The new phase of Rome’s history began with no changes in her expansion policy. Although Augustus promoted himself as a bringer of peace, he continued to nourish the empire’s perennial obsession with the idea of war by transferring its epicenter to the western provinces. *Pax* referred to a period of internal order and security after civil war but did not preclude further foreign conquests and military activity on the borders.

The expansion of the borders of the empire required that soldiers followed Roman generals to distant places where they had to risk their lives on the battlefield at all times. This is precisely the situation described in the opening lines of Tibullus 1.1:¹⁸

Divitias alius fulvo sibi congerat auro,
et teneat culti iugera multa soli,
quem labor adsiduus vicino terreat hoste,
Martia cui somnos classica pulsa fugent:
me mea paupertas vita traducat inerti, 5
dum meus adsiduo luceat igne focus.
iam mihi, iam possim contentus vivere parvo
nec semper longae deditus esse viae.
(Tib. 1.1.1-8)

P. E. Knox, “Milestones in the Career of Tibullus,” *CQ* 55.1 (2005) 204-16 offers a reconsideration of the book’s publication date and places it in mid- to late 29 BCE. For a response see K. P. Nikoloutsos, “The Boy as Metaphor: The Hermeneutics of Homoerotic Desire in Tibullus 1.9,” *Helios* 38 (2011) 54, n. 2.

¹⁷ Augustus saw war and conquests as necessary preconditions for peace, as illustrated by his comment on the closing of the temple of Janus, which took place *cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parata victoriis pax* (“when peace had been achieved throughout the entire empire of the Roman people through victories by land and sea,” *RG* 13).

¹⁸ This idea is further elaborated when Delia’s iron-hearted lover has left her in pursuit of war and plunder in Cilicia (Tib. 1.2.65-74.). Later the speaker, after following Messalla on campaign overseas, becomes seriously sick in a foreign land (which is given the Homeric name Phaeacia) and fears that he will not live to follow his patron across the Aegean sea (1.3.1-3).

Let another amass a treasure of yellow gold for himself and own many acres of well-tilled land. Let endless work terrify him when the enemy is near and the trumpets of the war drive him from repose when they are blown. Let my modest means lead me along a quiet path of life while my hearth shines with everlasting fire. Now, if only now, may I be able to live for myself, happy with my little, and not be ever given to long marching.

In the opening lines the speaker presents himself as a man free from materialistic desires and thus higher in the moral hierarchy than others¹⁹ who see *militia* simply as a means for improving their financial (and hence social) position. Instead of trying to gain honor and glory by placing themselves at the service of the state, as dictated by the *mos maiorum*, these men embark on a military career driven by greed. By exposing their base motives, Tibullus joins other authors in a discussion on the corrosive effects of avarice on personal morality. Balot notes: “Starting in the middle Republic, the discussion of avarice was conditioned by Rome’s acquisition of a Mediterranean empire, which made enormous reserves of wealth available to any Roman leaders willing to fight for it . . . [This] influx of wealth harmed the state by destroying Rome’s collective ideals in favor of a newly individualistic ethic.”²⁰ As Sallust, for example, writes about the interlocking system between wealth, status, and power in Roman society, *postquam divitiae honori esse coepere et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur, hebescere virtus . . . coepit* (“when wealth began to be a mark of honor and with it came glory, military command, and authority, *virtus* began to decline,” *Cat.* 12).

Distancing himself from such practices, the speaker in Tibullus 1.1 is portrayed as a simple and hard-working farmer strictly devoted to the cultivation of his land and to the worship of agricultural and domestic deities (9-40). At first sight this self-representation seems in line with values such as *labor* (toil), *industria* (activity), *parsimonia* (frugality), and *pietas* (consciousness of duty),²¹ which are characteristic of the agrarian society that Rome once used to be, and were later embedded in the *mos maiorum*. After his victory at Actium in 31 BCE, Octavian undertook to restore the ancestral

¹⁹ Putnam [15] 125 examines the ironies of Tib. 1.1 and argues that the unnamed *alius* of line 1 refers not only to Messalla but also to the poet himself, for in this line Tibullus renounces practices and beliefs of the Augustan regime that he accepted in the past through his relationship with an influential patron.

²⁰ R. K. Balot, *Greed and Injustice in Classical Athens* (Princeton 2001) 15.

²¹ Sallust (*Cat.* 8-10) and Livy (*praef.* 8-12) argue that the Roman empire was founded upon these (and other) virtues that the Roman forefathers displayed on the battlefield. However, whereas war forges these virtues, it can also corrode them. Sallust, for example, mentions Sulla, who allowed the soldiers that he led to Asia to live in luxury and excessive freedom to ensure that they would remain loyal to him (*Cat.* 11.7). Cf. Janan [5 (2001)] 59f.

customs through an ambitious legislative and religious program (cf. *RG* 8, 19-21). Tibullus 1.1 echoes, albeit indirectly, this revival of Roman institutions. For example, the *spicea corona* (“wreath made of ears of corn,” 1.1.15f.) that the speaker wishes to hang before the doors of the temple of Ceres is, as Cairns notes,²² the main badge of the office of the *Fratres Arvales*, an exclusive body of priests that was believed to have been instituted by Romulus but that had gone into decline in the years of the late republic. To increase his authority, Octavian, the new Romulus, revived this brotherhood, most likely in 29/28 BCE, and was even portrayed in Roman sculpture as an Arval priest wearing the *spicea corona*.²³ Ceres/Demeter, in whose mysteries Octavian had been initiated while he was in Athens (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 93; Dio Cass. 51.4.1), became a “symbol of the Augustan ideology of peace and prosperity won through imperial victory.”²⁴ Long before Octavian undertook the restoration of the temples of Ceres, Liber, and Libera, destroyed by a fire in 31 BCE (cf. Dio Cass. 50.10.13; Tac. *Ann.* 2.49), Ceres was used in the numismatic propaganda of the second triumvirate in 43-42 BCE especially on coins with the face of Octavian on the obverse. By appropriating the image of Ceres, goddess of farming and hence of the plebeian class, the triumvirs were trying to appeal to Rome’s common citizens for political support.²⁵

Read with this sociohistorical context in mind, the first forty lines of Tibullus 1.1 give the impression that the speaker fashions himself as a paradigm of the piety and moral regeneration advocated by the *princeps*. However, a look at the rest of the poem undermines this assumption. The motive of the speaker for rejecting *militia* is as self-serving as is the motive of those men who join the army in pursuit of plunder. As he admits, life in the countryside is desirable because it provides him with the security and comfort that a soldier lacks (1.1.43-52). As a farmer, he may have to do manual work and till the fields, but at least he can take a rest to enjoy the company of his mistress or to protect himself from harsh weather conditions. Since he is wealthy enough to own an estate,²⁶ and can afford to reject the riches of his ancestors, his prosperity does

²² F. Cairns, “Tibullus, Messalla, and the *Spica*: I 1.16; I 5.28; I 10.22, 67; II 1.4; II 5.84,” *Emerita* 64.2 (1999) 224-230.

²³ A bust of Augustus, as an Arval, wearing the *corona spicea* is at the Vatican Museum (Sala dei Busti n. 274). Cf. D. Boschung, *Die Bildnisse des Augustus* (Berlin 1993) 182f., plate 113; Cairns [22] 226. I thank John Pollini for drawing my attention to this image of Augustus.

²⁴ J. Ginsburg, *Representing Agrippina: Constructions of Female Power in the Early Roman Empire* (Oxford 2006) 101.

²⁵ B. Stanley Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres* (Austin 1996) 99-102.

²⁶ The speaker can afford to reject money and to choose to live a life of *otium* in the country because, as an elite Roman, he has the resources for this alternative lifestyle.

not depend on his performance in the fields, as opposed to the soldier. In fact, as long as he is with his mistress, he is happy to do nothing and be called *segnis* (“lazy”) and *iners* (“inactive,” 1.1.58).

By refusing to perform the most important duty for a citizen, that is, to fight for the state, in favor of inertia and comfort, the Tibullan speaker constructs for himself a civic and national identity that excludes a concept that is key to Roman masculinity: *virtus*, that is, the ability to exercise dominion over others that is best displayed on the battlefield. Derived from *vir*,²⁷ *virtus* is “both etymologically and conceptually the pre-eminent embodiment of manliness.”²⁸ *Virtus*, however, does not have only military connotations. It is also ethically vested.²⁹ Real *virtus* is achieved when the personal submits to the communal. Its inscription (along with the other three founding values of the Roman state, *clementia*, *iustitia*, and *pietas*) on the golden shield, known as the *clupeus virtutis*, which Octavian received from the Senate in January of 27 BCE when he was named *Augustus*, illustrates its full meaning: individual distinction placed at the service of the state.³⁰

While the *princeps* is recognized, on the basis on this inscription, as the epitome of *virtus*, Tibullus presents his readers with an escapist fantasy of a life in which the constant reaffirmation of manliness on the battlefield is no longer an obligation. To the male reader of the poem—an elite man who is identified with Rome’s military ideal, as the address to Messalla suggests—this wishful thinking is completely heretical since it defies, albeit indirectly, the traditional equation between combativeness and Romanness. In moralizing discourses from the late republican and early imperial era, *virtus* is viewed as a quality that

The estate that he imagines that he owns may not be grand, but it is certainly prosperous. Although he has to perform manual labor, life with Delia in this piece of land is generally comfortable and free from financial worries. Illustrious guests, such as Messalla, can also be entertained satisfactorily in this estate (Tib. 1.5.21-34). Cf. Lyne [16] 532f.; K. P. Nikoloutsos, “Beyond Sex: The Poetics and Politics of Pederasty in Tibullus 1.4,” *Phoenix* 61 (2007) 73. On the contradictions of Latin elegy’s economic discourse see S. James, “The Economics of Roman Elegy: Voluntary Poverty, the *Recusatio*, and the Greedy Girl,” *AJPh* 122 (2001) 223-253; James [2].

²⁷ On the derivation of *virtus* from *vir*, see Cic. *Tusc.* 2.43. On martial *virtus* see McDonnell [9 (2003)] 238-40; McDonnell [9 (2006)] esp. 12-71.

²⁸ Williams [6] 146.

²⁹ On ethical *virtus* see McDonnell [9 (2003)] 247-51; McDonnell [9 (2006)] 110-28.

³⁰ See, e.g., K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton 1996) 84.

the Romans possess by birthright, and in a higher degree than any other nations. Pre-eminence in *virtus* is what made Rome a supreme power.³¹

Virtus was a value with which the Romans defined not only their relation to other nations but also relations of power within their own society. Public office, for example, was a way to recognize one’s *virtus*. In addition to wealth that is also rejected in Tibullus 1.1, outstanding performance on the battlefield could help a man gain entry into the elite. Military achievements were so important for the attainment of high status that the Roman nobility was believed to have originated from men who excelled in martial prowess (cf. *nobilitas ex virtute coepit*, “nobility has its origins in manliness,” Sall. *Iug.* 85.17). To preserve this order, “the descendants of nobles had both the obligation and the privileged opportunity to reproduce the *virtus* of their ancestors.”³² Roman aristocrats had to hold themselves up to high behavioral standards set by their forefathers and display an amount of masculinity equal to their superior social standing.

The speaker’s wishful thinking in Tibullus 1.1 violates these longstanding beliefs and practices of the Roman elite. As he emphatically states, he does not ask for the wealth or the rich harvests of his ancestors—an implicit avoidance of the manual labor needed to make the land produce to its utmost capacity (1.1.41-48).³³ A small crop is enough. This is a very clever choice since it entails less work for him in the fields, less exposure to harsh weather

³¹ See C. Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge 1993) 20-22; Williams [6] 132-37, 319 n. 36. Claims about Rome’s hegemony over other nations were often based on the superior masculinity of her citizens. See, for example, Nepos, who begins his life of Hannibal with the following statement: *si verum est, quod nemo dubitat, ut populus Romanus omnes gentes virtute superarit* (“if this is true, which no one doubts, that the Roman people are superior than other nations in manliness”, *Han.* 1.1). The elder Pliny, too, writes that *gentium in toto orbe praestantissima una omnium virtute haud dubie Romana exstitit* (“of all people in the entire world, the Roman nation undoubtedly stands out as the one most outstanding in manliness,” *HN* 7.130). Cicero also notes: *Ac nimirum—dicendum est enim quod sentio—rei militaris virtus praestat ceteris omnibus. Haec nomen populo Romano, haec huic urbi aeternam gloriam peperit, haec orbem terrarum parere huic imperio coegit* (“But without doubt—for I must say what I feel—military prowess is superior to all other qualities. This won the Roman people the fame, this won this city its everlasting glory, this forced the world to yield to this power,” *Mur.* 22).

³² A. Wallace-Hadrill, “*Mutatas Formas*: The Augustan Transformation of Roman Knowledge,” in K. Galinsky (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus* (Cambridge 2006) 67.

³³ The fertility of the land prompts the farmer to be more active, as Lucilius suggests *fundi delectat virtus te, vilicus Paulo / strenuor si evaserit* (“the *virtus* of the farm pleases you, if the overseer turns out to be a bit more energetic,” fr. 558f., in W. Krenkel (ed.), *Lucilius: Satiren 1-2* [Leiden 1970]). On the use of *virtus* as a designation of the excellence and fertility of the land, see McDonnell [9 (2003)] 242; McDonnell [9 (2006)] 74f.

the ideology that he seeks to undermine, blurring the lines between inclusion and exclusion. Miller has explained such incongruities in the Tibullan text as “symptoms that point to the traumatic interruption of the ‘Real’ into the ordered realm of language and the Symbolic.”³⁶ This is a compelling yet obscure reading, which I wish to elucidate and elaborate further by using Lacan’s theory about the unconscious, language, and subjectivity. In so doing my aim is to provide an analysis not of Tibullus’ psyche, but rather of the texture of his discourse.

For Lacan the unconscious is not chaotic, a mere site of instinct and desire, as Freud maintained. For Lacan, the unconscious is structured, like language, and consists of signifying material.³⁷ It is a meaning-creation process that is beyond our control. It is the language that speaks through us rather than the language that we speak. In this respect the unconscious is the discourse of “the Other.” The Other is a shorthand for the Symbolic Order, the cultural practices and beliefs of a given society that are mediated through language, for language precedes us. We are born into language, the language that others use to express their desires and we in turn are obliged to use in order to express our own desires. For Lacan the subject is not autonomous or unified, but split and ideologically dependent. We do not exist prior to social structures; we are constituted in and through them. These structures operate transindividually, through practices and institutions, and produce subjectivities independently of any individual’s agency or volition. We cannot therefore escape the Other, although the Other always escapes us.³⁸ We are trapped into what Lacan calls a circuit of discourse:

It is the discourse of the circuit in which I am integrated. I am one of its links. It is the discourse of my father, for instance, in so far as my father made mistakes, which I am condemned to reproduce . . . I am condemned to reproduce them because I am obliged to pick up again the discourse he bequeathed to me, not simply because I am his son, but because one can’t stop the chain of discourse, and it is precisely my duty to transmit it in its aberrant form to someone else.³⁹

³⁶ Miller [2] 95f.

³⁷ As Janan [5 (2001)] 169 n. 1 astutely puts it, the subject is “a site through which social, cultural, institutional, and unconscious forces move. The model is the grammatical subject, governed from outside itself by rules of grammar and syntax making up a linguistic mixture—rules that grant the ‘I’ its meaning.”

³⁸ These ideas are formulated and reformulated by Lacan in several of his works; see, e.g., J. Lacan (tr. A. Sheridan), *Écrits: A Selection* (New York 1977); *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* (New York 1981); (tr. B. Fink et al.) *Écrits: The First Complete Edition in English* (New York 2006).

³⁹ Quoted in S. Homer, *Jacques Lacan* (New York 2005) 44.

For Lacan identity formation is contingent on the reproduction of the paternal law, a set of societal rules according to which our desire and communication are organized. Desire is shaped in accordance with pre-existing words and images, which Lacan termed “master signifiers.”⁴⁰ “Master signifiers” include the cultural icons and discourses that together constitute a dominant ideology and play a central role in the way individual subjects define themselves as well as their relation to others.⁴¹

Lacan’s theories on identity formation explain sufficiently why in Tibullus 1.1.75 the speaker embraces the hegemonic model of masculinity (most illustriously represented by Messalla)⁴² and casts himself as a warrior in the erotic field. Although the number of Roman elite men, especially those of senatorial origins, who sought to hold military office before they became involved in politics had declined significantly by the beginning of the first century BCE and the citizen militia had been transformed into a professional army,⁴³ *dux* and *miles* were not empty signifiers at Tibullus’ time.⁴⁴ To the contrary, the army and its leaders played a crucial role in politics, especially after the collapse of the first triumvirate when civil war reached its culmination and relations of power in Rome’s political scene were determined through a series of battles: Pharsalus, Thapsus, Munda, Philippi, Actium, just to name a

⁴⁰ In the language of psychoanalysis, these words and images are also referred to as “primal” or “original fantasies” precisely because they provide the origins of human subjectivity, on which see J. Laplanche and J.-B. Pontalis, “Fantasy and the Origins of Sexuality,” *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 49 (1968) 1-18.

⁴¹ As Kennedy [11] 36 responds to attempts to construct from Latin elegiac texts an extra-textual individual with a certain, monolithic ideology, “personality is not an essence which pre-exists experience, but is actively being constructed and re-constructed within the discourses in which people participate.”

⁴² On Messalla as a representative of the paternal law, see Miller [2] 117-28.

⁴³ As the example of Julius Caesar illustrates, in the first century BCE young aristocrats did not have to do a total of ten campaigns before they could enter the *cursus honorum*. Some, of course, still did. Sulla and Pompey, for example, had officers from senatorial and equestrian families in their armies. However, the long period of military service was generally seen as an obstacle to one’s aspired political career. On the Roman army in the middle and late republic, see J. B. McCall, *The Cavalry of the Roman Republic* (New York 2002); D. Potter, “The Roman Army and Navy,” in H. J. Flower (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Army* (Cambridge 2004) 83-85; McDonnell [9 (2006)], 242-47; P. Cagniard, “The Late Republican Army (146-30 BC),” in R. Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army* (Malden 2007) 80-95; N. Rosenstein, “Military Command, Political Power, and the Republican Elite,” in Erdkamp [above, this note] 143-45.

⁴⁴ It is noteworthy that the characterization *dux bonus* that Tibullus adopts for himself is applied to Augustus in Hor. *Carm.* 4.5.5, 37, where the poet begs the *princeps* to return to Rome from war. Cf. Lyne [16] 533 n. 48. On the *apo koinou* use of *bonus* see Murgatroyd [16] 69.

few. Within this historical context, the role of *dux* and *miles* as symbols of *virtus* and its concomitants (leadership, bravery, strength, endurance, discipline, loyalty, and above all protection of the national interest) was reinforced.

Although the poet-lover inscribes his fantasy within Rome’s patriarchal discourse (Tib. 75), he contests the empire’s militarist ideology (76-78). *Dux* and *miles* are there rejected as role models not only because of the hardship and suffering entailed in fighting battles and prolonged campaigning but also because of the mercenary nature of military service. Military service is no longer seen as an honor, duty, or responsibility; it has become an opportunity for profit.⁴⁵

Tibullus closes poem 1.1 by problematizing the Symbolic Order and by exposing the Other’s lack of ideological integrity. *Dux* and *miles* are deconstructed, demystified, and depicted as two weak links in the signifying chain called *vir*.⁴⁶ Lacan holds that the recognition that the Other is deficient and offers an illusion of wholeness is registered as a trauma by the subject. Fantasy undertakes to heal this trauma and alleviate the psychic pain through displacement of the wounding images and resignification.⁴⁷ Trauma causes a reorientation of subjectivity and institutes a process of repetition-with-difference, as illustrated by the narrator’s self-construction as both *dux* and *miles* but in a different field, the *domus*—what is known in elegiac terms as *militia amoris* (“the warfare of lovemaking”).

⁴⁵ For the general soldier, military service was always an opportunity for profit, especially before the establishment of a paid army, when rewards depended solely on looting. Sallust attributes the same motive to aristocratic men who joined the Roman army, as *ea tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures novi atque nobiles, quibus divitiae bono honestoque potiores erant* (“at that time there were several in our army, self-made and noble, to whom wealth was more precious than virtue and honor,” *Iug.* 8.1). Catullus attacks Caesar and Mamurra for waging wars in order to feed their appetite for wealth (29). As Cagniard [43] 80 points out, the average legionary in the first century BCE was “a man who had failed in all other walks of life and who had joined the military as the last resort . . . a man who had found a new identity in a non-civilian life, in the society of the legions.” In joining the army, soldiers usually sought, as M. Le Glay, J.-L. Voisin, *et al.*, *A History of Rome* (Oxford 2001) 114 note, “pay, booty, distributions of gifts at the times of triumphs, and plots of land when colonial allocations were being made.”

⁴⁶ After all, during the years of the civil strife, the boundaries between *dux* and *miles* were blurred and power dynamics between the two easily shifted. In the many battles that took place both in and outside the Italian peninsula, upper and middle cadre officers (legates, tribunes, prefects, and centurions), although military commanders themselves, fought like common soldiers under the orders of quarreling leaders. On the interdependence between army and general in the middle and late republic, see McDonnell [9 (2006)] 59-71; K. de Blois, “Army and General in the Late Roman Republic,” in Erdkamp [43] 164-79.

⁴⁷ Cf. Homer [39] 113.

Tibullus' attitude to gender cannot be divorced from his Roman heritage. *Dux* and *miles* are recognized as key images in the discursive production of male identity but are emptied of moral content and cast as "holes" in the Symbolic Order. This deconstructive representational strategy can be interpreted as a defense mechanism against the trauma of history and against the painful realization that in late-first century BCE Rome serving in the army is no longer an act of patriotism and loyalty to the state. The profiteering mentality that characterizes the *dux* and *miles*⁴⁸ makes the speaker lose faith in this model of *virtus* and desire an alternative, more suitable lifestyle. The speaker refuses to serve as a soldier and safeguards himself against the possibility of dying abroad.⁴⁹ Instead of ending up a lifeless corpse buried in foreign soil, he prefers to have a more productive relationship with his own native land and aestheticizes the gruesome experience of war by imagining himself in the company of a *formosa puella* ("beautiful girl," Tib. 1.1.55).

The rejection of rewarding, yet potentially deadly, military action overseas in favor of a quiet life with the mistress in the Italian countryside could be read metaphorically as a desire to escape from the tomb and return to the womb, to use Freudian terminology. In his essay "The Uncanny," originally published in 1919, Freud defines the term—in German *unheimlich*, the opposite of *heimlich*, meaning "homey," "domestic," "not strange"—as "that class of the frightening which leads back to what is known of old and long familiar."⁵⁰ Freud provides as an example for his concept of the uncanny the fear of personal annihilation and erasure through premature death, that is, to dream one's self in the grave, either as a collection of severed body parts or as a whole body buried alive. Freud maintains that this fear is a projection of another oneiric image, which replaces dread and horror with lustful pleasure: the return to intrauterine status.⁵¹ Anxiety about identity destruction allegorized in this fantasy through the dismembering and extinction of the human body is transformed into a comforting feeling of oneness and infinite connectedness with our first "home," the womb and the female body in general.⁵²

⁴⁸ Cf. Tib. 1.10.7f.: *divitis hoc vitium est auri, nec bella fuerunt / fagus astabat cum scyphus ante dapes* ("this is the vice of rich gold; nor was there war when the beechen cup stood besides the meal").

⁴⁹ On the fear of dying away from home, see also Tib. 1.3. For more Greek and Roman parallels see K. F. Smith, *The Elegies of Albius Tibullus* (New York 1913) 234. This fear haunts the reception of Tibullus' image in Ov. *Am.* 3.9.

⁵⁰ S. Freud, "The 'Uncanny'," in J. Strachey *et al.* (edd. and trr.), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* 17 (London 1968) 220.

⁵¹ Freud [50] 244.

⁵² When the speaker imagines his death in "Phaeacia" while on campaign with Messalla, he immediately recalls his mother and the tenderness with which she would take care of his

The Tibullan dream text reflects and at the same time seeks to deflect war trauma, displacing the uncanniness of military service onto to the canniness of a beautiful woman and a peaceful life with her in the country. The trauma of war is the shocking, devastating confrontation with death and violence.⁵³ In Freudian terms, fighting and carnage are the very opposite of the *heimlich*, “what is beautiful, attractive, and sublime.”⁵⁴ The speaker seeks to repress the memories of war, to banish them from consciousness—albeit temporarily, as they reappear later in book 1—with a dream of an ordinary life in a rural landscape. Indulging in this type of fantasy is a mental process of healing and self-empowerment, as it fosters a sense of sufficiency and stability, as opposed to the errant and insecure life of the soldier; at the same time, however, this fantasy makes the narrator look completely powerless, since he freely submits to a woman. Delia is cast as both a *tenera puella* (“soft girl”) and a *dura domina* (“hard mistress”)⁵⁵ in this dream, a symbol of both the canny and the uncanny, both womb and tomb. Given the changes in the public sphere in post-civil war Rome, the narrator’s desire to submit to a woman has political overtones, and this is what I shall now discuss.

Queer Tibullus

After his victory at Actium, Augustus established his regime and undertook to restore the *res publica*. This process involved the restoration of the ancient, and therefore better, *mores* through a series of laws.⁵⁶ Augustus’ reforms, however, offered the Roman people nothing but an illusion of a virtuous past. In reality, as Miller points out, they “laid the ideological groundwork for consolidating what was to be the most sweeping transformation of the Roman state since the expulsion of the Etruscan kings.”⁵⁷ The subjugation of the Senate to the authority of one man, in a way analogous to that of a client to a patron or of a

dead body: *abstineas, Mors atra, precor: non hic mihi mater / quae legat in maestos ossa perusta sinus* (“I beg you to keep away, black Death: I have no mother here to pick up my charred bones in her mourning breast,” Tib. 1.3.5f.).

⁵³ As the speaker notes in Tib. 1.10.11-14: *nunc ad bella trahor, et iam quis forsitan hostis / haesura in nostro tela gerit latere* (“now I am dragged to wars, and perhaps some enemy already carries the spear that is about to be fixed on my side”).

⁵⁴ Freud [50] 219.

⁵⁵ On Delia’s oscillation between *teneritas* and *duritia*, see Nikoloutsos [26] 60f.

⁵⁶ Morality had traditionally been thought to be a fundamental value of the Roman state. Cf. *moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque* (“the Roman state stands on ancient *mores* and men,” Ennius in Cic. *Rep.* 5.1).

⁵⁷ Miller [2] 20.

slave to a master, posed a serious threat for all members of the aristocracy, including poets like Tibullus.

Fashioning himself as a custodian of ancestral customs, Augustus passed a law known as *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus*, with which he forced men from the senatorial and equestrian orders to marry women of their own station and beget children. Although Augustus did not pass this law until 18/17 BCE, it is very possible that he declared his intention to place the institutions of marriage and family at the core of his moral reform program as early as 28/27 BCE.⁵⁸ Legislation against celibacy was attributed to Romulus.⁵⁹ As the new founder of Rome, Augustus sought to stimulate the birthrate after a series of deadly civil wars (and thus to secure the number of administrators and soldiers needed by the state as well as to regulate inheritance rights) by a law that, on the one hand, punished the unmarried and rewarded those who procreated and, on the other hand, prescribed who could marry whom. Marriages between men of high rank and women from lower classes were prohibited. Senators, for example, could not marry ex-slaves. Freeborn men as well as freedmen were forbidden to marry women who carried the stigma of

⁵⁸ G. Williams, "Poetry in the Moral Climate of Augustan Rome," *JRS* 52 (1962) 28f.; *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford 1968) 531-35; "Did Maecenas Fall from Favor? Augustan Literary Patronage," in K. Raafaub and M. Toher (edd.), *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate* (Berkeley 1990) 267 n. 19 advanced the argument (based on Prop. 2.7) that in 28/27 BCE Augustus attempted to pass, but because of strong public reaction he retracted, his proposed marriage law. The argument has been pursued further by F. Cairns, "Propertius on Augustus' Marriage Law (II, 7)" *GB* 8 (1978) 185-204; K. Galinsky, "Augustus' Legislation on Morals and Marriage," *Philologus* 125 (1981) 126-44; Galinsky [30] 131; James [2] 229-31; Skinner [6] 204. On the other hand, E. Badian, "A Phantom Marriage Law," *Philologus* 129 (1985) 82-98, following L. F. Raditsa, "Augustus' Legislation concerning Marriage, Procreation, Love Affairs and Adultery," *ANRW* 2.13 (1980) 278-339, contends that the abolition by Augustus of a law that he passed himself would not have escaped the notice of historians, and that Propertius 2.7 refers to the withdrawal of a Triumviral measure imposed upon unmarried men; unlike Augustus' later marriage law, this edict was not concerned with moral issues, but was introduced for the purpose of raising funds for the ongoing civil wars. Badian's thesis has been accepted by Edwards [31] 41 n. 26; D. Konstan, *Sexual Symmetry: Love in the Ancient Novel and Related Genres* (Princeton 1994) 152; M. R. Gale, "Propertius 2.7: *Militia Amoris* and the Ironies of Elegy," *JRS* 87 (1997) 89f.; Miller [2] 143. However, even if we accept Badian's thesis, the fact that Augustus passed a law in 18 BCE by which he sought to extend his control over private life does not mean that he could not have announced his intention to do so at the very beginning of his reign. On this argument see Galinsky [30] 131; Miller [2] 143-45. For a more detailed discussion of modern scholarship on Augustus' proposed marriage law, see Nikoloutsos [16] 57 n. 41.

⁵⁹ C.f. A. Wallace-Hadrill, "Family and Inheritance in the Augustan Marriage Laws," *PCPhS* 207 (1981) 60, 77 n.14.

infamia such as prostitutes, procuresses, adulteresses, and actresses.⁶⁰ In theory the law promoted marriage; in reality it aimed to control and homogenize private life⁶¹ and to reduce mobility among the classes.

Within this climate of moral revival and ideological redefinition in the early years of the principate, Tibullus 1 marks an important point of departure.⁶² The collection opens with an elegy in which the poet-lover expresses a self-abasing passion for Delia, a woman who is allocated such qualities that she cannot be classified on the narratological level as a marriageable *virgo* or a chaste *matrona*. In simple words, she can be neither a prospective nor an existing wife. In poem 1.1—as well as in the other four elegies (1.2, 1.3, 1.5, 1.6) that make up the so called Delia cycle—the relationship between lover and beloved is constructed in terms of power, the main structuring element in Roman politics and society. The speaker is portrayed not only as a submissive man enslaved to his desire for a woman who is promiscuous⁶³ but also of uncertain social status.⁶⁴ By contrast she is depicted as a hard-hearted and dominant mistress who has the ability to victimize the narrator⁶⁵ and subjects him to the torments of erotic betrayal.

⁶⁰ Cf., e.g., S. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage: Iusti Coniuges From the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian* (Oxford 1991) 60-80; Edwards [31] 41f.

⁶¹ On the unifying ethos that Augustus attempted to impose on Roman society from the position of the *pater patriae*, see Galinsky [30] 30, 61-63.

⁶² The relation to Augustus is not always oppositional, but rather complex. In Tib. 1.1 the Tibullan narrator casts himself as a *privatus* (i.e., a private individual, a man who holds neither military nor political office), a role with which the *princeps* had been identified, albeit ambiguously, since he took his first steps into politics. Augustus found ways to bypass the strictures of, and to intervene decisively in, public life, promoting himself as a man who was always placed at the service of the state. Cf. K. Milnor, *Gender, Domesticity, and the Age of Augustus: Inventing Private Life* (Oxford 2005) 22-27. By contrast Tibullus and the rest of the elegists, although they assume a transgressive persona in their work, observe (for their own political reasons) the line between *civis* and *privatus*. This, of course, does not mean that Latin elegy is a genre in which the private and the public do not intersect.

⁶³ On Delia's promiscuity see Tib. 1.2.63-66; 1.6.

⁶⁴ The social status of the elegiac mistress is never specified in the genre. As far as Delia is concerned, scholars do not agree if she was an adulterous married woman (Williams [58 (1968)] 535-38), a courtesan (Murgatroyd [16] 7-9), or a freedwoman (Maltby [16] 44f.). As Wyke [2] 30 explains about the *puella*, “[h]er social status is not clearly defined because the dominating perspective is that of the male narrator. What matters is his social and political position as an elite male citizen who, in having a mistress (however different she may be), refuses to be a *maritus* or the father of *milites*.” On the *puella* as a *meretrix* see James [2]; James [26].

⁶⁵ The lack of symmetry in the poet's relationship with Delia is illustrated by the fact that, before she is even introduced by her proper name (Tib. 1.1.57), she is referred to as *domina*

Love for Delia, an undomesticated woman who defies the constraints of marriage and motherhood, leads the narrator to dissociate himself from cultural practices, beliefs, and attitudes traditionally deemed to be both masculine and Roman. Instead of affirming gender protocols and aiming at reproduction, the affair with Delia is imagined in ways that promote male servitude and castration. The Tibullan narrator becomes the advocate of a marginal, non-phallic masculinity, thereby inviting the characterization “queer.” In modern critical discourse, “queer” is used less as a label for a particular sexual identity than as a designation of a subject position that is in sharp contrast to normative gender roles and codes of conduct.⁶⁶ As queer theorist Dean explains, for example, “queer” stands “in opposition to the forces of normalization that regulate social conformity.”⁶⁷ Trying to understand the deviance of the Tibullan narrator in terms of queer theory can open new hermeneutic windows onto the ways in which gender is constructed in Roman elegy. Feminist critics have demonstrated the construction of gender in the genre as a set of actions, utterances, and relations constantly shifting between masculine and feminine positions. Queer theory provides the framework for analyzing this overlap of conflicting gender roles not in terms of the binary opposition “male versus female,” as has been the case in classical scholarship so far, but (in keeping with Foucault and Lacan) under the rubric of dominant fiction, that is, vis-à-vis the discursive mechanisms “by which a society tries to institute itself [as a totality] on the basis of closure, of the fixation of meaning, of the non-recognition of the infinite play of differences.”⁶⁸

In this respect, the queerness of the Tibullan narrator is symptomatic, I suggest, of a crisis of faith in dominant mythologies in the first years of the principate resulting from the historical trauma of the civil war and the sweeping transformation of Roman society. As feminist theorist Silverman explains about films produced right after the end of World War II, historical trauma “brings . . . male subjects into such an intimate relation with lack that they are . . . unable to sustain an imaginary relation with the phallus, and so withdraw their belief from the dominant fiction.”⁶⁹ Tibullus 1.1 attests to this disbelief in the dominant fiction of war and to the horror of military life, which leaves the poetic subject

(1.1.46). On the Tibullan narrator’s emotional captivity by and enslavement to Delia, see Tib.1.1.55f.

⁶⁶ See also Nikoloutsos [16] 47-50 for my discussion of queer theory and its application to Tib. 1.9.

⁶⁷ T. Dean, “Lacan and Queer Theory,” in J.-M. Rabaté (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Lacan* (Cambridge 2003) 240.

⁶⁸ K. Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins* (New York 1992) 54.

⁶⁹ Silverman [68] 55.

drained (physically as well as ideologically), traumatized, castrated (in the sense of surrendering his autonomy to the *dux*), and hence incapable of seeking to gain a re-entry into the mechanisms of achieving *virtus*. The Tibullan narrator produces his own counter-fiction in which he casts himself as a slave to a woman, thereby allegorizing the weak, feminized, castrated position of the Roman elite after the collapse of the republic, on account of the increased authorities of the *princeps*.⁷⁰ Yet, as my reading of poem 1.1 aims to show, this fiction, although informed by its contemporary sociopolitical reality, should not be taken to promote an anti-Augustan view, at least not in its entirety. After all, the freedom that allows Tibullus to retreat into nature, to enjoy the company of his mistress and to be devoted to the composition of elegy has a name: *pax Augusta*. It was because of Augustus that civil war was terminated in the Italian peninsula and that the reorganization of Roman society was made possible.

Tibullus opens his first collection with a poem that problematizes the relationship between individual (as an autonomous entity) and the collective national identity. If the fundamental idea behind the restoration of the *res publica* by Augustus was a redefinition of the role of the *vir* in post-civil war Roman society, then Tibullus 1.1 shows that *virtus* cannot be reduced to a single behavioral standard. Rather, it is the site of many complex possibilities and contradictions.⁷¹ It is through such ideological contestations in Tibullus 1 that the Roman reader is shaped.

⁷⁰ Skinner [7] 118 interprets the asymmetrical relationship between the *minax* (“menacing”) Cybele and her castrated *famula* (“maid, slave-girl”) Attis (Catull. 63) as a reflection of “elite despair over real decreases in personal autonomy and diminished capacity for meaningful action during the agonized final years of the Roman Republic.” See also Nikoloutsos [16] 49f. in which I read the power relation between lover and male beloved in Tib. 1.9 as a metaphor for the relationship between individual and the state in the early years of the principate.

⁷¹ On *virtus* as a construct whose semantic range is determined by specific sociohistorical conditions, see McDonnell [9 (2006)] 320-84.

equally be applied to the explanation of *vestibulum* from Vesta. What sort of house has its hearth in the forecourt?

The nearest parallel to Ovid’s idea is the rejected definition of *vestibula* in Nonius Marcellus’ book on the proper use of words:

vestibula quidam putant sub ea proprietate distincta, quod in primis ingressibus et in spatiis domorum Vestae, hoc est arae ac foci, soleant haberi. sed sive sic intellegi debent <sive> non, abhorret a vocabuli proprio. invenitur etiam apud veteres doctos vestibula ob eam significantiam dicta, quod in his locis, ad salutandos dominos domorum quicumque venissent, stare solerent, dum introeundi daretur copia; atque ob hanc consitionem et quasi stabulationem primos ingressus domorum vestibula nominatos.

(*De Prop. Serm.* 75³)

Some think that *vestibula* are distinguished under this particular meaning that *Vestae*—that is, altars and hearths—are normally kept in the outer entrances and areas of houses. But whether or not they should be understood in this sense, it is inconsistent with the proper use of the word. One finds in early authorities that *vestibula* are so called because of this meaning, that in these places those who had come to pay their respects to the masters of the houses were accustomed to stand until they were given permission to enter, and from this standing and (as it were) ‘stabling’ the outer entrances of houses were named *vestibula*.

The emphasis on outer entrances (*primi ingressus*) makes it likely that by *spatia domorum* Nonius was referring to the forecourt area immediately outside the door, as described by a learned author of late republican or Augustan date:

C. Aelius Gallus, in libro de significatione verborum quae ad ius civile pertinent secundo, vestibulum esse dicit non in ipsis aedibus neque partem aedium, sed locum ante ianuam domus vacuum, per quem a via aditus accessusque ad aedis est, cum dextra sinistraque ianuam tecta saepiunt viae iuncta atque ipsa ianua procul a via est, area vacanti intersita.

(*Gell. NA* 16.5.3⁴)

Gaius Aelius Gallus, in the second book of his work on the meaning of words relating to civil law, says that the *vestibulum* is not in the house itself, nor is it part of the house, but is an open space before the door of the house, through which there is an approach and access to the house from the street, while on the right and left the door is hemmed in by buildings extended to the street and the door itself is at a distance from the street, separated from it by this vacant space.

³ W. M. Lindsay (ed.), *Nonius Marcellus: De Compendiosa Doctrina Libri 1-XX* 1-3 (Leipzig 1903).

⁴ J. C. Rolfe (ed. and tr.), *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius* 1-3 (London 1927-1928); the passage is Ael. Gall. fr. 7 in H. Funaioli (ed.), *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta* (Stuttgart 1969) 547; it is also quoted by Macrob. *Sat.* 6.8.16.

According to Vitruvius, magnificent forecourts were not appropriate to *qui communi sunt fortuna* ('those persons of common fortune', *De Arch.* 6.5.1); for nobles and magistrates, however, who needed to be consulted by the citizens, the architect must provide forecourts that were *vestibula regalia alta* ('regal and lofty', 6.5.1).⁵ Such a *vestibulum* might contain portrait statues and have military trophies hung on the walls.⁶ But it is hard to see why it should feature a hearth.

The hearth is symbolic of the household's privacy, as the formulaic phrase *foci penetrales* ('innermost hearths', Cic. *Har. Resp.* 57.13; Catull. 68.102; Verg. *Aen.* 5.660) is enough to show.⁷ Of course it must be inside the house. In the old days it had been in the *atrium*, where the family cooked and ate together (Cato *Orig. fr.* 7.12;⁸ Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.726); the classic case was Manius Curius *ad focum sedens* ('sitting at the hearth', Cic. *Rep.* 3.40; *Sen.* 56). That may be what Ovid refers to (6.302), since the *atrium* of a simple old-fashioned house would be the first room you entered. No doubt Frazer in the Loeb edition had that in mind when he overtranslated *in primis aedibus* as 'in the first room of the house'; Bömer's 'vorne im Haus' is more accurate.⁹

Some people in Aulus Gellius' time evidently believed that the term *vestibulum* could refer to the *atrium* (NA 16.5.2; Macrobi. *Sat.* 6.18.15), but he easily refuted them by referring to the Aelius Gallus passage quoted above. Indeed, his learned friend Sulpicius Apollinaris provided the same derivation that Nonius found in his 'early authorities': *consistione et quasi quadam stabulatione* ('from standing and [as it were] stabling', Gell. NA 16.5.10). In any case, it is no help for our passage. In Ovid's time it was self-evident that the *vestibulum* was in front of the house: you went in from the *vestibulum* and you came out into the *vestibulum* (e.g., Plaut. *Mostell.* 817; Varro, *Ling.* 7.81; Cic. *Caecin.* 35; Vitruv. *De Arch.* 6.7.5; Livy 1.40.5). So why should it be associated with Vesta?

⁵ R. J. Littlewood, *A Commentary on Ovid's Fasti, Book 6* (Oxford 2006) 96 is surely mistaken in defining *vestibulum* as 'a narrow passage leading to the street'.

⁶ Statues: Juv. 7.125f.; e.g., the houses of Tarquin (Plin. *HN* 34.26); Caesar (Cass. Dio 44.18.2); C. Silius (Tac. *Ann.* 11.35.1); Nero (Suet. *Ner.* 31.1). Statues and *spolia*: Plin. *HN* 35.7; e.g., the palace of Latinus (Verg. *Aen.* 7.177-86). Rams of warships: Cic. *Phil.* 2.68 (house of Pompey).

⁷ See F. Vollmer, in S. Clavadetscher *et al.* (edd.), *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Munich 1900-) 6.1 cols 988.1-989.80 s.v. 'focus' for its use as the *intima et sacra pars domi* ('the private and sacred part of the house'), the home of the Lares.

⁸ M. Chassignet (ed. and tr.), *Caton: Les Origines (Fragments)* (Paris 1986).

⁹ J. G. Frazer (ed. and tr.), *Ovid: Fasti* (London 1931) 340f.; F. Bömer (ed.), *P. Ovidius Naso: Die Fasten* 1 (Heidelberg 1992) 273.

2

Praefamur (304) is Heinsius’ conjecture for *quae famur* in the manuscripts.¹⁰ Ovid’s train of thought from *primis aedibus* to *loca prima* makes Heinsius’ reading *praefamur* practically inevitable, and it is accepted by Frazer; Bömer; Alton, Wormell and Courtney; and Goold.¹¹ Schilling, however, reads *affamur* (‘we speak to’).¹²

If *praefamur* is correct, it seems to involve Ovid in a self-contradiction. In the first book of the *Fasti* (1.171f.), he asks why sacrifice, which necessarily involves prayer, is offered first to Janus. There is ample confirmation of Janus’ priority in prayer and sacrifice: Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.67; Mart. 8.8.3, 10.28.2; Arn. *Adv. Nat.* 3.29; August. *De Civ. D.* 7.9; Serv. Dan. *Aen.* 7.610; Macrobi. *Sat.* 1.9.3 and *Or. Gent. Rom.* 3.7. The earliest of our authorities, Cicero, links sacrifice with the name of the divinity who came last—none other than Vesta herself:

vis autem eius ad aras et focos pertinet, itaque in ea dea, quod est rerum custos
intumarum, omnis et precatio et sacrificatio extrema est.

(*Nat. D.* 2.67¹³)

Her power relates to altars and hearths, and so, because this goddess is the guardian of the inmost things, all prayer and sacrifice ends with her.

What Ovid says is quite incompatible with that.

If we accept Heinsius’ emendation, as I think we must, then Ovid places Vesta in the *praefatio* of Roman prayers. But we have very good early evidence that the gods normally addressed in the *praefatio* were Janus and Jupiter, whose respective responsibilities were what comes first and what matters most: Cato *Agr. Orig.* 141.2; Fab. Max. Serv. fr. 4P *ap.* Macrobi. *Sat.* 1.16.25; Varro *Antiquitates Divinae* fr. 23b:¹⁴ *penes Ianum sunt prima, penes Iovem summa*. How has Ovid’s Vesta found herself in that company?

It is true that, in fifth- and fourth-century Athens, prayers and sacrifices began with Hestia (Ar. *Vesp.* 846; Pl. *Cra.* 401b1), and that Ovid in this very passage takes for granted the equivalence of Hestia and Vesta. But since the Athenian custom must have been as well known in Cicero’s time as it was in

¹⁰ D. Heinsius (ed.), *Pub. Ovidii Nasonis Opera* 1-3 (Leiden 1629-1630).

¹¹ Frazer [9] 342; Bömer [9] 272f.; Alton *et al.* [1] 147; J. G. Frazer and G. P. Goold (edd.), *Ovid: Fasti*² (Cambridge, Mass. 1989) 342.

¹² R. Schilling (ed.), *Ovide: Les Fastes* 2 (Paris 1993) 83.

¹³ H. Rackham (ed. and tr.), *Cicero: De Natura Deorum; Academica* (London 1933).

¹⁴ B. Cardauns (ed.), *M. Terentius Varro: Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum* 1-2 (Wiesbaden 1976).

Ovid's, that in itself is not enough to explain their mutually incompatible accounts of the Roman situation. It seems that between (say) 45 BC and AD 5, something must have happened to alter the Romans' perception of Vesta and her worship.

3

Ovid himself provides the startling evidence, in his item on 28 April. That was the first day of the *Ludi Florales*. But since the games extended into May, he puts Flora off to the next book:

tunc repetam, nunc me grandius urget opus.
aufer, Vesta, diem. cognati Vesta recepta est
limine: sic iusti constituere patres.

(*Fast.* 4.948-50)

That's when I'll resume; now a greater work is pressing on me. Claim the day, Vesta! Vesta has been received at her kinsman's threshold. So the just Fathers have decreed.

The retiring goddess 'of the inmost things' has now become assertive. What Ovid refers to is reported more prosaically in the Augustan calendars:

fer. q. e. d. sig. Vest. in domo p. dedic.¹⁵

(*Fasti Caeretani*)

Holiday because on that day the image of Vesta was dedicated in the . . . house.

feriae ex s. c. quod eo di[e signu]m et [aedis] Vestae in domu imp. Caesaris Augu[sti po]ntif. ma[x.] dedicatast Quirinio et Valgio cos.¹⁶

(*Fasti Praenestini*)

Holiday by decree of the Senate, because on that day in the consulship of Quirinius and Valgius [12 BC] the image and shrine(?) of Vesta was dedicated in the house of Imperator Caesar Augustus, *pontifex maximus*.

Vesta was now 'in the house of Augustus' in the same sense that Apollo was.¹⁷

¹⁵ T. Mommsen, in H. Dessau *et al.* (edd.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin 1863-) 1² 1.213 expands *domo p.* as *domo pontificio*; A. Degraffi (ed.), *Inscriptiones Italiae* 13.2 (Rome 1963) 66 as *domo Palatino*. Perhaps it should be *domo publico*: see Cass. Dio 54.27.3, 55.12a.5 for Augustus' house as partly public property in 12 BC and wholly so in AD 3.

¹⁶ For the restoration of the text, see M. Guarducci, 'Enea e Vesta', *MDAI(R)* 78 (1971) 89-118, taf. 63.3.

¹⁷ For the parallelism, see Ovid *Fast.* 4.951f., *Met.* 15.864f.

The Apollo temple was not of course inside a house, and we know from Dio and Velleius that the site on which it was built had been one of the houses that Octavian’s agents bought to extend his property in the 30s BC (Cass. Dio 49.15.5; Vell. Pat. 2.81.3).¹⁸ But since Suetonius describes the temple as in *ea parte Palatinae domus . . . quam fulmine ictam* (‘in that part of the Palatine house which had been struck by lightning’, Aug. 29.3), it is clear that the phrase *in domu* could signify ‘within the Augustan complex’.¹⁹ Augustus did not have a palace, but owned several neighbouring houses with streets and alleys between them.²⁰ The Apollo temple and the new shrine of Vesta were public buildings within this (originally) private property.

Vesta’s new situation no doubt explains why Ovid refers to the *pontifex maximus* as Vesta’s priest (*Fast.* 3.427, 3.699, 5.573; *Met.* 15.778), and to the goddess herself as Trojan (‘Ilian’ Vesta, *Fast.* 3.29, 3.142, 3.417f., 6.227, 6.365, 6.456), and thus related to the *princeps*.²¹ These were clearly innovations appropriate to the goddess in her more conspicuous Augustan manifestation. So too, perhaps, was the use of Vesta’s name in the *praefatio* of public prayers. If so, then the problem of *praefamur* (304) is solved: something had indeed happened to change things since Cicero’s time.

4

As for the problem of *vestibulum* (303), it may help to look at the so-called ‘Sorrento base’ (figure 1), which certainly illustrates features of the Augustan Palatine on three of its sides: the door with the *corona civica*, Apollo with the Sibyl, and Magna Mater. On the fourth side was a sacrifice to Vesta, with the goddess’s round temple in the background.²² Some scholars still identify it as

¹⁸ See A. J. Woodman, *Velleius Paterculus: The Caesarian and Augustan Narrative* (2.41-93) (Cambridge 1983) 208, n. 1.

¹⁹ As rightly argued by Guarducci [15] 92.

²⁰ M. A. Tomei, ‘Le case di Augusto sul Palatino’, *MDAI(R)* 107 (2000) 1-36, esp. 20f. Cf. now A. Carandini and D. Bruno, *La casa di Augusto dai ‘Lupercalia’ al Natale* (Rome 2008), whose attempt to reconstruct a unitary Augustan palace is quite inconsistent with the evidence: see T. P. Wiseman, ‘The House of Augustus and the Lupercal’, *JRA* 22 (2009) 527-45.

²¹ Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3.425f.; *Met.* 15.865.

²² For the best photographs of the base, see Guarducci [15] Tafeln 64-69; T. Hölscher, ‘Historischer Reliefs’, in M. R. Hofter (ed.), *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik: Eine Ausstellung im Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin, 7. Juni - 14. August 1988* (Mainz 1988) 376.

the temple in the Forum,²³ but given Ovid's evidence for Vesta at the house of Augustus, that is neither necessary nor (I think) likely: the fourth side of the base should also represent a Palatine site, and Guarducci's arguments to that effect have not been refuted.²⁴

Because the side of the base showing Vesta and the side showing the door with the *corona civica* both have an Ionic colonnade in the background, it has been suggested that they form a single scene.²⁵ If that is right, then the formal entrance to Augustus' house and the Palatine shrine of Vesta were enclosed in the same portico, 'perhaps in the form of a *vestibulum*'.²⁶

When Ovid says that Vesta has been received *cognati . . . limine* ('at her kinsman's threshold', *Fast.* 4.949f.), he may mean no more than *in domo Augusti*. But *limen* is a term very close to *vestibulum*;²⁷ for instance, the place where the clients waited for the morning *salutatio* is referred to in the sources by both terms,²⁸ and when Pliny describes the sort of triumphal spoils that we know decorated Augustus' *vestibulum*, he uses the phrase *circa limina* ('around the threshold').²⁹ So it is at least possible that Ovid was using the word precisely.

If it is indeed the case that Vesta's Palatine shrine was conspicuously sited in the most celebrated *vestibulum* in Rome, that may provide a solution to the problem of *Fasti* 6.303: after 12 BC, a suggested etymological connection between Vesta and *vestibulum* would have made sense to any contemporary Roman.

²³ E.g., Hölscher [21] 375; Tomei [19] 29-31; M. Beard, J. North *et al.*, *Religions of Rome* 1 (Cambridge 1998) 190.

²⁴ Guarducci [15] 94-98.

²⁵ T. P. Wiseman (tr.), *Flavius Josephus. Death of an Emperor: Translated with an Introduction and Commentary* (Exeter 1991) 107-09, fig. 3 (reproduced here as fig. 1).

²⁶ Wiseman [24] 109.

²⁷ See, e.g., Cic. *Caecin.* 35; *Mil.* 75; Verg. *Aen.* 2.469 (with *Serv. Dan. ad Verg. Aen.* 2.469), 6.575; Livy 30.12.11.

²⁸ *Limen*: see L. C. Meijer, in *TLL* 7.2 cols 1405.21-40 s.v. 'limen'. *Vestibulum*: e.g., Cic. *Att.* 4.2.5; *De Or.* 1.200; Vitruvius *De Arch.* 6.5.1f.; Sen. *Ep.* 84.12; *Cons. Marc.* 10.1; Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.42.

²⁹ Plin. *HN* 35.7; cf. Ov. *Tr.* 3.1.33f. for Augustus' house.

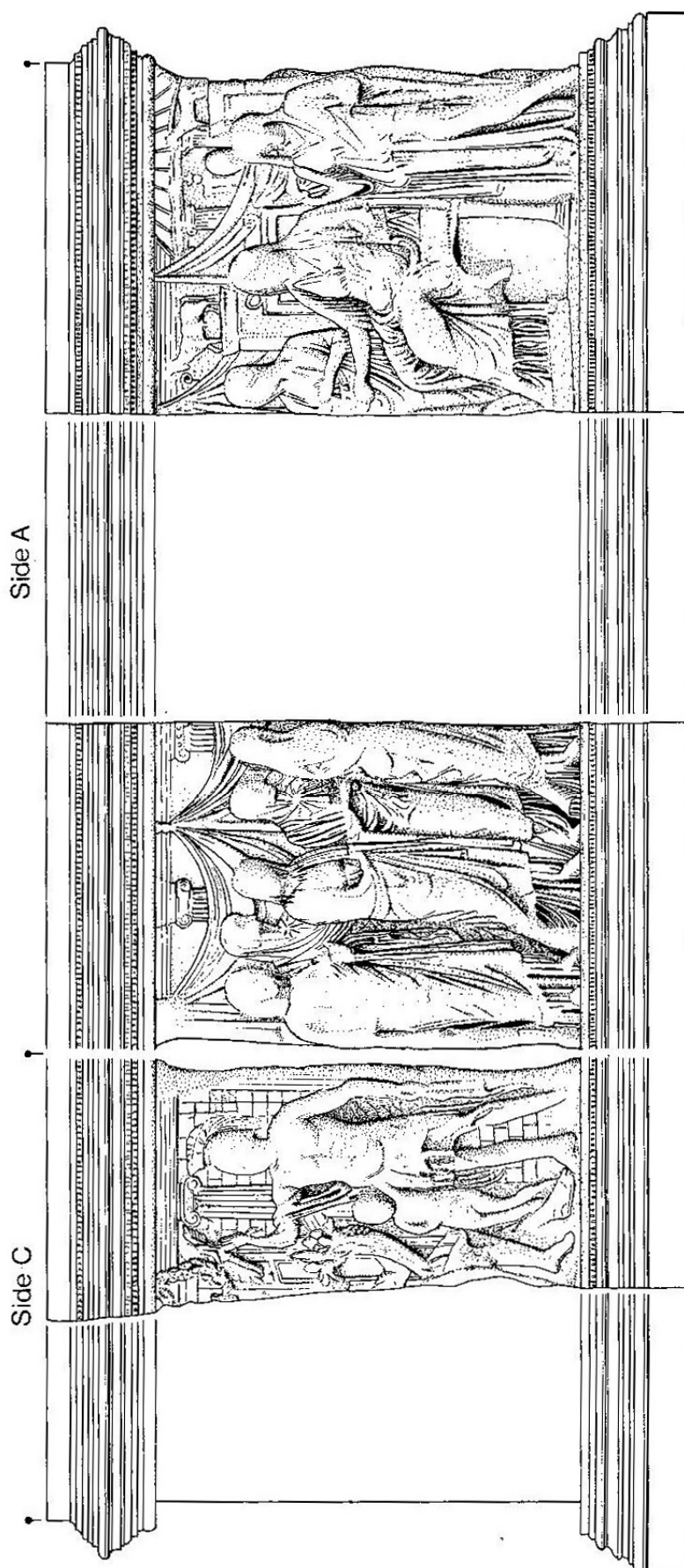


Figure 1. Sorrento, Museo Correale.
The ‘Sorrento base’. After 12 BC.
Combined view of two adjacent sides; drawn by Seán Goddard.

TANTALUS' CRIME, ARGIVE GUILT AND DESECRATION OF THE FLESH IN STATIUS' *THEBAID*

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Abstract. Argive innocence is opposed in several ways to Theban guilt in Statius' *Thebaid*. Construction and deconstruction of these oppositions reveal disjunction between the initial narrative portrayal of a virtuous Argos dragged into war by an unjust Jupiter and the counter-story of past Argive sin. Cracks in Ornytus' rhetorical attempt to condemn Creon's behaviour at 12.155-57 demonstrate the difficulty of assigning simple moral judgments within the poem's complexities.

'Argos reflects heaven, Thebes is an earthly hell'.¹ So Vessey polarised the two cities in 1973.² In subsequent decades some attention has been drawn to the guilty past of Argos.³ However, there is still a widely held belief that Statius' Argos is an innocent city, at least until brought into the war. A key factor driving this belief has been sceptical analysis of Jupiter's professed reasons for involving Argos in the conflict. The assumption that Argos is being unjustly punished is bound up with suspicion of Jupiter's rhetoric in the divine council of book 1. In the words of Bernstein: 'Many readers have observed that Jupiter makes an arbitrary decision to punish the Argives in the present generation and advances an unreasonably prolonged memory of Tantalus' crime as his pretext.'⁴ This article argues that verdicts of innocence and guilt should not be so simplistically assigned. It examines the way in which oppositions between Argive virtue and Theban vice are set up and deconstructed. The first section draws attention to the way in which references to Peloponnesian

¹ The author thanks *Scholia*'s anonymous referees for their helpful comments.

² D. W. T. C. Vessey, *Statius and The Thebaid* (Cambridge 1973) 324; see also 92-95.

³ See P. J. Davis, 'The Fabric of History in Statius' *Thebaid*', in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 7 (Brussels 1994) 469-71; S. Georgacopoulou, 'Ranger/ déranger: catalogues et listes de personnages dans la *Thébaïde*', in F. Delarue *et al.* (edd.), *Epicedion, Hommage à P. Papinius Statius 96-1996* (Poitiers 1996) 108f., 124; F. Ripoll, *La morale héroïque dans les épopées latines d'époque flavienne: tradition et innovation* (Paris 1998) 34-48, 140-43.

⁴ N. W. Bernstein, 'Ancestors, Status and Self-presentation in Statius' *Thebaid*', *TAPhA* 133 (2003) 368 n. 25. For the apparent injustice of Jupiter's decision to embroil Argos in the conflict, see also, e.g., D. E. Hill, 'Statius' *Thebaid*: A Glimmer of Light in a Sea of Darkness', *Ramus* 18 (1989) 108; W. J. Dominik, *The Mythic Voice of Statius: Power and Politics in the Thebaid* (Leiden 1994) 10.

criminal history quietly counter the presentation of Argos as an innocent city corrupted by civil war, and suggests that the critical tendency to underplay Argive sin is one fostered by an initial narrative strategy. The second part examines how Ornytus’ attempt to distance Argive army conduct from Theban has fault lines perceptible to the attentive reader. In conclusion, it is suggested that guilt and innocence is necessarily a grey area in the world of the *Thebaid*.

An opposition between a guilty Thebes and an innocent Argos is set up right from the beginning of the poem. The epic starts by emphasising the crimes of the Thebans, the *gentis . . . dirae* (‘dreadful race’, *Theb.* 1.4):⁵ Statius’ task is to *sontes . . . euoluere Thebas* (‘unfold the tale of guilty Thebes’, 1.2). Argos is unmentioned by the text until line 1.225, appearing almost as an afterthought. Moreover, our first view of the city is not until lines 1.381f., where it coincides with Polynices’. Light symbolically pours from the citadel, dispelling his darkness (*emicuit lucem deuexa in moenia fundens / Larisaeus apex*, ‘the citadel of Larisa flashed forth, pouring light upon the shelving town walls’, 1.381f.).⁶ Adrastus’ house seems a haven of peace and virtue after the turmoil that Polynices has left (*rex ibi, tranquillae medio de limite uitae / in senium uergens, populos Adrastus habebat*, ‘there king Adrastus ruled his people, drawing from mid-course of tranquil life into old age’, 1.390f.).⁷ Polynices enters the palace and finds, in the ancestral *imagines* which adorn the halls (2.214-23), family history that may be flaunted. Indeed, he is soon welcomed into this family through marriage to Adrastus’ daughter Argia (2.152-62, 2.213-64), taking Aeneas’ role of an *externa ab sede . . . / . . . generum* (‘son-in-law from a foreign home’, Verg. *Aen.* 7.255f.). Argos is clearly set up as a contrast to the city of Thebes, which is warped by its excess of familial love and hate.

This is not to deny the existence of discordant notes. We find, for example, the *Danai facinus meditantis imago* (‘image of Danaus plotting crime’, *Theb.* 2.222) among the ancestral figures, and Adrastus himself admits that the house of Argos is not free from sin (*nostro quoque sanguine multum / errauit pietas*, ‘my ancestors have often erred in their duty’, 1.689f.). However, the thrust of the narrative suggests that Polynices is bringing trouble with him, infecting the innocent Argives in a way symbolised by the disruptive effects of Harmonia’s necklace, his family heirloom (2.265-305). Paradoxically, one

⁵ Citations of Statius, *Thebaid* are taken from D. E. Hill (ed.), *P. Papini Stati Thebaidos Libri 12* (Leiden 1996). Translations of all sources are my own.

⁶ On the symbolism, see Vessey [2] 94.

⁷ As has been noted since L. Legras, *Étude sur la Thébaïde de Stace* (Paris 1905) 220, the portrayal engages with Vergil’s picture of Latinus; cf. *rex arua Latinus et urbes / iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat* (‘King Latinus, now an old man, was ruling over fields and calm cities in a long peace’, Verg. *Aen.* 7.45f.). Citations of Vergil, *Aeneid* are taken from R. A. B. Mynors (ed.), *P. Vergili Maronis Opera* (Oxford 1969).

reference to Argive past crime actually increases our sense that the city is the innocent victim. The first we hear of Argos is Jupiter's announcement that he intends to punish it by involving it in war with Thebes:

nunc geminas punire domos, quis sanguinis auctor
ipse ego, descendo. Perseos alter in Argos
scinditur, Aonias fluit hic ab origine Thebas.

(Stat. *Theb.* 1.224-26)

Now I descend to punish two houses,
of which I am the founding ancestor.
One forks into Persean Argos,
the other flows from its source to Aonian Thebes.

Argos' crime is one committed by its distant ancestor Tantalus, the cooking of his son Pelops for a divine feast:⁸

hanc etiam poenis incessere gentem
decretum; neque enim arcano de pectore fallax
Tantalus et saeuae periit iniuria mensae.

(Stat. *Theb.* 1.245-47)

I have resolved to assail this race also with punishment;
for deceitful Tantalus and the unlawful conduct of the savage banquet
have not been forgotten in the depths of my heart.

Far from establishing Argos' villainous credentials, this suggests that the city has committed only one crime of any significance, and that far back in the past.

Discussions of the first divine council have frequently remarked upon the hollowness of Jupiter's arguments.⁹ Tantalus' villainy sounds a somewhat lame

⁸ Statius could have substituted an alternative crime here: for different mythical traditions concerning Tantalus' sin, see Apollod. *Epit.* 2.1 (with J. G. Frazer [ed. and tr.], *Apollodorus: The Library* 1-2 [Cambridge, Mass. 1921] 2.156f.). Tantalus' *saeuae . . . mensae* (Stat. *Theb.* 1.247) picks up the *foeda Lycaoniae . . . conuiuia mensae* ('foul feasting of Lycaon's table') of Ov. *Met.* 1.165. Citations of Apollodorus, *Epitome* and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* are taken from Frazer [above, this note] and R. J. Tarrant (ed.), *P. Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphoses* (Oxford 2004) respectively.

⁹ On the scene, see W. Schubert, *Jupiter in den Epen der Flavierzeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1984) 75-101; F. M. Ahl, 'Statius' *Thebaid*: A Reconsideration', *ANRW* 2.32.5 (1986) 2834-41; Hill [4] 105f.; D. C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition* (Oxford 1991) 353-55; Davis [3] 479-81; Dominik [4] 4-15; D. Hershkowitz, *The Madness of Epic: Reading Insanity from Homer to Statius* (Oxford 1998) 262-65; S. Franchet d'Espèrey, *Conflit, violence et non-violence dans la Thébaïde de Stace* (Paris 1999) 65f., 336f.; C. Criado, *La teología de la 'Tebaïda' Estaciana: El antivirgilianismo de un clasicista* (Hildesheim 2000) 33-44; R. T. Ganiban, *Statius and Virgil: the Thebaid and the Reinterpretation of the Aeneid* (Cambridge 2007) 50-55.

excuse,¹⁰ especially given the emphasis placed upon Thebes’ guilt. For reference to a single Argive crime falls flat after the long catalogue of Theban misdeeds (*Theb.* 1.227-39); moreover, that list includes the recent outrages of Polynices and Eteocles against their father Oedipus (*at nati . . . cadentes / calcauere oculos*, ‘but his sons trampled on his eyes as they fell’, 1.238f.). The Argive king Adrastus, by contrast, has apparently done nothing wrong. How can he be held responsible for deeds committed (and individually atoned for) by a long-dead relative? Juno’s response seems to underline further the arbitrary nature of Jupiter’s decision: she notes the tardiness of the retribution, and questions the fairness of picking this one point out of mankind’s long criminal history:

quod si prisca luunt auctorum crimina gentes
subuenitque tuis sera haec sententia curis,
percensere aeui senium, quo tempore tandem
terrarum furias abolere et saecula retro
emendare sat est?

(Stat. *Theb.* 1.266-70)

But if races expiate the ancient crimes of their ancestors
and this thought occurs to you tardily in your worries,
to run your mind over the long course of history,
at what time, I ask, does it suffice to efface the frenzied deeds of earth
and purge the centuries in reverse?

The cracks in Jupiter’s rhetoric are clear to see. His words are marked by a taste for vengeance and enjoyment of power, instead of impartiality. As Davis remarks, ‘Jupiter . . . is an absolute prince of doubtful justice’.¹¹

The thesis that Jupiter’s speech is constructed in such a way as to expose its weaknesses can be further supported by an examination of the subsequent narrative. Prominence is given later on to material that could have been exploited by a Jupiter more concerned with justice (or at least the presentation of a just case). Tantalus’ crime may be initially referenced in a marginalised manner as a two line allusion tacked on at the end of Jupiter’s speech, leading critics to comment on the deed’s remoteness;¹² yet repeated subsequent references suggest that the crime still has relevance. The characters themselves

¹⁰ See, e.g., Schubert [9] 87; Davis [3] 480f.; Dominik [4] 10-13. The validity of Jupiter’s use of references to Theban sin has also been rightly questioned (see, e.g., Dominik [4] 9f.). The issue of Theban guilt/innocence lies outside the scope of this paper. Suffice to say that it proves as difficult to judge as Argive guilt/innocence.

¹¹ Davis [3] 481.

¹² So, e.g., Legras [7] 188; Franchet d’Espèrey [9] 66.

are well aware of Tantalus' position as an Argive royal ancestor.¹³ So Eteocles exploits the genealogy to direct a bitter jibe at Polynices: *tibi larga (Pelops et Tantalus auctor!) / nobilitas* ('you have nobility in abundance [Pelops and Tantalus are your ancestors!]', *Theb.* 2.436f.). And so the Argives carry an image of Tantalus amongst their ancestral *imagines* at Nemea:

Tantalus inde parens, non qui fallentibus undis
inminet aut refugae sterilem rapit aera siluae,
sed pius et magni uehitur conuiua Tonantis.

(Stat. *Theb.* 6.280-82)

Then father Tantalus is carried, not he who leans over the deceiving waters
or snatches the barren air of the fleeing branch,
but the pious Tantalus, dinner-guest of the great Thunderer.

Even though Tantalus' crime was committed in the distant past, the tale lingers in mortal memories as well as divine:¹⁴ in their procession the Argives may present a Tantalus who is a fellow-diner of Jupiter, but Adrastus' allusion to the scars left on Pelops following his restoration by the gods show that the Argives remember the darker side of Tantalus' feasting (*Theb.* 7.94-96). In addition, the necromantic appearance of *truncatus Pelops* ('maimed Pelops', 4.590) acts as a vivid reminder to the Thebans of this piece of their enemy's history.

A second noticeable weakness in Jupiter's reasoning is his focus on a solitary crime. Why did he not support his case by reference to one of the many

¹³ The Argive army is called the *Tantalidum* . . . *cohors* ('the army of the descendants of Tantalus', *Theb.* 10.785). The actual genealogical links are hard to pin down, despite the efforts of F. Delarue, 'Sur deux passages de Stace', *Orpheus* 15 (1968) 13-31. We know that Adrastus' father is Talaus (cf., e.g., Talaionides, 'son of Talaus', *Theb.* 2.141). References to Adrastus' ancestral Sicyon (2.179) indicate that Statius was following the tradition whereby Adrastus' mother was Lysianassa and his maternal grandfather was Polybus (Paus. 2.6.6). The simplest assumption is that Adrastus descends from Tantalus on his father's side, through Talaus' mother Pero, daughter of Chloris whom Tantalus' daughter Niobe had borne to Amphion. Delarue [above, this note] 26 argues that this genealogy is post-Statian (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.6; Hyg. *Fab.* 10), a result of confusion with another Amphion, king of Orchomenos. Hence he attempts to trace a connection with Tantalus on the maternal side by invoking a genealogy found in Ibycus (Paus. 2.6.5), which makes Polybus' grandfather, Sicyon, a son of Pelops. The popularity of the former tradition weighs in its favour, despite the late attestation, but the issue must remain uncertain. Citations of Pausanias, Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* and Hyginus, *Fabulae* are taken from W. H. S. Jones (ed. and tr.), *Pausanias: Description of Greece* (Cambridge, Mass. 1918), Frazer [8] 1 and J. Y. Boriaud (ed.), *Hygin: Fables* (Paris 2003) respectively.

¹⁴ Jupiter's words show that he has not forgotten (*Theb.* 1.246f.); note also his references to the *crimina* . . . / *Dorica* ('Peloponnesian crimes', 7.208f.) and *funera mensae / Tantaleae* ('deadly feast of Tantalus', 11.127f.). Dis presumably encounters the sinner on a daily basis in Hades.

Argive iniquities noted elsewhere in the narrative? He could, for example, have mentioned Pelops’ unscrupulous dispatch of Oenomaus so he could win Hippodamia,¹⁵ or Acrisius’ brutal treatment of his daughter Danae and grandson Perseus.¹⁶ Why omit reference to the fraternal strife between Acrisius and Proetus,¹⁷ or that between Danaus and Aegyptus with its consequent massacre by the Danaids of their husbands?¹⁸ Even the pious Adrastus, who is often used as a foil to highlight characters’ villainy, seems to have a skeleton in his cupboard: the reference to Adrastus’ stay at Sicyon (*Theb.* 4.49-51), a move which he had made from Argos (*transmissi*, ‘sent across’, 4.49), may remind the *doctus* reader of the tradition which explained his presence there: that he fled

¹⁵ Pelops bribed Oenomaus’ charioteer Myrtilus to tamper with the wheels of his master’s chariot and hence bring about his fall (*saevio puluere sordens* / *Oenomaus*, ‘Oenomaus, soiled with harsh dust’, *Theb.* 4.590f.; and (in the procession of *imagines*) *parte alia uictor curru Neptunia tendit* / *lora Pelops, prensatque rotas auriga natantes* / *Myrtilos et uolucris iam iamque relinquitur axe*, ‘in another part Pelops in his chariot victoriously pulls on the reins of Neptune, and the charioteer Myrtilos grasps at the unstable wheels and even now is being abandoned by the swift axle’, 6.283-85).

¹⁶ Acrisius punished Danae for her impregnation by Zeus, by abandoning mother and child in a chest on the sea. Statius gives reminders of Acrisius’ anger (*indignatus* . . . *Tonantem* / *Acrisius*, ‘Acrisius aggrieved at the Thunderer’, *Theb.* 2.220f.; *gravis Acrisius* . . . / *et Danae culpata sinus*, ‘stern Acrisius and Danae blamed for her embraces, 6.286f.’).

¹⁷ *Proetus* . . . *nocens* (‘guilty Proetus’, *Theb.* 4.589) is one of the Argive ghosts summoned by the necromancy. According to Apollodorus, the enmity of the two brothers Acrisius and Proetus, which started in the womb, caused them to wage war over mastery of the Argive kingdom (*Bibl.* 2.2.1). Acrisius drove Proetus from Argos, but Proetus returned and, with the help of the forces of his Lycian father-in-law, occupied Tiryns. In Ovid’s variant version, Perseus comes to the aid of Acrisius (*Met.* 5.236-41).

¹⁸ See *torua* . . . *iam Danai facinus meditantis imago* (‘grim likeness of Danaus already planning his misdeed’, *Theb.* 2.222); (Hippomedon’s shield) *uiuit in auro* / *nox Danai: sontes Furiarum lampade nigra* / *quinquaginta ardent thalami; pater ipse cruentis* / *in foribus laudatque nefas atque inspicit enses* (‘the night of Danaus lives on the gold: fifty guilty bed-chambers burn with the black torch of the Furies; at the bloodied doorways the father himself praises the crime and inspects the swords’, 4.132-35); *potuitne ultricia Graius uirginibus dare tela pater laetusque dolorum* / *sanguine securos iuuenum perfundere somnos* (‘could the Greek father give avenging weapons to the virgins and drench the young men’s carefree sleep with blood, enjoying the treachery’, 5.117-19); *iungunt discordes inimica in foedera dextras* / *Belidae fratres, sed uultu mitior astat* / *Aegyptus; Danai manifestum agnoscere ficto* / *ore notas pacisque malae noctisque futurae* (‘the brothers, sons of Belus, join discordant right hands, but Aegyptus stands by with milder look; signs of the wicked pact and coming night are clearly recognizable on Danaus’ feigned countenance’, 6.290-93). The myth of the Danaids also opens up another interpretation of the reference to the light shining from Larisa (1.381f.): Hypermnestra lit a light there as a sign to Lynceus that she was out of danger, and this was commemorated by the Argives in a beacon festival (Paus. 2.25.4).

from civil war involving Amphiaraus.¹⁹ There is no hint of this guilty past in Jupiter's speech.

Thirdly, it is notable that Jupiter should be shown emphasising punishment of past sin over prevention of future crime. He observes that for the Argives and Thebans *mens cunctis imposta manet* ('the character imposed abides in all of them', *Theb.* 1.227). And his desire to obliterate Theban stock (1.242f.) seems to be linked to his expectation that they will carry on sinning, with the same presumably holding true for the Argive house.²⁰ However, this argument is overshadowed by Jupiter's less admirable desire to exact vengeance. Now the subsequent narrative reveals heredity to be an important factor governing behaviour:²¹ it is, for instance, surely no coincidence that Argos, with its history of fraternal conflict, should support the war between Polynices and Eteocles.²² Yet Jupiter's speech in book 1 plays down this line of potential justification—perhaps with good reason, since he admits himself to be the ultimate progenitor (1.224f.).²³

Furthermore, it is only later that we realise that Jupiter could have rebutted some of Juno's criticisms. As part of her objection to Jupiter's choice of target, Juno offers alternative sinful locations, including Pisa and Arcadia.

¹⁹ See Pind. *Nem.* 9.13f. with schol. 9.30a Drachmann. After the death of his grandfather Polybus, Adrastus became king of Sicyon (Paus. 2.6.5). See also Stat. *Theb.* 2.179f. (where, however, only Adrastus' departure from Sicyon to Argos is mentioned). Citations of Pindar, *Nemean Odes* and schol. Pindar, *Nemean Odes* are taken from W. H. Race (ed. and tr.), *Pindar 2: Nemean Odes, Isthmian Odes, Fragments* (Cambridge 1957) and A. B. Drachmann (ed.), *Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina* (Leipzig 1927) respectively.

²⁰ Cf. *Labdacios uero Pelopisque a stirpe nepotes / tardum abolere mihi* ('it is tardy for me to obliterate the descendants of Labdacus and Pelops from the root', *Theb.* 7.207f.).

²¹ Discussions of heredity have tended to dwell on the Theban line: see, e.g., Bernstein [4] 355-61. For Argive heredity, see Davis [3] 469-71 (focusing upon Argive historical consciousness and similarity to Thebes); Ripoll [3] 40-43 (concentrating on the Argives' tragic lack of awareness of the power of the past).

²² See Davis [3] 470f. There are, of course, other factors involved, not least the gods' intervention: Apollo's oracle (*Theb.* 1.494-97) is a key reason why Adrastus backed Polynices. On divine causality, see Davis [3] 475-78. The narrative again raises the idea of genetic impact when Tydeus urges the Argive Hippomedon to bring him Melanippus' head with the words *Atrei si quid tibi sanguinis umquam* ('if you have anything of Atreus' blood', 8.742), as if kinship with this facilitator of cannibalism might precondition Hippomedon to tolerate Tydeus' ensuing cannibalism (see Davis [3] 470).

²³ Dominik [4] 9. Jupiter's speech in *Theb.* 7 also reveals scant concern paid to this line of argument: after seeming to suggest he will efface Theban and Argive stock at 7.208f., he moves to prophesying that their descendants will renew the fight at 7.219-21. Jupiter's literary model, the Ovidian king of the gods, similarly fails to obliterate races. He claims Lycaon's house has perished (Ov. *Met.* 1.240) and threatens to wipe out mankind (1.187-91). However, we later learn that Callisto, Lycaon's daughter (2.496), has survived.

Why, she asks, does Jupiter not scourge the homes of the would-be rapist of Arethusa and of the suitor-killing father Oenomaus, or the fatherland of human sacrificer Lycaon?

iamdudum ab sedibus illis
incipi, fluctuaga qua praeterlabitur unda
Sicanios longe relegens Alpheos amores:
Arcades hic tua (nec pudor est) delubra nefastis
imposuere locis, illic Mauortius axis
Oenomai Geticoque pecus stabulare sub Haemo
dignius, abruptis etiamnum inhumata procorum
reliquiis trunca ora rigent . . .

(Stat. *Theb.* 1.270-77)

Now after all this time start from those places where Alpheus glides by with wave-wandering waters, retracing his Sicilian love over a long way. Here the Arcadians placed your shrine (nor does it shame you) on dreadful ground. There was Oenomaus’ chariot, gift of Mars, and horses more worthily stalled beneath Thracian Haemus: even now the heads of the suitors, maimed and sundered from the rest of the bodies, grow stiff unburied.²⁴

Juno’s argument is somewhat undermined by the fact that Pisa and Arcadia will be drawn into this war and hence, following Jovian logic, punished for the misdeeds of their ancestors. Indeed, Statius seems to draw attention to Juno’s error by alluding to the crimes in his catalogue description of these allies: Amphiaraus’ contingent includes Pisans, men who *te, flaue, natant, terris Alphee Sicanis / aduena tam longo non umquam infecte profundo* (‘swim in you, yellow Alpheus, a stranger to Sicilian lands who is never tainted by so long a sea journey’, *Theb.* 4.239f.) and who carry on the charioteering expertise of Oenomaus: *ea gloria genti / infando de more et fractis durat ab usque / axibus Oenomai* (‘that glory endures for the race from the monstrous custom and ever since the time of the broken axles of Oenomaus’, 4.242-44).²⁵ Connections between Parthenopaeus’ Arcadians and Lycaon are suggested in the allusion to

²⁴ As H. Heuvel (ed.), *Publii Papinii Statii Thebaidos* 1 (Zutphen 1932) 164 observes, the detail of the flesh-eating horses (*Theb.* 1.275-77) seems to be Statius’ own invention, inspired by the myth of Diomedes (for which see Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.8 with Frazer [8] 1.200f.).

²⁵ The myth is evoked on several further occasions: *Pisaeis . . . socer metuendus habenis* (‘the father-in-law feared for his Pisaeian reins’, *Theb.* 2.166); *saeua nec Eleae gement certamina ualles* (‘nor would the valleys of Elis have groaned at the savage contests’, 2.185); 4.590f. (see [15]); *non . . . tanta / umquam . . . Oenomai fremuerunt agmina circo* (‘never so great crowds clamoured in the circus of Oenomaus’, 6.253f.); *Pisaei iuga patris habet* (‘he has the chariot of his Pisan father’, 6.349); (portent) *saeuo decurrere campo / Oenomaum sua Pisa refert* (‘his own Pisa reports that Oenomaus races on the savage plain’, 7.416); *Odrysii que famem stabuli* (‘the hunger of the Odrysian stable’, 12.156). See also my later discussion of the chariot race of *Thebaid* 6.

the metamorphosis of Lycaon's daughter Callisto into a bear: *ille Lycaoniae rictu caput aspersat ursae* ('that man makes his head fierce with the jaw of a Lycaonian she-bear', 4.304).²⁶

So subsequent narrative details help expose the weak points in Jupiter's reasoning by suggesting that the god could have been given a much stronger case if Statius had wished to present him as a sound arbiter of the innocent and guilty. These same details also show that the initial narration itself presents a partial view, with the emphasis on Argive innocence. Argos' peaceful exterior masks a history of violence, just like Latinus' Italy.²⁷ Although references to Peloponnesian crime are scattered through the narrative, lacking the fanfare given to Theban sin,²⁸ we should not ignore the quietly persistent counter-story which tells of the past guilt of the Argives and their allies. The initial narrative stress on Argive innocence allows Statius to suggest the tyranny of Jupiter and to convey the unfair impact that this war will have on the undeserving. It should not simply be taken at face value.

The difficulty of assigning verdicts upon the sides can again be seen at the end of the *Thebaid*. In the course of the poem, the Thebans are repeatedly shown to mistreat dead bodies, disregarding their moral obligation to respect the bodies of their enemies: so Eteocles forbids the burning of the corpse of Maeon, a fellow Theban (3.97), and so the Thebans defile Tydeus' body (9.184-88). The culmination of this tendency comes in Creon's edict which denies burial rites to the defeated Argives (11.661-64, 12.55f., 12.94-103, 12.149-52, 12.558-61; cf. [4.640f.] Laius' prophecy; 8.72-74 [Dis' curse]).²⁹ Instead of being committed

²⁶ The myth of Lycaon's sacrifice of humans is again evoked when Jupiter recalls that *sat . . . / . . . sontes uidisse Lycaonis aras* ('it is enough to have seen the guilty altars of Lycaon', *Theb.* 11.127f.), thereby refuting Juno's accusatory *nec pudor est* (1.273). See also the allusion to Lycaon's metamorphosis into a wolf as punishment for his crime: as one of the omens of the war, *Arcades insanas latrare Lycaonis umbras / nocte ferunt tacita* ('the Arcadians say that in the silence of the night the mad shade of Lycaon barked', 7.414f.).

²⁷ For internal fighting in Italy, see, e.g., Verg. *Aen.* 8.55f. (Arcadians and Latins at war); 9.607-13 (Numanus Remulus' boast).

²⁸ The necromancy similarly devotes more attention to Theban crime: the ghosts who dominate the criminal part of the underworld are of Cadmus' line (*Theb.* 4.484), and this is reflected in an extensive description of Theban shades (4.553-78). Contrast the shorter Argive list (4.587-91). Statius could easily have included more Argive criminals here, such as Danaus, Aegyptus and the Danaids (the latter's underworld punishment is also missing from the standard list [4.537-40]); furthermore, there is only a passing reference to Tantalus (4.538), though *truncatus Pelops* (4.590) does remind us of his crime.

²⁹ Proper obsequies for the Argive side only take place at the end (*Theb.* 12.797-807). Prior to this the six Argive chieftains who perish endure a kind of warped burial: Amphiaras enters the underworld directly through the rent earth (7.1-8); Hippomedon is covered by a shield (9.563-65); Parthenopaeus, who had earlier offered a lock of hair in *lieu* of burial

to the earth, their corpses are left as food for predators. As Ornytus tells the female dependents of the Argive chieftains, *solis auibusque ferisque / ire licet* (‘birds and wild beasts alone may approach’, 12.153f.).³⁰

Now it is true that the Argives are the wronged party on this occasion. However, it is not clear that they have previously been superior in their treatment of the corpses of their enemies: one of their number, Tydeus, has been shown gnawing on the head of the man who dealt him a fatal wound (*Theb.* 8.751-61). It might be argued that the Aetolian Tydeus’ attitude towards the human body is not typical of his side. The Argives appear to try to stop the cannibalism (8.762), and are said to be repulsed by Tydeus’ behaviour (9.3f.). Nevertheless, all the chieftains are moved by their comrade’s request for Melanippus’ body (8.745), and adhere to his wish that the head be cut off (8.754). This is itself an outrage against the corpse.³¹ Their actions seem all the more culpable given the subsequent Argive defence of Tydeus’ own body (9.89-170): they are conscious enough of burial rites when it comes to their own side.

Statius seems to draw attention to the problems involved in the Argive assumption of moral superiority through the rhetoric employed by Ornytus. The defeated soldier impresses upon the Argive women that Creon will not heed their calls for burial, and uses mythological examples to suggest that he will treat their supplications harshly: *inmites citius Busiridos aras / Odrysiiue famem stabuli Siculosque licebit / exorare deos* (‘sooner may one prevail upon the merciless altars of Busiris and the hunger of the Odrysian stable and the Sicilian deities’, *Theb.* 12.155-57). Here Creon’s refusal of burial rites is implicitly equated with Busiris’ sacrifice of strangers on an altar to Jupiter, the eating of humans by Diomedes’ horses, and the Sirens’ devouring of strangers.³²

(9.900-03), is covered over by the corpse of Dymas (10.439-41); Capaneus is consumed by lightning rather than a conventional pyre (10.927-38); and Polynices is crushed by his dying brother (11.573). On denied burial in the *Thebaid*, see V. Pagàn, ‘The Mourning After: Statius’ *Thebaid* 12’, *AJPh* 121 (2000) 423-52; K. Pollmann, *Statius, Thebaid 12: Introduction, Text, and Commentary* (Paderborn 2004) 32-36. Statius’ engagement with the *Iliad*’s treatment of burial is explored by C. McNelis, *Statius’ Thebaid and the Poetics of Civil War* (Cambridge 2007) 155-58; H. Lovatt, ‘Competing Endings: Re-reading the End of the *Thebaid* through Lucan’, *Ramus* 28 (1999) 126-51 examines the *Thebaid*’s use of the *Bellum Civile*.

³⁰ For the idea that exposed bodies are vulnerable to being ravaged by predators, see also *Theb.* 11.190f., 12.97f., 12.212f., 12.249.

³¹ For the brutality of decapitation, see C. Segal, *The Theme of the Mutilation of the Corpse in the Iliad* (Leiden 1971) 20-23.

³² Following Pollmann [29] 128; the identification is not certain but other possible candidates for the title (the Palici and Cyclopes) also ate human flesh. The cannibalism is picked up in the simile of *Theb.* 12.169-72, which describes the women’s reaction to Ornytus’ words: *non secus adflauit molles si quando iuuencas / tigridis Hyrcanae ieiunum*

The Thebans are clearly set up as villains, the Argives as victims. However, the *comparanda* adopted by Ornytus open up connections which disturb a clear-cut opposition between Argive innocence and Theban guilt.

So, for instance, this first reference is to the practice of human sacrifice carried out by Busiris. Whilst Ornytus clearly regards this as a sign of the barbaric ‘other’, the reader may well be reminded of the similar behaviour of the Arcadians’ ancestor Lycaon (*Theb.* 11.128). Ornytus’ second example is even closer to home. For the Argives have direct experience of Diomedes’ horses, which were ridden by Hercules’ son Chromis in the chariot race (6.346-48). They even have experience of these horses’ gruesome habits, for Chromis was forced to abandon his race to prevent his steeds eating up his fellow competitor Hippodamus: *Thraces equi ut uidere iacentem / Hippodamum, redit illa fames* (‘when the Thracian horses saw Hippodamus lying, that hunger returned’, 6.486f.). Even though there is no further mention of Chromis in the narrative, raising the possibility that he is just a visiting competitor rather than a member of the army, the association of the Argive side with these bloodthirsty animals undercuts Ornytus’ use of the myth to create a distinction between the two armies. Chromis’ fellow-racer Hippodamus is similarly found only in the games. We are, however, surely meant to class him as a serving soldier, one of the Pisans in Amphiaraus’ contingent. As the son of Oenomaus, he *Pisaei iuga patris habet* (‘has the chariot of his Pisan father’, 6.349), and his chariot, like Chromis’, is adorned with *crudelibus . . . / exuuiis* (‘cruel spoils’, 6.349f.) and *diro . . . sanguine* (‘frightful blood’, 6.350). The question arises whether the Pisans will continue Oenomaus’ wicked practice of feeding human flesh to horses. The reference at 4.242-44 suggests only that they inherit his skill in charioteering, but the behaviour of Diomedes’ horses makes us wonder whether Oenomaus’ steeds also retain their attraction to human flesh, and how these horses will be used in war. Would Hippodamus let unburied bodies be mangled by animals in the manner of his ancestor (1.276f.), which is the kind of behaviour that we associate with the Theban side? As there are no further references to the horses, the reader is left with unresolved suspicions about the propriety of the army’s behaviour. Ornytus’ allusions to flesh-eating horses reawaken our doubts about the Argives as well as underlining Theban *nefas*.

Subversive connections may also come to mind in the case of Ornytus’ third comparison, where the burial-denying Creon is put on a par with human-devouring Sirens. The desecration of bodies and eating of flesh have previously been linked in the case of Tydeus. He denies his enemy the proper funerary rites

murmur, et ipse auditu turbatus ager, timor omnibus ingens, / quae placeat, quos illa fames escendat in armos (‘just as when the hungry roar of a Hyrcanian tigress wafted itself towards delicate heifers, and the very countryside is disturbed at the sound, and a mighty fear falls on all, which animal will take her fancy, which necks that hungry beast will mount’).

by requesting that the corpse be brought to him and the head severed (*Theb.* 8.754). He does not even leave Melanippus’ flesh to be eaten by beasts, but feeds on it like a predatory animal (8.760f.).³³ The Thebans are as roused as if *turbata sepulcris / ossa patrum monstrisque datae crudelibus urnae* (‘the bones of their fathers had been disturbed in the tombs and their urns given to savage monsters’, 9.10f.). At Homer’s *Iliad* 22.346f., Achilles dismisses as an impossibility the idea that he might devour Hector’s flesh after he has killed him:³⁴ instead, dogs and birds will consume the corpse (22.354). Tydeus actually enacts Achilles’ desire in an extreme variant of the ‘desecration of a corpse’ motif.³⁵

What we have seen in the subtle deconstruction of Ornytus’ distancing rhetoric, and the emergence of a counter-narrative illustrating Argive past sin, is the difficulty of assigning moral judgments. This is not surprising, for there are complex forces at work in the universe of the *Thebaid*: heredity and the gods, as well as human individuals, have an impact on affairs. While we are right to suspect Jupiter’s motives, we should recognise that his indignation concerning Tantalus is not wholly unjustified. The past is an important presence in the world of the *Thebaid*: memories linger, vices resurface, and men can be made to pay for the sins of others, particularly of their ancestors.³⁶ This lessens in no way our sense that the Argives are unfairly and arbitrarily caught up in the conflict. They are guilty by reason of a history that they had no choice other

³³ Tydeus thereby fulfils Dis’ wish that *sit qui rabidarum more ferarum / mandat atrox hostile caput* (‘let there be one who shall gnaw his enemy’s head in the manner of raging wild beasts’, 8.71f.).

³⁴ On the savagery of these lines, see Segal [31] 38f. Citation of Homer, *Iliad* is taken from D. B. Munro and T. W. Allen (edd.), *Homeri Opera*³ 2 (Oxford 1920).

³⁵ Tydeus’ scene also shows the collapse of distinctions between innocent and guilty. The Thebans regard Tydeus’ actions with horror, but are not so different from him as they like to think. As Pollmann [29] 34 observes, they are prompted to desecrate his body because of his treatment of Melanippus. We might add that as they rush to seize his corpse, they are likened to carrion birds: *non aliter subtexunt astra cateruae / incestarum auium, longe quibus aura nocentem / aera desertasque tulit sine funere mortes* (‘not otherwise do swarms of foul birds veil the stars when a breeze from afar has brought them tainted air and bodies abandoned without burial’, *Theb.* 9.27-29); this simile appears some twenty lines after Tydeus was equated with predatory beasts (9.11).

³⁶ See, e.g., the fate of Pentheus’ descendant Phaedimus (*Theb.* 2.575f.), or Dryas whose ancestor Orion roused Diana’s enmity (7.255-58) and whose death seems to have been engineered by the same goddess (9.875f.; M. Dewar, *Statius, Thebaid IX* [Oxford 1991] 217). As Dryas shows in his pursuit of Arcadians who are favoured by Diana (9.842-45), it is not always easy to separate inherited guilt from inherited hate and tendencies towards crime. On the theme see Davis [3] 472; Ripoll [3] 37-40; R. Nagel, ‘Polynices the Charioteer: Statius, *Thebaid* 6.296-549’, *EMC* 43 ns 18 (1999) 386f.; Bernstein [4] 364-69.

than to inherit.³⁷ And if, as is suggested, their guilt is also demonstrated by their willingness to support Polynices (a decision made in the first instance by their ruler Adrastus), the fact that the gods provided the forum for the fraternal war helps to mitigate Argive culpability. Furthermore, there are competing points of view: as well as divine versus mortal, there are the varying perspectives of the Argives, the Thebans, and the reader. We should therefore expect differing judgments. Ornytus quite naturally condemns Creon's behaviour, which fails to honour expected obligations towards an army which has (to his mind) invaded fairly and has happened to be defeated. He is not conscious of the dark side of his army's conduct, just as he seems unaware of the moral difficulties involved in participation in the fraternal war. We, however, can see a wider picture in which Argive and Theban behaviour has often been equally culpable. We are able to make connections between cause and effect. The soldiers who allow Melanippus' body to be consumed by Tydeus have Tantalus, Atreus, Lycaon and Oenomaus as ancestors. Moreover, they are involved in conflict between kin. Whilst war itself poses a threat to civilised behaviour, civil war multiplies the risk. A key determinant in the disregard for the sanctities of burial lies in the morally warped nature of the war. The study of guilt and innocence in the *Thebaid* is rewarding precisely because it provides no simple answers. Instead, it reveals the poem's complexities.

³⁷ A further complication is that some of their sinful history arises from the misdeeds of the gods; e.g., Acrisius is angry because Jupiter has raped his daughter (*Theb.* 6.286f.).

MARTIAL, *EPIGRAMS* 9.61 AND STATIUS, *SILVAE* 2.3: BRANCHES FROM THE SAME TREE?

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Abstract. Martial, *Epigrams* 9.61 and Statius, *Silvae* 2.3 provide an interesting test case for the interaction between Martial and Statius. While both poems draw on literary *topoi* about trees from Horace through Ovid and Lucan, they interact with one another in word and theme. This intersubjective form of literary engagement involves both opposition and complementarity; read as a diptych, these poems reveal the literary and political potential of the “occasional” genre.

‘You know, a tree is a tree. How many more do you need to look at?’
(R. Reagan, San Francisco, 12 March 1966)

Intertextuality, a familiar term today in Latin literary criticism, generally implies a diachronic study of the relationship between a text and its predecessors; it looks back to the past.¹ For the Flavians that past was particularly complex; they had to reckon with the weight not only of previous Greek and Hellenistic poetry but also of Augustan and Neronian poetry, and they were acutely aware of their estrangement from the values promoted by their Augustan predecessors in particular. Thomas Greene, writing of the humanist poets who felt themselves at an unbridgeable distance from their great predecessors, much like the Flavians perhaps, comments on ‘the pathos of this incomplete embrace’.² One distinct form of intertextuality, however, appears in the Flavian age that does not reflect the problem of cultural distance and discontinuity. In the relatively short period of Domitian’s reign (AD 81-96), we find contemporary poets engaged in creative interplay with each other’s work, in particular Statius and Silius Italicus in epic and Statius and Martial in occasional poetry.³

¹ I would like to thank the following for the opportunity to give earlier versions of this paper: William J. Dominik, John Garthwaite, Kyle Gervais and the Department of Classics, University of Otago; Anthony Augoustakis and the Department of Classics, University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign; Martin Hose, T. Fuhrer, I. Wiegand and the Department of Greek and Latin Philology, Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, Munich; also, as always, J. G. Henderson.

² T. Greene, *The Light in Troy* (New Haven 1982) 43.

³ On the dating of the *Punica*, especially relative to Statius’ work, see J. J. L. Smolenaars, *Statius Thebaid 7: A Commentary* (Leiden 1994) xvii-xviii; A. Augoustakis, ‘Silius Italicus, a

The relationship between Statius and Martial is especially unusual and thus rich for exploration, since they shared several of the same patrons and sometimes wrote for the same occasions. Their relationship has often been discussed in sociological and biographical terms: they are regarded as client poets, working in similar conditions of patronage; they moved in some of the same social circles; yet while they wrote on several of the same topics, they did so in different styles: Statius' occasional poetry is generally elevated and epicising whereas Martial's is often familiar and even obscene.⁴ They have also been regarded as rivals since, despite sharing patrons and themes, they did not mention one another by name. This is particularly striking in the case of Martial, whose output is so much more extensive; moreover, Silius Italicus is named several times in the epigrams, always in complimentary fashion (4.14; 8.66; 9.86; 11.48, 50; also 6.64.10, 7.63.1). Silius, of course, unlike Statius, did not venture onto Martial's territory of occasional poetry. An example often given for hostile rivalry between Martial and Statius is Martial 10.94, which derides as dated poets who write on mythological themes, particularly from the Theban cycle; Martial may here be targeting Statius' epic poetry specifically.⁵ On the other hand Statius may have corrected Martial for getting his marbles wrong when he cites alabaster and serpentine as among the precious stones adorning the baths of Claudius Etruscus (Mart. 6.42.14); Statius makes a point of declaring that these were not used (*Silv.* 1.5.35).⁶

My interest in this article is not in pursuing these rather limited terms of comparison between the two poets and their shared themes, but rather in exploring what seems to be a more thorough and more sophisticated sphere of literary and social interaction between them, a synchronic dialectic that

Flavian Poet', in A. Augoustakis (ed.) *Brill's Companion to Silius Italicus* (Leiden 2010) 6-8; R. J. Littlewood, *A Commentary on Silius Italicus Punica* 7 (Oxford 2011) xviii-xix, lvi-lvii. H. V. Lovatt, 'Interplay: Silius and Statius in the Games of *Punica* 16', in Augoustakis [above, this note] 155-78 provides a sustained discussion of the interaction between these two poets.

⁴ Shared themes are Stella's wedding (*Silv.* 1.2, Mart. 6.21), the baths of Claudius Etruscus (*Silv.* 1.5, Mart. 6.42), the death of Melior's foster son Glaucias (*Silv.* 2.1, Mart. 6.28f.), the birthday of Lucan (*Silv.* 2.7, Mart. 7.21-23), Earinus and the dedication of his hair (*Silv.* 3.4; Mart. 9.11-13, 16f., 36), the statue of Hercules owned by Novius Vindex (*Silv.* 4.6, Mart. 9.43f.); see R. R. Nauta, *Poetry for Patrons: Literary Communication in the Age of Domitian* (Leiden 2002) 88f.

⁵ Cf. also Mart. 4.49, which scorns mythological epic as an inflated genre, but without reference to Thebes. Martial takes a typical epigrammatic stance; there is no need to assume that Statius in particular is being targeted.

⁶ Nauta [4] 264-67 assumes the mistake must be Martial's.

complements their diachronic allusive practices.⁷ To illustrate the complexity of their engagement with one another, let me first take a brief example, the poems that Martial and Statius wrote for Lucan’s widow Polla, on the occasion of his posthumous birthday; the poems must have been written close to the same time, for the same patron.⁸ Statius’ poem, *Silvae* 2.7, is in hendecasyllables and 135 lines long; Martial wrote three epigrams for the same occasion (7.21-23), each four lines long; the number of poems perhaps compensated for Statius’ gift of one. Martial’s poems are elegantly commemorative; Statius, on the other hand, uses the occasion of Lucan’s birthday to defend at some length Lucan’s reputation as an epic poet which then, as now, was under attack.⁹ All the same, the similarities between Martial’s epigrams and Statius’ poem are striking. Both Martial and Statius several times make the same etymological pun between ‘Lucan’ and the words for ‘day’ (or light), *dies* and *lux*, a pun that derives from Seneca.¹⁰ Moreover, as Alex Hardie points out, both mention Polla’s loyalty to her husband and say nothing about Lucan’s legal or political career.¹¹ Statius abandons his usual hexameter for the festive hendecasyllable in honour of the birthday occasion. His choice of metre reverses his normal relationship with Martial; the hendecasyllable was lower in the metrical hierarchy than the elegiac.¹² The hexameter would have been traditional for epic praise; Statius draws attention to his unusual choice of metre in the preface to his second book

⁷ There is no available term for this special form of intertextuality. Greene [2] 49f. briefly acknowledges there is a problem of terminology and method in discussing the relationship between texts close to one another in time, where there is not the issue of temporal rupture. But he dodges the issue by claiming ‘there is no perfectly reliable rule of thumb’ for addressing the questions such close interaction raises.

⁸ Nauta’s [4] Appendix 441-44 provides the publication dates for Martial and Statius and assumes that their poems on Lucan are contemporaneous (442f.). Did they share drafts of their poems with one another before presenting them to Polla? Did one borrow from the other? These are unanswerable questions.

⁹ See C. Newlands, ‘The First Biography of Lucan: Statius *Silvae* 2.7’, in P. Asso (ed.), *Brill’s Companion to Lucan* (Leiden 2011) 435-51.

¹⁰ J. Henderson, *A Roman Life: Rutilius Gallicus on Paper and in Stone* (Exeter 1998) 12 points out that Seneca puns similarly on the name Lucilius. Other specific parallels between Statius’ and Martial’s birthday poems: Nero as a ‘hateful shade’ (*Silv.* 2.7.116-19, *Mart.* 7.21.3); pride of Lucan’s homeland in its poet (2.7.24-35, 7.22.3f.); diplomatic praise of Lucan’s widow Polla (2.7.81-88, 7.21.2) and her interest in a poetic cult of Lucan (2.7.120-31, 7.23.3f.).

¹¹ A. Hardie, *Statius and the *Silvae*: Poets, Patrons and Epideixis in the Graeco-Roman World* (Liverpool 1983) 70.

¹² L. Morgan, *Musa Pedestris: Metre and Meaning in Roman Verse* (Oxford 2010) 105.

(2 *praef.* 25f.).¹³ Although Martial and Statius approached the same occasion from the different generic standpoints of epigram and *Silvae*, their interaction simultaneously involves provocative, unpredictable interplay and convergence.

The self-conscious, inter-subjective form of intertextuality exhibited in these poems draws attention to the composition process, forged not only from meditation on the past but also in ‘the cut and thrust’ of contemporary literary politics.¹⁴ The dynamic interaction between Martial and Statius seems to have been both oppositional and complementary. It puts the spotlight on their generic and ideological differences but also reveals their shared principles as regards occasional poetry. Importantly, they share a fundamental paradox of occasional poetry, namely its ambitious aims. For instance, Lucan as well as Ovid is an important presence in their poetry. As we shall see, the former’s influence as epic poet goes well beyond the celebratory birthday poems;¹⁵ Lucan adds political depth and complexity to the traditional levity of occasional themes. Moreover, Martial and Statius are responsible for a significant innovation in Flavian literature: both attach *prose* prefaces to their poetry books so that the collected short poems present an impressive face to the outside world.¹⁶ There is no transmitted evidence for literary prose prefaces to poetry books before Martial and Statius.¹⁷ This suggests for one thing that both poets clearly had a heightened sense of the ‘occasional’ poetry book as a significant literary unit that should therefore be presented with special packaging and protection with a preface—and with an important dedicatee to whom the poetry book is given as a gift. Martial and Statius wrote short occasional poems, but for publication both thought big.

¹³ See C. Newlands (ed.) *Statius Silvae Book 2: A Commentary* (Cambridge 2011) *ad Silv.* 2. *praef.* 25f.; see also Morgan [12] 51. Morgan [12] 106-13 provides a detailed discussion of the metrical distinctiveness of *Silv.* 2.7.

¹⁴ To use the term of Lovatt [3] 175.

¹⁵ If we possessed Lucan’s lost ten books of *Silvae* (mentioned in Vacca’s life), we might be able to say a lot more about the Neronian poet’s influence on the short occasional poem. On the other hand, our knowledge of these works might obscure the interesting, even paradoxical importance of Lucan the epic poet on Statius’ and Martial’s occasional poetry.

¹⁶ Nauta [4] 374-78. He argues that Statius probably followed Martial’s example in this regard, though Statius has prose prefaces for all four published books, whereas Martial has prose prefaces for only books 1, 2, 8, 9, 12. N. Johannsen, *Dichter über ihre Gedichte: Die Prosaorreden in den Epigrammaton Libri Martialis und in den Silvae des Statius* (Göttingen 2006) offers an in-depth study of the relationship between the two in their use of prefaces, or ‘paratexts’. For a general overview of scholarship, see Newlands [13] 57f.

¹⁷ T. Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces: Studies in Literary Conventions* (Stockholm 1964) 107-12.

In the rest of this article I will examine two poems that have, with a few significant exceptions, been largely overlooked in studies of the interaction between the two poets and yet that seem to me to have programmatic significance both for their work and their relationship to one another: Martial 9.61 and *Silvae* 2.3.¹⁸ These two poems illustrate an interest in developing the aesthetic and political possibilities of occasional poetry and raising it to the level of a significant literary form; the sustained interaction between the two poems is an integral part of that process. Martial and Statius were astute readers of one another’s work.

Silvae 2.3 and Martial 9.61 are unique in their authors’ *oeuvres*, for their theme is a special tree belonging to a villa estate. A poem about a tree in the middle of a collection called *Silvae* (‘Woods’), a polysemous term and collective plural meaning ‘Wood/Woods’ and ‘poetic material’ (to be crafted into interesting forms), not surprisingly has a programmatic quality.¹⁹ So too when Martial writes about a tree we might suspect that he is taking on Statius and his ‘occasional’ poetics; there is no other comparable ‘tree’ poem in Martial’s works.²⁰ On the other hand, when Statius in the preface to book 2 refers to *Silvae* 2.3 as *quasi epigrammatis loco scriptos* (‘written like an epigram’, 2 *praef.* 15f.), we can fairly suspect that he is challenging, or responding to, Martial’s development of the genre.

Cross-referencing between poets who were contemporaries naturally raises questions of chronology—who is imitating whom here—and often, as we saw with the poems on Lucan’s birthday, these are impossible to determine with precision. With Martial and Statius we are at least more fortunate than with Silius Italicus, whose dates of composition for individual books remain uncertain.²¹ In this instance, we happen to be fairly certain that Martial’s book 9 was published late in 94 or early in 95, approximately one year after *Silvae*

¹⁸ The thematic and verbal similarities between the two poems have been well documented by C. Henriksen, *Martial, Book IX: A Commentary* 2 (Uppsala 1999) 56; see also P. Hardie, ‘Statius’ Ovidian Poetics and the Tree of Atedius Melior (*Silvae* 2.3)’, in R. Nauta *et al.* (edd.) *Flavian Poetry* (Leiden 2005) 207–21, esp. 215–17.

¹⁹ Going by a line count, *Silv.* 2.3 occupies the virtual centre of book 2; moreover, as the ninth poem of an eighteen poem collection (books 1–3), it is the central poem of the poetry book. On the meaning of *Silvae*, see D. Wray, ‘Wood: Statius’ *Silvae* and the Poetics of Genius’, in A. Augoustakis and C. Newlands (edd.), *Statius’ Silvae and the Poetics of Intimacy* (Baltimore 2007) 127–43.

²⁰ Interesting too is the positioning of Mart. 9.58, an epigram to the nymph of a lake; in *Silv.* 2.3 the tree shelters a nymph hiding in a lake. But Martial’s lake nymph is acerbic; she has no use for poetry (7f.). The epigram is perhaps a kind of witty ‘prequel’ to Martial’s more ‘Silvan’ effort three poems later.

²¹ See above, n. 3. Mart. 7.63 strongly suggests that by AD 92 several books of the *Punica* were in circulation, at least through recitation.

books 1-3 were published as a set; when Martial 9.61 was *composed*, however, is impossible to determine.²² Henriksén, who documents the similarities between the two poems, assumes that Martial used Statius as a model.²³ But given the social conditions in which occasional poetry was produced in this period, we cannot assume with certainty that Martial is alluding to Statius here, for there is the possibility that Martial's poem was in circulation earlier in draft form and through recitation; it therefore would have been known by Statius, especially since the publication of the poems was only about a year apart. And as I suggested above, Statius seems to be challenging Martial in the genre of epigram. These two poems offer an interesting illustration of an ongoing, sophisticated literary interaction.

Tying the two poems closely together is not just the unusual fact that the two poems are about a tree, but that they are about the *same* kind of tree, a plane. In the ancient world this particular tree was rich in symbolism, though it was not sacred to a deity. It was a garden tree highly prized for its shade in hot Mediterranean climates. The elder Pliny comments disdainfully that the plane was initially imported to Italy just for its shade (*HN* 12.6), for it could grow to enormous size. As a luxury item the plane was closely associated with regal or imperial power. Pliny lists some famous plane trees (*HN* 12.9-11), among them one large enough for the emperor Caligula to entertain fifteen guests and servants at a banquet in what he called, in rather sinister fashion, his 'nest'.²⁴ One of the strangest instances of a kingly fetish for a plane tree involved Xerxes: on his way to Sardis he was captivated by a beautiful plane tree and decorated it with golden ornaments (*Hdt.* 7.27), a passion commemorated in Handel's famous Largo from his otherwise neglected comic opera *Serse*.²⁵ According to Pliny again, locals on Crete claim that a special variety of plane which never sheds its leaves was the very tree under which Zeus coupled with

²² See Nauta [4] 287-89, who argues that each of the first three books of the *Silvae* was first published separately before being collected as a set in 94; book 2, according to his argument, was published in 93. See also K. Coleman (ed. and tr.), *Statius Silvae IV: Edited with an English Translation and Commentary* (Oxford 1988) xvi-xvii. On the publication of Martial's epigrams late in 94 or early 95, see also C. Henriksén, *Martial, Book IX: A Commentary* 1 (Uppsala 1998) 11-13.

²³ Henriksén [18] 56.

²⁴ Pliny mentions a plane tree that had fifty-foot-long roots that spread wider than its branches (*HN* 12.9). He also tells of a plane tree that had a hollow cavity measuring eighty-one feet across where a particular senator, wishing to perform a deed worthy of commemoration for posterity, held a banquet for eighteen friends which included an overnight stay. Caligula's tree house seems to have been slightly smaller; it held fifteen guests and servants (*HN* 12.9f.).

²⁵ F. H. Stubbings, 'Xerxes and the Plane Tree', *G&R* 15 (1946) 63-67.

Europa (*HN* 12.12f.). Despite Pliny’s scorn, the legend associates the plane tree with dynastic strength and fertility; this ‘evergreen’ plane was successfully reproduced in Italy as well as Crete. (Trees in general, of course, as our own metaphor of ‘the family tree’ demonstrates, are traditionally associated with family strength and lineage; as Henderson shows, the genealogical symbolism goes all the way back to the *Odyssey*.²⁶)

But there was another quite different tradition about the plane tree. It was also a philosopher’s tree, ever since in Plato’s *Phaedrus* Socrates and Plato stopped to rest and converse beneath a plane tree shading a beautiful stream (229a-b, 230b).²⁷ The debate in Cicero’s *De Oratore* over the role of oratory in a changed world lacking republican freedoms takes place under a plane tree on Crassus’ Tusculan estate.²⁸ The plane tree was also a poet’s tree. Alex Hardie has shown that the plane was associated in antiquity with the Muses and their shrines;²⁹ the statue honouring the Hellenistic poet Philitas, for instance, depicted him under a plane (Hermesianax fr. 7.75-78³⁰).³¹ It was a Horatian tree also, appearing in *Odes* 2.11 with the pine as the symbol of an *otium* enjoyed in withdrawal from politics and war (13f.).

These competing traditions about the plane are reflected in the poems of Martial and Statius. *Silvae* 2.3 and Martial 9.61 are an offshoot of the villa poem; they describe not the house, but the special tree which grows on the estate. Statius’ tree belongs to Atedius Melior.³² As a wealthy patron of the arts who has withdrawn from politics to his villa on the Caelian hill in Rome, Melior is an example of a common phenomenon of the imperial period, the man of wealth who pursues a learned, virtuous form of *otium* within the confines of his own property; virtue could be more securely cultivated when it was detached

²⁶ J. Henderson, ‘The Name of the Tree’, *JHS* 117 (1997) 87-116.

²⁷ Gardens, of course, were strongly associated with philosophy through the Gardens of Epicurus; see D. Spencer, *Roman Landscape: Culture and Identity* (Cambridge 2011) 109.

²⁸ See J. Linderski, ‘Garden Parlors: Nobles and Birds’, in R. I. Curtis (ed.), *Studia Pompeiana et Classica* 2 (New York 1989) 105-27. In *Silv.* 3.1.64-67 Pollius Felix with Statius and other friends study philosophy and poetry under a tree of spreading shade that is probably a plane. On the influence of the *Phaedrus* on later literary topography, see also A. Hardie, ‘Philetas and the Plane Tree’, *ZPE* 143 (1997) 28-30.

²⁹ Hardie [28] esp. 27-30. Plato was buried in the Mouseion at Athens, probably near a grove of plane trees; see also A. Hardie, ‘The Statue(s) of Philetas’, *ZPE* 143 (2003) 27-36.

³⁰ J. U. Powell (ed.), *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford 1925) 96-106.

³¹ See Hardie [28] 24-26, 32f.

³² Our information about Melior comes solely from the *Silvae* of Statius and the epigrams of Martial; cf. Mart. 2.69, 4.54, 8.38.

from civic ambition.³³ In its connection with intellectual friendship and ethical withdrawal from political life, the poem lightly draws on the philosophical associations of the plane; Statius also gives it an erotic dimension. The occasion for his poem is Melior's birthday; a plane tree of unusual shape in his garden inspires Statius to invent an aetiological myth explaining that the tree was planted by a remorseful Pan after his attempted rape of a nymph; the nymph in question hid in what was to become Melior's lake, and the new tree shaded and protected her hiding place, amorously dipping down to the water and then chastely soaring aloft, a symbol of both objectivized desire and guardianship. The narrative departs from its Ovidian model by avoiding the violence and rape that almost inevitably accompanies such narratives.³⁴ The eulogy of Melior in the final part of the poem (*Silv.* 2.3.62-77) associates him with the tree as a generous and protective friend. As Hardie points out, Statius balances here Ovidian models with Horatian ethics and poetics.³⁵ Martial's plane tree on the other hand draws on its political associations with dynastic strength and stability. In Statius' poem the god Pan plants the tree, but in Martial's epigram the planter is Julius Caesar. Martial thus brings politics and history to the tree poem.

Despite the different symbolism of the tree in the two poems, there are many points of contact. Both poets enhance the significance of the tree through mythology, but Statius to a far greater degree than Martial. Verbal parallels stress the debt of one to the other: for the act of 'planting' both poets use similar verbs, *deposuit* (*Silv.* 2.3.41), *posuere* (Mart. 9.61.22); more strikingly, *Fauni* (*Silv.* 2.3.7, Mart. 9.61.11) and the phrase *per agros* (2.3.13, 9.61.13) are in the same metrical position at line end in each poem. Appropriately enough, in the middle section of his epigram (9.61.11-14), Martial refers to a nymph hiding from Pan, the basic mythological situation of *Silvae* 2.3. Thus distinctive themes of Statius' *Silvae*, villa description and the intermingling of the human and mythological realms, are woven into Martial's epigram.

Curiously both poems are set in locations that seem contrary to their respective political orientations. Whereas Statius' plane tree grows in the very centre of imperial Rome, in Melior's Ovidian garden on the Caelian Hill, Martial's plane tree grows in Spanish Tartessus, a byword for the far west: *in Tartesiadis domus est notissima terris* ('there is a most notable house in the territory of Tartessus', Mart. 9.61.1). *Notissima* is ironic, given the great

³³ K. S. Myers, 'Doctia Otia: Garden Ownership and Configurations of Leisure in Statius and Pliny the Younger', *Arethusa* 38 (2005) 103-29; R. Gibson and R. Morello, *Reading the Letters of Pliny the Younger: An Introduction* (Cambridge 2012) 172-87.

³⁴ On the Ovidian models for this poem, see Newlands [13] 157f.

³⁵ Hardie [18] 217-21.

distance of the region from Rome; moreover, unlike Statius, who identifies the owner in the first line (*stat quae perspicuas nitidi Melioris opacet / arbor aquas complexa lacus*, ‘there stands a tree which overshadows the clear waters of brilliant Melior’s lake with its embrace’, *Silv.* 2.3.1f.), the owner of the Spanish house is never named, adding to the sense of remoteness; there is no question of one of the Roman notables here.³⁶ The house stands out, it emerges, for the tree that Caesar planted, but it is ‘most notable’ surely only from a local perspective—or at least until the poet explains why it is worthy of our attention too.

Indeed, Martial’s epigram, which is a thematic anomaly in his work, has an air of mystery about it. As an occasional poem, it has no clear occasion. The importance of the place and the identity of its planter are not fully revealed until the end (9.61.19-22); we do not know who owns the house in the present. The poem was written after a party the night before (15-18), but the host and the guests remain unnamed; taking a leaf out of Statius’ book, for the poet liked to intermingle humans with gods, Martial uncharacteristically names only Fauns, Pan and nymphs as the revelers (11-14).

The political nature of Martial’s poem is thus not immediately clear. The poem seems to begin as a description of a luxury villa, like Martial 3.58 on Bassus’ villa, and indeed the introduction of the tree (*aedibus in mediis totos amplexa penates / stat platanus*, ‘there stands in the middle of the house a plane tree, entirely embracing its sacred interior’, Mart. 9.61.5f.) echoes, or is echoed in, Statius’ opening lines. The first word of Statius’ poem is likewise *stat*; Statius inscribes his name in the opening word, a hint of the programmatic nature of this ‘tree poem’, despite its description in the preface as ‘lightweight’ (*Silv.* 2 *praef.* 15). *Stat* perhaps also wittily alludes to Horace, the Roman founder, so to speak, of the ‘tree poem’, though Horace was almost killed by the tree that crashed down on his estate (*Carm.* 2.11, 3.22); Statius’ tree by contrast is in no danger of toppling but is firmly rooted! Enjambment in Martial’s poem also draws particular attention to *stat*, surely a sly allusion to Statius and his ‘woodsy’ poetry, if not to *Silvae* 2.3 in particular.³⁷ Martial’s tree embraces the *penates* as Statius’ tree ‘embraces’ (*complexa*, *Silv.* 2.3.2) a lake. The tree growing in the middle of the house has a parallel in Statius’ villa poem *Silvae* 1.3.59-63, where a sturdy tree grows in the middle of Vopiscus’ beautiful home at Tibur, offering shelter to the nymphs (*mediis seruata penatibus arbor*, ‘a tree preserved in the very middle of the house’, 59).

³⁶ See Henriksen [18] *ad* Mart. 9.61.1.

³⁷ J. G. Henderson, *Writing Down Rome* (Oxford 1999) 123f. shows the influence of Horace’s tree poems upon Statius and Martial. *Silv.* 2.3 probably alludes not only to the falling tree but to *Carm.* 2.11 which unites the plane and the pine (13f.). The pine is sacred to Pan, the planter of the plane tree in *Silv.* 2.3.

Yet it is precisely at the point where he alludes to Statius that Martial's poem takes a surprising turn of direction, by contrast to *Silvae* 2.3, into the political; this tree is 'Caesarian':

stat platanus densis Caesariana comis,
hospitis inuicti posuit quam dextera felix,
coepit et ex illa crescere uirga manu.
auctorem dominumque nemus sentire uidetur:
sic uiret et ramis sidera celsa petit.

(Mart. 9.61.6-10)

There stands a plane tree, Caesar's, with thickly leaved foliage,
which the fortunate hand of the unconquered guest planted.
As a shoot it began to grow from that man's hand.
A virtual grove, it seems to acknowledge its author and master
in the way that it flourishes green and seeks the stars with its branches.

In fact line 5 of Martial's poem subtly prepares for this political turn with its allusion to two Vergilian passages about 'political trees'. *Amplexa penates* alludes to the description of an ancient laurel that 'embraced the *penates*' of Priam's palace: *iuxtaque ueterrima laurus / incumbens arae atque umbra complexa penatis* ('close by was a very ancient laurel tree curving over the altar and embracing the *penates* with its shade', Verg. *Aen.* 2.513f.). But that laurel was very old, a symbol therefore of Priam's collapsing dynasty. In the second Vergilian reference a laurel grows in Latinus' palace that has this time been carefully preserved; and like Martial's plane, it grows in the middle of the house: *laurus erat tecti medio in penetralibus altis / sacra comam multosque metu seruata per annos* ('a sacred laurel was in the middle of the house, deep inside, sacred in its leaves and preserved by reverence for many years', *Aen.* 7.59f.). Statius too with his prominent use of the word *complexa* (*Silv.* 2.3.2) may also be alluding to these Vergilian passages, but if so, it is to make the point that by contrast, his tree is resolutely unepic and non-political.³⁸ The 'Caesarian' tree of Martial's poem, however, has grown from a shoot (9.61.8) to seek the stars (10), a symbol therefore of a healthy dynasty and a reference to Julius Caesar's apotheosis.

Yet it is clear only at the poem's end (Mart. 9.61.19-22) that *Julius Caesar* planted the tree. When introduced, the plane is simply called *Caesariana* ('Caesar's', 6), an epithet often used of Julius Caesar, but also of any emperor; Martial uses it elsewhere of Domitian (cf. *Pallas Caesariana* [8.1.4], i.e., Domitian's Minerva). Indeed *dominum* at line 9 could also evoke

³⁸ Likewise *Silv.* 1.3.59 probably alludes to Verg. *Aen.* 7.59f. and thus establishes the cultural and political distance between the palace and the villa.

that emperor, for Martial quite often uses it of Domitian in the third person.³⁹ Even though the Julio-Claudian dynasty had come to an end, the epithet *Caesariana* allows Martial to stress the continuity between the Julio-Claudians and the Flavians. Thus Domitian is in a sense behind this poem and behind the figure of Julius Caesar. Since book 9 has considerably more epigrams concerning Domitian than any other book of Martial, he is also an implied reader of this epigram.⁴⁰

The political turn has a playful note. As Nisbet commented, ‘trees are like people’—and the Latin vocabulary for trees emphasises the similarity: trees have a ‘trunk’ (*truncus*); their leaves are called ‘hair’ (*comae*); their ‘branches’ are called arms (*bracchia*).⁴¹ As Hardie notes, the juxtaposition of *Caesariana comis* ‘activates the *Caesar-caesaries* (“hair”) pun, although *this* tree’s foliage is perhaps not the best match for *this* man’s notoriously thin head of hair’.⁴² Domitian too, of course, was known for his baldness (*caluus Nero*, ‘the bald Nero’, Juv. 4.38). As Hardie notes, the playful pun is appropriate for the pastoral and symposiastic setting of the tree (9.61.11-18), yet it also keeps in play the ambiguity of *Caesariana*—which Caesar?

The association here between Julius Caesar and Domitian is odd, since Caesar’s general reputation in the first century AD was that of a cruel autocrat whose main political contribution was posthumous; as the first *diuus* he established the principle of imperial deification.⁴³ For Henriksen this is the justification for Martial’s poem; the tree is ‘a symbol of the eternal succession of divine Roman emperors’;⁴⁴ and the Flavian dynasty is thus a happy continuation of the Julio-Claudians. Yet the final four lines of the poem, where the political ramifications are made more explicit, put into question the principle of ‘eternal succession’. Individual trees, like rulers, can flourish, but they can also be cut down.

The particular surprise in the epigram relates to the delay in clearly identifying Julius Caesar as the person who planted the tree. The identification is made in the unexpected context of his civil wars with Pompey and sons, and

³⁹ Henriksen [22] 119-21.

⁴⁰ Henriksen [22] 21-23.

⁴¹ R. G. M. Nisbet, ‘The Oak and the Axe’, in S. J. Harrison (ed.) *R. G. M. Nisbet, Collected Papers on Latin Literature* (Oxford 1995) 202-12; see also E. Gowers, ‘Talking Trees: Philemon and Baucis Revisited’, *Arethusa* 38 (2005) 331-65 on Ovid’s development of trees’ anthropomorphic possibilities.

⁴² Hardie [18] 217.

⁴³ Hardie [11] 190f.

⁴⁴ Henriksen [18] 54f.

his assassination; the tone here changes abruptly from the preceding festive scene:

o dilecta deis, o magni Caesaris arbor,
 ne metuas ferrum sacrilegosque focos.
 perpetuos sperare licet tibi frondis honores:
 non Pompeianae te posuere manus.
 (Mart. 9.61.19-22)

O tree of great Caesar, beloved of the gods,
 may you not fear the axe or sacrilegious hearths.
 You may expect eternal honours for your foliage:
 Pompeian hands did not plant you.

Martial plays with the identity of the planter to almost the end of the poem, for *magni*, of course, is Pompey the Great's epithet. With this transference of Pompey's epithet to Caesar, Martial indicates Caesar's victory over his rival, while hinting at their tragic similarity or even interchangeability, and he anticipates the last line of the poem: *non Pompeianae te posuere manus* ('Pompeian hands did not plant you', 9.61.22). Yet line 20, where Martial expresses the hope that this tree will not need to fear the axe or sacrilegious hearths, is also a reminder of the ruler's vulnerability, for is there not a reference here to Julius Caesar's eventual assassination? A fundamental, uneasy oxymoron underlines these last lines. Caesar, unlike his tree, succumbed to weapons and sacrilege—a reminder of the vulnerability of power but also, through the flourishing tree he planted, of dynastic resilience through deification.

In this epigram Martial has reversed a key image from the start of Lucan's epic, the comparison of Pompey to a great but decaying oak (Luc. 1.130-43). Martial has appropriated Lucan's image of a tree and used it for Pompey's rival, Julius Caesar, though this tree, by contrast to the decaying Pompeian oak, grows tall and seeks the stars. Yet the covert analogy with Pompey's tree raises the question of whether Caesar's tree will be an exception and not succumb either to the natural laws of mutability or to human passions.

In presenting Julius Caesar as the planter of trees, Martial has also reversed Lucan's epic portrayal of Julius Caesar as an evil, sacrilegious tree cutter. In book 3 of the *Bellum Civile* (399-45), Caesar cuts down a sacred grove of the Gauls. Lucan here connects deforestation explicitly with imperialism. Not only did Caesar violate the local gods; he caused the local economy to suffer also when the harvest was left to rot after their oxen were taken by the Romans to transport the wood for Caesar's war. Caesar seems to violate the grove with impunity, but Lucan's poem implies that fate, or the gods, will catch up with

him later.⁴⁵ Surely there is some irony involved in making history’s most notorious tree feller associated ‘for eternity’ with a living tree. Caesar’s plane tree is a symbol of dynastic resilience and success, to be sure, but the epigram also does not let the reader forget that trees too can be cut down; the symbol and its referent can cohere.⁴⁶ Since trees, moreover, lend themselves easily to anthropomorphic imagery, the poem blurs the distinction between the tree as a symbol of dynastic strength and as a figure of Julius Caesar, particularly in these last four lines; Caesar’s dual role as both sacrilegious tree cutter and the victim of sacrilege is interwoven. Allusions to Ovid’s myth of Erysichthon (*Met.* 8.738-878), which underpin Lucan’s tree-felling episode, hint at the vulnerability of even the tallest, most sacred of trees. Martial’s apostrophe to Caesar’s tree (*o dilecta deis*, ‘o beloved of the gods’, 9.61.19) alludes to Erysichthon’s scornful words addressed to Ceres’ tree (*dilecta deae*, ‘beloved of the goddess’, *Met.* 8.755); the pastoral scene of Fauns playing under the tree (*saepe sub hac madidi luserunt arbore Fauni*, ‘often under this tree the tipsy Fauns played’, 9.61.11) evokes the pathos of the Dryads who used to dance under Ceres’ sacred tree (*saepe sub hac Dryades festas duxere choreas*, ‘often under this tree the Dryads led their festive dances’, *Met.* 8.746-48). But divine protection could not save Ceres’ tree from Erysichthon’s random act of sacrilegious violence.

Line 20 of Martial’s poem may allude also to Statius’ tree of *Silvae* 1.3, which ‘is destined not to suffer the cruel axe under this master’ (*quo non sub domino saeuas passura bipennes*, 61). Statius’ expression *saeuas . . . bipennes* alludes to Erysichthon’s ‘cruel axe’ (*saeuamque . . . bipennem*, *Met.* 8.766). The Julio-Claudian dynasty, of course, as well as its founder, did collapse; it is imperialism that continues to flourish through the tree. As Henderson comments, ‘marking the end of the Republican world at its farthest Western edge, this tree plants on the map, for keeps, the symbolic stock of an “eternal life token” for the *domus Caesariana*’.⁴⁷ But given the poem’s earlier, subtle association between Julius Caesar and Domitian Caesar, there seems to be a contrapuntal reminder, or warning, of *memento mori* running through the epigram’s coda. In 9.61 Martial takes a fresh look at the epic topos of ‘tree cutting’ and cuts it down to epigrammatic size; the appropriation and compression of epic themes give particular point and nuance to the complex semiotics of ‘Caesar’s tree’.

⁴⁵ See A. Augoustakis, ‘Cutting Down the Grove in Lucan, Valerius Maximus, and Dio Cassius’, *CQ* 56 (2006) 634-38.

⁴⁶ Martial’s poem also plays upon a theme in epic poetry whereby the comparison of a warrior killed in battle to a fallen tree was a recognized trope (cf. Hom. *Il.* 4.482-87).

⁴⁷ Henderson [37] 124.

When might Julius Caesar have planted the tree? He campaigned twice in Martial's home territory of Hispania Ulterior, once in 49 BC at the start of civil war with Pompey Magnus, and then again with Pompey's sons in 46-45 BC in the final reckoning of that war, a struggle that, according to our sole source, *De Bello Hispaniensi*, was notable for its savagery. The region of Tartessus (southwest Spain) was close to the thick of the fighting; Corduba, mentioned in the epigram's second line in pastoral-idyllic terms, was the centre of Pompeian operations and saw a massacre of over twenty thousand of the Pompeians after Caesar's victory at Munda (*B. Hisp.* 32-34); at Hispalis, another major city of the region, the head of Gnaeus Pompey was displayed after his capture and execution (*B. Hisp.* 39). Presumably the tree, if it actually existed, could have been planted in either 49 or 45. Martial cleverly fudges the issue in the last line of 9.61 with the reference to 'Pompeian hands', which could refer either to Pompey Magnus or to his sons. In Martial's time, Corduba was famous also as the hometown of Seneca and Lucan, victims of Nero, the last of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. On the one hand, the opening of the poem (*in Tartesiaticis . . . terris*, 'in the territory of Tartessus', 9.61.1) sets the poem in a seemingly remote area far from the Caesars; on the other hand, it connects the poem with some of the most savage fighting of civil war history. *Non Pompeianae te posuere manus* ('Pompeian hands did not plant you', 22) recalls line 7 (*hospitis inuicti posuit quam dextera felix*, 'which the fortunate hand of the unconquered guest planted'), but the poem raises the question of whether Caesar in Spain was welcome guest or enemy, *hospitis* or *hos(pi)tis*?

Thus far, Martial's shorter poem seems far more complex than *Silvae* 2.3. It is time then to return to Statius and to the point at which these two poems converge, in their exploitation of the tree's literary significance as a stable symbol of poetic immortality; here, too, despite Melior's withdrawal from the political scene, we surprisingly find Julius Caesar acting as a foil for the poet's self-positioning in the Flavian age. Like Martial, Statius emphasises the longevity of the tree. Thus Pan commands the tree, *uiue diu nostri pignus memorabile uoti* ('live a long time, memorable pledge of my desire', 2.3.43). The god here echoes Lucan's Julius Caesar who, on his visit to the ruins of Troy, addresses the Palladium as *Pallas . . . pignus memorabile* ('Pallas . . . memorable pledge', *Luc.* 9.994). By wresting the allusion away from politics and a ruined landscape to a garden, Statius emphasises not only the enduring power of poetry but also the importance of the theme of political withdrawal. It may be significant that Pallas Minerva was Domitian's patron deity. By diverting the address from Pallas to Melior's tree, Statius suggests the symbolic importance of the plane as a living object with nonetheless a long cultural

lineage, a master-trope of the cultural shift represented by *doctum otium*.⁴⁸ The imperative *uiue* also here echoes Lucan’s famous address to Caesar and to poetry, a few lines earlier (9.980-86), where Lucan emphasizes that only poetry, not potentates, can confer immortality, concluding *Pharsalia nostra / uiuet* (‘our Pharsalia will live on’, 985—Caesar’s battle, but Lucan’s poem), an important, but uneasy statement that poetic immortality comes at a cost and, although his poem will outlive Caesar, it will always be tainted by the narrative of Caesar’s deeds.⁴⁹ Pan’s Lucanian mandate for long life for the tree is echoed towards the end of *Silvae* 2.3 in the explicit analogy that Statius draws between his poem and the tree: *haec tibi parua quidem genitali luce paramus / dona, sed ingenti forsitan uictura sub aeuo* (‘I am preparing this gift for your birthday; small though it may be, it will perhaps live for a very long time’, 62f.). There may be here an implicit apology for co-opting Lucan’s famous words for a short birthday poem, but Statius thus emphasises also the poet’s power to create and preserve memory in even so-called minor poetry; moreover, although he draws on the prestige of his patron, his hope for immortality lacks the taint of Lucan’s tormented relationship with Caesar.

Moreover, the allusion to Lucan may point to a political underpinning, after all, of Statius’ poem. Statius departs from conventional praise of his friend by emphasising that Melior lives a life without fraud, without the need to hide: *qua nunc placidi Melioris aperti / stant sine fraude lares* (‘where the open-doored home of peaceful Melior now stands, without deception’, 2.3.15f.).⁵⁰ *Stant* connects Melior’s home with the plane tree (*stat*, 1); both have the virtues not just of peacefulness but of protection from violence, of safe shelter. Critics have suggested that Melior may have been in political trouble and for that reason had withdrawn to his villa in Rome; the suggestion was prompted by the poem’s concluding reference to Melior’s friend Blaesus (77).⁵¹ We are not entirely sure who this Blaesus was, but a likely candidate is a legate who had been a close supporter of Vitellius in the civil wars of AD 68-69, on the losing

⁴⁸ On the idea of ‘learned leisure’ see above, n. 33.

⁴⁹ See on this passage E. Narducci, *Lucano: Un’epica contro l’impero* (Rome 2002) 171-83, esp. 179f. The lines, of course, as Narducci [above, this note] 183 n. 47 points out, also echo Vergil’s famous apostrophe to Nisus and Euryalus (*Aen.* 9.446f.) and the triumphant Ovid’s conclusion to his epic (*Met.* 15.879), where the poet joins and overtakes his Caesar, Augustus, in the eternity stakes with flight *above* the stars. But Lucan’s conjunction of *Pharsalia* as the instrument of poetic immortality suggests the impossibility of uncoupling Caesar from the poet’s fame. See M. Malamud ‘Happy Birthday, Dead Lucan: (P)raising the Dead in *Silvae* 2.7’, *Ramus* (1995) esp. 14: ‘Caesar and his bard, together for ever, for better or worse . . .’.

⁵⁰ See also 2.3.69 with Newlands [13] *ad loc.*

⁵¹ E.g. Hardie [11] 66f.; Nauta [4] 226f., 239.

side therefore to Vespasian.⁵² As a friend of Blaesus, Melior may have thought it prudent to retire from public life under the Flavians. Vessey suggests that Melior was involved in the mutiny of Saturninus in AD 88/89, a virtual civil war.⁵³ But whatever the precise historical background to this poem, critics have picked up on the poem's particular emphasis on withdrawal and safety that makes it seem plausible that there were political reasons for withdrawal; Melior's openness means that he is a generous patron and friend but also that politically he has nothing to hide. The presence of Lucan in the poem—and in book 2, where he, like Melior, is accorded his own birthday poem (*Silv.* 2.7)—perhaps helps uncover a hidden political transcript in Statius' poem.⁵⁴ So may also the poem's relationship with Martial 9.61.

In *Silvae* 2.3 the intertwined hope for the enduring memory of Melior and Statius' poetry is also mediated through the most famous of Ovid's poetic trees, the laurel of the Daphne and Apollo myth (*Met.* 1.452-67). In Pan's prayer for the tree's longevity, he hopes too that it will surpass in fame *Phoebi frondes* ('Phoebus' foliage', 51), an allusion to the concluding line of Apollo's prayer in which he predicts eternal honours for the laurel, the metamorphosed Daphne: *tu quoque perpetuos semper gere frondis honores* ('you too always bear the eternal honours of foliage', *Met.* 1.565). By putting this wish into the mouth of Pan, Statius avoids the political associations of the Apolline laurel, two of which guarded Augustus' house (Dio Cass. 53.16.4) and formed the crown in Roman triumphs, an ambivalent symbol in Ovid's poetry.⁵⁵ His tree of quiet virtues—moderation, protection, reflection and also controlled desire—a figure both of Melior and of Statius' poem about Melior, will be superior to and more enduring than the Caesarean laurel. The comparison allegorises Statius' position in his occasional poetics; the political helps define and justify the non-political.

Martial virtually echoes this line of Ovid in the second last line of his epigram: *perpetuos sperare licet tibi frondis honores* ('may you hope for eternal honours for your foliage', 9.61.21). Martial thus closely connects his plane tree with Ovid's Augustan, Caesarean laurel. In both the *Metamorphoses* and Martial's epigram the long life of the tree is connected with the fame and immortality of the ruler, the flourishing of his dynasty, and in Martial's case its

⁵² On Blaesus see Newlands [13] *ad Silv.* 2.1.191f.

⁵³ D. W. T. Vessey, 'Atedius Melior's Tree: Statius *Silvae* 2.3', *CPh* 76 (1981) 46-52; see the response of Nauta [4] 312-15.

⁵⁴ On the concept of the 'hidden transcript', a form of communication which comments on the 'public transcript' produced by hierarchies of power, see S. Bartsch, *Actors in the Audience: Theatricality and Doublespeak from Nero to Hadrian* (Cambridge, Mass. 1994) esp. 150-52.

⁵⁵ On the political and poetic significance of the metamorphosed Daphne, see, e.g., A. Barchiesi, *Ovidio: Metamorfosi* 1 (Rome 2005) *ad Met.* 1.560-63.

continuation under the Flavians. But there is possibly further irony here too in Martial’s allusion, in addition to the undertones of Ovid’s Erysichthon myth. As many critics have observed, in Ovid’s poem Augustus’ laurel is created from the suffering and violence involved in Apollo’s attempted rape of Daphne and her subsequent metamorphosis. Martial’s final line referring to the Pompeys hints at the vast suffering and brutality involved in the foundation of a new dynasty in the late stages of civil war in Spain; no wonder perhaps the grass around Caesar’s tree is an ambiguous red (17).⁵⁶

Martial brings politics back openly to the tree poem. And in so doing, he may subtly invite readers to recognize the political underpinning of Statius’ poem, to read history back into that poem and to understand the political conditions that made the quiet life enjoyed by Melior a necessity. He also may engage in a subtle piece of one-upmanship in claiming poetic immortality. Whereas in *Silvae* 2.3.43 it is Pan, god of rural music, who voices the hope for immortality, Martial at 9.61.21 co-opts the voice of *the* god of poetry himself, Apollo! As Garthwaite observes, Martial frequently boasts of the paradox that his short poems have brought him undying fame throughout the world.⁵⁷ But Martial also, I suggest, acknowledges a debt to Statius in this line. In addressing the tree, not Caesar, he may be making a tribute to Statius’ *Silvae* and the central metaphor of his occasional, silvan poetics, trees. Apollo, after all, was the god of pastoral poetics (e.g., Verg. *Ecl.* 6.3-5), before Augustus elevated him to the post of personal deity.

Indeed, despite their different aesthetic programmes, Martial and Statius converge in their exploitation of the associations of the plane tree with *poetic* immortality. Despite his politicization of the plane tree, Martial also engages here with the idea of political withdrawal. Caesar’s plane tree does not flourish outside an imperial palace, like Augustus’ laurel, but flourishes in a villa, the traditional site for elite retirement from politics in the first century AD. And the villa is far from Rome, in Spain, Martial’s homeland. Martial ultimately appropriates Caesar’s tree and accommodates it to his personal geography and his personal festive poetics of pleasure and leisure. Caesar’s tree too is in retirement!—not much danger to anyone any more, over a hundred years after the slaughter of Caesar’s campaigns on Spanish soil. Caesar’s tree has become Martial’s tree too, a symbol of his ‘famous’ (9.61.1) and enduring poetics. Indeed, there is a curious relationship between this poem and Martial 9.60,

⁵⁶ It is possible Martial may have known the story reported in Herodotus (7.27) about the plane tree worshipped by Xerxes; the tree did not, however, prove a lucky omen for him. See Stubbings [25] 63-67.

⁵⁷ A central part of book 9 is his defence of his gifts of poetry; J. Garthwaite, ‘Patronage and Poetic Immortality in Martial Book 9’, *Mnemosyne* 51 (1998) 161-75 shows that poems 48-60 in particular play with this theme. To this list we should add poem 61.

which is also about poetry; the central image of 9.60 is the *corona* of flowers that Martial offers his friend Sabinus, but *corona* is also a metaphor for a collection of poetry.⁵⁸ Martial 9.60.2 (*seu rubuit tellus Tuscula flore tuo*, ‘or the Tusculan land has grown red with your flower’) is echoed in line 17 of Martial 9.61 (*hesternis rubens . . . herba coronis*, ‘the grass red with yesterday’s wreaths’). Does Martial mean not only the discarded crowns of last night’s revellers but also yesterday’s poetry in the sense of poetry of a past, more violent, turbulent age?

The phenomenon of Martial and Statius, two poets writing occasional verse at the same time and in the same cultural and political milieu, invites the reader to interpret the two poems in relation to one another and to see them afresh through this process of cross-reading. From the vantage point of Martial 9.61, the absence of Caesar in *Silvae* 2.3 is striking and invites the reader to explore the political basis for withdrawal; what may be the hidden political transcript of *Silvae* 2.3 thus gains added weight. From the vantage point of *Silvae* 2.3, the absence of any addressee in Martial 9.61, or any equivalent to Melior, is in turn striking. Such absence draws attention to the geographical location and invites the reader to ask, ‘why Spain’? The poem from the start is linked to the memory of civil war. The absence of owner and occasion also draws attention to the tree itself and its symbolic possibilities, in particular its complex use of the metaphor explored by Statius whereby ‘wood’ and ‘tree’ are programmatic for the writer’s own poetry. This may be Caesar’s tree, but it ultimately belongs to epigram and to Martial, Spain’s newest literary talent.

Martial and Statius therefore offer two different but not unrelated models for talking about imperial politics and poetics. Their semiotic, if not their rhetorical, systems are not far apart. The plane tree has contradictory associations with both death and perpetual life, with dynasties and political withdrawal. Ultimately, for both poets the plane tree is a rich, complex figure of poetic survival and immortality in a politically turbulent age. Lucan is the important figure who stands between these Flavian poets and the Augustans, especially Ovid, and offers them a significant discourse for talking about Caesarism. But Lucan’s poetic career was cut short by Nero; he did not cultivate the poetics of withdrawal. In his next to last line Martial underlines the power of even occasional poetry when he states (addressing the tree, not Caesar), *perpetuos sperare licet tibi frondis honores* (‘it is allowed for you to hope for immortal honours’, 9.61.21), thereby acknowledging his debt in his epigrams to Ovid and its subtle blend of politics and erotics; to Lucan; and also, as I have suggested, to Statius’ *Silvae* and the central metaphor of his occasional poetics, trees.

⁵⁸ I am grateful to John Garthwaite for pointing this connection out *inter litteras*.

Martial 9.61 and *Silvae* 2.3, two poems about an extraordinary plane tree, invite us to read them together and against one another. In the process of reception the priority of the one over the other ultimately does not matter; each poem of this diptych richly informs the other and teases out hidden meanings. There is clearly far more to the relationship of Martial and Statius than a process of mutual criticism. Reagan’s statement cited at the start of this article came to circulate as ‘if you’ve seen one redwood you’ve seen them all’. Not the case with either redwood or the Flavian plane.

PLUTARCH AND THE DEATH OF PYRRHUS: DISAMBIGUATING THE CONFLICTING ACCOUNTS

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Abstract. Plutarch's portrayal of Pyrrhus' death cannot be uncritically accepted as accurate. By assessing without prejudgement of merit what the so-called 'unreliable' counter-tradition records of Pyrrhus' actions at Sparta and then Argos, a more consistent and plausible account of Pyrrhus' death—one more favourable to Pyrrhus' generalship—can be reconstructed than the version that may be gleaned solely from a reading of Plutarch.

Plutarch's representation of Pyrrhus' demise at Argos in *Life of Pyrrhus* (31-34),¹ though it differs somewhat from the other extant accounts, appears to have gained acceptance in modern scholarship. I will consider the plausibility of Plutarch's account, the reliability of Plutarch as a source of information about Pyrrhus, and the contributions that other ancient writers make to our knowledge of Pyrrhus' death. Finally, an attempt will be made to postulate what may really have happened at Argos. What follows does not endeavour to repudiate Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus* on any intrinsic level (that is, solely through analysis of the text and of the author's methods), and yet it is in no way intended as a challenge to accepted methodology. Rather, I seek to draw together and interpret all the extant information that pertains to Pyrrhus and his actions at Argos, and via this process conjecture that (in the absence of intrinsic textual analysis validating Plutarch's account) there may be cause to reassess—or at least be wary of—the commonly accepted portrayal of Pyrrhus' death.

¹ The text of Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus* is that of K. Ziegler (ed.), *Plutarchi Vitae Parallelae*² 3 (Leipzig 1971). The other classical texts are as follows (in order of appearance, other than to avoid repetition): the text of Curtius Rufus is that of K. Müller (ed.), *Q. Curtius Rufus Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen* (Munich 1954); of Arrian, *Anabasis* A. G. Roos and G. Wirth (edd.), *Flavii Arriani Quae Exstant Omnia* 1 (Leipzig 1967); of Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* F. Vogel and K. T. Fischer (edd.; post I. Bekker and L. Dindorf), *Diodori Bibliotheca Historica*³ 5 (Stuttgart 1964); of Justin, *Epitome* O. Seel (ed.), *M. Iuniani Iustini Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi* (Stuttgart 1972); of Valerius Maximus C. Kempf (ed.), *Valerii Maximi Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri Novem cum Iulii Paridis et Ianuarii Nepotiani Epitomis* (Leipzig 1888); of Pausanias, *Graeciae Descriptio* F. Spiro (ed.), *Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio* 1 (Stuttgart 1967); and of George Synkellos, *Ecloga Chronographica* A. A. Mosshammer (ed.), *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga Chronographica* (Leipzig 1984).

The Plausibility of Plutarch's Account

There can be no doubt that some ancient writers are seen as more reliable sources of information than others. The nature of an author's work, his proximity to events, the sources upon which he draws, and his previous record for accuracy—all are used in some measure (consciously or otherwise) to preordain his trustworthiness. Even those ancient authors who claimed to be writing history had different standards of the historical method than do their modern counterparts, however, and in most cases lived centuries after the events that their works describe. Out of necessity they relied on even earlier writers, who in turn were not always contemporaneous with events. Given the complexities and uncertainties inherent within the historiography, it seems unwise to typecast authors as either reliable or unreliable, let alone then to use this assessment in predetermining their worth on any given occasion.

Plutarch's version of the events that took place at Argos, though uncorroborated and indeed contradicted by other extant accounts, has gained almost universal acceptance amongst modern scholars.² The only stated reason for the pre-eminence afforded to Plutarch is that his account seems to derive largely from Hieronymus, who is advocated as both a trustworthy historian and a contemporary who knew the actions of Antigonus Gonatas.³ Furthermore,

² For instance: G. N. Cross, *Epirus: A Study in Constitutional Development* (London 1932) 86; R. M. Errington, *A History of Macedonia* (Oxford 1990) 167; P. R. Franke, 'Pyrrhus', *CAH* 7.2² (1989) 484; P. Garoufalas, *Pyrrhus: King of Epirus* (London 1979) 134-140; N. G. L. Hammond and F. W. Walbank, *A History of Macedonia* 3 (Oxford 1988) 266; N. G. L. Hammond, *The Macedonian State: The Origins, Institutions, and History* (Oxford 1992) 307; Kienast, 'Pyrrhos von Epeiros', *RE* 24 (1963) 160f.; P. Lévêque, *Pyrrhos* (Paris 1957) 608-26; H. H. Scullard, *A History of the Roman World 753 to 146 BC*⁴, (London 1992) 124; W. W. Tarn, *Antigonus Gonatas* (Oxford 1913) 272-74. The only historical commentary on Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus* is by Dutch scholar Arie Nederlof, *Plutarchus' Leven van Pyrrhus: Historische Commentaar* (Amsterdam 1940), of whose critique only pages 215-32 deal with the siege of Argos. Nederlof examines some minor issues in considerable detail but is largely acquiescent with regard to Plutarch's portrayal of Pyrrhus' death. Lastly, although seeming of relevance to the present study, M. Piérart, 'La Mort de Pyrrhos a Argos', *Études Classiques* 1 (1990) 2-12 considers not the death of Pyrrhus *per se* but rather the possibility that extant accounts drew upon local sources when writing about events at Argos. This question has no great bearing upon the current work.

³ Hammond [2] 266; Kienast [2] 161; Lévêque [2] 615; Nederlof [2] 217; Tarn, [2] 449. Assessments of Hieronymus' worth as a historian are hampered somewhat by the fact that his work is almost entirely non-extant. The most comprehensive piece of scholarship on the subject is by J. Hornblower, *Hieronimus of Cardia* (London 1981), who concludes that Hieronymus' precision lies in numbers and statistics more than in accurate characterization (17), that Hieronymus omitted or at least downplayed events such as Pyrrhus' defeat

there are a number of unstated—perhaps not consciously recognized—reasons: Plutarch is perceived as being generally more trustworthy than the authors who offer conflicting accounts; these accounts seemingly can be dismissed as corrupted variations of Plutarch's (or Hieronymus') more detailed 'original'; Plutarch's version is longer and—perhaps due to being part of a work dealing specifically with Pyrrhus—more widely known; and Plutarch's portrayal of Pyrrhus' elephants is both vivid and realistic. This last point is of relevance, for to some degree it is the depiction of the elephants that lends believability to an account that otherwise might seem somewhat implausible.

Plutarch describes the operation against Argos as follows (*Pyrrh.* 31-34):

Argos wished to remain neutral in the conflict between Antigonus and Pyrrhus. Whereas the former respected this arrangement and offered his son as hostage, the latter contrived to occupy the city. Knowing Aristetas had opened the Diampere gate for him, Pyrrhus marched there by night and sent the Gauls through to occupy the marketplace. The gate, however, was too low for his elephants to pass through unhindered, so Pyrrhus delayed, first to have their *howdahs* removed, and then again to replace these once inside the city. This allowed time for the alarm to be raised, whereupon the Argives proceeded not only to rush to the city's strong points but also to call upon Antigonus for help. Pyrrhus persisted with his attempt but, after engaging in confused fighting that lasted until dawn, he then decided to retreat. He sent word to Helenus to break down the city wall, but Helenus misunderstood this command and instead brought reinforcements into the city, thereby hindering Pyrrhus' withdrawal. Matters were complicated further by a dead elephant blocking the gate and by another running wild with grief for its dead *mahout*. During the chaos Pyrrhus was struck on the head with a roof tile (thrown by a woman) and subsequently killed by a sword thrust. Antigonus burned Pyrrhus' body and sent Helenus back to Epirus.

Plutarch's portrayal is compelling through dint of being highly evocative and additionally derives a veneer of realism from its depiction of Pyrrhus' elephants. These animals can move silently through dense forest and rely on touch, smell and sound far more than they do on sight.⁴ They actually would have been ideally suited to a surreptitious infiltration through the narrow streets of Argos. Elephants, however, lose their stealth when panicked or wounded,⁵ and tend

of Gonatas outside Argos (104), and that Hieronymus may have distorted the truth of events (specifically at Argos) so as to favour Antigonus Gonatas (248).

⁴ U. T. Gale, *Burmese Timber Elephant* (Rangoon 1974) 13; L. L. Rue III, *Elephants: A Portrait of the Animal World* (New York 1994) 19; H. H. Scullard, *The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge 1974) 16; S. K. Sikes, *The Natural History of the African Elephant* (London 1971) 28, 43.

⁵ Gale [4] 26.

thenceforth to run raucously along the path of least resistance. Given that ancient cities were not designed to accommodate elephants, it would be unsurprising for a fully equipped elephant to flee through the wider of the streets, to arrive at but not fit under the city gate, and indeed to be killed from behind while desperately trying to force an exit. Furthermore, over years of training and working together, elephants often develop a strong bond with their *mahouts*.⁶ It would not be out of character for a grieving elephant to search for the body of its deceased driver and to carry it around in just such a manner as that referred to by Plutarch. In short, there is nothing in the described behaviour of the elephants to suggest that Plutarch’s account is anything other than accurate.

The same cannot necessarily be said of Pyrrhus’ behaviour, however, or at least that of the Pyrrhus to whom Hannibal allegedly referred as the second-greatest general (behind Alexander) of antiquity (Livy, *Epit.* 35.14.6-11).⁷ Pyrrhus enjoyed a reputation in ancient times as an outstanding tactician,⁸ and although his grasp of grand strategy has tended to elicit disparagement on the part of modern scholarship,⁹ there is nothing to suggest that he was so tactically inept as to mismanage a relatively simple infiltration and indeed to be killed while capturing a city that was being betrayed to him. Although not completely implausible, Pyrrhus’ actions throughout Plutarch’s account do appear quite out of character for a man who—as Plutarch himself earlier notes—left writings on military tactics and leadership (*Pyrrh.* 8.3) and who was rated by Antigonos as (potentially) the best general of his contemporaries (8.4).¹⁰ Pyrrhus’ alleged deployment of the elephants, though lent realism by the recorded behaviour of these animals, was not only tactically unsound but also atypically unpragmatic. Where previously Pyrrhus had employed elephants successfully but without relying on them, at Argos (by Plutarch’s reckoning) he seemed determined to involve them. Whereas it would be reasonable for Pyrrhus to have considered

⁶ Gale [4] 83; Scullard [4] 237.

⁷ Franke [2] 468 notes that Hannibal repeated Pyrrhus’ elephant deployment from Tarentum at Trebia in 218 BC. According to Plut. *Pyrrh.* 8.5, Hannibal ranked Pyrrhus first, Scipio second and himself third.

⁸ Cross [2] 78, 86.

⁹ Franke [2] 463.

¹⁰ Tarn [2] 115 believes that this passage actually evidences Antigonos Gonatas’ ‘contempt’ for Pyrrhus, but such a conclusion seems unnatural given the context in which Plutarch explicitly details proof of Pyrrhus’ tactics and leadership. Cross [2] 55 suggests that ‘Antigonos’ refers not to Antigonos Gonatas but rather to his grandfather Antigonos Monophthalmus. If this were to be the case, Pyrrhus was then being ranked (potentially) above Alexander’s most capable generals.

the use of elephants for stealthy infiltration, it would be unreasonable for him not to have changed his plan to meet the circumstances at hand. The success of Pyrrhus' venture relied not only on stealth but also on speed. It seems most unlikely that he would have delayed entry into the city merely to accommodate one particular branch of his army. Much more sensible—especially given that the elephants were not required to break down the gate—would have been to keep them well out of proceedings and instead to occupy the city solely with foot soldiers.

The scholarly interpretation of this point warrants discussion. Kienast, without expressing any misgivings with regard to Plutarch, merely concludes that it is unclear what Pyrrhus was hoping to achieve by deploying his elephants at Argos.¹¹ Nederlof finds something amiss in the description but misconceives the elephants' aptitude for stealth, and hence their usefulness, consequently damning Pyrrhus while implicitly accepting Plutarch.¹² To adopt Plutarch's characterization of Pyrrhus—as does the scholarly consensus of which Nederlof and Kienast are representative—would perhaps constitute no great stretch of credibility as long as the portrayal of Pyrrhus' generalship were to remain internally consistent. From a disabusing of common misconceptions about elephants, however, it becomes evident that this is not the case. If the fallacious notion that these animals are loud and ungainly is taken as a starting point, then there may seem no reason not to follow heedlessly after Plutarch, to wit, that Pyrrhus conceived a faulty deployment of his elephants, carried it out with quite some obstinacy, and was killed during the confusion that resulted from this error of judgement. Thus, with Plutarch affording little consideration to his own former espousals of Pyrrhus' tactical acumen, the impression one receives at the end of the *Life* is that Pyrrhus was brought undone solely through his own incompetence. If the elephants are given their due, however, then Pyrrhus' initial plan may be recognized as having had some merit, and this shift in perspective is important to recognize. If Plutarch can be seen to convey a false impression, then the possibility arises that his account is in some way deficient. It may be, of course, that Pyrrhus' generalship was in fact marred by lifelong tactical deficiencies that only became evident during the siege of Argos. Given the existence of contrary accounts (discussed below), however, it seems unwise merely to assume uncritically this aspect of Plutarch's characterization; indeed, the following analysis would suggest that Plutarch's penchant for literary manipulation may well have rendered his *Life of Pyrrhus* actively untrustworthy as a source of information with regard to Pyrrhus' death.

¹¹ Kienast [2] 60.

¹² Nederlof [2] 220.

The Reliability of Plutarch

When attempting to evaluate Plutarch's reliability as a source of historical information, it is important not to over-estimate the value of his having drawn upon an author contemporary to Pyrrhus. The historian Hieronymus indeed may have had knowledge of events from Antigonus' side, but that did not necessarily provide him with a detailed understanding of Pyrrhus' activities. Furthermore, Hieronymus was a friend of Antigonus and, despite modern assertions of trustworthiness,¹³ cannot be assumed to have provided an unbiased record of his contemporary's actions.¹⁴ Moreover, Plutarch was no mere epitomiser. It is paramount to acknowledge that he wrote with a distinct literary purpose and not simply to rehash earlier works.¹⁵

In the prologue to his *Life of Alexander*, Plutarch styles himself as writing biography, not history (*Alex.* 1.2),¹⁶ and whenever we draw upon his works it is perhaps worthwhile to stay mindful of that particular maxim. Although we are often dependent on Plutarch for historical information, still we must remember that he wrote for literary effect; however much we malign the historical accuracy of the authors discussed below, we must bear in mind that Plutarch composed his works in no more reliable a genre. This is not to criticize Plutarch or to challenge the integrity of his work. Indeed, it has the opposite intent: to acknowledge and appreciate his literary craftsmanship and thence to retain objectivity when reading the *Life of Pyrrhus* in a context and for a purpose that differ significantly from those which Plutarch intended. Given Plutarch's prolific output and that for many historical incidents he alone provides an extensive account, we also should acknowledge the possibility that our accustomed want of information has somewhat predisposed us to trust

¹³ G. L. Barber, 'Hieronymus', in N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (edd.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*² (Oxford 1970) 515; A. B. Bosworth, 'Hieronymus', in S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (edd.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*³ (Oxford 1996) 706; Nederlof [2] 220. For further discussion see T. S. Brown, 'Hieronymus of Cardia', *AHR* 52 (1947) 684-696.

¹⁴ Indeed, Paus. 1.13.9 specifically says that Hieronymus wrote a favourable account to please Antigonus. For a detailed examination of Hieronymus, see Hornblower [3].

¹⁵ T. E. Duff, *Plutarch's Lives: Exploring Virtue and Vice* (Melbourne 1999) 101f. stresses Plutarch's creativity—particularly with regard to his choices when selecting from a variety of different writers—and concludes that the negative aspects, which are evident throughout the Pyrrhus/Marius pairing, are quite deliberate and not merely the result of Plutarch unwittingly following 'hostile' source material.

¹⁶ Duff [15] 8, 13-15, 25 cautions against taking this prologue as generally representative of the *Lives*, but nevertheless acknowledges that Plutarch selectively molded source material with a view to revealing character.

Plutarch's accounts—in matters of fact if not necessarily characterization—over those of lesser-known and more fragmentary authors.¹⁷ This practice is demonstrably dangerous in respect to the Argos incident, for the *Life of Pyrrhus* contains a number of themes that are linked intrinsically to the manner of Pyrrhus' death.¹⁸

First, Plutarch draws attention to the similarities between Pyrrhus and Achilles, deliberately recording the former's reputation as a healer (*Pyrrh.* 3.7), his intention to earn the glory of Achilles through single combat (7.7), and the restless desire for action that prompted him (fatally) to turn down a life of peace (13.2).¹⁹ This comparison no doubt was prompted by Pyrrhus' own emphasis on his heroic ancestry. The Molossian Kings claimed descent (through Neoptolemus and Lanassa respectively) from both Achilles and Heracles (Just. *Epit.* 17.3.2-4), and Pyrrhus exploited the former connection in a coin-based propaganda campaign: just as the Greeks had conquered the Trojans, so too would the descendant of those Greeks (Pyrrhus) defeat the descendants of the Trojans (Rome).²⁰ Indeed, it would seem that Pyrrhus was so successful in pressing his ancestral claims that his name almost universally was substituted for that of Neoptolemus in the genealogical tradition;²¹ in other words, he quite literally was recognized as the son of Achilles.

Plutarch, however, appears in a number of ways to question Pyrrhus' right to this title. While detailing the legendary Molossian heritage at the beginning of the *Life*, he does not substitute the word 'Pyrrhus' for

¹⁷ As a notable example, Nederlof [2] 219f., when confronted with the various inconsistencies pertaining to Pyrrhus' death, explicitly favours Plutarch's account for being extensive in comparison to the brief snippets provided by other writers.

¹⁸ Analogously the *Life of Nicias* may be of some interest here, given the analysis made by A. G. Nikolaidis, 'Is Plutarch Fair to Nicias?', *ICS* 13 (1988) 330, who identifies Plutarch as having interpreted the protagonist's death in such a way as to manifest a theretofore more subtle prejudice against Nicias.

¹⁹ Duff [15] 112, 121f. contends not only that Plutarch generally likens Pyrrhus to Achilles in terms of temperament and military prowess, but also that he selectively chose to record (otherwise unknown) references to Pyrrhus' single combat as a means by which to stress this comparison. G. Schepens, 'Rhetoric in Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus*', in L. Van Der Stockt (ed.), *Rhetorical Theory and Praxis in Plutarch* (Namur 2000) 413-41, acknowledges Plutarch's skill at manipulating minor details (425) and notes that in the *Life of Demetrius* (41.2f.) Plutarch himself records a less heroic interpretation of Pyrrhus' single combat with Pantauchus (426).

²⁰ Franke [2] 465; E. S. Gruen, 'The Advent of the Magna Mater', in *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* (New York 1990) 12.

²¹ Cross [2] 102. Hence from the time of Pyrrhus onwards, the word 'Pyrrhus' was used instead of 'Neoptolemus'.

'Neoptolemus'. Rather, he leaves 'Neoptolemus' as Achilles' son and merely bestows upon this personage the surname 'Pyrrhus' (*Pyrrh.* 1.2).²² In Plutarch, therefore, Pyrrhus is named after the son of Achilles but has not retrospectively taken his place in the Molossian genealogical tradition. Furthermore, Plutarch lingers on this conflict between names. Androcleides and Angelus are forced to flee from Epirus with the baby Pyrrhus—who in the course of the flight is held by a man named Achilles (2.8)—when the sons (unnamed) of Neoptolemus are brought to power (2.1).²³ At twelve years of age Pyrrhus is restored to his throne by Glaucias (3.5), but at age seventeen is driven from his kingdom once again when the Molossians unite in favour of Neoptolemus (4.2). Six years later Pyrrhus is returned to his throne for a second time, on this occasion by Ptolemy, and rules as joint king with Neoptolemus (5.3), whom after a short time he kills (5.14). The identification of each Neoptolemus referred to is uncertain,²⁴ but Plutarch's intent is not: he presents the struggle for kingship as an on-going conflict between Pyrrhus—who is aided by outsiders and a false Achilles—and the original lineage of Achilles (that is, the various individuals named Neoptolemus). Pyrrhus, as portrayed by Plutarch, is not born the legitimate heir of Achilles. He is, rather, attempting to take this mantle by force and subvert the existing genealogy. We might well expect the *Life* at some stage to draw a conclusion as to his success or failure in this endeavour.

The second theme in Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus*, closely related to the first, is the comparison between Pyrrhus and Alexander. The latter was not only the foremost general of his age but also—a precursor to Pyrrhus—the self-styled descendant of both Achilles and Heracles.²⁵ Pyrrhus apparently was likened by his contemporaries to Alexander (*Pyrrh.* 8.2) and played upon this comparison to further his own interests (11.4f.).²⁶ He 'inherited' Alexander's swiftness of action (8.2), fought in the front line while simultaneously directing the battle (16.11), bequeathed his kingdom (as did Alexander to his generals) to whichever of his sons 'kept his sword sharpest' (9.5), wore a helmet with goat's

²² From an extensive study of the *Lives*, Duff [15] 310 concludes that Plutarch customarily has a literary motive for detailing the ancestry of his protagonists.

²³ Surely it is significant that Plutarch names the father but not the sons.

²⁴ Cross [2] 106.

²⁵ J. M. Mossman, 'Plutarch, Pyrrhus, and Alexander', in P. A. Stadter (ed.), *Plutarch and the Historical Tradition* (London 1992) 92f. suggests additionally that Plutarch utilized epic and tragic motifs specifically with the intention to incite comparisons between Pyrrhus and Alexander.

²⁶ Mossman [25] 91; A. Stewart, *Faces of Power: Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics* (Oxford 1993) 284f., examines the manner in which Pyrrhus' coinage drew upon the imagery of Alexander's.

horns (11.11), and (as with Alexander and Darius) prompted Demetrius to take ignominious flight (11.13).²⁷ Even so, men saw in Pyrrhus only ‘shadows of Alexander’s impetuosity and might’ (8.2). Hence, whereas Alexander crossed to Asia and hurled a spear to claim the land as his own, Pyrrhus is caught in a storm while crossing to Italy, and swims to shore only to arrive half-drowned (15.3-8).²⁸ Pyrrhus receives injuries in a manner similar to that of Alexander (21.13, 24.3) and is conspicuous in his armour (16.11), but unlike Alexander is prompted by a near miss to don less conspicuous attire (17.1).²⁹ Alexander’s enemies, in an attempt to further his illness, wrongfully accused his physician of planning to poison him, whereas Pyrrhus conversely is saved by his enemies when they warn him of a genuine poisoning attempt (21.1-5).³⁰ Finally, the Romans, persuaded by the speech of Appius Claudius, decide upon war with Pyrrhus supposedly because they believe not only that they would have met and defeated Alexander (if he had not died prematurely) but also that Pyrrhus is a much lesser man than was Alexander (19.2f.).³¹

This verdict appears at first to epitomise Plutarch’s stance, but the issue is not quite so clear. In actual battle Pyrrhus is presented as Alexander’s equal, perhaps even his superior. When, for example, he is first to mount the scaling ladders at Eryx—an action similar to Alexander’s at the Malli (or Sudracae) capital—he kills many of the besieged while himself coming to no harm. Alexander, conversely, was very nearly killed during his assault (*Pyrrh.*

²⁷ Franke [2] 466 suggests that the Alexander Mosaic in Naples shows the horned helmet lying on the ground beneath Alexander. Schepens [19] 428 points out that Pyrrhus’ ‘swords sharpest’ comment was made in such a context that it could be taken simply as encouragement, if not for Plutarch’s excessively tragic colourizing. Alexander is recorded more temperately as bequeathing his kingdom to the *optimus* (Curt. 10.5.5), the *κρατίστος* (Arr. *Anab.* 7.26.3; Diod. Sic. 17.117.4), or the *dignissimus* (Just. *Epit.* 12.15.8). For Alexander in the front line see Plut. *Alex.* 20.8, 60.10f.; Curt. 3.11.1-9, 4.6.17, 4.15.1-16.3, 8.14.14f.; Diod. Sic. 17.33.1-5, 17.46.2f., 17.60.1f.; and Arr. *Anab.* 2.10.3f., 3.13.1-15.3. For Darius’ flight see Plut. *Alex.* 20.10, 33.8; Curt. 3.11.11, 4.1.2, 4.15.30-32; Diod. Sic. 17.34.6f., 17.37.1, 17.60.3f.; Arr. *Anab.* 2.11.4f., 3.14.3; and Just. *Epit.* 11.9.9; Ael. *NA.* 6.48.

²⁸ For Alexander see Diod. Sic. 17.17.2 and Just. *Epit.* 11.5.10.

²⁹ Mossman [25] 99f. For Alexander’s armour see Plut. *Alex.* 32.8-14, Curt. 4.4.10f., and Arr. *Anab.* 6.9.5.

³⁰ Mossman [25] 94. For references to the incident with Alexander’s physician see Curt. 3.6.117, Diod. Sic. 17.31.5f., Arr. *Anab.* 2.4.8-11, Just. *Epit.* 11.8.3-9 and Plut. *Alex.* 19.

³¹ While propounding that Plutarch’s motives with regard this speech are tied to far more complex literary strategies, J. Mossman, ‘*Taxis ou Barbaros*: Greek and Roman in Plutarch’s *Pyrrhus*’, *CQ* 55 (2005) 509-12, does reiterate that Plutarch is comparing Pyrrhus (unfavourably) to Alexander and suggests furthermore that Plutarch has in all likelihood either invented or liberally adapted the specific content of Appius Claudius’ speech.

22.9-11).³² This aspect of Plutarch’s portrayal, given the apparent negativity of the overall comparison between Alexander and Pyrrhus, suggests that the latter is being measured against the former not so much in terms of military ability but rather—in light of the third theme (below)—as the rightful heir of Achilles. Plutarch’s Pyrrhus is a general of similar calibre to Alexander, displaying outstanding individual prowess on the battlefield and fighting against opposition (both human and divine) that is no less powerful than that faced by the Macedonian. Indeed, it would seem that Pyrrhus, as portrayed by Plutarch, is struggling not only to supplant the mythological Neoptolemus as Achilles’ son but also to supplant Alexander as Achilles’ successor. With regard to the success or failure of this latter venture, we may well accept as Plutarch’s own the verdict delivered by Appius Claudius.³³ Additionally, however, we may expect the *Life* to draw some conclusion—non-tactical in light of Pyrrhus’ obvious ability—as to why he failed in his attempt.

Plutarch on two separate occasions criticizes Pyrrhus’ grasp of grand strategy, attributing his overall mediocrity to a more specific failure to consolidate the objectives that he so easily achieved (*Pyrrh.* 26.1f., 30.3). Certainly this could be interpreted solely in military terms, but equally it may relate to a third theme: the failure to pursue the heroic ethos. Pyrrhus is presented as wandering from one opportunity to the next, never embracing a single cause and standing by it until the end. He may claim descent from Achilles, but he appears almost whimsical in comparison with the Greeks who infamously besieged Troy for ten years. He may take after Alexander in ability, but clearly he lacks this man’s single-minded determination. Pyrrhus, if anything, was something of an opportunist, and Plutarch at one stage criticizes him for this, saying ἀποβαλὼν Μακεδονίαν ᾧ τρόπῳ παρέλαβεν (‘he lost Macedonia precisely as he acquired it’, 12.11), that is, through unfaithfulness and treachery.³⁴ The pursuit of heroic ideals is linked intrinsically with the first

³² For Alexander see Plut. *Alex.* 63.2-12, Curt. 9.4.30-5.29, Diod. Sic. 17.98.4-99.5 and Arr. *Anab.* 6.9.3-11.2.

³³ B. Buszard, ‘The Decline of Roman Statesmanship in Plutarch’s *Pyrrhus-Marius*’, *CQ* 55 (2005) 485-87, suggests that Appius Claudius’ speech is intended by Plutarch to depict a unified Roman state in contrast to that presented in the *Marius* and hence serves a distinct literary function (rather than reflecting Plutarch’s own opinions). From textual analysis, however, Buszard also concludes that this colourization does not derive from Plutarch’s sources.

³⁴ Of relevance to Pyrrhus’ apparent opportunism prior to Argos, Buszard [33] 488 notes that the *Pyrrhus* omits all reference to an existing military alliance between Pyrrhus and Tarentum—an alliance that Plutarch knew about from having read Dionysius—and that Pyrrhus’ commitment to the conflict with Rome thus is falsely depicted as having been made rashly and without any real basis.

two themes (the comparisons between Pyrrhus and both Achilles and Alexander), and the ultimate judgement as to Pyrrhus' success or failure in this area will, as with all heroes, depend largely upon the manner of his death. This is where Plutarch must be seen as potentially unreliable, for his depiction of the Argos incident forms a vital conjunct to the three themes—all negative in tone—that are developed throughout the *Life*.

The culmination of Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus*—the unsuccessful sieges of Sparta and Argos—reads very suspiciously, for it both contradicts the other authors (discussed below) and emphasizes Pyrrhus' failure to measure up against Achilles, Alexander and the heroic ideal. Pyrrhus, according to Plutarch, plundered Spartan territory on his way to the city (*Pyrrh.* 26.22), had his attack thwarted when the Spartan women and elderly men built a trench overnight (27.5-7), and then ravaged the countryside in preparing to winter there (30.1). The destruction of Spartan territory, however, makes little sense as a provocative measure against an unfortified city. Far more likely is Pausanias' claim that Sparta (during the war with Demetrius in 294 BC) already had been fortified with trenches and stockades, and even with stone walls at its more vulnerable points (Paus. 1.13.5).³⁵ Plutarch, then, falsely represents Sparta—a city that in fact had never been captured—as being far weaker than Troy,³⁶ and even portrays Pyrrhus in unfavourable contrast not only to Achilles but also to the Spartan women. The latter comparison is repeated at Argos—when Pyrrhus is killed as the result of a tile thrown by a woman—while the former comparison is taken up again immediately. Pyrrhus, once more abandoning one project for another, marches out of Spartan territory, but is harassed continually by the Spartans under Areus (*Pyrrh.* 30.3f.). On a previous occasion when his rearguard was threatened, Pyrrhus appeared there in person (24.2f.), but in this instance he echoes the mistake of Achilles (with Patroclus) by sending Ptolemaeus in his place (30.5). Ptolemaeus is killed, and although Pyrrhus is enraged by the death of his son and wrathfully kills many Spartans (30.7f.),³⁷ he takes no terrible vengeance on Sparta *in toto* but rather proceeds as planned to

³⁵ P. Garoufalas [2] 130; P. Levi (ed. and tr.), *Pausanias: Guide to Greece* 1 (London 1979) n. 72 observes that parts of these walls are still standing. Nor does it seem unreasonable that the Spartans, when faced with Demetrius 'the Besieger', might have abandoned the wall-less defence policy that Plutarch attributes to them through the sayings of Agesilaus the Great (*Mor.* 210 e), Antalcidas (*Mor.* 217e) and Lycurgus (*Mor.* 228e; *Lyc.* 52.19.4). Indeed, Archidamus III, king of Sparta from 361 to 338 BC, was said by Plutarch (*Mor.* 191e, 219a) to have exclaimed mournfully—upon witnessing the operation of a catapult—that man's valour had been lost.

³⁶ Even if, as claims Tarn [2] 448, Plutarch actually is referring only to the fortification or refortification of the area immediately opposite Pyrrhus' camp.

³⁷ Lévêque [2] 612 notes the heroic exaggeration inherent in this passage.

Argos (31.1). Plutarch, then, once again compares Pyrrhus unfavourably with Achilles, and yet Justin (epitomising Pompeius Trogus) gives the contradictory account that Ptolemaeus was converged upon and killed having fought his way into Sparta itself (Just. *Epit.* 25.4.9f.).³⁸ There may be no conclusive evidence as to which account is correct, but there can be little doubt that Plutarch’s version serves a literary purpose.

If Plutarch’s interpretation of the expedition against Sparta appears doubtful, then his treatment of Pyrrhus at Argos should certainly be considered somewhat suspect since it contains much detail that is both uncorroborated and capable of serving a thematic purpose. Pyrrhus, according to Plutarch, arrives at Argos not so much as a heroic Achilles-figure but as a wandering and wily Odysseus. He offers a false pledge to recognize Argos’ neutrality, and then when Antigonus turns down his challenge to Achillean combat outside the walls (*Pyrrh.* 31.3f.),³⁹ infiltrates the city by night in a bizarre reworking of the Trojan horse theme. Whereas the Neoptolemus of mythology accompanied the wooden horse that precipitated Troy’s downfall, Pyrrhus (the would-be Neoptolemus) attempts to bring elephants into the city, only to have them bring about his downfall when they—like the Trojan horse—fail to fit beneath the city gates. The elephants are Pyrrhus’ Achilles’ heel—a concept first alluded to by Statius, a contemporary of Plutarch’s⁴⁰—and it is with some irony that he dies as a result of unthinking over-reliance on the very animals that previously had contributed so much to his fame. Additionally, it seems perhaps beyond coincidence that Pyrrhus survives while he fights heroically but dies soon after making the decision to retreat. In Plutarch’s estimation, Pyrrhus has failed to live up to the heroic ideals of Achilles and Alexander, and so meets an undignified and ignominious end without (unlike Achilles and Alexander) first having achieved his objective. In a grotesque parody of the Achilles’ heel notion, Plutarch has Pyrrhus’ big toe survive cremation (3.9).⁴¹ Whereas Achilles was vulnerable

³⁸ Furthermore, Pyrrhus is presented as accepting the death—which, given Ptolemaeus’ recklessness, was not unexpected—quite calmly. Kienast [2] 159 asserts that Justin’s version is erroneous, but does not say why. The present article will follow R. Develin, ‘Introduction’ in J. C. Yardley (tr.), *Justin: Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* (Atlanta 1994) 1-11 (esp. 4-6, 9) in treating Justin and Pompeius Trogus as a single work rather than trying to evaluate Justin’s historical soundness by separating him from Trogus and speculating as to the latter’s source material.

³⁹ Lévêque [2] 616; Hornblower [3] 195.

⁴⁰ H. J. Rose and C. M. Robertson, ‘Achilles’, *OCD*² (1970) 5.

⁴¹ Notably, Plutarch describes Pyrrhus’ toe not at the end of the *Life*, where Pyrrhus’ body is burned (34.9), but rather at the beginning (3.5), where Pyrrhus’ heritage is detailed. Indeed, the previous passage (3.4) links the toe directly with Pyrrhus’ healing ability, thereby suggesting a comparison between Pyrrhus and Achilles.

only in his heel, Pyrrhus was a much lesser hero and invulnerable only in his toe.

Of course, it cannot be proven that Plutarch wrote the *Life of Pyrrhus* with a mind to eliciting the interpretations drawn above. It is possible, however, to conclude that the presence of literary themes makes his writing (purely in terms of its historical exactitude) every bit as suspect as that of the sources discussed below. Plutarch may not have invented detail but, where contrary accounts existed, he certainly appears to have selected material with a view to furthering his characterizations.

The Other Accounts

It has been suggested above that Plutarch presents a less than fully plausible account of Pyrrhus' death and that his writing is not necessarily a reliable source of information in this matter. A number of other authors mention Pyrrhus' demise and, though their contributions could be dismissed as corrupted versions of Plutarch's 'original', so too could the reverse be true. The testimonies of the authors discussed below share the common feature of brevity, and we may suspect that this in itself has contributed to their being discarded in favour of Plutarch's more elaborate rendition. Lack of detail is not necessarily a hallmark of the ill-informed,⁴² however, and on occasion may indeed render an account less susceptible to criticism. The following is a summary of the extant information and divergences that authors other than Plutarch recorded with regard to Pyrrhus' death in 272 BC:

Cornelius Nepos writes that Pyrrhus was struck by a stone in battle against Argos and that his body was brought back to Antigonus (*De Viris Illustribus* 21.2).

Strabo (8.376c) suggests that Pyrrhus was outside Argos and that he was killed when a woman dropped a stone on his head.

Justin, epitomising Pompeius Trogus, writes that Antigonus was within Argos when Pyrrhus assaulted the city and that Pyrrhus was killed when struck on the head by a stone that was thrown from the walls (*Epit.* 25.5.1f.). Pyrrhus' head was brought to Antigonus, who then sent his (as yet unburied) remains home with Helenus.

Valerius Maximus notes that Pyrrhus died having 'forced his way inside' (*invasisset*) Argos (5.1.4).

⁴² Lévêque [2] 613-15 dismisses the Strabonic tradition as being the result of 'hasty interpretation', Justin's *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus* for conveying a 'false sense' of events, and Pausanias for relying on local traditions, but his evaluation of these authors appears to rest firmly on the assumption that Plutarch is accurate.

Ovid claims that the descendant of Achilles was killed by a tile and that Pyrrhus had his bones scattered through the roads of Ambracia (*Ibis* 301-05).

Quintilian records that Pyrrhus was killed by a courageous woman (5.11.10).

Pausanias writes that Antigonos was about to move his army from Argos to Lacedaemon but that Pyrrhus then left Sparta and came instead to Argos (1.13.6-8). Here Pyrrhus was ‘again victorious’ (κρατῶν δὲ καὶ) and entered Argos in pursuit of ‘fugitives’ (τοῖς φεύγουσιν), only to be wounded in the head by a tile (commonly said to have been thrown by a woman). The Argives themselves claimed that the tile was thrown by the goddess Demeter (in the likeness of a mortal woman). Pausanias notes that they built a sanctuary of Demeter on the spot of Pyrrhus’ death and then buried Pyrrhus there.

Polyaenus suggests that Pyrrhus was invited by Aristaeus to take Argos, that the Epirots were driven back by women who threw stones and bricks from the roof-tops, and that Pyrrhus was struck on the head with a brick and killed (8.68).

Aelian records that Pyrrhus was killed at Argos and that an elephant rescued its driver (who had fallen off) and brought the man back to safety (*NA* 7.41).

Servius claims that Pyrrhus was killed in a temple and that somebody else captured Argos and Mycenae (*in Aen.* 6.839).

Aurelius Victor records that Pyrrhus assaulted Argos, was struck by a roof-tile and killed, and that his body was given a magnificent funeral by Antigonos (*Vir. Ill.* 35.10).

Orosius notes that Pyrrhus died at Argos when struck by a rock (4.2.7).

George Synkellos (*Chron.* 327) records that Pyrrhus entered Argos through a small gate, ‘took the city by force’,⁴³ and was killed when struck on the head by a roof tile (thrown by an Argolian woman).

Zonaras claims that Pyrrhus was celebrating a victory parade when a woman fell on his head and killed him (8.6).

As with Plutarch, of course, there is no intrinsic basis for believing that any of these authors must be historically accurate in their depiction of Pyrrhus at Argos. Some of them mention his death only in passing—which may be seen as lessening or simplifying any deliberate attempt at literary manipulation—but in terms of the facts presented and the sources from which these were drawn, there can be no compelling historiographical grounds for trusting one account to the exclusion of others. The following section, therefore, endeavours to piece together all the existing information and thence to explain any discrepancies,

⁴³ W. Adler and P. Tuffin (trr.), *The Chronography of George Synkellos* (Oxford 2002) 394f., citing the specific text: ἀπὸ στέγους διὰ πυλίδος, εἰσβαλὼν τῇ πόλει καὶ βίᾳ τὸ Ἄργος ἔλεῖν. Comma moved to follow στέγους and ἔλεῖν emended to ἔλῶν, as per Adler and Tuffin.

not through inherent distrust of any particular author but rather through (an admittedly subjective) bias towards military likelihood.

Before embarking upon such a hypothetical reconstruction of what took place at Argos, however, it is perhaps worth making a few comments on the points made above, specifically with regard to Pyrrhus' remains and to the portrayal of Antigonus. The less reputable authors appear at first to be divided in their depiction of Pyrrhus *post mortem*, recording his 'body' as being either buried or cremated, and his 'remains' as being stored at either Argos or Ambracia.⁴⁴ If unchecked, these seeming inconsistencies can do little but count against the collective credibility of the sources in question. We may suspect, however, that the issue has been unpropitiously confused by the aforementioned substitution of the word 'Pyrrhus' for 'Neoptolemus' in the genealogical tradition. It appears likely that Ovid thus refers to the mythological Neoptolemus as 'Pyrrhus' and that consequently he differentiates Pyrrhus the man by calling him 'the descendant of Achilles'. Although this may seem counter-intuitive to the modern reader, it appears that Servius made a similar substitution, referring to Neoptolemus as 'Pyrrhus' and Pyrrhus merely as 'somebody else (named Pyrrhus)'.⁴⁵ If we re-read Ovid and Servius with this in mind, then it transpires that it was Pyrrhus who captured Argos and Mycenae,⁴⁶ whereas it was the mythological Neoptolemus who was killed at a temple⁴⁷ and whose bones were strewn across the streets of Ambracia. Such a conclusion is not inconsistent with the fact that Pyrrhus took Ambracia as his capital—especially given Pyrrhus' efforts to meld his identity with that of Neoptolemus—nor with Polybius' observation that Ambracia contained the 'Pyrrheum' (Polyb. 21.27.2). Modern scholars have identified this word as referring either to Pyrrhus' palace, a fortified suburb or to a funeral monument,⁴⁸ but even under this latter interpretation there is no reason to assume that it was Pyrrhus and not Neoptolemus cum Pyrrhus being held *in memorium*. Even if Nederlof is correct in omitting all reference to Neoptolemus and declaring categorically that the 'Pyrrheum' evidences Pyrrhus' burial in

⁴⁴ Franke [2] 484.

⁴⁵ Syncell. *Chron.* 321 likewise refers to the mythological Neoptolemus as 'Pyrrhus' but clarifies by adding: 'also known as Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles'.

⁴⁶ G. E. Mylonas, 'Mycenae', *OCD*² (1970) 714 notes Mycenae had been re-established by Argos in the third century BC.

⁴⁷ Indeed, as noted by Rose and Robertson [40] 727f., there is a strong mythological tradition that Neoptolemus was killed at Delphi.

⁴⁸ E. T. Sage, *Livy: History of Rome* 11 (London 1965) 14 (Livy 38.5.); Hammond and Walbank [2] 584; Tarn [2] 274.

Ambracia,⁴⁹ still there is no inherent inconsistency in the source material. Aurelius Victor implies that Pyrrhus was buried at Argos, and Pausanias avers as such, but it could be that Pyrrhus—in light of his cremation—was buried there initially and that his ashes then were removed to Ambracia at a later date.⁵⁰ Admittedly Pausanias is the only author to have Pyrrhus dying on the (future) site of a temple—a claim that might read like a rehashing of the Neoptolemus tradition—but Pausanias was a traveller and took interest in such snippets of information; he might as easily be noting a curiosity or coincidence as committing an error to paper. In short, none of the extant accounts are fundamentally unreasonable in their claims with regard to Pyrrhus' remains, and the seeming discrepancies in our source material need not evidence anything more than a pervading confusion brought about by the entanglement of Pyrrhus within the mythological tradition—an intertwining, it should be noted, that Plutarch himself would have encountered in no less measure writing four centuries after Pyrrhus' death.

Plutarch's portrayal of Antigonus, when contextualized through comparison with less widely acknowledged accounts, reveals not merely confusion but in fact a distinct (if subtle) slant in favour of Antigonus and hence against Pyrrhus. According to Plutarch, Argos wanted to remain neutral in the conflict between Pyrrhus and Antigonus. If Pausanias is to be believed, however, Argos already had sided against Pyrrhus by sending help to the Spartans. Furthermore, though Antigonus is said to have shown his good faith to Argos by giving up his son as hostage (*Pyrrh.* 31.6),⁵¹ Plutarch later has him send this very son into the city with a relief force to aid the Argives against Pyrrhus (32.3).⁵² Furthermore, the Spartan king, Areus, is noted by Plutarch to have arrived in support of Argos (32.4), which suggests not only that the city was not neutral but also that Pyrrhus had been besieging Argos openly and for some time. Plutarch admits that Pyrrhus marched on Argos upon seeing an opportunity there (30.2f.), yet is the only author who explicitly places

⁴⁹ Nederlof [2] 231.

⁵⁰ For this argument, see Tarn [2] 274. Justin/Pompeius Trogus is the only account to state directly that Pyrrhus' remains were sent home with Helenus, and even here we may speculate that—due to the confusion evident in Ovid and Servius—bodily remains have been confused with material possessions. Hence Helenus, because his father was yet to be buried, was able to remove his personal effects and take them with him.

⁵¹ An offer, notes Kienast [2] 160, that Antigonus would probably have made only because he believed in Argos' loyalty.

⁵² Nederlof [2] 217 suggests that Antigonus averred willingness in the negotiations, but did not actually hand over his son, under which interpretation Plutarch's account would appear subtly duplicitous.

Antigonus outside Argos during the siege. Although Justin/Pompeius Trogus is the only source to state the opposite, it would seem that this opportunity actually may have entailed besieging Antigonus within the city.

Plutarch is the first (extant) author to have Pyrrhus infiltrating Argos and also the first to mention the use of elephants. He is supported in the former assertion only by Polyaeus (who does not include elephants) and in the latter only by Aelian (who offers no context for the behaviour of the elephant mentioned). Although modern scholarship has tended to perceive other ancient accounts as differing from Plutarch, it seems equally valid to consider that in places it may be Plutarch who differs. This, of course, is to propound not an ostracism of Plutarch, but rather a conscious recognition that the *Life of Pyrrhus* contains inconsistencies and biographical devices that may serve to detract from its historical accuracy. It is debatable whether Plutarch has deliberately selected from differing versions with a view to biographical effect, whether he has creatively (but erroneously) filled in the details of a previously incomplete picture, or whether he simply has been misled. In any case, however, it seems prudent to acknowledge Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus* as being not above suspicion, and thence to entertain the possibility of affording so-called 'unreliable' sources a more prominent place in any reconstruction of the events surrounding Pyrrhus' death.

What May Really Have Happened at Argos

If the historicity of Plutarch's version of events may be brought into question, then there nevertheless remains a need to form some conclusion as to the probable circumstances surrounding Pyrrhus' death at Argos. The following reconstruction, though speculative, attempts to draw together all the extant material and hence to form not only a plausible account of Pyrrhus' death itself but also an explanation for the various interpretations of his operation against Argos. In order to view the siege of Argos in some context, it is necessary to begin with a summary of Pyrrhus' siege of Sparta (*Pyrrh.* 30f.):

Pyrrhus ravaged Spartan territory in an attempt to provoke a battle, but when this failed, he assaulted the city (which already was fortified), and Ptolemaeus was killed. Learning that Antigonus had arrived at Argos and that Aristaeas was willing to betray the city, Pyrrhus proceeded there.

As discussed previously, the accounts of Pausanias and Justin/Pompeius Trogus appear to offer an explanation for Pyrrhus' actions that is both inherently sound and free of literary motif (*Pyrrh.* 31):

Arriving at Argos, Pyrrhus found Antigonus to have occupied the city’s citadel.

As noted above, there is reason to believe that Plutarch relied on a source that was pro-Antigonus. Hence it may be possible that Plutarch has been confused or misled into thinking that Antigonus commanded an (aggressive) position of strength outside the city rather than a (defensive) position of strength inside the city (*Prrh.* 32):

Pyrrhus arrived at the Diampere gate by night, but—perhaps due to the problem of the elephants but more likely to the betrayal simply not taking place—was forced to abandon his attempted infiltration.

We may suspect Plutarch here either of working from incomplete knowledge or of omitting events that did not suit his purpose. Hence he passes over the next part of the operation and instead presents a narrative that progresses directly from the aborted betrayal to Pyrrhus’ death (*Prrh.* 32-34):⁵³

Pyrrhus besieged Argos, which called upon Sparta for assistance. Having repulsed a sally, Pyrrhus seized upon an opportunity to pursue fugitives and thereby enter the city.

This is the interpretation most consistent with Pausanias and George Syncellus. Servius, too, despite the confusion surrounding his account, does say that Argos was captured (*Prrh.* 32-34):

Having taken the city except for the citadel (which was still held by Antigonus), Pyrrhus conducted either a victory parade or a show of force.

⁵³ Duff [15] 314 and C. B. R. Pelling, ‘Plutarch’s Adaptation of His Source-Material’, in B. Scardigli (ed.), *Essays on Plutarch’s Lives* (Oxford 1995) 127, note Plutarch’s wider propensity for distorting chronology, particularly through a process of compression, and Schepens [19] 431 has identified a particularly noteworthy instance of this within the *Life of Pyrrhus*: Plutarch presents Pyrrhus’ loss of Macedonia (*Prrh.* 12.9-11) and subsequent ambitions against Rome as contiguous (13.1), whereas actually they were separated by three (not insignificant) years. With this example in mind, it seems incontrovertible that Plutarch’s search for dramatic effect induced him at times misleadingly to condense or even omit historical detail.

There seems no reason to dismiss Zonaras on this point, even though his account might attract disparagement for its claim that Pyrrhus was struck by a falling woman rather than by a roof tile (*Pyrrh.* 32-34):⁵⁴

The Argives, however, were spurred on to further resistance when Areus arrived unexpectedly and attacked the bulk of Pyrrhus' army, which was stationed outside the city under the command of Helenus.

It would certainly be possible to explain the Strabonic tradition by saying that Pyrrhus died while assaulting the walls of the citadel. More consistent with the arrival of Areus, however, is that Pyrrhus died during the confusion that resulted from a Spartan attack on the city walls (*Pyrrh.* 32-34):

In essence, events then took place as recorded in Plutarch (33f.), with the minor (but significant) alterations that Antigonos' forces came not from outside the city but rather from inside the citadel and that Helenus retreated rather than advanced into the city (32-34).

Plutarch notably describes the elephant Nikon as προεισεληλυθόντων ἕτερος ('one of those which had gone on into the city', *Pyrrh.* 33.5.3). This suggests that the elephants had been divided into two groups: possibly (a) those that were to participate in the victory parade or as a show of force within the city, and (b) those that were to remain with the bulk of the army outside the city. Hence the elephant that blocked the gateway and thwarted Pyrrhus' withdrawal may well have come from the force attacked by Areus, and was not itself attempting to retreat from inside Argos.

Of Pyrrhus' operations against Argos, Plutarch's portrayal is vivid and compelling in its detail and yet disquieting in the manipulation of its focus, whereas the other extant authors offer versions that are perturbing in their brevity and disjointedness and yet ameliorated somewhat through dint of being largely guileless. The preceding reconstruction attempts not only to present events as they may really have occurred but also to show that the so-called 'unreliable' tradition, rather than being dismissed out of hand, should perhaps be used *in toto* to temper Plutarch's elaborate and persuasive yet potentially misleading account.

⁵⁴ W. D. Barry, 'Roof Tiles and Urban Violence in the Ancient World', *GRBS* 37 (1996) 64, attests to the greater plausibility of the latter interpretation.

Conclusion

One of the more notable features of Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus* is that it engenders quite an unfavourable impression of its protagonist, particularly in respect to his generalship. If it could be assumed that Pyrrhus actually was a general of considerable ability, then Plutarch's account of his death would read quite suspiciously—indeed, it might even be designated 'hostile'—but such a conclusion is difficult to reach because much of the historical detail pertaining to Pyrrhus has had to be gleaned from Plutarch's biographical interpretation. This presents the modern scholar with something of a conundrum, for although the *Life* on one hand contains incontrovertible evidence of Pyrrhus' capabilities, on the other hand it seems to colourize his actions in rather negative a hue. In short, the *Life of Pyrrhus* plays host to a perplexing inconsistency, the nature of which lies in a subtle conflict between biography (in which genre the work was composed) and history (in which genre our need for information necessarily has placed it). The crux of the matter rests upon Plutarch's depiction of Pyrrhus' death at Argos, for this climactic event not only forms a vital conjunct to biographical themes developed throughout the *Life*, but also encapsulates an apparent discrepancy between the historicity of Plutarch's account and that of the various authors who mention Pyrrhus more fleetingly. The fragmentary nature of the information presented in these works makes them seem a poor alternative to Plutarch's highly detailed portrayal, but they cannot merely be dismissed, for the *Life of Pyrrhus* itself, although superficially compelling, plays host to a literary manipulation that in fact renders it no more liable to be read without criticism. This is not to suggest that Plutarch be cast aside but rather that any material drawn from his biography of Pyrrhus be treated with greater caution, and that due consideration be given to material contained within the works of so-called 'unreliable' authors. Even though the siege of Argos can be reconstructed only tentatively, it is possible to explain the multitude of discrepancies that appear to divide the extant authors and in doing so to posit a scenario that is not inconsistent with any of their accounts. If the validity of this process may be recognized, then there would seem grounds to reconsider the traditional acceptance of Plutarch's characterization and hence perhaps to afford Pyrrhus more credit as a general.

DER UNPÄSSLICHE GAST: PLATON, *TIMAIOS* 17a

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Abstract. Plato's *Timaios* begins with the question about a missing member of the group of interlocutors. His name is not mentioned and has not been found. A similar situation is described at a similar place in the *Phaedo*. It seems possible to use the name from the earlier dialogue also for the later one since the missing member in both cases is the author himself: Plato.

In der Einführung zum tiefgründigen Gespräch des Dialogs *Timaios* lässt der Autor Platon seine Gestalt des Sokrates unmittelbar zu Beginn die Teilnehmer zählen: Εἷς, δύο, τρεῖς· ὁ δὲ δὴ τέταρτος ἡμῖν, ᾧ φίλε Τίμαιε, ποῦ τῶν χθὲς μὲν δαιτυμόνων, τὰ νῦν δ' ἐστιατόρων; ('eins, zwei, drei,— aber wo, lieber Timaios, bleibt uns der vierte der gestrigen Gäste und heutigen Gastgeber?', 17a1-3). Im Dialog *Timaios* antwortet ihm daraufhin die Titelfigur Timaios: Ἀσθένειά τις αὐτῷ συνέπεσεν, ᾧ Σώκρατες· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐκὼν τῆσδε ἀπελείπετο τῆς συνουσίας ('irgend ein Unwohlsein hat ihn befallen, Sokrates, denn freiwillig würde er diesem Treffen nicht fernbleiben', 17a4f.).¹

Die Kommentatoren Paulsen und Rehn bemerken dazu im Nachwort, dass 'Wer die fünfte während des Gesprächs fehlende Person ist, auf die Sokrates zu Beginn des Dialogs anspielt, ist nicht zu ermitteln'.²

Man wird auch nicht fündig, wenn man andere frühere Stellungnahmen zum Problem untersucht. Cornford zum Beispiel geht auf die Frage nach der Person des fehlenden Gastes gar nicht erst ein;³ Taylor kommentiert durch einen Verweis auf *Axiochus* 364c8, wo von der Genesung nach einem Krankheitsanfall die Rede ist, jedoch zum Namensproblem nicht beigetragen wird;⁴ bei Wright finden wir die Charakterisierung von Platons Text als 'deceptively simple opening', jedoch wiederum nichts zu unserer Fragestellung.⁵

¹ Text: T. Paulsen und R. Rehn (Hrsgb. und Übs.), Platon: *Timaios* (Stuttgart 2003).

² Paulsen und Rehn [1] 242.

³ F. M. Cornford (Hrsgb. und Übs.), *Plato's Cosmology: The Timaeus of Plato Translated with a Running Commentary* (London 1937) 9.

⁴ A. E. Taylor (Hrsgb.), *A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* (Oxford 1928) 45.

⁵ M. R. Wright (Hrsgb.), *Necessity and Reason: Essays on Plato's Timaeus* (London 2000) ix.

Den verschwiegenen Namen der fünften Person, d.h. des vierten Gastes sozusagen aktenkundig zu ermitteln, mag in der Tat heutzutage nicht mehr möglich sein. Sie ist schliesslich nicht aus dem athenischen Alltag der Wirklichkeit ins Buch hergebeten, sondern entstammt der kreativen, aber eben nicht amtlich registrierten Phantasie ihres gedankenreichen Schöpfers. Eine begründete Vermutung mag indessen wohl verstattet sein.

Seine Antwort auf die Frage nach dem Namen der Person des infolge seiner Unpässlichkeit an der in Aussicht genommenen Teilnahme verhinderten Gastes hat der antike Autor schon zuvor anderen Ortes selbst formuliert: Πλάτων δὲ οἶμαι ἡσθένει (‘Platon war, meine ich, unpässig’, Pl. *Phd.* 59b10).⁶ So heisst es dort ebenfalls bei der wiederum ganz am Anfang gegebenen Musterung der Teilnehmer, gerade so wie im *Timaios*. Nur ein halbes Dutzend Zeilen später beginnt dann die eigentliche Erzählung. Beide Aussagen über die Verhinderung eines erwarteten Gesprächsteilnehmers gleichen sich formal und funktional: eine bestimmte, rechtens erwartete und dennoch ausgebliebene Person ist verhindert, und zwar durch irgend eine ‘Unpässlichkeit’, durch den Mangel an ‘Kraft’, an Stärke, an Fähigkeit, an Vermögen. Einmal, im *Timaios*, erfahren wir den Namen dieser Person nicht; ein anderes Mal, im *Phaidon*, wird er genannt. Für den Grund der Verhinderung wird beide Male derselbe griechische Wortstamm eingesetzt: die ἁσθένεια (‘Kraftlosigkeit’), das Unvermögen. Diese ‘Unpässlichkeit’ erhält keine nähere Erläuterung. Die Abwesenheit wird nur kurz registriert und nicht weiter diskutiert. Allerdings schließt sich im *Timaios* der Hinweis an, dass es nun also die Aufgabe der drei anderen Teilnehmer sei, auch den Part des Abwesenden zu übernehmen. Die Reaktion darauf ist kurz und eindeutig: Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, καὶ κατὰ δύνάμιν γε οὐδὲν ἐλλείψομεν (‘Natürlich; und wir werden es dabei nach Möglichkeit an nichts fehlen lassen’, 17b1).⁷

Akzeptiert man die hier vorgeschlagene Identifikation des wohlbekannten, aber hier im *Timaios* ungenannten unpässlichen Gastes, so ist Platons persönliche Autorität für die folgenden Aussagen von Hermokrates, Kritias und Timaios im Dialogverlauf des *Timaios* entschieden eingefordert. Ihre Worte im Gespräch sind an den nicht wörtlich wiedergegebenen, aber inhärent voraussetzenden Reden Platons selbst zu messen. Von ihm gilt: *Dum tacet, clamat* (‘sein Schweigen ruft laut’).

Das steht im Einklang mit der weitgehend verklausulierten Aussage der ‘Wahrheit’, wie sie im Höhlengleichnis (Pl. *Resp.* 7.514a-517a) vor Augen

⁶ Text: K. Hülser (Hrsgb.), F. Schleiermacher (Übs.), *Platon: Phaidon* (Stuttgart 1987); vgl. auch F. Schleiermacher (Übs.), *Platon: Phaidon* (Frankfurt 1991).

⁷ Paulsen und Rehn [1].

gestellt ist, jener ‘verdeutlichenden Parabel’.⁸ Nicht direkt, nicht unmittelbar ist dem Menschen die Sicht auf die Wirklichkeit, die Ein-Sicht in das Wesen der Welt möglich. Er ist dazu ‘unvermögend’. Nur Schatten auf einer Höhlenwand vermag er zu sehen, die Umrisse nur von sich selbst und von anderen. Und um nun den Gedanken-Sprung zu vollziehen: nur Schatten seiner Vorstellungen vermag Platon zu vermitteln, erkennbar gemacht allein durch den Wider-Schein seines Wissens, den Wider-Hall seiner Erkenntnisse in den Worten der (an seiner Statt und auch in seinem Namen) philosophierenden Freunde. Das Verständnis der Welt und ihrer Wirklichkeit ist nur mittelbar, nur verhüllt wahrnehmbar in all dem, was sie miteinander zu Tage bringen. Platons Präsenz beim Dialog aber ist durch den Hinweis bekräftigt, dass der Gast, dem die ‘Kraft’ fehlt, offen mitzuwirken, selbst hinter den Bemühungen seiner Herolds-Figuren steht, und dass es seine eigenen Gedanken sind, die ihren Worten zugrunde liegen.

Friedländer hat in seinem Platon-Buch betont, dass über den fehlenden vierten Gast ‘seit den Neuplatonikern viel verhandelt worden’⁹ ist, wobei er auf Proclus verweist; Burnet verlautbart in seinem Kommentar zu Plato's *Phaedo*, dass ‘many strange things have been written about this simple statement’.¹⁰ ‘A simple statement’ und ‘many strange things’ als Echo: ob die jetzt hier vorgeschlagene einfache Antwort auf eine alte Frage Akzeptanz finden mag?

⁸ P. Friedländer (Hrsgb.), *Platon 3: Die platonischen Schriften zweite und dritte Periode*² (Berlin 1960) 124; vgl. auch K. Vretska (Hrsgb. und Übs.), *Platon: Der Staat*⁴ (Stuttgart 2004).

⁹ Friedländer [8] 313f., 495 Anm. 8 (‘Proclus in *Tim.* 9, 213sq. Diehl’).

¹⁰ J. Burnet (Hrsgb.), *Plato's Phaedo*⁵ (Oxford 1949) 59.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF NEW ZEALAND AND UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO CENTRE FOR RESEARCH ON NATIONAL IDENTITY PRESENTATION

The following is an edited version of a presentation that was delivered in Dunedin on 20 August 2011 by William J. Dominik at a symposium on the ongoing status of European high culture in New Zealand Aotearoa.

‘HIGH CULTURE’, CLASSICS AND THE HUMANITIES IN NEW ZEALAND AOTEAROA: A POSITION PAPER

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Abstract. Classics may be considered by some New Zealanders to be a product of ‘high culture’, but it is relevant along with the rest of the Humanities to the contemporary world and part of the mix that makes up the cultural scene and educational practice of New Zealand Aotearoa. Classics has made contributions to New Zealand Aotearoa society in a number of cultural areas and has a role to play in an increasingly multicultural environment.

When the details of a symposium entitled “‘Talking of Michelangelo . . .’: A Symposium on the Ongoing Status of European High Culture in New Zealand Aotearoa’ were publicised,¹ the unwitting similarity to the Roman rhetorical exercise known as the *thesis* was apparent in some of the questions posed by the organisers: ‘Are the products of European high culture still significant in the contemporary world? What is the appropriate place for them in the mix that makes up our cultural scene, and in the education and cultural policies of New Zealand Aotearoa? How does their presence—or absence—affect the collective memory?’ These questions invite a response and explanation similar to Roman *theses*, for example, questions of abstract thought such as: ‘Is Virtue an end in itself? How is Virtue to be attained—by nature or by training? Should Virtue be sought for its own sake or for the advantage it brings? Can Virtue in a man ever become vice?’ and so on.²

The question ‘Are the products of European high culture still significant in the contemporary world?’ invites a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answer and an explanation of the type that Romans addressed in the process of developing their rhetorical skills. The answer

¹ This Symposium, which was held at the University of Otago, was sponsored by The Royal Society of New Zealand and The Centre for Research in National Identity.

² On the Roman *thesis* see M. L. Clarke, ‘The Thesis in the Roman Rhetorical Schools of the Republic’, *CQ* 1 (1951) 159-66.

the question is of course 'yes', though such a response demands qualification. This question will be addressed mainly from the disciplinary perspective of Classics, a discipline that is often assumed to represent 'high culture'. At the same time it should be pointed out that Classics has never been a discipline with a theoretical purity that ensures its intellectual distinctiveness from other disciplines. Classics has long had an interdisciplinary basis with most of the other disciplines and areas represented in so-called 'high culture', for example, English, including such figures as Shakespeare and Austen; western music, including its history and philosophy; Māori, Pacific and European art; and the literature and philosophy of continental Europe.

The use of the phrase 'high culture' is not an appropriate phrase, however, to describe the aforementioned disciplines and areas. The phrase 'high culture' is used in many different ways, often in regard to cultural elements that a particular society, or part of society, often the most highly educated and/or economically prosperous, values the most. The use of the phrase 'high culture' immediately raises the question of what constitutes 'low culture', presumably the culture of those less educated and less prosperous economically. And the term 'low culture', of course, immediately invites the question of what its opposite is, that is, 'high culture'. In any case, these terms are relative and shift over time. Shakespeare would have been considered popular culture by critics during his own time, whereas for at least a couple of centuries now he has been thought to represent the essence of high culture.

The conceptual distinctions between high and low culture increasingly have narrowed over time particularly in the academic environment as scholars have increasingly focussed on mass culture, for instance, in the media. Academic investigation of popular culture that at one time may have been considered frivolous now is the norm. The boundaries between so-called high and low cultures have become increasingly blurred so that the investigation of them has become more an examination of different types of culture rather than of an investigation of so-called high and low aspects of a society with the attendant positive and negative associations attached to these labels. Forms of popular culture seem to respond instinctively to the general needs and interests of the public, and they often absorb elements of so-called high culture, just as high culture sometimes appropriates elements of popular culture so that in the end in both instances it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between the various cultures.

The Case of Classics in New Zealand Aotearoa

Classics has often been thought to be of 'high culture' even within the university environment partly because of the large number of literary, art, archaeological and other works that Graeco-Roman culture produced that are appreciated throughout much of the world. The classical tradition still holds its special value partly because of its longstanding influence upon the cultures of various countries, including New Zealand Aotearoa. While the methodological similarity between the questions raised by the organisers of the Symposium on 'high culture' and those of the Roman *thesis* discussed above are purely coincidental, Classical culture as a whole has had a demonstrable

impact on New Zealand Aotearoa culture. Along with Māori and Pacific Islands culture Classics must be considered to be one of the formative influences of contemporary New Zealand Aotearoa culture in a whole host of areas.

One of the most obvious ways in which Classics demonstrates its relevance to New Zealand Aotearoa culture is through its contribution to the vocabulary and linguistic structures of English, about seventy per cent of which is derived ultimately from Latin and ancient Greek. In New Zealand Aotearoa the influence of classical architecture is obvious in the numerous buildings of a neoclassical style that survived the modern movement in architecture, for instance, the Parliament House in Wellington, the Auckland War Memorial Museum, Christchurch Catholic Basilica,³ and the Dunedin Town Hall.⁴

Classical mythology and the classical poets have had a strong influence on some New Zealand Aotearoa poets, including James K. Baxter, many of whose poems are inspired by classical myth and the Roman poetry of Catullus and Horace,⁵ and Fleur Adcock, whose outputs include poems modelled upon not only the Roman poets Horace and Propertius but also a host of Greek poets.⁶ Other New Zealand Aotearoa poets who have been influenced by classical mythology and poets include E. M. Blaiklock, Alistair Campbell, A. F. T. Chorlton, Denis Glover, Bernadette Hall, Charles Howden, G. Lincoln Lee, R. A. K. Mason, Richard J. H. Matthews, Vincent O’Sullivan, C. K. Stead, and David More.⁷ The unique synthesis of classical and Māori aspects evident in Harry Love’s *Hurai*,⁸ a play that draws on Euripidean elements and Māori prophetic movements, illustrates the possibilities of the fusion of Māori and European elements, which is surely more significant than any attempt to use value-laden labels to describe the use of Euripides by a New Zealand Aotearoa playwright.

Although the label of ‘high culture’ is sometimes pinned to Classics, there is little reason today for this to be the case. Perhaps at one time it was considered to be ‘high

³ This building was badly damaged in the February 2011 earthquake.

⁴ For some discussion of neoclassical buildings in New Zealand Aotearoa, see P. Shaw, *A History of New Zealand Architecture*³ (Auckland 2003).

⁵ See J. Davidson, ‘James K. Baxter and the Classics’, *Islands* 14 (1975) 451-64; ‘Catullus, Horace and Baxter’, *Islands* 15 (1976) 86-94; ‘Odysseus, Baxter and New Zealand Poetry’, *Landfall* 134 (1980) 107-19; G. Miles, J. Davidson and P. Millar, *The Snake-haired Muse: James K. Baxter and Classical Myth* (Wellington 2011). See also R. J. H. Matthews (ed.), *Classical New Zealand Poetry: Based on Greek and Latin Models* (Dunedin 1985) 20-37.

⁶ See Matthews [5] 103-09.

⁷ Some of the poems of these and other New Zealand Aotearoa poets and their classical models appear in Matthews [5]; on the use of mythological figures by New Zealand Aotearoa poets, see J. Davidson, ‘Some New Zealand Poetic Faces of Dionysus’, in J. Davidson and A. Pomeroy (edd.), *Theatres of Action: Papers for Chris Dearden* (Auckland 2003) 224-37; J. Davidson, ‘Venus/Aphrodite and James K. Baxter’, in J. L. Wilkinson, E. Parisot and D. McInnis (edd.), *Refashioning Myth: Poetic Transformations and Metamorphoses* (Newcastle 2011) 203-18.

⁸ H. Love, *Hurai* (Wellington 2011).

culture'. If a label must be attached to Classics, it is, though not 'low' culture, rather more 'middle culture'. The academic environment has expanded increasingly to include elements of popular culture, which is always a combination of so-called 'low' and 'high culture'. Classics is no different in this respect. In classical Athens even a figure such as Euripides was a popular dramatist—in the two senses of the word 'popular'—during his own day and his tragedies were intended for the consumption of the entire population of the state. As suggested above, the situation in the case of Shakespeare during the English Renaissance does not seem all that different.

If Classics is in some sense perceived as 'high culture', one must still concede that so much of it that has become part of popular culture, as exemplified not only in the large number of films such as *Troy* and *Alexander* that have captured the popular imagination and become hits at the box office but also in such media as comics and video games.⁹ The use of the descriptive phrase 'popular culture' or even 'mass culture' is preferable to a value-laden phrase such as 'low culture'. The phrase 'high culture', though it contrasts with 'popular culture', does not necessarily need to suggest an opposition to popular culture; nor should 'high culture' be viewed as being opposed to traditional or indigenous culture. In general, the use of terms such as 'high' and 'low' to refer to culture are unhelpful. Even the general term 'culture' to describe cultural phenomena of any type is preferable to these value-laden terms of 'high' and 'low'.

Open and Closed Cultures

As a member of New Zealand Aotearoa society and a university lecturer, the extent to which parts of a culture are perceived as being 'open' or 'closed' to others is an issue that concerns me. During a decade of teaching Classics in South Africa in the 1990s and my visits during and after that time to countries such as Nigeria and Malawi, which have universities that teach Classics, it has been always apparent to me that an attempt to integrate indigenous African elements into my teaching of Classics to highlight aspects of classical culture *generally* were appreciated by my students and the broader African society, though there were tinges of anti-colonial sentiment that existed toward the study of Classics and other western forms of culture. Africans themselves have borrowed heavily from western cultural forms in the production of their own literature. The resulting hybridic forms of African literary production proudly assert the Africanness of their literature even as it adopts and appropriates these western literary forms.¹⁰ Insofar as I have been able to sense, my research into classical elements in African literary forms and my incorporation of African aspects in

⁹ On comics see G. Kovacs and C. W. Marshall (edd.), *Classics and Comics* (Oxford 2011). No similar book on the influence of Classics upon video games exist, though the video games with classical themes number in the dozens (e.g., *Hercules*, *Warriors: Legends of Troy*, *God of War: Ghost of Sparta*, *Age of Mythology: The Titans*, *Rise of the Argonauts*, *Rome: Total War*, *The Battle of Olympus*, *Kid Icarus: Of Myths and Monsters*).

¹⁰ See W. J. Dominik, 'Africa', in C. Kallendorf (ed.), *A Companion to the Classical Tradition* (Oxford 2007) 117-31, esp. 131.

my teaching of the Classics on a comparative basis generally has been valued and has been perceived to be a reflection of my respect for African cultures and traditions.

Since I arrived in New Zealand Aotearoa ten years ago, I have always been (rightly or wrongly) self-conscious about discussing anything Māori in my classes, so I have only done so occasionally even though opportunities have presented themselves in the classes I have taught, especially in mythology, where many of the classical elements bear comparison with aspects of Māori folklore and mythology. I maintain that mythology meets the deeply rooted need to know about ourselves and the ancient cultures we have inherited, and this need naturally extends to the indigenous and modern cultures around us. After examining the nature and meaning of classical mythology, it is possible to proceed to a comparison of classical myth with the mythic systems of other peoples in other cultures in virtually any place in the world, including the Māori in New Zealand Aotearoa. Such a comparison of mythic systems between cultures reveals that bodies of mythic thought and practice, including rituals, creation stories, heroes, notions of time, the relationship between the temporal and spiritual worlds, and the origination of tribes and clans belonging to peoples widely separated in time and space, reflect not only sharp differences but also striking similarities suggestive of a common ancestry.

Despite the aforementioned similarities between aspects of classical and Māori culture, since my arrival in Dunedin in 2002 I have had the sense that I should not be discussing Māori culture in my classes; in addition, I am aware that if I were to do any research on Māori issues related to Classics that I would need to go through the formal University of Otago process of consulting Māori,¹¹ something that the noted classical scholar Agathe Thornton did not need to do when she explored Māori oral literature from her perspective as a classicist a quarter of a century ago.¹² My reticence to engage with Maori culture and my feeling of it being a ‘closed culture’, despite the encouragement we are given to study the Māori language, results in part from a desire to respect Maori cultural forms, to avoid treating them in a trivial fashion and thereby to offend Maori sensibilities, and the need to consult formally with Maori regarding any Maori-related research.

High, Low and Other Cultures

I sometimes wonder whether my reticence to use relevant Māori elements in my classes may reflect in some way the exclusiveness of Māori culture, which from my perspective would be unfortunate for the same reason that I reject the use of the label ‘high culture’ to refer to the exclusive notion involved in the study of the Classics. I certainly do not think of Māori culture or classical culture as high, middle, low or popular since such a distinction seems to me to be unhelpful and artificial, not to mention value-laden and therefore regressive. Māori culture has provided inspiration

¹¹ For the University of Otago Research Consultation with Māori Policy, see <http://www.otago.ac.nz/research/maoriconsultation> (30 September 2012).

¹² A. Thornton, *Maori Oral Literature as Seen by a Classicist* (Dunedin 1987).

to so-called Pakeha artists and academics, some of whom have helped to revive or maintain Māori art forms, for instance, Brian Flintoff,¹³ Richard Nunns¹⁴ and Mervyn McLean¹⁵ in music. Other Pakeha artists such as Colin McCahon¹⁶ and Gordon Walters¹⁷ have combined western art forms with traditional Māori art forms. Some Māori have become well-known exponents and artists of European art forms in the area of literature, music and art such as the Keri Hulme,¹⁸ Kiri Te Kanawa¹⁹ and Ralph Hotere²⁰ respectively. Are the resultant artistic products of 'high culture' or 'popular culture'? Since we should be loath to suggest anything that would seem to undercut the cultural value of these art forms, any attempt to label western or European art forms with such terms is equally inappropriate and unhelpful.

Universities in various countries, including New Zealand Aotearoa, may seem to serve as an important instrument of promoting the concept of high culture despite the popularisation of the curriculum that has increasingly occurred in the past twenty or so years. High culture or not, universities must never lose sight of what is one of the purposes of higher education: the preservation of whatever there is in civilisation worth preserving. Not many non-Classicists realise that the Classics have a strong tradition at universities in numerous countries outside Europe, not just Australasia and North America. There are over 700 departments in over fifty countries on six continents in which Classics is taught on the university level in these non-European and non-Australasian countries, including China, Japan, Russia, Sri Lanka, Egypt, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, South Korea, Zimbabwe, Venezuela, Brazil, Israel, Nigeria and Malawi. No culture can lay sole claim to the discipline of Classics. Classics today belongs to everyone.

Humanities courses may also seem to serve a role in the promotion of the concept of 'high culture', but generally shun the use of the term itself in the interests of popularisation. The relationship between high culture and popular culture has been the subject of much interest among cultural theoreticians in cultural and media studies.²¹ High culture can be viewed as a means of social control by the politically

¹³ E.g., B. Flintoff, *Taonga Pūoro. Singing Treasures: The Musical Instruments of the Māori* (Nelson 2003).

¹⁴ E.g., R. Nunns, *He Ara Pūoro (A Pathway of Song)* <<http://www.radionz.co.nz/concert/audiofeatures/hearapuoro>> (30 September 2012).

¹⁵ E.g., M. McLean (and M. Orbell), *Traditional Songs of the Māori* (Auckland 2004).

¹⁶ E.g., C. McCahon, *Urewera Mural* (1975), Auckland Art Gallery, L2008/2.

¹⁷ E.g., G. Walters, *New Zealand Landscape* (1947), Museum of New Zealand / Te Papa Tongarewa, 1991-004-1.

¹⁸ E.g., K. Hulme, *The Bone People* (Wellington 1984), a novel; *The Silences Between (Moeraki Conversations)* (Auckland 1982), poetry; *Te Kaihau: The Windeater* (Wellington 1986), short stories.

¹⁹ E.g., K. T. Kanawa, *The Best of Kiri Te Kanawa*, Audio CD, Hip-O/Decca (2005), classical music.

²⁰ E.g., R. Hotere, painting of Christ, *Te Ao Hou* 29 (1959) 39, expressionism.

²¹ See, e.g., H. J. Gans, *Popular and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste*² (New York 1999).

and economically most powerful and influential sections of society, a notion characteristic of the Gramscian notion of hegemony involving the infiltration of a system of values into a society with the aim and result of buttressing the political status quo.²² But some national theorists, for instance, Ernst Gellner, have also argued that so-called high culture is an important aspect of a robust national identity.²³ The presence of the so-called European forms of high culture is an important aspect of New Zealand Aotearoa identity and along with Māori culture forms the distinctive national identity of the country. It is impossible to remove either form of culture—Māori or western—without significantly altering the national identity. The collective memory of New Zealand Aotearoa is represented by the ‘monuments’ that it has constructed in the various areas of its culture—literary, architectural, artistic and so on. To remove any of these would be to alter significantly the elements that make up the national identity of New Zealand Aotearoa.

While the national identity of New Zealand Aotearoa is likely to change in the future because of the increasing influence from Asia, and thus is likely to affect the representational cultural forms that exist in the country, that the forms that represent so-called European culture will abate since much of the world outside New Zealand Aotearoa has increasingly adopted them—whatever we may label them. Both Māori and western art forms have been memorialised in New Zealand Aotearoa culture. And the so-called European high cultural forms, however we may define them (if we choose to do so at all), will continue to exist in New Zealand Aotearoa culture and therefore in the collective memory of the nation.

The Value of Humanities and Classics in New Zealand Aotearoa

The issues raised here essentially have more to do with the value of Humanities in New Zealand Aotearoa, whether these forms are European, Māori, Pacific or a combination of these or any others, than the notion of European high culture in New Zealand Aotearoa. If the Humanities are considered to be ‘high culture’ in whole or part, then this notion is unfortunate since the disciplines represented by the Humanities are inherently human and humanising, as is suggested in the Latin word *humanitas*, which literally means ‘human nature’. The role of Humanities is partly to preserve the heart and soul of humanity, which is hardly just the concern of ‘high culture’. Ultimately we need the Humanities precisely because they provide a kind of truth that has its origins in the human spirit.

The term ‘Humanities’ is relatively modern, but the Humanities themselves have their roots in the classical world, in the *artes liberales* of the medieval universities, and in the *studia humanitatis* of the Renaissance. The ancient Greek idea was that education should acquaint young minds with a basic understanding of human achievement in various intellectual and creative fields such as the languages,

²² See A. Gramsci (trr. Q. Hoare and G. N. Smith, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York 1971).

²³ E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford 1983).

literature, history, arts, mathematics and the natural sciences. The Greeks argued that the primary purpose of education was to exercise and to expand the mind; according to Aristotle, the chief importance of education was to train the mind to think (*Pol.* 8). During the past three millennia this concept of a humanistic education has formed the core of educational philosophy in different parts of the world, including New Zealand Aotearoa.

In some respects the Greek conception of the Humanities is not all that much different from our understanding today. But at universities internationally there is pressure to teach what is relevant. Indeed, I maintain Classics only has a role in higher education in this new millennium because of its relevance, but it must be based in the real world. Classicists carry a particular responsibility to preserve the past. Kwame Anthony Appiah has asserted, 'In the Humanities . . . we are always engaged in illuminating the past; it is the only way to make a future worth hoping for'.²⁴ Indeed the past is our inheritance and is inherently interesting to many of us, as it was to the Romans. One of the defining features of Roman cultural achievement is its awareness of its own place in the cultural movements of history. This awareness is evident in the self-conscious references of its literature and material remains to things past, to past works, past styles and past achievements, especially those of the Greeks. As the Romans themselves realised, the past provides many valuable lessons, but it has little meaning without reference to the present. Another way of expressing this is that the present is a function of the past, but once the present has passed it becomes the past and is gone forever unless resurrected. Is this need to preserve the past really the concern only of 'high culture'?

It is in the area of comparative social and political history that Classics has a demonstrable link to contemporary social and political developments in many parts of the world. The ancient world is paradoxically modern in its articulation of social and political issues due to the close parallels between modern, indigenous and classical civilisations, especially in social and political history, oral tradition, myth, religion and ritual. The parallels between the fate of subject peoples in the Graeco-Roman world and the experiences of politically oppressed races under apartheid in South Africa during the decade I lived there have made it easier for me to appreciate some of the political issues raised in the writing of Roman imperial literature.²⁵ So sometimes the process works the other way; in other words, the process is bidirectional: the modern world can be as equally helpful in appreciating aspects of the ancient world as the ancient world can be in helping to understand the modern world.

Classics and Multiculturalism

A topic I have always liked to discuss when I talk about Classics is multiculturalism, which is a contentious topic in many societies around the world. I not only maintain

²⁴ K. A. Appiah, *Experiments in Ethics* (Cambridge, Mass. 2008) 1-2.

²⁵ See, e.g., W. J. Dominik, J. Garthwaite and P. A. Roche (ed.), *Writing Politics in Imperial Rome* (Leiden 2009).

that multiculturalism and the study of classical antiquity are complementary interests but also like to highlight the phenomenon of multiculturalism by drawing attention to the similarities and differences between Greek, Roman and other cultures as a means of helping to define them. Although I loosely describe this approach as multicultural, I prefer to refer to it as intercultural because of this referential aspect to other cultures. Teaching and research in this area brings the meaning and pervasiveness of multiculturalism into vivid focus and illustrates how a culture borrows and adapts aspects of a foreign culture even as it asserts a distinctive place within a broader cultural environment.

The modern perception of Classics is somehow that it is a bicultural discipline involving just Greeks and Romans. But the worlds of Greece and Rome comprised two of the most multicultural societies in antiquity. Juvenal, a Roman satirist, and Dio Chrysostom, a Greek orator and popular philosopher, were moved to comment upon the multicultural features of Rome and Alexandria in the first century. Juvenal mentions or remarks disparagingly on the multiculturalisation of Rome through the presence of more than a dozen cited nationalities (Juv. 3, esp. 61-83), while Dio Chrysostom similarly cites that the inhabitants of Alexandria were composed of a dozen nationalities ranging from Greeks to Indians and Arabs (*Or.* 32.40). As happens in a society like New Zealand Aotearoa to a greater or lesser degree, these minorities defined themselves in relation to the mainstream culture without yielding completely to it. The Greeks in Rome, for instance, expressed an identity distinct from Roman culture in the process of adapting themselves to that dominant culture. Rome and Alexandria were not melting pots but rather culturally pluralistic worlds in which their inhabitants were drawn from a host of other societies, as is the case in many parts of the world today, including New Zealand Aotearoa.

In New Zealand Aotearoa the extent to which Māori should be culturally and politically independent from or aligned with the dominant colonial society to which they have accommodated themselves is a cultural and political issue that preoccupies the collective psyche. But the differences in ancient Rome between the dominant culture and subordinate cultures seemed all too apparent to Juvenal, who scorned the internationalisation and multiculturalism of ancient Rome. Yet it is precisely these differences that helped a sense of cultural distinctiveness to emerge among the Romans, especially in relation to the Greek culture they inherited. In part the cultural identity of the Romans developed out of them engaging with, becoming familiar with, borrowing from, adapting and exploiting aspects of Greek culture even as they felt inferior to and sometimes resented this foreign culture. This phenomenon seems paradoxical: the Romans defined themselves by reference to the ‘other’, namely the Greeks, even as they appropriated their culture.

This ancient model of cultural differentiation and appropriation is relevant to an examination of multicultural issues in New Zealand Aotearoa. Multicultural issues are increasingly part of the debate on the national identity of New Zealand Aotearoa, while multicultural skills are more essential than ever in today’s world. We are today increasingly living in a world without clear borders in which it is essential to be able to understand, to appreciate and to communicate with a variety of other cultures

consisting of different races, languages and religions. Classical culture, like Māori culture, is part of the general cultural heritage of all humankind. With its array of cultural, national, religious and intellectual traditions, classical antiquity provides valuable lessons for the modern world, including that of New Zealand Aotearoa. Multicultural study is possible in a variety of areas in Classics, including the oral tradition and, as mentioned above, the classical tradition and reception.

Ideologically I believe that the different humanistic enterprises sometimes referred to as 'high culture' should join forces to reconstruct and to preserve the past as part of the continuous heritage of humankind. In a letter written in 2011 to the Pacific, European and Asian Languages Advisory Group (PEALAG), I argued that a coordinated approach to the issues affecting languages would be beneficial to all languages offered on the tertiary level in New Zealand Aotearoa, not just the European and Asian languages, and that all the languages be represented in any discussions that PEALAG may have with the Humanities Advisory Panel of the Royal Society of New Zealand, including on issues related to delivery and finance, particularly since languages are greatly underfunded by the New Zealand Aotearoa government. Consistent with my view on such issues as the role of the Humanities in New Zealand Aotearoa and the place of multiculturalism in New Zealand Aotearoa society, I have suggested to PEALAG that we should be focussing on what is common to our languages rather than on what is different about them.

In the multicultural world of New Zealand Aotearoa we should all contribute to preserving a multicultural past. In our community our sensitivity to multicultural issues should better enable us to engage in a constructive dialogue with other members of our community, to appreciate the different perspectives raised, to embrace these differences as a positive phenomenon, to empathise with and to support the aspirations of different sections of New Zealand Aotearoa, and to pursue the common goals of the nation with a shared sense of purpose.

Conclusion

Why are Classics and the Humanities, part of so-called 'high culture' or not, important (or ought to be important) in New Zealand Aotearoa? Why should New Zealand Aotearoa society and the university curriculum deal with the ideas and values of the past when the trend is to focus on what is immediate and in the present? My own instinct tells me that in a world of constant and accelerating flux we all have a deep yearning to know our origins and to connect with the past. Humankind has had the tendency to view history as a sequence of events, but I find it more helpful to view the common experience of humanity from synchronic and multicultural perspectives rather than from diachronic and unicultural perspectives. To be truly whole, we need a context, a frame of reference, and a sense of the enduring ideas and shared humanistic values common to all ages. The past helps to provide all these elements. And the study generally of the Humanities, though it may include disciplines considered by some to be of 'high culture', ultimately helps to increase our understanding and appreciation of New Zealand Aotearoa society.

REVIEW ARTICLES

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SELF AND MOTHER: RECENT CRITICAL APPROACHES TO MATERNITY IN ROMAN LITERATURE

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Antony Augoustakis, *Motherhood and the Other: Fashioning Female Power in Flavian Epic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. xii + 314. ISBN 978-0-19-958441-3. GBP60.

Ellen Oliensis, *Freud's Rome: Psychoanalysis and Latin Poetry*. Roman Literature and Its Contexts. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Pp. xi + 148. ISBN 9780521846615. GBP55.

The relation of mothers to Rome's martial ethos was oppositional, complementary and hierarchical: emblems of the 'home front', the private, domestic and feminine sphere as opposed to the public arena of the battlefield, yet at the same time they are responsible for the production of warriors for the state. While Roman literature frequently represents mothers as irredeemably 'other' and potentially dangerous to civic order (for example, in their capacity for excessive mourning or for ambition), the enduring fame of tough, wealthy, republican *matronae* like Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, testifies to the sanctified place accorded a certain stereotype of maternity within Rome's patriarchal ideology.

As breeders and buriers of warriors, as well as mourners and memorialisers, mothers occupy a similarly sanctioned role within the genre of martial epic. The goddesses Thetis and Venus, for example, bestow arms on their respective sons Achilles and Aeneas, so authorising their bloody exploits while also remaining separate from them, thus preserving the gender binary of home front and battlefield, central to the discourse of war. Yet despite their symbolic import, mothers in Roman epic (and in particular the *Aeneid*) have often appeared as no more than a series of shadowy, marginalised voices and figures, ignored by critics (until relatively recently) in favour of more glamorously transgressive females such as Dido or Camilla. Feminist critics have argued that at best epic mothers provide the ground for the reproduction of *virtus* and for the continuity of civilisation but are denied agency or

subjectivity themselves (which seems especially true of human mothers such as Creusa or Lavinia) and are often displaced into symbolic maternal entities, such as the land; and these same critics have argued that at worst epic aligns mothers with madness, death and the obstruction of masculine achievement (one thinks here of Vergil's Amata or Euryalus' mother) and rapidly dispatches them to enable the narrative—and the hero—to progress.¹ So, when Hecuba pleads with Hector not to fight Achilles, she exposes her breast to him as a reminder of how she nursed him and of his duty to her (Hom. *Il.* 22.79-84). Hector ignores this symbol of his nurture—and therefore of his vulnerability—as he must, for, as Murnaghan argues, 'to succumb to his mother's care is to stay out of the arena of heroic life and action and thus to earn an obscurity that might as well be death'.² It would seem that heroic glory is achieved by surmounting the presence of the mother, whether she is Thetis, Hecuba or Creusa, as much as by surmounting the terrifying inevitability of death itself. Indeed, as Murnaghan claims of Homeric poetry, mothers' very association with childbearing and nurturing often so aligns them with mortality and death as to become almost responsible for it.

Given the well-documented androcentric ideology of martial epic and of the context of its production and reception as formative texts for young Roman men,³ it is hard to question the structural validity of such conclusions. But it also indicates the difficulty facing the critic who wants to talk about Roman epic mothers without reproducing the essentialising and oppressive gender norms of the texts themselves. In identifying, however critically, the locus of the maternal at the margins of epic action, criticism risks justifying the way in which mothers and maternity are persistently circumscribed, taken for granted or ignored by interpreters of ancient texts. As I have suggested above, mothers offer a unique category of analysis in epic as figures marginal to its narrative structures yet central to its ideology. This ambiguous status finds an analogy in Roman society: while the Roman system concentrated all economic and legal power in the hands of the *pater*, motherhood was still the primary position from which most Roman women were able to exercise any recognised social or moral influence, albeit influence based on convention rather than enshrined in law. As such the maternal provides the epicist with a potent alternative source of symbolic meaning and authority from within epic discourse, though one that had its limitations and risks. Echoing the famous injunction to Aeneas to *antiquam exquirite matron* ('seek his ancient mother', Verg. *Aen.* 3.96), one wonders what would it mean to take seriously a 'search for the mother' in Roman epic poetry? Such an enterprise (*pace*

¹ See, e.g., S. Murnaghan, 'Maternity and Mortality in Homeric Poetry, *CIAnt* 11.2 (1992) 242-64; A. M. Keith, *Engendering Rome: Women in Latin Epic* (Cambridge 2000); S. G. Nugent, 'The Women of the *Aeneid*: Vanishing Bodies, Lingering Voices', in C. Perkell (ed.), *Reading Vergil's Aeneid: An Interpretive Guide* (Norman 1999) 251-70.

² Murnaghan [1] 250.

³ According to Keith [1] 35, epic is 'a literary form centred on the principle of elite male identity'.

Murnaghan) seems to call for a slightly different approach to reading epic from the one to which we are accustomed. Feminist readings of epic have tended (often very productively) either to expose the genre's encoded ideology of masculinity and imperial conquest or to recuperate feminine voices that resist or 'subvert' that ideology (and therefore threaten generic coherence). Yet neither approach manages to escape the essentialising conventions of gender and genre against which they protest—the idea that the feminine is (in theory if not in practice) external to 'epic' proper⁴—and as such they cannot fully account for the ambiguity of mothers who operate both inside and outside the symbolic structures of martial epic. What, then, would seeking the mother do for our notions of epic poetry? Might it reveal other identities voiced there too, contrapuntal perspectives on epic's self-proclaimed subject matter of *arma virumque* ('arms and the man', Verg. *Aen.* 1.1) . . . *reges et proelia* ('kings and battles', Verg. *Ecl.* 6.3), alternative—yet still *Roman*—narratives to those of patrilineage and paternal law (*res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella*, 'the deeds of kings and commanders and sorrowful wars', Hor. *Ars P.* 73)?⁵

The metacritical question of *how* to read (for) the mother in Roman epic is highlighted by the two works under review. Both books explore the ambiguously oppositional yet complementary role of mothers within a literary tradition that often has been viewed by critics as self-consciously 'patrilineal',⁶ and they point towards new ways to approach gender in Roman epic. Roman literary mothers have emerged from the shadows in recent years with a collection of essays on the Roman representation of maternity in *Helios* in 2007 (topics included the aforementioned Cornelia, Fulvia and mothers in Propertius, Ovid and Statius), now followed by these two more substantial, sophisticated studies. Antony Augoustakis' alliteratively titled *Motherhood and the Other: Fashioning Female Power in Flavian Epic* is notable for being the first monograph (to my knowledge) to declare a focus on motherhood in Roman literature (in this case, Flavian epic), and it constitutes a subtle, impressive addition to our understanding of the relations between the construction of gender and civic identity in Roman epic by building and advancing on Keith's *Engendering Rome: Women in Latin Epic*.⁷ Ellen Oliensis' *Freud's Rome: Psychoanalysis and Latin Poetry*, a contemplation on the role of Freudian theory to Latin literary criticism, devotes only one chapter out of three (chapter 2, 'Murdering Mothers', pp. 57-91) to the representation of motherhood in Augustan epic, but her contribution will be crucial to anyone interested in the gender dynamics of Vergil's and Ovid's poetry or in Roman maternity in general. While there are fundamental divergences between the two authors' approaches, a virtue of both is that they take the maternal as a powerfully

⁴ S. Hinds, 'Essential Epic: Genre and Gender from Macer to Statius', in M. Depew and D. Obbink (edd.), *Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons, and Society* (Harvard 2000) 221-46.

⁵ See Hinds [4] 222f.

⁶ E.g., P. Hardie, *The Epic Successors of Virgil: A Study in the Dynamics of a Tradition* (Cambridge 1993).

⁷ Keith [1].

multivalent category, encompassing allegorical, symbolic and ‘real’ mothers, as well as the interaction between these planes. A second point of connection (one that I shall discuss below) is that both yoke together psychoanalysis and Roman maternal representation as ‘natural’ bedfellows; in Oliensis’ case, this is obviously Freudian theory, while Augoustakis’ study draws on Kristeva’s revisionist psychoanalytic ideas.

Augoustakis’ *Motherhood and the Other: Fashioning Female Power in Flavian Epic* treats the intersection of gender and ethnicity in post-Augustan epic, in other words, the relation between the ‘mother’ (purportedly one of the closest bonds humans have, central to the formation of the self, yet as woman also the ‘default other’ in patriarchal society) and the ‘other’ (the foreigner, the stranger, the outsider, the not-I). But more than that, Augoustakis’ concern is the mutating role of both foreignness and femininity-maternity in Flavian epic’s ongoing concern with what it means to be a (male) Roman citizen, as the empire’s frontiers expand to encompass previously unimagined places and peoples. As he observes in his introduction, titled ‘Other and Same: Female Presence in Flavian Epic’ (pp. 1-29), Flavian epic (whether mythological or historical) reverses the centripetal impulse of Vergilian and Ovidian epic action towards Italy and Rome, changing its focus outwards to the edges of the imperial world (Argos/Thebes, Colchis, Africa). At the same time it also amplifies the role of women from earlier epic in both positive and negative ways. As both women and foreigners in Statius’ and Silius’ poems display a *pietas* or *virtus* that is absent or distorted in the corrupted world of (Roman) masculine heroism, boundaries between same and other are destabilised, only to be ultimately reconstituted at the end as the concept of Romanness expands to incorporate ‘elements from outside, which bear the marks both of the radically different—the monstrous—and of Rome’s truest self, that is, its idealised virtues and merits’ (p. 9). Mediating Augoustakis’ understanding of the fluid relation of foreign and feminine other to the imperial Roman self is Kristeva’s rich work on the stranger: both the foreigner or alien in a country or society and the idea of strangeness at the heart of our being (qualities we most fear in ourselves) represent the ‘other’ that we must repress or exile from the conscious self we present to the world.⁸ Much of Kristeva’s work, whether on language, the maternal or the stranger, is concerned with the relationship between identity and difference, with the way in which boundaries between self and other are constructed and shattered. Key to this is her famous notion of the ‘semiotic’: while the symbolic sphere (a Lacanian term) is the paternal realm of language and signification, the semiotic, for Kristeva, describes the pre-Oedipal, bodily drives that exist in opposition to grammatical and linguistic signification (but are necessary for it), and which breaks into the symbolic in genres such as poetry. Kristeva connects the semiotic to the maternal body, which she describes as ‘abject’ (that is, it has to be repressed for the subject to enter into language), and the *chora* (a term drawn from Plato), a womb-like space that precedes language yet helps to generate it.

⁸ J. Kristeva (tr. L. S. Roudiez), *Strangers to Ourselves* (New York 1991) esp. 191f.

In his introduction Augoustakis mentions Kristeva's conception of the maternal body as a 'subject-in-process' and as abject, located at the boundaries of self and other, but the question of the subjectivity of the mother herself, the concern of Kristeva's famous essays '*Stabat Mater*' and 'Motherhood According to Giovanni Bellini' (neither is in the bibliography), is not really his topic. This is partly because, although it offers many illuminating readings of mother figures in Statius and Silius, Augoustakis' book is more concerned with 'otherhood' than 'motherhood' *per se*. Thus the real conceptual underpinnings of Augoustakis' readings are to be found in Kristeva's theories of the foreigner, which woman also emblematises as the alienated 'other' in patriarchal culture: 'In the world of the *Thebaid*, in Kristevan terms, "Woman can *never* feel at home in the symbolic as can man. She becomes the female exile"' (p. 23).⁹ Kristeva's notion of the 'foreigner within us' fits extraordinarily well with Flavian epic and its use of women and non-Roman figures in order to reflect upon and ultimately reformulate conceptions of Roman identity. With one chapter on Statius' *Thebaid* and three on Silius' *Punica* (reflecting its origins as a doctoral dissertation on Silius), Augoustakis' book is a little uneven, and readers will miss a lengthy analysis on Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* (the introduction begins with a brief but suggestive discussion of cosmopolitanism in *Argon.* 7.227-30). But one benefit of addressing the *Punica* in such depth is that he reveals Silius' still underappreciated treatment of *Romanitas* as a complex negotiation between centre and periphery that results in the absorption of the foreign other by the centre; his chapter on Statius, while subtle and insightful, has slightly less groundbreaking conclusions. Moreover, there is a surprisingly organic and productive 'fit' between his theoretical framework and Silius' poem.

Augoustakis launches his analysis proper in chapter 1, 'Mourning Endless: Female Otherness in Statius' *Thebaid*' (pp. 30-91), with a detailed reading of Statius' Hypsipyle. Hypsipyle embodies his concept of '(m)other', combining the marginalised, excluded status of the feminine within patriarchy and the foreigner within a given culture. The ultimate *exul*—non-Theban, non-Argive, woman and slave—Hypsipyle is both failed mother to her biological children and accused of usurping the role of Eurydice, biological mother to Hypsipyle's doomed nurseling Opheltes. She is also displaced in terms of genre, as an elegiac heroine in a martial epic and as an Aeneas-like narrator who tells a tale not of *arma virumque* but of *arma feminaeque*. Hypsipyle, in Augoustakis' reading, stalks the boundaries of Statius' martial narrative, asymbolic, homeless and genreless, her voice both complicit and subversive of the poem in which she intrudes (pp. 20-22). Augoustakis gives a subtle account of the multiple maternal substitutions and displacements in the Hypsipyle episode and the treacherous failure of care that lies at the heart of them all. At the end of the Nemea episode, Augoustakis notes well how Statius returns Hypsipyle to the margins of the action as 'the other, the foreign unsuccessful nurse', silent and frozen in *ecphrasis* despite having dominated the narrative for hundreds of lines. Like

⁹ A. Smith, *Julia Kristeva: Readings of Exile and Estrangement* (New York 1996) 28.

Opheltes' mother Eurydice, who claims all grief for Opheltes for herself and rejects Hypsipyle's story of her *pietas*, the 'poet has reclaimed his own narrative from Hypsipyle's hands'. The second part of the chapter deals with the 'otherness' of the Theban women of the *Thebaid* through their role as lamenters, from the ultimate problematic mother, Jocasta ('warmonger or helpless bystander?'), to the virgin sisters Antigone and Ismene. Represented both as a Fury in her grief and as a virtuous mother who enters the male arena of the battlefield to prevent civil war, Jocasta personifies the oppositional and complementary relation of maternity and war. Her display of maternal grief in the army almost convinces the brothers to behave, but Jocasta's public piety is inevitably hamstrung by the fact that she is the very embodiment of domestic perversion, *Oedipodae confusa domus* ('the confused house of Oedipus', 1.17). Later, however, the contrast between masculine war and feminine lament is more stark: while Atys is killed by the savage Tydeus, the epic perspective shifts to the inner sanctum of the palace, where Atys' fiancée Ismene and sister Antigone—'of a different character' (that is, to their guilty brothers)—utter *querelae* ('complaints') for the evil afflicting their house *longe ab origine fati* ('from Fate's origin far back', 8.610) and Ismene relates her dream of Atys. Augoustakis, in one of the most successful Kristevan readings of his book, likens this sisterly chamber talk to the semiotic *chora*, a resourceful feminine space where they can imagine 'counterfactual scenarios that can only come true in dreams' (p. 71); but I was surprised that he did not make further metapoetic connections between their act of tracing back *longe ab origine* and Statius' reference in the proem of his own quest for a starting point to his epic narrative (*longa retro series*, 'the long sequence in times past', *Theb.* 1.7). The possibility of an alternative—feminine, semiotic—epic of lament seems to rupture the symbolic sphere of Statius' narrative also at the end, where the poet closes his narrative with a description of the Argive women's endless, Bacchic mourning. Such an alternative epic is disavowed, however, by the poet's profession of his powerlessness to relate (*non ego, centena si quis mea pectora laxet voce deus . . . dignis conatibus aequem*, 'not if some god were to loose my breast in a hundred voices could I do justice . . .', 12.797-99) and by the ongoing distinction in the treatment of the Theban and the Argive women, with the latter still left as aliens, on the margins. Rather, the epilogue seeks to rebuild the hierarchical boundaries between Theban and Argive, same and other, masculine and feminine, which earlier parts of the poem had destabilised (p. 89). As Augoustakis notes, at the end of the *Thebaid* the question remains: 'But what about Argos? What about non-Theban (non-Roman?) otherness?' (p. 90).

Augoustakis' complex theoretical frame comes into its own, however, in the ensuing three chapters on Silius' *Punica*, in which he explicates more fully the relation of non-Roman otherness to Romanness and also to sexual otherness. Instead of a seductive threat that must be expiated or expelled to the margins, the *Punica* demonstrates a positive vision of Romanness that comes to incorporate or absorb alternative identities, in particular through the figure of Scipio. Chapter 2, 'Defining the *Other*: From *Altera Patria* to *Tellus Mater* in Silius Italicus' *Punica*' (pp. 92-155),

explores the relationship between paternity and patriotism in the failed or inadequate father-son or *patria*/colony relationships in the earlier books of the poem. Here it is the Romans who fall short, while the enemy Hannibal paradoxically displays truly 'Roman' *virtus*—battle courage and loyalty to ancestors and fatherland. His tragedy of course is that he cannot ever be fully Roman and is thus alienated from himself: 'Hannibal becomes asymbolic, in Kristevan terms, the foreigner that cannot be absorbed by the centre, the other that cannot become same' (p. 24). Yet it is mother figures, 'asymbolic' and therefore autonomous, who are most often the mediators of Silius' interrogations of masculine patriotic identity—for example, Hannibal's feminising adoption of the 'false mother-model', Dido (pp. 94f., 97-100, 154). This process culminates in book 15 in the evocation of Tellus, whose appearance signifies a maternalisation of epic's traditional emphasis on *patria* and masculinity by reconceiving it as a relationship between a powerfully generative motherland and male warrior. Here, in exhorting Claudius Nero to defeat Hasdrubal, Mother Earth acts like an ideal Roman *matron* by providing a secure ground for the successful achievement of Roman heroism (pp. 147-49). Yet in her emphasis on the corruptions that she has suffered at the hands of the Carthaginian armies (*Theb.* 15.530f.) Augoustakis argues that Tellus also dramatises the *interaction* of same and other, the Kristevan idea of the 'familiar potentially tainted with strangeness'.¹⁰

The idea of the mother, 'the motherly, the other element in one's self' (p. 155), is examined more fully in chapter 3, '*Comes Ultima Fati*: Regulus' Encounter with Marcia's Otherness in *Punica* 6' (pp. 156-95), and chapter 4, 'Playing the Same: Roman and Non-Roman Mothers in the *Punica*' (pp. 196-237), which address the role of human mother figures in the poem's reformulation of Romanness and masculinity from Marcia's subversive attempts to persuade her husband Regulus and son Serranus to stay in Rome, which exposes the weakness of Rome's leadership, to Scipio's ghostly mother Pomponia, who exhorts her son towards the ultimate securing of Rome's victory. Chapter 4 also considers non-Roman mothers such as Imilce, Hannibal's wife, who at the end of book 4 tries to stop his sacrifice of their baby son, and Masinissa's mother in book 16. Paradoxically, it is these non-Roman mothers who articulate some of the most powerful visions of 'Romanness' in the poem, yet as women and foreigners they remain liminal figures in the narrative since they are prevented (in Kristevan terms) from moving from the semiotic to the symbolic. The culmination and regeneration of maternity is to be found at last in Pomponia, the Roman mother of Scipio. Pomponia's education of Scipio in the womblike *chora* of the underworld reveals true knowledge of his divine paternity, inspires him (like Anchises does Aeneas) to acts of heroism and bravery, and ensures the survival of the Roman race. Through the prophetic knowledge of Pomponia and Masinissa's mother, Augoustakis argues, Silius posits a new paradigm of Roman motherhood (p. 159), one that authorises the new leader of Rome, regenerates true Roman values, catalyses the subsequent development of empire, and signals, with the arrival of the foreign

¹⁰ Kristeva [8] 183.

goddess Magna Mater, 'the "entrance" of the female into the male symbolic, . . . into language, politics, time, and ultimately culture' (p. 198).

Finally, an epilogue, 'Virgins and (M)others: Appropriations of Same and Other in Flavian Rome' (pp. 238-53), uses the endings of both the *Thebaid* and *Punica* as a basis for considering the importance of the categories of centre and periphery for Domitianic Rome and its programme of moral rejuvenation. Augoustakis draws attention to the emphasis on virginity in Flavian visual art, especially the depiction of the goddess Roma in Flavian art (the Cancellaria reliefs) as an Amazonian warrior along with Minerva and a Vestal virgin, mirrored by the prominence accorded to the Vestal Claudia Quinta at the end of the *Punica*: 'Roma is portrayed as a figure from the periphery, since the periphery provides those examples that the centre has failed to project' (p. 245). While the maternal terms explained in the introduction such as 'semiotic', 'chora' and 'genotext' are liberally deployed throughout the subsequent chapters, often to great effect, on occasion they do seem to slide into loose metaphor rather than emerging as essential to the analysis. This is not a criticism of Augoustakis' nuanced and convincing readings themselves, which are, in the best tradition of studies of Latin epic, alive to linguistic, generic and intertextual detail and their ideological implications. Rather it is, in a way, testament to their plenitude—one sometimes wonders what would be lacking if these Kristevan 'maternal' terms were removed. As mentioned above, this is partly because the book pursues more vigorously and analytically the argument of Kristevan 'otherness'. And it is very successful since by the end, despite occasional moments where references to Kristeva are confusing or superfluous, one feels that Augoustakis has brought these two radically diverse discourses, Flavian epic and Kristevan criticism, together in an organic fashion and has shown them to be mutually interanimating and interbred. Unsurprisingly the result of this union is that Romanness is shown to be a far more fraught, decentred notion than it could ever admit to, yet Augoustakis for the most part avoids vagueness and gives a coherent and powerful account of the shapes and forms of its bugbears and of the solutions that the Flavians devised to control them. At all times loyal attention to historical and literary context is a useful moderating tool to Kristevan generalisation and reminds us of the specificity of the Flavian context; yet Kristeva enables Augoustakis to escape it too to the extent that Roman concerns with Carthage/otherness are seen to echo and foreshadow a larger pattern of anxieties down the centuries in imperial constructions of identity, centre and periphery.

Augoustakis' book is admirably consistent in its use of its theoretical frame without allowing it to overwhelm the particularity of the ancient material, and as such he successfully demonstrates one way of superseding the traditional ambivalence about 'theory' that persists in classical studies. If critical theory and psychoanalysis in particular has been absorbed by Latin criticism yet often seems uncomfortably 'other' to the precise and contextualised study required of ancient texts, one of the satisfactions of Ellen Oliensis' *Freud's Rome: Psychoanalysis and Latin Poetry* is that it addresses this psychic tension head on; the classicist's dilemma becomes the vim of her critical process. Her admissions of ambivalence and uncertainty regarding the

usefulness or ‘relevance’ of psychoanalytic theory to Latin literature when introducing a book dedicated to that very topic (‘Introduction: Psychoanalysis and Latin Poetry’, pp. 1-13) will resonate with many who are drawn to psychoanalysis but wary of its easy tendency to universalise and to elide culture, text and psyche. Her tone is admirably ascetic: with her disciplinary attention to historical context and philological detail, she refuses to be seduced by the potent claims to truth of psychoanalytic theory. At the same time, however, she is intrigued by its interpretive and aesthetic potential and its powerful implications for reading. In her introduction Oliensis puts forward a compelling, accessible case for why psychoanalysis has something to offer our understanding of Roman texts, not necessarily in its details but rather in its emphasis on the importance of sexuality, broadly conceived, and the unconscious. Running through the options of ‘whose’ unconscious this might be (the author’s? the reader’s? a character’s in the text? Rome’s cultural unconscious?), she finds them all problematic in some way partly because they are attempts to separate hierarchically all the components that contribute towards textual meaning. As a kind of working solution, Oliensis proposes the all-encompassing notion of a ‘textual subconscious’: ‘an unconscious that tends to wander at will, taking up residence now with a character, now with a narrator, now with the impersonal narration, and sometimes flirting with an authorial or cultural address’ (p. 6). Yet at the heart of this debate lies the question of authorial intent, for many a zero-sum game: either the author is totally in control or something else is. Yet Oliensis goes on to ask, through examples from recent readings in Latin poetry, does it matter for interpretability? The point of an unconscious meaning is that it can coexist with (albeit in repressed form) rather than supersede, the intentional, crafted sense. As I have mentioned, part of the strength of Oliensis’ work is its willingness to expose its own equivocations and to find in them a productive means of going forward: the refusal to see a hierarchy between text and the abstract drives of the unconscious is what leads her back to Freud, rather than to Lacan, while her belief that texts are not simply ‘reducible to their “hidden meanings”’ motivates the persistent expressions of qualification and the ‘as if’s as ‘an indispensable part of the picture’ (p.12f.).

Oliensis’ three subsequent chapters cover key terms in Freudian psychoanalysis: the mourning or elegiac motifs that irrupt in non-elegiac texts such as Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* 10 and Catullus 68 and 68b (chapter 1, ‘Two Poets Mourning’, pp. 14-56); the representation of motherhood in Vergilian epic and Ovid’s story of Procne and Philomela in *Metamorphoses* 6 (chapter 2, ‘Murdering Mothers’, pp. 57-91); and the phallus or, more precisely, castration anxiety and penis envy in Catullus 63 and Ovid’s narrative of Scylla, daughter of Nisus (chapter 3, ‘Variations on a Phallic Theme’, pp. 92-126). In his notion of the *unheimlich* (‘uncanny’), Freud ‘does not speak of foreigners: he teaches us to how to detect foreignness in ourselves’, as Kristeva reminds us.¹¹ The ‘Afterword: Freud’s Rome’ (pp. 127-36) discusses ‘the interaction between the *Aeneid* and *Civilization and Its Discontents*’ (p. 132).

¹¹ Kristeva [8] 191.

In her second chapter, on motherhood in Vergilian and Ovidian epic (on which I shall focus in this essay), Oliensis shows how the ambiguously depicted mothers of the *Aeneid* emblemise the uncanny or unconscious drives that Vergilian epic seeks to disavow or repress in its smooth narrative of Roman foundation and patriliney. Oliensis points toward textual evidence of a ‘repressed’ *Aeneid*, where mothers are submerged under the force of the main narrative thrust by being either diffused into other female characters or elided altogether. Yet through readings of the subtexts of incestuous and murderous desire circulating in episodes concerning figures such as Dido, Amata and Venus, as well as in the appearances of figures such as Cybele, Oliensis shows how anxiety surrounding the maternal breaks through the textual surface often through dissonant allusions to tragic figures such as the matricide Orestes or the murderous mothers of the *Bacchae* or *Medea*. Thus Aeneas’ protest to his retreating mother Venus in the *Aeneid*—*crudelis tu quoque* (‘you also, cruel’, 1.407)—is a direct quote from Vergil’s *Eclogues* (8.48), in which it appears in the context of the infanticidal Medea; but Vergil surely did not want us to think of Venus *genetrix* as a Medea? Another example is the frenzy of the Trojan mothers who set fire to the ships in book 5; their aim is not to disrupt civil society but to set down roots and end their perpetual wanderings; nevertheless the description of them as *furor conclamant* (‘they shout in fury’, *Aen.* 5.659f.) and *rapiuntque focis penetralibus ignem* (‘they seize fire from the innermost hearth’, 5.660) evokes not just Bacchantes but also the description of Orestes fleeing the *armatam facibus matrem* (‘mother armed with torches’, 4.472) in Dido’s fevered dream. In a particularly sharp exemplification of the principle of the textual unconscious, at the moment Ascanius successfully brings the women to their senses by shouting *en, ego vester / Ascanius!* (‘Look here I am, your Ascanius’, 5.672f.) and tearing off his helmet, Oliensis notes an uncanny mirroring of the Euripidean scene when Pentheus tears off of his woman’s fillet and cries, ἐγὼ τοι, μήτηρ, εἰμὶ, παῖς σέθεν / Πενθεύς (‘let me tell you, mother, that I am your son Pentheus’, *Bacch.* 1118f.); even though, of course, the situation with Ascanius is nowhere close to dismemberment, the women do recognise him (unlike Agave, who does not recognise Pentheus) and the potentially violent tragedy is diffused (p. 69). Here, it seems, reading the *Aeneid* for and about mothers involves reading between the lines for unresolved or glossed-over ambiguities: marginalised or suppressed references beyond the obvious or literal context ripple beneath the surface. Since such subtextual references almost obsessively link mothers with murder, infanticide, incest and madness, Oliensis, reading Vergil through Freud (and Freud’s own suppression of the mother in his Oedipal narrative), suggests that these combine to form the idea of a ‘mother complex’ in Vergil—a persistent, unfixed disquiet surrounding the figure of the mother in this foundational epic of (escaping) origins and an inability or a lack of desire on the part of his poem to control and delimit her shadowy, proliferating and undermining presence. Oliensis goes on to suggest that we might find in Vergil a maternalised vision of the ‘paternalised’ epic tradition, one not conceived as an agonistic rivalry between poet fathers and sons (the Bloomian model) but reworked in Kleinian terms around ‘the complementary dangers of absorption and

sparagmos. One scatters the mother-text so as not to be scattered or swallowed up by her' (p. 76).

Real rather than imagined dismemberment at the hands of the mother is the subject of Ovid's story of Philomela, Procne and Tereus. But, in this case, it is not the actual mother, Procne, but her sister Philomela who is the object of Oliensis' analytic gaze. Oliensis argues that the narrative of Philomela displaces the motif of motherhood and reproduction into political allegory. Unlike most of Ovid's rapes, Tereus' rape of Philomela fails to produce offspring. Instead Philomela's confinement produces a 'brainchild', the tapestry she weaves to tell the story of her rape, but also her 'free speech', Philomela's outspoken protests, which leads to the severing of her tongue (pp. 80-82). While in this sense she is akin to Livy's Lucretia (producing *libertas*, 'liberty', rather than *liberi*, 'children' [pp. 82f.]), in her determination to resist the tyrant in her own words, Philomela herself takes on the role of a Brutus or Cicero and thereby radically flouts the convention that women should not speak publicly, least of all about the violation of their *pudor* ('modesty'). Thus Ovid's story ends by reversing the movement of Livy's Lucretia story from real motherhood towards the symbolic motherhood of freedom: instead Philomela punishes the tyrant by 'impregnating' him with his real child. Concluding with a consideration of the one mother who was worshipped for her fecundity publicly by the Romans, the goddess Cybele, yet whose followers were foreign *castrati*, Oliensis ponders the 'surplus of ambivalence that attends the image of the mother, even the divine mother [of] Rome herself' (p. 91).

Oliensis' own ambivalence about reading Rome psychoanalytically ends up producing one of the most powerful arguments that I have read for the role of psychoanalysis in Classics, and her refusal to ignore the difficulties is refreshing. Yet even without her metatheoretical justifications, Oliensis' wonderful readings of the ancient texts, such as her moving interpretation of Catullus 68 or her account of the anxiety surrounding the mother at the heart of Roman foundation narratives, are testaments in themselves to the fruitfulness of such an enterprise. So why the angst? Is it really all to do with anachronism, with the application of a model devised for the modern 'nuclear' family to an ancient society composed of diverse familial structures? The question of anachronism and historical specificity is only addressed head-on in Oliensis' chapter on mothers (pp. 57-60). While acknowledging differences between Roman and modern maternal ideologies and realities, Oliensis gets around these by positing a fundamental similarity between *fantasies* of what constituted the family in Rome and the modern west. In this she follows the claims of historians such as Shaw and Saller that Roman families, despite the involvement of slaves and wet nurses in the intimacies of child development, were at least *understood* as a modern-style nucleus of parents and children; thus the Freudian model echoes a Roman cultural, if not material, reality.¹² By analogy she evokes Shaw's argument that the severe,

¹² B. Shaw, 'Raising and Killing Children: Two Roman Myths', *Mnemosyne* 54 (2001) 57; R. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family* (Cambridge 1994).

authoritarian Roman father was merely an idea and not a reality. Scholars of Roman social history, however, have by no means reached consensus on how the Romans perceived their families but rather are still vigorously debating the issue—just as they are also not agreed on the reality, psychic or social, of the brutal father—and new evidence and arguments for and against are still coming to light. Saller's and Shaw's arguments usefully push the Roman family, in psychic if not social form, closer to that of contemporary neuroses, but they also sanitise the possibility of real, and even sanctioned, brutality within its supposedly secure borders and minimise some of the real differences in family configuration and values that undeniably existed between Roman and nineteenth- and twentieth-century forms of kinship and within different periods and regions of the Roman empire itself. In a book that explicitly rejects the truth-value of Freud's Oedipal paradigm for understanding modern family dynamics and which is predominantly concerned with psychoanalysis as a mode of reading, however, Oliensis' characteristically formalist solution is a reasonable one—that whatever the material realities, some kind of 'repression' has to happen 'so that textuality can flower over its grave' (p. 61)—and is borne out by her analysis of Vergil's undeniably problematic mothers. But I could not help wishing that she had turned her shrewd eye in greater detail to the problems and potential of more recent psychoanalytic theory, influenced by Lacan and object relations, which has emphasised that the Oedipal triangle comprises figurative or constructed positions and the 'laws' that govern them, not biological or literal paternity, maternity or consanguinity, mentioned by Oliensis (p. 60). Indeed, for all her productive fascination with a return to Freud (which this reviewer shares), Oliensis' take on Vergil's and Ovid's mothers—as both threatening and disavowed—resonates more with the revisionist concerns of post-Freudian psychoanalytic criticism (she admits this by calling her reading of Vergil 'Kleinian'), which has sought to fill in the gaps or expose what is occluded in Freud's Oedipal narrative: the incrimination of female sexuality through the projection of a lacking and/or devouring mother; the 'paranoid' supplement to the Oedipus complex in which the son becomes the abused/sodomised/castrated victim of the vengeful father.¹³

The issue of anachronism between modern theories and ancient context or the gap in our knowledge of what constitutes the 'real' and 'imaginary' in past cultures, is a hurdle that some medieval and Renaissance scholars have addressed imaginatively some time ago, if the plethora of psychoanalytically informed studies of gender and the maternal in these literatures are anything to go by. Both these pre-modern periods share with the Roman radically different notions of reproduction, the female body, religion and kinship to those of modernity; yet quite a few of these psychoanalytic studies have been able to think productively about cultural and historical differences

¹³ See, e.g., J. Rose, 'Sexuality in the Reading of Shakespeare: *Hamlet* and *Measure for Measure*', in J. Drakakis (ed.), *Alternative Shakespeares* (London 1985) 95-188.

without diminishing them or being overwhelmed by them¹⁴ and have viewed the relationship as potentially illuminating in both directions. As Oliensis herself argues, psychoanalysis may have fallen short in its grand claims to scientific truth and therapeutic efficacy, but it has offered us, as readers of texts and signs, more interpretive possibilities than even Freud himself could have conceived. Indeed, by devoting a chapter to motherhood in a book on Freud and Latin literature, Oliensis is aware of this very irony, since in privileging the father and the son in his drama of psychic and cultural development, Freud himself went to some lengths to avoid the issue of the maternal. (Indeed, Sprengnether has powerfully shown that in Freud's writings the mother's active influence on the pre-Oedipal subject is repressed but she returns as a 'spectre' to haunt and disrupt his psychoanalytic theories and the structures of normative patriarchal ordering.¹⁵)

Oliensis' ambivalent attempts to grapple with anachronism and the problematic 'truth value' of psychoanalysis are by no means the only way of addressing these hurdles: Augoustakis' unapologetic appropriation of a Kristevan 'lens' is one; Shakespearean scholars such as Rose, who see pre-modern texts as subverting classic Freudian theory, offer another; those who champion a dialectical, interanimating approach offer a third; nor do the possibilities end there. But her treatment stands out in the field of Classics for its critical honesty, intellectual rigour and loyalty both to the ancient texts and to Classics as a discipline. Indeed, rather than compromising the specific virtues of classical scholarship in favour of the seductions of psychoanalysis, she draws on these very virtues to examine the interpretive possibilities of psychoanalysis for Rome. Oliensis' interrogations reveal evocative and sometimes surprising meanings in old, well-trodden poems, yet she builds her stirring readings through precise, carefully hedged, text-based arguments, which even the most theory-averse Latinist would have to work hard to disavow. As such, she has made a fundamental contribution to the increasing volume of classical scholarship that attempts to engage with modern literary theories and methodologies, including (but not only) psychoanalysis—I expect to see numerous citations of her account of the 'textual subconscious' from now on. But she has raised the bar too by some measure: Oliensis' achievement suggests that it may no longer be quite enough to 'cite', vaguely or in passing, the 'authority' of Lacan/Freud/Derrida/(insert relevant name here) without digging deeper either by self-conscious reflection on their interpretive potential (or not) for classical texts or by demonstrating it in action.¹⁶ Her book is therefore an interesting conclusion to Cambridge University Press' major series

¹⁴ See, as a tiny sample, the works of Peggy McCracken, Theresa Krier, David Hillman or Lyn Enterline.

¹⁵ M. Sprengnether, *The Spectral Mother: Freud, Feminism and Psychoanalysis* (Cornell 1992).

¹⁶ On the politics of 'citation' in Classics, see R. Fletcher, 'Kristeva's Novel: Genealogy, Genre, and Theory', in R. B. Branham (ed.), *The Bakhtin Circle and Ancient Narrative* (Groningen 2005) 111-18.

devoted to dialectic engagements between classics and other schools of thought in the humanities. While all the books in the series have shown the influence of contemporary critical theories, Oliensis' is one of the few that conducts a sustained interrogation of the potential relationship between a particular theoretical paradigm and classical texts and/or scholarship (her introduction can be fruitfully read alongside that of Martindale's *Redeeming the Text* in the same series¹⁷). I only hope that it is not the end of the conversation but sparks off a whole series of new arguments and counter-arguments on mothers and lovers, psychoanalysis and Rome, ancient texts and literary theory.

In Freud's classic essay 'On Negation', he illustrates the unconscious logic of his topic, negation, with the example of the analysand who protested, 'You ask who this person in the dream can be. It's not my mother'. Freud's interpretation? 'We emend this to: "So it is his mother"'.¹⁸ Despite the plethora of mothers in Latin poetry, perhaps one of the reasons that the maternal has had so little critical press in Roman studies and seems to have been almost avoided until recently, at least, is because it lends itself so productively, so seemingly inexorably, to a psychoanalytic mode of interpretation—to reading between the lines, under the covers, in the interstices of the dominant narrative, seeking what is unsaid, suppressed, negated, condensed and metaphorised, as well as what is explicit and literal. To talk about mothers in Latin poetry, it seems, entails facing up to (the relevance of and the problems with) psychoanalytical theory itself. Thankfully, these two books suggest an end to such negation.

A VADEMECUM FOR VERGIL

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Joseph Farrell and Michael C. J. Putnam (edd.), *A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and Its Tradition*. Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. Pp. xvii + 559, incl. 31 figures and 8 plates. ISBN 978-1-4051-7577-7. GBP125/USD150.

There seems to be an *imperium sine fine* for the Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World. In the present volume Joseph Farrell and Michael Putnam gather over thirty chapters on the reception of Vergil's *Aeneid*. In their introduction they proffer a

¹⁷ C. Martindale, *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception* (Cambridge 1993).

¹⁸ S. Freud, 'Negation', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* 19: *The Ego and the Id and Other Works* (1925) 235.

rather bold claim: 'Our view is that a new *Aeneid* companion could be warranted only if it did not tread well-worn paths, and that, if it succeeded in illuminating unexpected avenues of approach, then it would more than validate its existence' (p. 1). Let us take them up. (Since a detailed review of all the chapters would be longer than the *Aeneid* itself, I will pick out favourites.)

Part I, 'The *Aeneid* in Antiquity' (pp. 11-120), covers eight chapters. Damien P. Nelis, chapter 1, 'Vergil's Library' (pp. 13-25), asks some practical questions (without always being able to answer them): 'Did he compose with scrolls open on his desk? Did he have a desk? Did he rely on his memory? Or did slaves check up passages for him? Did he dictate to a scribe?' (p. 14); and he lists an appendix with all of Vergil's sources. Ralph Hexter, chapter 2, 'On First Looking into Vergil's Homer' (pp. 26-36), turns to the influence of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and the state of Homeric scholarship in Vergil's time, when an 'aporetic' Homer had emerged. But Hexter is revealing no realms of gold here. Sergio Casali, chapter 3, 'The Development of the Aeneas Legend' (pp. 37-51), looks at the remarkable ordering that Vergil imposed on the mythological cacophony of the Aeneas version. Vassiliki Panoussi, chapter 4, 'Aeneas' Sacral Authority' (pp. 52-65), links the epic to the religious revival instigated by Augustus.

J. D. Reed, chapter 5, 'Vergil's Roman' (pp. 66-79), considers the question of ethnic purity: 'Often the Roman self is cleanly opposed to an Oriental "other"—suggesting a Carthaginian identity narrowly avoided, an Egyptian identity rejected along with Antony's alliance with Cleopatra, or a Trojan identity left behind' (p. 67). Yet ultimately 'the "ideal Roman" is perpetually deferred' (p. 72). Michael C. J. Putnam, chapter 6, 'Vergil, Ovid, and the Poetry of Exile' (pp. 80-95), studies Vergilian and Ovidian intertextuality, such as Ovid's affiliation with Aeneas' antagonist Turnus and the transfer of epic into elegy and of pastoral into lament. James J. O'Hara, chapter 7, 'The Unfinished *Aeneid*?' (pp. 96-106), nicely (and wittily) sums up some of the poem's inconsistencies: 'In the *Aeneid* we read that Aeneas will have a son in old age, and that he has only three more years on earth; that Helen both openly helped the Greeks enter Troy, and (if Vergil wrote that passage) that she cowered in hiding in fear of punishment; that Aeneas' Trojan son Ascanius will be the ancestor of the Alban Kings, and that his half-Italian son Silvius will be; that Theseus escaped from the underworld, and that he is still there; that the Italians were peaceful before the arrival of the Trojans and that they were warlike; that Aeneas is fighting on the side of Jupiter, and that he is like a monster fighting against Jupiter; that Palinurus fell from Aeneas' ship the day before Aeneas met him in the underworld, and that he fell three or four days before; that Aeneas will impose customs on the Italians he conquers in Italy, and that the Italians will keep their own customs; that Jupiter both predicted and forbade the war in Italy, and that he both was impartial and gave help to one side; that the golden bough will yield willingly and easily or not at all, but then that it yields only hesitantly to Aeneas' (p. 101). Still, the epic's incompleteness has been exaggerated (due to modern readers' romantic predilection for the fragmentary and imperfect?). This essay is jargon-free and helpful

to a wide audience. Fabio Stok, chapter 8, 'The Life of Vergil before Donatus' (pp. 107-20), explores Vergil's shaky biography by focusing on Suetonius' sources and successors. Again, Stok's survey fleshes out the main issues in a reader-friendly way.

Part II, 'Medieval and Renaissance Receptions' (pp. 121-50), comprises nine chapters. Garry Wills, chapter 9, 'Vergil and St. Augustine' (pp. 123-32), revisits Augustine's famous fascination with and scepticism about the *Aeneid* and pagan literature in general. Sarah Spence, chapter 10, '*Felix Casus*: The Dares and Dictys Legends of Aeneas' (pp. 133-46) introduces Dares of Phrygia and Dictys of Crete and their 'Rosencrantz-and-Guildenstern adaptation of the main myth' (p. 133), which casts Aeneas as a satanic scoundrel and tyrannical traitor. Remarkably, their version was as popular—and even more authoritative—in the Middle Ages as the 'official' account and clearly informed the *Chanson de Roland*. Once again we see the inexhaustible variety of Aeneas' *Nachleben*. Rachel Jacoff, chapter 11, 'Vergil in Dante' (pp. 147-57), traces Dante's engagement with his pagan forefathers, including also Homer, Ovid, Lucan, Horace, Cato, Statius and others. Dennis Looney, chapter 12, 'Marvelous Vergil in the Ferrarese Renaissance' (pp. 158-72), turns to Matteo Maria Boiardo's *Orlando inammorato*, Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* and Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* and how these vernacular epics/romances transform Vergilian passages of wonder and awe—*la meraviglia*—thus paving the way for the aesthetic category of the sublime in later centuries. Philip Hardie, chapter 13, 'Spenser's Vergil: *The Faerie Queene* and the *Aeneid*' (pp. 173-85), and Henry Power, chapter 14, 'The *Aeneid* in the Age of Milton' (pp. 186-202), discuss Vergil's role in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Yasmin Haskell, chapter 15, 'Practicing What They Preach? Vergil and the Jesuits' (pp. 203-16) sets out to establish 'the ideological DNA driving the spectacular profusion of Jesuit Latin verse in the early modern period and manifesting itself in a sometimes bizarre hybridization of classical forms' (p. 204) and maintains that Vergil embodied their primary didactic model.

Andrew Laird, chapter 16, 'The *Aeneid* from the Aztecs to the Dark Virgin: Vergil, Native Tradition, and Latin Poetry in Colonial Mexico from Sahagún's *Memoriales* (1563) to Villerías' *Guadalupe* (1724)' (pp. 217-33), breaks new ground in covering Mexico, where the earliest colonisers arrived fully equipped with classical education. The miraculous apparition of the Lady of Guadalupe in 1531 endowed the creole population with a 'manifest destiny', to be celebrated in the epic *Guadalupe*, which fuses Greco-Roman myth, an Aztec indigenous legacy and Christian symbolism. Craig Kallendorf, chapter 17, 'Vergil and Printed Books, 1500-1800' (pp. 234-50), posits that 'how we read Vergil's poetry now cannot be extricated from how it was read in the past' (p. 234). He then attempts to clarify a central issue in modern criticism, namely optimistic versus pessimistic interpretations. While early readers favoured an optimistic approach, which often facilitated imperial expansion, there is also a history of the *Aeneid* serving revolutionary or republican causes, such as in Victor Alexandre Chrétien Le Plat du Temple, *Virgile en France* (1807-1808),

which was deemed so subversive that Napoleon had (almost) all copies seized. Several illustrations are included here.

Part III, 'The *Aeneid* in Music and the Visual Arts' (pp. 251-352), comprises six chapters. Ingrid Rowland, chapter 18, 'Vergil and the Pamphili Family in Piazza Navona, Rome' (pp. 253-69), considers the propaganda inherent in Pietro da Cortona's frescoes in the Palazzo Pamphili, which depict scenes from the *Aeneid* (eleven books adorned the gallery, while book 4 embellished the bedroom) and in the Fountain of the Four Rivers by Gian Lorenzo Bernini. Lavishly illustrated, this is a delightful essay, ranging from Junoesque mothers and ambassadorial bedrooms to flamboyant monks and Pope Benedict XVI's red (Prada) shoes. Reuben A. Brower, chapter 19, 'Visual and Verbal Translation of Myth: Neptune in Vergil, Rubens, and Dryden' (pp. 270-89), compares literary and artistic versions of the storm scene in book 1. Kristi Eastin, chapter 20, 'The *Aeneas* of Vergil: A Dramatic Performance Presented in the Original Latin by John Ogilby' (pp. 290-310), analyses the first complete English translation with illustrations by Dutch artist Francis Cleyn (later to be incorporated into the Dryden edition). Ogilby combined text and image into a kind of multi-media play.

David Blayney Brown, chapter 21, 'Empire and Exile: Vergil in Romantic Art' (pp. 311-24), accompanied by beautiful colour plates, considers painters J. M. W. Turner, Anne-Louis Girodet, William Blake and Samuel Palmer, and establishes Vergil's protean appeal: 'At the time of the collapse of the *ancien régime*, Britain's loss of the American colonies and the coming of independence, the wars with revolutionary France and the rise and later the fall of Napoleon and ensuing century of British hegemony, Vergil's epic was rich in parallels. . . . But of course the *Aeneid* is not only about public affairs; it is also a very human story of penetrating psychological insight, reaching into the heart and the unconscious mind' (p. 312). Glenn W. Most, chapter 22, 'Laocoons' (pp. 325-40), is interested in the famous (Rhodian) Laocoon statue found on the Esquiline. Most guesses that it may represent the first artistic response to the *Aeneid*. Subsequently, in the sculpture 'spectacle and pain, prodigy and humanity, intersect at the very limit of what readers are willing to imagine and what viewers are desperate to see; the inevitable result is an aesthetic phenomenon that, by reason of its very intolerability, teeters on the edge of parody and humor, and at least sometimes falls in' (p. 339). William Fitzgerald, chapter 23, 'Vergil in Music' (pp. 341-52), summarises Vergilian moments in the history of western music by ranging from a jocund Martin Luther to Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* (ca. 1689) and Hector Berlioz's *Les Troyens* (composed 1856-1859, first performed complete in 1968).

Part IV, 'The American *Aeneid*' (pp. 353-418), collects five chapters. Carl J. Richard, chapter 24, 'Vergil and the Early American Republic' (pp. 355-65), establishes the Founding Fathers thorough classical education. Vergil, though, posed a problem, for how 'democratic' is a writer in the service of an emperor? Caroline Winterer, chapter 25, 'Why Did American Women Read the *Aeneid*?' (pp. 366-75), asks an intriguing question. Vergil's core values of warfare, destiny, empire . . . hardly

applied to American women in the nineteenth century or were denied to them: ‘a bit of classical learning was fetching and a lot a recipe for spinsterhood’ (p. 370). Winterer then examines the reactions that Anne Bradstreet, Phillis Wheatley, Margaret Fuller and the daughters of Thomas Jefferson and Ralph Waldo Emerson registered to the *Aeneid* and ends with Sarah Ruden’s translation of 2008, the first version published by a woman. Michele Valerie Ronnick, chapter 26, ‘Vergil in the Black American Experience’ (pp. 376-90), gathers a lot of specific examples, such as classical first names for African-American athletes, the blatant racism of South Carolina Senator John Calhoun (‘If [I] could find a Negro who knew the Greek syntax, [I] would then believe that the Negro was a human being and should be treated as a man’ [p. 380]), a Vergilian narrative of homecoming during Reconstruction, black students and teachers in the classics discipline, and Gwendolyn Brooks’ *Anniad*. This is an original account that paves the way for future scholarship.

Michèle Lowrie, chapter 27, ‘Vergil and Founding Violence’ (pp. 391-403), wonders: ‘The Roman Republic has been exemplary for the American Constitution, the Roman Empire for fascism, for the American Empire, and possibly for the European Union. Not one of these exemplary acts misinterprets Rome, and yet they cannot be valid in all respects at the same time’ (p. 391). Critiquing the work of Walter Benjamin and Hannah Arendt, Lowrie painstakingly sifts through the *Aeneid*’s tangled web of violence and human and divine agency, but there is no connection to the United States here. Joy Connolly, chapter 28, ‘Figuring the Founder: Vergil and the Challenge of Autocracy’ (pp. 404-18), revisits the debate of whether Aeneas’ slaying of Turnus is a violation of *pietas*, especially as imposed by Anchises: *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* (‘to spare the subject and to vanquish the proud’, Verg. *Aen.* 6.853). She proffers the compromise of a new heroic model: ‘a figure suspended between assertion and abjection, a figure commanded to obey who enacts obedience through delay, distraction, and the simple act of turning aside’ (p. 406).

Part V, ‘Modern Reactions to the *Aeneid*’ (pp. 419-81), ends the volume with four chapters. Kenneth Haynes, chapter 29, ‘Classic Vergil’ (pp. 421-34), draws on Christian Gottlob Heyne’s editions that provided ‘background’ information on ancient Rome, Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve’s lectures on Vergil as the forefather of the French, and T. S. Eliot’s classic essay ‘What is a Classic?’ on the *Aeneid* as the core of European civilisation. Needless to say, later generations will be more sceptical about conferring ‘classic’ status on any author. And this is where Joseph Farrell, chapter 30, ‘Vergil’s Detractors’ (pp. 435-48), picks up by listing a barrage of Vergil bashing through the ages: *ad hominem* attacks, the *Aeneid* as draft-like and derivative, and Augustan propaganda. This piece could have been more helpful as a classroom exercise, for while all these instances have been addressed in the secondary literature, how should a teacher deal with them? Susanna Morton Braund, chapter 31, ‘Mind the Gap: On Foreignizing Translations of the *Aeneid*’ (pp. 449-64), studies a Russian, a French and an English (by Fredrick Ahl, 2007) translation, each of which aims to convey the Latin text’s alienness; that is, it subscribes to formal fidelity rather than readability. Ahl, for example, prefers Anglo-Saxon roots, retains the same number of

lines as the Latin original and writes in metre, which gives us the following first seven lines (p. 462):

Arms and the man I sing of Troy, who first from its seashores,
Italy-bound, fate's refugee, arrived at Lavinia's Coastlands.
How he was battered about over land, over high deep
Seas by the powers above! Savage Juno's anger remembered
Him, and he suffered profoundly in war to establish a city,
Settle his gods into Latium, making this land of the Latins
Future home to the Elders of Alba and Rome's mighty ramparts.

Karl Kirchwey, chapter 32, 'Vergil's *Aeneid* and Contemporary Poetry' (pp. 465-81), quotes Robert Lowell, Allen Tate, Eavan Boland, W. H. Auden, Rosanna Warren, Louise Glück and Mark Strand. All these poets can also be found in Nina Kossman's *Gods and Mortals: Modern Poems on Classical Myths*.¹⁹

A massive fifty-page bibliography concludes the tome. All the articles are helpful, accessible and well written, but only a few offer 'unexpected avenues of approach' (p. 1). If there were to be a second edition, some useful topics that could be added are pedagogy, *Nachleben* in non-western countries and Vergil in popular culture: there is Vergil's Cream Soda, the *Battlestar Galactica* TV series with supposedly Vergilian undertones, *Doctor Who* as a modern Aeneas, and the comic strip *Aeneas in da 'Hood*. The *New York Times* reports that the future National September 11 Memorial Museum underneath the former site of the twin towers will feature a haunting line from the *Aeneid* studded in steel from the World Trade Center: *nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo* ('No Day Shall Erase You from the Memory of Time, 9.447').²⁰ Controversy has arisen whether the museum should include the remains of the victims and, if so, whether those remains should be visible to the public or to families only. People opposed to displaying openly the remains have seized on the significance of Vergil's line by arguing that museum officials plan to exhibit the remains rather than keep them hidden: 'they are essentially incorporating the human remains into the visitor experience', said Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, an expert on the repatriation of native American remains.

¹⁹ N. Kossman (ed.), *Gods and Mortals: Modern Poems on Classical Myths* (Oxford 2001).

²⁰ A. Hartocollis, 'For 9/11 Museum, Dispute Over Victims' Remains', *New York Times* (3 April 2011) MB1.

REVIEWS

Scholia has published solicited (and occasionally unsolicited) short reviews during the twenty years of the series.

Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones and James Robson (edd. and trr.), *Ctesias' History of Persia: Tales of the Orient*. Oxford: Routledge, 2010. Pp. x + 253, incl. 8 black-and-white illustrations, 3 family trees, 1 map and 3 appendices. ISBN 978-0-415-36411-9. USD120.

It is not very often that one picks up a book that undersells itself. The authors, Llewellyn-Jones and Robson cite two objectives in the opening pages: 'to raise awareness of Ctesias' and to 'address the hindrance faced by students by providing an English-language translation of all the available material from the *Persica*'. However, any potential reader, be they student, professional academic or layman, with an interest in Greek and/or Persian history and/or historiography and/or Greek literature more generally should add *Ctesias' History of Persia: Tales of the Orient* to their reading list or even to their library.

We are told at the outset of the introduction that 'Ctesias of Cnidus is a little known figure' (p. 1). While it may be a little pedantic, we should probably add the caveat 'in the Anglophone world', though Llewellyn-Jones and Robson do go on to stress the availability of translations of the *Persica* in languages other than English. German readers could turn to Jacoby's extensive entry in the *Real-Encyclopädie* and his collection of the fragments of Ctesias in volume 3C of *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, or more recently König's *Die Persika des Ktesias*, while French readers have Lenfant's *Ctésias de Cnide*.¹ Finally, it would be unfair to forget the efforts of J. M. Bigwood who, in a series of articles, devoted much energy to developing our understanding of this 'little known figure'.² More recently, indeed it may have been a dead heat with the book currently under review, Stronk produced

¹ F. Jacoby, in A. Pauly, G. Wissowa *et al.* (edd.), *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1893-1980) 11 cols 2032-073 s.v. 'Ktesias'; *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* 3C 416-517 (Leiden 1958) 688 T 1-19, F 1-74: 'Ktesias von Knidos'; F. W. König, (ed.) *Die Persika des Ktesias von Knidos* (Graz 1972); D. Lenfant (ed.), *Ctésias de Cnide: la Perse, l'Inde, autres fragments* (Paris 2004). It is a little surprising that A. Nichols, *The Complete Fragments of Ctesias of Cnidus: A Translation and Commentary with an Introduction* (PhD diss. Florida 2008), though unpublished, is not cited in the bibliography.

² E.g., J. M. Bigwood, 'Ctesias as Historian of the Persian Wars', *Phoenix* 32 (1978) 19-41.

Ctesias' Persian History: Introduction, Text and Translation.³ Notwithstanding those comments, Ctesias remains shrouded in mist. Such, however, is the fate of any Greek historian who is not part of the gang of four (Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon or Polybius) who have dominated the field almost from the beginning. If I may digress momentarily, Llewellyn-Jones and Robson name Plutarch as one of the 'four "greats" of Greek history writing' (p. 1). I can only assume that Polybius has morphed somehow into Plutarch. Plutarch was many things, but he did not write history, as he himself explains in his *Alexander* (1.2).

The book opens with an extensive introduction and an outline of the *History of Persia*, which is then followed by a translation of the *testimonia* on and fragments from Ctesias' *Persica*. Three appendices bring the book to a close. Indeed, if they achieved nothing more than providing a modern English translation of Ctesias' *Persica*, Llewellyn-Jones and Robson would deserve credit. In fact, they have achieved much more. Not only do we have a new translation but in the introductory material Llewellyn-Jones and Robson provide an excellent overview of the scholarship on Ctesias, which will be of benefit to anyone who is new to this particular area. Without wishing to undermine the value of the introduction as a whole, I suggest that the most useful aspect of the introduction is the reappraisal of the most basic assumptions concerning Ctesias and his work. Very often it is from these most basic assumptions that misunderstandings flourish. Llewellyn-Jones and Robson have achieved much in assembling material from which new readers of the *Persica* will be able 'to draw their own conclusions about the validity of his history' (p. 7).

The text on which the translation is based is that of Lenfant in the Budé series.⁴ While it may seem at first a little tangential, some discussion of this edition is necessary. Lenfant's edition of the text is now considered the *editio maior*. In addition, she did utilise the numbering found in Jacoby though, as Llewellyn-Jones and Robson state, 'the text cited by Lenfant is sometimes more protracted than that found in Jacoby' (p. 93). Beneath this brief statement is a minefield. Lenfant added a number of fragments, most of which derive from Nicolaus of Damascus. However, Ctesias is not mentioned in any of these passages and, as Romm has stated,⁵ some contrast with attributed fragments found in Diodorus or Plutarch. It was on this basis that Jacoby excluded them. Llewellyn-Jones and Robson have, however, made some additions to the text as set out by Lenfant, which are highlighted in their text. The authors also mark out those sections that are 'dubious'. While Llewellyn-Jones and Robson do refer to Lenfant's inclusion of the new fragments (p. 21), I am not sure that they tell the full story; the impression is given that there is no question mark over any of these fragments and, moreover, that Jacoby had mistakenly omitted them. Such is

³ J. P. Stronk (ed. and tr.), *Ctesias' Persian History 1: Introduction, Text, and Translation* (Düsseldorf 2010).

⁴ Any estimation of Llewellyn-Jones and Robson's edition must be set in the context of Lenfant's discussion of what constitutes a fragment: see Lenfant [1] CLXXV-CLXXVI.

⁵ J. Romm, Review of Lenfant [1], *CR* 56 (2006) 38-40.

not the case, and this is an issue that should have been discussed at further length. The difficulty is understandable. The text of Ctesias is greatly increased by their inclusion and thus the possibility to develop our knowledge of Ctesias as an author. However, a little more clarity on this issue would have been welcome.

Another important section of the introduction, 'Filtering Ctesias' (pp. 35-45), provides a very useful discussion of those authors from whom the extant fragments of Ctesias are drawn. At the end of the discussion of Diodorus Siculus, for example, we are told that 'Diodorus is not an accurate reflection of Ctesias' (p. 45). While this is undoubtedly true, students of Ctesias need not be too disconcerted as greater understanding of Ctesias is possible once we keep such a caveat in mind when reading the fragments drawn from authors such as Diodorus.

Turning to the translations of the *testimonia* and fragments, Llewellyn-Jones and Robson achieve a reasonable balance between fidelity to the original Greek while providing a readable English rendering of the Greek. One might quibble over this phrase or that, but such an exercise would be of benefit to very few prospective readers. In that context, this reader (for one) thinks that Llewellyn-Jones and Robson have been rather modest. They apologise in the 'Translators Preface' and describe their translation as 'close' (p. 92), which I take to be a euphemism for 'literal'. While this may be the case, I do not think that much fluency has been sacrificed, and they are to be commended for being so faithful to the Greek.

This brings us to another point raised in the introduction (pp. 18-22) and the 'Translators Preface' (p. 92): 'few of the sentences translated here come directly from Ctesias' *Persica* . . .' (p. 92). This is a welcome admission and, while it might be obvious to the more experienced reader, it is an important qualification to be borne in mind by readers who are not used to working with fragmentary historians. Indeed, I would recommend that both the preface to the translation and the section on 'The Text' (pp. 18-22) are read by all who have an interest in working with those historians who are preserved only *via* later writers. Regarding another subject raised in the introduction, I turned on the television one night to find myself watching *The Last King of Scotland*. The comparisons drawn by Llewellyn-Jones and Robson between Ctesias and Nicholas Garrigan, who was the personal doctor to Idi Amin, add depth to both. It is often difficult to draw analogies between figures from across the ages, but Llewellyn-Jones and Robson have done so with subtlety and without pushing the analogy too far.

Ctesias' reputation as an historian has suffered for many reasons, though the critical comments of Jacoby—who described Ctesias, rather pejoratively, as 'one of the fathers of the historical romance' (p. 7; trr. Llewellyn-Jones and Robson)—may be partly to blame. However, another and rather more sympathetic reader of Ctesias came to a different conclusion. Photius, the Byzantine scholar, summed up Ctesias as 'very clear and simple' and as a result 'his writing is enjoyable' (Phot. T13 [p. 7]). The same might be said of Llewellyn-Jones and Robson's admirable work.

David Whitehead (ed. and tr.), *Apollodorus Mechanicus: Siege Matters* (Πολιορκητικά). *Historia*—Einzelschriften 216. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010. Pp. 162, incl. 6 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-3-515-09710-9. EUR46.

An Apollodorus' *Poliorcetica* first appears in John Lydus' list of military writers (*De Mag.* 1.47). Syrianus Magister, variously dated to the sixth, ninth or tenth centuries BC,¹ criticises the impracticality of the assault barge of an Apollodorus for crossing a river against the enemy (*De Re Strat.* 19.22-55 [Dennis²]). That assault barge, though without the tower in Syrianus' version, appears in the *Poliorcetica* discussed here. The work, attested by four manuscripts (earliest, eleventh century), belongs to a Byzantine corpus of poliorcetic texts.³ An anonymous tenth-century *Parangelmata Poliorcetica* had already attempted to improve on Apollodorus' *Poliorcetica*,⁴ which even earlier one (or more?) Byzantine commentators had interpolated, by converting an original text of technical drawings with commentary into a series of fantastic contraptions defying the laws of physics and replacing the original drawings with their own illustrations. The work of Apollodorus ends at 177.3 (Wescher's numbering), but the interpolated version runs to 195.5. Traditionally this treatise is attributed to Apollodorus of Damascus, the architect behind Trajan's stone bridge over the Danube at Drobeta in AD 105, the designer of Trajan's Forum and possibly Trajan's Column, and (allegedly) a victim of Hadrian.

An epistolary preface introduces the work: in response to an unnamed emperor's request to an engineer, a former comrade-in-arms, for suggestions to improve Roman siegecraft for a future campaign in territory unfamiliar to the engineer, the treatise is delivered to the emperor by one of the engineer's assistants, prepared to clarify any obscurities in construction of the machines. Thereafter follow technical descriptions, often in obscure Greek with occasionally rare or unique use of vocabulary, of machines for assault on a hill-top city: *testudines* ('tortoises') to protect against objects rolled down against the besiegers; 'grapevine' tortoises for approaching the besieged walls; tortoises for 'digging' (that is, drilling; sapping/undermining walls is not discussed); different techniques for destroying brick and stone walls; a flamethrower (reminiscent of the Theban machine at Delium,

¹ Whitehead claims (pp. 18 n. 7, 132) that P. Rance, 'The Date of the Military Compendium of Syrianus Magister (formerly the Sixth-Century Anonymus Byzantinus)', *ByzZ* 100 (2007) 701-37 dates Syrianus Magister to the ninth century BC, but Rance moves Syrianus Magister's date between the ninth and tenth centuries BC. The earliest manuscript dates Syrianus Magister to 959 BC.

² G. T. Dennis (ed. and tr.), *Three Byzantine Military Treatises* (Washington 1985).

³ C. Wescher (ed.), *Poliorcétique des grecs: traités théoriques, récits historiques* (Paris 1867).

⁴ See D. Sullivan (ed.), *Siegecraft: Two Tenth-Century Instructional Manuals by 'Heron of Byzantium'* (Washington 2000).

424 BC); tortoises with rams; a lever-type device for quickly raising an observer above the height of the besieged walls; towers (essentially scaffolding forty feet high on a base of sixteen feet two inches), some with rams and/or an assault bridge at the top, another with a swing beam to rake defenders from the walls; means to protect the machines from hostile incendiaries; ladders, extension ladders and other ladders (one with a swing beam, another with a channel for dropping hot fluids on defenders, still another with a ram and/or a boarding bridge); and an assault barge for crossing rivers.

This highly problematic text now receives its first English translation and commentary from David Whitehead, previously an interpreter of poliorcetic texts by Aeneas Tacticus and (with P. H. Blyth) Athenaeus Mechanicus.⁵ French, German and (most recently) Italian translations were already available.⁶ Apart from the translation, the work is largely Whitehead's improvements on Blyth's 1992 discussion, an article identifying the extensive interpolations in the text and in some ways offering a more valuable overview of the treatise than this monograph.⁷ Whitehead identifies some new interpolations (Apollod. 155.7-9 [p. 99], 165.16 [p. 111], 176.17-177.3 [p. 123]); and interpolations are clearly distinguished by a smaller font in the Greek text, the translation and the commentary. But the originality that appears in this work was already published as articles.⁸ Significant are Whitehead's rejection of Blyth's view that all machines with wheels are interpolations and a view of the author's identity (see below). The commentary, chiefly textual or mechanical and only rarely historical, features debate with previous translators and commentators. Besides Blyth and Sullivan, for example, the commentary after the end of the original work (177.3) is largely a dialogue with Otto Lendle.⁹

Translation, and even commentary on the obscure original, does not always produce clarity; nor do Whitehead's explanations always convince. One interpolation of the so-called 'table of contents' (Apollod. 139.1f.) mentions 'protection against things being raised up', which Whitehead takes (p. 75) as a reference to the protection of the machines against hostile incendiaries (173.13-174.7). More plausibly, however, an interpolator added a reference to the use of nooses and the so-called *lupus* (known

⁵ D. Whitehead (ed. and tr.), *Aineias the Tactician: How to Survive Under Siege*² (London 2001); D. Whitehead and P. H. Blyth (edd. and trr.), *Athenaeus Mechanicus: On Machines* (Περὶ Μηχανημάτων) (Stuttgart 2004).

⁶ A. La Regina (ed.), *L'Arte dell'assedio di Apollodoro di Damasco* (Milan 1999).

⁷ P. H. Blyth, 'Apollodorus of Damascus and the *Poliorketika*', *GRBS* 33 (1992) 127-58. Whitehead insinuates (pp. 10, 23f. with nn. 31f.) that the *GRBS* editors requested Blyth to revise his submission without justification. The reviewer, one of the editors of Blyth's paper, believes the published version is superior to that originally received.

⁸ See D. Whitehead, 'Apollodorus' *Poliorketika*: Author, Date, Dedicatee', in H. M. Schellenberg *et al.* (edd.), *A Roman Miscellany: Essays in Honour of Anthony R. Birley on his Seventieth Birthday* (Gdansk 2008) 204-12; D. Whitehead, 'Fact and Fantasy in Greek Military Writers', *AAntHung* 48 (2008) 139-55.

⁹ O. Lendle, *Texte und Untersuchungen zum technischen Bereich der antiken Poliorketik* (Wiesbaden 1983).

from Veg. *Mil.* 4.23), devices for snaring the head of a battering ram and pulling it up or suspending the ram and overturning the tortoise enclosing it, but then somehow forgot that this was not discussed in Apollodorus' text or failed to add it himself. Nor can twelve-foot ladders be taken as 'standard' (Apollod. 176.14 [p. 122], based on Polyb. 9.19.5-9), since Polybius gives only a hypothetical example from an assumption of a wall ten units high.

Some unfortunate editorial decisions mar the work. A Loeb-style presentation of the Greek text and facing English translation is given, but it is unclear whose Greek text is reproduced—presumably that of Schneider, as Whitehead claims not to have undertaken a new collation of the manuscripts.¹⁰ But no *apparatus criticus* is given, despite frequent discussions of variant readings and emendations in the commentary. Although Wescher's numbering by manuscript pages and lines is the standard mode of citation, line numbers do not appear for the Greek text and the lines per manuscript page can often exceed ten. Nor are the manuscript illustrations produced despite frequent reference to them in the commentary. These illustrations, even if erroneous representations of the machines, are vital for grasping what the text describes. Rather, Whitehead offers his own drawings of only some of the devices (pp. 139-44, figures 1-6), although figure 4 is not signalled in the commentary. To properly understand this text and commentary, a reader must have at hand both Schneider (*apparatus criticus* and illustrations) and Sullivan (illustrations).

The lack of historical commentary is also regrettable, particularly if Apollodorus of Damascus is the author. A brief endnote (pp. 136f.) discusses the treatise in relation to scenes on Trajan's Column but essentially only recycles Lendle's views on Apollodorus' machines and siege operations on the Column and Septimius Severus' Arch. A recent major monograph on the Dacian Wars, which disputes some of Lendle's views, is uncited.¹¹ Larger issues concerning Roman siegecraft, ancient military theory and the need for updated doctrine are not raised.

Finally, the question of the attribution of the treatise to Apollodorus of Damascus must be addressed. Blyth, rejecting the epistolary preface as a literary device, believed it to be a real letter to Trajan: Apollodorus of Damascus was the young assistant sent to Trajan with the treatise in hand; the work of his master survived among Apollodorus' papers. Whitehead, likewise accepting the preface as an authentic letter, postulates a different scenario. As the preface records joint military service of the author and the emperor on multiple occasions ('battles'), in the mid-70s Apollodorus, a coeval, met Trajan, then a military tribune under his father the Syrian governor. Hence (bypassing additional arguments for the sake of brevity) the treatise must date *ca.* AD 100 on the eve of Trajan's First Dacian War.

¹⁰ R. Schneider (ed. and tr.), *Griechische Poliorketiker mit den handschriftlichen Bilden herausgeben und übersetzt 1: Apollodorus, Belagerungskunst* (Berlin 1908).

¹¹ A. S. Stefan, *Les guerres daciques de Domitien et de Trajan: Architecture militaire, topographie, images et histoire* (Rome 2005); cf. E. L. Wheeler, 'Rome's Dacian Wars: Domitian, Trajan, and Strategy on the Danube, Part I', *Journal of Military History* 74 (2010) 1185-227.

But epistolary prefaces to technical treatises are quite common and, despite Blyth's arguments, the preface's vagueness could equally be a sign of forgery rather than familiarity. The passage on technical vocabulary (Apollod. 138.13-17), which Whitehead concedes (p. 73) is essentially lacking in the treatise, could be a variant on the *topoi* in technical treatises of writing for 'beginners' and the author's own stylistic inadequacies. Even more problematic is the author's reference (138.9-12) to joint service in 'battles' with the emperor. '*Parataxis*' does not mean 'campaign', as Blyth and Whitehead would wish, and (contrary to Whitehead) the passage could be read as proof of the author's service *under* the emperor. Whitehead accepts the view of the younger Pliny's *Panegyric* on Trajan as a *vir militaris* before assuming the purple, but this view is now contested since practically nothing is known of Trajan's career before he marched from Spain with the VII Gemina in AD 89 to help put down Saturninus' revolt in Germania Superior. A supposed Parthian victory of Trajan's father in Syria is most obscure—certainly no siege operations or major battles were involved—and if Apollodorus was with Trajan in a conjectured governorship of Pannonia in the early 90s, then the author could hardly claim unfamiliarity with the Middle Danube. Furthermore, Dacia under Decebalus, a real state, scarcely represents the fickle barbarians (138.4f.); nor does Transylvania lack timber, as the preface envisions. Blyth and Whitehead (p. 22), somehow forgetting Domitian's Dacian war (84-89 AD), assume Roman ignorance of Dacia. For what it is worth, the anonymous *Parangelmata* (1.9f.) claims that Apollodorus wrote the treatise for Hadrian, a view easily argued away.¹²

Although the language of the uninterpolated parts of the treatise may salvage a second- or third-century date, this reviewer is not convinced that the preface is an authentic letter to Trajan and that this treatise, unattested before John Lydus in the sixth century AD, should be attributed to Apollodorus of Damascus, not known for literary activity, unless Procopius (*Aed.* 4.6.13 on the Drobeta bridge—no title given) is invoked. Whitehead merits thanks for making this problematic work and its enigmatic author available to a larger audience of Anglophone readers.

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Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*². Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. Pp. xx + 505. ISBN 978-1-4051-3415-6. GBP110.

The first edition of this volume (published in 1997), which takes a broad diachronic approach to the study of the Greek language in both its spoken and written forms, was widely greeted as an innovative and impressive piece of scholarship. This second edition preserves the original thematic focus on 'the effects of early standardization and the consequential state of diglossia on the long-term evolution of

¹² Sullivan [4] 26f.

the language' (p. 20), but a number of changes have been made, some of them substantial, to the content, structure and references.

In the preface to the new edition (pp. xv-xvi), Horrocks outlines some of the ways in which he has taken account of reviews of the first edition, as well as a 2006 translation of the work into modern Greek,¹ in order to correct some errors and in particular to address two new aims: to improve the section on medieval Greek generally and to appease classicists by giving a more expansive account of the ancient Greek dialectal situation at the beginning of the book. The changes have brought the work up to date and strengthened its argument by allowing the diachronic development of the Greek language to be made all the more clear through the addition of further examples and elucidation of certain sections.

It is easy to understand why Horrocks had originally omitted any thorough discussion of the ancient Greek dialects, since the book's aim was to trace the history of one particular variety of Greek, namely the Attic dialect, the legacy of whose early standardisation has been felt in Greece for more than two thousand years. However, the substantial expansion of the newly titled chapter 1, 'The Ancient Greek Dialects' (pp. 9-42), originally only fourteen pages in length, is of great benefit to the work as a whole because it gives a firm sense of the wider context of the Attic dialect in the ancient period and so provides a much fuller beginning to the story of the Greek language. Even though Horrocks labels his discussion 'simply an attempt at a consensus view' (p. 17) in place of a thorough treatment, this section could be recommended as a starting point to anyone interested in ancient Greek dialectology, with its impressively comprehensive account of methodological concerns, wealth of examples and informed references; indeed, as an informative and concise overview of the current state of knowledge on the ancient dialects, it is for the moment unparalleled. It might further be added that many sections of this book could be praised in a similar way, with consistently clear and accessible explanations throughout that enable and encourage the audience to read further into the various topics addressed.

One of the potential weaknesses of a work such as *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers* is that the sheer breadth of its scope might go hand-in-hand with some limitations in the amount of detail that can be included. But the first edition did not fall into this trap, and the second edition outdoes it by including even more examples and improving on the already systematic approach to the way in which material is presented. Naturally, a book can only take one path from beginning to end, and the overarching chronological narrative employed here is not without its disadvantages (for example, making it impossible to survey the development of a single feature through multiple time periods in a single section). But the volume benefits from a good index and may be read either as a continuous narrative or by focussing on particular sections and themes as the reader wills it. The only disadvantage of the latter method is that it somewhat undermines Horrocks' aim to

¹ G. Horrocks (M. Staurou and M. Tzebelekou [edd.]), Ελληνικά: Ηιστορία της γλώσσας και των ομιλητών της (Athens 2006).

present a continuous history of the Greek language, but it is inevitable that this book will frequently be used in this way.

As with any published work, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers* is not entirely without errors or omissions, and because it covers such a breadth of scholarship it will be the specialists in each discipline who most notice any problems within their area of expertise. For this reviewer the absence of an example of the ancient Cypriot dialect, even though most others are included, seems an oversight: Arcadian does not represent the Arcado-Cypriot dialect sub-group as comprehensively as one might assume.² Furthermore, the references supplied for ancient Cypriot epigraphy are not the most appropriate, and it would have been better to cite a work such as Olivier's contribution to the 2006 Mycenological colloquium as a reference for the continuation of Greek literacy on Cyprus from the Early Iron Age onward.³ However, these are small issues and only tangential to the central thrust of the book as a whole.

More broadly, it is difficult to find fault with either the content or the design of the book. The Table of Contents (pp. v-xi) and Index (pp. 493-505) provide two very comprehensive guides to the book's structure and content, making *Greek* easily navigable. The newly included International Phonetic Alphabet chart (p. xvii) is also helpful since it enables readers to understand the many phonetic transcriptions that appear in this work. However, no list of the passages used as examples throughout the book (which range from a Late Bronze Age Mycenaean Greek administrative document to pieces of journalism and draft legislation from 2009) is included, and I think this would have been a useful addition.

A comparison of the first and second editions of *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers* gives an interesting insight into the revision process, with alterations ranging from minute stylistic changes of phrasing—for example, 'incidentally' in place of 'for example' (p. xviii)—to implicitly political changes of tone—for example, 'the Balkans' in place of 'Greece [including Macedonia and Thrace]' (p. 210)!—and of course the inclusion of some new sections and expansion of others. Several of the alterations are worthy of note, among them the following: in chapter 8, 'Greek in the Byzantine Empire: The Major Issues' (pp. 207-30), the notion of 'identity', a somewhat thorny topic in recent years, has been visibly removed from sections 8.3 (pp. 210-12) and 8.4 (pp. 212-20); a new conclusion to chapter 8 is included (pp. 229f.), which brings the whole of that chapter more obviously into line

² Cf. J. Chadwick, 'Differences and Similarities Between Cypriot and the Other Greek Dialects', in J. Karageorghis and O. Masson (edd.), *The History of the Greek Language in Cyprus. Proceedings of an International Symposium Sponsored by the Pierides Foundation: Larnaca, Cyprus, 8-13 September, 1986* (Nicosia 1988) 55-66.

³ J.-P. Olivier, 'Les syllabaires chypriotes des deuxième et premier millénaires avant notre ère: État des questions', in A. Sacconi *et al.* (edd.), *Colloquium Romanum. Atti del XII colloquio internazionale di micenologia: Roma 20-25 febbraio 2006* (Pisa/Rome 2008) 605-19.

with the aims of the book; and at the end (chapter 17) an extra section giving five examples of contemporary written modern Greek is included (pp. 466-70).

The newly added final section of the final chapter is notable in itself. The first edition ended with a rather more traditional conclusion, which has now become the penultimate section 17.7, 'Standard Modern Greek' (pp. 462-66) of the second edition; the concluding sentence—which still appears (p. 466)—looked forward to a 'universal acceptance of the fact that the only fully standardized languages are dead ones, and that experimentation, diversity and change are a cause for celebration rather than concern'. In the new edition, section 17.8, 'A Range of Styles' (pp. 466-70), has been added to illustrate the diversity of modern Greek today, with texts in more formal registers recalling the features of *katharévousa*, while fictional narrative is more fluid and inventive. A few comments are made before the five examples are given, but no further commentary on these passages is provided. As Horrocks says at the end of the final paragraph, 'If this book has done its job, none will be needed' (p. 467).

It is fair to say that this book has done its job and done it well. Through its comprehensive survey of the Greek language, it has achieved its aims to 'explain, summarize and exemplify the principal facts of change' and 'render comprehensible' the long-term language situation that still has relevance for Greek speakers today (p. 4). This second edition has corrected and improved on many aspects of the first edition, forming an up-to-date and impressively full and informative volume that deserves a place on every Hellenist's and Hellenophile's bookshelf.

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Michael Lambert, *The Classics and South African Identities*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011. Pp. 160, incl. a general index. ISBN 978-0-715-63796-8. GBP18.99.

Identity politics is a minefield. Stray too far to right or left and you risk being blown to pieces. And the 'reasonable' middle path is no less hazardous. The questions that haunt anyone venturing into this field are: Who is, or is not, entitled to speak for whom? For instance, is a white English-speaking South African entitled to discuss and interpret the writings and ideas of black and 'coloured' and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans? The implicit answer that Michael Lambert's book, *The Classics and South African Identities*, delivers to these questions is: Yes, one is so entitled—always provided that one approaches the feelings, thoughts, ideas and aspirations of people different from oneself with due caution and sensitivity. Nevertheless, for all the care with which Lambert picks his way through the identity minefield, his book may still set off a few explosions since it deals with the way Afrikaans- and English-speaking and black South Africans have constructed identities for themselves through the Classics.

Lambert introduces and then concludes his book in a refreshing and original way. Instead of making the sort of obeisance to Grand Theory, which has now become almost *de rigeur*, he uses works of the imagination as a lens to focus his discussion. In the introduction (pp. 7-19), Lambert lets an analysis of Aeschylus' *Suppliants* raise issues of migration, skin colour, gender, language and power, all central to the notion of identity in general and of South African identities in particular. In the conclusion (pp. 125-32), an examination of J. M. Coetzee's *Elizabeth Costello* brings to the fore troubling questions about the place of the Classics in contemporary South Africa: 'Coetzee . . . suggests that the study of the Humanities in Africa (and especially the study of the Classics) is trapped in an intellectual *cul-de-sac*, between the Scylla of instrumentalism and the Charybdis of a meaningless "art for beauty's sake"' (p. 130). (It should be said that Lambert himself does not altogether share this gloomy outlook.)

Three long chapters make up the body of the volume, each discussing the way in which the Classics have participated in the identity-formation of a particular group of South Africans. In chapter 1, 'The Classics and Afrikaner Identities' (pp. 21-59), Lambert examines the beginnings of education and the teaching of Latin in the Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope. Pointing out that many Cape slaves bore classical names (Cupido, Titus, Coridon, Scipio), the author writes: 'the classical tradition is . . . inscribed, from the outset of its reception in South Africa, in relationships of dominance and subservience' (p. 24). The first Latin school, lasting about twenty-five years, was set up at the Cape in 1714, to be followed by a second in 1793. After the British occupation of the Cape, this second Latin school was made in the early nineteenth century into an English grammar school, with an English classically trained Rector. Dutch-speakers responded by establishing their own private schools, where classical languages were offered. Thus began a long history of conflict over the medium of education—Dutch or English. Since Greek and Latin were an important part of that education, the Classics were caught up in struggles over Cape Dutch and later on Afrikaner identity in South Africa. So it was not surprising that, when the present Classical Association of South Africa ('CASA') was founded in 1956, eight years after the triumph of the National Party, Afrikaners dominated the Association. Lambert shows well how 'natural' it seemed for CASA during the 1950s and 1960s to align itself with power by making members of the ruling elite honorary patrons or vice-presidents of the Association. He argues that 'had CASA been steered by scholars less seduced by Afrikaner nationalism . . . steps would have been taken to promote Latin (and the Classics) in black schools . . . to ensure the future survival of the discipline' (p. 52).

Chapter 2, 'The Classics and English-speaking South African Identities' (pp. 61-90), opens with an account of the remarkable set of translations of Greek and Latin sources used by Gibbon that the 'arch-imperialist' Cecil John Rhodes commissioned for his library at Groote Schuur. This leads to a discussion of the multiple ways in which education in the Classics, particularly at Oxford, became involved with British imperial assumptions. Lambert uses his own classical training at the (then) University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg as an example. He shows how his

Oxford-educated professor, David Raven, in a 1973 inaugural lecture, blithely ignored the context in which he was speaking by being unaware of Afrikaans-speakers in the audience and assuming his listeners to be ‘part of the great British diaspora in the wake of Empire, as if British and South African English-speaking identities had merged’ (p. 71). Lambert also poignantly recalls ‘being constantly reminded [by Raven] that, at various stages of my degree, I was still *x* number of years behind an Oxford or Cambridge undergraduate of the same age’ (p. 72), with all the sense of academic inferiority and insecurity such treatment engendered. The author goes on to consider the inaugural lectures of several other Oxford-trained classicists (including this reviewer) at South African universities and finds that from the 1970s through to the 1990s these lectures reveal a gradually increasing awareness of a need to link the teaching of the Classics to its local context. *Appropos* my own inaugural lecture, Lambert comments, with some justice: ‘Comparisons between aspects of Classical civilization and African cultures, especially in South Africa, where the study of the Classics is deeply rooted in unequal power relationships, *can* result in legitimizing the very perceptions they intend to subvert’ (p. 83). Finally in this chapter, Lambert analyses some of his own comparisons between Zulu and ancient Greek religion, even-handedly drawing attention to the weaknesses as well as the strengths of his work in this area. In the course of so doing, he makes an important point: English-speakers often complacently believe themselves to be liberal and free from prejudice; but, ‘No South African can, in [Lambert’s] opinion, ever claim to be entirely free of racism . . . Thus the “resistant discourses” generated by English-speaking white South African classicists can, in the process of comparative studies, be as implicit in the rule of oppressive élites as the Afrikaner nationalist voices’ (p. 87).

Chapter 3, ‘The Classics and Black South African Identities’ (pp. 91–123), begins with a painful reminder of just how patronising white classicists could be when teaching Latin to black students at the old ‘Homelands’ universities. The author also gives a fascinating account of nineteenth-century Christian educational institutions for blacks and the debates that took place there as to whether, or how much, Latin and Greek should be included in the courses studied (which cannot but remind one of contemporary debates about ‘Eurocentrism’ and ‘Africanisation’ of the curriculum). Lambert focusses in particular on the writings of John Tengo Jabavu (father of D. D. T. Jabavu, who later taught Latin at Fort Hare) in defence of a classical education for blacks that would give them access to universities and to the professions. The rest of the chapter reviews the relationship to the Classics of such figures as Robert Grendon, author of the epic *Paul Kruger’s Dream* (1902), Chris Hani, Nelson Mandela and Benedict Vilakazi. Lambert deals here *en passant* with the weakness of *Demea* (Guy Butler’s Southern African version of Euripides’ *Medea*) and of supposedly subversive productions of Classical tragedy on liberal English-medium university campuses during the apartheid era. I must confess that I found this part of the book somewhat scrappy and unfocussed.

At various points in the volume, Lambert also examines the work of individual South African classical scholars such as T. J. Haarhoff and Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr,

who are difficult to fit into the categories that the book sets for itself. The latter is discussed under 'English-speaking South African Identities', the former under 'Afrikaner Identities'. As I am sure the author would be first to admit, *The Classics and South African Identities* does not give a comprehensive account of its subject. But then it is not intended to do so. The book is meant as an exploratory essay, a large-scale map of a terrain many parts of which have not yet been adequately charted. As such it succeeds admirably and provides a stimulating and provocative survey from which any future account of the Classics in South Africa will have to take its starting point.

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Catalin Partenie (ed.), *Plato's Myths*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Pp. xvi + 255, incl. 17 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-0-521-88790-8. GBP55.

Catalin Partenie opens this volume with a useful and thought-provoking introduction (pp. 1-27). Partenie assesses and summarises various approaches to Plato's various myths. One can conceive of Platonic myth as a means of persuasion tailored to a particular audience. This persuasion can serve the purpose of exhorting, seducing or educating the audience. As Partenie notes, modern scholarship on the Platonic myths tends to treat them as complementing and indeed furthering the philosophical purpose of their dialogues. The once popular but simplistic notion that *mythos* is opposed to *logos* continues to be challenged by attempts to read the myths within their contexts. Such sensitive readings dominate this volume.

Michael Inwood, chapter 1, 'Plato's Eschatological Myths' (pp. 28-50), begins with a collection of questions prompted by his consideration of that topic. His main focus is on what notion of justice motivates Plato's commitment to reincarnation, and the issues he tackles are undoubtedly intriguing. So, for example, he considers the implication of the suggestion that some souls are reincarnated as animals and proposes that Plato may have been attracted to metempsychosis because 'it would enable him to see the world from many points of view and to enter into a variety of experience' (p. 38). However, Inwood's general approach of cherry-picking details from a variety of dialogues, glossing over inconsistencies and, more than anything, his rather literal reading of the myths, render this piece more frustrating than enlightening. David Sedley, chapter 2, 'Myth, Punishment and Politics in the *Gorgias*' (pp. 51-76), identifies the eschatological myth at the end of the *Gorgias* as a source of possible confusion. Its discussion of the motivating value of post-mortem punishment might be thought to be at odds with the efforts in the rest of the dialogue to argue that justice is intrinsically choiceworthy. Sedley argues for reading the myth as an 'allegory of moral malaise in this life' which, through parallels with the preceding discussion,

demonstrates that Socratic dialectic and punishment via refutation are superior to standard Athenian practices of trial and punishment.

Gabor Betegh, chapter 3, 'Tale, Theology and Teleology in the *Phaedo*' (pp. 77-100), begins not from the eschatological myth at the *Phaedo*'s end but rather from Socrates' brief analysis on the relation between pleasure and pain (60b-c). Betegh takes Socrates' own statement of the relation and sets it against his suggestion as to how Aesop might have described it. Taking evidence from this and other 'just-so' stories in the dialogues such as Aristophanes' speech in the *Symposium* and Socrates' myth in the *Gorgias*, Betegh suggests that it is possible to establish some criteria for Platonically acceptable, explanatory *muthoi*. These criteria point towards the kind of teleological explanation found lacking in Anaxagoras but set out in detail in the *Timaeus*. Malcolm Schofield, chapter 4, '*Fraternité, inégalité, la parole de Dieu*: Plato's Authoritarian Myth of Political Legitimation' (pp. 101-15), treats the *Republic*'s Noble Lie. Schofield argues that the myth aims at inculcating the ideology and patriotism required for the success of Kallipolis' stratified society. In fact, insofar as such inculcation seems to be beyond what can be achieved by rational argument, such a myth is perhaps the best way to encourage devotion to the state among its citizens. Schofield notes that the myth provides a theological justification for the structure of the state by overturning the lies about the gods told by the poets and reframing Hesiod's myth of the metals as a description of present political potential.

G. R. F. Ferrari, chapter 5, 'Glaucón's Reward, Philosophy's Debt: the Myth of Er' (pp. 116-33), suggests that the closing myth of the *Republic* is a final attempt to address Glaucón's interest in justice. This is, whatever Glaucón may previously have suggested, motivated by an underlying concern with the social rewards of justice. The focus of the myth, as tailored to Glaucón's concerns, is on cycles of reincarnation rather than post-mortem rewards. This myth is for Ferrari a pessimistic admission that incarnation and the choice of lives stand opposed to philosophy. This being the case, we see no one choosing 'the philosophic life'. Christopher Rowe, chapter 6, 'The Charioteer and his Horses: an Example of Platonic Myth-making' (pp. 134-47), takes the famous myth of the *Phaedrus* as a test case for a general thesis that Plato's myths are 'best seen as extended similes' (p. 135). Myths are not, as is often suggested, a last resort where argument is not feasible. Rather, they are part of a strategy of 'layering of perspectives' (p. 144), which enables Plato to play on his audience's mind-set and draw them closer to his own.

Charles H. Kahn, chapter 6, 'The Myth of the *Statesman*' (pp. 148-66), follows the general trend for arguing that Plato's myths should be read against their contexts. For Kahn, the salient context of this myth is not just the *Statesman*, but also the *Republic* and *Laws*. The myth of the *Statesman*, by drawing a parallel between the philosopher kings and the divine shepherd, relegates the ideal state of the *Republic*, along with its ideal rulers, to the realm of ideal, unachievable paradigm and prefigures the second best practical political project of the *Laws*. M. F. Burnyeat, chapter 8, 'Eikōs Muthos' (pp. 167-86), has since its publication in *Rhizai* in 2005 come to

dominate discussion of the ‘likely story’ of Plato’s *Timaeus*.¹ In fact, Burnyeat argues that *muthos* is in this context more properly translated as ‘myth’, but notes that *Timaeus*’ myth seeks to overcome the ‘traditional’ division between *muthos* and *logos*. The majority of the paper is focussed on the meaning of the term *eikos*, which Burnyeat argues signifies a positive quality at which the cosmogonist should aim. It is more rightly translated as ‘reasonable’ or, insofar as what is reasonable when talking about the Demiurge’s practical reasoning is also probable, ‘probable’.

Richard Stalley, chapter 9, ‘Myth and Eschatology in the *Laws*’ (pp. 187-205), reviews and rejects Saunders’ interpretation of the eschatological myth of *Laws* 10.1.² Stalley notes that the myth of the *Laws* is far less detailed and compelling than similar myths in the *Gorgias*, *Republic* and *Phaedo*. Stalley argues, *contra* Saunders, that this difference is not a result of any change in Plato’s own thinking but rather is motivated by the context and purpose of the myth within the *Laws*. This myth is aimed at persuading people to conventional justice rather than to philosophy itself. Such a persuasive purpose demands a lesser degree of ‘mythical detail’. Elizabeth McGrath, chapter 10, ‘Platonic Myth in Renaissance Iconography’ (pp. 206-38), ends the volume with an intriguing account of the reception of Platonic myths in Renaissance art. I was particularly struck by her discussion of representations of the soul-chariot of the *Phaedrus*. The variety in such depictions is testament to the difficulty of getting to grips with this rich and provocative image.

The theme of this collection, its provocative variety notwithstanding, is the need to read the myths within their context rather than to treat them in isolation. Of course, the richness and difficulty of Plato’s myths have tempted many readers to focus on them in precisely this blinkered way. This is a stimulating and varied volume that will serve to encourage further interpretive wrestling with the myths and to promote the need to treat the myths as integral elements of their dialogues.

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Richard Alston, Edith Hall and Laura Proffitt (edd.), *Reading Ancient Slavery*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011. Pp. x + 235, incl. 17 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-0-715-63868-2. USD40.

This work is a collection of papers delivered at a conference held in 2007 to mark the 200-year anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the British empire. We might therefore expect this collection to focus on the similarities and differences

¹ M. Burnyeat, ‘Εἰκὼς Μῦθος’, *Rhizai* 2 (2005) 143-65.

² T. J. Saunders, ‘Penology and Eschatology in Plato’s *Timaeus* and *Laws*’, *CQ* 23 (1973) 232-44.

between the slaveholding institutions of modern and ancient history.¹ However, the authors have not chosen to go down this well trodden path. Rather, each of the collected papers forms a part of a cohesive work on the representation, ideology and subjective experience of slavery in the ancient world from the *Odyssey* to Artemidorus' *Interpretation of Dreams*. This is a book that would sit well in any university library. It is perhaps less accessible to students beginning their studies on the ancient world, but should be consulted by advanced undergraduates, graduates and scholars of Greek, Roman and comparative slavery.

Richard Alston, chapter 1, 'Introduction: Rereading Ancient Slavery' (pp. 1-33), establishes the theoretical basis for the chapters that follow and provides a critical review of modern scholarship to date. Alston examines whether the ancient societies of Greece and Rome can justifiably be called 'slave societies'. He argues that the arbitrary categorisation of a civilization as a 'slave society' is no longer particularly useful since it tends to lead to arguments about definitions, and scholarship would be better served by more nuanced interpretations (pp. 1-10). Alston proposes an approach in which we view slavery as a 'social formation' created by various 'technologies of domination'—ways of thinking and behaving that force subordinates into particular groups, though these groups are not necessarily homogeneous (pp. 10f.). Thus he makes a convincing case for *reading* slavery, an approach that continues an important trend in modern scholarship towards examining the representation of particular social groups.² This approach reveals the perceptual filters that people applied when thinking about, writing about or looking at slaves: 'The servile depiction facilitates our understanding of the master' (p. 15).

Patrice Rankine, chapter 2, 'Odysseus as Slave: The Ritual of Domination and Social Death in Homeric Society' (pp. 34-50), examines the social practices that reinforce slave status. Rankine argues that the *Odyssey* illustrates the development of slavery as an institution in the world of the poem. He uses several critical episodes in the story of the *Odyssey* in order to demonstrate how Homeric audiences perceived relationships of power and subordination. Representations such as the execution of the twelve slave women in book 22 remind slaves that they can at any time become the victims of violence or murder. Odysseus' journey also tells the elite that at any time one may become a slave as a result of defeat in war or of the capriciousness of gods or goddesses. Rankine shows that the Homeric audience was expected to take a specific message from Odysseus' example: his character and actions could set him free.

Leanne Hunnings, chapter 3, 'The Paradigms of Execution: Managing Slave Death from Homer to Virginia' (pp. 51-71), continues with the concept of slave death in Homeric literature and society in arguing that the *Odyssey* creates a conceptual framework to characterise slavery and maintain it as a 'real world' institution.

¹ For a recent treatment see E. Dal Lago and C. Katsari (edd.), *Slave Systems: Ancient and Modern* (Cambridge 2008).

² E.g., L. Petersen, *The Freedman in Roman Art and Art History* (Cambridge 2006); M. Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Harvard 2007); P. E. Easterling and Edith Hall (edd.), *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession* (Cambridge 2002).

Hunnings' chapter complements Rankine's preceding argument. Hunnings situates the *Odyssey* within Greek society by arguing cogently for its place as a critical expression of culture and ideas. Like all art and literature, the *Odyssey* also influences and creates social reality (pp. 51-53). Hunnings extends her examination of the impact of the *Odyssey* to the slave owners of America, who thought so highly of classical literature that they believed its heroes' examples ought to be followed in the modern world (pp. 67f.).³

Chapters 4 and 5 examine the representation of slaves in the visual arts. William G. Thalmann, chapter 4, 'Some Ancient Greek Images of Slavery' (pp. 72-96), demonstrates the importance of art in creating and perpetuating slavery by arguing that the visual arts articulate the same cultural ideas that we find in Greek and Roman literature, law and philosophy. The depiction of slave bodies, their postures, physical features and comportment reflect Greek ideas about the differences in character and capacity between slaves and free men and women. While this is perhaps unsurprising, Thalmann's chapter is interesting and cogent. Kelly L. Wrenhaven, chapter 5, 'Greek Representations of the Slave Body: A Conflict of Ideas?' (pp. 97-120), asks whether the use of slaves in art is an expression of the Greek artists' need to define beauty—physical and moral—by visually representing its antithesis. Art becomes more complicated when artists feel the need to define what makes a 'good' slave. Wrenhaven focusses on the depiction of slave bodies, which are portrayed carrying out manual labour, as the victims of violence, and as possessions of elite slave owners. 'Good' slaves are obedient, show their deference by their posture and facial expressions, and are physically beautiful. Artists could therefore use masters and slaves to articulate particular ideas and ideals.

Boris Nikolsky, chapter 6, 'Slavery and Freedom in Euripides' *Cyclops*' (pp. 121-32), examines the ideas and metaphorical meanings of slavery and freedom in drama. The dramatic technique of reversing characters' roles allows the writer and his actors to explore these ideas in different ways. Through an exploration of motifs associated with slavery and freedom, the ancient authors explored democratic freedom and tyranny (pp. 131f.). Continuing the discussion on the political aspects of slavery, S. Sara Monoson, chapter 7, 'Navigating Race, Class, Polis and Empire: The Place of Empirical Analysis in Aristotle's Account of Natural Slavery' (pp. 133-51), re-examines Aristotle's controversial theory of natural slavery. Monoson demonstrates that Aristotle's ideas about slaves are best taken in the context of his argument about the ideal size and structure of the state. These ideas, though morally unacceptable to modern western readers, do not conflict with Aristotle's philosophical arguments, as other scholars have asserted.⁴

Laura Proffitt, chapter 8, 'Family, Slavery and Subversion in Menander's *Epileptontes*' (pp. 152-74), examines slave families in the fragmentary

³ K. J. Wetmore, *Black Dionysus: Greek Tragedy and African American Theatre* (Jefferson 2003) comprehensively treats this topic as a theatre historian.

⁴ Notably P. Garnsey, *Ideas of Slavery from Aristotle to Augustine* (Cambridge 1996).

evidence of Menander. Proffitt rightly urges caution in this approach, and the reality of life as a slave remains elusive. This is in keeping with Alston's remarks in the Introduction. Proffitt's chapter is one of the most successful in this volume. The argument is sophisticated in emphasising the holistic interpretation of texts in their social and cultural contexts, and she convincingly demonstrates that the slaves of the *Epitrepontes* are able to confront the prevailing ideology to embrace freedom. William Fitzgerald, chapter 9, 'The Slave as Minimal Addition in Latin Literature' (pp. 175-91), is the first in this volume to focus on the Roman aspect of Greco-Roman slavery. Fitzgerald looks at slaves in Latin literary vignettes (from Horace and Propertius) and specifically how they are used to present better the point of view of major characters, to make a scene complete, and to make the *deus ex machina* appear natural. Slave characters remain 'stock' characters, however, reflecting the social value system and the expectations of the elite authors.

Deborah Kamen, chapter 10, 'Slave Agency and Resistance in Martial' (pp. 192-203), continues the discussion of Latin literature with a chapter on the slaves of Martial's epigrams. Kamen shows that Martial depicts slaves defying their masters by using several different strategies including passive-aggressive resistance, but that Martial does not allow the slaves he depicts to *retain* power over their masters. The final chapter is from Edith Hall, chapter 11, 'Playing Ball with Zeus: Strategies in Reading Ancient Slavery through Dreams' (pp. 204-28). Hall analyses Artemidorus' *Interpretation of Dreams* and argues that Artemidorus treats the experiences of slaves and free men in the same way. While Artemidorus' interpretation of a dream usually emphasises what it means in terms of power relations (p. 215), he nevertheless tells his reader what the dream means for each dreamer: slave, free, male and female. Hall's conclusion is that Artemidorus sees all human beings as 'psychologically the same' (p. 224).

Reading Ancient Slavery is a high quality collection of papers at the leading edge of modern scholarship on the representation and subjective experiences of slaves. Each of the contributors provides a valuable theoretical and interpretive framework through which the reader may reach a greater understanding of the psychological and social impacts of slavery from Homeric times to the Roman empire.

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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.

Manning, with numerous previous publications in the field of Ptolemaic studies to his credit, here plunges straight into the issues that he proposes to address and dispenses with the customary historical survey of the Ptolemaic period. His brief historical introduction, entitled 'Egypt in the First Millennium BC' (pp. 19-28), picks

up the story from the end of the New Kingdom and gives more space to Persian rule than to the period of Alexander and Ptolemy. This is appropriate since he identifies with the trend in scholarship over the last three decades of laying greater stress on Egyptian culture in the Ptolemaic era and on Persian administrative practices (p. 2).

Manning takes issue with those who have assessed the Ptolemaic system from the viewpoint of modern European states. In chapter 2, 'The Historical Understanding of the Ptolemaic State' (pp. 29-54), he illustrates the continuing attraction for some historians of the inappropriate model of colonialism as represented by the British Raj. Then in chapter 3, 'Moving Beyond Despotism, Economic Planning, and State Banditry: Ptolemaic Egypt as a Premodern State' (pp. 55-72), he argues that neither the despotic nor the *dirigiste* model does justice to the portrayal of the Ptolemaic economy. He contests the idea that Ptolemaic Egypt was a failed state (pp. 64-66) and rejects the older application of 'stark dichotomies' between Asiatic and antique modes of production or between modernising Greek and passive Asian institutions. He likewise dismisses a fashion of the 1990s to apply the term 'apartheid' to Ptolemaic Egypt, albeit in the limited sense of 'cultural genocide' or *de facto* separation, for he notes the absence of 'ideological racism' and the presence of evidence that makes nonsense of the idea of cultural genocide (p. 64; cf. p. 178 on the legal system).

Still, it is difficult to make any generalisations about that system without using terminology that the modern reader would consider value free. Manning sees the key to understanding how the Ptolemies established their authority and maintained it over three centuries in their ability to negotiate a working relationship with the different groups that made up that society. Thus he finds in the system ample evidence of state flexibility (p. 120) and stresses the importance of considering 'the dynamics between the state and local groups' (p. 120). It is tempting to introduce clichés of the 'noughties', but Manning is careful to aim for relatively neutral terminology and thus, for example, refers to 'key constituent groups' (p. 77), where the flippant (or zealot) might substitute 'stakeholders'. His line is that greater emphasis can and should be placed now on the relationships between the king and Egyptian society because of the greater availability of 'demotic Egyptian and hieroglyphic texts . . . and archaeological material' (p. 202). He presents his book as 'a synthesis of what is an increasingly dominant paradigm in Ptolemaic studies that attempts to strike a balance between Egyptian and Greek culture and institutions, and between state aims and historical experience' (p. 5).

The introductory chapters on the broad issues of approach are relatively thin on evidential detail, but the shift in balance is well established by chapter 4, 'Shaping a New State: The Political Economy of the Ptolemies' (pp. 73-116). Still, the level of direct analysis of source documents that are introduced ranges from adequate to minimal. Thus the reader gets some real sense of what the Milon archive contains and means (pp. 117-20); but, while a photograph is offered of the inscription from Bir 'Iayyan attesting Rhodon as a toparch (p. 114), the only piece of the text translated is the specific reference to Rhodon. Then there is an Appendix, 'The Trial Record of the Property Dispute held at the Temple of Wepwawet in Asyut, Upper Egypt, 170 BC

Before the Local *Laokritai*-Judges' (pp. 207-16), which gives Manning's 'rough and ready and slightly abridged' translation (*pSiut* 1). This last item is clearly a very valuable addition to the book; but, though it is by far the longest source document in the volume, it is not accompanied by a commentary and is covered by only brief allusions in the text (pp. 135, 183, 195). It must therefore be appreciated that this does not claim to be a source book with commentary. Important to Manning's case in chapter 4 is his compelling argument that Ptolemais typified 'the 'multi-ethnic' character of Ptolemaic foundations in Egypt' (p. 112). He contests the notion that Ptolemais was a bastion of Hellenism in southern Egypt, and he argues that the purpose of its foundation was control, not Hellenisation (p. 110), in establishing a 'royal area' at a strategic spot, where there may have been a pre-Ptolemaic settlement, in proximity to a significant Egyptian community.

Chapter 5, 'Creating a New Economic Order: Economic Life and Economic Policy Under the Ptolemies' (pp. 117-64), is particularly worthwhile, with a good mix of theory, models and historical examples. The sections on cities and technology (pp. 157-63) are useful. The introduction of coinage and the Ptolemaic move to taxation by coinage, are explained as part of 'the imposition of a larger political order' (pp. 132f.; cf., p. 206). As for 'the so-called price inflation' that was marked in the reign of Ptolemy IV, Manning attributes it to 'multiple re-tariffings of the bronze coins against silver and gold' (p. 158). The scale and escalation of the problem seems to call for extensive treatment.

In Chapter 6, 'Order and Law: Shaping the Law in a New State' (pp. 165-201), Manning argues that the approach was to systematise and accommodate Egyptian legal traditions (p. 206) and, where new rules were introduced, they tended to be there in order to protect and facilitate revenue collection rather than to be developmental in intent. The distinct Greek and Egyptian legal systems naturally predominated according to the demographic profile of the community, but it appears that, just as in language there might be code switching to suit the individual's needs, so Egyptians felt free to seek a remedy through whichever available system seemed more promising. Thus Manning rightly rejects the idea that there was anything like an apartheid juridical regime. Indeed, the record of cases involving persons of different ethnic groups or status and the interplay of different legal systems illustrated by the case brought by Hermias in 117 BC against an Egyptian family foreshadow the pattern that we see somewhat later and further north in the extraordinary archive of the Nabataean lady, Babatha.

In the context of the events in Egypt in February 2011, one might wish to see more comment on manifestations of resistance to rule by an alien autocrat—ethnic assertions that ranged from overt revolt to 'industrial action', passive resistance and chauvinist literature including messianic prophecies¹ and revisionist history, as seen in

¹ Manning refers to *The Oracle of the Potter* and the *Papyrus Jumilhac* (p. 98). S. K. Eddy, *The King is Dead: Studies in the Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism* (Lincoln 1961), which is not included in Manning's bibliography, reviewed well various forms of resistance to the Ptolemies.

the *Alexander Romance*. It would also be helpful to have more on the changes of attitude over time. Manning deals briefly with the issue of periodisation (pp. 75-77) but, whereas that would suggest increasing resentment towards the Ptolemies, he dwells rather on the way that Egyptians were increasingly drawn into the state system, as was bound to happen with the growing need to have contracts, agreements and financial records in both Greek and Egyptian.² He assumes that most Egyptians' attitude to the Ptolemies bordered on indifference (p. 203). Recent events might make one wonder. It also remains to ask how Egyptian attitudes were coloured by interaction, however limited, with other immigrant groups—in particular with Jews.³ Quibbles would include the inaccuracy in dating Ptolemy's assumption of the royal title to 306 BC (p. 86), the over-simplified organigrams, and a few omissions from the Bibliography, including Bresson (article on Naucratis signalled at p. 23, n. 11). But overall Manning's book is a very useful addition to literature on Ptolemaic Egypt.

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William J. Dominik, J. Garthwaite and P. A. Roche (edd.), *Writing Politics in Imperial Rome*. Brill's Companions in Classical Studies. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2009. Pp. xii + 539. ISBN 978-9-004-15671-5. EUR180.

This is a remarkable book, containing as it does essays on the political engagement of almost every major Latin author of the early imperial period, as well as Cicero and Lucretius from the late republic and Flavius Josephus. Silius Italicus is a notable absentee. Given the centrality of epic poetry to the scholarly work of Dominik and Roche, his absence is clearly due to forces beyond their control. They suggest as much in their first chapter. The high quality of each of the individual essays is also remarkable and results in an excellent collection. For scholars familiar with the debates over the political stances of Augustan writers, this book has another remarkable feature. Discussion of Ovid and his contemporaries has been bedevilled since 1992 by Kennedy's argument that the opposition between the terms 'pro-Augustan' and 'anti-Augustan' is essentially meaningless.¹ I refuted that position in

² Manning notes that the use of demotic was in decline by the second half of the second century BC (p. 193) and was giving way to Greek (p. 204).

³ Perhaps xenophobic reaction to immigrants and Ptolemaic policies of making Egyptians feel secure in their traditional systems helped the Egyptians to retain a common identity as Egyptians.

¹ D. F. Kennedy, "'Augustan' and 'Anti-Augustan': Reflections on Terms of Reference', in A. Powell (ed.), *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus* (Bristol 1992) 26-58.

1999 and 2006.² What is remarkable is that it is clear from this volume (as well as from the scholarship on Neronian and Flavian literature more generally) that Kennedy's argument has had no impact on the study of post-Augustan literature.

The editors perform in chapter 1, 'Writing Imperial Politics: the Context' (pp. 1-22), the tasks that we expect of such chapters. First, they lay out the book's thesis 'that political debate is a continuous, multi-dimensional, and fundamentally important aspect of the literature produced in virtually every genre and period at Rome and within the boundaries of the Roman empire' (p. 1). Secondly, they introduce the following chapters and explain how they support the collection's argument. Steven H. Rutledge, an ancient historian best known for *Imperial Inquisitions: Prosecutors and Informants from Tiberius to Domitian*,³ focusses on the all-important topic of the limits of free speech under the early empire in chapter 2, 'Writing Imperial Politics: the Social and Political Background' (pp. 23-62). Rutledge's argument, which is subtle and complex, attends to the importance of the various social contexts in which *libertas* was exercised. This chapter offers far more than its title 'Social and Political Background' seems to promise.

John Penwill gives a challenging political analysis of Lucretius in chapter 3, 'Lucretius and the First Triumvirate' (pp. 63-88). Penwill argues that the poem offers a critique not just of the practice of politics in the usual Epicurean way but of the moral behaviour of Caesar, Pompey and Crassus. Jon Hall's chapter 4, 'Serving the Times: Cicero and Caesar the Dictator' (pp. 89-110), examines Cicero's response to Caesar's dictatorship. The interest here lies in the fact that we see a politician accustomed to the rough and tumble of late republican politics having to adapt to a new quasi-monarchical situation. Hall argues that, though he practises self-censorship, 'Cicero was not in the habit of thinking in terms of doublespeak or of composing subtly subversive literature' (pp. 108f.) because these were skills that republican politicians had not needed.

In chapter 5, 'Vergil's Geopolitics' (pp. 111-32), William Dominik considers Vergil by examining *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid* as constituting a single text. As Dominik observes, such treatments are rare. He focusses upon human violence against the land and the urban invasion of the rural world. Robin Bond considers Horace chronologically in chapter 6, 'Horace's Political Journey' (pp. 133-52). Bond investigates the poet's shifting allegiances from republican sympathiser to author of 'the poetical expression of the Augustan propaganda of the *Res Gestae*' (p. 136). He explores in just a few pages the complexities of the *Epodes*. Accepting Kennedy's argument that the *Satires* are 'an integrational text' (that is, quietly pro-Augustan), Bond argues that the *Satires* are 'far more subtle and politically loaded than it has been the conventional wisdom to believe' (p. 144). The account of *Odes* 1-3 avoids

² P. J. Davis, "'Since My Part Has Been Well-Played": Conflicting Evaluations of Augustus', *Ramus* 28 (1999) 1-15; *Ovid and Augustus: A Political Reading of Ovid's Erotic Poems* (London 2006) 9-22.

³ S. H. Rutledge, *Imperial Inquisitions: Prosecutors and Informants from Tiberius to Domitian* (London 2001).

some of the more obvious choices (1.2, 3.1-6) in order to explore poems in which the survival strategies adopted by Horace and some of his republican friends are uppermost. In the final section ('Augustan Eulogist'), Bond examines the *Carmen Saeculare*—noting Putnam's positive revaluation—*Epodes* 16, *Odes* 3.6 and 1.37. He concludes by contrasting the relative anonymity of Vergil's chosen form with the more personal forms selected by Horace.

Matthew B. Roller avoids making 'for or against' judgments on the question of Livy's view of Augustus in chapter 7, 'The Politics of Aristocratic Competition: Innovation in Livy and Augustan Rome' (pp. 153-72). Roller considers textual politics in a broader sense through an examination of Livy's representation of Appius Claudius Caecus. He focusses on Appius as one who transgresses 'the boundaries of established competitive arenas' (p. 156) and argues persuasively that 'reconstructing the rules and venues of aristocratic competition' was an important Augustan project. In chapter 8, 'The Politics of Elegy: Propertius and Tibullus' (pp. 173-202), Marcus Wilson considers Propertius and Tibullus. Wilson notes a discrepancy in the dominant modes of interpretation of love elegy: scholars tend to treat the lover's relationship with his mistress as fictionalised and his relationship with his patron or the emperor as reflecting social or political reality. Furthermore, elegy, as a genre whose 'first function [is] the passionate articulation of discontent', is hardly a 'suitable vehicle for Augustan or any other "propaganda"' (p. 176). Particularly important is Wilson's discussion of programmatic poems, the failure of poets to meet their programme's requirements, and the implications of those (deliberate) failures. For Wilson the poems addressed to political figures are functionally no different from those addresses to mistresses: all are 'epitaphs for lost opportunities, in love, in poetry, in career, and ideological assimilation' (p. 201).

Gareth Williams confronts the Ovid controversy in chapter 9, 'Politics in Ovid' (pp. 203-24). Williams argues that 'Ovid writes not for or against but *about* Augustus and Augustan Romanness' (p. 204). The distinction is a subtle one. If we accept that this is a genuine distinction, it is still reasonable to ask whether what Ovid writes about Augustus is on balance favourable or unfavourable, supportive or not. Williams' chapter is ambitious in scope and complex in argument. It merits close scrutiny. Victoria Jennings' chapter 10, 'Borrowed Plumes: Phaedrus' Fables, Phaedrus' Failures' (pp. 225-48), analyses Phaedrus. Although Phaedrus is perhaps the least read author in this volume, Jennings' essay is one of the most lively and most interesting. Her principal concern is the way in which Phaedrus contrives to speak freely at a time when free speech was dangerous.

James Ker examines Seneca in chapter 11, 'Outside and Inside: Senecan Strategies' (pp. 249-72). Given the volume of Seneca's writing and his direct involvement in politics, this is a difficult task. It is the prose works that get most attention here. Little is said about the tragedies. It seems odd, however, to claim that parallels between Senecan tragic tyrants and Nero did not become apparent until the Flavian period (p. 255). From Naevius onward Roman tragedy had been a profoundly political genre. It is hard to believe that Neronian spectators and readers were any less

alert to political allusions than their republican forebears. Martha Malamud's chapter 12, 'Primitive Politics: Lucan and Petronius' (pp. 273-306), accepts the tricky task of discussing two very different authors. She does this by focussing on their treatment of the motifs of primitive hospitality and primitive architecture both in texts and in the context of Nero's extravagant building programme.

In chapter 13, 'Visions of Gold: Hopes for the New Age in Calpurnius Siculus' *Eclogues*' (pp. 307-22), John Garthwaite and Beatrice Martin discuss Calpurnius Siculus. Garthwaite and Martin dispose of the problem of dating quickly and argue for a poetically sophisticated Calpurnius, whose work is carefully structured so as to offer a pessimistic critique of contemporary (Neronian) politics. Steve Mason offers the only chapter that deals with a Greek author, Flavius Josephus, in chapter 14, 'Of Despots, Diadems and *Diadochoi*: Josephus and Flavian Politics' (pp. 323-50). Mason focusses on Herod's succession crisis of 4 BCE and argues that Josephus advocates senatorial aristocracy and his critique of hereditary monarchy is as applicable to Vespasian's Rome as it is to Judaea. Mason gives us not a Flavian flatterer but 'a dab hand at barbed or figured speech' (p. 348).

Andrew Zissos offers in chapter 15, 'Navigating Power: Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*' (pp. 351-66), a sophisticated analysis of the poem's 'sociology'. Zissos argues for parallels between the sociopolitical organisation of the poem's major cities, Iolcus and Colchis, and Rome, and examines the poem's exploration of the difficulties that the existence of the principate posed for competitive aristocrats. Zissos has contributed much to our understanding of this important poet, and this chapter does not disappoint. In chapter 16, 'The Ivy and the Conquering Bay: Quintilian on Domitian and Domitianic Policy' (pp. 367-86), Paul Roche examines the nature of Quintilian's praise of Domitian. Roche argues that Quintilian offers 'an ironic or satirical response to Domitian's public imagery' (p. 368). Given that Quintilian is a literary theorist, Roche is able to measure his author's prescriptions against his practice. Roche concludes that Quintilian ignores his own instructions for writing *encomia* and employs tropes that he himself associates with subversion.

Carole Newlands focusses in chapter 17, 'Statius' Self-conscious Poetics: Hexameter on Hexameter' (pp. 387-404), upon three of Statius' *Silvae* (1.5, 3.2, 3.5) as interpretive guides to his *Thebaid*, and closes with remarks on his *Achilleid*. Newlands argues that 'the *Silvae*, through dialogue with the *Thebaid*, confront the vexed question of whether imperial poetry can have a meaningful social and political role in Domitian's Rome' (p. 389). John Garthwaite returns to Martial in chapter 18, '*Ludimus Innocui*: Interpreting Martial's Imperial Epigrams' (pp. 405-28). This chapter is, in part, a response to conservative reactions to Garthwaite's own work. Garthwaite rejects attempts to limit 'the interpretive possibilities of the text' (p. 426) on the basis of 'common sense' (that is, uninformed prejudice). Rather than rehearse old arguments, however, Garthwaite focusses on Martial's self-representation and his treatment of Domitian's building programme.

In chapter 19, 'Reading the Prince: Textual Politics in Tacitus and Pliny' (pp. 429-46), Steven H. Rutledge looks at both Tacitus and the younger Pliny.

Rutledge examines the ways in which Tacitus' writings about the past reflect upon his own times. Thus he draws a contrast between Tacitus' representation of the behaviour of his father-in-law Agricola and that of the emperor Nerva. Rutledge next scrutinises Pliny's letters for dissent and notes that Pliny ignores Trajan's conquests and seems to question the sincerity of Trajan's *ciuilitas*. David Konstan's chapter 20, 'Reading Politics in Suetonius' (pp. 447-62), confines itself to Suetonius' *Life of Titus*. Konstan offers us a close reading of its chapter 9 by exploring the connections between conspiracy against the emperor and the popularity of astrology. A discussion of Juvenal's *Satire* 4 and its representation of Domitian and his circle is the centrepiece of Martin Winkler's chapter 21, 'Juvenal: Zealous Vindicator of Roman Liberty' (pp. 463-82). For Winkler, as for Dryden, Juvenal is a 'zealous vindicator of Roman liberty'.

As can be seen from the above summaries, the different authors have taken varied approaches to their brief. Some discuss one or two voluminous authors in a single chapter. Others concentrate on a single poem, passage or aspect of an author's work. Taken together, these chapters do indeed prove the book's thesis: political engagement is an aspect of all imperial Roman literature that cannot safely be ignored.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

Scholia has listed the books it has received from publishers each year during the twenty years of the series.

- Richard Alston, Edith Hall and Laura Proffitt (edd.), *Reading Ancient Slavery*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011. Pp. x + 235, incl. 17 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-0-715-63868-2. USD40.
- Antony Augoustakis, *Motherhood and the Other: Fashioning Female Power in Flavian Epic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. xii + 314. ISBN 978-0-199-58441-3. GBP60.
- Sanita Balode, *Verbs of Motion with Directional Prepositions and Prefixes in Xenophon's Anabasis*. Lund: Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University, 2011. Pp. xvi + 220. ISBN 978-9-174-73161-3. No price supplied.
- Donald Walter Baronowski, *Polybius and Roman Imperialism*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011. Pp. xiv + 242. ISBN 978-0-715-63942-9. GBP50.
- Sinclair Bell and Helen Nagy (edd.), *New Perspectives on Etruria and Early Rome*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009. Pp. 336. ISBN 978-0-299-23030-2. USD55.
- Douglas L. Cairns and J. G. Howie (edd. and trr.), *Bacchylides. Five Epinician Odes (3, 5, 9, 11, 13): Text, Introductory Essays, and Interpretative Commentary*. Cambridge: Francis Cairns, 2010. Pp. xiv + 380. ISBN 978-0-905-20552-6. GBP80.
- Stephen D. Bowd, *Venice's Most Loyal City: Civic Identity in Renaissance Brescia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010. Pp. 374. ISBN 978-0-674-05120-1. USD39.95.
- William M. Calder III (edd. John P. Harris and R. Scott Smith), *Men in their Books: Studies in the Modern History of Classical Scholarship*². Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2002. Pp. xlvii + 324. ISBN 978-3-487-10686-1. EUR44.80.
- William M. Calder III (ed. Thomas J. Rohn), *Men in Their Books 2: Studies in the Modern History of Classical Scholarship*². Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2010. Pp. ix + 318. ISBN 978-3-487-14309-5. EUR49.80.
- Livia Capponi, *Roman Egypt*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011. Pp. 89, incl. 12 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-1-853-99726-6. GBP11.99.
- Hazel Dodge, *Spectacle in the Roman World*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011. Pp. 99, incl. 39 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-1-853-99696-2. GBP11.99.
- William J. Dominik, J. Garthwaite and P. A. Roche (edd.), *Writing Politics in Imperial Rome*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2009. Pp. xii + 539. ISBN 978-9-004-15671-5. EUR180.

- Konstantin Doulamis (ed.), *Echoing Narratives: Studies of Intertextuality in Greek and Roman Prose Fiction*. Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing and Groningen University Library, 2011. Pp. xv + 210. ISBN 978-9-077-92285-9. EUR74.20.
- Andrew Erskine, *The Hellenistic Stoa: Political Thought and Action*². London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011. Pp. xv + 233. ISBN 978-1-853-99747-1. GBP25.
- Joseph Farrell and Michael C. J. Putnam (edd.), *A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and Its Tradition*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. Pp. xvii + 559, incl. 31 figures and 8 plates. ISBN 978-1-405-17577-7. GBP125.
- Andrew Feldherr, *Playing Gods: Ovid's Metamorphoses and the Politics of Fiction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010. ISBN 978-0-691-13814-5. Pp. x + 377. USD49.50.
- Robert M. Frakes, *Compiling the Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum in Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp. xiv + 368. ISBN 978-0-199-58940-1. GBP80.
- Robert Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World*². London: Bristol Classical Press, 2010. Pp. xxix + 222, incl. 64 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-1-853-99737-2. USD36.30.
- Anthony Grafton, Glenn W. Most and Salvatore Settis (edd.), *The Classical Tradition*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010. Pp. xvii + 1067. ISBN 978-0-674-03572-0. GBP36.95.
- Lorna Hardwick and Carol Gillespie (edd.), *Classics in Post-Colonial Worlds*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. xv + 422. ISBN 978-0-199-59132-9. GBP26.
- Jill Harries and Ian Wood (edd.), *The Theodosian Code: Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity*². London: Bristol Classical Press, 2010. Pp. x + 261. ISBN 978-1-853-99740-2. USD33.
- Thomas Harrison (ed.), *Writing Ancient Persia*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011. Pp. 190. ISBN 978-0-715-63917-7. GBP12.99.
- Jennifer Ingleheart (ed.), *A Commentary on Ovid, Tristia, Book 2*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. 464. ISBN 978-0-199-59042-1. GBP84.
- Mary Jaeger (ed.), *A Livy Reader: Selections from Ab Urbe Condita*. Mundelein: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2011. Pp. xxiii + 127. ISBN 978-0-865-16680-6. USD 19.
- James Ker (ed.), *A Seneca Reader: Selections from Prose and Tragedy*. Mundelein: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2011. Pp. lvi + 166. ISBN 978-0-865-16758-2. USD19.
- Emilie Kutash, *Ten Gifts of the Demiurge: Proclus on Plato's Timaeus*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011. Pp. x + 309. ISBN 978-0-715-63854-5. GBP50.
- Michael Lambert, *The Classics and South African Identities*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011. Pp. 160, incl. a general index. ISBN 978-0-715-63796-8. GBP18.99.

- J. H. Lesher (ed.), *From Inquiry to Demonstrative Knowledge: New Essays on Aristotle's Posterior Analytics*. Kelowna: Academic Printing and Publishing, 2010. Pp. xii + 211. ISBN 978-1-926-59801-7. USD28.95.
- Alan B. Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt 1-2*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. Pp. xlv, xxiii + 1276, incl. 28 pages of colour plates. ISBN 978-1-405-15598-4. GBP250.
- Wolfgang de Melo (ed. and tr.), *Plautus 2: Casina, The Casket Comedy, Curculio, Epidicus, the Two Menaechmuses*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011. Pp. x + 562. ISBN 978-0-674-99678-6. GBP15.95.
- Dana LaCourse Munteanu (ed.), *Emotion, Genre and Gender in Classical Antiquity*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011. Pp. viii + 269. ISBN 978-0-715-63895-8. GBP50.
- Josiah Osgood (ed.), *A Suetonius Reader: Selections from the Lives of the Caesars and the Life of Horace*. Mundelein: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2011. Pp. xxxix + 159. ISBN 978-0-865-16716-2. GBP11.45.
- Thalia Papadopoulou, *Aeschylus: Suppliants*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011. Pp. 189. ISBN 978-0-715-63913-9. GBP12.99.
- Catalin Partenie (ed.), *Plato's Myths*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Pp. xvi + 255, incl. 17 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-0-521-88790-8. GBP55.
- W. R. Paton, F. W. Walbank and Christian Habicht (edd. and trr.), *Polybius. The Histories 3: Books 5-8*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011. Pp. 607. ISBN 978-0-674-99658-8. GBP15.95.
- Matthew Robinson (ed.), *A Commentary on Ovid's Fasti, Book 2*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp. xii + 572. ISBN 978-0-199-58939-5. GBP100.
- Alan H. Sommerstein, *Aeschylean Tragedy*². London: Duckworth, 2010. Pp. xii + 384. ISBN 978-0-715-63824-8. GBP25.
- Elizabeth Vandiver, *Stand in the Trench, Achilles: Classical Receptions in British Poetry of the Great War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. xx + 455. ISBN 978-0-199-54274-1. GBP83.
- Gonda Van Steen, *Theatre of the Condemned: Classical Tragedy on Greek Prison Islands*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp. xiii + 354. ISBN 978-0-199-57288-5. GBP68.
- Anna Maria Wasyl, *Genres Rediscovered: Studies in Latin Miniature Epic, Love Elegy, and Epigram of the Romano-Barbaric Age*. Krakow: Jagiellonian University Press, 2011. Pp. 290. ISBN 978-8-323-33089-9. GBP10.70.
- David Whitehead (ed. and tr.), *Apollodorus Mechanicus: Siege Matters* (Πολιορκητικά). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010. Pp. 162, incl. 6 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 978-3-515-09710-9. EUR46.
- Craig Williams, *A Martial Reader: Selections from the Epigrams*. Mundelein: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2011. Pp. xxx + 185. ISBN 978-0-865-16704-9. GBP11.45.

Anne Wiseman and Peter Wiseman (edd. and trr.), *Ovid. Times and Reasons: A New Translation of Fasti*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp. xxxvii + 185. ISBN 978-0-198-14974-3. GBP55.

Noriko Yasumura, *Challenges to the Power of Zeus in Early Greek Poetry*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011. Pp. xi + 223. ISBN 978-0-715-63678-7. USD80.

Emanuela Zanda, *Fighting Hydra-Like Luxury: Sumptuary Regulation in the Roman Republic*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011. Pp. xii + 172. ISBN 978-0-715-63707-4. GBP50.

IN THE MUSEUM

Scholia has published news about classical museums and articles on classical artefacts in museums in New Zealand (volumes 11-20) and South Africa (volumes 1-10). This final volume in the series contains summaries of the main collections in New Zealand universities and cities.

ANTIQUITIES IN AUCKLAND

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In Auckland there are two collections of antiquities from Greece, Rome and Egypt.

University of Auckland

The Department of Classics and Ancient History of the University of Auckland has for quite some time had a sizable representative teaching collection of ancient Greek and Roman coins. Additionally, in the last decade we have been striving to build up a small teaching collection of ancient objects. This now includes vases and small terracottas, ancient glass and bronze artefacts ranging in date from the Early Bronze Age to the Roman period and produced variously in Egypt, Cyprus, Greece, Southern Italy and Roman North Africa. The intention of this collection is to provide students of Classics and Ancient History with immediate access to original ancient objects of a variety of forms and functions from diverse times and cultures.

The item that is earliest in date and perhaps most intrinsically interesting is a small spouted bowl (perhaps a baby-feeder) in red polished ware from Cyprus that dates back to around 2000 BC; this was recently donated by Heather Mansell of Palmerston North.¹ The finest piece in the collection is undoubtedly a fragment of an Attic red-figure calyx-*krater* attributed stylistically to a follower of the Niobid Painter, who worked in Athens around the middle of the fifth century BC; from the scene section, it preserves a woman running to left towards part of a building.²

¹ Figure 1: Auckland, Auckland University Antiquities Collection 2011.36. E. A. Mackay and G. Salapata, 'Bowl for a Dead Infant? A Donation to the Antiquities Collection of the University of Auckland,' *Prudentia* 40 (2008) 29-39.

² Figure 2: Auckland, Auckland University Antiquities Collection 2010.32. Photographs: Brian Donovan, University of Auckland.

The Antiquities Collection, which is housed within the Departmental Reading Room, can be visited free of charge during normal office hours in the University term time and at other times by appointment. It is, however, recommended that visitors (especially those from outside of Auckland) contact the Department to confirm availability in advance of a visit.³ The curator is Anne Mackay. Some of the objects are represented on the web site of the Department.⁴

Auckland War Memorial

The Auckland War Memorial Museum (open daily 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. except for Christmas Day) has a larger collection of Egyptian, Greek and Roman antiquities with some quality items; not all the artefacts are on permanent display, however, and they are not identified as a specific collection on the museum's web site.⁵ The Museum does not at present have a specialist curator for Mediterranean and Egyptian antiquities. A \$10 entrance donation is suggested from adults (Aucklanders will not be asked to make an admission contribution), while children and students aged fifteen years and under are free; there may be, however, a charge for special exhibitions.

REPRODUCTIONS OF GREEK SCULPTURE AND VASES AT MASSEY UNIVERSITY

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Unlike other New Zealand universities, Massey University does not have a collection of antiquities for use in the teaching of Classical art. To redress this lack, the Classical Studies Programme initiated in 1998 the acquisition of sixteen reproductions of ancient sculpture so that students can get a feel of ancient art in three-dimensional form—quite unlike the possibly misleading impressions gained from pictures or slides. The replicas, mostly in resin, reproduce items which date from 2500 to 300 BC and come from museums in Athens. They include Cycladic figurines, *kouroi* and *korai* heads, small figurines, a head of Alexander the Great and relief sculpture.¹

A generous donation in 2010 from alumni Alan and Anne Jermaine in memory of their daughter Tanya allowed the Programme to purchase fifteen high quality reproductions of Greek vases.² They were selected to represent a variety of shapes,

³ Telephone: (09) 373 7599 (ext. 87622).

⁴ <http://www.arts.auckland.ac.nz/uoa/antiquities-collection>.

⁵ <http://www.aucklandmuseum.com>.

¹ Figure 3. Photograph: Gina Salapata.

² Figure 4. Photograph: Gina Salapata.

decorative techniques, chronological periods and geographic locations. The collection consists of technologically authentic reproductions made by the 'THETIS Authentics' workshop in Athens, Greece. The vases are made on the potter's wheel and decorated with a clay slip that acquires its colour during a three-stage firing cycle; this traditional method of manufacture differentiates the reproductions from the run-of-the-mill tourist products that are decorated with acrylic paints after firing. The THETIS reproductions undergo an aging process to make them appear more like the unearthed originals. The result is ceramic objects that are almost indistinguishable from the original; to ensure there is no confusion regarding their origin, the vases are marked with the workshop name. Among the fifteen vases are a Mycenaean *kylix*, a ripe Corinthian *oinochoe* decorated with rows of animals, a white-ground *lekythos* representing a Persian archer, and two bowls by Sotades. Accompanying the vases are one painted plaque reproduced four times to illustrate the pre-firing state and the three-stage firing outcome, and a large *lekythos* which has been deliberately broken to allow students an opportunity to piece it back together based on their understanding of the design and vase shape.

There are several advantages in using reproductions as teaching aids in Classics. While original antiquities are precious and often fragmentary, reproductions allow students to handle and experiment with them in a very practical and hands-on way: for example, by filling vases with liquids to test capacity, weight and ease of use. They can imagine daily life in the past through tangible experience. Both the sculpture and vase collections are available to local secondary students and the general public. The collections used to be exhibited in the Sir Geoffrey Peren Building, but they will soon move to another public area of the University, while the heritage Peren Building undergoes restoration and seismic strengthening. The hands-on learning experience can be continued in the virtual world through an interactive web site and iPad version (available for free in the Apple App Store), which include three-dimensional interactive animations created by Massey Teaching and Learning staff. Students can examine fully rotatable images and see high resolution enlargements along with information about the depictions and manufacturing techniques.³

³ http://tdu.massey.ac.nz/Final%20Vases/greek_vases.htm.

UNIVERSITY AND NATIONAL COLLECTIONS IN WELLINGTON

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There are two public collections of antiquities in New Zealand's capital.

Victoria University of Wellington

The Victoria University of Wellington Classics Programme has a small but useful teaching collection of antiquities: Greek and Roman coins, vases, terracottas, bronzes, glassware and sculpture, as well as small holdings in jewellery, reliefs and fragments of wall-painting. Its earliest artefacts are Neolithic Burnished Ware sherds, its latest third-century AD Roman red-slip ware. While its focus is on Greece and Italy, it also includes objects from as far afield as Petra and Bactria. An important part of the collection is its Attic pottery, both complete pieces and fragments, which covers a range of styles and shapes. This includes the most impressive piece in the collection, a column *krater* attributed to the Leagros Group,¹ as well as some slightly more unusual pieces such as a white-ground *alabastron* with Nike and a black-figure *kalpis* decorated with an octopus. The Classics Museum has a small display of South Italian ware, currently enhanced courtesy of a number of pieces on loan from the Keats Collection.

The Classics Museum has been fortunate in being able to continue expanding the range of its collection both by purchase and donation. For example, several pieces of Cypriot white ware pottery (eighth-seventh centuries BC), a brown-on-buff ware barrel jar, a small horse-and-rider figurine, and a black-on-red ware jug with a flat base (750-600 BC) have been added to the collection, as well as two Bronze Age Aegean items: a small Minoan storage jar (Late Minoan IIIA, *ca.* 1340 BC; height 13.2 cm.) and a miniature Mycenaean 'throne' or chair in terracotta (1350-1250 BC; height 4.6 cm.).² The most recent acquisition is a Roman transport amphora with a long neck, flaring lip and a broad belly (Dressel Type 6), which to judge from its fabric was likely sourced from Asia Minor. It may have come from a ship which sank in transit since the amphora is covered with marine encrustation on the side that was not buried in sand on the ocean floor.³

¹ D. Burton, 'In the Museum: Classics Museum, Victoria University of Wellington', *Scholias* 16 (2007) 161-68.

² Figure 5: Wellington, Victoria University of Wellington Classics Museum 2011.2 (Mycenaean throne or chair). Photograph: Hannah Webling.

³ Figure 6: Wellington, Victoria University of Victoria Classics Museum 2012.1. Photograph: Charles Ede Ltd.

The collection is intended to expose university students to examples of some of the materials that they study, but the programme also frequently receives school groups and occasionally other visitors from all over the lower North Island and the upper South Island. The Classics Museum hosted an open viewing of the Victoria University of Wellington Coin Collection for interested individuals, including members of the Royal Numismatic Society, during the international conference 'Money and the Evolution of Ancient Cultures' held at the University from 3 to 5 July 2011.

The Classics Programme has developed a public Disaster Recovery Plan for the Victoria University of Wellington Classics Museum and its objects, which involves remodelling the museum so that the cases are attached to an 'original' wall within the space (last remodelled in 2003).⁴ Likewise we have plans for new shelving and a new display of the antiquities in order to use our space to protect our material in the event of a natural disaster. Visitors are welcome to view the Classics Museum (Old Kirk Building, room 526) free of charge at any time during office hours, and we are happy to guide visitors or school groups around it. Since the Museum is also used as a classroom, it is best to contact the Classics administrator ahead of time.⁵ The Curator is Judy Deuling. The collection is in the process of being catalogued, and it is hoped that at least some of its pieces will be made available online.

The Museum of New Zealand / Te Papa Tongarewa

The Museum of New Zealand / Te Papa Tongarewa also has a small collection of antiquities, including the mummy and sarcophagus of Mehit-em-Wesekh (ca. 300 BC). During 2011 the archaeological collections of the Classical period underwent change, as material formerly on loan from the Otago Museum had been returned. The collections were reassessed, recatalogued and photographed for Te Papa's online catalogue.⁶ As the archaeological and classical antiquities collections at Te Papa have been photographed, items have been rediscovered, reassessed and placed into appropriate categories. Material from Roman Britain, for example, including a collection of iron nails from the legionary fortress at Inchtuthil, Perthshire, Scotland (83-87 AD), and a collection of Cypriot white ware, which once had been identified as 'Peruvian', have been placed with Roman lamps and glassware from the Mediterranean region. Perhaps one of the most exciting clarifications is a large collection of ancient Greek and Roman coins, which have been identified among the 'copies'.

⁴ Figures 7a and 7b. Photograph: Hannah Webling.

⁵ Telephone: (04) 463 5319; e-mail: hannah.webling@vuw.ac.nz.

⁶ See <http://www.tepapa.govt.nz>. My thanks to Andrea Hearfield, who photographs and catalogues the archaeological collections at Te Papa, along with Ross O'Rourke. With great sadness we note the passing of Ross O'Rourke on 28 May 2012. He will be missed as a gentleman and scholar whose store of institutional knowledge in the Wellington region was immense.

From late 2010 to late 2011 Te Papa's Attic black-figure neck-*amphora* attributed to the Leagros Group, *ca.* 510 BC,⁷ accompanied a Victoria University of Wellington Classics Museum Attic black-figure *lekythos* and *kylix* on loan to special exhibitions in the Adam Art Gallery, Victoria University of Wellington, and Te Manawa Museum in Palmerston North. The neck-*amphora* depicts Herakles battling four Amazons (side A) and two hoplites waiting for a nude companion as he arms for battle (side B), and both of the university's vases illustrate Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion in his first labour. Together they provided a terracotta complement to Marion Maguire's touring print exhibition 'The Labours of Herakles'.

Te Papa is open daily, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m., late night Thursday till 9 p.m., and entry is free, though charges apply to some exhibitions and activities. The classical antiquities, however, are rarely on display and those who wish to see them are advised to contact the Museum well ahead of their visit.

REPORT FROM THE LOGIE RECOVERY GROUP, UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

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As many *Scholia* readers are aware, Christchurch and the University of Canterbury have experienced considerable seismic activity since a 7.1 magnitude earthquake on 4 September 2010. This quake caused moderate to serious damage to about one-half of the Logie Collection. Fortunately everything is reparable, and happily the collection sustained no further damage during the 22 February 2011 earthquake. This report briefly outlines the emergency response, the recovery process, and the future of the collection.

Soon after the quake Classics staff removed objects from their cases and placed them in boxes on the floor and, where possible, under sturdy tables. Within two weeks of the 'main event' the Pro-Vice Chancellor of Arts, Ed Adelson, formed a Logie Recovery Group consisting of Classics staff, College of Arts management, the University and Logie curators, and other University staff able to assist. We were pleased and grateful for assistance from the Christchurch Art Gallery and the Canterbury Museum. By October 1, Hubert Klaassens (formerly the Manager of Public Programmes at the Christchurch Art Gallery) was appointed as Project Manager. We cannot thank him enough for his sound advice, expert knowledge and whole-hearted dedication to the task of returning the Logie Collection to its former glory.

⁷ Burton [1] 168 figs 2a, 2b.

Between September and December 2010 the Logie Room became a workroom, as Hubert and curator Penny Minchin-Garvin first stabilised the collection and then packed it for long-term storage using enormous quantities of polyethylene high-density closed cell foam, tyvek and archival crates. We thank profusely Anne Mackay, who spent two days helping us to sort chips, fragments and even dust from our cup collection. In November 2010 Emily Fryer, Melinda Bell and Juliet Campbell (Emily Fryer Conservation Ltd) were appointed as the conservators for the collection, and a collective decision was taken by the Logie Recovery Group to conserve the collection so that the Canterbury earthquake would become part of its history. This means that damage is visible from a distance under one metre but barely visible from further away. In January 2011 conservation commenced. Figures 7 and 8 show an Apulian red-figure *oinochoe* before and after conservation.¹ The results are truly astounding.

By June 2012 all the damaged items in the Logie Collection had been conserved and returned to the University. Conserved objects remain in their special packing to guard against further aftershocks, and the Logie room has been refurbished so that the collection can continue to be accessible for study, research and viewing. In the medium term objects will be stored on Hydestor mobile shelving with restraining rods on each shelf and locking pins and an anti-tilt system to prevent rolling during aftershocks. In the longer term we hope to be able to purchase special cabinets into which base isolators can be installed for seismic protection. These will display a small selection of objects at a public location on Campus yet to be determined. Fund-raising for additional cases has already begun, and we are especially grateful to the Australasian Society for Classical Studies, The Classical Association, and the late Professor Ernst Badian for generous donations to this fund.

In January 2012 Terri Elder (formerly University of Canterbury art curator) replaced Hubert Klaassens as the Project Manager and oversaw the project through to the end. In March Associate Professor Robin Bond convened the Logie Task Force to make recommendations about the future of the Logie Collection to the Vice-Chancellor, including provision for a curator and the return of the collection to public display. Penny Minchin-Garvin has been temporarily reappointed until September 2012 and may continue until at least the end of the year.

We are pleased to report that the collection is once again being used for teaching in the Greek and Roman art classes and is hosting visits from high schools. During the first semester a student intern worked with secondary school teachers to facilitate future school visits to the collection. She developed several 'set menus' that list items in the collection by style, artist, technique and theme that support the new NCEA emphasis on modern and ancient connections in such areas as drama, daily life,

¹ Figures 8 and 9: Christchurch, University of Canterbury Logie Collection 119/71. J. R. Green, *The Logie Collection: A Catalogue of the James Logie Memorial Collection of Classical Antiquities at the University of Canterbury, Christchurch* (Christchurch 2009) 141-43 no. 48. Photographs: courtesy of Emily Fryer Conservation and the James Logie Memorial Collection, University of Canterbury.

athletics, courtship, writing and literacy. In sum, we are pleased to report significant progress on the road to recovery.

THE OTAGO MUSEUM CLASSICAL COLLECTION

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The Otago Museum in Dunedin was founded in 1868. Provided with a purpose-built structure in 1877, it passed in that same year to the management of the nearby University of Otago. This relationship survived until 1955, when the Museum was granted autonomy under its own Act of Parliament, with funding to come primarily from the various local bodies in the province of Otago. Throughout the Museum's history staff from the University have served as honorary curators for its wide-ranging material culture and natural history collections. Over the years the Department of Classics has provided the honorary curator of the Classical Collection (J. K. Anderson, J. R. Green, J. G. F. Hind, A. F. Stewart and R. Hannah) as well as an honorary curator of the Greek and Roman coins (C. T. H. R. Ehrhardt).

Prior to 1948 the collection was small but representative. Trendall reported briefly on the principal Greek vases, which ranged from Mycenaean to South Italian, as well as some Cypriot wares.¹ There were also holdings in ancient lamps,² terracottas and minor sculpture. Most of these items had been donated by local worthies from their overseas travels, notably by the Theomin family (well-known in Dunedin for their home, Olveston) in the early decades of the twentieth century and by Fred Waite during his service on the African front in the Second World War. Other items came via exchanges with other museums, such as the Royal Ontario Museum in 1930, or presentation, as by the British Museum in the 1930s.³ Most significantly several hundred fine Greek and Roman coins had been donated by a local businessman, Willi Fels, before his death in 1946 (along with some 80 000 other items ranging across the whole of the Museum's collections).⁴

In 1948 this small collection of ancient Greek and Roman objects was augmented significantly by two acquisitions. The first was a purchase through auction

¹ A. D. Trendall, 'Greek Vases in the Otago Museum,' *JHS* 56 (1936) 235-36.

² D. Anson and R. Hannah, 'Lamps from the Egyptian Collection of Otago Museum,' *Mediterranean Archaeology* 12 (1999) 125-45; D. Anson, R. Hannah, B. Hudson, *Lamps in New Zealand Collections* (Sydney forthcoming 2012).

³ It is not recorded what was exchanged in return, but it was most likely Māori material. Later presentations included items given in return for assisting with the funding of Kathleen Kenyon's excavations in Jerusalem in 1961-1967.

⁴ C. T. H. R. Ehrhardt prepared a typescript catalogue of all these coins.

comprising a large part of the private collection of A. B. Cook, Laurence Professor of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge University. The purchase was made possible by a very generous bequest from Willi Fels and its acquisition was reportedly assisted behind the scenes by Trendall, who was both an alumnus of Otago University and a former student of Cook in Cambridge. This acquisition provided several scores of Greek vases, which furnished examples of almost all major forms and styles from the eighth to the fourth centuries BC. The Protogeometric, Geometric, Attic and Corinthian black-figure wares have been published by J. R. Green.⁵ Cook's collection also included an under-life-size, female, marble head, which he himself had published as coming from the Parthenon metopes but has since been shown not to be so well-connected and indeed is probably of Roman origin.⁶

The second major acquisition in Classical material in 1948 was of thirty-six objects through donation from one of the more extraordinary benefactors of the Otago Museum, Lindsay Rogers (1902-1962). Rogers, famous as one of the 'guerilla surgeons' among Tito's partisans in Yugoslavia after World War 2, was a regular contributor to the Museum's Classical and Near/Middle Eastern collections. His donations included some excellent Roman glassware, but outstanding was a small marble head identifiable as a portrait of Alexander the Great.⁷

Other items of interest in the Otago Museum's collection are an Archaic Greek helmet,⁸ some fragments of Greek Middle Bronze Age Grey Minyan and Matt-painted ware (donated by George Mylonas), a rare Caeretan *hydria*,⁹ a good sampling of Etruscan bucchero and Roman red-gloss ware ('*terra sigillata*'), several electrotypes copies of Mycenaean and Minoan objects, and a set of plaster casts of Greek and Roman sculptures; most of the latter were acquired under A. F. Stewart and are on loan from the Department of Classics of the University of Otago.

The Classical Collection is housed in the People of the World gallery on the second floor of the Otago Museum, which is open daily (admission free) from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.¹⁰

⁵ J. R. Green, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. New Zealand. Fasc 1* (Oxford 1979). Figure 10: Dunedin, Otago Museum E 48.51, Late Corinthian broad-bottomed *oinochoe* with trefoil lid, ca. 570 BC. Green [above, this note] 34 pl. 44.1-4. Photograph: McRobie Studios.

⁶ R. Hannah, 'In the Museum: Otago Museum, Dunedin,' *Scholia* 19 (2010) 174-83.

⁷ R. Hannah, 'The "Otago Alexander"' in P. Wheatley and R. Hannah (eds), *Alexander in the Antipodes* (Claremont 2009) 299-309.

⁸ P. A. Hannah, 'In the Museum: A Corinthian Helmet: Otago Museum, Dunedin,' *Scholia* 17 (2008) 153-63.

⁹ Figure 11: Dunedin, Otago Museum E 53.61, attributed to the Eagle Painter, ca. 530 BC. J. K. Anderson, *Handbook to the Greek Vases in the Otago Museum* (Dunedin 1955) 55 no. 129, pls 15f.; J. M. Hemelrijk, *Caeretan Hydriae* (Mainz am Rhein 1984) 43 no. 26, figs 61 and 80, pls 17 and 95f. Photograph: McRobie Studios.

¹⁰ The web site is http://www.otagomuseum.govt.nz/people_of_the_world.html.

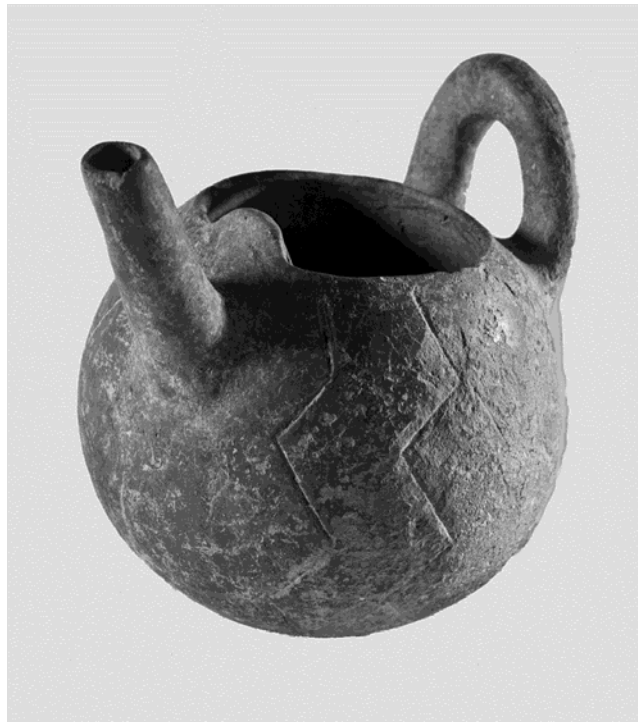


Figure 1: Auckland University Antiquities Collection 2011.36.
Small Cypriot spouted bowl in red polished ware.



Figure 2: Auckland University Antiquities Collection 2010.32.
Fragment of an Attic red-figure calyx-krater.



Figure 3: Palmerston North, Massey University.
Greek sculptural replicas.



Figure 4: Palmerston North, Massey University.
Greek ceramic replicas.

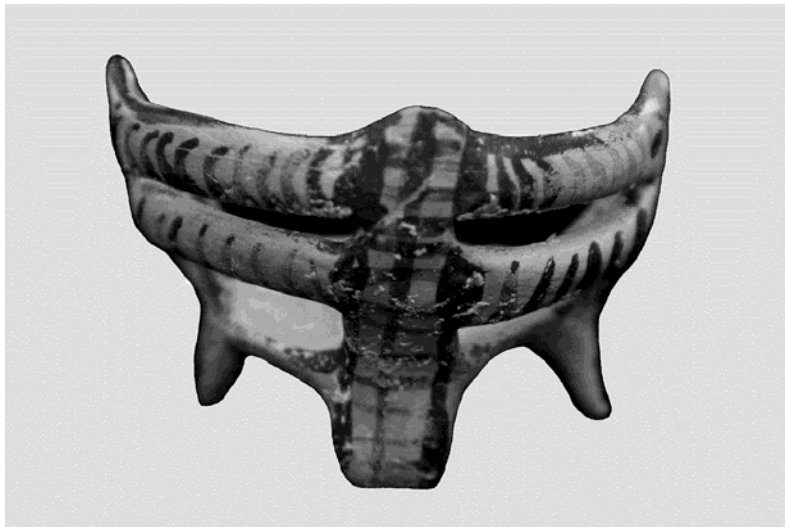


Figure 5: Victoria University of Wellington Classics Museum 2011.2.
Miniature Mycenaean terracotta 'throne'. Height 4.6 cm.



Figure 6: Victoria University of Wellington Classics Museum 2012.1.
Roman transport amphora. Height 92.7 cm.



Figure 7a: Victoria University of Wellington Classics Museum.



Figures 7b: Victoria University of Wellington Classics Museum.



Figure 8: Christchurch, University of Canterbury Logie Collection 119/71.
Apulian *oinochoe* before conservation.

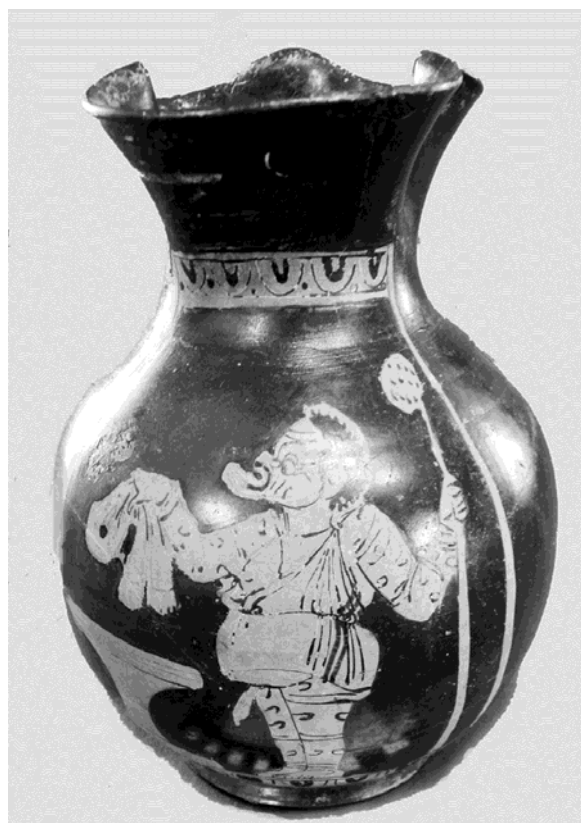


Figure 9: Christchurch, University of Canterbury Logie Collection 119/71.
Apulian *oinochoe* after conservation.



Figure 10: Dunedin, Otago Museum E 48.51.
Late Corinthian broad-bottomed *oinochoe* with trefoil lid.

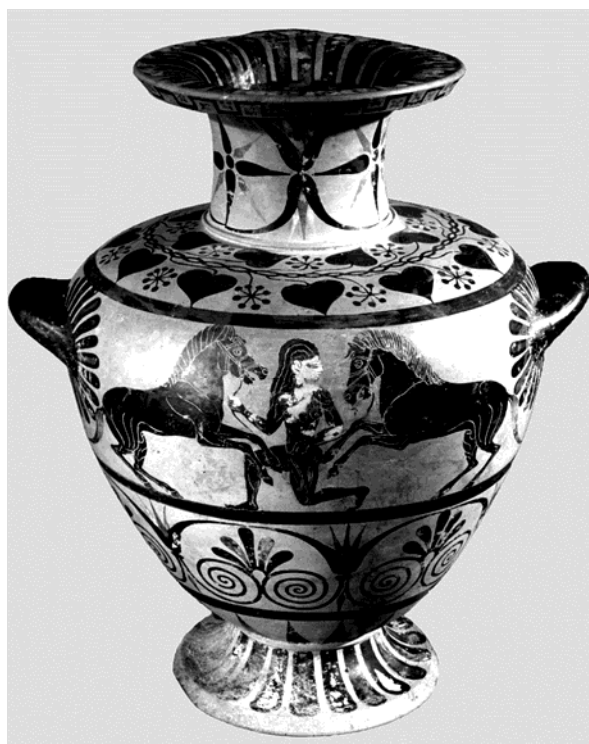


Figure 11: Dunedin, Otago Museum E 53.61.
Caeretan *hydria*.

J. A. BARSBY ESSAY

*The paper judged to be the best undergraduate essay submitted to **Scholia** in New Zealand has been published annually as the J. A. Barsby Essay in volumes 11-20; the paper judged to be the best African undergraduate essay submitted to the journal was published annually as the B. X. de Wet essay in volumes 1-10. The prizes for the J. A. Barsby Essay competition are sponsored by the Australasian Society for Classical Studies, while the B. X. de Wet Essay prize was sponsored by the Classical Association of South Africa.*

POET, *PRINCEPS* AND PROEM: NERO AND THE BEGINNING OF LUCAN'S *PHARSALIA*

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Lucan begins the *Pharsalia* with a proem that mixes traditional epic features with occasionally startling innovation.¹ The programmatic first lines follow Vergilian and Homeric models, but in place of the traditional epic invocation of the gods Lucan presents an *encomium* of his contemporary *princeps*, Nero. The praise of the emperor has aroused suspicion since antiquity since it seemed to fit poorly both with the overall anti-Caesarean tone of the poem and the details of Lucan's own fatal falling-out with Nero, which led to his involvement in the Pisonian conspiracy and subsequent death. Adducing the details of Lucan's life to the reading of the poem is problematic not just on theoretical but evidential grounds, however, and the poem (perhaps purposefully) does not take a consistent approach to Nero.

Information on Lucan's life is scarce even considering the brief twenty-five year span in which he lived, joined the inner circle of Nero, composed a surprisingly large corpus of poetry (and some prose), fell out with the *princeps*, and was executed for his involvement in the Pisonian conspiracy of AD 65.² The evidence is muddled,

¹ I thank Mark Masterson of Victoria University for his thoughts on an earlier draft of this paper. The title of the *Pharsalia* (or *De Bello Civili* or *Bellum Civile*) is heavily disputed (F. M. Ahl, *Lucan: An Introduction* [Ithaca 1976] 326-32), with various evidence for all three titles: the question is largely irresolvable from the current evidence. In keeping with a general valuation of evidence within the poem over external evidence (see Luc. 9.985 for the use of *Pharsalia* as Lucan's apparent title), the poem will be referred to here as the *Pharsalia*.

² Ahl [1] 36. On Lucan's life, see Ahl [1] 17-61; E. Fantham (ed.), *Lucan. De Bello Civili: Book II* (Cambridge 1992) 1-3; S. Bartsch, *Ideology in Cold Blood: A Reading of Lucan's Civil War* (Cambridge, Mass. 1997) 492. Vacca and Statius (*Silv.* 2.7, the *Genethliacon Lucani ad Pollam*) give lists of Lucan's poetry at seven or more separate verse works; these are not necessarily complete.

and though Tacitus, Statius, the pseudo-Suetonius and Vacca do not conflict substantially in their depiction of Lucan's life, they do vary in details and by no means form a cohesive picture. Modern scholars have focused on the relationship between Lucan and Nero, which forms the most significant theme in our sources and which was undoubtedly one of the most important in the poet's life. The disparate evidence suggests that Lucan and Nero were initially on good terms: Lucan was recalled from Athens to join Nero's court ([Suet.] *Vita Luc.*) and he declaimed a poem in praise of Nero at the Neronia of AD 60 that won him first prize in the category (Vacca). Nero promoted him to high rank and office (a quaestorship [Suet.] and an augurate [Vacca]). Nevertheless their relationship soured thoroughly, perhaps around AD 63.³ However, it is important to note, though the sources vary, that they agree not only that there was a falling-out but that Nero, not Lucan, was the initiator:

Lucanum propriae causae accendebant, quod famam carminum eius premebat
Nero prohibueratque ostentare.

(Tac. *Ann.* 15.49)

Personal reasons incited Lucan: Nero had suppressed the reputation of his poetry and forbidden him to publish it.⁴

non tamen permansit in gratia: siquidem aegre ferens, <quod Nero se>
recitante subito ac nulla nisi refrigerandi sui causa indicto senatu recessisset,
neque uerbis aduersus principem neque factis extantibus post haec temperauit.

([Suet.] *Vita Luc.* 2)

However, [Lucan] did not remain in favour: since indeed he took it poorly that while he was reciting, Nero suddenly and without any reason, except to cool himself off, had withdrawn to a meeting of the senate, and he did not after that refrain from speaking against the *princeps* nor from deeds that still survive.⁵

Both Tacitus and the pseudo-Suetonius make Nero's rejection the reason for Lucan's anger towards him without giving any indication that Lucan had earlier been opposed to the emperor. Tacitus and Vacca both associate Nero's rejection with a rivalry between Lucan and Nero as poets, and the pseudo-Suetonius likewise sets the moment of Nero's rejection at a recital (*se recitante*). There is no evidence here to suggest at all that Nero's objection was to the content of any one poem.⁶

The pseudo-Suetonius does suggest that Lucan attacked the emperor openly: *sed et famoso carmine cum ipsum tum potentissimos amicorum grauissime proscidit*

³ P. Grimal, 'Is the Eulogy at the Beginning of the *Pharsalia* Ironic?', in C. Tesoriero (ed.), *Lucan: Oxford Readings in Classical Studies* (Oxford 2010) 64.

⁴ The text of Tacitus is that of H. Heubner (ed.), *Taciti Annales* (Leipzig 1994). All translations from Greek and Latin are my own.

⁵ The text of pseudo-Suetonius is that of A. Reifferscheid (ed.), *Suetonii Praeter Casesarum Libros Reliquiae* (Leipzig 1860).

⁶ Pace Ahl [1] 348-52 and M. Leigh, *Lucan: Spectacle and Engagement* (Oxford 1997) 1f.

(‘he also thoroughly castigated not only Nero but the most powerful of his friends in an infamous poem’, *Vita Luc.* 3). However, this follows on from the description of the falling-out: while Nero may well have taken exception to it, it cannot be asserted that this was the cause of the falling-out. The only suggestion, then, that Nero and Lucan’s falling-out had a political aspect is Vacca’s statement: *interdictum est etiam causarum actionibus* (‘even taking cases to court was forbidden’).⁷ This detail is not found anywhere other than this biography, which probably dates from the sixth century. Overall it seems that our sources consistently present the falling-out between Lucan and Nero as the result of Nero’s jealous of Lucan’s poetic ability, after which Lucan began to demonstrate resentment of the *princeps*.

Vacca suggests that three books of the *Pharsalia* were published before the rest, that is, *before* the open falling-out with Nero, and were not changed thereafter (*ediderat et tres libros quales uidemus*, ‘he had published as well three books, such as we know them’).⁸ We must assume that the three books were from the *Pharsalia* (Vacca states that only the *Pharsalia* had survived until his time) and that they were the first three. If that is the case, we must take caution when looking for evidence of hostility to Nero in the *Pharsalia*, especially in the first books.⁹

Lucan’s praise of Nero in the *encomium* (Luc. 1.33-66) is fulsome: he foresees the posthumous deification of Nero not just as a god amongst the Olympian ranks but as one of the most important:

. . . te, cum statione peracta
astra petes serus, praelati regia caeli
excipiet gaudente polo: seu sceptrum tenere
seu te flammigeros Phoebi conscendere currus
.....

. . . iuuat, tibi numine ab omni
cedetur, iurisque tui natura relinquet
quis deus esse uelis, ubi regnum ponere mundi.

(Luc. 1.45-48, 50-52)

The palace in your chosen heaven will receive you with joyous skies when your time has come and well-aged you seek the stars. Whether you decide to hold the sceptre [of Jupiter] or mount Phoebus’ fire-bearing chariot . . . every god will give place to you and nature will leave to you which god you wish to be where on earth you place your reign.¹⁰

⁷ The text of Vacca is that of C. E. Haskins (ed.), *M. Annaei Lucani Pharsalia* (London 1887) xiii-xx.

⁸ Grimal [3] 62-64; J. Masters, *Poetry and Civil War in Lucan’s Bellum Civile* (Cambridge 1992) 219f. J. J. O’Hara, *Inconsistency in Roman Epic* (Cambridge 2007) 133 refers to this along the lines of Homeric scholarship as the ‘Separatist’ tradition, i.e., separating the *encomium* and book seven’s extreme censure.

⁹ Leigh [6] 1-3 insists that the approach to Nero is consistent; Ahl [1] 348 allows that the first three books cannot have been the cause of the original ban.

¹⁰ The text of Lucan is that of D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed.), *M. Annaei Lucani de Bello Ciuili Libri X* (Leipzig 1988).

Champlin suggests that this is in fact the earliest literary depiction of Nero as Apollo.¹¹ In particular it seems to defer to Nero's own cultivation of an Apollonian image at about the same time as the publication of the first three books of the *Pharsalia*.¹² Grimal, in establishing a date for the publication of the first three books, has demonstrated that the alternatives to civil war (conquest towards the Seres, Araxes and Nile; Luc. 1.19-20) that precede the *encomium* acknowledge Nero's military campaigns with a favourable mention.¹³ It is not necessary to read this praise as sarcastic: if it is over-the-top to modern tastes, it has to be acknowledged that Lucan is generally over-the-top to modern tastes.¹⁴ Dewar has rejected at length the ancient *scholia* that attempt to read jibes at Nero into the text of the *encomium*.¹⁵ To read it as an attack on the *princeps* requires either the support of external biographical evidence that cannot be proven to pertain to the period of composition provided by our sources, or an aggressive counter-reading of the poem here, if not both.

If we should exclude politically antagonistic readings of the early books of the *Pharsalia*,¹⁶ however, there may be some profit in considering personal and artistic attacks on the emperor in the *encomium* (though, as demonstrated above, there is hardly much better evidence that Lucan felt threatened by Nero before the rejection). Lucan begins his poem with a typical epic *propositio* to establish both his topic and his genre:

Bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos
iusque datum sceleri canimus.

(Luc. 1.1f.)

Wars, more than civil, on Emathian plains, and right granted to wickedness we
sing.

The closest model for Lucan's opening is the beginning of Vergil's *Aeneid*, a major influence on Lucan in general.¹⁷ Lucan, like Vergil, places himself in the forefront of the means of expression (*canimus*, perhaps nothing more than a poetical plural equal to Vergil's *cano*, *Aen.* 1.1), a contrast with the Greek epic tradition in which a god

¹¹ E. Champlin, 'Nero, Apollo and the Poets', *Phoenix* 57 (2003) 282.

¹² Champlin [11] *passim*.

¹³ Grimal [3] 62f.

¹⁴ S. Bartsch, 'Lucan', in J. M. Foley (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Epic* (Malden 2005) 494f.

¹⁵ M. Dewar, 'Laying It on with a Trowel: The Proem to Lucan and Related Texts', *CQ* 44 (1994) 199f.

¹⁶ Bartsch [14] 501.

¹⁷ Bartsch [14] 500; G. B. Conte 'The Proem of the *Pharsalia*', in Tesoriero [3] 46-58 demonstrates the Vergilian and Homeric models in Lucan's first seven lines and argues that these are a carefully constructed response.

sings.¹⁸ Epic poetry as personal expression, however, was not without precedent even in Vergil's time: both Hesiod and Apollonius Rhodius place themselves in the same position (ἀρχώμεθ' αἰδεῖν, 'let us begin to sing', Hes. *Theog.* 1; ἀρχόμενος . . . μνήσομαι, 'beginning . . . I will recall', Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1f.).¹⁹ Lucan's *propositio*, then, is founded on the epic proems of his predecessors, but it is lacking in one persistent feature. Lucan's opening lines contain no god of inspiration. It has been suggested that the encomium of Nero serves as a replacement of the invocation of divine inspiration that is otherwise lacking from Lucan's proem. Lucan's statement, however, is not completely convincing:

sed mihi iam numen; nec, si te pectore uates
accipio, Cirrhaea uelim secreta mouentem
sollicitare deum Bacchumque auertere Nysa:
tu satis ad uires Romana in carmina dandas.

(Luc. 1.63-66)

But you are already a divinity to me. And, if I as a poet receive you in my breast, I would not wish to trouble the god who rules Cirrhaean mysteries nor turn Bacchus from Nysa. You are enough to give strength to Roman songs.

The suggestion that Nero is equal in arts to Apollo or Bacchus is certainly flattering,²⁰ but this is not the traditional invocation of a god who sings through the poet;²¹ even Vergil, who also stood at the front of his poetry, allowed his muse the agency of *mihi causas memora* ('remind me of the causes', *Aen.* 1.8). Nero has no agency in *Pharsalia* 1.66; even the act of giving strength is rendered abstract by the gerundive expression *uires . . . dandas*. Lucan's divine Nero is not the man, cannot sing of arms or war. In fact, overall the beginning of the *Pharsalia* (1.63 excluded) looks *forward*, not *back* to Nero for inspiration:

quod si non aliam uenturo fata Neroni
inuenere uiam magnoque aeterna parantur
regna deis caelumque suo seruire Tonanti

¹⁸ Ἄειδε θεὰ ('sing, goddess', *Il.* 1.1); μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα ('tell me, Muse', *Od.* 1.1); Μοῦσαι . . . αἰοιδῆσι ('Muses . . . with your songs', Hes. *Op.* 1); ἄγε νῦν Ἑρατώ . . . μοι ἔνισπε ('come now Erato . . . tell me', Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.1); θεὰ . . . ἔννεπε Μοῦσα, Διὸς τέκος ('goddess . . . tell, Muse, child of Zeus', 4.1f.).

¹⁹ In both cases divinities are invoked (the Muses in the *Theogony*; Apollo in the *Argonautica*) with ἀρχομαι: here, as in Vergil and Lucan, the narrators are agents of divinely inspired song rather than instruments or recipients of divine song.

²⁰ N. Holmes, 'Nero and Caesar: Lucan 1.33-66', *CPh* 94 (1999) 75.

²¹ Holmes [20] 76 suggests that Lucan is in fact making a pun in this line on the derivation of *Nero* from the Sabine word for 'strength', which shifts the focus of the line somewhat from inspiration to the matter of force. Some deference must be given to Ahl's suggestion ([1] 47) that this is not a poem to which Nero would aspire, even if it is not specifically anti-Neronian.

non nisi saeuorum potuit post bella gigantum,
iam nihil, o superi, querimur.

(Luc. 1.33-37)

But if fate could find no other way for Nero to come, and the eternal reign is acquired for the gods at great cost, and heaven could not serve its own Thunderer except after the war with the savage Giants, then we complain no more, oh gods on high.

The Civil War is, surprisingly, excused if Nero is going to be the result. Masters and Bartsch have argued that Lucan's poem itself depicts civil war not only in its narrative but in its discourse as well: within the *Pharsalia* the poem and the Civil War stand for each other.²² The depiction of Nero as the result of the Civil War also places him at the other end of the poetic process and inverts the typical invocation of the gods. Although Nero is acknowledged as the inspiration of the poem, he is denied his own voice in the poem and placed not at the beginning but at the end of the process of poetic production. This may have stung in particular for an emperor who valued himself as a poet and particularly since it came from Lucan. If this is an attack, however, it is a minor and obscure one.

The result of a positive analysis of the *encomium* of Nero is a rather difficult tension between the praise of Lucan's own *princeps* and the general hostility to the principate, which is evident even in the early books (and which can be seen without recourse to the biographical evidence on Lucan's political opinions). Holmes attempts to reconcile the two by suggesting that Lucan abstracts the *concept* of tyranny from its present application (i.e., Nero),²³ but this is not entirely convincing: Lucan also refers to the citizens of present-day Neronian Rome as slaves. This more than anything has been a source of consternation, which has led to negative analysis of the *encomium*. It is important to consider that the *Pharsalia* is a poem that is frequently at war with itself, however, and that Nero himself had an ambiguous relationship to the Civil War: although his power derived from Caesar's victory, Nero was also a descendant of Pompeian party members, most notably Domitius Ahenobarbus (Nero's great-great grandfather), from whose family Nero had taken his birth name.²⁴ Domitius too appears in the first three books of the *Pharsalia* (in defence of Corfinium, 2.478-525), where he is defeated through mutiny but pardoned by Caesar; Lucan presents the failures of the defence with a light touch and therefore flatteringly avoids the problems that Fantham adduces in her historiographic reconstruction.²⁵ This care suggests that for Lucan condemnation of the Pompeian side of the Civil War may have been as fraught as condemnation of the Caesarean party.

Lucan's *Pharsalia* presents a world that is torn apart by the *nefas* of civil war. The poem, like the world within, is conflicted and does not take a consistent tone with

²² Masters [8]; Bartsch [2].

²³ Holmes [20].

²⁴ Holmes [20] 76.

²⁵ Fantham [2] 231-33.

regards to the Civil War, and it is unnecessary to attempt to construct a false consistency in the poem's approach to the *princeps* Nero by constructing an undertone in the opening *encomium*. As we have seen, we cannot reliably assert from ancient evidence that the early books of the *Pharsalia* should contain anti-Neronian rhetoric; nor that there is support for the anti-Neronian jibes that ancient scholars saw in the *encomium*. The poem, like Nero and Lucan themselves, is variable.

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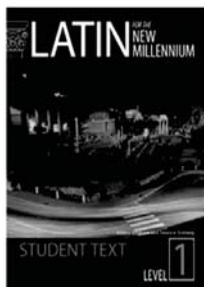
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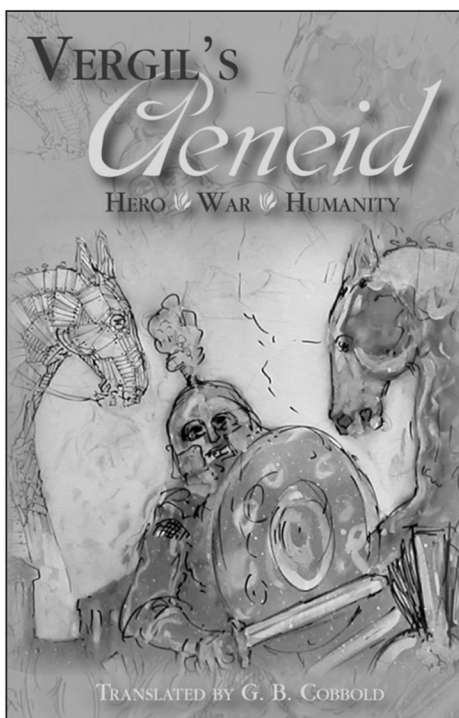
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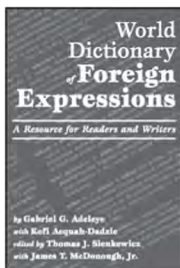
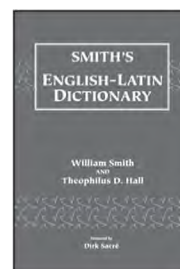
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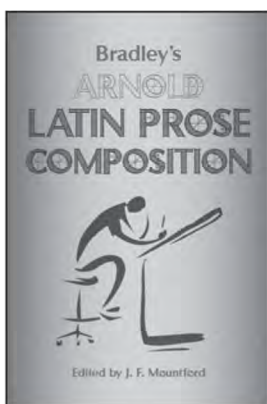
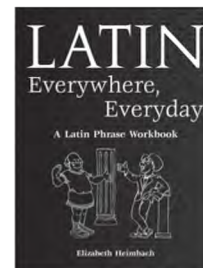
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